

NON-ASPECTUAL FUNCTIONS OF THE JAPANESE ASPECTUAL MARKER *–TE IRU*

by

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Abstract

The *-te iru* construction in Japanese has been traditionally analyzed as a marker of aspectual properties, but it is also well-known that some occurrences of the *-te iru* construction cannot be explained solely by its aspectual properties. In regards to the non-aspectual marking function of the *-te iru* construction, it has been argued that the construction functions as an evidential marker that indicates the speaker is an observer of the stated event (Fujishiro, 1996; Shinzato, 2003; etc.). However, a close examination of actual discourse shows that not all instances of observed third-person actions are marked with the *-te iru* construction.

The present study examines the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse by using the methodological framework of Discourse Analysis. In addition, in order to provide an account for the constraints that restrict the usage of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of speaker observation, the notion of two modes of discourse, non-narrative and narrative, will be proposed. In short, when a speaker describes an observed third-person event in the discourse mode of non-narrative, in which events are not listed in the temporal order, the *-te iru* construction can be used as an evidential marker of speaker observation. On the other hand, when an event performed by a third-person is described in the discourse mode of narrative, which is the mode for listing events in the temporal order, the observed event cannot be marked with the *-te iru* construction unless the event involves aspectual properties that are typically marked with the *-te iru* construction such as repetition, continuation, or resultative state.

The present study also examines the cases in which the *-te iru* construction marks speaker observation and aspectual properties simultaneously, and discusses how the evidential and aspectual marking functions of the *-te iru* construction relate to each other. In the final part of the present study, the specific combination of the verb *iu* ‘to say’ and the *-te iru* construction

is analyzed to explore the possibility that *iu* is unique in comparison to other verb when it is used with the *-te iru* construction.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----|---|
| CP | various forms of copula verb <i>be</i> |
| FP | final particle |
| LK | nominal linking particle |
| NOM | nominalizer |
| NEG | negative morpheme |
| O | object marker |
| PST | past tense |
| Q | question marker |
| QT | quotative marker |
| SB | subject marker |
| TP | topic marker |
| () | unintelligible segment |
| [| The point where overlapping talk begins |
|] | The point where overlapping talk ends |

Non-Aspectual Functions of the Japanese Aspectual Marker *–te iru*

Hironori Nishi

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The *-te iru* construction in Japanese has been traditionally analyzed as a marker of aspectual properties (Kindaichi, 1950, in 1976; Kuno, 1973; Soga, 1983; Takahashi, 1985; Shibatani, 1990; Jacobsen, 1992; Kudo, 1995; Shirai, 2000; Iwasaki, 2002; Tsujimura, 2007; etc., to name a few), and the construction is typically claimed to have three types of aspectual interpretations, which are progressive, resultative state, and habitual action. Examples (1) through (3) demonstrate these typical interpretations of the *–te iru* construction.

Progressive

- (1) Kodomo ga waratte iru.
 child SB laugh-*te iru*
 ‘A child is laughing.’

Resultative State

- (2) Sakana ga shinde iru.
 fish SB die-*te iru*
 ‘The fish is dead.’

Habitual Action

- (3) Watashi wa maiasa go mairu hashitte iru.
 I TP every morning five miles run-*te iru*
 ‘I run 5 miles every morning.’

(Tsujimira, 2007, pp. 369-70)

Scholars of Japanese linguistics mostly agree that the *-te iru* construction’s primary property is centered around the marking of aspectual properties, but it is also widely recognized that some characteristics of the *-te iru* construction cannot be explained solely by its property as an aspectual marker. For example, it is often pointed out that certain linguistic restrictions on third-person-subject sentences are removed when the sentence is suffixed with the *-te iru* construction.

Observe the difference between (4) and (5).

- (4) *Yamada wa hidoku kanashimu.
 Yamada TP terribly be sad
 ‘Yamada is terribly sad.’
- (5) Yamada wa hidoku kanashinde iru.
 Yamada TP terribly be sad-*te iru*
 ‘Yamada is terribly sad.’

(Yanagisawa 1994, p. 167)

According to Yanagisawa (1994), sentence (4) is generally considered to be unacceptable by speakers of Japanese since *kanashimu* ‘to be sad’ is an expression about one’s internal feelings, which cannot be used in third-person subject sentences in the simple non-past tense. However, when the same sentence is suffixed with the *-te iru* construction as we see in (5), the sentence becomes acceptable. Yanagisawa also points out that the semantic interpretation of the indefinite pronoun *minna* ‘everyone’ is influenced by the existence of the *-te iru* construction. Observe the difference between (6) and (7).

- (6) Minna de uta o utau yo.
 everyone with song O sing FP
 ‘Everyone (including the speaker) is going to sing a song.’
- (7) Minna de uta o utatte iru yo.
 everyone with song O sing-*te iru* FP
 ‘Everyone (excluding the speaker) is singing a song.’

(Yanagisawa, 1994, pp. 166-167)

Yanagisawa claims that most readers would feel that the scope of *minna* in sentence (6) includes the speaker, indicating the speaker is part of the group of people who sing. On the other hand, readers would feel *minna* in (7) does not include the speaker, but rather that the speaker of the sentence is an observer of the group of people who participate in the activity of singing. Sentences such as (6) and (7) strongly suggest that there are some non-aspectual properties in the *-te iru* construction that influence the interpretation of the linguistic elements that are independent from temporal factors, such as tense and aspect.

In regards to the interpretation of the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction, it has been argued that *-te iru* functions as an evidential marker that indicates the speaker observed the event being described (Yanagisawa 1994, 1995; Fujishiro 1996; Taniguchi 1997; Ayano 1998; Shinzato 2003; Sawanishi 2004; Sadanobu 2006; Sadanobu and Malchukov 2006, 2011; and Liu 2010, etc.). The comparison between (8) and (9) highlights this observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction. Assume that the following conversational utterances were made at a hospital.

- (8) Nurse 1: Tanaka-san (patient), kyoo wa chanto gohan tabeta?
 Tanaka Mr./Ms. today TP surely meal eat-PST
 ‘Did Mr./Ms. Tanaka (patient) surely eat the meal today?’
- Nurse 2: Ee, kiree ni tabemashita yo./ tabete imashita yo.
 yes, completely eat-PST FP eat-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘Yes, he/she completely ate it.’

- (9) Nurse 1: Tanaka-san (patient), kyoo wa chan to gohan tabeta?
 Tanaka Mr./Ms. today TP surely meal eat-PST
 ‘Mr./Ms. Tanaka, did you surely eat the meal today?’

Tanaka (patient): Ee, kiree ni tabemashita yo. /*tabete imashita yo.
 yes, completely eat-PST FP eat-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘Yes, I completely ate it.’

(Fujishiro, 1996, p. 5)

In each example, the conversational exchange is made after the patient finished eating the meal, in reference to the patient’s act of eating. In (8), Nurse 1 asks Nurse 2 whether Tanaka (patient) ate the meal or not, and Nurse 2 can answer the question using either the simple past tense *tabemashita* ‘ate’ or the *tabete imashita*, which includes the verb *taberu* ‘to eat’ and the *–te iru* construction. In contrast, when Nurse 1 asks the same question directly to the patient as in (9), the patient cannot answer the question with the *–te iru* construction. The difference between (8) and (9) cannot be explained solely by the aspectual differences between the two sentences, since there is no difference in the temporal properties in the two examples. Fujishiro (1996) argues that this phenomenon is caused by the observation marking function of the *–te iru* construction, because an individual usually cannot be an observer of his or her own action. (These example sentences will be discussed more thoroughly later in the present study.)

As argued in previous studies, it is very plausible that the *–te iru* construction has an evidential marking function of speaker observation towards the stated propositional contents. However, the examples used in previous studies are mostly constructed sentences, and the researchers pay very limited attention to the context in which the sentences are uttered. In addition, a close examination of spoken and written data from actual discourse shows that not all instances of observed events are marked with the *–te iru* construction, and marking an observed event with the *–te iru* construction creates an unnatural impression in some cases. The reasons

for the variance of using or not using the *-te iru* construction for observed events have been unexplored in previous studies.

In the present study, the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction will be explored in actual discourse data in both spoken and written Japanese by using the methodologies of “discourse analysis.” In order to provide an account for the constraints that restrict the use of *-te iru* as an evidential marker of observation, the notion of two modes of discourse, which are the mode of “non-narrative” and the mode of “narrative,” will be proposed.

In the analysis section, it will be argued that when a speaker or a writer describes an event performed by a third person in the discourse mode of non-narrative, which is the mode for non-temporal discourse, the *-te iru* construction functions as an evidential marker of speaker observation. In contrast, when an event performed by a third person is described in the mode of narrative, which is the mode for listing multiple events in the temporal order, the *-te iru* construction is not used as an evidential marker of observation even when the event was observed by the speaker or the writer. In addition, the relationship between the *-te iru* construction’s aspectual and evidential marking properties will be explored in detail.

In the final part of the analysis section, the combination of the verb *iu* ‘to say’ and the *-te iru* construction will be analyzed more closely due to the possibility that the verb *iu* possess some unique properties that are relevant to the *-te iru* construction’s observation marking function.

1.2. Organization of the Present Study

The organization of the present study is as follows. Chapter 1 introduces the main research goals and the overall organization of the present study. Chapter 2 reviews the background studies that are relevant to the properties of the *-te iru* construction as an aspectual marker as well as the studies on the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction. In Chapter 3, the present study's research questions, research methods, data and scope, and key terminologies are introduced and explained. Chapter 4 is the first chapter of the data analysis component of the present study. Chapter 4 is primarily devoted to the confirmation of the existence of the *-te iru* construction's function as an evidential marker in actual discourse. In this chapter, cases of the *-te iru* construction that seem to be mainly marking the observation made by the speaker are examined. Chapter 5 is a continuation of Chapter 4, and it attempts to explain the cases of the *-te iru* construction that cannot be explained by the analytical frameworks proposed in previous studies. For this purpose, the notion of the ongoing mode of discourse along with the two types of modes of discourse will be introduced. Chapter 6 examines the cases of the *-te iru* construction that appear to be marking aspectual information and speaker observation simultaneously. Chapter 7 focuses on examining how observed and overlapping events are marked with the *-te iru* construction, and how it relates to the formation of a coherent "point of view" from which multiple events are described in discourse. Chapter 8 specifically focuses on the combination of the verb *iu* 'to say' and the *-te iru* construction. Chapter 9, which is the final chapter of the present study, summarizes the findings and arguments of the present study.

Chapter 2

Background Studies

This chapter reviews the previous studies that are relevant to the present study. Even though the primary focus of this study is the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction, it is very important to understand the *-te iru* construction's aspectual properties in order to highlight the non-aspectual marking functions of the construction in discourse. The first part of this chapter focuses on the review of past studies that analyze the *-te iru* construction as a marker of aspectual properties. The second part of this chapter reviews the studies on the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction. The third part reviews the notion of evidentiality and other concepts that are considered to be relevant to the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction.

2.1. Aspectual Marking Function of *-te iru*

The *-te iru* construction is one of the most intensively studied grammatical structures in the field of Japanese linguistics. In the *-te iru* construction, the *-te* component corresponds to the final part of the gerund form of a verb, and *iru*, which is morphologically identical with the verb *iru* 'to exist,' follows the gerund form. Example (10) includes the *-te iru* construction at the end of the sentence.

- (10) Takeshi ga eega o mite iru.
 Takeshi SB movie O watch-*te iru*
 'Takeshi is watching a movie.'

In (10), the verb *miru* ‘to watch’ is in its gerund form *mite*, and the *iru* component of the construction follows the gerund form of the verb. As a large number of scholarly works point out, the primary function of the Japanese *-te iru* construction is the marking of aspectual properties. (Kindaichi, 1950, in 1976; Kuno, 1973; Soga, 1983; Shibatani, 1990; Jacobsen, 1992; Kudo, 1995; Shirai, 2000; Iwasaki, 2002; Tsujimura, 2007; etc.). As represented by Comrie’s (1976) definition of aspect, which is “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (p. 3), the Japanese *-te iru* construction has been mostly viewed as a marker of temporal constituencies along with other grammatical structures that mark aspectual properties such as *V-te aru* ‘have been V-ed’, *V-te oku* ‘V in advance’ and *V-te shimau* ‘finish V-ing.’

Contributions to aspectual meanings in Japanese are generally derived from three sources: the inherent meaning of verbs or predicates, modifications of that meaning provided by verbal affixes (auxiliaries), and further modifications based on the semantic contribution of nouns, adverbs, and other linguistic items present in the clause as a whole (Jacobsen, 1992, p. 157). In addition to these three sources, the pragmatic environment in which aspectual markers are used also influences the interpretation of aspectual meanings (Harasawa, 1993).

As for the aspectual properties of the *-te iru* construction, it is typically claimed that it has three types of possible ways of interpretations, which are progression, resultative state, and habitual action (e.g. Tsujimura, 2007, among many others). The followings sentences are some examples of each type of aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction.

Aspectual Interpretations of *-te iru*

Progressive

- (11) a. Kodomo ga waratte iru.
 Child SB laugh-*te iru*
 ‘A child is laughing.’
- b. Satoshi ga sushi o tabete iru.
 Satoshi SB sushi O eat-*te iru*
 ‘Satoshi is eating sushi.’

Resultative State

- (12) a. Sakana ga shinde iru.
 fish SB die-*te iru*
 ‘The fish is dead.’
- b. Kuruma ga tomatte iru.
 car SB park-*te iru*
 ‘The car is parked.’

Habitual Action

- (13) a. Watashi wa maiasa go mairu hashitte iru.
 I TP every morning five miles run-*te iru*
 ‘I run 5 miles every morning.’
- b. Ano gakusee wa yoku nihongo no teepu o kiite iru.
 that student TP often Japanese LK tape O listen-*te iru*
 ‘That student often listens to Japanese tapes.’

(Tsujimira, 2007, pp. 369-370)

In (11a) and (11b), the aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction in each sentence is progressive, and activities such as laughing and eating are in progress at the point of reference, which is the moment of speech in the example sentences. This corresponds to the English progressive *be V-ing* construction as in *John is drinking coffee right now*. In (12), the *-te iru* construction refers to a state resulting from an event that took place prior to the time of reference. This is typically called the resultative interpretation of the *-te iru* construction. For example, in (12a), the fish died at some point before the moment of speech, and is in the state of being dead at the moment of speech. In (12b), the car was parked by a driver at some point in the past, and it has been parked at the location since then. This type of aspectual meaning of the *-te iru*

construction corresponds to the *be V-ed* or the *have V-ed* construction in English. The third type of interpretation of the *-te iru* construction is habitual action. In (13a), the act of running takes place every morning as a habit, and in (13b), the student listens to the tape frequently, which can be considered a type of habit or repetitive action.

2.2. Aspectual Properties Inherent to Japanese Verbs

The aspectual properties marked by the *-te iru* construction, such as progression, resultative state, or habitual action, are strongly influenced by the inherent aspectual property of the verb that co-occurs with *-te iru*. In other words, the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction cannot be determined without the semantic elements of the verb used with *-te iru*.

One of the earliest studies that discusses such property of the *-te iru* construction is Kindaichi's (1950, in 1976) well-known classification system of Japanese verbs. Similar to Dowty's (1979) classification system of inherent aspectual properties of English verbs, Kindaichi classifies Japanese verbs into four categories based on the derived meanings when they are accompanied with the *-te iru* construction. The following is the summary of Kindaichi's argument.

Kindaichi's Classification of Japanese Verbs

Stative verbs (e.g., *aru* 'to exist,' *atai suru* 'to be worth,' etc.)

- cannot co-occur with *-te iru*
- refers to static situations

Conitunative verbs (e.g., *yomu* ‘to read,’ *kaku* ‘to write,’ etc.)

- can co-occur with *-te iru* (progressive interpretation)
- activities that continue over an extended period of time

Instantaneous verbs (e.g., *shinu* ‘to die,’ *kekkon suru* ‘to get married,’ etc.)

- can co-occur with *-te iru* (resultative interpretation)
- refers to instantaneous events.

Type 4 verbs (e.g., *sobieru* ‘to tower,’ *sugureru* ‘to be outstanding,’ etc.)

- must co-occur with *-te iru*

(Kindaichi, 1950, in 1976, pp. 9-12)¹

As above, Kindaichi divides Japanese verbs into four groups based on whether they can or cannot co-occur with the *-te iru* construction, and the derived aspectual meanings when the verbs are used with *-te iru*. The first group of verbs is called “stative,” and verbs classified in this category cannot co-occur with the *-te iru* construction. For example, the existential verb *aru* ‘to exist’ cannot be used with *-te iru*.

(14) Koko ni hon ga aru.
 here at book SB exist
 ‘There is a book here.’

(15) *Koko ni hon ga atte iru.
 here at book SB exist-*te iru*
 ‘There is a book here.’

As example (15) demonstrates, verbs in this group simply cannot be used with the *-te iru* construction and further semantic analysis cannot be made for the verbs in this group.

The second type in Kindaichi’s verb classification system is called “continuative.” Verbs such as *yomu* ‘to read’ and *kaku* ‘to write’ belong to this group.

¹ Stative, Continuative, Instantaneous and Type 4 verbs correspond to *jootai dooshi*, *keezoku dooshi*, *shunkan dooshi*, and *dai yonshu no dooshi* in Kindaichi’s original text.

- (16) Taroo wa ima hon o yonde iru.
 Taro TP now book O read-*te iru*
 ‘Taro is reading a book right now.’

As we see in (16), the aspectual interpretation of verbs in this group is typically the progressive meaning when they co-occur with the *-te iru* construction.

Verbs that belong to the third category are called “instantaneous” verbs by Kindaichi. Some of the verbs that are in this category are *shinu* ‘to die,’ *tsuku* ‘to turn on,’ and *tomaru* ‘to stop.’ Unlike continuative verbs, when instantaneous verbs are used with the *-te iru* construction, they refer to the resultative state from a past event rather than the ongoing progression or continuation of the event.

- (17) Inu ga shinde iru.
 dog SB die-*te iru*
 ‘The dog is dead.’

In (17), an instantaneous verb *shinu* is used with the *-te iru* construction, and this sentence refers to the dog’s state of being dead, not the ongoing process of the dog’s death unlike the *V-ing* structure in English.

The fourth category of verbs is named “type 4” by Kindaichi, and verbs in this group must always appear with the *-te iru* construction. In this regard, type 4 verbs are the opposite of stative verbs. Verbs such as *sugureru* ‘to be excellent,’ *zubanukeru* ‘to be outstanding,’ and *sobieru* ‘to tower’ are in this group. The comparison between (18) and (19) demonstrates this unique property of type 4 verbs.

- (18) Suzuki san no seeseiki wa sugurete iru.
 Suzuki Mr. LK grade TP be excellent-*te iru*
 ‘Mr. Suzuki’s grade is excellent.’

- (19) *Suzuki san no seeseiki wa sugureru.
 Suzuki Mr. LK grade TP be excellent
 ‘Mr. Suzuki’s grade is excellent.’

In (18), *sugureru*, which is a type 4 verb, is used with the *–te iru* construction and the sentence is grammatically acceptable. On the other hand, in (19), *sugureru* is used in the simple non-past tense without the *–te iru* construction, and the sentence is ungrammatical.

It should be noted that Kindaichi was very aware that his classification system is not free from numerous problems, and it has been constantly under the criticism of many other scholars (Fujii, 1966; Takahashi, 1969; Yoshikawa, 1973; Okuda, 1978; Soga, 1983; and Jacobsen, 1992; etc.). For example, as Kindaichi himself points out, a large number of verbs can belong to more than one category in his classification system, particularly to the continuative and instantaneous categories. One of the verbs that Kindaichi lists for demonstrating this problem is *kuru* ‘to come.’ As Kindaichi notes, *kite iru*, which is the combination of the verb *kuru* ‘to come’ and the *–te iru* construction, can mean either ‘someone is on the way’ or ‘someone has come’ (Kindaichi, 1976, p. 11). For this particular case, if we categorize *kuru* based on the interpretation of ‘someone is on the way,’ the verb is classified in the continuative group, while the interpretive reading of ‘someone has come’ categorizes the verb in the instantaneous group. Similarly, Kindaichi also points out that many verbs overlap in the instantaneous and type 4 categories. Some of such verbs are *kuttsuku* ‘to stick together’ and *magaru* ‘to curve.’ For example, *magatte iru*, which is the combined form of the verb *magaru* and the *–te iru* construction, can refer to either a resulting state from a bending action in the past, or something that has been curved from the beginning as we see in *michi ga magatte iru* ‘the road is curved.’ Also, as Dowty (1979) claims, it is ultimately the VP as a whole that determines the aspectual properties of the clause, not the inherent aspectual properties of individual verbs. Therefore, the classification system proposed

by Kindaichi is more like a list of tendencies, rather than a set of solid rules that can be used for accurately predicting the aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction.

The relationship between the interpretation of *-te iru* and the transitivity of verbs is another intensely discussed topic (Morita, 1977; Jacobsen 1992; etc.). In Japanese, there are many verb pairs with morphologically related stems that exhibit transitive and intransitive characteristics. Some of the transitive-intransitive verb pairs are listed in (20).

| | | | |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| (20) | <u>transitive</u> | <u>intransitive</u> | |
| | akeru | aku | ‘to open’ |
| | tsukeru | tsuku | ‘to turn on’ |
| | kesu | kieru | ‘to turn off’ |
| | nugu | nugeru | ‘to take off’ |

When the two verbs from a transitive-intransitive pair are used with the *-te iru* construction, they often display different aspectual characteristics. Observe (21) and (22).

- (21) Taroo ga mado o akete iru.
 Taro SB window O open-*te iru*
 ‘Taro is opening the window.’ (progressive reading)

- (22) Mado ga aite iru.
 window SB open-*te iru*
 ‘The window is open.’ (resultative reading)

In (21), the transitive verb *akeru* ‘to open’ is used with the *-te iru* construction, and the aspectual interpretation of the sentence is progressive, which means that the action of opening the window by Taro is in progress at the moment of speech. On the other hand, in (22), the intransitive counterpart *aku* is used with *-te iru*, and the aspectual interpretation of the sentence is resultative, which indicates that the window was opened by someone in the past, and it is in the state of being open at the moment of speech. However, as Jacobsen (1992) argues, the verb’s transitivity itself is not fully sufficient to determine the aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction.

The details of Jacobsen’s argument is not fully discussed here, but in many cases

morphologically transitive verbs could take the resultative reading with *-te iru*, and the progressive interpretation is also possible for the combination of intransitive verbs and *-te iru* (for more details, see Jacobsen 1992).

Some take the position that the aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction cannot be fully established without knowing the whole pragmatic context in which the construction is used (Harasawa, 1993, 1994, etc.). For example, Harasawa (1993) explores the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction from a pragmatic point of view, and refuses to adopt a clear-cut classification system for inherent aspectual properties of verbs, or the specific combination of a verb and the *-te iru* construction. Harasawa argues that the core property of the morpheme *-te iru* is “continuing condition”² (p. 89), and three types of interpretations are derived for *-te iru* from this property. The three types of interpretations are “repetitive,” “continuative,” and “resultative.”³ The main point of Harasawa’s argument is based on the assumption that the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction is primarily determined by the contextual environment where it appears, thus it is impossible for us to determine the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction if we solely look at the semantic properties of the verb that is used with *-te iru*. Examples (23) through (25) are Harasawa’s demonstrations of the three possible aspectual interpretations of *nonde iru*, which is the combination of the transitive verb *nomu* ‘to drink’ and the *-te iru* construction.

- (23) Taroo wa mainichi sake o nonde iru. (repetitive)
 Taro TP everyday alcohol O drink-*te iru*
 ‘Taro drinks alcohol every day.’

² *jootai no jizoku* (状態の持続) in the original text.

³ *Kurikaeshi* (繰り返し), *keezoku* (継続), and *jootai no kekka* (状態の結果), respectively in the original text.

- (24) Taro wa ima sake o nonde iru. (continuative)
 Taro TP now alcohol O drink-*te iru*
 ‘Taro is drinking alcohol right now.’
- (25) Taro wa moo ni shoo mo sake o nonde iru. Dakara kao ga akai. (resultative)
 Taro TP already two *shoo* even alcohol O drink-*te iru* therefore face SB red
 ‘Taro has already drunk two *shoo* (a measurement unit) of alcohol. Therefore, his face is red.’

(Harasawa, 1993, p. 89)

As we see in (23), (24), and (25), the interpretation of *nonde iru* could be repetitive, continuative, or resultative depending on the pragmatic context in which *nonde iru* is used. These examples also demonstrate that the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction cannot be predicted by the morphological transitivity of the verb that co-occurs with *-te iru*.

2.3. Non-Aspectual Functions of *-te iru*

Even though the *-te iru* construction has been traditionally analyzed as a marker of aspectual properties, it is well recognized that some cases of *-te iru* cannot be explained if we only focus on the temporal constituencies of the construction (Yanagisawa, 1994, 1995; Fujishiro, 1996; Taniguchi, 1997; Ayano, 1998; Shinzato, 2003; Sawanishi, 2004; Sadanobu, 2006; Sadanobu and Malchukov, 2006, 2011; and Liu, 2010). In other words, it has been speculated that the *-te iru* construction has some non-aspectual functions that exist separately or independently from its aspectual marking properties.

To my knowledge, Yanagisawa (1994, 1995) is one of the earliest scholars who explicitly pointed out the existence of non-aspectual functions of the Japanese *-te iru* construction. Examples (26) and (27) are from Yanagisawa (1994).

- (26) Kare no kaishaku ni wa mondai ga aru to omou.
 he LK interpretation in TP problem SB exist QT think
 ‘I/*he/*she think(s) that there is a problem in his interpretation.’
- (27) Kare no kaishaku ni wa mondai ga aru to omotte iru.
 he LK interpretation in TP problem SB exist QT think-*te iru*
 ‘?I/he/she think(s) that there is a problem in his interpretation.’

(Yanagisawa, 1994, p. 166)

According to Yanagisawa, the verb *omou* ‘to think’ in (26) must be about the speaker’s own act, and it cannot refer to a third person’s act of thinking. On the other hand, when *omou* is used with *-te iru* as in (27), most readers would feel that the speaker is talking about a third person’s act of thinking or the state of having an idea in mind. Yanagisawa also introduces a similar phenomenon in which the interpretation of a pronoun is differentiated by the influence from the non-aspectual function of the *-te iru* construction. Observe the following two contrastive sentences.

- (28) Minna de uta o utau yo.
 everyone with song O sing FP
 ‘Everyone (including the speaker) is going to sing a song’
- (29) Minna de uta o utatte iru yo.
 everyone with song O sing-*te iru* FP
 ‘Everyone (excluding the speaker) is singing a song’

(Yanagisawa, 1994, pp. 166-167)

The comparison between (28) and (29) exhibits that the interpretation of the indefinite pronoun *minna* ‘everyone’ changes depending on the use of the *-te iru* construction. According to Yanagisawa, most readers would feel that *minna* in sentence (28) includes the speaker, indicating the speaker is part of the group of people who participate in the act of singing. On the other hand, Yanagisawa argues that readers would feel *minna* in (29) does not include the speaker as part of the group of people who are singing. Sentences such as (26), (27), (28), and (29) strongly suggest

that there are some non-aspectual functions in the *-te iru* construction that exist separately from its temporal marking properties.

In addition, it is often pointed out that certain restrictions on third-person-subject sentences are nullified when the sentence is suffixed with the *-te iru* construction. Compare the two contrasting sentences listed in (30) and (31).

(30) *Yamada wa hidoku kanashimu.

Yamada TP terribly be sad

‘Yamada is terribly sad.’

(31) Yamada wa hidoku kanashinde iru.

Yamada TP terribly be sad-*te iru*

‘Yamada is terribly sad.’

(Yanagisawa, 1994, p. 167)

The comparison between (30) and (31) further confirms the existence of non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction. According to Yanagisawa (1994), sentence (30) is generally considered unacceptable since the verb *kanashimu* ‘to be sad’ is an expression about one’s internal feelings, which cannot be used in third-person subject sentences in the simple non-past tense. However, when *kanashimu* is suffixed with the *-te iru* construction as in (31), the sentence becomes grammatically acceptable. Yanagisawa argues that the phenomena observed in (28) through (31) are due to the “report” marking function of the *-te iru* construction, and argues that the *-te iru* construction as a report marker indicates that (a) the speaker observed something, (b) the utterance is a report of what the speaker observed, and (c) what is being said by the speaker is secondary information (Yanagisawa 1994, p. 172).

Another early study that explores the non-aspectual properties of the *-te iru* construction is Fujishiro’s (1996) very insightful paper. In her paper, Fujishiro points out that the use of the *-te iru* construction is differentiated by the speaker depending on whether the utterance is

about his or her own action, or an action performed by a third person. Examples (32) and (33) are from Fujishiro (1996). Assume that the conversations took place at a hospital.

- (32) Nurse 1: Tanaka-san (patient), kyoo wa chanto gohan tabeta?
 Tanaka Mr./Ms. today TP surely meal eat-PST
 ‘Did Mr./Ms. Tanaka (patient) surely eat the meal today?’

Nurse 2: Ee, kiree ni tabemashita yo./ tabete imashita yo.
 yes, completely eat-PST FP eat-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘Yes, he/she completely ate it.’

- (33) Nurse 1: Tanaka-san (patient), kyoo wa chan to gohan tabeta?
 Tanaka Mr./Ms. today TP surely meal eat-PST
 ‘Mr./Ms. Tanaka, did you surely eat the meal today?’

Tanaka (patient): Ee, kiree ni tabemashita yo. /*tabete imashita yo.
 yes, completely eat-PST FP eat-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘Yes, I completely ate it.’

(Fujishiro, 1996, p. 5)

In the above examples, both conversational exchanges took place after the patient finished eating a meal. In (32) Nurse 1 asks Nurse 2 whether Tanaka (patient) ate his meal or not. In this case, Nurse 2 can answer the question either using the simple past tense *tabemashita* ‘ate’ or *tabete imashita*, which is the form that includes the *-te iru* construction. In contrast, when Nurse 1 asks the same question directly to the patient as in (33), the patient cannot answer the question with the *-te iru* construction. The difference between (32) and (33) cannot be explained solely by the aspectual differences between the two sentences, since there is no difference in moment of speech, or the temporal properties of the event that is being talked about.

Fujishiro introduces the notion of “perception”⁴ in order to explain the above seemingly mysterious phenomenon. By using the notion of “perception,” Fujishiro argues that the use of the *-te iru* construction indicates that the described event is something perceived by the speaker,

⁴ *kanchi* (感知) in the original text.

which means the event was perceptually observed by the speaker and he or she is describing the event in the utterance with the epistemic marker of speaker observation. For instance, when Nurse 2 utters *tabete imashita* in (32), she presents the act of eating that was performed by Tanaka as her first-hand observation. On the other hand, in example (33), since Tanaka is the performer of the described event, he cannot present his own action as an event he observed. Therefore, in (33), uttering *tabete imashita* in response to the nurse's question would result in an unnatural utterance.

Fujishiro provides additional examples to highlight her argument on the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction.

(34) Okaasan, sakki nee, oniichan ga Kenta no koto tataita yo/ tataite ta yo.
 mom some time ago FP older brother SB Kenta LK NOM hit-PST FP hit-*te iru*-PST FP
 'Mom, my older brother hit Kenta some time ago.'

(35) Okaasan, sakki nee, oniichan ga watashi no koto tataita yo/*tataite ta yo.
 mom some time ago FP older brother SB me LK NOM hit-PST FP hit-*te iru*-PST FP
 'Mom, my older brother hit me some time ago.'

(Fujishiro, 1996, p. 5)

In (34), a child tells his/her mother that his/her older brother hit Kenta. In this case, Kenta is a third person for the speaker, and the speaker can utter either *tataita*⁵ 'hit' or *tataite ta* (contracted version of *tataite ita*) in the description of the act of hitting. On the other hand, (35) is an utterance for telling the mother that the speaker was hit by his/her older brother, and using *tataite ta* in this sentence would create an unacceptable impression. According to Fujishiro's explanation, the unacceptability of *tataite ta* in (35) is due to the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction. In (35), even though the speaker was not the performer of the hitting

⁵ *tataita* is the past tense form of *tataku* 'to hit'.

action, the speaker was closely involved in the event of hitting as a victim, and therefore the speaker cannot have the perspective as an observer in regards to the event of hitting.

Taniguchi (1997) also discusses the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction, claiming that the *-te iru* construction has the property of expressing objectivity, descriptiveness, and report⁶. Examples (36) and (37) are from Taniguchi's study.

- (36) Chichi wa mainichi jogingu o suru.
 father TP everyday jogging O do
 'My father runs every day.'

- (37) A: Otoosan genki?
 father fine
 'Is your father fine?'

B: Un, (chichi wa) mainichi jogingu o shiteru yo.
 yes father TP everyday jogging O do-*te iru* FP
 'Yes, he runs everyday'

*Un, (chichi wa) mainichi jogingu o suru yo.
 yes, father TP everyday jogging O do FP
 'Yes, he runs everyday.'

(Taniguchi, 1997, p. 45)

In (36), the speaker is simply stating the habit of his or her father. However, in (37), B's response to A must be marked with *-te iru*, as the sentence becomes unacceptable if it ends with the simple non-past *suru* 'to do.' Taniguchi explains that the difference between (36) and (37) is due to the report marking function of *-te iru*. Taniguchi states that since B is delivering a reportive utterance about B's father to A in (37), the utterance would be unnatural without the report marking *-te iru*.

⁶ *Kyakkansee* (客観性), *hyoogen byoushasee* (表現描写性), and *hookokusee* (報告性) in the original text, respectively.

Ayano (1998) also makes a somewhat similar argument on the non-aspectual function of the *-te iru* construction from the perspective of pragmatic analysis. Ayano argues that the difference between the following two sentences is the different focal points placed by the speaker in regards to the event that is being described.

- (38) Kinoo Taroo wa chuushoku ni unagi o tabeta.
 yesterday Taro TP lunch for eel O eat-PST
 ‘Taro ate eel for lunch yesterday.’
- (39) Kinoo Taroo wa chuushoku ni unagi o tabete ita.
 yesterday Taro TP lunch for eel O eat-*te iru*-PST
 ‘Taro was eating eel for lunch yesterday.’

(Ayano, 1998, p. 7)

Even though the basis for his argument is intuitive sentence-level judgments and lacks detailed explanations, Ayano argues that sentence (38) is about the entire event of Taro’s eating eel for lunch, while (39) shows that the speaker/writer is only interested in a portion of the interval of time during which Taro was eating his lunch. According to Ayano’s claim, it can be pragmatically inferred that the speaker of (39) is only interested in reporting the exact portion of an event that he or she observed.

Iwasaki (1993) makes another interesting observation on the relationship between the use of the *-te iru* construction and the speaker’s perspective. Even though Iwasaki does not discuss *-te iru*’s non-aspectual functions in detail, he points out that *-te iru* is used when the speaker has a lesser degree of information accessibility, while the unmodified form indicates the speaker’s higher degree of information accessibility.

- (40) Boku wa Bill o nagutta.
 I TP Bill O hit-PST
 ‘I hit Bill.’

- (41) Boku wa Bill o nagutte ita.
 I TP Bill O hit-*te iru*-PST
 ‘(I realized then that) I had hit Bill.’

(Iwasaki, 1993, p. 28)

Iwasaki explains that (40) is a typical utterance for the case in which the speaker describes his active and conscious act of hitting Bill, indicating that the hitting action was intentionally made by the speaker. On the other hand, (41) is only uttered when the speaker was not aware of what he had done up to a certain point where he realized that he was hitting Bill. In other words, the speaker utters (41) when the speaker realized what he did during or after the act of hitting. This can be demonstrated by adding adverbial phrases such as *kiga tsuitara* ‘when I realized,’ because those adverbial phrases can co-occur with (41), but not with (40).

In alignment with Iwasaki (1993), Shinzato (2003) also proposes a similar claim, arguing that Japanese predicates without stative extensions (*-te iru*, *-te aru*, *-te oru*) reflect the speaker’s role as the experiencer, while predicates with them indicate the speaker’s observer role. She also states that verbs without stative extensions are associated with such features as speaker involvement, experiencer perspective, immediacy, and directness, while verbs with stative extensions exhibit speaker detachment, observer perspective, mediacy, and indirectness.

Finally, Sadanobu (2006) and Sadanobu and Malchukov (2011) introduce an interesting phenomenon to demonstrate the existence of non-aspectual function of the *-te iru* construction. Compare (42), which ends with the simple non-past form, with (43), which is affixed with the *-te iru* construction.

- (42) Saa ima, ano jikkenshitsu no shoomee o rimokon de kirimashita.
 now that experiment room LK light O remote controller with turn off-PST
 ‘I just turned off the light in the experiment room with the remote controller.’

Kore de jikkenshitsu no naka wa makkura de nani mo miemasen.
 this by experiment room LK inside TP dark then nothing be visible NEG
 ‘Now it is all dark inside the experiment room and nothing is visible.’

- (43) Saa ima, ano jikkenshitsu no shoomee o rimokon de kirimashita.
 now that experiment room LK light O remote controller with turn off-PST
 ‘I just turned off the light in the experiment room with the remote controller.’

Kore de jikkenshitsu no naka wa makkura de nani mo miete imasen.
 this by experiment room LK inside TP dark then nothing be visible-*te iru*-NEG
 ‘Now it is all dark inside the experiment room and one can’t see anything.’

(Sadanobu, 2006, p. 169, also in Sadanobu and Malchukov, 2011, pp. 145-146)

Assume that (42) and (43) are uttered outside an experiment room by a researcher. Sadanobu and Malchukov argue that (42) is acceptable regardless of the existence of a person or an animal inside the experiment room, but it is strange to say (43) when there is no person or animal inside the experiment room. Based on the contrast between (42) and (43), Sadanobu and Malchukov (2011) argue that the use of the *-te iru* construction has an effect of presupposing the existence of an observer towards the stated proposition (p. 146).

2.4. Evidentiality and Related Notions

It appears that previous studies on the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction are mostly centered around the notions such as evidentiality, epistemic modality, subjectivity, and Discourse Modality. According to Dendale and Tasmowski (2001), a study done by Jakobson (1957) was the first study that brought the term “evidential” into common usage in the field of linguistics. As cited in Friedman (1986), Jakobson claims that “an evidential is a label for a verbal category which indicates the source of information on which the speaker’s statement is

based” (p. 168). Similarly, Cornille (2009) provides the following definition of evidentials, which is “the functional category that refers to the perceptual and/or epistemological basis for making a speech act” (p. 45). Cornille continues that “[i]n traditional classifications, evidentiality is divided into direct and indirect evidentiality. Direct evidentials are used when the speaker has witnessed the action while indirect evidentials are used when the speaker has not witnessed the action personally but has either deduced the action or has heard about it from others” (p. 45). Thus, it can be said that the studies on the non-aspectual function of the *-te iru* construction by Yanagisawa (1994, 1995), Fujishiro (1996), and Taniguchi (1997) analyze the *-te iru* construction as a type of direct evidential marker that has the function of indicating that the information source of the uttered proposition is the speaker’s first-hand observation.

Also, even though the boundary between evidentiality and epistemic modality is still under debate (e.g. De Haan, 1999; Aikhenvald, 2004), and indicating the source of information operates on a different axis from indicating the speaker's assessment of the reliability of information, most scholars would agree that evidentiality and epistemic modality are closely interrelated and intertwined notions. For example, Matlock (1989) includes the notion of evidentiality in the larger notion of epistemic modality, and this is illustrated by his statement: “Evidentials, linguistic units comprising part of epistemic modality, code a speaker's source of information, and some degree of certainty about that information” (p. 215). When this view on epistemic modality is adopted, it is possible to conceptualize *-te iru*’s observation marking function as part of a larger notion of epistemic modality.

Another notion that is relevant to the non-aspectual functions of *-te iru* is subjectivity. According to Benveniste (1971), the role of the “indicator of subjectivity” is to “characterize the attitude of the speaker with respect to the statement he is making” (p. 229). Concurrent with

Benveniste's argument, Lyons (1982) states that subjectivity refers to "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his own attitudes and beliefs" (p. 102). Under these definitions of subjectivity, the studies on the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction by Iwasaki (1993) and Shinzato (2003) are strongly associated with the notion of subjectivity since they primarily analyze *-te iru* as an indicator of speaker perspective.

Finally, if we accept the view that the *-te iru* construction marks the speaker's subjectivity, the well-known and very holistic notion of "Discourse Modality" (Maynard, 1993) becomes relevant in regards to the communicative functions of the *-te iru* construction in discourse. Maynard (1993) claims that "[a]lthough every language is equipped with strategies to express personal attitude as reflected in the wide range of non-referential meanings, Japanese has a strong tendency to express this attitudinal stance. ... Thus, when speaking Japanese, one simply cannot avoid expressing one's persona; attitude toward the content of information and toward the addressee" (p. 4). This statement is strongly interconnected to the following definition of Discourse Modality proposed by Maynard:

Discourse Modality refers to information that does not or only minimally conveys objective propositional message content. Discourse Modality conveys the speaker's subjective emotional, mental, or psychological attitude toward the message content, the speech act itself or toward his or her interlocutor in discourse. Discourse Modality operates to define and to foreground certain ways of interpreting the propositional content in discourse; it directly expresses the speaking self's personal voice on the basis of which the utterance is intended to be meaningfully interpreted.

(Maynard, 1993, pp. 38-39)

If we fully accept Maynard's view on Japanese discourse and her definition of Discourse Modality, the *-te iru* construction can be seen as one of the many linguistic devices that make it impossible for speakers of Japanese to convey propositional contents without displaying one's

subjective attitude towards the message content. This also indicates that speakers of Japanese can use the *-te iru* construction for displaying his or her subjectivity in addition to the delivery of the propositional content.

In this chapter, past studies that are related to the aspectual marking function of the *-te iru* construction, and the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction were briefly summarized. Also, several related notions to the non-aspectual marking functions of the *-te iru* construction, which are evidentiality, epistemic modality, subjectivity, and Discourse Modality, were discussed. The next chapter provides the purpose, and the overview of the methodological approach for the present study.

Chapter 3

The Present Study

This chapter will provide a brief overview of the design of the present study, which has been formulated for the purpose of exploring the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction in discourse in use. First, the remaining issues in previous studies on the non-aspectual functions of *-te iru* are summarized. After a summary of the remaining issues, the research questions for the present study will be listed and explained in detail. The research methods for the present study and the description of the linguistic data used for the present study will also be included in this chapter.

3.1. Remaining Issues

As argued in previous studies, it is very plausible that the *-te iru* construction has non-aspectual functions in addition to its aspectual marking properties, and the construction is used as an evidential marker to mark the speaker's first-hand observation in discourse. However, one common problem in previous studies is the fact that most of their example sentences are artificially constructed by the researchers, and they do not examine the discourse context in which the *-te iru* construction is used. Aikhenvald (2004) states that "[e]videntials are powerful means for manipulating discourse. They help to achieve a variety of effects" (p. 337). If the *-te iru* construction truly functions as an evidential marker of speaker observation, it is essential for researchers to examine how it is used in interactional contexts since evidential markers are communicative tools for conveying interactional messages rather than the propositional content

of the referred event or state.

In addition, previous studies analyze sentences from different types of discourse, such as conversational interactions, novels, and newspaper articles, in a mixed manner without paying close attention to the relationship between the use of *-te iru* and the discourse type. Most studies also do not even distinguish the spoken language and the written language when they analyze their example sentences. Also, the lack of attention to the discourse modes such as narrative and everyday conversation may be significantly problematic for the analysis of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker, because it has been pointed out that the use of evidential markers are strongly influenced by the ongoing modes of discourse in the Japanese language (Kuroda, 1973, Kinsui, 1989; Kanro, 2004, 2005; etc.).

Another common issue in previous studies is how the aspectual properties of the *-te iru* construction are discussed in the studies of the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction. The scholars who argue the existence of non-aspectual functions of *-te iru* do not challenge the existence of *-te iru*'s aspectual marking properties, and needless to say, it is difficult to deny the fact that the *-te iru* construction functions as a marker of aspectual properties in Japanese. However, previous studies do not discuss how exactly the non-aspectual functions of *-te iru* can be distinguished from its aspectual marking properties, and also do not explore whether *-te iru*'s non-aspectual functions could co-occur with its aspectual marking functions. Therefore, further research is needed in order to establish an analytical framework that distinguishes *-te iru*'s aspectual and non-aspectual marking functions.

Finally, the preliminary analysis for the current study has revealed that there are many cases of speaker observations that are not marked with the *-te iru* construction, but previous studies do not provide an account for such cases. For example, in both (44) and (45), the verb *iru*

‘to say’ is used to refer to an observed act of making an utterance, but the case in (44) is marked with the *–te iru* construction, while the case in (45) is not marked with the construction. Observe the cases of *iu* in (44) and (45).

(44)

- 1 Kurenjingu oiru.
cleansing oil

‘Cleansing oil’

- 2 Kore wa zettai dame desu.
this TP absolutely bad CP

‘This is absolutely bad.’

- 3→Keshoo wa tomokaku, anna mon de keana no yogore wa tore nai to, kinjo no
makeup TP anyhow that thing by pores LK dirt TP remove NEG QT neighbor LK

hyooban no ii hifuka no sensee ga itte imashita.
reputation LK good dermatologist LK doctor SB say-*te iru*-PST

‘It may work for removing makeup, but a reputable dermatologist in my neighborhood said that there is no way that it removes dirt in pores.’

- 4 Hada ga yowai hito ni wa nao warui.
skin SB weak people for TP more bad

‘It’s even worse for people with weak skin.’

- 5 Mushi taoru mo, kekkyoku keana o kojiakeru koto ni naru no de yameta ga ii desu.
steamed towel also after all pores O open NOM become NOM CP refrain SB good CP

‘You should also refrain from using steamed towels because they open up your pores.’

In line 3 in (44), *itte imashita*, which includes the *–te iru* construction, is used to refer to the act of making an utterance performed by a dermatologist. Since the writer of this excerpt was an observer of the dermatologist’s action, the usage of the *–te iru* construction follows the claims made in previous studies.

However, the case of *iu* in (45) is not marked with the *–te iru* construction even though

the act of making an utterance was observed by the writer. See line 3 in (45).

(45)

- 1 Sangatsu itsuka gozenchuu ni K daigaku no juken wa shuuryoo shimashita.
March fifth a.m. at K University LK test TP finish-PST

‘The entrance exam for K University ended in the morning of March 5th.’

- 2 Sono hi wa yuki ga tsumotte imashita ga, kaeri gatera ni R daigaku ni tachiyori,
that day TP snow SB accumulate-*te iru*-PST but return while R University at stop by

gookaku keejiban o mite aratamete watashi no gookaku o kakunin shimashita.
pass bulletin board O look again me LK pass O confirm-PST

‘It was snowing on the day, but I stopped by R University on my way home, and I confirmed my acceptance to the University by looking at bulletin board for results of the entrance exam’

- 3→ Sono ato S sensee ni oai shitakute gakuchoshitsu ni iku to, kakari no hito ga
that after S professor to meet want president’s office to go when receptionist SB

“Kyoo wa gojitaku ni imasu” to iimashita.
today TP home at be QT say-*te iru*-PST

‘After that, I went to the president’s office because I wanted to see Professor S, but the receptionist said that he is at his home right now.’

- 4 Soko de S sensee no juusho o shirabete watashi wa chokusetsu sensee no gojitaku o
then S professor LK address O search I TP directly professor LK home O

hoomon suru koto ni shimashita.
visit NOM QT decide-PST

‘Then, I looked up Professor S’s address, and I decided to visit his home.’

- 5 Shiden ni nori sensee no gojitaku ni iki, yobirin o narasu to chuunen no josee ga
train on ride professor LK home to go bell O ring when middle-aged LK lady SB

dete kimashita.
come out-PST

‘I took the train and went to his home, and rang the bell. Then, a middle-aged woman came out of the house.’

This excerpt is part of a passage in which the writer recalls his experience of his college entrance examinations. In line 3, the writer quotes what the receptionist said using *iimashita*, which is the simple past form of the verb *iu* ‘to say’ without using the *–te iru* construction. Since the receptionist’s act of uttering *kyoo wa gojitaku ni imasu* ‘he is at his home today’ is an action observed by the writer, not using the *–te iru* construction may not be fully consistent with the claims made by previous studies. Also, if *itte imashita* was used instead of *iimashita* in line 3, readers would feel that the sentence sounds unnatural. In the preliminary analysis for the present study, many cases of observed events that are not marked with the *–te iru* construction similar to the case of *iu* in (45) were found, but previous studies do not discuss the cases in which observed events are not marked with *–te iru*. Therefore, as of present, there is no explanatory framework that accounts for the difference between the cases of *iu* in (44) and (45).⁷

3.2. Research Questions and Methodologies

Reflecting upon the shortcomings of previous studies, several research questions have been formulated in order to examine the non-aspectual functions of the *–te iru* construction. The research questions are:

1. Does the *–te iru* construction function as an evidential marker of “observation” in actual discourse? (The combinations of *iu* and *–te iru*, and other verbs and *–te iru* will be examined separately.)
2. Is there any difference in the use of the *–te iru* construction as a marker of observation in the spoken and written languages?

⁷ Examples (44) and (45) will be re-visited in the data analysis section of this dissertation.

3. It seems that in some cases, using the *-te iru* construction when describing a third person's activity results in an unnatural utterance. Are there any patterns, tendencies, or shared characteristics for such cases?
4. Previous studies do not discuss the cases in which the aspectual and non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction appear simultaneously. How do these two different properties of the *-te iru* construction relate to each other in actual discourse?

In order to answer these research questions, multiple cases of third-person activities that are marked and not marked with the *-te iru* construction will be examined with special attention paid to the discourse context in which they appear. It seems that a significant portion of the shortcomings in the previous studies are due to the lack of examination of the *-te iru* construction in the discourse actually used by the speaker or the writer. Based on the assumption that discourse is “language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs, 1983, p. 1) and “language in use” (Schiffrin, 1983, p. 1), “Discourse Analysis” (Brown and Yule, 1983; Stubbs, 1983; Schiffrin, 1994; and Schiffrin et. al, 2001; etc.) is chosen as the primary investigative approach for the present study. Also, from the standpoint that “observation of data – and more of it is better – must be the starting point for linguistic research” (Maynard, 1999, p. 442), the primacy of data observation will be kept throughout the present study.

Research Question #1 is concerned with the validity of the claims made in previous studies. Previous studies attempt to account for the existence of non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction by examining constructed examples based on the researchers' intuitive judgments. In order to make up for the shortcomings of the previous studies, the present study

primarily examines the non-aspectual functions of *-te iru* in discourse actually used by speakers of Japanese. For the purpose of the present study, the term “observation” is defined as “perception of information from the outer world through the speaker’s five senses.” This definition of “observation” is more inclusive than the colloquial meaning of “observation,” which is typically used for observations through one’s visual input. Due to this broadened definition of the term “observation” in the present study, when a speaker hears or listens to what other people say, it is considered to be one type of “observation” because it is a type of perception of information through the speaker’s five senses. This is analogous to what Aikhenvald (2004) calls “sensory evidential” (p. 366), because his definition of “sensory evidential” includes both “visual evidentials” and “non-visual evidentials” that mark information sources involving “hearing, smelling, feeling, and sometimes also touching something” (p. 394). In sum, the scope of Research Question #1 is the confirmation of the existence of the *-te iru* construction’s function as an evidential marker of sensory input.

Research Question #2 is concerned with the possibility of differentiated usages of *-te iru*’s non-aspectual functions depending on discourse types such as the spoken language and the written language. As mentioned earlier, previous studies do not pay close attention to the context in which the *-te iru* construction is used as a marker of observation, and they also do not analyze the spoken language and the written language separately. The difference between the spoken and written forms of the Japanese language has been a long discussed topic in the field of Japanese linguistics. Shibatani (1990) states that “the colloquial language and the written language show different characteristics, and perhaps even more so in Japanese than in English and other European languages” (p. 359). If Shibatani’s statement truly reflects the systematic separation between the spoken and the written forms of Japanese, the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru*

construction could be one of the items that are used differently in the two versions. Needless to say, not all grammatical or semantic components are differentiated in the two forms of the Japanese language, but it is worth investigating the possibility of the *-te iru* construction being differentiated in the spoken and the written versions of Japanese.

The scope of Research Question #3 targets the cases similar to example (45), in which the use of the *-te iru* construction for observed events results in unnatural utterances. In regards to the factors that constrain the use of the *-te iru* construction as an observation marker, it is hypothesized that when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of “non-narrative,” the *-te iru* construction is used as an observation marker, and when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of “narrative,” *-te iru* is not used as an observation marker.

Research Question #4 is concerned with the relationship between the aspectual and non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction. In other words, this research question is concerned with the cases where described events have temporal properties such as progression, repetition, and resultative state, and the events were also observed by the speaker or the writer.

3.3. Data and Scope

In order to answer the previously listed research questions, spoken and written data in Japanese was qualitatively examined in detail. For the spoken data, recordings of naturally occurring conversations among native speakers of Japanese were analyzed. The conversational recordings were taken from Talkbank⁸, which is an online public database for naturally occurring conversations for academic purposes. The conversational data in Talkbank consists of 18 video recording sessions of approximately 20 to 25 minutes each. In each recording session, four college-aged native speakers of Japanese freely talk about a given topic, but the conversational

⁸ Link to Talkbank: <http://www.talkbank.org/>

participants were also allowed to deviate from the given topic over the course of the conversation. The total length of the conversational recordings examined for the present study was approximately 7 hours and 30 minutes.

For the purpose of analyzing the use of the *-te iru* construction in the written form of Japanese, data from “Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese” (BCCWJ)⁹ was qualitatively examined. BCCWJ is a balanced language database that was created by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics¹⁰ as part of their *Kotonoha* project. The data in the BCCWJ is comprised of 104.3 million words, and it covers text genres such as general books, magazines, newspapers, business reports, blogs, internet forums, textbooks, and legal documents among others. The search for the linguistic data in the database was conducted through the *Chuunagon*¹¹ search portal, which is a search portal similar to an internet search engine. As for the selection of examples from the database, the past-tense form of the *-te iru* construction and its variants¹² were input in the search portal, and the examples that appeared on the search result screen were qualitatively examined. On the search result screen, 500 words before and after each case of the *-te iru* construction were displayed, which enabled the researcher to examine the cases of the *-te iru* construction at the discourse level. It should be noted that even though the present study uses examples extracted from the BCCWJ, the analytical method used in the study still largely remained qualitative, therefore the methodological framework of the present study does not place itself in the category of corpus study.

⁹ For more details, see <http://www.ninjal.ac.jp/english/products/bccwj/>

¹⁰ *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo* (国立国語研究所) in Japanese.

¹¹ Link to *Chuunagon* (中納言) search portal: <https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/>

¹² The variants include *-te ita* (-ていた), *-te imashita* (-ていました), *-te ta* (-てた), *-te mashita* (-てました), *-de ita* (-でいた), *-de imashita* (-でいました), *-de ta* (-でた), and *-de mashita* (-でました).

As for the selection of examples from the spoken and written databases, sentences or utterances that involve the so-called *n desu* structure and its variants such as *n da*, *no desu*, and *no de aru* are all excluded. While the various properties of the *n desu* structure have been studied extensively in the field of Japanese linguistics (Kuno, 1973; McGloin, 1980; Maynard, 1992; and Noda, 1999; etc.), it is also recognized that the *n desu* structure is one of the most obscure and difficult-to-conceptualize linguistic devices in the Japanese language. Also, as Aoki (1986) points out, the *n desu* structure is known to have an evidential function of marking “nonspecific evidential statements” (p. 223), which does not explicitly indicate or specify the source of information for the stated proposition while treating the information as factual information. Since the present study examines the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation, sentences that include both the *-te iru* construction and the *n desu* structure are excluded from the analysis in order to avoid the influence of the evidential marking function of the *n desu* structure.¹³ For the same reason, utterances that include well-recognized evidential markers such as *soo*, *yoo* and *mitai* at the end of the utterance are also excluded from the analysis.¹⁴ Furthermore, as pointed out in various past studies (Hirata, 1990; Kudo, 1995; Yamamoto, 1996; Higuchi, 2000; and Ogura, 2008; etc.), it is commonly recognized that in some cases the non-past form is used when an event from the past is being referred to in Japanese. However, those cases are excluded from the analysis since the usage of the non-past form for past events is typically believed to be chosen to achieve effects such as emphasis, zooming in, or simply avoiding the repetition of the same sentential endings throughout the text. Since those effects are

¹³ Example: *Takeshi-san wa gakkoo ni iku to itte ita n desu*. ‘Takeshi said that he is going to go to school.’

¹⁴ Example: *Takeshi-san wa gakkoo ni iku to itte ita mitai desu*. ‘It seems that Takeshi said that he is going to go to school.’

not included in the scope of the present study, non-past-tense cases for the descriptions of past events are not included in the present study.

In the first part of the present study's data analysis section, the scope of the analysis will be limited to the examples of *-te iru* which appear to be used to mark speaker observation rather than the typical aspectual properties marked with the *-te iru* construction. In other words, the analysis in the first section only focuses on the cases where the speaker observed something, and the observed event does not clearly exhibit the aspectual property of progression, habitual action, or resultative state.

In the second part of data analysis, the present study will examine the cases of the *-te iru* construction that are used for third-person events that also exhibit the aspectual properties of progression, habitual action, or resultative state. This component is included in order to provide an integrated account in regards to the aspectual and non-aspectual marking functions of the *-te iru* construction.

The final part of the present study will be specifically devoted to the combination of the *.te iru* construction and the verb *iu* 'to say,' since *iu* may possess some unique properties that are relevant to the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function. The combination of *iu* and *-te iru* will be qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed.

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the research design and scope of the present study. The next chapter covers the initial portion of the analysis section of the present study, which is the confirmation of the existence the observation marking function of *-te iru*.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

In this chapter, spoken and written data will be explored in order to examine the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse in use. Spoken data from naturally occurring conversations will be analyzed in the first part of this chapter, and the written data from the written language database will be analyzed in the second part of this chapter.

4.1. Examples of *-te iru* in Discourse

As an initial step to examine the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction, examples of the *-te iru* construction used for observed events will be analyzed in this section. In order to minimize the influence from the aspectual marking function of the *-te iru* construction, analyzed examples of the *-te iru* construction in this chapter are limited to the ones that are used for one-time, non-repeating events observed by the speaker or the writer. As for the selection of verbs used with the *-te iru* construction, this section includes a wide variety of verbs as long as the verb is used for a one-time event that was observed in the past. The verb *iu* 'to say' is also included with other verbs in the examples in this chapter, but *iu* is analyzed without any special attention paid to its unique properties in this chapter. As mentioned earlier, one of the major goals of the present study is to find out *iu*'s unique properties related to the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction, but those properties will be separately explored in Chapter 8

of the present study.

4.1.1. *-te iru* in Spoken Discourse

This subsection focuses on the analysis of the usages of the *-te iru* construction in the spoken data. Example (46) is an excerpt from a conversational dialogue between four Japanese college students, and the participants are discussing their experiences from their part-time jobs. In one utterance in this excerpt, a third-person utterance made in the past is quoted by a speaker.

(46)

- 1 A: Ato wa nagarete kuru nan ka anko no mochi, are o naraberu,
 rest TP come well bean paste LK rice cake that O line up
 ‘What’s left is lining the rice cakes with bean paste.’

- 2 hitasura san jikan kake zuu tto.
 continuously three hours take non-stop
 ‘Continuously, it’s for three hours without a break.’

- 3 B: Huhuhu.
 huhuhu
 ‘Huhuhu.’

- 4 A: Kekkoo shindoi yo ne.
 quite tiring FP FP
 ‘It’s quite tiring.’

- 5 B: Hee.
 hm
 ‘Hm.’

- 6 C: Chuugakkoo no toki no shakai no sensee ga
 junior high LK time LK social science LK teacher SB
 ‘The teacher in my middle school’

- 7 hitasura nagarete kuru shooto keeki ni ichigo o noseru
 continuously come shortcakes on strawberries O put
 ‘put strawberries on short cakes continuously’

- 8 → baito shiteta n da tte itteta yo.
part-time job did NOM CP QT say-*te iru*-PST FP
'said he had a part-time job'
- 9 C: Koo.
this
'This way.'
- 10 A: Un.
yeah
'Yeah.'
- 11 B: Tanoshi soo sore.
fun sound that
'That sounds fun.'
- 12 C: Ichigo o koo noseru.
strawberries O this put
'Put strawberries like this.'
- 13 A: Tanoshiku nee.
fun NEG
'That's not fun.'
- 14 A: Tanoshiku nai yo ne, soo iu no tte.¹⁵
fun NEG FP FP that NOM QT
'Things like that aren't fun.'

In line 8 of this excerpt, C quotes what his middle school teacher said by using *itte ta*, which is the casual and contracted version of *itte imashita* (the verb *iu* + past form of *-te iru*). Since the

¹⁵ Japanese transcription of (46).

- 1 A: あとは流れてくる何かあんこの餅、あれを並べる、
2 ひたすら、3時間かけずうっと。
3 B: ふふふ。
4 A: 結構しんどいよね。
5 B: へー。
6 C: 中学校の時の社会の先生が
7 ひたすら流れてくるショートケーキにイチゴをのせる
8 パイトをしてたんだって言ってたよ。
9 C: こう。
10 A: うん。
11 B: 楽しそう、それ。
12 C: イチゴをこうのせる。
13 A: 楽しくねー。
14 A: 楽しくないよね、そういうのって。

participants of the conversation are college students, the event C refers to is a past event performed by C's teacher, and the teacher is a third-person individual for C. In addition, it appears that the *-te iru* construction in line 8 is not necessarily marking the aspectual properties of progression, habitual action, or resultative state in regards to the teacher's action of making the utterance, and it is likely that the teacher's action was a one-time third-person event happened in the past for C. Therefore, the use of the *-te iru* construction in line 8 is consistent with the claims made by previous studies in regards to *-te iru*'s observation marking function, because C observed his teacher's act of making an utterance about his or her part-time job, and the verb used for the description of the teacher's action is marked with the *-te iru* construction. In other words, based on the occurrence of the *-te iru* construction in line 8, it can be said that the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker of "observation" by the speaker in this example.

Also, the use of the *-te iru* construction in line 8 in (46) exhibits an interesting phenomenon when the *-te iru* construction is removed from line 8. More specifically, if *itte ta* in line 8 was uttered as *itta*, which is the simple past tense form of the verb *iu* without the *-te iru* construction, most native speakers of Japanese would feel that the utterance sounds somewhat odd. The oddity of this hypothetical case suggests that quoting the teacher's utterance without the *-te iru* construction is not an available option for the above excerpt.

Example (47) also includes several utterances in which an observed event is marked with the *-te iru* construction, exhibiting the possibility of the *-te iru* construction being used as an evidential marker of observation. (47) is from a conversation among four native speakers of Japanese, and the conversationalists talk about a TV program they watched at some point in the past.

(47)

- 1 B: Taihan ga *Ayapan*¹⁶ da kedo. *Ayapan* meccha deteru.
 most SB *Ayapan* CP but *Ayapan* often appear-*te iru*
 ‘It’s mostly *Ayapan*. She appears (on TV) very often.’
- 2 D: Isogashii ne. Asa hayai noni saa.
 busy FP morning early but FP
 ‘She is busy, even though it’s early in the morning.’
- 3 B: Datte nanka, yoru no kudaranai bangumi toka sa, e, shikaisha, mitaina.
 because well night LK stupid program etc. FP oh presenter like
 ‘It’s like oh she is the presenter!, when I watch stupid night TV programs.’
- 4 → B: *Sumasuma*¹⁷ mo sa, shikaisha yatteta shi sa.
Sumasuma also FP presenter do-*te iru*-PST FP FP
 ‘She was also working as the presenter in *Sumasuma*.’
- 5 ?: [e]
 e
 ‘Huh?’
- 6 ?: [Yatteta kke.]
 do-*te iru*-PST Q
 ‘Did she do it?’
- 7 → B: *Matsuzaka*¹⁸ to taiketsu no toki sa, yatteta.
Matsuzaka with battle LK when FP do-*te iru*-PST
 ‘She did it at the time of battle with *Matsuzaka*.’
- 8 A: Yatteta kke?
 do-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘Did she do it?’
- 9 B: Un.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 10 → B: Shikaisha yatteta.
 presenter do-*te iru*-PST
 ‘She was the presenter.’

¹⁶ *Ayapan* is a nickname for a Japanese female TV personality,

¹⁷ *Sumasuma* is a name of a popular Japanese TV show.

¹⁸ *Matsuzaka* refers to Daisuke Matsuzaka, who is a well-known Major League baseball player.

- 11 C: Mitenai yo.¹⁹
 Watch-*te iru* NEG FP
 ‘I didn’t watch it.’

In the above segment of the conversation, the topic of the conversation has been about *Ayapan*, who is a well-known female TV personality in Japan. In line 4, B utters *yatteta* (the combination of *yaru* ‘to do’ and the past form of the *-te iru* construction) in order to refer to *Ayapan*’s appearance as a presenter on TV, and since the conversationalists are talking about a specific episode of a TV program, it can be contextually inferred that her act of doing the job of a presenter was a one-time event. In regards to the usage of the *-te iru* construction, since B’s utterance in line 4 is about what she observed on TV, it is likely that the case of the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker of observation. In addition, B utters *yatteta* again in line 7 with additional information about the TV episode in which *Ayapan* worked as a presenter, and B also repeats *yatteta* in line 10 in reference to the same event. Considering the contextual information in (47) and B’s role as an observer, the cases of *yatteta* in lines 4, 7, and 10 all appear to be functioning as a marker of speaker observation.

The usages of the *-te iru* construction in (46), and (47) contrast with the non-usage of the *-te iru* construction when a speaker talks about an action performed by himself/herself, and example (48) includes such examples. (48) is from a conversational recording from Talkbank,

¹⁹ Japanese transcription of (47).

- 1 B: 大半がアヤパンだけど。アヤパンめっちゃ出てる。
- 2 D: 忙しいね。朝早いのにさあ。
- 3 B: だってなんか、夜のくだらない番組とかさ、え、司会者、みたいな。
- 4 B: スマスマもさ、司会者やってたしさ。
- 5 ? : [え]
- 6 ? : [やってたっけ]
- 7 B : 松坂と対決の時さ、やってた。
- 8 A : やってたっけ？
- 9 B : うん。
- 10 B : 司会者やってた。
- 11 C : 見てないよ。

and the four participants, A, B, C, and D, talk about hamsters in the recording. According to the conversational information before the beginning of this excerpt, A and C have owned hamsters as pets but both of their hamsters are already dead.

(48)

- 1 C: Tabun ni nen gurai ikita kana.
 probably two years about live-PST FP
 ‘Probably it lived for about two years.’

- 2 D: Himawari no tane to mizu ageta no hitasura?
 sunflower LK seeds and water give-PST NOM always
 ‘Did you always gave him/her sunflower seeds and water?’

- 3 C: Un.
 yes
 ‘Yes’

- 4 D: Kara, karakarakarakara²⁰ tte yatsu yatta no?
 kara karakarakarakara QT thing do-PST FP
 ‘Did it do the rotating thing?’

- 5 A: A, shittoru ne are.
 oh know-*te iru* FP that
 ‘Oh, you know it.’

- 6 D: Daietto daietto.
 diet diet
 ‘Dieting, dieting.’

- 7 B: Shindara doko ni suteru no?
 die when where to throw away FP
 ‘Where do you throw it away when it dies?’

- 8 B: Gomibako suteru no?
 trash can throw away FP
 ‘Do you put it in the trash can?’

- 9 → C: (laugh)[ume, chanto, chanto umeta.
 bur- property properly bury-PST
 ‘I properly buried it.’

²⁰ *karakara* is an onomatopoeic expression for rotating movements.

- 10 D: [Saitee da na.
worst CP FP
'You are the worst.'
- 11 →A: Ore umeta umeta.
I bury-PST bury-PST
'I buried it.'
- 12 →C: Kooen ni ume ni itta.
park to bury to go-PST
'I went to a park to bury it.'
- 13 D: Namae hamu chan yaro?
hame hamu-chan CP
'The name was Hamu-chan, right?'
- 14 C: Sore wa ien.²¹
that TP cannot say
'I can't say that.'

In lines 7 and 8 of this excerpt, B asks questions about what hamster owners do after their hamsters have died. In response to B's question, C utters *chanto*, *chanto umeta* 'properly, properly buried' in line 9, which ends with the plain past form of the verb *umeru* 'to bury.' The action that is referred to by the verb *umeru* 'to bury' in line 9 was obviously performed by C, and the verb is not suffixed with the *-te iru* construction for this particular case. Similarly, A answers the same question by uttering *ore umeta umeta* 'I buried, buried' in reference to what he did in

²¹ Japanese transcription of (48).

- 1 C: たぶん二年ぐらい生きたかな。
2 D: ひまわりの種と水あげたのひたすら？
3 C: うん。
4 D: から、からからからからってやつやったの？
5 A: あ、知っとるね、それ。
6 D: ダイエット、ダイエット。
7 B: 死んだらどこに捨てるの？
8 B: ゴミ箱に捨てるの？
9 C: (笑い) [埋め、ちゃんとちゃんと埋めた。
10 D: [最低だな。
11 A: 俺、埋めた埋めた。
12 C: 公園に埋めに行った。
13 D: 名前ハムちゃんやろ？
14 C: それは言えん。

line 11, which is also the form without the *-te iru* construction. Furthermore, in line 12, C utters *kooen ni ume ni itta* ‘I went to a park to bury it,’ and this utterance also ends with the plain past form without the *-te iru* construction.

The utterances in lines 9, 11, and 12 in (48) can be used for demonstrating the unacceptability of using the *-te iru* construction for speakers’ own actions that do not involve aspectual properties that are typically marked with the *-te iru* construction. For example, if the utterance in line 9 was suffixed with the *-te iru* construction and ended with *umeteta* (contracted version of the combination of *umeru* ‘to bury’ and the past form of the *-te iru* construction), the sentence would sound odd as a sentence for describing the speaker’s own action. However, if the doer of the action was a third-person for the speaker such as the speaker’s younger brother, using *umeteta* in the utterance as *chanto, chanto ootoo ga umeteta* ‘my younger brother properly, property buried it’ would be acceptable.

In addition, a similar argument can be made for A’s utterance in line 11. As clearly indicated by the use of the first-person pronoun *ore* ‘I,’ the speaker explicitly expresses that the doer of the burying action was himself in line 11. For this utterance, if *umeteta* was used as in *ore umeteta umeteta*, the utterance would sound odd in this context. However, for example, if the doer was A’s younger brother, using *umeteta* as in *otooto ga umeteta umeteta* ‘my younger brother buried it, buried it’ would be completely acceptable. Also, for the utterance in line 12, using *ume ni itteta* (*ume ni iku* ‘go to a place to bury something’ + the past and contracted form of the *-te iru* construction) would be unacceptable when the doer of the action is the speaker, but if the doer was the younger brother of the speaker, using *umeni itteta* would not give an odd impression to its hearer.

The examination of the hypothetical cases of using the *-te iru* construction for the utterances in lines 9, 11, and 12 have demonstrated that the speaker cannot use the *-te iru* construction in the description of an action performed by himself/herself when repetition, continuation, or resulative state is not involved in the described action. As for the factor that differentiates the restriction of using the *-te iru* construction for first and third-person events, it can be argued that because of the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction, it is strange for the speaker to mark his/her own action as an event he/she she observed through his/her five senses.

Needless to say, it should also be noted that when an aspectual property that is typically marked by the *-te iru* construction is involved in first-person actions, the *-te iru* construction can be used as a marker of aspect. Example (49) is from a conversational recording, in which four college students discuss their internship experiences at an eye clinic.

(49)

- 1 A: Ore Chuukyoo ganka ittara zetttai kirawareru to omotta.
 I *Chuukyoo* eye clinic if go surely be hated QT think-PST
 ‘I thought I would be hated if I go to Chuukyoo Eye Clinic.’

- 2 C: Nande?
 why
 ‘Why?’

- 3 A: Dare mo hanashikakete kuren mon de.
 no one talk to me NEG NOM CP
 ‘Because no one talked to me.’

- 4 C: Usso daa, e.
 lie CP eh
 ‘Eh, you are lying.’

- 5 B: Jibun kara ike yo.
 yourself from go FP
 ‘You should approach by yourself.’

- 6 A: Nande, jibun kara ikan deshoo.
why yourself from go NEG CP
'Why? You don't approach by yourself.'
- 7 C: Datte Chuukyoo byooiin ni iku hi ni, minna de soto de taben to ikan jan.
because Chuukyoo hospital to go day on everyone with outside at must eat FP
'Because we have to go out for lunch with everyone on the days we go to the Chuukyoo hospital.'
- 8 A: Un, uun.
yes yes
'Yes, yes.'
- 9 C: Choodo Furuta san to deru no ga issho ni natte.
coincidentally Furuta Ms. with get out NOM SB same become
'I happened to leave the same time as Ms. Furuta did.'
- 10 A: Un.
hm
'Hm.'
- 11 C: Iku ka mitaina.
go FP like
'It was like let's go.'
- 12 →A: Hee ore itsumo Kikuchi san to makku ittotta yo.
hm I always Kikuchi Ms. with McDonald's go-te iru-PST FP
'Really. I always went to McDonald's with Ms. Kikuchi.'
- 13 →C: Soo makku san nin de itta.
hm McDonald's three people in went
'Hm, I went to McDonald's in a group of three.'
- 14 A: Ii naa. Ore mo Maruta san to makku ikitakatta yo
good FP I too Maruta Ms. with McDonald's wanted to go FP
'I'm jealous. I wanted to go to McDonald's with Ms. Maruta, too.'
- 15 C: Hontoo ni kawaii yone.
really pretty FP.
'She's really pretty, isn't she?'

- 16 A: Ano hito nan sai?²²
 that person how old
 ‘How old is she?’

In line 12 of this excerpt, A utters *ittotta* (one type of colloquial version of *iku* ‘to go’ + past form of the *-te iru* construction) in reference to his own action of going to McDonald’s. The usage of *istumo* ‘always’ in line 12 indicates that A’s action was repetitive, and it can be inferred that what the *-te iru* construction in line 12 marks is the aspectual property of repetition. As line 12 demonstrates, when a first-person action involves aspectual property that can be marked with the *-te iru* construction, using the construction for the action does not give an odd impression unlike what we observed in the previous example. Interestingly, in line 13, C utters *itta*, which is in the simple past form of the verb *iku* ‘to go’ in reference to her own action. From the contextual information and the usage of the simple past tense, listeners would feel that C’s act of going to McDonald’s was a one-time event that happened in the past since C explicitly indicates that the reason why he ended up having lunch with Furuta was coincidental. The contrast between lines 12 and 13 shows that when speaker observation is not involved, the *-te iru* construction is interpreted as a marker of aspectual properties.

²² Japanese transcription of (49).

- 1 A: 俺中京眼科行ったら絶対嫌われると思った。
- 2 C: なんで？
- 3 A: 誰も話しかけてくれんもんで。
- 4 C: うっそだあ、え。
- 5 B: 自分から行けよ。
- 6 A: なんで、自分から行かんでしょう。
- 7 C: だって、中京病院にいく日に、みんな外で食べんといかんじゃん。
- 8 A: うん、ううん。
- 9 C: ちょうど古田さんと出るのが一緒になって
- 10 C: うん。
- 11 C: 行くか、みたいな。
- 12 A: へえ、俺いつも菊池さんとマック行っとったよ。
- 13 C: そう、マック三人で行った。
- 14 A: いいなあ、俺も丸田さんとマック行きたかった。
- 15 C: 本当にかわいいよね。
- 16 A: あの人何歳？

In this section, several spoken excerpts from naturally occurring conversations were qualitatively examined to explore the existence of the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction. The utterances that include the *-te iru* construction for observed events in examples (46) and (47) have shown that the *-te iru* construction can be used as an evidential marker of observation when an event was observed by the speaker, and this is consistent with the claims made by other scholars in previous studies. In addition, the analysis has shown that using the *-te iru* construction for one-time, first-person events gives an odd impression, and it may be caused by the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction because one cannot be an observer of one's own actions. Also, for first-person actions, the *-te iru* construction is considered to be functioning as a pure marker of aspect. In the next section, the *-te iru* construction's non-aspectual functions in the written form of Japanese will be examined.

4.1.2. *-te iru* in Written Discourse

In addition to the cases of the *-te iru* construction in naturally occurring conversations, written data was qualitatively examined in order to investigate the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function in the written form of Japanese. Example (50) is from a portion of an online discussion board called *Yahoo! Chiebukuro*, on which people ask and answer questions about various issues in their daily lives. The following excerpt is one poster's response to a question about effective ways to clean up the pores on the wings of the nose.

(50)

- 1 Kurenjingu oiru.
cleansing oil
'Cleansing oil'

- 2 Kore wa zettai dame desu.
this TP absolutely bad CP

‘This is absolutely bad.’

- 3→Keshoo wa tomokaku, anna mon de keana no yogore wa tore nai to, kinjo no
makeup TP anyhow that thing by pores LK dirt TP remove NEG QT neighbor LK

hyooban no ii hifuka no sensee ga itte imashita.
reputation LK good dermatologist LK doctor SB say-te iru-PST

‘It may work for removing makeup, but a reputable dermatologist in my neighborhood said that there is no way that it removes dirt in pores.’

- 4 Hada ga yowai hito ni wa nao warui.
skin SB weak people for TP more bad

‘It’s even worse for people with weak skin.’

- 5 Mushi taoru mo, kekkyoku keana o kojiakeru koto ni naru no de yameta ga ii desu.
steamed towel also after all pores O open NOM become NOM CP refrain SB good CP

‘You should also refrain from using steamed towels because they open up your pores.’

- 6 Watashi mo kobana botosubotsu, kokeeka shita yushi no hatake ni natte imashita ga,
I also nose wings bumps solid grease LK farm to become-te iru-PST but

kurenjingu oiru to mushi taoru o yame, “sengan ji ni hyaku paasento shokubutsusee no
cleansing oil and steamed towel O stop face wash when 100 percent botanical LK

kokeesekken de teenee ni arau” nomi ni kirikaeta tokoro, mirumiru uchi ni naotte ikimashita.
soild soap with thoroughly wash only to change-PST when right away cure-PST

‘The wings of my nose were bumpy and like a farm of gunked up grease, but the problems went away right after quitting using cleansing oil and steamed towels, and switched my face washing method to thoroughly washing it with solid soap made from botanic materials’²³

In lines 1 and 2, the writer introduces cleansing oil as an item that people should avoid for

²³ Japanese transcription of (50).

1. クレンジングオイル。
2. これは絶対だめです。
3. 化粧はともかく、あんなもんで毛穴の汚れは取れないと、近所の評判のいい皮膚科の先生が言っていました。
4. 肌が弱い人は尚悪い。
5. 蒸しタオルも、結局毛穴をこじ開けることになるのでやめた方がいいです。
6. 私も小鼻ボツボツ、固形化した油脂の畑になっていました が、クレンジングオイルと蒸しタオル法をやめ、「洗顔時に100%植物性の固形石鹸で丁寧に洗う」のみに切り替えたところ、見る見るうちに治っていきました。

cleaning pores. After the introduction of the topic, in line 3, the writer quotes what a dermatologist said as a piece of supporting information for what the writer writes in lines 1 and 2. Also, when the writer quotes the dermatologist's utterance in line 3, *itte imashita*, which is the combination of the verb *iu* and the past form of the *-te iru* construction, is used by the writer. The contextual information for this excerpt indicates that the dermatologist is a third-person for the writer, and the writer observed the dermatologist making the quoted utterance. Therefore, the usage of the *-te iru* construction in this excerpt demonstrates that *-te iru*'s function as an evidential marker of observation is not limited to the spoken language, and the same function also exists in the written language.

The case of the *-te iru* construction for observed events in example (50) indicates that the use of *-te iru* as an observation marker is not limited to conversational interactions, but also existent in written texts in the Japanese language. What this indicates is that the evidential marking function in the *-te iru* construction is not necessarily differentiated in the two forms of the Japanese language.

Similar to what we observed in some spoken examples, the existence of the evidential marking function of the *-te iru* construction can be further confirmed by examining the hypothetical case where the *-te iru* construction is used for first person actions. Example (51) is a written excerpt from an internet blog, in which a blogger writes about what she cooked for dinner the previous night and how to make it.

(51)

- 1 Uchi de totte iru munooyaku yasai nado no takuhai no haisoo wa maishuu mokuyoobi.
home in order-*te iru* organic vegetables etc. LK delivery LK shipment TP every week Thursday

‘The delivery of organic vegetables for our household is on Thursday every week.’

- 2 Chuumonsho o teeshutsu suru no wa isshuukan mae no mokuyoobi na no desu
 order form O submit NOM TP one week before LK Thursday CP NOM CP

(nettto de mo dekiru)

Internet on also doable

‘I submit the order form on Thursday a week before the delivery day. (I can also do it on the Internet.)’

- 3 Senshuu chuumon shita toki wa madamada ichoo no chooshi ga waruku
 last week order-PST when TP still stomach LK condition SB bad

osakana ya niku o mite mo mattaku shokuyoku ga wakanakatta node otoofu rui ya
 fish and meet O look even completely apatite SB NEG because tofu group and

yasai bakkari tanonde shimai (sore mo monosugoku shooryoo), kesa kita mono
 vegetables only order what’s more very little amount this morning came things

o mite “niku ga nai!!!” to omowazu sakende shimaimashita. (jibun de chuumon shita noni)
 O look meet SB NEG QT suddenly scream-PST by myself order-PST though

‘I only ordered tofu and vegetables last week (the amount was also very few) because my stomach was still not feeling very well and I didn’t have any apatite even when I looked at meat and fish, and today, I suddenly screamed “no meat!!!” when I looked at the items that were delivered. (Even though I was the one who made the order.)’

- 4 Moo sukkari genki ni natta noni..... konna tokoro ni eekyoo ga aru nante...
 already completely fine became but like this thing to effect SB exist QT

‘I’m already completely fine.... but it still has some remaining effect.’

- 5 Sonna watashi ga tsukutta kinoo no bangohan.
 like that I SB make-PST yesterday LK dinner

‘The dinner made by me who was in a situation like this.’

- 6 Watashi wa burokkorii mo suki desu ga karifurawaa mo suki desu.
 I TP broccoli also like CP but cauliflower also like CP

‘I like broccoli, but I also like cauliflower.’

- 7⇒ Fuyuba ga shun to iu karifurawaa o tsukatte potaaju suupu o **tsukurimashita**.
 winter SB best season QT cauliflower O use potage soup O make-PST

‘I made potage soup with cauliflower, which is in season in the winter.’

- 8 (Chokotto hayaku kaereta node) tamanegi, jagaimo poronegi, karifurawaa o
a little early come home-PST because onions potatoes leeks cauliflower O

jikkuri itamete amami o hikidashite mikisaa ni kake gyuunyuu to nama kuriimu o
slowly sauté sweetness O derive mixer to use milk and fresh cream O

kuwaemasu.
add

‘(Because I was able to come home a little early) I slowly sautéed onions, potatoes, and leeks, and derived sweetness from them and put them into a blender and added milk and fresh cream.’

- 9 Ajitsuke wa shio kosho nomi.
flavoring TP salt pepper only

‘The flavoring was only salt and pepper.’

- 10 Sozai no umami de yasashii oaji ni shiagarimasu.
ingredients LK taste by soft taste to be made

‘The taste becomes good by the natural taste from the ingredients.’²⁴

After the explanation of her situation in lines 1 through 4, the blogger starts writing about what she cooked the previous day in line 5. In line 7, she ends her sentence with *tsukurimashita*, which is the plain past form of the verb *tsukuru* ‘to make.’ It can be contextually inferred that the doer of the verb *tsukuru* in line 7 is the writer, and this can be further confirmed by the explicit usage of *watashi* ‘I’ in line 5. Similar to what we observed in (48) in the conversational data, if the *-te*

²⁴ Japanese transcription of (51).

1. 家で取っている無農薬野菜などの宅配の配送は毎週木曜日。
2. 注文書を提出するのは1週間前の木曜日なのです（ネットでもできる）
3. 先週、注文した時はまだまだ胃腸の調子が悪くお肉や魚を見てもまったく食欲がわかenかったのでお豆腐類や野菜ばかり頼んでしまい（それもものすごく少量）今朝、来たものを見て「肉が無い！！！」と思わず叫んでしまいました（自分で注文したのに 笑）
4. もうすっかり元気になったのに...こんなところに影響があるなんて。。。
5. そんな私が作った昨日の晩ご飯。
6. 私はブロッコリーも好きですがカリフラワーも好きです。
7. 冬場が旬というカリフラワーを使ってポタージュスープを**作りました**。
8. （ちょこっと早く帰れたので）玉葱、ジャガイモ、ポロ葱、カリフラワーをじっくり炒めて甘みを引き出してミキサーにかけ牛乳と生クリームを加えます。
9. 味付けは塩コショウのみ。
10. 素材の旨味で優しいお味に仕上がります

iru construction was used in line 7 and the sentence ended with *tsukutte imashita*, most readers would feel the sentence sounds odd. On the other hand, if line 7 was about the writer's family member, such as her mother or sister, the acceptability of using *tsukutte imashita* in line 7 would be much higher. This phenomenon demonstrates that there is a property of the *-te iru* construction that separately exists from its aspectual marking function, and it is speculated that the oddity is caused by the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction because it is peculiar to present one's own action as something one observed through his or her five senses.

In summary, the examination of spoken and written data has shown that the *-te iru* construction can be used as an evidential marker of observation in both the spoken and written forms of the Japanese language. Also, the oddity of using the *-te iru* construction for first-person actions supports the existence of the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction because one's own action cannot be marked as an observed event.

4.2. Non-Occurrence of *-te iru* for Observed Events

The previous section has demonstrated that the *-te iru* construction is used as a marker of observation in both the spoken and written languages. However, many cases of observed events that are not marked with the *-te iru* construction were also found in the examined data. For instance, example (52) is a passage in which the writer recalls his experience of college entrance examinations, and a third person event observed by the writer is not marked with the *-te iru* construction. Example (52) is the same as example (45), which was briefly introduced in the earlier part of the present study.

(52)

- 1 Sangatsu itsuka gozenchuu ni K daigaku no juken wa shuuryoo shimashita.
March fifth a.m. at K University LK test TP finish-PST

‘The entrance exam for K University ended in the morning of March 5th.’

- 2 Sono hi wa yuki ga tsumotte imashita ga, kaeri gatera ni R daigaku ni tachiyori,
that day TP snow SB accumulate-*te iru*-PST but return while R University at stop by

gookaku keejiban o mite aratamete watashi no gookaku o kakunin shimashita.
pass bulletin board O look again me LK pass O confirm-PST

‘It was snowing on the day, but I stopped by R University on my way home, and I confirmed my acceptance to the University by looking at bulletin board for results of the entrance exam.’

- 3→ Sono ato S sensee ni oai shitakute gakuchoshitsu ni iku to, kakari no hito ga
that after S professor to meet want president’s office to go when receptionist SB

“Kyoo wa gojitaku ni imasu” to iimashita.
today TP home at be QT say-*te iru*-PST

‘After that, I went to the president’s office because I wanted to see Professor S, but the receptionist said that he is at his home right now.’

- 4 Soko de S sensee no juusho o shirabete watashi wa chokusetsu sensee no gojitaku o
then S professor LK address O search I TP directly professor LK home O

hoomon suru koto ni shimashita.
visit NOM QT decide-PST

‘Then, I looked up Professor S’s address, and I decided to visit his home.’

- 5 Shiden ni nori sensee no gojitaku ni iki, yobirin o narasu to chuunen no josee ga
train on ride professor LK home to go bell O ring when middle-aged LK lady SB

dete kimashita.
come out-PST

‘I took the train and went to his home, and rang the bell. Then, a middle-aged woman came out of the house.’²⁵

²⁵ Japanese version of (52).

1. 三月五日午前中に K 大学の受験は終了しました。
2. その日は雪が積もっていましたが、帰りがてらに R 大学に立ち寄り、合格掲示板を見て改めて私の合格を確認しました。
3. そのあと S 先生にお会いしたくて学長室に行くと、係の人が「今日は御自宅にいます」と言いました。
4. そこで S 先生の住所を調べて私は直接先生の御自宅を訪問することにしました。
5. 市電に乗り先生の御自宅に行き、呼び鈴を鳴らすと中年の女性が出てきました。

This excerpt is from a book called *Kokoro ni Nokoru Totteoki no Hanashi* ‘Good Stories that Stay in Your Heart.’ Since the book is a collection of personal episodes that were submitted by the readers of a magazine, it appears that the stories are based on the actual experiences of the writers. Also, even if the stories are fictional works by the writers, at least the stories are presented as their personal experiences.

In line 3 of the above excerpt, the writer quotes what the receptionist at the president’s office said by using *iimashita* ‘said.’ The contextual information for this example indicates that the receptionist is a third-person for the writer, and he observed the receptionist’s act of making the utterance. Considering the usages of the *-te iru* construction as a marker of observation in examples (46), (47), and (50), it is expected that the *-te iru* construction is also used with *iu* in (52). However, unlike the earlier examples, the receptionist’s act of making an utterance is not marked with the *-te iru* construction and the simple past tense is used for the description of the event. In addition, if *itte imashita* was used in line 3, most readers would feel that the sentence sounds unnatural as a sentence that is located in line 3 of this particular excerpt. Therefore, this non-usage of *-te iru* for an observed event by the writer is not consistent with the claims made by previous studies such as Yanagisawa (1994, 1995), Fujishiro (1996), and Shinzato (2003), and it cannot be explained by the theoretical frameworks provided by those studies.

Example (53) is another excerpt that includes several cases of observed events that are not marked with the *-te iru* construction. (53) is from a book about the author's trip to Europe, and in this segment of the book, he writes about what he experienced at an airport in Moscow. Since the book is a non-fictional essay that is based on the author's own personal experiences, it appears that the described events listed in example (53) are what the author actually observed in person.

(53)

- 1→Toranjitto kauntaa (noritsugi madoguchi) no josee ga “goji, toranjitto ofisu” to itta.
 transit counter transit counter LK woman SB 5 o'clock transit office QT say-PST

‘The woman at the transit counter said “Five o'clock, transit office.”

- 2 Watashi wa hajime nani o itte iru no ka wakarazu ni kikikaeshita.
 I TP at first what O say-*te iru* NOM Q understandable ask-PST

‘I didn't understand what she said at first, and I asked her again.’

- 3 Dooyara, gogo go ji ni toranjitto ofisu ni ike to iu koto datta rashii no da keredo
 it appears p.m. 5 o'clock at transit office to go QT NOM CP appears NOM CP but

masaka mosukuwa de nihongo o kiku to wa omowanai node moo sukoshi aisoo yoku
 by no means Moscow in Japanese O hear QT TP think NEG because more little cheerfully

itte kurereba “aa kore wa nihonjin e no shinsetsushin na n da naa” to wakaruru mono o
 say ah this TP Japanese to LK kindness CP NOM CP FP QT understand NOM O

to omoi nagara, tsuzukete, toranjitto ofisu wa doko ka to tazuneta.
 QT think while next transit office TP where FP QT asked

‘It appeared that she was telling me to go to the transit office at 5 p.m., but I wasn't expecting to hear Japanese in Moscow, so I thought I would have understood that she was being nice to a Japanese person if she was a little more cheerful to me. Having that thought in mind, I asked her where the transit office is.’

- 4→Kanojo wa hidari to ii nagara migi no hoo o yubisashita.
 she TP left QT say while right LK direction O point at-PST

‘She pointed her finger to the right while saying “hidari.” (*hidari*: ‘left’ in Japanese)’

5→“Raito? = migi” to kikikaesuto, mugon de unazuita.
 right right QT when ask silently nod-PST

‘I asked “right? = *migi*”, and she nodded silently. (*migi*: ‘right’ in Japanese.)’²⁶

In line 1, the verb *iu* is used for an action performed by the woman at the transit counter, and it was also observed by the writer. However, it is not accompanied with the *–te iru* construction and the simple past form *itta* is used even though the event was observed by the writer. Similarly, *yubisashita* ‘pointed at’ in line 4, and *unazu*ita ‘nodded’ in line 5 are both actions performed by the woman at the counter, and the simple past forms without the *–te iru* construction are used for the two observed actions. Therefore, the non-usage of the *–te iru* construction for observed events in lines 1, 4, and 5 indicates that there could be some additional factors that constrain the usage of the *–te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation.

The examination of several excerpts from the written data such as (52) and (53) has revealed that the *–te iru* construction is not always used when describing an event performed by a third person when the event was observed by the speaker or the writer. Also, the non-occurrence of *–te iru* in examples (52) and (53) is contrary to what we observed in our examples, in which the *–te iru* construction is used with the description of observed events. Furthermore, examples (46) and (47) are from naturally occurring conversations, and (50) is from a written text, but the *–te iru* construction is used as a marker of observation in all of these examples. Therefore, it appears that the usage of the *–te iru* construction as an evidential markers is not

²⁶ Japanese transcription of (53)

1. トランジットカウンター（乗り継ぎ窓口）の女性が、「ゴジ、トランジットオフィス」と言った。
2. 私は初め何を言っているのか分からずに聞き返した。
3. どうやら、午後五時にトランジットオフィスに行けということだったらしいのだけれど、まさかモスクワで日本語を聞くとは思わないので、もう少し愛想良く言ってくれば“あーこれは日本人への親切心なんだな”と分かるものかと思ひながら、続けて、トランジット オフィスはどこかと尋ねた。
4. 彼女は「ヒダリ」と言いながら右の方を指差した。
5. 「ライト? = 右」と聞き返すと、無言で頷いた。

necessarily differentiated in the written and spoken forms of the Japanese language.

Considering the non-occurrence of the *-te iru* construction for observed events in examples (52) and (53), it has become clear that the occurrence and non-occurrence of *-te iru* for observed events cannot be explained solely by the notion of speaker observation. As argued in previous studies, observed events are frequently marked with the *-te iru* construction, but not all instances of observation are marked with the *-te iru* construction, and using the *-te iru* construction for observed events give odd impressions in some cases.

In the next chapter, I will attempt to account for the occurrence and non-occurrence of the *-te iru* construction for observed events by the speaker or the writer. The explanatory framework involves the notion of two modes of discourse, and it will be argued that the occurrence and non-occurrence of observation marking *-te iru* is constrained by the ongoing mode of discourse that surrounds the description of the observed event.

Chapter 5

Mode of Discourse and *-te iru* as an Evidential Marker

In this chapter, the notion of two modes of discourse will be introduced in order to account for the occurrence and non-occurrence of the *-te iru* construction for observed events. The two modes are closely related to the relationship between the progression of the discourse, and the temporal order of the events listed in the discourse. After the introduction of the two modes of discourse, some selected examples from the previous chapter will be re-visited to demonstrate the relationship between the ongoing mode of discourse and the usage of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of speaker observation.

5.1. Two Modes of Discourse in Japanese

The previous chapter has demonstrated that even though the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker of observation in discourse, not all instances of observations are marked with the construction. This seemingly puzzling behavior of the *-te iru* construction cannot be explained solely by the notion of speaker observation because there are cases where *-te iru* is not used for observed events. However, if we pay close attention to the discourse sequence before and after the sentence that describes an observed third-person activity, it can be found that the usage of *-te iru* as a marker of observation is constrained by the ongoing mode of discourse around the sentence.

It has been claimed that different modes of discourse exist in Japanese, and the usages of linguistic items such as evidential markers are often influenced by the mode of the ongoing discourse. To my knowledge, Kuroda (1973) is the first study that explores the existence of two different modes of discourse in the Japanese language. Kuroda argues that there are two modes of storytellings in Japanese, and he names them “non-reportive,” and “reportive.” According to Kuroda’s explanation, a story is non-reportive when it is told by an “omniscient” narrator, who is an imaginary existence and has the supernatural ability to capture the internal feelings of the characters in the story. On the other hand, a story is reportive when the story is told by a narrator who may be omnipresent but not omniscient. A typical example of a reportive story is the case where the narrator is the first person “I.” Examples (54) and (55) are from Kuroda (1973).

(54) Yamadera no kane o kiite, Mary wa kanashikatta. (non-reportive)
 mountain temple LK bell O listen Mary TP be sad-PST
 ‘Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary was sad.’

(55) Yamadera no kane o kiite, Mary wa kanashigatta. (reportive)
 mountain temple LK bell O listen Mary TP be sad-PST
 ‘Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary was sad.’

(Kuroda, 1973, p. 384)

Kuroda explains that (54) must be narrated from the viewpoint of an omniscient narrator, and it cannot be narrated when the narrator is the first person “I” because the sentence is about the internal feelings of Mary, and “I” does not have direct access to it. On the other hand, (55) is a sentence that can be narrated from the perspective of the first person “I,” because it is the narrator’s personal report about how Mary appeared. Even though Kuroda’s argument is based on sentential-level judgements and does not explore the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker, it is very significant that Kuroda’s analysis first introduced the possibility that usages of

linguistic items such as evidential markers are influenced by the ongoing mode of discourse in the Japanese language.

In addition to Kuroda, Kinsui (1989) also proposes the existence of two modes of discourse in the Japanese language. Kinsui's proposal of the two modes of discourse consists of "narrative" and "report," which is somewhat similar but clearly different from Kuroda's notion of two modes of discourse.²⁷ Kinsui's argument is based on his observation of differentiated restrictions imposed on non-past and past-tense sentences. It is well-known that various restrictions on sentences with third-person subjects are canceled when they are put into the past-tense form in Japanese. For example, sentences such as (56) are typically considered unacceptable because the subject is a third-person individual and the predicate of the sentence includes an adjective of one's internal feelings. However, when the same sentence is changed into the past-tense form as in (57), the acceptability of the sentence becomes much higher.

(56) *Taro wa mizu ga hoshii.
 Taro TP water SB want
 'Taro wants water.'

(57) Taro wa mizu ga hoshikatta.
 Taro TP water SB want-PST
 'Taro wanted water.'

(Kinsui, 1989, p. 121)

In regards to the restrictions on third-person subject sentences as above, Kinsui introduces a very intriguing phenomenon. Kinsui points out that even though sentences such as (57) are generally considered acceptable, its acceptability drops significantly when the same sentence is uttered as a response to a question in colloquial speech. Observe example (58).

²⁷ Please note that Kinsui's notion of two modes of discourse is developed independently of Kuroda's notion, and Kinsui's two modes and Kuroda's two modes do not correspond with each other.

(58)

A: Taro wa sono toki doo datta?
 Taro TP that time how CP
 ‘How was Taro at that moment?’

B: *?Un, mizu ga hoshikatta.
 yes water SB want-PST
 ‘Yes, he wanted water.’

(Kinsui, 1989, p. 122)

Both (57) and B’s utterance in (58) contain *hoshikatta*, which is the past form of *hoshii* ‘to want.’

In (57), *hoshikatta* appears in a sentence that is free from any contextual information, and the sentence is acceptable. However, if *hoshikatta* was used about a third-person’s desire in colloquial speech as demonstrated by B’s utterance in (58), the utterance would sound odd.

Also, as demonstrated in the following example, when what B utters in response to A is about his/her own desire of drinking water, the acceptability of the sentence does not exhibit any problems.

(59)

A: Sono toki kimi wa donna datta?
 that time you TP how CP
 ‘How were you at that time?’

B: Un, mizu ga hoshikatta.
 yes water SB want-PST
 ‘Yes, I wanted water.’

(Kinsui, 1989, p. 122)

In order to explain the phenomena observed in examples (56) through (59), Kinsui argues that there are two modes of language use in Japanese: “report”²⁸ and “narrative.”²⁹ Kinsui defines “report” as the mode that is adopted by the speaker when he or she is engaged in everyday

²⁸ *hookoku* (報告) in the original text

²⁹ *katari* (語り) in the original text

conversation, and “narrative” as the mode for narrating a story.³⁰ According to Kinsui, the restrictions on third-person subject sentences are always imposed on the speaker in the “report” mode, but the restrictions are mostly or completely canceled in the “narrative” mode. Kinsui’s argument is based on the following premises on language use in the Japanese language.

- (a) It is impossible for the speaker to directly know other individuals’ internal feelings.
- (b) In the Japanese language, language use must be differentiated for what the speaker can directly know/determine, and for what the speaker cannot directly know/determine.

(Kinsui, 1989, p. 123)

Kinsui argues that rule (a) is a universal nature of human interactions in real-world situations, and rule (b) is only activated in the mode of “report.” In other words, in the mode of “narrative,” the speaker is not obligated to distinguish what he/she can directly know, and what he/she cannot directly know. Kinsui lists the usages of evidential markers such as *rashii* ‘it seems that’ and *yooda* ‘it looks like’ as the most common way to avoid the restrictions from rule (b) in the mode of “report.” For example, B’s utterance in (58) would be acceptable if the utterance was accompanied by an evidential marker, as we see in (60)

(60), modified from (58)

- A: Taro wa sono toki doo datta?
 Taro TP that time how CP
 ‘How was Taro at that time?’
- B: Un, mizu ga hosikatta rashii/yoo da.
 yes water SB want-PST seem
 ‘Yes, it seemed/looked like he wanted water.’

³⁰ Kinsui does not provide a detailed definition of “narrative.” A detailed definition of “narrative” for the present study will be provided later.

From examining the example sentences with Kinsui's rules, it seems that his rules can explain the differences in the sentences' acceptability very well. As for the acceptability of (57), Kinsui argues that speakers of Japanese feel (57) is acceptable since they tend to interpret (57) as a sentence in the "narrative" mode, in which rule (b) is not in effect. According to Kinsui, this is because narratives in Japanese are mostly constructed with past tense sentences, and readers tend to feel (57) is part of a narrative story. In contrast, speakers of Japanese tend to feel B's utterance in (58) is not acceptable, since B in (58) is uttered in the mode of "report," in which the restrictions from rule (b) are in effect to the conversationalists' utterances. In addition, the unacceptability of (56) can also be explained by Kinsui's proposal. As mentioned earlier, sentences in the mode of narrative usually end in the past tense, but (56) ends with the non-past morpheme *hoshii*, and readers tend to feel (56) is not a sentence that belongs to a narrative story. The differences between (58), (59), and (60) are also consistent with Kinsui's rule (b), because rule (b) states that language use must be differentiated depending on whether or not the speaker has direct access to the stated information.

Kinsui does not discuss the relationship between the *-te iru* construction and his notion of two modes of discourse. However, a similar phenomenon can be observed when third-person subject sentences are marked with the *-te iru* construction. It is widely recognized that verbs for describing one's internal feelings such as *iraira suru* 'to be irritated' and *komaru* 'to be in trouble' cannot be used in third-person subject sentences when the sentences are in the non-past tense (Teramura, 1982; Kudo, 1995; Hatakeyama, 2012; etc.). The comparison between (61) and (62) exhibits such restrictions on third-person subject sentences.

- (61) Aa, ore, iraira suru.
 ah I be irritated
 ‘Ah, I’m irritated.’
- (62) *Aa, Tanaka kun ga iraira suru.
 ah Tanaka Mr. SB be irritated
 ‘Ah, Mr. Tanaka is irritated.’

(Slightly modified from Hatakeyama, 2012, p. 64)

However, when third-person subject sentences with verbs of internal feelings are used in the past tense, readers tend to feel that the sentences are acceptable as we see in (63).

- (63) Taroo wa iraira shita.
 Taro TP be irritated-PST
 ‘Taro became irritated.’

Also, similar to the cases of adjectives of internal feelings, when *iraira shita* is used for a third-person’s internal feelings as a response to a question in a conversational setting, the utterance would sound odd as B’s utterance in (64).

- (64)
- A: Taroo wa sono toki doo datta?
 Taro TP that time how CP
 ‘How was Taro at that time?’
- B: *Un, iraira shita.
 yes be irritated-PST
 ‘Yes, he became irritated.’

In (60), we observed that adjectives of internal feelings can be used for third-person subject sentences when the sentence is suffixed with an evidential marker such as *rashii* and *yoo da*. For *iraira suru*, when the verb is accompanied with the *-te iru* construction, it can be used in a responsive utterance after a question. Observe B’s utterance in (65).

(65)

A: Taroo wa sono toki doo datta?
 Taro TP that time how CP
 ‘How was Taro at that time?’

B: Un, iraira shiteta.³¹
 yes be irritated-*te iru*-PST
 ‘Yes, he was irritated.’

This acceptability of B in (65) can be explained if we recognize the *-te iru* construction as a type of evidential marking device that marks speaker observation. Similar to the usage of typical evidential markers such as *rashii* and *yooda*, example (65) demonstrates that using the *-te iru* construction enables the speaker to use the expression of internal feelings for third-person individuals under what Kinsui calls the mode of “report.” Also, what is indicated by the acceptability of B’s utterance in (65) is that the *-te iru* construction shares a property as an evidential marker with other well-known evidential markers such as *yooda* and *rashii*.

Kinsui’s notion of two modes of discourse is very insightful and may be applicable for analyzing the varying usages of many evidential markers including the *-te iru* construction. Also, since the usages of evidential markers are not necessarily limited to the expressions of internal feelings, there could be many cases in which evidential markers are differently used for qualifying various types of propositional contents in accordance with the two modes of discourse. Therefore, if the *-te iru* construction truly has the property as an evidential marker of observation, the two modes of discourse that Kinsui proposes may contribute to the formulation of an analytical framework for examining the usages of the *-te iru* construction in discourse.

5.2. Modes of Narrative and Non-Narrative

The previous section explored the notion of two modes of discourse proposed by Kinsui.

³¹ *shiteta* = casual version of *shite ita*

However, even though it appears that Kinsui's proposal has a strong potential to serve as an explanatory framework for examining the usages of evidential markers in Japanese, it is not completely free from problems, especially when it is used as an analytical tool for examining an actual discourse in use. For example, while mostly agreeing with Kinsui's argument on the two modes of discourse in Japanese, Kanro (2004, 2005) criticizes Kinsui for not providing clear definitions of "narrative" and "report." Kanro explores the possibility of utilizing the sentence-final particle *yo* for determining whether a given sentence is in the mode of narrative or report, but she encounters numerous problems in her attempt. Kanro's attempt is based on the hypothesis that when *yo* can be added to a given sentence, the sentence is considered to be in the mode of report, and otherwise the sentence is in the mode of narrative. However, as Kanro herself admits in her articles, there are many cases where her approach cannot successfully determine the mode of a given sentence. Examples (66) and (67) are from Kanro (2005).

- (66) Taroo wa kaimono ni itta.
 Taro TP shopping to go-PST
 'Taro went shopping.'
- (67) Taroo wa kaimono ni itta yo.
 Taro TP shopping to go-PST FP
 'Taro went shopping.'

(Kanro, 2005, p. 106)

When *yo* is added to (66) to determine the mode of the sentence, the sentence with *yo* is acceptable as shown in (67). Since *yo* can be added to (66) and does not exhibit any problems, (66) is determined to be in the mode of report based on Kanro's initial hypothesis. However, it is very evident that (66) does not sound strange as a sentence in a narrative text such as the main body of a novel. What this indicates is that even when *yo* can be added to a given sentence, the sentence may still belong to the mode of narrative. Therefore, adding *yo* to a sentence cannot be a sufficient testing method for determining the discourse mode of a sentence, and Kanro

concludes that “it is impossible to determine whether a given sentence is in the mode of ‘narrative’ or ‘report’ with confidence in all situations” (Kanro, 2005, p. 109).³²

When we include the notion of narrative in the study of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker, the definition of narrative becomes the central part of the analytical framework. However, the definition of “narrative” has been a long debated topic in the field of narratology and linguistic studies, and numerous definitions have been proposed by various scholars. For example, Rudrum (2005) lists some of the most influential definitions of narrative as follows.

"[O]ne will define narrative without difficulty as the representation of an event or sequence of events."

(Genette, 1982, p. 127)

"A narration is the symbolic presentation of a sequence of events."

(Scholes, 1981, p. 205)

"Narrative has been . . . defined as the representation of at least one event."

(Prince, 1999, p. 43)

"Narrative . . . may be defined as the representation of real or fictive events and situations in a time sequence."

(Prince, 1982, p. 1)

"[N]arrative is the representation of at least two real or fictive events in a time sequence, neither of which presupposes or entails the other."

(Prince, 1982, p. 4)

"Any representation of non-contradictory events such that at least one occurs at a time t and another at a time t_1 following time t constitutes a narrative (however trivial)."

(Prince, 1982, p. 145)

"What we get in a narrative text are not events as such, but signs, the representations of events."

(Onega and Landa, 1996, p. 5)

³² Kanro notes that when a sentence in discourse is already accompanied by *yo* before the test, the sentence can be determined to be in the mode of report. For more details, see Kanro (2005).

"[N]arrative is a semiotic representation of a series of events."

(Onega and Landa, 1996, p. 6)

"A *story* is a fabula that is presented in a certain manner. A *fabula* is a series of logically and chronologically related events"

(Bal, 1985, p. 5)

After reviewing the above list of similar but varying definitions of narrative, Rudrum (2005) summarizes that what constitutes narrative is the "representation of a series or sequence of events" (p. 196). While it may not be immensely difficult to broadly agree on the definition of narrative, one remaining task is establishing a criteria for determining whether a given passage is in the mode of narrative or not.

For determining the mode of discourse for a given passage, Smith's (2005) notion of local mode of discourse seems to be relevant and might be applicable for actual discourse in use. Along with introducing the notion of local modes of discourse, Smith (2005) states that "texts of almost all genre categories are not monolithic, but rather have passages of different modes. This may be the reason that genre-based searches for linguistic regularities have not been particularly successful" (p. 3). As Smith states, for example, a certain passage from a novel can include a portion in which the author states his or her personal opinions, and also another portion where the author provides a narrative about a character's past experiences. The same can be said for discourse from other genres, such as interpersonal conversations, public speech, personal essays, and internet blogs. Smith also claims that genre categories, such as novels and newspapers, are the "wrong level for close linguistic study of discourse" (p. 1). The present study follows Smith's argument, and the local mode of discourse is used for determining whether or not a given passage is in the mode of narrative. The following is what Smith provides as the definition of narrative, and this is also adopted for the present study.

“Narrative presents a sequence of consequentially related events and states, and the order in which they occur is crucial for understanding. The essence of a narrative is dynamism: narratives consist of events that occur in one after the other in time. Sequential interpretations are due to linguistic forms which convey that the initial endpoint of one situation follows the final endpoint of another. Narrative time advances with perfective event sentences, and with explicit temporal adverbials, and fails to advance otherwise.”

(Smith, 2005, p. 11)

This definition of narrative is also analogous to Labov’s (1972) description of oral narratives, which is “if narrative clauses are reversed, the inferred temporal sequence of the original interpretation is altered: *I punched this boy / and he punched me* instead of *This boy punched me / and I punched him.*” (p. 360). The next passage is what Smith provides as an example of a typical discourse sequence in the mode of narrative.

A few days later I called on Dr. P and his wife at home, with the score of the *Dichterliebe* in my briefcase and a variety of odd objects for the testing of perception. Mrs. P showed me into a lofty apartment, which recalled fin-de-siècle Berlin. A magnificent old Bösendorfer stood in state in the centre of the room, and all around it were music stands, instruments, scores. Dr. P came in, a little bowed, and advanced with outstretched hand to the grandfather clock, but, hearing my voice, corrected himself, and shook hands with me. We exchanged greetings and chatted a little of current concerts and performances. Diffidently, I asked him if he would sing.

(Smith 2005, p.12)

This passage matches up well with Smith’s definition of the mode of narrative. In the passage, the described events are presented in the order they occur, and the order is crucial for understanding what is going on in the passage. Also, the narrative time advances as the passage advances, because the events are presented one after the other in the original order they happened.

Another remaining issue is the treatment of the type of discourse that does not belong to the mode of narrative. As represented by Georgakopoulou and Goutsos' (2000) statement, which is "agreement is lacking as to what—if anything—narrative stands in contrast" (p. 65), what is not narrative is a relatively unexplored notion in the fields of narratology or linguistic studies. However, one common characteristic in the discourse modes that is not narrative is the lack of temporal advancement with the advancement of the text or discourse. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2000) argue that "non-narrative texts do not have an internal time sequence, even though, obviously, they take time to read or listen to. Their underlying structures are static or atemporal, whether synchronic or diachronic" (p. 71). For the purpose of the present study, which is the investigation of the non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction, the mode that is not narrative is simply named mode of "non-narrative." Needless to say, a more precise definition of what is not narrative may be necessary depending on the purpose of the study, but in order to avoid unnecessary complexity in the analytical framework for the present study, the number of mode of discourse that is not narrative is kept as one, and the binary distinction of narrative and non-narrative is kept in the analytical framework in regards to the mode of discourse. In other words, any mode of discourse that does not fit the definition of narrative will be simply categorized as "non-narrative" in the present study. In the next section, the relationship between the mode of discourse, and the usages of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation will be examined.

5.3. Re-Examination of Data

As demonstrated by the earlier examination of examples such as (52) and (53) in the previous chapter, the notion of “observation” cannot solely explain the occurrence and non-occurrence of the *-te iru* construction for third-person activities that were observed by the speaker or writer. It is currently hypothesized that the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker of observation only in the mode of non-narrative, while the *-te iru* construction does not have the same function in the mode of narrative.

The next excerpt is a repost of example (46), which was previously examined in Chapter 4.

(46)

- 1 A: Ato wa nagarete kuru nan ka anko no mochi, are o naraberu,
rest TP come well bean paste LK rice cake that O line up
‘What’s left is lining the rice cakes with bean paste.’
- 2 hitasura san jikan kake zuu tto.
continuously three hours take non-stop
‘Continuously, it’s for three hours without a break.’
- 3 B: Huhuhu.
huhuhu
‘Huhuhu.’
- 4 A: Kekkoo shindoi yo ne.
quite tiring FP FP
‘It’s quite tiring.’
- 5 B: Hee.
hm
‘Hm.’
- 6 C: Chuugakkoo no toki no shakai no sensee ga
junior high LK time LK social science LK teacher SB
‘The teacher in my middle school’
- 7 hitasura nagarete kuru shooto keeki ni ichigo o noseru
continuously come shortcakes on strawberries O put
‘put strawberries on short cakes continuously’

- 8 → baito shiteta n da tte itteta yo
 part-time job did NOM CP QT say-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘said he had a part-time job’
- 9 C: Koo.
 this
 ‘This way.’
- 10 A: Un.
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’
- 11 B: Tanoshi soo sore.
 fun sound that
 ‘That sounds fun.’
- 12 C: Ichigo o koo noseru.
 strawberries O this put
 ‘Put strawberries like this.’
- 13 A: Tanoshiku nee.
 fun NEG
 ‘That’s not fun.’
- 14 A: Tanoshiku nai yo ne, soo iu no tte.
 fun NEG FP FP that NOM QT
 ‘Things like that aren’t fun.’

This excerpt is from a naturally occurring conversation, and the *-te iru* construction is used by a speaker for quoting a third-person utterance in line 8. As discussed earlier, it appears that the use of the *-te iru* construction is primarily non-aspectual, and it is used as an evidential marker of speaker observation. If we pay close attention to the discourse sequence before and after the utterance that includes the *-te iru* construction, it is evident that it does not display the property as a discourse in the mode of narrative. The primary property of the mode of narrative is the listing of events in the temporal order, and this excerpt does not display such a sequence. This can be confirmed by carefully examining the conversational sequence in (46). In line 1, A makes an utterance about his experience at his part-time job, and lines 2 through 5 are A’s additional

comments and other participants' reactions to the utterance in line 1. In the utterance that extends from line 6 to line 8, C uses *-te iru* when he refers to what he observed, and this event has no temporal continuation from what A uttered in line 1. Also, the utterances in lines 9 through 12 are additional information about the utterance in lines 6 to 8, and the utterances in lines 13 and 14 are reactions to the preceding utterances. Thus, the discourse sequence of example (46) is not in the mode of narrative because it not listing events in the temporal order, and the speaker uses the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation.

Example (47) is another excerpt from a naturally occurring conversation, and the *-te iru* construction is used for an observed event as we discussed in the previous chapter. Similar to what we observed in example (46), the discourse sequence in example (47) shows that it is in the mode of non-narrative.

(47)

- 1 B: Taihan ga *Ayapan* da kedo. *Ayapan* meccha deteru.
 most SB *Ayapan* CP but *Ayapan* often appear-*te iru*
 'It's mostly *Ayapan*. She appears (on TV) very often.'

- 2 D: Isogashii ne. Asa hayai noni saa.
 busy FP morning early but FP
 'She is busy, even though it's early in the morning.'

- 3 B: Datte nanka, yoru no kudaranai bangumi toka sa, e, shikaisha, mitaina.
 because well night LK stupid program etc. FP oh presenter like
 'It's like oh she is the presenter!, when I watch stupid night TV programs.'

- 4 → B: *Sumasuma* mo sa, shikaisha yatteta shi sa.
 Sumasuma also FP presenter do-*te iru*-PST FP FP
 'She was also working as the presenter in *Sumasuma*.'

- 5 ?: [e]
 e
 'Huh?'

- 6 ?: [Yatteta kke.]
 do-*te iru*-PST Q
 ‘Did she do it?’
- 7 → B: *Matsuzaka* to taiketsu no toki sa, yatteta.
 Matsuzaka with battle LK when FP do-*te iru*-PST
 ‘She did it at the time of battle with *Matsuzaka*.’
- 8 A: Yatteta kke?
 do-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘Did she do it?’
- 9 B: Un.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 10→ B: Shikaisha yatteta.
 presenter do-*te iru*-PST.
 ‘She was the presenter.’
- 11 C: Mitenai yo.
 watch-*te iru* NEG FP
 ‘I didn’t watch it.’

This excerpt starts with a discussion about the busy schedule of *Ayapan*, who is a TV personality, and in line 4, B uses the *-te iru* construction with the verb *yaru* ‘to do’ for describing an observed event. Since B’s utterances are about a specific episode of a TV program, it can be inferred that the observed event was a one-time event that did not strongly involve aspectual properties that are typically marked with the *-te iru* construction, therefore the construction in line 4 appears to be functioning as an evidential marker of observation. In addition, B repeatedly uses the *-te iru* construction in lines 7 and 10, and the utterances in those lines both refer to the same event as the one mentioned in line 4. As we can see in the lack of temporal advancement in what is being discussed in (47), there is no temporal advancement along with the progress of the discourse, and it can be determined that the mode of discourse in (47) is non-narrative.

In sum, the conversational sequences in examples (46) and (47) both exhibit their mode of discourse is non-narrative, and the events that were observed by the speakers are marked with the *-te iru* construction because it functions as an evidential marker of observation. This finding is consistent with the hypothetical claim that was made earlier: observation marking *-te iru* is only used in the discourse mode of non-narrative.

Examples (50), (52), and (53) are all from written texts, but they display different characteristics in regards to the ongoing mode of discourse. First, we will re-examine example (50), in which the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker of observation for a third-person event.

(50)

1 Kurenjingu oiru.
cleansing oil

‘Cleansing oil.’

2 Kore wa zettai dame desu.
this TP absolutely bad CP

‘This is absolutely bad.’

3→Keshoo wa tomokaku, anna mon de keana no yogore wa tore nai to, kinjo no
makeup TP anyhow that thing by pores LK dirt TP remove NEG QT neighbor LK

hyooban no ii hifuka no sensee ga itte imashita.
reputation LK good dermatologist LK doctor SB say-*te iru*-PST

‘It may work for removing makeup, but a reputable dermatologist in my neighborhood said that there is no way that it removes dirt in pores.’

- 4 Hada ga yowai hito ni wa nao warui.
skin SB weak people for TP more bad

‘It’s even worse for people with weak skin.’

- 5 Mushi taoru mo, kekkyoku keana o kojiakeru koto ni naru no de yameta ga ii desu.
steamed towel also after all pores O open NOM become NOM CP refrain SB good CP

‘You should also refrain from using steamed towels because they open up your pores.’

- 6 Watashi mo kobana botsubotsu, kokeeka shita yushi no hatake ni natte imashita ga,
I also nose wings bumps solid grease LK farm to become-*te iru*-PST but

kurenjingu oiru to mushi taoru o yame, “sengan ji ni hyaku paasento shokubutsusee no
cleansing oil and steamed towel O stop face wash when 100 percent botanical LK

kokeesekken de teenee ni arau” nomi ni kirikaeta tokoro, mirumiru uchi ni naotte ikimashita.
soild soap with thoroughly wash only to change-PST when right away cure-PST

‘The wings of my nose were bumpy and like a farm of gunked up grease, but the problems went away right after quitting using cleansing oil and steamed towels, and switched my face washing method to thoroughly washing it with solid soap made from botanic materials.’

From examining the above discourse sequence, it is quite evident that example (50) is in the mode of non-narrative. Lines 1 and 2 are simply about the writer’s opinion on cleansing oil, and line 3 includes a sentence in which the writer refers to a third-person action using the *-te iru* construction. As shown by the lack of temporal advancement in lines 1 through 3, the discourse sequence from line 1 to line 3 is in the mode of non-narrative. In addition, the sentences in lines 4 and 5 are also about the writer’s personal opinions on cleansing oil and steamed towels, which indicates that there is no listing of events in the temporal order. It may be argued that line 6 displays a characteristic of a very short narrative because quitting the use of cleansing oil and steamed towels, and changing the method of face wash, are in the temporal order. However, the events listed in line 6 are not in the temporal order in relation to the content of the sentences in lines 1 through 5. Therefore, it can be said that the mode of discourse around line 3 is still in the mode of non-narrative, and the *-te iru* construction is used for the observed event by the writer.

This pattern is again consistent with our hypothesis that the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation is only used in the mode of non-narrative.

The next excerpt is one in which a description of an observed event is done without the *-te iru* construction. Unlike what we observed in (50), the *-te iru* construction does not co-occur with the verb for a third-person action even though the action was observed by the writer.

(52)

- 1 Sangatsu itsuka gozenchuu ni K daigaku no juken wa shuuryoo shimashita.
March fifth a.m. at K University LK test TP finish-PST

‘The entrance exam for K University ended in the morning of March 5th.’

- 2 Sono hi wa yuki ga tsumotte imashita ga, kaeri gatera ni R daigaku ni tachiyori,
that day TP snow SB accumulate-*te iru*-PST but return while R University at stop by

gookaku keejiban o mite aratamete watashi no gookaku o kakunin shimashita.
pass bulletin board O look again me LK pass O confirm-PST

‘It was snowing on the day, but I stopped by R University on my way home, and I confirmed my acceptance to the University by looking at bulletin board for results of the entrance exam.’

- 3→ Sono ato S sensee ni oai shitakute gakuchoshitsu ni iku to, kakari no hito ga
that after S professor to meet want president’s office to go when receptionist SB

“Kyoo wa gojitaku ni imasu” to iimashita.
today TP home at be QT say-*te iru*-PST

‘After that, I went to the president’s office because I wanted to see Professor S, but the receptionist said that he is at his home right now.’

- 4 Soko de S sensee no juusho o shirabete watashi wa chokusetsu sensee no gojitaku o
then S professor LK address O search I TP directly professor LK home O

hoomon suru koto ni shimashita.
visit NOM QT decide-PST

‘Then, I looked up Professor S’s address, and I decided to visit his home.’

- 5 Shiden ni nori sensee no gojitaku ni iki, yobirin o narasu to chuunen no josee ga
 train on ride professor LK home to go bell O ring when middle-aged LK lady SB
 dete kimashita.
 come out-PST

‘I took the train and went to his home, and rang the bell. Then, a middle-aged woman came out of the house.’

From carefully examining the discourse sequence in (52), it clearly appears that the above excerpt lists events in the temporal order, and is in the discourse mode of narrative. The first event in this excerpt, which is finishing the entrance examination for K University, is listed in line 1. The next event is stopping by R University, and it can be inferred that it happened after the ending point of the entrance exam for K University. The listing of events continues until the end of the excerpt, and the event sequence is summarized as below.

Figure 5.1. Event Sequence in (52)

Time

| | |
|----------|---|
| Event 1 | The examination for K University ended. |
| Event 2 | I stopped by R University. |
| Event 3 | I looked at the bulletin board. |
| Event 4 | I confirmed the results of the exam. |
| Event 5 | I went to the president’s office. |
| Event 6 | <u>The receptionist said that the president is at his home.</u> |
| Event 7 | I looked up the president’s home address. |
| Event 8 | I decided to visit the president’s home. |
| Event 9 | I took the train. |
| Event 10 | I went to the president’s home. |
| Event 11 | I rang the bell. |
| Event 12 | A middle-aged woman came out. |

Since example (52) clearly lists past events in the temporal order, it can be judged that the excerpt is in the mode of narrative. The sentence for an observed third-person event appears in line 3, and it happened after going to the president’s office, and before looking up the president’s

home address. Therefore, the act of making an utterance by the receptionist is one of the numerous events listed in the temporal order in the mode of narrative, and the *-te iru* construction is not used for the receptionist's action. This non-usage of the *-te iru* construction for an observed event confirms the earlier hypothesis that claimed that the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation is not used when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of narrative.

Finally, example (53) is another written passage that includes verbs that are not accompanied by the *-te iru* construction in the description of observed events.

(53)

- 1→Toranjitto kauntaa (noritsugi madoguchi) no josee ga “goji, toranjitto ofisu” to itta.
 transit counter transit counter LK woman SB 5 o'clock transit office QT say-PST

‘The woman at the transit counter said “Five o'clock, transit office.”

- 2 Watashi wa hajime nani o itte iru no ka wakarazu ni kikikaeshita.
 I TP at first what O say-*te iru* NOM Q understandable ask-PST

‘I didn't understand what she said at first, and I asked her again.’

- 3 Dooyara, gogo go ji ni toranjitto ofisu ni ike to iu koto datta rashii no da keredo
 it appears p.m. 5 o'clock at transit office to go QT NOM CP appears NOM CP but

masaka mosukuwa de nihongo o kiku to wa omowanai node moo sukoshi aisoo yoku
 by no means Moscow in Japanese O hear QT TP think NEG because more little cheerfully

itte kurereba “aa kore wa nihonjin e no shinsetsushin na n da naa” to wakaruru mono o
 say ah this TP Japanese to LK kindness CP NOM CP FP QT understand NOM O

to omoi nagara, tsuzukete, toranjitto ofisu wa doko ka to tazuneta.
 QT think while next transit office TP where FP QT asked

‘It appeared that she was telling me to go to the transit office at 5 p.m., but I wasn't expecting to hear Japanese in Moscow, so I thought I would have understood that she was being nice to a Japanese person if she was a little more cheerful to me. Having that thought in mind, I asked her where the transit office is.’

4→Kanojo wa hidari to ii nagara migi no hoo o yubisashita.
 she TP left QT say while right LK direction O point at-PST

‘She pointed her finger to the right while saying “*hidari*.” (*hidari*: ‘left’ in Japanese)’

5→“Raito? = migi” to kikikaesuto, mugon de unazuita.
 right right QT when ask silently nod-PST

‘I asked “right? = *migi*”, and she nodded silently. (*migi*: ‘right’ in Japanese.)’

Beginning with the woman’s act of making an utterance in line 1, it is clear that the above excerpt consists of a listing of events in the temporal order. Therefore, the mode of discourse is easily identified as “narrative” for example (53). The following figure shows the event sequence in (53).

Figure: 5.2. Event Sequence in (53)

Time

| | | |
|---|---------|--|
| ↓ | Event 1 | <u>The woman at the transit counter said “Five o’clock, transit office.”</u> |
| | Event 2 | I asked her again. |
| | Event 3 | I asked where the transit office was. |
| | Event 4 | <u>The woman pointed her finger to the right while saying “<i>hidari</i>.”</u> |
| | Event 5 | I asked “Right = <i>migi</i> ?” |
| ↓ | Event 6 | <u>The woman nodded silently.</u> |

In line 1, the verb *iu* ‘to say’ is used for an action performed by the woman at the transit counter, and is not marked with the *-te iru* construction. As a result, the simple past form *itta* is used for her action even though it was observed by the writer. Similarly, *yubisashita* ‘pointed at’ in line 4, and *unazuita* ‘nodded’ in line 5 are both actions performed by the woman at the counter, and the simple past form without the *-te iru* construction is used for each of the observed actions. The non-usage of the *-te iru* construction for the observed events in lines 1, 4, and 5 is very similar to what we observed in examples (52), which is a written example in the mode of narrative.

The re-examination of the cases of the *-te iru* construction for observed events has shown that when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of “non-narrative,” observed events are marked with the *-te iru* construction, and this usage of the *-te iru* construction is considered to be resulting from *-te iru*’s observation marking functions, with which the speaker or the writer displays that the source of the stated propositional content is the speaker/writer’s first-hand observation through his/her five senses. On the other hand, when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of “narrative,” observed third-person events are not marked with the *-te iru* construction, and the simple past tense is used at the end of the utterance or the sentence. This indicates that when an observed event is one of the events listed in the temporal order in the discourse mode of narrative, the *-te iru* construction is not used as an evidential marker of observation even when the observation took place for the stated propositional content. The next section further discusses the findings in this section with the notion of discourse coherence.

5.4. *-te iru* and Discourse Coherence

By examining the discourse sequence of examples from (46) to (53), it appears that “cohesiveness” and “coherence” are relevant concepts in regards to the relationship between the use of the *-te iru* construction for third-person activities and the ongoing mode of discourse. Cohesion is a terminology that is strongly influenced by the work of Halliday and Hasan (1976), and it typically refers to “a textual quality, attained through the use of grammatical and lexical elements that enable readers to perceive semantic relationships within and between sentences” (Enos, 1996, p. 390). On the other hand, coherence is a broader concept that is more inclusive and focuses on the overall organization of the text or discourse, and the term refers to “the overall consistency of a discourse – its purpose, voice, content, style, form, and so on – and is in part

determined by readers' perceptions of texts, dependent not only on linguistic and contextual information in the texts but also on readers' abilities to draw upon other kinds of knowledge, such as cultural and intertextual knowledge" (Enos 1996, p. 390). However, as Hellman (1995) points out, the two similar concepts, cohesion and coherence, are often not clearly distinguished in many scholarly writings, and comingling the two concepts often causes some confusing consequences in the field of linguistic studies. Hellman states that "the distinction between cohesion and coherence – that is to say the organisation of surface text into a sequentially related configuration versus the interrelatedness of its underlying content – is not easy to handle. There is a tendency for scholars to either confuse or conflate cohesion with coherence, or to glide between different interpretations of the terms" (p. 191). Also, Maynard (1998) states that "[i]n actual texts cohesion and coherence may overlap and they may be simultaneously marked by a number of principles and strategies" (p. 24). As represented by these quotes, cohesion and coherence are closely interrelated concepts, and it may be extremely challenging to separate one from the other in the practical process of analyzing the actual discourse produced by speakers or writers. Therefore, for the present study, "coherence," which is the more inclusive of the two, is adopted as a cover term that is used to refer to how well the discourse is "put together" as a whole in a given passage.

Analyzing the examples with the notion of coherence reveals how each sentence in the examples is constructed as a component of a coherent discourse, and it relates to the usage of the *-te iru* construction in the description of third-person events that happened in the past. For example, in (52) and (53), the events in the examples are listed in the temporal order, and it makes the ongoing text as a discourse in the mode of narrative. As Kudo (1995) argues, Japanese narrative passages basically consist of simple past tense sentences, and when the *-te iru*

construction is used at the end of a sentence, the progression of time cannot happen because it is considered to be an overlapping or temporally stative event. This is analogous to Smith's (2003) argument on narratives in English, which is "narrative time advances with perfective event sentences and fails to advance otherwise" (p. 70). Therefore, when a third-person event is one of the events listed in the temporal order but the sentential ending is not in the simple past tense, coherence cannot be achieved as a passage in the mode of narrative due to the mismatch between the sentence and its surrounding discourse. As a result, using the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation in the mode of narrative results in an odd impression for the reader of the text. (Needless to say, when an event is intentionally described as an overlapping or stative event, it is possible to use the *-te iru* construction for a third-person event. These cases will be analyzed in Chapter 7.)

When the ongoing mode of discourse is "non-narrative," there is no temporal advancement as the discourse proceeds, and the discourse is coherent as an atemporal text. Therefore, there is no restriction for using the *-te iru* construction for an observed third-person event since the description of the event does not have to fit into the temporal sequence of the listed events around the sentence that includes the *-te iru* construction. In other words, the *-te iru* construction can be used as a marker of speaker observation without breaching discourse coherence in the mode of non-narrative.

5.5. Summary of Findings

The examination of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse has shown that the construction has the property as an evidential marker of observation when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of non-narrative. On the other hand, when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of narrative, in which multiple events are listed in the temporal order, the *-te iru* construction is not used as an evidential marker of observation even when the event was observed by the speaker or writer. The next table shows the summary of the findings so far.

Table 5.1. Mode of Discourse and *-te iru*'s Observation Marking Function (Findings So Far)

| | Speaker/Writer observed the event | Speaker/Writer did not observe the event |
|-----------------------|--|--|
| Mode of Non-Narrative | (A) Marked with <i>-te iru</i> ³³ | (C) Not marked with <i>-te iru</i> |
| Mode of Narrative | (B) Not marked with <i>-te iru</i> ³⁴ | (D) Not marked with <i>-te iru</i> |

Based on the classification system in the above table, examples (46), (47), and (50) belong to group (A). In these examples, observed events are marked with the *-te iru* construction by the speaker or writer. On the other hand, examples (52) and (53) belong to group (B) in the above table.

The description of events that does not involve any form of direct observation by the speaker or writer belong to group (C) or (D), depending on the ongoing mode of discourse. In

³³ Even when the ongoing mode of discourse is in the mode of non-narrative, some cases of observed events such as psychologically impactful events are not marked with the *-te iru* construction. These cases will be explored later in this chapter.

³⁴ Some overlapping events in narrative texts are marked with the *-te iru* construction. These cases will be discussed in Chapter 7.

both modes of discourse, the *-te iru* construction is not used as an evidential marker of observation simply because observation did not happen. For example, sentences that refer to historical facts demonstrate the oddity of using the *-te iru* construction for third-person actions that were not observed by the speaker or writer. Compare the (a) sentences with the (b) sentences in (68) and (69).

- (68) (a) Yuriusu Kaesaru wa “sai wa nagerareta” to itta.
 Julius Caesar TP “the die has been cast” QT say-PST
 ‘Julius Caesar said that “the die has been cast.”’
- (b) ??Yuriusu kaesaru wa “sai wa nagerareta” to itte ita.
 Julius Caesar TP “the die has been cast” QT say-*te iru*-PST
 ‘Julius Caesar said that “the die has been cast.”’
- (69) (a) Akechi Mitsuhide wa Oda Nobunaga o honnooji de koroshita.
 Akechi Mitsuhide TP Oda Nobunaga O Honnoji Temple at kill-PST
 ‘Mitsuhide Akechi killed Nobunaga Oda at the Honnoji Temple.’
- (b) ??Akechi Mitsuhide wa Oda Nobunaga o honnooji de koroshite ita.
 Akechi Mitsuhide TP Oda Nobunaga O Honnoji Temple at kill-*te iru*-PST
 ‘Mitsuhide Akechi killed Nobunaga Oda at the Honnoji Temple.’

In (68) and (69), the (a) sentences are in the simple past form, and the (b) sentences are marked with the *-te iru* construction. Unless a very specific context is given, most readers would feel the (b) sentences sound somewhat odd. As exhibited by the oddity of those sentences, historical facts cannot be marked with the *-te iru* construction because the source of the stated proposition is the speaker’s common knowledge, which does not involve any form of direct observation of the actual event at the scene of the event. Due to this non-observable nature of historical facts, those commonly known historic events are stated without the *-te iru* construction regardless of the mode of discourse.

5.6. Shifting Between Modes of Discourse

In order to demonstrate the existence of linguistic constraints that are relevant to the temporal properties surrounding the description of third-person actions, the excerpts used in the previous section were all solidly coherent in the mode of narrative or non-narrative. In other words, the excerpts in the previous section mostly remained temporal or atemporal from beginning to end, and the mode of discourse was largely monolithic throughout the excerpt. However, it should be noted that the mode of discourse does not always remain consistent and it often shifts from one mode to another in actual discourse.

As Smith (2005) argues, texts of almost all genre categories, such as novels, magazine articles, and business reports, have passages of different modes in a continuing segment of the discourse. In this section, excerpts that include transitions from one mode of discourse to another will be examined to show that the description of third-person events is influenced by the local mode of discourse, not the large-scale overall genre of the discourse.

Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2000) provide the following excerpt to demonstrate how a transition between modes of discourse occurs in a continuing discourse in English. (70) is a passage from Stephen Hawking's bestseller *A Brief History of Time*, which is used as an example in Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2000).

(70)

- (a) A well-known scientist (some say it was Bertrand Russell) once gave a public lecture on astronomy. He described how the earth orbits around the centre of a vast collection of stars called our galaxy. At the end of the lecture, a little old lady at the back of the room got up and said: 'What you have told us is rubbish. The world is really a flat plate supported on the back of a giant tortoise.' The scientist gave a superior smile before replying, 'What is the tortoise standing on?' 'You're very clever, young man, very clever', said the old lady. 'But it's turtles all the way down!'
- (b) Most people would find the picture of our universe as an infinite tower of tortoises rather ridiculous, but why do we think we know better? What do we know about the universe, and how do we know it? Where did the universe come from, and where is it going? Did the universe have a beginning, and if so, what happened *before* then? What is the nature of time? Will it ever come to an end? Recent breakthroughs in physics, made possible in part by fantastic new technologies, suggest answers to some of these longstanding questions. Someday these answers may seem as obvious to us as the earth orbiting the sun—or perhaps as ridiculous as a tower of tortoises. Only time (whatever that may be) will tell.

(Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 2000, p. 72)

According to Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, paragraph (a) in the above excerpt is organized as a chronological description of an anecdote with an old lady, and (a) is considered to be in the mode of narrative because of the temporal listing of specific events that happened in the past. In contrast, from the beginning point of paragraph (b), which directly follows paragraph (a), the paragraph focuses on how the universe is structured, and it is an atemporal non-narrative discourse about a generic truth. As demonstrated by the shifting from the mode of narrative to non-narrative in the transition from (a) to (b) in (70), transitions between the two modes of discourse could occur in a relatively short segment of a discourse, and the mode does not always remain consistent in actual discourse.

Similar to Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, Smith (2001, 2003) provides an example that includes transitions between modes of discourse in a continuing discourse. The following excerpt is from an article about humpback whales from *National Geographic*.

(71)

- (a) When a big whale dives, currents set in motion by the passage of so many tons of flesh come eddying back up in a column that smooths the restless surface of the sea. Naturalists call this lingering spool of glassy water the whale's footprint.
- (b) Out between the Hawaiian islands of Maui and Lanai, Jim Darling nosed his small boat into a fresh swirl. The whale that had left it was visible 40 feet below, suspended head down in pure blueness with its 15-footlong arms, or flippers, flared out to either side like wings. "That's the posture humpbacks most often assume when they sing," Darling said. A hydrophone dangling under the boat picked up the animal's voice and fed it into a tape recorder...³⁵
- (c) With the notes building into phrases and the phrases into repeated themes, the song may be the longest - up to 30 minutes - and the most complex in the animal kingdom. All the humpbacks in a given region sing the same song, which is constantly evolving.

(Smith, 2001, p. 203, also in Smith, 2003, p. 22)

Smith explains that the (a) segment of the above excerpt is a non-temporal informative description that provides general information about whales. On the other hand, the mode of discourse shifts to narrative at the beginning of (b), and the sentences in (b) list specific events in the temporal order. At the beginning of (c), the mode of discourse returns to the non-narrative mode in which the author writes information about whales in general.

In the examined data in Japanese for the present study, discourse examples that include transitions similar to the ones in (70) and (71) were also found. (72) is an excerpt from a book about fashion, in which the author first writes about an episode from her childhood, and then shifts onto writing about the current situation of fashion in general.

³⁵ According to Smith (2001), three more sentences in the mode of narrative continue after this point before the beginning of (c) in the original article, but those sentences are omitted.

(72)

- 1 Aru natsu no hi, ootoo no tonbo tori no ami ga yaburete, niwa ni sutete aru no
 one summer LK day brother LK dragonfly catch LK net SB tear backyard in thrown away NOM

o mitsukemashita.

O find-PST

‘One summer day, I found my brother’s torn net for catching dragonflies in the backyard.’

- 2 “Kiree ni aratte tsukau to kawatta ribon ni naru” to kangaeta watashi wa, hasami de
 clean wash use if unique ribbon become QT think-PST I TP scissors with
 hohonagaku kitte sore o arau to, ribon no katachi ni tsukutte atama ni chon to nose mashita.
 narrowly cut it O wash and ribbon LK shape into make head to softly put on

‘I thought it would be a nice unique ribbon after washing it. I cut it narrow and washed it, and made it into a shape of a ribbon and put it on my head.’

- 3 Suzushisoo na ribon ga kaze ni fukarete yurete mashita.
 cool ribbon SB wind by blown move-*te iru*-PST

‘The ribbon was fluttering because of the wind.’

- 4⇒ Yuujin ga urayamashigaru ni chigai nai, to tokui ni natte kyooshitsu ni arawareta watashi ni
 friends SB envy must QT feel proud classroom to enter-PST me to

onna no sensee ga tsumetaku iimashita.
 female LK teacher SB coldly say-PST

‘My female teacher said this to me, who proudly entered the classroom, and was expecting that my classmates would be so jealous.’

- 5 “Sonna hen na mono o tsukeru to atama ga baka ni narimasu yo”
 that strange thing O put on if head SB stupid become FP

‘Your brain will be stupid if you put a strange thing like that on your head.’

- 6⇒ Mawari no yuujin ga dotto waraimashita.
 surrounding LK friends SB loudly laugh-PST

‘My friends around me laughed loudly.’

- 7 Mijime ni natta watashi wa sore kara wa ‘oshare’ ni okubyoo ni natta no desu.
 miserable become-PST I TP since then TP fashion about timid become-PST NOM CP

‘I felt miserable, and I became intimidated about being fashionable since then.’

- 8 Ano toki, onna no sensee ga motto ‘oshare’ toka ‘kosee’ o rikai shite kurete ite,
that time female LK teacher SB more fashion etc. uniqueness O understand

“ara, kawatta choochoo desu ne” toka betsu no hyoogen o shite kurete itara,
oh unique butterfly CP FP etc. other LK expression O use if

‘koseeteki na oshare’ o tanoshimeta noni... to ima, zannen ni omoimasu.
unique fashion O could have enjoyed QT now sorry think

‘Even now, I feel very unfortunate about that experience, and I think I could have enjoyed unique fashion if the teacher understood things like ‘fashion’ and ‘uniqueness,’ and had said something different like “oh, that’s a unique butterfly.”’

- 9 Genzai wa oshare wa jiyuu desu.
now TP fashion TP free CP

‘Now, ‘fashion’ is free.’

- 10 Natsu ni kegawa no koto o kite iru hito ga ite mo “ano hito ni wa hitsuyoo na
summer in fur LK coat O wear-*te iru* person SB exist if that person for TP necessary

fasshon nan da wa” to mawari no hito ga sugu ni rikai shite kureru yononaka.
fashion NOM CP FP QT other LK people SB immediately understand society

‘The society in which people immediately understand and think “that is just a necessary fashion for her” when they see a person who is wearing a fur coat in summer.’

- 11 Ie ni aru komono mo, ‘oshare’ ni tsukaenai mono wa nai to omou gurai,
home in exist small appliances also fashionable cannot use thing TP NEG QT think extent

iroiro na kufuu de tanoshimemasu.
various try by enjoyable

‘We can even enjoy ‘fashion’ by using various small appliances in the house.’

- 12 Datte saikin wa yoofuku ni anzen pin ya kurippu o burasageru no ga fasshon ni
Because recently TP clothes to safety pin and clip O hang LK SB fashion to

natte iru no desu.
Become-*te iru* NOM CP

‘Because we live in the society where hanging safety pins and clips is considered to be a way of being fashionable.’

- 13 Okane o kakenai de, jibun ni niatta, jibun o yori utsukushiku misete kureru fasshon o
money O without spending self to suited self O more beautifully show fashion O

ichinichi mo hayaku kangaenai to mottainai to omoimasu.
one day even quickly think NEG if missing out QT think

‘I think we will be missing out if we don’t think about the ways to be fashionable and look more beautiful without spending money as soon as possible.’³⁶

This excerpt begins with describing the author’s childhood experience of finding a net for catching dragonflies in line 1. After the introduction of the first event in line 1, the sentence in line 2 lists events such as coming up with a new idea, cutting and washing the net, and putting the ribbon on her head in the temporal order. This narrative sequence continues until line 7, and example (72) appears to be solidly coherent as a discourse in the mode of narrative up to line 7 as exhibited by the clear listing of events in the temporal order. In addition, consistent with the findings of the present study so far, observed third-person events in lines 4 and 6, which belong to the sequential listing of multiple events, are described in the past tense, not in the form that includes the *-te iru* construction.

However, the mode of discourse does not stay as narrative in the second half of this excerpt. After the author’s self-evaluation of the preceding narrative in line 8, the excerpt transforms into a discourse that is coherent as an atemporal non-narrative discourse. Line 9 is

³⁶ Japanese version of (72).

1. ある夏の日、弟のトンボ取りの網が破れて、庭に捨ててあるのをみつけました。
2. 「きれいに洗って使うと変わったリボンになる」と考えた私は、ハサミで細長く切ってそれを洗うと、リボンの形に作って頭にチョンとのせました。
3. 涼しそうなリボンが風に吹かれて揺れてました。
4. 友人が羨ましがるに違いない、と得意になって教室に現れた私に、女の先生が冷たく 言いました。
5. 「そんなヘンなものを頭につけると、頭がバカになりますよ」
6. 周りの友人がドッと 笑いました。
7. みじめになった私はそれからは「おしゃれ」に憶病になったのです。
8. あの時、女の先生がもっと「おしゃれ」とか「個性」を理解してくれていて、「あら、かわった蝶々ですね」とか別の表現をしてくれていたなら、「個性的なおしゃれ」を楽しめたのに...と今、残念に思います。
9. 現在は「おしゃれ」は自由です。
10. 夏に毛皮のコートを着ている人がいても「あの人には必要なファッションなんだわ」と周りの人がすぐに理解してくれる世の中。
11. 家の中にある小物も、「おしゃれ」に使えないものはないと思うぐらい、いろいろな工夫で楽しめます。
12. だって最近洋服に安全ピンやクリップをぶら下げるのがファッションになっているのです。
13. お金をかけないで、自分に似合った、自分をより美しくみせてくれるファッションを一日も早く考えないと、もったいないと思います。

about the situation of fashion in modern society in general, and the general atemporal description of fashion continues to the end of this excerpt. As exhibited by the transition from the mode of narrative to non-narrative in the above excerpt, the mode of discourse can shift in a relatively short segment of a discourse, and the above excerpt also demonstrates that the factor that affects the description of third-person events is the discourse coherency around the description of the described event at the local level, not the overall genre of the discourse.

Example (73) is another excerpt that includes a transition from one mode of discourse to another. In contrast to the previous excerpt, (73) begins in the mode of non-narrative, and then shifts to the mode of narrative.

(73)

- 1 Hanbaagaa de areba, pikurusu nuki wa mochiron, niku nuki dake de wa naku,
hamburger CP if pickles without TP of course meat without not only

menyu ni yotte wa pan nuki mo dekita soo desu.
menu depends on TP bread without also doable heard CP

‘I heard that customers can order hamburgers without pickles, without meat, and even without bread depending on the menu.’

- 2 Mata gyudon de, aru basho de wa ‘tsuyudaku, negidakudaku, tsumehiya’ to
and beef bowl for one place at TP *tsuyudaku negidakudaku tsumehiya* QT

jumon no yoo na chuumon hoo hoo ga aru soo desu.
magic word LK like order way SB exist heard CP

‘I also heard that there are ways to order beef bowls by saying words similar to magic words like “*tsuyudaku, negidakudaku, tsumehiya*.”’

- 3 Kore wa ‘tsuyu oome, tamanegi mo oome de, gohan wa sameta mono de’ to iu
this TP soup a lot onions also a lot CP rice TP cold NOM CP QT

imi da soo desu.
meaning CP heard CP

‘I heard that this phrase means ‘a lot of soup, a lot of onions, and with cold rice.’’

- 4 Faasuto fuudo gyookai de wa, okyakusama no kiboo suru chuumon ni taishite kasutamaizu
fast food industry in TP customers LK demand order for customize

dekiru yoo ni iroiro to kyooiku shitari shite iru soo desu.
able to do for various training do-te iru heard CP

‘It seems that employees are trained to be able to handle customized orders in the fast food industry.’

- 5 Demo, sono uragawa de wa, taihen na koto mo aru yoo desu.
but that behind in TP challenging thing also exist seem CP

‘But it seems that there are some difficulties behind this.’

- 6 Gyuudon no tsuyudaku wa, soozoo ijoo ni kosuto daka ni naru soo desu ga, aru teedo,
beef bowl LK *tsuyudaku* TP imagine more cost high become heard CP but to an extent

shintoo shite iru koto na node yameru ni yamerarenai soo desu.
well-known thing CP because cannot stop heard CP

‘I heard that *tsuyudaku* is more costly than we think, but beef bowl restaurants cannot stop offering it because it is already well-known.’

- 7 Tada, okashina koto o keeken shita koto ga arimasu.
but strange thing O experienced NOM SB have

‘I have experienced something strange.’

- 8 Aru gyuudon cheen de gyuudon o tabete ita toki no koto desu.
one beef bowl chain at beef bowl O eat-te *iru*-PST when LK NOM CP

‘It was when I was eating at a beef bowl chain restaurant.’

- 9 Ojiisan ga yatte kite gyuudon o **chuumon shimashita.**
old man SB come beef bowl O order-PST

‘An old man came in, and ordered a beef bowl.’

- 10> Sono toki ni takusan wa taberarenai node ‘gohan wa hanbun ni shite kudasai’ to
that time at a lot TP cannot eat because rice TP half make please QT

chuumon shimashita.
order-PST

‘When he made the order, he ordered “please give me half the amount of rice” because he could not eat a lot.’

11> Suruto tenin wa 'sore wa dekimasen' to kotaeta no desu.
 then clerk TP that TP cannot QT answer-PST NOM CP

'Then the store attendant replied "I can't do that."'

12> Ojiisan wa 'iya iya, nokosu to mottai nai kara, tsuujoo ryookin de ii kara hanbun ni
 old man TP no no leave if feel guilty because normal price CP good because half

shite kudasai' to saido onagai o shimashita.
 make please QT again request-PST

'The old man again requested "No no, I feel guilty for leaving food uneaten, so please give me half the amount. I will pay the full price for it."'

13> Tenin wa tenchoo to soodan shite, ojiisan ni koo kotaemashita.
 clerk TP manager with consult old man to this respond-PST

'The attendant consulted with the manager, and responded like this.'

14 'Tooten de wa, gohan o hanbun ni suru to iu manuaru wa nai node sore wa dekimasen' to.
 this store at TP rice O half make QT manual TP NEG because that TP undoable QT

"We don't have an operation manual for serving half the amount of rice, so we can't do that."³⁷

This excerpt is from an article about business strategies in the fast food industry. From line 1 to line 6, the author writes about general information about the fast food industry, and the discourse is solidly coherent in the mode of non-narrative. After the introduction of the background

³⁷ Japanese version of (73).

1. ハンバーガーであれば、ピクルス抜きはもちろん、肉抜きだけでなく、メニューによってはパン抜きもできたそうです。
2. また牛丼で、ある場所では「つゆだく、ねぎだく、つめひや」と呪文のような注文方法があるそうです。
3. これは「つゆ多め、玉ねぎ也多めで、ご飯は冷めたもので」という意味だそうです。
4. ファーストフード業界では、お客様の希望する注文に対してカスタマイズできるようにいろいろと教育をしたりしているようです。
5. でも、その裏側では、大変なこともあるようです。
6. 牛丼のつゆだくは、想像以上にコスト高になるそうですが、ある程度、浸透していることなので止めるに止められないそうです。
7. ただおかしなことを体験したことがあります。
8. ある牛丼チェーンで牛丼を食べていたときです。
9. おじいさんがやって来て、牛丼を注文しました。
10. そのときにたくさんは食べられないので「ご飯は半分にしてください」と注文しました。
11. すると店員は「それはできません」と答えたのです。
12. おじいさんは「いやいや、残すと勿体ないから、通常料金でいいから半分にしてください」と再度、お願いをしました。
13. 店員は店長と相談して、おじいさんにこう答えました。
14. 「当店では、ご飯を半分にするというマニュアルはないので、それはできません」と。

information for the narrative in lines 7 and 8, the mode of discourse in (73) transitions to the mode of narrative. As shown by the sequential listing of multiple events in the temporal order, the mode of discourse after line 9 is clearly in the mode of narrative. The narrative consists of the actions performed by the old man and the store attendant, and the temporally listed third-person events are described with the simple past endings, not with the form that includes the *-te iru* construction. Similar to the previous excerpt, (73) demonstrates that what is relevant to how an observed event is described is the mode of discourse in which the description is made, not the overall genre of the discourse.

The next excerpt, (74), also includes a transition from a mode of discourse to another in the middle of the excerpt. (74) is from an article about the author's personal experience of cancer treatment, in which an observed event is marked with the *-te iru* construction in its non-narrative segment.

(74)

- 1 Keesatsu byooiin ni nyuuin shite sugu ni, watashi ni haha kara kotsuzui o ishoku shiyoo
 police hospital to hospitalized soon after me to mother from bone marrow O transplant
 to iu koto ga kimatta.
 QT NOM SB decide-PST

‘Soon after I got hospitalized in the Police Hospital, a plan to have a bone marrow transplant from my mother to me was decided.’

- 2 Kyoodai byooiin ni wa kotsuzui ishoku o okonau setsubi ga nai node, setsubi no
 Kyoto Univ. Hospital at TP bone marrow transplant O do equipment SB NEG because equipment LK
 aru byooiin o sagasu koto ni natta.
 exist hospital O look for NOM become-PST

‘Since the Kyoto University Hospital does not have the equipment for bone marrow transplants, we had to look for a different hospital that had the equipment.’

- 3 Oosaka shinai no byooiin wa, sudeni suukagetsu saki made kotsuzui ishoku no
Osaka city LK hospital TP already several months ahead to bone marrow transplant LK

junban o matsu kanja ga ippai de, kotowarareta.
order O wait patients SB full CP be rejected-PST

‘I got rejected by the hospitals in Osaka, because they already had patients on the wait-list for bone marrow transplants for the next several months.’

- 4 Shikashi, kotowarareta hitotsu no byooiin no ishokui kara, Nagoya no byooiin o
but be rejected-PST one LK hospital LK doctor from Nagoya LK hospital O

shookai shite moraeta.
be introduced-PST

‘But a doctor from one of the hospitals that rejected me told me about a hospital in Nagoya.’

- 5 Watashi ni wa ‘sono ato o matsu’ to iu jikan ga nakatta.
me for TP that after O wait QT time SB NEG-PST

‘“Waiting on the wait-list” was not a possible choice for me.’

- 6 S sensee ga sassoku renraku o totte kudasatta.
S Dr. SB immediately make a contact-PAST

‘Dr. S immediately contacted them.’

- 7 Keesatsu byooiin ni nyuuin shite hantsuki amari tatta koro, kyoodai byooiin no
police hospital to be hospitalized half month over pass-PST when Kyoto Univ. Hospital LK

beddo ga aita node, kyoodai byooiin ni tenin shita.
bed SB open-PST because Kyoto Univ. Hospital to transfer-PST

‘A little after being hospitalized in the Police Hospital, I got transferred to the Kyoto University Hospital because there was a vacancy.’

- 8 Juunigatsu nanoka de atta.
December 7th CP

‘It was December 7.’

- 9 Kono toki ni wa, Nagoya de watashi o ukeirete kureru koto ga, hobo kimatte ita.
this time at TP Nagoya in me O accept NOM SB almost decide-*te iru*-PST

‘At this time, it was almost decided that I would be accepted to a hospital in Nagoya.’

- 10 Kyonen no hatsubyoo de haitta kyoodai byooiin ni mata modotte kita.
last year LK became ill CP enter-PST Kyoto Univ. Hospital to again return-PST

‘I came back to the Kyoto University Hospital, which I was admitted to when I had my first symptom last year.’

- 11 Soshite mata, R chan to issho datta.
and again R Miss. with together CP

‘And I was with R again.’

- 12 Sono toshi no shigatsu ni ichido taiin shita R chan wa, hachigatsu ni sainyuuin shite,
that year LK April in once left hospital R miss. TP August in be re-hospitalized

zutto sonomama, kyoodai byooiin ni ita no de aru.
non-stop continuously Kyoto Univ. Hospital in stay-PST NOM CP

‘R left the hospital in April of that year, and she re-entered the hospital in August, and she had been there since then.’

- 13 Tennin shita yokujitsu, S sensee ga roohoo o motte kite kureta.
transfer do-PST following day S Dr. SB good news O bring-PST

‘On the following day, Dr. S told me good news.’

- 14 ‘Meedai byooiin no beddo ga aita soo da yo. Juuichi nichi no kinyoobi ni
Nagoya Univ. Hospital LK bed SB open-PST heard CP FP 11th day LK Friday on

kite hoshii tte.’
come please QT

‘I heard that a bed at the Nagoya University Hospital became available. They want you to go there on Friday, the 11th’

- 15 Amari no kettee no hayasa ni odoraita.
extreme LK decision LK speed by be surprised-PST

‘I was surprised because it was so quick.’

- 16 Kotsuzui ishoku ni tsuite kore made iroiro to benkyoo shite, hakketsubyoo chiryoo
bone marrow transplant about now until a lot study leukemia treatment

ni kanshite, Nagoya no suijun ha tooji kara nihonichi to kiite ita node,
about Nagoya LK level TP that time from No. 1 in Japan QT hear-*te iru*-PST because

totemo ureshikatta.
very glad

‘I was glad because I had heard that the level of leukemia treatment is the highest in Japan in Nagoya.’

- 17➤Sooieba, Amerika no ishi mo, ‘nihon wa Nagoya ga ii’ to itte ita
speaking of which America LK doctor also Japan TP Nagoya SB good QT say-*te iru*-PST

de wa mai ka.
CP TP NEG FP

‘Speaking of which, a doctor from America said that “In Japan, Nagoya is good.”’

- 18 Nagoya ni wa ‘nagoya kotsuzui ishoku guruupu’ ga aru.
Nagoya in TP Nagoya bone marrow transplant group SB exist

“‘The Nagoya Bone Marrow Transplant Group’ is in Nagoya.’

- 19 Kono guruupu wa, nagoya de kotsuzui ishoku o okonatte iru A byooiin, B byooiin nado,
this group TP Nagoya in bone marrow transplant O operate-*te iru* A Hospital B Hospital etc.

juuroku shisetsu no ishidan de koosee sareteiru.
16 organizations LK doctors by be organized

‘This group includes a group of doctors who operate bone marrow transplants in 16 organizations such as A Hospital and B Hospital.’

20 Sono hotondo wa, Nagoya daigaku igakubu shusshin no ishi tachi de ari, soshite
those almost TP Nagoya University medical dept. from LK doctors CP and

nihon ni oite wa, senkuteki ni katsu sekkyokuteki ni kotsuzui ishoku ni torikumi,
Japan in TP pioneer and actively bone marrow transplant on work

ooku no seeka o agete kita no de aru.
a lot LK results O make-PST NOM CP

‘Most of them graduated from the Department of Medicine at Nagoya University, and they are active pioneers of bone marrow transplants in Japan.’³⁸

This excerpt begins with the sequential listing of being hospitalized and the decision made to have a bone marrow transplant operation in line 1. From line 1 to line 15, (74) mostly lists multiple events in the temporal order, and the discourse is coherent in the mode of narrative. After the author’s evaluation of the preceding narrative in line 16, in line 17, the author uses *itte ita* (*iu* ‘to say’ + past form of *-te iru*) to refer to an action performed by an American doctor in the past. If we focus on the temporal property in the segment from lines 16 to 20, it does not list

³⁸ Japanese version of (74).

1. 警察病院に入院してすぐに、私に母から骨髄を移植しようということが決まった。
2. 京大病院には骨髄移植を行なう設備がないので、設備のある病院を探すことになった。
3. 大阪市内の病院は、すでに数カ月先まで骨髄移植の順番を待つ患者がいっぱいで、断られた。
4. しかし、断られたひとつの病院の移植医から、名古屋の病院を紹介してもらえた。
5. 私には“そのあとの番を待つ”という時間がなかった。
6. S先生がさっそく連絡を取ってくださった。
7. 警察病院に入院して半月あまりたった頃、京大病院のベッドが空いたので、京大病院に転院した。
8. 十二月七日であった。
9. このときには、名古屋で私を受け入れてくれることが、ほぼ決まっていた。
10. 去年の発病で入った京大病院にまた戻って来た。
11. そしてまた、Rちゃんと一緒だった。
12. その年の四月に一度退院したRちゃんは、八月に再入院して、ずっとそのまま、京大病院にいたのである。
13. 転院した翌日、S先生が朗報を持って来てくれた。
14. 「名大病院のベッドが空いたそうだよ。十一日の金曜日に来てほしいって」
15. あまりの決定の早さに驚いた。
16. 骨髄移植についてこれまでいろいろと勉強して、白血病治療に関して、名古屋の水準は当時から日本一と聞いていたので、とてもうれしかった。
17. そういえば、アメリカの医師も、「日本では名古屋がいい」と言っていたではないか。
18. 名古屋には「名古屋骨髄移植グループ」がある。
19. このグループは、名古屋で骨髄移植を行なっているA病院、B病院など、十六施設の医師団で構成されている。
20. そのほとんどは、名古屋大学医学部出身の医師たちであり、そして日本においては、先駆的にかつ積極的に骨髄移植に取り組み、多くの成果をあげてきたのである。

events in the temporal order, and the discourse is coherent in the mode of non-narrative. In addition, the description of the observed event in line 17 is in the non-narrative segment of this excerpt, and it is not a continuation of the temporal listing of events in lines 1 to 15. Therefore, using the *-te iru* construction in line 17 does not trigger a breach of discourse coherence between the description and its discourse environment.

As demonstrated by the transitions between the modes of narrative and non-narrative, and the differentiated usages of the *-te iru* construction for third-person events in (72) through (74), the factor that is crucial for the distinction between using or not using the *-te iru* construction for observed events is the temporal coherency directly around the description of the event, not the overall “genre” of discourse such as novels, newspaper articles, magazine articles, and business reports.

In the last three excerpts, (72) through (74), the mode of discourse clearly shifted from one mode to another at a certain point in the discourse, and the mode stayed consistent after the point of change. However, in some cases, the shifting between modes of discourse occurs multiple times in a very short segment of the discourse, or there are no clear boundaries between modes of discourse.

The following excerpt, (75) is from an internet message board, and the excerpt is posted as a response to a question about a physical symptom that pregnant women go through during pregnancy. This excerpt includes segments in the mode of non-narrative, and also a segment in the mode of narrative.

(75)

1 Watashi wa ima ninshin roku shuu me desu (hajimete no ninshin desu).

I TP now pregnant six weeks th CP first LK pregnancy CP

‘I’m in the sixth week of my pregnancy (this is my first time being pregnant).’

- 2 Shitsumonsha san no kimochi ga yoku wakarimasu.
questioner LK feelings SB well understand

‘I truly understand how the person who asked the question feels.’

- 3 Tashika ni yon shuu me kara kafukubu ni chikuchiku to iwakan o kanjimasu
surely four weeks th from lower stomach in stinging oddity O feel

(itami de wa arimasen).
pain CP TP NEG

‘Starting from the fourth week of pregnancy, you will feel this strange stinging feeling in the lower part of your stomach (this is not a pain).’

- 4⇒ Kinoo byooiin ni itte, sensee ni **kikimashita**.
yesterday hospital to go-PST doctor to ask-PST

‘I went to the hospital and asked my doctor.’

- 5⇒ Sensee wa “daijoobu desu” to sappari **kotaemashita**.
doctor TP okay CP QT bluntly answer-PST

‘The doctor bluntly said, “It’s okay.”’

- 6 Hon ni mo “akachan ga seechoo ni tsure, shikyuu mo ookiku naru kara, kono iwakan o
book in also baby SB grow along uterus also become big because this oddity O
kanjimasu.” to kakarete imashita.
feel QT be written-PST

‘The book that I read also said that “Pregnant women feel this strange feeling because the uterus expands as the fetus grows bigger.”’

- 7 Toku ni hajimete no kata wa koo kanjiru to omoimasu.
especially first LK person TP this feel QT think

‘I think especially women who are pregnant for the first time will feel this.’

- 8 Shukketsu ya gekitsuu ga nakereba, daijoobu da to omoimasu.
bleeding and severe pain SB if no okay CP QT think

‘I think you are fine unless you are bleeding or in severe pain.’³⁹

This excerpt begins with the introduction of the writer’s current situation in line 1. In line 2, the writer displays her understanding of the situation, and in line 3, she writes about generic information about pregnancy. As demonstrated by the lack of temporal listing of multiple events, the discourse appears to be coherent in the non-narrative mode in lines 1 through 3 in (75).

In line 4, the writer writes *kikimashita* ‘asked’ in order to refer to the action she performed in the past. In line 5, *kotaemashita*, which is the simple past form of the verb *kotaeru* ‘to answer’ is used to refer to the action performed by the doctor, who is a third-person for the writer. In regards to the temporal sequence of the events listed in lines 4 and 5, even though it only spans the range of two sentences, this segment appears to be coherent in the form of narrative since it lists the events of going to the hospital, asking a question, and the doctor’s response in the temporal order. Also, the usage of the simple past tense for *kotaeru* in line 5, instead of the form that includes the *-te iru* construction, can be seen as a contributing element for the formation of the narrative-like segment in which multiple events are listed in the temporal order.

After the temporal listing of events in lines 4 and 5, the mode of discourse returns to non-

³⁹ Japanese version of (75).

1. 私は今妊娠6週目です（初めての妊娠です）。
2. 質問者さんの気持ちがよく分ります。
3. 確かに4週目から下腹部にちくちくと違和感を感じます（痛みでは有りません）。
4. 昨日病院へ行って、先生に聞きました。
5. 先生は「大丈夫です」とさっぱり答えました。
6. 本にも「赤ちゃんが成長につれ、子宮も大きくなるから、この違和感を感じます。」と書かれていました。
7. 特に初めて妊娠の方はこう感じると思います。
8. 出血や激痛がなければ、大丈夫だと思います。

narrative, and the sentences in lines 6 through 8 focus on providing information about pregnancy in general in an atemporal discourse. As demonstrated by the shiftings from non-narrative to narrative, and narrative to non-narrative in (75), the mode of discourse can shift in a very short segment of a continuing discourse, and the number of events in a segment that is coherent as narrative can be as few as a couple of events.

Finally, the next excerpt, (76), includes a segment in which the discourse exhibits some complexity in regards to the temporal progression along with the progression of the discourse.

(76) is from a book about various useful expressions in the Japanese language.

(76)

- 1 Moo hitotsu, *Ichiroo*⁴⁰ ga hasshita inshooteki na kotoba ga arimasu.
 more one *Ichiro* SB say-PST memorable statement SP exist

‘There is another comment left by Ichiro that was also memorable for me.’

- 2➤ Mejaa ni utsutta sono toshi ni, ikinari shiizun nihyappon anda no kaikyo o
 major to move-PST that year in suddenly season 200 hits LK achievement O

nashitogete shimatta kare ni, toozen nihon kara oshikaketa oozee no masukomi ga
 complet-PST him to of course Japan from rush-PST a lot LK media SB

maiku o mukete kansoo o kikimashita.
 microphone O direct comment O ask-PST

‘The media, that rushed from Japan of course, asked for a comment from Ichiro, who accomplished hitting 200 hits in his debut year in Major League Baseball.’

- 3 “Taihen na kiroku desu ne. Ima no okimochi o onegai shimasu”
 amazing record CP FP now LK feelings O please

““This is an amazing record. Your current feeling, please.””

⁴⁰ *Ichiro* is a well-known baseball player from Japan.

- 4 “Okimochi o onegai shimasu” to iu nihongo wa, yoku kangaeru to okashii n desu ne.
 feelings O please QT Japanese TP well think if strange NOM CP FP

‘I think “your feeling, please” is strange as a Japanese statement when I think about it thoroughly.’

- 5 “Okimochi o oshiete kudasai” ka, semete “okimochi wa ikaga desu ka” gurai ie ba ii noni.
 feelings O tell me please or at least feelings TP how CP Q etc. should say FP

‘I think they should say “please tell me how you feel” or at least “how do you feel now?”’

- 6⇒ Ma, sore wa sore to shite, Ichiroo wa hyoojoo mo fudan to kawaru koto naku
 well, that TP that and Ichiro TP facial expression also usual from no change

tantan to koo iimashita.
 quietly this say-PST

‘Well, anyway, Ichiro said this without changing his facial expression from his usual expression.’

- 7 “Nihyaku anda to iu no mo boku ni totte wa tannaru tsuukaten ni sugimasen. Geemu wa
 200 hits QT NOM also me for TP just passing point mere game TP

madamada tsuzuite iku wake desu kara”
 still continue-*te iru* NOM CP because

““Hitting 200 hits is just a passing point for me. The game still continues.””

- 8 Katte ogorazu, makete shizumazu, shoobushi Ichiroo wa, nikutai no contorooru
 win arrogance NEG lose feel down NEG fighter Ichiro TP body LK control

wa mochiron, kokoro no kontorooru mo migoto to shika iemasen.
 TP of course mind LK control also amazing QT only cannot say

‘He never becomes arrogant when he wins, and never feels down when he loses, all I can say is that the fighter Ichiro is amazing, in regards to controlling his body as well as controlling his mind.’⁴¹

⁴¹ Japanese version of (76).

1. もう一つ、イチローが発した印象的な言葉があります。
2. メジャーに移ったその年に、いきなりシーズン二百本安打の快挙を成し遂げてしまった彼に、当然日本から押しかけた大勢のマスコミがマイクを向けて感想を聞きました。
3. 「大変な記録ですね。今のお気持ちをお願いします」
4. 「お気持ちをお願いします」という日本語は、よく考えるとおかしいんですね。
5. 「お気持ちを教えてください」か、せめて「お気持ちはいかがですか」ぐらい言えればいいのに。
6. ま、それはそれとして、イチローは表情も普段と変わることなく淡々とうそ言いました。
7. 「二百安打というのは僕にとっては単なる通過点に過ぎません。ゲームはまだまだ続いていくわけですから」
8. 勝っておごらず、負けて沈まず、勝負師イチローは、肉体のコントロールはもちろん、心のコントロールも見事としか言えません。

Even though (76) is from a book about useful expressions in the Japanese language, Ichiro, who is a well-known baseball player from Japan, has been the ongoing topic from a point shortly before the beginning of this excerpt. In line 2, what the interviewer from the Japanese media did is referred to by using *kikimashita*, which is the simple past form of the verb *kiku* ‘to ask a question,’ and the quoted utterance in line 3 can be interpreted as the exact phrase used by the media when the question was asked. Following the description of the third-person act of asking a question, in lines 4 and 5, the author writes about his own personal opinions on the linguistic expression used by the interviewer. In line 6, the author returns to the temporal description of the scene of the interview, and *iimashita*, which is the simple past tense, is used to refer to Ichiro’s action of making an utterance. Line 7 is the description of what Ichiro said, and this excerpt ends with the author’s personal opinion about Ichiro in line 8.

If we pay close attention to the temporal sequence in the above excerpt, it exhibits some complex layers in regards to the mode of discourse. For example, the two events described in the past tense, which are the action by the interviewer in line 2 (*kikimashita* ‘asked’) and Ichiro’s action in line 6 (*iimashita* ‘said’), are clearly listed in the temporal order, and it appears that the two events formulate a narrative sequence in which events are coherently listed in the temporal order. However, the information in lines 4 and 5, which is located between the descriptions of the two events, is atemporal and not part of the temporal listing of events at the scene of the interview. Also, the information in line 1 and line 8 is temporally static and not part of the temporal listing of events in the narrative. Therefore, even though excerpt (76) as a whole consists of mostly non-narrative discourse, the two temporally listed events in the excerpt form a narrative sequence that is embedded in the atemporal discourse. In addition, it is also possible to recognize that the usage of the simple past endings for the two listed events contribute to the

discourse coherency of the embedded narrative, since listing multiple events in the past tense indicates that the events happened in the order that they appear in the discourse.

In this section, several excerpts that include both temporal and atemporal segments were examined to demonstrate that the mode of discourse does not always remain consistent in actual discourse. In addition, it was shown that descriptions of third-person events are also influenced by the shifting mode of discourse, since temporal coherency affects whether or not the *-te iru* construction is used for an observed event.

5.7. Non-Usage of *-te iru* for Psychologically Impactful Events

Up to the previous section, the present study discussed the usages of the *-te iru* construction in relation to the temporal property of the discourse in which the description of an observed event is made. However, it must be noted that the temporal property is not the only variable that influences the usage of the *-te iru* construction for observed events. That is, in regards to the choice between using or not using the *-te iru* construction for an observed event, not using the *-te iru* construction is still an available option in atemporal discourse in some specific situations. This is because of the inherent nature of evidential markers in general, and various phenomena observed with other evidential markers are also recognized in the usage of the *-te iru* construction.

In order to highlight the difference between using and not using the hearsay evidential marker *-tte* and *soo* 'I heard,' Kamio (1994) compares the following sentences. Assume that the speaker is Taro's father in (77), (78), and (79).

- (77) Taroo wa byooki desu.
 Taro TP sick CP
 ‘Taro is sick.’
- (78) ??Taroo wa byooki desu tte.
 Taro TP sick CP heard
 ‘I heard that Taro is sick.’
- (79) ??Taroo wa byooki da soo desu.
 Taro TP sick CP heard CP
 ‘I heard that Taro is sick.’

(Kamio, 1994, pp. 72-73)

Based on his well-known theory of territory of information, Kamio explains that (77) is an acceptable utterance uttered by a father whose son is sick, but (78) and (79) give the impression that the father is indifferent about the situation since using evidential markers such as *-tte* and *soo* indicates that the father is psychologically distant his son’s sickness.

When we assume the *-te iru* construction is a linguistic item that shares its properties with other evidential markers, a similar argument can be made in regards to the choice of using or not using the *-te iru* construction for observed events. Even though he does not provide a detailed analysis, Yanagisawa (1995) compares the following two sentences in regards to the usage of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker. Assume that (80) or (81) is uttered after a phone conversation between the addressee of the utterance and their grandmother.

- (80) Obaachan nan te itteta no?
 grandma what QT say-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘What did grandma say?’
- (81) Obaachan nan te itta no?
 grandma what QT say-PST FP
 ‘What did grandma say?’

(Yanagisawa, 1995, p. 210)

(80) includes the *-te iru* construction while (81) does not. According to Yanagisawa, (80) would be selected in most situations, but when the exact phrase said by the grandmother is critical to the future inheritance such as monetary inheritance from the grandmother, (81) is likely to be uttered. Even though Yanagisawa's argument lacks detailed analysis, the difference between (80) and (81) can be explained by the notions of psychological distance and the level of speaker involvement because the marking functions for these factors are shared across various evidential markers.

In actual discourse examples for the present study, the following two cases demonstrate the pragmatic effects caused by not using the *-te iru* construction for observed events. In (82), a writer asks a question about his or her cat on an internet discussion board.

(82)

- 1 ➤ Koneko ga kyabetsu o tabemashita.
 kitten SB cabbage O eat-PST

'My kitten ate cabbage.'

- 2 Negi o tabesasete wa dame to iu no wa shitte imasu ga, kyabetsu wa daijoobu deshoo ka.
 onion O feed TP bad QT NOM TP know-*te iru* but cabbage TP okay CP Q

'I know you cannot feed green onions to cats, but how about cabbage?'⁴²

In line 1 of (82), the writer uses *tabemashita*, which is the simple past form of the verb *taberu* 'to eat,' for a third-person action. From the contextual information provided by the writer, it can be inferred that the writer is emotionally concerned about his/her kitten, and the use of the simple past tense without the *-te iru* construction aligns with the psychological closeness between the speaker and the stated propositional information. Also, if it was the case that the action in line 1

⁴² Japanese version of (82).

1. 子猫が、キャベツを食べました。
2. ねぎを食べさせてはダメというのは知っていますが、キャベツは大丈夫でしょうか？

was performed by a stray kitten to which the writer has no emotional attachment, using the simple past *tabemashita* would give an odd impression because of the mismatch between the writer's psychological detachment towards the stray kitten and the non-usage of the *-te iru* construction. Example (82) demonstrates that not using the *-te iru* construction for an observed event is an available option for the speaker/writer when the he/she is psychologically involved with the observed event.

The next excerpt also includes a case of an observed event that is not marked with the *-te iru* construction. Similar to (82), the observed event seems to be psychologically significant to the writer.

(83)

- 1 ➤ Shoo yon no musuko ga kyoo shukudai o yari nagara “Ore kookoo made de ii desho?
 elementary 4th LK son SB today homework O do while I high school until CP okay CP

Daigaku wa muri daa” to iimashita.
 college TP impossible CP QT say-PST

‘My son, who is a fourth-grade student in elementary school, said that “It’s okay if I stop (education) after high school, right? College is impossible for me” while working on his homework.’

- 2 Ima demo taihen na noni, kono saki juunen ijoo benkyoo nante shite irarenai, to iu kimochi
 now also tough CP even in the future 10 years more studying NOM do cannot QT feeling

de deta kotoba da to omoimasu.
 with come-PST words CP QT think

‘I think he said it because he felt he cannot study for more than 10 years when it’s already tough for him.’

- 3 Totsuzen datta node, bikkuri shite shimai nani mo iemasen deshita ga, nan to
suddenly CP because be surprised anything could not say-PST but what QT

kotaete agereba yokatta no deshoo ka?
answer if good NOM CP Q

‘I couldn’t say anything to him because it happened so suddenly, but I’m wondering what I should have said to him.’⁴³

In line 1 of the above excerpt, the writer quotes her son’s utterance by using *iu* ‘to say’ and the verb is not marked with the *-te iru* construction even though the action was observed by the writer. Similar to the previous example, this non-usage of the *-te iru* construction can be explained by the psychological distance between the writer and the observed event. As indicated by *bikkuri shite shimai* ‘I was surprised’ in line 3, we can infer that the writer was emotionally impacted by her son’s declaration of not wanting to go to college, and obviously the psychological distance between the writer and the described event was very close in line 1. Therefore, the non-usage of the *-te iru* construction in (83) can be explained by the notion of psychological distance, which is a shared trait among evidential markers in general.

⁴³ Japanese version of (83).

1. 小4の息子が今日宿題をやりながら「俺高校までで、いいでしょ？大学は無理だ～」と言いました。
2. 今でも大変なのに、この先十年以上勉強なんかしてられない、という気持ちで出た言葉だと思います。
3. 突然だったので、ビックリしてしまい何も言えませんでした、何と答えてあげればよかったのでしょうか？

5.8. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, various descriptions of observed third-person events were examined in both the spoken and written versions of Japanese. The findings in this chapter have shown that the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker for an observed event when the ongoing discourse is in the mode of non-narrative, which lacks the property of temporal advancement with the progression of the discourse. In contrast, observed events cannot be described with the *-te iru* construction when the observed event is one of the events listed in the temporal order in the discourse mode of narrative. This is because when a verb used in a sentence for describing an event is marked with the *-te iru* construction, the description cannot be part of a coherent listing of events with temporal advancement, and a temporal inconsistency is created between the description and the rest of the discourse. Also, the odd impression created by this type of mismatch implies that when the *-te iru* construction is purposefully used for a third-person event in the mode of narrative, the aspectual marking function of the *-te iru* construction is in effect, and the construction cannot purely function as an evidential marker that is free from temporal marking.⁴⁴

In addition, even in the mode of non-narrative, when an observed event has a psychological impact on the speaker/writer, the speaker/writer can choose the option of not using the *-te iru* construction. This is derived from the shared nature among evidential markers in general, since evidential markers have a property of marking the speaker's psychological distance towards the stated propositional information. The following table summarizes the findings that were discussed in this chapter.

⁴⁴ The examples that include cases of the *-te iru* construction in narrative discourse are examined in Chapter 7.

Table 5.2. Mode of Discourse and *-te iru*'s Observation Marking Function

| | Speaker/Writer observed the event | Speaker/Writer did not observe the event |
|--|--|--|
| Mode of Non-Narrative (events are not listed in the temporal order) | (A-1) Psychologically not impactful: Marked with <i>-te iru</i> (A-2) Psychologically impactful: Not marked with <i>-te iru</i> | (C) Not marked with <i>-te iru</i> |
| Mode of Narrative (events are listed in the temporal order) | (B) Not marked with <i>-te iru</i> | (D) Not marked with <i>-te iru</i> |

In this chapter, the analysis mostly focused on confirming the existence of the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction, and did not explore the cases where *-te iru*'s evidential marking function is simultaneously occurring with its aspectual marking function. In the next chapter, we will explore the examples in which the *-te iru* construction's aspectual marking function appears to be co-occurring with its observation marking function.

Chapter 6

Co-Occurrence of Aspectual and Non-Aspectual Marking Functions of *-te iru*

This chapter will explore the examples of the *-te iru* construction that exhibit both aspectual and non-aspectual marking functions in a single occurrence of the construction. In regards to the aspectual marking function of *-te iru*, the construction is typically recognized to have habitual, progressive, or resultative state marking properties. In this chapter, *-te iru*'s observation marking function will be examined for each type of aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction. Since the data analysis in the previous chapter has shown that the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function is available for the speaker when the ongoing mode of discourse is in the mode of non-narrative, the examples selected in this chapter are from discourses in the mode of non-narrative.

For the data analysis in this chapter, the determination of the aspectual property marked with the *-te iru* construction follows the argument by Harasawa (1993, 1994), in which he claims that what ultimately determines the aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction is the contextual information before and after the occurrence of the construction. Because of this adoption of Harasawa's argument, the aspectual interpretation of the event marked with the *-te iru* construction will be determined by the pragmatic context in each excerpt.

6.1. Habitual (Repetition) + *-te iru*'s Observation Marking Function

The *-te iru* construction's observation marking function is first examined for the cases where a case of the *-te iru* construction marks the aspectual property of habitual action, and the event was also observed by the speaker or writer. Example (84) is from an internet blog, in which the writer of the blog writes about a boy who died from being suffocated after eating bread during lunch at school. Based on the information provided in other posts written by the same blogger, it is confirmed that the gender of the blogger is female.

(84)

- 1 Chiba de okita, kyuushoku no pan o nodo ni tsumarasete nakunatta
Chiba in happen-PST school lunch LK bread O throat in stuck die-PST

otokonoko no jiko.
boy LK accident

'The accident of a boy who died from being suffocated after eating bread at school lunch.'

- 2⇒ Jibun tachi ga kodomo no koro mo, yoku danshi wa "gyuunyuu ikki nomi" "pan no hayagui"
self pl. SB children LK time also often boys TP milk fast drink bread LK speed-eating

nanka **yatte mashita** ne...
etc. do-*te iru*-PST FP

'When we were little children, boys often did "drinking milk in one gulp" and "speed-eating of bread."'

- 3 Masaka nichijyoo no naka no chotto shita "ofuzake" de konna jiko ga okiru to wa...
by no means everyday LK in LK little playing by such accident SB happen QT TP

'I can't believe an accident like this could happen as a result of just "playing around" in everyday life.'

- 4 Sakihodo *Sukkiri!*⁴⁵ de yatte ita no desu ga nodo ni tsumaraseru tabemono waasuto
 Some time ago *Sukkiri!* on air-*te iru*-PST NOM CP but throat in get stuck food worst

surii yatte ita no desu ga ichi i mochi ni i pan san i gohan nan da soo desu!
 three air-*te iru*-PST NOM CP but first rice cake second bread third rice NOM CP heard CP

‘According to *Sukkiri!*, which I watched some time ago, the three worst food items that could get stuck in the throat are: first place, rice cakes; second place, bread; and third place, rice!’

- 5 Shoojiki pan wa igai deshita.⁴⁶
 to be honest bread TP unexpected CP

‘To be honest, I didn’t think of bread.’⁴⁷

It can be observed that the discourse sequence of (84) is coherent as a text in the mode of non-narrative because it does not contain a list of events in the temporal order with the progression of the text. After the introduction of the topic in line 1, the blogger writes about how boys behaved when she was a child in line 2, and mentions that they often did *gyuunyuu ikki nomi* ‘drinking milk in one gulp’ and *pan no hayagui* ‘speed-eating of bread.’ At the end of line 2, the verb *yaruu* ‘to do’ is used for the activities performed by the boys at school lunch, and it is marked with the *-te iru* construction. As for the frequency of the activities performed by the boys, it can be contextually inferred that the boys performed “drinking milk in one gulp” and “speed-eating bread” on a regular basis as a repetitive habit since the writer uses *yoku* ‘often’ as a qualifying adverb for the verb *yaruu*. For these reasons, it can be said that the aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction used with the verb *yaruu* is “habitual,” which is one of the three major aspectual interpretations of the *-te iru* construction.

⁴⁵ *Sukkiri!* is the name of a well-known Japanese TV show.

⁴⁶ Obvious typing errors are corrected in this example.

⁴⁷ Japanese version of (84).

1. 千葉で起きた、給食のパンをのどに詰まらせて亡くなった男の子の事故。
2. 自分達が子供の頃も、よく男子は「牛乳一気飲み」「パンの早食い」なんかやりましたね。。
3. まさか、こんな日常の中のちょっとした「おふざけ」でこんな事故が起きるとは。。
4. さきほど、スッキリ！でやっていたのですがのどに詰まらせる食べ物、ワースト3やっていたのですが
 1位 もち 2位 パン 3位 ご飯なんだそうです！
5. 正直、パンは意外でした。

Furthermore, since the gender of the blogger is female⁴⁸ and she was not a member of the group that performed “drinking milk in one gulp” or “speed-eating of bread,” she was considered to be an observer when the boys were engaged in those activities. As we discussed in Chapter 5, third-person activities observed by the speaker or the writer can be marked with the *-te iru* construction in the mode of non-narrative, and the occurrence of *-te iru* line 2 still does not contradict with the present study’s previous findings.

Considering the existence of the two types of marking functions of the *-te iru* construction, which are the aspectual marking and the observation marking functions, it seems that the case of *-te iru* in line 2 of the above excerpt shows that a single occurrence of the *-te iru* construction could indicate both repetition and speaker observation simultaneously. In other words, when a repetitive habit is observed by the speaker or writer, the verb used for the activity can be simply marked with one case of the *-te iru* construction.

The next example is also coherent as a discourse in the mode of non-narrative, and it includes a case of the *-te iru* construction used to mark the aspectual property of habitual action. It appears that the same case of the *-te iru* construction also functions as an evidential marker of observation. (85) is from an essay by Hiroyuki Itsuki, who is one of the most famous writers in Japan. In the excerpt, he writes about the process with which Japanese people learn the traditional cultural elements of Japan.

(85)

- 1 Kono ‘yosete wa kaesu nami no oto’ toka, ‘tenpoo suikoden’ ni dete kuru
 this ‘the sound of repeating waves’ and *Tenpoo Suikoden* in appear
 ‘tone no kawa kaze tamoto ni irete tsuki ni sao sasu takasebune’ toka,
 ‘With the sound of Tone River in the sleeve, sticking an oar to the moon from the boat’ and

⁴⁸ The gender of this blogger is explicitly stated as female in other parts of the blog.

shinkokugeki ‘kunisada chuuji’ ni dete kuru ‘akagi no yama mo koyoi kagiri’ toka,
new national theater *Kunisada Chuuji* in appear ‘This is my last night in the Akagi mountain’ and

kooshita nihongo no meechooshi toka meemonku o, watashitachi wa rookyoku
such Japanese LK well-known phrases and set phrases O we TP traditional songs

toka shibai toka koodan toka rakugo kara manande kita to ieru deshoo.
and play and story-telling and comedy from learn-PST QT can be said

‘It can be said that we learned well-known Japanese phrases and expressions such as “the sound of repeating waves,” “with the sound of Tone River in the sleeve, sticking an oar to the moon from a boat” in *Tenpoo Suikoden*, and the new national play *Kunisada Chuuji*’s “this is my last night at the Akagi Mountain,” from traditional Japanese songs, plays, stories, and comedy plays.’

- 2 Desu kara, nihon no dentooteiki na bunka to shite, kooshita mono wa hijoo ni taisetu da to
therefore Japan LK traditional culture as such things TP very important CP QT

omou no desu.
think NOM CP

‘Therefore, I think that such things are very important as Japanese traditional cultures.’

- 3 Zettai ni mushi shite wa ikenai mono da to iu ki ga shimasu.
never ignore TP not good thing CP QT feel

‘I feel we should never ignore these.’

- 4 ➤ Chichioya mo nakama o atsumete enkai o yattari, shoogatsu no nenga ni kita okyakusan
father also friends O invite party O have new year’s LK celebration to came guests

to osake o nomu toki ni wa yoku uta o utatte ita.
with alcohol O drink when TP often song O sing-*te iru*-PST

‘When my father invited his friends and had parties, or when he drank with his guests to celebrate New Year’s Day, he often sang songs.’

- 5 Fukuoka no ‘kurodabushi’ mo utaeba, ‘hakutoosanbushi’ ya ‘oryokkoobushi’ mo utau
Fukuoka LK *Kurodabushi* also sing *Hakutoosanbushi* and *Oryokkoobushi* also sing

to iu guai desu.
QT level CP

‘His repertoire included Fukuoka’s *Kurodabushi*, *Hakutoosanbushi*, and *Oryokkoobushi*.’

- 6 Hakutoosan wa choosen hantoo to chuugoku no sakai ni aru yuume na yama desu shi,
 Hakutoosan CP Korean peninsula and China LK border located famous mountain CP and
 oryokkoo mo kokkyoo zoi o nagarete iru kawa desu.
Oryokoo also border along O run-te iru river CP

‘*Hakutoosan* is a famous mountain that is located on the border of the Korean Peninsula and China, *Oryokoo* is also a river that runs along the border.’⁴⁹

Since this excerpt clearly does not list past events in the temporal order, it can be easily determined that the ongoing mode of discourse is non-narrative, and the whole excerpt is coherent as an atemporal discourse.

The author of this excerpt states his hypothesis on how Japanese people learn well-known phrases and expressions in lines 1, and in lines 2 and 3, he states additional opinions on what he stated in line 1. In lines 4 and 5, as a piece of supporting evidence for his hypothesis in line 1, the author writes that his father often sang traditional Japanese songs when he hosted parties or celebrated New Year’s Day with his friends. In line 4, the verb *utau* ‘to sing’ is used for the father’s action, and it is marked with the past form of the *-te iru* construction. Since the writer was an observer of his father’s action, using the *-te iru* construction for his father’s action is compatible with the idea that the *-te iru* construction functions as an evidential marker of observation. In addition, as represented by the use of the adverb *yoku* ‘often,’ it is evident that the father’s act of singing was a habitual action that was performed on a regular basis, and the same *-te iru* construction can be interpreted as a marker of aspectual property as well. Therefore,

⁴⁹ Japanese version of (85).

1. この「寄せては返す波の音」とか、『天保水滸伝』に出てくる「利根の川風袂にいれて月に棹さす高瀬舟」とか、新国劇『国定忠治』に出てくる「赤城の山も今宵限り」とか、こうした日本の名調子とか名文句を、私たちは浪曲とか芝居とか講談とか落語から学んできたといえるでしょう。
2. ですから、日本の伝統的な文化として、こうしたものは非常に大事だと思うのです。
3. 絶対に無視してはいけないものだという気がします。
4. 父親も、仲間を集めて宴会をやったり、正月の年賀にきたお客さんとお酒を飲むときには、よく歌をうたっていた。
5. 福岡の『黒田節』もうたえば、『白頭山節』や『鴨緑江節』もうたう、という具合です。
6. 白頭山は朝鮮半島と中国との境にある有名な山ですし、鴨緑江も国境沿いを流れている川です。

it is possible to interpret that the *-te iru* construction in line 4 is simultaneously marking the aspectual property of repetition and observation by the writer.

The cases of the *-te iru* construction for habitual actions in (84) and (85) show that when someone observed a third-person's habitual action, the verb for the action is simply marked with one *-te iru* construction, and the construction marks the aspectual property of habitual action, and it does not interfere with the *-te iru* construction's function as an evidential marker of observation.

6.2. Continuative/Progressive + *-te iru*'s Observation Marking Function

In this section, the present study will examine some excerpts in which the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker of observation in addition to the marking of aspectual property of continuative/progressive.

Example (86) is from an internet blog, and the writer of the blog writes about playing tennis in a group of friends on the previous day. Since there is no temporal advancement with the progression of the text, the ongoing mode of discourse is determined as the mode of non-narrative.

(86)

1 Kinoo wa kunai no tenisu kooto de, ichi men yo jikan,
yesterday TP inside district LK tennis court at one court four hours

hachi nin (danjo kaku yo nin) deshita.
eight people men and women each four people CP

'Yesterday, we had eight members (four men, four women), and used one tennis court for four hours.'

- 2 Musuko doohan dakara, kono kurai wa ninzuu ga inai to kootai de mendoo mite
son with because this many TP number SB NEG if by turns look after

moraenai desu kara. (warau)
NEG CP because (laugh)

‘My son was with me, and he wouldn’t have been looked after if we didn’t have this many members.’

- 3→ Saiwai, shusai no K chan mo, yon sai no musukosan doohan de kita node
fortunately, host LK K Ms. also four year’s old LK son with came because

uchi no ko to zutto issho ni **asonde imashita.**
my child with continuously with play-*te iru*-PST

‘Fortunately, since K, who was the host, came with her four-year old son, he was hanging out with my son all the time.’

- 4 Kooto no mawari ni asoberu supeesu ga aru to motto yokatta n desu kedo.
court LK around can play space SB exist if more good NOM CP FP

‘I wish we had more space around the tennis court.’

- 5 Itsumo wa roku jikan tenisu no menbaa desu kara, yo jikan wa atto iu ma.
usually TP six hours tennis LK members CP because four hours TP very short time

‘I felt four hours was very short because we usually play tennis for six hours.’

- 6 Monotarinaï kurai.
not enough extent

‘It was not long enough.’⁵⁰

After the introduction of the topic in line 1 and some additional information in line 2, the writer writes about what her friend K was doing during the tennis session. The sentence includes the adverb *zutto* ‘continuously,’ and it ends with *asonde imashita*, which is the combination of the verb *asobu* ‘to play’ and the past form of the *-te iru* construction. Because of the usage of the

⁵⁰ Japanese version of (86).

1. 昨日は区内のテニスコートで、1面4時間、8人（男女各4人）でした。
2. 息子同伴だから、このくらいは人数がいないと、交代で面倒してもらえないですから。（笑）
3. 幸い、主催のKちゃんも、4歳の息子さん同伴で来たので、うちの子とずっと一緒に遊んでいました。
4. コートの周りに遊べるスペースがあると、もっと良かったんですけど。
5. いつもは6時間テニスのメンバーですから、4時間はあっという間。
6. 物足りないくらい。

adverb *zutto*, it can be inferred that K's four-year-old son was continuously playing with the writer's son during the whole tennis session, and the contextual information suggests that the writer has observed the two children playing together. Therefore, it is possible to interpret that the *-te iru* construction in line 3 is used to mark the aspectual property of continuation, and it also marks observation by the writer.

Example (87) is another excerpt containing a case of the *-te iru* construction that appears to be marking the aspectual property of continuation and speaker observation simultaneously. Example (87) is a blog entry, in which a father writes about what his two sons were doing when they played baseball in the park.

(87)

- 1 Kooen no tsutsuji mo daibu saite kimashita.
park LK azaleas also fairly have bloomed

'The azaleas in the park are blooming.'

- 2 Moo sukoshi de mankai deshoo.
more a little fully bloomed CP

'They will be fully bloomed soon.'

- 3 Soko de wa, yakyuu gokko o otoko san nin de yarimashita.
there TP baseball playful O male three people by do-PST

'We played 'play baseball' in a group of three men.'

- 4→ Karera wa toriaezu yakyuu ga dekireba manzoku no yoo de taihen tanoshinde
they TP for the time being baseball SB if can do satisfied NOM seem CP a lot enjoy

tokiniwa kyoodai genka mo shitsutsu mo hitasura booru o oikakete kooen o
sometimes brothers fight also do though non-stop ball O chase park O

hashiri mawatte imashita.

run around-*te iru*-PST

'It seemed that they were happy as long as they could play baseball and they were enjoying it a lot, and they were running around in the park even though they sometimes fought between the brothers.'

- 5 Toku ni yakyuu no ruuru ga roku ni wakaranai jinan wa suki katte na ugoki o shi
 especially baseball LK rules SB well understand NEG second son TP freely move

sore o mite choonan ga okoru to iu oyakusoku no koozu wa waraemashita.
 it O look first son SB get angry QT set LK pattern TP entertaining

‘Especially my younger son was randomly running around because he doesn’t know the rules of baseball very well, and it was entertaining to see the typical pattern of my older son getting angry at my younger son after the random move.’

- 6 Soshite choonan wa ‘jishoo’ fooku booru ya ‘jishoo’ suraidaa o nagete ita
 and first son TP ‘self-claimed’ fork ball and ‘self-claimed’ slider O throw-*te iru*-PST

soo desu.
 heard CP

‘And according to my older son, he was throwing ‘self-claimed’ fork balls and ‘self-claimed’ sliders.’

- 7 Chokkyuu to no kubetsu wa mattaku tsukimasen ga.
 straight ball from difference TP completely noticeable NEG but

‘But I couldn’t tell the difference from his fast balls.’⁵¹

Even though this example includes several past events that happened in the park, the events are not listed in the temporal order. Therefore, the ongoing mode of discourse for the above excerpt can be determined as the mode of non-narrative. In line 3, the father uses the adverb *hitasura* ‘without interruption’ and *hashiri mawatte imashita* (*hashiri mawaru* ‘to run around’ + past form of *-te iru*) in the description of what his two sons were doing at the park. Similar to the previous example, the use of *hitasura* ‘without interruption’ indicates that the temporal property of the action was continuative, and the same event was also observed by the writer. Therefore, example

⁵¹ Japanese version of (87).

1. 公園のつつじもだいぶ咲いてきました。
2. もう少しで満開でしょう。
3. そこでは「野球ごっこ」を男3人でやりました。
4. 彼らは取りあえず野球が出来れば満足のようで大変楽しんで時には兄弟喧嘩をしつつもひたすらボールを追いかけて公園を走り回っていました。
5. 特に野球のルールがろくに分からない次男は好き勝手な動きをし、それを見て長男が怒るというお約束の構図はなかなか笑えました。
6. そして長男はどうやら「自称」フォークボールや「自称」スライダーを投げていたそうです。
7. 直球との区別は全くつきませんが・・・

(87) also suggests that when an observed event has the aspectual property of continuation, the verb for the event is marked with the *-te iru* constriction, and it indicates the aspectual property of the described event and observation made by the writer simultaneously.

In addition, it should be noted that the aspectual properties of continuation and progression are often not clearly distinguished from each other when the aspectual properties of the *-te iru* construction are discussed. To be more precise, the aspectual property of an action that continues for an extended duration of time is typically called “continuous,” and the property for an action that is in progress at a certain point of time is called “progression,” but both are often placed in one category. The previous two excerpts contained the cases of the *-te iru* construction marking the aspectual property of continuation, but the following case of the *-te iru* construction is used for an observed action with the aspectual property of progression. In (88), a woman writes about observing her boyfriend yelling in his office.

(88)

- 1 Ima no kareshi wa juuni sai hanarete ite sarariiman desu.
current LK boyfriend TP twelve years separate company worker CP

‘My current boyfriend is 12 years older than me and he is a company worker.’

- 2 Fudan totemo amaenboo de hizamakura toka yoku segamareru n desu.
usually very sweet CP sit on my lap etc. often ask for NOM CP

‘Usually, he is very sweet and he likes sleeping on my lap.’

- 3➤ Desu ga, kyoo kare no wasuremono o kare no kaisha made todoketa n desu ga,
CP but today his LK forgotten item O he LK company to deliver-PST NOM CP but

kare ga san nin gurai no buka ni sugoi kenmaku de donatte mashita.
he SB three about LK subordinate at furiously yell-*te iru*-PST

‘However, when I went to his company office to bring him something he left at home, he was furiously yelling at his three subordinates.’

- 4 Sonna kare o mita no ga hajimete de dogimo nukare mashita.
like that him O see-PST NOM SB first time CP be shocked-PST
‘It was my first time to see that side of him, and I was very shocked.’
- 5 Fudan kara shigotoba de wa jibun ni mo hito ni mo kibishii hito mitai desu.
usually from workplace at TP self to also others to also strict person seem CP
‘I heard that he is always strict with himself and also with other people.’
- 6 Watashi no mae de no sugata wa nan datta n deshoo?
me in front of LK him TP what CP NOM CP
‘What was his behavior when he was with me?’
- 7 Kare kara mireba kodomo no watashi ni awasete kureteta n deshoo ka?
him from see child LK me to adjust NOM CP Q
‘Was he adjusting his maturity level for me, who is a child for him?’
- 8 Hontoo ni bikkuri shimashita.
really be surprised-PST
‘I was really surprised.’⁵²

Since this excerpt does not list events in the temporal order, the mode of discourse can be determined as non-narrative in (88). In line 3 of (88), the verb *donaru* ‘to yell,’ which is used for the writer’s boyfriend’s act of yelling, is marked with the *-te iru* construction. From the contextual information provided in the excerpt, it is highly probable that when the writer arrived at her boyfriend’s office, the boyfriend’s action of yelling was in progress and the action was

⁵² Japanese version of (88).

1. 今の彼は十二歳離れていてサラリーマンです。
2. 普段、とても甘えん坊で膝枕とかよくせがまれるんです。
3. ですが、今日彼の忘れ物を彼の会社まで届けたんですが、彼が3人位の部下にすごい剣幕で怒鳴ってました。
4. そんな彼を見たのが初めてで、度肝抜かれました。
5. 普段から仕事場では自分にも人にも厳しい人みたいです。
6. 私の前での姿はなんだったんでしょう？
7. 彼から見ればコドモの私に合わせてくれてたんでしょうか？
8. 本当にビックリしました。

also observed by the writer. Therefore, the *-te iru* construction in line 3 can be seen as a marker of aspectual property as well as a marker of speaker observation.

The cases of the *-te iru* construction for continuous or progressive events in (86), (87) and (88) demonstrate that when continuous/progressive events are observed, one case of the *-te iru* construction can simultaneously mark the aspectual property of continuation/progression, and it can also mark that the source of the stated proposition is the speaker's first-hand observation.

6.3. Resultative (Stative) + *-te iru*'s Observation Marking Function

In this section, some examples that contain the cases of the *-te iru* construction used for observed events with the aspectual property of so-called resultative state will be examined.

Example (89) is a written example from an internet message board, on which the writer asks a question about the quality of a TV program.

(89)

- 1 Senjitsu tamatama *Sukapaa*⁵³ no tabi channeru o mimashita.
other day coincidentally SkyperfecTV LK travel channel O watch-PST

'I watched a TV program on the travel channel on SkyperfecTV by coincidence the other day.'

- 2> 'Bijo to yumeguri' (??) toka iu, bangumi de wakai onnanoko ga yukata o
beautiful women with visiting hot springs called program in young girl SB yukata O
hidari mae ni shite **kite imashita.**
left front put wear-*te iru*-PST

'On a TV program called 'Visiting Hot Springs with Beautiful Women,' a young girl was wearing her *yukata* with her left side closer to her body.'

⁵³ *Sukapaa* = abbreviated version of SkyPerfecTV, which is a well-known Japanese satellite broadcasting service.

- 3 Sore o mite bikkuri!
that O look be surprised

‘I was surprised when I saw it.’

- 4 Sutaffu mo kizukanai kurai no baka bangumi na n deshoo ka.
staff also notice NEG level LK stupid program CP NOM CP Q

‘Is the program stupid to the extent where even the staff members don’t notice it?’⁵⁴

In this excerpt, the writer writes about what she observed on TV, and in line 2, she describes how a woman who appeared on TV was wearing a *yukata*.⁵⁵ The verb used for the description is *kiru* ‘to wear,’ and it is used with the past form of the *-te iru* construction. Since what the writer describes in line 2 is a state of the woman wearing a *yukata*, the *-te iru* construction in line 2 can be considered as being used for marking the aspectual property of state. In addition, since the writer was an observer of the woman who appeared on TV, it is possible to interpret that the usage of the *-te iru* construction in line 2 also marks the writer’s observation. Therefore, the idea that the *-te iru* construction marks speaker observation does not interfere with its aspectual marking property in the case of the *-te iru* construction in line 2.

The next example is also from an internet discussion board. In (90), the writer expresses his resentment about what he observed on the bus.

(90)

- 1 ➤ Yuugata basu ni nottara shirubaa shiito ni shoogakusee no joshi ga **suwatte ite**
dusk bus on get on elderly seat on elementary school students LK girls SB sit-*te iru*

⁵⁴ Japanese version of (89).

1. 先日、たまたまスカパーの旅チャンネルを見ました。
2. 「美女と湯巡り」(??)とかいう、番組で若い女の子が浴衣を左前にして着ていました。
3. それ見てびっくり!!
4. スタッフも気づかない位のバカ番組なんですか???

⁵⁵ *Yukata* is a traditional Japanese summer clothing. When a *yukata* is worn, the right side of the front portion of the *yukata* must be closer to the body.

sore dake demo haradatashii noni shoogakusee no me no mae ni wa
that only even irritating though elementary school children LK eye LK front in TP

hahaoya rashiki hito ga **tatte imashita.**
mother looking person SB stand-*te iru*-PST

‘When I was on the bus in the afternoon, two elementary school girls were sitting on the seats for the elderly and it was irritating, and in addition to it, a woman who looked like their mother was also standing in front of them.’

- 2 Futsuu kodomo wa tatte iru beki da shi, shikamo suwatte iru no wa shirubaa shiito.
usually children TP stand-*te iru* should CP and what’s more sit-*te iru* LK TP elderly seat

‘Usually children should keep standing, and what is more, they were sitting on the seats for senior citizens.’

- 3 Sono kodomo wa guai ga waru soo demo kega o shite iru wake demo naku
those children TP feeling sick seem injured situation NEG

kyakkyu to hashaide imashita.
being wild

‘It looked like the children weren’t sick or injured, and they were being very wild.’

- 4 Minasan mo okosan ni suwarasete jibun wa tatte itari shimasu ka?
everyone also children to make sit self TP stand-*te iru* Q

‘Do you let your children sit on the bus, and also keep standing?’⁵⁶

In line 1, the writer describes what he saw on the bus. In the first part of line 1, the writer mentions the two elementary school girls sitting on the seats for senior citizens, and in the second part of line 1, he writes about the girls’ mother standing in front of them. For the description of the girls, the combination of the verb *suwaru* ‘to sit’ and the gerund form of the *-te iru* construction is used, and for the mother, the combination of *tatsu* ‘to stand’ and the past form of the *-te iru* construction is used. As can be inferred from the contextual information of the

⁵⁶ Japanese version of (90).

1. 夕方バスに乗ったらシルバーシートに小学生の女子が二人座っていて、それだけでも腹立たいのに小学生の目の前には母親らしき人が立っていました。
2. 普通、子供は立っているべきだし、しかも座ってるのはシルバーシート。
3. その子供は具合が悪そうでもケガをしてるわけでもなくきゃっきやとはしゃいでいました。
4. みなさんもお子さんに座らせて自分は立っていたりしますか？

above excerpt, what the writer observed was the state of the girls and the mother sitting or standing, not the on-going moment of the moving action of sitting down or standing up.

Therefore, the aspectual property that is indicated by the two cases of the *-te iru* construction in line 1 is stative, and it is possible to interpret that the same *-te iru* construction also marks observation by the writer.

6.4. Chapter Summary

The analysis of examples (84) through (90) has shown that the existence of the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction is not incompatible with the aspectual marking function of the construction. What this indicates is that a speaker or writer can use the *-te iru* construction for an observed event, and the same case of the construction can simultaneously mark the aspectual properties typically marked with *-te iru* such as repetition, continuation, progression, or state. In regards to the relationship between the observation and aspectual marking functions of the *-te iru* construction, Yanagisawa (1995) speculates that the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction has been ‘buried’⁵⁷ under the aspectual marking function of the construction in studies of the *-te iru* construction. The findings from examples (84) through (90) are compatible with Yanagisawa’s speculation and indicate that the aspectual and observation marking functions of the *-te iru* construction can co-exist in one occurrence of the construction. The findings from this chapter are also compatible with Sadanobu and Malchukov’s (2011) argument on the evidential meaning of the *-te iru* construction, in which the authors claim that the evidential extension of the *-te iru* construction should be recognized as a separate meaning from its aspect-temporal meanings.

⁵⁷ *umorete kita* (埋もれてきた) in Yanagisawa’s (1995) original text

This chapter has examined several examples of the *-te iru* construction used for observed events that exhibit typical aspectual properties that are marked with the *-te iru* construction. The findings have shown that a single case of the *-te iru* construction can simultaneously mark aspectual information and the observation by the speaker, indicating that the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction does not interfere with its aspectual marking function.

Chapter 7

Overlapping Events and the *-te iru* Construction

The previous chapter examined how the *-te iru* construction is used when an event with the aspectual property of repetition, continuation, or resultative state is observed by the speaker in the discourse in the mode of non-narrative. Needless to say, the *-te iru* construction can also be used as a marker of aspectual properties in the mode of narrative, and the relationship between the construction's aspectual and observation marking functions in the mode of narrative should be explored. In this chapter, examples that include the *-te iru* construction in the mode of narrative will be explored in order to uncover to what extent the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction is relevant in the mode of narrative.

7.1. Overlapping Events in the Mode of Narrative

The *-te iru* construction is used as a marker of aspectual property in the mode of narrative when an event is purposefully described as an overlapping event with another event. Kudo (1995) provides the following passage to demonstrate how the *-te iru* construction is used to indicate temporal overlaps between multiple events.

(91)

- 1 Kare wa, owareru yoo ni gake ni chikai iwakage ni tobikonda①.
 he TP be chased like cliff to near rock shade to jump-PST

‘He jumped into the shadow of a rock as if he were being chased.’

- 2 Sono semai kuukan ni wa, ooku no hee to juumin tachi ga mi o **kagamete ita**②.
that small space in TP many soldiers and residents SB body O hide-*te iru*-PST

‘In that small space, many soldiers and residents were lowering their bodies.’

- 3 Hee no hitori ga, kodomo o daita onna ni juu o **tsukitsukete ita**③.
soldiers LK one SB child O hold woman to gun O point at-*te iru*-PST

‘One of the soldiers was pointing his gun at a mother who was holding a baby.’

- 4 “Ii ka, kodomo ga naitara korusu zo. Teki ni kizukarereba kaenhooshaki de
ok Q child SB if cry kill FP enemy by if be noticed flamethrower with

zen-in ga yarareru n da.”
everyone SB be killed NOM CP

“Ok? If your child starts crying, I’ll kill him/her. If the enemy finds us, we’ll all be killed with the flamethrower.”

- 5 Onna wa kikaiteki ni **unazuki tsuzukete ita**④.
woman TP mechanically continue nodding-*te iru*-PST

‘The woman kept nodding mechanically.’

- 6 Sonouchi ni, futo warau yona nakimusebu yona hikui koe ga, haigo de **kikoeta**⑤.
then suddenly laughing like crying like low voice SB behind from hear-PST

‘After that, I heard a low toned voice that sounded like laughing or crying from behind.’

- 7 Furimuku to juu o tsukitukerareta onna ga, kao o aomukase, kuchibiru o **furuwasete iru**⑥.
turn around when gun O be pointed at woman SB face O facing up lips O shake-*te iru*

‘When I turned around, a soldier was pointing a gun at a woman who was facing up and shaking her lips.’

- 8 Onna no kataku nigirishimerareta ryootenohira no aida ni wa, nagai shita o tsukidashita
woman LK tightly held both hands LK between in TP long tongue O stick out

eeji no kubi ga **shimetsukerareteita**⑦.
baby LK neck SB tighten-*te iru*-PST

‘Between her tightened hands, the neck of a baby who was sticking out his/her tongue was being tightened.’

- 9 “Umanori ga hajimatta.”
mounting SB start-PST

“‘Mounting has started.’”

- 10 Kakekonde kita hee ga, chinoke no useta kao de sakenda⑧.
Come-PST soldier SB pale face with shout-PST

‘A soldier who ran into the space said with a pale face.’

- 11 Soshite, “koko ni mo teki ga kuru zo, kaen hooshaki de yarareru zo” to itta⑨.
and here to also enemy SB come FP flamethrower with be killed FP QT say-PST

‘And he said “the enemy is coming here, we’ll be killed with the flamethrower.”’

- 12 Juumin mo hee mo obieta yoo ni tachiagatta⑩.
residents and soldiers also scared look stand up-PST

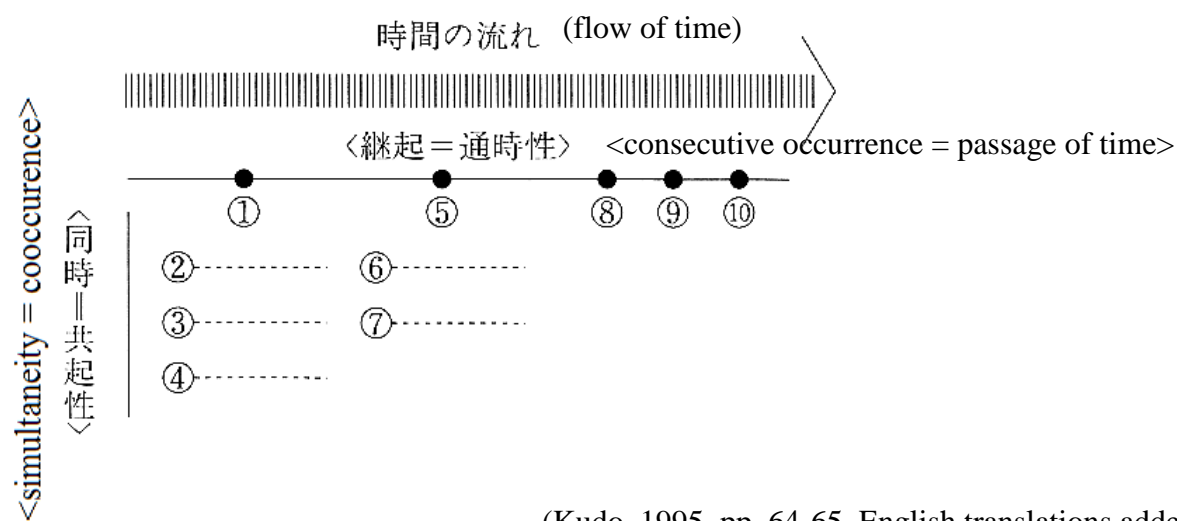
‘The residents and the soldiers stood up with a scared look.’⁵⁸

(Kudo, 1995, pp. 64-65)

Based on the analysis of the above discourse, Kudo argues that when the simple past tense is used at the end of a sentence, it indicates the progression of time, and when consecutive events are listed with the sentential endings in the past tense, the events are listed in the temporal order. In (91), ①, ⑤, ⑧, ⑨, and ⑩ are in the past-tense form, and those events are listed in the temporal order. On the other hand, Kudo argues that when the *-te iru* construction is used for an event, it is described as an overlapping event with another event written in the past tense. For example, in (91), ②, ③, and ④ overlap with ①, and ⑥ and ⑦ overlap with ⑤. Kudo summarizes the event sequence in (91) as shown in the following diagram.

⁵⁸ Japanese version of (91).

1. かれは、追われるように崖に近い岩陰にとび込んだ①。
2. その狭い空間には、多くの兵と住民たちが身をかがめていた②。
3. 兵の一人が、子供を抱いた女に銃をつきつけていた③。
4. 「いいか、子供が泣いたら殺すぞ。敵に気づかれれば、火炎放射器で全員がやられるんだ」
5. 女は、機械的にうなずきつつけていた④。
6. そのうちに、ふと笑うような泣きむせぶような低い声が、背後で聞こえた⑤。
7. 振り向くと、銃を突き付けられた女が、顔を仰向かせ、唇を震わせている⑥。
8. 女の固くにぎりしめられた両掌の間には、ながい舌を突き出した嬰兒の首がしめつけられていた⑦。
9. 「馬乗りがはじまった」
10. 駆けこんできた兵が、血の気の失せた顔で叫んだ⑧。
11. そして、「ここにも敵がくるぞ、火炎放射器でやられるぞ」と言った⑨。
12. 住民も兵も、おびえたように立ち上がった⑩。

Diagram 7.1. Event Sequence in (91)

(Kudo, 1995, pp. 64-65, English translations added)

Kudo's analysis examines how overlapping events are marked with the *-te iru* construction in discourse in which multiple events are listed in the temporal order, but she does not discuss the usages of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation. However, since the validity of Kudo's analysis on overlapping events seems reasonably plausible, the present study follows Kudo's argument in regards to the temporal properties of the *-te iru* construction, and examines how the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction relates to the usage of the construction for overlapping events in the mode of narrative.

7.2. Data Examination

7.2.1. First-Person Narrative

In this section, some written excerpts that exhibit the property as narrative discourse are examined to explore how the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function may co-occur in the description of overlapping events. Excerpt (92) is from an essay about traveling, and the author writes about his experience of hitchhiking. In the excerpt, the first person pronoun used for the author is *boku* 'I,' which indicates that the excerpt is a first-person narrative based on what the author experienced.

(92)

- 1 Higa kurete kara wa, ryuuboku no takibi.
sunset from TP driftwood LK bonfire

‘After the sunset, we had a bonfire using driftwood.’

- 2 Soshite manten no hoshizora to odayaka na namioto de, saikoo ranku no
and whole sky LK starry sky and calm wave sound by highest ranked LK

kyanpu o tanoshinda.①
camp O enjoy-PST

‘And we enjoyed the highest ranked camping because of the starry sky and the calm sound of the waves.’

- 3 Yokujitsu, nakamoto san ni wakare o tsugeyoo to, hiru mae ni kare no ie o tazuneta.②
next day Nakamoto Mr. to goodbye O tell QT noon before at him LK house O visit-PST

‘On the following day, I visited Mr. Nakamoto's house to say goodbye before noon.’

- 4 Nakamoto san wa, yahari kinoo atta toki to onaji yoo ni usagi ni
Nakamoto Mr. TP as I expected yesterday meet-PST time QT same like rabbits to

esa o ataete ita.③
food O give-PST

‘Mr. Nakamoto was giving food to his rabbits just like he was when I met him.’

- 5 “Kono kyabetsu wa ikko sanbyakuen mo shiotta. Baasan ni wa naisho ja. Usagi wa
these cabbages TP one 300 yen even cost wife to TP secret CP rabbits TP

mago to chigatte nikumareguchi o tatakarenai kara ee wai. Noo.”
grand children from different complaint O be told NEG because good FP FP

““These cabbages were 300 yen each. Please don’t tell this to my wife. Rabbits are great because they don’t complain unlike my grandchildren. Right?””

- 6 Soo itte nakamoto san wa gookai ni waratta.④
so say Nakamoto Mr. TP lively laugh-PST

‘After saying that, Mr. Nakamoto laughed intensely.’

- 7 Sono ashimoto de usagi tachi wa sesse to kyabetsu o tabete ita.⑤
his feet at rabbits TP continuously cabbages O eat-*te* *iru*-PST

‘The rabbits were eating cabbages at his feet.’

- 8 Boku ga konkai no hanashi o hon ni keesai shite ii ka to tazunetara⑥, “Sukini see.”
I SB this time LK story O book in include ok Q QT when asked ‘it’s up to you’

to kotaeta.⑦
QT answer-PST

‘When I asked for permission to write about this episode, he said, “Do whatever you want to do.”’

- 9 Terao no jiisan ga mukae ni kita⑧ no wa, yakusoku doori juuni ji datta.
Terao LKold men SB pick me up come-PST NOM TP promised as 12 o’clock CP

‘As we promised, it was 12 o’clock when Mr. Terao came to pick me up.’

- 10 Tashoo nari tomo okane o haraoo to omotta ga, annojoo terao no jiisan wa
 more or less money O pay QT think-PST but as I thought Terao LK old man TP

kyohi shita.⑨

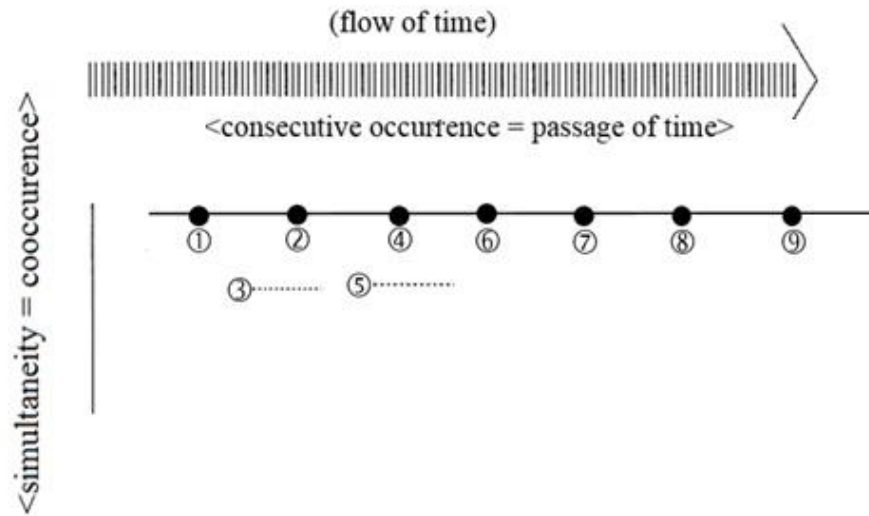
reject-PST

‘I offered some money to him, but as I expected, Mr. Terao rejected it.’⁵⁹

From observing the event sequence in this excerpt, it can be easily determined that the excerpt as a whole is in the mode of narrative. If we follow Kudo’s visualization approach for event sequence for overlapping events, the event sequence in (92) can be summarized as shown in the following diagram.

⁵⁹ Japanese version of (92).

1. 日が暮れてからは、流木の焚き火。
2. そして満天の星空と穏やかな波音で、最高ランクのキャンプを楽しんだ①。
3. 翌日、中本さんに別れを告げようと、昼前に彼の家を訪ねた②。
4. 中本さんは、やはり昨日会ったときと同じようにウサギにエサを与えていた③。
5. 「このキャベツは1個三百円もしおった。ばあさんには内緒じゃ。ウサギは孫と違って憎まれ口をたたかないからええわい。のう」
6. そういつて中本さんは豪快に笑った④。
7. その足元でウサギたちはせっせとキャベツを食べていた⑤。
8. ぼくが今回の話を本に掲載していいか尋ねたら⑥、「好きにせえ」と答えた⑦。
9. 寺尾のじいさんが迎えにきた⑧のは、約束どおり十二時だった。
10. 多少なりともお金を払おうと思ったが、案の定、寺尾のじいさんは拒否した⑨。

Diagram 7.2. Event Sequence in (92)

As visualized in the above diagram, ①, ②, ④, ⑥, ⑦, ⑧, and ⑨ are the events listed in the temporal order in (92). On the other hand, the verb for event ③, which is *ataeru* ‘to give,’ is marked with the *-te iru* construction, and the action is described as an overlapping event with ②. Based on the contextual information in (92), what ③ indicates is that at the moment the author arrived at Nakamoto’s house, Nakamoto’s action of giving food to his rabbits was in progress, and this also indicates that the description is about the author’s visual perception that occurred at the moment of his arrival to Nakamoto’s house. In addition, the *-te iru* construction’s observation marking function does not interfere or contradict with its aspectual marking function in ③ since the author was the observer of Nakamoto, who is a third-person for the author, giving food to the rabbits. Similarly, *taberu* ‘to eat’ for event ⑤ is marked with the *-te iru* construction, and ⑤ is described as an overlapping event with ④. Since the author was also an observer of ⑤, the *-te iru* construction’s usage does not contradict or interfere with its observation marking function.

The next excerpt includes a similar usage of the *-te iru* construction as the ones we explored in the previous excerpt. (93) is written by a father whose son was murdered, and the

excerpt is his recollection of his son's funeral. Since the excerpt is from a book based on the author's actual experiences, the excerpt is based on his actual experiences.

(93)

- 1 Awatadashii junbi ga **tsuzuita**① ato, gogo ichi ji sanjuppun no kokubetsushiki no
hurried preparation SB continue-PST after p.m. 1 o'clock half LK farewell service LK

jikan ga **kimashita**②.
time SB come-PST

'After the rushed preparation, at 1:30 p.m., the farewell ceremony started.'

- 2 Hontoo ni takusan no katagata ga Jun no tame ni **yattekite kuremashita**③.
really many LK people SP Jun for come-PST

'Many people came to the ceremony for Jun.'

- 3 Jun no tomodachi no hitori ga, "itsumademo itsumademo Jun kun wa taisetsu na
Jun LK friend LK one SB forever forever Jun Mr. TP important

tomodachi da yo. Issho ni sotsugyoo shiyoo ne" to, chooji o yomi nagara iee ni
friend CP FP together graduate let's do FP QT condolence O read while photo to

katarikakete kuremashita④.
Talk-PST

'One of Jun's friends said, "You will be our precious friend forever. Let's graduate together." to Jun's photo.'

- 4 Kaijoo zentai ga susurinaku koe de ippai ni **narimashita**⑤.
place all SB weeping voice with filled become-PST

'The entire room for the ceremony became filled with weeping voices.'

- 5 Tsuma wa hankachi o megashira ni ateta mama, tada **utsumuite imashita**⑥.
wife SB handkerchief O eyes to put with just look down-te iru-PST

'My wife was looking down while putting her handkerchief to her eyes.'

- 6 Watashi wa, "Jun wa wazuka ni jyussai de konoyo o sarimashita. Jun wa watashitachi
I SP Jun TP only 10 years old at this world O leave-PST Jun TP our

kazoku ni takusan no egao to tanoshii omoide o nokoshite itte kuremashita. Tengoku ni
family to a lot of LK smile and fun memories O leave-PST heaven to

itte mo mawari ni yasashisa to egao o furimaite kureru to omoimasu...” Oozee no kaisoosha o
go also others to kindness and smile O give QT think many LK attendants O

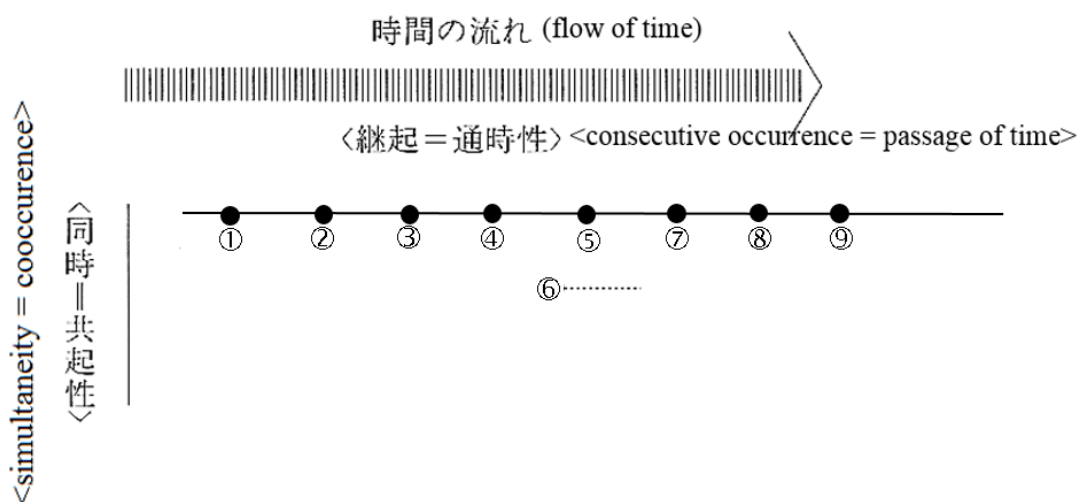
mae ni, yatto sonna aisatsu o shita⑦ yoo ni omoimasu.
in front of barely like that speech O give-PST QT think

‘I think I said in my speech that “Jun left this world when he was only 10 years old. He left us many smiles and fun memories. I think he is also going to give kindness and smiles to others in heaven.” in front of the attendants.’

- 7 Sono go, kaisoosha ni wa dete morai⑧, shinzoku dake de Jun to owakare o shimashita⑨.
that after attendants to TP leave let family only Jun with farewell O do-PST

‘After that, we let the attendants leave, and had a farewell just with our family members.’⁶⁰

Diagram 7.3. Event Sequence in (93)



⁶⁰ Japanese version of (93).

- 慌ただしい準備が続いた①あと、午後一時三十分の告別式の時間がきました②。
- 本当にたくさんの方が淳のためにやってきてくれました③。
- 淳の友だちの一人が、「いつまでもいつまでも淳君は大切な友だちだよ。一緒に卒業しようね」と、弔辞を読みながら遺影に語りかけてくれました④。
- 会場全体がすすり泣く声でいっぱいになりました⑤。
- 妻はハンカチを目頭にあてたまま、ただうつむいていました⑥。
- 私は、「淳はわずかに十一歳でこの世を去りました。淳は私たち家族にたくさんの笑顔と、楽しい思い出を残していつてくれました。天国にいても、まわりに優しさと笑顔を振りまいてくれると思います…」大勢の会葬者を前に、やっとそんな挨拶をした⑦ように思います。
- その後、会葬者には出てもらい⑧、親族だけで淳とお別れをしました⑨。

As represented by the temporal sequence of the events listed in the above excerpt, the mode of discourse in (93) as a whole can be determined as narrative, and it is a first-person narrative since *watashi* 'I' is used to refer to the writer. Also, as shown in the above diagram, most events in (93) are listed in the temporal order. However, the verb *utsumuku* 'to look down' for describing what the writer's wife did for event ⑥ is accompanied with the *-te iru* construction, and the event is presented as an overlapping event with ⑤, which is the room becoming filled with weeping voices. Since (93) is a first-person narrative constructed from the perspective of the writer, the wife is a third-person for the writer, and the writer was the observer of his wife's action. Therefore, the aspectual marking function of the *-te iru* construction and its observation marking function for a third-person event do not contradict or interfere with each other in the description of ⑥ in (93).

As the cases of the *-te iru* construction in (92) and (93) demonstrate, in first-person narratives, the *-te iru* construction's aspectual marking function and its observation marking function do not exhibit any contradictions, and the assumption that a single case of the *-te iru* construction can mark both aspectual properties and speaker observation simultaneously is compatible with the usages of the *-te iru* construction in the examined data.

7.2.2. Third-Person Narrative

In addition to first-person narrative discourse based on the events that the author personally experienced, some narrative stories of fiction are examined to explore how the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function is relevant or not relevant in the discourse mode of narrative. The following excerpt is from a fictional novel, and events are listed in the temporal order in the excerpt.

(94)

- 1 Raitaa o tsukeru oto ga daidokoro ni kikoete kita①.
lighter O ignite sound SB kitchen to hear-PST

‘The sound of lighting a lighter came from the kitchen.’

- 2 Miyoko wa chiisana sara o ichimai motte② ima o yokogiri③, shinshitsu ni haitta④.
Miyoko TP small plate O one grab living room O cross bedroom to enter-PST

‘Miyoko grabbed a small plate, and walked through the living room, and entered the bedroom.’

- 3 Tsuda wa hanshin o okoshite tabako o suttee ita⑤.
Tsuda TP upper body O raise cigarette O smoke-*te* *iru*-PST

‘Tsuda was smoking a cigarette with his upper body up.’

- 4 Kaaten no hirakareta mado kara shinai no chuushinchi ni aru depaato to atarashiku
curtain LK opened window from city LK center in exist department store and newly

taterareta bijinesu hoteru ga mieta⑥.
built business hotel SB see-PST

‘Miyoko saw a department store located in the center of the city and a newly built business hotel from the window with the curtain being open.’

- 5 Haizara gawari ni doozo, to itte⑦ kozara o beddo waki no teeburu ni oku to⑧, tsuda wa
ashtray substitute for please QT say small plate O bed side LK table on put and Tsuda TP

okinuke no boyaketa kao o miyoko ni mukete⑨ kemutage ni me o hosometa⑩.
after waking up LK sleepy face O Miyoko to direct smoky loookingly eyes O narrow-PST

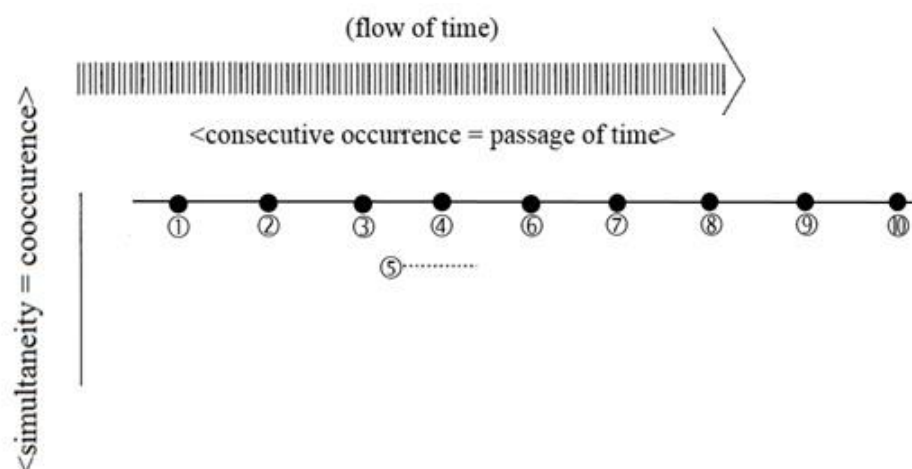
‘Miyoko said, “Please use this as an ashtray,” and put the small dish on the bedside table, and Tsuda turned his sleepy looking face in Miyoko’s direction, and narrowed his eyes as if he were bothered by the smoke.’⁶¹

⁶¹ Japanese version of (94).

1. ライターをつける音が台所に聞こえてきた①。
2. 美代子は小さな皿を一枚持って②居間を横切り③、寝室に入った④。
3. 津田は半身をを起こして煙草を吸っていた⑤。
4. カーテンの開かれた窓から市内の中心地にあるデパートと新しく建てられたビジネスホテルが見えた⑥。
5. 灰皿がわりにどうぞ、と⑦小皿をベッド脇のテーブルに置くと⑧、津田は起き抜けのぼやけた顔を美代子に向けて⑨煙たげに目を細めた⑩。

The event sequence of the above excerpt can be visualized as follows.

Diagram 7.3. Event Sequence in (94)



Since (94) is an excerpt from a fictional novel, the story is not based on the author's personal experiences and the events in the excerpt were not observed by the author. In addition, the characters in this novel are all referred to by proper nouns or third-person pronouns, and first-person pronouns such as *watashi* 'I' and *boku* 'I' are not used to refer to any of the characters in the novel. However, the examination of the *-te iru* construction used for event ⑤ shows the possibility the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function being actively in operation even in the discourse of fiction.

7.2.3. Point of View in Narrative

(94) is a scene where Tsuda and Miyoko are the only characters in the scene, and it can be inferred that the whole excerpt is constructed from the "viewpoint" of Miyoko. The notion of "viewpoint" or "point of view" has been frequently discussed in the studies of linguistics and narrative studies, and many scholars point out the notion of point of view relates to various

linguistic expressions used in discourse. For example, Fillmore's (1973) linguistic analysis on deictic center reveals the relationship between the point of view and demonstrative expressions such as *here*, *there*, *this*, and *that*. In addition, point of view is closely relevant to the expressions that involve spatial movements, and frequently used verbs such as *come* and *go* cannot be used correctly without establishing a proper point of view in regards to the actions being described. For instance, in reference to Fillmore (1973), Black et al. (1979) provides following example sentences to demonstrate that different viewpoints must be employed for *come* and *go* based on the physical location of the speaker. Compare (a) and (b) in (95).

(95)

(a) The door to Henry's lunchroom opened and two men *came* in.

(b) The door to Henry's lunchroom opened and two men *went* in.

(Black et al., 1979. p. 188)

Based on the comparison between (a) and (b), Black et al. claim that for (a), the narrator is located inside the lunchroom, and the event is seen from the inside of lunchroom, in contrast, the event is seen from the outside of the lunchroom for (b).

Furthermore, the notion of point of view is not limited to the description of physical location or spatial movements, but also relates to one's psychological perspective or attitude towards the stated propositional content. One of the well-known notions on such psychological perspectives is "empathy" by Kuno (1976, 1977, 1987, etc.) and Kuno and Kaburaki (1977), in which they use the term "camera angle" as an analogy to refer to the viewpoint from which events are described in discourse. For example, for describing the event of Taro giving money to Hanako, Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) provide the following example sentences to demonstrate how the concept of empathy plays a role in addition to the description of the propositional content.

(96)

- (a) Taroo wa Hanako ni okane o *yatta*.
 Taro TP Hanako to money O give-PST
 ‘Taro gave money to Hanako.’
- (b) Taroo wa Hanako ni okane o *kureta*.
 Taro TP Hanako to money O give-PST
 ‘Taro gave money to Hanako.’

(Kuno and Kaburaki, 1977, p. 630)

According to Kuno and Kaburaki, both *yatta* (past tense of *yaruu*) and *kureta* (past tense of *kureru*) mean ‘gave’ when they are translated into English, but the former is used when the action is seen from the perspective of Taro, and the latter is used when it is seen from the perspective of Hanako. Therefore, when a speaker utters (a), the “camera angle” views the event from Taro’s side and the speaker is being more psychologically empathic to Taro, who is the giver of the money. On the other hand, when (b) is uttered, the “camera angle” views the event from Hanako’s side, and the speaker’s psychological empathy is given to Hanako, who is the receiver of the money.

When a fictional story is narrated by a narrator, various literary effects can be created by manipulatively positioning the point of view, which can be flexible and mobile in fictional stories. Following the term “psychological point of view” proposed by Uspensky (1973), Wiebe (1994) states that a “third-person fictional narrative text is composed not only of passages that objectively narrate events, but also of passages that present characters’ thoughts, perceptions, and inner states. Such passages take a character’s psychological point of view” (p. 233). Based on this statement, Wiebe’s notion seems to be analogous to what Kuno calls “total identification,” which happens when the narrator’s viewpoint entirely overlaps with a character’s viewpoint in regards to the angle from which events are seen.

If we pay close attention to where the viewpoint from which events are described is located in the narration of the story in (94), it reveals the possibility of the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function being actively utilized in the narration of the story. In (94), ④ and ⑤ are overlapping events, and the *-te iru* construction is used with the verb *suu* 'to smoke' to describe event ⑤. As for the temporal relationship between ④ and ⑤, the contextual information shows that Tsuda's act of smoking a cigarette was in progress at the moment Miyoko entered the room. In this regard, the *-te iru* construction used for event ⑤ is undoubtedly a marker of an aspectual property. In regards to the narrative-internal viewpoint from which event ⑤ is described, it appears that Miyoko's viewpoint is employed for the description of ⑤ since it describes how Tsuda appeared to Miyoko at the moment Miyoko entered the bedroom. In addition, the employment of Miyoko's viewpoint corresponds to what Kuno calls "total identification" since the narrator's viewpoint is completely identical with Miyoko's viewpoint. Also, the existence of the *-te iru* construction's observation marking function properly fits into the assumption that the event is described from Miyoko's viewpoint, since Miyoko was clearly an observer of Tsuda's action of smoking in the world of the narrated story.

Furthermore, from examining excerpt (94) as a whole, the entire excerpt appears to be constructed from Miyoko's viewpoint, or at least from a viewpoint that is close to Miyoko, not Tsuda. For example, in line 1, *kikoeta*, which is the past form of the intransitive verb *kikoeru* 'to be audible,' is used with the description of the sound, and obviously an emphasis is placed on Miyoko's sound perception rather than the production of the sound itself. Similarly, *mieta*, which is the past form of the verb *mieru* 'to see' is used in line 4, and this is again about Miyoko's perception of the visual image. Also, the description of Tsuda's act of smoking in line 3 shows a similar attribute if we look at the description with the assumption that the *-te iru* construction

functions as marker of observation by Miyoko. That is, similar to the usage of the verbs of perception through the five senses such as *kikoeru* and *mieru*, the description of Tsuda's action with the *-te iru* construction in line 3 can be interpreted as a description of what Miyoko perceived from her viewpoint. On the relationship between the consistency of the point of view and discourse cohesiveness in the text of narrative, Black et al. (1979) argue that "people prefer to interpret narrative and descriptive discourses from a consistent perspective or point of view" (p. 187). Based on this assumption, the *-te iru* construction in line 3 can be interpreted as one of the linguistic items that contribute to the formation of a coherent discourse that is constructed from Miyoko's viewpoint throughout excerpt (94).

(97) is another excerpt that demonstrates the co-occurrence of aspectual and observation marking functions for overlapping events in a discourse. This excerpt is from a fictional novel, and the narration is done in the form of a third-person narrative since the protagonist is referred to by *Yazaki*, which is the proper noun for his family name.

(97)

- 1 Konban mo Fusako no heya ni ikaneba ikenai no ka to omou to yuuutsu na
tonight also Fusako LK room to must go NOM FP QT think when depressing

kibun ni **natta**①.
feeling to become-PST

‘(Yazaki) became depressed when he thought about going to Fusako’s room.’

- 2 Jibun no sodate no oya de aru Fusako ni wa sore kurai no koto wa shinakute wa to iu
oneself LK raised LK parent CP Fusako to TP that about LK thing TP have to do QT

kimochi to, suppokashite jitaku de yukkuri shitai to iu kimochi de Yazaki wa
feeling and skip home at relax want QT feeling between Yazaki TP

yureugoita②.
wander-PST

‘Yazaki’s heart wandered between feeling obligated to visit Fusako, who raised him, and the feeling of wanting to skip the visit and relax at home.’

- 3 Kekkyoku, yuushoku o sumasu to③, Yazaki wa ame o tsuite Fusako no heya ni mukatta④.
in the end dinner O finish when Yazaki TP in the rain Fusako LK room to head-PST

‘In the end, after eating dinner, Yazaki headed to Fusako’s room in the rain.’

- 4 Heya ni hairu to⑤, mezurashiku Fusako wa beddo ni koshi o kakete suwatte ita⑥.
room to enter when surprisingly Fusako TP bed to back O put sit-te iru-PST

‘When Yazaki entered the room, Fusako was sitting on the bed, which was quite unusual.’

- 5 “Kyoo wa chooshi ga ii mitai da ne. Suwatte iru.”
today TP condition SB good looks CP FP sit-te iru

‘It looks you are feeling good. You are in the sitting position.’

- 6 Yazaki wa dekirudake akarui chooshi de koe o kaketa⑦.
Yazaki TP as much as possible cheerfully voice O talk-PST

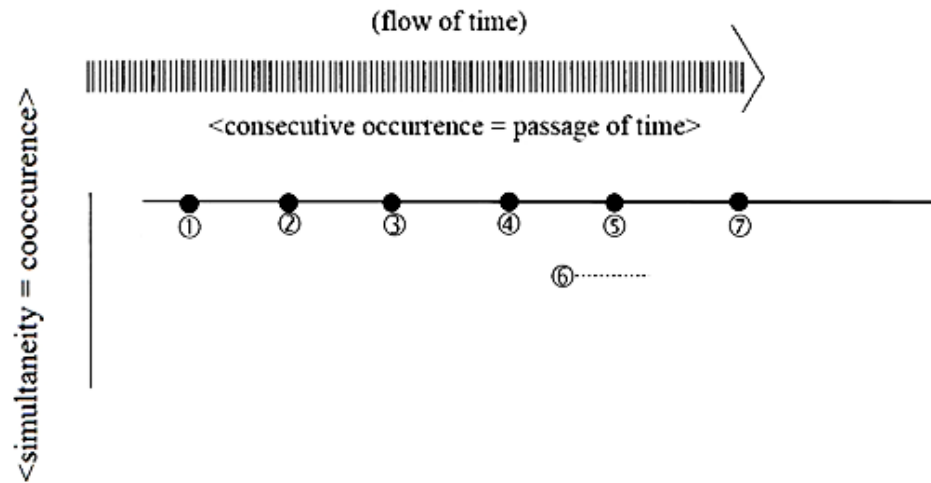
‘Yazaki talked to Fusako as cheerfully as possible.’⁶²

⁶² Japanese version of (97).

1. 今晚も房子の部屋に行かねばいけないのかと思うと憂鬱な気分になった①。
2. 自分の育ての親である房子にはそれくらいのことはしなくてはという気持ちと、すっぽかして自宅でゆっくりしたいという気持ちの間で矢崎は揺れ動いた②。
3. 結局、夕食を済ますと③、矢崎は雨について房子の部屋に向かった④。
4. 部屋に入ると⑤、珍しく房子はベッドに腰を掛けて座っていた⑥。
5. 「今日は調子がいいみたいだね。座っている」
6. 矢崎はできるだけ明るい調子で声をかけた⑦。

The following is the visualization of the event sequence in (97).

Diagram 7.4. Event Sequence in (97)



As demonstrated by the above visualization of the event sequence, (97) is clearly in the mode of narrative. Also, event ⑥ is described as an overlapping event with event ⑤ because of the usage of *-te iru* construction with the verb *suwaru* ‘to sit.’ It appears that the *-te iru* construction in line 5 indicates the aspectual property of state, since it can be determined that the combination of *suwaru* and the *-te iru* construction refers to Fusako’s body’s state at the moment when Yazaki entered the room. In addition, if we pay attention to the “point of view” employed in the above excerpt, the events in (97) are described from Yazaki’s point of view throughout the excerpt. For example, the description of Yazaki’s internal feelings in line 1 can be regarded as an example of “total identification” under Kuno’s empathy scale, and the same argument can be made for the sentence in line 2. Similarly, *mukatta* (past form of *mukau* ‘to head to’) in line 3 seems to be a similar expression to *iku* ‘to go’ in terms of the employed viewpoint, since they both refer to a physical movement moving away from the speaker’s current location, and this indicates that the

movement described in line 3 is seen from Yazaki's point of view. For the occurrence of the *-te iru* construction in line 4, the existence of the observation marking function properly fits into the notion of viewpoint employed for the whole excerpt, since *suwatte ita* in line 6 can be interpreted as Yazaki's observation of the position of Fusako's body, which is a reception of a visual image from Yazaki's viewpoint. Therefore, it is possible to interpret that the *-te iru* construction in line 4 is one of the linguistic items that constitute a discourse cohesively constructed from Yazaki's point of view throughout above excerpt.

7.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined how the *-te iru* construction's evidential marketing function becomes relevant when overlapping events are marked with the *-te iru* construction in discourse in the mode of narrative. Data examination in this chapter has shown that when the *-te iru* construction is used for an event that overlaps with another event, the existence of the construction's observation marking function does not interfere with its aspectual marking function, and the observation marking function of the construction can serve as one of the linguistic devices that contribute to the formation of a discourse that is cohesive in regards to the viewpoint from which the events are described. The next chapter will discuss the specific combination of the verb *iu* 'to say' and the *-te iru* construction.

Chapter 8

iu ‘to Say’ and the *–te iru* Construction

One of the major goals of the present study is to explore the specific combination of the verb *iu*⁶³ ‘to say’ and the *–te iru* construction, focusing on how the verb’s properties relate to the observation marking function of the *–te iru* construction. Throughout the process of data examination for the present study, the researcher had been under the impression that there could be some unique properties of the verb *iu* that highlight the non-aspectual functions of the *–te iru* construction. The first type of hypothesized property of *iu* was its tendency to be frequently used with the *–te iru* construction, and the second type of hypothesized possibility was that *iu* having unique aspectual properties in comparison with other verbs that are typically used for observable third-person actions. This chapter explores the combination of *iu* and the *–te iru* construction, examining its unique properties and pragmatic constraints that may contribute to the impression that *iu* differs from other verbs in relation to the non-aspectual functions of the *–te iru* construction.

8.1. Japanese Verb *iu* ‘to say’

Before analyzing the properties that are specific to the combination of the verb *iu* and the *–te iru* construction, some of the studies that have examined the properties of the verb *iu* are reviewed in this section.

⁶³ The verb *iu* is written as *iu* (言 う) in the writing system in Japanese, but phonologically both *iu* and *yuu* are acceptable. In the present study, the Romanized transcription for the verb is consistency kept as *iu* for the ease of understanding.

Morita (1977) summarizes *iu*'s overarching property as "one of the linguistic activities that belong to the larger group of expressive activities," and states that "[*iu* is] frequently used for oral expressions that are produced through auditory medium, but also used to refer to written expressions" (p. 57). Because of this semantic property of *iu*, the verb is very frequently used for quoting third person utterances with the quotation marking particle *to*⁶⁴. Examples (98) and (99) include such cases of *iu* that are used in order to quote a third-person utterance.

- (98) Kanojo wa sunao ni unazuite hai to itta.
 she TP obediently nod yes QT say-PST
 'She obediently nodded and said yes.'
- (99) Takahashi wa nagai koto guzuguzu shiteite, kekkyoku, iku no wa yosu to itta.
 Takahashi TP long time being slow after all go NOM TP refrain QT say-PST
 'Takahashi was being slow for a long time, and in the end, he said that he is not going.'

(Shibata, 1979, p. 88)

It must be noted that the Japanese verb *iu* frequently co-occurs with the *-te iru* construction in third-person quotative utterances, especially when it is used in colloquial speech. Examples (100) and (101) show the contrast between *iu* in the simple past form and its co-occurring form with the *-te iru* construction.

- (100) Takeshi-san wa ashita hon o kau to iimashita.
 Takeshi Mr. TP tomorrow book O buy QT say-PST
 'Takeshi said that he is going to buy a book tomorrow.'
- (101) Takeshi-san wa ashita hon o kau to itte imashita.
 Takeshi Mr. TP tomorrow book O buy QT say-*te iru*-PST
 'Takeshi said that he is going to buy a book tomorrow.'

To my knowledge, there are no previous studies that specifically focus on the difference between *iimashita* and *itte imashita* in third-person quotative utterances. There are some studies on the *-te iru* construction that include *iimashita* and *itte imashita* in their example sentences (e.g. Fujishiro,

⁶⁴-*tte*, which is a casual variation of *to*, is also frequently used in quotative utterances. Example: *Takeshi wa ashita gakkoo ni iku tte itteta yo* 'Takeshi said that he will go to school tomorrow.'

1996), but the verb *iu* is analyzed as one of many other verbs in their analyses and no special attention is given to the properties of the verb *iu*.

In regards to the linguistic form that precedes the quotative particle *to* used with *iu*, it should be pointed out that the form can be either the so-called plain form or the polite form. In general, the plain form is considered to be the type of sentential ending that does not mark the level of politeness, and the polite form is the form with which the speaker can express his or her stance of “addressee honorification” (e.g. Jorden and Noda, 1987; Tsujimura, 2007). The next two examples are from Nitta (1991).

- (102) Boku wa Yamada ni Tanaka ga kuru to itta.
 I TP Yamada to Tanaka SB come QT say-PST
 ‘I said to Yamada that Tanaka will come.’

- (103) Boku wa Yamada ni Tanaka ga kimasu to itta.
 I TP Yamada to Tanaka SB come QT say-PST
 ‘I said to Yamada that Tanaka will come.’

(Nitta, 1991, p. 192)

In (102), the verb *kuru* ‘to come’ that precedes the quotative particle *to* is in the plain form, resulting in the use of *kuru*. On the other hand in (103), *kimasu*, which is the polite form of the verb, is used before the quotation marking *to*. Examples (102) and (103) exhibit the freedom of choice between the plain form and the polite form when the quotative marking *to* is used with *iu*, which indicates that the original utterance’s politeness marking can be preserved when the utterance is quoted in another utterance. In regards to the difference between using the plain form and the polite form before the quotative *to* that co-occurs with *iu*, it is generally said that the plain form is used for indirect quotes and the polite form is used for direct quotes (Nakau, 1973, Coulmas, 1986, etc.), but it is also recognized that the distinction between the two forms is not always clear.

Nitta (1991) also points out that the acceptability of using the plain or the polite form before the quotative *to iu* contrasts with the limitations in politeness marking when the verb *omou* ‘to think’ is used with *to*. Examples (104) and (105) include *to* and *omotta*, which is the past form of *omou*.

(104) Kare ga kuru to omotta.
 he SB come QT think-PST
 ‘I thought that he would come.’

(105) *Kare ga kimasu to omotta.
 he SB come QT think-PST
 ‘I thought that he would come.’

(Nitta, 1991, p. 192)

In (104), the plain form of the verb *kuru* is used before the quotative *to*, and the sentence is considered to be grammatically acceptable. In contrast, in (105), the verb before the quotative *to* is the polite form *kimasu*, and this usage of the polite form makes the sentence grammatically unacceptable. Nitta explains that the verb *omou* ‘to think’ does not presume the existence of the addressee because it is a mental process that takes place in the speaker’s mind, therefore the speaker cannot mark the politeness level for the quoted part that precedes *to*. On the other hand, the verb *iu* ‘to say’ usually presumes the existence of the addressee for the quoted utterance, and for this reason politeness marking is allowed in the quoted part before *to*.

In regards to the types of activities that can be referred to by the verb *iu*, Morita (1977) observes that it is not only limited to the production of semantically loaded messages, but the production of non-semantic sounds can also be included, as we see in (106).

(106) “a u e o i” to itte kudasai.
 a u e o i QT say please
 ‘Please say “a u e o i.”’

(Morita, 1977, p. 58)

Example (106) demonstrates that non-semantic utterances such as *a u e o i* can be quoted by *to iu*, which indicates that *iu* does not always require communicative values in the quoted component. This is consistent with the description of *iu* included in *Kojien* (2008), which is Japan's leading Japanese dictionary. *Kojien* states that “[*iu*] refers to the expressive effects made by sounds and words, and they are not necessarily made for the purpose of delivering information” (p. 124). Furthermore, Morita states that the scope of *iu* also includes the production of non-linguistic sounds made by inanimate objects.

- (107) Kaze de to ga gatagata iu.
 wind by door SB rattling sound say
 ‘The door makes a rattling sound by the wind.’

(Morita, 1977, p. 57)

Gatagata in (107) is an onomatopoeic expression that refers to the rattling noise made by the movement of the door, which is the sound made by an inanimate object. As this example demonstrates, the scope of *iu* is widely inclusive and not limited to linguistic expressions uttered or written by human beings.

Shibata (1979) explores the semantic difference between *iu* and *hanasu* ‘to talk,’ and his study is worth mentioning here in order to further clarify the semantic properties of *iu*. Largely based upon Kitamura et al.’s (1978) study on the difference between *iu* and *hanasu*, Shibata claims that the primary meaning of *iu* is the act of producing sound or words, while *hanasu* refers to the delivery of descriptive information to a hearer. Compare the following two examples.

(108) *Hitorigoto o iu.*
 soliloquy O say
 ‘say a soliloquy’

(109) **Hitorigoto o hanasu.*
 soliloquy O talk
 ‘talk a soliloquy’

(Shibata, 1979, pp. 87-88)

In (108), the verb *iu* is usable for the act of uttering a soliloquy (*hitorigoto*), but *hanasu* is not acceptable as we observe in (109). According to Shibata’s explanation, the production of a soliloquy is a self-directed speech act and it is not uttered for the purpose of delivering information to a recipient. Therefore, using *hanasu* for a soliloquy makes the sentence unacceptable. However, since the focus of *iu* is the production of sound, it can be used for utterances that are not designed for the delivery of information to a hearer. The above described properties of *iu* and *hanasu* can be further highlighted when *hitorigoto* is replaced with *taiken* ‘experience.’ Observe the difference between (110) and (111).

(110) **Taiken o iu.*
 experience O say
 ‘say an experience’

(111) *Taiken o hanasu.*
 experience O talk
 ‘talk about an experience’

(Shibata, 1979, p. 90)

When *hitorigoto* ‘soliloquy’ is replaced with *taiken* ‘experience,’ using *iu* is unacceptable but using *hanasu* does not exhibit any problems. According to Shibata’s explanation, *taiken* is a description of one’s past experiences, and the primary semantic focus of *taiken* is the descriptive content, not the production of sound. Therefore, using *iu* and *taiken* together causes a mismatch between the focal points of the verb and the noun, and as a result (110) becomes unacceptable.

For (111), since the focus of *hanasu* is the delivery of information, there is no mismatch between the verb and the object and the sentence is acceptable.

In summary, previous studies show that *iu*'s primary semantic property is centered around the act of producing sound. Even though *iu* is frequently used for quoting third person utterances, what can be quoted or referred to by the verb *iu* does not always have to be semantically loaded linguistic messages. In addition, since the semantic focus of the verb *iu* appears to be the production of sound, it may be the case that the communicative effects expressed by *iu* is secondary to the sound production itself.

8.2. *iu* in Discourse

Before qualitatively analyzing the cases of the combination of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction, this section provides a quantitative summary of the usages of *iu* in the examined data for the present study. The first part of this section summarizes the spoken data, and the second part summarizes the written data.

8.2.1. *iu* in Spoken Data

The cases of the verb *iu* are quantitatively examined in the conversational recordings from Talkbank.⁶⁵ Data examination has shown that the verb *iu* very frequently co-occurs with the *-te iru* construction, resulting in the usage of *itte imashita* or its variants such as *itte ita* and *itte ta*. In the examined data, there were a total of 77 cases of quotative utterances made with the verb *iu*, of which 60 were marked with the *-te iru* construction, and 17 were not marked with the

⁶⁵ The total length of conversational recordings for the present study is described in Chapter 3.

–*te iru* construction.⁶⁶ Among those cases, *iu* used for quoting utterances made by first-person plural subjects such as *watashi tachi*, *ore tachi*, and *ore ra* ‘we’ were excluded from further analysis in order to avoid the unnecessary complexity in the comparison between the cases of *iu* used for quoting first-person or third-person utterances, since the individuals who are referred to by first-person plural pronouns often included the hearer of the utterance in the examined data.⁶⁷ For a similar reason, the cases of *iu* used for quoting second-person utterances are also excluded from the analysis.

As summarized in Table 8.1, there were 28 cases of *iu* used for quoting third-person utterances in the examined spoken data, and all of the 28 cases were marked with the –*te iru* construction. This dominant co-occurrence of *iu* and the –*te iru* construction for third-person quotative utterances further confirms the present study’s initial hypothesis, which is the high frequency of co-occurring cases of *iu* and –*te iru* in naturally occurring conversations. In contrast, when the speaker quotes his or her own utterances that were uttered in the past, 6 out of 11 cases were marked with the –*te iru* construction, and 5 cases were not marked with –*te iru*. These findings show that about half of the first-person quotative utterances in the data were still marked with the –*te iru* construction, and these cases will be qualitatively analyzed later. The following is the summary of the frequency of *iu* and the –*te iru* construction depending on the person who made the original quoted utterance.

⁶⁶ Note that the numbers do not distinguish whether the –*te iru* construction used with *iu* is used for marking aspectual properties or observations by the speaker

⁶⁷ One example of such utterance is *Ore tachi taberu tte itta yo ne?* ‘We said we are going to eat it, right?’

Table 8.1. Summary of *iu* and *-te iru* in Spoken Data⁶⁸

| | <u>First-person</u> | <u>Third-person</u> | Total |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|------------|
| <i>itta</i> and its variants | 5 (45.5%) | 0 (0%) | 5 (12.8%) |
| <i>itte ita</i> and its variants ⁶⁹ | 6 (54.5%) | 28 (100%) | 34 (87.2%) |
| Total | 11 | 28 | 39 |

8.2.2. *iu* in Written Data

In addition to naturally occurring conversations, written data from the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese was examined in order to investigate the usages of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction in the written format of Japanese. In the BCCWJ, 22,883 cases of sentence-final *itta*, *iimashita*, and their variants were found, and 21,258 of them were in the simple past tense, and 1,625 cases were marked with the past form of the *-te iru* construction. Due to the large size of the BCCWJ, it was difficult to categorize each case of *iu* based on who is the original producer of the quoted utterance, but unlike the data from Talkbank, it was clear that most cases of *iu* in the BCCWJ are not accompanied with the *-te iru* construction. The following table provides a quantitative summary of the cases of the verb *iu* that appear in the simple past form or with the past form of the *-te iru* construction.

⁶⁸ The details about the examined video recordings are included in Chapter 3. Plural subject examples are not included in order to reduce the number of variables for the present study's analysis.

⁶⁹ This includes regional variants such as *ittotta*.

Table 8.2. Summary of *iu* and *–te iru* in Written Data

| <i>iu</i> in BCCWJ | |
|--|----------------|
| <i>itta</i> and their variants ⁷⁰ | 21,258 (92.9%) |
| <i>itte ita</i> and their variants ⁷¹ | 1,625 (7.1%) |
| Total | 22,883 |

The quantitative summary of the data has shown that the majority of the cases of the sentence-final *iu* are in the simple past form without the *–te iru* construction, but various sub-corpora in the BCCWJ exhibited different proportions for the occurrences of *iu* that co-occurs with the *–te iru* construction. For example, for the written data from the internet in the BCCWJ, 1,164 cases of sentence final *iu* were found, of which 794 cases were *itte ita* or its variants, and 370 cases were in the simple past *itta* or its variants. On the other hand, in the data from novels in the BCCWJ, there were 15,177 cases of sentence-final *iu*, of which 390 cases were *itte ita* or its variants, and 14,787 cases were in the simple past *itta* or its variants. The following is the comparison between the data from the internet and the data from novels.

Table 8.3. *iu* in Internet and Novel Data

| | Internet ⁷² | Novels |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>itta</i> and its variants | 370 (31.8%) | 14,787 (97.4%) |
| <i>itte ita</i> and its variants | 794 (68.2%) | 390 (2.6%) |
| Total | 1,164 (100%) | 15,177 (100%) |

As shown in the above table, a large portion of the cases of *iu* in the internet data occurs as *itte*

⁷⁰ *itta* and its variants include *itta* and *iimashita*.

⁷¹ *itte ita* and its variants include *itte ita*, *itte ta*, *itte imashita*, *itte mashita*.

⁷² This refers to the data from the Internet subcorpus in the BCCWJ, which includes written texts from internet blogs and discussion boards.

ita or its variants. On the other hand, only a very small percentage of *iu* is marked with the *-te iru* construction and the majority of *iu* appears in the simple past form in the data from novels. In regards to the distributional difference between the data from the internet and novels, there are several plausible explanations that may account for the difference.

The first noticeable point is the similarity between the spoken language and the data from the internet. Both in the data from conversational recordings and the internet, more than half of the cases of *iu* appeared with the *-te iru* construction, which is very different from the percentage of *iu* that co-occurred with the *-te iru* construction in the data from novels. The similarity between the spoken data and the internet data might be resulting from the nature of the internet language, which shares many properties with the colloquial language. Crystal (2001) states that the language use on the internet “relies on characteristics belonging to both sides of the speech/writing divide” (p. 28). As represented by this statement, it is generally agreed that the internet language shows many traits of the spoken language even though it technically belongs to the written language in the larger dichotomy of the spoken and written languages.

In addition, the difference between the internet data and the data from novels may be due to the strong tendency of the texts in novels being in the mode of narrative, because novels usually consist of the listing of events in the temporal order for the narration of the story. As discussed in the earlier chapters of the present study, the *-te iru* construction is not used as an evidential marker of observation when the event is one of the non-overlapping events listed in the temporal order, and this could be the cause of the low percentage of *iu* that co-occurs with the *-te iru* construction in the data from novels.

Unfortunately, it was difficult to examine all of the individual cases of *iu* in the BCCWJ due to the large size of the database, and the quantitative summary in this section still remains a

rough summary for the whole database. In the next section, several cases of *iu* will be qualitatively examined to investigate the properties of *iu* in relation to the non-aspectual function of the *-te iru* construction.

8.3. Qualitative Analysis of *iu*

8.3.1. Cases of *iu* and *-te iru* in Discourse

As we saw in some of the examples used in the data examination section in the earlier part of the present study, the *-te iru* construction often co-occurs with *iu* when it is used for quoting an utterance made by a third-person. In the examined conversational data, all of the cases of *iu* used for quoting third-person utterances were marked with the *-te iru* construction, and example (112) includes several of such cases of *iu*.

(112)

- 1 A: Jikyuū sen en tte ii ne.
 wage a thousand yen QT good FP
 ‘A thousand yen hourly-wage is good.’

- 2 B: E, tabun sonna kanji datta.
 eh probably that like CP
 ‘Probably it was like that.’

- 3 → B: Demo, senpai sen en tte itte ta kara.
 but senior a thousand yen QT say-*te iru*-PST because
 ‘But my senior colleague said that it was a thousand yen.’

- 4 → C: Itte ta yo ne.
 say-*te iru*-PST FP FP
 ‘He/she said so.’

- 5 B: Un.
 yeah
 ‘Yeah.’

- 6 C: Kenshuu kikan wa nee, yasui kamoshiren ne.
 training period TP FP cheap maybe FP
 'It may be cheap during the training period.'
- 7 B: Demo nai n janai sonna no.
 but NEG NOM NEG that NOM
 'But probably that's not the case.'
- 8 → C: Hajime wa deeta nyuuryoku tte itte ta kensa mo shi zuni.
 first TP data input QT say-te iru-PST checkup also do NEG
 'He/she said that it's data input and no checkups at first.'
- 9 B: Ii naa.
 good FP
 'That's good.'⁷³

In line 3, B quotes his senior colleague's utterance about the hourly wage of his or her part-time job, and the *-te iru* construction is used with the verb *iu*. In this example, B's senior colleague is a third person for B, and B observed the act of speech by the senior colleague. In addition, it can be inferred that C also observed the same act performed by the senior colleague, since C ends his utterance with *yo ne*, which has a function of displaying a shared recognition between the speaker and the addressee (Zhang, 2009, etc.). Also, C's utterance in line 8 includes another *itte ta*, which is used for quoting the senior colleague's different utterance about the operation of the job. Also, if any of the three cases of *itte ta* in lines 3, 4 and 8 was *itta*, the utterances would sound unnatural for the above conversational excerpt. This indicates that the speakers in (112) do

⁷³ Japanese version of (112).

- 1 A: 時給千円っていいね。
- 2 B: え、でもたぶん、たぶん、そんな感じだった。
- 3 B: でも、先輩千円って言ってたからー。
- 4 C: 言ってたよねー。
- 5 B: うん。
- 6 C: 研修期間はねー安いかもしれんね。
- 7 B: でも、ないんじゃない、そんなの。
- 8 C: 初めはデータ入力って言ってた。検査も何もしずに。
- 9 B: いいなー。

not have the choice of using *itta* for quoting the senior colleague's utterances.

For quoting first-person utterances with the verb *iu*, about half of the cases were not marked with the *-te iru* construction, while the other half was marked with the construction. However, in the cases for quoting first-person utterances, the occurrences of *iu* with the *-te iru* construction also exhibited the aspectual properties that are typically marked with the *-te iru* construction. The following excerpt is from a naturally occurring conversation, and it includes a case of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction occurring together for quoting a first-person utterance.

(113)

- 1 B: Are, watashi kitai hazure yatta na.
 well I less than expected CP FP
 'Well, it was not as good as I expected.'

- 2 B: Mijikai.
 short
 'It was short.'

- 3 A: ()
 ()
 '(unintelligible segment)'

- 4 B: Kiree na n ya kedo.
 pretty CP NOM CP but
 'It was pretty but,'

- 5 ?: Un.
 yeah
 'Yeah.'

- 6 B: Mijikai shi.
 short FP
 'It was short.'

- 7 A: Kiree toka keshiki o tanoshimu yoyuu mo nakatta.
 pretty QT scenery O enjoy calm also NEG
 'I was too nervous to enjoy the scenery, even though it was pretty.'

- 8 A: Aitaa tte.
 open-PST QT
 'It was like 'It opened.''

- 9 D: Gachan tte.
gachan QT
 ‘It was like ‘*gachan.*’(onomatopoeic expression for the sound of the gate opening)
- 10 →A: Demo ochiru yone, ochiru yone ochiru ochiru ochiru tte zuutto **ittotta** mon
 but falling FP falling FP falling falling falling QT all along say-*te iru*-PST FP
 ‘But I kept saying I’m falling, falling, falling, falling, falling’
- oneechan ni.
 older sister to
 ‘to my older sister.’
- 11 A: Daijoobu dakara daijoobu toka.
 alright because alright QT
 ‘My sister was like, ‘alright, alright.’’
- 12 B: Oneechan.
 older sister
 ‘Older sister.’⁷⁴

In this excerpt, the conversational participants are talking about roller coasters, and in line 10, A utters *ittotta*, which is one type of colloquial variation of *itte ita*. Since it can be inferred that the adverb *zuutto* indicates multiple productions of *ochiru* ‘to fall’ rather than a production of one elongated utterance of *ochiru* for this particular utterance, the *-te iru* construction in line 10 can be interpreted as marking the aspectual property of repetition. Similar to this example, in the examined conversational recordings, the cases of the *-te iru* construction used with *iu* for

⁷⁴ Japanese version of (113).

- 1 B: あれ、私期待はずれやったな。
 2 B: 短い。
 3 A: ()
 4 B: 綺麗なんやけど
 5 ? : うん。
 6 B: 短いし。
 7 A: 綺麗とか景色を楽しむ余裕も無かった。
 8 A: 開いた一って。
 9 D: ガチャンって。
 10 A: でも落ちるよね、落ちるよね落ちる落ちる落ちるってずーっと言っとったもんお姉ちゃんに。
 11 A: 大丈夫だから大丈夫とか。
 12 B: お姉ちゃん。

quoting first person utterances also exhibited the aspectual properties that are typically marked with the *-te iru* construction.

In addition to the examples in the spoken data, co-occurring cases of the *-te iru* construction and *iu* were also found in written examples, especially when the ongoing mode of discourse is non-narrative. Example (114) is an excerpt from a written example, and it includes a case of the *-te iru* construction with *iu* used for quoting an utterance produced by a third person.

(114)

- 1 Inaka no yamaoku desu.
rural LK mountains CP

‘I live in the deep mountains in the rural area.’

- 2 Juku wa arimasu ga ichi meetoru o kosu yuki ni naru to iki masen.
cram school TP exist but one meter O exceed snow become when go NEG

‘There are cram schools, but children don’t go when it snows more than 1 meter.’

- 3 Tte yuu ka, ikemasen.
QT cannot go

‘The actual situation is, they cannot go.’

- 4 Desu node, yuki no piiku ichigatsu wa yameru katachi o torimasu.
therefore snow LK peak January TP time off NOM O adopt

‘Therefore, children don’t go to cram schools in January, which is the peak season of snow.’

- 5 Mochiron gessha mo arimasen.
of course fees also NEG

‘Of course, there is no need to pay the tuition.’

- 6⇒ Juku mo akete ite mo kodomo mo konai to sensee ga **itte imashita**.
cram school also open though children also come NEG QT teacher SB say-*te iru*-PST

‘A teacher said that children wouldn’t come to cram schools anyway even if they were open.’

- 7 Dooro wa josetsu shite mo fubuite iru to kuruma demo mae ga mienai no de
roads TP snow plow do when blizzard when cars even front SB invisible because

kiken desu.
dangerous CP

‘Even when the roads are snow-plowed, it’s dangerous because the visibility is also low from the car.’

- 8 Dakara ikkagetsu yasumimasu.
therefore for one month take time off

‘Therefore, the schools are closed for a month.’

- 9 Aru teedo tenki ga kaifuku sureba ikimasu ga kuruma de no soogee desu.
some degree weather SB recover if go but cars by LK commute CP

‘Children go to cram schools when the weather is not severe, but their parents drive when they commute.’⁷⁵

Since this excerpt does not list events in the temporal order, the mode of discourse can be determined as non-narrative. In this excerpt, the writer responds to a question about the commute to cram schools in rural areas in Japan. After providing the information about where the writer is located in line 1, the writer describes the situation that surrounds the cram schools in his or her location in lines 2 through 5. In line 6, the writer quotes what a cram school teacher said by using *itte imashita*, and this can be considered to be an example of the *-te iru* construction used as an evidential marker of observation with the verb *iu*. Also, the sentence in line 6 would sound odd if *iu* was used without the *-te iru* construction at the end of the sentence, and this indicates that not

⁷⁵ Japanese version of (114).

1. 田舎の山奥です。
2. 塾はありますが1メートルを越す雪になると行きません。
3. ってゆうか、行きません。
4. ですので雪のピーク1月は辞める形をとります。
5. もちろん月謝ありません。
6. 塾も開けていても子供も来ないと先生が言っていました。
7. 道路は除雪しても吹雪いていると車でも前が見えないので危険です。
8. だから1ヶ月休みます。
9. ある程度天気が回復すれば行きますが車での送迎です。

using the *-te iru* construction may not be an available option for the writer for this particular sentence.

The next example also includes a co-occurring case of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction for describing an act of making a statement. (115) is from a book, and the author discusses what educators can do for high school students.

(115)

- 1 Juugo no haru wa dare ni totte mo fuantee na jiki de aru koto wa machigai arimasen.
fifteen LK spring TP for everyone unstable time CP NOM TP certain

‘It’s obvious that the spring when students are 15 years old is a very unstable season for them.’

- 2 Shikashi gakkoo o yamete shimaoo to made kangaeru seeto ga iru to shitara, kore wa
but school O quit even think student SP exist if this TP

“dare mo ga nayamu koto da yo” toka “wakaru yo sono kimochi” to wa itte
everyone SB concern thing CP FP etc. understand FP that feeling QT TP say

rarenaku narimasu.
cannot become

‘But when we have a student who actually wants to drop out of school, we can’t say things like “everyone feels that way” or “I do understand how you feel.”’

- 3→Taigaku todoke o ni, san nichi mae ni dashita O kun wa, “ikiteiru to iu jikkan ga
drop out document O two three days ago turn in-PST O Mr. TP alive QT feeling SB

hoshii to itte imashita.
want QT say-*te iru*-PST

‘Mr. O, who just submitted his document for dropping out of school two or three days ago, said, “I want to feel alive.”’

- 4 Jibun de kimete, jibun de aruite mitai, to kokoro kara no sakebi o uttaete imashita.
by myself decide by myself walk want QT heart from LK scream O exclaim-*te iru*-PST

‘He was insisting from the bottom of his heart that he wants to walk by himself, and wants to make decisions by himself.’

- 5 Sono sakebi ni watashi wa dono yooni kotaeru koto ga dekiru no deshoo ka.
that scream to I TP how respond NOM SB can NOM CP Q

‘How can we respond to that exclamation?’

- 6 Kotaeru dake no jishin ga aru to iu no deshoo ka.
answer enough LK confidence SB have QT NOM CP Q

‘Are we confident enough to respond to it?’

- 7 Sonna kimochi de, seeto tachi to jugyoo de mukiai, soshite oya tachi to mukiatta saikin no
that feeling with students with class in face and parents with face-PST recent LK

jissen o tooshite, atarashii kodomo tachi, atarashii oya tachi ni tsuite kangaete mitai to
practice O through new children new parents about think want QT

omoimasu.
think

‘Having that in mind, I would like to think about new types of students and parents based on my experience of interacting with them.’⁷⁶

Since events are not listed in the temporal order in (115), the discourse sequence does not exhibit a property of a narrative discourse. In line 3, the author writes about what his student said a couple of days ago, and the *-te iru* construction is used with *iu* to refer to the act of making the utterance, which was observed by the author.

The cases of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction in excerpts (112) through (115) have demonstrated that the *-te iru* construction is used with the verb *iu* for quoting a third-person utterance, and the *-te iru* construction in those cases can be considered to be functioning as an evidential marker of observation. However, in order to highlight the unique properties of *iu* that

⁷⁶ Japanese version of (115).

1. 十五の春は、誰にとっても不安定な時期であることは間違いありません。
2. しかし、学校をやめてしまおうとまで考える生徒がいるとしたら、これは「誰もが悩むことだよ」とか「わかるよ、その気持ち」とは言っていられなくなります。
3. 退学届けを二、三日前に出したO君は、「生きているという実感が欲しい」と言っていました。
4. 自分で決めて、自分で歩いてみたい、と心からの叫びを訴えていました。
5. その叫びに私はどのように答えることができるのでしょうか。
6. 答えるだけの自信があるというのでしょうか。
7. そんな気持ちで、生徒たちと授業で向き合い、そして親たちと向き合った最近の実践を通して、新しい子供たち・新しい親たちについて考えてみたいと思います。

are relevant when the verb is used with *-te iru*, *iu* must be compared with other verbs used in actual discourse. In the next section, co-occurring cases of *iu* and *-te iru* will be compared with the combinations of other verbs and the *-te iru* construction.

8.3.2. Comparison of *iu* with Other Verbs

The verb *iu* will be compared with other verbs in this section in order to investigate the existence of some unique properties that are specific to the combination of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction. In the comparison of *iu* and other verbs that co-occur with *-te iru*, the focus of the analysis will be the cases that involve the progressive interpretation of the *-te iru* construction due to the following reasons.

First, when someone observes a stative situation and describes it as in *Takeshi wa kaigi de ookii isu ni suwatte imashita* ‘Takeshi was sitting on a large chair at the meeting,’ the *-te iru* construction could be interpreted as an evidential and/or an aspectual marker that marks resultative state. However, it is usually difficult to interpret the *-te iru* construction in *itte imashita* as a marker of resultative state when it is used for quoting a third-person’s utterance that was directly heard by the speaker. Therefore, the combination of *iu* and the stative interpretation of the *-te iru* construction is not fully explored in this section.

Second, when someone repetitively produces the same utterance and the utterance is quoted in another person’s utterance, the *-te iru* construction used with *iu* can be interpreted as an indicator of the aspectual property of repetition. For example, in *Takeshi wa nando mo kaigi ni ikitakunai to itte imashita* ‘Takeshi repeatedly said that (he) did not want to attend the meeting,’ Takeshi’s repetition of the same utterance can be marked by using the *-te iru* construction. However, since this type of aspectual property does not seem to exhibit any

uniqueness compared to the combinations of other verbs and *-te iru*, the co-occurring cases of *iu* and the repetitive interpretation of the *-te iru* construction are not explored in this section.

The verb *taberu* ‘to eat’ is one of the commonly used verbs in Japanese, and there were many cases of *taberu* that co-occur with the *-te iru* construction in the examined data. Example (116) is a written excerpt from a blog, which includes a case of the combination of *taberu* and the *-te iru* construction for an observed event.

(116)

- 1 Otsukare sama desu.
‘thank you for coming.’ (set phrase)

‘Thank you for coming.’

- 2 Sakura mankai de konoue nai jitensha biyori deshita ne!
cherry blossom blossomed CP best bicycle weather CP FP

‘The cherry blossoms were fully bloomed and the weather was the best for cycling!’

- 3 Sonna naka, kyoo mo doyoobi asa saikuringu ni takusan no kata no gosanka de
that during today also Saturday morning cycling to many LK people LK attendance CP
tanoshimasete itadaki mashita.
be entertained-PST

‘In the nice weather, I enjoyed this morning’s cycling as usual because many people joined us.’

- 4 ⇒ Sainenshoo no chuugaku shin ninensee no K-no san, ganbatte sanjuu rokkiro
youngest LK middle school new second-year LK K-no Ms. work hard 36 kilometers

hashiri kitte, jeraato mo oishisoo ni **tabete mashita** ne.
ran completely gelato also enjoyingly eat-*te iru*-PST FP

‘K-no san, who was the youngest entrant, was working hard and finished running 36 kilometers, and enjoyed eating gelato.’

- 5 Mata zehi gosanka kudasai.
again definitely join please

‘I hope she will join us again.’⁷⁷

This excerpt is a blog entry about a cycling trip, and in line 4 of this excerpt, the *-te iru* construction is used with the verb *taberu* and it appears that the *-te iru* construction functions as a marker of observation because the act of eating ice cream performed by *K-no* was observed by the writer. However, if we pay attention to the possible aspectual interpretations of the *-te iru* construction in line 4, it is not impossible to recognize that the construction is marking the aspectual property of progression, which refers to the state of *K-no*’s action at the moment the writer took a glance at her. That is, if the writer’s observation happened in a very short timeframe, and *K-no*’s action was continuously in progress in that timeframe, the *-te iru* construction in line 4 could be interpreted to be marking the action’s progression.

The next excerpt is another written example that includes the *-te iru* construction used for an observed event. In (117), the writer writes about an observed action of scolding performed by his neighbor.

⁷⁷ Japanese version of (116).

1. お疲れ様で～す。
2. 桜満開で、この上ない自転車日和でしたね～！
3. そんな中、今日も土曜日朝サイクリングにたくさんの方のご参加で楽しませていただきました。
4. 最年少の中学新2年生のK野さん、頑張って三十六キロ走りきって、ジェラートもおいしそうに食べてましたね。
5. またぜひご参加ください！

(117)

- 1 ⇒ Kyoo, kinjo no oyaji (kanari nenpai no kata) ga seefuku sugata de tabako
 today neighborhood LK old man quite old LK person SB uniform appearance in cigarette

o suttee iru kookoosee ni kao o makka ni shite **okotte imashita**.
 O smoke-teiru high school to face O red with scold-te iru-PST

‘Today, an old man in my neighborhood (he is very old) was scolding high school students who were smoking in their school uniforms.’

- 2 Kookoosee tachi wa boogen o haki nagara, sono ba o tachisatte ikimashtia ga,
 high school students TP violent language O say with that place O leave-PST but

(honrai watashi mo chuui shinakereba naranai, ii toshi no otona na no desu ga...) watshi wa
 actually I also warn must do old LK adult CP NOM CP but I TP

kandoo shite shimaimashita.
 be moved-PST

‘The high school students left with some violent words, (actually I’m quite old and I also had to stop it...) I was very impressed.’

- 3 Saikin no wakamono wa nani o suru ka wakaranai nado no yoron mo arimasu ga,
 recent LK young people TP what O do Q unpredictable etc. LK reputation also exist but

nyuusu ni kajoo hannoo shinakereba kore kurai no koodoo wa dare demo dekiru to
 news to overreact do not if this like LK action TP whoever can do QT

omoimasu.
 think

‘It is often said that you never know what young people might do recently, but as long as we don’t overreact to that news, I think any of us can do something like this.’

- 4 Minasan wa kono oyaji san no koodoo ni tsuite doo omoimasu ka?
 everyone TP this old man LK action about how think Q

‘What’s your opinion on what this old man did?’⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Japanese version of (117).

1. 今日、近所のオヤジ（かなり年配の方）が制服姿でタバコを吸っている高校生に顔を真っ赤にして怒っていました。
2. 高校生たちは暴言を吐きながら、その場を立ち去っていましたが、（本来私も注意しなければならない、いい年の大人なのですが・・・）私は感激してしまいました。
3. 最近の若者は何をするか分からないなどの世論もありますが、ニュースに過剰反応しなければ、これくらいの行動は誰でもできると思います。
4. みなさんは、このオヤジさんの行動についてどう思われますか？

In line 1 of this excerpt, the writer describes the act of scolding performed by his neighbor, and the verb *okoru* ‘to scold’ is marked with the *-te iru* construction. Since the neighbor’s act of scolding is an observed event from the perspective of the writer, the *-te iru* construction in line 1 can be considered to be functioning as an evidential marker of observation. In addition, similar to the case of the *-te iru* construction in (116), it is also not impossible to recognize the progression interpretation for the *-te iru* construction in line 1 in (117).

As demonstrated by the possible interpretations of the cases of *-te iru* in examples in (112), (113), and (115), when *iu* is used with *-te iru* for an observed action of making an utterance, the construction appears to be purely functioning as an evidential marker of speaker observation. On the other hand, what we observed in (116) and (117), which include *taberu* ‘to eat’ and *okoru* ‘to scold,’ respectively, indicates that it is not impossible to recognize the *-te iru* construction’s progressive interpretation for those observed events. In the next section, *iu*’s pragmatic constraints that may be triggering the above mentioned contrast will be discussed in detail.

8.3.3. Pragmatic Constraints of *iu*

When the verb *iu* is used for a third-person action for quoting an utterance made by the person, the first pragmatic restriction is the length of observation that is necessary for the observer to fully perceive and interpret the original utterance. That is, when someone hears only a fragmented portion of a third-person utterance, it is impossible for the speaker to quote the utterance simply because something that was not heard cannot be quoted. This type of pragmatic restriction can be demonstrated by comparing (118) and (119).

- (118) Tanaka sensee wa kaigi de sangatsu no nijuu go nichi ni tookyoo de gakkai ga
 Tanaka prof. TP meeting at March LK the 25th on Tokyo in conference SB

aru kara ikanaito ikenai kamo shirenai to itte imashita.
 have because have to go might QT say-*te iru*-PST

‘Professor Tanaka said that he might have to attend an academic conference in Tokyo on the 25th of March at the meeting.’

- (119) ??Tanaka sensee wa sensee no ofisu no doa ga isshun aita toki sangatsu no
 Tanaka prof. TP his LK office LK door SB for a second open-PST when March LK

nijuu go nichi ni tookyoo de gakkai ga aru kara ikanaito ikenai kamo shirenai to
 the 25th on Tokyo in conference SB have because have to go might QT

itte imashita.
 say-*te iru*-PST

‘Professor Tanaka said that he might have to attend an academic conference in Tokyo on the 25th of March when the door of his office opened for a second.’

Example (118) is a typical utterance that is uttered to quote a third-person’s past utterance, and the sentence does not exhibit any problems. In contrast, when *kaigi de* ‘at the meeting’ in (118) is changed to *sensee no ofisu no doa ga isshun aita toki* ‘when his door was open for a second’ as we see in (119), the sentence sounds somewhat odd. The oddity of (119) can be explained if we pay attention to the pragmatic contradiction resulting from the length of time necessary to hear the quoted utterance, and the length of time that the door was open. Evidently, when a speaker quotes an utterance made by another person, the original utterance must be heard and understood by the person who quotes the utterance. For (119), since the professor was in his office and the door was open only for one second, it must have been impossible for the speaker to hear the entire portion of the professor’s utterance because he or she was located outside the office. Because of these temporal and spatial restrictions, quoting the professor’s utterances with *itte imashita* as in (119) results in an odd impression. On the other hand, in (118), both the speaker

and the professor were at the same meeting, and it can be assumed that the speaker heard the entire portion of the professor's utterance, and quoting the utterance does not sound strange. In addition, because of this type of inherent nature of the act of quoting a third-person utterance, it can be also said that whenever a third-person utterance is quoted, the speaker who quotes the utterance has heard the entire portion of the quoted part of the utterance.

The contrast between the last two examples demonstrates the existence of a pragmatic constraint around the usage of the combination of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction, that is, an utterance cannot be quoted unless it was heard and understood. However, this type of pragmatic restriction does not exist when an observed event does not require an extended timeframe for its interpretation, and this can be demonstrated by comparing (118) and (119) with the following two examples, (120) and (121).

- (120) Tanaka sensee wa kaigi de piza o tabete imashita.
 Tanaka prof. TP meeting at pizza O eat-*te iru*-PST

‘Professor Tanaka was eating pizza at the meeting.’

- (121) Tanaka sensee wa sensee no ofisu no doa ga isshun aita toki piza o
 Tanaka prof. TP his LK office LK door SB for a second open-PST when pizza O
 tabete imashita.
 eat-*te iru*-PST

‘Professor Tanaka was eating pizza when the door of his office opened for a second.’

In (120) and (121), the professor's observed action changed to *piza o taberu* ‘to eat pizza’ from *iu* in (118) and (119). In (120), there is no temporal restriction similar to the one we observed in (118), and the *-te iru* construction in the sentence can be considered to be functioning as an evidential marker of observation. Also, (121) does not appear to be an odd sentence when the professor's action is eating pizza unlike we saw in (119). As for the difference in the acceptability between (119) and (121), it appears to be resulting from the required timeframe

necessary to interpret the observed action. As mentioned earlier, it is pragmatically impossible to quote an utterance that was not heard in its entirety by the speaker as we saw in (119). On the other hand, one can visually observe and understand someone else is eating pizza even when the length of observation is for a very short period. Therefore, for the speaker of (121), it is not strange to describe the professor's action of eating as something he or she observed in a very short timeframe.

As for the pragmatic constraints around the use of *iu*, it should be noted that even when the verb *iu* is used, the sentence does not exhibit oddity as long as the described action is recognizable within the observed timeframe in a situation like (119). Compare example (122) with (119).

- (122) Tanaka sensee wa sensee no ofisu no doa ga isshun aita toki furansu go de
 Tanaka prof. TP his LK office LK door SB for a second open-PST when French in
 nanika o itte imashita.
 something O say-*te iru*-PST

‘Professor Tanaka was (in the middle of) saying something in French when the door of his office opened for a second.’

In (122), the speaker describes what he observed within the timeframe of one second, and since it is not difficult to recognize that someone is speaking French in that short timeframe, the sentence does not appear strange. The acceptability of (122) contrasts with (119), in which the recognition of the quoted utterance requires a somewhat extended timeframe for observation.

In regards to the timeframe for an observed action and the interpretations of the *-te iru* construction, what Machida (1989) discusses seems to be relevant to the examples we have explored so far. Note that Machida's study only focuses on the aspectual interpretation of the *-te iru* construction, and the evidential usage of the construction is not included in the scope of his

study. The following two sentences end in the simple past tense, and in the past form of the *-te iru* construction, respectively.

(123) Taroo wa hashitta.
Taro TP run-PST
'Taro ran.'

(124) Taroo wa hashitte ita.
Taro TP run-*te iru*-PST
'Taro was running.'

(Machida, 1989, p. 76)

Machida explains that both (123) and (124) refer to an action of running that happened in the past, but the focal points of the two sentences are not identical. According to Machida, the usage of the simple past form of an action verb in Japanese refers to the whole part of the action, which includes the beginning and ending points of the action. On the other hand, when the past form of the *-te iru* construction is used, it merely indicates that the stated proposition was true during a given timeframe or at a particular point of time. Machida demonstrates the above mentioned difference between the two forms by using examples (125) through (128).

(125) ?Taroo wa sanji ippun ni hashitta.
Taro TP 3:01 at run-PST
'Taro ran at 3:01.'

(Machida, 1989, pp. 76)

Machida argues that the acceptability of (125) is questionable since the action of running usually extends for a certain timespan and it is strange for the action to be started and completed at 3:01, which is a particular point of time in the past. Machida further highlights this restriction by changing 3:01 to 3:01:25.4 as we see in (126).

(126) *Taroo wa sanji ippun nijuu go byoo yon ni hashitta.
Taro TP 3:01:25.4 at run-PST
'Taro ran at 3:01:25.4.'

(Machida, 1989, pp. 76)

According to Machida, it is not impossible to interpret 3:01 as a timeframe that extends for the length of one minute, and this ambiguity makes (125) potentially acceptable, but 3:01:25.4 clearly indicates that the time expression refers to a certain point of time, therefore (126) becomes completely unacceptable. In contrast, when the *-te iru* construction is used at the end of the sentence, including an expression for a certain point of time in the sentence does not exhibit any problems. Observe (127) and (128).

- (127) Taroo wa sanji ippun ni hashitte ita.
 Taro TP 3:01 at run-*te iru*-PST
 ‘Taro was running at 3:01.’

- (128) Taroo wa sanji ippun nijuu go byoo yon ni hashitte ita.
 Taro TP 3:01:25.4 at run-*te iru*-PST
 ‘Taro was running at 3:01:25.4.’

(Slightly Modified from Machida, 1989, pp. 76-77)

As we see above, when the *-te iru* construction is used at the end of the sentence, including 3:01 or 3:01:25.4 as a point of reference is completely acceptable because of the progressive interpretation of the *-te iru* construction, which does not provide any information about the beginning or ending point of the stated action.

Machida also argues that even when the progression of an action extends during a certain timeframe, the above mentioned distinction between the simple past form and the *-te iru* construction remains the same. Observe (129) and (130).

- (129) Taroo wa sanji juugo fun kara sanji sanjuppun made hashitta.
 Taro TP 3:15 from 3:30 to run-PST
 ‘Taro ran from 3:15 to 3:30.’

- (130) Taroo wa sanji juugo fun kara sanji sanjuppun made hashitte ita.
 Taro TP 3:15 from 3:30 to run-*te iru*-PST
 ‘Taro was running from 3:15 to 3:30.’

(Machida, 1989, p. 151)

Similar to the previous examples, Machida argues that (129), which ends in the simple past form, refers to the whole part of the action of running, and it can be interpreted that Taro started running at 3:15 and it ended at 3:30. In contrast, what is being indicated by (130) is the fact that Taro’s action of running continued from 3:15 to 3:30, and there is no marked information for when Taro started or stopped running.

Takahashi (1985) also makes a similar argument and discusses how the simple past tense differs from the past form of the *-te iru* construction. Note that the focus of Takahashi’s argument is also solely on the aspectual properties of the described events, and does not factor in the evidential marking function of the *-te iru* construction in its analytical framework.

- (131) Tokee ga sanji kara yoji made ugoita.
 clock SB 3 o’clock from 4 o’clock to move-PST
 ‘The clock moved from three o’clock to four o’clock.’

- (132) Tokee ga sanji kara yoji made ugoite ita.
 clock SB 3 o’clock from 4 o’clock to move-*te iru*-PST
 ‘The clock was moving from three o’clock to four o’clock.’

(Slightly modified from Takahashi, 1985, pp. 35-36)

According to Takahashi, when the past form of a verb is used in a sentence, the scope of the sentence includes the beginning point and the ending point of the described event. Therefore, when a speaker utters (131), the scope includes the temporal point where the clock started moving and also the point where the clock stopped moving, which indicates that the speaker also

saw the clock before it started moving and also after it stopped moving. In contrast, Takahashi argues that when the *-te iru* construction is used to indicate the aspectual property of progression, what is being referred to by the sentence does not include the beginning and ending points of the described event. Therefore, based on Takahashi's explanation on aspectual properties, (132) refers to the portion where the clock kept moving and the beginning and ending points of the action are not included.

Takahashi further demonstrates his argument by adding *itsu mite mo* 'whenever I looked at it' to the previous two examples. Compare (133) with (134).

- (133) *Tokee wa sanji kara yoji made itsu mite mo ugoita.
 clock TP 3 o'clock from 4 o'clock to whenever looked move-PST
 'The clock moved from three o'clock to four o'clock whenever I looked at it.'
- (134) Tokee wa sanji kara yoji made itsu mite mo ugoite ita.
 clock TP 3 o'clock from 4 o'clock to whenever looked move-*te iru*-PST
 'The clock was moving from three o'clock to four o'clock whenever I looked at it.'

(Takahashi, 1985, p. 37)

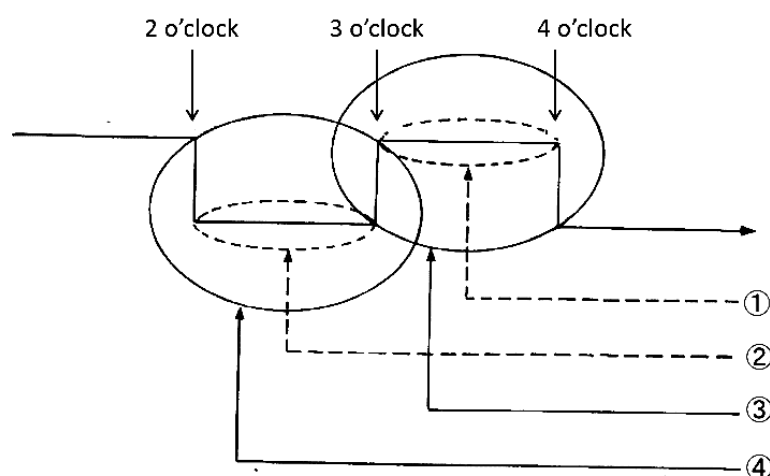
Takahashi explains that (133) is not acceptable since what is being referred to by the past tense *ugoita* includes the changes from not moving to moving, and also moving to not moving.

Therefore, when *itsu mite mo* 'whenever I looked at it' is added to the sentence, the sentence sounds unnatural because of the mismatch between the unchanging condition indicated by *itsu mite mo*, and the changes indicated by using the past-tense ending. In contrast, *itsu mite mo* can be used in (134) without any issues since *ugoite ita* indicates that the clock kept moving during a certain timeframe, and it is compatible with what is indicated by *itsu mite mo*, which is an expression for something that stays the same.

Figure 8.1 is Takahashi's visualized summary of the difference between the simple past form and the past progressive interpretation of the *-te iru* construction. The circles in solid lines

indicate the speaker's scope when the simple past form is used, and the circles in dotted lines indicate the speaker's scope when the past form of the *-te iru* construction is used.

Figure 8.1. Contrast Between *-ta* and *-te ita*



- ① Tokee ga sanji kara yoji made ugoite ita.
'The clock was moving from 3 o'clock to 4 o'clock.'
- ② Tokee ga niji kara sanji made tomatte ita.
'The clock had been stopped (was not moving) from 2 o'clock to 3 o'clock.'
- ③ Tokee ga sanji kara yoji made ugoita.
'The clock moved from 3 o'clock to 4 o'clock.'
- ④ Tokee ga niji kara sanji made tomatta.
'The clock stopped from 2 o'clock to 3 o'clock.'

(Takahashi, 1985, p. 36)

If we follow Machida and Takahashi's arguments on the aspectual interpretations of the *-te iru* construction, the differences among the examples in discourse we have explored can be further highlighted. When an action verb such as *taberu* 'to eat' is used with the *-te iru* construction for an observed event, the dual marking property of the *-te iru* construction (aspectual and/or evidential), comes into play in regards to what is being indicated by the use of

the construction. For example, in (121), the *-te iru* construction is used with the verb for eating pizza, and the *-te iru* construction in this sentence can be interpreted as a marker of the aspectual property of progression, or a marker of speaker observation, or both of the two. In (121), it is contextually clear that the speaker observed only a fragmented portion of Tanaka's action of eating, and the observation did not include the beginning or ending point of the action. This is somewhat similar to the sentence about Taro's action of running in (127) and (128) in regards to the aspectual properties relating to the description of the action, and the *-te iru* construction in (121) can be considered to be marking the aspectual property of progression. In addition, it can be argued that the *-te iru* construction in (121) is also functioning as a marker of speaker observation as we discussed throughout the present study. Therefore, if we borrow Yanagisawa's (1995) terminology, the evidential interpretation of the *-te iru* construction can be said to be "buried" under its aspectual interpretation in (121). The following diagram is a visualized image of the timeframe for speaker observation in (121).

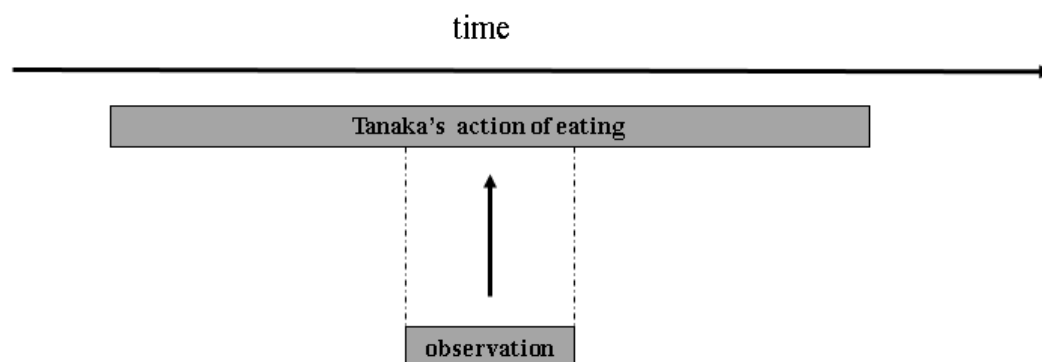
Figure 8.2. Visualization of (121)

Tanaka sensee wa sensee no ofisu no doa ga isshun aita toki pizza o
 Tanaka prof. TP his LK office LK door SB for a second open-PST when pizza O

tabete imashita.

eat-*te iru*-PST

'Professor Tanaka was eating pizza when the door of his office opened for a second.'



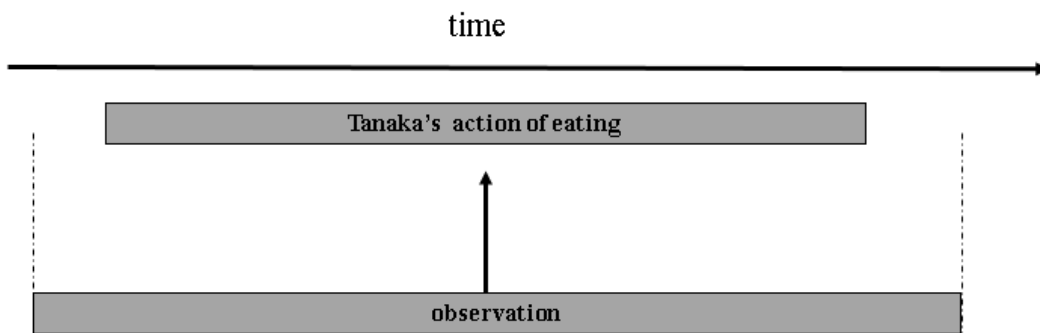
As visualized in the above diagram, the timeframe for observation only overlaps with a limited portion of Tanaka's action of eating, and it is possible to interpret that the *-te iru* construction in (121) is marking the aspectual property of progression. Also, if we looked at the construction with the assumption that it is marking the speaker's observation, that interpretation of the *-te iru* construction does not exhibit any issues.

Similarly, in (120), even though it is very probable that the speaker observed the entire portion of the professor's action of eating since the two people were attending the same meeting, the possibility still remains for the action being partially observed, and the duality of aspectual and evidential interpretations of the *-te iru* construction may still remain. The following images the visualizations of possible relationships between the observed event and the temporal frame of the speaker's observation.

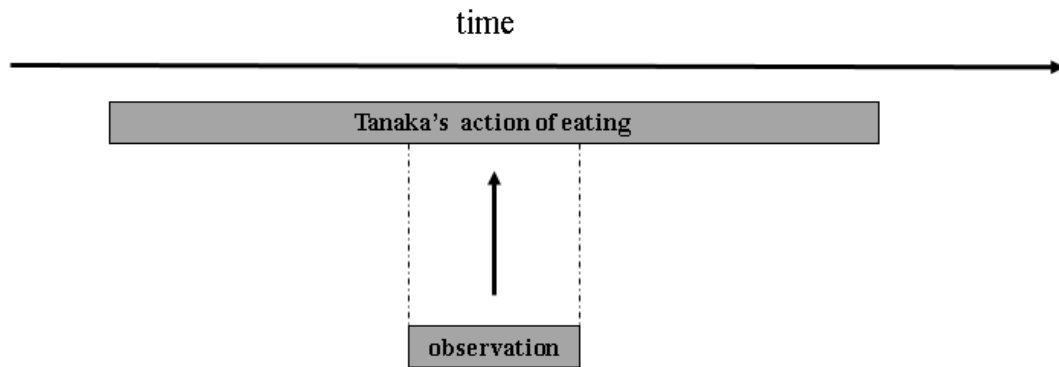
Figure 8.3. Visualization of (120)

Tanaka sensee wa kaigi de piza o tabete imashita.
 Tanaka prof. TP meeting at pizza O eat-*te iru*-PST
 'Professor Tanaka was eating pizza at the meeting.'

(i)



(ii)



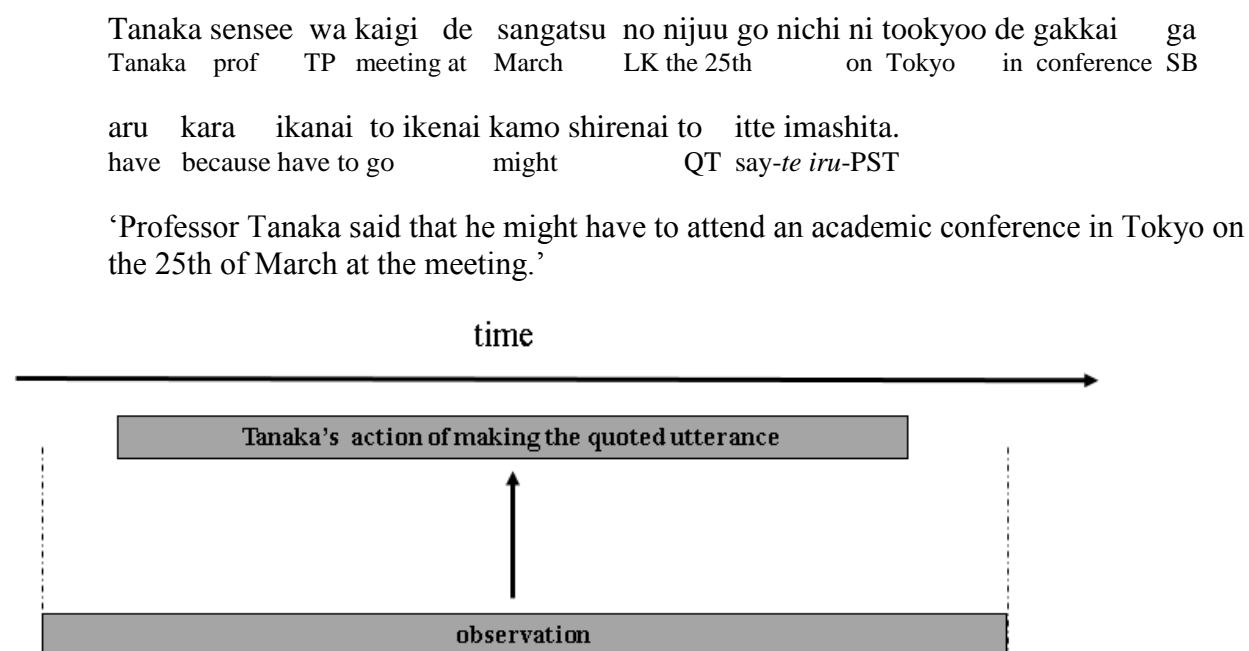
Since the speaker and Tanaka attended the same meeting for (120), the most probable situation is

(i). When the temporal relationship between the observed action and speaker observation is as shown in (i), the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction in the sentence is inclined towards the evidential interpretation rather than the progression interpretation since the entire portion of the action of eating was observed by the speaker. A typical situation for (i) is that the speaker and Tanaka attended the same meeting, and the speaker spent time with Tanaka in the same room before, during, and after Tanaka's action of eating. In this situation, it is more reasonable to assume that the focus of the speaker's utterance is the whole action of eating pizza performed by Tanaka rather than the progression of it, which makes the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction more inclined towards evidential marking than aspectual marking.

In contrast, when the action was only partially observed as shown in (ii), the *-te iru* construction in the sentence may be marking speaker observation and the progression of the action simultaneously. A typical situation for (ii) is that the speaker only attended the meeting for a short period of time (i.e. 2 minutes), and during that timeframe the speaker observed that Tanaka's action of eating was continuously happening.

When *iu* is used with the *-te iru* construction for quoting a third-person utterance, it is very questionable that there is room for the above mentioned type of interpretive duality between the evidential and aspectual interpretations of the *-te iru* construction. As we discussed earlier, it is impossible for a speaker to quote a third-person utterance unless he or she hears the entire portion of the quoted utterance, and this essentially means that both the beginning and ending points of the act of making the utterance must be observed. The following is the visualization of the temporal relationship between observation and the observed action for (118).

Figure 8.4. Visualization of (118)



As the above diagram shows, when an utterance is quoted in another person's utterance, the entire portion of the original utterance must be heard and understood. Therefore, for a sentence that includes the combination of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction, it is difficult to interpret the *-te iru* construction in the sentence as an aspectual marker of progression, and it is more reasonable

to assume that the construction is used as an evidential marker of speaker observation rather than an aspectual marker. In other words, when the *-te iru* construction is used as an evidential marker of observation with *iu*, its evidential marking function is “fully surfaced” without being “buried” in the aspectual marking interpretations of the construction.

What we discussed above also applies to the examples from actual discourse that we have previously examined. For example, in (116), the writer observed a third-person’s action of eating gelato, and the verb *taberu* ‘to eat’ for the action is accompanied with the *-te iru* construction. From the situational information provided in the excerpt, it is very clear that the writer observed a third-person’s act of eating gelato in (116), and the evidential interpretation of the *-te iru* construction can be recognized. As for the aspectual property of the described action, since the timeframe for the speaker observation is not clearly indicated, there is a possibility that the *-te iru* construction in (116) is also indicating the aspectual property of progression for the act of eating. For instance, if the writer has only observed a tiny fragmented portion of the act of eating gelato, it can be assumed that the action was in progress during the time of observation, and it is possible to interpret that the *-te iru* construction is marking the aspectual property of progression. On the other hand, aspectual properties are not necessarily involved if the writer observed the entire portion of the act of eating gelato, but it is still not strange to use the *-te iru* construction because the action was observed by the writer. A similar analysis also applies to (117). In (117), the writer describes the neighbor’s act of scolding, and it is not clear whether the writer observed the whole part of the act of scolding, or a fragmented portion of it. Also, the act of scolding is recognizable even when the temporal frame for the observation was for a very short moment. Therefore, the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction in (117) can be purely evidential, or the combination of evidential marking and the aspectual property of progression.

In contrast, when the *-te iru* construction is used with *iu* for quoting a third person's utterance, it appears that the *-te iru* construction purely functions as an evidential marker of observation, and no aspectual properties are involved. From examining the cases of the combination of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction in (112), (114), and (115), it can be said this principle stays the same also in the data from actual discourse. Judging from the pragmatic context for the cases of *iu* in those examples, it is very evident that the quoted utterances were entirely heard and understood by the speakers, and it is very difficult to interpret that the cases of the *-te iru* construction are used to indicate the aspectual property of progression. The cases of the *-te iru* construction and *iu* in the examined data suggest that when a speaker quotes a third-person's utterance by using *itte imashita* or its variants, the *-te iru* construction is purely functioning as an evidential marker, and aspectual information of progression is not marked by the usage of the construction.

8.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the unique properties of the combination of the verb *iu* and the *-te iru* construction in regards to its relationship with the evidential marking function of the *-te iru* construction. The findings in this chapter suggest that when a third-person utterance is quoted with the combination of *iu* and the *-te iru* construction, the *-te iru* construction purely functions as an evidential marker of observation, and no aspectual properties are involved in the usage of it. This is because of the inherent nature of the act of quoting an utterance, since it is impossible for a speaker to quote an utterance when he or she did not hear the entire portion of the quoted utterance.

In contrast, when verbs such as *taberu* ‘to eat’ and *okoru* ‘to scold’ are used with the *-te iru* construction, whether the *-te iru* construction is marking the speaker’s observation or the aspectual property of progression is not necessarily clear. This is because a speaker can recognize actions such as eating and scolding when the speaker did not observe the entire portion of the action, and those actions are also recognizable even when the duration of the observation was for a very short moment. Therefore, the *-te iru* construction used with those action verbs may or may not be indicating the aspectual property of progression along with the marking of the speaker’s observation. Due to this duality of evidential and aspectual marking functions of the *-te iru* construction, the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction is “buried” under its aspectual marking interpretations in those cases, and this contrasts with the fully surfaced evidential marking function of the *-te iru* construction when it is used with *iu*.

Chapter 9

Summary and Conclusion

This final chapter summarizes the findings of the present study as well as the arguments developed from the findings. This chapter also includes concluding remarks for the present study.

9.1. Findings

The present study has explored the *–te iru* construction's function as an evidential marker of speaker observation based on the data from actual discourse in the spoken and written forms of Japanese. The findings of the present study have shown that the *–te iru* construction possesses a function as an evidential marker of speaker observation, in addition to its well-recognized function as an aspectual marker. The details of the findings in each chapter are summarized in the following sections.

9.1.1. *–te iru* as an Evidential Marker of Observation

In Chapter 4, the examples of the *–te iru* construction that co-occur with verbs for observed third-person actions were examined. The data analysis in Chapter 4 relates to the first research question of the present study: “Does the *–te iru* construction function as an evidential marker of observation in actual discourse?” In order to minimize the variables brought from the aspectual marking properties of the *–te iru* construction, the examples analyzed in this chapter were mostly limited to those that were used for one-time, non-repetitive events observed by the speaker or writer. The findings in this chapter have demonstrated the existence of the observation

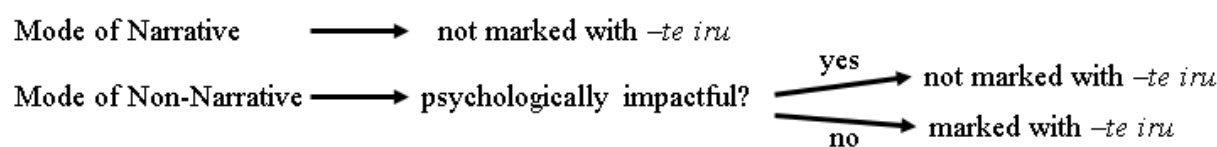
marking function of the *-te iru* construction, which confirms the claims made in past studies. However, a close examination of the usages of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse has also demonstrated that it cannot be used as an evidential marker in certain discourse situations, and observed third-person events cannot be marked with the *-te iru* construction in those situations. The factors that trigger this type of pragmatic constraint were analyzed in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 5 discussed the conditions that constrain the usage of the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of speaker observation. The findings in this chapter answer the second and third research questions for the present study, which were: “Is there any difference in the use of the *-te iru* construction as a marker of observation in the spoken and written languages?” and “It seems that in some cases, using the *-te iru* construction when describing a third person’s activity results in an unnatural utterance. Are there any patterns, tendencies, or shared characteristics for such cases?,” respectively. Data analysis has shown that the *-te iru* construction as an evidential marker of observation can be used in both spoken and written Japanese. However, the temporal property of the discourse in which the description of the observed event was found to be relevant, and the notion of two modes of discourse was proposed. One type of mode of discourse is the mode of “narrative,” which lists past events in the temporal order, and another type of mode of discourse is “non-narrative,” which is atemporal and does not list events in the temporal order. After examining the cases of the *-te iru* construction in the discourse data, it was argued that when an observed event is one of the events listed in the temporal order in the mode of narrative, the event is not marked with the *-te iru* construction even if it was observed by the writer or speaker. On the other hand, when the ongoing mode of discourse around the description of an

observed event is non-narrative, the *-te iru* construction can be used as an evidential marker of observation.

The choice between using or not using the *-te iru* construction in the mode of non-narrative was also discussed in Chapter 5, and it was argued that not marking an observed event with the *-te iru* construction is an available pragmatic option for the speaker to indicate that the described event is psychologically impactful for the speaker. The findings in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are summarized in the following flowchart. The flowchart (Figure 9.1) shows whether or observed events are marked with the *-te iru* construction when specific aspectual properties are not clearly involved in the observed event.

Figure 9.1. Observed Events and *-te iru* as an Evidential Marker of Observation



9.1.2. Observed Events with Aspectual Properties Marked with *-te iru*

In Chapter 6, several cases of the *-te iru* construction used for observed events that also exhibit the aspectual properties that are typically marked with the *-te iru* construction were examined. The analysis in this chapter relates to the fourth research question of the present study, which was: “Previous studies do not discuss the cases in which the aspectual and non-aspectual functions of the *-te iru* construction appear simultaneously. How do these two different properties of the *-te iru* construction relate to each other in actual discourse?” In regards to its aspectual marking properties, the *-te iru* construction is typically recognized as a marker of

repetition, continuation/progression, or resultative state. The data analysis in this section has demonstrated that for each type of aspectual property of the *-te iru* construction, its observation marking function does not interfere with its aspectual marking function, and observed events with aspectual properties are simply marked with the *-te iru* construction. What this finding indicates is that one occurrence of the *-te iru* construction can mark both aspectual information and speaker observation simultaneously without causing any contradiction or incompatibility between the two types of marking functions. In other words, the *-te iru* construction can be said to have a “dual marking function” of aspectual properties and speaker observation. Also, the findings in Chapter 6 align with Yanagisawa’s (1995) argument, in which he claims that the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction had been “buried” in the aspectual meaning of the construction in past linguistic studies.

9.1.3. Overlapping Events and *-te iru*’s Observation Marking Function

The relationship between the description of multiple events that are temporally overlapping and the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction was explored in Chapter 7. For the description of overlapping events in the mode of narrative, the data analysis has shown that the *-te iru* construction functions as a linguistic device that contributes to the formation of a coherent narrative in regards to the viewpoint from which multiple events are described. The formation of this type of coherency was argued to be resulting from the observation marking function of the *-te iru* construction, because marking observation from the perspective of a certain character and the existence of a viewpoint are two closely related and inseparable concepts, and when consecutively occurring events are constantly described from one character’s viewpoint, it contributes to the establishment of discourse coherency.

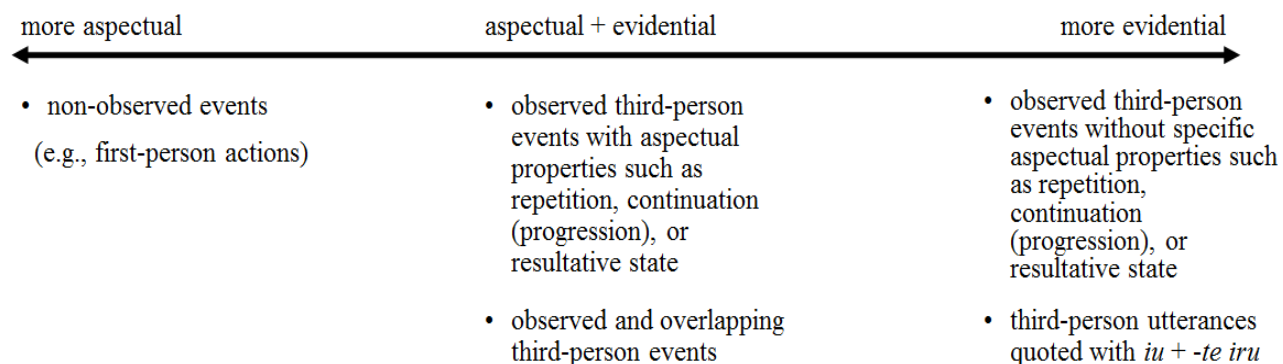
9.1.4. *iu* ‘to Say’ and *–te iru*’s Observation Marking Function

In Chapter 8, the combination of the verb *iu* ‘to say’ and the *–te iru* construction was analyzed in comparison with the combinations of other verbs and the *–te iru* construction. This was due to the possibility of *iu* being unique from other verbs when it is used with the *–te iru* construction. The data examination has shown that the most significant difference between *iu* and other typical verbs for observable actions such as *taberu* ‘to eat’ is that when a quotative *iu* is marked with the *–te iru* construction, it is impossible to interpret the construction as an aspectual marker of progression because of an inherent aspectual constraint imposed on *iu*, which is the fact that the entire portion of an utterance must be heard and understood in order for it to be quoted in another person’s utterance. Due to the existence of this unique property, when *itte imasshita* or its variants are used for quoting a third-person utterance, the *–te iru* construction appears to be purely functioning as an evidential marker of observation, and no specific aspectual information is marked with the construction. This contrasts with the combinations of the construction with other action verbs such as *taberu* because when actions such as eating were partially observed and are described with a verb with the *–te iru* construction, the interpretation of the *–te iru* construction can be either aspectual, or observation marking, or both of the two. For this reason, *iu* can be said to be distinctively unique from other verbs in regards to the construction’s observation marking function. When *iu* is used with the *–te iru* construction, the evidential marking function of *–te iru* can be said to be fully surfaced without being buried in its aspectual interpretations.

9.2. Concluding Remarks

In the present study, cases of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse were examined in order to explore the construction's property as an evidential marker of speaker observation. The examination of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse has shown that the construction is clearly used as an evidential marker of observation. However, it was also found that the *-te iru* construction cannot be used as a pure marker of speaker observation when the surrounding mode of discourse is narrative, because the atemporal nature of the *-te iru* construction triggers a breach of discourse coherence if it is used for an event that is one of the events listed in the temporal order. On the other hand, observed events can be marked with the *-te iru* construction in the discourse mode of non-narrative, since the *-te iru* construction's atemporal nature is compatible with its surrounding discourse that is also atemporal.

In addition, the examination of the *-te iru* construction in discourse has also shown that the *-te iru* construction's evidential marking function does not interfere with its aspectual marking function when it is purposefully used to mark an aspectual property such as repetition, progression, or resultative state. What this indicates is that a single case of the *-te iru* construction can simultaneously mark aspectual information as well as the observation made by the speaker, and it is possible to interpret the *-te iru* construction as a linguistic item that possesses a "dual marking function" for both aspectual and evidential information. The findings of the present study also suggest that depending on the linguistic and pragmatic environment in which the *-te iru* construction is used, the interpretation of the *-te iru* construction can be purely aspectual, purely evidential, or marking both aspectual and evidential information. The dual-marking function of aspectual and evidential properties of the *-te iru* construction is summarized in the following figure.

Figure 9.2. Summary of *-te iru*'s Dual Marking Functions

As shown in Figure 9.2, the *-te iru* construction can be a pure marker of aspectual property when it is used for an event that does not involve any speaker observation (e.g., description of a first-person action). On the other hand, the *-te iru* construction is used for an observed event that does not exhibit any of the aspectual properties that are typically marked with the *-te iru* construction, then the construction is likely to be purely used as an evidential marker of observation. For the cases where an observed event also exhibits an aspectual property that is typically marked with the *-te iru* construction, the *-te iru* construction used for the event can be interpreted to be marking both aspectual and evidential information simultaneously. In other words, the construction functions as a dual marker of aspectual properties and speaker observation when both observation and aspectual information are involved with a third-person action.

The above mentioned multi-dimensional nature of the *-te iru* construction may be the reason why the *-te iru* construction's evidential marking function was not fully focused upon in past studies that analyzed the construction as an aspectual marker (Kindaichi, 1950; Kuno, 1973; Soga, 1983; Shibatani, 1990; Jacobsen, 1992; etc.), and even though some studies have focused on the evidential marking function of the construction, its aspectual marking properties were

mostly not discussed in those studies. The present study has attempted to analyze the *-te iru* construction in an integrated analytical framework that includes both aspectual and evidential marking functions of the construction, and has demonstrated that the two types of marking functions of the construction are not mutually exclusive and can co-exist without interfering with each other.

Throughout the present study, examples of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse were examined in order to investigate how the observation marking function of the construction surfaces in actual discourse, and how the construction's observation marking function relates to its aspectual marking properties. The author of the present study hopes that it has contributed to the development of our understanding on the properties of the *-te iru* construction, and also to the development of the field of Japanese linguistics.

9.3. Future Directions

Several studies can be conducted based upon, or starting from the findings of the present study. Even though the original goal of the present study was to investigate the evidential usage of the *-te iru* construction in both the spoken and written forms of Japanese, the focus of data analysis in the present study heavily leaned towards the examination of the written language due to the researcher's ease of access to written data. In future studies, conducting further examinations of the spoken version of Japanese may be beneficial in order to fully explore how the temporal sequence of discourse affects the evidential usage of the *-te iru* construction in the spoken form of Japanese.

In addition, the methodological approach employed in the present study was mostly qualitative except the quantitative overview on the specific combination of the verb *iru* and the *-te*

iru construction. The reason for choosing the qualitative approach was the necessity to examine the discourse sequence before and after each case of the *-te iru* construction in detail, with a focus on the examination of the discourse contexts in which *-te iru* was used. However, conducting a quantitative analysis such as examining the frequency of the use of the *-te iru* construction for observed third-person events would have added more information to the findings of the present study. Conducting a similar study that also includes a quantitative analysis component may further expand our understanding of the usage of the *-te iru* construction in actual discourse.

Finally, the present study has demonstrated in what kinds of discourse environments the *-te iru* construction can or cannot be used as an evidential marker of observation. In addition to the findings of the present study, which mostly remained descriptive, further analytical quests may be made in order to explore the possible existence of a unified element or notion from which *-te iru*'s evidential and aspectual interpretations are derived. In the future, it may be beneficial to conduct a theoretical study to further explore the existence of a unified element that is accountable for both evidential and aspectual interpretations of the *-te iru* construction.

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