

Title	古代日本語における主要部内在型関係節構造の発達：格助詞「の」の統語的位置の再分析
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Citation	聖学院大学論叢, 21(2), 2009.3 : 237-248
URL	http://serve.seigakuin-univ.ac.jp/rep/modules/xoonips/detail.php?item_id=932
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The Developing of the Head-Internal Relative Clause Constructions in Old Japanese:

Reanalysis of the Syntactic Position of the Case Particle *No*

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古代日本語における主要部内在型関係節構造の発達：

格助詞「の」の統語的位置の再分析

小 林 茂 之

古代日本語における主要部内在型関係節は、Kuroda (1974) や近藤 (1981) によって統語論的観点から研究されてきた。黒田は、「の」が先頭位置を占めることに着目し、制約 (the Pivot Initial Constraint) を提案した。これは、Kayne (1994) などの線状性に関する理論にとって興味深い問題であり、竹沢・Whitman (1998) は、Kayne の仮説に従って、日本語の DP 構造を分析している。当研究も、通時統語論的観点からこの仮説を検討する。

近藤は、黒田より広い範囲の主要部内在型関係節を3タイプに分類した。本稿は、これらの一つから他の発達を構造の再分析を通じた文法化として分析する。音韻的縮約は文法化を示す (Roberts and Roussou 2003)。本稿は、「の」の変化に伴うアクセントの縮約を指摘し、これが「の」の再分析を支持することを論じる。

Key words: head-internal relative clause, grammaticalization, reanalysis, phonological reduction, the case particle *no*

0 Introduction

The head-internal relative clause constructions in OJ have been studied by Kuroda (1974) and Kondou (1981) from the point of view of syntax. Kuroda noticed the tendency of the case particle *no* to occupy the initial position in the relative clause construction, and proposed 'the Pivot Initial Constraint'. This phenomenon is very interesting for the theory of linearity (e.g. the LCA by Kayne, 1994). Takezawa and Whitman (1998) analyzed the DP structure of Japanese according to Kayne's conjuncture. This study will examine his conjuncture from the point of view of diachronic syntax.

執筆者の所属：人文学部・日本文化学科

論文受理日2008年10月10日

Kondou classified these constructions (more precisely, the range he studied was broader than Kuroda's) into three types. The author will argue for the development of the constructions from one type to another as grammaticalization through reanalysis of these constructions. Phonological reduction indicates grammaticalization (Roberts and Roussou 2003). The author will also argue for the phonological reduction of the accent of *no* occurred along with this change means a reanalysis of *no* also occurred.

1 Headless Relative Clauses in Old Japanese

Japanese is a head-final language. It will be expected that Japanese has a right-headed relative clause structure. This is the case for Modern Japanese, but Old Japanese also had a semantically left-headed relative clause structure. Basically, Old Japanese was also a head-final language. We will postulate relative clause structures whose head nouns are left-headed Noun Phrases or DPs for Japanese. Thus, we use the term "headless relative clause structure" for relative clause structures without phonetically overt head nouns which appear after relative clauses.

Kondou (1981) was insightful in pioneering studies analyzing the headless relative clause structure in OJ, relating them to corresponding relative clause structures with overt head nouns or DPs. According to Kondou, headless relative structures developed from following types (see below). The constructions in brackets are relative clauses. The following examples are from Kondou.¹

- (1) sono naka-ni [kono tori-te maudeki-tari-shi]-ha ito warokaro-shika-domo
them among this bring-and come-Perfect-Past-TOP very bad-PAST though
(*Taketori*, around 10C)

'Though this person who has brought and come was very bad'

- (2) [mono omofishiri tamaфу] ha sama katati nado-no medetakari-shi koto,
things understand-HON TOP figure face-CLI-NOM amazing-PAST COMP
kokorobase-no nadarakani meyasuku nikumigatakari-shi koto-nado, ima-zo
character-Nom gentle inoffensive dislike-difficult-PAST COMP-CLI. now-EMP
oboshiiduru.
remind-HON (*Genji: Kiritsubo*, 11C Mid.)

'Those who understand the world are now reminded that her figure and face were charming, and that her character was gentle, inoffensive and difficult to be disliked.'

(1) and (2) show that no head nouns or DPs appear after relative clauses, but phonetically covert operators and head nouns or DPs can be postulated. Thus we can formulate the configuration² for the headless relative constructions:

- (3) $[[\dots t_i \dots] \text{OP}_i \triangle_i]$

\triangle : NP or DP

Kondo called this type of headless relative clause ‘Deleted Equi-NP Type’ because this construction is semantically equivalent to normal left-headed relative clause construction. It should be noted that OP represents the invisible operator that functions as a relative pronoun that Japanese does not have.

Kondo argued for another type of construction with semantic head nouns or DPs before relative clauses which are similar to left-headed relative clause constructions. The following examples are from Kondou.

- (4) [ashi ninafi-taru wotoko-no [katafi-no yaunaru sugata-naru]], kono kuruma-no
[reeds carry-PREF man-GEN [beggar-GEN like figure-being]], this coach-GEN
mafe-yori iki-keri
front-ABL go-PAST (*Yamato*: 128, around 10C)

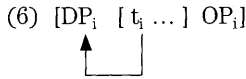
‘The man who carried reeds, who is like the figure of a beggar went, from the front of the coach.’

According to the view of traditional grammarians (e.g. Yuzawa 1940, Konoshima 1973), the particle *no* in OJ was used as a genitive marker in the same way in Mod J in addition to being a nominative marker, which has become obsolete in Mod J. The first *no* in (4) may be recognized as a nominative marker, but it is also a genitive marker. Because the NP or DP attached to the second *no* in (5) below is the object of the predicate ‘kashizuku (bring up)’, in contrast to the fact that the noun attached to *no* in (4) is the subject of the predicate, the *no* in (5) cannot be a case marker, which represents grammatical relations. Rather, its use can be recognized as the same use of another *no* in (5), i.e., as a genitive marker.

- (5) [fito-no musume-no [kashiduku]], ikade kono wotoko-ni mono
[man-GEN daughter-GEN [bring up]], how this man-DAT things
ifa-mu to omofi-keri.
tell-VOL-COMP think-PAST (*Ise*: 45, around 11C)

'The daughter of the man who brought her up thought of how to propose to this man.'

We can formulate the configuration for such constructions as (4) and (5) as follows:



This configuration indicates that the DP in the inner relative clause is moved to the initial position of the relative clause construction if we adopt the analysis of head initial construction for DP in OJ according to Takezawa and Whitman (1998). Their analysis will be examined more closely in the latter part of this paper.

We now proceed to third type of the headless relative clause in OJ, classified as the Equi NP Remaining Type by Kondou, where the semantic head NP remains in the relative clause. The following examples are from Kondou.

- (7) [kano syaukyauden-no mae-no matu-ni yuki-no furikakari-tari-keru]
 [that Syaukyauden-palace-GEN front-GEN pine-AT snow-NOM fall-on-PREF-PAST]
 -wo wori-te... (*Yamato*: 139)
 -ACC break-COMP

'to break a branch of the pine in front of that Syaukyaden palace, on which the snow has fallen'

In this type of headless relative construction, the semantic head DP remains in the original position, as in (7) above. This type of relative construction is often called the head-internal relative clause. Thus we can formulate the configuration for this type of headless relative construction as follows:

- (8) $[[\dots DP_i \dots] \ OP_i]$

According to Kondo this type of headless relative construction should be related to the right-headed relative construction as the same in Mod J, and can be also observed in OJ. (9) should correspond to the relative construction below, which has the same meaning as that in (7):

- (9) $[[t_i \dots yuki-no furikakari-tari-keru] \ OP_i \ matu_i]$
 'the pine on which the snow has fallen'

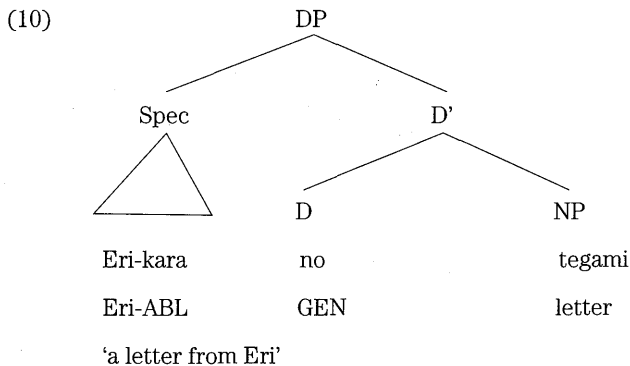
In Japanese the place DP can be relativised even though it is an adjunct constituent as in the above example. Thus 'matu (pine)' is relativised in (7).

Kondou has pointed out that this type of relative construction is attested to in the Heian period (794-1185), in contrast to the Equi DP remaining type, as in shown (4) and (5) in as attested to earlier in the Nara period (710-794), according to Kondou's survey of historical materials. The crucial point is that the Equi DP remaining type, or head internal relative construction, should be analyzed as having developed from the left-headed relative construction. We will argue for the grammaticalization of this type of head internal relative construction in the next section.

2 Grammaticalization of Head-Internal Relative Construction in OJ

2.1 The DP Hypothesis for Japanese

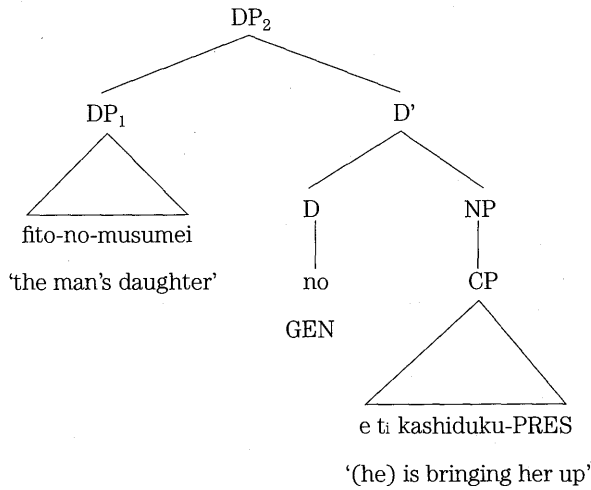
Takezawa and Whitman (1998) adopted Kayne's antisymmetry hypothesis (Kayne 1994) and proposed a DP construction in which *no* is in the head position. See the following structure of DP in Mod J from Takezawa and Whitman (1998: 157):



In (10) *no* is in the head position in DP, and the Spec of the DP constituent is always necessary when DP projection appears, according to the analysis of Takezawa and Whitman.

In turn we will analyze the left-headed relative construction on the DP Hypothesis. See the next figure (11) for (5):

(11)



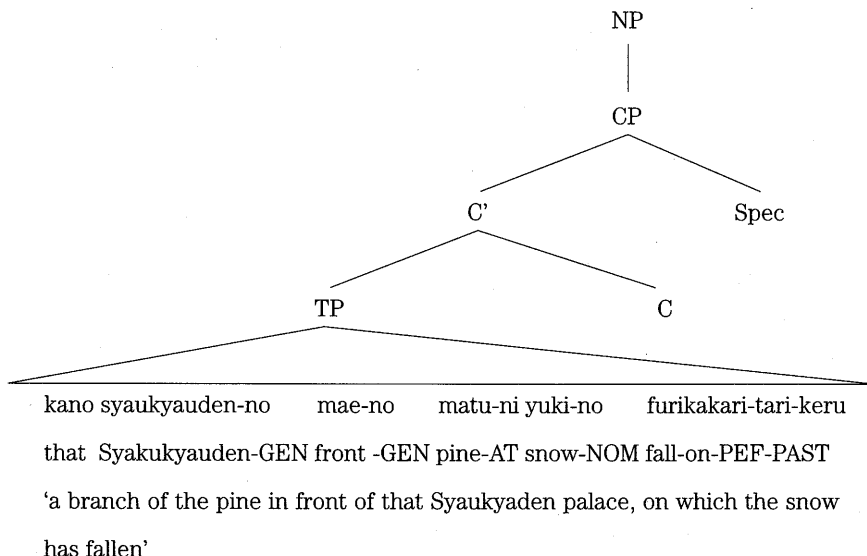
In (11) the CP node does not have an overt C element as its head. The predicate in CP takes the quasi-nominal form in the Spell-Out stage. The CP node would be removed because it would not be dominated by a phonetically overt CP head. Instead, the predicate would take the quasi-nominal form that represents the fact that the relative clause has been is qualified as nominal. I will not pursue this problem any further here.

Formulation (11) indicates that DP₁ was moved from the CP to the Spec position. The head of DP₂ *no* attracted it to the Spec of the upper DP structure.

2.2 Development of the Head-Internal Relative Constructions in OJ

According to Kondou (1987), the Equi NP Remaining Type of head internal relative construction is attested to in the Heian period corpora. In this construction, the semantic head noun does not need to appear in the initial position of the relative construction. We will illustrate the structure of (7) in (12) (see below), where the head noun comes after the adjunct constituent:

(12)



In (12) the predicate in CP takes the quasi-nominal form in the Spell-Out stage. In contrast to the left-headed type that we argued for in the previous section, it has a phonetically overt head as the subject remaining in the CP, and the DP Spec does not appear in this construction. These observations indicate that the CP remains after the Spell-Out stage.

We should try to find the reason why the predicate in CP in this construction takes the quasi-nominal form. The predicate will be attracted by the phonetically covert C and move to the CP Spec position at the Spell-Out stage, where it takes the quasi-nominal form.

We will examine how this type of head-internal relative construction developed from the left-headed relative construction in the next section.

3 Reanalysis of the Particle *No* in Head-Internal Relative Constructions in OJ

The head noun accompanied by *no* in the head-internal relative construction can also appear in the initial position of the construction. We will argue that *no* in the DP head position of the left-headed relative construction can also be seen as a nominative case marker in the head-internal relative construction, and should be seen as causing the structural change of the left-headed relative construction.

3.1 *No* for the Nominative Case Marker in Head-Internal Relative Constructions in OJ

Kuroda (1974, reprinted in Kuroda 1992) called these types of the head-internal relative

The Developing of the Head-Internal Relative Clause Constructions in Old Japanese construction 'pivot-independent relative clauses.' The following examples are from Kuroda.

- (13) ... [[kiyoge naru wotoko-no hosoyaka naru]-ga, tatebumi moti-te isogi
handsome be-GER man-NOM slim being-NOM letter bring hurry
iku]-koso, iduti naran-to miyuru. (Makura, 11C Mid.)
go-EMP where be-FUT-COMP seem-PRES
'I wonder where a handsome man would hurry to bring a folded letter.'

- (14) ... [maite kari-nado-no turane-taru]-ga, ito tifisaku miyuru]-fa
even more geese-PL-NOM line-up-PRES-NOM very small being-seen-TOP
ito wokashi. (Makura)
very charming
'It is even more charming that some geese lining up in the sky are seen as very small.'

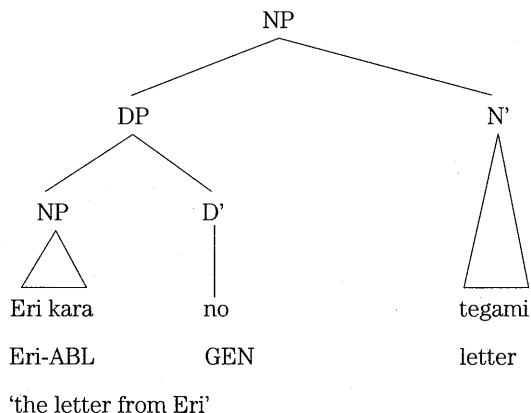
According to Kuroda's analysis, the particles *no* in (13) and (14) are nominative case markers, and the particle *ga* in (14) is also a nominative case marker. It should be noted that *no* and *ga* in OJ were used both for the nominative and genitive case markers, in contrast to how *no* is used only as a genitive marker and *ga* is used only as a nominative case marker in Mod J.

3.2 Structural Change of Head-Internal Relative Constructions in OJ

According to Takezawa and Whitman (1998), the particle *no* in the DP of Mod J goes to the head position of DP and the nominal expression that precedes *no* goes to the Spec position of DP.

The crucial point of their argument is that *no* is not directly dominated by the same node as the nominal expression that immediately precedes it. This analysis is based on Kayne's Antisymmetry Hypothesis; however, it should contradict the predominant view of linguists that Japanese is consistently a head-final language. We will illustrate this with another configuration for (10) (seen previously), which is based on the standard view:

(15)

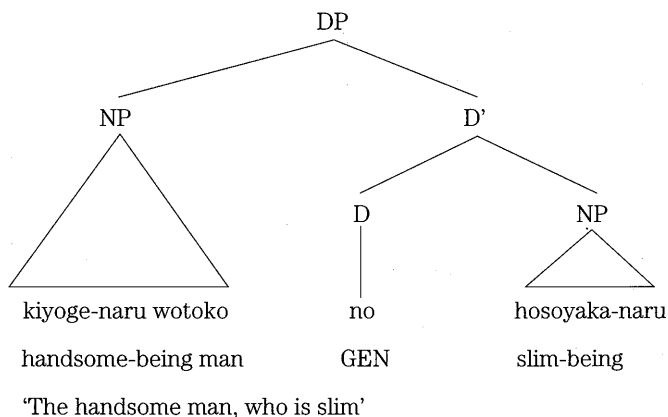


In the above analysis, *no* is categorized as a D element, but it can also be categorized as a P element, i.e., postposition element. If we adopt such an analysis, the whole structure of (15) will be as a complement of PP which takes P as its head. However, we cannot afford to pursue the problem of the syntactic category of *no* any further.

In (15) *no* and the NP that precedes it constitute DP; this analysis keeps the head-final configuration. We propose that both analyses are appropriate for Japanese from the viewpoint of syntactic change; i.e., a head-final configuration such as (15) is more appropriate for Mod J than the head-initial one such as (11), but the latter was appropriate for OJ until the point when a change in word order for the DP occurred.

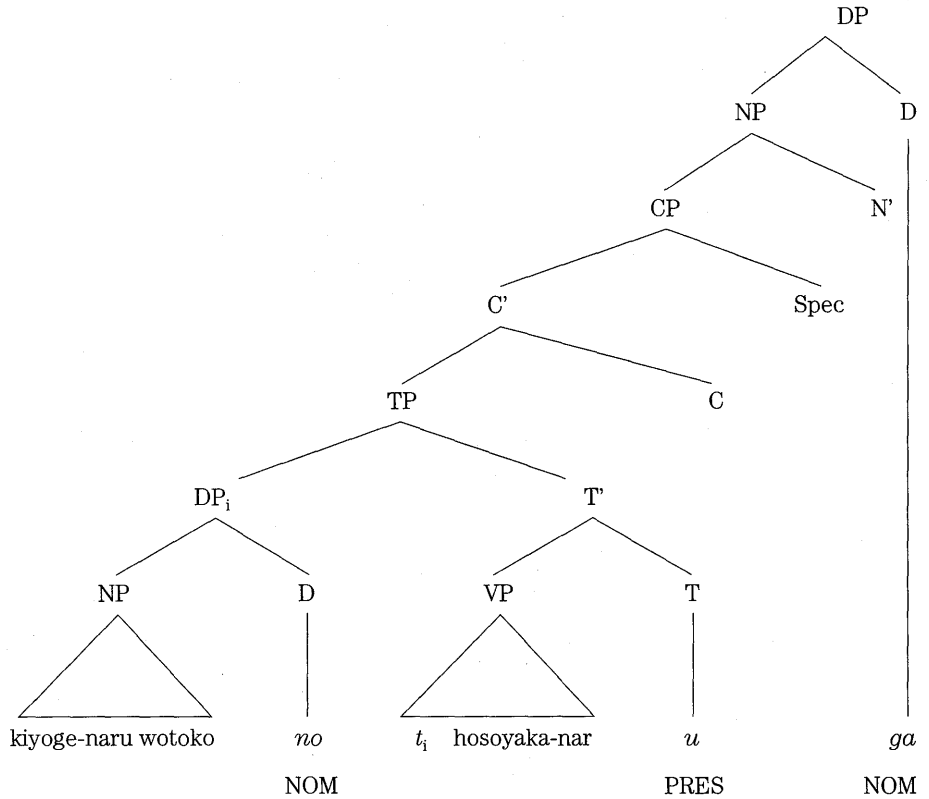
We will proceed to analyze the grammaticalization of the head-internal relative constructions. A head-internal relative construction such as (13) should be assumed to develop from the left-headed relative construction, as below:

(16)



If *no* in (16) is reanalyzed as a nominative case marker, this structure is changed into a structure such as (17):

(17)



The whole structure of (17) will be DP, and the Tense Marker *u* will be moved to the N' position and take the adnominal form in the Spell-Out stage, which indicates that the whole structure is nominalized. We have already analyzed this morphological problem in 2.1. The C element and the CP Spec element will be phonetically null; however, we can't afford to examine these problems in this paper.

We illustrate this reanalysis below:

$$(18) \text{ } [_{DP}[_{NP} \text{ }][_{D'}[\textit{no} \dots [\text{ }] \dots]}] \rightarrow [_{DP}[_{TP}[_{DPi} \dots \textit{no}][_{T'} t_i \dots]]] \dots]$$

In (18), the position of *no* in the left side PM is the initial D' element, in contrast to that of *no* in the right PM, the final DP element that precedes the T' element, from which *no* is supposed to move to constitute the new DP with the NP that immediately precedes it.

This reanalysis includes the issue of the head position of the structure, i.e., whether OJ should be analyzed as a head-initial language or a head-final one. According to Kayne's famous conjuncture, i.e., the LCA (Kayne 1994), all languages should be analyzed as head-initial structures. Thus OJ was able to be analyzed in this way, at least partly, up to now. Though the linearization of the structure that includes *no* has not changed overtly, however, the order of the head position of OJ has changed. This is a problem for future study.

3.3 Phonological Reduction along with Structural Change: Evidence for the Grammaticalization of *No*

In Mod J auxiliary verbs and particles lack accents, but display the dependent accentual patterns of preceding words and are postulated to constitute accentual words with these patterns. In contrast to Mod J, in OJ most auxiliary verbs and particles display accentual patterns (Kindaichi 2002: 259-260).

For example, the particles *ga* and *fa(ha)* were always pronounced in a high accentual tone. *No* was thought to be pronounced in the same tone as the words that preceded it and combine with them, however, it seems to have sometimes displayed an accentual tone.

We also take the position that *no* has its own accentual tone until the point of time it is pronounced in a low tone (Akinaga 1991: 150-153, Hayata 1987). If this is correct, then we can adopt this accentual tone as evidence of the structural position of *no* in OJ.

In many cases, *no* in the OJ corpus of accentual patterns displays a tone pattern in connecting the accentual word with the words preceding to it, as in Mod J. This phenomenon reveals that the tone of *no* was changing its own tone, and reached an endpoint. While the particles *ga* and *fa(ha)* still displayed their own tones, the tone of *no* was changing due to its semantic and syntactic property of unifying the elements with which it interfered.

This accentual change in *no* can be recognized as a phonological reduction of tone accent. Phonological reduction is argued for from the point of view of grammaticalization by Roberts and Roussou (2003: 224-229). They argue that it occurs along with the 'cline of grammaticality' of the following type:

(19) content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

(Hopper and Traugott 1993: 7)

The phonological reduction of *no* indicates its change from a grammatical word to a clitic as discussed above in the reanalysis of the DP structure.

4 Conclusion

We have argued in our reanalysis of *no* that it should occur along the development of the head-internal relative constructions in OJ. Overt linearity change in head complement order has been observed; however, if it actually occurs, covert word order change should also occur. OJ seems to be a mixed language as far as head complement order is concerned, and need to be studied further.

Note

- (1) The original examples are written in *Kana* characters. The author romanized them according to the **phonology of OJ. There are some differences from the standard way of transcription of contemporary Japanese.**
- (2) OP stands for invisible operator, which is posited both for interpretation of relative constructions and syntactic operation. The position of OP is not examined here; see Watanabe (2001) for a discussion of such operators in relative constructions.

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