Nouns expressing time in Japanese from the Heian Era—Proposal for and classification of "temporal nouns"—

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Introduction

In Heian Era Japanese, there are also nouns used in an adverbial way as is the case with nouns such as "past", "now," and "between" in modern Japanese. Most of these are nouns that express time or place, and, among these, this usage is particularly characteristic of nouns expressing time. Therefore, in this paper, we refer to nouns expressing time as "temporal nouns" and nouns expressing place as "spatial nouns". Below, we touch on differences between the two, and mainly discuss temporal nouns. Although it may be possible to use the expression "time nouns", the term "temporal nouns" has spread somewhat and, as touched on in (1) and later, this relates to both "tense" (time) and "aspect" (phase), so we refer to them as "temporal".

Further, in order to survey the features of this type of noun, we need to investigate all cases in which it occurs in the reference, and clarify the reciprocal precedents. Additionally, to investigate this, the work of listing the connectives of "all word attributives + adverbial nouns," and classifying the linking patterns before and after them is often required. It is necessary to investigate the number of verb and adjective types and noun types, and this is a significant endeavor. In addition to this, there are many ancillary connectives that need to be surveyed, such as "adverbial noun + various case-marking particles," and this is an extremely difficult task to complete manually. The classical language "corpus" is extremely useful at such a time. In this paper, we collect materials using the "Japanese Language History Corpus Heian Era Edition," which was developed and published by the National Language Research Institute.

We would like to emphasize in advance not only that we used corpus, but that this is an extremely difficult enterprise if corpus is not used. For the "Japanese Language History Corpus" we used the March 2015 version and for the "Chunagon," we used version 2.1.1. The works listed in the Corpus are "The Pillow Book, Tale of the Bamboo Cutter, Tale of Ochikubo, Tales of Genji, Tsutsumi Chunagon Monogatari, Tales of Ise, Yamato Story, Heichu Monogatari, Tosa Diary, Izumi Shikibu Diary, Diary of Lady Murasaki, Diary of Sanukinosuke, and Collection of Poems of Ancient and Modern Times" and these are from the current version of the Heian Era edition.

1   Classification of syntactic position patterns of nouns

When describing temporal nouns, we first need to demonstrate the scope of the nouns handled in this paper and show the appearance patterns. First, these types of temporal nouns and spatial nouns, to be described later, are those of
1   Adverbial usage
2   Usage where nouns are prefixed by case particles
Further, in terms of whether patterns that receive elements from the former, there are the two types of

1   those that do not receive adnominals
2   those that receive adnominals

Therefore, if we total these, we can broadly classify them into the following four types.

（１）   There was a night we thought we should definitely meet（Yamato）
    （Adverbial form and receive adnominals）
（２）   I hear that when the chamberlain got there, he heard that the letter had come from the 19th princess（Yamato）

（Usage where nouns are prefixed by case particles and do not receive adnominals）
（３）Stay up at <u>night</u> and live through the day.（Bamboo Cutter）
　　（Usage where nouns are prefixed by case particles and receive adnominals）
（４）To live in the <u>place </u>you have fouled （Agenaru <u>tokoro ni</u> nengetsu o hete mono shitamau koto）
（Bamboo Cutter）

There are times when an adnominal is received, and times when the expression is fixed by strong collocation. In this case, it may be seen as a conjunctive particle, and as a composite prefix.

（５）<u>Starting with the 16 areas of your reign, </u>the fortune was placed in warehouses, and ball branches made （Bamboo Cutter）

Here, the temporal noun "nochi" expresses approximation to an adnominal, and can receive the postpositional particle "te". This is syntax that can only be seen as "nochi" within the scope of Corpus.

（６）<u>After</u> selling the house on the bank, they moved to a place called Awata（Yamato）

The temporal noun "nochi", in addition to the adnominal-approximate expression "te" can also receive "yori" (case-marking particle) with (with negative de"zu" conjunctive).

（７）<u>After</u> the master died, they became anxious, and fell into a deep sadness（Genji/Takegawa）

（８）<u>After</u> their death, we happened to peek at it, and thought it was special.（Genji/Chihon）
（９）<u>Since</u> last year, I have kept a wife (woman)（Sanokinosuke Diary）
（１０）<u>From</u> today, things will be bad（Konnichi <u>yorinochi</u>, hitsugi ashikarikeri）（Genji/Yugiri）
This means that they are all the same as the "nochi" method based on normal adnominals, and the adnominal part (relative clause) and main noun (nochi) become so-called relative adnominals (to be described later). Here, in the syntax using these "te," "de(zu)" and "yori," "nochi" is distinctive, but only in the case of "2" and "yori", temporal nouns and spatial nouns other than "nochi" also exist. In concrete terms, these are the two of "hoka" (spatial) and "saki" (temporal).
These nouns can demand the rank of "yori". In modern language, "mae" can be taken in addition to "yori", but this did not exist in the Heian era.

（１１）<u>From that time</u>, the collection of songs was called the Manyoshu,（Collection of Poems/Japanese Preface）
（１２）You were just looking at in a more blurred way <u>than normal</u>（Genji/Hashihime）
2　Type and relationship of adnominal

　When receiving the adnominal, the adnominal is generally classified into

1　Normal relative clause（that is to say, attribute of an internal relationship）
2　Relative position relative clause
3　Equal rank relative clause
4　Attribute for some other external relationship

This is the same for temporal nouns and spatial names.

（Normal relative clauses）
（１３）"Is that a pearl? What is that?" <u>When the person asked, I answered "that is fog". I wish I</u>

could disappear in same way （Tales of Ise） （persons questions at ..time）

（14） <u>Around the fragrance</u> of the Tachibana, cuckoos should also sing from the heart （Genji/Dragon fly）
（relative position relative clause）

（15） When he said "I'm going. I will be back" <u>and</u> <u>left,</u> I wrote my reply and tried to give it to him （Pillow Book）

（16） Sunlight in the Western part where Miya is" (Genji /Chihon） (meaning of "Sunlight in the Western part where Miya is")
（Same-rank relative clause）

（17） If you bad mouth someone saying they are <u>weak</u> （meaning of weakness or reproachment" in Genji/Onpo. In this case, as there is "reproachment" this is not technically an example of "nochi"） .

In this way, there are several types, and, for each, time, space, and other nouns exist. However, in the example of the same rank, only the previous special type exists, and it can be said that basically this is not present. In our description this time, we do not categorize these in detail, and we first wish to focus on investigating what kind of characteristics exist as a noun.

In specific terms, with speech parts as morphological attributes in the "Japanese Language History Corpus" we extract all items "that can be nouns or adverbs," or, in other words, "those that have the two usages of being used as an adverb or as a noun," and from this, using the method described below, we selected temporal nouns based on a syntactic environment and meaningful interpretation. Additionally, in terms of the usage of temporal nouns, as described above, there are cases in which these can be used as nouns and when they can be used as adverbs; however, because this is a basic survey, we are using this to look at all patterns.

2   Relationship between corpus and grammatical description in Corpus

Currently, in the "Japanese Language History Corpus," we cannot use the main Corpus document itself, and this is used by creating an index using the web app known as "Chunagon". Further, this index is basically the so-called KIWC index, and is capable of displaying the previous context and the later context of the key search word. Additionally, within the previous and later context, it is possible to specify cooccurring terms, while specifying the distance from the key. Therefore, currently, the most efficient method of carrying out grammatical research based on Corpus is to skillfully capture the syntagmatic relationship between the key and the previous and later cooccurring words, and, at the same time, incorporate the paradigmatic order with the key and the cooccurring term within this relationship (3).

In concrete terms, taking the temporal nouns is this problem, for example, if we consider the syntagmatic relationship between the previous adverbial adnominal and the temporal noun that qualifies it ("…shikerutoki" or "…shitsuruhodo" etc.), it is important to simultaneously describe the previous adverb type (paradigmatic relationship) and the latter temporal noun type (paradigmatic relationship) that receives this.

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（Adverb ） ---------Syntagmatic------ （Temporal noun）
   ki                              toki
   keri                            hodo
   ri/tari                      （Paradigmatic）
   tsu
   nu
（Paradigmatic）
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In actual fact, this relationship can also be understood in terms of a matrix of the number of examples collected from Corpus. In concrete terms, we need to need to create a cross-tabulation table and match those combinations to the existing number of examples （4） .

The following table is a cross-tabulation table of the previous example using the "Japanese Language History Corpus Heian Era Edition". When looking at this, in the four sections of "ki-toki", "ki-hodo", "keri-toki" and "keru-hodo" (tense section), there are no major differences in the trends for figures between "toki" and "hodo". However, the figures in the "ri/tari-toki", "tsu-toki", and "nu-toki" are clearly smaller, and it can be immediately determined that the series of (aspect adverb + toki) is significantly smaller than the case of (aspect adverb + hodo). When looking at the 3D graph, it is clear at a glance that "ri/tari-toki" is much smaller than "ri/tari-hodo". Based on this, it can be judged that there is a greater infinity with the state aspect in particular with "hodo" than with "toki".

	toki	hodo
ki	67	141
keri	134	72
ri/tari	7	151
Tsu	1	31
nu	7	7
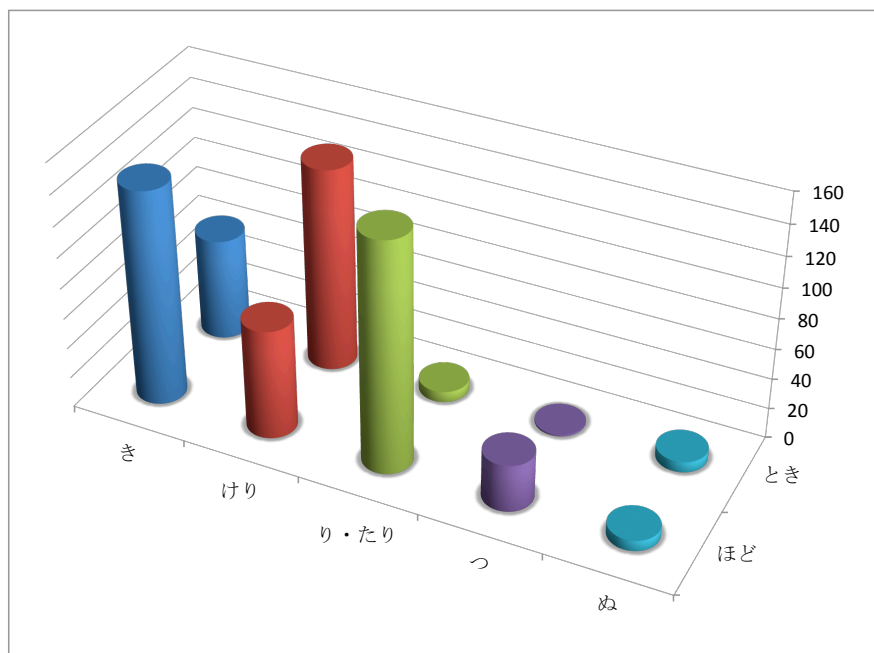
3   Differences between Temporal Nouns and Spatial Nouns

So, in handling these types of nouns, let us first think about what perspective we can analyze them from.
As stated at the beginning, temporal nouns have an overlapping area in which they resemble spatial nouns. For example, in the current language, the nouns *saki* (before) and *ato* (after), which are clearly temporal nouns, are also used as spatial nouns: "Please go home before (*saki*) [me]" (time) and "There's a shop in front (*saki*) of it" (space); "I'm sure you'll understand later (*ato*)" (time) and "I'll follow on after (*ato*) you, teacher" (space). We should expect that the same kind of thing existed in the classical language; but in the classical language—in which introspection does not operate—how can we proceed to classify and divide them?

	ue (above)	shita (below)	tokoro (location)	yo (night)	haru (spring)	mukashi (long ago)	hi (day)
nite (at)	5	14	54	0	0	0	0
he (to)	2	16	14	0	0	0	0
ni (at)	186	284	358	7	11	23	36

First, in order to reflect the difference between the meaning of space and time, it might be reasonable to examine the case-marking particles attached to the nouns. Looking at the actual records, we find (as given in the following table) case-marking particles such as *nite* (at) and *he* (to) in conjunction with the spatial nouns *ue* (above) *shita* (below) *tokoro* (location); however, we see that it is difficult to form conjunctions with typical temporal nouns such as *yo* (night), *haru* (spring), *mukashi* (long ago), and *hi* (day). This begs comparison with the particle ni (to), which is universally distributed.
The following can be given as actual records:

（１８） Far distant, / The clouds: being above them / Do I see chrysanthemums / From the stars of Heaven / Indistinguishable. （Kokinshū; Shūka）
（１９） There is that which should be seen, and climbed up for (*Makura no sōshi*)

Also, it is possible for *nite* (at) to form conjunctions with particles such as *hodo* (about) and *uchi* (by), but since it is clear that these possess rules of usage as temporal nouns, we can think of them as nouns straddling both time and space. On the same grounds, we should state that it is highly possible that examples of conjunction between *nite* (at) and *hodo* (about) or *uchi* (by) involve, at least, these terms not as temporal nouns but as spatial nouns or nouns in some other sense.
The situation is as given below. One would expect that because they link with *nite* (at) these are spatial nouns; and in terms of significance, their usage along with terms such as *rō* (corridor) and *michōdai* (curtained sleeping area) indeed meets the conditions for understanding them as such.

（１９） One does not ride a horse in the breadth of a corridor. (*Sarashina Nikki*)
（２０） In the michōdai (curtained sleeping area), embracing a lord (*Murasaki Nikki*)

Of course, it is not possible to draw distinctions using case-marking particles alone; however, it is possible to maintain a certain degree of objectivity without relying on mere interpretation.

4　Classification of Temporal Nouns from the Perspective of the Proclitic

In the preceding section, we stated that it is possible to distinguish spatial nouns from temporal nouns by the category of case-marking particle following them. Next, let us discuss the different types of temporal nouns. As we have already seen in the previous manuscript (see Note 1) and in Section 2 above, one type of temporal noun indicates a single point in the passage of time, while another type covers a somewhat broader period. For example, it appears that *toki* (when) indicates a single point in time, while *hodo* (about) covers a somewhat broader period. Given the connection to the conjunctive auxiliary verb for time, we can say that the former's relationship with tense is strong, while the latter's relationship to aspect is strong. In other words, the approach taken by the following *kii toki* and *rii toki* phrasings are typical:

（２１） When I heard that Tsunefusa was still the guardian of Ise, and that he had returned [to the capital] （Makura no sōshi）
（２２） As [he] rested, it became dark （Genji; Yūgiri）

Now, let us look at temporal nouns of a somewhat different type. In general, *bakari* (just/only) is an adverbial particle which is attached as a suffix to indicate a somewhat broad period of time; however, it is restricted from forming conjunctions with temporal nouns such as "spring, summer, fall, winter" and "morning, afternoon, night." By contrast, it can form a conjunction with "today, yesterday, this year" and "this evening." It can also conjoin with indefinite demonstratives such as *itsu* (when).
Some specific examples are as follows:

（２３） I am free all year (*Taketori*)
（２４） I wait only for tonight (*Genji*; Hahakigi)
（２５） If you ask just when the Man'yōshū was made (*Kokinshū*; zōge; kotobagaki)

When we examine the linking of the above-mentioned *toki* (when) and *hodo* (about) with *bakari* (just/only), we see multiple instances of *tokibakari*, but almost none of *hodobakari*. In other words, because *toki* (when) refers to one point in time, there might be a perceived need for another expression covering a broader period; however, because the expression *hodo* (about) is already in place to do so, we can see that it is not lacking.

Given the above, in the same way, seasonal names and "morning, afternoon" and "evening" cover a broader temporal period to a certain extent, while diacritic temporal expressions such as "today, yesterday, this year" and "this evening," along with *itsu* (when), may indeed be said to indicate discrete points within the flow of time. We might say that this reflects the fact that tense is a temporal deixis. It has already been often pointed out that tense resembles spatial deixis, and the above discussion may furnish further proof of this.

5　Classification of Temporal Nouns from the Perspective of the Proclitic

5・1　Temporal Nouns Combining Tense and Aspect

As stated in the preceding section, in relation to *toki* (when), which is almost completely restricted to *ki* and *keri*, the proclitic *hodo* (about) is preceded by auxiliary verbs of aspect, as in *tsuruhodo*, *nuruhodo* and *taruhodo*. Also, as stated in the previous manuscript (Note 1), the word *hi* (day) is also tense-inflected in most cases.

In addition to the above, this paper also attempts to point out the particular character of the temporal noun *ori* (on the occasion of –) as impacted by tense and aspect. In the same way as *hodo* (about), *ori* (on the occasion of) can be thought of as a temporal noun of a type whereby an adnominal form can be made by the aspect of the auxiliary verb in addition to the tense.

（２６）When forgetting to cleanse …。(*Makura no sōshi*)
２７）When people become calm (*Heichū Momogatari*)

5・2　A Separate Pattern of Temporal Nouns in Relation to Tense

As we shall see below, of the temporal nouns that receive tense and aspect, *ori* can receive either *ki* or *keri*, but *ori-ori* can only receive *ki*. Let us first take a look at an example of *ori* in use:

（２８）並びたまへりしをりは、とりどりにて、さらに似たまへりとも見えざりしを(*Genji*; Sawarabi)
２９）十一日の月も隠れなむとしけるをりに、親王酔ひて内へ入りなむとしければ (Kokinshū; Zōge; Kotobagaki)

The difference between *ki* and *keri* is, as is commonly understood, can potentially be ascribed to the difference between direct and indirect experience; however, as given above, *ori* covers both. By contrast, *ori-ori* links only with *ki*, for example in the following context:
（３０）侍従などこそ、日ごろの御気色思ひ出で、「身を失ひてばや」など泣き入りたまひしをりをりのありさま、書きおきたまへる文をも見るに。(*Genji*; Tonbo)
侍従などが、日ごろの女君のご様子を思い出して、「いっそ死んでしまいたい」などと泣き入っていらっしゃった折々の様子や、書き残しておかれた手紙を見ているうちに)

This is a scene recalling Ukifune, who was thought to have committed suicide by drowning, while she was alive; but on seeing this, the chamberlain who clearly lived with her recollects the *ori-ori*. Because *ori* is also used for aspect, it covers a broader period of time to a certain extent, but *ori-ori* is a repetitive form thereof, meaning that the possibility of a retrospective aspect is clearly high. The act of recollecting an event has a good affinity with direct experience (5), which is one possible reason why *ori-ori* does not conjoin with *keri*. Let us further consider why below.

5・3 Temporal Nouns Related to Scope and Extent

　Kagiri (to the extent that) may also be considered as a temporal noun. However, there are few examples of *ki* or *keri* receiving *tsu* or *nu*; they are mainly limited to the aspects *ri* and *tari*. Also, other than tense and aspect, it takes the negative *zu*, and modalities *mu* and *beshi*. In all cases, it breaks up time and expresses its scope and extent, as in *te iru kagiri*, *de arō kagiri,* and *nai kagiri*.

（３１）　生ける限りの世に心をとどめて（*Genji*; Niōhyōbukyō）
（３２）　おはせむ限りは、例の、かたみに見えたてまつるをだに（*Ochikubo*, Vol. 4）
（３３）　露の命の絶えぬかぎりは、食物もよう侍り (*Tsusumi Chūnagon Monogatari*)

Of these, as with *nukagiri*, a pattern exists whereby negation co-occurs with [expression of] scope and extent, as in the temporal noun *saki*.

（３４）入らせたまはぬさきに雪降らなむ（ Murasaki Nikki）

This *saki* (before) is an exceptionally distinctive temporal noun. In cases where it takes an attributive form, a negative *zu* as given above (or, for example, a negative such as *tamahazarikeru)* is required. Also, in cases where it is a simple verb, it is limited to *yuku*.

（３５）行くさきのありさまは知りがたきを（*Genji*; Azumiya）

The compound term *yukusaki* / *ikusaki* still survives today, but it is of interest that it only exists in this verb. As a connector to *saki*, there is the term *nochi* (later), but this does not take *zu*, but rather takes a non-realized modality of tense and aspect as *mu*, along the lines of *ki*, *keri*, *tsu,* and *nu*.

（３７）　さくら色に衣は深く染めて着む、花の散りなむのちの形見に(*Kokinshū*; Shunjō）

6　Summary of Temporal Nouns

　Let us here summarize the discussion so far.

1　Of the nouns of the Heian period, those which could also be used as adverbs included many temporal nouns or spatial nouns.

2　There are cases in which temporal nouns can be distinguished from spatial nouns by the following case-marking particles.

3　For temporal nouns and spatial nouns, it is possible to demonstrate their orientation, scope, and extent on the basis of the content whereby they take adnominal forms and analogous sentence structures.

4　As in the use of *yorihoka*, some temporal nouns and spatial nouns are determined by the case-marking particle *yori*.

5　Temporal nouns can be broadly divided into tense type and aspect type.

6　Diacritic temporal nouns such as "today" and "this year" have a strong tendency toward expressing one point on time, but they can also express a broader period using *bakari* (just/only).

7　Compared to *ori*, *ori-ori* is a temporal noun used for direct experience.

8　The temporal and spatial nouns *kagiri* (to the extent that), *saki* (before), and *nochi* (later), which express relative scope and extent, display particular connection.

　Thus, by engaging in discussion of the hitherto relatively unexamined "temporal nouns" of Heian-period grammar and syntax, it should be possible to open up previously unexplored syntactic and semantic areas of research on Heian-period temporal expressions. Furthermore, there is still more to be said about the special characteristics of many nouns.

Notes [Titles are translated from the Japanese]

(1) In the morphological analysis software JUMAN, the term "temporal nouns" is used. For expressions of types of nouns in the classical language, please also refer to:

Kondō Miyuki, "The Construction of the Anti-Kokinshū Backward Glance: An Outline Thesis on Sone no Yoshitada's Hyakushūta," (Iwanami Shoten, *Bungaku* Vol. 6, No. 4, April 2005 / *Methods of Research on Court Waka* (Kasama Shoin, compiled 2015)

Kondō Miyuki, "Research on Japanese Literature using Corpuses: N-gram Analysis and 'Monogatari Source,'" *Nihon Gogaku* Vol. 33, No. 14, November 2014, special edition

Kondō Yasuhiro, "Research on Tense and Aspect in the Classical Language utilizing Electronic Corpuses," *Nihon Gogaku* Vol. 32, No. 12, October 2013

(2) For the relationship between *nochi* (later) and *yori* (from, since) see:

Iijima Masahiro, The Past of Bygone Words: Research on Perfect-Tense Expressions (Hitsuji Shobo, 2011), Chapter 12, "Variations in *Nochi* (Later) and *Yori* (From/Since) as Expressions of the Origin of Time"

(3) Further commentary on these points can be found in the following article:

Kondō Yasuhiro, "The Relationship between Corpus Searches and Language Structures in Research on the Classical Language" *Research on the History of Japanese Vocabulary*, Vol. 35, Association for Research on the History of Japanese Vocabulary, 2016; awaiting publication

(4) To create a table such as this from a corpus under Chūnagon, key "possible nouns and adverbs" as designated parts of speech and add a "case-marking particle" in additional context. Then, output the file, designating the CSV (Excel-compliant) [file]. After that, it is necessary to extract the following-context field's initial bracketed particle portion (the co-occurrence condition portion in the Chūnagon following context) and to create a new field (for example, later co-occurrence terms). This will be achieved by using the appropriate programing language or editing software functions, etc. Python has been used as the programming language in this paper.

⟨Before processing⟩
（Pre-context）　　　　　　　（Key）　　　　　（Post-context）
Omohikeri. kakaru　hodo　　（ni）, mon wo tatakite

⟨After processing⟩
（Pre-context）　　　　　　　（Key）　　（After co-occurrence vocab）　　（After-context）
Omohikeri. kakaru　hodo　　ni mon wo tatakite

The post-processed CSV file is extracted to Excel, and in the "ki" and "After co-occurrence vocab" field, a cross-tabulation field is created using pivot table function. Even in the absence of Excel, a cross-tabulation field is easily created in R and other such languages, although—as we shall see later—the use of Excel is normal when creating graphs because of its interactive graph operability.

(5) In regard to ideas on this point, I wish to thank all of the attendees of the ICPP October 2015 conference for their support in creating this paper.

（Appendix）

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