1. Introduction

*Hentai kambun* 変体漢文 (HTKB): Record Japanese with Chinese characters used for their semantic value.

Text: *Kojiki* 『古事記』 (8th century)

Head-initial Chinese-style order:

(1) 採 其 地 之 青菜
pick [Dem place Gen vegetable]

=> [soko=no awona=wo tumu]$^1$
there=Gen vegetable=Acc pick
'pick the vegetables of that place'

(2) 自 其 地
from [Dem place]

=> soko ywori
there from
'from there'

(3) 吾 欲 取 其 猪。
I [VP want [CP ... [VP take Dem boar]]]

=> Ware [VP [CP ... [VP sono winosisi=wo tora]-mu to] omopu].
I Dem boar=Acc take-Mod C want
'I want to get that boar.'

DP-V-DP order in ditransitives (not found in Chinese):

(4) 名 賜 曙立 王
name give Aketatu prince]

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(He) gave a name to Prince Aketatu, and….’

Proposal 1. HTKB as reflection of underlying head-initial word order
2. Anomalous word orders derived through raising

Main Point: Existing principles of Universal Grammar co-opted to produce HTKB word order.

2. Previous Approach

(5) Ditransitive word order
Chinese: V DP PP (give something to someone)
V DP DP (give someone something)
Kojiki: DP_{Acc} V DP_{Dat}
DP_{Dat} V DP_{Acc}

Classical Chinese ditransitives
(6) 天子 能 薦 人 於 天,
Tianzi neng [jian ren yu tian]
ruler can recommend person to heaven
不 能 使 天 與 之 天下。
bu neng shi tian [yu zhi tianxia]
not can make heaven give 3.Obj world
‘The ruler can recommend someone to heaven, but (he) cannot make heaven give him the world.’

Kojiki ditransitives

DAT V ACC
(7) 於 其 隻人 賜 大臣 位。
(Kojiki, Richu)
to Dem Hayabito give minister rank
=> Sono Hayabito=ni opomayetukimi=no kurawi=wo tamapi.
Dem Hayabito=Dat minister=Gen rank=Acc give
‘(He) gave the Hayabito the rank of minister.’

ACC V DAT
(8) 多 禄 給 其 老 女
(Kojiki, Oryaku)
many thing give Dem old woman
=> Amatano mono=wo sono omina=ni tamapi-te
many thing=Acc Dem old.woman=Dat give-Conj
‘He gave many things to the old woman, and….’
Previous analysis (Aldridge 2001):

(9) a.  VP
     DP=Acc   V’
     V            DP=Dat

b.  VP
     DP=Dat   V’
     V            DP=Acc

Problem 1:
=> What about verb-movement to v?

Evidence for verb-movement:

Preverbal modal marker

(10) 將 入 海 時
     Mod enter sea time
     umi=ni iri-tamapa-mu-to-su-ru toki=ni
     sea=Dat enter-Hon-Mod-C-do-Adnom time=Dat
     ‘when (she) was about to enter the sea’

Classical Chinese:
=> At first glance, seems same as HTKB.

(11) 吾 將 問 之。
     Wu jiang wen zhi.
     I Mod ask 3.Obj
     ‘I will ask him.’

Modal attached to verb:
=> Appears in immediate preverbal position, regardless of its scope.

(12) 自 出雲 將 上 坐 倭國 而
     Mod go.Hon Yamato Conj
     Izumo=from Yamato=Gen country=Dat go-Hon-Mod C do-Conj
     ‘As (he) was about to go to Yamato from Izumo, ….’

Early Middle Chinese:
=> Modal precedes PP
Gong jiang zi dong zheng Bei.
‘Our lord was about to attack Liu Bei from the east.’

Problem 2: Heads breaking into complements
  => Impossible base-generated orders

a. 是 於 河 下
   Dem on river bank
   => kono kapa shimwo ni
   this river bank P
   ‘on this river bank’

b. 所 殺 喬具土 神 之 於 頭
   => korosa-e-si Kagututi=no kamwi=no kasira=ni
   kill-Pass-Past.Adnom K=Gen god=Gen head=Dat
   ‘from the head of the slain Kagutsuchi god’

3. Deciding Between Two New Approaches

3.1. Post-Syntactic Lowering

1. Head-Complement reordering
2. Lowering (Post-syntactic Morphological Merger)

(15) PP 1. Head-final 2. Head-initial 3. Lowering

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{PP} & \text{PP} & \text{PP} \\
\text{PP} & \text{PP} & \text{PP} \\
\text{PP} & \text{PP} & \text{PP} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{DP} & \text{P} & \text{P} \\
\text{P} & \text{DP} & \text{P} \\
\text{P} & \text{DP} & \text{P} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{DP} & \text{D'} & \text{D'} \\
\text{NP} & \text{D} & \text{NP} \\
\text{P} & \text{DP} & \text{NP} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{DP} & \text{D'} & \text{D'} \\
\text{NP} & \text{D} & \text{NP} \\
\text{P} & \text{DP} & \text{NP} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{DP} & \text{D'} & \text{D'} \\
\text{NP} & \text{D} & \text{NP} \\
\text{P} & \text{DP} & \text{NP} \\
\end{array}
\]
Another type of constituent break:

**Lowering into embedded CP coordinate structure**

(16) a. 妾恒通海道欲往来。 (Kojiki, Ho’ori)

I originally[[pass sea way] want [commute]]

=> Are tune=pa umi=tu miti=wo toposi-te

I originally-Top sea=Gen way=Acc pass-Conj

kaywopa-mu to omopi-ki.

commute-Mod C want-Past

‘I originally wanted to continue traveling through the sea and visiting.’

b. 即興軍欲殺。 (Kojiki, Nintoku)

then [[mobilize army] want [attack]]

=> Sunapati, ikusa=wo okosi-te korosa-mu to si-tamapi-ki.

then army=Acc mobilize-Conj attack-Mod C do-Hon-Past

‘(He) then wanted to mobilize the army and attack.’

c.  

Problem for lowering:

=> Break into relative clause

(17) a. 天下者汝非應知國。 (Kojiki, Chuai)

world.below Top [[you not.be should govern] country]
b. 作筌有取魚人。  (Kojiki, Jimmu)
[[set trap exist take fish] person]
=> [Upe=wo puse-te, uwo=wo two-ru pito] ari-ki.
trap=Acc make-Conj fish=Acc take-Adnom person exist-Past
‘There was a person laying fish traps and fishing.’

Lowering Approach: Predicts breaking around RC, not into it.
=> Cannot lower into spec or adjunct of complement.

3.2. Spec-to-Spec Raising

3.2.1. Japanese SOV Basic Word Order

Honda (2002a, b): Japanese as underlyingly head-initial
Head-final order derived by complement-to-specifier raising in functional categories

(19) EPP Parameter
I. Move XP with the relevant feature to the spec of F.  (e.g. English=SVO)
II. Move the complement of F to its spec.  (e.g. Japanese=SOV)
(20) I. 
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  FP
  \( \text{XP} \)
  \( \text{F'} \)
  \( \text{F} \)
  \( \text{YP} \)
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(21) Simple example
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\[ \text{PP [DP Tokyo ] [P' ni tDP ]] }\]
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Tokyo to/in
‘to/in Tokyo’

3.2.2. HTKB : Move Spec (or Adjunct) of Complement

PP Constituent Breaking

(22) a. \( \text{是 於 河 下} \)  
Dem on river bank
\( \Rightarrow \) kono kapa shimwo ni
this river bank P
‘on this river bank’

b. 
```
  PP
  \( \text{DP} \)
  \( \text{P'} \)
  \( \text{Dem} \)
  \( \text{P} \)
  \( \text{tDP} \)
  \( \text{D'} \)
  \( \text{D} \)
  \( \text{NP} \)
```

Ditransitives

(23) a. \( \text{多 禄 給 其 老 女} \)  
many thing give Dem old woman
\( \Rightarrow \) Amatano mono=wo sono omina=ni tamapi-te
many thing=Acc Dem old.woman=Dat give Conj
‘He gave many things to the old woman, and….’

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2 This proposal was originally inspired by a suggestion by John Whitman (personal communication).
b. 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{vP} \\
\text{DP} \quad \text{v'} \\
\text{V+v} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{t}_{DP} \quad \text{V'} \\
<\text{V}> \quad \text{DP}
\end{array}
\]

Coordinate Structures

(24) a. 即 興 軍 欲 殺。 
(Kojiki, Nintoku)
then mobilize army want attack
=> Sunapati, ikusa=wo okosi-te korosa-mu to si-tamapi-ki.
then army=Acc mobilize-Conj attack-Mod C do-Hon-Past
‘(He) then wanted to mobilize the army and attack.’

3.2.3. Raising Beats Lowering

Honda (2002a) on Relative Clauses
(25) [DP [TP Taroo-ga tabeta proi] [D' [CP ringo tTP]]]

T a r o - N o m a p p l e
‘the apple that Taro ate’

Problem for lowering: No way to lower into relative clause

(26) a. 天下 者 汝 非 应 知 国。 
(Kojiki, Chuai)
world Top [[you not.be should govern] country]
=> Ame=no sita=pa imasi=no
Heaven=Gen below=Top you=Gen
sirasu be-ki kuni=ni ara-zu.
govern should-Adnom country=Dat be-Neg
‘The world below is not a country which you should govern.’
b. 作 筐 有 取 魚 人。 (Kojiki, Jimmu)

[[set trap exist take fish] person]

=> Upe=wo puse-te, uwo=wo two-ru pito ari-ki.

trap=Acc make-Conj fish=Acc take-Adnom person exist-Past

‘There was a person laying fish traps and fishing.’

Raising Approach: Predicts possibility of breaking into RC.

=> Spec or adjunct inside fronted TP can be raised.

(27)  a. Raising Embedded Subject=(26a)

b. Raising Embedded Conjunct=(26b)
4. Conclusion

Surface head-initial word order of *Kojiki* HTKB is derived by:

1. Leaving underlying head-initial word order.
2. Raising a specifier or adjunct from the complement.

To read the text in Japanese:

1. Reconstruction of any raised constituents.
2. Raising of entire complement.

Appendix: Extension of the Analysis to a Later Text

10th century text *Shomonki*『将門記』
=> Head-initial word order only (no raising)

1. Ditransitives

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
V & DP & PP \\
\text{(1)} & \text{大分 貞盛 等, 奉命 於公} & \text{Ohomune Sadamori Pl [VP offer life to public]} \\
& \Rightarrow & \text{Ohomune Sadamori ra [VP inochi=wo ohoyake=ni houjite]} \\
& & \text{Ohomune Sadamori Pl life=Acc public=Dat offer} \\
& & \text{‘Ohomune Sadamori offered his life in public service...’}
\end{array}
\]

But: Verb-medial orders also exist

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
DP & V & PP \\
\text{(2)} & \text{具 由 聞 於京都。} & \text{all news hear in Kyoto} \\
& \Rightarrow & \text{Tbusani yoshi=wo Kyoto=ni kiku.} \\
& & \text{all news=Acc Kyoto=Dat hear} \\
& & \text{‘(He) heard all the news in Kyoto.’}
\end{array}
\]

Is this just a random inconsistency?
=> No

Verb-medial order appears only when the preverbal object is related to the preceding context and is typically definite.

Analysis: Scrambling has taken place, moving the object out of VP so it precedes the verbal complex in v.
2. Passives

Classical Chinese JIAN Passive:
=> Agent follows verb

(3) 吾 長 見 笑 於 大方 之 家。 (Zhuangzi, Qiushui)
Wu chang jian xiao yu dafang zhi jia.
I Mod Pass laugh by enlightened Gen person
‘I would have been laughed at by an enlightened person.’

Kojiki passive agents are preverbal.
=> Raise agent from VP to edge of vP

(4) a. 汝 者 我 見 欺。
you Top me Pass deceive
=> Na=pa ware=ni azamuka-e-tu.
‘You have been deceived by me.’

b. 其 身 皮 悉 風 見 吹 折。
Dem body skin all wind Pass blow tear
=> Sono mwi=no kapa kotogotoni kaze=ni puki-saka-e-ki.
‘All the skin on his body was torn by the blowing of the wind.’

Shomonki passive agents are postverbal.
=> Agent remains in VP, following the verbal complex in v.

(5) 將門 被 摺 度 度 之 敵
Masakado Pass [break [many Gen enemy]]
=> Masakado=ha tabi-tabi=no teki=ni kijik-are
Masakado=Top many=Gen enema=Dat break-Pass.Conj
‘Masakado was broken by enemies on many occasions….’

Point: Shomonki HTKB also consistent and accounted for with head-initial word order.

Difference between Kojiki and Shomonki: Spec-to-spec raising only in Kojiki, not in Shomonki.

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