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〈原著論文〉

# Head-Initial Order Negative Constructions in Old Japanese

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古代日本語における主部先頭語序否定構文

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古代日本語における否定構文は、Kato (2000, 2002) や Whitman (2005) によって、統語的な研究が進められてきた。現代日本語が一般的に主部後続型言語であると論じられているのに対して、これらの先行研究では、古代日本語の否定構文の中には主部先頭型の構造として分析できるものがあると論じられている。

Kayne (1994) による LCA は、言語が主部先頭構造を原則的にとることを主張したよく知られた仮説である。古代日本語に主部先頭型構文が観察されることは、この観点から興味深い現象である。比較統語論では、世界の言語は調和型 (harmonic type) と非調和型 (disharmonic type) とに分れることが Biberauer, Holmberg, and Roberts (2007) など論じられている。古代日本語が非調和型の言語であるとする、日本語は非調和型から調和型の言語に変化したと説明される。

本研究は、古代日本語の否定構文の中から否定命令構文「な…そ」と否定可能構文「え…ず (否定語)」を統語的に分析した。近年、文の左側要素が Cinque (1999), Rizzi (1997, 2004) などによって精力的に分析されている。本研究も、特に古代日本語のこれらの構文の左側に現れる要素の語序に着目し、これらの構文を非調和型言語に関する制約 FOFC に基づいた主部先頭型構造として分析する。

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**Key words;** head-initial structure, disharmonic language, old Japanese, negative construction, diachronic syntax

## 0 Introduction

Modern Japanese has been generally recognized as a head-final language. However, we can observe some phenomena in Old Japanese which show head-initial order constructions. We will examine two constructions of negative expressions in this paper and make it clear that OJ has a mixed or disharmonic

head-complement order through analysis according to the Final over Final Constraint (FOFC).

## 1 The *na...so* Construction

The *na...so* construction in OJ was used for the negative imperative. The corresponding relation of *na* and *so* is well-known to traditional grammarians. However, its construction has not been studied from the viewpoint of syntactic structure.

### 1.1 Ordering of the left periphery elements of the *na...so* Construction

We will examine the ordering of elements in the *na...so* construction. First, observe the order of transitive verbs and their object DPs in the following sentences. The verbs preceding *so* take the conjunctive form, or *renyou-kei*, which functions as an infinitive. We will refer to this inflectional form in a later section.

- (1) Aki-ha Afusaka Yama-wo kiri na hedate so  
 fall-TOP Afusaka Mountain-ACC fog NEG screen IMP  
 'In fall, the fog doesn't screen Mount Afusaka' (*Genji: Sakaki*)

The DP object in (1) is marked by the accusative case particle *wo*. However, it is not immediately adjacent to *na*. The bare DP *kiri* comes to the position preceding it.

- (2) Kono higagoto na tuneni notamahi so  
 this wrong thing NEG usually say IMP  
 'Don't say this wrong thing!' (*Genji: Yuugiri*)  
 (3) Hitori tuki na mi tamafi so  
 lonely moon NEG watch HON IMP  
 'Don't see the moon in a lonely way!' (*Genji: Yadorigi*)

The DP objects in (2) and (3) are marked by no case particles. We can generalize that usually no DP objects immediately adjacent to *na* are marked by the accusative case particle *wo* in *Genji*.

In contrast to the lack of occurrence of the accusative *wo*-marked DPs, the DP objects accompanying the adverbial particles *ha* and *mo* occur as in the following sentences:

- (4) Tamamo-ha    **na**    kari **so**.  
 Seaweed-TOP NEG reap IMP  
 'Don't reap the seaweed!' (*Genji: Makibasira*)
- (5) Hitotu kuti-ni koto-ha    **na**    maze-rare **so**  
 one-mouth    thing-TOP NEG mix-Hon IMP.  
 'Don't lump the issues together!' (*Genji: Tokonatu*)
- (6) Sukizukisisa-mo    hito    **na**    togame **so**.  
 amorousness-PRT people NEG blame IMP  
 'Don't blame the amorous!' (*Genji: Suma*)

The DP objects in (4) and (5) are immediately adjacent to the verbs. However, in (6), the DP subject intervenes between the DP object and the verb as (1) above.

In OJ, the accusative case particle *wo* could additionally be marked by *ha* and the sequence of *wo* and *ha* is pronounced as *wo-ba* as in the following sentence:

- (7) Wagami-no kefu-wo-ba        **na**    omohi **so**.  
 self            today-ACC-TOP NEG think IMP.  
 'Don't think of your immediate profit!'

The *wo-ba* form indicates that the DP marked by *wo* can move to the position where it is marked by *ha*.

## 1.2 Conjunctive Form or *Renyou-kei* from the Morphosyntactic Point of View

The verbs which are adjacent to *so* take the conjunctive form, or *renyou-kei*, as their inflectional forms. This form should be regarded to function as an infinitive form. The Japanese verb inflection system has an imperative form, and the conjunctive form does not carry the present tense by itself.

*Na* can also function as a negative imperative by itself when it is placed in the final position in a sentence, as in the following sentences:

- (8) Maki-no        hasira-ha    ware-wo wasur-u-**na**  
 cypress-GEN pillar-TOP me-ACC forget-PRES-NEG-IMP  
 'You, cypress pillar, don't forget me!' (*Genji: Makibasira*)

The verb *wasuru* takes the conclusive form, or the *shushi-kei*, in (8). This is a finite form and is merged with the present tense marker (*r*)*u*, i.e. the stem *wasur* merges with the tense marker *u*. *Wasur* is postulated to appear in the head position of TP, and takes the conjunctive form. In contrast, the verbs in the *na...so* construction remain in the head positions of the VP.

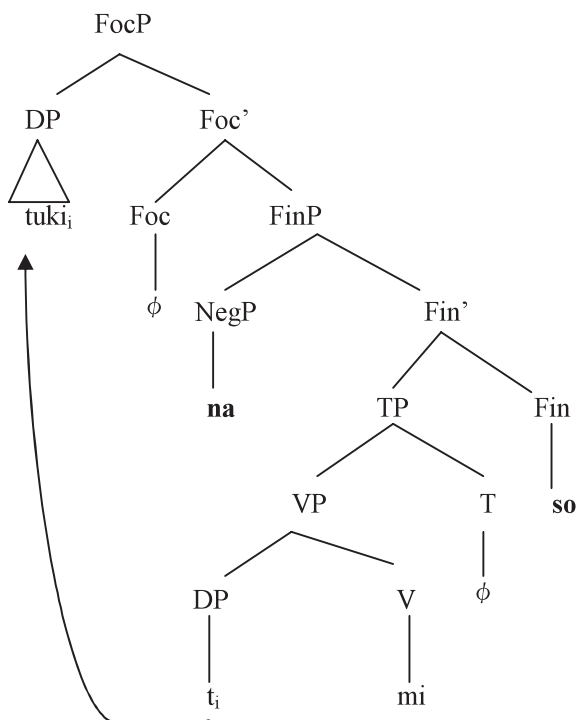
We will explain the difference between the verb forms *na* and *so*. The sentence-final *na* occupies the head position of FinP<sup>(1)</sup>, as in (8). *So* also occupies the head position of FinP, as in (1)–(7) above. However, the former takes the conclusive form and the latter the conjunctive. We will postulate that the Head Movement of V is in the Head position of TP for the sentence-final *na* construction.

We will give a tentative explanation of the inflectional form that the verbs in *na...so* construction take. They should take conjunctive forms as infinitives via a sort of morphosyntactic process in the original position.

### 1.3 Head-Initial Order of NegP

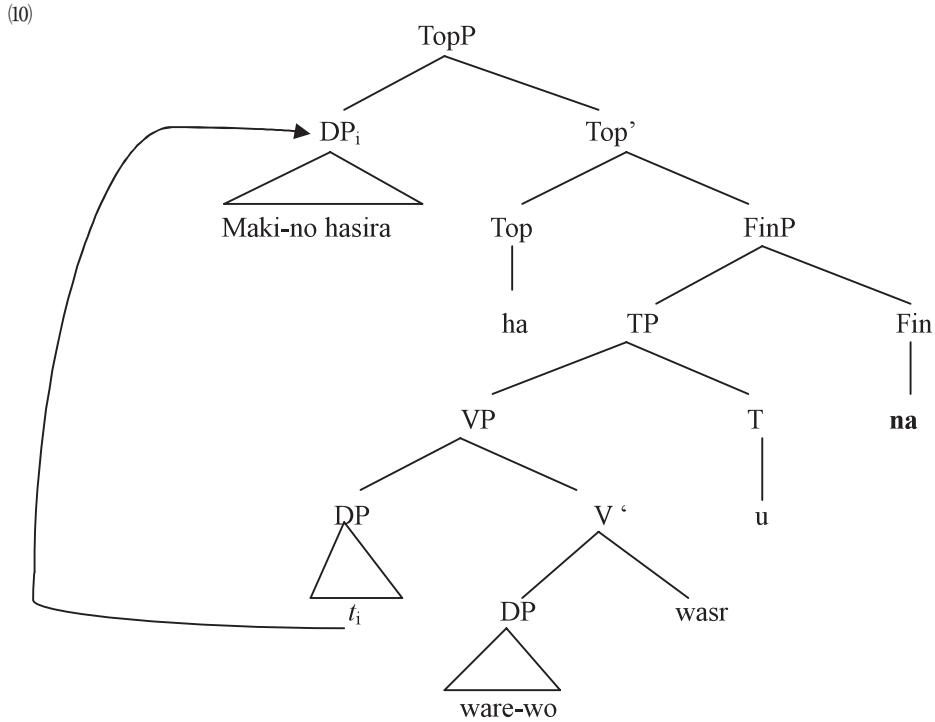
We will illustrate the structure of *na...so* construction on the basis of the above analysis. The structure of (3) will be represented as in the following configuration:

(9)



The *vP* structure is not depicted in (9) to make the PM above simpler, because it is irrelevant to the discussion here.<sup>(2)</sup> The DP *tuki* moves to the spec-FocP position via the *vP*, which is omitted in (9).

We will illustrate the structure of the counterpart of negative imperative constructions, i.e. the sentence-final *na*. The configuration of (8) is as follows:



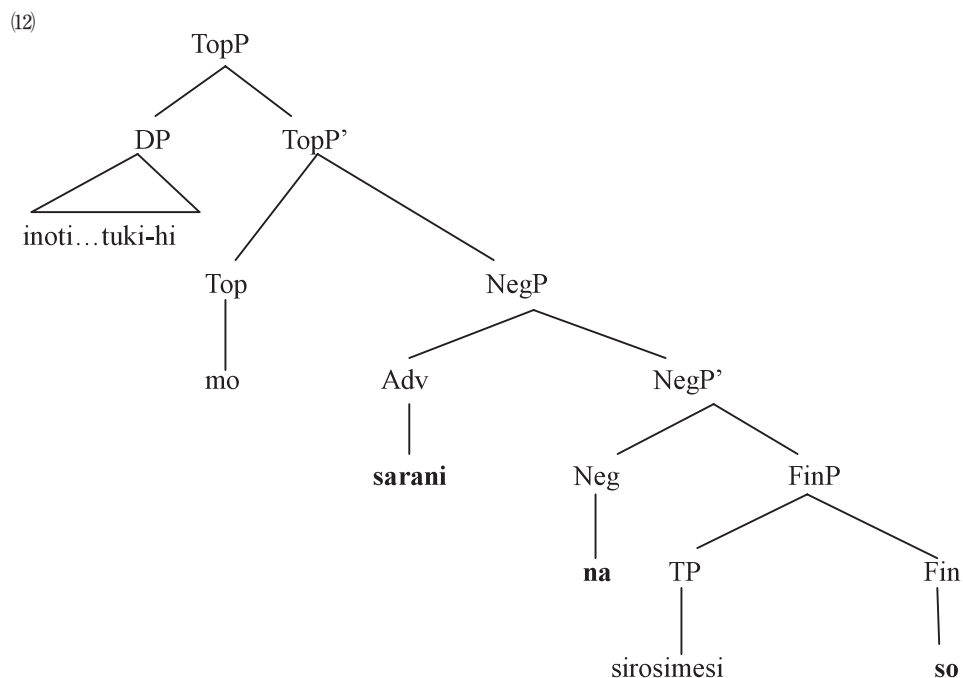
The sentence-final particle *na* functions as a negative imperative marker and occupies the FinP head position as in (10). The *vP* structure is not depicted in (10) to make the PM above simpler, for the same reason mentioned above. The DP used in the spec-TopP position has moved from the VP complement position where it originally occurred.

#### 1.4 Co-occurrence with Negative Polarity Adverbs in *na...so* Construction

*Sarani* is a well-known negative polarity adverb. It co-occurs with, *na* as in the following sentence:

- (11) Inoti wohara-mu tuki-hi-mo sarani na sirosimesi so.  
 life end-MOD month and day-PRT never NEG know Imp  
 'Never get to know when my life will end!' (*Genji: Wakana I*)

*Sarani* should agree with *na* in order to be licensed. Thus, it should occupy the spec-NegP position. We will illustrate the configuration of (11) as (12) below.



*Sarani* should be assumed to occupy in the spec-NegP position to agree with *na*, since negative polarity items should be licensed by the agreement with negative items in head positions.

We observe an interesting datum in *Genji monogatari*, where the negative polarity adverb *kaketemo* follows *na*, as follows:

- (13) Kano ohon-koto na kakete-mo ihi so  
 those prefix-things NEG Never-PRT tell IMP  
 'Never tell those things (to anyone)!' (*Genji: Ukifune*)

If the linearization of these negative polarity adverbs is correct, the probe-goal relation between *na*

and *so* will be blocked by the MLC (chomsky 1995) effect, since *kakete-mo* and *so* have negative features. If we assume that only the closest element can have a probe-goal relation with *na*, *so* cannot.

Some texts<sup>(3)</sup> for this part change order between *na* and *kakete*, as follows:

- (14) Kano ohon-koto **kakete na** ihi so

We have observed that the negative polarity adverb *sarani* occupies the spec-NegP position as in (12). *Kakete* also occupies the spec-NegP position in (14), where it can agree with its head *na*. The MLC effect can be avoided, since they do not intervene between *na* and *so* in (14). Thus (14) should be more appropriate than (13).

## 2 The *e...(a)z* Negative Potential Construction

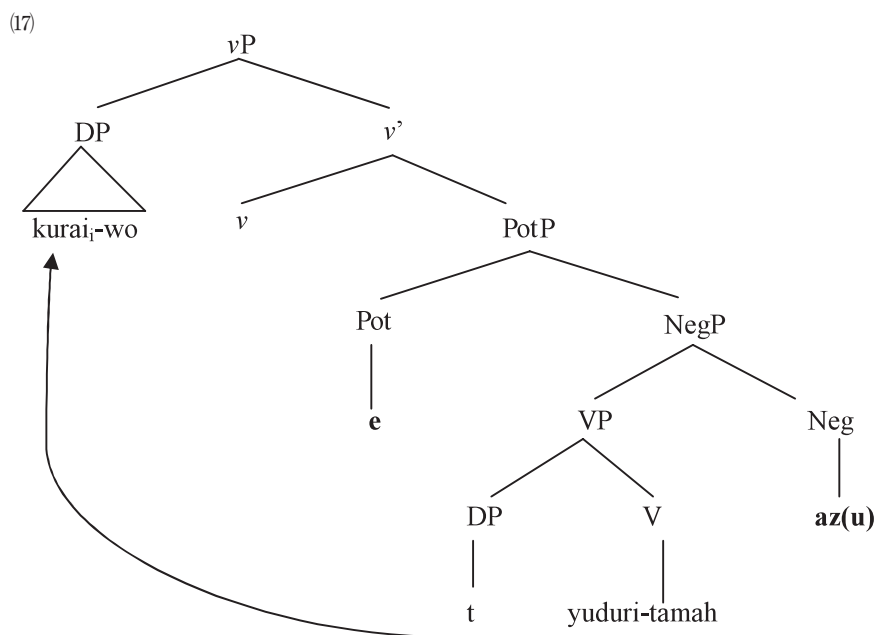
### 2.1 Object DP Movement

The *e...(a)z* (Neg) construction in OJ was used in a negative potential expression as in the following sentence:

- (15) Yononaka-wo habakari-te kurai-wo e yuduri tamah-**azu**  
 the world-ACC consider-CONJ throne-ACC POT abdicate HON-NEG  
 ‘(The Emperor) considered the world, (he) could not abdicate the throne.’ (*Genji: Fūjinouraha*)
- (16) Namida-wo e sekitome-**zu**  
 Tear-ACC POT dam up-NEG  
 ‘(He) cannot hold back his tears.’ (*Genji: Wakana II*)

The object DPs preceding *e...(a)z* construction in most of the examples from *Genji* don’t occupy the adjacent positions of verbs. We stipulate that *e* subcategorizes negative phrases. We will tentatively postulate the configuration for (15) to be as follows:





If we adopt the theory that DPs are concatenated with verbs to form VPs through a 'Merge,' they must occupy the position adjacent to verbs.<sup>(4)</sup> Then, the object DP moves into the *vP* to check the case feature, which is indicated by the accusative case marker *wo*. Some details which are not related to our concern here, in the above figure, are omitted; e.g. the honorific morpheme *tamah(a)* may be treated as an independent auxiliary verb.

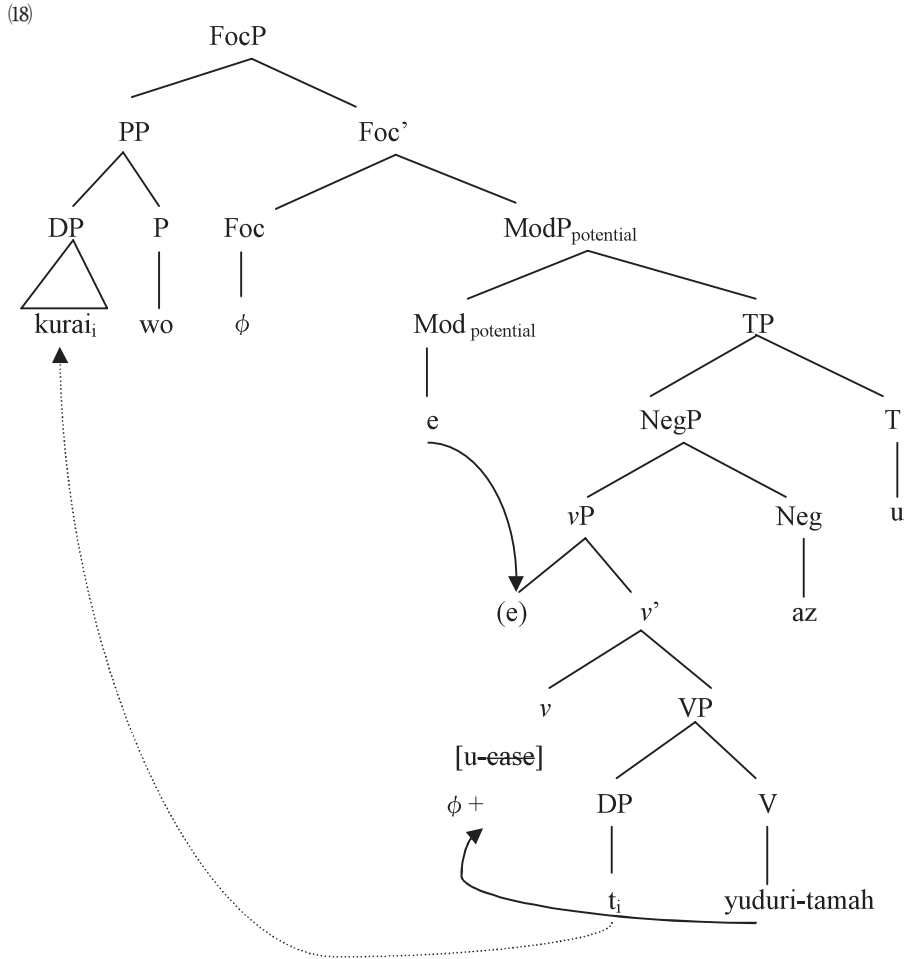
This analysis follows the FOFC; however, it actually ends with an undesirable result, since a VP shell analysis has been proposed for the case-checking domain; however, a potential and a negative phrase intervene between *vP* and VP. The *vP* should immediately dominate the VP, and this analysis is no more than an ad-hoc one. We will modify this analysis in the next section.

## 2.2 The Revised Analysis: the Case Absorption Effect

We face a difficult problem in the previous analysis, illustrated in (17). If we cannot postulate that the potential phrase comes between the *vP* and the VP, how we can explain the fact that the object DPs both precede the potential *e* and follow it?

We should postulate a mechanism which moves the object DPs outside of the *vP* in order to explain this fact. Case absorption analysis has been assumed for Japanese passive constructions. The object DPs cannot have checked off case features in *vPs*; thus, they should move to positions where they can do so. We will modify the previous analysis (17) and illustrate this modification as

follows:



The FocP head  $\phi$  in (18) means that it is spelled out not in its phonetic form, but as a null form.

The  $vP$  head  $v$  is deprived of the ability to check the case feature by the case absorption effect of  $e$ , which is lowered to the spec- $vP$  and c-commands in a sort of Affix Movement (Pollock 1989). Whitman (2005) pointed out the fact that  $e$  is always adjacent to the following verb. This adjacency condition can be explained through our analysis.

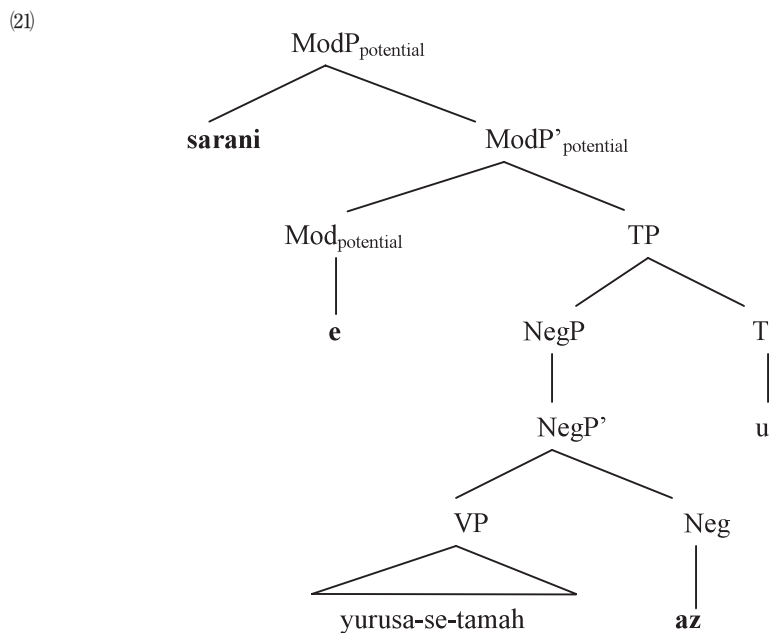
Thus the object DP should be moved to the PP outside of  $vP$ , because the spec- $vP$  has already been occupied by  $e$  and there is no place for it to check off the case feature; the accusative postpositon *wo* should have the ability to check it off.<sup>(5)</sup>

### 2.3 Negative Polarity Adverbs

The negative polarity adverb *sarani* co-occurs with *e... (a)z(u)* as well as with *na...so*, which we observed in the previous section.

- (19) **Sarani** *e* yurusa-se tamah-az-u  
 at all POT allow-SUFF HON-NEG-PRES  
 ‘(The emperor) could not allow (it).’ (*Genji: Kiritubo*)
- (20) ... **sarani** *e* sinobiahe-sase tamah-az-u  
 ... at all POT endure-SUFF HON-NEG-PRES  
 ‘... (The emperor) could not endure (the grief).’ (*Genji: Kiritubo*)

We will postulate that *sarani* comes to the spec-ModPpotential position as in the following configuration:



The NPI requirement should be satisfied with the probe-goal relation between *e* and *(a)z*, and between *sarani* and *(a)z* simultaneously. However, supposing that the probe-goal relation between *e* and *(a)z* is once established, the NPI requirement cannot be satisfied, because *e* will intervene between them and block *sarani* from having such a relation with *(a)z*. The derivation will be

crushed by the defect. Instead, we should assume that *sarani* in the spec position and *e* in the head position can have the probe-goal relation with negative *(a)z* simultaneously.

## 2.4 *Kakari-muzubi* Construction and *e*

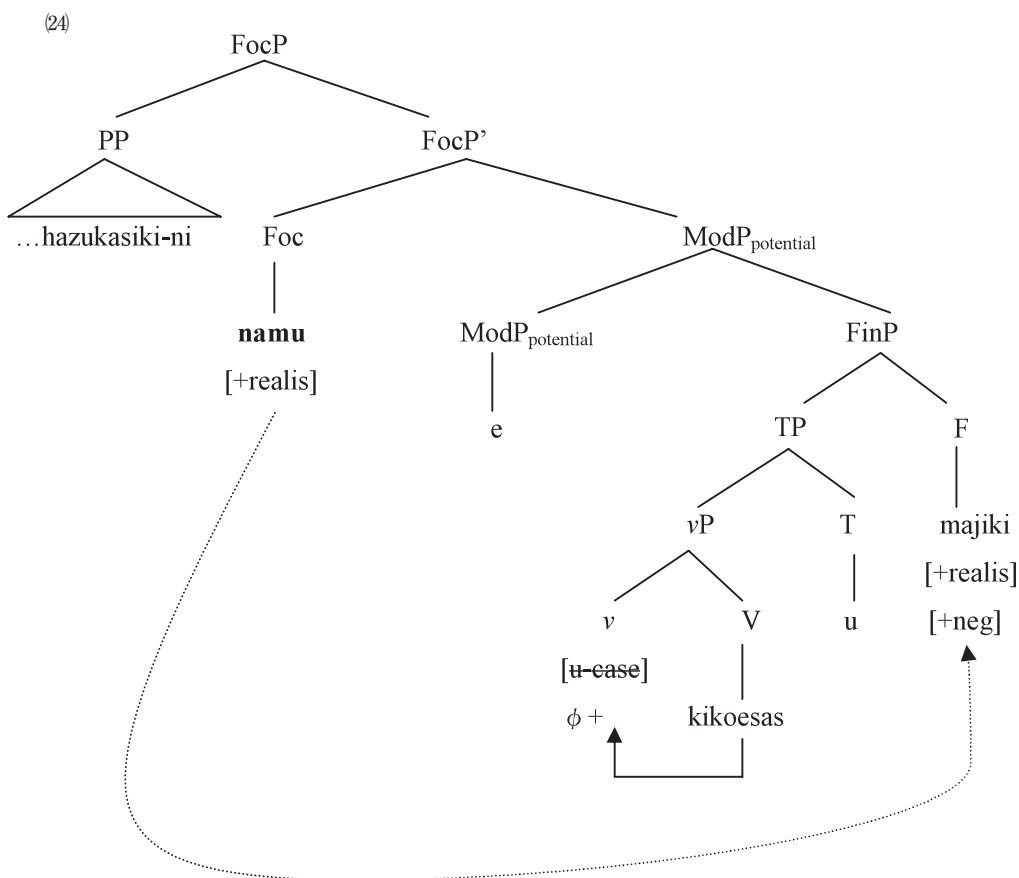
The *kakari-muzubi* phenomenon changes the conclusive form whose arguments or adjuncts it is attached to, to the attributive or realis forms of the predicates. This phenomena is caused by the *kakari* particles, i.e. *zo*, *namu*, *ya*, and *koso*, which are emphasis markers.

*Namu* and *koso* in the following examples precede *e* and make their corresponding predicates the attributive form in (22) or the realis form in (23). The sentence-final predicate is the auxiliary verb *maji* ‘must not’ which incorporates the negative feature, and it takes the attributive or realis form in (22) and (23) respectively.

- (22) ... hazukashiki-ni **namu** *e* kikoesasu **majiki**  
 ... diffidence-by EMPH POT tell must-not  
 ‘... (I) can’t talk because I am too diffident ...’ (*Genji: Utusemi*)

- (23) ... turaki yukari-ni **koso** *e* omohihatu **majikere**  
 ... hard affinity-by EMPH POT eternally-love must-not  
 ‘That (Lord Genji) must not eternally love her is a difficult fate.’ (*Genji: Utusemi*)

We can postulate that the *kakari* particles and the corresponding predicates have probe-goal relations, and the phi features carried by the *kakari* particles are copied in the corresponding predicates. Thus we will have a configuration for (22) as follows:



Some auxiliary verbs e.g. *keri*, *ki*, should occupy the T position in OJ. Thus we can postulate that the verb in the VP remains in the original position, and the present tense marker *u* occupies the T position.

As for *e* in the ModP, it can be driven to move to the spec-FocP position by the *kakari* particles; the case absorption effect is still valid as illustrated in (18), since the object DP moves outside the DP, as in the following example:

- (25) ... mai-no wonoko-domo-mo ... kokosiu namameitaru sudi-wo  
 ... dancing men-PL-TOP innocently beautiful essence-ACC  
 e namu mise nu  
 POT EMPH show NEG

‘... the professional dancers ... cannot show the innocently beautiful essence.’ (*Genji: Momidinoga*)

We can speculate that the DP marked by the accusative *wo* was driven to move to the spec-FocP position after *e* has absorbed the ability of *v* to check off the case feature.

If we postulate that the case absorption effect explains the movement of the object DP, the adjuncts in the VPs do not need to move outside the VP where they occur. We can verify this assumption with the following example.

- (26) Kotai-no                      amagimi-ha                      waka-miya-wo *e*                      **kokoronodokani**  
 conservative-SUFF Buddhist lady-TOP young-princess POT    anxiously  
 mi tatematura **nu** ...  
 see OBJ-HON    NEG  
 ‘The conservative Buddhist lady cannot see the young princess without anxiety.’ (*Genji: Wakana II*)

The adverb *kokoronodokani* follows *e* and remains within the VP, since it does not need to move outside the VP in order to have checked off its case feature.

## 2.5 Linearization of the Order for the *e...(a)z* construction

We have examined the order of the elements which occur in the *e...(a)z* construction. We can postulate their order through the above analyses. The linearization schema which this order is related to will be as follows:

- (27) TopP > FocP > ModP<sub>potential</sub>(*e*) > VP > NegP(*na*, (*a*)*z*) > TP > FinP

## 3 Conclusion

We have analyzed the two negative constructions in OJ in relation to linearization of the elements which occur in them. We can postulate a head-initial order for them and the movement of the elements in order to explain the linearization of the constructions.

We hypothesize that OJ is a partial head-initial language, or a disharmonic one, from the point of view of the negative constructions that we analyzed in this paper. Japanese is speculated to have changed historically from a partial head-initial or disharmonic language to a unified head-final or harmonic one. The details of the time course of the change are problems to pursue much further.

## Note

- (1) Rizzi (1997) elaborated CP into several different projections. FinP was proposed as one of them.
- (2) Whitman (2001) analyzes the movement of the DP *tuki* in (9) as Head movement of the VP containing it to the Spec FinP after verb raising. Though he doesn't seem to adopt *vP* shell in his PMs, it needs to be postulated for his analysis. Since FinP is the complement of TP in his analysis, the structure will violate the FOFC.
- (3) According to Ikeda (ed.) (1985: 1871), the two texts classified *Beppon* (other branches of texts) have the word order as in (14).
- (4) To be precious, the adjacent condition on verbs and their arguments may not be required for Japanese. Instead, the thematic structures of verbs will take a role of licensing of the arguments. However, the arguments still must occur within the domain of VPs even under such assumption.
- (5) There seem to be no places where PP can appear except in the spec-FocP position. Supposing the concerned DP is moved to the spec-TP position, the accusative case marker *wo* cannot occupy the position. In addition to that, the position has already been occupied by the *pro*.

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