

ISSN 1341-2000

THE
JOURNAL
OF
HUMANITIES

Vol. 27

2021

THE INSTITUTE OF HUMANITIES
MEIJI UNIVERSITY

THE JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES
MEIJI UNIVERSITY
VOLUME 27 March 31, 2021

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The Institute of Humanities, Meiji University
1-1 Kanda-Surugadai Chiyoda-ku Tokyo 101-8301
TEL 03-3296-4135 FAX 03-3296-4283
ISSN 1341-2000
PRINTED IN JAPAN

THE JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES
MEIJI UNIVERSITY
VOLUME 27

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An Edition of the Old English *Orosius*, Book 6 (the C Text)

ISHIGURO Taro

An Edition of the Old English *Orosius*, Book 6 (the C Text)

ISHIGURO Taro

The Old English version of Orosius

Orosius tells us that he wrote the seven books of the *Histories against the Pagans* (*Historiae aduersus paganos*) at the request of St. Augustine of Hippo.¹ This Latin work is thought to have been composed sometime between 415 and 420. It purportedly aims to supplement *The City of God* (*De ciuitate dei*) that Augustine was writing to refute those who claimed that the world had been suffering a series of disasters because the Roman Empire had accepted Christian teachings. Orosius was commissioned to write a universal history of the world from the Creation to the fourth century, using whatever sources that were available to him.² He was to show that the world before Christianity had not been a happier place than that after Christ's coming and that people could have been able to enjoy peace if they had not neglected the Christian faith. Orosius was living in the times when the Roman Empire was collapsing due to the invasions by barbarian tribes. His work became one of the classic universal histories that were widely read throughout the Middle Ages.³

Someone translated Orosius's *Histories* into English at the end of the ninth or at the beginning of the tenth century. Since William of Malmesbury attributed the Old English version to King Alfred the Great, the king's authorship had long been believed until the 1970s.⁴ The Old English work is extant in the following four manuscripts:

London, British Library, Additional 47967
 London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. Hist. e. 49 (30481)
 Vatican City, Reg. Lat. 497, f. 71

The manuscripts housed in the Bodleian Library and in Vatican are fragments. The other two manuscripts in the British Library have mainly been used for the study of the Old English work. It is customary among scholars to refer to the Additional MS as MS L, and the Cotton MS as MS C, according to Janet Bately's edition.⁵ MS L and MS C are dated to the early tenth and the early eleventh centuries, respectively. The L text is older and closer to the estimated date of composition, but it contains a lacuna.

The previous editions of the Old English *Orosius*

The Old English version has been edited since the late 18th century. The following six editors have published their editions of the Old English *Orosius*:

Daines Barrington (1773)
 Benjamin Thorpe (1853)
 Joseph Bosworth (1858)
 Henry Sweet (1883)
 Janet Bately (1980)
 Malcolm R. Godden (2016)

The first three editors used the C text for their editions because the manuscript does not have the lacuna which the other manuscript contains, and probably because they were able to use a transcript of the C text prepared with notes by Francis Junius in the 17th century. Barrington and Thorpe used archaic fonts that imitated the script of the manuscript and added no notes to the text. Bosworth on other hand presented his text in today's Roman type with textual notes. Sweet adopted the older of the two manuscripts as his base manuscript, supplementing the lacuna with the C text. His edition only contains the edited Old English text with corresponding passages from Orosius's Latin. He seems to have intended to present his notes to the text along with the Modern English translation in his promised second part of the edition, which never appeared. Bately prepared a full critical edition of the L text in 1980, which has been the standard edition of the Old English version ever since. Godden's edition in the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library series is the first edition of the C text since Bosworth's 1858 edition. His edited text aims more at readability and accessibility than at the meticulousness that is expected in a more scholarly edition. There are a number of cases where manuscript readings have silently been altered. Godden's edition is not thus up to a linguistic study of the Old English text though the smooth translation of the text compensates the lack of good Modern English translation for Bately's edition.⁶

The present edition

The present research project, supported by the 2018–2019 Individual Research Grant from the Institute of Humanities, has aimed at making an edition of the C text that can be used for a linguistic study of its Old English. I have decided to confine this edition to book 6 of the Old English *Orosius* because the research had to finish at the end of the two-year period given to the project and a limit is set for the length of this research paper. This final book of the Old English work corresponds to the last two books of the Latin original and deals with the history after the ascension of Emperor Augustus, and thus the history of the Christian era. Its Latin original contains passages copied by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*.⁷ The language of book 6 is relatively free from that of the Latin as two books of the latter are condensed into

one book.

To facilitate the comparison with the L text, the edited text is presented in the same manner as Janet Bately's EETS edition. Paragraph division, word division, and punctuation are the same except where the corresponding sequence is missing in the other text. The *apparatus criticus* is provided in the notes. The manuscript uses both the *e caudata* and the *æ* digraph; the former is represented by the letter *ę* in the text. All suspensions and abbreviations are silently expanded while the Tironian note 7 and Roman numerals in the manuscript are retained.

Notes

- * I would like to thank two anonymous referees for the Institute of Humanities for their useful comments and suggestions.
1. Orosius was traditionally called "Paulus" Orosius. The praenomen is now thought to have originated in a mistake by Jordanes, who expanded the abbreviation "p" after "Orosius" as "P[aulus]" instead of "p[resbyter]" (Fear 1; Vilella 94). The standard edition of the *Histories* is now the Budé edition by Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet.
 2. See Orosius's own words in the Prologue 9–16 (Arnaud-Lindet 8–9). Orosius's main sources are those abridged histories by Justin, Florus, and Eutropius. He also seems to have read major classical authors like Caesar, Sallust, Tacitus, and Suetonius (Fear 15). Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus has been edited by Otto Seel; Florus's by P. Jal; and Eutropius's by Carlo Santini.
 3. Orosius may have remained a widely read author well into the 18th century. Theodor Mörner observed in 1844: "Vix ullus veterum auctorum tantam auctoritatis suae vicissitudinem subiisse videtur, quam Orosius. Cuius nomen hodie raro tantum memoratur, post cuius historiarum editionem recentissimam plus centum praeteriere anni, idem erat quondam notissimus, celeberrimus" (1) ("It seems that hardly any one of the ancient authors has undergone such vicissitudes of their authority as Orosius. His name is mentioned only occasionally today after more than a hundred years have passed since the last edition of his *Histories*, though he was once both the best known and the most popular author" [my translation]).
 4. "Denique plurimam partem Romanae bibliothecae Anglorum auribus dedit . . . cuius precipui sunt libri Orosius . . ." ("He made a great part of Latin literature accessible to English ears . . . The chief titles are Orosius . . ."; Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom 192–93). For the authorship of the Old English version, see the articles written by Janet Bately and by Elizabeth Liggins.
 5. MS L has also been referred to as the Lauderdale or Tollemache MS after its previous owners, John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale, and the Tollemache family (Ker 166).
 6. I presented a list of discrepant readings between Godden's edition and the manuscript in the appendix to my review of his edition.
 7. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors note that "there is little that is original" in Bede's description prior to Augustine's mission to England and that several chapters after chapter 2 in book 1 have been taken mainly from Orosius (xxx). Chapters 3 to 9 mostly consist of Orosius's words. See my article on the corresponding passages in the two works ("Orosius").

Sigla

Bately = Janet Bately, ed., *The Old English Orosius*

C = London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i

L = London, British Library, Additional 47967

l.h. = later hand

om. = omitted

\. . ./ = letters written above the script line

[. . .] = letters supplied by the editor

VI. i

^[97r] Nu ic wulle, cwæð Orosius, on foreweardre þisse vi bec gereccean þæt hit þeah Godes bebod wæs, þeah hit strang wære, hu emlice þa feower anwealdas þara feower heafodrica þisses middangeardes gestodon. Þæt æreste wæs on Asirium, on þam eastemæstan anwealde, on Babylonia þære byrig. Seo gestod tuwa seofon hund wintra on hire anwealde, ær heo gefeolle, fram Ninuse heora ærestan cyninge oþ Sarþanopolum heora nehstan: þæt is [i]iii⁸ hund wintra 7 an m. Þa Cirus benam Babylonia hire anwealdes, þa ongan ærest Romana weaxan. Eac on þam dagum wæs þæt norðemeste micliende on Mæcedoniam. Þæt gestod lytle [leng]⁹ þonne vii hund wintra fram heora ærestan cyninge Canone o[þ]¹⁰ Perseus heora æftemestan. Swa eac on Affricum, on þam suðemestan, Cartaina seo burh, heo gefeoll eac vii hund wintra 7 ymbe lytelne fyrst þæs þe h[i]e¹¹ ærest Diþa se wifman getimbrede, oð hi eft Scipia towearp se consul.

Swa eac Romana, se is mæst 7 westemeste. Ymbe vii hund wintra 7 ymb lytelne eacan, com mycel fycyn 7 mycel bryne on Romeburh, þæt þærbinnan forbarn xv tunas, swa nan man nyste hwanon þæt fyr com. 7 þær forwearð mæst eall þæt þærbinnan wæs, þæt þær uneaðe ^[97v] ænig groht¹² staðoles oðstod. Mid þam bryne heo wæs swa swyðe forhynend¹³ þæt heo næfre siþþon swile næs, ær hi Augustus eft swa micle bet getimbrede þonne heo æfre ær wære, þy geare þe Crist geboren wæs, swa þæt sume men cwædan þæt heo wære mid gimstanum gefrætewod. Þone fultum 7 þæt weorc Augustus gebohte mid fela m talentana.

Hit wæs eac sweotole gesyne þæt hit wæs Godes stihung ymbe þara rica onwealdas, þa þa Abrahamæ wæs gehaten Cristes cyme on þam twam 7 on feowertigan wintra þæs þe Ninus ricsode on Babylonia. Swa eac eft on þam siþemestan anwealde 7 on þam westemestan, þæt is Rome, wearð se ilca geboren þe ær Abrahamæ gehaten wæs, on þam twam 7 feowertigeþan geare þæs þe Augustus ricsode, þæt wæs siþþon Romeburh getimbred wæs vii hund wintra 7 twa 7 fiftig.

Siþþon gestod Romeburh twelf winter mid miclum welum, þa hwile þe Augustus þ[a]¹⁴ eaðmeto wið God geheold þe he ongunnen hæfde, þæt wæs þæt he fleah 7 forbead þæt hine man god hete, swa nan cyning nolde þe ær him wæs, ac woldon þæt man to him tobæde 7 him ofrede. Ac þæs on þam twelftan geare Gaius his genefa for [of]¹⁵ Egyptum on Syriç — hit hæfde Augustus him to anwealde geseald — þa nolde he him gebiddan to þam ælmihtigum Gode, þ[a]¹⁶ he to Hierusalem com. Þa hit man Agust[us]¹⁷ sæde, þa herede he þa ofermetto ^[98r] 7 nanuht ne lehrade. Raþe þæs Romane onguldon þæs wordes mid swa miclum hungre þæt Augustus adraf of Romebyrig healfe þe þærbinnan wæran. Ða wearþ eft Ianes duru undon, for þon þe þa latteawas wæron Agustuse of manegum landum ungerade, þeah þær nan gefeohht þuruhtogen ne wurde.

VI. ii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs vii hund wintrum 7 lxxvii, feng Tiberius to rice se cesar æfter Agustuse. He wæs Romanum swa forgyfen [7]¹⁸ swa milde swa him nan anwealda næs ær þam, oþ Pilatus him onbead fram Hierusalem ymbe Cristes tacnunga 7 ymbe his martrunga, 7 eac þæt hine mænige for god hæfdon. Ac þa he hit sæde þam senatum, þa wurdon hi ealle wið hine swyðe wiðerwearde, for þon þe hit man ne sæde [him]¹⁹ æror swa hit mid him

gewuna wæs, þæt hi hit syððon mihton eallum Romanum cyðon, 7 cwædon þæt hi hine for god habban noldon. Þa wearð Tiberius Romanum swa wrað 7 swa heard²⁰ swa he him ær wæs milde, þæt he forneah nænne þæra senatussa ne let cucune, ne þara twa 7 twentigra manna þe he him to fultume hæfde acoren, þæt his rædþeahteras wæron, þa man het patricius; ealle þa he het ofslean, buton twam, ge his agene twegen suna. Hu God þa þa mæstan ofermetto gewræc on þam folce, 7 hu swiðe hi his onguldon fram heora agenum casere; þeah hit eallum þam folcum on oðrum landum swa swiðe gewrecen ne wurde swa hit oft ær wæs!

On þam xii ^[98v] geare Tiberiuses rices wearð eft Godes wracu Romanum, þa hi æt heora theatrum wæron mid heora plegon, þa hit eall tofeoll 7 heora ofsloh xx m. Wyrðigre wrace hi forwurdon þa, cwæð Orosius, þæt þa²¹ heora synna sceoldon hrywsian 7 dædbote don swiðor þonne heora plegan began, swa heora gewuna wæs ær þam cristendome.

On þam eahtateoþan geare his rices, þa Crist wæs onhangen, wearð mycel þeosternys ofer ealne middangeard, 7 swa mycel eorðbeofung þæt cludas feollan of muntum, 7 þæt þæra wundra mæst wæs, þa se mona ful wæs 7 þære sunnan fyrrest, þæt heo þa aþystrade. Æfter þam Romana acwealdon Tiberius mid attræ. He hæfde rice xxiii wintra.

VI. iii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs vii hund wintrum 7 lxxxx, wearð Gaius Gallica casere iiii gear. He wæs swiðe gefylled mid unþeawum 7 mid firenlustum, 7 eall he wæs swylce Romana þa wyrðe wæron, for þon þe hi Cristes bebod hyspton 7 hit forsawan. Ac he hit on him swa swiðe wræc, 7 hi him swa laðe wæron þæt he oft wiscte þæt ealle Romane hæfdon ænne sweoron, þæt he hine rapost forceorfon mihte, 7 mid ungemete mænende wæs þæt þær þa næs swilc sacu swilc þær oft ær wæs. 7 he sylf for oft on oðre land 7 wolde gewin findan, ac he ne mihte, buton sibbe. Ungelice wæron þa tida, cwæð Orosius, siþþon Crist geboren wæs: siþþon ^[99r] man ne mihte unsibbe findon, 7 ær þam [hie]²² man ne mihte mid nanum þingum forbugan.

On þam dagum com eac Godes wracu ofer Iudam,²³ þæt hi ægðer hæfdon ungeþwærnesse ge betweonum him sylfum ge to eallum folcum, swa þeah heo wæs swiþpost on Alexandria þære byrig, 7 hi Gaius het ut adrifan. Þa sendon hy Filionem heora þone gelæredestan man to þon þæt he him sceolde Gaiuses miltse gærndian.²⁴ Ac he [hie]²⁵ for þære gewilnunge swyðe bysmorade 7 bebead þæt hi man on ælce healfe hynde þær man þonne mihte, 7 bebead þat man afylde diofolgylda þa cyricean æt Hierusalem, þæt man his agen diofulgyld þærtomiddes asette, þæt wæs his agen anlicnes, 7 Pilatus he hæfde on þreatunga oþ he hine sylfne ofstang: he gedemde urne Drihten to deaðe.

Raðe þæs Romane ofslogon Gaius slæpende.²⁶ Þa funde man on his maþmhuse twa cysta, þa wæron attres fulla, 7 on oþre wæs an gewrit, þær wæron on awritene ealra þæra ricestera²⁷ manna namon þe he acwellan þohte þæt he hi þe læs forgeate. Þa geat man þæt attor ut on þone sæ. Raðe þæs þær com up mycel wæl dædra fisca. Ægðer wæs swiðe gesyne [ge]²⁸ Godes wracu þæt he þæt folc costian let, ge eft his miltsunge þa he hi fordon ne let, swa hit Gaius geþoht hæfde.

VI. iiiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs vii hund wintra 7 xcv, þa feng Tiberius Claudius to Romana anwealde. On þam ærestan geare his rices ^[99v] Petrus se apostolus com to Rome, 7 þær wurdon ærest cristene men þurh his lare. Þa woldon Romane ofslean Claudius for Gaiuses þingum his mæges, þæs ærran caseres, 7 ealle þa þe þære mægþe wære. Ac mid þon þe hi þæs cristendomes onfengon, hi wæron swa geþwære 7 swa gesibsume þæt hi ealle forgeafon þam casere þa fæhþe þe his mæg hæfde wiþ hi geworht, 7 he forgeaf him eallum þa²⁹ unriht 7 þæt facen þæt hi him don þohton.

On þære tide gewearð eac oþer tacen on Romana anwealde, siþþon him se cristendom to com. Þæt wæs þæt Dalmatię woldon gesyllan Scribanianuse þam latteowe heora cynerice 7 siþþon wið Romane winnan. Ac þa hi gesomnad wæron 7 hine to cyninge don woldon, þa ne mihtan hi þa guðfanan upahebban, swa heora þeaw wæs þonne [hic]³⁰ anwealdas setton, ac wurdon him sylfum wiðerwearde þæt hi hit æfre ongunnon 7 Scribanianus ofslogon. Ætsace nu, cwæð Orosius, se þe wylle oððe se þe durre, þæt þæt angin nære gest[ille]d³¹ for þæs cristendomes Gode,³² 7 gesecege hwar ænige gewin ær þam cristendome swa gehwurfe, gif hit ongunnen wære.

Oþer wundor gewearð eac þy feorþan geare Claudiuses rices, þæt he sylf for æfter gewinne 7 nan findan ne mihte. On þam geare wæs mycel hungor on Siria 7 on Palestina, buton þæt Elena, Ætiubena cwen, sealde þam munucum corn genoh, þe wæron æt Hierusalem, for þon þe heo þa wæs niwilice cristen.

On þam fiftan geare Claudiuses rices wearð oþrywed an igland ^[100r] betuh Theram 7 Therasiam, seofon mila brad 7 fif mila lang. On þam feorðan geare his rices wearð swa mycel ungebwærnes on Hierusalem betuh þam þe þær cristene næran, þæt þær wæron xxx m ofslagen 7 æt þam geate oftreden, swa nan man nyste hwanon seo wroht com. On þam nigeþon geare his rices wearð mycel hungor on Rome, 7 Claudius het ut adrifon ealle þa Iudeas þe þærbinnon wæron. Æfter þam Romana witon Claudiuse þone hungor þe him getencge wæs, 7 he wearð him swa gram þæt he het ofslean þæra senatorum xxxv 7 þæra oðra þreo hund þe þær yldeste wæron. Æfter þam Romana hine acwealdon mid attre.

VI. v

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs viiii hund wintra 7 ix, feng Nero to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde xiiii gear. 7 he hæfde gyt ma unþeawa þonne his eam hæfde ær Gaius. Toeacon þam mænigfealdum bismrum þe he donde wæs, he het æt sumon cyrrre onbærnann Romebyrig 7 bebead his agenum mannum þæt hi simble gegripon þæs licgendan feos swa hi mæst mihtan 7 to him brohton, þonne hit man ut oðbrude, 7 gestod him sylf on þam hyhstan torre þe þærbinnan wæs 7 ongan wyrcean sceopleoþ be þam bryne. Se wæs vi dagas byrnende 7 vii niht. Ac he wræc his ungewealdes ærest on þære byrig heora misdæda 7 siþþon on him sylfum, þa he hine ofstang, þæt hi Petrus 7 Paulus gemartredan. ^[100v] He wæs manna ærest ehtend cristenra manna. Æfter his fylle wearð þara casara mægð oðfeallen.

VI. vi

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs viii hund wintrum 7 xxiiii, feng Galfa to Romana anwealde. Þæs on þam vii monðe hine ofsloh Othon an man 7 him to þam anwealde feng.

Sona swa Romane ærest cristenra manna ehton, swa Nero onstealde, swa wurdon ealle þa folc heora wiðerwinnan þe be eastan Siria wæron, ge eac hi sylfe him betweonum hæfdon ungerædnesse. Uitellus, Germana cyning, gefeaht þriwa wið Othon 7 hine ofsloh on þam þriðdan monþe þæs þe hi winnon ongunnon.

VI. vii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dccc wintra 7 xxv, feng Uespasianus to Romana anwealde. Ða wearð eft sib ofer ealne Romana anweald. 7 he bead Tituse his suna þæt he towearp þæt tempel on Hierusalem 7 ealle þa burh, for [ð]on³³ þe God nolde þæt hi þone cristendome lencg myrdon, 7 forbead þæt man naðer eft ne timbrede. 7 he fordyde þara Iudea endlufon siþon hund m: sume he ofsloh, sume on oðer land gesealde, sume he mid hungre acwealde. Æfter þam man dyde him twam þone triumphan, Uespasiane 7 Tituse. Seo ansin wearð mycel wundor Romanum, for þon þe hi ær ne gesawan twegen men æt somne þæron sittan. Hy betyndon Ianes duru. Æfter þam Uespasianus gefor on utsihte, on þam ix geare his rices, on anum tune buton Rome.

VI. viii

^[101]Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs viii hund wintra 7 xxix, feng Titus to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde twa gear. He wæs swa godes willan þæt he sæde þæt he forlure þone dæg þe he naht on to gode ne gedyde. He gefor eac on þam ilcan tune þe his fæder dyde 7 on þære ilcan adle.

VI. viiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs viii hund wintra 7 xxx, feng Domicianus to Romana anwealde, Tituses broþor, 7 hit hæfde xv gear. He wearð eft ehtend cristenra manna 7 wæs on swa micle ofermetto astigen, þæt he bead þæt man on gelice to him onbugon sceolde swa to Gode, 7 he bebead þæt man Iohannes þone apostol gebrohte on [Bothmose]³⁴ þam iglande, on wræcsiþe fram oðrum cristenum mannum, 7 bebead þæt man acwealde eall Dauides cyn, to þon, gif Crist þa git geboren nære, þæt he siþþon na geboren ne wurde, for þon witegan sædon þæt [he] of [þam]³⁵ cynne cuman sceolde. Æfter þam bebode he wearð sylf unwyrðlice ofslagen.

VI. x

Æfter þam þe Romaburh getimbred wæs dccc wintra 7 xlvi, þa feng Nerfa to Romana anwealde, 7 for þam þe he eald wæs, he geceas him to fultume Traianus þone man. Þa gespæcon

hi him betweenum þæt hi woldon towendon ealle þa gesetnessa 7 ealle þa gebodu þe Domicianus hæfde ær geset, for þon þe he him wæs ær bam lað, 7 heton eft Iohannes gebringan æt his mynstre on Effesum fram ^[101v] þam woruldyrmþum þe he hwile on wæs.

Þa gefor Nerfa, 7 Traianus [hæfde]³⁶ þone anweald xix gear æfter him, 7 he underþeodde Romanum ealle þa folc þe him niwlice geswicen hæfdon, 7 bebead his ealdormannum þæt hi wæron cristenra manna ehtend. Þa sæde him hiora an, Plenius wæs haten, þæt he woh bude 7 myclum on þam syngode. He hit þa hrædlice eft forbead.

On þære tide wæron Iudei on miclum geflite 7 on micelre unsibbe wið þa landleode,³⁷ þær þær hi þonne wæron, oþ heora fela m forwurdon on ægþre hand. On þære tide Traianus gefor on utsihte on Seleutia þære byrig.

VI. xi

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dccc wintra 7 lxxvii, feng Adrianus to Romana anwealde, Traianuses genefa, 7 hine hæfde xxi wintra,³⁸ 7 raðe þæs þe him cristene bec cuþe wæron þurh ænne þara apostola geongrena, Quadratus wæs haten, he forbead ofer ealne his anweald þæt man nanum cristenum men ne abulge, 7 gif ænig cristen agylte, þæt se þonne wære beforan him [gelædd],³⁹ 7 him þonne demde sylf, swa him riht þuhte. He wearð þa Romanum swa leof 7 swa weorð þæt hi hine nanuht ne heton buton fæder, 7 him to weorðscype hi heton his wif Casern, 7 he het ofslean ealle þa Iudeiscean men þe wæron on Palestina, þæt man het Iudea land, for þon þe hi cristene men pinedon, 7 he bebead þæt man timbrede on þære stowe Hierusalem þa burh 7 þæt hi ^[102r] mon siþþon hette be naman Eliam.

VI. xii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dccc wintra 7 lxxxviii,⁴⁰ feng [P]ompeius⁴¹ to Romana anwealde þe man oþre naman het Pius, 7 him sealde Iustinus se philosophus ane cristene boc for heora freondscipe. Siþþon he þa geleornod hæfde, he wearð cristenum mannum swa leof 7 swiðe hold oþ his lifes ende.

VI. xiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc 7 iii wintra, feng Marcus Antonius to Romana anwealde mid his breþer Aureliuse. Hi wæron þa ærestan men þe Romana anweald on twa todældon 7 hi hine hæfdon xiiii gear, 7 hi bebudon þæt man ælcne cristene man ofsloge. Æfter þam hi hæfdon mycel gewin wið Parðe, for þon þe hi hæfdon awest ealle Capedociam 7 Armeniam 7 ealle Siriam. Æfter þam hi genamon frið wið Parthe, 7 him siþþon becom on swa mycel hungor 7 micel mancwealm þæt heora feawa to lafe wurdon.

Æfter þam hi becoman⁴² on þæt Denisce gewin mid eallum Germanum. Þa on þam dæge þe hi fehton sceoldon, him com an swa mycel hæte 7 swa mycel þurst þæt hi him heora feores ne wendon. Þa bædan hi þa cristenan men þæt hi heora on sume wisan gehulpon, 7 ongeatan þæt hit

wæs Godes wracu. Ða abædan hi æt þam ælmihtigum Gode þæt hit swa swiðe rinde þæt hi hæfdon wæter genoh on ufon þære dune 7 þæt þær [wæs]⁴³ swa micel þunor þæt he ^[102v] ofsloh feala m manna gemang [þæm]⁴⁴ gefeohte.

Ða æfter þam Romana ealle⁴⁵ wurdon cristenum mannum swa holde þæt hi on manegum templum awritan þæt ælc cristen man hæfde frið 7 sibbe, 7 eac þæt ælc þæra moste cristendome onfon se þe wolde. 7 Antonius forgeaf eall þæt gafol þæt man to Rome syllan sceolde 7 het forbærnan þæt gewrit þe hit on awriten wæs, hwæt man on geare gyldan sceolde, 7 þæs on þam æftran geare he gefor.

VI. xiiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 xxx, feng Lucius Antonius to rice 7 hit hæfde xiii gear. He wæs swyðe yfel man ealra þeawa, buton þæt he wæs cene 7 oft feaht anwig, 7 feala þara senatorum he het ofslean þe þær betste wæran. Æfter þam an þunor tosloh heora Capitolium, þe⁴⁶ heora godas inne wæron 7 heora deofulgyld, 7 heora bibliþeca wearð forbærnend⁴⁷ fram þam ligette, 7 ealle heora ealdon bec forburnan þærinne. Þær wæs an swa micel demn geburnen swa on Alexandria wæs þære byrig on heora bibliþecan, þær forburnon feower hund m boca.

VI. xv

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 xliii, feng Seuerus to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde xvii gear. He besæt Piscenius on anum fæstenne, oð he him on hand eode, 7 he hine siþþon het ofslean, for þon he wolde ricsian on Sirie 7 on Egypte. Æfter þam he ofsloh Albinus ^[103r] þone man on Gallium, for þon þe he eac wolde on hine winnan. Siþþon he for on Brytannie 7 þær oft gefeaht wið Peohtas 7 wið Sceottas, ær he Bryttas⁴⁸ mihte wið hi bewerian, 7 het ænne weall þwyres ofer eall þæt land asettan fram sæ oð sæ, 7 raðe þæs he gefor on Eoferwic ceastre.

VI. xvi

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 lxii, feng his sunu to rice Antonius, 7 hit hæde vii gear. He hæfde twa gesweostor him to wifum. He hæfde folc gegaderad 7 wolde winnan wið Parthe, ac he wearð ofslagen on þam fæ[relt]e⁴⁹ fram his agenum mannum.

VI. xvii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 lxx, feng Marcus Aurelius to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde feower gear. Hine ofslogon eac his agene men 7 his modor mid.

VI. xviii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 lxxiiii, feng Aurelius Alexander to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde xvi gear. 7 Mammea his seo gode modor sende æfter Oriense⁵⁰ þam gelæredstan mæssepreoste 7 heo wearð siþþon cristen fram him 7 welgelæred 7 gedyde þæt hire sunu wæs cristenum mannum swyþe hold. He gefor mid fyrde on Perse 7 ofsloh Persan⁵¹ heora cyning. Æfter þam he forlet his lif on Magestan þære byrig.

VI. xix

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 lxxxvi[i],⁵² feng Maximus to Romana anwealde. He bebad eft þæt man cristene men brocude ^[103v] 7 þæt man þa godan Mammeam gemartrode 7 ealle þa preostas þe hire folgedon buton Orientis:⁵³ he⁵⁴ oðfleah on Egypte. 7 Maximus ofsloh his agene ealdorman on þam þriddan gear his rices on Aquilegia þære byrig.

VI. xx

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 xc, feng Gordianus to rice 7 hit hæfde vi gear, 7 he ofsloh þa twegen gebroðro,⁵⁵ þe ær Maximus ofslogon, 7 he sylf raþe þæs gefor.

VI. xxi

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs dcccc wintra 7 xcvii, feng Philippus to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde vii gear. He wearð digellice cristen, for þon he eawunga ne dorste. On þam iii gear his rices hit gewearð swa hit God gestihtade, þæt wæs ymb an þusend wintra þæs þe Romeburh getimbred wæs, þæt ægðer ge heora casere wearð cristen, ge eac þæt hi þa miclan feorme þigedon Cristes þances æt þæs caseres palentsan þe hi ær ælce gear þigedon æt heora deofulgyldum, þæt wæs⁵⁶ deofla þances þæt⁵⁷ ealle Romana woldan ymb xii monað bringon togædere þone selestan dæl heora goda gegearod to heora geblote 7 heora siþþon feala wucena ætgædere brucan. Æfter þam Decius, an rice man, beswac þone casere 7 feng him siþþon to þam anwealde.

VI. xxii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 iiii, feng Decius to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde iii gear, 7 sona gedyde sweotol tacn ^[104r] þæt he Philippus ær besyrede, mid þam þæt he het cristenra manna ehtan 7 manige gedyde to halgum martyrum 7 gesette his sunu to þam anwealde to him, 7 raðe þæs hi wurdon begen æt somne ofslagen.

VI. xxiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 viii, feng Gallus Ostilianus to rice, 7 hit hæfde twa gear. Þa wearð eft Godes wracu on Rome: swa lange swa seo ehtinge⁵⁸ wæs þara cristenra manna, swa lange him [wæs]⁵⁹ ungemætlic mancwealm getenge, þæt nan hus næs binnan þære burig þæt hit næfde þære wrace angolden. Æfter þam Emelianus ofsloh Gallus 7 hæfde him þone anweald. Þæs eac on þam þriddon monþe hine man ofsloh.

VI. xxiiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 x, þa gesettan Romana twegen caseras. Oþer wæs mid Emilitum þam folce, Ualerianus wæs haten, oþer wæs binnan Romebyrig, Gallienus wæs haten. Þa sc[e]oldon⁶⁰ on simbel beon winnende þær hit þonne þearf wæs. Þa bebudon hi begen cristenra manna ehtnysse. Ac hrædlice on hi begen becom Godes wracu. Ualerianus for mid fyrde ongean Saphan, Persa cyninge, 7 þær gefangen wæs, 7 siþþon he wæs Sapan þam cyninge to þam gesett, oð his lifes ende, þæt he sceolde swa oft stupian swa he to his horse wolde, 7 he þonne se cyning hæfde his hric him to hlypon, 7 þam oþran, Gallianuse, wæron mænige folc onwinende,⁶¹ þæt he his rice mid micelre [u]nwearðnesse⁶² 7 mid micelre uneaðnysse^[104v] gehæfde. Ærest Gearmaniç þe be Donua wæron forhergedon Italiam oþ Refennan þa burh, 7 Swæfas forhergodon ealle Galliam, 7 Gotan oferhergodon ealle Grecon⁶³ land 7 þa læssan Asiam, 7 Sermenne genyddon ealle Datie fram Romana anwealde, 7 Hunas forhergodon Pannoniam, 7 Parthe forhergodon Mesopotamiam 7 ealle Siriç. Toeacon þam, Romane hæfdon gewin betuh him sylfum. Æfter þam Gallienus wearð ofslagen on Mediolane þære byrig fram his agenum mannum.

VI. xxv

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xxv, feng Claudius to Romana anwealde. Þy ilcan gear he oferwan Gotan 7 hi adraf ut of Creacum, 7 him Romana gedydon anne gyldenne scyld, þære dæde to weorðmynte, 7 ane gyldenn anlicnysse, 7 hengen⁶⁴ hi up on heora Capitolium. Þæs on þam æftran gear he gefor, 7 his broþor Quintillus feng to þam anwealde, 7 þæs on þam xvii dæge he wearð ofslagen.

VI. xxvi

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xxvii, feng Aurilius to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde v gear 7 vi monað, 7 adraf Gotan be norþan Donua 7 þanon for on Syrie 7 hi genydde eft to Romana anwealde. 7 siððon he for on Gallie 7 ofsloh Tetricum þone man, for þy þe he hi him teah to anwealde. Æfter þam he bebead cristenra manna ehtnysse 7 raðe þæs wearð ofslagen.

VI. xxvii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xxxii, feng Tacitus to Romana anwealde, ^[105r] 7 þæs on þam vi monþe he wearð ofslagen on Ponto lande. Æfter þam Floriam feng to þam anwealde 7 wæs ofslagen þæs⁶⁵ on þam þriðdan monþe on Tharsa þam lande.

VI. xxviii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xxxiii, feng Brobus to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde vi gear 7 iiiii monþas, 7 he adyde Hunas of Gallium, 7 he ofslah Saturninus, þe æfter⁶⁶ anwealde wan. Æfter þam he ofslah Proculus 7 Bonorum, þa gyrndon eac æfter þam anwealde. Æfter þam he wearð sylf ofslagen on Sirmie þære dune.

VI. xxix

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xxxix, feng Carus to Romana anwealde, 7 hine hæfde twa gear, 7 gefeaht twywa wið Parthe 7 geeode heora burga twa, þa wæron on Tigris staþe þære ea. Raþe þæs hine ofslah an þunor, 7 his sunu Numerianus feng to þam anwealde, 7 raþe þæs hine ofslah his sweor.⁶⁷

VI. xxx

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xli, feng Dioclicianus to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde xx wintra. He gesette under him gingran casere, Maximus wæs haten, 7 hine sende on Gallie, for þon þe hi⁶⁸ niwllice hæfdon gewin up ahafen, ac he hi⁶⁹ eapellice ofercom. On þære tide wæron Dioclitie þry cyningas on winnende: Caucarius on Bretlande, Achileus on E[g]ypta⁷⁰ lande, 7 Marseus of Persum. Þa gesette he iii causeras hunder⁷¹ him: an wæs Maxim[ian]us,⁷² oþer [Constantius],⁷³ þriðde Galerius. Maximianus he sende on Africe, ^[105v] 7 he oferwan heora wiþerwinnan; 7 [Constantius]⁷⁴ he sende on Gallië, 7 he oferwan Alamanie þæt folc 7 siþþon he geeode Britanniam þæt igland, 7 he sylf Diacilitianus for on Egypte 7 besæt Achileus þone cyning viii monþas on Alexandria þære byrig, oð hine þa burhleoda him ageafon, ⁷⁵ siþþon oferhergode ealle Egypte. 7 Galerius he sende on Perse 7 gefeaht tweowa wið [Marseus]⁷⁶ þone cyning, þæt heora naþor næfde sige. Æt heora þriðdan gefeohte Gallerius wearð geflymed 7 mid micelre fyrfhtnesse⁷⁷ com to Dioclitiane. Ac he his afeng mid micelre unwyr[ð]nesse⁷⁸ 7 hine het yrnan on his agenum purpuran feala mila beforan his rædwæne. Æfter þam þe his mod wæs mid þam bismre ahwæt, he for eft on Perse 7 hi geflymde 7 Marseus gefeng 7 his wif 7 his bearn. Þa onfeng [Dioclitianus Galerius]⁷⁹ weorðfullice.

Dioclicianus 7 Maximianus bebudon ehtnysse cristenra manna, Dioclicianus eastene 7 Maximianus westene, 7 for þam gebode wurdon feala martyras on x wintrum⁸⁰ fyrste.

Þa gewearð hi him betweonum þæt hi woldan þa anwealdas forlætan 7 þa purpuran alecgan þe hi weredan, 7 woldon heora dagas on seftnesse geendian, 7 þæt swa gelæstan. Dioclicianus gesæt on Nicomedia þære burig 7 Maximianus gesæt on Mediolane þære byrig 7 letan þa

anwealdas [to Galerius] 7 to [Constantius],⁸¹ 7 hi hine ^[106r] todældon siþþon on twa: Galerius [nam]⁸² Ilirice 7 begeondon þam þone eastende 7 þone mæstan dæl þisses middangeardes, 7 [Constantius]⁸³ nam ealle Italię 7 Affricam 7 Ispanię 7 Gallię 7 Bryttanie. Ac he wæs hwon gyrende þissa woruldþinga 7 micelra anwealda, 7 for þam he forlet his agenum willan Italiam 7 Affricam to Gallerius.⁸⁴ Þa gesette [Galerius]⁸⁵ twegen cyningas under him: oþer wæs haten Seuerus, þam he gesealde Italiam, 7 Affricam, 7 Maximinus⁸⁶ he gesette on þa eastland.

On þam dagum com [Constantius],⁸⁷ se mild[h]eortesta⁸⁸ man, for on Bryttannie 7 þær gefor, 7 gesealde his suna þæt rice Constantinuse, þone he hæfde be Elenan his wife.⁸⁹

Þa wolde Maxentius, Maximianus⁹⁰ sunu, habban þone anweald on Italiam. Þa sende Galerius him ongean Seuerus mid fyrde, þe him se anweald ær geseald wæs, 7 he þær beswicen wearð fram his agenum mannum 7 ofslagen neah Rafenna þære byrig. Þa Maximianus geahsode þæt his sunu feng to þam anwealde, he þa hrædlice forlet þa burh þe he on geseten wæs 7 þohte his sunu to beswicanne 7 him⁹¹ siþþon fon to þam anwealde. Ac þa hit se sunu afunde, þa adræfde he þone fæder, 7 he fleah on Gallię 7 wolde Constantinus beswicon his aþum 7 habbon him þæt rice. Ac hit onfunde his dohtor 7 hit Constantinuse gesæde, 7 he hine geflymde siþþon on Masiliam, 7 he þær ofslagen wearð.

Þa gesealde Galerius Lucin[i]use⁹² Italiam 7 Affricam, ^[106v] 7 he het ealle þa cristenan þe þær beste wæron gebringon on elþeode. Æfter þam he wearð on micelre untrumnesse 7 him to gehet manige læceas, 7 hyra nan him ne mihte beon on nanum gode. Ac him sæde hyra an þæt hit wære Godes wracu. Þa het he þæt man þa cristenan men eft gebrohte on hyra earde, ælcne þær he ær wæs; swa þeah he gefor on þære mettrymnysse 7 Lucinius feng to þam anwealde.

Æfter þam wearð gewin betuh Constantinuse 7 Maxentiuse, 7 raðe þæs Constantinus ofslah Maxentius binnan Rome, æt þære byrig þær⁹³ man Moluia hæf. On þam dagum Maximinus bebead cristenra manna ehtnysse 7 raðe þæs gefor on Thar[s]a⁹⁴ þære byrig. On þam dagum Lucinius bebead þæt nan cristen man ne come on his hirede ne on his færelde, 7 raþe þæs wearð gewin betweoh him 7 betweoh Constantinuse 7 oftrædlice gefeagt, oð Constantinus gefeng Lucinius 7 hine siþþon het beheafdian 7 siþþon feng to eallum Romana anwealde.

On þam dagum Arrius se mæssepreost wearð on gedwolan ymbe þone rihtan geleafon. Ymbe þone teonan, wæs gegaderod þreo hundred bisceopa 7 ehtatyne, hine to oferflitenne 7 to amansumianne.

On þam dagum Constantinus ofslah Crispum his sunu 7 Lucinius his sweostor sunu, þæt nan man nyste hwæt se gylt wæs buton him anum. Æfter þam he underþeodde him sylfum ^[107r] manige þeoda þe ær wæron Romane⁹⁵ ungewylde, 7 het atimbrian ane burh on Grecum 7 het hi be him haton Constantinopolim. He het ærest manna þæt man cyricean timbrede 7 þæt man beluce ælc deofulgyldhus. He gefor ymbe an 7 þrittig wintra þæs þe he rice hæfde, on anum tune neah Nicomedia þære byrig.

VI. xxxi

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xci, feng [Constantius]⁹⁶ to þam anwealde mid his twam broþrum, Constantine 7 Constante, 7 he [Constantius]⁹⁷ hit hæfde

xxiii[i]⁹⁸ wintra. Hi wurdon ealle þa gebroþru on þam Arianiscan gedwolan. Constantinus 7 Constans wunnon him betweonum oð [Constantinus]⁹⁹ wearð ofslagen. Æfter þam Magnentius ofslah Constans 7 feng him to þam rice, þa¹⁰⁰ wæs Galliam 7 Italiam. On þam dagum Ilirice gesettan Ueteromonem þone man to hyra anwealde, to þon þæt hi siþþon mihton winnan wið Magnentiuse, 7 hi hine nyddon to leornunga þeah he gewintrad wære. Ac [Constantius]¹⁰¹ hine benæmde ægþer ge þæs anwealdes, ge þære purpuran þe he werede, ge þære scole þe he on leornode. Æfter þam he gefeaht wið Magnentiuse 7 hine geflymde 7 bedraf into Lucchina þære byrig, 7 he hine sylfne siþþon ofsticode. Æfter þam [Constantius]¹⁰² gesette Iulianus to casere under him, se wæs ær to diacone gehalgod, 7 sende hine on Gallię mid fyrde, 7 he hrædllice ^[107v] oferwan ealle þa þe on Gallie wunnon 7 wæs æfter þære dæde swa up ahafen þæt he wolde ealne Romana anweald him geagnian, 7 mid fyrde wæs farende þær Constantius wæs mid oþere fyrde wið Parthe. Þa he þæt geahsode 7 him ongeanweard wæs, þa gefor he on þam færelde, 7 Iulianus feng to þam anwealde 7 hine hæfde an gear 7 eahta monþas. Þa wæs he sona geornfull þæt he wolde digolice þone cristendom onwendon, 7 forbead openlice þæt man nane fæste boc ne lornode,¹⁰³ 7 sæde eac þæt nan cristen man ne moste habban nænne his underfolgopa,¹⁰⁴ 7 hi mid þam þohte beswican. Ac ealle hi wæron þæs wordes, swa we hit eft secgan gehyrdon, cwæþ Orosius, þæt him leofre wæs se cristendom to beganne þonne his scira to hæbbenne.

Æfter þam he gegaderode fyrde 7 wolde faran on Perse 7 bebead, þonne he eft wære eastene hamweard, þæt man hæfde anfiteatrum geworht æt Hierusalem, þæt he mihte Godes þeowas on don, þæt hi deor þærinne abitan. Ac God gewræc on þam færelde swiðe gedafenlice on þam arleasan men his arleasa gepocht, mid þam þæt hine gemitte an man, þa he for fram Actesifonte þære byrig, gelicost þam þe he flyma wære, 7 him sæde þæt he hine mihte lædan þuruh þæt westen, þæt he on Perse on ungearuwe become. Ac þa he hine to middes þæs westenes hæfde gelædd, þa geswac he him, þæt nan man nyste þæs ^[108r] færeldes hwar he com, ac foran hwearfiende geond þæt westen, þæt he nyste hwar he ut sceolde, oð þæs folces wæs fela forworden, ægþer ge for þurste ge for hungre.¹⁰⁵ Þa com him ongean an uncuð man 7 ofslah¹⁰⁶ Iulianus.

VI. xxxii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 an hund 7 xvii, feng Iuianianus to Romana anwealde. Hine man geceas on þam westenne, þy ilcan dæge, þe man Iulianus ofstang. He gesealde Persum Nissibi þa burh 7 healf Mesopotamiam þæt land, wið þam þæt hi mostan of þam lande buton laðe. On þam viii monþe þæs þe he to þam anwealde feng, he wolde faran on Ilirice. Þa wæs he sume niht on anum niwcilctan¹⁰⁷ huse. Þa het he betan þærinne mycel fyr, for þon hit wæs ceald weder. Þa ongan se cealc mid ungemete stincan; þa wearð Iuini[an]us¹⁰⁸ mid þam bræþe ofsmorod.

VI. xxxiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 xcviii, feng Ualentinianus to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde xi gear. He was ær þam Iulianuses cempena ealdorman. He him bebead þæt he forlete þone his cristendom oþþe his folgoð. Þa wæs him leofre þæt he forlete his folgoð þonne

þone cristendom, ac him gefylste God eft to maran are, þa he þa læssan for his lufe forlet, 7 þæt he þæs ilcan rices ahte geweald þe his wiperwinna ær ahte.

Raþe þæs, he gesealde Ualente his breþer ^[108v] healf his rice, 7 he het ofslean Percopiosus, þe þa ricsian wolde, 7 manige oþre mid him. Ualens wæs gelæred fram anum Arrianisco¹⁰⁹ bisceope, Eudoxus wæs haten, ac he hit hæl swiðe fæste wið his broþor, for þon he wiste þæt he hit on him wrecon wolde, gif he onfunde þæt he on oþrum geleafon wære, on oþrum he sylf wæs, for þon he wiste hu fæstmod he wæs ær on his geleafon, þa he læssan anweald hæfde.

On þam ilcan gearre Godenric, Gotena cyning, gedyde feala martyra on his þeode cristenra manna. On þam dagum Ualentinianus genydde eft þa Seaxan to hyra agenum lande, þa hi woldon winnon wið Romana; þa wæron eardfæste neah þam garsecge. 7 Burhgendum [he]¹¹⁰ gestyrde eac þæt hi on Gallie ne wunnon; mid þam þe him wæs swiþost gestyred þæt him man gehet fulluht. On þam xi gearre his rices Sermenne hergodon on Pannoniam; þa he þyderweard wæs mid fyrde, þa gefor he on blodryne.

VI. xxxiiii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 c 7 xxix, feng Ualens, Uale[ntin-]ianuses¹¹¹ broþor, to Romana anwealde, 7 Gratianus, Ualentinianuses sunu, feng to Italia anwealde 7 to Gallia 7 to Ispania under Ualense. He þa Ualens oðywe openlice þæt he ær digelice gehyd hæfde, swa þæt he bebead þæt munucas, þe woruldlice þing forgan sceoldan¹¹² 7 wæpna gefeoh, þæt hi wæpna namon 7 mid þam ^[109v] fuhton 7 yfel dydan mid oðrum mannum, 7 sende on Egypte 7 het towyrpan ealle þa munuclif þe his broþor ær gestaþelode, 7 sume þa munucas he het ofslean, sume on elþeode fordrifon.

On þam dagum Firmus wæs haten sum man on Affricum, se wæs þær wilniende þæs anwealdes. Þa sende Ualens þyder Þeodosius his ealdorman mid fyrde, þæs godan Þeodosiuses fæder þe eft wæs casere. On þam færelde Firmus wæs gefangen 7 forð gelæded to sleane. Þa bæd he sylf þæt hine man ær gefullode, 7 þa he gefullod wæs, he wæs þuruh þæs mæssepreostes lare þe hine fullode on swa fullan geleafon heofunrices, þæt he cwæð to þam folce, “Doþ nu swa ge willan,” 7 him sylf leat forð þæt him man asloh þæt heafod of 7 wearð Cristes martir.

On þam dagum Gratianus gefeaht on Gallium wið Alamanne þam folce 7 hyra fela m ofsloh. On þam þridan gearre his rices, þa he þæt mæste woh dyde wið þa Godes þeowas, þa adrifon hine Gotan ut of hyra earde 7 hi foron siþþon ofer Donua þa ea on Ualenses rice, 7 wilnodan to him þæt hi mostan on his rice mid friþe gesittan. Þa oferhogode he þæt he him aðer dyde, oððe wyrnde, oþþe tiþode, ac hi let sittan þær þær hi woldon. Ac his gerefon 7 his ealdormen nyddan hi æfter gafule 7 micel geflit hæfdon ymb þæt, oþ þa Gotan hi mid gefeohthe geflymdon. Þa Ualens þæt geahsode on Antiochia ^[109v] þær byrig, þa wearþ he swiðe sarig 7 gepohte his misdæda, hu hi hine bædan rihtes geleafon, 7 fullwihtes bæþes, 7 he him sende Arrienisce bisceopas to lareawum 7 gedwolmen, swa he sylf wæs, 7 hwæt he hæfde Godes þeowum on oftsiþas to laþe gedon; het þeah sendan æfter, þær he ænne libbendene wiste,¹¹³ þeah he þæt late dyde, 7 him siþþon het gearian.

On þam feorþan gearre his rices he feaht wiþ Gotan 7 geflymed wearð 7 bedrifen on ænne

tun, 7 wearð on anum huse forbærned. Þær wæs swiðe riht dom geendod þæt hi þone woruldlice forbærndon þe hi þohte bærnan on ecnysse.

VI. xxxv

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 c 7 xxxiii, feng Gratianus to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde vi gear, 7 gesette Theodosius him to fultume, for þon him geþuhte þæt þa þeoda þe hyra winnan¹¹⁴ wæron wæron to swiþe gestrangode þæt hi man leng ne mihte mid gefeohtum oferswiðan. Ac Theodosius genam frið wið hi 7 on þære sibbe he lædde Athanaricus hira cyning mid him to Constantinopolim þære byrig, 7 þær raðe þæs his lif geendode. Raþe þæs þe Gotan ongeatan hu god Theodosius wæs, ægþer ge hi, ge ealle [þa]¹¹⁵ þeoda þe on Scipþium wæron, gecuron his frið.

On þam dagum gecuron Bryttannie Maximianus him to casere ofer his willan. Se wære wyrþe calra Romana anwealda for his mænigfealdum dugupum, ^[110] buton þæt he þa wið his hlaford wan for oþra manna lare, 7 raþe þæs he for in Gallie 7 Gratianus ofsloh, 7 Ualentinianus his broþor he adraf ut of Italiam, þæt he ofþleah to Theodosiuse.

VI. xxxvi

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 c 7 xxxviii, feng Theodosius to Romana anwealde 7 hine hæfde xi gear. He hæfde vi gearum ær anweald ofer þa eastdælas. He þa Theodosius wæs þencende hu he Gratianus his hlaford gewrecan mihte 7 eac his broþor on þam anwealde gebringan, 7 fyrde gelædde on Italia, þær Maximus mid fyrde abad æt Aquilegia þære byrig 7 his ealdormen Andregatia hæfde beboden þa clusan to healdenne. Ac se ealdorman hi betæhte liþrum mannum to healdenne 7 þohte him sylf on scipum to farenne east ymbutan 7 þonne bestelan on Theodosius hindan. Ac mid þam þe he fram þære clusan afaren wæs wið þara scipa, þa com Theodosius þærto 7 funde þær æt feawa manna, þa wæron yfele 7 earge, 7 he hi raðe aweg aþwyde 7 þa clusan tobræc 7 siþþon for ofer þa muntas, oþ he com to Aquilegia 7 Maximus ofsloh. Þa þæt se ealdorman gehyrde, þa adrencte he hine sylfne. Hu yþelice God geendode þæt mycle gewin mid hyra twegra fülle, þe Maximus 7 his ealdorman hæfdon up ahafen mid manegum þeodum!

Æfter þam feng eft Ualentinianus to his rice, 7 þæs ymb twa gear, ^[110v] þa he on Gallium com, hine ofsmorode Ambogæstes his ealdorman 7 hine siþþon mid rapum be þam sweoran up aheng, gelicost þam þe he hine sylfne unwitende hæfde awirged, 7 gesette Eugenius to þæs¹¹⁶ rices naman, þæt he casere wære, 7 feng him sylf to þam anwealde, for þam he ne mihte sylf habban þæs anwealdes naman, for þy he næs Romanisc, ac lærde þone oþerne þæt he deofulgyld georne beode. Þa gelædde eft Theodosius fyrde wið him twam to þære ilcan clusan þe he ær hæfde wið Maximus. Þa sende Theodosius Gotena fultum beforan him, þæt hi þa clusan tobræcon, ac hi wurdon uton ymbfaren of þam muntum 7 ealle ofslagen: þæt wæron x m. Þa for Theodosius þyderweard 7 wiste þæt hine man wolde mid þam ilcan wrence beþridian. Þa hi togædereweard foran, þa þohton Eugenius 7 Arbogestes þæt hi sceoldan ærest of þam muntum

hi gebigean mid heora flana gesceotum, [ac him onsende God swelcne wind ongean þæt hie ne mehton from him nænne flan asceotan,]¹¹⁷ ac ælc com oþer þara oððe on hi sylfe, oððe on þa eorþan, 7 Theodosius hæfde þone wind mid him þæt his fultum mihte mæstne¹¹⁸ ælcne heora flana on heora feondum afæstnian. Þær wearð Eugenius ofslagen, 7 Arbogæstes ofstang hine sylf]ne.¹¹⁹ Æfter þam Theodosius for on Italię. Þa he com to Mægelange þære byrig, þa geendode he his lif 7 betæhte his twam sunum þone anweald.

VI. xxxvii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ^[111r] getimbred wæs m wintra 7 c 7 xlix, feng Archadius to anwealde to þam eastdæle 7 hine hæfde xii gear, 7 Honorius to þam westdæle 7 nugit hæfð, cwæð Orosius, 7 for þam þe hi geonge wæron, he hi betæhte his ii ealdormannum to bewitanne: Archadius wæs betæht Rufinuse, 7 Honorius wæs betæht Stilecan. Ac hi gecyðdon raðe þæs hwilce hlafordhylda hi þohton to cyþonne¹²⁰ on heora ealdhlafordes bearnum, gif hi hit þurhteon mihton: Rufinus wolde habban him sylf þone anweald þær east, 7 Stileca wolde syllan his suna þisne her west, 7 for þam feondscipe he forlet Gotan on Italię mid heora twam cyningum, Alrican 7 Rædgotan, 7 þohte, siþþon þæt folc oferfunden wære, þæt hi syþþon woldon eall þæt he wolde, 7 wende eac þæt he þam Gotan þæs gewinnes mihte raþe gestyran, for þam he of heora lande geboren wæs. Raðe þæs Alrica wearð cristen, 7 Rædgota hæþen þuruhwunode 7 dæghwamlice wæs blotende deofulgyldum mid manslihtum, 7 simle him wæs leofost þæt þa wæron Romanisce.

Nugit eow Romane mæg gescamian, cwæð Orosius, þæt ge swa heanlic geþoht sceoldon on eow geniman for anes mannes ege 7 for anes mannes geblote, þe¹²¹ ge sædan þæt þa hæþenan tida wæron beteran þonne þa cristenan, 7 eac þæt eow sylfum wære betere þæt ge cowerne cristendom forleton 7 to þam hæþeniscan þeawum fengan þe eowre ylðran ær beeodan. Ge magon eac gebencean hu hean he eft wearð ^[111v] his geblota 7 his deofulgylda þe he on lyfde, þa þa ge hine gebundene hæfden 7 hine siþþon atugon swa swa ge woldon 7 ealne his fultum. Þæt wæs, swa swa ge sylfe sædon, twa c m, swa cower nan ne wearþ gewundod.

VI. xxxviii

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs m wintra 7 c 7 iiii 7 sixtegum, God gedyde his miltsunge on Romanum, þa þa he heora misdæda wreacan let, þæt hit þeah dyde Alrica se cristenesta cyning 7 se mildesta, 7 he mid swa lytlum niþe abræc Romeburh þæt he bebead þæt man nanne man ne sloge, 7 eac þæt man nanuht ne wanode ne ne yfelode þæs þe on þam cyricum wære, 7 sona þæs on þam þridðan dæge hi geforan ut of þære byrig heora agenum willan, swa þær ne wearð nan hus heora wyllan forbærned.

Þær genam Hettulf, Alrican mæg, Honoriuses sweostor þæs cyninges 7 siþþon wið hine geþingode 7 hi him to wife genam. Siþþon sætan þa Gotan þær on lande, sume be þæs caseres willan, sume his unwillan; sume hi foran on Ispanię 7 þær gesætan, sume on Affrice.

Notes

8. iiii] iii C, L.
9. leng] *om.* C, leng L.
10. oþ] on C, oþ L.
11. hie] he C, hie L.
12. groht] h *expuncted by a l.h. and dæl written above C*, grot L.
13. forhynend] forhiened L.
14. þa] þe C, þa L.
15. of] *om.* C, of L.
16. þa] þe C, þa L.
17. Agustuse] aguste C, agustuse L.
18. 7] *om.* C, 7 L.
19. him] *om.* C, him L.
20. heard] hear\`d/ *with* \`d/ *in l.h.* C, heard L.
21. þa] þa þe C, þa L.
22. hie] *om.* C, hie L.
23. Iudam] iuþan L.
24. geærndian] geærendian L.
25. hie] *om.* C, hie L.
26. slæpende] slæpendne L.
27. ricestera] ricestena L.
28. ge] *om.* C, ge L.
29. þa] þæt L.
30. hie] *om.* \h[i>y]/ *supplied in l.h.* C, hie L.
31. gestilled] gestlled *with ll expuncted and \al/ supplied before d in l.h.* C, gestilled L.
32. Gode] godes C, gode L.
33. ðon] don C, þon L.
34. Bothmose] thomore C, bothmose L.
35. he of þam] of C, he of þæm L.
36. hæfde] hædon C, hæfde L.
37. landleode] landeleode *with the first e expuncted C*.
38. wintra] wint' C, wintra L.
39. gelædd] *om.* C, gelædd L.
40. lxxxviii] lxx\`x/viii *written in red above letters C*.
41. Pompeius] rompeius C, pompeius L.
42. hi becoman] him becom L.
43. wæs] *om.* C, wæs L.
44. þæm] *om.* C, þæm L.
45. Romana calle] calle romane L.
46. þe] þæt hus þe L.
47. forbærnend] onbærned L.

48. Bryttas] þa brettas L.
49. færelte] færelde C, færelte L.
50. Oriense] origenise L.
51. Persan] Xersan L.
52. lxxxvii] lxxxvi C, lxxxvii L.
53. Orienis] origenis L.
54. he] *om.* L.
55. gebroðro] gebroðor L.
56. þæt wæs] *expuncted with dots above letters* L.
57. þæt] þæt wæs þæt L.
58. ehtinge] eh *followed by tinge written in l.h.* C, ehtnes L.
59. wæs] *om.* C, wæs L.
60. sceoldon] sccoldon C, sceoldon L.
61. onwinende] onwinnende L.
62. unweorðnesse] inweorðnesse C, unweorðnesse L.
63. ealle Grecon] eall creca L.
64. hengon] ahengon L.
65. þæs] *om.* L.
66. æfter] æfter þæm L.
67. sweor] sweortor C, agen sweor L.
68. hi] hie þa L.
69. hi] hie þa L.
70. Egypta] eypta C, egypta L.
71. hunder] h'nder C, under L.
72. Maximianus] maximus C, maximianus L.
73. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
74. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
75. 7] 7 he L.
76. Marseus] marserius C, marseus L.
77. fyrhtnesse] fyrhtnesse L.
78. unwyrðnesse] unwyrnesse *with ð written above letters in l.h.* C, unweorðnesse L.
79. Dioclitianus Galerius] dioclicius ualerius C, dioclitianus galerius L.
80. wintrum] wintra L.
81. anwealdas . . . Constantius] anwealdas 7 to constantinus C, onwealdas to galerius 7 to constantius L.
82. nam] *om.* C, nom L.
83. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
84. Gallerius] galerius L.
85. Galerius] galius C, galerius L.
86. Maximinus] maximinus C, maximianus L.
87. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
88. mildheortesta] mild\h/eortesta *with h supplied above letters in l.h.* C, mildesta L.

89. wife] wife in *l.h.* after erasure with *se* still visible in the space C, ciefese L.
 90. Maximianus] maximianuses L.
 91. him] he C, him L.
 92. Luciniuse] lucinuse C. L.
 93. byrig þær] byrig þær C, byrig þe L, [brycge] þe Bately
 94. Tharsa] tharra C, tharsa L.
 95. Romane] romanum L.
 96. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
 97. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
 98. xxiiii] xxiii C, xxiiii L.
 99. Constantinus] constans C. L.
 100. þa] þæt L.
 101. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
 102. Constantius] constantinus C, constantius L.
 103. lornode] leornode L.
 104. underfolgopa] sunderfolgeþa L.
 105. hungre] hæte L.
 106. ofsloh] ofstong L.
 107. niwcilctan] nicealtan L.
 108. Iuuiianus] iuuiinus C. L.
 109. Arrianisco] arrianiscan L.
 110. he] his C, he L.
 111. Ualentianuses] ualerianuses C, ualentianuses L.
 112. sceoldan] sculon L.
 113. libbendene wiste] wiste libbendne *marked for transposition* L.
 114. winnan] wiðerwinnan L.
 115. þa] *om.* C, þa L.
 116. þæs] þæm L.
 117. ac . . . asceotan] *from* L, *om.* C.
 118. mæstne] mæstra L.
 119. sylfne] sylne C, sylfne L.
 120. cyþonne] gecyþanne L.
 121. þe] þæt L.

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Multiple Application Phenomena and the Externalization Parameter Hypothesis

ISHII Toru

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1. Introduction

Locality conditions on syntactic movement operations, *i.e.* upper-bound restrictions on the maximum distance an element may move syntactically, have been the main topic of generative literature since Ross's (1967) seminal work. Locality conditions, which have been claimed to be part of Universal Grammar (UG), can be observed with syntactic movement operations in any human language. English *wh*-movement, for example, is subject to locality conditions like the Complex NP Constraint and the Adjunct Condition as shown in (1)

- (1) a. The Complex NP Constraint
 *? **What** did John visit [the store that had *t* in stock]?
 b. The Adjunct Condition
 *? **Who** did John get jealous [before I talked to *t*]?

In (1a, b), the *wh*-phrases *what* and *who* are extracted out of the Complex NP, the relative clause in (1a), and the adjunct clause respectively; the results are unacceptable.

The locality condition effects are also observed with syntactic movement operations in Japanese as exemplified below:

- (2) Scrambling (Saito 1985)
- a. The Complex NP Constraint
 *? **Bill-ni** Mary-ga [[*t* sono hon-o watasi
Bill-Dat Mary-Nom that book-Acc give
 wasureta] hito]-o sagasiteiru (koto)
 forgot person-Acc look-for (fact)
 Lit. 'To Bill, Mary is still looking for [the person who forgot to give that book *t*].'
- b. The Adjunct Condition
 *? **Bill-ni** John-ga [Mary-ga *t* sono hon-o watasi
Bill-Dat John-Nom Mary-Nom that book-Acc give
 wasureta kara] okotteiru (koto)
 forgot because be.angry (fact)
 Lit. 'To Bill, John is angry [because Mary forgot to give that book *t*].'

(3) Right-Dislocation (Simon 1989; Rosen 1996; Tanaka 2001)

a. The Complex NP Constraint

*? Tentyoo-ga [[John-ga kyaku-ni *t* watasi wasureta]
 manger-Nom John-Nom guest-Dat give forgot
 nitizi]-o oboeteita yo, **sono yubiwa-o**
 date-Acc remember Prt **that ring-Acc**

Lit. 'The manger remember [the date when John forgot to give *t* to the guest],
that ring.'

b. The Adjunct Condition

*? Tentyoo-ga [John-ga kyaku-ni *t* watasi wasureta kara]
 manger-Nom John-Nom guest-Dat gave forgot because
 okotteiru yo, **sono yubiwa-o**
 be.angry Prt **that ring-Acc**

Lit. 'The manger is angry [because John forgot to give *t* to the guest], **that ring.**'

(4) Cleft (Hoji 1987, 1990; Kuwabara 2000; Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002, 2012)

a. The Complex NP Constraint

*[Tentyoo-ga [[sono syoohin-o *t* watasiwasureta] tenin]-o
 manger-Nom the goods-Acc give.forgot clerk-Acc
 kubinisita no]-wa **ano kyaku-ni** da
 fired C Top **that customer-Dat** be

Lit. 'It is **to that customer** that the manager fired [the clerk who forgot to give the
 goods *t*].'

b. The Adjunct Condition

*[Tentyoo-ga [tenin-ga sono syoohin-o *t* watasiwasureta
 manager-Nom clerk-Nom the goods-Acc give.forgot
 kara] okotteiru no]-wa **ano kyaku-ni** da
 because be.angry C Top **that customer-Dat** be

Lit. 'It is **to that customer** that the manager is angry [because the clerk forgot to
 give the goods *t*].'

(5) Sluicing (Takahashi 1994, Kuwabara 1997, Fukaya 2003)

a. The Complex NP Constraint

* Mary-ga [[John-ni *nanika-o* ageta] hito]-o
 Mary-Nom John-Dat something-Acc gave person-Dat
 mita sooda ga, boku-wa [**nani-o** ka] siranai
 saw I.heard but I-Top **what-Acc** Q not.know

Lit. 'I heard Mary saw [a person who had given *something* to John], but I don't
 know **what** (Mary saw [a person who had given *t* to John]).'

b. The Adjunct Condition

- * Mary-ga [John-ga *dareka-ni* wairo-o watasita
 Mary-Nom John-Nom *someone-Dat* bribe-Acc gave
 kara] okotteru sooda ga, boku-wa [**dare-ni** ka] siranai
 because is.angry I.heard but I-Top **who-Dat** Q not.know
 Lit. 'I heard Mary is angry [because John gave a bribe to *someone*], but I don't
 know **to whom** (Mary is angry [because John gave a bribe *t*].'

Scrambling in Japanese, which is responsible for relatively free word order, is subject to the locality conditions. In (2), for example, *Bill-ni* 'Bill-Dat' is scrambled out of the complex NP and the adjunct; the results are unacceptable. A type of right-dislocation in which the original position of the right-dislocated element is empty also obeys the locality conditions. In (3), for instance, *sono yubiwa-o* 'that ring-Acc' undergoes right-dislocation out of the complex NP and the adjunct; the results are unacceptable. Cleft with an NP-Case or PP in the pre-copula focus position is subject to the Complex NP Constraint (4a) and the Adjunct Condition (4b). Sluicing also obeys the locality conditions. Sluicing is an ellipsis phenomenon in which the sentential portion of a constituent question is elided, leaving only a *wh*-phrase remnant. In (5a), the sentential portion of the constituent question *Mary saw a person who had given to John* is elided, leaving the *wh*-phrase remnant *nani-o* 'what-Acc,' which is contained within the complex NP. In (5b), the sentential portion of the constituent question *Mary is angry because John gave a bribe* is elided, leaving the *wh*-phrase remnant *dare-ni* 'who-Dat', which is contained within the adjunct. Both of these results are unacceptable.

This paper investigates apparent multiple applications of scrambling, right-dislocation, cleft, and sluicing in Japanese like (6-9):

(6) Multiple Scrambling

- Bill-ni sono hon-o** John-ga [Mary-ga *e e*
 Bill-Dat that book-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom
 watasita to] omotteiru (koto)
 gave C think (fact)
 Lit. 'To **Bill, that book**, John thinks Mary gave *e e*.'

(7) Multiple Right-dislocation

- John-ga [Mary-ga *e e* watasita to] omotteiru yo,
 John-Nom Mary-Nom gave C think Part
Bill-ni sono hon-o
Bill-Dat that book-Acc
 Lit. 'John thinks Mary gave *e e*, **to Bill, that book**.'

(8) Multiple Cleft

[John-ga [Mary-ga *e e* watasita to] omotteiru no]-wa,
 John-Nom Mary-Nom gave C think C Top
Bill-ni sono hon-o da
Bill-Dat that book-Acc be

Lit. 'It is **to Bill, that book** that John thinks Mary gave *e e*.'

(9) Multiple Sluicing

Mary-ga [John-ga *dareka-ni nanika-o* watasita to]
 Mary-Nom John-Nom *someone-Dat something-Acc* gave C
 omotteiru sooda ga, boku-wa [**dare-ni nani-o** ka] siranai
 think I.heard but I-Top **who-Dat what-Acc** Q not.know

Lit. 'I heard Mary thinks John had given *something to someone*, but I don't know **what to whom** (Mary thinks John had given *e e*).'

It is shown that unlike single application cases, these multiple application cases do not exhibit any locality condition effects. I will propose a PF-movement analysis of these multiple application phenomena, thereby accounting for their insensitivity to the locality conditions.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 first shows that multiple application cases do not induce any locality condition effects, which constitutes evidence against their syntactic movement analysis. I will then propose a PF-movement analysis of the multiple application cases. More specifically, I will argue that more than one syntactic constituents are packed into a single phonological phrase in terms of recursive phonological phrasing proposed by Itô & Mester (2013) and that phonological phrase undergoes movement in the PF-component, thereby accounting for their insensitivity to the syntactic locality conditions. Section 3 shows that unlike languages like Japanese, those like English do not exhibit such multiple application phenomena. I will argue that this cross-linguistic variation between English-type languages and Japanese-type languages can be accommodated under the difference between these two language types regarding a mapping from syntactic structures to prosodic structures. Section 4 makes concluding remarks.

2. A Proposal

2.1 Against a Syntactic Movement Analysis of Multiple Application Phenomena

The previous section has shown that Japanese allows multiple applications of scrambling, right-dislocation, cleft, and sluicing. When these operations apply more than once targeting the same clause peripheral position, the locality condition effects disappear as shown below:

(10) Multiple Scrambling

- a. No Complex NP Constraint Effects

Bill-ni sono hon-o Mary-ga [[*e e* watasi
Bill-Dat that book-Acc Mary-Nom give
 wasureta] hito]-o sagasiteiru (koto)
 forgot person-Acc look-for (fact)

Lit. ‘**To Bill, that book**, Mary is still looking for [the person who forgot to give *e e*].’

- b. No Adjunct Condition Effects

Bill-ni sono hon-o John-ga [Mary-ga *e e* watasi
Bill-Dat that book-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom give
 wasureta kara] okotteiru (koto)
 forgot because be.angry (fact)

Lit. ‘**To Bill, that book**, John is angry [because Mary forgot to give *e e*].’

(11) Multiple Right-Dislocation

- a. No Complex NP Constraint Effects

Tentyoo-ga [[John-ga *e e* watasi wasureta] nitizi]-o
 manger-Nom John-Nom give forgot date-Acc
 oboeteita yo, **kyaku-ni sono yubiwa-o**
 remember Prt **guest-Dat that ring-Acc**

Lit. ‘The manger remember [the date when John forgot to give *e e*], **that ring, to the guest.**’

- b. No Adjunct Condition Effects

Tentyoo-ga [John-ga *e e* watasi wasureta kara]
 manger-Nom John-Nom gave forgot because
 okotteiru yo, **kyaku-ni sono yubiwa-o**
 be.angry Prt **guest-Dat that ring-Acc**

Lit. ‘The manger is angry [because John forgot to give *e e*], **that ring, to the guest.**’

(12) Multiple Cleft

- a. No Complex NP Constraint Effects

[Tentyoo-ga [[*e e* watasiwasureta] tenin]-o kubinisita no]-wa
 manager-Nom give.forgot clerk-Acc fired C Top
ano kyaku-ni sono syoohin-o da
that customer-Dat the goods-Acc be

Lit. ‘It is **the goods, to that customer** that the manager fired [the clerk who forgot to give *e e*].’

- b. No Adjunct Condition Effects

[Tentyoo-ga [tenin-ga *e e* watasiwasureta kara]
 manger-Nom clerk-Nom give.forgot because
 okotteiru no]-wa **ano kyaku-ni sono syoohin-o** da
 be.angry C Top **that customer-Dat the goods-Acc** be

Lit. ‘It is **the goods, to that customer** that the manager is angry [because the clerk

forgot to give *e e*.’

(13) Multiple Sluicing

a. No Complex NP Constraint Effects

Mary-ga [[*dareka-ni nanika-o watasita*] hito]-o
 Mary-Nom *someone-Dat something-Acc* gave man-Acc
 mita sooda ga, boku-wa [**dare-ni nani-o** ka] siranai
 saw I.heard but I-Top **who-Dat what-Acc** Q not.know
 Lit. ‘I heard Mary met a person who had given *something to someone*, but I don't know **what to whom** (Mary met a person who had given *e e*).’

b. No Adjunct Condition Effects

Mary-ga [John-ga *dareka-ni nanika-o*
 Mary-Nom John-Nom *someone-Dat something-Acc*
watasita kara] okotteru sooda ga, boku-wa
 gave because is.angry I.heard but I-Top
 [**dare-ni nani-o** ka] siranai
who-Dat what-Acc Q not.know
 Lit. ‘I heard Mary is angry because John gave *something to someone*, but I don't know **what to whom** (Mary is angry because John gave *e e*).’

If the multiple application cases were derived by syntactic movement, (10-13) should be worse than (6-9), where only one constituent undergoes movement out of an opaque domain. The results, however, are the opposite of what any syntactic analysis of multiple application phenomena would predict. Hence, these multiple application cases should not be derived by syntactic movement.

2.2 A PF-Movement Analysis of Multiple Application Phenomena

We propose that scrambling, Right-dislocation, Cleft, and Sluicing, whether single or multiple, change Information Structure by inducing a focus interpretation. In Agbayani, Golston and Ishii (2015) on scrambling, we have argued that the effects induced by Information Structure in operations like scrambling, Right-dislocation, Cleft, and Sluicing are not limited to syntax or phonology, but apply to both. We propose (14):

- (14) Material for an operation inducing a focus interpretation (like scrambling, Right-dislocation, Cleft, and Sluicing) is *targeted* within syntax, and is moved either in syntax or phonology.

We have then proposed the following: (i) if the targeted material for a focus-inducing operation can undergo movement syntactically, it does; (ii) if the targeted material is not *a single syntactic XP eligible for the relevant operation*, then that material is packed into *a prosodic constituent* and undergoes *prosodic movement*. In other words, syntactic movement *bleeds* prosodic

movement. This naturally follows if syntax derivationally precedes phonology, and an operation is subject to the derivational principle of Earliness proposed by Pesetsky (1989). Thus, prosodic movement cannot apply in place of syntactic movement to remedy locality condition violations. We have also shown that multiple application cases are also immune from other syntactic constraints and devoid of LF interpretive effects (see Agbayani, Golston, and Ishii 2015, Ishii 2019, and Ishii and Agbayani to appear for details). If the material targeted for a focus-inducing operation is a syntactic constituent, it must undergo syntactic movement. If the material does not constitute a syntactic constituent, then prosodic movement applies in the phonology. This works only in a theory where there is a one-way feeding relation from Syntax to Phonology, and where information from Phonology does not flow back into the Syntax (contrary to Richards 2010, 2016).

As an illustration, let us consider multiple scrambling (6) (repeated here as (15)) as an example:

- (15) **Bill-ni sono hon-o** John-ga [Mary-ga *e e*
 Bill-Dat that book-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom
 watasita to] omotteiru (koto)
 gave C think (fact)
 Lit. 'To Bill, that book, John thinks Mary gave *e e*.'

Its derivation proceeds as represented in (16):

(16) Syntax:

- a. ... [NP Bill-ni] [NP sono hon-o] ...
 Bill-Dat that book-Acc
 ↓
 Phonology:
 b. ... ((Bill-ni)φ (sono hon-o)φ)φ ...
 ↓
 c. ι (John-ga ... ((Bill-ni)φ(sono mame-o)φ)φ ...
 ↑

Suppose that NP-Dat *Bill-ni* 'Bill-Dat' and NP-Acc *sono mame-o* 'that bean-Acc' are targeted for scrambling within syntax as shown in (16a). The double underline indicates that that element is targeted for scrambling. Since they do not form a single syntactic XP eligible for scrambling, they cannot undergo scrambling syntactically. It should be noted that although NP-Dat and NP-Acc form VP under the Larsonian analysis of double object (Larson 1988), scrambling can only apply to a non-predicative (saturated) XP. VP, being predicative (non-saturated), is not eligible for scrambling. Then, the derivation proceeds to phonology. The prosodic structure of Japanese allows for the possibility of creating a phonological phrase φ out of individual φs, which correspond to independent XPs, in terms of recursive phonological phrasing proposed by Itô &

Mester (2013) as represented in (16b). To scramble multiple XPs as a single constituent, a phonological phrase ϕ must be created from them in phonology and moved there. In other words, if the targeted material is not a single syntactic constituent, then that material moves in the phonological component as a single prosodic constituent. In (16b), the two ϕ s corresponding to the two XPs targeted for scrambling, *i.e.* *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’ and *sono hon-o* ‘that book-Acc’, are packed into a single ϕ in terms of recursive ϕ -formation. The resultant phonological phrase ϕ undergoes prosodic movement to the left edge of the intonational phrase ι as represented in (16c). Since Multiple scrambling is derived by prosodic movement, it is immune to the syntactic locality conditions.

Multiple right-dislocation, multiple cleft, and multiple sluicing can be analyzed in a similar way. Let us first look at the derivation of multiple right-dislocation (7), which is represented in (17):

(17) Derivation of Multiple Right-dislocation (7)

Syntax:

- a. ... [NP Bill-ni] [NP sono hon-o] ...
 Bill-Dat that book-Acc

Phonology:

- b. ... ((Bill-ni) ϕ (sono hon-o) ϕ) ϕ ...
 c. ... ((Bill-ni) ϕ (sono mame-o) ϕ) ϕ ... yo) ι ↑
-

In (17a), the indirect object NP *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’ and the direct object NP *sono hon-o* ‘that ring-Acc’ are targeted for right-dislocation within syntax. Since they do not form a single syntactic constituent eligible for right-dislocation, they cannot undergo right-dislocation syntactically. In the phonological component, we can create a phonological phrase out of individual phonological phrases ϕ s, which correspond to the two independent NPs, in terms of recursive phonological phrase phrasing as represented in (17b). The resultant phonological phrase undergoes prosodic movement to the right edge of the intonational phrase ι as represented in (17c).

Let us next look at the derivation of multiple cleft (8), which proceeds as represented in (18):

(18) Derivation of Multiple Cleft (8)

Syntax:

- a. [_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{CP} ... [NP Bill-ni] [NP sono hon-o] ... no] da] Top]
 Bill-Dat that book-Acc C be
 - Topicalization of the presuppositional CP to the Spec of TopP ->
- b. [_{TopP}[_{CP} ... [NP Bill-ni] [NP sono mame-o]... no]-wa [_{FocP} *tCP* da] Top]

Phonology:

- c. ... (... ((.....) ϕ (.....) ϕ) ϕ ...no wa) ι da ↑
-

I assume Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002, 2012) analysis of Cleft. In (18a), *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’ and

sono mame-o ‘that bean-Acc’ are targeted for Cleft within syntax. Since they do not form a single syntactic XP eligible for Cleft, they cannot undergo Cleft syntactically. Next, the presuppositional CP undergoes syntactic topicalization to the Spec of TopP as represented in (19b). Then, the derivation proceeds to phonology. In (19c), the two ϕ s corresponding to the two XPs targeted for Cleft, *i.e.* *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’ and *sono mame-o* ‘that bean-Acc’, are packed into a single ϕ in terms of recursive phonological phrase formation, which undergoes prosodic movement to the right edge of the intonational phrase ι , which corresponds with the presuppositional CP.

Let us finally look at the derivation of multiple sluicing (9), which is represented in (19):

(19) Derivation of Multiple Sluicing (9)

Syntax:

- a. $\text{boku-wa} [\text{TopP } [\text{FocP } [\text{CP } \dots [\text{NP dare-ni}] [\text{NP nani-o}] \dots \text{no}] (\text{da}) \text{ Top}] \text{ ka siranai}$
 I-Top who-Dat what-Acc C be Q not.know

- Topicalization of the presuppositional CP to the Spec of TopP ->

- b. $\dots \text{boku-wa} [\text{TopP } [\text{CP } \dots [\text{NP dare-ni}] [\text{NP nani-o}] \dots \text{no}] \text{-wa} [\text{FocP } t_{CP} (\text{da}) \text{ Top}] \text{ ka siranai}$

Phonology:

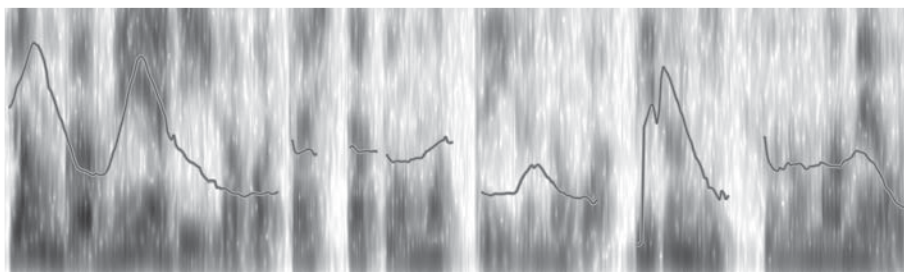
- c. $\dots \text{boku-wa} (\dots (\phi(\phi \text{ dare-ni})(\phi \text{ nani-o})) \dots \text{no wa}) \iota (\text{da}) \text{ ka siranai}$

- d. $\dots \text{boku-wa} (\dots \text{no wa}) \iota (\phi(\phi \text{ dare-ni})(\phi \text{ nani-o})) (\text{da}) \text{ ka siranai}$

I claim with, among others, Kuwabara (1997), Merchant (1998) that Sluicing, single or multiple, is a "concealed Cleft," which is supported by the optional copula *da* 'be'. Then, the derivation up to (19c) is the same as the derivation of multiple cleft shown above. The subject then undergoes argument ellipsis as represented in (19d), yielding multiple sluicing (9).

Our analysis is also supported by evidence from pitch accent in the multiple application cases:

(20)



John-ga Mary-ga watasita to omotteiru-no-wa (Bill-ni sono mamé-o da)

In the pitch track of multiple cleft (20), for example, *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’ and *mamé-o* ‘bean-Acc’ both

have H tones — *mamé* ‘bean’ having lexical H—but the H tone on *mamé-o* ‘bean-Acc’ is visibly lower than the H on *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’. The H tone of *mamé-o* ‘bean-Acc’ is downstepped, *i.e.* its pitch is lowered, in relation to that of the H tone on *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’. The domain of downstep is traditionally the “Major Phrase” in Japanese (Martin 1952, McCawley 1968, Poser 1984, Selkirk & Tateishi 1988), but Itô & Mester (2013) argue convincingly that this prosodic domain is actually a recursive phonological phrase. I follow Itô & Mester here, but note that the present analysis only requires that the material undergoing multiple cleft form some prosodic constituent, which is completely uncontroversial given the downstep. Thus the lowered H on *mamé-o* ‘bean-Acc’ makes it clear that *Bill-ni* ‘Bill-Dat’ and *sono mamé-o* ‘that bean-Acc’ form a single prosodic constituent. The pitch accent patterns of the other multiple application cases exhibit the same pattern.

3. Some Speculations on Crosslinguistic Variations

We have shown that multiple application cases in Japanese can be accounted for by prosodic movement. There are, however, crosslinguistic variations with multiple applications, *i.e.*, languages like Japanese allow multiple applications whereas languages like English do not, as shown below:

- (21) a. No Multiple Topicalization
 * **To Bill, that bean**, John thinks Mary gave *e e*.
 c. No Multiple Cleft
 * It is **to Bill, that bean** that John thinks Mary gave *e e*.
 d. No Multiple Sluicing
 * Someone saw something, but I can’t remember **who what**

Fukui (1999) points out that what he calls “the uniqueness effects” are observed in languages like English but not in languages like Japanese. Languages like Japanese lack the uniqueness effects, allowing relatively free word order, *i.e.* multiple scrambling, multiple right-dislocation, multiple cleft, multiple sluicing, multiple occurrences of Case like multiple nominative, and multiple-headed relative clauses. Languages like English, on the other hand, show the uniqueness effects, thereby not allowing such multiple application phenomena. Fukui first assumes Chomsky’s (1995) view of language that language is a generative procedure for providing a solution to the legibility conditions. He then claims that although UG assures the existence of a solution, it does not guarantee the “uniqueness” of a solution. He proposes the uniqueness parameter (22), which is a macro-parameter, which informally says that languages like English show the uniqueness effects whereas languages like Japanese do not:

(22) Uniqueness Parameter

Universal Grammar (UG) assures the “existence” of a solution, but it does not

guarantee the “uniqueness” of such a solution. The “uniqueness” can be obtained under certain conditions which are regulated by UG.

Languages like English fulfill these conditions while languages like Japanese do not.

(adapted from Fukui 1999: 27)

Fukui claims that the existence of multiple application phenomena in Japanese and their lack in English can be accommodated under the “uniqueness” parameter.

Based on the present analysis of multiple application phenomena in Japanese, I argue that among the non-uniqueness effects in Japanese, at least those relating to movement operations like multiple scrambling, multiple right-dislocation, multiple cleft, and multiple sluicing should be accounted for not by the uniqueness parameter but by the difference between languages in the mapping from syntactic structures to prosodic structures. In other words, there is no “uniqueness” parameter involved; both English-type and Japanese-type languages show the uniqueness effects, *i.e.*, there are no multiple applications of syntactic movement. In Japanese-type languages, more than one syntactic XP can be packed into a single phonological phrase at PF by recursive phonological phrasing, which exhibits the apparent “non-uniqueness effects,” *i.e.* what appears to be the result of multiple applications of syntactic movement. In English-type languages, on the other hand, such recursive phonological phrasing is not available in the syntax-phonology mapping. Selkirk (1984) claims that the existence of the level of phonological phrase below that of intonational phrase is not motivated in English. If we adopt Selkirk’s view, there is no way of forming a recursive phonological phrase in English because there is no phonological phrase; no prosodic movement is allowed.

Then, our view is compatible with the uniformity hypothesis (23) and the externalization parameter (24) proposed by Berwick and Chomsky (2011, 2016) and Chomsky (2001, 2010):

(23) The Uniformity Hypothesis (Chomsky 2001: 2)

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

(24) Externalization Parameter (Chomsky 2010: 60, Berwick and Chomsky 2011: 37; 2016: 82)

Parameterization and diversity, then, would be mostly - possibly entirely - restricted to externalization.

The uniformity and externalization parameter hypotheses informally claim that languages are uniform, and parameterization is restricted to the externalization process, which is theoretically desirable from an evolutionary point of view. If the proposed analysis is on the right track, it presents further evidence for the uniformity and externalization parameter hypotheses.

4. Conclusion

This paper has investigated apparent multiple applications of scrambling, right-dislocation,

cleft, and sluicing in Japanese. It was shown that unlike single application cases, these multiple application cases do not exhibit any locality condition effects. I have proposed a PF-movement analysis of these multiple application phenomena, thereby accounting for their insensitivity to the locality conditions. I have then shown that unlike languages like Japanese, those like English do not exhibit such multiple application phenomena. I have argued that this cross-linguistic variation between English-type languages and Japanese-type languages can be accommodated under the difference between these two language types regarding a mapping from syntactic structures to prosodic structures, which is compatible with the uniformity and externalization parameter hypotheses.

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