Hentai Kambun and Universal Grammar
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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:

V  DP
(1) 採 其 地 之 青菜 (Kojiki, Nintoku)
pick [Dem place Gen vegetable]
=> [soko=no awona]=wo tumu\(^1\)
there=Gen vegetable=Acc pick
‘pick the vegetables of that place’

P  DP
(2) 自 其 地 (Kojiki, Jimmu)
from [Dem place]
=> soko ywori there from
‘from there’

V  CP … V  DP
(3) 吾 欲 取 其 猪。 (Kojiki, Ohojin)
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):

DP  V  DP
(4) 名 賜 曙立 王 (Kojiki, Suinin)
name give Aketatu prince]

\(^1\) 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).
Proposal  Anomalous word orders derived through raising

2. Previous Approach

(5) Ditransitive word order

Chinese:  
\[
\text{V DP PP} \quad \text{(give something to someone)}
\]
\[
\text{V DP DP} \quad \text{(give someone something)}
\]

Kojiki:  
\[
\text{DP}_{\text{Acc}} \text{ V DP}_{\text{Dat}}
\]
\[
\text{DP}_{\text{Dat}} \text{ V DP}_{\text{Acc}}
\]

Classical Chinese ditransitives

(6) ~ (Mencius 9)

Kojiki ditransitives:

(7)  
\[
\text{DAT} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ACC}
\]
\[
to \text{Dem Hayabito} \text{ give minister rank}
\]
\[
\Rightarrow \text{Sono Hayabito}=ni \text{ opomayetukimi}=no \text{ kurawi}=wo \text{ tamapi}.
\]
\[
\text{Dem Hayabito}=\text{Dat minister}=\text{Gen rank}=\text{Acc give}
\]
\[
\text{‘(He) gave the Hayabito the rank of minister.’}
\]

(8)  
\[
\text{ACC} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{DAT}
\]
\[
\text{many thing} \text{ give Dem old woman}
\]
\[
\Rightarrow \text{Amatano mono}=wo \text{ sono omina}=ni \text{ tamapi-te}
\]
\[
\text{many thing}=\text{Acc Dem old.woman}=\text{Dat give-Conj}
\]
\[
\text{‘He gave many things to the old woman, and…’}
\]
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) 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’

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

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

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

(12) 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, …’

Early Middle Chinese: Modal as free morpheme
=> Modal precedes PP
Problem 2: Heads breaking into complements

\[ \Rightarrow \text{Impossible base-generated orders} \]

3. Revision: Spec-to-Spec Raising

Input: Output of Japanese syntactic computation

Process: Heads linearized before complements

Anomalous word orders derived by raising

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

Ditransitive \([_{vP} \text{DP} \text{DP}]: \quad V^+v\) linearized to the left of VP.

First object raised to \([\text{Spec,}_vP]\).

(17) a. 多 禄 給 其 老 女  \(\text{(Kojiki, Oryaku)}\)

many thing give Dem old woman

\[ \Rightarrow \text{Amatano mono=wo sono omina=ni tamapi-te} \]

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).
Compare with Nakagawa (1995): Verb-medial order to disambiguate the two objects.

\[ \Rightarrow \text{Accounts for ditransitive clauses} \]

But: Not for PPs.

\[ [\text{PP Dem P NP}] \text{ accounted for by raising: Linearize P to the left of DP.} \]

\[ \text{Raise [Spec, DP] to [Spec, PP].} \]

(18) a. 是於河下  
\( \text{Dem on river bank} \)  
\( \Rightarrow \text{kono kapa shimwo ni} \)  
\( \text{this river bank P} \)  
\( \text{‘on this river bank’} \)

b.   PP  
\[ \text{DP} \]
\[ \text{P'} \]
\[ \text{Dem P DP} \]
\[ \text{tDP D'} \]
\[ \text{D NP} \]

3.3. Raising From Relative Clause

True challenge for Aldridge (2001) and Nakagawa (1995)

Chinese and Japanese are both prenominal relative languages.

Raising analysis of relative clauses (Honda 2002a)

(19)  
\[ [\text{DP [TP Taroo-ga tabeta pro]} [\text{D’ [CP ringo tTP]}]] \]
\( \text{Taro-Nom ate apple} \)
\( \text{‘the apple that Taro ate’} \)
Subject raised from relative clause to matrix [Spec, vP]:

(20) a. 天下者汝非應知国。 (Kojiki, Chuai)

world Top [[you not.be should govern] realm]

=> Ame=no sita=pa imasi=no
Heaven=Gen below=Top you=Gen
sirasu be-ki kuni=ni ara-zu.
govern should-Adnom realm=Dat be-Neg

‘The world below is not a realm which you should govern.’

b. vP

Conjunct CP in relative clause raised to matrix [Spec, vP]

(21) a. 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.’
Like the PPs, Nakagawa (1995) would have nothing to say about these RCs. These RCs also could not be a direct reflection of underlying word order (as per Aldridge 2001).

**But:** Raising accounts for all types of anomalous word orders (ditransitives, PPs, RCs).

### 4. Interim Conclusion

Surface word order of *Kojiki* HTKB is derived by:

1. Linearizing heads before complements. (deriving head-initial WO)
2. Raising a specifier or adjunct from the complement. (deriving head-medial WO)

Reading of the text in Japanese involves:

1. Reconstruction of any raised constituents.
2. Linearizing heads after complements. (deriving Japanese surface head-final WO)

**Nice bonus:** These are existing processes of Universal Grammar.

### 5. Extension of the Analysis to a Later Text

10th century text *Shomonki*『将門記』

=> Head-initial linearization only (no raising)
5.1. Ditransitives

Verb typically precedes both objects (unlike *Kojiki*):

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
V & DP & PP \\
\end{array}
\]

(22) 大分 貞盛 等，奉 命 於 公 (Shomonki)

Ohomune Sadamori Pl [VP offer life to public]

=> Ohomune Sadamori ra [VP inochi=wo ohoyake=ni houjite]

Ohomune Sadamori Pl life=Acc public=Dat offer

‘Ohomune Sadamori offered his life in public service....’

Head-initial word order: [vP ... V+V [VP DP tV PP]]

But: Verb-medial orders also exist (like the *Kojiki*)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
DP & V & PP \\
\end{array}
\]

(23) 具 由 聞 於 京都。(Shomonki)

all news hear in Kyoto

=> Tubusani yoshi=wo Kyoto=ni kiku.

all news=Acc Kyoto=Dat hear

‘(He) heard all the news in Kyoto.’

=> Scrambling (preverbal object related to preceding context, typically definite)

Analysis: [vP ... DP V+v [VP tDP tV PP]] (Initial V+v still precedes object in vP spec.

5.2. Passives

Classical Chinese JIAN Passive:

=> Agent follows verb

(24) 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

(25) a. 汝 者 我 見 欺。 (Kojiki, Okuninushi)

you Top me Pass deceive

=> Na=pa ware=ni azamuka-e-tu.

you=Top me=Dat deceive-Pass-Past

‘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
All the skin on his body was torn by the blowing of the wind.

*Kojiki* passive derivation: \([\text{TP DP } [\text{vP PP V+} [\text{vP tPP } [\text{vP tv tDP }]]]]\)

*Shomonki* passive agents are postverbal.

=> Agent remains in VP, following the verbal complex in v.

(26) 將門 被 摺 度度之敵  
Masakado Pass [break [many Gen enemy]]  
=> Masakado=ha tabi-tabi=no teki=ni kujik-are  
‘Masakado was broken by enemies on many occasions….’

*Shomonki* passive derivation: \([\text{TP DP } [\text{vP V+} [\text{vP PP tVP tV tDP }]]]]\)

**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*.

**Appendix: Failure of Post-Syntactic Lowering**

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

=> Accounts for \([\text{PP Dem P NP}] \text{ and ditransitive NP V NP}\)

(2) a. 是 於 河 下  
(Kojiki, Suinin)  
=> kono kapa shimwo ni  
‘on this river bank’

b. 1. Head-final  2. Head-initial  3. Lowering
Ditransitives

(2) a. 多禄給其老女
   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….’

b. 1. Head-final  2. Head-initial  3. Lowering

Problem for lowering:
=> Breaking into relative clauses

(3) a. 天下者汝非應知国。
   world.below Top you not.be should govern country
=> Heaven=Gen sita=pa [imasi=no 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. 作筌有取魚人。
   [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.
References
Nakagawa, Yukari (1995) Kojiki no Kufuu: Mokutekigo (o-kaku) o Meiji Suru Tame ni (Innovation in the Kojiki -- to Clarify the Direct Object (Accusative Case)), in Buntaishi, Gengo Seikatsushi, Kooza Kokugoshi, vol. 6, Taishuukan, Tokyo
Nishimiya, Kazutami (1993) Kojiki no Kenkyu (Research on the Kojiki), Oofuusha, Tokyo


