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「16世紀後期における関係代名詞 (IV)」

——C. マーロウ及び同時代の作家の作品を中心として——

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“Relative Pronouns in the Late 16 th Century (IV) : From the Works of C. Marlowe and His Contemporaries”

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Introduction

Generally, four forms are available for restrictive relative clauses¹ in which the relative pronoun is dependent on a preposition :

Form I : preposition + 'wh-' pronoun²

Form II : 'wh-' pronoun.....preposition

Form III : 'that'³.....preposition

Form IV : ' ϕ -form'.....preposition (i. e. contact clause).

As we showed in our previous paper⁴, a fifth form can be an alternative expression, i. e. when the relative use of compounds is made up of 'where' + preposition (Form V).

As regards these forms of relative clauses especially with non-personal noun antecedents, we have found that there are two types of the verb phrase with which relatives and prepositions are construed in the clause⁵ :

1. those cases in which the relative is used as part of a prepositional object (e. g. *The diamond that I talk of ne'er was foil'd* : *J* II. 181 ; *The third was a grief, whereof Hodgekins of Halifax complayned*, *TR* 227. 1 (NAR)⁶ ;

2. those cases where a relative with a preposition forms an adverbial adjunct of verbs (e. g. *This is the hour wherein I shall proceed* ; *J* IV. 166 (a relation of time) ; *in that manner that they both liv'd in*, *F* 1077 (a relation of manner).

For some relative clauses of the type (2) above, however, a sixth form is available as well (Form VI). They can be introduced by the so-called relative or conjunctive adverbs⁷ that are not compounds of 'where'. These are *where*, *when*, *why*, *how*, *whither* and *whence*.

The characterization of these forms as relatives rests not only on their connective function (link between main and subordinate clauses) but also on the equivalence which can be seen among them. Consider the sentences below, where the relative pronouns are respectively in place and time adjuncts (*where* and *when* = *at which*⁸).

And when he approached near vnto *the place where* she sate all suted in simple attire, he saluted her with these words. *GC* 1 76. 4 (NAR) ;

She yeelded, and appointed *a time when* he should come to her : *IN* 50. 10 (NAR).

Here we can observe the equivalence (when and where = prep. + rel. pron.).⁹ For the sake of brevity such clauses will be called respectively place and time relative clauses ; similarly we shall make use below of the phrases 'manner relative clause', 'reason relative clause' for those clauses beginning with the relatives *how*¹⁰ and *why* respectively. Other relative adverbs such as *whither*, *whence*¹¹ are also discussed in the section devoted to place relative clause.

We have not yet finished with the possible forms of relative clauses, however, because some adjuncts in relative clauses admit of two further forms : the one with *that* and no preposition (Form VII)¹², the other with both the preposition and the relative pronoun zeroed (i. e. contact clause without any connective) (Form VIII)¹³, as in the following :

(Form VII)

the next time that I meet her, I'll make her shake off love with her heels M 788 ;

(Form VIII)

But what's *the reason* you should leave him now? E 1082.

As we have already mentioned, in adverbial expressions of place, time, reason, and manner, there can be a wide range of choice in addition to what was stated in Forms I to V for the relatives as adverbials. It must be noted here that not all variants (Forms I to VIII) are possible for each type of relative clauses¹⁴.

The problem this paper therefore sets out to consider is to what extent we can observe the choice of relative forms (i. e. whether through the use of relative pronouns with prepositions or through the use of relative adverbs) according to those types of restrictive relative clauses¹⁵ mentioned above (place, time, etc.) in the late sixteenth century.

The texts we have used in order to locate such relative adverbs are the same as those used in our previous study. The data are also treated as a whole as DRAMA (under Marlowe and other Elizabethan dramatists) and as DIS (in Deloney's novels) on the one hand and NAR (in the same novels) on the other, so as to see if we can find any stylistic traits in common¹⁶.

2. Types of Relative Clauses and Uses of Relative Forms

In the following illustration we will classify types of relative clauses according to categories of place, time, reason, and manner and examine what forms of relative clauses (Forms I to VIII) are employed with noun antecedents¹⁷ and also with reference to adverbs (if any) to introduce each clause. Numbers of examples found (if any) will be indicated in the parenthesis (under abb. Marl, Eliz, DIS, NAR) for each type of usage concerned ; in the sets of quotations examples from Marlowe (if any) are given first. Unless otherwise indicated some representative examples only are quoted.

2. 1 Place Relative Clause

2. 1. 1 *Where* (Form VI)

The relative adverb *where* (=‘in or at which, to which’¹⁸) has a wide range of usage in the works investigated.

(1) *Where* occurs most frequently with noun antecedents denoting place. Instances of *where* with *prepositional* expressions of place are found as frequently as cases with *non-prepositional* expressions.

prepositional (Marl 8 exs. Eliz 10 exs. DIS 7 exs. NAR 12 exs.):

And speak of spirits and ghosts that glide by night *About the place where* treasure hath been hid : *J* II. 27 ; For thou, or I, or any other else, Coming *into the chamber where* it hangs, may die. *AF* I. i. 238 ; but (quoth he) take heed in any case least *Gillian* of the George spie you, and so follow *to the place where* my Master attends your comming, *GC* 2 159. 8 (DIS) ; and albeit the Officers came *to the house where* they dwelt, by reason of their disguise they knew them not : *GC* 1 92. 48 (NAR).

non-prepositional (Marl 14 exs. Eliz 11 exs. DIS 2 exs. NAR 4 exs.):

a garden where are bee-hives full of honey *D* IV. v. 7 ; I'll spread the watch, Upon precise commandment from the king, Strongly to guard *the place where* Pedringano This night shall murder hapless Serbeine. *ST* III. ii.103 ; But if he should not, then would I be like those men (that eating of the tree Lutes) forget *the country where* they were borne, *TR* 251. 22 (DIS) ; it stain'd *all the ground where* they both lay, changing the green grasse into a rich scarlet colour. *GC* 1 81. 27(NAR).

With words denoting place *where* can also be used to indicate direction¹⁹.

prepositional (NAR 1 ex.):

because *in every place where* hee came, hee would spend his money with the best, *IN* 3. 12 (NAR) ;

non-prepositional (DIS 1 ex.):

euery place where I come puts me in mind of thy perfections, and therewithall renews my pain *GC* 1 77. 34 (DIS).

When direction is to be denoted as illustrated above in the examples, the relative *whither* (=‘to which’)²⁰ alternates with *where*, although no instances of restrictive relative *whither* can be found in our material.

The antecedent occasionally refers to a work of literature :

non-prepositional (Marl 1 ex.) :

Now would I have *a book where* I might see all the characters and planets of the heavens, *F* 610.

(2) The combination *there where* is occasionally employed. In this case, as *OED* puts it²¹, the demonstrative adverb *there* is referred to by the relative *where* (*there where* = *in that place where*) :

(Eliz 1 ex. DIS 1 ex.)

What love is *there where* wedding ends not love, ? *FB* 730 ; But husband (quoth she) were you *there where* you layd your plate to pawne, ? *GC* 2 204. 30 (DIS).

There is one example of *where* referring to *thence* as in the following :

That, kindl'd with the world's iniquities, Doth cast up filthy and detested fumes, Not far *from thence, where* murderers have built a habitation for their cursèd souls, *ST* III. xi. 70.

According to the *OED*²², the adverb *thence* preceded by a redundant *from* is used here in the sense 'from that place ; from there'.

2.1.2 Relative Pronouns (Forms I to IV) :

With nouns denoting place, there is one example of ϕ -form (Form IV). Examples of other relative pronouns are not found in the present material.

prepositional (1 ex.) :

that shall be spent *at the next inn or alehouse* we come to ; *OWT* 716.

In the quotation above the ϕ -form with a preposition is used to indicate direction (cf. the case of *where* in 2.1.1(1)).

2.1.3 *Where*-compound (Form V) :

Wherein (= 'in which, where')²³ occasionally occurs with reference to nouns denoting place.

prepositional (NAR 1 ex.) :

and therewithall sought *for some house wherein* he might hide himself from them. *GC I 78.3* (NAR) ;

non-prepositional (Marl 5 exs. Eliz 3 exs. NAR 1 ex.) :

The field wherein this battle shall be fought For ever term the Persians' sepulchre, In memory of this our victory *T 2 III. v. 18* ; Possession of thy love is *th' only port wherein* my heart, with fears and hopes long toss'd, Each hour doth wish and long to make resort, *ST II. ii. 13* ; *A shadow wherein* is no substance *TR 149. 4* (NAR) (cf. *A garden where* are bee-hives full of honey *D IV. v. 7*) ; yet fain would I have *a book wherein* I might behold all spells and incantations, *F 607*.

In the last instance above, the *wherein* occurs with reference to a work of literature ; this is an interesting variant because the relative *where* is also possible with such a noun (cf. Now would I have *a book where* I might see all characters and planets of the heavens, *F 610*)²⁴.

2. 1. 4 *That* + zero preposition (Form VII) :

The non-pronominal *that* may also introduce a clause of a relative type. In the present study, however, no example can be found with nouns denoting place.

2. 1. 5 ϕ -form (Form VIII) :

Nor have we found examples of the ϕ -form with nouns denoting place.

2. 1. 6 *Whence* (Form VI) :

Whence can be used with nouns expressing place. This relative is used especially in a source adjunct (*whence* = 'from or out of which')²⁵. As to the relative *whence* Rydén remarks that "the prepositional construction (i. e. *from whence*) seems on the whole to have predominated in early Modern English."²⁶ In the texts examined, *whence* is usually preceded by the preposition *from*, as in the following :

(Marl 3 exs. Eliz 1 ex. DIS 1 ex.)

the root From whence the issues of my thoughts do break : *T I V. i. 274* ; rent them up, and burn *the roots from whence* the rest is sprung *ST IV. ii. 9* ; in sending it back *to the place from whence* it proceeded, *GC I 73. 36* (DIS).

The third quotation above illustrates the *prepositional* expression of place (i. e. 'to the place').

The non-prepositional type (i. e. *whence* not preceded by *from*) is recorded as in the following :

(Marl 1 ex.)

For virtue is *the fount whence* honour springs. *T 1 IV. iv. 138.*

After expressions of place one rare example can be found of the relative *whereof* (= 'from which') (Form V)²⁷ introducing a restrictive relative clause :

(Marl 1 ex.)

This tottered ensign of my ancestors, Which swept the desert shore of *that Dead Sea whereof* we got the name of Mortimer, *E 1090.* (This may be one rare case of geographical name.)

2. 2 Time Relative Clause

2. 2. 1 *When* (Form VI) :

With *time, day, etc.* as antecedent the relative *when* (= 'at or on which')²⁸ can be used to introduce a time relative clause.

(1) *When* is used after *prepositional* and *non-prepositional* expressions of time. There are fewer instances of *prepositional* than *non-prepositional* expressions of time ; the only examples of the former type recorded from Deloney (NAR), however, are all quoted :

prepositional (NAR 4 exs.) :

And *in the morning when* she should rise, the good soule fell downe in a swowne, *TR 239. 21* (NAR) ; *At that time when* he appointed Margaret to meet him, *Ib. 263. 28* (NAR) ; they came *at that very instant when* the Maiden was led toward her death, *Ib. 265. 32* (NAR) ; I thought good so to breake off, and to defer their story *to another time, when* I may more perfectly speake thereof. *GC 1 141. 23* (NAR).

non-prepositional (Marl 3 exs. Eliz 3 exs. DIS 4 exs. NAR 5 exs.) :

the time hath been *when* Dido's beauty chain'd thine eyes to her. *D V. i. 114* ; *The first day when* he pitcheth down his tents, White is their hue, *T 1 IV. i. 50* ; Yea, marry, *time* was *when* my master was a wise man, *FB 1609* ; Where was she *that same night when* my Horatio was murder'd, *ST III. xiiA. 46* ; I haue seene *the day when* she would haue bin glad to haue spoken with me : *GC 2 189. 33* (DIS) ; I haue seene *the day when* neuer a knaue of them all, but would haue made much of my dog for my sake. *Ib. 204. 5* (DIS) ; she yeelde, and appointed *a time when* he sould come to her, *IN 50. 10* (NAR) ; *The day* being appointed *when* the Phisitian should come, *TR 253. 13* (NAR).

(2) The combination *then when* is occasionally employed. Here the antecedent *then* is a

demonstrative adverb of time defined by the relative *when* (=‘at the time when’)²⁹.

(Marl 1 ex.)

That even *then when* I shall lose my life, *E* 2529.

2. 2. 2 Relative Pronouns (Forms I to IV) :

With nouns denoting time no example can be found of the relative pronominal type (Forms I to IV) in the texts examined at present.

2. 2. 3 *Where*-compound (Form V) :

After expressions of time the relative *wherein*³⁰ is used as an alternative to *when*³¹. The use of *wherein* with nouns denoting time seems to be of somewhat common occurrence. All instances occur after *non-prepositional* expressions of time³² :

(Marl 2 exs. Eliz 3 exs. DIS 3 exs. NAR 1 ex.)

This is *the hour wherein* I shall proceed ; *J* IV. 166 (quoted in Introduction) ; That Tamburlaine shall rue *the day, the hour, Wherein* he wrought such ignominious wrong Unto the hallowed person of a prince, *T* I IV. iii. 39 ; And that we may prefix *a certain time, Wherein* the marriage shall be solemnised, *ST* III. xii. 106 ; I keep every year holy *the day wherein* I buried them both : *OWT* 208 ; Arise faire *Margaret*, now comes *the time wherein* thou shalt be made a Queen : *TR* 144. 16 (DIS) ; but now is *the time come wherein* I shall reape the fruits of a plentiful haruest. *IN* 52. 40 (DIS) ; But not long after came *that dolefull day, wherein* these two louers must lose their liues, *GC* 1 84. 45 (NAR).

The antecedent is occasionally a noun expressing both time and place, as in the following :

Horatio, this is *the place and hour Wherein* I must entreat thee to relate The circumstance of Don Andrea's death, *ST* I. iv. 2.

2. 2. 4 *That* + zero preposition (Form VII) :

After expressions denoting time the non-pronominal *that* (Form VII) may also introduce clauses of a relative type.

(1) *That* is used after *prepositional* and *non-prepositional* expressions of time. In comparison with the *prepositional* expressions of time, instances of *non-prepositional* type are of rather common occurrence ; examples with *time* occur predominantly. Only examples from Deloney (NAR), however, are recorded of the former type (all are quoted) :

prepositional (NAR 8 exs.):

But *by that time that* the day began to appeare, *GC* I 81. 13 (NAR); But *during the time that* they lay both in prison, *Ib.* 83. 29 (NAR); *In the mean time that* *Crispine* was secretly busied about his marriage, *Ib.* 99. 7 (NAR); *during the time that* *Haunce* was out of fauour *Ib.* 129. 1 (NAR); But *by the time that* this wine was drunk *Ib.* 130. 20 (NAR); *against the day that* they should goe before our King, *GC* 2 167. 16 (NAR); *by the time that* they were come to be sixe or seuen yeares of age, *TR* 213. 20 (NAR); *against the time that* she should be receiued into the Monasterie, *Ib.* 271. 27 (NAR).

In the majority of cases the whole sequence 'prep. + noun + *that*' can be said to serve as a conjunction.

non-prepositional (Marl 13 exs. Eliz 6 exs. DIS 4 exs. NAR 3 exs.):

the next time that I meet her, I'll make her shake off love with her heels M 788 (quoted also in Introduction); But as I live that town shall curse *the time That* Tamburlaine set foot in Africa *T* I III. iii. 60; Marry *every time that* Ned sighs for the Keeper's daughter, I'll tie a bell about him: *FB* 162; *The next time that* I take thee near my house, *AF* I. i. 317; Wo worth *the time that* euer my eyes beheld her bewitching beauty *GC* I 81. 6 (DIS); for that *very time that* I should haue met you at Islington, you said it, *Ib.* 126. 10 (DIS); for albeit that *the next time that* he came to London, his horse stumbled *TR* 256. 24 (NAR).

In some of the quotations above, the whole sequence '(det.) + adj. + noun + *that*'³³ has the character of a conjunction, too, as with the cases of the *prepositional* form discussed above; e. g. in 'the next time that ……', 'every time that ……'.

(2) *Now that*³⁴ is a frequent combination in Marlowe. Here *that* refers to an adverb and not a noun. In this expression we can observe the combination of reason with temporal meaning³⁵, as in the following:

(Marl 7 exs.)

Now that the gloomy shadow of the earth, Longing to view Orion's drizzling look, Leaps from th' antarctic world unto the sky, *F* 240; For, *now that* Paris takes the Guise's part, Here is no staying for the king of France, *M* 905; But *now that* I have found what to affect, I follow one that loveth fame 'fore me, *D* III. iv. 37.

2.2.5 ϕ -form(Form VIII):

The ϕ -form also occurs frequently after expressions of time.

(1) As with the case of Form VII, the ϕ -form is used after *prepositional* and *non-prepositional* expressions of time. Examples of the *prepositional* type are fewer than those of the

non-prepositional ; the *prepositional* type is rather frequent in Deloney (NAR). All the instances we have found of *prepositional* expressions begin with the phrase 'by that time' ; some examples are given below :

prepositional (DIS 1 ex. NAR 9 exs.):

What will you be *by that time* supper is ready, *GC 2* 142. 39 (DIS) ; But, *by that time* he was set to supper, comes a crue of Courtlike Dames richly attired, *GC 1* 78. 4 (NAR) ; and *by that time* a score of them were past, he asked againe, saying : whose are these ; *TR* 215. 25 (NAR)

non-prepositional (Marl 16 exs. Eliz 2 exs. DIS 4 exs. NAR 2 exs.):

Blest be *the time* I see Achates' face! *D II.* i. 56 ; 'Tis not *the first time* I have killed a man *E* 2366 ; Why, mistress *the next time* I cut my beard you shall have the shavings of it, *SH III.* ii. 43 ; O heart, my codpiece-point is ready to fly in pieces *every time* I think upon Mistress Rose ; *Ib.* V. ii. 172 ; thou Shalt blesse *the time* thou euer camest into these was *GC 1* 101. 22 (DIS) ; and *the very same night* my brother was prest to the warres, I was married to her : *Ib.* 104. 18 (DIS) ; though I were *the last time* I was in towne, ouer bold with you, *TR* 229. 12 (NAR).

In some quotations of the *non-prepositional* form above, the whole sequence '(det.) + adj. + noun'(e. g. *every time*, *the next time* etc.) has the character of a conjunction (cf. 2. 2. 4 (1)).³⁶

(2) As with the combination *now that* (cf. 2. 2. 4 (2)) we can occasionally find the temporal adverb *now* as a conjunction without the relative *that*³⁷. The usage is illustrated below. This is exclusively found in Marlowe :

(Marl 11 exs.)

So, sirrah, *now* you are a King you must give arms. *T 2 III.* v. 136 ; Ay, part 'em *now* they are dead. *J III.* 42 ; Nay, *now* you are here alone, I'll speak my mind. *E* 958 ; And, *now* she sees thee, how will she rejoice! *D II.* i. 69 ; Pray God thou be a king *now* this is done! *M* 1081 ; *now* thou art dead, here is no stay for us. *Ib.* 1123.

2. 3 Reason Relative Clause

2. 3. 1 *Why* (Form VI) :

The relative *why* can be used with nouns denoting cause or reason. Both types of noun, *cause*³⁸ and *reason*, are used in the texts examined. In all instances *why* occurs after *non-prepositional* expressions of cause or reason. The usage is illustrated below :

(1) *cause* (Eliz 1 ex. DIS 1 ex.):

since thou know'st *the cause Why* I did post so fast from Fressingfield, *FB* 580
The cause why this King was thus painted (quoth Iacke) was this. *IN* 42. 24 (DIS).

(2) *reason* (Eliz 1 ex. DIS 1 ex. NAR 1 ex.):

I hope you heard me say *Sufficient reason why* she kept away; *ST* III. x. 16; then *what reason* is there,
why we should restraine to visit them, ? *TR* 217. 30 (DIS); he would needes know *the reason why* she
 would loue him *TR* 251. 46 (NAR)

2. 3. 2 Relative Pronouns (Forms I to IV) and *Where*-compound (Form V) :

Instead of *why*, the relative *for which* (Form I) or *wherefore* (Form V) can be used as other variants with noun antecedents denoting cause and reason³⁹, but no examples with these variant forms have been recorded in our material.

2. 3. 3 *That* + zero preposition (Form VII) :

The non-pronominal *that* may also introduce a relative clause after nouns denoting cause and reason. Instances with *cause* and also with *reason* as antecedents are of somewhat common occurrence as a whole in the texts examined. This is a noteworthy fact considering Rydén's remark that "*reason* is not construed with *that*."⁴⁰ All instances of our material are illustrated below (all are *non-prepositional* type) :

(1) *cause* (Marl 2 exs. Eliz 2 exs.):

And that's *the cause that* I am now remov'd. *E* 2141; And that's *the cause that* Guise so frowns at us, *M* 52; But what's *the cause that* you conceal'd me since, *ST* III. x 67; Lacy, *the cause that* Margaret cannot love Nor fix her liking on the English prince, Take him away, and then th' effects will fail. *FB* 1011.

(2) *reason* (Marl 1 ex. Eliz 1 ex. DIS 2 exs. NAR 1 ex.):

This is *the reason that* I sent for thee : *J* V. 154; Hieronimo, *the reason that* I sent To speak with you, is this *ST* III. xiv. 122; And then is it *no reason, That* she should come and seeke me my Cheese, *TR* 232. 2 (DIS); She saw *no reason, but that* their husbands should maintaine them, as welll as the merchants did their wiues : *Ib.* 237. 42 (NAR); it is *reason that* I should perform my promise : *GC* I 132. 22 (DIS).

2.3.4 ϕ -form (Form VIII) :

The ϕ -form is employed after nouns denoting cause and reason. It should be noted here that there we can find no example of this usage (either with *cause* or *reason*) in Deloney (NAR), while in Deloney (DIS) (as well as in DRAMA) this usage is somewhat usual. All instances are illustrated below (all *non-prepositional* type).

(1) *cause* (Eliz 1 ex. DIS 1 ex.):

I did, and that's *the cause* it likes not you *AF* I. i. 368 ; What was *the cause* this monster should afflict thee about the rest of thy company, *IN* 24. 42 (DIS).

(2) *reason* (Marl 2 exs. Eliz 1 ex. DIS 4 exs.):

But what's *the reason* you should leave him now ? *E* 1082 ; Is that *the reason* he tempts us thus ? *F* 479 ; What is *the reason* your master is so strange ? *OWT* 727 ; there is *no reason* I should sit on a cushion *IN* 5. 11 (DIS) ; there is *no reason* I should thinke amisse of him that every man commends : *GC* 2 144. 29 (DIS) ; There is *no reason* I should (be offended). *Ib.* 151.28 (DIS) ; then *what reason* is there (seeing our husbands are of as good wealth,) but we should be as well maintained. *TR* 238. 4 (DIS).

2.4 Manner Relative Clause

2.4.1 *How* (Form VI) :

In Middle and early Modern English *how* was not infrequently used after nouns, especially nouns of *way* and *manner*, to introduce a relative clause⁴¹. In our present material, however, no examples of such use of the relative *how* can be found except those cases where *how* is employed in an infinitive construction, as in e. g. :

These scholars know *more skill* in axiome, *How* to use quips and sleights of sophistry, Than for to cover courtly for a king. *FB* 1323 ; for I have *a device* in my head, *how* to get thy Loue out of her fathers Pallace, *GC* 1 104. 44 (DIS).

2.4.2 Relative Pronouns (Forms I–IV) and *Where*-compound (Form V) :

With expressions of manner and way, only two examples have been found, one of the Form III, the other of the Form V⁴² ;

prepositional (Marl 1 ex.):

in that manner that they both liv'd *in*, *F* 1077 (cit. in Introduction) ;

non-prepositional (Eliz 1 ex.):

That Sol may well discern *the trampled pace* ('manner of stepping') *Wherein* he wont to guide his golden car; *AF X. 4.*

2. 4. 3 *That* + zero preposition (Form VII):

After words indicating manner or way, the non-pronominal *that* is used occasionally to introduce a relative clause as in the following:

prepositional (Marl 1 ex.):

And *by those steps that* he hath scal'd the heavens May we become immortal like the gods. *T I I. ii. 199*;

non-prepositional (Eliz 1 ex.):

Why, take *that way that* Mosbie doth; But first convey the body to the fields. *AF XIV. 351.*

2. 4. 4 ϕ -form (Form VIII):

The ϕ -form is quite rare with a manner relative clause in our present material. Only this one example of the following type occurs:

prepositional (NAR 1 ex.):

Tom Drum in like sort had drest himself *in the best manner* he might, *GC 2 188. 32* (NAR).

3. Summary

So far we have surveyed the use of restrictive relative clauses, classified chiefly into relative clauses of place, time, reason, and manner from some works (especially plays and novels) of the late 16th century. We have found that some differences can be seen in the choice of relative forms (Forms I to VIII) according to the kinds of relative clause (place, time, reason, and manner). As mentioned in the Introduction, not all variants (Forms I to VIII) are possible for each type of relative clause. Generally speaking, there seems to be a marked tendency to dislike placing a preposition in front of *which* (i. e. Form I). In the following sections the use of relative forms (1) with noun antecedents and (2) with reference to adverbs (if any) will be summarized briefly according to each type of relative clause.

1. Place Relative Clause :

(1) With noun antecedents expressing place, the relative *where* ('in or at which') (Form VI) is used exclusively, sometimes also to indicate direction ('to which'), while instances of relative pronouns are quite rare except for one case of the ϕ -form (Form IV) used to denote direction.

The *where*-compound (Form V), especially *wherein* ('in which, where'), is of rather frequent occurrence with expressions of place. Interestingly enough, *wherein* sometimes seems to alternate with *where* as in the case where a work of literature is referred to by the relative form.

On the other hand, however, the non-pronominal relative *that* (Form VII) and the ϕ -form (Form VIII) are not found with place expressions. This is a noteworthy fact considering the comparatively frequent occurrence of these non-pronominal forms in other clauses, especially time and reason relative clauses.

So it may be said that with nouns denoting place *where* or *wherein* were more common relative forms in this period.

We have found moreover that with nouns denoting place the relative (*from*) *whence* (Form VI) or rarely *whereof* (Form V) was used especially as a source adjunct (*whence* and *whereof* = 'from or out of which').

(2) In the combination *there where* the relative *where* (Form VI) was used with reference to a demonstrative adverb in the sense 'in that place where'. Another adverb *thence* (preceded by *from*) was also referred to by *where* (Form VI) in the sense 'from that place where'.

2. Time Relative Clause :

(1) With noun antecedents denoting time, day, *when* (Form VI) was not infrequently used, while *wherein* (Form V) was not rare, either. We have been unable to find examples of relative pronouns (Forms I to IV) in the present material, while the non-pronominal *that* or ϕ -form (Form VII or VIII) are quite frequent. Especially in expressions of structures such as 'prep. + det. + noun + (that)', '(det.) + adj. + noun + (that)', we can observe an almost idiomatic character, because the whole sequence seems to serve as a conjunction (e. g. *by that time (that)*, *the next time (that)*, *every time (that)*, etc.).

(2) With reference to the adverb 'now', both the *that* (Form VII) and ϕ -form (Form VIII) were used quite commonly (although used exclusively by Marlowe).

3. Reason Relative Clause :

In the reason relative clause, the relative *why* (Form VI) was used with noun antecedents. Both *cause* and *reason* are found with this relative form. Relative pronouns (Forms I to IV) and the *where*-compound (Form V), however, have not yet been found in the relative clause. The other non-pronominal relative *that* (Form VII) and the ϕ -form (Form VIII) seem

generally to have been preferred with both nouns *cause* and *reason* in those days.

4. Manner Relative Clause :

With expressions of manner and way, instances of the relative *how* (Form VI) are not found in our material except for cases where *how* is used in an infinitive construction.

Examples are quite scarce in the clauses with a relative pronoun (Form III) and non-pronominal relative forms (Forms V, VII, and VIII). Because of this scarcity of instances, it is difficult at present to find any definite tendency as to the use of relative forms in the manner relative clause.

5. Some stylistic differences seem to exist in the use of relative forms in the following situations :

(1) The use of *when* or the non-pronominal *that* with prepositional expressions of time is predominantly found in narratives (the literary, formal style) .

(2) No example of the ϕ -form (Form VIII) can be found in the reason relative clause in narratives (formal), while in discourses (the colloquial style) as well as in dramas this usage is somewhat usual.

NOTES

1. As to the distinction of relative clauses into Restrictive and Non-restrictive clauses, I followed Jespersen's semantic criterion (*MEG* III, p. 82) :

(A) Restrictive clauses "give a necessary determination to the antecedent and thereby make it more precise" ; (B) Non-restrictive "might be discarded without serious injury into the precise understanding of the sentence as a whole."

According to this criterion, there are not a few examples for which either classifications may be possible, an inevitable fact in any linguistic analysis that is concerned with semantic relations between words or syntagmas. Doubtful cases have here been classified according to my judgement : the distinction, therefore, is somewhat subjective. For a detailed discussion, see M. Rydén, *Relative Constructions in Early 16th Century English with Special Reference to Sir Thomas Elyot*, pp. xlv-lvi.

2. *The which* is included here because it is also one of the preposition-dominated relative pronouns.

3. In this paper *that* has been treated as a relative pronoun except in those cases which are discussed under the heading "non-pronominal *that*".

4. Cf. my paper with the title "Relative Pronouns in the Late 16th Century (III) : From the Works of C. Marlowe and His Contemporaries" (*Journal of Hokkaido University of Education* Section I A, Vol. 36,

No 2).

5. The same examples and terminology are also used to illustrate relative clauses in my previous article (*op. cit.*, p. 2). On adverbial adjuncts of verbs in several relations including time and manner, see e. g. R. Quirk *et al.*, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London and New York : Longman, 1985), § 8.1—8.153, and also H. Poutsma, *A Grammar of Late Modern English Part II, I B* (Groningen : Noordhoff, 1916), Ch. XXXIX, 28.

6. For the use of the abb. notations NAR, etc., see ABBREVIATIONS and note 16 below.

7. As to the terminology there are some differences among scholars, because the relatives of this kind are called 'adverbial relatives' (Quirk *et al.*, *op. cit.*, § 17. 30), 'relative pronominal adverbs' (Jespersen, *op. cit.*, p. 106), and are even classified in a 'List of Relative Pronouns Used in Attributive Relative Clauses' (Curme, *Syntax*, pp. 218 ff.).

8. See *OED* (*When* 7 and *where* 7, 8).

9. In Marianne Celce-Murcia, *et al.* : *The Grammar Book* (Rowley, London, and Tokyo : Newbury House, 1983), we can find a suggestive analysis of the relative clause beginning with a relative adverb from the position of relative adverb substitution transformation. On pp.383-384, Celce-Murcia *et al.* write :

'The function of the relative adverb substitution transformation, therefore, is to substitute the appropriate relative adverb for the corresponding preposition and relative combination as follows :

prep + which → where

[+ place]

prep + which → when

[+ time]

prep + which → why

[+ reason]

and for one other combination which we will examine shortly :

prep + which → how

[+ manner/way] ……'

10. Celce-Murcia *et al.* (*op. cit.*, p. 384) state that the sequence 'the way how' was acceptable in earlier versions of standard English and is still acceptable in some dialects — but not in current standard English (cf. below 2. 4. 1). Quirk *et al.* (*op. cit.*, § 17. 18) also point out that there is no relative *how* to match *where*, *when*, and *why*.

11. *Whence* and *whither* are used only archaically today. Cf. Knud Schibbye, *A Modern English Grammar* (London : Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 240. Also according to Quirk *et al.* (*op. cit.*, § 8. 3), in some very formal and stylistically mannered usage, we find the otherwise archaic *wh*-forms *whither* (direction and goal) and *whence* (source).

12. H. Poutsma (*op. cit.*, Ch. XXXIX, 4 c note) states that *that* is sometimes equivalent to a conjunctive adverbial expression consisting of a preposition + *which*. Cf. also *OED* (*that* 7), and Rydén (*op. cit.*, p. 204 note).

13. As to the contact clause which we are concerned with here, H. Poutsma (*op. cit.*, Part I, p. 653) writes : 'Sometimes it appears that both the relative and the preposition are dispensed with. As the absent conjunc-

tive adverbial expression varies with a conjunctive adverb, often one whose first element is *where*, or with the conjunction *that*, we may, of course, also assume the omission of either of these two last.'

14. According to Quirk *et al.* (*op. cit.*, § 17. 18), almost all the above forms which we examine can be distinguished for time expressions in sentences such as '...was Thursday.'

So before we are able to investigate the use of relative forms in the late 16th century, it is necessary to quote here the same examples given in Quirk *et al.* (*op. cit.*, § 17. 18) for the sake of illustration: *the day on which* she arrived (Form I); *the day which* she arrived on (Form II); *the day that* she arrived on (Form III); *the day* she arrived on (Form IV); *the day when* she arrived (Form VI); *the day that* she arrived (Form VII); *the day* she arrived (Form VIII).

My classification, however, doesn't correspond exactly to that of Quirk *et al.*, because in my paper the *where*-compound is also treated under the category (Form V), while the case of *wh*-clause without antecedent (i. e. a nominal relative: '*when* she arrived' is not considered at this time.

15. The anaphoric relative adverbs *where*, *when*, *whither*, and *whence* can be used either restrictively or non-restrictively, but *why* and *how* have the usage of restrictive character only. For the non-restrictive use of the latter group, however, relative clauses beginning with forms such as 'for which reason', 'in which manner' are used instead. In this paper only the restrictive type is considered. Cf. K. Araki, "Kankeishi" *Eibunpo-series*, No. 5 (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1975), p. 65.
16. The authors and works surveyed are accounted for in ABBREVIATIONS. In making use of Deloney's novels, the passages of narrative (abb. NAR) and those of discourse (abb. DIS) are treated separately as the choice of relative clause structure may involve stylistic distinctions. We need to deal with the novel separately under narrative (literary and formal style) and discourse (colloquial style). Cf. K. Araki, *Theoretical and Practical Studies in English Grammar* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1966), p. 12.
17. One rare case of GN (geographical name) is also treated in this paper. For this, see § 2. 1. 6 below.
18. See *OED* (where 7). When the relative *where* occurs after the expression of place (whether prepositional or non-prepositional) this relative is in almost all cases in adverbial adjunct of POSITION or DIRECTION to a verb phrase concerned in the relative clause (i. e. equivalent to prepositional-phrase adjunct 'in or at which'; 'to which'). For a detailed discussion, see Quirk *et al.* (*op. cit.*, §§ 8. 39-8. 50).
19. For the subdivision of the category SPACE, see Quirk *et al.* (*ib.* §§ 8. 39 ff.).
20. *OED* (*whither* 3 b).
21. *Ib.* (*where* 5).
22. *Ib.* (*thence* 1 b).
23. *Ib.* (*wherein* 2).
24. In the examples where the antecedent is *a book*, the relative *where* may have been chosen for variety's sake.
25. *OED* (*whence* 3).

26. Rydén, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
27. *OED* (*whereof* 2).
28. *Ib.* (*when* 7).
29. *Ib.* (*then* 1 c).
30. *Ib.* (*wherein* 2 b).
31. Rydén, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
32. Some examples are already quoted in my previous paper (*op. cit.*, p. 4).
33. Abbreviations used here : det. = determiner, adj. = adjective.
34. According to *OED* (*now* 12), *now that* as well as *now* (adverb as conjunction) is used in the sense 'since, seeing that ; as ... now.'
35. E. Mätzner, *An English Grammar : Methodical, Analytical, and Historical* Vol. III. trans. Clair James Grece (Tokyo : Senjo Publishing Co., Ltd. , 1962), p. 395.
36. Here the antecedent may be so closely attached to the contact clause that it acts as a conjunction. Cf. K. Schibsbye, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
37. Cf. Mätzner, *op. cit.*, p. 433 and *OED* (*now* 12).
38. The use of *why* with antecedent *cause* is nowadays unusual (cf. *OED* (*why* 5) and Schibsbye, *op. cit.*, p. 240).
39. Rydén (*op. cit.*, pp. 264—265. See also *OED* (*why* 5 and *wherefore* 4).
40. Rydén, *Ib.*, p. 264.
41. Cf. Rydén, *Ib.*, p. 265. The latest quotation in *OED* (*how* 15) is dated 1690.
42. These two examples are also quoted in my paper (*op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 15.)

ABBREVIATIONS

Denoting works examined

Author

(DRAMA)

C. Marlowe,*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (F)

16世紀後期における関係代名詞 (IV)

- … *The Jew of Malta* (J)
————… *The First Part of Tamburlaine the Great* (T 1)
————… *The Second Part of Tamburlaine the Great* (T 2)
————… *Edward the Second* (E)
————… *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage* (D)
————… *The Massacre at Paris* (M)

(abb. Marl)

- T. Kyd, …… *The Spanish Tragedy* (ST)
G. Peele, …… *The Old Wives' Tale* (OWT)
Anonymous, …… *Arden of Feversham* (AF)
R. Greene, …… *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (FB)
T. Dekker, …… *The Shoemakers' Holiday* (SH)

(abb. Eliz)

(NOVEL)

- T. Deloney, …… *Iacke of Newberie* (IN)
————… *Thomas of Reading* (TR)
————… *The Gentle Craft (The First Part)* (GC 1)
————… *The Gentle Craft (The Second Part)* (GC 2)

(abb. DIS and NAR)