

Encoding the Spoken and Decoding the Written:
A Comparative Study of Sinographic Writing in Premodern East Asia

Liyao Chen

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2026

Reading Committee:

Zev Handel, Chair

Paul S. Atkins

Heekyoung Cho

Chris Hamm

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Asian Languages and Literature

©Copyright 2026
Liyao Chen

University of Washington

Abstract

Encoding the Spoken and Decoding the Written:
A Comparative Study of Sinographic Writing in Premodern East Asia

Liyao Chen

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Zev Handel
Department of Asian Languages and Literature

This dissertation is a comparative study of the transmission and adaptation of the Chinese script in premodern East Asia based on the linguistic analysis of written sources in various languages, genres, and periods within their historical and cultural contexts. It is an interdisciplinary project encompassing multiple fields such as linguistics, grapholinguistics (study of writing), philology, literature, and history. The object languages are the three major languages which historically borrowed the Chinese script for writing: Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese. It examines the relationship between spoken language and writing from two opposite perspectives: encoding the spoken language into written form, and decoding the written text into spoken language. The first perspective pertains to how the non-Chinese languages are represented in writing by Sinograms (Chinese characters), and the second perspective pertains to how texts written in the Chinese language are processed and read in the non-Chinese languages.

Building on the ongoing scholarly conversations on the “Sinographic Cosmopolis,” this dissertation contributes to deepening our understanding of the literary history and culture of premodern East Asia in two ways. First, by integrating the two main approaches (linguistic and historical) taken in previous studies, it aims to observe how the process and techniques of script adaptation on one hand, and textual transmission and literary practices on the other hand, influenced and shaped each other. While the general pattern of adapting the Chinese script is determined by the structural features of the borrowing language,

specific techniques or cases of character use and methods or practices of reading are also contingent upon various factors, such as the genre or function of the text, established convention in a culture or writing system, personal or idiosyncratic choice, etc. Second, by incorporating the theoretical and linguistic study of writing which has emerged in Western academia in the last few decades with the philological traditions of the East Asian cultures, it develops a theoretical framework and accompanying terminology in English to facilitate discussions of Sinographic writing and relevant linguistic, textual, and literary issues across languages.

There are six chapters in this dissertation. Chapter 1 serves as the introduction and lays out the theoretical and terminological framework of the entire dissertation. Chapter 2 is an overview of the early history of writing in Korea and Japan by presenting a number of representative textual examples to show the trajectory of the development of vernacular writing. From the perspective of encoding the spoken language into written form, chapters 3, 4, and 6 examine full vernacular writing of Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese attested in the earliest extant sources in each language: Korean *hyangga*, Japanese *Man'yōshū*, and Vietnamese Nôm poems. While chapters 3 and 6 discuss the regular patterns and techniques of character use in the respective language, chapter 4 discusses a special orthographic phenomenon known as “playful writing” in *Man'yōshū*. In addition, a statistical analysis on the function and adaptation type of the characters is conducted for each corpus in these three chapters. From the perspective of decoding the written text into spoken language, the topic of chapter 5 is the transmission and reception of Vernacular Chinese literature in premodern Japan, and it includes a case study on the early Japanese editions of the Vernacular Chinese novel *The Water Margin*. Finally, there are also five appendices presenting detailed textual sources and data attached after the main body of the dissertation.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	ix
Abbreviations	xiii
Conventions	xv
Acknowledgements	xix
 Chapter 1 Introduction and Theoretical Preliminaries	 1
1.1 Definition of Writing	4
1.2 Basic Terms and Concepts of Writing	7
1.3 Typology of Writing	11
1.4 Writing Systems of the East Asian Languages	20
1.5 Framework of Script Adaptation	32
1.6 Vernacular Languages and Writing	40
1.7 Outline of the Dissertation	41
 Chapter 2 Early History of Writing in Korea and Japan	 46
2.1 Early History of Writing in Korea	47
2.1.1 King Kwangkaythwo Stela (<i>Kwangkaythwowang pi</i> 廣開土王碑) (414)	50
2.1.2 Imsin Vow Record Stone (<i>Imsin seki sek</i> 壬申誓記石) (552 or 612)	53
2.1.3 Mwuswul Dike Construction Stela (<i>Mwuswul wocak pi</i> 戊戌塙作碑) (578)	54
2.1.4 Namsan New Fortress Stelae (<i>Namsan sinseng pi</i> 南山新城碑) (591)	56

2.1.5 Mwucin Temple Bell Inscription (<i>Mwucinsa cwongmyeng</i> 无盡寺鐘銘) (745)	56
2.1.6 Provenance Record of Kalhang Temple Stone Pagodas (<i>Kalhangsa sekthap cwo sengki</i> 葛項寺石塔造成記) (ca. 790)	58
2.2 Early History of Writing in Japan	59
2.2.1 Traditional Accounts of the Beginning of Writing in Japan	60
2.2.2 Metalinguistic Discussion of Writing	62
2.2.3 Seven-Branched Sword (<i>shichishitō</i> 七支刀) (369?)	63
2.2.4 Eta-Funayama Sword and Sakitama-Inariyama Sword (5th century)	65
2.2.5 Inscriptions on Buddhist Statues in Hōryū Temple (7th century)	67
2.3 Summary	70
Chapter 3 Earliest Full Vernacular Writing of Korean and Japanese	71
3.1 Korean <i>Hyangga</i>	73
3.1.1 The Corpus of <i>Hyangga</i>	73
3.1.2 Terminological Issue	78
3.1.3 Interpretation of <i>Hyangga</i>	81
3.1.4 Sample <i>Hyangga</i> Poems	83
3.1.4.1 Poem 5 “Song of Cheyong”	83
3.1.4.2 Poem 3 “Song of Pacifying the People”	86
3.1.4.3 Poem 15 “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”	88
3.1.5 Statistical Analysis of the Characters	90
3.1.6 Orthographic Features and Techniques	97
3.1.6.1 Combination of Logography and Phonography	97

3.1.6.2 Consonantal Phonogram	98
3.1.6.3 Phonetic Determinative	99
3.1.6.4 Fusion of Sounds in Adjacent Morphemes	104
3.1.6.5 Holistic Logographic Notation of a Native Word	106
3.1.6.6 Marker of the Final Stanza	107
3.2 Vernacular Japanese Poetry and <i>Man'yōshū</i>	108
3.2.1 Vernacular Japanese Poetry in Excavated Materials	110
3.2.2 <i>Man'yōshū</i> Poem 1.1	112
3.2.3 Orthographic Minimal Pairs	115
3.2.3.1 Variation between Logography and Phonography	116
3.2.3.2 Variation in Specific Phonograms	117
3.3 Summary	119
Chapter 4 “Playful Writing” in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	121
4.1 Notation of Grammatical Morphemes with Logographic Connotation	124
4.1.1 手師 義之 大王	124
4.1.1.1 手師	124
4.1.1.2 義之	126
4.1.1.3 大王	128
4.1.2 鶴 鴨	131
4.1.3 The Auxiliary Verb -む (-) - <i>m-u</i> (-)	140
4.1.3.1 兼 監 險 雞 鷄	141
4.1.3.2 點	144

4.1.3.3 南 嘗 味試	146
4.1.3.4 三 寒	151
4.1.3.5 念	152
4.1.3.6 今 金	154
4.1.3.7 男 賁	155
4.1.3.8 敢 甘	157
4.1.3.9 湯 龜	158
4.1.4 少 熱	160
4.1.5 鴛 鴛 鴛	161
4.1.6 萬 思	163
4.2 Graph-Language Mapping Based on Acoustic Association	165
4.2.1 追馬 喚犬	166
4.2.1.1 追馬喚犬	166
4.2.1.2 喚犬追馬鏡	167
4.2.1.3 犬馬鏡	168
4.2.2 喚雞 牛鳴	170
4.2.3 馬聲蜂音石花蜘蛛荒鹿	173
4.3 Graph-Language Mapping Based on Mathematical Association	175
4.3.1 二手 諸手 左右手 左右	175
4.3.1.1 二手	175
4.3.1.2 諸手	176
4.3.1.3 左右手	176

4.3.1.4 左右	177
4.3.2 八十一	180
4.3.3 十六	182
4.3.4 二二	184
4.3.5 二五	189
4.3.6 The Board Game	189
4.3.6.1 折木四 切木四	190
4.3.6.2 一伏三起 一伏三向	192
4.3.6.3 三伏一向	194
4.3.6.4 諸伏	196
4.4 Miscellaneous Cases	198
4.4.1 孤悲	198
4.4.2 山上復有山	203
4.4.3 射矢	207
4.4.4 酢辛	209
4.4.5 遊群	210
4.4.6 蚊蛾	215
4.5 Summary	217
Chapter 5 Decoding Chinese-Language Texts in Japanese and Korean	221
5.1 Vernacular Reading of Chinese-Language Texts in Korea and Japan	223
5.1.1 Korean <i>Kwukyel</i>	225
5.1.2 Japanese <i>Kundoku</i>	228

5.2 <i>Kundoku</i> and Translation	233
5.3 The Reception of Vernacular Chinese Literature in Japan	238
5.3.1 Cultural and Social Background	238
5.3.2 General History	240
5.3.3 <i>Kundoku</i> or Translation?	248
5.4 A Comparison between the Chinese and Japanese Versions of <i>The Water Margin</i>	249
5.4.1 Textual Editions	249
5.4.2 Opening Part of the Novel	252
5.4.3 <i>Kundoku</i> -Style Passages in the Japanese Version	256
5.4.4 Beating the Tiger	261
5.5 Summary	275
Chapter 6 Earliest Full Vernacular Writing of Vietnamese	277
6.1 Historical and Linguistic Background	278
6.2 Classification of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing	282
6.2.1 Existing Chinese Character	283
6.2.2 Neo-Sinogram	286
6.2.2.1 Phonetic-Taxonomic Compound	287
6.2.2.2 Phonetic-Synonymic Compound	288
6.2.2.3 Semantic-Semantic Compound	291
6.2.2.4 Phonetic-Phonetic Compound	292
6.2.2.5 Modified Graph	293
6.2.3 Summary of the Types of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing	295

6.2.4 Example of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing	295
6.3 <i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i>	297
6.3.1 <i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i> Poem 174	298
6.3.2 Written Forms of Common Morphemes in <i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i>	301
6.3.2.1 HV Morphemes	301
6.3.2.2 pHV Morphemes	306
6.3.2.3 Native Morphemes	310
6.4 Neo-Sinograms in Japanese and Korean Writing	322
6.5 Summary	325
Conclusion	326
 Bibliography	 336
 Appendix 1 Interpretation of <i>Hyangka</i> Poems	 346
Appendix 2 Concordance Index of Characters in <i>Hyangka</i> Poems	513
Appendix 3 Interpretation of Vernacular Japanese Poems	639
Appendix 4 Interpretation of <i>Man'yōshū</i> Poems with Cases of “Playful Writing”	661
Appendix 5 Opening Part in the Chinese and Japanese Versions of <i>The Water Margin</i>	897

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 No-Smoking Sign	6
Figure 1.2 “MULE XING” Sign	12
Figure 1.3 DeFrancis’ Typology of Writing	15
Figure 1.4 Sproat’s Typology of Writing	18
Figure 1.5 Rogers’ Typology of Writing	19
Figure 1.6 Osterkamp and Schreiber’s Typology of Writing	20
Figure 5.1 Sample of Interpretive <i>Kwukyel</i>	226
Figure 5.2 Sample of Sequential <i>Kwukyel</i>	227

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Scripts and Graphs in the Writing Systems of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese	32
Table 1.2 Theoretical Categories of the Adaptation of the Chinese Character 古 in the Writing Systems of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese	37
Table 1.3 Actual Categories of Sinograms in the Writing Systems of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese ..	39
Table 2.1 Expressions in the Imsin Vow Record Stone Following Korean Word Order and Their Literary Sinitic Counterpart	54
Table 3.1 Group 1 <i>Hyangga</i> Poems in <i>Samkwuk yusa</i>	74
Table 3.2 Group 2 <i>Hyangga</i> Poems in <i>Kyunyecen</i>	76
Table 3.3 Presumed Structure of <i>Hyangga</i> poems	80
Table 3.4 Original Text and <i>Hankul</i> Transcriptions of “Song of Cheyong”	85
Table 3.5 Interpretation of “Song of Cheyong”	85
Table 3.6 Original Text of “Song of Pacifying the People”	87
Table 3.7 Interpretation of “Song of Pacifying the People”	88
Table 3.8 “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas” and Its Chinese Translation	89
Table 3.9 Interpretation of “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”	89
Table 3.10 Number of Characters and Occurrences in Each <i>Hyangga</i> Poem	91
Table 3.11 Semantically-Adapted Phonograms in <i>Hyangga</i>	93
Table 3.12 Frequency Distribution of Characters in <i>Hyangga</i>	94

Table 3.13 Characters with 10 or More Occurrences in <i>Hyangga</i>	95
Table 3.14 Phonetic Determinatives in <i>Hyangga</i>	102
Table 3.15 Fusion of Sounds in Adjacent Morphemes in <i>Hyangga</i>	105
Table 3.16 “Song of Naniwa” in the Kana Preface of <i>Kokin wakashū</i>	111
Table 3.17 Tentative Interpretation of the Poem on Akita Castle Wooden Slip No. 179	112
Table 3.18 Interpretation of <i>Man’yōshū</i> Poem 1.1	113
Table 3.19 Linguistic Units with Different Written Forms in <i>Man’yōshū</i> Poem 1.1	114
Table 3.20 Semantically-Adapted Phonograms in <i>Man’yōshū</i> Poem 1.1 with Relevant Inherent Semantic Values	115
Table 3.21 Written Form of <i>Man’yōshū</i> Entries 12.3023 and 17.3935	116
Table 3.22 Interpretation of <i>Man’yōshū</i> Entries 12.3023 and 17.3935	116
Table 3.23 Written Forms of the “Song of Eight Clouds”	118
Table 3.24 Interpretation of the “Song of Eight Clouds”	118
Table 4.1 Occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -てし - <i>te-si-</i> in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	130
Table 4.2 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -つる - <i>tu-ru-</i> in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	134
Table 4.3 Occurrences of the particle =かも = <i>ka.mo</i> in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	134
Table 4.4 Occurrences of the word たづ <i>ta.du</i> ‘crane’ in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	138
Table 4.5 Occurrences of the word かも <i>ka.mo</i> ‘duck’ in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	138
Table 4.6 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -けむ (-) - <i>ke₁-m-u(-)</i> in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	143
Table 4.7 Occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -てむ (-) - <i>te-m-u(-)</i> in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	146
Table 4.8 Occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -なむ (-) - <i>n-a-m-u(-)</i> in <i>Man’yōshū</i>	149

Table 4.9 Occurrences of the particle =なむ = <i>na.mu</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	150
Table 4.10 Occurrences of the expression ねむ(-) <i>ne-m-u(-)</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	153
Table 4.11 Occurrences of the expression こゝむ(-) <i>ko₂-m-u(-)</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	155
Table 4.12 Occurrences of the expression せむ(-) <i>se-m-u(-)</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	157
Table 4.13 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -ぬる -- <i>n-u.ru-</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	161
Table 4.14 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -まし(-) <i>-ma.si(-)</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	165
Table 4.15 Occurrences of the expression まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ <i>ma.so₁-ka.ga.mi₁</i> 'clear mirror' and relevant expressions in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	169
Table 4.16 Occurrences of the particle =つつ = <i>tu.tu</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	172
Table 4.17 Occurrences of the particle =まで = <i>ma.de</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	179
Table 4.18 Occurrences of the word しし <i>si.si</i> 'flesh; beast' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	183
Table 4.19 Occurrences of the particle =し = <i>si</i> in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	186
Table 4.20 Occurrences of the word かり <i>ka.ri</i> 'wild goose' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	191
Table 4.21 Occurrences of the word こゝろ ₂ <i>ko₂.ro₂</i> 'time, occasion' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	194
Table 4.22 Occurrences of the word つき ₂ <i>tu.ki₂</i> 'moon, month' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	195
Table 4.23 Occurrences of the word まにま <i>ma.ni.ma</i> 'discretion' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	197
Table 4.24 Occurrences of the lexeme meaning 'to love, yearn' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	201
Table 4.25 Occurrences of the word いづ <i>i.du</i> 'to come out' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	205
Table 4.26 Occurrences of the word づ <i>du</i> 'to come out' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	207
Table 4.27 Occurrences of the word いや <i>i.ya</i> 'increasingly' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	208
Table 4.28 Occurrences of the word ゆく <i>yuk-u</i> 'to go' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	212
Table 4.29 Occurrences of the word いく <i>ik-u</i> 'to go' in <i>Man'yōshū</i>	215

Table 5.1 Japanese Reading of the Sinograms in the Example <i>Kundoku</i> Text	230
Table 5.2 Structure of <i>Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden</i>	251
Table 5.3 Dichotomy of Words or Grammatical Structures in <i>Kundoku</i> and Classical Japanese	274
Table 6.1 Classification of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing	283
Table 6.2 Written Forms of Native Vietnamese Numeral Words	296
Table 6.3 <i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i> Poem 174	298
Table 6.4 Written Forms of HV Morphemes with 10 or More Occurrences in <i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i>	302
Table 6.5 Written Forms of pHV Morphemes with 10 or More Occurrences in <i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i>	306
Table 6.6 Written Forms of Native Morphemes with 10 or More Occurrences in <i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i>	311

Abbreviations

ACKS	<i>Akcang kasa</i> 樂章歌詞
AHKP	<i>Akhak kweypem</i> 樂學軌範
CN	Chinese
DAL	Directly-adapted logogram
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
EOK	Early Old Korean
ESV	Early Sino-Vietnamese
G	Go'on 吳音
GD	<i>Suiko gaden</i> 水滸畫傳
HV	Hán-Việt 漢越
JP	Japanese
K	Kan'on 漢音
KHSH	<i>Kinsei hakuwa shōsetsu honyakushū</i> 近世白話小說翻譯集
KJK	<i>Kojiki</i> 古事記
KR	Korean
KY	Kan'yō'on 慣用音
KYC	<i>Kyunyecen</i> 均如傳
LOK	Late Old Korean
LSV	Late Sino-Vietnamese
MC	Middle Chinese
MK	Middle Korean
Mod	Modified graph
MoJ	Modern Japanese
MOK	Middle Old Korean
MoK	Modern Korean
MoSJ	Modern Sino-Japanese
MoSK	Modern Sino-Korean
MYS	<i>Man'yōshū</i> 萬葉集
MYSCS	<i>Man'yōshū chūshaku</i> 萬葉集注釋
MYSSI	<i>Man'yōshū sakuin</i> 萬葉集索引
MYSZC	<i>Man'yōshū zenchū</i> 萬葉集全注
Neo	Neo-Sinogram
NHSK	<i>Nihon shoki</i> 日本書紀
NKBT	<i>Nihon koten bungaku taikei</i> 日本古典文學大系
NKBZ	<i>Nihon koten bungaku zenshū</i> 日本古典文學全集
OC	Old Chinese
OJ	Old Japanese
OK	Old Korean
PAL	Phonetically-adapted logogram
PAP	Phonetically-adapted phonogram
pHV	phi Hán-Việt 非漢越
PP	Phonetic-phonetic compound

PS	Phonetic-synonymic compound
PT	Phonetic-taxonomic compound
QATT	<i>Quốc Âm Thi Tập</i> 國音詩集
RSV	Recent Sino-Vietnamese
SAL	Semantically-adapted logogram
SAP	Semantically-adapted phonogram
SGZ	<i>Sānguózhì</i> 三國志
SHQZ	<i>Shuǐhǔ quánzhuàn</i> 水滸全傳
SJ	Sino-Japanese
SK	Sino-Korean
SKSK	<i>Samkwuk saki</i> 三國史記
SKYS	<i>Samkwuk yusa</i> 三國遺事
SNKBT	<i>Shin nihon koten bungaku taiei</i> 新日本古典文学大系
SNKBZ	<i>Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū</i> 新編日本古典文学全集
SS	Semantic-semantic compound
SV	Sino-Vietnamese
SX	Sino-Xenic
TZ	<i>Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden</i> 通俗忠義水滸傳
VN	Vietnamese
YTXYZ	<i>Yùtái xīnyǒng jiǎnzhù</i> 玉臺新詠箋注
YCSKSK	<i>Yekcwu samkwuk saki</i> 譯注三國史記
YCSKYS	<i>Yekcwu samkwuk yusa</i> 譯注三國遺事

Conventions

General

1. Angle brackets <> indicate a written unit or the written form of a linguistic unit. In practice, this symbol is mostly used when the written unit or form under discussion is in the Latin alphabet, so that it will not be confused with the Romanized transcription of a linguistic unit. Written units or forms in other scripts are generally not specifically marked since they are visually distinct from the Latin alphabet.

2. The following conventions are followed in the Romanized transcription of Korean and Japanese linguistic data, the *kana* transcription of Japanese linguistic data, and the *hankul* transcription of Korean linguistic data:

- (1). A dot <.> in the Romanized transcription indicates a syllable boundary.
- (2). A hyphen <-> in the Romanized transcription indicates a morpheme boundary.
- (3). A double hyphen <=> in the Romanized transcription indicates the boundary between an enclitic and the lexeme to which it is attached or another enclitic. In the case of Korean, this symbol is used to mark two kinds of grammatical morphemes: particles (*cwosa* 助詞) and sentence endings (*emi* 語尾, or more specifically, *emal emi* 語末語尾). In the case of Japanese, this symbol is used to mark particles (*joshi* 助詞).
- (4). When a bound morpheme is given in isolation, the hyphen or the double hyphen is used at the beginning and/or the end of the morpheme in all forms of transcription. E.g.:

わたる - *wa.tar-u-* '(time) to pass' (adnominal)

=かも =*ka.mo* (interrogative or exclamatory particle)

However, in a running text, the hyphen or the double hyphen is used only in the Romanized transcription but not in the *kana* or the *hankul* transcription, and the double hyphen overrides the

hyphen when both symbols apply in the same position, because the former indicates a more specific type of morpheme boundary. E.g.:

こ₁ひ₂わたるかも *ko₁.pi₂-wa.tar-u=ka.mo* ‘[I] keep loving!’

(5). An underlined part in the transcription of a running text indicates that this linguistic unit has no explicit written form in the original text and is supplemented in reading.

(6). In the Romanized transcription, lower-case letters indicate that the corresponding linguistic unit is written phonographically by Sinograms, and SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS indicate that the corresponding linguistic unit is written logographically by Sinograms. E.g.:

戀渡可聞 こ₁ひ₂わたるかも *KO₁.PI₂-WA.TAR-U=ka.mo* ‘[I] keep loving!’.

When a linguistic unit is being discussed without reference to any written form, lower-case letters are used.

Korean

1. The following items are transcribed in the Yale Romanization system (see below):

- (1). Linguistic data and technical terms.
- (2). Proper nouns occurring in cited texts.
- (3). Names or titles of written sources or works.

2. The following items are transcribed in the Revised Romanization system:

- (1). Modern toponyms (e.g., Seoul, Gyeongju, Daegu).
- (2). Names of historical polities or periods (e.g., Goguryeo, Baekje, Joseon).

3. Personal names are in general transcribed in the Yale Romanization system, with the exception of the names of Korean authors of cited works in English. In the latter case, the transcription follows as it appears

in the cited work.

4. The focus of the transcription of Korean linguistic data in this dissertation is on segmental units by using distinct letters or letter sequences, so it uses a version of the Yale Romanization system simplified from the original system devised by Samuel Martin (1992: 8-15). There are two major changes in spelling rules:

(1). The vowel represented by the *hankul* letter <ㅓ> is transcribed as *wo* instead of *o*, in order to distinguish it from the Middle Korean vowel “alay *a*” (“lower *a*”) represented by the obsolete *hankul* letter <ㅚ> transcribed as *o*, despite the fact that the latter no longer exists in Standard Modern Korean.

(2). The vowel represented by the *hankul* letter <ㅜ> is consistently transcribed as *wu*, even though it is transcribed as *u* after labial initial consonants (*p, ph, pp, m*) in Martin’s system.

Japanese

1. The transcription of Japanese linguistic data follows the *kunreishiki* 訓令式 Romanization system while modified for the phonology of Old Japanese as needed. The transcription of Japanese terms not as linguistic data follows the Revised Hepburn Romanization system.

2. Some syllables in Standard Modern Japanese result from the merger of two distinct syllables in Old Japanese. This kind of two-way distinction is known as *kō-otsu* 甲乙 distinction in Japanese terminology, and it no longer existed in the later stages of Japanese. The exact phonetic difference between the two types of syllables is under debate and not important for the purpose of this dissertation, so a neutral numerical notation is used to mark this distinction in both Romanized and *kana* transcriptions. A subscripted graph <₁> indicates “type 1” (*kō* 甲) syllables, and a subscripted graph <₂> indicates “type 2” (*otsu* 乙) syllables. E.g.:

Old Japanese <こ₁ひ₂ ko₁.pi₂> Standard Modern Japanese <こい ko.i>

The following table is a summary of the notation of the two types of syllables in different transcription systems (modified from Frellesvig & Kinsui 2024: 5):

Numerical	Frellesvig-Whitman	Yale	Mathias-Miller	Ohno
i ₁	i	yi	î	i
i ₂	wi	iy	ï	ï
e ₁	ye	ye	ê	e
e ₂	e	ey	ë	ë
o ₁	wo	wo	ô	o
o ₂	o	o	ö	ö

3. A subscripted <_レ> symbol (called *kaeriten* 返り點 or *reten* レ點 in Japanese terminology) added between two Sinograms in the original text indicates the reversal of the order of reading the two Sinograms in Japanese. E.g.:

<將_レ待> indicates that the character <待> is to be read before the character <將>, giving rise to the utterance またむ *mat-a-m-u* ‘[I] will wait.’

4. The following English terms are used for the six inflection categories in Old Japanese and Classical Japanese:

- (1). Irrealis (*mizenkei* 未然形)
- (2). Infinitive (*ren'yōkei* 連用形)
- (3). Conclusive (*shūshikei* 終止形)
- (4). Adnominal (*rentaikei* 連體形)
- (5). Realis (*izenkei* 已然形)
- (6). Imperative (*meireikei* 命令形)

Acknowledgements

As its title suggests, this dissertation is an immense project. When I look back on this journey, I feel that it is the result of a fortuitous combination of several factors, and numerous people along the way have contributed in different forms to its realization.

I have always had a passion for learning languages. As a former undergraduate major and master's student in Chinese history, I first started to learn Japanese largely out of curiosity, having heard frequently about the rumor that it was easy for Chinese speakers to learn Japanese because of Chinese characters. While it quickly turned out that this was not true (although it may be the case, at least for me, that the existence of Chinese characters helps memorizing words), I became deeply attracted by the intriguing complexity (or, perhaps for most people, unnecessary difficulty) of the readings and usages of Chinese characters in Japanese writing. I went on to learn Classical Japanese and *kanbun*, and my interest in both the language itself and its history with Chinese characters continued to grow. Therefore, I made up my mind to pursue a doctoral study in Chinese and Japanese linguistics, despite the fact that I had not received any formal training in linguistics, nor did I have any specific topic in mind. As everyone who has been through graduate school knows, you tend to start from a rough idea without necessarily knowing where you will end up. I was not expecting that I would cover Korean and Vietnamese as well.

It was at the same time when I was searching for doctoral programs that I learned about Zev Handel's study on the adaptation of Chinese characters in writing other languages. After our first meeting when he treated me to coffee in probably the only coffee shop on the University of Washington campus that sold non-Starbucks products (what a shame that it closed several years ago), he generously shared with me the manuscript of his soon-to-be-published *Sinography*. This book has been the basis of my own research since

then. Given his expertise in Chinese historical phonology and East Asian writing systems, having him as my advisor seems to be the best situation. In addition to academic matters, I have also learned a lot of other things from him throughout the years, such as the professionalism as a scholar and a teacher, the meticulousness in doing everything from teaching to administrative work, the kindness to everyone in daily life, etc. It would not have been possible for me to conceive and complete this dissertation without the initial inspiration and continuous mentorship from him. It is certainly also imperative to extend my gratitude to the other members on my reading committee: Paul S. Atkins, Heekyoung Cho, Chris Hamm. Strangely enough, none of them works in linguistics, but it is exactly because of this that I was able to receive feedback from diverse perspectives, and I have also benefitted from my individual interactions with each of them. I have both taken courses and completed a Field Exam with Professor Cho and Professor Hamm, and I believe that they are happy to see that my past endeavors with them have been incorporated into this dissertation. Although Professor Atkins joined my committee at a later stage, he provided valuable insights as an expert on the Japanese side, a role that had been missing on my committee. Last but not least, I should say thank you to Matthew Mosca for serving as the Graduate School Representative (GSR, not to be confused with *Grammata Serica Recensa*) on my committee.

At the University of Washington, I have presented different topics of my research and different parts of this dissertation on several occasions at the Graduate Student Colloquium and the Graduate Research Colloquium in the Department of Asian Languages and Literature, and I am grateful to the organizers of all those events (not just for the free lunch) and everyone in attendance. The staff in the main office of the Department of Asian Languages and Literature deserves a lot of credit for their indispensable administrative work. This is especially the case with Kirk Van Scoyoc, who has been a consistent presence in the ever-changing office and keeps giving away chocolate to everyone passing the General Exam or the Final Exam.

For graduate students in this department, the major source of funding is teaching, and I was fortunate to have the experience of teaching both languages courses as a Teaching Assistant and content courses as a Predoctoral Instructor. I wish to thank my supervisors for kindly sharing with me their course materials and helping me improve my teaching skills. I also remember many of those thought-provoking (although not always intellectually inspiring) conversations with my fellow graduate students in the cramped, windowless TA offices, with topics ranging from daily routines (e.g., should I get lunch from Sizzle & Crunch or Chipotle?) to financial matters (e.g., where to look for funding for next year?), from pedagogical discussions (e.g., how to teach students to pronounce the retroflex sounds in Mandarin?) to academic questions (to those of you asked by me to try to make sense of 東京明期月良 or 籠毛與美籠母乳, *Gamsahaetseumnida* or *Arigatō gozaimashita!*). In addition to teaching assistantship, I have also received the following fellowships from different units at the University of Washington: China Studies Recruitment Fellowship (2019-2020), Hsiao Fellowship in China Studies (2020-2021), Li Fang-Kuei and Hsu Ying Graduate Fellowship in Chinese Linguistics & Pang Hsin and Chen Chi Ting Graduate Fellowship in Chinese Linguistics (2022-2023), and Asian Languages and Literature Dissertation Fellowship (Spring 2026). I express my sincere gratitude to their donors and to those who nominated or selected me for these fellowships.

I would also like to thank several scholars at other institutions, all of whom have influenced my academic career so far in one way or another, answered my questions about either academic or practical matters, or offered precious guidance or suggestions relevant to their expertise. David Lurie is the first person whom I consulted for any kind of research on Japanese, and his book *Realms of Literacy* that he gave me as a gift is the first study on either writing or Japanese literary history that I have ever read. In my last semester at Columbia University, I took John Phan's course "History of Writing in East Asia." Its lectures and readings equipped me with the basic knowledge of this topic, and my final paper for this course can be regarded as

the initial step toward this dissertation. I regret that I have not had a chance to learn from or work with John Whitman, who is going to retire, as his erudition in both Japanese and Korean linguistics is truly remarkable. After all these years of email exchanges, I was eventually able to meet Ross King at the 2026 Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, who concurred with me that Vancouver (to be precise, the Vancouver in British Columbia, Canada) had a slight edge over Seattle in natural scenery.

Finally, it goes without saying that I need to thank my family for their unwavering support from the other side of the Pacific Ocean and their belief in the value of an education in the humanities. Talking to them has basically been the only opportunity for me to speak my own “vernacular” language in the last decade. They may not know what I have been exactly doing, but they are proud of my achievements.

Since this dissertation is largely about literacy in a major classical language in human history, it seems fitting to finish my acknowledgements with this motto of St. John’s College in another major classical language:

Faciō liberōs ex liberīs librīs librāque.

“[I] make free [men] from children [with] books and [a] balance.”

Chapter 1

Introduction and Theoretical Preliminaries

This dissertation is a comparative study of the transmission and adaptation of the Chinese script in premodern East Asia based on the linguistic analysis of written sources in various languages, genres, and periods within their historical and cultural contexts. It is an interdisciplinary project encompassing multiple fields such as linguistics, grapholinguistics (study of writing), philology (study of texts), literature, and history. The object languages are the three major languages which historically borrowed the Chinese script for writing: Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese. The specific topics examine the relationship between spoken language and writing from two opposite perspectives: encoding the spoken language into written form, and decoding the written text into spoken language. The former pertains to how the non-Chinese languages are represented in writing by Sinograms (Chinese characters), and the latter pertains to how texts written in the Chinese language are processed and read in the non-Chinese languages. While the general pattern of adapting the Chinese script is determined by the structural features of the borrowing language (Handel 2019), specific techniques or cases of character use and methods or practices of reading are also contingent upon various factors, such as the genre or function of the text, established convention in a culture or writing system, personal or idiosyncratic choice, etc.

The geographical and historical context of this dissertation is the “Sinographic Cosmopolis,” the intellectual and cultural sphere in premodern East Asia bound by a shared script and written language as well as a common group of canonical texts¹. Different aspects of this multi-cultural and multi-lingual area have

¹The term “Sinographic Cosmopolis” was coined by Ross King (King 2014, 2015), following Jackson Pollock’s (2006) notion of “Sanskrit Cosmopolis,” as a non-China-centric equivalent in English to the Sinitic term 漢字文化圈 ‘Chinese character cultural sphere’. The idea about such a multi-lingual region in East Asia with common literary legacies that transcends linguistic and political borders is certainly not new, but there has been a surge of studies in recent years in Western academia

been receiving increasing scholarly attention in Western academia in recent years, and existing studies can be mainly divided into two types. The first type takes a linguistic approach to analyze the mechanism of the borrowing and adaptation of the Chinese script (e.g., Handel 2019, 2025), and the second type takes a historical approach to trace the transmission of texts, knowledge, or cultural phenomena across languages or geographic areas (e.g., Elman 2014, Kornicki 2018, Kin 2021 [English translation of Kin 2010], King 2023). Building on existing scholarship in both the West and the East, this dissertation contributes to the ongoing conversations in two respects. First, by integrating the two approaches mentioned above, it aims to observe how the process and techniques of script adaptation on one hand, and textual transmission and literary practices on the other hand, influenced and shaped each other. Because of the linguistic feature of the Chinese script and the prestige held by the written language that it encodes, it is impossible to study the literary culture or history of premodern East Asia without taking into account the interactions (and sometimes tensions) between the Chinese script and various languages. Second, the current state of research is that there is inconsistency among scholars in their understanding, definition, or use of concepts and terminology relevant to writing, due to the differences in linguistic and cultural background, academic discipline, and perspective of inquiry. By incorporating the theoretical and linguistic study of writing which has emerged in Western academia in the last few decades with the philological traditions of the East Asian cultures, this dissertation aims to develop a theoretical framework and accompanying terminology in English to facilitate discussions of Sinographic writing across languages.

Another unique feature of this dissertation lies in its methodology for the study of texts, as it conducts close readings and rigorous linguistic analyses of written sources for two purposes. The first is to examine the relationship between a written form and its underlying linguistic form to better understand the text both

on its linguistic, literary, and textual issues.

linguistically and contextually, and the second is to categorize the characters in a corpus into different types of adaptation or usage on a statistical basis to observe the orthographic features of the corpus. The idea behind this approach is that, when studying actual texts, in addition to *what* is written, it is also important to pay attention to *how* something is written. Either composing or reading a text is first and foremost a linguistic task, as the writer or reader has to establish or figure out the correspondence between units of writing and units of language in order to convey or understanding the meaning. This seemingly self-evident statement is actually a complicated matter in the context of premodern East Asia where, taken as a whole, literary activities were largely centered around a formalized written language (Literary Sinitic) and its accompanying script (Chinese/Sinographic script), which does not encode any language in a straightforward way like an alphabet. On top of that, the use of a borrowed script in the written representation of a language always provides opportunities for exploring new techniques or possibilities of using that script. Therefore, this kind of linguistic study of a text may reveal more about it beyond what can be seen or understood on paper, even if one does not engage directly with the technical linguistic details².

As the introduction, this chapter lays out the theoretical framework of the entire dissertation. On the basis of existing studies on writing, section 1.1 gives the linguistic definition of writing, section 1.2 introduces the basic terms and concepts of writing, and section 1.3 provides an overview of various classification systems of scripts and writing systems. Section 1.4 applies these terms and concepts to the typological description of the writing systems of the four East Asian languages (Chinese, Japanese, Korean,

²There are two classic examples in Japanese scholarship in which the linguistic study of the written forms in a text brought about significant discoveries. The first example is the discovery of the two syllable types in Old Japanese (the so-called *kō-otsu* 甲乙 distinction) which merged in the later history of Japanese, first made by the Edo-period scholar Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801) through his study of the phonograms in the 8th-century historical chronicle *Kojiki* 古事記, later “rediscovered” by the modern scholar Hashimoto Shinkichi 橋本進吉 (1882-1945). The second example is Mori Hiromichi’s 森博達 (1991, 1999) division of the text of the other 8th-century historical chronicle *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 into two groups composed by scribes of different origins, on the basis of the relationship between the Middle Chinese pronunciation of the phonograms used in the text and the Japanese syllable that they represent.

and Vietnamese). Section 1.5 describes the framework of script adaptation to be used in this dissertation. Section 1.6 explains the sense of the term “vernacular” used in this dissertation. Finally, section 1.7 is an outline of the following chapters.

1.1 Definition of Writing

The word “writing” has various meanings when used in different situations. This dissertation mainly examines writing from a linguistic perspective. However, even within this common context, opinions may differ on what can be characterized as writing.

It is generally regarded that the modern linguistic study of writing started with I. J. Gelb’s work (1952 [1963]). He defines writing as “a system of human intercommunication by means of conventional visible marks” and distinguishes the “semasiographic stage of writing,” which expresses “meanings and notions loosely connected with speech,” from the “phonographic stage of writing,” which expresses speech (Gelb 1963: 11-15)³. Geoffrey Sampson (1985 [2015]) gives the “proper” definition of writing as “a system for representing utterances of a spoken language by means of permanent, visible marks.” Apart from glottography (writing based on spoken language), he also discusses the possibility of regarding semasiography (form of communication independent of spoken language) as true writing (Sampson 2015: 18-24). John DeFrancis (1989: 4-5) notes that there are two schools of thought on writing: inclusivists who think that “[w]riting includes *any* system of graphic symbols that is used to convey *some amount of thought*,” and exclusivists who think that “[w]riting includes *only* those systems of graphic symbols that can be used to convey *any and all thought*” (emphasis original). He distinguishes the two phenomena of partial writing

³It should be noted that Gelb uses the term “phonography” in a different sense from how it is commonly used now and in this dissertation. Gelb uses it to refer to a system of visual marks that can represent the full range of spoken language (alternatively called “full writing” or “glottography”), as opposed to the formative stage of such a system that is yet able to represent the full range of spoken language (alternatively called “forerunner of writing” or “semasiography”). In contrast, “phonography” is now commonly used to describe the linguistic feature of a script or writing system (see section 1.2).

and full writing and defines them as follows: “[p]artial writing is a system of graphic symbols that can be used to convey only some thought,” and “[f]ull writing is a system of graphic symbols that can be used to convey any and all thought.” Accordingly, “[i]nclusivists believe that both partial and full writing should be called writing,” while “[e]xclusivists believe that only full writing deserves this label”⁴. Florian Coulmas (1996: 555-556) gives four definitions of the term “writing,” the one relevant to this dissertation being “a system of recording language by means of visible or tactile marks which relate in a systematic way to units of speech.”⁵ Peter Daniels (1996: 3; 2018: 156) defines writing as “a system of more or less permanent marks used to represent an utterance in such a way that it can be recovered more or less exactly without the intervention of the utterer.” Similarly, Henry Rogers (2005: 2) defines writing as “the use of graphic marks to represent specific linguistic utterances.” Paola Demattè (2022: xxvi-xxvii), in a study of the origin of Chinese writing, defines writing as “a system of graphic signs to note and record information that in its complete expression came to record language.” For her purpose, the key phrase is “in its complete expression” because she does not believe that “primary writing systems (like Chinese) came into being expressly for the purpose of language representation.” On the contrary, “the graphs of primary writing systems originated from non-glottic signs ... that are collectively known as proto-writing or semasiography.” Only at a later stage did primary writing systems come to acquire the function which “records information by adopting language structure and exploiting inherent punning potentials.”

It is fair to say that there are two major contrastive views of writing, which can be called a broad view and a narrow view respectively. From the diachronic perspective, when talking about the history of writing, scholars generally set up a period of “forerunner of writing” or “proto-writing” and separate it from the later

⁴It is unclear to me why DeFrancis defines writing in this way in relation to *thought* rather than *language*, although it is clear from this book and his other publications that he bases writing on language (for example, see his typology of writing in section 1.3).

⁵Coulmas (1996) is a comprehensive and convenient reference work for terms and concepts about writing.

period of full or mature writing. This is because in the former period, the visual symbols were not yet representing spoken language or could not represent the full range of spoken language. It is in his discussion of the development of writing where Gelb coins the term “semasiography,” by which he refers to all the devices of communication in the stage of “forerunners of writing” (1963: 190-191). There is not much disagreement in this respect, but there are more controversies from the synchronic perspective. The broad view of writing classifies any visual symbol conveying ideas or meanings as writing, regardless of its connection with spoken language, while the narrow view strictly limits writing to the visual representation of spoken language. Both Sampson’s contrast between “semasiography” and “glottography” and DeFrancis’ contrast between “partial writing” and “full writing” refer to the same kind of distinction. Sampson has an extensive discussion of semasiography in his work and seems to be in favor of regarding semasiographic systems as a branch of writing, as can be seen from his switch of example from the Yukaghir love letter in the first edition (1985: 28-29) to the Blissymbolics in the second edition (2015: 21-23), after the former was debunked by DeFrancis (1989: 24-35). This view of Sampson is criticized by DeFrancis, later joined by Marshall Unger, who stick to the categorical distinction between full writing and partial writing. This is a representative case of the divergent opinions on writing from the synchronic perspective.

This dissertation adopts the narrow, or linguistic, definition of **writing**: “a visual form of communication in which there is conventionalized and fixed association between symbols and units of the spoken language.” This kind of association distinguishes writing, which is equivalent to **glottography**, from other types of visual communication in which the association between symbols and the spoken language does not exist or is relatively loose, a phenomenon that may be called



Figure 1.1
No-Smoking Sign

semantography, **semasiography**, or **ideography**. Figure 1.1 is a concrete example of this distinction. Although most people would agree on the meaning of this sign, the message can be expressed in different ways, such as *No smoking*, *Smoking prohibited*, or *Please do not smoke*. Moreover, the same message can be expressed in any language, such as French *Défense de fumer*, Spanish *No fumar*, Chinese *Jìnzhǐ xīyān*, or Japanese *Kitsuen kinshi*. This is a classic example of semantography, semasiography, or ideography that the same meaning or message can be vocalized by a combination of different words, which in turn is a combination of different sounds in the spoken language. In contrast, if one sees the sequence of letters “No smoking”, there is only one appropriate way to put it into speech, and anyone who does not know English will not understand it. It is exactly the non-language-bound nature of semantography, semasiography, or ideography that makes a sign like this comprehensible to speakers of different languages. On the other hand, the language-bound nature of writing makes it possible to convey more detailed or nuanced information in visual form.

1.2 Basic Terms and Concepts of Writing

As a relatively new academic discipline, there seems yet to be a fixed specialized name for the study of writing. The most commonly used name may be “grammatology,” first used by Gelb and then popularized by Jacques Derrida’s work *Of Grammatology*. This dissertation used the name **grapholinguistics**, coined and used by a group of European scholars (Meletis 2020; Meletis & Dürscheid 2022). The advantage of this name is that it explicitly juxtaposes this field with other fields in linguistics, thus emphasizing the fact that this is the study of writing from a linguistic perspective. There are two main branches of grapholinguistics: graphetics and graphematics. **Graphetics** is the study of the physical, non-linguistic aspect of writing (e.g., formal feature of graphs, direction of writing, tool of writing, etc.), and **graphematics** is the study of the

linguistic aspect of writing (e.g., mapping relationship between graphs and linguistic units, linguistic value of a graph, etc.). This dissertation mainly deals with graphematic issues, especially the linguistic value or function of graphs, but it may also occasionally touch upon graphetic issues, such as graphic form.

There are a number of frequently used terms referring to different aspects of writing: graph, script, writing system, and orthography. There are cases in which these terms are used in different senses or interchangeably in both technical and non-technical contexts, but they are strictly distinguished in this dissertation. A **graph** is the smallest formal unit of writing. A **script** is a set of graphs, normally conventionally arranged in a particular order, used in writing⁶. A **writing system** is the visual representational system of a spoken language comprised of one or more scripts⁷. These three concepts have a hierarchical relationship: writing system on the highest level, script on the intermediate level, and graph on the lowest level. **Orthography** refers to the way in which a linguistic form is represented in writing, or more broadly, it can be defined as the set of norms or conventions regulating how a linguistic form is represented in writing. This is what is commonly called “spelling” of words in a writing system using a script like the Latin alphabet which directly represents pronunciation, while it is also technically appropriate to talk about the orthography of a writing system using a script like the Chinese script which does not directly represent pronunciation. Another way to understand these concepts is that graphs and scripts are the building pieces of a writing system, and orthography works to enable a writing system to represent a language. A writing system is specific to a language, but a script or a graph is not. Writing systems of different languages

⁶For most scripts, there are no particular reasons in the ordering of their graphs (e.g., the graphs of the Latin alphabet <A>, , <C> ...), but there do exist scripts in which the ordering of graphs follows some kind of rationale (for example, the graphs in the Devanāgarī script, each of which represents a syllable, are arranged according to the place of articulation of the consonants from back to front). On the other hand, there is no fixed order of graphs in the Chinese script because it is a logographic script and an open-ended set (see section 1.4), although different methods of ordering Chinese characters exist for such purposes as dictionary look-up and data storage and retrieval.

⁷The term “writing system” is particularly subject to being confused with what is referred to as “script” or “orthography” in this dissertation. For example, in discussions about Korean writing, one may frequently encounter such expressions as “*hankul* writing system” or “*itwu* writing system.” As will be explained in section 1.4 and in chapter 2, *hankul* is a script, and *itwu* is an orthographic form of Korean writing using the Sinographic script. Both *hankul* and *itwu* are part of the Korean writing system.

may use the same script (and more or less the same graphs), and the writing system of a language may use different scripts synchronically or diachronically. To put it in another way, in theory, a particular script or graph can be used to represent any language, and a particular language can be represented by any script or graph. Although writing in general is dependent on language by definition, it can also be said to be independent from language in the sense of the unboundedness between a particular script or graph and a particular language. This kind of separation makes it possible for scripts and graphs to be borrowed to represent different languages, a process by which languages without a writing system can develop one of their own.

By analogy with the concepts of phoneme/allophone and morpheme/allomorph, there is also the concept of grapheme/allograph in grapholinguistics. It turns out to be much more difficult to come up with a universally applicable definition of this pair of concepts about writing. This is probably because, unlike the first two pairs which are units of language, a grapheme or an allograph is a unit of writing serving to represent language, so there is the additional factor of the relationship between writing and language to be considered. Following Dimitrios Meletis and Christa Dürscheid, a **grapheme** is defined as the smallest contrastive graphic unit in a writing system which relates to a certain linguistic unit or has a certain linguistic value (Meletis 2020: 92-104; Meletis & Dürscheid 2022: 126-133). Most letters of the Latin alphabet are graphemes in the writing systems using this script. A notable exception is the letter <Q>, which in principle cannot occur alone but has to be combined with the letter <U> to represent the sound /k/ or a sound sequence like /kw/ or /kv/ in the modern writing system of many European languages. In this situation, the **polygraph** (a written sequence comprising more than one graph) or **digraph** (a written sequence comprising two graphs) <QU>, rather than the individual letter <Q>, is the grapheme because it is the smallest graphic unit to

represent the sound in question⁸. **Allographs** are graphs with different graphetic forms but the same graphematic value⁹. They may diachronically come from different sources which are originally distinct graphemes, but once they acquire the same graphematic value, their difference usually lies in synchronic functional distribution. Among all the graphs which are allographs to each other, the following criteria may be considered to identify the grapheme in the writing system in relation to a certain linguistic unit: (1). the graph used most commonly; (2). the graph used as the least marked form; (3). the graph codified as the official or orthodox form; (4). the graph considered as the most appropriate form. For example, the corresponding upper-case letter and lower-case letter in the Latin alphabet (e.g., <A> versus <a>) are allographs in the modern writing systems which use this script, and the lower-case letter is the grapheme because it is the more commonly used form and the less marked form in a running text. Because different writing systems operate under different orthographic rules, it is more appropriate to talk about allographic variation in relation to a specific writing system rather than a script in isolation.

The concepts introduced above are now illustrated with the example of English writing. The modern English *writing system* uses the Latin (or Roman) alphabet as its main *script*, complemented by other *scripts* such as the Arabic numeral script. The symbols <A> and <a> are *graphs* in the Latin alphabet and are *allographs* to each other, and the symbol <a> is the *grapheme* because it is used more commonly in a normal

⁸This phenomenon originates from the Etruscan alphabet, an intermediate stage between the Greek alphabet and the Latin alphabet. While the Greek letter *qoppa* <Q>, ancestor of the modern Latin letter <Q>, fell out of use in Greek writing, it was used in Etruscan writing to represent the consonant /k/ before the glide /w/. The glide /w/ was represented by the letter <V>, and the written form of the sound sequence /kw/ was <QV>. This usage was inherited by the Romans in Latin writing, and the letter <V> would later be replaced by the newly created letter <U>. In the modern writing system of European languages, there is one exception to this orthographic constraint. In loanwords from Semitic languages such as Arabic and Hebrew, vowel letters other than the letter <U> can be used after the letter <Q> (e.g., *Qatar*).

⁹A problem with this definition of allograph is how to characterize stylistic variations of a graph, such as the variation between the handwriting style and the printing style (e.g., <a> versus <A>), between different typefaces in printing (e.g., <A> versus <A>), or between the **boldface** and the *italic* type. These variations may sometimes carry special sociolinguistic or contextual connotations. In Bunčić et al. (2016: 22-24), this kind of variation is called “glyphic variation” and a specific form in such a variation is called a “glyph.” This situation is not considered as allographic variation here in order not to further complicate the definition and relevant discussion. See Meletis (2020: 105-120) and Meletis & Dürscheid (2022: 150-160) for a detailed discussion of allography.

text. The symbol <1> is a *graph* in the Arabic numeral script. There are differences in the *orthography* of British English writing and American English writing as the same word may be spelled differently, such as <colour> versus <color>. In addition, the Latin alphabet and the Arabic numeral script are both used in the *writing system* of many languages all over the world, which may or may not be genetically related to each other.

1.3 Typology of Writing

With their glottographic or language-bound feature, writing systems or scripts are normally classified according to the linguistic unit represented by the graph, which is the so-called “mapping relationship” between language and writing. The general consensus is that there are two major typological categories of writing. In one category, a graph is primarily mapped onto a sound (segment or phoneme, mora, or syllable). This phenomenon is called **phonography** and such a graph is called a **phonogram**. In the other category, a graph is primarily mapped onto a meaningful unit of the language (morpheme or word). Traditionally, this phenomenon is called **logography** and such a graph is called a **logogram**¹⁰. Different kinds of typological categorization of writing systems or scripts proposed so far are generally based on this major dichotomy¹¹. A phonographic script in which a graph is primarily mapped onto a segment or phoneme¹² is an **alphabet**, and a graph in an alphabet can be more specifically called a **letter**. A phonographic script in which a graph is primarily mapped onto a syllable is a **syllabary**, and a graph in a syllabary can be more specifically called a **syllabogram**. There is no special term for a phonographic script in which a graph is primarily mapped onto

¹⁰The terms referring to an individual graph are interchangeable between a *-gram* suffix and a *-graph* suffix. The former will be consistently used in this dissertation.

¹¹Major proposals of typological categorization of writing systems or scripts include Gelb (1952 [1963]), Sampson (1985 [2015]), Daniels (1996), Sproat (2000), Rogers (2005), Osterkamp & Schreiber (2021), etc. Joyce & Borgwaldt (2013) provides a brief overview of the major proposals.

¹²For the purpose of this dissertation and grapholinguistic studies in general, a phoneme can usually be simply regarded as a single sound or segment. Normally, there is no need to deal with the complexities of phonemic analysis as is done in phonology.

a mora and a graph in such a script, probably because a **moraic script** is usually regarded as a syllabary or a sub-category of syllabary.

When thinking about the typology of writing, it should be noted that a writing system is usually (or perhaps always) not typologically pure as it can use scripts or graphs belonging to different typological categories and use individual graphs in different ways in different contexts. For example, the Latin alphabet is a phonographic script while the Arabic numeral script is a logographic script¹³, and they are used together in many writing systems. Even a letter in an



Figure 1.2
“MULE XING” Sign

alphabet can be used logographically, such as the letter <X> in the graphic sequence <XING> in figure 1.2, where it stands for the word *cross* logographically. In light of this kind of potential polyvalency, Gordian Schreiber points out that “typological categories should, strictly speaking, only be applied to subsystems within writing systems as opposed to overall writing systems comprising typologically diverse subsystems.” In other words, it is more appropriate to talk about the typology of a script or graph of a writing system rather than the writing system as a whole. However, the normal practice of classifying a writing system into one of several categories, which are generally regarded as mutually exclusive, is “justified when a given subsystem is considered to be dominant in and therefore representative of an overall writing system.” Accordingly, the criterion of Schreiber and Sven Osterkamp for categorization is “the most fine-grained, systematically observed mapping possible” between language and writing (Osterkamp & Schreiber 2021: 48-49; Schreiber 2022: 2). Similarly, Meletis and Dürscheid (2022: 212) proposes the criterion of the “dominant level of

¹³One may have the impression that the Arabic numeral script is ideographic because everyone understands what a symbol like <1> means. This is actually because the script is *logographic* in that the graph <1> represents the numeral word meaning ‘one’ in a specific language, and speakers of different languages read the graph <1> as different words with the same meaning.

representational mapping,” which “identifies the linguistic level that the graphemes of a writing system primarily relate to.”

The notion of logography is somewhat problematic for several reasons. First, this term, strictly speaking, refers to the primary mapping relationship between a graph and a whole word regardless of its morphological structure, and no practical writing system or script of this kind is known to exist. The more precise terms for what have been traditionally referred to as “logography” and “logogram” are **morphography** and **morphogram** respectively. These two terms are increasingly being used by scholars now and indicate that the primary mapping relationship is between a graph and a morpheme, and a word comprising more than one morpheme is written with the same number of graphs, each graph representing a constituent morpheme, rather than a single graph¹⁴. In this study, the terms “logography” and “logogram” will be used consistently in their broad sense to refer to both graph-word mapping (in the narrow sense of these two terms) and graph-morpheme mapping (“morphography” and “morphogram”), except when an exact distinction between these two kinds of mapping relationship is necessary¹⁵. Similarly, the term “word” may also be used loosely to refer to both free morpheme and bound morpheme. Second, as Richard Sproat and Alexander Gutkin (2021: 481-482) point out, the notion of logography has rarely been clearly defined in literature, and “[t]he most one generally finds is that authors point to an example or two that fits their notion, and hope that the reader’s common sense will allow them to know an instance when they see it”. Third, as a result of the lack of a clear

¹⁴A morpheme is the smallest unit in the language with a meaning or grammatical function. There are two types of morphemes: free morphemes and bound morphemes. A free morpheme can be used independently, so it is also a word by itself. A bound morpheme cannot be used independently and has to be combined with other morphemes to make a word. To put in another way, a word is necessarily a morpheme or a combination of multiple morphemes, but a morpheme is not necessarily a word.

¹⁵In fact, there are cases of true logography in premodern Japanese and Korean Sinographic writing in which a single graph represents a polymorphemic lexical unit. In Japanese writing, the Sinogram 雖 represents the expression (**to*) *i-e-do.mo* ‘even though’ (← **to* [quotative particle] + *i-e-* ‘to say’ [realis] + **do.mo* [concessive conjunctive particle]), which is originally a gloss of this character in the traditional Japanese reading practices of Chinese-language texts. In modern Japanese writing, this expression is usually written phonographically as (と)いえども because it is a grammaticalized structure. In Korean writing, there is a Neo-Sinogram 學 (combination of 爲 ‘to do’ and 了 [perfective particle]) representing the expression *ha-n-* ‘done’ (← *ha-* ‘to do’ [stem] + *-n-* [perfective adnominal suffix]).

and unified definition, the terms “logography” and “morphography” are sometimes used to denote a different phenomenon: the presence of morphological information in phonographic writing. It is in this sense that English writing is said to be logographic as different homophonous words may be spelled in different ways (Osterkamp & Schreiber 2021: 50-52). For example, if one hears the pronunciation /aɪt/, one needs to know its meaning to judge whether the intended word is *right* or *write*. While it is true that “logography” can refer to both the typological feature of a writing system or script and the actual function of a graph, this should not lead to the conflation of the two distinct typological categories of writing and the conclusion that the English writing system is logographic just because there is a certain degree of morphological information encoded in spelling. This phenomenon probably exists in most phonographic writing systems. This is, however, a factor in the arguments of DeFrancis and Unger, which leads them to criticize the notion of logography and the logography-phonography dichotomy.

DeFrancis and Unger make their arguments on the typology of writing in conjunction with their criticism of the characterization of Chinese writing¹⁶. Their main points are summarized below:

- (1). There is a categorical difference between full writing (glottography) and partial writing (semasiography, semantography, or ideography), but there is no categorical difference within the former as all full writing systems are phonetically based on spoken language.
- (2). All full writing systems employ both phonography and logography (the “Duality Principle” [DeFrancis 1989: 49]) and an individual graph can function in either way in a specific context.
- (3). On a continuum of notational systems ranging from pure logography to pure phonography, all full writing systems are clustered toward the middle rather than scattered on the two ends.
- (4). Chinese writing is not inherently different from other full writing systems and should not be categorized separately, and all full writing systems should be viewed as a “diverse oneness” rather than from the perspective of the logography-phonography dichotomy.

¹⁶There are a large number of publications by DeFrancis and/or Unger on issues related to the typology of writing in general and Chinese/Sinographic writing in particular, including: DeFrancis (1984), DeFrancis (1989), Unger (1990), Unger (1993), DeFrancis & Unger (1994), Unger & DeFrancis (1995), Unger (2004), Unger (2011), Unger (2014), Unger (2016), Unger (2019). There are also works by other scholars in response to DeFrancis and/or Unger, including Hansen (1993b), Sampson (1994), Handel (2015). Part of the relevant scholarly history is summarized in Lurie (2006).

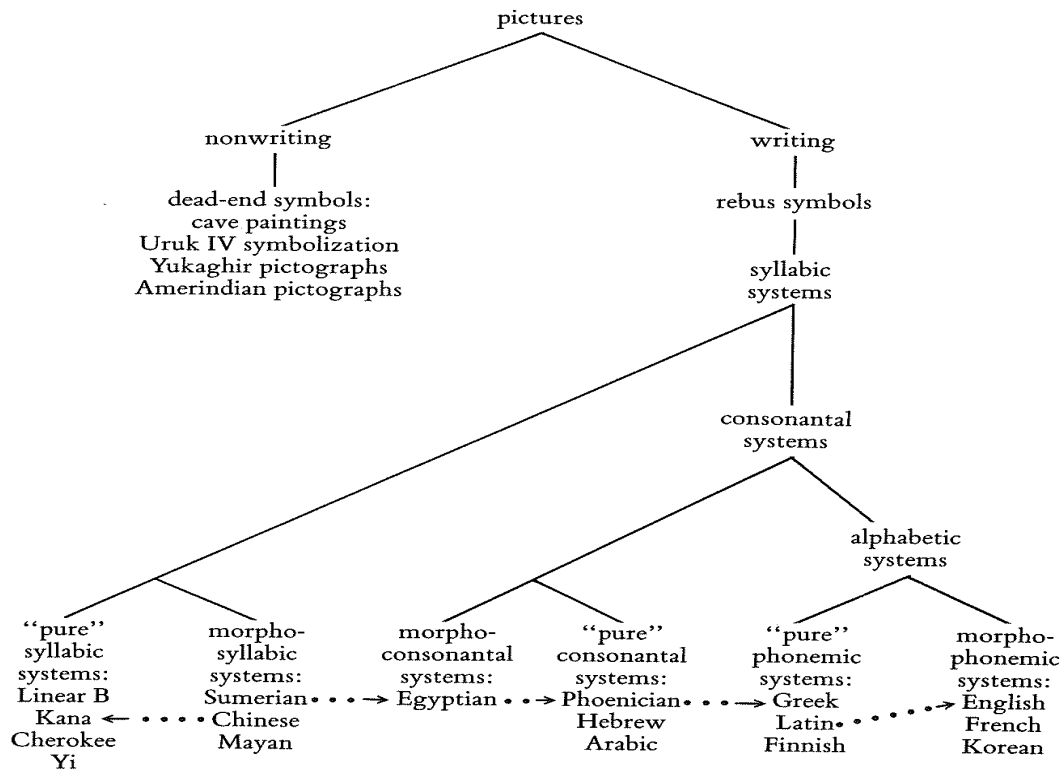


Figure 1.3 DeFrancis' Typology of Writing

Figure 1.3 is DeFrancis' typology of writing (1989: 58). In full writing, there are three major categories based on the sound unit of the language represented by the graph: syllabic systems, consonantal systems, and alphabetic systems¹⁷. Each category is then divided into two sub-categories based on whether semantic information is present or not: those without semantic information are “pure” phonetic scripts, and those with semantic information are “meaning-plus-sound” scripts. In this way, there are in total six categories: “pure” syllabic, morpho-syllabic, “pure” consonantal, morpho-consonantal, “pure” phonemic, and morpho-phonemic. Moreover, DeFrancis and Unger (1995: 49-50) also define logography and phonography differently from how these two terms are usually understood and used: “[A] *logogram* is a unit of writing

¹⁷As is shown in the chart, DeFrancis seems to view the category of “alphabetic systems” as a sub-category of an upper-level category of “consonantal systems”. This is likely because in the actual history of writing, alphabets are derived from earlier consonantal or abjad scripts, which is indicated by the dotted lines and arrows in the chart.

that stands for a morphophonemically definable string (its reading) that cannot be inferred by inspection,” and “[a] unit of writing that does provide a phonetic clue, no matter how crude, to its reading is a *phonogram*” (emphasis original). That is to say, a logogram is a graph whose graphic form does not provide any clue to its pronunciation, otherwise the graph is a phonogram. Following this definition, most graphs in Chinese writing are phonograms because they have a phonetic component indicating their pronunciation, despite the fact that the graphs are mapped onto a specific word or morpheme rather than just a sound. In Zev Handel’s words, this “novel definition” “give[s] these phonographic features of Chinese writing exclusive primacy, and therefore erase[s] all useful distinctions between the structure and function of Chinese writing and of other writing systems” (Handel 2015: 144). DeFrancis and Unger started off by correctly criticizing the “Ideographic Myth” (DeFrancis 1984: 133-148) and their “Duality Principle” also reminds us of the polyvalency of graphs in actual usage, but they ended up denying the meaningful distinction between logography and phonography and viewing Chinese writing as essentially the same as phonographic writing systems. As several previous studies have shown (e.g., Lurie [2011], Handel [2019], Schreiber [2022]) and this dissertation attempts to show, logography and the graph-word mapping relationship (and by extension, the graph-meaning mapping relationship) are an important part in the borrowing and adaptation of Chinese writing into other languages. At least part of the reason for the DeFrancis-Unger view of writing is the different understandings of the notion of logography.

Handel (2019: 7-9) gives the following definition for phonography and logography: “In a phonographic writing system, the basic graphic elements are representations of pronunciation only, with no inherent meaning. In a logographic system, the basic graphic elements represent meaningful elements of the spoken language, so that identically pronounced but semantically contrastive elements have distinct representations.”

Sproat and Gutkin (2021: 483-484) propose two criteria for assessing the degree of logography of writing

systems. The first criterion is the “distinct homophones notion” that “words that are different *even if they sound the same* should be spelled differently,” and the second criterion is the “uniform spelling notion” that “the same morpheme should be spelled the same in all contexts, no matter the actual pronunciation in any given instance” (emphasis original). Incorporating these two criteria into Handel’s definition, a more comprehensive definition of logography (and morphography) can be proposed:

Logography is a type of visual representation of spoken language in which a graph is primarily mapped onto a meaningful unit (word or morpheme) of the language. Distinct words or morphemes, even with the same pronunciation, are written in different ways. On the other hand, the same word or morpheme is written in the same way in any situation regardless of change in pronunciation.

Apart from the traditional tripartite classification of logographic, syllabic, and alphabetic, there are also other proposals with more specific categories or different ways of classification. These alternative proposals are not important for the purpose of this dissertation, which is mainly concerned with Sinographic writing of the East Asian languages, but they are important developments in the field of grapholinguistics.

Daniels (1996: 4) introduces a six-way classification: logosyllabary, syllabary, consonantary (or abjad), alphabet, abugida, and featural script. The two terms “abjad” and “abugida” were coined by Daniels by analogy with the term “alphabet.”¹⁸ The former refers to what has been alternatively called “consonantal alphabet” or “consonantary,” such as the Arabic script, in which vowels are normally not represented. The latter refers to what has been alternatively called “alphasyllabary,” such as the Devanagari script, in which a basic graph represents a syllable with a default vowel, and other syllables with the same consonant and different vowels are represented by graphs with consistent diacritic modification of the basic graph. The

¹⁸The term “alphabet” comes from the name of the first two graphs in the Greek script. There is also the term “abecedary” (from Latin *abecedarium*), which comes from the name of the first four graphs in the Latin script, referring to an inscription listing the graphs in their appropriate order in a given script. By analogy, the term “abjad” comes from the name of the first four graphs in the Arabic script, and the term “abugida” comes from the name of the first four graphs in the Ethiopic script, which is probably the only script of this type outside South Asia.

category of featural script was first proposed by Sampson (2015: 24-25). It refers in particular to the Korean alphabet in which the physical form of the graphs presumably correlates to the shape of the articulatory organ when the corresponding sound is pronounced. So far, abjad and abugida have been widely accepted as separate script categories, whereas featural script has not. The reason is that all the other categories describe the graphematic aspect of the graphs, but the category of featural script describes the graphetic aspect of the graphs. Sproat (2000: 141-142) abandons “the traditional arboreal classification of writing systems in favor of a two-dimensional arrangement where the type of phonography used represents the primary dimension and *amount* of logography used represents the second” (emphasis original). By doing this, he attempts to show the coexistence of phonography and logography in all writing systems. Figure 1.4 is Sproat’s typology of writing. In this chart, the top horizontal axis indicates types of phonography, including consonantal, polyconsonantal, alphabetic, core syllabic, and syllabic. A polyconsonantal script is one in which there are single graphs representing a sequence of multiple consonants, such as the Egyptian hieroglyphic script. This is separated from a normal consonantal script in which a single graph always represents a single consonant. Sproat also distinguishes “core syllabic” scripts from “(full) syllabic” scripts because in his view, a syllabary

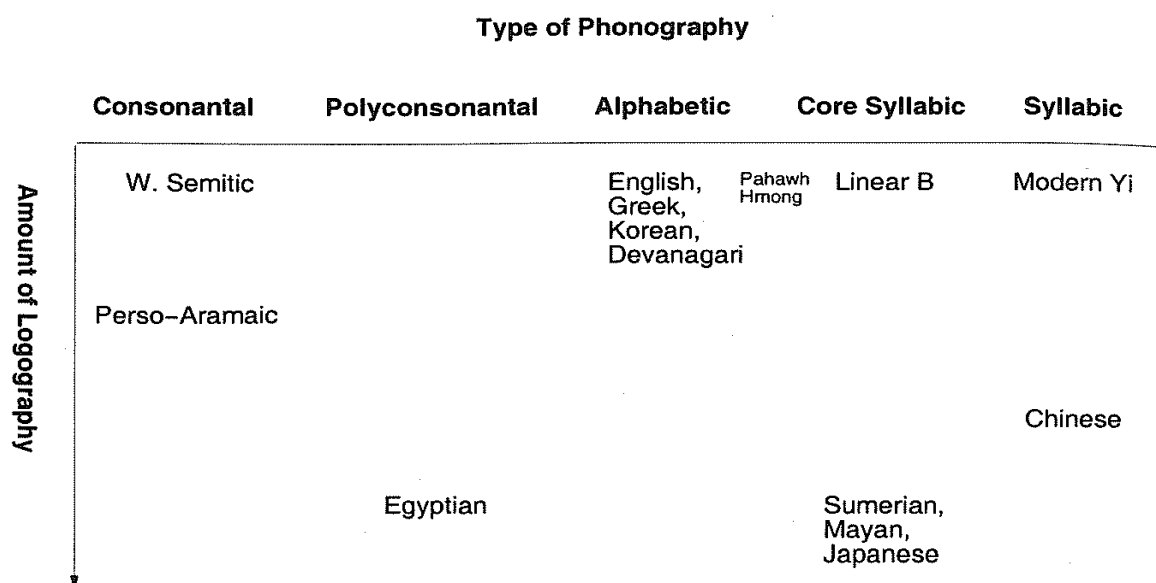


Figure 1.4 Sproat’s Typology of Writing

should mean that every distinct syllable in the language, regardless of its structure (V, CV, VC, CVC, etc.), is represented by a distinct graph. Most of the so-called “syllabaries,” such as Japanese *kana* and Linear B, only have distinct graphs for the (C)V-type “core syllables.” A good example of a full syllabic script is the modern Yí 彝 script used in southwestern China for a non-Sinitic language. The left vertical axis of the chart indicates the amount of logography. The farther away a script is placed from the top, the greater the amount of logography it employs. Rogers (2005: 275) revises Sproat’s typology by using the term “morphography” instead of “logography” and by adding a third dimension of orthographic depth. Figure 1.5 is Rogers’ typology of writing. In this chart, he combines Sproat’s consonantal and polyconsonantal categories into the abjad category, changes the name of the category of “core syllabic” into “moraic,” and adds the abugida category. In this way, Roger’s types of phonography include abjad, alphabetical, abugida, moraic, and syllabic. Osterkamp and Schreiber (2021: 54), taking into consideration both senses of the term “morphography” mentioned above, come up with a two-level classification of glottography. Figure 1.6 is the

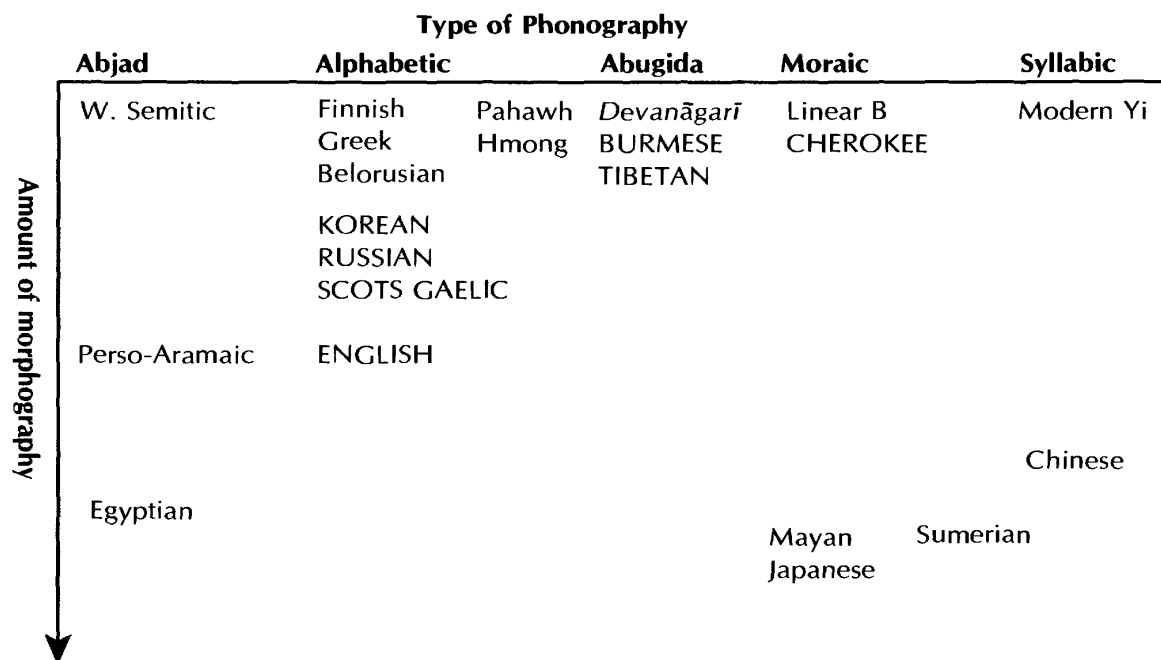


Figure 1.5 Rogers’ Typology of Writing

typology of writing by Osterkamp and Schreiber. The primary level is the type of mapping relationship between writing and language: morphography and phonography. The secondary level is the function of graphs. Morphography contains only morphograms, and phonography contains both “morphonograms” and (plain) phonograms. Morpheme-specific knowledge is required for both morphograms and morphonograms but not for plain phonograms. What they refer to as “morphonogram” would belong to DeFrancis’ “meaning-plus-sound” categories, that is, a graph which encodes primarily phonological information along with secondary morphological information.

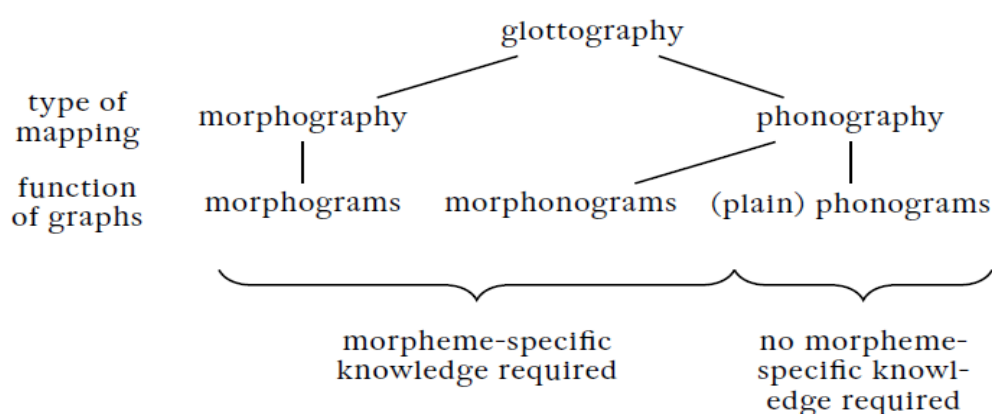


Figure 1.6 Osterkamp and Schreiber’s Typology of Writing

1.4 Writing Systems of the East Asian Languages

This section presents a typological description of the writing systems of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. For the history of writing in these languages, there are a number of scholarly works in English which can be referred to¹⁹.

¹⁹Handel (2019) provides a brief sketch of the history of writing, along with his discussion of the adaptation of the Chinese script, for all four languages. Qiú (2000) is the most comprehensive work in English on Chinese writing. Boltz (1994) and Lurie (2011) are studies on the early history of Chinese and Japanese writing, from the earliest traces of writing to the Eastern Hàn 漢 period (25-220) and Nara 奈良 period (710-794) respectively. Seeley (1991) covers the entire history of Japanese writing but is more concise compared to Lurie (2011). Ledyard (1966 [1998]) and Kim (2005) focus on the Korean alphabet, while chapter 1 of Ledyard’s work also provides an overview of Korean Sinographic writing. DeFrancis (1977) examines the

First of all, there are two groups of terms which need to be distinguished. In this study, **Chinese writing** refers to the writing system of the Chinese language²⁰, and accordingly, **Chinese script** and **Chinese character** respectively refer to the script and graph of the Chinese writing system. The Chinese term for all the three concepts is *hànzì* 漢字. In contrast, **Sinogram** refers to a graph borrowed from the Chinese writing system or created on the basis of existing Chinese characters in non-Chinese languages, and accordingly, **Sinographic script** refers to a script composed of Sinograms. As more abstract terms, **Sinography** and **Sinographic writing** both refer to the principle or phenomenon of using Sinograms in writing, regardless of what language is written. The series of terms with the “Sino-” prefix are used in the following situations:

- (1). When the language under discussion is not Chinese.
- (2). When the discussion is translingual or comparative, involving both Chinese and non-Chinese languages.
- (3). When the discussion is about writing in general or does not involve particular languages.

The reason for this terminological distinction is to highlight the difference in the underlying language represented in writing. In Chinese scholarship, the term *hànzìxì wénzì* 漢字系文字 (“*hànzì*-series writing”) has been increasingly used in recent years, and it can be taken as the equivalent to the “Sino-” series of terms. In addition, a Sinogram may still be simply called a **character** no matter what the underlying language is,

history of languages and writing in Vietnam from a sociolinguistic perspective and with a focus on the modern period.

²⁰Strictly speaking, the term “Chinese (language)” is problematic because what it actually refers to is a language family including a large number of spoken languages which are genetically related to each other but may not be mutually intelligible. For cultural and political reasons, these languages, especially those spoken within the border of the modern nation of China, are usually regarded as “dialects” (*fāngyán* 方言 ‘regional speech’) of a homogenous Chinese language. In this dissertation, the term “Chinese (language)” is used in the broad sense to refer to this language family (which, more technically, is also called “Sinitic language(s)”), although normally the intended referent is more specifically **Modern Standard Chinese** (“**Mandarin**” or *pǔtōnghuà* 普通話 ‘common speech’), the codified official language of China based on the northern dialect(s). In some dialects or regional variations of Chinese, distinct graphs not found in the standard Chinese script are used to represent colloquial words or words without cognates in Mandarin. The most well-known example of this kind of dialectal writing is Cantonese writing. The status of such graphs can be debated. They can be regarded as belonging to Chinese writing because the underlying language is a Chinese “dialect,” and they can also be excluded from Chinese writing because they are not used by and comprehensible to people who do not speak that dialect. From the latter perspective, such graphs are the same as the Neo-Sinograms in the writing systems of Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese (see below). For more information on Cantonese writing, see Cheung & Bauer (2002) or Snow (2004).

as this is the common English term referring to a graph in the Chinese writing system. Features of Chinese writing can be summarized as follows. The first three points are graphetic features, and the last point is the graphematic feature.

- (1). A character is made up of strokes written in a certain prescribed order.
- (2). Each character occupies an imagined square block of the same size in a running text, regardless of its internal structure and number of strokes.
- (3). The inventory of strokes is limited with a small number of basic strokes, but the inventory of characters is open-ended and new characters can be created using existing characters or graphic components.
- (4). The primary linguistic function of a character and the primary graphematic feature of the script is logographic.

Apart from existing characters in the Chinese writing system, there are also indigenous graphs created in the writing systems of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. They mostly employ graphic components of existing Chinese characters and arrange them in a way that conforms to the graphic structure of Chinese characters. Such an indigenously created graph is called a **Neo-Sinogram** and also belongs to Sinographic writing. Finally, a text predominantly or completely written with Sinograms is called a **Sinographic text** regardless of the underlying language.

The Chinese script is a logographic script, meaning that logography is the primary graphematic principle of Chinese writing. A Chinese character, in most cases, is mapped onto a specific word or morpheme. Boltz (1994: 156-177) argues that Chinese writing had the potential of developing into a syllabary in its early stage because a character, based on its sound value, could be used to represent another word which was not originally associated with it. This trend was halted by the script standardization in the Qín 秦 (221-206 BCE) and Western Hàn 漢 (202 BCE-8 CE) periods, with the result that different words came to be consistently distinguished in written form. Logography has remained the primary graphematic

principle of Chinese writing ever since, and phonography plays a role mainly in the transcription of words from foreign languages²¹. In terms of graphic structure, Chinese characters can be divided into **unit characters** (*dútǐzì* 獨體字) and **compound characters** (*hétǐzì* 合體字)²². A unit character is a graph which cannot be divided into smaller constituent parts with a linguistic function, and a compound character is a graph which can be divided into smaller constituent parts with a linguistic function. The linguistic function of a constituent part, or **graphic component**, of a compound character is either a **phonetic component** (*yīnfú* 音符) indicating the pronunciation of the compound character (essentially the pronunciation of the underlying word) or a **semantic component** (*yìfú* 義符) indicating the meaning of the compound character (essentially the meaning of the underlying word). Diachronically, many compound characters were originally a unit character which could be used to represent multiple words with the same or similar pronunciations, as a result of the process of **phonetic extension** or **rebus principle**, a frequent phenomenon in the early developmental stage of a writing system. In order to differentiate the multiple potential representational values of a graph, an extra graphic component was later added to the original character to clarify its intended function. In most cases, this extra graphic component points to the meaning of the underlying word. In this way, the original unit character became the phonetic component of the new compound character, and the added graphic component became its semantic component. Once compound characters took hold in the script,

²¹For example, the toponyms “New York” and “New Haven” are rendered completely phonetically as *niūyuē* 紐約 and *niūhēiwén* 紐黑文. On the other hand, logography may still be present in this situation. The word “new” in toponyms is also rendered semantically as *xīn* 新 in other cases, such as *xīnzéxī* 新澤西 “New Jersey”, *xīnàolǎng* 新奧爾良 “New Orleans”, and *xīnxīlán* 新西蘭 “New Zealand”.

²²In traditional Chinese philology and lexicography, the graphic structure of Chinese characters is divided into six categories (*liùshū* 六書) based on the dictionary *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 compiled in the 2nd century CE: *xiàngxíng* 象形 (“resembling the form”), *zhǐshì* 指事 (“indicating the matter”), *xíngshēng* 形聲 (“form-sound”), *huìyì* 會意 (“converging the meaning”), *zhuǎnzù* 轉注 (“mutually referent”), and *jiǎjiè* 假借 (“borrowing”). The first two categories are unit characters, which are originally pictograms whose graphic form iconographically depicts the referent. The difference is that the referent of a *xiàngxíng* character is a concrete object and the referent of a *zhǐshì* character is an abstract concept, and the latter may be more specifically called an “abstract pictogram” or “indicative pictogram.” The third and fourth categories are compound characters. *Xíngshēng* characters (phonetic-semantic compound) consist of both phonetic and semantic components, and *huìyì* characters (semantic-semantic compound) consist of only semantic components. The last two categories describe character usage rather than graphic structure. *Jiǎjiè* is the borrowing of a character to represent another word with the same or similar pronunciation (the so-called “rebus usage”). The category of *zhuǎnzù* is unclear, and the assumption is that it refers to characters with similar graphic forms representing etymologically related words.

more compound characters could be directly created, without the need to undergo the process described above. A semantic component is also called a **semantic classifier** (*bùshǒu* 部首 “section head”), especially in the lexicographic tradition, because it is an important tool for character look-up in dictionaries. The set of semantic classifiers was gradually codified over time, and the current standard set with 214 classifiers was established in *Kangxi Dictionary* (*Kāngxī zìdiǎn* 康熙字典) compiled in the early 18th century. Regardless of the origin of a compound character, synchronically speaking, the phonetic component is its primary part, and the semantic component is its secondary part. This is because the former provides clue to the pronunciation of the underlying word, which is a more direct link to spoken language, while the latter points to the semantic class²³ to which the underlying word belongs (hence the name “semantic classifier”)²⁴. However, this does not mean that Chinese characters are phonograms, as DeFrancis and Unger would say, because different words are still distinguished in written form. One can argue that the systematic application of semantic classifiers is the main reason that Chinese writing has retained its logographic feature.

A Chinese character, either unit character or compound character, is a grapheme. Although a Chinese character is made up of individual strokes, a stroke is not a grapheme because it does not have any linguistic function. A complication lies in the question whether or not the graphic components, especially the phonetic component, of a compound character are graphemes. From a synchronic point of view, a graphic component should not be regarded as a grapheme in relation to the word represented by the compound character, even though the phonetic component can usually be used as a character by itself, in which case it is the grapheme in relation to a different word. This is because it is the compound character, not its phonetic component, that

²³While the semantic component of a compound Chinese character in most cases denotes a generic semantic class, there are a number of characters whose semantic component represents a word synonymous or nearly synonymous with the word represented by the compound character. Handel (2019: 145-149) names these two types of compound characters “phonetic-taxonomic” and “phonetic-synonymous” respectively and, particularly in his discussion of Vietnamese Sinographic writing, points out the essential difference in the motivation of the creation of these two types of characters. See chapter 6 for more on this.

²⁴This is the reason why the commonly used term in English for semantic classifier, “radical,” is inaccurate because it implies that this is the fundamental part of the compound character.

is the smallest written unit mapped onto the intended word. For example, the unit character 方 is the grapheme for the word *fāng* ‘square’, and the compound character 坊 is the grapheme for the word *fāng* ‘square administrative unit’. The latter consists of the semantic component 土 denoting the semantic class EARTH (originally a character for the word *tǔ* ‘earth’) and the phonetic component 方 *fāng*. Although both components are graphemes as standalone characters (ignoring the modification in graphic form of the semantic component), they cease to be graphemes when combined to form the compound character 坊 because neither of them represents the word *fāng* ‘square administrative unit’ in the modern writing system, despite the fact that the character 坊 diachronically derives from the character 方 with the addition of the semantic component. Taking the character 方 as the grapheme for the word *fāng* ‘square administrative unit’ amounts to saying that Chinese writing is phonographic and not logographic. This could be the case in the early stage of Chinese writing, but it is no longer the case after the Qín-Hàn standardization.

Allography has been prevalent in Chinese writing as the same word can have multiple written forms, which are allographs to each other. It is usually the case that one of the allographic forms is deemed, by convention or explicit codification, the “appropriate” character (*zhèngzì* 正字) and thus can be regarded as the grapheme for the corresponding word, while the other written forms are “vulgar” characters (*súzì* 俗字) or “variant” characters (*yìtǐzì* 異體字). The bifurcation between traditional characters (*fántǐzì* 繁體字) and simplified characters (*jiǎntǐzì* 簡體字) nowadays is a large-scale case of allography. A simplified character and its corresponding traditional character(s) are allographs to each other. In mainland China, simplified characters are now the legally sanctioned standard form, and the use of traditional characters is limited to special purposes such as the publication or study of premodern texts. In this situation, the simplified character is the grapheme for the corresponding word. In other regions like Taiwan and Hong Kong, traditional characters remain the official or commonly used form, so a traditional character is the grapheme for the

corresponding word.

Before moving on to the other three languages, it is necessary to first explain one important phenomenon in the borrowing of the Chinese script: the two major types of representational values or readings of a Sinogram. Because of the logographic feature of Chinese writing, a Chinese character has both a phonetic value and a semantic value, which are essentially the pronunciation and the meaning, respectively, of the word written by the character in Chinese. Either value can be the base of borrowing. When a character is borrowed for its phonetic value, it acquires one or more pronunciations or readings in the target language derived from its Chinese pronunciation. This kind of pronunciation or reading of the character is in general called its **Sinitic** or **Sino-Xenic (SX)** pronunciation or reading, and more specifically, **Sino-Japanese (SJ)**, **Sino-Korean (SK)**, and **Sino-Vietnamese (SV)** in each respective language. Furthermore, because of the complexity in the stratification of the SV lexicon and the consequent stratification of SV readings of Sinograms in Vietnamese writing, following John Phan (2013: 9-10) and Handel (2019: 13-14), this study uses the Vietnamese term **Hán-Việt 漢越 (HV)** to refer to the codified and conventionalized system of SV readings of Sinograms in Vietnamese writing²⁵. In addition to referring to character readings, this series of terms also refers to lexical items of Chinese origin borrowed into the respective language. When a character is borrowed for its semantic value, it is used to represent one or more native words in the target language that are deemed as translation equivalents to the Chinese word originally represented by this character. This kind of pronunciation or reading of the character is in general called its **native** pronunciation or reading.

²⁵It is a prevalent phenomenon in Vietnamese writing that a Sinogram has multiple SV readings because the original Chinese etymon was borrowed into Vietnamese multiple times in history. Phan (2013: 9-10; 2025: 12-13) divides the SV lexicon into three strata: Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV), Late Sino-Vietnamese (LSV), and Recent Sino-Vietnamese (RSV). The vast majority of SV words belongs to the LSV stratum, and HV is the codified and conventionalized system of character readings in modern Vietnamese derived from LSV. In fact, one of the major arguments in Phan's works (2013, 2025) is that LSV is the result of intense and live bilingual contact in the Red River Plain area (today's northern Vietnam) between a form of Sinitic language (which he calls "Annamese Middle Chinese") and an indigenous non-Sinitic language (which he calls "Proto-Viet-Muong" or "Ancient Northern Vietic"). This is a different situation from Korea and Japan, where literacy in Literary Sinitic was largely acquired in a pedagogical setting.

There are parallel traditional terms in Japanese and Korean referring to these two types of readings of Sinograms. In Japanese, the Sinitic (SJ) reading is called *on*, and the native reading is called *kun*. In Korean, the Sinitic (SK) reading is called *um*, and the native reading is called *hwun*. *On* and *um* are the SJ and SK reading of the Sinogram 音 ‘sound’ (Chinese *yīn*) respectively, and *kun* and *hwun* are the SJ and SK reading of the Sinogram 訓 ‘gloss (< to explain)’ (Chinese *xùn*) respectively. There are no analogous traditional Vietnamese terms.

The modern Japanese writing system is usually described as having the following constituents: the Sinographic script (*kanji* 漢字), the syllabic or moraic *kana* 假名 script²⁶, and the Latin alphabet (*rōmaji*). Historically, the Sinographic script was the only script used in Japanese writing, and Sinograms were used both logographically and phonographically. Sinograms used logographically are called *mana* 真名 (“true graph”), and those used phonographically are called *kana* (“borrowed graph”). As time went on, Sinograms used phonographically underwent change in graphic form, resulting in the fact that phonograms became visually distinct from logograms. In order to avoid confusion, full-form phonographic Sinograms are also called *magana* 真假名 (“true *kana*”), because their “true” form as a Sinogram is preserved, or more loosely, *man’yōgana* 萬葉假名, named after the 8th-century poetry collection *Man’yōshū* 萬葉集 in which such phonograms are systematically used²⁷. In this dissertation, a full-form Sinogram used phonographically in any writing system is called a **Sinographic phonogram**. In modern Japanese writing, Sinograms are primarily used logographically and thus have become functionally more similar to Chinese characters in

²⁶The *kana* script is usually categorized as a syllabary, but the more accurate category is moraic script because strictly speaking, the linguistic unit represented by a *kana* graph is a mora rather than a syllable. A mora is a timing unit in pronunciation, and this is an important notion in Japanese phonology because it is a salient phenomenon to Japanese speakers. In the standard modern *kana* orthography (*gendai kanazukai* 現代假名遣い) announced in 1946, there are three situations in which a sub-syllabic moraic unit is represented by a separate *kana* graph: (1) a long vowel, which is one syllable but two moras, is represented by two *kana* graphs (realized in different ways in *hiragana* and *katakana*); (2) a geminate or double consonant, which is one syllable but two moras, is represented by an extra small-sized *tsu* graph <つ/ツ> following the consonant graph; (3) the syllable-final nasal *-n*, which is not a syllable but a mora, is represented by a distinct graph <ん/ン>.

²⁷This does not mean that the phonographic use of Sinograms only occurs in *Man’yōshū*. In theory, any Sinogram used phonographically in Japanese writing can be called *man’yōgana*.

Chinese writing. Japanese writing is often described as the most complex writing system in the world, and in addition to the mixed use of multiple scripts, the complexity mainly lies in the polyvalency of Sinograms. That is, a Sinogram has both the SJ reading and the native reading, and there can be more than one reading in each type. This kind of ambiguity can often be resolved by context or phonographic *kana* graphs used along with the Sinogram.

There are two distinct forms of *kana* graphs in Japanese writing distinguished by graphetic form: *hiragana* 平假名 (“plain *kana*”) and *katakana* 片假名 (“partial *kana*”). A *hiragana* graph is a cursivized form of the original Sinogram in the sense that originally separate strokes in the Sinogram are written jointly, while a *katakana* graph is an isolated part of the original Sinogram. As a result, *hiragana* graphs appear more curved and *katakana* graphs appear more angular. This dissertation adopts the view that they are two separate sets of a single script, rather than two separate scripts, for three reasons. First, all *kana* graphs derive from Sinograms, so they originate from a single script. Second, the usage of the two *kana* sets is, in principle, largely in complementary distribution both in the past and at present, although the actual usage of each *kana* set has changed²⁸. Third, especially in modern Japanese writing, there is a clear demarcation between the *kana* script and the Sinographic script both graphetically (visual impression of the graphic form) and graphematically (typological feature), but there is no demarcation as obvious as such between the two *kana* sets. The graphs in both *kana* sets derive from Sinographic phonograms but in different ways. In modern Japanese writing, there is a near one-to-one correspondence in graphs between *hiragana* and *katakana*²⁹.

²⁸In premodern times, *katakana* was the more prestigious set and was mainly used in textual glossing or annotation and in formal writing, and *hiragana* was mainly used in vernacular literature or personal writing. In the standard modern orthography, *hiragana* is the default *kana* set, and *katakana* is used on special occasions such as the transcription of foreign words or emphasis.

²⁹The exception is the long vowel mark <ー> in *katakana*, and this is relevant to the different ways of representing long vowels in the two *kana* sets. In *katakana*, a long vowel is represented by the graph for the original short vowel followed by this mark (e.g., $\bar{a} = a + a$ アー; $\bar{e} = e + e$ エー). It may be argued that this mark is not a graph and functions more like a diacritic mark because it does not have an inherent linguistic value, and its actual linguistic value is determined by the preceding *katakana* graph. In contrast, the *hiragana* set does not have a separate mark and represents a long vowel by two graphs. The first graph is the graph for the original short vowel, and the second graph may be the same or different. For the long vowels $\bar{a}$, $\bar{i}$, and $\bar{u}$,

The two graphs in each pair represent the same mora and are differentiated in functional distribution, so they are allographs to each other. The *hiragana* set is the default *kana* set in modern Japanese writing because the typical usage of the *katakana* set is more limited and more marked (e.g., transcribing foreign words or onomatopoeia, emphasizing, etc.), so a *hiragana* graph is the grapheme in relation to the corresponding mora in modern Japanese writing. The principle of using just one graph in each *kana* set for one mora was officially established in 1900, and historically there could be a large number of allographic forms representing the same mora. These allographic forms are retrospectively called *hentaigana* 変体仮名 (“variant-form *kana*”).

The Latin alphabet in Japanese writing works in the same way as it does in the writing systems of European languages, but the interesting point is that it is commonly recognized as an integral part of the modern Japanese writing system. This seems to be a unique case for a writing system in which the Latin alphabet is not the primary script. For example, *pīnyīn* 拼音 is the current standard phonetic transcription system of Chinese and is based on the Latin alphabet, but the Latin alphabet is not considered as a script in Chinese writing, at least by ordinary Chinese speakers.

As in Japanese writing, the Sinographic script was initially the only script in Korean and Vietnamese writing, but it has now become much more marginalized in the writing systems of these two languages. When Sinograms are used, they only represent SK or SV words but not native words, so they normally do not present ambiguity as in Japanese writing.

The major ways in which Sinograms (*hanca* 漢字) were used in Korean writing are very similar to the situation in Japanese writing, the biggest difference being that Sinographic phonograms never developed

the second graph is always the graph for the original short vowel ($\bar{a} = a + a$ ああ; $\bar{i} = i + i$ いい; $\bar{u} = u + u$ うう). For the long vowels $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o}$, the second graph may be either the graph for the original short vowel ($\bar{e} = e + e$ ええ; $\bar{o} = o + o$ おお), or the graph for the short vowel i and u respectively ($\bar{e} = e + i$ えい; $\bar{o} = o + u$ おう), and the actual spelling is lexically determined. In general, the first kind of spelling is used for long vowels in native words, and the second kind of spelling is used for long vowels in Sino-Japanese words. The latter may also lead to identical *kana* spelling for a long vowel and a sequence of two separate syllables (e.g., おう $\bar{o}$ ‘king’ [SJ 王] ≠ おう $o.u$ ‘to chase’ [conclusive] [追う]).

into a distinct phonographic script in Korean writing. That role is instead taken by the Korean alphabet (*hankul* 한글)³⁰, which is a script created on the basis of a sophisticated analysis of the phonological system of the language and was officially announced in 1446. The Korean alphabet is unique among alphabets in the world in that in actual writing, letters are stacked into blocks, each of which occupies a square space of the same size and represents a syllable, rather than being arranged linearly. This is clearly under the influence of Chinese writing. However, the grapheme in *hankul* is still each individual letter because the basic mapping relationship is between a letter and a phoneme, rather than between a graphic block and syllable. For example, the term *hankul* consists of two syllables *han* and *kul*, and each syllable consists of three phonemes. In written form, each syllable is represented by a combination of three letters: <한> *han*, <글> *kul*.

The Sinographic script in Vietnamese writing is traditionally divided into two major groups. A character borrowed from Chinese writing and used in the same way as in Chinese writing, that is, as a logogram representing the corresponding SV word, is called *chữ Hán* 字漢/字漢 (“Han character”) or *chữ Nho* 字儒/字儒 (“Confucian character”), or less commonly, *Hán tự* 漢字. A character borrowed from Chinese writing but used in a different way or a Neo-Sinogram is called *chữ Nôm* 字喃/字喃 (presumably “southern character”)³¹. The most distinctive feature of Vietnamese Sinographic writing is the large number of Neo-Sinograms, which also exist in Japanese writing (*kokuji* 國字) and Korean writing (*kwukca* 國字) but are

³⁰It should be clarified that the first syllable in the term *hanca* and the first syllable in the term *hankul* are not the same morpheme. The former is the SK morpheme 漢 (Chinese *hàn*; SJ *kan*; HV *hán*) referring to China, and the latter is a native Korean word meaning ‘great’. Moreover, the syllable *han* in *hankul* is also homophonous with the SK morpheme *han* 韓 referring to Korea, especially South Korea in current usage, and this is likely to lead to the understanding of this term as meaning “(South) Korean writing” (the syllable *kul* is a native Korean word meaning ‘writing’). The term *hankul* was coined by the modern linguist Cwu Sikyeng 周時經 (1876-1914), who presumably chose this morpheme exactly for this kind of ambiguity (Lee & Ramsey 2000: 13). For the same reason, the official name of the Korean alphabet in North Korea is *cwosenkul* because *Cwosen* (*Joseon*) 朝鮮 is the Korean name of North Korea.

³¹There are several points regarding these Vietnamese terms worth mentioning. First, the reason that the pure HV term *Hán tự* is not commonly used is likely due to the typological feature of Vietnamese that the modifier follows the head, so *Hán tự* is less favored than *chữ Hán*. Second, the two syllables *chữ* and *tự* come from the same Chinese etymon 字 ‘character’. The former is its ESV reading and the latter its HV reading. It is the tradition in Vietnamese Sinographic writing to represent the non-HV reading of a SV word with a character different from the original Chinese character, like 字 or 字 in this case. Third, the origin and meaning of the component *nôm* in the term *chữ Nôm* is unclear. Interpreting it as meaning ‘southern’ is likely to be based on the structure of the character 喃 (the right component, 南, is the Sinogram meaning ‘south’) representing this word and the fact that Vietnam is located to the south of China.

only a marginal part of the writing system of these two languages. The Latin alphabet was introduced into Vietnam by European missionaries since the 17th century, and it was designated as the official script by the French colonial government in 1910 under the name *chữ Quốc Ngữ* 字國語/𐄎國語 (“script of the national language”). Diacritic marks are widely used in modern Vietnamese orthography to denote tones and distinguish vowels represented by the same basic letter. A notable modification to the script is the letter <đ> (with an extra stroke on the letter <d>) representing the phoneme /d/, while the normal letter <d> represents a phoneme which is pronounced as [j] in southern dialects and has become [z] in northern dialects.

With the retreat of the Sinographic script, texts in Korean or Vietnamese are now normally written exclusively in the Korean alphabet or the Latin alphabet respectively. Sinograms are still being sporadically used in South Korea for such purposes as differentiating homophonous words or clarifying specialized or technical terms, whereas they have completely fallen out of use in North Korea and Vietnam.

Table 1.1 below is a summary of the scripts and graphs in the writing systems of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. The division of these scripts and graphs into Sinographic and non-Sinographic is inevitably a subjective and impressionistic judgment, but there are two criteria which can be taken into consideration. The first criterion is the visual similarity of the graphic form to Chinese characters. Graphs borrowed from Chinese writing and Neo-Sinograms are Sinographic by definition. The traditional Zhuàng 𐄎 script *sawndip*, which is not covered in this dissertation, is another notable Sinographic script and is analogous to the Vietnamese Sinographic script both graphetically and graphematically. The Khitan, Jurchen, and Tangut scripts are other candidates for Sinographic scripts, although their status is debatable because their graphs in general look more distinct from Chinese characters³². In contrast, *kana* and *hankul* graphs are

³²The following are some major works in English on these other premodern scripts in regions surrounding China: Kane (2009) and Wu & Janhunen (2010) on the Khitan script; Kiyose (1977) and Kane (1989) on the Jurchen script; Kwanten (1989) on the Tangut script; Bauer (2000), Holm (2009), and Holm (2013) on the traditional Zhuàng script.

graphetically too dissimilar from Chinese characters to be considered as Sinographic³³. The second criterion is the possibility, but not necessity, of logographic function. Sinograms can be used logographically in the writing system of Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Zhuàng, whereas graphs in *kana*, *hankul*, and the Latin alphabet can only be used phonographically. The situation of the Khitan, Jurchen, and Tangut scripts is more complex because they are less well understood and the same script may contain graphs which primarily function in different ways. In summary, on the level of both script and graph, the core members of Sinographic writing include Chinese *hànzì*, Japanese *kanji*, Korean *hanca*, Vietnamese *chữ Hán* and *chữ Nôm*, and Zhuàng *sawndip*³⁴.

Table 1.1 Scripts and Graphs in the Writing Systems of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese

Writing System	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese
Sinographic Script and Graph	Chinese script and character (<i>hànzì</i> 漢字)	Japanese Sinographic script and Sinogram (<i>kanji</i> 漢字)	Korean Sinographic script and Sinogram (<i>hanca</i> 漢字)	Vietnamese Sinographic script and Sinogram (<i>chữ Hán</i> 漢/𡵓漢 or <i>chữ Nho</i> 𡵓儒/𡵓儒, and <i>chữ Nôm</i> 𡵓喃/𡵓喃)
Non-Sinographic Script and Graph		<i>kana</i> script and graph (<i>hiragana</i> 平假名 and <i>katakana</i> 片假名)	Korean alphabet and letter (<i>hankul</i> 한글)	Latin alphabet and letter (<i>chữ Quốc Ngữ</i> 𡵓國語/𡵓國語)
		Latin alphabet and letter (<i>rōmaji</i>)		

1.5 Framework of Script Adaptation

This dissertation adopts the framework of the adaptation of a logographic script laid out in Handel (2019) for the purpose of the analysis and classification of Sinograms in specific texts. This section

³³For *hankul*, what is being considered is the grapheme-level letters representing phonemes, not the syllable blocks.

³⁴Myers (2019) is a detailed study on how Chinese characters are learned, processed, and produced by script users as a system with “grammar” or regular patterns. As such, it may shed new light on the typological description of Chinese writing and the criteria of determining whether a graph or script is Sinographic or not.

introduces this framework and illustrates it with concrete examples³⁵.

There are two aspects from which script adaptation can be examined. The first aspect is the base of borrowing in the source language. A logogram has both a semantic value and a phonetic value, both of which can be the base of borrowing. When the graph is borrowed for its semantic value, which is essentially the meaning of the word written by the graph in the source language, it undergoes **semantic adaptation**. When the graph is borrowed for its phonetic value, which is essentially the pronunciation of the word written by the graph in the source language, it undergoes **phonetic adaptation**. The second aspect is the function of the graph in the target language. The graph can be used as either a logogram writing a specific word or a phonogram representing just a sound. The combination of the two possibilities in each aspect gives rise to four categories of a borrowed graph:

- (1). **Semantically-adapted logogram (SAL)**: a graph borrowed for its semantic value to write a specific native word or morpheme in the target language which is deemed synonymous or near-synonymous (a translation equivalent) to the word or morpheme written by the graph in the source language.
- (2). **Phonetically-adapted logogram (PAL)**: a graph borrowed for its phonetic value to write a specific native word or morpheme in the target language whose pronunciation is the same as or close to its pronunciation in the source language.
- (3). **Phonetically-adapted phonogram (PAP)**: a graph borrowed for its phonetic value to represent a sound or sound sequence in the target language which is the same as or close to its pronunciation in the source language.
- (4). **Semantically-adapted phonogram (SAP)**: a graph borrowed for its semantic value to represent a sound or sound sequence in the target language which is the same as or close to the pronunciation of the specific native word or morpheme deemed synonymous or near-synonymous (a translation equivalent) to the word or morpheme written by the graph in the source language.

The first three categories are straightforward, while the fourth category is the result of a two-step process. In the fourth category, the graph first undergoes semantic adaptation and acquires a native reading in the target

³⁵The explanations and definitions given here are based on and elaborated in more detail from Handel (2019: 18-20) and Handel (2025: 89-96).

language, and then it undergoes phonetic extension within the target language to represent just a sound based on its native reading. In this sense, an SAP can be regarded as a combination of an SAL and a PAP. There is another category of a borrowed graph which is slightly different:

(5). **Directly-adapted logogram (DAL)**: a graph borrowed together with the word or morpheme written by it in the source language to write that borrowed word or morpheme in the target language.

In this category, the graph and the word which it writes in the source language are borrowed as a bundle into the target language. This is the key difference between a DAL and an SAL, as the referent of an SAL is a native word in the target language. Accordingly, this kind of adaptation is called **direct adaptation**.

It should be pointed out that both phonetic adaptation and semantic adaptation require a certain degree of subjective judgment and also allow for some leeway on the part of the borrowing side. In phonetic adaptation, the original phonetic value of the borrowed graph will inevitably be filtered and altered by the phonological system of the target language, and there should be a tolerable range of distance between the intended sound in the target language and the pronunciation of the borrowed graph in the source language. In semantic adaptation, there can be more than one word in the target language as (near-)synonyms to the word written by the borrowed graph in the source language, and either one native word is conventionalized as the native reading of the graph, or the graph comes to be associated with multiple native words.

In order to illustrate these categories, Handel (2019: 19-20) uses an imagined scenario of the logographic script of a language named Fowla being borrowed to write English. Suppose that there is a logogram <⊙> in the Fowla script, which writes the word pronounced as /to/ and meaning ‘sun’. The mapping relationship between graph and language can be schematized by the notation G (P, S) as ⊙ (/to/,

‘sun’)³⁶. The five categories outlined above can be illustrated as follows:

- (1). **SAL**: The graph is used to write the English word *sun*, which is pronounced as /sʌn/, as it is the synonym of the original Fowla word written by this graph. Schematically: $\odot (/to/, 'sun') > \odot (/sʌn/, 'sun')$
- (2). **PAL**: The graph is used to write the English word *toe*, which is pronounced as /to/, as it is homophonous with the original Fowla word written by this graph. It does not represent other instances of the syllable /to/ in English, such as the word *tow* or the last syllable of the word *tomato*. Schematically: $\odot (/to/, 'sun') > \odot (/to/, 'toe')$
- (3). **PAP**: The graph is used to represent the syllable /to/ in English, which is homophonous with the original Fowla word written by this graph, in any situation, such as the word *toe*, the word *tow*, or the last syllable of the word *tomato*. Schematically: $\odot (/to/, 'sun') > \odot (/to/)$
- (4). **SAP**: The graph is used to represent the syllable /sʌn/ in English, which is homophonous with the English word *sun* as the synonym of the original Fowla word written by this graph, in any situation, such as the word *son* or the last syllable of the word *person*. Schematically: $\odot (/to/, 'sun') > \odot (/sʌn/, 'sun') > \odot (/sʌn/)$
- (5). **DAL**: The graph is used to write the English word *to*, pronounced as /to/ and meaning ‘sun’, as a word borrowed from Fowla.

In semantic adaptation, the S value of the graph remains the same and its P value changes. In phonetic adaptation, the P value of the graph remains the same and its S value changes or disappears. In direct adaptation, which is essentially a combination of semantic adaptation and phonetic adaptation, both the P value and the S value remain the same.

By analogy, the following is an illustration of these five categories in the adaptation of the Sinogram 古. In Chinese, this character writes the word pronounced as *gǔ* in Mandarin and *kuX* in Middle Chinese (MC)³⁷ with the meaning ‘to be old, ancient’. On that basis, its SJ, SK, and SV (more specifically, HV)

³⁶In this notational scheme, “G” stands for the graph, “P” stands for its phonetic value, and “S” stands for its semantic value. This notation means that G is the written form of a word with the pronunciation P and the meaning S. P must be present for G to be a written graph. If only P is present and S is absent, G is a phonogram. If both P and S are present, G is a logogram.

³⁷The Sinitic readings of Sinograms in other languages are mostly derived from Middle Chinese (MC). Middle Chinese can be roughly regarded as the form of the Chinese language in the second half of the first millennium, and it is the direct ancestor of most of the modern varieties (or “dialects”) of Chinese. The MC forms given in this dissertation are based on the reconstruction system of William Baxter and Laurent Sagart (Baxter 1992; Baxter & Sagart 2014). In this system, two capitalized letters are used at the end of a syllable to denote the tone: <X> for the “rising” (*shǎng* 上) tone and <H> for the “departing” (*qù* 去) tone.

readings are *ko* 𠂇, *kwo* 𠂇, and *có* respectively. Its prototypical function in Chinese writing can be schematized as **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’)³⁸. Some examples given here are the actual usage of this character in the particular writing system, while others are not³⁹.

(1). **DAL**: The character 𠂇 is used to write the SJ word *ko* 𠂇, the SK word *kwo* 𠂇, and the SV word *có*, all of which mean ‘to be old, ancient’ and are borrowed from the Chinese word *kuX* ‘to be old, ancient’. In practice, these Sinitic lexical items are used as bound morphemes in Sinitic compound words. Schematically: **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **J** 𠂇 (*ko* 𠂇, ‘to be old, ancient’); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **K** 𠂇 (*kwo* 𠂇, ‘to be old, ancient’); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **V** 𠂇 (*có*, ‘to be old, ancient’).

(2). **SAL**: The character 𠂇 is used to write the native Japanese word *fu.ru-* ふる-, the native Korean word *yey-* 예- (as in *yey-s-nal* 옛날 ‘old days’), and the native Vietnamese word *xura*⁴⁰, all meaning ‘to be old, ancient’. Schematically: **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **J** 𠂇 (*fu.ru-* ふる-, ‘to be old, ancient’ [stem]); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **K** 𠂇 (*yey-* 예-, ‘to be old, ancient’); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **V** 𠂇 (*xura*, ‘to be old, ancient’).

(3). **PAL**: The character 𠂇 is used to write the native Japanese word *ko* 𠂇 ‘child’, the native Korean word *kwo* 𠂇 (conjunctive particle), and the native Vietnamese word *có* ‘to have, exist’. As a logogram, the character only represents the specific word in each language, not other instances of the same or similar syllable. Schematically: **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **J** 𠂇 (*ko* 𠂇, ‘child’); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **K** 𠂇 (*kwo* 𠂇, conjunctive particle); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **V** 𠂇 (*có*, ‘to have, exist’).

(4). **PAP**: The character 𠂇 is used to represent the syllable *ko* 𠂇 in Japanese, the syllable *kwo* 𠂇 in Korean, and the syllable *có* in Vietnamese, or other similar syllables, in any instance in each language. Schematically: **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **J** 𠂇 (*ko* 𠂇); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **K** 𠂇 (*kwo* 𠂇); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **V** 𠂇 (*có*).

(5). **SAP**: The character 𠂇 is used to represent the syllable sequence *fu.ru* ふる in Japanese, the syllable *yey* 예 in Korean, and the syllable *xura* in Vietnamese, or other similar syllables or syllable sequences, in any instance in each language, on the basis of the native Japanese word *fu.ru-* ふる-, the native Korean word *yey-* 예-, and the native Vietnamese word *xura*, all meaning ‘to be old, ancient’. Schematically: **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **J** 𠂇 (*fu.ru-* ふる-, ‘to be old, ancient’ [stem]) > **J** 𠂇 (*fu.ru* ふる); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **K** 𠂇 (*yey-* 예-, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **K** 𠂇 (*yey* 예); **C** 𠂇 (*kuX*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **V** 𠂇 (*xura*, ‘to be old, ancient’) > **V** 𠂇 (*xura*).

³⁸The letter in bold before the graph stands for the language: **C** for Chinese, **J** for Japanese, **K** for Korean, and **V** for Vietnamese.

³⁹The character 𠂇 is deliberately chosen to better illustrate the PAL category because in all the three languages, there is a commonly used native word whose pronunciation is compatible with its Sinitic reading.

⁴⁰The Vietnamese word *xura* is actually the ESV form of the Chinese word *chū* 初 ‘beginning; just’. It is technically an SV word but may tend to be conceptualized as a native word because it is not the codified HV reading of this character. The use of the character 𠂇 to represent this word is just a theoretical illustration and not attested.

The five categories of adaptation are summarized in table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2 Theoretical Categories of the Adaptation of the Chinese Character 古
in the Writing Systems of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese

Category	Base of Borrowing	Function of Graph	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese
DAL	Word or morpheme	Logogram for Sinitic word or morpheme	古 <i>ko</i> こ 'to be old, ancient'	古 <i>kwo</i> 고 'to be old, ancient'	古 <i>có</i> 'to be old, ancient'
SAL	Word or morpheme	Logogram for native word or morpheme	古 <i>fu.ru-</i> ふる - 'to be old, ancient' (stem)	古 <i>yey-</i> 예- 'to be old, ancient'	古 <i>xura</i> 'to be old, ancient'
PAL	Sound	Logogram for native word or morpheme	古 <i>ko</i> こ 'child'	古 <i>kwo</i> 고 (conjunctive particle)	古 <i>có</i> 'to have, exist'
PAP	Sound	Phonogram	古 <i>ko</i> こ	古 <i>kwo</i> 고	古 <i>có</i>
SAP	Word or morpheme	Phonogram	古 <i>fu.ru</i> ふる	古 <i>yey</i> 예	古 <i>xura</i>

There are two phenomena observable from this table. First, for the categories of DAL, PAL, and PAP, the same graph has the same reading across categories in the same language and also has related readings across languages. This is because the base of borrowing of a PAL and a PAP is the phonetic value of the character in Chinese, which is essentially the pronunciation of the word which it represents in Chinese, and this word is the base of borrowing of a DAL. Second, for the categories of SAL and SAP, the same graph has the same reading across categories in the same language, but its readings across languages are unrelated. This is because the base of borrowing of an SAL and an SAP is the semantic value of the character in Chinese, which is realized as a native word with the same meaning in the target language, and these native words are not etymologically related across languages.

As Handel (2019) shows, the actual situation of adaptation varies in the three target languages, and the

main reason should be attributed to linguistic typology. Japanese writing and Korean writing show parallel patterns in that all categories except PAL are actively used because of their typological similarity to each other and their typological difference from Chinese. The absence of the PAL category is most likely due to the morphological structure of the two languages. By definition, a PAL is a graph borrowed for its phonetic value in the source language to write a specific native word in the target language. Since phonetic adaptation generally results in a monosyllabic Sinitic reading of the character because of the monosyllabic feature of Chinese⁴¹, the word written by a PAL needs to be a monosyllabic native word. There are very few words of this kind in Japanese, especially among lexical words. Although monosyllabic native words are more abundant in Korean, the structure of a Korean syllable can be more complex than a Chinese syllable, making this type of adaptation less favored⁴².

On the other hand, Vietnamese is a monosyllabic language like Chinese, so the SV reading of a character can be more easily matched with the pronunciation of a native word. As a result, it may be the natural tendency for Vietnamese speakers to use a character to represent a specific native word rather than a sound, in conformity with the orthodox logographic use of characters in Chinese writing⁴³. What is more interesting

⁴¹It should be pointed out that disyllabic PAPs are not rare in Japanese Sinographic writing. This happens when there is a stop ending (-p, -t, -k) in the Middle Chinese pronunciation of the character, and an extra vowel is added after the final consonant in the SJ reading to fit the Japanese syllable structure. Nevertheless, there seem to be no PAL uses of Sinograms in Japanese writing.

⁴²It can be argued that PALs do exist in Korean Sinographic writing, and some phonetically-adapted graphs representing grammatical morphemes can be characterized as such. For example, in the corpus of vernacular poetry known as *hyangga* 鄕歌 (see chapter 3), the character 賜 (Chinese *cì*, modern SK *sa* 사, meaning ‘to bestow’) has 25 occurrences: 2 occurrences as an SAL for the verb *cwu-si-* 주시- ‘to give’ (honorific) (stem), and 23 occurrences of phonetic adaptation for the honorific suffix -si- -ㄱ- (see appendix 2). Since the latter is the only function of this character under phonetic adaptation, this usage may be characterized as PAL. In his review of Handel (2019), Mwun (2024) gives similar examples of the conventionalized notation of a specific grammatical morpheme by a specific phonetically-adapted Sinogram in Korean writing, and he also argues that this is a common phenomenon in the type of textual glossing known as *sektwok kwukyel* 釋讀口訣 (see chapter 5). On the other hand, Handel (2019: 137-139) does talk about the difficulty in determining whether phonetic adaptation results in logograms or phonograms in Vietnamese Sinographic writing (see chapter 6).

⁴³As will be mentioned in chapter 6, in Vietnamese Sinographic writing, there are actually a large number of characters, each of which represents multiple words with similar syllabic pronunciations. This kind of situation can in theory be explained in two ways, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to judge how it was conceived by Vietnamese speakers. The first possibility is that the character is used logographically and associated with a number of words similar in pronunciation, and it will not be used to represent a word, even with a compatible pronunciation, not conventionally associated with it. The second possibility is that the character is used phonographically for a range of syllables, and any word whose pronunciation falls within that range can be represented by it (Handel 2019: 137-139).

in Vietnamese writing is the scarcity, or perhaps lack, of SAL characters. Handel attributes this phenomenon to the need for disambiguation among multiple categories. Of the three logographic categories (DAL, SAL, PAL), PAL can be more easily distinguished from the other two from context because in the target language, the word written by a PAL is most likely to be irrelevant in meaning to the word written by a DAL or an SAL, since the word written by a DAL and the word written by an SAL should be synonymous by definition⁴⁴. Then, between DAL and SAL, DAL is more favored because the borrowing of a logogram is necessarily accompanied by the borrowing of the corresponding word from the source language, and DAL also does not require a further step to associate the borrowed graph with a native word (Handel 2019: 158-165). The lack of phonograms and SAL characters means that the only productive categories in Vietnamese writing are DAL and PAL, but this is compensated for by the prevalence of Neo-Sinograms. Paraphrasing the description of Vietnamese writing in section 1.4, in traditional Vietnamese terminology, *chữ Hán* or *chữ Nho* (or less commonly, *Hán tự*) refers to DAL characters, and *chữ Nôm* refers to both PAL characters and Neo-Sinograms.

Table 1.3 below is a summary of the actual categories of Sinograms in the writing systems of the three languages together with the traditional terminology in each language. A crossed-out cell means that the corresponding category does not exist in that writing system.

Table 1.3 Actual Categories of Sinograms in the Writing Systems of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese

Category	Base of Borrowing	Function of Graph	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese
DAL	Word or morpheme	Logogram for Sinitic word or morpheme	<i>on'yomi</i> 音読み	<i>umtwok</i> 音讀	<i>chữ Hán</i> 𣎵漢/𣎵漢 or <i>chữ Nho</i> 𣎵儒/𣎵儒
SAL	Word or morpheme	Logogram for native word or morpheme	<i>kun'yomi</i> 訓読み	<i>hwuntwok</i> 訓讀	<i>chữ Nôm</i> 𣎵喃/𣎵喃 (questionable)

⁴⁴Using table 1.2 to illustrate this point, in each language, the word written by 古 as a DAL and the word written by 古 as an SAL both mean 'to be old, ancient' (the difference being that the former is a borrowed Sinitic word, while the latter is a native word), but the word written by 古 as a PAL has a different meaning.

PAL	Sound	Logogram for native word or morpheme			<i>chữ Nôm</i> 𡵗喃/𡵗喃
PAP	Sound	Phonogram	<i>ongana</i> 音假名	<i>umcha</i> 音借 or <i>umka</i> 音假	
SAP	Word or morpheme	Phonogram	<i>kungana</i> 訓假名	<i>hwuncha</i> 訓借 or <i>hwunka</i> 訓假	
Neo-Sinogram		Logogram for native word or morpheme	<i>kokuji</i> 國字	<i>kwukca</i> 國字	<i>chữ Nôm</i> 𡵗喃/𡵗喃

1.6 Vernacular Languages and Writing

Chinese writing is one of the four cases of the independent invention of writing in human history, and **Literary Sinitic**⁴⁵ (alternatively called “Literary Chinese” or “Classical Chinese” in English; CN *wényánwén* 文言文; JP *kanbun* 漢文; KR *hanmwun* 漢文; VN *Hán văn* 漢文) is the first written language in East Asia. With the political and military expansions of the Chinese polities, Chinese culture also spread to surrounding areas. Available evidence suggests that Chinese writing was first transmitted to the Korean peninsula and the northern part of modern Vietnam roughly simultaneously in the last two centuries BCE, and a few centuries later was further transmitted to the Japanese archipelago via the Korean peninsula. People living in those areas became literate first in Literary Sinitic, which is a different language from their native spoken language. This is the phenomenon commonly known as “diglossia” (Ferguson 1959), meaning that a group of speakers of the same language use different languages (or different registers or forms of the same language) in different situations. In this case, there is a discrepancy between the spoken language (i.e., what may be referred to as “Korean,” “Japanese,” or “Vietnamese”) of these non-Chinese peoples and their written

⁴⁵Literary Sinitic is a conservative language based on the canonical Chinese texts from the first millennium BCE, and its discrepancy with the actual spoken Chinese language became increasingly greater over time. In contrast, the spoken register or form of the Chinese language is referred to as “Vernacular Chinese” (note the upper-case letter <V>) (*báihuàwén* 白話文) in this dissertation.

or literary language (Literary Sinitic). The former is their native language used in speaking in daily life, and the latter is the language used in reading and writing as well as in communication with speakers of other languages. In this context, the three languages of Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese can be collectively called **vernacular languages**, and the written representation of a vernacular language is called **vernacular writing**. In this dissertation, the term “vernacular” is used to describe the linguistic feature or affiliation of a language or a written text. Although not automatically implying anything about the social status of a text or its creators or readers, it carries two different senses. First, it indicates the spoken nature of the language, in contrast to Literary Sinitic as a **written language** or **literary language**. Second, it indicates that the language is used within a local geographic area, in contrast to Literary Sinitic as a **cosmopolitan language** used in a large area transcending the boundaries of vernacular languages.

1.7 Outline of the Dissertation

After this introduction, there are five chapters as the main body of the dissertation. While each chapter focuses on a distinct topic, as a whole, they present a panoramic view of Sinographic writing of Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese in premodern times.

Chapter 2 is an overview of the early history of writing in Korea and Japan, covering the period from the initial transmission of Chinese writing at the beginning of the common era to the emergence of the earliest coherent texts completely written in the vernacular languages in roughly the 7th and 8th centuries. In this formative period of writing, written evidence was largely limited to epigraphic materials of practical nature, and the underlying language in such materials is usually a mixture of Chinese and the vernacular language. By presenting a number of representative textual examples from the two regions during this period in chronological order, this chapter shows the trajectory of the development of vernacular writing by the use of

the Sinographic script.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine full vernacular writing of Korean and Japanese attested in the earliest extant sources. “Full vernacular writing” means that the underlying language of a text conforms with the features of the vernacular language completely or at least to a high degree, especially on the syntactic level. The emergence of full vernacular writing is the natural result of the spread of knowledge of Literary Sinitic, which made it possible for speakers of the vernacular languages to encode the full range of their spoken language with Sinograms. These two chapters make use of the earliest systematic textual materials of full vernacular writing in each language: Korean *hyangga* 鄉歌 and Japanese vernacular poetry (*waka* 和歌), especially the anthology *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集. These two groups of texts are comparable as vernacular poetry dated to roughly the same time period (second half of the first millennium CE), and the orthographic features and techniques of character usage reflected are representative of Korean and Japanese Sinographic writing in general. The majority of chapter 3 presents the results of a comprehensive study of *hyangga*, including both the interpretation of each poem and the analysis and categorization of the usage and function of the characters. The rest of this chapter presents a small number of contemporary vernacular Japanese poems to facilitate a comparison of the two literary traditions and Sinographic writing of the two languages. This comparison reveals the common basic pattern of Sinographic writing of Korean and Japanese as well as some distinctive phenomena of character use in each culture.

While chapter 3 depicts the regular or normal picture of Sinographic vernacular writing of Korean and Japanese, chapter 4 discusses a special orthographic phenomenon in *Man'yōshū* known as “playful writing” (*gisho* 戲書). This is the idiosyncratic and *ad hoc* usage of characters beyond the scope of their normal function. Although “playful writing” is not a regular way of encoding the language, this kind of innovative character usage shows the potential of exploiting the logographic feature of the Sinographic script. This

chapter divides cases of “playful writing” in *Man’yōshū* into four categories: (1). notation of grammatical morphemes with logographic connotation; (2). graph-language mapping based on acoustic association; (3). graph-language mapping based on mathematical association; (4). miscellaneous cases. For each specific case, it analyzes the relationship between the written form and the underlying linguistic form to figure out the motivation behind the special character usage. At the same time, it also conducts a statistical analysis of all the written forms in the entire *Man’yōshū* corpus of most linguistic forms involved in “playful writing,” in order to demonstrate the variation in written forms and the general orthographic diversity in *Man’yōshū*. The phenomenon of “playful writing” demonstrates both the saliency of the semantic value of Sinograms to script users and the necessity of conventionalizing of this value for the borrowed Sinographic script to be functional in another writing system.

In contrast to chapters 2-4, which are concerned with the encoding of the vernacular languages into Sinographic written form, the topic of chapter 5 is the decoding of texts written in Chinese into the vernacular languages. In the premodern Sinographic Cosmopolis, there are two different approaches to decoding Chinese-language texts: vernacular reading and vernacular translation (Kornicki 2018). Vernacular reading is highly bound by the original text both physically and linguistically and is a phenomenon unfamiliar to modern people, especially in the West, and this chapter briefly introduces the parallel traditions of vernacular reading in the two cultures: Korean *kwukyel* 口訣 and Japanese *kundoku* 訓讀. The focus of this chapter, however, is on vernacular translation, which *is* the kind of translation that we are familiar with and encounter in daily life from a modern perspective. As a case study, this chapter examines the reception in premodern Japan of the Chinese novel *The Water Margin* 水滸傳 (Chinese *Shuǐhǔzhàn*, Japanese *Suikoden*), which is written in the spoken register of Chinese, by conducting a close reading of corresponding passages in the original Chinese version and the early Japanese editions of the novel to compare their content and linguistic

elements. From a later period of history long after the development of a mature Japanese writing system and the codification of *kundoku*, this topic explores how the Japanese reception of Vernacular Chinese texts built on and diverged from that of Literary Sinitic texts. These early Japanese editions of the novel may be best characterized as translations under the traditional framework of *kundoku*. Linguistically, they follow the norm of *kundoku* in employing Japanese linguistic elements conventionally used in the rendering of Literary Sinitic texts. Contextually, they show a certain degree of freedom as their content occasionally deviates from the original Chinese version. In Japanese literary history, this marked the transition in the dominant approach to interacting with foreign-language texts from vernacular reading in the form of *kundoku* to vernacular translation as is carried out today.

In the same way as chapter 3, chapter 6 surveys full Sinographic vernacular writing of Vietnamese (“Nôm writing”) on the basis of the earliest vernacular Vietnamese poetry. The pattern of the adaptation of the Chinese script in Vietnamese writing is different from that in Korean and Japanese writing, largely due to the typological differences of these languages. The stratification of the Sinitic lexicon in Vietnamese is also more complicated, due to far more direct and intense bilingual contact between the indigenous population in what is today’s northern Vietnam and Chinese speakers. Based on existing studies, this chapter applies a refined classification system of Sinograms in Vietnamese writing to the structural analysis of the written forms of common words in the earliest vernacular Vietnamese poetry anthology, *Quốc Âm Thi Tập* 國音詩集, which contains poems that are believed to have been composed in the 15th century. The pattern of how different types of characters were used found in this case study largely conforms with the major dichotomy of character types in traditional Vietnamese terminology. Because Neo-Sinograms play a major role in Vietnamese writing, this chapter also briefly discusses Neo-Sinograms in Japanese and Korean writing as a comparison. The graphic structure of Neo-Sinograms in all these three writing systems can be

largely analyzed with a single classification system, which shows the universal tendencies in Sinographic writing among speakers of different languages.

There are five appendices presenting detailed textual sources and data attached after the main body of the dissertation. Appendices 1 to 3 are relevant to chapter 3. Appendix 1 gives the linguistic interpretation of every *hyangga* poem by identifying the function and referent of every character. Appendix 2 is a concordance index of all the characters in the *hyangga* corpus, listing the function of every occurrence of every character. Appendix 3 gives the linguistic interpretation of the vernacular Japanese poems cited in this chapter. Appendix 4 is relevant to chapter 4 and gives the linguistic interpretation of the *Man'yōshū* poems with cases of “playful writing” cited in this chapter. Appendix 5 is relevant to chapter 5 and gives the complete texts from the three editions of *The Water Margin* examined in section 5.4.2.

Chapter 2

Early History of Writing in Korea and Japan

This chapter is an overview of the early history of writing in Korea and Japan through a survey of a number of representative samples of writing from the first millennium CE found in these two regions. “Early history of writing in Korea and Japan” is defined as the period from the initial transmission of Chinese writing at the beginning of the common era to the emergence of the earliest coherent texts completely written in the vernacular languages in roughly the 7th and 8th centuries. Samples of writing from this formative period of literacy are either epigraphic materials or excavated manuscripts, most of which are for practical purposes. The underlying language in such materials is usually a mixture of Chinese vocabulary with the syntax and other grammatical elements of the vernacular language, and the degree to which a text conforms more with Literary Sinitic or the vernacular language varies case by case. Each sample of writing can be regarded as occupying a spot on a continuum ranging from pure Literary Sinitic to the pure vernacular language. As the knowledge of Literary Sinitic spread further, speakers of the vernacular languages gradually figured out ways to encode their spoken language using Sinograms, eventually leading to the emergence of full vernacular writing in the form of literary compositions (more specifically, poetry) in the vernacular languages. The samples of writing presented in this chapter, arranged in chronological order, show the trajectory of the development of vernacular writing. Vietnam is not covered in this chapter due to the lack of comparable written evidence and the emergence of vernacular Vietnamese writing at a much later time.

Some special notational marks are used in the citations. A boxed character indicates that the character is not directly recognized or deciphered from the inscription but inferred from context or other evidence, and a square □ stands for an unrecognizable or undecipherable character. In the English translations, personal

names and toponyms are transcribed using the modern SK or SJ reading of the relevant Sinograms. This is because the phonology of Korean and Japanese at this stage is scarcely known, and the exact pronunciation of these names are not important as well.

2.1 Early History of Writing in Korea

It is not certain when exactly Chinese writing first spread to the Korean peninsula. The most plausible answer is the last century before the common era, when the Chinese Western Hàn 漢 dynasty (202 BCE-8 CE) established four “commanderies” 郡 (CN *jùn*; KR *kwun*) in today’s northeastern China and northern Korean peninsula in 108 BCE: Lèlàng/Naklang 樂浪, Lintún/Imtwun 臨屯, Xuántù/Hyentwo 玄菟, and Zhēnfān/Cinpen 真番. This area was now under the direct control of the Hàn dynasty, and these commanderies were administrative units operated in the same way as those in other parts of the dynasty. This should be the impetus of the introduction of Chinese writing as it is an indispensable tool for administration. There was also inevitably direct contact between the local population and Chinese speakers, including officials appointed by the Hàn court and immigrants of the Hàn ethnicity. The Lèlàng/Naklang commandery remained as a local economic and cultural center until being conquered by the state of Goguryeo 高句麗 (37 BCE-668 CE) in 313. By this time, Literary Sinitic must have already been deeply ingrained in the local society¹.

There are three traditional terms associated with Korean Sinographic writing: *itwu* 吏讀 (“clerical reading”), *hyangchal* 鄉札 (“country letter” or “local letter”), and *kwukyel* 口訣 (“oral chanting”)². Generally speaking, *hyangchal* refers to the transcription of poetry, and *itwu* refers to other genres of texts,

¹For an introduction to the role of the Lèlàng/Naklang commandery in the transmission of Chinese writing to the Korean peninsula, see Kim (2010).

²For a general introduction in English to Korean Sinographic writing, see chapter 1 of Ledyard (1966 [1998]), Buzo (1980), Yoon (2010), Lee and Ramsey (2011: 53-56), or Whitman (2015: 423-429). Nam (2012) is a detailed introduction to Old Korean, the underlying language of the inscriptional materials presented in this chapter.

especially those used for administrative purposes. This terminological distinction correlates to the nature or function of the text, but there are no fundamental differences in these two forms of writing in terms of the techniques of using Sinograms to encode the Korean language. It is probably because of this that some scholars use the term *itwu* in a broader sense to encompass *hyangchal* as well, and in this way, it becomes a generic term referring to Korean Sinographic writing. In this dissertation, *hyangchal* and *itwu* are distinguished and used in their respective narrow sense. In the Goryeo 高麗 (918-1392) and Joseon 朝鮮 (1392-1910) periods, *itwu* was the formalized and orthodox form of Korean writing, with a conventionalized inventory of Sinographic written forms representing Korean words and expressions. This situation did not change until the end of the 19th century, even after the creation of the Korean alphabet. In contrast, *hyangchal* died out in history, leaving behind only a small corpus of poems from the first millennium. It should be clarified that *itwu* and *hyangchal* are two different notational systems of Korean writing, and neither of them is a script or a writing system, as is commonly described in discussions on Korean writing, in the sense of these two terms used in this dissertation. The script used in both systems is the Sinographic script, and both systems are part of the Korean writing system. On the other hand, there is an essential difference between *itwu* and *hyangchal* on one hand and *kwukyel* on the other hand. While the first two terms refer to the encoding of the Korean language into Sinograms, the last term refers to the decoding of a text written in Sinograms into the Korean language. In this sense, *kwukyel* is analogous to the better-known phenomenon of Japanese *kundoku* 訓讀 (“reading by gloss”). *Hyangchal* is the topic of chapter 3, and *kwukyel* will be briefly touched upon in chapter 5.

The term *itwu* itself poses intriguing problems in terms of etymology and meaning. Although the earliest evidence which can be characterized as this kind of writing can be traced to as early as the 6th century (see below), explicit terms were not attested until the Joseon period, and the issue is further complicated by the

existence of different Sinographic written forms. All written forms are composed of two Sinograms, and the first character is always 吏 ‘clerk’ (SK *i* ㄷ), suggesting that this kind of writing was associated with bureaucracy. There is a great degree of variation in the second character, which can be divided into two groups. The first group includes 讀 ‘to read’ (SK *twu* 두), 道 ‘way’ (SK *two* 도), 頭 ‘head?’ (SK *twu* 두), 吐 ‘utterance’ (SK *thwo* 토), and 套 ‘formalized (expression)’ (SK *thwu* 투). The second group includes 書 ‘to write’ (SK *se* 서), 文 ‘written text’ (SK *mwun* 문), and 札 ‘letter’ (SK *chal* 찰). The earliest attested written form is 吏道, which appeared in *Taymyenglyul cikhay* 大明律直解 (“Direct Explication of the Code of the Great Ming”), Korean translation (ca. 1400) of the legal code of the Chinese Míng 明 dynasty (1368-1644). The written form 吏讀, which is the established term today, first appeared in a memorial against the Korean alphabet presented by the scholar Chwoy Manli 崔萬里 (?-1445), in which he attributed the invention of this form of writing to Sel Chwong 薛聰 (655-?), a scholar in the Silla 新羅 (57 BCE-935 CE) period. Because the SK reading of the characters in the first group are similar to each other, Gari Ledyard (1998: 61) assumes that “there may be an underlying Korean word that is merely transcribed in various Chinese forms by different writers.” If this is true, then the characters in the second group, which are semantically related to each other, might be the result of the reanalysis of the original term. No matter what the true etymology is, this term is now Sinographically written as 吏讀 and read as *itwu* 이두. As Ledyard points out, there is another layer of complexity with regard to the reading of the second character 讀. Its common SK reading is *twok* 독, corresponding to Mandarin *dú* (< MC *duwk*), with the meaning ‘to read’. However, the SK reading *twu* 두 used here corresponds to an alternative Mandarin reading *dòu* (< MC *duwH*), with a more specialized meaning ‘to punctuate (a text)’³. Understood in this way,

³The significance with the different readings is that they originate from different tones of Middle Chinese, which is likely to indicate different meanings even for the same word. The common reading (Mandarin *dú*; SK *twok*) reflects the MC syllable *duwk* in the “entering” (*rù* 入) tone with the *-k* ending, while the alternative reading (Mandarin *dòu*; SK *twu*) reflects the MC syllable *duwH* in the “departing” (*qù* 去) tone with no consonant ending.

one may argue that this term specifically refers to the more careful action of analyzing and interpreting a text, rather than the general action of reading (Ledyard 1998: 60-67).

All the examples presented in section 2.1, except the first one, can be characterized as *itwu* (in its narrow sense) because they can only be properly understood based on Korean syntax and grammar. The analysis of these examples is mainly based on Nam (2000), a monographic study in Korean on *itwu*.

2.1.1 King Kwangkaythwo Stela (*Kwangkaythwowang pi* 廣開土王碑) (414)

This is a memorial stela for King Kwangkaythwo 廣開土 (r. 391-412), the 19th monarch of Goguryeo, erected by his son King Cangswu 長壽 (r. 412-491) in 414. It is inscribed with about 1,800 characters⁴. Located in a historically remote area, now the city of Jí'ān 集安 in China's Jílín 吉林 Province and close to the border between China and North Korea, this stela was discovered in the late 19th century, and its inscription has become a major primary source of Goguryeo history. The content of the inscription can be divided into three parts: the foundation myth of Goguryeo, the accomplishments of King Kwangkaythwo, and household information of the custodians of King Kwangkaythwo's tomb. The text of the inscription is taken from Kwen (2015).

This inscription is probably the earliest known coherent text which includes Korean linguistic elements. It is in general written in Literary Sinitic. For example, the opening part is:

惟昔始祖鄒牟王之創基也 出自北夫餘 天帝之子 母河伯女郎 剖卵降世 生而有聖^德

In the past, [our] ancestor King Chwumwo 鄒牟 founded the basis [of our kingdom]. [He] descended from Northern Puyo 北夫餘. [He was] Heavenly Emperor's son, and [his] mother [was] River God's daughter. [His mother] broke the egg, and [he] appeared in the world. [He] was born to have sagely virtues.

⁴The inscription on the stela is severely eroded, and many characters cannot be recognized or deciphered with certainty.

On the other hand, Korean personal names and toponyms are found throughout the inscription and are transcribed with phonograms. A notable example is in the part narrating the king's conquest of the polity of Eastern Puyo 東夫餘, in which the following sentence states that several people from the conquered area joined King Kwangkaythwo's court:

又其慕化隨官來者 味仇婁鴨盧 卑斯麻鴨盧 □社婁鴨盧 肅斯舍鴨盧 □□□鴨盧
Moreover, those who longed for cultivation and came following the officials [were]

The recurring character sequence XXX 鴨盧 is apparently composed of two parts. The first three characters may be the representation of a specific toponym or personal name, and the last two characters 鴨盧 are assumed to be the representation of an official title or a unit of administration or settlement.

Outside proper nouns, there is one other case of character usage which deviates from the orthodoxy of Literary Sinitic. This is the last character of the entire inscription:

其有違令賣者刑之 買人制令守墓之
[If] there are people who disobey the order and sell [households of tomb custodians], punish them;
[as for] people who buy [such households], the proclamation orders [them] to guard the tomb.

The orthodox function of the character 之 in Literary Sinitic is to represent an object pronoun. It is ungrammatical in the second sentence because it follows the character sequence 守墓 representing a verb-object phrase meaning 'to guard the tomb'. That is to say, the second occurrence of the character 之 (買人制令守墓之 "[As for] people who buy [such households], the proclamation orders [them] to guard the tomb.") is redundant in Literary Sinitic. In the later formalized *itwu* writing, this kind of usage of the

character 之 is read as the declarative sentence ending =*ta* = ㄷㅏ, and this seems to be the case here. In contrast, the first occurrence of 之 (其有違令賣者刑之 “[If] there are people who disobey the order and sell [households of tomb custodians], punish them.”) is more likely to conform with its orthodox function in Literary Sinitic to represent the object pronoun⁵. This kind of ambiguity regarding the character 之 also exists in the following examples.

It is also notable that there are different attested written forms of King Kwangkaythwo’s posthumous title, which are listed below (Kwen 2015: 242; Yoon 2010: 106). The first form is from this inscription. The second form is from a bronze container dated to 415 excavated in a tomb in the modern city of Gyeongju 慶州. The third form is from the epitaph of a tomb, dated to mid-5th century, of a person named Mwotwulwu 牟頭婁 in the modern city of Jí’ān, China.

- (1) 國岡上廣開境平安好太王
 - (2) 國岡上廣開地好太王
 - (3) 國岡上大開地好太聖王
- [Entombed in] Kwukkangsang, widely/greatly opening the territory/land, the (peaceful), benign, great, (sagely) king.

In these written forms, the characters with the same type of underline are synonymous with each other: 廣 ‘widely’ is synonymous with 大 ‘greatly’; 境 ‘territory’ is synonymous with 地 ‘land’. Since the underlying linguistic form, which is the posthumous title, should be the same across the three cases, this

⁵In theory, the distinctive *itwu* usage is also possible here as it occurs at the end of a sentence. This kind of usage of the character 之 is also attested in Japanese sources, despite the fact that Japanese does not have grammatical morphemes syntactically equivalent to the Korean sentence endings. For example, the passage from *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 cited in section 2.2.1 below contains such a case. Another example is from the epitaph of Ō no Yasumaro 太安萬侶 (?-723), the compiler of *Kojiki* 古事記, which was discovered in 1979 and contains the sentence 七月六日卒之 (“[He] died on the sixth day of the seventh month.”). Nishimiya (1970: 178-188) makes a survey of such unorthodox usages of 之 from the perspective of Literary Sinitic in both Chinese and Japanese sources. He divides the cases in Japanese sources into two types: 之 occurring at the end of a complete sentence, and 之 occurring between clauses as a signal for pause. He also finds that similar usages do occur rarely in Chinese sources, but the condition seems to be that the text is closely associated with the spoken language.

variation indicates that these characters are used logographically to represent native words. To put it in another way, this is a case of semantic adaptation in which the scribes associated the same Korean word with different Sinograms.

2.1.2 Imsin Vow Record Stone (*Imsin seki sek* 壬申誓記石) (552 or 612)

The Imsin Vow Record Stone, generally dated to 552 or 612, was discovered in 1940 in Gyeongju and is now preserved in Gyeongju National Museum. Its inscription records the vows made by two people about their behavior and education. This is the most well-known early *itwu*-style text, to the extent that some scholars call this kind of texts “vow record style” (*sekichey* 誓記體). For more on this example, see Nam (2000: 133-138).

壬申年六月十六日 二人並誓記 天前誓 今自三年以後 忠道執持 過失無誓 若此事失 天
太罪得誓 若國不安 大亂世 可容行誓之 又別先辛未年七月廿二日大誓 詩尚書禮傳倫得
誓三年

[On] the sixteenth day of the sixth month of the *imsin* year (552 or 612), [we] two people together **vow** and record. [We] **vow** in front of Heaven. [We] **vow** that, [in] three years from now and thereafter, [we] carry out and keep hold of the faithful way and have no mistake. [We] **vow** that, if [we] fail on this matter, [we will] receive severe punishment [from] Heaven. [We] **vow** that, [even] if the state is not at peace and [there is a] greatly disordered world, [we] shall conduct [these deeds]. Furthermore, [we] have in addition previously greatly **vowed** [on] the twenty-second day of the seventh month of the *sinmi* year (551 or 611). [We] **vowed** to in turn learn Classic of Poetry, Book of Documents, Book of Rites, and Spring and Autumn Annals for three years.

Table 2.1 below lists cases in this inscription showing the verb-final feature of Korean, together with their expected equivalent expression in Literary Sinitic.

Table 2.1 Expressions in the Imsin Vow Record Stone Following Korean Word Order and Their Literary Sinitic Counterpart

Korean	Literary Sinitic
天前誓	誓（於）天前

今 <u>自</u>	<u>自</u> 今
<u>忠道執持</u>	執持 <u>忠道</u>
<u>過失無誓</u>	誓 <u>無過失</u>
<u>此事失</u>	<u>失此事</u>
天大罪得 <u>誓</u>	誓 得大罪（於）天
可容行 <u>誓</u> 之	誓 可容行（之）
詩尚書禮傳倫得 <u>誓</u>	誓 倫得詩尚書禮傳

In this inscription, verb-object phrases are written in the way that the object (marked by a wavy underline) precedes the verb (marked by a normal underline). On top of that, most occurrences of the character 誓 ‘to vow’ (all occurrences marked in bold) come at the end of a sentence of which it is the main verb or part of the main verb phrase. These features conform with Korean word order. On the other hand, in the last sentence 詩尚書禮傳倫得誓三年 (“[We] vowed to in turn learn *Classic of Poetry*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals* for three years.”), the post-verbal occurrence of the phrase 三年 ‘[for] three years’ indicating a time period aligns with the syntax of Literary Sinitic. There is also an occurrence of the character 之 with an ambiguous function in the sentence 可容行誓之 (“[We] vow that ... [we] shall conduct [these deeds].”). It can be understood as either representing an object pronoun referring to the vow mentioned earlier or the sentence ending *-ta* = 다. The meaning of this sentence remains the same, and the difference is whether its usage aligns with Literary Sinitic or Korean.

2.1.3 Mwuswul Dike Construction Stela (*Mwuswul wocak pi* 戊戌塲作碑) (578)

This stela recording the construction of a dike was discovered in 1946 in Daegu 大邱 and is now preserved in Kyungpook National University Museum. Dated to 578, its inscription had been regarded as the earliest text written predominantly in Korean syntax (especially if the Imsin Vow Record Stone is taken

to be produced in 612) until the excavation of a wooden slip in the 1990s (Yi 2017: 184)⁶. This inscription contains a long list of personal information, which is omitted as indicated by the ellipsis in the citation below.

For more on this example, see Nam (2000: 139-148).

戊戌年四月朔十四日 另冬里村高口塢作 記之 此成在口人者 此塢大 廣廿步 高五步四尺 長五十步 此作起數者 三百十二人 功夫口 十三日 了作事之 文作人 壹利兮 一尺⁷

[On] the fourteenth day after the beginning of the fourth month of the *mwuswul* year (578), [we] constructed a high(?) dike in Lyengtwongli Village 另冬里村 and recorded it. People who have completed it are ... [As for] the size of this dike, [it is] twenty steps wide, five steps and four *chek* high, fifty steps long. The number aroused to construct this [dike] is the labor of three hundred and twenty people. It is [on] the thirteenth day that [we] finished construction. The person who composed this text is *ilchek* 一尺 Illihye 壹利兮.

The character 朔 normally refers to the first day of a month in the lunar calendar, but this meaning conflicts with the following character sequence 十四日 ‘fourteenth day’. Nam interprets it as meaning ‘to begin’, and this usage is also attested from another inscription. As for the character 之, the function of its two occurrences seems clear this time. Its first occurrence (另冬里村高口塢作 記之 “[We] constructed a high(?) dike in Lyengtwongli Village and recorded it.”) follows the Literary Sinitic usage, and its second occurrence (了作事之 “[We] finished construction.”) follows the Korean usage. A more noteworthy point in this inscription is the character 在. Its usage in formalized *itwu* is representing the Middle Korean (MK) continuative or resultative suffix *-kye-* -겨-, and it is understood in the same way here. The reading of the character sequence 成在 is assumed to be *il-i-kye-n-* 일이견- (← 일- *il-* ‘to happen’ [stem] + -ㅇ- *-i-* [causative suffix] + -겨- *-kye-* [resultative suffix] + -ㄴ- *-n-* [adnominal suffix]).

⁶This is the wooden slip no. 221 from Sengsan Mountain Fortress (*Sengsan sanseng* 城山山城) in Ham'an 咸安 County, South Gyeongsang 慶尚 Province. The site from which this slip was discovered is dated to the mid-6th century. See Yi (2017: 162-191) for a detailed analysis of this tablet.

⁷The word *ilchek* 一尺 is the title of the ninth rank in the bureaucratic system of Silla.

2.1.4 Namsan New Fortress Stelae (*Namsan sinseng pi* 南山新城碑) (591)

This is a series of nine stelae, all dated to 591, discovered in Gyeongju between 1934 and 1994 and now preserved in the National Museum of Korea. Four of them bear a legible inscription recording the construction of a fortress, each following the same format. The opening part of the inscriptions is the background information about the construction and is the same across the four stelae. The ensuing part of the inscriptions is a list of workers involved in the construction of each corresponding segment of the fortress. The common part of the inscriptions is given below. For more on this example, see Nam (2000: 149-165).

辛亥年二月二十六日 南山新城作節 如法以作 後三年崩破者 罪教事爲 聞教令 誓事之
[On] the twenty-sixth day of the second month of the *sinhay* year (591), [on] the occasion of constructing the Namsan New Fortress, [we] construct according to the regulation. [It] is the fact that [we] vow that, [if the fortress] collapses [in] three years hereafter, [we] will take [it] as a punishment [given by the king] and [follow] the order of reporting.

The character 節 is understood as meaning ‘occasion’ (the presumed underlying word is *ti.wi* 디위). The characters 教 and 爲, based on their usage in formalized *itwu*, are understood to represent the honorific suffix *-si-* -시- (in reference to the king) and the verb stem *sam-* 삼- ‘to take ... as ...’ respectively. The last character 之, following the character 事 representing the nominalizer *il* 일 ‘thing’, represents the declarative sentence ending. The same character sequence 事之 also occurs in the inscription of the Mwuswul Dike Construction Stela (了作事之 “[We] finished construction.”).

2.1.5 Mwucin Temple Bell Inscription (*Mwucinsa cwongmyeng* 无盡寺鐘銘) (745)

This is an inscription on a bell in a Buddhist temple on Tsushima 對馬 Island in Japan. The bell itself

is no longer extant, and the inscription is preserved in rubbings made in the early 19th century and now preserved in Tokyo National Museum. The inscription, with 66 characters in all, was apparently carefully produced in the form of 6 lines of 11 characters each. There is generally no difficulty in recognizing the characters. Dated to 745, this is one of the oldest texts which includes phonograms representing Korean grammatical elements, which are called “*thwo* 吐 characters” in Korean terminology⁸. For more on this example, see Nam (2000: 187-199).

天寶四載乙酉 思仁大角干爲賜夫只山村无盡寺鐘成教 受內成記 時願助在眾 郢僧村宅
方一切檀越 並成在 願旨者 一切眾生苦離樂得 教受成在 節雀⁹乃秋長幢主¹⁰

[In] the fourth year of the Chenpwo 天寶 era (745), the *ulyu* year, receiving the order issued by Saintaykakkan 思仁大角干 to complete the bell of Mwucin Temple 无盡寺 of Pwucisan Village 夫只山村, [we] completed [the bell] and recorded [this]. [At this] time, people who helped with the wish [were] all the practitioners [residing in the] direction of the residences of Sinsung Village 郢僧村, [who] together completed [the bell]. The intention of the wish [is] that all living beings get away with misery and obtain happiness. [We] received the order and completed [the bell]. [On this] occasion, the *yunay* 唯乃 (temple administrator?) is the local official Chwucang 秋長.

The characters 在 and 節 are used in the same way as in the previous examples. The phonograms representing grammatical elements in this inscription are 賜 and 內, and they are used in the same way as in *hyangchal* and later formalized *itwu* writing. The former represents the honorific suffix *-si-* -ㄱ- (cf. the equivalent logogram 教 in the inscription of the Namsan New Fortress Stelae), and the latter represents the MK present suffix *-no-* -ㄴ-.

⁸The earliest known text including such phonograms is an inscription dated to 720 on a Buddha statue in a temple called Kamsan 甘山 Temple (Nam 2000: 187; Nam 2012: 43).

⁹The character 雀 is regarded as a graphic error of the character 唯, and the character sequence 唯乃, alternatively attested as 維那, is understood to represent an official title.

¹⁰The word *tangcwu* 幢主 is the title of the intermediary-level local official in the three-tier administrative system (*cwu* 州, *kwun* 郡, *seng* 城 or *chwon* 村) of Silla.

2.1.6 Provenance Record of Kalhang Temple Stone Pagodas (*Kalhangsa sekthap cwo sengki* 葛項

寺石塔造成記) (ca. 790)

This is an inscription carved on the base stone of a pagoda of Kalhang Temple, a Buddhist temple originally in today's North Gyeongsang 慶尚 Province. While this temple is no longer extant, the pagodas are preserved in the National Museum of Korea. The temple was built in 758, but the inscription is dated to around 790 based on the personal names mentioned. For more on this example, see Nam (2000: 382-386).

二塔天寶十七年戊戌中立在之 甥姊妹三人業以成在之 甥者零妙寺言寂法師在旆 姊者照文皇太后君姊在旆 妹者敬信大王姊¹¹在也

The two pagodas were erected in the seventeenth year of the Chenpwo 天寶 era, the *mwuswul* year (758). Three people, a younger brother and two sisters, completed [it] with karma. The younger brother [was] Dharma Master Encek 言寂法師 of Lyengmyo Temple 零妙寺. The older sister [was] Empress Dowager Cwomwun 照文皇太后, mother of the king (King Wenseng 元聖 [r. 785-798]). The younger sister [was] the aunt of King Kyengsin 敬信大王 (King Wenseng).

The character 在 appears at the end of each segment of the inscription. In the first two segments, it follows a character representing a verb and is followed by the character 之 representing the declarative sentence ending. The character sequence 在之 is read as *-kye=ta* 겨다. In contrast, in the last three segments, it follows characters representing noun phrases. This makes some scholars regard these occurrences of 在 as representing the copula stem *i-* ㅇ|. Nam thinks that it still represents the suffix *-kye-* -겨- in these cases, and the copula is not explicitly transcribed. The character 旆 is a phonogram for the conjunctive particle *=mye* =며, and the character sequences 在旆 and 在也 are read as *(i-)kye=mye* (ㅇ)겨며 and *(i-)kye=ta*

¹¹The interpretation of the character 姊 is uncertain. There is no question that it refers to a female, perhaps used as an honorific designation. Considering the context here, it seems that its first occurrence in this inscription (“照文皇太后君姊在旆”) refers to the empress dowager, who is the older sister and the king's mother, and its second occurrence (“妹者敬信大王姊在也”) refers to the younger sister, who will accordingly be the king's aunt. If this is true, the character sequences 皇太后 and 君姊 both mean ‘empress dowager’, perhaps the latter being a Korean title equivalent to the former as a Chinese title.

(이)겨다 respectively.

2.2 Early History of Writing in Japan

The early history of writing in Japan is portrayed in detail in Lurie (2011) as a process of the gradual dissemination of literacy into all aspects of the society. The key difference from the case of Korea is that the Japanese archipelago has never been under the control of a Chinese polity, so there was no large-scale contact between speakers of Chinese and Japanese. The Korean peninsula also played an intermediate role in the transmission of writing to Japan.

The earliest objects with traces of writing found in Japan can be dated to the beginning of the common era and are of Chinese or Korean origin, and it is likely that what mattered to the owners or users of such objects was the aesthetic value or symbolic power of writing, rather than its linguistic function¹². The most famous example is the gold seal (*kinin* 金印) discovered in the late 18th century on Shika 志賀 Island in Kyūshū 九州 and now preserved in Fukuoka City Museum. It bears the inscription 漢委奴國王, normally read in Japanese as *Kan no Wa no Na no kokuō* ‘King of the State of Na of Wa of the Hàn (dynasty)’. The consensus is that this is exactly the seal mentioned in the Chinese historical source *Hòuhànshū* 後漢書 (Book of the Later Hàn), which states that Emperor Guāngwǔ 光武 (r. 25-57) of the Eastern Hàn (25-220) bestowed a seal to a local ruler on Kyūshū Island (Lurie 2011: 72-74).

Literacy did not really appear on the Japanese archipelago until the arrival of scribes from the Korean peninsula, likely a few centuries later, who produced longer inscriptions on artifacts such as swords, mirrors, and statues. The language of these inscriptions in general conforms more with Literary Sinitic, with sporadic

¹²This is comparable to the phenomenon in the contemporary world that people sometimes have tattoos of Chinese characters or wear clothes with Chinese characters, even though they may not know Chinese. Lurie (2011: 28-33) uses the term “alegibility” to describe this kind of situation.

Japanese linguistic elements. The seventh and eighth centuries witnessed a boom in literacy with a large number of texts and written records, which also show a variety of writing styles and techniques. The three works that are usually regarded as the foundational texts of Japanese culture were all produced in the eighth century: the historical chronicles *Kojiki* 古事記 (“Record of Ancient Matters”) (KJK) and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (“Chronicles of Japan”) (NHSK), and the poetry anthology *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集 (“Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves”) (MYS). It is often said that the language in KJK is a hybrid of Literary Sinitic and Japanese (hence similar to Korean *itwu* texts), and the language in NHSK is closer to orthodox Literary Sinitic. In contrast, MYS is the earliest extensive corpus of full vernacular writing of Japanese, and it is the Japanese equivalent to the corpus of vernacular Korean poetry roughly dated to the same time.

Most of the materials presented below can be found in Lurie (2011) with more detailed discussions. Translations are based on Lurie with slight modifications.

2.2.1 Traditional Accounts of the Beginning of Writing in Japan

There are parallel accounts in KJK and NHSK on the arrival of scribes and Chinese texts from the Korean peninsula, particularly the state of Baekje 百濟 (18 BCE-660 CE). The relevant events are recorded as taking place during the reign of Emperor Ōjin 應神¹³. For a detailed analysis of these records, see Lurie (2011: 109-114).

KJK

又、科賜百濟國、若有賢人者、貢上。故、受命以貢上人、名和邇吉師。即論語十卷、千字文一卷、並十一卷、付是人即貢進。此和邇吉師者、文首等祖。(KJK: 266-268)

Moreover, [Emperor Ōjin] ordered the state of Baekje, if there were wise people, to present them. As a result, [Baekje] received the order and presented a person named Wanikishi 和邇吉師. Along with this person, [Baekje] presented *Analects* in ten volumes and *Thousand-Character Classic* in

¹³On the dating of Emperor Ōjin's reign and relevant events, see Lurie (2011: 109, 112) and its endnote 2.26. Despite the uncertainty about the specific years, it is safe to say that Emperor Ōjin's reign falls in the fourth and fifth centuries.

one volume, for a total of eleven volumes. This Wanikishi was the ancestor of [the clan of] Fumi no obito 文首 and others.

NHSK

十五年秋八月壬戌朔丁卯、百濟王遣阿直岐、貢良馬二匹。... 阿直岐亦能讀經典、即太子菟道稚郎子師焉。於是、天皇問阿直岐曰、如勝汝博士亦有耶。對曰、有王仁者、是秀也。時遣上毛野君祖荒田別、巫別於百濟、仍徵王仁也。其阿直岐者、阿直岐史之始祖也。十六年春二月、王仁來之¹⁴。則太子菟道稚郎子師之、習諸典籍于王仁、莫不通達。所謂王仁者、是書首等之始祖也。 (NHSK 1: 482-484)

[In] the eighth month, autumn, of the fifteenth year [of the reign of Emperor Ōjin] (404?), the first day being *jinshutsu*, [on] the *teibō* day (the sixth day), the King of Baekje sent Achiki 阿直岐 and presented two refined horses. ... Achiki could also read the classics and [served as] the teacher of the Crown Prince, Uji no Wakiiratsuko 菟道稚郎子. Upon this, the Emperor asked Achiki, saying, “Are there also scholars surpassing you?” [Achiki] replied, saying, “There is Wani 王仁. He is excellent.” [At this] time, [the Emperor] sent Aratawake 荒田別 and Kamunagiwake 巫別, ancestors of [the clan of] Kamitsuke no nokimi 上毛野君, to Baekje and summoned Wani. This Achiki was the ancestor of [the clan of] Achiki no fubito 阿直岐史.

[In] the second month, spring, of the sixteenth year (405?), Wani came, and the Crown Prince, Uji no Wakiiratsuko, took him as teacher. [He] studied various texts from Wani, and there was none which [he] did not master thoroughly. The person known as Wani was the ancestor of [the clan of] Fumi no obito 書首 and others.

The person whose name is transcribed as *Wanikishi* 和邇吉師 in KJK and *Wani* 王仁 in NHSK is probably the same person, and the latter Chinese-style name indicates that he (this person is unlikely to be a female) might also have been of Chinese ancestry. The KJK account mentions the introduction of the primer *Thousand-Character Classic* 千字文 (CN *Qīānzhìwén*; JP *Senjimon*) into Japan. The work now known by this title was compiled in the early sixth century, which does not conform with the reign of Emperor Ōjin. Regardless of whether or not the referent here is the *Thousand-Character Classic* that is known today, Lurie points out that the anachronism is the key to understanding this account because in this way, from the perspective of someone living in eighth-century Japan in a world full of writing, “elite ‘literacy’ of the distant past is conceptualized in contemporary terms, and the arrival of writing in Japan is imagined as analogous

¹⁴This occurrence of the character 之 seems to fit the distinct Korean usage discussed above in the Korean sources, rather than its orthodox usage in Literary Sinitic.

to a contemporary individual's first encounter with literacy in a pedagogical context" (Lurie 2011: 113).

2.2.2 Metalinguistic Discussion of Writing

In the preface to KJK written by its compiler Ō no Yasumaro 太安萬侶 (?-723), there is a passage explaining why he chose a certain style of writing in a certain situation. For a detailed analysis of this passage, see Lurie (2011: 247-250).

然、上古之時、言意並朴、敷文構句、於字即難。已因訓述者、詞不逮心。全以音連者、事趣更長。是以、今、或一句之中、交用音訓。或一事之內、全以訓錄。即、辭理叵見、以注明。意況易解、更非注。(KJK: 24-25)

However, in the high antiquity, speech and meaning were both plain. Spreading out sentences and constructing phrases were difficult when it came to Sinograms. If narrating based on explanation (*kun*) [native readings of Sinograms], the words did not catch the mind. If completely connected with sound (*on*) [Sinitic readings of Sinograms], the narration tended to be longer. As a result, now [I] sometimes alternatively use the *on* and *kun* readings in one phrase, sometimes completely record with the *kun* reading in one narration. Thus, [if] the logic of the words cannot be seen, [I] clarify with annotations. [If] the form of the meaning is easy to understand, [I] do not further annotate.

Whether Ō no Yasumaro did it consciously or not, this is essentially a metalinguistic discussion on different ways of encoding the Japanese language in the Sinographic script, the only script available to him. The sentence 已因訓述者、詞不逮心 ("If narrating based on explanation (*kun*), the words did not catch the mind.") refers to complete logography, and the sentence 全以音連者、事趣更長 ("If completely connected with sound (*on*), the narration tended to be longer.") refers to complete phonography. Both methods have disadvantages under certain circumstances. There can well be Japanese words which do not have an appropriate equivalent in Chinese, hence there are no suitable logograms to represent them. One can certainly force the logographic use of a Sinogram, but the result may be that "the words did not catch the mind." That

is to say, complete logography may cause the writer to be unable to express his ideas clearly. On the other hand, since most commonly used Sinographic phonograms in Japanese (*man'yōgana*) have a monosyllabic reading and native Japanese words tend to have more than one syllable in pronunciation, complete phonography usually requires the use of multiple Sinograms to represent one word, so “the narration tended to be longer.” As a result, the mixture of phonography and logography (交用音訓) achieves a balance between economy in transcription and effective communication, and this is still the basic principle of modern Japanese orthography.

2.2.3 Seven-Branched Sword (*shichishitō* 七支刀) (369?)

The Seven-Branched Sword is an artifact with unknown provenance among the treasures kept in Isonokami Shrine 石上神宮 in central Japan, and its inscription was not discovered until the late 19th century due to rust on the sword. Each of the two sides of the blade bears an inscription, and they together form a coherent text. There are some controversies on the inscription because it is heavily damaged, and what is presented here is just one version of decipherment and interpretation. For more on this example, see Lurie (2011: 86-88).

泰和四年□月十六日丙午正陽 造百鍊鋼七支刀 □辟百兵 宜□供侯王 □□□□作
先世以來未有此刀 百濟王世子奇生聖音 故爲倭王旨造 傳示後世

[On] the sixteenth day of the ... month in the fourth year of the Tàihé 泰和 era, [on] the *heigo* day, [at] high noon, [I] made the seven-branched sword of multiply-refined iron. [It] dispels various weapons. [It is] suitable for making offerings to (?) a marquis or king. ... made [it].

There has never been such a sword since past times. The Crown Prince of the King of Baekje miraculously produced a sagely sound (?), so [the king had it] made for King Shi 旨 (?) of Wa. [May it be] passed down and shown to later generations.

Problems are mainly centered on three places in this inscription. (1). The first two characters 泰和, which

apparently record an era name, do not exactly conform with a known Chinese era name in roughly the same period. The interpretation followed here takes the character 泰 as a graphic variant of the character 太, and among multiple possibilities, Tàihé 太和 (366-371) is taken as an era name in the Eastern Jin 晉 (317-420) dynasty. Accordingly, the sword and inscription are dated to 369. (2). The identification of the last character in the second sentence of the second part of the inscription, which is given as 音 here, is uncertain. Two major views are 音 ‘sound’ and 晉 ‘Jin dynasty (?)’, and it is difficult to understand the meaning of the phrase 奇生聖音 or 奇生聖晉 in either case. (3). The character 旨 in the third sentence of the second part of the inscription is understood as either meaning ‘purpose’ or ‘order’ or representing the name of the Japanese ruler who received this sword.

It is generally believed that this sword corresponds to an account in NHSK which mentions a “seven-branched sword” presented by Baekjae to the Japanese court. This event took place in the 52nd year of Empress Jingū 神功, which is dated to 372 by modern scholars.

五十二年秋九月丁卯朔丙子、久氏等從千熊長彥詣之。則獻七枝刀一口、七子鏡一面及種種重寶。(NHSK 1: 460-461)

[In] the ninth month, autumn, of the fifty-second year [of the reign of Empress Jingū] (372?), the first day being *teibō*, [on] the *heishi* day (the ninth day), Kute 久氏 [Baekjae envoy] and others followed Chikuma Nagahiko 千熊長彥 [Japanese envoy] to visit [the Japanese court]. [Kute] then presented one seven-branched sword, one seven-accessorized mirror, and various kinds of precious treasures.

If this is true, then this sword was produced on the Korean peninsula, and any potential non-Chinese linguistic elements in the inscription (which do not seem to exist) should reflect the features of Korean rather than Japanese. Similarly, it should be more appropriate to discuss this example in relation to Korean writing rather than Japanese writing. Regardless of the linguistic context, together with the textual records of the

arrival of scribes, this is another attestation of Baekjae's role in the transmission of writing to Japan. The first part of the inscription follows the model of contemporary mirror inscriptions produced in China, and similar expressions can still be seen from the later sword inscriptions produced locally in Japan.

2.2.4 Eta-Funayama Sword and Sakitama-Inariyama Sword (5th century)

These two swords show a high degree of resemblance in the content and orthography of their inscriptions, although they were excavated from places far from each other. For more on these two examples, see Lurie (2011: 92-99).

The Eta-Funayama 江田船山 Sword was discovered in 1873 from a tomb dated to the end of the fifth century in Kumamoto 熊本 Prefecture on Kyūshū Island, and it is now preserved in Tokyo National Museum. Its inscription is probably the earliest known example which shows an attempt to represent Japanese linguistic elements.

治天下獲加多支鹵大王世 奉事典曹人 名无利旦 八月中 用大鐵釜并四尺廷刀 八十練
九十振 三寸上好刊刀 服此刀者 長壽 子孫洋々 得口恩也 不失其所統 作刀者名伊太和
書者張安也

[In] the age of the Great King Wakatakeru 獲加多支鹵 (Emperor Yūryaku 雄略 [r. 456-479]) who ruled all under heaven, the master of ceremonies who served [the Emperor], named Murite 无利旦, in the eighth month, used a great iron kettle together with a four-foot court sword, refining eighty times and beating ninety times, [made] an excellent three-inch sharp sword. Whoever bears this sword will live long, have many descendants, obtain mercy ..., and not lose what he governs. The person who made this sword was named Itawa 伊太和. The person who wrote [this inscription] was Zhāng Ān (or JP Chō An) 張安.

The Sakitama-Inariyama 埼玉稻荷山 Sword was discovered in 1968 from a tomb dated to late 5th century in Saitama 埼玉 Prefecture in central Japan, and it is now preserved in the on-site museum.

辛亥年七月**中**記 乎獲居臣 上祖名意富比埵 其兒多加利足尼 其兒名**𠂔**已加利獲居 其兒名多加披次獲居 其兒名多沙鬼獲居 其兒名半**𠂔**比
其兒名加差披余 其兒名乎獲居臣 世々為杖刀**人**首 奉事來至今 獲加多支鹵大王寺在斯鬼宮時 吾左治天下 令作此百練利刀 記吾奉事根原也

Recorded in the seventh month of the *shinkai* year (471). Owake omi 乎獲居臣, [whose] ancestor was named Ohohiko 意富比埵. His son was Takari sukune 多加利足尼. His son was named Teyokariwake 𠂔已加利獲居. His son was named Takahashiwake 多加披次獲居. His son was named Tasakiwake 多沙鬼獲居. His son was named Hatehi 半𠂔比.

His son was named Kasahayo 加差披余. His son was named Owake omi. Generation after generation, [we] have been chief sword-bearer and served until the present. When the court of the Great King Wakatakeru 獲加多支鹵 (Emperor Yūryaku 雄略 [r. 456-479]) was at Shiki 斯鬼 Palace, I assisted [the Emperor] in ruling all under heaven. [I] ordered to make this multiply-refined sharp sword to record the origin of my service.

Each inscription records the identity of the person who commissioned the sword, and they happened to be serving the same monarch. The monarch's name is transcribed as *Wakatakeru* 獲加多支鹵 (the missing characters in the first inscription are supplemented based on the second inscription) and is generally identified as Emperor Yūryaku 雄略 (r. 456-479). As a result, the Sakitama-Inariyama Sword can be exactly dated to 471 on the basis of the sexagesimal year that it records. The Eta-Funayama Sword inscription additionally records its craftsman and scribe, and the scribe appears to have a Chinese-style name 張安. Like Wani mentioned in NHSK, this is perhaps also a person of Chinese ancestry from the Korean peninsula.

The usage of a few characters in these two inscriptions does not conform with the orthodoxy of Literary Sinitic and is likely to be of Korean origin, and all such cases are bolded in the text. The character 人 'person' is used as a suffix in phrases which appear to be official titles. The character 中 'middle' occurs after temporal expressions, where it is redundant in Literary Sinitic, so it may be representing the required locative particle in this position in Korean and Japanese¹⁵. Both phenomena can be found in contemporary

¹⁵It should be clarified that what is unusual from the perspective of Literary Sinitic is the appearance of the word 中 'middle' in a phrase like 八月中 when the intended meaning is simply 'in the eighth month'. On the other hand, such phrases do occur in Literary Sinitic sources, but they may have a slightly different meaning 'in the middle of the eighth month' or 'throughout the eighth month'. The assumption here is that the character 中 represents the respective locative particle in Korean and Japanese which is required after a temporal expression, and the character sequences 八月中 and 七月中 in the two inscriptions simply mean 'in the eighth month' and 'in the seventh month' respectively.

written records on the Korean peninsula. The character 𠂔, whose graphic form looks like the character 弓 ‘bow’ plus a horizontal stroke at the bottom, is a common Sinographic phonogram in Japanese writing for the syllable *te*. It occurs in a few personal names in these two inscriptions, and notably, it also occurs in a toponym (幹𠂔利城) in King Kwangkaythwo Stela¹⁶.

2.2.5 Inscriptions on Buddhist Statues in Hōryū Temple (7th century)

There are parallel inscriptions on two Buddhist statues in the main hall (*kondō* 金堂) of Hōryū 法隆 Temple near Nara 奈良, one of the earliest Buddhist temples in Japan, said to be founded by Prince Shōtoku 聖德 (574-622) in the early 7th century. The two inscriptions are somewhat related in content but show a stark contrast in writing style. Apart from the English translation, a tentative Japanese gloss in the style of *kundoku* is also given for each text¹⁷. For more on these examples, see Lurie (2011: 214-222).

The first inscription is on the back of the aureole of the Shaka Triad statue (*Shaka sanzonzō* 釋迦三尊像) and, with skepticism, is dated to 623. It is mostly written in Literary Sinitic, featured by a number of consecutive four-character sequences.

法興元卅一年 歲次辛巳十二月 鬼前太后崩 明年正月廿二日 上宮法皇 枕病弗愈 干食
王后 仍以勞疾 並着於床 時王后王子等 及與諸臣 深懷愁毒 共相發願 仰依三寶 當造
釋像尺寸王身 蒙此願力 轉病延壽 安住世間 若是定業 以背世者 往登淨土 早昇妙果
二月廿一日癸酉 王后即世 翌日 法皇登遐 癸未年三月中 如願敬造釋迦尊像並俠侍及莊

¹⁶For a discussion on the character 𠂔, see Bentley (2016: 434-436), who argues that it is an allographic form of the character 氏.

¹⁷See section 5.1.2 for a detailed discussion of *kundoku*. The *kundoku* reading of these inscriptions is the result of a class project in the 2018 IUC (Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies) Summer Kanbun Course which I attended. There are four types of glossing marks used in the *kundoku* presentation: (1). Reading gloss in the form of *hiragana* graphs above each character indicating its reading; (2). Compounding mark in the form of a hyphen <-> between adjacent Sinograms, indicating that the characters involved represent a compound SJ word and should not be separated in reading; (3). Two different kinds of word-order gloss. When two adjacent characters are to be reversed in reading, the subscripted mark <レ> is inserted between them. When two non-adjacent segments of characters are to be reversed in reading, the subscripted Sinograms <一> (“one”) and <二> (“two”) are placed after the corresponding character, indicating that the segment marked by <一> is to be read first and that marked by <二> is to be read next. (4). Morphosyntactic gloss in the form of superscripted *katakana* graphs, indicating the Japanese grammatical elements to be supplemented in reading.

嚴具竟 乘斯微福 信道知識 現在安隱 出生入死 隨奉三主 紹隆三寶 遂共彼岸 普遍六道法界含識 得脫苦緣 同趣菩提 使司馬鞍首止利佛師造

Thirty-one years after the arising of the Dharma, [in] the twelfth month of the year with Jupiter in the *shinshi* position (621), Empress Dowager Kamusaki 鬼前太后 passed away. [On] the twenty-second day of the first month of the following year, Dharma Emperor of the Upper Palace 上宮法皇 (Prince Shōtoku 聖德 [574-622]) took to his bed due to illness and did not feel comfortable. Queen Kashiwade 干食王后 became ill due to fatigue and together lay on the bed. At the time, the Queen, the Princes, and various ministers deeply felt grief and sorrow and together made a vow, “In reverent accord with the Three Treasures, [we] shall make an image of Shaka of the length of the Emperor’s body. Receiving the power of this vow, [may he] reverse his illness and extend his life, and peacefully reside in this world. If it [is] the fixed Karma that [he] turns his back on the world, [may he] go on and ascend the Pure Land and rise to enlightenment early.” [On] the twenty-first day of the second month, the *kiyū* day, the Queen passed away. [On] the following day, the Dharma Emperor ascended into the empyrean. In the third month of the *kimi* year (623), in accordance with the vow, [we] reverently made the respectable image of Shaka with attendants and appurtenances complete. Taking advantage of this tiny merit, [may] the believers and acquaintances be at peace in this life; coming out of life and entering death, [may they] follow and serve the Three Lords, inherit and solemnify the Three Treasures, and finally together [reach] the other shore. [May] all sentient beings of the Realm of Dharma of the Six Paths able to escape from miserable destiny and together proceed to enlightenment. [We] had Buddha Master Tori 止利佛師 of the Shiba 司馬 [clan], head of the Saddler’s Guild, make [the statue].

Kundoku Gloss

法興元^{ほうこうげん} 卅^{さんじゅう} 一^{いち} 年^{ねん} 歲次^{さいじ} 辛巳^{しんし} 十^{じゅう} 二^に 月^{がつ} 鬼前太后崩^{かむさきおほきさきほうず} 明^{みょう} 年^{ねん} 正^{しょう} 月^{がつ} 廿^{にじゅう} 二^に 日^{にち} 上^{じょう} 宮^{ぐう}
法皇^{ほうおう} 枕^{まくら} 病^{やまひ} 弗^ず 愈^よ カラ 干食王后^{かしわでおうこう} 仍^{かして} 以^{おう} 勞^こ ル^{もって} 疾^{つか} 並^{あひ} 着^き ク^や 於^を 床^{とこ} ニ 時^{とき} 王后王^{おうこうおう} 子^こ
等^ら 及^{およ} 與^{とも} ニ 諸^{しよ} 臣^{しん} 深^{ふか} 懷^{おも} ヒ 愁^{しゅう} 毒^{どく} テ 共^{とも} 相^{あひ} 發^{はつ} 願^{がん} シ 仰^{あほ} ギ 依^よ リ 三^{さん} 寶^{ほう} ニ 當^{まさ} レ 造^{つく} リ 釋^{しゃく} 像^{ぞう} 尺^{しゃく}
寸^{すん} 王^{おう} ノ 身^み テ 蒙^{かうむ} リ 此^こ ノ 願^{がん} 力^{りき} テ 轉^{てん} ジレ 病^{やまひ} テ 延^{えん} シ 壽^{いのち} テ 安^{あん} 住^{じゅう} ニ 世^せ 間^{げん} ニ 若^も シ 是^{これ} 定^{じょう} 業^{ごう} ナリ 以^{もつて} 背^{そむ} ク^レ
世^よ 者^は 往^ゆ キ 登^{のぼ} リ 淨^{じよう} 土^ど ニ 早^{はや} ク 昇^{のぼ} ラン 妙^{みょう} 果^か ニ 二^に 月^{がつ} 廿^{にじゅう} 一^{いち} 日^{にち} 癸^{みづ} 酉^う 王^{おう} 后^{こう} 即^{そく} 世^{せい} ス 翌^{よく} 日^{じつ} 法^{ほう}
皇^{おう} 登^{とう} 遐^か ス 癸^み 未^み 年^{ねん} 三^{さん} 月^{がつ} 中^{じゅう} 如^{ごと} ク 願^{ねが} ヒ 敬^{かう} ク 造^{つく} リ 釋^{しゃく} 迦^か 尊^{そん} 像^{ぞう} テ 並^{なら} ビ 俠^{ぎやう} 侍^じ 及^{およ} ヒ 莊^{そう} 嚴^{げん} 具^ぐ 竟^{けつ} ク
乘^の リ 斯^こ ノ 微^み 福^{ふく} ニ 信^{しん} 道^{どう} 知^ち 識^{しき} 現^{げん} 在^{ざい} 安^{あん} 隱^{いん} ナリ 出^い デ 生^{しょう} 入^い レ 死^し 隨^{ずい} 奉^ぶ シ 三^{さん} 主^{しゅ} ニ 紹^{じょう} 隆^{りゅう} ニ
三^{さん} 寶^{ほう} テ 遂^{つひ} 共^{とも} 彼^か 岸^{がん} ニ イタル 普^ふ 遍^{へん} 六^{ろく} 道^{どう} 法^{ほう} 界^{かい} 含^{こん} 識^{しき} 得^え レ 脫^{だつ} ク^ル テ 苦^く 緣^{えん} テ 同^{とも} 趣^{おもむ} ク 菩^ぼ 提^{だい} ニ
使^し ム 司^し 馬^ば 鞍^{くらつくり} 首^{おび} ノ 止^と 利^り 佛^{ぶつ} 師^し テ 造^{つく} ラ

The second inscription is on the back of the aureole of the Yakushi Buddha statue (*Yakushi nyoraizō* 藥師如來像). Its dating is more problematic and is generally assumed to be produced in the late 7th century.

In contrast to the Shaka Triad inscription, it contains a high degree of Japanese linguistic features.

池邊大宮治天下天皇 **大御身勞賜時** 歲次丙午年 召於大王天皇與太子而 誓願賜 我大御病太平欲坐 故將造寺藥師像作仕奉詔 然 當時崩賜造不堪者 小治田大宮治天下大王天皇及東宮聖王 太命受賜而 歲次丁卯年仕奉

When the Emperor who ruled all under heaven from the Great Palace of Ikenobe 池邊大宮 (Emperor Yōmei 用明 [r. 585-587]) was in poor health, it was the year with Jupiter in the *heigo* position (586). [He] summoned the Great Empress and the Crown Prince and made a vow and a wish, proclaiming, “[I] wish to ameliorate the illness, so [I] intend to build a temple and make an image of Yakushi.” However, at that time [the Emperor] passed away and was not able to build [the temple], so the Great Empress who ruled all under heaven from the Great Palace of Owarida 小治田大宮 (Empress Suiko 推古 [r. 593-628]) and the Sage Prince of the East Palace 東宮聖王 (Prince Shōtoku 聖德 [574-622]) accepted the great command and carried it out [in] the year with Jupiter in the *teibō* position (607).

Kundoku Gloss

いげ／べ おほみやしらしめ シシ／天ノ下ヲ 天皇 **大御身勞賜時** さい じ へい ご ねん め シシ おほきみすめらみこと
池邊大宮 治シ天下天皇 **大御身勞賜時** 歲次丙午年 召シ於大王天皇
と たい し ヲ 而 ちか ねが たま へ われ おほ み やみ たい へい ぼつ し おほ セント ゆえニ まさニ スト つくり てら やく し ぞう つくり
與太子而 誓願賜 我大御病太平欲坐 故將造寺藥師像作
つかまつり たてまつ ラント しょう ス しかり モ とう じ ほう シ たま へ つくり ね あ へ お ほり だ おほみやしらしめ あめノしたヲ おほきみ
仕奉 然 當時崩賜造不堪者 小治田大宮 治ス天下大王
すめらみこと およ とう ぐう せい おう たい めい ヲ ケ たま へ さい じ てい ほう ねん つかまつり たてまつル
天皇及東宮聖王 太命受賜而 歲次丁卯年仕奉

The Japanese linguistic features in the Yakushi inscription can be classified into three types: (1). honorific expressions (relevant characters marked in bold); (2). particles represented by characters (shaded) which are redundant from the perspective of Literary Sinitic¹⁸; (3). phrases or expressions following Japanese word

¹⁸In the fourth segment of the inscription (召於大王天皇與太子而), the presence of the character 於 is curious. Its normal *kundoku* reading is the locative phrase (=ni) *ok-e-ru* = における-, which does not fit the presumed meaning of this sentence. As a result, it is regarded as a character potentially representing some Japanese linguistic elements here because it is redundant in Literary Sinitic, but its exact reading or function is unclear.

order (marked by an underline). It is noteworthy that the character sequence 藥師像作 ‘to make a Yakushi statue’ with Japanese word order immediately follows the character sequence 造寺 ‘to build a temple’ with Chinese word order, and there is no way to tell if this is an scribal error here (if so, then following Chinese word order would be the error) or an intentional contrast. Nevertheless, there should be no problem regarding this inscription as a genuine effort to represent the Japanese language, and it would not be long until full vernacular writing of Japanese came into being.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has presented a number of early samples of writing from Korea and Japan to identify the elements or features of the vernacular language represented in these texts. Although Literary Sinitic might have been transmitted to the Korean peninsula before the common era, actual texts seem to not have been produced locally until the 5th century CE, which is also roughly the time when Literary Sinitic was transmitted to Japan from Korea. In the next few centuries, a relatively large number of samples of writing were produced in both regions. A survey of some representative samples of writing from this period in chronological order reveals the general trajectory of the development of vernacular writing: from the sporadic appearances of proper nouns recorded phonographically to the arrangement of Sinograms in conformity with the word order of the vernacular language, and from the increasing degree of notation of grammatical morphemes to the eventual emergence of full vernacular writing in the 7th and 8th centuries. It is in this sense that the first two thirds of the first millennium in the common era can be recognized as the “early history of writing” in Korea and Japan. Moving forward from this formative period of literacy, the next two chapters examine in detail the earliest examples of full vernacular writing of Korean and Japanese, in the form of poetry in both cases.

Chapter 3

Earliest Full Vernacular Writing of Korean and Japanese

Chapters 3 and 4 examine full vernacular writing of Korean and Japanese attested in the earliest extant sources. “Full vernacular writing” means that the underlying language of a text conforms with the features of the vernacular language completely or at least to a high degree, especially on the syntactic level. The emergence of full vernacular writing is the natural result of the spread of knowledge of Literary Sinitic, which made it possible for speakers of the vernacular languages to encode the full range of their spoken language with Sinograms. A text which can be characterized as full vernacular writing of Korean and Japanese should meet two criteria: (1). the word order conforms with the vernacular language rather than Chinese (e.g., object-verb or verb-final, certain grammatical structures with a different word order such as the potential structure); (2). the grammatical elements of the vernacular language (e.g., particles, inflectional suffixes, sentence endings) are consistently represented. The sources used for these two chapters are the earliest systematic textual materials which meet these criteria in each language: Korean *hyangga* 鄉歌 (“country song” or “local song”) and Japanese vernacular poetry (*waka* 和歌), especially the anthology *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集 (“Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves”) (MYS). These two groups of texts are comparable to each other as vernacular poetry dated to roughly the same time period (second half of the first millennium). It is not surprising that full vernacular writing was first realized in the transcription of poetry, as poetry composition is closely associated with spoken language. Moreover, the orthographic features and techniques of character use reflected in these materials are largely representative of Korean and Japanese Sinographic writing in general.

The corpus of *hyangga* has rarely been studied outside Korean scholarship. The majority of this chapter

presents the results of my own comprehensive examination of *hyangka*, the first of its kind in Western scholarship, including both the interpretation of each poem and the analysis and categorization of the adaptation type and function of the characters. This kind of work is feasible because of the small size of the corpus. It is also important because, as the only extant systematic corpus of full Sinographic vernacular writing of Korean, *hyangka* shows how Sinograms are actually used to encode the Korean language. Therefore, it is a valuable source for studying both Korean literature and the Korean language, and additionally, it also provides an opportunity to see whether there are universal patterns in the adaptation of the Chinese script by comparison with Japanese Sinographic writing. In contrast to *hyangka*, the corpus of contemporaneous vernacular Japanese poetry not only is much larger in size but also has been far more frequently studied. As a result, the rest of this chapter presents a small number of vernacular Japanese poems, which are selected also to show the orthographic diversity in the transcription of poetry, to facilitate a comparison of the two literary traditions and Sinographic writing of the two languages. While the basic framework of script adaptation applies to both languages because of their typological similarity, there are variations in some specific orthographic features or techniques. In general, this chapter focuses on the regular situation of Sinographic writing in Korean and Japanese, while the next chapter specifically examines a special orthographic phenomenon in MYS known as “playful writing” (*gisho* 戯書).

The detailed sources and data for this chapter are attached as Appendices 1 to 3 after the main body of the dissertation. Appendix 1 gives the interpretation of every *hyangka* poem. Appendix 2 is a concordance index of all the characters in the *hyangka* corpus, listing the function of every occurrence of every character. These two appendices combined make up a comprehensive study of *hyangka*. Appendix 3 gives the interpretation of the vernacular Japanese poems cited in this chapter.

3.1 Korean *Hyangka*

It is assumed that vernacular poetry was a flourishing literary genre on the Korean peninsula in the second half of the first millennium CE, from the Three Kingdoms period until at least the early years of the Goryeo 高麗 period (918-1392). A well-known example recorded in the historical chronicle *Samkwuk saki* 三國史記 (“Record of the History of the Three Kingdoms”) (SKSK) states that Queen Cinseng 眞聖 of Silla (r. 887-897) ordered the compilation of an anthology of vernacular poems (or songs) titled *Samtaymwok* 三代目 in 888 (修集鄉歌 謂之三代目云 “... compiled and collected local songs, calling it *Samtaymwok*”) (YCSKSK 1: 232), which would be the Korean counterpart of MYS compiled about 100 years earlier¹. This anthology no longer exists, and for reasons not particularly clear, this literary tradition died out in later history as well. All that remains today is a small corpus of poems known as *hyangka*. The notational system of the Korean language reflected in these poems is accordingly called *hyangchal* 鄉札 (“country letter” or “local letter”). In fact, this is the only extant corpus of full vernacular Korean writing produced before the creation of the Korean alphabet in the mid-15th century.

3.1.1 The Corpus of *Hyangka*

Different from the anthology *Samtaymwok* which was said to have been purposefully compiled, the extant corpus of *hyangka* is actually two separate textual groups with a total of 25 poems recorded in two different sources, hereafter referred to as group 1 and group 2 respectively. For convenience, in this study, an individual poem is normally referred to by its corresponding number given in tables 3.1 and 3.2 below

¹If the title of this work is understood from the perspective of Literary Sinitic, it means something like ‘items/lists of (poems) in three generations/periods’. There are also opinions that the title is a phonetic transcription of a native Korean phrase. For example, Em (2002) proposes that 三代 represents the word *sa.nwoy* (三 as a PAP for the first syllable, 代 as an SAP for the second syllable [from MK *nwi* 늬 ‘age, generation’]) and therefore is equivalent to another Sinographic written form 詞腦 (see section 3.1.2), and 目 is a PAP for the word *mwok* referring to music mode.

rather than by its title.

Group 1 includes 14 poems from the historical chronicle *Samkwuk yusa* 三國遺事 (SKYS) (“Vestiges of the Three Kingdoms”), which was compiled in the 13th century by the Buddhist monk Ilyen 一然 (1206-1289). This work is written in Literary Sinitic and divided into a total of five volumes (*kwen* 卷) and nine parts (marked by ordinal phrases from *cey-il* 第一 ‘first’ to *cey-kwu* 第九 ‘ninth’). Each part has a different theme, and the poems are scattered in different parts throughout the work. The following table is a list of group 1 poems and their provenance, arranged in the order of their occurrence in SKYS.

Table 3.1 Group 1 *Hyangga* Poems in *Samkwuk yusa*

No.	Title	Provenance	Reign
1	<i>Mwo cwukcilang ka</i> 慕竹旨郎歌 “Song of Admiring Knight Cwukci”	Volume 2, Part 2 卷第二紀異第二 “孝昭王代 竹旨郎”	King Hyoswo 孝昭 (32nd, 692-702)
2	<i>Nwoin henhwa ka</i> 老人獻花歌 “Song of an Old Man Presenting Flowers”	Volume 2, Part 2 卷第二紀異第二 “水路夫人”	King Sengtek 聖德 (33rd, 702-737)
3	<i>Anmin ka</i> 安民歌 “Song of Pacifying the People”	Volume 2, Part 2 卷第二紀異第二 “景德王 忠談師 表訓大德”	King Kyengtek 景德 (35th, 742-765)
4	<i>Chan kiphalang ka</i> 讚耆婆郎歌 “Song of Praising Knight Kipha”	Volume 2, Part 2 卷第二紀異第二 “景德王 忠談師 表訓大德”	King Kyengtek 景德 (35th, 742-765)
5	<i>Cheyong ka</i> 處容歌 “Song of Cheyong”	Volume 2, Part 2 卷第二紀異第二 “處容郎 望海寺”	King Hengkang 憲康 (49th, 875-886)
6	<i>Setwong yo</i> 薯童謠 “Ballad of the Potato Child”	Volume 2, Part 2 卷第二紀異第二 “武王”	King Cinphyeng 真平 (26th, 579-632)
7	<i>Two chenswu taypi ka</i> 禱千手大悲歌 “Song of Praying to the Thousand- Handed Great Compassion”	Volume 3, Part 4 卷第三塔像第四 “芬皇寺 千手大悲 盲兒得眼”	King Kyengtek 景德 (35th, 742-765)
8	<i>Phwung yo</i> 風謠 “Folk Ballad”	Volume 4, Part 5 卷第四義解第五 “良志使錫”	Queen Sentek 善德 (27th, 632-647)

9	<i>Wen wangsaying ka</i> 願往生歌 “Song of Wishing for Rebirth”	Volume 5, Part 7 卷第五感通第七 “廣德 嚴莊”	King Mwonmwu 文武 (30th, 661-681)
10	<i>Twoswol ka</i> 兜率歌 “Song of Tusita”	Volume 5, Part 7 卷第五感通第七 “月明師 兜率歌”	King Kyengtek 景德 (35th, 742-765)
11	<i>Cey mangmay ka</i> 祭亡妹歌 “Song of Memorializing the Dead Younger Sister”	Volume 5, Part 7 卷第五感通第七 “月明師 兜率歌”	King Kyengtek 景德 (35th, 742-765)
12	<i>Hyeyseng ka</i> 彗星歌 “Song of Comet”	Volume 5, Part 7 卷第五感通第七 “融天師 彗星歌 真平王代”	King Cinphyeng 真平 (26th, 579-632)
13	<i>Wen ka</i> 怨歌 “Song of Grief”	Volume 5, Part 8 卷第五避隱第八 “信忠掛冠”	King Hyoseng 孝成 (34th, 737-742)
14	<i>Wucek ka</i> 遇賊歌 “Song of Encountering Bandits”	Volume 5, Part 8 卷第五避隱第八 “永才遇賊”	King Wenseng 元聖 (38th, 785-798)

As can be seen from the table, especially the titles², these poems are of heterogenous content. In the original text of SKYS, each poem is recorded in the middle of a narrative when the plot calls for it, so what the reader encounters is a string of Sinograms representing Korean embedded within a narrative written in Literary Sinitic. In this way, the narrative essentially serves to provide the background information about the poem, that is, the circumstance under which the poem was composed or chanted. The dating of these poems is indicated by the monarch to which the narrative is associated. In theory, this can be misleading because a poem could have been either already in existence in some form or composed later, when the narrative was conventionalized, but this is the only piece of evidence available about dating. Taking the dates at their face value, the majority of group 1 poems can be dated to the second half of the 7th century and the 8th century, corresponding to the first half of the Unified Silla period (668-935). In terms of form, the 14 poems fall into

²The title of most of these poems is not originally recorded in SKYS but is given by modern scholars. As a result, different scholars may use different titles for the same poem, but those given here are the most widely used titles.

three types: (1). 4 lines (one stanza) (poems 2, 6, 8, and 10); (2). 8 lines (two 4-line stanzas) (poems 1 and 5); (3). 10 lines (two 4-line stanzas followed by one 2-line final stanza marked by a special character sequence) (poems 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14)³.

Group 2 includes 11 poems from *Kyunyecen* 均如傳 (“Biography of Kyunye”) (KYC), biography of the Buddhist monk Kyunye 均如 (917-973), written by a certain Hyeklyen Ceng 赫連挺 in 1075. In contrast to group 1, group 2 poems are homogenous in content, authorship, and form. All of these poems take the 3-stanza 10-line form and are attributed to Kyunye, who allegedly composed them in accordance to the ten vows of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra 普賢 (CN *pǔxián*; KR *pwohyen*) recorded in *Avatamsaka Sutra* 華嚴經 (CN *huáyánjīng*; KR *hwaemkyeng*). Therefore, they are also alternatively called “songs of Samantabhadra’s ten vows” (*Pwohyen sipwen ka* 普賢十願歌). Based on the historical account of Kyunye’s life, Lee (1961: 413) assumes that he composed these poems in the 960s. The following table is a list of group 2 poems, arranged in the order of their occurrence in KYC, and the numbering is continued from group 1.

Table 3.2 Group 2 *Hyangka* Poems in *Kyunyecen*

No.	Title
15	<i>Yeykyeng ceypwul ka</i> 禮敬諸佛歌 “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”
16	<i>Chingchan yelay ka</i> 稱讚如來歌 “Song of Praising Tathāgata”
17	<i>Kwangswu kwongyang ka</i> 廣修供養歌 “Song of Widely Practicing Devotion”
18	<i>Chamhwoy epcang ka</i> 懺悔業障歌 “Song of Repenting Karmic Obstacles”
19	<i>Swuhuy kwongtek ka</i> 隨喜功德歌 “Song of Muditā and Merit”
20	<i>Chengcen peplyun ka</i> 請轉法輪歌 “Song of Requesting to Turn the Wheel of Dharma”
21	<i>Chengpwul cwusey ka</i> 請佛住世歌 “Song of Requesting the Buddha to Reside in the World”
22	<i>Sangswu pwulhak ka</i> 常隨佛學歌 “Song of Constantly Following Buddhist Studies”
23	<i>Hangswun cwungsayng ka</i> 恒順眾生歌 “Song of Consistently Complying with All Living Beings”
24	<i>Pwokay hwoyhyang ka</i> 普皆回向歌 “Song of the Mass All Transferring Merit”

³The textual division is based on how the poems are analyzed and interpreted by modern scholars. Needless to say, it is possible that the modern analysis of a poem may deviate from its intended form.

Each of these poems is also accompanied by a Chinese-style poem in the form of 7-syllable 8-line regulated verse recorded in KYC. These pieces were composed by a person named Chwoy Hayngkwi 崔行歸, apparently a contemporary of Kyunye. In his preface (with a date presumably being 967)⁴ to these poems, Chwoy explained that his purpose was to make Kyunye’s works intelligible to Chinese literati, so these Chinese-style poems essentially serve as the Chinese translations of Kyunye’s original poems.

The underlying language of *hyangka* is Old Korean (OK), which is usually regarded as the direct ancestor of Modern Korean (MoK). Since there is a time gap, which may fall anywhere between 50 and 350 years if the corresponding reign periods are directly taken as the time of composition of group 1 poems, between the two groups, it is natural to assume that there was a certain degree of language change from group 1 to group 2. Nam (2012: 41) further divides OK into Early Old Korean (EOK) (Three Kingdoms period, ca. 500-660s), Middle Old Korean (MOK) (Unified Silla period, 660s-930s), and Late Old Korean (LOK) (Goryeo period, 930s-mid-13th century). In this periodization, group 1 largely belongs to MOK, and group 2 belongs to LOK. Within group 1, it is also possible to determine which poems might have been later works than the others by observing the characters used and the grammar of the language, and Nam (2012: 45) treats poems 5, 6, and 8 as LOK texts. A good example is the notation of the accusative particle (MoK =을/=를 =(*lul*), for which the predominant character is 𪛗 in group 1 and 乙 in group 2 respectively. Because the latter also occurs in poems 5 and 6 of group 1 with the same function, this is not likely to be simply an idiosyncratic choice by Kyunye (who composed all group 2 poems), but rather an indication that there was a sound change in the underlying morpheme, and poems 5 and 6 should have been composed later

⁴The marker of dating is the phrase 宋曆八年 ‘eighth year of the Sòng calendar’, and the Sòng dynasty was established in 960.

than the other poems in group 1.

In addition to these two groups of 25 poems covered in this dissertation, there are still other potential candidates for *hyangka* poems. A poem, now with the title *Two icang ka* 悼二將歌 (“Song of Mourning Two Generals”), is recorded in the postface, under the title *Sicwo cangcelkwong hayngcek* 始祖壯節公行績 (“Deeds and Achievements of the Ancestor Sir Cangcel”), to the family genealogy of the Sin 申 clan. According to this postface dated to 1565, this poem was composed by King Yey 睿 (r. 1105-1122) of Goryeo in 1120 on the occasion of memorializing two generals, Sin Swungkyem 申崇謙 (?-927) (subject of this postface) and Kim (L)ak 金樂 (dates unknown), who died in a battle before the founding of the Goryeo period. This poem is included by some scholars in the study of *hyangka* (e.g., Yu 1994: 1103-1126), which would make it the latest known *hyangka* poem. It is excluded from this dissertation because, as an isolated piece from a later date, its degree of comparability to other poems is not very high. In addition, a recently discovered wooden tablet also contains what is suspected to be the fragment of a poem. This is Gyeongju National Museum wooden tablet no. 1 discovered in 2000 and roughly dated to the early eighth century. Lee SeungJae (2013: 145-168) attempts a detailed interpretation of the text, arguing that it is indeed a *hyangka* poem on the basis of a comparison of the characters appearing here and those used in the transmitted *hyangka* poems.

3.1.2 Terminological Issue

Similar to the case of the term *itwu* (see section 2.1), there is a variety of Sinographic written forms denoting the literary genre or practice now known as *hyangka* and *hyangchal*, and they are attested in various historical sources (such as SKSK, SKYS, KYC, etc.). Other than 鄉歌 and 鄉札, the alternative written forms consist of a two-character sequence, variously written as 詞腦, 詩惱, 思內, or 辛熱, followed by a

logogram for a head noun such as 歌 ‘song’, 樂 ‘music’, or 舞 ‘dance’. Yang (1954: 33-49) makes an etymological study to uncover the underlying word. Noting the fact that all the two-character sequences have similar SK readings (modern SK: 詞/思 사 *sa*; 詩 시 *si*; 辛 신 *sin*; 腦/惱 뇌 *nwoy*; 內 내 *nay*; 熱 열 *yel*)⁵ and were also widely used in the notation of toponyms, he concludes that they are merely different phonographic notations of the same native Korean word. He assumes that this word is, in Middle Korean (MK), 소노 *so.noy*, in which the first morpheme *so* means ‘east’ and the second morpheme *noy* means ‘local’⁶. This word effectively refers to literary or musical works produced locally on the peninsula, in contrast to those imported from China or produced in the Chinese style. On this basis, the written forms 鄉歌 and 鄉札 can be considered as logographic incarnations of those phonographic written forms. Since Sinograms are no longer practically used as SALs in Korean, the underlying words now associated with these two written forms are SK *hyangka* and *hyangchal* respectively⁷.

The earliest known appearances of the logographic written forms beginning with the character 鄉 might be in Chwoy Hayngkwi’s preface to his Chinese translations of Kyunye’s poems. He used various similar phrases on a number of occasions as is shown below (the relevant phrases are underlined), each time explicitly contrasting or comparing Kyunye’s poems with Chinese literary works (the latter denoted by the word *Táng* 唐, name of the major Chinese dynasty [618-907] preceding Chwoy’s life).

詩構唐辭，磨琢於五言七字。歌排鄉語，切磋於三句六名。 (KYC: 24-25)

[For Kyunye], [when it comes to] poetry, [he] constructed the *Táng* verse, grinding for five syllables and seven characters. [When it comes to] songs, [he] arranged the local language, cutting

⁵In the case of 辛熱, the consonant *n* is orthographically encoded as the final consonant of the first syllable (modern SK: 신열 *sin.yel*) but phonologically decoded as the initial consonant of the second syllable (modern SK: 시열 *si.nyel*). This is a common phenomenon in Korean Sinographic writing. On the other hand, the presence of a final consonant in the second character 熱 (SK 열 *yel* < MC *nyet*) seems incompatible with the other written forms and the presumed underlying word.

⁶The morpheme *so* ‘east’ survives in Modern Korean in fixed expressions like 셋바람 *say-s-pa.lam* ‘east wind’ and is also recognized as the origin of the first syllable of the toponym 서울 *Seoul*, and the morpheme *noy* ‘local’ originally means ‘river’ (> MoK 내 *nay*).

⁷See also Koo (2010: 20-24) for a sketch of these written forms.

through **three stanzas and six syllables(?)**.

我邦之才子名公，解吟唐什。彼土之鴻儒碩德，莫解鄉謠。矧復唐文如帝網交羅，我邦易讀。鄉札似梵書連布，彼土難諳。 (KYC: 25)

The talented masters and famous lords of our country understand and chant the works of the Táng. [As for] the great scholars and eminent literati of that land (i.e., China), none understand the local ballads [of our country]. Moreover, the texts of the Táng are like Indra's net crisscrossing, [for] our country, [they are] easy to read. The local letters [of our country] resemble **Sanskrit writing** spreading out, [for] that land (i.e., China), [they are] difficult to memorize.

八九行之唐序，義廣文豐。十一首之鄉歌，詞清句麗。其為作也，號稱詞腦，可欺貞觀之詞。 (KYC: 27)

[As for] the Táng verse of eight or nine lines, the meaning is broad and the writing is rich. [As for] the eleven local songs, the words are clear and the lines are refined. Their composition is called *sanwoy* and can overshadow the poetry of the Zhēnguān period (627-649).

The first cited segment ends with the expression 三句六名, which is a key concept in the decipherment of *hyangka* but is not completely understood. Based on the understanding of the structure of the existing poems, it is generally agreed that the first phrase 三句 refers to the primary division of a poem into three stanzas, but the meaning of the second phrase 六名 is less clear. A common view is that it refers to the secondary division of each stanza into two parts, so that the three stanzas contain six sub-stanzas in all, and each sub-stanza is presumably a coherent semantic unit. This kind of structure is schematized in the following table.

Table 3.3 Presumed Structure of *Hyangka* poems

Stanzas (<i>kwu</i> 句)	Sub-stanzas (<i>myeng</i> 名)	Lines
1	1	1-2
	2	3-4
2	3	5-6
	4	7-8
3	5	9
	6	10

It should be pointed out that 6 of the 25 poems, all in group 1, do not follow this 3-stanza structure. 4 poems

only have one stanza with 4 lines, and 2 poems have two stanzas, each with 4 lines. Ledyard (1998: 51-53) points out an issue with the reference to Sanskrit writing (*pemse* 梵書) in the second cited segment above, but the general meaning of this segment is clear. The third cited segment includes both written forms 鄉歌 and 詞腦⁸.

3.1.3 Interpretation of *Hyangka*

The interpretation of *hyangka* is a difficult task for two reasons: the lack of a transmitted tradition of reading or studying these poems due to the extinction of this literary practice, and the scarcity of other contemporaneous materials providing information on the language. As was mentioned previously, *hyangka* is the only extant corpus of full vernacular writing of Korean before the creation of the Korean alphabet. As a result, the interpretation of *hyangka* is largely conducted through the lens of MK, about which a large number of materials written in the Korean alphabet provide direct information. This dissertation also takes this approach. As anachronistic as it may be, the focus of this dissertation is on the characters and the orthography of *hyangka* rather than the reconstruction of the actual linguistic forms, and reading an OK text in MK will not be a serious problem for this purpose.

The first systematic study on *hyangka* was carried out by the Japanese scholar Ogura Shinpei 小倉進平 (1882-1944), whose work (Ogura 1929) covers both *hyangka* and *itwu*. The first influential study on *hyangka* by a Korean scholar is Yang (1943 [1954]). Since then, there have been a large number of studies and interpretations of *hyangka*, mostly by Korean scholars (from both South Korea and North Korea). The

⁸Interestingly, somewhere else in KYC, the written form 詞腦 is followed by an annotation: 意精於詞，故云腦也 (“[It] means that [someone] is good at words, so [we] say ‘brain’ [腦].”) (KYC: 15). It is unknown whether the annotations in KYC were added by the compiler Hyeklyen Ceng himself or someone at a later time. The annotator seemed to be unaware of the real meaning of this word and came up with a folk etymology. If this is true, this is also an indication of the decline of this literary genre as its name eventually became oblivious.

only monographic study on *hyangka* in English is Koo (2010), but it does not cover group 2 poems. The following discussions and analyses of *hyangka* in this chapter are the result of my own version of interpretation based on existing studies, primarily Yu (1994) and Pak (2012). The former is the most detailed study on *hyangka* published so far with a character-by-character analysis for each poem, and the latter is a literature review of existing studies, which makes it convenient to compare the viewpoints and conclusions by different scholars.

Without an available reading tradition, the interpretation of *hyangka* poems essentially amounts to figuring out the linguistic function and referent of each character. This process may be roughly described as follows. The identification of the function of a character as a logogram or a phonogram is the primary task because it dictates how we think about its referent. It is usually straightforward to make the judgement. On one hand, most high-frequency characters in *hyangka* are phonograms and are also used in *itwu*, which is in general better understood. In fact, there is a small group of phonograms commonly used in both systems of Korean writing, and they are rarely used as logograms. This means that when such a character occurs, it is a good idea to treat it as a phonogram to begin with. On the other hand, there is a much greater diversity of logograms. In practice, when encountering a character which does not belong to the group of high-frequency phonograms, it may be easier to start by assuming it to be a logogram. If the semantic value of a character in Chinese makes sense in the context, or if multiple characters (not necessarily adjacent) make a meaningful combination based on their semantic value in Chinese, the relevant characters are more likely to be logograms with the same meaning. Cases in which the function of a character cannot be decided for sure do exist, and this is where disagreements among scholars are likely to arise. After this primary step of determining the function of a character, the next step is to figure out its referent. The degree of uncertainty is higher at this stage due to our insufficient knowledge about the language. The sound value of a high-

frequency phonogram does not require too much consideration, while identifying the sound value of a non-high-frequency phonogram can be much more complicated due to various reasons (e.g., whether it is a PAP or an SAP, whether it represents a phoneme or a syllable, the sound may deviate from its common SK reading, etc.) The most common purpose of using phonograms is to represent grammatical elements without an equivalent in Chinese. Alternatively, it is also possible that a single phonogram or a string of phonograms in combination is used to represent a lexical word. In the case of a logogram, because the intended meaning is clear, the question lies in identifying the underlying word. In theory, a character can be either an SAL or a DAL, and the judgment is essentially at the discretion of the individual modern scholar. In practice, some contextual or orthographic information will be taken into consideration to help make the judgment. For example, a sequence of two or more logograms is usually regarded as a sequence of DALs representing a compound SK word, while a single logogram followed by one or more phonograms tends to be regarded as an SAL, with the assumption that the logogram represents a native word and the following phonograms represent attached grammatical elements. All Buddhist terms are treated as SK words, so the relevant characters are all read as DALs. On the other hand, if there is no known native word with an equivalent meaning or no known MK gloss associated with the character, there is no alternative but to treat the character as a DAL.

3.1.4 Sample *Hyangka* Poems

This section presents three poems to give the reader a sense of what a *hyangka* poem actually looks like.

A detailed interpretation of every *hyangka* poem is given in Appendix 1.

3.1.4.1 Poem 5 “Song of Cheyong”

Poem 5 *Cheyong ka* 處容歌 (“Song of Cheyong”) is the best understood *hyangka* poem because there are *hankul* transcriptions of its lyrics in two works on music from the Joseon period: *Akhak kweypem* 樂學軌範 (“Standards and Norms of the Study of Music”) (AHKP) (1493) and *Akcang kasa* 樂章歌詞 (“Song Lyrics of Musical Pieces”) (ACKS) (early 16th century).

The story of Cheyong 處容 seems to be about some kind of shamanistic ritual to dispel disease or evil by singing and dancing. The protagonist, Cheyong, was one of the sons of the Dragon of the Eastern Sea (*tonghaylyong* 東海龍) and served King Hengkang 憲康 (r. 875-886), and the Spirit of Disease (*yeksin* 疫神) was attracted by his beautiful wife.

其妻甚美，疫神欽慕之，變為人，夜至其家，竊與之宿。處容自外至其家，見寢有二人，乃唱歌作舞而退。歌曰……時神現形，跪於前曰：“吾羨公之妻，今犯之矣。公不見怒。感而美之。誓今已後，見畫公之形容，不入其門矣。”因此，國人門貼處容之形，以辟邪進慶。(YCSKYS: 79)

His wife was very beautiful. The Spirit of Disease admired her. [He] turned into a human, arrived at her home at night, and secretly slept with her. Cheyong arrived at home from outside. [He] saw that there were two people on the bed, then [he] sang a song, made a dance, and left. The song goes ... At that time, the Spirit revealed [his] form and knelt in front of [Cheyong], saying, “I was longing for your wife, and now [I] have committed it. You did not anger. [I] am moved and appreciate it. [I] vow that from now on, [if I] see [an image] drawing your appearance, [I] will not enter that door.” Because of this, people of the country pasted Cheyong’s appearance on the door to ward off the evil and let in the auspicious.

Table 3.4 below gives the original text of this poem as recorded in SKYS and its *hankul* transcriptions in AHKP and ACKS, which are nearly identical to each other (YCSKYS: 79; AHKP: 225; ACKS: 61). It appears that the transcription does not contain content corresponding to the last two lines of the poem. Table 3.5 below is the interpretation of this poem, including the Romanization and English translation of each line.

Table 3.4 Original Text and *Hankul* Transcriptions of “Song of Cheyong”

Line	Original Text ⁹	<i>Akhak kweypem</i>	<i>Akcang kasa</i>
1	東京明期月良	東京불근드래	東京（동경）불근드래
2	夜入伊遊行如可	새도록노니다가	새도록노니다가
3	入良沙寢矣見昆	드러내자리를보니	드러내자리를보니
4	腳烏伊四是良羅	가르리네히로새라	가르리네히로새라
5	二盼隱吾下於叱古	아으돌흔내해어니	아으돌흔내해어니
6	二盼隱誰支下焉古	와돌흔뉘해어니오	와돌흔뉘해어니오
7	本矣吾下是如馬於隱		
8	奪叱良乙何如為理古		

Table 3.5 Interpretation of “Song of Cheyong”

Line	Original Text	Romanization	English Translation
1	東京明期月良	TWONG-KYENG POLK-{k}uy-TO.LAL=a	Under the bright moon of the Eastern Capital
2	夜入伊遊行如可	PAM-TUL-i NWOL-NI=ta.ka	The night being late, after hanging out
3	入良沙寢矣見昆	TUL-e=za CA-toy PWO=kwon	Entering [the room] and looking at the place to sleep
4	腳烏伊四是良羅	HE.THWOY NEYH i-e=la	There are four feet!
5	二盼隱吾下於叱古	TWU.WUL=on NAY hay-e-s=kwo	Two are my possessions, and
6	二盼隱誰支下焉古	TWU.WUL=on NWU.KI hay=en.kwo	Whose possessions are [the other] two?
7	本矣吾下是如馬於隱	PWON-toy NAY hay i-ta.mal.en	Although originally [they] are mine
8	奪叱良乙何如為理古	AS-a=lol ES.TI HO-li=kwo	What shall [I] do to the deprived [possessions]?

There are three main points of disagreement in interpretation among different scholars (Pak 2012: 60-70).

All of these cases are about logograms, in which the intended meaning is clear but the exact underlying word is uncertain. First, the transcription in ACKS explicitly gives the SK reading of the first two characters in line 1 東京. Nevertheless, there are a small number of scholars treating them as SALs representing the

⁹In the original text in SKYS, there are no spaces indicating line breaks between any characters in this poem. This is the only *hyangga* poem transcribed in this way, and it is unknown whether there is any significance about this. Therefore, the division of this poem into the current eight-line form is completely based on interpretation, which itself is based on the later *hankul* transcriptions.

native words meaning ‘east’ and ‘capital’ respectively, and they reconstruct a word with the form of 시|불 *soy.Wol* or 셔|불 *syē.Wwul*, assuming it to be the OK form of the MoK word *Seoul*¹⁰. Second, in a similar way, the transcriptions give the reading 가|리 *ka.lo.li* for the first character in line 4 腳 (or more accurately, the three characters 腳烏伊 as a whole), but the word associated with this character or used as its gloss in MK is another word *he.thwi* 허|튀. Semantically, the former seems to refer to the crotch of a person’s limbs, while the latter refers to a person’s lower limbs, thereby fitting the context better (Hwang 1997). Third, the interpretation of the first character in line 7 本 (together with the following character 矣) varies among the native word 밋 *mit* (> 밋 MoK *mith*) ‘under’, 아|리 *a.loy* (> MoK 아|래 *a.lay*) ‘under’, and the word 본|디 *pwon-toy* (MoK > 본|디 *pwon-ti*) ‘originally’ (etymologically SK 본 *pwon* ‘origin’ + native 디 *toy* [> MoK 데 *tey*] ‘place’). The first two readings make the character 本 an SAL, and the third reading makes it a DAL.

3.1.4.2 Poem 3 “Song of Pacifying the People”

Poem 3 *Anmin ka* 安民歌 (“Song of Pacifying the People”) stands out in that every other poem in group 1 either is a folk song in nature or expresses some kind of personal emotion. The theme of this poem is rather the governance of a state. According to SKYS, this poem was composed by a Buddhist monk named Chwungtam 忠談 at the request of King Kyengtek 景德 (r. 742-765). It is recorded in the same narrative segment in SKYS with poem 4 *Chan kiphalang ka* 讚耆婆郎歌 (“Song of Praising Knight Kipha”), as the latter was also composed by Chwungtam. Note that the written form 詞腦歌 as the designation of this literary genre also occurs in this passage.

¹⁰In fact, Seoul is currently the only province or major city on the Korean Peninsula whose name is not an SK word. The name of Seoul (서울 *se.wul*) is perhaps related to the name of the state of Silla (新羅 신라 *sin.la*), for which there is a variety of written forms recorded in SKSK and SKYS, including 徐(羅)伐 (MoSK 셔(라)벌 *se.(la).pel*), 斯羅 (MoSK 사라 *sa.la*), and 斯盧 (MoSK 사로 *sa.lwo*) (Yu 1994: 502-504; Lee & Ramsey 2011: 75).

王曰：“朕嘗聞師讚耆婆郎詞腦歌其意甚高，是其果乎？”對曰：“然。”王曰：“然則為朕作理安民歌。”僧應時奉敕歌呈之。王佳之，封王師焉，僧再拜固辭不受。安民歌曰……讚耆婆郎歌曰…… (YCSKYS: 74)

The king said, “I have heard that, your *sanwoy* song of praising Knight Kipha, its idea is very lofty. [Is] this really the case?” [The monk] replied, saying, “Yes.” The king said, “In that case, compose a song for governing and pacifying the people for me.” The monk at that time received the command, sang [the song], and presented it. The king considered it good and appointed [the monk] as the royal teacher. The monk bowed twice, adamantly refused and did not accept [it]. The song of pacifying the people goes ... The song of praising Knight Kipha goes ...

Table 3.6 below gives the original text of this poem as recorded in SKYS and its rearranged form accepted by most scholars. The reason for the rearrangement is that the originally recorded form is divided into nine lines and does not conform with the presumed structure of *hyangka* poems (see table 3.3). A notable change is that the character sequence 後句 is moved to the beginning of line 9, with the assumption that it is the marker of the final stanza of a poem in the 3-stanza 10-line form (see section 3.1.6.6). However, its exact reading or even whether it is vocalized in the first place is unclear. Table 3.7 below is the interpretation of this poem based on the rearranged form, including the Romanization and English translation of each line.

Table 3.6 Original Text of “Song of Pacifying the People”

Line	Original Form	Rearranged Form
1	君隱父也	君隱父也
2	臣隱愛賜尸母史也	臣隱愛賜尸母史也
3	民焉狂尸恨阿孩古為賜尸知民是愛尸知古如	民焉狂尸恨阿孩古為賜尸知
4	窟理叱大盼生以支所音物生此盼喰惡支治良羅	民是愛尸知古如
5	此地盼捨遣只於冬是去於丁	窟理叱大盼生以支所音物生
6	為尸知國惡支持以	此盼喰惡支治良羅
7	支知古如後句	此地盼捨遣只於冬是去於丁為尸知
8	君如臣多支民隱如	國惡支持以支知古如
9	為內尸等焉國惡大平恨音叱如	後句 君如臣多支民隱如為內尸等焉
10		國惡大平恨音叱如

Table 3.7 Interpretation of “Song of Pacifying the People”

Line	Original Text	Romanization	English Translation
1	君隱父也	KWUN=on A.PI=ye	The lord is the father.
2	臣隱愛賜尸母史也	SIN=on TOS-si-l-E.SI=ye	Vassals are the loving mother.
3	民焉狂尸恨阿孩古為 賜尸知	MIN=on EL-ho-n-A.HOY=kwo HO- si-l=ti	If [they] regard people as ignorant children
4	民是愛尸知古如	MIN=i TOS.l AL=kwo.ta	People will know love.
5	窟理叱大盼生以支所 音物生	kwu.mwul.tay-ho-l-SAL=LWO-ki swom MWUL-SAYNG	Living wriggling, the living beings
6	此盼噲惡支治良羅	I=hol MEK-a-k TA.SO.LI-e=la	[You] (i.e., the king) feed and govern them!
7	此地盼捨遣只於冬是 去於丁為尸知	I STA=hol PO.LI-kwo-k e.tol.i KA- e=tye HO-l=ti	If [people] ask, “Abandoning this land, where shall [we] go?”
8	國惡支持以支知古如	NA.LA-{a}k TI.NI-ki AL=kwo.ta	[They] will know to preserve the country.
9	後句 君如臣多支民 隱如為內尸等焉	KWUN=TA.HI SIN=ta.ki MIN=TA.HI HO-no-l=ton=on	If [the lord behaves] like the lord, [vassals behave] like vassals, and [people behave] like people
10	國惡大平恨音叱如	NA.LA-{a}k THAY-PHYENG-ho- n=msta	The country will [surely] be in great peace.

The degree of uncertainty about this poem, in terms of both the reading and the function or meaning of individual characters, is much higher than poem 5. Here is a representative example which can be explained easily. The first character of each of the first three lines is apparently a logogram (君 ‘lord’ ; 臣 ‘vassal’; 民 ‘people’) and, in theory, can be read as either a DAL or an SAL, but only the character 君 has a known native Korean word (님금 *nim.kum* ‘lord’) associated with it. An ideal interpretation should treat these three characters as the same type for stylistic parallelism, so there is no way but reading them all as DALs.

3.1.4.3 Poem 15 “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”

Poem 15 *Yeykyeng ceypwul ka* 禮敬諸佛歌 (“Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”) is given as the example of group 2 poems here simply because it is the first poem in this group. Table 3.8 below

gives the original poem by Kyunye and its accompanying Chinese translation by Chwoy Hayngkwi. Note that no line-to-line correspondence exists between the two versions.

Table 3.8 “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas” and Its Chinese Translation

Original Poem	Chinese Translation
心未筆留 慕呂白乎隱仏体前衣 拜内乎隱身萬隱 法界毛叱所只至去良 塵塵馬洛仏体叱刹亦 刹刹每如邀里白乎隱 法界滿賜隱仏体 九世尽良礼為白齊 歎曰 身語意業无疲厭 此良夫作沙毛叱等耶	以心為筆畫空王 瞻拜唯應遍十方 一一塵塵諸佛國 重重刹刹眾尊堂 見聞自覺多生遠 禮敬寧辭浩劫長 身體語言兼意業 總無疲厭此為常

A literary English translation of the Chinese translation is:

Using my heart as the brush to paint the King of Emptiness, [I] look up, bow, and respond in all ten directions. Seeing, hearing, and self-realizing every world, every Buddha state, every temple, and every respectable hall, many lives have gone afar, and [I will] courteously honor the calm words [as] the disasters are everlasting. It is constant to never have fatigue and satisfaction with [my] body, speech, and intention and karma.

Table 3.9 below is the interpretation of this poem, including the Romanization and English translation of each line.

Table 3.9 Interpretation of “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”

Line	Original Text	Romanization	English Translation
1	心未筆留	MO.ZOM={m}uy PWUT=lwo	With the brush of the heart
2	慕呂白乎隱仏体前衣	KU.LI-SOLW-wo-n-PWU- THYE ALPH=uy	In front of the Buddha whom [I] long for
3	拜内乎隱身萬隱	CEL-no-wo-n-MWOM={m}on	As for [my] bowing body

4	法界毛叱所只至去良	PEP-KYEEY mos=TO.LWOK NI.LU=ke.la	[It] arrives by the time when the realm of dharma ends!
5	塵塵馬洛仏体叱刹亦	CIN-CIN=ma.lak PWU-THYE=s CHAL=ye	Every world, temples of Buddha!
6	刹刹每如邀里白乎隱	CHAL-CHAL=MA.TA MWO.LI- SOLW=wo-n-	[Buddhas] who gather in every temple
7	法界滿賜隱仏体	PEP-KYEEY CHO-si-n-PWU- THYE	Buddhas who fill the realm of dharma
8	九世尽良礼為白齊	KWU-SEY TA.O-a-LYEEY-HO- SOLP=cye	Nine generations ending (i.e., after nine generations), [I] wish to pay tribute [to the Buddhas].
9	歎曰 身語意業无疲厭 11	SIN E UY EP MWU PHI YEM	The body, word, intention, and karma have no fatigue and satisfaction.
10	此良夫作沙毛叱等耶	I=a pwu.cil sa.mwo=sto.LA	[I] will make diligence (i.e., pray hard) here!

3.1.5 Statistical Analysis of the Characters

As was previously mentioned, the data presented in this section result from my own interpretation of *hyangka* poems. Because there are still many uncertainties and disagreements among scholars on the interpretation, the data and conclusions are subject to revision. In order to avoid ambiguity, in this dissertation, the term “occurrence” is used to refer to a single case of appearance of a character. For example, poem 5 “Song of Cheyong” has a total of 61 occurrences of 41 different characters. The number of occurrences of a character is shown in the format $x+y=z$, where x and y stand for its number of occurrences in group 1 and group 2 respectively, and z stands for its total number of occurrences. Appendix 2 is a concordance index of all the characters in the *hyangka* corpus, listing the function of every occurrence of every character.

In the *hyangka* corpus of 25 poems, there is a total of 1,904 occurrences of 443 different characters¹².

¹¹The character sequence 身語意業无疲厭 represents a good sentence in Literary Sinitic, so every character is regarded as a DAL.

¹²There are several groups of written forms in which the characters are allographs of each other with no difference in function, and each group is counted as a single entry (that is to say, one single “character”) in this dissertation. These characters are: 佛

Table 3.10 below lists the number of characters and occurrences in each poem. The column “Characters” refers to the number of different characters used in a poem¹³. This number is given as a reference in comparison to the number of occurrences in the same poem. The occurrences in a poem are divided into the four types of adaptation. There is a very small number of characters which are listed as “unclear” here. The majority of such cases are the character sequences marking the final stanza of a 3-stanza poem, and the reading of such characters is unclear (see section 3.1.6.6). In addition, there is one character whose reading and function has not been deciphered (character 12.10.11 只) and one Neo-Sinogram which does not exist in Chinese writing (character 21.6.8 閩).

Table 3.10 Number of Characters and Occurrences in Each *Hyangga* Poem

Poem	Characters	Occurrences					
		DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
1	58	1	29	45	5	0	80
2	29	0	15	18	1	0	34
3	55	11	25	54	6	2	98
4	68	5	28	50	4	0	87
5	41	3	20	33	5	0	61
6	23	6	9	9	1	0	25
7	53	6	26	60	1	0	93
8	13	2	11	7	6	0	26
9	62	19	20	34	6	0	79
10	31	7	11	17	2	0	37
11	54	6	26	43	4	0	79
12	71	8	34	55	4	3	104
13	53	0	26	50	1	0	77
14	67	6	29	52	1	0	88
Group 1		80	309	527	47	5	968
		8.27%	31.92%	54.44%	4.85%	0.52%	100%
15	57	25	18	33	2	2	80
16	57	20	22	37	2	2	83
17	53	27	16	36	2	0	81

/仏, 於/於, 無/无, 善/善, 過/过, 彌/弥/弥, 爾/尔, 處/处, 遊/游, 數/數, and 迴/回.

¹³Note that the sum of the numbers in this column does not equal the total number of different characters in the entire corpus (443) as the same character can be used in different poems.

18	67	29	20	34	4	2	89
19	70	15	26	48	2	2	93
20	68	20	21	40	0	2	83
21	65	7	30	36	3	2 (+1 Neo)	79
22	61	13	31	40	3	3	90
23	63	26	16	40	3	2	87
24	68	17	29	34	4	2	86
25	55	17	24	40	4	0	85
Group 2		216	253	418	29	20	936
		23.08%	27.03%	44.66%	3.10%	2.13%	100%
All Poems		296	562	945	76	25	1,904
		15.55%	29.52%	49.63%	3.99%	1.31%	100%

The following observations and analyses can be made from this table.

(1). PAP is the most frequent type, accounting for about half of the total occurrences in the corpus, and its occurrences outnumber those of any other type by a great margin. This is because grammatical morphemes are mainly written by PAPs, and there is also a large number of occurrences of phonetic determinatives (see section 3.1.6.3), which are almost always PAPs. In addition, as will be shown below, most high-frequency characters in *hyangka* are exclusively or primarily used as PAPs.

(2). In contrast to PAP, SAP is by far the least frequent type. There is a total of 76 occurrences (about 4% of the total occurrences in the corpus) of 22 different characters in the SAP type in *hyangka*, and 14 of these characters have only 1 SAP occurrence. Table 3.11 below is a complete list of SAPs in *hyangka* based on the present interpretation. One thing that needs to be said is that of all the five theoretical adaptation types, SAP is the most complex and marked type as it is essentially a two-step process (see section 1.5). In contrast to Japanese Sinographic writing with a firmly established set of commonly used SAPs (*kungana* 訓假名), very few Sinograms are known (or understood by modern scholars) to be commonly used in this way in Korean Sinographic writing. As a result, it may be necessary to reconsider the SAP interpretation of an occurrence, especially if an interpretation under another type which is both linguistically and contextually appropriate can be found.

(3). In the entire corpus, although the gap in frequency between any two of the four types is great, the gap between the logographic type as a whole (DAL and SAL) and the phonographic type as a whole (PAP and SAP) is relatively small. In fact, the occurrences of logograms outnumber those of phonograms in group 2.

(4). The high frequency of logograms in group 2 is the result of the significant increase of occurrences of DALs from group 1. The main reason for this increase is the large number of Buddhist terms in group 2, all of which are read as SK words.

Table 3.11 Semantically-Adapted Phonograms in *Hyangka*

Character		Gloss	Sound	Occurrences	
1	如	‘to resemble’	다 <i>ta</i> ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	18+4=22	19+4=23
			ᄃ <i>ko</i> ← 𪛗- <i>KOTH-</i> (> 𪛗- <i>KATH-</i>) ‘to resemble’ (stem)	1+0=1	
2	是 ¹⁴	‘this’	이 <i>i</i> ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	11+0=11	
3	置	‘to place’	두 <i>twu</i> ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	0+2=2	2+8=10
			도 <i>two</i> ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	2+6=8	
4	下	‘under, down’	알 <i>al</i> ← 알이 <i>AL.OY</i> (> 아래 <i>A.LAY</i>) ‘under’	2+4=6	
5	于	‘to go’	가 <i>ka</i> ← 가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	1+3=4	
6	立	‘to stand’	서 <i>syē</i> ← 서- <i>SE-</i> ‘to stand’ (stem)	3+1=4	
7	去	‘to leave’	가 <i>ka</i> ← 가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	1+1=2	
8	卧	‘to lie down’	누 <i>no</i> ← 눕- <i>NWUP-</i> ‘to lie down’ (stem)	0+2=2	
9	煙	‘smoke’	늑 <i>nuy</i> ← 니 <i>NOY</i> (> 내 <i>NAY</i>) ‘smoke’	1+0=1	
10	窟	‘hole, cave’	구무 <i>kwu.mwu</i> ← 구무 <i>KWU.MWU</i> (> 구멍 <i>KWU.MENG</i>) ‘hole’	1+0=1	
11	爾	‘you; this’	이 <i>i</i> ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	1+0=1	
12	馬 ¹⁵	‘horse’	말 <i>mal</i> ← 말 <i>MAL</i> ‘horse’	1+0=1	
13	念	‘to think about; mind’	ᄃ장 <i>ko.cang</i> ← 걱정 <i>KEK.CYENG</i> (> 걱정 <i>KEK.CENG</i>) ‘worry’	1+0=1	
14	花	‘flower’	꽃 <i>kwoc</i> ← 꽃 <i>KWOC</i> (> 꽃 <i>KKWOCH</i>) ‘flower’	1+0=1	
15	巴	legendary snake	돌 <i>twol</i> ← 돌- <i>TWOL-</i> ‘to turn’ (stem) ← ‘snake’	1+0=1	
16	友	‘friend’	버 <i>pe</i> ← 번 <i>PET</i> (> 벗 <i>PES</i>) ‘friend’	1+0=1	
17	作	‘to make’	질 <i>cil</i> ← 짓- <i>CIS-</i> ‘to make’ (stem)	0+1=1	

¹⁴It is well known that the word written by the character 是 in Literary Sinitic is originally a proximal demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘this’. This word underwent semantic shift and came to be used as a copula in the vernacular register of Chinese, eventually becoming the normal copula in Modern Standard Chinese. In *hyangka*, this character is used to represent the nominative particle 是 *i* and the copula 是 *i-* (stem), along with other instances of the sound *i* (via the homophonous proximal demonstrative pronoun 是 *i*), but it is never used to represent the proximal demonstrative pronoun 是 *i*. In this way, every occurrence of the character 是 in *hyangka* is counted as an SAP, even when it represents the copula 是 *i-* (stem).

¹⁵The SAP occurrence of the character 馬 comes from “Song of Cheyong” (line 7), where it is believed to represent the syllable 말 *mal*. Since the pronunciation of the native Korean word 말 *mal* (< MK 몰 *mol*) ‘horse’ is similar to its modern SK reading 마 *ma*, it can actually be conceived as either an SAP or a PAP. The word 말 *mal* ‘horse’ itself is believed to have been borrowed from Old Chinese, which would make the character more qualified as a PAP here because what is borrowed is essentially its Chinese pronunciation (in the form of an SK reading). On the other hand, most average Korean speakers may not be aware of this etymology, and in this situation, this character would be more qualified as an SAP because what is borrowed is its semantic value (in the form of a native Korean reading).

18	色 (巴) ¹⁶	legendary snake	ㄷ ㄹ ㄱ to.lwok ← 돌- TWOL- ‘to turn’ (stem) ← ‘snake’	0+1=1
19	舌	‘tongue’	혀 hye ← 혀 HYE ‘tongue’	0+1=1
20	火	‘fire’	ㅌ p ← 불 PUL (> 불 PWUL) ‘fire’	0+1=1
21	飛	‘to fly’	날 nol ← 날- NOL- (> 날- NAL-) ‘to fly’ (stem)	0+1=1
22	仁	‘humanity’	읻- is- ← 인- IT- ‘to be good’ (stem)	0+1=1

Table 3.12 below shows the frequency distribution of characters in *hyangka* in terms of how many characters have a certain number of occurrences.

Table 3.12 Frequency Distribution of Characters in *Hyangka*

Occurrences	Characters	Occurrences	Characters	Occurrences	Characters
90	1	22	1	10	3
62	1	19	1	9	7
44	1	18	2	8	5
37	1	17	6	7	14
31	1	16	3	6	10
30	2	15	4	5	16
27	1	14	6	4	25
26	1	13	7	3	32
25	1	12	1	2	87
23	2	11	4	1	197
Total Occurrences		1,904	Total Characters		443

These data demonstrate the highly uneven distribution in character frequency. While the average number of occurrences of a character is about 4.3, the character inventory of *hyangka* consists of a small number of high-frequency characters and a much larger number of low-frequency characters¹⁷. The most frequent

¹⁶This occurrence of the character 色 (17.5.7) is regarded as a graphic error of the character 巴. As a result, it is counted as the character 色 but interpreted as the character 巴.

¹⁷A similar trend exists in the earliest full vernacular writing of Japanese, as is shown by Theresa Case’s study (2000) of the phonograms in *Man’yōshū* and other 8th-century Japanese sources. For *Man’yōshū*, Case examines 481 poems exclusively written in PAPs (*ongana* 音假名) and identifies a total of 308 written forms (266 different characters, as there are 42 characters each of which is used for two different syllables) for the 86 syllables reflected in *Man’yōshū*, and she classifies the written

character has 90 occurrences, and on the other end of the spectrum, more than half of the characters (284) have no more than 2 occurrences.

Table 3.13 below lists all the characters with 10 or more occurrences in the *hyangka* corpus, together with their number of occurrences in each type of adaptation.

Table 3.13 Characters with 10 or More Occurrences in *Hyangka*

Character		Occurrences					
		DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
1	叱	0	0	37+53=90	0	0	37+53=90
2	隱	0	0	37+25=62	0	0	37+25=62
3	良	0	0	23+21=44	0	0	23+21=44
4	尸	0	0	27+10=37	0	0	27+10=37
5	乎	0	0	18+13=31	0	0	18+13=31
6	如	0	5+2=7	0	19+4=23	0	24+6=30
7	音	1+0=1	0	16+13=29	0	0	17+13=30
8	也	0	1+0=1	17+9=26	0	0	18+9=27
9	*伊	0	2+8=10	6+10=16	0	0	8+18=26
10	賜	0	2+0=2	11+12=23	0	0	13+12=25
11	等	0	0	10+13=23	0	0	10+13=23
12	只	0	0	7+16=23	0	0	7+16=23
13	*佛 仏	1+21=22	0	0	0	0	1+21=22
14	*白	0	7+12=19	0	0	0	7+12=19
15	矣	0	0	17+1=18	0	0	17+1=18
16	古	0	0	18+0=18	0	0	18+0=18
17	*吾	0	8+9=17	0	0	0	8+9=17
18	*為	0	4+13=17	0	0	0	4+13=17
19	乙	0	0	3+14=17	0	0	3+14=17
20	*去	0	10+1=11	0+4=4	1+1=2	0	11+6=17
21	留	0	0	0+17=17	0	0	0+17=17
22	支	0	0	17+0=17	0	0	17+0=17
23	阿	0	0	11+5=16	0	0	11+5=16
24	衣	0	0	4+12=16	0	0	4+12=16
25	冬	0	0	8+8=16	0	0	8+8=16

forms into four types mainly based on their frequency of occurrence: primary, secondary, restricted, and exceptional. There are 105 exceptional written forms which occur only once or 1% or less of the time, 85 restricted written forms which occur more than 1% and less than 20% of the time, and 118 primary and secondary written forms. These data lead to her conclusion that “despite a certain amount of variation in *ongana* usage, it appears that the writers of eighth century Japanese had achieved a significant degree of consensus about how to represent Old Japanese phonetically with Chinese characters” (Case 2000: 81). The same can be said about contemporary Korean writers, although the extant Korean corpus is much smaller in size.

26	理	0+1=1	0	13+1=14	0	0	13+2=15
27	毛	0+1=1	0	6+8=14	0	0	6+9=15
28	*体	0+14=14	0	0+1=1	0	0	0+15=15
29	盼	0	0	14+1=15	0	0	14+1=15
30	惡	0	1+3=4	6+4=10	0	0	7+7=14
31	*耶	0	1+9=10	2+2=4	0	0	3+11=14
32	焉	0	0	5+9=14	0	0	5+9=14
33	遣	0	0	12+2=14	0	0	12+2=14
34	內	0	0	10+4=14	0	0	10+4=14
35	置	0	3+1=4	0	2+8=10	0	5+9=14
36	以	0	3+1=4	6+3=9	0	0	9+4=13
37	多	0	2+1=3	7+3=10	0	0	9+4=13
38	*來	0+1=1	8+4=12	0	0	0	8+5=13
39	沙	0	2+0=2	6+5=11	0	0	8+5=13
40	史	0	0	11+2=13	0	0	11+2=13
41	*生	4+8=12	1+0=1	0	0	0	5+8=13
42	下	0	0	6+1=7	2+4=6	0	8+5=13
43	於 於	0	0	10+2=12	0	0	10+2=12
44	羅	0	0	8+3=11	0	0	8+3=11
45	*法	0+11=11	0	0	0	0	0+11=11
46	是	0	0	0	11+0=11	0	11+0=11
47	*行	0+3=3	5+3=8	0	0	0	5+6=11
48	*心	0	4+5=9	0	0	0+1=1	4+6=10
49	支	0	0	8+2=10	0	0	8+2=10
50	*此	0	8+2=10	0	0	0	8+2=10

Of the 443 different characters in the *hyangka* corpus, 50 characters occur 10 or more times. Of these 50 characters, 36 characters are primarily or exclusively used phonographically, and 14 characters (marked with an asterisk in the table) are primarily or exclusively used logographically. The categorization of the characters 伊¹⁸ and 耶¹⁹ can be debated because it is possible to categorize their occurrences listed as

¹⁸Similar to the case of the character 是 mentioned above, the character 伊 in *hyangka* represents two native Korean words, the proximal demonstrative pronoun ㅇ| *i* and the copula ㅇ| *i*- (stem), along with other instances of the sound ㅇ| *i*. The occurrences representing the proximal demonstrative pronoun ㅇ| *i* are categorized as SAL here because the word represented by this character in Literary Sinitic is also a demonstrative pronoun, while the occurrences representing the copula ㅇ| *i*- (stem) and other instances of the sound *i* are categorized as PAP here. From a different perspective, one can also argue that the character 伊 simply represents the sound ㅇ| *i* based on its Chinese pronunciation, and it is just a coincidence that the proximal demonstrative pronoun and the copula in Korean are both pronounced ㅇ| *i*. In this way, all occurrences of the character 伊 would be categorized as PAP.

¹⁹The word written by the character 耶 in Literary Sinitic is an exclamatory or interrogative final particle, and this character also has an exclamatory function in *hyangka*, either occurring at the end of a line or as part of the fixed graphic sequence 阿

SAL here instead as PAP based on one's conceptualization of the relationship between their referent in *hyangka* and their function in Literary Sinitic. Not considering the character 伊, the highest ranked undisputed logogram is the character 佛/仏 'Buddha', which owes its high frequency to the Buddhist theme of the group 2 poems.

3.1.6 Orthographic Features and Techniques

This section discusses some specific orthographic techniques and features in *hyangka* beyond the basic framework of script adaptation. Most phenomena also exist in *itwu* and thus can be said to be typical features of Korean Sinographic writing in general. Occasional comparisons with Japanese Sinographic writing will be made. A similar discussion can also be found in Handel (2019: 91-110).

3.1.6.1 Combination of Logography and Phonography

The general orthographic principle is that lexical words (words with a concrete meaning) are written logographically and grammatical morphemes are written phonographically. This is the result of the basic syntactic structure of Korean that a sentence can be parsed into segments of lexical words followed by grammatical morphemes (e.g., a nominal followed by a particle, a verb or adjective stem followed by suffixes). In this way, such a syntactic segment is orthographically represented by a logogram-phonogram sequence, and the phonogram may further help indicate the reading of the logogram (see section 3.1.6.3). This principle is known as *hwuncwu umcwong* 訓主音從 ("hwun first, um second") in Korean terminology, meaning that a *hwun* character or logogram is followed by one or more *um* characters or phonograms. It may

耶 marking the final stanza of a 3-stanza poem. At the end of a line, it is regarded as representing an exclamatory sentence ending and read as ㄹㅌ *-la* in my interpretation, and such occurrences are categorized as SAL here. The character sequence 阿耶 is read as ㅅㅌㅌ *a.ya* by all scholars, and such occurrences are categorized as PAP here because ㅅㅌ *ya* is its SK reading.

be applied to not only propose an interpretation of a character sequence but also evaluate an existing interpretation. However, it does appear that in *hyangka*, cases in which a lexical word is written phonographically are not rare, and it is difficult to determine how strictly this principle should be adhered to in interpretation. To illustrate this orthographic principle, the text of “Song of Cheyong” is given below, in which logograms are bolded and phonograms are underlined.

東京明期月良
 夜入伊遊行如可
 入良沙寢矣見昆
 腳烏伊四是良羅
 二盼隱吾下於叱古
 二盼隱誰支下焉古
 本矣吾下是如馬於隱
 奪叱良乙何如為理古

3.1.6.2 Consonantal Phonogram

Since the pronunciation of a Chinese character is monosyllabic, its SX readings are also normally monosyllabic²⁰. Therefore, when a Sinogram is used as a PAP, it is most natural to use it to represent a syllable. In Korean Sinographic writing, however, a PAP can be used to represent a single consonant. This is because of the existence of consonantal grammatical morphemes and consonant syllable endings in Korean, and the primary purpose of using consonantal phonograms is to represent those two kinds of linguistic form. Four of the top ten frequent characters in table 3.13 are consonantal phonograms: 叱 *s*, 隱 *n*, 尸 *l*, and 音 *m*. Each of them can be used either as a phonetic determinative to denote the respective consonant (see section 3.1.6.3), or to represent the respective consonantal grammatical morpheme: 叱 for

²⁰However, it is not rare in Japanese Sinographic writing that a PAP represents a sound sequence of two or even more syllables. In most cases, the MC pronunciation of such a character has a stop coda (*-p*, *-t*, *-k*), and since this kind of syllable is not permitted in Japanese phonology, an extra vowel is added after the original stop coda to produce a disyllabic SJ reading.

the inanimate or honorific genitive particle ㅁ 入 *-s*, 隱 for the factual or adjectival adnominal suffix -ㄴ - *n-*, 尸 for the prospective adnominal suffix -ㄹ - *-l-*, and 音 for the nominalizing suffix -ㅁ *-m*. This phenomenon is known as *yakumcha* 略音借 (“abbreviated phonetic loan”) in Korean terminology. In Japanese Sinographic writing, there is a similar but different phenomenon that a Sinogram whose SJ reading has a nasal ending can be used to represent the syllable without the nasal ending, such as 安 *a* (← *an*) and 天 *te* (← *ten*)²¹. This phenomenon is known as *ryakuongana* 略音假名 (“abbreviated phonetic *kana*”) in Japanese terminology. The difference is that the referent of the Sinogram in Japanese is still a syllable despite the loss of the nasal ending, and consonantal phonograms do not exist in Japanese writing²².

3.1.6.3 Phonetic Determinative

A phonetic determinative (which may also be called “phonetic complement”) is a phonogram repetitively denoting a sound or a sound sequence from the word/morpheme or sound sequence represented by an adjacent character in order to clarify the intended reading of that character. The most salient and well-known pattern of the use of a phonetic determinative in Korean Sinographic writing is that it follows a logogram and denotes the final consonant of the word/morpheme written by that logogram, thereby disambiguating the logogram as an SAL from a DAL. This phenomenon is called *malum chemki* 末音添記 (“supplementary notation of the final sound”) in Korean terminology. The following are some common examples:

- (1). 有吡: **SAL** 有 ㅁ *-IS-* (> ㅁ *-ISS-*) ‘to have; to exist’ (stem) + **PAP** 吡 ㅁ *s*

²¹In fact, these two Sinograms are the graphic origin of the modern *kana* graph(s) of the corresponding syllable: *hiragana* graph <あ> for *a* from <安>; *hiragana* graph <て> and *katakana* graph <テ> for *te* from <天>.

²²The *kana* graphs for the nasal syllable ending -N in Japanese (modern form: *hiragana* <ん>; *katakana* <ン>) may be regarded as an exception. Their origin is not entirely clear. The current consensus is that they seem to have derived from the Sinograms used in the glossing of Sinitic texts to denote the nasal ending of the Chinese pronunciation of a Sinogram (<ん> from <无> [bilabial nasal initial *m-* in MC] for *-m*; <ン> from <尔> [palatal nasal initial *ny-* in MC] for *-n*).

- (2). 夜音: **SAL** 夜 밤 *PAM* ‘night’ + **PAP** 音 ㅁ *m*²³
 (3). 道尸: **SAL** 道 길 *KIL* ‘road, way’ + **PAP** 尸 ㄷ *l*

Aside from this basic pattern, there are some other notable points regarding phonetic determinatives which can be observed from the *hyangka* corpus.

First, the sound denoted by the phonetic determinative may be a syllable rather than merely the final consonant of a syllable, e.g.:

- (4). 世理: **SAL** 世 누리 *NWU.LI* ‘world’ + **PAP** 理 리 *li*
 (5). 一等: **SAL** 一 흥든 *HO.TON* ‘one’ + **PAP** 等 든 *ton*

Second, the character preceding the phonetic determinative may be denoted to be a DAL or PAP rather than an SAL, e.g.:

- (6). 民隱: **DAL** 民 민 *MIN* ‘people’ + **PAP** 隱 ㄴ *n*
 (7). 于萬隱: (**SAP** 于 가 *ka* [← 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem)] + **PAP** 萬 만 *man* →) 于萬 가만 *ka.man* (← 가만- *ka.ma-n-* ‘black’ [← 가맏- *ka.mah-* ‘to be black’ (stem) + -ㄴ- *-n-* (adjectival adnominal suffix)]) + **PAP** 隱 ㄴ *n*

The only case in which the denoted character is a DAL and most of the cases in which the denoted character is a PAP involve the character 隱 as the phonetic determinative. There are usually alternative interpretations for such cases, for example, regarding character 隱 as representing the topic particle =은/=는 *=(n)on* (> =은/=는 *=[n]un*), which is its more common function.

²³Interestingly, another common character sequence involving the character 音 as a phonetic determinative is 心音 (心 ㅁ *MO.ZOM* [→ 마음 *MA.UM*] ‘heart’), but actually it seems that the character 音 does not really have the disambiguating function here because the SK reading of the character 心 (심 *sim*) also has the *-m* ending.

Third, there are fixed sequences of a logogram followed by a phonetic determinative. To put it in another way, certain logograms are followed by a specific phonetic determinative, and this fixed character sequence is the consistent way to write the corresponding word in *hyangka*, e.g.:

(8). 兒史: **SAL** 兒 𠂔 *CUS* ‘(physical) appearance’ + **PAP** 史 𠂔 *s*

(9). 秋察: **SAL** 秋 𠂔 *KO.ZOL* (> 가을 *KA.UL*) ‘autumn’ + **PAP** 察 𠂔 *l*

Fourth, there are cases of duplicate phonetic determinatives in which two phonetic determinatives are used to denote the same logogram, e.g.:

(10). 秋察尸: **SAL** 秋 𠂔 *KO.ZOL* (> 가을 *KA.UL*) ‘autumn’ + **PAP** 察 𠂔 *l* + **PAP** 尸 𠂔 *l*

(11). 月羅理: **SAL** 月 *ㄷ랄 **TO.LAL* (> 둘 *TOL* > 달 *TAL*) ‘moon’ + **PAP** 羅 𠂔 *l* + **PAP** 理 𠂔 *li* (← 𠂔 *l* + 𠂔 *i* [nominative particle])

In example (11), the character 理 serves dual functions: as a phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant *-l* in the word *ㄷ랄 **TO.LAL* ‘moon’ written by the character 月 by virtue of its initial consonant *l*-, and representing the following nominative particle 𠂔 *-i* by virtue of its vowel *i* (see section 3.1.6.4). Such interpretations can be questionable as the duplicate use of phonetic determinatives seems redundant and unnecessary.

In the present interpretation, there is a total of 150 occurrences of 41 different characters used as phonetic determinatives. Table 3.14 below is a complete list of the phonetic determinatives in *hyangka*. For each character in the table, in the column “Occurrences”, its total number of occurrences as a phonetic

determinative is given first, followed in parenthesis by the number of occurrences in each type of adaptation of its denoted characters. If all the occurrences of a phonetic determinative denote the same character or a phonetic determinative has only one occurrence, the denoted character is also listed. For example, the first character in the table 叱 is used as a phonetic determinative for two different sounds: 入 *s* and ㄷ *l*, with 17 occurrences for the former and 2 occurrences for the latter. 18 of these 19 occurrences denote an SAL character, and the other one occurrence denotes a PAP character.

Table 3.14 Phonetic Determinatives in *Hyangga*

Character		Sound	Occurrences	
1	叱	入 <i>s</i>	9+8=17 (SAL 17)	11+8=19 (SAL 18, PAP 1)
		ㄷ <i>l</i>	2+0=2 (SAL 1, PAP 1)	
2	音	口 <i>m</i>	8+7=15 (SAL 15)	
3	隱	ㄴ <i>n</i>	9+6=15 (DAL 1, SAL 3, PAP 11)	
4	尸	ㄷ <i>l</i>	7+2=9 (SAL 9)	
5	史	시 <i>si</i>	3+0=3 (SAL 3)	8+0=8 (SAL 8)
		入 <i>s</i>	5+0=5 (SAL 5) 兒 𪛗 <i>CUS</i> ‘appearance’	
6	只	ㄱ <i>k</i>	2+5=7 (SAL 4, PAP 3)	2+6=8 (SAL 5, PAP 3)
		기 <i>ki</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 必 받득기 <i>PAN.TO.KI</i> (> 반드시 <i>PAN.TU.SI</i>) ‘necessarily’	
7	理	리 <i>li</i>	6+0=6 (SAL 6)	
8	以	이 <i>i</i>	5+1=6 (SAL 6)	
9	等	든 <i>ton</i>	0+4=4 (SAL 4) 一 ㅎ든 <i>HO.TON</i> ‘one’	0+6=6 (SAL 6)
		들 <i>tol</i>	0+2=2 (SAL 2) 海 바들 <i>PA.TOL</i> (> 바다 <i>PA.TA</i>) ‘sea’	
10	冬	들 <i>tol</i>	1+4=5 (SAL 5) 不 모듈 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’	
11	伊	이 <i>i</i>	2+2=4 (SAL 4)	
12	呂	리 <i>li</i>	0+4=4 (SAL 4)	
13	乎	오 <i>wo</i>	3+0=3 (SAL 3)	
14	盼	ㄷ <i>l</i>	3+0=3 (SAL 3)	
15	支	ㄱ <i>k</i>	3+0=3 (PAP 3) 惡 악 <i>ak</i> (← 아 <i>a</i> + -ㄱ <i>-k</i> [emphatic suffix])	
16	羅	라 <i>la</i>	2+0=2 (SAL 2) 月 *득랄 <i>*TO.LAL</i>	2+1=3 (SAL 3)

			(> 둘 <i>TOL</i> > 달 <i>TAL</i>) ‘moon’	
		ㄹ <i>l</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 秋 𑖅 𑖅 <i>KO.ZOL</i> (> 가을 <i>KA.UL</i>) ‘autumn’	
17	良	아 <i>a</i>	3+0=3 (SAL 2, PAP 1)	
18	察	을 <i>ol</i>	2+1=3 (SAL 3) 秋 𑖅 𑖅 <i>KO.ZOL</i> (> 가을 <i>KA.UL</i>) ‘autumn’	
19	烏	오 <i>wo</i>	2+0=2 (SAL 2)	
20	知	디 <i>ti</i>	2+0=2 (SAL 2)	
21	次	ㅈ <i>c</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 蓬 다뭇 <i>TA.PWOC</i> (> 다북쑥 <i>TA.PWUK.SSWUK</i>) ‘mugwort’	2+0=2 (SAL 2)
		지 <i>ci</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 枝 가지 <i>KA.CI</i> ‘branch’	
22	喻	들 <i>tol</i>	1+1=2 (SAL 2) 不 모듈 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’	
23	如	다 <i>ta</i> (SAP)	0+2=2 (SAL 2) 每 -마다 - <i>MA.TA</i> ‘every’	
24	里	리 <i>li</i>	0+2=2 (SAL 2)	
25	布	배 <i>pay</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 紫 딘배 <i>TIT.PAY</i> ‘azalea; purple’	
26	支	기 <i>ki</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 誰 누구 <i>NWU.KI</i> (> 누구 <i>NWU.KWU</i>) ‘who’	
27	亦	여 <i>ye</i>	1+0=1 (PAP) 底 제 <i>cey</i>	
28	丁	쳐 <i>cye</i>	1+0=1 (SAP) 念 𑖅 장 <i>ko.cang</i> (> 까지 <i>kka.ci</i>) ‘until’	
29	刀	도 <i>two</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 集 모도- <i>MWO.TWO-</i> (> 모으- <i>MWO.U-</i>) ‘to gather’ (stem)	
30	是	이 <i>i</i> (SAP)	1+0=1 (SAL) 待 기다리- <i>KI.TU.LI-</i> (> 기다리- <i>KI.TA.LI-</i>) ‘to wait’ (stem)	
31	利	리 <i>li</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 星 *벼리 * <i>PYE.LI</i> (> 별 <i>PYEL</i>) ‘star’	
32	衣	이 <i>i</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 改 고티- <i>KWO.THI-</i> (> 고치- <i>KWO.CHI-</i>) ‘to fix, change’ (stem)	
33	阿	아 <i>a</i>	1+0=1 (SAL) 望 바라- <i>PO.LA-</i> (> 바라- <i>PA.LA-</i>) ‘to look at’ (stem)	
34	焉	온 <i>won</i>	1+0=1 (PAP + PAP) 乎 -오- - <i>wo-</i> (adverbial suffix) + 隱 -ㄴ- - <i>n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	
35	体	티 <i>thi</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 直 고티- <i>KWO.THI-</i> (> 고치- <i>KWO.CHI-</i>) ‘to fix, change’ (stem)	
36	乙	ㄹ <i>l</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 長 길- <i>KIL-</i> ‘to be long’ (stem)	
37	屋	으 <i>o</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 向 아으- <i>A.O-</i> ‘to go toward’ (stem)	
38	火	ㅍ <i>p</i> (SAP)	0+1=1 (SAL) 迷 입 <i>IP-</i> ‘to be confused’ (stem)	
39	玉	오 <i>wo</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 萎 이오- <i>I.WO-</i> ‘to wither’ (stem)	
40	留	루 <i>lwu</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 成 일우- <i>IL.WU-</i> ‘to achieve’ (stem)	
41	都	도 <i>two</i>	0+1=1 (SAL) 又 또 <i>STWO</i> (> 또 <i>TTWO</i>) ‘again’	

Although not as common as in Korean Sinographic writing, phonetic determinatives also exist in Japanese Sinographic writing. The following are some examples from MYS (Yi 1983: 61-80):

- (1). 河波/河泊: **SAL** 河 かは *KA.PA* ‘river’ + **PAP** 波/泊 は *pa*
- (2). 苦流思: **SAL** 苦 くるし *KU.RU.S-I* ‘to be painful’ + **PAP** 流 る *ru* + **PAP** 思 し *si*
- (3). 為流/為留/為類: **SAL** 為 する *SU-RU* ‘to do’ (adnominal) + **PAP** 流/留/類 る *ru*

Different from the situation in *hyangka* and Korean Sinographic writing that a phonetic determinative always follows the denoted character, in MYS, the phonetic determinative may also precede the denoted character, thereby indicating the first syllable of the word written by that character. The following are some examples (Yi 1983: 187-189):

- (4). 于梅/宇梅: **PAP** 于/宇 う *u* + **SAL** 梅 うめ *U.ME* ‘plum’
- (5). 久草: **PAP** 久 く *ku* + **SAL** 草 くさ *KU.SA* ‘grass’
- (6). 奈何: **PAP** 奈 な *na* + **SAL** 何 なに *NA.NI* ‘what’

3.1.6.4 Fusion of Sounds in Adjacent Morphemes

A phonogram is sometimes used to represent a syllable composed of sounds from separate but adjacent morphemes. In this way, the phonogram itself can be said to be serving dual functions. In the present interpretation, there is a total of 50 occurrences of 28 different characters with this orthographic phenomenon in *hyangka*. Table 3.15 below is a complete list of them. In each of the 50 occurrences, the character in question represents a syllable (including the 2 occurrences where the character is an SAP), whose structure is CV, VC, or CVC. There are four possible situations of drawing the morphemic boundary within the syllable: (1). CV=C+V; (2). VC=V+C; (3). CVC=CV+C; (4). CVC=C+VC. The most frequent pattern is the

first one, in which C is the final consonant of a word, and V is a particle or suffix (without an initial consonant) attached to that word. An example occurs in line 1 of “Song of Cheyong”. In the character sequence 明期, the character 期 is a PAP representing the syllable ㄱㅣ *kuy*. The initial *k-* indicates the final consonant in the reading of the preceding character 明, thereby disambiguating it as an SAL for the native word ㅁㅣ - *POLK-* (> ㅁㅣ - *PALK-*) ‘to be bright’ (stem) rather than a DAL with the SK reading ㅁㅣ *myeng*. The vowel *uy* in the syllable represents an adnominal suffix. As a result, the character 期 is a phonetic determinative for the preceding character and represents a separate morpheme at the same time. This orthographic phenomenon may be an indication that Korean scribes at the time already had the phonological awareness to decompose a syllable into the segments of initial, vowel, and coda, which might have been the influence of the Chinese phonological tradition.

Table 3.15 Fusion of Sounds in Adjacent Morphemes in *Hyangga*

Pattern	Character	Sound
C+V (26)	未 (6)	ㅁㅣ <i>muy</i> ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (coda) + ㅁㅣ <i>-uy</i> (animate genitive particle or locative particle)
	米 (3)	ㅁㅣ <i>muy</i> ← (-)ㅁ (-) <i>m</i> (coda or nominalizing suffix) + ㅁㅣ <i>-uy</i> (locative particle)
		ㅁㅣ <i>mi</i> ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (coda) + ㅁㅣ <i>-i</i> (nominative particle)
	可 (2)	가 <i>ka</i> ← ㄱ <i>k</i> (coda) + -ㅁㅣ - <i>a-</i> (infinitive suffix)
		겨 <i>kye</i> ← ㄱㅣ <i>ki</i> (ending syllable) + -ㅁㅣ - <i>e-</i> (infinitive suffix)
	理 (2)	리 <i>li</i> ← ㄹ <i>l</i> (coda) + ㅁㅣ <i>-i</i> (nominative particle)
	反 (2)	ㄹ Won ← ㄹ <i>W</i> (coda) + -ㄴ - <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)
	毛 (2)	모 <i>mwo</i> ← (-)ㅁ (-) (-) <i>m</i> (-) (coda or durative suffix) + -오 - <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)
	煙 (SAP) (1)	ㄴㅣ <i>nuy</i> ← ㄴ <i>n</i> (coda) + ㅁㅣ <i>-uy</i> (animate genitive particle)
	期 (1)	ㄱㅣ <i>kuy</i> ← ㄱ <i>k</i> (coda) + -ㅁㅣ - <i>-uy-</i> (adnominal suffix)
	如 (SAP) (1)	ㄱ ko ← ㄱ <i>k</i> (coda) + - , - - <i>-o-</i> (connecting sound)
	乃 (1)	나 <i>na</i> ← ㄴ <i>n</i> (coda) + ㅁㅣ <i>-a</i> (locative particle)
	等 (1)	ㄷ ton ← ㄷ <i>t</i> (coda) + -ㄴ - <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)

	多 (1)	다 <i>ta</i> ← ㄷ <i>t</i> (coda) + -ㅅ- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)
	斤 (1)	곤 <i>kon</i> ← ㄱ <i>k</i> (coda) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)
	靡 (1)	미 <i>mi</i> ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (coda) + -ㅣ- <i>-i</i> (nominative particle)
	史 (1)	시 <i>si</i> ← ㅅ <i>s</i> (coda) + -ㅣ- <i>-i</i> (adverbial suffix)
CV+C (13)	孫 (4)	손 <i>swon</i> ← -소- <i>-swo-</i> (exclamatory suffix) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)
	恨 (3)	흔 <i>hon</i> ← -호- <i>ho-</i> (> -하- <i>ha-</i>) (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)
	反 (2)	뒸 <i>pum</i> ← -부- <i>-pu-</i> (adjectival suffix) + -ㅁ <i>-m</i> (nominalizing suffix)
	盼 (1)	홀 <i>hol</i> ← -호- <i>ho-</i> (> -하- <i>ha-</i>) (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + -ㄷ- <i>-d-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)
	根 (1)	큰 <i>khun</i> ‘big’ ← -크- <i>kh-</i> ‘to be big’ (stem) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)
	省 (1)	손 <i>swon</i> ← -소- <i>-swo-</i> (exclamatory suffix) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)
	飛 (1)	날 <i>nol</i> ← -노- <i>-no-</i> (present suffix) + -ㄷ- <i>-d-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)
V+C (6)	惡 (2)	악 <i>ak</i> ← 아 <i>a</i> (ending vowel) + -ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)
	因 (2)	인 <i>in</i> ← 이 <i>i</i> (ending vowel) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)
	玉 (1)	옥 <i>wok</i> ← -오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix) + -ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)
	逸 (1)	일 <i>il</i> ← 이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem) + -ㄷ <i>-d</i> (initial)
C+VC (5)	寸 (3)	촌 <i>cwon</i> ← ㅈ <i>c</i> (coda) + -오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)
	吞 (1)	툰 <i>ton</i> ← ㄷ <i>t</i> (coda) + -은 <i>-on</i> (> -운 <i>-un</i>) (topic particle)
	萬 (1)	몬 <i>mon</i> ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (coda) + -은 <i>-on</i> (> -운 <i>-un</i>) (topic particle)

3.1.6.5 Holistic Logographic Notation of a Native Word

In the *hyangka* corpus, there are four instances of a two-character sequence interpreted as holistically writing a native word logographically:

- (1). 年數 나히 *NA.HI* (> 나이 *NA.I*) ‘age’

- (2). 何如 엇디 *ES.TI* (> 어찌 *E.CCI*) ‘what, how’
- (3). 今日 오늘 *WO.NOL* (> 오늘 *WO.NUL*) ‘today’
- (4). 將來 -려 *-LYE* (optative particle)

These are the cases in which the character sequence as a whole is mapped onto the underlying word, and because the word is monomorphemic, there is no way to map individual characters onto a smaller lexical unit. The same phenomenon is much better known in Japanese Sinographic writing and is called *jukujikun* 熟字訓 (“idiomatic character gloss”), which is still widely encountered today. An equivalent example is the character sequence 今日 writing the native word けふ *ke.pu* (> きょう *kyō*) ‘today’. In this dissertation, individual characters in the four sequences above are still counted as SALs separately for the convenience of character categorization.

3.1.6.6 Marker of the Final Stanza

As is mentioned in section 3.1.1, 19 of the 25 *hyangga* poems take the form of 3 stanzas and 10 lines. In each of these poems, there is a character sequence at the beginning of line 9 or the final stanza. These character sequences can be divided into two types:

- Type 1: 阿耶 (poem 4, 14, 17, 25), 阿邪也 (poem 7), 阿邪 (poem 9), 阿也 (poem 11).
 Type 2: 後句 (poems 3, 12, 19), 歎曰 (poem 15), 隔句 (poem 16), 落句 (poems 18, 21), 後言 (poem 20), 城上人 (poem 22), 打心 (poem 23), 病吟 (poem 24).

Because of the position of their occurrence in the poem, these written forms are generally regarded as the marker of the final stanza of a 10-line poem. The written forms in type 1 are straightforwardly phonographic and are read as ㄱㅏㅕㅐ(ㅑㅐ) *a.ya(.ya)* by scholars, while the written forms in type 2 are more intriguing and

appear to be logographic, but there is not any indication about their exact reading. One thing to note is that in SKYS, the original text of poem 13 ends with the character sequence 後句亡. This means that the final stanza of this poem was lost, and it may also be an indication that the character sequence 後句 is the marker or even the name of the final stanza (c.f., the concept 三句六名 mentioned in section 3.1.2). If this is true, then it is likely that these two characters do not belong to the poem proper and are not vocalized in the oral transmission of the poem. Moreover, the literal meaning of the last three written forms in type 2 make them look like more than simply a formal marker (城上人 ‘person on top of the castle’; 打心 ‘beating the heart’; 病吟 ‘chanting in sickness’). Could they even be cases of some kind of “playful writing” (the topic of chapter 4)? The current situation of interpretation is that the written forms in type 2 are read in the same way as those in type 1. In this dissertation, neither a reading nor an adaptation type is given for any of the occurrences of characters in type 2.

3.2 Vernacular Japanese Poetry and *Man'yōshū*

Man'yōshū is the earliest Japanese literary anthology and also the earliest systematic corpus of full vernacular Japanese writing²⁴. In this sense, it is the Japanese equivalent to Korean *hyangga*. In addition, vernacular poems are also recorded throughout KJK and NHSK, despite the fact that the narrative portion of these two works is in Literary Sinitic to different extents. Vovin (2009: 1-31) provides a detailed general introduction to MYS.

In its current form, MYS is divided into 20 “books” (*maki* 巻) and contains 4,516 poems with a variety of poetic genres, themes, and writing styles. The exact process of its compilation is unclear, but it is usually thought that the poet Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785) played a major role. In fact, the last four

²⁴It should be noted that many poems in MYS have an accompanying preface, and these prefaces are written in Literary Sinitic.

books of MYS contain exclusively his poems. The final poem in MYS is dated to 759 according to its preface, and this is also the latest dated poem in the anthology, so the compilation of MYS is thought to have been completed between that year and Ōtomo's death in 785. The earliest extant manuscript of MYS (*Katsura bon* 桂本) dates to the mid-Heian 平安 period (794-1185), and the earliest extant complete manuscript (*Nishihonganji bon* 西本願寺本) dates to the late Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185-1333). The first extant commentary of MYS is *Man'yōshū chūshaku* 萬葉集注釋 (1269) by the scholar monk Sengaku 仙覺 (1203-c. 1272), which was based on the glossing produced in the preceding centuries, while there would be no major commentaries to follow until the Edo 江戸 period (1603-1868) when the study of MYS began to flourish. Despite this gap in scholarship, it should still be safe to say that there is a relatively unbroken glossing, commentarial, and exegetic tradition of MYS, especially in comparison with the situation of *hyangka*. The result of this tradition is that there is usually a high degree of consensus on the reading and interpretation of the text, and different premodern manuscript versions have largely been collated into a single version as the base text for modern publications of MYS, in which textual variations are noted alongside the base text. Finally, MYS is well known for its diversity in writing style and orthography, in terms of both the overarching principle (logography or phonography) and the specific character(s) chosen to represent a linguistic form. This is undoubtedly closely associated with the heterogeneous provenance of its sources. The 20 books of MYS can be divided into three groups in this respect: primarily logographic, primarily phonographic, and a balanced mixture of both principles. The predominant mode is primarily logographic, with 13 or 14 of the 20 books written in this way. As Lurie notes, MYS incorporates all of the techniques of writing that can be seen from other contemporaneous materials, "as well as some baroque methods of writing without close parallels elsewhere," and in this way, "it represents the apotheosis of seventh- and eighth-century writing, wherein the fullest potential of the existing techniques of inscription

was exploited” (Lurie 2011: 268-270).

Modern Japanese editions of MYS with commentaries or annotations are numerous, while a complete translation or study of MYS in a foreign language is relatively rare. Alexander Vovin was undertaking the first ever complete translation of MYS with linguistic annotations into any other language before his death in 2022. Ten books of his translation have been published so far (books 1, 2, 5, 14-20), and there is one more book (book 10) scheduled to be published. The interpretation of MYS poems in this dissertation is mainly based on Vovin’s translation and annotation when available as well as two major modern Japanese editions: Omodaka (1957-1977) and *Man’yōshū zenchū* 萬葉集全注 (MYSZC). Both Japanese editions are divided into 20 volumes, each volume corresponding to a book in MYS, and each volume of MYSZC is produced by a different author. Following the common practice, an individual poem in MYS is identified by a number in the format *a.b*, where *a* stands for the book and *b* stands for the poem itself. The numbering of poems is continuous across books, so the first poem in MYS is numbered 1.1, and the last poem numbered 20.4516. A detailed interpretation of the poems cited in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 is given in Appendix 3.

3.2.1 Vernacular Japanese Poetry in Excavated Materials

There have been a few pieces of vernacular poetry works found on excavated wooden slips (*mokkan* 木簡). These discoveries show that the tradition of vernacular poetry and the orthographic techniques of recording the poems had already been well developed before the appearance of the earliest transmitted materials in the 8th century.

The most well-known example of vernacular Japanese poetry on wooden slips is the so-called “Song of Naniwa” (*Naniwa no uta* 難波津の歌) which has been discovered on various occasions (Lurie 2011: 261-263). The earliest version discovered so far is from the Kannonji 観音寺 site in Tokushima 徳島,

dated to the reign of Emperor Tenmu 天武 (672-686) or earlier (Mokkan Gakkai 2003: 29, 102-103):

奈尔波川尔作久矢己乃波奈
na ni pa tu ni sa ku ya ko₂ no₂ pa na

Another wooden slip containing this poem is from the Heijō Palace site 平城宮跡, the imperial palace of the Nara period. This slip contains some extra content (Okimori & Satō 1994: 26, 112):

□請請解謹解謹解申事解□奈尔波津尔
佐久夜己乃波奈□□□

This is obviously a piece of the so-called “scribal practice wooden slip” (*shūsho mokkan* 習書木簡). The first part of this text is a string of repetitive characters which the scribe was practicing writing, and the second part (in bold) is the poem per se, presumably also the target of practice. Among transmitted materials, there is a corresponding poem recorded in the *kana* preface of *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (“Collection of Japanese Poetry from Past and Present”) compiled in the 10th century, the earliest imperially commissioned anthology of vernacular poetry in Japanese history. Table 3.16 below gives the transmitted version of this poem.

Table 3.16 “Song of Naniwa” in the *Kana* Preface of *Kokin wakashū*

Original Text	Romanization	English Translation
なにはづに	Na.ni.wa-du=ni	In Naniwa port
さくやこのはな	sak-u=ya ko.no pa.na	These flowers bloom!
冬ごもり	pu.yu-go.mor-i	[From] winter confinement
いまははるべと	i.ma-wa pa.ru-be=to	Now [it is] spring.
さくやこの花	sak-u=ya ko.no pa.na	These flowers bloom!

The preface states that this poem was both valued as a model of vernacular poetry and used as a sample for practicing calligraphy, which is proved by its presence in the wooden slips.

In contrast, there are also pieces of writing which appear to be vernacular poems but are not attested in transmitted materials. A representative example is found on wooden slip no. 179 from Akita Castle 秋田城跡, which records the following string of characters (the presumed reading of each character is also given):

波流奈礼波伊河志波万...
pa ru na re pa i ka si pa ma ...

由米余伊母波夜久伊和万始□止利河波志□
yu me₂ yo₂ i mo₂ pa ya ku i wa ma si □ to₂ ri ka pa si □

Table 3.17 below is a tentative interpretation of the portion of this poem whose meaning can be reasonably reconstructed (Okimori & Satō 1994: 31, 116; Mokkan Gakkai 2003: 29, 103).

Table 3.17 Tentative Interpretation of the Poem on Akita Castle Wooden Slip No. 179

Original Text	Romanization	English Translation
波流奈礼波	pa.ru nar-e-ba	Since [it] has become spring
伊河志波万	i.ka.si pa.ma	Ikashi coast (?)
伊母波夜久	i.mo ₂ pa.ya-ku	My dear, quickly
止利河波志	tor-i-ka.pas-i-	Exchanging/interacting

3.2.2 *Man'yōshū* Poem 1.1

This section presents poem 1.1 as a representative example of MYS poems. Other than simply being the first entry in the corpus, this poem is also a good example of the orthographic diversity in MYS.

The preface to this poem attributes it to Emperor Yūryaku 雄略 (traditional reign dates 456-479), the

21st Emperor in the Japanese monarchical lineage. The original text is²⁵:

1 籠毛與 2 美籠母乳 3 布久思毛與 4 美夫君志持 5 此岳尔 6 菜採須兒 7 家吉閑 8
名告紗根 9 虚見津 10 山跡乃國者 11 押奈戸手 12 吾許曾居 13 師吉名倍手 14 吾己
曾座 15 我許背齒告目 16 家呼毛名雄母

A literary English translation is:

The girl plucking greens on this hill, holding a basket and a digging stick, [I] want to hear about [your] home and [you] to tell [me your] name. [As for] the Yamato country under Heaven, [it] is I [who] press [it] with force and rule [it] widely. I will tell [you] both [my] home and [my] name.

Table 3.18 below is the interpretation of this poem, including the Romanization and English translation of each line.

Table 3.18 Interpretation of *Man'yōshū* Poem 1.1

Line	Original Text	Romanization	English Translation
1-2	籠毛與 美籠母乳	KO ₁ =mo ₁ =yo ₂ mi ₁ -KO ₁ mo ₂ t-i-	A basket, holding a basket,
3-4	布久思毛與 美夫君志持	pu.ku.si=mo ₁ =yo ₂ mi ₁ -bu.ku.si MO ₂ T-I-	A digging stick, holding a digging stick,
5-6	此岳尔 菜採須兒	KO ₂ -NO ₂ WO.KA=ni NA TUM-A-su-KO ₁	The girl plucking greens on this hill
7-8	家吉閑 ²⁶ 名告紗根	I.PE ₁ ki ₁ k-a-na NA NO ₂ R-A-sa-ne	[I] want to hear about [your] home, [I] want [you] to tell [me your] name.
9-10	虚見津 ²⁷	so ₁ .ra-mi ₁ .tu	The Yamato country under Heaven

²⁵It should be noted that there are no spaces in the text of a poem in premodern manuscripts of MYS. Modern publications usually add spaces to show the division of lines, and a number is accordingly added before each line.

²⁶An alternative interpretation of line 7 is regarding the character 吉 as a graphic error of **SAL** 告 for the word の₂ら-NO₂R-A- 'to tell' (irrealis), and the character 閑 as an SAP for the honorific auxiliary verb -せ -se (imperative) (← せ SE 'barrier', cf. せく sek-u 'to block' [conclusive]). In this way, line 7 is read as いへ₁の₂らせ I.PE₁ NO₂R-A-se 'Tell [me your] home' (e.g., Omodaka 1957: 17-21).

²⁷The character sequence 虚見津 represents the epithet (*makura kotoba* 枕詞) associated with the following word *ya.ma.to* 'Yamato' and is read as そ₁らみ₁つ so₁.ra mi₁.tu. An episode in NHSK describing the god Nigihayahi no Mikoto 饒速日命 seeing the land of Yamato from the sky (及至饒速日命乘天磐船而翔行太虚也、睨是郷而降之、故因目之、曰虚空見日本國矣 [NHSK 1: 236]) is taken as the origin of this expression, which is thus etymologically analyzed as consisting of そ₁ら so₁.ra 'sky', み₁ mi₁- 'to see' (infinitive), and -つ -tu (perfective auxiliary verb). In this way, the character 見 is an

	山跡乃國者	ya.ma.to ₂ =no ₂ KU.NI=PA	
11-12	押奈戸手 吾許曾居	OS-I-na.be ₂ =te WA.RE=ko ₂ .so ₂ WOR-E-	Pressing with force, [it] is I.
13-14	師吉名倍手 吾己曾座	sik-i ₁ -na.be ₂ =te WA.RE=ko ₂ .so ₂ I.MAS-E-	Ruling widely, [it] is I.
15-16	我許背齒告目 家呼毛名雄母	WA.RE=ko ₂ .so ₂ =pa NO ₂ R-A-m-e ₂ - I.PE ₁ =wo=mo ₁ NA=wo=mo ₂	I will tell [you] both [my] home and [my] name.

The orthographic diversity of this poem is manifested in two ways. First, a number of linguistic units which appear more than once are represented in different written forms. The linguistic units involved include both lexical words and grammatical morphemes, and the variation in written form includes both the variation between logography and phonography and the variation in characters. Table 3.19 below lists all such cases.

Table 3.19 Linguistic Units with Different Written Forms in *Man'yōshū* Poem 1.1

Linguistic Unit	Written Form
=も <i>-mo</i> (emphatic particle)	1.2/3.4/16.3 PAP 毛 も ₁ mo ₁
	16.6 PAP 母 も ₂ mo ₂
も ₂ ち- <i>mo₂t-i-</i> ‘to hold’ (infinitive)	2.3 PAP 母 も ₂ mo ₂ + 2.4 SAP 乳 ち <i>ti</i> (← ち <i>TI</i> ‘breast’)
	4.5 SAL 持
ふ(ぶ)くし <i>p(b)u.ku.si</i> ‘digging stick’	3.1 PAP 布 ふ <i>pu</i> + 3.2 PAP 久 く <i>ku</i> + 3.3 PAP 思 し <i>si</i>
	4.2 PAP 夫 ぶ <i>bu</i> + 4.3 PAP 君 く <i>ku</i> + 4.4 PAP 志 し <i>si</i>
=は <i>-pa</i> (topic particle)	10.5 SAL 者
	15.4 SAP 齒 は <i>pa</i> (← は <i>PA</i> ‘tooth’)
なべ ₂ - <i>na.be₂-</i> ‘to subdue’ (infinitive)	11.2 PAP 奈 な <i>na</i> + 11.3 SAP 戸 べ ₂ be ₂ (← へ ₂ PE ₂ ‘household’)
	13.3 SAP 名 な <i>na</i> (← な <i>NA</i> ‘name’) + 13.4 PAP 倍 べ ₂ be ₂
われ <i>wa.re</i> ‘I’	12.1/14.1 SAL 吾
	15.1 SAL 我
=こ ₂ そ ₂ <i>-ko₂.so₂</i> (emphatic particle)	12.2 PAP 許 こ ₂ ko ₂ + 12.3 PAP 曾 そ ₂ so ₂
	14.2 PAP 己 こ ₂ ko ₂ + 14.3 PAP 曾 そ ₂ so ₂
	15.2 PAP 許 こ ₂ ko ₂ + 15.3 SAP 背 そ ₂ so ₂ (← そ ₂ SO ₂ ‘back’)
=を <i>-wo</i> (accusative particle)	16.2 PAP 呼 を <i>wo</i>
	16.5 SAP 雄 を <i>wo</i> (← を <i>WO</i> ‘male’)

SAL. On the other hand, Vovin presumes that そ₁ら *so₁.ra* is the native Japanese word meaning ‘sky’ and み₁つ *mi₁.tu* is a loanword from Korean meaning ‘under’ (cf. MoK 밀 *mith*). Accordingly, this expression means ‘under Heaven’ and is analogous with (or probably inspired by) the Chinese concept of *tiānxià* 天下 (Vovin 2011: 141-142). In this way, the character 見 is an SAP.

Second, a number of semantically related characters are used phonographically. These characters are originally associated with words for body parts but are used as SAPs in the poem. Since there is a set of Sinographic phonograms available for each syllable in Japanese, including both PAPs and SAPs, the appropriate explanation of this phenomenon is that the scribe must have chosen these characters intentionally (and carefully) so as to achieve some extralinguistic effect while fulfilling the desired linguistic function.

Table 3.20 below lists all such cases.

Table 3.20 Semantically-Adapted Phonograms in *Man'yōshū* Poem 1.1
with Relevant Inherent Semantic Values

Character	Referent in Poem
2.4 乳 ‘breast’	ち <i>ti</i> ← ち <i>TI</i> ‘breast’
11.4/13.5 手 ‘hand’	=て <i>-te</i> (conjunctive particle) ← て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’
15.3 背 ‘back’	そ ₂ <i>so₂</i> ← そ ₂ <i>SO₂</i> ‘back’
15.4 齒 ‘tooth’	=は <i>-pa</i> (topic particle) ← は <i>PA</i> ‘tooth’
15.6 目 ‘eye’	-め ₂ <i>-m-e₂-</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (realis) ← め ₂ <i>ME₂</i> ‘eye’

Given the content of this poem and the context that it was allegedly created by a monarch addressing a girl, these characters which originally refer to body parts produce an erotic undertone. Cases like this in which extra layers of meaning of a poem are embedded in its orthography are prevalent in MYS.

3.2.3 Orthographic Minimal Pairs

There is a high degree of orthographic diversity in the written materials from this early period of vernacular Japanese writing in that the same linguistic unit can be written in different ways. There are two major types of orthographic diversity: variation between the two orthographic principles (logography and phonography), and variation in the specific characters used for a particular linguistic unit (especially

phonograms used in phonographic notation). Different written representations of an identical linguistic utterance may be called “orthographic minimal pairs.” It is probably not surprising that orthographic minimal pairs on the level of sound or lexical unit are prevalent in MYS as well as in the transcription of vernacular poetry in general, but this phenomenon can also occur on a broader discourse level to an entire poem, as is shown by the two examples below.

3.2.3.1 Variation between Logography and Phonography

Entries 12.3023 and 17.3935 in MYS are essentially the same poem in the sense that they represent an identical linguistic utterance in Japanese, the former logographically and the latter phonographically (Lurie 2011: 272). Table 3.21 below gives the written form of these two poems.

Table 3.21 Written Form of *Man'yōshū* Entries 12.3023 and 17.3935

Line	MYS 12.3023	MYS 17.3935
1	隱沼乃	許母利奴能
2	下從戀餘	之多由孤悲安麻里
3	白浪之	志良奈美能
4	灼然出	伊知之路久伊泥奴
5	人之可知	比登乃師流倍久

The last character 乃 in line 1 of entry 12.3023 is the only phonogram in this entry, and every other character is a logogram. In contrast, every character in entry 17.3935 is a phonogram. Table 3.22 below gives the interpretation of these two entries, including the Romanization and English translation of each line.

Table 3.22 Interpretation of *Man'yōshū* Entries 12.3023 and 17.3935

Line	Romanization	English Translation
1	ko ₂ .mo ₂ r-i-nu=no ₂	Of the hidden marsh
2	si.ta=yu ko ₁ .pi ₂ a.mar-i-	From below, [my] love exceeding,

3	si.ra-na.mi ₁ =no ₂	Of the white waves
4	i.ti.si.ro ₁ -ku i.de-n-u	[It] remarkably came out.
5	pi ₁ .to ₂ =no ₂ sir-u-be ₂ -ku-	People may know, and ...

A literary English translation is:

From the bottom of the hidden marsh, [my] love overflowing, [it] remarkably came out [like] the white waves [coming out]. People may know, and ...

As Lurie points out, whether one regards two such entries in the same corpus as “the same poem” is a matter of definition. On one hand, this kind of extreme difference in written representation means that their identical utterance is likely to be not immediately discernible to the reader. In this way, it is not unreasonable to treat them as two different poems, especially given the fact that the visual effect brought about by orthography is a factor which cannot be neglected in the appreciation of MYS. On the other hand, if the underlying poem was originally a well-known piece of work in oral transmission, it might not be that difficult for contemporary Japanese literati immersed in the tradition of vernacular poetry to figure out this fact, and then it makes sense to treat the two entries as orthographic variations (albeit likely with some kind of significance in the variation) of the same poem.

3.2.3.2 Variation in Specific Phonograms

Often called “the first ever *waka* poem,” the first poem recorded in both KJK and NHSK may be named “Song of Eight Clouds” based on its content. It is recorded completely phonographically in both sources but with a relatively large portion of different characters. This song is chanted by the god Susanoo no Mikoto (whose name is transcribed as 須佐之男命 in KJK and 素戔鳴尊 in NHSK, sometimes also preceded with

various honorific prefixes) when he builds a palace and sees the clouds rising. Tables 3.23 and 3.24 below give the written form of the two occurrences of this poem and its interpretation, including the Romanization and English translation of each line, respectively (KJK: 72-73; NHSK 1: 92-93).

Table 3.23 Written Forms of the “Song of Eight Clouds”

Line	KJK	NHSK
1	夜久毛多都	夜句茂多菟
2	伊豆毛夜幣賀岐	伊弩毛夜霸餓岐
3	都麻碁微爾	菟磨語昧爾
4	夜幣賀岐都久流	夜霸餓枳菟俱盧
5	曾能夜幣賀岐袁	贈迺夜霸餓岐廻

Table 3.24 Interpretation of the “Song of Eight Clouds”

Line	Romanization	English Translation
1	ya-ku.mo ₁ tat-u-	[Izumo, where] eight clouds rise
2	i.du.mo ₁ ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁	[In] Izumo, an eight-layered fence
3	tu.ma-go ₂ .mi ₂ =ni	To enclose [my] wife
4	ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁ tu.kur-u	[I] make an eight-layered fence.
5	so ₂ -no ₂ ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁ =wo	That eight-layered fence!

A literary English translation is:

[In] Izumo where eight clouds rise, [I make] an eight-layered fence. To enclose [my] wife, [I] make an eight-layered fence. That eight-layered fence!

Compared to the case of variation between logography and phonography in section 3.2.3.1, the difference in written form here seems to be less eye-catching, especially when considering the fact that the two entries have the same number of occurrences of characters, and probably also less significant in terms of literary effect. There is not much uncertainty regarding these two entries as the same poem, even more so when their respective background story in the two sources is also in accordance with each other.

3.3 Summary

The first part of this chapter presents the results of a comprehensive examination of *hyangka*, the earliest and only extant corpus of full Sinographic vernacular writing of Korean, which has never been done before in Western scholarship. On the basis of the interpretation of every poem, it conducts a statistical analysis of the adaptation type and function of all the characters in the corpus, and it also identifies six types of orthographic features and techniques in Korean Sinographic writing beyond the basic framework of script adaptation. The second part of this chapter presents a small number of earliest vernacular Japanese poems, mainly to show the orthographic diversity in the Sinographic transcription of vernacular poetry. Despite the significant difference in size, a comparison of the two corpora shows that they share a common basic pattern of Sinographic writing, while each culture also developed its distinctive phenomena of character use.

The six types of orthographic features and techniques identified in section 3.1.6 are either unique to Korean Sinographic writing or common in Sinographic writing of both Korean and Japanese. The combination of the two main orthographic principles, logography and phonography (section 3.1.6.1), is the norm in the composition of coherent texts in both languages. Consonantal phonograms (section 3.1.6.2) and phonograms representing a fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (section 3.1.6.4) are unique to Korean Sinographic writing, the former because of the existence of consonantal grammatical morphemes in Korean, and the latter because of the sound changes caused by the phonological rules of Korean. Phonetic determinatives (section 3.1.6.3) occur in both writing systems but, considering the size of the corpus in the two languages, seem to be far more common in Korean Sinographic writing. The holistic logographic notation of native words (section 3.1.6.5) also exists in both writing systems and is still preserved in Japanese Sinographic writing today. A small number of the markers of the final stanza of *hyangka* poems (section

3.1.6.6) seem to have a certain degree of extra semantic function beyond whatever linguistic utterance they might have represented. If this is true, they are analogous to the cases of “playful writing” in *Man'yōshū*, the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 4

“Playful Writing” in *Man'yōshū*

While chapter 3 depicts the regular or normal picture of Sinographic vernacular writing of Korean and Japanese (despite the existence of a certain degree of orthographic diversity, especially in Japanese), this chapter focuses on a special orthographic phenomenon in *Man'yōshū*, commonly known as “playful writing” (*gisho* 戯書¹). This phenomenon can be defined as the idiosyncratic or *ad hoc* use of Sinograms beyond the scope of their normal logographic or phonographic function in either Chinese or Japanese writing, and it is an exploitation of the logographic feature of the Chinese script to a high degree. As its name suggests, “playful writing” takes advantage of or “plays with” the inherent semantic value of the Sinograms to achieve a humorous, ludicrous, or even sarcastic effect by the use of specific characters. In many cases of “playful writing,” the particular written form is tightly bound by and cannot be fully understood without the specific context, as the written form (whether a single character or a sequence of characters) semantically interacts with or relates to other characters in the poem or the line as a whole in which it appears.

Previous studies on “playful writing,” mostly in Japanese scholarship, have mainly taken two different approaches: focusing on specific examples to analyze the meaning of a written form and its literary effect in the poem, or discussing this phenomenon in a broad context such as Japanese writing, Japanese literature, or MYS in particular². In English scholarship, “playful writing” is usually briefly mentioned, with some concrete examples, as an illustration of the diversity of writing style in MYS. This chapter provides a new lens of examining “playful writing” by assembling a large number of cases, categorizing and analyzing them

¹This Sinographic term can be alternatively read as *tawamuregaki*, using the native Japanese reading of the two characters.

²One Japanese study particularly close to this chapter is Inaoka (1976), which is a collection of the author’s articles on the orthography and writing style in MYS. Taken as a whole, this may be the most comprehensive study so far specifically on this topic.

in a systematic way from the perspective of the relationship between the written form and the linguistic form, and conducting a statistical analysis in the entire MYS of all the written forms of most linguistic forms mentioned here. In this way, the variation in written forms and, more broadly, the orthographic diversity in MYS are demonstrated in a panoramic way that has not been visible before³. On that basis, observations can also be made regarding whether a “playful” written form is indeed uncommon or actually a common way to represent the corresponding linguistic form in MYS.

It can certainly be a subjective matter to judge whether a specific case is “playful writing” or not, and as a result, this chapter is by no means an exhaustive collection of all cases which can arguably be characterized as such⁴. In fact, some of the cases presented in this chapter are better-known than the others and are frequently cited as examples of “playful writing.” In general, the cases characterized as being “playful” here are essentially phonographic written forms with logographic connotation, and the inherent semantic value of the characters play a major role. This inherent semantic value is the result of the initial mapping between a character and a specific word in Chinese, and it is retained as the character is borrowed into Japanese writing and can resurface even when the character is used phonographically. From the perspective of script adaptation, characters in the cases of “playful writing” can be divided into three types: PAP, straightforward SAP, and “circuitous” SAP. The first two types are normal PAPs and SAPs respectively, whose SJ reading or conventionalized native reading alone is sufficient for them to be used in relation to the

³These are some existing studies close to this chapter in terms of both methodology and material, but they are not specifically on MYS. Case (2000) conducts a general statistical analysis of the phonograms in Old Japanese vernacular poems exclusively transcribed in PAPs in MYS and other contemporary materials. Sawazaki (2020) examines the “notational environment” in Old Japanese materials to see what type of character tends to be used when the preceding or following character is of a certain type.

⁴There is also the term *gikun* 義訓 (“semantic gloss”) frequently used in Japanese scholarship, and it roughly refers to the fact that a written form logographically represents a linguistic form which is not its conventionalized native or *kun* reading. An example is the character sequence 金風 (original meaning ‘metal wind’) read (or glossed) as *a.ki-ka.ze* ‘autumn wind’, on the basis of the association between the element of metal and the season of autumn in the traditional Chinese cosmological system of “five elements” 五行 (CN *wǔxíng*; JP *gogyō*) (Seeley 1993: 51). This can also arguably be a case of “playful writing”.

target linguistic form, but their inherent semantic value is also highly relevant to the context. The “circuitous” SAPs are characters used completely based on their semantic value without regard to their phonetic value (either SJ reading or conventionalized native reading). Such characters do not fall into any basic type of adaptation neatly, and the best choice would be SAP. This is because they are phonograms as they are just temporarily mapped onto the linguistic form in question and have never become its conventionalized written form in the general history of Japanese writing, but this mapping relationship is motivated by semantic factors, especially the inherent semantic value of these characters. To put it in another way, the pathway from their inherent semantic value to their actual usage is more “circuitous” compared to normal SAPs. In the following analyses, a “circuitous” SAP will still be categorized as an SAP, without distinction from a straightforward SAP. As an example, the first group of written forms examined below (section 4.1.1) includes all these three types of characters. The first written form 手師 is a combination of a straightforward SAP and a PAP, and the characters in the next two written forms 義之 and 大王 are all “circuitous” SAPs⁵.

In this chapter, cases of “playful writing” are divided into three major categories based on the motivation of character use and the relationship between the inherent semantic value or common logographic function of the written form and the underlying linguistic form: (1). notation of grammatical morphemes with logographic connotation; (2). graph-language mapping based on acoustic association; (3). graph-language mapping based on mathematical association. There are also cases which cannot be assigned to any of these categories, and they make up a separate “miscellaneous” category. Under each category, written forms which are related to each other or which represent the same linguistic form are grouped together, and each group of written form(s) is illustrated by a few examples. The statistical analysis of the written forms is done with

⁵More accurately speaking, 義之 and 大王 are holistic “circuitous” SAP written forms because it is each written form as a whole that is mapped onto the linguistic form in question, and there is no one-to-one mapping relationship between a single character in each written form and a constituent morpheme in the linguistic form. This kind of holistic mapping relationship is common for “circuitous” SAP written forms.

reference to *Man'yōshū sakuin* 萬葉集索引 (MYSSI), an index of lexical items in MYS which lists all the written forms of a lexical item and all the occurrences of a written form. A detailed interpretation of the poems cited in this chapter is given in Appendix 4.

4.1 Notation of Grammatical Morphemes with Logographic Connotation

Many grammatical morphemes in Japanese do not have an equivalent in Chinese, so they are represented phonographically by either PAPs or SAPs. In theory, phonographic notation does not take semantic factors into account. Nevertheless, there are occasional cases in which the semantic value of the written form of a grammatical morpheme or construction plays a role in the context, and in most cases, such a written form is an uncommon, and thus highly marked, orthographic choice for the underlying linguistic form.

4.1.1 手師 義之 大王

These three character sequences all represent the compound auxiliary verb -てし -*te-si*-, which comprises the perfective auxiliary verb -て -*te*- (infinitive) and the recollective auxiliary verb -し -*si*- (adnominal). There is a chain of derivation in the written form of the same linguistic form.

4.1.1.1 手師

First, this character sequence is a combination of **SAP** 手 て *te* (← て *TE* 'hand') and **PAP** 師 し *si*. Although the graph-sound mapping here is straightforward, it is likely that these two characters are chosen as phonograms with logographic connotation under the influence of the word 手師 てし *TE-SI* 'calligrapher' (← **SAL** 手 て *TE* 'hand' + **DAL** 師 *SI* 'master'). The meaning 'calligrapher' serves as the

basis of further derivation in written form.

MYS 4.619.8-9

Original Text	磨師情乎 縦手師
Transcription	と ₁ ぎ ₁ しこ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ を ゆるしてし TO ₁ G-I ₁ -si-KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ =WO YU.RUS-I-te-si-
English translation	[I] released the heart [which I] polished.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ ⁶	Reading in poem	Type
8.1	磨	‘to polish’	G マ <i>ma</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	と ₁ ぎ ₁ 1- TO ₁ G-I ₁ - ‘to polish’ (infinitive)	SAL
8.2	師	‘master’	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>si</i> - (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
8.3	情	‘emotion’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ 2 KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ ‘heart’	SAL
8.4	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
9.1	縦	‘to release’	G シュウ <i>shū</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i> KY ジュウ <i>jū</i>	ゆるし - YU.RUS-I- ‘to release’ (infinitive)	SAL
9.2	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	-て - <i>te</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive) ← て TE ‘hand’	SAP
9.3	師	‘master’	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>si</i> - (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP

MYS 9.1789.2

Original Text	結手師紐乎
Transcription	ゆひ ₁ てしひ ₁ も ₁ を YUP-I ₁ -te-si-PI ₁ .MO ₁ =wo
English translation	The tied knot

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	ゆひ ₁ 1- YUP-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	-て - <i>te</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive) ← て TE ‘hand’	SAP

⁶There are multiple layers of SJ character readings, and they are marked as follows: **G** for Go’on 呉音, **K** for Kan’on 漢音, and **KY** for Kan’yō’on 慣用音. It is commonly believed that Go’on is based on the character readings in southern China (especially the city of Jiānkāng 建康 [modern Nánjīng 南京]) in the 5th and 6th centuries, and Kan’on is based on the character readings in northern China (especially the city of Cháng’ān 長安 [modern Xī’ān 西安]) in the 7th and 8th centuries. Kan’yō’on refers to sporadic or irregular character readings which do not belong to the other two systems.

			KY ズ <i>zu</i>		
3	師	‘master’	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>si</i> - (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
4	紐	‘knot’	G ニュウ <i>nyū</i> K ジュウ <i>jū</i> KY チュウ <i>chū</i>	ひ ₁ も ₁ <i>PI₁.MO₁</i> ‘knot’	SAL
5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (accusative particle)	PAP

4.1.1.2 義之

In the second step, this character sequence, from the name of the Chinese calligrapher Wáng Xīzhī 王羲之 (303-361), is used based on its metonymic relationship with the meaning ‘calligrapher’. It is noteworthy that in all the transmitted versions of MYS, the first character in this sequence is always 義 (Chinese *yì* ‘righteousness’) instead of the expected 義 (Chinese *xī* [name of an ancient god]). This may be either an error, due to either their similar graphic form or their identical SJ reading *gi* (or a combination of both factors), or a deliberate choice made by premodern scribes to not differentiate them. The latter scenario seems more likely as this is the case throughout MYS, which is a vast anthology known to have been compiled from diverse sources, and 義 is a relatively rare character whose usage is largely limited to proper nouns. This means that even if the written form is 義之 (as opposed to 義之), the reader is expected to figure out its reference to a calligrapher, thereby uncovering the intended linguistic form⁷.

MYS 3.394.2

Original Text	我定義之
Transcription	わがさだめ ₂ てし WA=GA SA.DA.ME ₂ -te-si-
English translation	Destined to be mine

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type

⁷On the other hand, both characters 義 and 義 are attested in the manuscripts of other premodern Japanese texts when referring to Wáng Xīzhī (Kojima et al. 1994: 227).

1	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	わ=が <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が <i>=ga</i> [genitive particle])	SAL
2	定	‘to decide’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K テイ <i>tei</i>	さだめ ₂ - <i>SA.DA.ME₂</i> - ‘to decide’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	義	‘righteousness’	ギ <i>gi</i>	-てし - <i>-te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>-te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal])	SAP
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>		SAP

MYS 4.664.5

Original Text	言義之鬼尾
Transcription	いひ ₁ てしもの ₂ を IP-I ₁ -te-si=mo.no ₂ =wo
English translation	Because [I] said [this]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	言	‘to say’	G ゴン <i>gon</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	いひ ₁ - <i>IP-I₁</i> - ‘to say’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	義	‘righteousness’	ギ <i>gi</i>	-てし - <i>-te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>-te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal])		SAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>			SAP
4	鬼	‘ghost’	キ <i>ki</i>	もの ₂ <i>mo.no₂</i> (nominalizer) ← もの ₂ <i>MO.NO₂</i> ‘spirit’	=もの ₂ =を <i>=mo.no₂=wo</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAP
5	尾	‘tail’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	=を <i>=wo</i> (interjectional particle) ← を <i>wo</i> ‘tail’		SAP

MYS 7.1324.3/12.3028.3

Original Text	結義之
Transcription	むすび ₁ てし MU.SUB-I ₁ -te-si-
English translation	Tied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	むすび ₁ - <i>MU.SUB-I₁</i> - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	義	‘righteousness’	ギ <i>gi</i>	-てし - <i>-te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>-te-</i>		SAP

3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	[perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal])	SAP

4.1.1.3 大王

Finally, Wáng Xīzhī is alternatively called *dàwáng* 大王 (“Senior Wáng”) to be distinguished from his son, Wáng Xiànzhi 王献之 (344-386), who is also a prominent calligrapher and accordingly called *xiǎowáng* 小王 (“Junior Wáng”). Therefore, the character sequence 大王 is used synonymously with the character sequence 義之 for the intended linguistic form.

MYS 7.1321.3/11.2602.3

Original Text	結大王
Transcription	むすび ₁ てし MU.SUB-I ₁ -te-si-
English translation	Tied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	むすび ₁ - MU.SUB-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	-てし - <i>-te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>-te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal])	SAP
3	王	‘king’	オウ <i>ō</i>		SAP

MYS 10.2092.5

Original Text	定大王
Transcription	さだめ ₂ てし SA.DA.ME ₂ -te-si-
English translation	Decided

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	定	‘to decide’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K テイ <i>tei</i>	さだめ ₂ - SA.DA.ME ₂ - ‘to decide’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	-てし - <i>-te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>-te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal])	SAP
3	王	‘king’	オウ <i>ō</i>		SAP

				auxiliary verb] [adnominal])	

MYS 11.2834.4

Original Text	言大王物乎
Transcription	いひ ₁ てしもの ₂ を IP-I ₁ -te-si=MO.NO ₂ =wo
English translation	Because [I] said [this]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	言	‘to say’	G ゴン <i>gon</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	いひ ₁ -IP-I ₁ -	‘to say’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	-てし -te-si- (← -て -te-	[perfective auxiliary verb]	SAP
3	王	‘king’	オウ <i>ō</i>	[infinitive] + -し -si-	[recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal])	SAP
4	物	‘thing’	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	もの ₂ MO.NO ₂ (nominalizer) ← ‘thing’	=もの ₂ を =MO.NO ₂ =wo (conjunctive particle)	SAL
5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (interjectional particle)		PAP

Table 4.1 below lists all the occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -てし -te-si- (adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 15 different written forms for a total of 41 or 43 occurrences of this linguistic form⁸: (1). □之 (**PAP** 之 し *si*); (2). □師 (**PAP** 師 し *si*); (3). □為 (**SAP** 為 し *si* [← し -si- ‘to do’ (infinitive)]); (4). 提之 (**PAP** 提 て *te*); (5). 𠂇思 (**PAP** 𠂇 て *te*; **PAP** 思 し *si*); (6). 𠂇師; (7). 𠂇之; (8). 氏之 (**PAP** 氏 て *te*); (9). 而之 (**SAP** 而 て *te* [← =て =TE (conjunctive particle)]); (10). 而師; (11). 而石 (**SAP** 石 し *si* [← いし *I.SI* ‘stone’]); (12). 而為; (13). 手師 (**SAP** 手 て *te* [← て *TE* ‘hand’]); (14). 義之 (holistic mapping) (name of a calligrapher, derivation from (13) 手師); (15). 大王 (holistic mapping) (designation of a calligrapher, derivation from (14) 大王). The three written forms involving the meaning of ‘calligrapher’ (手師, 義之, 大王) account

⁸A square symbol <□> in the written form indicates that there is no graphic representation of the linguistic form in the original text. In other words, the corresponding linguistic form is supplemented in reading.

for 17 occurrences (about 40%). It is notable that **SAP** 手 only occurs with **PAP** 師, which may be an indication that the character sequence 手師 really is a deliberately crafted written form (although the opposite is not true as **PAP** 師 also occurs with other phonograms). The written forms 手師 and 義之 also have one occurrence each (手師 8.1430, 義之 10.2066) for the homophonous compound particle =て =し =*te=si* (← =て =*te* [conjunctive particle] + =し =*si* [emphatic particle]).

Table 4.1 Occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -てし -*te-si*- in *Man'yōshū*⁹

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□之	199	1
□師	1264	1
□為 ¹⁰	1283, (2430), (2473)	(3) or 1
提之	3559	1
弓思	3625	1
弓師	3950	1
弓之	4354	1
氏之	3948, 3958, 4248	3
而之	211, 214, 2019, 2878, 2950, 3076, 3329, 3877	8
而師	411, 438, 1065, 3816	4

⁹The following conventions are followed in the tables of statistical analysis in this chapter. (1). Items listed in the column “Occurrences” are the poems in which the linguistic form in question occurs, and a poem is denoted by its number in the anthology. Because the numbering of poems is continuous across books in MYS, the book number is omitted to save space. If there is more than one occurrence in the same poem, the number of occurrences is given in parenthesis after the poem number. (2). When there are textual variations, priority is given to the base text in modern publications. There are two types of textual variations: orthographic variation and lexical variation. Orthographic variation is the difference in written form of the same linguistic form. In this case, only the written form in the base text is listed and counted. Lexical variation is the difference in linguistic form, and it can be further divided into two situations, which are dealt with differently. If the linguistic form in question occurs in the base text, it is listed and counted under the corresponding written form regardless of whether it occurs in the variant version(s) or not. If the linguistic form in question does not occur in the base text but occurs in the variant version(s), it is listed in parenthesis and counted separately under the corresponding written form. As a result, there are occasional variations in the number of occurrences of a particular written form of a linguistic form as well as in the overall number of occurrences of a linguistic form. (3). There are occasional cases in which the linguistic form in question is a constituent of a larger linguistic form, but the written form of the latter cannot be decomposed into smaller units which can be neatly mapped onto the former. When this happens, the larger linguistic form and its corresponding written form are given.

¹⁰There are two different readings of the character 為 and the character sequence in which it occurs in poems 11.2430 (思始為) and 11.2473 (結為). In the first reading, the character 為 is regarded as an SAP for the syllable し *si*, and, since there is no character representing the syllable て *te*, this syllable is supplemented in reading to form the intended compound auxiliary verb -てし -*te-si*-. In the second reading, the character 為 is regarded as an SAP for the perfective auxiliary verb -たる -*tar-u*- (adnominal) (← -たる -*TAR-U*- [copula] [adnominal]), and there is nothing supplemented in reading. For the character sequence 思始為 in poem 11.2430, the first reading yields the expression おもひそめてし *O.MO2P-I1-SO2.ME2-te-si*- ‘(the fact of) starting to think’, in which the morpheme -て -*te*- is supplemented, and the second reading yields the expression おもひそめたる *O.MO2P-I1-SO2.ME2-tar-u*- ‘(the fact of) starting to think’. For the character sequence 結為 in poem 11.2473, the first reading yields the expression ゆひてし *YUP-I1-te-si*- ‘the tied (knot)’, in which the morpheme -て -*te*- is supplemented, and the second reading yields the expression ゆひたる *YUP-I1-tar-u*- ‘the tied (knot)’. In both cases, the basic meaning of the two readings is the same, but the morphemic composition of the two expressions is different. These two occurrences are listed in parenthesis in the table to show this uncertainty.

而石	481	1
而為	3797	1
手師	619, 657, 1789, 2747, 3177, 3272, 3334	7
義之	394, 664, 1324, 2064, 2578, 3028	6
大王	1321, 2092, 2602, 2834	4
Total		(43) or 41

4.1.2 鶴 鴨

These two characters are frequently used as an SAP respectively for the perfective auxiliary verb -つる -*tu-ru-* (adnominal) (← 鶴 つる *TU.RU* ‘crane’) and the interrogative or exclamatory particle =かも =*ka.mo* (← =か =*ka* [interrogative particle] + =も =*mo* [emphatic particle]) (← 鴨 かも *KA.MO* ‘duck’)¹¹. In addition to the character 鴨, two other semantically related written forms are also attested for the particle =かも =*ka.mo*: 鳬 and 青頭雞. In terms of their semantic value, the former specifically refers to wild ducks, and the latter (‘green-headed chicken’) is an indirect designation of ducks from an anecdote in a Chinese source¹².

MYS 11.2720.5

Original Text	今日見鶴鴨
Transcription	け ₁ ふみ ₁ つるかも KE ₁ .PU MI ₁ -tu-ru-ka.mo
English translation	[I] saw [you] today!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	け ₁ ふ KE ₁ .PU ‘today’	SAL
2	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>		SAL

¹¹The particle =も =*mo* itself also has a notable “playful” written form by SAP 喪 (← も *MO* ‘disaster; mourning’) with five occurrences in MYS, among which four occurrences are in eulogies (Sawazaki 2020: 114-116).

¹²There is a gloss of the phrase 青頭雞 as meaning ‘duck’ in the annotation by Pèi Sōngzhī 裴松之 (372-451) of the historical chronology *Sānguózhì* 三國志 (“Annals of the Three Kingdoms”) (優人雲午等唱曰: “青頭雞, 青頭雞。” 青頭雞者, 鴨也。) (SGZ: 128). The point here is that because the word meaning ‘duck’ 鴨 is homophonous with the word meaning ‘to sign’ 押 (Mandarin *yā* < MC *’aep*), by alluding to duck, the actors were implicitly urging the emperor to sign an edict which would be advantageous to them.

3	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - <i>MI₁</i> - ‘to see’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	鶴	‘crane’	G ガク <i>gaku</i> K カク <i>kaku</i>	-つる- <i>-tu-ru-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← つる <i>TU.RU</i> ‘crane’	SAP
5	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも <i>-ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’	SAP

MYS 7.1190.5

Original Text	過不 _レ 勝 _レ 鳧
Transcription	すぎ ₂ かてぬかも SU.GI ₂ -KA.TE-NU=ka.mo
English translation	[I] am not able to pass!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	過	‘to pass’	カ <i>ka</i>	すぎ ₂ - <i>SU.GI₂</i> - ‘to pass’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ- <i>-NU-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
3	勝	‘to be able to’	ショウ <i>shō</i>	-かて- <i>-KA.TE-</i> (potential complementary verb) (irrealis)	SAL
4	鳧	‘wild duck’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K フ <i>fu</i>	=かも <i>-ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’	SAP

MYS 12.3017.5

Original Text	戀渡青頭雞
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ わたるかも KO ₁ .PI ₂ -WA.TAR-U=ka.mo
English translation	[I] keep loving!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>KO₁.PI₂</i> - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	渡	‘to go across’	G ド <i>do</i> K ト <i>to</i>	わたる- <i>WA.TAR-U-</i> ‘(time) to pass’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	青	‘green’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	=かも <i>-ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’ ← ‘green-headed chicken’	SAP
4	頭	‘head’	G ズ <i>zu</i> K トウ <i>tō</i> KY ト <i>to</i>		SAP
5	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>		SAP

Table 4.2 below lists all the occurrences of the auxiliary verb -つる- *-tu-ru-* (adnominal) and their

corresponding written form in MYS. There are 9 different written forms for a total of 90 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □流 (**PAP** 流 る *ru*); (3). 都流 (**PAP** 都 つ *tu*); (4). 都類 (**PAP** 類 る *ru*); (5). 都留 (**PAP** 留 る *ru*); (6). 豆流 (**PAP** 豆 つ *tu*); (7). 津流 (**SAP** 津 つ *tu* [← つ *TU* ‘ford’]); (8). **SAP** 鶴 つる *tu.ru* (← つる *TU.RU* ‘crane’); (9). **SAP** 釣 つる *tu.ru* (← つる *TUR-U* ‘to fish’ [conclusive]). The written form 鶴 accounts for 54 occurrences (60%). Table 4.3 below lists all the occurrences of the particle =かも *-ka.mo* and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 41 different written forms for a total of 711 or 719 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □毛 (**PAP** 毛 も *mo*); (3). □母 (**PAP** 母 も *mo*); (4). □裳 (**SAP** 裳 も *mo* [← も *MO* ‘lower garment’]); (5). 可問 (**PAP** 可 か *ka*; **PAP** 問 も *mo*); (6). 可母; (7). 可聞 (**PAP** 聞 も *mo*); (8). 可毛; (9). 可物 (**PAP** 物 も *mo*); (10). 可忘 (**PAP** 忘 も *mo*); (11). 可蒙 (**PAP** 蒙 も *mo*); (12). 加母 (**PAP** 加 か *ka*); (13). 加聞; (14). 加毛; (15). 賀聞 (**PAP** 賀 か *ka*); (16). 賀毛; (17). 賀母; (18). 敢物 (**PAP** 敢 か *ka*); (19). 奇毛 (**PAP** 奇 か *ka*); (20). 香聞 (**SAP** 香 か *ka* [← か *KA* ‘fragrance’]); (21). 香問; (22). 香毛; (23). 香物; (24). 香文 (**PAP** 文 も *mo*); (25). 香母; (26). 香蒙; (27). 香裳; (28). 鹿裳 (**SAP** 鹿 か *ka* [← しか *SI.KA* ‘deer’]); (29). **SAP** 鴨 かも *ka.mo* (← かも *KA.MO* ‘duck’); (30). **SAP** 鳧 かも *ka.mo* (← かも *KA.MO* ‘duck’); (31). 青頭雞 (holistic mapping) (‘green-headed chicken’, alternative designation of ducks, related to (29) 鴨 and (30) 鳧); (32). **SAP** 毳 かも *ka.mo* (← かも *KA.MO* ‘fur’); (33). **SAP** 氈 かも *ka.mo* (← かも *KA.MO* ‘fur’); (34). 粳毛 =ぬかも *=nu=ka.mo* (optative final particle) (**SAP** 粳 ぬか *nu.ka* [← ぬか *NU.KA* ‘glutinous rice’]); (35). **SAL** 疑 (‘to doubt’); (36). 疑意 (holistic mapping) (‘intention of doubting’, meaning relevant to the intended linguistic form); (37). **SAL** 哉 (exclamatory or interrogative final particle); (38). 歟毛 (**SAL** 歟 [interrogative final particle]); (39). 何然毛 なにしかも *NA.NI=si=ka=mo* ‘why’ (**SAL** 何 なに *NA.NI* ‘what’; **SAP** 然 しか *si.ka* [← しかり *SI.KAR-I* ‘to be like this’ (conclusive)]); (40). 何如毛 なにしかも *NA.NI=si=ka=mo* ‘why’ (**SAP** 如

しか *si.ka* [← しかり *SI.KAR-I* ‘to be like this’ (conclusive)]; (41). 何如文 なにしかも *NA.NI=si=ka=mo* ‘why’. The three written forms relevant to the meaning ‘duck’ (鴨, 鳧, 青頭雞) account for 303 or 306 occurrences (about 42%). In addition, there are 41 occurrences in which the auxiliary verb -つる -*tu-ru*- (adnominal) is immediately followed by the particle =かも =*ka.mo*, which are marked in bold in the two tables. 28 of these occurrences (68%) are written as 鶴鴨, and neither character is used in the other 13 occurrences. That is to say, these two characters are always used together and never with any other character in the graphic representation of the expression -つるかも -*tu-ru=ka.mo*.

Table 4.2 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -つる -*tu-ru*- in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	2241, 2507	2
□流	629	1
都流	364, 420 (2), 465 , 540, 835 , 1004 , 1558 , 1575, 1645 , 1949, 3371 , 3485, 3627 , 3628, 3639, 3718, 3893 , 3957, 4011, 4120 , 4166, 4184 , 4214 (2), 4253, 4398	27
都類	420 , 1565	2
都留	3473	1
豆流	4346	1
津流	613	1
鶴	81 , 150, 178, 188 , 207, 248 , 276, 297 , 420, 443, 548 , 581, 617, 649 , 1092 , 1103 , 1104, 1105 , 1148, 1359 , 1581 , 1583 , 1640 , 1720, 1809 , 1841 , 1966 , 2006, 2191, 2218 , 2320, 2433 , 2461, 2521 , 2545 , 2614 , 2624, 2637, 2653, 2672, 2720 , 2864 , 2885 , 2893 , 2973, 3092, 3117, 3182 , 3270 , 3303, 3304, 3327, 3334, 3849	54
釣	3333	1
Total		90

Table 4.3 Occurrences of the particle =かも =*ka.mo* in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	752, 2408, 2416, 3129	4
□毛	282, 2808	2
□母 ¹³	1084	1

¹³The two PAPs 毛 and 母 are originally used for two distinct syllables: 毛 for the type-A (*kō*-type) syllable も₁ *mo*₁ and 母 for the type-B (*otsu*-type) syllable も₂ *mo*₂. These two syllables probably had already merged or were in the process of

□ 裳	1334	1
可問	36, 3899	2
可母	41, 583, 797, 810, 835 , 844, 866, 872, 885, 1044, 1168, 1522, 1611, 1887, 1902, 2049, 2050, (2822), 2895, 2903, 2910, 3055, 3163, (3193), 3235, 3351 (2), 3355, 3379, 3413, 3430, 3463, 3465, 3480, 3488, 3500, 3527, 3549, 3556, 3557, 3559, 3572, 3581, 3588, 3596, 3620, 3625, 3641, 3644, 3668, 3675, 3688, 3758, 3776, 3831, 3914, 3931, 3989, 3995, 3996, 4008, 4014, 4043, 4045, 4059, 4081, 4083, 4114, 4125, 4140, 4148, 4166, 4196, 4208, 4213, 4219, 4220, 4231, 4269, 4272, 4282, 4291, 4299, 4310, 4331, 4354, 4360, 4364, 4404, 4423, 4511	(91) or 89
可聞	44, 96, 239, 241, 319 (2), 333, 356, 379, 421, 423, 465 , 478, 479, 493, 509, 517, 553, 562, 580, 597, 611, 631, 646, 657, 675, 740, 762, 777, 786, 789, 924, 994, 1070, 1127, 1177, 1262, 1314, 1436, 1451, 1459, 1474, 1495, 1539, 1558 , 1577, 1578, 1605, 1625, 1638, 1639, 1641, 1659, 1711, 1807, 1848, 1853, 1915, 1971, 2065, (2126), 2130, 2157, 2159, 2163, 2170, 2171, 2177, 2192, 2228, 2229, 2330, 2346, 2366, 2583, 2645, 2721, 2732, 2801, 2804, 2872, 2927, 2966, 2968, 2975, 3034, 3053, 3109, 3141, 3164, 3187, 3212, 3291, 3294, 3301, 3325, 3326, 3384, 3395, 3542, 3622, 3681, 3695, 3771, 3844, 3867, 3910, 3916, 3929, 3962, 3988, 4093, 4296	(113) or 112
可毛	199, 298, 552, 680, 844, 846, 1139, 1364, 1378, 1416, 1547, 1575, 1599 (2), 1608, 1648, 1657, 1904, 1911, 2087, 2137, 2327, 2721, 2897, 2900, 2917, (2947), 2976, 2992, 3247, 3351, 3371 , 3372, 3483, 3558, 3566, 3627 , 3646, 3650, 3715, 3905, 3957, 4003, 4019, 4094, 4184 , 4214, 4250, 4356, 4360, 4371, 4428	(52) or 51
可物	475, 1735	2
可忘	865	1
可蒙	3688	1
加母	39, 276, 822, 828, 903, 3470, 3928, 3957, 4069, 4348, 4390, 4407, 4422, 4449, 4460, 4483, 4508	17
加聞	475	1
加毛	816, 3602, 4341, 4344, 4418, 4503	6
賀聞	53	1
賀毛	4146	1
賀母	4120	1
敢物	537	1

merging in the late 8th century, leading to their orthographic confusion seen in MYS and other contemporary sources (they were distinguished in KJK compiled in the early 8th century) (Frellesvig 2010: 30; Bentley 2016: 216-217).

奇毛	1475	1
香聞	65, 78, 100, 113, 146, 222, 319 (2), 386, 464, 477, 559, 677, 909, 918, 965, 999, 1004 , 1014, 1019, 1025, 1042, 1047, 1062, 1181, 1458, 1532, 1564, 1565 , 1573, 1663, 1736, 1886, 1973, 2100, 2113, 2326, 3312, 3703, 3714, 3717, 3786, 3903, 3926, 3979, 4307	46
香問	119	1
香毛	(198), 1078, 3200	(3) or 2
香物	420 , 3932, 3943, 3947	4
香文	1336, 3651	2
香母	3234, 3600, 3603, 3652, 3700, 3893 , 4084, 4086, 4309, 4398 , 4451, 4453, 4502	13
香蒙	4462	1
香裳	44, 148, 204, 292, 513, 518, 967, 980, 1069, 1616, 1645 , 1675, 1780, 1793, 2970	15
鹿裳	2111	1
鴨	38, 81 , 98, 111, 134, 143, 149, 159 (2), 174, 179, 181, 185, 186, 188 , 191, 194, 196, 199, 200, 223, 230, 234, 235, 248 , 267, 277, 297 , 302, 307, 311, 316, 344, 368, 373, 380, 383, 403, 427, 428, 445, 452, 460, 496, 499, 519, 545, 546, 548 , 569, 584, 593, 594, 599, 600, 607, 630, 633, 649 , 686, 689, 692, 705, 735, 751, 787, 910, 922, 962, 981, 986, 993, 1026, 1029, 1046, 1073, 1075, 1079, 1082, 1092 , 1095, 1101, 1103 , 1105 , 1128, 1141, 1143, 1155, 1210, 1225, 1241, 1242, 1251, 1264, 1272, 1275, 1287, 1301, 1313, 1332, 1345, 1346, 1359 , 1383, 1407, 1413, 1418, 1431, 1433, 1463, 1505, 1581 , 1583 , 1596, 1614, 1640 , 1683, 1685 (2), 1692, 1693, 1695, 1700, 1704, 1718, 1721, 1723, 1725, 1728, 1731, 1809 , 1841 (1+1), 1846, 1847, 1849, 1852, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1864, 1867, 1872, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1908, 1921, 1953, 1966 , 1969, 1974, 1978, 1980, 2027, 2052, 2057, 2063, 2076, 2092, 2146, 2205, 2206, 2209, 2218 , 2221, 2242, 2244, 2246, 2254, 2256, 2275, 2280, 2283, 2286, 2291, 2313, 2332, 2337, 2339, 2353, (2369), 2380, 2384, 2387, 2411, 2417, 2420, 2422, 2427, 2433 , 2437, 2449, 2455, 2458, 2474, 2490, 2492, 2504, 2508, 2521 , 2529, 2532, 2539, 2545 , 2546, 2573, 2585, 2593, 2595, 2605, 2610, 2614 , 2636, 2665, 2672, 2675, 2698, 2699, 2701, 2704, 2714, 2720 , 2731, 2738, 2742, 2745, 2746, 2748, 2749, 2761, 2768, 2779, (2802), 2828, 2841, 2855, 2861, 2862, 2864 , 2885 , 2890, 2893 , 2915, 2923, 2926, 2932, (2947), 2972, 2990, 2993, 3003, 3012, 3039, 3054, 3068, 3090, 3110, 3127, 3131, 3133, 3140,	(300) or 297

	3146, 3157, 3159, 3160, 3162, 3173, 3174, 3182 , 3206, 3215, 3250 (2), 3313, 3329 (2), 3335, 3339, 3256, 3266, 3267, 3270 , 3274, 3282, 3296, 3315, 3324 (3), 3329 (3), 3341, 3849 , 3868, 3875 (2)	
鳧	1190, 2536, 2730, 2758, 3328	5
青頭雞	3017	1
毳	499, 654, 682, 944, 1109, 1182, 1909, 1930, 2041, 2127, 2258, 2554	12
氈	1415	1
粳毛 (=ぬかも <i>-nu=ka.mo</i> [optative final particle])	1077	1
疑	322, 2072, 2135	3
疑意	2299, 2324	2
哉	1249, 2381, 2395, 3129, 4224	5
歟毛	1792	1
何然毛 (なにしかも <i>NA.NI=si=ka=mo</i> ‘why’)	196	1
何如毛 (なにしかも <i>NA.NI=si=ka=mo</i> ‘why’)	581	1
何如文 (なにしかも <i>NA.NI=si=ka=mo</i> ‘why’)	3304	1
Total		(719) or 711

To have a more comprehensive picture of the usage of the characters 鶴 and 鴨 in MYS, it is also necessary to check how the words related to their inherent semantic value are written. The native reading currently associated with the character 鶴 is つる *tu.ru* ‘crane’, but this word never occurs or is never associated with this character in MYS. Instead, the word for ‘crane’ attested or associated with this character in MYS is たづ *ta.du*¹⁴. Table 4.4 below lists all the occurrences of the word たづ *ta.du* ‘crane’ and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 5 different written forms for a total of 47 occurrences of this

¹⁴This situation can be inferred from the phonographic written forms for the word ‘crane’ (table 4.4), and also from the fact that the phonographic written forms for the syllable sequence つる *tu.ru* never occurs when the underlying linguistic form is the word ‘crane’. In fact, たづ *ta.du* is also the word normally used for ‘crane’ in later vernacular poetry. Nevertheless, the fact that the character 鶴 can be used to represent the auxiliary verb -つる- *-tu-ru-* (adnominal) shows that the homophonous word for ‘crane’ つる *tu.ru* did exist at that time.

word: (1). 多頭 (PAP 多 た *ta*; PAP 頭 づ *du*); (2). 多豆 (PAP 豆 づ *du*); (3). 多津 (SAP 津 づ *du* [$\leftarrow$ つ *tu* ($\leftarrow$ つ *TU* ‘ford’)]); (4). SAL 鶴 (‘crane’); (5). SAL 鵠 (‘swan’). The character 鶴 accounts for 23 occurrences (49%). Table 4.5 below lists all the occurrences of the word かも *ka.mo* ‘duck’ (including in toponyms) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 7 different written forms for a total of 32 occurrences of this word: (1). 可母 (PAP 可 か *ka*; PAP 母 も *mo*); (2). 可毛 (PAP 毛 も *mo*); (3). 加母 (PAP 加 か *ka*); (4). 賀毛 (PAP 賀 が *ga*) (voiced bound form -がも *-ga.mo*); (5). 我母 (PAP 我 が *ga*) (voiced bound form -がも *-ga.mo*); (6). 許毛 (PAP 許 こ₂ *ko₂*) (bound form -こ₂も *-ko₂.mo*); (7). SAL 鴨 (‘duck’). The character 鴨 accounts for 22 occurrences (69%).

Table 4.4 Occurrences of the word たづ *ta.du* ‘crane’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
多頭	324, 509, 919, 961, 1000, 1030, 2138, 2768, 4398, 4399, 4400	11
多豆	1160, 3522, 3523, 3595, 3598, 3627, 3642, 3654, 4018, 4034, 4116	11
多津	71	1
鶴	271 (2), 352, 389, 456, 575, 592, 760, 1062, 1064, 1164, 1165, 1175, 1198, 1199, 1453, 1545, 1791, 2021, 2249, 2269, 2490, 2805	23
鵠	273	1
Total		47

Table 4.5 Occurrences of the word かも *ka.mo* ‘duck’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
可母	3524, 3525, 3570, 3625, 3649	5
可毛	4494	1
加母	3527	1
賀毛 (voiced bound form -がも <i>-ga.mo</i>)	3993	1
我母 (voiced bound form -がも <i>-ga.mo</i>)	4011	1
許毛 (bound form -こ ₂ も <i>-ko₂.mo</i>)	4354	1
鴨	50, 64, 223, 257, 260, 375, 390, 416, 466, 711, 726, 1227,	22

	1451, 1744, 2431, 2720, 2806, 2833, 3090, 3091, 3866, 3867	
Total		32

The following points can be summarized from the data above:

- (1). 60% of the occurrences (54 of 90) of the auxiliary verb -つる -*tu-ru*- (adnominal) are written with **SAP** 鶴.
- (2). About 42% of the occurrences (about 300 of about 715) of the particle =かも -*ka.mo* are written with **SAP** 鴨.
- (3). 49% of the occurrences (23 of 47) of the character 鶴 are the SAL usage for the word たづ *ta.du* ‘crane’.
- (4). 69% of the occurrences (22 of 32) of the character 鴨 are the SAL usage for the word かも *ka.mo* ‘duck’.

The conclusion can be made that each of the characters 鶴 and 鴨 is the most common written form in MYS for both the respective word for the animal and the respective grammatical morpheme related to the former. Because the occurrences of the latter outnumber those of the former, especially in the case of 鴨, Lurie (2011: 293) suggests that “[w]hen there is such a strong connection between a vernacular phonograph¹⁵ and a particular grammatical element, one could even say that a new logograph has been formed.” This statement may be applied to a specific context or corpus like MYS, but in the general history of Japanese writing, these two characters have never become the established conventional written form for the corresponding grammatical morpheme.

There are also cases in which one or more written forms discussed here coexist in the same poem and fulfill different functions. Poems 8.1451 and 16.3867 include **SAL** 鴨 かも *ka.mo* ‘duck’ and **PAP** sequence 可聞 for the particle =かも -*ka.mo*. Poem 11.2490 includes **SAL** 鶴 たづ *ta.du* ‘crane’ and **SAP** 鴨 for the particle =かも -*ka.mo*. Poems 1.223 and 11.3090 include **SAL** 鴨 かも *ka.mo* ‘duck’ and **SAP** 鴨 for the particle =かも -*ka.mo*. Poem 11.2720 (cited above) is the entry with the strongest imagery of “water bird” in that it begins with the character sequence 水鳥 (**SAL** 水 み₁づ *MI₁.DU* ‘water’; **SAL**

¹⁵“Vernacular phonograph” is Lurie’s term for SAP.

鳥 と 2 り *TO2.RI* ‘bird’) and includes **SAL** 鴨 か も *ka.mo* ‘duck’, **SAP** 鶴 for the auxiliary verb -つる- *-tu-ru-* (adnominal), and **SAP** 鴨 for the particle -かも *-ka.mo* (Lurie 2011: 295).

4.1.3 The Auxiliary Verb -む(-) *-m-u(-)*

There are many cases in which a single phonogram is used to represent a disyllabic expression which contains the speculative or optative auxiliary verb -む(-) *-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal). The expressions written in this way can be divided into two types. The first type is a grammatical morpheme of which -む(-) *-m-u(-)* is usually regarded as an integral part regardless of its etymology. The second type is a phrase with a transparent morphological structure, made up of a concrete verb in the irrealis form followed by the auxiliary verb -む(-) *-m-u(-)*. In most cases, the phonogram used is a PAP with an *-n* ending in its modern SJ reading but with an *-m* ending in its MC pronunciation (which means that its SJ reading should still have had the *-m* ending in the Old Japanese [OJ] period), and an extra vowel *u* is added after the ending, turning the character into a disyllabic phonogram (*nigōgana* 二合假名). On the other hand, an SAP with a native Japanese reading ending in the syllable む *mu* can also be used in this way. The inherent semantic value of the character in question may or may not be relevant in the context, and actually most examples of this type do not really have the “playful” effect, but they are still included here because the essential orthographic technique is the same. It is also worth mentioning that in MYS, phrases with the structure verb-*m-u(-)* are frequently written completely logographically as 將 X. This written form follows Chinese word order, in which the character 將 corresponds to the auxiliary verb -む(-) *-m-u(-)*, and the character X corresponds to the verb. This is a manifestation that the practice of *kundoku* (section 5.1.2) must have already been well established by the time of the compilation of MYS.

4.1.3.1 兼 監 險 雞 鵲

The first three characters are all used as PAPs to represent the past speculative auxiliary verb -け₁む (-) *-ke₁-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal). Their semantic value (兼 ‘to have multiple things’; 監 ‘to inspect’; 險 ‘to be precipitous’) is not relevant in the context. There is one poem (8.1431) in which this auxiliary verb is written with the combination of **PAP** 雞 け₁ *ke₁* and **PAP** 鵲 む *mu*. The preceding line in this poem mentions the nightingales (**SAL** 鶯 うぐひ₁す *U.GU.PI₁.SU*), so these two characters with relevant semantic values (雞 ‘chicken’; 鵲 ‘parrot’) are chosen as the phonograms for this grammatical morpheme, and they are further followed by **SAP** 鴨 for the exclamatory final particle =かも *=ka.mo*. In this way, the four characters representing words belonging to the same semantic domain create an imagery of different kinds of birds.

MYS 4.612.4

Original Text	相見始兼
Transcription	あひ ₁ み ₁ そ ₂ め ₂ け ₁ む AP-I ₁ -MI ₁ -SO ₂ .ME ₂ -ke ₁ -m-u-
English translation	[We] started to see [each other].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あひ ₁ - AP-I ₁ - ‘to meet’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - MI ₁ - ‘to see’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	始	‘to start’	シ <i>shi</i>	-そ ₂ め ₂ - -SO ₂ .ME ₂ - ‘to start’ (complementary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
4	兼	‘to have multiple things’	ケン <i>ken</i>	-け ₁ む- -ke ₁ -m-u- (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ¹⁶	PAP

MYS 7.1118.2

Original Text	有險人母
Transcription	ありけ ₁ むひ ₁ と ₂ も ₂

¹⁶The past speculative auxiliary verb -け₁む- *-ke₁-m-u-* is in the adnominal form here because of the existence of the interrogative particle =か *=ka* in the preceding line.

	AR-I-ke ₁ -m-u-PI ₁ .TO ₂ =mo ₂
English translation	People who existed also ...

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あり - AR-I- ‘to exist’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	險	‘to be precipitous’	ケン <i>ken</i>	-け ₁ む - -ke ₁ -m-u- (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
4	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	=も ₂ =mo ₂ (emphatic particle)	PAP

MYS 7.1166.2

Original Text	有監人之
Transcription	ありけ ₁ むひ ₁ と ₂ の ₂ AR-I-ke ₁ -m-u-PI ₁ .TO ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	People who existed

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あり - AR-I- ‘to exist’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	監	‘to inspect’	G ケン <i>ken</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	-け ₁ む - -ke ₁ -m-u- (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive/nominative particle)	SAL

MYS 8.1431.5

Original Text	鳴尔雞鵲鴨
Transcription	なき ₁ にけ ₁ むかも NAK-I ₁ -n-i-ke ₁ -m-u=ka.mo
English translation	[The nightingales] seemed to have chirped!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	なき ₁ - NAK-I ₁ - ‘to chirp’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に - -n-i- (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	PAP
3	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>	け ₁ <i>kei</i> -け ₁ む -	PAP

4	鵪	‘parrot’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	-む - <i>m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	- <i>ke₁-m-u-</i> (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
5	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	-かも - <i>ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’		SAP

Table 4.6 below lists all the occurrences of the auxiliary verb -け₁む(-) *-ke₁-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 22 different written forms for a total of 120 or 126 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □牟 (**PAP** 牟 む *mu*); (3). □將 (**SAL** 將 [future modal verb]); (4). 計武 (**PAP** 計 け₁ *ke₁*; **PAP** 武 む *mu*); (5). 計謀 (**PAP** 謀 む *mu*); (6). 計六 (**SAP** 六 む *mu* [← む *MU* ‘six’]); (7). 計米 (**PAP** 米 め₂ *me₂*) (realis form -け₁め₂ -*ke₁-m-e₂-*); (8). 家武 (**PAP** 家 け₁ *ke₁*); (9). 家牟; (10). 價牟 (**PAP** 價 け₁ *ke₁*); (11). 奚米 (**PAP** 奚 け₁ *ke₁*) (realis form -け₁め₂ -*ke₁-m-e₂-*); (12). 雞鵪 (**PAP** 雞 け₁ *ke₁*; **PAP** 鵪 む *mu*); (13). 雞米 (realis form -け₁め₂ -*ke₁-m-e₂-*); (14). 雞目 (**SAP** 目 め₂ *me₂* [← め₂ *ME₂* ‘eye’]) (realis form -け₁め₂ -*ke₁-m-e₂-*); (15). 祁牟 (**PAP** 祁 け₁ *ke₁*); (16). **PAP** 兼 け₁ む *ke₁.mu*; (17). **PAP** 監 け₁ む *ke₁.mu*; (18). **PAP** 險 け₁ む *ke₁.mu*; (19). 異牟 (**SAP** 異 け₁ *ke₁* [← け₁ -*KE₁*- ‘to be strange’ (stem)]); (20). 異六; (21). 異將; (22). 異目 (realis form -け₁め₂ -*ke₁-m-e₂-*). The three disyllabic phonograms (兼, 監, 險) account for 34 or 35 occurrences (about 28%).

Table 4.6 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -け₁む(-) *-ke₁-m-u(-)* in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	2377, 2488, 2492, (2947), 3130	(5) or 4
□牟	1166, 3118	2
□將	143 (2), 146, 226, 323, 355, 402, 423 (2), 519, 619, 1120, 1167, 1505, 1754, 1807, 1949 (2)	18
計武	(34), 60, 108, 163, 164, 3876	(6) or 5
計謀	509	1
計六	3821	1

計米 (realis form -け ₁ め ₂ - <i>ke₁-m-e₂</i> -)	(29), 1355	(2) or 1
家武	104, 291, 431 (2), 435, 522, 804 (2), 874, 875, 1488, 1808, 1971, 2327, (3360), 3415, 3681	(17) or 16
家牟	(307), 407, 497, 872, 1047, 1172, 1362, 3637, 3675, 3685, 3688, 3691, 3906, 4003, 4014, 4070, 4106, 4223, 4294, 4332, 4333	(21) or 20
價牟	217	1
奚米 (realis form -け ₁ め ₂ - <i>ke₁-m-e₂</i> -)	312	1
雞鷄	1431	1
雞米 (realis form -け ₁ め ₂ - <i>ke₁-m-e₂</i> -)	3468	1
雞目 (realis form -け ₁ め ₂ - <i>ke₁-m-e₂</i> -)	460, 963	2
祁牟	1795, 1800, 1801, 4323	4
兼	9, 29, 433, 497, 612, 750, 1035, 1111, 1118, 1169, 1225, 1605, 1725, 1803, 1814, 1907, 2027, 2455, 2639, 2650, 2665, 3033, 3227, 3302	24
監	134, 443 (2), 1166, 1718, 2167, (2947), 3203, 3790	(9) or 8
險	1118, 1799	2
異牟	2238	1
異六	1800, 3335 (2), 3336, 3337	5
異將	3339	1
異目 (realis form -け ₁ め ₂ - <i>ke₁-m-e₂</i> -)	633	1
Total		(126) or 120

4.1.3.2 點

The character 點 is used as a PAP to represent the compound auxiliary verb -てむ- *-te-m-u-*, which comprises the perfective auxiliary verb -て- *-te-* (irrealis) and the auxiliary verb -む- *-m-u-* (adnominal). Its semantic value ('point') is not relevant in the context.

MYS 7.1272.5

Original Text	著點等鴨
Transcription	き ₁ せてむと ₂ かも

	KI ₁ .SE-te-m-u-to ₂ =ka.mo
English translation	[I wonder] if [you] will dress [me].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	著	‘to wear’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K チャク <i>chaku</i>	き ₁ せ- <i>KI₁.SE-</i> ‘to dress’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	點	‘point’	テン <i>ten</i>	-てむ- <i>-te-m-u-</i> ← -て- <i>-te-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (irrealis) + -む- <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	等	‘to be equal’; plural suffix	トウ <i>tō</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle)	PAP
4	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも =ka.mo (interrogative particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’	SAP

MYS 11.2353.6

Original Text	人見點鴨
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ み ₁ てむかも PI ₁ .TO ₂ MI ₁ -te-m-u=ka.mo
English translation	Will people see [her]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jīn</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - MI ₁ - ‘to see’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	點	‘point’	テン <i>ten</i>	-てむ- <i>-te-m-u-</i> ← -て- <i>-te-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (irrealis) + -む- <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
4	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも =ka.mo (interrogative particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’	SAP

Table 4.7 below lists all the occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -てむ (-) *-te-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 10 different written forms for a total of 29 or 30 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □牟 (**PAP** 牟 む *mu*); (3). □將 (**SAL** 將 [future modal verb]); (4). 亅牟 (**PAP** 亅 て *te*); (5). 天武 (**PAP** 天 て *te*; **PAP** 武 む *mu*); (6). 氏牟

(PAP 氏 て *te*); (7). PAP 點 てむ *te.mu*; (8). 手武 (SAP 手 て *te* [← て *TE* ‘hand’]); (9). 手六 (SAP 六 む *mu* [← む *MU* ‘six’]); (10). 令□ (SAL 令 ‘to make [causative marker]’). The character 點 is the only disyllabic phonogram used for this purpose.

Table 4.7 Occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -てむ(-) *-te-m-u(-)* in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	545, 976, 2051, 2458	4
□牟	2987	1
□將	759, 777, 2332, 2837, 2921, 3217	6
弓牟	1641, 4318, 4477	3
天武	3395	1
氏牟	4040, 4043, 4206, 4222	4
點	1272, 2353	2
手武	(129), 2548, 2635	(3) or 2
手六	619, 957, 2326, 2543, 3103	5
令□	1486	1
Total		(30) or 29

4.1.3.3 南 嘗 味試

The character 南 is used as a PAP to represent the disyllabic sequence なむ *na.mu*. In some cases like the first example below, this phonetic sequence corresponds to the compound auxiliary verb -なむ(-) *-n-a-m-u(-)*, which comprises the perfective auxiliary verb -な *-n-a-* (irrealis) and the auxiliary verb -む(-) *-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal). The semantic value of the character 南 (‘south’) seems irrelevant in the context of this example. There are three poems (3.343, 3.380, 9.1722) in which SAP 嘗 (← なむ *NA.MU* ‘to taste’ [conclusive]) is used to represent the same compound auxiliary verb, and on that basis, the character sequence 味試 with essentially the same semantic value (‘to try the taste’) also occurs in one poem (7.1323). In poem 3.343, the semantic value of the character 嘗 echoes the description of wine.

The last example below is a different situation in which PAP 指 し *si* and PAP 南 なむ *na.mu*

together represent the trisyllabic sequence しなむ *si.na.mu*, corresponding to the expression consisting of the main verb しな- *sin-a-* ‘to die’ (irrealis) and the auxiliary verb -む *-m-u* (conclusive). The character sequence 指南 (‘to lead, guide’ ← ‘to point at the south’) may be understood as implying the author’s wish that her husband or lover will not abandon her as this poem expresses the author’s love for him.

MYS 11.2820.2

Original Text	妹乎待南
Transcription	いも ₂ をまちなむ I.MO ₂ =wo MAT-I-n-a-m-u
English translation	[I] intend to wait for [my] lover/wife.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ I.MO ₂ (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
2	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>-wo</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
3	待	‘to wait’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	まち- MAT-I- ‘to wait’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	南	‘south’	ナン <i>nan</i>	-なむ <i>-n-a-m-u</i> ← -な- <i>-n-a-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (irrealis) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

MYS 3.343.5

Original Text	酒二染嘗
Transcription	さけ ₂ にしみ ₁ なむ SA.KE ₂ =ni SIM-I ₁ -n-a-m-u
English translation	[I] want to soak in wine.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	酒	‘wine’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	さけ ₂ SA.KE ₂ ‘wine’	SAL
2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>-ni</i> (dative particle)	PAP
3	染	‘to dye’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K ゼン <i>zen</i> KY セン <i>sen</i>	しみ ₁ - SIM-I ₁ - ‘to soak’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	嘗	‘to taste’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i>	-なむ <i>-n-a-m-u</i> (← -な- <i>-n-a-</i>	SAP

			K ショウ <i>shō</i>	[perfective auxiliary verb] [irrealis] + -む <i>-m-u</i> [optative final particle] [conclusive]] ← なむ <i>NA.MU</i> 'to taste' (conclusive)	

MYS 7.1323.5

Original Text	戀度味試
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ わたりなむ KO ₁ .PI ₂ -WA.TAR-I-n-a-m-u
English translation	Will [I] keep loving?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	戀	'to love'	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - KO ₁ .PI ₂ - 'to love, yearn' (infinitive)	SAL
2	度	'to go across'	G ド <i>do</i> K ト <i>to</i>	わたり- WA.TAR-I- '[time] to pass' (infinitive)	SAL
3	味	'taste'	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	-なむ <i>-n-a-m-u</i> (← -な- <i>-n-a-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [irrealis] + - む <i>-m-u</i> [speculative final particle] [conclusive]) ← なむ <i>na.mu</i> 'to taste' (conclusive)	SAP
4	試	'to try'	シ <i>shi</i>		SAP

MYS 12.2936.2

Original Text	指南與我兄
Transcription	しなむよ ₂ わがせ sin-a-m-u-yo ₂ WA=GA SE
English translation	[I] am going to die, my husband!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	指	'to point'	シ <i>si</i>	し <i>si</i>	PAP
2	南	'south'	ナン <i>nan</i>	なむ <i>na.mu</i>	PAP
3	與	'to join'	ヨ <i>yo</i>	よ ₂ yo ₂ (interjectional particle)	PAP
4	我	'I'	ガ <i>ga</i>	わが ₂ WA=GA 'my' (← わ <i>wa</i> 'I' + が ₂ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
5	兄	'older brother'	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	せ <i>se</i> (word used by female to address male acquaintance)	SAL

Table 4.8 below lists all the occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -なむ (-) *-n-a-m-u(-)*

(conclusive or adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 17 different written forms for a total of 91 or 93 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □牟 (**PAP** 牟 む *mu*); (3). □將 (**SAL** 將 [future modal verb]); (4). 奈武 (**PAP** 奈 な *na*; **PAP** 武 む *mu*); (5). 奈牟; (6). 奈無 (**PAP** 無 む *mu*); (7). 那牟 (**PAP** 那 な *na*); (8). **PAP** 南 なむ *na.mu*; (9). 名六 (**SAP** 名 な *na* [← な *NA* ‘name’]; **SAP** 六 む *mu* [← む *MU* ‘six’]); (10). 七目 (**SAP** 七 な *na* [← なな *NA.NA* ‘seven’]; **SAP** 目 め₂ *me₂* [← め₂ *ME₂* ‘eye’]) (realis form -なめ₂ -*n-a-m-e₂*); (11). **SAP** 嘗 なむ *na.mu* (← なむ *NA.MU* ‘to taste’ [conclusive]); (12). 味試 (holistic mapping) (‘to try the taste’, synonymous with (11) 嘗); (13). **SAL** 去 (‘to leave’)¹⁷; (14). 去牟; (15). 去將; (16). 去矣 (**SAL** 矣 [perfective final particle]); (17). 將_レ死 しなむ *si-n-a-M-U* (← し - *si*- ‘to do’ [infinitive] + -なむ -*n-a-m-u*) (**SAP** 死 しな *si.na* [← しな - *SIN-A*- ‘to die’ (irrealis)]). The disyllabic **PAP** 南 accounts for 24 occurrences (about 26%).

Table 4.8 Occurrences of the compound auxiliary verb -なむ(-) -*n-a-m-u*(-) in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	481	1
□牟	1993	1
□將	254, 327, 331, 398, 462, 687, 971, 1181, 1349, 1392, 1485, 1590, 1621, 2356, 2836, 2884, 2963, 3004, 3103, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3802, 4183	27
奈武	83, 121, 348, 870, 1448, 1478, 4313	7
奈牟	(194), 379, 877, 1554, 1557, (2596), 2983, 3360, 3565, 3660, 3693, 3705, 4011, 4015, 4242, 4395, 4435	(17) or 15
奈無	4438, 4441, 4476	3
那牟	3978	1
南	155, 884, 886, 891, 997, 1400, 1651, 1674, 1728, 1740, 2109, 2122, 2195, 2548, 2591, 2658, 2767, 2791, 2820, 2974, 3072, 3135, 3207, 3390	24
名六	1781	1
七目 (realis form -なめ ₂ - <i>n-a-m-e₂</i>)	3298	1

¹⁷The character 去 is regarded as essentially an **SAL** for the perfective auxiliary verb -ぬ -*n-u* (conclusive) on the basis of its semantic value ‘to leave’. This is the same case for the character sequence 去矣, in which the character 矣 represents the perfective final particle in Literary Sinitic.

嘗	343, 380, 1722	3
味試	1323	1
去□	2487	1
去牟	416	1
去將	1180, 1390	2
去矣	1559	1
將 _レ 死 (しなむ <i>si-n-a-M-U</i> [← し - <i>si-</i> ‘to do’ (infinitive) + -なむ <i>-n-a-m-u</i>])	2636	1
Total		(93) or 91

In addition to this compound auxiliary verb, there is also a homophonous but seemingly etymologically unrelated grammatical morpheme =なむ *-na.mu*, which is an optative final particle. Table 4.9 below lists all of its occurrences and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 9 different written forms for a total of 20 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □將 (**SAL** 將 [future modal verb]); (3). 奈牟 (**PAP** 奈 な *na*; **PAP** 牟 む *mu*); (4). 奈武 (**PAP** 武 む *mu*); (5). 那牟 (**PAP** 那 な *na*); (6). **PAP** 南 なむ *na.mu*; (7). **SAP** 火 (‘fire’, associated with (6) 南); (8). 七六 (**SAP** 七 な *na* [← なな *NA.NA* ‘seven’]; **SAP** 六 む *mu* [← む *MU* ‘six’]); (9). **SAP** 嘗 なむ *na.mu* (← なむ *NA.MU* ‘to taste’ [conclusive]). The two disyllabic phonograms 南 and 嘗 account for 7 occurrences (35%). Another noteworthy written form is the character 火 (‘fire’), which is associated with **PAP** 南 (‘south’). This is because in the traditional Chinese cosmological system of “five elements” 五行 (Chinese *wǔxíng*; Japanese *gogyō*), the element of fire is associated with the direction of south.

Table 4.9 Occurrences of the particle =なむ *-na.mu* in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	1072	1
□將	1509, 2317, 2962, 3788	4
奈牟	1254, 3463, 4495	3
奈武	1766, 1964	2

那牟	4437	1
南	1212, 2260, 2829, 3346	4
火	1998	1
七六	1781	1
嘗	1402, 3138, 3346	3
Total		20

4.1.3.4 三 寒

These two characters are used as a PAP and an SAP respectively for the syllable さむ *sa.mu* (**SAP** 寒 さむ *sa.mu* ← さむ - *SA.MU*- ‘to be cold’ [stem]). In both of the examples below, they follow **SAL** 知 し ら - *SIR-A*- ‘to know’ (irrealis). The syllable さ *sa* is combined with that word to form the compound word し ら さ - *sir-a-s-a*- ‘to rule’ (irrealis), and the syllable む *mu* corresponds to the auxiliary verb -む *-m-u* (conclusive)¹⁸. The semantic value of these two characters (三 ‘three’; 寒 ‘to be cold’) is not relevant in the context.

MYS 4.561.5

Original Text	神思知三
Transcription	かみ ₂ しし ら さ む KA.MI ₂ =si SIR-A-s-a-m-u
English translation	The deity will rule.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	神	‘deity’	G ジン <i>jin</i> K シン <i>shin</i>	かみ ₂ KA.MI ₂ ‘deity’		SAL
2	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	=し =si (emphatic particle)		PAP
3	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	し ら - <i>SIR-A</i> - ‘to know’ (irrealis)	し ら さ む <i>SIR-A-s-a-m-u</i> ← し ら さ - <i>SIR-A-s-a</i> - (← し ら - <i>sir-a</i> - ‘to know’ [irrealis] + - さ - <i>-sa-</i> [honorific	SAL
4	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	さ む <i>sa.mu</i>		PAP

¹⁸The core underlying word here is し ら す *sir-a-s-u* ‘to rule’ (conclusive). Etymologically, it is a compound word consisting of し ら - *sir-a*- ‘to know’ (irrealis) and the honorific auxiliary verb -す *-su* (conclusive). This honorific auxiliary verb itself belongs to the s-irregular (*sahen* サ變) conjugation class, but the compound word belongs to the quadrigrade (*yodan* 四段) conjugation class, therefore its irrealis form is し ら さ - *sir-a-s-a*- instead of し ら せ - *sir-a-se*-.

					auxiliary verb] [irrealis]) 'to rule' (irrealis) + -む - <i>m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	

MYS 4.655.4

Original Text	神祇毛知寒
Transcription	かみ ₂ も ₁ しらさむ KA.MI ₂ =mo ₁ SIR-A-s-a-m-u
English translation	The deities will also rule.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	神	'deity'	G ジン <i>jin</i> K シン <i>shin</i>	かみ ₂ KA.MI ₂ 'deity'		SAL
2	祇	'earth deity'	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>			SAL
3	毛	'hair'	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)		PAP
4	知	'to know'	チ <i>chi</i>	しら - SIR-A- 'to know' (irrealis)	しらさむ SIR-A-s-a-m-u ← しらさ - SIR-A-s-a- (← しら - sir-a- 'to know' [irrealis] + -さ - -sa- [honorific auxiliary verb] [irrealis]) 'to rule' (irrealis)	SAL
5	寒	'to be cold'	G ガン <i>gan</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	さむ <i>sa.mu</i> ← さむ - SA.MU- 'to be cold' (stem)	+ -む -m-u (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

4.1.3.5 念

The character 念 is used as a PAP to represent the disyllabic sequence ねむ *ne.mu*, corresponding to the expression consisting of the main verb ね- *ne-* 'to sleep' (irrealis) and the auxiliary verb -む *-m-u* (conclusive). In the poem below where this written form occurs, its semantic value ('to think') implies the author's feeling of loneliness.

MYS 4.735.5

Original Text	獨鴨念
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ りかもねむ

	PI ₁ .TO ₂ -RI=ka.mo ne-m-u
English translation	Will [I] sleep alone?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	獨	‘to be alone’	コ <i>ko</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ り <i>PI₁.TO₂-RI</i> ‘alone’	SAL
2	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも <i>-ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’	SAP
3	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	ねむ <i>ne-m-u</i> (← ね- <i>ne-</i> ‘to sleep’ [irrealis] + -む <i>-m-u</i> [optative auxiliary verb] [conclusive])	PAP

Table 4.10 below lists all the occurrences of the expression ねむ (-) *ne-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 8 different written forms for a total of 24 or 25 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). 禰牟 (**PAP** 禰 ね *ne*; **PAP** 牟 む *mu*); (2). **PAP** 念 ね む *ne.mu*; (3). 宿牟 (**SAL** 宿 ‘to dwell’); (4). 將_レ宿 (**SAL** 將 [future modal verb]); (5). 寐□ (**SAL** 寐 ‘to sleep’); (6). 寐牟; (7). 將_レ寐; (8). 將_レ眠 (**SAL** 眠 ‘to sleep’). The character 念 is the only disyllabic phonogram used for this purpose. This expression is mainly written logographically, and there are three written forms which are linguistically complete (in the sense that each of the constituent morphemes is explicitly represented by a character) and entirely logographic: 將_レ宿, 將_レ寐, and 將_レ眠. These written forms all follow Chinese word order.

Table 4.10 Occurrences of the expression ねむ (-) *ne-m-u(-)* in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
禰牟	904, 3370, 3442, 3625, 4321, 4348, 4416, 4428	8
念	735	1
宿牟	74	1
將 _レ 宿	298, 462, 463, 652, 733, 1663, 2261, (2802)	(8) or 7
寐□	2050, 2424, 3282	3
寐牟	2338	1
將 _レ 寐	1692, 1693	2
將 _レ 眠	3310	1

Total	(25) or 24

4.1.3.6 今 金

These two characters are used as PAPs to represent the disyllabic sequence こ₂ む *ko₂.mu*, corresponding to the expression consisting of the main verb こ₂-*ko-* ‘to come’ (irrealis) and the auxiliary verb -む(-) *-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal). Their semantic value (今 ‘now’; 金 ‘gold’) is not relevant in the context.

MYS 12.2927.5

Original Text	亂今可聞
Transcription	み ₁ だれこ ₂ むかも MI ₁ .DA.RE-ko ₂ -m-u=ka.mo
English translation	Will [the love] become disordered?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	亂	‘to be messy’	ラン <i>ran</i> TS ロン <i>ron</i>	み ₁ だれ- MI ₁ .DA.RE- ‘to be disordered’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	こ ₂ む <i>ko₂-m-u-</i> ← こ ₂ - <i>ko₂-</i> ‘to come’ (irrealis) + -む- <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		PAP
3	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	=かも <i>=ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle)	PAP
	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	も <i>mo</i>		PAP

MYS 13.3322.5

Original Text	今還金
Transcription	いまかへ ₁ りこ ₂ む I.MA KA.PE ₁ R-I-ko ₂ -m-u
English translation	[I] will return now.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	いま I.MA ‘now’	SAL
2	還	‘to return’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	かへ ₁ り- KA.PE ₁ R-I- ‘to return’ (infinitive)	SAL

3	金	‘gold’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	こ ₂ む <i>ko₂-m-u</i> ← こ ₂ - <i>ko₂</i> - ‘to come’ (irrealis) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

Table 4.11 below lists all the occurrences of the expression こ₂む(-) *ko₂-m-u(-)* (conclusive or adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 12 different written forms for a total of 54 or 55 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). 己牟 (**PAP** 己 こ₂ *ko₂*; **PAP** 牟 む *mu*); (2). 己無 (**PAP** 無 む *mu*); (3). 許牟 (**PAP** 許 こ₂ *ko₂*); (4). 許武 (**PAP** 武 む *mu*); (5). **PAP** 今 こ₂ む *ko₂.mu*; (6). **PAP** 金 こ₂ む *ko₂.mu*; (7). 來□ (**SAL** 來 ‘to come’); (8). 來武; (9). 來牟; (10). 來六 (**SAP** 六 む *mu* [← む *MU* ‘six’]); (11). 將_レ來 (**SAL** 將 [future modal verb]); (12). 來將. The predominant linguistically complete and entirely logographic written form is 將_レ來 following Chinese word order, while the written form 來將 following Japanese word order also occurs.

Table 4.11 Occurrences of the expression こ₂む(-) *ko₂-m-u(-)* in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
己牟	806	1
己無	4413	1
許牟	808, 3688, 3710, 3937, 3952, 3953, 3957, 4032, 4106, 4262, 4368, 4433	12
許武	3510, 3536, 3688, 3770, 3824, 3910, 3962, 3994	8
今	2927	1
金	3322	1
來□	443, 986, 2062, 2384, 2435, 2594, 2998, 3337	8
來武	510, 1779	2
來牟	1817, 2332	2
來六	1669	1
將 _レ 來	489, 527 (2), 609, 744, 973, 1607, 1670, 1674, 1922, 2824, 2870, (3063), 3150, 3342, 3833, 3861	(17) or 16
來將	3340	1
Total		(55) or 54

4.1.3.7 男賁

This character sequence is a combination of **SAP** 男 を *wo* (← を *WO* ‘male’) and **SAP** 責 せむ *se.mu* (← せむ *SE.MU* ‘to blame’ [conclusive]), and it represents the trisyllabic sequence をせむ *wo.se.mu*, corresponding to the expression consisting of the accusative particle =を =*wo*, the main verb せ-*se*- ‘to do’ (irrealis), and the auxiliary verb -む -*m-u* (conclusive). In the poem below where this written form occurs, its semantic value (‘a male blaming’, or if following Japanese word order, ‘to blame a male’) can be understood as being used by the author to express his (the author’s gender is indicated earlier in this poem) feeling about unrequited love in a sarcastic way.

MYS 4.719.5

Original Text	片念男責
Transcription	かたも ₂ ひ ₁ をせむ KA.TA-MO ₂ P-I ₁ =wo se-m-u
English translation	Will [I] have unrequited love?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	片	‘part’	ヘン <i>hen</i>	かた - <i>KA.TA</i> - ‘one side’ (prefix)	かたも ₂ ひ ₁ <i>KA.TA-MO₂P-I₁</i> ‘unrequited love’ (nominal)	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ひ ₁ <i>O.MO₂P-I₁</i> ‘thought, love’ (nominal)		SAL
3	男	‘male’	G ナン <i>nan</i> K ダン <i>dan</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (accusative particle) ← を <i>WO</i> ‘male’		SAP
4	責	‘to blame’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K サク <i>saku</i> KY セキ <i>seki</i>	せむ <i>se-m-u</i> (← せ- <i>se</i> - ‘to do’ [irrealis] + -む <i>-m-u</i> [speculative auxiliary verb] [conclusive]) ← せむ <i>SE.MU</i> ‘to blame’ (conclusive)		SAP

Table 4.12 below lists all the occurrences of the expression せむ (-) *se-m-u*(-) (conclusive or adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 12 different written forms for a total of 100 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □將 (**SAL** 將 [future modal verb]); (3). 世武 (**PAP** 世 *se*; **PAP** 武 *mu*); (4). 世牟 (**PAP** 牟 *mu*); (5). 勢武 (**PAP** 世 *se*); (6). 勢牟; (7).

PAP 責 *せむ se.mu*; (8). 為□ (**SAL** 為 ‘to do’); (9). 為牟; (10). 將_レ為; (11). 將_レ作 (**SAL** 作 ‘to make’); (12). 令□ (**SAL** 令 ‘to make [causative marker]’). The character 責 is the only disyllabic phonogram used for this expression. All the poems where it occurs are about love, but the connotation of ‘blame’ seems to be largely absent in the other three poems. The predominant written form of this expression is the linguistically complete and entirely logographic sequence 將_レ為, which follows Chinese word order.

Table 4.12 Occurrences of the expression せむ(-) *se-m-u(-)* in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	2361	1
□將	275, 3161	2
世武	8, 207, 210, 515, 794, 795, 804, 904, 905, 1801, 3397, 3434, 3592, 3593, 4329, 4465	16
世牟	901, 3404, 3627, 3928, 3962, 4046	6
勢武	896, 1334, 3746, 4035, 4408	5
勢牟	3712, 3902, 4009, 4047, 4067, 4133	6
責	632, 641, 719, 1414	4
為□	196, 213, 306, 1190, 1287, 1291, 2363, 2446, 2484, 2592, 2650, 2854, 2953, 3274, 3276	15
為牟	560, 2022	2
將 _レ 為	117, 342, 399, 423, 460, 466, 475, 481, 492, 586, 748, 752, 965, 985, 1017, 1216, 1326, 1343, 1362, 1471, 1629, 1755, 1791, 1809, 1955, 1971, 2152, 2173, 2519, 2685, 2825, 3133, 3202, 3240, 3291, 3329, 3786, 3791, 3814, 3855, 3870	41
將 _レ 作	4236	1
令□	2560	1
Total		100

4.1.3.8 敢 甘

These two characters are used as PAPs to represent the disyllabic sequence かむ *ka.mu*. In both examples below, the first syllable repeats the last syllable in the preceding word, written by **SAL** 歎 なげ₂ か- *NA.GE₂K-A-* ‘to lament’ (irrealis) and **SAP** 半 なか- *nak-a-* ‘to cry’ (irrealis) (← なか *NA.KA* ‘middle’) respectively, and the second syllable corresponds to the auxiliary verb -む *-m-u* (conclusive). In this way,

both characters serve a dual function of being a phonetic determinative to indicate the inflected form of the preceding word and representing a separate grammatical morpheme. The semantic value of these two characters (敢 ‘to dare’; 甘 ‘to be sweet’) is not relevant in the context.

MYS 5.901.4

Original Text	可久夜歎敢
Transcription	かくやなげ ₂ かむ ka-ku=ya NA.GE ₂ K-A-m-u
English translation	Will [I] lament like this?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i> (demonstrative pronoun)	か く <i>ka-ku</i> ‘like this’	PAP
2	久	‘to be long-lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	- く <i>-ku</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
3	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	=や <i>-ya</i> (interjectional particle)		SAP
4	歎	‘to sigh’	タン <i>tan</i>	なげ ₂ か- <i>NA.GE₂K-A-</i> ‘to lament’ (irrealis)		SAL
5	敢	‘to dare’	カン <i>kan</i>	{か}む <i>{ka}-m-u</i> ← か <i>ka</i> (syllable in preceding word) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

MYS 16.3846.5

Original Text	僧半甘
Transcription	ほふしはなかも HO.PU-SI= <u>pa</u> nak-a-m-u
English translation	The monks will cry.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	僧	‘Buddhist monk’	ソウ sō	ほふし HO.PU-SI ‘Buddhist monk’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme				=は =pa (topic particle)		
2	半	‘half’	ハン han	なか- nak-a- ‘to cry’ (irrealis) ← なか NA.KA ‘middle’		SAP
3	甘	‘to be sweet’	カン kan	{か}む {ka}-m-u ← か ka (syllable in preceding word) + -む -m-u (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

4.1.3.9 湯龜

This character sequence is a combination of **SAP** 湯 ゆ yu ($\leftarrow$ ゆ YU ‘hot water’) and **SAP** 龜 かめ $ka.me_2$ ($\leftarrow$ かめ $KA.ME_2$ ‘turtle’), and it represents the trisyllabic sequence ゆかめ $yu.ka.me_2$, corresponding to the expression consisting of the main verb ゆか- $yuk-a-$ ‘to go’ (irrealis) and the optative auxiliary verb -め $-m-e_2-$ (realis). The auxiliary verb is in the realis form because of the existence of the emphatic particle =こ ko_2 =そ so_2 in this line. There is a discrepancy between the morphemic boundary of the linguistic form ($yuk-a/me$) and the syllabic boundary represented by the characters ($yu/ka.me$) in this case. In the poem below where this written form occurs, the use of these two characters can be regarded as an oxymoron as their semantic value (‘a turtle [in] hot water’) implies the slowness of movement, while the poem describes the author’s eagerness to meet his/her lover.

MYS 12.2931.5

Original Text	吾社湯龜
Transcription	われこ ko_2 そ so_2 ゆかめ $yu.ka.me_2$ WA.RE= ko_2 . so_2 $yuk-a-m-e_2-$
English translation	I will go.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ go	われ WA.RE ‘I’		SAL
2	社	‘shrine’	G ジャ ja K シャ sha	=こ ko_2 =そ so_2 (emphatic particle) $\leftarrow$ (?) $\leftarrow$ ‘to pray in shrine’		SAP
3	湯	‘hot water’	トウ $tō$	ゆ yu $\leftarrow$ ゆ YU ‘hot water’	ゆかめ $yu.ka.me_2$ ($\leftarrow$ ゆか- $yuk-a-$ ‘to go’ [irrealis] + -め $-m-e_2-$ [optative auxiliary verb] [realis])	SAP
4	龜	‘turtle’	キ ki	かめ $ka.me_2$ $\leftarrow$ かめ $KA.ME_2$ ‘turtle’		SAP

The other cases of a disyllabic phonogram representing an expression containing the auxiliary verb -む (-) $-m-u(-)$ which are not mentioned above are **PAP** 藍 らむ $ra.mu$ (poem 6.910) and **SAP** 食 はむ $pa.mu$ ($\leftarrow$ はむ $PAM.U$ ‘to eat [referring to animals]’ [conclusive]) (poem 7.1106).

4.1.4 少熱

This character sequence, whose semantic value is ‘to be slightly hot’, represents the perfective auxiliary verb -ぬる - *-n-u.ru-* (adnominal), which is homophonous with the word ぬる - *nu.ru-* ‘to be lukewarm’ (stem). In the poem below where this written form occurs, the preceding character sequence 水葱, whose semantic value is ‘water scallion’, represents the word なぎ₂ - *na.gi₂-* ‘to calm down’ (infinitive) based on the homophonous word なぎ₂ *NA.GI₂* ‘scallion’. The juxtaposition of these two uncommon written forms must be intentional based on their semantic relevance.

MYS 11.2579.5

Original Text	今曾水葱少熱
Transcription	いまそ ₂ なぎ ₂ ぬる I.MA=so ₂ na.gi ₂ -n-u.ru-
English translation	Now [my heart] has calmed down.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	いま <i>I.MA</i> ‘now’	SAL
2	曾	‘once’	G ゾウ <i>zō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i> KY ゾ <i>zo</i> KY ソ <i>so</i>	=そ ₂ =so ₂ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	水	‘water’	スイ <i>sui</i>	なぎ ₂ - <i>na.gi₂-</i> ‘to calm down’ (infinitive) ← なぎ ₂ <i>NA.GI₂</i> ‘scallion’	SAP
4	葱	‘scallion’	ソウ <i>sō</i>		SAP
5	少	‘to be few’	ショウ <i>shō</i>	-ぬる - <i>-n-u.ru-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← ぬる - <i>nu.ru-</i> ‘to be lukewarm’ (stem)	SAP
6	熱	‘to be hot’	G ネチ <i>nechi</i> K ゼツ <i>zetsu</i> KY ネツ <i>netsu</i>		SAP

Table 4.13 below lists all the occurrences of the auxiliary verb -ぬる - *-n-u.ru-* (adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 9 different written forms for a total of 33 or 34 occurrences

of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). □流 (**PAP** 流 る *ru*); (3). □留 (**PAP** 留 る *ru*); (4). 奴留 (**PAP** 奴 ぬ *nu*); (5). 奴流; (6). **SAP** 漆 ぬる *nu.ru* (← ぬる *NUR-U* ‘to paint’ [conclusive]); (7). 少熱 (holistic mapping) (← ぬる - *nu.ru*- ‘to be lukewarm’ [stem], synonymous with the semantic value ‘to be slightly hot’); (8). **SAL** 去 (‘to leave’); (9). 去流.

Table 4.13 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -ぬる - *n-u.ru*- in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	686, 1575, 1662, 3216	4
□流	200, 208, 326, 1042, 1394, 1555, 2291, 3038, 3039	9
□留	1416	1
奴留	(29)	(1)
奴流	892, 1144, 3571, 3690, 3692, 3693, 3951, 4053	8
漆	1415	1
少熱	2579	1
去	207, 466, 477, 638, 1514, 4214 (2)	7
去流	120, 2126	2
Total		(34) or 33

4.1.5 鴛 鴦

The single character 鴛 or the character sequence 鴛鴦, with the semantic value ‘mandarin duck’, represents the compound particle =を=し =*wo=si* (← =を =*wo* [accusative particle] + =し =*si* [emphatic particle]), which is homophonous with the word をし *wo.si* ‘mandarin duck’. There are three occurrences of this written form for this linguistic form, and all the three poems are related to love because the mandarin duck is a symbol of faithful love.

MYS 7.1259.4

Original Text	手鴛取而者
Transcription	てをしとゝりてば TE=WO=SI TO ₂ R-I=TE=ba
English translation	If [I] take [the girl's] hand

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’	SAL
2	鴛	‘mandarin duck’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	=を=し =wo=si (← =を =wo [accusative particle] + =し =si [emphatic particle]) ← をし <i>WO.SI</i> ‘mandarin duck’	SAP
3	取	‘to take’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	と ₂ り - <i>TO₂R-I-</i> ‘to take’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば =ba (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP

MYS 7.1345.5

Original Text	垣津幡鴛
Transcription	かき ₁ つはたをし ka.ki ₁ .tu.pa.ta=wo=si
English translation	The iris

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	垣	‘low wall’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	かき ₁ <i>ka.ki₁</i> ← かき ₁ <i>KA.KI₁</i> ‘low wall’	SAP
2	津	‘ford’	シン <i>shin</i>	つ <i>tu</i> ← つ <i>TU</i> ‘ford’	SAP
3	幡	‘flag’	G ホン <i>hon</i> K ハン <i>han</i>	はた <i>pa.ta</i> ← はた <i>PA.TA</i> ‘flag’	SAP
4	鴛	‘mandarin duck’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	=を=し =wo=si (← =を =wo [accusative particle] + =し =si [emphatic particle]) ← をし <i>WO.SI</i> ‘mandarin duck’	SAP

MYS 11.2755.5

Original Text	辭鴛鴦將 _レ 待
Transcription	こ ₂ と ₂ をしまたむ KO ₂ .TO ₂ =wo=si MAT-A-M-U
English translation	[I] will wait for the words.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	辭	‘word’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	こ ₂ と ₂ <i>KO₂.TO₂</i> ‘word’	SAL
2	鴛	‘mandarin duck’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	=を=し =wo=si (← =を =wo [accusative particle] + =し =si [emphatic particle])	SAP
3	鴦		G オウ <i>ō</i>	← をし <i>WO.SI</i> ‘mandarin duck’	SAP

			K ヨウ <i>yō</i>		
4	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-む - <i>M-U</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
5	待	‘to wait’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	また - <i>MAT-A</i> - ‘to wait’ (irrealis)	SAL

The occurrences of the emphatic particle =し *=si* are listed in table 4.19 under the character sequence 二二, a “playful” written form for this particle based on mathematical association. On the other hand, the word をし *wo.si* ‘mandarin duck’ occurs four times in MYS with three different written forms: (1). **SAL** 鶯 (‘mandarin duck’) (poem 3.258); (2). 男為 (**SAP** 男 を *wo* [← を *wo* ‘male’]; **SAP** 為 し *si* [← し - *SI*- ‘to do’ (infinitive)]) (poem 11.2491); (3). 乎之 (**PAP** 乎 を *wo*; **PAP** 之 し *si*) (poems 20.4505 and 20.4511).

4.1.6 萬思

This character sequence is a combination of **PAP** 萬 ま *ma* and **PAP** 思 し *si*, and it represents the hypothetical speculative auxiliary verb -まし *-ma.si* (conclusive). In the poem below where this written form occurs, the semantic value of the two characters (萬 ‘ten thousand’; 思 ‘thought’) implies the author’s yearning for his lover, and this logographic connotation is amplified by the character sequence 孤悲 phonetically representing the word こ₁ひ₂ *ko₁.pi₂*- ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive) in the same line (see section 4.4.1 for the written form 孤悲). There are four occurrences of the character sequence 萬思 representing this auxiliary verb. Besides this poem, two other poems (poems 8.1608 and 17.3978) are related to love, and the character sequence 孤悲 also occurs in poem 17.3978, although not in the same line as 萬思.

MYS 1.67.5

Original Text	孤悲而死萬思
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ てしなまし

	ko ₁ .pi ₂ =TE SIN-A-ma.si
English translation	[I] would yearn and die.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	孤	‘to be lonely’	コ <i>ko</i>	こ ₁ <i>ko</i> ₁	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>ko</i> ₁ . <i>pi</i> ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	PAP
2	悲	‘to be sad’	ヒ <i>hi</i>	ひ ₂ <i>pi</i> ₂		PAP
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て = <i>TE</i> (conjunctive particle)		SAL
4	死	‘to die’	シ <i>shi</i>	しな- <i>SIN-A-</i> ‘to die’ (irrealis)		SAL
5	萬	‘ten thousand’	G マン <i>man</i> K バン <i>ban</i>	ま <i>ma</i>	-まし - <i>ma.si</i> (hypothetical speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP
6	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP

Table 4.14 below lists all the occurrences of the auxiliary verb -まし (-) -ma.si(-) (conclusive or adnominal) and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 16 different written forms for a total of 123 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). 萬思 (**PAP** 萬 ま *ma*; **PAP** 思 し *si*); (3). 萬旨 (**PAP** 旨 し *si*); (4). 麻思 (**PAP** 麻 ま *ma*); (5). 麻死 (**PAP** 死 し *si*); (6). 麻之 (**PAP** 之 し *si*); (7). 麻志 (**PAP** 志 し *si*); (8). 麻師 (**PAP** 師 し *si*); (9). 末思 (**PAP** 末 ま *ma*); (10). 摩斯 (**PAP** 摩 ま *ma*; **PAP** 斯 し *si*); (11). **SAP** 猿 まし *ma.si* (← まし MA.SI ‘monkey’); (12). **SAP** 猿 まし *ma.si* (← まし MA.SI ‘monkey’); (13). **SAP** 申 まし *ma.si* (← まし MA.SI ‘monkey’, based on the semantic value ‘ninth item in the twelve “Earthly Branches 地支”’, which is corresponding to monkey); (14). **SAP** 益 まし *ma.si* (← まし - MAS-I- ‘to increase’ [infinitive]); (15). **SAP** 増 まし *ma.si* (← まし - MAS-I- ‘to increase’ [infinitive]); (16). 生□ -な-まし -n-a-ma.si (← -な- -n-a- [perfective auxiliary verb] [irrealis] + -まし -ma.si) (**SAP** 生 なま *na.ma* [← なま NA.MA ‘to be raw’]). There are three written forms with or related to the semantic value ‘monkey’ (猿, 猿, and 申), which are combined for 18 occurrences. In 14 of these 18 occurrences, the underlying auxiliary verb is immediately followed by the interjectional particle or the concessive conjunctive particle =を =wo. In each of these cases, this particle is

consistently written by **SAP** 尾 (← を *WO* ‘tail’) as it is easy to conceive the association between a monkey and its tail. Such cases are marked in bold in the table.

Table 4.14 Occurrences of the auxiliary verb -まし (-) -ma.si(-) in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	1280, 2377, 2390, 2393, 2505, 2852	6
萬思	67, 197, 1608, 3978	4
萬旨	159	1
麻思	69, 91, 151, 159, 466, 475, 1267, 1472, 1658, 3143, 3545, 3568, 3635, 4270	14
麻死	86	1
麻之	171, 221, 420, 454, 819, 864, 886, 1753, 3354, 3429, 3579, 3616, 3630, 3632, 3671, 3733, 3773, 3776, 3789, 3879, 3918, 3959, 4056, 4221, 4396, 4426	26
麻志	539, 886, 889, 1497	4
麻師	1766	1
末思	468, 1750, 3737	3
摩斯	797	1
猿	91, 510 , 2112, 2254, 2258	5
猿	120	1
申	1342, 1743, 2693 , 2733, 2743, 2777, 2899, 3007, 3033, 3038, 3049, 3205	12
益	108, 163, 173, 220, 277, 361, 387, 404, 405, 436, 516, 544, 586, 603, 612, 620, 722, 726, 948 (3), 1013, 1015, 1036, 1136, 1144, 1337, 1387, 1492, 1515, 1746, 2148, 2256, 2260, 2282, 2306, 2824, 2867, 2926, 3086, 3214, 3304	42
増	1137	1
生□ (-な-まし -n-a-ma.si)	2896	1
Total		123

4.2 Graph-Language Mapping Based on Acoustic Association

This category includes cases in which the written form generates a meaning related to sound made by animals or produced in an action involving animals.

4.2.1 追馬 喚犬

The character sequences 追馬 and 喚犬 represent the syllables そ₁ *so₁* and ま *ma* respectively by virtue of the acoustic association between their semantic value and real-word actions. The character sequence 追馬 means ‘to drive a horse’ and is metonymically associated with the sound *so* made by people when driving a horse. In the same way, the character sequence 喚犬 means ‘to summon a dog’ and is metonymically associated with the sound *ma* made by people when summoning a dog. There are several different combinations of these two character sequences in order to represent different linguistic forms.

4.2.1.1 追馬喚犬

The character sequence 追馬 precedes the character sequence 喚犬, and the entire sequence represents the word そ₁ ま *so₁.ma* ‘woodcutting mountain’.

MYS 11.2645.2

Original Text	泉之追馬喚犬二
Transcription	いづみ ₁ の ₂ そ ₁ まに I.DU.MI ₁ =NO ₂ so ₁ .ma=ni
English translation	On the woodcutting mountain of the spring

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	泉	‘spring (water)’	G ゼン <i>zen</i> K セン <i>sen</i>	いづみ ₁ I.DU.MI ₁ ‘spring (water)’		SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)		SAL
3	追	‘to chase’	G ツイ <i>tsui</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	そ ₁ <i>so₁</i> ← sound made when driving a horse (追馬)	そ ₁ ま <i>so₁.ma</i> ‘woodcutting mountain’	SAP
4	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>			SAP
5	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>			SAP
6	犬	‘dog’	ケン <i>ken</i>			SAP

7	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	ニ <i>ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

4.2.1.2 喚犬追馬鏡

The character sequence 喚犬 precedes the character sequence 追馬, and the four characters are further followed by SAL 鏡 かがみ₁ *KA.GA.MI₁* ‘mirror’. This entire sequence represents the expression まそ₁ かがみ₁ *ma.SO₁-KA.GA.MI₁* ‘clear mirror’, which is used as an epithet (*makura kotoba* 枕詞) associated with such words as み₁ *mi₁* ‘to see’ (conclusive), め₂ *me₂* ‘eye’, and と₁ぐ₁ *to₁g-u* ‘to polish’ (conclusive).

MYS 13.3324.47-48

Original Text	喚犬追馬鏡 雖見不飽者
Transcription	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ み ₁ れど ₂ あかねば <i>ma.SO₁-KA.GA.MI₁ MI₁-RE=DO₂ AK-A-NE=ba</i>
English translation	The clear mirror, because although [I] see [you], [I] am not satisfied.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type	
47.1	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>	ま <i>ma</i> ← sound made when summoning a dog (喚犬)	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ <i>ma.so₁-KA.GA.MI₁</i> ‘clear mirror’	SAP	
47.2	犬	‘dog’	ケン <i>ken</i>			SAP	
47.3	追	‘to chase’	G ツイ <i>tsui</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	そ ₁ <i>so₁</i> ← sound made when driving a horse (追馬)		SAP	
47.4	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>			SAP	
47.5	鏡	‘mirror’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>			SAL	
48.1	雖	‘even though’	スイ <i>sui</i>	=ど ₂ = <i>DO₂</i> (factual concessive conjunctive particle)		SAL	
48.2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ れ- <i>MI₁-RE-</i> ‘to see’ (realis)		SAL	
48.3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ね- - <i>NE-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (realis)		SAL	
48.4	飽	‘to be satisfied’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	あか- <i>AK-A-</i> ‘to be satisfied’ (irrealis)		SAL	

48.5	者	topic marker	シ ャ <i>sha</i>	=は = <i>ba</i> (conditional conjunctive particle) ← =は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

4.2.1.3 犬馬鏡

This is the abbreviation of the character sequence 喚犬追馬鏡.

MYS 11.2810.3-4

Original Text	犬馬鏡 目直相而
Transcription	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ め ₂ にただにあひ ₁ て ma.so ₁ -KA.GA.MI ₁ ME ₂ = <u>ni</u> TA.DA= <u>ni</u> AP-I ₁ =TE
English translation	The clear mirror, directly meeting the eyes,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
3.1	犬	‘dog’	ケン <i>ken</i>	ま <i>ma</i> ← sound made when summoning a dog (abbreviation of 喚犬 ‘to summon a dog’)	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ <i>ma.so₁-KA.GA.MI₁</i> ‘clear mirror’	SAP
3.2	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	そ ₁ <i>so₁</i> ← sound made when driving a horse (abbreviation of 追馬 ‘to drive a horse’)		SAP
3.3	鏡	‘mirror’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かがみ ₁ <i>KA.GA.MI₁</i> ‘mirror’		SAL
4.1	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	め ₂ <i>ME₂</i> ‘eye’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)			
4.2	直	‘just’	G ジキ <i>jiki</i> K チョク <i>choku</i>	ただ <i>TA.DA</i> ‘just, only’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)			
4.3	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あひ ₁ - <i>AP-I₁</i> - ‘to meet’ (infinitive)		SAL
4.4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>=TE</i> (conjunctive particle)		SAL

The etymology and meaning of the first two syllables of this expression are not entirely clear, but they

are generally understood as a lexical unit describing the good quality of the mirror and meaning something like ‘clear’ or ‘taintless’. It is assumed that the second syllable そ₁ so₁ may be a contraction of the word すむ *sum-u* ‘to become clear’ (conclusive), which would be commonly logographically written as 澄. Table 4.15 below lists all the occurrences of the expression まそ₁かがみ₁ *ma.so₁-ka.ga.mi₁* ‘clear mirror’, together with two other related expressions, and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 14 different written forms for a total of 37 occurrences of these linguistic forms: (1). 麻蘇可我美 (PAP 麻 ま *ma*; PAP 蘇 そ₁ so₁; PAP 可 か *ka*; PAP 我 が *ga*; PAP 美 み₁ mi₁); (2). 麻蘇鏡 (SAL 鏡 かがみ₁ *KA.GA.MI₁* ‘mirror’); (3). 末蘇可我美 (PAP 末 ま *ma*); (4). 眞口鏡 (SAP 眞 ま *ma* [← ま- *MA-* ‘real, complete’ (prefix)]); (5). 眞祖鏡 (PAP 祖 そ₁ so₁); (6). 眞素鏡 (PAP 素 そ₁ so₁); (7). 眞十鏡 (SAP 十 そ₁ so₁ [← そ₁ so₁ ‘ten’]); (8). 眞十見鏡 まそ₁み₁かがみ₁ *ma.so₁.mi₁-KA.GA.MI₁* (SAP 見 み₁ mi₁ [← み₁ mi₁ ‘to see’ (conclusive)]); (9). 眞墨乃鏡 ますみ₁の₂かがみ₁ *ma.su.mi₁-no₂-KA.GA.MI₁* (SAP 墨 すみ₁ *su.mi₁* [← すみ₁ *SU.MI₁* ‘ink’]; PAP 乃 の₂ no₂); (10). 喚犬追馬鏡 (喚犬 ま *ma* [holistic mapping] [sound of summoning a dog, derived from the semantic value ‘to summon a dog’]; 追馬 そ₁ so₁ [holistic mapping] [sound of driving a horse, derived from the semantic value ‘to drive a horse’]); (11). 犬馬鏡 (abbreviation of (10) 喚犬追馬鏡); (12). 清鏡 (SAL 清 ‘to be clear’); (13). 銅鏡; (14). 白銅鏡¹⁹.

Table 4.15 Occurrences of the expression まそ₁かがみ₁ *ma.so₁-ka.ga.mi₁* ‘clear mirror’ and relevant expressions in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
麻蘇可我美	3765	1
麻蘇鏡	904, 3900	2
末蘇可我美	4221	1

¹⁹Following the etymological explanation mentioned earlier, the character 清 in written form (12) is an SAL, but the characters 銅 and 白 in written forms (13) and (14) cannot be easily characterized as such because their semantic value (銅 ‘copper’; 白銅 ‘white copper’) is not directly related to the meaning of the corresponding morpheme, and semantic derivation is needed. They are probably best categorized as SAPs.

眞□鏡	2462, 2501, 2502, 4192, 4214	5
眞祖鏡	2509	1
眞素鏡	2632, 2670	2
眞十鏡	239, 572, 619, 673, 1066, 1079, 1792, 2206, 2366, 2633, 2634, 2811, 2978, 2979, 3791	15
眞十見鏡 (まそ ₁ み ₁ かがみ ₁ <i>ma.so₁.mi₁-KA.GA.MI₁</i>)	3314	1
眞墨乃鏡 (ますみ ₁ の ₂ かがみ ₁ <i>ma.su.mi₁-no₂-KA.GA.MI₁</i>)	3885	1
喚犬追馬鏡	3324	1
犬馬鏡	2810, 2980, 2981, 3250	4
清鏡	3316	1
銅鏡	1507	1
白銅鏡	3185	1
Total		37

4.2.2 喚雞 牛鳴

In the same way as the cases of 追馬 and 喚犬, the character sequences 喚雞 (‘to summon chicken’) and 牛鳴 (‘cow making sound’) are metonymically associated with the sounds *tutu* (sound of summoning chicken) and *mu* (sound made by a cow) respectively. In the poems below where these written forms occur, they represent the continuative conjunctive particle ㇿㇿ *-tu.tu* and the optative auxiliary verb ㇿ *-m-u* (conclusive) respectively.

MYS 8.1579.5

Original Text	所 _レ 見喚雞本名
Transcription	み ₁ え ₂ ㇿㇿもと ₂ な MI ₁ .YE=tu.tu MO.TO ₂ -na
English translation	[The autumn clover] keeps being seen unreasonably.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K シ ヨ <i>sho</i>	み ₁ え ₂ <i>MI₁-YE-</i> ‘to be seen’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i>		SAL

			K ケン <i>ken</i>		
3	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>	=つつ = <i>tu.tu</i> (continuative conjunctive particle) ← sound made when summoning chicken (喚雞)	SAP
4	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>		SAP
5	本	‘origin’	ホン <i>hon</i>	もと ₂ <i>MO.TO₂</i> ‘origin’	SAL
6	名	‘name’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	な- <i>na</i> - ‘to not have’ (stem) ← な <i>NA</i> ‘name’	SAP
				もと ₂ な <i>MO.TO₂-na</i> ‘unreasonably’	

MYS 11.2839.2

Original Text	猶八戌牛鳴
Transcription	なほやまもらむ NA.PO=ya MA.MOR-A-m-u
English translation	Shall [I] still guard [that person]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	猶	‘still’	G ユ <i>yu</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	なほ <i>NA.PO</i> ‘still’	SAL
2	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	=や = <i>ya</i> (interrogative particle) ← や <i>YA</i> ‘eight’	SAP
3	戌	‘to guard’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> K シュ <i>shu</i>	まもら- <i>MA.MOR-A-</i> ‘to guard’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	牛	‘cow’	G グ <i>gu</i> K ギュウ <i>gyū</i> KY ゴ <i>go</i>	-む - <i>m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive) ← sound made by a cow (牛鳴)	SAP
5	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>		SAP

Table 4.16 below lists all the occurrences of the particle =つつ =*tu.tu* and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 11 different written forms for a total of 424 or 429 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). □; (2). 通都 (**PAP** 通 つ *tu*; **PAP** 都 つ *tu*); (3). 都追 (**PAP** 追 つ *tu*); (4). 都都; (5). 都津 (**SAP** 津 つ *tu* [← つ *TU* ‘ford’]); (6). 追都; (7). 追通; (8). **SAP** 管 つつ *tu.tu* (← つつ *TU.TU* ‘pipe’); (9). **SAP** 筒 つつ *tu.tu* (← つつ *TU.TU* ‘pipe’); (10). **SAL** 乍 ‘at the time of’; (11). 喚雞 (holistic mapping) (sound of summoning chicken, derived from the semantic value ‘to summon chicken’).

A survey of all the written forms of the auxiliary verb -む (-) -*m-u*(-) (conclusive or adnominal) will not be

attempted here because of the sheer number of the occurrences of this morpheme and, more importantly, the fact that sometimes it is difficult to definitively identify the character onto which this morpheme is mapped. The clearly identifiable single-character written forms of this morpheme include **PAP** 武 む *mu*, **PAP** 牟 む *mu*, **PAP** 無 む *mu*, **PAP** 務 む *mu*, **SAP** 六 む *mu* (← む *MU* ‘six’), and **SAL** 將 (future modal verb).

Table 4.16 Occurrences of the particle =つつ =*tu.tu* in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	1248, 2334, 2379, 2406, 2460	1
通都	282, 319	2
都追	453, 755, 1520, 2611, 3360, 3407, 3416, 3433, 3471 (2), 3475, 3515, 3516, 3520, 3627 (3), 3663, 3669, 3691, 3725, 3726, 3729, 3737, 3738, 3993, 3936, 3940, 3942, 3962, 3969, 3978 (4), 3982, 3990, 3992, 3993, 4006 (2), 4008, 4011 (3), 4030, 4038, 4047, 4060, 4061, 4072, 4079, 4101, 4111 (2), 4125, 4137, 4144, 4150, 4154, 4155, 4166, 4169, 4171, 4174, 4177, 4187, 4188, 4189, 4190, 4192, 4194, 4196, 4208, 4254, 4314, 4408	77
都都	815, 818, 823, 825, 828, 842, 843, 862, 868, 878, 880, 886 (2), 890, 892, 3428, 3534, 3571, 3682, 3685, 3691, 3743, 3747, 3752, 3762, 3768, 4000, 4116, 4207, 4220, 4228, 4286, 4302 (3), 4327, 4331, 4347, 4360 (2), 4362, 4367, 4370, 4395, 4398 (2), 4408, 4412, 4426, 4437, 4440, 4447, 4448, 4452, 4462, 4464, 4465, 4468, 4472, 4475, 4491	61
都津	1772	1
追都	3951, 3976	2
追通	4100	1
管	17, 87, 115, 118, 145, 199, 207, 233, 324, 366, 481, 509, 543, 546, 587, 619, 620, 639, 640, 679, 718, 917, 935, 975, 980, 995, 1008, 1295, 1364, 1391, 1427, 1446, 1507, 1608, 1623, 1740, 1785, 1790, 1804, 1825, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1848, 1906, 1961, 1964, 2259, 2293, 2310, 2317, 2322, 2374, 2608, 2636, 2646, 2686, 2695, (2708), 2743, 2757, 2786, 2796, 2884, 2896, 2903, 2905, 2909, 2931, 2967, 3090, 3113, 3268, 3324, 3790, 3818, 3862, 4179	(78) or 77
筒	1993, 2128, 2201, 2288, 2594	5
乍	25, 26, 54, 79 (2), 86, 120, 135, 149, 155, 159, 176, 177,	(199) or

	(196), 199 (2), 223, 225, 227, 261, 269, 296, 305, 358, 370, 383, 423, 425, 460 (3), 464, 481, 485, 487, 497, 509 (2), 529, 543 (2), 544, 546, 562, 572, 585, 588, 592, 618, 646, 666, 685, 722, 726, 757, 780, 897, 916, 935, 995, 1053 (2), 1071, 1075, 1078, 1080, 1084, 1106, 1111, 1116, 1150, 1166, 1185, 1236, 1237, 1276, 1291, 1294, 1353, 1389, 1441, 1448, 1453, 1473, 1570, 1573, 1620, 1624, 1630, 1707, 1729, 1730, 1733, 1785, 1800, 1801 (2), 1804, 1826, 1836, 1862, 1908, 1914, 1933 (2), 1950, 1962, 2074, (2075), 2076, 2097, 2146, 2153, 2185, 2198, 2226, 2230, 2236, 2240, 2252, 2254, 2256, 2258, 2282, 2297, 2300, 2310, 2357, 2363, 2378, 2444, 2448, 2452, 2458, 2470, 2474 (2), 2479, 2504, 2521, 2563, 2580, 2585, 2587, 2603, (2614), 2669, 2671, 2681, 2693, 2697, 2733, 2765, 2790, 2822, 2826, 2847, 2868, 2876, 2901, 2913, 2942, 2983, 3024, 3030, 3032, 3061, 3104, 3119, 3121, 3123 (2), 3126 (2), 3150, 3192, (3193), 3198, 3201, 3204, 3205, 3218, 3232, 3240 (2), 3243, 3250, 3274, 3299, 3324 (2), 3329 (2), 3330, 3333 (2), 3788, 3791 (2)	195
喚雞	1579, 3330	2
Total		(429) or 424

4.2.3 馬聲蜂音石花蜘蛛荒鹿

This ten-character sequence is an entire line in a poem and consists of five two-character units. Although only the first two units (馬聲, 蜂音) are based on acoustic association, all five units have semantic value related to animals. The detailed interpretation of each character can be seen in the following table. There are two notable points in this case. First, the character sequence 石花 ('stone flower') refers to barnacles, a marine creature attached to other surfaces such as rocks. As such, this is a metaphoric usage of the characters based on visual association. Second, the character 蜎 is an allograph of the character 蛛²⁰.

MYS 12.2991.4

²⁰It seems that the character 蜎 is not included in Chinese dictionaries, but it is actually attested in Buddhist sutras produced in China (Sasahara 2007: 213-214).

Original Text	馬聲蜂音石花蜘蛛荒鹿
Transcription	いぶせくもあるか i.bu.se-ku=mo ar-u=ka
English translation	[I am] distressed!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	い <i>i</i> ← sound made by a horse (馬聲)	いぶせ- <i>i.bu.se-</i> ‘to be distressed’ (stem)	SAP
2	聲	‘voice’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>			SAP
3	蜂	‘bee’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	ぶ <i>bu</i> ← sound made by a bee (蜂音)		SAP
4	音	‘sound’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>			SAP
5	石	‘stone’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i> KY シャク <i>shaku</i>	せ <i>se</i> ← せ <i>SE</i> ‘barnacle’ (← 石 花 ‘stone flower’)		SAP
6	花	‘flower’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>			SAP
7	蜘蛛	‘spider’	チ <i>chi</i>	-く=も <i>-ku=mo</i> (← -く <i>-ku</i> [adverbial suffix] + =も <i>=mo</i> [emphatic particle]) ← くも <i>KU.MO</i> ‘spider’		SAP
8	蛎 (allograph of 蛛)		G チュ <i>chu</i> K チュウ <i>chū</i> KY シュ <i>shu</i>			SAP
9	荒	‘to be wild’	コウ <i>kō</i>	ある- <i>ar-u-</i> ‘to have’ (adnominal) ← ある <i>A.RU</i> ‘(natural condition) to be rough’ (conclusive)	SAP	
10	鹿	‘deer’	ロク <i>roku</i>	=か <i>=ka</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← しか <i>SI.KA</i> ‘deer’	SAP	

The following are the other occurrences of the word いぶせ-*i.bu.se-* ‘to be distressed’ (stem) and their corresponding written form in MYS: (1). 移夫勢 (**PAP** 移 い *i*; **PAP** 夫 ぶ *bu*; **PAP** 勢 せ *se*) (poem 18.4113); (2). **SAP** 烟 いぶせ *i.bu.se* (← いぶせ-*I.BUS-E-* ‘to smoke [something]’ [realis]) (poem 10.2263); (3). **SAL** 鬱 (‘to be distressed’) (poems 4.611, 4.769, 8.1479, 8.1568, 11.2720, and 12.2949); (4). 悵憤 (holistic mapping) (悵 ‘to be distressed’; 憤 ‘to rage’) (poem 9.1809).

4.3 Graph-Language Mapping Based on Mathematical Association

This category includes cases in which the written form and the underlying linguistic form are linked by mathematical calculation or counting.

4.3.1 二手 諸手 左右手 左右

These character sequences all represent the allative particle =まで =*ma.de* by virtue of its near-homophony with the word 眞手 まで *MA-TE* ‘two hands’ (← **SAL** 眞 ま - *MA-* ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + **SAL** 手 て *TE* ‘hand’). The meaning of this word exactly matches the semantic value of 二手 and is essentially equivalent to the semantic value of 諸手 (‘various hands’) and 左右手 (‘left and right hands’). The character sequence 左右 is an abbreviation of 左右手.

4.3.1.1 二手

MYS 1.79.31

Original Text	千代二手
Transcription	ちよ ₂ まで TI-YO ₂ =ma.de
English translation	Until a thousand generations [later]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	千	‘thousand’	セン <i>sen</i>	ち <i>TI</i> ‘thousand’	SAL
2	代	‘generation’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	よ ₂ <i>YO₂</i> ‘generation, year’	SAL
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま - <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘two hands’	SAP
4	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>		SAP

MYS 11.2820.4-5

Original Text	出来月之 傾二手荷
Transcription	いでこしつきの ₂ かたぶくまでに I.DE-KO-si-TU.KI=NO ₂ KA.TA.BUK-U=ma.de=ni

English translation	Until the moon coming out inclines (i.e., sets).

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
4.1	出	‘to come out’	G シュチ <i>shuchi</i> K シュツ <i>shutsu</i>	いで - <i>I.DE</i> - ‘to come out’ (infinitive)	SAL
4.2	來	‘to come’	ライ <i>rai</i>	こ - <i>KO</i> - ‘to come’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-し - <i>si</i> - (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		
4.3	月	‘moon’	G ガチ <i>gachi</i> K ゲツ <i>getsu</i> KY ガツ <i>gatsu</i>	つき <i>TU.KI</i> ‘moon’	SAL
4.4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO</i> ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)	SAL
5.1	傾	‘to incline’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かたぶく - <i>KA.TA.BUK-U</i> - ‘to incline’ (adnominal)	SAL
5.2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (←	SAP
5.3	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	SAL 眞 ま - <i>MA</i> - ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘two hands’	SAP
5.4	荷	‘to carry’	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘load’	SAP

4.3.1.2 諸手

MYS 10.1997.5

Original Text	乏諸手丹
Transcription	すべ ₁ なき ₁ までに SU.BE ₁ -NA-KI ₁ =ma.de=ni
English translation	To the extent of being helpless

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	乏	‘to lack’	G ボウ <i>bō</i> K ホウ <i>hō</i>	すべ ₁ なき ₁ - <i>SU.BE₁-NA-KI₁</i> - ‘to be helpless’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	諸	‘various’	シヨ <i>sho</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (←	SAP
3	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	SAL 眞 ま - <i>MA</i> - ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘various hands’	SAP
4	丹	‘vermillion’	タン <i>tan</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘vermillion’	SAP

4.3.1.3 左右手

MYS 7.1189.5

Original Text	舟泊左右手

Transcription	ふねはつるまで PU.NE PA.TU-RU=ma.de
English translation	Until [I] dock the boat

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	舟	‘boat’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	ふね PU.NE ‘boat’	SAL
2	泊	‘to dock’	G バク <i>baku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	はつる - PA.TU-RU- ‘to dock’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで =ma.de (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで MA-TE ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま - MA- ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て TE ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right hands’	SAP
4	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
5	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>		SAP

MYS 10.2327.5

Original Text	見我欲左右手二
Transcription	みがほしまでに MI=ga HO-SI=ma.de=ni
English translation	To the extent that [I] desired to see.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み - MI- ‘to see’ (stem)	SAL
2	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	=が <i>=ga</i> (nominative particle)	PAP
3	欲	‘to desire’	ヨク <i>yoku</i>	ほし HO-SI ‘to be desired’ (conclusive)	SAL
4	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで =ma.de (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで MA-TE ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま - MA- ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て TE ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right hands’	SAP
5	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
6	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>		SAP
7	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)	PAP

4.3.1.4 左右

MYS 4.747.4

Original Text	直相左右者
Transcription	ただにあふまでは TA.DA=ni AP-U=ma.de=PA
English translation	Until [we] directly meet

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	直	‘just’	G ジキ <i>jiki</i> K チョク <i>choku</i>	ただ <i>TA.DA</i> ‘just, only’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>-ni</i> (dative particle)		
2	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あふ- <i>AP-U-</i> ‘to meet’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで <i>-ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま- <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right’	SAP
4	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は <i>-PA</i> (topic particle)	SAL

MYS 8.1487.4

Original Text	如 _レ 此成左右二
Transcription	かくなるまでに KA-KU NAR-U=ma.de=ni
English translation	Until [the darkness] becomes like this.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニョ <i>nyo</i> K ジョ <i>jo</i>	-く <i>-KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	かく <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’
2	此	‘this’	シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)	
3	成	‘to achieve’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	なる- <i>NAR-U-</i> ‘to become’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで <i>-ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま- <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right’	SAP
5	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
6	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>-ni</i> (dative particle)	SAP

Table 4.17 below lists all the occurrences of the particle =まで *-ma.de* and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 20 different written forms for a total of 168 or 170 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). 萬代 (**PAP** 萬 ま *ma*; **PAP** 代 で *de*); (2). 萬田 (**PAP** 田 で *de*); (3). 萬旦 (**PAP** 旦 で

de); (4). 麻低(但)(PAP 麻 ま *ma*; PAP 低[但] で *de*); (5). 麻亘; (6). 麻提 (PAP 提 で *de*); (7). 麻天 (PAP 天 で *de*); (8). 麻田; (9). 麻泥 (PAP 泥 で *de*); (10). 麻埒 (PAP 埒 で *de*); (11). 麻而 (SAP 而 で *de* ← て *te* [← = て = *TE* (conjunctive particle)]); (12). 末亘 (PAP 末 ま *ma*); (13). 末低(但); (14). SAL 及 (‘to reach’); (15). SAL 至 (‘to arrive’); (16). SAL 迄 (‘to arrive’); (17). 二手 (holistic mapping) (semantic value ‘two hands’ synonymous with 眞手 まて *MA-TE* ‘two hands’); (18). 諸手 (holistic mapping) (semantic value ‘various hands’ nearly synonymous with 眞手 まて *MA-TE* ‘two hands’); (19). 左右手 (holistic mapping) (semantic value ‘left and right hands’ nearly synonymous with 眞手 まて *MA-TE* ‘two hands’); (20). 左右 (holistic mapping) (abbreviation of (19) 左右手). The four written forms in question here (二手, 諸手, 左右手, and 左右) account for 55 occurrences (about 32%), with 左右 being the most common of all the written forms for this particle.

Table 4.17 Occurrences of the particle =まで =*ma.de* in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
萬代	17 (2), 87, 228, 1212, 3414	6
萬田	1937	1
萬亘	4275	1
麻低(但)	199 (3), (199), 892, 3751	(6) or 5
麻亘	485, 1809, 2028, (3056), 3264, 3458, 3494, 3584, 3742, 3749, 3756, 3907, 3999, 4326, 4339, 4340, 4372, 4404, 4482, 4497	(20) or 19
麻提	839, 844, 876, 3448	4
麻天	1706	1
麻田	1937	1
麻泥	3913, 3922, 3926, 3978, 3979, 3982, 3983, 4075, 4089, 4122, 4166, 4169, 4175, 4177, 4180, 4241, 4246, 4350	18
麻埒	4398, 4408, 4439, 4459, 4463, 4496, 4513	7
麻而	1507, 1526	2
末亘	3637	1
末低(但)	3702, 3778	2
及	196, 261, 1279, 1330, 1702, 1740, 1747, 1861, 1930, 1958, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2097, 2100, 2244, 2245, 2261, 2286, 2296, 2398, 2400, 2413, 2452, 2461, 2538, 2656, 2792, 2846, 2854, 2919, 3129	32
至	563, 619, 702, 703, 739, 783, 1662, 1807, 1910, 3188	10

迄	1188, 1531, 1637	3
二手	79, 238, 1902, 2820	4
諸手	1997	1
左右手	1189, 2327	2
左右	34, 180, 230, 259, 310, 420, 443, 533, 549, 550, 614, 747, 979, 1052, 1114, 1134, 1182, 1327, 1411, 1420, 1465, 1487, 1598, 1602, 1620, 1634, 1647, 1716, 1751, 1789, 1847, 1960, 2250, 2518, 2602, 2750, 2759, 2913, 2935, 2959, 2995, 3142, 3189, 3216, 3227, 3228, 3270, 3289	48
Total		(170) or 168

4.3.2 八十一

The character sequence 八十一 represents the sound sequence < < *ku.ku* or < < *gu.ku* by virtue of the association between its semantic value ‘eighty-one’ and a mathematical formula. Eighty-one is the result of nine multiplied by nine, and one of the SJ readings of the character 九 ‘nine’ is < *ku*, so the character sequence 八十一 is associated with the reduplication of the syllable < *ku*. In each of the poems below where this written form occurs, this sound sequence is the constituent of a word. Note that the character sequence 喚雞 (section 4.2.2) representing the continuative conjunctive particle =つつ *-tu.tu* also occurs in the same line as the character sequence 八十一 in poem 13.3330.

MYS 8.1495.2

Original Text	許乃間立八十一
Transcription	こ ₂ の ₂ またちくく ko ₂ =no ₂ -MA TAT-I-kuk-u-
English translation	Going through the gaps of the trees

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	許	‘to allow’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	こ ₂ - ko ₂ - ‘tree’ (bound morpheme)	PAP
2	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

3	間	‘interval’	G ケン <i>ken</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	ま <i>MA</i> ‘gap’		SAL
4	立	‘to stand’	リュウ <i>ryū</i> KY リツ <i>ritsu</i>	たち- <i>TAT-I-</i> ‘to stand’ (infinitive)	たちくく- <i>TAT-I-kuk-u-</i> ‘to go through’ (adnominal)	SAL
5	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	くく <i>ku.ku</i> ← く <i>ku</i> （‘nine’）multiplied by く <i>ku</i> （‘nine’）equals ‘eighty-one’（八十一）		SAP
6	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>			SAP
7	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>			SAP

MYS 11.2542.5

Original Text	二八十一不 _レ 在國
Transcription	にくくあらなくに <i>ni.ku-ku-AR-A-NA-ku=ni</i>
English translation	It is not detestable.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	に <i>ni</i>	にくく - <i>ni.ku-ku-</i> ‘to be detestable’ (adverbial)	PAP
2	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	くく <i>ku.ku</i> ← く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) multiplied by く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) equals ‘eighty-one’ (八十一)		SAP
3	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>			SAP
4	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>			SAP
5	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	な - <i>NA-</i> ‘to not have’ (stem)		SAL
6	在	‘to exist’	G ザイ <i>zai</i> K サイ <i>sai</i>	あら - <i>AR-A-</i> ‘to exist’ (irrealis)		SAL
7	國	‘country’	コク <i>koku</i>	-く=に <i>-ku=ni</i> (← -く <i>-ku</i> [adverbial suffix] + =に <i>=ni</i> [dative particle]) ← く に <i>KU.NI</i> ‘country’		SAP

MYS 13.3330.27

Original Text	八十一里喚雞
Transcription	くくりつつ <i>ku.kur-i=tu.tu</i>
English translation	[As you] keep tying [the thread] up

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	くく <i>ku.ku</i> ← く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) multiplied by	くくり - <i>ku.kur-i-</i>	SAP

2	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) equals ‘eighty-one’ (八十一)	‘to tie up’ (infinitive)	SAP
3	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>			SAP
4	里	unit of length	リ <i>ri</i>			り <i>ri</i>
5	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>	=つつ <i>-tu.tu</i> (continuative conjunctive particle) ← sound made when summoning chicken (喚雞)		SAP
6	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>			SAP

4.3.3 十六

In the same way as the case of 八十一, the character sequence 十六 represents the sound sequence しし *si.si* by virtue of the association between its semantic value ‘sixteen’ and a mathematical formula. Sixteen is the result of four multiplied by four, and the SJ reading of the character 四 ‘four’ is し *si*, so the character sequence 十六 is associated with the reduplication of the syllable し *si*. In the poems below where this written form occurs, it phonographically represents the word しし *si.si* ‘flesh; beast’.

MYS 6.926.10

Original Text	十六履起之
Transcription	ししふみ ₁ おこ ₂ し si.si PUM-I ₁ -O.KO ₂ S-i-
English translation	Stepping on and raising the beasts,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	しし <i>si.si</i> ‘flesh; beast’ ← し <i>si</i> (‘four’) multiplied by し <i>si</i> (‘four’) equals ‘sixteen’ (十六)		SAP
2	六	‘six’	G ロク <i>roku</i> K リク <i>riku</i>			SAP
3	履	‘to step’	リ <i>ri</i>	ふみ ₁ <i>PUM-I₁</i> - ‘to step’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	起	‘to rise’	キ <i>ki</i>	おこ ₂ す <i>O.KO₂S-U</i> ‘to raise’ (conclusive)	おこ ₂ し- <i>O.KO₂S-i-</i> ‘to raise’ (infinitive)	SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP

MYS 13.3278.12

Original Text	十六待如

Transcription	ししまつが ₂ と ₂ si.si MAT-U= <u>ga</u> GO ₂ .TO ₂
English translation	Like waiting for the beasts,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	しし <i>si.si</i> ‘flesh; beast’ ← し <i>si</i> ‘four’) multiplied by し <i>si</i> ‘four’) equals ‘sixteen’ (十六)	SAP
2	六	‘six’	G ロク <i>roku</i> K リク <i>riku</i>		SAP
3	待	‘to wait’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	まつ- MAT-U- ‘to wait’ (adnominal)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=か ₃ <i>-ga</i> (nominative/genitive particle)		
4	如	‘to resemble’	G ニョ <i>nyo</i> K ジョ <i>jo</i>	ご ₂ と ₂ GO ₂ .TO ₂ ‘resemblance’	SAL

Table 4.18 below lists all the occurrences of the word しし *si.si* ‘flesh; beast’ and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 9 different written forms for a total of 23 occurrences of this linguistic form:

(1). 四時 (**PAP** 四 し *si*; **PAP** 時 し *si*); (2). 思之 (**PAP** 思 し *si*; **PAP** 之 し *si*); (3). 子師 (**PAP** 子 し *si*; **PAP** 師 し *si*); (4). **SAL** 鹿 (‘deer’); (5). 鹿猪 (holistic mapping) (猪 ‘pig’); (6). **SAL** 肉 (‘flesh’); (7). **SAL** 宐 (allograph of 肉); (8). **SAL** 完 (allograph of 宐); (9). 十六 (holistic mapping) (semantic value ‘sixteen’ associated with the reduplication of the syllable し *si*, SJ reading of the character 四 ‘four’, on the basis of the mathematical calculation that four multiplied by four equals sixteen).

Table 4.18 Occurrences of the word しし *si.si* ‘flesh; beast’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
四時	239	1
思之	3428, 3531	2
子師	3848	1
鹿	199, 405, 1262, 3874	4
鹿猪	478, 3000	2
肉	1019	1
宐	1809	1
完	1292 (2), 2493, 3344, 3885 (2)	6
十六	239, 379, 926, 1804, 3278	5

Total	23

4.3.4 二二

In the two previous examples, the semantic value of the written form is a number, and the reader needs to figure out the mathematical formula leading to that number. In contrast, the next two examples are to be processed in the opposite way. The written form implies a mathematical formula, and the reader needs to calculate its result. For the character sequence 二二, the reduplication of the character 二 (‘two’) implies the formula two multiplied by two, and the result is four. Since the SJ reading of the character 四 ‘four’ is し *si*, the character sequence 二二 represents the homophonous emphatic particle =し *-si* in this example.

MYS 6.907.8

Original Text	如 _レ 是二二知三
Transcription	かくししらさむ KA-KU=si SIR-A-sa-m-u
English translation	[The lord] will rule like this.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	- く <i>-KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	か く <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	是	‘this’	G ゼ <i>ze</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	= し <i>=si</i> (emphatic particle) ← し <i>si</i> ‘four’ ← two multiplied by two		SAP
4	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>			SAP
5	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	しら- <i>SIR-A-</i> ‘to know’ (irrealis)	しらさむ <i>SIR-A-sa-m-u</i> ← しらさ- <i>SIR-A-sa-</i> (← しら- <i>sir-a-</i> ‘to know’ [irrealis] + - さ- <i>-sa-</i> [honorific auxiliary verb (irrealis)]) ‘to rule’ (irrealis) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary	SAL
6	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	さむ <i>sa.mu</i>		PAP

					verb) (conclusive)	

Table 4.19 below lists all the occurrences of the particle =し =*si* and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 32 different written forms for a total of 679 or 689 occurrences of this linguistic form:

(1). □; (2). **PAP** 之 し *si*; (3). **PAP** 思 し *si*; (4). **PAP** 四 し *si*; (5). **PAP** 師 し *si*; (6). **PAP** 志 し *si*; (7). **PAP** 時 し *si*; (8). **PAP** 子 し *si*; (9). **PAP** 斯 し *si*; (10). **PAP** 寺 し *si*; (11). **PAP** 事 し *si*; (12). **SAP** 磯 し *si* (← いし *I.SI* ‘stone’); (13). **SAP** 石 し *si* (← いし *I.SI* ‘stone’); (14). **SAP** 僧 し *si* (← **DAL** 師 し *SI* ‘master’ ← ‘Buddhist monk’); (15). **SAP** 為 し *si* (← し - *SI*- ‘to do’ [infinitive]); (16). **SAP** 吉 よ₂ し *yo₂.si* (← よ₂ し *YO₂-SI* ‘to be good’ [conclusive]) (compound particle =よ₂=し =*yo₂=si* [← =よ₂=*yo₂* (interjectional particle) + =し =*si*]); (17). **SAP** 良 よ₂ し *yo₂.si* (← よ₂ し *YO₂-SI* ‘to be good’ [conclusive]) (compound particle =よ₂=し =*yo₂=si* [← =よ₂=*yo₂* (interjectional particle) + =し =*si*]); (18). **SAP** 西 にし *ni.si* (← にし *NI.SI* ‘west’) (compound particle =に=し =*ni=si* [← =に =*ni* (locative or dative particle) + =し =*si*]); (19). **SAP** 歳 と₂ し *to₂.si* (← と₂ し *TO₂.SI* ‘year, age’) (compound particle =と₂=し =*to₂=si* [← =と₂=*to₂* (quotative or comitative particle) + =し =*si*]); (20). **SAP** 年 と₂ し *to₂.si* (← と₂ し *TO₂.SI* ‘year, age’) (compound particle =と₂=し =*to₂=si* [← =と₂=*to₂* (quotative or comitative particle) + =し =*si*]); (21). **SAP** 霜 しも₁ *si.mo₁* (← しも₁ *SI.MO₁* ‘frost’) (compound particle =し=も =*si=mo* [← =し =*si* + =も =*mo* (emphatic particle)]); (22). **SAP** 下 しも *si.mo* (← しも *SI.MO* ‘below’) (compound particle =し=も =*si=mo* [← =し =*si* + =も =*mo* (emphatic particle)]); (23). **SAP** 鴛(鴦) をし *wo.si* (← をし *WO.SI* ‘mandarin duck’) (compound particle =を=し =*wo=si* [← =を =*wo* (accusative particle) + =し =*si*]); (24). **SAP** 食 をし *wo.si* (← をし - *WOS-I-* ‘to eat’ [honorific] [infinitive]) (compound particle =を=し =*wo=si* [← =を =*wo* (accusative particle) + =し =*si*]); (25). **SAP** 橋 はし *pa.si* (← はし *PA.SI* ‘bridge’) (compound particle =は=し =*pa=si* [← =は =*pa* (topic particle) + =し =*si*]); (26). 羊蹄 (holistic mapping)

(name of a species of plant ぎし *gi.si* [*rumex japonicus*]); (27). 二二 (holistic mapping) (the reduplication of 二 with the semantic value ‘two’ implying the formula two multiplied by two, the result four implying the syllable し *si* based on the SJ reading of the character 四 with the semantic value ‘four’); (28). 義之 (holistic mapping) (name of a calligrapher, derivation from 手師 てし *TE-SI* ‘calligrapher’ [← **SAL** 手 て *TE* ‘hand’ + **DAL** 師 *SI* ‘master’]) (compound particle =て=し *=te=si* [← =て *=te* (conjunctive particle) + =し *=si*]); (29). 何然(毛) なにしか(も) *NA.NI=si=ka(=mo)* ‘why’ (**SAL** 何 なに *NA.NI* ‘what’; **SAP** 然 し か *si.ka* [← しかり *SI.KAR-I* ‘to be like this’ (conclusive)]; **PAP** 毛 も *mo*); (30). 何如(毛) なにしか(も) *NA.NI=si=ka(=mo)* ‘why’ (**SAP** 如 しか *si.ka* [← しかり *SI.KAR-I* ‘to be like this’ (conclusive)]); (31). 何如文 なにしかも *NA.NI=si=ka=mo* ‘why’ (**PAP** 文 も *mo*); (32). 母准 (origin unclear). Because the emphatic particle =し *=si* can be used together with another particle, there are a fairly large number of cases in which such a disyllabic compound particle is written with a single SAP with a homophonous native Japanese reading.

Table 4.19 Occurrences of the particle =し *=si* in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
□	163, 164, 213, 230, 324, 329, 357, 419, 456, 457, 478, 484, 524, 534, 659, 689, 693, 749, 940, 1020, 1021, 1050, 1059, 1121, 1202, 1247, 1303, 1308, 1425, 1469, 1475, 1507, 1546, 1553, 1592, 1735, 1747, 1884, 1907, 1981, 2002, 2031, 2053, 2061, 2278, 2369, 2373, 2374, 2376, 2378, 2380, 2429, 2438, 2442, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2466, 2476, 2477, 2488, 2490, 2492, 2499, 2514, 2520, 2570, 2596, 2687, 2692, 2752, 2773, 2848, 2849, 2852, 2853, 2858, 2908, 3014, 3016, 3035, 3069, 3096, 3130, 3302, 3311 (2), 4142, 4180, 4187, 4188, 4214, 4215, 4267	94
之	5, 16, 64, 66, 93, 131, 135, 138, 142, (196), 199 (3), 207, 210 (2), 213, 223, 241, 288, 304, 313, 333, 348, 366, 399, 413, 449, 453, 460, 461, 472, 485, 490, 506, 509, 515, 524, 529, 531, 537, 543, 585, 607, 621, 796, 809, 811, 819, 843, 858, 873, 892 (2), 893, 907, 913 (2), 940, 970, 983, 1000, 1018, 1039, 1047 (3), 1056, 1175, 1217, 1219, 1254, 1312, 1315,	(290) or 285

	1343, 1354, 1393, 1527, 1533, 1567, 1632, 1664, 1686, 1739, 1747, 1765, 1770, 1776, 1808, 1810, 1811, 1813, 1855, 1935, 2007, 2057, 2151, 2196, 2210, 2237, 2301, 2352, (2480), 2538, 2551, 2568, 2603, (2628), 2637, 2665, 2679, 2877, 2902, 2909, 2920, 2961, 2982, 3000, 3067, 3070, 3089, 3134, 3138, 3143, 3145, 3209, 3234, 3274, 3276, 3314 (3), 3322, 3342, 3345, 3362, 3400, 3479, 3504, 3530, 3537, 3577, 3581, 3612, 3617 (2), 3627, 3630, 3647, 3654, 3656, 3662, 3668, 3686, 3691, 3693, 3725, 3728, 3732, 3738, 3741 (2), 3759, 3766, 3768, 3777, 3806, 3810, 3844, 3851, 3894, 3895, 3898, 3900, 3901, 3906, 3912, 3914, 3919, 3941, 3942, 3952, 3957 (3), 3962, 3969, 3970, 3973, 3975, 3976, 3978 (4), 3981, 3985, 3993 (3), 4000 (2), 4003, 4006 (3), 4008 (3), 4011 (2), 4016, 4021, 4024, 4027, 4065, 4071, 4074, 4082, 4089, 4090, 4091, 4094 (2), (4094), (4095), 4098, 4101, 4106 (3), 4107, 4112, 4113, 4115, 4116 (2), 4121, 4124, 4125 (3), 4137, 4147, 4148, 4154, 4155, 4158, 4165, 4166, 4167, 4169, 4170, 4177, 4189, 4191, 4214 (3), 4223, 4245, 4251, 4254, 4260, 4261, 4288, 4289, 4305, 4308, 4309, 4312, 4314, 4324, 4331, 4360, 4399, 4408, 4426, 4437, 4470, 4479, 4480, 4483, 4484, 4485, 4488, 4498, 4499, 4500, 4510	
思	36, (131), 138, 207, 315, 561, 640, 643, 702, 723, 727, 784, 920, 986, 992, 1049, 1171, 1358, 1368, 1412, 1529, 1607, 1769, 2294, 2536, 2689, 2770, 2800, 2873, 3043, 3100, 3110, 3273, 3344, 3401, 3410, 3422, 3458, 3471, 3486, (3493), 3570, 3691, 3692, 3889, 3957, 3962, 3964, 3984, 3991, (4121), 4135	(52) or 49
四	86, 235, 324 (2), 404, 486, 533, 614, 619, 662, 645, 667, 721, 723, 732, 754, 790, 934, 943, 954, 1015, 1059, 1132, 1149, 1218, 1421, 1473, 1476, 1746, 1879, 1917, (2134), 2365, 2369, 2632, 2904, 2937, 2940, 2942, 3065	(40) or 39
師	131 (2), 138 (2), 150, 196, 230, 341, 359, 405, 454, 466, 539, 590, 723, 787, 792, 952, 977, 1029, 1197, 1251, 1430, 1459, 1585, 1619, 1639, 1790, 1838, 1853, 1983, 2222, 2293, 2301, 2540, 2659, 2678, 2705, 2985, 3025, 3140, 3191, 3225, 3227, 3259, 3271, 3298, 3305, 3408, 3438, 3677	51
志	183, 315, 433, 553, 772, 806, 808, 860, 836, 886, 897 (2), 898, 1277, 1573, 1660, 1729, 1769, 1779, 2176, 2236, 2316, 2356, 2530, 2533, 2606, 2684, 2759, (3063), 3147, 3234, 3330, 3346, 3350, 3458, 3602, 3857, 3881, 3929, 3962, 4006, 4008, 4154, 4185, 4189, 4221, 4266, 4292, 4351, 4499	(50) or 49
時	489, 732, 2131	3
子	793, 3317	2

斯	797, 802, 805, 815, 833, 870, 3302	7
寺	3225	1
事	4055	1
磯	7	1
石	1065, 1804, 2091	3
僧	2094	1
為	2393, 3791 (2), 3793, 3794	5
吉 (compound particle =よ ₂ =し =yo ₂ =si)	17, 29, 55, 79, 80, 199, 220, 328, 543, 992, 1046, 1209, 1215, 1638, 1680, 1906, 3087, 3236, 3237, 3324, 3978	21
良 (compound particle =よ ₂ =し =yo ₂ =si)	62	1
西 (compound particle =に=し =ni=si)	205, 340, 342, 574, 591, 603, 710, 1041, 1132, 1160, 1213, 1368, 1525, 1620, 1749, 2288, 2290, 2569, 2758, 2809, 2827, 2890, 2947, 2995, 3162, 3176, 3258, 3297	28
歳 (compound particle =と ₂ =し =to ₂ =si)	388	1
年 (compound particle =と ₂ =し =to ₂ =si)	681, 2168	2
霜 (compound particle =し=も =si=mo)	204, 322, 467, 920, 1050 (2), 1379, 1807, 2255, 2339, 2723, 2829, 3324	13
下 (compound particle =し=も =si=mo)	649, 2200, 2600 (2), 3324 (2)	6
駕(駕) (compound particle = =を=し =wo=si)	1259, 1345, 2755	3
食 (compound particle =を=し =wo=si)	3219	1
橋 (compound particle =は=し =pa=si)	3329	1
羊蹄	1857, 3788	2
二二	907	1
義之 (compound particle =て=し =te=si)	2066	1
何然(毛) (なにしか[も] NA.NI=si=ka[=mo] ‘why’)	196, 2500, 2503	3
何如(毛) (なにしか[も] NA.NI=si=ka[=mo] ‘why’)	581, 2994	2
何如文 (なにしかも NA.NI=si=ka=mo ‘why’)	3304	1
母准	2952	1
Total		(689) or 679

4.3.5 二五

In the same way as the case of 二二, the character sequence 二五 (‘two’, ‘five’) implies the formula two multiplied by five, and the result is ten. Since the native Japanese word meaning ‘ten’ is と₂を *to₂.wo*, the character sequence 二五 represents the homophonous expression =と₂=を =*to₂=wo*, which comprises the quotative particle =と₂=*to₂* and the interjectional particle =を =*wo*, in this example.

MYS 11.2710.4

Original Text	不知二五寸許瀬
Transcription	いさと ₂ をき ₁ こ ₂ せ I.SA=to ₂ =wo ki ₁ .ko ₂ s-e
English translation	Say that [you] do not know.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	いさ I.SA (interjectional expression when not knowing the answer to a question) ← ‘to not know’		SAL
2	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>			SAL
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=と ₂ =を = <i>to₂=wo</i> (← =と ₂ = <i>to₂</i> [quotative particle] + =を = <i>wo</i> [interjectional particle]) ← と ₂ を <i>to₂.wo</i> ‘ten’ ← two multiplied by five		SAP
4	五	‘five’	ゴ <i>go</i>			SAP
5	寸	unit of length	ソン <i>son</i> KY スン <i>sun</i>	き ₁ <i>ki₁</i> ← き ₁ <i>KI₁</i> (unit of size of horse)	き ₁ こ ₂ せ <i>ki₁.ko₂s-e</i> ‘to say’ (honorific) (imperative)	SAP
6	許	‘to allow’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	こ ₂ <i>ko₂</i>		PAP
7	瀬	‘rapids’	ライ <i>rai</i>	せ <i>se</i> ← せ <i>SE</i> ‘rapids’		SAP

4.3.6 The Board Game

There are some written forms relevant to a board game which seems to be similar to the Korean Yut 𪛗 game. This game is played by casting four sticks, each with a front side and a back side, to advance the tokens on the board. The combination of the number of sticks with the front side up (or facing up) and the number of sticks with the back side up (or facing down) determines how far the player can advance, and

each combination has a specific name. The following are the written forms in MYS relevant to this game.

4.3.6.1 折木四 切木四

These two character sequences (折木四 ‘to bend a wood [into] four [pieces]’; 切木四 ‘to cut a wood [into] four [pieces]’) refer to the stick used in the board game, which is called かり *ka.ri*. In the poems below where these written forms occur, they represent the homophonous word かり *ka.ri* ‘wild goose’.

MYS 6.948.11

Original Text	折木四哭之
Transcription	かりがねの ₂ ka.ri= <u>ga</u> -NE=NO ₂
English translation	The sound of the wild goose

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	折	‘to bend’	G セチ <i>sechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i> KY シャク <i>shaku</i>	かり <i>ka.ri</i> ‘wild goose’ ← かり <i>ka.ri</i> (name of the stick in the board game)	かり <u>が</u> ね <i>ka.ri=ga-NE</i> ‘sound of wild goose’	SAP
2	木	‘wood’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>			SAP
3	四	‘four’	シ <i>si</i>			SAP
4	哭	‘to cry’	コク <i>koku</i>			SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=① 2 =NO ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)		SAL

MYS 10.2131.4

Original Text	切木四之泣所聞
Transcription	かりがねき ₁ こ ₂ ゆ ka.ri=GA-NE KI ₁ .KO ₂ -YU
English translation	The sound of the wild geese can be heard.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	切	‘to cut’	G セチ <i>sechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i>	かり <i>ka.ri</i> ‘wild goose’ ← かり <i>ka.ri</i> (name of the stick of the board)	かりがね <i>ka.ri=GA-NE</i> ‘sound of wild goose’	SAP
2	木	‘wood’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>			SAP

3	四	‘four’	シ <i>shi</i>	game)		SAP
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=が <i>=GA</i> (genitive particle)		SAL
5	泣	‘to cry’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	ね <i>NE</i> ‘sound’		SAL
6	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K ショ <i>sho</i>	き ₁ こ ₂ ゆ <i>KI₁.KO₂-YU</i> ‘to be heard’ (conclusive)		SAL
7	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>			SAL

Table 4.20 below lists all the occurrences of the word かり *ka.ri* ‘wild goose’ and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 6 different written forms for a total of 65 or 66 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). 可里 (**PAP** 可 *ka*; **PAP** 里 *ri*); (2). 加里 (**PAP** 加 *ka*); (3). **SAP** 蒬 *ka.ri* (← かり - *KAR-I* ‘to cut grass’ [infinitive]); (4). **SAL** 鴈 (‘wild goose’); (5). 折木四 (holistic mapping) (name of the stick in the board game, based on semantic value ‘to bend four pieces of wood’); (6). 切木四 (holistic mapping) (name of the stick in the board game, based on semantic value ‘to cut four pieces of wood’). The dominant written form of this word is **SAL** 鴈 with 55 or 56 occurrences (about 85%).

Table 4.20 Occurrences of the word かり *ka.ri* ‘wild goose’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
可里	3665, 3676, 3687, 3691, 4296	5
加里	3947, 4366	2
蒬	1702	1
鴈	182, 954, 1161, 1513, 1515, 1539, 1540, 1556, 1562, 1563, 1566, 1567, 1574, 1575, 1578, 1614, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1703, 1708, 1757, 2097, 2126, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2144, 2181, 2183, 2191, 2194, 2195, 2208, 2212, 2214, 2224, 2238, 2266, 2276, 2294, 3223, 3281, 3345, 3953, 4144, (4145), 4224	(56) or 55
折木四	948	1
切木四	2131	1
Total		(66) or 65

4.3.6.2 一伏三起 一伏三向

The combination of one stick with the back side up (or facing down) and three sticks with the front side up (or facing up) is called こ 2 ろ 2 *ko₂.ro₂*, and the graphic notation is 一伏三起 (‘one facing down and three rising’) or 一伏三向 (‘one facing down and three facing [up]’). In the poems below where these written forms occur, the first character sequence represents the homophonous word こ 2 ろ 2 *ko₂.ro₂* ‘time, occasion’, and the second character sequence represents a constituent of a word.

MYS 12.2988.2

Original Text	末中一伏三起
Transcription	すゑの ₂ なかこ ₂ ろ ₂ SU.WE= <u>no₂</u> NA.KA-ko ₂ .ro ₂
English translation	In the middle of the end

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	末	‘end’	G マチ <i>machi</i> K バツ <i>batsu</i> KY マツ <i>matsu</i>	すゑ <i>SU.WE</i> ‘end’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		
2	中	‘middle’	チュウ <i>chū</i>	なか <i>NA.KA</i> ‘middle’	SAL
3	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	こ 2 ろ 2 <i>ko₂.ro₂</i> ‘time, occasion’ ← こ 2 ろ 2 <i>ko₂.ro₂</i> (name of the combination of one stick with the back side up [or facing down] and three sticks with the front side up [or facing up] in the board game) ← ‘one facing down and three rising’	SAP
4	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>		SAP
5	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>		SAP
6	起	‘to rise’	キ <i>ki</i>		SAP

MYS 13.3284.2

Original Text	根毛一伏三向凝呂尔
Transcription	ねも ₁ こ ₂ ろ ₂ ご ₂ ろ ₂ に ne.mo ₁ .ko ₂ .ro ₂ .go ₂ .ro ₂ =ni
English translation	Intimately

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	ね <i>ne</i> ← ね <i>NE</i> ‘root’	SAP
				ねも ₁ こ ₂ ろ ₂ ご ₂ ろ ₂ <i>ne.mo₁.ko₂.ro₂.go₂.ro₂</i>	

2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	も ₁ <i>mo</i> ₁	(reduplicative form of ねも ₁ こ ₂ ろ ₂ <i>ne.mo</i> ₁ <i>ko</i> ₂ <i>ro</i> ₂ ‘to be intimate’)	PAP
3	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	こ ₂ ろ ₂ <i>ko</i> ₂ <i>ro</i> ₂ ← こ ₂ ろ ₂		SAP
4	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>	<i>ko</i> ₂ <i>ro</i> ₂ (name of the combination of one stick with the back side up [or facing down] and three sticks with the front side up [or facing up] in the board game) ← ‘one facing down and three facing (up)’		SAP
5	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>			SAP
6	向	‘to face (a direction)’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K キョウ <i>kyō</i>			SAP
7	凝	‘to become solid’	G ゴウ <i>gō</i> K ギョウ <i>gyō</i>			PAP
8	呂	‘spine’	G ロ <i>ro</i> K リョ <i>ryo</i>	ろ ₂ <i>ro</i> ₂		PAP
9	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP

Table 4.21 below lists all the occurrences of the word こ₂ろ₂ *ko₂.ro₂* ‘time, occasion’ and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 13 different written forms for a total of 71 or 72 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). 己呂 (**PAP** 己 こ₂ *ko₂*; **PAP** 呂 ろ₂ *ro₂*); (2). 許呂 (**PAP** 許 こ₂ *ko₂*); (3). 期呂 (**PAP** 期 ご₂ *go₂*) (voiced bound form -ご₂ろ₂ *-go₂.ro₂*); (4). 其呂 (**PAP** 其 ご₂ *go₂*) (voiced bound form -ご₂ろ₂ *-go₂.ro₂*); (5). **SAL** 比 (‘recently’); (6). 比來 (holistic mapping) (‘recently’); (7). 比者 (holistic mapping) (‘recently’); (8). 比日 (holistic mapping) (‘recently’); (9). 乃者 (holistic mapping) (‘recently’); (10). 日來 (holistic mapping) (‘recently’); (11). **SAL** 頃 (‘short time’); (12). 頃者 (holistic mapping) (‘recently’); (13). 一伏三起 (holistic mapping) (name of the combination of one stick with the back side up [or facing down] and three sticks with the front side up [or facing up] in the board

game, based on semantic value ‘one facing down and three rising’).

Table 4.21 Occurrences of the word こ₂ろ₂ *ko₂.ro₂* ‘time, occasion’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
己呂	192, 487, (2822), 3511	(4) or 3
許呂	518, 3506, 3650, 3726, 3768, 3931	6
期呂 (voiced bound form - ご ₂ ろ ₂ - <i>go₂.ro₂</i>)	723	1
其呂 (voiced bound form - ご ₂ ろ ₂ - <i>go₂.ro₂</i>)	1560	1
比	588, 686, 2262, 2605, 2778, 2860, 3068, 3146	8
比來	123, 359, 767, 2260, 2329, 2603, 2668, 2877, 2984, 3858, 4214	11
比者	236, 630, 2213, 2366, 2525, 2972	6
比日	436, 648, 948 (2), 1459, 1605, 1615, 1626, 1651, 1768, 1919, 2141, 2182, 2464, 2482, 2744, 2844, 2944, 2966, 3015, 3109, 3111, 3144	23
乃者	1984	1
日來	2175	1
頃	3055	1
頃者	713, 1603, 1889, 2335, 2745, 3022, 3052, 3859	8
一伏三起	2988	1
Total		(72) or 71

4.3.6.3 三伏一向

The combination of three sticks with the back side up (or facing down) and one stick with the front side up (or facing up) is called つく *tu.ku*, and the graphic notation is 三伏一向 (‘three facing down and one facing [up]’). In the poem below where this written form occurs, this character sequence represents the homophonous morpheme -づく -*du.ku*-, which is the voiced bound form of the word つき₂ *tu.ki₂* ‘moon, month’.

MYS 10.1874.3

Original Text	暮三伏一向夜
Transcription	ゆふづくよ ₁ YU.PU-du.ku-YO ₁
English translation	The night with the dusk moon

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	暮	‘dusk’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボ <i>bo</i>	ゆふ YU.PU ‘dusk’	SAL
2	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	-づく - <i>du.ku</i> - ‘moon’ (voiced bound form) ← つく <i>tu.ku</i> (name of the combination of three sticks with the back side up [or facing down] and one stick with the front side up [or facing up] in the board game)	SAP
3	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>		SAP
4	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>		SAP
5	向	‘to face (to a direction)’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K キョウ <i>kyō</i>		SAP
6	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ YO ₁ ‘night’	SAL

Table 4.22 below lists all the occurrences of the word つき₂ *tu.ki₂* ‘moon, month’ and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 7 different written forms for a total of 300 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). 都紀 (**PAP** 都 つ *tu*; **PAP** 紀 き₂ *ki₂*); (2). 都久 (**PAP** 久 く *ku*) (bound form つく - *tu.ku*-); (3). 都奇 (**PAP** 奇 き₂ *ki₂*); (4). 豆久 (**PAP** 豆 づ *du*) (voiced bound form -づく - *du.ku*-); (5). 追奇 (**PAP** 追 つ *tu*); (6). **SAL** 月 (‘moon, month’); (7). 三伏一向 (holistic mapping) (name of the combination of three sticks with the back side up [or facing down] and one stick with the front side up [or facing up] in the board game, based on semantic value ‘three facing down and one facing [up]’).

Table 4.22 Occurrences of the word つき₂ *tu.ki₂* ‘moon, month’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
都紀	815	1
都久 (bound form つく - <i>tu.ku</i> -)	3395, 3476, 3565, 4054, 4134, 4413, 4453, 4489	8
都奇	3586, 3688, 3708, 3756, 3978, 3983, 3988, 3996, 3997, 4008, 4012, 4029, 4030, 4060, 4066, 4072, 4073, 4076, 4137, 4464, 4492	21
豆久 (voiced bound form)	3658	1

-づく - <i>du.ku</i> -)		
追奇	3683	1
月	8, 15, 48, 79, 135, 161, 167 (2), 169, 196, 200, 207, 211, 214, 220, 240, 290, 302, 317, 320, 388, 393, 423 (2), 442, 443, 495, 510, 565, 571, 579, 588, 598, 623, 632, 638, 640, 653, 654, 667, 670, 671, 698, 702, 709, 710, 723, 735, 736, 765, 794, 800, 804, 892, 897, 931, 933, 980, 981, 982, 984, 985, 986, 987, 993 (2), 994, 1008, 1032, 1039, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1126, 1179, 1270, 1294, 1295, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1452, 1464, 1465, 1480, 1502, 1504, 1507 (2), 1508, 1552, 1560, 1569, 1590, 1596, 1614, 1620, 1661, 1691, 1701, 1712, 1714, 1719, 1761, 1763, 1793, 1794, 1807, 1875, 1876, 1884, 1887, 1889, 1939, 1943, 1953 (2), 1975, 1980, 1981, 1995, 2010, 2025, 2043, 2049, 2051, 2057, 2066, 2089, 2092, 2093, 2131, 2180, 2200, 2202, 2205, 2223 (2), 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229 (2), 2240, 2263, 2298, 2299, 2300 (2), 2306, 2325, 2332, 2333, 2349, 2353, 2420, 2450, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2512, 2536, 2577, 2583, 2596, 2618, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2679, 2792, 2811, 2820, 2821, 2881, 2892, 2895, 2955, 2956, 2980, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3131, 3148, 3169, 3172, 3199, 3207, 3208, 3213, 3214, 3223, 3231, 3234, 3245, 3246, 3250, 3276, 3324 (3), 3329 (3), 3344, 3599, 3611, 3622, 3623, 3650, 3651, 3663, 3671, 3672, 3679, 3685, 3691, 3698, 3716, 3803, 3885 (2), 3900, 3912, 3921, 3937, 3948, 3955, 3962, 3982, 4089, 4101 (2), 4111, 4116 (2), 4118, 4160, 4166 (2), 4169, 4177, 4181, 4189, 4192, 4196, 4206, 4244, 4254, 4259, 4299, 4311, 4312, 4331, 4486	267
三伏一向	1874	1
Total		300

4.3.6.4 諸伏

The combination of all four sticks with the back side up (or facing down) is called まにまに *ma.ni.ma=ni*, and the graphic notation is 諸伏 ('all facing down'). This word, meaning 'at (one's) discretion', is the adverbial form of the noun まにま *ma.ni.ma* 'discretion'. This combination is so named because it is the most ideal result in the game in that the player not only can advance farthest but also gains

other privileges, so the player can act “at his discretion” (Ide 1958).

MYS 4.743.5

Original Text	神之諸伏
Transcription	かみ ₂ の ₂ まにまに KA.MI ₂ =NO ₂ ma.ni.ma=ni
English translation	At the deity’s discretion

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	神	‘deity’	G ジン <i>jin</i> K シン <i>shin</i>	かみ ₂ KA.MI ₂ ‘deity’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL
3	諸	‘various’	シ ヨ <i>sho</i>	まにまに <i>ma.ni.ma=ni</i> ‘at (one’s) discretion’ ← まにまに <i>ma.ni.ma=ni</i>	SAP
4	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>	(name of the combination of all four sticks with the back side up [or facing down] in the board game)	SAP

Table 4.23 below lists all the occurrences of the word まにま *ma.ni.ma* ‘discretion’ and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 13 different written forms for a total of 47 occurrences of this linguistic form: (1). 麻尔麻 (**PAP** 麻 ま *ma*; **PAP** 尔 に *ni*); (2). 麻尔末 (**PAP** 末 ま *ma*); (3). 末尔麻; (4). 末尔末; (5). 末仁麻 (**PAP** 仁 に *ni*); (6). 萬萬 (**PAP** 萬 まに *ma.ni*) (adverbial form まにまに *ma.ni.ma=ni*); (7). 眞尔眞 (**SAP** 眞 ま *ma* [← ま- *MA*- ‘real, complete’ (prefix)]); (8). **SAL** 進 (‘to go forward’); (9). **SAL** 随 (‘to follow’); (10). 随意 (holistic mapping) (‘to follow [one’s] will’); (11). **SAL** 任 (‘to entrust’); (12). 任意 (holistic mapping) (‘to entrust [one’s] will’); (13). 諸伏 (holistic mapping) (name of the result of all four sticks with the back side up [or facing down] in the board game, based on semantic value ‘all facing down’).

Table 4.23 Occurrences of the word まにま *ma.ni.ma* ‘discretion’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
麻尔麻	800 (2), 3962, 3969, 3993, 4094, 4098, 4220, 4331, 4408	10
麻尔末	3377, 3576, 3644, 3957, 4331	5
末尔麻	904	1
末尔末	4113, 4116, 4117	3
末仁麻	4505	1
萬萬 (adverbial form まにまに <i>ma.ni.ma=ni</i>)	543, 3291	2
眞尔眞	1047	1
進	557, 1800	2
随	1032, 1309, 1590, 2351, 2563, 3344, 3796	7
随意	98, 369, 412, 543, 790, 1785, 1912, 2537, 2691, 2830, 3285, 3802	12
任	1804	1
任意	2740	1
諸伏	743	1
Total		47

4.4 Miscellaneous Cases

This category is a collection of cases of “playful writing” which cannot be classified into any of the three categories above.

4.4.1 孤悲

Arguably the most representative case of phonographic notation with logographic connotation in MYS, this character sequence is a combination of **PAP** 孤 こ₁ *ko₁* and **PAP** 悲 ひ₂ *pi₂*, and it represents the word こ₁ ひ₂(-) *ko₁.pi₂(-)* ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive) or ‘love, yearning’ (nominal). The logographic connotation of the two characters (孤 ‘to be lonely’; 悲 ‘to be sad’) implies the emotional undertone of being in love or longing for someone. In two adjacent lines from poem 2.102 below, this character sequence occurs together with **SAL** 戀 representing the same word and **SAL** 念 おも₂ ふ- *O.MO₂P-U-* ‘to think’ (adnominal), and the use of these semantically related written forms within a short range adds to the

emotional effect of the poem.

MYS 2.102.4-5

Original Text	誰戀尔有目 吾孤悲念乎
Transcription	たがこ ₁ ひ ₂ にあらめ ₂ あはこ ₁ ひ ₂ おも ₂ ふを TA=GA KO ₁ .PI ₂ -ni-AR-A-m-e ₂ - A=pa ko ₁ .pi ₂ -O.MO ₂ P-U=wo
English translation	Whose love is [that]? [I] am thinking [of you] and yearning [for you]!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
4.1	誰	‘who’	G ズイ <i>zui</i> K スイ <i>sui</i>	た=が ₁ <i>TA=GA</i> ‘whose’ (← た <i>ta</i> ‘who’ + =が ₁ <i>-ga</i> [genitive particle])		SAL
4.2	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ <i>KO₁.PI₂</i> ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)		SAL
4.3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に - <i>-ni-</i> (copula) (infinitive)		PAP
4.4	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あら - <i>AR-A-</i> ‘to have’ (irrealis)		SAL
4.5	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	-め ₂ - <i>-m-e₂-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (realis) ← め ₂ <i>ME₂</i> ‘eye’		SAP
5.1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	あ <i>A</i> ‘I’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=は <i>-pa₂</i> (topic particle)			
5.2	孤	‘to be lonely’	コ <i>ko</i>	こ ₁ <i>ko₁</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>ko₁.pi₂-</i> ‘to love, yearn’ (nominal)	PAP
5.3	悲	‘to be sad’	ヒ <i>hi</i>	ひ ₂ <i>pi₂</i>		PAP
5.4	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ふ - <i>O.MO₂P-U-</i> ‘to think’ (adnominal)		SAL
5.5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>-wo</i> (interjectional particle)		PAP

MYS 4.560.1

Original Text	孤悲死牟
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ しなむ ko ₁ .pi ₂ -SIN-A-m-u-
English translation	Loving and dying (i.e., dying of love)

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	孤	‘to be lonely’	コ <i>ko</i>	こ ₁ <i>ko</i> ₁	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>ko</i> ₁ . <i>pi</i> ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	PAP
2	悲	‘to be sad’	ヒ <i>hi</i>	ひ ₂ <i>pi</i> ₂		PAP
3	死	‘to die’	シ <i>shi</i>	しな- <i>SIN-A-</i> ‘to die’ (irrealis)		SAL

4	牟	‘sound of cow’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	-む - <i>m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP

Table 4.24 below lists all the occurrences of the various forms of the lexeme meaning ‘to love, yearn’ and their corresponding written form in MYS²¹. There are 22 different written forms for a total of 816 or 821 occurrences of this lexeme: (1). 孤悲 (**PAP** 孤 こ₁ *ko₁*; **PAP** 悲 ひ₂ *pi₂*); (2). 孤布 (**PAP** 布 ふ *pu*) (stem こ₁ ふ- *ko₁.pu-*); (3). 古飛 (**PAP** 古 こ₁ *ko₁*; **PAP** 飛 ひ₂ *pi₂*); (4). 古保 (**PAP** 保 ほ₁ *po₁*) (archaic stem こ₁ ほ₁- *ko₁.po₁-*); (5). 古布 (stem こ₁ ふ- *ko₁.pu-*); (6). 古非 (**PAP** 非 ひ₂ *pi₂*); (7). 古敷 (**PAP** 敷 ふ *pu*) (stem こ₁ ふ- *ko₁.pu-*); (8). 古比 (**PAP** 比 ひ₂ *pi₂*) (Eastern Old Japanese [EOJ] stem こ₁ ひ₁[-] *ko₁.pi₁[-]*); (9). 故飛 (**PAP** 故 こ₁ *ko₁*); (10). 故保 (archaic stem こ₁ ほ₁- *ko₁.po₁-*); (11). 故布 (こ₁ ふ- *ko₁.pu-*); (12). 故非; (13). 故悲; (14). 故非 (**PAP** 故 ご₁ *go₁*) (voiced bound form -ご₁ ひ₂- *-go₁.pi₂-*); (15). 故敷 (stem こ₁ ふ- *ko₁.pu-*); (16). 胡非 (**PAP** 胡 ご₁ *go₁*) (voiced bound form -ご₁ ひ₂- *-go₁.pi₂-*); (17). 胡悲 (voiced bound form -ご₁ ひ₂- *-go₁.pi₂-*); (18). 吳非 (**PAP** 吳 ご₁ *go₁*) (voiced bound form -ご₁ ひ₂- *-go₁.pi₂-*); (19). 吳悲 (voiced bound form -ご₁ ひ₂- *-go₁.pi₂-*); (20). 苦不 (**PAP** 苦 く *ku*; **PAP** 不 ふ *pu*) (EOJ stem く ふ- *ku.pu-*); (21). **SAL** 戀 (‘to miss, yearn’); (22). **SAL** 眷 (‘to miss’). The written form 孤悲 accounts for 30 occurrences (about 3.6%), while **SAL** 戀 is the dominant written form with 675 or 680 occurrences (about 82.8%). These two written forms occur in the same poem three times (poems 1.67, 2.102, and 17.3978).

²¹The forms of this lexeme occur in three word classes: verb, noun, and adjective. The verb belongs to the upper bigrade (*kami nidan* 上二段) conjugation class, and its inflected forms are as follows: irrealis こ₁ ひ₂- *ko₁.pi₂-*, infinitive こ₁ ひ₂ *ko₁.pi₂*, conclusive こ₁ ふ *ko₁.pu*, adnominal こ₁ ふ- *ko₁.pu-ru-*, realis こ₁ ふれ *ko₁.pu-re-*, imperative こ₁ ひ₂ よ *ko₁.pi₂-yo*. The noun and the adjective stem are both こ₁ ひ₂ *ko₁.pi₂(-)* as they are essentially the infinitive form of the verb. There are also three other less common forms attested: the archaic adjective stem こ₁ ほ₁- *ko₁.po₁-* and the Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ) forms こ₁ ひ₁ *ko₁.pi₁(-)* (verb stem, adjective stem, and nominal) and く ふ- *ku.pu-* (adjective stem). As a result, a phonographic notation of this lexeme needs to account for one of five possible syllabic sequences in the stem: こ₁ ひ₂ *ko₁.pi₂*, こ₁ ふ *ko₁.pu*, こ₁ ほ₁ *ko₁.po₁*, こ₁ ひ₁ *ko₁.pi₁*, or く ふ *ku.pu*. Because こ₁ ひ₂ *ko₁.pi₂(-)* is the most frequently occurring stem of this lexeme, all the other forms are marked with their corresponding phonographic notation.

Table 4.24 Occurrences of the lexeme meaning ‘to love, yearn’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
孤悲	67, 102, 325, 560, 1778, 1921, 3505, 3608, 3652, 3690, 3891, 3929, 3931, 3935, 3936, 3957, 3969, 3977, 3978, 3980, 3987, 3995, 4006, 4008, 4011 (2), 4015, 4019, 4033, 4083	30
孤布 (stem こ ₁ ふ- ko ₁ .pu-)	3962	1
古飛	819, 864	2
古保 (archaic stem こ ₁ ほ ₁ - ko ₁ .po ₁ -)	834	1
古布 (stem こ ₁ ふ- ko ₁ .pu-)	3358, 3560, 3653, 3744, 3783, 4209, 4408, 4419	8
古非	3376, 3403, 3415, 3422, 3433, 3455, 3475, 3477, 3491, 3508, 3566, 3568, 3578, 3634, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3683, 3718, 3726, 3739, 3742, 3747, 3748, 3752, 3767, 3768, 3780 (2), 3781, 3928, 3939, 3970, 3973, 3975, 4051, 4069, 4082, 4083, 4118, 4119, 4127, 4220, 4221, 4322, 4347, 4408, 4412, 4445, 4461	50
古敷 (stem こ ₁ ふ- ko ₁ .pu-)	4011	1
古比 (EOJ stem こ ₁ ひ ₁ [-] ko ₁ .pi ₁ [-])	4366, 4371, 4386, 4391, 4407	5
故飛	858, 862	2
故保 (archaic stem こ ₁ ほ ₁ - ko ₁ .po ₁ -)	875	1
故布 (stem こ ₁ ふ- ko ₁ .pu-)	3382, 3476 (2), 3688, 3708, 3750, 3972, 3999, 4080	9
故非	3603, 3605, 3631, 3633, 3660, 3674, 3711, 3714, 3721, 3737, 3738, 3749, 4121, 4441, 4443, 4475, 4476	17
故悲	3620	1
故非 (voiced bound form -こ ₁ ひ ₂ - -go ₁ .pi ₂ -)	4010	1
故敷 (stem こ ₁ ふ- ko ₁ .pu-)	4078, 4116	2
胡非 (voiced bound form -こ ₁ ひ ₂ - -go ₁ .pi ₂ -)	871, 3993	2
胡悲 (voiced bound form -こ ₁ ひ ₂ - -go ₁ .pi ₂ -)	3641	1
吳非 (voiced bound form -こ ₁ ひ ₂ - -go ₁ .pi ₂ -)	3962	1

呉悲 (voiced bound form -ご ₁ ひ ₂ -go ₁ pi ₂)	3973	1
苦不 (EOJ stem くふ- ku.pu-)	4345	1
戀	21, 35, 63, 67, 71, 84, 86, 88, 102, 111, 112, 115, 117 (2), 118, 120, 129, 130, 140, 150 (2), 152, 170, 196, 200, 207 (2), 210 (2), 213, 217, 220, 236, 253, 255, 270, 310, 311, 326, 365, 370, 372, 373, 382, 389, 393, 408, 436, 456, 481, 485, 487, 488, 489, 493, 494, 497, 507, 508, 509 (2), 523, 526, 544, 550, 551, 553, 559, 563, 573, 582 (2), 585, 586 (2), 588, 593, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 621, 622, 624, 639, 640, 642 (2), 651, 654, 656 (2), 658, 661, 666, 667, 672, 675, 677, 678, 679, 681, 682, 685, 693, 694 (2), 695 (2), 696, 698, 705, 706, 707, 716, 720, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 738, 743, 745, 748, 749, 753 (2), 756, 760, 764, 771, 774, 783, 916, 935, 948, 961, 963, 964 (2), 984, 993, 997, 1030, 1131 (2), 1147, 1149, 1174, 1179, 1181, 1192, 1197, 1208 (2), 1210, 1213, 1217, 1221, 1306, 1322, 1323, 1328, 1331, 1350, 1364, 1365, 1378, 1394, 1419, 1425, 1430, 1446, 1449, 1450, 1455, 1461, 1462, 1471, 1473, 1475 (2), 1495, 1498, 1500, 1518, 1520, 1523, 1526, 1570, 1600, 1602, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1623, 1629 (2), 1655, 1681, 1686, 1689, 1692, 1705, 1722, 1728, 1768, 1769, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1780, 1785, 1787 (2), 1788, 1792 (2), 1803, 1805, 1823, 1842, 1855, 1891, 1894, 1895, 1898, 1901, 1903, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1914, 1915, 1920, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1928, 1932, 1933, 1937 (2), 1938, 1946, 1962, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2009, 2011, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2023, 2024, 2030, 2032, 2037 (2), 2038, 2039, 2048, 2049, 2079, 2089 (2), 2119, 2120, 2122, 2124, 2129, (2132), 2143, 2145 (2), 2150, 2171, 2209, 2228, 2230, 2234, 2236, 2245, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2258, 2262, 2265, 2269, 2274, 2275, 2278, 2279, 2282, 2283, 2285, 2291, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2303, 2306, 2310, 2311, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2339, 2340, 2346, 2347, 2366, 2367, 2370 (2), 2371, 2372, 2373 (2), 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2381, 2383, 2385 (2), 2386, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2397, 2400, 2401 (2), 2402, 2406, 2409, 2411, 2412, 2414, 2417, 2422, 2426, 2434, 2437, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2449, 2461, 2465, 2469, 2470, 2474, 2475, 2480, 2482, 2486, 2491, 2494, 2499, 2504, 2505, 2511, 2530, 2534, 2543, 2544, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2553, 2560, 2566, 2567 (2), (2569), 2570, 2572, 2574, 2577, 2580, 2584, 2592, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598 (2), 2599, 2603, 2605, 2606, 2608, 2610, 2612, (2614), 2620, 2622, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2649, 2654, 2670, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2682, 2693, 2694, 2698, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2707, (2708), 2709, 2714, 2715, 2718, 2719, 2721, 2723, 2725, 2732, 2733, 2734,	(680) or 675

occurs is いで- *i.de*- ‘to come out’ (irrealis), which is the native Japanese word normally associated with the character 出.

MYS 9.1787.15

Original Text	色二山上復有山者
Transcription	いろ ₂ にいでば I.RO ₂ =ni i.de=ba
English translation	If [my love] comes out in facial expression

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	色	‘color’	G シキ <i>shiki</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i>	いろ ₂ I.RO ₂ ‘color; facial expression’	SAL
2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)	PAP
3	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	いで- <i>i.de</i> - ‘to come out’ (irrealis) ← character 出 (‘to come out’) ← answer to the riddle ‘There is another mountain on the mountain.’	SAP
4	上	‘above’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>		SAP
5	復	‘again’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>		SAP
6	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
7	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>		SAP
8	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば = <i>ba</i> (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

Table 4.25 below lists all the occurrences of the word いづ *i.du* ‘to come out’ in all the inflected forms and their corresponding written form in MYS²⁴. There are 20 different written forms for a total of 212 or 214 occurrences of this word: (1). 伊豆 (PAP 伊 い *i*; PAP 豆 で *de*); (2). 伊而 (SAP 而 で *de* ← て *te* [← =て =*TE* (conjunctive particle)]); (3). 伊豆流 (PAP 豆 づ *du*; PAP 流 る *ru*) (adnominal い

²⁴This word belongs to the lower bigrade (*shimo nidan* 下二段) conjugation class, and its inflected forms are as follows: irrealis いで- *i.de*-, infinitive いで- *i.de*-, conclusive いづ *i.du*, adnominal いづる- *i.du-ru*-, realis いづれ- *i.du-re*-, imperative いでよ₂ *i.de-yo₂*. The form いで- *i.de*- is unmarked because it is the most frequently occurring inflected form of this word, and all the other inflected forms are marked in their corresponding phonographic notation.

づる-*i.du-ru-*); (4). 伊低(佢) (**PAP** 低[佢] で *de*); (5). 伊泥 (**PAP** 泥 で *de*); (6). 伊天 (**PAP** 天 で *de*); (7). 伊氏 (**PAP** 氏 で *de*); (8). 伊田 (**PAP** 田 で *de*); (9). 伊壱 (**PAP** 壱 で *de*); (10). 許知𠬞 (**PAP** 許 こ₂ *ko₂*; **PAP** 知 ち *ti*) (こ₂ ちで-*ko₂.ti.de*- [contraction of こ₂ と ちいで-*ko₂.to₂-i.de*- (← こ₂ と ち *ko₂.to₂* ‘thing; word’ + いで-*i.de*-) ‘to say out’ (infinitive)]); (11). 移𠬞 (**PAP** 移 い *i*); (12). **SAP** 乞 (← いで *i.de* [interjection for request] ← ‘to request’); (13). **SAL** 出 (‘to come out’); (14). 出流 (adnominal いづる-*i.du-ru-*); (15). 出與 (**PAP** 與 よ₂ *yo₂*) (imperative いでよ₂ *i.de-yo₂*); (16). 行幸 (holistic mapping) (honorific いでまし *i.de-ma.si* ‘trip’ [nominal], based on semantic value ‘[referring to emperor] to go’); (17). **SAL** 幸 (holistic mapping) (honorific いでまし-*i.de-ma.si*- ‘trip’ [infinitive], based on semantic value ‘[referring to emperor] to go’); (18). 御駕 (holistic mapping) (honorific いでまし *i.de-ma.si* ‘trip’ [nominal], based on semantic value ‘[referring to emperor] to go’); (19). 幸行 (holistic mapping) (honorific いでまし *i.de-ma.si* ‘trip’ [nominal], based on semantic value ‘[referring to emperor] to go’); (20). 山上復有山 (holistic mapping) (**SAL** 出, based on semantic value ‘there is another mountain on a mountain’ as a riddle). The dominant written form is **SAL** 出, accounting for 164 or 166 occurrences (about 77.4%).

Table 4.25 Occurrences of the word いづ *i.du* ‘to come out’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
伊𠬞	904, 3488, 3519, 3534, 3605, 3651, 4326, 4358	8
伊而	1452	1
伊豆流 (adnominal いづる- <i>i.du-ru-</i>)	3368	1
伊低(佢)	3474, 3575, 3691, 3704	4
伊泥	3935, 3957, 3969, 3972, 3993, 3995, 4006, 4008, 4032, 4034, 4101, 4253, 4319, 4360	14
伊天	4116	1
伊氏	4209	1
伊田	4330, 4331, 4332	1
伊壱	4373, 4398, 4430	1

許知豆 (こ ₂ ちで- <i>ko₂.ti.de-</i> [contraction of こ ₂ と ₂ いで - <i>ko₂.to₂-i.de-</i> ‘to say out’ (infinitive)])	3371	1
移豆	4113	1
乞	8	1
出	207, 213, 256, 290, 301, 318, 319, 326, 366, 395, 420, 461, 468, 473, 481 (2), 539, 543, 585, 683, 736, 754, 755, 764, 765, 776, 890, 904, 948, 980, 981, 1008, 1020, 1021, 1026, 1049, 1071, 1078, 1080, 1085, 1110, 1164, 1191, 1194, 1245, 1264, 1266, 1295, 1274, 1332, 1418, 1479, 1507, 1568, 1570, 1595, 1596, 1601, 1619, 1629, 1674, 1726, 1739, 1740 (3), 1763, 1768, 1780, 1792, 1887, 1893, 1915, 1937, 1957, 1993, 2059, 2083, 2087, 2089 (2), 2113, 2266, 2274, 2275, 2278, 2285, 2307, 2318, 2323, 2332, 2341, 2343, 2357, 2414, 2432, 2461, 2462, 2484, 2519, 2521, 2523, 2551, 2566, 2604, 2653, 2681, 2716, 2725, 2746, 2767, 2778, 2784, 2804, 2820, 2828, 2885, 2940, (2947), 2948, 2976, 2995, 3005, 3006, 3017, 3023, 3030, 3035, 3036, 3121, 3133, 3139, 3198, 3201, 3209, 3218, 3230, 3238, 3240, 3274, 3276 (2), 3302, 3312, 3318, 3329, 3331, 3335, 3339 (2), 3346, (3609), 3800, 3803, 3808, 3859, 3861, 3875, 3957 (2), 3985, 4139, 4177, 4211, 4251, 4408	(166) or 164
出流 (adnominal いづる- <i>i.du-ru-</i>)	283, 3002, 3875, 3878	4
出與 (imperative いでよ ₂ <i>i.de-yo₂</i>)	669	1
行幸 (honorific いでまし <i>i.de-ma.si</i> [nominal])	5, 315, 322	3
幸 (honorific いでまし- <i>i.de-ma.si-</i> [infinitive])	191, 196	2
御駕 (honorific いでまし <i>i.de-ma.si</i> [nominal])	230	1
幸行 (honorific いでまし <i>i.de-ma.si</i> [nominal])	295	1
山上復有山	1787	1
Total		(214) or 212

The word いづ *i.du* ‘to come out’ (conclusive) also has a variant form づ *du* by the loss of the initial vowel. Table 4.26 below lists all the occurrences of the word づ *du* ‘to come out’ in all the inflected forms

and their corresponding written form in MYS²⁵. There are 9 different written forms for a total of 83 occurrences of this word: (1). **PAP** 提 で *de*; (2). **PAP** 低(俚) で *de*; (3). **PAP** 豆 づ *du* (conclusive づ *du*); (4). **PAP** 𪛗 で *de*; (5). **PAP** 泥 で *de*; (6). 豆流 (**PAP** 流 る *ru*) (adnominal づる - *du-ru-*); (7). **PAP** 渥 で *de*; (8). **SAL** 出; (9). 出與 (**PAP** 與 よ ₂ *yo*₂) (imperative でよ ₂ *de-yo*₂). The dominant written form is also **SAL** 出, accounting for 52 occurrences (about 62.6%). Combining the data of these two allomorphs together, the lexeme meaning ‘to come out’ has a total of 295 or 297 occurrences, and the dominant written form **SAL** 出 accounts for 216 or 218 occurrences (about 73.3%).

Table 4.26 Occurrences of the word づ *du* ‘to come out’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
提	800	1
低(俚)	3374, 3560, 3569, 3705, 3893	5
豆 (conclusive づ <i>du</i>)	3376, 3466	2
𪛗	3401, 3443, 3497, 3503, 3506, 3534, 3595, 3611, 3627, 4335, 4393	11
泥	3956, 4108, 4111, 4323	4
豆流 (adnominal づる - <i>du-ru-</i>)	4336	1
渥	4380, 4383, 4398, 4408 (2), 4409	6
出	39, 175, 210, 246, 257, 260, 388, 790, 930, 933, 971, 1003, 1076, 1152, 1172, 1181, 1185, 1227, 1232, 1386, 1527, 1529, 1670, 1765, 1781, 1925, 2022, 2042, 2055, 2061, 2087, 2275, 2276, 2283, 2311, 2335, 2357, 2568, 2692, 2950, 3171, 3203, 3211, 3265, 3331, 3593, 3599, 3870, 3944, 3969 (2), 4398	52
出與 (imperative でよ ₂ <i>de-yo</i> ₂)	1992	1
Total		83

4.4.3 射矢

²⁵By analogy with いづ *i.du*, the inflected forms of づ *du* are as follows: irrealis で - *de-*, infinitive で - *de-*, conclusive づ *du*, adnominal づる - *du-ru-*, realis づれ - *du-re-*, imperative でよ ₂ *de-yo*₂. The form で - *de-* is unmarked because it is the most frequently occurring inflected form of this word, and all the other inflected forms are marked in their corresponding phonographic notation.

This character sequence is a combination of **SAP** 射 い *i* (← い- *I-* ‘to shoot’ [stem]) and **SAP** 矢 や *ya* (← や *YA* ‘arrow’), and it represents the word いや *i.ya* ‘increasingly’. In the poem below where this written form occurs, its semantic value (‘to shoot an arrow’) is related to the last character 放 (‘to release’) in the same line.

MYS 10.2128.4

Original Text	射矢遠放
Transcription	いやと ₂ ほざかる i.ya TO ₂ .PO-ZA.KAR-U
English translation	[The wild geese] are going increasingly away.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	射	‘to shoot’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	い <i>i</i> ← い- <i>I-</i> ‘to shoot’ (stem)	いや <i>i.ya</i> ‘increasingly’	SAP
2	矢	‘arrow’	シ <i>shi</i>	や <i>ya</i> ← や <i>YA</i> ‘arrow’		SAP
3	遠	‘to be far’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	と ₂ ほ- <i>TO₂.PO-</i> ‘to be far’ (stem)	と ₂ ほざかる <i>TO₂.PO-ZA.KAR-U</i>	SAL
4	放	‘to release’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	さかる <i>SA.KAR-U</i> ‘to leave’ (conclusive)	‘to go away’ (conclusive)	SAL

Table 4.27 below lists all the occurrences of the word いや *i.ya* ‘increasingly’ and their corresponding written form in MYS. There are 7 different written forms for a total of 101 or 102 occurrences of this word:

(1). 伊夜 (**PAP** 伊 い *i*; **PAP** 夜 や *ya*); (2). 伊野 (**PAP** 野 や *ya*); (3). 伊也 (**PAP** 也 や *ya*); (4). 移夜 (**PAP** 移 い *i*); (5). 射矢 (**SAP** 射 い *i* [← い- *I-* ‘to shoot’ (stem)]; **SAP** 矢 や *ya* [← や *YA* ‘arrow’]); (6). **SAL** 弥 (‘to fill’); (7). **SAL** 益 (‘to increase’).

Table 4.27 Occurrences of the word いや *i.ya* ‘increasingly’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
伊夜	828, 3243 (2), 3356, 3389, 3412, 3486, 3557, 3883, 3884, 3978, 3985, 3986, 3991, 3992, 4000, 4063, 4084, 4091, 4093, 4094,	37

	4098 (2), 4111 (2), 4116, 4135, 4166, 4176, 4213, 4298, 4303, 4398, 4443, 4450, 4485, 4516	
伊野	846	1
伊也	4045, 4177, 4211, 4398, 4411, 4446, 4504	7
移夜	4112	1
射矢	2128	1
弥	29, 36, 131, 138, 196, 211, 324, 423, 443, 475, 478 (2), 595, 610, 617, 786, 907, 923, 1133, 1462, 1881, (2132), 2459, 2702, 2872, 2882, 2971, 3050, 3159, 3240 (2), 3288, 3787, 4167, 4187, 4229, 4234, 4254, 4258, 4266, 4465	(41) or 40
益	131, 138, 196, 214, 239, 261, 931, 1009, 1251, 1886, 2426, 2459, 2623, 3135	14
Total		(102) or 101

4.4.4 酢辛

This character sequence is a combination of **SAP** 酢 す *su* (← す *SU* ‘vinegar’) and **SAP** 辛 がら *ga.ra* (← から - *KA.RA*- ‘to be spicy’ [stem]), and it represents the word すがら *su.ga-ra* ‘thoroughness’. With **PAP** 二 に *ni* denoting the adverbial suffix, the character sequence 酢辛二 represents the word すがらに *su.ga-ra=ni* ‘thoroughly’. In the poem below where this written form occurs, the choice of these two characters, each of which refers to an unfavorable flavor, adds to the sentimentality of sorrow.

MYS 13.3297.8

Original Text	夜者酢辛二
Transcription	よ ₁ るはすがらに YO ₁ .RU=PA su.ga-ra=ni
English translation	Thoroughly at night

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ る	YO ₁ .RU ‘night’	SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は	=PA (topic particle)	SAL
3	酢	‘vinegar’	G ザク <i>zaku</i> K サク <i>saku</i>	す <i>su</i> ← す <i>SU</i> ‘vinegar’	すがらに <i>su.ga-ra=ni</i> ‘thoroughly’	SAP
4	辛	‘to be spicy’	シン <i>shin</i>	がら <i>ga.ra</i> ← から - <i>KA.RA</i> - ‘to be spicy’ (stem)		SAP

5	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP

In addition to this poem, there are 5 other occurrences of the word すがら *su.ga-ra* ‘thoroughness’ in MYS with 3 different written forms: (1). 須我良 (**PAP** 須 す *su*; **PAP** 我 が *ga*; **PAP** 良 ら *ra*) (poems 4.619, 15.3732, and 9.4166); (2). 須我浪 (**PAP** 浪 ら *ra*) (poem 17.3969); (3). 須柄 (**SAP** 柄 がら *ga.ra* [← がら *GA.RA* ‘pattern on fabrics’]) (poem 13.3270).

4.4.5 遊群

This character sequence is a combination of **PAP** 遊 ゆ *yu* and **PAP** 群 く *ku*, and it represents the word ゆく *yuk-u* ‘to go’ (conclusive). In the poem below where this written form occurs, its logographic connotation (遊 ‘to travel’; 群 ‘group’) conforms with the context which describes the sound of wild geese in motion, presumably implying that the author is also travelling or away from home.

MYS 10.2130.5

Original Text	國方可聞遊群
Transcription	くにへ ₁ かもゆく KU.NI=pe ₁ =ka.mo yuk-u
English translation	Will [I] go [back] to [my] country?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	國	‘country’	コク <i>koku</i>	くに <i>KU.NI</i>	‘country’	SAL
2	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	=へ ₁ <i>=pe₁</i> (allative particle) ← へ ₁ <i>PE₁</i> ‘vicinity’		SAP
3	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	=かも <i>=ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle)	PAP
4	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	も <i>mo</i>		PAP
5	遊	‘to travel’	G ユ <i>yu</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	ゆ <i>yu</i>	ゆく <i>yuk-u</i> ‘to go’ (conclusive)	PAP
6	群	‘group’	G グン <i>gun</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP

			K クン <i>kun</i>			

Table 4.28 below lists all the occurrences of the word ヲク *yuk-u* ‘to go’ in all the inflected forms and their corresponding written form in MYS²⁶. There are 34 different written forms for a total of 627 or 630 occurrences of this word: (1). 遊久 (**PAP** 遊 ヲ *yu*; **PAP** 久 ク *ku*) (conclusive or adnominal ヲク [-] *yuk-u*[-]); (2). 遊群 (**PAP** 群 ク *ku*) (conclusive ヲク *yuk-u*); (3). 遊賀 (**PAP** 賀 カ *ka*) (irrealis ヲカ- *yuk-a*); (4). 遊吉 (**PAP** 吉 キ₁ *ki*) (infinitive ヲキ₁- *yuk-i*); (5). 遊氣 (**PAP** 氣 ケ₂ *ke*) (realis ヲケ₂- *yuk-e*); (6). 遊岐 (**PAP** 岐 キ₁ *ki*) (infinitive ヲキ₁- *yuk-i*); (7). 由久 (**PAP** 由 ヲ *yu*) (conclusive or adnominal ヲク [-] *yuk-u*[-]); (8). 由伎 (**PAP** 伎 キ₁ *ki*) (infinitive or nominal ヲキ₁[-] *yuk-i*[-]); (9). 由迦 (**PAP** 迦 カ *ka*) (irrealis ヲカ- *yuk-a*); (10). 由既 (**PAP** 既 ケ₂ *ke*) (realis ヲケ₂- *yuk-e*); (11). 由吉 (infinitive ヲキ₁- *yuk-i*); (12). 由加 (**PAP** 加 カ *ka*) (irrealis ヲカ- *yuk-a*); (13). 由君 (**PAP** 君 ク *ku*) (conclusive ヲク *yuk-u*); (14). 由可 (**PAP** 可 カ *ka*) (irrealis ヲカ- *yuk-a*); (15). 由家 (**PAP** 家 ケ₁ *ke*) (EOJ realis ヲケ₁- *yuk-e*); (16). 由賀 (irrealis ヲカ- *yuk-a*); (17). 由可久 (nominalized form ヲカク *yuk-a.ku* [← ヲク - *yuk-u* (adnominal) + -あく - *a.ku* (nominalizing suffix)]); (18). 由胡 (**PAP** 胡 コ₁ *ko*) (EOJ adnominal ヲコ₁- *yuk-o*); (19). 由氣 (realis ヲケ₂- *yuk-e*); (20). 由支 (**PAP** 支 キ₁ *ki*) (infinitive ヲキ₁- *yuk-i*); (21). 由苦 (**PAP** 苦 ク *ku*) (conclusive or adnominal ヲク [-] *yuk-u*[-]); (22). 由古 (**PAP** 古 コ₁ *ko*) (EOJ adnominal ヲコ₁- *yuk-o*); (23). 由香 (**SAP** 香 カ *ka* [← カ *KA* ‘fragrance’]) (irrealis ヲカ- *yuk-a*); (24). 湯龜 (**SAP** 湯 ヲ *yu* [← ヲ *YU* ‘hot water’]; **SAP** 龜 カメ₂ *ka.me*₂ [← カメ₂ *KA.ME*₂ ‘turtle’]) (ヲカメ₂- *yuk-a-me*₂ [← ヲカ- *yuk-a* (irrealis) + -め₂ - *me*₂ (optative auxiliary verb) (realis)]); (25). **SAL** 行 (‘to go’); (26). **SAL** 逝 (‘to disappear’); (27). **SAL** 去 (‘to leave’); (28). **SAL** 往 (‘to go’); (29). 往久 (adnominal ヲク - *yuk-u*);

²⁶This word belongs to the quadrigrade conjugation class, and the inflected forms are as follows: irrealis ヲカ- *yuk-a*, infinitive ヲキ₁- *yuk-i*, conclusive ヲク *yuk-u*, adnominal ヲク - *yuk-u*, realis ヲケ₂- *yuk-e*, imperative ヲケ₂ *yuk-e*. All the phonographic notations are marked with the exact form(s) represented.

(30). **SAL** 歸 ('to return'); (31). **SAL** 幸 ('[referring to emperor] to go'); (32). 行幸 (holistic mapping) ('[referring to emperor] to go') (honorific み₁ゆき₁ *mi₁-yuk-i₁* [nominal]); (33). **SAL** 至 ('to arrive'); (34). **SAL** 通 ('to pass'). The phonographic notations account for 171 or 173 occurrences (about 27.4%), and the logographic notations (one of which is **SAL** 往 followed by **PAP** 久 く *ku* serving as the phonetic determinative) account for 456 or 457 occurrences (about 72.6%).

Table 4.28 Occurrences of the word ゆく *yuk-u* 'to go' in *Man'yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
遊久 (conclusive or adnominal ゆく [-] <i>yuk-u</i> [-])	111, 130, 234, (3362)	(4) or 3
遊群 (conclusive ゆく <i>yuk-u</i>)	2130	1
遊賀 (irrealis ゆか- <i>yuk-a</i> -)	3710	1
遊吉 (infinitive ゆき ₁ - <i>yuk-i₁</i> -)	3423, 3951	2
遊氣 (realis ゆけ ₂ - <i>yuk-e₂</i> -)	3981	1
遊岐 (infinitive ゆき ₁ - <i>yuk-i₁</i> -)	3991	1
由久 (conclusive or adnominal ゆく [-] <i>yuk-u</i> [-])	130, 800 (2), 874, 875, 881, 1234, 3366, 3443, 3510, 3519, 3522, 3526, 3567, 3580, 3607, 3612 (2), 3625, 3627, 3631, 3636, 3637, 3706, 3724, 3897, 3927, 4002, 4003, 4006, 4008, 4011, 4042, 4090, 4263, 4325, 4327, 4331, 4338, 4372 (2), 4376, 4410, 4414, 4425, 4436 (2), 4483, 4514	49
由伎 (infinitive or nominal ゆき ₁ [-] <i>yuk-i₁</i> [-])	795, 867, 870, 886, 890, 3510, 3540, 3627, 3644, 3666, 3702, 3720, 3728, 3729, 3930, 3944, 3978 (2), 3985, 3991, 3993, 4011, 4020, 4038, 4103, 4125, 4262, 4294, 4331, 4339, 4341, 4344, 4376, 4404, 4421, 4433, 4490	37
由迦 (irrealis ゆか- <i>yuk-a</i> -)	800, 888	1
由既 (realis ゆけ ₂ - <i>yuk-e₂</i> -)	804 (2)	2
由吉 (infinitive ゆき ₁ - <i>yuk-i₁</i> -)	806, 3353, 3728, 3913, 3978 (2), 3991, 4040, 4116, 4154	10
由加 (irrealis	870, 3447, 3558, 3627, 3630, 3687, 3690, 3694, 3696, 3973, 4281,	16

ゆか- <i>yuk-a-</i>)	4320, 4325, 4352, 4406, 4412	
由君 (conclusive ゆく <i>yuk-u</i>)	1600	1
由可 (irrealis ゆか- <i>yuk-a-</i>)	3263, 3387, 3447, 3519, 3577, 3579, 3640, 3694, 3711, 3721, 3773, 3954, 3990, 3999, 4003, 4006, 4007, 4041, 4044, 4055, 4060, 4131, 4317, 4349, 4366, 4435	26
由家 (EOJ realis ゆけ ₁ - <i>yuk-e₁-</i>)	3476	1
由賀 (irrealis ゆか- <i>yuk-a-</i>)	(3476), 3614	(2) or 1
由可久 (nominalized form ゆかく <i>yuk-a.ku</i>)	3530	1
由胡 (EOJ adnominal ゆこ ₁ - <i>yuk-o₁-</i>)	3541	1
由氣 (realis ゆけ ₂ - <i>yuk-e₂-</i>)	3627 (3), 3713, 3729, 3895, 3993, 4000, 4156, 4378	10
由支 (infinitive ゆ き ₁ - <i>yuk-i₁-</i>)	4116	1
由苦 (conclusive or adnominal ゆく [-] <i>yuk-u[-]</i>)	4122, 4416	2
由古 (EOJ adnominal ゆこ ₁ - <i>yuk-o₁-</i>)	4385	1
由香 (irrealis ゆか- <i>yuk-a-</i>)	932	1
湯龜 (ゆかめ ₂ <i>yuk- a-me₂</i>)	2931	1
行	17, 20, 43, 55, 58, 64, 79 (2), 85 (2), 90, 106, 158, 167, 172, 180, 193, 207, 213, 220 (2), 263, 273, 293, 298, 327, 332, 335, 353, 354, 366, 405, 459, 466, 468, 485, 509, 511, 532, 549, 553, 566, 571, 628, 723, 728, 733, 736, 768, 778, 905, 970, 971, 974, 1036, 1041, 1049, 1122, 1144, 1174, 1175, 1210, 1211, 1226, 1240, 1242, 1250, 1280, 1307, 1412, 1442, 1443, 1497, 1532, 1570, 1578, 1629, 1728, 1738, 1740, 1749, 1752, 1792, 1801, 1807, 1886, 2091, 2101, 2103, 2117, 2218, 2243, 2257, 2320, 2336, 2361, 2370, 2382, 2386, 2389, 2393, 2401, 2414, 2430, 2459, 2493, 2551, 2643, 2708, 2711, 2792, 2827, 2860, 2906, 2926, 2946, (2947), 3102, 3129, 3136, 3161, 3178, 3213, 3216, 3302 (2), 3305, 3309, 3314 (2), 3315, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3321, 3326, 3333, 3335, 3338 (2), 3339 (2), 3344 (2), 3791, 3857, 3860, 3864, 3885, 4094 (2), 4206, 4243, 4293	(154) or 153

逝	20, 38, 92, 119, 699, 1151, 1370, 1379, 1557, 1792, 1923, 2704, 2709, 2713, 2718, 2817, 3014, 4116, 4160, 4214	20
去	69, 79, 106, 155, 161, 188, 195, 196, 199, 201, 207 (2), 209, 246, 252, 253, 264, 284, 291, 317, 319, 321, 365, 420, 450, 467, 486, 502, 509, 534, 536, 545, 546, 571, 625, 626, 710, 906, 918, 925, 935, 936, 953, 964, 969, 971 (2), 974, 984, 995, 1002, 1040, 1041, 1065, 1082, 1127, 1139, 1156, 1208, 1214, 1222, 1265, 1387, 1406, 1467, 1515, 1534, 1544, 1546, 1549, 1566, 1567, 1587, 1721, 1727, 1738, 1743, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1755, 1756, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1809 (2), 1817, 1864, 1884, 1894, 1900, 1923, 2129, 2147, 2150, 2152, 2155, 2162, 2205, 2209, 2579, 2605, 2636, 2644, 2646, 2685, 2687, 2723, 2760, 2790, 2843, 2879, 2948, 3022, 3056, 3069, 3132, 3154 (2), 3184, 3219 (2), 3240, 3301, 3305, 3309, 3312, 3316, 3335, 3344, 3786, 3863, 3868, 4154, 4177, 4178, 4200, 4203, 4242, 4251	131
往	90, 179, 196 (2), 212, 220, 232, 261, 281, 317, 322, 390, 443, 509, 510, 534, 543, 596, 625, 665, 686, 777, 898, 937, 942, 948 (3), 959, 1047 (3), 1052, 1054 (2), 1056, 1065, 1066, 1100, 1119, 1147, 1149, 1177, 1217, 1268, 1269, 1372, 1410, 1422, 1428, 1453, 1498, 1505, 1528, 1532, 1613, 1672, 1677, 1680, 1682, 1687 (2), 1738, 1751, 1759, 1784, 1790, 1797, 1800, 1804, 1810, 1827, 1865, 1878, 1881, 1916, 1920, 1998, 2014, 2016, 2044, 2051, 2062, 2075, 2137, 2140, 2192, 2214, 2434, 2507, 2510, 2526, 2536, 2541, 2556, 2594, 2698, 2702, 2739, 3006, 3037, 3072, 3090, 3132, 3190, 3210, 3227, 3236, 3240 (2), 3250 (2), 3253, 3276, 3278, 3289, 3320, 3324 (3), 3335 (2), 3339, 3345, 3789, 3791, 3857, 3886, 4125, 4156, 4166, 4238, 4251, 4264	134
往久 (adnominal ゆく - yuk-u-)	2032	1
歸	240, 263, 280, 391, 423, 571, 1780, 1807, 1809, 3291, 4226	11
幸	531	1
行幸 (honorific み ゆき <i>mi_l-yuk-i_l</i> [nominal])	543, 1032	2
至	1113	1
通	1121, 3242	2
Total		(630) or 627

There is also a less commonly used synonym いく *ik-u* ‘to go’ in OJ, and table 4.29 below lists all the

occurrences of this word in all the inflected forms and their corresponding written form in MYS²⁷. There are 7 different written forms for a total of 25 or 26 occurrences of this word: (1). 伊可 (PAP 伊 い *i*; PAP 可 か *ka*) (irrealis いか- *ik-a-*); (2). 伊加 (PAP 加 か *ka*) (irrealis いか- *ik-a-*); (3). 伊氣 (PAP 氣 け₂ *ke₂*) (realis いけ₂- *ik-e₂-*); (4). 伊久 (PAP 久 く *ku*) (adnominal いく- *ik-u-*); (5). SAL 往 (‘to go’); (6). SAL 行 (‘to go’); (7). SAL 去 (‘to leave’). The phonographic notations account for 7 occurrences (about 27%), and the logographic notations account for 18 or 19 occurrences (about 73%). The frequency of phonographic notation and logographic notation is almost the same for these two words.

Table 4.29 Occurrences of the word いく *ik-u* ‘to go’ in *Man’yōshū*

Written form	Occurrences	Total
伊可 (irrealis いか- <i>ik-a-</i>)	3496, 3567	2
伊加 (irrealis いか- <i>ik-a-</i>)	3722, 3990, 4006	3
伊氣 (realis いけ ₂ - <i>ik-e₂-</i>)	4332	1
伊久 (adnominal いく- <i>ik-u-</i>)	4374	1
往	207, 382, 1274, 3223	4
行	207, 493, 967, 1047, 2236, 2395 (2), 2590, 3263, 3312	10
去	(276), 543, 2320, 2343, 3119	(5) or 4
Total		(26) or 25

4.4.6 蚊蛾

In the poem below, the sequence of four characters SAP 蚊 か *ka* (← か *KA* ‘mosquito’), PAP 蛾 が_s *ga*, PAP 欲 よ₁ *yo₁*, and PAP 布 ふ *pu* represents the word かがよ₁ふ- *ka.ga.yo₁p-u-* ‘to gleam’ (adnominal). The use of the characters referring to flying insects which tend to be attracted by light in two

²⁷By analogy with ゆく *yuk-u*, this word belongs to the quadrigrade conjugation class, and the inflected forms are as follows: irrealis いか- *ik-a-*, infinitive いき₁- *ik-i₁-*, conclusive いく *ik-u*, adnominal いく- *ik-u-*, realis いけ₂- *ik-e₂-*, imperative いけ₂ *ik-e₂*. All the phonographic notations are marked with the exact form(s) represented.

adjacent lines (蚊 ‘mosquito’, 蛾 ‘moth’, 蟬 ‘cicada’) is relevant to the content depicting a girl seen in candle light. The character sequence 虚蟬 represents the word うつせみ₁ *u.tu.se.mi₁*, which is usually used as an epithet referring to the real world and is here associated with the word 妹 いも₂ *I.MO₂* ‘girl’ in the next line. Its logographic connotation (‘empty cicada’, possibly referring to the shed skin of cicada) may add a feeling of uncertainty or vanity to the context. There is one other occurrence of the word かがよ₁ ふ - *ka.ga.yo₁p-u-* ‘to gleam’ (adnominal) in MYS, which is written phonographically as 加我欲布 (PAP 加 *ka*; PAP 我 *ga*) (poem 6.951).

MYS 11.2642.2-3

Original Text	陰尔蚊蛾欲布 虚蟬之
Transcription	かげ ₂ にかがよ ₁ ふ うつせみ ₁ の ₂ KA.GE ₂ =ni ka.ga.yo ₁ p-u- u.tu.se.mi ₁ =NO ₂
English translation	[The smile] gleaming in the shade [of the girl] of the real world

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
2.1	陰	‘shade’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	かげ ₂ <i>KA.GE₂</i> ‘shade’		SAL
2.2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP
2.3	蚊	‘mosquito’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	か <i>ka</i> ← か <i>KA</i> ‘mosquito’	かがよ ₁ ふ- <i>ka.ga.yo₁p-u-</i> ‘to gleam’ (adnominal)	SAP
2.4	蛾	‘moth’	ガ <i>ga</i>	が _s <i>ga</i>		PAP
2.5	欲	‘to desire’	ヨク <i>yoku</i>	よ ₁ <i>yo₁</i>		PAP
2.6	布	‘cloth’	G フ <i>fu</i> K ホ <i>ho</i>	ふ <i>pu</i>		PAP
3.1	虚	‘to be empty’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	うつ <i>u.tu</i> ← うつ- <i>U.TU-</i> ‘empty’ (prefix)	うつせみ ₁ <i>u.tu.se.mi₁</i> ‘real world’	SAP
3.2	蟬	‘cicada’	G ゼン <i>zen</i> K セン <i>sen</i>	せみ ₁ <i>se.mi₁</i> ← せみ ₁ <i>SE.MI₁</i> ‘cicada’		SAP
3.3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ <i>=NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

4.5 Summary

“Playful writing” in general is not a rare phenomenon in MYS, and in a number of cases, as can be seen from the statistical analysis in this chapter, the “playful” written form can even be said to be a common way to represent the corresponding linguistic form in MYS (e.g. 孤悲 in section 4.4.1). However, no similar phenomenon on a comparable scale seems to exist in other Japanese sources, either contemporary poems recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* or later anthologies of vernacular poetry. As a result, it is natural to ask why early Japanese literati wrote poems in this way (or perhaps more accurately, why the compilers or scribes of MYS transcribed the poems in this way), and why this practice was not continued in later times. We as modern people can only speculate because it is not merely a linguistic issue but also has to do with the contemporary social and cultural conception about literacy and writing. Christopher Seeley (1991: 53) assumes that “the orthographic complexity in which some of the *Man'yōshū* poets took such delight seems to have been one of the factors which led to the poems in that anthology becoming virtually unintelligible to readers within the space of about two hundred years.” Roy Miller (1967: 99-100) attributes it to the aesthetic value of the elite class:

That tiny segment of the population that was at all concerned with reading and writing had in fact little if anything else to do with its time, and so quite naturally delighted in any device that would make the process as time-consuming as possible The early Japanese found this kind of writing intriguing and far more rewarding aesthetically than any simple one-to-one phonetic or semantic equivalency system. If we (and the modern Japanese) find it puzzlingly and annoyingly ambiguous—and it is both of these—we must remember that our present-day ideals of rationality and efficiency, and above all our aesthetic tastes, are not those of ancient Japanese scribes. They and their culture were not interested in evolving an easy system, or one that could be written quickly or written simply and unambiguously. Such values and goals were totally absent from ancient Japanese society, and to criticize in such terms the script which it developed is to ignore fundamental differences between our world and seventh-century Japan.

On the other hand, Lurie (2011: 308-310) does not agree with Miller in treating “the most complex and involved methods of inscription as exemplary of the totality of writing in this period” because there are “massive quantities of everyday written material” whose style and format were largely governed by “a need for clarity and accessibility,” and those who produced these materials “in no way led lives of ‘enormous leisure.’” He further states that the cases of “playful writing” in MYS “are meaningful only as *departures* from more usual methods of writing, and in themselves can be taken as evidence of the ubiquity and familiarity of such methods,” and that “particular styles of writing take on most of their meaning from the particular contexts (normally, multiple overlapping contexts) in which they appear” (emphasis original).

There is no doubt that “playful writing” is the product of a combination of factors shared by the Japanese literati, including a high level of competence in Literary Sinitic, an acute awareness of how to use the Sinographic script to encode the Japanese language, and a desire for unusual expressive or rhetoric effect in poetry composition. As an anthology of vernacular poetry, MYS is the perfect context for this practice²⁸. An apparent reason for the disappearance of “playful writing” in poetry composition is the emergence of the exclusively phonographic *kana* script. Since the Heian period, vernacular Japanese poems have been in general mainly written in *hiragana* graphs (with sporadic Sinograms) without inherent semantic values, which removes the possibility to build extra layers of meaning based on the semantic connotation of the written graphs. However, since Sinograms continued to be used throughout the history of Japanese writing, one may well ask why poets in later times would not compose vernacular poems completely in Sinograms for similar purposes. Perhaps a more fundamental reason lies in “playful writing” itself, that is, the mapping relationship between such a written form and its corresponding linguistic form is opaque at the surface, and

²⁸As is mentioned in section 3.1.6.6, there are potential cases of “playful writing” in Korean *hyangga* poems. Due to the limited size of the corpus and our lack of sufficient understanding of *hyangga*, we may never know if a similar phenomenon ever existed in the tradition of vernacular Korean poetry.

the reader might not be able to decode the written form without specific shared knowledge with the writer or cultural and contextual awareness. In this way, “playful writing” became an obstacle to the development of the Japanese writing system.

The phenomenon of “playful writing” demonstrates both the saliency of the semantic value of Sinograms to script users and the importance of conventionalization in the development of a writing system. For a writing system to be functional, the linguistic values and functions of the graphs need to be conventionalized among an extended group of users, and idiosyncratic uses of graphs will not be tolerated on a large scale. In terms of the Sinographic script, the two linguistic features of a Sinogram, phonetic value and semantic value, would both have to be conventionalized. The result is that a character came to be associated with one or more pronunciations phonetically and with one or more words semantically in the borrowing language, and representing these conventionalized linguistic values is what can be described as the normal functions of a character. What happens in “playful writing” is that the writer either evoked the latent semantic value of characters used phonographically (e.g., 湯龜 in section 4.1.3.9), or used characters for linguistic values beyond their normal functions but in a way still conceivable based on reasoning from their semantic value (e.g., 馬聲蜂音石花蜘蛛荒鹿 in section 4.2.3). The cases of “playful writing” indicate that the semantic value of a character is more easily subject to manipulation than its phonetic value, because the former depends on the subjective understanding of the meaning of words in the language by individual writers. From the perspective of script adaptation, this implies that compared to phonetic adaptation, semantic adaptation could be more versatile and thus would require a stronger force of conventionalization, without which readers may have trouble decoding the intended function and representational value of the written form. Taking these issues into account, the fact that “playful writing” became obsolete is a testament to the establishment of a conventionalized system of native character readings

in Japanese. In the history of Japanese writing, “playful writing” in *Man'yōshū* thus can be regarded as an early experiment of the innovative use of Sinograms among a small group of writers and readers, but it became less feasible with the spread of writing in the society²⁹.

²⁹Paul Atkins (personal communication) pointed out to me that these ideas about the relationship between “playful writing” and the development of the writing system might have never been put forward before.

Chapter 5

Decoding Chinese-Language Texts in Japanese and Korean

Chapters 2 to 4 are concerned with encoding the spoken language into written form. Specifically, they examine the methods and techniques of representing the vernacular spoken languages of Korean and Japanese in the Sinographic script. From an opposite direction, this chapter is concerned with decoding the written text into spoken language. Specifically, it explores how speakers of Korean and Japanese interacted with texts written in the Chinese language. Using Kornicki's (2018) terminology, there were two different approaches to decoding Chinese-language texts in the premodern Sinographic Cosmopolis: "vernacular reading" and "vernacular translation." The former is highly bound by the original text both physically and linguistically, and the latter is a more liberal way of rendering the original text. From a modern perspective, vernacular translation *is* the kind of translation that we are familiar with and encounter in daily life, whereas vernacular reading is probably a type of reading practice unfamiliar to most people. In general, these two approaches are applied in different situations. Vernacular reading is the orthodox way of interacting with texts in Literary Sinitic, the standard and stylized written register of the Chinese language throughout premodern times. Vernacular translation is more commonly applied when the text is written in Vernacular Chinese, the register of the Chinese language closer to its actual spoken form¹. To reiterate, in this dissertation, the two terms "Literary Sinitic" and "Vernacular Chinese" are used in contrast to each other to refer to the two different registers of the Chinese language². Literary Sinitic is the written register that

¹The concept of "Vernacular Chinese" (*báihuà* 白話) itself is complicated in terms of to what extent a text characterized as such reflects the actual spoken language, but it is safe to say that such texts contain more elements from and are therefore closer to the spoken language than Literary Sinitic texts. See Shang (2014) for a detailed discussion on this concept (and accordingly, the dichotomy between Literary Sinitic and Vernacular Chinese) within the context of the discourse on writing and speech in modern China.

²The use of the capitalized letter <V> in "Vernacular Chinese" is intended to indicate that this is a fixed term, which in turn clarifies the syntactic relationship between words in larger phrases. For example, in the phrase "Vernacular Chinese text", the

transcends the boundaries of spoken languages, and Vernacular Chinese is the spoken register that can be regarded as the equivalent to the vernacular languages of Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese in terms of their social and cultural status in relation to Literary Sinitic³. On the other hand, like Literary Sinitic texts, Vernacular Chinese texts were also transmitted to other regions and consumed by speakers of other languages. In this situation, Vernacular Chinese assumes the same role as Literary Sinitic in being the source from which texts intended to be read in other languages are derived or produced.

Section 5.1 is a general introduction to the parallel traditions of vernacular reading in the two cultures: Korean *kwukyel* 口訣 and Japanese *kundoku* 訓讀. Section 5.2 discusses the relationship between Japanese *kundoku*, the best-known case of vernacular reading, and translation. These two sections serve as the backdrop for the focus of this chapter: vernacular translation as is seen from the reception of Vernacular Chinese literary works in premodern Japan. Although there have been numerous studies on this topic, they rarely pay attention to the linguistic issues involved in this process. From a later period of history long after the development of a mature Japanese writing system and the codification of *kundoku*, examining the Japanese reception of Vernacular Chinese texts reveals how it built on and diverged from that of Literary Sinitic texts in the form of *kundoku*, thus providing a useful comparison with the other topics in this dissertation. Section 5.3 outlines the history of the transmission and reception of Vernacular Chinese literature in Japan before the 20th century. Section 5.4 is a case study on the early Japanese editions of the Vernacular Chinese novel *The Water Margin* 水滸傳 (CN *Shuǐhúzhuan*, JP *Suikoden*) through a comparison and linguistic analysis of corresponding passages in the Chinese and Japanese versions of the novel. By observing how the linguistic elements and content in the Chinese version are rendered in the Japanese

primary structure is that the term “Vernacular Chinese” as a whole modifies the head noun “text”, meaning that the text is written in the language of Vernacular Chinese.

³It should be noted that there is still a key difference between Vernacular Chinese and the other vernacular languages: Vernacular Chinese is derived from and thus linguistically related to Literary Sinitic, while Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese are not.

editions, it shows that the latter were produced within the traditional framework of *kundoku* both formally and linguistically, but they also demonstrate a certain degree of freedom in translation.

5.1 Vernacular Reading of Chinese-Language Texts in Korea and Japan

Following Kornicki's (2018: 162) definition, vernacular reading is "a set of techniques for reading Sinitic texts by converting them into some form of the vernacular, usually relying on glosses which were either inscribed invisibly or were written or printed alongside the text." There are parallel traditions of the vernacular reading of Chinese-language texts in Korea and Japan, and this kind of practice can be divided into two major types in terms of the linguistic approach. The first type attempts to bring the language of the text close to the vernacular language by using the native reading of a portion of the Sinograms (which is, essentially, associating the Sinograms with native words), changing the order of Sinograms in reading to fit the word order of the vernacular language, and adding necessary grammatical elements in the vernacular language. In contrast, the second type largely leaves the language of the text as it is by using exclusively the Sinitic reading of the Sinograms, making no change to the order of Sinograms in reading (so the vocalization still follows the original Chinese word order), and adding no or only sporadic grammatical elements in the vernacular language. These two types may be called "reading by gloss" and "reading by sound" respectively in English. In fact, these two terms are literal translations of the corresponding Japanese terms referring to the two types of vernacular reading: *kundoku* 訓讀 for the first type, and *ondoku* 音讀 for the second type⁴. In Korean, the practice of vernacular reading is called *kwukyel* 口訣 in general⁵. More specifically,

⁴The pair of Japanese terms *kundoku* and *ondoku* refers to the two types of vernacular reading of Chinese-language texts. They are not to be confused with the analogous pair of terms *kun'yomi* 訓読み and *on'yomi* 音読み, which refers to the two types of readings of Sinograms (see table 1.3 in chapter 1). The first pair of terms uses the *on'yomi* or SJ reading of the Sinogram 讀 ('to read'), and the second pair of terms uses its *kun'yomi* or native reading.

⁵For a detailed introduction in English to Korean *kwukyel*, see Chung (2022). Other more concise introductions to *kwukyel* in English include Nam (2012: 46-48), Whitman (2015: 426-428), and Kornicki (2018: 168-171).

“reading by gloss” is called *sektwok kwukyel* 釋讀口訣 (“interpretive *kwukyel*”), and “reading by sound” is called *swuntok kwukyel* 順讀口訣 (“sequential *kwukyel*”)⁶. The glossing marks added to the original text are called *thwo* 吐 in the Korean tradition, and *kunten* 訓點 in the Japanese tradition.

Based on evidence from both historical records and actual manuscripts, it is now generally believed that the practices of vernacular reading in Korea and Japan are closely related in origin. Both SKSK and SKYS indicate that the Silla-period scholar Sel Chwong 薛聰 (655-?), who was also in later times credited for creating the system of *itwu* (see chapter 2), carried out something similar to *kwukyel*. SKSK records that he “read the nine Classics in regional speech” (“以方言讀九經”) (YCSKSK 1: 599), and SKYS records that he “made use of regional sounds to be well versed in the names of customs and objects of China and the barbarians, and to explicate the six Classics and literary works” (“以方音通會華夷方俗物名，訓解六經文學”) (YCSKYS: 147). The phrases “regional speech” (*pangen* 方言) and “regional sounds” (*pangum* 方音) in these accounts no doubt refer to the vernacular Korean language. In Nam Phwunghyen’s (1999: 25-34; 2007: 1) opinion, these records suggest that *kwukyel* had already been a system familiar to the intellectuals by Sel Chwong’s time in the 8th century, and its origin can be further traced back to the works of the Buddhist monks Wenhyo 元曉 (617-686) and Uysang 義湘 (625-702). The earliest glossed manuscripts found in Japan so far (dated to the 8th century) include both materials with glosses representing the Japanese language and those with glosses representing the Korean language, and they show a high degree of homogeneity in the marks and techniques of glossing. As a result, the general consensus is that the practice of vernacular reading was first developed in Korea no later than the 8th century, most likely in the Avatamsaka 華嚴 (CN *huáyán*; KR *hwaem*; JP *kegon*) sect of Buddhism, and was transmitted to Japan by Korean Buddhist monks

⁶Alternatively, by analogy with the Japanese terms, *sektwok kwukyel* is also called *hwuntwok kwuyel* 訓讀口訣, and *swuntwok kwukyel* is also called *umtwok kwuyel* 音讀口訣.

soon afterwards (Whitman 2011: 103-112; Kobayashi 2014; Kornicki 2018: 166-167). Despite this common origin, the trajectory of vernacular reading diverged over time in Korea and Japan, especially in that the relative status between the two types of vernacular reading has become opposite in the two cultures.

5.1.1 Korean *Kwukyel*

In Korea, extant materials of interpretive *kwukyel* mostly date to the period between the 10th century and the 13th century, while materials of sequential *kwukyel* started to appear at the end of the 13th century. For unknown reasons, interpretive *kwukyel* was replaced by sequential *kwukyel* and eventually disappeared, and the latter remained the standard way of vernacular reading of Chinese-language texts in Korea and persisted until recent times⁷.

Figure 5.1 below (Chung 2006: 153-154; Chung 2022: 153) is a sample of interpretive *kwukyel* from the manuscript *Kwuyek inwangkyeng* 舊譯仁王經 (Old Translation of the Humane King Sutra) (13th century), the first interpretive-*kwukyel* document discovered in Korea. As the original text is written vertically, glossing marks are added both to the right and to the left of the text. There are two types of glossing marks: *kwukyel* graphs abbreviated from Sinograms representing Korean grammatical elements phonographically, and a dot signifying word order.

⁷The general explanation for the replacement of interpretive *kwukyel* by sequential *kwukyel* is that this is a natural result of the improvement in the competence of Literary Sinitic among Korean speakers, but this explanation obviously conflicts with the opposite situation in Japan that *kundoku* has always been the standard way of vernacular reading and has never been replaced by *ondoku* (despite such proposals by some Edo-period scholars). Kornicki (2018: 170-171) suggests an alternative explanation that “what lay behind the abandonment of interpretive vernacular reading was educational emphasis on understanding the Sinitic text of the Confucian classics.”

- A: [...]信行し具足ンニカ復ンヲ有^{セナカ}五道セ一切衆生リ、復ンヲ有^{セナカ}他方セ不^{矢リモセ}可^{セソフ}量ノヤ・衆・
- B: [...]信行し 具足ンニカ 復ンヲ 五道セ 一切 衆生リ 有セナカ 復ンヲ 他方セ 量ノヤ 可セソフ 不矢リモセ 衆有セナカ <舊仁02:01-2>

Figure 5.1 Sample of Interpretive *Kwukyel*

The original text is:

信行具足 復有五道一切衆生 復有他方不可量衆

Faith and practice both complete, again there are all the living beings of the five destinies, and again there are unmeasurable masses on the other side.

Line A is a horizontal transposition of the original text written vertically. The normal-sized *kwukyel* graphs are those placed to the right of the original text, and the superscripted *kwukyel* graphs are those placed to the left of the original text. The inversion of word order is indicated by the placement of the *kwukyel* graphs to the left of the original text (hence by the superscripted *kwukyel* graphs in this example). Specifically, a sequence of Sinograms, together with the *kwukyel* graphs placed to its left, is to be read at a later position in the text occupied by a dot. Line B is a presentation of the text in the actual word order of reading. If the *kwukyel* graphs are restored to their full form, the written form of this text then becomes orthographically equivalent to that of *hyangka* poems. Below are this complete Sinographic written form and the transcription of its reading.

信行乙 具足為示彌 復為隱 五道叱 一切衆生是 有叱在彌 復為隱 他方叱 量乎音 可叱為隱 不知 是飛叱 衆 有叱在彌

SIN-HAYNG=ol KWU-CWOK-HO-si=mye STWO-HO-n WO-TWO=s IL-CHEY-CWUNG-SAYNG=i IS-kye=mye STWO-HO-n THA-PANG=s LYANG-wo-m- CIS-HO-n- AN.TI i-no=s CWUNG IS-kye=mye

Figure 5.2 below (Chung 2006: 164-165; Chung 2022: 164-165) is a sample of sequential *kwukyel* from the manuscript *Pemmangkyeng pwosalkyey* 梵網經菩薩戒 (Bodhisattva Precepts of the Brahmajāla Sutra) (late Goryeo period). In contrast to the interpretive *kwukyel* sample above, there are only sporadic *kwukyel* graphs here, and there are no marks indicating word order.

此是佛行處_{リヒ}聖主_セ所稱歎_{リヒハ}我已隨順說_リ
 福德無量聚_ッ廻以施衆生_{ッヌヒ}共向一智_{ロハ}
 願聞是法者_ナ疾得成佛道_{リ今/オナ(ロハ)}

Figure 5.2 Sample of Sequential *Kwukyel*

The original text is:

此是佛行處 聖主所稱歎 我已隨順說 福德無量聚 廻以施衆生 共向一智 願聞是法者 疾得成佛道

This is the place where Buddha goes and what the sagely lord praises and laments. I have already followed and complied with the preaching. Blessing and virtue without measure accumulate. [I] turn to bestow [them] on all the living beings. [We] together head towards the unified wisdom. May those who hear this dharma quickly obtain the way of becoming Buddha.

With one exception, *kwukyel* graphs are only added at the end of each segment of characters to show the syntactic relationship between the sentences or phrases represented by the segments. Below is the transcription of the reading of this text with *kwukyel* glossing:

CHA-SI-PWUL-HAYNG-CHE-i-ni SENG-CWU=s SWO-CHING-THAN-i-ni=la A-I-SWU-SWUN-SEL-
 ho=mye PWOK-TEK-MWU-LYANG-CHWI-ho-a- HOY-I-SI-CWUNG-SAYNG-ho-no=ni KWONG-HYANG-
 IL-CI=kwo=la WEN-MWUN-SI-PEP-CA=non CIL-TEK-CENG-PWUL-TWO-i-e=ta (=kwo=la)

This kind of vocalization is a patchwork of Chinese and Korean in that each segment of characters is read as a sequence of SK morphemes in Chinese word order followed by some Korean grammatical elements. It does not make much sense in the vernacular language, and the reader needs to have a high level of competence in Literary Sinitic to understand the meaning.

5.1.2 Japanese *Kundoku*

In Japan, the dominant type of vernacular reading is *kundoku*⁸. There are a number of different types of gloss used in this process, including word-order gloss, reading gloss indicating the pronunciation of a Sinogram, and morphosyntactic gloss indicating the Japanese grammatical element to be supplemented. The earliest known *kundoku* materials are from the late 8th century with the first two types of gloss plus punctuation marks, and morphosyntactic glosses appeared later. The supplementation of grammatical elements was initially indicated by marks placed in various spots around a Sinogram, and a particular mark in a particular spot indicates a particular grammatical element. Known as *(w)okototen* ヲコト點, this system reached its peak and became highly complex in the Heian period, with a total of about 200 known distinct schemes used by different Buddhist sects and Confucian schools⁹. It started to decline in the 12th century with the increasing use of *katakana* graphs in textual glossing (Yoshida et al. 2001: 79-85). Over time, the practice of *kundoku* became conventionalized in terms of both the marks used for particular purposes and the specific Japanese words and expressions associated with specific Sinograms and Chinese grammatical

⁸For a general history of vernacular reading in Japan, see Kornicki (2018: 171-182). For a technical explanation of *kundoku*, see Lurie (2011: 175-180). Wakabayashi (2026), perhaps the most comprehensive study in English on *kundoku*, places *kundoku* in the context of the history of translational practices in Japan and discusses the changes in both the social status and the glossing techniques of *kundoku* over time. In addition, Kin (2010) (translated into English as Kin [2021]) is a comprehensive introduction to vernacular reading in the premodern East Asian Sinographic Cosmopolis.

⁹The name *(w)okototen* is a combination of two grammatical morphemes (the accusative particle *wo* and the nominalizing suffix *-ko.to*) represented in two particular spots around a Sinogram in a glossing scheme commonly used among Confucian scholars (Kin 2010: 57; Kin 2021: 51).

structures¹⁰. In contrast to *kundoku*, the use of *ondoku* has always been limited to Buddhist settings, especially the chanting of scriptures. Unlike Korean sequential *kwukyel* in which grammatical elements in the vernacular language are added at the junctures of phrases or sentences, no grammatical elements are added in Japanese *ondoku*. As a result, it may be said that the vocalization of a text in Japanese *ondoku* is even less intelligible in the vernacular language than that in Korean sequential *kwukyel*.

Using the first passage in *Analects* 論語 (CN *Lúnyǔ*; JP *Rongo*) as an example, the following is a detailed illustration of how *kundoku* actually works. It should be noted that even nowadays, at least in an instructional setting, *kundoku* is still performed on a text written vertically from top to bottom. As a result, textual examples containing *kundoku* glosses are presented in a way which is essentially rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise from the original orientation. The original text is:

子曰 學而時習之 不亦說乎 有朋自遠方來 不亦樂乎 人不知而不慍 不亦君子乎
 The Master says: Learning and timely practicing it, is [this] not also pleasant? There being friends coming from a far place, is [this] not also enjoyable? Others not knowing [me] but [I] not being angry, is [this] not a gentleman?

Following Lurie's (2011: 175-180) explanation, there are three major steps in the process of *kundoku*.

(1). Associate logographs of Chinese origin with Japanese words. To put it in another way, this step is essentially determining the Japanese reading of every character in the text. In theory, any character can be given either a native reading or an SJ reading. As a rule of thumb, a character which represents a proper noun in Chinese, a character which represents a Chinese word with a specialized meaning or without a semantic equivalent in Japanese, or a sequence of characters representing a compound word in Chinese tends to be

¹⁰In Japan, the study of premodern glossed manuscripts started in the early 20th century and has been an important field in Japanese linguistics and philology. Classic works include Ōya (1909), Nakada (1954), Kasuga (1956), Tsukishima (1963), Kobayashi (1967), Tsukishima (1996), Kobayashi (2011-2019), etc.

given an SJ reading¹¹. In the current *kundoku* convention, the reading of a character can be indicated by *hiragana* graphs placed immediately to its right¹². Table 5.1 below lists the commonly used reading of every character in the example text, and the readings that are SJ are marked in bold.

Table 5.1 Japanese Reading of the Sinograms in the Example *Kundoku* Text

Character	Gloss in Chinese	Japanese Reading	Note
子	Master (Confucius)	SI	Proper noun in Chinese
曰	to say	IW- ¹³	See footnote
學	to learn	MA.NAB-	
而	(conjunctive particle)	=TE	This character itself is usually left out in reading (<i>okiji</i> 置き字), and accordingly, the Japanese particle is added in the next step.
時	time(ly)	TO.KI	
習	to practice	NA.RAW-	
之	(object pronoun)	KO.RE	
不	(negative adverb)	-ZU	
亦	also	MA.TA	
說	to be pleasant	YO.RO.KO.BA-	
乎	(interrogative particle)	=YA	
有	to exist	AR-	
朋	friend	TO.MO	
自	from	=YO.RI	
遠	to be far	EN	Compound word in Chinese
方	direction, place	PŌ	
來	to come	KI.TAR-	The word for the character 來 used in <i>kundoku</i> is <i>ki.tar-</i> rather than <i>ku</i> (> MoJ <i>ku.ru</i>).
樂	to be enjoyable	TA.NO-	
人	person	HI.TO	
知	to know	SIR-	

¹¹This is by no means a strictly followed rule, and the reading of any individual character is essentially at the discretion of the glossator or reader. On the other hand, this is still the general rule for determining the reading of Sinograms in modern Japanese writing.

¹²However, as will be mentioned in step 3 below, it is also common to separately notate the inflectional ending of a word in *katakana* graphs placed to the lower right of the corresponding character. If there are ensuing added grammatical elements, they are also notated in *katakana* graphs immediately following the notation of the inflectional ending. In this way, the inflectional ending is treated in the same way as an added grammatical element.

¹³The character 曰 ‘to say’ is a typical case with variation in reading in *kundoku*, especially in the context of *Analects*. There are two Japanese words commonly associated with it: *iw-* and *no.ta.maw-*. Both words mean ‘to say’, and the latter is the honorific equivalent of the former. The rationale behind this variation is whether or not the glossator or reader decides to honor Confucius.

愠	to be angry	I.KAR-	
君	gentleman	KUN	Compound word with specialized meaning in Chinese
子		SI	

(2). Transpose the resulting words into Japanese order. Due to the syntactic differences between the two languages, changes in word order have to be made. The most significant change is reversing the order of the verb phrase and its object(s) and placing the verb phrase at the end of a sentence in Japanese. There are also numerous other situations in which the word order in corresponding phrases or expressions differs in the two languages. One typical situation, which occurs multiple times in this example text, is verbal negation. In Chinese, the negative adverb *bù* 不 precedes the verb phrase, while in Japanese, the negative auxiliary verb *-zu* follows the verb phrase. Various kinds of marks are used to indicate word order in *kundoku*. These marks are placed to the lower left of the characters involved, and they are accordingly subscripted in the presentation here. When two adjacent characters are to be reversed, the mark <レ>, which looks like the *katakana* graph for the syllable *re*, is inserted between them¹⁴. When a larger sequence of characters is to be reordered, the sets of Sinograms <一 二 三> (‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’), <上 中 下> (‘top’, ‘middle’, ‘bottom’), and <甲 乙 丙> (first three items of the ten heavenly branches) are used, each set on a different level. The characters marked by <一 二 三> are to be read before those marked by <上 中 下>, and the characters marked by <上 中 下> are to be read before those marked by <甲 乙 丙>. The characters on the same level are to be read in the appropriate order of the glossing marks (i.e., 一→二→三, 上→中→下, 甲→乙→丙). In theory, the number of segments on the level of <一 二 三> can be unlimited, and the number of segments on the level of <甲 乙 丙> can reach as much as ten (because there are ten items in the system of heavenly branch). In practice, the number of segments on the same level rarely exceeds three, and the level of <甲 乙

¹⁴In Japanese, this mark is called *kaeriten* 返り点 (‘returning dot’) or, more informally, *reten* レ点, because of its resemblance in physical form to this *katakana* graph.

丙> itself is rarely used because sentences with such a complex syntactic structure are not commonly encountered. In actual reading, the reader follows the original order of the characters without glossing marks and changes the order of the characters with glossing marks, so the physical action of reading involves going back and forth among the characters. As a visual illustration of how the different levels of word-order glosses work, imagine the following string of characters (each letter standing for a character) with different types of glosses:

A 乙 BCD 下 EF 丿 GH 二 IJKL 一 MN 上 OP 丿 QR 甲

Suppose that every character is to be read independently, the actual order of reading is:

B→C→E→G→F→I→J→K→L→H→M→N→D→O→Q→P→R→A

Finally, a vertical line <|> (which becomes a horizontal line or hyphen <-> in horizontal presentation) can be inserted between two or more adjacent characters to show that these characters together represent a compound word and should not be separated in reading. With the addition of the word-order glosses, the example text now looks like this:

子曰 學而時習 丿之 不 二亦說 一乎 有 丿朋自 二遠 一之方 一來 不 二亦樂 一乎 人不 丿知而不 丿慍 不 二亦君 一之乎

(3). Add necessary grammatical elements. Japanese is an agglutinating language with a large number of grammatical morphemes which do not exist Chinese (such as particles, auxiliary verbs, inflectional endings, etc.), and they need to be added after the change of word order to produce a syntactically appropriate Japanese text. The added grammatical elements are indicated by *katakana* graphs placed to the lower right of the characters involved, and they are accordingly superscripted in the presentation here. It is also the common practice to explicitly notate the inflectional ending of a word in *katakana* graphs along with any

ensuing added grammatical element, and the purpose of doing this is to unambiguously indicate the intended inflectional form of the word. It is reasonable to conceive the inflectional ending as something not inherently encoded by the character in the original text but supplemented in the *kundoku* process, as a result of the glossator's interpretation of the meaning of the text. The eventual product of *kundoku* applied to the example text is shown below, together with the transcription of the Japanese reading. The supplemented grammatical elements are underlined in the transcription, and the two occurrences of the character 而 in the original text are boxed to show that this character is left out in reading.

子曰^{ハク} 學^{ビテ} 而時^ニ習^{ブレ}之^ヲ 不^ニ亦^シ說^{シカラ}乎^ニ 有^リ朋^ニ自^ニ遠^ニ方^ニ來^ル 不^ニ亦^シ樂^{シカラ}乎^ニ 人不^シ
^テ知^ラ 而不^レ慍^ヲ 不^ニ亦^シ君^ニ子^{ナラ}乎^ニ

SI IW-a-ku MA.NAB-i-te TO.KI-ni KO.RE=wo NA.RAW-u MA.TA YO.RO.KO.BA-si-kar-a-ZU=YA TO.MO
 AR-i- EN-PŌ=YO.RI KI.TAR-u MA.TA TA.NO-si-kar-a-ZU=YA HI.TO SIR-a-ZU=si-te I.KAR-a-ZU MA.TA
 KUN-SI-nar-a-ZU=YA

5.2 *Kundoku* and Translation

The phenomenon of *kundoku* poses a unique challenge to our understanding of the concept and practice of “translation.” Scholars in translation studies have proposed various definitions of “translation,” but it seems that none fits *kundoku* perfectly¹⁵. Furthermore, as Judy Wakabayashi's (2026: 387-401) extensive literature review shows, there have been numerous discussions by both Japanese and non-Japanese scholars in different fields on whether or not *kundoku* is translation and how to characterize *kundoku*, but there is no consensus on this issue. For the purpose of this chapter, “translation” is simply defined as a process in which a written text or oral utterance in one language (source language) is made understandable in another language

¹⁵The most comprehensive definition of “translation” may be Roman Jakobson's three-way distinction (cited in Brower 1959: 233): “1. Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language. 2. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language. 3. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems.” A conventional form of translation, in either academic or practical contexts, corresponds to interlingual translation in this definition.

(target language). The key here is that there are two different languages involved in the process.

In relation to his discussion of the history of Japanese writing, Lurie (2011: 179-183) sees *kundoku* as a distinct form of translation in that it “does not involve the production of a separate text,” and because of the logographic feature of Chinese writing, “[t]he ‘Chinese original’ and the graphs that are read as its Japanese translation are literally identical,” so “the text of the translation *is* the text of the original” (emphasis original). He summarizes four particular features of *kundoku*: interlingual, reversible, productive, and invisible. Interlinguality means that a text originally written in and intended to be read in Chinese can be vocalized in Japanese as well. This is the most important feature of *kundoku* because it shows that “linguistic difference need not be reflected in writing” and challenges our conventional assumption about reading and writing that “all texts must be written in one and only one language.” Reversibility means that by *kundoku*, one can not only read Chinese-language texts in Japanese but also, in the reverse direction, compose Japanese-language Sinographic texts which can also be read in Chinese. This feature is thus related to productivity as texts which conform with the linguistic and stylistic features of Literary Sinitic have been produced in Japan in this way¹⁶. The other aspect of productivity is the influence of *kundoku* on the Japanese language itself, as it introduces a large number of Sinitic words together with expressions or grammatical patterns derived from Literary Sinitic, which are otherwise rarely used in vernacular Japanese writing¹⁷. Lurie argues that “[t]he language of *kundoku* is a hybrid dialect, or perhaps ‘grapholect,’” and although “it is not incorrect to refer to this grapholect as ‘Japanese,’” “we must keep in mind that it is a new linguistic

¹⁶A perfect demonstration of the two features of reversibility and productivity of *kundoku* is the so-called writing style of *kanbun kundokutai* 漢文訓讀體, the standard style of formal writing in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. A text of this style is written outright in Japanese in a mixture of Sinograms and *katakana* graphs and can be “reversed” into a relatively good Literary Sinitic text, despite the fact that no such Chinese text exists as the source of the Japanese text. A representative example is *Gakumon no susume* 學問のすすめ (“Encouragement of Learning”) by Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901). For more on this writing style, see Saitō (2007: 78-116) (translated into English as Saitō [2021: 71-111])

¹⁷A classical study on the influence of *kundoku* on the Japanese language is Yamada (1935).

register generated through an intense involvement with Chinese-style logographic writing—a kind of creole—rather than a written record (or reflection) of pre-existing oral speech.” Finally, invisibility means that the process of *kundoku* can be completed mentally without leaving any trace on the original text or producing a new text. Similarly, both Rebecca Clements (2015: 104-114) and Kornicki (2018: 166, 177) define *kundoku* as a “bound translation” and characterize its language as “translationese” which foreignizes rather than domesticates the source text in the target language. Clements (2015: 10-13) points out the fact that although there were numerous traditional Japanese terms referring to different types or aspects of interlingual textual practices, there was no single generic term corresponding to the English word “translation” or the modern word *hon’yaku* 翻譯, and this indicates that “there was no one overarching mental category of ‘translation’” in premodern Japan. As for the term *kundoku* (“reading by gloss”) itself, “[d]escribing the act of producing a Japanese language rendering of a Chinese text as ‘reading’ is only puzzling to the modern scholar who, unused to divorces between script and language, assumes all *kundoku* texts are ‘written in Chinese.’” She argues that there are different kinds of translation involved in *kundoku*: “translation between Sinitic on the surface and the language of *kundoku* Japanese it may encrypt, between one (now lost) *kundoku* Japanese text encrypted within the page and another slightly different *kundoku* rendering produced by a reader, or between a form of Chinese encrypted within the page and *kundoku* Japanese” (Clements 2015: 111-112). Kornicki (2018: 166) characterizes vernacular reading as a “bound translation” because it “retains all the vocabulary of the original, bar grammatical particles and it does not necessarily make the sense clear if, for example, the original contains an obsolete word or a character being used in an unusual sense.” It allows the reader “to read it (aloud) but provide[s] no explanation of the sense.” As a result, “[i]n the terminology of translation studies, this is very much of a ‘foreignizing’ translation rather than a ‘domesticating’ one.” The result of vernacular reading can be described as “translationese” because it has

“an unusually high percentage of Sinitic vocabulary compared to other contemporary Japanese prose” (Kornicki 2018: 177). Because *kundoku* does not necessarily produce a new text, Kornicki (2018: 186) claims that “vernacular reading is a procedure: it is not itself a translation, but when it is applied to the source text it results in a translation. The translation, in other words, is generated by the reader from the source text, which remains in front of the reader’s eyes.”

As is demonstrated in section 5.1.2, *kundoku* is similar to a conventional form of translation in that one works from a source text, establishes lexical and syntactic equivalences between the source language and the target language, and constructs an utterance in the target language based on the equivalences. On the other hand, there are many different aspects or features between *kundoku* and conventional translation¹⁸. Generally speaking, *kundoku* is a mechanical and formalized way to make a text in one language (Literary Sinitic) amenable to being read and understood in another language (Japanese), but it does this by bringing the target language (Japanese) close to the source language (Literary Sinitic) (so-called “foreignizing translation”), rather than vice versa (so-called “domesticating translation”)¹⁹. There are complex linguistic interactions involved in this process, which results in a different kind of physical and linguistic output in comparison to conventional translation.

From the linguistic perspective, as has been frequently pointed out, the language produced by *kundoku* is a stylized, hybrid, or foreignized form of Japanese. This is possibly the biggest reason why one may hesitate to regard *kundoku* as translation, because conventional translation usually aims to produce a smooth and plain utterance in the target language. Additionally, in *kundoku*, the source text is written in the logographic Sinographic script and, on the surface, in the Chinese language, but it can also be vocalized or

¹⁸See Wakabayashi (2026: 402-410) for a detailed comparison between *kundoku* and what she calls “prototypical translation.”

¹⁹To use another similar pair of concepts in translation studies, *kundoku* takes the approach of “adequacy” and conforms with the norms of the source culture or language, while conventional translation takes the approach of “acceptability” and conforms with the norms of the target culture or language. For these concepts, see Toury (1980: 54-55).

read in Japanese from the beginning, especially when it is originally composed by a Japanese writer who may well have only Japanese in mind when composing it. In this case, one can hardly say that there is linguistic transfer taking place. Furthermore, different Japanese readers may produce a different utterance of the same Sinogram or the same part of the source text. Even if the source text contains glossing marks, since it is rare that every Sinogram is given a reading gloss, the intended reading of the glossator may be different from the actual reading of a subsequent reader. On the contrary, if a text is written in a phonographic script, there can be only one (appropriate) utterance. The interlinguality of *kundoku*, as a result of the logographic feature of the Sinographic script, contradicts the common concept in the modern Western alphabetic tradition of the inseparability between a particular script and a particular language. It is a clear example that language and writing are two separate semiotic systems, and one is not necessarily dependent on the other. We may never know what language is going through the mind of a Japanese speaker composing a text using Sinograms or reading a text written in Sinograms.

From the physical perspective, the result of conventional translation is a text written in the target language and is visibly different from the source text. There is only one text before the translation but two separate texts after the translation, although it is often the case that the product of translation replaces the original text and becomes the only one available to the reader. In contrast, there may not necessarily be a separate text produced by *kundoku*, or one can argue that the same source text is also the product. This is because the entire process can be carried out mentally without leaving any trace on the source text. Alternatively, one can make annotations and add glossing marks in the source text, thereby producing a new text. In either of these two cases, there is only one text both before and after the process of *kundoku*. It is also possible to incorporate the annotations and glossing marks into the source text to produce a separate text, which is visibly recognizable as being written in Japanese and therefore different from the source text.

This additional but optional step (called *kakidudashi* 書き下し in Japanese) makes *kundoku* more similar to conventional translation.

With a conventionalized system of converting linguistic units of Literary Sinitic into their equivalent in Japanese, *kundoku* is the traditional and orthodox way of decoding Literary Sinitic texts in premodern Japan. In contrast, Japanese readers rely more on vernacular translation to decode Vernacular Chinese texts due to the difference in vocabulary and grammatical structure in the two registers of Chinese, which makes *kundoku* incompatible with Vernacular Chinese. Consequently, texts such as novels and short stories written in Vernacular Chinese are more prone to being rendered into Japanese in a way that is more familiar to modern people as “translation.”

5.3 The Reception of Vernacular Chinese Literature in Japan

5.3.1 Cultural and Social Background

Vernacular Chinese literary works, including such genres as drama, novel, and short story, were produced in large quantity in the second millennium, especially the Yuán 元 (1271-1368), Míng 明 (1368-1644), and Qīng 清 (1644-1911) periods, and a lot of them were transmitted to Japan²⁰. They posed challenges to Japanese readers, most of whom had no practical knowledge of the spoken Chinese language, and there was no established method or system comparable to *kundoku* to transpose Vernacular Chinese into Japanese. At the early stage, these works had to be first annotated or translated by those who were fluent in spoken Chinese, in most cases Zen monks and interpreters, before they could be consumed by a larger audience. These two groups of people stood out for their knowledge of spoken Chinese. Zen monks learned

²⁰Relevant studies in English include Pastreich (2011), Ōki & Ōtsuka (2013), Hartmann (2014), Clements (2015), Kornicki (2018), and Hedberg (2020). The factual information in this section is summarized from these works. Relevant studies in Japanese include Asō (1955), Ishizaki (1967), Tokuda (1987), Takashima (1991), Isobe (1995), Inada (2010), and Nakamura (2011).

it in order to properly chant Buddhist sutras, and interpreters, many coming from families of Chinese descent, were mostly based in the port city of Nagasaki 長崎 to assist trade and diplomatic affairs with China.

The popularity of Vernacular Chinese literature in Japan coincided with the trend of the study of the spoken Chinese language in the Edo 江戸 period (1603-1868)²¹. This is not accidental as reading Vernacular Chinese texts called for knowledge of spoken Chinese, and learning spoken Chinese in turn required the accessibility to a sizable corpus of Vernacular Chinese texts. An early advocate of the study of spoken Chinese is the Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728). He regarded *ondoku* as the ideal approach to reading and learning Chinese texts and the study of the Chinese language, and that by *ondoku*, one could gain a correct understanding of even Literary Sinitic texts such as Confucian classics because one would not need to rely on the circuitous medium of *kundoku*. An important figure in the transmission of Vernacular Chinese literature to Japan and the promotion of the study of spoken Chinese is Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674-1728), an interpreter in Nagasaki and later instructor who taught in the academy established by Ogyū Sorai. He is best known for his annotation of *The Water Margin*, and he also published many Chinese primers and dictionaries based on his lectures and Vernacular Chinese novels. Other prominent scholars who took up the study of Vernacular Chinese language and texts in the Edo period include Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁齋 (1627-1705), Itō Tōgai 伊藤東涯 (1670-1736), Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747), and Okada Hakku 岡田白駒 (1692-1767). As the number of Vernacular Chinese literary works transmitted to Japan increased, Japanese readers gained new knowledge about the daily life and ordinary people of contemporary China, which was not accessible in canonical Literary Sinitic texts. At the same time,

²¹For an overview of the social and cultural history of Edo Japan, see Pastreich (2011: 25-32) and Clements (2015: 16-46). It should be noted that, similar to Chinese, there is also a distinction between the literary or written register and the vernacular or spoken register of the Japanese language, and early modern Japanese scholars were clearly aware of this. They regarded literary works from the Heian 平安 period (794-1185), such as *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (“Tale of Genji”) and *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (“Collection of Japanese Songs of the Past and Present”), as representative of “Classical Japanese” (literary register) in the genre of prose and verse respectively, and the language in these works was different from their contemporary spoken language.

these works also led to Japanese adaptations or provided inspirations to Japanese authors, thereby leaving their influence on Japanese literature itself.

5.3.2 General History

The earliest transmission of Vernacular Chinese literary works to Japan can be traced back to the Muromachi 室町 period (1338-1573), when the two collections of short stories *Jiǎndēng xīnhuà* 剪燈新話 (“New Words upon Trimming the Wick”) and *Jiǎndēng yúhuà* 剪燈餘話 (“Additional Words upon Trimming the Wick”) were imported and reprinted. The earliest known reference to *Jiǎndēng xīnhuà* was made by a Zen monk called Keijo Shūrin 景徐周麟 (1440-1518), and its Japanese reprint appeared during the Keichō 慶長 era (1596-1614) in the early Edo period. It led to the earliest Japanese literary works adapted from Vernacular Chinese literature, *Otogibōko* 伽婢子 (“Tale of the Puppet”) (1666) and *Inuhariko* 狗張子 (1692) by Asai Ryōi 淺井了意 (?-1691). They are regarded as predecessors to the genre of *yomihon* 讀本, Japanese counterpart to the Chinese genre of *huàběn* 話本 as collection of short stories.

In the 17th century, sparked by the scholarly interest in the spoken Chinese language, Japanese editions of Vernacular Chinese literary works began to be produced. The major types of works involved in the early stage of the Japanese reception of Vernacular Chinese literature are history and military romances, a trend that can be seen as a continuation of the Classical Japanese literary tradition of “war tale” (*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語) such as *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (“Tale of the Taira Clan”) from the 14th century. The first Japanese edition of the novel *Sānguózhì yǎnyì* 三國志演義 (“Romance of the Three Kingdoms”) was published between 1689 in 1692 under the title *Tsūzoku sangokushi* 通俗三國志 (“Popularized Account of the Three Kingdoms”), and this is also the first major Chinese novel with a Japanese edition. The editor is known as Konan Bunzan 湖南文山, which is identified by modern scholars as a pseudonym used jointly by

the two Zen monks Gitetsu 義徹 and Getsudō 月堂 (dates unknown). The word *tsūzoku* 通俗 (“common and vulgar”) hence became a commonly used designation of Japanese editions of Chinese literature. Other works of this type published during this period include: *Tsūzoku tōtaisō gunkan* 通俗唐太宗軍鑑 (“Popularized Military Mirror of Emperor Tàizōng of the Táng”) (1696), Japanese edition of *Tángguó zhìhuàn* 唐國志傳 (“Account and Biographies of the State of Táng”); *Tsūzoku ryōkan kiji* 通俗兩漢紀事 (“Popularized Record of Affairs of the Two Hàn Dynasties”) (1699), Japanese edition of *Quánhàn zhìhuàn* 全漢志傳 (“Complete Account and Biographies of the Hàn”); *Tsūzoku rekkokushi goetsu gundan* 通俗列國志吳越軍談 (“Popularized Account of Various States, Military Tale between the Wú and the Yuè”) and *Tsūzoku rekkokushi zenpen buō gundan* 通俗列國志前編武王軍談 (“Popularized Account of Various States, Part One, Military Tale of King Wǔ”) (1703-1705), Japanese editions of *Chūnqiū lièguó zhìhuàn* 春秋列國志傳 (“Account and Biographies of Various States in the Spring and Autumn Period”); *Tsūzoku nanbokuchō gundan* 通俗南北朝軍談 (“Popularized Military Tale of the Southern and Northern Dynasties”) (1705), Japanese edition of *Liángwǔdì xīlái yǎnyì* 梁武帝西來演義 (“Romance of the Coming from the West of Emperor Wǔ of Liáng”); *Tsūzoku rekkokushi zenpen jūnichō gundan* 通俗列國志前編十二朝軍談 (“Popularized Account of Various States, Part One, Military Tale of Twelve Dynasties”) (1712), Japanese edition of *Xīn lièguózhì* 新列國志 (“New Account of Various States”); *Tsūzoku sōshi gundan* 通俗宋史軍談 (“Popularized Military Tale of the History of the Sòng”) (1719), Japanese edition of *Nánběi liǎngsòng zhìhuàn* 南北兩宋志傳 (“Account and Biographies of the Two Dynasties of Sòng in the South and the North”), etc. The wide circulation of these works was attested by a contemporary publisher, Hayashi Gitan 林義端 (?-1711), who claimed, “As for these explications of the successive dynasties, there is no household in which they are not being read and discussed” (Hedberg 2020: 31-32).

The most popular Vernacular Chinese text in Japan is the novel *Shuǐhǔzhàn* 水滸傳 (“The Water

Margin”). There are multiple Japanese editions, adaptations, and even language study materials based on it. The 100-chapter Chinese edition had existed in Japan in the 1620s, but the date of its earliest importation is unknown. The first Japanese edition, though covering only the first ten chapters of the original Chinese novel, appeared in 1728 under the title *Chūgi suikoden* 忠義水滸傳 (“Account of the Loyalty and Propriety of the Water Margin”) in the form of *kundoku* gloss of the Chinese text. Its authorship was not identified in the work itself but was attributed to Okajima Kanzan in Suyama Nantō’s 陶山南濤 (1700-1766) dictionary *Chūgi suikoden kai* 忠義水滸傳解 (“Explications on the Account of the Loyalty and Propriety of the Water Margin”). A subsequent installment covering the next ten chapters of the original Chinese novel was published in 1759. The first complete Japanese edition, written in a mixture of Sinograms and *katakana* graphs, was published in four installments in 1757, 1772, 1784, and 1790 under the title *Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden* 通俗忠義水滸傳 (“Popularized Account of the Loyalty and Propriety of the Water Margin”) and was also attributed to Okajima Kanzan, though this is doubtful because even the first installment appeared about thirty years after his death. As William Hedberg (2020: 219) points out, this attribution “is highly suspect and is more likely an attempt at cashing on Kanzan’s posthumous reputation.” This edition became the basis of another major Japanese edition titled *Suiko gaden* 水滸画傳 (“Illustrated Account of the Water Margin”). The text of this edition was written by two renowned authors, Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767-1848) and Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762-1839), and it also contains illustrations made by the great artist Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849). This edition was published between 1805 and 1852, and it was the most popular Japanese edition of *The Water Margin* in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Because of its popularity, *The Water Margin* became an important source for learning Vernacular Chinese. Japanese scholars produced their own commentaries and interpretations of the novel, sometimes based on existing Chinese commentaries such as those by Lǐ Zhuówú 李卓吾 (1527-1602) and Jīn

Shèngtàn 金聖歎 (1608-1661). Okajima Kanzan used it as a textbook when he was teaching in the Translation Society (Yakusha 譯社) and the Ken'en Academy (Ken'enjuku 護園塾) founded by Ogyū Sorai. His lecture materials *Tōwa ruisan* 唐話類纂 (“Classified Collection of the Spoken Chinese Language”) and *Tōwa zan'yō* 唐話纂要 (“Collection and Digest of the Spoken Chinese Language”) circulated in manuscript form, and the latter was formally published as a primer first in 1716 and then expanded and reprinted in 1718. Other Japanese reading guides and commentaries of *The Water Margin* include: *Suikoden yakkai* 水滸傳譯解 (“Translation and Explication of the Account of the Water Margin”) (1727), a collection of the lecture notes on the novel prepared by Okada Hakku; *Chūgi suikoden kai* (1757), a glossary of the novel compiled by Suyama Nantō; *Suikoden hihyōkai* 水滸傳批評解 (“Criticisms, Commentaries, and Explications of the Water Margin”), an unpublished manuscript, presumably dated to the mid-18th century, containing Seita Tansō's 清田澹叟 (1719-1785) commentaries on the Jīn Shèngtàn edition of the novel. There is also a character dictionary intended as an aid for reading Vernacular Chinese novels in general, *Kakubiki shōsetsu jii* 畫引小説字彙 (“Collection of Characters in Novels Arranged in Stroke Order”) (1791), published under the pseudonym Shūsuien shujin 秋水園主人.

As a pioneer in the study of Vernacular Chinese in Japan, Okajima Kanzan published a large number of works, including both literature and pedagogical materials. His first major work was an annotation of the Chinese historical romance *Huángmíng yīnglièzhuàn* 皇明英烈傳 (“Biographies of Heroes and Martyrs of the Great Míng”), published in 1705 under the title *Tsūzoku kōmei eiretsuden* 通俗皇明英烈傳 (“Popularized Biographies of Heroes and Martyrs of the Great Míng”) or *Tsūzoku genmin gundan* 通俗元明軍談 (“Popularized Military Tale of the Yuán and the Míng”), which coincided with the popularity of this literary genre at that time. He also made a dual translation of the Classical Japanese military romance *Taiheiki* 太平記 (“Record of the Great Peace”) from the late 14th century, first translating it into Vernacular Chinese

and then translating the Vernacular Chinese text directly into Vernacular Japanese. These two translations were published together in 1719 under the title *Taiheiki engi* 太平記演義 (“Romance of the Record of the Great Peace”), making it the first Chinese translation of a Japanese literary work. The Vernacular Japanese version turns out to be significantly different from the original Classical Japanese version. In the 1720s, a series of Chinese primers and dictionaries compiled by Okajima Kanzan were published, including *Tōon gazoku gorui* 唐音雅俗語類 (“Classified Literary and Vernacular Words with Chinese Pronunciations”), *Jikai binran* 字海便覽 (“Practical Guide to the Sea of Characters”), *Tōyaku binran* 唐譯便覽 (“Practical Guide to Chinese Translation”), *Tōwa binyō* 唐話便要 (“Practical Essence of the Spoken Chinese Language”), *Tōon Gakuyō* 唐音學要 (“Study Essence of Chinese Pronunciations”), and *Tōon santaishi yakudoku* 唐音三體詩譯讀 (“Translations and Readings of Poems in Three Forms in Chinese Pronunciations”).

The short stories flourishing in late Míng and early Qīng China also gained popularity in Japan after their importation. The most important Chinese collections of short stories, *Sānyán èrpāi* 三言二拍 (“Three Words and Two Poundings”)²² and *Jīngǔ qíguān* 今古奇觀 (“Fantastic Scenes of the Present and the Past”)²³, were imported in the 1720s. They were subsequently annotated and published in three installments with different titles, collectively designated as *Shōsetsu sangen* 小說三言 (“Three Words of Minor Speeches”): *Shōsetsu seigen* 小說精言 (“Refined Words of Minor Speeches”) in 1743, *Shōsetsu kigen* 小說奇言 (“Fantastic Words of Minor Speeches”) in 1751, and *Shōsetsu suigen* 小說粹言 (“Pure Words of Minor Speeches”) in 1758. These Japanese editions were compiled by Okada Hakku and published by

²²This title is a designation collectively referring to five separate collections of short stories: *Yùshì míngyán* 喻世明言 (“Enlightening Words Instructing the World”), *Jīngshì tōngyán* 警世通言 (“Common Words Alerting the World”), and *Xīngshì héngyán* 醒世恆言 (“Everlasting Words Awakening the World”) by Féng Mènglóng 馮夢龍 (1574-1676), and *Chūkè pāiàn jīngqí* 初刻拍案驚奇 (“Amazement and Fantasy from Pounding the Table, First Printing”) and *Èrkè pāiàn jīngqí* 二刻拍案驚奇 (“Amazement and Fantasy from Pounding the Table, Second Printing”) by Líng Méngchū 凌濛初 (1580-1644).

²³This is a separate collection of selected stories from *Sānyán èrpāi*, compiled by Bàowèng lǎorén 抱甕老人 (dates unknown).

Sawada Issai 澤田一齋 (1701-1782). It is noteworthy that the Japanese term *shōsetsu* 小説 (“minor speech”), counterpart to the Chinese term *xiǎoshuō*, was used in the titles of these collections of short stories, in contrast to its modern usage mainly referring to longer fictional narrative proses. A separate Japanese edition of *Jīngǔ qíguān* was edited by Tansai shujin 淡齋主人 (dates unknown) and published in 1814 under the title *Tsūzoku konko kikan* 通俗今古奇觀 (“Popularized Fantastic Scenes of the Present and the Past”).

Starting from the mid-18th century, the number of Japanese editions of Vernacular Chinese texts increased dramatically because of a prospering commercial publishing industry which catered to a larger readership eager to consume such works. Another major Chinese novel, *Xīyóujì* 西遊記 (“Record of the Journey to the West”), was localized and published in this period. Similar to the case of *The Water Margin*, there are two major Japanese editions, one plain-text edition published in multiple installments and one edition with illustrations. The plain-text edition was published in four installments under the title *Tsūzoku saiyūki* 通俗西遊記 (“Popularized Record of the Journey to the West”): the first installment in 1758, edited by Nishida Korenori 西田維則 (?-1765); the second and third installments in 1784 and 1786 respectively, edited by Ishimaro sanjin 石麻呂山人 (dates unknown); the fourth installment in 1799, edited by Ogata Teisai 尾形貞齋 (dates unknown). The illustrated edition (date unknown) was titled *Gahon saiyū zenden* 畫本西游全傳 (“Complete Illustrated Account of the Journey to the West”) and was produced by Kukkisanjin, Sankei Shishin 山珪士信, and Gakutei Gogaku 岳亭五岳 (dates unknown). Other Japanese editions of Vernacular Chinese texts appearing in this period include: *Tsūzoku suibodai zenden* 通俗醉菩提全傳 (“Popularized Complete Biography of the Drunken Monk”) (1759), Japanese edition of *Zuipúti quánzhuàn* 醉菩提全傳 (“Complete Biography of the Drunken Monk”); *Tsūzoku suiyōtei gaishi* 通俗隋煬帝外史 (“Popularized Unofficial History of Emperor Yáng of the Suí”) (1760), Japanese edition of

Suíyángdì yànsǐ 隋煬帝豔史 (“Licentious History of Emperor Yáng of the Suí”); *Tsūzoku kingyōden* 通俗金翹傳 (“Popularized Biography of Kingyō”) (1763), Japanese edition of *Jīn yúnqiào zhuàn* 金雲翹傳 (“Biography of Jīn Yúnqiào”); *Tsūzoku daimin josenden* 通俗大明女仙傳 (“Popularized Biographies of Female Immortals of the Great Míng”) (1780), Japanese edition of *Nǚxiān wàishǐ* 女仙外史 (“Unofficial History of Female Immortals”); *Tsūzoku heiyōden* 通俗平妖傳 (“Popularized Account of Pacifying Monsters”) (1802), Japanese edition of *Píngyāozhuàn* 平妖傳 (“Account of Pacifying Monsters”); *Tsūzoku seiko kawa* 通俗西湖佳話 (“Popularized Refined Stories of the West Lake”) (1805), Japanese edition of *Xīhú jiāhuà* 西湖佳話 (“Refined Stories of the West Lake”), etc.

In addition to direct annotations or translations, there are numerous Japanese literary works adapted from Vernacular Chinese works, either a complete novel or a single story from a collection, based on the characters, plot, or motif in the source text. Such adaptations are generally considered to be original works. Sometimes the title of a Japanese work shows explicitly this relationship of adaptation. There are a number of adaptations of *The Water Margin*, including *Honchō suikoden* 本朝水滸傳 (“Account of the Water Margin of Our Dynasty”) (1773) by Takebe Ayatari 建部綾足 (1719-1774), *Onna suikoden* 女水滸傳 (“Account of Females of the Water Margin”) (1783) by Itami Chin’en 伊丹椿園 (dates unknown), *Chūshin suikoden* 忠臣水滸傳 (“Account of Loyal Vassals of the Water Margin”) (1799) by Santō Kyōden 山東京傳 (1761-1816), and *Keisei suikoden* 傾城水滸傳 (“Account of the Beauties of the Water Margin”) (1825-1835) by Kyokutei Bakin. The last title among the four great Míng novels, *Jīnpíngméi* 金瓶梅 (“Plum in the Golden Vase”), was adapted into *Shinpen kinpeibai* 新編金瓶梅 (“Newly Edited Plum in the Golden Vase”) by Kyokutei Bakin and published between 1832 and 1847. More often, however, the relationship of adaptation is more implicit without direct reference in the title of the Japanese work, and the reader is unlikely to sense it without prior knowledge of the source texts. A number of famous Vernacular Japanese

works were created in this way, and the Chinese collections of *Sānyán èrpāi* were the most frequent source of adaptation. Tsuga Teishō 都賀庭鐘 (1718-1794?), following Asai Ryōi's precedence, composed the earliest *yomihon* works *Hanabusa sōshi* 英草子 ("Tale of a Garland") (1749), *Shigeshige yawa* 繁野話 ("Luxuriant Wild Words") (1766), and *Hitsujigusa* 莠句冊 ("Tale of Green Foxtail") (1786) by primarily adapting from *Sānyán èrpāi*. As a result, he is considered as the creator of the genre of *yomihon*. In *Shigeshige yawa*, for example, there is a story titled *Eguchi no yūjo hakujō wo uramite tama wo shizumuru hanashi* 江口の遊女薄情を恨みて珠玉を沈むる話 ("Story of an Eguchi Courtesan Resenting Cold-Heartedness and Sinking the Jewels"), which was adapted from the Chinese story *Dù Shíniáng nùchéng bǎibǎoxiāng* 杜十娘怒沉百寶箱 ("Miss Dù the Tenth Angrily Sinks the Treasure Box") in *Jǐngshì tōngyán* 警世通言 ("Common Words Alerting the World"). Similarly, Nishida Korenori published a work titled *Tsūzoku sekijō kien* 通俗赤繩奇縁 ("Popularized Fantastic Tie of the Red Ribbon") in 1761, which was adapted from the Chinese story *Màiyóuláng dúzhàn huākuí* 賣油郎獨佔花魁 ("The Oil Peddler Solely Occupies the Top Courtesan") in *Xǐngshì héngyán* 醒世恆言 ("Everlasting Words Awakening the World"). Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734-1809) published *Ugetsu monogatari* 雨月物語 ("Tale of the Moon and Rain") in 1768, which was partially adapted from both *Sānyán èrpāi* and *Jiǎndēng xīnhuà*. Two major *yomihon* works composed by Kyokutei Bakin in the 19th century, *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* 椿説弓張月 ("Variant Tale of the Crescent-Shaped Bow") (1807-1811) and *Nansō satomi hakkenden* 南總里見八犬傳 ("Account of Eight Dogs of the Satomi Clan from Nansō") (1814-1842), include plots adapted from various Vernacular Chinese literary works. Through these adaptations, Vernacular Chinese literature left its impact on early modern Japanese literature.

It is an interesting phenomenon that the two great Chinese novels from the Qīng period, *Rúlín wàishǐ* 儒林外史 ("Unofficial History of the Grove of Confucian Scholars") and *Hónglóumèng* 紅樓夢 ("Dreams

in the Read Mansion”), did not gain wide popularity in Japan. This may be because their content, the former about the civil service examination system and the latter about the life of the upper social class, did not arouse much interest from Japanese readers who would prefer to read mundane stories from Vernacular Chinese literature²⁴.

5.3.3 *Kundoku* or Translation?

It seems that most Vernacular Chinese texts were still rendered into Japanese in the *kundoku* style to a certain degree rather than completely by vernacular translation. In other words, the Japanese edition of a Vernacular Chinese text looks similar to the product of the *kundoku* reading of a Literary Sinitic text, in the form of either a Chinese text accompanied with Japanese glosses or the so-called *yomikudashi* text, which is physically a running text in Japanese²⁵. In modern scholarship, the latter form is usually simply referred to as “translation,” but it should be pointed out that a *yomikudashi* text is essentially the presentation of the result of *kundoku* in the form of a running Japanese text, so it should still be distinguished from a conventional translation. In addition, a *kundoku*-style Japanese edition may involve another layer of annotation: separate interpretative glosses or commentaries on specific words or phrases in the original text. This kind of additional gloss was generally called *kun'yaku* 訓譯 (“gloss translation”) or simply *yaku* 譯 (“translation”) in contemporary Japanese tradition (Clements 2015: 107-108). Nan Ma Hartmann (2014: 1, 33-34) divides the process of the localization of Chinese texts in Japan into four stages: (1). importation; (2). domestic reproduction/reprinting; (3). translation; (4). adaptation. A Chinese text appended with *kundoku* glosses belongs to stage (2), while a Japanese *yomikudashi* text may be regarded as belonging to either stage

²⁴Ōki & Ōtsuka (2013: 82) assumes that the language of *Hónglómèng*, written in the contemporary Běijīng 北京 dialect, would be difficult for Japanese readers to understand. However, compared to other Vernacular Chinese works, its language is actually closer to Literary Sinitic, so language should not be a barrier for Japanese literati well versed in Literary Sinitic.

²⁵Wakabayashi (2026) uses the terms “mark-up *kundoku*” and “written-out *kundoku*” to refer to these two forms of presentation.

(3) or somewhere between stages (2) and (3).

The reception of Vernacular Chinese texts in Japan poses interesting questions from a linguistic perspective, especially in the social and cultural context where the conventional and dominant approach had been *kundoku*. Are the specific Japanese lexical items and grammatical structures used in the annotation or translation of Vernacular Chinese texts the same as those used in the *kundoku* glossing of Literary Sinitic texts? How are the lexical items and grammatical structures unique to Vernacular Chinese literature rendered into Japanese, and are the catchphrases or fixed expressions²⁶ in Vernacular Chinese literary works rendered consistently in different Japanese works or by different Japanese authors? Working back from the Japanese edition of a Vernacular Chinese text, can one “restore” the original Chinese text (in either Literary Sinitic or Vernacular Chinese)?²⁷ A comprehensive study of this topic is a major research project beyond the scope of this dissertation. The next section is a case study on a limited scale.

5.4 A Comparison between the Chinese and Japanese Versions of *The Water Margin*²⁸

5.4.1 Textual Editions

As one of the earliest “linked-chapter novels” (*zhānghuí xiǎoshuō* 章回小說) written in Vernacular Chinese, *The Water Margin* has a complicated textual history²⁹. There are numerous Chinese editions

²⁶These are what Patrick Hanan (1973) characterizes as “style markers,” the functional part of the narrative structure and independent from the plot, which make up the “vernacular fiction style” common in Vernacular Chinese literature. He uses them as the linguistic criterion for the periodization of Vernacular Chinese short stories. In the same way, Ge Liangyan (2001: 118-124) uses these stylistic markers for the division of the narrative sections in *The Water Margin* as part of his study of the textual history of the novel.

²⁷This practice, called *fukubun* 復文 (“restoring the text”), is an actual pedagogical tool used in the teaching of Literary Sinitic through *kundoku*. Its purpose is to check whether one has correctly understood the original Chinese text and transposed it into Japanese using proper vocabulary and grammatical structures.

²⁸In order to avoid confusion, the two terms “version” and “edition” are used in different senses. “Version” indicates the linguistic distinction between Chinese and Japanese, while “edition” specifies a text in a certain language. In other words, there is the major distinction between the Chinese version and the Japanese version of the novel, and there are various editions within each version.

²⁹For discussions on the textual history of the Chinese version of *The Water Margin*, see Ge (2001: 101-143) and Hsia (2015: 71-79) in English, and Hú (1986: 61-139) and Dèng (2017) in Chinese. Hedberg (2020: 217-220) provides a bibliography of some major Chinese and Japanese editions of *The Water Margin* (together with a few English translations) published from the 18th century to the 20th century which he has consulted for his study.

produced over time, some of which may be significantly different from each other in terms of structure and content. The main variation occurs in the second half of the novel. Generally speaking, there are three major systems of edition on the basis of the number of chapters (*huí* 回): 70 chapters, 100 chapters, and 120 chapters. Each system contains different editions published at different times with different editors, commentators, or publishers, after which a specific edition is named. It should also be noted that despite being characterized as a “vernacular novel,” *The Water Margin* also contains portions written in Literary Sinitic, most evidently in the form of verses or various types of cited texts, such as letters, notices, edicts, and memorials. The narrative portion as a whole is a hybrid of Literary Sinitic and Vernacular Chinese, whereas the dialogues are believed to be a direct reflection of the spoken language.

The specific Chinese edition used for this study is a 120-chapter modern variorum edition titled *Shuǐhǔ quánzhuàn* 水滸全傳 (“Complete Account of the Water Margin”) (SHQZ) edited by Zhèng Zhènduó 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958) and Wáng Lìqì 王利器 (1912-1998). This is the base against which the Japanese version is compared. It is mainly based on a 100-chapter edition originally printed in 1589 with a preface by Tiāndūwàichén 天都外臣 (Wāng Dàokūn 汪道昆 [1525-1593]), and the additional 20 chapters (chapters 91-110) are supplemented based on a 120-chapter edition titled *Lǐ Zhuówú píng zhōngyì shuǐhǔ quánzhuàn* 李卓吾評忠義水滸全傳 (“Complete Account of the Loyalty and Propriety of the Water Margin Commented by Lǐ Zhuówú”), edited by Yáng Dìngjiàn 楊定見 (dates unknown) and published by Yuán Wúyá 袁無涯 (dates unknown) in the late Míng period.

As is mentioned in section 5.3.2, *The Water Margin* is the most popular Vernacular Chinese text in Japan before the 20th century. The two major premodern Japanese editions of the novel are both used for this study. The first is the earliest complete Japanese edition, *Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden* 通俗忠義水滸傳 (TZ), included as photocopies in volumes 6-11 of *Kinsei hakuwa shōsetsu honyakushū* 近世白話小説翻訳

集 (“Collection of Translations of Early Modern Vernacular Novels”) (KSHS) edited by Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 (1911-1998). TZ was originally published in four installments (*hen* 編), and each installment is further divided into volumes (*kan* 卷). The content in each volume usually corresponds to 2-3 chapters in SHQZ. Each volume has its own table of contents, which lists the headings of textual segments in this volume. These headings are equivalent to the chapter titles in the Chinese version, and they also appear in the main text. The structure of TZ is shown in table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 Structure of *Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden*

Installment (<i>hen</i> 編)	Volumes (<i>kan</i> 卷)	Corresponding Chapters in SHQZ	Year of Publication
<i>jōhen</i> 上編	1-15	1-31	1757
<i>chūhen</i> 中編	16-30	32-67	1772
<i>gehen</i> 下編	31-47	68-90, 110-120	1784
<i>shūi</i> 拾遺	1-10	91-109	1790

It is well known that in the 120-chapter Chinese edition of the novel as it exists today, chapters 90-109 are a later addition to a previous 100-chapter edition. Given the structure of TZ, it can be safely assumed that it was originally produced on the basis of a 100-chapter Chinese edition as a coherent sequence, and the 20 extra chapters were later added as a supplement (*shūi* 拾遺) to what had been considered as a finished work. According to the colophon of each installment, the first three installments are attributed to Okajima Kanzan, although this is dubious because even the first installment was published long after his death, and the supplementary installment is attributed to a certain 丟甩道人. Neither the reading of the first two characters in this name nor the identity of this figure is clear³⁰. The second Japanese edition is *Shinpen suiko gaden* 新編水滸畫傳 (“Newly Edited Illustrated Account of the Water Margin”) (GD), in 4 volumes edited by

³⁰For unknown reasons, the first two volumes in the supplementary installment (corresponding to chapters 91-93 in SHQZ) are not included in KSHS. This information is from Nakamura Yukihiko’s postface following the entire work (KSHS 11: 614).

Mukasa San 武笠三 (1871-1929). Based on TZ, this edition was originally published between 1805 and 1852. Its text was written by Kyokutei Bakin and Takai Ranzan, and it also includes illustrations by Katsushika Hokusai.

These two Japanese editions show contrasting typographic features but, because GD was produced on the basis of TZ, are very similar in language. TZ is written in a mixture of Sinograms and *katakana* graphs, and GD is written in a mixture of Sinograms and *hiragana* graphs. Most Sinograms are accompanied with a reading gloss in both editions, given accordingly in *katakana* graphs in TZ and in *hiragana* graphs in GD. The text of the Japanese version in general can be regarded as being composed in the typical *yomikudashi* form, which indicates that the process of *kundoku* must have been involved when the Chinese version was being rendered into Japanese. The use of *hiragana* graphs in glossing in GD is unusual, and this phenomenon may indicate that GD was intended as a self-standing Japanese literary work rather than a derivation from a Chinese text.

In the textual analyses below, the abbreviations “CN” and “JP” are designations for the Chinese version and the Japanese version in general (regardless of edition) respectively, and the specific Japanese editions are designated by the abbreviations “TZ” and “GD”. The English translation of the Chinese version is slightly modified from the work by John and Alex Dent-Young (1994-2002), and the English translation of the Japanese version is mine.

5.4.2 Opening Part of the Novel

This section examines the opening part of the novel to show what types of textual variation may exist between the Chinese version and the Japanese version. The exact textual segment under examination is the narrative sequence whose content corresponds to the first half of the title of chapter 1 of the Chinese version

(*Zhāng Tiānshī qíráng wēnyì* 張天師祈禳瘟疫 “Heavenly Master Zhāng Prays to Exorcise the Plague”).

The complete texts (SHQZ 1-14; KHS 6: 23-34; GD 1: 23-33) are given in Appendix 5.

The textual variations can be divided into six types. First, a part in CN has no corresponding part in JP. This mostly happens to long verses in CN, which, together with their introductory phrases or sentences, are generally deleted and not rendered in JP. For example, the first verse in the main text in CN has no corresponding part in TZ:

祥雲迷鳳閣，瑞氣罩龍樓。含烟御柳拂旌旗，帶露宮花迎劍戟。天香影裏，玉簪朱履聚丹墀。仙樂聲中，繡襖錦衣扶御駕。珍珠簾捲，黃金殿上現金輦。鳳尾扇開，白玉堦前停寶輦。隱隱淨鞭三下響，層層文武兩班齊。

Auspicious clouds engulf the Phoenix Hall; a precious air invests the Dragon Tower. Mist-veiled palace willows flirt with flags, and dew-starred royal blossoms welcome swords. Amid smoke of incense, jade pins and scarlet shoes invade the vermilion courts. To heavenly harmonies, rich gowns and flowery robes escort the royal sedan. Respectful screens of jade deploy when the sacred chaise attains the golden palace. Peacock feather fans unfold as the precious carriage halts by the white jade steps. Three times the crack of a distant whip resounds; in serried ranks the imperial court attends.

Second, contrary to the first type of variation, a part in JP has no corresponding part in CN. In other words, there is added content in JP which does not exist in CN. For example, in the quotation of Fàn Zhōngyān's 范仲淹 proposal on how to deal with the plague, both TZ and GD include detailed information not found in CN about the background of the Heavenly Master (*tiānshī* 天師):

TZ

希^{サイ}江^ハ西^{セイ}信^{シン}州^{シュ}龍^{リヤウ}虎^コ山^{サン}ニ^ニコソ。嗣^ジ漢^{カン}天^{テン}師^シ張^{チャウ}真^{シン}人^{ジン}ト申テ。道^{ドウ}行^{コウ}天^{テン}下^カ無^{ナキ}雙^{ナラビ}。神^{ジン}通^{ツウ}廣^{クワウ}
大^{ダイ}ノ道^{ドウ}士^シアル。又^{マタ}渠^{カレ}ガ家^{イヘ}ニ^ニ代^{ダイ}々^{ツタヘ}傳^ヘ來^{キタツ}テ。天^{サイ}災^ハヲ禳^{ハフ}處^{コロ}ノ秘^ヒ法^{ハフ}アリ。名^{ナツ}テ三^ゾ千^ケ六^ケ百^ケ分^ケ羅^ラ
天^{テン}大^タ醺^{セウ}ト云フ。尤^{モツ}靈^{レイ}法^{ハフ}也。

Fortunately, exactly on the Dragon-Tiger Mountain in Shinshu (CN Xīnzhōu) in Kōsei (CN

Jiāngxī), there is an immensely powerful Daoist called Chō (CN Zhāng) the True Person, Heavenly Master Succeeding the Kan (CN Hàn), whose capability is second to none in the world. Furthermore, his family has a secret method of exorcising natural disasters transmitted from generation to generation called three thousand six hundred libations. [It] is especially an effective method.

GD

江西信州の龍虎山に、神通不測、道行無量の道士あり、その號を嗣漢天師張真人といひ
又略しては張天師ともいふ、加旃 彼が家に天災を禳ふの秘法ありて、三千六百分、羅天
大醮と名づけたり、これいと稀なる靈法なる

On the Dragon-Tiger Mountain in Shinshu (CN Xīnzhōu) in Kōsei (CN Jiāngxī), there is a powerful and unpredictable Daoist with immeasurable capability. His name is called Chō (CN Zhāng) the True Person, Heavenly Master Succeeding the Kan (CN Hàn), and is also called Heavenly Master Chō (CN Zhāng) in brief. Furthermore, his family has a secret method of exorcising natural disasters called three thousand six hundred libations. This is really a rare effective method.

Third, corresponding parts in CN and JP have different content. This variation may also be regarded as the rewriting of an original part in CN. For example, although it is always the case that long verses are not rendered in TZ, a few of them have a corresponding part in GD with different content. The following is the part in GD corresponding to the opening verse in CN cited above:

三公百宦禮儀を正し、おのく位階にしたがひ、主上を拜し奉る、玉しく庭の春の色、げ
に目ざましき光景なり。

The three ministers and hundreds of officials, rectifying [their] etiquette and each following [his] rank, paid homage to the emperor. The jade-like spring scenery of the court was indeed a wonderful view.

Fourth, the content of a part in JP is expanded or complicated from the content of the corresponding part in CN. For example, Defender-in-chief (*tàiwèi* 太尉) Hóng Xìn 洪信, the protagonist of this chapter,

makes complaints after encountering a snake in the mountain. The following is his speech in CN:

耐無禮，戲弄下官！教俺受這般驚恐！若山上尋不見天師，下去和他別有話說。
What insufferable lack of manners to make sport of a court official! Treating me to all these shocks!
If I don't find the Heavenly Master when I get to the top, I shall have a thing or two to say to that
lot when I get down again!

Both TZ and GD give a longer speech:

TZ

你^{ナンヂ}-等我^ラヲ欺^{アサ(ギ)}キ猛獸^{ムウシ(ジ)}多^クキ惡處^{アクシヨ}薦^スメ。此等^{コレラ}ノ恐懼^{キヤウ}ヲ受^{ウケ}サシムル^{マデ}。何^{ナニ}ノ無^ブ-禮^{レイ}カ(ガ)
之^{コレ}ニ過^{スキ(ギ)}ン。如^{モシ}天^{テン}-師^シニ尋^{タズネ}逢^{アハ}ズンバ。住^{ヂウ}-持^シハ云^{シユ}ニ及^{イタル}バズ。道^{ダウ}眾^{シュ}ニ至^{イタル}マデ。一^{イツ}-々^{サン}是^{コレ}仇^{アタ(ダ)}ヲ
報^{ムク}ハン者^{シヤ}ヲト。

You tricked me and urged [me to come to] a bad place full of beasts. The fact of making [me] experience this kind of terror, what rudeness surpasses this (i.e., is there anything else ruder than this)? If [I] don't find and meet the Heavenly Master, not to mention the Superior, [I] will take revenge on the priests one by one.

GD

彼^{カノ}惡^{あく}道士^{だうし}、敕^{ちよく}使^しを誑^{たづね}して猛獸^{まうじう}多^たキ惡處^{あくしよ}に儼^{みちび}き、かくまで憂^{うれ}目^め見^みするこそ安^{やす}からね、われ
もし張^{ちやう}天^{てん}師^しに索^{たづね}あはずは、住^{ぢう}持^ぢをはじめ一^{いつ}山^{さん}の奴^{やつ}原^{ばら}、そのまゝにはおくべからず...

That bad priest tricked the envoy and led [him] to a bad place full of beasts. Since [I'm] having this kind of hard time, [it won't be easy to] settle down. If [I] don't find and meet Heavenly Master Chō (CN Zhāng), starting from the Superior, [I] shouldn't let the guys in the mountain be as it is ...

Fifth, contrary to the fourth type of variation, the content of a part in JP is reduced or simplified from the content of the corresponding part in CN. For example, when Hóng Xīn blacks out after encountering a tiger in the mountain, his reaction is described as follows in CN:

洪太尉倒在樹根底下，諕的三十六個牙齒，捉對兒廝打。那心頭一似十五個吊桶，七上八落的響。渾身卻如重風麻木，兩腿一似鬪敗公雞。

Defender-in-chief Hóng had fallen at the foot of a tree, all his thirty-six teeth chattering against each other and his heart knocking like fifteen buckets in a well, clashing as they pass up and down. His whole body was numb with shock and his legs limp as the defeated cock.

Both TZ and GD gives a briefer description:

TZ

其ノ時太尉^{ユム}夢ノ覺タル心地^{コゝチ}シテ。

At that time, the Defender-in-chief feeling like waking up from a dream ...

GD

洪^{こう}信^{しん}やゝ人^{ひと}ごこちつきて...

Kō Shin (CN Hóng Xìn) slightly comes to his senses ...

Sixth, a corresponding part of the text occurs at different positions in CN and JP. See Appendix 5 for details. The part surrounded by angle brackets occurring at the position marked as **(1a)** in CN corresponds to the part surrounded by angle brackets occurring at the position marked as **(1b)** in JP. Similarly, the part surrounded by angle brackets occurring at the position marked as **(2a)** in CN corresponds to the part surrounded by angle brackets occurring at the position marked as **(2b)** in JP.

5.4.3 Kundoku-Style Passages in the Japanese Version

Some Literary Sinitic portions in the original novel are explicitly rendered in the style of *kundoku*. In the Japanese editions, such a passage occupies a separate paragraph and is written completely in Sinograms, thus being visually distinct from the surrounding text written in a mixture of Sinograms and *kana* graphs. While long verses in CN are mostly omitted in JP, many short verses in CN are retained. Examples of both

verses and other types of passages with *kundoku* glossing are given below. Because the product of *kundoku* as a Japanese text is highly bound to the original Chinese text, only the English translation of the Chinese version is given for each example in this section.

There are several poems at the end of the novel as eulogies to the heroes. TZ includes two poems, and GD includes four poems. The following two poems appear in both TZ and GD (KSHS 11: 607-608; GD 4: 645). However, they do not appear in SHQZ, nor are they mentioned in its notes about textual variations in different Chinese editions³¹. Hú Shì (1986: 127) indicates that the corresponding poems exist in the so-called “Guō Xūn 郭勳 edition,” and the Chinese text given here is his citation. Despite the lack of clarity about which particular edition he refers to by this tag, the text given by him conforms with the text in JP, which indicates that he must have seen these poems in a certain extant Chinese edition. For the second poem, Hú only provides the first four lines, followed by the omission marks.

CN 由來義氣包天地，只在人心方寸間。罡煞廟前秋日淨，英魂常伴月光寒。

JP 由^ユ-來^{ライ}義^ギ-氣^キ包^{ヅム}天^{テン}-地^チヲ^{タヘ(ダ)アリ} 只^ジ在^{シン}人^{ホウ}-心^{スン}方^{アイタ(ダ)}-寸^{コウ}ノ^{サツ}間^{セ(ゼ)ンシウ}ニ^{ジツ} 罡^{エイ}-煞^{コン}廟^{ツネ}-前^{トモナツ} 秋^{ゲツ}-日^{クハク}淨^{サム}シ 英^{ツネ}-魂^{トモナツ}常^{ツネ}伴^{トモナツ}テ^{サム}月^{サム}-光^{サム}ヲ^{サム}寒^{サム}シ

CN 梁山寒日澹無輝，忠義堂深晝漏遲。孤塚有人薦蘋藻，六陵無淚濕冠衣。……

JP 梁^{リヤウ}-山^{ザン}ノ^{カン}寒^{ジツ}-日^{タン}澹^{トゾ(シテ)}無^ナシ^{ヒカリ}輝^{チウ} 忠^ギ-義^{ドウ}堂^{フカ}深^{フゾ(シテ)}晝^{チウ}-漏^{ラウ}遲^{オソ}シ 孤^コ塚^{チヨ}有^{アリ}人^{ヒト}薦^{スム}蘋^{ヒン}藻^{ソウ}ヲ^ヲ 六^{リク}-陵^{リヤウ}無^ナカ^{ラン}ラ^ンニ^{ナミダ}涙^{ウルホス}ノ^{クハン}濕^イニ^イ冠^{エン}-衣^{カツ}ヲ^コ 内^{ハナ}-苑^{モヨオス}羯^{ハナ}鼓^{ヒヨク}催^ヲニ^{シヤウ}花^{デン}ノ^{シユ}發^{レン}ヲ^ミ 小^{ユキ}-殿^{トブ}珠^ギ-簾^ギ看^ギル^ギニ^ギ雪^ギノ^ギ飛^ギヲ^ギ 義^ギ-

血^{ケツ}一^{イツ}-腔^{クウ}人^{ヒト}百^{ヒヤク}-八^{ハチ} 罡^{カウ}-光^{コウ}煞^{サツ}耀^{ヨウ}仰^{アツ}ニ^{シン}神^イ-威^イヲ^イ

The following two poems appear only in GD, but they are the ones appearing in SHQZ (SHQZ: 1818; GD

³¹Probably because of this, John and Alex Dent-Young’s translation does not include these two poems.

4: 644).

CN (a)莫把行藏怨老天，韓彭當日亦堪憐。一心征臘摧鋒日，百戰擒遼破敵年。煞曜星
今已矣，讒臣賊相尚依然。早知鳩毒埋黃壤，學取鳴夷泛釣船。

JP (a) 莫^{ナカレ}把^{トル} 行^{コト} 藏^{カウ} 怨^{ザウ} 老^{ウラム} 天^{ユウ} 韓^{テン} 彭^{カン} 當^{ハウ} 日^{ヌク} 亦^{ジツ} 堪^{マダ} 憐^{メヘ} 一^{アハレム} 心^{イツ} 征^{シン} 臘^{セイ} 摧^ヲ 鋒^{クダウ}
日^ヒ 百^{ヒヤク} 戰^{セン} 擒^{トリ} 遼^コ 破^{レウ} 敵^{カブル} 年^{ナキ} 煞^{トシ} 曜^{サツ} 星^{エウ} 今^{カウ} 已^{セイ} 矣^{イマ} 讒^{ヤン} 臣^ズ 賊^{ゼン} 相^{シン} 尚^{ゾク} 依^{シヤウ} 然^{ナホ} 矣^イ 早^{ゼン} 知^{タリ} 鳩^{ハヤ} 毒^{シル}
埋^{ウヅム} 黃^{クハク} 壤^{ジヤク} 學^{マナビ} 取^{トリ} 鳴^シ 夷^イ 泛^{ウカブ} 釣^{テウ} 船^{セン}

Blame not heaven for what man gets, recall how sovereigns pay their debts! For the country's good
they gave their all, till the Tartars' expulsion and Fang La's fall. Heaven and earth stars, all are
gone, but slander and calumny still reign on. Would that the deadly cup they'd refused, and gone
where men are better used!

CN 生當廟食死封侯，男子(b)生平志已酬。鐵馬夜嘶山月暗，玄猿秋嘯暮雲稠。不須出處
求真跡，卻喜忠良作話頭。千古蓼窪埋玉地，落花啼鳥總關愁。

JP 生^{イキ} テハ 當^{マサニ} 廟^{ベシ} 食^{シヨク} 死^シ テハ 封^{ホウ} ゼラル 侯^ニ 男^{ダン} 子^シ (b) 平^{ヘイ} 生^{ゼイ} 志^コ 已^{ホサ} 酬^シ 鐵^{スズ} 馬^{ムクフ} 夜^{テツ} 嘶^ハ 山^{ヨル} 月^{イサ} 暗^{ハイ} 玄^{サン} 猿^{エン} 秋^{アキ} 嘯^{ウソ} 暮^モ 雲^{ウン} 稠^{シゲ} 不^ズ 須^{モチヒ} 出^{シユツ} 處^{ショ} 求^{モトム} 真^{シン} 跡^{セキ} 却^{カヘツ} 喜^{テヨロコブ} 忠^{チウ} 良^{リキウ} 作^{ナス} 話^ワ 頭^{トク} 千^{セン}
古^コ 蓼^{レウ} 窪^ア 埋^{ウヅムル} 玉^{タマ} 地^チ 落^{ラウ} 花^{ウハ} 啼^{タイ} 鳥^{テウ} 總^{スベテ} 關^{アザカレ} 愁^{ウレヒ}

They lived life to the full, in death earned rank, of all a man may know no page left blank. The
horses of war whose whinnying fills the night, the moon over the mountain spilling its light. The
apes that sadden autumn with their cries, the clouds which gather and thicken as daylight flies.
Why seek rare compositions unlike to please, when you can read of heroes such as these? In
Duckweed Marsh now lie they all at rest, for eternal peace a hidden place is best. Flowers their
petals shed, birds dirges sing, remembering these whom nothing back can bring.

There is one case of textual variation in each of these two poems. (a). In the first poem, the range of
governance of the imperative negator *mò* 莫 in CN is the entire first line, which means “Do not complain
about the whereabouts off Heaven.” The gloss in JP seems to divide this line into two parts 莫把行藏 and
怨老天, each representing a separate verb-object phrase, and the first phrase is glossed as *kō-zō-o tor-u-ko.to*
na-kar-e 莫^{ナカレ}把^{トル} 行^{コト}藏^{カウ} 怨^{ザウ} 老^{ウラム}天^{ユウ} “Do not [complain about] the whereabouts.” (b). In the second poem, the

order of the two characters 生 and 平 are reversed in JP from CN. The meaning of the underlying word remains the same as ‘lifetime’.

In chapter 23 of CN, when Wǔ Sōng 武松, one of the main characters of the novel, is about to cross a hill, he finds two notices warning travelers about the presence of a tiger on the hill (SHQZ: 345; KHSB 7: 119-120; GD 1: 594-595).

CN 近因景陽岡大虫傷人，但有過往客商，可於巳、午、未三箇時辰結夥成隊過岡。勿請自誤。

JP 近^{チカス(ゴ)ロヨツ}因^{ケイ}景^{ヨウ}陽^{ゴウ}岡^{タイ}ノ大^{チウソコナフ}虫^{ヒト}傷^{タヘ(ダ)アラ}ニ^{クハ}レ^{ワウ}人^{カク}ヲ^{シヤウ}但^{ヘ(ベ)}有^{タイテ}バ^ミ過^{ウマヒツシ(ジ)}往^{サン}ノ客^コ商^{シ(ジ)}人^{シン}等^{ムスヒ(ビ)}可^{クハ}シ^{ナシ}下^{タイ}於^{ヨキ(ギ)ル}ニ^{カウ}巳^{ナカレ}午^{コフ}未^{ミツ(ヅ)}三^{カラタノシム}箇^{コト}時^{コト}辰^{コト}ニ^{コト}結^{コト}夥^{コト}成^{コト}隊^{コト}過^{コト}上^{コト}岡^{コト}ヲ^{コト}勿^{コト}請^{コト}自^{コト}誤^{コト}。

In view of recent attacks by a tiger in the Jingyang Pass, travellers are advised to make the crossing only in the morning, at noon, or in the afternoon, and furthermore to organize themselves into groups for the said crossing. Ignore this advice at your peril!

CN 陽谷縣為這景陽岡上新有一隻大蟲，近來傷害人命。見今杖限各鄉里正並獵戶人等，打捕未獲。如有過往客商等，可於巳、午、未三箇時辰結伴過岡。其餘時分及單身客人，白日不許過岡。恐被傷害性命不便。各宜知悉。

JP 陽^{ヨウ}谷^{コク}縣^{ケン}為^{ヨツ}テ^{コノ}這^{ケイ}景^{ヨウ}陽^{ゴウ}岡^{ウヘ}ノ上^{アラタ}ニ^{アツ}新^{イツ}有^{セキ}テ^{トラ}一^{キン}隻^{ライシヤウ}大^{カ(ダ)}蟲^イ近^{スルニ}來^{ニン}傷^{メイ}害^{ケ(ダ)ン}スル^{ケ(ダ)ン}ニ^{ケ(ダ)ン}上^{ケ(ダ)ン}人^{ケ(ダ)ン}命^{ケ(ダ)ン}ヲ^{ケ(ダ)ン}見^{ケ(ダ)ン}ニ^{ケ(ダ)ン}今^{イマ}杖^チ限^{シツ}ソ^{シテ}各^{カク}鄉^{キヤウ}里^{シヤウ}正^ヤ並^{ナラビ}獵^{カリウ}戶^{ト(ド)}人^ラ等^{ウチ}ニ^{トラヘ}打^{イマダス(ズ)}捕^エシム^{モシ}未^{アラ}レ^{クハ}獲^{ヲウ}有^ハハ^バ過^{クハ}往^{ヲウ}ノ客^{カク}商^{セウ}人^ラ等^{ヘ(ベ)}可^{タイテ}シ^ミ下^{ウマヒツシ(ジ)}於^{サン}ニ^コ巳^ジ午^{シン}未^{ムスヒ(ビ)}三^{トモ}箇^{ヨキ(ギ)ル}時^{チカ}辰^{ソノ}ニ^{ヨソ}結^ジテ^{フ(ブ)}伴^{ノオヨビトリ}ヲ^ミ過^{キヤウ}上^{ジン}岡^{ハク}ヲ^{シ(ジ)ツ}恐^ズ被^{ユルサ}ハ^{ヨキ(ギ)ル}傷^{ヨカ}害^{オソラ}セ^{ラレ}ニ^ハ性^{シヤウ}命^{カ(ダ)}ヲ^イ不^{セイ}レ^{メイ}便^{ス(ズ)}ナ^{ヘ(ベ)}ラ^シ各^{チノ}宜^{シツ}知^セ悉^ヨ。

Yanggu district office announces that due to the recent appearance of a fierce man-eating tiger and the fact that the local hunters commissioned to trap it have not yet succeeded in their objective, all merchants and travellers are accordingly advised not to attempt the crossing of the pass except the hours of nine and three, and furthermore single travellers are not to attempt the journey alone, lest they perish in the process. Travellers take heed!

There are no textual variations in these two passages, but there is a problem in a gloss. The last character in

the first passage (悞 in CN and 悞 in JP) is an allograph of the character 誤 meaning ‘to err’. The gloss of this character in TZ is *ta.no-si-mu-ko.to* タノシムコト (コト) ‘enjoying’, which is apparently a confusion with the character 娛 ‘to entertain’ due to their similarity in graphic form. On the other hand, the gloss in GD is correct as *a.ya.mar-u-ko.to* あやまること ‘erring’.

In chapter 63 of CN, after the two heroes Lú Jùnyì 廬俊義 and Shí Xiù 石秀 are captured by court officials, Sòng Jiāng 宋江, the main protagonist and leader of the heroes, issues a statement requesting their release (SHQZ: 1070; KHSB 9: 78-79; GD 3: 200).

CN 梁山泊義士宋江，仰示大(a)名府，布告天下：今為大宋朝濫官當道，污吏專權。毆死良民，塗炭萬姓。北京盧俊義乃豪傑之士。今者啟請上山，一同替天行道。特令石秀，先來報知，不期俱被擒捉。如是存得二人性命，獻出淫婦奸夫，吾無侵擾。倘若誤傷羽翼，屈壞股肱，拔寨興兵，同心雪恨。(b)大兵到處，玉石俱焚。天地咸扶，鬼神共佑。勦除奸詐，殄滅愚頑。談笑入城，並無輕恕。義夫節婦，孝子順孫，好義良民，清慎官吏，切勿驚惶，各安職業。諭眾知悉。

JP 梁^{リヤウ}-山^{ザン}-泊^{バク}-義^ギ-士^シ-宋^{ソウ}-江^{カウケ(ザ)ウ} 仰^ジ-示^シ-大^{ダイ}-(a)明^{メイ}-府^フ-布^フ-告^{コク}-天^{テン}-下^カ-今^{イマ}為^{タメ}大^{ダイ}-宋^{ソウ}-朝^{チャウ}濫^{ラン}-官^{カン}
當^{アタリ}道^{ミチ}=汚^ヲ-吏^リ 專^{モツハ(バ)ラ}ニシレ權^{ケン}毆^{オウ}-死^シ良^{リヤウ}-民^{ミン}ヲ塗^ト-炭^{タン}シ萬^{バン}-姓^{セイ}ヲ北^{ホク}-京^{キン}ノ盧^ロ-俊^{シュン}-義^ギ乃^ギ豪^{スナハチ}-傑^{ガウ}之^{ケツ}
士^シナリ今^{イマ}者^{ケイ}啟^{シヤウ}-請^{ゾ(シテ)}上^{ノボラ}シメレ山^{ヤマ}ニ一^{イチ}-同^{ドウ}=替^{カハリ}テ天^{テン}ニ行^{チヨナハ}ンカ(ガ)上^{ミチ}レ道^{コト}ヲ特^{シテ}ニ令^{セキ}下^{シウ}石^{マツ(ザ)キタツ}-秀^ノヲ先^{マツ}来^{キタツ}
テ報^{キウ}-知^チセ上^ズ不^{ゾ(シテ)}レ期^キセ俱^{トモ}=被^レス擒^{イカトラハ}捉^{モシ}ニ如^{コレ}是^{ソシ}存^ジシ(ジ)-得^フニ二^{フタリ}人^カ(ガ)性^{セイ}-命^{メイ}ヲ獻^{ガン}出^{イダサ}バ淫^{イン}-婦^フ奸^{カン}
夫^フヲ吾^{ワレ}無^ナカランニ侵^{シン}-擾^{ジャウ}スルコト(コト)ニ倘若^{モシ}誤^{アヤマツ}傷^{ヤブリ}ニ羽^ウ-翼^{ヨク}ヲ屈^{クツ}シテ壞^{ヤブリ}ニ股^{コウ}-肱^{コウ}ヲ拔^{ヒキ}テ寨^{サイ}ヲ興^{チヨシ}レ兵^{ヘイ}ヲ
同^{オナジウ}ゾ(シテ)心^コヲ雪^{ハク}ニ恨^ミヲ(b)人^{ジン}-兵^{ヘイ}到處^{イタルトコロ}玉^{ゴク}-石^{セキ}俱^{トモ}=焚^{ヤケ}天^{テン}-地^チ咸^{コトク(ゴト)}扶^{クダスケ}鬼^キ-神^{シン}共^{トモ}=佑^{タスケ}勦^{サウ}-除^{ジョ}シニ奸^{カン}-
詐^サヲ殄^{シン}-滅^{メツ}シニ愚^{ク(グ)}-頑^{グワン}ヲ談^{タン}-笑^{シャウ}ゾ(シテ)入^{イラ}ニ城^{シロ}ニ並^{ナラビ}=無^ナカレニ輕^{ケイ}-恕^{ジョ}スルコト(コト)ニ義^ギ-夫^フ節^{セツ}-婦^フ孝^{カウ}-子^シ順^{シュン}-
孫^{ソン}好^{コウ}-義^ギ良^{リヤウ}-民^{ミン}清^{セイ}-慎^{シン}ノ官^{カン}-吏^リ切^{セツ}ニ勿^{ナカレ}ニ驚^{キヤウ}-惶^クスルコト(コト)ニ各^{オノオノ}安^{ヤス}ゼヨニ職^{シヨク}-業^{キ(ギ)ヤウ}ヲ論^{サトゾ(シテ)}レ眾^{シユウ}ヲ知^チ-悉^{シツ}
セシム

Song Jiang of the Marshes of Mount Liang respectfully greets the government and people of the Northern Capital and wishes to inform them that: owing to the excesses of those who exercise authority under the Song dynasty, the abuse of power by corrupt officials, the cruel oppression of the innocent and the terrible plight of ordinary people, Mr. Lu, a valiant and upstanding gentleman

of the Northern Capital, has asked to be admitted to our company and join with us in doing heaven's will. How vilely in your folly and greed do you torment the innocent! Mr. Shi also, whom we sent on ahead to report on the situation, has been wrongfully detained! But provided the lives of these two people are preserved, and the harlot and her evil lover handed over, I shall not attack you. If on the other hand a hair of their heads is harmed, or any injury whatsoever sustained by them, we shall mobilize all our forces and unite to exact revenge. When our army falls upon you, even jade will burn. We shall root out the evil deceivers, we shall eliminate the troublemakers. Heaven and earth are on our side, gods and spirits bestow on us their blessing. We shall enter the city with the greatest of ease, but not lightly will we be appeased. Honourable men and women, filial and obedient offspring, upright citizens and honest officials have nothing to fear — they should continue to perform their duties as normal. Let all take heed!

There are two cases of textual variation in this passage, and they can be safely regarded as graphic errors in JP. (a). The second character in the toponym *Dà míng* 大名 (modern Hándān 邯鄲) is written as 明 in JP, presumably due to the same SJ reading *mei* of these two characters. (b). The character *dà* 大 'big' in CN is written as 人 'person' in JP, which is then glossed with its SJ reading *jin* ジン, due to the similar graphic form of these two characters. While the word 大兵 'large troop' is commonly used, there is not such a word as 人兵 'human troop' in either language.

5.4.4 Beating the Tiger

This section is a close reading and comparison of the rendition in the two Japanese editions of one of the most famous excerpts in the novel, the narration of Wǔ Sōng (JP Bu Shō) beating a tiger. In the Chinese version given below (SHQZ: 346-347), the entire excerpt is divided into twelve segments, each of which is further divided into two halves. The first half of a segment is narrated from the tiger's perspective, and the second half of a segment is narrated from the protagonist's perspective. Each segment is marked by a number, and each half in a segment is marked by the letter (a) or (b). This constant change of narrative perspective may be regarded as a literary device providing a sense of rhythm to the narration, making the reader feel that

they are watching a bout in real life. The following symbols are used to mark different types of textual variation:

- (1). A ~~strike through~~ in the text of CN indicates that there is no corresponding part in JP.
- (2). An underline in the text of JP indicates that there is no corresponding part in CN.
- (3). A wavy underline in the text indicates that the corresponding parts in CN and JP have different content.
- (4). A boxed part in the text indicates that the content of a part in JP is reduced or simplified from the content of the corresponding part in CN.

(1a)那一陣風過處，只聽得亂樹背後撲地一聲響，跳出一隻吊睛白額大虫來。(1b)武松見了，
叫聲：“呵呀！”從青石上翻將下來。便拿那條梢棒在手裏，閃在青石邊。(2a)那箇大虫又飢
又渴，把兩隻爪在地下略按一按，和身望上一撲，從半空裏攏將下來。(2b)武松被那一驚，
酒都做冷汗出了。說時遲，那時快。武松見大虫撲來，只一閃，閃在大虫背後。(3a)那大虫
背後看人最難，便把前爪搭在地下，把腰胯一掀，掀將起來。(3b)武松只一躲，躲在一邊。
(4a)大虫見掀他不着，吼一聲，卻似半天裏起箇霹靂，振得那山岡也動。把這鐵棒也似虎尾
倒豎起來，只一剪。(4b)武松卻又閃在一邊。(Transition)原來那大虫拿人，只是一撲，一掀，一
剪。三般提不着時，氣性先自沒了一半。(5a)那大虫又剪不着，再吼了一聲，一兜，兜將回
來。(5b)武松見那大虫復翻身回來，雙手輪起梢棒，盡平生氣力，只一棒，從半空劈將下來。
只聽得一聲響，簌簌地將那樹連枝帶葉，劈臉打將下來。*定睛看時，一棒劈不着大虫。原
來慌了，正打在枯樹上，把那條梢棒折做兩截，只拏得一半在手裏。*(no 6a) (no 6b) (7a)那大虫
咆哮，性發起來，翻身又只一撲，撲將來。(7b)武松又只一跳，卻退了十步遠。(8a)那大虫卻
好把兩隻前爪搭在武松面前。(8b)武松將半截棒丟在一邊，兩隻手就勢把大虫頂花皮
肱地揪住，一按按將下來。(9a)那隻大虫急要掙扎，早沒了氣力。被武松盡氣力納定，那里肯放
半點兒鬆寬。(9b)武松把隻脚望大虫面門上、眼睛裏只顧亂踢。(10a)那大虫咆哮起來，把身底
下扒起兩堆黃泥，做了一個土坑。(10b)武松把那大虫嘴直按下黃泥坑裏去。(11a)那大虫吃武
松奈何得沒了些氣力。(11b)武松把左手緊緊地揪住頂花皮，偷出右手來，提起鐵鎚般大小拳
頭，盡平生之力，只顧打。打得五七十拳，(12a)那大虫眼裏、口裏、鼻子裏、耳朵裏，都迸
出鮮血來。(12b)那武松儘平昔神威，仗胸中武藝，半歇兒把大虫打做一堆，卻似倘着一箇錦
布袋。

When the gust had passed, he heard something crashing through the trees and out sprang an enormous tiger, with bulging eyes and a white forehead. When Wu Song saw this a horrified “Aiya!” broke from his lips. He rolled off the boulder and grabbing his cudgel dodged behind it. Now the tiger was ravenous. It struck the ground with two paws and sprang upwards, intending to land on its prey like a thunderbolt. Wu Song had such a shock that he felt all the wine start out of him in an icy sweat! It’s slow in the telling, but happens in a flash. When he saw the tiger spring, Wu Song leapt out of the way, ending up behind it. That’s exactly what the tiger didn’t like, to have a man at its back. Thrusting upward off its front paws, it flexed its back and twisted round to pounce again. But again Wu Song dodged to one side. Failing to grasp its prey, the tiger gave a roar like half the heavens exploding, a roar that seemed to shake the very mountains, and lashed out at Wu

Song with its tail, rigid as a steel bar. Once more Wu Song leapt aside. Now when the tiger attacks a man, it generally has these three strategies: the spring, the pounce and the tail-swipe. When all these three methods failed, this tiger's spirit was half broken. After failing to catch Wu Song with its tail it gave a loud roar and turned away. Seeing the tiger had turned its back on him, Wu Song grasped his cudgel in both hands and brought it down with all the strength of his body. There was a resounding crash. But what he had done was demolish a whole tree, branches and all. He looked for the tiger. His staff had not even touched it. He'd rushed his stroke and all he'd achieved was to bring down a dead tree. Now his cudgel was broken in two and he was left with only the broken half in his hand. The tiger roared, it was enraged, it turned and sprang at him again. Wu Song leapt back, covering ten paces in a single bound. The tiger reared up on its hind legs and came at him with all its claws out. Wu Song threw away his broken stick and suddenly grabbing the tiger's striped neck with his bare hands began forcing it down to the ground. The beast tried to struggle, but all Wu Song's strength was employed against it, not for a moment did he relax his grip. With his legs he delivered fearful kicks to its nose and eyes. The tiger roared furiously, and as it thrashed about under this onslaught its paws churned up two mounds of mud. Wu Song thrust the beast's head down into the mud and irresistibly its power began to ebb. Still gripping the striped coat tightly with his left hand, Wu Song managed to work his right hand free and began raining down blows with an iron fist, hammering the beast with all his might. He got in fifty and sixty blows, till from the tiger's eyes, mouth, nose and ears the red blood began to gush. With all the power of the heroes of old, by the sheer force of his manly spirit, Wu Song was able easily to convert that savage monster into a senseless heap, for all the world like an embroidered bag.

Each half-segment in CN and its corresponding part in TZ (KHSB 9: 122-124) and GD (GD 1: 596-600) are presented together below for comparison, and an exact English translation of the Japanese version is also given to show its difference from the Chinese version. Because the language in the two Japanese editions is very similar to each other, only one translation is given for the Japanese version in general.

1a

CN 那一陣風過處，只聽得亂樹背後撲地一聲響，跳出一隻吊睛白額大虫來。

When the gust had passed, he heard something crashing through the trees and out sprang an enormous tiger, with bulging eyes and a white forehead.

TZ 彼恠風已ニ過^{クハイ フウ}シ^{ヨキ(ギ)リ}処ニ樹林ノ背後ニ大ヒニ響^{ウシロ}ク聲アツテ吊^{ヒメ}睛白額ノ大虎狂ヒ吼^{ウリ マナコシロキヒタヒ}テ^{クル タケツ}跳^{トヒ(ビ)}來ル。

GD 此恠風已に過^{このくわいふう}し處^{すで}、樹林^{はやし}の背後^{うしろ}大いに響^{ひび}く聲^{おと}有^{あつ}て、吊^{つり}睛^{まなこ}白額^{しろくひたひ}の大虎^{おほとら}、狂^{くる}ひ吼^{たけつ}て跳^{とび}來^{きた}

る。

When the strange gust had passed, there was a big noise behind the trees, and an enormous tiger with bulging eyes and a white forehead wildly roared and jumped out.

Notes (1). The gloss of the character 吊 in TZ is written as ウリ *u.ri*, which should be a mistake. The gloss in GD is correct as つり *tur.i* ‘hanging, bulging’ (infinitive or nominal form of the verb *tur.u* ‘to hang’ [conclusive]). (2). The reading of the character 來 in both Japanese editions is きたる/キタル *ki.tar-u* ‘to come’ (conclusive), which is the conventionalized reading of this character in *kundoku*. To put it in another way, both Japanese editions use the word conventionally associated with the character 來 in *kundoku* rather than *ku* (> MoJ *ku.ru*), which is the normal word meaning ‘to come’ in Classical Japanese.

1b

CN 武松見了，叫聲：“呵呀！”從青石上翻將下來。便拿那條梢棒在手裏，閃在青石邊。
When Wu Song saw this a horrified “Aiya!” broke from his lips. He rolled off the boulder and grabbing his cudgel dodged behind it.

TZ 武松コレヲ見テ。忽チ石ノ上ヨリ^{トヒ(ビ)ヲリ}跳下。カノ^{ホ(ズ)ウ}棒ヲ^{ツツトリ}搶取石ニ^{クウ}傍^{ヒカ}テアヒ扣ユ。

GD 武松^{ぶしょう}是を見て、忽ち^{たちま}石の上より^{とびお}跳下り、かの棒を^{おつとり}搶取石に^{そう}傍^{ひか}て扣へたり。

Bu Shō saw this and suddenly jumped down from the top of the boulder. [He] hastily grabbed the cudgel and tapped [it] along the boulder.

Notes The gloss クウ *ku.u* of the character 傍 in TZ seems to be a mistake. Its gloss in GD is the correct word but seems to be in an incorrect inflectional form, as the required form here is infinitive そい *so-i-* rather than conclusive or adnominal そう *so-u(-)*.

2a

CN 那箇大虫又飢又渴，把兩隻爪在地下略按一按，和身望上一撲，從半空裏擲將下來。
Now the tiger was ravenous. It struck the ground with two paws and sprang upwards, intending to land on its prey like a thunderbolt.

TZ カノ虎早く武松ヲ白眼^{ニラミ ノソ(ゾ)ン} 望^{カゲ} テ (デ) 大ヒニ馳^{タケツ}リ吼^{トヒ(ビ)}テ跳^{カハ} 蒐^{カハ}ル。

GD かの虎早く武松を白眼望^{のぞ}んで、大いに馳^{おほ}り吼^{かけ}て跳^{はよ}て蒐^{とび}る。

That tiger quickly stared at Bu Shō and, greatly dashing and roaring, jumped toward [him].

2b

CN 武松被那一驚，酒都做冷汗出了。說時遲，那時快。武松見大虫撲來，只一閃，閃在大虫背後。

Wu Song had such a shock that he felt all the wine start out of him in an icy sweat! It's slow in the telling, but happens in a flash. When he saw the tiger spring, Wu Song leapt out of the way, ending up behind it.

TZ 武松原來眼明^{モトヨリ} 二手快^{アキラカ}キ勇夫^{テ ハヤ}ナレハ (バ)。虎ノキタルヲ見テ。急ニ身ヲ閃^{ユウ フ}シ。棒ヲ

劈^{カサ(ザ)} ソ(シテ)虎ノ背後ニ繞^{ウシロ} リ 出^{メク(ダ)}。

GD 武松原來眼明^{もとより まなこあきら}かに、手快^{て はや}き勇夫^{ゆうふ}なれば、虎の來^{きふ}るを見て、急^{きふ}に身^みを閃^{かは}し、棒^{かざ}を劈^{かざ}し

て虎の背後^{うしろ}に繞^{めぐ}り出^でづ。

Bu Shō was originally a valiant person with clear eyes and quick hands, so seeing the tiger coming, [he] dodged in a hurry, held high the cudgel, and went around to the back of the tiger.

Notes Same as 1a, the reading of the character 來 in the two Japanese editions is きたる/キタル *ki.tar-u*

‘to come’ (conclusive).

3a

CN 那大虫背後看人最難，便把前爪搭在地下，把腰胯一掀，掀將起來。

That's exactly what the tiger didn't like, to have a man at its back. Thrusting upward off its front paws, it flexed its back and twisted round to pounce again.

TZ 虎又爪ヲ豎^{タテ コシ}腰ヲ紐^{ヒナリ}。武松ニ跳^{トヒ(ビ)} カ、ル。

GD 虎又爪^{つめ}を豎^たて腰^{ひね}を紐^{ひね}り武松^{ぶしょう}に飛^{とび}かゝる。

The tiger again thrust [its] paws, flexed [its] back, and jumped toward Bu Shō.

3b

CN 武松只一躲，躲在一邊。

But again Wu Song dodged to one side.

TZ 武松再^{ヒラ}び閃^{サケ}リト避^{カタハラ}テ傍^{トビ}ニ跳^{トビ}ヲク。

GD 武松再び閃^{ヒラ}りと避^{サケ}て、傍^{カタハラ}に跳^{トビ}開^{ヒラ}く。

Bu Shō again lightly evaded and jumped to one side.

4a

CN 大虫見^ミ掀^{ヒキ}他不着^カ，吼^{ウレ}一聲^{コエ}，卻似^シ半天裏^{ナカ}起^{タチ}箇^{コト}霹^{ヒキ}靄^{ライ}，振^{アツ}得^{ケル}那^{ソノ}山岡^{ヤマカ}也^{ナリ}動^{ユル}。把^{ツカ}這^{コノ}鐵棒^{テツボウ}也^{ナリ}似^シ虎^コ尾^ビ倒^{タテ}豎^{タテ}起^{タチ}來^キ，只^{タラ}一^{ヒト}剪^カ……

Failing to grasp its prey, the tiger gave a roar like half the heavens exploding, a roar that seemed to shake the very mountains, and lashed out at Wu Song with its tail, rigid as a steel bar.

TZ 彼虎兩^ニ遭^ヒマテ(デ)武松^{サケ}ニ避^{ヒラカ}開^レ大^{イカ}ヒニ怒^{クル}リ狂^{ヘキ}ヒテ霹^{レキ}靄^ノ如^{タケ}クニ吼^{ウレ}リ進^シミケレハ(バ)。

山^{ヤマ}ヲモ岡^カヲモ震^{フル}ヒ崩^{クツ}スカタ疑^{ウタガ}ハレヌ。

GD 彼虎兩度^{カノ}まで武松^{ヒラ}に避^{サケ}開^{ヒラ}かれ、大^{オホ}いに悲^{イカリ}狂^{くる}うて、霹^{ヘキ}靄^{レキ}の如^{タケ}く吼^{ウレ}り進^シみければ、山^{ヤマ}をも震^{ふる}ひ崩^{くず}すかと疑^{うたが}はる。

That tiger was twice evaded by Bu Shō and, being very angry and wild, roared like a bolt and charged forward, as if shaking and destroying both the mountain and the hill.

4b

CN 武松卻又閃^{ヒラ}在一^ニ邊^ヘ。

Once more Wu Song leapt aside.

TZ 武松又身^ミヲ回^{マワ}ソ(シテ)右^{ミナミ}ノ方^ヘニ跳^{トビ}搬^{ノキ}。尚^{ナラ}眉^ミ間^{ケン}ニ棒^{カサ}ヲ劈^ギソ(シテ)暗^{クラキ}ニ畜^{チク}生^{シヤウ}脚^{アシ}ヲ觀^ミ透^スシ。

方^{マサ}ニ好^ブク武^ケ藝^{ゲイ}ノ秘^{アヒ}術^{ウカ}ヲ盡^ハサント相^{アヒ}窺^{ウカ}フ。

GD 武松又身^ミを回^{カヘ}して、左^{ヒダリ}の方^ヘに跳^{トビ}搬^{ノキ}尚^{ナラ}眉^ミ間^{ケン}に棒^{カサ}をかざし、暗^{くらき}に畜^{ちく}生^{しやう}脚^{あし}を觀^み透^すし、方^{まさ}に

好^{よく}く武^ぶ藝^{げい}の秘^ひ術^{じゆつ}を盡^{つく}さんと相^{あひ}伺^{うかす}ふ。

Bu Shō again turned [his] body and jumped to the right. Furthermore, [he] held high the cudgel to [his] forehead and clandestinely observed the beast's feet, surely looking to exhaust the secrecy of martial arts.

Notes The structure *んと/ント -n-to* following the irrealis form of a verb (in this case, 盡 *toku* さ/ツク

サ *tu.kus-a-* ‘to exhaust’) is commonly used in *kundoku* to express the volition of the subject of the sentence.

In this structure, the constituent *-n* is an allomorph of the volitional auxiliary verb *-m-u* (conclusive) as a result of sound change. This auxiliary verb is also the standard way to express volition in Classical Japanese, but it would not be followed by the particle *-to* and further followed by a verb.

Transition

CN 原來那大虫拿人，只是一撲，一掀，一剪。三般提不着時，氣性先自沒了一半。

Now when the tiger attacks a man, it generally has these three strategies: the spring, the pounce and the tail-swipe. When all these three methods failed, this tiger's spirit was half broken.

TZ 凡ソ虎ノ人ヲ^{トル}拿ニハ。只一^{ウチ}撲一搬ノ内ニ。其人ヲ得ルニ。已ニ今三度ニ至ルマテ(デ)

武松カ(ガ)為ニ^{タメ}躲閃^{オクレスカ}サレシカバ。虎ノ勢ヒマヅ其半ヲ^{ボツ}沒セリ。

GD 凡虎^{およそ}の人^{とる}を^{ひと}拿^{うち}には、只一搬^{ウチ}の内に其人^{そのなかば}を^{ぼつ}うるに、已^{すで}に今三度^{さんど}に至^{いた}るまで、武松^{ぶしょう}に躲^{かく}れ閃^{すか}されしかば、虎^この勢^{いきほひ}まづ其半^{そのなかば}を^{ぼつ}沒せり。

In general, when the tiger attacks a man, [it] captures the man in just one strike. So far it had been three times that [the tiger] was evaded by Bu Shō, so the tiger's spirit was half broken.

Notes This segment is characterized as “transition” because, rather than a description of the scene, it is a comment by the narrator.

5a

CN 那大虫又剪不着，再吼了一聲，一兜，兜將回來。

After failing to catch Wu Song with its tail it gave a loud roar and turned away.

TZ 然レ^サ佯^{ヨノツネ}(ドモ)彼虎ハ尋常ノ虎ニアラサ(ザ)ルユヘ。再ビ大ヒニ怒リ吼ツテ^{イカ}電^{イカツ(ザ)チ}ノ如クニ跳カ、ル。

GD 然^{しかれども}共^{よのつね}彼虎ハ尋常^{ヨノツネ}の虎^こにあらざる故^{ゆゑ}、再^{また}び大^{いかに}に怒^{たけつ}り吼^いて、電^{いなづま}の如^{ごと}く跳^{とび}かゝる。

However, because that tiger was not a normal tiger, [it] again was very angry and roared, and jumped toward [Bu Shō] like a bolt.

Notes The expression にあらず/ニアラズ *=ni ar-a-zu* is the conventionalized gloss in *kundoku* of the character 非 used for copular negation. Here the negative auxiliary verb -ず/-ズ *-zu* is in the adnominal form -ざる/-サ (ザ) ル *-za.ru-* because it is followed by the noun 故 ゆゑ/ユヘ *yu.we* ‘reason’. The Japanese phrase 虎にあらず/虎ニアラズ *to.ra=ni ar-a-zu* in this case is expression to the Literary Sinitic phrase 非虎 ‘not a tiger’. The normal structure for copular negation in Classical Japanese would be *nar-a-zu* (← *nar-a-* [copula] [irrealis] + *-zu* [negative auxiliary verb] [conclusive])³².

5b

CN 武松見那大虫復翻身回來，雙手輪起梢棒，盡平生氣力，只一棒，從半空劈將下來。只聽得一聲響，簌簌地將那樹連枝帶葉，劈臉打將下來。**定睛看時，一棒劈不着大蟲。原來慌了，正打在枯樹上，把那條梢棒折做兩截，只拏得一半在手裏。**

Seeing the tiger had turned its back on him, Wu Song grasped his cudgel in both hands and brought it down with all the strength of his body. There was a resounding crash. But what he had done was demolish a whole tree, branches and all. He looked for the tiger. His staff had not even touched it. He’d rushed his stroke and all he’d achieved was to bring down a dead tree. Now his cudgel was broken in two and he was left with only the broken half in his hand.

TZ 武松コノトキ其圖ヲ看スマシ。棒ヲ雙手ニ握^{リヤウ}ツテ。平生勇力ヲ盡^{ニキ}ソ(シテ)打ケル

二。忽チ大ヒニ響^{ヒキ}ク声アツテ。傍^{カサハラ}ノ松ノ樹ニ打^{アテ}著。枝ヲ連ネ葉ヲ帶^タソ(シテ)。二ツニ打折ス。

GD 武松此時其圖をみすまし、棒を雙手に握^{りやう}つて、平生の勇力をつくして打けるに、^{たちま}忽

ち大^{おほい}にひびくこゑあつて、傍^{かたはら}の松の木に打^{うち}著て、枝^{えだ}をつらね葉^はを帶^{たい}して、二つに打折^{うちをり}ぬ。

Bu Shō at this time observed its intention, grasped the cudgel in both hands, exhausted all his valiant strength, and struck. Suddenly there was a big resounding noise. [He] hit the pine tree on the side, along with [its] branches and leaves, and broke [it] into two.

Notes The part within the asterisks in CN is not rendered at exactly the same corresponding position in JP, but is rendered to a certain extent in the next few sentences (see 6a and 6b below).

³²The constituent *nar-a-* is the irrealis form of the copula *nar-i*, which itself is a contraction of the older expression *=ni ar-i* (conclusive). This is a point demonstrating the conservatism of *kundoku*.

6a

TZ 彼トラモ又原來眼明カニゾ(シテ)。武松カ(ガ)打チカ、ルヲ看テ。急ニ躲レスルコ
へ。其棒ノ餘リ遂ニ松ノ樹ニ著タリ。

GD 彼虎も又原來眼明かにして、武松が打てかゝるを見て、急に躲れぬる故、其棒の餘
りつひに松の樹に著しなり。

Because that tiger also originally had clear eyes and, seeing Bu Shō striking toward [it], evaded in a hurry, the rest of that cudgel eventually hit the pine tree.

6b

TZ 武松慌テ是ヲ看ルニ彼棒モマタ半ハ(バ)ヨリ打折リ。武松尚スコシモ怯レズ。棒
ノ末ヲ手ニ拿テ牙ヲ咬眼ヲ怒ソ(シテ)虎ヲ瞧ム。

GD 武松慌て是をみるに、其棒も又半より打折たり。武松猶少も怯ず、棒の末を手に拿
ち、牙をかみ眼を瞋し虎を瞧れば……

Bu Shō hastily looked at it, and that cudgel broke from the half. Yet Bu Shō did not fear at all, holding the end of the cudgel in hand, biting [his] teeth, making [his] eyes stern and looking at the tiger, and ...

Notes This pair of segments in JP is a continuous and contrastive narrative sequence, first from the tiger's perspective (6a) and then from the protagonist's perspective (6b). There is not an exact corresponding part in CN.

7a

CN 那大蟲咆哮，性發起來，翻身又只一撲，撲將來。
The tiger roared, it was enraged, it turned and sprang at him again.

TZ 虎之ヲミテ。大ヒニ哮リ再ビ身ヲ躍ソ(シテ)武松ニ跳カ、ル。

GD 虎是を見て大に吼り、再び身を躍して武松に跳かゝる。

The tiger saw this, greatly roared, and again turned [its] body and jumped toward Bu Shō.

7b

CN 武松又只一跳，卻退了十步遠。

Wu Song leapt back, covering ten paces in a single bound.

TZ 武松又身ヲ奮^{フルヒ}テ右ノ傍^{ワキ}ニ繞^{メク}リイツ（ヅ）。乃チ十歩ハ（バ）カリヒキ退ソ（ゾ）ヒテ。

GD 武松^{ぶしょう}又身を奮^{ふるつ}て右の傍^{かなはら}に繞^{めぐ}り出で、乃ち十歩ばかり引退^{ひきしりぞ}いて……

Bu Shō again moved [his] body and went around to the right side, thus stepping back about ten paces.

8a

CN 那大蟲卻好把兩隻前爪搭在武松面前。

The tiger reared up on its hind legs and came at him with all its claws out.

Notes This half-segment in CN has no corresponding part in JP.

8b

CN 武松將半截棒丟在一邊，兩隻手就勢把大蟲頂花皮肱膞地揪住，一按按將下來。

Wu Song threw away his broken stick and suddenly grabbing the tiger's striped neck with his bare hands began forcing it down to the ground.

TZ 棒ヲ地上ニ打ステ。忽チ大手ヲ開^{ヒロケ}テトビカ、リ。遂ニ彼虎カ（ガ）双ノ耳ヲ緊^{フタツ}ト揪^{シツカ}ヘテ抑^{オシ}ケレハ（バ）。

GD 棒^{ぼう}を地に打^{うち}捐^{すて}、忽^{たちま}ち大手^{おほで}を開^{ひらい}て飛^{とび}かゝり、つひに彼虎^{かのとら}が雙^{りやう}の耳^{みみ}をしかととらへ押^{おし}ければ……

[Bu Shō] threw the cudgel to the ground, suddenly opened [his] big hands, and jumped toward [the tiger]. Finally, [he] tightly grasped that tiger's two ears and pushed [it], and ...

9a

CN 那隻大蟲急要掙扎，早沒了氣力。被武松儘氣力納定，那里肯放半點兒鬆寬。

The beast tried to struggle, but all Wu Song's strength was employed against it, not for a moment did he relax his grip.

TZ 虎ハ雷ノ如クニ吼^{タケツ}テ急ニ掙扎^{ハタラク}トセシ処ニ。武松勇力ヲ出^{ユウ}ソ（シテ）半點モ鬆^{スコシ}寬^{ユルゾ}（シテ）クワロヤ（ダ）

サ（ザ）リシカバ。カノ虎^{ヨウ}漸^ク々^{ツカ}疲^レシカハ（バ）。

GD 虎は電^{いなづま}の如^{たけつ}く吼^えて、急^{きふ}に掙^{はたら}扎^かんとせし處^{ところ}に、武松^{ぶしょう}勇^{ゆう}力^{りき}を出^でして半點^{すこし}も鬆^{ゆる}寛^{しく}ざりし

かば、彼^{かの}虎^{とら}漸^{やう}々^く疲^{つか}しをみて……

The tiger roared like lightning, and as [it] tried to struggle in a hurry, Bu Shō employed [his] strength and did not relax the grip at all. Then, seeing that tiger gradually becoming tired ...

Notes Same as 4b, this half-segment in the Japanese editions contains the volitional expression んと/ント -*n=to*, followed by the verb *su* す/ス ‘to do’ (conclusive) is in the irrealis form せ-/セ- *se-* because of the following past auxiliary verb -し -/-シ- -*si-*, which is itself the adnominal form of -き/-キ -*ki*. Also note that the element -ん/-ン -*n* is explicitly spelled in *kana* form in GD but given as part of the gloss of the characters 掙扎 (the word for this character sequence is はたらか-/ハタラカ -*ha.ta.rak-a-* ‘to labor’ [irrealis]) in TZ.

9b

CN 武松把隻脚望大蟲面門上、眼睛裏只顧亂踢。

With his legs he delivered fearful kicks to its nose and eyes.

TZ 此トキ武松右ノ脚ヲ^{アシ}舉^{アゲ}テ。虎^{トラ}力^{リキ}（ガ）眉間ヲ望^{ヒタス}ンテ（デ）。只顧ニ踢^キタリケレハ（バ）。

GD 武松^{ぶしょう}右^{みぎ}の足^{あし}をあげ、虎^このみけんを望^{のぞ}んで、一向^{ひたすら}に踢^けたりければ……

At this time, Bu Shō raised [his] right foot, aimed at the tiger’s forehead, and kicked intently. Then ...

10a

CN 那大蟲咆哮起來，把身底下扒起兩堆黃泥，做了一個土坑。

The tiger roared furiously, and as it thrashed about under this onslaught its paws churned up two mounds of mud.

TZ 彼虎又忽チ大ヒニ吼^{タケツ}テ前^{マヘ}足^{アシ}ノ爪ヲ以^ツテ。頻^{シキ}リニ地上ヲ^{カキ}抓^{ツチ}。遂^{スナハチ}ニ一ツノ土坑ヲ掘^ホニケリ。

GD 彼虎^{かの}又^{とら}忽^{たちま}ち大^{おほい}に吼^{たけつ}て、前^{まへ}足^{あし}の爪^{つめ}を以^{もつ}て頻^{しきり}に地上^{ちのうへ}を抓^{つか}き、遂^{ひと}に一^{いつ}つの土坑^{つちあな}を穿^ほりけり。

That tiger again suddenly greatly roared, repeatedly scratched the ground with the claws of [its] front legs, and eventually dug a mud hole.

10b

CN 武松把那大蟲嘴直接下黃泥坑裏去。

Wu Song thrust the beast's head down into the mud.

TZ 武松コレヲ見テ幸ヒノ^マコト^アニ想ヒ乃チ力ニ信セテ虎ノ^{クチ}嘴ヲ土坑ノ内ニ^{ツチ}押入^{アサ}。

勢ヒニ乗ゾ(ジテ)再三^{サミ}踢^{アシ}ヲ^ハ(コト)十脚^{アサ}許^{カリ}。

GD 武松是を見て幸ひの事に想ひ力に^{マカ}信せ、虎の嘴を土坑の中に押入れ、^{イキ}勢に乗じて再^{サイ}三^{さん}踢^{ける}こと十脚計^{あしばかり}。

Bu Shō saw this and considered it something fortunate, relying on [his] strength, pressed the tiger's mouth into the mud hole, and, taking advantage of the momentum, kicked repeatedly with about ten kicks.

11a

CN 那大蟲吃武松奈何得沒了些氣力。

Irresistibly its power began to ebb.

TZ 彼虎大力ニ踢ラレテ眼ヲ眩^{クラ}マシ。今ハ氣力盡テ掙扎^{キリヨクツキハタラク}ヲ(コト)アタハズ。

GD 彼虎剛力に踢られ眼を眩し、今は氣力つきて、掙扎事^{はたらく}あたはず。

That tiger, kicked by powerful force and dazzling the eyes, now ran out of strength and was not able to struggle.

Notes The expression あたはず/アタハズ *a.ta.w-a-zu* (← *a.ta.wa-* ‘to be able’ [irrealis] + *-zu* [negative auxiliary verb] [conclusive]) is the conventionalized gloss in *kundoku* of the character sequence 不能 ‘not able’, hence it is used as a negative potential expression. The equivalent structure in Classical Japanese would be *(ra.)re-zu* (← *(ra.)re-* [potential auxiliary verb] [irrealis] + *-zu* [negative auxiliary verb] [conclusive]).

11b

CN 武松把左手緊緊地揪住頂花皮，偷出右手來，提起鐵鎚般大小拳頭，儘平生之力，只顧打。打得五七十拳……

Still gripping the striped coat tightly with his left hand, Wu Song managed to work his right hand free and began raining down blows with an iron fist, hammering the beast with all his might. He

got in fifty and sixty blows ...

TZ 武松コノトキ左ノ手ヲ以テ頭へ（べ）ヲ牢ク揪へ右ノ手ニテ鐵鎚ノ如ク拳ヲ握
リ。縦マヽニ平生ノ力ヲ出シ。只顧續ケ打ニ。約莫五七十拳打ケレハ（バ）。

GD 武松此時左の手を以て、頭をかたく揪へ、右の手にて、鐵鎚のごとく拳を握り、縦
に平生の力をいだし、只顧續打に、およそ五七十拳打……

Bu Shō, at this time, tightly grasping [the tiger's] head with [his] left hand and clenching a fist like an iron hammer in [his] right hand, released the strength of [his] lifetime without constraint and kept striking intently. [He] struck about fifty or seventy blows ...

12a

CN 那大蟲眼裏、口裏、鼻子裏、耳朵裏、都迸出鮮血來。

... till from the tiger's eyes, mouth, nose and ears the red blood began to gush.

TZ 虎モ今ハ大ヒニ苦シミ。眼ノ裡。鼻ノ裡。耳ノ裡等ヨリ。都テ鮮血涌流レ遂ニ息絶
テ。聲止リ殞ニケリ。

GD 虎も今は大に苦み、眼鼻耳の裡等より、鮮血涌流れ、遂に息絶え、吼る聲を止め、
間もなく殞けり。

The tiger now was greatly suffering. From [its] eyes, nose, and ears, blood gushed from everywhere. Finally, [it] ceased breathing, stopped roaring, and died.

Notes The gloss of the character 斃 ‘to die’ in GD is しゝ *si.si*, indicating that the associated word is the SJ verb *si-su* (SJ *si* 死 ‘to die’ + *su* ‘to do’) in its infinitive form. The gloss of the character 殞 ‘to die’ in TZ is *si.ni* シニ, indicating that the associated word is the native verb *sin-* in its infinitive form. The first word is the conventional gloss in *kundoku* of the character 死, and the second is the normal word meaning ‘to die’ in Classical Japanese.

12b

CN 那武松儘平昔神威，仗胸中武藝，半歇兒把大蟲打做一堆，卻似倘着一箇錦布袋。

With all the power of the heroes of old, by the sheer force of his manly spirit, Wu Song was able easily to convert that savage monster into a senseless heap, for all the world like an embroidered

bag.

TZ 誠ニ武松平生ノ神威ヲ振ヒ。胸中ノ武藝ニ仗テ。斯猛キ大虎ヲモ暫時ノ間ニ殺シ
ケルハ古今稀有ノ勇夫ナリ。

GD 誠に武松平生の神威を振ひ、胸中の武藝に仗て、斯猛き大虎を、暫時の間に殺しけ
るは、古今稀有の勇夫なり。

Indeed, Bu Shō, wielding the power of [his] lifetime, relying on the martial arts in [his] chest, and killing such a fierce big tiger in a short time, was a valiant person rare in the past and present.

The trace of *kundoku* is clearly visible in the two Japanese editions of *The Water Margin*, most evidently shown by the use of Japanese words or grammatical structures conventionally used in *kundoku* but probably not in vernacular Japanese writing, or the gloss of characters by such Japanese linguistic elements³³. In table 5.3 below, these distinctive *kundoku* linguistic forms are given in the second column, and their equivalent in Classical Japanese are given in the third column³⁴.

Table 5.3 Dichotomy of Words or Grammatical Structures in *Kundoku* and Classical Japanese

Meaning or Function	<i>Kundoku</i>	Classical Japanese
‘to come’	<i>ki.tar-</i> (gloss of the character 來 ‘to come’) (1a, 2b)	<i>ku</i> (> MoJ <i>ku.ru</i>)
‘to die’	<i>si-su</i> (← SJ <i>si</i> 死 ‘to die’ + <i>su</i> ‘to do’) (gloss of the character 死 ‘to die’) (12a)	<i>sin-u</i>
Volitional expression	<i>-n-to</i> + verb (4b, 9a)	<i>-m-u</i>
Copular negation	<i>-ni ar-a-zu</i> (gloss of the character 非 ‘not’) (5a)	<i>nar-a-zu</i>
Negative potential structure	<i>a.ta.w-a-zu</i> (gloss of the character sequence 不能 ‘to be not able’) (11a)	<i>(ra.)re-zu</i>

³³It is known that there is a dichotomy between the lexicon in *kundoku* and the lexicon in vernacular Japanese writing. There are cases in which, when expressing the same meaning, the word used in *kundoku* (*kundokugo* 訓讀語) (which is essentially the Japanese gloss assigned to a Sinogram) and the word used in vernacular Japanese writing (*wabungo* 和文語) are different, and their usage may be mutually exclusive. Tsukishima (1963) is a classic study on this issue. Bundschuh (2021) finds the similar phenomenon in the usage of a number of grammatical morphemes expressing tense, aspect, and modality.

³⁴This does not mean that the items in the second column are completely absent from vernacular Japanese writing, especially in prose texts. Because the linguistic register in vernacular Japanese prose texts can be diverse, *kundoku* linguistic elements may well appear in those influenced by *kundoku*. On the other hand, vernacular poetry is supposed to be written in “pure” Japanese without Sinitic influence, so it is a better tool to test the assumption here.

It should be more appropriate to characterize the nature of these Japanese editions as translations within the traditional *kundoku* framework, both linguistically and typographically. If one attempts a back translation from the Japanese texts following the norm of *kundoku*, the result is likely to be a Chinese text whose language is closer to Literary Sinitic than to the original novel. On the other hand, there was also a certain degree of freedom in the composition of the Japanese texts, as their content occasionally deviated from the content of the Chinese version. If *kundoku* is a kind of “bound translation,” the degree of “boundedness” in this case, and probably in the Japanese reception of Vernacular Chinese texts in general, is not as high as the normal *kundoku* processing of Literary Sinitic texts. It may be safe to say that the Japanese authors or translators were concerned more about delivering the plot of the original Chinese work than about accurately transposing its language, despite the fact that they were still confined by the tradition of *kundoku*.

5.5 Summary

The transmission of Literary Sinitic texts to Korea and Japan led to the formalized practices of vernacular reading in both cultures. Because of the logographic feature of the Sinographic script, these practices are in certain ways different from the modern concept of “translation,” which is largely based on Western alphabetic traditions, but there is no doubt that there are interactions of different languages taking place during this process. Since these practices, such as *kundoku*, are intended for decoding Literary Sinitic texts, speakers of the vernacular language faced new challenges when encountering Vernacular Chinese texts due to the difference in lexicon and grammatical structures between the two registers of Chinese. In Japan, the reception of Vernacular Chinese texts and the study of the Vernacular Chinese language occurred alongside each other. As can be seen from the case study in section 5.4, the rendering of a Vernacular Chinese text like *The Water Margin* into Japanese might simultaneously follow the norm of *kundoku* and show a

certain degree of freedom in translation. As a result, contact with Vernacular Chinese literature may be regarded as a turning point in Japanese literary history, as it marked the transition in the dominant approach to interacting with foreign-language texts from vernacular reading in the form of *kundoku* to vernacular translation as it is carried out today. The core of *kundoku* is a conventionalized system of correspondences between a Sinogram as a written form and a Japanese linguistic form, which is based on the shared knowledge of Literary Sinitic by Japanese speakers. In this sense, the decoding of Literary Sinitic texts into Japanese is closely associated with the encoding of the Japanese language into Sinographic written form. With the transmission of texts in European languages such as Dutch and English into Japan, there were also attempts to gloss and annotate them following the convention of *kundoku*, but this trend did not persist because there were no prescribed correspondences between an alphabetic written form and a Japanese linguistic form. As Literary Sinitic gave way to Vernacular Chinese in daily life in modern times, vernacular translation also replaced *kundoku* as the normal approach by Japanese speakers to interacting with Chinese-language texts.

Chapter 6

Earliest Full Vernacular Writing of Vietnamese

This chapter surveys full Sinographic vernacular writing of Vietnamese (“Nôm writing”) on the basis of the earliest vernacular Vietnamese poetry. Vietnamese Sinographic writing is distinctive from its Korean and Japanese counterparts in several ways, most evidently in that it contains a large number of indigenously created characters or Neo-Sinograms. Therefore, Vietnamese Sinographic writing offers an alternative perspective to see how the Chinese script could be adapted depending on the features of the borrowing language. As far as we know from extant evidence, full vernacular writing of Vietnamese appeared much later than that of Korean or Japanese, presumably due to far more direct and intense bilingual contact between the indigenous population in modern northern Vietnam and Chinese speakers. This means that Vietnamese speakers in general had a high level of proficiency in Literary Sinitic and felt comfortable writing in Literary Sinitic, and on top of that, because of its prestige over the vernacular language, they might not think about writing in the vernacular language unless they found it necessary to do so. The corpus of full Sinographic vernacular writing of Vietnamese is larger than its Korean counterpart and smaller than its Japanese counterpart. In general, it has received very little attention in scholarship outside Vietnam¹. This chapter is intended as an attempt to analyze a sample group of texts from the perspective of script adaptation, in the same way as what has been done for the Korean and Japanese texts in the preceding chapters.

Section 6.1 provides the historical and linguistic background necessary for discussing and

¹The sole exception is probably *Tale of Kiều*, the most famous Vietnamese literary work, which has a number of translations in other languages. In recent years, there has also been growing interest by Chinese scholars on Vietnamese Sinography. Some recent Chinese publications are Hé & Ruǎn (2017), Hé & Liú (2019), Hé & Ruǎn (2019), and Dèng & Hé (2023). The last of these works is labeled as a Nôm dictionary in its title, but different from other Nôm dictionaries (almost all of which have been published in Vietnam) which are centered on written graphs and collect data from historical materials, this work is actually a dictionary of words in Modern Vietnamese but gives their Sinographic written forms.

understanding Vietnamese writing. Because the pattern of the adaptation of the Chinese script in Vietnamese writing is different from that in Korean and Japanese writing, largely due to the typological differences of these languages, as a complement to the framework of script adaptation outlined in chapter 1, section 6.2 presents a classification system of Sinograms catered to Vietnamese writing. On that basis, section 6.3 applies this system to the classification of the written forms of common words in the earliest systematic corpus of full vernacular Vietnamese writing, *Quốc Âm Thi Tập* 國音詩集, a poetry anthology from about the 15th century. Because Neo-Sinograms play a major role in Vietnamese writing, section 6.4 briefly discusses Neo-Sinograms in Japanese and Korean writing as a comparison.

6.1 Historical and Linguistic Background

In the same way as Korea and different from Japan, the northern part of modern Vietnam was once under the direct control of the Chinese empire. In traditional Chinese historiography, the ancient ethnically non-Chinese peoples who inhabited today's area of southern China and northern Vietnam are collectively called Yuè/Việt 越, and those in the Red River Plain are more specifically called Luòyuè/Lạc Việt 駱越. After establishing the Qín 秦 dynasty (221-206 BCE), the First Emperor (259-210 BCE) set up three commanderies in the south: Guílín 桂林, Nánhǎi 南海, and Xiàng 象. After the collapse of the Qín dynasty, Zhào Tuó/Triệu Đà 趙佗 (ca. 240-137 BCE), a former general of the Qín, proclaimed himself king and established the kingdom of Nányuè/Nam Việt 南越. The Hàn dynasty later conquered Nányuè/Nam Việt in 111 BCE and incorporated its territory into the imperial administrative system by setting up three commanderies in today's northern Vietnam: Jiāozhǐ/Giao Chỉ 交趾, Jiǔzhēn/Cửu Chân 九真, and Rìnán/Nhật Nam 日南. This is the beginning of what is sometimes called the period of "Northern

Domination”² in Vietnamese history. Except for some brief periods of autonomy, northern Vietnam remained part of the Chinese empire until the 10th century, for a much longer period than the Korean peninsula did. In the 10th century, the collapse of the Táng 唐 dynasty (618-907) resulted in wars among competing regimes, and local leaders in today’s northern Vietnam started to gain autonomy. In 938, Ngô Quyền 吳權 (898-944) defeated an attack by the Southern Hàn 南漢 (917-971), one of the regional regimes in southern China in the 10th century, and this event is generally recognized in Vietnamese historiography as the beginning of independence from China. After a period of civil wars following Ngô Quyền’s death, Đinh Bộ Lĩnh 丁部領 (924-979) seized power. He proclaimed himself “king” (*vuong* 王) in 965 and further adopted the title “emperor” (*hoàng đế* 皇帝) in 968, thereby establishing what is considered as the first autonomous Vietnamese dynasty (Taylor 1983: 280-281).

The long history of northern Vietnam being part of the Chinese empire means that there must have been sustained direct contact between Chinese speakers and speakers of local languages. The most evident impact on the Vietnamese language is the complicated stratification of words coming from Chinese, or the **Sino-Vietnamese (SV)** lexicon. It is common that a Chinese etymon was borrowed into Vietnamese multiple times in history, in which situation a Sinogram would be associated with multiple Vietnamese words from a linguistic perspective, although normally only one of them is recognized by average speakers as such. Phan (2013: 9-10; 2025: 12-13) divides the SV lexicon into three strata: Early Sino-Vietnamese (ESV), Late Sino-Vietnamese (LSV), and Recent Sino-Vietnamese (RSV). ESV consists of two separate layers as the result of immigration from the north during the Hàn and Jin 晉 (266-420) periods. LSV is the mainstream SV stratum and originates from character pronunciations in the Táng period. RSV refers to the sporadic

²Chinese and Vietnamese scholars usually call this period “commanderies and counties” (*jùnxian/quận huyện* 郡縣) or “northern affiliation” (*běishǔ/bắc thuộc* 北屬).

borrowings after the systematization of LSV. Combining linguistic evidence with historical records, Phan (2013, 2025) depicts a complex history of bilingual contact and the development of the Vietnamese language. During the period of Chinese rule, social elites speaking Chinese mingled with the indigenous people speaking non-Sinitic languages (proto-Viet-Muong), and the variety of Chinese spoken by the elites is perhaps a dialect of Middle Chinese³. Phan names this dialect “Annamese Middle Chinese” after the protectorate of Annam 安南 (Ānnán/An Nam), the administrative unit of the Táng dynasty governing modern northern Vietnam⁴. After independence, the local elite population shifted their spoken language from Annamese Middle Chinese to a Sinicized proto-Viet-Muong⁵, a variety of which would develop into modern Vietnamese. In other words, this Sinicized indigenous language is the ancestor of what is referred to as “Vietnamese” today. Despite the shift in spoken language, Literary Sinitic remained the written language, and on that basis, a conventionalized set of character readings came into existence.

Evidence of vernacular Vietnamese writing appeared much later than that of vernacular Korean and vernacular Japanese writing, which should be attributed to both the late emergence of Vietnamese as a distinct language⁶ and arguably a higher level of competence in Literary Sinitic in this area⁷. The earliest extant coherent texts are likely to be dated to the 15th century, and there are additionally a number of isolated cases of the phonographic transcription of native words before that, including two commonly cited examples related to political history. The first example is the posthumous title of the military leader Phùng Hưng 馮興 (?-791) written as 布蓋大王. The last two characters no doubt represent the Sinitic phrase ‘great king’

³Lanneau (2025) further complicates the picture by considering the influence of the Tai languages, especially Tày, on Sino-Vietnamese phonology within the context of trilingual contact.

⁴The reason to posit this variety of Middle Chinese is to account for some distinctive features in LSV that cannot be explained solely based on “standard” Middle Chinese.

⁵Phan uses a different term “Ancient Northern Vietic” instead of “proto-Viet-Muong” in his 2025 book.

⁶Because of this, strictly speaking, it should be more accurate to say “vernacular writing of the non-Sinitic languages in what is today’s northern Vietnam” (or, in Phan’s terms, “vernacular writing of proto-Viet-Muong” or “vernacular writing of Ancient Northern Vietic”) rather than simply “vernacular Vietnamese writing.”

⁷On vernacular Vietnamese writing before the 15th century, see DeFrancis (1977: 21-24), Nguyễn Đình-Hoà (1990: 384-397), and Phan (2013: 370-392).

(CN *dàwáng*; VN *đại vương*), and the first two characters appear to be phonograms. They are read respectively as either *bố* ‘father’ and *cái* ‘mother’, or *vua* ‘king’ and *cái* ‘great’. The first reading gives *bố cái đại vương* meaning ‘father and mother [of the people], great king’, and the second reading *vua cái đại vương* is a combination of a Vietnamese phrase (*vua cái* ‘great king’) followed by the synonymous Sinitic phrase, each in the appropriate word order of the respective language. The second example is the official name adopted by Đinh Bộ Lĩnh for the independent Vietnamese state written as 大瞿越. The second character 瞿 is assumed to be a phonogram for the word *cồ* meaning ‘to be great’, synonymous with the preceding Sinitic word 大 *đại* ‘to be great’, so this name *Đại Cồ Việt* ‘Great Viet’ is also a hybrid term. Later, Emperor Thánh 聖 of the Lý 李 dynasty (r. 1054-1072) dropped the character 瞿, thereby changing the name to a purely Sinitic term *Đại Việt*. In historical chronicles, there are references to the practice of vernacular writing in the 14th and the 15th centuries. Vernacular writing seems also to have been employed in textual glossing, and a well-known example is the Buddhist sutra *Phật thuyết đại báo phụ mẫu ân trọng kinh* 佛說大報父母恩重經 (‘Sutra of the Buddha Talking about Greatly Recompensing the Parents’ Mercy Being Significant’). Dated to no later than the 15th century, this is also one of the earliest (if not *the* earliest) known coherent texts of vernacular Vietnamese writing⁸. Not considering this single text, the earliest extant corpus of vernacular Vietnamese writing is a collection of poems by the scholar and politician Nguyễn Trãi 阮廌 (1380-1442) under the title *Quốc Âm Thi Tập* 國音詩集 (‘Poetry Collection in the National Sound’) (QATT). Vernacular Vietnamese writing reached its peak in the 18th and 19th centuries⁹, especially in

⁸Opinions on the dating of this text differ between the 12th century and the 15th century (Phan 2013: 378; Shimizu 2020: 183-184).

⁹Phan (2020) proposes an interesting explanation for this fact, attributing it to the phonological change of the Vietnamese language. Vietnamese originally had sesquisyllabic words (words composed of a major syllable following a minor syllable), which is attested in *Phật thuyết đại báo phụ mẫu ân trọng kinh*. Such words were gradually reduced to monosyllabic words, while a number of consonant clusters remained as reflexes of the original minor syllables in the sesquisyllables. The consonant clusters are attested in Alexandre de Rhodes’ dictionary *Dictionarium Annamiticum Lusitanum et Latinum* (1651). It is therefore a logical assumption that Vietnamese had become completely monosyllabic by the 18th century, making it more viable and “appropriate” to use Sinograms to represent native words.

literature, represented by the epic poem *Tale of Kiều* (*Truyện Kiều* 傳翹) (earliest extant version from 1866) by Nguyễn Du 阮攸 (1765-1820), which is generally regarded as the greatest Vietnamese literary work. On the other hand, vernacular Vietnamese writing had never been standardized, resulting in a high degree of allography in terms that there are normally multiple written forms for the same word, and as will be shown in the next two sections, it is also common that different written forms for the same word belong to different graph types.

6.2 Classification of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing

The typological classification of Sinograms in Vietnamese writing adopted in this chapter follows the framework proposed in Handel (2019: 139-155)¹⁰. The primary division is between existing Chinese characters and indigenous Neo-Sinograms, each of which can be divided into various secondary types. Existing Chinese characters include DALs and PALs. Neo-Sinograms include phonetic-taxonomic compounds, phonetic-synonymic compounds, semantic-semantic compounds, phonetic-phonetic compounds, and modified graphs. This framework is shown in table 6.1 below. Actual example graphs are collected from a variety of sources, including existing studies (cited in the previous footnote), two major Nôm dictionaries (Nguyễn Quang Hồng 2006, 2014), and QATT (to be examined in detail in the next section)¹¹.

¹⁰In English scholarship, other proposals of classification include Nguyễn Đình Hoà (1959: 271-272), Nguyễn Khắc-Kham (1974: 174-178), Lê Văn Quán (1981) (cited in Nguyễn Đình-Hoà [1990: 403-404]), Nguyễn Tài Cần (1985) (cited in Nguyễn Đình-Hoà [1990: 399-402]), Nguyễn Ngọc San (1987) (cited in Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1990: 404-406), and Hannas (1997: 80-82). Handel's proposal integrates some of these existing studies within his general framework.

¹¹A number of dictionaries and actual texts of premodern vernacular Vietnamese writing are available on the website of the Vietnamese Nôm Preservation Foundation (www.nomfoundation.org).

Table 6.1 Classification of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing

Primary Division	Secondary Division
Existing Chinese character	DAL
	PAL
Neo-Sinogram (Neo)	Phonetic-taxonomic compound (PT)
	Phonetic-synonymic compound (PS)
	Semantic-semantic compound (SS)
	Phonetic-phonetic compound (PP)
	Modified graph (Mod)

6.2.1 Existing Chinese Character

Existing Chinese characters are graphs which exist in the Chinese writing system and are borrowed into Vietnamese writing, and they are used as either DALs or PALs. A DAL is a graph representing a Vietnamese word borrowed from Chinese together with the graph. A PAL is a graph representing a native Vietnamese word based on its Sinitic reading. Different from Korean or Japanese Sinographic writing, there are seemingly no phonograms (PAPs or SAPs) or SALs in Vietnamese Sinographic writing¹², while on the other hand, PALs are unique to Vietnamese Sinographic writing and do not exist in Korean or Japanese Sinographic writing¹³.

As is mentioned above, the stratification of the Sinitic lexicon in Vietnamese is more complicated than that in Korean and Japanese due to more intense language contact. In theory, any Vietnamese word of Chinese origin is an SV word. In practice, there is a codified set of words in Modern Vietnamese that is transparently of Chinese origin. This particular lexical layer, which would be explicitly labeled as “Chinese” in dictionaries, is more specifically called **HV** (from the Vietnamese term **Hán-Việt** 漢越). In addition, HV also refers to the codified set of character readings in Vietnamese. Any SV word which does not belong to

¹²The only frequently cited example of SAL is the graph 𠂔 for the word *làm* ‘to do’, as it is thought to be an abbreviated form of the character 爲 (Chinese *wéi* ‘to do’). However, as Handel (2019: 142) notes, this written form is more likely to be abbreviated from the character 濫 (HV *lạm*), which would make it essentially a PAL.

¹³As noted in footnote 39 in chapter 1, it can be argued that PALs exist in Korean Sinographic writing as some conventionalized phonetically-adapted graphs representing grammatical morphemes.

the HV system is called **pHV** (from the Vietnamese term **phi Hán-Việt** 非漢越)¹⁴. In contrast to HV words, pHV words may not be recognizable to average speakers as being derived from Chinese and are thus more likely to be conceived as native elements. This means that although a Sinogram may be etymologically associated with multiple Vietnamese words, it normally only has one HV reading, and average speakers are not likely to associate a pHV word with a Sinogram. For the purpose of classification in this dissertation, when an existing Chinese character represents a Vietnamese word derived from the original Chinese etymon represented by that character, the character is classified as a DAL in Vietnamese writing for that word regardless of whether the word is HV or pHV. To put it in another way, as long as a Vietnamese word X which is known or can be proved to be borrowed from a Chinese word Y is represented by the graph for the word Y in Chinese writing, that graph is a DAL for the word X in Vietnamese writing. In this way, characters which may be otherwise classified as SALs are DALs, and the SAL type becomes virtually nonexistent in Vietnamese Sinographic writing. This is a purely theoretical and linguistic perspective and may be counterintuitive because a pHV word could have been regarded as a native word by Vietnamese speakers, but it makes classification easier since there is no way to find out how literate Vietnamese actually conceived the relationship between the word and the graph. Furthermore, as Handel (2019: 143-144) argues, it seems unlikely that when a character has both a codified Vietnamese pronunciation which is roughly close to the pronunciation of the target word and the same meaning as the target word, a Vietnamese speaker would use that character for that word by taking into account just one aspect without conscious awareness of the other. Even if the Vietnamese speaker is not aware of the Chinese origin of a pHV word, they still subconsciously use the corresponding original Chinese character as a DAL for that word. For example, the character 時 (Mandarin *shí* < MC *dzyi*) ‘time’ can be associated with multiple Vietnamese morphemes: *thời* and *giờ*. The

¹⁴The term “non-Sino-Vietnamese” is often used in English to refer to pHV, but it may have the misleading indication that the character reading or word is not of Chinese origin at all.

former is HV and is used in HV compound words (e.g., *thời gian* 時間 ‘time’), and the latter is pHV and is used as a timing unit (e.g., *một giờ* ‘one o’clock’ or ‘one hour’) or in non-HV compound words (e.g., *bây giờ* ‘now’)¹⁵. A Vietnamese speaker will definitely recognize *thời* as the reading of the character 時, but this may not be the case for *giờ*. Regardless of the cognitive factors, instead of being a DAL for the HV morpheme *thời* and an SAL for the pHV morpheme *giờ*, the character 時 is classified as a DAL for both morphemes.

The following are some examples of PALs:

半 (HV *bán*) *bán* ‘to sell’
 底 (HV *để*) *để* ‘to put; in order to’
 朱 (HV *cho*) *cho* ‘to give’
 几 (HV *kể*) *kể* ‘person’
 女 (HV *nữ*) *nữ* ‘more’

Handel (2019: 137-139) notes the difficulty in determining whether the phonetic adaptation of existing Chinese characters results in logograms or phonograms in Vietnamese writing, that is, whether a phonetically-adapted Sinogram functions as a PAL or a PAP. For example, the Sinogram 尼 (HV *ni*, *nê*) can represent multiple words such as *nay* ‘now’, *này* ‘this’, and *noi* ‘place; where’. This kind of situation can in theory be explained in two ways. The first possibility is that this graph is used logographically as a PAL and is associated with these words similar in pronunciation, and it will not be used to represent a word, even with a compatible pronunciation, not conventionally associated with it. The second possibility is that this graph is used phonographically as a PAP for a range of syllables, and any word whose pronunciation falls within that range can be represented by it. In fact, it is a prevalent phenomenon that many phonetically-adapted

¹⁵The character 時 actually has two HV readings: *thời* and *thì*. This is a rare case in which a character without multiple readings in Chinese has multiple HV readings. The reading *thời* is regularly used in HV compound words, and the reading *thì* is mostly used independently as a topic particle, while its usages with a lexical meaning are very limited. It is probably because of this and for the purpose of disambiguation that the written form of the word *thì* is usually a Neo-Sinogram 𠂔, formed by switching the position of the two components in the original character 時.

Sinograms, especially those commonly used in Chinese writing, have multiple representational values in Vietnamese writing¹⁶. Handel argues for the logographic analysis for a number of reasons: (1). there was a trend of the increasing use of phonetic-semantic compound graphs over time for the sake of graphic disambiguation, in the same way as what happened in the history of Chinese writing; (2). it is common that a particular word can have multiple written forms, including both the existing Chinese character and one or more newly created phonetic-semantic compound graph with a semantic component; (3). it seems to be the case that a phonetically-adapted Sinogram is never associated with a fixed syllable but a range of different words with similar syllabic pronunciations. These phenomena suggest that a Sinogram is always mentally associated with particular words rather than just syllables. Another piece of evidence in support of this argument but not mentioned by Handel is that, in contrast to Japanese writing with a conventionalized set of Sinographic phonograms (*man'yōgana* 萬葉假名) and Korean writing with a small number of high-frequency Sinograms predominantly used as phonograms (see chapter 3), there has never been such an analogous set of Sinograms in Vietnamese writing which can be regarded as functionally separate from other graphs.

6.2.2 Neo-Sinogram

Neo-Sinograms (Neo) are graphs which do not exist in the Chinese writing system and are newly created in Vietnamese writing. Most Neo-Sinograms are compound graphs consisting of actual graphic components or characters in Chinese writing, while there are also Neo-Sinograms resulting from the modification of existing Chinese characters. A compound graph is made up of graphic components fulfilling either a phonetic or a semantic function. The vast majority of compound graphs in Chinese writing are

¹⁶This can be clearly seen from the character index in Nguyễn Quang Hồng (2014).

phonetic-semantic compounds with a phonetic component denoting the pronunciation of the underlying word and a semantic component denoting the meaning of the underlying word. More accurately speaking, the semantic component denotes a generic semantic class to which the underlying word belongs rather than its exact meaning, hence it is alternatively called a “semantic classifier,” “signifier,” or “taxogram.” In modern Chinese writing and lexicography, there is a codified set of 214 semantic classifiers established in *Kangxi Dictionary* (*Kāngxī zìdiǎn* 康熙字典) compiled in the early 18th century. The types of compound graphs in Vietnamese Sinographic writing are more diversified.

6.2.2.1 Phonetic-Taxonomic Compound

A **phonetic-taxonomic compound (PT)** is a subtype of phonetic-semantic compound. Its semantic component is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing, and its function is to denote the semantic class to which the underlying word belongs. Because this is the orthodox structure of phonetic-semantic compounds in Chinese writing, such a graph looks like a real Chinese character, especially if the spatial relationship of the graphic components (i.e., where each component is placed within the imagined square block for the entire character and in relation to the other component) also conforms with the regular pattern of their counterpart in Chinese writing. The following are some examples of phonetic-taxonomic compounds¹⁷:

苦 *cỏ* ‘grass’: P 古 (HV *cổ*) + T 艹 ‘GRASS’
 搥 *tay* ‘hand’: P 思 (HV *tu*) + T 扌 ‘HAND’
 餚 *com* ‘cooked rice, meal’: P 甘 (HV *cam*) + T 食 ‘FOOD’
 霽 *mây* ‘cloud’: P 迷 (HV *mê*) + T 雨 ‘WEATHER (<RAIN)’
 得 *người* ‘person’: P 得 (abbreviated form of 碍) (HV *ngại*) + T 亻 ‘PERSON’

¹⁷In the structural explanation of phonetic-taxonomic compounds, P stands for the phonetic component, and T stands for the “taxonomic” semantic component (or “taxogram”). The gloss of T is given in small capitalized letters.

6.2.2.2 Phonetic-Synonymic Compound

A **phonetic-synonymic compound (PS)** is a subtype of phonetic-semantic compound. Its semantic component is an actual Chinese character but not a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing, and its function is to denote the exact meaning of the underlying word. This type of compound graphs is rare in Chinese writing, so such a graph does not look like a real Chinese character and is more recognizable as a Neo-Sinogram compared to a phonetic-taxonomic compound. The following are some examples of phonetic-synonymic compounds¹⁸:

韃 *cỏ* ‘grass’: P 古 (HV *cổ*) + S 草 ‘grass’

搥 *tay* ‘hand’: P 思 (HV *tu*) + S 手 ‘hand’

𠄎/𠄎 *chữ* ‘written graph, script’: P 宁 (abbreviated form of 貯) (HV *trữ*) + S 字 ‘written graph, script’

𢇛 *đến* ‘to arrive’: P 典 (HV *điển*) + S 至 ‘to arrive’

𨾏 *năm* ‘year’: P 南 (HV *nam*) + S 年 ‘year’

There are several issues worth discussing regarding the types of phonetic-taxonomic compound and phonetic-synonymic compound.

First, the rationale behind the graphic structure in these two types is different. A PT compound represents a word whose pronunciation is the same as or close to the pronunciation of its phonetic component, and whose meaning falls within the semantic class denoted by its semantic component. A PS compound represents a word whose pronunciation is the same as or close to the pronunciation of its phonetic component, and whose meaning is the same as the meaning of its semantic component. Among the examples given above, there are two graphic minimal pairs, each containing one different graph in each type. The PT compound 𠄎

¹⁸In the structural explanation of phonetic-synonymic compounds, P stands for the phonetic component, and S stands for the “synonymic” semantic component.

and the PS compound 韎 both represent the word *cỏ* ‘grass’. The former points to a word whose pronunciation is close to *cỏ* (phonetic component 古) and whose meaning belongs to the class of words relevant to ‘GRASS’ (semantic component 艹). The latter points to a word whose pronunciation is close to *cỏ* (phonetic component 古) and whose meaning is exactly ‘grass’ (semantic component 草). This is the same case for the PT compound 搥 and the PS compound 搥, both representing the word *tay* ‘hand’. This kind of structural difference justifies the distinction between PT and PS, although both types are phonetic-semantic in nature (Handel 2019: 145-148)¹⁹.

Second, there are graphs which can be classified as either PT or PS (or both at the same time). These are the graphs whose semantic component is both an actual Chinese character with the same meaning as the target word and a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing, and the original character does not undergo structural change in graphic form when used as a semantic classifier. Such graphs are classified as PT in this dissertation, but there is no reason that they cannot be alternatively classified as PS. Two such examples are 鷓 *chim* ‘bird’ (P 占 [HV *chiêm*] + T 鳥 ‘BIRD’) and 惹 *lòng* ‘heart’ (P 弄 [HV *lộng*] + T 心 ‘HEART’).

Third, since phonetic-semantic compound characters in Chinese writing are mostly of the PT type, the question arises as to how to distinguish PALs and Neo-Sinograms in Vietnamese writing. That is to say, when a PT compound graph represents a native Vietnamese word and there is also a “graphetically identical character” in Chinese writing, how to judge whether the former is created in Vietnamese writing as a Neo-Sinogram or borrowed from the latter as a PAL²⁰? For example, the graph 苦 in Vietnamese writing represents the word *cỏ* ‘grass’, and there is also a graph 苦 in Chinese writing representing the word *kǔ* ‘to be bitter’. Did Vietnamese speakers borrow the latter as a whole or create a new graph by combining the two

¹⁹Chinese and Vietnamese scholars generally recognize this kind of difference in phonetic-semantic compounds, but there seem to be no established terms in any language to refer to the two different types. The terms “phonetic-taxonomic” and “phonetic-synonymic” were coined by Handel.

²⁰I use the phrase “graphetically identical character” instead of simply saying “the same character” to emphasize that it is not necessarily the case that the graph in Vietnamese writing is borrowed from the graph in Chinese writing.

graphic components 𠂇 and 古? While this may simply be an unanswerable question in most cases (unless there is concrete textual evidence), this dissertation adopts the three criteria below for the purpose of graph classification, despite the fact that they are all subjective to a certain degree.

(1). If the graph in Chinese writing is a rare character, the graph in Vietnamese writing is classified as a Neo-Sinogram, as Vietnamese speakers were less likely to be aware of the existence of that Chinese character. Whether a graph is a rare character or not can be judged by the number of its actual usages, and an easy way to check this is to look up the character in a comprehensive dictionary like *Hànyǔ dàzìdiǎn* 漢語大字典 or *Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辭典. For example, in Vietnamese writing, the graph 𠂇 represents the word *ăn* ‘to eat’ (P 安 [HV *an*] + T 口 ‘MOUTH’), and there is also a graphetically identical character 𠂇 in Chinese writing²¹. Because the graph 𠂇 is a rare character in Chinese writing, the graph 𠂇 in Vietnamese writing for the word *ăn* ‘to eat’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

(2). If the graph in Chinese writing is not a rare character, then it is necessary to consider the relationship between the structure of the graph and the target word. If the HV reading of the phonetic component is clearly closer to the pronunciation of the target word than the HV reading of the entire compound graph is to the pronunciation of the target word, the graph in Vietnamese writing is classified as a Neo-Sinogram, as this should be evidence that the compound graph is carefully constructed by choosing an appropriate phonetic component²². For example, the graph 𠂇 in Vietnamese writing represents the word *cỏ* ‘grass’, and the HV reading of its phonetic component 古 and the entire graph is *cỏ* (MC *kuX* > Mandarin *gǔ*) and *khỏ* (MC *khuX* > Mandarin *kǔ*) respectively. Because the latter has a different initial consonant (/x/, spelled as <kh> in Vietnamese alphabetic writing), the former is closer to the pronunciation of the word, thus the graph 𠂇

²¹See the footnote on this character in section 6.3.2.3.

²²On the other hand, it should also be theoretically possible that Vietnamese speakers borrowed a character from Chinese writing but used the HV reading of its phonetic component rather than the entire character, and the reason may exactly be that the former is clearly closer to the pronunciation of the target word.

in Vietnamese writing for the word *cỏ* ‘grass’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

(3). If the semantic class denoted by the semantic component in Chinese writing is irrelevant to the meaning of the target word, the graph in Vietnamese writing is classified as a PAL, as this should be evidence that the compound graph is borrowed as a whole without regard to the function or value of its components. For example, the graph 摆 in Vietnamese writing represents the word *bởi* ‘because; from’, and its left component 扌 is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing denoting the semantic class ‘HAND’. Because this meaning is irrelevant to the meaning of the word, the graph 摆 in Vietnamese writing for the word *bởi* ‘because; from’ is classified as a PAL. However, this semantic criterion might be less reliable than the previous phonetic criterion, as there are also graphs in Vietnamese writing without a graphetically identical equivalent in Chinese writing (thus they are Neo-Sinograms) containing a semantic component seemingly irrelevant in meaning to the target word. Two such examples are 漈 (P 变 [HV *biến*] + T 氵 ‘WATER’) *bén* ‘to become attached to’ and 垠 (P 罢 [HV *bãi*] + T 土 ‘EARTH’) *bởi* ‘because; from’²³.

6.2.2.3 Semantic-Semantic Compound

A **semantic-semantic compound (SS)** is a compound graph made up of two semantic components without phonetic components, and both components contribute to denoting the meaning of the target word in a certain way. The following are some examples of semantic-semantic compounds²⁴:

奎 *trời* ‘sky’: S₁ 天 ‘sky’ + S₂ 上 ‘above’

仝 *chùm* ‘village chieftain’: S₁ 人 ‘person’ + S₂ 上 ‘above’

𨀵 *trên* ‘on’: S₁ 𨀵 ‘MOTION’ + S₂ 上 ‘above’

𨀶 *dưới* ‘under’: S₁ 𨀵 ‘MOTION’ + S₂ 下 ‘below’

²³Despite being an allograph of 摆 for the same word, there is not a graphetically identical graph 垠 in Chinese writing, so the graph 垠 in Vietnamese writing for the word *bởi* ‘because; from’ can only be a Neo-Sinogram.

²⁴In the structural explanation of semantic-semantic compounds, S stands for the semantic component, and the two semantic components are distinguished by subscripted numbers.

𠂔 *chữ* ‘written graph, script’: S₁ 字 ‘written graph, script’ + S₂ 𠂔 ‘written graph, script’
𠂔 *tuổi* ‘year of age’: S₁ 年 ‘calendar year’ + S₂ 歲 ‘year of age’

It is possible to further classify semantic-semantic compounds based on the logical relationship between the meaning of the components and the meaning of the target word. For example, by analogy with the two subtypes of phonetic-semantic compounds, the graphs 𠂔 *trời* ‘sky’, 𠂔 *chữ* ‘written graph, script’, and 𠂔 *tuổi* ‘year of age’ can be regarded as “synonymic” in that one or both components are synonymous with the word, and the graphs 𠂔 *trên* ‘on’ and 𠂔 *dưới* ‘under’ can be regarded as both “taxonomic” and “synonymic” in that one component is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing (thus they superficially look like real Chinese characters), and the other component is synonymous with the word. On the other hand, the graph 𠂔 *chùm* ‘village chieftain’ is neither “synonymic” nor “taxonomic,” and the meaning of the word can only be deduced based on the combination of the meaning of both components. Because semantic-semantic compounds are relatively rare, this kind of further classification seems to be unnecessarily fine-grained.

6.2.2.4 Phonetic-Phonetic Compound

A **phonetic-phonetic compound (PP)** is a compound graph made up of two phonetic components without semantic components. This type of compound graphs does not exist at all in Chinese writing and is used to represent words with consonant cluster initials which existed in Vietnamese. A few consonant clusters are recorded in Alexandre de Rhodes’ *Dictionarium Annamiticum Lusitanum et Latinum* (1651), one of the earliest alphabetically written sources of the Vietnamese language, and others are reconstructed based on the phonetic-phonetic compound written forms along with other kinds of evidence. In most cases, the consonant clusters have a liquid sound (-l- or -r-) as the second element, and their modern reflexes are *tr-* [t ~ tɛ] or *s-*

[ʃ ~ s] (Shimizu 2006). The following are some examples of phonetic-phonetic compounds²⁵:

𠄎/𠄎 *trăng* (< *blăng*) ‘moon’: P₁ 巴 (HV *ba*) + P₂ 𠄎/𠄎 (HV *lăng*)
 𠄎 *trái* (< *blái*) ‘fruit’: P₁ 巴 (HV *ba*) + P₂ 𠄎 (HV *lại*)
 𠄎 *tròn* (< **klon*) ‘to be round’: P₁ 巨 (HV *cự*) + P₂ 𠄎 (HV *luân*)
 𠄎 *sấm* (< **kram*) ‘thunder’: P₁ 巨 (HV *cự*) + P₂ 𠄎 (HV *lầm*)
 𠄎/𠄎 *sống* (< **krộng*) ‘to live’: P₁ 古 (HV *cổ*) + P₂ 𠄎 (HV *lộ*)

6.2.2.5 Modified Graph

A **modified graph (Mod)** is a graph created by modifying an existing Chinese character. There are two main methods of graphic modification: (1). addition of an extra graphic element or diacritic mark; (2). direct alteration of the graphic form of the original character.

The commonly used graphic elements or diacritic marks for graphic modification are the wedge-shaped mark 𠄎 called *nháy* in Vietnamese and the graph 𠄎 ‘mouth’. The following are some examples of Neo-Sinograms with the *nháy* mark:

馬𠄎 (HV *mã*) *mưa* (prohibitive particle)
 買𠄎 (HV *mãi*) *mới* ‘to be new; only after’
 仍𠄎 (HV *nhưng*) *những* (plural marker)

The following are some examples of Neo-Sinograms with the graph 𠄎:

𠄎 *ăn* ‘to eat’: P 安 (HV *an*) + T 𠄎
 𠄎 *miệng* ‘mouth’: P 𠄎 (HV *mãnh*) + T 𠄎
 𠄎 *hỏi* ‘to ask’: P 每 (HV *mỗi*) + T 𠄎
 𠄎 *dẫu* ‘although; according to’: P 由 (HV *do*) + T 𠄎
 𠄎 *gửi* ‘to send’: P 改 (HV *cải*) + T 𠄎
 𠄎 *khá* ‘to be able to’: P 可 (HV *khả*) + T 𠄎

²⁵In the structural explanation of phonetic-phonetic compounds, P stands for the phonetic component, and the two phonetic components are distinguished by subscripted numbers.

Because the graph 口 is also a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing, all the Neo-Sinograms with this element are classified as PT compounds in this dissertation. However, it should be pointed out that this element is sometimes bleached of its semantic role and functions as a purely marking sign. In mainstream Chinese writing, adding the graph 口 to an existing character is a common way of creating new characters, especially phonograms for transcribing sounds in other languages. This practice is also prevalent in Cantonese writing in order to create written forms for words without a cognate in Mandarin and, apparently, is shared in Vietnamese writing as well. Among the six examples above, the first three words are still semantically related to ‘MOUTH’²⁶, while the last three are not. The graph 口 in the last three examples simply has a disambiguating function to indicate that the referent is a native Vietnamese word.

Direct alteration of the graphic form of the original character can either slightly change or significantly abbreviate its physical appearance. The former is achieved by adding, deleting, or altering a few strokes, and the latter is achieved by reducing the number of strokes by a large number or removing an entire graphic component. The following are some examples which may be considered as slight alteration in graphic form:

𩺰 (< PAL 个 [HV cá]): cá ‘fish’
 𩺱 (< PAL 庄 [HV trang]): chǎng ‘not’
 𩺲 (< PAL 其 [HV kì]): khà ‘to sigh, snort’

The following are some examples of significant abbreviation in graphic form:

𩺳 (< PAL 羅 [HV la]): là (copula)
 𩺴 (< PAL 濫 [HV lăm]): làm ‘to do’
 𩺵 (< 沒 < PAL 沒 [HV một]): một ‘one’

²⁶The graph 𩺶 can also be classified as a PS compound because the meaning of the word is exactly ‘mouth’.

The modification or abbreviation in graphic form pertains to the *graphetic* aspect of a written graph. In this sense, among all the secondary types in this classification system, the type of modified graph is based on a different criterion in comparison to all the other types which pertain to the *graphematic* aspect of a written graph. Modified graphs like 𠂇 and 𠂈 are still graphematically PALs for their respective word by virtue of their original full-form graph, no matter how significant the change in graphic form is.

6.2.3 Summary of the Types of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing

In general, an HV word is represented by its original Chinese character as a DAL, a native Vietnamese word is represented by a PAL or a Neo-Sinogram, and a pHV word may be represented by either (1) its original Chinese character as a DAL or (2) a PAL or a Neo-Sinogram, presumably depending on whether it is conceptualized as being of Chinese or native origin. This major demarcation between DAL written forms and non-DAL written forms (PAL or Neo-Sinogram), visible from the examination of actual texts in section 6.3, coincides with the dichotomy in traditional Vietnamese terminology, in which a DAL is called *chữ Hán* 𠂇漢/𠂇漢 (“Han character”) or *chữ Nho* 𠂇儒/𠂇儒 (“Confucian character”)²⁷, and a PAL or a Neo-Sinogram is called *chữ Nôm* 𠂇喃/𠂇喃 (presumably “southern character”). In other words, PALs and Neo-Sinograms are not distinguished terminologically in the Vietnamese philological tradition.

6.2.4 Example of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing

As an example of Sinograms in Vietnamese Writing, table 6.2 below lists the written forms of the native

²⁷These terms follow the Vietnamese head-modifier word order, and their first syllable *chữ* is the pHV form of the Chinese word 字 *zì* ‘written graph, script’. On the other hand, the pure HV term following the Chinese modifier-head word order *Hán tự* 漢字 is rarely used.

Vietnamese numeral words. The relationship between a graph and its corresponding word is explained in the last column “Structure”, depending on the type of the graph. For a PAL, its HV reading is given. For a compound graph, the phonetic value of its phonetic component and the semantic value of its semantic component are given. For a modified graph, the original Chinese character is given.

Table 6.2 Written Forms of Native Vietnamese Numeral Words

Number	Word	Written Form	Type	Structure
1	<i>một</i>	蔑	PAL	HV <i>miệt</i>
		没	PAL	HV <i>một</i>
		𠂇	Neo (Mod)	Abbreviated form of PAL 没 (HV <i>một</i>)
		𠂇/𠂇	Neo (Mod)	Modified form of PAL 没 (HV <i>một</i>), further abbreviated to 𠂇
2	<i>hai</i>	哈	Neo (PT)	P 台 (HV <i>thai</i>) T 口 ‘MOUTH’
		𠂇/𠂇	Neo (PS)	P 台 (HV <i>thai</i>) S 二/式 ‘two’
3	<i>ba</i>	巴	PAL	HV <i>ba</i>
		𠂇	Neo (PS)	P 巴 (HV <i>ba</i>) S 三 ‘three’
4	<i>bốn</i>	本	PAL	HV <i>bốn</i>
		𠂇	Neo (PS)	P 本 (HV <i>bốn</i>) S 四 ‘four’
5	<i>năm</i>	南	PAL	HV <i>nam</i>
		𠂇/𠂇	Neo (PS)	P 南 (HV <i>nam</i>) S 五 ‘five’
6	<i>sáu</i>	老	PAL	HV <i>lão</i>
		𠂇老六/𠂇	Neo (PS)	P 老 (HV <i>lão</i>) S 六 ‘six’
7	<i>bảy</i>	𠂇	PAL	HV <i>bãi</i>
		𠂇/𠂇	Neo (PS)	P 𠂇/𠂇 (HV <i>bãi</i>) S 七 ‘seven’
8	<i>tám</i>	参	PAL	HV <i>tham</i>
		𠂇/𠂇	PAL	HV <i>tâm</i>
		𠂇	Neo (PS)	P 参 (HV <i>tham</i>) S 八 ‘eight’
9	<i>chín</i>	𠂇	PAL	HV <i>chấn</i>
		𠂇/𠂇	Neo	P 𠂇 (HV <i>chấn</i>)

			(PS)	S 九 ‘nine’
10	<i>mười</i>	邁/迈	PAL	HV <i>mại</i>
		邁/迈	Neo (PS)	P 邁/迈(HV <i>mại</i>) S 十 ‘ten’
		辻/辻	Neo (PS)	P 辻 (abbreviated form of 邁 (HV <i>mại</i>)) S 十/什 ‘ten’
100	<i>trăm</i> (<i>< tlăm</i>)	林	PAL	HV <i>lâm</i>
		𣎵/𣎵	Neo (PS)	P 林 (HV <i>lâm</i>) S 百 ‘hundred’
1,000	<i>ngàn</i>	彦/岸	PAL	HV <i>ngạn</i>
		𣎵	Neo (PS)	P 彦 (HV <i>ngạn</i>) S 千 ‘thousand’

This table includes most attested written forms of these numeral words. There is a clear general pattern that, except *một* ‘one’, every other word can be written either by a PAL or one or more compound Neo-Sinograms (predominantly PS), and the PAL is also the phonetic component in those compound graphs.

6.3 Quốc Âm Thi Tập

As is mentioned in section 6.1, the anthology *Quốc Âm Thi Tập* as a collection of Nguyễn Trãi’s poems is the earliest extant corpus of vernacular Vietnamese writing, thus it can be considered as the Vietnamese counterpart to Korean *hyangga* and Japanese *Man’yōshū*. This collection as it exists today is part of a larger anthology of Nguyễn Trãi’s works under the title *Ức Trai Di Tập* 抑齋遺集 (“Collection of Works Left by Ức Trai”)²⁸ compiled by a person named Dương Bá Cung (1795-1868) and published in 1868 (QATT: 11). Therefore, its authenticity may be questioned, but it seems safe to regard it as a representation of vernacular Vietnamese writing in the 15th century on the basis of other presumably contemporaneous sources²⁹. In the same way as chapters 3 and 4, this corpus is used as the sample for examining the earliest full vernacular

²⁸Ức Trai 抑齋 is Nguyễn Trãi’s courtesy name.

²⁹There is another contemporaneous anthology of vernacular Vietnamese poetry *Hồng Đức Quốc Âm Thi Tập* 洪德國音詩集, whose title suggests that it was compiled during the reign period of Hồng Đức 洪德 (1470-1497), although the dating of the extant manuscript is unclear (Phan 2013: 372).

writing of Vietnamese.

6.3.1 Quốc Âm Thi Tập Poem 174

QATT includes a total of 254 poems and is divided into a number of portions. Each portion has a distinct title and consists of poems relevant to each other in content or theme. As an example, the following is poem 47 in a portion called *Bảo Kính Cảnh Giới* 寶鏡警戒 (“Warnings and Admonishments of the Precious Mirror”) and poem 174 in the entire anthology (QATT: 249; Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1990: 415). The entire poem is first given in table 6.3, followed by a character-by-character interpretation of each line.

Table 6.3 Quốc Âm Thi Tập Poem 174

Line	Original Text	Romanization	English Translation
1	雖浪眾波共英三	Tuy rằng bốn bề cũng anh tam	Although [people in the] four seas [are] all brothers,
2	固几賢冷固几凡	Có kẻ hiền lành có kẻ phàm	There are wise and gentle people; there are mediocre people.
3	饒說包停饒事磊	Nhiều thốt đã đành nhiều sự lỗi	[If one] speaks much, [one will] have resigned himself to many errors.
4	少啖粗吏少得	Ít ăn thì lại ít người làm	[If one] eats little, then few people [will] make [him eat].
5	奢華於曠輒庫	Xa hoa ở quãng nên khó	Lavishness and ornament are at distance, so [one] is poor.
6	爭竟恨摆貪	Tranh cạnh làm hờn bởi tham	Contending and competing make [people] hate due to greed.
7	箕倘奴唯市固恒	Kia thẳng nọ dùi nào có đứt	That [one] straight, this [one] bent, [ropes] are not cut off.
8	得欣些舌買侯甘	Người hơn ta thiệt mới hầu cam	[Other] people [having] more, oneself [having] less, only then [will one] be almost pleased.

Line 1

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem		Type
1	雖	‘even though’	HV <i>tuy</i>	HV <i>tuy</i> ‘even though’	<i>tuy rằng</i>	DAL
2	浪	‘wave’	HV <i>lãng</i>	<i>rằng</i> (subordinate	‘although’	PAL

				clause marker)		
3	罌		P 本 (HV <i>bốn</i>) S 四 ‘four’	<i>bốn</i> ‘four’		Neo (PS)
4	液		P 彼 (HV <i>bỉ</i>) T 汨 ‘WATER’	<i>bể</i> ‘sea’ (archaic)		Neo (PT)
5	共	‘to be common’	HV <i>cộng</i>	pHV <i>cũng</i> ‘all’		DAL
6	英	‘to be outstanding’	HV <i>anh</i>	<i>anh</i> ‘older brother’	<i>anh tam</i> ‘brother’	PAL
7	三	‘three’	HV <i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i> ‘younger sibling’ (archaic)		PAL

Line 2

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem	Type
1	固	‘to be solid’	HV <i>cố</i>	<i>có</i> ‘to have; to exist’	PAL
2	几	‘chair’	HV <i>kỉ</i>	<i>kẻ</i> ‘person’	PAL
3	賢	‘to be wise’	HV <i>hiền</i>	HV <i>hiền</i> ‘to be wise’	DAL
4	冷	‘to be cold’	HV <i>lãnh</i>	<i>lành</i> ‘to be kind, gentle’ (pHV 令)	PAL
5	固	‘to be solid’	HV <i>cố</i>	<i>có</i> ‘to have; to exist’	PAL
6	几	‘chair’	HV <i>kỉ</i>	<i>kẻ</i> ‘person’	PAL
7	凡	‘to be mediocre’	HV <i>phàm</i>	HV <i>phàm</i> ‘to be mediocre’	DAL

Line 3

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem	Type
1	饒	‘to be abundant’	HV <i>nhiều</i>	<i>nhiều</i> ‘many, much’	PAL
2	說	‘to speak’	HV <i>thuyết</i>	pHV <i>thốt</i> ‘to speak’	DAL
3	𡵓	name of an ethnic group	HV <i>dĩ?</i>	<i>đã</i> (perfective aspect particle)	PAL
4	停	‘to stop’	HV <i>đình</i>	<i>đành</i> ‘to resign oneself to’	PAL
5	饒	‘to be abundant’	HV <i>nhiều</i>	<i>nhiều</i> ‘many, much’	PAL
6	事	‘matter, affair’	HV <i>sự</i>	HV <i>sự</i> ‘matter, affair’	DAL
7	磊	‘to be rocky’	HV <i>lỗi</i>	<i>lỗi</i> ‘error’	PAL

Line 4

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem	Type
1	𡵓		P 乙 (HV <i>ít</i>) S 少 ‘to be few, little’	<i>ít</i> ‘few, little’	Neo (PS)
2	𡵓		P 安 (HV <i>an</i>) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	<i>ăn</i> ‘to eat’	Neo (PT)
3	𡵓		Modified form of DAL 時	<i>thì</i> (topic particle) (pHV 時)	Neo (Mod)
4	吏	‘clerk’	HV <i>lại</i>	<i>lại</i> ‘on the other hand’	PAL
5	𡵓		P 乙 (HV <i>ít</i>)	<i>ít</i> ‘few, little’	Neo

			S 少 ‘to be few, little’		(PS)
6	得		P 得 (abbreviated form of 碍) (HV ngại) T 得 ‘PERSON’	<i>người</i> ‘person’	Neo (PT)
7	𠂇		Abbreviated form of PAL 𠂇 (HV lạm)	<i>làm</i> ‘to do; to make (someone do something)’	Neo (Mod)

Line 5

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem	Type
1	奢	‘to be lavish’	HV xa	HV xa ‘to be lavish’	DAL
2	華	‘to be ornate’	HV hoa	HV hoa ‘to be ornate’	DAL
3	於	‘to be located at’	HV ư	<i>ở</i> ‘to be located at’	PAL
4	曠	‘to be vast’	HV khoáng	pHV quăng ‘distance’	DAL
5	𦵏		P 年 (HV niên) S 成 ‘to become’	<i>nên</i> ‘so’ (< ‘to change into’)	Neo (PS)
6	庫	‘storehouse’	HV khó	<i>khó</i> ‘to be poor’	PAL

Line 6

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem	Type
1	争	‘to contend’	HV tranh	HV tranh ‘to contend’	DAL
2	竟 (allograph of 競)	‘to compete’	HV cạnh	HV cạnh ‘to compete’	DAL
3	𠂇		Abbreviated form of PAL 𠂇 (HV lạm)	<i>làm</i> ‘to do; to make (someone do something)’	Neo (Mod)
4	恨	‘to hate’	HV hận	pHV hờn ‘to hate’	DAL
5	摆	‘to arrange’	HV bãi	<i>bởi</i> ‘because’	PAL
6	貪	‘to be greedy’	HV tham	HV tham ‘to be greedy’	DAL

Line 7

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem	Type
1	箕	‘winnowing basket’	HV ki, cơ	<i>kia</i> ‘that’ (pHV 其)	PAL
2	倘	‘if’	HV thẳng	<i>thẳng</i> ‘to be straight’	PAL
3	奴	‘servant’	HV nô	<i>nợ</i> ‘this’	PAL
4	唯	‘only’	HV duy	<i>dùi</i> ‘to be bent’ (archaic)	PAL
5	𠂇 ³⁰	?	?	<i>nào</i> ‘not’	?
6	固	‘to be solid’	HV cố	<i>có</i> ‘to have; to exist’	PAL
7	怛	‘to be sorrowful’	HV đát	<i>đứt</i> ‘to be cut off’	PAL

Line 8

³⁰See the footnote on this character in section 6.3.2.3.

No.	Character	Gloss	Structure	Reading in poem	Type
1	得		P 得 (abbreviated form of 碍) (HV <i>ngại</i>) T 得 'PERSON'	<i>người</i> 'person'	Neo (PT)
2	欣	'to be joyous'	HV <i>hân</i>	<i>hơn</i> 'more'	PAL
3	些	'to be tiny'	HV <i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i> 'oneself' (pHV 咱)	PAL
4	舌	'tongue'	HV <i>thiệt</i>	<i>thiệt</i> 'less'	PAL
5	買	'to buy'	HV <i>mãi</i>	<i>mới</i> 'only after'	PAL
6	侯	'marquis'	HV <i>hầu</i>	<i>hầu</i> 'almost' (archaic)	PAL
7	甘	'to be sweet'	HV <i>cam</i>	HV <i>cam</i> 'to be pleased'	DAL

6.3.2 Written Forms of Common Morphemes in *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*

According to Trần (2018: 44), QATT contains a total of 11,067 occurrences of morphemes³¹, among which there is a total of 8,040 occurrences of SV morphemes (including both HV and pHV) represented by 1,434 different graphs. Based on Trần (2014), this section lists the written forms of all the morphemes in QATT with 10 or more occurrences. The morphemes are divided into three types in terms of their origin: HV, pHV, and native. Within each type, entries are listed first in the order of number of occurrences, and then in alphabetical order on the basis of their spelling in Vietnamese alphabetic writing.

6.3.2.1 HV Morphemes

Most HV morphemes listed below are represented by their original Chinese character. In rare cases where the written form of a HV morpheme is not its original Chinese character, the original Chinese character is given following the morpheme.

³¹Trần's original phrase is "11,067 unique instances of Nôm characters." Strictly speaking, this refers to written graphs but not lexical morphemes. Because it seems to be the case that there are no sesquisyllabic morphemes (morphemes composed of two syllables, a minor syllable followed by a major syllable) represented in QATT, it should be safe to assume that there is the same number of morphemes as the number of graphs. On the other hand, it is also possible that there are bisyllabic morphemes (morphemes composed of two separate syllables) in QATT as is the case in modern Vietnamese. Nevertheless, even if bisyllabic morphemes really exist, it is still reasonable to treat each syllable as if being a separate morpheme when examining the written form, as it will be interesting to see whether the phenomenon of "orthographic monosyllabicity" (Boltz 2016) (e.g., the bisyllabic and monomorphemic Chinese word *húdié* 'butterfly' is written by the two characters 蝴蝶, both with the 'INSECT' semantic classifier) exists in Vietnamese Sinographic writing.

Table 6.4 Written Forms of HV Morphemes with 10 or More Occurrences in *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*

Morpheme	Written Form	Type	Structure	Occurrences
<i>thì</i> ‘time; (topic particle)’ (HV 時) ³²	𠂔	Neo (Mod)	Modified form of DAL 時	90
<i>thế</i> ‘world’	世	DAL		69
<i>nguyệt</i> ‘moon’	月	DAL		67
<i>xuân</i> ‘spring’	春	DAL		59
<i>hoa</i> ‘flower’	花	DAL		55
<i>sự</i> ‘matter, affair’	事	DAL		55
<i>qua</i> ‘to cross; (time) to pass; to spend (time); very’ (HV 過) ³³	戈	PAL	HV <i>qua</i>	51
<i>khách</i> ‘guest’	客	DAL		46
<i>thanh</i> ‘to be clear’	清	DAL		46
<i>nhàn</i> ‘to be leisurely’	閑	DAL		38+4=42
	閒	DAL		
<i>danh</i> ‘name’	名	DAL		41
<i>phận</i> ‘role, status’; <i>phần</i> ‘part’; <i>phân</i> ‘to divide; (unit of length)’ ³⁴	分	DAL		22+11+8=41
<i>thu</i> ‘autumn’	秋	DAL		38
<i>thân</i> ‘body’	身	DAL		36
<i>mai</i> ‘plum’	梅	DAL		35
<i>bạn</i> ‘friend, companion’	伴	DAL		34
<i>trúc</i> ‘bamboo’	竹	DAL		34
<i>đạo</i> ‘way; Daoism’	道	DAL		33
<i>hương</i> ‘fragrance, incense’	香	DAL		30
<i>mỗ</i> ‘certain; I’	某	DAL		29
<i>sinh</i> ‘to give birth, to be born, to live’	生	DAL		29
<i>cảnh</i> ‘scene’	景	DAL		26
<i>cao</i> ‘to be high, tall’	高	DAL		26
<i>an/yên</i> ‘to be peaceful’	安	DAL		25
<i>công</i> ‘accomplishment’	功	DAL		25

³²In modern Vietnamese, there is a pair of HV doublets derived from the Chinese etymon 時 *shí* ‘time’: *thời* and *thì*. The former is regularly used in HV compound words, and the latter is mostly used independently as a topic particle, while its usages with a lexical meaning are very limited. The original Chinese character 時 does not occur in QATT, and what occurs is the Neo-Sinogram 𠂔, indicating that the intended morpheme in QATT is always *thì*.

³³In modern Vietnamese, there is a pair of HV doublets derived from the Chinese etymon 過 *guò* ‘to pass, exceed’: *qua* and *quá*. The latter is used either independently as an adverb meaning ‘too’ or in HV compound words, while the former mainly means ‘to cross, pass’. The original Chinese character 過 does not occur in QATT, and what occurs is the PAL 戈, which indicates that the intended morpheme in QATT is always *qua* on the basis of the tone correspondence.

³⁴The three HV morphemes *phận* ‘role, status’, *phần* ‘part’, and *phân* ‘to divide; (unit of length)’ are derived from two Chinese etyma which are etymologically related to each other and written by the same character 分 (*fēn* < MC *pjun* ‘to divide’; *fēn* < MC *bjunH* ‘role, status’). As a result, they are listed in the same entry here.

<i>hoà</i> ‘to be in harmony; and; all, each’	和	DAL		25
<i>tử</i> ‘child; (respectful title for male)’	子	DAL		25
<i>nhân</i> ‘person’	人	DAL		24
<i>phong</i> ‘wind’	風	DAL		22
<i>tình</i> ‘emotion; circumstance’	情	DAL		22
<i>bằng</i> ‘by, with’ (HV 憑)	朋	PAL	HV bằng	14+7=21
	平	PAL	HV bình	
<i>quân</i> ‘lord, gentleman’	君	DAL		21
<i>tài</i> ‘talent’	才	DAL		21
<i>tuyết</i> ‘snow’	雪	DAL		21
<i>phú</i> ‘to be wealthy’	富	DAL		20
<i>tiên</i> ‘fairy, immortal’	仙	DAL		20
<i>tự</i> ‘self’	自	DAL		20
<i>nghĩa</i> ‘propriety; meaning’ (HV 義)	義	DAL	Abbreviated form of DAL 義	16+3=19
	菱	Neo (Mod)		
<i>quý</i> ‘to be noble’	貴	DAL		19
<i>câu</i> ‘expression, sentence’ (HV 句)	勾	PAL	HV câu	18
<i>đưỡng</i> ‘to nourish’	養	DAL		18
<i>quan</i> ‘official’	官	DAL		18
<i>sách</i> ‘book’	冊	DAL		18
<i>đầu</i> ‘head’	頭	DAL		17
<i>gian</i> ‘space’	間	DAL		14+3=17
	閒	DAL		
<i>san/son</i> ‘mountain’	山	DAL		17
<i>thuyền</i> ‘boat’	船	DAL		17
<i>tiết</i> ‘period’	節	DAL		17
<i>hằng</i> ‘constantly; every’	恒	DAL		16
<i>không</i> ‘air; to be without, to be empty; to be illusory; completely’	空	DAL		16
<i>ngại</i> ‘to fear’ (HV 礙)	𪔐 ³⁵	Neo (?)	?	10+4+2=16
	礙	DAL		
	碍	DAL		
<i>ngâm</i> ‘to chant’	吟	DAL		16
<i>ngọc</i> ‘jade’	玉	DAL		16
<i>song</i> ‘window’ (HV 牕/窓/窓)	牕	DAL		12+2+1+1=16
	窓	DAL		

³⁵The origin of the right component in the graph 𪔐 is unclear.

	窓	DAL		
	双	PAL	HV song	
<i>việc</i> ‘matter, affair’	役	DAL		16
<i>động</i> ‘to move’	動	DAL		15
<i>miễn</i> ‘as long as’ (HV 免)	免	DAL		14+1=15
	勉	PAL	HV miễn	
<i>nhiên</i> ‘to be in this way’	然	DAL		15
<i>phụ</i> ‘to disappoint, betray’	負	DAL		15
<i>thánh</i> ‘to be sagely’	聖	DAL		15
<i>thiếu</i> ‘few, little; to be young’	少	DAL		15
<i>thú</i> ‘enjoyment’	趣	DAL		15
<i>thương</i> ‘to feel sorry for, to be touched by’	傷	DAL		15
<i>vô</i> ‘to be without’	無	DAL		15
<i>giang</i> ‘river’	江	DAL		14
<i>nghiệp</i> ‘profession, study; karma’	業	DAL		14
<i>tham</i> ‘to be greedy; to be fond of’	貪	DAL		14
<i>thiên</i> ‘sky, heaven’	天	DAL		14
<i>thư</i> ‘to write; letter, book’	書	DAL		14
<i>ước</i> ‘to wish’	約	DAL		14
<i>câu</i> ‘hook; to bait, attract’	鈎	DAL		13
<i>đức</i> ‘virtue’ (HV 德)	德	DAL		12+1=13
	衍	Neo (Mod)	Abbreviated form of DAL 德	
<i>hiềm</i> ‘to fear’	嫌	DAL		13
<i>hiền</i> ‘to be wise, wise person’	賢	DAL		13
<i>cầm</i> ‘zither’	琴	DAL		11+1=12
	𪛗 (allograph of 琴)	DAL		
<i>cầu</i> ‘to look for’	求	DAL		12
<i>nhẫn</i> ‘to endure’	忍	DAL		12
<i>cách</i> ‘to be separate from, far from’	隔	DAL		11
<i>dân</i> ‘people’	民	DAL		11
<i>đông</i> ‘winter’	冬	DAL		11
<i>đông</i> ‘east’	東	DAL		11
<i>khí</i> ‘weather; vitality, spirit’	氣	DAL		11
<i>lợi</i> ‘benefit’	利	DAL		11
<i>thức</i> ‘color’	式	DAL		11
<i>thường</i> ‘constantly’	常	DAL		11
<i>tính</i> ‘character’	性	DAL		11
<i>am</i> ‘hut’	庵	DAL		10

<i>hiên</i> ‘window, door; small room’	軒	DAL		10
<i>học</i> ‘to learn’ (HV 學)	學	Neo (Mod)	Abbreviated form of DAL 學	6+3+1=10
	𠂔 (abbreviated form of 學) ³⁶	DAL		
	學	DAL		
<i>kết</i> ‘to tie’	結	DAL		10
<i>phúc</i> ‘blessing’	福	DAL		10
<i>tàn</i> ‘to fade; to age’	殘	DAL		10
<i>truyền</i> ‘to pass down, to transmit’	傳	DAL		10
<i>văn</i> ‘writing, literature, cultivation’	文	DAL		10

The phenomenon that an HV morpheme may be represented by a graph other than the original Chinese character, although few in number, is noteworthy, as it does not seem to exist in Korean and Japanese writing. Among the cases listed here, three of them (𠂔 *nghĩa* ‘propriety; meaning’; 衍 *đức* ‘virtue’; 學 *học* ‘to learn’) involve a graph which is just an abbreviated form of the original Chinese character (at least identified as such by modern scholars), so strictly speaking, they are not abnormal. There are two cases which may be attributed to the need for disambiguation: when a Chinese etymon has more than one HV readings, different graphs, one of which is the original Chinese character, are consistently used for distinction.

Neo 朝 *thì* ‘time; (topic particle)’ ≠ **DAL** 時 *thời* ‘time’ (both from Chinese 時 ‘time’)

PAL 戈 *qua* ‘to cross; (time) to pass; to spend (time); very’ ≠ **DAL** 過 *quá* ‘too; to pass, exceed’ (both from Chinese 過 ‘to pass, exceed’)

The other cases (**PAL** 朋/平 *bằng* ‘by, with’ [**HV** 憑]; **PAL** 勾 *câu* ‘expression, sentence’ [**HV** 句]; **PAL** 双 *song* ‘window’ [**HV** 牕/窓/窓]; **PAL** 勉 *miễn* ‘as long as’ [**HV** 免]) cannot be reasonably explained.

It is possible that these morphemes were not conceptualized as HV by the author (which would be a major

³⁶The written form 𠂔 as an abbreviated form of the character 學 is attested in Dūnhuáng 敦煌 manuscripts, while the written form 學 seems to be not attested in Chinese writing and is created in Vietnamese writing.

factor for the next group of pHV morphemes), or it may also simply be the author's idiosyncratic choice. It is necessary to explore more materials to see if this kind of situation is common in Vietnamese Sinographic writing.

6.3.2.2 pHV Morphemes

A pHV morpheme may be represented by either (1) its original Chinese character as a DAL, or (2) a PAL or a Neo-Sinogram, presumably depending on whether it is conceptualized as being of Chinese or native origin. For each pHV morpheme listed below, both its original Chinese character and the corresponding HV reading are given. There are cases in QATT where both the pHV form and the HV form of the same Chinese etymon occur. In these cases, the occurrences of the HV form are also given following the pHV form in question for reference.

Table 6.5 Written Forms of pHV Morphemes with 10 or More Occurrences in *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*

Morpheme	Written Form	Type	Structure	Occurrences
<i>được</i> 'to obtain; to win; (passive marker); (particle expressing ability)' (pHV 得) (HV đắc)	特	PAL	HV đắc	87
HV đắc (2 occurrences) <i>đắc thú</i> 得趣 'to obtain enjoyment'; <i>đắc thì</i> 得時 'to take the opportunity'				
<i>ta</i> '(first-person pronoun); oneself' (pHV 咱) (HV cha)	些	PAL	HV ta	48
<i>thấy</i> 'to see; to think' (pHV 視) (HV thị)	体	PAL	HV thể	25+16=41
	覓	Neo (PS)	P 体 (HV thể) S 見 'to see'	
<i>cùng</i> 'with; and, or; all' (pHV 共) (HV cộng)	共	DAL	HV cộng	38
<i>cũ</i> 'to be old, ancient' (pHV 古) (HV cổ)	婆	PAL	HV cũ	35
HV cổ (3 occurrences) <i>cổ nhân</i> 古人 'ancient person'; <i>cổ câm</i> 古今 'past and present'; <i>cổ lễ</i> 古例 'ancient custom'				
<i>bạc</i> 'to be white'	泊	PAL	HV bạc	27+2=29

(pHV 白) (HV bạch)	薄	PAL	HV bạc	
HV bạch (3 occurrences) Bạch Thạch 白石 ‘white stone’; bạch tuyết 白雪 ‘white snow’				
những (plural marker; emphasizing an emotional state) (pHV 仍) (HV nhưng)	仍	DAL	HV nhưng	27
tiếng ‘sound; reputation’ (pHV 聲) (HV thanh)	嗜 ³⁷	Neo (PT)	P 省 (HV tỉnh) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	27
càng ‘more’ (pHV 更) (HV cánh)	强	PAL	HV cường	26
lành ‘to be good, beautiful, kind; to be respectful’ (pHV 令) (HV lệnh)	冷	PAL	HV lãnh	23
vì ‘because’ (pHV 為) (HV vị)	為	DAL	HV vị	23
chúa ‘lord’ (pHV 主) (HV chủ)	主	DAL	HV chủ	22
HV chủ ‘host’ (3 occurrences)				
phen ‘time, order’ (pHV 番) (HV phiên)	番	Neo (Mod)	Modified form of DAL 番	22
tiếc ‘to feel attached to’ (pHV 惜) (HV tích)	惜	DAL	HV tích	21+1=22
	焮	PAL	HV tích	
xưa ‘to be ancient, old; old times’ (pHV 初) (HV sơ)	初	DAL	HV sơ	22
HV sơ ‘initially’ (6 occurrences)				
khôn ‘impossibly’ (pHV 困) (HV khốn)	坤	PAL	HV khôn	21
HV khốn ‘to be difficult’ (1 occurrence)				
lều ‘small house’ (pHV 寮) (HV lêu)	苧	Neo (PT)	P 了 (HV liễu) T 艹 ‘GRASS’	20+1=21
	蓐	Neo (PT)	P 寮 (HV liệu) T 艹 ‘GRASS’	
xem ‘to look’ (pHV 占) (HV chiêm)	祐	Neo (PT)	P 占 (HV chiêm) T 礻 ‘SACRIFICE (< ‘to show’)	20+1=21
	貼	Neo (PT)	P 占 (HV chiêm) T 目 ‘EYE’	
âu ‘to worry’ (pHV 憂) (HV ưu)	謳	PAL	HV âu	17+3=20
	歐	PAL	HV âu	
HV ưu (3 occurrences) ưu ái 憂愛 ‘worry and love’				
đời ‘generation; world’ (pHV 代) (HV đại)	莪	Neo (PS)	P 代 (HV đại) S 世 ‘world’	11+9=20
	代	DAL	HV đại	
thơ ‘poem’ (pHV 詩) (HV thi)	踈 (allograph	PAL	HV sơ	18+1=19

³⁷Although there is a graphetically identical character 嗜 (*shěng*, ‘to be taciturn’) in Chinese writing, it is a rare character. As a result, the graph 嗜 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *tiếng* ‘sound; reputation’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

	of 疏)			
	疏	PAL	HV sơ	
HV thi (12 occurrences) various HV compound words				
on ‘favor, mercy’ (pHV 恩) (HV ân)	恩	DAL	HV ân	18
HV ân (1 occurrence) ân oán 恩怨 ‘gratitude and resentment’				
thừa ‘location; (nominalizer); (genitive particle)’ (pHV 所) (HV sở)	所	DAL	HV sở	18
HV thi (2 occurrences) sở sinh 所生 ‘parent (< where [one] was born)’; thất sở 失所 ‘to lose place’				
toan ‘to measure; to intend’ (pHV 算) (HV toán)	筭 (allograph of 算)	DAL	HV toán	12+6=18
	算	DAL	HV toán	
xanh ‘green, blue’ (pHV 青) (HV thanh)	撐	PAL	HV sanh	17+1=18
	撐 (allograph of 撐)	PAL	HV sanh	
HV thanh (4 occurrences) thanh vân 青雲 ‘blue cloud’; thanh đồng 青童 ‘fairy boy’				
tuổi ‘age’ (pHV 歲) (HV tuế)	歲	DAL	HV tuế	17
ngoài ‘outside’ (pHV 外) (HV ngoại)	外	DAL	HV ngoại	16
dễ ‘to be easy’ (pHV 易) (HV dị)	易	DAL	HV dị	15
mọi ‘all’ (pHV 每) (HV mỗi)	每	DAL	HV mỗi	15
báo ‘to tell, inform’ (pHV 報) (HV báo)	保	PAL	HV báo	14
HV báo ‘to recompense’ (7 occurrences)				
đều ‘to be equal; all, equally’ (pHV 調) (HV điều)	調	DAL	HV điều	14
HV điều (1 occurrence) điều canh 調羹 ‘to adjust soup’				
lạnh ‘to be cold’ (pHV 冷) (HV lãnh)	冷	DAL	HV lãnh	14
mùi ‘smell’ (pHV 味) (HV vị)	味	DAL	HV vị	14
HV vị (1 occurrence) vị quân thần 味君臣 ‘taste of lord and minister’ (concept in traditional Chinese medicine)				
quen ‘to be familiar, to be used to’ (pHV 慣) (HV quán)	涓	PAL	HV quyen	14
thông ‘pine’ (pHV 松) (HV tùng)	椿 ³⁸	PAL	HV xuân	14

³⁸There is a graphetically identical character 椿 (*chūn*, a type of tree) in Chinese writing, and it seems possible to classify the graph 椿 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *thông* ‘pine’ as either a PAL or a PT Neo-Sinogram because the entire graph 椿 and its phonetic component 春 are homophonous (Chinese *chūn*, HV *xuân*).

		or Neo (PT)	or P 春 (HV xuân) T 木 ‘TREE’	
HV tùng (3 occurrences) <i>tùng cúc</i> 松菊 ‘pine and chrysanthemum’; <i>tùng thu</i> 松楸 (two kinds of trees)				
<i>dường</i> ‘to seem’ (pHV 樣) (HV dạng)	羹	PAL	HV dạng	11+1+1=13
	樣	DAL	HV dạng	
	楊	PAL	HV dương	
HV dạng ‘form, type’ (2 occurrences)				
<i>khả</i> ‘to be able to’ (pHV 可) (HV khả)	可	DAL	HV khả	12+1=13
	呵 ³⁹	Neo (PT)	P 可 (HV khả) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	
<i>vườn</i> ‘garden’ (pHV 園) (HV viên)	園	DAL	HV viên	13
HV viên (2 occurrences) <i>điền viên</i> 田園 ‘countryside’				
<i>bầu</i> ‘gourd’ (pHV 匏) (HV biểu)	瓢 ⁴⁰	PAL	HV biểu	9+2+1=12
	瓢	Neo (PT)	P 瓢 (HV biểu) T 艹 ‘GRASS’	
	保	PAL	HV bảo	
<i>chè</i> ‘tea’ (pHV 茶) (HV trà)	茶	DAL	HV trà	12
<i>từng</i> ‘once’ (pHV 曾) (HV tăng)	曾	DAL	HV tăng	12
<i>chén</i> ‘cup’ (pHV 盞) (HV trản)	噉	Neo (PT)	P 𣎵 (allograph of 𣎵) (HV chiến) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	11
<i>chữ</i> ‘written graph, script’ (pHV 字) (HV tự)	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 𠂔 (abbreviated form of 𠂔) (HV trữ) S 字 ‘written graph, script’	6+3+1+1=11
	𠂔	Neo (SS)	S ₁ 𠂔 ‘written graph, script’ S ₂ 𠂔 ‘written graph, script’	
	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 𠂔 (abbreviated form of 𠂔) (HV trữ) S 字 ‘written graph, script’	

³⁹Although there is a graphetically identical character 呵 (*hē*, ‘to exhale’) in Chinese writing, the graph 呵 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *khá* ‘to be able to’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram. This is because the HV reading of the phonetic component 可 (*khả*) is closer to the pronunciation of this morpheme than the HV reading of the entire character 呵 (*ha*) is to the pronunciation of this morpheme.

⁴⁰It is worth noting that the morphemes written by the characters 匏 and 瓢 are cognates in Chinese, the former referring to a plant (‘gourd’) and the latter referring to a tool made of that plant (‘ladle’).

	字	DAL	HV tự	
<i>đĩa</i> ‘pond’ (pHV 池) (HV trì)	池	DAL	HV trì	11
HV điều (1 occurrence) <i>Dao Trì</i> 瑶池 (name of a legendary pond)				
<i>tin</i> ‘to believe; news’ (pHV 信) (HV tín)	信	DAL	HV tín	11
<i>vàng</i> ‘yellow’ (pHV 黃) (HV hoàng)	黃	DAL	HV hoàng	8+3=11
	鑽	PAL	HV hoàng	
HV hoàng (4 occurrences) various HV compound words				
<i>căn</i> (measure word for buildings or rooms) (pHV 間/間) (HV gian)	間	DAL	HV gian	10
HV gian ‘space’ (17 occurrences)				
<i>chầy</i> ‘to be slow; (time) to be long’ (pHV 遲) (HV trì)	遲 (allograph of 迟, abbreviated form of 遲)	DAL	HV trì	10
<i>dùng</i> ‘to use’ (pHV 用) (HV dụng)	用	DAL	HV dụng	10
<i>kể</i> ‘to tell’ (pHV 計) (HV kể)	計	DAL	HV kể	10
<i>từ</i> ‘from’ (pHV 自) (HV tự)	自	DAL	HV tự	9+1=10
	徐	PAL	HV từ	

Since pHV morphemes do not belong to the codified HV layer and thus are not explicitly learned as being of Chinese origin, it is likely that a Vietnamese writer would regard a pHV morpheme as a native element and use a written form other than the original Chinese character. The fact that DAL written forms and non-DAL written forms do not coexist for the majority of the morphemes listed above (the exceptions are shaded in the table)⁴¹ supports the assumption that the choice between the two major types of written form (DAL or non-DAL) depends on whether the target morpheme was conceptualized by the writer as being of Chinese or native origin.

6.3.2.3 Native Morphemes

⁴¹Even for these exceptions, in all but one cases, there is a clear tendency in terms of which type of written form (DAL or non-DAL) is dominant.

A native morpheme is represented by either a PAL or a Neo-Sinogram. There is a relatively high degree of allography in terms that many morphemes have multiple written forms, although in most cases, there is one predominant written form.

Table 6.6 Written Forms of Native Morphemes with 10 or More Occurrences in *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*

Morpheme	Written Form	Type	Structure	Occurrences
<i>chăng/chẳng</i> ‘not; (interrogative final particle)’	拯	PAL	HV <i>chùng</i>	105+54+15+1=175
	庄	Neo (Mod)	Modified form of PAL 庄 (HV <i>trang</i>)	
	庄	PAL	HV <i>trang</i>	
	生 ⁴²	?	?	
<i>có</i> ‘to have; to exist’	固	PAL	HV <i>cố</i>	169+1=170
	古	PAL	HV <i>cổ</i>	
<i>một</i> ‘one’	蔑	PAL	HV <i>miệt</i>	142+1+1=144
	没	PAL	HV <i>một</i>	
	𠂔	Neo (Mod)	Abbreviated form of 𠂔, modified form of PAL 没 (HV <i>một</i>)	
<i>lòng</i> ‘heart’	𢶏 ⁴³	Neo (PT)	P 弄 (HV <i>lộng</i>) T 心 ‘HEART’	112
<i>đã/dà</i> (perfective aspect particle) ⁴⁴	𠂔	PAL?	HV <i>dĩ?</i>	73+29=102
	它	PAL?	HV <i>dĩ?</i>	
<i>người</i> ‘person’	𠂔	Neo (PT)	P 𠂔 (abbreviated form of 𠂔) (HV <i>ngại</i>) T 𠂔 ‘PERSON’	79+7=86
	𠂔 (abbreviated form of 𠂔)	PAL	HV <i>ngại</i>	
<i>ai</i> ‘who; somebody’	埃	PAL	HV <i>ai</i>	85

⁴²This written form may be a scribal error as its relationship to the morpheme *chăng/chẳng* ‘not’ cannot be explained (**HV** *sinh*, ‘to produce, to be born’). The intended written form may be 庄 since the graphic form of these two characters is similar to each other.

⁴³The graph 𢶏 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *lòng* ‘heart’ is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram because its semantic component 心 ‘HEART’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Since the meaning of this component is the same as the meaning of the morpheme, this written form may also be classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁴⁴Trần (2014: 103) lists the morpheme *đã/dà* as an SV form of the Chinese morpheme 已 ‘to stop; already’ (**HV** *dĩ*, MC *yǐ*X, Old Chinese [OC] *G(r)əʔ). If this is true, the phonetic relationship between the two written forms for this morpheme may be better explained. The character 𠂔 is a rare character in Chinese writing, representing the name of an ethnic group in ancient southern China. It should be homophonous with the character 𠂔 ‘ewer’ with the same phonetic component (**HV** *dĩ*, Mandarin *yí* < MC *ye* [余支切]). The character 它 has an identical rare pronunciation in Chinese (both MC and Mandarin).

<i>làm</i> ‘to do’	濫	Neo (Mod)	Modified form of PAL 濫 (HV <i>lạm</i>)	41+39+2=82
	𠂔 ⁴⁵	Neo (Mod)	Abbreviated form of PAL 濫 (HV <i>lạm</i>)	
	濫	PAL	HV <i>lạm</i>	
<i>còn</i> ‘still; if’	群	PAL	HV <i>quần</i>	77
<i>nhiều/nhiều</i> ‘many, much’	饒	PAL	HV <i>nhiều</i>	68+1=69
	𪛗	Neo (PS)	P 堯 (HV <i>nghiêu</i>) S 多 ‘to be many, much’	
<i>ngày</i> ‘day’	𠂔	Neo (PT)	P 𠂔 (abbreviated form of 𠂔) (HV <i>ngại</i>) T 日 ‘SUN’	65+2=67
	𠂔 (abbreviated form of 𠂔)	PAL	HV <i>ngại</i>	
<i>nước</i> ‘water; country’	渚 ⁴⁶	Neo (PT)	P 若 (HV <i>nhược</i>) T 𠂔 ‘WATER’	66
<i>đến</i> ‘to come, arrive; to (indicating direction); about’	典	PAL	HV <i>điển</i>	32+30=62
	旦	PAL	HV <i>đán</i>	
<i>hay</i> ‘to know; to be able to’	𠂔	Neo (PT)	P 台 (HV <i>thai</i>) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	59+2+1=62
	台	PAL	HV <i>thai</i>	
	𠂔台 ⁴⁷	Neo (?)	P 台 (HV <i>thai</i>) S/T 𠂔 ?	
<i>nên</i> ‘to change into; so’	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 年 (HV <i>niên</i>) S 成 ‘to become’	55+2=57
	年	PAL	HV <i>niên</i>	
<i>cho</i> ‘to give, allow; (dative particle)’	朱	PAL	HV <i>chu</i>	56
<i>nào</i> ‘not; which; every’	𠂔 ⁴⁸	?	?	55

⁴⁵This written form is usually thought to be an abbreviated form of the Chinese character 爲 (*wéi*, ‘to do’), which would be an SAL for the Vietnamese morpheme *làm* ‘to do’. However, since semantic adaptation is rare (if it ever exists) in Vietnamese Sinographic writing and the full-form character 爲 has not been attested in Nôm materials to write this particular morpheme, it seems more likely that this graph is an abbreviated form of 濫, which is a PAL for this morpheme (Handel 2019: 142).

⁴⁶Although there is a graphically identical character 渚 in Chinese writing, it is a rare character only used in toponyms. As a result, the graph 渚 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *nước* ‘water; country’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

⁴⁷This written form is clearly a Neo-Sinogram and its left component is the phonetic component, but the function of the right component is unclear. In Vietnamese Sinographic writing, the graph 𠂔 itself is a Neo-Sinogram modified from the Chinese character 个 (HV *cá*, general measure word), which seems irrelevant to the morpheme *hay* ‘to know; to be able to’ either phonetically or semantically. It is possible that this graphic component is an abbreviated or modified form of another character or graphic component.

⁴⁸The Chinese dictionary *Lóngkān shǒujiàn* 龍龕手鑑 compiled at the end of the 10th century includes a graphically identical character 𠂔 glossed as an allograph of the character 眈, which in turn is an allograph of the character 視 *shì* ‘to look’. Since the HV reading of these characters *thị* has nothing to do with the pronunciation of this morpheme, the Chinese

<i>ở</i> ‘to live, stay, remain; at, in’	於	PAL	HV <i>ư</i>	51
<i>ấy</i> ‘that, those; (copula); (prohibitive final particle)’	意	PAL	HV <i>ý</i>	49+1=50
	倚	PAL	HV <i>ỷ</i>	
<i>thuở</i> (< <i>khuở</i>) ‘when (indicating past time)’	課	PAL	HV <i>khoá</i>	49
<i>chi</i> ‘what’	之	PAL	HV <i>chi</i>	47
<i>dẫu</i> ‘although; according to’	油	PAL	HV <i>du</i>	45+1+1=47
	酉	PAL	HV <i>dậu</i>	
	咄	Neo (PT)	P 由 (HV <i>do</i>) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	
<i>kẻ</i> ‘person’	几	PAL	HV <i>kỉ</i>	45
<i>là</i> (copula)	羅	PAL	HV <i>la</i>	42
<i>chớ</i> (prohibitive particle)	渚	PAL	HV <i>chữ</i>	41
<i>con</i> ‘child; (measure word)’	昆	PAL	HV <i>côn</i>	39+1=40
	琨	Neo (PS)	P 昆 (HV <i>côn</i>) S 子 ‘child’	
<i>non</i> ‘mountain’	嶽 ⁴⁹	Neo (PT)	P 嫩 (HV <i>nộn</i>) T 山 ‘MOUNTAIN’	39+1=40
	嫩	PAL	HV <i>nộn</i>	
<i>lại</i> ‘again; (indicating the resumption of an action); on the other hand; (indicating a future action); (indicating the increase in degree)’	吏	PAL	HV <i>lại</i>	39
<i>của</i> ‘property; thing, matter; (genitive particle)’	貼	Neo (PT)	P 古 (HV <i>cổ</i>) T 貝 ‘PROPERTY (< cowry shell)’	37+1=38
	古	PAL	HV <i>cổ</i>	
<i>hai</i> ‘two’	仨	Neo (PS)	P 台 (HV <i>thai</i>) S 二 ‘two’	38
<i>ắt</i> ‘surely’	乙	PAL	HV <i>ắt</i>	34+3=37
	𠂇 ⁵⁰	Neo (?)	P 乙 (HV <i>ắt</i>) S/T 少 ?	
<i>cửa</i> ‘door’	𠂇	Neo	P 峯 (abbreviated)	27+9+1=37

character 𠂇 cannot be the source of the graph 𠂇 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *nào* ‘not; which; every’. It is unclear whether this written form is an abbreviated or modified form of an existing Chinese character.

⁴⁹The graph 嶽 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *non* ‘mountain’ is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram because its semantic component 山 ‘MOUNTAIN’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Since the meaning of this component is the same as the meaning of the morpheme, this written form may also be classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁵⁰This written form seems to be the same graph as the Neo-Sinogram for the morpheme *ít* ‘few, little’ (see below), but the relationship between the graphic component 少 and the morpheme *ắt* ‘surely’ cannot be explained. Since it is also the case that both written forms 乙 and 𠂇 occur for *ít* ‘few, little’, the possible explanation is that the graph 𠂇 is primarily used for *ít* ‘few, little’ and is borrowed phonetically for *ắt* ‘surely’ here.

		(PS)	form of 舉 (HV <i>cử</i>) S 門/门 ‘door’	
	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 𠂔 (abbreviated form of 舉) (HV <i>cử</i>) S 門/门 ‘door’	
	門𠂔 ⁵¹	Neo (PT)	P 𠂔 (abbreviated form of 舉) (HV <i>cử</i>) T 𠂔 ‘DOOR’	
<i>phải</i> ‘to be correct; to endure; (passive marker); must’	沛	PAL	HV <i>phái, bái</i>	37
<i>mấy</i> ‘some’	𠂔 (allograph of 尔)	PAL	HV <i>nhĩ</i>	24+10+2=36
	余	Neo (Mod)	Modified form of PAL 尔 (HV <i>nhĩ</i>)	
	買	PAL	HV <i>mãi</i>	
<i>chưa/chừa</i> ‘yet’	渚	PAL	HV <i>chữ</i>	26+9=35
	諸	PAL	HV <i>chur</i>	
<i>khó</i> ‘to be difficult; to be poor’	庫	PAL	HV <i>khố</i>	35
<i>nhà</i> ‘home’	茹	PAL	HV <i>như, nhự</i>	35
<i>hết</i> ‘to finish, exhaust; all’	歇	PAL	HV <i>hiết</i>	34
<i>ba</i> ‘three’	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 巴 (HV <i>ba</i>) S 三 ‘three’	25+7=32
	巴	PAL	HV <i>ba</i>	
<i>mưa</i> (prohibitive particle)	馬	PAL	HV <i>mã</i>	24+8=32
	罵	PAL	HV <i>mạ</i>	
<i>ăn</i> ‘to eat’	𠂔 ⁵²	Neo (PT)	P 安 (HV <i>an</i>) T 𠂔 ‘MOUTH’ ⁵³	31
<i>mới</i> ‘only after; just (temporal)’	買	PAL	HV <i>mãi</i>	29+2=31
	某	PAL	HV <i>mỗ</i>	
<i>trong</i> (< *klong or tlong) ‘in’	工	PAL	HV <i>công</i>	23+8=31

⁵¹This graph in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cửa* ‘door’ is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram because its semantic component 門 ‘DOOR’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing, and different from the other two written forms for the same morpheme, the positions of the semantic component and the phonetic component conform with existing Chinese characters. Since the meaning of this component is the same as the meaning of the morpheme, this written form may also be classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁵²The Chinese dictionary *Yùpiān* 玉篇 compiled in the 6th century includes a graphetically identical character 𠂔 glossed as meaning ‘to eat’ (“吃也”), and its pronunciation is *ʔat* in MC (烏葛切) and *ê* in Mandarin. Because the graph 𠂔 is a rare character in Chinese writing, the graph 𠂔 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *ăn* ‘to eat’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

⁵³As is mentioned in section 6.2.2.5, in Vietnamese Sinographic writing, the graphic component 𠂔 does not necessarily have an actual semantic function. It is a common phenomenon to add this component to an existing Chinese character to create a Neo-Sinogram, thereby clearly indicating that what is being written is a native morpheme. For the convenience of graph classification in this dissertation, this component is consistently labeled as the semantic (and more specifically, taxonomic) component because it is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing, and a Neo-Sinogram with this element is consistently classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram.

	𪛗	Neo (PS)	P 竜 (allograph of 龍) (HV long) S 中 ‘inside’	
<i>biết</i> ‘to know’	别	PAL	HV biết	28
<i>cây</i> ‘tree’	核 (abbreviated form of 核) ⁵⁴	Neo (PT)	P 亥 (abbreviated form of 菱) (HV cai) T 木 ‘TREE’	26+2=28
	𣎵 ⁵⁵	Neo (PT)	P 菱 (HV cai) T 木 ‘TREE’	
<i>đâu</i> ‘where; not’	兜 (allograph of 兜)	PAL	HV đâu	28
<i>chim</i> ‘bird’	𪛗 ⁵⁶	Neo (PT)	P 占 (HV chiêm) T 鳥 ‘BIRD’	27
<i>để</i> ‘to put; to leave (something, something to somebody); to abandon; in order to’	底	PAL	HV để	26+1=27
	抵	PAL	HV để	
<i>đường</i> ‘road, path’	唐	PAL	HV đường	19+8=27
	塘 ⁵⁷	PAL or Neo (PT)	HV đường or P 唐 (HV đường) T 土 ‘EARTH’	
<i>tháng</i> ‘month’	𠂔 ⁵⁸	Neo (PS)	P 尚 (HV thượng) S 月 ‘month’	26
<i>lấy</i> ‘to take, receive’	袪	Neo (PS)	P 礼 (HV lễ) S 以 ‘to take use of’	22+3=25
		Neo (PS)	P 礼 (HV lễ) S (abbreviated form of 以?) ‘to take use	

⁵⁴Although there is a graphetically identical character 核 (*hé*, ‘core’) in Chinese writing, the graph 核 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cây* ‘tree’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram. This is because the HV reading of the phonetic component 亥 (abbreviated form of 菱) (*cai*) is closer to the pronunciation of this morpheme than the HV reading of the entire character 核 (*hạch*) is to the pronunciation of this morpheme.

⁵⁵The two graphs 核 and 𣎵 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cây* ‘tree’ are classified as PT Neo-Sinograms because their semantic component 木 ‘TREE’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Since the meaning of this component is the same as the meaning of the morpheme, these two written forms may also be classified as PS Neo-Sinograms.

⁵⁶The graph 𪛗 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *chim* ‘bird’ is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram because its semantic component 鳥 ‘BIRD’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Since the meaning of this component is the same as the meaning of the morpheme, this written form may also be classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁵⁷There is a graphetically identical character 塘 (*táng*, ‘dike’) in Chinese writing, and it seems possible to classify the graph 塘 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *đường* ‘road, path’ as either a PAL or a PT Neo-Sinogram because the entire graph 塘 and its phonetic component 唐 are homophonous (Chinese *táng*, HV *đường*).

⁵⁸Although there is a codified semantic classifier 月 in Chinese writing, this classifier is an abbreviated form of 肉 ‘FLESH’ and mostly occurs in characters representing morphemes relevant to human body. As a result, the graph 𠂔 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *tháng* ‘month’ is classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram, in which the component 月 is the actual character meaning ‘month’.

			of'	
<i>về</i> 'to go back; about'	術	Neo (Mod)	Abbreviated form of PAL 衛 (HV <i>vệ</i>)	25
<i>bóng</i> 'light, reflection; shadow'	俸	PAL	HV <i>bổng</i>	23+1=24
	腓 ⁵⁹	Neo (PS)	P 奉 (HV <i>phụng</i>) S 月 'moon'	
<i>bởi</i> 'because; from'	黜	Neo (PS)	P 罢 (HV <i>bãi</i>) S 由 'from; because'	12+8+2+1+1=24
	摆	PAL	HV <i>bãi</i>	
	罢	PAL	HV <i>bãi</i>	
	黜	Neo (PS)	P 罷 (HV <i>bãi</i>) S 由 'from; because'	
	堰 ⁶⁰	Neo (PT)	P 罢 (HV <i>bãi</i>) T 土 'EARTH'	
<i>chung</i> (particle indicating location, reason, comparison, or possession)	蒸	PAL	HV <i>chung</i>	20+3+1=24
	徵	PAL	HV <i>chung</i>	
	烝	PAL	HV <i>chung</i>	
<i>đất</i> 'earth, soil'	坦 ⁶¹	Neo (PT)	P 旦 (HV <i>đán</i>) T 土 'EARTH'	24
<i>mười/mươi</i> 'ten'	邁	Neo (PS)	P 邁 (HV <i>mại</i>) S 十 'ten'	24
<i>nữa</i> 'more'	女	PAL	HV <i>nữ</i>	23+1=24
	汝	PAL	HV <i>nhữ</i>	
<i>chơi</i> 'to play, hang out'	制	PAL	HV <i>chế</i>	23
<i>đêm</i> 'night'	店	PAL	HV <i>điểm</i>	23
<i>nẻo</i> 'era; if'	裊	PAL	HV <i>niểu</i>	23
<i>thay</i> (stressing emotion)	台	PAL	HV <i>thai</i>	16+4+3=23
	世	PAL	HV <i>thế</i>	
	哈	Neo (PT)	P 台 (HV <i>thai</i>) T 口 'MOUTH'	
<i>khi</i> 'when'	欺	PAL	HV <i>khi</i>	22
<i>rằng</i> 'to speak; (marker of a subordinate clause)'	浪	PAL	HV <i>lãng</i>	22

⁵⁹The Chinese dictionary *Lóngkǎn shǒujiàn* 龍龕手鑑 compiled at the end of the 10th century includes a graphetically identical character 腓 glossed as an allograph of the character 腓 meaning '(body part) to swell'. Because the graph 腓 is a rare character in Chinese writing, the graph 腓 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *bóng* 'light, reflection; shadow' is classified as a Neo-Sinogram. In addition, in Chinese writing, the graph 月 itself means 'moon', but when used as a semantic classifier, it mostly occurs in characters representing morphemes relevant to human body as an abbreviated form of 肉 'FLESH'. As a result, the graph 腓 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *bóng* 'light, reflection; shadow' is classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁶⁰The semantic component 土 'EARTH' seems semantically irrelevant to the meaning of the morpheme.

⁶¹Although there is a graphetically identical character 坦 (*tǎn*, 'to be flat') in Chinese writing, the graph 坦 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *đất* 'earth, soil' is classified as a Neo-Sinogram. This is because the HV reading of the phonetic component 旦 (*đán*) is closer to the pronunciation of this morpheme than the HV reading of the entire character 坦 (*thản*) is to the pronunciation of this morpheme.

<i>tay</i> ‘hand’	𢦏	Neo (PS)	P 思 (HV <i>tư</i>) S 手 ‘hand’	21
<i>xá</i> (imperative particle)	舍	PAL	HV <i>xá</i>	21
<i>áo</i> ‘clothing, garment’	襖 ⁶²	PAL	HV <i>áo</i>	20
<i>đầy</i> ‘to be full’	苔	PAL	HV <i>đài</i>	20
<i>già</i> ‘to be old’	耄	Neo (PS)	P 茶 (HV <i>trà</i>) S 老 ‘old’	20
<i>dại</i> ‘to be naive, insane’	𢦏 (allograph of 𢦏)	PAL	HV <i>duệ</i>	19
<i>gió</i> ‘wind’	臄 ⁶³	Neo (PT)	P 愈 (HV <i>dũ</i>) T 月 ‘FLESH’	17+1+1=19
	臄	Neo (PT)	P 逾 (HV <i>du</i>) T 月 ‘FLESH’	
	𢦏	Neo (PS)	P 愈 (HV <i>dũ</i>) S (abbreviated form of 風) ‘wind’	
<i>nhọc</i> ‘to be tired’	辱	PAL	HV <i>nhục</i>	19
<i>trời</i> (< <i>blời</i>) ‘sky’	𠂇	Neo (SS)	S ₁ 天 ‘sky’ S ₂ 上 ‘above’	18+1=19
	𠂇	Neo (PT)	P 例 (HV <i>lệ</i>) T 𠂇 ‘LID’	
<i>cả</i> ‘to be great; whole, all’	奇	PAL	HV <i>kì</i>	12+3+3=18
	𠂇 (allograph of 奇)	PAL	HV <i>kì</i>	
	𠂇	PAL	HV <i>cả</i>	
<i>hãy</i> ‘still; (imperative sentence-initial particle)’	矣	PAL	HV <i>hĩ</i>	18
<i>hơn</i> ‘more, better’	欣	PAL	HV <i>hân</i>	18
<i>lộ</i> ‘need not’	路	PAL	HV <i>lộ</i>	18
<i>mình</i> ‘body; oneself’	命	PAL	HV <i>mệnh, mạng</i>	18
<i>nỡ</i> ‘to be willing to’	女	PAL	HV <i>nữ</i>	18
<i>quê</i> ‘hometown, countryside’	圭	PAL	HV <i>khuê</i>	17+1=18
	閨	PAL	HV <i>khuê</i>	
<i>chân</i> ‘foot, leg’	眞	PAL	HV <i>chân</i>	16+1=17

⁶²The Vietnamese morpheme *áo* ‘clothing, garment’ is probably etymologically related to the Chinese morpheme 襖 *áo* ‘upper garment’, but it does not seem to be the case that the former is borrowed from the latter. Based on the assumption that semantic adaptation does not exist in Vietnamese Sinographic writing, the graph 襖 for the morpheme *áo* ‘clothing, garment’ is classified as a PAL, but the semantic association must also have played a role.

⁶³It is difficult to classify the first two graphs 臄 and 臄 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *gió* ‘wind’ due to their semantic component 月. The graph 月 itself means ‘moon’, but when used as a semantic classifier in Chinese writing, it mostly occurs in characters representing morphemes relevant to human body because this classifier is actually an abbreviated form of 肉 ‘FLESH’. Either way, the relationship between this semantic component and the meaning of this morpheme cannot be satisfactorily explained. It is also possible that this component is an abbreviated form of the character 風 ‘wind’, and if this is the case, these two graphs will be PS Neo-Sinograms.

	眞 ⁶⁴	Neo (PT)	P 眞 (HV chân) T 足 ‘FOOT’	
<i>cười</i> ‘to smile; to laugh at’	哄 ⁶⁵	Neo (PT)	P 其 (HV kì) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	15+2=17
	畸	Neo (PT)	P 奇 (allograph of 奇) (HV kì) T 口 ‘MOUTH’	
<i>lẫn (< mliễn)</i> ‘and’	免	PAL	HV miễn	17
<i>ngặt</i> ‘to be poor’	兀	PAL	HV ngột	17
<i>đi</i> ‘to go’	去	Neo (PS)	P 多 (HV đa) S 去 ‘to leave’	13+3=16
	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 多 (HV đa) S 去 ‘to leave’	
<i>mặt</i> ‘face’	麵	Neo (PS)	P 末 (HV mặt) S 面 ‘face’	13+3=16
	𩶛	Neo (PS)	P 密 (HV mật) S 面 ‘face’	
<i>ngàn</i> ‘thousand’	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 彦 (HV ngàn) S 千 ‘thousand’	15+1=16
	岸	PAL	HV ngàn	
<i>áng</i> (measure word for a set or group of things or people)	盎	PAL	HV áng	15
<i>cá</i> ‘fish’	𩺰 ⁶⁶	Neo (PT)	P 𠂔 (modified form of 个) (HV cá) T 魚 ‘FISH’	13+2=15
	𠂔	Neo (Mod)	Modified form of PAL 个 (HV cá)	
<i>cơm</i> ‘cooked rice, meal’	𩺰 ⁶⁷	Neo (PT)	P 甘 (HV cam) T 食 ‘FOOD’	13+2=15
	𩺰 ⁶⁸	Neo (PT)	P 甘 (HV cam) T 金 ‘METAL’	

⁶⁴This graph in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *chân* ‘foot, leg’ is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram because its semantic component 足 ‘FOOT’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Since the meaning of this component is the same as the meaning of the morpheme, this written form may also be classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁶⁵Although there is a graphetically identical character 哄 in Chinese writing, it only occurs in a rare binome 哄 嘔 *qiyi* ‘to pretend to not hear’. As a result, the graph 哄 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cười* ‘to smile; to laugh at’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

⁶⁶The graph 𩺰 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cá* ‘fish’ is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram because its semantic component 魚 ‘FISH’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Since the meaning of this component is the same as the meaning of the morpheme, this written form may also be classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁶⁷Although there is a graphetically identical character 𩺰 (*gān*, ‘bait; to be sweet’) in Chinese writing, it is a rare character. As a result, the graph 𩺰 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cơm* ‘cooked rice, meal’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

⁶⁸Although there is a graphetically identical character 𩺰 (*qián*, ‘tongs’) in Chinese writing, the graph 𩺰 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cơm* ‘cooked rice, meal’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram. This is because the HV reading of the phonetic component 甘 (*cam*) is closer to the pronunciation of this morpheme than the HV reading of the entire character 𩺰 (*kiêm*) is to the pronunciation of this morpheme. In both of the two instances in which this character occurs, it follows the character 鉢 representing the morpheme *bát* ‘bowl’, so the character sequence 鉢𩺰 represents the phrase *bát cơm* ‘a bowl

<i>há</i> (particle for rhetorical question)	呵	PAL	HV <i>ha</i>	13+1+1=15
	訶	Neo (PS)	P 可 (HV <i>khả</i>) S 豈 (marker for rhetorical question)	
	可	PAL	HV <i>khả</i>	
<i>này</i> ‘this’	尼	PAL	HV <i>nì, nê</i>	15
<i>phút</i> ‘short time’	發 (allograph of 發)	PAL	HV <i>phát</i>	9+6=15
	丿 (character stroke <i>piễ</i> 撇) ⁶⁹	PAL	HV <i>phiệt</i>	
<i>cày</i> ‘plough; to plough’	耜	Neo (PT)	P 其 (HV <i>kì</i>) T 耒 ‘FARMING’	14
<i>đeo</i> ‘to carry, wear’	刁	PAL	HV <i>điêu</i>	14
<i>hỏi</i> ‘to ask’	晦	Neo (PT)	P 每 (HV <i>mỗi</i>) ⁷⁰ T 口 ‘MOUTH’	14
<i>khác</i> ‘to be different; other; to be strange’	恪	PAL	HV <i>khác</i>	14
<i>khôn</i> ‘to be clever, smart’	坤	PAL	HV <i>khôn</i>	14
<i>mây</i> ‘cloud’	霽	Neo (PT)	P 迷 (HV <i>mê</i>) T 雨 ‘WEATHER’	13+1=14
	逖	Neo (PS)	P 迷 (HV <i>mê</i>) S 云 ‘cloud’	
<i>mừng</i> ‘to be happy’	明	PAL	HV <i>minh</i>	12+2=14
	惻	Neo (PT)	P 明 (HV <i>minh</i>) T 忄 ‘HEART’	
<i>no</i> ‘to be full’	奴	PAL	HV <i>nô</i>	14
<i>nơi</i> ‘place; where’	尼	PAL	HV <i>nì, nê</i>	14
<i>rượu</i> ‘liquor’	醕	Neo (PT)	P 留 (HV <i>lưu</i>) T 酉 ‘LIQUOR’	10+2+2=14
	醕	Neo (PT)	P 留 (allograph of 留) (HV <i>lưu</i>) T 酉 ‘LIQUOR’	
	酒 ⁷¹	Neo	P 酉 (HV <i>dậu</i>)	

of cooked rice’. The semantic component 金 ‘METAL’ in 鉗 is apparently due to the preceding character 鉢.

⁶⁹This written form seems to have derived not from an actual character but from one of the basic strokes in Chinese characters: the left-downward falling stroke called *piễ* 撇 (**HV** *phiệt*). In this way, this graph in Vietnamese writing for the word *phút* ‘short time’ is classified as a PAL.

⁷⁰There are other characters with the same phonetic component 每 in Chinese writing whose Mandarin pronunciation has the initial *h-* (/x/) (e.g., 悔 *huǐ* ‘to regret’, 誨 *huì* ‘to instruct’). These morphemes are accordingly reconstructed with a voiceless bilabial nasal initial *m-* in Old Chinese. In light of this kind of sound change, this phonetic component in the graph 晦 for the Vietnamese morpheme *hỏi* ‘to ask’ should not be considered a mismatch.

⁷¹There is uncertainty about whether the Vietnamese morpheme *rượu* ‘liquor’ is borrowed from the Chinese morpheme 酒 (original character 酉) *jiǔ* (< MC *tsjuwX* < OC **tsu?*). If it is, then the graph 酒 in Vietnamese writing for this morpheme will be a DAL, although 15th-century Vietnamese speakers might not be aware of that. If the Vietnamese morpheme *rượu* ‘liquor’ is not borrowed from Chinese, then the graph 酒 in Vietnamese writing for this word could be an SAL. Under the

		(PT)	T 氵 ‘WATER’	
<i>tốt</i> ‘to be dense; to be good’	卒	PAL	HV <i>tốt</i>	11+3=14
	宰 ⁷²	Neo (PT)	P 卒 (HV <i>tốt</i>) T 宀 ‘ROOF’	
<i>bao</i> (interrogative demonstrative pronoun)	包	PAL	HV <i>bao</i>	13
<i>bén</i> ‘to become attached to’	变	PAL	HV <i>biến</i>	11+2=13
	洩 ⁷³	Neo (PT)	P 变 (HV <i>biến</i>) T 氵 ‘WATER’	
<i>bề</i> ‘matter, affair’	皮	PAL	HV <i>bì</i>	13
<i>cỏ</i> ‘grass’	韜	Neo (PS)	P 古 (HV <i>cổ</i>) S 草 ‘grass’	12+1=13
	韜	Neo (PS)	P 古 (HV <i>cổ</i>) S 草 ‘grass’	
<i>nằm</i> ‘to lie; to be located’	𪔐	Neo (PS)	P 南 (HV <i>nam</i>) S 卧 ‘to lie’	12+1=13
<i>nhau</i> ‘each other’	饒	PAL	HV <i>nhieu</i>	13
<i>cậy</i> ‘to rely on’	忌	PAL	HV <i>kị</i>	11+1=12
	搥 ⁷⁴	Neo (PT)	P 忌 (HV <i>kị</i>) T 扌 ‘HAND’	
<i>mặc</i> ‘to leave alone, ignore’	默	PAL	HV <i>mặc</i>	12
<i>bể</i> ‘sea’	波	Neo (PT)	P 彼 (HV <i>bì</i>) T 氵 ‘WATER’	11
<i>bền</i> ‘to be strong, enduring’	卞	PAL	HV <i>biện</i>	6+5=11
	駢	PAL	HV <i>biền</i>	
<i>đôi</i> ‘many, all’	隊	PAL	HV <i>đội</i>	11
<i>đưa</i> ‘to bring; to lead’	迻 ⁷⁵	Neo (PT)	P 多 (HV <i>đa</i>) T 辵 ‘MOTION’	11
<i>miệng</i> ‘mouth’	𠵼 ⁷⁶	Neo	P 𠵼 (HV <i>mãnh</i>)	11

hypothesis that semantic adaptation does not exist in Vietnamese Sinographic writing, the graph 酒 is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram for the morpheme *ruợu* ‘liquor’ because of the existence of the graphic component 氵 ‘WATER’, which is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing and occurs at its normal position in this compound graph. In this way, the graphic component 酉 is the phonetic component in the written form 酒, different from its function in the other two written forms for the same morpheme. The proximity of the HV reading of the character 酉 (*dậu*) and the pronunciation of the morpheme *ruợu* may or may not be a coincidence, depending on whether this Vietnamese morpheme is borrowed from Chinese.

⁷²Although there is a graphetically identical character 宰 in Chinese writing, it is an allograph of the character 宰 (*zǎi*, ‘to slaughter; government official’) (**HV** *tể*), which is phonetically irrelevant to the morpheme *tốt* ‘to be dense; to be good’. As a result, the graph 宰 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *tốt* ‘to be dense; to be good’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram. However, the semantic component 宀 ‘ROOF’ also seems semantically irrelevant to the meaning of the morpheme.

⁷³The semantic component 氵 ‘WATER’ seems semantically irrelevant to the meaning of the morpheme.

⁷⁴Chinese dictionaries include a graphetically identical character 搥 and gloss it as an incorrect form of the character 搥 (*jì*, ‘trigger of crossbow’). The graph 搥 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *cậy* ‘to rely on’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

⁷⁵Although there is a graphetically identical character 迻 in Chinese writing, it is a rare character as an allograph of the character 移 (*yí*, ‘to move’). As a result, the graph 迻 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *đưa* ‘to bring; to lead’ is classified as a Neo-Sinogram.

⁷⁶The graph 𠵼 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *miệng* ‘mouth’ is classified as a PT Neo-Sinogram because its semantic component 口 ‘MOUTH’ is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Since the meaning of this component is

		(PT)	T 口 ‘MOUTH’	
<i>nay</i> ‘now’	尼	PAL	HV <i>ni, nê</i>	10+1=11
	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 尼 (HV <i>ni, nê</i>) S 今 ‘now’	
<i>tôi</i> ‘servant’	碎	PAL	HV <i>toái</i>	11
<i>yêu</i> ‘to like’	腰	PAL	HV <i>yêu</i>	11
<i>biếng</i> ‘to be lazy’	丙	PAL	HV <i>bính</i>	10
<i>đỗ</i> ‘to stop, take shelter’	杜	PAL	HV <i>đỗ</i>	10
<i>đổi</i> ‘to change’	对	PAL	HV <i>đổi</i>	10
<i>ít</i> ‘few, little’	𠂔	Neo (PS)	P 乙 (HV <i>át</i>) S 少 ‘to be few, little’	9+1=10
	乙	PAL	HV <i>át</i>	
<i>khảo</i> ‘to be skillful’	窖	PAL	HV <i>giếu</i>	8+1+1=10
	矯	PAL	HV <i>kiểu</i>	
	𠂔 (allograph of 𠂔)	PAL	HV <i>khiếu</i>	
<i>nọ</i> (demonstrative pronoun)	怒	PAL	HV <i>nộ</i>	8+2=10
	奴	PAL	HV <i>nô</i>	
<i>trăng</i> (< <i>blăng</i>) ‘moon’	𠂔 ⁷⁷	Neo (PS)	P 𠂔 (HV <i>lăng</i>) S 月 ‘moon’	6+4=10
	𠂔	Neo (PP)	P ₁ 巴 <i>b-</i> P ₂ 𠂔 (HV <i>lăng</i>)	

Since there is not an original Chinese character for a native morpheme, it is necessary for the Vietnamese writer to figure out a way to represent it, with either a PAL or a Neo-Sinogram. Because the corpus under examination here is the work by a single author, the prevalence of allography is a testament to the lack of standardization in Vietnamese Sinographic writing, so that even the same person could be relatively flexible in how to represent a particular native morpheme.

the same as the meaning of the morpheme, this written form may also be classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram.

⁷⁷Although there is a codified semantic classifier 月 in Chinese writing, this classifier is an abbreviated form of 肉 ‘FLESH’ and mostly occurs in characters representing morphemes relevant to human body. As a result, the graph 𠂔 in Vietnamese writing for the morpheme *trăng* ‘moon’ is classified as a PS Neo-Sinogram, in which the component 月 is the actual character meaning ‘moon’.

6.4 Neo-Sinograms in Japanese and Korean Writing

In contrast to their important role in Vietnamese writing, Neo-Sinograms are marginal in Japanese and Korean writing. This is because the typological difference between these two languages and Chinese provides morphosyntactic means for disambiguating the function of a borrowed character, so there is usually no need to create formally distinct graphs as is necessary in Vietnamese writing due to the typological similarity between Vietnamese and Chinese. The small number of Neo-Sinograms that exist in Japanese and Korean writing mostly represent words without a semantic equivalent in Chinese, in which case there are no existing Chinese characters available for use. As a result, the majority of Japanese and Korean Neo-Sinograms have only a native reading and no Sinitic readings.

The structural classification of Vietnamese Neo-Sinograms largely applies to Japanese and Korean Neo-Sinograms as well. One major difference is that in Japanese and Korean Neo-Sinograms, the phonetic component in phonetic-semantic compounds can be used for either its Sinitic reading or its native reading. This is impossible in Vietnamese because Sinograms in Vietnamese writing do not have conventionalized native readings. In summary, Japanese and Korean Neo-Sinograms can be divided into the following types: (1). phonetic-semantic compound based on the Sinitic reading of the phonetic component; (2). phonetic-semantic compound based on the native reading of the phonetic component; (3). phonetic-synonymic compound; (4). semantic-semantic compound; (5). phonetic-phonetic compound; (6). modified graph.

On the basis of several existing studies⁷⁸, examples of each type of Neo-Sinograms in the two writing systems are given below. In each type, Japanese examples are given first, and Korean examples are given next. In type (1), the phonetic component is used for its Sinitic reading, and the semantic component is a

⁷⁸The most comprehensive study on Neo-Sinograms in any writing system to date is Sasahara (2007). Other studies referred to in this section are Reiman (1983), Reiman (1990), and Satō (1999) for Japanese Neo-Sinograms, and Sasse (1980), Cho (1990), and Reiman (1990) for Korean Neo-Sinograms.

codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. Graphs of this type are the rare Neo-Sinograms with a Sinitic-like reading and no native-like readings⁷⁹.

鯪 *an*: **P** 安 *an* + **T** 魚 ‘FISH’; 鰱 *kō*: **P** 康 *kō* + **T** 魚 ‘FISH’ (鯪鰱 *ankō* ‘angler fish’)
 塀 *hei* ‘wall, fence’: **P** 屏 *hei* + **T** 土 ‘EARTH’
 腺 *sen* ‘gland’: **P** 泉 *sen* + **T** 月 (< 肉) ‘FLESH’

 迺 *swu* ‘edge, frontier’: **P** 守 *swu* + **T** 辵 ‘MOTION’
 姓 *sayng* ‘label, road sign’: **P** 生 *sayng* + **T** 木 ‘TREE’
 綰 *sen* ‘decoration’: **P** 宣 *sen* + **T** 糸 ‘SILK’

In type (2), the phonetic component is used for its native reading, and the semantic component is a codified semantic classifier in Chinese writing. No examples of this type seem to have been found in Korean writing.

榲 *muro* ‘temple juniper’: **P** 室 *muro* + **T** 木 ‘TREE’
 坎 *iri* ‘water gate’: **P** 入 *iri* + **T** 土 ‘EARTH’

In type (3), the semantic component has the same meaning as the target word. The following Korean Neo-Sinogram is the only example found among existing studies that can be assigned to this type, so it is unclear if this is really a productive type.

𠩺 *twol* ‘stone’: **P** 乙 *-l* + **T** 石 ‘stone’⁸⁰

In type (4), every graphic component relates to the target word semantically, and there are no phonetic

⁷⁹The phrases “Sinitic-like reading” and “native-like reading” are used here because although the reading of a Neo-Sinogram of this type fits the phonological structure of SJ or SK, it is probably not the case that the underlying word is borrowed from Chinese, so it would not be completely accurate to say just “Sinitic reading.”

⁸⁰In fact, this character is the result of compressing two separate characters 石 and 乙 into the space for one character. The character sequence 石乙 would be a common way to represent the Korean word *twol* ‘stone’ by using the Chinese character 石 ‘stone’ followed by the phonetic determinative 乙 for the final consonant *-l* (see section 3.1.6.3). One can easily create analogous characters such as 𠩺夜音 for *pam* ‘night’.

components in the entire character.

辻 *tsuji* ‘crossroad’: S₁ 辻 ‘MOTION’ + S₂ 十 ‘cross’

峠 *tōge* ‘mountain pass’: S₁ 山 ‘mountain’ + S₂ 上 ‘above’ + S₃ 下 ‘under’

働 *hatarak-* ‘to work’: S₁ 人 ‘PERSON’ + S₂ 動 ‘to move’

畚 *tap* ‘rice field’: S₁ 水 ‘water’ + S₂ 田 ‘field’

仏 *pwul* ‘Buddha’: S₁ 人 ‘PERSON’ + S₂ 天 ‘heaven’

為 *ha-n-* (< *ha-* ‘to do’ [stem] + *-n-* [perfective suffix]): S₁ 為 ‘to do’ + S₂ 了 ‘to finish’

In type (5), every graphic component relates to the target word phonetically, and there are no semantic components in the entire character. This type is functionally restrictive as most characters are only used in the written representation of proper nouns, and in the same way as type (3), a graph of this type is graphetically a conglomeration of two originally separate characters.

桑 *kume* (character used in proper nouns): P₁ 久 *ku* + P₂ 米 *me*

磨 *maro* (character used in proper nouns): P₁ 麻 *ma* + P₂ 呂 *ro*

𪛗 *ppwun* (< *pswun*) ‘only, alone’: P₁ 叱 *-s* + P₂ 分 *pwun*

𪛗 *kal* (character used in proper nouns): P₁ 加 *ka* + P₂ 乙 *-l*

In type (6), the graph results from the formal change of an existing Chinese character. No examples of this type seem to have been found in Korean writing.

𪛗 (< 麓, substitution of the bottom component) *fumoto* ‘mountain foot’

𪛗 (< 旗, addition of the top component) *hata* ‘flag’

𪛗 (< 俟, cursivization of the right component) *mata* ‘fork, crotch’

It appears to be true that all the Neo-Sinograms in the three writing systems of Japanese, Korean, and

Vietnamese either are compound graphs made up of existing graphic components in Chinese writing, or are modified from existing Chinese characters. In addition, the same classification system is applicable to Neo-Sinograms in all three writing systems. These facts show that whereas it is extremely rare that a completely new graphic component would be created after the stabilization of the Chinese writing system at the beginning of the common era, users of the Sinographic script can always create new graphs by employing existing graphic components under a common structural framework, thereby making the script an open-ended set.

6.5 Summary

The differences in linguistic features and the scenario of contact with Chinese lead to the structural differences between Vietnamese Sinographic writing and its Korean and Japanese counterparts. This chapter has presented a refined classification system of Sinograms in Vietnamese writing, and has applied it to the examination of the earliest systematic corpus of full vernacular writing of Vietnamese. The pattern of how different types of characters were used found in this case study largely conforms with the dichotomy in traditional Vietnamese terminology between DAL and non-DAL written forms, and it also shows the remarkable degree of allography in Vietnamese Sinographic writing. Despite the fact that Neo-Sinograms are far more marginal in Japanese and Korean writing than in Vietnamese writing, the graphic structure of Neo-Sinograms in all these three writing systems can be largely analyzed with a single classification system, which shows the universal tendencies in Sinographic writing among speakers of different languages.

Conclusion

This dissertation has sketched a panoramic view of both the historical context and the linguistic aspects of Sinographic writing of Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese in premodern times. The history of these languages is significantly shaped by Sinitic influence and cannot be fully understood without considering their interactions with the Chinese language or Chinese writing. In the history of East Asia, the Chinese script is the first script available for writing, and Literary Sinitic is the first written language. As a result, for speakers of the vernacular languages¹, literacy was initially equivalent to reading and writing in Literary Sinitic, and competence in Literary Sinitic paved the way for the development of the techniques and conventions of vernacular writing, albeit initially still completely in the Sinographic script. Literary Sinitic remained the prestigious cosmopolitan language of East Asia throughout the entirety of premodern history, and knowledge of Literary Sinitic remained a vital part of the cultivation and life of the elite class until the end of the 19th century, despite the availability of indigenous scripts and established traditions of vernacular writing. Today, although Literary Sinitic and the Sinographic script have in general become much less important, their presence is still tangible in the large number of Sinitic words which continue to “lacquer” the vernacular languages with a Sinitic “luster” (Phan 2013).

Among the six chapters in this dissertation, the first two chapters are the theoretical and historical preludes, and chapters 3 to 6 are the core part, each of which examines a particular corpus under a major topic or theme.

Based on recent works in the emerging field of grapholinguistics and Zev Handel’s study (2019) on the

¹As a reminder, the term “vernacular” is used in its linguistic sense in this dissertation. “Vernacular language” refers to a local language (Korean, Japanese, or Vietnamese) in contrast to Literary Sinitic as a cosmopolitan language, and “vernacular writing” refers to the written representation of a vernacular language.

adaptation of the Chinese script, chapter 1 established a theoretical framework and accompanying terminology for the discussion of writing in general, the writing system of the four East Asian languages (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese), and script adaptation. Given the logographic feature of the Chinese script, there are five possible types of adaptation for a character when used in another writing system: (1). directly-adapted logogram (DAL); (2). semantically-adapted logogram (SAL); (3). phonetically-adapted logogram (PAL); (4). phonetically-adapted phonogram (PAP); (5). semantically-adapted phonogram (SAP). This framework was employed for the categorization of characters in the specific corpora examined in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 overviewed the early history of writing in Korea and Japan, covering the period from the initial transmission of Chinese writing at the beginning of the common era to the emergence of the earliest coherent texts completely written in the vernacular languages in the 7th and 8th centuries. Samples of writing from this formative period of literacy are either epigraphic materials or excavated manuscripts, most of which are for practical purposes. The underlying language in such materials is usually a mixture of Chinese vocabulary with the syntax and other grammatical elements of the vernacular language, and the degree to which a text conforms more with Literary Sinitic or the vernacular language varies case by case. By identifying the elements or features of the vernacular languages represented in a number of representative samples of writing from the two regions during this period, this chapter depicted the trajectory of the development of vernacular writing, which can be divided into the following stages: (1). phonographic notation of proper nouns; (2). arrangement of Sinograms in conformity with the word order of the vernacular language; (3). notation of grammatical morphemes and other unique features of the vernacular language. The combination of these three aspects gave rise to full vernacular writing, which first came into being in the composition of poetry at roughly the same time in both regions.

From the perspective of encoding the spoken language into written form, chapters 3, 4, and 6 examined the earliest systematic materials of full Sinographic vernacular writing of the three vernacular languages: Korean *hyangga* (largely the 7th and 8th centuries), Japanese *Man'yōshū* (compiled in the late 8th century) and other contemporary vernacular poems, and 15th-century vernacular Vietnamese poems in the anthology *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*. A statistical analysis of the adaptation type and function of the characters was conducted for *hyangga* in its entirety, the majority of *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*, and a small part of *Man'yōshū*. A comparison of these corpora through object data confirmed Handel's claim that the basic pattern of script adaptation is determined by the typological features of the borrowing language, so Korean and Japanese follow a common pathway of "linear adaptation," and Vietnamese follows another pathway of "composite adaptation" (Handel 2025). Furthermore, a detailed inspection of these materials also revealed some orthographic features or cases of character use unique to each culture or writing system, not all of which can be attributed solely to linguistic factors.

Chapter 3 presented the results of the first comprehensive study of *hyangga* in Western scholarship, including both the interpretation of each poem and the analysis and categorization of the characters in the corpus. The statistical analysis of the characters demonstrated that PAP is the most frequent type and SAP is the least frequent type, and the gap between the logographic type as a whole (DAL and SAL) and the phonographic type as a whole (PAP and SAP) is relatively small. There is also a highly uneven distribution in character frequency, as the corpus contains a small number of high-frequency characters, most of which are phonograms, and a much larger number of low-frequency characters. Early Korean vernacular writing was then compared with early Japanese vernacular writing through the presentation of a small number of the earliest vernacular Japanese poems, which were selected to show the orthographic diversity in the Sinographic transcription of vernacular poetry. As a typical example, the first poem in *Man'yōshū* contains

both cases in which multiple occurrences of the same linguistic unit are encoded in different Sinographic written forms and a number of SAPs apparently chosen for their relevant inherent semantic value. In addition, there are “orthographic minimal pairs” in which the same linguistic utterance is encoded in different written forms and hence recorded as separate entries in the source materials, such as the variation in orthographic principle (logography and phonography) between MYS 12.3023 and MYS 17.3935, or the variation in specific phonograms in the “Song of Eight Clouds” between *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Despite the significant difference in size, a comparison of the two corpora showed that they share a common basic pattern of Sinographic writing, while each culture also developed its distinctive phenomena of character use. In particular, the examination of *hyangga* identified six types of specific orthographic features and techniques in Korean Sinographic writing beyond the basic framework of script adaptation: (1). combination of logography and phonography in the composition of coherent texts; (2). consonantal phonograms representing single consonants; (3). phonetic determinatives clarifying the intended reading of an adjacent character; (4). phonograms representing a syllable composed of sounds from separate but adjacent morphemes; (5). holistic logographic notation of native words; (6). markers of the final stanza of *hyangga* poems, some of which were likely to have some kind of extra semantic effect. Items (1), (3), and (5) also apply to Japanese Sinographic writing, although the use of phonetic determinatives seems to be much less common than in Korean Sinographic writing.

While chapter 3 depicted the regular or normal picture of Sinographic vernacular writing of Korean and Japanese, chapter 4 focused on the special orthographic phenomenon known as “playful writing” in *Man'yōshū*, which is the idiosyncratic or *ad hoc* use of Sinograms beyond the scope of their normal logographic or phonographic function in either Chinese or Japanese writing. It is an exploitation of the logographic feature of the Sinographic script to a high degree by taking advantage of or “playing with” the

inherent semantic value of the Sinograms to achieve extra semantic effect with the use of specific characters. The cases that can be characterized as “playful writing” are essentially phonographic written forms with logographic connotation. From the perspective of script adaptation, characters involved in “playful writing” can be divided into PAPs, straightforward SAPs, and “circuitous” SAPs. The first two types are normal PAPs and SAPs respectively, whose SJ reading or conventionalized native reading alone is sufficient for them to be used in relation to the target linguistic form, but their inherent semantic value is also highly relevant to the context. What is called “circuitous SAPs” here are the most representative cases of “playful writing,” as these are written forms used completely based on the semantic value without regard to the phonetic value of the characters involved. This chapter examined “playful writing” in a different way from most of the previous studies by analyzing the relationship between the written form and the underlying linguistic form in specific cases, which were accordingly divided into three major categories: (1). notation of grammatical morphemes with logographic connotation; (2). graph-language mapping based on acoustic association; (3). graph-language mapping based on mathematical association. There are also cases that cannot be assigned to any of these categories, and they make up a separate “miscellaneous” category. Furthermore, this chapter also conducted a statistical analysis in the entire *Man'yōshū* of all the written forms of a small number of linguistic forms, in order to demonstrate not only the variation in written forms of particular linguistic forms but also the general orthographic diversity in *Man'yōshū*. The phenomenon of “playful writing” demonstrates both the saliency of the semantic value of Sinograms to script users and the importance of conventionalization in the development of a writing system. In “playful writing,” the writer either evoked the latent semantic value of characters used phonographically, or used characters for linguistic values beyond their normal functions but in a way still conceivable based on reasoning from their semantic value. The result is that the mapping relationship between the written form and the intended linguistic form is opaque at the surface, requiring

that the reader make reference to specific knowledge shared with the writer to achieve a decoding. For a writing system to be functional among an extended group of users, the linguistic values and functions of the graphs have to be conventionalized, and this kind of idiosyncratic use of graphs will not be tolerated on a large scale. Therefore, in addition to the emergence of the phonographic *kana* script, the disappearance of “playful writing” in later times may also be regarded as the natural result of the development of the Japanese writing system by the establishment of a conventionalized system of native character readings.

In the same way as chapter 3, chapter 6 surveyed full Sinographic vernacular writing of Vietnamese on the basis of the earliest vernacular Vietnamese poetry. Vietnamese Sinographic writing is different from its Korean and Japanese counterparts due to the differences in linguistic features and the scenario of contact with Chinese, and its most distinctive feature is a large number of Neo-Sinograms. On the basis of the framework of script adaption outlined in chapter 1, this chapter adopted a refined classification system of Sinograms in Vietnamese writing. The primary division is between existing Chinese characters and Neo-Sinograms. Existing Chinese characters can be further divided into DALs and PALs, and Neo-Sinograms can be further divided into phonetic-taxonomic compounds (PT), phonetic-synonymic compounds (PS), semantic-semantic compounds (SS), phonetic-phonetic compounds (PP), and modified graphs (Mod). PT and PS are two subcategories of the type of phonetic-semantic compound, but they are distinguished by the rationale behind the graphic structure. This classification system was then applied to the examination of the written forms of common morphemes in *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*, collection of the vernacular poems composed by Nguyễn Trãi. The morphemes were divided into three groups based on their etymology: Hán-Việt (HV), phi Hán-Việt (pHV), and native. Most HV morphemes are represented by their original Chinese character, but there are also rare cases in which the written form of a HV morpheme is not its original Chinese character. A pHV morpheme may be represented by either (1) its original Chinese character as a DAL, or (2) a PAL or

a Neo-Sinogram, presumably depending on whether the morpheme is conceptualized as being of Chinese or native origin, and the DAL and non-DAL written forms normally do not coexist for the same morpheme. A native morpheme is represented by either a PAL or a Neo-Sinogram, and there is a relatively high degree of allography in the sense that many morphemes have multiple written forms, although in most cases, there is one predominant written form for a morpheme. The pattern of how different types of characters were used found in this case study largely conforms with the dichotomy in traditional Vietnamese terminology between DAL and non-DAL written forms, the former called *chữ Hán* or *chữ Nho*, and the latter called *chữ Nôm*. Despite the fact that Neo-Sinograms are far more marginal in Japanese and Korean writing than in Vietnamese writing, the graphic structure of Neo-Sinograms in all these three writing systems can be largely analyzed with a single classification system, indicating that users of the Sinographic script have the universal capability to create new graphs using existing graphic components under a common structural framework.

From the perspective of decoding the written text into spoken language, chapter 5 explored how speakers of Korean and Japanese interacted with texts written in the Chinese language. In the premodern Sinographic Cosmopolis, there were two different approaches to decoding Chinese-language texts: vernacular reading and vernacular translation. The former is highly bound by the original text both physically and linguistically, and the latter is a more liberal way of rendering the original text and is therefore the kind of translation that we are more familiar with today. The two parallel traditions of vernacular reading, Korean *kwukyel* and Japanese *kundoku*, were the standard ways of learning and reading Literary Sinitic texts in premodern times in each culture. As the best-known case of vernacular reading, *kundoku* poses a unique challenge to our understanding of translation because it differs from a conventional form of translation in several aspects, such as the relationship between the source language and the target language, the exact form of the target language as the result of this process, and the way that the product of this process is presented.

Against the backdrop of *kundoku*, the focus of this chapter was the transmission and reception of Vernacular Chinese literature in premodern Japan. Specifically, through a linguistic analysis of the early Japanese editions of the Vernacular Chinese novel *The Water Margin* by comparing corresponding passages in the Chinese and Japanese versions, it examined how the Japanese reception of Vernacular Chinese texts built on and diverged from that of Literary Sinitic texts in the form of *kundoku*. The transmission of Vernacular Chinese literature into Japan sparked the interest of the Japanese literati in the contemporary Chinese society not visible from Confucian classics and Buddhist sutras, while the language in such works caused problems as it was different from Literary Sinitic and hence not very compatible with *kundoku*. As a result, vernacular translation was required to make Vernacular Chinese literature comprehensible to Japanese readers. The case study on *The Water Margin* discovered that the early Japanese editions of the novel may be best characterized as translations within the traditional *kundoku* framework. Linguistically, Japanese words or grammatical structures conventionally used in *kundoku* are employed to render words or expressions in the Chinese version. Typographically, a number of passages originally written in Literary Sinitic in the Chinese version are explicitly rendered in the style of *kundoku*, in the form of glossed Chinese texts visually distinct from the surrounding text written in a mixture of Sinograms and *kana* graphs. On the other hand, there is also a certain degree of freedom contextually in the composition of the Japanese texts, as their content occasionally deviates from the content of the Chinese version. In Japanese literary history, contact with Vernacular Chinese literature can thus be regarded as a turning point, marking the transition in the dominant approach to interacting with foreign-language texts from vernacular reading in the form of *kundoku* to vernacular translation as it is carried out today.

The research conducted so far for this dissertation could be developed in multiple directions in the future. Chapters 3 and 4 may serve as the basis of a more extensive study on the orthography of early

Japanese Sinographic materials. There have certainly been numerous studies on this topic, especially in Japanese scholarship, but sources other than the three major works (*Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Man'yōshū*) have in general received less attention. For example, chapter 4 revealed that the “playful” written form 孤悲 occurs frequently for the word *ko₁.pi₂* ‘love, yearning’ in *Man'yōshū*, and the same kind of statistical analysis done in chapter 4 could be applied to other contemporary sources of vernacular Japanese writing to observe all the different written forms of this word. On a broader level, it can also be asked whether the phenomenon of “playful writing” also exists in other texts. Similarly, chapter 6 may serve as the basis of a more extensive study on the orthography of Vietnamese Sinographic materials. For example, this chapter pointed out that in *Quốc Âm Thi Tập*, there are sporadic cases in which the written form of an HV morpheme is not the original Chinese character, and a survey of more materials could answer the question of whether this is a common phenomenon in Vietnamese Sinographic writing. Chapter 5 may be used as the starting point of a comparative study of the reception of Vernacular Chinese texts in premodern East Asia. Although most available sources are from Japan, there is one prominent case of the localization of Vernacular Chinese texts elsewhere: the Vietnamese epic poem *The Tale of Kieu* (*Truyện Kiều* 傳翹), adapted from the Chinese novel *Jīn Yúnqiào* 金雲翹. A study of this work could be carried out in two directions. The first is a linguistic study focusing on individual characters and the general orthography in this text, similar to the statistical analyses in chapters 3, 4, and 6 on the Sinographic texts in the vernacular languages. The second is a contextual study focusing on the content of this text, similar to the comparison in chapter 5 between the Chinese and Japanese versions of *The Water Margin*.

As the only *ex nihilo* script in continuous use until today, the Chinese/Sinographic script has played a vital role in the history of East Asia by creating one of the major multilingual cultural spheres in human history. It is within this context that this script was borrowed and adapted to encode different spoken

languages, and texts written in this script were transmitted and decoded into different spoken languages.

With the Sinographic script as the medium, the three major members other than China of the Sinographic Cosmopolis, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, both shared commonalities and developed distinctive features in these two interwoven literary practices. This dissertation has endeavored to describe, compare, and explain these phenomena under a common framework, with the hope of deepening our understanding of one of the fundamental aspects of the human civilization.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- ACKS** *Akcang kasa* 樂章歌詞 [Song Lyrics of Musical Pieces]. In *Akhak kweypem Akcang kasa Kyopang kayo happwon* 樂學軌範·樂章歌詞·教坊歌謠 合本 [Combined Volume of *Akhak kweypem*, *Akcang kasa*, and *Kyopang kayo*]. 1975. Seoul: Aseya mwunhwasa 亞細亞文化社.
- AHKP** *Akhak kweypem* 樂學軌範 [Standards and Norms of the Study of Music]. In *Akhak kweypem Akcang kasa Kyopang kayo happwon* 樂學軌範·樂章歌詞·教坊歌謠 合本 [Combined Volume of *Akhak kweypem*, *Akcang kasa*, and *Kyopang kayo*]. 1975. Seoul: Aseya mwunhwasa 亞細亞文化社.
- GD** *Shinpen suiko gaden* 新編水滸畫傳 [Newly Edited Illustrated Account of the Water Margin]. 1913-1914. Edited by Mukasa San 武笠三. 4 volumes. Tokyo: Yūhōdō 有朋堂.
- KHSH** *Kinsei hakuwa shōsetsu honyakushū* 近世白話小説翻譯集 [Collection of Translations of Early Modern Vernacular Novels]. 1984-1987. Edited by Nakamura Yukihiro 中村幸彦. 13 volumes. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院.
- KJK** *Kojiki* 古事記 [Record of Ancient Matters]. 1997. Edited by Yamaguchi Yoshinori 山口佳紀 and Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光. In *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 [Newly Edited Complete Collection of Classical Japanese Literature]. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館.
- Kojima, Noriyuki 小島憲之, Kinoshita Masatoshi 木下正俊, and Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広 eds. 1971-1975. *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集. In *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集 [Complete Collection of Classical Japanese Literature]. Volumes 2-5. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館.
- Kojima, Noriyuki 小島憲之, Kinoshita Masatoshi 木下正俊, and Tōno Haruyuki 東野治之 eds. 1994-1996. *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集. In *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 [Newly Compiled Complete Collection of Classical Japanese Literature]. Volumes 6-9. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館.
- KYC** *Kyunyecen* 均如傳 [Biography of Kyunye]. Edited by Twongak emwun hakhwoy 東岳語文學會. 1981. Seoul: Iwu chwulphansa 二友出版社.
- Mokkan gakkai 木簡学会 ed. 2003. *Nihon kodai mokkan shūsei* 日本古代木簡集成 [Compendium of Ancient Japanese Wooden Slips]. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai 東京大学出版会.
- MYSSI** *Man'yōshū sakuin* 萬葉集索引 [Index of *Man'yōshū*]. 2003. Edited by Kōten sakuin kankōkai 古典索引刊行会. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō 塙書房.
- MYSZC** *Man'yōshū zenchū* 萬葉集全注 [Complete Annotations of *Man'yōshū*]. 1983-2006. Tokyo: Yūhikaku 有斐閣.
- NHSC** *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 [Chronicles of Japan]. 1994-1998. Edited by Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之, Naoki Kōjirō 直木孝次郎, Nishimiya Kazutami 西宮一民, Kuranaka Susumu 藏中進, and Mōri Masamori 毛利正守. In *Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 [Newly Edited Complete Collection of Classical Japanese Literature]. 3 Volumes. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館.
- Okimori, Takuya 沖森卓也, and Satō Makoto 佐藤信. 1994. *Jōdai mokkan shiryō shūsei* 上代木簡資料集成 [Compendium of Ancient Wooden Slip Materials]. Tokyo: Ōfū おうふう.
- Omodaka, Hisataka 澤瀉久孝. 1957-1977. *Man'yōshū chūshaku* 萬葉集注釋 [Annotations of *Man'yōshū*]. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha 中央公論社.
- QATT** *Quốc Âm Thi Tập* 國音詩集 [Poetry Collection in the National Sound]. 2012. Transcribed and annotated by Phạm Luận, revised by Nguyễn Ngọc San. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Giáo Dục Việt Nam.
- Satake, Akihiro 佐竹昭広, Yamada Hideo 山田英雄, Kudō Rikio 工藤力男, Ōtani Masao 大谷雅夫, and Yamazaki Yoshiyuki 山崎福之 eds. 1995-2003. *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集. In *Shin nihon koten bungaku*

- taikei* 新日本古典文學大系 [New Great Compendium of Classical Japanese Literature]. Volumes. 1-4. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店.
- SGZ** *Sānguózhì* 三國志 [Annals of the Three Kingdoms]. 1959. Beijing: Zhōnghuá shūjú 中華書局.
- SHQZ** *Shuǐhǔ quánzhuàn* 水滸全傳 [Complete Account of the Water Margin]. 1954. Edited by Zhèng Zhènduó 鄭振鐸 and Wáng Lìqì 王利器. Beijing: Rénmín wénxué chūbǎishè 人民文學出版社.
- Takagi, Ichinosuke 高木市之助, Gomi Tomohide 五味智英, and Ōno Susumu 大野晋 eds. 1957-1962. *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集. In *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文學大系 [Great Compendium of Classical Japanese Literature]. Volumes 4-7. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店.
- Vovin, Alexander. 2009. *Man'yōshū (Book 15): A New English Translation Containing the Original Text, Kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary*. Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental.
- Vovin, Alexander. 2011. *Man'yōshū (Book 5): A New English Translation Containing the Original Text, Kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary*. Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental.
- Vovin, Alexander. 2016. *Man'yōshū (Book 17): A New English Translation Containing the Original Text, Kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vovin, Alexander. 2017. *Man'yōshū (Book 1): A New English Translation Containing the Original Text, Kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
- YCSKSK** *Yekcwu samkwuk saki* 譯注三國史記 [Translation and Annotation of the Record of the Three Kingdoms]. 2011-2012. Edited by Ceng Kwupwok 鄭求福, Now Cwungkwuk 盧重國, Sin Twongha 申東河, Kim Thaysik 金泰植, and Kwen Tekyeng 權惠永. Seongnam: Hankwukhak cwungang yenkwuwen chwulphanpwu 한국학 중앙연구원 출판부.
- YCSKYS** *Yekcwu samkwuk yusa* 譯注三國遺事 [Translation and Annotation of the Vestiges of the Three Kingdoms]. 2012. Translated and annotated by I Pyengtuo 李丙燾. Paju: Hankwuk hakswul cengpwo 한국학술정보.

Secondary Sources

- Asō, Isoji 麻生磯次. 1955. *Edo bungaku to chūgoku bungaku* 江戸文学と中国文学 [Edo Literature and Chinese Literature]. Tokyo: Sanseidō 三省堂.
- Bauer, Robert. 2000. "The Chinese-Based Writing System of the Zhuang Language." *Cahiers de Linguistique-Asie Orientale*. 29 (2): 223-253.
- Baxter, William. 1992. *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baxter, William, and Laurent Sagart. 2014. *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bentley, John. 2016. *ABC Dictionary of Ancient Japanese Phonograms*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Birrell, Anne. 1982. *New Songs from a Jade Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry, Translated with Annotations and an Introduction*. London, Boston & Sidney: George Allen & Unwin.
- Boltz, William. 1994. *The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Boltz, William. 2016. "Orthographic Monosyllabicity." *Scripta*. 8: 73-86.
- Brower, Reuben ed. 1959. *On Translation*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bunčić, Daniel, Sandra Lippert, and Achim Rabus eds. 2016. *Biscriptality: A Sociolinguistic Typology*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Bundschuh, John. 2021. "Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Creation of Narrative Structure: Early Heian Japanese Translations of Sinitic Buddhist Texts." PhD dissertation, The Ohio State University.

- Buzo, Adrian. 1980. "An Introduction to Early Korean Writing Systems." *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*. 55: 35-56.
- Case, Theresa. 2000. "*Kana in the Eighth Century: An Ancient Japanese Writing System*." PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Ceng, Yelmo 정열모. 1965. *Hyangka yenkwu* 향가 연구 [Study of *Hyangka*]. Pyongyang: Sahwoy kwahakwen chwulphansa 사회 과학원 출판사.
- Cheung, Kwan-hin, and Robert Bauer. 2002. *The Representation of Cantonese with Chinese Characters*. Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series 18.
- Cho, Seung-Bog. 1990. "On Idu." *Rocznik orientalistyczny*. 46 (2): 23-32.
- Ceng, cayyeng (Chung, Jae-young) 鄭在永. 2006. "Hankwuk uy kwukyel 韓國의 口訣" [Korean *Kwukyel*]. *Kwukyel yenkwu* 口訣研究. 17: 129-189.
- Chung, Jae-Young. 2022. "Korean *Kugyŏl*." Translated by John Whitman. In *The Cambridge Handbook of Korean Linguistics*, edited by Sungdai Cho and John Whitman. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press. 133-174.
- Clements, Rebekah. 2015. *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulmas, Florian. 1996. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Writing Systems*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Daniels, Peter. 1996. "The Study of Writing Systems." In *The World's Writing Systems*, edited by Peter Daniels and William Bright. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press. 3-17.
- Daniels, Peter. 2018. *An Exploration of Writing*. Sheffield, UK & Bristol, CT: Equinox.
- DeFrancis, John. 1977. *Colonialism and Language Policy in Viet Nam*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- DeFrancis, John. 1984. *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- DeFrancis, John. 1989. *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- DeFrancis, John, and Marshall Unger. 1994. "Rejoinder to Geoffrey Sampson, 'Chinese Script and the Diversity of Writing Systems.'" *Linguistics*. 32: 549-554.
- DeMattè, Paola. 2022. *The Origins of Chinese Writing*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dèng, Léi 鄧雷. 2017. *Shuǐhǔzhuan bǎnběn zhījiàn lù* 水滸傳版本知見錄 [Record of Knowledge and Observation on the Editions of *The Water Margin*]. Nanjing: Fènghuáng chūbǎnshè 鳳凰出版社.
- Dèng, Yìngliè 邓应烈, and Hé Huázhēn 何华珍 eds. 2023. *Yuè Nán Hàn Yīng sìwén duìzhào xīncídiǎn* 越南汉英四文对照新词典 [New Comparative Dictionary in Four Forms of Writing: Vietnamese, Nôm, Chinese, and English]. Shanghai: Shànghǎi jiāotōng dàxué chūbǎnshè 上海交通大学出版社.
- Dent-Young, John, and Alex Dent-Young trans. 1994-2002. *The Marshes of Mount Liang: A New Translation of the Shuihu Zhuan or Water Margin of Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong*. 5 volumes. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Elman, Benjamin ed. 2014. *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*. Leiden: Brill.
- Em, Kwukhyen (Eom, Gook-hyeon) 엄국형. 2002. "'Samtaymwok' ul ettehkey ilkul kesinka 『三代目』을 어떻게 읽을 것인가" [How to Read Samtaymwok]. *Hankwuk mincwok mwunhwa* 韓國民族文化. 19/20: 63-93.
- Ferguson, Charles. 1959. "Diglossia." *Word*. 15 (2): 325-340.
- Frellesvig, Bjarke. 2010. *A History of the Japanese Language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Frellesvig, Bjarke, and Satoshi Kinsui eds. 2024. *Handbook of Historical Japanese Linguistics*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

- Ge, Liangyan. 2001. *Out of the Margins: The Rise of Chinese Vernacular Fiction*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Gelb, I. J. 1963. *A Study of Writing (Revised Edition)*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hanan, Patrick. 1973. *The Chinese Short Story: Studies in Dating, Authorship, and Composition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Handel, Zev. 2015. "Logography and the Classification of Writing Systems: A Response to Unger." *Scripta*. 7: 109-150.
- Handel, Zev. 2019. *Sinography: The Borrowing and Adaptation of the Chinese Script*. Leiden: Brill.
- Handel, Zev. 2025. *Chinese Characters across Asia: How the Chinese Script Came to Write Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Hannas, William. 1997. *Asia's Orthographic Dilemma*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hansen, Chad. 1993a. "Chinese Ideographs and Western Ideas." *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 52 (2): 373-399.
- Hansen, Chad. 1993b. [Response to Unger 1993]. *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 52 (4): 954-957.
- Hartmann, Nan Ma. 2014. "From Translation to Adaptation: Chinese Language Texts and Early Modern Japanese Literature." PhD dissertation, Columbia University.
- Hé, Huázhen 何華珍, and Liú Zhèngyìn 劉正印 et al. 2019. *Yuènnán bēimíng wénxiàn de wénzìxué yánjiū* 越南碑銘文獻的文字學研究 [Grapholinguistic Study of Vietnamese Epigraphic Texts]. Beijing: Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxué chūbǎnshè 中国社会科学出版社.
- Hé, Huázhen 何華珍, and Ruǎn Jùnqiáng 阮俊强 (Nguyễn Tuấn Cường) eds. 2017. *Dōngyà hànjí yǔ Yuènnán hànnán gǔcíshū yánjiū* 東亞漢籍與越南漢喃古辭書研究 [Studies on East Asian Literary Sinitic Texts and Premodern Vietnamese Sino-Nôm Dictionaries]. Beijing: Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxué chūbǎnshè 中国社会科学出版社.
- Hé, Huázhen 何華珍, and Ruǎn Jùnqiáng 阮俊强 (Nguyễn Tuấn Cường) eds. 2019. *Yuènnán hànnán wénxiàn yǔ Dōngyà hànzi zhěnglǐ yánjiū* 越南漢喃文獻與東亞漢字整理研究 [Studies on Vietnamese Sino-Nôm Texts and the Collation of Sinograms in East Asia]. Beijing: Shèhuì kēxué wénxiàn chūbǎnshè 社会科学文献出版社.
- Hedberg, William. 2020. *The Japanese Discovery of Chinese Fiction: The Water Margin and the Making of a National Canon*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Holm, David. 2009. "A Typology of Readings of Chinese Characters in Traditional Zhuang Manuscripts." *Cahiers de Linguistique-Asie Orientale*. 38 (2): 245-292.
- Holm, David. 2013. *Mapping the Old Zhuang Character Script: A Vernacular Writing System from Southern China*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hsia, C. T. 2015. *The Classic Chinese Novel: A Critical Introduction (Revised Edition)*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Hú, Shì 胡適. 1986. *Shuǐhúzhuan yǔ Hónglóumèng* 水滸傳與紅樓夢 [The Water Margin and Dreams in the Red Mansion]. Volume 5 in *Hú shì zuòpǐn jí* 胡適作品集 [Collection of Works of Hú Shì]. Taipei: Yuǎnliú chūbǎn gōngsī 遠流出版公司.
- Hwang, Senyep 황선엽. 1997. "Cheyong ka 'kakwoi' uy haytwok ey tayhay" 處容歌“腳烏伊”의 해독에 대하여 [On the interpretation of "kakwoi" in Cheyong ka]. *Kwukehak* 國語學. 30: 285-303.
- Ide, Itaru 井手至. 1958. "Manimani ni tsuite 諸伏<まにまに>について" [On manimani]. *Kokugo kokubun* 國語國文. 27 (9): 68-74.
- Inada, Atsunobu 稲田篤信 ed. 2010. *Suikoden no shōgeki: Higashi ajia ni okeru gengo sesshoku to bunka juyō* 『水滸伝』の衝撃 東アジアにおける言語接触と文化受容 [The Impact of The Water Margin:

- Language Contact and Culture Reception in East Asia]. Tokyo: Bensei shuppan 勉誠出版.
- Inaoka, Kōji 稲岡耕二. 1976. *Man'yō hyōkiron* 萬葉表記論 [Discussions on the Notations in *Man'yōshū*]. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō 塙書房.
- Ishizaki, Matazō 石崎又造. 1967. *Kinsei nihon ni okeru shina zokugo bungakushi* 近世日本に於ける支那俗語文学史 [History of Vernacular Chinese Literature in Early Modern Japan]. Tokyo: Shimizu kōbundō shobō 清水弘文堂書房.
- Isobe, Akira 磯部彰. 1995. *Saiyūki no juyōshi no kenkyū* 西遊記の受容史の研究 [Study on the History of the Reception of *Journey to the West*]. Tokyo: Taga shuppan 多賀出版.
- Joyce, Terry, and Susanne Borgwaldt. 2013. “Typology of Writing Systems: Introduction.” In *Typology of Writing Systems*, edited by Susanne Borgwaldt and Terry Joyce. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 1-11.
- Kane, Daniel. 1989. *The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters*. Bloomington, IN: Research Center for Inner Asia Studies, Indiana University.
- Kane, Daniel. 2009. *The Kitan Language and Script*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kasuga, Masaji 春日政治. 1956. *Kokunten no kenkyū* 古訓點の研究 [Study on Premodern Glossing Marks]. Tokyo: Kazama shobō 風間書房.
- Kim, Byung-Joon. 2010. “The Introduction of Chinese Characters into Korea: The Role of the Lelang Commandery.” *Korea Journal*. 50 (2): 8-34.
- Kim, Jeongsu. 2005. *The History and Future of Hangeul: Korea's Indigenous Script*. Translated by Ross King. Folkestone: Global Oriental.
- Kin, Bunkyō 金文京. 2010. *Kanbun to higashi ajia: kundoku no bunkaken* 漢文と東アジア：訓読の文化圏 [Literary Sinitic and East Asia: A Cultural Sphere of Vernacular Reading]. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店.
- Kin, Bunkyō. 2021. *Literary Sinitic and East Asia: A Cultural Sphere of Vernacular Reading*. Edited by Ross King, translated by Ross King, Majorie Burge, Park Si Nae, Alexey Lushchenko, and Hattori Mina. Leiden: Brill.
- King, Ross. 2014. “Introduction.” In Koh Jongsok, *Infected Korean Language, Purity versus Hybridity: From the Sinographic Cosmopolis to Japanese Colonialism to Global English*, translated with a critical introduction by Ross King. Amherst: Cambria Press. 1-16.
- King, Ross. 2015. “Ditching ‘Diglossia’: Describing Ecologies of the Spoken and Inscribed in Pre-Modern Korea.” *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies*. 15 (1): 1-19.
- King, Ross ed. 2023. *Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in the World of Wen 文: Reading Sheldon Pollock from the Sinographic Cosmopolis*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kiyose, Gisaburo. 1977. *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script: Reconstruction and Decipherment*. Kyoto: Hōritsubunka-sha.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori 小林芳規. 1967. *Heian kamakura jidai ni okeru kanseki kundoku no kokugoshiteki kenkyū* 平安鎌倉時代に於ける漢籍訓讀の國語史的研究 [Study of *Kundoku* of Sinitic Texts in the Heian and Kamakura Periods from the Perspective of the History of Japanese]. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai 東京大學出版會.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori 小林芳規. 2011-2019. *Heian jidai no busscho ni motozuku kanbun kundokushi no kenkyū* 平安時代の佛書に基づく漢文訓讀史の研究 [Study on the History of *Kundoku* of Sinitic Texts Based on Buddhist Texts in the Heian Period]. Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori 小林芳規. 2014. “Nihon to kuntei kundoku no minamoto to kodai kankokugo no kankei 日本の訓点・訓読の源と古代韓国語の關係” [The Origin of Glossing Marks and *Kundoku* in Japan and Their Relationship with Premodern Korean]. In *Nikkan kanbun kundoku kenkyū* 日韓漢文

- 訓読研究 [Study of the Vernacular Reading of Chinese Texts in Japan and Korea], edited by Yukio Fujimoto 藤本幸夫. Tokyo: Bensei shuppan 勉誠出版. 23-66.
- Koo, Henry. 2010. *The Silla Hyangga: Stories, Songs, and Poems of Ancient Korea*. Vista, CA: Parchment Press.
- Kornicki, Peter. 2018. *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kwanten, Luc. 1989. "The Structure of the Tangut [Hsi Hsia] Characters". *T'oung Pao*. 75 (1): 1-42.
- Kwen, Inhan 權仁瀚. 2015. *Kwangkaythwowang pimwun sinyenkwu* 廣開土王碑文新研究 [New Study of the Inscription of the Stelae of King Kwangkaythwo]. Seoul: Pakmwunsa 박문사.
- Lanneau, Grainger. 2025. "Acquisition in a Trilingual Environment and Philological Education: A Re-examination of Regular, Unique and Unusual Sino-Vietnamese Initial Features." PhD dissertation, University of Washington.
- Lê, Văn Quán. 1981. *Nghiên cứu về chữ Nôm* [Study on chữ Nôm]. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Khoa học xã hội.
- Ledyard, Gari. 1966. *The Korean Language Reform of 1446: The Origin, Background, and Early History of the Korean Alphabet*. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Ledyard, Gari. 1998. *The Korean Language Reform of 1446*. Seoul: Sinkwu mwunhwasa 신구문화사. (Reprint of Ledyard [1966])
- Lee, Iksop, and Robert Ramsey. 2000. *The Korean Language*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lee, Ki-Moon, and Robert Ramsey. 2011. *A History of the Korean Language*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Peter. 1961. "The Importance of the *Kyunyŏ Chŏn* (1075) in Korean Buddhism and Literature: Bhadracari-Pranidhana in Tenth Century Korea." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 81 (4): 409-414.
- Lee, SeungJae. 2013. "A Deciphering of Two Silla Poetry Fragments Inscribed on Wooden Tablets." *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*. 26 (1): 129-174.
- Lurie, David. 2006. "Language, Writing, and Disciplinarity in the Critique of the 'Ideographic Myth': Some Proleptical Remarks." *Language & Communication*. 26: 250-269.
- Lurie, David. 2011. *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Martin, Samuel. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean*. Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- Meletis, Dimitrios. 2020. *The Nature of Writing: A Theory of Grapholinguistics*. Brest: Fluxus Editions.
- Meletis, Dimitrios, and Christa Dürscheid. 2022. *Writing Systems and Their Use: An Overview of Grapholinguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Miller, Roy. 1967. *The Japanese Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mori, Hiromichi 森博達. 1991. *Kodai no onin to nihon shoki no seiritsu* 古代の音韻と日本書紀の成立 [Ancient Phonology and the Formation of *Nihon shoki*]. Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten 大修館書店.
- Mori, Hiromichi 森博達. 1999. *Nihon shoki no nazo o toku: Jutsusakusha wa dare ka* 日本書紀の謎を解く: 述作者は誰か [Solving the Mysteries of *Nihon shoki*: Who Are the Scribes]. Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha 中央公論新社.
- Mwun, Hyenswu (Moon, Hyunsoo) 문현수. 2024. *Ceyphu hayntel uy cese "Sinography" (2019) wa hankwuk uy chaca phyoki* 제프 헨텔의 저서 『Sinography』(2019)와 한국의 차자 표기 [Zev Handel's Book *Sinography* (2019) and Korean Borrowed-Graph Notation]. *Hankwukhak yenkwu* 한국학 연구. 74: 145-181.
- Myers, James. 2019. *The Grammar of Chinese Characters: Productive Knowledge of Formal Patterns in an Orthographic System*. New York: Routledge.

- Nakada, Norio 中田祝夫. 1954. *Kotenbon no kokugogakuteki kenkyū: Sōron hen* 古點本の國語学的研究: 總論篇 [Japanese Linguistic Study on Premodern Glosses Materials: General Discussions]. Tokyo: Dainihon yūbenkai kōdansha 大日本雄辯會講談社.
- Nakamura, Aya 中村綾. 2011. *Nihon kinsei hakuwa shōsetsu juyō no kenkyū* 日本近世白話小説受容の研究 [Study on the Reception of Vernacular Novels in Early Modern Japan]. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院.
- Nam, Phwunghyen 南豐鉉. 1999. *Kwukesa lul wihan kwukyel yenkwu* 國語史를 위한 口訣研究 [Study of Kwukyel for the History of the National Language]. Seoul: Thayhaksa 太學社.
- Nam, Phwunghyen 南豐鉉. 2000. *Itwu yenkwu* 吏讀研究 [Study of Itwu]. Seoul: Thayhaksa 太學社.
- Nam, Phwunghyen 南豐鉉. 2007. “Kankoku kodai kuketsu no shurui to sono hensen ni tsuite 韓国古代口訣の種類とその変遷について” [On the Types of Premodern Korean Kwukyel and Their Changes]. *Kuntengo to kunten shiryō* 訓点語と訓点資料. 118: 132-120 (reverse pagination).
- Nam, Pung-hyun. 2012. “Old Korean.” In *The Languages of Japan and Korea*, edited by Nicolas Tranter. London & New York: Routledge. 41-72.
- Nguyễn, Đình Hoà. 1959. “Chữ Nôm: The Demotic System of Writing in Vietnam.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 79 (4): 270-274.
- Nguyễn, Đình-Hoà. 1990. “Graphemic Borrowings from Chinese: The Case of Chữ Nôm-Vietnam’s Demotic Script.” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*. 61 (2): 383-432.
- Nguyễn, Khắc-Kham. 1974. “Chữ Nôm or the Former Vietnamese Script and Its Past Contributions to Vietnamese Literature.” *Tōkyō gaikokugo daigaku Ronshū* 東京外国語大学論集. 24: 171-189.
- Nguyễn, Ngọc San. 1987. *Chữ Nôm và văn bản chữ Nôm* [Chữ Nôm and chữ Nôm Texts]. In *Cơ sở ngữ văn Hán Nôm* [The Basics of chữ Nôm Language and Writing], edited by Lê Trí Viễn, Volume 4. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Giáo Dục. 184-338.
- Nguyễn, Quang Hồng ed. 2006. *Tự Điển Chữ Nôm* [Chữ Nôm Dictionary]. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Giáo Dục.
- Nguyễn, Quang Hồng. 2014. *Tự Điển Chữ Nôm Dẫn Giải* [Chữ Nôm Dictionary with Glosses and Explications]. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Khoa học xã hội.
- Nguyễn, Tài Càn. 1985. *Một số vấn đề về chữ Nôm* [A Number of Issues on chữ Nôm]. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản đại học và trung học chuyên nghiệp.
- Nishimiya, Kazutami 西宮一民. 1970. *Nihon jōdai no bunshō to hyōki* 日本上代の文章と表記 [Written Texts and Notation in Old Japanese]. Tokyo: Kazama shobō 風間書房.
- Ogura, Shinpei 小倉進平. 1929. *Kyōka oyobi ritō no kenkyū* 郷歌及び吏讀の研究 [Study of Hyangga and Itwu]. Keijō 京城: Keijō Teikoku Daigaku 京城帝國大學.
- Ōki, Yasushi 大木靖, and Hidetaka Ōtsuka 大塚秀高. 2013. “Chinese Colloquial Novels in Japan: Mainly during the Edo Period (1603-1867).” In *Literary Migrations: Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17th-20th Centuries)*, edited by Claudine Salmon. Singapore: Institute of South Asian Studies. 106-139.
- Ōno, Tōru 大野透. 1962. *Man’yōgana no kenkyū: kodai nihongo no hyōki no kenkyū* 萬葉假名の研究: 古代日本語の表記の研究 [The Study of Man’yōgana: The Study of the Notation of Premodern Japanese]. Tokyo: Meiji shoin 明治書院.
- Osterkamp, Sven, and Gordian Schreiber. 2021. “Challenging the Dichotomy Between Phonography and Morphography: Transitions and Gray Areas”. In *Grapholinguistics in the 21st Century, /gʁafematik/, June 15-17, 2020 (Online), Proceedings*, edited by Yannis Haralambous. Brest: Fluxus Editions. 47-82.
- Ōya, Tōru 大矢透. 1909. *Kanazukai oyobi kana jitai enkaku shiryō* 假名遣及假名字體沿革史料 [Historical Materials on Kana Orthography and the Change in Kana Graphic Form]. Tokyo: Kokutei kyōkasho kyōdō hanbaijo 國定教科書共同販賣所.

- Pak, Ciyong 박지용 ed. 2012. *Hyangka haytwok calyocip* 향가 해독 자료집 [Collection of Materials on the Interpretation of *Hyangka*]. Seoul: Sewul tayhakkyo tayhakwen kwuke yenkwuhoy 서울대학교 대학원 국어연구회.
- Pastreich, Emanuel. 2011. *The Observable Mundane: Vernacular Chinese and the Emergence of a Literary Discourse on Popular Narrative in Edo Japan*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- Phan, John. 2013. “Lacquered Words: The Evolution of Vietnamese under Sinitic Influences from the 1st Century BCE through the 17th Century CE.” PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Phan, John. 2020. “Sesquisyllabicity, Chữ Nôm, and the Early Modern Embrace of Vernacular Writing in Vietnam.” *Journal of Chinese Writing Systems*. 4 (3): 169-182.
- Phan, John. 2025. *Lost Tongues of the Red River: Annamese Middle Chinese and the Origins of the Vietnamese Language*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 2006. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Qiú, Xīguī 裘锡圭. 2000. *Chinese Writing*. Translated by Gilbert Mattos and Jerry Norman. Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- Reiman, Etsuko Obata. 1983. “The Status of Kokuji: Usage of Ideographs Unique to Japan.” *Research on Language and Social Interaction*. 16 (1): 185-232.
- Reiman, Etsuko Obata. 1990. *Nihonjin no tsukutta kanji: Kokuji no shomondai* 日本人の作った漢字：國字の諸問題 [Sinograms Created by the Japanese: Various Issues of *Kokuji*]. Tokyo: Nan’undō 南雲堂.
- Rogers, Henry. 2005. *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Approach*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Saitō, Mareshi 齋藤希史. 2007. *Kanbunmyaku to kindai nihon: mō hitotsu no kotoba no sekai* 漢文脈と近代日本：もう一つのことばの世界 [Context of Literary Sinitic and Early Modern Japan: The World of Another Language]. Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai 日本放送出版協会.
- Saitō, Mareshi. 2021. *Kanbunmyaku: The Literary Sinitic Context and the Birth of Modern Japanese Language and Literature*. Edited by Ross King and Christina Laffin. Leiden: Brill.
- Sampson, Geoffrey. 1985. *Writing Systems: A Linguistic Introduction*. London: Hutchinson.
- Sampson, Geoffrey. 1994. “Chinese Script and the Diversity of Writing Systems.” *Linguistics*. 32: 117-132.
- Sampson, Geoffrey. 2015. *Writing Systems (Second Edition)*. Sheffield, UK & Bristol, CT: Equinox.
- Sasahara, Hiroyuki 笹原宏之. 2007. *Kokuji no isō to tenkai* 国字の位相と展開 [The Registers and Expansion of *Kokuji*]. Tokyo: Sanseidō 三省堂.
- Sasse, Werner. 1980. “« Chinesische » Zeichen Erfunden in Korea.” *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde/Études Asiatiques: Revue de la Société suisse d’études asiatiques*. 34 (2): 189-205.
- Satō, Minoru 佐藤稔. 1999. “Gisei kanji (kokuji) shōron 擬制漢字（国字）小論” [Brief Discussion on Sinograms Created from Imitation (*Kokuji*)]. *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 國語と國文學. 76 (5): 112-121.
- Sawazaki, Fumi 澤崎文. 2020. *Kodai nihongo ni okeru man’yōgana hyōki no kenkyū* 古代日本語における万葉仮名表記の研究 [Study of Man’yōgana Notation in Ancient Japanese]. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō 塙書房.
- Schreiber, Gordian. 2022. *Japanese Morphography: Deconstructing hentai kanbun*. Leiden: Brill.
- Seeley, Christopher. 1991. *A History of Writing in Japan*. Leiden: Brill.
- Shang, Wei. 2014. “Writing and Speech: Rethinking the Issue of Vernaculars in Early Modern China.” In *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*, edited by Benjamin Elman.

- Leiden: Brill. 254-301.
- Shimizu, Masaaki 清水政明. 2006. “Betonamugo no shiin renzoku: sono henka katei e no kanjion onso hairetsu no eikyō ベトナム語の子音連続: その変化過程への漢字音音素配列の影響” [Vietnamese Consonant Clusters: The Influence of the Arrangement of Sino-Vietnamese Phonemes on Its Process of Development]. *Higashi Yūrashia gengo kenkyū* 東ユーラシア言語研究. 1: 247-270.
- Shimizu, Masaaki. 2020. “Sino-Vietnamese Initials Reflected in the Phonetic Components of 15th-Century Nôm Characters.” *Journal of Chinese Writing Systems*. 4 (3): 183-195.
- Snow, Don. 2004. *Cantonese as Written Language: The Growth of a Written Chinese Vernacular*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Sproat, Richard. 2000. *A Computational Theory of Writing Systems*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sproat, Richard, and Alexander Gutkin. 2021. “The Taxonomy of Writing Systems: How to Measure How Logographic a System Is.” *Computational Linguistics*. 47 (3): 477-528.
- Takashima, Toshio 高島俊男. 1991. *Suikoden to nihonjin: Edo kara shōwa made* 水滸伝と日本人: 江戸から昭和まで [The Water Margin and the Japanese People: From the Edo Period to the Shōwa Period]. Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten 大修館書店.
- Taylor, Keith. 1983. *The Birth of Vietnam*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Tokuda, Takeshi 徳田武. 1987. *Nihon kinsei shōsetsu to chūgoku shōsetsu* 日本近世小説と中国小説 [Early Modern Japanese Novels and Chinese Novels]. Musashi murayama 武藏村山: Seishōdō shoten 青裳堂書店.
- Toury, Gideon. 1980. *In Search of a Theory of Translation*. Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel Aviv University.
- Trần, Trọng Dương. 2014. *Nguyễn Trãi Quốc Âm Từ Điển (A Dictionary of 15th Century Ancient Vietnamese)*. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Từ điển Bách khoa.
- Trần, Trọng Dương. 2018. “Graphemic Borrowings and Transformations from Sinitic: The Case of Quốc Âm Thi Tập.” *Journal of Chinese Writing Systems*. 2 (1). 43-57.
- Tsukishima, Hiroshi 築島裕. 1963. *Heian jidai no kanbun kundokugo ni tsukite no kenkyū* 平安時代の漢文訓讀語につきての研究 [Study on the Language of Kundoku of Sinitic Texts in the Heian Period]. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai 東京大學出版會.
- Tsukishima, Hiroshi 築島裕. 1996. *Heian jidai kantenbon ronkō: Kenkyū hen* 平安時代訓點本論考: 研究篇 [Discussions and Examinations on Glossed Materials in the Heian Period: Studies]. Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院.
- Unger, Marshall. 1990. “The Very Idea: The Notion of Ideogram in China and Japan.” *Monumenta Nipponica*. 45 (4): 391-411.
- Unger, Marshall. 1993. [Response to Hansen 1993a]. *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 52 (4): 949-954.
- Unger, Marshall. 2004. *Ideogram: Chinese Characters and the Myth of Disembodied Meaning*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Unger, Marshall. 2011. “What Linguistic Units Do Chinese Characters Represent?” *Written Language & Literacy*. 14 (2): 293-302.
- Unger, Marshall. 2014. “Empirical Evidence and the Typology of Writing Systems: A Response to Handel”. *Scripta*. 6: 75-95.
- Unger, Marshall. 2016. “Avoiding Circularity: A Response to Handel”. *Scripta*. 8: 87-100.
- Unger, Marshall. 2019. “Emotion, Reason, and Language: Meanings Are Made, Not Retrieved”. *Sino-Platonic Papers* 287.

- Unger, Marshall, and John DeFrancis. 1995. "Logographic and Semasiographic Writing Systems: A Critique of Sampson's Classification". In *Scripts and Literacy: Reading and Learning to Read Alphabets, Syllabaries and Characters*, edited by Insup Taylor and David Olson. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 45-58.
- Wakabayashi, Judy. 2026. *Translational Engagements with Asian Languages in Premodern Japan*. Leiden: Brill.
- Whitman, John. 2011. "The Ubiquity of the Gloss." *Scripta*. 3: 95-121.
- Whitman, John. 2015. "Old Korean." In *The Handbook of Korean Linguistics*, edited by Lucien Brown and Jaehoon Yeon. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell. 421-438.
- Wu, Yingzhe, and Juha Janhunen. 2010. *New Materials on the Khitan Small Script: A Critical Edition of Xiao Dilu and Yelü Xiangwen*. Folkestone: Global Oriental.
- Yamada, Yoshio 山田孝雄. 1935. *Kanbun no kundoku ni yorite tsutaeraretaru gohō* 漢文の訓讀によりて傳へられたる語法 [Grammar Transmitted by *Kundoku* of Literary Sinitic Texts]. Tokyo: Hōbunkan 寶文館.
- Yang, Cwutwong 梁柱東. 1954. *Kwoka yenkwu (Cengpophan)* 古歌研究 (訂補版) [Study of Ancient Songs (Revised and Supplemented Version)]. Seoul: Pakmun chwulphansa 博文出版社.
- Yi, Cwongchel 李鍾徹. 1983. *Hyangka wa manyepcipka uy phyokipep pikyo yenkwu* 鄉歌와 萬葉集歌の表記法 比較 研究 [Comparative Study of the Notational Method of *Hyangka* and *Man'yōshū* Songs]. Seoul: Cipmuntang 集文堂.
- Yi, Sungcay 이승재. 2017. *Mwokkan ey kilwoktwoyn kwotay hankwuke* 木簡에 기록된 古代韓國語 [Ancient Korean Recorded in Wooden Tablets]. Seoul: Ilcwokak 일조각.
- Yoon, Seon-tae. 2010. "The Creation of Idu." *Korea Journal*. 50 (2): 97-123.
- Yoshida, Kanehiko 吉田金彦, Tsukishima Hiroshi 築島裕, Ishizuka Harumichi 石塚晴通, and Tsukimoto Masayuki 月本雅幸 eds. 2001. *Kuntengo jiten* 訓点語辞典 [Dictionary of *Kunten* Terminology]. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan 東京堂出版.
- YTXYZ** *Yùtái xīnyǒng jiānzhu* 玉臺新詠箋注 [Annotations of *New Songs from the Jade Terrace*]. 1985. Edited by Mù Kèhóng 穆克宏. Beijing: Zhōnghuá shūjú 中華書局.
- Yu, Changkyun 俞昌均. 1994. *Hyangka pihay* 鄉歌批解 [Critical Explications of *Hyangka*]. Seoul: Hyengsel chwulphansa 螢雪出版社.

Appendix 1

Interpretation of *Hyangka* Poems

This appendix gives the character-by-character analysis and interpretation of each *hyangka* poem. The main references are Yu (1994), Koo (2010) (only for group 1 poems), and Pak (2012). The poems are listed in the order of their occurrence in the respective source material. The poems recorded in *Samkwuk yusa* 三國遺事 make up group 1 and are numbered 1-14, and the poems recorded in *Kyunyecen* 均如傳 make up group 2 and are numbered 15-25.

Notes

1. The section “Statistics” lists the number of different characters and the number of occurrences of each type of characters in a poem.
2. The first table under each line gives the original text, its transcription in both Romanized and *hankul* forms, and its translations in Modern Korean (MoK) and English.
3. The second table under each line gives the following information of each character: (1). its gloss in Chinese; (2). its modern Sino-Korean reading (MoSK); (3). its presumed reading in the poem with a gloss; (4). its type of adaptation.
4. For the ease of translation, the first table under a line occasionally contains content from the preceding or the following line when such extra content forms a coherent semantic unit with the line in question (e.g., the first table under line 3 of poem 1). The extra content is given in square brackets in the rows of “Original Text” and “Transcription”.

List of Poems

Group 1

- 1 *Mwo cwukcilang ka* 모죽지랑가 慕竹旨郎歌 “Song of Admiring Knight Cwukci”
- 2 *Nwoin henhwa ka* 노인헌화가 老人獻花歌 “Song of an Old Man Presenting Flowers”
- 3 *Anmin ka* 안민가 安民歌 “Song of Pacifying the People”
- 4 *Chan kiphalang ka* 찬기과랑가 讚耆婆郎歌 “Song of Praising Knight Kipha”
- 5 *Cheyong ka* 처용가 處容歌 “Song of Cheyong”
- 6 *Setwong yo* 서동요 薯童謠 “Ballad of the Potato Child”
- 7 *Two chenswu taypi ka* 도천수대비가 禱千手大悲歌 “Song of Praying to the Thousand-Handed Great Compassion”
- 8 *Phung yo* 풍요 風謠 “Folk Ballad”
- 9 *Wen wangsayng ka* 원왕생가 願往生歌 “Song of Wishing for Rebirth”
- 10 *Twoswol ka* 도솔가 兜率歌 “Song of Tuṣita”
- 11 *Cey mangmay ka* 제망매가 祭亡妹歌 “Song of Memorializing the Dead Younger Sister”
- 12 *Hyeyseong ka* 혜성가 彗星歌 “Song of Comet”
- 13 *Wen ka* 원가 怨歌 “Song of Grief”
- 14 *Wucek ka* 우적가 遇賊歌 “Song of Encountering Bandits”

Group 2

- 15 *Yeykyeng ceypwul ka* 예경제불가 禮敬諸佛歌 “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”
- 16 *Chingchan yelay ka* 칭찬여래가 稱讚如來歌 “Song of Praising Tathāgata”
- 17 *Kwangswu kwongyang ka* 광수공양가 廣修供養歌 “Song of Widely Practicing Devotion”
- 18 *Chamhwoy epcang ka* 참회업장가 懺悔業障歌 “Song of Repenting Karma”
- 19 *Swuhuy kwongtek ka* 수희공덕가 隨喜功德歌 “Song of Muditā and Merit”
- 20 *Chengcen peplyun ka* 청전법륜가 請轉法輪歌 “Song of Requesting to Turn the Wheel of Dharma”
- 21 *Chengpwul cwusey ka* 청불주세가 請佛住世歌 “Song of Requesting the Buddha to Reside in the World”
- 22 *Sangswu pwulhak ka* 상수불학가 常隨佛學歌 “Song of Constantly Following Buddhist Studies”
- 23 *Hangswun cwungsayng ka* 향순중생가 恒順眾生歌 “Song of Consistently Complying with All Living Beings”
- 24 *Pwokay hwoyhyang ka* 보개회향가 普皆回向歌 “Song of the Mass All Transferring Merit”
- 25 *Chwongkyel mwucin ka* 총결무진가 總結無盡歌 “Song of Concluding in General without End”

1 *Mwo cwukcilang ka* 모죽지랑가 慕竹旨郎歌 “Song of Admiring Knight Cwukci”

References: Yu 1994: 89-255; Koo 2010: 65-122; Pak 2012: 1-13.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第二紀異第二 “孝昭王代 竹旨郎”

Dating: Reign of King Hyoswo 孝昭 (32nd monarch of Silla, r. 692-702)

Original Text

- 1 去隱春皆理米
- 2 毛冬居叱沙哭屋尸以憂音
- 3 阿冬音乃叱好支賜烏隱
- 4 兒史年數就音墮支行齊
- 5 目煙迴於尸七史伊衣
- 6 逢烏支惡知作乎下是
- 7 郎也慕理尸心未 行乎尸道尸¹
- 8 蓬次叱巷中宿尸夜音有叱下是

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
58	1	29	45	5	0	80

¹In the original text, the two character sequences 郎也慕理尸心未 and 行乎尸道尸 are separated by a space and appear to be two lines, and in this way, this poem has nine lines. Scholars generally combine these two lines together in interpretation because of their semantic coherence and thus produce an eight-line poem. The analysis here follows the eight-line form.

Line 1

Original Text	去隱春皆理米
Transcription	간봄그리며 KA-n-PWOM ku.li=mye
MoK translation	지나간 봄을 그리며
English translation	Longing for the spring which has gone

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i>	‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
2	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i>	(adnominal suffix)	PAP
3	春	‘spring’	춘 <i>chwun</i>	봄 <i>PWOM</i>	‘spring’	SAL
4	皆	‘all, every’	개 <i>kay</i>	그 <i>ku</i>	그리- <i>ku.li-</i>	‘to
5	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i>	long for’ (stem) ²	PAP
6	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	ㅁ며 <i>-mye</i>	(conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	毛冬居叱沙哭屋尸以憂音
Transcription	모들살샤울올로시름 mwo.tol SAL=za WUL-wo-l=LWO SI.LUM
MoK translation	못 살아서 울음으로의 시름
English translation	The sorrow due to crying for not being able to live

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모들 <i>mwo.tol</i> > 모들	PAP
2	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i>	<i>mwo.tul</i> > 못 <i>mwot</i> > 못 <i>mwos</i> ‘cannot’	PAP
3	居	‘to reside’	거 <i>ke</i>	살- <i>SAL-</i>	‘to live’ (stem)	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i>	(phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>l</i> in 居 살- <i>SAL-</i>)	PAP
5	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅁ샤 <i>-za</i>	(emphatic particle)	PAP
6	哭	‘to cry’	곡 <i>kwok</i>	울- <i>WUL-</i>	‘to cry’ (stem)	SAL
7	屋	‘house’	옥 <i>wok</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i>	(assertive suffix)	PAP
8	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄹ- <i>-l-</i>	(prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
9	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	ㅁ로 <i>-LWO</i>	(instrumental particle)	SAL

²The biggest weakness of this interpretation is that the verb stem is written with two phonograms, which does not conform with the general orthographic principle that the stem is written logographically and the ending is written phonographically (*hwuncwu umcwong* 訓主音從). In addition, this same word is written logographically by the character 慕 later in this poem. There are also interpretations which treat the character 皆 as a logogram writing such words as 다 *TA* or 모도 *MWO.TWO* (> 모두 *MWO.TWU*) ‘all’, but in these cases, it is difficult to explain the function of the character 理, which is most likely to be a phonogram representing some grammatical elements after the stem written by the character 皆.

10	憂	‘anxiety, sorrow’	우 <i>wu</i>	시름 <i>SI.LUM</i> ‘sorrow’	SAL
11	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 憂 시름 <i>SI.LUM</i>)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	阿冬音乃叱好支賜烏隱[兒史]
Transcription	아돌ㅁ낫둥기시온[죇] a.tol.m=na-s TYOH-ti-ki-wo-n-[CUS]
MoK translation	사사로이 좋으신 [모습이]
English translation	[The appearance that is] good in private

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아돌ㅁ <i>a.tol.m</i> > 아를ㅁ <i>a.lol.m</i> > 아름 <i>a.lom</i> ‘in private, personally’	PAP
2	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	돌 <i>tol</i>		PAP
3	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>		PAP
4	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	나 <i>na</i>	=낫 <i>=na-s</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ <i>-s</i> (emphatic suffix)		PAP
6	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	동- <i>TYOH-</i> > 좋- <i>CWOH-</i> ‘to be good’ (stem)		SAL
7	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
8	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
9	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
10	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	兒史年數就音墮支行齊
Transcription	죇나히몯ㅁ디기니저 CUS NA.HI MOCH-m-TI-ki NI-cye
MoK translation	모습이 나이가 마치여 떨어졌네!
English translation	The appearance fell as the age ended (i.e., died)!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	兒	‘appearance’	모 <i>mwo</i>	죇/죡 <i>CUS/CUZ</i> ‘appearance’	SAL
2	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-s</i> in 兒 죇 <i>CUS</i>)	PAP

3	年	‘year’	년 <i>nyen</i>	나히 <i>NA.HI</i> > 나이 <i>NA.I</i> ‘age’	SAL
4	数	‘number’	수 <i>swu</i>		SAL
5	就	‘to approach’	취 <i>chwi</i>	못- <i>MOCH-</i> > 마치- <i>MA.CHI-</i> ‘to end’ (stem)	SAL
6	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	-ㅁ- <i>-m-</i> (durative suffix)	PAP
7	墮	‘to fall’	타 <i>tha</i>	디- <i>TI-</i> > 지- <i>CI-</i> ‘to fall’ (stem)	SAL
8	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
9	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	-니- <i>-NI-</i> (progressive complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
10	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	ㅈ저 <i>-cye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	目煙迴於尸七史伊衣
Transcription	눈늑돌얼스시이의 NWUN={n}uy TWOL-e-l-su.si I=uy
MoK translation	눈이 도는 이 사이에
English translation	At this interval of the eyes turning

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	目	‘eye’	목 <i>mwok</i>	눈 <i>NWUN</i> ‘eye’		SAL
2	煙	‘smoke’	연 <i>yen</i>	녀 { <i>n</i> }uy (← 니 <i>NOY</i> [> 내 <i>NAY</i>] ‘smoke’) ← ㄴ <i>n</i> (final consonant - <i>n</i> in 目 눈 <i>NWUN</i>) + ㅁ의 <i>-uy</i> (animate genitive particle)		SAP
3	迴	‘to return’	회 <i>hwoy</i>	돌- <i>TWOL-</i> ‘to turn’ (stem)		SAL
4	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
5	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	七	‘seven’	칠 <i>chil</i>	스 <i>su</i> ← 毗 入 <i>s</i>	스시 <i>su.si</i> > 숫 <i>sus</i> ‘interval’	PAP
7	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	시 <i>si</i>		PAP
8	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAL
9	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	ㅁ의 <i>-uy</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	逢鳥支惡知作乎下是
Transcription	맞보기엇디일오아리 MAS-PWO-ki ES.TI IL.WO=a-li
MoK translation	만날 것을 어찌 이룰까?
English translation	How [can I] achieve the meeting?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	逢	‘to meet’	봉 <i>pwong</i>	맞보- <i>MAS-PWO-</i> ‘to meet’ (stem)		SAL
2	鳥	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	오 <i>wo</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>wo</i> in 逢 맞보- <i>MAS-PWO-</i>)		PAP
3	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
4	惡	‘how; why’	오 <i>wo</i>	엇디 <i>ES.TI</i> > 어찌 <i>E.CCI</i> ‘how’		SAL
5	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	디 <i>ti</i> (phonetic determinative of the final syllable <i>-ti</i> in 惡 엇디 <i>ES.TI</i>)		PAP
6	作	‘to make’	작 <i>cak</i>	일오- <i>IL.WO-</i> > 일우- <i>IL.WU-</i> > 이루- <i>I.LWU-</i> ‘to achieve’ (stem)		SAL
7	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	오 <i>wo</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>wo</i> in 作 일오- <i>IL.WO-</i>)		PAP
8	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	알 <i>al</i> ← 알이 <i>AL.OY</i> (> 아래 <i>A.LAY</i>) ‘under’	=아리 <i>=a-li</i> (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아 <i>-a</i> [infinitive suffix] + -리- <i>-li-</i> [prospective suffix]) ← 알이 <i>al.i</i>	SAP
9	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	이 <i>i</i> ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAP

Line 7

Original Text	郎也慕理尸心未 行乎尸道尸
Transcription	랑야그릴므슴미니올길 LANG=ya KU.LI-l-MO.ZOM={m}uy NI-wo-l-KIL
MoK translation	랑이여! 그리는 마음이 갈 길
English translation	Knight! The way that [my] longing heart will go

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	郎	official title	랑 <i>lang</i>	랑 <i>LANG</i> ‘(official title) knight’		DAL
2	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=야 <i>=ya</i> (vocative particle)		PAP
3	慕	‘to long for’	모 <i>mwo</i>	그리- <i>KU.LI-</i> ‘to long for’ (stem) ³		SAL
4	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 慕 그리- <i>KU.LI-</i>)		PAP
5	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄷ- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	므슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’		SAL

³The character sequence 慕理 in line 7 is understood as writing the same verb stem 그리- *KU.LI-*, as is the character sequence 皆理 in line 1. The original meaning of this word is ‘to paint’ and its derived meaning is ‘to long for’. There is no doubt that the latter is the intended meaning in line 7 because of the logogram 慕. In contrast, since the phonogram 皆 is used in line 1, either meaning is possible. The second meaning is used in the English translation here for the sake of consistence, while on the other hand, one may also argue that the reason that different characters are used is exactly to distinguish different meanings.

7	未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 { <i>m</i> }uy ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 心 ㅁ 숨 <i>MO.ZOM</i>) + ㅁ의 -uy (animate genitive particle)	PAP
8	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	니- <i>NI-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
9	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- -wo- (assertive suffix)	PAP
10	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- -l- (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
11	道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	길/궤 <i>KIL(H)</i> > 길 <i>KIL</i> ‘way’	SAL
12	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	르 <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>l</i> in 道 길 <i>KIL</i>)	PAP

Line 8

Original Text	蓬次叱巷中宿尸夜音有叱下是
Transcription	다붓ㅅ굴헝기잘밤잇아리 TA.PWOC=s KWUL.HENG=KUY CA-l-PAM IS=a-li
MoK translation	다북쑥의 구렁에서 잘 밤이 있을까?
English translation	Will there be nights [when I] sleep in the mugwort alley?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	蓬	‘mugwort’	붕 <i>pwong</i>	다붓 <i>TA.PWOC</i> > 다북쑥 <i>TA.PWUK.SSWUK</i> ‘mugwort’		SAL
2	次	‘to be second; order’	차 <i>cha</i>	ㅈ <i>c</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>c</i> in 蓬 다붓 <i>TA.PWOC</i>)		PAP
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅㅅ -s (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP
4	巷	‘alley’	항 <i>hang</i>	굴헝 <i>KWUL.HENG</i> > 구렁 <i>KWU.LENG</i> ‘pit, alley’		SAL
5	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	ㅁ기 -KUY (locative particle)		SAL
6	宿	‘to dwell’	숙 <i>swuk</i>	자- <i>CA-</i> ‘to sleep’ (stem)		SAL
7	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- -l- (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
8	夜	‘night’	야 <i>ya</i>	밤 <i>PAM</i> ‘night’		SAL
9	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 夜 밤 <i>PAM</i>)		PAP
10	有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	잇- <i>IS-</i> > 있- <i>ISS-</i> ‘to have; to exist’ (stem)		SAL
11	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>s</i> in 有 잇- <i>IS-</i>)		PAP
12	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	알 <i>al</i> ← 알이 <i>AL.OY</i> (> 아래 <i>A.LAY</i>)	ㅁ아리 -a-li (interrogative sentence ending) (← -ㅁ- -a- [infinitive suffix] + -	SAP

				‘under’	리- <i>-li-</i> [prospective	
13	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	ㅇ <i>i</i> ← ㅇ <i>I</i> ‘this’	suffix)) ← 알이 <i>al.i</i>	SAP

2 *Nwoin henhwa ka* 노인헌화가 老人獻花歌 “Song of an Old Man Presenting Flowers”

References: Yu 1994: 256-308; Koo 2010: 123-150; Pak 2012: 14-23.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第二紀異第二 “水路夫人”

Dating: Reign of King Sengtek 聖德 (33rd monarch of Silla, r. 702-737)

Original Text

- 1 紫布岩乎過希⁴
- 2 執音乎手母牛放教遣
- 3 吾盼不喻慚盼伊賜等
- 4 花盼折叱可獻乎理音如

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
29	0	15	18	1	0	34

⁴In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 希 and 執, and in this way, this poem appears to have three lines. Scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines in interpretation and thus produce a four-line poem. The analysis here follows the four-line form.

Line 1

Original Text	紫布岩乎过希
Transcription	딘배바회곶희 TIT.PAY PA.HWOY KOS-huy
MoK translation	자춧빛 바위 가에
English translation	On the edge of the purple rock

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	紫	‘purple’	자 <i>ca</i>	딘배 TIT.PAY ‘azalea; purple’	SAL
2	布	‘cloth’	포 <i>phwo</i>	배 <i>pay</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>ay</i> in 紫 딘배 TIT.PAY)	PAP
3	岩	‘rock’	암 <i>am</i>	바회 PA.HWOY > 바위 PA.WI ‘rock’	SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	오 <i>wo</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>wo</i> in 岩 바회 PA.HWOY)	PAP
5	过 ⁵	‘to pass’	과 <i>kwa</i>	곶/곶 KOS/KOZ > 가 KA ‘edge’	SAL
	邊	‘side, edge’	변 <i>pyen</i>		
6	希	‘to hope’	희 <i>huy</i>	-회 - <i>huy</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	執音乎手母牛放教遣
Transcription	취口오손암쇼농이시고 CWI-m-wo-SWON AM-SYO NWOH-I-SI-kwo
MoK translation	손에 쥐고 있는 암소를 농게 하여 주시고
English translation	Releasing the cow [from] the hand holding [it], and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	執	‘to hold’	집 <i>cip</i>	취- CWI- ‘to hold’ (stem)	SAL
2	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	-口- - <i>m</i> - (durative suffix)	PAP
3	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- - <i>wo</i> - (assertive suffix)	PAP
4	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	손 SWON ‘hand’	SAL
5	母	‘mother’	모 <i>mwo</i>	암 AM ‘female animal’	SAL
6	牛	‘bull, cow’	우 <i>wu</i>	쇼 SYO > 소 SWO ‘bull, cow’	SAL
7	放	‘to release’	방 <i>pang</i>	농- NWOH- ‘to release’ (stem)	SAL
8	教	‘to teach’	교 <i>kyo</i>	-이시- - <i>I-SI</i> - (honorific suffix)	SAL
9	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	-고 - <i>kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	吾盼不喻慚盼伊賜等

⁵This graph is written as 过 but regarded as a graphic variant of the character 邊.

Transcription	나홀모돌붓그리시든 NA=hol MWO.TOL PWUS.KU.LI-si-ton
MoK translation	나를 안 부끄러워하시면
English translation	If [you] are not shamed at me

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
2	聆	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	=홀 = <i>hol</i> > =을/=를 =(l) <i>ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
3	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’	SAL
4	喻	‘to understand’	유 <i>yu</i>	들 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 不 모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i>)	PAP
5	慚	‘to be shamed’	참 <i>cham</i>	붓그리- <i>PWUS.KU.LI-</i> > 부끄럼- <i>PWU.KKU.LEP-</i> ‘to be shamed’	SAL
6	聆	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	리 <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the consonant <i>l</i> in 慚 붓그리- <i>PUS.KU.LI-</i>)	PAP
7	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 慚 붓그리- <i>PUS.KU.LI-</i>)	PAP
8	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
9	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	=든 = <i>ton</i> (conditional particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	花聆折叱可獻乎理音如
Transcription	꽃홀겻가나소오림다 KWOC=hol KESK-{k}a NA.ZWO-wo-li-m-ta
MoK translation	꽃을 꺾어 바치겠습니다.
English translation	[I] will pluck and present the flowers.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	꽃 <i>KWOC</i> > 꽃 <i>KKWOCH</i> ‘flower’	SAL
2	聆	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	=홀 = <i>hol</i> > =을/=를 =(l) <i>ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP

3	折	‘to break’	절 <i>cel</i>	것-/꺾- <i>KES(K)-</i> > 꺾- <i>KKEKK-</i> ‘to pluck’ (stem)	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	入 <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>s</i> in 折 꺾- <i>KESK-</i>)	PAP
5	可	‘to be all right, to be possible’	가 <i>ka</i>	가 { <i>k</i> } <i>a</i> ← ㄱ <i>k</i> (final consonant in 折 꺾- <i>KESK-</i>) + -아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
6	獻	‘to present’	헌 <i>hen</i>	나소- <i>NA.ZWO-</i> ‘to present’ (stem)	SAL
7	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
8	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	-리- <i>-li-</i> (prospective suffix)	PAP
9	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	-ㅁ- <i>-m-</i> (durative suffix)	PAP
10	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 <i>-ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← - 답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAP

3 *Anmin ka* 안민가 安民歌 “Song of Pacifying the People”

References: Yu 1994: 309-406; Koo 2010: 151-209; Pak 2012: 24-42.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第二紀異第二 “景德王 忠談師 表訓大德”

Dating: Reign of King Kyengtek 景德 (35th monarch of Silla, r. 742-765)

Original Text

	Original Lines	Rearranged Lines ⁶
1	君隱父也	君隱父也
2	臣隱愛賜尸母史也	臣隱愛賜尸母史也
3	民焉狂尸恨阿孩古為賜尸知民是愛尸知古如	民焉狂尸恨阿孩古為賜尸知
4	窟理叱大盼生以支所音物生此盼喰惡支治良羅	民是愛尸知古如
5	此地盼捨遣只於冬是去於丁	窟理叱大盼生以支所音物生
6	為尸知國惡支持以	此盼喰惡支治良羅
7	支知古如後句	此地盼捨遣只於冬是去於丁為尸知
8	君如臣多支民隱如	國惡支持以支知古如
9	為內尸等焉國惡大平恨音叱如	後句 君如臣多支民隱如為內尸等焉
10		國惡大平恨音叱如

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
55	11	25	54	6	2	98

⁶In the original text, this poem appears to have nine lines with some discrepancies between the division of lines and the division of semantic units based on the interpretation, especially in the latter half of the poem. As a result, scholars tend to rearrange the lines and produce a ten-line poem. The analysis here follows the rearranged ten-line form.

Line 1

Original Text	君隱父也
Transcription	군은 아버지 KWUN=on A.PI=ye
MoK translation	군은 아버지다.
English translation	The lord is the father.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	君	‘lord’	군 <i>kwun</i>	군 <i>KWUN</i> ‘lord’	DAL ⁷
2	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP
3	父	‘father’	부 <i>pwu</i>	아버 <i>A.PI</i> ‘father’	SAL
4	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 <i>=ye</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	臣隱愛賜尸母史也
Transcription	신은 뜻실어시여 SIN=on TOS-si-l-E.SI=ye
MoK translation	신은 사랑하실 어머니다.
English translation	Vassals are the loving mother.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	臣	‘vassal’	신 <i>sin</i>	신 <i>SIN</i> ‘vassal’	DAL
2	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP
3	愛	‘love’	애 <i>ay</i>	뜻-/툄- <i>TOS-/TOZ-</i> ‘to love’ (stem)	SAL
4	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
5	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	母	‘mother’	모 <i>mwo</i>	어시 <i>E.SI</i> ‘mother’	SAL
7	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	시 <i>si</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>si</i> in 母 어시 <i>e.si</i>)	PAP
8	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 <i>=ye</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 3

⁷In addition to the DAL reading, the character 君 can also be understood as an SAL for the native word 님금 *NIM.KUM* ‘lord’. On the other hand, the two characters 臣 in line 2 and 民 in line 3, which should be analyzed in conjunction with 君 linguistically and stylistically, have no attested native reading and can only be treated as DALs. As a result, 君 is also treated as a DAL here for consistency.

Original Text	民焉狂尸恨阿孩古為賜尸知
Transcription	민은얼훈아히고흐실디 MIN=on EL-ho-n-A.HOY=kwo HO-si-l-ti
MoK translation	민은 어리석은 아이라고 하시면
English translation	If [they] regard people as ignorant children

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	民	‘people’	민 <i>min</i>	민 <i>MIN</i> ‘people’		DAL
2	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)		PAP
3	狂	‘to be crazy’	광 <i>kwang</i>	얼- <i>EL-</i> > 어리- <i>E.LI-</i> ‘to be young, ignorant’ (stem)		SAL
4	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-l</i> in 狂 얼- <i>el-</i>)		PAP
5	恨	‘to hate’	한 <i>han</i>	훈- <i>ho-n-</i> < ㅎ- <i>ho-</i> (> 하- <i>ha-</i>) (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아ᄃᆞᆫ <i>A.HOY</i> > 아이 <i>A.I</i> ‘child’	PAP
7	孩	‘child’	해 <i>hay</i>	아ᄃᆞᆫ <i>A.HOY</i> > 아이 <i>A.I</i> ‘child’		SAL ⁸
8	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 <i>=kwo</i> (quotative particle)		PAP
9	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	ㅎ- <i>HO-</i> > 하- <i>HA-</i> ‘to do’ (stem)		SAL
10	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
11	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄹ- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
12	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	=디 <i>=ti</i> (conditional conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	民是愛尸知古如
Transcription	민이뉘르알고다 MIN=i TOS.l AL=kwo.ta
MoK translation	민이 사랑을 안다.
English translation	People will know love.

⁸There seems to be no disagreement in interpreting the character sequence 阿孩 as representing the word 아ᄃᆞᆫ *A.HOY* (> 아이 *A.I*) ‘child’, despite the fact that the character 孩 alone can be an SAL for this word. One may regard these two characters as two PAPs for the syllables 아 *a* and ᄃᆞᆫ *hoy* respectively, but this is somewhat counter-intuitive because of the strong logographic connotation of the character 孩. Alternatively, the character 阿 may be regarded as a phonetic determinative of the syllable 아 *a*, or the character sequence 阿孩 is a holistic logographic written form for this word.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	民	‘people’	민 <i>min</i>	민 <i>MIN</i> ‘people’		DAL
2	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	=이 <i>=i</i> (nominative particle) ← 이 <i>l</i> ‘this’		SAP
3	愛	‘love’	애 <i>ay</i>	뜻 -/툄 - <i>TOS-/TOZ-</i> ‘to love’ (stem)		SAL
4	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 - <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
5	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	알- <i>AL-</i> ‘to know’ (stem)		SAL
6	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고다 <i>=kwo.ta</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP
7	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 <i>=ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	窟理叱大盼生以支所音物生
Transcription	구물대 흘살로기숨물생 kwu.mwul.tay-ho-l-SAL=LWO-ki swom MWUL-SAYNG
MoK translation	꾸물대는 사는 물생
English translation	Living wriggling, the living beings

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	窟	‘hole, cave’	굴 <i>kwul</i>	구무 <i>kwu.mwu</i> ← 구무 <i>kwu.mwu</i> (> 구멍 <i>kwu.meng</i>) ‘hole’	구물대- <i>kwu.mwul.tay-</i> > 꾸물대- <i>kkwu.mwul.tay-</i> ‘to wriggle’ (stem)	SAP
2	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	르 <i>l</i>		PAP
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	르 <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-l</i> in 窟理 구물 <i>kwu.mwul</i>)		PAP
4	大	‘to be big’	대 <i>tay</i>	대 <i>tay</i>		PAP
5	盼	‘to vibrate’	흘 <i>hul</i>	흘- <i>ho-l-</i> ← 헉- <i>ho-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + -르- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	生	‘to live’	생 <i>sayng</i>	살- <i>SAL-</i> ‘to live’ (stem)		SAL
7	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	=로 <i>=LWO</i> (instrumental particle)		SAL
8	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
9	所	‘place’	소 <i>swo</i>	소 <i>swo</i>	숨 <i>swom</i> > 손 <i>swon</i> ‘thing’	PAP
10	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>		PAP

11	物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	물생 <i>MWUL-SAYNG</i> ‘living being’	DAL
12	生	‘to live’	생 <i>sayng</i>		DAL

Line 6

Original Text	此吩喰惡支治良羅
Transcription	이홀먹악다스리어라 I=hol MEK-a-k TA.SO.LI-e=la
MoK translation	이를 먹이어 다스리구나.
English translation	[You] (i.e., the king) feed and govern them!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
2	吩	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	=홀 <i>-hol</i> > =을/=를 <i>-(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
3	喰	‘to eat’	찬 <i>chan</i>	먹- <i>MEK-</i> ‘to eat’ (stem)	SAL
4	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	-악 <i>-a-k</i> (emphatic infinitive suffix) ← -아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix) + -ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
5	支 ⁹	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-k</i> in 惡 <i>-a-k</i>)	PAP
6	治	‘to put in order, to govern’	치 <i>chi</i>	다스리- <i>TA.SO.LI-</i> > 다스리- <i>TA.SU.LI-</i> ‘to govern’ (stem)	SAL
7	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
8	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	=라 <i>-la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	此地吩捨遣只於冬是去於丁為尸知
Transcription	이짜홀브리곡어돌이가어더홀디 I STA=hol PO.LI-kwo-k e.tol.i KA-e-tye HO-l=ti
MoK translation	이 땅을 버리고 어디에 가느냐고 하면
English translation	If [people] ask, “Abandoning this land, where shall [we] go?”

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
2	地	‘land’	지 <i>ci</i>	*짜 <i>*STA</i> > 째 <i>STAH</i> > 땅 <i>TTANG</i> ‘land’	SAL

⁹The character 支 in Chinese is a graphic variant of the character 撲 writing the word *pū* ‘to strike’. In the case of *hyangka*, there are different opinions on whether the two graphs 支 and 攴 are allographs with the same function or different graphemes with different functions..

3	矜	‘to vibrant’	홀 <i>hul</i>	=홀 = <i>hol</i> > =을/=를 =(l) <i>ul</i> (accusative particle)		PAP
4	捨	‘to abandon’	사 <i>sa</i>	버리- <i>PO.LI-</i> > 버리- <i>PE.LI-</i> ‘to abandon’ (stem)		SAL
5	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 = <i>kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP
6	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ - <i>k</i> (emphatic suffix)		PAP
7	矜	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	어 <i>e</i>	어들이 <i>e.tol.i</i> > 어디 <i>e.toy</i> > 어디 <i>e.tuy</i> > 어디 <i>e.ti</i> ‘where’	PAP
8	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i>		PAP
9	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	이 <i>i</i> ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAP
10	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAL
11	矜	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	-어- - <i>e-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
12	丁	fourth item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	정 <i>ceng</i>	=더 = <i>tye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending) ← ㅌ to ‘fact’ + =여 = <i>ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP
13	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	호- <i>HO-</i> > 하- <i>HA-</i> ‘to do’ (stem)		SAL
14	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- - <i>l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
15	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	=디 = <i>ti</i> (conditional conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	國惡支持以支知古如
Transcription	나라악디니기알고다 NA.LA- <i>{a}k</i> TI.NI-ki AL=kwo.ta
MoK translation	나라를 지닐 줄 안다.
English translation	[They] will know to preserve the country.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	國	‘country’	국 <i>kwuk</i>	나라 <i>NA.LA</i> ‘country’	SAL
2	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	악 <i>{a}k</i> < 아 <i>a</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>a</i> in 國 나라 <i>NA.LA</i>) + ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
3	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-k</i> in 惡 악 <i>a-k</i>)	PAP
4	持	‘to hold’	지 <i>ci</i>	디니- <i>TI.NI-</i> > 지니- <i>CI.NI-</i> ‘to carry, preserve’ (stem)	SAL
5	以	‘to take use’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i>)	PAP

		of'		in 持 디니- <i>TI.NI-</i>)	
6	支	'to support'	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
7	知	'to know'	지 <i>ci</i>	알- <i>AL-</i> 'to know' (stem)	SAL
8	古 ¹⁰	'antiquity'	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>kwo</i>	고다 =고다
9	如	'to resemble'	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 <i>-ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> 'to resemble' (complementary verb) (stem)	= <i>kwo.ta</i> (declarative sentence ending)
					SAP

Line 9

Original Text	後句 君如臣多支民隱如為內尸等焉
Transcription	군다히신다기민다히ㅎ늘둔은 KWUN=TA.HI SIN=ta.ki MIN=TA.HI HO-no-l-ton-on
MoK translation	군답게 신답게 민답게 할 것이면
English translation	If [the lord behaves] like the lord, [vassals behave] like vassals, and [people behave] like people

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	後	'back'	후 <i>hwu</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)		
2	句	'sentence'	구 <i>kwu</i>			
3	君	'lord'	군 <i>kwun</i>	군 <i>KWUN</i>	'lord'	DAL
4	如	'to resemble'	여 <i>ye</i>	=다히 <i>=TA.HI</i>	'like'	SAL
5	臣	'vassal'	신 <i>sin</i>	신 <i>SIN</i>	'vassal'	DAL
6	多	'to be numerous'	다 <i>ta</i>	다 <i>ta</i>	=다기 <i>=ta.ki</i> >	PAP
7	支	'to support'	지 <i>ci</i>	기 <i>ki</i>	=다히 <i>=TA.HI</i>	'like'
8	民	'people'	민 <i>min</i>	민 <i>MIN</i>	'people'	DAL
9	隱	'to conceal'	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 民 <i>min</i>)		PAP
10	如	'to resemble'	여 <i>ye</i>	=다히 <i>=TA.HI</i>	'like'	SAL
11	為	'to do'	위 <i>wi</i>	ㅎ- <i>HO-</i> > 하- <i>HA-</i>	'to do' (stem)	SAL
12	內	'inside'	내 <i>nay</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-no-</i>	(present suffix)	PAP
13	尸	'corpse'	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄹ- <i>-l-</i>	(prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
14	等	'rank; to equal'	등 <i>tung</i>	=둔 <i>=ton</i>	(conditional particle)	PAP
15	焉	'in relation to'	언 <i>en</i>	=은/=ㄴ <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=ㄴ <i>=(n)un</i>	(topic particle)	PAP

¹⁰The graphic form of this character in the original text appears to be 右, but it is universally regarded as 古 as the same character sequence 知古如 also appears in line 4.

Line 10

Original Text	國惡大平恨音叱如
Transcription	나라악태평흔口스다 NA.LA-{a}k THAY-PHYENG-ho-n-msta
MoK translation	나라가 태평한 것이다!
English translation	The country will [surely] be in great peace.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	國	‘country’	국 <i>kwuk</i>	나라 <i>NA.LA</i> ‘country’		SAL
2	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	악 { <i>a</i> } <i>k</i> < 아 <i>a</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>a</i> in 國 나라 <i>NA.LA</i>) + -ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)		PAP
3	大 ¹¹	‘to be big’	대 <i>tay</i>	태평 <i>THAY-PHYENG</i> ‘great peace’		DAL
	太	‘to be big’	태 <i>thay</i>			DAL
4	平	‘to be calm’	평 <i>phyeng</i>			
5	恨	‘to hate’	한 <i>han</i>	흔 - <i>ho-n-</i> ← 헉 - <i>ho-</i> (> 하- <i>ha-</i>) (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + - ㄴ - <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>	=ㅁㅅ다 = <i>msta</i> (speculative sentence ending)	PAP
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>		PAP
8	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 <i>-ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답 - <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)		SAP

¹¹This occurrence of the character 大 is regarded as the graphic variant of the character 太.

4 *Chan kiphalang ka* 찬기과랑가 讚耆婆郎歌 “Song of Praising Knight Kipha”

References: Yu 1994: 407-492; Koo 2010: 211-258; Pak 2012: 43-59.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第二紀異第二 “景德王 忠談師 表訓大德”

Dating: Reign of King Kyengtek 景德 (35th monarch of Silla, r. 742-765)

Original Text

	Original Lines	Rearranged Lines ¹²
1	咽鳴爾處米	咽鳴爾處米
2	露曉邪隱月羅理	沙是八陵隱汀理也中
3	白雲音逐于浮去隱安支下	露曉邪隱月羅理
4	沙是八陵隱汀理也中	白雲音逐于浮去隱安支下
5	耆郎矣兒史是史藪邪	逸烏川理叱磧惡希
6	逸烏川理叱磧惡希	耆郎矣兒史是史藪邪
7	郎也持以支如賜烏隱	郎也持以支如賜烏隱
8	心未際叱盼逐內良齊	心未際叱盼逐內良齊
9	阿耶 ¹³ 栢史叱枝次高支好	阿耶 栢史叱枝次高支好
10	雪是毛冬乃乎尸花判也	雪是毛冬乃乎尸花判也

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
68	5	28	50	4	0	87

¹²This is the rearranged form proposed by Yu (1994: 408). The reason for the rearrangement is that the original transcription of the poem does not conform with the regular style of *hyangga* that the fourth line (last line of the first stanza) ends with a character representing a sentence ending. As a result, Yu rearranges lines 2-6 based on this formal pattern and his understanding of the content of the poem. The analysis here follows the original arrangement.

¹³In the original text, the character sequence 阿耶 is written separately from both the previous line and the following line, but scholars generally group it together with the following line because of its function and thus produce a ten-line poem. The analysis here follows this ten-line form.

Line 1

Original Text	咽鳴爾處米
Transcription	목메울이즈며 MWOK.MYEY-WUL-i.cu=mye
MoK translation	목메어 울어 잊으며
English translation	Choked, crying, and forgetting [Kight Kipha]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	咽	‘to be choked’	열 <i>yel</i>	목메- <i>MWOK.MYEY-</i> > 목메- <i>MWOK.MEY-</i>	‘to be choked’ (stem)	SAL
2	鳴	‘to sigh’	오 <i>wo</i>	울- <i>WUL-</i>	‘to cry’ (stem)	SAL
3	爾	‘you; this’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	이즈 <i>i.cu</i> → 잊으 <i>ic-u</i> (← 잊- <i>ic-</i> ‘to forget’ [stem] + -으 <i>-u</i> [connecting sound])	SAP
4	處	‘to be located at’	처 <i>che</i>	즈 <i>cu</i>		PAP
5	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	며 <i>-mye</i>	(conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	露曉邪隱月羅理
Transcription	이슬밝안드랄리 I.SUL POLK-ya-n-TO.LAL={l}i
MoK translation	이슬을 밝히는 달이
English translation	The moon that brightens the dew

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	露	‘dew; to expose’	로 <i>lwo</i>	이슬 <i>I.SUL</i>	‘dew’	SAL
2	曉	‘to be bright’	효 <i>hyo</i>	밝- <i>POLK-</i> > 밝- <i>PALK-</i>	‘to be bright’ (stem)	SAL
3	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	-야- <i>-ya-</i> ← -이- <i>-i-</i>	(causative suffix)	PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i>	(adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	月	‘moon; month’	월 <i>wel</i>	*드랄 <i>*TO.LAL</i> > 둘 <i>TOL</i> > 달 <i>TAL</i>	‘moon’	SAL
6	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	라 <i>la</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllabic component <i>la-</i> in 月 *드랄 <i>*TO.LAL</i>)		PAP
7	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>{l}i</i> < ㄹ <i>l</i> (final consonant <i>-l</i> in 月 *드랄 <i>*TO.LAL</i>) + 이 <i>-i</i>	(nominative)	PAP

				particle)	

Line 3

Original Text	白雲音逐于浮去隱安支下
Transcription	히구름쫓우쁘간므스기하 HOY-KWU.LUM CWOCH-wu PTU-KA-n-MU.SUK-ki-ka
MoK translation	흰 구름을 쫓아 가는 무엇인가?
English translation	Is [the moon] something that chases the white clouds and floats away?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	白	‘white’	백 <i>payk</i>	히- HOY- > 희- HUY- ‘to be white’ (stem)	SAL
2	雲	‘cloud’	운 <i>wun</i>	구름 <i>KWU.LUM</i> ‘cloud’	SAL
3	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	口 <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 雲 구름 <i>KWU.LUM</i>)	PAP
4	逐	‘to chase’	쫓 <i>chwuk</i>	쫓- CWOCH- > 쫓- CCWOCH- ‘to chase’ (stem)	SAL
5	于	‘to go’	우 <i>wu</i>	-으- -wu- (infinitive suffix)	PAP
6	浮	‘to float’	부 <i>pwu</i>	쁘- PTU- > 뜨- TTU- ‘to float’ (stem)	SAL
7	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	-가- -KA- ‘to go’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)	PAP
9	安	‘how’	안 <i>an</i>	므스 <i>MU.SUK</i> > 무엇 <i>MWU.ES</i> ‘what’	SAL
10	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 -ki (adverbial suffix) (?)	PAP
11	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	하 <i>ha</i> (← 가 -ka) (interrogative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	沙是八陵隱汀理也中
Transcription	몰애이팍룬믈서리여기 MWOL.AY=i pho.lo-n-MUL.SE.LI=ye.KUY
MoK translation	모래가 파란 물가에
English translation	On the shore where the sand is blue

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	몰애 <i>MWOL.AY</i> > 모래 <i>MWO.LAY</i> ‘sand’	SAL
2	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	=이 =i (nominative particle) ← 이 / ‘this’	SAP
3	八	‘eight’	팔 <i>phal</i>	플 <i>phol</i> 팍룬 - <i>pho.lo-n-</i> ‘blue’	PAP

4	陵	‘mound’	릉 <i>lung</i>	리 <i>l</i>	← 꾀- <i>pho.lo-</i> (> 파랗- <i>pha.lah-</i>) ‘to be blue’ (stem) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i>	PAP
5	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	汀	‘riverside’	정 <i>ceng</i>	*믈서리 <i>*MUL.SE.LI</i> ‘shore’		SAL
7	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 汀 *믈서리 <i>*MUL.SE.LI</i>)		PAP
8	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	여 <i>ye</i>	=여기 <i>=ye.KUY</i> (locative particle)	PAP
9	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	=귀 <i>=KUY</i> (locative particle)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	耆郎矣兒史是史藪邪
Transcription	기랑의죽잇수라 KI-LANG=uy CUS is=swu-LA
MoK translation	기랑의 모습이 있구나!
English translation	There is Knight Ki’s appearance!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	耆	‘to be old’	기 <i>ki</i>	기 <i>KI</i> (proper noun)		DAL
2	郎	official title	랑 <i>lang</i>	랑 <i>LANG</i> ‘(official title) knight’		DAL
3	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 = <i>uy</i> (animate genitive particle)		PAP
4	兒	‘appearance’	모 <i>mwo</i>	죽/증 <i>CUS/CUZ</i> ‘appearance’		SAL
5	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 兒 죽 <i>CUS</i>)		PAP
6	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	이 <i>i</i> ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	잇- <i>is-</i> > 있- <i>iss-</i> ‘to exist’ (stem)	SAP
7	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>		PAP
8	藪	‘marsh’	수 <i>swu</i>	수 <i>swu</i>	=수라 = <i>swu-LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
9	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	=라 = <i>LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 6

Original Text	逸鳥川理叱磧惡希
Transcription	일오나릿작벼리아희 il.wo NA.LI=s CYAK.PYE.LI=a-huy
MoK translation	일오나리의 작벼리에
English translation	On the pebbles of the Ilwo River

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type

1	逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	일오 <i>il.wo</i> (proper noun)		PAP
2	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>			PAP
3	川	‘stream’	천 <i>chen</i>	나리 <i>NA.LI</i> > 내 <i>NAY</i> ‘stream’		SAL
4	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 川 나리 <i>NA.LI</i>)		PAP
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP
6	磧	‘pebble’	적 <i>cek</i>	작벼리 <i>CYAK.PYE.LI</i> > 작벼리 <i>CAK.PYE.LI</i> ‘pebble’		SAL
7	惡	‘how; why’	오 <i>wo</i>	ㅂㅂ <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	ㅂㅂ희 <i>=a-huy</i> (locative particle)	PAP
8	希	‘to hope’	희 <i>huy</i>	ㅂㅂ희 <i>=huy</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 7

Original Text	郎也持以支如賜烏隱[心]
Transcription	랑야디니기골시온[ㅁ 숨] LANG=ya TI.NI-ki KOTH-si-wo-n-[MO.ZOM]
MoK translation	랑이여! 지니는 것과 같으신 [마음]
English translation	Knight! [The heart] which is the same as what you have

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	郎	official title	랑 <i>lang</i>	랑 <i>LANG</i> ‘(official title) knight’	DAL
2	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅂㅅ <i>=ya</i> (vocative particle)	PAP
3	持	‘to hold’	지 <i>ci</i>	디니- <i>TI.NI-</i> > 지니- <i>CI.NI-</i> ‘to hold, carry’ (stem)	SAL
4	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 持 디니- <i>TI.NI-</i>)	PAP
5	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
6	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	골- <i>KOTH-</i> > 같- <i>KATH-</i> ‘to be same’ (stem)	SAL
7	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
8	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP

Line 8

Original Text	心未際叱盼逐內良齊
Transcription	ㅁ 숨미곶홀쫓늑아저 MO.ZOM={m}uy KOS-hol CWOCH-no-a=cye
MoK translation	마음의 가를 쫓겠다.
English translation	[I] wish to chase the edge of the heart.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	ㅁ ㅅㅊ <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’	SAL
2	未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 { <i>m</i> }uy ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 心 ㅁ ㅅㅊ <i>MO.ZOM</i>) + -의 <i>-uy</i> (animate genitive particle)	PAP
3	際	‘edge’	제 <i>cye</i>	갓 <i>KOS</i> > 가 <i>KA</i> ‘edge’	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>s</i> in 際 갓 <i>kos</i>)	PAP
5	𪛗	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	ㅁ 홀 <i>-hol</i> > ㅁ 을/ㅁ 를 <i>-(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
6	逐	‘to chase’	축 <i>chwuk</i>	쫓- <i>CWOCH-</i> > 쫓 <i>CCWOCH-</i> ‘to chase’ (stem)	SAL
7	內	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)	PAP
8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
9	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	ㅁ 저 <i>-cye</i> (optative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 9

Original Text	阿耶 栢史叱枝次高支好
Transcription	아야 자싯가지높기둥 a.ya CA.SI=s KA.CI NWOPH-ki TYOH-
MoK translation	아야, 잣나무의 가지가 높고 좋고
English translation	Ah, the pine branches being high and good

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아야 <i>a.ya</i> (exclamatory expression)	PAP
2	耶	interrogative final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP
3	栢	‘pine’	백 <i>payk</i>	*자시 * <i>CA.SI</i> > 갓 <i>CAS</i> ‘pine’		SAL
4	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	시 <i>si</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>si</i> in 栢 *자시 * <i>CA.SI</i>)		PAP
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅁㅅ <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP
6	枝	‘branch’	지 <i>ci</i>	가지 <i>KA.CI</i> ‘branch’		SAL
7	次	‘order; to be secondary’	차 <i>cha</i>	지 <i>ci</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ci</i> in 枝 가지 <i>KA.CI</i>)		PAP
8	高	‘to be high’	고 <i>kwo</i>	높- <i>NWOPH-</i> ‘to be high’ (stem)		SAL
9	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
10	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	똥- <i>TYOH-</i> > 좋- <i>CWOH-</i> ‘to be good’ (stem)		SAL

Line 10

Original Text	雪是毛冬乃乎尸花判也
Transcription	눈이모들놀을화판여 NWUN=i mwo.tol nol-wo-l-HWA-PHAN=ye
MoK translation	눈이 못 내릴 화랑이여!
English translation	The Flower Knight whom snow cannot fall on!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	雪	‘snow’	설 <i>sel</i>	눈 <i>NWUN</i> ‘snow’		SAL
2	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	=이 <i>=i</i> (nominative particle) ← 이 <i>i</i> ‘this’		SAP
3	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모들 <i>mwo.tol</i> > 모들 <i>mwo.tul</i> > 못 <i>mwot</i> > 못 <i>mwos</i> ‘cannot’	PAP
4	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i>		PAP
5	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	놀- <i>nol-</i> ‘to fly’ (stem) [~ 내리- <i>nay.li-</i> ‘to fall down’ (stem) < 느리- <i>no.li-</i> ← 놀- <i>nol-</i> + -이- <i>-i-</i> (suffix)]		PAP
6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
7	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄹ- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
8	花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	화관 <i>HWA-PHAN</i> ‘Flower Knight’(?)		DAL
9	判	‘to judge’	판 <i>phan</i>			DAL
10	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 <i>=ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

5 *Cheyong ka* 처용가 處容歌 “Song of Cheyong”

References: Yu 1994: 493-540; Koo 2010: 259-299; Pak 2012: 60-70.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第二紀異第二 “處容郎 望海寺”

Dating: Reign of King Hengang 憲康 (49th monarch of Silla, r. 875-886)

Line	Original Text ¹⁴	<i>Akhak kweypem</i>	<i>Akcang kasa</i>
1	東京明期月良	東京불근드래	東京（동경）불근드래
2	夜入伊遊行如可	새도록노니다가	새도록노니다가
3	入良沙寢矣見昆	드러내자리를보니	드러내자리를보니
4	腳烏伊四是良羅	가르리네히로새라	가르리네히로새라
5	二盼隱吾下於叱古	아으둘흔내해어니	아으둘흔내해어니
6	二盼隱誰支下焉古	와둘흔뉘해어니오	와둘흔뉘해어니오
7	本矣吾下是如馬於隱		
8	奪叱良乙何如為理古		

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
41	3	20	33	5	0	61

¹⁴In the original text in SKYS, there are no spaces indicating line breaks between any characters in this poem. This is the only *hyangka* poem transcribed in this way, and it is unknown whether there is any significance about this. Therefore, the division of this poem into the current eight-line form is completely based on interpretation, which itself is based on the *hankul* transcriptions of this poem in two works on music from the Joseon period: *Akhak kweypem* 樂學軌範 (“Standards and Norms of the Study of Music”) (1493) and *Akcang kasa* 樂章歌詞 (“Song Lyrics of Musical Pieces”) (early 16th century). It appears that the transcriptions only contain content corresponding to the first six lines of the original poem recorded in *Samkwuk yusa*.

Line 1

Original Text	東京明期月良
Transcription	동경불귀드랄아 TWONG-KYENG POLK-{k}uy-TO.LAL-a
MoK translation	동경 밝은 달에
English translation	Under the bright moon of the Eastern Capital

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	東	‘east’	동 <i>twong</i>	동 <i>TWONG</i> ‘east’	DAL
2	京	‘capital’	경 <i>kyeng</i>	경 <i>KYENG</i> ‘capital’	DAL
3	明	‘to be bright’	명 <i>myeng</i>	불- <i>POLK</i> - > 밝- <i>PALK</i> - ‘to be bright’ (stem)	SAL
4	期	‘period’	기 <i>ki</i>	귀- { <i>k</i> }uy- ← ㄱ <i>k</i> (final consonant in 明 불- <i>POLK</i> -) + -의- -uy- (adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	月	‘moon; month’	월 <i>wel</i>	*드랄 * <i>TO.LAL</i> > 둘 <i>TOL</i> > 달 <i>TAL</i> ‘moon’	SAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아 -a (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	夜入伊遊行如可
Transcription	밤들이놀니다가 PAM-TUL-i NWOL-NI=ta.ka
MoK translation	밤이 들어 놀러 다니다가
English translation	The night being late, after hanging out

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	야 <i>ya</i>	밤 <i>PAM</i> ‘night’	밤들- <i>PAM-TUL</i> - ‘(night) to become late’ (stem)	SAL
2	入	‘to enter’	입 <i>ip</i>	들- <i>TUL</i> - ‘to enter’ (stem)		SAL
3	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	-이 <i>-i</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
4	遊	‘to hang out’	유 <i>yu</i>	놀- <i>NWOL</i> - ‘to hang out’ (stem)		SAL
5	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	니- <i>NI</i> - (progressive complementary verb) (stem)		SAL
6	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	다 <i>ta</i> ← -답- <i>-TAP</i> - ‘to resemble’ (complementary	=다가 <i>=ta.ka</i> (transferentive particle)	SAP

				verb) (stem)		
7	可	‘to be all right, to be possible’	가 <i>ka</i>	가 <i>ka</i>		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	入良沙寢矣見昆
Transcription	들어샤자디보곤 TUL- <i>c</i> =za CA-toy PWO= <i>kwon</i>
MoK translation	들어서 자는 데를 보니
English translation	Entering [the room] and looking at the place to sleep

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	入	‘to enter’	입 <i>ip</i>	들- <i>TUL</i> - ‘to enter’ (stem)	SAL
2	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
3	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	=샤 <i>=za</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
4	寢	‘to sleep’	침 <i>chim</i>	자- <i>CA</i> - ‘to sleep’ (stem)	SAL
5	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	디 <i>toy</i> > 테 <i>tey</i> ‘place’	PAP ¹⁵
6	見	‘to look’	견 <i>kyen</i>	보- <i>PWO</i> - ‘to look’ (stem)	SAL
7	昆	‘sibling’	곤 <i>kwon</i>	=곤 <i>=kwon</i> (apperceptive particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	腳烏伊四是良羅
Transcription	허퇴녕이어라 HE.THWOY NEYH <i>i-c</i> =la
MoK translation	다리가 넷이라!
English translation	There are four feet!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	腳	‘foot’	각 <i>kak</i>	허퇴 <i>HE.THWOY</i> > 허퇴 <i>HE.THWI</i> ‘foot’	SAL
2	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	오 <i>wo</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>wo</i> in 腳 허퇴 <i>HE.THWOY</i>)	PAP
3	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 腳 허퇴 <i>HE.THWOY</i>)	PAP
4	四	‘four’	사 <i>sa</i>	녕 <i>NEYH</i> > 네 <i>NEY</i> ‘four’	SAL
5	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem) ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAP
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
7	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	=라 <i>=la</i>	PAP

¹⁵The character 矣 is used in *itwu* for the word 디 *toy* ‘place’, but the phonetic origin of this function is uncertain.

				(exclamatory sentence ending)	

Line 5

Original Text	二矜隱吾下於叱古
Transcription	두울은내해엇고 TWU.WUL=on NAY hay-e-s=kwo
MoK translation	둘은 내 것이고
English translation	Two are my possessions, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	二	‘two’	이 <i>i</i>	두울 TWU.WUL > 둘 TWUL ‘two’	SAL
2	矜	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-l</i> in 二 두울 TWU.WUL)	PAP
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP
4	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	내 NAY ‘my’	SAL
5	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	해 hay ‘possession’	PAP
6	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ <i>-s</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
8	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 <i>=kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	二矜隱誰支下焉古
Transcription	두울은누기해언고 TWU.WUL=on NWU.KI hay=en.kwo
MoK translation	둘은 누구의 것인가?
English translation	Whose possessions are [the other] two?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	二	‘two’	이 <i>i</i>	두울 TWU.WUL > 둘 TWUL ‘two’	SAL
2	矜	‘to vibrant’	홀 <i>hul</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-l</i> in 二 두울 TWU.WUL)	PAP
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP
4	誰	‘who’	수 <i>swu</i>	누기 NWU.KI > 누구 NWU.KWU ‘who’	SAL
5	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	기 <i>ki</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ki</i> in 誰 누기 NWU.KI)	PAP

6	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	해 <i>hay</i> ‘possession’	PAP
7	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	언 <i>en</i>	PAP
8	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 = <i>kwo</i> (interrogative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	本矣吾下是如馬於隱
Transcription	본디내해이다말언 PWON-toy NAY hay i-ta.mal.en
MoK translation	본래 내 것이다마는
English translation	Although originally [they] are mine

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	本	‘origin’	본 <i>pwon</i>	본 <i>PWON</i> ‘origin’	본디 <i>PWON-toy</i> > 본디 <i>PWON-ti</i> ‘originally’	DAL
2	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	디 <i>toy</i> > 데 <i>tey</i> ‘place’		PAP
3	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	내 <i>NAY</i> ‘my’		SAL
4	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	해 <i>hay</i> ‘possession’		PAP
5	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem) ← 이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAP
6	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 = <i>ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- = <i>TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	=다말언 = <i>ta.mal.en</i> > =다마른 = <i>ta.ma.lon</i> > =다마는 = <i>ta.ma.nun</i> (adversative particle)	SAP
7	馬	‘horse’	마 <i>ma</i>	말 <i>mal</i> ← 말 <i>MAL</i> ‘horse’		SAP ¹⁶
8	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	어 <i>e</i>		PAP
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i>		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	奪叱良乙何如為理古

¹⁶Since the pronunciation of the native Korean word 말 *mal* ‘horse’ is similar to the SK reading of the character 馬, it can actually be conceived as either an SAP or a PAP. The word 말 *mal* ‘horse’ itself is believed to have been borrowed from Old Chinese, which would make the character more qualified as a PAP here because what is borrowed is essentially its Chinese pronunciation (in the form of an SK reading). On the other hand, most average Korean speakers may not be aware of this etymology, and in this situation, this character would be more qualified as an SAP because what is borrowed is its semantic value (in the form of a native Korean reading).

Transcription	앗아를엇디흐리고 AS-a=lol ES.TI HO-li=kwo
MoK translation	빼앗은 것을 어찌 할까?
English translation	What shall [I] do to the deprived possessions?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	奪	‘to deprive’	탈 <i>thal</i>	앗- <i>AS-</i> ‘to deprive’ (stem)	SAL
2	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>s</i> in 奪 앓- <i>AS-</i>)	PAP
3	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
4	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 =(<i>l</i>)ol > =을/=를 =(<i>l</i>)ul (accusative particle)	PAP
5	何	‘how, how about’	하 <i>ha</i>	엇디 <i>ES.TI</i> > 어찌 <i>E.CCI</i> ‘what, how’	SAL
6	如		여 <i>ye</i>		SAL
7	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	흐- <i>HO-</i> > 하- <i>HA-</i> ‘to do’ (stem)	SAL
8	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	-리- <i>-li-</i> (prospective suffix)	PAP
9	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 = <i>kwo</i> (interrogative sentence ending)	PAP

6 *Setwong yo* 서동요 薯童謠 “Ballad of the Potato Child”

References: Yu 1994: 541-573; Koo 2010: 301-326; Pak 2012: 71-85.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第二紀異第二 “武王”

Dating: Reign of King Cinphyeng 眞平 (26th monarch of Silla, r. 579-632)

Original Text

- 1 善化公主主隱
- 2 他密只嫁良置古
- 3 薯童房乙¹⁷
- 4 夜矣卯乙抱遣去如

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
23	6	9	9	1	0	25

¹⁷In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 乙 and 夜, and in this way, this poem appears to have three lines. Scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines and thus produce a four-line poem. The analysis here follows the four-line form.

Line 1

Original Text	善化公主主隱
Transcription	선화공주님은 SEN-HWA KWONG-CWU-NIM-on
MoK translation	선화공주님은
English translation	Princess Senhwa

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	善	‘to be nice’	선 <i>sen</i>	선화 SEN-HWA (proper noun)	DAL
2	化	‘to change’	화 <i>hwa</i>		DAL
3	公	‘princess’	공 <i>kwong</i>	공주 KWONG-CWU ‘princess’	DAL
4	主		주 <i>cwu</i>		DAL
5	主	‘master’	주 <i>cwu</i>	-님 -NIM (honorific suffix)	SAL
6	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	은/는 =(n)on > 은/는 =(n)un (topic particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	他密只嫁良置古
Transcription	놈 그속기얼어두고 NOM KU.ZU-ki EL-e-TWU=kwo
MoK translation	남과 그속이 결혼해 두고
English translation	[Princess Senhwa] secretly married another person, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	他	third person pronoun	타 <i>tha</i>	놈 NOM > 남 NAM ‘others’	SAL
2	密	‘to be secret’	밀 <i>mil</i>	그속 KU.ZUK	그속기 KU.ZUK-ki > 그속이 KU.UK-I ‘secretly’
3	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 -ki (adverbial suffix)	
4	嫁	‘to marry (off)’	가 <i>ka</i>	얼- EL- ‘to marry’ (stem)	SAL
5	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- -e- (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
6	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	두- TWU- (continuative complementary verb) (stem) ← 두- TWU- ‘to place’ (stem)	SAL
7	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 =kwo (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	薯童房乙 ¹⁸

¹⁸Yu (1994: 568-570) argues that there should be missing characters at the end of this line because, based on his interpretation,

Transcription	서동집을 SE-TWONG CIP=ol
MoK translation	서동 집으로
English translation	To the potato child's home

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	薯	'potato'	서 <i>se</i>	서 <i>SE</i> 'potato'	DAL
2	童	'child'	동 <i>twong</i>	동 <i>TWONG</i> 'child'	DAL
3	房	'room'	방 <i>pang</i>	집 <i>CIP</i> 'home'	SAL
4	乙	second item in the ten "Heavenly Stems"	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 <i>-(l)ol</i> > =(으)로 <i>-(u.)lwo</i> (allative particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	夜矣卯乙抱遣去如
Transcription	밤의몰안고가다 PAM=uy mwol AN=kwo KA=ta
MoK translation	밤에 몰래 안고 간다.
English translation	At night, [the potato child] secretly held [Princess Senhwa] in his arms and went [to his home].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	야 <i>ya</i>	밤 <i>PAM</i> ‘night’		SAL
2	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)		PAP
3	卯 ¹⁹	second item in the twelve “Earthly Branches”	묘 <i>myo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	몰 <i>mwol</i> > 몰래 <i>mwol.lay</i> ‘secretly’	PAP
4	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	르 <i>l</i>		PAP
5	抱	‘to hold in arms’	포 <i>pwo</i>	안- <i>AN-</i> ‘to hold in arms’ (stem)		SAL
6	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 <i>=kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP
7	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAL
8	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 <i>=ta</i> (declarative sentence)		SAP

every line in all the four-line poems in *hyangga* can be divided into three prosodical units, while this line has only two (薯童/房乙). He assumes the missing part to be 尋惡只 or 尋惡支, in which 尋 is an SAL for the word 찾- *CHOC-* (> 찾- *CHAC-*) 'to look for' (stem), 惡 is a PAP for the infinitive suffix -아- *-a-*, and 只 or 支 is a PAP for the emphatic suffix -ㄱ *-k*. This character sequence represents the phrase 찾악 *choc-a-k* 'looking for'.

¹⁹This character appears fragmentary in the original text, so there are different opinions on the actual character and the underlying word. In addition to 卯, alternative opinions include 卵 or 𪚩. The former is an SAL for the word 알 *AL* 'egg', and the latter is an SAL for the word 뒹굴- *TWING.KWUL-* 'to roll the body' (stem).

				ending) ← -답- - <i>TAP</i> - ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	

7 *Two chenswu taypi ka* 도천수대비가 禱千手大悲歌
 “Song of Praying to the Thousand-Handed Great Compassion”

References: Yu 1994: 574-623; Koo 2010: 327-373; Pak 2012: 86-99.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第三塔像第四 “芬皇寺 千手大悲 盲儿得眼”

Dating: Reign of King Kyeongtek 景德 (35th monarch Silla, r. 742-765)

Original Text

- 1 膝盼古召旆
- 2 二尸掌音毛乎支内良
- 3 千手觀音叱前良中
- 4 祈以支白屋尸置内乎多
- 5 千隱手²⁰ 叱千隱目盼
- 6 一等下叱放一等盼除惡支
- 7 二于萬隱吾羅
- 8 一等沙隱賜以古只内乎叱等邪
- 9 阿邪也²¹ 吾良遺知支賜尸等焉
- 10 放冬矣用屋尸慈悲也根古

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
53	6	26	60	1	0	93

²⁰In the original text, there is a space between the characters 手 and 叱, but scholars all agree that this is not a line division because the meaning here is coherent and the poem has ten lines in this way. There are also scholars who assume that there is a missing character here.

²¹In the original text, the character sequence 阿邪也 is written directly following the previous line and separately from the following line, but scholars generally group it together with the following line because of its function. The analysis here follows the rearranged form.

Line 1

Original Text	膝膞古召旆
Transcription	무릎홀고조며 MWU.LWUPH-hol kwo.cwo=mye
MoK translation	무릎을 기울이며
English translation	Bending the knees, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	膝	‘knee’	슬 <i>sul</i>	무릎 MWU.LWUPH > 무릎 MWU.LUPH	‘knee’	SAL
2	膞	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	=홀 -hol > =을/=를 -(l)ul (accusative particle)		PAP
3	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>kwo</i>	고조- <i>kwo.cwo-</i> > 고초- <i>kwo.chwo-</i> ‘to	PAP
4	召	‘to summon’	소 <i>swo</i>	조 <i>cwo</i>	bend’ (stem)	PAP
5	旆	‘to be full’	미 <i>mi</i>	=며 -mye (conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	二尸掌音毛乎支内良
Transcription	두울손바담모호기눅아 TWU.WUL SWON-PA.TAM mwo.hwo-ki-no-a-
MoK translation	두 손바닥을 모아
English translation	Gathering two palms, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	二	‘two’	이 <i>i</i>	두울 <i>TWU.WUL</i> > 둘 <i>TWUL</i> ‘two’		SAL
2	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>l</i> in 二 두울 <i>TWU.WUL</i>)		PAP
3	掌	‘palm’	장 <i>cang</i>	손바담 <i>SWON-PA.TAM</i> > 손바닥 <i>SWON-PA.TAK</i> ‘palm (of hand)’		SAL
4	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 掌 손바담 <i>SWON-PA.TAM</i>)		PAP
5	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모호- <i>mwo.hwo-</i> > 모으- <i>mwo.u-</i> ‘to gather’ (stem)	PAP
6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	호 <i>hwo</i>		PAP
7	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
8	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-ㄴ - <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)		PAP
9	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	千手觀音叱前良中
Transcription	천수관음스앞아긔 CHEN-SWU-KWAN-UM=s ALPH=a=KUY
MoK translation	천수관음의 앞에
English translation	In front of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	千	‘thousand’	천 <i>chen</i>	천 <i>CHEN</i> ‘thousand’		DAL
2	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	수 <i>SWU</i> ‘hand’		DAL
3	觀	‘Avalokiteśvara’	관 <i>kwan</i>	관음 <i>KWAN-UM</i> ‘Avalokiteśvara’		DAL
4	音		음 <i>um</i>			DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ =s (honorific genitive suffix)		PAP
6	前	‘front’	전 <i>cen</i>	앞 <i>ALPH</i> > 앞 <i>APH</i> ‘front’		SAL
7	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 =a (locative particle)	=아긔 =a= <i>KUY</i> (locative particle)	PAP
8	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	=긔 = <i>KUY</i> (locative particle)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	祈以支白屋尸置内乎多
Transcription	빌기숄을두노오다 PIL-ki SOLP-wo-l-TWU-no-wo-ta
MoK translation	비는 것을 사뢰어 돕니다.
English translation	[I] pray and humbly say [the words].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	祈	‘to pray’	기 <i>ki</i>	빌- <i>PIL-</i>	‘to pray’ (stem)	SAL
2	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i>	(phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 祈 빌- <i>PIL-</i>)	PAP
3	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 -ki	(adverbial suffix)	PAP
4	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숄-/숄- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i>	> 사뢰- <i>SALWOY-</i>	‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem) SAL
5	屋	‘house’	옥 <i>wok</i>	-오 -wo-	(assertive suffix)	PAP
6	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 -l-	(prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
7	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	두- <i>TWU-</i>	(continuative complementary verb) (stem) < 두- <i>TWU-</i>	‘to place’ (stem) SAL
8	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-노 -no-	(present suffix)	PAP
9	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오 -wo-	(assertive suffix)	PAP
10	多	‘to be’	다 <i>ta</i>	=다 =ta	(declarative sentence ending)	PAP

		abundant'			

Line 5

Original Text	千隱手 叱千隱目盼
Transcription	즈문손 ㅅ즈문눈홀 CU.MUN SWON=s CU.MUN NWUN=hol
MoK translation	천 손의 천 눈을
English translation	The thousand eyes of the thousand hands,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	千	‘thousand’	천 <i>chen</i>	즈문 <i>CU.MUN</i> ‘thousand’	SAL
2	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 千 즈문 <i>CU.MUN</i>)	PAP
3	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	손 <i>SWON</i> ‘hand’	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
5	千	‘thousand’	천 <i>chen</i>	즈문 <i>CU.MUN</i> ‘thousand’	SAL
6	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 千 즈문 <i>CU.MUN</i>)	PAP
7	目	‘eye’	목 <i>mwok</i>	눈 <i>NWUN</i> ‘eye’	SAL
8	盼	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	=홀 <i>=hol</i> > =을/=를 <i>=(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	一等下叱放一等盼除惡支
Transcription	헉든 홀놓헉든 홀덜악 HO.TON=hol NWOH- HO.TON=hol TEL-a-k
MoK translation	하나를 놓아 하나를 덜어
English translation	[You] release one [eye] and remove one [eye], and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	헉 ㄷㄴ <i>HO.TON</i> ‘one’		SAL
2	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㄷㄴ <i>ton</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ton</i> in 一 헉 ㄷㄴ <i>HO.TON</i>)		PAP
3	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	헉 <i>ho</i>	=홀 <i>=hol</i> > =을/=를 <i>=(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i>		PAP
5	放	‘to release’	방 <i>pang</i>	놓- <i>NWOH-</i> ‘to release’ (stem)		SAL

6	一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	헛 든 <i>HO.TON</i> ‘one’	SAL
7	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	든 <i>ton</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ton</i> in 一 헛 든 <i>HO.TON</i>)	PAP
8	盼	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	ㅁ홀 <i>-hol</i> > ㅁ을/ㅁ를 <i>-(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
9	除	‘to remove’	제 <i>cey</i>	덜- <i>TEL-</i> ‘to remove’ (stem)	SAL
10	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	-악 <i>-a-k</i> (emphatic infinitive suffix) ← -아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix) + -ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
11	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-k</i> in 惡 -악 <i>-a-k</i>)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	二于萬隱吾羅
Transcription	두올가만나라 TWU.WUL ka.ma-n-NA=la
MoK translation	둘이 가만 나라!
English translation	I, whose two [eyes] are black (i.e., blind)!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	二	‘two’	이 <i>i</i>	두올 <i>TWU.WUL</i> > 둘 <i>TWUL</i> ‘two’		SAL
2	于	‘to go’	우 <i>wu</i>	가 <i>ka</i> ← 가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	가만 <i>ka.man</i> ← 가만- <i>ka.ma-n-</i> ‘black’ ← 가망- <i>ka.mah-</i> ‘to be black’ (stem)	SAP
3	萬	‘ten thousand’	만 <i>man</i>	만 <i>man</i>	+ -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 萬 만 <i>man</i>)		PAP
5	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’		SAL
6	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	ㅁ라 <i>-la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	一等沙隱賜以古只内乎叱等邪
Transcription	헛 든샤는 주시고티느 옷드라 HO.TON=za=non CWU-SI-kwo.thi-no-wo=sto.LA
MoK translation	하나는 주시어 고치소서!
English translation	Give one [eye] [to me] and repair [the other eye]!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	헛 든 <i>HO.TON</i> ‘one’		SAL
2	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	든 <i>ton</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ton</i> in 一 헛 든 <i>HO.TON</i>)		PAP
3	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	=ㅅㅏ <i>=za</i> (emphatic particle)		PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=ㄴ <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=ㄴ <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)		PAP
5	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	주시- <i>CWU-SI-</i> ‘to give’ (honorific) (stem)		SAL
6	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 賜 주시- <i>CWU-SI-</i>)		PAP
7	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>kwo</i>	고티- <i>kwo.thi-</i> > 고치 <i>kwo.chi-</i> ‘to repair’ (stem)	PAP
8	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	티 <i>thi</i>		PAP
9	內	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-ㄴ - <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)		PAP
10	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오 - <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
11	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	=ㅅ ㄷ ㄹㅏ <i>=sto.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
12	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㄷ <i>to</i>		PAP
13	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	=ㄹㅏ <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 9

Original Text	阿邪也 吾良遺知支賜尸等焉
Transcription	아야야 나야기티기주실돈은 a.ya.ya NA=a KI.THI-ki CWU-SI-l=ton=on
MoK translation	아야야, 나에게 끼쳐 주실 것이면
English translation	Ah, if [you] grant and give me [the eye]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아야야 <i>a.ya.ya</i> (exclamatory expression)	PAP
2	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP
3	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP

4	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
5	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 <i>-a</i> (dative particle)	PAP
6	遺	‘to grant’	위 <i>wi</i>	기타- <i>KL.THI-</i> > 끼치- <i>KKI.CHI-</i> ‘to grant’ (stem)	SAL
7	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	디 <i>ti</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>thi</i> in 遺 기타- <i>KL.THI-</i>)	PAP
8	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
9	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	주시- <i>CWU-SI-</i> ‘to give’ (honorific) (stem)	SAL
10	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
11	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	=든 <i>-ton</i> (conditional particle)	PAP
12	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	=은/=는 <i>-(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>-(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	放冬矣用屋尸慈悲也根古
Transcription	놓디쁘올자비여큰고 NWOH=toy PSU-wo-l-CA-PI=ye khu-n=kwo
MoK translation	놓되 쓸 자비는 크다!
English translation	Releasing [the eye], the mercy [you are going to] use is big!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	放	‘to release’	방 <i>pang</i>	놓- <i>NWOH-</i>	‘to release’ (stem)	SAL
2	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	드 <i>to</i>	=디 <i>-toy</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP
3	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	이 <i>oy</i>		PAP
4	用	‘to use’	용 <i>yong</i>	쁘- <i>PSU-</i> > 쓰- <i>SSU-</i>	‘to use’ (stem)	SAL
5	屋	‘house’	옥 <i>wok</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i>	(assertive suffix)	PAP
6	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- <i>-l-</i>	(prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
7	慈	‘mercy’	자 <i>ca</i>	자비 <i>CA-PI</i> ‘mercy’		DAL
8	悲		비 <i>pi</i>			DAL
9	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 <i>-ye</i>	(exclamatory particle)	PAP
10	根	‘root’	근 <i>kun</i>	큰- <i>khu-n-</i> ‘big’ ← 크- <i>khu-</i> ‘to be big’ (stem) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)		PAP
11	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 <i>-kwo</i>	(exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

8 *Phung yo* 풍요 風謠 “Folk Ballad”

References: Yu 1994: 624-640; Koo 2010: 375-397; Pak 2012: 100-107.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第四義解第五 “良志使錫”

Dating: Reign of Queen Sentek 善德 (27th monarch of Silla, r. 632-647)

Original Text

- 1 來如來如來如
- 2 來如哀反多羅
- 3 哀反多矣徒良
- 4 功德修叱如良來如

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
13	2	11	7	6	0	26

Line 1

Original Text	來如來如來如
Transcription	오다오다오다 WO=ta WO=ta WO=ta
MoK translation	온다. 온다. 온다.
English translation	[We] come. [We] come. [We] come.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1/3/5	來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	오 - WO- ‘to come’ (stem)	SAL
2/4/6	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 -ta (declarative sentence ending) ← -답 -TAP- ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAP

Line 2

Original Text	來如哀反多羅
Transcription	오다숯븀만헝라 WO=ta SULH-pu-m MAN.HO=la
MoK translation	온다. 슬픔이 많아라!
English translation	[We] come. [Our] sorrows are plentiful!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	오 - WO- ‘to come’ (stem)		SAL
2	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 -ta (declarative sentence ending) ← -답 -TAP- ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)		SAP
3	哀	‘to be sorrowful’	애 <i>ay</i>	숯- SULH- (> 슬프- SUL.PHU-) ‘to be sorrowful’ (stem)	숯븀 SULH-pu-m (> 슬픔 <i>sul.phu-m</i>) ‘sorrow’ ← 숯- SULH-	SAL
4	反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	븀 <i>pum</i>	+ -브 -pu- (adjectival suffix) + -ㅁ -m (nominalizing suffix)	PAP
5	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	만헝 - MAN.HO- > 많- MANH- ‘to be plentiful’ (stem)		SAL
6	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	=라 -la (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	哀反多矣徒良
Transcription	숯븀만헝의내라 SULH-pu-m MAN.HO- uy-NAY=la
MoK translation	슬픔이 많은 우리들이라!
English translation	We [who have] plenty of sorrows!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	哀	‘to be sorrowful’	애 <i>ay</i>	슬- <i>SULH-</i> (> 슬프- <i>SUL.PHU-</i>) ‘to be sorrowful’ (stem)	슬픔 <i>SULH-pu-m</i> (> 슬픔 <i>sul.phu-m</i>) ‘sorrow’ ← 슬- <i>SULH-</i> + -브- <i>-pu-</i> (adjectival suffix) + -ㅁ <i>-m</i> (nominalizing suffix)	SAL
2	反	‘to go against’	반 <i>pan</i>	븜 <i>pum</i>		PAP
3	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	만ㅎ- <i>MAN.HO-</i> > 많- <i>MANH-</i> ‘to be plentiful’ (stem)		SAL
4	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	의 <i>uy</i>	의내 <i>uy-NAY</i> ‘we’	PAP
5	徒	‘disciple’	도 <i>two</i>	-내 <i>-NAY</i> (plural suffix)		SAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=라 <i>=la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	功德修叱如良來如
Transcription	공덕담 ㄱ라오다 KWONG-TEK TASK-{k}o=la WO=ta
MoK translation	공덕을 닦으러 온다.
English translation	[We] come to cultivate the merits.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	功	‘merit’	공 <i>kwong</i>	공덕 <i>KWONG-TEK</i> ‘merit’	DAL
2	德		덕 <i>tek</i>		DAL
3	修	‘to cultivate’	수 <i>swu</i>	닷-/닦- <i>TAS(K)-</i> > 닻- <i>TAKK-</i> ‘to cultivate’ (stem)	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the consonant <i>s</i> in 修 닻- <i>TASK-</i>)	PAP
5	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	ㄱ { <i>k</i> }o (← ㄱ <i>k</i> [final consonant in 修 닻- <i>TASK-</i>] + ㅅ <i>o</i> [connecting sound]) ← 곶- <i>KOTH-</i> (> 갑- <i>KATH-</i>) ‘to resemble’ (stem)	SAP
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=라 <i>-la</i> (purposive particle)	PAP
7	來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	오- <i>WO-</i> ‘to come’ (stem)	SAL

8	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	ㄴ다 <i>-ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAP

9 *Wen wangsayng ka* 원왕생가 願往生歌 “Song of Wishing for Rebirth”

References: Yu 1994: 641-679; Koo 2010: 399-442; Pak 2012: 108-124.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第五感通第七 “廣德 嚴莊”

Dating: Reign of King Mwonmwu 文武 (30th monarch of Silla, r. 661-681)

Original Text

- 1 月下伊底亦
- 2 西方念丁去賜里遣
- 3 無量壽佛前乃
- 4 惱叱古音 ²²多可支白遣賜立
- 5 誓音深史隱尊衣希仰支
- 6 兩手集刀花乎白良 ²³
- 7 願往生願往生
- 8 慕人有如白遣賜立
- 9 阿邪 ²⁴ 此身遣也置遣
- 10 四十八願成遣賜去

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
62	19	20	34	6	0	79

²²In the original text, there is an annotation 鄉言云報言也 (“The local speech meaning 報 ‘to repent’”) after the character sequence 惱叱古音.

²³In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 良 and 願, and in this way, this poem appears to have nine lines. Scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines and thus produce a ten-line poem. The analysis here follows the ten-line form.

²⁴In the original text, the character sequence 阿邪 is written directly following the previous line and separately from the following line, but scholars generally group it together with the following line because of its function. The analysis here follows the rearranged form.

Line 1

Original Text	月下伊底亦
Transcription	ㄷ랄하이제 TO.LAL=ha i.cej
MoK translation	달이시여! 이제
English translation	O moon! Now

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	月	‘moon; month’	월 <i>wel</i>	*ㄷ랄 * <i>TO.LAL</i> > ㄷ ㄹ <i>TOL</i> > 달 <i>TAL</i> ‘moon’		SAL
2	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	=하 <i>-ha</i> (honorific vocative particle)		PAP
3	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i>	이제 <i>i.cej</i> ‘now’	PAP
4	底	‘bottom’	저 <i>ce</i>	제 <i>cej</i>		PAP
5	亦	‘again’	역 <i>yek</i>	여 <i>ye</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>ey</i> in 底 제 <i>cej</i>)		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	西方念丁去賜里遣
Transcription	서방 ㄱ장가시리고 SE-PANG=ko.cang KA-si-li-kwo
MoK translation	서방까지 가시고
English translation	Go to the west (i.e., the Western Pure Land), and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	西	‘west’	서 <i>se</i>	서 <i>SE</i> ‘west’		DAL
2	方	‘direction’	방 <i>pang</i>	방 <i>PANG</i> ‘direction’		DAL
3	念	‘to think about; mind’	념 <i>nyem</i>	= ㄱ장 -ko.cang (> =까지 -kka.ci) (allative particle) ← 걱정 <i>KEK.CYENG</i> (> 걱정 <i>KEK.CENG</i>) ‘worry’		SAP
4	丁	fourth item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	정 <i>ceng</i>	저 <i>cye</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>cye</i> in 念 걱정 <i>KEK.CYENG</i> → ㄱ장 <i>ko.cang</i>)		PAP
5	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAL
6	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
7	里	‘alley’	리 <i>li</i>	-리- <i>-li-</i> (prospective suffix)		PAP
8	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 -kwo (conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	無量壽佛前乃
Transcription	무량수불전나 MWU-LYANG-SWU-PWUL CEN={n}a
MoK translation	무량수불 앞에
English translation	In front of Amitā Buddha

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	無	‘Amitābha’	무 <i>mwu</i>	무량수불 MWU-LYANG-SWU-PWUL ‘Amitā Buddha’	DAL
2	量		량 <i>lyang</i>		DAL
3	壽		수 <i>swu</i>		DAL
4	佛		불 <i>pwul</i>		DAL
5	前	‘front’	전 <i>cen</i>	전 CEN ‘front’	DAL
6	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	나 {n}a ← ㄴ n (final consonant in 前 전 CEN) + =아 =a (locative particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	惱叱古音多可支白遣賜立
Transcription	뇌웃곰다가기싫고시서 NWI.WUS=kwom=ta.ka-ki-SOLP-kwo-si-sye
MoK translation	뇌우치다가 사뢰 주시소서.
English translation	[I] repent, and please tell [it to Amitā Buddha].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	惱	‘to be annoyed’	뇌 <i>nwoy</i>	뇌웃- <i>NWI.WUS-</i> > 뇌우치- <i>NWI.WU.CHI-</i> ‘to repent’ (stem)		SAL
2	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 惱 뇌웃- <i>NWI.WUS-</i>)		PAP
3	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>kwo</i>	=곰 <i>=kwom</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
4	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>		PAP
5	多	‘to be numerous’	다 <i>ta</i>	다 <i>ta</i>	=다가 <i>=ta.ka</i> (transferentive particle)	PAP
6	可	‘to be all right, to be possible’	가 <i>ka</i>	가 <i>ka</i>		PAP
7	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ti</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
8	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	싫-/싫- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem)		SAL
9	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	-고- <i>-kwo-</i> (optative suffix)		PAP
10	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
11	立	‘to stand’	립 <i>lip</i>	=셔 <i>=sye</i> (imperative sentence ending) ← 셔- <i>SE-</i> ‘to stand’ (verb)		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	誓音深史隱尊衣希仰支
Transcription	다딤깊신존의회울월기 TA.TIM KIPH-si-n-CWON=uy=huy WUL.WEL-ki
MoK translation	다짐이 깊으신 존에 우러러
English translation	Looking up at Amitā Buddha whose pledges are deep

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	誓	‘to pledge’	서 <i>se</i>	다딤 TA.TIM > 다짐 TA.CIM	‘pledge’	SAL
2	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 誓 다딤 TA.TIM)		PAP
3	深	‘to be deep’	심 <i>sim</i>	깊- KIPH-	‘to be deep’ (stem)	SAL
4	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- -si-	(honorific suffix)	PAP
5	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- -n-	(adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	尊	‘to respect’	존 <i>cwon</i>	존 CWON	(reference to Amitabha)	DAL
7	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	의 <i>-uy</i> (locative particle)	의 회 <i>-uy=huy</i> (locative particle)	PAP
8	希	‘to hope’	희 <i>huy</i>	희 <i>-huy</i> (locative particle)		PAP
9	仰	‘to look up’	앙 <i>ang</i>	울월- WUL.WEL- > 우러르- WU.LE.LU-	‘to look up’ (stem)	SAL
10	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 -ti	(adverbial suffix)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	兩手集刀花乎白良
Transcription	두울손모도고초췌아 TWU.WUL SWON MWO.TWO-kwo.chwo-SOLP-a-
MoK translation	두 손을 모아 구부려 사뢰
English translation	Gathering and bending two hands, [I] humbly say

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	兩	‘two’	량 <i>lyang</i>	두울 TWU.WUL > 둘 TWUL	‘two’	SAL
2	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	손 SWON	‘hand’	SAL
3	集	‘to gather’	집 <i>cip</i>	모도- MWO.TWO- > 모으- MWO.U-	‘to gather’ (stem)	SAL
4	刀	‘knife’	도 <i>two</i>	도 <i>two</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>two</i> in 集 모도- MWO.TWO-)		PAP
5	花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	꽃 <i>kwoc</i> ← 꽃 <i>KWOC</i> (> 꽃 <i>KKWOCH</i>) ‘flower’	고초- <i>kwo.chwo</i> - ‘to bend’ (stem) ← 꽃호 <i>kwoc.hwo</i>	SAP

6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	호 <i>hwo</i>		PAP
7	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숯-/숯- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem)		SAL
8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP

Line 7

Original Text	願往生願往生
Transcription	원왕생원왕생 WEN-WANG-SAYNG WEN-WANG-SAYNG
MoK translation	왕생을 바랍니다. 왕생을 바랍니다.
English translation	“[I] wish for rebirth. [I] wish for rebirth.”

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1/4	願	‘to wish’	원 <i>wen</i>	원 <i>WEN</i> ‘to wish’	DAL
2/5	往	‘rebirth’	왕 <i>wang</i>	왕생 <i>WANG-SAYNG</i> ‘rebirth’	DAL
3/6	生		생 <i>sayng</i>		DAL

Line 8

Original Text	慕人有如白遣賜立
Transcription	그리사롬잇다숯고시서 KU.LI- SA.LOM IS=ta SOLP-kwo-si=sye
MoK translation	그리는 사람이 있다고 사뢰 주시소서.
English translation	Please tell [Amitā Buddha] that there is a person longing for [him].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	慕	‘to long for’	모 <i>mwo</i>	그리- <i>KU.LI-</i> ‘to long for’ (stem)	SAL
2	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	사롬 <i>SA.LOM</i> > 사람 <i>SA.LAM</i> ‘person’	SAL
3	有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	잇- <i>IS-</i> > 있- <i>ISS-</i> ‘to have; to exist’ (stem)	SAL
4	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 = <i>ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAP
5	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숯-/숯- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem)	SAL
6	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	-고- <i>-kwo-</i> (optative suffix)	PAP
7	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
8	立	‘to stand’	립 <i>lip</i>	=서 = <i>sye</i> (imperative sentence ending) ← 서- <i>SE-</i> ‘to stand’ (verb)	SAP

Line 9

Original Text	阿邪 此身遺也置遣
Transcription	아야이몸기티어두고 a.ya I MWOM KI.THI-e-TWU=kwo
MoK translation	아야, 이 몸을 끼쳐 두고
English translation	Ah, [I] leave behind this body, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아야 <i>a.ya</i> (exclamatory expression)	PAP
2	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP
3	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAL
4	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	몸 <i>MWOM</i> ‘body’		SAL
5	遺	‘to leave behind’	유 <i>yu</i>	기티- <i>KI.THI-</i> > 끼치- <i>KKI.CHI-</i> ‘to leave behind’ (stem)		SAL
6	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
7	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	두- <i>TWU-</i> (continuative complementary verb) (stem) < 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)		SAL
8	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 <i>-kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 10

Original Text	四十八大願成遣賜去
Transcription	사십팔대원일우고시가 SA-SIP-PHAL-TAY-WEN IL.WU-kwo-si-ka
MoK translation	사십팔 대원을 이루실까?
English translation	Will [I] achieve the forty-eight great wishes?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	四	‘four’	사 <i>sa</i>	사 <i>SA</i> ‘four’		DAL
2	十	‘ten’	십 <i>sip</i>	십 <i>SIP</i> ‘ten’		DAL
3	八	‘eight’	팔 <i>phal</i>	팔 <i>PHAL</i> ‘eight’		DAL
4	大	‘to be big’	대 <i>tay</i>	대 <i>TAY</i> ‘to be big’		DAL
5	願	‘wish’	원 <i>wen</i>	원 <i>WEN</i> ‘wish’		DAL
6	成	‘to achieve’	성 <i>seng</i>	일우- <i>IL.WU-</i> > 이루- <i>IL.WU-</i> ‘to achieve’ (stem)		SAL
7	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	-고- <i>-kwo-</i> (optative suffix)		PAP
8	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
9	去 ²⁵	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	=가 <i>-ka</i> (interrogative sentence ending) ← 가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAP

²⁵Yu (1994: 678-679) regards the character 去 as an error of the character 立 in order to make the ending of this line 遣賜立 parallel with the ending of lines 4 and 8.

10 *Twoswol ka* 도솔가 兜率歌 “Song of Tuṣita”

References: Yu 1994: 680-706; Koo 2010: 443-468; Pak 2012: 125-134.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第五感通第七 “月明師 兜率歌”

Dating: Reign of King Kyengtek 景德 (35th monarch of Silla, r. 742-765)

Original Text

- 1 今日此矣散花唱良 ²⁶
- 2 巴寶白乎隱花良汝隱
- 3 直等隱心音矣命叱使以惡只
- 4 彌勒座主陪立羅良

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation²⁷

Chinese Translation	English Translation
龍樓此日散花歌	[At] the Dragon Tower, today, the song of scattering flowers,
挑送青雲一片花	[It] sends forth a piece of flower into the azure clouds.
殷重直心之所使	What the sincere and straightforward heart makes use of,
遠邀兜率大僊家	[From] far away, [it] invites the great immortals of Tuṣita Heaven.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
31	7	11	17	2	0	37

²⁶In the original text, there are no space between the characters 良 and 巴, and in this way, this poem appears to have three lines. Scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines and produce a four-line poem. The analysis here follows the new four-line form.

²⁷In the part of *Samkwuk yusa* in which this poem is recorded, the original poem is immediately followed by a poem written in Chinese introduced by the phrase 解曰. Therefore, the latter serves as the Chinese translation of the former.

Line 1

Original Text	今日此矣散花唱良
Transcription	오늘이의산화브르어 WO.NOL I-uy SAN-HWA PU.LU-e
MoK translation	오늘 여기에서 산화를 불러
English translation	[You] sang [the song of] scattering flowers here today, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘today’	금 <i>kum</i>	오늘 WO.NOL > 오늘 WO.NUL ‘today’	SAL
2	日		일 <i>il</i>		SAL
3	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 I ‘this’	SAL
4	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 -uy (locative particle)	PAP
5	散	‘to scatter’	산 <i>san</i>	산 SAN ‘to scatter’	DAL
6	花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	화 HWA ‘flower’	DAL
7	唱	‘to sing’	창 <i>chang</i>	브르- PU.LU- > 부르- PWU.LU- ‘to sing’ (stem)	SAL
8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- -e- (infinitive suffix) ← 아 a	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	巴寶白乎隱花良汝隱
Transcription	돌보습온꽃아너는 twoI.pwo-SOLW-wo-n-KWOC=a NE=non
MoK translation	돌보아 드리는 꽃아 너는
English translation	The flowers [that I] take care of, you [sang the song ...]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	巴	legendary giant snake	파 <i>pha</i>	돌 <i>twoI</i> ← 돌- TWOL- ‘to turn’ (stem) ← ‘snake’	돌보- <i>twoI.pwo-</i> ‘to take care of’ (stem)	SAP ²⁸
2	寶	‘treasure’	보 <i>pwo</i>	보 <i>pwo</i>		PAP
3	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	습-/습- SOLP-/SOLW- > 사뢰- SA.LWOY- (humble complementary verb) (stem)		SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- -wo- (assertive suffix)		PAP
5	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	꽃 KWOC > 꽃 KKWOCH ‘flower’		SAL

²⁸This phonographic function of the character 巴 is assumed based on the *itwu* reading of the character sequence 巴只 = 두룩 =to.lwok > =도록 =two.lwok (allative particle).

7	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 =a (vocative particle)	PAP
8	汝	‘you’	여 <i>ye</i>	너 <i>NE</i> ‘you’	SAL
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)on > =은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)un (topic particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	直等隱心音矣命叱使以惡只
Transcription	곧든 막숨의명스브리악 KWOT-{t}on-MO.ZOM=uy MYENG=s PU.LI-a-k
MoK translation	곧은 마음의 명이 부러
English translation	The command of [your] straightforward heart employed [you]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	直	‘to be straight’	직 <i>cik</i>	곧- <i>KWOT</i> - ‘to be straight’ (stem)	SAL
2	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	든- {t}on- ← ㄷ t (final consonant in 直 곧- <i>KWOT</i> -) + -ㄴ- -n- (adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ n (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -n in 等 든 <i>ton</i>)	PAP
4	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	막숨 <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’	SAL
5	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ m (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -m in 心 막숨 <i>MO.ZOM</i>)	PAP
6	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 =uy (animate genitive particle)	PAP
7	命	‘life; command’	명 <i>myeng</i>	명 <i>MYENG</i> ‘command’	DAL
8	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=스 =s (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
9	使	‘to employ’	사 <i>sa</i>	브리- <i>PU.LI</i> - > 부리- <i>PWU.LI</i> - ‘to employ’ (stem)	SAL
10	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	이 i (phonetic determinative of the vowel i in 使 브리- <i>PU.LI</i> -)	PAP
11	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	-악 -a-k (emphatic infinitive suffix) ← -아- -a- (infinitive suffix) + -ㄱ -k (emphatic suffix)	PAP
12	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ k (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -k in 惡 -악 -a-k)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	彌勒座主陪立羅良
Transcription	미룩좌주되시셔라 MI.LUK-CWA-CWU MWOY.SI=sye=la
MoK translation	미룩부처님을 모셔 서라!
English translation	Please attend to Maitreya Buddha!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	彌	‘Maitreya’	미 <i>mi</i>	미룩 <i>MI.LUK</i> ‘Maitreya’	DAL
2	勒		룩 <i>luk</i>		DAL
3	座	‘seat’	좌 <i>cwa</i>	-좌주 <i>-CWA-CWU</i> (honorific personal suffix)	DAL
4	主	‘master’	주 <i>cwu</i>		DAL
5	陪	‘to accompany’	배 <i>pay</i>	되시- <i>MWOY.SI-</i> > 모시- <i>MWO.SI-</i> ‘to attend to’ (stem)	SAL
6	立	‘to stand’	립 <i>lip</i>	=셔 <i>=sye</i> (imperative sentence ending) ← 셔- <i>SE-</i> ‘to stand’ (verb)	SAP
7	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	=라 <i>=la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	아 <i>a</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>a</i> in 羅 =라 <i>=la</i>)	PAP

11 *Cey mangmay ka* 제망매가 祭亡妹歌 “Song of Memorializing the Dead Younger Sister”

References: Yu 1994: 707-734; Koo 2010: 469-507; Pak 2012: 135-150.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第五感通第七 “月明師 兜率歌”

Dating: Reign of King Kyengtek 景德王 (35th monarch of Silla, r. 742-765)

Original Text

- 1 生死路隱
- 2 此矣有阿米次盼伊遣
- 3 吾隱去內如辭叱都
- 4 毛如云遣去內尼叱古
- 5 於內秋察早隱風未
- 6 此矣彼矣浮良落尸葉如 ²⁹
- 7 一等隱枝良出古
- 8 去奴隱處毛冬乎丁
- 9 阿也 ³⁰ 彌陀剎良逢乎吾 ³¹
- 10 道修良待是古如

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
54	6	26	43	4	0	79

²⁹In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 如 and 一, but scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines.

³⁰In the original text, the character sequence 阿也 is written separately from both the previous line and the following line, but scholars generally group it together with the following line because of its function.

³¹In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 吾 and 道, but scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines. Overall, the poem in the original text appears to have nine lines, if the character sequence 阿也 is counted as a separate line. The several rearrangements mentioned above produce a ten-line poem in three stanzas, and the analysis here follows this rearranged form.

Line 1

Original Text	生死路 32隱
Transcription	생사로온 SAYNG-SA-LWO=on
MoK translation	생사로는
English translation	The road of life and death

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	生	‘to live’	생 <i>sayng</i>	생 <i>SAYNG</i> ‘life’	DAL
2	死	‘to die’	사 <i>sa</i>	사 <i>SA</i> ‘death’	DAL
3	路	‘road’	로 <i>lwo</i>	로 <i>LWO</i> ‘road’	DAL
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)</i>	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	此矣有阿米次盼伊遣
Transcription	이의잇아며저홀이고 I=uy IS=a=mye ce.hul-i=kwo
MoK translation	여기에 있으며 두렵고
English translation	Fearful of being here, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAL
2	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)		PAP
3	有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	잇- <i>IS-</i> > 있- <i>ISS-</i> ‘to have; to exist’ (stem)		SAL
4	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
5	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	=며 <i>=mye</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP
6	次	‘to be second; order’	차 <i>cha</i>	저 <i>ce</i>	저홀- <i>ce.hul-</i> ‘to fear’ (stem)	PAP
7	盼	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	홀 <i>hul</i>		PAP
8	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	-이 <i>-i</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
9	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 <i>=kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	吾隱去內如辭叱都

³²There is an alternative interpretation regarding the first three characters as SALs and reading the character sequence 生死路 as 죽살길 *CWUK-SAL-KIL*. This is because there is an idiomatic expression 죽살이 *cwuk-sal-i* ‘death and life’ (← 죽- *cwuk-* ‘to die’ [stem] + 살- *sal-* ‘to live’ [stem] + -이 *-i* [nominalizing suffix]) in Modern Korean. It is notable, however, that the order of the morphemes in this expression (‘to die’ + ‘to live’) is opposite to the order of the corresponding characters in the poem (‘to live’ + ‘to die’).

Transcription	나는가 _{non} 다말 _{ta} 스도 NA=non KA=no=ta MAL-s=two
MoK translation	나는 간다는 말도
English translation	Even the words “I am going”

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
2	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)on > =은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)un (topic particle)	PAP
3	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
4	內	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	- _는 - <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)	PAP
5	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 = <i>ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAP
6	辭	‘word’	사 <i>sa</i>	말 <i>MAL</i> ‘word’	SAL
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	- _스 - <i>s</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
8	都	capital	도 <i>two</i>	=도 = <i>two</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	毛如云遣去內尼叱古
Transcription	몬니르고가 _{non} 닛고 mwot NI.LU=kwo KA=no=ni=s.kwo
MoK translation	못 이르고 가나?
English translation	Did [you] leave without being able to say [“I am going”]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	몬 <i>mwot</i> (> 못 <i>mwos</i>) ‘cannot’ ← 모다 <i>mwo.ta</i>	PAP
2	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	다 <i>ta</i> ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)		SAP
3	云	‘to say’	운 <i>wun</i>	니르- <i>NI.LU-</i> > 이르- <i>I.LU-</i> ‘to say’ (stem)		SAL
4	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 = <i>kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP
5	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAL
6	內	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	- _는 - <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)		PAP
7	尼	‘to be close’	니 <i>ni</i>	=니 = <i>ni</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP
8	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	_스 <i>s</i>	=스고 = <i>s.kwo</i>	PAP

9	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	꺄고 <i>=kwo</i> (interrogative sentence ending)	(interrogative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	於内秋察早隱風未
Transcription	어느 古 술이른브롬미 e.no KO.ZOL I.LU-n-PO.LOM={m}uy
MoK translation	어느 가을의 이른 바람에
English translation	In the early wind of a certain autumn

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	어 <i>e</i>	어느 <i>e.no</i> > 어느 <i>e.nu</i> ‘which, certain’	PAP
2	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	느 <i>no</i>		PAP
3	秋	‘autumn’	추 <i>chwu</i>	古 술/古肅 <i>KO.ZOL(H)</i> > 가을 <i>KA.UL</i> ‘autumn’		SAL
4	察	‘to observe’	찰 <i>chal</i>	을 <i>ol</i> (phonetic determinative of the sound <i>ol</i> in 秋 古 술 <i>KO.ZOL</i>)		PAP
5	早	‘to be early’	조 <i>cwo</i>	이르- <i>I.LU-</i> ‘to be early’ (stem)		SAL
6	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)		PAP
7	風	‘wind’	풍 <i>phwung</i>	브롬 <i>PO.LOM</i> > 바람 <i>PA.LAM</i> ‘wind’		SAL
8	未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 { <i>m</i> }uy ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 風 브롬 <i>PO.LOM</i>) + -의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	此矣彼矣浮良落尸葉如
Transcription	이의더의쁘어딜닙다히 I=uy TYE=uy PTU-e-TI-l-NIP=TA.HI
MoK translation	여기에서 저기에서 떠 질 앞 답게
English translation	Like the leaves floating and falling here and there

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type

1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
2	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)	PAP
3	彼	‘that’	피 <i>phi</i>	더 <i>TYE</i> > 저 <i>CE</i> ‘that’	SAL
4	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)	PAP
5	浮	‘to float’	부 <i>pwu</i>	뵤- <i>PTU</i> - > 뜨- <i>TTU</i> - ‘to float’ (stem)	SAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
7	落	‘to fall’	락 <i>lak</i>	디- <i>TI</i> - > 지- <i>CI</i> - ‘to fall’ (stem)	SAL
8	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
9	葉	‘leaf’	엽 <i>yep</i>	넙 <i>NIP</i> > 잎 <i>IPH</i> ‘leaf’	SAL
10	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다히 <i>=TA.HI</i> ‘like’	SAL

Line 7

Original Text	一等隱枝良出古
Transcription	헝든가지아나고 HO.TON KA.CI=a NA=kwo
MoK translation	한 가지에서 나고
English translation	Coming from one branch, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	헝 든 <i>HO.TON</i> ‘one’	SAL
2	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	든 <i>ton</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ton</i> in 一 헝 든 <i>HO.TON</i>)	PAP
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ <i>-n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 一 헝 든 <i>HO.TON</i>)	PAP
4	枝	‘branch’	지 <i>ci</i>	가지 <i>KA.CI</i> ‘branch’	SAL
5	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	PAP
6	出	‘to come out’	출 <i>chwul</i>	나- <i>na-</i> ‘to come out’ (stem)	SAL
7	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 <i>=kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 8

Original Text	去奴隱處毛冬乎丁
Transcription	가는곧모돌오더 KA-nwo-n-KWOT mwo.tol-wo-tye
MoK translation	가는 곳을 모르는구나!

English translation	[I] don't know the place where [you are] going!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAL
2	奴	‘slave’	노 <i>nwo</i>	-노- <i>-nwo-</i> (present suffix)		PAP
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
4	處	‘place’	처 <i>che</i>	곧 <i>KWOT</i> > 곳 <i>KWOS</i> ‘place’		SAL
5	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모들- <i>mwo.tol-</i> > 모르- <i>mwo.lu-</i> ‘to not know’ (stem)	PAP
6	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i>		PAP
7	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
8	丁	fourth item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	정 <i>ceng</i>	=더 <i>=tye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending) ← ㄷ <i>to</i> ‘fact’ + =여 <i>=ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 9

Original Text	阿也 彌陀刹良逢乎吾
Transcription	아야 미타찰아맛보나 a.ya MI.THA-CHAL=a MAS-PWO-na
MoK translation	아야, 미타찰에서 만날 나
English translation	Ah, I, who will meet [you] in the temple of Amitā Buddha

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아야 <i>a.ya</i> (exclamatory expression)	PAP
2	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP
3	彌	‘Amitā Buddha’	미 <i>mi</i>	미타 <i>MI.THA</i> ‘Amitā Buddha’		DAL
4	陀		타 <i>tha</i>			DAL
5	刹	‘Buddhist temple’	찰 <i>chal</i>	찰 <i>CHAL</i> ‘Buddhist temple’		DAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 <i>=a</i> (locative particle)		PAP
7	逢	‘to meet’	봉 <i>pwong</i>	맞보- <i>MAS-PWO-</i> ‘to meet’ (stem)		SAL
8	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	오 <i>wo</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>wo</i> in 逢 맞보- <i>MAS-PWO-</i>)		PAP
9	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’		SAL

Line 10

Original Text	道修良待是古如

Transcription	길닷아기드리고다 KIL TASK-a-KI.TU.LI=kwo.ta
MoK translation	길을 닦아 기다린다.
English translation	Cultivating the way, [I] will wait.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	길/깊 <i>KIL(H)</i> > 길 <i>KIL</i>	‘way’	SAL
2	修	‘to cultivate’	수 <i>swu</i>	닷-/닦- <i>TAS(K)</i> - > 닦- <i>TAKK</i> -	‘to polish, cultivate’ (stem)	SAL
3	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i>	(infinitive suffix)	PAP
4	待	‘to wait’	대 <i>tay</i>	기드리- <i>KI.TU.LI-</i> > 기다리- <i>KI.TA.LI-</i>	‘to wait’	SAL
5	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 待 기드리- <i>KI.TU.LI-</i>) ← 이 <i>i</i> ‘this’		SAP
6	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고다 =kwo.ta (declarative sentence ending)	PAP
7	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 <i>-ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)		SAP

12 *Hyeyseng ka* 혜성가 彗星歌 “Song of Comet”

References: Yu 1994: 735-778; Koo 2010: 509-553; Pak 2012: 151-166.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第五感通第七 “融天師 彗星歌 真平王代”

Dating: Reign of King Cinphyeng 真平 (26th monarch of Silla, r. 579-632)

Original Text

- 1 舊理東尸汀叱
- 2 乾達婆矣游烏隱城叱盼良望良古
- 3 倭理叱軍置來叱多³³
- 4 烽燒邪隱邊也藪耶
- 5 三花矣岳音見賜烏尸聞古
- 6 月置八切爾數於將來尸波衣
- 7 道尸掃尸星利望良古
- 8 彗星也白反也人是有叱多
- 9 後句³⁴ 達阿羅浮去伊叱等邪
- 10 此也友物北所音叱彗叱只有叱故

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
71	8	34	55	4	3	104

³³In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 多 and 烽, but scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines.

³⁴In the original text, the character sequence 後句 is written separately from both the previous line and the following line, but scholars generally group it together with the following line because of its function. Overall, the poem in the original text appears to have ten lines if the character sequence 後句 is counted as a separate line. The rearranged form also has ten lines, and the analysis here follows this rearranged form.

Line 1

Original Text	舊理東戶汀叱
Transcription	너리샬믈서릿 NYE.LI SAYL MUL.SE.LI=s
MoK translation	옛날의 동쪽 물가의
English translation	[The castle] of the past on the eastern shore

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	舊	‘to be old’	구 <i>kwu</i>	*너리 * <i>NYE.LI</i> > 네 <i>NYEY</i> > 예 <i>YEY</i> ‘past’	SAL
2	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 舊 *너리 * <i>NYE.LI</i>)	PAP
3	東	‘east’	동 <i>twong</i>	*샬 * <i>SAYL</i> ‘east’	SAL
4	戶	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-리 <i>-l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-l</i> in 東 *샬 * <i>SAYL</i>)	PAP
5	汀	‘riverside’	정 <i>ceng</i>	*믈서리 * <i>MUL.SE.LI</i> ‘shore’	SAL
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	乾達婆矣游烏隱城叱盼良望良古
Transcription	건달파의놀온잣홀란브라고 KEN.TAL.PHA=uy NWOL-wo-n-CAS=hol=lan PO.LA=kwo
MoK translation	건달파가 노는 성을 바라보고
English translation	Looking at the castle where Gandharva hangs out,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	乾	‘Gandharva’	건 <i>ken</i>	건달파 <i>KEN.TAL.PHA</i> ‘Gandharva’	DAL
2	達		달 <i>tal</i>		DAL
3	婆		파 <i>pha</i>		DAL
4	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (animate genitive particle)	PAP
5	遊	‘to hang out’	유 <i>yu</i>	놀- <i>NWOL-</i> ‘to hang out’ (stem)	SAL
6	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
8	城	‘castle, city’	성 <i>seng</i>	잣 <i>CAS</i> ‘castle, city’	SAL
9	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-s</i> in 城 잣 <i>CAS</i>)	PAP
10	盼	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	=홀 <i>=hol</i> > =을/=를 <i>=(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
11	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=란 <i>=lan</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
12	望	‘to look at’	망 <i>mang</i>	브라- <i>PO.LA-</i> > 바라- <i>PA.LA-</i>	SAL

				‘to look at’ (stem)	
13	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	아 <i>a</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>a</i> in 望 브라- <i>PO.LA-</i>)	PAP
14	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 <i>-kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	倭理叱軍置來叱多
Transcription	여릿군도웃다 YE.LI=s KWUN=two WO=sta
MoK translation	왜 군도 오는구나.
English translation	The Japanese army also comes!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	倭	‘Japan’	왜 <i>way</i>	*여리 *YE.LI > 예 YEY ‘Japan’		SAL
2	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 倭 *여리 *YE.LI)		PAP
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ -s (inanimate genitive suffix)		PAP
4	軍	‘army’	군 <i>kwun</i>	군 KWUN ‘army’		DAL
5	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	도 =two (inclusive particle) ← 두- TWU- ‘to place’ (stem)		SAP
6	來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	오- WO- ‘to come’ (stem)		SAL
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	ㅅ다 =sta (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
8	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	다 =ta (declarative sentence ending)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	烽燒邪隱邊也藪耶
Transcription	훼솔얀곶이수라 HWAY SOL-ya-n-KOZ I=swu.LA
MoK translation	훼가 사르는 변경이구나!
English translation	It is the frontier that the torches make burn!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	烽	‘torch’	봉 <i>pwong</i>	훼 HWAY ‘torch’	SAL
2	燒	‘to burn’	소 <i>swo</i>	솔- <i>SOL-</i> > 사르- <i>SA.LU-</i> ‘to burn’ (stem)	SAL
3	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	-야- <i>-ya-</i> ← -ㅇ- <i>-i-</i> (causative suffix)	PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP

5	邊	‘side, edge’	변 <i>pyen</i>	곶/곶 <i>KOS/KOZ</i> > 가 <i>KA</i> ‘frontier’	SAL
6	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	이- <i>I-</i> (copula) (stem)	SAL
7	藪	‘marsh’	수 <i>swu</i>	수 <i>swu</i>	PAP
8	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	=라 <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	SAL
				=수라 <i>=swu.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	

Line 5

Original Text	三花矣岳音見賜烏尸聞古
Transcription	삼화의오름보시올듣고 SAM-HWA=uy WO.LWOM PWO-si-wo-l-TUT-kwo
MoK translation	세 화랑이 산을 보실 것을 듣고
English translation	Hearing that three Flower Knights are going to see the mountain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	三	‘three’	삼 <i>sam</i>	삼 <i>SAM</i> ‘three’	DAL
2	花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	화 <i>HWA</i> (abbreviation of 花郎 화랑 <i>HWA-LANG</i> ‘Flower Knight’)	DAL
3	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (animate genitive particle)	PAP
4	岳	‘hill’	악 <i>ak</i>	오름 <i>WO.LWOM</i> ‘mountain’	SAL
5	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 岳 오름 <i>WO.LWOM</i>)	PAP
6	見	‘to look’	견 <i>kyen</i>	보- <i>PWO-</i> ‘to look’ (stem)	SAL
7	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
8	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
9	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄷ- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
10	聞	‘to hear’	문 <i>mwun</i>	듣- <i>TUT-</i> ‘to hear’ (stem)	SAL
11	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 <i>=kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	月置八切爾數於將來尸波衣
Transcription	두랄도부즐이혜어럴바의 TO.LAL=two po.cul-i HYEY-e=LYE-l-pa=uy
MoK translation	달도 부지런히 세려는 바에
English translation	When about to diligently counting the months

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	月	‘moon; month’	월 <i>wel</i>	*두랄 * <i>TO.LAL</i> > 둘 <i>TOL</i> > 달 <i>TAL</i> ‘moon’	SAL

2	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	=도 =two (inclusive particle) ← 두- TWU- ‘to place’ (stem)		SAP
3	八	‘eight’	팔 <i>phal</i>	ㅍ <i>po</i>	ㅍ줄 <i>po.cul</i> (~브즈런 <i>pu.cu.len</i> > 부지런 <i>pwu.ci.len</i>) ‘diligence’	PAP
4	切	‘to cut’	절 <i>cel</i>	줄 <i>cul</i>		PAP
5	爾	‘you; this’	이 <i>i</i>	-이 -i (adverbial suffix)		PAP
6	數	‘to count’	수 <i>swu</i>	헤- HYEY- > 세- SEY- ‘to count’ (stem)		SAL
7	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	-어- -e- (infinitive suffix)		PAP
8	將	‘future’	장 <i>cang</i>	=려 =LYE (optative particle)		SAL
9	來		래 <i>lay</i>			SAL
10	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 -l- (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
11	波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	바 PA ‘thing’		PAP
12	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 =uy (locative particle)		PAP

Line 7

Original Text	道尸掃尸星利望良古
Transcription	길뜯벼리브라고 KIL PSUL- PYE.LI PO.LA=kwo
MoK translation	길을 쓰는 별을 바라보고
English translation	Looking at the star sweeping the road

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	道	‘road’	도 <i>two</i>	길/깁 <i>KIL(H)</i> > 길 <i>KIL</i> ‘road’	SAL
2	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -l in 道 길 <i>KIL</i>)	PAP
3	掃	‘to sweep’	소 <i>swo</i>	뜯- <i>PSUL-</i> > 쓸- <i>SSUL-</i> ‘to sweep’ (stem)	SAL
4	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -l in 掃 뜯- <i>PSUL-</i>)	PAP
5	星	‘star’	성 <i>seng</i>	*벼리 *PYE.LI > 별 <i>PYEL</i> ‘star’	SAL
6	利	‘benefit’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 星 *벼리 *PYE.LI)	PAP
7	望	‘to look at’	망 <i>mang</i>	브라- <i>PO.LA-</i> > 바라- <i>PA.LA-</i> ‘to look at’ (stem)	SAL
8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	아 <i>a</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>a</i> in 望 브라- <i>PO.LA-</i>)	PAP

9	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	=고 = <i>kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 8

Original Text	彗星也白反也人是有叱多
Transcription	혜성여췌븐여사롬이잇다 HYEY-SENG=ye SOLW-{W}on=ye SA.LOM=i IS=sta
MoK translation	“혜성이여”라고 하는 사람이 있구나.
English translation	There are people saying, “Comet!”

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	彗	‘comet’	혜 <i>hyey</i>	혜성 HYEY-SENG ‘comet’		DAL
2	星		성 <i>seng</i>			DAL
3	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 = <i>ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP
4	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	췌-/췌- SOLP-/SOLW- > 사뢰- SA.LWOY- ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem)		SAL
5	反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	븐 - {W}on- ← ㅍ W (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -W in 白 췌- SOLW-) + -온 - -on- (adnominal suffix)		PAP
6	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 = <i>ye</i> (exclamatory particle)		PAP
7	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	사롬 SA.LOM > 사람 SA.LAM ‘person’		SAL
8	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	=이 = <i>i</i> (nominative particle) ← 이 I ‘this’		SAP
9	有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	잇- IS- > 있- ISS- ‘to have; to exist’ (stem)		SAL
10	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	=ㅅ다 = <i>sta</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
11	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	=다 = <i>ta</i> (declarative sentence ending)		PAP

Line 9

Original Text	後句 達阿羅浮去伊叱等邪
Transcription	달아라ㅍ가잇드라 tal a.la PTU-KA-i=sto.LA
MoK translation	산 아래에 떠가라!
English translation	[The comet], floating away toward the bottom of the mountain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	後	‘back’	후 <i>hwu</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	

2	句	‘sentence’	구 <i>kwu</i>			
3	達	‘to reach’	달 <i>tal</i>	*달 * <i>tal</i> ‘mountain’		PAP
4	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아라 <i>a.la</i> >	PAP
5	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	라 <i>la</i>	아래 <i>a.lay</i> ‘under’	PAP
6	浮	‘to float’	부 <i>pwu</i>	ㅍ- <i>PTU</i> - > ㅍ- <i>TTU</i> - ‘to float’ (stem)		SAL
7	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	-가- <i>-KA-</i> ‘to go’ (complementary verb) (stem)		SAL
8	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	-이 <i>-i</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
9	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	ㅅ ㅅ ㄷ ㄹ ㅅ <i>sto.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
10	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㄷ <i>to</i>		PAP
11	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅅ ㄹ ㅅ <i>-LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 10

Original Text	此也友物北所音叱彗叱只有叱故
Transcription	이여버믈로숨ㅅ살별ㅅ...잇고 I=ye pe.mul=LWO swom=s SAL-PYEL=s ... IS=skwo
MoK translation	이와 같이 걸려 있게 될 것의 살별이 있는가?
English translation	Are there comets like something hung in this way?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAL
2	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅁ여 <i>-ye</i> (exclamatory particle)		PAP
3	友	‘friend’	우 <i>wu</i>	버 <i>pe</i> ← 변 <i>PET</i> (> 벗 <i>PES</i>) ‘friend’	버믈- <i>pe.mul</i> - ‘to be hung, bound’ (stem)	SAP
4	物	‘thing’	믈 <i>mwul</i>	믈 <i>mul</i>		PAP
5	北 ³⁵	‘north’	북 <i>pwuk</i>	ㅁ로 <i>-LWO</i> (instrumental particle)		SAL
	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>			
6	所	‘place’	소 <i>swo</i>	소 <i>swo</i>	숨 <i>swom</i> > 손 <i>swon</i> ‘thing’	PAP
7	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>		PAP
8	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅁㅅ <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)		PAP
9	彗	‘comet’	혜 <i>hyey</i>	살별 <i>SAL-PYEL</i> ‘comet’		SAL
10	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅁㅅ <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)		PAP
11	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	?		?
12	有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	잇- <i>IS</i> - > 있- <i>ISS</i> - ‘to have; to exist’		SAL

³⁵It is difficult to interpret the character 北 here either phonetically or semantically, and it is assumed to be a graphic error of the character 以 due to the similarity in their graphic form in cursive writing.

				(stem)		
13	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	ㅅ ㅅ ㅅ <i>=skwo</i> (interrogative sentence ending)	PAP
14	故	‘to be old; reason’	고 <i>kwo</i>	ㅅ ㅅ <i>=kwo</i> (interrogative sentence ending)		PAP

13 *Wen ka* 원가 怨歌 “Song of Grief”

References: Yu 1994: 779-810; Koo 2010: 555-594; Pak 2012: 167-179.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第五避隱第八 “信忠掛冠”

Dating: Reign of King Hyoseng 孝成 (34th monarch of Silla, r. 737-742)

Original Text

- 1 物叱好支栢史
- 2 秋察尸不冬爾屋支墮米
- 3 汝於多支行齊教因隱
- 4 仰頓隱面矣改衣賜乎隱冬矣也
- 5 月羅理影支古理因淵之叱
- 6 行尸浪³⁶ 阿叱沙矣以支如支
- 7 兒史沙叱望阿乃
- 8 世理都³⁷ 之叱逸烏隱第也
後句亡³⁸

Statistics

*Excluding the characters “後句亡”

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
53	0	26	50	1	0	77

³⁶In the original text, there is a space between the characters 浪 and 阿, but scholars do not take it as a line division, and the two character sequences 行尸浪 and 阿叱沙矣以支如支 are grouped into the same line.

³⁷In the original text, there is a space between the characters 都 and 之, but scholars do not take it as a line division, and the two character sequences 世理都 and 之叱逸烏隱第也 are grouped into the same line.

³⁸This shows that the third stanza of the poem is lost. It also indicates that the character sequence 後句 is the marker or name of the final stanza in 10-line *hyangga* poems and probably does not belong to the text proper of the poem.

Line 1

Original Text	物叱好支栢史
Transcription	갓똥기자시 KAS TYOH-ki CA.SI
MoK translation	것이 좋은 잣나무
English translation	The pine tree whose thing (i.e., structure) is good

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	갓 <i>KAS</i> > 것 <i>KES</i> ‘thing’	SAL
2	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	入 <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 物 갓 <i>KAS</i>)	PAP
3	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	똥- <i>TYOH-</i> > 좋- <i>CWOH-</i> ‘to be good’ (stem)	SAL
4	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
5	栢	‘pine’	백 <i>payk</i>	*자시 * <i>CA.SI</i> > 잣 <i>CAS</i> ‘pine’	SAL
6	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	시 <i>si</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>si</i> in 栢 *자시 * <i>CA.SI</i>)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	秋察尸不冬爾屋支墮米
Transcription	구슬모들이울기디며 KO.ZOL MWO.TOL i.wul-ki TI=mye
MoK translation	가을에 안 이울어 지며
English translation	[The pine tree] does not wither and fall in autumn, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	秋	‘autumn’	추 <i>chwu</i>	구슬/구쉴 <i>KO.ZOL(H)</i> > 가을 <i>KA.UL</i> ‘autumn’	SAL
2	察	‘to observe’	찰 <i>chal</i>	을 <i>ol</i> (phonetic determinative of the sound <i>ol</i> in 秋 구슬 <i>KO.ZOL</i>)	PAP
3	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	르 <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -l in 秋 구슬 <i>KO.ZOL</i>)	PAP
4	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’	SAL
5	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 不 모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i>)	PAP

6	爾	‘you; this’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i>	이울- <i>i.wul-</i> ‘to wither’ (stem)	PAP
7	屋	‘house’	옥 <i>wok</i>	을 <i>wul</i>		PAP
8	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
9	墮	‘to fall’	타 <i>tha</i>	디- <i>TI-</i> > 지- <i>CI-</i> ‘to fall’ (stem)		SAL
10	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	=며 <i>=mye</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	汝於多支行齊教因隱[面]
Transcription	너어다기니저흐신[낫] NE e.ta.ki NI=cye HO-SI-{i}n-[NOCH]
MoK translation	너는 어디에 가느냐고 말씀하시는 [낫]
English translation	[The face that] says, “Where do you wish to go?”

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	汝	‘you’	여 <i>ye</i>	너 <i>NE</i> ‘you’		SAL
2	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	어 <i>e</i>	어다기 <i>e.ta.ki</i> > 어디 <i>e.tuy</i> > 어디 <i>e.ti</i> ‘where’	PAP
3	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	다 <i>ta</i>		PAP
4	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	기 <i>ki</i>		PAP
5	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	니- <i>NI-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAL
6	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 <i>=cye</i> (optative sentence ending)		PAP
7	教	‘to teach’	교 <i>kyo</i>	흐시- <i>HO-SI-</i> (> 하시 <i>HA-SI-</i>) ‘to say’ (honorific) (stem)		SAL
8	因	‘to base on’	인 <i>in</i>	인- <i>{i}n-</i> < 이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 教 흐시- <i>HO-SI-</i>) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 因 인 <i>in</i>)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	仰頓隱面矣改衣賜乎隱冬矣也
Transcription	울월죇ㄴ낫의고티시온디여 WUL.WEL-CWOS-n-NOCH=uy KWO.THI-si-wo-n-toy=ye
MoK translation	우리르던 낫에 변하신 데라!
English translation	The place of the face which looks up and bows that has changed!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	仰	‘to look up’	앙 <i>ang</i>	울월- <i>WUL.WEL-</i> > 우리르- <i>WU.LE.LU-</i> ‘to look up’ (stem)	SAL

2	頓	‘to bow; suddenly’	돈 <i>twon</i>	쫓- <i>CWOS-</i> ‘to bow’ (stem)		SAL
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
4	面	‘face’	면 <i>myen</i>	낯 <i>NOCH</i> > 낮 <i>NACH</i> ‘face’		SAL
5	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	ㅁ의 <i>-uy</i> (animate genitive particle)		PAP
6	改	‘to change’	개 <i>kay</i>	고티- <i>KWO.THI-</i> > 고치- <i>KWO.CHI-</i> ‘to fix, change’ (stem)		SAL
7	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 改 고티- <i>KWO.THI-</i>)		PAP
8	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
9	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
10	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
11	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	ㅌ <i>to</i>	디 <i>toy</i> > 데 <i>tey</i> ‘place’	PAP
12	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	이 <i>oy</i>		PAP
13	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅁ여 <i>-ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	月羅理影支古理因淵之叱
Transcription	ㄷ랄이그르메기고인못읏 TO.LAL={l}i KU.LU.MEY-ki kwo.i-{i}n-MWOS=UY=s
MoK translation	달이 그림자를 고이게 하는 못의
English translation	The pond where the moon makes the shadow stagnant

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	月	‘moon; month’	월 <i>wel</i>	*ㄷ랄 * <i>TO.LAL</i> > 둘 <i>TOL</i> > 달 <i>TAL</i> ‘moon’	SAL
2	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	라 <i>la</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllabic component <i>la-</i> in 月 *ㄷ랄 * <i>TO.LAL</i>)	PAP
3	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>{l}i</i> < ㄹ <i>l</i> (final consonant <i>-l</i> in 月 *ㄷ랄 * <i>TO.LAL</i>) + ㅁ이 <i>-i</i> (nominative particle)	PAP
4	影	‘shadow’	영 <i>yeng</i>	그르메 <i>KU.LU.MEY</i> ‘shadow’	SAL
5	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix) (?)	PAP

6	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>kwo</i>	고이- <i>kwo.i-</i> ‘to be stagnant’ (stem)	PAP
7	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	이 <i>i</i>		PAP
8	因	‘to base on’	인 <i>in</i>	인- { <i>i</i> } <i>n-</i> < 이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 古理 고이- <i>kwo.i-</i> ‘to be stagnant’ [stem]) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
9	淵	‘abyss’	연 <i>yen</i>	못 <i>MWOS</i> ‘pond’		SAL
10	之	genitive particle	지 <i>ci</i>	ㅁ의 <i>=UY</i> (animate genitive particle)	ㅁ읻 <i>=UYㅁs</i> (genitive particle)	SAL
11	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅁㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	行尸浪 阿叱沙矣以支如支
Transcription	닐몐겔 앓몰애의머플기다기 NI-l-MULS-KYEL=a=s MWOL.AY=uy ME.MUL-ki=ta.ki
MoK translation	갈 물결의 모래에서 머무르는 것답게
English translation	Like stopping on the sand of the moving wave [of the pond]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	니- <i>NI-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)		SAL
2	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
3	浪	‘wave’	랑 <i>lang</i>	몐겔 <i>MULS.KYEL</i> > 물결 <i>MWUL.KYEL</i> ‘wave’		SAL
4	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	ㅁ아 <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	ㅁ읻 <i>=a=s</i> (locative genitive particle)	PAP
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅁㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP
6	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	몰애 <i>MWOL.AY</i> > 모래 <i>MWO.LAY</i> ‘sand’		SAL
7	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	ㅁ의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)		PAP
8	以 ³⁹	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	머플- <i>ME.MUL-</i> > 머무르- <i>ME.MWU.LU-</i> ‘to stop’ (stem)		SAL
	止	‘to stop’	지 <i>ci</i>			
9	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
10	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	다 <i>ta</i> ← -답- -TAP- ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	ㅁ다기 <i>=ta.ki</i> > ㅁ다히 <i>=TA.HI</i> ‘like’	SAP
11	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	기 <i>ki</i>		PAP

³⁹It is difficult to interpret the character 以 here either phonetically or semantically, and it is assumed to be a graphic error of the character 止 due to the similarity in their graphic form in cursive writing.

Line 7

Original Text	兒史沙叱望阿乃
Transcription	죽삿브라나 CUS=za-s PO.LA=na
MoK translation	모습을 바라보나
English translation	Although [I] look at your appearance

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	兒	‘appearance’	모 <i>mwo</i>	죽/중 <i>CUS/CUZ</i> ‘appearance’		SAL
2	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 兒 죽 <i>CUS</i>)		PAP
3	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅁㅏ <i>=za</i> (emphatic particle)	ㅁㅏㅓ <i>=za-s</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ <i>-s</i> (emphatic suffix)		PAP
5	望	‘to look at’	망 <i>mang</i>	ㅍ라- <i>PO.LA-</i> > 바라- <i>PA.LA-</i> ‘to look at’ (stem)		SAL
6	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>a</i> in 望 ㅍ라- <i>PO.LA-</i>)		PAP
7	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	ㅁ나 <i>=na</i> (adversative conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	世理都 ⁴⁰ 之叱逸烏隱第也
Transcription	누리도 윗잃은데여 NWU.LI=two=UY=s ILH-wo-n-tey=ye
MoK translation	세상도 ... 의 잃은 곳이여!
English translation	The world is also a lost place of ...!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	世	‘world’	세 <i>sey</i>	누리 <i>NWU.LI</i>	‘world’	SAL
2	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 世 누리 <i>NWU.LI</i>)		PAP
3	都	capital	도 <i>two</i>	=도 <i>-two</i> (emphatic particle)		PAP
4	之	genitive particle	지 <i>ci</i>	=의 <i>-UY</i> (animate genitive particle)	=읻 <i>-UY=s</i> (genitive)	SAL

⁴⁰It seems that there is a missing character between 都 and 之 because of the space in the original text and especially when the following character sequence 之叱 is interpreted as a genitive particle. However, it is difficult to assume what the missing character may be based on the context.

5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP
6	逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	잃- <i>ilh-</i> ‘to lose’ (stem)		SAL
7	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
8	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
9	第	‘rank’	제 <i>cey</i>	데 <i>tey</i> ‘place’		PAP
10	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅁ여 <i>-ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

14 *Wucek ka* 우적가 遇賊歌 “Song of Encountering Bandits”

References: Yu 1994: 811-859; Koo 2010: 595-647; Pak 2012: 180-194.

Provenance: 三國遺事卷第五避隱第八 “永才遇賊”

Dating: Reign of King Wonsong 元聖 (38th monarch of Silla, 785-798)

Original Text

- 1 自矣心米
- 2 兒史毛達只將來吞隱日 ⁴¹
- 3 遠鳥逸□□⁴²過出知遣
- 4 今吞藪未去遣省如
- 5 但非乎隱焉破戒主 ⁴³
- 6 次弗兒史內於都還於尸朗也
- 7 此兵物叱沙過乎 ⁴⁴
- 8 好尸曰沙也內乎吞尼
- 9 阿耶 ⁴⁵ 唯只伊吾音之叱恨隱濬陵隱 ⁴⁶
- 10 安支尚宅都乎隱以多

Statistics

*Including 2 supplemented characters; excluding 2 unsupplemented missing characters

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
67	6	29	52	1	0	88

⁴¹In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 日 and 遠, but scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines.

⁴²In the original text, there is a space between the characters 逸 and 過, and there are lines on the top and bottom of the space demarcating its boundary. Approximately two characters can be written within the space, so it is assumed to be marking two missing characters when the text was being copied. The same case occurs twice in the following lines, and in each of those cases, there appears to be only one character missing.

⁴³In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 主 and 次, but scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines.

⁴⁴In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 乎 and 好, but scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines.

⁴⁵In the original text, the character sequence 阿耶 is written separately from both the previous line and the following line, but scholars generally group it together with the following line because of its function.

⁴⁶In the original text, there are no spaces between the characters 隱 and 安, but scholars generally separate this sequence of characters into two lines. Overall, the poem in the original text appears to have seven lines, if the character sequence 阿耶 is counted as a separate line. The rearrangements mentioned above produce a ten-line poem, and the analysis here follows this rearranged form.

Line 1

Original Text	自矣心米
Transcription	저의ㅁ슴ㅁ CE=uy MO.ZOM={m}uy
MoK translation	제 마음에
English translation	In my heart,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	自	‘oneself’	자 <i>ca</i>	저 <i>CE</i> ‘I’	SAL
2	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (animate genitive particle)	PAP
3	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	ㅁ슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’	SAL
4	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	ㅁ { <i>m</i> }uy ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 心 ㅁ슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i>) + =의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	兒史毛達只將來吞隱日
Transcription	죇모돌기려던날 CUS mwo.tol-ki=LYE-te-n-NAL
MoK translation	모습을 모르게 되려던 날
English translation	The day when [I] was about to become unaware of [my] appearance

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	兒	‘appearance’	모 <i>mwo</i>	죇/죇 <i>CUS/CUZ</i> ‘appearance’		SAL
2	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>s</i> in 兒 죇 <i>CUS</i>)		PAP
3	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 들- <i>mwo.tol-</i> > 모르- <i>mwo.lu-</i> ‘to not know’ (stem)	PAP
4	達	‘to reach’	달 <i>tal</i>	돌 <i>tol</i>		PAP
5	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
6	將	‘future’	장 <i>cang</i>	=려 <i>=LYE</i> (optative particle)		SAL
7	來		래 <i>lay</i>			SAL
8	吞	‘to swallow’	탄 <i>than</i>	-던- <i>-te-n-</i> (recollective suffix)		PAP
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>n</i> in 吞 -던- <i>-te-n-</i>)		PAP

10	日	‘day’	일 <i>il</i>	날 <i>NAL</i> ‘day’	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	遠鳥逸□□過出知遣
Transcription	멀새일...넘나디고 MEL-SAY il ... NEM-NA=ti=kwo
MoK translation	먼 새 ... 넘어 나고
English translation	If birds from far away ... pass by and come out

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	遠	‘to be far’	원 <i>wen</i>	멀- <i>MEL</i> - ‘to be far’ (stem)	SAL
2	鳥 ⁴⁷	‘bird’	조 <i>cwo</i>	새 <i>SAY</i> ‘bird’	SAL
3	逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	일 <i>il</i>	PAP
4	過	‘to pass’	과 <i>kwa</i>	넘- <i>NEM</i> - ‘to pass’ (stem)	SAL
5	出	‘to come out’	출 <i>chwul</i>	나- <i>NA</i> - ‘to come out’ (stem)	SAL
6	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	=디 = <i>ti</i> (conditional conjunctive particle)	PAP
7	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 = <i>kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	今呑藪未去遣省如
Transcription	열든수피가고손다 YET={t}on swu.muy KA=kwo-swo-n=ta
MoK translation	이제 숨으러 가겠다.
English translation	Now [I] will go to hide!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	금 <i>kum</i>	열 <i>YET</i> ‘now’	SAL
2	呑	‘to swallow’	탄 <i>than</i>	든 {t}on ← ㄷ t (final consonant in SAL 今 열 <i>YET</i> ‘now’) + =은 = <i>on</i> (> =은 = <i>un</i>) (topic particle)	PAP
3	藪	‘marsh’	수 <i>swu</i>	수 <i>swu</i>	PAP
4	未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	피 <i>muy</i>	
5	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA</i> - ‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
6	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	=고 = <i>kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

⁴⁷Some scholars regard the character 鳥 as a graphic error of the character 鳥 due the similarity in their graphic form. It is difficult to judge since there are multiple missing characters in this line.

7	省	‘to reflect’	성 <i>seng</i>	-손- <i>-swo-n-</i> ← -소- <i>-swo-</i> (exclamatory suffix) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
8	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	다 <i>-ta</i> (declarative sentence ending) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	但非乎隱焉破口（戒） ⁴⁸ 主
Transcription	다몬 외온파계주 TA.MON WOY-wo-n-PHA-KYEY-CWU
MoK translation	다만 그른 파계주
English translation	Only the wrong commandment-breakers

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	但	‘only’	단 <i>tan</i>	다몬 <i>TA.MON</i> > 다만 <i>TA.MAN</i> ‘only’	SAL
2	非	‘to be wrong’	비 <i>pi</i>	외- <i>WOY-</i> ‘to be wrong’ (stem)	SAL
3	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	온 <i>won</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>won</i> written by 乎隱)	PAP
6	破	‘to break’	파 <i>pha</i>	파 <i>PHA</i> ‘to break’	DAL
7	戒	‘commandment’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEY</i> ‘commandment’	DAL
8	主	‘master’	주 <i>cwu</i>	주 <i>CWU</i> ‘master’	DAL

Line 6

Original Text	次弗口（兒） ⁴⁹ 史內於都還於尸朗也
Transcription	저플죽느 외도돌얼라여 ce.phu-l-CUS no.woy-two TWOL-e-l-la=ye
MoK translation	두려운 모습이 다시 돌 것이라!
English translation	[Their] frightening appearances will go around again!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	次	‘to be second; order’	차 <i>cha</i>	저 <i>ce</i> 저플- <i>ce.phu-l-</i> ← 저프- <i>ce.phu-</i> ‘to be frightening’	PAP

⁴⁸The missing character in this line is generally assumed to be 戒 as the phrase 破戒 ‘to break (Buddhist) commandments’ is a common term in a Buddhist context. This assumption makes sense based on the background story that this poem is composed by a Buddhist monk addressing bandits.

⁴⁹The missing character in this line is assumed to be 兒 by some scholars as the phrase 兒史 ‘appearance’ occurs several times in other poems and its meaning also fits the context in the corresponding interpretation.

2	弗	‘not’	불 <i>pwul</i>	플 <i>phul</i>	(stem) + -ㄹ- - <i>l</i> - (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
3	兒	‘appearance’	모 <i>mwo</i>	꺾/꺾 <i>CUS/CUZ</i> ‘appearance’		SAL
4	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>s</i> in 兒 꺾 <i>CUS</i>)		PAP
5	內	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	ㄴ <i>no</i>	ㄴ 외 <i>no.woy</i> ‘again’	PAP
6	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	외 <i>woy</i>		PAP
7	都	capital	도 <i>two</i>	=도 = <i>two</i> (emphatic particle)		PAP
8	還	‘to return’	환 <i>hwan</i>	돌- <i>TWOL</i> - ‘to go around’ (stem)		SAL
9	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	-어- - <i>e</i> - (infinitive suffix)		PAP
10	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄹ- - <i>l</i> - (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
11	朗	‘to be bright’	랑 <i>lang</i>	=라 = <i>la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP
12	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 = <i>ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 7

Original Text	此兵物叱沙過乎
Transcription	이잠개갓샤넘오 I CAM.KAY CAS=za NEM-wo
MoK translation	이 병기를 넘어
English translation	Passing these weapons

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
2	兵	‘weapon’	병 <i>pyeng</i>	잠개 <i>CAM.KAY</i> ‘weapon’	SAL
3	物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	갓 <i>KAS</i> > 꺾 <i>KES</i> ‘thing’	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 物 갓 <i>KAS</i>)	PAP
5	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	=샤 =za (emphatic particle)	PAP
6	過	‘to pass’	과 <i>kwa</i>	넘- <i>NEM-</i> ‘to pass’ (stem)	SAL
7	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- -wo- (assertive suffix)	PAP

Line 8

Original Text	好尸曰沙也內乎吞尼
Transcription	동르날새어느오다니 TYOH-l-NAL say-e-no-wo=ta.ni
MoK translation	좋은 날이 새다니!

English translation	A good day will break!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	똥- <i>TYOH-</i> > 좃- <i>CWOH-</i> ‘to be good’ (stem)		SAL
2	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄹ- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)		PAP
3	曰 ⁵⁰	‘to say’	왈 <i>wal</i>	날 <i>NAL</i> ‘day’		SAL
	日	‘day’	일 <i>il</i>			
4	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	새- <i>say-</i> ‘(day) to break’ (stem)		PAP
5	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
6	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)		PAP
7	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
8	吞	‘to swallow’	탄 <i>than</i>	다 <i>ta</i>	=다니 <i>=ta.ni</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
9	尼	‘to be close’	니 <i>ni</i>	니 <i>ni</i>		PAP

Line 9

Original Text	阿耶 唯只伊吾音之叱恨隱瀋陵隱
Transcription	아야 오직이몸잇흔 선능은 a.ya WO.CIK I MWOM=UY=s ho-n-SEN-NUNG=on
MoK translation	아야, 오직 내가 하는 선행은
English translation	Ah, only the goodness that I do

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아야 <i>a.ya</i> (exclamatory expression)	PAP
2	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP
3	唯	‘only’	유 <i>yu</i>	오직 <i>WO.CIK</i> ‘only’		SAL
4	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-k</i> in 唯 오직 <i>WO.CIK</i>)		PAP
5	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAL
6	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	몸 <i>MWOM</i> ‘body’		SAL
7	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in ㅁ 몸 <i>MWOM</i>)		SAL
8	之	genitive particle	지 <i>ci</i>	ㅁ의 <i>=UY</i> (animate genitive particle)	ㅁ읻 <i>=UY=s</i> (genitive particle)	SAL
9	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅁㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate		PAP

⁵⁰Some scholars regard the character 曰 as a graphic error of the character 日 due the similarity in their graphic form. The interpretation here follows this opinion.

				genitive particle)		
10	恨	‘to hate’	한 <i>han</i>	훈 - <i>ho-n-</i> ← 호 - <i>ho-</i> (> 하- <i>ha-</i>) ‘to do’ (stem) + -ㄴ - <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP	
11	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ - <i>-n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>n</i> in 恨 훈 - <i>ho-n</i>)	PAP	
12	善 ⁵¹	‘to be good’	선 <i>sen</i>	선능 <i>SEN-NUNG</i> ‘(hill of) goodness’	DAL	
13	善		릉 <i>lung</i>		DAL	
14	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	은/는 <i>=(n)on</i> > 은/는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP	

Line 10

Original Text	安支尚宅都乎隱以多
Transcription	엿기높집드외니이다 ENC-Ki-NWOPH- CIP to.woy=ni.i.ta
MoK translation	편안하고 높은 집이 됩니다.
English translation	[The goodness] will become a comfortable and high house.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	安	‘to be calm, safe’	안 <i>an</i>	엿- <i>ENC-</i>	‘to be comfortable’	DAL
2	支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	-기 - <i>ki</i>	(adverbial suffix)	PAP
3	尚	‘to respect; to be noble’	상 <i>sang</i>	높- <i>NWOPH-</i>	‘to be high’	SAL
4	宅	‘residence’	택 <i>tayk</i>	집 <i>CIP</i>	‘house’	SAL
5	都	capital	도 <i>two</i>	드 <i>to</i>	드 외- <i>to.woy-</i>	PAP
6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	외 <i>woy</i>	되- <i>twoy-</i>	‘to become’ (stem)
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	니 <i>ni</i>	=니이다 <i>=ni.i.ta</i> (honorific sentence ending)	PAP
8	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i>		PAP
9	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	=다 <i>=ta</i> (declarative sentence ending)		PAP

⁵¹The character 善 is not attested in dictionaries and is regarded as a graphic variant of the character 善. The character sequence 善陵 occurs several times in group 2 poems, where it is given either the native reading or the SK reading and understood as a certain Buddhist term or concept meaning literally ‘hill of goodness’ and, by extension, ‘goodness (in general)’ or ‘good deeds’.

15 Yeykyeng ceypwul ka 예경제불가 禮敬諸佛歌
“Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”

References: Yu 1994: 860-888; Pak 2012: 195-213.

Original Text

- 1 心未筆留
- 2 慕呂白乎隱仏体前衣
- 3 拜内乎隱身萬隱
- 4 法界毛叱所只至去良
- 5 塵塵馬洛仏体叱刹亦
- 6 刹刹每如邀里白乎隱
- 7 法界滿賜隱仏体
- 8 九世尽良礼為白齊
- 9 歎曰 身語意業无疲厭
- 10 此良夫作沙毛叱等耶

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
以心為筆畫空王	Using the heart as the brush to paint the King of Emptiness,
瞻拜唯應遍十方	[I] look up, bow, and respond in all ten directions.
一一塵塵諸佛國	Every world, every Buddha state,
重重刹刹眾尊堂	Every temple, every respectable hall.
見聞自覺多生遠	Seeing, hearing, and self-realizing, many lives having gone afar,
禮敬寧辭浩劫長	[I will] courteously honor the calm words [as] the disasters are everlasting.
身體語言兼意業	Body, speech, together with intention and karma,
總無疲厭此為常	Never having fatigue and satisfaction, this is the constant.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
57	25	18	33	2	2	80

Line 1

Original Text	心未筆留
Transcription	ㅁ슴미분로 MO.ZOM= {m}uy PWUT=lwo
MoK translation	마음의 붓으로
English translation	With the brush of the heart

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	ㅁ슴 MO.ZOM > 마음 MA.UM ‘heart’	SAL
2	未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 {m}uy ← ㅁ m (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -m in 心 ㅁ슴 MO.ZOM) + =의 =uy (animate genitive particle)	PAP
3	筆	‘brush’	필 <i>phil</i>	분 PWUT > 붓 PWUS ‘brush’	SAL
4	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	=로 =lwo (instrumental particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	慕呂白乎隱仏体前衣
Transcription	그리숄온부터앞의 KU.LI-SOLW-wo-n-PWU-THYE ALPH=uy
MoK translation	그려 드리는 부처 앞에
English translation	In front of the Buddha whom [I] long for

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	慕	‘to long for’	모 <i>mwo</i>	그리- KU.LI- ‘to long for’ (stem)	SAL
2	呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 慕 그리- KU.LI-)	PAP
3	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숄-/숄- SOLP-/SOLW- > 사뢰- SA.LWOY- (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- -wo- (assertive suffix)	PAP
5	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 PWU-THYE > 부처 PWU-CHE ‘Buddha’	DAL
7	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>		DAL
8	前	‘front’	전 <i>cen</i>	앞 ALPH > 앞 APH ‘front’	SAL
9	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 =uy (locative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	拜内乎隱身萬隱

Transcription	절 _ㄴ 온몸은 CEL-no-wo-n-MWOM={m}on
MoK translation	절하는 몸은
English translation	As for [my] bowing body

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	拜	‘to bow’	배 <i>pay</i>	절- <i>CEL-</i> ‘to bow’ (stem)	SAL
2	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)	PAP
3	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	몸 <i>MWOM</i> ‘body’	SAL
6	萬	‘ten thousand’	만 <i>man</i>	몬 { <i>m</i> }on ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (final consonant in 身 몸 <i>MWOM</i>) + ㄴ은 <i>-on</i> (> ㄴ은 <i>-un</i>) (topic particle)	PAP
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>n</i> in 萬 몬 { <i>m</i> }on)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	法界毛叱所只至去良
Transcription	법계몯득록니르거라 PEP-KYEEY mos=TO.LWOK NI.LU=ke.la
MoK translation	법계가 끝날 때까지 일러라!
English translation	[It] arrives by the time when the realm of dharma ends!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’	DAL
2	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i> ‘realm’	DAL
3	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	PAP
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	PAP
5	所	‘place’	소 <i>swo</i>	ㅁ득록 <i>=TO.LWOK</i> > ㅁ도록 <i>=TWO.LWOK</i> (allative particle)	SAL
6	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>k</i> in 所 ㅁ득록 <i>=TO.LWOK</i>)	PAP
7	至	‘to arrive’	지 <i>ci</i>	니르- <i>NI.LU-</i> > 이르- <i>I.LU-</i>	SAL

				‘to arrive’ (stem)		
8	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	거 <i>ke</i>	=거라 <i>=ke.la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
9	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=라 <i>=la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	塵塵馬洛仏体叱刹亦
Transcription	진진마락부텃찰여 CIN-CIN=ma.lak PWU-THYE=s CHAL=ye
MoK translation	진진마다 부처의 찰이
English translation	Every world, temples of Buddha!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1/2	塵	‘dust, (mundane) world’	진 <i>cin</i>	진 <i>CIN</i> ‘(mundane) world’		DAL
3	馬	‘horse’	마 <i>ma</i>	마 <i>ma</i>	=마락 <i>=ma.lak</i> > =마다 <i>=ma.ta</i> ‘every’	PAP
4	洛	name of a river	락 <i>lak</i>	락 <i>lak</i>		PAP
5	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부텃 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i> ‘Buddha’		DAL
6	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>			DAL
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=스 <i>=s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)		PAP
8	刹	‘Buddhist temple’	찰 <i>chal</i>	찰 <i>CHAL</i> ‘Buddhist temple’		DAL
9	亦	‘also’	역 <i>yek</i>	=여 <i>=ye</i> (exclamatory particle)		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	刹刹每如邀里白乎隱[仏体]
Transcription	찰찰마다모리숯운[부텃] CHAL-CHAL=MA.TA MWO.LI-SOLW-wo-n-[PWU-THYE]
MoK translation	찰찰마다 모여 드리는 [부처]
English translation	[Buddhas] who gather in every temple

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1/2	刹	‘Buddhist temple’	찰 <i>chal</i>	찰 <i>CHAL</i>	‘Buddhist temple’	DAL
3	每	‘every’	매 <i>may</i>	=마다 <i>=MA.TA</i> ‘every’		SAL
4	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	다 <i>ta</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ta</i> in 每 =마다 =MA.TA) ← -답- <i>-TAP-</i> ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)		SAP
5	邀	‘to invite’	요 <i>yo</i>	*모리- <i>*MWO.LI-</i> > 뵈- <i>MWOY-</i> > 모이- <i>MWO.I-</i> ‘to gather’ (stem)		SAL
6	里	‘alley’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the		PAP

				syllable <i>li</i> in 邀 *모리- <i>MWO.LI</i> -)	
7	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	췌-/췌- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	法界滿賜隱仏体
Transcription	법계츠신부터 PEP-KYEEY CHO-si-n-PWU-THYE
MoK translation	법계에 차시는 부처
English translation	Buddhas who fill the realm of dharma

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’	DAL
2	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i> ‘realm’	DAL
3	滿	‘to be full’	만 <i>man</i>	츠- <i>CHO-</i> > 차- <i>CHA-</i> ‘to fill’ (stem)	SAL
4	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
5	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i>	DAL
7	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	‘Buddha’	DAL

Line 8

Original Text	九世尽良礼為白齊
Transcription	구세다으아레ㅎ췌저 KWU-SEY TA.O-a-LYEEY-HO-SOLP-cye
MoK translation	구세가 다해 예를 해 드리겠다.
English translation	Nine generations ending (i.e., after nine generations), [I] wish to pay tribute [to the Buddhas].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	九	‘nine’	구 <i>kwu</i>	구 <i>KWU</i> ‘nine’	DAL
2	世	‘generation’	세 <i>sey</i>	세 <i>SEY</i> ‘generation’	DAL
3	尽	‘to finish’	진 <i>cin</i>	다으- <i>TA.O-</i> > 다하- <i>TA.HA-</i> ‘to end’ (stem)	SAL
4	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
5	礼	‘ritual; courtesy’	례 <i>lyey</i>	례 <i>LYEY</i> ‘ritual; courtesy’	DAL

6	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	-하- -HO- > -하- -HA- ‘to do’ (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
7	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	솔-/솔- SOLP-/SOLW- > 사로- SA.LWOY- (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 =cye (optative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 9

*The character sequence 身語意業无疲厭 represents a sentence in Literary Sinitic, so every character is regarded as a DAL.

Original Text	歎曰 身語意業无疲厭
Transcription	신어의업무피염 SIN E UY EP MWU PHI YEM
MoK translation	
English translation	The body, word, intention, and karma have no fatigue and satisfaction.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	歎	‘to exclaim’	탄 <i>than</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	曰	‘to say’	왈 <i>wal</i>		
3	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	신 <i>SIN</i> ‘body’	DAL
4	語	‘word, language’	어 <i>e</i>	어 <i>E</i> ‘word’	DAL
5	意	‘intention’	의 <i>uy</i>	의 <i>UY</i> ‘intention’	DAL
6	業	‘karma’	업 <i>ep</i>	업 <i>EP</i> ‘karma’	DAL
7	无	‘to not have, lack’	무 <i>mwu</i>	무 <i>MWU</i> ‘to not have’	DAL
8	疲	‘to be exhausted’	피 <i>phi</i>	피 <i>PHI</i> ‘to be exhausted’	DAL
9	厭	‘to be satisfied’	염 <i>yem</i>	염 <i>YEM</i> ‘to be satisfied’	DAL

Line 10

Original Text	此良夫作沙毛叱等耶
Transcription	이아부질사못드라 I=a pwu.cil sa.mwo=sto.LA
MoK translation	이에서 부지런을 삼는 것이라!
English translation	[I] will make diligence (i.e., pray hard) here!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
2	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 =a (locative particle)	PAP
3	夫	‘man, husband’	부 <i>pwu</i>	부 <i>pwu</i>	PAP
4	作	‘to make’	작 <i>cak</i>	질 <i>cil</i> ← 짓- CIS- ‘to make’ (stem)	SAP

					‘diligence’	
5	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	사 <i>sa</i>	삼- <i>sam-</i>	PAP
6	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i> < ㅁ <i>m</i> + 오 <i>wo</i>	‘to make’ (stem)	PAP
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
8	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㄷ <i>to</i>	ㅁㅅㄷ라 <i>=sto.LA</i>	PAP
9	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅁ라 <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	(exclamatory sentence ending)	SAL

16 *Chingchan yelay ka* 칭찬여래가 稱讚如來歌 “Song of Praising Tathāgata”

References: Yu 1994: 889-910; Pak 2012: 214-227.

Original Text

- 1 今日部伊冬衣
- 2 南无佛也白孫舌良衣
- 3 无尽辯才叱海等
- 4 一念惡中涌出去良
- 5 塵塵虛物叱邀吕白乎隱
- 6 功德叱身乙對為白惡只
- 7 際于萬隱德海盼
- 8 間王冬留讚伊白制
- 9 隔句 必只一毛叱德置
- 10 毛等尽良白乎隱乃兮

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
遍於佛界罄丹衷	Throughout the Buddhist realm, exhausting [my] sincere heart,
一唱南無讚梵雄	A single chant of “Namo” praises the Brahma Hero.
辯海庶生三寸抄	[In] the ocean of debate, a mundane scholar [with] scrolls of three inches,
言泉希涌兩唇中	Spring of speech gushes out from between [his] two lips.
稱揚覺帝塵沙化	Praising the cultivation of dust and sand of the Enlightened Emperor,
頌詠醫王刹土風	Chanting the customs of the pure land of the Medicine King.
縱未談窮一毛德	Even without thoroughly talking about a tiny piece of merit,
此心直待盡虛空	[My] heart just awaits reaching the end of emptiness.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
57	20	22	37	2	2	83

Line 1

Original Text	今日部 ⁵² 伊冬衣
Transcription	오늘주비들의 WO.NOL-CWU.PI-tol=uy
MoK translation	오늘주비들에
English translation	The Mahāyāna disciples' [words]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘today’	금 <i>kum</i>	오늘 WO.NOL > 오늘 WO.NUL ‘today’	SAL
2	日		일 <i>il</i>		SAL
3	部	‘part, section’	부 <i>pwu</i>	주비 CWU.PI ‘party, disciple’	SAL
4	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 部 주비 CWU.PI)	PAP
5	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	-들 -tol > -들 -tul (plural suffix)	PAP
6	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 =uy (animate genitive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	南无佛也白孫舌良衣
Transcription	나무불여숯손허아의 NA.MWU-PWUL=ye SOLP-swo-n-HYE=a=uy
MoK translation	“나무불이여”라고 사되는 혀에
English translation	Upon the tongue (i.e., words) humbly saying, ‘Homage to Buddha’

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	南	‘namo’ (Sanskrit ‘to bow’)	남 <i>nam</i>	나무 NA.MWU ‘namo (Sanskrit ‘to bow’)	PAP
2	无		무 <i>mwu</i>		PAP
3	佛	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	불 PWUL ‘Buddha’	DAL
4	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 =ye (vocative particle)	PAP
5	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숯-/숯- SOLP-/SOLW- > 사뢰- SA.LWOY- ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem)	SAL
6	孫	‘grandson’	손 <i>swon</i>	-손- -swo-n- ← -소- -swo- (exclamatory suffix) + -ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)	PAP
7	舌	‘tongue’	설 <i>sel</i>	혀 HYE ‘tongue’	SAL
8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 =a (locative particle) =아의 =a=uy (locative)	PAP

⁵²Ceng Yelmwo 정열모 (1965: 392-393) proposes that the character sequence 今日部 refers to the sect or disciples of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the character sequence 頓部 refers to the sect or disciples of Theravāda Buddhism. This analysis follows this proposal, but the exact readings of these characters are uncertain.

9	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 = <i>uy</i> (locative particle)	particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	无尽辯才叱海等
Transcription	무진변챗바들 MWU-CIN-PYEN-CAY=s PA.TOL
MoK translation	무진변재의 바다
English translation	The sea of endless talent of debate

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	无	‘to lack’	무 <i>mwu</i>	무 <i>MWU</i> ‘to lack’	DAL
2	尽	‘to finish’	진 <i>cin</i>	진 <i>CIN</i> ‘to end’	DAL
3	辯	‘to debate’	변 <i>pyen</i>	변 <i>PYEN</i> ‘debate’	DAL
4	才	‘talent’	재 <i>cay</i>	재 <i>CAY</i> ‘talent’	DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ = <i>s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
6	海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	바들 <i>PA.TOL</i> > 바다 <i>PA.TA</i> ‘sea’	SAL
7	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	들 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 海 바들 <i>PA.TOL</i>)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	一念惡中涌出去良
Transcription	일념아괴쑏나거라 IL-NYEM=a-KUY SWOS-NA=ke.la
MoK translation	일념에서 쑏아나라!
English translation	[The sea of debate] gushes out from one mind!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	일 <i>IL</i> ‘one’		DAL
2	念	‘to think about; mind’	념 <i>nyem</i>	념 <i>NYEM</i> ‘mind’		DAL
3	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	ㅁ아 <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	ㅁ아귀 <i>=a-KUY</i> (locative particle)	PAP
4	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	ㅁ귀 <i>=KUY</i> (locative particle)		SAL
5	涌	‘to gush’	용 <i>yong</i>	쑏- <i>SWOS-</i> ‘to gush’ (stem)		SAL
6	出	‘to come out’	출 <i>chwul</i>	나- <i>NA-</i> ‘to come out’ (stem)		SAL
7	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	거 <i>ke</i>	ㅁ거라	PAP

8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	라 <i>-la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	<i>-ke.la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	塵塵虛物叱邀呂白乎隱[身]
Transcription	진진허물스모리숯은[몸] CIN-CIN-HE-MWUL=s MWOL.I-SOLP-wo-n-[MWOM]
MoK translation	진진허물이 모여 드리는 [몸]
English translation	[The body] where empty things in the world gather

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1/2	塵	‘dust, mundane world’	진 <i>cin</i>	진 <i>CIN</i> ‘(mundane) world’	DAL
3	虛	‘to be empty’	허 <i>he</i>	허 <i>HE</i> ‘to be empty’	DAL
4	物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	물 <i>MWUL</i> ‘thing’	DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	스 <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
6	邀	‘to invite’	요 <i>yo</i>	*모리- <i>*MWOL.I-</i> > 뫼- <i>MWOY-</i> > 모이- <i>MWO.I-</i> ‘to gather’ (stem)	SAL
7	呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 邀 *모리- <i>*MWOL.I-</i>)	PAP
8	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숯-/숯- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
9	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
10	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	功德叱身乙對為白惡只
Transcription	공덕스몸을대흐숯악 KWONG-TEK=s MWOM=ol TAY-HO-SOLW-a-k
MoK translation	공덕의 몸을 대하여
English translation	Facing the body of merit

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	功	‘merit’	공 <i>kwong</i>	공덕 <i>KWONG-TEK</i> ‘merit’	DAL
2	德		덕 <i>tek</i>		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	스 <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
4	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	몸 <i>MWOM</i> ‘body’	SAL

5	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	을/를 =(<i>l</i>)ol > 을/를 =(<i>l</i>)ul (accusative particle)	PAP
6	對	‘to face’	대 <i>tay</i>	대- <i>TAY</i> - ‘to face’ (stem)	DAL
7	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	-하- - <i>HO</i> - > -하- - <i>HA</i> - (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	쑤-/쑤- <i>SOLP-/SOLW</i> - > 사되- <i>SA.LWOY</i> - (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
9	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	-악 - <i>a-k</i> (emphatic infinitive suffix) ← -아- - <i>a</i> - (infinitive suffix) + -ㄱ - <i>k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
10	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>k</i> in 惡 -악 - <i>a-k</i>)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	際于萬隱德海盼
Transcription	갓가만덕해홀 KOS ka.ma-n-TEK-HAY=hol
MoK translation	가가 가만 덕해를
English translation	The sea of merit whose edge is black

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	際	‘edge’	제 <i>cey</i>	갓/갓 <i>KOS/KOZ</i> > 가 <i>KA</i> ‘edge’		SAL
2	于	‘to go’	우 <i>wu</i>	가 <i>ka</i> ← 가- <i>KA</i> - ‘to go’ (stem)	가만 <i>ka.man</i> ← 가만- <i>ka.ma-n</i> - ‘black’ ← 가망- <i>ka.mah</i> - ‘to be black’ (stem) + -ㄴ- - <i>n</i> - (adjectival adnominal suffix)	SAP
3	萬	‘ten thousand’	만 <i>man</i>	만 <i>man</i>		PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>n</i> in 萬 만 <i>man</i>)		PAP
5	德	‘inner quality’	덕 <i>tek</i>	덕 <i>TEK</i> ‘merit’		DAL
6	海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	해 <i>HAY</i> ‘sea’		SAL
7	盼	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	을/를 =(<i>l</i>)ol > 을/를 =(<i>l</i>)ul (accusative particle)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	間王冬留讚伊白制
Transcription	간왕들로기리습저 KAN.WANG-tol-lwo KI.LI-SOLP=cye
MoK translation	간왕들로 기려 드리겠다.
English translation	[I] wish to praise [the sea of merit] with <i>kanwang</i> .

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	間	‘interval’	간 <i>kan</i>	간왕 KAN.WANG ‘?’ ⁵³	DAL
2	王	‘king’	왕 <i>wang</i>		DAL
3	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	-들 <i>-tol</i> > -들 <i>-tul</i> (plural suffix)	PAP
4	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	=로 <i>-lwo</i> (instrumental particle)	PAP
5	讚	‘to praise’	찬 <i>chan</i>	기리- <i>KI.LI-</i> ‘to praise’ (stem)	SAL
6	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 讚 기리- <i>KI.LI-</i>)	PAP
7	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	습-/습- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사되- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	制	‘to make’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 <i>-cye</i> (optative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 9

Original Text	隔句 必只一毛叱德置
Transcription	반드시일뫼덕도 PAN.TO.KI IL-MWO=s TEK=two
MoK translation	반드시 적은 덕도
English translation	Surely even a tiny piece of merit

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	隔	‘to separate’	격 <i>kyek</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	句	‘sentence’	구 <i>kwu</i>		
3	必	‘surely’	필 <i>phil</i>	반드시 PAN.TO.KI > 반드시 PAN.TU.SI ‘surely’	SAL
4	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	기 <i>ki</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ki</i> in 必 반드시 PAN.TO.KI)	PAP

⁵³The word 間王 is not attested anywhere else. Some scholars associate it with 覺帝 or 鑿王, which appear in the Chinese translation of this poem, while Yu (1994: 902-903) associates it with 空王, a term referring to Buddha, based on the fact that the meaning of both 間 and 空 is relevant to space.

5	一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	일모 <i>IL-MWO</i> ‘a bit ← one piece of fur’	DAL
6	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>		DAL
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
8	德	‘inner quality’	덕 <i>tek</i>	덕 <i>TEK</i> ‘merit’	DAL
9	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	ㅌ도 <i>-two</i> (inclusive particle) ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	SAP

Line 10

Original Text	毛等尽良白乎隱乃兮
Transcription	모들다으아숄온나여 mwo.tol TA.O-a-SOLW-wo-n-na=YE
MoK translation	못 다해 드는 나라!
English translation	I, who am not able to fulfill [even a tiny piece of merit]!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모들 <i>mwo.tol</i> > 모들	PAP
2	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	들 <i>tol</i>	<i>mwo.tul</i> > 못 <i>mwot</i> > 못 <i>mwos</i> ‘cannot’	PAP
3	尽	‘to finish’	진 <i>cin</i>	다으- <i>TA.O-</i> > 다하- <i>TA.HA-</i> ‘to end’ (stem)		SAL
4	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
5	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숄-/숄- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> (humble complementary verb) (stem)		SAL
6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
8	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	나 <i>na</i> ‘I’		PAP
9	兮	exclamatory particle	혜 <i>hyey</i>	ㅌ여 <i>-YE</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

17 *Kwangswu kwongyang ka* 광수공양가 廣修供養歌 “Song of Widely Practicing Devotion”

References: Yu 1994: 911-931; Pak 2012: 228-240.

Original Text

- 1 火條執音馬
- 2 仏前灯乙直体良焉多衣
- 3 灯炷隱須弥也
- 4 灯油隱大海逸留去耶
- 5 手焉法界毛叱色只為拈
- 6 手良每如法叱供乙留
- 7 法界滿賜仁仏体
- 8 仏仏周物叱供為白制
- 9 阿耶 法供沙叱多奈
- 10 伊拈衣波最勝供也

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
至誠明照佛前燈	[With] utmost sincerity, brightly illuminating the lamp in front of the Buddha,
願此香籠法界興	May [with] this incense burner, the Dharma realm flourishes.
香似妙峰雲靄鬱	The incense is like the wondrous peak [where] the clouds are thick and gloomy,
油如大海水洪澄	The oil is like the great ocean [where] the water is vast and clear.
攝生代苦心常切	Nurturing life and enduring hardship, the heart is constantly earnest,
利物修行力漸增	Taking advantage of things and practicing Buddhism, the strength gradually increases.
餘供取齊斯法供	The remaining offerings equaling this Dharma offering,
直饒千萬摠難勝	Even one thousand or ten thousand [offerings] will not surpass [it].

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
53	27	16	36	2	0	81

Line 1

Original Text	火條執音馬
Transcription	불줄잡마 PWUL-CWUL CWI-m=ma
MoK translation	불줄을 쥐면서
English translation	While holding the fire string

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	火	‘fire’	화 <i>hwa</i>	불 <i>PWUL</i> ‘fire’	SAL
2	條	‘branch’	조 <i>cwo</i>	줄 <i>CWUL</i> ‘string’	SAL
3	執	‘to hold’	잡 <i>cip</i>	쥐- <i>CWI-</i> ‘to hold’ (stem)	SAL
4	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	-ㅁ- <i>-m-</i> (durative suffix)	PAP
5	馬	‘horse’	마 <i>ma</i>	=마 <i>=ma</i> (continuative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	仏前灯乙直体良焉多衣
Transcription	불전등을고티안디 PWUL-CEN-TUNG=ol KWO.THI-a-n-toy
MoK translation	불전등을 고치는 데
English translation	On the occasion of fixing the lamp in front of Buddha

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	불 <i>PWUL</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
2	前	‘front’	전 <i>cen</i>	전 <i>CEN</i> ‘front’	DAL
3	灯	‘lamp’	등 <i>tung</i>	등 <i>TUNG</i> ‘lamp’	DAL
4	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 <i>=(l)ol > =을/=를 <i>=(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)</i>	PAP
5	直	‘to be straight’	직 <i>cik</i>	고티- <i>KWO.THI-</i> > 고치- <i>KWO.CHI-</i> ‘to fix’ (stem)	SAL
6	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	티 <i>thi</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>thi</i> in 直 고티- <i>KWO.THI-</i>)	PAP
7	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
8	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
9	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	다 <i>ta</i>	PAP
10	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=이 <i>=oy</i> (locative particle)	디 <i>toy</i> > 데 <i>tey</i> ‘place, occasion’ PAP

Line 3

Original Text	灯炷隱須弥也

Transcription	등주는수미여 TUNG-CWU=non SWU.MI=ye
MoK translation	등주는 수미다.
English translation	The lamp wick is Mount Meru.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	灯	‘lamp’	등 <i>tung</i>	등 <i>TUNG</i> ‘lamp’	DAL
2	炷	‘wick’	주 <i>cwu</i>	주 <i>CWU</i> ‘wick’	DAL
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	은/는 <i>=(n)on</i> > 은/는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP
4	須	‘Mount Meru’	수 <i>swu</i>	수미 <i>SWU.MI</i> ‘Mount Meru’	DAL
5	弥		미 <i>mi</i>		DAL
6	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	여 <i>=ye</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	灯油隱大海逸留去耶
Transcription	등유논대해이루거라 TUNG-YU=non TAY-HAY i.lwu=ke.LA
MoK translation	등유는 대해를 이루어라!
English translation	The lamp oil makes the sea!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	灯	‘lamp’	등 <i>tung</i>	등 <i>TUNG</i>	‘lamp’	DAL
2	油	‘oil’	유 <i>yu</i>	유 <i>YU</i>	‘oil’	DAL
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	은/는 <i>=(n)on</i> > 은/는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)		PAP
4	大	‘to be big’	대 <i>tay</i>	대 <i>TAY</i>	‘to be big’	DAL
5	海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	해 <i>HAY</i>	‘sea’	DAL
6	逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	일 <i>il</i>	이루- <i>i.lwu</i> - ‘to make’ (stem) ← 일루 <i>il.lwu</i>	PAP
7	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	루 <i>lwu</i>		PAP
8	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	거 <i>ke</i>	거라 <i>=ke.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
9	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	라 <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	手焉法界毛吡色只為拈

Transcription	손은 법계못드록하며 SWON=on PEP-KYEEY mwos=to.lwok HO=mye
MoK translation	손은 법계가 끝날 때까지 하며
English translation	[My] hand acts until the realm of dharma ends, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	손 <i>SWON</i> ‘hand’		SAL
2	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	=은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)on > =은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)un (topic particle)		PAP
3	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’		DAL
4	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i> ‘realm’		DAL
5	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	못 - <i>mwos</i> - ‘to end’ (stem)	PAP
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	入 <i>s</i>		PAP
7	色 ⁵⁴	‘color’	색 <i>sayk</i>	=드록 = <i>to.lwok</i> (> =도록 = <i>two.lwok</i>) (allative particle) ← 돌- <i>TWOL</i> - ‘to turn’ (stem) ← ‘snake’		SAP
	巴	legendary giant snake	파 <i>pha</i>			
8	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>k</i> in 巴 =드록 = <i>to.lwok</i>)		PAP
9	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	ᄒ - <i>HO</i> - > 하- <i>HA</i> - ‘to do’ (stem)		SAL
10	旅	‘to be full’	미 <i>mi</i>	=며 = <i>mye</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	手良每如法叱供乙留
Transcription	손아마다법入공으로 SWON=a=MA.TA PEP=s KWONG=o-lwo
MoK translation	손마다 법의 공으로
English translation	With the offerings of dharma in each hand

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	손 <i>SWON</i> ‘hand’		SAL
2	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 = <i>a</i> (locative particle)		PAP
3	每	‘every’	매 <i>may</i>	=마다 = <i>MA.TA</i> ‘every’		SAL
4	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	다 <i>ta</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ta</i> in 每 =마다 = <i>MA.TA</i> ‘every’) ← -답- - <i>TAP</i> - ‘to resemble’		SAP

⁵⁴The character 色 is regarded as a graphic error of the character 巴 due to the similarity in their graphic form.

				(complementary verb) (stem)	
5	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’	DAL
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	= ㅅ =s (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
7	供	‘offering’	공 <i>kwong</i>	공 <i>KWONG</i> ‘offering’	DAL
8	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	을 <i>ol</i>	= ㅁ로 =o-lwo (instrumental particle)
9	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	=로 =lwo (instrumental particle)	

Line 7

Original Text	法界滿賜仁仏体
Transcription	법계츠신부터 PEP-KYEEY CHO-si-n-PWU-THYE
MoK translation	법계에 차시는 부처
English translation	Buddhas filling the realm of dharma

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’	DAL
2	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i> ‘realm’	DAL
3	滿	‘to be full’	만 <i>man</i>	츠- CHO- > 차- CHA- ‘to be full’ (stem)	SAL
4	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- -si- (honorific suffix)	PAP
5	仁	‘humanity’	인 <i>in</i>	-ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
7	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>		DAL

Line 8

Original Text	仏仏周物叱供為白制
Transcription	불불두루갓공ㅎ솝저 PWUL-PWUL TWU.LWU KAS KWONG-HO-SOLP-cye
MoK translation	불불에게 모두를 공해 드리겠다.
English translation	[I] wish to offer all things to all Buddhas.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1/2	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	불 <i>PWUL</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
3	周	‘to surround, to be complete’	주 <i>cwu</i>	두루 <i>TWU.LWU</i> ‘completely’	SAL
4	物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	갓 <i>KAS</i> > 것 <i>KES</i> ‘thing’	SAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ s (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 物 갓 <i>KAS</i>)	PAP

6	供	‘offering’	공 <i>kwong</i>	공 <i>KWONG</i> ‘offering’	DAL
7	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	- ㅎ - <i>-HO-</i> > -하- <i>-HA-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	쑤-/쑤- <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
9	制	‘to make’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 = <i>cyē</i> (optative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 9

Original Text	阿耶 法供沙叱多奈
Transcription	아야법공삿만하나 a.ya PEP-KWONG=za-s MAN.HO=na
MoK translation	아야, 법공이 많으나
English translation	Ah, although the offerings of dharma are plentiful

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아야 <i>a.ya</i> (exclamatory expression)	PAP
2	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP
3	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’		DAL
4	供	‘offering’	공 <i>kwong</i>	공 <i>KWONG</i> ‘offering’		DAL
5	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	=ㅏ = <i>za</i> (emphatic particle)	=ㅏㅓ = <i>za-s</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅓ - <i>s</i> (emphatic suffix)		PAP
7	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	만ㅎ - <i>MAN.HO-</i> > 많- <i>MANH-</i> ‘to be plentiful’ (stem)		SAL
8	奈	‘how’	나 <i>na</i>	=나 = <i>na</i> (adversative conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 10

Original Text	伊於衣波最勝供也
Transcription	이어의마최승공여 I=e-uy pa CHWOY-SUNG-KWONG=ye
MoK translation	이 것이야 최승공이다
English translation	This is the best offering.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL

2	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	어 <i>e</i>	=어의 <i>=e-uy</i> (> =에 <i>=ey</i>) (locative particle)	PAP
3	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)		PAP
4	波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	바 <i>pa</i> ‘thing’		PAP
5	最	‘most’	최 <i>chwoy</i>	최 <i>CHWOY</i> ‘most’		DAL
6	勝	‘to be superior’	승 <i>sung</i>	승 <i>SUNG</i> ‘to be superior’		DAL
7	供	‘offering’	공 <i>kwong</i>	공 <i>KWONG</i> ‘offering’		DAL
8	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 <i>=ye</i> (declarative sentence ending)		PAP

18 *Chamhwoy epcang ka* 참회업장가 懺悔業障歌 “Song of Repenting Karmic Obstacles”

Sources: Yu 1994: 932-960; Pak 2012: 241-255.

Original Text

- 1 顛倒逸耶
- 2 菩提向焉道乙迷波
- 3 造將來卧乎隱惡寸隱
- 4 法界餘音玉只出隱伊音叱如支
- 5 惡寸習落卧乎隱三業
- 6 淨戒叱主留卜以支乃遣只
- 7 今日部頓部叱懺悔
- 8 十方叱仏体闊遣只賜立
- 9 落句 眾生界尽我懺尽
- 10 來際永良造物捨齊

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
自從無始劫初中	Since the beginningless past and the inception of disasters,
三毒成來罪幾重	The three poisons having formed, how many layers of sins [have been there]?
若此惡緣元有相	If this evil karma originally had form,
盡諸空界不能容	The entire empty realm could not contain it.
思量業障堪惆悵	Reflecting on karmic obstacles is truly distressing.
罄竭丹誠豈墮慵	Exhausting [my] sincerity, how could [I] fall into laziness?
今願懺除持淨戒	Now [I] wish to repent and get rid of [my sins] and uphold pure commandments,
永離塵染似青松	Forever separate from mundane defilement, like a green pine tree.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
67	29	20	34	4	2	89

Line 1

Original Text	顛倒逸耶
Transcription	전도일라 CEN-TWO il-LA
MoK translation	전도되라!
English translation	Toppled and fallen!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	顛	‘to topple’	전 <i>cen</i>	전 <i>CEN</i> ‘to topple’	DAL
2	倒	‘to fall’	도 <i>two</i>	도 <i>TWO</i> ‘to fall’	DAL
3	逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	일- <i>il-</i> ‘to happen’ (stem)	PAP
4	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	=라 <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	菩提向焉道乙迷波
Transcription	보리아온 길을 입바 PWO.LI A.WO-n-KILH=ol IP-pa
MoK translation	보리가 향하는 길을 혼미하여
English translation	Confused with the way which bodhi goes toward

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	菩	‘bodhi’	보 <i>pwo</i>	보제 <i>PWO.CEY</i> > 보리 <i>PWO.LI</i> ‘bodhi’	DAL
2	提		제 <i>cey</i>		DAL
3	向	‘to go toward’	향 <i>hyang</i>	아으- <i>A.O-</i> ‘to go toward’ (stem)	SAL
4	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	길/궤 <i>KIL(H)</i> > 길 <i>KIL</i> ‘road’	SAL
6	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 <i>=(l)ol</i> > =을/=를 <i>=(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
7	迷	‘to be confused’	미 <i>mi</i>	입-/일- <i>IP(W)-</i> ‘to be confused’ (stem)	SAL
8	波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	마 <i>pa</i> ‘thing’	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	造將來卧乎隱惡寸隱
Transcription	짓려논 온곳준은 CIS-LYE-no-wo-n-KWUC- {c} wo-n-on
MoK translation	지으려는 곳은 것은
English translation	The bad [things] that [people] are about to make

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	造	‘to make’	조 <i>cwo</i>	짓- <i>CIS-</i> ‘to make’ (stem)	SAL
2	將	‘future’	장 <i>cang</i>	=려 = <i>LYE</i> (optative particle)	SAL
3	來		래 <i>lay</i>		SAL
4	卧	‘to lie down’	와 <i>wa</i>	-ㄴ- = <i>no-</i> (present suffix) ← 눕- <i>NWUP-</i> ‘to lie down’ (stem)	SAP
5	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- = <i>wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
6	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- = <i>n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
7	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	꺾- <i>KWUC-</i> ‘to be bad’ (stem)	SAL
8	寸	measure of length	촌 <i>chwon</i>	존- { <i>c</i> } <i>wo-n-</i> ← ㅈ <i>c</i> (final consonant in 惡 꺾- <i>kwuc-</i>) + -오- = <i>wo-</i> (assertive suffix) + -ㄴ- = <i>n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 =(<i>n</i>) <i>on</i> > =은/=는 =(<i>n</i>) <i>un</i> (topic particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	法界餘音玉只出隱伊音叱如支
Transcription	법계남옥난임스다기 PEP-KYEEY NAM-wo-k NA-n-i=msta-ki
MoK translation	법계에 남게 나는 것이다!
English translation	[The bad things] will [surely] remain in the realm of dharma and come out.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i>	‘dharma’	DAL
2	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i>	‘realm’	DAL
3	餘	‘to remain’	여 <i>ye</i>	남- <i>NAM-</i>	‘to remain’ (stem)	SAL
4	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>m</i> in 餘 남- <i>NAM-</i>)		PAP
5	玉	‘jade’	옥 <i>wok</i>	-옥 = <i>wo-k</i> ← -오- = <i>wo-</i> (assertive suffix) + -ㄱ = <i>k</i> (emphatic suffix)		PAP
6	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>k</i> in 玉 옥 = <i>wo-k</i>)		PAP
7	出	‘to come out’	출 <i>chwul</i>	나- <i>NA-</i>	‘to come out’ (stem)	SAL
8	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- = <i>n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
9	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이- <i>i-</i>	(copula) (stem)	PAP
10	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>	=ㅁ스다 =msta (speculative)	PAP
11	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>		PAP
12	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 = <i>ta</i> (declarative sentence)		SAP

				ending) ← -답- -TAP- ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	sentence ending)	
13	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 - <i>ki</i> (adverbial suffix) (?)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	惡寸習落卧乎隱三業
Transcription	궂존버룻디느온삼업 KWUC- <i>{c}</i> wo-n-PE.LUS TI-no-wo-n-SAM-EP
MoK translation	궂은 버룻이 지는 삼업
English translation	The three karmas on which the bad habits fall

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	궂- <i>KWUC</i> - ‘to be bad’ (stem)	SAL
2	寸	measure of length	촌 <i>chwon</i>	존- <i>{c}</i> wo-n- ← ㅈ <i>c</i> (final consonant in 惡 궂- <i>kwuc</i> -) + -오- - <i>wo</i> - (assertive suffix) + -ㄴ- - <i>n</i> - (adnominal suffix)	PAP
3	習	‘habit’	습 <i>sup</i>	버룻 <i>PE.LUS</i> ‘habit’	SAL
4	落	‘to fall’	락 <i>lak</i>	디- <i>TI</i> - > 지- <i>CI</i> - ‘to fall’ (stem)	SAL
5	卧	‘to lie down’	와 <i>wa</i>	-느 - <i>no</i> (present suffix) ← 눕- <i>NWUP</i> - ‘to lie down’ (stem)	SAP
6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오 - <i>wo</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- - <i>n</i> - (adnominal suffix)	PAP
8	三	‘three’	삼 <i>sam</i>	삼 <i>SAM</i> ‘three’	DAL
9	業	‘karma’	업 <i>ep</i>	업 <i>EP</i> ‘karma’	DAL

Line 6

Original Text	淨戒叱主留卜以支乃遣只
Transcription	정궂주로디니기내궂 CENG-KYEEY=s CWU=lwo TI.NI-ki NAY=kwo-k
MoK translation	정궂주로 지니어 내궂
English translation	[People] take out [the three karmas] carried by Masters of the Buddhist vow, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	淨	‘Buddhist vow’	정 <i>ceng</i>	정궂 <i>CENG-KYEEY</i> ‘Buddhist vow’	DAL
2	戒		궂 <i>kyey</i>		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ = <i>s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)	PAP
4	主	‘master’	주 <i>cwu</i>	주 <i>CWU</i> ‘master’	DAL
5	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	=로 = <i>lwo</i> (instrumental particle)	PAP

6	卜 ⁵⁵	‘to divine’	복 <i>pwok</i>	디니- <i>TI.NI</i> - > 지니- <i>CI.NI</i> - ‘to carry’ (stem)	SAL
	負	‘to carry on back’	부 <i>pwu</i>		
7	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>i</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>i</i> in 卜 디니- <i>TI.NI</i> -)	PAP
8	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
9	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	내- <i>NAY</i> - ‘to take out’ (stem)	PAP
10	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	ㄴ고 <i>-kwo</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP
11	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	今日部頓部叱懺悔
Transcription	오늘주비돈주빃참회 WO.NOL-CWU.PI TWON-CWU.PI-s CHAM-HWOY
MoK translation	오늘주비와 돈주비의 참회
English translation	The repentance of Mahāyāna disciples and Theravāda disciples

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘today’	금 <i>kum</i>	오늘 <i>WO.NOL</i> > 오늘 <i>WO.NUL</i> ‘today’	SAL
2	日		일 <i>il</i>		SAL
3	部	‘part, section’	부 <i>pwu</i>	주비 <i>CWU.PI</i> ‘party, disciple’	SAL
4	頓	‘to bow; suddenly’	돈 <i>twon</i>	돈 <i>TWON</i>	DAL
5	部	‘part, section’	부 <i>pwu</i>	주비 <i>CWU.PI</i> ‘party, disciple’	SAL
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>-s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)	PAP
7	懺	‘repentance’	참 <i>cham</i>	참회 <i>CHAM-HWOY</i> ‘repentance’	DAL
8	悔		회 <i>hwoy</i>		DAL

Line 8

Original Text	十方叱仏体闕遣只賜立
Transcription	십방ㅅ부터알곡시셔 SIP-PANG=s PWU-THYE al-kwo-k-si-sye
MoK translation	십방의 부처 아시소서.
English translation	Buddhas of all directions, please know [the repentance].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	十	‘ten’	십 <i>sip</i>	십 <i>SIP</i> ‘ten’	DAL
2	方	‘direction’	방 <i>pang</i>	방 <i>PANG</i> ‘direction’	DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
4	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i>	DAL

⁵⁵The character 卜 is regarded as an abbreviated form of the character 負.

5	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	‘Buddha’	DAL
6	闕	‘to block’	알 <i>al</i>	알- <i>al-</i> ‘to know’ (stem)	PAP
7	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	-고- <i>-kwo-</i> (optative suffix)	PAP
8	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ- <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
9	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
10	立	‘to stand’	립 <i>lip</i>	ㅁ셔 <i>-sye</i> (imperative sentence ending) ← 서- <i>-SE-</i> ‘to stand’ (verb)	SAP

Line 9

*The character sequence 眾生界盡我懺盡 represents a sentence in Literary Sinitic, so every character is regarded as a DAL.

Original Text	落句 眾生界盡我懺盡
Transcription	중생계진아참진 CWUNG-SAYNG-KYEEY CIN A CHAM CIN
MoK translation	
English translation	[If] the realm of all living beings ends, my repentance ends.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	落	‘to fall’	락 <i>lak</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	句	‘sentence’	구 <i>kwu</i>		
3	眾	‘all living beings’	중 <i>cwung</i>	중생 <i>CWUNG-SAYNG</i> ‘all living beings’	DAL
4	生		생 <i>sayng</i>		DAL
5	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i> ‘realm’	DAL
6	盡	‘to end’	진 <i>cin</i>	진 <i>CIN</i> ‘to end’	DAL
7	我	‘I’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>A</i> ‘I’	DAL
8	懺	‘repentance’	참 <i>cham</i>	참 <i>CHAM</i> ‘repentance’	DAL
9	盡	‘to end’	진 <i>cin</i>	진 <i>CIN</i> ‘to end’	DAL

Line 10

Original Text	來際永良造物捨齊
Transcription	래제길어조물브리져 LAY-CEY KIL-e CWO-MWUL PWO.LI-cye
MoK translation	래제가 길어 조물을 버리겠다.
English translation	The time to come being long, [I] wish to abandon the fate.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	래 <i>LAY</i> ‘to come’	DAL
2	際	‘occasion, time’	제 <i>cey</i>	제 <i>CEY</i> ‘occasion, time’	DAL
3	永	‘to be everlasting’	영 <i>yeng</i>	길- <i>KIL-</i> ‘to be long’ (stem)	SAL
4	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
5	造	‘nature; fate’	조 <i>cwo</i>	조물 <i>CWO-MWUL</i> ‘nature; fate’	DAL
6	物		물 <i>mwul</i>		DAL

7	捨	‘to abandon’	사 <i>sa</i>	ㅅ리- <i>PO.LI-</i> > 버리- <i>PE.LI-</i> ‘to abandon’ (stem)	SAL
8	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 <i>=cye</i> (optative sentence ending)	PAP

19 *Swuhuy kwongtek ka* 수희공덕가 隨喜功德歌 “Song of Muditā and Merit”

References: Yu 1994: 961-980; Pak 2012: 256-270.

Original Text

- 1 迷悟同體叱
- 2 緣起叱理良尋只見根
- 3 仏伊眾生毛叱所只
- 4 吾衣身不喻仁人音有叱下呂
- 5 修叱賜乙隱頓部叱吾衣修叱孫丁
- 6 得賜伊馬落人米无叱昆
- 7 於內人衣善陵等沙
- 8 不冬喜好尸置乎理叱過
- 9 後句 伊羅擬可行等
- 10 嫉妬叱心音至刀來去

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
聖凡真妄莫相分	The sagely and the mundane, the true and the false, no one distinguishes [them],
同體元來普法門	[They are of] the same entity, originating from the common Dharma gate.
生外本無餘佛義	Outside life, there are originally no remaining meanings of the Buddha,
我邊寧有別人論	How can there be others discussing [from] my perspective?
三明積集多功德	The three kinds of brightness accumulating, merits and virtues abound,
六趣修成少善根	The six realms cultivated, good roots are scarce.
他造盡皆為自造	All that others create is [what I] create myself.
摠堪隨喜摠堪尊	[I] am always able to be pleased by good deeds, [I] am always able to be respectable.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
70	15	26	48	2	2	93

Line 1

Original Text	迷悟同体叱
Transcription	미오동첻 MI-WO TWONG-CHEY=s
MoK translation	미오동체의
English translation	Confusion and enlightenment being the same entity

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	迷	‘to be confused’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 <i>MI</i> ‘to be confused’	DAL
2	悟	‘to be enlightened’	오 <i>wo</i>	오 <i>WO</i> ‘to be enlightened’	DAL
3	同	‘to be same’	동 <i>twong</i>	동 <i>TWONG</i> ‘to be same’	DAL
4	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	체 <i>CHEY</i> ‘body’	DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	緣起叱理良尋只見根
Transcription	연깃리아촛기보곤 YEN-KI=s LI=a CHOC-ki-PWO=kwon
MoK translation	연기의 리에서 찾아보니
English translation	Trying looking for (...) at the principle of origin [that confusion and enlightenment are the same entity]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	緣	‘origin’	연 <i>yen</i>	연기 <i>YEN-KI</i> ‘origin’	DAL
2	起		기 <i>ki</i>		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
4	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>LI</i> ‘principle’	DAL
5	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	PAP
6	尋	‘to look for’	심 <i>sim</i>	촛- <i>CHOC-</i> > 찛- <i>CHAC-</i> ‘to look for’ (stem)	SAL
7	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기 <i>-ki</i> (nominalizing suffix)	PAP
8	見	‘to look’	견 <i>kyen</i>	-보- <i>-PWO-</i> ‘to try doing something’ (complementary verb) (stem) < 보- <i>PWO-</i> ‘to look’ (stem)	SAL
9	根	‘root’	근 <i>kun</i>	=곤 <i>=kwon</i> (apperceptive particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	仏伊眾生毛叱所只
Transcription	불이중생몯드록 PWUL=i CWUNG-SAYNG mwos=TO.LWOK
MoK translation	불이 중생을 마칠 때까지

English translation	Until Buddha ends all living beings

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	불 <i>PWUL</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
2	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	=이 <i>-i</i> (nominative particle)	PAP
3	衆	‘all living beings’	중 <i>cwung</i>	중생 <i>CWUNG-SAYNG</i> ‘all living beings’	DAL
4	生		생 <i>sayng</i>		DAL
5	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	PAP
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	入 <i>s</i>	PAP
				못- <i>mwos-</i> ‘to end’ (stem)	
7	所	‘place’	소 <i>swo</i>	=도록 <i>=TO.LWOK</i> > =도록 <i>=TWO.LWOK</i> (allative particle)	SAL
8	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-k</i> in 所 =도록 <i>=TO.LWOK</i>)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	吾衣身不喻仁人音有叱下呂
Transcription	나의몸모들ㄴ사람잇아리 NA=uy MWOM MWO.TOL-n-SA.LOM IS=a-li
MoK translation	내 몸이 아닌 사람이 있는가?
English translation	Are there people who are not my body (i.e., who are not me)?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
2	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (animate genitive particle)	PAP
3	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	몸 <i>MWOM</i> ‘body’	SAL
4	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’	SAL
5	喻	‘to understand’	유 <i>yu</i>	들 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 不 모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i>)	PAP
6	仁	‘humanity’	인 <i>in</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
7	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	사람 <i>SA.LOM</i> > 사람 <i>SA.LAM</i> ‘person’	SAL
8	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 人 사람 <i>SA.LOM</i>)	PAP
9	有	‘to have; to’	유 <i>yu</i>	잇- <i>IS-</i> > 잇- <i>ISS-</i>	SAL

		exist'		'to have; to exist' (stem)		
10	叱	'to scold'	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ -s (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 有 잇- <i>IS-</i>)		PAP
11	下	'under, down'	하 <i>ha</i>	알 <i>al</i> ← 알이 <i>AL.OY</i> (> 아래 <i>A.LAY</i>) 'under'	=아리 <i>=a-li</i> (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- <i>-a-</i> [infinitive suffix] + -리- <i>-li-</i> [prospective suffix]) ← 알리 <i>al.li</i>	SAP
12	呂	'spine'	려 <i>lye</i>	리 <i>li</i>		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	修叱賜乙隱頓部叱吾衣修叱孫丁
Transcription	닷실은돈주빚나의닷손더 TAS.si.l=on TWON-CWU.PI=s NA=uy TAS-swo-n=tye
MoK translation	닦으실 것은 돈주비의 나의 닦는 것이라!
English translation	Cultivating is my, as a Theravāda disciple, cultivation!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	修	'to cultivate'	수 <i>swu</i>	닷-/닦- <i>TAS(K)-</i> > 닦- <i>TAKK-</i> 'to polish, cultivate' (stem)	SAL
2	叱	'to scold'	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ -s (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 修 닻- <i>TAS-</i>)	PAP
3	賜	'to bestow'	사 <i>sa</i>	-ㅅ- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
4	乙	second item in the ten "Heavenly Stems"	을 <i>ul</i>	-ㄹ- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	隱	'to conceal'	은 <i>un</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)	PAP
6	頓	'to bow; suddenly'	돈 <i>twon</i>	돈 <i>TWON</i>	DAL
7	部	'part, section'	부 <i>pwu</i>	주비 <i>CWU.PI</i> 'party, disciple'	SAL
8	叱	'to scold'	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ =s (honorific genitive suffix)	PAP
9	吾	'I'	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> 'I'	SAL
10	衣	'clothing'	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 =uy (animate genitive particle)	PAP
11	修	'to cultivate'	수 <i>swu</i>	닷-/닦- <i>TAS(K)-</i> > 닦- <i>TAKK-</i> 'to polish, cultivate' (stem)	SAL
12	叱	'to scold'	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ -s (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 修 닻- <i>TAS-</i>)	PAP
13	孫	'grandson'	손 <i>swon</i>	-손- <i>-swo-n-</i> ← -소- <i>-swo-</i>	PAP

				(exclamatory suffix) + -ㄴ -n- (adnominal suffix)	
14	丁	fourth item in the ten “heavenly branches”	정 <i>ceng</i>	ㄴ더 <i>=tye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending) ← ㅌ <i>to</i> ‘fact’ + ㅁ여 <i>=ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	得賜伊馬落人米无叱昆
Transcription	얻시이마락사름미없곤 ET-si I=ma.lak SA.LOM={m}i EPS=kwon
MoK translation	얻으실 이마다 사람이 없으니
English translation	People not having everything that they intend to obtain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	得	‘to obtain’	덕 <i>tek</i>	얻- <i>ET-</i>	‘to obtain’ (stem)	SAL
2	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i>	(honorific suffix)	PAP
3	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i>	‘this’	SAL
4	馬	‘horse’	마 <i>ma</i>	마 <i>ma</i>	=마락 <i>=ma.lak</i> > =마다 <i>=ma.ta</i> ‘every’	PAP
5	洛	name of a river	락 <i>lak</i>	락 <i>lak</i>		PAP
6	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	사름 <i>SA.LOM</i> > 사람 <i>SA.LAM</i>	‘person’	SAL
7	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 <i>{m}i</i> ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -m in 人 사름 <i>SA.LOM</i>) + ㅁ이 <i>=i</i> (nominative particle)		PAP
8	无	‘to not have, lack’	무 <i>mwu</i>	없- <i>EPS-</i>	‘to not have’ (stem)	SAL
9	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 无 없- <i>EPS-</i>)		PAP
10	昆	‘sibling’	곤 <i>kwon</i>	=곤 <i>=kwon</i>	(apperceptive particle)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	矜内人衣善陵等沙
Transcription	어느사람의선능돌사 e.no SA.LOM=uy SEN-NUNG-tol=za
MoK translation	어느 사람의 선들
English translation	The goodness of certain people

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type

1	於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	어 <i>e</i>	어느 <i>e.no</i> > 어느 <i>e.nu</i> ‘certain’	PAP
2	內	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	느 <i>no</i>		PAP
3	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	사름 <i>SA.LOM</i> > 사람 <i>SA.LAM</i> ‘person’		SAL
4	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>-uy</i> (animate genitive particle)		PAP
5	善	‘to be good’	선 <i>sen</i>	선능 <i>SEN-NUNG</i> ‘(hill of) goodness’		DAL
6	陵	‘hill’	릉 <i>lung</i>			DAL
7	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	-들 <i>-tol</i> > -들 <i>-tul</i> (plural suffix)		PAP
8	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	=ㅅㅏ <i>-za</i> (emphatic particle)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	不冬喜好尸置乎理叱過
Transcription	모들깃홀두오릿가 MWO.TOL KIS-ho-l-TWU-wo-li-s=ka
MoK translation	안 기뻐할 것이 있는가?
English translation	Will [Buddha] not be happy with [the goodness of certain people]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’	SAL
2	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 不 모들 <i>MWO.TOL</i>)	PAP
3	喜	‘to be happy’	희 <i>huy</i>	깃-/깃- <i>KIS(K)</i> - ‘to be happy’ (stem)	SAL
4	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	-헝- <i>-HO-</i> > -하- <i>-HA-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	PAP
5	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	두- <i>twu-</i> (continuative complementary verb) (stem) ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	SAL
7	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
8	理	‘inner structure’	리 <i>li</i>	-리- <i>-li-</i> (prospective suffix)	PAP
9	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ- <i>-s</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP

10	過	‘to pass’	과 <i>kwa</i>	=가 <i>-ka</i> (interrogative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 9

Original Text	後句 伊羅擬可行等
Transcription	이라너겨니든 I=la NE.KI- {ki} e-NI=ton
MoK translation	이라고 여겨 가면
English translation	If thinking in this way

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	後	‘back’	후 <i>hwu</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	句	‘sentence’	구 <i>kwu</i>		
3	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
4	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	=라 <i>-la</i> (sentence ending)	PAP
5	擬	‘to plan, imitate’	의 <i>uy</i>	너기- <i>NE.KI-</i> > 여기- <i>YE.KI-</i> ‘to think’ (stem)	SAL
6	可	‘to be all right, to be possible’	가 <i>ka</i>	겨 <i>kye</i> ← 기 <i>ki</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>ki</i> in 擬 너기- <i>NE.KI-</i>) + -어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
7	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	-니- <i>-NI-</i> (progressive complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	=든 <i>-ton</i> (conditional particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	嫉妬叱心音至刀來去
Transcription	질투몹숨니를도오가 CIL.THWU=s MO.ZOM NI.LUL=two WO=ka
MoK translation	질투의 마음이 일러 오는 것도 있는가?
English translation	Will there even be the arrival of the heart of jealousy?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	嫉	‘jealousy’	질 <i>cil</i>	질투 <i>CIL-THWU</i> ‘jealousy’	DAL
2	妬		투 <i>thwu</i>		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=스 <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
4	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	몹숨 <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’	SAL
5	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	口 <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the	PAP

				final consonant <i>-m</i> in 心 막숨 <i>MO.ZOM</i>)	
6	至	‘to arrive’	지 <i>ci</i>	니를- <i>NI.LUL-</i> > 이르- <i>I.LU-</i> ‘to arrive’ (stem)	SAL
7	刀	‘knife’	도 <i>two</i>	=도 <i>-two</i> (inclusive particle)	PAP
8	來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	오- <i>WO-</i> ‘to come’ (stem)	SAL
9	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	=가 <i>-ka</i> (interrogative sentence ending) ← 가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	SAP

20 Chengcen peplyun ka 청전법륜가 請轉法輪歌
“Song of Requesting to Turn the Wheel of Dharma”

Sources: Yu 1994: 981-1001; Pak 2012: 271-284.

Original Text

- 1 彼仍反隱
- 2 法界惡之叱仏會阿希
- 3 吾焉頓叱進良只
- 4 法雨乙乞白乎叱等耶
- 5 无明土深以埋多
- 6 煩惱熱留煎將來出米
- 7 善芽毛冬長乙隱
- 8 眾生叱田乙潤只沙音也
- 9 後言 菩提叱菓音烏乙反隱
- 10 覺月明斤秋察羅波处也

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
68	20	21	40	0	2	83

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
佛陀成道數難陈	The Buddha's achieving the way, the number difficult to enumerate,
我願皆趨正覺因	I wish that everyone pursues the causes of appropriate enlightenment.
甘露灑消煩惱熱	The sweet dew sprinkles to dispel the heat of kleśa,
戒香薰滅罪愆塵	The incense of commandments cauterizes to eradicate the dust of sins.
陪隨善友瞻慈室	[I] accompany kind friends to look up to the compassionate room,
勸請能人轉法輪	[I] urge capable people to turn the wheel of Dharma.
雨寶遍沾沙界後	After the treasure of rain completely nourishes countless realms,
更於何處有迷人	Where else will there be confused people?

Line 1

Original Text	彼仍反隱[仏會]
Transcription	저너븐[불회] TYE nep-un-[PWUL-HWOY]
MoK translation	저 넓은 [불회]
English translation	That broad [Buddhist gathering]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	彼	‘that’	피 <i>phi</i>	더 <i>TYE</i> > 저 <i>CE</i> ‘that’		SAL
2	仍	‘to follow’	잉 <i>ing</i>	너 <i>ne</i>	너븐- <i>ne.pun</i> - ‘broad’ ← 넙- <i>nep</i> - (> 넓- <i>nelp</i> -) ‘to be broad’ (stem) + -ㄴ- - <i>n</i> - (adnominal suffix)	PAP
3	反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	븐 <i>pun</i>		PAP
4	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 反 븐 <i>pun</i>)		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	法界惡之叱仏會阿希
Transcription	법계아윗불회아희 PEP-KYEEY=a=UY=s PWUL-HWOY=a-huy
MoK translation	법계에서의 불회에
English translation	In the Buddhist gathering in the realm of dharma

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’		DAL
2	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i> ‘realm’		DAL
3	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	=아 <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	=아읏 <i>=a=UY=s</i> (locative genitive particle)	PAP
4	之	genitive particle	지 <i>ci</i>	=의 <i>=UY</i> (animate genitive particle)		SAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP
6	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	불 <i>PWUL</i> ‘Buddha’		DAL
7	會	‘to meet’	회 <i>hwoy</i>	회 <i>HWOY</i> ‘gathering’		DAL
8	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	=아 <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	=아회 <i>=a-huy</i> (locative particle)	PAP
9	希	‘to hope’	희 <i>huy</i>	=희 <i>=huy</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	吾焉頓叱進良只
Transcription	나논문듯나스악

	NA=non MWUN.TUS NA.ZO-a-k
MoK translation	나는 문득 나아가
English translation	I suddenly go forward, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
2	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	=은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)on > =은/=는 =(<i>n</i>)un (topic particle)	PAP
3	頓	‘to bow; suddenly’	돈 <i>twon</i>	문듯 <i>MWUN.TUS</i> > 문득 <i>MWUN.TUK</i> ‘suddenly’	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	入 <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 頓 문듯 <i>MWUN.TUS</i>)	PAP
5	進	‘to enter; to go forward’	진 <i>cin</i>	나스- <i>NA.ZO-</i> ‘to go forward’ (stem)	SAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
7	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	法雨乙乞白乎叱等耶
Transcription	법우를빌숯옷드야 PEP-WU=lol PIL-SOLP-wo=sto.LA
MoK translation	법우를 빌어 드리더라!
English translation	[I] pray for the rain of dharma!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i> ‘dharma’		DAL
2	雨	‘rain’	우 <i>wu</i>	우 <i>WU</i> ‘rain’		DAL
3	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 =(<i>l</i>)ol > =을/=를 =(<i>l</i>)ul (accusative particle)		PAP
4	乞	‘to pray’	걸 <i>kel</i>	빌- <i>PIL-</i> ‘to pray’ (stem)		SAL
5	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숯-/숯- <i>SOLp-/SOLW-</i> > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> (humble complementary verb) (stem)		SAL
6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	=ㅅ드라 = <i>sto.LA</i> (exclamatory)	PAP
8	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㅌ <i>to</i>		PAP

9	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	ㄹ라 <i>-LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	sentence ending)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	无明土深以埋多
Transcription	무명토깊이무다 MWU-MYENG-THWO KIPH-i MWUT- <i>{t}</i> a-
MoK translation	무명토에 깊이 묻어
English translation	Buring [the sprouts of goodness] deeply in the soil of unenlightenment

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	无	‘to be unenlightened’	무 <i>mwu</i>	무명 <i>MWU-MYENG</i>	DAL
2	明		명 <i>myeng</i>	‘to be unenlightened’	DAL
3	土	‘soil’	토 <i>thwo</i>	토 <i>THWO</i> ‘soil’	DAL
4	深	‘to be deep’	심 <i>sim</i>	깊- <i>KIPH-</i> ‘to be deep’ (stem)	SAL
5	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	-이 <i>-i</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
6	埋	‘to bury’	매 <i>may</i>	묻- <i>MWUT-</i> ‘to bury’ (stem)	SAL
7	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	다- <i>{t}a-</i> < ㄷ <i>t</i> (final consonant in 埋 묻- <i>MWUT-</i>) + -아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	煩惱熱留煎將來出米
Transcription	번뇌열로다리려내며 PEN-NWOY-YEL=lwo TA.LI=LYE-NAY=mye
MoK translation	번뇌열로 다리려고 내며
English translation	Intending to iron [the sprouts of goodness] with the heat of kleśa and take [them] out, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	煩	‘kleshas (disturbing emotion)’	번 <i>pen</i>	번뇌 <i>PEN-NWOY</i> ‘kleśa (disturbing emotion)’	DAL
2	惱		뇌 <i>nwoy</i>		DAL
3	熱	‘heat’	열 <i>yel</i>	열 <i>YEL</i> ‘heat’	DAL
4	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	ㄹ로 <i>-lwo</i> (instrumental particle)	PAP
5	煎	‘to fry’	전 <i>cen</i>	다리- <i>TA.LI-</i> ‘to iron’ (stem)	SAL
6	將	‘future’	장 <i>cang</i>	ㄹ려 <i>-LYE</i> (optative particle)	SAL
7	來		래 <i>lay</i>		SAL
8	出	‘to come out’	출 <i>chwul</i>	내- <i>NAY-</i> ‘to take out’ (stem)	SAL
9	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	ㄹ며 <i>-mye</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	善芽毛冬長乙隱[田]
Transcription	선아모돌길은[밭] SEN-A mwo.tol KIL-n-[PATH]
MoK translation	선아가 못 길게 자라는 [밭]
English translation	[The field] where the sprouts of goodness cannot grow long

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	善	‘to be good’	선 <i>sen</i>	선 <i>SEN</i> ‘to be good’		DAL
2	芽	‘sprout’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>A</i> ‘sprout’		DAL
3	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모들 <i>mwo.tol</i> >	PAP
4	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i>	모들 <i>mwo.tul</i> > 못 <i>mwo</i> ‘cannot’	PAP
5	長	‘to be long’	장 <i>cang</i>	길- <i>KIL-</i> ‘to be long’ (stem)		SAL
6	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>l</i> in 長 길- <i>KIL-</i>)		PAP
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- - <i>n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	眾生叱田乙潤只沙音也
Transcription	중생스밭을적시기삼여 CWUNG-SAYNG=s PATH=ol CEK.SI-ki sam=ye
MoK translation	중생의 밭을 적시게 하는 것이다.
English translation	[The rain of dharma] makes the field of all living beings moistened.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	眾	‘all living beings’	중 <i>cwung</i>	중생	CWUNG-SAYNG	DAL
2	生		생 <i>sayng</i>		‘all living beings’	DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	스	s (honorific genitive suffix)	PAP
4	田	‘field’	전 <i>cen</i>	밭	PATH ‘field’	SAL
5	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	을/를	-(l)ol > 을/를 -(l)ul (accusative particle)	PAP
6	潤	‘to moisten’	윤 <i>yun</i>	적시-	CEK.SI- ‘to moisten’ (stem)	SAL
7	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-기	-ki (nominalizing suffix)	PAP
8	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	삼	sam-	PAP
9	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ	m ‘to make’ (stem)	PAP
10	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	여	ye (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 9

Original Text	後言 菩提吡菓音烏乙反隱[覺月]
Transcription	보릿여름오을븐[각월] PWO.LI=s YE.LUM WO.OL-Won-[KAK-WEL]
MoK translation	보리의 열매가 온전한 [각월]
English translation	[The moon of enlightenment] where the fruit of bodhi is complete

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	後	‘back’	후 <i>hwu</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)		
2	言	‘word, speech’	언 <i>en</i>			
3	菩	‘bodhi’	보 <i>pwo</i>	보리 <i>PWO.LI</i> > 보제 <i>PWO.CEY</i> ‘bodhi’		DAL
4	提		제 <i>cey</i>			DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>-s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)		PAP
6	菓	‘fruit’	과 <i>kwa</i>	여름 <i>YE.LUM</i> > 열매 <i>YEL.MAY</i> ‘fruit’		SAL
7	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 菓 여름 <i>YE.LUM</i>)		PAP
8	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	오 <i>wo</i>	오을 - <i>wo.ol-</i> ‘to be complete’ (stem)	PAP
9	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	을 <i>ol</i>		PAP
10	反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	-ㄴ - <i>-Won-</i> (adjectival suffix)		PAP
11	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 反 -ㄴ - <i>-Won-</i>)		PAP

Line 10

Original Text	覺月明斤秋察羅波處也
Transcription	각월붉은 ㄱ솔바곤여 KAK-WEL POLK-{k}on-KO.ZOL pa KWOT-ye
MoK translation	각월이 밝은 가을이라는 곳이다.
English translation	It is the place of autumn where the moon of enlightenment is bright.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	覺	‘moon of enlightenment’	각 <i>kak</i>	각월 <i>KAK-WEL</i> ‘moon of enlightenment’	DAL
2	月		월 <i>wel</i>		DAL
3	明	‘to be bright’	명 <i>myeng</i>	붉- <i>POLK-</i> > 밝- <i>PALK-</i> ‘to be bright’ (stem)	SAL
4	斤	‘axe’	근 <i>kun</i>	ㄱ - {k}on- ← ㄱ <i>k</i> (final consonant in	PAP

				明 𑖀 - <i>POLK-</i>) + -ᄒ - <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)	
5	秋	‘autumn’	추 <i>chwu</i>	𑖅 쉼 / 𑖅 쉼 <i>KO.ZOL(H)</i> > 가을 <i>KA.UL</i> ‘autumn’	SAL
6	察	‘to observe’	찰 <i>chal</i>	을 <i>ol</i> (phonetic determinative of the sound <i>ol</i> in 秋 𑖅 쉼 <i>KO.ZOL</i>)	PAP
7	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-l</i> in 秋 𑖅 쉼 <i>KO.ZOL</i>)	PAP
8	波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	마 <i>pa</i> ‘thing’	PAP
9	处	‘to be located at’	처 <i>che</i>	곳 <i>KWOT</i> > 곳 <i>KWOS</i> ‘place’	SAL
10	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅁ여 <i>ㅁye</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

21 *Chengpwul cwusey ka* 청불주세가 請佛住世歌
“Song of Requesting the Buddha to Reside in the World”

References: Yu 1994: 1002-1024; Pak 2012: 285-296.

Original Text

- 1 皆仏体
- 2 必于化緣尽動賜隱乃
- 3 手乙寶非鳴良尔
- 4 世吕中止以友白乎等耶
- 5 曉留朝于萬夜未
- 6 向屋賜尸朋知良閭尸也
- 7 伊知皆矣為米
- 8 道尸迷反群良哀吕舌
- 9 落句 吾里心音水清等
- 10 佛影不冬應為賜下吕

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
極微塵數聖兼賢	Extremely tiny dust, the sagely and the wise,
於此浮生畢化緣	In this floating life, [they] all solicit for donations.
欲示泥洹歸寂滅	Desiring to demonstrate Nirvana and return to Nirvana,
請經沙劫利人天	[They] request, [by] experiencing countless disasters, to benefit humans and heaven.
談真盛會猶堪戀	The grand gathering of discussing the truth is still worth cherishing,
滯俗群迷實可憐	Those entrenched in worldly delusions are really worth sympathizing.
若見惠燈將隱沒	If [you] see the lamp of grace about to extinguish,
盍傾丹壑乞淹延	Why not pour out [your] sincere heart and beg for [it] continuing?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
65	7	30	36	3	2 (+ 1 Neo)	79

Line 1

Original Text	皆仏体
Transcription	모든부터 MWO.TON PWU-THYE
MoK translation	모든 부처
English translation	All Buddhas

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	皆	‘all, every’	개 <i>kay</i>	모든 <i>MWO.TON</i> > 모든 <i>MWO.TUN</i> ‘all’	SAL
2	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i>	DAL
3	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	‘Buddha’	DAL

Line 2

Original Text	必于化緣尽動賜隱乃
Transcription	비루화연다으뭇신나 pi.lwu HWA-TEN TA.O-MWI-si-n=na
MoK translation	비록 화연이 다하 움직이시나
English translation	Even though having ended solicitations for donation and moved

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	必	‘surely’	필 <i>phil</i>	빌 <i>pil</i>	비루 <i>pi.lwu</i> ‘even though’ ← 빌우 <i>pil.wu</i>	PAP
2	于	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	우 <i>wu</i>		PAP
3	化	‘solicitation for donation’	화 <i>hwa</i>	화연 <i>HWA-YEN</i> ‘solicitation for donation’		DAL
4	緣		연 <i>yen</i>			DAL
5	尽	‘to finish’	진 <i>cin</i>	다으- <i>TA.O-</i> > 다하- <i>TA.HA-</i> ‘to end’ (stem)		SAL
6	動	‘to move’	동 <i>twong</i>	뭉- <i>MWI-</i> ‘to move’ (stem)		SAL
7	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
8	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)		PAP
9	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	=나 <i>=na</i> (adversative conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	手乙寶非鳴良尔
Transcription	손을부비울어니 SWON=ol pwu.puy-WUL-e=ni
MoK translation	손을 비비어 우니
English translation	[The Buddhas] rub their hands with a sound, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	손 <i>SWON</i> ‘hand’		SAL
2	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 =(<i>l</i>)ol > =을/=를 =(<i>l</i>)ul (accusative particle)		PAP
3	寶	‘treasure’	보 <i>pwo</i>	부 <i>pwu</i>	부비- <i>pwu.puy</i> - > 부비- <i>pwu.pi</i> - (비비- <i>pi.pi</i> -) ‘to rub’	PAP
4	非	negative copula	비 <i>pi</i>	비 <i>puy</i>		PAP
5	鳴	‘to sound’	명 <i>myeng</i>	을- <i>wul</i> - ‘to sound’ (stem)		SAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- - <i>e</i> - (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>		PAP
7	尔	‘you; this’	이 <i>i</i>	=니 = <i>ni</i> (conjunctive particle)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	世呂中止以友白乎等耶
Transcription	누리괴머물로어숯오드라 NWU.LI=KUY ME.MUL=LWO-e-SOLW-wo=to.LA
MoK translation	세상에 머물러 드리더라!
English translation	[The Buddhas] stay in the world!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	世	‘world’	세 <i>sey</i>	누리 <i>NWU.LI</i> ‘world’		SAL
2	呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>li</i> in 世 누리 <i>NWU.LI</i>)		PAP
3	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	=괴 = <i>KUY</i> (locative particle)		SAL
4	止	‘to stop’	지 <i>ci</i>	머물- <i>ME.MUL</i> - > 머무르- <i>ME.MWU.LU</i> - ‘to stop’ (stem)		SAL
5	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	=로 = <i>LWO</i> (instrumental particle)		SAL
6	友	‘friend’	우 <i>wu</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
7	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	숯-/숯- <i>SOLP-/SOLW</i> - > 사뢰- <i>SA.LWOY</i> - (humble complementary verb) (stem)		SAL
8	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
9	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	드 <i>to</i>	=드라 = <i>to.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
10	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	=라 = <i>LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	曉留朝于萬夜未
Transcription	새 배로아춤가만밤의 SAY.PAY=lwo A.CHOM ka.ma-n-PAM={m}uy
MoK translation	새벽으로부터 아침까지 가만 밤에
English translation	At the black night from the dawn [until] the morning

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	曉	‘dawn’	효 <i>hyo</i>	새 배 SAY.PAY > 새벽 SAY.PYEK ‘dawn’		SAL
2	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	ㅁ로 -lwo (ablative particle)		PAP
3	朝	‘morning’	조 <i>cwo</i>	아춤 A.CHOM > 아침 A.CHIM ‘morning’		SAL
4	于	‘to go’	우 <i>wu</i>	가 <i>ka</i> ← 가- KA- ‘to go’ (stem)	가만 <i>ka.man</i> ← 가만- <i>ka.ma-n</i> ‘black’ ← 가뵤- <i>ka.mah-</i> ‘to be black’ (stem)	SAP
5	萬	‘ten thousand’	만 <i>man</i>	만 <i>man</i>	+ -ㄴ - -n- (adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	夜	‘night’	야 <i>ya</i>	밤 PAM ‘night’		SAL
7	未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 {m}uy ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -m in 夜 밤 PAM) + ㅁ의 -uy (locative particle)		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	向屋賜尸朋知良闔尸也
Transcription	아으실뵤알아잃르여 A.O-si-l-PET AL-a-ILH-l=ye
MoK translation	향하실 뵤을 알아 잃을 것이다.
English translation	[I] will know and lose the friends going toward [the Buddhas].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	向	‘to go toward’	향 <i>hyang</i>	아으 - A.O- ‘to go toward’ (stem)	SAL
2	屋	‘house’	옥 <i>wok</i>	으 <i>o</i> (phonetic determinative of the vowel <i>o</i> in 向 아으 - A.O-)	PAP
3	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- -si- (honorific suffix)	PAP
4	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-ㄹ- -l- (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	朋	‘comrade’	뵤 <i>pwung</i>	뵤 PET > 뵤 PES ‘friend’	SAL
6	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	알- AL- ‘to know’ (stem)	SAL
7	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- -a- (infinitive suffix)	PAP

8	閔 ⁵⁶		서 <i>se</i>	잃- <i>ILH-</i> ‘to lose’ (stem)	
9	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 - <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
10	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 <i>=ye</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	伊知皆矣為米
Transcription	이알기득외미 I AL-kuy TO.WOY-m=uy
MoK translation	이를 알게 되는 것에
English translation	Upon getting to know this

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAL
2	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	알- <i>AL-</i> ‘to know’ (stem)		SAL
3	皆	‘all’	개 <i>kay</i>	ㄱ <i>k</i>	-기 <i>-kuy</i> > -게 <i>-key</i> (adverbial suffix)	PAP
4	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	의 <i>uy</i>		PAP
5	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	득 외- <i>TO.WOY-</i> > 되- <i>TWOY-</i> ‘to become’ (stem)		SAL
6	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	-미 <i>-m=uy</i> ← -ㅁ <i>-m</i> (nominalizing suffix) + =의 <i>=uy</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	道尸迷反群良哀呂舌
Transcription	길입븐물아쇽리혀 KIL IP-Won-MWUL=a SYELP-li=hye
MoK translation	길을 혼미한 무리에 서러울 것이라.
English translation	[I] will be sad with the group who is confused with the way!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	길/궤 <i>KIL(H)</i> > 길 <i>KIL</i> ‘way’	SAL
2	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-l</i> in 道 길 <i>KIL</i>)	PAP
3	迷	‘to be confused’	미 <i>mi</i>	입-/일- <i>IP(W)-</i> ‘to be confused’ (stem)	SAL
4	反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	-븐 - <i>-Won-</i> (adjectival suffix)	PAP

⁵⁶The character 閔 is a Neo-Sinogram in Korean writing meaning ‘to lose’ attested in *Taymyenglyul chikhay* 大明律直解 (Direct Interpretation of Code of the Great Ming) (Yang 1954: 808-809). Its SK reading is based on its phonetic component 西.

5	群	‘group’	군 <i>kwun</i>	물 <i>MWUL</i> > 무리 <i>MWU.LI</i> ‘group’	SAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	=아 <i>-a</i> (locative particle)	PAP
7	哀	‘to be sad’	애 <i>ay</i>	섭- <i>SYELP-</i> > 서럽- <i>SE.LEP-</i> ‘to be sad’	SAL
8	呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	-리- <i>-li-</i> (prospective suffix)	PAP
9	舌	‘tongue’	설 <i>sel</i>	=혀 <i>-hye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending) ← 혀 <i>HYE</i> ‘tongue’	SAP

Line 9

Original Text	落句 吾里心音水清等
Transcription	우리ㅁ슴플몐튼 WU.LI MO.ZOM MUL MOLK-ton
MoK translation	우리 마음이 물 같이 맑으면
English translation	If our heart is as clear as water

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	落	‘to fall’	락 <i>lak</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	句	‘sentence’	구 <i>kwu</i>		
3	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	우리 <i>WU.LI</i> ‘we’	SAL
4	里	‘alley’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i> (phonetic determinative of the second syllable <i>li</i> in ㅁ슴 우리 <i>WU.LI</i>)	PAP
5	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	ㅁ슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’	SAL
6	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 心 ㅁ슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i>)	PAP
7	水	‘water’	수 <i>swu</i>	믈 <i>MUL</i> > 물 <i>MWUL</i> ‘water’	SAL
8	清	‘to be clear’	청 <i>cheng</i>	몐- <i>MOLK-</i> > 맑- <i>MALK-</i> ‘to be clear’	SAL
9	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	=든 <i>-ton</i> (conditional particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	佛影不冬應為賜下呂
Transcription	불영모들응ㅎ시아리 PWUL-YENG MWO.TOL UNG-HO-si-a-li
MoK translation	불영이 안 응하시는가?
English translation	Will the Buddhist statue not respond?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	佛	‘Buddhist’	불 <i>pwul</i>	불영 <i>PWUL-YENG</i> ‘Buddhist statue’	DAL

2	影	‘statue’	영 <i>yeng</i>			DAL
3	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	모 들 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’		SAL
4	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 不 모 들 <i>MWO.TOL</i>)		PAP
5	應	‘to respond’	응 <i>ung</i>	응 <i>UNG</i> ‘to respond’ (stem)		DAL
6	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	- ㅎ - <i>-HO-</i> > -하- <i>-HA-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)		SAL
7	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)		PAP
8	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	알 <i>al</i> ← 알이 <i>AL.OY</i> (> 아래 <i>A.LAY</i>) ‘under’	=아리 <i>=a-li</i> (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- <i>-a-</i> [infinitive suffix] + -리- <i>-li-</i> [prospective suffix]) ← 알리 <i>al.li</i>	SAP
9	呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	리 <i>li</i>		PAP

22 *Sangswu pwulhak ka* 상수불학가 常隨佛學歌 “Song of Constantly Following Buddhist Studies”

References: Yu 1994: 1025-1045; Pak 2012: 297-310.

Original Text

- 1 我仏体
- 2 皆往焉世呂修將來賜留隱
- 3 難行苦行叱願乙
- 4 吾焉頓部叱逐好友伊音叱多
- 5 身靡只碎良只塵伊去米
- 6 命乙施好尸歲史中置
- 7 然叱皆好尸卜下里
- 8 皆仏体置然叱為賜隱伊留兮
- 9 城上人 佛道向隱心下
- 10 他道不冬斜良只行齊

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
此娑婆界舍那心	The heart of the Locana Buddha [in] this Sahā world,
不退修來跡可尋	[Its] traces of coming of non-retrogression can be found.
皮紙骨毫兼血墨	Bark, paper, bone, hair, together with blood, ink,
國城宮殿及園林	Kingdoms, palaces, and gardens.
菩提樹下成三點	Under the Bodhi tree, three dots are formed,
眾會場中演一音	In the field of mass gathering, one sound is uttered.
如上妙因摠隨學	Always following and learning the utmost wondrous cause,
永令身出苦河深	[It] makes one come out of the deep river of suffering.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
61	13	31	40	3	3	90

Line 1

Original Text	我仏体
Transcription	우리부터 WU.LI PWU-THYE
MoK translation	우리 부처
English translation	Our Buddhas

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	我	‘I’	아 a	우리 WU.LI ‘we’	SAL
2	仏	‘Buddha’	불 pwul	부터 PWU-THYE > 부처 PWU-CHE	DAL
3	体	‘body’	체 chey	‘Buddha’	DAL

Line 2

Original Text	皆往焉世呂修將來賜留隱[願]
Transcription	다간누리닷려시론[원] TA KA-n-NWU.LI TAS=LYE-si=lwo-n-[WEN]
MoK translation	다 가는 누리를 닦으려 하시는 [원]
English translation	[The wishes that Buddhas] intend to cultivate the world where everyone goes

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	皆	‘all, every’	개 kay	다 TA ‘everyone’	SAL
2	往	‘to go’	왕 wang	가- KA- ‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
3	焉	‘in relation to’	언 en	-ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)	PAP
4	世	‘world’	세 sey	누리 NWU.LI ‘world’	SAL
5	呂	‘spine’	려 lye	리 li (phonetic determinative of the syllable li in 世 누리 NWU.LI)	PAP
6	修	‘to cultivate’	수 swu	닷-/닦- TAS(K)- > 닦- TAKK- ‘to polish, cultivate’ (stem)	SAL
7	將	‘future’	장 cang	=려 =LYE (optative particle)	SAL
8	來		래 lay		SAL
9	賜	‘to bestow’	사 sa	-시- -si- (honorific suffix)	PAP
10	留	‘to remain’	류 lyu	=로 =lwo (instrumental particle)	PAP
11	隱	‘to conceal’	은 un	-ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	難行苦行叱願乙
Transcription	난행고행入원을 NAN-HAYNG KWO-HAYNG=s WEN=ol
MoK translation	난행 고행의 원을
English translation	The wishes of difficult deeds and laborious deeds

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	難	‘to be difficult’	난 <i>nan</i>	난 <i>NAN</i> ‘to be difficult’	DAL
2	行	‘deed, practice’	행 <i>hayng</i>	행 <i>HAYNG</i> ‘deed, practice’	DAL
3	苦	‘to be laborious’	고 <i>kwo</i>	고 <i>KWO</i> ‘to be laborious’	DAL
4	行	‘deed, practice’	행 <i>hayng</i>	행 <i>HAYNG</i> ‘deed, practice’	DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	= ㅅ =s (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP
6	願	‘wish’	원 <i>wen</i>	원 <i>WEN</i> ‘wish’	DAL
7	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	= 을/ =를 = (l)ol > = 을/ =를 = (l)ul (accusative particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	吾焉頓部叱[願]逐好友伊音叱多
Transcription	나논돈주빋[원]쫓ㅎ벗임ㅅ다 NA=non TWON-CWU.PI=s [WEN] CWOCH-ho-PET i=msta
MoK translation	나는 돈주비의 [원을] 쫓아 벗이라!
English translation	I chase [the wishes of] Theravāda disciples and will [surely] be a friend [of them].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’		SAL
2	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	=은/=는 <i>=(n)on</i> > =은/=는 <i>=(n)un</i> (topic particle)		PAP
3	頓	‘to bow; suddenly’	돈 <i>twon</i>	돈 <i>TWON</i>		DAL
4	部	‘part, section’	부 <i>pwu</i>	주비 <i>CWU.PI</i> ‘party, disciple’		SAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ <i>=s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)		PAP
6	逐	‘to chase’	축 <i>chwuk</i>	쫓- <i>CWOCH-</i> > 쫓- <i>CCWOCH-</i> ‘to chase’ (stem)		SAL
7	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	-ㅎ- <i>-ho-</i> > -하- <i>-ha-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)		PAP
8	友	‘friend’	우 <i>wu</i>	벗 <i>PET</i> > 벗 <i>PES</i> ‘friend’		SAL
9	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem)		PAP
10	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>	=ㅁㅅ다 <i>=msta</i> (speculative sentence ending)	PAP
11	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>		PAP
12	多	‘to be plentiful’	다 <i>ta</i>	=다 <i>=ta</i> (declarative sentence ending)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	身靡只碎良只塵伊去米
Transcription	몸믹분어디억드틀이가며 MWOM={m}i-k PUZ.E.TI-e-k TU.THUL=i KA=mye
MoK translation	몸이 부서지어 티끌이 되며
English translation	The body is broken and becomes dust, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	몸 <i>MWOM</i> ‘body’	SAL
2	靡	‘to fall’	미 <i>mi</i>	미 {m}i ← ㅁ <i>m</i> (final consonant - <i>m</i> in 身 몸 <i>MWOM</i>) + =이 <i>=i</i> (nominative particle)	PAP
3	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
4	碎	‘to break’	쇄 <i>sway</i>	분어디- <i>PUZ.E.TI-</i> > 부서지- <i>PWU.SE.CI-</i> ‘to be broken’	SAL
5	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
6	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
7	塵	‘dust’	진 <i>cin</i>	드틀 <i>TU.THUL</i> > 티끌 <i>THI.KKUL</i> ‘dust’	SAL
8	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	=이 <i>=i</i> (nominative particle)	PAP
9	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
10	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	=며 <i>=mye</i> (conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	命乙施好尸歲史中置
Transcription	명을베푸홀스△이기도 MYENG=ol PEY.PHWU-ho-l-so.zi=KUY=two
MoK translation	명을 베풀 사이에도
English translation	Even in the intervals of bestowing life

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	命	‘life; command’	명 <i>myeng</i>	명 <i>MYENG</i> ‘life’	DAL
2	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 <i>=(l)ol</i> > =을/=를 <i>=(l)ul</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
3	施	‘to bestow’	설 <i>sel</i>	베푸- <i>PEY.PHWU-</i> > 베풀- <i>PEY.PWUL-</i> ‘to bestow’ (stem)	SAL
4	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	-호- <i>-ho-</i> > -하- <i>-ha-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	PAP

5	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 - <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	歲	‘year’	세 <i>sey</i>	스 <i>so</i>	스 Δ <i>so.zi</i> > 사 이 <i>sa.i</i> ‘interval’
7	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	Δ <i>zi</i>	
8	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	=-귀 = <i>KUY</i> (locative particle)	SAL
9	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	=도 = <i>two</i> (inclusive particle) ← 두- <i>TWU</i> - ‘to place’ (stem)	SAP

Line 7

Original Text	然叱皆好尸卜下里
Transcription	그렇다홀디니아리 KU.LE-S TA ho-l-TI.NI=a-li
MoK translation	그렇게 다 할 것을 지니는가?
English translation	Do [Buddhas] carry everything to do in this way?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	然	‘to be in such a way’	연 <i>yen</i>	그러- <i>KU.LE</i> - ‘to be like this’ (stem)	SAL
2	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-스 - <i>s</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
3	皆	‘all, every’	개 <i>kay</i>	다 <i>TA</i> ‘everything’	SAL
4	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	ㅎ- <i>ho</i> - > 하- <i>ha</i> - ‘to do’ (stem)	PAP
5	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 - <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	卜 ⁵⁷	‘to divine’	복 <i>pwok</i>	디니- <i>TI.NI</i> - > 지니- <i>CI.NI</i> - ‘to carry’ (stem)	SAL
7	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	알 <i>al</i> ← 알이 <i>AL.OY</i> (> 아래 <i>A.LAY</i>) ‘under’	=아리 = <i>a-li</i> (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- - <i>a</i> - [infinitive suffix] + -리- - <i>li</i> - [prospective suffix]) ← 알리 <i>al.li</i>
8	里	‘alley’	리 <i>li</i>	리 <i>li</i>	

Line 8

Original Text	皆仏体置然叱為賜隱伊留兮
Transcription	모든부터도그렇ㅎ신이로여 MWO.TON PWU-THYE=two KU.LE-S-HO-si-n-i=lwo=YE
MoK translation	모든 부처도 그렇게 하시는 것이라!
English translation	All Buddhas also do [it] in this way!

⁵⁷The character 卜 is regarded as an abbreviated form of the character 負.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	皆	‘all, every’	개 <i>kay</i>	모든 <i>MWO.TON</i> > 모든 <i>MWO.TUN</i> ‘all’	SAL
2	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i>	DAL
3	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	‘Buddha’	DAL
4	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	ㄴ도 <i>-two</i> (inclusive particle) ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	SAP
5	然	‘to be in such a way’	연 <i>yen</i>	그리- <i>KU.LE-</i> ‘to be like this’ (stem)	SAL
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ- <i>-s-</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
7	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	-ㅎ- <i>-HO-</i> > -하- <i>-HA-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
8	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
9	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
10	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem)	PAP
11	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	ㄴ로 <i>-lwo</i> (instrumental particle)	PAP
12	兮	exclamatory particle	혜 <i>hyey</i>	ㄴ여 <i>-YE</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	SAL

Line 9

Original Text	城上人 佛道向隱心下
Transcription	불도아은ㅁ슴하 PWUL-TWO A.O-n-MO.ZOM=ha
MoK translation	불도를 향하는 마음이어
English translation	The heart going toward the Buddhist way

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	城	‘castle, city’	성 <i>seng</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	上	‘on, up’	상 <i>sang</i>		
3	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>		
4	佛	‘Buddhism’	불 <i>pwul</i>	불 <i>PWUL</i> ‘Buddhism’	DAL
5	道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	도 <i>TWO</i> ‘way’	DAL
6	向	‘to go toward’	향 <i>hyang</i>	아으- <i>A.O-</i> ‘to go toward’ (stem)	SAL
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
8	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	ㅁ슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’	SAL
9	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	ㄴ하 <i>-ha</i> (honorific vocative particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	他道不冬斜良只行齊
Transcription	녀느길모돌빚기억니저 NYE.NU KIL MWO.TOL PIS.KI-e-k NI-cye
MoK translation	다른 길에 안 비껴서 가라!
English translation	[You] will not deviate to other ways!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	他	‘other’	타 <i>tha</i>	녀느 <i>NYE.NU</i> ‘other’	SAL
2	道	‘road, way’	도 <i>two</i>	길/궤 <i>KIL(H)</i> > 길 <i>KIL</i> ‘way’	SAL
3	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	모돌 <i>MWO.TOL</i> ‘not’	SAL
4	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	돌 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 不 모돌 <i>MWO.TOL</i>)	PAP
5	斜	‘to slant’	사 <i>sa</i>	빚기- <i>PIS.KI-</i> > 비끼- <i>PI.KKI-</i> ‘to slant’ (stem)	SAL
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-어- <i>-e-</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
7	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP
8	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	니- <i>NI-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
9	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 <i>-cye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

23 Hangswun cwungsayng ka 향순중생가 恒順眾生歌
“Song of Consistently Complying with All Living Beings”

Sources: Yu 1994: 1046-1061; Pak 2012: 311-324.

Original Text

- 1 覺樹王焉
- 2 迷火隱乙根中沙音賜焉逸良
- 3 大悲叱水留潤良只
- 4 不冬菱玉內乎留叱等耶
- 5 法界居得丘物叱丘物叱
- 6 為乙吾置同生同死
- 7 念念相續无間斷
- 8 仏体為尸如敬叱好叱等耶
- 9 打心 眾生安為飛等
- 10 仏体頓叱喜賜以留也

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
樹王偏向野中榮	The King of Trees somehow thrives toward the wilderness,
欲利千般萬種生	[It] desires to benefit countless forms of lives.
花果本為賢聖體	[Its] flowers and fruits are originally the bodies of the wise and the sagely,
幹根元是俗凡精	[Its] trunk and roots are originally the essence of the ordinary and the mundane.
慈波若洽靈根潤	If the compassionate waves are harmonious, the spiritual roots are moist.
覺路宜從行業成	The path to enlightenment should begin with practicing karma.
恒順遍教群品悅	[It] constantly conforms with all the teachings, the mass of beings rejoices,
可知諸佛喜非輕	[One] can know that the joy of all Buddhas is not light.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
63	26	16	40	3	2	87

Line 1

Original Text	覺樹王焉
Transcription	각수왕은 KAK-SWU-WANG=on
MoK translation	각수왕은
English translation	The bodhi tree

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	覺	‘bodhi tree’	각 <i>kak</i>	각수왕 KAK-SWU-WANG ‘bodhi tree’	DAL
2	樹		수 <i>swu</i>		DAL
3	王		왕 <i>wang</i>		DAL
4	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	=은/=는 =(n)on > =은/=는 =(n)un (topic particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	迷火隱乙根中沙音賜焉逸良
Transcription	입ㄴ 올 불 휘 기 삼 신 이 라 IP-n-ol PWUL.HWI=KUY sam-si-n-i-la
MoK translation	혼미함을 뿌리에서 삼으시는 것이라.
English translation	[The bodhi tree] makes confusion in the root!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	迷	‘to be confused’	미 <i>mi</i>	입-/일- <i>IP(W)-</i>	‘to be confused’ (stem)	SAL
2	火	‘fire’	화 <i>hwa</i>	ㅍ <i>p</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-p</i> in 迷 입- <i>ip-</i>) ← 불 <i>PUL</i> (> 불 <i>PWUL</i>)	‘fire’	SAP
3	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i>	(adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
4	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	=을/=를 =(l)ol > =을/=를 =(l)ul	(accusative particle)	PAP
5	根	‘root’	근 <i>kun</i>	불 휘 <i>PWUL.HWI</i> > 뿌리 <i>PPWU.LI</i>	‘root’	SAL
6	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	=기 <i>=KUY</i>	(locative particle)	SAL
7	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	사 <i>sa</i>	삼- <i>sam-</i> ‘to make’ (stem)	PAP
8	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>		PAP
9	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-시- <i>-si-</i>	(honorific suffix)	PAP
10	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i>	(adnominal suffix)	PAP

11	逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	일 <i>il</i>	이라 <i>i=la</i> ← ㅇ- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem) + 라 <i>-la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
12	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	라 <i>-la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	라 <i>-la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	大悲叱水留潤良只
Transcription	대빗물로젓억 TAY-PI=s MUL=lwo CEC-e-k
MoK translation	대비의 물로 젓어
English translation	Moistened by the water of the Great Compassion

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	大	‘Great Compassion’	대 <i>tay</i>	대비 TAY-PI ‘Great Compassion’	DAL
2	悲		비 <i>pi</i>		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>-s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)	PAP
4	水	‘water’	수 <i>swu</i>	물 MUL > 물 MWUL ‘water’	SAL
5	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	로 <i>-lwo</i> (instrumental particle)	PAP
6	潤	‘to moisten’	윤 <i>yun</i>	젓- CEC- ‘to be moistened’ (stem)	SAL
7	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	어 <i>-e</i> (infinitive suffix) ← 아 <i>a</i>	PAP
8	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	不冬菱玉内乎留叱等耶
Transcription	모들이오늑울ㅅ드라 MWO.TOL I.WO-no-wo-l=sto.LA
MoK translation	안 시들더라!
English translation	[It] does not wither!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	모들 MWO.TOL ‘not’	SAL
2	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>tol</i> in 不 모들 MWO.TOL)	PAP
3	菱	‘to wither’	위 <i>wi</i>	이오- I.WO- ‘to wither’ (stem)	SAL
4	玉	‘jade’	옥 <i>wok</i>	오 <i>wo</i> (phonetic determinative of the final syllable <i>wo</i> in 菱 이오- I.WO-)	PAP

5	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-ㄴ - <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)		PAP
6	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오 - <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP
7	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	-ㄹ - <i>-l-</i> (prospective suffix)		PAP
8	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i>	ㅁㅅㄷ라 <i>=sto.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
9	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㄷ <i>to</i>		PAP
10	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅁ라 <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	法界居得丘物叱丘物叱[為乙吾]
Transcription	법계 ㄱ득구물구물[홀나] PEP-KYEEY ko.tuk kwu.mwul.kwu.mwul {HO-l-NA}
MoK translation	법계에서 가득 구물구물 [할 나]
English translation	[I], who will wriggle fully in the realm of dharma

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i>	‘dharma’	DAL
2	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i>	‘realm’	DAL
3	居	‘to reside’	거 <i>ke</i>	ㄱ <i>ko</i>	ㄱ득 <i>ko.tuk</i> > 가득 <i>ka.tuk</i> ‘fully’	PAP
4	得	‘to obtain’	덕 <i>tek</i>	득 <i>tuk</i>		PAP
5/8	丘	‘hill’	구 <i>kwu</i>	구 <i>kwu</i>	구물 <i>kwu.mwul</i> ‘wrigglingly’	PAP
6/9	物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	물 <i>mwul</i>		PAP
7/10	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i>		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	[丘物叱丘物叱]為乙吾置同生同死
Transcription	[구물구물]홀나도동생동사 [kwu.mwul.kwu.mwul] HO-l-NA=two TWONG-SAYNG-TWONG-SA
MoK translation	[구물구물] 할 나도 동생동사다.
English translation	I [, who will wriggle,] also live and die together [with the bodhi tree].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	히 - <i>HO-</i> > 하 - <i>HA-</i>	‘to do’ (stem)	SAL
2	乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly	을 <i>ul</i>	-ㄹ - <i>-l-</i>	(prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP

		Stems”			
3	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
4	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	=도 = <i>two</i> (inclusive particle) ← 두- <i>TWU</i> - ‘to place’ (stem)	SAP
5	同	‘together’	동 <i>twong</i>	동 <i>TWONG</i> ‘together’	DAL
6	生	‘to live’	생 <i>sayng</i>	생 <i>SAYNG</i> ‘to live’	DAL
7	同	‘together’	동 <i>twong</i>	동 <i>TWONG</i> ‘together’	DAL
8	死	‘to die’	사 <i>sa</i>	사 <i>SA</i> ‘to die’	DAL

Line 7

*This line represents a sentence in Literary Sinitic, so every character is regarded as a DAL.

Original Text	念念相續无間斷
Transcription	념념상속무간단 NYEM-NYEM SANG SWOK MWU KAN-TAN
MoK translation	
English translation	Thoughts successively continue without interruption.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1/2	念	‘to think about’	념 <i>nyem</i>	념 <i>NYEM</i> ‘thought’	DAL
3	相	‘successively’	상 <i>sang</i>	상 <i>SANG</i> ‘successively’	DAL
4	續	‘to continue’	속 <i>swok</i>	속 <i>SWOK</i> ‘to continue’	DAL
5	无	‘to not have, lack’	무 <i>mwu</i>	무 <i>MWU</i> ‘to not have’	DAL
6	間	‘interval’	간 <i>kan</i>	간단 <i>KAN-TAN</i> ‘interruption’	DAL
7	斷	‘to be broken’	단 <i>tan</i>		DAL

Line 8

Original Text	仏体為尸如敬叱好叱等耶
Transcription	부터홀다히경스호드라 PWU-THYE HO-l=TA.HI KYENG=s ho=sto.LA
MoK translation	부처가 할 것처럼 경하더라!
English translation	[I] pay respect like what Buddha will do!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
2	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>		DAL
3	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	호 - <i>HO</i> - > 하- <i>HA</i> - ‘to do’ (stem)	SAL
4	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 - <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다히 = <i>TA.HI</i> ‘like’	SAL
6	敬	‘to respect’	경 <i>kyeng</i>	경 <i>KYENG</i> ‘to respect’	DAL
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=스 = <i>s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)	PAP

8	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	-호- <i>-ho-</i> > -하- <i>-ha-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)		PAP
9	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	入 <i>s</i>	=入 ㄷ라 <i>=sto.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP
10	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㄷ <i>to</i>		PAP
11	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	=라 <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 9

Original Text	打心 眾生安為飛等
Transcription	중생안호늘든 CWUNG-SAYNG AN-HO-no-l-ton
MoK translation	중생이 편안하면
English translation	If all living beings are peaceful

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	打	‘to hit’	타 <i>tha</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>		
3	眾	‘all living beings’	중 <i>cwung</i>	중생 <i>CWUNG-SAYNG</i> ‘all living beings’	DAL
4	生		생 <i>sayng</i>		DAL
5	安	‘to be peaceful’	안 <i>an</i>	안- <i>AN-</i> ‘to be peaceful’ (stem)	DAL
6	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	-호- <i>-HO-</i> > -하- <i>-HA-</i> (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
7	飛	‘to fly’	비 <i>pi</i>	-닐- <i>-no-l-</i> (← 놀- <i>NOL-</i> [> 날- <i>NAL-</i>] ‘to fly’ [stem]) ← -ㄴ- <i>-no-</i> (present suffix) + -ㄷ- <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	SAP
8	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	=든 <i>=ton</i> (conditional particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	仏体頓叱喜賜以留也
Transcription	부터문듯깃시이로여 PWU.THYE MWUN.TUS KIS-si-i=lwo=ye
MoK translation	부처가 문득 기뻐하실 것이라!
English translation	Buddha will suddenly be happy!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU.THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
2	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>		DAL
3	頓	‘to bow; suddenly’	돈 <i>twon</i>	문듯 <i>MWUN.TUS</i> > 문득 <i>MWUN.TUK</i> ‘suddenly’	SAL
4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 頓 문듯 <i>MWUN.TUS</i>)	PAP
5	喜	‘to be happy’	희 <i>huy</i>	갸-/갸- <i>KIS(K)</i> - ‘to be happy’ (stem)	SAL
6	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	-ㅅ - <i>-si-</i> (honorific suffix)	PAP
7	以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	ㅇ - <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem)	PAP
8	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	ㅁ로 <i>-lwo</i> (instrumental particle)	PAP
9	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅁ여 <i>-ye</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	PAP

24 *Pwokay hwoyhyang ka* 보개회향가 普皆回向歌 “Song of the Mass All Transferring Merit”

References: Yu 1994: 1062-1075; Pak 2012: 325-341.

Original Text

- 1 皆吾衣修孫
- 2 一切善陵頓部叱回良只
- 3 眾生叱海惡中
- 4 迷反群无史悟內去齊
- 5 仏体叱海等成留焉日尸恨
- 6 懺為如乎仁惡寸業置
- 7 法性叱宅阿叱寶良
- 8 舊留然叱為事置耶
- 9 病吟 礼為白孫隱仏体刀
- 10 吾衣身伊波人有叱下呂

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
從初至末所成功	What has been done and accomplished from the beginning to the end,
回與含靈一切中	[It] returns to all sentient beings.
咸覲得安離苦海	Everyone looks to obtain peace and leave the sea of suffering,
摠斯消罪仰真風	[Everyone] always eradicates the sins and looks up to the true wind here.
同時共出煩塵域	At the same time, [everyone] together comes out of the territory of afflictions,
異體咸歸法性宮	Different entities all return to the palace of Dharma nature.
我此至心回向願	This sincere heart and wish of transferring merit of mine,
盡於來際不應終	[It] should not finish until the end of time.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
68	17	29	34	4	2	86

Line 1

Original Text	皆吾衣修孫
Transcription	다나의닷손 TA NA=uy TAS-swo-n-
MoK translation	다 내가 닦는 것
English translation	Everything is what I cultivate

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	皆	‘all, every’	개 <i>kay</i>	다 <i>TA</i> ‘everything’	SAL
2	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
3	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>-uy</i> (animate genitive particle)	PAP
4	修	‘to cultivate’	수 <i>swu</i>	닷-/닦- <i>TAS(K)-</i> > 닦- <i>TAKK-</i> ‘to polish, cultivate’ (stem)	SAL
5	孫	‘grandson’	손 <i>swon</i>	-손- <i>-swo-n-</i> ← -소- <i>-swo-</i> (exclamatory suffix) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	一切善陵頓部叱回良只
Transcription	일절선능주빋돌악 IL-CEL SEN-NUNG TWON-CWU.PI=s TWOL-a-k
MoK translation	일절 선능이 돈주비에 돌아
English translation	All goodness turns to Theravāda disciples, and

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	一	‘all’	일 <i>il</i>	일절 <i>IL-CEL</i> ‘all’	DAL
2	切		절 <i>cel</i>		DAL
3	善	‘to be good’	선 <i>sen</i>	선능 <i>SEN-NUNG</i> ‘(hill of) goodness’	DAL
4	陵	‘hill’	릉 <i>lung</i>		DAL
5	頓	‘to bow; suddenly’	돈 <i>twon</i>	돈 <i>TWON</i>	DAL
6	部	‘part, section’	부 <i>pwu</i>	주비 <i>CWU.PI</i> ‘party, disciple’	SAL
7	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=스 <i>=s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)	PAP
8	回	‘to return’	회 <i>hwoy</i>	돌- <i>TWOL-</i> ‘to turn’	SAL
9	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)	PAP
10	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	-ㄱ <i>-k</i> (emphatic suffix)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	眾生叱海惡中
Transcription	중생스바돌아기 CWUNG-SAYNG=s PA.TOL=a-KUY
MoK translation	중생의 바다에서

English translation	In the sea of all living beings

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	眾	‘all living beings’	중 <i>cwung</i>	중생 <i>CWUNG-SAYNG</i>		DAL
2	生		생 <i>sayng</i>	‘all living beings’		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ <i>-s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)		PAP
4	海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	바들 <i>PA.TOL</i> > 바다 <i>PA.TA</i> ‘sea’		SAL
5	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	=아 <i>-a</i> (locative particle)	=아긔 <i>-a-KUY</i> (locative particle)	PAP
6	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	=긔 <i>-KUY</i> (locative particle)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	迷反群无史悟内去齊
Transcription	입븐물업시씨돈노거저 IP-Won-MWUL EPS-{s}i SKOY.TOT-no=ke.cye
MoK translation	혼미한 무리 없이 깨닫겠다!
English translation	[I] will be enlightened without confused groups!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	迷	‘to be confused’	미 <i>mi</i>	입-/일- <i>IP(W)-</i> ‘to be confused’ (stem)		SAL
2	反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	-븐- <i>-Won-</i> (adjectival suffix)		PAP
3	群	‘group’	군 <i>kwun</i>	물 <i>MWUL</i> > 무리 <i>MWU.LI</i> ‘group’		SAL
4	无	‘to be without’	무 <i>mwu</i>	없- <i>EPS-</i> ‘to be without’ (stem)		SAL
5	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	시 {s}i ← ㅅ <i>s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 无 없- <i>EPS-</i>) + -이 <i>-i</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
6	悟	‘to be enlightened’	오 <i>wo</i>	씨돈- <i>SKOY.TOT-</i> > 깨닫- <i>KKAY.TAT-</i> ‘to be enlightened’ (stem)		SAL
7	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	-노- <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)		PAP
8	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	거 <i>ke</i>	=거저 <i>=ke.cye</i> (optative sentence ending)	PAP
9	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 <i>-cye</i> (optative sentence ending)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	仏体叱海等成留焉日尸恨

Transcription	부텃바돌일운날은 PWU-THYE=s PA.TOL IL.WU-n-NAL=on
MoK translation	부처의 바다를 이루는 날은
English translation	[On] the day when [I] make the Buddha's sea

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부텃 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
2	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	=ㅅ =s (honorific genitive suffix)	PAP
4	海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	바돌 <i>PA.TOL</i> > 바다 <i>PA.TA</i> ‘sea’	SAL
5	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>l</i> in 海 바돌 <i>PA.TOL</i>)	PAP
6	成	‘to achieve’	성 <i>seng</i>	일우- <i>IL.WU-</i> > 이루- <i>I.LWU-</i> ‘to achieve’ (stem)	SAL
7	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	루 <i>lwu</i> (phonetic determinative of the sounds <i>lwu</i> in 成 일우- <i>IL.WU-</i>)	PAP
8	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	-ㄴ- -n- (adnominal suffix)	PAP
9	日	‘day’	날 <i>nal</i>	날 <i>NAL</i> ‘day’	SAL
10	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	ㄹ <i>l</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant - <i>l</i> in 日 날 <i>NAL</i>)	PAP
11	恨	‘to hate’	한 <i>han</i>	=은/=ㄴ =(<i>n</i>)on > =은/=ㄴ =(<i>n</i>)un (topic particle)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	懺為如乎仁惡寸業置
Transcription	참ㅎ다운구존업도 CHAM-HO-ta-wo-n-KWUC-{c}wo-n-EP=two
MoK translation	참회하는 곳은 업도
English translation	Even the bad karma that [I] repent

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	懺	‘to repent’	참 <i>cham</i>	참- <i>CHAM-</i> ‘to repent’ (stem)	DAL
2	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	-ㅎ- -HO- > -하- -HA- (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
3	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다 =ta (sentence ending) ← -답- -TAP- ‘to resemble’ (complementary verb) (stem)	SAP
4	乎	interrogative	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- -wo- (assertive suffix)	PAP

		final particle			
5	仁	‘humanity’	인 <i>in</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	惡	‘to be bad’	악 <i>ak</i>	꺾- <i>KWUC-</i> ‘to be bad’ (stem)	SAL
7	寸	measure of length	촌 <i>chwon</i>	존- { <i>c</i> } <i>wo-n-</i> ← ㅈ <i>c</i> (final consonant in 惡 꺾- <i>kwuc-</i>) + -오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix) + -ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adjectival adnominal suffix)	PAP
8	業	‘karma’	업 <i>ep</i>	업 <i>EP</i> ‘karma’	DAL
9	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	두- <i>-two</i> (inclusive particle) ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	SAP

Line 7

Original Text	法性叱宅阿叱寶良
Transcription	법성입집앗보라 PEP-SENG=s CIP=a=s PWO=la
MoK translation	법성의 집의 보라!
English translation	[The karma] is the treasure of the house of the nature of dharma!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	법 <i>PEP</i>	‘dharma’	DAL
2	性	‘nature’	성 <i>seng</i>	성 <i>SENG</i>	‘nature’	DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅂ- <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive suffix)		PAP
4	宅	‘residence’	택 <i>tayk</i>	집 <i>CIP</i>	‘house’	SAL
5	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	ㅂ- <i>=a</i> (locative particle)	ㅂ- <i>=a=s</i> (locative genitive particle)	PAP
6	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅂ- <i>=s</i> (inanimate genitive particle)		PAP
7	寶	‘treasure’	보 <i>pwo</i>	보 <i>PWO</i>	‘treasure’	DAL
8	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	라- <i>=la</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	舊留然叱為事置耶
Transcription	너리로그렷ㅎ일두라 NYE.LI=lwo KU.LE-s-HO-IL=twu.LA
MoK translation	예부터 그런 일이라!
English translation	[It] is this kind of thing from the past!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	舊	‘to be old’	구 <i>kwu</i>	*너리 <i>*NYE.LI</i> > 네 <i>NYEY</i> > 예 <i>YEY</i> ‘past’	SAL
2	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	로- <i>=lwo</i> (ablative particle)	PAP
3	然	‘to be in such a way’	연 <i>yen</i>	그리- <i>KU.LE-</i> ‘to be like this’ (stem)	SAL

4	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ -s (emphatic suffix)	PAP
5	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	-ㅎ - -HO- > -하- -HA- (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
6	事	‘thing’	사 <i>sa</i>	일 <i>il</i> ‘thing’	SAL
7	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	두 <i>twu</i> ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	=두라 = <i>twu.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)
8	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	=라 = <i>LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	

Line 9

Original Text	病吟 礼為白孫隱仏体刀
Transcription	례 ㅎ ㅎ 손 부 터 도 LYEY-HO-SOLP-swo-n-PWU-THYE=two
MoK translation	례를 하는 부처도
English translation	Even [among] Buddhas who make courtesy

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	病	‘to be sick’	병 <i>pyeng</i>	(Marker of the final stanza)	
2	吟	‘to chant’	음 <i>um</i>		
3	礼	‘courtesy’	례 <i>lyey</i>	례 <i>LYEY</i> ‘courtesy’	DAL
4	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	-ㅎ - -HO- > -하- -HA- (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
5	白	‘to tell, clarify’	백 <i>payk</i>	ㅎ-/ㅎ - <i>SOLP-/SOLW-</i> > 사되- <i>SA.LWOY-</i> (humble complementary verb) (stem)	SAL
6	孫	‘grandson’	손 <i>swon</i>	-손- - <i>swo-n-</i> ← -소- - <i>swo-</i> (exclamatory suffix) + -ㄴ - - <i>n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
7	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	-ㄴ - <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the syllable <i>n</i> in 孫 -손- - <i>swo-n-</i>)	PAP
8	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i> ‘Buddha’	DAL
9	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>		DAL
10	刀	‘knife’	도 <i>two</i>	=도 = <i>two</i> (inclusive particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	吾衣身伊波人有叱下呂
Transcription	나의몸이바사롬잇아리 NA=uy MWOM I pa SA.LOM IS=a-li
MoK translation	내 몸 이 것인 사람이 있는가?

English translation	Is there anyone who is my body itself?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i>	‘I’	SAL
2	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (animate genitive particle)		PAP
3	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	몸 <i>MWOM</i>	‘body’	SAL
4	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i>	‘this’	SAL
5	波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	바 <i>pa</i>	‘thing’	PAP
6	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	사람 <i>SA.LOM</i>	> 사람 <i>SA.LAM</i> ‘person’	SAL
7	有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	있- <i>IS-</i>	> 있- <i>ISS-</i> ‘to have; to exist’ (stem)	SAL
8	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	-ㅅ <i>-s</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-s</i> in 有 있- <i>IS-</i>)		PAP
9	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	알 <i>al</i> ← 알이 <i>AL.OY</i> (> 아래 <i>A.LAY</i>) ‘under’	=아리 <i>=a-li</i> (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- <i>-a-</i> [infinitive suffix] + -리- <i>-li-</i> [prospective suffix]) ← 알리 <i>al.li</i>	SAP
10	呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	리 <i>li</i>		PAP

25 *Chwongkyel mwucin ka* 총결무진가 總結無盡歌 “Song of Concluding in General without End”

References: Yu 1994: 1076-1102; Pak 2012: 342-356.

Original Text

- 1 生界尽尸等隱
- 2 吾衣願尽尸日置仁伊而也
- 3 眾生叱邊衣于音毛
- 4 際毛冬留願海伊過
- 5 此如趣可伊羅行根
- 6 向乎仁所留善陵道也
- 7 伊波普賢行願
- 8 又都仏体叱事伊置耶
- 9 阿耶 普賢叱心音阿于波
- 10 伊留叱餘音良他事捨齊

Chinese Translation and Its English Translation

Chinese Translation	English Translation
盡眾生界以為期	Taking the end of the realm of all living beings as the deadline,
生界無窮志豈移	The realm of living beings having no limit, how could the will waver?
師意要驚迷子夢	The Master's intention is going to awaken the dreams of the confused ones,
法歌能代願王詞	The Dharma song can replace the words of the King of Vows.
將除妄境須吟誦	To dispel improper territories, [one] must chant and recite.
欲返真源莫厭疲	To return to the true source, do not satisfy or tire.
相續一心無間斷	The continuous and focused heart without interruption,
大堪隨學普賢慈	[One] is very worthy of following and learning the compassion of Samantabhadra.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unclear	Total
55	17	24	40	4	0	85

Line 1

Original Text	生界尽尸等隱
Transcription	생 계 다 올 돈 SAYNG-KYEEY TA.O-l-ton
MoK translation	생계가 다하면
English translation	If the realm of living beings ends

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	生	‘to live’	생 <i>sayng</i>	생 <i>SAYNG</i> ‘to live’	DAL
2	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	계 <i>KYEEY</i> ‘realm’	DAL
3	尽	‘to end’	진 <i>cin</i>	다으 - <i>TA.O-</i> > 다하- <i>TA.HA-</i> ‘to end’ (stem)	SAL
4	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 - <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
5	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	=든 <i>-ton</i> (conditional particle)	PAP
6	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	ㄴ <i>n</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-n</i> in 等 =든 <i>-ton</i>)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	吾衣願尽尸日置仁伊而也
Transcription	나의원다올날도잇이느여 NA=uy WEN TA.O-l-NAL=two is-i-no-ye
MoK translation	내 원이 다할 날도 있는 것이다.
English translation	There is also the day when my wish ends.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	나 <i>NA</i> ‘I’	SAL
2	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	=의 <i>=uy</i> (animate genitive particle)	PAP
3	願	‘wish’	원 <i>wen</i>	원 <i>WEN</i> ‘wish’	DAL
4	尽	‘to end’	진 <i>cin</i>	다으 - <i>TA.O-</i> > 다하- <i>TA.HA-</i> ‘to end’ (stem)	SAL
5	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	-르 - <i>-l-</i> (prospective adnominal suffix)	PAP
6	日	‘day’	날 <i>nal</i>	날 <i>NAL</i> ‘day’	SAL
7	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	=도 <i>=two</i> (inclusive particle) ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	SAP
8	仁	‘humanity’	인 <i>in</i>	잇- <i>is-</i> (← 인- <i>IT-</i> ‘to be good’ [stem]) > 있- <i>iss-</i> ‘to exist’ (stem)	SAP
9	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem)	PAP

10	而	conjunctive particle	이 <i>i</i>	-ㄴ - <i>-no-</i> (present suffix)	PAP
11	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 <i>-ye</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	眾生叱邊衣于音毛
Transcription	중생 ㅅ ㄱ 의 감 모 CWUNG-SAYNG=s KOS=uy kam-m-wo-
MoK translation	중생의 가가 감아
English translation	The edge of all living beings being black

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	眾	‘all living beings’	중 <i>cwung</i>	중생 <i>CWUNG-SAYNG</i>		DAL
2	生		생 <i>sayng</i>	‘all living beings’		DAL
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅁㅅ <i>=s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)		PAP
4	邊	‘side, edge’	변 <i>pyen</i>	곁/곶 <i>KOS/KOZ</i> > 가 <i>KA</i> ‘edge’		SAL
5	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	ㅁ의 <i>=uy</i> (animate genitive particle)		PAP
6	于	‘to go’	우 <i>wu</i>	가 <i>ka</i> ← 가- <i>KA-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	감- <i>kam-</i> ‘to be black’ (stem)	SAP
7	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i>		PAP
8	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모- <i>mwo-</i> ← -ㅁ- <i>-m-</i> (durative suffix) + -오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	際毛冬留願海伊過
Transcription	ㄱ 모 들 로 윈 해 이 가 KOS MWO.TOL=lwo WEN-HAY i=ka
MoK translation	가를 모르는 윈해인가?
English translation	Is [it] the sea of wishes whose edge is unknown?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	際	‘edge’	제 <i>cey</i>	ㄱ/ㄷ <i>KOS/KOZ</i> > 가 <i>KA</i> ‘edge’		SAL
2	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	모 <i>mwo</i>	모들 <i>mwo.tol</i> > 모르- <i>mwo.lu-</i> ‘to not know’ (stem)	PAP
3	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	들 <i>tol</i>		PAP
4	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	=로 <i>=lwo</i> (instrumental particle)		PAP
5	願	‘wish’	원 <i>wen</i>	원 <i>WEN</i> ‘wish’		DAL
6	海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	해 <i>HAY</i> ‘sea’		DAL

7	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem)	PAP
8	過	‘to pass’	과 <i>kwa</i>	=가 <i>-ka</i> (interrogative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	此如趣可伊羅行根
Transcription	이다히낫가이라니곤 I=TA.HI NAS-ka- I=la NI-kwon
MoK translation	이 답게 나아가 이라고 가니
English translation	Going out like this and going in this way

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
2	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	=다히 <i>-TA.HI</i> ‘like’	SAL
3	趣	‘to go toward’	취 <i>chwi</i>	낫- <i>NAS-</i> ‘to go out’ (stem)	SAL
4	可	‘to be all right, to be possible’	가 <i>ka</i>	가- <i>ka-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	PAP
5	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’	SAL
6	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	=라 <i>-la</i> (sentence ending)	PAP
7	行	‘to go’	행 <i>hayng</i>	니- <i>NI-</i> ‘to go’ (stem)	SAL
8	根	‘root’	근 <i>kun</i>	=곤 <i>-kwon</i> (apperceptive particle)	PAP

Line 6

Original Text	向乎仁所留善陵道也
Transcription	아으온디로선능길여 A.O-wo-n-TOY=lwo SEN-NUNG KILH=ye
MoK translation	향하는 데로 선능길이다.
English translation	[It] is the way of goodness toward the place which [I] go toward.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	向	‘to go toward’	향 <i>hyang</i>	아으- <i>A.O-</i> ‘to go toward’ (stem)	SAL
2	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	-오- <i>-wo-</i> (assertive suffix)	PAP
3	仁	‘humanity’	인 <i>in</i>	-ㄴ- <i>-n-</i> (adnominal suffix)	PAP
4	所	‘place’	소 <i>swō</i>	디 <i>TOY > TEY</i> ‘place’	SAL
5	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	=로 <i>-lwo</i> (allative particle)	PAP
6	善	‘to be good’	선 <i>sen</i>	선능 <i>SEN-NUNG</i> ‘(hill of) goodness’	DAL
7	陵	‘hill’	릉 <i>lung</i>		DAL
8	道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	길/길 <i>KIL(H) > KIL</i> ‘way’	SAL

9	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	=여 = <i>ye</i> (declarative sentence ending)	PAP

Line 7

Original Text	伊波普賢行願
Transcription	이바보현행원 I pa PWO-HYEN-HAYNG-WEN
MoK translation	여보 보현행원
English translation	This thing, Samantabhadra's practicing wishes

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem	Type
1	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> 'this'	SAL
2	波	'wave'	파 <i>pha</i>	바 <i>pa</i> 'thing'	PAP
3	普	'Samantabhadra'	보 <i>pwo</i>	보현 <i>PWO-HYEN</i>	DAL
4	賢		현 <i>hyen</i>	'Samantabhadra'	DAL
5	行	'to practice'	행 <i>hayng</i>	행원 <i>HAYNG-WEN</i>	DAL
6	願	'wish'	원 <i>wen</i>	'to practice wishes'	DAL

Line 8

Original Text	又都仏体叱事伊置耶
Transcription	또부텃일이두라 STWO PWU-THYE=s IL i=twu.LA
MoK translation	또 부처의 일이더라!
English translation	[It] is again Buddha's thing!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	又	‘again’	우 <i>wu</i>	또 <i>STWO</i> > 또 <i>TTWO</i> ‘again’		SAL
2	都	‘capital’	도 <i>two</i>	도 <i>two</i> (phonetic determinative of the component <i>two</i> in 又 또 <i>STWO</i>)		PAP
3	仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	부터 <i>PWU-THYE</i> > 부처 <i>PWU-CHE</i> ‘Buddha’		DAL
4	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>			DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅ ㅅ <i>=s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)		PAP
6	事	‘thing’	사 <i>sa</i>	일 <i>IL</i> ‘thing’		SAL
7	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이- <i>i-</i> (copula) (stem)		PAP
8	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	두 <i>twu</i> ← 두- <i>TWU-</i> ‘to place’ (stem)	ㅅ두라 <i>=twu.LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)	SAP
9	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	ㅅ라 <i>=LA</i> (exclamatory sentence ending)		SAL

Line 9

Original Text	阿耶 普賢叱心音阿于波
Transcription	아야보현ㅅㅁ슴아우바 a.ya PWO-HYEN=s MO.ZOM a.wu- pa
MoK translation	아야 보현의 마음을 아는 것
English translation	Ah! [My] knowing Samantabhadra's heart

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아야 <i>a.ya</i> (exclamatory expression)	PAP
2	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	야 <i>ya</i>		PAP
3	普	‘Samantabhadra’	보 <i>pwo</i>	보현 <i>PWO-HYEN</i> ‘Samantabhadra’		DAL
4	賢		현 <i>hyen</i>			DAL
5	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅㅁ슴 <i>=s</i> (honorific genitive suffix)		PAP
6	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	ㅁ슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i> > 마음 <i>MA.UM</i> ‘heart’		SAL
7	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 心 ㅁ슴 <i>MO.ZOM</i>)		PAP
8	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	아 <i>a</i>	아우- <i>a.wu-</i> ‘to know’ (stem)	PAP
9	于	‘to go’	우 <i>wu</i>	우 <i>wu</i>		PAP
10	波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	바 <i>pa</i> ‘thing’		PAP

Line 10

Original Text	伊留叱餘音良他事捨齊
Transcription	이룟남아녀느일브리져 I=lwo=s NAM-a- NYE.NU IL PO.LI=cye
MoK translation	이렇게 남은 여느 일을 버리겠다.
English translation	By this [I] wish to abandon other things remaining.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Reading in poem		Type
1	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	이 <i>I</i> ‘this’		SAL
2	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	ㅁ로 <i>=lwo</i> (instrumental particle)		PAP
3	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	ㅅㅁ슴 <i>=s</i> (inanimae genitive suffix)		PAP
4	餘	‘to remain’	여 <i>ye</i>	남- <i>NAM-</i> ‘to remain’ (stem)		SAL
5	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	ㅁ <i>m</i> (phonetic determinative of the final consonant <i>-m</i> in 餘 남- <i>NAM-</i>)		PAP
6	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	-아- <i>-a-</i> (infinitive suffix)		PAP
7	他	‘other’	타 <i>tha</i>	녀느 <i>NYE.NU</i> > 여느 <i>YE.NU</i> ‘other’		SAL

8	事	‘thing’	사 <i>sa</i>	일 <i>il</i> ‘thing’	SAL
9	捨	‘to abandon’	사 <i>sa</i>	버리- <i>PO.LI</i> - > 버리- <i>PE.LI</i> - ‘to abandon’ (stem)	SAL
10	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	=저 <i>=cye</i> (optative sentence ending)	PAP

Appendix 2

Concordance Index of Characters in *Hyangka* Poems

This appendix is a concordance index of the characters in the *hyangka* corpus, listing the function or referent of every occurrence of every character. The main references are Yu (1994), Koo (2010) (only for group 1 poems), and Pak (2012).

Notes

1. The characters are listed in the order of their number of occurrences. The characters with the same number of occurrences are listed in the alphabetic order of the *hankul* spelling of their modern Sino-Korean (MoSK) reading. Different from the Korean lexicographic tradition, the zero initial consonant letter (<ㅇ>) precedes all the other initial consonant letters. The characters with the same number of occurrences and the same SK reading are listed in the order of their first occurrence in the corpus.

2. All the occurrences of a character are first classified into the four types of adaptation. For a logogram (DAL or SAL), the occurrences are further classified based on the word/morpheme represented. For a phonogram (PAP or SAP), the occurrences are further classified based first on the sound represented, and then on the function or referent of the character.

3. An occurrence of a character is given in the format *a.b.c*, where *a* stands for the poem (see the list of poems below), *b* stands for the line in the poem, and *c* stands for the position in the line.

4. The number of occurrences of a character is given in the format $x+y=z$, where *x* and *y* stand for its number of occurrences in group 1 and group 2 respectively, and *z* stands for its total number of occurrences.

5. In general, the environment of an occurrence of a phonogram is described in detail (the tilde <~>

stands for the character in question). This is not the case for an occurrence of a logogram, except when the character writes a constituent morpheme of a compound word which is a highly lexicalized or idiomatic lexical item, or whose meaning is difficult to be directly deduced from the meaning of the morpheme.

List of Poems

Group 1

- 1 *Mwo cwukcilang ka* 모죽지랑가 慕竹旨郎歌 “Song of Admiring Knight Cwukci”
- 2 *Nwoin henhwa ka* 노인헌화가 老人獻花歌 “Song of an Old Man Presenting Flowers”
- 3 *Anmin ka* 안민가 安民歌 “Song of Pacifying the People”
- 4 *Chan kiphalang ka* 찬기파랑가 讚耆婆郎歌 “Song of Praising Knight Kipha”
- 5 *Cheyong ka* 처용가 處容歌 “Song of Cheyong”
- 6 *Setwong yo* 서동요 薯童謠 “Ballad of the Potato Child”
- 7 *Two chenswu taypi ka* 도천수대비가 禱千手大悲歌 “Song of Praying to the Thousand-Handed Great Compassion”
- 8 *Phung yo* 풍요 風謠 “Folk Ballad”
- 9 *Wen wangsayng ka* 원왕생가 願往生歌 “Song of Wishing for Rebirth”
- 10 *Twoswol ka* 도솔가 兜率歌 “Song of Tuṣita”
- 11 *Cey mangmay ka* 제망매가 祭亡妹歌 “Song of Memorializing the Dead Younger Sister”
- 12 *Hyeyseng ka* 혜성가 彗星歌 “Song of Comet”
- 13 *Wen ka* 원가 怨歌 “Song of Grief”
- 14 *Wucek ka* 우적가 遇賊歌 “Song of Encountering Bandits”

Group 2

- 15 *Yeykyeng ceypwul ka* 예경제불가 禮敬諸佛歌 “Song of Courteously Honoring Various Buddhas”
- 16 *Chingchan yelay ka* 칭찬여래가 稱讚如來歌 “Song of Praising Tathāgata”
- 17 *Kwangswu kwongyang ka* 광수공양가 廣修供養歌 “Song of Widely Practicing Devotion”
- 18 *Chamhwoy epcang ka* 참회업장가 懺悔業障歌 “Song of Repenting Karma”
- 19 *Swuhuy kwongtek ka* 수희공덕가 隨喜功德歌 “Song of Muditā and Merit”
- 20 *Chengcen peplyun ka* 청전법륜가 請轉法輪歌 “Song of Requesting to Turn the Wheel of Dharma”
- 21 *Chengpwul cwusey ka* 청불주세가 請佛住世歌 “Song of Requesting the Buddha to Reside in the World”
- 22 *Sangswu pwulhak ka* 상수불학가 常隨佛學歌 “Song of Constantly Following Buddhist Studies”
- 23 *Hangswun cwungsayng ka* 향순중생가 恒順眾生歌 “Song of Consistently Complying with All Living Beings”
- 24 *Pwokay hwoyhyang ka* 보개회향가 普皆回向歌 “Song of the Mass All Transferring Merit”
- 25 *Chwongkyel mwucin ka* 총결무진가 總結無盡歌 “Song of Concluding in General without End”

List of Characters

	Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
1	叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	37+53=90
2	隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	37+25=62
3	良	‘to be good’	량 <i>lyang</i>	23+21=44
4	尸	‘corpse’	시 <i>si</i>	27+10=37
5	乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	18+13=31
6	如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	24+6=30
7	音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	17+13=30
8	也	copula	야 <i>ya</i>	18+9=27
9	伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	8+18=26
10	賜	‘to bestow’	사 <i>sa</i>	13+12=25
11	等	‘rank; to equal’	등 <i>tung</i>	10+13=23
12	只	‘only’	지 <i>ci</i>	7+16=23
13	佛 仏 ¹	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	1+21=22
14	白	‘white; to explain’	백 <i>payk</i>	7+12=19
15	矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	17+1=18
16	古	‘antiquity’	고 <i>kwo</i>	18+0=18
17	吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	8+9=17
18	為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	4+13=17
19	乙	second item in the “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	3+14=17
20	去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	11+6=17
21	留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	0+17=17
22	支 ²	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	17+0=17
23	阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	11+5=16
24	衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	4+12=16
25	冬	‘winter’	동 <i>twong</i>	8+8=16
26	理	‘inner structure; principle’	리 <i>li</i>	13+2=15
27	毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	6+9=15
28	体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	0+15=15
29	盼	‘to vibrate’	흘 <i>hul</i>	14+1=15
30	惡	‘to be bad’; ‘how, why’	악 <i>ak</i> ; 오 <i>wo</i>	7+7=14
31	耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	3+11=14
32	焉	‘in relation to’	언 <i>en</i>	5+9=14
33	遣	‘to dispatch’	견 <i>kyen</i>	12+2=14
34	内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	10+4=14
35	置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	5+9=14
36	以 ³	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	9+4=13
37	多	‘to be numerous’	다 <i>ta</i>	9+4=13
38	來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	8+5=13
39	沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	8+5=13
40	史	‘history’	사 <i>sa</i>	11+2=13

¹These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

²The character 支 is an allograph of the character 撲 (‘to strike’) but is regarded as having the same function as the character 支 in *hyangka*. They are counted in different entries.

³Character 13.6.8 is written as 以 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 止. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 以 but interpreted as the character 止.

41	生	‘to live’	생 <i>sayng</i>	5+8=13
42	下	‘under, down’	하 <i>ha</i>	8+5=13
43	於 於 ⁴	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	10+2=12
44	羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	8+3=11
45	法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	0+11=11
46	是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	11+0=11
47	行	‘to go; to practice’	행 <i>hayng</i>	5+6=11
48	心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	4+6=10
49	支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	8+2=10
50	此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	8+2=10
51	烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	8+1=9
52	界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	0+9=9
53	道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	3+6=9
54	物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	4+5=9
55	米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	5+4=9
56	知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	7+2=9
57	好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	4+5=9
58	呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	0+8=8
59	無 无 ⁵	‘to not have, lack’	무 <i>mwu</i>	1+7=8
60	齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	3+5=8
61	中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	3+5=8
62	尽	‘to end’	진 <i>cin</i>	0+8=8
63	邪	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	7+0=7
64	于	‘to go’	우 <i>wu</i>	2+5=7
65	願	‘to wish’	원 <i>wen</i>	3+4=7
66	有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	5+2=7
67	人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	2+5=7
68	一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	4+3=7
69	皆	‘all, every’	개 <i>kay</i>	1+6=7
70	乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	4+3=7
71	頓	‘to bow’	돈 <i>twon</i>	1+6=7
72	反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	3+4=7
73	不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	2+5=7
74	手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	4+3=7
75	身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	1+6=7
76	波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	1+6=7
77	月	‘moon; month’	월 <i>wel</i>	5+1=6
78	日	‘day’	일 <i>il</i>	2+4=6
79	句	‘sentence’	구 <i>kwu</i>	2+4=6
80	未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	4+2=6
81	部	‘part, section’	부 <i>pwu</i>	0+6=6
82	善 善 ⁶	‘to be nice’	선 <i>sen</i>	2+4=6
83	修	‘to cultivate’	수 <i>swu</i>	2+4=6
84	眾	‘mass’	중 <i>cwung</i>	0+6=6

⁴These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

⁵These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

⁶The character 𤝵 is not attested in dictionaries but is regarded as an allograph of the character 善 based on its graphic structure and the context. As a result, these two characters are counted in the same entry.

85	海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	0+6=6
86	花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	6+0=6
87	屋	‘house’	옥 <i>wok</i>	4+1=5
88	仁	‘humanity’	인 <i>in</i>	0+5=5
89	逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	2+3=5
90	可	‘to be all right, to be possible’	가 <i>ka</i>	3+2=5
91	過 过 ⁷	‘to pass’	과 <i>kwa</i>	3+2=5
92	大 ⁸	‘to be big’	대 <i>tay</i>	3+2=5
93	都	capital	도 <i>two</i>	4+1=5
94	陵	‘mound’	릉 <i>lung</i>	2+3=5
95	兒	‘appearance’	모 <i>mwo</i>	5+0=5
96	彌 弥 弥 ⁹	‘to be full’	미 <i>mi</i>	3+2=5
97	迷	‘to be confused’	미 <i>mi</i>	0+5=5
98	所	‘place’	소 <i>swo</i>	2+3=5
99	將	prospective modal verb	장 <i>cang</i>	2+3=5
100	主	‘master’	주 <i>cwu</i>	4+1=5
101	塵	‘dust, (mundane) world’	진 <i>cin</i>	0+5=5
102	出	‘to come out’	출 <i>chwul</i>	2+3=5
103	夜	‘night’	야 <i>ya</i>	3+1=4
104	爾 尔 ¹⁰	‘you; this’	이 <i>i</i>	3+1=4
105	二	‘two’	이 <i>i</i>	4+0=4
106	供	‘offering’	공 <i>kwong</i>	0+4=4
107	根	‘root’	근 <i>kun</i>	1+3=4
108	今	‘now’	금 <i>kum</i>	2+2=4
109	念	‘to think about; mind’	념 <i>nyem</i>	1+3=4
110	德	‘inner capacity’	덕 <i>tek</i>	1+3=4
111	落	‘to fall’	락 <i>lak</i>	1+3=4
112	里	‘alley’	리 <i>li</i>	1+3=4
113	立	‘to stand’	립 <i>lip</i>	3+1=4
114	馬	‘horse’	마 <i>ma</i>	1+3=4
115	萬	‘ten thousand’	만 <i>man</i>	1+3=4
116	世	‘world’	세 <i>sey</i>	1+3=4
117	孫	‘grandson’	손 <i>swon</i>	0+4=4
118	前	‘front’	전 <i>cen</i>	2+2=4
119	丁	fourth item in the “Heavenly Stems”	정 <i>ceng</i>	3+1=4
120	際	‘edge; occasion, time’	제 <i>cye</i>	1+3=4
121	之	genitive particle	지 <i>ci</i>	3+1=4
122	次	‘to be second; order’	차 <i>cha</i>	4+0=4
123	刹	‘Buddhist temple’	찰 <i>chal</i>	1+3=4
124	恨	‘to hate’	한 <i>han</i>	3+1=4
125	向	‘to go toward’	향 <i>hyang</i>	0+4=4
126	後	‘back’	후 <i>hwu</i>	2+2=4

⁷Character 2.1.5 is written as 过, which normally is an allograph of the character 過, but is regarded as an allograph of the character 邊. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 过 but interpreted as the character 邊. The characters 過 and 过 are counted in the same entry.

⁸Character 3.10.3 is written as 大 but regarded as an allograph of the character 太. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 大 but interpreted as the character 太.

⁹These three characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

¹⁰These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

127	希	‘to hope’	희 <i>huy</i>	3+1=4
128	安	‘how; to be calm, safe’	안 <i>an</i>	2+1=3
129	哀	‘to be sorrowful’	애 <i>ay</i>	2+1=3
130	業	‘karma’	업 <i>ep</i>	0+3=3
131	然	‘to be in such a way’	연 <i>yen</i>	0+3=3
132	往	‘to go toward’	왕 <i>wang</i>	2+1=3
133	友	‘friend’	우 <i>wu</i>	1+2=3
134	見	‘to look’	견 <i>kyen</i>	2+1=3
135	達	‘to reach’	달 <i>tal</i>	3+0=3
136	刀	‘knife’	도 <i>two</i>	1+2=3
137	同	‘to be same; together’	동 <i>twong</i>	0+3=3
138	灯	‘lamp’	등 <i>tung</i>	0+3=3
139	郎	official title	랑 <i>lang</i>	3+0=3
140	望	‘to look at’	망 <i>mang</i>	3+0=3
141	明	‘to be bright’	명 <i>myeng</i>	1+2=3
142	慕	‘to long for’	모 <i>mwo</i>	2+1=3
143	民	‘people’	민 <i>min</i>	3+0=3
144	放	‘to release’	방 <i>pang</i>	3+0=3
145	寶	‘treasure’	보 <i>pwo</i>	1+2=3
146	浮	‘to float’	부 <i>pwu</i>	3+0=3
147	捨	‘to abandon’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+2=3
148	事	‘thing’	사 <i>sa</i>	0+3=3
149	藪	‘marsh’	수 <i>swu</i>	3+0=3
150	察	‘to observe’	찰 <i>chal</i>	2+1=3
151	懺	‘to repent’	참 <i>cham</i>	0+3=3
152	處 处 ¹¹	‘to be located at’	처 <i>che</i>	2+1=3
153	千	‘thousand’	천 <i>chen</i>	3+0=3
154	寸	measure of length	촌 <i>chwon</i>	0+3=3
155	秋	‘autumn’	추 <i>chwu</i>	2+1=3
156	逐	‘to chase’	축 <i>chwuk</i>	2+1=3
157	他	third person pronoun	타 <i>tha</i>	1+2=3
158	吞	‘to swallow’	탄 <i>than</i>	3+0=3
159	八	‘eight’	팔 <i>phal</i>	3+0=3
160	我	‘I’	아 <i>a</i>	0+2=2
161	仰	‘to look up’	앙 <i>ang</i>	2+0=2
162	愛	‘love’	애 <i>ay</i>	2+0=2
163	汝	‘you’	여 <i>ye</i>	2+0=2
164	餘	‘to remain’	여 <i>ye</i>	0+2=2
165	亦	‘again’	역 <i>yek</i>	1+1=2
166	緣	‘tie; fate’	연 <i>yen</i>	0+2=2
167	影	‘shadow’	영 <i>yeng</i>	1+1=2
168	悟	‘to be enlightened’	오 <i>wo</i>	0+2=2
169	玉	‘jade’	옥 <i>wok</i>	0+2=2
170	卧	‘to lie down’	와 <i>wa</i>	0+2=2
171	曰 ¹²	‘to say’	왈 <i>wal</i>	1+1=2

¹¹These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

¹²Character 14.8.3 is written as 曰 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 日. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 日 but interpreted as the character 日.

172	王	‘king’	왕 <i>wang</i>	0+2=2
173	邀	‘to invite’	요 <i>yo</i>	0+2=2
174	遺	‘to grant; to leave behind’	위 <i>wi</i> ; 유 <i>yu</i>	2+0=2
175	喻	‘to understand’	유 <i>yu</i>	1+1=2
176	遊游 ¹³	‘to play’	유 <i>yu</i>	2+0=2
177	潤	‘to moisten’	윤 <i>yun</i>	0+2=2
178	因	‘to base on’	인 <i>in</i>	2+0=2
179	入	‘to enter’	입 <i>ip</i>	2+0=2
180	覺	‘to become aware’	각 <i>kak</i>	0+2=2
181	間	‘interval’	간 <i>kan</i>	0+2=2
182	居	‘to reside’	거 <i>ke</i>	1+1=2
183	戒	‘commandment’	계 <i>kyey</i>	1+1=2
184	昆	‘sibling’	곤 <i>kwon</i>	1+1=2
185	功	‘accomplishment’	공 <i>kwong</i>	1+1=2
186	教	‘to teach’	교 <i>kyo</i>	2+0=2
187	舊	‘to be old’	구 <i>kwu</i>	1+1=2
188	丘	‘hill’	구 <i>kwu</i>	0+2=2
189	國	‘country’	국 <i>kwuk</i>	2+0=2
190	君	‘lord’	군 <i>kwun</i>	2+0=2
191	群	‘group’	군 <i>kwun</i>	0+2=2
192	惱	‘to be annoyed’	뇌 <i>nwoy</i>	1+1=2
193	尼	‘to be close’	니 <i>ni</i>	2+0=2
194	宅	‘residence’	택 <i>tayk</i>	1+1=2
195	得	‘to obtain’	덕 <i>tek</i>	0+2=2
196	東	‘east’	동 <i>twong</i>	2+0=2
197	洛	name of a river	락 <i>lak</i>	0+2=2
198	礼	‘ritual; courtesy’	례 <i>ryey</i>	0+2=2
199	滿	‘to be full’	만 <i>man</i>	0+2=2
200	每	‘every’	매 <i>may</i>	0+2=2
201	命	‘life; command’	명 <i>myeng</i>	1+1=2
202	母	‘mother’	모 <i>mwo</i>	2+0=2
203	目	‘eye’	목 <i>mwok</i>	2+0=2
204	方	‘direction’	방 <i>pang</i>	1+1=2
205	栢	‘pine’	백 <i>payk</i>	2+0=2
206	邊	‘side, edge; frontier’	변 <i>pyen</i>	1+1=2
207	菩	a kind of herb	보 <i>pwo</i>	0+2=2
208	普	‘to be common’	보 <i>pwo</i>	0+2=2
209	卜 ¹⁴	‘to divine’	복 <i>pwok</i>	0+2=2
210	逢	‘to meet’	봉 <i>pwong</i>	2+0=2
211	悲	‘to be sad; to be compassionate’	비 <i>pi</i>	1+1=2
212	非	‘to be wrong’	비 <i>pi</i>	1+1=2
213	四	‘four’	사 <i>sa</i>	2+0=2
214	死	‘to die’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+1=2
215	三	‘three’	삼 <i>sam</i>	1+1=2
216	舌	‘tongue’	설 <i>sel</i>	0+2=2
217	成	‘to achieve’	성 <i>seng</i>	1+1=2

¹³These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

¹⁴The character 卜 is regarded as an abbreviated form of the character 負.

218	城	‘castle, city’	성 <i>seng</i>	1+1=2
219	星	‘star’	성 <i>seng</i>	2+0=2
220	数 數 ¹⁵	‘number; to count’	수 <i>swu</i>	2+0=2
221	水	‘water’	수 <i>swu</i>	0+2=2
222	臣	‘vassal’	신 <i>sin</i>	2+0=2
223	深	‘to be deep’	심 <i>sim</i>	1+1=2
224	十	‘ten’	십 <i>sip</i>	1+1=2
225	作	‘to make’	작 <i>cak</i>	1+1=2
226	切	‘to cut; to be close’	절 <i>cel</i>	1+1=2
227	汀	‘riverside’	정 <i>ceng</i>	2+0=2
228	制	‘to make’	제 <i>cey</i>	0+2=2
229	提	‘to raise’	제 <i>cey</i>	0+2=2
230	造	‘to make’	조 <i>cwo</i>	0+2=2
231	持	‘to hold’	지 <i>ci</i>	2+0=2
232	枝	‘branch’	지 <i>ci</i>	2+0=2
233	至	‘to arrive’	지 <i>ci</i>	0+2=2
234	直	‘to be straight’	직 <i>cik</i>	1+1=2
235	執	‘to hold’	집 <i>cip</i>	1+1=2
236	墮	‘to fall’	타 <i>tha</i>	2+0=2
237	彼	‘that’	피 <i>phi</i>	1+1=2
238	必	‘necessarily’	필 <i>phil</i>	0+2=2
239	賢	‘to be wise’	현 <i>hyen</i>	0+2=2
240	彗	‘comet’	혜 <i>hyey</i>	2+0=2
241	兮	exclamatory particle	혜 <i>hyey</i>	0+2=2
242	化	‘to change’	화 <i>hwa</i>	1+1=2
243	火	‘fire’	화 <i>hwa</i>	0+2=2
244	迴 回 ¹⁶	‘to return’	회 <i>hwoy</i>	1+1=2
245	曉	‘to be bright; dawn’	효 <i>hyo</i>	1+1=2
246	喜	‘to be happy’	희 <i>huy</i>	0+2=2
247	芽	‘sprout’	아 <i>a</i>	0+1=1
248	岳	‘hill’	악 <i>ak</i>	1+0=1
249	闕	‘to block’	알 <i>al</i>	0+1=1
250	岩	‘rock’	암 <i>am</i>	1+0=1
251	語	‘word, language’	어 <i>e</i>	0+1=1
252	言	‘word, speech’	언 <i>en</i>	0+1=1
253	煙	‘smoke’	연 <i>yen</i>	1+0=1
254	淵	‘abyss’	연 <i>yen</i>	1+0=1
255	咽	‘to be choked’	열 <i>yel</i>	1+0=1
256	熱	‘heat’	열 <i>yel</i>	0+1=1
257	厭	‘to be satisfied’	염 <i>yem</i>	0+1=1
258	葉	‘leaf’	엽 <i>yep</i>	1+0=1
259	永	‘to be everlasting’	영 <i>yeng</i>	0+1=1
260	鳴	‘to sigh’	오 <i>wo</i>	1+0=1
261	倭	‘Japan’	왜 <i>way</i>	1+0=1
262	用	‘to use’	용 <i>yong</i>	1+0=1
263	涌	‘to gush’	용 <i>yong</i>	0+1=1

¹⁵These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

¹⁶These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

264	憂	‘anxiety, sorrow’	우 <i>wu</i>	1+0=1
265	牛	‘bull, cow’	우 <i>wu</i>	1+0=1
266	雨	‘rain’	우 <i>wu</i>	0+1=1
267	又	‘again’	우 <i>wu</i>	0+1=1
268	雲	‘cloud’	운 <i>wun</i>	1+0=1
269	云	‘to say’	운 <i>wun</i>	1+0=1
270	遠	‘to be far’	원 <i>wen</i>	1+0=1
271	萎	‘to wither’	위 <i>wi</i>	0+1=1
272	唯	‘only’	유 <i>yu</i>	1+0=1
273	油	‘oil’	유 <i>yu</i>	0+1=1
274	吟	‘to chant’	음 <i>um</i>	0+1=1
275	應	‘to respond’	응 <i>ung</i>	0+1=1
276	意	‘intention’	의 <i>uy</i>	0+1=1
277	擬	‘to plan, imitate’	의 <i>uy</i>	0+1=1
278	而	conjunctive particle	이 <i>i</i>	0+1=1
279	仍	‘to follow’	잉 <i>ing</i>	0+1=1
280	嫁	‘to marry’	가 <i>ka</i>	1+0=1
281	腳	‘foot’	각 <i>kak</i>	1+0=1
282	改	‘to change’	개 <i>kay</i>	1+0=1
283	乾	name of one of the eight trigrams	건 <i>ken</i>	1+0=1
284	乞	‘to pray’	걸 <i>kel</i>	0+1=1
285	隔	‘to separate’	격 <i>kyek</i>	0+1=1
286	京	‘capital’	경 <i>kyeng</i>	1+0=1
287	敬	‘to respect’	경 <i>kyeng</i>	0+1=1
288	高	‘to be high’	고 <i>kwo</i>	1+0=1
289	故	‘to be old; reason’	고 <i>kwo</i>	1+0=1
290	苦	‘to be laborious’	고 <i>kwo</i>	0+1=1
291	哭	‘to cry’	곡 <i>kwok</i>	1+0=1
292	公	‘to be public’	공 <i>kwong</i>	1+0=1
293	菓	‘fruit’	과 <i>kwa</i>	0+1=1
294	觀	‘to look’	관 <i>kwan</i>	1+0=1
295	狂	‘to be crazy’	광 <i>kwang</i>	1+0=1
296	九	‘nine’	구 <i>kwu</i>	0+1=1
297	軍	‘army’	군 <i>kwun</i>	1+0=1
298	窟	‘hole, cave’	굴 <i>kwul</i>	1+0=1
299	斤	‘axe’	근 <i>kun</i>	0+1=1
300	耆	‘to be old’	기 <i>ki</i>	1+0=1
301	期	‘period’	기 <i>ki</i>	1+0=1
302	祈	‘to pray’	기 <i>ki</i>	1+0=1
303	起	‘to rise; to take place’	기 <i>ki</i>	0+1=1
304	奈	‘how’	나 <i>na</i>	0+1=1
305	難	‘to be difficult’	난 <i>nan</i>	0+1=1
306	南	‘south’	남 <i>nam</i>	0+1=1
307	年	‘year’	년 <i>nyen</i>	1+0=1
308	奴	‘slave’	노 <i>nwo</i>	1+0=1
309	但	‘only’	단 <i>tan</i>	1+0=1
310	斷	‘to be broken’	단 <i>tan</i>	0+1=1
311	待	‘to wait’	대 <i>tay</i>	1+0=1

312	對	‘to face’	대 <i>tay</i>	0+1=1
313	徒	‘disciple’	도 <i>two</i>	1+0=1
314	倒	‘to fall’	도 <i>two</i>	0+1=1
315	童	‘child’	동 <i>twong</i>	1+0=1
316	動	‘to move’	동 <i>twong</i>	0+1=1
317	浪	‘wave’	랑 <i>lang</i>	1+0=1
318	朗	‘to be bright’	랑 <i>lang</i>	1+0=1
319	量	‘amount’	량 <i>lyang</i>	1+0=1
320	兩	‘two’	량 <i>lyang</i>	1+0=1
321	露	‘dew; to expose’	로 <i>lwo</i>	1+0=1
322	路	‘road’	로 <i>lwo</i>	1+0=1
323	勒	‘to constrain’	룩 <i>luk</i>	1+0=1
324	利	‘benefit’	리 <i>li</i>	1+0=1
325	埋	‘to bury’	매 <i>may</i>	0+1=1
326	面	‘face’	면 <i>myen</i>	1+0=1
327	鳴	‘to sound’	명 <i>myeng</i>	0+1=1
328	卯	second item in the “Earthly Branches”	묘 <i>myo</i>	1+0=1
329	聞	‘to hear’	문 <i>mwun</i>	1+0=1
330	靡	‘to fall’	미 <i>mi</i>	0+1=1
331	密	‘to be secret’	밀 <i>mil</i>	1+0=1
332	房	‘room’	방 <i>pang</i>	1+0=1
333	陪	‘to accompany’	배 <i>pay</i>	1+0=1
334	拜	‘to bow’	배 <i>pay</i>	0+1=1
335	煩	‘to be bothered’	번 <i>pen</i>	0+1=1
336	辯	‘to debate’	변 <i>pyen</i>	0+1=1
337	兵	‘weapon’	병 <i>pyeng</i>	1+0=1
338	病	‘to be sick’	병 <i>pyeng</i>	0+1=1
339	本	‘origin’	본 <i>pwon</i>	1+0=1
340	蓬	‘mugwort’	봉 <i>pwong</i>	1+0=1
341	烽	‘torch’	봉 <i>pwong</i>	1+0=1
342	朋	‘comrade’	봉 <i>pwung</i>	0+1=1
343	父	‘father’	부 <i>pwu</i>	1+0=1
344	夫	‘man, husband’	부 <i>pwu</i>	0+1=1
345	北 ¹⁷	‘north’	북 <i>pwuk</i>	1+0=1
346	弗	‘not’	불 <i>pwul</i>	1+0=1
347	飛	‘to fly’	미 <i>pi</i>	0+1=1
348	使	‘to employ’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+0=1
349	辭	‘word’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+0=1
350	斜	‘to slant’	사 <i>sa</i>	0+1=1
351	散	‘to scatter’	산 <i>san</i>	1+0=1
352	尚	‘to respect; to be noble’	상 <i>sang</i>	1+0=1
353	上	‘on, up’	상 <i>sang</i>	0+1=1
354	相	‘successively’	상 <i>sang</i>	0+1=1
355	色 ¹⁸	‘color’	색 <i>sayk</i>	0+1=1

¹⁷Character 12.10.5 is written as 北 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 以. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 北 but interpreted as the character 以.

¹⁸Character 17.5.7 is written as 色 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 巴. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 色 but interpreted as the character 巴.

356	薯	‘potato’	서 <i>se</i>	1+0=1
357	西	‘west’	서 <i>se</i>	1+0=1
358	誓	‘to pledge’	서 <i>se</i>	1+0=1
359	閔 ¹⁹		서 <i>se</i>	0+1=1
360	雪	‘snow’	설 <i>sel</i>	1+0=1
361	施	‘to bestow’	설 <i>sel</i>	0+1=1
362	省	‘to reflect’	성 <i>seng</i>	1+0=1
363	性	‘nature’	성 <i>seng</i>	0+1=1
364	歲	‘year’	세 <i>sey</i>	0+1=1
365	召	‘to summon’	소 <i>swo</i>	1+0=1
366	燒	‘to burn’	소 <i>swo</i>	1+0=1
367	掃	‘to sweep’	소 <i>swo</i>	1+0=1
368	續	‘to continue’	속 <i>swok</i>	0+1=1
369	碎	‘to break’	쇄 <i>sway</i>	0+1=1
370	誰	‘who’	수 <i>swu</i>	1+0=1
371	壽	‘longevity’	수 <i>swu</i>	1+0=1
372	須	‘moment; to wait’	수 <i>swu</i>	0+1=1
373	樹	‘tree’	수 <i>swu</i>	0+1=1
374	宿	‘to dwell’	숙 <i>swuk</i>	1+0=1
375	膝	‘knee’	슬 <i>sul</i>	1+0=1
376	習	‘habit’	습 <i>sup</i>	0+1=1
377	勝	‘to be superior’	승 <i>sung</i>	0+1=1
378	尋	‘to look for’	심 <i>sim</i>	0+1=1
379	紫	‘purple’	자 <i>ca</i>	1+0=1
380	慈	‘to be kind’	자 <i>ca</i>	1+0=1
381	自	‘oneself’	자 <i>ca</i>	1+0=1
382	掌	‘palm’	장 <i>cang</i>	1+0=1
383	長	‘to be long’	장 <i>cang</i>	0+1=1
384	才	‘talent’	재 <i>cay</i>	0+1=1
385	底	‘bottom’	저 <i>ce</i>	1+0=1
386	磧	‘pebble’	적 <i>cek</i>	1+0=1
387	顛	‘to topple’	전 <i>cen</i>	0+1=1
388	煎	‘to fry’	전 <i>cen</i>	0+1=1
389	田	‘field’	전 <i>cen</i>	0+1=1
390	折	‘to break’	절 <i>cel</i>	1+0=1
391	淨	‘to be clean’	정 <i>ceng</i>	0+1=1
392	除	‘to remove’	제 <i>cey</i>	1+0=1
393	第	‘rank’	제 <i>cey</i>	1+0=1
394	早	‘to be early’	조 <i>cwo</i>	1+0=1
395	鳥	‘bird’	조 <i>cwo</i>	1+0=1
396	條	‘branch’	조 <i>cwo</i>	0+1=1
397	朝	‘morning’	조 <i>cwo</i>	0+1=1
398	尊	‘to respect’	존 <i>cwon</i>	1+0=1
399	座	‘seat’	좌 <i>cwa</i>	1+0=1
400	炷	‘wick’	주 <i>cwu</i>	0+1=1
401	周	‘to surround, to be complete’	주 <i>cwu</i>	0+1=1

¹⁹This character is a Neo-Sinogram in Korean writing, and its SK reading is based on the potential phonetic component 西.

402	地	‘land’	지 <i>ci</i>	1+0=1
403	止	‘to stop’	지 <i>ci</i>	0+1=1
404	進	‘to enter; to go forward’	진 <i>cin</i>	0+1=1
405	嫉	‘to be jealousy’	질 <i>cil</i>	0+1=1
406	集	‘to gather’	집 <i>cip</i>	1+0=1
407	喰	‘to eat’	찬 <i>chan</i>	1+0=1
408	讚	‘to praise’	찬 <i>chan</i>	0+1=1
409	慚	‘to be shamed’	참 <i>cham</i>	1+0=1
410	唱	‘to sing’	창 <i>chang</i>	1+0=1
411	川	‘stream’	천 <i>chen</i>	1+0=1
412	清	‘to be clear’	청 <i>cheng</i>	0+1=1
413	最	‘most’	최 <i>chwoy</i>	0+1=1
414	春	‘spring’	춘 <i>chwun</i>	1+0=1
415	就	‘to approach’	취 <i>chwi</i>	1+0=1
416	趣	‘to go toward’	취 <i>chwi</i>	0+1=1
417	治	‘to put in order, to govern’	치 <i>chi</i>	1+0=1
418	七	‘seven’	칠 <i>chil</i>	1+0=1
419	寢	‘to sleep’	침 <i>chim</i>	1+0=1
420	陀	‘to collapse’	타 <i>tha</i>	1+0=1
421	打	‘to hit’	타 <i>tha</i>	0+1=1
422	歎	‘to exclaim’	탄 <i>than</i>	0+1=1
423	奪	‘to deprive’	탈 <i>thal</i>	1+0=1
424	土	‘soil’	토 <i>thwo</i>	0+1=1
425	妬	‘to resent’	투 <i>thwu</i>	0+1=1
426	巴	legendary giant snake	파 <i>pha</i>	1+0=1
427	婆	‘old woman’	파 <i>pha</i>	1+0=1
428	破	‘to break’	파 <i>pha</i>	1+0=1
429	判	‘to judge’	판 <i>phan</i>	1+0=1
430	平	‘to be calm’	평 <i>phyeng</i>	1+0=1
431	布	‘cloth’	포 <i>phwo</i>	1+0=1
432	抱	‘to hold in arms’	포 <i>pwo</i>	1+0=1
433	風	‘wind’	풍 <i>phwung</i>	1+0=1
434	疲	‘to be exhausted’	피 <i>phi</i>	0+1=1
435	筆	‘brush’	필 <i>phil</i>	0+1=1
436	何	‘what’	하 <i>ha</i>	1+0=1
437	巷	‘alley’	항 <i>hang</i>	1+0=1
438	孩	‘child’	해 <i>hay</i>	1+0=1
439	虛	‘to be empty’	허 <i>he</i>	0+1=1
440	獻	‘to present’	헌 <i>hen</i>	1+0=1
441	還	‘to return’	환 <i>hwan</i>	1+0=1
442	悔	‘to regret’	회 <i>hwoy</i>	0+1=1
443	會	‘to meet’	회 <i>hwoy</i>	0+1=1

Concordance Index of Characters

Character 1

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
叱	‘to scold’	질 <i>cil</i>	37+53=90

Type: PAP (37+53=90)

Sound 1: 入 *s* (34+51=85)

Function 1: Inanimate or honorific genitive particle (=入 *=s*) (14+29=43)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit with genitive function

(1). **SAL** 之 *=의* *=UY* (animate genitive particle) + ~ → 之叱 *=아읏* *=UY=s* (genitive particle) 13.5.11; 13.8.5; 14.9.9

(2). **PAP** 阿 *=아* *=a* (locative particle) + ~ → 阿叱 *=앗* *=a=s* (locative genitive particle) 13.6.5; 24.7.6

(3). **PAP** 惡 *=아* *=a* (locative particle) + **SAL** 之 *=의* *=UY* (animate genitive particle) + ~ → 惡之叱 *=아읏* *=a=UY=s* (locative genitive particle) 20.2.5

2. Independently functioning as a genitive particle

(1). **SAL** 蓬 다붓 *TA.PWOC* (> 다북쑥 *TA.PWUK.SSWUK*) ‘mugwort’ + **PAP** 次 𪛗 *c* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant *-c* in 蓬 다붓 *TA.PWOC*) + ~ 1.8.3

(2). **SAL** 川 나리 *NA.LI* (> 내 *NAY*) ‘stream’ + **PAP** 理 리 *li* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *li* in 川 나리 *NA.LI*) + ~ 4.6.5

(3). **SAL** 栢 *자시 **CA.SI* (> 잣 *CAS*) ‘pine’ + **PAP** 史 시 *si* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *si* in 栢 *자시 **CA.SI*) + ~ 4.9.5

(4). **DAL-DAL** 觀音 관음 *KWAN-UM* ‘Avalokiteśvara’ + ~ 7.3.5

(5). **SAL** 手 손 *SWON* ‘hand’ + ~ 7.5.4

(6). **DAL** 命 명 *MYENG* ‘command’ + ~ 10.3.8

(7). **SAL** 汀 *물서리 **MUL.SE.LI* ‘shore’ + ~ 12.1.6

(8). **SAL** 倭 *여리 **YE.LI* (> 예 *YEY*) ‘Japan’ + **PAP** 理 리 *li* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *li* in 倭 *여리 **YE.LI*) + ~ 12.3.3

(9). (**PAP** 所 소 *swo* + **PAP** 音 口 *m* →) 所音 숨 *swom* (> 손 *swon*) ‘thing’ + ~ 12.10.8

(10). **SAL** 彗 살별 *SAL.PYEL* ‘comet’ + ~ 12.10.10

(11). **DAL-DAL** 仏体 부터 *PU-THYE* (> 부처 *PU-CHE*) ‘Buddha’ + ~ 15.5.7; 24.5.3; 25.8.5

(12). **DAL** 才 재 *CAY* ‘talent’ + ~ 16.3.5

(13). **DAL** 物 물 *MWUL* ‘thing’ + ~ 16.5.5

(14). **DAL-DAL** 功德 공덕 *KWONG-TEK* ‘merit’ + ~ 16.6.3

(15). **DAL-DAL** 一毛 일모 *IL-MWO* ‘a bit’ + ~ 16.9.7

(16). **DAL** 法 법 *PEP* ‘dharma’ + ~ 17.6.6

(17). **DAL-DAL** 淨戒 정계 *CENG-KYEE* ‘Buddhist vow’ + ~ 18.6.3

(18). (**DAL** 頓 돈 *TWON* + **SAL** 部 주비 *CWU.PI* ‘party, disciple’ →) 頓部 돈주비 *TWON-CWU.PI* ‘sect or disciples of Theravāda Buddhism’ + ~ 18.7.6; 19.5.8; 22.4.5; 24.2.7

(19). **DAL** 十 십 *SIP* ‘ten’ + **DAL** 方 방 *PANG* ‘direction’ + ~ 18.8.3

(20). **DAL** 体 체 *CHEY* ‘body’ + ~ 19.1.5

(21). **DAL-DAL** 緣起 연기 *YEN-KI* ‘origin’ + ~ 19.2.3

(22). **DAL-DAL** 嫉妬 질투 *CIL-THWU* ‘jealousy’ + ~ 19.10.3

(23). **DAL-DAL** 眾生 중생 *CWUNG-SAYNG* ‘all living beings’ + ~ 20.8.3; 24.3.3; 25.3.3

(24). **DAL-DAL** 菩提 보제 *PWO.CEY* (> 보리 *PWO.LI*) ‘bodhi’ + ~ 20.9.5

- (25). **DAL** 行 행 *HAYNG* ‘deed, practice’ + ~ 22.3.5
 (26). **DAL-DAL** 大悲 대비 *TAY-PI* ‘Great Compassion’ + ~ 23.3.3
 (27). **DAL** 敬 경 *KYENG* ‘to respect’ + ~ 23.8.7
 (28). **DAL** 性 성 *SENG* ‘nature’ + ~ 24.7.3
 (29). **DAL-DAL** 普賢 보현 *PWO-HYEN* ‘Samantabhadra’ + ~ 25.9.5
 (30). **SAL** 伊 이 *I* ‘this’ + **PAP** 留 로 *-lwo* (instrumental particle) + ~ 25.10.3

Function 2: Emphatic suffix (-ㅸ -s) (4+5=9)

1. **PAP** 乃 나 *na* + ~ → 乃叱 ㄴㅸ *-na-s* (emphatic particle) 1.3.5
2. **PAP** 於 -어- *-e-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 5.5.7
3. **SAL** 辭 말 *MAL* ‘word’ + ~ 11.3.7
4. **PAP** 沙 ㅸ *-za* (emphatic particle) + ~ → ㅸ ㅸ *-za-s* (emphatic particle) 13.7.4; 17.9.6
5. **PAP** 理 -리- *-li-* (prospective suffix) + ~ 19.8.9
6. **SAL** 然 그리- *KU.LE-* ‘to be like this’ (stem) + ~ 22.7.2; 22.8.6; 24.8.4

Function 3: Part of a sentence ending (7+6=13)

1. **PAP** 音 口 *m* + ~ + **SAP** 如 / **PAP** 多 ㅸ *-ta* (declarative sentence ending) → 音叱如/音叱多 ㅸㅸ *-msta* (speculative sentence ending) 3.10.7; 18.4.11; 22.4.11
2. ~ + **SAP** 如 / **PAP** 多 ㅸ *-ta* (declarative sentence ending) → 叱如/叱多 ㅸㅸ *-sta* (exclamatory sentence ending) 12.3.7; 12.8.10
3. ~ + **PAP** 等 ㅸ *to* + **SAL** 邪/耶 ㅸ *-LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) → 叱等邪/叱等耶 ㅸㅸ ㅸ *-sto.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 7.8.11; 12.9.9; 15.10.7; 20.4.7; 23.4.8; 23.8.9
4. ~ + **PAP** 古/故 ㅸ *-kwo* (interrogative sentence ending) → 叱古/叱故 ㅸㅸ ㅸ *-skwo* (interrogative sentence ending) 11.4.8; 12.10.13

Function 4: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -s (9+8=17)

1. **SAL** 有 ㅸ *-IS-* > ㅸ *-ISS-* ‘to have; to exist’ (stem) 1.8.11; 19.4.10; 24.10.8
2. **SAL** 折 ㅸ *-KES(K)-* > ㅸ *-KKEKK-* ‘to pluck’ (stem) 2.4.4
3. **SAL** 際 ㅸ *KOS* > ㅸ *KA* ‘edge’ 4.8.4
4. **SAL** 奪 ㅸ *-AS-* ‘to deprive’ (stem) 5.8.2
5. **SAL** 修 ㅸ *-TAS(K)-* > ㅸ *-TAKK-* ‘to cultivate’ (stem) 8.4.4; 19.5.2; 19.5.12
6. **SAL** 惱 ㅸ *-NWI.WUS-* > ㅸ *-NWI.WU.CHI-* ‘to repent’ (stem) 9.4.2
7. **SAL** 城 ㅸ *CAS* ‘castle, city’ 12.2.9
8. **SAL** 物 ㅸ *KAS* > ㅸ *KES* ‘thing’ 13.1.2; 14.7.4; 17.8.5
9. **SAL** 无 ㅸ *-EPS-* ‘to not have’ (stem) 19.6.9
10. **SAL** 頓 ㅸ *MWUN.TUS* > ㅸ *MWUN.TUK* ‘suddenly’ 20.3.4; 23.10.4

Function 5: Part of a word/morpheme (0+3=3)

1. **PAP** 毛 모 *mwo* + ~ → 毛叱 뭇- *mwos-* ‘to end’ (stem) 15.4.4; 17.5.6; 19.3.6

Sound 2: ㄹ (3+2=5)

Function 1: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -*l* (2+0=2)

1. **SAL** 居 살- *SAL-* ‘to live’ 1.2.4

2. **SAP** 窟 구무 *kwu.mwu* + **PAP** 理 ㄹ + ~ + **PAP** 大 대 *tay* → 窟理叱大 구물대- *kwu.mwul.tay-* (> 꾸물대- *kkwu.mwul.tay-*) ‘to wriggle’ (stem) 3.5.3

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (1+2=3)

1. **PAP** 下 ㅎ *ho* + ~ → 下叱 =홀 =*hol* (> =을/=를 =*[l]ul*) (accusative particle) 7.6.4

2. **PAP** 丘 구 *kwu* + **PAP** 物 물 *mwul* + ~ → 丘物叱 구물 *kwu.mwul* ‘wrigglingly’ 23.5.7; 23.5.10

Character 2

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
隱	‘to conceal’	은 <i>un</i>	37+25=62

Type: PAP (37+25=62)

Sound 1: ㄴ (26+21=47)

Function 1: Adnominal suffix (-*ㄴ* - *-n-*) (10+13=23)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 烏/乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 10.2.5; 12.2.7; 13.4.10; 13.8.8; 15.2.5; 15.3.4; 15.6.9; 16.5.10; 16.10.7; 18.3.6; 18.5.7

(2). **PAP** 邪 -야- *-ya-* (← -ㅇ- *-i-*) (causative suffix) + ~ 4.2.4; 12.4.4

(3). **PAP** 奴 -느- *-no-* (present suffix) + ~ 11.8.3

(4). **PAP** 賜 -시- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 15.7.5; 21.2.8; 22.8.9

(5). **PAP** 留 -로 *-lwo* (instrumental particle) 22.2.11

2. Following the stem of a verb

(1). **SAL** 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (main verb or complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 1.1.2; 4.3.8

(2). **SAL** 頓 쫓- *CWOS-* ‘to bow’ (stem) 13.4.3

(3). **SAL** 出 나- *NA-* ‘to come out’ (stem) + ~ 18.4.8

(4). **SAL** 向 아 ㄹ- *A.O-* ‘to go toward’ (stem) + ~ 22.9.7

Function 2: Adjectival adnominal suffix (-*ㄴ* - *-n-*) (6+2=8)

1. Following grammatical morphemes

(1). **PAP** 烏/乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 1.3.10; 4.7.9; 14.5.4

(2). **PAP** 史 -시- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 9.5.5

2. Following the stem of an adjective

(1). **PAP** 八 풀 *phol* + **PAP** 陵 ㄹ + ~ → 푸른 -*pho.lo-n-* ‘blue’ (< 푸르- *pho.lo-* [> 파랑- *pha.lah-*] ‘to be blue’ [stem] + -ㄴ- *-n-*) 4.4.5

(2). **SAL** 早 이 르- *ILLU-* ‘to be early’ (stem) + ~ 11.5.6

(3). **SAL** 長 길- *KIL-* ‘to be long’ (stem) + **PAP** 乙 ㄷ *l* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -*l* in 長 길- *KIL-*) + ~ 20.7.7

(4). **SAL** 迷 입- *IP-* ‘to be confused’ (stem) + **SAP** 火 ㅍ *p* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -*p* in 迷 입 *IP-*) + ~ 23.2.3

Function 3: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -*n* (9+6=15)

1. **DAL** 民 민 *MIN* ‘people’ 3.9.9

2. **SAL** 千 즈믄 *CUMUN* ‘thousand’ 7.5.2; 7.5.6

3. **SAP** 于 가 *ka* + **PAP** 萬 만 *man* → 가만 *ka.man* (← 가만- *ka.ma-n-* ‘black’ ← 가망- *ka.mah-* ‘to be black’ [stem] + -ㄴ- -*n-* [adjectival adnominal suffix]) 7.7.4; 16.7.4

4. **PAP** 等 든- *{t}on-* ← ㄷ *t* (final consonant in **SAL** 直 곧- *KWOT-* ‘to be straight’ [stem]) + -ㄴ- -*n-* (adjectival adnominal suffix) 10.3.3

5. **SAL** 一 ㅎ든 *HO.TON* ‘one’ 11.7.3

6. **PAP** 因 인- *{i}n-* ← ㅇ *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in **SAL** 教 ㅎ시- *HO-SI-* ‘to say’ [honorific] [stem]) + -ㄴ- -*n-* (adnominal suffix) 13.3.9

7. **PAP** 吞 -던- *-te-n-* (recollective suffix) 14.2.9

8. **PAP** 恨 흔- *ho-n-* ← ㅎ- *ho-* (> 하- *ha-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + -ㄴ- -*n-* (adnominal suffix) 14.9.11

9. **PAP** 萬 ㅁ은 *{m}on* ← ㅁ- *m-* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -*m* in **SAL** 身 ㅁ몸 *MWOM* ‘body’) + ㄴ *=on* (topic particle) 15.3.7

10. **PAP** 仍 너 *ne* + **PAP** 反 ㅁ은 *pun* → 너ㅁ은- *ne.pun-* ‘broad’ (← ㅁ- *nep-* [> ㅁ- *nelp-*] ‘to be broad’ [stem]) + -ㄴ- -*n-* [adjectival adnominal suffix]) 20.1.4

11. **PAP** 反 -ㅁ- *-Won-* (adjetival suffix) 20.9.11

12. **PAP** 孫 -손- *-swon-* (← -소- *-swo-* [exclamatory suffix] + -ㄴ- -*n-* [adnominal suffix]) 24.9.7

13. **PAP** 等 ㄷ- *-ton* (conditional particle) 25.1.6

Function 4: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **SAP** 如 ㄷ- *-ta* (declarative sentence ending) + **SAP** 馬 ㅁ- *mal* + **PAP** 於 ㅁ- *e* + ~ → 如馬於隱 ㄷ- *-ta.mal.en* (> ㄷ- *-ta.ma.lon* > ㄷ- *-ta.ma.nun*) (adversative particle) 5.7.9

Sound 2: ㅇ/ㄴ (*n*)on (10+4=14)

Function: Topic particle (ㄴ/ㅇ *=n/on* > ㅇ/ㄴ *=n/un*) (10+4=14)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 沙 =Δ| =za (emphatic particle) + ~ 7.8.4

(2). **PAP** 寸 존- {c}wo-n- (← 𠂇 c [phonetic determinative of the final consonant -c in **SAL** 惡 𠂇- KWUC- ‘to be bad’ (stem)]) + -오- -wo- [assertive suffix] + -ㄴ- -n- [adjectival adnominal suffix] + ~ 18.3.9

(3). **PAP** 乙 -ㄷ- -l- (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ 19.5.5

2. Following a nominal

(1). **DAL** 君 군 KWUN ‘lord’ + ~ 3.1.2

(2). **DAL** 臣 신 SIN ‘vassal’ + ~ 3.2.2

(3). **SAL** 二 두울 TWU.WUL (> 둘 TWUL) ‘two’ + **PAP** 𠂇 ㄷ l (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -l in 二 두울 TWU.WUL) + ~ 5.5.3; 5.6.3

(4). **SAL** 主 -님 -NIM (honorific suffix) + ~ 6.1.6

(5). **SAL** 汝 너 NE ‘you’ + ~ 10.2.9

(6). **DAL** 路 로 LWO ‘road’ + ~ 11.1.4

(7). **SAL** 吾 나 NA ‘I’ + ~ 11.3.2

(8). **DAL-DAL** 善(善)陵 선릉 SEN-NUNG ‘(hill of) goodness’ + ~ 14.9.14

(9). **DAL** 炷 주 CWU ‘wick’ + ~ 17.3.3

(10). **DAL** 油 유 YU ‘oil’ + ~ 17.4.3

Sound 3: 니 ni (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a sentence ending (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 以 이 i + **PAP** 多 =다 =ta (declarative sentence ending) → 隱以多 =니이다 =ni.i.ta (honorific sentence ending) 14.10.7

Character 3

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
良	‘to be good’	량 lyang	23+21=44

Type: PAP (23+21=44)

Sound 1: 아 a (20+17=37)

Function 1: Infinitive suffix (-아- -a-) (11+12=23)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 内 -ㄴ- -no- (present suffix) + ~ 4.8.8; 7.2.9

2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective

(1). **SAL** 治 다스리- TA.SO.LI- (> 다스리- TA.SU.LI-) ‘to govern’ (stem) + ~ 3.6.7

(2). **SAL** 入 들- TUL- ‘to enter’ (stem) + ~ 5.3.2

(3). **SAP** 是 이- i- (copula) (stem) + ~ 5.4.6

(4). **SAL** 奪 앓- AS- ‘to deprive’ (stem) + **PAP** 𠂇 ㅅ s (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 奪 앓- AS-) + ~ 5.8.3

(5). **SAL** 嫁 엘- EL- ‘to marry’ (stem) + ~ 6.2.5

(6). **SAL** 白 𡵓-/𡵓- SOLP-/solW- (> 사되- SA.LWOY-) ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem) + ~ 9.6.8

(7). **SAL** 唱 브르- PU.LU- (> 부르- PWU.LU-) ‘to sing’ (stem) + ~ 10.1.8

(8). **SAL** 浮 𡵓- PTU- (> 뜨- TTU-) ‘to float’ (stem) + ~ 11.6.6

- (9). **SAL** 修 닷-/닳- *TAS(K)*- (> 닳- *TAKK*-) ‘to polish, cultivate’ (stem) + ~ 11.10.3
- (10). **SAL** 尽 다옴- *TA.O*- (> 다하- *TA.HA*-) ‘to finish’ (stem) + ~ 15.8.4; 16.10.4
- (11). **SAL** 直 고티- *KWO.THI*- (> 고치- *KWO.CHI*-) ‘to fix’ (stem) + **PAP** 体 티 *thi* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *thi* in 直 고티- *KWO.THI*-) + ~ 17.2.7
- (12). **SAL** 永 길- *KIL*- ‘to be long’ (stem) + ~ 18.10.4
- (13). **SAL** 進 나스- *NA.ZO*- ‘to go forward’ (stem) + ~ 20.3.6
- (14). **SAL** 鳴 울- *WUL*- ‘to sound’ (stem) + ~ 21.3.6
- (15). **SAL** 知 알- *AL*- ‘to know’ (stem) + ~ 21.6.7
- (16). **SAL** 碎 붓어디- *PUZ.E.TI*- (> 부서지- *PWU.SE.CI*-) ‘to be broken’ + ~ 22.5.5
- (17). **SAL** 斜 빗기- *PIS.KI*- (> 비끼- *PI.KKI*-) ‘to slant’ (stem) + ~ 22.10.6
- (18). **SAL** 潤 젖- *CEC*- ‘to be moistened’ (stem) + ~ 23.3.7
- (19). **SAL** 回 돌- *TWOL*- ‘to return’ + ~ 24.2.9
- (20). **SAL** 餘 남- *NAM*- ‘to remain’ (stem) + **PAP** 音 ㅁ *m* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant *-m* in 餘 남- *NAM*-) + ~ 25.10.6

Function 2: Locative particle (=ㅁㅏ =a) (4+5=9)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit with locative function

- (1). ~ + **SAL** 中 -ㅁㅏ *-KUY* (locative particle) → 良中 -ㅁㅏ *-a-KUY* (locative particle) 7.3.7
- (2). ~ + **PAP** 衣/矣 -ㅁㅏ *-uy* (locative particle) → 良衣/良矣 -ㅁㅏ *-a-uy* (locative particle) 16.2.8

2. Independently functioning as a locative particle

- (1). **SAL** 月 *드랄 **TO.LAL* (> ㄷㄹ *TOL* > 달 *TAL*) ‘moon’ + ~ 5.1.6
- (2). **SAL** 枝 가지 *KA.CI* ‘branch’ + ~ 11.7.5
- (3). **DAL** 刹 찰 *CHAL* ‘Buddhist temple’ + ~ 11.9.6
- (4). **SAL** 此 이 *I* ‘this’ + ~ 15.10.2
- (5). **SAL** 手 손 *SWON* ‘hand’ + ~ 17.6.2
- (6). **DAL** 理 리 *LI* ‘principle’ + ~ 19.2.5
- (7). **SAL** 群 물 *MWUL* (> 무리 *MWU.LI*) ‘group’ + ~ 21.8.6

Function 3: Dative particle (=ㅁㅏ =a) (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** ㅁ 나 *NA* ‘I’ + ~ 7.9.5

Function 4: Vocative particle (=ㅁㅏ =a) (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 花 꽃 *KWOC* (> 꽃 *KKWOCH*) ‘flower’ + ~ 10.2.7

Function 5: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel a (3+0=3)

1. **PAP** 羅 -라 *-la* (exclamatory sentence ending) 10.4.8
2. **SAL** 望 바라- *PO.LA*- > 바라- *PA.LA*- ‘to look at’ (stem) 12.2.13; 12.7.8

Sound 2: 라 *la* (2+4=6)**Function 1: Exclamatory sentence ending (=라 *-la*) (1+4=5)**

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit functioning as exclamatory sentence ending

(1). **PAP** 去 거 *ke* + ~ → 去良 =거라 *-ke.la* (exclamatory sentence ending) 15.4.9; 16.4.8

2. Independently functioning as an exclamatory sentence ending

(1). (**PAP** 矣 의 *uy* + **SAL** 徒 -내 *-NAY* (plural suffix) →) 矣徒 의내 *uy-NAY* ‘we’ + ~ 8.3.6(2). **PAP** 逸 일 *il* + ~ → 일라 *il.la* → 이라 *i-la* (← ㅇ| - *i-* [copula] [stem] + =라 *-la* [exclamatory sentence ending]) 23.2.12(3). **DAL** 寶 보 *PWO* ‘treasure’ + ~ 24.7.8**Function 2: Purposive particle (=라 *-la*) (1+0=1)**1. **SAL** 修 닳-/닳- *TAS(K)-* (> 닳- *TAKK-* ‘to polish, cultivate’) (stem) + **PAP** 叱 入 *s* (phonetic determinativeof the consonant *s* in 修 닳- *TASK-*) + **SAP** 如 ㄱ {*k*}*o* (← ㄱ *k* [final consonant in 修 닳- *TASK-*] + - - - *-o-* [connecting sound]) + ~ 8.4.6**Sound 3: 란 *lan* (1+0=1)****Function: Emphatic particle (=란 *-lan*) (1+0=1)**1. **PAP** 盼 =홀 *-hol* (> =을/=를 *-[l]ul*) (accusative particle) + ~ 12.2.11**Character 4**

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
尸	‘corpse’	ㅅ <i>si</i>	27+10=37

Type: PAP (27+10=37)**Sound: ㄹ *l* (27+10=37)** (OC **l*aj [Baxter & Sagart 2014: 359])**Function 1: Prospective adnominal suffix (-ㄹ - *-l-*) (20+8=28)**

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 屋/乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 1.2.8; 1.7.10; 4.10.7; 7.4.6; 7.10.6; 12.5.9(2). **PAP** 於/於 -어- *-e-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 1.5.5; 14.6.10(3). **PAP** 賜 -시- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 3.2.5; 3.3.11; 7.9.10; 21.6.4(4). **PAP** 內 -느- *-no-* (present suffix) + ~ 3.9.13(5). **SAL** 將來 =려 *-LYE* (optative particle) + ~ 12.6.10

2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective

(1). **SAL** 慕 그리- *KU.LI-* ‘to long for’ (stem) + **PAP** 理 리 *li* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *li* in 慕 그리- *KU.LI-*) + ~ 1.7.5(2). **SAL** 宿 자 *CA-* ‘to sleep’ (stem) + ~ 1.8.7(3). **SAL** 愛 듯-/듯- *TOS-/TOZ-* ‘to love’ (stem) + ~ 3.4.4(4). **SAL** 為 히- *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + ~ 3.7.14; 23.8.4(5). **SAL** 落 디- *TI-* (> 지- *CI-*) ‘to fall’ (stem) + ~ 11.6.8

- (6). SAL 行 나- *NI-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 13.6.2
- (7). SAL 好 동- *TYOH-* (> 좋- *CWOH-*) ‘to be good’ (stem) + ~ 14.8.2
- (8). PAP 好 흥- *ho-* (> 하- *ha-*) ‘to do’ (main verb or verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 19.8.5;
22.6.5; 22.7.5
- (9). Neo 闕 잃- *ILH-* ‘to lose’ (stem) + ~ 21.6.9
- (9). SAL 尽 다 ㄹ- *TA.O-* (> 다하- *TA.HA-*) ‘to end’ (stem) + ~ 25.1.4; 25.2.5

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -*l* (7+2=9)

1. SAL 道 길 *KIL* ‘road, way’ 1.7.12; 12.7.2; 21.8.2
2. SAL 狂 열- *EL-* > 어리- *E.LI-* ‘to be young, ignorant’ 3.3.4
3. SAL 二 두울 *TWU.WUL* > 둘 *TWUL* ‘two’ 7.2.2
4. SAL 東 *샐 **SAYL* ‘east’ 12.1.4
5. SAL 掃 쓸- *PSUL-* > 쓸- *SSUL-* ‘to sweep’ (stem) 12.7.4
6. SAL 秋 ㄱ ㅎ *KO.ZOL* > 가을 *KA.UL* ‘autumn’ 13.2.3
7. SAL 日 날 *NAL* ‘day’ 24.5.10

Character 5

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
乎	interrogative final particle	호 <i>hwo</i>	18+13=31

Type: PAP (18+13=31)

Sound 1: 오 *wo* (15+13=28)

Function 1: Assertive suffix (-오- *-wo-*) (12+13=25)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme
 - (1). PAP 音 -ㅁ- *-m-* (durative suffix) + ~ 2.2.3
 - (2). PAP 内 / SAP ㅁ -ㅁ- *-no-* (present suffix) + ~ 7.4.9; 7.8.10; 14.8.7; 15.3.3; 18.3.5; 18.5.6; 23.4.6
 - (3). PAP 賜 -ㅁ- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 13.4.9
 - (4). SAP 如 -다 *-ta* (sentence ending) + ~ 24.6.4
2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective
 - (1). SAL 行 나- *NI-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 1.7.9
 - (2). SAL 獻 나소- *NA.ZWO-* ‘to present’ (stem) + ~ 2.4.7
 - (3). PAP 乃 ㄴ- *nol-* ‘to fly’ (stem) + ~ 4.10.6
 - (4). SAL 白 ㅎ / ㅎ- *SOLP-/SOLW-* (> 사되- *SA.LWOY-*) ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (main verb or humble complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 10.2.4; 15.2.4; 15.6.8; 16.5.9; 16.10.6; 20.4.6; 21.4.8
 - (5). (PAP 毛 모 *mwo* + PAP 冬 ㄷ *tol* →) 毛冬 모들- *mwo.tol-* (> 모르- *mwo.lu-*) ‘to not know’ (stem) + ~ 11.8.7

- (6). SAL 非 외- *WOY-* ‘to be wrong’ (stem) + ~ 14.5.3
 (7). SAL 過 넘- *NEM-* ‘to pass’ (stem) + ~ 14.7.7
 (8). SAL 置 두- *TWU-* (continuative complementary verb) (← ‘to place’) (stem) 19.8.7
 (9). SAL 向 아으- *A.O-* ‘to go toward’ (stem) + ~ 25.6.2

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel *wo* (3+0=3)

1. SAL 作 일오- *IL.WO-* > 일우- *IL.WU-* > 이루- *IL.WU-* ‘to achieve’ (stem) 1.6.7
 2. SAL 岩 바회 *PA.HWOY* > 바위 *PA.WI* ‘rock’ 2.1.4
 3. SAL 逢 맞보- *MAS-PWO-* ‘to meet’ (stem) 11.9.8

Sound 2: 호 *hwo* (2+0=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. PAP 毛 모 *mwo* + ~ → 毛乎 모호- *mwo.hwo-* (> 모으- *mwo.u-*) ‘to gather’ (stem) 7.2.6
 2. SAP 花 꽃 *kwoc* + ~ → 花乎 꽃호 *kwoc.hwo* → 고초- *kwo.chwo-* ‘to bend’ (stem) 9.6.6

Sound 3: 외 *woy* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 都 두 *to* + ~ → 都乎 두외- *to.woy-* (> 되- *twoy-* ‘to become’) (stem) 14.10.6

Character 6

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
如	‘to resemble’	여 <i>ye</i>	24+6=30

Type 1: SAL (5+2=7)

Word/morpheme 1: 다히 *TA.HI* ‘like’ (3+2=5) 3.9.4; 3.9.10; 11.6.10; 23.8.5; 25.5.2

Word/morpheme 2: 곱- *KOTH-* > 같- *KATH-* ‘to be same’ (stem) (1+0=1) 4.7.6

Word/morpheme 3: 何如 엇디 *ES.TI* > 어찌 *E.CCI* ‘what, how’ (1+0=1) 5.8.6

Type 2: SAP (19+4=23)

Sound 1: 다 *ta* (← -답- *-TAP-* ‘to resemble’ [complementary verb] [stem]) (18+4=22)

Function 1: Declarative sentence ending (=다 *=ta*) (15+2=17)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit functioning as sentence ending

(1). PAP 古 고 *kwo* + ~ → 古如 =고다 *=kwo.ta* (declarative sentence ending) 3.4.7; 3.8.9; 11.10.7

(2). PAP 音 口 *m* + PAP 叱 入 *s* + ~ → 音叱如 =口 入다 *=msta* (speculative sentence ending) 3.10.8; 18.4.12

(3). ~ + SAP 馬 말 *mal* + PAP 於 어 *e* + PAP 隱 ㄴ *n* → 如馬於隱 =다말언 *=ta.mal.en* (> =다마른 *=ta.ma.lon*

> =다마는 *=ta.ma.nun*) (adversative particle) 5.7.6

2. Independently functioning as a declarative sentence ending following a grammatical morpheme

(1). PAP 乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + PAP 理 -리- *-li-* (prospective suffix) + PAP 音 -口- *-m-* (durative suffix) + ~ 2.4.10

(2). PAP 內 -늑- *-no-* (present suffix) + ~ 11.3.5

(3). **PAP** 省 -손- *-swo-n-* (← -소- *-swo-* [exclamatory suffix] + -ㄴ- *-n-* [adnominal suffix]) + ~ 14.4.8

3. Independently functioning as a declarative sentence ending following the stem of a verb

(1). **SAL** 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 6.4.8

(2). **SAL** 來 오- *WO-* ‘to come’ (stem) + ~ 8.1.2; 8.1.4; 8.1.6; 8.2.2; 8.4.8

(3). **SAL** 有 잇- *IS-* (> 있- *ISS-*) ‘to have; to exist’ (stem) + ~ 9.8.4

(4). **SAL** 為 하- *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + ~ 24.6.3

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *ta* (0+2=2)

1. **SAL** 每 -마다 *-MA.TA* ‘every’ 15.6.4; 17.6.4

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (3+0=3)

1. ~ + **PAP** 可 가 *ka* → 如可 -다가 *-ta.ka* (transferentive particle) 5.2.6

2. **PAP** 毛 모 *mwo* + ~ → 毛如 못 *mwot* (> 못 *mwos*) ‘cannot’ 11.4.2

3. ~ + **PAP** 支 기 *ki* → 如支 -다기 *-ta.ki* (> -다히 *-ta.hi*) ‘like’ 13.6.10

Sound 2: 𠂔 *ko* (← 𠂔- *KOTH-* [> 𠂔- *KATH-*] ‘to resemble’ [stem]) (1+0=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. 𠂔 {*k*}o ← 𠂔 *k* (final consonant in **SAL** 修 𠂔- *TASK-* ‘to cultivate’ [stem]) + - , - -o- (connecting sound)

8.4.5

Character 7

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
音	‘sound’	음 <i>um</i>	17+13=30

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 음 *UM* (1+0=1)

1. **DAL** 觀 관 *kwan* + ~ → 觀音 관음 *KWAN-UM* ‘Avalokiteśvara’ 7.3.4

Type 2: PAP (16+13=29)

Sound: 𠂔 *m* (16+13=29)

Function 1: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant *-m* (8+7=15)

1. **SAL** 憂 시름 *SIL.LUM* ‘sorrow’ 1.2.11

2. **SAL** 夜 밤 *PAM* ‘night’ 1.8.9

3. **SAL** 雲 구름 *KWU.LUM* ‘cloud’ 4.3.3

4. **SAL** 掌 손바닥 *SWON-PA.TAM* > 손바닥 *SWON-PA.TAK* ‘palm (of hand)’ 7.2.4

5. **SAL** 誓 다짐 *TA.TIM* > 다짐 *TA.CIM* ‘pledge’ 9.5.2

6. **SAL** 心 마음 *MO.ZOM* > 마음 *MA.UM* ‘heart’ 10.3.5; 19.10.5; 21.9.6; 25.9.7

7. **SAL** 岳 오름 *WO.LWOM* ‘mountain’ 12.5.5

8. **SAL** 몸 몸 *MWOM* ‘body’ 14.9.7

9. **SAL** 餘 남- *NAM-* ‘to remain’ (stem) 18.4.4; 25.10.5

10. SAL 人 사람 *SA.LOM* > 사람 *SA.LAM* ‘person’ 19.4.8

11. SAL 菓 여름 *YE.LUM* > 열매 *YEL.MAY* ‘fruit’ 20.9.7

Function 2: Durative suffix (-ㅁ - *-m-*) (3+1=4)

1. SAL 就 못- *MOCH-* (> 마치- *MA.CHI-* ‘to end’) (stem) + ~ 1.4.6

2. SAL 執 쥐- *CWI-* ‘to hold’ (stem) + ~ 2.2.2; 17.1.4

3. SAL 獻 나소- *NA.ZWO-* ‘to present’ (stem) + PAP 乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + PAP 理 -리- *-li-* (prospective suffix) + ~ 2.4.9

Function 3: Part of a sentence ending (1+2=3)

1. ~ + PAP 叱 入 *s* + SAP 如 / PAP 多 -다 *-ta* (declarative sentence ending) → 音叱如/音叱多 -ㅁㅅ다 *=msta* (speculative sentence ending) 3.10.6; 18.4.10; 22.4.10

Function 4: Part of a word/morpheme (4+3=7)

1. PAP 阿 아 *a* + PAP 冬 둘 *tol* + ~ → 阿冬音 아둘ㅁ *a.tol.m* (> 아를ㅁ *a.lol.m* > 아람 *a.lom*) ‘in private, personally’ 1.3.3

2. PAP 所 소 *swo* + ~ → 所音 숨 *swom* (> 손 *swon*) ‘thing’ 3.5.9; 12.10.7

3. PAP 古 고 *kwo* + ~ → 古音 -곰 *-kwom* (emphatic particle) 9.4.4

4. PAP 沙 사 *sa* + ~ → 沙音 삼- *sam-* ‘to make’ (stem) 20.8.9; 23.2.8

5. SAP 于 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ → 于音 감- *kam-* ‘to be black’ (stem) 25.3.7

Character 8

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
也	copula	ㅇㅌ <i>ya</i>	18+9=27

Type 1: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅇㅌ- *I-* (copula) (stem) (1+0=1) 12.4.6

Type 2: PAP (17+9=26)

Sound 1: 여 *ye* (13+9=22)

Function 1: Declarative sentence ending (=여 -*ye*) (2+7=9)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). PAP 尸 -ㄹ- *-l-* (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ 21.6.10

(2). PAP 而 -ㄴ- *-no-* (present suffix) + ~ 25.2.11

2. Following a nominal or the stem of a verb

(1). SAL 父 아비 *A.PI* ‘father’ + ~ 3.1.4

(2). SAL 母 어씨 *E.SI* ‘mother’ + PAP 史 시 *si* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *si* in 母 어씨 *E.SI*) + ~ 3.2.8

(3). DAL-DAL 須弥 수미 *SWU.MI* ‘Mount Meru’ + ~ 17.3.6

(4). DAL 供 공 *KWONG* ‘offering’ + ~ 17.10.8

- (5). (PAP 沙 사 *sa* + PAP 音 口 *m* →) 沙音 삼- *sam*- ‘to make’ (stem) + ~ 20.8.10
 (6). SAL 处 곧 *KWOT* (> 곳 *KWOS*) ‘place’ + ~ 20.10.10
 (7). SAL 道 길/꺠 KIL(*H*) > 길 *KIL* ‘way’ + ~ 25.6.9

Function 2: Exclamatory sentence ending (=여 *ye*) (5+1=6)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). PAP 朗 =라 *-la* (exclamatory sentence ending) + ~ 14.6.12

(2). PAP 留 =로 *-lwo* (instrumental particle) + ~ 23.10.9

2. Following a nominal

(1). DAL-DAL 花判 화판 *HWA-PHAN* ‘Flower Knight’(?) 4.10.10

(2). DAL-DAL 彗星 혜성 *HYEY-SENG* ‘comet’ + ~ 12.8.3

(3). (PAP 冬 ㅌ *to* + PAP 矣 ㅅ *oy* →) 冬矣 ㄷ *toy* (> 테 *tey*) ‘place’ + ~ 13.4.13

(4). PAP 第 데 *tey* ‘place’ + ~ 13.8.10

Function 3: Exclamatory particle (=여 *ye*) (3+0=3)

1. DAL-DAL 慈悲 자비 *CA-PI* ‘mercy’ + ~ 7.10.9

2. PAP 反 ㄹ *-Won-* (← ㄹ *W* [phonetic determinative of the final consonant *-W* in SAL 白 ㄹ *-SOLW-* ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem)] + -으 *-on-* [adnominal suffix]) + ~ 12.8.6

3. SAL 此 이 *I* ‘this’ + ~ 12.10.2

Function 4: Vocative particle (=여 *ye*) (2+1=3)

1. DAL 郎 랑 *LANG* ‘(official title) knight’ + ~ 1.7.2; 4.7.2

2. DAL 佛 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ + ~ 16.2.4

Function 5: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + SAL 中 ㅅ *-KUY* (locative particle) → 也中 ㅅ *ye.KUY* (locative particle) 4.4.8

Sound 2: 야 *ya* (2+0=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. PAP 阿 아 *a* (+ PAP 邪 야 *ya*) + ~ → 阿(邪)也 아(야)야 *a(ya).ya* (exclamatory expression marking the final stanza) 7.9.3; 11.9.2

Sound 3: 어 *e* (2+0=2)

Function: Infinitive suffix (-어 *-e-*) (2+0=2)

1. SAL 遺 기티- *KI.THI-* (> 끼 치- *KKI.CHI-*) ‘to leave behind’ (stem) + ~ 9.9.6

2. PAP 沙 새- *say-* ‘(day) to break’ (stem) + ~ 14.8.5

Character 9

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
伊	demonstrative pronoun	이 <i>i</i>	8+18=26

Type 1: SAL (2+8=10)

Word/morpheme: ㅇ | *i* ‘this’ (2+8=10)

1. Used as a pronoun followed by a particle

(1). ~ + **PAP** 衣 =의 =*uy* (locative particle) 1.5.8

(2). ~ + (**PAP** 於 *e* + **PAP** 衣 =의 =*uy* [locative particle] →) 於衣 =어의 =*e-uy* (> =에 =*ey*) (locative particle) 17.10.1

(3). ~ + (**PAP** 馬 *ma* + **PAP** 洛 *lak* →) 馬洛 =마락 =*ma.lak* (> =마다 =*ma.ta*) ‘every’ 19.6.3

(4). ~ + **PAP** 羅 =라 =*la* (sentence ending) 19.9.3; 25.5.5

(5). ~ + **SAL** 知 알- *AL-* ‘to know’ (stem) 21.7.1

(6). ~ + **PAP** 留 =로 =*lwo* (instrumental particle) 25.10.1

2. Used as a modifier

(1). ~ + **SAL** 吾 몸 *MWOM* ‘body’ 14.9.5

(2). ~ + **PAP** 波 *pa* ‘thing’ 24.10.4; 25.7.1

Type 2: PAP (6+10=16)

Sound: ㅇ | *i* (6+10=16)

Function 1: Copula (ㅇ | *i*- [stem]) (0+6=6) 18.4.9; 22.4.9; 22.8.10; 25.2.9; 25.4.7; 25.8.7

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel *i* (2+2=4)

1. **SAL** 慚 붓그리- *PUS.KU.LI-* > 부끄럽- *PU.KKU.LEP-* ‘to be ashamed’ 2.3.7

2. **SAL** 腳 허퇴 *HE.THWOY* > 허튀 *HE.THWI* ‘foot’ 5.4.3

3. **SAL** 部 주비 *CWU.PI* ‘party, disciple’ 16.1.4

4. **SAL** 讚 기리- *KI.LI-* ‘to praise’ (stem) 16.8.6

Function 3: Adverbial suffix (-ㅇ | *-i*) (3+0=3)

1. **SAL** 入 들- *TUL-* ‘to enter’ (stem) + ~ 5.2.3

2. (**PAP** 次 저 *ce* + **PAP** 盼 훌 *hul* →) 次盼 저훌- *ce.hul-* ‘to fear’ (stem) + ~ 11.2.8

3. **SAL** 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 12.9.8

Function 4: Nominative particle (=ㅇ | *=i*) (0+2=2)

1. **DAL** 仏 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ + ~ 19.3.2

2. **SAL** 塵 드틀 *TU.THUL* (> 티끌 *THI.KKUL*) ‘dust’ + ~ 22.5.8

Function 5: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 底 제 *cey* → 伊底 이제 *i.cey* ‘now’ 9.1.3

Character 10

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
賜	‘to bestow’	ㅅㅏ <i>sa</i>	13+12=25

Type 1: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 주ㅅㅏ- *CWU-SI-* ‘to give’ (honorific) (stem) (2+0=2) 7.8.5; 7.9.9

Type 2: PAP (11+12=23)

Sound: ㅅㅏ | *si* (11+12=23)

Function: Honorific suffix (-ㅅㅏ | *-si-*) (11+12=23)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 遣 -고- *-kwo-* (optative suffix) + ~ 9.4.10; 9.8.7; 9.10.8

(2). **PAP** 遣 -고 *-kwo* (conjunctive particle) + **PAP** 只 -ㄱ *-k* (emphatic suffix) + ~ 18.8.9

(3). **SAL** 將來 -러 *-LYE* (optative particle) + ~ 22.2.9

2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective

(1). **SAL** 好 동- *TYOH-* (> 좋- *CWOH-*) ‘to be good’ (stem) + **PAP** 支 -기 *-ki* (adverbial suffix) + ~ 1.3.8

(2). **SAL** 慚 붓그리- *PUS.KU.LI-* (> 부끄럽- *PU.KKU.LEP-*) ‘to be shamed’ + **PAP** 𪛗 ㄹ *l* (phonetic determinative of the consonant *l* in 慚 붓그리- *PUS.KU.LI-*) + **PAP** 伊 ㅍ *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 慚 붓그리- *PUS.KU.LI-*) + ~ 2.3.8

(3). **SAL** 愛 땃-/툄- *TOS-/TOZ-* ‘to love’ (stem) + ~ 3.2.4

(4). **SAL** 為 ㅎ- *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) ‘to do’ (main verb or verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 3.3.10; 21.10.7; 22.8.8

(5). **SAL** 如 ㄱ- *KOTH-* (> 같- *KATH-*) ‘to be same’ (stem) + ~ 4.7.7

(6). **SAL** 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 9.2.6

(7). **SAL** 見 보- *PWO-* ‘to look’ (stem) + ~ 12.5.7

(8). **SAL** 改 고티- *KWO.THI-* (> 고치- *KWO.CHI-*) ‘to fix, change’ (stem) + **PAP** 衣 ㅍ *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 改 고티- *KWO.THI-*) + ~ 13.4.8

(9). **SAL** 滿 ㅈ- *CHO-* (> 차- *CHA-*) ‘to be full’ (stem) + ~ 15.7.4; 17.7.4

(10). **SAL** 修 ㄷ- *TAS-* (> 닦- *TAKK-*) ‘to cultivate’ (stem) + **PAP** 叱 ㅅ *s* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant *-s* in 修 ㄷ- *TAS-*) + ~ 19.5.3

(11). **SAL** 得 얻- *ET-* ‘to obtain’ (stem) + ~ 19.6.2

(12). **SAL** 動 뉘- *MWI-* ‘to move’ (stem) + ~ 21.2.7

(13). **SAL** 向 아 ㅅ- *A.O-* ‘to go toward’ (stem) + **PAP** 屋 ㅅ *o* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *o* in 向 아 ㅅ- *A.O-*) + ~ 21.6.3

(14). (**PAP** 沙 사 *sa* + **PAP** 音 ㅁ *m* →) 沙音 삼- *sam-* ‘to make’ (stem) + ~ 23.2.9

(15). **SAL** 喜 ㄱ- *KIS(K)-* ‘to be happy’ (stem) + ~ 23.10.6

Character 11

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
等	‘rank; to equal’	똥 <i>tung</i>	10+13=23

Type: **PAP (10+13=23)**

Sound 1: ㄷ *ton* (8+4=12)

Function 1: Conditional particle (= ㄷ *-ton*) (3+4=7)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 賜 -ㅅ- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 2.3.9

(2). **PAP** 尸 -ㄷ- -/ (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ 3.9.14; 7.9.11; 25.1.5

(3). **SAP** 飛 -ㄴ- -no-/ (← -ㄴ- -no- [present suffix] + -ㄷ- -/ [prospective adnominal suffix]) + ~ 23.9.8

2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective

(1). **SAL** 行 -ㄴ- -NI- (progressive complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 19.9.8

(2). **SAL** 清 𣵵 -MOLK- (> 𣵵 -MALK-) ‘to be clear’ + ~ 21.9.9

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *ton* (4+0=4)

1. **SAL** 一 𣵵 -HO.TON ‘one’ 7.6.2; 7.6.7; 7.8.2; 11.7.2

Function 3: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. 𣵵 -{t}on- ← 𣵵 t (final consonant in 直 𣵵 -KWOT-) + -ㄴ- -n- (adjectival adnominal suffix) 10.3.2

Sound 2: 𣵵 to (2+5=7)

Function: Part of a sentence ending (2+5=7)

1. **PAP** 叱 𣵵 s + ~ + **SAL** 邪/耶 𣵵 -LA (exclamatory sentence ending) → 叱等邪/叱等耶 𣵵 -stoLA (exclamatory sentence ending) 7.8.12; 12.9.10; 15.10.8; 20.4.8; 23.4.9; 23.8.10

2. ~ + **SAL** 耶 𣵵 -LA (exclamatory sentence ending) → 等耶 𣵵 -to-LA (exclamatory sentence ending) 21.4.9

Sound 3: 𣵵 tol (0+4=4)

Function 1: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *tol* (0+2=2)

1. **SAL** 海 𣵵 PA.TOL > 𣵵 PA.TA ‘sea’ 16.3.7; 24.5.5

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. **PAP** 毛 𣵵 mwo + ~ → 毛等 𣵵 mwo.tol (> 𣵵 mwo.tul > 𣵵 mwot > 𣵵 mwos) ‘cannot’ 16.10.2

Function 3: Plural suffix (-𣵵 -tol > -𣵵 -tul) (0+1=1)

1. **DAL-DAL** 善陵 𣵵 SEN-NUNG ‘(hill of) goodness’ + ~ 19.7.7

Character 12

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
只	‘only’	𣵵 ci	7+16=23

Type: PAP (7+16=23)

Sound 1: ㄱ k (3+13=16)**Function 1: Emphatic suffix (-ㄱ -k) (1+8=9)**

1. **PAP** 遣 -고 -*kwo* (conjunctive particle) + ~ 3.7.6; 18.6.11
2. **PAP** 遣 -고- -*kwo-* (optative suffix) + ~ 18.8.8
3. **PAP** 良 -아- -*a-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 20.3.7; 22.5.6; 22.10.7; 23.3.8; 24.2.10
4. **PAP** 靡 미 {*m*}*i* (← ㅁ *m* [final consonant -*m* in 身 몸 *MWOM*] + ㅍ *i* [nominative particle]) + ~ 22.5.3

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -k (2+5=7)

1. **PAP** 惡 -악 -*a-k* (emphatic infinitive suffix) ← -아- -*a-* (infinitive suffix) + -ㄱ -*k* (emphatic suffix) 10.3.12; 16.6.10
2. **PAP** 玉 -옥 -*wo-k* ← -오- -*wo-* (assertive suffix) + -ㄱ -*k* (emphatic suffix) 18.4.6
3. **SAL** 唯 오직 *WO.CIK* ‘only’ 14.9.4
4. **SAL** 所 -도록 -*TO.LWOK* > -도록 -*TWO.LWOK* (allative particle) 15.4.6; 19.3.8
5. **SAP** 色(巴) -도록 -*to.lwok* > -도록 -*two.lwok* (allative particle) 17.5.8

Sound 2: ㄱ ki (2+3=5)**Function 1: Adverbial suffix (-ㄱ -ki) (1+0=1)**

1. **SAL** 密 그측 *KU.ZUK* ‘to be secret’ + ~ → 密只 그측기 *KU.ZUK-ki* (> 그측이 *KU.UK-i*) ‘secretly’ 6.2.3

Function 2: Nominalizing suffix (-ㄱ -ki) (1+2=3)

1. **PAP** 毛 모 *mwo* + **PAP** 達 들 *tol* → 毛達 모들- *mwo.tol-* (> 모르- *mwo.lu-*) ‘to not know’ (stem) + ~ 14.2.5
2. **SAL** 尋 좇- *CHOC-* (> 찾- *CHAC-*) ‘to look for’ (stem) + ~ 19.2.7
3. **SAL** 潤 적시- *CEK.SI-* ‘to moisten’ (stem) + ~ 20.8.7

Function 3: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable ki (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 必 받든기 *PAN.TO.KI* > 받드시 *PAN.TU.SI* ‘surely’ 16.9.4

Sound 3: ㅌ thi (1+0=1)**Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)**

1. **PAP** 古 고 *kwo* + ~ → 古只 고티- *kwo.thi-* (> 고치 *kwo.chi-*) ‘to repair’ (stem) 7.8.8

*Type and function unclear (1+0=1) 12.10.11

Character 13

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
佛 仏	‘Buddha’	불 <i>pwul</i>	1+21=22

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type: DAL (1+21=22)

Word/morpheme: 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ (1+21=22)

1. **DAL** 無 무 *MWU* ‘to not have, lack’ + **DAL** 量 량 *LYANG* ‘amount’ + **DAL** 壽 수 *SWU* ‘longevity’ + ~ → 無量壽佛 무량수불 *MWU-LYANG-SWU-PWUL* ‘Amitā Buddha’ 9.3.4 (佛)
2. ~ + **DAL** 体 체 *CHEY* ‘body’ → 仏体 부터 *PWU-THYE* (> 부처 *PWU-CHE*) ‘Buddha’ 15.2.6 (仏); 15.5.5 (仏); 15.7.6 (仏); 17.7.6 (仏); 18.8.4 (仏); 21.1.2 (仏); 22.1.2 (仏); 22.8.2 (仏); 23.8.1 (仏); 23.10.1 (仏); 24.5.1 (仏); 24.9.8 (仏); 25.8.3 (仏)
3. **DAL** 南 남 *NAM* + **DAL** 无 무 *MWU* → 南无 나무 *NA.MWU* ‘namo’ (Sanskrit ‘to bow’) + ~ 16.2.3 (佛)
4. ~ + **DAL** 前 전 *CEN* ‘front’ + **DAL** 灯 등 *TUNG* ‘lamp’ 17.2.1 (仏)
5. ~ + ~ 17.8.1 (仏); 17.8.2 (仏)
6. ~ + **PAP** 伊 이 *-i* (nominative particle) 19.3.1 (仏)
7. ~ + **DAL** 會 회 *HWOY* ‘gathering’ 20.2.6 (仏)
8. ~ + **DAL** 影 영 *YENG* ‘shadow’ → 佛影 불영 *PWUL-YENG* ‘Buddhist statue’ 21.10.1 (佛)
9. ~ + **DAL** 道 도 *TWO* ‘way’ 22.9.4 (佛)

Character 14

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
白	‘white; to explain’	백 <i>payk</i>	7+12=19

Type: SAL (7+12=19)

Word/morpheme 1: 說 -/說 - *SOLP-/SOLW-* > 사뢰 - *SALWOY-* ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem) (6+12=18)

Function 1: Main verb (5+1=6) 7.4.4; 9.4.8; 9.6.7; 9.8.5; 12.8.4; 16.2.5

Function 2: Humble complementary verb (1+11=12)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme
 - (1). **PAP** 友 -어 - *-e-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 21.4.7
2. Following the stem of a verb
 - (1). (**SAP** 巴 돌 *twol* + **PAP** 寶 보 *pwo* →) 巴寶 돌보 - *twol.pwo-* ‘to take care of’ (stem) + ~ 10.2.3
 - (2). **SAL** 慕 그리 - *KU.LI-* ‘to long for’ (stem) + **PAP** 呂 리 *li* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *li* in 慕 그리 - *KU.LI-*) + ~ 15.2.3
 - (3). **SAL** 邀 *모리 - **MWO.LI-* (> 피 - *MWOY-* > 모이 - *MWO.I-*) ‘to gather’ (stem) + **PAP** 里/呂 리 *li* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *li* in 邀 *모리 - *MWO.LI-*) + ~ 15.6.7; 16.5.8
 - (4). **SAL** 為 ㅎ - *HO-* (> 하 - *HA-*) ‘to do’ (main verb or verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 15.8.7; 16.6.8; 16.8.7; 16.10.5; 17.8.8; 24.9.5
 - (5). **SAL** 乞 빌 - *PIL-* ‘to pray’ (stem) + ~ 20.4.5

Word/morpheme 2: 白 - *HOY-* > 白 - *HUY-* ‘to be white’ (stem) (1+0=1) 4.3.1

Character 15

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
矣	perfective final particle	의 <i>uy</i>	17+1=18

Type: PAP (17+1=18)

Sound 1: 의 *uy* (13+1=14)

Function 1: Animate genitive particle (=의 =uy) (6+0=6)

1. **DAL-DAL** 耆郎 기랑 *KI-LANG* ‘Knight Ki’ + ~ 4.5.3
2. **SAL** 心 마음 *MO.ZOM* (> 마음 *MA.UM*) ‘heart’ + **PAP** 音 口 *m* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -*m* in 心 마음 *MO.ZOM*) + ~ 10.3.6
3. **DAL-DAL-DAL** 乾達婆 건달파 *KEN.TAL.PHA* ‘Gandharva’ + ~ 12.2.4
4. **DAL** 花 화 *HWA* (abbreviation of 花郎 화랑 *HWA-LANG* ‘Flower Knight’) + ~ 12.5.3
5. **SAL** 面 낯 *NOCH* (> 낯 *NACH*) ‘face’ + ~ 13.4.5
6. **SAL** 自 저 *CE* ‘I’ + ~ 14.1.2

Function 2: Locative particle (=의 =uy) (6+0=6)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit with locative function
2. Independently functioning as a locative particle
 - (1). **SAL** 夜 밤 *PAM* ‘night’ + ~ 6.4.2
 - (2). **SAL** 此 이 *I* ‘this’ + ~ 10.1.4; 11.2.2; 11.6.2
 - (3). **SAL** 彼 더 *TYE* (> 저 *CE*) ‘that’ + ~ 11.6.4
 - (4). **SAL** 沙 물애 *MWOL.AY* (> 모래 *MWO.LAY*) ‘sand’ + ~ 13.6.7

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (1+1=2)

1. ~ + **SAL** 徒 -내 *-NAY* (plural suffix) →矣徒 의내 *uy-NAY* ‘we’ 8.3.4
2. **PAP** 皆 ㅈ *k* + ~ → 皆矣 -귀 *-kuy* (> -게 *-key*) (adverbial suffix) 21.7.4

Sound 2: ㅁ oy (2+0=2)**Function: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)**

1. **PAP** 冬 ㅌ *to* + ~ → 冬矣 ㅌ디 *-toy* (conjunctive particle) 7.10.3
2. **PAP** 冬 ㅌ *to* + ~ → 冬矣 ㅌ디 *toy* (> 데 *tey*) ‘place’ 13.4.12

Sound 3: ㅌ toy (2+0=2)**Function: ㅌ toy (> 데 tey) ‘place’ (2+0=2)**

1. **SAL** 寢 자- *CA-* ‘to sleep’ (stem) + ~ 5.3.5
2. **DAL** 本 본 *PWON* ‘origin’ + ~ → 本矣 본디 *PWON-toy* (> 본디 *PWON-ti*) ‘originally’ 5.7.2

Character 16

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
古	‘antiquity’	古 <i>kwo</i>	18+0=18

Type: PAP (18+0=18)

Sound: ㄱ *kwo* (18+0=18)

Function 1: Conjunctive particle (=ㄱ *-kwo*) (6+0=6)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 於 -어- *-e-* (infinitive suffix) + **PAP** 叱 -ㄴ- *-s* (emphatic suffix) + ~ 5.5.8

2. Following the stem of a verb

(1). **SAL** 置 두- *TWU-* (continuative complementary verb) (← ‘to place’) (stem) + ~ 6.2.7

(2). **SAL** 出 나- *NA-* ‘to come out’ (stem) + ~ 11.7.7

(3). **SAL** 望 바라- *PO.LA-* (> 바라- *PA.LA-*) ‘to look at’ (stem) + **PAP** 良 아 *a* (phonetic determinative of the

vowel *a* in 望 바라- *PO.LA-*) + ~ 12.2.14; 12.7.9

(4). **SAL** 聞 듣- *TUT-* ‘to hear’ (stem) + ~ 12.5.11

Function 2: Quotative particle (=ㄱ *-kwo*) (1+0=1)

1. (**PAP** 阿 아 *a* + **SAL** 孩 아ᄒᆞᆫ *A.HOY* [> 아이 *A.I*] → 阿孩 아ᄒᆞᆫ *A.HOY* (> 아이 *A.I*) ‘child’ + ~ 3.3.8

Function 3: Interrogative sentence ending (=ㄱ *-kwo*) (3+0=3)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit functioning as interrogative sentence ending

(1). **PAP** 焉 언 *en* + ~ → 焉古 =언고 *=en.kwo* (interrogative sentence ending) 5.6.8

(2). **PAP** 叱 入 *s* + ~ → 叱古 =入고 *=skwo* (interrogative sentence ending) 11.4.9

2. Independently functioning as an interrogative sentence ending

(1). **SAL** 為 爲 *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + **PAP** 理 -리- *-li-* (prospective suffix) + ~ 5.8.9

Function 4: Exclamatory sentence ending (=ㄱ *-kwo*) (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 根 큰- *khu-n-* ‘big’ (← 크- *khu-* ‘to be big’ [stem] + -ㄴ- *-n-* [adjectival adnominal suffix]) + ~ 7.10.11

Function 5: Part of a sentence ending (3+0=3)

1. ~ + **SAP** 如 =다 *-ta* (declarative sentence ending) → 古如 =고다 *-kwo.ta* (declarative sentence ending) 3.4.6; 3.8.8; 11.10.6

Function 6: Part of a word/morpheme (4+0=4)

1. ~ + **PAP** 冪 조 *cwo* → 古冪 고조- *kwo.cwo-* (> 고초- *kwo.chwo-*) ‘to bend’ (stem) 7.1.3

2. ~ + **PAP** 只 티 *thi* → 古只 고티- *kwo.thi-* (> 고치 *kwo.chi-*) ‘to repair’ (stem) 7.8.7

3. ~ + **PAP** 音 口 *m* → 古音 =곰 *=kwom* (emphatic particle) 9.4.3

4. ~ + **PAP** 理 이 *i* → 古理 고이- *kwo.i-* ‘to be stagnant’ (stem) 13.5.6

Character 17

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
吾	‘I’	오 <i>wo</i>	8+9=17

Type: SAL (8+9=17)

Word/morpheme 1: 나 *NA* ‘I’ (7+8=15) 2.3.1; 5.5.4; 5.7.3; 7.7.5; 7.9.4; 11.3.1; 11.9.9; 19.4.1; 19.5.9;

20.3.1; 22.4.1; 23.6.3; 24.1.2; 24.10.1; 25.2.1

Word/morpheme 2: 몸 *MWOM* ‘body’ (1+0=1) 14.9.6

Word/morpheme 3: 우리 *WU.LI* ‘we’ (0+1=1) 21.9.3

Character 18

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
為	‘to do’	위 <i>wi</i>	4+13=17

Type: SAL (4+13=17)

Word/morpheme 1: 爲 - *HO-* > 𠄎 - *HA-* ‘to do’ (stem) (4+12=16)

Function 1: Main verb (4+3=7) 3.3.9; 3.7.13; 3.9.11; 5.8.7; 17.5.9; 23.6.1; 23.8.3

Function 2: Verbalizing complementary verb (0+9=9)

1. DAL 禮 레 *RYEY* ‘ritual; courtesy’ + ~ 15.8.6; 24.9.4
2. DAL 對 대- *TAY-* ‘to face’ (stem) + ~ 16.6.7
3. DAL 供 공 *KWONG* ‘offering’ + ~ 17.8.7
4. DAL 應 응- *UNG-* ‘to reply’ (stem) + ~ 21.10.6
5. SAL 然 그러- *KU.LE-* ‘to be like this’ (stem) + ~ 22.8.7; 24.8.5
5. DAL 安 안- *AN-* ‘to be peaceful’ (stem) + ~ 23.9.6
6. DAL 懺 참- *CHAM-* ‘to repent’ (stem) + ~ 24.6.2

Word/morpheme 2: 𠄎 외- *TO.WOY-* > 𠄎 TWOY- ‘to become’ (stem) (0+1=1) 21.7.5

Character 19

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
乙	second item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	을 <i>ul</i>	3+14=17

Type: PAP (3+14=17)

Sound 1: 을 *ol* (2+11=13)

Function 1: Accusative particle (=을/=를 =*[l]ol* > =을/=를 =*[l]ul*) (1+9=10)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme
 - (1). PAP 良 -아- *-a-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 5.8.4
 - (2). PAP 隱 -ㄴ- *-n-* (adjectival adnominal suffix) + ~ 23.2.4
2. Following a noun
 - (1). SAL 身 몸 *MWOM* ‘body’ + ~ 16.6.5
 - (2). DAL 灯 등 *TUNG* ‘lamp’ + ~ 17.2.4
 - (3). SAL 道 길/궤 *KIL(H)* (> 길 *KIL*) ‘road’ + ~ 18.2.6
 - (4). DAL 雨 우 *WU* ‘rain’ + ~ 20.4.3
 - (5). SAL 田 밭 *PATH* ‘field’ + ~ 20.8.5
 - (6). SAL 手 손 *SWON* ‘hand’ + ~ 21.3.2
 - (7). DAL 願 원 *WEN* ‘wish’ + ~ 22.3.7
 - (8). DAL 命 명 *MYENG* ‘life’ + ~ 22.6.2

Function 2: Allative particle (=을/=를 =*[l]ol* > [=으]로 =*[u.]lwo*) (1+0=1)

1. SAL 房 집 CIP ‘home’ + ~ 6.3.4

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (0+2=2)

1. ~ + PAP 留 -로 -*lwo* (instrumental particle) → 乙留 -로 -*o-lwo* (instrumental particle) 17.6.8

2. PAP 烏 오 *wo* + ~ → 烏乙 오 올 - *wo.ol*- ‘to be complete’ (stem) 20.9.9

Sound 2: ㄹ (1+3=4)

Function 1: Prospective adnominal suffix (-ㄹ - *-l-*) (0+2=2)

1. PAP 賜 -시- -*si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 19.5.4

2. SAL 為 ㅎ - *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + ~ 23.6.2

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -*l* (0+1=1)

1. SAL 長 길 - *KIL-* ‘to be long’ (stem) 20.7.6

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 卯 모 *mwo* + ~ → 卯乙 몰 *mwol* (> 몰래 *mwol.lay*) ‘secretly’ 6.4.4

Character 20

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
去	‘to leave’	거 <i>ke</i>	11+6=17

Type 1: SAL (10+1=11)

Word/morpheme: 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (main verb or complementary verb) (stem) (10+1=11) 1.1.1; 3.7.10; 4.3.7; 6.4.7; 9.2.5; 11.3.3; 11.4.5; 11.8.1; 12.9.7; 14.4.5; 22.5.9

Type 2: PAP (0+4=4)

Sound: 거 *ke* (0+4=4)

Function: Part of a sentence ending (0+4=4)

1. ~ + PAP 良 -라 -*la* (exclamatory sentence ending) → 去良 -거라 -*ke.la* (exclamatory sentence ending) 15.4.8; 16.4.7

2. ~ + SAL 耶 -라 -*LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) → 去耶 -거라 -*ke.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 17.4.8

3. + ~ PAP 齊 -저 -*cye* (optative sentence ending) → 去齊 -거저 -*ke.cye* (optative sentence ending) 24.4.8

Type 3: SAP (1+1=2)

Sound: 가 *ka* (← 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ [stem]) (1+1=2)

Function: Interrogative sentence ending (-가 -*ka*) (1+1=2)

1. PAP 賜 -시- -*si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 9.10.9

2. SAL 來 오- *WO-* ‘to come’ (stem) + ~ 19.10.9

Character 21

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences

留	‘to remain’	류 <i>lyu</i>	0+17=17

Type: PAP (0+17=17)

Sound 1: 로 *lwo* (0+14=14)

Function 1: Instrumental particle (=로 *-lwo*) (0+10=10)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 賜 -ㄴ- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 22.2.10

2. Following the stem of a verb

(1). **SAL** 伊 ㅇ- *-i-* (copula) (stem) + ~ 22.8.11

(2). **PAP** 以 ㅇ- *-i-* (copula) (stem) + ~ 23.10.8

(3). (**PAP** 毛 모 *mwo* + **PAP** 冬 둘 *tol* →) 毛冬 모듈- *mwo.tol-* (> 모르- *mwo.lu-*) ‘to not know’ (stem) + ~

25.4.4

3. Following a nominal

(1). **SAL** 筆 분 *PWUT* (> 붓 *PWUS*) ‘brush’ + ~ 15.1.4

(2). **DAL-DAL** 間王 간왕 *KAN-WANG* ‘?’ + **PAP** 冬 -돌 *-tol* (> -들 *-tul*) (plural suffix) + ~ 16.8.4

(3). **DAL** 主 주 *CWU* ‘master’ + ~ 18.6.5

(4). **DAL** 熱 열 *YEL* ‘heat’ + ~ 20.6.4

(5). **SAL** 水 물 *MUL* (> 물 *MWUL*) ‘water’ + ~ 23.3.5

(6). **SAL** 伊 이 *I* ‘this’ + ~ 25.10.2

Function 2: Ablative particle (=로 *-lwo*) (0+2=2)

1. **SAL** 曉 새배 *SAY.PAY* (> 새벽 *SAY.PYEK*) ‘dawn’ + ~ 21.5.2

2. **SAL** 舊 *녀리 **NYE.LI* (> 녀 *NYEY* > 예 *YEY*) ‘past’ + ~ 24.8.2

Function 3: Allative particle (=로 *-lwo*) (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 所 디 *TOY* (> 데 *TEY*) ‘place’ + ~ 25.6.5

Function 4: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. **PAP** 乙 올 *ol* + ~ → 乙留 = ㄹ로 *-o-lwo* (instrumental particle) 17.6.9

Sound 2: 루 *lwu* (0+2=2)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. **PAP** 逸 일 *il* + ~ → 逸留 일루- *il.lwu-* (> 이루- *i.lwu-*) ‘to make’ (stem) 17.4.7

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the sound *lwu* (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 成 일우- *IL.WU-* ‘to achieve’ (stem) 24.5.7

Sound 3: ㄹ *l* (0+1=1)

Function: Prospective suffix (-ㄹ- *-l-*) (0+1=1)

1. **PAP** 乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 23.4.7

Character 22

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
支	‘to strike’	박 <i>pak</i>	17+0=17

*The character 支 is an allograph of the character 撲 (‘to strike’) but is regarded as having the same function as the character 支 in *hyangka*. They are counted in different entries.

Type: PAP (17+0=17)

Sound 1: ㄱ *ki* (14+0=14)

Function 1: Adverbial suffix (-ㄱ *-ki*) (12+0=12)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). (PAP 多 다 *ta* + PAP 可 가 *ka* →) 多可 다가 *-ta.ka* (transferative particle) + ~ 9.4.7

2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective (or a nominal?)

(1). SAL 安 르스 *MU.SUK* (> 무엇 *MWU.ES* ‘what’) + ~ 4.3.10

(2). SAL 持 디니- *TI.NI-* (> 지니- *CI.NI-*) ‘to carry, preserve’ (stem) + PAP 以 이 *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 持 디니- *TI.NI-*) + ~ 4.7.5

(3). SAL 高 높- *NWOPH-* ‘to be high’ (stem) + ~ 4.9.9

(4). (PAP 毛 모 *mwo* + PAP 乎 호 *hwo* →) 毛乎 모호- *mwo.hwo-* (> 모으- *mwo.u-*) ‘to gather’ (stem) + ~ 7.2.7

(5). SAL 祈 빌- *PIL-* ‘to pray’ (stem) + PAP 以 이 *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 祈 빌- *PIL-*) + ~ 7.4.3

(6). SAL 遺 기타- *KI.THI-* (> 끼치- *KKI.CHI-* ‘to grant’) (stem) + PAP 知 티 *thi* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *thi* in 遺 기타- *KI.THI-*) + ~ 7.9.8

(7). SAL 仰 올월- *WUL.WEL-* (> 우러르- *WU.LE.LU-*) ‘to look up’ (stem) + ~ 9.5.10

(8). (PAP 爾 이 *i* + PAP 屋 울 *wul*) → 爾屋 이울- *i.wul-* ‘to wither’ (stem) + ~ 13.2.8

(9). SAL 影 그르메 *KU.LU.MEY* ‘shadow’ + ~ 13.5.5

(10). SAL 以(止) 머믈- *ME.MUL-* (> 머무르- *ME.MWU.LU-*) ‘to stop’ (stem) + ~ 13.6.9

(11). SAL 安 얹- *ENC-* ‘to be comfortable’ + ~ 14.10.2

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. PAP 於 어 *e* + PAP 多 다 *ta* + ~ → 於多支 어다기 *e.ta.ki* (> 어디 *e.tuy* > 어디 *e.ti*) ‘where’ 13.3.4

2. SAP 如 다 *ta* + ~ → 如支 다기 *-ta.ki* (> 다히 *-ta.hi*) ‘like’ 13.6.11

Sound 2: ㄱ *k* (3+0=3)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant *-k* (3+0=3)

1. PAP 惡 -악 *-a-k* (emphatic infinitive suffix) (← -아- *-a-* [infinitive suffix] + -ㄱ *-k* [emphatic suffix]) 3.6.5; 7.6.11

2. PAP 惡 악 {*a*}*k* (← 아 *a* [phonetic determinative of the vowel *a* in 國 나라 *NA.LA* ‘country’] + -ㄱ *-k* [emphatic suffix]) 3.8.3

Character 23

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
阿	‘crook’	아 <i>a</i>	11+5=16

Type: PAP (11+5=16)

Sound: 아 *a* (11+5=16)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (9+5=14)

1. Exclamatory expressions

(1). ~ + **PAP** 耶/邪 야 *ya* → 阿耶/阿邪 아야 *a.ya* (exclamatory expression marking the final stanza) 4.9.1; 9.9.1; 14.9.1; 17.9.1; 25.9.1

(2). ~ + **PAP** 邪 야 *ya* (+ **PAP** 也 야 *ya*) → 阿邪(也) 아야(야) *a.ya(.ya)* (exclamatory expression marking the final stanza) 7.9.1; 11.9.1

2. Locative particle (=아 =a)

(1). ~ + **PAP** 叱 = 入 =s (inanimate genitive particle) → 阿叱 = 𐺧 =a=s (locative genitive particle) 13.6.4; 24.7.5

(2). ~ + **PAP** 希 = 𐺧 =huy (locative particle) → 阿希 = 𐺧 =a-huy (locative particle) 20.2.8

3. Content word

(1). ~ + **PAP** 冬 𐺧 *tol* + **PAP** 音 𐺧 *m* → 阿冬音 아돌 𐺧 *a.tol.m* (> 아를 𐺧 *a.lol.m* > 아를 *a.lom*) ‘in private, personally’ 1.3.1

(2). ~ + **SAL** 孩 아히 *A.HOY* (> 아이 *A.I*) → 阿孩 아히 *A.HOY* (> 아이 *A.I*) ‘child’ 3.3.6

(3). ~ + **PAP** 羅 라 *la* → 阿羅 아라 *a.la* (> 아래 *a.lay*) ‘under’ 12.9.4

(4). ~ + **PAP** 于 𐺧 *wu* → 阿于 아우- *a.wu-* ‘to know’ (stem) 25.9.8

Function 2: Infinitive suffix (-아- -a-) (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 有 𐺧- *is-* (> 𐺧- *iss-*) ‘to have; to exist’ (stem) + ~ 11.2.4

Function 3: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel a (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 望 𐺧라- *PO.LA-* > 𐺧라- *PA.LA-* ‘to look at’ (stem) 13.7.6

Character 24

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
衣	‘clothing’	의 <i>uy</i>	4+12=16

Type: PAP (4+12=16)

Sound 1: 의 *uy* (3+11=14)

Function 1: Animate genitive particle (=의 =uy) (0+8=8)

1. (**SAL-SAL** 今日 오늘 *WO.NOL* [> 오늘 *WO.NUL*] ‘today’ + **SAL** 部 주비 *CWU.PI* ‘party, disciple’ →) 今

日部 오늘주비 *WO.NOL-CWU.PI* ‘Mahāyāna disciple’ + **PAP** 伊 이 *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i*

in 部 주비 *CWU.PI*) + **PAP** 冬 - 𐺧 *-tol* (> - 𐺧 *-tul*) (plural suffix) + ~ 16.1.6

2. **SAL** 𐺧 나 *NA* ‘I’ + ~ 19.4.2; 19.5.10; 24.1.3; 24.10.2; 25.2.2

3. **SAL** 人 사람 *SA.LOM* (> 사람 *SA.LAM*) ‘person’ + ~ 19.7.4

4. **SAL** 邊 𐺧/𐺧 *KOS/KOZ* (> 𐺧 *KA*) ‘edge’ + ~ 25.3.5

Function 2: Locative particle (=의 =uy) (3+3=6)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit with locative function

- (1). ~ + **PAP** 希 ㄱ희 -huy (locative particle) → 衣希 ㄱ희 -uy=huy (locative particle) 9.5.7
- (2). **PAP** 良 ㄱ아 -a (locative particle) + ~ → 良衣 ㄱ아의 -a=uy (locative particle) 16.2.9
- (4). **PAP** 於 어 -e + ~ → 於衣 ㄱ어의 -e-uy (> 에 -ey) (locative particle) 17.10.3

2. Independently functioning as a locative particle

- (1). **SAL** 伊 이 -i ‘this’ + ~ 1.5.9
- (2). **PAP** 波 바 -pa ‘thing’ + ~ 12.6.12
- (3). **SAL** 前 앞 ALPH (> 앞 APH) ‘front’ + ~ 15.2.9

Sound 2: oy (**0+1=1**)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (**0+1=1**)

1. **PAP** 多 다 -ta + ~ → 多衣 다 -toy (> 데 -tey) ‘place, occasion’ 17.2.10

Sound 3: oy (**1+0=1**)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel i (**1+0=1**)

1. **SAL** 改 고타 -KWO.THI- > 고치 -KWO.CHI- ‘to fix, change’ (stem) 13.4.7

Character 25

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
冬	‘winter’	동 twong	8+8=16

Type: **PAP** (**8+8=16**)

Sound 1: tol (**6+8=14**)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (**5+2=7**)

1. **PAP** 毛 모 -mwo + ~ → 毛冬 모 -tol (> 모 -tul > 못 -mwot > 못 -mwos) ‘cannot’ 1.2.2; 4.10.4; 20.7.4
2. **PAP** 阿 아 -a + ~ + **PAP** 音 음 -m → 阿冬音 아 -tol -m (> 아 -lol -m > 아 -lom) ‘in private, personally’ 1.3.2
3. **PAP** 於 어 -e + ~ + **SAP** 是 이 -i → 於冬是 어 -tol -i (> 어 -toy > 어 -tuy > 어 -ti) ‘where’ 3.7.8
4. **PAP** 毛 모 -mwo + ~ → 毛冬 모 -tol- (> 모 -lu-) ‘to not know’ (stem) 11.8.6; 25.4.3

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable tol (**1+4=5**)

1. **SAL** 不 모 -MWO.TOL ‘not’ 13.2.5; 19.8.2; 21.10.4; 22.10.4; 23.4.2

Function 3: Plural suffix (-tol > -tul) (**0+2=2**)

1. **SAL** 部 주비 *CWU.PI* ‘party, disciple’ + **PAP** 伊 이 *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 部 주비 *CWU.PI*) + ~ 16.1.5
2. **DAL-DAL** 間王 간왕 *KAN-WANG* (?) + ~ 16.8.3

Sound 2: ㅌ *to* (2+0=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. ~ + **PAP** 矣 이 *oy* → 冬矣 =디 **toy* (conjunctive particle) 7.10.2
2. ~ + **PAP** 矣 이 *oy* → 冬矣 디 *toy* (> 데 *tey*) ‘place’ 13.4.11

Character 26

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
理	‘inner structure; principle’	리 <i>li</i>	13+2=15

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 리 *LI* ‘principle’ (0+1=1) 19.2.4

Type 2: PAP (13+1=14)

Sound 1: 리 *li* (11+1=12)

Function 1: Prospective suffix (-리- *-li-*) (2+1=3)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme
 - (1). **PAP** 乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 2.4.8; 19.8.8
2. Following the stem of a verb
 - (1). **SAL** 為 히 *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + ~ 5.8.8

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *li* (6+0=6)

1. **SAL** 慕 그리- *KU.LI-* ‘to long for’ 1.7.4
2. **SAL** 汀 *물서리 **MUL.SE.LI* ‘shore’ 4.4.7
3. **SAL** 川 나리 *NA.LI* > 내 *NAY* ‘stream’ 4.6.4
4. **SAL** 舊 *녀리 **NYE.LI* > 녀 *NYEY* > 예 *YEY* ‘to be old’ 12.1.2
5. **SAL** 倭 *여리 **YE.LI* > 예 *YEY* ‘Japan’ 12.3.2
6. **SAL** 世 누리 *NWU.LI* ‘world’ 13.8.2

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 皆 그 *ku* + ~ → 皆理 그리- *ku.li-* ‘to long for’ (stem) 1.1.5

Function 4: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (2+0=2)

1. 리 $\{l\}i \leftarrow \text{ㄹ} \text{ } l$ (final consonant in **SAL** 月 *득랄 **TO.LAL* ‘moon’) + =이 *=i* (nominative particle) 4.2.7; 13.5.3

Sound 2: ㄹ *l* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **SAP** 窟 구무 *kwu.mwu* + ~ + **PAP** 叱 𪛗 *l* + **PAP** 大 대 *tay* → 窟理叱大 구물대- *kwu.mwul.tay*- (> 꾸물대- *kkwu.mwul.tay*-) ‘to wriggle’ (stem) 3.5.2

Sound 3: ㅇ *i* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 古 고 *kwo* + ~ → 古理 고ㅇ- *kwo.i*- ‘to be stagnant’ (stem) 13.5.7

Character 27

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
毛	‘fur’	모 <i>mwo</i>	6+9=15

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 모 *MWO* ‘fur’ (0+1=1) 16.9.6

Type 2: PAP (6+8=14)

Sound: 모 *mwo* (6+8=14)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (6+6=12)

1. ~ + **PAP** 冬/等 들 *tol* → 毛冬/毛等 모듈 *mwo.tol* (> 모듈 *mwo.tul* > 못 *mwot* > 못 *mwos*) ‘cannot’ 1.2.1; 4.10.3; 16.10.1; 20.7.3
2. ~ + **PAP** 乎 호 *hwo* → 毛乎 모호- *mwo.hwo*- (> 모으- *mwo.u*-) ‘to gather’ (stem) 7.2.5
3. ~ + **SAP** 如 다 *ta* → 毛如 모다 *mwo.ta* (> 못 *mwot* > 못 *mwos*) ‘cannot’ 11.4.1
4. ~ + **PAP** 冬/達 들 *tol* → 毛冬/毛達 모듈- *mwo.tol*- (> 모르- *mwo.lu*-) ‘to not know’ (stem) 11.8.5; 14.2.3; 25.4.2
5. ~ + **PAP** 叱 𪛗 *s* → 毛叱 뭏- *mwos*- ‘to end’ (stem) 15.4.3; 17.5.5; 19.3.5

Function 2: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+2=2)

1. **PAP** 沙 사 *sa* + ~ → 沙毛 사모 *sa.mwo* (← 삼오 *sam-wo* [← 삼- *sam*- ‘to make’ (stem) + -오- *-wo*- (assertive suffix)]) 15.10.6
2. -□- *-m-* (durative suffix) + -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) 25.3.8

Character 28

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
体	‘body’	체 <i>chey</i>	0+15=15

Type 1: DAL (0+14=14)

Word/morpheme: 체 *CHEY* ‘body’ (0+14=14)

1. **DAL** 仏 불 *PWUL* + ~ → 仏体 부터 *PU-THYE* (> 부처 *PU-CHE*) ‘Buddha’ 15.2.7; 15.5.6; 15.7.7; 17.7.7; 18.8.5; 21.1.3; 22.1.3; 22.8.3; 23.8.2; 23.10.2; 24.5.2; 24.9.9; 25.8.4
2. **DAL** 同 동 *TWONG* ‘to be same’ + ~ → 同体 동체 *TWONG-CHEY* ‘to be the same entity’ 19.1.4

Type 2: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 티 *thi* (0+1=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *thi* (0+1=1)

1. SAL 直 고티- *KWO.THI*- > 고치- *KWO.CHI*- ‘to fix’ (stem) 17.2.6

Character 29

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
脰	‘to vibrate’	홀 <i>hul</i>	14+1=15

Type: PAP (14+1=15)

Sound 1: 홀 *hol* (11+1=12)

Function 1: Accusative particle (= 홀 *-hol* > =을/를 *-[l]ul*) (9+1=10)

1. SAL 품 나 *NA* ‘I’ + ~ 2.3.2
2. SAL 花 꽃 *KWOC* (> 꽃 *KKWOCH*) ‘flower’ + ~ 2.4.2
3. SAL 此 이 *I* ‘this’ + ~ 3.6.2
4. SAL 地 *따 **STA* (> 땅 *STAH* > 땅 *TTANG*) ‘land’ + ~ 3.7.3
5. SAL 際 𪛗 *KOS* (> 가 *KA*) ‘edge’ + **PAP** 叱 入 *s* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 際 𪛗 *KOS*) + ~ 4.8.5
6. SAL 膝 무릎 *MWU.LWUPH* (> 무릎 *MWU.LUPH*) ‘knee’ + ~ 7.1.2
7. SAL 目 눈 *NWUN* ‘eye’ 7.5.8
8. SAL 一 ㅎ ㄷ *HO.TON* ‘one’ + **PAP** 等 ㄷ *ton* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *ton* in 一 ㅎ ㄷ *HO.TON*) + ~ 7.6.8
9. SAL 城 ㅈ *CAS* ‘castle, city’ + **PAP** 叱 入 *s* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 城 ㅈ *CAS*) + ~ 12.2.10
10. SAL 海 바들 *PA.TOL* (> 바다 *PA.TA*) ‘sea’ + ~ 16.7.7

Function 2: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. 홀 *-ho-l* ← ㅎ *-ho-* (> 하 *-ha-*) (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + -ㄷ *-l-* (prospective adnominal suffix) 3.5.5

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 次 차 *cha* + ~ → 次脰 저홀- *ce.hul-* ‘to fear’ (stem) 11.2.7

Sound 2: ㄷ *l* (3+0=3)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -l (3+0=3)

1. SAL 慚 붓그리- *PUS.KU.LI*- > 부끄럽- *PU.KKU.LEP*- ‘to be ashamed’ 2.3.6
2. SAL 二 두울 *TWU.WUL* > 둘 *TWUL* ‘two’ 5.5.2; 5.6.2

Character 30

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences

惡	‘to be bad’; ‘how, why’	악 <i>ak</i> ; 오 <i>wo</i>	7+7=14

Type 1: SAL (1+3=4)

Word/morpheme 1: 엇디 *ES.TI* > 어찌 *E.CCI* ‘how’ (1+0=1) 1.6.4

Word/morpheme 2: 궤- *KWUC-* ‘to be bad’ (stem) (0+3=3) 18.3.7; 18.5.1; 24.6.6

Type 2: PAP (6+4=10)

Sound 1: 악 *ak* (5+1=6)

Function 1: Emphatic infinitive suffix (-악 -*a-k*) (← -아- -*a-* [infinitive suffix] + -ㄱ -*k* [emphatic suffix]) (3+1=4)

1. **SAL** 喰 먹- *MEK-* ‘to eat’ (stem) + ~ 3.6.4

2. **SAL** 除 덜- *TEL-* ‘to remove’ (stem) + ~ 7.6.10

3. **SAL** 使 브리- *PU.LI-* (> 부리- *pwu.li-*) ‘to employ’ (stem) + **PAP** 以 이 *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 使 브리- *PU.LI-*) + ~ 10.3.11

4. **SAL** 白 솜-/솜- *SOLP-/SOLW-* (> 사뢰- *SA.LWOY-*) (humble complementary verb) (stem) 16.6.9

Function 2: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (2+0=2)

1. 악 {*a*}*k* ← 아 *a* (phonetic determinative of the vowel in **SAL** 國 나라 *NA.LA* ‘country’) + -ㄱ -*k* (emphatic suffix) 3.8.2; 3.10.2

Sound 2: 아 *a* (1+3=4)

Function: locative particle (=아 -*a*) (1+3=4)

1. ~ + **PAP** 希 히- *-huy* (locative particle) → 惡希 히- *-a-huy* (locative particle) 4.6.7

2. ~ + **SAL** 中 궤- *-KUY* (locative particle) → 惡中 히- *-a-KUY* (locative particle) 16.4.3; 24.3.5

3. ~ + **SAL** 之 의- *-UY* (animate genitive particle) + **PAP** 叱 入- *-s* (inanimate genitive particle) → 惡之叱 의- *-a-UY-s* (locative genitive particle) 20.2.3

Character 31

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
耶	exclamatory final particle	야 <i>ya</i>	3+11=14

Type 1: SAL (1+9=10)

Word/morpheme: 라- *-LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) (1+9=10)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit functioning as exclamatory sentence ending

(1). **PAP** 藪 수 *swu* + ~ → 藪耶 수라- *-swu.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 12.4.8

(2). (**PAP** 叱 入+) **PAP** 等 ㄷ *to* + ~ → (叱)等耶 ㄷ라- *-(s)to.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 15.10.9; 20.4.9; 21.4.10; 23.4.10; 23.8.11

(3). **PAP** 去 거 *ke* + ~ → 去耶 거라- *-ke.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 17.4.9

(4). **SAP** 置 두 *twu* + ~ → 置耶 두라- *-twu.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 24.8.8; 25.8.9

2. Independently functioning as an exclamatory sentence ending

(1). **PAP** 逸 일- *il-* ‘to happen’ (stem) + ~ 18.1.4

Type 2: PAP (2+2=4)

Sound: 야 *ya* (2+2=4)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme

1. **PAP** 阿 아 *a* + ~ → 阿耶 아야 *a.ya* (exclamatory expression marking the final stanza) 4.9.2; 14.9.2; 17.9.2; 25.9.2

Character 32

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
焉	'in relation to'	언 <i>en</i>	5+9=14

Type: PAP (5+9=14)

Sound 1: ㄴ *n* (0+5=5)

Function: Adnominal suffix (-ㄴ- *-n-*) (0+5=5)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

- (1). **PAP** 良 -아- *-a-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 17.2.8
- (2). **PAP** 賜 -시- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 23.2.10

2. Following the stem of a verb

- (1). **SAL** 向 아오- *A.O-* 'to go toward' (stem) + ~ 18.2.4
- (2). **SAL** 往 가- *KA-* 'to go' + ~ 22.2.3
- (3). **SAL** 成 일우- *IL.WU-* (> 이루- *IL.WU-*) 'to achieve' (stem) + **PAP** 留 루 *lwu* (phonetic determinative of the sound *lwu* in 成 일우- *IL.WU-*) + ~ 24.5.8

Sound 2: ㄹ/ㄴ *(n)on* (3+4=7)

Function: Topic particle (=ㄹ/ㄴ = *[n]on* > =ㄹ/ㄴ = *[n]un*) (3+4=7)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

- (1). **PAP** 等 -든 *-ton* (conditional particle) 3.9.15; 7.9.12

2. Following a noun

- (1). **DAL** 민 *MIN* 'people' + ~ 3.3.2
- (2). **SAL** 手 손 *SWON* 'hand' + ~ 17.5.2
- (3). **SAL** 품 나 *NA* 'I' + ~ 20.3.2; 22.4.2
- (4). **DAL** 王 왕 *WANG* 'king' + ~ 23.1.4

Sound 3: 언 *en* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a sentence ending (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 古 고 *kwo* → 焉古 =언고 *=en.kwo* (interrogative sentence ending) 5.6.7

Sound 4: 온 *won* (1+0=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *won* (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 乎 -오- *-wo-* (adverbial suffix) + **PAP** 隱 -ㄴ- *-n-* (adnominal suffix) 14.5.5

Character 33

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
遣	'to dispatch'	견 <i>kyen</i>	12+2=14

Type: PAP (12+2=14)

Sound: ㄱ *kwo* (12+2=14)

Function 1: Conjunctive particle (=ㄱ -*kwo*) (9+1=10)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). SAL 教 -ㅇ|ㅅ| -*-I-SI-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 2.2.9

(2). PAP 里 -리- -*li-* (prospective suffix) + ~ 9.2.8

(3). PAP 伊 -ㅇ| -*-i-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 11.2.9

(4). PAP 知 -디 -*ti* (emphatic particle) + ~ 14.3.7

2. Following the stem of a verb

(1). SAL 捨 버리- *PO.LI-* (> 버리- *PE.LI-*) ‘to abandon’ (stem) + ~ 3.7.5

(2). SAL 抱 안- *AN-* ‘to hold in arms’ (stem) + ~ 6.4.6

(3). SAL 置 두- *TWU-* (continuative complementary verb) (← ‘to place’) (stem) + ~ 9.9.8

(4). SAL 云 니르- *NI.LU-* (> 이르- *I.LU-*) ‘to say’ (stem) + ~ 11.4.4

(5). SAL 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 14.4.6

(6). PAP 乃 내- *nay-* ‘to take out’ (stem) + ~ 18.6.10

Function 2: Optative suffix (-ㄱ -*-kwo-*) (3+1=4)

1. ~ + (PAP 只 -ㄱ -*k* [emphatic suffix]) + PAP 賜 -ㅅ| -*-si-* (honorific suffix) 9.4.9; 9.8.6; 9.10.7; 18.8.7

Character 34

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
内	‘inside’	내 <i>nay</i>	10+4=14

Type: PAP (10+4=14)

Sound: ㄴ *no* (10+4=14)

Function 1: Present suffix (-ㄴ -*-no-*) (8+3=11)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). PAP 支 -ㄱ| -*ki* (adverbial suffix) + ~ 7.2.8

(2). PAP 也 -ㅇ| -*-e-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 14.8.6

2. Following the stem of a verb

(1). SAL 為 ㅎ - *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + ~ 3.9.12

(2). SAL 逐 쫓 - *CWOCH-* (> 쫓 - *CCWOCH-*) ‘to chase’ (stem) + ~ 4.8.7

(3). SAL 置 두- *TWU-* ‘to place’ (stem) + ~ 7.4.8

(4). (PAP 古 ㄱ *kwo* + PAP 只 ㅅ| *thi* →) 古只 고티- *kwo.thi-* (> 고치 *kwo.chi-*) ‘to repair’ (stem) + ~ 7.8.9

(5). SAL 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 11.3.4; 11.4.6

(6). SAL 拜 절- *CEL-* ‘to bow’ (stem) + ~ 15.3.2

(7). SAL 萎 이오- *I.WO-* ‘to wither’ (stem) + PAP 玉 오 *wo* (phonetic determinative of the final syllable *wo* in 萎 이오- *I.WO-*) + ~ 23.4.5

(8). SAL 悟 ㅅ| ㄷ - *SKOY.TOT-* (> 깨닫- *KKAY.TAT-*) ‘to be enlightened’ (stem) + ~ 24.4.7

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (2+1=3)

1. **PAP** 於/於 어 *e* + ~ → 於内/於内 어_ㄴ *e.no* (> 어_ㄴ *e.nu*) ‘which, certain’ 11.5.2; 19.7.2
2. ~ + **PAP** 於 외 *woy* → 内於 ㄴ 외 *no.woy* ‘again’ 14.6.5

Character 35

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
置	‘to place’	치 <i>chi</i>	5+9=14

Type 1: SAL (3+1=4)

Word/morpheme: 두- *TWU*- (continuative complementary verb) (← 두- *TWU*- ‘to place’) (stem) (3+1=4)

1. **SAL** 嫁 열- *EL*- ‘to marry’ (stem) + **PAP** 良 -어- *-e-* (← 아 *a*) (infinitive suffix) + ~ 6.2.6
2. **SAL** 白 ㅅ- / ㅅ- *SOLP-/SOLW-* (> 사로- *SALWOY-*) ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem) + **PAP** 屋 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + **PAP** 尸 -ㄹ- *-l-* (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ 7.4.7
3. **SAL** 遺 기티- *KL.THI-* (> 끼치- *KKI.CHI-*) ‘to leave behind’ (stem) + **PAP** 也 -어- *-e-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 9.9.7
4. **SAL** 喜 ㄱ- / ㄱ- *KIS(K)-* ‘to be happy with’ (stem) + **PAP** 好 ㅎ *HO-* (> 하- *HA-*) (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + **PAP** 尸 -ㄹ- *-l-* (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ 19.8.6

Type 2: SAP (2+8=10)

Sound 1: 두 *twu* (← 두- *TWU*- ‘to place’ [stem]) (0+2=2)

Function: Part of a sentence ending (0+2=2)

1. ~ + **SAL** 耶 -라 *-LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) → 置耶 -두라 *-twu.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 24.8.7; 25.8.8

Sound 2: 도 *two* (< 두- *TWU*- ‘to place’ [stem]) (2+6=8)

Function: Inclusive particle (=도 *-two*) (2+6=8)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme
 - (1). **SAL** 中 -귀 *-KUY* (locative particle) + ~ 22.6.9
2. Following a nominal
 - (1). **DAL** 軍 군 *KWUN* ‘army’ + ~ 12.3.5
 - (2). **SAL** 月 *득랄 **TO.LAL* (> 둘 *TOL* > 달 *TAL*) ‘month’ + ~ 12.6.2
 - (3). **DAL** 德 덕 *TEK* ‘merit’ + ~ 16.9.9
 - (4). (**DAL** 仏 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ + **DAL** 体 체 *CHEY* ‘body’ → 仏体 부터 *PWU-THYE* (> 부처 *PWU-CHE*) ‘Buddha’ + ~ 22.8.4
 - (5). **SAL** 吾 나 *NA* ‘I’ + ~ 23.6.4
 - (6). **DAL** 業 업 *EP* ‘karma’ + ~ 24.6.9
 - (7). **SAL** 日 날 *NAL* ‘day’ + ~ 25.2.7

Character 36

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences

以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	9+4=13
止	‘to stop’	지 <i>ci</i>	

*Character 13.6.8 is written as 以 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 止. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 以 but interpreted as the character 止.

Type 1: SAL (3+1=4)

Word/morpheme 1: =로 =*LWO* (instrumental particle) (2+1=3)

1. **SAL** 哭 울- *WUL-* ‘to cry’ (stem) + **PAP** 屋 -오- -*wo-* (assertive suffix) + **PAP** 尸 -ㄷ- -*l-* (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ 1.2.9
2. **SAL** 生 살- *SAL-* ‘to live’ (stem) + ~ 3.5.7
3. **SAL** 止 머물- *ME.MUL-* (> 머무르- *ME.MWU.LU-*) ‘to stop’ (stem) + ~ 21.4.5

Word/morpheme 2: 머물- *ME.MUL-* > 머무르- *ME.MWU.LU-* ‘to stop’ (stem) (1+0=1) 13.6.8 (graphic error of 止)

Type 2: PAP (6+3=9)

Sound: 이 *i* (6+3=9)

Function 1: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel *i* (5+1=6)

1. **SAL** 持/卜(負) 디니- *TI.NI-* > 지니- *CI.NI-* ‘to carry, preserve’ 3.8.5; 4.7.4; 18.6.7
2. **SAL** 祈 빌- *PIL-* ‘to pray’ (stem) 7.4.2
3. **SAL** 賜 주시- *CWU.SI-* ‘to give’ (honorific) (stem) 7.8.6
4. **SAL** 使 브리- *PU.LI-* > 부리- *PWU.LI-* ‘to employ’ (stem) 10.3.10

Function 2: Part of a sentence ending (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 隱 니 *ni* + ~ + **PAP** 多 =다 =*ta* (declarative sentence ending) → 隱以多 =니이다 =*ni.i.ta* (honorific sentence ending) 14.10.8

Function 3: Adverbial suffix (-이 -*i*) (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 深 깊- *KIPH-* ‘to be deep’ (stem) + ~ 20.5.5

Function 4: Copula (이 -*i* [stem]) (0+1=1) 23.10.7

Character 37

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
多	‘to be numerous’	다 <i>ta</i>	9+4=13

Type 1: SAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme: 만 흥- *MAN.HO-* > 많- *MANH-* ‘to be plentiful’ (stem) (2+1=3) 8.2.5; 8.3.3; 17.9.7

Type 2: PAP (7+3=10)

Sound: 다 *ta* (7+3=10)

Function 1: Declarative sentence ending (=다 =*ta*) (4+1=5)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit functioning as sentence ending
 - (1). **PAP** 叱 入 *s* + ~ → 叱多 =入다 =*sta* (exclamatory sentence ending) 12.3.8; 12.8.11
 - (2). **PAP** 音 口 *m* + **PAP** 叱 入 *s* + ~ → 音叱多 =口入다 =*msta* (speculative sentence ending) 22.4.12

(3). **PAP** 隱 니 *ni* + **PAP** 以 이 *i* + ~ → 隱以多 =니이다 *-ni.i.ta* (honorific sentence ending) 14.10.9

2. Independently functioning as a declarative sentence ending following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 内 -ㄴ - *-no-* (present suffix) + **PAP** 乎 -오 - *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 7.4.10

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (3+1=4)

1. ~ + **PAP** 支 기 *ki* → 多支 =다기 *-ta.ki* (> =다히 *-ta.hi*) ‘like’ 3.9.6

2. ~ + **PAP** 可 가 *ka* → 多可 =다가 *-ta.ka* (transferentive particle) 9.4.5

3. **PAP** 於 어 *e* + ~ + **PAP** 支 기 *ki* → 於多支 어다기 *e.ta.ki* (> 어딴 *e.tuy* > 어디 *e.ti*) ‘where’ 13.3.3

4. ~ + **PAP** 衣 =ㄹ *-oy* (locative particle) → 多衣 디 *toy* (> 데 *tey*) ‘place, occasion’ 17.2.9

Function 3: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. 다 {*t*}*a* ← ㄷ *t* (final consonant in **SAL** 埋 묻- *MWUT-* ‘to bury’ [stem]) + -ㅁ- *-a-* (infinitive suffix) 20.5.7

Character 38

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
來	‘to come’	래 <i>lay</i>	8+5=13

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 래 *LAY* ‘to come’ (0+1=1) 18.10.1

Type 2: SAL (8+4=12)

Word/morpheme 1: 오- *WO-* ‘to come’ (stem) (6+1=7) 8.1.1; 8.1.3; 8.1.5; 8.2.1; 8.4.7; 12.3.6; 19.10.8

Word/morpheme 2: 將來 =려 *-LYE* (optative particle) (2+3=5) 12.6.9; 14.2.7; 18.3.3; 20.6.7; 22.2.8

Character 39

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
沙	‘sand’	사 <i>sa</i>	8+5=13

Type 1: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 몰애 *MWOL.AY* > 모래 *MWO.LAY* ‘sand’ (2+0=2) 4.4.1; 13.6.6

Type 2: PAP (6+5=11)

Sound 1: ㅈ *za* (5+2=7)

Function: Emphatic particle (=ㅈ *-za*) (5+2=7)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit with emphatic function

(1). ~ + **PAP** 叱 -ㅈ - *-s* (emphatic suffix) → 沙叱 =ㅈ *-za-s* (emphatic particle) 13.7.3; 17.9.5

2. Independently functioning as an emphatic suffix

(1). **SAL** 居 살- *SAL-* ‘to live’ (stem) + **PAP** 叱 ㄹ *l* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant *-l* in 居 살- *SAL-*) + ~ 1.2.5

(2). **SAL** 入 들- *TUL-* ‘to enter’ (stem) + **PAP** 良 -어 - *-e-* (← 아 *a*) (infinitive suffix) + ~ 5.3.3

(3). **SAL** 一 흥 든 *HO.TON* ‘one’ + **PAP** 等 든 *ton* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *ton* in 一 흥 든

HO.TON) + ~ 7.8.3

(4). **SAL** 物 𣎵 *KAS* (> 𣎵 *KES*) ‘thing’ + **PAP** 𣎵 𣎵 *s* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 物 𣎵 *KAS*) + ~ 14.7.5

(5). **DAL-DAL** 善陵 𣎵 *SEN-NUNG* ‘(hill of) goodness’ + **PAP** 等 - 𣎵 *-tol* (> - 𣎵 *-tul*) (plural suffix) + ~ 19.7.8

Sound 2: 𣎵 *sa* (0+3=3)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+3=3)

1. ~ + **PAP** 毛 𣎵 *mwo* → 沙毛 𣎵 *sa.mwo* (← 𣎵 *sam-wo* [← 𣎵 *sam-* ‘to make’ (stem) + - 𣎵 *-wo-* (assertive suffix)]) 15.10.5

2. ~ + **PAP** 音 𣎵 *m* → 沙音 𣎵 *sam-* ‘to make’ (stem) 20.8.8; 23.2.7

Sound 3: 𣎵 *say* (1+0=1)

Function: 𣎵 *-say-* ‘(day) to break’ (stem) (1+0=1) 14.8.4

Character 40

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
史	‘history’	𣎵 <i>sa</i>	11+2=13

Type: PAP (11+2=13)

Sound 1: 𣎵 *si* (6+1=7)

Function 1: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *si* (3+0=3)

1. **SAL** 母 𣎵 *E.SI* ‘mother’ 3.2.7

2. **SAL** 栢 *𣎵 **CA.SI* ‘pine’ 4.9.4; 13.1.6

Function 2: Honorific suffix (- 𣎵 *-si-*) (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 深 𣎵 *KIPH-* ‘to be deep’ (stem) + ~ 9.5.4

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. **PAP** 七 𣎵 *su* (← 𣎵 *s*) + ~ → 七史 𣎵 *su.si* (> 𣎵 *sus*) ‘interval’ 1.5.7

2. **SAP** 是 𣎵 *i* + ~ → 是史 𣎵 *-is-* (> 𣎵 *-iss-*) ‘to exist’ (stem) 4.5.7

Function 4: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. 𣎵 *{s}i* ← 𣎵 *s* (final consonant -s in **SAL** 无 𣎵 *EPS-* ‘to not have, to lack’) + - 𣎵 *-i* (adverbial suffix) 24.4.5

Sound 2: 𣎵 *s* (5+0=5)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -s (5+0=5)

1. **SAL** 兒 𣎵 *CUS/CUZ* ‘appearance’ 1.4.2; 4.5.5; 13.7.2; 14.2.2; 14.6.4

Sound 3: 𣎵 *zi* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. PAP 歲 ㅅ so + ~ → 歲史 ㅅΔ| so.zi (> 사이| sa.i) ‘interval’ 22.6.7

Character 41

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
生	‘to live’	생 sayng	5+8=13

Type 1: DAL (4+8=12)

Word/morpheme: 생 SAYNG ‘to live’ (4+8=12)

1. **DAL** 物 물 MWUL ‘thing’ + ~ → 物生 물생 MWUL-SAYNG ‘living being’ 3.5.12
2. **DAL** 往 왕 WANG ‘to go’ + ~ → 往生 왕생 WANG-SAYNG ‘rebirth’ 9.7.3; 9.7.6
3. ~ + **DAL** 死 사 SA ‘to die’ → 生死 생사 SAYNG-SA ‘life and death’ 11.1.1
4. **DAL** 眾 중 CWUNG ‘mass’ + ~ → 眾生 중생 CWUNG-SAYNG ‘all living beings’ 18.9.4; 19.3.4; 20.8.2; 23.9.4; 24.3.2; 25.3.2
5. **DAL** 同 동 TWONG ‘together’ + ~ + **DAL** 同 동 TWONG ‘together’ + **DAL** 死 사 SA ‘to die’ → 同生同死 동생동사 TWONG-SAYNG-TWONG-SA ‘to live and die together’ 23.6.6
6. ~ + **DAL** 界 계 KYEY ‘realm’ → 生界 생계 SAYNG-KYEY ‘realm of living beings’ 25.1.1

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 살- SAL- ‘to live’ (stem) (1+0=1) 3.5.6

Character 42

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
下	‘under, down’	하 ha	8+5=13

Type 1: PAP (6+1=7)

Sound 1: 해 (3+0=3)

Function: 해 hay ‘possession’ (3+0=3) 5.5.5; 5.6.6; 5.7.4

Sound 2: 하 ha (1+1=2)

Function: honorific vocative particle (=하 -ha) (1+1=2)

1. **SAL** 月 *ㄷ랄 *TO.LAL (> 둘 TOL > 달 TAL) ‘moon’ + ~ 9.1.2

2. **SAL** 心 ㅁ슴 MO.ZOM (> 마음 MA.UM) ‘heart’ + ~ 22.9.9

Sound 3: 호 ho (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 叱 ㄹ l → 下叱 =홀 -hol (> =을/-를 =[l/ul]) (accusative particle) 7.6.3

Sound 4: 가 ka (← 하 ha) (1+0=1)

Function: Interrogative sentence ending (=가 -ka) (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 安 ㅁ스 MU.SUK (> 무엇 MWU.ES) ‘what’ + **PAP** 支 -기 -ki (adverbial suffix) + ~ 4.3.11

Type 2: SAP (2+4=6)**Sound:** 알 *al* (← 알이 *AL.OY* [> 아래 *A.LAY*] ‘under’) (2+4=6)**Function:** Part of a sentence ending (2+4=6)

1. ~ + **SAP** 是 이 *i* → 下是 알이 *al.i* → =아리 *-a-li* (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- *-a-* [infinitive suffix] + -리- *-li-* [prospective suffix]) 1.6.8; 1.8.12
2. ~ + **PAP** 呂/里 리 *li* → 下呂/下里 알리 *al.li* → =아리 *-a-li* (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- *-a-* [infinitive suffix] + -리- *-li-* [prospective suffix]) 19.4.11; 21.10.8; 22.7.7; 24.10.9

Character 43

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
於 於	‘to be in relation to’	어 <i>e</i>	10+2=12

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type: PAP (10+2=12)**Sound:** 어 *e* (10+2=12)**Function 1:** Infinitive suffix (-어- *-e-*) (5+0=5)

1. **SAL** 廻 돌- *TWOL-* ‘to turn’ (stem) + ~ 1.5.4 (於)
2. **SAL** 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 3.7.11 (於)
3. **PAP** 下 해 *hay* ‘possession’ + ~ 5.5.6 (於)
4. **SAL** 數 헤- *HYEY-* (> 세- *SEY-*) ‘to count’ (stem) + ~ 12.6.7 (於)
5. **SAL** 還 돌- *TWOL-* ‘to go around’ (stem) + ~ 14.6.9 (於)

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (5+2=7)

1. ~ + **PAP** 冬 돌 *tol* + **SAP** 是 이 *i* → 於冬是 어들이 *e.tol.i* (> 어디 *e.toy* > 어딴 *e.tuy* > 어디 *e.ti*) ‘where’ 3.7.7 (於)
2. **SAP** 如 =다 *-ta* (declarative sentence ending) + **SAP** 馬 말 *mal* + ~ + **PAP** 隱 ㄴ *n* → 如馬於隱 =다말언 *-ta.mal.en* (> =다마론 *-ta.ma.lon* > =다마는 *-ta.ma.nun*) (adversative particle) 5.7.8 (於)
3. ~ + **PAP** 內 ㄴ *no* → 於內/於內 어ㄴ *e.no* (> 어느 *e.nu*) ‘which, certain’ 11.5.1 (於); 19.7.1 (於)
4. ~ + **PAP** 多 다 *ta* + **PAP** 支 기 *ki* → 於多支 어다기 *e.ta.ki* (> 어딴 *e.tuy* > 어디 *e.ti*) ‘where’ 13.3.2 (於)
5. **PAP** 內 ㄴ *no* + ~ → 內於 ㄴ외 *no.woy* ‘again’ 14.6.6 (於)
6. ~ + **PAP** 衣 =의 *-uy* (locative particle) → 於衣 =어의 *-e-uy* (> 예 *ey*) (locative particle) 17.10.2 (於)

Character 44

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
羅	‘net’	라 <i>la</i>	8+3=11

Type: PAP (8+3=11)**Sound 1:** 라 *la* (8+2=10)**Function 1:** Exclamatory sentence ending (=라 *-la*) (5+0=5)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme

(1). **PAP** 良 -아- -a- ~ -어- -e- (infinitive suffix) + ~ 3.6.8; 5.4.7

(2). **SAP** 立 -서 -syē (imperative sentence ending) + ~ 10.4.7

2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective

(1). **SAL** 多 만 흥 - MAN.HO- (> 땡 - MANH-) ‘to be plentiful’ (stem) + ~ 8.2.6

3. Following a nominal

(1). **SAL** 품 나 NA ‘I’ + ~ 7.7.6

Function 2: Sentence ending (=라 -la) (0+2=2)

1. **SAL** 伊 이 I ‘this’ + ~ 19.9.4; 25.5.6

Function 3: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *la* (2+0=2)

1. **SAL** 月 *달 *TO.LAL > 둘 TOL > 달 TAL ‘moon’ 4.2.6; 13.5.2

Function 4: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 阿 아 a + ~ → 阿羅 아라 a.la (> 아래 a.lay) ‘under’ 12.9.5

Sound 2: ㄹ l (0+1=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -l (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 秋 𠂔 ㅎ KO.ZOL > 가을 KA.UL ‘autumn’ 20.10.7

Character 45

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
法	‘dharma’	법 <i>pep</i>	0+11=11

Type: DAL (0+11=11)

Word/morpheme: 법 *PEP* ‘dharma’ (0+11=11) 15.4.1; 15.7.1; 17.5.3; 17.6.5; 17.7.1; 17.9.3; 18.4.1; 20.2.1; 20.4.1; 23.5.1; 24.7.1

Character 46

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
是	‘this’	시 <i>si</i>	11+0=11

Type: SAP (11+0=11)

Sound: 이 i (← ㅁ I ‘this’) (11+0=11)

Function 1: Nominative particle (=ㅁ -i) (4+0=4)

1. **DAL** 民 민 MIN ‘people’ + ~ 3.4.2

2. **SAL** 沙 물애 MWOL.AY (> 모래 MWO.LAY) ‘sand’ + ~ 4.4.2

3. **SAL** 雪 눈 NWUN ‘snow’ + ~ 4.10.2

4. **SAL** 人 사람 SA.LOM (> 사람 SA.LAM) ‘person’ + ~ 12.8.8

Function 2: ㅇ - i- (copula) (stem) (2+0=2) 5.4.5; 5.7.5

Function 3: Part of a sentence ending (2+0=2)

1. **SAP** 下 알 *al* + ~ → 下是 알이 *al.i* → =아리 *=a-li* (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- *-a-* [infinitive suffix] + -리- *-li-* [prospective suffix]) 1.6.9; 1.8.13

Function 4: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. **PAP** 於 어 *e* + **PAP** 冬 둘 *tol* + ~ → 於冬是 어들이 *e.tol.i* (> 어디 *e.toy* > 어디 *e.tuy* > 어디 *e.ti*) ‘where’ 3.7.9
2. ~ + **PAP** 史 入 *s* → 是史 잇- *is-* (> 있- *iss-*) ‘to exist’ (stem) 4.5.6

Function 4: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel *i* (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 待 기드리- *ki.tu.li-* > 기다리- *ki.ta.li-* ‘to wait’ (stem) 11.10.5

Character 47

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
行	‘to go; to practice’	행 <i>hayng</i>	5+6=11

Type 1: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 행 *HAYNG* ‘deed, practice’ (0+3=3) 22.3.2; 22.3.4; 25.7.5

Type 2: SAL (5+3=8)

Word/morpheme: 니- *ni-* ‘to go’ (main verb or progressive complementary verb) (stem) (5+3=8) 1.4.9; 1.7.8; 5.2.5; 13.3.5; 13.6.1; 19.9.7; 22.10.8; 25.5.7

Character 48

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
心	‘heart’	심 <i>sim</i>	4+6=10

Type: SAL (4+5=9)

Word/morpheme: 모 습 *mo.zom* > 마음 *ma.um* ‘heart’ (4+5=9) 1.7.6; 4.8.1; 10.3.4; 14.1.3; 15.1.1; 19.10.4; 21.9.5; 22.9.8; 25.9.6

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)**

1. 打 + ~ → 打心 23.9.2

Character 49

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
支	‘to support’	지 <i>ci</i>	8+2=10

Type: PAP (8+2=10)

Sound: 기 *ki* (8+2=10)

Function 1: Adverbial suffix (-ㄱ) *-ki* (6+2=8)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme
- (1). **SAL** 以 =로 *=lwo* (instrumental particle) + ~ 3.5.8
- (2). (**PAP** 音 口 *m* + **PAP** 叱 入 *s* + **SAP** 如 =다 *=ta* [declarative sentence ending] →) 音叱如 =로 入다 *=msta* (speculative sentence ending) + ~ 18.4.13
2. Following the stem of a verb or an adjective

- (1). SAL 好 동- *TYOH-* (> 좋- *CWOH-*) ‘to be good’ (stem) + ~ 1.3.7; 13.1.4
- (2). SAL 墮 디- *TI-* (> 지- *CI-*) ‘to fall’ (stem) + ~ 1.4.8
- (3). SAL 逢 맞보- *MAS-PWO-* ‘to meet’ (stem) + PAP 鳥 오 *wo* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *wo* in 逢 맞보- *MAS-PWO-*) + ~ 1.6.3
- (4). SAL 持 디니- *TI.NI-* (> 지니- *CI.NI-*) ‘to carry, preserve’ (stem) + PAP 以 이 *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 持 디니- *TI.NI-*) + ~ 3.8.6
- (5). SAL 卜(負) 디니- *TI.NI-* (> 지니- *CI.NI-*) ‘to carry, preserve’ (stem) + PAP 以 이 *i* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *i* in 卜[負] 디니- *TI.NI-*) + ~ 18.6.8

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *ki* (1+0=1)

1. SAL 誰 누구 *NWU.KI* > 누구 *NWU.KWU* ‘who’ 5.6.5

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 多 다 *ta* + ~ → 多支 다기 *-ta.ki* (> 다히 *-ta.hi*) ‘like’ 3.9.7

Character 50

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
此	‘this’	차 <i>cha</i>	8+2=10

Type: SAL (8+2=10)

Word/morpheme: 이 *i* ‘this’ (8+2=10) 3.6.1; 3.7.1; 9.9.3; 10.1.3; 11.2.1; 11.6.1; 12.10.1; 14.7.1; 15.10.1; 25.5.1

Character 51

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
烏	‘crow’	오 <i>wo</i>	8+1=9

Type: PAP (8+1=9)

Sound: 오 *wo* (8+1=9)

Function 1: Assertive suffix (-오- *-wo-*) (5+0=5)

1. Following a grammatical morpheme
- (1). PAP 賜 -시- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 1.3.9; 4.7.8; 12.5.8
2. Following the stem of a verb
- (1). SAL 遊 놀- *NWOL-* ‘to hang out’ (stem) + ~ 12.2.6
- (2). SAL 逸 잃- *ILH-* ‘to lose’ (stem) + ~ 13.8.7

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel *wo* (2+0=2)

1. SAL 逢 맞보- *MAS-PWO-* ‘to meet’ (stem) 1.6.2
2. SAL 腳 허퇴 *HE.THWOY* > 허튀 *HE.THWT* ‘foot’ 5.4.2

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (1+1=2)

1. PAP 逸 일 *il* + ~ → 逸烏 일오 *il.wo* (proper noun) 4.6.2
2. ~ + PAP 乙 올 *ol* → 烏乙 오올 *wo.ol-* ‘to be complete’ (stem) 20.9.8

Character 52

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
界	‘realm’	계 <i>kyey</i>	0+9=9

Type: DAL (0+9=9)

Word/morpheme: 계 *KYey* ‘realm’ (0+9=9) 15.4.2; 15.7.2; 17.5.4; 17.7.2; 18.4.2; 18.9.5; 20.2.2; 23.5.2; 25.1.2

Character 53

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
道	‘way’	도 <i>two</i>	3+6=9

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 도 *TWO* ‘way’ (0+1=1) 22.9.5

Type 2: SAL (3+5=8)

Word/morpheme: 길/길 *KIL(H)* > 길 *KIL* ‘way’ (3+5=8) 1.7.11; 11.10.1; 12.7.1; 18.2.5; 21.8.1; 22.9.5; 22.10.2; 25.6.8

Character 54

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
物	‘thing’	물 <i>mwul</i>	4+5=9

Type 1: DAL (1+2=3)

Word/morpheme: 물 *MWUL* ‘thing’ (1+2=3)

1. ~ + DAL 生 생 *SAYNG* ‘to live’ → 物生 물생 *MWUL-SAYNG* ‘living being’ 3.5.11
2. DAL 虚 허 *HE* ‘to be empty’ + ~ → 虚物 허물 *HE-MWUL* ‘empty thing’ 16.5.4
3. DAL 造 조 *CWO* ‘to create’ + ~ → 造物 조물 *CWO.MWUL* ‘nature; fate’ 18.10.6

Type 2: SAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme: 𪛗 *KAS* > 𪛗 *KES* ‘thing’ (2+1=3) 13.1.1; 14.7.3; 17.8.4

Type 3: PAP (1+2=3)

Sound 1: 물 *mwul* (0+2=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+2=2)

1. PAP 丘 구 *kwu* + ~ + PAP 𪛗 𪛗 *l* → 丘物𪛗 구물 *kwu.mwul* ‘wrigglingly’ 23.5.6; 23.5.9

Sound 2: 𪛗 *mul* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. SAP 友 버 *pe* + ~ → 友物 버물- *pe.mul-* ‘to be hung, bound’ (stem) 12.10.4

Character 55

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
米	‘rice’	미 <i>mi</i>	5+4=9

Type: PAP (5+4=9)

Sound 1: 𪛗 *mye* (4+2=6)

Function: Conjunctive particle (=𪛗 =*mye*) (4+2=6)

1. (PAP 皆 그 *ku* + PAP 理 리 *li* →) 皆理 그리- *ku.li-* ‘to long for’ (stem) + ~ 1.1.6
2. (SAP 爾 이 *i* + PAP 處 즈 *cu* →) 爾處 이즈 *i.cu* (> 잊으- *ic.u-* > 잊- *ic-*) ‘to forget’ (stem) + ~ 4.1.5

3. **SAL** 有 잇- *IS-* (> 있- *ISS-*) ‘to have; to exist’ (stem) + **PAP** 阿 -아- *-a* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 11.2.5
4. **SAL** 墮 디- *TI-* (> 지- *CI-*) ‘to fall’ (stem) + ~ 13.2.10
5. **SAL** 出 내- *NAY-* ‘to take out’ (stem) + ~ 20.6.9
6. **SAL** 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 22.5.10

Sound 2: ㅁ *muy* (1+1=2)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+1=2)

1. ㅁ $\{m\}uy \leftarrow \square m$ (final consonant in **SAL** 心 ㅁ 슴 *MO.ZOM* ‘heart’) + ㅁ의 *=uy* (locative particle) 14.1.4
2. -ㅁ *-m=uy \leftarrow -\square -m* (nominalizing suffix) + ㅁ의 *=uy* (locative particle) 21.7.6

Sound 3: ㅁ *mi* (0+1=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. ㅁ $\{m\}i \leftarrow \square m$ (final consonant in **SAL** 人 사름 *SAL.LOM* ‘person’) + ㅁ이 *=i* (nominative particle) 19.6.7

Character 56

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
知	‘to know’	지 <i>ci</i>	7+2=9

Type 1: **SAL** (2+2=4)

Word/morpheme: 알- *AL-* ‘to know’ (stem) (2+2=4) 3.4.5; 3.8.7; 21.6.6; 21.7.2

Type 2: **PAP** (5+0=5)

Sound: 디 *ti* (5+0=5)

Function 1: Conditional conjunctive particle (=디 *=ti*) (3+0=3)

1. **PAP** 尸 ㄷ *l* (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ 3.3.12; 3.7.15
2. **SAL** 出 나- *na-* ‘to come out’ (stem) + ~ 14.3.6

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *ti* (2+0=2)

1. **SAL** 惡 엇디 *ES.TI* ‘how’ 1.6.5
2. **SAL** 遺 기티- *KI.THI-* (> 끼치- *KKI.CHI-* ‘to grant’ 7.9.7

Character 57

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
好	‘to be good’	호 <i>hwo</i>	4+5=9

Type 1: **SAL** (4+0=4)

Word/morpheme: 좋- *TYOH-* (> 좋- *CWOH-* ‘to be good’ (stem) (4+0=4) 1.3.6; 4.9.10; 13.1.3; 14.8.1

Type 2: **PAP** (0+5=5)

Sound: 호 *ho* (0+5=5)

Function 1: 호- *ho-* (> 하- *ha-* ‘to do’ (stem) (0+1=1)

1. **PAP** 皆 다 *ta* ‘everything’ + ~ 22.7.4

Function 2: ㅎ - *ho-* > 하- *ha-* (verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) (0+4=4)

1. **SAL** 喜 밋-/밋- *KIS(K)-* ‘to be happy with’ (stem) + ~ 19.8.4
2. **SAL** 逐 쫓- *CWOCH-* (> 쫓- *CCWOCH-*) ‘to chase’ (stem) + ~ 22.4.7
3. **SAL** 施 베푸- *PEY.PHWU-* (> 베풀- *PEY.PWUL-*) ‘to bestow’ (stem) + ~ 22.6.4
4. **DAL** 敬 경 *KYENG* ‘respect’ + **PAP** 叱 叱- *ㅅ* (inanimate genitive particle) + ~ 23.8.8

Character 58

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
呂	‘spine’	려 <i>lye</i>	0+8=8

Type: PAP (0+8=8)

Sound: 리 *li* (0+8=8)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (0+3=3)

1. **SAP** 下 알 *al* + ~ → 下呂 알리 *al.li* → 아리 *a-li* (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- *-a-* [infinitive suffix] + -리- *-li-* [prospective suffix]) 19.4.12; 21.10.9; 24.10.10

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *li* (0+4=4)

1. **SAL** 慕 그리- *KU.LI-* ‘to long for’ 15.2.2
2. **SAL** 邀 *모리- **MWO.LI-* > 뫼- *MWOY-* > 모이- *MWO.I-* ‘to gather’ 16.5.7
3. **SAL** 世 누리 *NWU.LI* ‘world’ 21.4.2; 22.2.5

Function 3: Prospective suffix (-리- *-li-*) (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 哀 ㅅ- *SYELP-* (> 서럽- *SE.LEP-*) ‘to be sad’ + ~ 21.8.8

Character 59

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
無 无	‘to not have, lack’	무 <i>mwu</i>	1+7=8

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type 1: DAL (1+5=6)

Word/morpheme: 무 *MWU* ‘to not have, lack’ (1+5=6)

1. ~ + **DAL** 量 량 *LYANG* ‘amount’ + **DAL** 壽 수 *SWU* ‘longevity’ + **DAL** 佛 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ → 無量壽佛 무량수불 *MWU-LYANG-SWU-PWUL* ‘Amitā Buddha’ 9.3.1 (無)
2. ~ + **DAL** 疲 피 *PHI* ‘to be exhausted’ + **DAL** 厭 염 *YEM* ‘to be satisfied’ → 无疲厭 무피염 *MWU-PHI-YEM* ‘no exhaustion and satisfaction’ 15.9.7 (无)
3. **DAL** 南 남 *NAM* + ~ → 南无 나무 *NA.MWU* ‘namo’ (Sanskrit ‘to bow’) 16.2.2 (无)
4. ~ + **DAL** 尽 진 *cin* ‘end’ → 无尽 무진 *mwu.cin* ‘to be endless’ 16.3.1 (无)
5. ~ + **DAL** 明 명 *MYENG* ‘to be bright’ → 无明 무명 *MWU-MYENG* ‘to be unenlightened’ 20.5.1 (无)
6. ~ + **DAL** 間 간 *KAN* ‘interval’ + **DAL** 断 단 *TAN* ‘to be broken’ → 无間断 무간단 *MWU-KAN-TAN* ‘no interruption’ 23.7.5 (无)

Type 2: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 𣎵- *EPS*- ‘to be without’ (stem) (0+2=2) 19.6.8 (无); 24.4.4 (无)

Character 60

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
齊	‘to be even’	제 <i>cey</i>	3+5=8

Type: PAP (3+5=8)

Sound: 제 *cey* (3+5=8)

Function 1: Exclamatory sentence ending (=제 *=cey*) (1+1=2)

1. SAL 行 니- *NI*- ‘to go’ (main verb or progressive complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 1.4.10; 22.10.9

Function 2: Optative sentence ending (=제 *=cey*) (2+4=6)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit functioning as optative sentence ending

(1). PAP 去 거 *ke* + ~ → 去齊 =거제 *=ke.cey* (optative sentence ending) 24.4.9

2. Independently functioning as an optative sentence ending

(1). PAP 內 -아- *-a-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 4.8.9

(2). SAL 行 니- *NI*- ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 13.3.6

(3). SAL 白 𣎵- *SOLP-/SOLW-* (> 사되- *SALWOY-*) (humble complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 15.8.8

(4). SAL 捨 버리- *PO.LI-* (> 버리- *PE.LI-*) ‘to abandon’ (stem) + ~ 18.10.8; 25.10.10

Character 61

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
中	‘middle, inside’	중 <i>cwung</i>	3+5=8

Type: SAL (3+5=8)

Word/morpheme: =그 *=KUY* (locative particle) (3+5=8)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit with locative function

(1). PAP 也 야 *ya* + ~ → 也中 =여그 *=ye.KUY* (locative particle) 4.4.9

(2). PAP 良/惡 =아 *=a* (locative particle) + ~ → 良中/惡中 =아그 *=a=KUY* (locative particle) 7.3.8; 16.4.4; 24.3.6

2. Independently functioning as a locative particle

(1). SAL 巷 굴형 *KWUL.HENG* (> 구렁 *KWU.LENG*) ‘pit, alley’ + ~ 1.8.5

(2). SAL 世 누리 *NWU.LI* ‘world’ + PAP 呂 리 *li* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *li* in 世 누리 *NWU.LI*) + ~ 21.4.3

(3). (PAP 歲 𣎵 *so* + PAP 史 𣎵 *zi* → 歲史 𣎵 *so.zi* (> 사이 *sa.i*) ‘interval’ + ~ 22.6.8

(4). SAL 根 불휘 *PWUL.HWI* (> 뿌리 *PPWU.LI*) ‘root’ + ~ 23.2.6

Character 62

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
尽	‘to end’	진 <i>cin</i>	0+8=8

Type 1: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 𣎵 *CIN* ‘to end’ (0+3=3) 16.3.2; 18.9.6; 18.9.9

Type 2: SAL (0+5=5)

Word/morpheme: 다오- *TA.O-* > 다하- *TA.HA-* ‘to end’ (stem) (0+5=5) 15.8.3; 16.10.3; 21.2.5; 25.1.3; 25.2.4

Character 63

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
邪	exclamatory final particle	ㅇ ya	7+0=7

Type 1: SAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: =라 *=LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) (3+0=3)

1. **PAP** 藪 수 *swu* + ~ → 藪邪 =수라 *=swu-LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 4.5.9
2. **PAP** 叱 入 + **PAP** 等 ㄷ *to* + ~ → 叱等邪 =入ㄷ라 *=sto.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 7.8.13; 12.9.11

Type 2: PAP (4+0=4)

Sound: ㅇ ya (4+0=4)

Function 1: Causative suffix (-ㅇ- *-ya-* ← -ㅇ- *-i-*) (2+0=2)

1. **SAL** 曉 ㄴ- *POLK-* (> 밝- *PALK-*) ‘to be bright’ (stem) + ~ → 曉邪 ㄴㅇ- *POLK-ya-* ‘to brighten’ (stem) 4.2.3
2. **SAL** 燒 ㄴ- *SOL-* (> 사르- *SA.LU-*) ‘to burn’ (intransitive) (stem) + ~ → 燒邪 ㄴㅇ- *SOL-ya-* ‘to burn’ (transitive) (stem) 12.4.3

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. **PAP** 阿 아 *a* + ~ (+ **PAP** 也 ㅇ ya) → 阿邪(也) 아ㅇ(ㅇ) *a.ya(ya)* (exclamatory expression marking the final stanza) 7.9.2; 9.9.2

Character 64

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
于	‘to go’	으 <i>wu</i>	2+5=7

Type 1: PAP (1+2=3)

Sound: 으 *wu* (1+2=3)

Function 1: Infinitive suffix (-으- *-wu-*) (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 逐 ㅈ- *CWOCH-* (> 쫓- *CCWOCH-*) ‘to chase’ (stem) + ~ 4.3.5

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (0+2=2)

1. **PAP** 必 ㅍ *pil* + ~ → 必于 ㅍ우 *pil.wu* (> 비루 *pi.lwu*) ‘even though’ 21.2.2
2. **PAP** 阿 아 *a* + ~ → 阿于 아우- *a.wu-* ‘to know’ (stem) 25.9.9

Type 2: SAP (1+3=4)

Sound: 가 *ka* (← 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ [stem]) (1+3=4)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+3=4)

1. ~ + **PAP** 萬 만 *man* → 가만 *ka.man* (← 가만- *ka.ma-n-* ‘black’ [← 가맏- *ka.mah-* ‘to be black’ (stem) + -ㄴ- *-n-* (adjectival adnominal suffix)]) 7.7.2; 16.7.2; 21.5.4

2. ~ + PAP 音 口 *m* → 감- *kam-* ‘to be black’ (stem) 25.3.6

Character 65

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
願	‘to wish’	원 <i>wen</i>	3+4=7

Type: DAL (3+4=7)

Word/morpheme: 원 *WEN* ‘to wish’ (3+4=7) 9.7.1; 9.7.4; 9.10.5; 22.3.6; 25.2.3; 25.4.5; 25.7.6

Character 66

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
有	‘to have; to exist’	유 <i>yu</i>	5+2=7

Type: SAL (5+2=7)

Word/morpheme: 있- *IS-* > 있- *ISS-* ‘to have; to exist’ (stem) (5+2=7) 1.8.10; 9.8.3; 11.2.3; 12.8.9; 12.10.12; 19.4.9; 24.10.7

Character 67

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
人	‘person’	인 <i>in</i>	2+5=7

Type: SAL (2+4=6)

Word/morpheme: 사람 *SAL.OM* > 사람 *SAL.LAM* ‘person’ (2+4=6) 9.8.2; 12.8.7; 19.4.7; 19.6.6; 19.7.3; 24.10.6

*Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)

1. 城 + 上 + ~ → 城上人 22.9.3

Character 68

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
一	‘one’	일 <i>il</i>	4+3=7

Type 1: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 일 *IL* ‘one’ (0+3=3)

1. ~ + DAL 년 *NYEN* ‘mind’ →一念 일년 *IL-NYEN* ‘one mind’ 16.4.1

2. ~ + DAL 毛 모 *MWO* ‘fur’ → 一毛 일모 *IL-MWO* ‘a bit’ 16.9.5

3. ~ + DAL 切 절 *CEL* → 一切 일절 *IL-CEL* ‘all’ 24.2.1

Type 2: SAL (4+0=4)

Word/morpheme: 一 頓 *HO.TON* ‘one’ (4+0=4) 7.6.1; 7.6.6; 7.8.1; 11.7.1

Character 69

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
皆	‘all, every’	개 <i>kay</i>	1+6=7

Type 1: SAL (0+5=5)

Word/morpheme 1: 모든 *MWO.TON* > 모든 *MWO.TUN* ‘all’ (0+2=2) 21.1.1; 22.8.1

Word/morpheme 2: 다 *TA* ‘everyone; everything’ (0+3=3) 22.2.1; 22.7.3; 24.1.1

Type 2: PAP (1+1=2)

Sound: ㄱ *ku* (1+1=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+1=2)

1. ~ + **PAP** 理 리 *li* → 皆理 ㄱ리- *ku.li*- ‘to long for’ (stem) 1.1.4
2. ~ + **PAP** 矣 의 *uy* → 皆矣 -ㄱ -*kuy* (> -게 -*key*) (adverbial suffix) 21.7.3

Character 70

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
乃	‘then’	내 <i>nay</i>	4+3=7

Type: PAP (4+3=7)

Sound 1: ㄴ *na* (3+2=5)

Function 1: Adversative conjunctive particle (=ㄴ *na*) (1+1=2)

1. **SAL** 望 ㄹ라- *PO.LA*- (> 바라- *PA.LA*-) ‘to look at’ (stem) + **PAP** 阿 ㅁ *a* (phonetic determinative of the vowel *a* in 望 ㄹ라- *PO.LA*-) + ~ 13.7.7
2. **PAP** 賜 -ㅅ- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + **PAP** 隱 -ㄴ- *-n-* (adnominal suffix) + ~ 21.2.9

Function 2: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. ㄴ {*n*}*a* ← ㄴ *n* (final consonant in **DAL** 前 전 *CEN* ‘front’) + ㅁ *a* (locative particle) 9.3.6

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 叱 -ㅅ -*s* (emphatic suffix) → 乃叱 ㄴㅅ *na-s* (emphatic particle) 1.3.4

Function 4: ㄴ *na* ‘I’ (0+1=1) 16.10.8

Sound 2: 내 *nay* (0+1=1)

Function: 내- *nay*- ‘to take out’ (stem) (0+1=1) 18.6.9

Sound 3: ㄴ *nol* (1+0=1)

Function: ㄴ- *nol*- ‘to fly’ (stem) (1+0=1) 4.10.5

Character 71

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
頓	‘to bow; suddenly’	돈 <i>twon</i>	1+6=7

Type 1: DAL (0+4=4)

Word/morpheme: 돈 *TWON* (0+4=4)

1. ~ + **SAL** 部 주비 *cwu.pi* ‘party, disciple’ → 頓部 돈주비 *TWON-CWU.PI* ‘disciples of Theravāda Buddhism’ 18.7.4; 19.5.6; 22.4.3; 24.2.5

Type 2: SAL (1+2=3)

Word/morpheme 1: 𢵇- *CWOS*- ‘to bow’ (stem) (1+0=1) 13.4.2

Word/morpheme 2: 문뚝 *MWUN.TUS* > 문득 *MWUN.TUK* ‘suddenly’ (0+2=2) 20.3.3; 23.10.3

Character 72

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
反	‘to be opposite’	반 <i>pan</i>	3+4=7

Type: PAP (3+4=7)

Sound 1: 𢵇 *pum* (2+0=2)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (2+0=2)

1. **SAL** 哀 𢵇- *SULH*- ‘to be sorrowful’ (stem) + ~ (← -브- *-pu*- [adjectival suffix] + -ㅁ *-m* [nominalizing suffix]) → 哀反 𢵇𢵇 *SULH-pu-m* (> 슬픔 *sul.phu-m*) ‘sorrow’ 8.2.4; 8.3.2

Sound 2: 𢵇 *pun* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. **PAP** 仍 너 *ne* + ~ → 仍反 너브- *ne.pun*- ‘broad’ (← 녀- *nep*- [> 넓- *nelp*-] ‘to be broad’ (stem) + -ㄴ- *-n* [adnominal suffix]) 20.1.3

Sound 3: 𢵇 *Won* (1+3=4)

Function 1: Adjectival suffix (-𢵇- *-Won*-) (0+3=3)

1. (**PAP** 烏 오 *wo* + **PAP** 𢵇 *ol* 乙 →) 烏乙 오𢵇- *wo.ol*- ‘to be complete’ (stem) + ~ 20.9.10

2. **SAL** 迷 𢵇- *IP(W)*- ‘to be confused’ (stem) + ~ 21.8.4; 24.4.2

Function 2: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. 𢵇 {*W*}on ← 𢵇 *W* (final consonant in **SAL** 白 𢵇- *SOLW*- ‘to say, tell’ [humble] [stem]) + -ㄴ- *-on*- (adnominal suffix) 12.8.5

Character 73

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
不	‘not’	부/불 <i>pwu(l)</i>	2+5=7

Type: SAL (2+5=7)

Word/morpheme: 모뚝 *MWO.TOL* ‘not’ (2+5=7) 2.3.3; 13.2.4; 19.4.4; 19.8.1; 21.10.3; 22.10.3; 23.4.1

Character 74

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
手	‘hand’	수 <i>swu</i>	4+3=7

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 수 *SWU* ‘hand’ (1+0=1)

1. **DAL** 千 천 *CHEN* ‘thousand’ + ~ + **DAL** 觀 관 *KWAN* + **DAL** 音 음 *UM* → 千手觀音 천수관음 *CHEN-SWU-KWAN-UM* ‘Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara’ 7.3.2

Type 2: SAL (3+3=6)

Word/morpheme: 손 *SWON* ‘hand’ (3+3=6) 2.2.4; 7.5.3; 9.6.2; 17.5.1; 17.6.1; 21.3.1

Character 75

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
身	‘body’	신 <i>sin</i>	1+6=7

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 신 *SIN* ‘body’ (0+1=1) 15.9.3

Type 2: SAL (1+5=6)

Word/morpheme: 몸 *MWOM* ‘body’ (1+5=6) 9.9.4; 15.3.5; 16.6.4; 19.4.3; 22.5.1; 24.10.3

Character 76

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
波	‘wave’	파 <i>pha</i>	1+6=7

Type: PAP (1+6=7)

Sound: 파 *pa* (1+6=7)

Function: 파 *pa* ‘thing’ (1+6=7) 12.6.11; 17.10.4; 18.2.8; 20.10.8; 24.10.5; 25.7.2; 25.9.10

Character 77

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
月	‘moon; month’	월 <i>wel</i>	5+1=6

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 월 *WEL* ‘moon’ (0+1=1) 20.10.2

Type 2: SAL (5+0=5)

Word/morpheme: *드랄 **TO.LAL* > 들 *TOL* > 달 *TAL* ‘moon; month’ (5+0=5) 4.2.5; 5.1.5; 9.1.1; 12.6.1; 13.5.1

Character 78

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
日	‘day’	일 <i>il</i>	2+4=6

Type: SAL (2+4=6)

Word/morpheme 1: 今日 오늘 *WO.NOL* > 오늘 *WO.NUL* ‘today’ (1+2=3) 10.1.2; 16.1.2; 18.7.2

Word/morpheme 2: 날 *NAL* ‘day’ (1+2=3) 14.2.10; 24.5.9; 25.2.6

Character 79

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
句	‘sentence’	구 <i>kwu</i>	2+4=6

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (2+4=6)**

1. 後 + ~ → 後句 3.9.2; 12.9.2; 19.9.2

2. 隔 + ~ → 隔句 16.9.2

3. 落 + ~ → 落句 18.9.2; 21.9.2

Character 80

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
未	‘not yet’	미 <i>mi</i>	4+2=6

Type: PAP (4+2=6)

Sound: 미 *muy* (4+2=6)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (4+2=6)

1. 미 {*m*}uy ← □ *m* (final consonant in SAL 心 막 숨 *MO.ZOM* ‘heart’) + =의 *=uy* (animate genitive particle)

1.7.7; 4.8.2; 15.1.2

2. 미 {*m*}uy ← □ *m* (final consonant in SAL 風 북 름 *PO.LOM* ‘wind’) + =의 *=uy* (locative particle) 11.5.8

3. **PAP** 藪 수 *swu* + ~ → 藪未 숨의 *swu.muy* → 숨미 *swum=uy* (← 숨- *swum-* ‘to hide’ [stem] + =의 *=uy* [locative particle]) 14.4.4

4. 미 {*m*}uy ← □ *m* (final consonant in SAL 夜 밤 *PAM* ‘night’) + =의 *=uy* (locative particle) 21.5.7

Character 81

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
部	‘part, section’	부 <i>pwu</i>	0+6=6

Type: SAL (0+6=6)

Word/morpheme: 주비 *CWU.PI* ‘party, disciple’ (0+6=6) 16.1.3; 18.7.3; 18.7.5; 19.5.7; 22.4.4; 24.2.6

Character 82

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
善 澹	‘to be nice’	선 <i>sen</i>	2+4=6

*The character 澹 is not attested in dictionaries but is regarded as an allograph of the character 善 based on its graphic structure and the context. As a result, these two characters are counted in the same entry.

Type: DAL (2+4=6)

Word/morpheme: 선 *SEN* ‘to be nice’ (2+4=6)

1. ~ + **DAL** 化 화 *HWA* → 善化 선화 *SEN-HWA* (proper noun) 6.1.1 (善)

2. ~ + **DAL** 陵 룡 *LUNG* ‘mound’ → 善陵/澹陵 선능 *SEN-NUNG* ‘(hill of) goodness’ 14.9.12 (澹); 19.7.5 (善); 24.2.3 (善); 25.6.6 (善)

3. ~ + **DAL** 芽 아 *A* → 선아 *SEN-A* ‘sprout of goodness’ 20.7.1 (善)

Character 83

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
修	‘to cultivate’	수 <i>swu</i>	2+4=6

Type: SAL (2+4=6)

Word/morpheme: 닳-/닳- *TAS(K)-* > 닳- *TAKK-* ‘to cultivate’ (stem) (2+4=6) 8.4.3; 11.10.2; 19.5.1; 19.5.11;

22.2.6; 24.1.4

Character 84

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
眾	‘mass’	중 <i>cwung</i>	0+6=6

Type: DAL (0+6=6)

Word/morpheme: 중 *CWUNG* ‘mass’ (0+6=6) 18.9.3; 19.3.3; 20.8.1; 23.9.3; 24.3.1; 25.3.1

Character 85

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
海	‘sea’	해 <i>hay</i>	0+6=6

Type 1: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 해 *HAY* ‘sea’ (0+3=3) 16.7.6; 17.4.5; 25.4.6

Type 2: SAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 바들 *PA.TOL* > 바다 *PA.TA* ‘sea’ (0+3=3) 16.3.6; 24.3.4; 24.5.4

Character 86

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
花	‘flower’	화 <i>hwa</i>	6+0=6

Type 1: DAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: 화 *HWA* ‘flower’ (3+0=3)

1. ~ + DAL 判 판 *PHAN* → 花判 화판 *HWA-PHAN* ‘Flower Knight’(?) 4.10.8
2. DAL 散 산 *SAN* ‘to scatter’ + ~ → 散花 산화 *SAN-HWA* ‘(song of) scattering flowers’ 10.1.6
3. abbreviation of 花郎 화랑 *HWA-LANG* ‘Flower Knight’ 12.5.2

Type 2: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 꽃 *KWOC* > 꽃 *KKWOCH* ‘flower’ (2+0=2) 2.4.1; 10.2.6

Type 3: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 꽃 *kwoc* (← 꽃 *KWOC* [> 꽃 *KKWOCH*] ‘flower’) (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 乎 호 *hwo* → 花乎 꽃호 *kwoc.hwo* → 고초- *kwo.chwo*- ‘to bend’ (stem) 9.6.5

Character 87

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
屋	‘house’	옥 <i>wok</i>	4+1=5

Type: PAP (4+1=5)

Sound 1: 옥 *wo* (3+0=3)

Function: Assertive suffix (-오- *-wo-*) (3+0=3)

1. ~ + PAP 尸 -/- (prospective adnominal suffix) 1.2.7; 7.4.5; 7.10.5

Sound 2: 울 *wul* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 爾 이 *i* + ~ → 爾屋 이울 *i.wul*- ‘to wither’ (stem) 13.2.7

Sound 3: ㅅ *o* (0+1=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *o* (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 向 아 ㅅ - *A.O-* ‘to go toward’ (stem) 21.6.2

Character 88

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
仁	‘humanity’	인 <i>in</i>	0+5=5

Type 1: PAP (0+4=4)

Sound: ㄴ *n* (0+4=4)

Function: Adnominal suffix (-ㄴ - *-n-*) (0+4=4)

1. **PAP** 賜 -ㅅ|- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 17.7.5

2. **SAL** 不 모 ㄴ *MWO.TOL* ‘not’ + **PAP** 喻 ㄴ *tol* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *tol* in 不 모 ㄴ *MWO.TOL*) + ~ 19.4.6

3. **PAP** 乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 24.6.5; 25.6.3

Type 2: SAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㅅ *is-* (← 인 *IT-* ‘to be good’ [stem]) (0+1=1)

Function: ㅅ *is-* > ㅅㅅ *iss-* ‘to exist’ (stem) (0+1=1) 25.2.8

Character 89

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
逸	‘to lose’	일 <i>il</i>	2+3=5

Type 1: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅅㅅ *ILH-* ‘to lose’ (stem) (1+0=1) 13.8.6

Type 2: PAP (1+3=4)

Sound: 일 *il* (1+3=4)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (1+1=2)

1. ~ + **PAP** 烏 오 *wo* → 逸烏 일오 *il.wo* (proper noun) 4.6.1

2. ~ + **PAP** 留 루 *lwu* → 逸留 일루 *il.lwu* → 이루 *i.lwu-* ‘to make’ (stem) 17.4.6

Function 2: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 良 아 *a* → 逸良 일아 *il.a* → 이라 *i-la* (← 이 *i-* [copula] [stem] + 라 *-la* [exclamatory sentence ending]) 23.2.11

Function 3: 일 *il-* ‘to happen’ (stem) (0+1=1) 18.1.3

Character 90

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
可	‘to be all right, to be possible’	가 <i>ka</i>	3+2=5

Type: PAP (3+2=5)

Sound 1: 가 *ka* (3+1=4)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. **SAP** 如 / **PAP** 多 다 *ta + ~ → 如可/多可 다가 -ta.ka* (transferentive particle) 5.2.7; 9.4.6

Function 2: 가- ka- ‘to go’ (stem) (0+1=1) 25.5.4**Function 3: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)**

1. 가 {*k*}*a* ← ㄱ *k* (final consonant in **SAL** 折 꺾- *KESK*- ‘to pluck’ [stem]) + -ㅅ- -*a*- (infinitive suffix) 2.4.5

Sound 2: 겨 kye (0+1=1)**Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)**

1. 겨 *kye* ← 기 *ki* (syllable in **SAL** 擬 너기- *NE.KI*- ‘to think’ [stem]) + -ㅓ- -*e*- (infinitive suffix) 19.9.6

Character 91

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
過 过	‘to pass’	과 <i>kwa</i>	3+2=5
邊	‘side, edge; frontier’	변 <i>pyen</i>	

*Character 2.1.5 is written as 过, which normally is an allograph of the character 過, but regarded as an allograph of the character 邊. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 过 but interpreted as the character 邊. The characters 過 and 过 are counted in the same entry.

Type 1: SAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme 1: 넘- *NEM*- ‘to pass’ (stem) (2+0=2) 14.3.4 (過); 14.7.6 (過)

Word/morpheme 2: 𠂇/𠂈 *KOS/KOZ* > 가 *KA* ‘edge’ (1+0=1) 2.1.5 (过, allograph of 邊)

Type 2: PAP (0+2=2)

Sound: 가 *ka* (0+2=2)

Function: Interrogative sentence ending (-가 -*ka*) (0+2=2)

1. **PAP** 叱 -ㅓ -*s* (emphatic suffix) + ~ 19.8.10 (過)
2. **SAL** 伊 ㅇ- *I*- (copula) (stem) + ~ 25.4.8 (過)

Character 92

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
大	‘to be big’	대 <i>tay</i>	3+2=5
太	‘to be big’	태 <i>thay</i>	

*Character 3.10.3 is written as 大 but regarded as an allograph of the character 太. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 大 but interpreted as the character 太.

Type 1: DAL (2+2=4)

Word/morpheme 1: 대 *TAY* ‘to be big’ (1+2=3) 9.10.4 (大); 17.4.4 (大); 23.3.1 (大)

Word/morpheme 2: 태 *THAY* ‘to be big’ (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **DAL** 平 평 *PHYENG* ‘to be calm’ → 大平 태평 *THAY-PHYENG* ‘great peace’ 3.10.3 (大, allograph of 太)

Type 2: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 대 *tay* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **SAP** 窟 구무 *kwu.mwu* + **PAP** 理 ㄹ *l* + **PAP** 叱 ㅈ *l+~* → 窟理叱大 구물대- *kwu.mwul.tay*- (> 꾸물대- *kkwu.mwul.tay*-) ‘to wriggle’ (stem) 3.5.4 (大)

Character 93

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
都	capital	도 <i>two</i>	4+1=5

Type: PAP

Sound 1: 도 *two* (3+1=4)

Function 1: Emphatic particle (=도 =*two*) (3+0=3)

1. **PAP** 叱 -ㅈ (emphatic suffix) + ~ 11.3.8

2. **SAL** 世 누리 *NWU.LI* ‘world’ + ~ **PAP** 理 리 *li* (phonetic determinative of the syllable *li* in 世 누리 *NWU.LI*) + ~ 13.8.3

3. (**SAL** 兒 ㅈ/ㅊ *CUS/CUZ* ‘appearance’ + **PAP** 史 ㅅ *s*) → 兒史 ㅈ/ㅊ *CUS/CUZ* ‘appearance’ + ... + ~ 14.6.7

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the sound *two* (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 又 ㅈ *STWO* > 또 *TTWO* ‘again’ 25.8.2

Sound 2: ㅌ *to* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 乎 외 *woy* → 都乎 ㅌ 외 - *to.woy*- (> 되 - *twoy*-) ‘to become’ (stem) 14.10.5

Character 94

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
陵	‘mound’	릉 <i>lung</i>	2+3=5

Type 1: DAL (1+3=4)

Word/morpheme: 릉 *LUNG* ‘mound’ (1+3=4)

1. **DAL** 善/善 선 *SEN* ‘to be good’ + ~ → 善陵/善陵 선릉 *SEN-NUNG* ‘(hill of) goodness’ 14.9.13; 19.7.6; 24.2.4; 25.6.7

Type 2: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: ㄹ *l* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 八 ㅍ *phol* + ~ → 八陵 ㅍ ㄹ *pho.lo*- (> 파랑 - *pha.lah*-) ‘to be blue’ (stem) 4.4.4

Character 95

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
兒	‘appearance’	모 <i>mwo</i>	5+0=5

Type: SAL (5+0=5)

Word/morpheme: 𪛗/𪛘 *CUS/CUZ* ‘appearance’ (5+0=5)

1. ~ + **PAP** 史 *si* → 兒史 𪛗史 *CUS.SI* ‘appearance’ 1.4.1; 4.5.4; 13.7.1; 14.2.1; 14.6.3 (supplemented missing character)

Character 96

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
彌 弥 旆	‘to be full’	ㅁ <i>mi</i>	3+2=5

*These three characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type 1: DAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme: ㅁ *mi* (2+1=3)

1. ~ + **DAL** 勒 *LUK* → 彌勒 *MI.LUK* ‘Maitreya’ 10.4.1 (彌)
2. ~ + **DAL** 陀 *THA* → 彌陀 *MI.THA* ‘Amitā Buddha’ 11.9.3 (彌)
3. **DAL** 須 *SWU* + ~ → 須弥 *SWU.MI* ‘Mount Meru’ 17.3.5 (弥)

Type 2: PAP (1+1=2)

Sound 1: ㅁ *mye* (1+1=2)

Function: Conjunctive particle (=ㅁ *-mye*) (1+1=2)

1. (**PAP** 古 *kwo* + **PAP** 𪛗 *cwo* →) 古𪛗 *고조-* *kwo.cwo-* (> *고초-* *kwo.chwo-*) ‘to bend’ (stem) + ~ 7.1.5 (旆)
2. **SAL** 為 *ㅎ-* *HO-* (> *하-* *HA-*) ‘to do’ (stem) + ~ 17.5.10 (旆)

Character 97

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
迷	‘to be confused’	ㅁ <i>mi</i>	0+5=5

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅁ *MI* ‘to be confused’ (0+1=1) 19.1.1

Type 2: SAL (0+4=4)

Word/morpheme: ㅁ/ㅁ *IP(W)-* ‘to be confused’ (stem) (0+4=4) 18.2.7; 21.8.3; 23.2.1; 24.4.1

Character 98

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
所	‘place’	소 <i>swō</i>	2+3=5

Type 1: SAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme 1: ㅌ *TO* *TO* *TO* *TO* (> ㅌ *TO* *TO* *TO* *TO*) (allative particle) (0+2=2) 15.4.5; 19.3.7

Word/morpheme 2: ㅌ *TOY* > ㅌ *TEY* ‘place’ (0+1=1) 25.6.4

Type 2: PAP (2+0=2)

Sound: 소 *swō* (2+0=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. ~ + PAP 音 口 *m* → 所音 슴 *swom* (> 손 *swon*) ‘thing’ 3.5.9; 12.10.6

Character 99

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
將	prospective modal verb	장 <i>cang</i>	2+3=5

Type: SAL (2+3=5)

Word/morpheme: 將來 -려 *-LYE* (optative suffix) (2+3=5) 12.6.8; 14.2.6; 18.3.2; 20.6.6; 22.2.7

Character 100

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
主	‘master’	주 <i>cwu</i>	4+1=5

Type 1: DAL (3+1=4)

Word/morpheme: 주 *CWU* ‘master’ (3+1=4)

1. DAL 公 公 *KWONG* + ~ → 公主 公주 *KWONG-CWU* ‘princess’ 6.1.4

2. DAL 座 좌 *CWA* ‘seat’ + ~ → 座主 -좌주 *-CWA-CWU* (honorific personal suffix) 10.4.4

3. PAP 破 파 *PHA* ‘to break’ + DAL 戒 계 *KYEE* ‘commandment’ + ~ → 破戒主 파계주 *PHA-KYEE-CWU* ‘commandment breaker’ 14.5.8

4. DAL 淨 정 *CENG* ‘to be clean’ + DAL 戒 계 *KYEE* ‘commandment’ + PAP 叱 入 *-s* (honorific genitive particle) + ~ → 淨戒叱主 정계주 *CENG-KYEE-s CWU* ‘Master of the Buddhist vow’ 18.6.4

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme 1: -님 *-NIM* (honorific suffix) (1+0=1) 6.1.5

Character 101

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
塵	‘dust, (mundane) world’	진 <i>cin</i>	0+5=5

Type 1: DAL (0+4=4)

Word/morpheme: 진 *CIN* ‘(mundane) world’ (0+4=4) 15.5.1; 15.5.2; 16.5.1; 16.5.2

Type 2: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 드를 *TU.THUL* > 티끌 *THI.KKUL* ‘dust’ (0+1=1) 22.5.7

Character 102

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
出	‘to come out’	출 <i>chwul</i>	2+3=5

Type: SAL

Word/morpheme 1: 나- *NA-* ‘to come out’ (stem) (2+2=4) 11.7.6; 14.3.5; 16.4.6; 18.4.7

Word/morpheme 2: 내- *NAY-* ‘to take out’ (stem) (0+1=1) 20.6.8

Character 103

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
夜	‘night’	야 <i>ya</i>	3+1=4

Type: SAL (3+1=4)

Word/morpheme: 밤 *PAM* ‘night’ (3+1=4) 1.8.8; 5.2.1; 6.4.1; 21.5.6

Character 104

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
爾 尔	‘you; this’	ㅇ <i>i</i>	3+1=4

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type 1: PAP (2+1=3)

Sound 1: ㅇ| *i* (2+0=2)

Function 1: Adverbial suffix (-ㅇ| -*i*) (1+0=1)

1. (PAP 八 ㅅ *po* + PAP 切 ㅅ *cul* →) 八切 ㅅ ㅅ *po.cul* (~브즈런 *pu.cu.len* > 부지런 *pwu.ci.len*) ‘diligence’

+ ~ 12.6.5 (爾)

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 屋 ㅅ *wul* → 爾屋 이 ㅅ *i.wul-* ‘to wither’ (stem) 13.2.6 (爾)

Sound 2: ㄴ| *ni* (0+1=1)

Function: Conjunctive particle (=ㄴ| -*ni*) (0+1=1)

1. SAL 鳴 ㅅ *wul-* ‘to sound’ (stem) + PAP 良 -ㅅ| -*e-* (← ㅇ| *a*) (infinitive suffix) + ~ 21.3.7 (尔)

Type 2: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: ㅇ| *i* (← ㅇ| *I* ‘this’) (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 處 ㅅ *cu* → 爾處 이 ㅅ *i.cu* → 잊 ㅅ *ic-u* (← 잊- *ic-* ‘to forget’ [stem] + -ㅅ *-u* [connecting sound]) 4.1.3 (爾)

Character 105

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
二	‘two’	ㅇ <i>i</i>	4+0=4

Type: SAL (4+0=4)

Word/morpheme: 두 ㅅ *twu.wul* > 둘 *twul* ‘two’ (4+0=4) 5.5.1; 5.6.1; 7.2.1; 7.7.1

Character 106

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
供	‘offering’	공 <i>kwong</i>	0+4=4

Type: DAL (0+4=4)

Word/morpheme: 공 *kwong* ‘offering’ (0+4=4) 17.6.7; 17.8.6; 17.9.4; 17.10.7

Character 107

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
根	‘root’	근 <i>kun</i>	1+3=4

Type 1: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 불 ㅅ *pwul.hwi* > 뿌리 *ppwu.li* ‘root’ (0+1=1) 23.2.5

Type 2: PAP (1+2=3)

Sound 1: 곤 *kwon* (0+2=2)

Function: Apperceptive particle (=곤 *-kwon*) (0+2=2)

1. SAL 見 보- *PWO-* (complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 19.2.9
2. SAL 行 니- *NI-* ‘to go’(stem) + ~ 25.5.8

Sound 2: 큰 *khun* (1+0=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. 큰- *khun-* ‘big’ ← 크- *kh-* ‘to be big’ (stem) + -ㄴ- *-n-* (adjectival adnominal suffix) 7.10.10

Character 108

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
今	‘now’	금 <i>kum</i>	2+2=4

Type: SAL (2+2=4)

Word/morpheme 1: 今日 오ㄴ *WO.NOL* > 오ㄴ *WO.NUL* ‘today’ (1+2=3) 10.1.1; 16.1.1; 18.7.1

Word/morpheme 2: 연 *YET* ‘now’ (1+0=1) 14.4.1

Character 109

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
念	‘to think about; mind’	념 <i>nyem</i>	1+3=4

Type 1: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 념 *NYEM* ‘mind’ (0+3=3) 16.4.2; 23.7.1; 23.7.2

Type 2: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: ㄹ장 *-ko.cang* (← 걱정 *KEK.CYENG* [> 걱정 *KEK.CENG*] ‘worry’) > ㄹ지 *-kka.ci* (allative particle) (1+0=1) 9.2.3

Character 110

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
德	‘inner capacity’	덕 <i>tek</i>	1+3=4

Type: DAL (1+3=4)

Word/morpheme: 덕 *TEK* ‘inner capacity’ (1+3=4) 8.4.2; 16.6.2; 16.7.5; 16.9.8

Character 111

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
落	‘to fall’	락 <i>lak</i>	1+3=4

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: ㄷ- *TI-* > ㅈ- *CI-* ‘to fall’ (stem) (1+1=2) 11.6.7; 18.5.4

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+2=2)**

1. ~ + 句 → 落句 18.9.1; 21.9.1

Character 112

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences

里	‘alley’	리 <i>li</i>	1+3=4

Type: PAP (1+3=4)

Sound 1: 리 *li* (1+3=4)

Function 1: Prospective suffix (-리- *-li-*) (1+0=1)

1. PAP 賜 -시- *-si* (honorific suffix) + ~ 9.2.7

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *li* (0+2=2)

1. SAL 邀 *모리- *MWO.LI-* > 뫼- *MWOY-* > 모이- *MWO.I-* ‘to gather’ (stem) 15.6.6

2. SAL 吾 우리 *WU.LI* ‘we’ 21.9.4

Function 3: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. SAP 下 알 *al* + ~ → 下里 알리 *al.li* → =아리 *=a-li* (interrogative sentence ending) (← -아- *-a-* [infinitive suffix] + -리- *-li-* [prospective suffix]) 22.7.8

Character 113

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
立	‘to stand’	립 <i>lip</i>	3+1=4

Type: SAP (3+1=4)

Sound: 셔 *syē* (← 셔- *SE-* ‘to stand’ [stem]) (3+1=4)

Function: Imperative sentence ending (=셔 *=syē*) (3+1=4)

1. PAP 賜 -시- *-si-* (honorific suffix) + ~ 9.4.11; 9.8.8; 18.8.10

2. SAL 陪 뫼시- *MWOY.SI-* (> 모시- *MWO.SI-*) ‘to attend to’ (stem) + ~ 10.4.6

Character 114

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
馬	‘horse’	마 <i>ma</i>	1+3=4

Type 1: PAP (0+3=3)

Sound: 마 *ma* (0+3=3)

Function 1: Continuative particle (=마 *=ma*) (0+1=1)

1. SAL 執 쥐- *cwi-* ‘to grasp’ (stem) + PAP 音 -ㅁ- *-m-* (durative suffix) + ~ 17.1.5

Function 2: Part of a word/morpheme (0+2=2)

1. ~ + PAP 洛 락 *lak* → =마락 *=ma.lak* (> =마다 *=ma.ta*) ‘every’ 15.5.3; 19.6.4

Type 2: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 말 *mal* (← 말 *MAL* ‘horse’) (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. SAP 如 =다 *=ta* (declarative sentence ending) + ~ + PAP 於 어 *e* + PAP 隱 ㄴ *n* → 如馬於隱=다말언 *=ta.mal.en* (> =다마른 *=ta.ma.lon* > =다마는 *=ta.ma.nun*) (adversative particle) 5.7.7

Character 115

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
萬	‘ten thousand’	만 <i>man</i>	1+3=4

Type: PAP (1+3=4)

Sound 1: 만 *man* (1+2=3)

Function 1: Part of a word/morpheme (1+2=3)

1. **SAP** 于 가 *ka* + ~ → 于萬 가만 *ka.man* (← 가만- *ka.ma-n*- ‘black’ ← 가맏- *ka.mah*- ‘to be black’ [stem] + -ㄴ- *-n*- [adjectival adnominal suffix]) 7.7.3; 16.7.3; 21.5.5

Sound 2: 몬 *mon* (0+1=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. 몬 {*m*}*on* ← -ㅁ *-m* (final consonant in **SAL** 身 몸 *MWOM* ‘body’) + =은 *=on* (> =은 *=un*) (topic particle) 15.3.6

Character 116

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
世	‘world’	세 <i>sey</i>	1+3=4

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 세 *SEY* ‘generation’ (0+1=1) 15.8.2

Type 2: SAL (1+2=3)

Word/morpheme: 누리 *NWULI* ‘world’ (1+2=3) 13.8.1; 21.4.1; 22.2.4

Character 117

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
孫	‘grandson’	손 <i>swon</i>	0+4=4

Type: PAP (0+4=4)

Sound: 손 *swon* (0+4=4)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (-손- *-swo-n-* ← -소- *-swo-* [exclamatory suffix] + -ㄴ- *-n-* [adnominal suffix]) (0+4=4)

1. **SAL** 白 𣎵- / 𣎵- *SOLP-/SOLW-* (> 사뢰- *SA.LWOY-*) ‘to say, tell’ (humble) (stem) + ~ 16.2.6; 24.9.6

2. **SAL** 修 닻- / 닻- *TAS(K)-* (> 닻- *TAKK-*) ‘to polish, cultivate’ (stem) (+ **PAP** 叱 -ㅅ *-s* [phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 修 닻- *TAS-*]) ~ 19.5.13; 24.1.5

Character 118

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
前	‘front’	전 <i>cen</i>	2+2=4

Type 1: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 전 *CEN* ‘front’ (1+1=2) 9.3.5; 17.2.2

Type 2: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 앞 *ALPH* > 앞 *APH* ‘front’ (1+1=2) 7.3.6; 15.2.8

Character 119

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences

丁	fourth item in the ten “Heavenly Stems”	정 <i>ceng</i>	3+1=4

Type: PAP (3+1=4)

Sound 1: 더 *tye* (2+1=3)

Function: Exclamatory sentence ending (=더 *-tye* ← ㄷ *to* ‘fact’ + =여 *-ye* [exclamatory sentence ending])

(2+1=3)

1. SAL 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + PAP 於 -어- *-e-* (infinitive suffix) + ~ 3.7.12

2. (PAP 毛 모 *mwo* + PAP 冬 둘 *tol*) → 毛冬 모듈- *mwo.tol-* (> 모르- *mwo.lu-*) ‘to not know’ (stem) +

PAP 乎 -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + ~ 11.8.8

3. SAL 修 닻-/닦- *TAS(K)-* (> 닦- *TAKK-*) ‘to polish, cultivate’ (stem) + PAP 叱 -入- *-s* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant *-s* in 修 닻- *TAS-*) + PAP 孫 -손- *-swon-* (← -소- *-swo-* [exclamatory suffix] + -ㄴ- *-n-* [adnominal suffix]) + ~ 19.5.14

Sound 2: 저 *cye* (1+0=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *cye* (1+0=1)

1. SAP 念 =ㄱ장 *-ko.cang* (> =까지 *-kka.ci*) (← 걱정 *KEK.CYENG* [> 걱정 *KEK.CENG*] ‘worry’) (allative particle) 9.2.4

Character 120

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
際	‘edge; occasion, time’	제 <i>cey</i>	1+3=4

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 제 *CEY* ‘occasion, time’ (0+1=1) 18.10.2

Type 2: SAL (1+2=3)

Word/morpheme: 𠂔 *KOS* > 가 *KA* ‘edge’ (1+2=3) 4.8.3; 16.7.1; 25.4.1

Character 121

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
之	genitive particle	지 <i>ci</i>	3+1=4

Type: SAL (3+1=4)

Word/morpheme: =의 *-UY* (animate genitive particle) (3+1=4)

1. ~ + PAP 叱 =入 *-s* (inanimate genitive particle) → 之叱 =아읇 *-UY-s* (genitive particle) 13.5.11; 13.8.5; 14.9.9

2. PAP 惡 =아 *-a* (locative particle) + ~ + PAP 叱 =入 *-s* (inanimate genitive particle) → 惡之叱 =아읇 *-a-UY-s* (locative genitive particle) 20.2.5

Character 122

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
次	‘to be second; order’	차 <i>cha</i>	4+0=4

Type: PAP (4+0=4)

Sound 1: ㅈ *c* (1+0=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -*c* (1+0=1)

1. SAL 蓬 다붓 *TA.PWOC* > 다북쑥 *TA.PWUK.SSWUK* ‘mugwort’ 1.8.2

Sound 2: 지 *ci* (1+0=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *ci* (1+0=1)

1. SAL 枝 가지 *KA.CI* ‘branch’ 4.9.6

Sound 3: 저 *ce* (2+0=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (2+0=2)

1. ~ + PAP 恐 훌 *hul* → 次恐 저훌- *ce.hul-* ‘to fear’ (stem) 11.2.6

2. ~ + PAP 弗 플 *phul* → 次弗 저플 *ce.phul* (← 저프- *ce.phu-* ‘to be frightening’ [stem] + -ㄷ- *-l-* [prospective adnominal suffix]) 14.6.1

Character 123

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
刹	‘Buddhist temple’	찰 <i>chal</i>	1+3=4

Type: DAL (1+3=4)

Word/morpheme: 찰 *CHAL* ‘Buddhist temple’ (1+3=4) 11.9.5; 15.5.8; 15.6.1; 15.6.2

Character 124

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
恨	‘to hate’	한 <i>han</i>	3+1=4

Type: PAP (3+1=4)

Sound 1: ㅎ *hon* (3+0=3)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (3+0=3)

1. ㅎ- *ho-n-* ← ㅎ- *ho-* (> ㅎ- *ha-*) ‘to do’ (main verb or verbalizing complementary verb) (stem) + -ㄴ- *-n-* (adnominal suffix) 3.3.5; 3.10.5; 14.9.10

Sound 2: ㄹ *on* (0+1=1)

Function: Topic particle (=ㄹ/ㄴ = *[n]on* > =ㄹ/ㄴ = *[n]un*) (0+1=1)

1. SAL 日 날 *NAL* ‘day’ + PAP 尸 ㄹ *l* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -*l* in 日 날 *NAL*) + ~ 24.5.11

Character 125

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
向	‘to go toward’	향 <i>hyang</i>	0+4=4

Type: SAL (0+4=4)

Word/morpheme: ㅅ ㅅ *A.O-* ‘to go toward’ (stem) (0+4=4) 18.2.3; 21.6.1; 22.9.6; 25.6.1

Character 126

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
後	‘back’	후 <i>hwu</i>	2+2=4

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (2+2=4)**

1. ~ + 句 → 後句 3.9.1; 12.9.1; 19.9.1
2. ~ + 言 → 後言 20.9.1

Character 127

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
希	‘to hope’	희 <i>huy</i>	3+1=4

Type: PAP (3+1=4)

Sound: 희 *huy* (3+1=4)

Function: Locative particle (=희 *-huy*) (3+1=4)

1. Integral part of a larger lexical unit with locative function

- (1). **PAP** 惡/阿 =아 =a (locative particle) + ~ → 惡希/阿希 =아희 =a=*huy* (locative particle) 4.6.8; 20.2.9
- (2). **PAP** 衣 =의 =uy (locative particle) ~ → 衣希 =의희 =uy=*huy* (locative particle) 9.5.8

2. Independently functioning as a locative particle (=희 *-huy*)

- (1). **SAL** 过(邊) 𠂇/𠂈 *KOS/KOZ* (> 가 *KA*) ‘edge; frontier’ + ~ 2.1.6

Character 128

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
安	‘how; to be calm, safe’	안 <i>an</i>	2+1=3

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 안 *AN* ‘to be peaceful’ (0+1=1) 23.9.5

Type 2: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme 1: 무슨 *MU.SUK* > 무엇 *MWU.ES* ‘what’ (1+0=1) 4.3.9

Word/morpheme 2: 엇- *ENC-* ‘to be comfortable’ (1+0=1) 14.10.1

Character 129

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
哀	‘to be sorrowful’	애 <i>ay</i>	2+1=3

Type: SAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme 1: 슬- *SULH-* > 슬프- *SUL.PHU-* ‘to be sorrowful’ (stem) (2+0=2)

1. ~ + **PAP** 反 ㅁ *pum* → 哀反 슬ㅁ *SULH-pu-m* (← 슬- *SULH-* + -ㅁ- *-pu-* [adjectival suffix] + -ㅁ *-m* [nominalizing suffix]) (> 슬픔 *sul.phum*) ‘sorrow’ 8.2.3; 8.3.1

Word/morpheme 2: 슬- *SYELP-* > 서럽- *SE.LEP-* ‘to be sad’ (0+1=1) 21.8.7

Character 130

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
業	‘karma’	업 <i>ep</i>	0+3=3

Type: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 업 *EP* ‘karma’ (0+3=3) 15.9.6; 18.5.9; 24.6.8

Character 131

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
然	‘to be in such a way’	연 <i>yen</i>	0+3=3

Type: SAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 그러- *KU.LE-* ‘to be like this’ (stem) (0+3=3) 22.7.1; 22.8.5; 24.8.3

Character 132

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
往	‘to go toward’	왕 <i>wang</i>	2+1=3

Type 1: DAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 왕 *WANG* ‘to go toward’ (2+0=2)

1. ~+ DAL 生 생 *SAYNG* ‘to live’ → 往生 왕생 *WANG-SAYNG* ‘rebirth’ 9.7.2; 9.7.5

Type 2: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) (0+1=1) 22.2.2

Character 133

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
友	‘friend’	우 <i>wu</i>	1+2=3

Type 1: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 벗 *PET* > 벗 *PES* ‘friend’ (0+1=1) 22.4.8

Type 2: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 버 *pe* (← 벗 *PET* [> 벗 *PES*] ‘friend’) (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~+ PAP 物 물 *mul* → 友物 버물- *pe.mul-* ‘to be hung, bound’ (stem) 12.10.3

Type 3: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 어 *e* (0+1=1)

Function: Infinitive suffix (-어- *-e-*) (0+1=1)

1. SAL 止 머물- *ME.MUL-* (> 머무르- *ME.MWU.LU-*) ‘to stop’ (stem) + SAL 以 =로 *=LWO* (instrumental particle) + ~ 21.4.6

Character 134

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
見	‘to look’	견 <i>kyen</i>	2+1=3

Type: SAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme: 보- *PWO-* ‘to look’ (main verb or complementary verb) (stem) (2+1=3) 5.3.6; 12.5.6; 19.2.8

Character 135

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
達	‘to reach’	달 <i>tal</i>	3+0=3

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 달 *TAL* (1+0=1)

1. **DAL** 乾 건 *KEN* + ~ + **DAL** 婆 파 *PHA* → 乾達婆 건달파 *KEN.TAL.PHA* ‘Gandharva’ 12.2.2

Type 2: PAP (2+0=2)

Sound 1: *달 **tal* ‘mountain’ (1+0=1) 12.9.3

Sound 2: 𠵿 *tol* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **PAP** 毛 모 *mwo* + ~ → 毛達 모듈 - *mwo.tol*- (> 모르- *mwo.lu*-) ‘to not know’ (stem) 14.2.4

Character 136

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
刀	‘knife’	도 <i>two</i>	1+2=3

Type: PAP (1+2=3)

Sound: 도 *two* (1+2=3)

Function 1: Inclusive particle (=도 =*two*) (0+2=2)

1. **SAL** 至 니를- *NILUL*- (> 이르- *ILU*-) ‘to arrive’ (stem) + ~ 19.10.7

2. (**DAL** 仏 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ + **DAL** 体 체 *CHEY* ‘body’ →) 仏体 부터 *PWU-THYE* (> 부처 *PWU-CHE*) ‘Buddha’ + ~ 24.9.10

Function 2: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *two* (1+0=1)

1. **SAL** 集 모도- *MWO.TWO*- > 모으- *MWO.U*- ‘to gather’ (stem) 9.6.4

Character 137

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
同	‘to be same; together’	동 <i>twong</i>	0+3=3

Type: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 동 *TWONG* ‘to be same; together’ (0+3=3) 19.1.3; 23.6.5; 23.6.7

Character 138

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
灯	‘lamp’	등 <i>tung</i>	0+3=3

Type: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 등 *TUNG* ‘lamp’ (0+3=3) 17.2.3; 17.3.1; 17.4.1

Character 139

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
郎	official title	랑 <i>lang</i>	3+0=3

Type: DAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: 랑 *LANG* ‘(official title) knight’ (3+0=3) 1.7.1; 4.5.2; 4.7.1

Character 140

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
望	‘to look at’	망 <i>mang</i>	3+0=3

Type: SAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: 바라- *PO.LA-* > 바라- *PA.LA-* ‘to look at’ (stem) (3+0=3) 12.2.12; 12.7.7; 13.7.5

Character 141

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
明	‘to be bright’	명 <i>myeng</i>	1+2=3

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 명 *MYENG* ‘to be bright’ (0+1=1) 20.5.2

Type 2: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 밝- *POLK-* > 밝- *PALK-* ‘to be bright’ (stem) (1+1=2) 5.1.3; 20.10.3

Character 142

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
慕	‘to long for’	모 <i>mwo</i>	2+1=3

Type: SAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme: 그리- *KU.LI-* ‘to long for’ (stem) (2+1=3) 1.7.3; 9.8.1; 15.2.1

Character 143

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
民	‘people’	민 <i>min</i>	3+0=3

Type: DAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: 민 *MIN* ‘people’ (3+0=3) 3.3.1; 3.4.1; 3.9.8

Character 144

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
放	‘to release’	방 <i>pang</i>	3+0=3

Type: SAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: 놓- *NWOH-* ‘to release’ (stem) (3+0=3) 2.2.7; 7.6.5; 7.10.1

Character 145

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
寶	‘treasure’	보 <i>pwo</i>	1+2=3

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 보 *PWO* ‘treasure’ (0+1=1) 24.7.7

Type 2: PAP (1+1=2)

Sound: 보 *pwo* (1+1=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+1=2)

1. SAP 巴 돌 *twol* + ~ → 巴寶 돌보- *twol.pwo-* ‘to take care of’ (stem) 10.2.2

2. ~ + PAP 非 拭 *puy* → 寶非 부비- *pwu.puy-* (> 부비- *pwu.pi-* [~비] 비- *pi.pi-*) ‘to rub’ 21.3.3

Character 146

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
浮	‘to float’	부 <i>pwu</i>	3+0=3

Type: SAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: 𪛗- *PTU*- > 𪛗- *TTU*- ‘to float’ (stem) (3+0=3) 4.3.6; 11.6.5; 12.9.6

Character 147

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
捨	‘to abandon’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+2=3

Type: SAL (3+0=3)

Word/morpheme: 𪛗리- *PO.LI*- > 𪛗리- *PE.LI*- ‘to abandon’ (stem) (1+2=3) 3.7.4; 18.10.7; 25.10.9

Character 148

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
事	‘thing’	사 <i>sa</i>	0+3=3

Type: SAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 일 *IL* ‘thing’ (0+3=3) 24.8.6; 25.8.6; 25.10.8

Character 149

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
藪	‘marsh’	수 <i>swu</i>	3+0=3

Type: PAP (3+0=3)

Sound: 수 *swu* (3+0=3)

Function: Part of a sentence ending or a word/morpheme (3+0=3)

1. ~ + SAL 邪/耶 ㄹ라 *LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) → 藪邪/藪耶 ㄹ수라 *swu.LA* (exclamatory sentence ending) 4.5.8; 12.4.7

2. ~ + PAP 未 미 *my* → 藪未 수미 *swu.my* → 숨미 *swum=uy* (← 숨- *swum*- ‘to hide’ [stem] + ㅁ미 *=uy* (locative particle)] 14.4.3

Character 150

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
察	‘to observe’	찰 <i>chal</i>	2+1=3

Type: PAP (2+1=3)

Sound: ㅅ ol (2+1=3)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the sound *ol* (2+1=3)

1. SAL 秋 ㄱ ㅅ ㅅ *KO.ZOL* ‘autumn’ 11.5.4; 13.2.2; 20.10.6

Character 151

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
懺	‘to repent’	참 <i>cham</i>	0+3=3

Type: DAL (0+3=3)

Word/morpheme: 참 *CHAM* ‘to repent’ (0+3=3) 18.7.7; 18.9.8; 24.6.1

Character 152

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
處 处	‘to be located at’	처 <i>che</i>	2+1=3

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type 1: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 곧 *KWOT* > 곳 *KWOS* ‘place’ (1+1=2) 11.8.4 (處); 20.10.9 (处)

Type 2: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: ㄷ *cu* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. **SAP** 爾 이 *i* + ~ → 爾處 이즈 *i.cu* → 잊으 *ic-u* (← 잊- *ic-* ‘to forget’ [stem] + -으 *-u* [connecting sound])
4.1.4 (處)

Character 153

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
千	‘thousand’	천 <i>chen</i>	3+0=3

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 천 *CHEN* ‘thousand’ (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **DAL** 手 手 *SWU* ‘hand’ + **DAL** 觀 觀 *KWAN* + **DAL** 音 音 *UM* → 千手觀音 천수관음 *CHEN-SWU-KWAN-UM* ‘Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara’ 7.3.1

Type 2: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 즈믄 *CU.MUN* ‘thousand’ (2+0=2) 7.5.1; 7.5.5

Character 154

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
寸	measure of length	촌 <i>chwon</i>	0+3=3

Type: PAP (0+3=3)

Sound: 촌 *chwon* (0+3=3)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+3=3)

1. 존- {*c*}*wo-n-* ← ㅈ *c* (final consonant in **SAL** 惡 惡 *KWUC-* ‘to be bad’) + -오- *-wo-* (assertive suffix) + -ㄴ- *-n-* (adjectival adnominal suffix) 18.3.8; 18.5.2; 24.6.7

Character 155

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
秋	‘autumn’	추 <i>chwu</i>	2+1=3

Type: SAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme: ㄱ ㅅ ㅈ *KO.ZOL(H)* > 가 ㅅ *KA.UL* ‘autumn’ (2+1=3) 11.5.3; 13.2.1; 20.10.5

Character 156

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
逐	‘to chase’	축 <i>chwuk</i>	2+1=3

Type: SAL (2+1=3)

Word/morpheme: 쫓- *CWOCH-* > 쫓- *CCWOCH-* ‘to chase’ (stem) (2+1=3) 4.3.4; 4.8.6; 22.4.6

Character 157

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
他	third person pronoun	타 <i>tha</i>	1+2=3

Type: SAL (1+2=3)

Word/morpheme 1: 남 *NOM* > 남 *NAM* ‘others’ (1+0=1) 6.2.1

Word/morpheme 2: 녀느 *NYE.NU* ‘other’ (0+2=2) 22.10.1; 25.10.7

Character 158

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
呑	‘to swallow’	탄 <i>than</i>	3+0=3

Type: PAP (3+0=3)

Sound 1: 던 *ten* (1+0=1)

Function: Recollective suffix (-던- *-te-n-*) (1+0=1)

1. SAL 將來 -려 *-LYE* (optative particle) + ~ 14.2.8

Sound 2: 든 *ton* (1+0=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. 든 *{t}on* ← ㄷ *t* (final consonant in SAL 今 現 *YET* ‘now’) + 은 *-on* (> 은 *-un*) (topic particle) 14.4.2

Sound 3: 다 *ta* (1+0=1)

Function 1: Part of a sentence ending (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 尼 니 *ni* →呑니 -다니 *-ta.ni* (exclamatory sentence ending) 14.8.8

Character 159

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
八	‘eight’	팔 <i>phal</i>	3+0=3

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 팔 *PHAL* ‘eight’ (1+0=1) 9.10.3

Type 2: PAP (2+0=2)

Sound 1: 팔 *phol* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 陵 ㄹ *l* → 八陵 ㅍㄹ *pho.lo-* (> 파랑- *pha.lah-*) ‘to be blue’ (stem) 4.4.3

Sound 2: ㅍ *po* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~+ **PAP** 切 ぞ *cul* → 八切 ぼぞ *po.cul* (~ 브즈런 *pu.cu.len* > 부지런 *pwu.ci.len*) ‘diligence’ 12.6.3

Character 160

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
我	‘I’	아 <i>a</i>	0+2=2

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 아 *A* ‘I’ (0+1=1) 18.9.7

Type 2: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 우리 *WU.LI* ‘we’ (0+1=1) 22.1.1

Character 161

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
仰	‘to look up’	앙 <i>ang</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 올릴- *WUL.WEL-* > 우러르- *WU.LE.LU-* ‘to look up’ (stem) (2+0=2) 9.5.9; 13.4.1

Character 162

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
愛	‘love’	애 <i>ay</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 땡-/땡- *TOS-/TOZ-* ‘to love’ (stem) (2+0=2) 3.2.3; 3.4.3

Character 163

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
汝	‘you’	여 <i>ye</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 너 *NE* ‘you’ (2+0=2) 10.2.8; 13.3.1

Character 164

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
餘	‘to remain’	여 <i>ye</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 남- *NAM-* ‘to remain’ (stem) (0+2=2) 18.4.3; 25.10.4

Character 165

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
亦	‘again’	역 <i>yek</i>	1+1=2

Type: PAP (1+1=2)

Sound: 역 *ye* (1+1=2)

Function 1: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel *ey* (1+0=1)

1. PAP 底 제 *cey* 9.1.5

Function 2: Exclamatory particle (=ㄹ *-ye*) (0+1=1)

1. **DAL** 찰 *CHAL* ‘Buddhist temple’ + ~ 15.5.9

Character 166

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
緣	‘tie; fate’	연 <i>yen</i>	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 연 *YEN* ‘tie; fate’ (0+2=2)

1. ~ + **DAL** 起 기 *KI* ‘to rise; to take place’ → 緣起 연기 *YEN-KI* ‘origin’ 19.2.1

2. **DAL** 化 화 *HWA* + ~ → 化緣 화연 *HWA-YEN* ‘solicitation for donation’ 21.2.4

Character 167

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
影	‘shadow’	영 <i>yeng</i>	1+1=2

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 영 *YENG* ‘shadow’ (0+1=1)

1. **DAL** 佛 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ + ~ → 佛影 불영 *PWUL-YENG* ‘Buddhist statue’ 21.10.2

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 그림에 *KU.LU.MEY* ‘shadow’ (1+0=1) 13.5.4

Character 168

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
悟	‘to be enlightened’	오 <i>wo</i>	0+2=2

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 오 *WO* ‘enlightenment’ (0+1=1) 19.1.2

Type 2: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 깨닫 - *SKOY.TOT* - > 깨닫 - *KKAY.TAT* - (stem) ‘to be enlightened’ (0+1=1) 24.4.6

Character 169

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
玉	‘jade’	옥 <i>wok</i>	0+2=2

Type: PAP (0+2=2)

Sound 1: 옥 *wok* (0+1=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. -옥 -*wo-k* ← -오 -*wo-* (assertive suffix) + -ㄱ -*k* (emphatic suffix) 18.4.5

Sound 2: 오 *wo* (0+1=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *wo* (0+1=1)

1. **SAL** 萎 이오 - *I.WO* - ‘to wither’ (stem) 23.4.4

Character 170

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences

卧	‘to lie down’	와 <i>wa</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAP (0+2=2)

Sound: ㄴ *no* (← ㄴ- *NWUP*- ‘to lie down’ [stem]) (0+2=2)

Function: Present suffix (=ㄴ *-no*) (0+2=2)

1. SAL 將來 ㄹ려 *-LYE* (optative particle) + ~ 18.3.4
2. SAL 落 디- *TI*- (> 지- *CI*-) ‘to fall’ (stem) + ~ 18.5.5

Character 171

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
曰	‘to say’	왈 <i>wal</i>	1+1=2
日	‘day’	일 <i>il</i>	

*Character 14.8.3 is written as 曰 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 日. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 曰 but interpreted as the character 日.

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 𠂔 *NAL* ‘day’ (1+0=1) 14.8.3 (graphic error of 日)

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)**

1. 歎 + ~ → 歎曰 15.9.2

Character 172

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
王	‘king’	왕 <i>wang</i>	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 왕 *WANG* ‘king’ (0+2=2) 16.8.2; 23.1.3

Character 173

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
邀	‘to invite’	요 <i>yo</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: *모리- **MWO.LI*- > ㅁ리- *mwoy*- > 모이- *MWO.I*- ‘to gather’ (stem) (0+2=2) 15.6.5; 16.5.6

Character 174

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
遺	‘to grant; to leave behind’	위 <i>wi</i> ; 유 <i>yu</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: ㄱᄃᆞᆫ *KL.THI*- > ㄱᄃᆞᆫ *KKI.CHI*- ‘to grant; to leave behind’ (stem) (2+0=2) 7.9.6; 9.9.5

Character 175

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
喻	‘to understand’	유 <i>yu</i>	1+1=2

Type: PAP (1+1=2)

Sound: ㄷ *tol* (1+1=2)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *tol* (1+1=2)

1. SAL 不 모듈 *MWO.TOL* ‘not’ 2.3.4; 19.4.5

Character 176

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
遊 游	‘to hang out’	유 <i>yu</i>	2+0=2

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 놀- *NWOL-* ‘to hang out’ (stem) (2+0=2) 5.2.4 (遊); 12.2.5 (游)

Character 177

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
潤	‘to moisten’	윤 <i>yun</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 적 시- *CEK.SI-* ‘to moisten’ (stem) (0+2=2) 20.8.6; 23.3.6

Character 178

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
因	‘to base on’	인 <i>in</i>	2+0=2

Type: PAP (2+0=2)

Sound: 인 *in* (2+0=2)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (2+0=2)

1. 인- {*i*}*n*- ← ㅇ *i* (vowel *i* in SAL 教 ㅎ 시- *HO-SI-* ‘to say’ [honorific] [stem]) + -ㄴ- *-n-* (adnominal suffix)

13.3.8

2. 인- {*i*}*n*- ← ㅇ *i* (vowel *i* in PAP 理 ㅇ *i*) + -ㄴ- *-n-* (adnominal suffix) 13.5.8

Character 179

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
入	‘to enter’	입 <i>ip</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 들- *TUL-* ‘to enter’ (stem) (2+0=2) 5.2.2; 5.3.1

Character 180

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
覺	‘to become aware’	각 <i>kak</i>	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 각 *KAK* (0+2=2)

1. ~ + DAL 月 월 *WEL* ‘moon’ → 覺月 각월 *KAK-WEL* ‘moon of enlightenment’ 20.10.1

2. ~ + DAL 樹 수 *SWU* ‘tree’ + DAL 王 왕 *WANG* ‘king’ → 覺樹王 각수왕 *KAK-SWU-WANG* ‘bodhi tree’ 23.1.1

Character 181

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
間	‘interval’	간 <i>kan</i>	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 간 *KAN* ‘interval’ (0+2=2)

1. ~ + **DAL** 王 왕 *WANG* → 間王 간왕 *KAN-WANG* ‘?’ 16.8.1

2. ~ + **DAL** 断 단 *TAN* ‘to be broken’ → 間断 간단 *KAN-TAN* ‘interruption’ 23.7.6

Character 182

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
居	‘to reside’	거 <i>ke</i>	1+1=2

Type 1: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 살- *SAL-* ‘to live’ (stem) (1+0=1) 1.2.3

Type 2: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㄱ *ko* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. ~ + **PAP** 得 득 *tuk* → 居得 ㄱ득 *ko.tuk* (> 가득 *ka.tuk*) ‘fully’ 23.5.3

Character 183

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
戒	‘commandment’	계 <i>kyey</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 계 *KYEE* ‘commandment’ (1+1=2) 14.5.7 (supplemented character); 18.6.2

Character 184

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
昆	‘sibling’	곤 <i>kwon</i>	1+1=2

Type: PAP (1+1=2)

Sound: 곤 *kwon* (1+1=2)

Function: Apperceptive particle (=곤 *-kwon*) (1+1=2)

1. **SAL** 見 보- *PWO-* ‘to look’ + ~ 5.3.7

2. **SAL** 无 없- *EPS-* ‘to not have’ (stem) + **PAP** 叱 入 *s* (phonetic determinative of the final consonant -s in 无 없- *EPS-*) + ~ 19.6.10

Character 185

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
功	‘accomplishment’	공 <i>kwong</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 공 *KWONG* ‘accomplishment’ (1+1=2) 8.4.1; 16.6.1

Character 186

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
教	‘to teach’	교 <i>kyo</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme 1: -으시 -I-SI (honorific suffix) (1+0=1) 2.2.8

Word/morpheme 2: 하- SI- > 하- SI- 'to say' (honorific) (stem) (1+0=1) 13.3.7

Character 187

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
舊	'to be old'	꾸 kwu	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: *녀리 *NYE.LI > 녀 NYEY > 예 YEY 'past' (1+1=2) 12.1.1; 24.8.1

Character 188

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
丘	'hill'	꾸 kwu	0+2=2

Type: PAP (0+2=2)

Sound: 꾸 kwu (0+2=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+2=2)

1. ~ + PAP 物 물 mwul + PAP 叱 叱 l → 丘物叱 구물 kwu.mwul 'wrigglingly' 23.5.5; 23.5.8

Character 189

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
國	'country'	국 kwuk	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 나라 NA.LA 'country' (2+0=2) 3.8.1; 3.10.1

Character 190

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
君	'lord'	군 kwun	2+0=2

Type: DAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 군 KWUN 'lord' (2+0=2) 3.1.1; 3.9.3

Character 191

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
群	'group'	군 kwun	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 물 MWUL > 무리 MWU.LI 'group' (0+2=2) 21.8.5; 24.4.3

Character 192

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
惱	'to be annoyed'	뇌 nwoy	1+1=2

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 뇌 NWOY (0+1=1)

1. DAL 煩 번 PEN 'to be bothered' + ~ → 煩惱 번뇌 PEN-NWOY 'kleśa (disturbing emotion)' 20.6.2

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 뉘웃- *NWI.WUS-* > 뉘우치- *NWI.WU.CHI-* ‘to repent’ (stem) (1+0=1) 9.4.1

Character 193

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
尼	‘to be close’	니 <i>ni</i>	2+0=2

Type: PAP (2+0=2)

Sound: 니 *ni* (2+0=2)

Function 1: Conjunctive particle (=니 *-ni*) (1+0=1)

1. SAL 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 11.4.7

Function 2: Part of a sentenceending (1+0=1)

1. PAP 吞 다 *ta* + ~ → 吞尼 ㄷ다니 *-ta.ni* (exclamatory sentence ending) 14.8.9

Character 194

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
宅	‘residence’	택 <i>tayk</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 집 *CIP* ‘house’ (1+1=2) 14.10.4; 24.7.4

Character 195

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
得	‘to obtain’	덕 <i>tek</i>	0+2=2

Type 1: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 얻- *ET-* ‘to obtain’ (stem) (0+1=1) 19.6.1

Type 2: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 득 *tuk* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. 居 ㄱ *ko* + ~ → 居得 ㄱ득 *ko.tuk* (> 가득 *ka.tuk*) ‘fully’ 23.5.4

Character 196

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
東	‘east’	동 <i>twong</i>	2+0=2

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 동 *TWONG* ‘east’ (1+0=1) 5.1.1

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: *샬 **SAYL* ‘east’ (1+0=1) 12.1.3

Character 197

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
洛	name of a river	락 <i>lak</i>	0+2=2

Type: PAP (0+2=2)

Sound: 락 *lak* (0+2=2)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+2=2)

1. **PAP** 馬 마 *ma* + ~ → 馬洛 =마락 =*ma.lak* (> =마다 =*ma.ta*) ‘every’ 15.5.4; 19.6.5

Character 198

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
禮	‘ritual; courtesy’	례 <i>lyey</i>	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 례 *RYEY* ‘ritual; courtesy’ (0+2=2) 15.8.5; 24.9.3

Character 199

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
滿	‘to be full’	만 <i>man</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 차- *CHO-* > 차- *CHA-* ‘to be full’ (stem) (0+2=2) 15.7.3; 17.7.3

Character 200

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
每	‘every’	매 <i>may</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: =마다 =*MA.TA* ‘every’ (0+2=2) 15.6.3; 17.6.3

Character 201

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
命	‘life; command’	명 <i>myeng</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme 1: 명 *MYENG* ‘command’ (1+0=1) 10.3.7

Word/morpheme 2: 명 *MYENG* ‘life’ (0+1=1) 22.6.1

Character 202

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
母	‘mother’	모 <i>mwo</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme 1: 암 *AM* ‘female animal’ (1+0=1) 2.2.5

Word/morpheme 2: 어시 *E.SI* ‘mother’ (1+0=1) 3.2.6

Character 203

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
目	‘eye’	목 <i>mwok</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 눈 *NWUN* ‘eye’ (2+0=2) 1.5.1; 7.5.7

Character 204

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
方	‘direction’	방 <i>pang</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 방 PANG ‘direction’ (1+1=2) 9.2.2; 18.8.2

Character 205

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
栢	‘pine’	백 payk	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: *자시 *CA.SI > 잣 CAS ‘pine’ (2+0=2) 4.9.3; 13.1.5

Character 206

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
邊	‘side, edge; frontier’	변 pyen	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 𪛗/𪛘 KOS/KOZ > 가 KA ‘edge; frontier’ (1+1=2) 12.4.5; 25.3.4

Character 207

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
菩	a kind of herb	보 pwo	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 보 PWO (0+2=2)

1. ~ + DAL 提 제 CEY → 菩提 보제 PWO.CEY (> 보리 PWO.LI) ‘bodhi’ 18.2.1; 20.9.3

Character 208

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
普	‘to be common’	보 pwo	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 보 pwo (0+2=2)

1. ~ + DAL 賢 현 HYEN → 普賢 보현 PWO-HYEN ‘Samantabhadra’ 25.7.3; 25.9.3

Character 209

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
卜	‘to divine’	복 pwok	0+2=2
負	‘to carry on back’	부 pwu	

* The character 卜 is regarded as an abbreviated form of the character 負.

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 디니- TI.NI- > 지니- CI.NI- ‘to carry’ (stem) (0+2=2) 18.6.6 (abbreviation of “負”); 22.7.6 (abbreviation of “負”)

Character 210

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
逢	‘to meet’	봉 pwong	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 맞보- MAS-PWO- ‘to meet’ (stem) (2+0=2) 1.6.1; 11.9.7

Character 211

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
悲	‘to be sad; to be compassionate’	비 <i>pi</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 비 *PI* ‘to be compassionate’ (1+1=2)

1. DAL 慈 자 *CA* ‘to be kind’ + ~ → 慈悲 자비 *CA-PI* ‘mercy’ 7.10.8

2. DAL 大 대 *TAY* ‘to be big’ + ~ → 大悲 대비 *TAY-PI* ‘Great Compassion’ 23.3.2

Character 212

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
非	‘to be wrong’	비 <i>pi</i>	1+1=2

Type 1: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 외- *WOY-* ‘to be wrong’ (stem) (1+0=1) 14.5.2

Type 2: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 비 *puy* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. PAP 寶 보 *pwo* + ~ → 寶非 부비- *pwu.puy-* (> 부비- *pwu.pi-* [~비 비- *pi.pi-*]) ‘to rub’ 21.3.4

Character 213

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
四	‘four’	사 <i>sa</i>	2+0=2

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 사 *SA* ‘four’ (1+0=1) 9.10.1

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 넷 *NEYH* > 네 *NEY* ‘four’ (1+0=1) 5.4.4

Character 214

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
死	‘to die’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 사 *SA* ‘to die’ (1+1=2) 11.1.2; 23.6.8

Character 215

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
三	‘three’	삼 <i>sam</i>	1+1=2

Type 1: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 삼 *SAM* ‘three’ (1+1=2) 12.5.1; 18.5.8

Character 216

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
舌	‘tongue’	설 <i>sel</i>	0+2=2

Type 1: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 혀 *HYE* ‘tongue’ (0+1=1) 16.2.7

Type 2: SAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 혀 *hye* (← 혀 *HYE* ‘tongue’) (0+1=1)

Function: Exclamatory sentence ending (=혀 *-hye*) (0+1=1)

1. **PAP** 呂 -리- *-li-* (prospective suffix) + ~ 21.8.9

Character 217

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
成	‘to achieve’	성 <i>seng</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 일 우- *IL.WU-* > 이 루- *IL.WU-* ‘to achieve’ (stem) (1+1=2) 9.10.6; 24.5.6

Character 218

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
城	‘castle, city’	성 <i>seng</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 𪛑 *CAS* ‘castle, city’ (1+0=1) 12.2.8

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)**

1. ~ + 上 + 人 → 城上人 22.9.1

Character 219

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
星	‘star’	성 <i>seng</i>	2+0=2

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 성 *SENG* ‘star’ (1+0=1)

1. **DAL** 彗 혜 *HYEY* + ~ → 彗星 혜성 *HYEY-SENG* ‘comet’ 12.8.2

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: *벼리 **PYE.LI* > 별 *PYEL* ‘star’ (1+0=1) 12.7.5

Character 220

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
数數	‘number; to count’	수 <i>swu</i>	2+0=2

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme 1: 年数 나히 *NA.HI* > 나이 *NA.I* ‘age’ (1+0=1) 1.4.4 (數)

Word/morpheme 2: 혜- *HYEY-* > 세- *SEY-* ‘to count’ (stem) (1+0=1) 12.6.6 (數)

Character 221

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
水	‘water’	수 <i>swu</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 물 *MUL* > 물 *MWUL* ‘water’ (0+2=2) 21.9.7; 23.3.4

Character 222

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
臣	‘vassal’	신 <i>sin</i>	2+0=2

Type: DAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 신 *SIN* ‘vassal’ (2+0=2) 3.2.1; 3.9.5

Character 223

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
深	‘to be deep’	심 <i>sim</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 쥔 *KIPH-* ‘to be deep’ (stem) (1+1=2) 9.5.3; 20.5.4

Character 224

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
十	‘ten’	십 <i>sip</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 십 *SIP* ‘ten’ (1+1=2) 9.10.2; 18.8.1

Character 225

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
作	‘to make’	작 <i>cak</i>	1+1=2

Type 1: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 일오- *IL.WO-* > 일우- *IL.WU-* > 이루- *ILLWU-* ‘to achieve’ (stem) (1+0=1) 1.6.6

Type 2: SAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 질 *cil* (← 짓- *CIS-* ‘to make’ [stem]) (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. PAP 夫 부 *pwu* + ~ → 夫作 부질 *pwu.cil* (~ 부지런 *pwu.ci.len*) ‘diligence’ 15.10.4

Character 226

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
切	‘to cut; to be close’	절 <i>cel</i>	1+1=2

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 절 *CEL* (0+1=1)

1. DAL 一 일 *IL* + ~ → 一切 일절 *IL.CEL* ‘all’ 24.2.2

Type 2: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 즐 *cul* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 八 ㅅ *po* + ~ → 八切 ㅅ즐 *po.cul* (~브즈런 *pu.cu.len* > 부지런 *pwu.ci.len* ‘diligence’) 12.6.4

Character 227

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
汀	‘riverside’	정 <i>ceng</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: *물서리 *MUL.SE.LI ‘shore’ (2+0=2) 4.4.6; 12.1.5

Character 228

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
制	‘to make’	제 <i>cey</i>	0+2=2

Type: PAP (0+2=2)

Sound: 제 *cey* (0+2=2)

Function: Optative sentence ending (=제 -*cey*) (0+2=2)

1. SAL 白 皚 -/皚 - SOLP-/SOLW- (> 사뢰 - SA.LWOY-) (humble complementary verb) (stem) + ~ 16.8.8; 17.8.9

Character 229

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
提	‘to raise’	제 <i>cey</i>	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 제 *CEY* (0+2=2)

1. DAL 菩 提 PWO + ~ → 菩提 보제 PWO.CEY (> 보리 PWO.LI) ‘bodhi’ 18.2.2; 20.9.4

Character 230

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
造	‘to make’	조 <i>cwo</i>	0+2=2

Type 1: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 조 *CWO* ‘to make’ (0+1=1)

1. ~ + DAL 物 物 MWUL → 造物 조물 CWO-MWUL ‘nature; fate’ 18.10.5

Type 2: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 짓- *CIS-* ‘to make’ (stem) (0+1=1) 18.3.1

Character 231

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
持	‘to hold’	지 <i>ci</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 디니- *TI.NI-* > 지니- *CI.NI-* ‘to carry, preserve’ (stem) (2+0=2) 3.8.4; 4.7.3

Character 232

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
枝	‘branch’	지 <i>ci</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 가지 *KA.CI* ‘branch’ (2+0=2) 4.9.6; 11.7.4

Character 233

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
至	‘to arrive’	지 <i>ci</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 니르- *NILU-* > 이르- *ILU-* ‘to arrive’ (stem) (0+2=2) 15.4.7; 19.10.6

Character 234

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
直	‘to be straight’	직 <i>cik</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme 1: 곧- *KWOT-* ‘to be straight’ (stem) (1+0=1) 10.3.1

Word/morpheme 2: 고티- *KWO.THI-* > 고치- *KWO.CHI-* ‘to fix’ (stem) (0+1=1) 17.2.5

Character 235

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
執	‘to hold’	집 <i>cip</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 쥐- *CWI-* ‘to hold’ (stem) (1+1=2) 2.2.1; 17.1.3

Character 236

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
墮	‘to fall’	타 <i>tha</i>	2+0=2

Type: SAL (2+0=2)

Word/morpheme: 디- *TI-* > 지- *CI-* ‘to fall’ (stem) (2+0=2) 1.4.7; 13.2.9

Character 237

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
彼	‘that’	피 <i>phi</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 더 *TYE* > 저 *CE* ‘that’ (1+1=2) 11.6.3; 20.1.1

Character 238

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
必	‘surely’	필 <i>phil</i>	0+2=2

Type 1: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 만득기 *PAN.TO.KI* > 만드시 *PAN.TU.SI* ‘surely’ (0+1=1) 16.9.3

Type 2: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 빌 *pil* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. ~ + PAP 于 우 *wu* → 必于 빌우 *pil.wu* (> 비루 *pi.lwu*) ‘even though’ 21.2.1

Character 239

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
賢	‘to be wise’	현 <i>hyen</i>	0+2=2

Type: DAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 보 *PWO* (0+2=2)

1. DAL 普 보 *PWO* + ~ → 普賢 보현 *PWO-HYEN* ‘Samantabhadra’ 25.7.4; 25.9.4

Character 240

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
彗	‘comet’	혜 <i>hyey</i>	2+0=2

Type 1: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 혜 *HYEY* (1+0=1)

1. ~ + DAL 星 성 *SENG* ‘star’ → 彗星 혜성 *HYEY-SENG* ‘comet’ 12.8.1

Type 2: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 살별 *SAL.PYEL* ‘comet’ (1+0=1) 12.10.9

Character 241

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
兮	exclamatory particle	혜 <i>hyey</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: -으 *-YE* (exclamatory sentence ending) (0+2=2)

1. PAP 乃 나 *na* ‘I’ + ~ 16.10.9

2. PAP 留 로 *-lwo* (instrumental particle) + ~ 22.8.12

Character 242

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
化	‘to change’	화 <i>hwa</i>	1+1=2

Type: DAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 화 *HWA* (1+1=2)

1. DAL 善 선 *SEN* + ~ → 善化 선화 *SEN-HWA* (proper noun) 6.1.2

2. ~ + DAL 緣 연 *YEN* → 化緣 화연 *HWA-YEN* ‘solicitation for donation’ 21.2.3

Character 243

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
火	‘fire’	화 <i>hwa</i>	0+2=2

Type 1: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 불 *PWUL* ‘fire’ (0+1=1) 17.1.1

Type 2: SAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㅂ *p* (← 불 *PUL* [> 불 *PWUL*] ‘fire’) (0+1=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the final consonant -*p* (0+1=1)

1. SAL 迷 입 *IP-* ‘to be confused’ (stem) 23.2.2

Character 244

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
廻回	‘to return’	회 <i>hwoy</i>	1+1=2

*These two characters are allographs of each other and are counted in the same entry.

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme: 돌- *TWOL-* ‘to turn’ (stem) (1+1=2) 1.5.3 (廻); 24.2.8 (回)

Character 245

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
曉	‘to be bright; dawn’	효 <i>hyo</i>	1+1=2

Type: SAL (1+1=2)

Word/morpheme 1: 밝- *POLK-* > 밝- *PALK-* ‘to be bright’ (stem) (1+0=1) 4.2.2

Word/morpheme 2: 새 배 *SAY.PAY* > 새벽 *SAY.PYEK* ‘dawn’ (0+1=1) 21.5.1

Character 246

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
喜	‘to be happy’	희 <i>huy</i>	0+2=2

Type: SAL (0+2=2)

Word/morpheme: 기- / -기- *KIS(K)-* ‘to be happy’ (stem) (0+2=2) 19.8.3; 23.10.5

Character 247

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
芽	‘sprout’	아 <i>a</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 아 *A* ‘sprout’ (0+1=1) 20.7.2

Character 248

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
岳	‘hill’	악 <i>ak</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 오름 *WO-LWOM* ‘mountain’ (1+0=1) 12.5.4

Character 249

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
閼	‘to block’	알 <i>al</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 알 *al* (0+1=1)

Function: 알- *al-* ‘to know’ (stem) (0+1=1) 18.8.6

Character 250

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
巖	‘rock’	암 <i>am</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 바회 *PA.HWOY* > 바위 *PA.WI* ‘rock’ (1+0=1) 2.1.3

Character 251

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
語	‘word, language’	어 <i>e</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 어 *E* ‘word’ (0+1=1) 15.9.4

Character 252

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
言	‘word, speech’	언 <i>en</i>	0+1=1

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)**

1. 後 + ~ → 後言 20.9.2

Character 253

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
煙	‘smoke’	연 <i>yen</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: ㄴ *ny* (← ㄴ *NOY* [> ㄴ *NAY*] ‘smoke’) (1+0=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. ㄴ {*n*}*uy* ← ㄴ *n* (final consonant in SAL 目 눈 *NWUN* ‘eye’) + ㅁ *-uy* (animate genitive particle) 1.5.2

Character 254

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
淵	‘abyss’	연 <i>yen</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 못 *MWOS* ‘pond’ (1+0=1) 13.5.9

Character 255

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
咽	‘to be choked’	열 <i>yel</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 목 메- *MWOK.MYEY-* > 목 메- *MWOK.MEY-* ‘to be choked’ (stem) (1+0=1) 4.1.1

Character 256

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
熱	‘heat’	열 <i>yel</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 열 *YEL* ‘heat’ (0+1=1) 20.6.3

Character 257

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
厭	‘to be satisfied’	염 <i>yem</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 염 *YEM* ‘to be satisfied’ (0+1=1) 15.9.9

Character 258

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
葉	‘leaf’	엽 <i>yep</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅍ *NIP* > ㅍ *IPH* ‘leaf’ (1+0=1) 11.6.9

Character 259

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
永	‘to be everlasting’	영 <i>yeng</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 길- *KIL*- ‘to be long’ (stem) (0+1=1) 18.10.3

Character 260

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
鳴	‘to sigh’	오 <i>wo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 울- *WUL*- ‘to cry’ (stem) (1+0=1) 4.1.2

Character 261

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
倭	‘Japan’	왜 <i>way</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: *여리 **YE.LI* > 예 *Yey* ‘Japan’ (1+0=1) 12.3.1

Character 262

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
用	‘to use’	용 <i>yong</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 𠬪- *PSU*- > 쓰- *SSU*- ‘to use’ (stem) (1+0=1) 7.10.4

Character 263

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
涌	‘to gush’	용 <i>yong</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 솟- *SWOS*- ‘to gush’ (stem) (0+1=1) 16.4.5

Character 264

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
憂	‘anxiety, sorrow’	우 <i>wu</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 시름 *SILUM* ‘sorrow’ (1+0=1) 1.2.10

Character 265

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
牛	‘bull, cow’	우 <i>wu</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 소 *SYO* > 소 *SWO* ‘bull, cow’ (1+0=1) 2.2.6

Character 266

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
雨	‘rain’	우 <i>wu</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 우 *WU* ‘rain’ (0+1=1) 20.4.2

Character 267

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
又	‘again’	우 <i>wu</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 또 *STWO* > 또 *TTWO* ‘again’ (0+1=1) 25.8.1

Character 268

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
雲	‘cloud’	운 <i>wun</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 구름 *KWU.LUM* ‘cloud’ (1+0=1) 4.3.2

Character 269

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
云	‘to say’	운 <i>wun</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 니르- *NILU-* > 이르- *ILU-* ‘to say’ (stem) (1+0=1) 11.4.3

Character 270

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
遠	‘to be far’	원 <i>wen</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 멀- *MEL-* ‘to be far’ (stem) (1+0=1) 14.3.1

Character 271

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
萎	‘to wither’	위 <i>wi</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 이오- *I.WO-* ‘to wither’ (stem) (0+1=1) 23.4.3

Character 272

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
唯	‘only’	유 <i>yu</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 오직 *WO.CIK* ‘only’ (1+0=1) 14.9.3

Character 273

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
油	‘oil’	유 <i>yu</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 유 *YU* ‘oil’ (0+1=1) 17.4.2

Character 274

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
吟	‘to chant’	음 <i>um</i>	0+1=1

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)**

1. 病 + ~ → 病吟 24.9.2

Character 275

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
應	‘to respond’	응 <i>ung</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 응 *UNG* ‘to respond’ (0+1=1) 21.10.5

Character 276

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
意	‘intention’	의 <i>uy</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 의 *UY* ‘intention’ (0+1=1) 15.9.5

Character 277

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
擬	‘to plan, imitate’	의 <i>uy</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 녀ㄱ]- *NE.KI*- > 여ㄱ]- *YE.KI*- ‘to think’ (stem) (0+1=1) 19.9.5

Character 278

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
而	conjunctive particle	ㅇ <i>i</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㄴ *no* (0+1=1)

Function: Present suffix (= ㄴ *-no*) (0+1=1)

1. SAL 伊 ㅇ]- *I*- (copula) (stem) + ~ 25.2.10

Character 279

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
仍	‘to follow’	잉 <i>ing</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㄴ *ne* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. ~ + PAP 反 𐄀 *pun* → 仍反 𐄀 *ne.pun*- ‘broad’ (← 𐄀 *nep*- [> 𐄀 *nelp*-] ‘to be broad’ [stem] + -ㄴ- *-n*- [adjectival adnominal suffix]) 20.1.2

Character 280

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
嫁	‘to marry’	가 <i>ka</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 열 - *EL-* ‘to marry’ (stem) (1+0=1) 6.2.4

Character 281

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
腳	‘foot’	각 <i>kak</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 허퇴 *HE.THWOY* > 허퇴 *HE.THWI* ‘foot’ (1+0=1) 5.4.1

Character 282

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
改	‘to change’	개 <i>kay</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 고치- *KWO.THI-* > 고치- *KWO.CHI-* ‘to fix, change’ (stem) (1+0=1) 13.4.6

Character 283

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
乾	name of one of the eight trigrams	건 <i>ken</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 건 *KEN* (1+0=1)

1. ~ + DAL 達 달 *TAL* + DAL 婆 파 *PHA* > 乾達婆 건달파 *KEN.TAL.PHA* ‘Gandharva’ 12.2.1

Character 284

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
乞	‘to pray’	걸 <i>kel</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 빌 - *PIL-* ‘to pray’ (stem) (0+1=1) 20.4.4

Character 285

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
隔	‘to separate’	격 <i>kyek</i>	0+1=1

*Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)

1. ~ + 句 → 隔句 16.9.1

Character 286

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
京	‘capital’	경 <i>kyeng</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 경 *KYENG* ‘capital’ (1+0=1) 5.1.2

Character 287

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
敬	‘to respect’	경 <i>kyeng</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 경 *KYENG* ‘to respect’ (0+1=1) 23.8.6

Character 288

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
高	‘to be high’	고 <i>kwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 높- *NWOPH-* ‘to be high’ (stem) (1+0=1) 4.9.8

Character 289

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
故	‘to be old; reason’	고 <i>kwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 고 *kwo* (1+0=1)

Function: Interrogative sentence ending (=고 *=kwo*) (1+0=1)

1. PAP 叱 入 + ~ → 叱故 = 入고 *=skwo* (interrogative sentence ending) 12.10.14

Character 290

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
苦	‘to be laborious’	고 <i>kwo</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 고 *KWO* ‘to be laborious’ (0+1=1) 22.3.3

Character 291

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
哭	‘to cry’	꺽 <i>kwok</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 울- *WUL-* ‘to cry’ (stem) (1+0=1) 1.2.6

Character 292

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
公	‘to be public’	공 <i>kwong</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 공 *KWONG* (1+0=1)

1. ~ + DAL 主 주 *CWU* → 公主 공주 *KWONG-CWU* ‘princess’ 6.1.3

Character 293

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
菓	‘fruit’	과 <i>kwa</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 여름 *YE.LUM* > 열매 *YEL.MAY* ‘fruit’ (0+1=1) 20.9.6

Character 294

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
觀	‘to look’	관 <i>kwan</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 관 *KWAN* (1+0=1)

1. ~ + DAL 音 음 *UM* → 觀音 관음 *KWAN-UM* ‘Avalokiteśvara’ 7.3.3

Character 295

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
狂	‘to be crazy’	광 <i>kwang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 열- *EL-* > 어리- *E.LI-* ‘to be young, ignorant’ (stem) (1+0=1) 3.3.3

Character 296

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
九	‘nine’	구 <i>kwu</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 구 *KWU* ‘nine’ (0+1=1) 15.8.1

Character 297

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
軍	‘army’	군 <i>kwun</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 군 *KWUN* ‘army’ (1+0=1) 12.3.4

Character 298

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
窟	‘hole, cave’	굴 <i>kwul</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 구무 *kwu.mwu* (← 구무 *KWU.MWU* [> 구멍 *KWU.MENG*] ‘hole’) (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 理 ㄹ + PAP 叱 ㄹ + PAP 大 대 *tay* → 窟理叱大 구물대- *kwu.mwul.tay-* (> 꾸물대- *kkwu.mwul.tay-*) ‘to wriggle’ (stem) 3.5.1

Character 299

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
斤	‘axe’	근 <i>kun</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㄱ *kon* (0+1=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. ㄱ - {*k*}on- ← ㄱ *k* (final consonant in SAL 明 ㅁ - *POLK-* ‘to be bright’ [stem]) + -ㄴ - *-n-* (adjectival adnominal suffix) 20.10.4

Character 300

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
耆	‘to be old’	기 <i>ki</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 기 *KI* (proper noun) (1+0=1) 4.5.1

Character 301

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
期	‘period’	기 <i>ki</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 기 *kuy* (1+0=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (1+0=1)

1. 기- {*kuy*-} ← 기 *k* (final consonant in SAL 明 明- *POLK*- ‘to be bright’ [stem]) + -의- *-uy-* (adnominal suffix) 5.1.4

Character 302

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
祈	‘to pray’	기 <i>ki</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 빌- *PIL*- ‘to pray’ (stem) (1+0=1) 7.4.1

Character 303

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
起	‘to rise; to take place’	기 <i>ki</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 기 *KI* ‘to rise; to take place’ (0+1=1)

1. DAL 緣 연 *YEN* ‘tie; fate’ + ~ → 緣起 연기 *YEN-KI* ‘origin’ 19.2.2

Character 304

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
奈	‘how’	나 <i>na</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 나 *na* (0+1=1)

Function: Adversative conjunctive particle (=나 *-na*) (0+1=1)

1. SAL 多 만호- *MAN.HO*- (> 많- *MANH*-) ‘to be plentiful’ (stem) + ~ 17.9.8

Character 305

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
難	‘to be difficult’	난 <i>nan</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 난 *NAN* ‘to be difficult’ (0+1=1) 22.3.1

Character 306

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
南	‘south’	남 <i>nam</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 남 *NAM* (0+1=1)

1. ~ + DAL 无 무 *MWU* → 南无 나무 *NA.MWU* ‘namo’ (Sanskrit ‘to bow’) 16.2.1

Character 307

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
年	‘year’	년 <i>nyen</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 年數 나히 *NA.HI* > 나이 *NA.I* ‘age’ (1+0=1) 1.4.3

Character 308

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
奴	‘slave’	노 <i>nwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: ㄴ *no* (1+0=1)

Function: present suffix (-ㄴ - *-no-*) (1+0=1)

1. SAL 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + ~ 11.8.2

Character 309

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
但	‘only’	단 <i>tan</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 다만 *TA.MON* > 다만 *TA.MAN* ‘only’ (1+0=1) 14.5.1

Character 310

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
断	‘to be broken’	단 <i>tan</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 단 *TAN* ‘to be broken’ (0+1=1) 23.7.7

Character 311

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
待	‘to wait’	대 <i>tay</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 기다리- *KI.TU.LI-* > 기다리- *KI.TA.LI-* ‘to wait’ (1+0=1) 11.10.4

Character 312

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
對	‘to face’	대 <i>tay</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 대 *TAY* ‘to face’ (stem) (0+1=1) 16.6.6

Character 313

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
徒	‘disciple’	도 <i>two</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: -내 -*NAY* (plural suffix) (1+0=1) 8.3.5

Character 314

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
倒	‘to fall’	도 <i>two</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 도 *TWO* ‘to fall’ (0+1=1) 18.1.2

Character 315

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
童	‘child’	동 <i>twong</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 동 *TWONG* ‘child’ (1+0=1) 6.3.2

Character 316

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
動	‘to move’	동 <i>twong</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 뭉- *MWI-* ‘to move’ (stem) (0+1=1) 21.2.6

Character 317

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
浪	‘wave’	랑 <i>lang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 물결 *MULS.KYEL* > 물결 *MWUL.KYEL* ‘wave’ (1+0=1) 13.6.3

Character 318

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
朗	‘to be bright’	랑 <i>lang</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 라 *la* (1+0=1)

Function: Exclamatory sentence ending (=라 *-la*) (1+0=1)

1. SAL 還 돌- *TWOL-* ‘to go around’ (stem) + PAP 於 -어- *-e-* (infinitive suffix) + PAP 尸 -ㄷ- *-l-* (prospective adnominal suffix) + ~ + PAP 也 =여 *-ye* (exclamatory sentence ending) 14.6.11

Character 319

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
量	‘amount’	량 <i>ryang</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 량 *LYANG* ‘amount’ (1+0=1)

1. DAL 無 무 *MWU* ‘to not have, lack’ + ~ + DAL 壽 수 *SWU* ‘longevity’ + DAL 佛 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ → 無量壽佛 무량수불 *MWU.LYANG.SWU.PWUL* ‘Amitā Buddha’ 9.3.2

Character 320

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
兩	‘two’	량 <i>lyang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 두울 *TWU.WUL* > 둘 *TWUL* ‘two’ (1+0=1) 9.6.1

Character 321

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
露	‘dew; to expose’	로 <i>lwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 이슬 *I.SUL* ‘dew’ (1+0=1) 4.2.1

Character 322

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
路	‘road’	로 <i>lwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 로 *LWO* ‘road’ (1+0=1) 11.1.3

Character 323

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
勒	‘to constrain’	룩 <i>luk</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 룩 *LUK* (1+0=1)

1. DAL 彌 미 *MI* + ~ → 彌勒 미룩 *MI.LUK* ‘Maitreya’ 10.4.2

Character 324

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
利	‘benefit’	리 <i>li</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 리 *li* (1+0=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the syllable *li* (1+0=1)

1. SAL 星 *벼리 **PYE.LI* > 별 *PYEL* ‘star’ 12.7.6

Character 325

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
埋	‘to bury’	매 <i>may</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 묻- *MWUT*- ‘to bury’ (stem) (0+1=1) 20.5.6

Character 326

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
面	‘face’	면 <i>myen</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 낯 *NOCH* > 낯 *NACH* ‘face’ (1+0=1) 13.4.4

Character 327

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
鳴	‘to sound’	명 <i>myeng</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 울- *WUL*- ‘to sound’ (stem) (0+1=1) 21.3.5

Character 328

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
卯	second item in the twelve “Earthly Branches”	묘 <i>myo</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 묘 *mwo* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 乙 ㄹ → 卯乙 몰 *mwol* (> 몰래 *mwol.lay*) ‘secretly’ 6.4.3

Character 329

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
聞	‘to hear’	문 <i>mwun</i>	1+0=1

Type 1: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 듣- *TUT-* ‘to hear’ (stem) (1+0=1) 12.5.10

Character 330

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
靡	‘to fall’	미 <i>mi</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 미 *mi* (0+1=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. 미 {*m*}*i* ← ㅁ *m* (final consonant in SAL 身 몸 *MWOM* ‘body’) + ㅛ *i* (nominative particle) 22.5.2

Character 331

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
密	‘to be secret’	밀 <i>mil</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 그ㄷ- *KU.ZUK-* ‘to be secret’ (1+0=1) 6.2.2

Character 332

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
房	‘room’	방 <i>pang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 집 *CIP* ‘home’ (1+0=1) 6.3.3

Character 333

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
陪	‘to accompany’	배 <i>pay</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 께ㅅ- *MWOY.SI-* > 모ㅅ- *MWO.SI-* ‘to attend to’ (stem) (1+0=1) 10.4.5

Character 334

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
拜	‘to bow’	배 <i>pay</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 절- *CEL-* ‘to bow’ (stem) (0+1=1) 15.3.1

Character 335

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
煩	‘to be bothered’	번 <i>pen</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 번 *PEN* ‘to be bothered’ (0+1=1)

1. ~ + DAL 惱 𪗇 *NWOY* ‘to be annoyed’ → 煩惱 번 𪗇 *PEN-NWOY* ‘kleśa (disturbing emotion)’ 20.6.1

Character 336

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
辯	‘to debate’	변 <i>pyen</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 변 *PYEN* ‘debate’ (0+1=1) 16.3.3

Character 337

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
兵	‘weapon’	병 <i>pyeng</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 잠개 *CAM.KAY* ‘weapon’ (1+0=1) 14.7.2

Character 338

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
病	‘to be sick’	병 <i>pyeng</i>	0+1=1

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)**

1. ~ + 吟 → 病吟 24.9.1

Character 339

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
本	‘origin’	본 <i>pwon</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 본 *PWON* ‘origin’ (1+0=1) 5.7.1

Character 340

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
蓬	‘mugwort’	뽕 <i>pwong</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 다뽕 *TA.PWOC* > 다뽕쑥 *TA.PWUK.SSWUK* ‘mugwort’ (1+0=1) 1.8.1

Character 341

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
烽	‘torch’	뽕 <i>pwong</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 烽 *HWAY* ‘torch’ (1+0=1) 12.4.1

Character 342

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
朋	‘comrade’	뽕 <i>pwung</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 뽕 *PET* > 벗 *PES* ‘friend’ (0+1=1) 21.6.5

Character 343

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
父	‘father’	부 <i>pwu</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅁ|ㅂ| *A.PI* ‘father’ (1+0=1) 3.1.3

Character 344

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
夫	‘man, husband’	부 <i>pwu</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 부 *pwu* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. ~ + SAP 作 질 *cil* → 夫作 부질 *pwu.cil* (~ 부지런 *pwu.ci.len*) ‘diligence’ 15.10.3

Character 345

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
北	‘north’	북 <i>pwuk</i>	1+0=1
以	‘to take use of’	이 <i>i</i>	

*Character 12.10.5 is written as 北 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 以. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 北 but interpreted as the character 以.

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: -로 *-LWO* (instrumental particle) (1+0=1)

1. (SAP 友 버 *pe* + PAP 物 물 *mul* →) 友物 버물- *pe.mul*- ‘to be hung, bound’ (stem) + ~ 12.10.5 (graphic error of 以)

Character 346

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
弗	‘not’	불 <i>pwul</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 플 *phul* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 次 저 *ce* + ~ → 次弗 저플 *ce.phul* (← 저프- *ce.phu*- ‘to be frightening’ [stem] + -르 - *-l-* [prospective adnominal suffix]) 14.6.2

Character 347

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
飛	‘to fly’	ㅂ <i>pi</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㅂ| *nol* (← ㅂ| - *NOL*- [> ㅂ| - *NAL*-] ‘to fly’ [stem]) (0+1=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (0+1=1)

1. -ㄴᆞ - *-no-l-* ← -ㄴ - *-no-* (present suffix) + -ㄷ - *-l-* (prospective adnominal suffix) 23.9.7

Character 348

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
使	‘to employ’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 브리- *PU.LI-* > 부리- *PWU.LI-* ‘to employ’ (stem) (1+0=1) 10.3.9

Character 349

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
辭	‘word’	사 <i>sa</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 말 *MAL* ‘word’ (1+0=1) 11.3.6

Character 350

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
斜	‘to slant’	사 <i>sa</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 빗기- *PIS.KI-* > 비끼- *PI.KKI-* ‘to slant’ (stem) (0+1=1) 22.10.5

Character 351

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
散	‘to scatter’	산 <i>san</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 산 *SAN* ‘to scatter’ (1+0=1)

1. ~ + DAL 花 花 *HWA* ‘flower’ → 散花 산화 *SAN-HWA* ‘(song of) scattering flowers’ 10.1.5

Character 352

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
尚	‘to respect; to be noble’	상 <i>sang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 높- *NWOPH-* ‘to be high’ (1+0=1) 14.10.3

Character 353

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
上	‘on, up’	상 <i>sang</i>	0+1=1

***Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)**

1. 城 + ~ + 人 → 城上人 22.9.2

Character 354

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
相	‘successively’	상 <i>sang</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 상 *SANG* ‘successively’ (0+1=1) 23.7.3

Character 355

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
色	‘color’	색 <i>sayk</i>	0+1=1
巴	legendary giant snake	파 <i>pha</i>	

*Character 17.5.7 is written as 色 but regarded as a graphic error of the character 巴. As a result, this occurrence is counted as the character 色 but interpreted as the character 巴.

Type: SAP (0+1=1)

Sound: ㄷ록 *to.hwok* (← 돌- *two*- ‘to turn’ [stem] ← ‘snake’) (0+1=1)

Function: ㄷ록 *-to.hwok* (> ㄷ도록 *-two.hwok*) (allative particle) (0+1=1) 17.5.7 (graphic error of 巴)

Character 356

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
薯	‘potato’	서 <i>se</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 서 *SE* ‘potato’ (1+0=1) 6.3.1

Character 357

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
西	‘west’	서 <i>se</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 서 *SE* ‘west’ (1+0=1) 9.2.1

Character 358

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
誓	‘to pledge’	서 <i>se</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 다짐 *TA.TIM* > 다짐 *TA.CIM* ‘pledge’ (1+0=1) 9.5.1

Character 359

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
閼		서 <i>se</i>	0+1=1

*This character does not exist in Chinese writing and is a Neo-Sinogram in Korean writing. Its SK reading is based on the potential phonetic component 西.

Word/morpheme: 잃- *ILH-* ‘to lose’ (stem) (0+1=1) 21.6.8

Character 360

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
雪	‘snow’	설 <i>sel</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 눈 *NWUN* ‘snow’ (1+0=1) 4.10.1

Character 361

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
施	‘to bestow’	설 <i>sel</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 베풀- *PEY.PHWU-* > 베풀- *PEY.PWUL-* ‘to bestow’ (stem) (0+1=1) 22.6.3

Character 362

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
省	‘to reflect’	성 <i>seng</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 손 *swon* (1+0=1)

Function: Fusion of sounds in adjacent morphemes (-손- *-swo-n-* ← -소- *-swo-* [exclamatory suffix] + -ㄴ- *-n-* [adnominal suffix]) (1+0=1)

1. SAL 去 가- *KA-* ‘to go’ (stem) + PAP 遣 -고 *-kwo* (conjunctive particle) + ~ + SAP 如 -다 *-ta* (declarative sentence ending) 14.4.7

Character 363

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
性	‘nature’	성 <i>seng</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 성 *SENG* ‘nature’ (0+1=1) 24.7.2

Character 364

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
歲	‘year’	세 <i>sey</i>	0+1=1

Type: PAP (0+1=1)

Sound: 스 *so* (0+1=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (0+1=1)

1. ~ + PAP 史 ㅅ | *zi* → 歲史 스ㅅ | *so.zi* (> 사ㅅ | *sa.i*) ‘interval’ 22.6.6

Character 365

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
召	‘to summon’	소 <i>swo</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 조 *cwo* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 古 고 *kwo* + ~ → 古召 고조 *kwo.cwo-* (> 고초 *kwo.chwo-*) ‘to bend’ (stem) 7.1.4

Character 366

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
燒	‘to burn’	소 <i>swo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 솔- *SOL-* > 사르- *SA.LU-* ‘to burn’ (stem) (1+0=1) 12.4.2

Character 367

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
掃	‘to sweep’	소 <i>swo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 쓸- *PSUL*- > 쓸- *SSUL*- ‘to sweep’ (stem) (1+0=1) 12.7.3

Character 368

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
續	‘to continue’	속 <i>swok</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 속 *SWOK* ‘to continue’ (0+1=1) 23.7.4

Character 369

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
碎	‘to break’	쇄 <i>sway</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 부서디- *PUZ.E.TI*- > 부서지- *PWU.SE.CI*- ‘to be broken’ (0+1=1) 22.5.4

Character 370

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
誰	‘who’	누 <i>swu</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 누가 *NWU.KI* > 누구 *NWU.KWU* ‘who’ (1+0=1) 5.6.4

Character 371

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
壽	‘longevity’	수 <i>swu</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 수 *SWU* ‘longevity’ (1+0=1)

1. DAL 無 무 *MWU* ‘to not have, lack’ + DAL 量 량 *LYANG* ‘amount’ + ~ + DAL 佛 불 *PWUL* ‘Buddha’ → 無量壽佛 무량수불 *MWU-LYANG-SWU-PWUL* ‘Amitā Buddha’ 9.3.3

Character 372

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
須	‘moment; to wait’	수 <i>swu</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 수 *SWU* (0+1=1)

1. ~ + DAL 弥 미 *MI* → 須弥 수미 *SWU.MI* ‘Mount Meru’ 17.3.4

Character 373

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
樹	‘tree’	수 <i>swu</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 수 *SWU* ‘tree’ (0+1=1)

1. **DAL** 覺 각 *KAK* + ~ + **DAL** 王 왕 *WANG* ‘king’ → 覺樹王 각수왕 *KAK-SWU-WANG* ‘bodhi tree’ 23.1.2

Character 374

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
宿	‘to dwell’	숙 <i>swuk</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 자- *CA-* ‘to sleep’ (stem) (1+0=1) 1.8.6

Character 375

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
膝	‘knee’	슬 <i>sul</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 무릎 *MWU.LWUPH* > 무릎 *MWU.LUPH* ‘knee’ (1+0=1) 7.1.1

Character 376

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
習	‘habit’	습 <i>sup</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 버릇 *PE.LUS* ‘habit’ (0+1=1) 18.5.3

Character 377

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
勝	‘to be superior’	승 <i>sung</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 승 *SUNG* ‘to be superior’ (0+1=1) 17.10.6

Character 378

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
尋	‘to look for’	심 <i>sim</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 찾- *CHOC-* > 찾- *CHAC-* ‘to look for’ (stem) (0+1=1) 19.2.6

Character 379

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
紫	‘purple’	자 <i>ca</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 단배 *TIT.PAY* ‘azalea; purple’ (1+0=1) 2.1.1

Character 380

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
慈	‘to be kind’	자 <i>ca</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 자 *CA* ‘to be kind’ (1+0=1)

1. ~ + **DAL** 悲 비 *PI* ‘to be compassionate’ → 慈悲 자비 *CA-PI* ‘mercy’ 7.10.7

Character 381

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
自	‘oneself’	자 <i>ca</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 저 *CE* ‘I’ (1+0=1) 14.1.1

Character 382

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
掌	‘palm’	장 <i>cang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 손바담 *SWON-PA.TAM* > 손바닥 *SWON-PA.TAK* ‘palm (of hand)’ (1+0=1) 7.2.3

Character 383

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
長	‘to be long’	장 <i>cang</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 길- *KIL-* ‘to be long’ (stem) (0+1=1) 20.7.5

Character 384

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
才	‘talent’	재 <i>cay</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 재 *CAY* ‘talent’ (0+1=1) 16.3.4

Character 385

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
底	‘bottom’	저 <i>ce</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 제 *cey* (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. PAP 伊 이 *i* + ~ → 伊底 이제 *i.cey* ‘now’ 9.1.4

Character 386

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
磧	‘pebble’	적 <i>cek</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 작벼리 *CYAK.PYE.LI* > 작벼리 *CAK.PYE.LI* ‘pebble’ (1+0=1) 4.6.6

Character 387

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
顛	‘to topple’	전 <i>cen</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 전 *CEN* ‘to topple’ (0+1=1) 18.1.1

Character 388

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
煎	‘to fry’	전 <i>cen</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 다리- *TALI-* ‘to iron’ (stem) (0+1=1) 20.6.5

Character 389

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
田	‘field’	전 <i>cen</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 밭 *PATH* ‘field’ (0+1=1) 20.8.4

Character 390

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
折	‘to break’	절 <i>cel</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 꺾-/꺾- *KES(K)-* > 꺾- *KKEKK-* ‘to pluck’ (stem) (1+0=1) 2.4.3

Character 391

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
淨	‘to be clean’	정 <i>ceng</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 정 *CENG* ‘to be clear’ (0+1=1)

1. ~ + DAL 戒 계 *KYEE* ‘commandment’ → 淨戒 정계 *CENG-KYEE* ‘Buddhist vow’ 18.6.1

Character 392

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
除	‘to remove’	제 <i>cey</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 덜- *TEL-* ‘to remove’ (stem) (1+0=1) 7.6.9

Character 393

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
第	‘rank’	제 <i>cey</i>	1+0=1

SAL: PAP (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 데 *TEY* ‘place’ (1+0=1) 13.8.9

Character 394

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
早	‘to be early’	조 <i>cwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 이르- *ILLU-* ‘to be early’ (stem) (1+0=1) 11.5.5

Character 395

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
鳥	‘bird’	조 <i>cwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 새 *SAY* ‘bird’ (1+0=1) 14.3.2

Character 396

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
條	‘branch’	조 <i>cwo</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 줄 *CWUL* ‘string’ (0+1=1) 17.1.2

Character 397

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
朝	‘morning’	조 <i>cwo</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 아침 *A.CHOM* > 아침 *A.CHIM* ‘morning’ (0+1=1) 21.5.3

Character 398

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
尊	‘to respect’	존 <i>cwon</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 존 *CWON* (reference to Amitā Buddha) (1+0=1) 9.5.6

Character 399

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
座	‘seat’	좌 <i>cwa</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 좌 *CWA* ‘seat’ (1+0=1)

1. ~ + DAL 主 주 *CWU* ‘master’ → 座主 좌주 *CWA-CWU* (honorific personal suffix) 10.4.3

Character 400

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
炷	‘wick’	주 <i>cwu</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 주 *CWU* ‘wick’ (0+1=1) 17.3.2

Character 401

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
周	‘to surround, to be complete’	주 <i>cwu</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 두루 *TWU.LWU* ‘completely’ (0+1=1) 17.8.3

Character 402

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
地	‘land’	지 <i>ci</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: *ㅈㅏ *STA > ㅈㅏ STA > 땅 TTANG ‘land’ (1+0=1) 3.7.2

Character 403

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
止	‘to stop’	지 <i>ci</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 머물- ME.MUL- > 머무르- ME.MWU.LU- ‘to stop’ (stem) (0+1=1) 21.4.4

Character 404

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
進	‘to enter; to go forward’	진 <i>cin</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 나ㄷ - NA.ZO- ‘to go forward’ (stem) (0+1=1) 20.3.5

Character 405

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
嫉	‘to be jealousy’	질 <i>cil</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 질 *CIL* ‘to be jealousy’ (0+1=1)

1. ~ + DAL 妬 투 THWU ‘to resent’ → 嫉妬 질투 *CIL.THWU* ‘jealousy’ 19.10.1

Character 406

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
集	‘to gather’	집 <i>cip</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 모도- MWO.TWO- > 모으- MWO.U- ‘to gather’ (stem) (1+0=1) 9.6.3

Character 407

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
喰	‘to eat’	찬 <i>chan</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 먹- MEK- ‘to eat’ (stem) (1+0=1) 3.6.3

Character 408

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
讚	‘to praise’	찬 <i>chan</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 가리- KILLI- ‘to praise’ (stem) (0+1=1) 16.8.5

Character 409

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
慚	‘to be shamed’	참 <i>cham</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 부끄리- PUS.KU.LI- > 부끄럽- PU.KKU.LEP- ‘to be shamed’ (1+0=1) 2.3.5

Character 410

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
唱	‘to sing’	창 <i>chang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 부르- *PU.LU-* > 부르- *PWU.LU-* ‘to sing’ (stem) (1+0=1) 10.1.7

Character 411

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
川	‘stream’	천 <i>chen</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 나리 *NA.LI* > 내 *NAY* ‘stream’ (1+0=1) 4.6.3

Character 412

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
清	‘to be clear’	청 <i>cheng</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 맑- *MOLK-* > 맑- *MALK-* ‘to be clear’ (0+1=1) 21.9.8

Character 413

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
最	‘most’	최 <i>chwoy</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 최 *CHWOY* ‘most’ (0+1=1) 17.10.5

Character 414

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
春	‘spring’	춘 <i>chwun</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 봄 *PWOM* ‘spring’ (1+0=1) 1.1.3

Character 415

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
就	‘to approach’	취 <i>chwi</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 못- *MOCH-* > 마쳐- *MA.CHI-* ‘to end’ (stem) (1+0=1) 1.4.5

Character 416

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
趣	‘to go toward’	취 <i>chwi</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 낳- *NAS-* ‘to go out’ (stem) (0+1=1) 25.5.3

Character 417

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
治	‘to put in order, to govern’	치 <i>chi</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 다스리- *TA.SO.LI-* > 다스리- *TA.SU.LI-* ‘to govern’ (stem) (1+0=1) 3.6.6

Character 418

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
七	‘seven’	칠 <i>chil</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 스 *su* (← 叱 入 *s*) (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 史 시 *si* → 七史 스시 *su.si* (> 숫 *sus*) ‘interval’ 1.5.6

Character 419

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
寢	‘to sleep’	침 <i>chim</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 자- *CA-* ‘to sleep’ (stem) (1+0=1) 5.3.4

Character 420

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
陀	‘to collapse’	타 <i>tha</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 타 *THA* (1+0=1)

1. DAL 彌 미 *MI* + ~ → 彌陀 미타 *MI.THA* ‘Amitā Buddha’ 11.9.4

Character 421

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
打	‘to hit’	타 <i>tha</i>	0+1=1

*Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)

1. ~ + 心 → 打心 23.9.1

Character 422

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
歎	‘to exclaim’	탄 <i>than</i>	0+1=1

*Marker of the final stanza (type and reading unclear) (0+1=1)

1. ~ + 曰 → 歎曰 15.9.1

Character 423

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
奪	‘to deprive’	탈 <i>thal</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 𐄂- *AS-* ‘to deprive’ (stem) (1+0=1) 5.8.1

Character 424

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
土	‘soil’	토 <i>thwo</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 토 *THWO* ‘soil’ (0+1=1) 20.5.3

Character 425

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
妬	‘to resent’	투 <i>thwu</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 투 *THWU* ‘to resent’ (0+1=1)

1. DAL 嫉 질 *CIL* + ~ → 嫉妬 질투 *CIL.THWU* ‘jealousy’ 19.10.2

Character 426

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
巴	legendary giant snake	파 <i>pha</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 돌 *twol* (← 돌- *TWOL*- ‘to turn’ [stem] ← ‘snake’) (1+0=1)

Function: Part of a word/morpheme (1+0=1)

1. ~ + PAP 寶 보 *pwo* → 巴寶 돌보- *twol.pwo*- ‘to take care of’ (stem) 10.2.1

Character 427

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
婆	‘old woman’	파 <i>pha</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 파 *PHA* (1+0=1)

1. DAL 乾 건 *KEN* + DAL 達 달 *TAL* + ~ → 乾達婆 건달파 *KEN.TAL.PHA* ‘Gandharva’ 12.2.3

Character 428

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
破	‘to break’	파 <i>pha</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 파 *PHA* ‘to break’ (1+0=1) 14.5.6

Character 429

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
判	‘to judge’	판 <i>phan</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 판 *PHAN* (1+0=1)

1. DAL 花 화 *HWA* + ~ → 花判 화판 *HWA-PHAN* ‘Flower Knight’(?) 4.10.9

Character 430

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
平	‘to be calm’	평 <i>phyeng</i>	1+0=1

Type: DAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 평 *PHYENG* ‘to be calm’ (1+0=1)

1. DAL 大 태 *THAY* ‘to be big’ + ~ → 大平 태평 *THAY-PHYENG* ‘great peace’ 3.10.4

Character 431

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
布	‘cloth’	포 <i>phwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: PAP (1+0=1)

Sound: 배 *pay* (1+0=1)

Function: Phonetic determinative denoting the vowel *ay* (1+0=1)

1. SAL 紫 딤배 *TIT.PAY* ‘azalea; purple’ 2.1.2

Character 432

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
抱	‘to hold in arms’	포 <i>pwo</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 안- *AN-* ‘to hold in arms’ (stem) (1+0=1) 6.4.5

Character 433

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
風	‘wind’	풍 <i>phwung</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 바람 *PO.LOM* > 바람 *PA.LAM* ‘wind’ (1+0=1) 11.5.7

Character 434

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
疲	‘to be exhausted’	피 <i>phi</i>	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 피 *PHI* ‘to be exhausted’ (0+1=1) 15.9.8

Character 435

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
筆	‘brush’	필 <i>phil</i>	0+1=1

Type: SAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: 붓 *PWUT* > 붓 *PWUS* ‘brush’ (0+1=1) 15.1.3

Character 436

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
何	‘what’	하 <i>ha</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 何如 엇디 *ES.TI* > 어찌 *E.CCI* ‘what, how’ (1+0=1) 5.8.5

Character 437

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
巷	‘alley’	항 <i>hang</i>	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 굴형 *KWUL.HENG* > 구렁 *KWU.LENG* ‘pit, alley’ (1+0=1) 1.8.4

Character 438

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
孩	‘child’	해 hay	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: ㄱᄃᆫᆫ A.HOY > ㄱᄃᆫ A.I ‘child’ (1+0=1) 3.3.7

Character 439

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
虚	‘to be empty’	허 he	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅎ HE ‘to be empty’ (0+1=1) 16.5.3

Character 440

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
獻	‘to present’	헌 hen	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 나소- NA.ZWO- ‘to present’ (stem) (1+0=1) 2.4.6

Character 441

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
還	‘to return’	환 hwan	1+0=1

Type: SAL (1+0=1)

Word/morpheme: 돌- TWOL- ‘to go around’ (stem) (1+0=1) 14.6.8

Character 442

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
悔	‘to regret’	회 hwoy	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅎ HWOY ‘to regret’ (0+1=1) 18.7.8

Character 443

Character	Gloss	MoSK	Occurrences
會	‘to meet’	회 hwoy	0+1=1

Type: DAL (0+1=1)

Word/morpheme: ㅎ HWOY ‘gathering’ (0+1=1) 20.2.7

Appendix 3

Interpretation of Vernacular Japanese Poems

This appendix gives the character-by-character analysis and interpretation of each vernacular Japanese poem cited in chapter 3 (except the poems on the wooden slips).

Notes

1. The section “References” lists major modern annotated versions of the source material of a poem.

These versions and their abbreviation are listed in the following table.

NKBT	<i>Nihon koten bungaku taikei</i> 日本古典文學大系
SNKBT	<i>Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei</i> 新日本古典文学大系
NKBZ	<i>Nihon koten bungaku zenshū</i> 日本古典文学全集
SNKBZ	<i>Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū</i> 新編日本古典文学全集
MYSCS	<i>Man'yōshū chūshaku</i> 萬葉集注釋 (by Omodaka Hisataka 澤瀉久孝)
MYSZC	<i>Man'yōshū zenchū</i> 萬葉集全注 (by various authors)
Vovin	Alexander Vovin's translation of <i>Man'yōshū</i>

2. The section “Statistics” lists the number of different characters and the number of occurrences of each type of characters in a poem.

3. The first table under each line or group of lines gives the original text, its transcription in both Romanized and *kana* forms, and its English translation.

4. The second table under each line or group of lines gives the following information of each character:
(1). its gloss in Chinese; (2). its modern Sino-Japanese reading (MoSJ); (3). its reading in the poem with a gloss; (4). its type of adaptation.

Man'yōshū Poem 1.1

Preface/Title

泊瀬朝倉宮御宇天皇代 大泊瀬稚武天皇
天皇御製歌

Author

Emperor Yūryaku 雄略 (21st Emperor, traditional reign dates 456-479)

References

NKBT	4: 8-9 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 13-14 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 63-64 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 23-24 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	1: 12-34 (Omodaka 1957)
MYSZC	1: 19-25 (Itō 1983)
Vovin	Book 1: 16-19 (2017)

Original Text

1 籠毛與 2 美籠母乳 3 布久思毛與 4 美夫君志持 5 此岳尔 6 菜採須兒 7 家吉閑 8 名告紗根
9 虛見津 10 山跡乃國者 11 押奈戸手 12 吾許曾居 13 師吉名倍手 14 吾己曾座 15 我許背齒告
目 16 家呼毛名雄母

Literary Translation

The girl plucking greens on this hill, holding a basket and a digging stick, [I] want to hear about [your] home and [you] to tell [me your] name. [As for] the Yamato country under Heaven, [it] is I [who] press [it] with force and rule [it] widely. I will tell [you] both [my] home and [my] name.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
54	0	22	31	15	68

Lines 1-2

Original Text	籠毛與 美籠母乳
Transcription	こ ₁ も ₁ よ ₂ み ₁ こ ₁ も ₂ ち KO ₁ -mo ₁ =yo ₂ mi ₁ -KO ₁ mo ₂ t-i-
English translation	A basket, holding a basket,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1.1	籠	‘basket’	ロウ rō	こ ₁ KO ₁ ‘basket’		SAL
1.2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ mō K ボウ bō	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)		PAP
1.3	與	‘to join’	ヨ yo	=よ ₂ =yo ₂ (interjectional particle)		PAP
2.1	美	‘to be beautiful’	G ミ mi K ビ bi	み ₁ - mi ₁ - (honorific prefix)		PAP
2.2	籠	‘basket’	ロウ rō	こ ₁ KO ₁ ‘basket’		SAL
2.3	母	‘mother’	G モ mo K ボウ bō KY ボ bo	も ₂ mo ₂	も ₂ ち- mo ₂ t-i- ‘to hold’ (infinitive)	PAP
2.4	乳	‘breast’	ニュウ nyū	ち ti ← ち TI ‘breast’		SAP

Lines 3-4

Original Text	布久思毛與 美夫君志持
Transcription	ふくしも ₁ よ ₂ み ₁ ぶくしも ₂ ち pu.ku.si=mo ₁ =yo ₂ mi ₁ -bu.ku.si MO ₂ T-I-
English translation	A digging stick, holding a digging stick,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
3.1	布	‘cloth’	G フ <i>fu</i> K ホ <i>ho</i>	ふ <i>pu</i>	ふくし <i>pu.ku.si</i> ‘digging stick’	PAP
3.2	久	‘to be long-lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP
3.3	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP
3.4	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	= も ₁ = <i>mo</i> ₁ (emphatic particle)		PAP
3.5	與	‘to join’	ヨ <i>yo</i>	= よ ₂ = <i>yo</i> ₂ (interjectional particle)		PAP
4.1	美	‘to be beautiful’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	み ₁ - <i>mi</i> ₁ - (honorific prefix)		PAP
4.2	夫	‘man’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K フ <i>fu</i> KY フウ <i>fū</i>	ぶ <i>bu</i>	ぶくし <i>bu.ku.si</i> ‘digging stick’	PAP
4.3	君	‘lord’	クン <i>kun</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP
4.4	志	‘inclination’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP
4.5	持	‘to hold’	G デ <i>ji</i>	も ₂ ち- <i>MO</i> ₂ <i>T-I-</i> ‘to hold’ (infinitive)		SAL

			K チ <i>chi</i>		

Lines 5-6

Original Text	此岳尔 菜採須兒
Transcription	こ ₂ の ₂ をかになつますこ ₁ KO ₂ -NO ₂ WO.KA=ni NA TUM-A-su-KO ₁
English translation	The girl plucking greens on this hill

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
5.1	此	‘this’	シ <i>shi</i>	こ ₂ の ₂ KO ₂ -NO ₂ ‘this’	SAL
5.2	岳	‘hill’	ガク <i>gaku</i>	をか WO.KA ‘hill’	SAL
5.3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP
6.1	菜	‘greens’	サイ <i>sai</i>	な NA ‘greens’	SAL
6.2	採	‘to pluck’	サイ <i>sai</i>	つま -TUM-A- ‘to pluck’ (irrealis)	SAL
6.3	須	‘beard’; ‘must’	G ス <i>su</i> G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	-す - <i>su</i> - (honorific auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
6.4	兒	‘child’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	こ ₁ KO ₁ ‘child’	SAL

Lines 7-8

Original Text	家吉閑 ¹ 名告紗根
Transcription	いへ ₁ き ₁ かな の ₂ らさね I.PE ₁ ki ₁ k-a=na NA NO ₂ R-A-sa=ne
English translation	[I] want to hear about [your] home, [I] want [you] to tell [me your] name.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
7.1	家	‘home’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	いへ ₁ I.PE ₁ ‘home’		SAL
7.2	吉	‘to be auspicious’	G キチ <i>kichi</i> K キツ <i>kitsu</i>	き ₁ ki ₁	き ₁ かな ki ₁ k-a=na (← き ₁ か- ki ₁ k-a- ‘to hear’ [irrealis] + =な =na [optative final particle])	PAP
7.3	閑	‘barrier’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	かな ka.na		PAP
8.1	名	‘name’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	な NA ‘name’		SAL
8.2	告	‘to tell’	コク <i>koku</i>	の ₂ ら -NO ₂ R-A- ‘to tell’ (irrealis)		SAL
8.3	紗	‘thin silk’	G シャ <i>sha</i>	-さ - <i>sa</i> - (honorific auxiliary verb)		PAP

¹An alternative interpretation of line 7 is regarding the character 吉 as a graphic error of SAL 告 for the word の₂ら -NO₂R-A- ‘to tell’ (irrealis), and the character 閑 as an SAP for the honorific auxiliary verb -せ -*se* (imperative) (← せ *se* ‘barrier’, cf. せく *sek-u* ‘to block’ [conclusive]). In this way, line 7 is read as いへ₁の₂らせ I.PE₁ NO₂R-A-se ‘Tell [me your] home’ (e.g., MYSCS 1: 17-21).

			K サ <i>sa</i>	(irrealis)	
8.4	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	=ね <i>-ne</i> (optative final particle toward listener) ← ね <i>NE</i> ‘root’	SAP

Lines 9-10

Original Text	虚見津 ² 山跡乃國者
Transcription	そ ₁ らみ ₁ つ やまと ₂ の ₂ くには so ₁ .ra-mi ₁ .tu ya.ma.to ₂ =no ₂ KU.NI=PA
English translation	The Yamato country under Heaven

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
9.1	虚	‘to be empty’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	そ ₁ ら <i>so₁.ra</i> ‘sky’ ← そ ₁ ら <i>SO₁.RA</i> ‘to be empty’		SAP
9.2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ <i>mi₁</i> ← み ₁ - <i>MI₁-</i> ‘to see’ (stem)	み ₁ つ <i>mi₁.tu</i>	SAP
9.3	津	‘ford’	シン <i>shin</i>	つ <i>tu</i> ← つ <i>TU</i> ‘ford’	‘under’	SAP
10.1	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま <i>ya.ma</i> ← やま <i>YA.MA</i> ‘mountain’	やまと ₂ <i>ya.ma.to₂</i>	SAP
10.2	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	と ₂ <i>to₂</i> ← あと <i>A.TO</i> ‘trace’	‘Yamato (Japan)’	SAP
10.3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ <i>=no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP
10.4	國	‘country’	コク <i>koku</i>	くに <i>KU.NI</i> ‘country’		SAL
10.5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は <i>=PA</i> (topic particle)		SAL

Lines 11-12

Original Text	押奈戸手 吾許曾居
Transcription	おしなべ ₂ て われこ ₂ そ ₂ をれ OS-I-na.be ₂ =te WA.RE=ko ₂ .so ₂ WOR-E-
English translation	Pressing with force, [it] is I.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
11.1	押	‘to sign’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i>	おし- <i>OS-I-</i>	おしなべ ₂ -	SAL

²The character sequence 虚見津 represents the epithet (*makura kotoba* 枕詞) associated with the following word *ya.ma.to* ‘Yamato’ and is read as そ₁らみ₁つ *so₁.ra mi₁.tu*. An episode in *Nihon shoki* describing the god Nigihayahi no Mikoto 饒速日命 seeing the land of Yamato from the sky (及至饒速日命乘天磐船而翔行太虚也、睨是郷而降之、故因目之、曰虚空見日本國矣 [SNKBZ 2: 236]) is taken as the origin of this expression, which is thus etymologically analyzed as consisting of そ₁ら *so₁.ra* ‘sky’, み₁- *mi₁-* ‘to see’ (infinitive), and -つ *-tu* (perfective auxiliary verb). In this way, the character 見 is an SAL. On the other hand, Vovin presumes that そ₁ら *so₁.ra* is the native Japanese word meaning ‘sky’ and み₁つ *mi₁.tu* is a loanword from Korean meaning ‘under’ (cf. MoK 밀 *mith*). Accordingly, this expression means ‘under Heaven’ and is analogous with (or probably inspired by) the Chinese concept of *tiānxià* 天下 (Vovin 2011: 141-142). In this way, the character 見 is an SAP.

			K オウ <i>ō</i>	‘to press’ (infinitive)	<i>OS-I-na.be₂-</i> ‘to press with force’ (infinitive)	
11.2	奈	interrogative pronoun	G ナ(イ) <i>na(i)</i> K ダ(イ) <i>da(i)</i>	な <i>na</i>		PAP
11.3	戸	‘door, household’	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	べ ₂ <i>be₂</i> ← へ ₂ <i>PE₂</i> ‘household’		SAP
11.4	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	=て <i>=te</i> (conjunctive particle) ← て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’		SAP
12.1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	われ <i>WA.RE</i> ‘I’		SAL
12.2	許	‘to allow’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	こ ₂ <i>ko₂</i>	=こ ₂ そ ₂ <i>=ko₂.so₂</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
12.3	曾	‘once’	G ゾウ <i>zō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i> KY ゾ <i>zo</i> KY ソ <i>so</i>	そ ₂ <i>so₂</i>		PAP
12.4	居	‘to be located’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	をれ- <i>WOR-E-</i> ‘to exist’ (realis)		SAL

Lines 13-14

Original Text	師吉名倍手 吾己曾座
Transcription	しき ₁ なべ ₂ て われこ ₂ そ ₂ いませ sik-i ₁ -na.be ₂ =te WA.RE=ko ₂ .so ₂ I.MAS-E-
English translation	Ruling widely, [it] is I.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
13.1	師	‘teacher’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>	しき ₁ なべ ₂ - <i>sik-i₁-na.be₂-</i> ‘to rule widely’ (infinitive)	PAP
13.2	吉	‘to be auspicious’	G キチ <i>kichi</i> K キツ <i>kitsu</i>	き ₁ <i>ki₁</i>		PAP
13.3	名	‘name’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	な <i>na</i> ← な <i>NA</i> ‘name’		SAP
13.4	倍	‘to be multiple times as much’	G バイ <i>bai</i> K ハイ <i>hai</i>	べ ₂ <i>be₂</i>		PAP
13.5	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	=て <i>-te</i> (conjunctive particle) ← て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’		SAP
14.1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	われ <i>WA.RE</i> ‘I’		SAL
14.2	己	‘self’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	こ ₂ <i>ko₂</i>	=こ ₂ そ ₂ <i>=ko₂.so₂</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
14.3	曾	‘once’	G ゾウ <i>zō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i> KY ゾ <i>zo</i>	そ ₂ <i>so₂</i>		PAP

			KY ソ <i>so</i>		
14.4	座	‘seat’	G ザ <i>za</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	いませ - <i>I.MAS-E</i> - ‘to exist’ (honorific) (realis)	SAL

Lines 15-16

Original Text	我許背齒告目 家呼毛名雄母
Transcription	われこ ₂ そ ₂ はの ₂ らめ ₂ いへ ₁ をも ₁ なをも ₂ WA.RE=ko ₂ .so ₂ =pa NO ₂ R-A-m-e ₂ - I.PE ₁ =wo=mo ₁ NA=wo=mo ₂
English translation	I will tell [you] both [my] home and [my] name.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
15.1	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	われ <i>WA.RE</i> ‘I’	SAL
15.2	許	‘to allow’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	こ ₂ <i>ko₂</i>	=こ ₂ そ ₂ =ko ₂ .so ₂ (emphatic particle)
15.3	背	‘back’	G バイ <i>bai</i> K ハイ <i>hai</i>	そ ₂ <i>so₂</i> ← そ ₂ <i>so₂</i> ‘back’	
15.4	齒	‘tooth’	シ <i>shi</i>	=は <i>=pa</i> (topic particle) ← は <i>PA</i> ‘tooth’	SAP
15.5	告	‘to tell’	コク <i>koku</i>	の ₂ ら - <i>NO₂R-A</i> - ‘to tell’ (irrealis)	SAL
15.6	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	-め ₂ - <i>-m-e₂-</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (realis) ← め ₂ <i>ME₂</i> ‘eye’	SAP
16.1	家	‘home’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	いへ ₁ <i>I.PE₁</i> ‘home’	SAL
16.2	呼	‘to call’	コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>=wo</i> (accusative particle)	PAP
16.3	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ <i>=mo₁</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
16.4	名	‘name’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	な <i>NA</i> ‘name’	SAL
16.5	雄	‘male’	G オウ <i>ō</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	=を <i>=wo</i> (accusative particle) ← を <i>WO</i> ‘male’	SAP
16.6	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	=も ₂ <i>=mo₂</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP

Man'yōshū Poem 12.3023

Preface/Title

寄物陳思 (poems 2964-3100)

Author

Unknown (cf. poem 17.3935)

References

NKBT	6: 292-293 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 170 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 325 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 334 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 148-149 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 313-314 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 隱沼乃 2 下從戀餘 3 白浪之 4 灼然出 5 人之可知

Literary Translation

From the bottom of the hidden marsh, [my] love overflowing, [it] remarkably came out [like] the white waves [coming out]. People may know, and ...

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
16	0	16	1	0	17

Line 1

Original Text	隠沼乃
Transcription	こ ₂ も ₂ りぬの ₂ KO ₂ .MO ₂ R-I-NU=no ₂
English translation	Of the hidden marsh

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	隠	‘to conceal’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	こ ₂ も ₂ り KO ₂ .MO ₂ R-I ‘hidden’ (nominal)	SAL
2	沼	‘marsh’	シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	ぬ NU ‘marsh’	SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	下從戀餘
Transcription	したゆこ ₁ ひ ₂ あまり SI.TA=YU KO ₁ .PI ₂ A.MAR-I-
English translation	From below, [my] love exceeding,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	下	‘below’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	した SI.TA ‘below’	SAL
2	從	‘to follow’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	=ゆ =YU (ablative particle)	SAL
3	戀	‘to love’	レ ン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ KO ₁ .PI ₂ ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)	SAL
4	餘	‘to exceed’	ヨ <i>yo</i>	あまり - A.MAR-I- ‘to exceed’ (infinitive)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	白浪之
Transcription	しらなみ ₁ の ₂ SI.RA-NA.MI ₁ =NO ₂
English translation	Of the white waves

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	白	‘to be white’	G ビヤク <i>byaku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	しら- SI.RA- ‘white’ (bound form) ← しろ ₁ - SI.RO ₁ - ‘to be white’ (stem)	SAL
2	浪	‘wave’	ロ ウ <i>rō</i>	なみ ₁ NA.MI ₁ ‘wave’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	灼然出
Transcription	いちしろ ₁ くいでぬ I.TI.SI.RO ₁ -KU I.DE- <u>n-u</u>
English translation	[It] remarkably came out.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	灼	‘to burn’	シャク <i>shaku</i>	いちしろ ₁ - I.TI.SI.RO ₁ - ‘to be remarkable’ (stem)	SAL
2	然	adverbial ending	G ネン <i>nen</i> K ゼン <i>zen</i>	-く -KU (adverbial suffix)	SAL
3	出	‘to come out’	G シュチ <i>shuchi</i> K シュツ <i>shutsu</i>	いで- I.DE- ‘to come out’ (infinitive)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-ぬ -n-u (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		

Line 5

Original Text	人之可 _レ 知
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ の ₂ しるべ ₂ く PI ₁ .TO ₂ =NO ₂ SIR-U-BE ₂ -KU-
English translation	People may know, and ...

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=① ₂ =NO ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)	SAL
3	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	-べ ₂ く -BE ₂ -KU- (speculative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
4	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	しる SIR-U ‘to know’ (conclusive)	SAL

Man'yōshū Poem 17.3935

Preface/Title

平群氏女郎、越中守大伴宿禰家持贈歌十二首 (poems 3931-3942)

Author

Unknown (a female from the Heguri 平群 clan [平群氏女郎])

References

NKBT	7: 190-191 (Takagi et al. 1962)
SNKBT	4: 106-107 (Satake et al. 2003)
NKBZ	5: 178 (Kojima et al. 1975)
SNKBZ	9: 165 (Kojima et al. 1996)
MYSCS	17: 66 (Omodaka 1967)
MYSZC	17: 90 (Hashimoto 1985)
Vovin	Book 17: 69 (2016)

Original Text

1 許母利奴能 2 之多由孤悲安麻里 3 志良奈美能 4 伊知之路久伊泥奴 5 比登乃師流倍久

Literary Translation

From the bottom of the hidden marsh, [my] love overflowing, [it] remarkably came out [like] the white waves [coming out]. People may know, and ...

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
28	0	0	33	0	33

Line 1

Original Text	許母利奴能
Transcription	こ ₂ も ₂ りぬの ₂ ko ₂ .mo ₂ r-i-nu-no ₂
English translation	Of the hidden marsh

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	許	‘to allow’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	こ ₂ <i>ko₂</i>	こ ₂ も ₂ り <i>ko₂.mo₂r-i</i> ‘hidden’ (nominal)	PAP
2	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	も ₂ <i>mo₂</i>		PAP
3	利	‘to be sharp’	リ <i>ri</i>	り <i>ri</i>		PAP
4	奴	‘slave’	G ヌ <i>nu</i> K ド <i>do</i>	ぬ <i>nu</i> ‘marsh’		PAP
5	能	‘to be able’	G ノウ <i>nō</i> K ドウ <i>dō</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	之多由孤悲安麻里
Transcription	したゆこ ₁ ひ ₂ あまり si.ta-yu ko ₁ .pi ₂ a.mar-i-
English translation	From below, [my] love exceeding,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>	した <i>si.ta</i> ‘below’	PAP
2	多	‘to be numerous’	タ <i>ta</i>	た <i>ta</i>		PAP
3	由	‘reason’	G ュ <i>yu</i> K ュウ <i>yū</i> KY ュイ <i>yui</i>	=ゆ = <i>yu</i> (ablative particle)		PAP
4	孤	‘to be lonely’	コ <i>ko</i>	こ ₁ <i>ko₁</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ <i>ko₁.pi₂</i> ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)	PAP
5	悲	‘to be sad’	ヒ <i>hi</i>	ひ ₂ <i>pi₂</i>		PAP
6	安	‘to be peaceful’	アン <i>an</i>	あ <i>a</i>	あまり - <i>a.mar-i-</i> ‘to exceed’ (infinitive)	PAP
7	麻	‘hemp’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	ま <i>ma</i>		PAP
8	里	unit of length	リ <i>ri</i>	り <i>ri</i>		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	志良奈美能

Transcription	しらなみ ₁ の ₂ si.ra-na.mi ₁ =no ₂
English translation	Of the white waves

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	志	‘inclination’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>	しら <i>si.ra-</i> ‘white’ (bound form) ← しろ ₁ - <i>si.ro₁-</i> ‘to be white’ (stem)	PAP
2	良	‘to be good’	リ ヨ ウ <i>ryō</i>	ら <i>ra</i>		PAP
3	奈	interrogative pronoun	G ナ <i>na</i> K ダ <i>da</i>	な <i>na</i>	なみ ₁ <i>na.mi₁</i> ‘wave’	PAP
4	美	‘to be beautiful’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	み ₁ <i>mi₁</i>		PAP
5	能	‘to be able’	G ノウ <i>nō</i> K ドウ <i>dō</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	伊知之路久伊泥奴
Transcription	いちしろ ₁ くいでぬ i.ti.si.ro ₁ -ku i.de-n-u
English translation	[It] remarkably came out.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	伊	demonstrative pronoun; copula	イ <i>i</i>	い <i>i</i>	いちしろ ₁ - <i>i.ti.si.ro₁</i> - ‘to be remarkable’ (stem)	PAP
2	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	ち <i>ti</i>		PAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP
4	路	‘road’	G ル <i>ru</i> K ロ <i>ro</i>	ろ ₁ <i>ro₁</i>		PAP
5	久	‘to be long- lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	-く <i>-ku</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
6	伊	demonstrative pronoun; copula	イ <i>i</i>	い <i>i</i>	いで- <i>i.de</i> - ‘to come out’ (infintive)	PAP
7	泥	mud	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K デイ <i>dei</i>	で <i>de</i>		PAP
8	奴	‘slave’	G ヌ <i>nu</i> K ド <i>do</i>	-ぬ <i>-n-u</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	比登乃師流倍久
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ の ₂ しるべ ₂ く

	pi ₁ .to ₂ =no ₂ sir-u-be ₂ -ku-
English translation	People may know, and ...

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	比	‘to parallel’	G ビ <i>bi</i> K ヒ <i>hi</i>	ひ ₁ <i>pi₁</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ <i>pi₁.to₂</i> ‘person’	PAP
2	登	‘to climb’	トウ <i>tō</i> KY ト <i>to</i>	と ₂ <i>to₂</i>		PAP
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (nominative/genitive particle)		PAP
4	師	‘teacher’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>	しる <i>sir-u</i> ‘to know’ (conclusive)	PAP
5	流	‘to flow’	G ル <i>ru</i> K リュウ <i>ryū</i>	る <i>ru</i>		PAP
6	倍	‘to be multiple times as much’	G バイ <i>bai</i> K ハイ <i>hai</i>	べ ₂ <i>be₂</i>	-べ ₂ く - <i>-be₂-ku-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	PAP
7	久	‘to be long- lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP

“Song of Eight Clouds” in *Kojiki*

Author

Hayasusanoo no Mikoto 速須佐之男命

References

NKBT	1: 88-89 (Kurano et al. 1958)
	3: 34 (Tsuchihashi et al. 1957)
NKBZ	1: 90-91 (Ogihara et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	1: 72-73 (Yamaguchi et al. 1997)

Original Text

1 夜久毛多都 2 伊豆毛夜幣賀岐 3 都麻碁微爾 4 夜幣賀岐都久流 5 曾能夜幣賀岐袁

Literary Translation

[In] Izumo where eight clouds rise, [I make] an eight-layered fence. To enclose [my] wife, [I] make an eight-layered fence. That eight-layered fence!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	0	31	0	31

Line 1

Original Text	夜久毛多都
Transcription	やくも ₁ たつ ya-ku.mo ₁ tat-u-
English translation	[Izumo, where] eight clouds rise

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
2	久	‘to be long-lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	く <i>ku</i>	くも ₁ <i>ku.mo₁</i> ‘cloud’	PAP
3	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	も ₁ <i>mo₁</i>		PAP
4	多	‘to be numerous’	タ <i>ta</i>	た <i>ta</i>	たつ- <i>tat-u-</i> ‘to rise’ (adnominal)	PAP
5	都	‘capital’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> K ト <i>to</i>	つ <i>tu</i>		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	伊豆毛夜幣賀岐
Transcription	いづも ₁ やへ ₁ がき ₁ i.du.mo ₁ ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁
English translation	[In] Izumo, an eight-layered fence

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	伊	demonstrative pronoun; copula	イ <i>i</i>	い <i>i</i>	いづも ₁ <i>i.du.mo₁</i> (toponym)	PAP
2	豆	‘bean’	G ズ <i>zu</i> K トウ <i>tō</i>	づ <i>du</i>		PAP
3	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	も ₁ <i>mo₁</i>		PAP
4	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
5	幣	‘present’	G ベイ <i>bei</i> K ヘイ <i>hei</i>	-へ ₁ <i>-pe₁</i> ‘layer’ (suffix)		PAP
6	賀	‘to celebrate’	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	が <i>ga</i>	がき ₁ <i>ga.ki₁</i> ← かき ₁ <i>ka.ki₁</i> ‘fence’	PAP
7	岐	toponym	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ <i>ki₁</i>		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	都麻碁微爾
Transcription	つまご ₂ み ₂ に tu.ma-go ₂ .mi ₂ =ni

English translation	To enclose [my] wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	都	‘capital’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> K ト <i>to</i>	つ <i>tu</i>	つま <i>tu.ma</i> ‘wife’	PAP
2	麻	‘hemp’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	ま <i>ma</i>		PAP
3	碁	‘go (board game)’	G ゴ <i>go</i> G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	ご ₂ <i>go</i> ₂	ご ₂ み ₂ - <i>go</i> ₂ . <i>mi</i> ₂ - ← こ ₂ み ₂ - <i>ko</i> ₂ . <i>mi</i> ₂ - ‘to enclose’ (infinitive)	PAP
4	微	‘to be tiny’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	み ₂ <i>mi</i> ₂		PAP
5	爾	‘you; this’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	夜幣賀岐都久流
Transcription	やへ ₁ がき ₁ つくる ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁ tu.kur-u
English translation	[I] make an eight-layered fence.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
2	幣	‘present’	G ベイ <i>bei</i> K ヘイ <i>hei</i>	-へ ₁ - <i>pe</i> ₁ ‘layer’ (suffix)		PAP
3	賀	‘to celebrate’	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	が ₁ <i>ga</i>	がき ₁ <i>ga.ki</i> ₁ ← かき ₁ <i>ka.ki</i> ₁ ‘fence’	PAP
4	岐	toponym	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ <i>ki</i> ₁		PAP
5	都	‘capital’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> K ト <i>to</i>	つ <i>tu</i>	つくる <i>tu.kur-u</i> ‘to make’ (conclusive)	PAP
6	久	‘to be long-lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP
7	流	‘to flow’	G ル <i>ru</i> K リュウ <i>ryū</i>	る <i>ru</i>		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	曾能夜幣賀岐袁
Transcription	そ ₂ の ₂ やへ ₁ がき ₁ を so ₂ -no ₂ ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁ =wo
English translation	That eight-layered fence!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	曾	‘once’	G ゾウ <i>zō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i> KY ゾ <i>zo</i> KY ソ <i>so</i>	そ ₂ <i>so</i> ₂	そ ₂ の ₂ <i>so</i> ₂ - <i>no</i> ₂ ‘that’	PAP
2	能	‘to be able’	G ノウ <i>nō</i> K ドウ <i>dō</i>	= の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		PAP
3	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
4	幣	‘present’	G ベイ <i>bei</i> K ヘイ <i>hei</i>	- へ ₁ - <i>pe</i> ₁ ‘layer’ (suffix)		PAP
5	賀	‘to celebrate’	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	が <i>ga</i>	がき ₁ <i>ga.ki</i> ₁ ← かき ₁ <i>ka.ki</i> ₁ ‘fence’	PAP
6	岐	toponym	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ <i>ki</i> ₁		PAP
7	袁	‘(garment) to be long’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	= を = <i>wo</i> (interjectional particle)		PAP

“Song of Eight Clouds” in *Nihon shoki*

Author

Susanoo no Mikoto 素戔鳴尊

References

NKBT	67: 123 (Sakamoto et al. 1967)
	3: 124 (Tsuchihashi et al. 1957)
NKBZ	1: 391 (Ogihara et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	2: 92-93 (Kojima et al. 1994)

Original Text

1 夜句茂多菟 2 伊弉毛夜霸餓岐 3 菟磨語味爾 4 夜霸餓枳菟俱盧 5 贈迺夜霸餓岐廻

Literary Translation

[In] Izumo where eight clouds rise, [I make] an eight-layered fence. To enclose [my] wife, [I] make an eight-layered fence. That eight-layered fence!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	0	31	0	31

Line 1

Original Text	夜句茂多菟
Transcription	やくもたつ ya-ku.mo tat-u-
English translation	[Izumo, where] eight clouds rise

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
2	句	‘to be crooked’	G ク <i>ku</i> K コウ <i>kō</i>	く <i>ku</i>	くも <i>ku.mo</i> ‘cloud’	PAP
3	茂	‘to be luxuriant’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	も <i>mo</i>		PAP
4	多	‘to be numerous’	タ <i>ta</i>	た <i>ta</i>	たつ- <i>tat-u-</i> ‘to rise’ (adnominal)	PAP
5	菟	‘dodder’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> K ト <i>to</i>	つ <i>tu</i>		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	伊努毛夜覇餓岐
Transcription	いづも ₁ やへ ₁ がき ₁ i.du.mo ₁ ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁
English translation	[In] Izumo, an eight-layered fence

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	伊	demonstrative pronoun; copula	イ <i>i</i>	い <i>i</i>	いづも ₁ <i>i.du.mo₁</i> (toponym)	PAP
2	弩	‘crossbow’	G ヌ <i>nu</i> K ド <i>do</i>	づ <i>du</i>		PAP
3	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	も ₁ <i>mo₁</i>		PAP
4	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
5	覇	‘hegemon’	ハ <i>ha</i>	-へ ₁ <i>-pe₁</i> ‘layer’ (suffix)		PAP
6	餓	‘to be hungry’	ガ <i>ga</i>	が <i>ga</i>	がき ₁ <i>ga.ki₁</i> ← かき ₁ <i>ka.ki₁</i> ‘fence’	PAP
7	岐	toponym	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ <i>ki₁</i>		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	菟磨語味爾
Transcription	つまご ₂ み ₂ に tu.ma-go ₂ .mi ₂ =ni
English translation	To enclose [my] wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	菟	‘dodder’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> K ト <i>to</i>	つ <i>tu</i>	つま <i>tu.ma</i> ‘wife’	PAP
2	磨	‘to polish’	G マ <i>ma</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	ま <i>ma</i>		PAP
3	語	‘to speak’	G ゴ <i>go</i> K ギョ <i>gyo</i>	ご ₂ <i>go₂</i>	ご ₂ み ₂ <i>go₂.mi₂</i> - ← こ ₂ み ₂ <i>ko₂.mi₂</i> - ‘to enclose’ (infinitive)	PAP
4	昧	‘to be dark’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	み ₂ <i>mi₂</i>		PAP
5	爾	‘you; this’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>-ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	夜覇餓枳菟俱盧
Transcription	やへ ₁ がき ₁ つくる ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁ tu.kur-u
English translation	[I] make an eight-layered fence.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
2	覇	‘hegemon’	ハ <i>ha</i>	-へ ₁ <i>-pe₁</i> ‘layer’ (suffix)		PAP
3	餓	‘to be hungry’	ガ <i>ga</i>	が <i>ga</i>	がき ₁ <i>ga.ki₁</i> ← かき ₁ <i>ka.ki₁</i> ‘fence’	PAP
4	枳	‘orange’	キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ <i>ki₁</i>		PAP
5	菟	‘dodder’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> K ト <i>to</i>	つ <i>tu</i>	つくる <i>tu.kur-u</i> ‘to make’ (conclusive)	PAP
6	俱	‘together’	ク <i>ku</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP
7	盧	‘furnace’	G ル <i>ru</i> K ロ <i>ro</i>	る <i>ru</i>		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	贈廻夜覇餓岐廻
Transcription	そ ₂ の ₂ やへ ₁ がき ₁ を so ₂ -no ₂ ya-pe ₁ -ga.ki ₁ =wo
English translation	That eight-layered fence!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	贈	‘to give as gift’	G ズウ <i>zō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i>	そ ₂ <i>so₂</i>	そ ₂ の ₂ <i>so₂-no₂</i> ‘that’	PAP
2	廻 (graphic variant of 乃)	conjunctive particle	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K タイ <i>dai</i>	= の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP
3	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i> ‘eight’		PAP
4	覇	‘hegemon’	ハ <i>ha</i>	-へ ₁ - <i>pe₁</i> ‘layer’ (suffix)		PAP

5	餓	‘to be hungry’	ガ <i>ga</i>	が <i>ga</i>	がき ₁ <i>ga.ki</i> ← かき ₁ <i>ka.ki</i> ‘fence’	PAP
6	岐	toponym	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ <i>ki</i>		PAP
7	廻	‘to revolve’	G ガイ <i>gai</i> K カイ <i>kai</i> KY エ <i>e</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (interjectional particle)		PAP

Appendix 4

Interpretation of *Man'yōshū* Poems with Cases of “Playful Writing”

This appendix gives the character-by-character analysis and interpretation of the *Man'yōshū* poems with cases of “playful writing” cited in chapter 4. The poems are listed in the order of their occurrence in *Man'yōshū*.

Notes

1. The section “References” lists major modern annotated versions of *Man'yōshū*. These versions and their abbreviation are given in the following table.

NKBT	<i>Nihon koten bungaku taikai</i> 日本古典文學大系
SNKBT	<i>Shin nihon koten bungaku taikai</i> 新日本古典文学大系
NKBZ	<i>Nihon koten bungaku zenshū</i> 日本古典文学全集
SNKBZ	<i>Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshū</i> 新編日本古典文学全集
MYSCS	<i>Man'yōshū chūshaku</i> 萬葉集注釋 (by Omodaka Hisataka 澤瀉久孝)
MYSZC	<i>Man'yōshū zenchū</i> 萬葉集全注 (by various authors)
Vovin	Alexander Vovin's translation of <i>Man'yōshū</i>

2. In the section “Original Text”, the characters involved in the cases of “playful writing” are bolded.
3. The section “Statistics” lists the number of different characters and the number of occurrences of each type of characters in a poem.
4. The first table under each line or group of lines gives the original text, its transcription in both Romanized and *kana* forms, and its English translation.
5. The second table under each line or group of lines gives the following information of each character:

(1). its gloss in Chinese; (2). its modern Sino-Japanese reading (MoSJ); (3). its reading in the poem with a gloss; (4). its type of adaptation.

List of Poems

1.67	6.926	9.1789	11.2820
1.79	6.948	10.1874	11.2834
2.102	7.1118	10.1997	11.2839
3.343	7.1166	10.2128	12.2927
3.394	7.1189	10.2130	12.2931
4.560	7.1190	10.2131	12.2936
4.561	7.1259	10.2327	12.2988
4.612	7.1272	11.2353	12.2991
4.619	7.1321	11.2542	12.3017
4.655	7.1323	11.2579	12.3028
4.664	7.1324	11.2602	13.3278
4.719	7.1345	11.2642	13.3284
4.735	8.1431	11.2645	13.3297
4.743	8.1487	11.2710	13.3322
4.747	8.1495	11.2720	13.3324
5.901	8.1579	11.2755	13.3330
6.907	9.1787	11.2810	16.3846

Poem 1.67

Preface/Title

太上天皇幸難波宮時歌 (poems 66-69) (probably dated to 699)¹

Author

Attributed to Takayasu no Ōshima 高安大島 (dates unknown)

References

NKBT	4: 42-43 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 56-57 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 98 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 62 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	1: 404-408 (Omodaka 1957)
MYSZC	1: 254-257 (Itō 1983)
Vovin	Book 1: 154-155 (2017)

Original Text

1 旅尔之而 2 物戀之伎尔 3 鶴之鳴毛² 4 不所聞有世者 5 孤悲而死萬思

Literary Translation

When travelling and longing for things, if [I] do not hear even the sound of cranes, [I] would yearn and die.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	13	11	1	25

¹The character sequence 太上天皇 in the title refers to Emperor Jitō 持統 (reign 687-697), while this event probably refers to the visit of Emperor Monmu 文武 (reign 697-707) to the Naniwa 難波 Palace, which occurred in 699.

²Lines 2 and 3 in this poem are problematic. Most manuscript versions only have a single line written as 物戀之鳴毛, and the boxed characters appear in a specific manuscript version and are thought to be supplemented by the scribe or producer of that version. This presumed textual form is accepted by most modern scholars based on context and the usage of the supplemented characters in *Man'yōshū*.

Line 1

Original Text	旅尔之而
Transcription	たび ₁ にして TA.BI ₁ -ni-si=TE
English translation	When travelling

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	旅	‘to travel’	G ロ <i>ro</i> K リョ <i>ryo</i>	たび ₁ TA.BI ₁ ‘travel’	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	-に - <i>ni</i> - (copula) (infinitive)	PAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	し - <i>si</i> - ‘to do’ (infinitive)	PAP
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	物戀之伎尔
Transcription	もの ₂ こ ₁ ひ ₂ しき ₁ に MO.NO ₂ KO ₁ .PI ₂ -si-ki ₁ =ni
English translation	When longing for things

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	物	‘thing’	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	もの ₂ MO.NO ₂ ‘thing’	SAL
2	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - KO ₁ .PI ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>	PAP
4	伎	‘skill’	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ ki ₁	PAP
5	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	鶴之鳴毛
Transcription	たづがねも ₁ TA.DU=GA NE=mo ₁
English translation	Even the sound of cranes

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	鶴	‘crane’	G ガク <i>gaku</i>	たづ TA.DU ‘crane’	SAL

			K カク <i>kaku</i>		
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=が ³ =GA (genitive particle)	SAL
3	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	ね <i>NE</i> ‘sound’	SAL
4	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	不 _レ 所聞有世者
Transcription	き ₁ こ ₂ え ₂ ざり ³ せば KI ₁ .KO ₂ -YE-ZAR-I-se=ba
English translation	If [I] do not hear

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず ³ - -ZU- (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
2	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K ショ <i>sho</i>	き ₁ こ ₂ え ₂ - KI ₁ .KO ₂ -YE- ‘to be heard’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>		SAL
4	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-あり - -AR-I- (existential complementary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
5	世	‘world’	セイ <i>sei</i> KY セ <i>se</i>	せ - se- ‘to do’ (irrealis)	PAP
6	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば ³ =ba (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	孤悲而死萬思
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ てしなまし ko ₁ .pi ₂ =TE SIN-A-ma.si
English translation	[I] would yearn and die.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	孤	‘to be lonely’	コ <i>ko</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - ko ₁ .pi ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	PAP
2	悲	‘to be sad’	ヒ <i>hi</i>		PAP
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

³The negative auxiliary verb -ざり - -zar-i- (infinitive) is a contraction of the negative auxiliary verb -ず³ - -zu- (infinitive) and the existential complementary verb -あり - -ar-i- (infinitive). The contracted form is adopted as the reading here to meet the metrical requirement of seven syllables in this line.

4	死	‘to die’	シ <i>shi</i>	しな - <i>SIN-A</i> - ‘to die’ (irrealis)		SAL
5	萬	‘ten thousand’	G マン <i>man</i> K バン <i>ban</i>	ま <i>ma</i>	-まし - <i>ma.si</i> (hypothetical speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP
6	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP

Poem 1.79

Preface/Title

或本從藤原京遷于寧樂宮時歌 (dated 710)⁴

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	4: 46-49 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 62-63 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 102-103 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 66-68 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	1: 440-449 (Omodaka 1957)
MYSZC	1: 286-291 (Itō 1983)
Vovin	Book 1: 171-174 (2017)

Original Text

(lines of 27-33 of 33)

27 冷夜乎 28 息言無久 29 通乍 30 作家尔 31 千代二手 32 來座多公與 33 吾毛通武

Literary Translation

The great lords who are coming until a thousand generations [later] to the house which has been built as [I] go back and forth [building the house] without resting [on] cold nights! I will also go back and forth [between my home and your house].

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
24	0	16	6	3	25

⁴The character sequence 寧樂 refers to Nara, and the move of the capital from Fujiwara 藤原 to Nara occurred in 710.

Line 27

Original Text	冷夜乎
Transcription	さむき ₁ よ ₁ を SA.MU-KI ₁ -YO ₁ =wo
English translation	The cold night

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	冷	‘to be cold’	G リ ョ ウ <i>ryō</i> K レ イ <i>rei</i>	さむき ₁ - SA.MU-KI ₁ - ‘to be cold’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ YO ₁ ‘night’	SAL
3	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (interjectional particle)	PAP

Line 28

Original Text	息言無久
Transcription	やすむこ ₂ と ₂ なく or いこ ₂ ふこ ₂ と ₂ なく YA.SUM-U-KO ₂ .TO ₂ NA-ku- or I.KO ₂ P-U-KO ₂ .TO ₂ NA-ku-
English translation	Without resting

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	息	‘to rest’	G ソク <i>soku</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i>	やすむ- <i>YA.SUM-U-</i> or いこ ₂ ふ- <i>I.KO₂P-U-</i> ‘to rest’ (adnominal)		SAL
2	言	‘to say’	G ゴン <i>gon</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	こ ₂ と ₂ <i>KO₂.TO₂</i> ‘thing, word’		SAL
3	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	な- <i>NA-</i> ‘to not have’ (stem)	なく <i>NA-ku-</i> ‘to not have’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	久	‘to be long-lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP

Line 29

Original Text	通乍
Transcription	かよ ₁ ひ ₁ つつ KA.YO ₁ P-I ₁ =TU.TU
English translation	As [I] go back and forth

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	通	‘to pass’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> G ツ ウ <i>tsū</i> K ト ウ <i>tō</i>	かよ ₁ ひ ₁ - KA.YO ₁ P-I ₁ - ‘to go back and forth’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	乍	‘suddenly; at the time of’	G ジ <i>ja</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	=つつ =TU.TU (continuative conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 30

Original Text	作家尔
Transcription	つくれ _る いへ ₁ に TU.KUR-E-r-u-I.PE ₁ =ni
English translation	To the house which has been made

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	作	‘to make’	サク <i>saku</i> KY サ <i>sa</i>	つくれ- TU.KUR-E- ‘to make’ (realis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-る - <i>r-u-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		
2	家	‘home’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	いへ ₁ I.PE ₁ ‘home’	SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)	PAP

Line 31

Original Text	千代二手
Transcription	ちよ ₂ まで TI-YO ₂ =ma.de
English translation	Until a thousand generations [later]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	千	‘thousand’	セン <i>sen</i>	ち TI ‘thousand’	SAL
2	代	‘generation’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	よ ₂ YO ₂ ‘generation, year’	SAL
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで MA-TE ‘two hands’ (←	SAP
4	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	SAL 眞 ま -MA- ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て TE ‘hand’) ← ‘two hands’	SAP

Line 32

Original Text	來座多公與
Transcription	き ₁ ますおほき ₁ み ₁ よ ₂ KI ₁ -MAS-U-o.po-KI ₁ .MI ₁ =yo ₂
English translation	The great lords who are coming!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	來	‘to come’	ライ <i>rai</i>	き ₁ KI ₁ - ‘to come’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	座	‘seat’	G ザ <i>za</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	ます -MAS-U- (honorific complementary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
3	多	‘to be numerous’	タ <i>ta</i>	おほ - <i>o.po-</i> ‘big’ (prefix) ← おほ - <i>O.PO-</i> ‘to be numerous’ (stem)	SAP
4	公	‘senior male’	コウ <i>kō</i>	き ₁ み ₁ KI ₁ .MI ₁ ‘lord’	SAL

5	與	‘to join’	ヨ yo	=よ ₂ =yo ₂ (interjectional particle)	PAP

Line 33

Original Text	吾毛通武
Transcription	われも ₁ かよ ₁ はむ WA.RE=mo ₁ KA.YO ₁ P-A-m-u
English translation	I will also go back and forth.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ go	われ WA.RE ‘I’	SAL
2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ mō K ボウ bō	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	通	‘to pass’	G ツ tsu G ツウ tsū K トウ tō	かよ ₁ は - KA.YO ₁ P-A- ‘to go back and forth’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	武	‘military’	G ム mu K ブ bu	-む -m-u (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

Poem 2.102

Preface/Title

近江大津宮御宇天皇代^{天命開別天皇諡曰天智天皇}⁵

巨勢郎女報贈歌一首^{即近江朝大納言巨勢人卿之女也}

Author

Kose no Iratsume 巨勢郎女 (daughter of Kose no Hito 巨勢人 [active late 7th century], wife of Ōtomo no Yasumaro 大伴安麻呂 [active 672-714])

References

NKBT	4: 68-69 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 95 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 123 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 88 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	2: 60-61 (Omodaka 1958)
MYSZC	2: 46-47 (Inaoka 1985)
Vovin	Book 2: 60-62 (2017)

Original Text

1 玉葛 2 花耳開而 3 不成有者 4 誰戀尔有目 5 吾孤悲念乎

Literary Translation

[Like] the jade vine, whose love is that only the flowers bloom and fruit is not realized [i.e., born]? [I] am thinking and yearning [i.e., yearning for you]!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
19	0	14	4	2	20

⁵Emperor Tenji 天智 is the 38th emperor (traditional reign dates 652-672).

Line 1

Original Text	玉葛
Transcription	たまかづら TA.MA-KA.DU.RA
English translation	The jade vine

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま TA.MA ‘jade’	SAL
2	葛	‘hemp’	G カチ <i>kachi</i> K カツ <i>katsu</i>	かづら KA.DU.RA ‘vine’	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	花耳開而
Transcription	はなの ₂ み ₂ さき ₁ て PA.NA=NO ₂ .MI ₂ SAK-I ₁ =TE
English translation	Only the flowers blooming,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	花	‘flower’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	はな PA.NA ‘flower’	SAL
2	耳	restrictive final particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=の ₂ み ₂ =NO ₂ .MI ₂ (restrictive adverbial particle)	SAL
3	開	‘to open’	カイ <i>kai</i>	さき ₁ - SAK-I ₁ - ‘to bloom’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	不 _レ 成有者
Transcription	ならざる ⁶ は NAR-A-ZAR-U=PA
English translation	[The fact that] fruit is not realized

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず ⁶ - -ZU- (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
2	成	‘to become’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	なら- NAR-A- ‘to become, be realized’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-ある- -AR-U- (existential complementary verb) (adnominal)	SAP

⁶The negative auxiliary verb -ざる⁶ -zar-u- (adnominal) is a contraction of the negative auxiliary verb -ず⁶ -zu- (infinitive) and the existential complementary verb -ある⁶ -ar-u- (adnominal). The contracted form is adopted as the reading here to meet the metrical requirement of seven syllables in this line.

4	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	誰戀尔有目
Transcription	たがこ ₁ ひ ₂ にあらめ ₂ TA=GA KO ₁ .PI ₂ -ni-AR-A-m-e ₂ -
English translation	Whose love is [that]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	誰	‘who’	G ズイ <i>zui</i> K スイ <i>sui</i>	た=が ₁ TA=GA ‘whose’ (← た <i>ta</i> ‘who’ + =が ₁ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
2	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ KO ₁ .PI ₂ ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)	SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に- -ni- (copula) (infinitive)	PAP
4	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あら- AR-A- ‘to have’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	-め ₂ - -m-e ₂ - (speculative auxiliary verb) (realis) ← め ₂ ME ₂ ‘eye’	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	吾孤悲念乎
Transcription	あはこ ₁ ひ ₂ おも ₂ ふを A=pa ko ₁ .pi ₂ -O.MO ₂ P-U=wo
English translation	[I] am thinking and yearning!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	あ <i>A</i> ‘I’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=は <i>=pa</i> ₂ (topic particle)			
2	孤	‘to be lonely’	コ <i>ko</i>	こ ₁ <i>ko</i> ₁	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>ko</i> ₁ . <i>pi</i> ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	PAP
3	悲	‘to be sad’	ヒ <i>hi</i>	ひ ₂ <i>pi</i> ₂		PAP
4	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ふ- <i>O.MO</i> ₂ <i>P-U-</i> ‘to think’ (adnominal)		SAL
5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>=wo</i> (interjectional particle)		PAP

Poem 3.343

Preface/Title

大宰帥大伴卿贊酒歌 (338-350)

Author

Ōtomo no Tabito 大伴旅人 (665-731)

References

NKBT	4: 176-177 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 235 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 235 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 208 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	3: 307-310 (Omodaka 1958)
MYSZC	3: 212-214 (Nishimiya 1984)

Original Text

1 中中尔 2 人跡不有者 3 酒壺二 4 成而師鴨 5 酒二染嘗

Literary Translation

Not being a person halfway [i.e., rather than being a person halfway], [I] want to become a wine jar! [I] want to soak in wine.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
15	0	11	4	4	19

Line 1

Original Text	中中尔
Transcription	なかなかに NA.KA-NA.KA=ni
English translation	Halfway

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	中	‘middle’	チュウ <i>chū</i>	なか NA.KA ‘middle’	なかなかに NA.KA-NA.KA=ni ‘halfway’	SAL
2	中	‘middle’	チュウ <i>chū</i>	なか NA.KA ‘middle’		SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	人跡不 _レ 有者
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ と ₂ あらずは PI ₁ .TO ₂ =to ₂ AR-A-ZU=PA
English translation	Not being a person

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
2	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (essive particle) ← あと A.TO ‘trace’	SAP
3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず -ZU- (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
4	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あら- AR-A- ‘to have’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	酒壺二
Transcription	さかつぼに SA.KA-TU.BO=ni
English translation	A wine jar

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	酒	‘wine’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	さか- SA.KA- (← さけ ₂ SA.KE ₂) ‘wine’ (bound form)	SAL
2	壺	‘jar’	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	つぼ TU.BO ‘jar’	SAL
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)	PAP

			K ジ <i>ji</i>		

Line 4

Original Text	成而師鴨
Transcription	なりてしかも NAR-I-te=si.ka=mo
English translation	[I] want to become [a wine jar]!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	成	‘to become’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> G セイ <i>sei</i>	なり - NAR-I- ‘to become’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-て -te- (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive) ← =て =TE (conjunctive particle)		SAP
3	師	‘teacher’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>	=しか=も =si.ka=mo ← =しか =si.ka (optative final particle) + =も =mo (exclamatory final particle)	PAP
4	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	かも <i>ka.mo</i> ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	酒二染嘗
Transcription	さけ ₂ にしみ ₁ なむ SA.KE ₂ =ni SIM-I ₁ -n-a-m-u
English translation	[I] wan to soak in wine.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	酒	‘wine’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	さけ ₂ SA.KE ₂ ‘wine’		SAL
2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)		PAP
3	染	‘to dye’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K ゼン <i>zen</i> KY セン <i>sen</i>	しみ ₁ - SIM-I ₁ - ‘to soak’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	嘗	‘to taste’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-なむ -n-a-m-u (← -な -n-a- [perfective auxiliary verb] [irrealis] + -む -m-u [optative final particle] [conclusive]) ← なむ NA.MU ‘to taste’ (conclusive)		SAP

Poem 3.394

Preface/Title

余明軍歌一首

Author

Yo no Myōgun 余明軍 (dates unknown, servant of Ōtomo no Tabito 大伴旅人 [665-731])

References

NKBT	4: 192-193 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 256-257 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 252-253 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 226-227 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	3: 444-447 (Omodaka 1958)
MYSZC	3: 312-314 (Nishimiya 1984)

Original Text

1 印結而 2 我定義之 3 住吉乃 4 浜乃小松者 5 後毛吾松

Literary Translation

Tying the mark of possession, the small pine of the shore of Suminoe destined to be mine will also be my pine later.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	12	3	4	19

Line 1

Original Text	印結而
Transcription	しめ ₂ ゆひ ₁ て SI.ME ₂ YUP-I ₁ =TE
English translation	Tying the mark of possession,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	印	‘mark’	イン <i>in</i>	しめ ₂ SI.ME ₂ ‘mark of possession’ (nominal)	SAL
2	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	ゆひ ₁ - YUP-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	我定義之
Transcription	わがさだめ ₂ てし WA=GA SA.DA.ME ₂ -te-si-
English translation	Destined to be mine

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	わ=が WA=GA ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + = が =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
2	定	‘to decide’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K テイ <i>tei</i>	さだめ ₂ - SA.DA.ME ₂ - ‘to decide’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	義	‘righteousness’	ギ <i>gi</i>	-てし -te-si- (← -て -te- [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し -si- [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← 手師 てし TE-SI ‘calligrapher’ (← SAL 手 て TE ‘hand’ + DAL 師 SI ‘master’) ← 王義之 (name of a calligrapher)	SAP
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>		SAP

Line 3

Original Text	住吉乃
Transcription	すみ ₁ の ₂ え ₂ の ₂ su.mi ₁ .no ₂ .ye-no ₂
English translation	Of Suminoe

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	住	‘to live’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> K チュウ <i>chū</i> KY ジュウ <i>jū</i>	すみ ₁ su.mi ₁ ← すみ ₁ SUM-I ₁ ‘to live’ (nominal)	すみ ₁ の ₂ え ₂ su.mi ₁ .no ₂ .ye (toponym)	SAP

2	吉	‘to be auspicious’	G キチ <i>kichi</i> K キツ <i>kitsu</i>	え ₂ <i>ye</i> ← え ₂ し YE-SI ‘to be good’ (conclusive)		SAP
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	浜乃小松者
Transcription	はまの ₂ こ ₁ まつは PA.MA=no ₂ KO ₁ -MA.TU=PA
English translation	The small pine of the shore

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	浜	‘shore’	ヒン <i>hin</i>	はま PA.MA ‘shore’	SAL
2	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP
3	小	‘to be small’	ショウ <i>shō</i>	こ ₁ - KO ₁ - ‘small’ (prefix)	SAL
4	松	‘pine’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	まつ MA.TU ‘pine’	SAL
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	後毛吾松
Transcription	の ₂ ちも ₁ わがまつ NO ₂ .TI=mo ₁ WA=GA MA.TU
English translation	Later [it] also [will be] my pine.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	後	‘back; later’	G グ <i>gu</i> K コウ <i>kō</i> KY ゴ <i>go</i>	の ₂ ち NO ₂ .TI ‘later’	SAL
2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ = <i>mo</i> ₁ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が ₁ WA=GA ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₁ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
4	松	‘pine’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	まつ MA.TU ‘pine’	SAL

Poem 4.560

Preface/Title

大宰大監大伴宿祢百代戀歌四首 (poems 559-562)

Author

Ōtomo no Momoyo 大伴宿祢百代 (active ca. 730-745)

References

NKBT	4: 264-265 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 357 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 327-328 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 305 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 224-225 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 169-170 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 孤悲死牟 2 時者何為牟 3 生日之 4 為社妹乎 5 欲見為礼

Literary Translation

[At the] time of loving and dying [i.e., being in love to the extent of dying], what shall [I] do? For the purpose of the days of living, [I] desire to see [my] lover/wife.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	13	6	1	20

Line 1

Original Text	孤悲死牟
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ しなむ ko ₁ .pi ₂ -SIN-A-m-u-
English translation	Loving and dying

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	孤	‘to be lonely’	コ <i>ko</i>	こ ₁ <i>ko₁</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>ko₁.pi₂</i> - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	PAP
2	悲	‘to be sad’	ヒ <i>hi</i>	ひ ₂ <i>pi₂</i>		PAP
3	死	‘to die’	シ <i>shi</i>	しな - <i>SIN-A</i> - ‘to die’ (irrealis)		SAL
4	牟	‘sound of cow’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	-む - - <i>m-u</i> - (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	時者何為牟
Transcription	と ₂ き ₁ はなにせむ TO ₂ .KI ₁ =PA NA.NI SE-m-u
English translation	[At the] time of [loving and dying], what shall [I] do?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>jī</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	と ₂ き ₁ <i>TO₂.KI₁</i> ‘time’	SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は <i>=PA</i> (topic particle)	SAL
3	何	interrogative pronoun	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	なに <i>NA.NI</i> ‘what’	SAL
4	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	せ- <i>SE</i> - ‘to do’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	牟	‘sound of cow’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	-む <i>-m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	生日之
Transcription	いけ ₂ ゑひ ₁ の ₂ IK-E ₂ - <u>r-u</u> -PI ₁ =NO ₂
English translation	Of the days of living

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	生	‘to live’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	いけ ₂ - <i>IK-E₂</i> - ‘to live’ (realis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-る- <i>-r-u</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb)		
2	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>	ひ ₁ <i>PI₁</i> ‘day’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ <i>=NO₂</i> (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	為社妹乎
Transcription	ため ₂ こ ₂ そ ₂ いも ₂ を TA.ME ₂ =ko ₂ .so ₂ I.MO ₂ =wo
English translation	For the purpose [of the days of living], [I desire to see my] lover/wife.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	ため ₂ TA.ME ₂ ‘purpose’	SAL
2	社	‘shrine’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	=こ ₂ そ ₂ =ko ₂ .so ₂ (emphatic particle) ← (?) ← ‘to pray in shrine’	SAP
3	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ I.MO ₂ (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (accusative particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	欲 _レ 見為礼
Transcription	み ₁ まくほりすれ MI ₁ -ma.ku HOR-I-SU.re-
English translation	[I] desire to see [the girl].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	欲	‘to desire’	ヨク <i>yoku</i>	ほり HOR-I- ‘to desire’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ -MI ₁ - ‘to see’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morphemes		-まく -ma.ku ← -む -m-u- (optative auxiliary verb) (adnominal) + -あく -a.ku (nominalizing suffix)			
3	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	す -SU- ‘to do’ (stem)	SAL すれ -SU.re- ‘to do’ (realis)
4	礼	‘courtesy’	G ライ <i>rai</i> K レイ <i>rei</i>	れ <i>re</i>	

Poem 4.561

Preface/Title

大宰大監大伴宿祢百代戀歌四首 (poems 559-562)

Author

Ōtomo no Momoyo 大伴百代 (active ca. 730-750)

References

NKBT	4: 264-265 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 357 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 328 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 305 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 225-227 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 170-171 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 不念乎 2 思常云者 3 大野有 4 三笠社之 5 神思知三

Literary Translation

Even though [I am] not thinking [about you], if [I] say that [I am] thinking [about you], the deity of the forest of Mikasa located in Ōno will rule [i.e., punish me].

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
16	0	12	3	3	18

Line 1

Original Text	不 _レ 念乎
Transcription	おも ₂ はぬを O.MO ₂ P-A-NU=wo
English translation	Even though [I am] not thinking

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ -NU- (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ は - O.MO ₂ P-A- ‘to think’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (concessive conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	思常云者
Transcription	おも ₂ ふと ₂ いはば O.MO ₂ P-U=to ₂ IP-A=ba
English translation	If [I] say that [I am] thinking

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	おも ₂ ふ - O.MO ₂ P-U- ‘to think’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	常	‘to be constant’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle) ← と ₂ こ ₂ - TO ₂ .KO ₂ - ‘constant’ (prefix)	SAP
3	云	‘to say’	ウン <i>un</i>	いは - IP-A- ‘to say’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば =ba (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP

Line 3

Original Text	大野有
Transcription	おほの ₁ なる O.PO-NO ₁ -NAR-U-
English translation	Located in Ōno

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	おほ - O.PO- ‘big’ (prefix)	おほの ₁ O.PO-NO ₁ (toponym)	SAL
2	野	‘wilderness’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	の ₁ NO ₁ ‘wilderness’		SAL
3	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-なる -NAR-U- (copula indicating location) (adnominal)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	三笠社之
Transcription	み ₁ かさの ₂ もりの ₂ mi ₁ -KA.SA= <u>no</u> ₂ MO.RI=NO ₂
English translation	Of the forest of Mikasa

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	み ₁ - <i>mi</i> ₁ - (honorific prefix) ← み ₁ <i>MI</i> ₁ ‘three’	み ₁ かさ <i>mi</i> ₁ -KA.SA (toponym)	SAP
2	笠	‘bamboo hat’	リュウ <i>ryū</i>	かさ <i>KA.SA</i> ‘bamboo hat’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)			
3	社	‘shrine’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	もり <i>MO.RI</i> ‘forest (around shrine)’		SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	神思知三 ⁷
Transcription	かみ ₂ ししらさむ KA.MI ₂ = <i>si</i> SIR-A-s-a-m-u
English translation	The deity will rule.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	神	‘deity’	G ジン <i>jin</i> K シン <i>shin</i>	かみ ₂ <i>KA.MI</i> ₂ ‘deity’		SAL
2	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	=し = <i>si</i> (emphatic particle)		PAP
3	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	しら - <i>SIR-A-</i> ‘to know’ (irrealis)	しらさむ <i>SIR-A-s-a-m-u</i> ← しらさ - <i>SIR-A-s-a-</i> (← しら - <i>sir-a-</i> ‘to know’ [irrealis] + -さ - - <i>sa-</i> [honorific auxiliary verb] [irrealis]) ‘to rule’ (irrealis) + -む - <i>m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
4	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	さむ <i>sa.mu</i>		PAP

⁷The core underlying word here is しらす *sir-a-s-u* ‘to rule’ (conclusive). Etymologically, it is a compound word consisting of しら - *sir-a-* ‘to know’ (irrealis) and the honorific auxiliary verb -す -*su* (conclusive). This honorific auxiliary verb itself belongs to the s-irregular (*sahen* サ變) conjugation class, but the compound word belongs to the quadrigrade (*yodan* 四段) conjugation class, therefore its irrealis form is しらさ - *sir-a-s-a-* instead of しらせ - *sir-a-se-*.

Poem 4.612

Preface/Title

大伴宿祢家持和歌二首 (poems 611-612)

Author

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785)

References

NKBT	4: 276-277 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 373 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 342 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 321 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 323-325 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 234-235 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 中中者 2 默毛有益乎 3 何為跡香 4 相見始兼 5 不遂尔

Literary Translation

Even if [I] had silence halfway [i.e., I did not keep silent], [I asked] what [I] did [so that we] started to see [each other]. [I] might not have achieved [my love] [i.e., I could not convey my thoughts].

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	12	4	3	19

Line 1

Original Text	中中者
Transcription	なかなか NA.KA-NA.KA=NI
English translation	Halfway

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	中	‘middle’	チュウ <i>chū</i>	なか <i>NA.KA</i> ‘middle’	なかなか <i>NA.KA-NA.KA=NI</i> ‘halfway’	SAL
2	中	‘middle’	チュウ <i>chū</i>	なか <i>NA.KA</i> ‘middle’		SAL
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=に <i>=NI</i> (dative particle) ⁸		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	黙毛有益乎
Transcription	もだも ₁ あらましを MO.DA=mo ₁ AR-A-ma.si=wo
English translation	Even if [I] had silence

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	黙	‘to be silent’	モク <i>moku</i>	もだ MO.DA ‘silence’	SAL
2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あら- AR-A- ‘to have’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	益	‘to increase’	G ヤク <i>yaku</i> K エキ <i>eki</i>	-まし -ma.si- (hypothetical speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← まし MAS-I- ‘to increase’ (infinitive)	SAP
5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (concessive conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	何為跡香
Transcription	なにすと ₂ か NA.NI SU=to ₂ =ka
English translation	[I asked] what [I] did

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type

⁸Because the character 者 is not typically used to write the particle =に =ni either logographically or phonographically, there are various opinions on the mapping relationship here. Some interpretations take this character as a graphic error or variant of the character 煮, which would be an SAP for the particle =に =ni (← に- NI- ‘to boil’ [stem]). Some interpretations follow the common usage of the character 者 as an SAL for the topic particle =は =PA, but the problem is that the form なかなかは NA.KA-NA.KA=PA is not attested elsewhere. There are also opinions which regard the character sequence 中中 as writing the expression なかなかに NA.KA-NA.KA=NI as a whole, making the character 者 lack a linguistic referent. For the sake of categorization, the character 者 is tentatively regarded as an SAL for the particle =に =ni here.

1	何	interrogative pronoun	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	なに <i>NA.NI</i> ‘what’	SAL
2	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	す <i>SU</i> ‘to do’ (conclusive)	SAL
3	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle) ← あと <i>A.TO</i> ‘trace’	SAP
4	香	‘to be fragrant’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K キョウ <i>kyō</i>	=か =ka (interrogative particle) ← か <i>KA</i> ‘fragrance’	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	相見始兼
Transcription	あひ ₁ み ₁ そ ₂ め ₂ け ₁ む AP-I ₁ -MI ₁ -SO ₂ .ME ₂ -ke ₁ -m-u-
English translation	[We] started to see [each other].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あひ ₁ - AP-I ₁ - (reciprocal prefix)	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - MI ₁ - ‘to see’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	始	‘to start’	シ <i>shi</i>	-そ ₂ め ₂ - -SO ₂ .ME ₂ - ‘to start’ (complementary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
4	兼	‘to have multiple things’	ケン <i>ken</i>	-け ₁ む- -ke ₁ -m-u- (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ⁹	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	不 _レ 遂 _ル
Transcription	とげ ₂ ざらまくに TO.GE ₂ -ZAR-A-m-a-ku-ni
English translation	[I] might not have achieved [my love].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ざら- -ZAR-A- (negative auxiliary verb) (irrealis)	SAL
2	遂	‘to achieve’	G ズイ <i>zui</i> K スイ <i>sui</i>	とげ ₂ - TO.GE ₂ - ‘to achieve’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morphemes			-まく -m-a-ku (nominalized) ← -む -m-u- (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal) + -あく -a.ku (nominalizing suffix)		
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)	PAP

⁹The past speculative auxiliary verb -け₁む- -ke₁-m-u- is in the adnominal form here because of the existence of the interrogative particle =か =ka in the previous line.

Poem 4.619

Preface/Title

大伴坂上郎女怨恨歌一首 并短歌 (poems 619-620)

Author

Ōtomo no Sakanoue no Iratsume 大伴坂上郎女 (dates unknown, active c. 700 - c. 750)

References

NKBT	4: 278-279 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 375-376 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 343-344 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 323-324 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 333-344 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 241-247 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

(lines 7-10 of 41)

7 眞十鏡 8 磨師情乎 9 縦手師 10 其日之極

Literary Translation

[Since the] end of that day [when I] released [my] heart [which I] polished (i.e., I softened my determined mind) ...

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
13	0	8	3	3	14

Line 7

Original Text	眞十鏡
Transcription	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ ma.so ₁ -KA.GA.MI ₁
English translation	The good mirror

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	眞	‘to be true’	シン <i>shin</i>	ま <i>ma</i> ← ま - <i>MA</i> - ‘real, complete’ (prefix)	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ <i>ma.so₁-KA.GA.MI₁</i> ‘clear mirror’ ¹⁰	SAP
2	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	そ ₁ <i>so₁</i> ← そ ₁ <i>so₁</i> ‘ten’		SAP
3	鏡	‘mirror’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かがみ ₁ <i>KA.GA.MI₁</i> ‘mirror’		SAL

Line 8

Original Text	磨師情乎
Transcription	と ₁ ぎ ₁ しこ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ を TO ₁ G-I ₁ -SI-KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ =WO
English translation	The heart [which I] polished

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	磨	‘to polish’	G マ <i>ma</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	と ₁ ぎ ₁ - <i>TO₁G-I₁</i> - ‘to polish’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	師	‘master’	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>-si-</i> (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	情	‘emotion’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ <i>KO₂.KO₂.RO₂</i> ‘heart’	SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (accusative particle)	PAP

Line 9

Original Text	縦手師
Transcription	ゆるしてし YU.RUS-I-te-si-
English translation	[I] released [my heart]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	縦	‘to release’	G シュウ <i>shū</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	ゆるし - <i>YU.RUS-I-</i> ‘to release’ (infinitive)	SAL

¹⁰The character sequence 眞十鏡 represents the expression まそ₁かがみ₁ *ma.so₁-KA.GA.MI₁* ‘clear mirror’, which is an epithet associated with the word 磨 とぎ - *TOG-I-* ‘to polish’ (infinitive) in the next line (see sections 4.2.1.2-4.2.1.3). The association comes from the fact mirrors need to be polished to reflect one’s image.

			KY ジュウ <i>jū</i>		
2	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	-て - <i>te</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive) ← て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’	SAP
3	師	‘master’	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>si</i> - (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	其日之極
Transcription	その ₂ ひ ₁ の ₂ き ₁ はみ ₁ SO-NO ₂ PI ₁ =NO ₂ KI ₁ .PA.MI ₁
English translation	[Since] the end of that day

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	其	genitive pronoun	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	その ₂ SO-NO ₂ ‘that’	SAL
2	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>	ひ ₁ PI ₁ ‘day’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL
4	極	‘extreme’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K キョク <i>kyoku</i>	き ₁ はみ ₁ KI ₁ .PA.MI ₁ ‘extreme, end’	SAL

Poem 4.655

Preface/Title

大伴宿祢駿河磨歌三首 (poems 653-655)

Author

Ōtomo no Surugamaro 大伴駿河磨 (?-776)

References

NKBT	4: 288-289 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 389 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 355 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 335 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 406-409 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 284-285 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 不念乎 2 思常云者 3 天地之 4 神祇毛知寒 5 邑礼左變

Literary Translation

Even though [I am] not thinking [about you], if [I] say that [I am] thinking [about you], the deities of the sky and the earth will also rule [i.e., punish me].

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences					
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Unknown	Total
19	0	10	3	2	4	19

Line 1

Original Text	不 _レ 念 _フ 乎
Transcription	おも ₂ はぬを O.MO ₂ P-A-NU=wo
English translation	Even though [I am] not thinking

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ -NU- (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ は - O.MO ₂ P-A- ‘to think’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (concessive conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	思 _フ 常 _ニ 云 _フ 者
Transcription	おも ₂ ふと ₂ いはば O.MO ₂ P-U=to ₂ IP-A=ba
English translation	If [I] say that [I am] thinking

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	おも ₂ ふ - O.MO ₂ P-U- ‘to think’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	常	‘to be constant’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle) ← と ₂ こ ₂ - TO ₂ .KO ₂ - ‘constant’ (prefix)	SAP
3	云	‘to say’	ウン <i>un</i>	いは - IP-A- ‘to say’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は _バ =ba (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP

Line 3

Original Text	天 _ノ 地 _ノ 之
Transcription	あめ ₂ つちの ₂ A.ME ₂ -TU.TI=NO ₂
English translation	Of the sky and the earth

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	天	‘sky’	テン <i>ten</i>	あめ ₂ A.ME ₂ ‘sky’	SAL
2	地	‘earth’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K チ <i>chi</i>	つち TU.TI ‘earth’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	神祇毛知寒

Transcription	かみ ₂ も ₁ しらすむ KA.MI ₂ =mo ₁ SIR-A-s-a-m-u
English translation	The deities will also rule.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	神	‘deity’	G ジン <i>jin</i> K シン <i>shin</i>	かみ ₂ KA.MI ₂ ‘deity’		SAL
2	祇	‘earth deity’	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>			SAL
3	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)		PAP
4	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	しら - SIR-A- ‘to know’ (irrealis)	しらすむ SIR-A-s-a-m-u ← しらさ - SIR-A-s-a- (← しら - sir-a- ‘to know’ [irrealis] + -さ - -sa- [honorific auxiliary verb] [irrealis]) ‘to rule’ (irrealis) + -む -m-u (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
5	寒	‘to be cold’	G ガン <i>gan</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	さむ sa.mu ← さむ - SA.MU- ‘to be cold’ (stem)		PAP

Line 5

Reading unknown

Poem 4.664

Preface/Title

大伴宿禰像見歌一首

Author

Ōtomo no Katami 大伴像見 (active c. 750 - c. 775)

References

NKBT	4: 290-291 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 391-392 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 357 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 337 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 427-429 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 295-296 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 石上 2 零十方雨二 3 將関哉 4 妹似相武登 5 言義之鬼尾

Literary Translation

Will [I] be enclosed [i.e., impeded] by the rain even if [it] falls? [I will not] because [I] said that [I] would meet [my] lover/wife.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	10	3	7	20

Line 1

Original Text	石上 ¹¹
Transcription	いそ ₁ の ₂ かみ ₁ I.SO ₁ - <u>no</u> ₂ -KA.MI ₁
English translation	Isonokami

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	石	‘stone’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i> KY シャク <i>shaku</i>	いそ ₁ I.SO ₁ ‘stone’	いそ ₁ の ₂ かみ ₁ I.SO ₁ - <u>no</u> ₂ -KA.MI ₁ (toponym)	SAL
2	上	‘above’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	かみ ₁ KA.MI ₁ ‘above’		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	零十方雨二
Transcription	ふると ₂ もあめ ₂ に PUR-U=to ₂ .mo A.ME ₂ =ni
English translation	Even if [the rain] falls, by the rain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	零	‘(rain) to fall’	G リョウ <i>ryō</i> K レイ <i>rei</i>	ふる PUR-U ‘(rain) to fall’ (conclusive)		SAL
2	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	と ₂ to ₂ ← と ₂ を TO ₂ .WO ‘ten’	=と ₂ も =to ₂ .mo (hypothetical concessive conjunctive particle)	SAP
3	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	も mo ← おも O.MO ‘face’		SAP
4	雨	‘rain’	ウ <i>u</i>	あめ ₂ A.ME ₂ ‘rain’		SAL
5	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	將 _レ 関哉
Transcription	つつまめ ₂ や TU.TUM-A-ME ₂ =YA
English translation	Will [I] be enclosed?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-め ₂ -ME ₂ - (optative auxiliary verb) (realis)	SAL
2	関	‘to close’	G ケン <i>ken</i>	つつま - TU.TUM-A- ‘to enclose’	SAL

¹¹The area of Isonokami 石上 is close to the area of Puru 布留, so the former word is used as an epithet associated with the verb ふる *pur-u* ‘(rain) to fall’ (conclusive), which is homophonous with the latter word.

			K カン <i>kan</i>	(irrealis)	
3	哉	interrogative final particle	サイ <i>sai</i>	=や =YA (interrogative particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	妹似相武登
Transcription	いも ₂ にあはむと ₂ I.MO ₂ =ni AP-A-m-u=to ₂
English translation	[I] will meet [my] love/wife.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ I.MO ₂ (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
2	似	‘to resemble’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	=に =ni (dative particle) ← に - NI- ‘to resemble’ (stem)	SAP
3	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あは - AP-A- ‘to meet’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	武	‘military’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	-む - -m-u- (optative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
5	登	‘to climb’	トウ <i>tō</i> KY ト <i>to</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	言義之鬼尾
Transcription	いひ ₁ てしもの ₂ を IP-I ₁ -te-si=mo.no ₂ =wo
English translation	Because [I] said.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	言	‘to say’	G ゴン <i>gon</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	いひ ₁ <i>IP-I₁</i> - ‘to say’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	義	‘righteousness’	ギ <i>gi</i>	-てし - <i>-te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>-te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← 手師 てし <i>TE-SI</i> ‘calligrapher’ (← SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’ + DAL 師 <i>SI</i> ‘master’) ← 王羲之 (name of a calligrapher)		SAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>			SAP
4	鬼	‘ghost’	キ <i>ki</i>	もの ₂ <i>mo.no₂</i> (nominalizer) ← もの ₂ <i>MO.NO₂</i> ‘spirit’	=もの ₂ =を = <i>mo.no₂</i> = <i>wo</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAP
5	尾	‘tail’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (interjectional particle) ← を <i>wo</i> ‘tail’		SAP

Poem 4.719

Preface/Title

大伴宿祢家持贈娘子歌七首 (poems 714-720)

Author

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785)

References

NKBT	4: 302-303 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 408 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 372 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 353 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 517-519 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 350-351 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 大夫跡 2 念流吾乎 3 如此許 4 三礼二見津礼 5 片念男責

Literary Translation

I who thought [myself] to be a powerful man! Will [I] have unrequited love just like this [to the extent of] being exhausted?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	9	4	7	20

Line 1

Original Text	大夫跡
Transcription	ますらをと ₂ MA.SU.RA-WO=to ₂
English translation	A powerful man

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	ますらを <i>MA.SU.RA-WO</i> ‘powerful man’	SAL
2	夫	‘man’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K フ <i>fu</i> KY フウ <i>fū</i>		SAL
3	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle) ← あと <i>A.TO</i> ‘trace’	SAP

Line 2

Original Text	念流吾乎
Transcription	おも ₂ へ ₂ るわれを O.MO ₂ P-E-r-u-WA.RE=wo
English translation	I [who] thought [myself to be a powerful man]!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ へ ₂ - <i>O.MO₂P-E₂-</i> ‘to think’ (realis)	SAL
2	流	‘to flow’	G ル <i>ru</i> K リュウ <i>ryū</i>	-る - <i>r-u-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	われ <i>WA.RE</i> ‘I’	SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (interjectional particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	如 _レ 此許
Transcription	かくばかり KA-KU=BA.KA.RI
English translation	Just like this

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	- く <i>-KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	か く <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	此	‘this’	シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
3	許	‘approximately’	G コ <i>ko</i>	=ば かり <i>=BA.KA.RI</i> (restrictive		SAL

			K キヨ <i>kyo</i>	adverbial particle)	

Line 4

Original Text	三礼二見津礼
Transcription	み ₁ つれにみ ₁ つれ mi ₁ .tu.re-ni mi ₁ .tu.re
English translation	Being exhausted

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	み ₁ つ <i>mi₁.tu</i> ← み ₁ つ <i>MI₁-TU</i> ‘three’	み ₁ つれ <i>mi₁.tu.re</i>	SAP
2	礼	‘courtesy’	G ライ <i>rai</i> K レイ <i>rei</i>	れ <i>re</i>	‘exhaustion’ (nominal)	PAP
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に <i>-ni</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
4	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ <i>mi₁</i> ← み ₁ - <i>MI₁-</i> ‘to see’ (stem)	み ₁ つれ <i>mi₁.tu.re</i>	SAP
5	津	‘ford’	シン <i>shin</i>	つ <i>tu</i> ← つ <i>TU</i> ‘ford’	‘exhaustion’ (nominal)	SAP
6	礼	‘courtesy’	G ライ <i>rai</i> K レイ <i>rei</i>	れ <i>re</i>	‘exhaustion’ (nominal)	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	片念男責
Transcription	かたも ₂ ひ ₁ をせむ KA.TA-MO ₂ P-I=wo se-m-u
English translation	Will [I] have unrequited love?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	片	‘part’	ヘン <i>hen</i>	かた- <i>KA.TA-</i> ‘one side’ (prefix)	かたも ₂ ひ ₁ <i>KA.TA-MO₂P-I₁</i>	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ひ ₁ <i>O.MO₂P-I₁</i> ‘thought, love’ (nominal)	‘unrequited love’ (nominal)	SAL
3	男	‘male’	G ナン <i>nan</i> K ダン <i>dan</i>	=を <i>=wo</i> (accusative particle) ← を <i>wo</i> ‘male’		SAP
4	責	‘to blame’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K サク <i>saku</i> KY セキ <i>seki</i>	せむ <i>se-m-u</i> (← せ- <i>se-</i> ‘to do’ [irrealis] + -む <i>-m-u</i> [speculative auxiliary verb] [conclusive]) ← せむ <i>SE.MU</i> ‘to blame’ (conclusive)		SAP

Poem 4.735

Preface/Title

同坂上大嬢贈家持歌一首

Author

Ōtomo no Sakanoue no Ōiratsume 大伴坂上大嬢 (active ca. 730-740)

References

NKBT	4: 308-309 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 414 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 377 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 359 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 542-545 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 374-375 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 春日山 2 霞多奈引 3 情具久 4 照月夜尔 5 獨鴨念

Literary Translation

[On] Mountain Kasuga, the mist hovering above, distressed, will [I] sleep alone on the night with the moon shining?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	9	6	2	17

Line 1

Original Text	春日 ¹² 山
Transcription	かすがやま KA.SU.GA-YA.MA
English translation	Mountain Kasuga

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	春	‘spring’	シュン <i>shun</i>	かすが KA.SU.GA (toponym)	SAL
2	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>		SAL
3	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま YA.MA ‘mountain’	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	霞多奈引
Transcription	かすみ ₁ たなび ₁ き ₁ KA.SUM-I ₁ ta.na.bi ₁ k-i ₁ -
English translation	The mist hovering above,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	霞	‘mist’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	かすみ ₁ <i>KA.SUM-I₁</i> ‘mist’ (nominal)		SAL
2	多	‘to be numerous’	タ <i>ta</i>	た <i>ta</i>	たなび ₁ き ₁ <i>1-ta.na.bi₁k-i₁-</i> ‘(cloud) to hover above’ (infinitive)	PAP
3	奈	interrogative pronoun	G ナ(イ) <i>na(i)</i> K ダ(イ) <i>da(i)</i>	な <i>na</i>		PAP
4	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	び ₁ き ₁ <i>bi₁.ki₁</i> ← ひ ₁ き ₁ <i>1-PI₁K-I₁-</i> ‘to pull’ (infinitive)		SAP

Line 3

Original Text	情具久
Transcription	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ ぐく KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ -gu.ku-
English translation	Distressed,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	情	‘emotion’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i>	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ ぐく-	SAL

¹²The written form 春日 for the toponym かすが *ka.su.ga* comes from its epithet はるひ₁ *pa.ru-pi₁* ‘spring day’. These two characters function as individual SALs in relation to the latter word (SAL 春 はる *PA.RU* ‘spring’; SAL 日 ひ₁ *PI₁* ‘day’), and as a whole, this written form is regarded as a holistic logographic notation for the toponym.

			K セイ <i>sei</i>	<i>KO₂.KO₂.RO₂</i> 'heart'	<i>KO₂.KO₂.RO₂-gu-ku-</i> 'to be distressed' (infinitive)	
2	具	'to possess'	G グ <i>gu</i> K ク <i>ku</i>	ぐ <i>gu</i>		PAP
3	久	'to be long-lasting'	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP

Line 4

Original Text	照月夜尔
Transcription	てれ _る つくよ ₁ に TER-E- <u>r</u> -u-TU.KU-YO ₁ =ni
English translation	On the night with the moon shining

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	照	'to shine'	シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	てれ- <i>TER-E-</i> 'to shine' (realis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-る - <i>-r-u-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		
2	月	'moon'	G ガチ <i>gachi</i> K ゲツ <i>getsu</i> KY ガツ <i>gatsu</i>	つく - <i>TU.KU-</i> 'moon' (bound form)	SAL
3	夜	'night'	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ <i>YO₁</i> 'night'	SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; 'you'	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	獨鴨念
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ りかもねむ PI ₁ .TO ₂ -RI=ka.mo ne-m-u
English translation	Will [I] sleep alone?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	獨	'to be alone'	コ <i>ko</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ り <i>PI₁.TO₂-RI</i> 'alone'	SAL
2	鴨	'duck'	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも <i>=ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> 'duck'	SAP
3	念	'to think'	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	ねむ <i>ne-m-u</i> (← ね- <i>ne-</i> 'to sleep' [irrealis] + -む <i>-m-u</i> [speculative auxiliary verb] [conclusive]) ← ねむ <i>ne.mu</i>	PAP

Poem 4.743

Preface/Title

更大伴宿禰家持贈坂上大嬢歌十五首 (poems 741-755)

Author

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718- 785)

References

NKBT	4: 308-309 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 416 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 379 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 361 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 555-557 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 385-386 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 吾戀者 2 千引乃石乎 3 七許 4 頸二將繫母 5 神之諸伏

Literary Translation

Even my love [is as difficult as] tying only seven stones, [each of which needs] one thousand people to pull, to the neck, [it is] at the deity's discretion.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
19	0	13	4	2	19

Line 1

Original Text	吾戀者
Transcription	わがこ ₁ ひ ₂ は WA=GA KO ₁ .PI ₂ =PA
English translation	My love

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	わ=が ₁ WA=GA ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₁ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
2	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ KO ₁ .PI ₂ ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)	SAL
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	千引乃石乎
Transcription	ちひ ₁ き ₁ の ₂ いしを TI-PI ₁ K-I ₁ =no ₂ I.SI=wo
English translation	The stone of the pulling of one thousand [people]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	千	‘thousand’	セン <i>sen</i>	ち <i>TI</i> ‘thousand’	SAL
2	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	ひ ₁ き ₁ PI ₁ K-I ₁ ‘pulling’ (nominal)	SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP
4	石	‘stone’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i> KY シャク <i>shaku</i>	いし <i>I.SI</i> ‘stone’	SAL
5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (interjectional particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	七許
Transcription	ななばかり NA.NA=BA.KA.RI
English translation	Only seven

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	七	‘seven’	G シチ <i>shichi</i> K シツ <i>shitsu</i>	なな <i>NA.NA</i> ‘seven’	SAL
2	許	‘approximately’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	=ばかり =BA.KA.RI (restrictive adverbial particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	頸二將 _レ 繫母
Transcription	くび ₁ にかへ ₂ むも ₂ KU.BI ₁ =ni KA.KE ₂ -M-U=mo ₂
English translation	Even tying [the stones] to the neck

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	頸	‘neck’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	く ₁ KU.BI ₁ ‘neck’	SAL
2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)	PAP
3	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-む -M-U- (optative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
4	繫	‘to tie’	G ゲイ <i>gei</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かへ ₂ KA.KE ₂ - ‘to tie’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	=も ₂ =mo ₂ (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	神之諸伏
Transcription	かみ ₂ の ₂ まにまに KA.MI ₂ =NO ₂ ma.ni.ma=ni
English translation	At the deity’s discretion

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	神	‘deity’	G ジン <i>jin</i> K シン <i>shin</i>	かみ ₂ KA.MI ₂ ‘deity’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL
3	諸	‘various’	シヨ <i>sho</i>	まにまに <i>ma.ni.ma=ni</i> ‘at (one’s) discretion’ ← まにまに <i>ma.ni.ma=ni</i>	SAP
4	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>	(name of the combination of all four sticks with the back side up [or facing down] in the board game) ← ‘all facing down’ ¹³	SAP

¹³The combination of all four sticks with the back side up is the most ideal result in the board game in that the player not only can advance farthest but also gains other privileges (Ide 1958). This is the reason why this combination is named in this way, that is, the player can act “at his discretion.”

Poem 4.747

Preface/Title

更大伴宿祢家持贈坂上大嬢十五首 (poems 741-755)

Author

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785)

References

NKBT	4: 310-311 (Takagi et al. 1957)
SNKBT	1: 417 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	2: 380 (Kojima et al. 1971)
SNKBZ	6: 362 (Kojima et al. 1994)
MYSCS	4: 560-561 (Omodaka 1959)
MYSZC	4: 388-389 (Kinoshita 1983)

Original Text

1 吾妹兒之 2 形見乃服 3 下著而 4 直相左右者 5 吾將脱八方

Literary Translation

Wearing the garment as my wife's keepsake underneath, will I take [it] off until [we] directly meet?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	16	1	4	21

Line 1

Original Text	吾妹兒之
Transcription	わぎ ₁ も ₂ こ ₁ が WA.GI ₁ .MO ₂ -KO ₁ =GA
English translation	Of my wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が ₁ <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₁ = <i>ga</i> [genitive particle])	わぎ ₁ も ₂ <i>WA.GI₁.MO₂</i> (← わが ₁ いも ₂ <i>WA=GA I.MO₂</i>)= わぎ ₁ も ₂ こ ₁ <i>WA.GI₁.MO₂-KO₁</i> ‘my wife’	SAL
2	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)		SAL
3	兒	‘son’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	こ ₁ <i>KO₁</i> ‘child’		SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=が ₁ = <i>GA</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	形見乃服
Transcription	かたみ ₁ の ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ も KA.TA-MI ₁ =no ₂ KO ₂ .RO ₂ .MO
English translation	The garment as keepsake

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	形	‘shape’	G ギョウ <i>gyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かた <i>KA.TA</i> ‘shape, form’	かたみ ₁ <i>KA.TA-MI₁</i> ‘keepsake’	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ <i>MI₁</i> ‘seeing’ (nominal)		SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP
4	服	‘garment’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>	こ ₂ ろ ₂ も <i>KO₂.RO₂.MO</i> ‘garment’		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	下著而
Transcription	した ₁ に ₁ き ₁ て SI.TA= <u>ni</u> KI ₁ =TE
English translation	Wearing underneath,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	下	‘below’	G ゲ <i>ge</i>	した SI.TA ‘below’	SAL

			K カ <i>ka</i>		
Supplemented morpheme			=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		
2	著	‘to wear’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K チャク <i>chaku</i>	き ₁ - <i>KI</i> - ‘to wear’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て = <i>TE</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	直相左右者
Transcription	ただに ₁ あふまでは TA.DA= <u>ni</u> AP-U=ma.de=PA
English translation	Until [we] directly meet

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	直	‘just’	G ジキ <i>jiki</i> K チョク <i>choku</i>	ただ <i>TA.DA</i> ‘just, only’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		
2	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あふ- <i>AP-U</i> - ‘to meet’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 真手 まて <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 真 ま- <i>MA</i> - ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right’	SAP
4	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	吾將 _レ 脱八方
Transcription	われぬかめ ₂ やも WA.RE NUK-A-M-E ₂ =ya=mo
English translation	Will I take [it] off?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	われ <i>WA.RE</i> ‘I’	SAL
2	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-め ₂ - <i>-M-E₂-</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (realis)	SAL
3	脱	‘to take off (clothing)’	G ダチ <i>dachi</i> K タツ <i>tatsu</i> KY ダツ <i>datsu</i>	ぬか- <i>NUK-A</i> - ‘to take off (clothing)’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	=や = <i>ya</i> (interrogative particle) ← や <i>YA</i> ‘eight’	SAP
5	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	=も = <i>mo</i> (exclamatory final)	SAP

				particle) ← おも <i>O.MO</i> 'face'	

Poem 5.901

Preface/Title

山上臣憶良重病思兒等歌一首並短歌 (poems 897-903)

Author

Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良 (ca. 660 – 733?)

References

NKBT	5: 118-119 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	1: 523 (Satake et al. 1999)
NKBZ	3: 116 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 91 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	5: 300 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	5: 243 (Imura 1984)
Vovin	Book 5: 162-163 (2011)

Original Text

1 龐妙能 2 布衣遠陲尔 3 伎世難尔 4 可久夜歎敢 5 世牟周弊遠奈美

Literary Translation

Being unable to put on even a cloth garment [made] of the coarse cloth, will [I] lament like this, not having the method to do [i.e., unable to do anything]?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	5	18	1	24

Line 1

Original Text	龐妙能
Transcription	あらたへ ₂ の ₂ A.RA-ta.pe ₂ =no ₂
English translation	Of the coarse cloth

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	龐	‘to be coarse’	ソ <i>so</i>	あら - A.RA- ‘to be coarse’ (stem)	SAL
2	妙	‘to be exquisite’	G ミ ヨ ウ <i>myō</i> K ビ ヨ ウ <i>byō</i>	たへ ₂ <i>ta.pe₂</i> ‘cloth (made from mulberry tree)’ ← たへ ₂ - TA.PE ₂ - ‘to be exquisite’ (stem)	SAP
3	能	‘to be able’	G ノ ウ <i>nō</i> K ド ウ <i>dō</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	布衣遠陋尔
Transcription	ぬの ₁ き ₁ ぬをだに NU.NO ₁ -KI ₁ .NU=wo=da.ni
English translation	Even a cloth garment

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	布	‘cloth’	G フ <i>fu</i> K ホ <i>ho</i>	ぬの ₁ <i>NU.NO_I</i> ‘cloth’		SAL
2	衣	‘garment’	G エ <i>e</i> K イ <i>i</i>	き ₁ ぬ <i>KI_I.NU</i> ‘garment’		SAL
3	遠	‘to be far’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (accusative particle)		PAP
4	埒	‘to be uneven’	G ダ <i>da</i> K タ <i>ta</i>	だ <i>da</i>	=だに = <i>da.ni</i> (concessive adverbial particle)	PAP
5	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	に <i>ni</i>		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	伎世難尔
Transcription	き ₁ せかてに ki ₁ -se-KA.TE-NI-
English translation	Being unable to put on

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	伎	‘skill’	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	き ₁ - <i>ki₁</i> - ‘to wear’ (stem)	き ₁ せ <i>ki₁-se-</i> ‘to put on (clothing)’ (infinitive)	PAP
2	世	‘world’	セイ <i>sei</i> KY セ <i>se</i>	-せ- -se- (causative auxiliary verb)		PAP

				(infinitive)	
3	難	‘to be difficult’	G ナン <i>nan</i> K ダン <i>dan</i>	-かてに - <i>-KA.TE-NI-</i> ← -かて - <i>-ka.te-</i> (potential complementary verb) (irrealis) + -に - <i>-ni-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	に <i>ni</i>	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	可久夜歎敢
Transcription	かくやなげ ₂ かむ ka-ku=ya NA.GE ₂ K-A-m-u
English translation	Will [I] lament like this?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i> (demonstrative pronoun)	かく <i>ka-ku</i> ‘like this’	PAP
2	久	‘to be long-lasting’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	-く <i>-ku</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP
3	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	=や <i>=ya</i> (interjectional particle)		PAP
4	歎	‘to sigh’	タン <i>tan</i>	なげ ₂ カ- <i>NA.GE₂K-A-</i> ‘to lament’ (irrealis)		SAL
5	敢	‘to dare’	カン <i>kan</i>	{カ}む <i>{ka}-m-u</i> ← カ <i>ka</i> (syllable in preceding word) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	世牟周弊遠奈美
Transcription	せむすべ ₁ をなみ ₁ se-m-u-su.be ₁ =wo na-mi ₁
English translation	Not having the method to do

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	世	‘world’	セイ <i>sei</i> KY セ <i>se</i>	せ - <i>se-</i> ‘to do’ (irrealis)		PAP
2	牟	‘sound of cow’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	-む - <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		PAP
3	周	‘to go around’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	す <i>su</i>	すべ ₁ <i>su.be₁</i> ‘method’	PAP
4	弊	‘to fall’	G ベイ <i>bei</i> K ヘイ <i>hei</i>	べ ₁ <i>be₁</i>		PAP
5	遠	‘to be far’	G オン <i>on</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (absolutive particle)		PAP

			K エン <i>en</i>		
6	奈	interrogative pronoun	G ナ (イ) <i>na(i)</i> K ダ (イ) <i>da(i)</i>	な- <i>na-</i> ‘to not have’ (stem)	PAP
7	美	‘to be beautiful’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	-み ₁ <i>-mi₁</i> (gerundive suffix)	PAP

Poem 6.907

Preface/Title

養老七年癸亥夏五月幸于芳野離宮時笠朝臣金村作歌一首並短歌 (poems 907-909) (dated 723)

Author

Kasa no Kanamura 笠金村 (active 715-733)

References

NKBT	5: 132-133 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 17-18 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 129-130 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 105-106 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	6: 11-15 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	6: 15-16 (Yoshii 1984)

Original Text

(lines 1-8 of 18)

1 瀧上之 2 御舟乃山尔 3 水枝指 4 四時尔生有 5 刀我乃樹能 6 弥繼嗣尔 7 萬代 8 如是二二
知三

Literary Translation

[Like] the hemlock tree on which the young branches pointing out [i.e., extending] grow luxuriantly
[growing] increasingly and continuously [i.e., luxuriantly] in Mifune Mountain on the top of the waterfall,
[the lord] will rule like this for ten thousand generations.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
29	0	18	11	4	33

Line 1

Original Text	瀧上之
Transcription	たき ₁ の ₂ うへ ₂ の ₂ TA.KI ₁ = <u>no</u> ₂ U.PE ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	Of the top of the waterfall

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	瀧	‘rapids’	ロウ <i>rō</i>	たき ₁ TA.KI ₁ ‘waterfall’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	上	‘above’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	うへ ₂ U.PE ₂ ‘above’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	御舟乃山尔
Transcription	み ₁ ふねの ₂ やまに MI ₁ -PU.NE= <u>no</u> ₂ YA.MA= <u>ni</u>
English translation	In Mifune Mountain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	御	honorific word for the monarch	G ゴ <i>go</i> K ギョ <i>gyo</i>	み ₁ - MI ₁ - (honorific prefix)	SAL
2	舟	‘boat’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	ふね PU.NE ‘boat’	SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP
4	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま YA.MA ‘mountain’	SAL
5	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (locative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	水枝指
Transcription	み ₁ づえ ₂ さし mi ₁ .du-YE SAS-I-
English translation	The young branches pointing out,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	水	‘water’	スイ <i>sui</i>	み ₁ づ <i>mi₁.du ←</i> み ₁ づ MI ₁ .DU ‘water’	SAP
2	枝	‘branch’	シ <i>si</i>	え ₂ YE ‘branch’	SAL
3	指	‘to point’	シ <i>si</i>	さし - SAS-I- ‘to point’ (nominal)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	四時尔生有
Transcription	しじにおひ ₂ たる si.ji=ni O.PI ₂ -tar-u-
English translation	[The branches] grow luxuriantly

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	四	‘four’	シ <i>si</i>	し <i>si</i>	しじに <i>si.ji=ni</i> ‘luxuriantly’	PAP
2	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>si</i>	じ <i>ji</i>		PAP
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP
4	生	‘to live’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	おひ ₂ - O.PI ₂ - ‘(plant) to grow’ (infinitive)		SAL
5	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-たる - <i>-tar-u-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← ある - <i>AR-U-</i> ‘to have’ (adnominal)		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	刀我乃樹能
Transcription	つがの ₂ き ₂ の ₂ tu.ga=no ₂ -KI ₂ =no ₂
English translation	Of the hemlock tree

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	刀	‘knife’	トウ <i>tō</i>	つ <i>tu</i>	つが ₂ <i>tu.ga</i>	PAP
2	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	が ₂ <i>ga</i>	‘hemlock’	PAP
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ <i>=no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP
4	樹	‘tree’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> K シュ <i>shu</i>	き ₂ <i>KI₂</i> ‘tree’		SAL
5	能	‘to be able’	G ノウ <i>nō</i> K ドウ <i>dō</i>	=の ₂ <i>=no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP

Line 6

Original Text	弥繼爾
Transcription	いやつぎ ₁ つぎ ₁ に I.YA TUG-I ₁ -TUG-I ₁ =ni
English translation	[The tree growing] increasingly and continuously

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	弥	‘more’	G ミ <i>mi</i>	いや <i>I.YA</i> ‘increasingly’	SAL

			K ビ <i>bi</i>			
2	繼	‘to continue’	ケイ <i>kei</i>	つぎ ₁ - <i>TUG-I₁</i> - ‘to succeed’ (infinitive)	つぎ ₁ つぎ ₁ に <i>TUG-I₁-TUG-I₁=ni</i> ‘continuously’	SAL
3	嗣	‘to succeed’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	つぎ ₁ - <i>TUG-I₁</i> - ‘to succeed’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP

Line 7

Original Text	萬代
Transcription	よ ₂ ろ ₂ づよ ₂ に <i>YO₂.RO₂.DU-YO₂=ni</i>
English translation	For ten thousand generations

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	萬	‘ten thousand’	G マン <i>man</i> K バン <i>ban</i>	よ ₂ ろ ₂ づ <i>YO₂.RO₂.DU</i> ‘ten thousand’	SAL
2	代	‘generation’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	よ ₂ <i>YO₂</i> ‘generation, year’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>-ni</i> (locative particle)		

Line 8

Original Text	如 _レ 是二二知三
Transcription	かくししらさむ <i>KA-KU=si SIR-A-s-a-m-u</i>
English translation	[The lord] will rule like this.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	- く <i>-KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	か く <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	是	‘this’	G ゼ <i>ze</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=し <i>=si</i> (emphatic particle) ← し <i>si</i> ‘four’ ← two multiplied by two		SAP
4	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>			SAP
5	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	しら - <i>SIR-A-</i> ‘to know’ (irrealis)	しらさむ <i>SIR-A-s-a-m-u</i> ← しらさ - <i>SIR-A-s-a-</i> (← しら - <i>sir-a-</i> ‘to know’ [irrealis] + -さ - <i>-sa-</i>	SAL

6	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	さむ <i>sa.mu</i>	[honorific auxiliary verb] [irrealis]) ‘to rule’ (irrealis) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

Poem 6.926

Preface/Title

山部宿祢赤人作歌二首 並短歌 (poems 923-927)

Author

Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 (active c. 730)

References

NKBT	5: 138-139 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 116 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 137 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 114 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	6: 48-49 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	6: 56-58 (Yoshii 1984)

Original Text

(lines 9-15 of 15)

9 朝獺尔 10 十六履起之 11 夕狩尔 12 十里蹋立 13 馬並而 14 御獺曾立為 15 春之茂野尔

Literary Translation

Stepping on and raising the beasts [i.e., luring the beasts out] in the morning hunting, stepping on and raising the birds [i.e., luring the birds out] in the evening hunting, lining the horses up, [the lord] departs for the hunting in the luxuriant wilderness of the spring.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
23	0	19	5	4	28

Line 9

Original Text	朝獺尔
Transcription	あさかりに A.SA-KAR-I=ni
English translation	In the morning hunting

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	朝	‘morning’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K チョウ <i>chō</i>	あさ <i>A.SA</i> ‘morning’	SAL
2	獺 (variant of 獵)	‘to hunt’	リョウ <i>ryō</i>	かり <i>KAR-I</i> ‘hunting’ (nominal)	SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	十六履起之
Transcription	ししふみ ₁ おこ ₂ し si.si PUM-I ₁ -O.KO ₂ S-i-
English translation	Stepping on and raising the beasts,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	しし <i>si.si</i> ‘flesh; beast’ ← し <i>si</i> (‘four’) multiplied by し <i>si</i> (‘four’) equals ‘sixteen’ (十六)	SAP
2	六	‘six’	G ロク <i>roku</i> K リク <i>riku</i>		SAP
3	履	‘to step’	リ <i>ri</i>	ふみ ₁ <i>PUM-I₁-</i> ‘to step’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	起	‘to rise’	キ <i>ki</i>	おこ ₂ す <i>O.KO₂S-U</i> ‘to raise’ (conclusive)	SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>	
				おこ ₂ し- <i>O.KO₂S-i-</i> ‘to raise’ (infinitive)	PAP

Line 11

Original Text	夕狩尔
Transcription	ゆふかりに YU.PU-KAR-I=ni
English translation	In the dusk hunting

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	夕	‘dusk’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	ゆふ <i>YU.PU</i> ‘dusk’	SAL
2	狩	‘to hunt’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	かり <i>KAR-I</i> ‘hunting’ (nominal)	SAL
3	尔	emphatic final	G ニ <i>ni</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

		particle; ‘you’	K ジ <i>ji</i>		

Line 12

Original Text	十里躑立
Transcription	と ₂ りふみ ₁ たて to ₂ .ri PUM-I ₁ -TA-TE-
English translation	Stepping on and raising the birds,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	と ₂ to ₂ ← と ₂ を TO ₂ .WO ‘ten’	と ₂ り to ₂ .ri ‘bird’	SAP
2	里	unit of length	り <i>ri</i>	り <i>ri</i>		PAP
3	躑	‘to step’	G ドウ <i>dō</i> K トウ <i>tō</i>	ふみ ₁ - PUM-I ₁ - ‘to step’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	立	‘to stand’	リュウ <i>ryū</i> KY リツ <i>ritsu</i>	たて - TA-TE- ‘to raise’ (infinitive)		SAL

Line 13

Original Text	馬並而
Transcription	うまなめ ₂ て U.MA NA.ME ₂ =TE
English translation	Lining up the horses,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	うま U.MA ‘horse’		SAL
2	並	‘to parallel’	G ビョウ <i>byō</i> K ヘイ <i>hei</i>	なめ ₂ - NA.ME ₂ - ‘to line up’ (infinitive)		SAL
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て -TE (conjunctive particle)		SAL

Line 14

Original Text	御獨曾立為
Transcription	み ₁ かりそ ₂ たたす MI ₁ -KAR-I=SO ₂ TAT-A-SU
English translation	[The lord] departs for the hunting.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	御	honorific word for the monarch	G ゴ <i>go</i> K ギョ <i>gyo</i>	み ₁ - mi ₁ - (honorific prefix)		SAL

2	獺 (variant of 獵)	‘to hunt’	リ ヨ ウ <i>ryō</i>	かり <i>KAR-I</i> ‘hunting’ (nominal)	SAL
3	曾	‘once’	G ゾ ウ <i>zō</i> K ソ ウ <i>sō</i> KY ゾ <i>zo</i> KY ソ <i>so</i>	=ぞ ₂ = <i>so</i> ₂ (emphatic particle)	SAL
4	立	‘to stand’	リ ュ ウ <i>ryū</i> KY リ ツ <i>ritsu</i>	たた - <i>TAT-A</i> - ‘to depart’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	-す - <i>su</i> (honorific auxiliary verb) (conclusive) ← す <i>SU</i> ‘to do’ (conclusive)	SAP

Line 15

Original Text	春之茂野尔
Transcription	はるの ₂ しげ ₂ の ₁ に PA.RU=NO ₂ SI.GE ₂ -NO ₁ =ni
English translation	In the luxuriant wilderness of the spring

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	春	‘spring’	シュン <i>shun</i>	はる <i>PA.RU</i> ‘spring’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO</i> ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL
3	茂	‘to be luxuriant’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	しげ ₂ - <i>SI.GE</i> ₂ - ‘to be luxuriant’ (stem)	SAL
4	野	‘wilderness’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	の ₁ <i>NO</i> ₁ ‘wilderness’	SAL
5	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Poem 6.948

Preface/Title

四年丁卯春正月敕諸王諸臣子等散禁於授刀寮時作歌一首並短歌 (poems 948-949) (dated 727)¹⁴

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 148-149 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 37-39 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 146-147 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 123-124 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	6: 93-98 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	6: 56-58 (Yoshii 1984)

Original Text

(lines 1-12 of 41)

1 眞葛延 2 春日之山者 3 打靡 4 春去往跡 5 山上丹 6 霞田名引 7 高圓尔 8 鶯鳴沼 9 物部乃
10 八十友能壯者 11 折木四哭之 12 來繼比日

Literary Translation

[In] Mountain Kasuga where the Japanese arrowroots creep, when spring, beating and bending [the plants], comes, the mist hovers above at the top of the mountain and the nightingales chirp in Takamato. Numerous officials, [at] this time when the sound of the wild geese comes one after another ...

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
40	0	31	4	10	45

¹⁴The following poem 6.949 is accompanied by a postscript: 右神龜四年正月，數王子及諸臣子等集於春日野而作打毬之樂。其日忽天陰雨雷電，此時宮中無侍從及侍衛。敕行刑罰，皆散禁於授刀寮而妄不得出道路。于時悵憤，即作斯歌。

Line 1

Original Text	眞葛延
Transcription	まくずはふ MA-KU.ZU PAP-U-
English translation	The Japanese arrowroots creeping

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	眞	‘to be true’	シン <i>shin</i>	ま - <i>MA</i> - ‘real, complete’ (prefix)	SAL
2	葛	‘hemp’	G カチ <i>kachi</i> K カツ <i>katsu</i>	くず <i>KU.ZU</i> ‘Japanese arrowroot’	SAL
3	延	‘to extend’	エン <i>en</i>	はふ - <i>PAP-U</i> - ‘to creep’ (adnominal)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	春日之山者
Transcription	かすがの ₂ やまは KA.SU.GA=NO ₂ YA.MA=PA
English translation	Mountain Kasuga

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	春	‘spring’	シュン <i>shun</i>	かすが <i>KA.SU.GA</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL
4	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま <i>YA.MA</i> ‘mountain’	SAL
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	打靡 ¹⁵
Transcription	うちなび ₁ く UT-I-NA.BI ₁ K-U-
English translation	Beating and bending

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	打	‘to beat’	G チョウ <i>chō</i> K テイ <i>tei</i> KY ダ <i>da</i>	うち - <i>UT-I</i> - ‘to beat’ (infinitive)	SAL

¹⁵The character sequence 打靡 represents the expression うちなび₁く *UT-I-NA.BI₁K-U-* ‘beating and bending’ (adnominal), which is an epithet associated with the word 春はる *PA.RU* ‘spring’ in the next line. This expression originally describes the physical form of plants, and its association with the concept of spring is a further derivation.

2	靡	‘to bend’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	なび ₁ く - <i>NA.BI₁K-U-</i> ‘to bend’ (adnominal)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	春去往跡
Transcription	はるさりゆくと ₂ PA.RU SAR-I-YUK-U=to ₂
English translation	When spring comes

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	春	‘spring’	シュン <i>shun</i>	はる <i>PA.RU</i> ‘spring’	SAL
2	去	‘to leave’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	さり - <i>SAR-I-</i> ‘(time) to come’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	往	‘to go toward’	オウ <i>ō</i>	ゆく - <i>YUK-U-</i> ‘to go’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (essive particle) ← あと <i>A.TO</i> ‘trace’	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	山上丹
Transcription	やまの ₂ うへ ₂ に YA.MA= <u>no</u> ₂ U.PE ₂ =ni
English translation	At the top of the mountain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま <i>YA.MA</i> ‘mountain’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	上	‘above’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	うへ ₂ <i>U.PE₂</i> ‘above’	SAL
3	丹	‘vermillion’	タン <i>tan</i>	=に =ni (locative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘vermillion’	SAP

Line 6

Original Text	霞田名引
Transcription	かすみ ₁ たなび ₁ く KA.SUM-I ₁ ta.na.bi ₁ k-u
English translation	The mist hovers above.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	霞	‘mist’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	かすみ ₁ <i>KA.SUM-I₁</i> ‘mist’ (nominal)	SAL
2	田	‘field’	G デン <i>den</i> K テン <i>ten</i>	た <i>ta</i> ← た <i>TA</i> ‘field’ たなび ₁ く <i>ta.na.bi₁k-u</i>	SAP

3	名	‘name’	G ミ ヨ ウ <i>myō</i> K メ イ <i>mei</i>	な <i>na</i> ← な <i>NA</i> ‘greens’	‘(cloud) to hover above (conclusive)’	SAP
4	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	ひ ₁ く <i>bi₁.ku</i> ← ひ ₁ く <i>PI₁K-U</i> ‘to pull’ (conclusive)		SAP

Line 7

Original Text	高圓尔
Transcription	たかまと ₁ に TA.KA-MA.TO ₁ =ni
English translation	In Takamato

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	高	‘to be high’	コウ <i>kō</i>	たか- <i>TA.KA-</i> ‘to be high’ (stem)	たかまと ₁ <i>TA.KA-</i> <i>MA.TO₁</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	圓	‘circle’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	まと ₁ <i>MA.TO₁</i> ‘round’		SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 8

Original Text	鶯鳴沼
Transcription	うぐひ ₁ すなき ₁ ぬ U.GU.PI ₁ .SU NAK-I ₁ -n-u
English translation	The nightingales have chirped.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	鶯	‘nightingale’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	うぐひ ₁ す <i>U.GU.PI₁.SU</i> ‘nightingale’		SAL
2	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミ ヨ ウ <i>myō</i> K メ イ <i>mei</i>	なき ₁ - <i>NAK-I₁-</i> ‘to chirp’ (infinitive)		SAL
3	沼	‘marsh’	シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	-ぬ <i>-n-u</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive) ← ぬ <i>NU</i> ‘marsh’		SAP

Line 9

Original Text	物部 ¹⁶ 乃 ¹⁷

¹⁶The character 部 has a native reading べ₁ *BE₁* referring to hereditary clans serving the court in ancient Japan, and the character sequence 物部 represents the name of one of such clans, which is usually read as もの₂の₂べ₁ *mo.no₂=no₂-BE₁*. With this reading, the character 部 should be an SAL. However, in the transmitted reading tradition of *Man'yōshū*, this character sequence is read as もの₂の₂ふ *mo.no₂=no₂-pu*, in which case it seems better to categorize the character 部 as a PAP.

¹⁷The character sequence 物部乃 represents the expression もの₂の₂ふの₂ *mo.no₂=no₂-pu=no₂*, which is an epithet associated with the expression referring to officials in the next line. The reason for the association is that the Mononofu (or Mononobe) 物部 clan is one of the biggest clans in ancient Japan.

Transcription	もの ₂ の ₂ ふの ₂ mo.no ₂ =no ₂ -pu=no ₂
English translation	Of the Mononofu clan

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	物	‘thing’	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	もの ₂ mo.no ₂ ← もの ₂ MO.NO ₂ ‘thing’	もの ₂ の ₂ ふ mo.no ₂ =no ₂ -pu (clan name)	SAP
2	部	‘section’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K ホ <i>ho</i>	ふ <i>pu</i>		PAP
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		PAP

Line 10

Original Text	八十友能壯者
Transcription	やそ ₁ と ₂ も ₂ の ₂ をは YA-SO ₁ TO ₂ .MO ₂ =no ₂ -WO=PA
English translation	Eighty court officials

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	や <i>YA</i> ‘eight’	やそ ₁ <i>YA-SO₁</i> ‘eighty’ ¹⁸	SAL
2	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	そ ₁ <i>SO₁</i> ‘ten’		SAL
3	友	‘friend’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	と ₂ も ₂ <i>TO₂.MO₂</i> ‘companion’	と ₂ も ₂ の ₂ を <i>TO₂.MO₂=no₂-WO</i> ‘court officials’	SAL
4	能	‘to be able’	G ドウ <i>dō</i> K ノウ <i>nō</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP
5	壯	‘to be powerful’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	を <i>WO</i> ‘male’		SAL
6	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)		SAL

Line 11

Original Text	折木四哭之
Transcription	かりがねの ₂ ka.ri=ga-NE=NO ₂
English translation	The sound of the wild goose

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type

¹⁸The word 八十 やそ₁ YA-SO₁ ‘eighty’ here is a generic expression referring to a large number.

1	折	‘to bend’	G セチ <i>sechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i> KY シャク <i>shaku</i>	かり <i>ka.ri</i> ‘wild goose’ ← かり <i>ka.ri</i> (name of the stick of the board game) ← ‘bending four pieces of wood’	かりがね <i>ka.ri-ga-NE</i> ‘sound of wild goose’	SAP
2	木	‘wood’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>			SAP
3	四	‘four’	シ <i>si</i>			SAP
4	哭	‘to cry’	コク <i>koku</i>	ね <i>NE</i> ‘sound’		SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)		SAL

Line 12

Original Text	來繼比日
Transcription	き ₁ つぐこ ₂ の ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ KI ₁ -TUG-U-KO ₂ -NO ₂ KO ₂ .RO ₂
English translation	At this time when [the wild geese] come one after another

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	來	‘to come’	ライ <i>rai</i>	き ₁ -KI ₁ - ‘to come’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	繼	‘to continue’	ケイ <i>kei</i>	つぐ- TUG-U- ‘to succeed’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	比	‘to parallel’	G ビ <i>bi</i> K ヒ <i>hi</i>	こ ₂ の ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ KO ₂ -NO ₂ KO ₂ .RO ₂ ‘at this time’ ← こ ₂ の ₂ KO ₂ -NO ₂ ‘this’ + こ ₂ ろ ₂ KO ₂ .RO ₂ ‘time, occasion’	SAL
4	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>		SAL

Poem 7.1118

Preface/Title

詠葉 (poems 1118-1119)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 208-209 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 122 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 215 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 198-199 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 61 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 81-82 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 古尔 2 有險人母 3 如吾等架 4 弥和乃檜原尔 5 插頭折兼

Literary Translation

Did people who existed in the antiquity also, like us, on the plain of cypress trees at Miwa, bent [the branches into] hairpins?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
19	0	11	9	0	20

Line 1

Original Text	古尔
Transcription	いにしへ ₁ に I.NI.SI-PE ₁ =ni
English translation	In the antiquity

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	古	‘antiquity’	コ <i>ko</i>	いにしへ ₁ I.NI.SI-PE ‘antiquity’	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	有險人母
Transcription	ありけ ₁ むひ ₁ と ₂ も ₂ AR-I-ke ₁ -m-u-PI ₁ .TO ₂ =mo ₂
English translation	People who existed also ...

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あり - AR-I- ‘to exist’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	險	‘to be precipitous’	ケン <i>ken</i>	-け ₁ む - <i>-ke₁-m-u-</i> (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
4	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	=も ₂ = <i>mo₂</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	如 ₁ 吾等 ₁ 架 ₁
Transcription	わが ₂ と ₂ か ₂ WA=GA GO ₂ .TO ₂ =ka
English translation	[Were people in the antiquity] like us?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジョ <i>jo</i>	ご ₂ と ₂ GO ₂ .TO ₂ ‘resemblance’	SAL
2	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が ₂ WA=GA ‘our’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₂ = <i>ga</i> [genitive particle])	SAL
3	等	‘to be equal’; plural suffix	トウ <i>tō</i>		SAL
4	架	‘to support’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	=か ₂ = <i>ka</i> (interrogative particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	弥和乃檜原尔
Transcription	み ₁ わの ₂ ひ ₁ ばらに mi ₁ .wa=no ₂ PI ₁ -BA.RA=ni
English translation	On the plain of cypress trees at Miwa

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	弥	‘more’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	み ₁ <i>mi₁</i>	み ₁ わ <i>mi₁.wa</i> (toponym)	PAP
2	和	‘to be concordant’	G ワ <i>wa</i> K カ <i>ka</i> TS オ <i>o</i>	わ <i>wa</i>		PAP
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		PAP
4	檜	‘cypress’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カイ <i>kai</i>	ひ ₁ <i>PI₁</i> (← ひ ₁ の ₂ <i>PI₁.NO.KI₂</i>) ‘cypress’		SAL
5	原	‘plain’	G ガン <i>gan</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	ばら <i>BA.RA</i> (← はら <i>PA.RA</i>) ‘plain’		SAL
6	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	挿頭折兼
Transcription	かざしをりけ ₁ む KA.ZAS-I WOR-I-ke ₁ -m-u
English translation	[People] bent the hairpins.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	挿	‘to insert’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i>	かざし KA.ZAS-I ‘hairpin’		SAL
2	頭	‘head’	G ズ <i>zu</i> K トウ <i>tō</i> KY ト <i>to</i>			SAL
3	折	‘to bend’	G セチ <i>sechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i> KY シャク <i>shaku</i>	をり WOR-I- ‘to bend’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	兼	‘to have multiple things’	ケン <i>ken</i>	-け ₁ む -ke ₁ -m-u (past speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Poem 7.1166

Preface/Title

羈旅作歌 (poems 1161-1193)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 218-219 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 134 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 226 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 210-211 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 110 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 126-127 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 古尔 2 有監人之 3 覓乍 4 衣丹措牟 5 眞野之榛原

Literary Translation

[The pigment of] the plain of alder trees at Mano which people who existed in the antiquity, while seeking, rubbed to [their] garment.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
16	0	13	3	1	17

Line 1

Original Text	古尔
Transcription	いにしへ ₁ に I.NI.SI-PE ₁ =ni
English translation	In the antiquity

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	古	‘antiquity’	コ <i>ko</i>	いにしへ ₁ I.NI.SI-PE ₁ ‘antiquity’	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	有監人之
Transcription	ありけ ₁ むひ ₁ と ₂ の ₂ AR-I-ke ₁ -m-u-PI ₁ .TO ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	People who existed

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あり - AR-I- ‘to exist’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	監	‘to inspect’	G ケン <i>ken</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	-け ₁ む - <i>-ke₁-m-u-</i> (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive/nominative particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	覓乍
Transcription	もと ₂ め ₂ つつ MO.TO ₂ .ME ₂ =TU.TU
English translation	While seeking

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	覓	‘to seek’	G ミヤク <i>myaku</i> K ベキ <i>beki</i>	もと ₂ め ₂ - MO.TO.ME ₂ - ‘to seek’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	乍	‘suddenly; at the time of’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	=つつ =TU.TU (continuative conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	衣丹措牟
Transcription	き ₁ ぬにすりけ ₁ む KI ₁ .NU=ni SUR-I-ke ₁ -m-u-

English translation	[The pigment which people] rubbed to garment

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	衣	‘garment’	G エ <i>e</i> K イ <i>i</i>	き ₁ ぬ <i>KI₁.NU</i> ‘garment’	SAL
2	丹	‘vermillion’	タン <i>tan</i>	=に <i>-ni</i> (dative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘vermillion’	SAP
3	揩	‘to rub’	カイ <i>kai</i>	すり- <i>SUR-I-</i> ‘to rub’ (infinitive)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			け ₁ <i>ke₁</i> (forming the past speculative auxiliary verb -け ₁ む - <i>-ke₁-m-u-</i> [adnominal] with the following character 牟)		
4	牟	‘sound of cow’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	む <i>mu</i>	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	眞野之榛原
Transcription	まの ₁ の ₂ はりはら MA-NO ₁ =NO ₂ PA.RI-PA.RA
English translation	The plain of alder trees at Mano

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	眞	‘to be true’	シン <i>shin</i>	ま - <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ (prefix)	ま の ₁ <i>MA-NO₁</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	野	‘wilderness’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	の ₁ <i>NO₁</i> ‘wilderness’		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	= の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL
4	榛	‘alder’	シン <i>shin</i>	は り <i>PA.RI</i> ‘alder’		SAL
5	原	‘plain’	G ガン <i>gan</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	は ら <i>PA.RA</i> ‘plain’		SAL

Poem 7.1189

Preface/Title

雑歌 羈旅作歌 (poems 1161-1193)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 222-223 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 139 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 231 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 216 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 132-133 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 148-149 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 大海尔 2 荒莫吹 3 四長島 4 居名之湖尔 5 舟泊左右手

Literary Translation

Storm, do not blow at the big sea until the boat is docked at Ina Port.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	9	3	7	19

Line 1

Original Text	大海尔
Transcription	おほうみ ₁ に O.PO-U.MI ₁ =ni
English translation	At the big sea

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	おほ - O.PO- ‘big’ (prefix)	SAL
2	海	‘sea’	カイ <i>kai</i>	うみ ₁ U.MI ₁ ‘sea’	SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	荒莫吹
Transcription	あらしなふき ₁ そ ₂ a.ra.si=NA PUK-I ₁ =SO ₂
English translation	Storm, do not blow.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	荒	‘to be wild’	コウ <i>kō</i>	あらし <i>a.ra.si</i> ‘storm’ ← あらし A.RA-SI ‘to be wild’ (conclusive)	SAP
2	莫	negative imperative	G バク <i>baku</i> K マク <i>maku</i>	=な...=そ ₂ =NA...=SO ₂ (prohibitive final particle)	SAL
3	吹	‘to blow’	スイ <i>sui</i>	ふき ₁ - PUK-I ₁ - ‘to blow’ (infinitive)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	四長島 ¹⁹
Transcription	しながしま si.na.ga-SI.MA
English translation	[Ina Port]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	四	‘four’	シ <i>si</i>	し <i>si</i>	PAP
2	長	‘to be long’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K チョウ <i>chō</i>	なが <i>na.ga</i> ← なか ⁵ - NA.GA- ‘to be long’ (stem)	SAP
3	島	‘island’	トウ <i>tō</i>	しま <i>SI.MA</i> ‘island’	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	居名之湖尔

¹⁹The character sequence 四長島 represents the expression しながしま *si.na.ga-SI.MA*, which is an epithet associated with the toponym 居名 ゐな *wi.na* in the next line. The etymology and meaning of this expression are unknown.

Transcription	ゐなの ₂ み ₁ なと ₁ に wi.na=NO ₂ MI ₁ .NA.TO ₁ =ni
English translation	At Ina Port

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	居	‘to be located’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	ゐ <i>wi</i> ← ゐ- <i>WI-</i> ‘to exist’ (stem)	ゐな <i>wi.na</i> (toponym)	SAP
2	名	‘name’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	な <i>na</i> ← な <i>NA</i> ‘name’		SAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		SAL
4	湖	‘lake’	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	み ₁ なんと ₁ <i>MI</i> ₁ . <i>NA</i> . <i>TO</i> ₁ ‘port’		SAL
5	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	舟泊左右手
Transcription	ふねはつるまで PU.NE PA.TU-RU=ma.de
English translation	Until the boat is docked.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	舟	‘boat’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	ふね <i>PU.NE</i> ‘boat’	SAL
2	泊	‘to dock’	G バク <i>baku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	はつる- <i>PA.TU-RU-</i> ‘to be docked’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま- <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right hands’	SAP
4	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
5	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>		SAP

Poem 7.1190

Preface/Title

羈旅作歌 (poems 1161-1250)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 222-223 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 139 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 230-231 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 216 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 133-134 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 149-150 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 舟盡 2 可志振立而 3 廬利為 4 名子江乃濱邊 5 過不勝晷

Literary Translation

The boat being docked, shaking and raising the stake [i.e., planting the stake into the ground], and [I] will make a hut [i.e., spend the night in the boat]. [I] am not able to pass [i.e., leave] the shore of Nago River!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	12	4	4	20

Line 1

Original Text	舟盡
Transcription	ふねはて PU.NE pa.te-
English translation	The boat being docked

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	舟	‘boat’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	ふね PU.NE ‘boat’	SAL
2	盡	‘to do completely’	G ジン <i>jin</i> K シン <i>shin</i>	はて - <i>pa.te-</i> ‘to be docked’ (infinitive) ← はて - <i>PA.TE-</i> ‘to be done completely’ (infinitive)	SAP

Line 2

Original Text	可志振立而
Transcription	かしふりたてて ka.si PUR-I-TA-TE=te
English translation	Shaking and raising the stake

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	かし <i>ka.si</i> ‘stake’	PAP
2	志	‘inclination’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP
3	振	‘to shake’	シン <i>shin</i>	ふ り - <i>PUR-I-</i> ‘to shake’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	立	‘to stand’	リュウ <i>ryū</i> KY リツ <i>ritsu</i>	た て - <i>TA-TE-</i> ‘to raise’ (infinitive)		SAL
5	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	= て = <i>TE</i> (conjunctive particle)		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	廬利為
Transcription	いほりせむ I.PO.RI SE- <u>m-u</u>
English translation	[I] will make a hut.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	廬	‘hut’	G ロ <i>ro</i> K リョ <i>ryo</i>	いほり I.PO.RI ‘hut’	SAL
2	利	‘to be sharp’	リ <i>ri</i>	り <i>ri</i>	PAP
3	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	せ - <i>SE-</i> ‘to do’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-む - <i>m-u</i> (volitional auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		

Line 4

Original Text	名子江乃濱邊
Transcription	なご ₁ え ₂ の ₂ はまべ ₁ na.go ₁ -YE=no ₂ PA.MA-BE ₁
English translation	The shore of Nago River

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	名	‘name’	G ミ ヨ ウ <i>myō</i> K メ イ <i>mei</i>	な <i>na</i> ← な <i>NA</i> ‘name’	なご ₁ え ₂ <i>na.go₁-YE</i> (toponym)	SAP
2	子	‘son’	シ <i>shi</i> TS ス <i>su</i>	ご ₁ <i>go₁</i> ← こ ₁ <i>KO₁</i> ‘child’		SAP
3	江	‘river’	コウ <i>kō</i>	え ₂ <i>YE</i> ‘river’		SAL
4	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP
5	濱	‘shore’	ヒン <i>hin</i>	はま <i>PA.MA</i> ‘shore’	はまべ ₁ <i>PA.MA-BE₁</i>	SAL
6	邊	‘side’	ヘン <i>hen</i>	へ ₁ <i>PE₁</i> ‘vicinity’	‘shore’	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	過不 _レ 勝鳧
Transcription	すぎ ₂ かてぬかも SU.GI ₂ -KA.TE-NU=ka.mo
English translation	[I] am not able to pass!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	過	‘to pass’	カ <i>ka</i>	すぎ ₂ - <i>SU.GI₂</i> - ‘to pass’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ- <i>-NU-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		SAL
3	勝	‘to be able to’	シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	-かて- <i>-KA.TE-</i> (potential complementary verb) (irrealis)		SAL
4	鳧	‘wild duck’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K フ <i>fu</i>	=かも <i>=ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’		SAP

Poem 7.1259

Preface/Title

雜歌 臨時作歌 (poems 1255-1266)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 234-235 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 155 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 246 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 234 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 203-204 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 230-231 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 佐伯山 2 于花以之 3 哀我 4 手~~駕~~取而者 5 花散韞

Literary Translation

If [I] take the hand of the lovely [girl] who held the deutzia flower [on] Mountain Saeki, [it does not matter] even if the flower scatters.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
16	0	9	5	3	17

Line 1

Original Text	佐伯山
Transcription	さへ ₁ きやま sa.pe ₁ .ki-YA.MA
English translation	Mountain Saeki

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	佐	‘to assist’	サ <i>sa</i>	さ <i>sa</i>	さへ ₁ きやま sa.pe ₁ .ki-YA.MA (toponym)	PAP
2	伯	‘eldest’	G ヒャク <i>hyaku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	へ ₁ き <i>pe₁.ki</i>		PAP
3	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま <i>YA.MA</i> ‘mountain’		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	于花以之
Transcription	う <u>の</u> ₂ はなも ₂ ちし u= <u>no</u> ₂ -PA.NA MO ₂ T-I-si-
English translation	[The girl] who held the deutzia flower

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	于	‘to go’	ウ <i>u</i>	う <i>u</i>	う <u>の</u> ₂ はな <i>u=no</i> ₂ - <i>PA.NA</i> ‘deutzia flower’	PAP
2	花	‘flower’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	はな <i>PA.NA</i> ‘flower’		SAL
3	以	‘to use (for a purpose)’	イ <i>i</i>	も ₂ ち - <i>MO</i> ₂ <i>T-I-</i> ‘to hold’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>-si-</i> (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	哀我
Transcription	かなしき ₁ が KA.NA-SI.KI ₁ =ga
English translation	Of the lovely [girl]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	哀	‘to be sad’	アイ <i>ai</i>	かなしき ₁ - KA.NA-SI.KI ₁ - ‘to be lovely’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	=が ₃ =ga (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	手鴛取而者
Transcription	てをしと ₂ りてば TE=wo=si TO ₂ R-I=TE=ba

English translation	If [I] take [the girl's] hand

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’	SAL
2	鴛	‘mandarin duck’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	=を=し = <i>wo=si</i> (← =を = <i>wo</i> [accusative particle] + =し = <i>si</i> [emphatic particle]) ← をし <i>WO.SI</i> ‘mandarin duck’	SAP
3	取	‘to take’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	と 2 り - <i>TO2R-I-</i> ‘to take’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て = <i>TE</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAL
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば = <i>ba</i> (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	花散鞞
Transcription	はなちると 2 も PA.NA TIR-U=to2.mo
English translation	Even if the flower scatters

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	花	‘flower’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	はな <i>PA.NA</i> ‘flower’	SAL
2	散	‘to scatter’	サン <i>san</i>	ちる <i>TIR-U</i> ‘to scatter’ (conclusive)	SAL
3	鞞 ²⁰			=と 2 も = <i>to2.mo</i> (hypothetical concessive conjunctive particle) ← と 2 も <i>TO2.MO</i> ‘archer’s arm protector’	SAP

²⁰The character 鞞 is a Neo-Sinogram in Japanese writing but is used phonographically here in the same way as an SAP borrowed from Chinese.

Poem 7.1272

Preface/Title

旋頭歌 (poems 1272-1295)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 238-239 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 159 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 249 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 238 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 221-223 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 244-245 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 劍後 2 鞘納野迹 3 葛引吾妹 4 眞袖以 5 著點等鴨 6 夏草荇母

Literary Translation

[Like] the rear of the long sword entering [i.e., stored into] the sheath, my lover/wife pulling [the vines of] the arrowroots at Irino, [I wondering] if [you] will dress [me] with two sleeves [i.e., with the garment with two sleeves], [you] are cutting the summer grass!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	16	4	1	21

Line 1

Original Text	劔後
Transcription	たちの ₂ しり TA.TI= <u>no</u> ₂ SI.RI
English translation	The rear of the long sword

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	劔	‘sword’	ケン <i>ken</i>	たち TA.TI ‘long sword’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	後	‘back; later’	G グ <i>gu</i> K コウ <i>kō</i> KY ゴ <i>go</i>	しり SI.RI ‘rear’	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	鞘納野迹
Transcription	さやに ₁ いりの ₁ に SA.YA= <u>ni</u> IR-I-NO ₁ =ni
English translation	[Like the sword] entering the sheath, at Irino

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	鞘	‘sheath’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i>	さや <i>SA.YA</i> ‘sheath’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>-ni</i> (dative particle)			
2	納	‘to store’	G ノウ <i>nō</i> K ドウ <i>dō</i>	いり - <i>IR-I-</i> ‘to enter’ (infinitive) ²¹	いりの ₁ <i>IR-I-NO₁</i> (toponym)	SAL
3	野	‘wilderness’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	の ₁ <i>NO₁</i> ‘wilderness’		SAL
4	迹	‘to be close’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>-ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	葛引吾妹
Transcription	くずひ ₁ くわぎ ₁ も ₂ KU.ZU PI ₁ K-U-WA.GI ₁ .MO ₂
English translation	My lover/wife pulling the arrowroots

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	葛	‘hemp’	G カチ <i>kachi</i> K カツ <i>katsu</i>	くず KU.ZU ‘Japanese arrowroot’	SAL
2	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	ひ ₁ く - PI ₁ K-U- ‘to pull’ (adnominal)	SAL

²¹The linguistic form いり *i.ri* written by the character 納 has dual functions. It is both a verb denoting the action of the sword being stored in the sheath and also part of a toponym.

3	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が <i>=ga</i> [genitive particle])	わぎ ¹ も ² <i>WA.GI₁.MO₂</i> (← わが ¹ いも ² <i>WA=GA I.MO₂</i>)	SAL
4	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ² <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	眞袖以
Transcription	まそ ¹ でも ² ち <i>MA-SO₁.DE MO₂T-I-</i>
English translation	With two sleeves

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	眞	‘to be true’	シン <i>shin</i>	ま - <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ (prefix)	まそ ¹ で <i>MA-SO₁.DE</i>	SAL
2	袖	‘sleeve’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	そ ¹ で <i>SO₁.DE</i> ‘sleeve’	‘two sleeves’	SAL
3	以	‘to use (for a purpose)’	イ <i>i</i>	も ² ち - <i>MO₂T-I-</i> ‘by, with’ ← ‘to hold’ (infinitive)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	著點等鴨
Transcription	き ¹ せてむと ² かも <i>KI₁.SE-te-m-u=to₂-ka.mo</i>
English translation	[I wonder] if [you] will dress [me].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	著	‘to wear’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K チャク <i>chaku</i>	き ¹ せ - <i>KI₁.SE-</i> ‘to dress’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	點	‘point’	テン <i>ten</i>	-てむ - <i>-te-m-u-</i> ← -て - <i>-te-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (irrealis) + -む - <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		PAP
3	等	‘to be equal’; plural suffix	トウ <i>tō</i>	=と ² = <i>to₂</i> (quotative particle)		PAP
4	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも = <i>ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’		SAP

Line 6

Original Text	夏草苺母

Transcription	なつくさかるも ₂ NA.TU-KU.SA KA.RU=mo ₂
English translation	[You] are cutting the summer grass!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	夏	‘summer’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	なつ <i>NA.TU</i> ‘summer’	SAL
2	草	‘grass’	ソウ <i>sō</i>	くさ <i>KU.SA</i> ‘grass’	SAL
3	刈	‘to cut grass’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K ガイ <i>gai</i>	かる - <i>KAR-U-</i> ‘to cut grass’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	= も ₂ = <i>mo</i> ₂ (exclamatory final particle)	PAP

Poem 7.1321

Preface/Title

寄玉 (poems 1317-1327)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 248-249 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 173 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 260 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 252 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 288 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 300-301 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 世間 2 常如是耳加 3 結大王 4 白玉之緒 5 絶楽思者

Literary Translation

Is the world constantly just like this? When [I] think of the fact of the breaking of the thread of the white jade [which I] tied.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	13	2	3	18

Line 1

Original Text	世間
Transcription	よ ₂ の ₂ なかは YO ₂ -NO ₂ -NA.KA=pa
English translation	The world

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	世	‘world’	セイ <i>sei</i> KY セ <i>se</i>	よ ₂ YO ₂ ‘world’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	間	‘interval’	G ケン <i>ken</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	なか NA.KA ‘inside’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=は =pa (topic particle)		

Line 2

Original Text	常如 _L 是耳加
Transcription	つねかくの ₂ み ₂ か TU.NE KA-KU=NO ₂ .MI ₂ =ka
English translation	Is [the world] constantly just like this?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	常	‘to be constant’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	つね <i>TU.NE</i> ‘constancy’		SAL
2	如	‘to resemble’	G ニョ <i>nyo</i> K ジョ <i>jo</i>	-く <i>-KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	かく <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
3	是	‘this’	G ゼ <i>ze</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
4	耳	restrictive final particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=の ₂ み ₂ = <i>NO₂.MI₂</i> (restrictive adverbial particle)		SAL
5	加	‘to add’	G カ <i>ka</i> K ケ <i>ke</i>	=か <i>-ka</i> (interrogative particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	結大王
Transcription	むすび ₁ てし MU.SUB-I ₁ -te-si-
English translation	Tied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	むすび ₁ - MU.SUB-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i>	-てし -te-si- (← -て -te- [perfective	SAP

			K タイ <i>tai</i>	auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i>	
3	王	‘king’	オウ <i>ō</i>	[recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← 手師 てし <i>TE-SI</i> ‘calligrapher’ (← SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’ + DAL 師 <i>SI</i> ‘master’) ← 王羲之 (name of a calligrapher, called “Senior Wáng 大王” as father of the calligrapher Wáng Xiànzhi 王献之)	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	白玉之緒
Transcription	しらたまの ₂ を SI.RA-TA.MA=NO ₂ WO
English translation	The thread of the white jade

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	白	‘to be white’	G ビヤク <i>byaku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	しら - <i>SI.RA-</i> ‘white’ (bound form) ← しろ ₁ - <i>SI.RO₁-</i> ‘to be white’ (stem)	SAL
2	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま <i>TA.MA</i> ‘jade’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)	SAL
4	緒	‘thread’	G ジョ <i>jo</i> K ショ <i>sho</i> KY チョ <i>cho</i>	を <i>WO</i> ‘thread’	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	絶楽思者
Transcription	たゆらくおも ₂ へ ₂ ば TA.YU-r-a.ku O.MO ₂ P-E ₂ =ba
English translation	When [I] think of the fact of the breaking.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	絶	‘to break’	G ゼチ <i>zechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i> KY ゼツ <i>zetsu</i>	たゆる - <i>TA.YU-RU-</i> ‘to break’ (adnominal)	たゆらく <i>TA.YU-r-a.ku</i> ← たゆるあく <i>ta.yu-ru-a.ku</i> ‘the fact of breaking’ ← たゆる - <i>ta.yu-ru-</i> ‘to break’ (adnominal) + -あく - <i>a.ku</i> (nominalizing suffix)	SAL
2	楽	‘joy’	ラク <i>raku</i>	らく <i>ra.ku</i>		PAP
3	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	おも ₂ へ ₂ - <i>O.MO₂P-E₂-</i>	‘to think’ (realis)	SAL

4	者	topic marker	シ ャ <i>sha</i>	＝ば <i>=ba</i> (conditional conjunctive particle) ← ＝は <i>=PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

Poem 7.1323

Preface/Title

寄玉 (poems 1317-1327)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 248-249 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 173 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 260-261 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 252 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 290 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 302-303 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 海之底 2 奥津白玉 3 縁乎無三 4 常如此耳也 5 戀度味試

Literary Translation

Not having the method [to get] the white jade far off the coast [at] the bottom of the sea, [it is] constantly just like this! Will [I] keep loving?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	14	2	4	20

Line 1

Original Text	海之底
Transcription	わたの ₂ そ ₂ こ ₂ WA.TA=NO ₂ SO ₂ .KO ₂
English translation	The bottom of the sea

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	海	‘sea’	カイ <i>kai</i>	わた <i>WA.TA</i> ‘sea’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	= ₂ <i>=NO₂</i> (genitive particle)	SAL
3	底	‘bottom’	G タイ <i>tai</i> K テイ <i>tei</i>	そ ₂ こ ₂ <i>SO₂.KO₂</i> ‘bottom’	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	奥津白玉
Transcription	おき ₁ つしらたま O.KI ₁ =tu SI.RA-TA.MA
English translation	The white jade far off the coast

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	奥	‘deep interior’	オウ <i>ō</i>	おき ₁ <i>O.KI₁</i> ‘place on the sea far from the coast’	SAL
2	津	‘ford’	シン <i>shin</i>	=つ <i>=tu</i> (genitive particle) ← つ <i>TU</i> ‘ford’	SAP
3	白	‘to be white’	G ビヤク <i>byaku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	しら- <i>SI.RA-</i> ‘white’ (bound form) ← しろ ₁ - <i>SI.RO₁-</i> ‘to be white’ (stem)	SAL
4	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま <i>TA.MA</i> ‘jade’	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	縁乎無三
Transcription	よ ₂ しをなみ ₁ YO ₂ S-I=WO NA-mi ₁
English translation	Not having the method

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	縁	‘reason’	エン <i>en</i>	よ ₂ し <i>YO₂S-I</i> ‘reason; method’ (nominal)	SAL
2	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>=wo</i> (absolutive particle)	PAP
3	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	な- <i>NA-</i> ‘to not have’ (stem)	SAL
4	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	-み ₁ <i>-mi₁</i> (gerundive suffix) ←	SAP

				み ₁ MI ₁ ‘three’	

Line 4

Original Text	常如 _レ 此耳也
Transcription	つねかくの ₂ み ₂ や TU.NE KA-KU=NO ₂ .MI ₂ =ya
English translation	[It is] constantly just like this!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	常	‘to be constant’	G ジ ヨ ウ <i>jō</i> K シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	つね <i>TU.NE</i> ‘constance’		SAL
2	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	- く <i>-KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	か く <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
3	此	‘this’	シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
4	耳	restrictive final particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=の ₂ み ₂ = <i>NO₂.MI₂</i> (restrictive adverbial particle)		SAL
5	也	copula	ヤ <i>ya</i>	=や = <i>ya</i> (interjectional particle)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	戀度味試
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ わたりなむ KO ₁ .PI ₂ -WA.TAR-I-n-a-m-u
English translation	Will [I] keep loving?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	戀	‘to love’	レ ン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - KO ₁ .PI ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	度	‘to go across’	G ド <i>do</i> K ト <i>to</i>	わたり - WA.TAR-I- ‘[time] to pass’ (infinitive)		SAL
3	味	‘taste’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	-なむ -n-a-m-u (← -な - -n-a- [perfective auxiliary verb] [irrealis] + - む -m-u [speculative final particle]		SAP
4	試	‘to try’	シ <i>shi</i>	[conclusive]) ← なむ na.mu ‘to taste’ (conclusive) ← ‘to try the taste’		SAP

Poem 7.1324

Preface/Title

寄玉 (poems 1317-1327)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 248-249 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 173 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 261 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 252 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 291 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 303-304 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 葦根之 2 懃念而 3 結義之 4 玉緒云者 5 人將解八方

Literary Translation

If [one] talks about (i.e., when it comes to) the thread of jade tied [when we] intimately think [about each other], how should other people untie [it]?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	13	0	5	18

Line 1

Original Text	葦根之 ²²
Transcription	あし ₁ の ₂ ね ₂ の ₂ A.SI= <u>no</u> ₂ NE=NO ₂
English translation	Of the root of the reed

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	葦	‘reed’	イ <i>i</i>	あし A.SI ‘reed’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	ね NE ‘root’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	懃念而
Transcription	ねも ₁ こ ₂ ろ ₂ おも ₂ ひ ₁ て NE.MO ₁ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ O.MO ₂ P-I ₁ =TE
English translation	Thinking intimately,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	懃	‘to be diligent, hospitable’	G ゴン <i>gon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	ねも ₁ こ ₂ ろ ₂ NE.MO ₁ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ ‘to be intimate’	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ひ ₁ - O.MO ₂ P-I ₁ - ‘to think’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	結義之
Transcription	むすび ₁ てし MU.SUB-I ₁ -te-si-
English translation	Tied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	むすび ₁ - MU.SUB-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL

²²The character sequence 葦根之 represents the expression あし₁の₂ね₂の₂ *a.si=ne=ne* ‘of the root of the reed’, which is an epithet associated with the word 懃 ねもこ₂ろ₂ *NE.MO.KO.RO* ‘to be intimate’ in the next line. This association is related to one of the explanations of the etymology of this word that the first syllable ね *ne* is actually originally the word ね *ne* ‘root’, and the two last syllables こ₂ろ₂ *ko₂.ro₂* come from the word こ₂る *ko₂-u* ‘to become stiff’ (conclusive). As such, the meaning of this word is metaphorically derived from the situation that the roots of a plant are intertwined with each other and become stiff.

2	義	‘righteousness’	ギ <i>gi</i>	-てし - <i>te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← 手師 てし <i>TE-SI</i> ‘calligrapher’ (← SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’ + DAL 師 <i>SI</i> ‘master’) ← 王義之 (name of a calligrapher)	SAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>		SAP

Line 4

Original Text	玉緒云者
Transcription	たまの ₂ をと ₂ いはば TA.MA= <u>no</u> ₂ WO= <u>to</u> ₂ IP-A=ba
English translation	If [one] talks about the thread of jade,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま <i>TA.MA</i> ‘jade’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	緒	‘thread’	G ジョ <i>jo</i> K ショ <i>sho</i> KY チョ <i>cho</i>	を <i>WO</i> ‘thread’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=と ₂ = <i>to</i> ₂ (quotative particle)		
3	云	‘to say’	ウン <i>un</i>	いは - <i>IP-A-</i> ‘to say’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば = <i>ba</i> (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	人將 _レ 解 _レ 八方
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ と ₂ かめ ₂ やも PI ₁ .TO ₂ TO ₂ K-A-ME ₂ =ya=mo
English translation	How should other people untie?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ <i>PI₁.TO₂</i> ‘person’	SAL
2	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-め ₂ - <i>me</i> ₂ - (optative auxiliary verb) (realis)	SAL
3	解	‘to untie’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カイ <i>kai</i>	と ₂ か - <i>TO₂K-A-</i> ‘to untie’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	=や = <i>ya</i> (interrogative particle) ← や <i>YA</i> ‘eight’	SAP

5	方	‘direction’	ホウ <i>hō</i>	＝も <i>=mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← おも <i>O.MO</i> ‘face’	SAP

Poem 7.1345

Preface/Title

譬喻歌 寄草 (poems 1336-1352)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	5: 252-253 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 178 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 266 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 258 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	7: 312-314 (Omodaka 1960)
MYSZC	7: 321-322 (Watase 1985)

Original Text

1 常不 2 人國山乃 3 秋津野乃 4 垣津幡~~鷺~~ 5 夢見鴨

Literary Translation

[I] see the iris of Akitsuno of the inconstant Mountain Hitokuni [in] the dream!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
15	0	10	2	5	17

Line 1

Original Text	常不
Transcription	つねならぬ TU.NE- <u>nar-a</u> -N-U-
English translation	Inconstant

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	常	‘to be constant’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	つね TU.NE ‘constancy’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-なら - <i>nar-a</i> - (copula) (irrealis)		
2	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ - <i>N-U</i> - (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	人國山乃
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ くにやまの ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ -KU.NI-YA.MA= <i>no</i> ₂
English translation	Of Mountain Hitokuni

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
2	國	‘country’	コク <i>koku</i>	くに KU.NI ‘country’	SAL
3	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま YA.MA ‘mountain’	SAL
4	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	秋津野乃
Transcription	あき ₁ つの ₁ の ₂ A.KI ₁ -TU-NO ₁ = <i>no</i> ₂
English translation	Of Akitsuno

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	秋	‘autumn’	シュウ <i>shū</i>	あき ₁ A.KI ₁ ‘autumn’	SAL
2	津	‘ford’	シン <i>shin</i>	つ TU ‘ford’	SAL
3	野	‘wilderness’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	の ₁ NO ₁ ‘wilderness’	SAL
4	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	垣津幡鴛

Transcription	かき ₁ つはたをし ka.ki ₁ .tu.pa.ta=wo=si
English translation	The iris

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	垣	‘low wall’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	かき ₁ <i>ka.ki₁</i> ← かき ₁ <i>KA.KI₁</i> ‘low wall’	かき ₁ つはた <i>ka.ki₁.tu.pa.ta</i> ‘iris’	SAP
2	津	‘ford’	シン <i>shin</i>	つ <i>tu</i> ← つ <i>TU</i> ‘ford’		SAP
3	幡	‘flag’	G ホン <i>hon</i> K ハン <i>han</i>	はた <i>pa.ta</i> ← はた <i>PA.TA</i> ‘flag’		SAP
4	鴛	‘mandarin duck’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	=を=し =wo=si (← =を =wo [accusative particle] + =し =si [emphatic particle]) ← をし <i>WO.SI</i> ‘mandarin duck’		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	夢見鴨
Transcription	いめ ₂ にみ ₁ るかも I.ME ₂ = <u>ni</u> MI ₁ -RU=ka.mo
English translation	[I] see [in] the dream!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	夢	‘dream’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	いめ ₂ <i>I.ME₂</i> ‘dream’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に =ni (locative particle)		
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ る - <i>MI₁-RU-</i> ‘to see’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも =ka.mo (exclamatory final particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’	SAP

Poem 8.1431

Preface/Title

春雑歌 山部宿祢赤人歌一首 (dated 738)

Author

Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 (?-736?)

References

NKBT	5: 286-287 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 230 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 303 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 297 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	8: 42-43 (Omodaka 1961)
MYSZC	8: 56-58 (Ide 1993)

Original Text

1 百濟野乃 2 芽古枝尔 3 待春跡 4 居之鶯 5 鳴尔雞鶉鳴

Literary Translation

The nightingales which had been waiting for spring on the old branches of the clovers in Kudarano seemed to have chirped!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	11	6	2	19

Line 1

Original Text	百濟野乃
Transcription	くだらの ₁ の ₂ KU.DA.RA-NO ₁ =no ₂
English translation	Of Kudarano

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	百	‘hundred’	G ヒ ャ ク <i>hyaku</i> K ハ ク <i>haku</i>	くだら	くだらの ₁ <i>KU.DA.RA-NO₁</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	濟	‘to cross water’	G サ イ <i>sai</i> K セ イ <i>sei</i> KY ザ イ <i>zai</i>	<i>KU.DA.RA</i> (toponym)		SAL
3	野	‘wilderness’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	の ₁ <i>NO₁</i> ‘wilderness’		SAL
4	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナ イ <i>nai</i> K ダ イ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP

Line 2

Original Text	芽古枝尔
Transcription	はぎ ₂ の ₂ ふるえ ₂ に PA.GI ₂ =no ₂ PU.RU-YE=ni
English translation	On the old branches of the clovers

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	芽	‘sprout’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K ガ <i>ga</i>	はぎゝ ₂ <i>PA.GI2</i> ‘clover’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no2</i> (genitive particle)		
2	古	‘antiquity’	コ <i>ko</i>	ふる - <i>PU.RU-</i> ‘to be old’ (stem)	SAL
3	枝	‘branch’	シ <i>shi</i>	え ₂ <i>YE</i> ‘branch’	SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	待 _レ 春跡
Transcription	はるまつと ₂ PA.RU MAT-U=to ₂
English translation	Waiting for spring

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	待	‘to wait’	G ダ イ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	まつ MAT-U ‘to wait’ (conclusive)		SAL
2	春	‘spring’	シュン <i>shun</i>	はる PA.RU ‘spring’		SAL
3	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (essive particle) ←		SAP

			K セキ <i>seki</i>	あと <i>A.TO</i> ‘trace’	

Line 4

Original Text	居之鶯
Transcription	をりしうぐひ ₁ す WOR-I-si-U.GU.PI ₁ .SU
English translation	The nightingales [which] had been [waiting]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	居	‘to be located’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	をり - <i>WOR-I-</i> ‘to exist’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>-si-</i> (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	鶯	‘nightingale’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	うぐひ ₁ す <i>U.GU.PI₁.SU</i> ‘nightingale’	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	鳴尔雞鵲鴨
Transcription	なき ₁ にけ ₁ むかも NAK-I ₁ -n-i-ke ₁ -m-u=ka.mo
English translation	[The nightingales] seemed to have chirped!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミ ヨ ウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	なき ₁ - <i>NAK-I₁-</i> ‘to chirp’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に - <i>-n-i-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive)		PAP
3	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>	け ₁ <i>ke₁</i>	-け ₁ む -	PAP
4	鵲	‘parrot’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	-む - <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	-ke ₁ -m-u- (past speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
5	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも <i>=ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’		SAP

Poem 8.1487

Preface/Title

大伴家持恨霍公鳥晚喧歌二首 (poems 1486-1487)

Author

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785)

References

NKBT	5: 302-303 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 252 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 320 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 317 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	8: 110-111 (Omodaka 1961)
MYSZC	8: 153-154 (Ide 1993)

Original Text

1 霍公鳥 2 不念有寸 3 木晚乃 4 如此成左右二 5 奈何不來喧

Literary Translation

Cuckoo, [I] did not think [of it] [i.e., expect it]. Why do [you] not come and chirp until the darkness [i.e., shade] of the tree becomes like this?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	15	2	4	21

Line 1

Original Text	霍公鳥 ²³
Transcription	ほと ₂ と ₂ ぎ ₁ す PO.TO ₂ .TO ₂ .GI ₁ .SU
English translation	The cuckoo

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	霍	‘sound of birds flying’	カク <i>kaku</i>	ほと ₂ と ₂ ぎ ₁ す PO.TO ₂ .TO ₂ .GI ₁ .SU ‘cuckoo’	SAL
2	公	‘senior male’	コウ <i>kō</i>		SAL
3	鳥	‘bird’	チョウ <i>chō</i>		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	不 _レ 念有寸
Transcription	おも ₂ はずありき ₁ O.MO ₂ P-A-ZU-AR-I-ki ₁
English translation	[I] did not think [of it].

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず -ZU- (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ は - O.MO ₂ P-A- ‘to think’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-あり -AR-I- (existential complementary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
4	寸	unit of length	ソン <i>son</i> KY スン <i>sun</i>	-き ₁ -ki ₁ (recollective auxiliary verb) (conclusive) ← き ₁ KI ₁ (unit of size of horse)	SAP

Line 3

Original Text	木晩乃
Transcription	こ ₂ の ₂ くれの ₂ KO ₂ =no ₂ KU.RE=no ₂
English translation	The darkness of the tree

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	木	‘wood’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	こ ₂ - ko ₂ - ‘tree’ (bound form)	PAP

²³The word ほと₂と₂ぎ₁す *po.to₂.to₂.gi₁.su* ‘cuckoo’ is believed to be an onomatopoeia imitating the sound of chirping of cuckoos. The graphic notation 霍公鳥 presumably derives from the notation 郭公鳥 in Chinese writing as the characters 霍 and 郭 have the same SJ reading カク *kaku*. The original meaning of the character 霍 referring to the sound of birds flying may have also played a part in its usage, making it a phonogram with logographic connotation. Despite its potential phonetic origin, this written form is regarded as a holistic logographic notation for the word ほと₂と₂ぎ₁す *po.to₂.to₂.gi₁.su* ‘cuckoo’.

Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	晩	‘evening’	G マン <i>man</i> K バン <i>ban</i>	くれ <i>KU.RE</i> ‘darkness’ (nominal)	SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	如 _レ 此成左右二
Transcription	かくなるまでに KA-KU NAR-U=ma.de=ni
English translation	Until [the darkness] becomes like this.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	-く - <i>KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	か _レ く <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	此	‘this’	シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
3	成	‘to achieve’	G ジ ヨ ウ <i>jō</i> K セ イ <i>sei</i>	なる - <i>NAR-U-</i> ‘to become’ (adnominal)		SAL
4	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま - <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right’		SAP
5	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユ ウ <i>yū</i>			SAP
6	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	奈何不 _レ 來-喧
Transcription	なにかき ₁ なかぬ NA.NI=KA KI ₁ -NAK-A-NU-
English translation	Why do [you] not come and chirp?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	奈	interrogative pronoun	G ナ <i>na</i> K ダ <i>da</i>	なにか <i>NA.NI=KA</i> ‘why’ ← なに <i>na.ni</i> ‘what’ + =か = <i>ka</i> (interrogative final particle)		SAL
2	何	interrogative pronoun	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>			SAL
3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ - <i>NU-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		SAL
4	來	‘to come’	ライ <i>rai</i>	き ₁ - <i>KI₁-</i> ‘to come’ (infinitive)		SAL
5	喧	‘to make’	G カン <i>kan</i>	なか _レ - <i>NAK-A-</i> ‘to chirp’ (irrealis)		SAL

		noise'	K ケン <i>ken</i>		

Poem 8.1495

Preface/Title

大伴家持霍公鳥歌二首 (poems 1494-1495)

Author

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785)

References

NKBT	5: 304-305 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 254 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 322 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 319-320 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	8: 116-117 (Omodaka 1961)
MYSZC	8: 163-164 (Ide 1993)

Original Text

1 足引乃 2 許乃聞立八十一 3 霍公鳥 4 如此聞始而 5 後將戀可聞

Literary Translation

Starting to hear the cuckoo going [i.e., flying] through the gaps of the trees of the mountain like this, [I] may be yearning later!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	13	5	5	23

Line 1

Original Text	足引乃 ²⁴
Transcription	あしひ ₁ きの ₂ a.si.pi ₁ .ki=no ₂
English translation	The mountain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	足	‘foot’	G ソク <i>soku</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i> KY スウ <i>sū</i>	あし <i>a.si</i> ← あし <i>A.SI</i> ‘foot’	SAP
2	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	ひ ₁ き <i>pi₁.ki</i> ← ひ ₁ き ₁ <i>PI₁K-I₁</i> ‘pulling’ (nominal)	SAP
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	許乃間立八十一
Transcription	こ ₂ の ₂ またちくく ko ₂ =no ₂ -MA TAT-I-kuk-u-
English translation	[The cuckoo] going through the gaps of the trees

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	許	‘to allow’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	こ ₂ - <i>ko</i> ₂ - ‘tree’ (bound morpheme)		PAP
2	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		PAP
3	間	‘interval’	G ケン <i>ken</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	ま <i>MA</i> ‘gap’		SAL
4	立	‘to stand’	リュウ <i>ryū</i> KY リツ <i>ritsu</i>	たち- <i>TAT-I-</i> ‘to stand’ (infinitive)	たちくく- <i>TAT-I-kuk-u-</i> ‘to go through’ (adnominal)	SAL
5	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	くく <i>ku.ku</i> ← く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’)		SAP
6	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	multiplied by く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) equals		SAP
7	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	‘eighty-one’ (八十一)		SAP

Line 3

Original Text	霍公鳥
Transcription	ほと ₂ と ₂ ぎ ₁ す

²⁴The character sequence 足引乃 represents the expression あしひ₁きの₂ *a.si.pi₁.ki=no₂*, which is an epithet associated with the word やま *ya.ma* ‘mountain’. The etymology and meaning of this expression are unclear, and it is understood as directly referring to the mountain here.

	PO.TO ₂ .TO ₂ .GI ₁ .SU
English translation	The cuckoo

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	霍	‘sound of birds flying’	カク <i>kaku</i>	ほと ₂ と ₂ ぎ ₁ す <i>PO.TO₂.TO₂.GI₁.SU</i> ‘cuckoo’	SAL
2	公	‘senior male’	コウ <i>kō</i>		SAL
3	鳥	‘bird’	チョウ <i>chō</i>		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	如 _レ 此聞始而
Transcription	かくき ₁ き ₁ そ ₂ め ₂ て KA-KU KI ₁ K-I ₁ -SO ₂ .ME ₂ =TE
English translation	Starting to hear [the cuckoo] like this,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	-く -KU (adverbial suffix) かく <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	此	‘this’	シ <i>shi</i>		SAL
3	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	き ₁ き ₁ - <i>KI₁K-I₁</i> ‘to hear’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	始	‘to start’	シ <i>shi</i>	-そ ₂ め ₂ - <i>-SO₂.ME₂</i> ‘to start’ (complementary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
5	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	後將 _レ 戀可聞
Transcription	の ₂ ちこ ₁ ひ ₂ むかも NO ₂ .TI KO ₁ .PI ₂ -M-U=ka.mo
English translation	[I] may be yearning later!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	後	‘back; later’	G グ <i>gu</i> K コウ <i>kō</i> KY ゴ <i>go</i>	の ₂ ち <i>NO₂.TI</i> ‘later’	SAL
2	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-む - <i>-M-U-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
3	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>KO₁.PI₂</i> ‘to love, yearn’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i> =かも =ka.mo (exclamatory final)	PAP

5	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	も <i>mo</i>	particle)	PAP

Poem 8.1579

Preface/Title

秋雜歌 右大臣橘家宴歌七首 (poems 1574-1580) (dated 738)

Author

Fumi no Umakai 文馬養 (active c. 730 - c. 760)

References

NKBT	5: 326-327 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 285-286 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 347 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 347 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	8: 222-223 (Omodaka 1961)
MYSZC	8: 261-262 (Ide 1993)

Original Text

1 朝扉開而 2 物念時尔 3 白露乃 4 置有秋芽子 5 所見喚雞本名

Literary Translation

Opening the morning door, when thinking about things, the autumn clover on which white dews are placed (i.e., filled with white dews) keeps being seen unreasonably.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
22	0	16	2	4	22

Line 1

Original Text	朝扉開而
Transcription	あさと ₁ あけ ₂ て A.SA-TO ₁ A.KE ₂ =TE
English translation	Opening the morning door,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	朝	‘morning’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K チョウ <i>chō</i>	あさ <i>A.SA</i> ‘morning’	SAL
2	扉	‘door’	ヒ <i>hi</i>	と ₁ <i>TO₁</i> ‘door’	SAL
3	開	‘to open’	カイ <i>kai</i>	あけ ₂ - <i>A.KE₂</i> - ‘to open’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>=TE</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	物念時尔
Transcription	もの ₂ おも ₂ ふと ₂ き ₁ に MO.NO ₂ O.MO ₂ P-U-TO ₂ .KI ₁ =ni
English translation	At the time of thinking about things

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	物	‘thing’	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	もの ₂ <i>MO.NO₂</i> ‘thing’	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ふ- <i>O.MO₂P-U-</i> ‘to think’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	と ₂ き ₁ <i>TO₂.KI₁</i> ‘time’	SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	白露乃
Transcription	しらつゆの ₂ SI.RA-TU.YU=no ₂
English translation	Of the white dews

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	白	‘to be white’	G ビヤク <i>byaku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	しら- <i>SI.RA-</i> ‘white’ (bound form) ← しろ ₁ - <i>SI.RO₁</i> - ‘to be white’ (stem)	SAL
2	露	‘dew’	G ル <i>ru</i> K ロ <i>ro</i>	つゆ <i>TU.YU</i> ‘dew’	SAL

			KY ロウ <i>rō</i>		
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive/nominative particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	置有秋芽子 ²⁵
Transcription	おけ ₂ るあき ₁ はぎ ₂ OK-E ₂ -r-u-A.KI ₁ -PA.GI ₂
English translation	The autumn clover [on which white dew is] put

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	置	‘to put’	チ <i>chi</i>	おけ ₂ -OK-E ₂ - ‘to put’ (realis)	SAL
2	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-る - <i>r-u</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← ある-AR-U- ‘to have’ (adnominal)	SAP
3	秋	‘autumn’	シュウ <i>shū</i>	あき ₁ A.KI ₁ ‘autumn’	SAL
4	芽	‘sprout’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K ガ <i>ga</i>	はぎ ₂ PA.GI ₂ ‘clover’	SAL
5	子	‘son’	シ <i>shi</i> TS ス <i>su</i>		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	所見喚雞本名
Transcription	み ₁ え ₂ つつもと ₂ な MI ₁ -YE=tu.tu MO.TO ₂ -na
English translation	[The autumn clover] keeps being seen unreasonably.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K ショ <i>sho</i>	み ₁ え ₂ -MI ₁ -YE- ‘to be seen’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>		SAL
3	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>	=つつ = <i>tu.tu</i> (continuative conjunctive particle) ← sound made when summoning chicken (喚雞)	SAP
4	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>		SAP
5	本	‘origin’	ホン <i>hon</i>	もと ₂ MO.TO ₂ ‘origin’	SAL
6	名	‘name’	G ミョウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	な- <i>na</i> - ‘to not have’ (stem) ← な NA ‘name’	
				もと ₂ な MO.TO ₂ -na ‘unreasonably’	SAP

²⁵The word はぎ₂ *pa.gi₂* ‘clover’ is normally written by SAL 萩. The notation 芽子 may be regarded as a holistic logographic notation for the word.

Poem 9.1787

Preface/Title

天平元年己巳冬十二月歌一首 并短歌 (poems 1787-1789) (dated 729)

Author

Kasa no Kanamura 笠金村 (active 715-733)

References

NKBT	5: 406-407 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 386 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 430 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 438 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	9: 212-214 (Omodaka 1961)
MYSZC	9: 223-225 (Kanai 2003)

Original Text

(lines 11-16 of 21)

11 吾衣有 12 服者奈礼奴 13 每見 14 戀者雖益 15 色二山上復有山者 16 一可知美

Literary Translation

The garment which I have worn has become dirty. Although every time [I] see [it], [my] love [for my wife] increases, [because of the fact that] if [my love] comes out (i.e., appears) in facial expression, people may know [it], ...

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
22	0	13	5	8	26

Line 11

Original Text	吾衣有
Transcription	あがき ₁ たる A=GA KI ₁ -tar-u-
English translation	[The garment which] I have worn

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	あ=が ₁ A=GA ‘my’ (← あ <i>a</i> ‘I’ + =が ₁ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
2	衣	‘upper garment’	G エ <i>e</i> K イ <i>i</i>	き ₁ - KI ₁ - ‘to wear’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-たる -tar-u- (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← ある -AR-U- ‘to have’ (adnominal)	SAP

Line 12

Original Text	服者奈礼奴
Transcription	こ ₂ ろ ₂ もはなれぬ KO ₂ .RO ₂ .MO=PA na.re-n-u
English translation	The garment has become dirty.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	服	‘garment’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>	こ 2 ろ 2 も <i>KO2.RO2.MO</i> ‘garment’		SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は <i>=PA</i> (topic particle)		SAL
3	奈	interrogative pronoun	G ナ(イ) <i>na(i)</i> K ダ(イ) <i>da(i)</i>	な <i>na</i>	なれ- <i>na.re-</i> ‘to become dirty’ (infinitive)	PAP
4	礼	‘courtesy’	G ライ <i>rai</i> K レイ <i>rei</i>	れ <i>re</i>		PAP
5	奴	‘slave’	G ヌ <i>nu</i> K ド <i>do</i>	-ぬ <i>-n-u</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Line 13

Original Text	毎 ₁ 見
Transcription	み ₁ るご ₂ と ₂ に MI ₁ -RU-GO ₂ .TO ₂ =ni
English translation	Every time [I] see [the garment],

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	毎	‘every’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	-ご ₂ と ₂ -GO ₂ .TO ₂ ‘every’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に =ni (dative particle)		
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i>	み ₁ る - MI ₁ -RU- ‘to see’ (adnominal)	SAL

			K ケン <i>ken</i>		

Line 14

Original Text	戀者雖益
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ はまされど ₂ KO ₁ .PI ₂ =PA MA.SAR-E=DO ₂
English translation	Although [my] love increases,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ KO ₁ .PI ₂ ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)	SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL
3	雖	‘although’	スイ <i>sui</i>	=ど ₂ =DO ₂ (factual concessive conjunctive particle)	SAL
4	益	‘to increase’	G ヤク <i>yaku</i> K エキ <i>eki</i>	まされ- MA.SAR-E- ‘to increase’ (realis)	SAL

Line 15

Original Text	色二山上復有山者
Transcription	いろ ₂ にいでは I.RO ₂ =ni i.de-ba
English translation	If [my love] comes out in facial expression,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	色	‘color’	G シキ <i>shiki</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i>	いろ ₂ I.RO ₂ ‘color; facial expression’	SAL
2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)	PAP
3	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	いで- i.de- ‘to come out’ (irrealis) ← character 出 (‘to come out’) ← answer to the riddle ‘There is another mountain on the mountain.’	SAP
4	上	‘above’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>		SAP
5	復	‘again’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>		SAP
6	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
7	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>		SAP
8	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば =ba (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP

Line 16

Original Text	一可 _レ 知美

Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ しりぬべ ₂ み ₁ pi ₁ .to ₂ SIR-I- <u>n-u</u> -BE ₂ -mi ₁
English translation	[Because of the fact that] people may know

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ pi ₁ .to ₂ ‘person’ ← ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘one’	SAP
2	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	-べ ₂ - -BE ₂ - (speculative auxiliary verb) (stem)	SAL
3	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	しり - SIR-I- ‘to know’ (infinitive)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-ぬ - -n-u- (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		
4	美	‘to be beautiful’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	-み ₁ -mi ₁ (gerundive suffix)	PAP

Poem 9.1789

Preface/Title

天平元年己巳冬十二月歌一首 并短歌 (poems 1787-1789) (dated 729)

Author

Kasa no Kanamura 笠金村 (active 715-733)

References

NKBT	5: 406-407 (Takagi et al. 1959)
SNKBT	2: 387 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	3: 431 (Kojima et al. 1972)
SNKBZ	7: 439 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	9: 215-216 (Omodaka 1961)
MYSZC	9: 226-228 (Kanai 2003)

Original Text

1 吾妹兒之 2 結手師紐乎 3 將解八方 4 絶者絶十方 5 直二相左右二

Literary Translation

How should [I] untie the knot [which] my wife tied? Even if [it] breaks, [let it] break until [we] directly meet.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	12	4	8	24

Line 1

Original Text	吾妹兒之
Transcription	わぎ ₁ も ₂ こ ₁ が WA.GI ₁ .MO ₂ -KO ₁ =GA
English translation	Of my wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が ₁ <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₁ = <i>ga</i> [genitive particle])	わぎ ₁ も ₂ <i>WA.GI₁.MO₂</i> (← わが ₁ いも ₂ <i>WA=GA I.MO₂</i>) = わぎ ₁ も ₂ こ ₁ <i>WA.GI₁.MO₂-KO₁</i> ‘my wife’	SAL
2	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)		SAL
3	兒	‘son’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	こ ₁ <i>KO₁</i> ‘child’		SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=が ₁ = <i>GA</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	結手師紐乎
Transcription	ゆひ ₁ てしひ ₁ も ₁ を YUP-I ₁ -te-si-PI ₁ .MO ₁ =wo
English translation	The knot tied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	ゆひ ₁ - YUP-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	-て -te- (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive) ← て TE ‘hand’	SAP
3	師	‘master’	シ <i>shi</i>	-し -si- (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
4	紐	‘knot’	G ニュウ <i>nyū</i> K ジュウ <i>jū</i> KY チュウ <i>chū</i>	ひ ₁ も ₁ PI ₁ .MO ₁ ‘knot’	SAL
5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (accusative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	將 ₁ 解 ₂ 八 ₂ 方 ₂
Transcription	と ₂ かめ ₂ やも TO ₂ K-A-ME ₂ =ya=mo

English translation	How should [I] untie?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-め ₂ - <i>-me₂-</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (realis)	SAL
2	解	‘to untie’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カイ <i>kai</i>	と ₂ カ- <i>TO₂K-A-</i> ‘to untie’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	=や <i>=ya</i> (interrogative particle) ← や <i>YA</i> ‘eight’	SAP
4	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	=も <i>=mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← おも <i>O.MO</i> ‘face’	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	絶者絶十方
Transcription	たえ ₂ ばたゆと ₂ も TA.YE=ba TA.YU=to ₂ .mo
English translation	Even if [it] breaks, [let it] break,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	絶	‘to break’	G ゼチ <i>zechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i> KY ゼツ <i>zetsu</i>	たえ ₂ - <i>TA.YE-</i> ‘to break’ (irrealis)		SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば <i>=ba</i> (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は <i>=PA</i> (topic particle)		SAP
3	絶	‘to break’	G ゼチ <i>zechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i> KY ゼツ <i>zetsu</i>	たゆ <i>TA.YU</i> ‘to break’ (conclusive)		SAL
4	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	と ₂ <i>to</i> ₂ ← と ₂ を <i>TO</i> ₂ . <i>WO</i> ‘ten’	=と ₂ も <i>=to</i> ₂ . <i>mo</i> (hypothetical concessive conjunctive particle)	SAP
5	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	も <i>mo</i> ← おも <i>O.MO</i> ‘face’		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	直二相左右二
Transcription	ただにあふまでに TA.DA=ni AP-U=ma.de=ni
English translation	Until [we] directly meet.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	直	‘just’	G ジキ <i>jiki</i> K チョク <i>choku</i>	ただ <i>TA.DA</i> ‘just, only’	SAL
2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative suffix)	PAP

			K ジ <i>ji</i>		
3	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あふ- <i>AP-U-</i> ‘to meet’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで <i>=ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 真手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 真 ま- <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right’	SAP
5	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
6	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)	PAP

Poem 10.1874

Preface/Title

春雑歌 詠月 (poems 1874-1876)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 64-65 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	2: 432 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	4: 58 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 41 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	10: 77-78 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	10: 104-105 (Aso 1989)

Original Text

1 春霞 2 田菜引今日之 3 暮三伏一向夜 4 不穢照良武 5 高松之野尔

Literary Translation

[At] the night with the dusk moon of today when the spring mist hovers above, the moon shines clearly in the wilderness of Takamatsu.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
23	0	14	3	7	24

Line 1

Original Text	春霞
Transcription	はるかすみ ₁ PA.RU-KA.SUM-I ₁
English translation	The spring mist

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	春	‘spring’	シュン <i>shun</i>	はる <i>PA.RU</i> ‘spring’	SAL
2	霞	‘mist’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	かすみ ₁ <i>KA.SUM-I₁</i> ‘mist’ (nominal)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	田菜引今日之
Transcription	たなび ₁ くけ ₁ ふの ₂ ta.na.bi ₁ k-u-KE ₁ .PU=NO ₂
English translation	Of today when [the spring mist] hovers above

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	田	‘field’	G デン <i>den</i> K テン <i>ten</i>	た <i>ta</i> ← た <i>TA</i> ‘field’	たなび ₁ く- <i>ta.na.bi₁k-u-</i> ‘(cloud) to hover above (adnominal)	SAP
2	菜	‘greens’	サイ <i>sai</i>	な <i>na</i> ← な <i>NA</i> ‘greens’		SAP
3	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	び ₁ く <i>bi₁.ku</i> ← ひ ₁ く- <i>PI₁K-U-</i> ‘to pull’ (adnominal)		SAP
4	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	け ₁ ふ, <i>KE₁.PU</i> ‘today’		SAL
5	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>			SAL
6	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	暮三伏一向夜
Transcription	ゆふづくよ ₁ YU.PU-du.ku-YO ₁
English translation	The night with the dusk moon

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	暮	‘dusk’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボ <i>bo</i>	ゆふ <i>YU.PU</i> ‘dusk’	SAL
2	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	-づく- <i>-du.ku-</i> ‘moon’ (voiced bound form) ← つく <i>tu.ku</i> (name of the combination of three sticks with the	SAP
3	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>		SAP

4	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	back side up [or facing down] and one stick with the front side up [or facing up] in the board game) ← ‘three facing down and one facing (up)’	SAP
5	向	‘to face (a direction)’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K キョウ <i>kyō</i>		SAP
6	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ <i>YO₁</i> ‘night’	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	不穢照良武
Transcription	き ₁ よ ₁ くてるらむ KI ₁ .YO ₁ -KU TER-U-ra-m-u
English translation	[The moon] shines clearly.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	き ₁ よ ₁ く KI ₁ .YO ₁ -KU ‘clearly’ ← ‘to be not dirty’		SAL
2	穢	‘to be dirty’	G エ <i>e</i> K ワイ <i>wai</i>			SAL
3	照	‘to shine’	シヨウ <i>shō</i>	てる TER-U ‘to shine’ (conclusive)		SAL
4	良	‘to be good’	リヨウ <i>ryō</i>	ら <i>ra</i>	らむ -ra-m-u (present speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP
5	武	‘military’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	-む -m-u (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	高松之野尔
Transcription	たかまつの ₂ の ₁ に TA.KA-MA.TU=NO ₂ NO ₁ =ni
English translation	In the wilderness of Takamatsu

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	高	‘to be high’	コウ <i>kō</i>	たか- TA.KA- ‘to be high’ (stem)	たかまつ TA.KA-MA.TU (toponym)	SAL
2	松	‘pine’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	まつ MA.TU ‘pine’		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)		SAL
4	野	‘wilderness’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	の ₁ NO ₁ ‘wilderness’		SAL
5	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (locative particle)		PAP

Poem 10.1997

Preface/Title

秋雜歌 七夕 (poems 1996-2093)

Author

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (ca. 655 - ca. 710)

References

NKBT	6: 88-89 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	2: 465 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	4: 87-88 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 75 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	10: 212-213 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	10: 235-236 (Aso 1989)

Original Text

1 久方之 2 天漢原丹 3 奴延鳥之 4 裏歎座都 5 乏諸手丹

Literary Translation

On the shore of the distant sky, [the Weaving Girl] has cried secretly [like] the thrushes to the extent of being helpless [i.e., to the extent that nothing can be done].

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	12	3	4	19

Line 1

Original Text	久方之 ²⁶
Transcription	ひ ₁ さかたの ₂ PI ₁ .SA-KA.TA=NO ₂
English translation	Distant

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	久	‘(time) to be long’	G ク <i>ku</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	ひ ₁ さ - PI ₁ .SA- ‘(time) to be long’ (stem)	SAL
2	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	かた KA.TA ‘direction’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	天漢原丹
Transcription	あま ₂ かはらに A.MA=NO ₂ KA.PA.RA=ni
English translation	On the shore of the sky

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	天	‘sky’	テン <i>ten</i>	あま <i>A.MA</i> ‘sky’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)			
2	漢	name of a river	カン <i>kan</i>	かは <i>KA.PA</i> ‘river’	かはら <i>KA.PA.RA</i> ‘shore’	SAL
3	原	‘plain’	G ガン <i>gan</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	はら <i>PA.RA</i> ‘plain’		SAL
4	丹	‘vermillion’	タン <i>tan</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘vermillion’		SAP

Line 3

Original Text	奴延鳥 ²⁷ 之
Transcription	ぬえ ₂ と ₂ りの ₂ nu.ye-TO ₂ .RI=NO ₂
English translation	Of the thrushes

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	奴	‘slave’	G ヌ <i>nu</i> K ド <i>do</i>	ぬ <i>nu</i> ぬえ ₂ と ₂ り nu.ye-TO ₂ .RI	PAP

²⁶The character sequence 久方之 represents the expression ひ₁さかたの₂ PI₁.SA-KA.TA=NO₂ ‘distant’, which is an epithet associated with the word 天 あま A.MA ‘sky’ in the next line. Semantically, it may be regarded as involving a metaphorical derivation from the reference to time to the reference to space (久 ひ₁さ - PI₁.SA- ‘a great extent in time’ → ‘a great extent in space’).

²⁷The character sequence 奴延鳥 writes the word ぬえ₂と₂り nu.ye-TO₂.RI ‘thrush’. Because the sound of chirping of thrushes is felt to be sorrowful, this word is used as an epithet associated with words or expressions related to sorrow, and in this poem, the word 裏歎 うらなき 1- U.RA-NAK-I/- ‘to cry secretly’ (infinitive) in the next line.

2	延	‘to extend’	エン <i>en</i>	え ₂ <i>ye</i>	‘thrush’	PAP
3	鳥	‘bird’	チョウ <i>chō</i>	と ₂ り <i>TO₂.RI</i> ‘bird’		SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	裏歎座都
Transcription	うらなき ₁ ましつ U.RA-NAK-I ₁ -MAS-I-tu
English translation	[The Weaving Girl] has cried secretly.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	裏	‘inside’	リ <i>ri</i>	うら <i>U.RA</i> ‘inside’	うらなき 1- <i>U.RA-NAK-I₁</i> - ‘to cry secretly’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	歎	‘to sigh’	タン <i>tan</i>	なき 1- <i>NAK-I₁</i> - ‘to cry’ (infinitive)		SAL
3	座	‘seat’	G ザ <i>za</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	まし - <i>MAS-I-</i> (honorific complementary verb) (infinitive)		SAL
4	都	‘capital’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> K ト <i>to</i>	-つ <i>-tu</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	乏諸手丹
Transcription	すべ ₁ なき ₁ までに SU.BE ₁ -NA-KI ₁ =ma.de=ni
English translation	To the extent of being helpless

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	乏	‘to lack’	G ボウ <i>bō</i> K ホウ <i>hō</i>	すべ ₁ なき ₁ - <i>SU.BE₁-NA-KI₁</i> - ‘to be helpless’ (adnominal)		SAL
2	諸	‘various’	ショ <i>sho</i>	=まで <i>=ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま- <i>MA-</i> ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘various hands’		SAP
3	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>			SAP
4	丹	‘vermillion’	タン <i>tan</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘vermillion’		SAP

Poem 10.2128

Preface/Title

秋雜歌 詠鴈 (poems 2128-2140)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 110-111 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	2: 496-497 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	4: 116 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 107 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	10: 336-337 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	10: 368-369 (Aso 1989)

Original Text

1 秋風尔 2 山跡部越 3 鴈鳴者 4 射矢遠放 5 雲隱筒

Literary Translation

The sound of the wild geese crossing toward Yamato in the autumn wind are going increasingly [i.e., further] away as they hide in the cloud.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	10	1	6	17

Line 1

Original Text	秋風尔
Transcription	あき ₁ かぜに A.KI ₁ -KA.ZE=ni
English translation	In the autumn wind

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	秋	‘autumn’	シュウ <i>shū</i>	あき ₁ A.KI ₁ ‘autumn’	SAL
2	風	‘wind’	フウ <i>fū</i> KY フ <i>fu</i>	かぜ KA.ZE ‘wind’	SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	山跡部越
Transcription	やまと ₂ へ ₁ こゆる ya.ma.to ₂ =pe ₁ KO.YU-RU-
English translation	[The wild geese] crossing toward Yamato

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま ya.ma ← やま YA.MA ‘mountain’	やまと ₂ ya.ma.to ₂	SAP
2	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	と ₂ to ₂ ← あと A.TO ‘trace’	‘Yamato (Japan)’	SAP
3	部	‘section’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K ホ <i>ho</i>	=へ ₁ =pe ₁ (allative particle) ← へ ₁ PE ₁ ‘clan’		SAP
4	越	‘to cross’	G オチ <i>ochi</i> K エツ <i>etsu</i>	こゆる - KO.YU-RU- ‘to cross’ (adnominal)		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	鴈鳴者
Transcription	かりがねは KA.RI=ga-NE=PA
English translation	The sound of the wild geese

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	鴈	‘wild goose’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ガン <i>gan</i>	かり KA.RI ‘wild goose’	かりがね KA.RI=ga-NE	SAL
2	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	ね NE ‘sound’	‘sound of wild goose’	SAL
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	射矢遠放
Transcription	いやと ₂ ほざかる i.ya TO ₂ .PO-ZA.KAR-U
English translation	[The wild geese] are going increasingly away.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	射	‘to shoot’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	い <i>i</i> ← い- <i>I-</i> ‘to shoot’ (stem)	いや <i>i.ya</i> ‘increasingly’	SAP
2	矢	‘arrow’	シ <i>shi</i>	や <i>ya</i> ← や <i>YA</i> ‘arrow’		SAP
3	遠	‘to be far’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	と ₂ ほ- <i>TO₂.PO-</i> ‘to be far’ (stem)	と ₂ ほざかる <i>TO₂.PO-ZA.KAR-U</i>	SAL
4	放	‘to release’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	さかる <i>SA.KAR-U</i> ‘to leave’ (conclusive)	‘to go away’ (conclusive)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	雲隠筒
Transcription	くもかくりつつ KU.MO KA.KUR-I=tu.tu
English translation	As [the wild geese] hide in the cloud.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	雲	‘cloud’	ウン <i>un</i>	くも <i>KU.MO</i> ‘cloud’		SAL
2	隠	‘to conceal’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	かくり- <i>KA.KUR-I-</i> ‘to hide’ (infinitive)		SAL
3	筒	‘pipe’	G ドウ <i>dō</i> K トウ <i>tō</i>	=つつ = <i>tu.tu</i> (continuative conjunctive particle) ← つつ <i>TU.TU</i> ‘pipe’		SAP

Poem 10.2130

Preface/Title

秋雜歌 詠鴈 (poems 2128-2140)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 110-111 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	2: 496 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	4: 117 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 107 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	10: 338-339 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	10: 370-371 (Aso 1989)

Original Text

1 吾屋戸尔 2 鳴之鴈哭 3 雲上尔 4 今夜喧成 5 國方可聞遊群

Literary Translation

The sound of the wild geese which chirped at my dwelling seems to be chirping tonight above the cloud.
Will [I] go to the country [i.e., go back to my country]?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	10	7	4	21

Line 1

Original Text	吾屋戸尔
Transcription	わがやど ₁ に WA=GA ya.do ₁ =ni
English translation	At my dwelling

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が ₁ WA=GA ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₁ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
2	屋	‘house’	オク <i>oku</i>	や <i>ya</i> ← や <i>YA</i> ‘house’	SAP
3	戸	‘door’	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	と ₁ <i>to₁</i> ← と ₁ <i>TO₁</i> ‘door’	SAP
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (locative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	鳴之鴈哭
Transcription	なき ₁ しかりが ₁ ね NAK-I ₁ -si-KA.RI=ga-NE
English translation	The sound of the wild geese which chirped

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミヨウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>	なき ₁ - NAK-I ₁ - ‘to chirp’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	-し -si- (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	鴈	‘wild goose’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ガン <i>gan</i>	かり KA.RI ‘wild goose’	SAL
4	哭	‘to cry’	コク <i>koku</i>	ね NE ‘sound’	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	雲上尔
Transcription	くも ₂ うへ ₂ に KU.MO=no ₂ U.PE ₂ =ni
English translation	Above the cloud

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type

²⁸There are different explanations about the etymology of the word やど₁ ya.do₁ ‘dwelling’, one of which is the compounding of the two words や *ya* ‘house’ and と₁ *to₁* ‘door’. If this is true, then the two characters 屋 and 戸 are SALs for this word. An alternative explanation associates this word with the verb やど₂る *ya.do₂r-u* ‘to dwell’ (conclusive). Note the different types of the vowel *o* in the two words と₁ *to₁* ‘door’ and やど₂る *ya.do₂r-u* ‘to dwell’ (conclusive). Because of this uncertainty, the two characters 屋戸 are tentatively regarded as SAPs here with strong semantic association with the underlying word.

1	雲	‘cloud’	ウン <i>un</i>	くも <i>KU.MO</i> ‘cloud’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	上	‘above’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	うへ ₂ <i>U.PE₂</i> ‘above’	SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	今夜喧成
Transcription	こ ₂ よ ₂ ひ ₁ なくなり KO ₂ -YO ₂ .PI NAK-U-nar-i
English translation	[The wild geese] seem to be chirping tonight.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	こ ₂ -KO ₂ - ‘this’	こ ₂ よ ₂ ひ ₁ KO ₂ -YO ₂ .PI ₁ ‘tonight’	SAL
2	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よひ ₁ YO.PI ₁ ‘early night’		SAL
3	喧	‘to make noise’	G カン <i>kan</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	なく NAK-U ‘to chirp’ (conclusive)		SAL
4	成	‘to achieve’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	-なり -nar-i (speculative auxiliary verb based on audition) (conclusive) ← なり - NAR-I- ‘to become’ (infinitive)		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	國方可聞遊群
Transcription	くにへ ₁ かもゆく KU.NI=pe ₁ =ka.mo yuk-u
English translation	Will [I] go to the country?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	國	‘country’	コク <i>koku</i>	くに KU.NI ‘country’		SAL
2	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	=へ ₁ = <i>pe₁</i> (allative particle) ← へ ₁ PE ₁ ‘vicinity’		SAP
3	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	=かも = <i>ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle)	PAP
4	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	も <i>mo</i>		PAP
5	遊	‘to travel’	G ユ <i>yu</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	ゆ <i>yu</i>	ゆく <i>yuk-u</i> ‘to go’ (conclusive)	PAP
6	群	‘group’	G グン <i>gun</i> K クン <i>kun</i>	く <i>ku</i>		PAP

Poem 10.2131

Preface/Title

秋雜歌 詠鴈 (poems 2128-2140)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 110-111 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	2: 496-497 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	4: 117 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 108 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	10: 339-340 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	10: 371-372 (Aso 1989)

Original Text

1 左小牡鹿之 2 妻問時尔 3 月乎吉三 4 切木四之泣所聞 5 今時來等霜

Literary Translation

At the time of the male deer asking [for] [i.e., looking for] wife, the moon being good, the sound of the wild geese can be heard. Now [they] seem to be coming!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
23	0	15	4	6	25

Line 1

Original Text	左小牡鹿之 ²⁹
Transcription	さをしかの ₂ sa-WO-SI.KA=NO ₂
English translation	The male deer

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	さ - <i>sa-</i> (prefix)	さをしか <i>sa-WO-SI.KA</i> ‘male deer’	PAP
2	小	‘to be small’	シ ョ ウ <i>shō</i>	を - <i>WO-</i> ‘small’ (prefix)		SAL
3	牡	‘male (animal)’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボ <i>bo</i>	を <i>WO</i> ‘male’		SAL
4	鹿	‘deer’	ロ ク <i>roku</i>	し か <i>SI.KA</i> ‘deer’		SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	= の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (nominative/genitive particle)		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	妻問時尔
Transcription	つまとふと ₂ き ₁ に TU.MA TOP-U-TO ₂ .KI ₁ =ni
English translation	At the time of asking [for] wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妻	‘wife’	G サイ <i>sai</i> セイ <i>sei</i>	つま <i>TU.MA</i> ‘wife’	SAL
2	問	‘to ask’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	とふ - <i>TOP-U-</i> ‘to ask’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	と ₂ き ₁ <i>TO₂.KI₁</i> ‘time’	SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	月乎吉三
Transcription	つき ₂ をよ ₂ み ₁ TU.KI ₂ =wo YO ₂ -mi ₁
English translation	The moon being good,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type

²⁹The word represented by the character sequence 小牡鹿 is をしか *WO-SI.KA* ‘male deer’. The character 小 and the character 牡 are SALs for the homophonous morphemes を - *WO-* ‘small’ (prefix) and を *WO* ‘male’ respectively, but there is only one syllable を *wo* in the underlying word. It may be understood in the way that this syllable has the function of both morphemes.

1	月	‘moon’	G ガチ <i>gachi</i> K ゲツ <i>getsu</i> KY ガツ <i>gatsu</i>	つき ₂ <i>TU.KI₂</i> ‘moon’	SAL
2	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>-wo</i> (absolutive particle)	PAP
3	吉	‘to be auspicious’	G キチ <i>kichi</i> K キツ <i>kitsu</i>	よ ₂₋ <i>YO₂₋</i> ‘to be good’ (stem)	SAL
4	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>	-み ₁ <i>-mi₁</i> (gerundive suffix) ← み ₁ <i>MI₁</i> ‘three’	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	切木四之泣所聞
Transcription	かりがねき ₁ こ ₂ ゆ ka.ri=GA-NE KI ₁ .KO ₂ -YU
English translation	The sound of the wild geese can be heard.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	切	‘to cut’	G セチ <i>sechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i>	かり <i>ka.ri</i> ‘wild goose’ ← かり <i>ka.ri</i> (name of the stick of the board game) ← ‘cutting four pieces of wood’ =が <i>=GA</i> (genitive particle) ね <i>NE</i> ‘sound’	かりがね <i>ka.ri=GA-NE</i> ‘sound of wild goose’	SAP
2	木	‘wood’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>			SAP
3	四	‘four’	シ <i>shi</i>			SAP
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>			SAL
5	泣	‘to cry’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>			SAL
6	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K ショ <i>sho</i>	き ₁ こ ₂ ゆ <i>KI₁.KO₂-YU</i> ‘to be heard’ (conclusive)		SAL
7	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>			SAL

Line 5

Original Text	今時來等霜
Transcription	いましくらしも ₁ I.MA=si KU-ra.si=mo ₁
English translation	Now [the wild geese] seem to be coming!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	いま <i>I.MA</i> ‘now’	SAL
2	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	=し <i>=si</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP

3	來	‘to come’	ライ <i>rai</i>	く <i>KU</i> ‘to come’ (conclusive)		SAL
4	等	‘to be equal’; plural suffix	トウ <i>tō</i>	ら <i>ra</i> ← -ら <i>-RA</i> (plural suffix)	-らし=も ₁ <i>-ra.si=mo₁</i> ← -らし <i>-ra.si</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive) +	SAP
5	霜	‘frost’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	しも ₁ <i>si.mo₁</i> ← しも ₁ <i>SI.MO₁</i> ‘frost’	=も ₁ <i>=mo₁</i> (exclamatory final particle)	SAP

Poem 10.2327

Preface/Title

冬雜歌 詠花 (poems 2325-2329)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 146-147 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	2: 546 (Satake et al. 2000)
NKBZ	4: 161 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 154 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	10: 492-493 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	10: 598-599 (Aso 1989)

Original Text

1 誰苑之 2 梅尔可有家武 3 幾許毛 4 開有可毛 5 見我欲左右手二

Literary Translation

Of whose garden were the plums? [They] were blooming flourishingly to the extent that I desired to see!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	11	9	3	23

Line 1

Original Text	誰苑之
Transcription	たがそ ₂ の ₂ の ₂ TA=GA SO ₂ .NO ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	Of whose garden

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	誰	‘who’	G ズイ <i>zui</i> K スイ <i>sui</i>	た=が ₁ TA=GA ‘whose’ (← た <i>ta</i> ‘who’ + =が ₁ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
2	苑	‘garden’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	そ ₂ の ₂ SO ₂ .NO ₂ ‘garden’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	梅尔可有家武
Transcription	うめ ₂ にかありけ ₁ む U.ME ₂ -ni=ka AR-I-ke ₁ -m-u
English translation	[Of whose garden] were the plums?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	梅	‘plum’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	うめ ₂ <i>U.ME₂</i> ‘plum’		SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に - <i>ni</i> - (copula) (infinitive)		PAP
3	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	=か = <i>ka</i> (interrogative particle)		PAP
4	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あり - <i>AR-I-</i> ‘to have’ (infinitive)		SAL
5	家	‘home’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	け ₁ <i>ke₁</i>	-け ₁ む - <i>ke₁-m-u</i> (past speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP
6	武	‘military’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	-む - <i>m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	幾許毛
Transcription	こ ₂ こ ₂ だくも ₁ KO ₂ .KO ₂ .DA-KU=mo ₁
English translation	Extremely

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	幾	‘how many’	G ゲ <i>ge</i>	こ ₂ こ ₂ だく KO ₂ .KO ₂ .DA-KU	SAL

			K キ <i>ki</i>	'extremely' (← こ ₂ こ ₂ だ <i>ko₂.ko₂.da</i> 'extremely' + -く <i>-ku</i> [adverbial suffix])	
2	許	'about'	G コ <i>ko</i> K キヨ <i>kyo</i>		SAL
3	毛	'hair'	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	= も ₁ = <i>mo₁</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	開有可毛
Transcription	さき ₁ てあるかも ₁ SAK-I ₁ =te-AR-U=ka.mo ₁
English translation	[The plums] were blooming!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	開	'to open'	カイ <i>kai</i>	さき ₁ - SAK-I ₁ -	'to bloom' (infinitive)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=て = <i>te</i> (conjunctive particle)			
2	有	'to have'	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	ある- AR-U-	(existential complementary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
3	可	'to be possible'	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	=かも ₁ = <i>ka.mo₁</i> (exclamatory final particle)	PAP
4	毛	'hair'	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	も ₁ <i>mo₁</i>		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	見我欲左右手二
Transcription	み ₁ がほしまでに MI ₁ =ga HO-SI=ma.de=ni
English translation	To the extent that [I] desired to see.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	見	'to see'	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - MI ₁ -	'to see' (stem)	SAL
2	我	'I'	ガ <i>ga</i>	=が ₁ = <i>ga</i>	(nominative particle)	PAP
3	欲	'to desire'	ヨク <i>yoku</i>	ほし HO-SI	'to be desired' (conclusive)	SAL
4	左	'left'	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで = <i>ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞 手 まで MA-TE 'two hands' (← SAL 眞 ま- MA- 'real, complete' [prefix] + SAL 手 て TE 'hand') ← 'left and right hands'		SAP
5	右	'right'	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>			SAP
6	手	'hand'	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>			SAP
7	二	'two'	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i>	(dative particle)	PAP

Poem 11.2353

Preface/Title

旋頭歌 (poems 2351-2367)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 158-159 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 6 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 171-172 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 166 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 10-12 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 29-31 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 長谷 2 弓楸下 3 吾隱在妻 4 赤根刺 5 所光月夜迢 6 人見點鴨 一云人見豆良牟可

Literary Translation

[My] wife whom I concealed under the bow zelkova tree [in] Hatsuse, [during the day] with the color of red and yellow piercing, on the night with the moon shining, will people see [her]?

Statistics

	Characters	Occurrences				
		DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
Version 1	21	0	14	2	5	21
Version 2	23	0	14	5	4	23

Line 1

Original Text	長谷
Transcription	はつせ pa.tu.se
English translation	Hatsuse

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	長	‘to be long’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K チョウ <i>chō</i>	はつせ <i>ha.tu.se</i> (toponym) ³⁰	SAP
2	谷	‘valley’	コク <i>koku</i>		SAP

Line 2

Original Text	弓槻下
Transcription	ゆつきがしたに YU-TU.KI= <u>ga</u> SI.TA= <u>ni</u>
English translation	Under the bow zelkova tree

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	弓	‘bow’	G クウ <i>kū</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i>	ゆ- <i>YU-</i> ‘bow’ (bound form)	SAL
2	槻	‘zelkova’	き <i>ki</i>	つき <i>TU.KI</i> ‘zelkova’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=が <i>-ga</i> (genitive particle)		
3	下	‘below’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カ <i>ka</i> TS ア <i>a</i>	した <i>SI.TA</i> ‘below’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>-ni</i> (locative particle)		

Line 3

Original Text	吾隠在妻
Transcription	わがかくせるつま WA=GA KA.KUS-E-r-u-TU.MA
English translation	[My] wife whom I concealed

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が <i>-ga</i> [nominative particle])	SAL
2	隠	‘to conceal’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	かくせ- <i>KA.KUS-E-</i> ‘to conceal’ (realis)	SAL

³⁰The underlying word of the character sequence 長谷 is the toponym はつせ *pa.tu.se*, which is also written in several other forms, such as 泊瀬 in the title of poem 1.1. The mapping relationship between this word and the character sequence 長谷 presumably comes from the topographic feature of this place. That is to say, it is first used logographically for the expression ながたに *NA.GA-TA.NI* ‘long valley’ (SAL 長 なが- *NA.GA-* ‘to be long’ [stem]; SAL 谷 たに *TA.NI* ‘valley’) based on real-world factors, and then is derived to metonymically to represent the toponym. Because of the secondary derivation, the character sequence 長谷 as a whole is regarded as an SAP sequence for the toponym はつせ *pa.tu.se*.

3	在	‘to exist’	G ザイ <i>zai</i> K サイ <i>sai</i>	-る - <i>r-u</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← ある - <i>AR-U</i> - ‘to exist’ (adnominal)	SAP
4	妻	‘wife’	G サイ <i>sai</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	つま <i>TU.MA</i> ‘wife’	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	赤根刺 ³¹
Transcription	あかねさし A.KA-ne SAS-I-
English translation	[During the day] with the color of red and yellow piercing,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	赤	‘red’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	あか <i>A.KA</i> ‘red’	あかね <i>A.KA-ne</i> ‘red and yellow’	SAL
2	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	ね <i>ne</i> ← ね <i>NE</i> ‘root’		SAP
3	刺	‘to pierce’	シ <i>shi</i>	さし <i>SAS-I-</i> ‘to pierce’ (infinitive)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	所 _レ 光月夜 _途
Transcription	てれるつくよ ₁ に TER-E-R-U-TU.KU-YO ₁ =ni
English translation	On the night with the moon shining

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K ショ <i>sho</i>	-る - <i>R-U</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		SAL
2	光	‘light’	コウ <i>kō</i>	てれ- <i>TER-E-</i> ‘to shine’ (realis)		SAL
3	月	‘moon’	G ガチ <i>gachi</i> K ゲツ <i>getsu</i> KY ガツ <i>gatsu</i>	つく - <i>TU.KU-</i> ‘moon’ (bound form)		SAL
4	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ <i>YO₁</i> ‘night’		SAL
5	途	‘to be close’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 6 (version 1)

Original Text	人見點鴨
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ み ₁ てむかも PI ₁ .TO ₂ MI ₁ -te-m-u=ka.mo

³¹The character sequence 赤根刺 represents the expression あかねさす *A.KA-NE SAS-U-* ‘red and yellow piercing’, which is an epithet associated with the word 日 ひる *PI.RU* ‘daytime’ in the next line. The association comes from the fact that the rise of the sun turns the sky into this kind of color.

English translation	Will people see [her]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ <i>PI₁.TO₂</i> ‘person’	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - <i>MI₁</i> - ‘to see’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	點	‘point’	テン <i>ten</i>	-てむ - <i>-te-m-u-</i> ← -て - <i>-te-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (irrealis) + -む - <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
4	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも <i>-ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle) ← かも <i>KA.MO</i> ‘duck’	SAP

Line 6 (version 2)

Original Text	人見豆良牟可
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ み ₁ つらむか <i>PI₁.TO₂ MI₁-tu-ra-m-u=ka</i>
English translation	Will people have seen [her]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ <i>PI₁.TO₂</i> ‘person’		SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - <i>MI₁</i> - ‘to see’ (infinitive)		SAL
3	豆	‘bean’	G ズ <i>zu</i> K トウ <i>tō</i>	-つ <i>-tu</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP
4	良	‘to be good’	リ ヨ ウ <i>ryō</i>	ら <i>ra</i>	らむ <i>-ra-m-u</i> (present speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP
5	牟	‘sound of cow’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	-む <i>-m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP
6	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	=か <i>-ka</i> (interrogative particle)		PAP

Poem 11.2542

Preface/Title

正述心緒歌 (poems 2517-2618)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 196-197 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 50 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 214 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 213 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 266-267 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 418-419 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 若草乃 2 新手枕乎 3 卷始而 4 夜哉將間 5 二八十一不在國

Literary Translation

Starting to roll the new arm pillow of [my] wife [i.e., sleep together with my new wife], will [we] separate the night (i.e., not meet tonight)? It is not detestable.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	14	3	4	21

Line 1

Original Text	若草乃 ³²
Transcription	わかくさの ₂ WA.KA-KU.SA=no ₂
English translation	Of [my] wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	若	‘to be obedient’	G ニヤク <i>nyaku</i> K ジャク <i>jaku</i>	わか- <i>WA.KA</i> - ‘to be young’ (stem)	SAL
2	草	‘grass’	ソウ <i>sō</i>	くさ <i>KU.SA</i> ‘grass’	SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	新手枕乎
Transcription	にひ ₁ たまくらを NI.PI ₁ -TA-MA.KU.RA=wo
English translation	The new arm pillow

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	新	‘to be new’	シン <i>shin</i>	にひ ₁ - <i>NI.PI₁</i> - ‘new’ (prefix)		SAL
2	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	た- <i>TA</i> - (bound form) ← て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’	たまくら <i>TA-MA.KU.RA</i> ‘arm pillow’	SAL
3	枕	‘pillow’	シン <i>shin</i> KY チン <i>chin</i>	まくら <i>MA.KU.RA</i> ‘pillow’		SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を = <i>wo</i> (accusative particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	巻始而
Transcription	まき ₁ そ ₂ め ₂ て MAK-I ₁ -SO ₂ .ME ₂ =TE
English translation	Starting to roll [the arm pillow],

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	巻	‘to roll’	カン <i>kan</i>	まき ₁ - <i>MAK-I₁</i> - ‘to roll’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	始	‘to start’	シ <i>shi</i>	-そ ₂ め ₂ - <i>-SO₂.ME₂</i> - ‘to start’ (complementary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
3	而	conjunctive	G ニ <i>ni</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

³²The character sequence 若草乃 represents the expression わかくさの₂ *WA.KA-KU.SA=no₂*, which is an epithet associated with the word つま *tu.ma* ‘wife’, and it is understood as directly referring to the wife here.

		particle	K ジ <i>ji</i>		

Line 4

Original Text	夜哉將 _レ 間
Transcription	よ ₁ をやへ ₁ だてむ YO ₁ =WO=YA PE ₁ .DA.TE-M-U
English translation	Will [my wife and I] separate the night?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ YO ₁ ‘night’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=を =wo (accusative particle)		
2	哉	exclamatory final particle	サイ <i>sai</i>	=や =YA (interjectional particle)	SAL
3	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-む -M-U (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
4	間	‘interval’	G ケン <i>ken</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	へ ₁ だて - PE ₁ .DA.TE- ‘to separate’ (irrealis)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	二八十一不 _レ 在國
Transcription	にくくあらくに ni.ku-ku-AR-A-NA-ku=ni
English translation	It is not detestable.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	に <i>ni</i>	にくく - ni.ku-ku- ‘to be detestable’ (adverbial)	PAP
2	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	くく <i>ku.ku</i> ← く <i>ku</i>		SAP
3	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	(‘nine’) multiplied by く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) equals		SAP
4	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	‘eighty-one’ (八十一)		SAP
5	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	な - NA- ‘to not have’ (stem)		SAL
6	在	‘to exist’	G ザイ <i>zai</i> K サイ <i>sai</i>	あら - AR-A- ‘to exist’ (irrealis)		SAL
7	國	‘country’	コク <i>koku</i>	-く=に -ku=ni (← -く -ku [adverbial suffix] + =に =ni [dative particle]) ← くに KU.NI ‘country’		SAP

Poem 11.2579

Preface/Title

正述心緒歌 (poems 2517-2618)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 202-203 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 58 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 221-222 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 221 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 295 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 452-453 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 早去而 2 何時君乎 3 相見等 4 念之情 5 今曾水葱少熱

Literary Translation

Now [my heart] thinking, going early, when [I] will meet you has calmed down.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
19	0	11	4	4	19

Line 1

Original Text	早去而
Transcription	はやゆき ₁ て PA.YA- YUK-I ₁ =TE
English translation	Going early,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	早	‘to be early’	ソウ <i>sō</i>	はや- PA.YA- ‘to be early’ (stem)	SAL
2	去	‘to leave’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyō</i>	ゆき ₁ - YUK-I ₁ - ‘to go’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	何時君乎
Transcription	いつしかき ₁ み ₁ を I.TU= <u>si</u> =ka KI ₁ .MI ₁ =wo
English translation	When [will I meet] you

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	何	interrogative pronoun	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	いつ <i>I.TU</i> ‘when’	SAL
2	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>		SAL
Supplemented morphemes			=し <i>-si</i> (emphatic particle) + =か <i>-ka</i> (interrogative particle)		
3	君	‘lord; you’	クン <i>kun</i>	き ₁ み ₁ <i>KI₁.MI₁</i> ‘you’	SAL
4	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>-wo</i> (interjectional particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	相見等
Transcription	あひ ₁ み ₁ むと ₂ AP-I ₁ -MI ₁ - <u>m</u> -u=to ₂
English translation	[When will I] meet [you]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あひ ₁ - AP-I ₁ - (reciprocal prefix)	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - MI ₁ - ‘to see’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-む -m-u (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		
3	等	‘to be equal’; plural suffix	トウ <i>tō</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	念之情
Transcription	おも ₂ ひ ₁ しこ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ O.MO ₂ P-I ₁ -si-KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂
English translation	[My] heart thinking

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ひ ₁ - O.MO ₂ P-I ₁ - ‘to think’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>si</i> - (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
3	情	‘emotion’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ ‘heart’	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	今曾水葱少熱
Transcription	いまそ ₂ なぎ ₂ ぬる I.MA=so ₂ na.gi ₂ -n-u.ru-
English translation	Now [my heart] has calmed down.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	いま I.MA ‘now’	SAL
2	曾	‘once’	G ゾウ <i>zō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i> KY ゾ <i>zo</i> KY ソ <i>so</i>	=そ ₂ =so ₂ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	水	‘water’	スイ <i>sui</i>	なぎ ₂ - na.gi ₂ - ‘to calm down’	SAP
4	葱	‘scallion’	ソウ <i>sō</i>	(infinitive) ← なぎ ₂ NA.GI ₂ ‘scallion’	SAP
5	少	‘to be few’	ショウ <i>shō</i>	-ぬる - <i>n-u.ru</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← ぬる - <i>nu.ru</i> - ‘to be lukewarm’ (stem) ← ‘to be slightly hot’	SAP
6	熱	‘to be hot’	G ネチ <i>nechi</i> K ゼツ <i>zetsu</i> KY ネツ <i>netsu</i>		SAP

Poem 11.2602

Preface/Title

正述心緒歌 (poems 2517-2618)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 207-208 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 63 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 226 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 226-227 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 312-313 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 473-474 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 黒髪 2 白髪左右跡 3 結大王 4 心一乎 5 今解目八方

Literary Translation

Until [my] black hair [becomes] white hair, will [I] untie the one tied heart [between us]?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	9	1	8	18

Line 1

Original Text	黒髪
Transcription	くろ ₁ かみ ₁ KU.RO ₁ -KA.MI ₁
English translation	The black hair

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	黒	‘to be black’	コク <i>koku</i>	くろ ₁ - KU.RO ₁ - ‘to be black’ (stem)	SAL
2	髪	‘hair’	G ホチ <i>hochi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i> KY ホツ <i>hotsu</i>	かみ ₁ KA.MI ₁ ‘hair’	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	白髪左右跡
Transcription	しろ ₁ かみ ₁ までと ₂ SI.RO ₁ -KA.MI ₁ =ma.de=to ₂
English translation	Until [becoming] the white hair

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	白	‘to be white’	G ビヤク <i>byaku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	しろ ₁ - SI.RO ₁ - ‘to be white’ (stem)	SAL
2	髪	‘hair’	G ホチ <i>hochi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i> KY ホツ <i>hotsu</i>	かみ ₁ KA.MI ₁ ‘hair’	SAL
3	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	=まで =ma.de (allative particle) ← 眞手 まで MA-TE ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま - MA- ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て TE ‘hand’) ← ‘left and right’	SAP
4	右	‘right’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAP
5	跡	‘trace’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (essive particle) ← あと A.TO ‘trace’	SAP

Line 3

Original Text	結大王
Transcription	むすび ₁ てし MU.SUB-I ₁ -te-si-
English translation	Tied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	むすび ₁ - MU.SUB-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL

2	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	-てし - <i>te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← 手師 てし <i>TE-SI</i> ‘calligrapher’ (← SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’ + DAL 師 <i>SI</i> ‘master’) ← 王羲之 (name of a calligrapher, called “Senior Wáng 大王” as father of the calligrapher Wáng Xiànzhi 王献之)	SAP
3	王	‘king’	オウ <i>ō</i>		SAP

Line 4

Original Text	心一乎
Transcription	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ ひ ₁ と ₂ つを KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ -TU=wo
English translation	One heart

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	心	‘heart’	シン <i>shin</i>	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ ‘heart’	SAL
2	一	‘one’	G イツ <i>itsu</i> K イチ <i>ichi</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ つ PI ₁ .TO ₂ -TU ‘one’	SAL
3	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (accusative particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	今解目八方
Transcription	いまと ₂ かめ ₂ やも I.MA TO ₂ K-A-me ₂ =ya=mo
English translation	Will [I] untie?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	いま I.MA ‘now’	SAL
2	解	‘to untie’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カイ <i>kai</i>	と ₂ か- TO ₂ K-A- ‘to untie’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	-め ₂ -me ₂ - (optative auxiliary verb) (realis) ← め ₂ ME ₂ ‘eye’	SAP
4	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	=や =ya (interrogative particle) ← や YA ‘eight’	SAP
5	方	‘direction’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	=も =mo (exclamatory final particle) ← おも O.MO ‘face’	SAP

Poem 11.2642

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2619-2807)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 214-215 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 73 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 235 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 237 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 346-347 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 511 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 燈之 2 陰尔蚊蛾欲布 3 虛蟬之 4 妹蛾咲狀思 5 面影尔所見

Literary Translation

The smile gleaming in the shade of the lighting fire of [my] lover/wife of the real world is seen in [her] face.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	11	7	3	21

Line 1

Original Text	燈之
Transcription	と ₂ もしび ₂ の ₂ TO ₂ .MOS-I-BI ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	Of the lighting fire

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	燈	‘lighting tool’	トウ <i>tō</i> KY チン <i>chin</i> KY トン <i>ton</i>	と ₂ もしび ₂ TO ₂ .MOS-I-BI ₂ ‘lighting fire’ ← と ₂ もし <i>to₂.mos-i</i> ‘lighting’ (nominal) + ひ ₂ <i>pi₂</i> ‘fire’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	陰尔蚊蛾欲布
Transcription	かげ ₂ にかがよ ₁ ふ KA.GE ₂ =ni ka.ga.yo ₁ p-u-
English translation	Gleaming in the shade

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	陰	‘shade’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	かげ ₂ KA.GE ₂ ‘shade’	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (locative particle)	PAP
3	蚊	‘mosquito’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	か <i>ka</i> ← か <i>KA</i> ‘mosquito’	SAP
4	蛾	‘moth’	ガ <i>ga</i>	が <i>ga</i>	PAP
5	欲	‘to desire’	ヨク <i>yoku</i>	よ ₁ yo ₁	PAP
6	布	‘cloth’	G フ <i>fu</i> K ホ <i>ho</i>	ふ <i>pu</i>	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	虚蟬 ³³ 之
Transcription	うつせみ ₁ の ₂ u.tu.se.mi ₁ =NO ₂
English translation	Of the real world

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	虚	‘to be empty’	G コ <i>ko</i>	うつ <i>u.tu</i> ← うつせみ ₁	SAP

³³The character sequence 虚蟬 represents the word うつせみ₁ *u.tu.se.mi₁* ‘real world’, which is usually used as an epithet, here associated with the word 妹 いも₂ *IMO₂* ‘girl’ in the next line. The logographic connotation of the written forms 虚蟬 or 空蟬 may add a feeling of uncertainty or vanity about the world to the context.

			K キ ヲ <i>kyo</i>	うつ- <i>U.TU-</i> ‘empty’ (prefix)	<i>u.tu.se.mi_l</i> ‘real world’	
2	蟬	‘cicada’	G ゼン <i>zen</i> K セン <i>sen</i>	せみ ₁ <i>se.mi_l</i> ← せみ ₁ <i>SE.MI_l</i> ‘cicada’		SAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	妹蛾咲状思
Transcription	いも ₂ が ゑまひ ₁ し I.MO ₂ =ga WEM.A-PI ₁ =si
English translation	[My] lover’s/wife’s smiling

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
2	蛾	‘moth’	ガ <i>ga</i>	=が ₃ = <i>ga</i> (genitive particle)	PAP
3	咲 (variant of 笑)	‘to smile’	シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	ゑまひ ₁ <i>WEM.A-PI₁</i> ‘smiling’ (nominal) (← ゑま - <i>wem-a-</i> ‘to smile’ [irrealis] + -ひ ₁ - <i>pi₁</i> - [continuative auxiliary verb] [infinitive])	SAL
4	状	‘shape’	G ジ ヨ ウ <i>jō</i> K シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>		SAL
5	思	‘to think’	シ <i>shi</i>	=し = <i>si</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	面影尔所 _レ 見
Transcription	おもかげ ₂ に み ₁ ゆ O.MO-KA.GE ₂ =ni MI ₁ -YU
English translation	[The girl’s smiling] is seen in [her] face.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	面	‘face’	メン <i>men</i>	おも <i>O.MO</i> ‘face’	おもかげ <i>O.MO-KA.GE₂</i> ‘face (in memory)’	SAL
2	影	‘shadow’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K エイ <i>ei</i>	かげ ₂ <i>KA.GE</i> ‘shadow’		SAL
3	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP
4	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K ショ <i>sho</i>	み ₁ ゆ <i>MI₁-YU</i> ‘to be seen’ (conclusive)		SAL
5	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>			SAL

Poem 11.2645

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2619-2807)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 214-215 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 74 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 236 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 237-238 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 348-349 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 513-514 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 宮材引 2 泉之追馬喚犬二 3 立民乃 4 息時無 5 戀渡可聞

Literary Translation

[Like] the people [who] pull the wood of palace and stand on the woodcutting mountain of the spring not having time to rest, [I] keep yearning!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	12	4	4	20

Line 1

Original Text	宮材引
Transcription	み ₁ やき ₂ ひ ₁ く MI ₁ .YA-KI ₂ PI ₁ K-U-
English translation	Pulling the wood of palace

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	宮	‘palace’	G ク <i>ku</i> G クウ <i>kū</i> K キュウ <i>kyū</i> KY グウ <i>gū</i>	み ₁ や MI ₁ .YA ‘palace’	SAL
2	材	‘material’	G ザイ <i>zai</i> K サイ <i>sai</i>	き ₂ KI ₂ ‘wood’	SAL
3	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	ひ ₁ く - PI ₁ K-U- ‘to pull’ (adnominal)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	泉之追馬喚犬二
Transcription	いづみ ₁ の ₂ そ ₁ まに I.DU.MI ₁ =NO ₂ so ₁ .ma=ni
English translation	On the woodcutting mountain of the spring

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	泉	‘spring (water)’	G ゼン <i>zen</i> K セン <i>sen</i>	いづみ ₁ <i>I.DU.MI</i> ₁ ‘spring (water)’		SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		SAL
3	追	‘to chase’	G ツイ <i>tsui</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	そ ₁ <i>so</i> ← sound made when driving a horse (追馬)	そ ₁ ま <i>so</i> ₁ . <i>ma</i> ‘woodcutting mountain’	SAP
4	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>			SAP
5	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>			SAP
6	犬	‘dog’	ケン <i>ken</i>	SAP		
7	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	立民乃
Transcription	たつたみの ₂ TAT-U-TA.MI=no ₂
English translation	Of the people standing

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	立	‘to stand’	リュウ <i>ryū</i> KY リツ <i>ritsu</i>	たつ - <i>TAT-U-</i> ‘to stand’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	民	‘people’	G ミン <i>min</i> K ビン <i>bin</i>	たみ <i>TA.MI</i> ‘people’	SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	息時無
Transcription	やすむと ₂ き ₁ なく YA.SUM-U-TO ₂ .KI ₁ NA-KU-
English translation	Not having time to rest,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	息	‘to rest’	G ソク <i>soku</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i>	やすむ - <i>YA.SUM-U-</i> ‘to rest’ (adnominal) ³⁴	SAL
2	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	と ₂ き ₁ <i>TO₂.KI₁</i> ‘time’	SAL
3	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	なく - <i>NA-KU-</i> ‘to not have’ (infinitive)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	戀渡可聞
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ わたるかも KO ₁ .PI ₂ -WA.TAR-U-ka.mo
English translation	[I] keep yearning!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>KO₁.PI₂-</i> ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	渡	‘to go across’	G ド <i>do</i> K ト <i>to</i>	わたる- <i>WA.TAR-U-</i> ‘to extend’ (adnominal)		SAL
3	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	=かも = <i>ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle)	PAP
4	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	も <i>mo</i>		PAP

³⁴While this is the reading adopted by most modern annotations of MYS, there is an alternative reading of the character 息 as an SAL for the word やむ - *YAM-U-* ‘to stop’ (adnominal). In this way, this line means ‘not having time to stop’. Both of these two readings seem compatible with the context of this poem.

Poem 11.2710

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2619-2807)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 226-227 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 88 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 250 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 253 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 403-404 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 573-574 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 狗上之 2 鳥籠山尔有 3 不知也河 4 不知二五寸許瀬 5 余名告奈

Literary Translation

[Like the name of] Isaya River existing [i.e., located] on Mountain Toko of Inukami, say that [you] do not know. Do not tell my name.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
21	0	13	4	6	23

Line 1

Original Text	狗上之
Transcription	いぬかみ ₁ の ₂ I.NU-KA.MI ₁ =NO ₂
English translation	Of Inukami

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	狗	‘dog’	G ク <i>ku</i> K コウ <i>kō</i>	いぬ <i>I.NU</i> ‘dog’	いぬかみ ₁ <i>I.NU-KA.MI₁</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	上	‘above’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	かみ ₁ <i>KA.MI₁</i> ‘above’		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	鳥籠山尔有
Transcription	と ₂ こ ₁ やまにある TO ₂ -KO ₁ -YA.MA=ni AR-U-
English translation	Existing on Mountain Toko

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	鳥	‘bird’	チョウ <i>chō</i>	と ₂ <i>TO</i> ₂ ← と ₂ り <i>TO</i> ₂ . <i>RI</i> ‘bird’	と ₂ こ ₁ やま <i>TO</i> ₂ - <i>KO</i> ₁ - <i>YA.MA</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	籠	‘basket’	ロウ <i>rō</i>	こ ₁ <i>KO</i> ₁ ‘basket’		SAL
3	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま <i>YA.MA</i> ‘mountain’		SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>-ni</i> (locative particle)		PAP
5	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	ある- <i>AR-U-</i> ‘to have’ (adnominal)		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	不知也河
Transcription	いさやかは i.sa.ya-KA.PA
English translation	Isaya River

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	いさ <i>i.sa</i> ← いさ <i>I.SA</i> (interjectional expression when not knowing the answer to a question) ←	いさやかは <i>i.sa.ya-KA.PA</i> (toponym)	SAP
2	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>	‘to not know’		SAP

3	也	copula	ヤ <i>ya</i>	や <i>ya</i>		PAP
4	河	‘river’	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	かは <i>KA.PA</i> ‘river’		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	不知二五寸許瀬
Transcription	いさと ₂ をき ₁ こ ₂ せ I.SA=to ₂ =wo ki ₁ .ko ₂ s-e
English translation	Say that [you] do not know.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	いさ <i>I.SA</i> (interjectional expression when not knowing the answer to a question) ← ‘to not know’		SAL
2	知	‘to know’	チ <i>chi</i>			SAL
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=と ₂ =を =to ₂ =wo (← =と ₂ =to ₂ [quotative particle] + =を =wo [interjectional particle]) ← と ₂ を to ₂ .wo ‘ten’ ← two multiplied by five		SAP
4	五	‘five’	ゴ <i>go</i>			SAP
5	寸	unit of length	ソン <i>son</i> KY スン <i>sun</i>	き ₁ <i>ki₁</i> ← き ₁ <i>KI₁</i> (unit of size of horse)	き ₁ こ ₂ せ <i>ki₁.ko₂s-e</i> ‘to say’ (honorific) (imperative)	SAP
6	許	‘to allow’	G コ <i>ko</i> K キョ <i>kyo</i>	こ ₂ <i>ko₂</i>		PAP
7	瀬	‘rapids’	ライ <i>rai</i>	せ <i>se</i> ← せ <i>SE</i> ‘rapids’		SAP

Line 5

Original Text	余名告奈
Transcription	わがなの ₂ らすな WA=GA NA NO ₂ R-A-su=na
English translation	Do not tell my name.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	余	‘I’	ヨ <i>yo</i>	わ=が ¹ <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ¹ <i>-ga</i> [genitive particle])	SAL
2	名	‘name’	G ミ ヨ ウ <i>myō</i> K メ イ <i>mei</i>	な <i>NA</i> ‘name’	SAL
3	告	‘to tell’	コ ク <i>koku</i>	の ₂ ら - <i>NO₂R-A-</i> ‘to tell’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-す <i>-su</i> (honorific complementary verb) (conclusive)		
4	奈	interrogative pronoun	G ナ <i>na</i> K ダ <i>da</i>	=な <i>-na</i> (prohibitive final particle)	PAP

Poem 11.2720

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2619-2807)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 202-203 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 58 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 221-222 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 221 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 412 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 582-583 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 水鳥乃 2 鴨之住池之 3 下樋無 4 鬱悵君 5 今日見鶴鴨

Literary Translation

[Like] the pond where the ducks of the water birds dwell not having a bottom water pipe, [I] saw the distressed you today!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	16	1	2	19

Line 1

Original Text	水鳥乃
Transcription	み ₁ づと ₂ りの ₂ MI ₁ .DU TO ₂ .RI=no ₂
English translation	Of the water birds

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	水	‘water’	スイ <i>sui</i>	み ₁ づ MI ₁ .DU ‘water’	SAL
2	鳥	‘bird’	チョウ <i>chō</i>	と ₂ り TO ₂ .RI ‘bird’	SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	鴨之住池之
Transcription	かもの ₂ すむいけ ₂ の ₂ KA.MO=NO ₂ SUM-U-I.KE ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	The pond where the ducks dwell

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	かも KA.MO ‘duck’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)	SAL
3	住	‘to live’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> K チュウ <i>chū</i> KY ジュウ <i>jū</i>	すむ - SUM-U- ‘to dwell’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	池	‘pond’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K チ <i>chi</i>	いけ ₂ I.KE ₂ ‘pond’	SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	下樋無
Transcription	したひ ₂ なみ ₁ SI-TA-PI ₂ NA-MI ₁
English translation	Not having a bottom water pipe,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	下	‘below’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	した SI.TA ‘below’	SAL
2	樋	a kind of tree	G ツウ <i>tsū</i> K トウ <i>tō</i>	ひ ₂ PI ₂ ‘water pipe’	SAL
3	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i>	なみ ₁ NA-MI ₁ ← な - na- ‘to not have’	SAL

			K ブ <i>bu</i>	(stem) + -み ₁ - <i>mi</i> ₁ (gerundive suffix)	

Line 4

Original Text	鬱悵君
Transcription	いぶせき ₁ き ₁ み ₁ を I.BU.SE-KI ₁ -KI ₁ .MI ₁ =WO
English translation	The distressed you

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	鬱	‘to be distressed’	イク <i>iku</i>	いぶせき ₁ - <i>i.bu.se-ki</i> ₁ - ‘to be distressed’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	悵	‘to be uncalm’	G オウ <i>oū</i> G ユウ <i>yū</i>		SAL
3	君	‘lord; you’	クン <i>kun</i>	き ₁ み ₁ KI ₁ .MI ₁ ‘you’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=を = <i>wo</i> (accusative particle)		

Line 5

Original Text	今日見鶴鴨
Transcription	け ₁ ふみ ₁ つるかも KE ₁ .PU MI ₁ -tu-ru-ka.mo
English translation	[I] saw [you] today!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	け ₁ ふ、 KE ₁ .PU ‘today’	SAL
2	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>		SAL
3	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ - MI ₁ - ‘to see’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	鶴	‘crane’	G ガク <i>gaku</i> K カク <i>kaku</i>	-つる- - <i>tu-ru</i> - (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← つる TU.RU ‘crane’	SAP
5	鴨	‘duck’	G ヨウ <i>yō</i> K オウ <i>ō</i>	=かも = <i>ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも KA.MO ‘duck’	SAP

Poem 11.2755

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2619-2807)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 234-235 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 99 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 260 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 264 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 441-442 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 613-614 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 淺茅原 2 苧標刺而 3 空事文 4 所緣之君之 5 辭鴛鴦將待

Literary Translation

[Like] piercing [i.e., erecting] a mark of cutting the grass [on] the plain of shallow [i.e., low] cogon grass, even [it is an] empty thing [i.e., even it is useless], [I] will wait for the words of you whom [I am] romantically attracted to.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
19	0	16	2	2	20

Line 1

Original Text	浅茅原
Transcription	あさはら A.SA-TI-PA.RA
English translation	The plain of shallow cogon grass

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	浅	‘to be shallow’	セン <i>sen</i>	あさ - <i>A.SA</i> - ‘to be shallow’ (stem)	SAL
2	茅	‘cogon grass’	モウ <i>mō</i> ボウ <i>bō</i>	ち <i>TI</i> ‘cogon grass’	SAL
3	原	‘plain’	G ガン <i>gan</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	はら <i>PA.RA</i> ‘plain’	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	苧標刺而
Transcription	かりしめ ₂ さして KAR-I-SI.ME ₂ SAS-I=TE
English translation	Piercing a mark of cutting the grass,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	苧	‘to cut grass’	G ゲ <i>ge</i> K ガイ <i>gai</i>	かり <i>KAR-I</i> ‘cutting grass’ (nominal)	SAL
2	標	‘mark’	ヒ ヨ ウ <i>hyō</i>	しめ ₂ <i>SI.ME₂</i> ‘mark of possession’ (nominal)	SAL
3	刺	‘to pierce’	シ <i>shi</i>	さし - <i>SAS-I</i> - ‘to pierce’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て = <i>TE</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	空事文
Transcription	むなこ ₂ と ₂ も MU.NA-KO ₂ .TO ₂ =mo
English translation	Even [it is an] empty thing,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	空	‘to be empty’	G クウ <i>kū</i> K コウ <i>kō</i>	むな - <i>MU.NA</i> - ‘to be empty’ (stem)	SAL
2	事	‘thing’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	こ ₂ と ₂ <i>KO₂.TO₂</i> ‘thing’	SAL
3	文	‘pattern, mark’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	=も = <i>mo</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	所縁之君之
Transcription	よ ₂ そ ₂ りしき ₁ み ₁ の ₂ YO ₂ .SO ₂ R-I-si-KI ₁ .MI ₁ =NO ₂
English translation	Of you whom [I am] romantically attracted to

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	所	object nominalizer	G ソ <i>so</i> K ショ <i>sho</i>	よ ₂ そ ₂ り - YO ₂ .SO ₂ R-I- ‘to be romantically attracted to’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	縁	‘reason’	エン <i>en</i>		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>si</i> - (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP
4	君	‘lord; you’	クン <i>kun</i>	き ₁ み ₁ KI ₁ .MI ₁ ‘you’	SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	辭鴛鴦將 _レ 待
Transcription	こ ₂ と ₂ をしまたむ KO ₂ .TO ₂ =WO=SI MAT-A-M-U
English translation	[I] will wait for the words.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	辭	‘word’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	こ ₂ と ₂ KO ₂ .TO ₂ ‘word’	SAL
2	鴛	‘mandarin duck’	G オン <i>on</i> K エン <i>en</i>	=を=し =wo=si (← =を =wo [accusative particle] + =し =si [emphatic particle]) ← をし WO.SI ‘mandarin duck’	SAP
3	鴦		G オウ <i>ō</i> K ヨウ <i>yō</i>		SAP
4	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-む -M-U (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
5	待	‘to wait’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	また - MAT-A- ‘to wait’ (irrealis)	SAL

Poem 11.2810

Preface/Title

問答歌 (poems 2808-2827)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 246-247 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 112 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 271 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 278 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 485-486 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 661-662 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 音耳乎 2 聞而哉戀 3 犬馬鏡 4 目直相而 5 戀卷裳太口

Literary Translation

Shall [I] love only hearing the sound [of that person]? Directly meeting the eyes [of that person], the fact of intending to love is also extreme.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	13	2	4	19

Line 1

Original Text	音耳乎
Transcription	おと ₂ の ₂ み ₂ を O.TO ₂ =NO ₂ .MI ₂ =wo
English translation	Only sound

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	音	‘sound’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	おと ₂ O.TO ₂ ‘sound’	SAL
2	耳	restrictive final particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=の ₂ み ₂ =NO ₂ .MI ₂ (restrictive adverbial particle)	SAL
3	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (accusative particle)	PAP

Line 2

Original Text	聞而哉戀
Transcription	き ₁ き ₁ てやこ ₁ ひ ₂ む KI ₁ K-I ₁ =TE=YA KO ₁ .PI ₂ -m-u
English translation	Hearing [only sound], shall [I] love?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	き ₁ き ₁ - KI ₁ K-I ₁ - ‘to hear’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL
3	哉	interrogative final particle	サイ <i>sai</i>	=や =YA (interrogative particle)	SAL
4	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - KO ₁ .PI ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-む <i>m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		

Line 3

Original Text	犬馬鏡
Transcription	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ ma.so ₁ -KA.GA.MI ₁
English translation	The clear mirror

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	犬	‘dog’	ケン <i>ken</i>	ま <i>ma</i> ← sound made when summoning a dog (abbreviation of 喚犬 まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ ma.so ₁ -KA.GA.MI ₁ ‘clear mirror’ ³⁵	SAP

³⁵The character sequence 犬馬鏡 represents the expression まそ₁かがみ₁ ma.so₁-KA.GA.MI₁ ‘clear mirror’, which is an epithet associated with the word 見 み₁-MI₁- ‘to see’ (infinitive) in the next line (see sections 4.2.1.2-4.2.1.3). The association

				‘to summon a dog’)		
2	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	そ ₁ <i>so</i> ₁ ← sound made when driving a horse (abbreviation of 追馬 ‘to drive a horse’)		SAP
3	鏡	‘mirror’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かがみ ₁ <i>KA.GA.MI</i> ₁ ‘mirror’		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	目直相而
Transcription	め ₂ にただにあひ ₁ て ME ₂ = <u>ni</u> TA.DA= <u>ni</u> AP-I ₁ =TE
English translation	Directly meeting the eyes

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	め ₂ ME ₂ ‘eye’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		
2	直	‘just’	G ジキ <i>jiki</i> K チョク <i>choku</i>	ただ TA.DA ‘just, only’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		
3	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あひ ₁ - AP-I ₁ - ‘to meet’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て =TE (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	戀卷裳太口
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ まくもいたく KO ₁ .PI ₂ -ma.ku=mo I.TA-ku
English translation	The fact of intending to love also being extreme

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - KO ₁ .PI ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (irrealis)	こ ₁ ひ ₂ まく KO ₁ .PI ₂ -ma.ku ← こ ₁ ひ ₂ むあく ko ₁ .pi ₂ -m-u-a.ku ‘the fact of intending to love’ ← こ ₁ ひ ₂ -	SAL
2	卷	‘to roll’	カン <i>kan</i>	まく <i>ma.ku</i> ← まく MAK-U ‘to	ko ₁ .pi ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (irrealis) + -む - -m-u-	SAP

supposedly comes from the fact that one sees oneself in the mirror.

				roll' (conclusive)	(optative auxiliary verb) (adnominal) + -あく <i>-a.ku</i> (nominalizing suffix)	
3	裳	'lower garment'	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	= も <i>-mo</i> (emphatic particle) ← も <i>MO</i> 'lower garment'		SAP
4	太	'to be great'	タイ <i>tai</i> KY タ <i>ta</i>	いた - <i>I.TA</i> - 'to be extreme' (stem)	いたく <i>I.TA-ku</i> 'to be extreme' (infinitive)	SAL
5	口	'mouth'	G ク <i>ku</i> K コウ <i>kō</i>	-く <i>-ku</i> (adverbial suffix)		PAP

Poem 11.2820

Preface/Title

問答歌 (poems 2808-2827)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 248-249 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 114-115 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 274-275 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 280 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 493 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 670-671 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 如是谷裳 2 妹乎待南 3 左夜深而 4 出來月之 5 傾二手荷

Literary Translation

Even if [it is] like this, [I] intend to wait for [my] lover/wife until the night becomes late and the moon coming out inclines (i.e., sets).

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	12	3	5	20

Line 1

Original Text	如 _レ 是谷裳
Transcription	かくだにも KA-KU=da.ni=mo
English translation	Even if [it is] like this,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	- く - <i>KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	か く <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	是	‘this’	G ゼ <i>ze</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
3	谷	‘valley’	コ ク <i>koku</i>	=だに <i>=da.ni</i> (concessive adverbial particle) ← だに <i>DA.NI</i> ‘valley’		SAP
4	裳	‘lower garment’	G ジ ヨ ウ <i>jō</i> K シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	=も <i>=mo</i> (emphatic particle) ← も <i>MO</i> ‘lower garment’		SAP

Line 2

Original Text	妹乎待南
Transcription	いも ₂ をまちなむ I.MO ₂ =wo MAT-I-n-a-m-u
English translation	[I] intend to wait for [my] lover/wife.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マ イ <i>mai</i> K バ イ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)		SAL
2	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>-wo</i> (accusative particle)		PAP
3	待	‘to wait’	G ダ イ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	まち- <i>MAT-I-</i> ‘to wait’ (infinitive)		SAL
4	南	‘south’	ナン <i>nan</i>	-なむ <i>-n-a-m-u</i> ← -な- <i>-n-a-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (irrealis) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)		PAP

Line 3

Original Text	左夜深而
Transcription	さよ ₁ ふけ ₂ て sa-YO ₁ FU.KE ₂ =TE
English translation	The night becoming late,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	左	‘left’	サ <i>sa</i>	さ- <i>sa-</i> (prefix)	さよ ₁ <i>sa-YO₁</i> ‘night’	PAP
2	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ <i>YO₁</i> ‘night’		SAL

3	深	‘to be deep’	シン <i>shin</i>	ふけ ₂ - <i>FU.KE₂</i> - ‘(night) to become late’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>=TE</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	出来月之
Transcription	いでこ ₂ しつき ₂ の ₂ I.DE-KO ₂ - <u>si</u> -TU.KI ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	The moon coming out

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	出	‘to come out’	G シュチ <i>shuchi</i> K シュツ <i>shutsu</i>	いで- <i>I.DE</i> - ‘to come out’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	来	‘to come’	ライ <i>rai</i>	こ ₂ - <i>KO₂</i> - ‘to come’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-し- <i>-si-</i> (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		
3	月	‘moon’	G ガチ <i>gachi</i> K ゲツ <i>getsu</i> KY ガツ <i>gatsu</i>	つき ₂ <i>TU.KI₂</i> ‘moon’	SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ <i>=NO₂</i> (nominative/genitive particle)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	傾二手荷
Transcription	かたぶくまでに KA.TA.BUK-U=ma.de=ni
English translation	Until [the moon] inclines.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	傾	‘to incline’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かたぶく- <i>KA.TA.BUK-U</i> - ‘to incline’ (adnominal)	SAL
2	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=まで <i>=ma.de</i> (allative particle) ← 眞手 まて <i>MA-TE</i> ‘two hands’ (← SAL 眞 ま- <i>MA</i> - ‘real, complete’ [prefix] + SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’) ← ‘two hands’	SAP
3	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>		SAP
4	荷	‘to carry’	G ガ <i>ga</i> K カ <i>ka</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘load’	SAP

Poem 11.2834

Preface/Title

譬喻歌 (poems 2828-2840) 寄果喻思

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 250-251 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 119 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 278-279 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 284-285 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 508-509 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 670-671 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 日本之 2 室原乃毛桃 3 本繁 4 言大王物乎 5 不成不止

Literary Translation

[Like] the roots of the haired peach of Murou of Yamato being luxuriant, because [I] talked [intensively],
[if] things are not realized, [I] will not stop.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	15	2	2	19

Line 1

Original Text	日本之
Transcription	やまと ₂ の ₂ YA.MA.TO ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	Of Yamato

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>	やまと ₂ YA.MA.TO ₂ ‘Yamato (Japan)’	SAL
2	本	‘root, origin’	ホン <i>hon</i>		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	室原乃毛桃
Transcription	むろ ₁ ふの ₂ け ₂ もも MU.RO ₁ .PU=no ₂ KE ₂ -MO.MO
English translation	The haired peach of Murou

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	室	‘room’	G シチ <i>shichi</i> K シツ <i>shitsu</i>	むろ ₁ <i>MU.RO₁</i> ‘room’	むろ ₁ ふ <i>MU.RO₁.PU</i> (toponym) ³⁶	SAL
2	原	‘plain’	G ガン <i>gan</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	ふ、 <i>PU</i> ‘?’		SAL
3	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no₂</i> (genitive particle)		PAP
4	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	け ₂ <i>KE₂</i> ‘hair’		SAL
5	桃	‘peach’	G ドウ <i>dō</i> K トウ <i>tō</i>	もも <i>MO.MO</i> ‘peach’		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	本繁
Transcription	もと ₂ しげ ₂ く MO.TO ₂ SI.GE ₂ -KU-
English translation	The roots being luxuriant,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	本	‘root, origin’	ホン <i>hon</i>	もと ₂ MO.TO ₂ ‘root’	SAL
2	繁	‘to be	G ボン <i>bon</i>	しげ ₂ く - SI.GE ₂ -KU-	SAL

³⁶This toponym is currently written as 室生, in which case the character 生 is a relatively common notation for the morpheme/syllable ぶ *pu* in proper nouns. Although the character 原 does not have such a reading, it is tentatively regarded as an SAL here.

		abundant'	K ハン <i>han</i>	'to be luxuriant' (infinitive)	

Line 4

Original Text	言大王物乎
Transcription	いひ ₁ てしもの ₂ を IP-I ₁ -te-si=MO.NO ₂ =wo
English translation	Because [I] said

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	言	'to say'	G ゴン <i>gon</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	いひ ₁ IP-I ₁ - 'to say' (infinitive)		SAL
2	大	'to be big'	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	-てし -te-si- (← -て -te- [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し -si- [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← 手師 てし TE-SI 'calligrapher' (← SAL 手 て TE 'hand' + DAL 師 SI 'master') ← 王羲之 (name of a calligrapher, called "Senior Wáng 大王" as father of the calligrapher Wáng Xiānzhī 王献之)		SAP
3	王	'king'	オウ <i>ō</i>			SAP
4	物	'thing'	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	もの ₂ MO.NO ₂ (nominalizer) ← 'thing'	=もの ₂ =を =MO.NO ₂ =wo (conjunctive particle)	SAL
5	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を =wo (interjectional particle)		PAP

Line 5

Original Text	不 _レ 成不 _レ 止
Transcription	ならずは _レ やまじ NAR-A-ZU=pa YAM-A-JI
English translation	[If the things] are not realized, [I] will not stop.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず -ZU- (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL
2	成	‘to become’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	なら -NAR-A- ‘to become, be realized’ (irrealis)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=は =pa (hypothetical conjunctive particle)		
3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-じ -JI (negative optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
4	止	‘to stop’	シ <i>shi</i>	やま -YAM-A- ‘to stop’ (irrealis)	SAL

Poem 11.2839

Preface/Title

譬喻歌 (poems 2828-2840)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 252-253 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 120-121 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 279-280 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 286 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	11: 512-514 (Omodaka 1962)
MYSZC	11: 690-691 (Inaoka 1998)

Original Text

1 如是為哉 2 猶八成牛鳴 3 大荒木之 4 浮田之社之 5 標尔不有尔

Literary Translation

Shall [I] still guard [that person] like this? [I] am not the mark of possession of the forest of Ukita of Ōaraki.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	18	2	3	23

Line 1

Original Text	如 _レ 是為哉
Transcription	かくしてや KA-KU SI= <u>te</u> =YA
English translation	Doing [it] like this,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	- く - <i>KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	かく <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	是	‘this’	G ゼ <i>ze</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
3	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	し - <i>SI</i> - ‘to do’ (infinitive)		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			= て <i>-te</i> (conjunctive particle)			
4	哉	interrogative final particle	サイ <i>sai</i>	= や <i>-YA</i> (interrogative particle)		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	猶八戌 ³⁷ 牛鳴
Transcription	なほやまもらむ NA.PO=ya MA.MOR-A-m-u
English translation	Shall [I] still guard [that person]?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	猶	‘still’	G ユ <i>yu</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	なほ <i>NA.PO</i> ‘still’	SAL
2	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	= や = <i>ya</i> (interrogative particle) ← や <i>YA</i> ‘eight’	SAP
3	戌	‘to guard’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> K シュ <i>shu</i>	まもら - <i>MA.MOR-A</i> - ‘to guard’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	牛	‘cow’	G グ <i>gu</i> K ギュウ <i>gyū</i> KY ゴ <i>go</i>	- む - <i>m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive) ← sound made by a cow (牛鳴)	SAP
5	鳴	‘to make sound’	G ミ ヨ ウ <i>myō</i> K メイ <i>mei</i>		SAP

Line 3

Original Text	大荒木之
Transcription	おほあらき ₂ の ₂

³⁷In some annotated versions of *Man'yōshū*, character 2.3 is written as 戌 and accordingly read as an SAL for the word なら - *NAR-A*- ‘to become’ (irrealis). In this poem, it is specifically interpreted as meaning ‘to age’. In this way, line 2 becomes なほやならむ *NA.PO=ya NAR-A-m-u*, and the first two lines in combination mean ‘Shall [I] still age like this?’ The interpretation presented here seems to be more compatible with the context as the meaning ‘to guard’ can be associated with character 5.1 標 しめ₂ *SI.ME₂* ‘mark of possession’.

	O.PO-A.RA-KI ₂ =NO ₂
English translation	Of ōaraki

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	大	‘to be big’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	おほ - <i>O.PO</i> - ‘big’ (prefix)	おほあらしき ₂ <i>O.PO-A.RA-KI₂</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	荒	‘to be wild’	コウ <i>kō</i>	あら - <i>A.RA</i> - ‘to be wild’ (stem)		SAL
3	木	‘wood’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	き ₂ <i>KI₂</i> ‘tree’		SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 4

Original Text	浮田之社之
Transcription	うき ₁ たの ₂ もりの ₂ UK-I ₁ -TA=NO ₂ MO.RI=NO ₂
English translation	Of the forest of Ukita

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	浮	‘to float’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K フ <i>fu</i>	う き ₁ <i>UK-I₁</i> ‘to float’ (nominal)	う き ₁ た <i>UK-I₁-TA</i> (toponym)	SAL
2	田	‘field’	G デン <i>den</i> K テン <i>ten</i>	た <i>TA</i> ‘field’		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL
4	社	‘shrine’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	も り <i>MO.RI</i> ‘forest (around shrine)’		SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 5

Original Text	標尔不 _レ 有尔
Transcription	しめ ₂ にあらなくに SI.ME ₂ -ni-AR-A-NA-KU=ni
English translation	Not being the mark of possession

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	標	‘mark’	ヒ ヨ ウ <i>hyō</i>	しめ ₂ <i>SI.ME₂</i> ‘mark of possession’ (nominal)	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に - <i>-ni-</i> (copula) (infinitive)	PAP
3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i>	なく - <i>NA-KU</i> - ‘to not have’	SAL

			KY ブ <i>bu</i>	(infinitive)	
4	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ュウ <i>yū</i>	あら - <i>AR-A-</i> ‘to have’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (concessive conjunctive particle)	PAP

Poem 12.2927

Preface/Title

正述心緒歌 (poems 2864-2963)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 274-275 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 147-148 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 304 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 311 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 80-81 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 182-183 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 浦觸而 2 可例西袖叫 3 又卷者 4 過西戀以 5 亂今可聞

Literary Translation

Being disheartened, if [I] roll [the departed sleeves] [i.e., sleep with my departed lover] again, will [the love] become disordered [i.e., become out of control]?

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	8	6	5	19

Line 1

Original Text	浦觸而
Transcription	うらぶれて u.ra-BU.RE=TE
English translation	Being disheartened,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	浦	‘bay’	G フ <i>fu</i> K ホ <i>ho</i>	うら <i>u.ra</i> ‘heart’ ← うら <i>U.RA</i> ‘bay’	うらぶれ- <i>u.ra-BU.RE-</i>	SAP
2	觸	‘to touch’	G ソク <i>soku</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i>	ふれ- <i>PU.RE-</i> ‘to touch’ (infinitive)	‘to be disheartened’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>=TE</i> (conjunctive particle)		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	可例西袖叫
Transcription	かれにしそ ₁ でを ka.re-n-i-si-SO ₁ .DE=wo
English translation	The departed sleeves

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	かれ- <i>ka.re-</i> ‘to leave’ (infinitive)	PAP
2	例	‘example’	レイ <i>rei</i>	れ <i>re</i>		PAP
3	西	‘west’	G サイ <i>sai</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	-にし- <i>-n-i-si-</i> (← -に- <i>-n-i-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し- <i>-si-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← にし <i>NI.SI</i> ‘west’		SAP
4	袖	‘sleeve’	G ジュ <i>ju</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	そ ₁ で <i>SO₁.DE</i> ‘sleeve’		SAL
5	叫	‘to shout’	キョウ <i>kyō</i>	=を <i>=wo</i> (accusative particle) ← sound of shouting ← ‘to shout’		SAP

Line 3

Original Text	又巻者
Transcription	またまかば MA.TA MAK-A=ba
English translation	If [I] roll [the departed sleeves] again

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	又	‘again’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	また <i>MA.TA</i> ‘again’	SAL

2	卷	‘to roll’	ケン <i>ken</i> KY カン <i>kan</i>	ま か- <i>MAK-A-</i> ‘to roll’ (irrealis)	SAL
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば° <i>=ba</i> (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は <i>=PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	過西戀以
Transcription	すぎ ₂ にしこ ₁ ひ ₂ い SU.GI ₂ -n-i-si-KO ₁ .PI ₂ =i
English translation	The passed love

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	過	‘to pass’	カ <i>ka</i>	すぎ ₂ - <i>SU.GI₂-</i> ‘to pass’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	西	‘west’	G サイ <i>sai</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	-にし- <i>-n-i-si-</i> (← -に- <i>-n-i-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し- <i>-si-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ← にし <i>NI.SI</i> ‘west’	SAP
3	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ <i>KO₁.PI₂</i> ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)	SAL
4	以	‘to use (for a purpose)’	イ <i>i</i>	=い <i>=i</i> (nominative particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	亂今可聞
Transcription	み ₁ だれこ ₂ むかも MI ₁ .DA.RE-ko ₂ -m-u-ka.mo
English translation	Will [the love] become disordered?

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	亂	‘to be messy’	ラン <i>ran</i> TS ロン <i>ron</i>	み ₁ だれ- <i>MI₁.DA.RE-</i> ‘to be disordered’ (infinitive)		SAL
2	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	こ ₂ む <i>ko₂-m-u-</i> ← こ ₂ - <i>ko₂-</i> ‘to come’ (irrealis) + -む- <i>-m-u-</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		PAP
3	可	‘to be possible’	カ <i>ka</i>	か <i>ka</i>	=かも <i>=ka.mo</i> (interrogative particle)	PAP
4	聞	‘to hear’	G モン <i>mon</i> K ブン <i>bun</i>	も <i>mo</i>		PAP

Poem 12.2931

Preface/Title

正述心緒歌 (poems 2864-2963)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 274-275 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 148-149 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 305 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 312 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 83-84 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 188-189 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 念管 2 座者苦毛 3 夜干玉之 4 夜尔至者 5 吾社湯龜

Literary Translation

As [I] think [about you] and exist, [it is] painful [i.e., it is painful to keep thinking about you]! If [it] reaches the night [of] the black seeds, I will go [to meet you].

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
16	0	10	2	6	18

Line 1

Original Text	念管
Transcription	おも ₂ ひ ₁ つつ O.MO ₂ P-I ₁ =tu.tu
English translation	As [I] think [about you]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ひ ₁ - O.MO ₂ P-I ₁ - ‘to think’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	管	‘pipe’	カン <i>kan</i>	=つつ =tu.tu (continuative conjunctive particle) ← つつ TU.TU ‘pipe’	SAP

Line 2

Original Text	座者苦毛
Transcription	をればくるしも ₁ WOR-E=ba KU.RU-SI=mo ₁
English translation	When [I] exist, [it is] painful!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	座	‘seat’	G ザ <i>za</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	をれ- WOR-E- ‘to exist’ (realis)	SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば =ba (conditional conjunctive particle) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP
3	苦	‘to be painful’	G ク <i>ku</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	くるし KU.RU-SI ‘to be painful’ (conclusive)	SAL
4	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (exclamatory final particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	夜干玉之 ³⁸
Transcription	ぬばたまの ₂ NU.BA-TA.MA=NO ₂
English translation	Of the black seeds

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	ぬば NU.BA ‘?’	ぬばたま NU.BA-TA.MA	SAL
2	干	‘to be dry’	カン <i>kan</i>			SAL
3	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま TA.MA ‘jade’	‘(black) seed’	SAL

³⁸The character sequence 夜干玉之 represents the expression ぬばたまの₂ NU.BA-TA.MA=NO₂ ‘of the black seeds’, which is an epithet associated with the word 夜よ₁る YO₁.RU ‘night’ in the next line. The linguistic unit ぬば *nu.ba* seems to only occur in the compound word ぬばたま *nu.ba-ta.ma*, which refers to the seeds of iris domestica. Because its seeds are black, this word is thus associated with the notion of black or night. One of the names of this plant in Chinese is also 夜干.

4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	= <i>Ō</i> ₂ = <i>NO</i> ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	夜尔至者
Transcription	よ ₁ るにいたらば YO ₁ .RU=ni I.TAR-A=ba
English translation	If [it] reaches the night

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ る YO ₁ .RU ‘night’	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	= <i>ni</i> (allative particle)	PAP
3	至	‘to reach’	シ <i>si</i>	いたら - I.TAR-A- ‘to reach’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	= <i>ba</i> (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← = <i>ba</i> = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	吾社湯龜
Transcription	われこ ₂ そ ₂ ゆかめ ₂ - WA.RE=ko ₂ .so ₂ yuk-a-m-e ₂ -
English translation	I will go.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	われ WA.RE ‘I’		SAL
2	社	‘shrine’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	=こ ₂ そ ₂ =ko ₂ .so ₂ (emphatic particle) ← (?) ← ‘to pray in shrine’		SAP
3	湯	‘hot water’	トウ <i>tō</i>	ゆ <i>yu</i> ← ゆ <i>YU</i> ‘hot water’	ゆかめ ₂ - yuk-a-m-e ₂ - (← ゆか- yuk-a- ‘to go’ [irrealis] + -め ₂ -m-e ₂ - [optative auxiliary verb] [realis])	SAP
4	龜	‘turtle’	キ <i>ki</i>	かめ ₂ ka.me ₂ ← かめ ₂ KA.ME ₂ ‘turtle’		SAP

Poem 12.2936

Preface/Title

正述心緒歌 (poems 2864-2963)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 274-275 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 149 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 306 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 313 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 86 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 194-195 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 今者吾者 2 指南與我兄 3 戀為者 4 一夜一日毛 5 安毛無

Literary Translation

Now I am going to die, my lover/husband! When [I am] in love, there is even no peacefulness whether one day or one night.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
16	0	14	5	1	20

Line 1

Original Text	今者吾者
Transcription	いまはわれは I.MA=PA WA.RE=PA
English translation	Now I

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	いま <i>I.MA</i> ‘now’	SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL
3	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	われ <i>WA.RE</i> ‘I’	SAL
4	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	指南與我兄
Transcription	しなむよ ₂ わがせ sin-a-m-u=yo ₂ WA=GA SE
English translation	[I] am going to die, my lover/husband!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	指	‘to point’	シ <i>si</i>	し <i>si</i>	PAP
2	南	‘south’	ナン <i>nan</i>	なむ <i>na.mu</i>	
3	與	‘to join’	ヨ <i>yo</i>	=よ ₂ =yo ₂ (interjectional particle)	PAP
4	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	わ=が ₂ <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₂ =ga [genitive particle])	SAL
5	兄	‘older brother’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	せ <i>SE</i> (word used by female to address male acquaintance)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	戀為者
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ すれば KO ₁ .PI ₂ SU-RE=ba
English translation	When [I am] in love

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ KO ₁ .PI ₂ ‘love, yearning’ (nominal)	SAL
2	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	すれ <i>SU-RE</i> ‘to do’ (realis)	SAL
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば ₂ =ba (conditional conjunctive particle) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	一夜一日毛
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ よ ₁ ひ ₁ と ₂ ひ ₁ も ₁ PI ₁ .TO ₂ -YO ₁ PI ₁ .TO ₂ -PI ₁ =mo ₁
English translation	Whether one day or one night

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘one’	SAL
2	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ YO ₁ ‘night’	SAL
3	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘one’	SAL
4	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>	ひ ₁ PI ₁ ‘day’	SAL
5	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	安毛無
Transcription	やすけ ₁ くも ₁ なし YA.SU-KE ₁ .KU=mo ₁ NA-SI
English translation	There is even no peacefulness.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	安	‘to be peaceful’	アン <i>an</i>	やすけ ₁ く YA.SU-KE ₁ .KU ‘the fact of being peaceful’ ← やすき ₁ あく <i>ya.su-ki₁-a.ku</i> ← やすき ₁ - <i>ya.su-ki₁-</i> ‘to be peaceful’ (adnominal) + -あく <i>-a.ku</i> (nominalizing suffix)	SAL
2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	なし NA-SI ‘to not have’ (conclusive)	SAL

Poem 12.2988

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2964-3100)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 284-285 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 162 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 317 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 326 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 125 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 265-267 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 梓弓 2 末中一伏三起 3 不通有之 4 君者會奴 5 嗟羽將息

Literary Translation

[Like] the middle of the end [of] the catalpa bow stagnating, [I] met [the stagnant] you [i.e., you who had not met me for a long time]. [I] will stop the lamentation.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
20	0	12	2	6	20

Line 1

Original Text	梓弓
Transcription	あづさゆみ ₁ A.DU.SA-YU.MI ₁
English translation	The catalpa bow

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	梓	‘catalpa’	シ <i>shi</i>	あづさ <i>A.DU.SA</i> ‘catalpa’	SAL
2	弓	‘bow’	G キュウ <i>kyū</i> K クウ <i>kū</i>	ゆみ ₁ <i>YU.MI₁</i> ‘bow’	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	末中一伏三起 ³⁹
Transcription	すゑの ₂ なかこ ₂ ろ ₂ SU.WE= <u>no</u> ₂ NA.KA-ko ₂ .ro ₂
English translation	In the middle of the end

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	末	‘end’	G マチ <i>machi</i> K バツ <i>batsu</i> KY マツ <i>matsu</i>	すゑ <i>SU.WE</i> ‘end’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	中	‘middle’	チュウ <i>chū</i>	なか <i>NA.KA</i> ‘middle’	SAL
3	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	こ ₂ ろ ₂ <i>ko₂.ro₂</i> ‘time, occasion’ ← こ ₂ ろ ₂ <i>ko₂.ro₂</i> (name of the combination of one stick with the back side up [or facing down] and three sticks with the front side up [or facing up] in the board game) ← ‘one facing down and three rising’	SAP
4	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>		SAP
5	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>		SAP
6	起	‘to rise’	キ <i>ki</i>		SAP

Line 3

Original Text	不通有之
Transcription	よ ₂ ど ₂ め ₂ りし YO ₂ .DO ₂ M-E ₂ -r-i-si-
English translation	Stagnated

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	よ ₂ ど ₂ め ₂ <i>YO₂.DO₂M-E₂-</i> ‘to stagnate’ (realis) ← ‘to be not passable’	SAL

³⁹This line is understood in such a way that it both refers to space (末 すゑ *SU.WE* ‘end’), which relates to the bow mentioned in the previous line, and also refers to time (中一伏三起 なかこ₂ろ₂ *NA.KA-ko₂.ro₂* ‘in the middle of’), which relates to the relationship between the author and his/her lover mentioned in the following lines.

2	通	‘to pass’	G ツ <i>tsu</i> G ツウ <i>tsū</i> K トウ <i>tō</i>		SAL
3	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-り - <i>r-i-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (infinitive) ← あり <i>AR-I</i> ‘to have’ (conclusive)	SAP
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	-し - <i>si-</i> (recollective auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	PAP

Line 4

Original Text	君者會奴
Transcription	き ₁ み ₁ にはあひ ₁ ぬ KI ₁ .MI ₁ = <u>ni</u> =PA AP-I ₁ -n-u
English translation	[I] met you.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	君	‘lord; you’	クン <i>kun</i>	き ₁ み ₁ KI ₁ .MI ₁ ‘you’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAL
3	會	‘to meet’	G エ <i>e</i> K カイ <i>kai</i>	あひ ₁ - AP-I ₁ - ‘to meet’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	奴	‘slave’	G ヌ <i>nu</i> K ド <i>do</i>	-ぬ - <i>N-U</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	嗟羽將 _レ 息
Transcription	なげ ₂ き ₁ はやめ ₂ む NA.GE ₂ K-I ₁ =pa YA.ME ₂ -M-U
English translation	[I] will stop the lamentation.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	嗟	‘to sigh’	シャ <i>sha</i>	なげ ₂ き ₁ NA.GE ₂ K-I ₁ ‘lamentation’ (nominal)	SAL
2	羽	‘feather’	ウ <i>u</i>	=は = <i>pa</i> (topic particle) ← は <i>PA</i> ‘feather’	SAP
3	將	future modal verb	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	-む - <i>M-U</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
4	息	‘to rest’	G ソク <i>soku</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i>	やめ ₂ - YA.ME ₂ - ‘to stop’ (irrealis)	SAL

Poem 12.2991

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2964-3100)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 286-287 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 162 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 318 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 327 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 127 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 269-270 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 垂乳根之 2 母我養蠶乃 3 眉隱 4 馬聲蜂音石花蜘蛛荒鹿 5 異母二不相而

Literary Translation

Not meeting [my] lover/wife, [like] the silkworm [which my] mother raises hiding [itself in the] cocoon, [I am] distressed!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
26	0	8	5	14	27

Line 1

Original Text	垂乳根之 ⁴⁰
Transcription	たらちねの ₂ ta.ra.ti.ne=NO ₂
English translation	Of [my mother]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	垂	‘to dangle’	G ズイ <i>zui</i> K スイ <i>sui</i>	たら <i>ta.ra</i> ← たる <i>TA.RU</i> ‘to dangle’ (conclusive)	SAP
2	乳	‘breast’	ニュウ <i>nyū</i>	ち <i>ti</i> ← ち <i>TI</i> ‘breast’	SAP
3	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	ね <i>ne</i> ← ね <i>NE</i> ‘root’	SAP
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	母我養蠶乃
Transcription	ははがかふこ ₁ の ₂ PA.PA=ga KAP-U-KO ₁ =no ₂
English translation	Of the silkworm [which my] mother raises

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	はは <i>PA.PA</i> ‘mother’	SAL
2	我	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	=が ₃ =ga (nominative particle)	PAP
3	養	‘to raise’	ヨウ <i>yō</i>	かふ- <i>KAP-U-</i> ‘to raise’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	蠶	‘silkworm’	G ザン <i>zan</i> K サン <i>san</i>	こ ₁ <i>KO₁</i> ‘silkworm ← child’	SAL
5	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ =no ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	眉隠
Transcription	まよ ₁ こ ₂ も ₂ り ma.yo ₁ KO ₂ .MO ₂ R-I-
English translation	Hiding [itself in the] cocoon,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	眉	‘eyebrow’	G ミ <i>mi</i>	まよ ₁ <i>ma.yo₁</i> ‘cocoon’ ←	SAP

⁴⁰The character sequence 垂乳根之 represents the expression たらちねの₂ *ta.ra.ti.ne=NO₂*, which is an epithet associated with the word 母 はは *PA.PA* ‘mother’ in the next line, but the etymology and meaning of this expression are unclear.

			K ビ <i>bi</i>	まよ ₁ <i>MA.YO₁</i> ‘eyebrow’	
2	隠	‘to conceal’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	こ ₂ も ₂ り - <i>KO₂.MO₂R-I-</i> ‘to hide’ (infinitive)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	馬聲蜂音石花蜘蛛荒鹿
Transcription	いぶせくもあるか <i>i.bu.se-ku=mo ar-u=ka</i>
English translation	[I am] distressed!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type	
1	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	い <i>i</i> ← sound made by a horse (馬聲)	いぶせ- <i>i.bu.se-</i> ‘to be distressed’ (stem)	SAP	
2	聲	‘voice’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>			SAP	
3	蜂	‘bee’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	ぶ <i>bu</i> ← sound made by a bee (蜂音)		SAP	
4	音	‘sound’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>			SAP	
5	石	‘stone’	G ジャク <i>jaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i> KY シャク <i>shaku</i>	せ <i>se</i> ← せ <i>SE</i> ‘barnacle’ (← 石花 ‘stone flower’)		SAP	
6	花	‘flower’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カ <i>ka</i>			SAP	
7	蜘蛛	‘spider’	チ <i>chi</i>	-く=も <i>-ku=mo</i> (← -く <i>-ku</i> [adverbial suffix] + =も <i>=mo</i> [emphatic particle]) ← くも <i>KU.MO</i> ‘spider’		SAP	
8	蛸 (variant of 蛛)		G チュ <i>chu</i> K チュウ <i>chū</i> KY シュ <i>shu</i>			SAP	
9	荒	‘to be wild’	コウ <i>kō</i>	ある- <i>ar-u-</i> ‘to have’ (adnominal) ← ある <i>A.RU</i> ‘(natural condition) to be rough’ (conclusive)		SAP	
10	鹿	‘deer’	ロク <i>roku</i>	=か <i>=ka</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← しか <i>SI.KA</i> ‘deer’		SAP	

Line 5

Original Text	異母 ⁴¹ 二不 _レ 相而
Transcription	いも ₂ にあはずして <i>i.mo₂=ni AP-A-ZU-si=TE</i>
English translation	Not meeting [my] lover/wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type

⁴¹There is an argument that the word いも₂ *i.mo₂* ‘girl’ is deliberately written with the two PAPs 異母 here with logographic connotation, indicating that this girl is actually the author’s sister born of a different mother.

1	異	‘to be different’	イ <i>i</i>	い <i>i</i>	(word used by male to address female acquaintance)	PAP
2	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	も ₂ <i>mo</i> ₂		PAP
3	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		PAP
4	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず - <i>-ZU-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)		SAL
5	相	‘to do to each other’	シ <i>shi</i> TS ス <i>su</i>	あは - <i>AP-A-</i> ‘to meet’ (irrealis)		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			し - <i>si-</i> ‘to do’ (infinitive)			
6	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>=TE</i> (conjunctive particle)		SAL

Poem 12.3017

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2964-3100)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 290-291 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 168 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 323-324 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 333 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 144-145 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 304-306 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 足檜之 2 山川水之 3 音不出 4 人之子姤 5 戀渡青頭雞

Literary Translation

Not making sound [like] the water of the mountain river, for the reason of a person's child [i.e., someone else's lover], [I] keep loving!

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	0	13	0	6	19

Line 1

Original Text	足櫓之 ⁴²
Transcription	あしひ ₁ きの ₂ a.si.pi ₁ .ki=NO ₂
English translation	The mountain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	足	‘foot’	G ソク <i>soku</i> K ショク <i>shoku</i>	あし <i>a.si</i> ← あし <i>A.SI</i> ‘foot’	SAP
2	櫓	‘cypress’	G ケ <i>ke</i> K カイ <i>kai</i>	ひ ₁ き <i>pi₁.ki</i> ← ひ ₁ のき ₂ <i>PI₁.NO.KI₂</i> ‘cypress’	SAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	山川水之
Transcription	やまがはみ ₁ づの ₂ YA.MA-GA.PA MI ₁ .DU=NO ₂
English translation	Of the water of the mountain river

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま <i>YA.MA</i> ‘mountain’	SAL
2	川	‘river’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	がは <i>GA.PA</i> (← かは <i>KA.PA</i>) ‘river’	SAL
3	水	‘water’	スイ <i>sui</i>	み ₁ づ <i>MI₁.DU</i> ‘water’	SAL
5	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	音不 _レ 出
Transcription	おと ₂ に _レ い _レ です O.TO ₂ = <u>ni</u> I.DE-ZU-
English translation	Not making sound

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	音	‘sound’	G オン <i>on</i> K イン <i>in</i>	おと ₂ <i>O.TO₂</i> ‘sound’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		
2	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず ₂ -ZU- (negative auxiliary verb) (infinitive)	SAL

⁴²The character sequence 足櫓之 represents the epithet あしひ₁きの₂ *a.si.pi₁.ki=NO₂* associated with the word 山 *YA.MA* ‘mountain’ in the next line. The etymology and meaning of this expression are unclear.

3	出	‘to come out’	G シュチ <i>shuchi</i> K シュツ <i>shutsu</i>	いで - <i>I.DE</i> - ‘to come out’ (irrealis)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	人之子姤
Transcription	ひ ₁ と ₂ の ₂ こ ₁ ゆゑに PI ₁ .TO ₂ =NO ₂ KO ₁ yu.we= <u>ni</u>
English translation	For the reason of a person’s child

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	人	‘person’	G ニン <i>nin</i> K ジン <i>jin</i>	ひ ₁ と ₂ PI ₁ .TO ₂ ‘person’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL
3	子	‘son’	シ <i>shi</i> TS ス <i>su</i>	こ ₁ KO ₁ ‘child’	SAL
4	姤 ⁴³	‘to meet’	コウ <i>kō</i>	ゆゑ <i>yu.we</i> ‘reason’	SAP
Supplemented morpheme			=に = <i>ni</i> (dative particle)		

Line 5

Original Text	戀渡青頭雞
Transcription	こ ₁ ひ ₂ わたるかも KO ₁ .PI ₂ -WA.TAR-U=ka.mo
English translation	[I] keep loving!

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ -KO ₁ .PI ₂ - ‘to love, yearn’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	渡	‘to go across’	G ド <i>do</i> K ト <i>to</i>	わたる - WA.TAR-U- ‘[time] to pass’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	青	‘green’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	=かも = <i>ka.mo</i> (exclamatory final particle) ← かも KA.MO ‘duck’ ← ‘green-headed chicken’	SAP
4	頭	‘head’	G ズ <i>zu</i> K トウ <i>tō</i> KY ト <i>to</i>		SAP
5	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>		SAP

⁴³The character 姤 can also be considered a “playful” written form representing the word ゆゑ *yu.we* ‘reason’. There are both phonetic and semantic motivations for its use here. First, its SJ reading is close to the character 故 (こ *ko*), which is the normal SAL for the word ゆゑ *yu.we* ‘reason’. Second, the content of this poem is about the author’s secret love for someone else’s lover, so this character whose original meaning is ‘to meet’ and with the FEMALE classifier fits the context.

Poem 12.3028

Preface/Title

寄物陳思歌 (poems 2964-3100)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 292-293 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 171 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 326 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 335 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	12: 153 (Omodaka 1963)
MYSZC	12: 320-321 (Ono 2006)

Original Text

1 大海之 2 底乎深目而 3 結義之 4 妹心者 5 疑毛無

Literary Translation

[Like] deepening the bottom of the big sea, [my] lover's/wife's heart tied [with mine] has no doubt.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
16	0	12	2	3	17

Line 1

Original Text	大海之
Transcription	おほうみ ₁ の ₂ O.PO-U.MI ₁ =NO ₂
English translation	Of the big sea

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	大	‘to be big’	G タイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	おほ - O.PO- ‘big’ (prefix)	SAL
2	海	‘sea’	カイ <i>kai</i>	うみ ₁ U.MI ₁ ‘sea’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	底乎深目而
Transcription	そ ₂ こ ₂ をふかめ ₂ て SO ₂ .KO ₂ =WO PU.KA-me ₂ =TE
English translation	Deepening the bottom,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	底	‘bottom’	G タイ <i>tai</i> K テイ <i>tei</i>	そ ₂ こ ₂ <i>SO₂.KO₂</i> ‘bottom’		SAL
2	乎	interrogative final particle	G ゴ <i>go</i> K コ <i>ko</i>	=を <i>-wo</i> (accusative particle)		PAP
3	深	‘to be deep’	シン <i>shin</i>	ふか- <i>PU.KA-</i> ‘to be deep’ (stem)	ふかめ ₂ - <i>PU.KA-me₂-</i> ‘to deepen’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	め ₂ <i>me₂</i> ← め ₂ <i>ME₂</i> ‘eye’		SAP
5	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K シ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>-TE</i> (conjunctive particle)		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	結義之
Transcription	むすび ₁ てし MU.SUB-I ₁ -te-si-
English translation	Tied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	結	‘to tie’	G ケチ <i>kechi</i> K ケツ <i>ketsu</i>	むすび ₁ - MU.SUB-I ₁ - ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL

2	義	‘righteousness’	ギ <i>gi</i>	-てし - <i>-te-si-</i> (← -て - <i>-te-</i> [perfective auxiliary verb] [infinitive] + -し - <i>-si-</i> [recollective auxiliary verb] [adnominal]) ←	SAP
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	手師 てし <i>TE-SI</i> ‘calligrapher’ (← SAL 手 て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’ + DAL 師 <i>SI</i> ‘master’) ← 王羲之 (name of a calligrapher)	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	妹心者
Transcription	いも ₂ が ₂ こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ は I.MO ₂ =ga KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ =PA
English translation	[My] lover’s/wife’s heart

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ I.MO ₂ (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=が ₂ =ga (genitive particle)		
2	心	‘heart’	シン <i>shin</i>	こ ₂ こ ₂ ろ ₂ KO ₂ .KO ₂ .RO ₂ ‘heart’	SAL
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	SAL

Line 5

Original Text	疑毛無
Transcription	うたがひ ₁ も ₁ なし U.TA.GAP-I ₁ =mo ₁ NA-SI
English translation	There is no doubt.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	疑	‘to doubt’	ギ <i>gi</i>	うたがひ ₁ U.TA.GAP-I ₁ ‘doubt’ (nominal)	SAL
2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ =mo ₁ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	なし NA-SI ‘to not have’ (conclusive)	SAL

Poem 13.3278

Preface/Title

相聞歌 (poems 3248-3304)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 364-365 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 257 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 402 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 416-417 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	13: 127-129 (Omodaka 1964)
MYSZC	13: 176-179 (Sokura 2005)

Original Text

(lines 9-15 of 15)

9 高山 10 峯之手折丹 11 射日立 12 十六待如 13 床敷而 14 吾待公 15 犬莫吠行年

Literary Translation

Like erecting the shooting spot and waiting for the beasts in the concave of the peak [of] the high mountain,
[I] spread out the bed, and [my] dog, do not bark at the lord whom I am waiting for.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
24	0	18	0	7	25

Line 9

Original Text	高山
Transcription	たかやまの ₂ TA.KA-YA.MA= <u>no</u> ₂
English translation	[Of] the high mountain

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	高	‘to be high’	コウ <i>kō</i>	たか- TA.KA- ‘to be high’ (stem)	SAL
2	山	‘mountain’	G セン <i>sen</i> K サン <i>san</i>	やま YA.MA ‘mountain’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ =no ₂ (genitive particle)		

Line 10

Original Text	峯之手折丹
Transcription	み ₁ ねの ₂ たをりに MI ₁ .NE=NO ₂ ta.wo.ri=ni
English translation	In the concave of the peak

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	峯	‘peak’	G フウ <i>fū</i> K ホウ <i>hō</i>	み ₁ ね <i>MI₁.NE</i> ‘peak’		SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO₂</i> (genitive particle)		SAL
3	手	‘hand’	G シュ <i>shu</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i> KY ズ <i>zu</i>	た <i>ta</i> ← た- <i>TA-</i> (bound form) ← て <i>TE</i> ‘hand’	たをり <i>ta.wo.ri</i> ‘concave’	SAP
4	折	‘to bend’	G セチ <i>sechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i>	をり <i>wo.ri</i> ← をる <i>WOR-U</i> ‘to bend’ (conclusive)		SAP
5	丹	‘vermillion’	タン <i>tan</i>	=に = <i>ni</i> (locative particle) ← に <i>NI</i> ‘vermillion’		SAP

Line 11

Original Text	射目立
Transcription	いめ ₂ たてて I-ME ₂ TA-TE= <u>te</u>
English translation	Erecting the shooting spot,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	射	‘to shoot’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	い- I- ‘to shoot’ (stem)	いめ ₂ I-ME ₂ ‘shooting spot’	SAL
2	目	‘eye’	G モク <i>moku</i> K ボク <i>boku</i>	め ₂ ME ₂ ‘eye’		SAL

3	立	‘to stand’	リュウ <i>ryū</i> KY リツ <i>ritsu</i>	たて - <i>TA-TE</i> - ‘to erect’ (infinitive)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=て <i>-te</i> (conjunctive particle)		

Line 12

Original Text	十六待如
Transcription	ししまつがご ₂ と ₂ si.si MAT-U= <u>ga</u> GO ₂ .TO ₂
English translation	Like waiting for the beasts,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>	しし <i>si.si</i> ‘flesh; beast’ ← し <i>si</i> (‘four’) multiplied by し <i>si</i> (‘four’) equals ‘sixteen’ (十六)	SAP
2	六	‘six’	G ロク <i>roku</i> K リク <i>riku</i>		SAP
3	待	‘to wait’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	まつ - <i>MAT-U</i> - ‘to wait’ (adnominal)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=が _s <i>=ga</i> (nominative/genitive particle)		
4	如	‘to resemble’	G ニョ <i>nyo</i> K ジョ <i>jo</i>	ご ₂ と ₂ <i>GO₂.TO₂</i> ‘resemblance’	SAL

Line 13

Original Text	床敷而
Transcription	と ₂ こ ₂ しき ₁ て TO ₂ .KO ₂ SIK-I ₁ =TE
English translation	Spreading out the bed,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	床	‘bed’	G ジョウ <i>jō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	と ₂ こ ₂ <i>TO₂.KO₂</i> ‘bedding’	SAL
2	敷	‘to spread out’	フ <i>fu</i>	しき ₁ - <i>SIK-I₁</i> - ‘to spread out’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>=TE</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAL

Lines 14

Original Text	吾待公
Transcription	わがまつき ₁ み ₁ を WA=GA MAT-U-KI ₁ .MI ₁ = <u>wo</u>
English translation	The lord whom I am waiting for

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ゴ <i>go</i>	わ=が _s <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ +	SAL

				=が <i>=ga</i> [genitive particle])	
2	待	‘to wait’	G ダイ <i>dai</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	まつ- <i>MAT-U-</i> ‘to wait’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	公	‘senior male’	コウ <i>kō</i>	き ₁ み ₁ <i>KI₁.MI₁</i> ‘lord’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=を <i>=wo</i> (accusative particle)		

Line 15

Original Text	犬莫吠行年 ⁴⁴
Transcription	いぬなほえ ₂ そ ₂ ね I.NU=NA PO.YE=SO ₂ =ne
English translation	[My] dog, do not bark.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	犬	‘dog’	ケン <i>ken</i>	いぬ <i>I.NU</i> ‘dog’	SAL
2	莫	negative imperative	G マク <i>maku</i> K バク <i>baku</i>	=な (...=そ ₂) =NA (...=SO ₂) (prohibitive final particle)	SAL
3	吠	‘to bark’	G バイ <i>bai</i> K ハイ <i>hai</i>	ほえ ₂ - <i>PO.YE-</i> ‘to bark’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	行	‘to go’	G ギョウ <i>gyō</i> K コウ <i>kō</i> TS アン <i>an</i>	(=な ...) =そ ₂ (=na...) =SO ₂ (prohibitive final particle)	SAP
5	年	‘year’	ネン <i>nen</i>	=ね <i>=ne</i> (optative final particle toward listener)	SAP

⁴⁴The character sequence 行年 is thought to represent the combination of the prohibitive final particle =な ...=そ *=na...=so* and the optative final particle =ね *=ne*, but the origin of this notation is unclear.

Poem 13.3284

Preface/Title

相聞歌 (poems 3248-3304)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 386-387 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 260-261 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 404-405 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 419-420 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	13: 137-139 (Omodaka 1964)
MYSZC	13: 189-192 (Sokura 2005)

Original Text

(lines 1-4 of 13)

1 菅根之 2 根毛一伏三向凝呂尔 3 吾念有 4 妹尔縁而者

Literary Translation

[If it is] due to [my] lover/wife whom I thought about intimately [i.e., if it is the girl's matter], ...

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
18	0	9	5	6	20

Line 1

Original Text	菅根之 ⁴⁵
Transcription	すが ₂ ね ₂ SU.GA= <u>no</u> ₂ -NE=NO ₂
English translation	Of the root of the sedge

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	菅	‘sedge’	G ケン <i>ken</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	すが- <i>SU.GA-</i> ‘sedge’ (bound form)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		
2	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	ね <i>NE</i> ‘root’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	根毛一伏三向凝呂尔
Transcription	ねも ₁ こ ₂ ろ ₂ ご ₂ ろ ₂ に ne.mo ₁ .ko ₂ .ro ₂ .go ₂ .ro ₂ =ni
English translation	Intimately

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	ね <i>ne</i> ← ね <i>NE</i> ‘root’	SAP
2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	も ₁ <i>mo</i> ₁	PAP
3	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>	こ ₂ ろ ₂ <i>ko₂.ro₂</i> ← こ ₂ ろ ₂	SAP
4	伏	‘to lie facing down’	G ブク <i>buku</i> K フク <i>fuku</i>	<i>ko₂.ro₂</i> (name of the combination of one stick with the back side up [or facing down] and three sticks with the front side up [or facing up] in the board game) ← ‘one	SAP
5	三	‘three’	サン <i>san</i>		SAP
6	向	‘to face (a direction)’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K キョウ <i>kyō</i>		SAP

⁴⁵The character sequence 菅根之 represents the expression すがの₂ねの₂ *su.ga=no₂-ne=no₂* ‘of the root of the sedge’, which is an epithet associated with the word ねも₁こ₂ろ₂ *ne.mo₁.ko₂.ro₂* ‘to be intimate’ in the next line. This association is relevant to one of the explanations of the etymology of this word that the first syllable ね *ne* is actually originally the word ね *ne* ‘root’, and the two last syllables こ₂ろ₂ *ko₂.ro₂* come from the word こ₂ろ *ko₂-u* ‘to become stiff’ (conclusive). As such, the meaning of this word is metaphorically derived from the situation that the roots of a plant are intertwined with each other and become stiff. If this etymology is correct, the first character 根 and the seventh character 凝 can be regarded as SALs.

				facing down and three facing (up)'	
7	凝	‘to become solid’	G ゴウ <i>gō</i> K ギョウ <i>gyō</i>	ご ₂ <i>go₂</i>	PAP
8	呂	‘spine’	G ロ <i>ro</i> K リョ <i>ryo</i>	ろ ₂ <i>ro₂</i>	PAP
9	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	吾念有
Transcription	わがおも ₂ へ ₂ る WA=GA O.MO ₂ P-E ₂ -r-u-
English translation	[The girl whom] I thought about

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	吾	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	わ=が ₂ <i>WA=GA</i> ‘my’ (← わ <i>wa</i> ‘I’ + =が ₂ <i>=ga</i> [genitive particle])	SAL
2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ へ ₂ - <i>O.MO₂P-E₂-</i> ‘to think’ (realis)	SAL
3	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	-る- <i>-r-u-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (adnominal) ← ある- <i>AR-U-</i> ‘to have’ (adnominal)	SAP

Line 4

Original Text	妹尔縁而者
Transcription	いも ₂ によ ₂ りては I.MO ₂ =ni YO ₂ R-I=TE=PA
English translation	Due to [my] lover/wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)	PAP
3	縁	‘reason’	エン <i>en</i>	よ ₂ り- <i>YO₂R-I-</i> ‘to be due to’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	而	conjunctive particle	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=て <i>=TE</i> (conjunctive particle)	SAL
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は <i>=PA</i> (topic particle)	SAL

Poem 13.3297

Preface/Title

相聞歌 (poems 3248-3304)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 374-375 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 268 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 411-412 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 426 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	13: 157 (Omodaka 1964)
MYSZC	13: 218-220 (Sokura 2005)

Original Text

1 玉田次 2 不懸時無 3 吾念 4 妹西不會波 5 赤根刺 6 日者之弥良尔 7 烏玉之 8 夜者酢辛二
9 眠不睡尔 10 妹戀丹 11 生流為便無

Literary Translation

Because [I] will not meet [my] lover/wife who has no time to not hang [in my heart like] the jade sleeve cord [i.e., who is in my heart all the time] and whom I am thinking about, there is no way to live for loving [my] lover/wife intensively at daytime [i.e., all day long] when the color of red and yellow pierces and thoroughly at night [i.e., all night long] [like] black seeds, not even sleeping.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
35	0	26	9	8	43

Line 1

Original Text	玉田次 ⁴⁶
Transcription	たまたすき ₁ TA.MA-ta.su.ki ₁
English translation	The jade sleeve cord

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま TA.MA ‘jade’		SAL
2	田	‘field’	G デン <i>den</i> K テン <i>ten</i>	た ta ← た TA ‘field’	たすき ₁ ta.su.ki ₁ ‘cord to tuck the sleeves of kimono’	SAP
3	次	‘to follow’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	すき ₁ su.ki ₁ ← つぎ ₁ TUG-I ₁ ‘succession’ (nominal)		SAP

Line 2

Original Text	不 _レ 懸時無
Transcription	かけ ₂ ぬと ₂ き ₁ なく KA.KE ₂ -NU-TO ₂ .KI ₁ NA-KU-
English translation	Not having time to not hang,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ -NU- (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)		SAL
2	懸	‘to hang’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	かけ ₂ - KA.KE ₂ - ‘to hang’ (irrealis)		SAL
3	時	‘time’	G ジ <i>ji</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	と ₂ き ₁ TO ₂ .KI ₁ ‘time’		SAL
4	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	なく - NA-KU- ‘to not have’ (infinitive)		SAL

Line 3

Original Text	吾念
Transcription	わがおも ₂ ふ WA=GA O.MO ₂ P-U-
English translation	[My wife whom] I am thinking about

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	吾	‘I’	ガ <i>ga</i>	わ=が ₂ WA=GA ‘my’ (← わ wa ‘I’ + =が ₂ -ga [genitive particle])		SAL

⁴⁶The character sequence 玉田次 represents the expression たまたすき₁ TA.MA-ta.su.ki₁ ‘jade sleeve cord’, which is an epithet associated with the word 懸 かけ₂- KA.KE₂- ‘to hang’ (irrealis) in the next line.

2	念	‘to think’	G ネン <i>nen</i> K デン <i>den</i>	おも ₂ ふ- <i>O.MO₂P-U-</i> ‘to think’ (adnominal)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	妹西不 _レ 會波
Transcription	いも ₂ にしあはねば <i>I.MO₂=ni=si A.PA-NE=ba</i>
English translation	Because [I] will not meet [my] lover/wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
2	西	‘west’	G サイ <i>sai</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	=に=し <i>=ni=si</i> (← =に <i>=ni</i> [dative particle] + =し <i>=si</i> [emphatic particle]) ← にし <i>NI.SI</i> ‘west’	SAP
3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ね- <i>-NE-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (realis)	SAL
4	會	‘to meet’	G エ <i>e</i> K カイ <i>kai</i>	あは- <i>AP-A-</i> ‘to meet’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	波	‘wave’	ハ <i>ha</i>	=ば <i>=ba</i> (conditional conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	赤根刺
Transcription	あかねさす <i>A.KA-ne SAS-U-</i>
English translation	[The daytime when] the color of red and yellow pierces

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	赤	‘red’	G シャク <i>shaku</i> K セキ <i>seki</i>	あか <i>A.KA</i> ‘red’	あかね <i>A.KA-ne</i> ‘red and yellow’	SAL
2	根	‘root’	コン <i>kon</i>	ね <i>ne</i> ← ね <i>NE</i> ‘root’		SAP
3	刺	‘to pierce’	シ <i>shi</i>	さす- <i>SAS-U-</i> ‘to pierce’ (adnominal)		SAL

Lines 6

Original Text	日者之弥良尔
Transcription	ひ ₁ るはしみ ₁ らに <i>PI₁.RU=PA si.mi₁-ra=ni</i>
English translation	Intensively at daytime

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>	ひ ₁ る <i>PI₁.RU</i> ‘daytime’	SAL

2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)	しみ ₁ らに <i>si.mi₁-ra=ni</i> ‘intensively’	SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>si</i>		PAP
4	弥	‘more’	G ミ <i>mi</i> K ビ <i>bi</i>	み ₁ <i>mi₁</i>		PAP
5	良	‘to be good’	リョウ <i>ryō</i>	ら <i>ra</i>		PAP
6	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)		PAP

Line 7

Original Text	烏玉之 ⁴⁷
Transcription	ぬばたまの ₂ NU.BA-TA.MA=NO ₂
English translation	Of the black seeds

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	烏	‘black’	G ウ <i>u</i> K オ <i>o</i>	ぬば <i>NU.BA</i> ‘?’	ぬばたま <i>NU.BA-TA.MA</i> ‘(black) seed’	SAL
2	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま <i>TA.MA</i> ‘jade’		SAL
3	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ = <i>NO</i> ₂ (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 8

Original Text	夜者酢辛二
Transcription	よ ₁ るはすがらに YO ₁ .RU=PA su.ga-ra=ni
English translation	Thoroughly at night

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	夜	‘night’	ヤ <i>ya</i>	よ ₁ る YO ₁ .RU ‘night’	すがらに <i>su.ga-ra=ni</i> ‘thoroughly’	SAL
2	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は =PA (topic particle)		SAL
3	酢	‘vinegar’	G ザク <i>zaku</i> K サク <i>saku</i>	す <i>su</i> ← す <i>SU</i> ‘vinegar’		SAP
4	辛	‘to be spicy’	シン <i>shin</i>	がら <i>ga.ra</i> ← から - KA.RA- ‘to be spicy’ (stem)		SAP
5	二	‘two’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)		PAP

⁴⁷The character sequence 烏玉之 represents the expression ぬばたまの₂ NU.BA-TA.MA=NO₂ ‘of the black seeds’, which is an epithet associated with the word 夜よ₁る YO₁.RU ‘night’ in the next line. The linguistic unit ぬば *nu.ba* seems to only occur in the compound word ぬばたま *nu.ba-ta.ma*, which refers to the seeds of iris domestica. Because its seeds are black, this word is thus associated with the notion of black or night.

Line 9

Original Text	眠不 _レ 睡尔
Transcription	いもねずに I= <u>mo</u> NE-ZU=ni
English translation	Not even sleeping,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	眠	‘to sleep’	メン <i>men</i> KY ミン <i>min</i>	い <i>I</i> ‘sleep’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=も <i>-mo</i> (emphatic particle)		
2	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ず <i>-zu</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	SAL
3	睡	‘to sleep’	G ズイ <i>zui</i> K スイ <i>sui</i>	ね- <i>NE-</i> ‘to sleep’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)	PAP

Line 10

Original Text	妹戀丹
Transcription	いも ₂ にこ ₁ ふるに I.MO ₂ = <u>ni</u> KO ₁ .PU-RU=ni
English translation	For loving [my] lover/wife

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	妹	‘younger sister’	G マイ <i>mai</i> K バイ <i>bai</i>	いも ₂ <i>I.MO₂</i> (word used by male to address female acquaintance)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle)		
2	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ふる- <i>KO₁.PU-RU-</i> ‘to love, yearn’ (adnominal)	SAL
3	丹	‘vermillion’	タン <i>tan</i>	=に <i>=ni</i> (dative particle) ← に <i>ni</i> ‘vermillion’	SAP

Line 11

Original Text	生流為便無
Transcription	いけ ₂ るすべ ₁ なし IK-E ₂ -r-u-su.be ₁ NA-SI
English translation	There is no way to live.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	生	‘to live’	G ショウ <i>shō</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	いけ ₂ - <i>IK-E₂-</i> ‘to live’ (realis)	SAL
2	流	‘to flow’	G ル <i>ru</i>	-る- <i>-r-u-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb)	PAP

			K リュウ <i>ryū</i>	(adnominal)		
3	為	‘to do’	イ <i>i</i>	す <i>su</i> ← す <i>SU</i> ‘to do’ (conclusive)	すべ ₁ <i>su.be₁</i> ‘method’	SAP
4	便	‘to be convenient’	G ベン <i>ben</i> G ビン <i>bin</i> K ヘン <i>hen</i> K ヒン <i>hin</i>	べ ₁ <i>be₁</i>		PAP
5	無	‘to not have’	G ム <i>mu</i> K ブ <i>bu</i>	なし <i>NA-SI</i> ‘to not have’ (conclusive)		SAL

Poem 13.3322

Preface/Title

問答歌 (poems 3305-3322)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 368-369 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 281-282 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 422 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 437 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	13: 196-197 (Omodaka 1964)
MYSZC	13: 279-282 (Sokura 2005)

Original Text

1 門座 2 郎子内尔 3 雖至 4 痛之戀者 5 今還金

Literary Translation

Even though the young man [i.e., my husband] at the gate reaches the inside [i.e., returns home], if [you] are painfully in love, [I] will return now.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
15	0	11	3	1	15

Line 1

Original Text	門座
Transcription	かど ₁ にます KA.DO ₁ =ni MAS-U-
English translation	[The young man] at the gate

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	門	‘door’	モン <i>mon</i>	かど ₁ KA.DO ₁ ‘gate’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に =ni (locative particle)		
2	座	‘seat’	G ザ <i>za</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	ます- MAS-U- ‘to exist’ (honorific) (adnominal)	SAL

Line 2

Original Text	郎子内尔
Transcription	いらつこ ₁ うちに I.RA-TU-KO ₁ U.TI=ni
English translation	The young man [reaches] the inside

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	郎	‘young man’	ロウ <i>rō</i>	いら I.RA ‘?’	SAL
2	子	‘son’	シ <i>shi</i> TS ス <i>su</i>	こ ₁ KO ₁ ‘child’	
3	内	‘inside’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	うち U.TI ‘inside’	SAL
4	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	=に =ni (dative particle)	PAP

Line 3

Original Text	雖 _レ 至
Transcription	いたると ₂ も I.TAR-U=TO ₂ .MO
English translation	Even though [the young man] reaches [the inside]

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	雖	‘although’	スイ <i>sui</i>	=と ₂ も =TO ₂ .MO (hypothetical concessive conjunctive particle)	SAL
2	至	‘to reach’	シ <i>si</i>	いたる I.TAR-U ‘to reach’ (conclusive)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	痛之戀者
Transcription	いたくしこ ₁ ひ ₂ ば I.TA-KU=si KO ₁ .PI ₂ =ba

English translation	If [you] are painfully in love

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	痛	‘to pain’	ツウ <i>tsū</i>	いた く - <i>I.TA-KU</i> - ‘to be painful’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=し = <i>si</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	戀	‘to love’	レン <i>ren</i>	こ ₁ ひ ₂ - <i>KO₁.PI₂</i> - ‘to love, yearn’ (irrealis)	SAL
4	者	topic marker	シヤ <i>sha</i>	=ば = <i>ba</i> (hypothetical conjunctive particle) ← =は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAP

Line 5

Original Text	今還金
Transcription	いまかへ ₁ りこ ₂ む I.MA KA.PE ₁ R-I-ko ₂ -m-u
English translation	[I] will return now.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	今	‘now’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	いま <i>I.MA</i> ‘now’	SAL
2	還	‘to return’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K カン <i>kan</i>	かへ ₁ り - <i>KA.PE₁R-I</i> - ‘to return’ (infinitive)	SAL
3	金	‘gold’	G コン <i>kon</i> K キン <i>kin</i>	こ ₂ む <i>ko₂-m-u</i> ← こ ₂ - <i>ko₂</i> - ‘to come’ (irrealis) + -む <i>-m-u</i> (optative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

Poem 13.3324

Preface/Title

挽歌 (poems 3324-3347)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 387-389 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 283-285 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 423-425 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 438-440 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	13: 202-211 (Omodaka 1964)
MYSZC	13: 286-299 (Sokura 2005)

Original Text

(lines 45-50 of 89)

45 烟立 46 春日暮 47 喚犬追馬鏡 48 雖見不飽者 49 萬歲 50 如是霜欲得常

Literary Translation

Because although [I] see [you] all day long in spring when smoke rises, [I] am not satisfied, [I] want [to be]
like this for ten thousand years.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
23	0	16	0	7	23

Line 45

Original Text	烟立
Transcription	け ₂ ぶりたつ KE ₂ .BU.RI TAT-U-
English translation	Smoke rising

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	烟	‘smoke’	エン <i>en</i>	け ₂ ぶり KE ₂ .BU.RI ‘smoke’	SAL
2	立	‘to stand’	リュウ <i>ryū</i> KY リツ <i>ritsu</i>	たつ - TAT-U- ‘to stand’ (adnominal)	SAL

Line 46

Original Text	春日暮
Transcription	はるの ₂ ひ ₁ くらし PA.RU= <u>nO</u> ₂ PI ₁ -KU.RAS-I
English translation	An entire day of spring

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	春	‘spring’	シュン <i>shun</i>	はる <i>PA.RU</i> ‘spring’		SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=の ₂ <i>=no</i> ₂ (genitive particle)			
2	日	‘day; sun’	G ニチ <i>nichi</i> K ジツ <i>jitsu</i>	ひ ₁ <i>PI₁</i> ‘day’	ひ ₁ くらし <i>PI₁-KU.RAS-I</i>	SAL
3	暮	‘dusk’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボ <i>bo</i>	くらし <i>KU.RAS-I</i> ‘spending time’ (nominal)	<i>PI₁-KU.RAS-I</i> ‘entire day’	SAL

Line 47

Original Text	喚犬追馬鏡
Transcription	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ ma.SO ₁ -KA.GA.MI ₁
English translation	The clear mirror

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>	ま <i>ma</i> ← sound made when summoning a dog (喚犬)	まそ ₁ かがみ ₁ <i>ma.SO₁-KA.GA.MI₁</i> ‘clear mirror’ ⁴⁸	SAP
2	犬	‘dog’	ケン <i>ken</i>			SAP
3	追	‘to chase’	G ツイ <i>tsui</i> K タイ <i>tai</i>	そ ₁ <i>so₁</i> ← sound made when driving a horse (追馬)		SAP
4	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i>			SAP

⁴⁸The character sequence 喚犬追馬鏡 represents the expression まそ₁かがみ₁ ma.SO₁-KA.GA.MI₁ ‘clear mirror’, which is an epithet associated with the word 見_み₁-MI₁- ‘to see’ (infinitive) in the next line (see sections 4.2.1.2-4.2.1.3). The association supposedly comes from the fact that one sees oneself in the mirror.

			G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>		
5	鏡	‘mirror’	G キョウ <i>kyō</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	かがみ ₁ <i>KA.GA.MI₁</i> ‘mirror’	SAL

Line 48

Original Text	雖見不飽者
Transcription	み ₁ れど ₂ あかねば MI ₁ -RE=DO ₂ AK-A-NE=ba
English translation	Because although [I] see [you], [I] am not satisfied

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	雖	‘even though’	スイ <i>sui</i>	=ど ₂ =DO ₂ (factual concessive conjunctive particle)	SAL
2	見	‘to see’	G ゲン <i>gen</i> K ケン <i>ken</i>	み ₁ れ- MI ₁ -RE- ‘to see’ (realis)	SAL
3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ね- -NE- (negative auxiliary verb) (realis)	SAL
4	飽	‘to be satisfied’	ハウ <i>hō</i>	あか- AK-A- ‘to be satisfied’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば ₂ =ba (conjunctive particle indicating reason) ← =は =PA (topic particle)	SAP

Line 49

Original Text	萬歳
Transcription	よ ₂ ろ ₂ づよ ₂ に YO ₂ .RO ₂ .DU-YO ₂ = <u>ni</u>
English translation	For ten thousand years

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	萬	‘ten thousand’	G マン <i>man</i> K バン <i>ban</i>	よ ₂ ろ ₂ づ YO ₂ .RO ₂ .DU ‘ten thousand’	SAL
2	歳	‘year’	G サイ <i>sai</i> K セイ <i>sei</i>	よ ₂ YO ₂ ‘generation, year’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			=に =ni (dative particle)		

Line 50

Original Text	如 _レ 是霜欲得 ⁴⁹ 常
Transcription	かくしも ₁ がもと ₂

⁴⁹It seems better to regard the character sequence 欲得 as a holistic logographic notation for the compound final particle =もが₂ =mo.ga=mo. This is because although this expression is made up of two morphemes and the character 欲 can be mapped onto the first morpheme =もが₂ =mo.ga (optative final particle) as an SAL, the character 得 cannot be mapped onto the second morpheme =も =mo (exclamatory final particle) based on its normal function in Chinese.

	KA-KU=si=MO ₁ .GA=MO=to ₂
English translation	[I] want [to be] like this.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	如	‘to resemble’	G ニ ヨ <i>nyo</i> K ジ ヨ <i>jo</i>	- く - <i>KU</i> (adverbial suffix)	か く <i>KA-KU</i> ‘like this’	SAL
2	是	‘this’	G ゼ <i>ze</i> K シ <i>shi</i>	か <i>KA</i> (demonstrative pronoun)		SAL
3	霜	‘frost’	G ソ ウ <i>sō</i> K シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	しも ₁ <i>si.{mo_{1}}} (← =し =<i>si</i> [emphatic particle] + も₁ <i>mo₁</i> [syllable in =も₁ が₁ =<i>mo₁.ga</i> (optative final particle)]) ← しも₁ <i>SI.MO₁</i> ‘frost’</i>		SAP
4	欲	‘to desire’	ヨ ク <i>yoku</i>	=も ₁ が ₁ =も = <i>MO₁.GA=MO</i> (← =も ₁ が ₁ = <i>mo₁.ga</i> [optative final particle] + =も = <i>mo</i> [exclamatory final particle])		SAL
5	得	‘to obtain’	ト ク <i>toku</i>			SAL
6	常	‘to be constant’	G ジ ヨ ウ <i>jō</i> K シ ヨ ウ <i>shō</i>	=と ₂ = <i>to₂</i> (quotative particle) ← と ₂ こ ₂ - <i>TO₂.KO₂</i> - ‘constant’ (prefix)		SAP

Poem 13.3330

Preface/Title

挽歌 (poems 3324-3347)

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	6: 392-395 (Takagi et al. 1960)
SNKBT	3: 290 (Satake et al. 2002)
NKBZ	4: 429-430 (Kojima et al. 1973)
SNKBZ	8: 443-444 (Kojima et al. 1995)
MYSCS	13: 225-230 (Omodaka 1964)
MYSZC	13: 318-323 (Sokura 2005)

Original Text

(lines 21-30 of 30)

21 衣社薄 22 其破者 23 繼乍物 24 又母相登言 25 玉社者 26 緒之絶薄 27 八十一里喚鷄 28
又物逢登曰 29 又毛不相物者 30 嬬尔志有來

Literary Translation

As for the garment, [if] it has broken, [as you] keep mending [it], [you] say that [we will] meet again. As for the jade, [if] the thread has broken, [as you] keep tying [it] up, [you] say that [we will] meet again. What [I] will not meet again was [my] wife.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
33	0	23	9	11	43

Line 21

Original Text	衣社薄
Transcription	き ₁ ぬこ ₂ そ ₂ は KI ₁ .NU=ko ₂ .so ₂ =ba
English translation	As for the garment,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	衣	‘garment’	G エ <i>e</i> K イ <i>i</i>	き ₁ ぬ KI ₁ .NU ‘garment’	SAL
2	社	‘shrine’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	=こ ₂ そ ₂ =ko ₂ .so ₂ (emphatic particle) ← (?) ← ‘to pray in shrine’	SAP
3	薄	‘to be thin’	G バク <i>baku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	=は ₂ =ba (← =は ₂ =pa) (topic particle)	PAP

Line 22

Original Text	其破者
Transcription	それやれぬれば SO-RE YA.RE- <u>n-u.re</u> =ba
English translation	[If] it has broken,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	其	genitive pronoun	G ギ <i>gi</i> K キ <i>ki</i>	それ SO-RE ‘that’	SAL
2	破	‘to break’	ハ <i>ha</i>	やれ- YA.RE- ‘to break’ (infinitive)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-ぬれ- -n-u.re- (perfective auxiliary verb) (realis)		
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は ₂ =ba (conditional conjunctive particle) ← =は ₂ =pa (topic particle)	SAP

Line 23

Original Text	継乍物
Transcription	つぎ ₁ つつも TUG-I ₁ =TU.TU=mo
English translation	[As you] keep mending [the garment],

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	継	‘to succeed’	ケイ <i>kei</i>	つぎ ₁ - TUG-I ₁ - ‘to mend’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	乍	‘suddenly; at the time of’	G ジ <i>ja</i> K サ <i>sa</i>	=つつ =TU.TU (continuative conjunctive particle)	SAL
3	物	‘thing’	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	=も =mo (emphatic particle) ← もの ₂ MO.NO ₂ ‘thing’	SAP

Line 24

Original Text	又母相登言
Transcription	またも ₂ あふと ₂ いへ ₂ MA.TA=mo ₂ AP-U=to ₂ IP-E ₂ -
English translation	[You] say that [we will] meet again.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	又	‘again’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	また <i>MA.TA</i> ‘again’	SAL
2	母	‘mother’	G モ <i>mo</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i> KY ボ <i>bo</i>	=も ₂ =mo ₂ (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あふ- <i>AP-U-</i> ‘to meet’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	登	‘to climb’	トウ <i>tō</i> KY ト <i>to</i>	=と ₂ =to ₂ (quotative particle)	PAP
5	言	‘to say’	G ゴン <i>gon</i> K ゲン <i>gen</i>	いへ ₂ - <i>IP-E₂-</i> ‘to say’ (realis)	SAL

Line 25

Original Text	玉社者
Transcription	たまこ ₂ そ ₂ ば TA.MA=ko ₂ .so ₂ =BA
English translation	As for the jade,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	玉	‘jade’	G ゴク <i>goku</i> K ギョク <i>gyoku</i>	たま <i>TA.MA</i> ‘jade’	SAL
2	社	‘shrine’	G ジャ <i>ja</i> K シャ <i>sha</i>	=こ ₂ そ ₂ =ko ₂ .so ₂ (emphatic particle) ← (?) ← ‘to pray in shrine’	SAP
3	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=ば =BA (← =は =PA) (topic particle)	SAL

Line 26

Original Text	緒之絶薄
Transcription	をの ₂ たえ ₂ ぬれば WO=NO ₂ TA.YE= <u>n-u.re</u> =ba
English translation	[If] the thread has broken,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	緒	‘thread’	G ジョ <i>jo</i> K ショ <i>sho</i> KY チョ <i>cho</i>	を <i>WO</i> ‘thread’	SAL
2	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=の ₂ =NO ₂ (nominative/genitive particle)	SAL

3	絶	‘to break’	G ゼチ <i>zechi</i> K セツ <i>setsu</i> KY ゼツ <i>zetsu</i>	たえ ₂ - <i>TA.YE</i> - ‘to break’ (infinitive)	SAL
Supplemented morpheme			-ぬれ- <i>-n-u.re-</i> (perfective auxiliary verb) (realis)		
4	薄	‘to be thin’	G バク <i>baku</i> K ハク <i>haku</i>	=ば <i>=ba</i> (conditional conjunctive particle)	PAP

Line 27

Original Text	八十一里喚雞
Transcription	くくりつつ ku.kur-i-tu.tu
English translation	[As you] keep tying [the thread] up

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	八	‘eight’	G ハチ <i>hachi</i> K ハツ <i>hatsu</i>	くく <i>ku.ku</i> ← く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) multiplied by く <i>ku</i> (‘nine’) equals ‘eighty-one’ (八十一)	くくり- <i>ku.kur-i-</i> ‘to tie up’ (infinitive)	SAP
2	十	‘ten’	G ジュウ <i>jū</i> K シュウ <i>shū</i>			SAP
3	一	‘one’	G イチ <i>ichi</i> K イツ <i>itsu</i>			SAP
4	里	unit of length	リ <i>ri</i>			PAP
5	喚	‘to summon’	カン <i>kan</i>	=つつ <i>=tu.tu</i> (continuative conjunctive particle) ← sound made when summoning chicken (喚雞)		SAP
6	雞	‘chicken’	ケイ <i>kei</i>			SAP

Line 28

Original Text	又物逢登曰
Transcription	またもあふと ₂ いへ ₂ MA.TA=mo AP-U=to ₂ IP-E ₂ -
English translation	[You] say that [we will] meet again.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	又	‘again’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	また <i>MA.TA</i> ‘again’	SAL
2	物	‘thing’	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	=も <i>=mo</i> (emphatic particle) ← もの ₂ <i>MO.NO₂</i> ‘thing’	SAP
3	逢	‘to meet’	G ブ <i>bu</i> K ホウ <i>hō</i>	あふ- <i>AP-U-</i> ‘to meet’ (adnominal)	SAL
4	登	‘to climb’	トウ <i>tō</i> KY ト <i>to</i>	=と ₂ <i>=to₂</i> (quotative particle)	PAP
5	曰	‘to say’	G オチ <i>ochi</i> K エツ <i>etsu</i>	いへ ₂ - <i>IP-E₂-</i> ‘to say’ (realis)	SAL

Line 29

Original Text	又毛不 _レ 相物者
Transcription	またも ₁ あはぬもの ₂ は MA.TA=mo ₁ AP-A-NU-MO.NO ₂ =PA
English translation	What [I] will not meet again

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	又	‘again’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	また <i>MA.TA</i> ‘again’	SAL
2	毛	‘hair’	G モウ <i>mō</i> K ボウ <i>bō</i>	=も ₁ = <i>mo₁</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
3	不	negative adverb	KY フ <i>fu</i> KY ブ <i>bu</i>	-ぬ- <i>-NU-</i> (negative auxiliary verb) (adnominal)	SAL
4	相	‘to do to each other’	G ソウ <i>sō</i> K ショウ <i>shō</i>	あは- <i>AP-A-</i> ‘to meet’ (irrealis)	SAL
5	物	‘thing’	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i> KY モツ <i>motsu</i>	もの ₂ <i>MO.NO₂</i> (nominalizer) ← ‘thing’	SAL
6	者	topic marker	シャ <i>sha</i>	=は = <i>PA</i> (topic particle)	SAL

Line 30

Original Text	嬬尔志有來
Transcription	つまにしありけ ₁ り TU.MA-ni=si-AR-I-ke ₁ r-i
English translation	[It] was [my] wife.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	嬬	‘couple’	G ライ <i>rai</i> K レイ <i>rei</i>	つま <i>TU.MA</i> ‘wife’	SAL
2	尔	emphatic final particle; ‘you’	G ニ <i>ni</i> K ジ <i>ji</i>	-に- <i>-ni-</i> (copula) (infinitive)	PAP
3	志	‘intention’	シ <i>shi</i>	=し = <i>si</i> (emphatic particle)	PAP
4	有	‘to have’	G ウ <i>u</i> K ユウ <i>yū</i>	あり <i>AR-I-</i> ‘to have’ (infinitive)	SAL
5	來	‘to come’	ライ <i>rai</i>	-け ₁ り <i>-ke₁r-i</i> (recollective auxiliary verb) (conclusive) ← くる- <i>KU.RU-</i> ‘to come’ (adnominal)	SAP

Poem 16.3846

Preface/Title

戲嗤僧歌

Author

Unknown

References

NKBT	7: 150-151 (Takagi et al. 1962)
SNKBT	4: 48 (Satake et al. 2003)
NKBZ	5: 137 (Kojima et al. 1975)
SNKBZ	9: 122 (Kojima et al. 1996)
MYSCS	16: 170-173 (Omodaka 1966)

Original Text

1 法師等之 2 鬢乃剃杭 3 馬繫 4 痛勿引曾 5 僧半甘

Literary Translation

Do not tie the horse [to] and pull [it] painfully [from] the stakes where the monks shave the beard. The monks will cry.

Statistics

Characters	Occurrences				
	DAL	SAL	PAP	SAP	Total
17	2	11	3	1	17

Line 1

Original Text	法師等之
Transcription	ほふしらが HO.PU-SI-RA=GA
English translation	The monks

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem		Type
1	法	‘dharma’	ホウ <i>hō</i>	ほふ <i>HO.PU</i> ‘dharma’	ほふし <i>HO.PU-SI</i> ‘Buddhist monk’	DAL
2	師	‘master’	シ <i>shi</i>	し <i>SI</i> ‘master’		DAL
3	等	‘to be equal’; plural suffix	トウ <i>tō</i>	-ら <i>-RA</i> (plural suffix)		SAL
4	之	genitive particle	シ <i>shi</i>	=が <i>=GA</i> (genitive particle)		SAL

Line 2

Original Text	鬢乃剃杭
Transcription	ひ ₁ げ ₂ の ₂ そ ₂ りくひ PI ₁ .GE ₂ =no ₂ SO ₂ R-I-KU.PI
English translation	The shaving stakes of the beard

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	鬢	‘hair on cheek’	ヒン <i>hin</i>	ひ ₁ げ ₂ <i>PI₁.GE₂</i> ‘beard’	SAL
2	乃	conjunctive particle; ‘your’	G ナイ <i>nai</i> K ダイ <i>dai</i>	=の ₂ <i>=no₂</i> (genitive particle)	PAP
3	剃	‘to shave’	G タイ <i>tai</i> K テイ <i>tei</i>	そ ₂ り <i>SO₂R-I</i> ‘shaving’ (nominal)	SAL
4	杭	‘to sail’	G コウ <i>kō</i> K ゴウ <i>gō</i>	くひ <i>KU.PI</i> ‘stake’	SAL

Line 3

Original Text	馬繫
Transcription	うまつなぎ ₁ U.MA TU.NAG-I ₁ -
English translation	Tying the horse,

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	馬	‘horse’	G マ <i>ma</i> G メ <i>me</i> K バ <i>ba</i>	うま <i>U.MA</i> ‘horse’	SAL
2	繫	‘to tie’	G ゲイ <i>gei</i> K ケイ <i>kei</i>	つなぎ ₁ <i>TU.NAG-I₁-</i> ‘to tie’ (infinitive)	SAL

Line 4

Original Text	痛勿引曾
Transcription	いたくなひ ₁ き ₁ そ ₂ I.TA-KU=NA PI ₁ K-I ₁ =SO ₂
English translation	Do not pull painfully.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	痛	‘to pain’	ツウ <i>tsū</i>	いたく - I.TA-KU- ‘to be painful’ (infinitive)	SAL
2	勿	negative imperative marker	G モチ <i>mochi</i> K ブツ <i>butsu</i>	=な (...=そ ₂) =NA(...=SO ₂) (prohibitive final particle)	SAL
3	引	‘to pull’	イン <i>in</i>	ひ ₁ き ₁ - PI ₁ K-I ₁ - ‘to pull’ (infinitive)	SAL
4	曾	‘once’	G ゾウ <i>zō</i> K ソウ <i>sō</i> KY ゾ <i>zo</i> KY ソ <i>so</i>	(=な ...) =そ ₂ (=NA...) =SO ₂ (prohibitive final particle)	PAP

Line 5

Original Text	僧半甘
Transcription	ほふしはなかも HO.PU-SI= <u>pa</u> nak-a-m-u
English translation	The monks will cry.

No.	Character	Gloss	MoSJ	Reading in poem	Type
1	僧	‘Buddhist monk’	ソウ <i>sō</i>	ほふし HO.PU-SI ‘Buddhist monk’	SAL
Supplemented morpheme				=は - <i>pa</i> (topic particle)	
2	半	‘half’	ハン <i>han</i>	なか- <i>nak-a-</i> ‘to cry’ (irrealis) ← なか <i>NA.KA</i> ‘middle’	SAP
3	甘	‘to be sweet’	カン <i>kan</i>	{か}む { <i>ka</i> }- <i>m-u</i> ← か <i>ka</i> (syllable in preceding word) + -む - <i>m-u</i> (speculative auxiliary verb) (conclusive)	PAP

Appendix 5

Opening Part in the Chinese and Japanese Versions of *The Water Margin*

This appendix presents the complete texts of the opening part of *The Water Margin* in the three editions of the novel examined in section 5.4.2. The exact textual segment under examination is the narrative sequence whose content corresponds to the first half of the title of chapter 1 of the Chinese version (*Zhāng Tiānshī qíráng wēnyì* 張天師祈禳瘟疫 “Heavenly Master Zhāng Prays to Exorcise the Plague”).

The first text is from the Chinese version, specifically the modern variorum edition *Shuǐhǔ quánzhuàn* 水滸全傳 (SHQZ: 1-14). The English translation by John and Alex Dent-Young of the Chinese version is also provided for reference. The second text is from the Japanese edition *Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden* 通俗忠義水滸傳 (TZ) (KHSJ 6: 23-34). The third text is from the Japanese edition *Shinpen suiko gaden* 新編水滸畫傳 (GD) (GD 1: 23-33). The abbreviations “CN” and “JP” are designations for the Chinese version and the Japanese version in general (regardless of edition) respectively.

Notes

1. The following symbols are used to mark different types of textual variation:

(1). A ~~strikethrough~~ in the text of CN indicates that there is no corresponding part in JP.

(2). An underline in the text of JP indicates that there is no corresponding part in CN.

(3). A wavy underline in the text indicates that the corresponding parts in CN and JP have different content. A number of verses in CN have no corresponding part in TZ but a corresponding part with different content in GD, and they are marked by both a strikethrough and a wavy underline.

(4). A shaded part in the text indicates that the content of a part in JP is expanded or complicated from

the content of the corresponding part in CN.

(5). A boxed part in the text indicates that the content of a part in JP is reduced or simplified from the content of the corresponding part in CN.

(6). The <angle brackets> in the text indicate that the enclosed part occurs at different positions in CN and JP. The part occurring at the position marked as **(1a)** in CN corresponds to the part occurring at the position marked as **(1b)** in JP, and the part occurring at the position marked as **(2a)** in CN corresponds to the part occurring at the position marked as **(2b)** in JP.

2. In both Japanese editions, sometimes the voicing mark of a *kana* graph is omitted. In this situation, the *kana* graph with the voicing mark is given in parenthesis in the reproduction of the text.

3. *Kana* ligatures (two separate *kana* graphs conjoined and written as a single graph) frequently occur in both Japanese editions. In this situation, the original separate *kana* graphs are given in parenthesis in the reproduction of the text.

Chinese Version

話說大宋仁宗天子在位，嘉祐三年三月三日五更三點，天子駕坐紫宸殿，受百官朝賀。~~但見：祥雲迷鳳閣，瑞氣罩龍樓。含烟御柳拂旌旗，帶露宮花迎劍戟。天香影裏，玉簪朱履聚丹墀。仙樂聲中，繡襖錦衣扶御駕。珍珠簾捲，黃金殿上現金輦。鳳尾扇開，白玉階前停寶輦。隱隱浮鞭三下響，層層文武兩班齊。~~

當有殿頭官喝道：“有事出班早奏，無事捲簾退朝。”只見班部叢中，宰相趙哲，參政文彥博，出班奏曰：“目今京師瘟疫盛行，民不聊生，傷損軍民多矣。伏望陛下釋罪寬恩，省刑薄稅，以禳天災，救濟萬民。”天子聽奏，急救翰林院隨即草詔，一面降赦天下罪囚，應有民間稅賦，悉皆赦免；一面命在京宮觀寺院，修設好事禳災。不料其年瘟疫轉盛。仁宗天子聞知，龍體不安，復會百官。眾皆計議。向那班部中，有一大臣，越班啟奏。天子看時，乃是參知政事范仲淹。拜罷起居，奏曰：“^(1a)目今天災盛行，軍民塗炭，日夕不能聊生，人遭縲紲之厄。>以臣愚意，要禳此災，可宣嗣漢天師星夜臨朝，就京師禁院，修設三千六百分羅天大醮，奏聞上帝，可以禳保民間瘟疫。”仁宗天子准奏。急令翰林學士草詔一道，天子御筆親書，並降御香一炷，欽差內外提點殿前太尉洪信為天使，前往江西信州龍虎山，宣請嗣漢天師張真人，星夜臨朝，祈禳瘟疫。就金殿上焚起御香，親將丹詔付與洪太尉為使，即便登程前去。洪信領了聖敕，辭別天子，不敢久停。從人背了詔書，金盒子盛了御香，帶了數十人，上了鋪馬，一行部從，離了東京，取路逕投信州貴溪縣來。~~於路上但見：~~

~~遙山疊翠，遠水澄清。奇花綻錦繡鋪林，嫩柳舞金絲拂地。風和日暖，時過野店山村。路直沙平，夜宿郵亭驛館。羅衣蕩漾紅塵內，駿馬馳驅紫陌中。~~

且說太尉洪信齎擎御書丹詔，一行人從上了路途，夜宿郵亭，朝行驛站，遠程近接，渴飲饑餐，不止一日，來到江西信州。大小官員，出郭迎接。隨即差人報知龍虎山上清宮住持道眾，準備接詔。次日，眾位官同送太尉到於龍虎山下。只見上清宮許多道眾，鳴鐘擊鼓，香花燈燭，幢幡寶蓋，一派仙樂，都下山來迎接丹詔，直至上清宮前下馬。太尉看那宮殿時，端的是好座上清宮！~~但見：~~

~~青松屈曲，翠柏陰森。門懸敕額金書，戶列靈符玉篆。虛皇壇畔，依稀垂柳名花；煉藥爐邊，掩映蒼松老檜。左壁廂天丁力士，參隨着太乙真人；右勢下玉女金童，簇捧着紫微大帝。披髮仗劍，北方真武踏龜蛇；跣履頂冠，南極老人伏龍虎。前排二十八宿星君，後列三十二帝天子。塔砌下流水潺湲，牆院後好山環繞。鶴牛丹頂，龜長綠毛，樹梢頭獻果蒼猿，莎草內銜芝白鹿。三清殿上，鳴金鐘道士步虛；四聖堂前，敲玉磬真人禮斗。獻香臺砌，彩霞光射碧琉璃；召將瑤壇，赤日影搖紅瑪瑙。早來門外祥雲現，疑是天師送老君。~~

當下上至住持真人，下及道童侍從，前迎後引，接至三清殿上，請將詔書居中供養着。洪太尉便問監宮真人道：“^{(1b)(2b)}天師今在何處？”住持真人向前稟道：“好教太尉得知：這代祖師，號曰虛靖天師，性好清高，倦於迎送，自向龍虎山頂，結一茅菴，修真養性。因此不住本宮。”太尉道：“目今天子宣詔，如何得見？”真人答道：“容稟：詔敕權供在殿上。貧道等亦不敢開讀。且請太尉到方丈獻茶，再煩計議。”當時將丹詔供養在三清殿上，與眾官都到方丈。太尉居中坐下，執事人等獻茶，就進齋供，水陸俱備。齋罷，太尉再問真人道：“既然天師在山頂菴中，何不着人請將下來相見，開宣丹詔？”真人稟道：“太尉，這代祖師，雖在山頂，其實道行非常，清高自在，倦惹凡塵。能駕霧興雲，蹤跡不定，未嘗下山。貧道等如常亦難得見，怎生教人請得下來？”^(2a)太尉道：“似此如何得見！目今京師瘟疫盛行，今上天子特遣下官為使，齎捧御書丹詔，親奉龍香，來請天師，要做三千六百分羅天大醮，以禳天災，救濟萬民。似此怎生奈何？”>真人稟道：“朝廷天子，要救萬民，只除是太尉辦一點志誠心，齋戒沐浴，更換布衣，休帶從人，自背詔書，焚燒御香，步行上山禮拜，叩請天師，方許得見。如若心不志誠，空走一遭，亦難得見。”太尉聽說，便道：“俺從京師食素到此，如何心不志誠！既然恁地，依着你說，明日絕早上山。”當晚各自權歇。次日五更時分，眾道士起來，備下香湯齋供，請太尉起來，香湯沐浴，換了一身新鮮布衣，腳下穿上麻鞋草履，吃了素齋，取過丹詔，用黃羅包袱，背在脊梁上。手裏提着銀手爐，降降地燒着御香。許多道眾人等，送到後山，指與路徑。真人又稟道：“太尉要救萬民，休生退悔之心，只顧志誠上去。”太尉別了眾人，口

誦天尊寶號，縱步上山來。將至半山，望見大頂直侵霄漢，果然好座大山。正是：

根盤地角，頂接天心。遠觀磨斷亂雲痕，近看平吞明月魄。高低不等謂之山，側石通道謂之岫，孤嶺崎嶇謂之路，上面平極謂之頂，頭圓下壯謂之巒，隱虎藏豹謂之穴，隱風隱雲謂之岩，高人隱居謂之洞，有境有界謂之府，樵人出沒謂之徑，能通車馬謂之道，流水有聲謂之澗，古渡源頭謂之溪，巖崖滴水謂之泉。左壁為掩，右壁為映，出的是雲，納的是霧。錐尖像小，崎嶇似峭，懸空似險，削礪如平。千峰競秀，萬壑爭流。瀑布斜飛，藤蘿倒掛。虎嘯時風生谷口，猿啼時月墜山腰。恰似青黛染成千塊玉，碧紗籠罩萬堆煙。

這洪太尉獨自一個，行了一回盤坡轉徑，攬葛攀藤，約莫走過了數個山頭，三二里多路，看看腳酸腿軟，正走不動，口裏不說，肚裏躊躇。心中想道：“我是朝廷貴官公子，在京師時，重裯而臥，列鼎而食，尚兀自倦怠。何曾穿草鞋走這般山路！知他天師在那裏，卻教下官受這般苦！”又行不到三五十步，掇着肩氣喘，只見山凹裏起一陣風，風過處向那松樹背後，奔雷也似吼一聲，撲地跳出一個吊睛白額錦毛大蟲來。洪太尉吃了一驚，叫聲：“阿呀！”撲地望後便倒。偷眼看那大蟲時，但見：

毛披一帶黃金色，爪露銀鈎十八隻。睛如閃電尾如鞭，口似血盆牙似戟。伸腰展臂勢猙獰，擺尾搖頭聲霹靂。山中狐兔盡潛藏，澗下猿猴皆斂跡。

那大蟲望着洪太尉左盤右旋，咆哮了一回，托地望後山坡下跳了去。洪太尉倒在樹根底下，諕的三十六個牙齒，掙對兒廝打。那心頭一似十五個吊桶，七上八落的響。渾身卻如重風麻木，兩腿一似鬪敗公雞。口裏連聲叫苦。大蟲去了一盞茶時，方纔爬將起來，再收拾地上香爐，還把龍香燒着，再上山來，務要尋見天師。又行過三五十步，口裏嘆了數口氣，怨道：“皇帝御限差俺來這裏，教我受這場驚恐！”說猶未了，只覺得那裏又一陣風，吹得毒氣直沖將來。太尉定睛看時，山邊竹藤裏，簌簌地響，搶出一條吊桶大小，雪花也似蛇來。太尉見了，又吃一驚，撇了手爐，叫一聲：“我今番死也。”望後便倒在盤砣石邊。微閃開眼來看那蛇時，但見：

昂首驚騰起，掣目電光生。動蕩則折峽倒岡，呼吸則吹雲吐霧。鱗甲亂分千片玉，尾梢斜捲一堆銀。

那條大蛇逕搶到盤砣石邊，朝洪太尉盤做一堆，兩隻眼迸出金光，張開巨口，吐出舌頭，噴那毒氣在洪太尉臉上。驚得太尉三魂蕩蕩，七魄悠悠。那蛇看了洪太尉一回，望山下一溜，却早不見了。太尉方纔爬得起來，說道：“慚愧！驚殺下官！”看身上時，寒栗子比餅餬兒大小。口裏罵那道士：“忒耐無禮，戲弄下官！教俺受這般驚恐！若山上尋不見天師，下去和他別有話說。”再拿了銀提爐，整頓身上詔敕，並衣服巾幘，卻待再要上山去。正欲移步，只聽得松樹背後，隱隱地笛聲吹響，漸漸近來。太尉定睛看時，只見那一個道童，倒騎着一頭黃牛，橫吹着一管鐵笛，轉出山凹來。太尉看那道童時，但見：

頭綰兩枚丫髻，身穿一領青衣。腰間纏結草來編，腳下芒鞋麻間隔。明眸皓齒，飄飄並不染塵埃；綠鬢朱顏，耿耿全然無俗態。

昔日呂洞賓有首牧童詩，道得好：

草鋪橫野六七里，笛弄晚風三四聲。歸來飽飯黃昏後，不脫蓑衣臥月明。

只見那個道童笑吟吟地騎着黃牛，橫吹着那管鐵笛，正過山來。洪太尉見了，便喚那個道童：“你從那裏來？認得我麼？”道童不采，只顧吹笛。太尉連問數聲，道童呵呵大笑，拿着鐵笛，指着洪太尉說道：“你來此間，莫非要見天師麼？”太尉大驚，便道：“你是牧童，如何得知？”道童笑道：“我早間在草菴中伏侍天師，聽得天師說道：‘朝中今上仁宗天子，差個洪太尉，賁擎丹詔御香，到來山中，宣我往東京做三千六百分羅天大醮，祈禳天下瘟疫。我如今乘鶴駕雲去也。’這早晚想是去了，不在菴中。你休上去。山內毒蟲猛獸極多，恐傷害了你性命。”太尉再問道：“你不要說謊。”道童笑了一聲，也不回應，又吹着鐵笛，轉過山坡去了。太尉尋思道：“這小的如何盡知此事？想是天師分付他。已定是了。”欲待再上山去，“方纔驚諕的苦，爭些兒送了性命，不如下山去罷。”太尉拿着提爐，再尋舊路，奔下山來。眾道士接着，請至方丈坐下。真人便問太尉道：“曾見天師麼？”太尉說道：“我是朝廷中貴官，如何教俺走得山路，吃了這般辛苦，爭些兒送了性命！為頭上至半山裏，

跳出一隻吊睛白額大蟲，驚得下官魂魄都沒了。又行不過一個山嘴，竹藤裏搶出一條雪花大蛇來，盤做一堆，攔住去路。若不是俺福分大，如何得性命回京！盡是你這道眾戲弄下官！”真人覆道：“貧道等怎敢輕慢大臣！這是祖師試探太尉之心。本山雖有蛇虎，並不傷人。”太尉又道：“我正走不動，方欲再上山坡，只見松樹傍邊轉出一個道童，騎着一頭黃牛，吹着管鐵笛，正過山來。我便問他：‘那裏來？識得俺麼？’他道：‘已都知了。’說：‘天師分付：早晨乘鶴駕雲，望東京去了。’下官因此回來。”真人道：“太尉可惜錯過！這個牧童，正是天師。”太尉道：“他既是天師，如何這等猥獩？”真人答道：“這代天師，非同小可！雖然年幼，其實道行非常。他是額外之人，四方顯化，極是靈驗。世人皆稱為道通祖師。”洪太尉道：“我直如此有眼不識真師，當面錯過！”真人道：“太尉但請放心！既然祖師法旨，道是去了，比及太尉回京之日，這場醮事，祖師已都完了。”太尉見說，方纔放心。真人一面教安排筵宴，管待太尉，請將丹詔收藏於御書匣內放了，留在上清宮中，龍香就三清殿上燒了。當日方丈內大排齋供，設宴飲酌。至晚席罷，止宿到曉。

English Translation of the Chinese Version

The story begins in the days when the Great Song Emperor Ren Zong reigned. It was in the third drum-beat of the fifth watch — dawn, in other words — of the third day of the third lunar month of the third year of Jia You, and his Majesty had just proceeded to the Purple Imperial Palace to receive the obeisance of all the mandarins of the court. Here's how it was:

*Auspicious clouds engulf the Phoenix Hall,
A precious air invests the Dragon Tower;
Mist-veiled palace willows flirt with flags,
And dew-starred royal blossoms welcome swords.
'Mid smoke of incense, jade pins and scarlet shoes
Invade the vermilion courts;
To heavenly harmonies, rich gowns and flowery robes
Escort the royal sedan.
Respectful screens of jade deploy
When the sacred chaise attains the golden palace;
Peacock feather fans unfold,
As the precious carriage halts by the white jade steps.
Three times the crack of a distant whip resounds;
In serried ranks the imperial court attends.*

Then the master of ceremonies shouted: "If there are matters to report stand forth and declare them; if not, take leave and depart."

Accordingly the Prime Minister, Zhao Zhe, and the Chief Counsellor, Wen Yanbo stepped forward and said: "Your Imperial Majesty, a fearful plague is raging in the capital at the present time. There have been many losses among your subjects, both civil and military. We beseech Your Majesty, of your graciousness, to vouchsafe pardon to transgressors, to relax punishments and reduce taxes, and to offer up prayers and sacrifices for the avoidance of heaven-sent disasters and the delivery of all your people."

The Son of Heaven, on hearing this petition, instructed the Imperial Academy to prepare forthwith an edict proclaiming the remission of prison sentences throughout the empire and the total abolition of general taxes and levies, and at the same time ordering all Buddhist and Taoist monasteries in the capital to perform the appropriate rites for the prevention of natural disasters.

To everyone's confusion, the troubles merely intensified.

When the Emperor was informed of this, he was greatly perturbed and summoned his ministers to council. From amongst the group of counsellors, one stepped forward to request a hearing. It was Fan Zhongyan, the Deputy Chief Minister, who, after prostrating himself, rose and said: "A great ill afflicts the land; the whole population, civil and military, suffers extremely; day and night the people struggle in vain to secure their lives. I therefore venture to offer this humble proposal; to save us from this affliction, let a message be sent, if it please Your Majesty, to the Heavenly Master, bidding him travel with all speed to the court and offer here in the Forbidden City the three thousand six hundred libations to the heavenly constellations, requesting the Lord of Heaven to lift this burden of suffering from your people."

The Emperor gave his consent, and he told the Imperial Academy to draft a proclamation immediately. This the Emperor then graciously copied in his own hand, deigning also to add some sticks of incense. Marshal Hong Xin, the palace superintendent, was appointed imperial envoy, with instructions to proceed to

the Dragon-Tiger Mountain in Xinzhou district, in the Province of Jiangxi, and invite the Heavenly Master, Zhang the Pure, to hasten to the capital to perform the propitiatory rites. Incense was burnt in the Golden Palace, while the Emperor personally placed the imperial order in the Marshal's hands, urging him to set out at the earliest opportunity.

In accordance with the royal wish Hong Xin took leave of the Son of Heaven, took up the imperial edict and casket containing the incense, collected a number of men, mounted a relay horse, and followed by his escort left the Eastern Capital, taking the most direct route to Guixi, a county town in Xinzhou district. Here's how it was:

*The far hills are folds of blue,
The distant waters a clear green;
Rare flowers deck the woods with rich embroidery,
Fresh willows strew the floor with golden thread.
Soft are the winds and warm the sun.
Past country inns and mountain villages
The way first lies.
Now the road is straight and the land flat;
They lodge at night in hostels on the route.
Gorgeous robes swirl over the red dust.
Thoroughbreds gallop across the purple steppe.*

And so Marshal Hong Xin and his retinue set out with the sacred edict; and they came, not losing a day, to Guixi, where all the officials turned out to meet them, outside the city walls. A messenger was sent ahead to tell the Superior and the monks at the Temple of Holy Purity on Dragon-Tiger Mountain to prepare to receive the imperial edict. Next day the officials escorted Hong Xin to the foot of the Dragon-Tiger Mountain. Here a crowd of Taoists from the Temple of Holy Purity came trooping down the hillside, striking gongs and beating drums; they came with incense, flowers, lamps and candles, carrying a precious reliquary adorned with silken streamers and playing music of the Immortals, to receive the solemn edict.

The imperial envoy did not dismount till he was right in front of the temple. And what a palace it was, that Temple of Holy Purity! Here's what met their eyes:

*Grey-green the pines, gnarled and twisted; bright bluish green the cypress, leafy and luxuriant.
Over the door, an imperial inscription, copied in characters of gold; framing the doorway, the sacred signs and symbols. On the verge of the sanctuary, a willow dimly droops its celebrated flowers; next to the purificational crucible, ancient pine and imperial juniper block out the sun.
On the wall to the left the Celestial Guards accompany the Sovereign Lord; On the right-hand wall, Jade Maidens and Golden Boys attend the Purple Emperor. With flying hair and brandished sword, the Perfect Warrior, Master of the North, bestrides the turtle and the snake; in his down-trodden shoes and square hat the Old Man of the South straddles dragon and tiger. Aligned in front, the twenty-eight Lords of the Heavenly Mansions; at the back, the thirty-two Heavenly Princes. Below the steps, running water murmurs gently; behind the garden wall friendly slopes give shelter. There are red-headed cranes and green-haired turtles, offerings of fruit laid on the branches of trees for the green apes, fragrant white deer squatting in the sedge. A golden bell is struck in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones and the Taoists process, chanting their liturgies; jade clappers are sounded*

in front of the Chapel of the Four Holy Ones and the votaries pay homage to the Dipper. On the incense-burning platform coloured clouds irradiate the deep-blue tiles. On the precious altar of supplication, the sun's red is reflected by crimson agate. An auspicious cloud hovers at the gates: the Heavenly Master, as it might be, bidding farewell to Lao-Tze.

At once all the Taoists, from the saintly Superior down to the meanest acolyte, pressed forward to meet the Marshal and escort him to the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. They requested him to present the imperial proclamation to the gods then and there in the hall.

"But where is the Heavenly Master?" the Marshal inquired.

It was the Superior who came forward and answered. "Your Excellency should please be informed that the Heavenly Master of this generation, whose title is 'Heavenly Master of the Tranquil Vacuity,' has achieved great sanctity, and weary of the world's incessant coming and going, has retired to the top of the Dragon-Tiger Mountain, where he has built himself a thatched cabin and devotes himself to developing virtue and cultivating his spirit. For this reason he is not in residence here."

The Marshal said: "I have to give him the Son of Heaven's message, how can I see him?"

The Superior replied: "If it please Your Excellency, let the imperial edict be placed temporarily in this hall; we humble Taoists will not dare to meddle with it. Then do me the honour of accompanying me to my quarters to take tea, while we consider how to proceed."

Accordingly the edict was placed, with all due care, in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, and the entire company removed to the Superior's private quarters. The Marshal seated himself in the centre of the room, and several lay brothers brought in tea. A lavish vegetarian meal was also served. When this was ended, the Marshal said: "If the Heavenly Master is in his cabin on the peak, might not someone be sent to request him to come down and meet me here, so that I may deliver the Emperor's message?"

"The Heavenly Master of this generation may be on the mountain," the Superior replied, "but he has achieved such a degree of perfection that he can ride the mists and mount the clouds, and his footsteps are not fixed. We poor Taoists can rarely catch a glimpse of him; how can we send someone to ask him to descend?"

"In that case, how am I ever to see him?" the Marshal exclaimed. "This very moment a plague is ravaging the capital, and the Emperor entrusted his edict to me, and the imperial incense, with instructions to bring it personally to the Dragon-Tiger Mountain and the request the Heavenly Master to perform the three thousand and six hundred libations to avert disaster and save the people. So what am I to do?"

"If the Son of Heaven wishes to save the people," the Superior proposed, "the only way is this: You must free your heart, Your Excellency, from all insincerity, fast and bathe yourself and don simple attire, dismiss your suite, and take the imperial tablets on your own back. Then, lighting the imperial incense, you must ascend the mountain on foot to pay your respects and make your request to the Heavenly Master. In this way perhaps you may be granted an interview. But if your heart is not pure, the journey will be in vain, for then it is unlikely you will have sight of the Heavenly Master."

The Marshal replied: "On my journey from the capital I have eaten frugally, which surely is proof enough of my sincerity. But if that is how it is, I will do as you say. I will climb the mountain tomorrow at break of day."

Everyone went to bed early that night. Next morning before dawn the Taoists rose and prepared scented bath-water for the Marshal to bathe himself. He put on a clean robe of plain cotton and a pair of hemp sandals, ate a light vegetarian meal, and took up the imperial edict, which he wrapped in yellow silk and tied on between his shoulder-blades. He carried also a silver censer in which he carefully burnt the imperial incense.

A group of Taoists accompanied him to the foot of the mountain at the back of the temple, to show him the way.

“If Your Excellency wishes to save the people,” the Superior reminded him, “you must put aside all retrospective thoughts and proceed with a pure intention.”

The Marshal bade the monks farewell, and reciting the name of the Lord of Heaven began the steep ascent. About half way, he paused to look up: the peak seemed to invade heaven’s vault, what a mountain it was! Hear what he saw:

Its roots are twined in the crannies of the earth, its summit brushes the zenith. From afar it seems to pierce and wound the clouds; near to, it swallows the bright moon’s soul. Such broken heights and depths — truly this can be called a mountain! Such a way through overhanging rocks — a veritable tunnel! The only road a track winding over lonely ridges to the flattened summit set about with what a fantastic assembly of spurs! There are caverns where tigers and wild-cats lurk, secret grottoes that are home to the winds and clouds. What a cave, the one where the holy man lives concealed! A whole region this, with its own frontiers. If the woodcutter can get through, you can say there’s a path, if a horse and cart can pass, call it a highway; the sound of rushing water signals a gorge, the old ford introduces you to a brook, water dripping from the rock reveals a spring. The cliff on the left is a blank wall, the cliff on the right reflects the sun. On the outside, nothing but cloud; inside you’re in the mist. The path climbs pinnacles that are sharpened to a point, ascends prodigious cliffs, perilously skirts the void, traverses flattened terraces. A thousand peaks vie in splendour; a million torrents rush headlong. Waterfalls trail their slanting sheets in the air, creepers dangle topsy-turvy. The tiger roars and the wind rises in the valley mouth; the gibbon howls and moonlight floods the slopes. The picture is painted in different greens, like a jade mosaic; the whole scene is clothed in tatters of mist like finest silk.

Thus the Marshal ascended for a while, following the twists and turns of the path, sometimes having to hold onto vines and creepers to pull himself up. After passing several crests and covering almost a mile, his feet were aching and his legs seemed to have turned to jelly and were refusing to carry him further. Too tired to speak and all his resolve failing, he began to complain to himself: “I am a man of some standing at the court; in the capital I sleep on mats of double thickness and they serve me from many dishes, and I am exempt from all that is wearisome; when have I ever worn hemp sandals, or been obliged to climb such a mountain path like this? The Devil knows where this Heavenly Master has got to! Why am I subjected to this torture?”

He went on, notwithstanding, and had not taken a dozen or so paces more when, as he straightened his back to draw breath, he felt a sudden gust of wind rush out from a hollow in the mountainside. When this gust passed, a thunderous roar burst from behind a pine tree, and out sprang a savage-eyed, white-browed tiger with a brilliantly-patterned coat. The Marshal was terrified. “Ai-ya!” he cried, recoiling aghast. Here’s what his horrified eyes beheld:

*The coat a mat of shining gold,
Eighteen claws like silver hooks,
Eyes like lightning, tail a whip,
Mouth a bloodpit, teeth like knives.*

*The back arches with hideous strength,
The tail lashes with a sound like thunder;
Hares on the mountainside bolt for cover,
Deer in the valley make themselves scarce.*

Fixing its eyes on Hong Xin, the great beast wove to the left and circled to the right, gave a mighty roar, then bounded off down the slope and disappeared. Hong Xin had fallen at the foot of a tree, all his thirty-six teeth chattering against each other and his heart knocking like fifteen buckets in a well, clashing as they pass up and down; his whole body was numb with shock and his legs limp as the defeated contestant's in a cock-fight. Continuous lamentations issued from his mouth.

When the tiger disappeared, it took him the time in which one would drink a cup of tea to haul himself to his feet. He collected the incense and the censer, which had fallen to the ground, and relit it. Then he set off again up the mountain, determined once more to search out the Heavenly Master.

After another thirty or forty paces, he sighed a few times and said bitterly to himself: "I come here in obedience to the Emperor's wishes, but what frights I must pass through!" Before he had even completed the sentence he felt another gust of wind, this time laden with noxious fumes, blowing directly towards him as before. He stared at the thick undergrowth from which a slithering sound was issuing. Out shot an immense snake, big as a barrel and spotted with white. Terrified again, the Marshal threw down the censer and gasping, "Now I'm really finished!", fell back against a rugged boulder. He watched the creature, out of the corner of his eye. Imagine it:

*As it lifts its head, the earth convulses;
Lightning strikes if it blinks its eye.
When the great beast stirs
The valleys split and the hilltops tumble;
It breathes out clouds and spits forth mists.
Its scales are a kaleidoscope of jade,
Its tail a slanting pile of silver.*

The great snake slithered towards the boulder and fixing its eye on Hong Xin coiled itself in front of him. A dazzling golden light poured from its eyes, and opening wide an enormous mouth it protruded its tongue and breathed its noxious vapours right in Hong Xin's face. The Marshal almost fainted in terror; his three spirits and his seven senses dispersed. After regarding the Marshal for a moment, the snake slid away down the mountain and was seen no more.

"Merciful Heavens! I almost died of fright!" The Marshal exclaimed when he had picked himself up again. He examined himself and found he had come out in goose-flesh with bumps the size of buns. He cursed the Taoists: "What insufferable lack of manners! To make sport of a court official, treating me to all these shocks! If I don't find the Heavenly Master when I get to the top, I shall have a thing or two to say to that lot when I get down again!" He picked up the silver censer, rearranged the imperial edict on his back and, after adjusting his clothing and his cap, was ready to continue the ascent. He was just about to take the first step when he heard from behind a group of pine trees the sweet sound of a flute softly played. It was gradually approaching. He watched closely while from a hollow on the mountainside there came a young Taoist acolyte, riding backwards on a cow and playing an iron flute. See him here:

His hair was coiled into twin peaks, and he was apparelled all in blue; about his waist was a belt of plaited straw and hemp shoes with rope soles were on his feet. His eyes were piercing and his smile dazzling as he glided along, stirring no dust. The rich profusion of his hair and his rosy cheeks gave him a brilliant appearance, but nothing coarse or common was there in his bearing.

It was just like it says in Lü Dongbin's famous cowherd songs:

*The grassy plain extends for several miles;
The sound of a flute carries on the evening wind.
After nightfall he reaches home and eats.
Still in his raincoat of bark, he slumbers in the moonlight.*

So there was this lad, smiling to himself and blowing on an iron flute as he rode along on his cow, crossing the mountainside in front of Hong Xin. "Where have you come from?" Hong Xin called out, and "Do you know who I am?"

The boy paid no attention, but simply went on playing his flute. The Marshal had repeated his question a number of times, before the boy suddenly laughed out loud and, pointing his flute at Hong Xin, said: "You come here to see the Heavenly Master, am I right?"

Hong Xin was taken aback: "You're just a cowherd, how do you know this?"

The boy answered: "When I was serving the Master this morning in his thatched cabin, I heard him say: 'Today the Emperor has sent an envoy to me here on the mountain bearing His Majesty's edict, with the imperial incense; my presence is requested in the Eastern Capital to offer the three thousand and six hundred libations and pray for the world's delivery from the plague. I shall go today, mounted on a crane and riding the clouds.' I believe the Master must have left already, he is not in his hut. You should climb no higher. There are many poisonous reptiles and dangerous beasts on the mountain, I fear your life will be in danger. You had better go back."

"You're not deceiving me, are you?" the Marshal asked.

Instead of replying, the boy burst out laughing. He began to play his flute again, and moved off across the mountainside.

"How does the boy know so much?" the Marshal was thinking. "He must be following the Heavenly Master's instructions, so it must be true." He thought about renewing the ascent, but then he thought of the terrifying experiences he had just undergone and how they might have cost him his life, and it seemed better to go back down.

How took up the censer once more, searched out his former route and hurriedly descended. All the Taoists came out to meet him and entreated him to rest in the Superior's private quarters.

"Did you see the Heavenly Master?" the Superior inquired.

"I am an important officer of the imperial court," the Marshal said. "Why did you tell me to climb the mountain and suffer all these appalling dangers, which nearly cost me my life? First when I was half-way up a huge tiger with ferocious eyes and a white forehead sprang out; the shock almost finished me. Then, after I had passed another ravine, an enormous white-spotted snake shot out of the undergrowth and coiled itself in front of me, barring the way. If I hadn't some credit stored up with fate, I could never return to the capital alive. I believe you Taoists wanted to play a trick on me."

"How could we show such disrespect to an important officer of the court?" said the Superior. "It must be that the Heavenly Master was testing your resolve. Although there are snakes and tigers on the mountain,

they do no harm to men.”

“When I was about to start climbing again,” the Marshal continued, “before I had even moved, an acolyte came out from among some pine trees, riding on a cow and playing an iron flute. As he was crossing the mountain in front of me, I asked him where he came from and whether he knew me. He replied ‘I know everything.’ He said the Heavenly Master had given instructions and left early in the morning for the capital, mounted on a crane and riding the clouds. That is why I have returned.”

“Unfortunately, Your Excellency,” the Superior said, “you failed to observe an important point. That cowherd was the Heavenly Master itself.”

“If it was the Heavenly Master,” the Marshal said, “why should he take such a humble form?”

“The Heavenly Master of this generation,” said the Superior, “is absolutely out of the ordinary. Though only young, he has reached an extraordinary degree of perfection. He is far above ordinary standards: he is a master of metamorphosis and adept in many arts. People call him the Teacher who has found the Way.”

“Then I had no eyes to recognize the true Master,” the Marshal said. “I have let him pass me by!”

“Set your mind at rest, Your Excellency,” the Superior said. “Since the Master said he was going, the whole business will have been concluded before you get back to the capital.”

The Marshal took comfort at this. The Superior meanwhile ordered a banquet in the Marshal’s honour, and requested that the imperial edict in its official box be left in the Hall of Higher Purity and that the imperial incense be burnt in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. A great vegetarian feast was served that day. The eating and drinking lasted till evening and then they slept till dawn.

ココ タイ ソウジン ソウクワウ テイザイ イ カ ユウサン ネン ゴ コウサン テン ミカド シ シン
 爰^ニ大^ニ宋仁^ノ宗皇^ノ帝在^ニ位嘉^ノ祐三^ノ年三^ノ月三^ノ日五^ノ更三^ノ點^ニ。帝紫^ノ宸^ノ
 デン シュツ ギョ クハン チウ カ ウケ マコト ビ テン コト スデ
 殿^ニ出^テ御^{アリ}。百^ノ官^ノ朝^ニ賀^ヲ受^テ玉^フ。誠^ニ美^タ々^シキ御^ノ事^{ナリ}。既^ニ
 テン トウ クハン クハン ムカツ カウ シヤウ ヨバ^ハ (ハ) ツ コト ハヤ レツ
 殿^ニ頭^ノ官^ノ。百^ノ官^ニ向^テ。高^ノ聲^ニ 叫^テ曰^ク。事^{アラ}バ早^ク列^ヲ出^テ
 ソウ モン コト レン マイ スミヤカ タイ シュツ トキ サイ シヤウ
 奏^ヲ聞^{アル}ベシ。吏^ナクン^バ簾^ヲ捲^テ 速^ニ 退^出アルベシ。時^ニ宰^相
 テウ テツ サン セイブン ケン ハク ヒトシ レツ イテ(デ) ミヤコ エキ レイ ハヤ
 趙^ノ哲^ノ。参^政文^彦博^ニ人^齊ク列^ヲ 出^テ。今^ニ都^ニ疫^ノ癘^サカン^ニ行^リ。
 グン ミン シヤウ ソン カス(ズ) フシ ネカ(ガ) ハク ヘイ カ ツミ ユル
 軍^ノ民^ヲ傷^損スル吏^其 數^ヲ知^{ラス}(ズ)。伏^願 ハ陞^下。罪^ヲ釋^シ。
 テン ヒロク ケイ ハブ ゼイ ウスク テン サイ ハラ グン ミン キ キフ
 恩^ヲ寬^シ。刑^ヲ省^キ。稅^ヲ薄^ソ(シテ)以^テ。天^ノ災^ヲ禳^ヒ。軍^ノ民^ノ危^急
 スクハ ナン サイハヒ コレ ツハシン ケイ ソウ ミカド
 救^セ玉^ハ、(バ)。何^ノ 福^カ(ガ)之^ニ如^ンヤト。謹^テ(デ)啓^奏ス。帝^ノ
 ソノソウ ユル ギヤシウヲヨヒ(ビ) ミン カン ゼイ フ コトク(ゴト) ゴ シアメン
 其^奏ヲ准^サせ玉^ヒ。天下^ノ罪^囚 洎^民間^ノ稅^賦。盡^ク御^赦免^{アリ}。
 ミヤコ ジ イン メイ モツハラ サイ ゴ キ タウ シカレ ソノトシ
 又^都ノ寺院^ニ命^ソ(ジテ)。專^天災^ヲ御^祈禱^{アル}。然^レ 阡^(ドモ) 其^年エ
 マスク(マス) サカ ミカドナヲリヤウテイヤス マタ クワイ
 キレイ 益^盛ンナレハ(バ)。帝^猶龍^體安^カラス(ズ)。復^百官^ニ會^シ
 コノ コト イカミ ヒヤウ ギ コノトキハン チウ アン
 玉^ヒ。此^吏如何^ト評^議アル。當時^范仲^淹ト云^者。列^ヲ出^テ奏^ソ(シテ)
 シンク(グ) イ コノ サイ ハラハン ハカル ナチイクタビ キ タウ シクアル
 曰^(1a)臣^愚 意^ヲ以^テ。此^災ヲ 禳^ト量^ニ。猶^幾度^モ御^祈禱^アラン^ニ如^有マ
 サイハヒコウ セイシン シュリヤウ コ サン ジ カンテン シ チヤウ シン ジン
 シ(ジ)。希^江西^信州^龍虎^山ニコソ。嗣^漢天^師張^真人^ト申^テ。
 ダウコウテン カ ナキ ナラビ ジンツウクワウダイ ダウ シ マタカレ イヘ ダイ ツタヘキタツ サイ
 道^行天下^ニ無^レ雙[。]神^通廣^大ノ道^士アル。又^渠ガ家^ニ代^々傳^來テ。天^災ヲ
 ハラフトコロ ヒ ハフ ナツ(ツ)ケ ブン ラ テン タ セウ モツ阡(トモ) レイハフ
 禳^處ノ秘^法アリ。名^テ三^千六^百分^羅天^大醺^ト云^フ。尤^靈法[。]
 ネガハク カレ ミヤコ シヤウタイ カノ ブン ラ テン タ セウ シュ
 也[。]願^ハ渠^ヲ都^ニ請^待アリ。彼^三千^六百^分羅^天大^醺ヲ修^セシメテ。
 サイ チンイノリ ミン カン チンビヤウ タチマチ ドキサリ ミヤコふタヘ セイ ヒツ
 天^災ヲ御^祈アラバ。民^間ノ瘟^病。忽^ニ除^去。都^再ビ靜^謐ソ(シテ)。
 キ センバン セイ ウタフ ミカドキヨ カンナハメ イソ ジ カンテン シ
 貴^賤萬^歲ヲ謠^{ベシ}。帝^御感^斜ナラズ。急^ギ嗣^漢天^師張^真人^ヲ請^待有[。]
 スデ タイ イ コウ シン チョク シ サダメ スナハチキンテンシ(ジ) ヤウセウシヨ
 べシトテ。已^ニ太^尉洪^信ヲ敕^使ト定^サセ玉^ヒ。即^金殿^上 詔^書一[。]
 ナラビ ギョ カウ シュ ミカド ミ テツカラ コレ コウ タイ イ フ ヨ ナンギイソ コウ セイ
 通^併ニ御^香一^炷。帝^御手^自是^ヲ洪^太尉^ニ付^與シ玉^ヒ。汝^急ギ江^西

^{シン シュリヤウ コ サン ユキ ジ カン テン シ チャウ シン ジン シヤウタイ キタ イササカ}
 信-州龍-虎-山ニ往。嗣-漢天-師張-真-人ヲ請待シ來ルヘ(ベ)シ。聊
^{オコタルコト ネンゴロ チョク メイ コウ シンツハシン チョク カウム ギョ カウ}
 怠^{オコタルコト} 亶ナカレト。懇ニ敕-命アル。洪-信 虔^{コウ シンツハシン} テ(デ) 敕ヲ奉リ御-香ヲ
^{キン カウ バコ モ セウ ショ ニシキ フクロ ヌサ スデ ミカド ジ ベツ タテマツ トモヒト アマタ}
 金ノ香盒ニ盛り。詔書ヲ錦ノ袋ニ納メ。既ニ帝ニ辭別シ 奉^{キョウ} テ。供人許多
^{シタガ ソク ジツ ミヤコ ハツ ソク ウマ ムチウチ ヨ ヒ ツイ イソ ホド イマ シウンジツ}
 從ヘ。即日都ヲ發足シ馬ニ 策^{ソク} 夜ヲ日ニ續テ急ギケル程ニ。未ダ旬日ヲ
^{ヘ コウ セイ ツキ シン シュ チョク シ チャク カ キ}
 經ズシテ。江西ニ着ニケル。サテ信州ニハ大小ノ官人。敕使ノ着^{キョウ} 駕ヲ聞。
^{ミナ ク クハククハイイテ(デ) ハイ ケイ スグ チョク シ ミチビイ リヤウ コ サン フモト イタ ジヤウ}
 眾皆郭外 出^デ テ拜迎シ。直ニ敕使ヲ 導^{ドウ} テ。龍虎山ノ麓ニ至ル。又上
^{セイ キュ ダウ シュ カネ ナラ タイコ ウチ ハタ テン ガイ モチ ツレ ガク ソウ クダ}
 清宮ニ一山ノ道眾。鐘ヲ鳴シ鼓ヲ擊。旌天蓋ヲ持連。樂ヲ奏シテ山ヲ下
^{チョク シ ムカヒ テ スグ デン ナイ イリ}
 リ。敕-使ヲ迎奉ル。敕使ハ上清宮ノ前ニテ馬ヲ下リ。直ニ殿内ニ入玉
^{ヂウ ジ ハイ フク チヤウ ロ ナク ツハガサウ チヤクサンナン ヨロコヒ(ビ)}
 フ。住持。敕-使ノ前ニ拜伏ソ(シテ)曰。長路無^レ恙 早々ノ着^{キョウ} 山何ノ 悅
^{コレ スギ イン ギン レイ タイ イ イマミヤコ エキレイサカン}
 カ(ガ)之ニ過ント。殷勤ニ禮ヲノブ。太尉ノ曰。(1b)<今都ニ疫癘盛ニ
^{グン ミン ニチ ヤ セイ ヤスン アタカ ルイ セツ ノ アヤウキ コノユエ}
 ハヤリ。軍民日-夜生ヲ安セズ。恰モ縲紲之 危^キ カ(ガ)如シ。>(2b)<以故
^{ミカド ゴ ヒ タン アマ ミヤコ シヤウタイ セウ ジ シュ}
 ニ帝御悲歎ノ餘リ。天-師ヲ都ニ請待ソ(シテ)。醺^{シュン} 亶ヲ修セシメテ。天-
^{サイ ゴ キ ショウ コト イツカタ ア ハヤ タイメン}
 災ヲ御祈禳アラントノ御亶ナリ。>天-師ハ何方在リヤ。早^{ハヤ}ク對面サセシ
^{ヂウ ジ トウダイ ダウ コウヨノ ツネ タヰキヨキ コノ ケガレ ニク}
 メヨ。住持ガ曰。當代ノ天-師道-行尋-常ナラズ。唯清ヲ好ミ。穢ヲ惡
^{ミヅ イタダキ ウ サウアン ムスビ シン シュ セイ カツ}
 ミ。自カラ山ノ頂^{ミツ} ニ一-宇ノ草庵ヲ結。ツネニ真ヲ修シ性ヲ養ヒ。曾テ
^{ジン マジハリ ヤメ サツソクタイメン カナフ マヅ ホウヂヤウ シバラクキウ}
 凡-塵ノ 交ヲ休玉フ。此ノ故ニ早速對面ハ叶マジ。且方丈ニ於テ漸^シ 休
^{ソク ツカレ ナグサ スデ トモナ スイリク チン ブツ シナ ツク}
 息アツテ疲ヲ慰メ玉ヘトテ。既ニ方丈ニ伴ヒ。水陸ノ珍-物品ヲ盡シ。
^{シュ モテナシ シカレ ナヲ モト サイサンヂウ ジ}
 種々款待申シケル。然^{シカレ} 阡(ドモ)太尉尚心^{ナヲ} 元ナク思ヒ。再三住持ニ對シ
^{スデ サン チャウ アン チウ ハセヨビクダ マイ コト}
 テ曰。天-師既ニ山-頂ノ庵-中ニマシマサバ。人ヲ馳呼下シ參ラセン亶ハ。
^{ナリ コト ギョウ ジ キイ モツ阡(トモ) ギョウ}
 成ガタキ亶ニヤ。住持聞テ。尤^{ナリ} 天-師ハ庵-中ニ住シ玉ヘ阡(ドモ)。
^{ジツ ジン ツウクワウダイ アルトキ クモ ノ アル ミネ ノボ コヅエ}
 實ハ神通廣大ニソ(シテ)。或時ハ霧ニ駕シ雲ニ乘リ。或-時ハ峰ニ登リ梢
^{ザ ソウセキサラ サダマ ツキ クダ ダウシュカツ ハイガン}
 ニ坐シ。蹤跡更ニ定ラズ。終ニ山ヲ下リ玉ハネバ。一-山ノ道眾嘗テ拜顏

シタル^{モノ}者モナシ。如何^{イカン}ゾ人ヲ馳^{ハセ}テ呼^{ヨビ}下^{クダ}シ參^{マイ}ラセンヤ。カ^{ヤウ}様ノ思^{ヲボシ}召^{メシ}ニテハ。

對面^{タイメン}ハ叶^{カナフ}マジ。(2a) 然^{シカレ}に^(2a) 任^{ミカド} 仁^{バン} (ドモ) 帝^{ミン} 萬^{タメ}-民^ヲノ為^ニニ御^ヲ歎^{ナゲキ}アル^{コト}。天^{イカ}-師^カモ如何

デ感^{カントク}德^クナカラ^ンヤ。太^{モシ}尉^{サイ}若^{カイ}齋^{モク}戒^{ヨク}沐浴^ゾソ(シテ)身^ミヲ清^{キヨ}メ。布^フ衣^エヲ着^{チャク}シ草^{サウ}履^リ

ヲ穿^{ハキ}。供^{トモ}-人^ヲ一人^ヲモ帶^ヲ玉^{ミヅ}ハズ。自^{セウ}カラ詔^{シヨ}書^{ギヨ}御^ヲ香^ヲヲ背^ヲ玉^ヲヒ歩^{カチ}行^ニソ(シテ)山

へ上^{ノボ}リ。堅^{カタ}ク信^{ライ}心^{ハイ}ヲ守^{カウ}リ。禮^シ拜^{ハイ}叩^{カウ}首^{シュ}ソ(シテ)天^{トフ}-師^(ブ)ヲ訪^{ラヒ} 玉^ハハ。天^{イカ}-師^カ

モ亦^{マタ}太^{ネントウ}-尉^{カン}ノ念^{タイ}頭^{メン}ヲ感^{セウ}ジ玉^{シヨ}ヒ。必^ヒズ對^{ロウ}-面^{カウ}アルベシ。其^{ヘンシ}ノ時^(ジ)詔^ヲ書^ヲ御^ヲ香^ヲヲ披^ヒ露^{ロウ}

アリ。帝^{ミカド}ノ御^{ムネ}旨^ビ備^{サイ}細^ニ語^リ玉^ハハ。天^{タチ}-師^{マチ} 忽^{ジン} ニ神^{ツウ}-通^{ヘンシ}ヲ以^(ジ)テ。片^{ヘン} 時^シ ノ間^{カン}

臨^{リン}-朝^{テウ}アリ。秘^ヒ-法^{ハウ}ノ醺^{セウ}夏^ジヲ修^{シュ}セシ玉^ニヒテ。民^{ミン}間^{カン}ノ疫^{エキ}-癘^{レイ} 盡^{コトク} ク襪^(ゴト)-去^{ハラヒ}リ。サ

再^{バン}ビ萬^{ミン}-民^{サイ}ニ福^{サイ} ヲ與^{アタ}ヘテ。帝^{ナゲキ}ノ御^{ナグサメ}-歎^ヲヲモ慰^{シカラ} 玉^{クン}フベシ。然^{シカレ}バ太^タ-尉^ウノ勳^{クン}

功^{コウ}豈^{アニハ} 莫^(バ) 大^{クタ} ナラサ(ザ) ランヤ。太^{ヨロコヒ}-尉^(ビ)聞^ニテ大^ソ 悅^{ジキ} 我^ニ都^ニヨリ素^ニ食^ニソ(シ

テ)茲^{コハ} ニ到^{イタ}レリ。何^{スデ}ゾ信^{ゴトクン}-心^{カク}ナカラ^ンヤ。既^{ミヤウ}ニ 如^{テウ}レ此^{サウ}ノハ (バ)。明^{ミヤウ} 朝^{テウ}早^{サウ}-

天^{サン}ニ。山^{チャウ} 頂^{ノボ}ニ上^ヨルベシトテ。其^{ヲノ}夜^{カヤミ}ハ各^{ヨク} 歇^{テウ}ケル。翌^{コウ}-朝^ニ五^ニ-更^ニノ一^ニ天^ニ。

洪^{トウ}太^{モク}尉^{ヨク}香^ミ湯^{アタラ}ヲ以^フテ沐^エ浴^{チャク}シ身^{アシ}ニハ新^{アタラ} シキ布^マ-衣^{カイ}ヲ着^シ。足^マニハ新^{カイ} シキ麻^ニ鞋^ニ

ヲ穿^{ハキ}。詔^{セウ}-書^{ギヨ}ト御^キ-香^ロヲ黃^{フロシ}羅^キノ包^{ツハ}袱^ニニ包^{ミヅ}ンデ。自^{コレ}カラ是^ヲヲ背^ヲ。又^ヲ 銀^キ ノ手^{(ギ)ン}

-爐^ロニ龍^{リヤウ} 香^{カウ}ヲ焚^{モヤ}シ。既^{スデ}ニ山^{サン}路^ロニ 臨^{ノソ} ケレバ。住^{ダウ}持^ジハ道^{ダウ}-眾^{シュ}ト 俱^{モロ} ニ。後^{トモ}

ノ山^{タクリ}マデ送^ロ來^{ケイ}リ。太^{サシ}-尉^{ヲシ}ニ路^ナ徑^{ヒタ}ヲ指^{スラ}-教^{イマシメ}ヘ。猶^{クサ}只^ニ管^ニ太^ニ-尉^ニ 戒^テテ曰^ハ。山^ニ-中^ニ草^ニ

深^{フカウ}ソ(シテ)道^{ミチ}-險^{ケウ}シ。愈^{イヨク} 萬^{バン}-民^{ミン}ヲ救^{スク}ヒ功^{コウ}ヲ建^タト思^タヒ玉^ハハ。必^{ハン}ス(ズ) ハ半^ニ-

途^トニ於^{タイ}テ。退^チ悔^コ ノ心^ヲヲ起^タシ玉^ハハズ。只^タ好^バ信^{ヨク}心^{シン}堅^{ジン}-固^{ケン}ニソ(シテ)上^{ノボ}ラルベシ。

如^{モシ}信^{ハスレ}-心^ニ念^{マミ} 玉^{モツ}ハ、(バ)。天^{カタ}-師^カニ見^ヘ玉^ニン^ニ。最^ニ任^ニ (トモ) 難^ニカラントテ。

遂^{ツイ}ニ別^{ワカ}レテ回^{カヘ}リケリ。太^{リヤウ}-尉^{カウ}ハ路^{モヤ}スガラ龍^{ソン} 香^{ホウ}ヲ焚^{ガウ}シ。天^{トナ}-尊^ニノ寶^ニ號^ニヲ稱^ニヘ。

纔^{ワツ} 一^(ツ)ニ山^カヲ過^{スギ}ケル處^ハニ。早^{シン}ヤ身^{ジン}心^{ツカレ}疲^{ギヤウ}テ。行^{サウ}走^ニナリガタケレバ。躊^{チウ}

躇^{チヨ}ソ(シテ)想^{オモヘラク}道^{ワレ}。我^{テウ}ハ是^{テイ} 朝^キ廷^{クワン}ノ貴^{ミヤコ}官^アナリ。京^{シトネ}ニ在^{カサネ}ルトキハ。裊^ニヲ重^ニテ

フ カナヘ ツラネ クラフ ナヲ カツケン タイ イツクン フ エ チヤク マ カイ
 臥シ。鼎ヲ列テ。食ニサヘ。尚且倦怠ス。奚ゾ布衣ヲ着シ。麻鞋ヲ
 ハキ ヤマ ザ ヘン ソレ イツ(ツ)レ アツ ワレ コレ ラ
 穿。如此山路ヲ經ヤ。夫天師ハ何ノ處ニ在テ。我ヲシテ。此等ノ
 シン ク ウケ ハ(バ)カリユキ ナヲ シン ク ズ タヘ コ カゲ
 辛苦ヲ受シメ玉フヤト。又四-五-十-歩 計 行テ。猶辛苦ニ不勝。木蔭
 ニ立チ-寄。暫ク休居ケル處ニ。山ノ凹ニ一陣ノ風起リ。松ノ樹ノ後ヨリ
 キンモウ モウ コトビ ライ タケ ミ タドロ
 錦毛ノ猛虎跳-出。雷ノ如クニ吼リ來ル。太尉是ヲ見テ大ニ驚キ。忽チ
 チ ジャウ タヲ カノトラ ノソ(ゾ)ミ ミギ マイヒダリ メグリ シキリ イカ タケツ
 地上ニ倒レケリ。彼虎太尉ヲ望。右ニ盤左ニ施。頻ニ怒リ哮テ。
 ニラム コトヤヒサシ ウシロ サカ シタ トビ サリ
 太尉ヲ白眼眈良久クソ(シテ)。後ノ山ノ坂ノ下ニ跳-去ヌ。其ノ時太尉
 ユメ サメ コハチ ヤウ チキ アガ フタハ シュ ロ ヒロヒトツ リヤウ
 夢ノ覺タル心地シテ。漸々起上リ。再ビ地-上ノ手-爐ヲ拾取テ。又龍
 カウ ヤ マサ ホ ハ(バ)カリユキ ナヲ タン ソク ミカドウラン
 香ヲ焼キ。將ニ二-三-十-歩 計 行ケルカ。尚歎息ソ(シテ)。帝怨テ(デ)
 チモ ワレ ダイジン シカル アクシヨ メイ ナン
 想ヒケル。我ハ是大臣也。然ヲ如此ノ惡處ノ御-使ヲ命ゼラレ。多クノ難
 ギ ウケ チハヤケ チン ムネ イヨク ジャ シン チコ デン
 -義ヲ受シメ玉フ。公ナラヌ御-旨ト。彌邪心起シケル處。又一陣ノ
 カゼ フキ シウ キ タマチ ノボ コツ セン タケハヤシ ウチサク ヒバ タケ
 風吹-來リ。臭氣直ニ天ニ沖リ忽-然トソ(シテ)竹林ノ裡簾々ト響キ。長
 ジヤ マナコ キンクハウ クチ ドツ キ ハキ タマチ
 十-丈バカリノ大-蛇。眼ニハ金光ヲ出シ。口ニハ毒氣ヲ噴。直ニ太尉
 メ クサ キ スハ キタ コレ ミ チノ チノハ
 フ目カケ。草木ヲナビケテ。進ミ來ル。太尉是ヲ見テ。大ニ驚レ慄キ。
 キフ ニケ(ゲ) キモタマシシン タイ ツカ マナコクラ タヲ
 急ニ逃ントセシカドモ膽魂身體ニ付ズ。忽チ眼眩ンテ(デ)倒レケ
 カ シキ ミ セキ ナゲ クビ アゲ
 リ。彼ノ大-蛇。切りニ太尉ヲ瞧ツメテ。身ヲ大石ノ上ニ投カケ。首ヲ擡
 シタ イタ(ダ) ドツ キ メンシ(ジ)ヤウ フキチラ ウチ イリ
 舌ヲ出ソ(シテ)。毒氣ヲ太尉ノ面上ニ吹散シ。再ビ竹林ノ裡ニ入ニ
 ナヲ コン サメ ヤウ キ エ チキアガ フカ
 ケリ。太尉猶昏-々トソ(シテ)。醒ザリシガ。漸々氣ヲ得テ起上リ。淡
 デウ ジ ウラン ヒトリ ゴト ノハシ ナンダ ラ アサ(ザ)ム モウシ(ジ)ウチハ
 ク住-持ヲ恨テ(デ)。獨-言ニ詈リケルハ。你-等我ヲ欺キ猛獸多
 アクシヨ スハ コレ ラ キヤウ ク ウケ ナニ ブ レイ コレ スキ(ギ)
 キ惡處薦メ。此等ノ恐懼ヲ受サシムル。何ノ無-禮カ(ガ)之ニ過ン。
 モシ タズネアハ ダウシュ イタル コレアタ(ダ)
 如天師ニ尋逢ズンバ。住-持ハ云ニ及バズ。道眾ニ至マデ。一々是仇
 ムケ ナチイタツ ユク キ ウシロ フエ ネ カスカ ヒバ セン
 ヲ報ハン者ヲト。尚怒テ行處ニ。松ノ樹ノ後ニ。笛ノ音隱々ニ響キ。漸

-々ニ^{チカ キコ}近ク聞ヘケリ。太^{アヤシ}-尉^{ヲモ}恠ク想ヒ。心ヲ^{ヲサメ コレ ミ}納テ之ヲ見ルニ。一^{ドウ}-箇ノ童
 子。黄^ジ牛^キニ^{ギウ}横^{ヨコ}サマニ打^{ウチ}-乗^{ノリ}。山ヲ^{スギ}過テ太^{メン}-尉^{ゼン}ノ面^{ヒタスラ}前ニ來リ。只^{テツ}顧^{テキ}鐵^{フキ}笛ヲ吹テ
 遊^{ユウ}行^{コウ}ス。時ニ太^{カノ}-尉^{ダウドウ}彼^{ムカツ}道^{イヅレ}童^{キタ}ニ向テ曰。汝^{ミシ}何ヨリ來レリヤ。又我ヲ識^シリタ
 ルヤ。道^{フエ}-童^サ聞テ大ニ笑ヒ。笛ヲ以テ太^{コハ}-尉^サヲ指シ。汝茲ニ來ル^{マヘ}。天^{ハベ}-師
 ニ對^{タイ}-面^{メン}セン為ナリ。我今^{タメ}-朝^{コン}草^{チュ}庵^{サウ}ノ中ニ在テ。天^{アツ}-師^{マヘ}ノ前ニ侍^{ハベ}リケルニ。
 天^{ツゲ}-師^{エキ}我ニ告テ曰。今都ニ疫^{レイ}癘^{サカン}盛ニ行^{ハヤ}リ。軍^{グン}-民^{ミン}多ク傷^{シヤウ}損^{ソン}ス。此^{コノ}-故^{ユヘ}ニ仁^{ジン}-
 宗^{ソウ}皇^{クワウ}帝^{テイ}。洪^{コウ}太^{コウ}-尉^{コウ}ヲ敕^{キタ}-使^{キタ}トソ(シテ)。此ノ山ニ來^{シヤウ}ラシメ。我ヲ都ニ請^{タイ}待
 アリ。三^{ブン}-千^ラ六^{テン}-百^タ分^{セウ}羅^{シュ}-天^{サイ}大^{ハラ}-醺^{イノリ}ヲ修^{スミヤカ}セシメテ。天^{サイ}-災^{ハラ}ヲ禳^{イノリ}ヒ瘟^{スミヤカ}病^{スミヤカ}ヲ祈。速
 ニ民ヲ救^{タミ}玉^{スクヒ}ハントノ御^{ヨツテ}ヲ(コト)也。因^{コレ}之ニ我^{ツル}今^{クモ}鶴^カニ乘^カリ雲^カニ駕^カソ(シ
 テ)。都ニ往^{ミヤコ}ト宣^{ユカン}ヒキ。定^{ノタマ}テ此^{サダメ}比^{コノ}都^{コロ}ニ着^{ツキ}玉^{ツキ}フ^{アン}ラ^{チュウ}メ。然^{アン}ラバ庵^{チュウ}中ニハ人^{アン}ア
 ルマ^マジ。汝^チチ^ヂ無^{ヤク}-益^{ユカ}ノ處^{スミヤカ}ヘ往^ゲンヨリ。速^{マウ}ニ下^{マウ}向^{マウ}セヨ。此ノ山ニハ。猛
 獸^{シ(ジ)}毒^{ウドク}蟲^{チュウ}極^{キハメ}テ多^{セイ}シ。恐^{メイ}ハ汝^{シヤウ}ガ性^{ガイ}-命^チヲ傷^ギ害^ギセン。必^チス(ズ)遲^ギ疑^ギスル^ギ。又
 ナカ^{キョ}レ。太^{ゴン}-尉^{ゴン}カ(ガ)曰^{アサ}汝^ザ虚^ム言^ムヲ以^{ナカ}テ誑^{ジツ}クヲ(コト)勿^{ナカ}レ。只^{ジツ}實^{ジツ}情^{ジツ}
 ヲ以^{ツケ}テ告^ゲヨカシ。道^{ダウ}-童^{ドウ}重^{ヘン}テ返^{タフ}答^スニモ不^{チヨ}レ^ハ及^バ。復^{マタ}鐵^{テツ}笛^{テキ}ヲ吹^{フキ}テ。森^{モリ}ノ
 中ニ入^{ツラ}ニケリ。太^{ヲモ}-尉^{ヲモ}熟^{セウ}想^{ドウ}ヒケルハ。此ノ小^{イカ}-童^{ナン}如何^{デウ}ゾ。盡^{コトク}ク此ノ^{ゴト}。又^{ゴト}知^{ゴト}リ
 ケルヤ。誠^{ボン}ニ凡^チ智^チノ及^{アラ}フ(ブ)所^{コレ}ニ非^{スナ}ズ。是^{メイ}乃^{ウケ}天^{ワレ}-師^{ワレ}ノ命^{ワレ}ヲ受^{ワレ}テ。我ニ
 示^{シメ}ト覺^{チボ}ヘタリ。若^{モシ}之ヲ疑^{コレ}ハ、(バ)。却^{ウタガ}テ猛^{カハツ}獸^{モウ}ノ為^{シ(ジ)}ニ。身^{タメ}-命^{シン}ヲ果^{メイ}スベ
 シ。不^ジレ^{シカ}如^{コレ}是^ゲヨリ下^{コウ}-向^{コウ}セントテ。復^{マタ}舊^{キウ}路^ロヲ尋^{タツ}テ下^ツリケリ。サテ住^{クダ}-持^{ヂウ}
 ハ道^{ダウ}眾^{シュ}等^ラト共^{フモト}ニ。麓^{ミチ}ノ路^{イテ}ニ出^デテ。太^{ムカ}-尉^{スグ}ヲ迎^{ハウ}ヒ。直^{ヂヤウ}ニ方^{スグ}-丈^{ハウ}ニ至^{ヂヤウ}テ。山
 -中^{ヤウ}ノ様^ス子^スヲ問^{イカ}フ。太^{ナン}-尉^{デウ}聞^{テイ}テ大ニ怒^{チヨク}リ。汝^シ朝^{アザム}廷^{アザム}ノ敕^{ダウ}-使^リヲ欺^リキ。如^ナレ此
 難^{ナン}-所^{ジヨ}ニ薦^{スハ}メ。許^{ソコ}多^{バク}ノ恐^{キヤウ}懼^クヲ受^{ウケ}サシムル^{ウケ}。實^{ジツ}ハ帝^{ミカド}ヲ欺^{アザム}ク道^{ダウ}理^リナリ。我
 向^{サキ}ニ一^{スギ}-二^{モウ}ノ山ヲ過^コントスル處^{ライ}ニ。猛^{タケ}-虎^{ニラン}出^{ニラン}テ雷^{ニラン}ノゴトクニ吼^{ニラン}リ。我ヲ白^{ニラン}眼

^{ヲビヤ}デ^{ジヤアラハ}悔^{マナコ}カス。其^{キンクハウ}ノ次大^{ドツ キ}-蛇現^{スデ}レ^眼ニハ金光ヲ出シ。口ニハ毒氣ヲ噴キ。既
^ヨニ予ガ性^{ガイ}-命ヲ害^{シカレ}セントス。然^{ワレ フクブン}に^{ナン}トモ^{ノガレ}（ドモ）我福分大ナル故。ソノ難ヲ脱
^{タス}テ。一^ラ-命ヲ助カル。是^{アヤドツ}汝^{ヒトヘ}-等我ヲ悔^{ヲノレ}テ。偏^{ケウ}ニ己ガ興ヲ催^{モヨウ}スト覺ヘタリ。
^{イカン}如何^{コ（ゴ）トキ}ゾ^{ブレイ}如^レ此^{チウ}ノ無禮^{ジ ダウシュ}ヲナスヤ。住^{ヒンダウ ラ}-持道^{アヘ}眾答^{テウ テイ}テ曰。貧道等何敢テ。朝-廷
^{チヨク シ}ノ敕^{アザム}-使ヲ欺^{コレ ラ}カンヤ。此^{クハイ ジ}-等ノ恠^{イサハカ}戾^ラハ。聊^{タハム}我^{アラ}-等ガ戯^アル、所ニ非ス（ズ）。
^{コハロミ}是乃^{ナリ}チ天^{モウシ（ジ）}-師。太^{ウドク}-尉ノ信^{チウキハメ}-心ヲ試^玉フ也。山^{ナリ}-中ニハ猛^{モウシ（ジ）} 獸^ウ 毒蟲^シ極^テ多シ
^{カツ}ト云^{ガイ}に^{タマ}トモ^{イキドナリ}（トモ）。嘗^{ヤミ}テ人ヲ害セス（ズ）。唯願^{ハクハ}ハ^{ハクハ} 憤^ヲ 休玉ヘ。太^尉-尉ガ
^{ナヲサンチャウ}曰。我猶^{ノボツ}山頂^{ナニ}ニ登^{タヅネアハン}テ。何^{ヲモ}トゾ天^{マタリヤウカウ}-師ニ尋^{モヤ}逢^{シテ}ト想ヒ。復^{シテ}龍^{シテ}香ヲ焚^{シテ}ソ（シテ）。
^{ユキ}已^{フヘ}ニ二^ネ-三^{カスカ}-十^{ヒメ}-步^{ナヲアヤシ}バカリ行^シ處ニ。又^{フヘ}笛^ネノ音^{カスカ}隱^{ヒメ}々^{ナヲアヤシ}ニ響^ク。我尚^{ナヲアヤシ}恠^キ戾^ニ思^フ
^{シハ（バ）ラ}ヒ。暫^{タチトバマツ} ク立^{ウカミフ} 停^コ テ是^{ダウドウ}ヲ窺^キ ニ。一^{ギウ}-箇^{ヨコ}ノ道童^{ノツ}。黃牛^{シハ（バ）ラ}ニ横^{タチトバマツ}サマニ打^{ウカミフ}-乘^コテ。
^{クハン}一^{テツテキ}-管^{フキ}ノ鐵^{スギ}笛^ヨヲ吹^{メンゼン}キ。山^{スナハチ}ヲ過^{ツゲ}テ予ガ面^{ツゲ}前^{ツゲ}ニ來^{ツゲ}リ。即^{ツゲ} 予^{ツゲ}ニ告^{ツゲ}テ曰^{ツゲ}ク。天^{ツゲ}-師
^{ツル}ハ今^{クモ}-朝^カ鶴^{ミヤコ}ニ乘^{ユカ}リ雲^{ノタマ}ニ駕^{サダメ}ソ（シテ）。都^{コノコロ}ニ往^{スデ}ント宣^{スデ}ヒキ。定^{スデ}テ此^{スデ}比^{スデ}ハ。已^{スデ}
^{リン}ニ臨^{テウ}-朝^{アン}シ玉^{チウ}ヒテ。庵^{エキ}-中^{タヅネ}ニハ人^ユアルマジ。益^{モウシ（ジ）ウ}ナキ處^ウニ尋^ウ往^ウキ。猛^ウ 獸^ウ ノ
^{セイメイ}為^{ガイ}ニ。性^{スミヤカ}命^ゲヲ害^{コウ}セラレンヨリ。速^{サイソク} ニ下^{ヨツテ}-向^{コレ}セヨト催^{ハント}促^トス。因^レ之^ニ半途^ヨヨ
^{ヂウ}リ下^ジ-向^{キヒ}セシ也。住^ミ-持^{ミシ}聞^{ザン}テ。太^{ネン}-尉^{ネン}自^ミカラ。天^{ミシ}-師^{ミシ}ヲ識^{ミシ}リ玉^{ミシ}ハヌコソ殘^{ザン}念^{ネン}
^ソ也。其^{ドウ}ノ道^{ドウ}-童^{ドウ}ハ。則^{チイ}是^{チイ}レ^{チイ}天^{チイ}-師^{チイ}ナリ。カヘス^{チイ}く（ガヘス）モ眼^{チイ}-前^{チイ}ニ於^{チイ}テ。
^{タガヘ}錯^{コト}過^{ヲシ}玉^{サイ}フ戾^{サンクヒ}コソ惜^{サイ}ケレト。再^{サンクヒ}-三^{サンクヒ}悔^{サイ}テ申^{サンクヒ}ケル。太^{サレ}-尉^{スデ}カ（ガ）曰^{スデ}。渠^{サレ}既^{スデ}ニ天
^{イカン}-師^{イカン}ナラバ。如何^{ヨウ}ソ（ゾ）如^{ヨウ}レ^{ヨウ}此^{マツタ}ノ幼^{シン}-年^{シン}ナルヤ。我全^{マツタ}ク是^{シン}レ^{シン}ヲ信^{シン}ゼズ。住
^{コタヘ}-持^{トウ}答^{トウ}テ曰^{トウ}。當^{トシイトケナ}-代^ミノ天^{イヘ}-師^{ジツ}ハ。年^{ダウドウコト} 幼^{スグ} ク見^{スグ}ユルト雖^{スグ}ドモ。實^{スグ}ハ道^{スグ}行^{スグ}殊^{スグ}ニ勝^{スグ}
^{ハウ}レ。四^{エン}-方^{ケン}八^ゲ-埵^{ハナハ}ニ顯^{レイ}-化^{ケン}甚^ゼダ靈^{ジン}-驗^{コソツ}多^{コレ}ケレバ。世^{タウト}-人^{スナハチ}舉^{スナハチ}テ之^{スナハチ}ヲ尊^{スナハチ}ビ。則^{スナハチ}
^{ダウドウ}道^{ツウ}-通^ソ祖^シ-師^{シヤウ}ト稱^ナシ。其^{カイ}ノ名^{アマネ}四^{コレ}海^{カロ}ニ遍^ミシ。太^{コレ}-尉^{カロ}モ亦^ミ。是^ミヲ輕^ミク覲^ミ玉^ミフベカ
^{スデ}ラズ。太^{ゴトクン}-尉^{カク}聞^{カク}テ既^{スデ}ニ如^シレ^シ此^{マナコ}ノハ（バ）。我^{マナコ}眼^{マコト}アツテモ。真^{ミシ}ノ天^{ミシ}-師^{ミシ}ヲ識^{ミシ}

ラズ。當^{マノアタリ}面^{タガヘル}ニ錯^{ツタナ}過^{イマ}叟^{サラ}コソ拙^{イカマ}ケレ。今^{カウクハイ}-更^{カサネ}如何セント。後^{ナク}悔^(グ)ス。住^{サメ}-持^テ重^{ケル}テ
太^{ハスレ}-尉^{タノシミ}ヲ慰^{モヨフ}テ云ケルハ。心^{ミナ}-安^{コウ}ク思ヒ玉ヘ。天^{スデ}-師^{ツル}己^{クモ}ニ鶴^カニ乗^カリ雲^カニ駕^カ
ソ(シテ)。京^{ミヤコ}ニ往^{ユカ}ント宣^{ノタマ}ヒシカバ。モハヤ臨^{リン}-朝^{テウ}アツテ。醺^{セウ}事^ジヲ始^シメ玉フ
ベシ。太^キ-尉^{キヤウ}歸^ヒ-京^ノノ日^ニハ。天^{エキ}-下^{レイ}ノ疫^{コト}-癘^(ゴト)盡^{ノゾキ}ク除^{バン}-去^{ミン}リ。萬^{ウレヒ}-民^{レヒ}愁^ヒヲ
怨^{ハスレ}テ樂^{タノシミ}ヲ催^{モヨフ}ス時ナルベシ。是^{ミナ}皆^{コウ}太^{スデ}-尉^{ツル}ノ功^{クモ}ヨリ出^カル處ナレバ。縱^{マツ}ヒ天^(ツ)-
師^{タイ}ニ對^{メン}-面^シシ玉ハズ^{トモ}。帝^{トガ}ヨリサマデノ御^{トガ}-罪^{マツ}メモアルマジ。且^(ツ)
尊^{ソン}慮^{リョ}ヲ安^{ヤス}ンジ。緩^{ユル}々^{キウ}ト休^{ソク}-息^{スデ}シ玉ヘトテ。己^{シユ}ニ酒^{エン}宴^{モフケ}ヲ設^ステ進^{ハメ}シカハ(バ)。
太^{ヤウ}-尉^{クミ}漸^ク-々^{サカ}心^{ツキ}安^{サマ}ンジテ酒ヲ酌。日^{チノ}己^クニ晚^{ヤス}レテ盃^{サカ}收^{ツキ}リ。其^{チノ}-夜^クハ各^{ヤス}休^ミミケ
リ。

もろこし たい そう じん そうくわうてい ぎょう か いう とら てん みかど
 異朝大宋の天子、仁宗皇帝の御宇、嘉祐三年三月三日の寅の一天に、主上
 し しいでん しゆつぎよ てう が うけ さん こう れい ぎ
 紫宸殿に出御ありて、朝賀を受させ給ひしかば、三公百官禮儀を正し、
 おのく くらゐのしだい みかど たま め
 おのく 位階 にしたがひ、主上を拜し奉る、玉しく庭の春の色、げに目ざ
 ありさま とのりつかさ しょう し くわん むか そうもん
 ましき光景なり。時に 殿頭官、諸司百官にうち對ひ、事あらば奏聞あれ
 ぎょれん まき まかで さふら よばは さいしやうてうてつ さん せい ぶん げん はく
 事なくば御簾を捲て退出候へ、と呼ばば、宰相趙哲、參政文彦博の二人
 ひとし なみ い みやこ えやみ たみ ひやくしやう
 齊く列をすゝみ出で、只今都のうち疫癘大に流行して、軍民百姓死す
 はなはだ ひろ じん せい しきほどこ わざはひ ほら
 るもの甚多し、ねがはくは寛く仁政を布施し、この災を禳ひ除き、民
 きふなん こと ば そろへ みかど うべなり きこしめしいれ
 の急難を救ひ給へかし、と言葉を揃て奏すれば、主上諾也と聞食入られ
 やが みことのり てん か とらはれ みんな みつぎもの ゆる てらぐ おほ
 聴て 敕して天下の囚徒と、民間の税賦を免し、又都の寺院に命せて、
 ご き たう えやみ さか あした やむ ゆふべ
 御祈禱ありけり。しかれどもその年疫癘なほ盛りにして、朝に病もの夕
 うしな なげ とをこ おく はうむ なげ
 に死し、親は子を喪ひて家に哭き、妻は夫に後れて野に葬る、その歎き
 みかど み やす
 いくばくといふ事を知らず。是によりて主上いよいよ御こゝろ安からざ
 くわん つどへ たま ちよくもん
 れば、ふたゝび百官を會合給ひ、此事いかゞしてよからん、と敕問ある
 はん ちう えん そう ら ぐ い わざはひ
 に、范仲淹といふもの奏するやう、(1a)それがし等が愚意を以て、この災
 はらは はかる かう せい しん しゅう りょう ござん じん づう ふしぎ だう かう む りやう おこなひと
 を禳んと量に、江西信州の龍虎山に、神通不測、道行無量の道士あり、
 な し かんてん し ちやうしん じん りやく ちやうてん し しかのみならず
 その號を嗣漢天師張真人といひ、又略しては張天師ともいふ、加旃 彼
 てん さい ほら ひ はふ ぶ ら てん だい ぜう な
 が家に天災を禳ふの秘法ありて、三千六百分、羅天大醮と名づけたり、こ
 れい はふ いちじる おこなひと めし
 れいと稀なる靈法なるよし、世に掲焉し、いそぎこの道士を召のぼし、
 えやみのおに はらは びやうなん たちまち のぞき さ あん と
 疫鬼を禳せ給はゞ、民の病難忽地に除去り、上下安堵の思ひをなさん
 うたが はさか そう きこ みかど ぎよ かん
 事、更に疑ひ候まじ、と憚るところなく奏し聞え奉れば、主上御感淺か
 たい る こうしん ちよくし し かんてん し ちやうしん じん しやうだい さだめたま
 らず、太尉洪信を敕使とし、嗣漢天師張真人を請待あるべし、と定給

ひし程に、^{こうしん}洪信^{ちよくめい}この^{うけたまは}敕命^{ちよくしよ}を^{ふくろ}奉^{をさ}り、^ご詔書^{かう}を^{はこ}錦の^{ふくろ}囊^{をさ}に^ご納め、^{かう}御香^{はこ}を^{はこ}玉の^{はこ}盒
に^も盛り、^{ともびと}従者^{めし}あまた^{みやこ}召つれて、^{たびだち}次の^{ほど}日都^{たい}を^{こうしん}起行^{こうしん}けり。さる^{こうしん}程に^{こうしん}太尉^{こうしん}洪信
は、^{とみ}頓^{おん}の^{つかひ}御使^{そのひ}なればとて、^{とう}當日^{きん}東京^{かう}の^{せいしん}地^{しゅう}を^{きけい}離れ、^{あがた}江西^{さし}信州^{さし}貴溪^{さし}縣^{さし}を^{さし}投て
いそぎつゝ、^{ふね}山^{わた}をば^{ふね}馬^{わた}もて^{わた}越え、^{ふね}川^{わた}をば^{ふね}船^{わた}もて^{わた}渡り、^{ふね}ゆき^{わた}と^{ふね}ゆく^{わた}程に、^{ふね}日
を^へ経て^{つき}彼地^きにも^き著^きしかば、^き貴溪^{あがた}の^{あがた}縣^{あがた}大小^{あがた}の^{あがた}宦人^{あがた}、^{あがた}郭^{あがた}を出て^{あがた}これを^{あがた}待受け、
^{しるべ}嚮導^{りよう}して^こ龍虎^{ざん}山の^{ふもと}麓^{ふもと}に^{ふもと}到れば、^{さん}一山^{だう}の^{したち}道眾^{かね}、^{つげ}豫て^{つげ}この^{つげ}告^{つげ}ありしによりて、
^{つづみ}鐘^うを^う鳴し^う鼓^うを^う撃ち、^{かう}香花^{はな}燈燭^{あかし}を^さ捧げ、^{はた}幢幡^{てん}寶蓋^{がい}を^{つら}もち^{いつ}連ね、^{せん}一派^{せん}の^{せん}仙樂^{せん}、
^{ゆう}融くとして^{ちよくし}山^{むかへ}を下り、^{こうしん}敕使^{じやうせい}を^{きやう}迎^{きやう}まゐらす。洪信は上^{こうしん}清宮^{じやうせい}の^{きやう}こなたにて
馬より^お下り、^{きやう}まづ^{でん}宮殿^{ながむ}を^{しやう}瞻^{はく}れば、^{きやう}松栢^{くつ}屈曲^{きよく}として^{きやう}風^{ざん}に^{ろう}吟^{かく}じ、^{しん}樓閣^{しん}參差^{しん}と
して^{かづや}日^{だう}に^し輝^{のむ}き、^{まど}道士^{せん}霞^{だう}を^{せん}吞^{だう}の^{つく}窓^{いへ}、^{みざり}仙童^{もと}藥^{もと}を^{もと}搗^{もと}の^{もと}室^{もと}、^{もと}水^{もと}は^{もと}堦砌^{もと}の^{もと}下^{もと}に^{もと}流れ、
山は^{ついがき}牆院^{うしろ}の^{めぐ}後^{めぐ}に^{めぐ}繞り、^{つる}こゝに^{たん}舞^{ちやう}ふ^{ちやう}鶴^{ちやう}、^{りよく}丹頂^{りよく}を生^{りよく}じ、^{りよく}かし^{りよく}こに^{りよく}遊^{りよく}ぶ^{りよく}龜^{りよく}、^{りよく}緑
毛^{まう}に^{ちやう}長^{さん}じ、^{せい}三^{でん}清^の殿^の上^{とり}金^{かね}鐘^{かね}を^し鳴^{せい}し、^{だう}四^う聖^{ちやう}堂^しの^う前^う玉^{ちやう}磬^し響^うて、^{ちん}塵^{ぐわい}外^む無^か何^う有^さの^{さと}郷
なれば、^{こうしん}洪信^{ひたすら}只^{ひたすら}顧^{ひたすら}目を^{いざなは}驚^{きやく}かし、^{しやく}誘^{しやく}引^{しやく}れて^{しやく}客^{しやく}殿^{しやく}の^{しやく}上^{しやく}座^{しやく}に^{しやく}著^{しやく}時^{しやく}、^{ちやう}住^{ちやう}持^{ちやう}遠^{ちやう}路^{ちやう}の
疲^{つかれ}勞^{つかれ}を^{ちやく}慰^{ちやく}め、^{とふ}さて^{こうしん}敕^{こうしん} 諭^{こうしん}の^{こうしん}趣^{こうしん}を^{こうしん}問^{こうしん}に、^{みやこ}洪信^{えやみ}答^{えやみ}て、^{みやこ}(1b)<今^{みやこ}都^{みやこ}に^{みやこ}疫^{みやこ}癘^{みやこ}流^{みやこ}行^{みやこ}して、
死^{すぎ}するもの^{すぎ}十^{すぎ}が^{すぎ}六^{すぎ}七^{すぎ}に^{すぎ}過^{すぎ}たり>、^{みかど}(2b)<これによりて^{みかど}主^{みかど}上^{みかど}ふ^{みかど}かく^{みかど}歎^{みかど}かせ^{みかど}給^{みかど}ひ、
^{ちやう}張^し天^し師^しを^し都^しに^し請^し待^しして、^{しやう}この^{しやう}病^{しやう}難^{しやう}を^{しやう}禳^{しやう}ひ^{しやう}除^{しやう}き、^と民^{たん}の^と塗^{たん}炭^{たん}を^と救^とひ^と給^とは^とんた
め、^{やつ}下^{おん}宦^{つかひ}御^{たま}使^{さん}を^{ちやう}う^{ちやう}け^{ちやう}給^{ちやう}はりて^{ちやう}參^{ちやう}著^{ちやう}せり>、^{ちやう}張^し天^し師^しは^し今^しい^しづ^しく^しに^し在^しす、^{いま}は
や^{たい}く^{めん}對^{めん}面^{めん}いた^{めん}す^{めん}べし、^{ちやう}とい^{ちやう}へ^{ちやう}ば、^{ちやう}住^{ちやう}持^{ちやう}こ^{ちやう}ゝ^{ちやう}ろ^{ちやう}を^{ちやう}得^{ちやう}て^{ちやう}稟^{ちやう}や^{ちやう}う、^{ちやう}當^{ちやう}代^{ちやう}の^{ちやう}天^{ちやう}師^{ちやう}
は^{だう}道^{かう}行^{よう}尋^よ常^{つね}な^{つね}らず、^{たぎ}唯^ぎ清^{よき}を^{よき}好^{よき}み、^{けが}穢^{にく}を^{にく}惡^{にく}み、^{まじ}人^{らふ}と^{らふ}交^{らふ}參^{らふ}も^{らふ}う^{らふ}る^{らふ}さ^{らふ}しとて、
み^{ぜつ}づ^{ちやう}から^{いほり}山^{むす}の^{しん}絶^{しん}頂^{しゆ}に^{せい}菴^{せい}を^{せい}締^{せい}び、^よ常^よに^よ真^よを^よ修^よし、^よ性^よを^よ養^よひ、^よか^よる^よぐ^よしく^よ世^よ間^よ
に^{いで}出^{たま}給^{たま}は^{たま}ね^{たま}ば、^{たやす}容^き易^き見^きえ^き給^きふ^き事^き、^{しば}か^きな^きふ^きべ^きう^きも^きお^きぼ^きえ^きず、^きま^きづ^き且^きく^き休^き足^き
し^{はう}給^{ちやう}へ、^{まゐ}とい^{まゐ}ひ^{まゐ}て^{まゐ}方^{まゐ}丈^{まゐ}に^{まゐ}伴^{まゐ}ひ、^{とき}茶^{とき}を^{とき}獻^{とき}せ、^{すゐ}齋^{りく}を^{ちん}供^みへ、^か水^か陸^かの^か珍^か味^か、^か數^かを

つく もてなせ こうしん ちやうてん し いたゞき たやす まみ
竭して款待ども、洪信は、張天師、山の頂にありて、輒く見えがたし
きい やす
と聞て、その心安からず、ふたゝび住持に對ひていふやう、張天師もし
たうげ さうあん いま よびくだ ちやう ち こたへ てん
巔の草菴に在さば、などて呼下さるやらん、と問ふに、住持答て、天
し
師は山中にありといへども、神通不測にして、或ときは霧に駕雲に乗に、
ふね ざ その いま きはめ さだ
又ある時は峯に坐し谷に遊び、其在す所究て定かならず、この故に
それがしら つね まみ ちよくしよ あた
貧道等も、また平生に見えがたければ、今詔書を賜はるに當りて、これ
いはんや は むかふ
を招きまゐらせんやうなし、況人を走せて呼び迎る事などは、おもひ
みかど びやうなん
もよらず候、(2a)しかれども、主上萬民の病難を救はせ給はん為に、はる
ちよくし くだ ちやうてん し あだしごと たい る いつ
ぐ敕使を下し給ふなれば、張天師も是を他事とは思ひ給はじ、太尉今一
てん まごゝろ つく さい かい もくよく じやう え ちやく ともびと めし
點の誠心を竭し、齋戒沐浴して淨衣を著し、從者は只一人を召つれず、
ちよくしよ せなか お りうかう てがろう かちより のぼ
みづから詔書を脊に負ひ、手に龍香と、手爐をもち、歩行して山に登り、
しんじん らいはい とひたま ちやうてん し みかど おんいつくしみ
信心禮拜してこれを訪給はじ、張天師もまた、主上の御慈の深きと、
たい る まごゝろ あつ たやす まみ
太尉の誠忠の厚きとを感じおぼし、輒く見え給ふ事もありなん、かへす
たい る ばん ぶん くらゐ おこな
ぐも太尉萬民の為に位の高きを忘れ、よくこの事を行ひ給へかし、とい
こうしん きゝ よろこ みやこ いづ しやうじん
ふに、洪信聞て大に歡び、われ京城を出る日より素食して來りしものを、
しんじん おん み こと ば うけ ひき よひ
いかで信心うすかるべき、必ず御身の言葉に従ふべし、と承引つゝ、甲夜
こゝろがまへ みやうにちさうたん おき い ゆあ くしげぶ しらかゆ たう じやう え
よりその用意して、明日早旦に起出で、浴み沐りて白粥を食べ、淨衣
まと ちよくしよ おさめ ふくろ えり か しろかね てがろう
を身み被ひて、詔書を納たる錦の囊を襟に掛け、銀の手爐をうやくし
さいげ あさぐつはき たいげ さし たちいづ
く捧もちて、麻鞋穿しめつゝ、おぼつかなくも只ひとり、巔を投て立出
ちやう ち あまた だうしたち うしろ やまもと ねんごろ
れば、住持は許多の道眾とともに、後の山下まで送りゆき、慇懃にその
みちすぢ さし ひたすら いましめ ふか みち けは
道徑を斥をしへ、なほ只管戒ていふやう、山中は草深くして路いと險し、
ばん ぶん たてたまは いさゝか おこたりあなどる おこ
いよいよ萬民を救ふの功を建給んとならば、聊も怠慢の心を發さず、

よく己を責て登給へ、もし信心忽ならば、とても張天師に對面かなふ
まじ、といひ訖り、遂にわかれて歸りける。洪信は、ひとり香を燒き、天
尊の寶號を唱へ、からうじて山の半まで登りしが、思ひしよりも大山に
て、峰高く溪深く、瀑布は斜に飛び、藤は倒に掛に、虎嘯くとき、風
谷の口に生じ、猿啼ゆふべ、月山の腰に墜ち、青黛千々の玉を染成がご
とくなれば、やうやく身疲こゝろ怠り、しばし停立て思ふやう、われは
是高宦の人なり、京城にありける日は、食ふに鼎を列ね、臥に茵を重
てさへ、なほ倦怠たる身の、淺ましくも布の衣に麻鞋穿、かゝる山路を
たどたどしく、ひとり登るは何事ぞ、抑張天師はいづ地にありて、われ
にからきめ見せ給ふ、と獨言たる折しもあれ、凹なる岨蔭より、一陣の
風さつと起り、その風地上を過るとき、木草みな背向に靡き、忽地一聲
高く吼る、響は山も崩るゝごとく、撲地と跳り出るもの、是白額の虎な
れば、洪信大に驚怕れ、阿呀と叫びて仆るゝとき、件の虎を只見たれば、
毛色は黄金を盈たるごとく、爪は白銀の鉤にひとしく、人を射る眼の光
は、電の閃くかと怪まれ、潤と開口赤くして、血をもる盆に異ならず、
鞭に似たる尾をうち揮り、戟に似たる牙を張り、やがて洪信がほとりに
來りて、右に盤左に旋り、哮こと又一聲、遂に後の山阪を、跳越えて
走り去しかば、

洪信	やゝ	人	ご	こち	つき

て、おそるく身を起し、投捨たる
手爐を拾ひとりて香を燒き、僅に五三十歩行けるが、とかく艱苦に忍び
かね、こゝろの中いよく焦燥ち、われは朝廷の大臣なるに、主上用ひ給ふ
事うすくして、かゝる惡處へ遣され、許多の難義にあはせ給ふは、いか
なる過世の報いぞや、と口の中にてぶつく詈り、いまだ行くこといくば

くならず、風又俄頃に吹起り、毒氣沖りて天を矇め、山邊に繁き竹籐、
簾々と響つゝ、その長十丈あまりの大蛇、鱗は月を流す波瀾よりも晃き、
舌は暗を照らす篝火よりも閃き、草木を靡けてすゝみ來れば、洪信 魂 身
にそはず、眼眩みて倒れけり。されど彼大蛇これを吞まんともせず、身
を轉して蟠り、首を擡舌を長くし、毒氣を洪信が顔に吐ちらして、飽
まで驚し、一溜と走り退て竹籐の裏に入りぬ。洪信はしばし死たるご
とくなりしが、忽地息出て起上り、ふかく住持を怨みて、又獨言けるや
う、彼惡道士、敕使を誑して猛獸多き惡處に償き、かくまで憂目見す
るこそ安からね、われもし張天師に索あはずは、住持をはじめ一山の奴
原、そのまゝにはおくべからず、と且怒り且訃り、又登ゆかんとするに、
松林の背にあたりて、笛の音隱々に響しが、漸々にちかく聞えしかば、
洪信ふかくこゝろ奇み、睛を定めてその方を見れば、一人の童子、黃牛
にうち乗りて、當面に出來けり。其形狀究て俗ならず、頭に兩枚の了髻
を紬ね、身には一領の青衣を被て、笛吹ならし行過るを、洪信喃々と呼
とゞめ、汝われを識りたるか、といへば、童子莞然とうち笑み、笛をも
て、洪信を指していふやう、御身こゝに來たまひしは、張天師に見えま
みらせん為なり、われ今朝菴の中にありて、張天師の前に侍りけるに、
天師物がたり給ひしは、今都のうち疫癘盛に流行り、民落命するもの
甚多し、これによりて、主上洪太尉を敕使として、われを都に招き、三
千六百分、羅天大醮の秘法を修行せて、この病難を禳除給はんと也、し
かねばわれ今、鶴に乗雲を凌ぎ、一瞬の間に都へゆくべしと宜へり、定
て今ごろは都にこそ著給ひつらめ、御身縦千辛萬苦を経て、菴に索ゆ

き給ふとも、張天師^{ちやうてん し}おはしまさねばそのかひもあるまじ、この山^{まう}には猛
獸^{じうどくむし}毒蟲いと多ければ、もしは不慮^{ふりよ}の 悞^{あやまち} あらんも痛^{いたま}し、はやく下山^{げさん}し給
へ、といふに、洪信^{こうしん}ますく疑^{まど}ひ迷^{そらごと}ひ、汝^{たばか}虚言もてわれを誑^{たばか}にはあらぬか、
といふとき、童子^{どうし}は回答^{いらへ}もせず又^{ふえ}笛^{ふき}を吹^ふすさみて、林木原^{しもとばら}にぞ入^いにける。
洪信^{こうしん}その後影^{うしろかげ}を見送^{みおく}りつゝ、つくづく思^{おも}ふやう、彼童子^{かのどうし}、いかにしてよ
くわが上^{うへ}をばしりつらん、そも尋常^{よのつね}の子どもにはあらじ、彼は張天師^{ちやうてん し}命^{おほせ}
を稟^{うけ}て、外^{よそ}ながらその事を示^しせしにや、これをしもなほ疑^{つひ}はじ、終^{まう}に猛
獸^{じう}の腹^{はうむ}に葬^{しあん}らるべし、と深念^{ひき}しつ、こゝより引^もかへして舊^{ふもと}の麓^{ふもと}へ走り下
れば、住持^{ぢう ぢ}は又^{だうしたち}道衆^{いでむか}とともに出^{やが}迎^{ほうぢやう}へ、廳^{いざなひ}て方丈^{ようす}に誘^{ようす}引^{ようす}て、山中^{やうす}の容^{ようす}子^{ようす}を
問^{とふ}に、洪信^{こうしん}忽^{たちまち}地目^{いから}を瞋^{てうてい}し、われ朝廷^{き くわん}の貴^き宦^{くわん}として、ひとりみづから山に
登^{のぼ}りしは、敕^{ちよくぢやう} 詔^{おもし}を重^{ちやうてん し}とし、張天師^{うやま}を敬^{せつ}ふの切^きなるによれり、しかるを
汝^{なん たちかへり}達^{なん たちかへり}却^{ないがしろ}てこれを 蔑^{さき}にし、よくもからきめ見^みせつるかな、嚮^{さき}にわれ山の
半^{なかば}に至^{はくがくさん まう}りし時^{いで}、白額^{おど}錦毛^{たましひ}の虎^{けさ}出^{けさ}てわれを威^{おど}し、しばし 魂^{たましひ}を消^{けさ}せたり、次
に丈餘^{ぢやう よ}の雪花^{しろうはばみ}蛇^{ゆくみち}來^{さへぎ}りて、わが行路^{うん}を遮^{いのち}りどむ、われもし運^{うん}つよく命^{いのち}め
でたからずは、生^{いき}て都^{なん たち}へはよも歸^{あなど}らじ、これ汝^{ひそか}達^{きやう}敕^{きやう}使^しを侮^{あなど}り、潛^{ひそか}に興^{きやう}を
催^{もよほす}とおぼし、いひわけあらばいへ聞^{きか}ん、といきまきあらくいひ懲^{こら}せば、
住持^{ぢう ぢ}大^{めい わく}に迷^{それがし}惑^{ちよくし}し、貧道^{あざむ}などて敕^{ちよくし}使^{あざむ}を欺^{あざむ}き奉^{あざむ}るべき、さるあやしみは、吾^{われく}儕^{われく}
が僻^{ひがごと}事^{ひがごと}せしにはあらず、張天師^{ちやうてん し}密^{ひそか}に太尉^{たい ゑ}の信心^{しんじん}を試^しみ給^{たま}ふなり、彼山^{しんじん}、
猛^{たけ}き獸^{けもの}多^たしといへども、天師^{てん し}の德^{とく}によりて人^{やぶ}を傷^{やぶ}る事^{こと}なし、只願^{いかり}くは怒^{いかり}
を鎮^{しづ}め、憤^{いきどほり}を散^{はら}し給^{たま}へかし、と賠^{わふ}るにぞ、洪信^{こうしん}少^とし心^{しん}解^{じん}け、わが信心^{しんじん}
懈^{おこた}りしにはあらず、かゝる辛苦^{しん く}をも屑^{ものゝかず}とせず、なほ巔^{たうげ}までと登^{のぼ}りゆく
折^ししも、笛^{ふえ}の音^{おと}隱^{しん}々に聞^{きこ}えしかば、こは奇^{あや}しと見^みるところに、一人^{ひとり}の童子^{どうし}

あめ うし 黄牛に乗り、ふき 笛吹すさみて いで きた 出来り、むか われに對ひて いふやう、ちやうてん し 張天師は、
けさ 今朝鶴に のり 乗雲を しの 凌ぎ、ゆき たま 都へとて 往給ひつれば、いほり 菴の中に人もなし、とく
とく げ かう 下向あるべしといひしに まか 任せ、やがて 歸り來れり、とものがたれば、
ぢう ぢ きゝ 住持聞て、 どう じ その 童子こそ ちやうてん し 張天師にて おはすなれ、みし 認り給はぬとは云ひな
がら、まのあたり 眼前もの いひかはして、よそ 外に見なし給ひぬる のこりおほさ 遺憾よ、ひたすら くや と只管悔み
きこ 聞ゆれば、こうしん 洪信さらに まこと 實とせず、ちやうてん し 彼もし 張天師ならば、いとけな などて幼少かる
べき、この事のみは うけ 承がたし、といふに、ぢう ぢ 住持又いふやう、たう だい 當代の天師
は、とう がん せん こん 童顔仙骨にして、とし 年紀いとわかく見え給へども、これは かくぐわい 是格外の人
にして、よも 四方にその 化を くら あらは し給ふ事 久しく、れい げん きはめ 靈驗究て 灼然なれば、世の
人これを たふと 尊みて、だう ふう そ し 道通祖師と となふ 稱るなり、たい ゐ 太尉かならずしも、かるぐしく
見なし給ひそ、といへば、さと り え 洪信やうやく 曉得て、われ まなこ 眼ありながら、まこと
の ちやうてん し 張天師を みし 認めらざりしこそ おろか 愚なれ、いかに せまし、こうくわい 後悔すれば、ぢう ぢ
かさねて、たい ゐ み 太尉御こゝろ やす 安くおぼし給へ、ちやうてん し すで 張天師已に くも 鶴に しの 乗雲を 凌ぎ
て、都へゆかんと のたま 宣ひつれば、今ははや さん だい 参内ありて、おこなひ には 醯事の場に 臨み給
ひなん、しからば たい ゐ き きやう たま ころほひ 及頃には、えやみ 疫癘も さら 褻ひ除き、民み
な かれ 枯たる草の雨にあひしごとくなるべければ、たとひちやうてん し 縦 張天師に たいめん 對面なくて 歸
り給ふとも、さまで うへ おん とがめ 上の御咎も あらじ、まづく きうそく 休息し給へかし、とさま
ぐ いさめ 慰こしらゆるに、おちる 洪信やうやく 心安堵て、ちやくしよ 詔書を ぢう ぢ 住持に わた 遞與しければ、
ぢう ぢ うけ 住持受とりて ごとしよ 御書匣に をさ 收藏め、とき そなへ 齋を 供酒宴を 設けて、いよいよ 彼を もてな 饗應
しけるとぞ。