

HENTAI KANBUN AND OLD JAPANESE

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1 Introduction

This paper presents an analysis of word order patterns in the 8th century *hentai kanbun* (変体漢文) text *Kojiki* (古事記). *Hentai kanbun* was one of three ways to write Japanese in the eighth century. Since the beginning of the transmission of Chinese writing to the Japanese islands in approximately the 5th century, Chinese characters were used to record Japanese according to either their phonetic or semantic value. When employed purely for their phonetic value, Chinese characters were used to represent Japanese syllables, one character per syllable, as in the following poem from the 8th century anthology *Manyoshu*.

- (1) 佐欲比賣能 故何 比列 布利斯 夜麻 (MYS 868)
Sayopimye=no kwo=ga pire puri-si yama¹
Sayohime=Gen child=Gen scarf wave-Past.Adn hill
'the hill where the girl Sayohime waved her scarf'

Chinese characters could also be employed for their semantic value. In the following, for example, the middle Chinese *wh*-word 何物 (pronounced 'hewu' in modern Mandarin) is used to represent the Old Japanese *wh*-word *nani*, and the Chinese character for 'person' 人 ('ren') is used for the Old Japanese *pito* with the same meaning. The same is true for the other content words. The main verb *kazasu* is particularly interesting, since it is represented in writing as a compound consisting of two Chinese characters, one meaning 'stick in' 挿 ('cha') and the other meaning 'head' 頭 ('tou'). In the Japanese text, the compound represents a single verb. The interrogative and focus particles *ka* and *mo*, respectively, are represented indirectly but still illustrate the principle at hand. The Chinese character means 'duck' (type of bird). The Old Japanese word for 'duck' is *kamo*. The Chinese character is co-opted to represent the sequence of

¹ Readings are taken from the 1962 edition of the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* 『日本古典文学大系』 (Iwanami Press). Romanizations are based on Old Japanese reconstructions in Frellesvig & Whitman (2008).

particles indirectly through the homonym ‘duck’. Another grammatical particle is the genitive marker on the subject 之 (‘zhi’) used to represent the Old Japanese genitive particle *no*. Finally, the Old Japanese modal suffix *-mu* is represented by the Chinese modal 将 (‘jiang’). As it would in Chinese, the modal precedes the verb stem. Grammatical morphemes used to represent Old Japanese inflectional forms generally appeared in pre-verbal position, where they appear in Chinese. Word order among independent lexical items, on the other hand, follows Old Japanese order. Most notable is that the verbal complex appears in clause-final position, in contrast to Chinese, which has SVO basic word order. (2) illustrates another characteristic of Old Japanese word order not found in Chinese. *Wh*-phrases in Old Japanese always preceded genitive subjects, while internal argument *wh*-words did not generally precede the subject in either Classical or Middle Chinese.

- (2) 何物 鴨 御狩 人之 折而 将挿頭
 Nani=wo ka-mo mi-kari=no pito=no wori-te kazasa-mu?
 what=Acc Q-Foc Hon-hike=Gen person=Gen break-Conj stick.head-Mod
 ‘What should the hikers break off and wear in their hair?’ (MYS 1974)

The third method of writing Old Japanese, *hentai kanbun* (HTKB), also utilized Chinese characters for their lexical semantic value. Additionally, HTKB texts seem to adopt some aspects of Chinese syntax. Specifically, word order generally follows the Chinese model, with verbs and adpositions appearing before their complements. (3a) shows a verb and its complement DP; (3b) shows an adposition and its complement DP. When these are read, the Japanese head-final word order is restored by switching the order of head and complement. This is indicated by the arrow in the examples in this paper. Japanese lexical items are also inserted for Chinese characters, and the phrases are read in Old Japanese.

- (3) a. 採 其 地 之 青菜 (Kojiki, Nintoku)
pick [Dem place Gen vegetable]
 => [soko=no awona]=wo **tumu**
 there=Gen vegetable=Acc pick
 ‘pick the vegetables of that place’
 b. 自 其 地 (Kojiki, Jimmu)
from [Dem place]
 => soko **ywori**
 there from
 ‘from there’

HTKB is not, however, merely a translation into Chinese. There are many types of word order which are not attested in Classical or Middle Chinese, (4) exemplifying one such type. In ditransitive clauses in which both of the objects are overtly expressed, the verb appears between its two internal arguments. The verb in Chinese generally precedes both of its objects. The word order in (4) is likewise not a direct representation of Old Japanese, since the verb does not appear in clause-final position.

- (4) 名 賜 曙立 王 (Kojiki, Suinin)
 name **give** Aketatu prince

=> [_{VP} na=wo [_V [Aketatu=no Opokimi]=ni **tamapi**-te
 name=Acc Aketatu=Gen prince=Dat give-Conj
 '(He) gave a name to Prince Aketatu, and...']

At least since Motoori (1798), there has been an awareness in the field that HTKB texts were not pure Chinese and were in fact intended to be read in Japanese. However, the precise characterization of the texts themselves has remained elusive. The general assumption seems to be that HTKB texts are some sort of hybrid, containing elements of both Chinese and Japanese (Miller 1967; Minegishi 1986; Feng 1995; Uchida 1995; Rabinovitch 1996).

Others treat HTKB texts as primarily Japanese (Tsukishima 1963; Nishimiya 1993; Yamaguchi 1995; Sema 1999). However, systematic analyses of the word order in these texts are few and far between. Nakagawa (1995) and Aldridge (2001) are the only syntactic accounts of word order patterns that I am aware of. In this paper, I propose that HTKB word order was derived from head-final Japanese order by reordering verbs and adpositions to the left of their complements. When the text is read, this process is reversed. I will also show that word order patterns which deviate from Chinese word order are a natural consequence of the reordering process operating on structures generated by Japanese grammar of the 8th century. In this way, HTKB texts can be viewed as Japanese texts; surface resemblance to Chinese is the result of the word order reordering process.

2 Basic Word Order Derivations

In this section, I show that a variety of word order patterns in the *Kojiki* can be derived by the simple ordering process given in (5).

- (5) HTKB Word Order Derivation (preliminary)
 Linearize heads of VP and PP to the left of their complements.

The reordering process is straightforward in the case of a verb and its complement direct object shown in (3a) above. The input is the Japanese utterance on the first line. The order in the text is produced by reordering the verb from its head-final Japanese position to a position immediately to the left of the object, which is order within VP expected in Chinese.

- (6) [_{VP} [_V [soko=no awona]=wo **tumu**]]
 there=Gen vegetable=Acc pick
 => 採 其 地 之 青菜
pick [Dem place Gen vegetable]
 'pick the vegetables of that place'

In the case of a PP, as in (3b), the postposition is reordered to the left of its complement DP, again deriving an order consistent with Chinese.

- (7) [_{PP} [_{DP} soko] **ywori**]
 there from

=> 自 其 地
 [PP **from** [DP Dem place]]
 ‘from there’

In what follows, I consider some word order types which are unexpected in either Classical or Middle Chinese. I argue that these are not simply mistakes in attempting to write Chinese. Rather, they, too, are systematic and follow from the reordering process in (5).

2.1 Systematic Deviation 1: Indefinite subjects

First consider indefinite subjects. In the *Kojiki*, all subjects appear in preverbal position, even when they are indefinite.

- (8) a. 於 頭 者、 大 雷 居 (Kojiki, Izanagi)
 on head Top great thunder.god be
 => Kasira=ni=pa opo ikaduti wo-ri
 head=Dat=Top great thunder.god be-Conj
 ‘On her head was the great thunder god, ...’
- b. 於是 到 氣多之前 時、 裸 兔 伏 也。 (Kojiki, Okuninusi)
 then arrive Ketanosaki when naked rabbit lie Decl
 => Kokoni, ketanosaki=ni itari-si toki
 then Ketanosaki=Dat arrive-Past when
 akapada=no usagi puseri-ki.
 naked=Gen rabbit lie-Past
 ‘When (they) arrived at Ketanosaki, a naked rabbit was lying (there).’

This is true also of the subject in an existential construction.

- (9) a. 火 打 有 其 裏。 (Kojiki, Keiko)
 flint exist Dem inside
 => Pwiuti sono uti=ni ari-ki.
 flint Dem inside=Dat exist-Past
 ‘There was a flint inside it.’
- b. 於是 須佐之男命 以為
 thus Susano’o think
 人 有 其 河 上 (Kojiki, Amaterasu)
 person exist Dem river up
 => Kokoni Susanowonomikoto pito sono kapa kami=ni ari
 thus Susano’o person Dem river up exist
 to omopi-te
 C think-Conj
 ‘Thus, Susano’o thought there was someone upstream.’

This is highly unexpected from the perspective of Chinese, in which indefinites are typically prohibited in subject position. In existential constructions, for example, locative or temporal expressions could appear in preverbal position, as in the Middle Chinese examples in (10).

However, the nominal argument whose existence is being asserted appears postverbally and never precedes the verb.

- (10) a. 村 中 有 好 美 水。 (Baiyujing 4.2)
 Cun zhong you hao mei shui.
 village middle exist good beautiful water
 ‘There was very good water in the village.’
- b. 昔 有 愚 人 養 育 七 子。 (Baiyujing 7)
 Xi you yu ren yangyu qi zi.
 past exist stupid person raise seven son
 ‘In the past, there was a stupid person who raised seven sons.’

Clearly, then, the *Kojiki* examples are not an imitation of Chinese. However, the preverbal position of the subject can be accounted for if we assume that nominative subjects were required to move to [Spec, TP] in Japanese. Therefore, reordering within the VP will not affect the position of the subject with respect to the verb.

- (11) [TP Pwiuti ... [VP *t*_{Subj} [v' [sono uti=ni] **ari-ki**]]
 flint Dem inside=Dat exist-Past
 => 火打 有 其 裏。
 flint **exist** Dem inside
 ‘There was a flint inside it.’

2.2 Systematic Deviation 2: Passive agents

Another anomalous type of word order is the position of agents in passive constructions. These always precede the verb in the *Kojiki*.

- (12) a. 汝 者 我 見 欺。 (Kojiki, Okuninushi)
 you Top me **Pass.deceive**
 => Na=pa ware=ni azamuka-ye-tu.
 you=Top me=Dat deceive-Pass-Perf
 ‘You have been deceived by me.’
- b. 其 身 皮 悉 風 見 吹 折。 (Kojiki, Okuninushi)
 Dem body skin all wind **Pass.blow.tear**
 => Sono mwi=no kapa kotogotoni kaze=ni puki-saka-ye-ki.
 Dem body=Gen skin all wind=Dat blow-tear-Pass-Past
 ‘All the skin on his body was torn by the blowing of the wind.’

Classical Chinese also formed passives with the morpheme 見 *jian* seen in the examples above. But in Chinese, the agent in this type of passive always follows verb.

- (13) 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.’

The position of the agent in the *Kojiki* examples in (12) is again unsurprising from the perspective of the reordering process deriving word order in the HTKB text. In the case of a passive construction, regardless of whether the agent is treated as an argument in [Spec, vP] or as an adjunct in the verbal domain, it will not be located in the verb’s complement position. Reordering will consequently not change its position with respect to the verb.

- (14) Na=pa [vP ware=ni [vP *t*_{Top} **azamuka-ye-tu**]]
 you=Top me=Dat deceive-Pass-Perf
 => 汝 者 我 見 欺。
 you Top *me* **Pass.deceive**
 ‘You have been deceived by me.’

2.3 Systematic Deviation 3: *Wh*-phrases

Next, I turn to the position of *wh*-phrases. There are examples in the *Kojiki* in which a *wh*-phrase precedes the subject.

- (15) a. 何 由 汝 泣 伏？ (Kojiki, Okuninushi)
what from you cry lie.down
 => **Nani=no ywosi=ni=ka na=ga naki-puseru?**
 what=Gen reason=Dat=Foc 2s=Gen cry-lie.down
 ‘Why are you lying here crying?’
 b. 何 汝 兄 久 不 參 出。 (Kojiki, Keiko)
what you brother long.time not Hum.come.out
 => **Nanisikamwo imasi=no irose=pa piasiku mawi-de-zaru?**
 why you=Gen brother=Top long.time Hum.come-out-Neg
 ‘Why has your brother not come out in a long time?’

According to Nomura’s (1993) generalization, Old Japanese *wh*-phrases were required to precede genitive subjects.

- (16) Nomura (1993)
 XP_{Top} ... YP_Q ... DP_{Gen} ... V_{Adnom}

Classical and Middle Chinese *wh*-phrases, on the other hand, had to follow the subject. (17) shows examples from Middle Chinese.

- (17) a. 汝 何 故 哭? (Baiyujing 11)
 Ru [he gu] ku?
 you what reason cry
 ‘Why are you crying?’
- b. 汝 何以 自 毀? (Baiyujing 96)
 Ru heyi zi hui?
 you why self mutilate
 ‘Why did you mutilate yourself?’

The position of *wh*-phrases in the *Kojiki* also falls out naturally, however, given the derivation of Old Japanese *wh*-questions. Following Yanagida (2006), who proposes that Old Japanese genitive subjects remain in their base positions in [Spec, *v*P], Aldridge (2009) proposes that Old Japanese *wh*-movement targeted a clause-medial focus position above *v*P. This accounts for Nomura’s observation that Old Japanese *wh*-phrases preceded genitive subjects in Old Japanese. Regarding the HTKB word order, since *wh*-phrases move to a position external to VP, their position will be unaffected by reordering of the verb within VP.

- (18) Nani=no ywoshi=ni=ka [_{VP} na=ga [_{VP} naki-puseru]]?
 what=Gen reason=Dat=Foc 2s=Gen cry-lie.down
 => 何 由 汝 泣伏?
 what from you **cry-lie.down**
 ‘Why are you lying here crying?’

2.4 Section Summary

In this section, I have examined several types of word order in the *Kojiki* which deviate from Classical and Middle Chinese. I have shown that the deviations are not the result of random errors in attempting to write Chinese. Rather, these patterns are systematic and can be straightforwardly derived from Old Japanese by switching the order of head and complement within VP and PP. In the following section, I consider verb-medial word order in ditransitive constructions. This construction warrants a minor revision to the analysis present above but likewise shows HTKB word order to be systematically derived from Japanese of the 8th century by the same process or head-complement order reversal.

3 Ditransitives

In this section, I propose an analysis of word order in ditransitive clauses of the type briefly discussed in (4) above. As mentioned in section 1, ditransitive clauses in the *Kojiki* deviate from the expected word order in Chinese. Chinese (Classical, Middle, as well as modern) has a dative construction, in which the direct object is a DP and the indirect object a PP. Chinese also has a double object construction, in which both objects are packaged as DPs. (19) shows examples of each type.

- (19) 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.’ (Mencius 9)

It is possible for the direct object to precede the verb, but this in turn is preceded by the object marker *yi*. This is the precursor of the modern Chinese disposal construction using *ba*². The archaic Chinese equivalent was *yi*. I gloss it below as ‘object marker’ for convenience³.

- (20) 天子 不 能 以 天下 與 人。
 Tianzi bu neng yi tianxia [yu ren].
 ruler not can OM world give person
 ‘The ruler cannot give the world to someone.’ (Mencius 9)

In middle Chinese, PPs also frequently appeared preverbally.

- (21) 於 樓上 得 一 磨 石。
 Yu loushang [de yi mo shi]
 P upstairs obtain one sharpening stone
 ‘He got a sharpening stone upstairs.’ (Baiyujing 18)

This could be taken to the Chinese model for the order seen in the following *Kojiki* example.

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

What is unexpected from the standpoint of Chinese is the word order type seen in (23), in which the direct object appears unmarked before the verb. This is another example of the type seen above in (4).

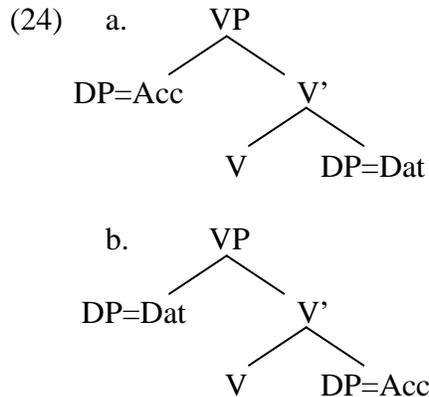
- ACC** **V** **DAT**
 (23) 多 祿 給 其 老女
 many thing give Dem old woman
 (Kojiki, Oryaku)

² For discussion of the modern Mandarin disposal construction the reader is referred to Li and Thompson (1981), Cheng (1988), Sybesma (1999), Bender (2000), among many others.

³ Note that glossing *yi* as an object marker is not intended as an endorsement of any particular analysis of *yi*. Precise analysis of the disposal construction is immaterial to the discussion at hand which merely offers the empirical observation that nontopicalized objects could appear preverbally in this construction.

=> Amatanō 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....’

Aldridge (2001) proposes the analysis shown in (24) to account for verb-medial word order in *Kojiki* ditransitives. Aldridge claims that word order in the *Kojiki* reflects underlying head-initial word order in which the verb surfaces in its base position in VP. Following Miyagawa (1997), Aldridge assumes that the two objects can be base merged in either order, one as the verb’s complement and the other in the specifier position.



Even if we do not assume underlying head-initial word order for Japanese, the positioning of the verb between its two internal arguments is also predicted by the reordering rule proposed above in (5). Specifically, the verb will be positioned to the left of its complement, but its specifier will remain to its left.

However, regardless of whether underlying head-initial or head-final order is assumed, there is an immediate concern with this structure in that it does not allow for the word order in the text to reflect verb-movement to out of VP. What I propose here is that reordering must target *v*P and not VP. First, I present evidence that verb-movement to *v* is reflected in the text. This evidence comes from the fact that verbs appear fully inflected in the text. (25) shows an example of the Old Japanese modal suffix *-mu*. An example of this modal was seen above in (2).

(25) 将 入 海 時 (Kojiki, Keiko)
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’

(26) shows an example of this modal in Classical Chinese. The modal is written with the same Chinese character *jiang* expressing future modality. As in the *Kojiki* example in (25), the modal immediately precedes the VP.

- (26) 吾 將 問 之。 (Analects 1)
 Wu **jiang** wen zhi.
 I Mod ask 3.Obj
 ‘I will ask him.’

However, in the *Kojiki*, the character representing this modal always appears in immediate pre-verbal position and is never separated from the verb.

- (27) 自 出雲 將 上坐 倭國 而 (Kojiki, Okuninushi)
 from Idumo **Mod** go.Hon Yamato Conj
 => Idumo=ywori Yamato=no kuni=ni nobori-masa-mu to si-te
 Izumo=from Yamato=Gen country=Dat go-Hon-Mod C do-Conj
 ‘As (he) was about to go to Yamato from Izumo,’

Note in particular that the modal follows a PP in (27). (28) shows an early Middle Chinese example with a similar type of PP. In both Middle and Classical Chinese, this modal was a free morpheme and occupied a specific syntactic position high within the TP structure (Wei 1999 and Aldridge 2010). Crucially, for the purposes at hand, this modal precedes a PP of the type seen in (27).

- (28) 公 將 自 東 征 備。 (Sanguozhi 1.1)
 Gong **jiang** [zi dong] zheng Bei.
 lord Mod from east attack Liu Bei
 ‘Our lord was about to attack Liu Bei from the east.’

The contrast between (27) and (28) can be accounted for if we assume that the verb appears in the *Kojiki* with inflections like the modal suffix attached to it. This entails that either the verb has moved to the position where the modal is base merged or that the verb has moved at least high enough in the structure where it is visible to the probe which can value inflectional features on the verb. I assume, then, that verbs in the *Kojiki* have moved to *v*, where they are located in the edge of the *vP* phase and are therefore accessible to probes in the inflectional domain immediately dominating *vP*.

A second example comes from causative constructions. In the *Kojiki*, causative verbs follow agentive causees.

- (29) 思金神 令思 而 (Kojiki, Amaterasu)
 Omoikanenokami **Caus.think** Conj
 => Omopikanenokamwi=ni omopa-sime-te
 O=Dat think-Caus-Conj
 ‘(They) had Omoikanenokami think, and....’

This is again unexpected from Chinese, in which the causative marker is a free morpheme, preceding the causee, which intervenes between the causative verb and the embedded predicate.

- (30) 云何 能 令 是 麥 茂 好? (Baiyujing 82)
 Yunhe neng **ling** shi mai [mao hao]?
 how can make this wheat dense rich
 “How can you make this wheat dense and rich?”

The discrepancy between Chinese and HTKB can again be accounted for if we assume that the causative marker in the Japanese text represents an affix on the verb. This suggests in turn that the embedded verb has raised to the position occupied by this morpheme, specifically the matrix v .

In light of the preceding discussion, I revise the word order derivation proposed in section 2. Taking verb movement to v into account, I propose that it is not VP but rather v P which is the domain in which reordering of the verbal complex takes place.

- (31) HTKB Word Order Derivation (final)
 Linearize heads of v P and PP to the left of their complements.

An immediate problem seems to arise, however, for ditransitive word order in the *Kojiki*. Given verb movement to v , reordering according to (31) should place the verb before both internal arguments, rather than between them.

This problem is dispensed with, however, by an additional characteristic of Old Japanese word order. Yanagida (2006) and Yanagida and Whitman (2009) argue that definite or specific objects and raise obligatorily to the edge of v P in Old Japanese. A bare object with a nonspecific interpretation appears in immediate preverbal position. Note that the object follows the genitive subject in (32a). Yanagida and Whitman (2009) assume that these objects are incorporated to the verb. The definite object in (32b), however, raises to a position preceding the genitive subject. Yanagida (2006) proposes that this is an instance of object shift to the edge of v P.

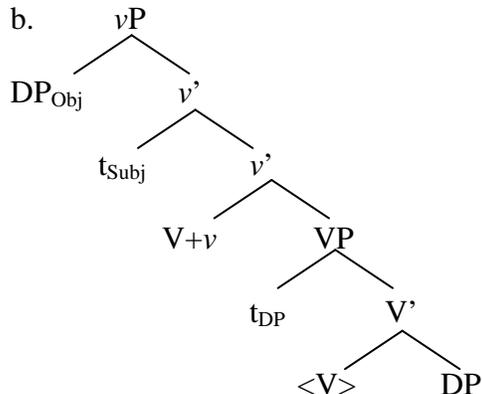
- (32) a. 佐欲比賣能 故何 比列 布利斯 夜麻 (MYS 868)
 Sayopimye=no kwo=ga **pire** puri-si yama
 Sayohime=Gen child=Gen scarf wave-Past.Adn hill
 ‘the hill where the girl Sayohime waved her scarf’
 b. 蜻野叩⁴ 人之 懸者
 [CP [_{VP} **Akidu nwo**=wo [_v pito=no [_{VP} *t_{Obj}* kakure-ba]]]] (MYS 1405)
 Akizu field=Acc man=Gen speak.of-when
 ‘When a man speaks of the moorland of Akizu...’

Given the above considerations, verb-medial order in ditransitives in the *Kojiki* can easily be incorporated into the analysis developed so far. Since Old Japanese structure provides input to the encoding process, I assume that the verbal complex resides in v . The first step in the encoding process is the reordering of heads and complements, according to the revised rule in (31). This will result in $V+v$ being linearized to the left of VP. If no movement had taken place from VP, internal arguments will follow the verb. However, one of the objects will in fact surface to the left of the verb as a consequence of either object shift or incorporation. If one of the objects is specific (or phrasal), it will undergo object shift to the edge of v P. This object will

⁴ The character in the text is slightly different, composed of a mouth and a blade.

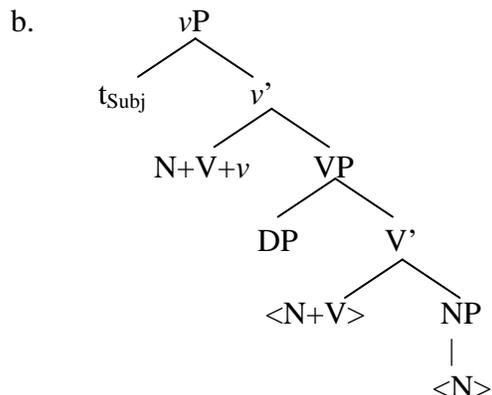
appear preverbally in the text, since it is located in a specifier of vP , just to the left of the reordered verb.

- (33) a. 多 禄 給 其 老 女 (Kojiki, Oryaku)
 many thing **give** Dem old woman
 => Amatanō 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....’



If the direct object is bare and nonspecific, then it will achieve preverbal position via incorporation to the verb. The preverbal position is accounted for, since the object will move with the verb to v .

- (34) a. 名 賜 曙立 王 (Kojiki, Suinin)
 name **give** Aketatu prince]]
 => [vP na=wo [v [Aketatu=no Opokimi]=ni **tamapi-te**
 name=Acc Aketatu=Gen prince=Dat give-Conj
 ‘(He) gave a name to Prince Aketatu, and....’



The medial positioning of the verb in ditransitive constructions can now be seen as a consequence of either object shift or incorporation, which has raised one of the objects into the edge of vP , where it will precede the verb even after reordering has taken place. In this way,

word order types seen in HTKB which deviate from Chinese can be seen to result from structural properties of Old Japanese.

Let me point out that this proposal also fairs better than Nakagawa (1995). Nakagawa accounts for verb-medial order in ditransitives in the *Kojiki* by claiming that verbs were placed between the two objects in order to distinguish them. Though this functional approach seems to account for word order in ditransitives, it does not account for other patterns in the *Kojiki*. For example, it does not extend to passives, in which two arguments appear preverbally, while the verb itself occurs in clause-final position. If the purpose of verb placement were to delimit arguments, then we would expect the verb to appear before the subject and the agent.

- (35) a. 汝 者 我 見欺。 (Kojiki, Okuninushi)
 you Top me **Pass.deceive**
 => Na=pa ware=ni azamuka-ye-tu.
 you=Top me=Dat deceive-Pass-Perf
 ‘You have been deceived by me.’
- b. 其 身 皮 悉 風 見吹折。 (Kojiki, Okuninushi)
 Dem body skin all wind **Pass.blow.tear**
 => Sono mwi=no kapa kotogotoni kaze=ni puki-saka-ye-ki.
 Dem body=Gen skin all wind=Dat blow-tear-Pass-Past
 ‘All the skin on his body was torn by the blowing of the wind.’

4 Extension to a Later Text

By Early Middle Japanese of the 10th century, specific objects were no longer required to move to [Spec, vP]. In (36), an object marked with the case-marker *wo* follows a subject marked with *ga*.

- (36) Kaguyahime tefu oho nusubito=no yatu=ga
 Kaguyahime be.called big villain=Gen bitch=Gen
hito=wo korosa-mu to suru nari-keri.
 person=Acc kill-Mod C do Cop-Past
 ‘That bitch of a villain Kaguyahime was trying to kill people.’ (Takatori)

I show in this section that this change in the natural language is also reflected in the word order of the 10th century HTKB text *Shomonki* 『将門記』. At first glance, it appears that the *Shomonki* is not a fully HTKB text. It seems to include some of the anomalous word order types found in the *Kojiki*, in which a PP or dative constituent follows the verb but a direct object precedes the verb. This is reminiscent of the word order of ditransitives in the *Kojiki*, in which the verb never precedes more than one internal argument.

- (37) 具 由 聞 於 京都。 (Shomonki)
 all news **hear** in Kyoto
 => Tubusani yosi=wo Kyoto=ni kiku.
 all news=Acc Kyoto=Dat hear
 ‘(He) heard all the news in Kyoto.’

On the other hand, there are also orders like (38) which appear to follow the Chinese model. In other words, the verb precedes both the direct object and the PP.

- (38) 玄明 試聞 此 由 於 將門。 (Shomonki)
 Haruaki try ask this matter P Masakado
 => Haruaki kokoromini kono yosi=wo Masakado=ni kiku.
 Haruaki tentatively this matter=Acc Masakado=Dat ask
 ‘Haruaki tentatively put this matter to Masakado.’

This apparent inconsistency is easily resolved, however, in light of the word order change which has taken place from Old to Early Middle Japanese. Specific objects were no longer required to undergo object shift. Likewise, bare nonspecific objects were presumably also not required to incorporate to the verb. In short, the positioning of objects was freer in Middle Japanese, as it is in Modern Japanese⁵. I assume then that the preverbal object in (37) has achieved its position by scrambling to the edge of ν P. Thus, when $V+\nu$ is reordered to the left of VP, the verb will follow an object which has been scrambled. But it will precede a constituent which remains in VP.

- (39) [TP DP_{Subj} [ν P DP_{Obj} t_{Subj} V+ ν [VP t_{Obj} [VP t ν PP]]]]

In contrast, scrambling has not taken place in (38); both internal arguments remain in their base positions in VP. Thus, when reordering takes place, the verb will precede both the dative and accusative objects.

- (40) [TP DP_{Subj} [ν P t_{Subj} V+ ν [VP DP [VP t ν PP]]]]]

In this way, the discrepancy between the two HTKB texts *Kojiki* and *Shomonki* can be seen to follow from properties of language encoded by each of these texts.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have proposed that word order in the 8th century *hentai kanbun* text *Kojiki* can be understood as having been systematically derived from Old Japanese and not as a poor imitation of Chinese. The surface similarity between the text and contemporary Chinese is the result of the derivation process proposed in this paper, which reverses the order between head and complement within PP and ν P. In most cases, this yielded an ordering identical to the corresponding phrase type in either Classical or Middle Chinese. The true advantage of this analysis, though, is to show that word order types in the text which deviate from Chinese are also a natural consequence of the word order reversal process, together with structural characteristics of Japanese of the 8th century.

⁵ Note further that the difference between DP-V-PP and V-DP-PP orders in the *Shomonki* cannot be due to definiteness or specificity. The object in both (37) and (38) is definite and refers to a situation described in the immediately preceding context.

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