

命令文から条件文へ：
日本語史における二文連置

From Imperative to Conditional:
The “two sentences in succession construction” in
the history of the Japanese language

北崎勇帆
(東京大学大学院・日本学術振興会特別研究員)

KITAZAKI Yuho

(Graduate Student at University of Tokyo / JSPS Research Fellow)

Imperative forms as conditionals

- An imperative form is sometimes used like a conditional form in Japanese.

- もういっぺん言ってみろ、次は怒るぞ。

Moo ippen it-te mir-o, tugi wa okor-u zo
more once say-GER see-IMP next.time TOP get.angry-FUT SFP

‘(If you) Say that again, and I’m getting angry.’

- 誰であれ、人が通ったら教えてください。

Dare de are, hito ga too-ttara osie-te kudasa-i
Who COP be-IMP person NOM pass-COND tell-GER give.POL-IMP

‘**Whoever** it is, please tell me if anyone passes.’

Some peculiarities

- 命令形式は通常、文末で働く
- 命令形式による条件形式は、順接・逆接の両方が見られる
- An imperative form is used at the end of the sentence, even though the ordinary compound conjunctives involve forms that require its predicate.
- Imperative forms as conditionals are used as both resultatives and adversatives, even though the ordinary compound particles are retained.

Summary

- なぜ条件形式化するか（できるか）
 - 個別事例の史的変遷や、逆の変化も概観しつつ
 - どこに条件の逸脱があるか（命令文と条件文がどこで接触するか）を見る
- 類似事例についても触れる
 - 連体形係り結びの成立、間接疑問文の発達
- Why is the imperative form used as a condition form?
 - How imperative conditionals deviate from directives?
 - Imperatives and hypothesis conditionals have common in "irrealis".
- Related cases
 - Development of *kakarimusubi* and the indirect interrogative construction.

Roadmap

- **Why is the imperative form used as a condition form?**
 - The ordinary compound conjunctives
 - Imperative > Conjunctive, Imperative > Adversative
 - Conjunctive > Directive
- Answers to the questions
 - Why can imperatives be used as conditionals?
 - Why can imperatives derive to both conjunctives and adversatives?
- Two sentences in succession construction and related cases
 - Kakari-musubi
 - Indirect interrogative construction
- Conclusion

The ordinary compound conjunctives

- 素材となる形式から見たとき、
- 指示**に従い**作業を進める → レベルが上がる**に従い**難しくなる
 - ni sitaga-**i** > ni-sitaga-**i**
 - to follow directions > ...as the level goes up
- 山の上の木の**陰で**休む → あなたの**おかげで**とても幸せです
 - kage **de** > o-kage-**de**
 - shade > thanks to

The ordinary compound conjunctives

- The ordinary compound conjunctives involve forms that require its predicate.
 - Conjunctive particle: と思うと、としても、ときたら、に従って、
 - Adverbial: に従い、につけ、に（も）かかわらず、を問わず、
 - *wa*: ては、ことには、からは、からには、うえは、
 - Case particle: ところで、おかげで、せいで、と同時に、
 - Formal noun: とき、あいだ、ころ、たび、場合、ため、ゆえ、
- 「無理のない範囲で」接続形式化している

How imperative conditionals deviate from normal directives?

- どのような点で逸脱するか？
 - 話し手にとって望ましい事態（窓を開けてほしい）
 - 主格が二人称（聞き手が窓を開ける）
 - 事態が未実現（まだ開いていない）
 - 事態が意志的（意志的に「開ける」行為を実現できる）
- Normal directives
 - **Desirability**: The speaker wants P(roposition) to happen.
 - **2nd person**: The listener as the agent exists.
 - **Irrealis**: P is unrealized.
 - **Volitional**: P can be caused by volition.

Imperative > Conjunctive(1)

- *Temiro* used as conjunctive conditional (北崎2018b)
- 入道腹ヲ立テ、「参ルマジキカ。今度**申切レ**、相計フ旨有」ト、ニガノシク宣タリ。

Kondo **moosiki-re**, ai-hakarau mune ari

next.time say.completely.HUM-**IMP**(=**if** you say that again)

延慶本平家物語 *Engyōbon heike monogatari* (13C)

- 「此御せいたうたゞしひおりから、そのつれな事をいふてめいわくするな、**よつてみよ**うちはなすほどに

Yotte-mi-yo, uti-hanasu hodo-ni

approach.GER-see-**IMP**(=**if** you try to approach)

虎明本・饅頭 *Toraakira-bon kyōgensyu* (transcribed in 1642) [40-虎明1642_02030,13150]

Imperative > Conjunctive(1)

- 其中に**住でみやれ**、半年もたゝぬにあきはてゝ、やつぱり袈婆が恋しく成であらふ

Sono naka ni **sun-de-mi-yar-e**(=**if** you live in it,)

当世穴さがし巻2 *Tōsei anasagashi* vol.2 (publicated in 1769)

- おれが方が**負けて見やんせ**。ねごんぞう取られにやならぬ。

Ore ga kata ga **make-te-mi-yans-e**(=**if I** lose,)

韓人漢文手管始 *Kanjin kanmon tekuda-no hajimari* (performed in 1789)

- あれが爪が**われて見やれ**。不断飛ぶやうで、中 / \ 人が乗られる物でハない

Are ga tume ga **ware-te-mi-yar-e**(=**if that nail** separates,)

鹿の子餅 *Kanoko mochi* (publicated in 1772)

Imperative > Conjunctive(1)

- [S[SC (従属節) [VP 今度[V **申切レ**]]], [MC (主節) …]]
[des-][2nd][irr+][vol-]
- [S[SC[VP **よつてみよ**]], [MC うちはなすほどに]]
[des-][2nd][irr+][vol-]
- [S[SC[NP おれが方]が[VP **負けて見やんせ**]], [MC …]]
*des, per, volの制約が解除 [des-][1st][irr+][vol-]

Imperative > Conjunctive(2)

- *Naze to ie*(Say “Why?”) used in *Edo* period. (湯澤1936)
 - いや / \ 其方立 侍とはいはれまい。 **なぜとおいやれ**。 さいぜん其方がいふには。 ひつじのこく迄に せがれがくびをうつて出せ。 然らば母をたすけてかへさん。 其じこく過なば。 母をころす といふたでないか。 金岡筆 *Kanaoka-ga fude* (performed in 1690)
 - [前文脈]。なぜと言え。 [理由の説明]。
 - Say “Why” = That is why
- [_{S1}なぜと言え]。 [_{S2} …] > [_S[_{SC}なぜと[_V言え]]、 [_{MC} …]。

Imperative > Adversative(1)

- *Are*(imperative of *Ari* (be)) used as adversative conditional
 - (に) もあれ > にてもあれ > でもあれ > であれ → (北崎2016)
- 「中納言の**にもあれ**、大納言**にてもあれ**、かばかり多かる所に、いかでこの打杭ありと見ながらは立てつるぞ。

tyunagon	no	ni	mo	ar-e
chunagon	GEN	COP.INF	ETOP	be-IMP

‘Even if chunagon’s vehicle,’

落窪物語 *Ochikubo monogatari* (989) [20-落窪0986_00002, 303780]

- 大船を漕ぎのまにまに岩に触れ **覆らば覆れ** 〈覆者覆〉 妹によりては
‘If you want to overthrow, overthrow.’ *MYS* 4.557 [10-万葉0759_00004,25480]

Imperative > Adversative(2)

- *Seyo*(imperative of *su*(do))

- 動作 + もせよ > にもせよ (しろ) > にせよ (しろ)

- 勝**モセヨ**負**モセヨ**取昇進シテコソ至候ヘト云云

kat-i mo se-yo mak-e mo se-yo

win-ADV ETOP do-IMP lose-ADV ETOP do-IMP

‘Even if you win or lose,’

古事談 *Kojidan* (1212-15)

- あはれどく**にもせよ**、しぬるとも、師の出られなば、くふべし

‘Even though it is a poison,’

一休諸国物語 *Ikkyū shokoku monogatari* (published in around 1670)

Imperative > Adversative(3)

- **とまれ** (<もあれ)、**かくまれ**、申さむ

竹取物語 *Taketori monogatari* (about 900)[20-竹取0900_00001,25870]

- **とはいへ**彦介め、さほどの疵ではなけれども。

To wa i-e

COMP TOP say-IMP(='Although') →北崎 (2017)

山崎与次兵衛寿の門松 *Yamazaki-yojibee nebiki no kadomatsu*(performed in 1718)

- **遅かれ疾かれ**、通ひ来る男の、足の流れぬはあるまじ。

Osok-ar-e Tok-ar-e,

slow-be-IMP fast-be-IMP,(='Sooner or later') →北崎 (2018a)

けしずみ *Keshizumi*(publicated in 1677)

Conjunctive > Directive

- Change in the opposite direction (矢島2008, 森2015)
 - うちに寄って {いった**たら**いい / いけ**ば**いい}。
Uti ni yottei-ttara ii.
my.house LOC drop.in-COND good
'You can drop in at my house.'
 - うちに寄って {いった**たら** / いけ**ば**}。
Uti ni yottei-ttara.
my.house LOC drop.in-COND.
'Why don't you drop in at my house?'
- One case of intersubjectification

Conjunctive > Directive

- These are also common in “irrealis”

- $[_S[_{SC}[_{NP} \dots]ガ[_{VP} \dots]タラ]_{MC} \exists \text{イ}]$

$[des+][-][irr+][vol \pm] > [des+][2^{nd}][irr+][vol+]$

- $[_S[_{NP} \dots]ガ[_{VP} \dots]タラ]$ 。

$[des+][2^{nd}][irr+][vol+]$

- cf. 「するがいい」 → 「*するが」

Roadmap

- Why is the imperative form used as a condition form?
 - The ordinary compound conjunctives
 - Imperative > Conjunctive, Imperative > Adversative
 - Conjunctive > Directive
- **Answers to the questions**
 - Why can imperatives be used as conditionals?
 - Why can imperatives derive to both conjunctives and adversatives?
- Two sentences in succession construction and related cases
 - Kakari-musubi
 - Indirect interrogative construction
- Conclusion

Q1. Why can imperatives be used as conditionals?

- “Irrealis” does not change both before and after the derivation.
- [_{S1} Imperative] + [_{S2} Result of the action]
> [_S[_{SC} ... -IMP], [_{MC} ...]]
- Result of action:
 - A situation that is not good for the listener.
 - Answer to “Why?”
- Reanalysis of the two sentences in succession construction
 - cf. Kakari-musubi, Indirect interrogative construction

Q2. Why can imperatives derive to both conjunctives and adversatives?

- Adversative imperatives derive only from the “noninterference”
- 大船を漕ぎのまにまに岩に触れ **覆らば覆れ** 〈覆者覆〉 妹によりては
‘If you want to overthrow, overthrow.’ *MYS* 4.557 [10-万葉0759_00004,25480]
→ The speaker **don’t want** the ship to overthrow.
- [S₁ … -IMP]。 [S₂ …]。
 - S₂=MC is the attitude of the speaker, not the “result of the action”
- Not every adversative imperative is “two sentences in succession construction”. Sometimes application of the schema has affected this formation.

Roadmap

- Why is the imperative form used as a condition form?
 - The ordinary compound conjunctives
 - Imperative > Conjunctive, Imperative > Adversative
 - Conjunctive > Directive
- Answers to the questions
 - Why can imperatives be used as conditionals?
 - Why can imperatives derive to both conjunctives and adversatives?
- **Two sentences in succession construction and related cases**
 - Kakari-musubi
 - Indirect interrogative construction
- Conclusion

Kakari-musubi

- Reinterpretation of two sentences in succession construction caused *Kakari-musubi* construction. (野村1995, 鴻野2010)
- -ka(cause)/-zo(explanation) + -adnominal
 - 手触れし罪**か**君に逢ひ難き *MYS* 4.712[10-万葉0759_00004,68410]
 - 夜のなごり**そ**今も寝ねかてにする *MYS* 11.2588[10-万葉0759_00011,64650]
- [_{S1} … ソ・カ]、 [_{S2} … -ADN] > [_S … ソ・カ … -ADN]

Indirect interrogative construction(1)

- *Yara* began to be used in the indirect interrogative construction in *Muromachi* Period. (高宮2004, Kinuhata2012)
 1. Two sentences in succession construction
 - ナントシタ心**ヤラウ**論語ニハ言語ヲ政事之上ニヲイタガ司馬遷ハ政事ヲ上ニヲイタソ 史記抄 *Shikishō* (1477)
 2. Annotation phrase + concealed questions
 - サルマヘハトレカ正本テアル**ヤラウ**眞実ヲ不知ソ 史記抄 *Shikishō* (1477)
 3. Indirect interrogative construction
 - 何ト義理ヲ付ウス**ヤラ知ラヌ**ホドニ 蒙求抄 *Mōgyūshō* (1534)

Indirect interrogative construction(2)

- *Kemu* was also used in the indirect interrogative construction in Old Japanese. (高山2016)

- さて返しはいかがしたり **けむ知らず**

ikaga s-itari-kemu

sir-azu

how do-PER.ADVL-PSTCONJ.CONCL know-NEG.CONCL

‘I don’t know how he replied.’

大和物語 *Yamato monogatari* (951)[20-大和0951_00001,308210]

- 心にもかなしとや思ひけむ、いかが思ひ**けむ**、**しらず**かし。

伊勢物語 *Ise monogatari* (about 920)[20-伊勢0920_00001,149210]

Two sentences in succession construction

- $[S_1 \dots -IMP]. + [S_2 \dots]. > [S [SC \dots -IMP], [MC \dots]]$
- $[S_1 \dots ソ \cdot カ]. + [S_2 \dots -ADN]. > [S \dots ソ \cdot カ \dots -ADN]$
- $[S_1 \dots ヤラ]. + [S_2 \dots 知らぬ]. > [S \dots ヤラ知らぬ]$
- $[S_1 \dots ケム]. + [S_2 \dots 知らず]. > [S \dots ケム知らず]$

• cf. 衣畑 (2007)

• cf. はさみこみ、不十分終止、並立助詞

Conclusion

- An imperative form is sometimes used like a conditional form in Japanese.
- Imperatives and hypothesis conditionals have common in “irrealis”. Reanalyzing “an imperative sentence + a sentence of the result” as one sentence caused a derivation of imperative conditionals.
- This reanalysis has played an important role repeatedly in the history of Japanese language and often caused the opposite change from the general direction.

References

- Kinuhata Tomohide. 2012. Historical development from subjective to objective meaning: Evidence from the Japanese question particle *ka*. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 44.
- 北崎勇帆 (2016) 「複合助詞「であれ」「にせよ」「にしろ」の変遷」『日本語の研究』12-4
- 北崎勇帆 (2017) 「「とはいえ」の成立と展開」『日本語学論集』13
- 北崎勇帆 (2018a) 「「遅かれ早かれ」類の成立と定着について」『国語語彙史の研究』37
- 北崎勇帆 (2018b) 「順接仮定条件に用いられる命令形式の成立と展開」『国語国文』87-5
- 衣畑智秀 (2007) 「付加節から取り立てへの歴史変化の2つのパターン」青木博史編『日本語の構造変化と文法化』ひつじ書房
- 鴻野知暁 (2010) 「ゾの係り結びの発生について」『国語国文』79-12
- 高宮幸乃 (2004) 「ヤラ(ウ)による間接疑問文の成立：不定詞疑問を中心に」『三重大学日本語学文学』15
- 高山善行 (2016) 「ケム型疑問文の特質：間接疑問文の史的研究のために」青木博史・小柳智一・高山善行編『日本語文法史研究3』ひつじ書房
- 野村剛史 (1995) 「カによる係り結び試論」『国語国文』64-9
- 森勇太 (2015) 「条件表現を由来とする勧め表現の歴史：江戸・東京と上方・関西の対照から」『近代語研究』18
- 矢島正浩 (2008) 「近世中期以降上方語・関西語における「評価的複合形式」の推移」『国語と国文学』85-2
- 湯澤幸吉郎 (1936) 『徳川時代言語の研究：上方篇』刀江書院