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CONTENTS

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---|----|
| ISHII Toru | Locality on Long-distance Dependency in Generative Grammar — Locality on Selection and Labeling — | 1 |
| ISHIGURO Taro | The Doors of Janus in the Old English <i>Orosius</i> | 19 |
| ТОЁКАВА Коити (TOYOKAWA Koichi) | Новые подходы к исследованию по восстанию Пугачева | 29 |

**Locality on Long-distance Dependency
in Generative Grammar**
— Locality on Selection and Labeling —

ISHII Toru

Locality on Long-distance Dependency in Generative Grammar

— Locality on Selection and Labeling —

ISHII Toru

1. Introduction

Merge, which subsumes traditional phrase structure rules and transformations, is the fundamental structure-building operation in human language. In Chomsky's (1995) formulation (1), Merge is an asymmetric operation; it combines two elements into a set and projects one of the merged elements, providing the set with a label:

(1) Asymmetric Merge

$$\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta) =_{\text{def}} \{\gamma, \{\alpha, \beta\}\}, \text{ where } \gamma \in \{\alpha, \beta\}$$

(adapted from Chomsky 1995: 243)

In the asymmetric formulation (1), labeling is part of Merge, but this is a residue of phrase structure grammar. It is therefore better to separate the labeling part from Merge. Under this view, Chomsky (2004, 2008, 2013) formulates Merge as a symmetric operation as shown in (2). In (2), Merge combines two elements into a set, but labels are not created by Merge. Labels are rather determined by the two labeling algorithms in (3):

(2) Symmetric Merge

$$\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta) =_{\text{def}} \{\alpha, \beta\}$$

(adapted from Chomsky 2004: 117)

(3) Labeling Algorithms (Chomsky 2008: 145)

a. In $\{H, \alpha\}$, H an LI, H is the label.

b. If α is internally merged to β , forming $\{\alpha, \beta\}$, then the label of β is the label of $\{\alpha, \beta\}$.

(3a) states that it is always a head that projects. (3b) states that in Internal Merge, it is always the target that projects. The symmetric formulation of Merge is also proposed by Boeckx (2008), Hornstein (2009), and Fukui (2011).

Under the symmetric Merge together with the labeling algorithms approach, Merge and labeling are independent operations so that we should expect that labeling may apply without Merge. This paper deals with complementizer stacking in Japanese and Korean exemplified by (4, 5), arguing that labeling without Merge applies during a derivation of complementizer stacking:

(4) John-wa Bill-ni [dare-ga kita ka to] tazuneta

John-Top Bill-Dat who-Nom came Q that asked

Lit. 'John asked Bill that who came.'

- (5) John-nun Mary-eykey [*pro* kumwuncey-lul phwul-ess
 John-Top Mary-Dat that problem-Acc solved
 nya ko] mulessta
 Q that asked

Lit. ‘John asked Mary that whether she solved that problem.’

In (4) and (5), two complementizers are stacked at the right edge of the complement clause. In the Japanese example (4), the interrogative complementizer *ka* ‘Q’ and the declarative complementizer *to* ‘that’ are stacked. Similarly, *nya* ‘Q’ and *ko* ‘that’ are stacked in the Korean example (5). I argue that there are dual selections involved in (4) and (5), *i.e.* semantic selection between the matrix predicate *tazuneta/mulessta* ‘ask’ and the interrogative complementizer *ka/nya* ‘Q’, and syntactic selection between the matrix predicate and the declarative complementizer *to/ko* ‘that’. Given sisterhood condition on selection, which states that an element can only select its sister, no previous analysis can account for why the matrix predicate *tazuneta/mulessta* ‘ask’ can semantically select the interrogative complementizer *ka/nya* ‘Q’ skipping over *to/ko* ‘that’ in (4) and (5). I propose that when a labeling conflict arises, relabeling may apply as part of LF-Transfer, which accounts for the syntactic and semantic selections in a straightforward way.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 investigates complementizer stacking in Japanese and Korean, showing that complementizer stacking involves dual selections. Section 3 presents evidence against a direct quotation analysis of complementizer stacking. Section 4 first explicates labeling conflicts and cartographic structure building, and then proposes a relabeling analysis of complementizer stacking. Section 5 makes concluding remarks.

2. Complementizer Stacking in Japanese and Korean

2.1 Complementizer Stacking in Japanese

2.1.1 Semantic Selection

Predicates like *tazuneru* ‘ask’ semantically select an interrogative clause. They can take a clause headed by the interrogative complementizer *ka* ‘Q’ but not a clause headed by the declarative complementizer *to* ‘that’ as shown by the contrast between (6a) and (6b):

- (6) a. *John-wa Bill-ni [Mary-ga kita to] tazuneta
 John-Top Bill-Dat Mary-Nom came that asked
 Lit. ‘John asked Bill that Mary came.’
 b. John-wa Bill-ni [dare-ga kita ka] tazuneta
 John-Top Bill-Dat who-Nom came Q asked
 ‘John asked Bill who came.’

2.1.2 Complementizer Stacking

As pointed out by Fukui (1986), Saito (2010), Hoshi (2011), and Miyagawa (2011), these two complementizers *ka* ‘Q’ and *to* ‘that’ can be stacked in the complement clause selected by *tazuneru* ‘ask’ as shown in (4) (repeated here as (7)):

- (7) John-wa Bill-ni [dare-ga kita ka to] tazuneta
 John-Top Bill-Dat who-Nom came Q that asked
 Lit. ‘John asked Bill that who came.’

Given that selection is local in that an element can only select its sister, a question arises how the matrix predicate *tazuneru* ‘ask’ can semantically select the interrogative complementizer *ka* ‘Q’ skipping over the declarative complementizer *to* ‘that’ in (7).

2.1.3 Syntactic Selection

We cannot simply assume that the declarative complementizer *to* ‘that’ is transparent for selection in (7). As pointed out by Saito (2010), not all matrix predicates allow complementizer stacking. Although predicates like *siritagaru* ‘want-to-know’, *tyoosasuru* ‘investigate’, and *hakkensuru* ‘discover’ semantically select an interrogative clause as shown in (8), they cannot take complementizer stacking clauses as shown in (9) (Saito 2010: 5):

- (8) John-wa [dare-ga kita ka] siritagatteiru
 John-Top who-Nom came Q want-to-know
 Lit. ‘John wants to know who came.’
- (9) *John-wa [dare-ga kita ka to] siritagatteiru
 John-Top who-Nom came Q that want-to-know
 Lit. ‘John wants to know that who came.’

The contrast between (8) and (9) shows the difference in syntactic selection between *tazuneru* ‘ask’ and *siritagaru* ‘want-to-know’; predicates like *tazuneru* ‘ask’ can syntactically select a clause headed by *to* ‘that’ whereas predicates like *siritagaru* ‘want-to-know’ cannot.

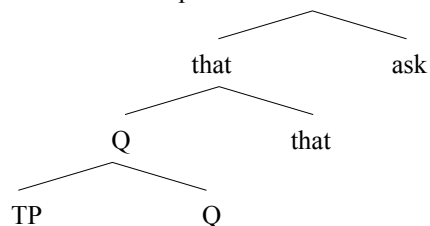
2.1.4 Dual Selections

I argue that dual selections are involved in the complementizer stacking clause (7):

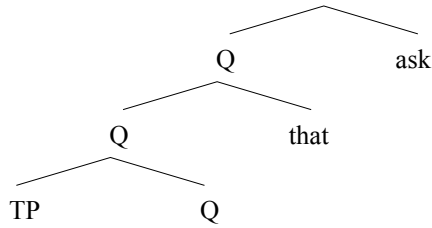
- (10) Dual Selections
- Semantic selection between *tazuneru* ‘ask’ and the interrogative complementizer *ka* ‘Q’ at LF
 - Syntactic selection between *tazuneru* ‘ask’ and the declarative complementizer *to* ‘that’ in overt syntax as a driving force of Merge

In the traditional analysis, there are two possible structures of the complementizer stacking clause (7), *i.e.* the head-complement structure (11a) and the adjunction structure (11b):

- (11) a. The Head-Complement Structure



b. The Adjunction Structure



Given the sisterhood condition on selection, the dual selections cannot be captured by either the head-complement structure or the adjunction structure. The head-complement structure (11a) satisfies syntactic selection, but not semantic selection. The adjunction structure (11b), on the other hand, satisfies semantic selection, but not syntactic selection. What we need is a dual structure, where one syntactic object may have more than one structure, *i.e.* both the head-complement structure and the adjunction structure. One might argue that if we assume the head-complement structure (11a) and allow the Q-feature of the interrogative complementizer *ka* ‘Q’ to percolate up the *that*-phrase, then the matrix predicate *tazuneru* ‘ask’ can satisfy the dual selections. The *that*-clause, however, would end up having both an interrogative and non-interrogative feature, which is contradictory; this would result in an anomalous interpretation at LF. It should also be noted that under the bare phrase structure theory this paper is assuming, such partial percolation is not allowed. Hence, this paper does not adopt a partial percolation analysis.

2.2 Complementizer Stacking in Korean

2.2.1 Semantic Selection

In Korean complementizer stacking, a matrix verb semantically selects a mood marker within its complement clause as shown in (12–15):

- (12) John-nun [Mary-ka ku mwuncey-lul phwul-ess
 John-Top Mary-Nom that problem-Acc solved
 ta/*nya/*la/*ca ko/*nun] cwucangha-ess-ta
 Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that claimed
 ‘John claimed that Mary solved that problem.’
- (13) John-nun Mary-eykey [pro kumwuncey-lul phwul-ess
 John-Top Mary-Dat that problem-Acc solved
 *ta/*nya/*la/*ca ko/*nun] mul-ess-ta
 Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that asked
 ‘John asked Mary whether she solved that problem.’
- (14) John-nun Mary-eykey [pro ku mwuncey-lul phwul
 John-Top Mary-Dat that problem-Acc solve
 *ta/*nya/*la/*ca ko/*nun] myengryengha-ess-ta
 Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that ordered
 ‘John ordered Mary to solve that problem.’

- (15) John-nun Mary-eykey [*pro* ku mwuncey-lul phwul
 John-Top Mary-Dat that problem-Acc solve
 *ta/*nya/*la/ca ko/*nun] ceyanha-ess-ta
 Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that suggested
 ‘John suggested to Mary to solve that problem.’

Verbs like *cwucangha* ‘claim’ semantically select the declarative mood marker *ta* as shown in (12). Verbs like *mul* ‘ask’ semantically select the interrogative mood marker *nya* as shown in (13). Verbs like *myengryengha* ‘order’ semantically select the imperative mood marker *la* as shown in (14). Verbs like *ceyanha* ‘suggest’ semantically select the exhortative mood marker *ca* as shown in (15). Similarly, a matrix noun semantically selects a mood marker in its complement clause as shown in (16–19):

- (16) [John-i ku mwuncey-lul phwul-ess ta/*nya/*la/*ca *ko/nun] cwucang
 John-Nom that problem-Acc solved Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that claim
 ‘the claim that John solved that problem’
- (17) [John-i ku mwuncey-lul phwul-ess *ta/nya/*la/*ca *ko/nun] cilmwu
 John-Nom that problem-Acc solved Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that question
 ‘the question whether John solved that problem’
- (18) [*pro* ku mwuncey-lul phwul *ta/*nya/la/*ca *ko/nun] myenglyeng
 that problem-Acc solve Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that order
 ‘the order to solve that problem’
- (19) [*pro* ku mwuncey-lul phwul *ta/*nya/*la/ca *ko/nun] ceyan
 that problem-Acc solve Decl/Q/Imp/Exh that suggestion
 ‘the suggestion to solve that problem’

2.2.2 Syntactic Selection

A question again arises how the matrix predicate can semantically select a mood marker skipping over *ko/nun* ‘that’ in (12–19). We cannot claim that *ko* and *nun* are transparent for selection. Matrix verbs take *ko* but not *nun* as shown in (12–15). Matrix nouns, on the other hand, take *nun* but not *ko* as shown in (16–19). This shows that matrix verbs syntactically select *ko* ‘that’ whereas matrix nouns syntactically select *nun* ‘that’. Hence, dual selections are also involved in Korean complementizer stacking; semantic selection between a matrix predicate and a mood marker at LF and syntactic selection between a matrix verb/noun and *ka/nun* ‘that’ in overt syntax as a driving force of Merge.

3. Evidence against a Direct Quotation Analysis

This section presents evidence to show that complementizer stacking clauses in Japanese and Korean are not direct quotations but complement clauses.

3.1 Polite Forms

First, Miyagawa (1987) observes that direct *wh*-questions with *ka* ‘Q’ in Japanese are

deviant if the verb is in the plain form without the polite suffix *-masu*, as shown by the contrast between (20a) and (20b):

- (20) a. *Dare-ga kita ka (plain form)
 who-Nom came Q
 ‘Who came?’
 b. Dare-ga kimasita ka (polite form)
 who-Nom came Q
 ‘Who came?’

In the complementizer stacking clause (7) (repeated here as (21)), *ka* ‘Q’ is used with the plain verb form *kita* ‘came’. This shows that the complementizer stacking clause (21) does not involve a quoted direct *wh*-question but a complement clauses:

- (21) John-wa Bill-ni [dare-ga kita ka to] tazuneta
 John-Top Bill-Dat who-Nom came Q that asked
 Lit. John asked Bill that who came.’ (plain form)

3.2. Extraction

Second, direct quotations are opaque to extraction as shown below:

- (22) *What did Mary say, “I am going to buy *t*?”

- (23) Japanese

?*Sono situmon-ni Mary-ga, “Dare-ga *t* tadasiku
 that question-Dat Mary-nom who-Nom correctly
 kotaeta no kasira” to tazuneta rasii
 answered Q Part(icle) that asked seem
 Lit. ‘That question, it seems that Mary asked, “Who answered *t* correctly?”’

- (24) Korean

??Ku mwuncey-lul Meyli-ka “Nwu-ka *t* cenghwakhi phwulessulkka?”
 that problem-Acc Mary-Nom “who-Nom correctly solved
 hako mwul-un kes kathta.
 that ask fact seems
 Lit. ‘That question, it seems that Mary asked, “Who solved *t* correctly?”’

Extraction out of a complementizer stacking clause, on the other hand, is possible in both Japanese (25) and Korean (26). This also shows that complementizer stacking clauses are not direct quotations but complement clauses:

- (25) Sono situmon-ni Mary-ga [dare-ga *t* tadasiku kotaeta ka to]
 that question-Dat Mary-Nom who-Nom correctly answered Q that
 tazuneta rasii
 asked seem
 Lit. ‘That question, it seems that Mary asked that who answered *t* correctly.’

- (26) Ku kyengchal-eykey Con-i [Meyli-ka *t* pemin-ul
that policeman-Dat John-Nom Mary-Nom criminal-Acc
sinkohayss nya ko] Pil-eykey mwulessta
reported Q that Bill-Dat asked
Lit. ‘That policeman, John asked Bill that whether Mary reported the criminal *t*.’

3.3 Pronominal Binding

Third, direct quotations are opaque to pronominal binding as shown in (27–29):

- (27) Mary₁ asked John, “Who cheated her_{*1/2}?”
- (28) Japanese
Mary₁-ga John-ni, “Dare-ga kanozyo_{*1/2}-o damasita no kasira,”
Mary-Nom John-Dat who-Nom she-Acc cheated Q Part
to tazuneta rasii
that asked seem
‘It seems that Mary asked John, “Who cheated her?”’
- (29) Korean
Meyli₁-ka pil-eykey “Con-i kunye_{*1/2}-lul sokyess nya?”
Mary-Nom Bill-Dat John-Nom she-Acc cheated Q
hako mwulessta
that asked
‘Mary asked Bill, “Did John cheat her?”’

In (27–29), the pronoun within the direct quotation cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject *Mary*. In (30, 31), on the other hand, the pronoun *kanozyo* ‘she’ within the complementizer stacking clause can be coreferential with *Mary*; complementizer stacking clauses are not opaque to pronominal binding:

- (30) Mary₁-ga John-ni [dare-ga kanozyo_{1/2}-o damasita ka to] tazuneta rasii
Mary-Nom John-Dat who-Nom she-Acc cheated Q that asked seem
Lit. ‘It seems that Mary asked John that who cheated her.’
- (31) Meyli₁-ka pil-eykey [con-i kunye_{1/2}-lul sokyess nya ko] mwulessta
Mary-Nom Bill-Dat John-Nom she-Acc cheated Q that asked
Lit. ‘Mary asked Bill that whether John cheated her.’

3.4 *De re* Readings

Fourth, descriptions in direct quotations may not be interpreted as *de re* as shown below:

- (32) a. Oedipus said, “My mother is pretty.”(Unambiguous)
De dicto: Oedipus knows she is his mother.
*De re: Oedipus doesn’t know she is his mother.
b. Oedipus said his mother is pretty. (ambiguous)

In (32a), *my mother* in the direct quotation can only be interpreted as *de dicto* but not as *de re*. This is in contrast with (32b), where *his mother* in the complement clause can be interpreted as either *de dicto* or *de re*. Similarly, in the Japanese example (33), *sensei* ‘teacher’ in the direct

quotation cannot be interpreted as *de re*; (33) is deviant in the given context. In the Korean example (34), *Meyli* ‘Mary’ in the direct quotation cannot be interpreted as *de re*, either; (34) is also deviant in the given context

- (33) Context: Mary saw Jack talking with the man who was a stranger to her. She asked me who Jack was talking with. She doesn’t know Jack is a teacher. In the classroom, I say to someone else:

#Mary-ga, “Sensei-wa dare-to hanasiteita no kasira,”
 Mary-Nom teacher-Nom who-with was-talking Q Part
 to boku-ni tazuneteita yo
 that I-Dat asked Part
 ‘Mary asked me, “Who was the teacher talking with?”’

- (34) Context: A teacher pointed a girl and asked her to solve the problem. However, the teacher does not know the girl is Mary.

#Sensayngnim-kkeyse Meyli-eykey “Meyli-ka ku mwuncey-lul phwuless nya?”
 teacher-Dat Mary-Dat Mary-Nom that problem-Acc solved Q
 hako mwulessta.
 that asked
 ‘A teacher asked Mary, “Did Mary solve the problem?”’

Turning to complementizer stacking clauses, (35) and (36) are acceptable in the same contexts as (33) and (34) respectively. This indicates that *sensei* ‘teacher’ and *Meyli* ‘Mary’ in the complementizer stacking clauses can be interpreted as *de re*. Hence, complementizer stacking clauses are not direct quotations but complement clauses:

- (35) In the same context as (33):

Mary-ga [sensei-ga dare-to hanasiteita ka to] boku-ni tazuneteita yo
 Mary-Nom teacher-Nom who-with was-talking Q that I-Dat asked Part
 ‘Mary asked me that who the teacher was talking with.’

- (36) In the same context as (34):

Sensayngnim-kkeyse Meyli-eykey [Meyli-ka
 teacher-Dat Mary-Dat Mary-Nom
 ku mwuncey-lul phwuless nya ko] mwulessta
 that problem-Acc solved Q that asked
 Lit. ‘A teacher asked that whether Mary solved that problem.’

3.5 Temporal Modifiers

Fifth, temporal modifiers in direct quotations are evaluated relative to subjects whereas those in complement clauses are evaluated relative to utterers:

- (37) a. Mary said, “I will come to the party tomorrow.”
 b. Mary said she would come to the party tomorrow.

In (37a), the temporal modifier *tomorrow* in the direct quotation is evaluated relative to the subject *Mary*; *tomorrow* is interpreted as the day after Mary’s saying or asking. In (37b), on the other hand, *tomorrow* in the complement clause is evaluated relative to the utterer; *tomorrow* is

interpreted as the day after speech act. In a similar vein, *asita* ‘tomorrow’ in the Japanese example (38) and *nayil* ‘tomorrow’ in the Korean example (39) in the direct quotations are evaluated relative to the subject *Mary*:

- (38) Mary-ga John-ni, “Dare-ga asita paatii-ni kuru no kasira,”
 Mary-Nom John-Dat who-Nom tomorrow party-to come Q Part
 to tazuneteita yo
 that asked Part
 ‘Mary asked John, “Who comes to the party tomorrow?”’
- (39) Meyli-ka Con-eykey, “Ney-ka nayil phathi-ey ka la,”
 Mary-Nom John-Dat you-Nom tomorrow party-to go Imp
 hako myenglyenghayssta
 that ordered
 ‘Mary ordered John, “You should go to the party tomorrow.”’

Turning to complementizer stacking clauses, *asita* ‘tomorrow’ in the Japanese example (40) and *nayil* ‘tomorrow’ in the Korean example (41) are interpreted as the day after speech act. This shows that complementizer stacking clauses are not direct quotations but complement clauses:

- (40) Mary-ga [dare-ga asita paatii-ni kuru ka to]
 Mary-Nom who-Nom tomorrow party-to come Q that
 John-ni tazuneteita yo
 John-Dat asked Part
 ‘Mary asked John that who would come to the party the next day.’
- (41) Meyli-ka Con-eykey [pro nayil phathi-ey ka la ko] myenglyenghayssta.
 Mary-Nom John-Dat tomorrow party-to go Imp that ordered
 ‘Mary ordered John to go to the party the next day.’

3.6 Evaluative Predicates

Sixth, evaluative predicates in direct quotations are evaluated relative to subjects whereas those in complement clauses are evaluated relative to utterers:

- (42) a. Mary said, “I love that idiot.”
 b. Mary said she loves that idiot.

In (42a), where *that idiot* is within the direct quotation, it is evaluated relative to the subject *Mary*; it is Mary who thinks that he is an idiot. In (42b), on the other hand, *that idiot* is in the complement clause so that it is evaluated relative to the utterer; it is the utterer who thinks that he is an idiot. Similarly, *ano orokamono* ‘that idiot’ in (43) and *ku papo.casik* ‘that idiot’ in (44), which are within the direct quotations, are evaluated relative to the subject *Mary*:

- (43) Mary-wa John-ni, “Dare-ga ano orokamono-ni
 Mary-Top John-Dat who-Nom that idiot-Dat
 taikin-o watasita no kasira,” to tazuneta
 a lot of money-Acc gave Q Part that asked
 ‘Mary asked John, “Who gave a lot of money to that idiot?”’

- (44) Meyli-ka Con-eykey “ku papo.casik-eykey kekum-ul
 Mary-Nom John-Dat that idiot-Dat money-Acc
 cwuess nya” hako mwulessta
 gave Q that asked
 ‘Mary asked John, “Did you give money to that idiot?”’

When *that idiot* is in a complementizer stacking clause, it is evaluated relative to the utter as shown in (45, 46). This shows that complementizer stacking clauses are complement clauses:

- (45) Mary-wa John-ni [dare-ga ano orokamono-ni
 Mary-Top John-Dat who-Nom that idiot-Dat
 taikin-o watasita ka to] tazuneta
 a lot of money-Acc gave Q that asked
 Lit. ‘Mary asked John that who gave a lot of money to that idiot.’
- (46) Meyli-ka Con-eykey ku papo.casik-eykey kekum-ul cwuess nya ko mwulessta
 Mary-Nom John-Dat that idiot-Dat money-Acc gave Q that asked
 Lit. ‘Mary asked John that whether he gave money to that idiot.’

3.7 Deictic Terms

Finally, deictic terms within direct quotations are evaluated relative to subjects whereas those in complement clauses are evaluated relative to utterers:

- (47) a. Mary said, “I want this picture.”
 b. Mary said that she wanted this picture.

In (47a), where the deictic term *this* appears within the direct quotation, it is evaluated relative to the subject *Mary*; *this picture* is near *Mary*. In (47b), on the other hand, *this* appears within the complement clause so that it is evaluated relative to the utterer; *this picture* is near the utterer. In a similar vein, when a deictic term appears in a direct quotation in Japanese and Korean, it is evaluated relative to the subject, as shown in (48, 49):

- (48) Mary-wa John-ni, “Dare-ga kono e-o kaita no kasira,”
 Mary-Top John-Dat who-Nom this picture-Acc drew Q Part
 to tazuneta
 that asked
 ‘Mary asked John, “Who draw this picture?”’
- (49) Meyli-ka Con-eykey “i kulim-ul Saym-eykey cwuess nya”
 Mary-Nom John-Dat this picture-Acc Sam-Dat gave Q
 hako mwulessta
 that asked
 ‘Mary asked John, “Did you give this picture to Sam?”’

When the deictic term *kono e* ‘this picture’ or *i kulim* ‘this picture’ appears in a complementizer stacking clause, it is evaluated relative to the utterer as shown in (50, 51). Hence, complementizer stacking clauses are complement clauses:

- (50) Mary-wa John-ni [dare-ga kono e-o kaita ka to] tazuneta
 Mary-Top John-Dat who-Nom this picture-Acc draw Q that asked
 Lit. ‘Mary asked John that who draw this picture.’
- (51) Meyli-ka Con-eykey i kulim-ul Saym-eykey cwuess nya ko mwulessta
 Mary-Nom John-Dat this picture-Acc Sam-Dat gave Q that asked
 Lit. ‘Mary asked John that whether he gave this picture to Sam.’

4. A Proposal

4.1 Labeling Conflicts and Cartographic Structure Building

Before turning to an analysis of the dual selections in complementizer stacking, I will explicate labeling conflicts and cartographic structure building. The notion of labeling conflict was proposed by Donati (2006), Chomsky (2008), and Cecchetto and Donati (2010; 2011). They argue that a labeling conflict arises in cases like (52). In (52), α is a lexical item, *i.e.* a head, and β is not a head, and α undergoes Internal Merge with β :

(52) [α [β α]]

The labeling algorithms (3) (repeated here as (53)) make conflicting predictions:

(53) Labeling Algorithms (Chomsky 2008: 145)

- a. In $\{H, \alpha\}$, H an LI, H is the label.
- b. If α is internally merged to β , forming $\{\alpha, \beta\}$, then the label of β is the label of $\{\alpha, \beta\}$.

According to (53a), α , which is a head, should become the label. According to (53b), however, β , which is the target of Internal Merge, should become the label. They claim that a labeling conflict makes the two different labels available, which creates an ambiguous structure.

Based on their labeling conflict idea, I argue that a labeling conflict creates not only an ambiguous structure but also a dual structure in the sense that one syntactic object has different structures in overt syntax and LF. Such a dual structure is created by relabeling as part of LF-Transfer. It is reasonable to assume that LF-Transfer can trigger relabeling, where the asymmetric relation between merged elements changes. It should be noted that PF-Transfer alters the (a)symmetric relation between merged elements, converting an unordered set $\{X, Y\}$ into an ordered pair $\langle X, Y \rangle$ or $\langle Y, X \rangle$. Hence, I claim that Transfer can alter the (a)symmetric relation between merged elements due to linearization in PF-Transfer and relabeling in LF-Transfer.

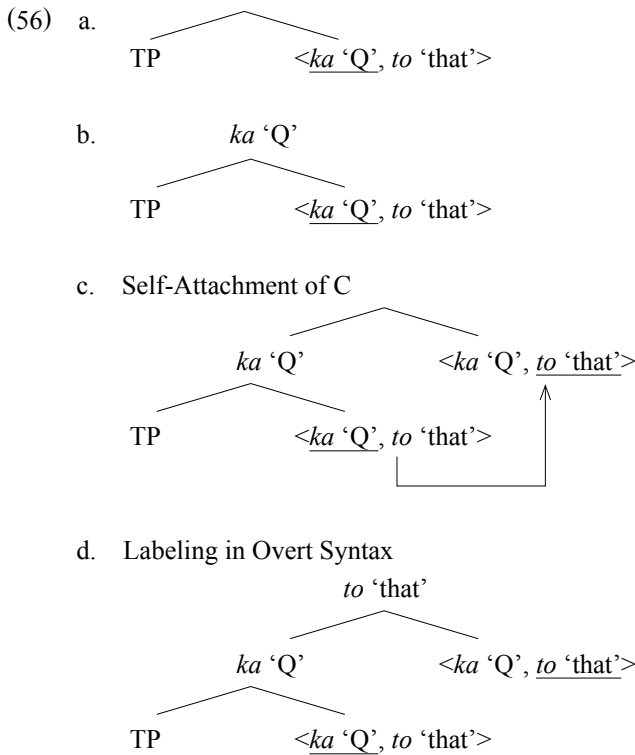
This paper claims with Shlonsky (2006) that cartographic structure in the sense of Rizzi (1997) is created by self-attachment of C as stated in (54):

- (54) a. C is associated with an ordered set of lexical items (or bundles of features if C is null) $\langle C_1, \dots, C_n \rangle$. These precompiled lexical items (or bundles of features) correspond to Rizzi's (1997) Fin, Foc, Top, etc.
- b. The computational system activates these lexical items (or bundles of features) one by one respecting the order of compilation; (i) Initial merger of C activates the leftmost lexical item (or bundle of features) in the set, (ii) Each time C is internally merged to itself, *i.e.*, self-attachment of C takes place, the leftmost inactive lexical item (or bundle of features) in the set is activated.
- c. Once C_m , $m > 1$, is activated, C_{m-1} is no longer visible to the computational system.

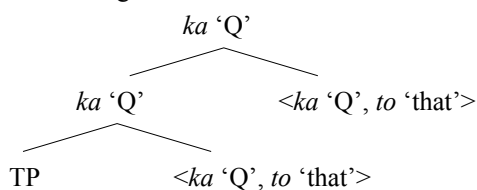
4.2 A Relabeling Analysis of Complementizer Stacking

Let us look at how relabeling derives the dual structure property of complementizer stacking, thereby accounting for its dual selections. Let us consider the Japanese example (7) (repeated here as (55)) as an example. The derivation of (55) proceeds as represented in (56):

- (55) John-wa Bill-ni [dare-ga kita ka to] tazuneta
 John-Top Bill-Dat who-Nom came Q that asked
 Lit. 'John asked Bill that who came.'



e. Relabeling as Part of LF-Transfer



C consists of the ordered set $\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle$. External Merge applies to TP and C $\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle$. By this initial merger of C $\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle$, the leftmost lexical item in the set, *i.e.* the interrogative complementizer $ka \text{ 'Q'}$, becomes activated. This merger yields $\{TP, \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}\}$ as represented in (56a). In (56a) and relevant representations to follow, the activated lexical item (or bundle of features) is underlined. The labeling algorithms in (53) require that $\underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$, which is a lexical item, should become the label of $\{TP, \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}\}$ in accordance with the labeling algorithm (53a); (56b) is labeled $ka \text{ 'Q'}$ ($= \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$). Next, we apply self-attachment of C, *i.e.* attachment (movement) of $\underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$ to itself. In other words, $\underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$ is internally merged to the label $ka \text{ 'Q'}$ ($= \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$). When $\underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$ is internally merged to itself, the leftmost inactive lexical item in the set $to \text{ 'that'}$ becomes activated and $ka \text{ 'Q'}$, which was activated in the previous Merge, becomes no longer visible to the computational system; this results in $\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, \underline{to \text{ 'that'}} \rangle$. Hence, self-attachment of C yields $\{ka \text{ 'Q'}$ ($= \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$), $\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, \underline{to \text{ 'that'}} \rangle\}$, as represented in (56c). A labeling conflict arises in (56c); the labeling algorithm (53a) requires that $\underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$, which is a lexical item, should become the label, whereas the labeling algorithm (53b) requires that the label $ka \text{ 'Q'}$ ($= \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$), which is the target of Internal Merge, should become the label. I argue that this labeling conflict creates a dual structure. We have two labeling options; either $to \text{ 'that'}$ ($= \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$) or $ka \text{ 'Q'}$ ($= \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$) becomes the label. We take the former option here; $to \text{ 'that'}$ becomes the label in accordance with (53a) in overt syntax, as represented in (56d). This labeling drives Merge with the matrix predicate *tazuneru* 'ask', satisfying the syntactic selection of *tazuneru* 'ask'. When we come to the stage where LF-Transfer applies, relabeling applies as part of LF-Transfer; $ka \text{ 'Q'}$ ($= \underline{\langle ka \text{ 'Q'}, to \text{ 'that'} \rangle}$) becomes the label in accordance with (53b) as represented in (56e). This label satisfies the semantic selection of the matrix predicate *tazuneru* 'ask' at LF. Hence, relabeling due to the labeling conflict creates a dual structure where the complementizer stacking clause (55) is labeled $to \text{ 'that'}$ in overt syntax but $ka \text{ 'Q'}$ at LF; this accounts for the puzzling dual selections. The dual selections in Korean complementizer stacking can be accounted for in the same way.

Before closing this section, let us consider predicates like *omou* 'think', *yuu* 'say', and *sakebu* 'scream'. These predicates syntactically and semantically select a complement clause headed by the declarative complementizer $to \text{ 'that'}$ as shown in (57):

- (57) a. John-wa [Mary-ga kita to] omotta / itta / sakenda
 John-Top Mary-Nom came that thought / said / screamed
 ‘John thought/said/screamed that Mary came.’
- b. *John-wa [dare-ga kita ka] omotta / itta / sakenda
 John-Top who-Nom came Q thought / said / screamed
 Lit. ‘John thought/said/screamed who came.’

As pointed out by Saito (2010), these predicates can also take a complementizer stacking clause as shown in (58):

- (58) John-wa [dare-ga kita ka to] omotta / itta / sakenda
 John-Top who-Nom came Q that thought / said / screamed
 Lit. ‘John thought/said/screamed that who came.’

Under our analysis, the derivation of (58) proceeds almost in the same way as derivation (55). The only difference between these two derivations is that relabeling due to a labeling conflict, which is optional, does not apply in the derivation of (58). The declarative complementizer *to* ‘that’, which is the label in overt syntax, remains as the label at LF; this satisfies the syntactic and semantic selections of these predicates.

5. Conclusion

This paper has investigated complementizer staking in Japanese and Korean. It was shown that complementizer stacking involves dual selections, which cannot be accounted for by either the traditional head-complement or adjunction structure. I have then proposed relabeling as part of LF-Transfer due to a labeling conflict, showing that it accounts for the dual selections. The proposed analysis presents further evidence for the symmetric Merge together with labeling algorithms approach.

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The Doors of Janus in the Old English *Orosius*

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The Temple of Janus was a shrine in the Forum in ancient Rome. Tradition says that the doors or gates (*portae*) of the temple were closed only “in times of complete peace” (*Oxford Classical Dict.*, “Janus”). Reference to the doors is found in the Old English (OE) translation of Orosius’s *History against the Pagans* (*Historiae aduersus paganos*). A search through the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* gives no example of the lexis *Ianes* “Janus” in any other work. The OE *Orosius* may thus have been a unique work that provided ninth-century English readers with the knowledge of this ancient custom.

Livy is one of the main authorities for our knowledge of the custom. He says that the doors of the Temple of Janus were in fact shut only three times during Roman history up to Augustus’s reign:

[Numa Pompilius, legendary successor to Romulus,] built the temple of Janus at the bottom of the Argiletum, as an index of peace and war, that when open it might signify that the nation was in arms, when closed that all the peoples round about were pacified. Twice since Numa’s reign has it been closed: once in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the conclusion of the First Punic War; the second time, which the gods permitted our own generation to witness, was after the battle of Actium, when the emperor Caesar Augustus had brought about peace on land and sea. (1.19.1–3)¹

The doors were thus mostly kept open throughout the Roman history that Livy knew. Florus who wrote a summary of Roman history in the second century based his work mainly on Livy. He describes that Numa gave the Romans, among other things, “the double-faced Janus, the symbol of peace and war” (1.2.3); that after the First Punic War “[a]s a proof of peace and a genuine cessation of hostilities, the door of the Temple of Janus was closed for the first time since the reign of Numa; but immediately afterwards it was quickly opened again” (2.3.1); and that “Augustus ventured at last . . . to close the double doors of the temple of Janus” (4.12.64). Florus is one of the sources Orosius used for his *History* (Fear 15). Florus seems to have divided up Livy’s comment into three separate accomplishments by the three individuals, and dealt with them separately in the descriptions of their respective times. It should be noted that Florus’s comment on Augustus’s closing the doors is at the very end of the whole work. Livy’s remark and its expansion by Florus must have left some mark on Orosius.

Orosius claims in his preface to the *History* that he was commissioned by Augustine, his teacher, to write a brief history of disasters in the past which could complement his teacher’s *City of God* (*De ciuitate Dei*) which was still in progress:

You instructed me therefore to set out in a book, concisely and in order, all the troubles caused by wars, the ravages of disease, the sorrows caused by hunger . . . found in times gone by that I could discover in all the records of the histories and annals which are to be had at the present time. (1.Prol.10)²

Whether Augustine was actually behind Orosius's *History* or not, Orosius read the *City of God* as far as it had been completed. Augustine had finished book 11 by the time Orosius started writing his *History* according to Orosius himself (1.Prol.11). It would not be surprising if Orosius had derived a great inspiration, if not an instigation, from Augustine.

While Livy's extant work refers only once to Janus's doors, and Tacitus's does not at all, Augustine twice mentions them in book 3. He even juxtaposes them with Numa's peaceful reign. The *City of God* starts chapter 9 with these words, "[The gods] are also believed to have helped Romulus' successor, Numa Pompilius, to enjoy peace throughout his reign and to close the gates of Janus, which by custom stand open in time of war . . ." Peace, or absence of war, is placed alongside with the closed doors of Janus. The same juxtaposition is found in the very next chapter. This example should be quoted in Latin: . . . *semper Roma clausis Iani portis pacata regnaret* "[in a hypothetical condition] Rome might rule [its neighboring states] forever peacefully with Janus's doors closed" (my translation). The closing of the doors here is put in an ablative absolute and in tandem with Rome being made peaceful. The closed doors of Janus are symbolically used to embellish peace brought by Numa.

Orosius uses the phrase *Iani portae* "Janus's doors/gates" exceptionally often in the *History*. Orosius mentions the doors as many as nineteen times, either by the name *Iani portae* and its variants or by *belli portae* "the gates of war," in the *History*³. The doors appear in thirteen passages, which can be grouped into four categories. Two passages mention the closing of the doors during the Punic Wars. Two others tell us that Vespasian and Titus closed the doors after the fall of Jerusalem during the Jewish War. Another says Gordian III closed them in the third century AD. The other eight all fall into the reign of Augustus. To Orosius, Augustus's reign marks a great turning point in world history. It is the time when Christ was born and the Christian faith began to spread. Orosius refers to Augustus's peaceful reign and his closing of Janus's doors rather often throughout his *History*.

His *History* deals with the history of the Roman world up to the fourth century. The first instance of Janus's doors occurs at the very beginning of the work where he describes the overall setting of his universal history. He has "decided to trace the beginning of men's misery from man's original sin" (1.1.4). He says that there were 3,184 years from Adam to the birth of Abraham, and 2,015 years from Abraham to Augustus (1.1.5-6) whose reign, significantly, coincided with the birth of Christ, "which took place in the 42nd year of Caesar's reign, when peace was made with Parthia, the gates of Janus were closed, and wars ceased all over the world" (1.1.6). Orosius's second and third references to the doors take place during his descriptions of a series of Roman wars in the middle of the fourth century BC when he says that the doors always remained open (*patentes semper Iani portae*) after Numa's reign as the miseries of wars did not cease, except for only one year during the Punic Wars (3.8.2-4). He mentions the doors twice

where he describes the year when Manlius was consul, 235 BC.

In this year, the gate of the temple of twin-faced Janus was closed, because that year there was no war anywhere. This had only happened before in the reign of King Numa Pompilius. . . . Behold, the gates of Janus were closed, the Romans had no wars to fight abroad . . . (4.12.4–6)

Orosius argues in the following section (4.12.7) with a series of rhetorical questions that this closing lasted only for a year which was followed by even greater wars, the Gallic War and the Second Punic War.

The other examples of the doors being either opened or closed are of Augustus's reign or later, that is, after the coming of Christianity. The first appearance of the doors in the *History* mentioned above is the closing by Augustus himself. The events that Orosius claims to have happened around the closing⁴ are described in book 6. Augustus returned from the east and closed the doors of Janus for the first time in two hundred years, when he was called Augustus by the citizens for the first time (6.20.1). The coming of this peace is a significant event for Orosius. Orosius synchronizes Augustus's proclamation with the feast of Epiphany (6.20.3). He emphasizes Augustus's predestination on account of the coincidence of the peace signaled by the closed doors of Janus, the naming of Augustus, and the date (6.20.8).

The doors were opened again by Augustus when he decided to march to Spain to suppress rebellious tribes there in 28 BC (6.21.1). But they were kept open for a relatively short space of time and closed again in 25 BC:

. . . he ordered that the gates of war be closed once more. And so, the gates of Janus were then closed for a second time by Caesar, this being the fourth time they had been closed since the foundation of the City. (6.21.11)

It is worth noting that the doors are here called "the gates of war" (*belli portas*). This name occurs twice in the *History*.

Orosius starts the final chapter of book 6 with Augustus's third closing of Janus's doors:

So in the 752nd year after the foundation of the City, Caesar Augustus after giving every nation from east to west, from north to south, and all around the encircling Ocean an all-embracing peace, closed the gates of Janus for a third time. That they remained shut in perfect peace from that time for almost the next twelve years was shown by the rust on them nor were the gates pushed open again until the sedition at Athens and the troubles in Dacia in Augustus's extreme old age. After he had closed the gates of Janus, Caesar endeavoured to nourish and propagate by peace the state that he had sought out by war. He promulgated many laws through which he inculcated the custom of discipline in the human race through a respect that was freely given. (6.22.1–3)

This is the first of Augustus's three accomplishments Orosius praises in this chapter. The other two are the fact that he did not wish to be called "master" since Jesus Christ "the True Master" (*uerus dominus*) was born (6.22.4–5), and the census Augustus ordered to be conducted (6.22.6–8). Orosius argues that Augustus during whose reign Jesus was born among men finally put an end to a very long series of human suffering. But he cannot simply say that Christians were to be free from suffering, but admits that there were many persecutions in Christian times.

Orosius refers twice more to Augustus's closing the doors discussed above in the opening chapters of book 7 (7.2.16 and 7.3.4). The doors were here called *belli portae* again. Right after this, Orosius quotes an otherwise unknown statement by Tacitus, "to quote the words of Cornelius Tacitus: *When Augustus was an old man, the gates of Janus were opened . . .*" (7.3.7). Augustus had to open them and deal with rebellions in the provinces. The point is that the doors were closed again by Vespasian and Titus after the fall of Jerusalem. Their closing of the doors is repeated in a later chapter where Orosius describes the Jewish War.

[Vespasian and Titus], now that all wars and sedition, both at home and abroad, had been ended, immediately proclaimed peace throughout the world and decreed that Janus of the two faces be kept behind closed doors for only the sixth time since the foundation of the City; for it was just that the same honour was paid to the avenging of the Lord's suffering as had been given to His birth. (7.9.9)

The last mention of Janus's doors in the *History* is found in a chapter that describes Gordian III's reign. The emperor "opened, according to Eutropius, the gates of Janus which I cannot recall any writer saying that anyone had closed after the time of Vespasian and Titus, while Cornelius Tacitus tells us that Vespasian opened them in the second year of his reign" (7.19.4). The first half of the section can be found in Eutropius (9.2.2). Tacitus's comment, on the other hand, must be in what is lost to us.

Thus, Orosius's references to the doors of Janus can be chronologically listed as follows:

- A. Manlius closed the doors after the First Punic War, only to be opened in a year.
- B. Augustus closed them when *pax romana* was achieved.
- C. Augustus opened them and closed them when he dealt with rebellious Spanish tribes.
- D. Augustus opened them "when he was an old man."
- E. Vespasian and Titus closed them after Jerusalem was taken.
- F. Gordian III opened them.

Orosius refers to the closing in B five times. There may have been some other occasions when the doors were closed after Augustus's reign. For example, Suetonius writes that Nero closed them (*Nero*, 13.2). Fear observes that "[f]or Orosius it would be impossible to present a persecutor of Christians such as Nero as a bringer of peace. He was either unaware of Nero's closing of the gates or suppressed it" (324). What was important to Orosius was the fact that Augustus's reign brought a new era with the Christian faith.

Now let us look at the doors of Janus in the OE translation of the *History*. The first example of the doors is found in the translation of book 3, where the one-year closing, A in the list above, is described:

Sipþan þæt gewin angunnen wæs, gif ænig mon sie, cwæð Orosius, þe on gewritun findan mæge þæt Ianas dura sipþan belocen wurde buton anum geare — & þæt wæs for þæm þe Romane eallne þone gear an monncwealme lægan — ær eft Octauianus dæge þæs caseres. (Or 3 5.58.29)⁵

This unfinished sentence (Bately, *OE Orosius*, 250) says that the doors had been closed only for one year before Augustus's reign. The OE translator describes the layout of the Temple of Janus in an additional comment after the sentence⁶, presumably because the temple and the ancient Roman custom were unknown to his readers in ninth-century England. The doors were closed, only to be opened again in a year. He then adds, *Ac þa þa Octauianus se casere to rice feng, þa wurdon Ianas dura betyneda, & wearð sibb & friþ ofer ealne middangeard* (Or 3 5.59.11). When Augustus became emperor, the doors of Janus were closed and peace came to the whole world. There is no mention of Janus's doors in the corresponding passage in the Latin (3.8.5), but the use of the doors in the OE here clearly symbolizes the coming of peace. Augustus's closing of the doors, B in the list above, is mentioned again in book 5 of the OE *Orosius* (Or 5 14.130.25), which also appears in the work's table of contents, or a list of chapter headings, as "How the Emperor Octavian closed Janus's doors" (OrHead 5.14; my translation).

Augustus's opening of the doors, C in the list, is also translated in the OE. The OE text says that when some Spaniards became rebellious, Augustus opened the doors and went to suppress them (Or 5 15.131.23). He achieved what we call *pax romana* and closed the doors again. This time the description is more elaborate: *Æfter þæm eall þeos worold geceas Agustuses frið & his sibbe . . . Þa wurdon Ianes dura fæste betyned, & his loca rustega, swa hie næfre ær næron* (Or 5 15.132.08). After the world chose *pax romana* (*frið ond sibb*), Janus's doors were fast shut and their locks became as rusty as they had never been. The Latin also mentions the rust to show the length of time that the doors were kept closed (6.22.2). It is put in a sharp contrast with the one-year closing after the First Punic War, A in the list. The peace brought by Augustus lasted longer than ever before, so long that the bolts rusted.

Augustus, advanced in years, opened the doors again, D in the list, which has been translated into OE as *Þa wearð eft Ianes duru andon, for þon þe þa latteowas wæron Agustuse of monegum landum ungerade, þeh þær nan gefeohrt þurhtogen ne wurde* (Or 6 1.134.8). He opened them because the leaders from many countries were at variance with him. The last clause translates the Latin *nulla bella sonuerunt* "no sounds of war were to be heard" (7.3.9). So peace was kept by Augustus even if he opened the doors again. As long as the OE text is concerned, the doors were kept open until Vespasian and Titus closed them, E in the list (Or 6 7.138.19). Janus's doors were not mentioned in the very brief passage (Or 6 20.143.15) that translates the Latin about Gordian III. Orosius's comment about Gordian III's opening the doors is not found in the OE translation.

The OE translator omits a great amount of what is written in Orosius's *History* while there are a number of additions⁷. He did not have the polemic that Orosius in the fifth century had had. As Whitelock observes, the translator still maintains the general theme of the Latin that much worse disasters occurred in pre-Christian times and that the Christian faith and desertion of pagan gods had nothing to do with disasters in the Christian era (90). Five instances of Janus's doors in the OE are found in books 5 and 6 where Whitelock says "cutting becomes very heavy" (90). All but the last in my list of the openings and closings of the doors in the *History* are represented in the OE. The translator appears to have understood the effect the phrase *Iani portae* had in the Latin and kept this concept in his translation.

Even though we now know that the OE translation was not prepared by King Alfred himself, it "does [not] mean that the task could not have been undertaken as part of his educational plan" (Bately, "The Old English *Orosius*," 343). Alfred writes in his preface to his own translation of the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great that learning was neglected when he came to the throne and "that there were very few on this side of the Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English" (Sweet 3)⁸. The OE *Orosius* may well have been one of "those books necessary for all men to know," as a compendious history of the world. The closed *Ianes dura* in the OE *Orosius* still work as a good index of peace, long separated by distance and time from ancient Rome.

Orosius's *History* was "a standard historical and geographical text" in the Middle Ages (Bjork, "Orosius"). It remained one well into the early modern period. Theodor Mörner testifies in 1844, "[Orosii] nomen hodie raro tantum memoratur, post cuius historiarum editionem recentissimam [i.e. Haverkamp's 1738 edition] plus centum praeteriere anni, idem erat quondam notissimus, celeberrimus" (1). As seen above, Orosius was exceptional in his frequent use of *Iani portae*. Our familiarity with this ancient custom may owe much more to Orosius than to Livy, and the OE translation must similarly have enhanced its knowledge among readers in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

Notes

1. Translations of ancient authors except Orosius are those of the Loeb Classical Library, unless otherwise stated. References to ancient authors are indicated by book, chapter and section numbers.
2. Translations of Orosius are Fear's.
3. Encuentra lists seventeen occurrences of the lexis *Ianus* (2: 580). The doors of Janus appears as *portae Iani* (9x), *Ianus* (5x), *portae Iani Gemini* (2x), and simply *Ianus Geminus* (1x). The doors are twice referred to as *belli portae*.
4. Fear notes, "A concatenation of errors — Augustus's triumphs were held in the August of this year [AUC 725 = 29 BC], but the gates of Janus had been previously closed by decree of the Senate on 11 January . . . while Augustus was absent from Rome" (308).
5. OE texts are taken from Bately's edition. The Tironian note is replaced by the ampersand. The manner of reference to the OE texts follows that of the *Dictionary of Old English*.
6. Bately suggests that the OE addition was inspired by a classical commentary to Virgil ("Classical Additions," 239).
7. Khalaf lists correspondences between the OE *Orosius* and the Latin *History* in the appendix to his

article (209–19).

8. Sweet's translation.

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**НОВЫЕ ПОДХОДЫ К ИССЛЕДОВАНИЮ
ПО ВОССТАНИИ ПУГАЧЕВА**

ТОЁКАВА Коити

Новые подходы к исследованию по восстанию Пугачева

ТОЁКАВА Коити

Обзор советской и российской историографии

История России XVIII в., в том числе время Екатерины II, восстания Пугачева, рассматривается в историографии многих стран. Объясняется это тем, что история и политика Российской империи теснейшим образом были связаны с историей и политикой многих государств Европы, Америки и Азии. В России это время ознаменовалось грандиозным народным восстанием против самодержавного строя, против власти правительства Екатерины II.

В восстании Пугачева весьма своеобразны процессы участия народов России. Среди повстанцев были не только русские крестьяне и городские люди, но и казачество, а так же нерусские народы. Советская и российская историография достигла значительных результатов в разработке истории этого крупнейшего антифеодального выступления народов в Российской империи. Литература по этой теме насчитывает не одну сотню источников: статей, брошюр, монографии и пр¹.

Весьма ценным среди них является фундаментальное исследование о восстании Пугачева, подготовленное коллективом авторов во главе с В.В. Мавродиным. Вышли в свет монографии, освещающие отдельные стороны указанного восстания и его историографию².

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- 1 *Тоёкава Коити*, Башкиры в восстании Пугачева // *Россия-си Кэнкию* (Исследования истории России). № 35. Токио, 1982 (на япон. язык.); *Он же*. Башкир Салават Юлаев. К новым направлениям исследований по восстанию Пугачева // *Россия-си Кэнкию* (Исследования истории России). № 42. Токио, 1986 (на япон. язык.); *Он же*. Сообщение. Материалы. Восстание Пугачева и его союзник Салават // *Кодай Россия Кэнкию* (Исследования древней Руси). № 16. Киото, 1986 (на япон. язык.); *Он же*. Народные движения и их стремление в XVIII в. К восстанию Пугачева // *Сякай Кагаку* Токио. № 97. Токио, 1989 (на япон. язык.); *Он же*. А.С. Пушкин и П.И. Рычков. Источники пушкинской «Истории Пугачевского бунта» // *Acta Slavica Iaponica*. Т. IX. 1993; *Он же*. Оренбург и оренбургское казачество во время восстания Пугачева 1773–1774 гг. М.: Археологический центр, 1996; *Он же*. Народные движения в новом времени в России / *Россия-си Кэнкию Кай* (ред.). *Россия-си Кэнкию Аннай* (Путеводитель по исследованию истории России). Токио, 2012 (на япон. язык.); *Он же*. Салават Юлаев, заключенный в Балтийском порте, и случаи вокруг его. Опыт исследования истории региона в Российской империи // *Sundai Shigaku* (*Сундай исторический просмотр*), vol. 132. Dec. 2007.
 - 2 Крестьянская война под руководством Е.И. Пугачева в 1773–1775 гг., Л., 1961, 1966, 1970. 3тт.

По этой теме богатством материала отличается монография Р.В. Овчинникова³. После публикации этих книг появились исследования об участии в восстании нерусских народов⁴. О восстании Пугачева имеются также разные исследования в европейских странах, США и Японии⁵.

В советской историографии утверждалось, что одной из важнейших задач исследования любого исследования, посвященного восстанию Пугачева, является анализ форм политической жизни, складывавшихся на территории, освобожденной от феодалов и правительственных войск, тех зачатков государственности, которое несло с собой восставшее крестьянство⁶. Однако поиск решения этой задачи шел, на наш взгляд, вне какого-либо внимания к органам местного самоуправления⁷.

Несмотря на значительные успехи советской и постсоветской историографии в разработке истории восстания Пугачева, по нашему мнению, еще существует ряд неразрешенных проблем. Одной из них является оценка идеологии участников восстания. Например, есть ли основания утверждать, что восставшие народы имели ли свойственную им идеоло-

3 Овчинников Р.В. Манифесты и указы Е.И. Пугачева: Источниковедческое исследование. М., 1980.

4 Биографию по истории восстания Пугачева, опубликованную за период с 1917 по 1950-е гг. см.: Указатель советской литературы за 1917–1953 гг. Ч. 1–2. М., 1956–58; Крестьянские войны в России XVII–XVIII веков: проблемы, поиски, решения / Черепнин Л. В. (отв. ред.) М., 1974. С. 432–444; Предводители крестьянских войн в России XVII–XVIII вв.: Страницы биографий: рек. указ. лит.-ры. / Буганов В. И. (науч. ред.) М., 1979. С. 53–55; Белявский М. Г. Крестьянская война 1773–1775 гг. и ее особенности // Вестник МГУ. Сер. Истор. № 4. 1974. С. 64–77; Корецкий В. И. Формирование крепостного права и первая крестьянская война в России. М., 1975; Милов Л.В. Классовая борьба крепостного крестьянства в России XVII–XVIII вв. // Вопросы истории. № 3. 1981. С. 34–52; Рындзюнский П. И. Идеиная сторона крестьянских движений 1770–1850 годов и методы ее изучения // Вопросы истории. № 4. 1983. С. 4–16; Гвоздиков И.М. Салавт Юлаев. Исследование документальных источников. Уфа, 1982; Тоёкава Коити. Оренбург и оренбургское казачество во время восстания Пугачева 1773–1775 гг. М., 1996. и др.

5 Крестьянские войны в России XVII–XVIII веков: проблемы, поиски, решения. -С. 444; Portal R. 'Pugachev: Une révolution manqué', *Etudes d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, t.1, Paris, 1947; Alexander J.T. *Autocratic politics in a National Crisis: The Imperial Russian Government and Pugachev's Revolt (1773–1775)*. Blomington & London, 1969; Ede. *Emperor of the Cossaks. Pugachev and the Frontier Jaquerie of 1773–1775*. Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1973; Raeff M. 'Pugachev's Rebellion', R. Foster & J.P. Greene (ed.), *Preconditions of Revolution: in Early Modern Europe*. Baltimore and London, 1970; Peters, D. *Politische und gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen in der Aufstandsbewegung unter Pugachev (1773–1775)*. Wisbaden. 1973; Танака Ёдзи. Пересмотр теории «Крестьянских войн в России» -- К новому направлению Советской историографии // Россия-си Кенкию (Исследования истории России). №22. Токио, 1974 (на япон. язык.) ; Дохи Цунеюки. Крестьянская война в России. К взгляду В.В. Мавродина / Сякай Кэйзайси-но Кадай то Тенбо (Задачи и перспективы в социально-экономической истории). Токио: Юхикаку, 1984 (на япон. язык.), и др.

6 Крестьянская война под руководством Е.И. Пугачева в 1773–1775 гг., Л., 1966. Т. II. С. 15.

7 Смирнов Ю.Н. Современные подходы к истории восстания 1773–1775 гг. // Вестник Самарского государственного университета. 2007. № 5/ 3 (55). С. 161.

гию, на основании которой они могли осуществлять свои классовые задачи?»⁸

С одной стороны, В.В. Мавродин утверждал, что восставшие крестьяне вставали на борьбу уничтожить крепостное право, за землю и свободу: они восставали не «против» существующего порядка, но «за» свободу. Он еще настаивал, что их целью являлось создание казачьего строя, и казачество было инициатором восстания⁹. Американский историк Дж.Т. Александер пересказывал утверждение Мавродина: восставшие субъективно стремились создать утопию и объективно выступали против всего «феодализма»¹⁰.

С другой стороны, П.Г. Рынзюнский и М.А. Рахматуллин резко критиковали концепцию Мавродина. Они утверждали, что «крестьянские войны» стимулировали переход на «благоприятный для крестьян вариант феодализма», т.е. «смягченный феодальный строй» и выгодные для них феодальные отношения, ускоряли наступления иного общественного строя вместо феодализма. Они указывали, что казачий строй, которой казаки принудительно распространяли в ходе восстания, не был идеалом для крестьян¹¹.

Несмотря на горячие споры о вышесказанных вопросах во время СССР, когда точка зрения «классовой борьбы» господствовала, в постсоветской историографии эти проблемы рассматривают немногие историки, например Л.В. Волков¹² и А.Д. Ляпин¹³. Волков, основываясь на научных трудах прошлых лет, повторяет утверждение Рынзюнского и Рахматуллина, приходит к выводу: «пугачевцы сохраняли все существовавшие в России сословия за исключением дворянского, стремясь возвысить казачество....Стремясь сокрушить крепостничество, участники восстания Пугачева субъективно выступали за «хороший» феодализм без крепостного права и чрезмерной эксплуатации»¹⁴. У нас в японской историографии историки считают, что восставшие вставали на борьбу уничтожить крепостное право и достигать земли и свободы: они восставали не «против» существующего порядка, но «за» свободу, как Мавродин отмечает¹⁵. В этой связи мы задаем вопрос: неужели восставшие стремились не к созданию нового и утопического общества, а архаичного и старомодного?

8 См. Устинова О.Ю. Крестьянская война 1773–1775.: К историографии вопроса // Повесть А.С. Пушкина «Капитанская дочка» в историко-литературном контексте. Третьи научные Пушкинские чтения. Оренбург, 2012. С. 89–94.

9 Мавродин В.В. Советская историография крестьянской войны в России / Проблемы историографии и источниковедения отечественной и всеобщей истории. Л., 1976. С. 83–84.

10 Alexander, J.T. 'Recent Soviet Historiography on Pugachev Revolt: A Review Article,' *Canadian Slavic Studies*, vol. 4, No. 3, 1970, p. 616.

11 Рынзюнский П.Г. и Рахматуллин М.А. Некоторые итоги изучения Крестьянской войны в России 1773–1775 гг. // История СССР. 1972. № 2. С. 82, 88.

12 Волков Л.В. Социальные представления участников восстания Е.И. Пугачева // Вопросы истории. 2006. № 12.

13 Ляпин Д.А. Волнения в русских городах в середине XVII в. // Вопсы истории. 2010. № 4.

14 Волков Л.В. Указ. стат. С. 113.

15 Танака Ёдзи. Пересмотр теории «Крестьянских войн в России» – К новому направлению Советской историографии; Дохи Цунеюки. Крестьянская война в России. К взгляду В.В. Мавродина; Тоёкава Коити, Башкиры в восстании Пугачева.

Кроме этой точки зрения, существует общественно-психологическое исследование по этой теме В.Г. Литвака. Он критиковал Мавродина за то, что крестьянские движения не имели собственной особой идеологии до появления теории народничества во второй половине XIX в., и «идеология» у Мавродина – только общественные надежды и настроения. По мнению Литвака, атифеодальная идеология в этом движении существовала несомненно¹⁶. Современный историк О.Г. Усенко имеет аналогичную точку зрения по данной проблеме¹⁷.

В своей монографии, посвященной народной социальной утопии А.И. Клибанов справедливо отмечает, что в ходе своих выступлений народы – не только русские, но и нерусские – стремились к возврату свойственной им традиционной веры. Он привлекает внимание к значению и реальному эффекту пожалования «императором» Пугачевым народам «веры и правды»¹⁸. Он, вероятно, обнаружил в этом лозунге ключевой элемент, которой вовлекал народы в восстание и объединил их.

Восстание Пугачева, втягивая народы в движение, требовало свободы, соблюдения традиций и человеческого достоинства. Несомненно, в основе этого восстания лежало желание создать общество, основанное на равенстве, т.е. утопию. По этому поводу надо отметить точку зрения японского историка Ясумару Ёсио по японским крестьянским бунтам во времени Эдо (с 1613 г. – до 1867 г.): хотя крестьяне «в ходе восстании ... неминуемо стремились к коренному освобождению», но в конечном счете «народ эпохи феодализма не смог вообразить ни другого средства освобождения, ни мировоззрения, отличающегося от существующего государственно-общественного строя т.е. Вакухан (Вакуху и Хан¹⁹) строя». По нашему мнению, вышеупомянутые проблемы все еще мало исследованы. В связи с этим важным вопросом является правильная интерпретация понятия «Крестьянская война»²⁰.

Пересмотр теории «Крестьянская война»

Термин «Крестьянская война», введенный в научный оборот под влиянием упрощенно-классового подхода в советской историографии, подвергается острой критике²¹. В доку-

16 Литвак Б.Г. О некоторых чертах психологии русских крепостных первой половины XIX в. // Б.Ф. Поршнев и Л.И. Анцыферова. История и психология. М., 1971. С. 200.

17 Усенко О.Г. Психология социального протеста в России XVII–XVIII вв. Тверь, Часть 1–3. 1994, 1995, 1997; *Он же*. Монархическое самозванство в России в 1762–1800 гг. (Опыт систематического анализа) // Россия в XVIII столетия. Вып. 2. М., 2004.

18 Клибанов А.И. Народная социальная утопия в России. Период феодализма. М., 1977. С. 143.

19 Хан–административная единица в эпоху Эдо в Японии.

20 Ясумару Ёсио. Модернизация и народное мировоззрение в Японии. Токио, 1987. С. 128–129.

21 Скрынников Р.Г. Спорные проблемы восстания Болотникова // История СССР. 1989. № 5; Назаров В.Д. Крестьянская война начала XVII в. // История крестьянства СССР. Т. 2. М., 1990. Глава 8; Соловьев В.М. Актуальные вопросы изучения народных движений // История СССР. 1991. №3; Khodarkovsky, M., ‘The Stepan Razin Uprising?: Was It a “Peasant War?”’, *Jahrbucher für Geschichte Osteropas*. В. 42, Н. 1, 1994.

ментах о «крестьянской войны» не встречается упоминания о каких-либо политических требованиях. Восставшие просили «о своих нуждах»: облегчить повинности, выдать жалование, пресечь злоупотребления чиновников, наказать дворян и судей в городах. В движении приняли участие различные сословия, общественные слои и нерусские народы: крепостные и государственные крестьяне, горнозаводские рабочие, горожане, башкиры, татары, калмыки, мишари, чувашаи и др. Все они имели самостоятельные требованиями и покидали движение, когда сфера влияния восстания вышла из своих территорий²². Разве это дает нам основание называть восстание термином «крестьянская война»? Данный вопрос до сих пор остается неразрешенным, хотя есть все основания для его пересмотра. Тем не менее, даже после падения СССР никто не ставит его на обсуждение.

Казачество и колонизация

А. С. Пушкин, в своей работе о восстании Пугачева, говорит, что взятию разных крепостей способствовал переход казаков на сторону Пугачева²³. Он оценил по достоинству роль казаков в восстании. Однако все работы до революции отмечали, что оренбургское казачество не участвовало в восстании, а наоборот оно было верно правительству. Возникает вопрос, почему дореволюционные исследователи разошлись с Пушкиным во мнении? Как развивались исследования по этой теме после революции? В своей книге автор этой статьи постарался дать тщательный и конкретный анализ данной проблемы.

Участие казаков в пугачевском движении неизменно вызывало интерес у советских и русских историков. Автор этой статьи в свое время написал монографию: «Оренбург и оренбургское казачество во время восстания Пугачева 1773–1774 гг.»²⁴. Ее тема, на наш взгляд, была вполне своевременной и актуальной. Ведь, как известно, до начала 1990-х гг. совсем не было исследований по указанной теме. Конечно, в XIX–XX вв. уже были опубликованы важные научные труды о яицком казачестве, например, Л. И. Левшин, З. Кашпировский, В. Н. Витевский, А. Рябини, Е. Н. Кушева, В. Н. Дариенко, И. Г. Рознер и т. д. После падения СССР российские историки также продолжали свои исследования по этой проблематике²⁵. В своей книге автор приходит к выводу, что история оренбургского казачества не получила должного освещения в советских работах из-за того, что оренбургские казаки в 1772 г. участвовали в подавлении восстания Яицких казаков. Для того, чтобы понять, что происходило тогда в России, на Яике, в Оренбурге, необходимо более подробно рассмотреть положение оренбургского казака – своеобразного представителя главного персонажа русской истории XVIII в. – земледельца, хлебопашца, мужика²⁶. Вот именно

22 См. Raeff, M., *op. cit.*

23 Пушкин А.С. Полн. соб. соч. в 17 томах. Т. 9. Ч. 1. М., 1995.

24 Тоёкава К. Указ. соч.

25 См. Казачьи войска азиатской России в XVIII-начале XX века (Астраханское, Оренбургское, Сибирское, Семиреченское, Уральское). Сборник документов / Бекмаханова Н.Е. (составитель). М., 2000.

26 Лимонов Ю.А. Предисловие / Тоёкава К. Указ. соч. С. 10.

по этой причине автор подробнейшим образом остановился на истории колонизации региона, организации Оренбургской губернии и возникновении оренбургского казачьего войска. При этом особенно подробно были рассмотрены проблемы взаимоотношения правительственных структур – местных и центральных – с учреждениями казачьей общины, непосредственно ее социальный состав и имущественное положение.

В монографии автор подробно освещает проблемы, связанные с историей Пугачевского восстания в регионе, участие в нем оренбургского казачества, осаду Оренбурга, отношение правительства к «возмущению» на востоке страны. Данное исследование позволяет четко поставить вопрос: чего же хотело российское общество в конце XVIII в., и в чем были причины столь ожесточенной войны друг с другом основных социальных слоев?

В первой половине XVIII в. были в основном завершены работы по созданию Оренбургской пограничной линии, позволившей обезопасить южные границы Российского государства и прочно закрепиться в этом регионе²⁷. Тогда же был основан город Оренбург, ставший важнейшим центром торговли со среднеазиатскими ханствами. Русское правительство осуществляло энергичные мероприятия по оживлению торговли.

С построением Оренбурга империя связывала свои обширные эксплуатационные планы края. Образование оренбургского казачества тесно связано с историей города Оренбурга и Оренбургского края. Перемены, происшедшие в крае, привели к значительной потере казачеством своей былой «вольности». Ряд обстоятельств способствовал тому, что Оренбург и его окрестности стали основными аренами действий восстания Пугачева, в котором нерусские народы и казаки принимали активно в этом движении.

Особенность восстания в Башкирии: Салават Юлаев

Восстание Пугачева был самым масштабным сопротивлением башкир, поэтому историческая наука и литература в Башкортостане интересуется деятельностью восставших и событием. Среди тех, которые занимаются восстанием Пугачева, исследования И.М. Гвоздиковы являются очень важными. В 1982 г. она опубликовала памятную книгу «Салават Юлаев», которая выясняла деятельность предводителя башкирского народа в восстании без остатка, операя на опубликованные и неопубликованные архивные документы²⁸. В 1999 г. она написала другую монографию, которая четко показала исторический ход башкир до восстания Пугачева²⁹, и составляла и редактировала зам. редактором энциклопедию «Салават Юлаев»³⁰ и приняла участие на проект альбома-антологии «Салават Юлаев»³¹, и

27 См. *Тоёкава Коити*. «Оренбургская экспедиция пограничных дел» П.И. Рычкова // *Ядкяр*. 2007. № 4. С. 42–53.

28 *Гвоздиков И.М.* Салават Юлаев. Исследование документальных источников. М., 1982 (Изд. 3-е. Уфа, 2004).

29 *Она же*. Башкортостан накануне и в годы Крестьянской войны под предводительством Е.И. Пугачева. Уфа, 1999.

30 *Илишев И.Г., Гвоздиков И.М., и др.* Салават Юлаев. Уфа, 2004.

31 Салават Юлаев. Уфа, 2004.

т.д. В 2011 г. Гвоздикова написала статью о Салавате Юлаеве в книге «История Башкирского народа» (в 3-ем томе в семи томах), в которой она давала высокую оценку его деятельности: «В контексте темной крепостнической эпохи с ее глубочайшим политическим невежеством и царистическими иллюзиями, Салават предстает прозорливым деятелем, сострадательным вожаком народных масс, стремившимся обеспечить справедливое общественное устройство»³².

В 2006 году автором этих строк написана вторая монография: «История объединения народов в Российской империи: русская колонизация в Башкирии (XVI-XVIII вв.)»³³. Эта книга посвящена сложной проблеме взаимодействия русского этноса с нерусскими народами в Башкирии. Этот вопрос является определяющим во всей истории России и одной из самых центральных тем в русской историографии. С. М. Соловьев, В. О. Ключевский, М. К. Любавский и представители «юридической (государственной) школы» считают, что «русская история есть в сущности история непрерывно колонизирующей страны»³⁴. Эта концепция более или менее влияет на формирование русской историографии. В «заключении» в этой книге автор отмечает, что в XVI–XIX вв. происходила постепенная колонизация Башкирии, сопутствуемая периодическим сопротивлением башкир, и в конце XVIII в. правительство, отказавшись от насильственной христианизации башкир и подчинив своему контролю всю деятельность мусльманского духовенства, получило возможность влиять через него на народные массы³⁵.

В своей работе автор писал процессы участия башкир в восстании Пугачева. Он рассматривал три указа от 1 октября 1773 г., данные Пугачевым башкирам. В этих указах Пугачев жаловал башкир «землю, водою, солью, верою и молитвою, пожитью и денежным жалованьем», «и пребывайте так, как степные звери»³⁶ – эти слова: быть свободными «как степные звери», – выражение, которые торгало башкир. В самом деле, после получения указов участие башкир в восстании резко усилилось. Самым высоким пиком востания была «осада Оренбурга», которая продолжалась с сентября 1773 г. по март 1774 г. и определяла подъем восстания, обозначала линию борьбы – четко против русской колониальной политики.

На это прямо указывают основные объекты нападений башкир. Во-первых, это русские деревни, русские крестьяне и православные церкви. Во-вторых, заводы и деревни, где

32 Гвоздикова И.М. Салават Юлаев / История Башкирского народа. Т. III. Уфа; Гилем, 2011. С. 363.

33 Тоёкава Коити. История объединения народов в Российской империи: русская колонизация в Башкирии (XVI-XVIII вв.). Саппоро, 2006 (на япон. язык.).

34 Любавский М.К. Обзор истории русской колонизации. М., 1996. С. 73; См. Соловьев С.М. История России с древнейших времен. Кн. II. Т. 4. 1960. С. 648; Ключевский В.О. Сочинения. Т. 1. М., 1956. С. 31; Кавелин К.Д. Сбор. Соч. Т. 1. СПб., 1897. С. 570–571; Миллюков П.К. Очерки по истории русской культуры. Ч. 1. СПб., 1905 (5-е изд.). С. 54.

35 Там же. С. 477–486.

36 РГАДА. Ф. 6. Д. 415. Л. 16; Пугачевщина. М.-Л., 1926. Т. 1. № 5. С. 3; Документы ставки Е. И. Пугачева, повстанческих властей и учреждений. М., 1975. №7. С. 27.

жили заводские люди. С одной стороны, интересно, что башкиры и русские приписные крестьяне вместе часто нападали на заводы. Именно заводы они считали целями атаки, потому что заводы захватывали основу их жизни. С другой стороны, крепостные и работные люди, которые были вынуждены жить на заводах, старались защищать свои заводы от нападения башкир, хотя некоторые из них приняли участие в восстании для защиты своих деревень и заводов.

После того, как «осада Оренбурга» окончилась «неуспехом» и основная сила повстанческих отрядов отшла от города, восстание постепенно стали оставлять башкиры, которые не видели интереса в движении вне Башкирии. Они не желали покидать свою родину. Но некоторые башкиры – особенно, Кинзя Арсланов и Салават Юлаев и т. д.– оставались в Пугачевском лагере и продолжали активно воевать с правительством.

Башкирские предводили, Юлай Азналин и Салават Юлаев являлись типичными выразителями интересов своего народа в его борьбе против русской колонизации. Отец и сын поддерживали интересы и права башкир, а в конечном счете стремились к освобождению от «ига» т. е. от русской колонизации. С одной стороны, до восстания Пугачева старшина Юлай Азналин был верен правительству и исполнял старшинские свои обязанности. Например, как сборник документов показал, Юлай совершил поход в Польшу по повелению русского правительства³⁷. С другой стороны, он встал на защиту интересов башкир, когда общество начало терпеть невзгоды. Он протестовал против строительства завода в его районе и против злоупотребления власти и других старшин³⁸.

Поступок отца оказал влияние на Салавата Юлаева. Он видел свое призвание в борьбе против русских помещиков и заводчиков, которые обманули башкир и захватили их земли. Поэтому с ноября 1773 года Салават принимал участие в осадных действиях и воевал с правительственными отрядами до декабря 1773 года. После этого он участвовал почти во всех сражениях и был награжден званием «бригадира» за военные заслуги самым Пугачевым.

Нападения Салавата на заводы характеризуют специфику его повстанческой борьбы. Особенного внимания заслуживает его наступление на Катав-Ивановский завод и призыв к заводским людям. Р.В. Овчинников подчеркивает, что эти действия не были проявлением межнационального антагонизма между русскими и башкирами: Салават и Юлай ревностно стремились к объединению русских и башкир. Но если рассматривать эту проблему более глубоко, то, с нашей точки зрения, ее надо анализировать в контексте «русская колонизация и противодействие коренных жителей»³⁹.

И.М. Гвоздиков отмечает интересные факты. В воззвании, poslanном в Кунгур 20 января 1774 г., Салават Юлаев и оренбургский казак Иван Кузнецов заверяли жителей в том, что «армия его императорского величества (– пугачевская армия)», стоящая под горо-

37 Башкирское войско в Польском походе (1771–1773). Сборник документов. Уфа, 2009. С. 13–17, 98.

38 См. ГАОО. Ф. 3.

39 Документы ставки Е. И. Пугачева, повстанческих властей и учреждений. С. 424 (примечание).

дом, – все «россияны, так иноверцы» имеют «отменные мысли», т.е. добрые намерения, и твердо будут исполнять приказ «государя..., дабы при взятые городов и приклонившихся к полной власти его величества от ыдуших армей никакого жителям притеснения, разорения, обид, налог и безповинного кровопролития не чинили»⁴⁰. Считая себя равноправной стороной, повстанческие вожаки с возмущением писали о нарушении неприкосновенности своих «посланцев», которых кунгурские власти вероломно захватили в плен и бросили в тюрьму. По законам вразумляли Салават Юлаев и Иван Кузнецов кунгурскую администрацию, и никакой «владеть или город» не в праве их задерживать. Именно этот документ был доставлен лично Екатерина II с почтой от командующего правительственными войсками генерал-аншефа А.И. Бибилова. Генерал усмотрел в попавшем к нему воззвании «чаяную дерзость» повстанческих предводителей и решил познакомить с ним императорицу. Так, в феврале 1774 г. Полковник Салават Юлаев стал лично известен Екатерина II⁴¹.

Известно, что Салават регулировал поведение повстанцев. Башкиры иногда нападали на заводских и русских крестьян, которые примыкали к восставшим. Русские обращались по этому поводу к Салавату Юлаеву, а он принимал их жалобы и обещал им защиту.

В декабре 1774 г. шансы на успех восстания уменьшились, много башкир, поддерживавших Салавата, являлись с повинной к царским властям, и он сам начал думать о капитуляции. Мятежник был задержан и через Казань в начале 1775 г. выслан в Москву, а далее отправлен в на пожизненную каторгу в крепость Рогервик (в настоящее время – г. Полдиски в Эстонии), расположенную на берегу Балтийского моря.

Летом 2007 г. автор данной статьи был в Полдиски в Эстонии, и собирал архивные материалы в Тарту. Хотя советская историография пишет статья о последних дней жизни Салавата Юлаева и его отца⁴², но архивные документы, которые автор нашел и советские историография не использовала, показали то, что тогдашнее русское правительство планировало использовать ссылных каторжников в качестве работников в разных крепостях и заводах страны⁴³ и как они переживали в ссылке⁴⁴. На основании этих материалов мы можем анализировать другие аспекты и выработать новые подходы к изучению восстания Пугачева и системы управления Российской империи в XVIII в.

Заключение

Изучение восстания Пугачева не потеряло значимости, несмотря на заметную смену

40 Там же. С. 248, 250.

41 *Гвоздиква И.М.* Указ. стат. С. 362.

42 *Суров В.В.* О судьбе последних пугачевцев-башкир // Вопросы истории. 1974. № 1. С.212–214; *Галин Г.М.* Сподвижники Е.И. Пугачева в ссылке // История СССР. 1982. С. 133–134.

43 Эстонский исторический архив в Тарту (Далее: ЭИА). Ф. 29. Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 7426. Л. 10–23об, 43–43об.; *Тоёкава Коити.* Салават Юлаев, заключенный в Балтийском порте, и случаи вокруг его. Опыт исследовании истории региона в Российской империи. С. 37–40 (на япон. язык.).

44 ЭИА. Ф. 30. Ф. 29. Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 7426. Л. 163–64; Оп. 2. Ед. хр. 1539. Л. 12–12об.; *Тоёкава Коити.* Салават Юлаев, заключенный в Балтийском порте. С. 40–43.

ориентиров в историческом познании. Отказ от понимания актуальности как политической и идеологической заданности не должен вести ни к забавлению проблемы, ни к простой перестановке прежних плюсов и минусов в оценках. Целью остаются научные задачи, в т.ч. обогащение историографической традиции ценными источниками, объективными интерпретациями и углубленными подходами, создание нового поколения исследовательской, учебной и популярной литературы по одной из интереснейших страниц истории.

В XVI–XIX вв. происходила постепенная колонизация в Башкирии, сопутствуемая периодическим сопротивлениям башкир. В конце XVIII в. правительство, отказавшись от насильственной христианизации башкир и подчинив своему контролю всю деятельность мусульманского духовенства, получило возможность влиять через него на народные массы.