The Layered Structure of Subordinate Clauses in Early Modern Japanese

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0. Introduction

- Aims of this presentation:

  - to analyze and describe the layered structure of subordinate clauses in Early Modern Japanese (EModJ) using CHJ

  - and to consider the history of subordinate clauses from Old Japanese (OJ) to Present Japanese (PJ).

Outline

1. Background

2. Method

3. Results
    1. Hierarchies in Chikamatsu, Sharebon, and Ninjobon
    2. Hierarchies in EModJ

4. Discussion: Comparison with other periods
    1. From Muromachi to EModJ
    2. From EModJ to PJ

1. Background

- Subordinate clauses (SCs) in PJ have a layered structure (Minami 1964; 1974; 1993, Takubo 1987).

(1) a. Gohan=o tabe- {sase / *nai / *ru=daroo}-cucu ITR

    b. Gohan=o tabe- {saseru/ nai / *ru=daroo}=nara COND

    c. Gohan=o tabe- {saseru/ nai / ru=daroo}=ga ADVS

    food-ACC eat- {CAUS / NEG / NPST-CONJ}

Background

- A similar hierarchy can be observed in Early Middle Japanese (EMJ; Oda 1990).

(2) a. 心もとなく　　　　思はせつつ、
　　　　 kokoromotona-ku 　 omof-ase-tutu,
　　　　 uncertain-ADV 　　　 think-HON-ITR 　　 *Tales of Genji,* 20-源氏1010_00002,37680
　　　b. 桜の　　　　　　　咲かざらば
　　　　 sakura=no 　　　　 sak-azar-aba, …
　　　　 blossom-NOM 　　 bloom-NEG-COND 　　 *Tosa Nikki,* 20-土佐0934_00001,105390
　　　c. 実には　　　　　　似ざらめど
　　　　 ziti=ni=wa 　　　　 ni-zar-am-edo, …
　　　　 true-DAT-TOP 　　 resemble-NEG-IRR-ADVS 　 *Tales of Genji,* 20-源氏1010_00002,62550

Background

- Can the structures in EMJ and PJ be connected sequentially?

(3) a. -(s)as- CAUS   +   (i)tutu ITR   / (a)ba COND   / (e)domo ADVS

      b. -(a)z{u/ar-} NEG+   *(i)tutu ITR   / (a)ba COND   / (e)domo ADVS

      c. -(a)m- IRR   +   *(i)tutu ITR   / *(a)ba COND / (e)domo ADVS

(4) a. -(s)ase- CAUS   +   (i)cucu ITR   / nara COND   / ga ADVS

      b. -(a)na- NEG   +   *(i)cucu ITR   / nara COND   / ga ADVS

      c. -oo IRR   +   *(i)cucu ITR   / *nara COND   / ga ADVS

Problems

- Counterexamples can be found in Early Modern Japanese (EModJ).

(5) a. いまで　なら**おふなら**　長うただ。

ima=de　nara-**oo=nara**　nagauta=da.

now-LOC　study-IRR-COND　nagauta-COP.NPST

'If you want to learn something now, nagauta is good.'

Kyōja Hōgen, 52-洒落1771_01004,30660

b. 出るならば　　予が　世話　して　やら**ふのに**

der-u=naraba　　ore=ga　sewa　si-te　　yar-**oo=noni**.

appear-NPST-COND I-NOM　help　do-CVB　give-IRR-ADVS

'If (the musician was) going to perform, I'd take care of him.'

Nanyūki, 52-洒落1800_01017,56060

Goals

- This presentation aims to…
    - 1. analyze and describe the layered structure of SCs in EModJ using CHJ.
    - 2. and consider the history of SCs from OJ to PJ.

2. Method

- Morphologically annotated data in the CHJ are useful to find connections between several elements.
    - We investigated the following two combinations.

- Key 1: suffix
    - *saseru, rareru*
    - *zu, nai*
    - *tari, ta*
    - *uzu(<muzu), oo, mai, daroo*

- Key 2: SC
    - *nagara, tutu*
    - *te, to, domo, (a)ba, tara, nara(ba), (e)ba*
    - *niyotte, hodoni, tomo*
    - *kara, ga, keredo(mo), noni, si*

Method

- Materials
  - CHJ Edo Period Series

- Query
  - Key 1:
    - a. PoS: Aux
    - b. cForm: Volitional form
  - Key 2:
    - a. PoS: Conjunctive particle
    - b. cForm: Conditional form

Examples

サンプル ID	開始位置	前文脈	キー	後文脈	語彙素	本文種別	話者	ジャンル	作品名	成立年
52-洒落1757_01005	8500	ゆへ大かたおよりなさるであろふとぞんじまし	た	(に)。よふまたせなさつたの # ▲孔子	た	会話	中居なつ-女-店の者-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	8730	またせなさつたの # ▲孔子 # ををよりたかつ	た	(けれど)も行時に径によらず。	た	会話	孔子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	9090	ちらりと見たゆへ太夫にことづてしたかつ	た	(けれど)十目所視十手所指ひとのみるてまへをおもふて其	た	会話	孔子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	9470	て其時馬喰町の方へ人がはしつ	た	(が)何事じやとおもふたれども君子は危	た	会話	孔子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	9570	へ人がはしつたが何事じやとおもふ	たれ	(ども)君子は危にちかづかずとすぐに	たり	会話	孔子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	9780	君子は危にちかづかずとすぐにもどつ	た	(が)なんであつたや # ▲中居なつ # その	た	会話	孔子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	11280	おまへ様がたの御ひひきゆへだん／＼仕合つかまつり	まし	(て)よろこびます # ▲孔子 # ををよいことじや # し	ます	会話	亭主李白-男-店の者-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	11490	てよろこびます # ▲孔子 # ををよいことじや # し	た	(が)滝親父にずいぶん酒をとめたが	た	会話	孔子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	12390	▲孔子 # いやさ座敷はつとめにや。なら	ね	(ども)終日百盃すれども三盃に過ぎ	ず	会話	孔子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	12810	よいぞや # ▲亭主 # どふでなる口でござり	ますれ	(ば)一盃／＼又一盃どふでも	ます	会話	亭主李白-男-店の者-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757
52-洒落1757_01005	15400	はさいわいの道があると裏から仕かけ	たれ	(ば)ここの久助めがくらがりから牛の	たり	会話	老子-男-客【医者・学者等】-上方-	洒落本	聖遊廓	1757

3. Results Chikamatsu

	-(s)ase-	-(r)are-	POL	-(a)zu	-(i)tar-	-(i)ta	-(j)oo	-(u)mai
-(i)nagara 1		1						
-(i)tutu	(1)	(1)						
-(i)te	98	138	26					
-(i)nagara 2		1		2				
-(r)uto		1	1	1				
-(e)do(mo)		(1)		80	68			
-(a)ba		3	1	20				
-(i)tara	1	6	9					
-(e)ba	1	3	5	101	48			
=niyotte						1		
=nara(ba)						1	6	1
=hodoni			1	4		5		
=to(mo)		2		33	15	3	18	
=kara						1		
=ga	2	3	3	15	4	56	11	13
=keredo(mo)							1	1
=si							6	7

Sharebon and Ninjobon

	-(s)ase-	-(r)are-	POL	-(a)zu	-(a)na-	-(i)tar-	-(i)ta	-(j)oo	-(u)mai	=daroo
-(i)nagara 1	(1)	(9)								
-(i)tutu	(3)	(3)								
-(i)te	117	299	277	15	102					
-(i)nagara 2	1	1		12						
-(r)uto	1	8	20	5	10					
-(e)do(mo)		2	12	40		28				
-(a)ba				13	1					
-(i)tara	7	18	68		1					
-(e)ba		6	23	85	14	44				
=node			2	1	1		5			
=niyotte			1	9			19			
=sakai			3	6	1		6			
=nara(ba)	2	4	8	1	1		42	10		
=hodoni	1	1	6	9	1		5	10	1	
=to(mo)			3	110		2	2	43		
=kara	4	7	214	59	136		253	35	21	22
=ga	3	5	156	136	126	1	444	162	54	53
=keredo(mo)		2	40	19	17		89	23	15	6
=noni			5	5	6		17	6	3	(1)
=si		2	8				4	21	75	10

Hierarchies in EModJ

	-(a)sase-	-(a)rare-	POL	-(a)zu	-(a)na-	-(i)ta	-(j)oo	-(u)mai	=daroo
-(i)nagara 1	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
-(i)tutu	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
-(i)te	✓	✓	✓	× > ✓	− > ✓	×	×	×	×
-(i)nagara 2	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	×	×	×
-(r)uto	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	×
-(e)do(mo)	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×
-(a)ba	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	−	×	×	×
-(i)tara	✓	✓	✓	−	✓	−	×	×	×
-(e)ba	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	−	×	×	×
=node	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
=niyotte	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	× > ✓	×	×
=sakai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×
=nara(ba)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
=hodoni	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
=to(mo)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
=kara	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	× > ✓	× > ✓	− > ✓
=ga	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
=keredo(mo)	× > △	× > ✓	× > ✓	× > ✓	− > ✓	× > ✓	✓	✓	✓
=si	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
=nara(ba)	× > ✓	× > ✓	× > ✓	× > ✓	× > ✓	× > ✓	✓	✓	✓

4. Discussion: Comparison with other periods

- From LMJ to EModJ

  - *-(i)te*: NEG + *-(i)te* became possible.

  - *kara*: It became possible for *-(j)oo* and *-(u)mai* to appear in *kara* clauses.

  - *keredo(mo)* and *si*: Elements other than *-(j)oo* and *-(u)mai* became available.

- From EModJ to PJ

  - *nara* and *noni*: It became possible for *-(j)oo* and *-(u)mai* to appear.

Te clauses

- *Te* clauses came to include negation in late EModJ instead of *zu* or *zuni*.

  - See Sakanashi(1995) and Tanaka(2010).

(6) a. 云つて おいた   ことう   きか**ねへで**。わりやあ なぜ。こんなに さわぐ。

   it-te   o-ita   koto=o   kik-**anee-de**   warjaa   naze   konnani   sawag-u

   say-CVB   place-PST   thing-ACC   listen-**NEG-ADV** you.TOP   why   this.much   make.noise-NPST

   'Why do you make noise without listening to what I said.'

   Kyōjahōgen, 52-洒落1771_01004,53980

   b. 来ても   こ**なくつても**。 おめへさんは   何も   おさしつかへ   なしさ。

   ki-temo   ko-**nakuQ-te**mo   omee-san=wa   nani=mo   o-sasicukae   nasi=sa

   come-CONC   come-**NEG-CONC**   you-POL.SUF-TOP   what-ITOP   HON.PFX-objection   nothing-EXCL

   'You don't have to worry about whether I will come or not.'

   Irofukami Soranenoyume, 52-洒落1826_01026,28220

Kara clauses

- It became possible for *-(j)oo and -(u)mai* to appear in *kara* clauses in the late Edo Period (see Kitazaki 2021).

(7) a. 結構　　　　過ぎ**たから**　　親を　　　　　阿呆に　　しをるわいの
     kekkoo　　　sug-**ita=kara**　　oja=o　　　　　ahoo=ni　　si-or-u=waino
     good.mind　go.to.far-**PST-CSL**　parents-ACC　stupid-DAT　do-be.IPOL-NPST-EXCL
     'He makes fun of me because I'm too good-natured.'
                                    Shinjū Yoigōshin, 51-近松1722_21003,12700

   b. そんなら　ちつと　つぎんし**ようから**　出しなんし
     son=nara　　citto　　cug-ins-**joo=kara**　　das-inans-i
     it-COND　　　a.little　pour-POL-**VOL-CSL**　　give-POL-IMP
     'I'm going to pour a little sake, so give me a cup.'
                                    Kōeki shinwa, 52-洒落1775_01010,60300

Keredomo and *si* clauses

- No elements other than *-(j)oo* and *-(u)mai* could appeare in *keredomo* and *si* clauses before EModJ.
  - *Keredomo* is derived from *maiker-edomo* (Yuzawa 1929, Nishida 1978),
  - *Si* is also derived from *mai-si* (Suzuki 1990).

(8) a. おとよに。　　　　ふきこんで　　き**たけれど**。
　　　 o-tojo=ni　　　　 fukikon-de　　ki-**ta=keredo**, …
　　　 POL.PFX-Toyo-DAT　inform-CVB　　come-**PST-ADVS**
　　　 'I've just been telling Otoyo-san but…'

Shingekka yojō, 52-洒落1757_01029,31300

　　 b. そう　すりやあ　余斗に　　物も　　　　もらは**れるし**
　　　 soo　surjaa　　jokei=ni　mono=mo　　moraw-**arer-u=si**
　　　 so　　do.COND　extra-DAT　thing-ITOP　get-**POT-NPST-LST**
　　　 'If you do (work a lot), you can make extra money and …'

Shunshoku tatsuminosono, 53-人情1835_04010,67530

Nara and *noni* clauses

- *-(j)oo* and *-(u)mai* can be used in *nara* and *noni* clauses.
  - See Hachiya(1977) and Kobayashi (1979) for *nara*, and Aoki (2014) for *noni*.

(9) a. 世が　　　　世の　　　　時で　　　　あら**ふなら**
      jo=ga　　　　jo=no　　　　toki=de　　　　ar-**oo=nara**, …
      world-NOM　　world-GEN　　time-COP　　be-IRR-COND
      'If these were normal times, …'

                    Hanano shimadai, 53-人情1836_01001,21620

    b. 出るならば　　　　予が　　世話　　して　　やら**ふのに**
      deru=naraba　　　ore=ga　　sewa　　si-te　　jar-**oo=noni**.
      appear.NPST-COND　I-NOM　　help　　do-CVB　give-IRR-ADVS
      'If (the musician was) going to perform, I'd take care of him.'
                        Nanyūki, 52-洒落1800_01017,56060 (=5b)

5. Conclusion

- This presentation clarified the following two points.
    - 1. The hierarchies of SCs in EModJ.
    - 2. Historical changes in SCs around EModJ.
    - Although each of these changes has already been pointed out in previous studies, the corpus allows us to take a bird's eye view of these changes.

Further study

- When there are two causals, do they tend to function differently?
  - Subjective *kara* vs objective *node* (Nagano 1952).
  - Subjective *fodoni* vs objective *niyotte* (Yoshida 2007).
  - This division of functions can be observed in dialects.

(10) a. Ame   fur-u-gotta{*=suke / =gara}   kasa   moQ-te-ge
        rain   fall-NPST-CONJ-CSL   umbrella   take-CVB-go.IMP
        'It's going to rain, so take an umbrella.'

Hachinohe (Aomori pref.) dialect, Hidaka 2007

      b. Asita=wa   samu-i=daroo{=de / *=monde} kooto=o jooi   su-ru
        tomorrow-TOP   cold-NPST-CONJ-CSL   coat-ACC prepare   do-NPST
        'It'll be cold tomorrow, so I'll get my coat ready.'

Gifu dialect, Oda 2016

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	ADV	adverb	ADVS	adversative	CAUS	causative
CONC	concessive	COND	conditional	CONJ	conjecture	COP	copula
CSL	causal	CVB	converb	DAT	dative	EXCL	exclamative
GEN	genitive	HON	honorative	IMP	imperative	IPOL	impolite
IRR	irrealis	ITOP	inclusive topic	ITR	iterative	LOC	locative
LST	listing	NEG	negative	NOM	nominative	NPST	nonpast
PFX	prefix	POL	polite	PST	past	SUF	suffix
TOP	topic	VOL	volitional				

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