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A study of speaker's perspective in Japanese spoken discourse

Iwasaki, Shoichi, Ph.D.

University of California, Los Angeles, 1988

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Study of Speaker's Perspective in Japanese Spoken Discourse

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

Shoichi Iwasaki

1988

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To my parents

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A Study of Speaker's Perspective

in Japanese Spoken Discourse

by

Shoichi Iwasaki

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1988

Professor Russell G. Schuh, Co-chair

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The term "speaker's perspective" refers to one aspect of subjectivity which influences language in a variety of ways. Subjectivity interacts with morphosyntactic rules and discourse factors to regulate utterance forms. A speaker can express a certain attitude toward information that he is communicating by word selection (e.g., epithets) or selection of grammatical constructions (e.g., adversative passive). A speaker can select a point of view from which he describes certain situations (e.g., 'John hit Bill' vs. 'Bill was hit by John').

Further, a speaker has a way to express his cognitive involvement, which is identified in this dissertation as speaker's perspective. Speaker's perspective in Japanese is most clearly seen in predicates which represent the

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internal states of persons, since the speaker has different degrees of accessibility to these mental states. Thus the predicate form in Japanese for 'I am sad' is different from 'He is sad.' A speaker has "primary perspective" when he talks about his own internal state. He has "secondary perspective" when he talks about someone else's internal state.

This well-known fact about Japanese internal predicate forms is also responsible for tense form variation in spoken narrative discourse. The tense form of a clause is past when the speaker has primary perspective, i.e., when he is an actor of some action or an experiencer in some situation. Otherwise the tense form is non-past, despite the fact that the situation existed in the past.

Two non-finite verb forms, TE and TARA, mark continuous and discontinuous perspective, respectively, across clauses as switch reference markers. When primary perspective continues to be the perspective of the next clause, TE connects the two clauses. When the perspective shifts from primary to secondary, TARA marks this shift. When there is a shift from secondary to primary, the two clauses are not connected by these verb forms, but are separated by a finite form.

Though the focus in this dissertation is the effect of speaker's perspective in Japanese, it is suggested that this concept also operates in other languages.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. PARTICLES

ACC (accusative)
DAT (dative)
GL (goal)
INS (instrumental)
LOC (locative)
LK (linker)
NOM (nominative)
QT (quotative)
QU (question)
TOP (topic)

II. VERB MORPHOLOGY AND OTHER PREDICATE ELEMENTS

AUX (auxiliary)
COP (copula)
CAS (causative)
EVD (evidential marker)
HON (honrific)
IMP (imperative)
MUT (mutative)
NEG (negative)
NPT (non-past)
POL (polite)
PRV (provisional)
PSS (passive)
PST (past)
PTN (potential)
RY (ren'yoo-kei, continuative form)
STA (stative)

III. OTHERS

BCH (bachchannel expressions)
CLS (classifier)
EX (text external information)
EM (emphasizing word)
FRG (fragment)
INJ (interjection and hesitation)
MOD (modal)
NML (nominalizer)
ONM (onamatopoeia)
PL (plural)
SE (sentence extension)
SOF (softening word)

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ABOUT DATA TRANSCRIPTION

Most data have been transcribed by the author from recordings made on cassette tapes. Transcriptions prepared by others have been checked and some corrections have been made by the author whenever possible.

I. Basic symbols

All transcriptions conform to the romanization system, a modified Hepburn system, adopted in this thesis. (Examples cited from other researchers are modified to fit this system.) Since romanization is used phonetically in a broad sense, I do not use any capital letters even for proper names. Some features of the romanization system are described as follows.

A. Vowels:

1. Five vowel symbols, /i, e, a, o, u/, are used.
2. Double vowels indicate a lexically long vowel.
   e.g., /ookii/ 'big', /eesuu/ 'English and math'
3. Non lexical lengthening of a vowel is indicated by a colon (:). e.g., /soshite:/ 'and then'
   More than one colon might be used for an overly prolonged vowel. e.g. /soshite:::/ 'and then'

B. Consonants:

1. /p, b, t, d, k, g, f, s, z, ch, sh, ts, j, m, n, r, h, y, w/
2. /f/ is usually a voiceless bilabial fricative.
3. /j/ is usually a voiced postalveolar affricate.
4. /sh/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative.
5. /ch/ is a voiceless alveolar affricate.
6. /ts/ is a voiceless postalveolar affricate.
7. Gemination is indicated by a double consonant.
   e.g., /kippu/ 'ticket'

II. Secondary symbols

In the original transcripts, which are included in the

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appendix, there are variety of symbols for paralinguistic features such as sudden stop (<), audible glottal constriction (^), laughter (1---1), higher speed of utterance (2--2) and so forth. Also interactional features such as backchannel expressions (e.g., /nn/ 'yes', /he::/ 'oh yeah?') and overlaps with brackets ([ ]) and curly brackets ({ }) are recorded in detail. (These symbols are listed at the end of this section.)

However, for the purpose of discussion in each chapter, most such indications are not essential, and might cause unnecessary difficulty in reading examples. Therefore, I have eliminated some such paralinguistic and interactional features for the sake of the discussion in this thesis (unless such features are relevant for the discussion). A pair of excerpts is given below to show some differences between the original and modified transcripts.

Original Transcript (NO WAY OUT)

141 A: sono doa o shimetara
142 A: moo doa ga ak-anai-n desu {yo ne,}
143 I: {5-he?-5 iya}
144 A: soshite [moo]
145 I: [n:n]
146 A: monosugoku atsukute %sono toki
147 wa
148 I: ==nn
149 A: =sanjuu go-do gurai de
150 A: .h [sono:] kaminari to ka sono

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151 ... ^ano hyoo desu ka.

152 I: [nn] nn

Modified Transcript

141 A: sono doa o shimetara

142 A: moo doa ga ak-anai-n desu yo ne,

144 A: soshite moo

146 A: monosugoku atsukute %sono toki wa

149 A: =sanjuu go-do gurai de

150 A: .h sono: kaminari to ka sono

... ano hyoo desu ka.

Numbering in the transcript does not have any significance except being mnemonic. Missing numbers appear in the modified transcript because some backchannel turns are omitted. Moreover the number of the second line in one turn by the same speaker (e.g., 151) is also omitted for the ease of discussion. In the transcript in the appendix, some lines do not have any numbers. This is simply an artifact of the necessity of dividing up a line which arose after the initial data input due to horizontal space limitation.

In both original and modified transcripts, word by word gloss and relatively free English translation (omitted in this example) are provided.

III. Other symbols

Here is a list of symbols mostly for paralinguistic and interactional features.

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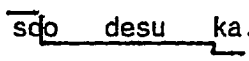
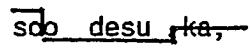
A: Intonation

Five clause final pitches are distinguished. Below symbols associated with those pitches are listed with some example phrases and their visual intonation pattern.)

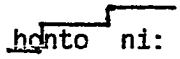
(.) falling intonation (sentence final sounding)



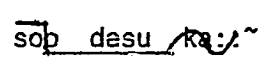
(,) rising (any rising except a question intonation)



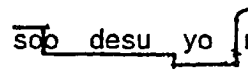
(?) extreme rising (showing strong doubt or surprise)



(~) rise-fall-rise (showing doubt or dissatisfaction)



(*) falling (showing strong opinion or seeking agreement)



B: Others

(^) audible glottal constriction
(<) sudden stop
(:) nonlexical lengthening (vowels and consonants)
(=) latching (placed at the beginning of an intonation unit etc. to indicate that the clause etc. begins immediately after the preceding material)
(==) pre-latching (extreme case of latching, with slight overlapping with the last syllable of the previous talk)
(.h) audible in-breath
(h) audible out-breath
(@) vowels whose phonetic value is reduced greatly
(tsk) click sound
(..) break in timing (See below.)
(1---1) laughter
(2---2) utterance with higher speed
(3---3) utterance with lower speed
(4---4) utterance with weaker volume

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(5---5) utterance with loud volume
(6---6) animated, excited utterance
([ ], { }) overlaps (See below.)
(%) postposed elements (used when a word or phrase occurs at a later place than its canonical place)

Pause of approximately half a second is indicated by three dots (...) and the length of a longer pause is indicated in tenth of a second in parentheses.

Overlapped portions are enclosed in square brackets ([ ]). When there is a succession of overlaps, curly brackets ({ }) are also employed to avoid confusion. In the following illustrative example, P and Q are overlapped and so is R and S, but Q and R are not.

A: ..... [P] ....

B: .....[Q].

A: ... { R } ....

B: { S } .....

The transcription system adopted here was designed in conjunction with Pamela Downing.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of the study

This dissertation attempts to establish the foundation of a theory of speaker's perspective in discourse, which is a part of a larger concept of subjectivity in language. Subjectivity in language refers to the element that the speaker brings into his utterances and it partially influences, for example, lexical choices, morphology and sentence structures. In the next chapter three types of subjectivity will be identified: speaker's attitude, speaker's position from which to describe situations (or "point of view"), and speaker's perspective.

Among them, speaker's perspective is the major concern of this dissertation. Speaker's perspective refers to the relationship between the speaker and what he reports. More specifically, it refers to the distance between the speaker and the information that he conveys. In general, the distance is closer when he describes something in which he is involved than when he describes something in which he is not involved.

Recent work on subjectivity shows that certain aspects of grammar must be accounted for by appealing to some aspect of subjectivity (e.g., Kuno 1987, Sells 1987). A grammatical theory built upon the notion of subjectivity recognizes the importance of speaker's role and the way it affects grammar.

Curiously, however, no work has been done in investigating

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the role of the "real" speaker in discourse. "Discourse", in many studies on subjectivity, is a product of an "ideal" speaker, or a construct by a linguist. The aim of this thesis, then, is to fill this gap and make the notion of speaker's perspective more precise in the real communicative context. In this dissertation I will be specifically concerned with how speaker's perspective influences tense form selection and the switch reference system in Japanese first person narrative.

Perspective is basically a cognitive principle and thus it might influence some grammatical phenomena in other languages as well. It will be suggested toward the end of this dissertation that some split phenomena (e.g., split ergativity) can be explained by appealing to perspective.

In the following, I will set the limits and the scope of the study, and give an initial account of speaker's perspective. Then I will show why the speaker's perspective is an important issue in Japanese grammar by adducing some perspective-related grammatical phenomena.

2. Limitation of the study

There are three types of limitations to this study. The first one concerns the data being analyzed. The data consist of sixteen first person narratives. They are about the speakers' past experiences. This is intentional. In first person narratives of past experience, it is easy to keep of track of speaker's perspective since a speaker has to describe his own

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action and some others' action, i.e., he takes different perspectives in telling such a story.

This dissertation will not touch upon any other discourse types (except in the next chapter where some relevant literature is reviewed), although it is clear that other types of discourse must also be studied for a complete view of speaker's perspective. Benveniste's (1971) study of French "history" as compared to "discourse" and Banfield's (1982) study of literary narratives of English and French are examples of perspective studies in other genres. Since my data consist of natural spoken narratives, I will not consider certain sentence forms that are possible only in a subtype of literary style called "non-reportive" style (Kuroda 1973).

The second limitation is the domain of research. Recent works on subjectivity have typically been concerned with its influence on the internal structure of a sentence (e.g., the use of reflexive pronoun in an embedded clause). The domain of research in this thesis is not such intra-clause structure but is rather the shape of clauses (in the case of tense form choice) and inter-clausal phenomenon (in the case of switch reference system).

The third limitation has something to do with the stage of development of the concept subjectivity. Before an integrated view of subjectivity can be presented, more descriptive research must be carried out. The ultimate goal of a study of this

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concept must include its significance as a force which helps create coherence of discourse. Discourse is organized by a speaker, who is a center of subjective elements and maintains more or less a single point of view (some exceptions will be discussed later). Without a speaker or his subjectivity discourse loses its focal point and cannot retain its integrity as a coherent body of utterances. A future study of this concept should investigate how various aspects of subjectivity work together to create such discourse coherence. However, at this stage of development of the concept, more descriptive work is necessary.

In summary, I will describe in this thesis what speaker's perspective is and how it works to influence certain aspects of grammar in the first person narrative of past experience.

3. Scope of the study

This thesis describes two aspects of Japanese grammar (tense form variation and the switch reference system), which have not been thought of as related to perspective.

The tense system, often with the aspect system, is one of the most discussed areas in modern Japanese linguistics (e.g., Kindaichi 1955, Nakau 1976, Teramura 1984, Soga 1983, Matsumoto 1985). Yet there is a general lack of rigorous research into tense form variation in real discourse (but see Makino 1981b, Szatrowski 1985a, 1985b, 1987). Observe (1), which shows a typical pattern of tense form variation. The speaker of (1) is

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telling a story about getting nervous when an airline personnel became inquisitive, because she used a false ID to get a cheaper plane ticket.

(1) (False ID)

245: nani-jin nante kiku wake
what-person like ask:NPT SE

247: de ne moshi tai-jin wa motto iro ga
and EX if Thai-people TOP more color NOM

kuroi-n ja-nai ka kik-aretara komaru naa
black-SE COP-NEG QU ask-PSS:CON in-trouble EX

to omotta no.
QT think:PST SE

245 He asked me what nationality I was.
247 and I thought I would be in trouble
if I was asked if Thais were darker.

Notice the verb forms in 245 and 247. Though both 'ask' and 'think' are past actions, 'think' with first person subject[1] is realized in the past tense form while 'ask' is expressed in the non-past tense form. This means that tense forms are not used as temporal markers in this type of discourse.

This tense form variation is very regular between the first person and third person subjects. However, it is not possible to state simply that tense form is determined by the subject of a clause since there are cases where a clause has a third person subject and past tense form. (2) is such an example.

(2) (Drowning)

48 futotta obasan ga ita no.
fat lady NOM exist:PST SE

48 there was a fat lady.

The speaker of (2) describes the time when she was almost drowned

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as a child. When she saw a big woman next to her, she grabbed her. Clause 48 has a third person subject, yet is expressed in the past tense form.

The use of past tense in (2) is dues to "infiltration of primary perspective," which is possible when a speaker is the "discoverer" of some situation. Later I will explain two other conditions under which such infiltration is possible.

The switch reference system is another area in which speaker's perspective has an effect. Forms used for switch reference (the TE and TARA forms), especially the TARA form, have been discussed by many linguists (e.g., Kuno 1973a, 1973b, Akatsuka 1985). Yet, again, general lack of study of real discourse (but see Myhill and Hibiya 1988) has restricted the awareness of an important aspect of these forms; TE appears when there is no change of subject between two clauses, and TARA when there is such a change. This is similar to a switch reference system in some languages, and I will use the term "switch reference" to refer to this system in Japanese. Observe (3). The speaker is reporting that he had to wake up a man with whom he was sharing a hotel room on a Las Vegas trip because he did not have a key.

(3) (Las Vegas)

184 soshite hair-e-nakute
and enter-POT-NEG:TE

185 =okoshite
wake up:TE

186 de hai... haittara
and FRG enter:TARA

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187 yakkosan [sic] okite-kite
guy wake up-come:TE

184 and I could not enter (the room)-TE,
185 I woke him up-TE,
186 and I entered-TARA,
187 the guy wake up and came-TE,

The TE form appears when there is no subject change as manifested between 184 and 185, and between 185 and 186, all of which have a first person subject. TARA, on the other hand, is used when there is a change of subject from 186 to 187. In this case the subject changes from first person to third person.

However, as (4) below shows, it is not enough to appeal only to the notion of grammatical subject to explain this variation.

(4) (Language Games)
114 soide yoku kangaetara
and well think:TARA

115 naruhodo naa to omotta #ne
indeed SP QT think:PST EX

114 and I thought about it well-TARA,
115 I thought it made good sense.

Despite the fact that both 114 and 115 have the first person subject, TARA connects them. This is only possible when there is a substantive change in the speaker. In the case of (4), the speaker's awareness has changed drastically.

Later I will explain this fact by appealing to the concept "degree of information accessibility." This concept is related to speaker's perspective in that it measures the distance between the speaker and what he describes. It will be shown that the verbs in (4) exhibit different degree of information

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accessibility though both mean 'think.'

To sum up, this dissertation contributes to the theory of speaker's perspective by describing two aspects of Japanese grammar, tense form assignment and the switch reference system. This is a step toward an integrated theory of speaker's perspective which gives coherence to the discourse. In the remainder of this chapter, I will give an initial account of speaker's perspective and introduce some examples of perspective in Japanese.

4. Speaker's perspective

Speaker's perspective refers to the distance between a speaker and the situation that he is describing. The working of this concept in discourse is explained in two parts; the first part describes two types of perspective (primary and secondary) and the second part describes how sometimes primary perspective infiltrates a secondary perspective.

The existence of two types of perspective is evidenced by certain grammatical phenomena in Japanese, which will be described in the next section. However, before turning to examples I will attempt to distinguish primary and secondary perspective by considering the role of speaker.

A speaker relates to what he says differently depending on whether he is involved in a situation or not. For example, the sentences (5) and (6) below exhibit a difference of speaker's involvement in the situation.[2]

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(5) boku wa tora o shitometa.
I TOP tiger ACC kill:PST

I killed a tiger.

(6) kodomo ga neko o ijimete-ita.
child NOM cat ACC bully-STA:PST

A child was bullying a cat.

The speaker of sentence (5) has the dual role of "reporter," or one who does the uttering of a sentence, and "participant" in the situation described by the sentence. On the other hand the speaker of (6) is just a "reporter." When a person reports a situation in which he is involved, he has one type of relationship with that utterance. I call this the "primary perspective." When he reports a situation in which he is not involved, he has a different kind of relationship with the utterance, which I call "secondary perspective."

The semantic role of a speaker is not restricted to agent as in the case of (5), but it can be any role. Thus both (7) and (8) are also examples of primary perspective.[3]

(7) jon ga boku o nagutta.
John NOM I ACC hit

John hit me.

(8) boku wa jon ni nagur-areta.
I TOP John by hit-PSS:PST

I was hit by John.

The situation that sentence (7) and (8) describe is one and the same. The speaker is one of the participants (patient).

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Thus the relationship of the speaker to this situation is identical. It is a different factor which places the speaker in the subject position or object position.

I have sketched two types of perspective. Primary perspective sentences have first person argument somewhere in them. Otherwise, a sentence is interpreted as having secondary perspective. However, primary perspective is detected in an apparent secondary perspective sentences. I call this phenomenon 'infiltration of primary perspective.' This becomes possible under three conditions: when the speaker is (a) a goal/recipient, (b) a hidden experiencer, or (c) a discover of a situation. Here I only show a case of speaker's hidden experiencer role.

The next sentence is a secondary perspective sentence according to the definition given so far.

(9) sono wain wa totemo oishikatta.
that wine TOP very delicious:PST

That wine was very delicious.

However, this sentence is more than a description of the wine and tells the speaker's experience concerning the taste of the wine. In other words, it contains an implicit experiencer role of the speaker. In fact, it is possible to include the experiencer role overtly as follows.

(10) boku ni wa sono wain wa totemo oishikatta.
I DAT TOP

The wine was very delicious to me.

I will discuss similar examples and the other two conditions for primary perspective infiltration in Chapter 3.

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Perspective is thus explained in two parts, the two types of perspective (primary and secondary) and primary perspective infiltration. For discourse researchers, perspective is a notion that they always have to pay attention to, since it consists of two major ingredients of discourse, the speaker and what he reports. Especially when analyzing Japanese discourse, careful treatment of speaker's perspective is crucial, since Japanese is a language which is rich in subjectivity-related phenomena (e.g., Kuno 1987:254). In the next section, I will describe some perspective related phenomena in order to show the relevance of this concept in Japanese grammar.

5. Internal-state predicates

Two types of perspective (primary and secondary) were introduced in the previous section. In this section some grammatical contrasts will be presented as the manifestation of the two types of perspective.

The distinction between primary and secondary perspectives does not always influence the morphology or structure of a sentence. However, when it does, it shows up in a very systematic fashion in the area of transitivity. I will discuss the relationship between transitivity and perspective in Chapter 3.

The clearest case of the influence of perspective can be seen in the "internal state" predicates, which show person's emotional state, physical sensation, desire, intention and inner

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mental process. Internal state predicate must take different forms depending on the subject (or more strictly the perspective.)

Internal-state refers to something that exists within a person and it has the characteristic of being opaque to others. That is, internal states can be directly observable only by the person who is experiencing or possessing them. In 5.1. below, I will discuss a predicate of emotional state (physical sensation and desire follow the same pattern), and then I will discuss a predicate showing intention (5.2) and "exploration" (5.3). In these three cases, the predicate form used in primary perspective cannot be used for the secondary perspective sentence. In 5.4 and 5.5, inner mental process and spontaneous expressions which are also expressions of internal state are examined. In these cases, aspectual difference (or transitivity difference) indicates perspective difference.

5.1. Adjectival predicates of physical and psychological states and desire

It is widely known that the adjectival predicates showing the physical state (atsui 'hot'), psychological state (kanashii 'sad') or desire (hoshii 'want') in Japanese are influenced by the subject of a sentence (e.g., Kuroda 1973, Aoki 1987). However, I account for this fact by appealing to perspective difference. Consider the next three sentences.

(ii) boku wa kanashii.
I TOP sad:NPT I am sad.

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(12) *jon wa kanashii. John is sad.

(13) jon wa kanashi-gatte-iru.
sad-show sign of-STA:NPT John is sad.

(11) has a first person subject, i.e., the speaker is not only reporting but is also involved in the situation, more precisely, he is experiencing the emotion of sadness. That is, (11) has primary perspective. On the other hand, the speaker of (13) is simply reporting a situation as an outsider of the situation. That is, this is a sentence of secondary perspective. Notice in a secondary perspective sentence, the adjective used for a primary perspective sentence is not possible, as shown in (12), and a derived verb must be used as in (13).

My insistence on referring to perspective rather than grammatical subject is partly due to the fact that sometimes the modified form (sabishigatteiru) is used with the first person subject. This will be discussed later in this section.[4]

5.2. Expressions of intention

Expressions of intention are similar to emotional state in that they are expressions referring to the state that only the speaker can experience (in this case, "mental activity"). Observe (14) through (17).

(14) boku ga ik-oo.
I NOM go-PRV I will go.

(15) jon ga ik-oo. I think John will go.

(16) boku wa iku-mai.
I TOP go-NEG HORTATIVE I won't go.

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(17) jon wa iku-mai. I don't think John will go.

The provisional form, -oo, is used with the first person subject and indicates the speaker's intention. This form cannot be used with a third person to indicate his intention. It is ungrammatical for that reading. If used with a third person subject, though slightly archaic, the sentence means the speaker's conjecture, as shown in (15). The negative hortative, mai, behaves exactly in the same way as the provisional form. If used with a first person subject, the sentence means the speaker's negative will, as in (16), but it cannot mean the third person's negative will with a third person subject. If used with a third person subject, the sentence means the speaker's conjecture of the third person's action, as shown in (17).

The provisional form and the negative hortative form can indicate intention only when the sentence is in primary perspective. These forms in secondary perspective sentences cause different interpretation. Only the speaker's involvement in an intentional situation guarantees the intentional interpretation.

5.3. Exploratory expression - -te miru

The construction involving the -te form and the auxiliary miru is called "exploratory (Martin 1975:541) and indicates such meanings as "to do/try it to see (what it is like)". It is used in a primary perspective sentence as (18).

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(18) A: anata mo oobo-shimashita ka.
you also apply-do:PST QU

B: hai, oobo-shite-mimashita
yes apply-do-try:PST

A: Did you apply, too ?
B: Yes, I tried (to see if I would be accepted.)

However, a sentence with secondary perspective does not allow this construction.

(19) A: jon mo ooboshi-mashita ka.

B: *hai ooboshite-mimashita.

A: Did John apply, too ?
B: Yes, he tried (to see if he would be accepted.)

The distribution of this construction is sensitive to perspective distinctions because exploratory is also a kind of internal-state predicate in that only the person who "does or try to see it" is aware of that intention.

In the above three cases, secondary perspective sentences must be expressed with some evidential markers. The two cases to be discussed below show perspective distinction in stativity of predicates. Secondary perspective sentences consistently show more stative predicate form than primary perspective sentences.

5.4. Mental processes

A verb of mental process, omou 'think,' can be used without any modification in a primary perspective sentence, as shown in (20). But it is ungrammatical in a secondary perspective sentence as shown in (21), and it must be modified to be a

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stative form as in (22).

(20) boku wa jon ga hannin da to omou.
I TOP John NOM culprit COP QT think:NPT

I think John is the culprit.

(21) *kare wa jon ga hannin da to omou.
he

He thinks John is the culprit.

(22) kare wa jon ga hannin da to omotte-iru.
think-STA:NPT

He thinks John is the culprit.

The fact that secondary perspective clauses are expressed in predicate forms which are lower in tranisitivity will be explained from the Transitivity Hypothesis of Hopper and Thompson (1980) in Chapter 3.

5.5. Spontaneous expressions

Spontaneous expressions refer to utterances which communicate speaker's immediate physical or psychological states. These expressions are characterized by the impossibility of subject inclusion and a possibility of introduction by the word aa 'oh.' Although the subject cannot be included overtly in a sentence, it is clear that the experiencer is the speaker. If a spontaneous expression has a verb (rather than an adjective) in it, the spontaneous expression will have another characteristic: the tense form must be the past tense form. (23) and (24) are examples of spontaneous expressions.

(23) aa tsukareta.
oh tired:PST 'Oh, I'm tired.'

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(24) aa komatta.
oh in trouble:PST 'Oh, I'm in trouble.'

All spontaneous expressions are in primary perspective by definition. Third person's physical or psychological states cannot be "expressed" directly but must be "described." In this process, modification of predicate becomes necessary and the overt (third person) subject becomes possible. Compare (23) with (25) and (24) with (26).

(25) kare wa tsukarete-iru.
he TOP get tired-STA:NPT

He is tired.

(26) kare wa komatte-iru.
in trouble-STA:NPT

He is in trouble.

Notice also that the predicate form used for secondary perspective clauses are again lower in transitivity as in the case of mental process predicate discussed in 5.4.

Direct expressions of internal states exemplify the clearest case of perspective distinction since the speaker is the only person who can experience such internal state and he is the only person who can directly express it.

To summarize this section, in clauses with various types of internal-state predicate, speaker's perspective influences the predicate form or the interpretation of predicate. In this case, the subject of a clause and perspective are parallel. If the subject is the first person, the clause has the primary perspective, and if the subject is third person, it has the

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secondary perspective. It cannot be argued, however, that the choice of predicate form is dictated by the syntactic subject for two reasons. First, because other types of predicate usually do not show such variation in predicate, and second because the predicates that are influenced by subject are characteristically the type which describe a person's internal state. Also as will be seen later, there are some unexplainable exceptions if a strictly syntactic view which appeals to the notion of subject is maintained.

6. "Speaker's territory of information"

Speaker's perspective is defined by the relationship between the speaker and the information he describes. This is reminiscent to some aspects of evidentiality. In this section, speaker's perspective is compared with certain aspects of evidentiality.

I will discuss specifically the concept of "territory of information" explored by Kamio (1979, 1987). Speaker's territory of information explains different clause ending forms in Japanese, evidential marking and sentence ending particles in particular. I will try to achieve a clearer understanding of speaker's perspective by contrasting it with this notion.

Kamio notices that there are two basic types of clause forms, direct and non-direct forms. Non-direct form must be used if the information to be communicated does not belong to the speaker, or the speaker has no direct knowledge of it. This

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explains why the same predicate forms cannot appear in sentences with internal-state predicates, which were discussed in 5.[5] Information belongs to the speaker's territory when the speaker obtains information by a direct means, i.e., he directly experiences a situation or observes it visually.

Although speaker's perspective and his territory of information coincide in the case of internal-state predicates, speaker's perspective and speaker's territory of information are two independent concepts. This can be understood if we observe (27) and (28) below. The information, "John is sick," for example, is expressed by either of these sentences, depending on whether the information belongs to the speaker or not.

(27) jon wa byooki da.
TOP sick COP:NPT

John is sick.

(28) jon wa byooki da tte.
EVD

I hear that John is sick.

(27) is a direct form and can be used only if the speaker has learned the fact directly by, for example, seeing him in bed with fever. (28) on the other hand indicates information obtained by hearsay. Thus (27) and (28) are distinguished in terms of speaker's territory of information. However, both sentences have secondary perspective and not primary perspective since the speaker is not directly involved in the situation. Now observe (29).

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(29) jon wa byooki mitai da.
TOP sick seem COP:NPT

John seems to be sick.

The perspective of this sentence is still secondary. However, this sentence is ambiguous for its territory of information because mitai does not express the source of information. It could be visual or semi-hearsay.[6]

Compare (29) with (30).

(30) boku wa byooki da.
I TOP sick COP:NPT

I am sick.

When the subject is first person, a direct form is natural and (30) is clearly within primary perspective because the speaker has a dual role. However, the next sentence is also possible.

(31) boku wa byooki mitai da.
I TOP sick EVD COP:NPT

I think I'm sick.

This sentence is used when the speaker conjectures about his health condition based on some symptoms (e.g., unexplainable fatigue). In other words, the speaker is seeing himself from a different person's stance.

Let's summarize the discussion so far. Speaker's perspective and speaker's territory of information are two independent concepts. Perspective refers to the speaker's dual role of a reporter of and a participant in a situation being described in a clause. Territory of information, on the other hand, refers to the status of information in the speaker's

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knowledge system. Direct forms reflect the fact that a speaker has obtained a piece of information for himself, by experiencing it or seeing it. Indirect forms reflect other sources, mainly hearsay. Some evidentials do not indicate territory of information because they do not specify how a speaker has obtained the information.

At this point, I should discuss briefly the construction no da and its variant forms. In the data under investigation, there are many sentences which end in the construction no da (i.e., a nominalizer - here glossed as SE or a sentence extender - followed by the copula). It must be pointed out here that though the no da ending is sometimes treated as an evidential marker (i.e., a non-direct form), it is nonetheless a direct form, as Kamio correctly describes. Observe (27') and (30') which are modified versions of (27) and (30) with no da, respectively.

(27') jon wa byooki na no da.
TOP sick LK SE COP:NPT

John is sick

(30') boku wa byooki na no da.

I am sick.

Thus (27), (27'), (30) and (30') are within the speaker's territory of information, and they contrast with (28) which is outside speaker's territory. What distinguishes (27) and (27') on the one hand and (30) and (30') on the other is that (27) and (27') have secondary perspective but (30) and (30') have primary perspective.

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Though many attempts have been made (Alfonso 1966, Kuno 1973a, 1973b, Kuroda 1973, McGloin 1980a, McGloin 1981, Noda 1981, Inoue 1982, Iwasaki 1985), a precise semantic description of no da is not easy. Probably Kuroda's interpretation is most relevant to the discussion here. He characterizes a sentence with no da as an assertive sentence which is not based on any apparent source. He states; "The (no da) sentence does not tell how he knows what he knows, and it can sound just like an a priori declaration". (1973:381) (27'), therefore, means, "(Don't question me. I know that) John is sick." or something to this effect.

In this section, the notion speaker's perspective was compared to the nction of speaker's territory of information. They are independent of each other and influence clauses differently. In the next, we will make clear the domains of application of these concepts.

7. Summary

This chapter outlined the concept of speaker's perspective. The theory of perspective consists of two parts; (i) the distinction between primary and secondary perspective and (ii) the infiltration of primary perspective.

Primary perspective is defined by the speaker's dual role as a reporter of a situation and a participant in the situation. Secondary perspective is defined by the speaker's single role as a reporter. This distinction is different from the distinction

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of speaker's territory of information. Information about some secondary perspective situations are obtained either directly (i.e., by witnessing it) or indirectly (e.g., by hearsay). Thus a secondary perspective sentence is marked accordingly for this distinction. Information about primary perspective situation is usually obtained directly, but there are occasions in which it is marked as an indirect information. This happens under a specific condition, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Primary perspective penetrates into a secondary perspective situation under three special circumstances: when the speaker is (a) goal/recipient, (b) a covert experiencer of a situation, and (c) a "discoverer" of a situation. This phenomenon of perspective infiltration will be discussed in Chapter 3.

In the next chapter (Chapter 2), some previous work on the subjectivity-related phenomena are reviewed and more detailed definition of speaker's perspective is given. In Chapter 3, tense form variation is discussed in detail with respect to speaker's perspective. Chapter 4 attempts to describe the switch reference system in Japanese as a phenomenon sensitive to perspective shift. Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation with some suggestions of application of the concept of speaker's perspective in the description of grammatical phenomenon in other languages.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

[1] Subject is defined here as the first noun phrase slot for each predicate frame, which is usually, but not always, marked with the particle ga in such a frame. Since Japanese allows ellipsis of noun phrase to a great degree and it does not have coreferencing system in the verb morphology, semantic and discourse information is the sole clue for retrieving an elided subject. See Hinds (1982) for the discussion of case frame. See discussions of Japanese subjecthood in the following references among others; Mikami 1972, Kuno 1976b, Kuroda 1976, Shibatani 1978a, 1978b.

[2] All examples in this chapter from now on are constructed. This is necessary to illustrate the concept of speaker's perspective clearly. Most examples in the subsequent chapters are utterances from real discourse.

[3] Anticipating a little, this is where my definition of perspective differs from Kuno's "point-of-view" or "empathy." I will clarify how these notions are independent of each other in the next chapter.

[4] A secondary perspective sentence might be also presented with some evidential words. In (i), the evidential soo "it looks" follows the modified form (without the final i) of adjective. Some evidential forms will be discussed later in this chapter.

(i) jon wa kanashi-soo da.
sad-looks COP John looks sad.

[5] However, Kamio's focus is on the evidential markers and sentence ending particles and not on the variant predicate forms and aspectual difference discussed in Section 5.

[6] I call it "semi-hearsay" because the source might be hearsay but the sentence with mitai and other similar evidentials (e.g., yooda and rashii, both of which might be rendered as "it seems, it appears") indicates speaker's conjecture based on such hearsay. See Teramura (1984:219-260).

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES ON SPEAKER'S SUBJECTIVITY

0. Introduction

This chapter reviews eleven works concerning speaker's subjectivity with an intention to achieve four goals. The first goal is to recognize the importance of the notion "subjectivity" in language by examining the extent to which it is discussed in the works of other linguists. The second goal is to make clear the type of data I am analyzing by comparing natural spoken discourse and certain types of literary texts. The third goal is to examine the notion of subjectivity and to recognize three different ways in which it influences sentence form; speaker's attitude, point of view, and perspective. Finally, comparing these three different types of subjectivity-related phenomena, I will attempt to make the notion of "perspective" more precise.

1. Review of literature

"Subjectivity" in language has been noticed by different linguists. Studies of the relationship between text style and sentence form reveal the effect on sentence form when the speaker (narrator) vanishes in the text. These studies show a clear distinction between natural spoken data and certain types of literary text. I will review Benveniste (1971), Kuroda (1973), and Banfield (1982) for this area of research.

Recently linguists have paid more attention to the notion

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"subjectivity" to explain certain morphology and syntactic constructions. Studies of morphology concerns certain aspects of subjectivity which influences case marking and verbal morphology. DeLancy (1981, 1982, 1987) explains split case marking and other grammatical phenomena by appealing to the notion he calls "information flow" and "viewpoint." Maynard (1980, 1987) and Kuroda (1987) describe the topic marking wa as a device to specify point of view of a story.

Studies of the syntactic and semantic effects of subjectivity mainly concern sentence internal regularities such as the use of reflexives and pronouns, and logophoricity, a notion which involves the speaker and hearer. Four works reviewed under "subjectivity with relation to syntax and semantics" range from informal descriptions of certain aspects of subjectivity (Akatsuka 1977, 1979, Ohye 1975) and some formalization of the concept (Kuno 1987, Sells 1987).

It is only recently that "subjectivity" has been recognized as an important factor on linguistic forms. I will start, however, with a review of Tokieda (1941, 1950), who is the main advocate of recognizing "subjectivity" in Japanese. Tokieda sees Japanese as a language in which subjectivity can be seen clearly because some parts-of-speech reflect speaker's subjectivity. Tokieda's theory is not followed by other linguists reviewed here, but the echo of his claim is detected in some of the authors' description of Japanese. For example, Ohye (1975) and

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Kuno (1987) specifically point out that Japanese is rich with subjective expressions. Although some aspects of subjectivity must influence any language since it comes from such a basic component of language, i.e., the speaker, it might be possible that some languages have richer resources to express it.

1.1. Tokieda's study of shi and ji

The term ji is first found in the study of particles that appear in the fourteenth century (teniha taigaishoo). In its original use, ji refers to functional words, particles in particular, contrasting with shi which refers to content words. It is Tokieda (1941, 1950) who defines these terms more precisely from a new point of view, based on works by nineteenth century grammarians such as Norinaga Motoori and Akira Suzuki,[1] in his own grammatical theory.

Tokieda's work is unique among the traditional Japanese grammarians in that unlike others he recognizes and emphasizes the role of the speaker in language. He presents a grammatical theory he names gengo katei setsu (a "theory of language as a mental process"), as a counter theory to the Saussurian model of language which views language as a construct of idea and sound.

Using his process model of language, he attempts a parts-of-speech classification. In his view, there are two types of linguistically related processes and correspondingly two classes of parts-of-speech, called shi and ji. Words and morphemes which belong to the class shi are a result of "abstraction."[2] Thus,

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when one uses the word 'book,' for example, to refer to an object he sees on the table, he "abstracts" the object through the use of this word. That is, the word 'book' is not the object 'book' but it is a linguistic representation of it. Use of a shi class word presupposes such an abstraction process. This process takes place even when one utters a word which expresses a subjective feeling (e.g., yorokobi 'happiness' or kanashii 'sad'). Kanashii, for example, is not a direct expression of the speaker's feeling but is a linguistic representation of such feeling. Included in the class of shi words are nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

Contrasting to shi, the ji class of parts-of-speech do not go through such an "abstraction" process but they directly represent the speaker's position vis-á-vis what is being communicated. To put it differently, a ji form is not a representation of object or concept but it is the speaker's experience itself. The most straightforward example of ji is an exclamatory word. One can utter aa 'oh' when he experiences some emotional excitement or oya 'what?!' when he encounters a strange situation. The rationale behind Tokieda's dichotomy of classes of parts-of-speech is that ji forms are unable to express a third person's mental state. Contrasted to this, a shi words expressing feeling, for example kanashi (stem of kanashii 'sad'), can describe not only the speaker's but a third person's emotion.[3] Besides exclamatory words, Tokieda lists three other kinds of ji forms: conjunctive words, joshi 'particles,' and

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jodooshi 'conjugating particles.'[4]

A conjunctive word connects two words, phrases and sentences in various ways and it represents the speaker's position because it is the speaker who perceives what kind of relation hold between words and sentences. For example, in (1), two sentences are connected with the conjunctive word shikashi 'but.' This is from Tokieda (1950:167).

(1) sore wa watashi mo yonda.
that TOP I also read:PST

shikashi omoshiroi hon de wa nakatta.
but interesting book COP TOP NEG:PST

I read that book, too.
But it was not an interesting book.

Here the speaker recognizes the special relationship between the two independent situations as something contrastive through the use of shikashi 'but.'

Particles are classified into four types: case particles, limiting particles, conjunctive particles, and exclamatory particles. Exclamatory particles are similar to exclamatory words described earlier except that exclamatory particles are not free morphemes but must attach to the end of a clause. Conjunctive particles are morphemes which are less independent than conjunctive words and connect mainly clauses rather than sentences.[5] Thus these particles are considered to be jji for the same reason that was given for exclamatory and connective words.

Limiting particles[6] express the speaker's attitude toward a situation. Depending on the speaker's interpretation, he can

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describe a situation in which Taro is studying as follows. .AW

(2) taroo demo benkyoo-shite-iru.
even study-do-STA:NPT

Even (that lazy) Taro is studying.

(3) taroo made benkyoo-shite-iru.
including

Even Taro (as well as others) is studying.

(4) taroo mo benkyoo-shite-iru.
also

Taro, too, is studying.

(5) taroo dake benkyoo-shite-iru.
only

Only Taro is studying.

Demo, 'even,' made 'including,' mo 'also,' and dake 'only' are limiting particles and the judgment that these particles express are the speaker's.

The three classes of particles mentioned so far show the speaker's position vis-à-vis a situation or a relation between situations. However, it is difficult to accept his argument that case particles (his fourth type of joshi) also express a speaker's position. I will first examine his explanation for why case particles are also ji forms and then point out some problems.

He says that there are two ways of describing Diagram (6) linguistically, by (7) or (8). (From Tokieda (1950:219))

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(6)

(7) A ga B ni yorikakatte-iru.
NOM to lean-STA:PST

A is leaning against B.

(8) A o B ga sasaeru.
ACC NOM support:PST

B supports A.

Tokieda says that the particles used with A and B are different in the two sentences and that the use of different particles reflects the speaker's interpretation of the situation. Thus case particles also indicate a speaker's position. However, what Tokieda does not consider is another, and more important, difference between (7) and (8), i.e., the choice of verbs. The problem of case particles classified as ji forms stems from the rigid tradition of Japanese grammarians who adhere to the conventional classification of parts-of-speech. It is difficult for them to set up different categories of a class (e.g., particles), or to say that one type of particle belongs to shi and another belongs to ji.

This same problem occurs in the reverse case. Some so-called shi class words clearly show a speaker's interpretation of reality. For example, the word baka is used as an exclamatory expression when one considers someone as 'fool.' Thus according to Tokieda's definition, this must be a ji word. However, this

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same word can be used as a modifier as in the expression, baka no Yoshiko 'that fool Yoshiko.' (See 3.3 for the discussion of this word.) Then this is no longer an exclamation but rather a descriptive word and must be classified as a shi word. That is, since it is almost impossible to verify the mental process that Tokieda advocates, it is difficult to say that baka no does not express the speaker's position directly.

The difficulty of seeing mixed membership within an established class of parts-of-speech leads to another problem with regard to conjugating particles (jodooshi). Tokieda has to say that all the members of conjugating particle are either shi or ji. Since a majority of conjugating particles (e.g., intention, supposition, and politeness) express only the speaker's position and no one else's, he calls them ji forms. Yet some (uses of) conjugating particles do not show the speaker's position at all, for example, the negative nai and past/perfect ta:

(9) taiyoo wa nishi kara nobor-anai.
sun TOP west from rise:NEG:NPT

The sun doesn't rise from the west.

(10) 1964 nen ni tookyoo de orinpikku ga atta.[7]
year in Tokyo in Olympics NOM exist:PST

The Olympic Games were held in Tokyo in 1964.

(9) is a generic negative statement and (10) is a description of a historical event. In either case the speaker is not involved except that he is describing these situations.

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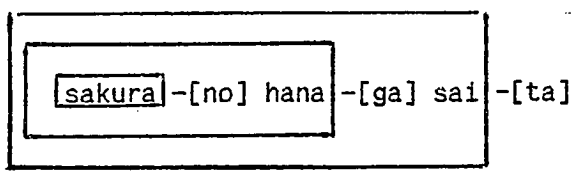
In summary, I conclude that Tokieda's contention that all particles are members of the ji class is false. It is especially difficult to accept that case particles are ji forms. Although it is an interesting idea to classify parts-of-speech into shi and ji, this new classification must be considered without any bias from traditionally established parts-of-speech classifications.

Now I will very briefly describe Tokieda's view on the notion of sentence. He considers a sentence to be a layered construction of shi and ji. Neither of these alone can express a complete thought. For example, sentence (11) below is given the structure shown in (12). Enclosing boxes represent shi and brackets represent ji.

(11) sakura no hana ga saita.
cherry LK flower NOM bloom:PST

Cherry blossoms have bloomed.

(12)



The innermost box sakura 'cherry' (shi) is combined with no 'genitive particle' (ji). This unit combines with a noun, hana 'blossoms' (ji), to constitute a larger shi unit (or shi phrase). This new box (sakura no hana 'cherry blossoms') is combined with the nominative marking particle ga (ji). There is another cycle of this sort to build the outermost box, and finally the last ji

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form, the conjugating particle ta, concludes the entire sentence. Thus in his view, a ji always attaches to a shi word or phrase and represents a complete thought. His view on sentence is radically opposed the other view in the tradition of Japanese grammarians who do not recognize different kinds of constituents which make up a sentence.

To summarize, Tokieda's view on language is very innovative among traditional grammarians. He views a sentence as a composite construct with two different kinds of material, shi and ji. The difference between shi and ji lies in a difference in mental processes. A shi form abstracts an object or idea outside the linguistic system and represents it linguistically. On the other hand, a ji form does not go through the abstraction process and expresses the speaker's position directly. His idea is interesting but his attempt to classify parts-of-speech is not completely successful, largely due to his adherence to the rigid traditional classification.

However, his work has pointed to a direction of analyzing a sentence and a language from a fresh point of view by recognizing that a sentence might contain some elements which reflects the speaker's subjectivity. To put it differently, a speaker might project himself in a sentence through various means such as word choice (e.g., yorikakaru 'to lean' vs. sasaeru 'to support' as seen in (7) and (8)).

Finally, Tokieda (1950:64) considers that the distinction between shi and ji is a universal characteristic of language. He

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explains why as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth century such a distinction was recognized in Japan: in Japanese the shi-ji distinction corresponds to different classes of parts-of-speech and a combination of the two create a complete thought: a noun (shi) with a particle (ji) expresses the grammatical case of the noun. However, in Latin, for example, a noun nonanalytically includes the concepts of shi and ji within it.

The existence of different kinds of linguistic material with reference to a speaker must be universal, as Tokieda suggests, since all languages presuppose their speakers. In the next section, I review Benveniste's study of the first person pronoun in French. This study shows us that the influence that a speaker brings into language exists in another language in a different part of a linguistic system.

1.2. Subjectivity and text environments

The three works reviewed in this section concern subjectivity in two different text environments identifiable as natural spoken discourse and a certain type of literary texts. One of the main issues here is the difference in acceptability of certain grammatical features in the two types of texts.

1.2.1 Benveniste's study of subjectivity

Benveniste's (1971) work reveals that there are two aspects to subjectivity; two types of texts and the nature of first and second person pronouns. The study of two types of texts

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contributes to the understanding of the relationship between the speaker's subjectivity in natural spoken discourse and certain type of literary written text, which is relevant to the study of Banfield (1982) and Kuroda (1973). The study of first and second person pronouns gives a foundation for an understanding of speaker's subjectivitv in language, which is also a foundation for the theory developed in this thesis.

The two types of texts that Benveniste distinguishes are histoire 'history' and discours 'discourse.' Since these terms are rather confusing I will use "literary discourse" for Benveniste's histoire and "colloquial discourse" for his discours. "Literary discourse" is defined by Benveniste as a written text which does not contain first and second person pronouns (1971:206), it is thus impersonal. In "literary discourse," there is no narrator and the events narrate themselves. In contrast, "colloquial discourse" always assumes a speaker I, who has the intention of influencing another in some way, and a hearer. Thus, "colloquial discourse" cannot escape being "subjective."[8]

In French, besides the difference between personal pronouns, there appears a difference in the use of tense forms in the two types of text. In the "literary discourse," "aorist" (or passé simple in traditional terms) is regularly used. In "colloquial discourse," on the other hand, all other tense forms besides aorist are employed. If a speaker or a writer mixes aorist and other tense forms, multiple points-of-view are created (p.210).

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Benveniste shows that by observing the formal properties of language, pronouns and tense forms in particular, it is possible to distinguish the two planes of language use. In the next few paragraphs I will examine Benveniste's notions of first and second person pronouns a little further, and this will lead to an understanding of "subjectivity" in language.

"Colloquial discourse" contains a speaker and a hearer by definition. This unique polarity of the participants in discourse is the basis for self-consciousness. By contrasting one with someone else in discourse, one obtains his subjective consciousness. Thus, Benveniste defines subjectivity as "the psychic unity that transcends the totality of the actual experiences it assembles and that makes the permanence of the consciousness." (p.224)

The speaker-hearer opposition, or the basis of subjectivity, is marked in the first and second person pronouns as linguistic signs. First and second person pronouns are very peculiar if compared to other linguistic signs including third person pronouns. While a normal noun refers to a "fixed and 'objective' notion," first and second person pronouns do not have constant referents (p.218). The referents of first and second person pronouns are defined only in the context of discourse. Benveniste explains that the first person pronoun "refers to the act of individual discourse in which it is pronounced, and by this it designates the speaker." (p.226) The fact that a

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language contains first and second person pronouns leads to our awareness that a language is always capable of expressing subjectivity. Particularly in "colloquial text," subjectivity is always provoked (p.227).

The personal pronouns are the clearest examples of subjectivity in language but there are other manifestation of subjectivity in languages as well. Benveniste examines verbs of mental operations and performative verbs in English. Verbs of mental operation such as 'believe, suppose, presume' or 'conclude' express different meanings according to the subject of a sentence. These verbs indicate attitudes of a speaker when used with the first person pronoun. In the sentence, 'I suppose (...),' the verb indicates the speaker's attitude toward the proposition that follows and does not describe the operation of 'supposing.' However, the sentence, 'He supposes that (...)' is a mere description of the third person's act of supposing. This reminds us of the predicate of intention in Japanese discussed in the previous chapter.

To summarize, Benveniste distinguishes two types of texts, "literary discourse" and "colloquial discourse." The difference is seen in the absence and presence of first and second person pronouns, respectively. "Colloquial discourse" is defined as a text in which a speaker communicates with a hearer. Linguistic signs for speaker and hearer are first and second person pronouns, respectively. This is the foundation for subjectivity in language. Subjectivity plays a role in some aspects of

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grammar. For example, the difference between first and third person pronouns makes a difference in the interpretation of some types of verbs.

Benveniste's study of "subjectivity" offers strong philosophical support to the existence of a subjective speaker in language. "Speaker's perspective," a part of subjectivity, examined in this thesis, however, recognizes broader grammatical phenomena than what Benveniste identifies. It inquires not only the subject first person but also the non-subject first person and even some hidden infiltration of the speaker into a clause.[9]

1.2.2. Kuroda's study of "nonreportive style" and aspects of grammar

Kuroda's (1973) work parallels Benveniste's (1971) in that he recognizes two planes of linguistic performance, or style, which can be defined by certain grammatical features that appear in them.

Kuroda calls the two distinct styles "reportive" (my "colloquial" text) and "nonreportive" (my "literary" text) respectively.[10] Reportive style narrative ("colloquial" text) is told by a narrator (or a real or imaginary I) who may or may not participate in the story. If a narrator is not a participant in the story, he can describe situations as an omnipresent person. Yet, even in this case, he cannot be an omniscient being who can penetrate a character's mind. In other words, a character's mind is not transparent to the narrator as in the case of the natural

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spoken discourse. However, in nonreportive style, where there is no narrator, a character's mind can be represented directly in the language.

This style distinction is made explicit through the study of two aspects of Japanese grammar; sensation words, which corresponds to my "internal predicate," and reflexive pronouns. In the reportive style ("colloquial" text), sentences with sensation words distribute as follows.

(13) watashi wa kanashikatta.
I TOP sad:PST

I was sad.

(14) merii wa kanashi-gatte-ita.
Mary TOP sad-show sign of-STA:PST

Mary appeared to be sad.

(15) *merii wa kanashikatta.

Mary was sad.

As already seen in Chapter 1, an adjective form such as kanashikatta 'was sad' as in (13) is only possible with a first person subject. If the subject is non-first person, then the verb form kanashigatte-ita must be used as in (14).

However, this restriction is lifted in the nonreportive style ("literary text"). This is because a sentence in the nonreportive style does not have a speaker and it entails that the point of view in this type of sentence is not bound by one particular person. The point of view in this type of sentence can be interpreted freely with respect to a third person.

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Kuroda notes that a sentence form such as (15) is ungrammatical but it is "in fact permitted in certain non-first-person stories." (p.383) He claims such a sentence as (16) might be found in this type of story.

(16) yamadera no kane o kiite
mountain temple LK bell ACC hear:TE

merii wa kanashikatta.
Mary TOP sad:PST

Hearing the bell of the mountain temple,
Mary was sad.

Similarly, the interpretation of reflexive pronoun has greater freedom in a nonreportive style. Observe (17) first.

(17) jon wa biru ga jibun o hometa toki
John TOP Bill NOM self ACC praise when

merii no soba ni ita.
Mary LK near LOC be:PST

John was next to Mary when Bill praised himself.

Jibun 'self' in (17) refers to Bill, not to John. This is due to a restriction on jibun which states that it cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject when it appears in a 'when' clause. However, this restriction is valid only in the reportive style ("colloquial" text) and is lifted in the nonreportive style ("literary" text.) Thus (17) could mean, 'John was next to Mary when Bill praised him' when it appears as a nonreportive statement ("literary" text).

Recognition of these two styles will lead to the establishment of a theory of "point of view" in literary texts. A text with the reportive style ("colloquial" text) in which a

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real or imaginary I speaks, has only one point of view (i.e., the I's). However, a text in the nonreportive style ("literary" text) can contain multiple points of view and it allows a shift of point of view from one character to another.[11]

The data under investigation in this thesis (first person spoken narratives) comprise a type of reportive style in which one speaker speaks and only one point of view is allowed. It is understood, then, that all the sentences in the data are produced from a single point of view. However, this statement, of course, does not mean that all the sentences are equal in every respect as they might differ in terms of primary and secondary perspectives, which have been already introduced in the previous chapter.

Kuroda's study contributes to the understanding of linguistic performance or style and the notion of point of view with reference to Japanese grammar. This area of research is greatly expanded in Banfield (1982), which I will review in the following section.

1.2.3. Banfield's study of "represented speech and thought"

Using linguistic argumentation, Banfield (1982) studies "subjectivity" or "point of view" in language. She claims it is necessary to distinguish a speaker who produces a sentence (SPEAKER) from the subject of consciousness (SELF). This conclusion is reached through a study of "represented speech and thought" in English and French.

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Banfield claims that language and communication are not necessarily synonymous. (p.8) In the environment she calls "discourse" (Benveniste's discours or my "colloquial" text), the first person communicates to the second person. In this environment, SPEAKER and SELF are coreferential. However, there is another linguistic environment in which this communication model is absent, because the I-you pair, the crucial element for communication, is lacking. She calls this type of linguistic context "narrative."[12] In this type of text, SPEAKER does not exist and SELF is represented independently. The evidence for such a linguistic environment is the use of aorist (or passé simple) in French. Aorist cannot appear when some element which refers to the I-you pair is present in a sentence. The sentence below is unacceptable because of the co-existence of the addressee oriented word chérie 'darling' and the aorist tensed verb téléphona 'phoned.'

(18) *Il téléphona, chérie.
he phoned darling

He phoned, darling.

Aorist does not co-occur with deictics, either. This further supports that the I-you pair must be absent in a sentence with aorist.

In a "colloquial" text, all expressive elements (e.g., exclamations, insults, and deictics) and expressive constructions (e.g., inverted questions, repetitions, incomplete sentences) are interpreted with reference to SPEAKER. In other words, there is

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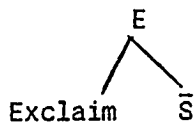
always a SPEAKER who is responsible for each expressive element in this type of text.

In order to explain how expressive elements are treated in the phrase structure grammar, Banfield posits a non-recursive initial node E (i.e, the Expression node). The E node governs both expressive elements and $\bar{S}$. Thus (19) is a possible phrase structure.

(19)



This phrase structure can derive a such sentence as follows.

(20) (Banfield's (30), p38)
Dammit, why is he late?

The exclamation, 'Dammit,' is deribed under the Exclaim node and the rest of the sentence is under $\bar{S}$.

While an expression such as 'Dammit' cannot be embedded under $\bar{S}$, there also exist linguistic expressions of subjectivity which are embeddable. One example is the "epithet." Epithets can be embedded under $\bar{S}$ but must be interpreted with reference to SPEAKER of E. This fact characterizes the difference between direct and indirect quotation. Since a direct quotation is governed by an independent E node, the epithet in a direct quote is interpreted with respect to a quoted speaker. Thus in (21), the epithet 'the idiot' expresses the feeling of the quoted speaker, John. Thus this sentence is anomoulous, because John also calls this doctor a genius.

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(21) (Banfield's 57-b, p.54)
John said, "That idiot of a doctor is a genius."

On the other hand, the epithet in an indirect quote is interpreted as the quoting speaker's evaluation because an indirect quote is a part of E governing the whole sentence , e.g., (22) Thus this sentence can be meaningfully interpreted.

(22) (Banfield's 57-a, p.54)
John said that the idiot of a doctor was a genius.

Thus in "colloquial" texts, direct and indirect speech can clearly be distinguished. Banfield summarizes this fact as "1E/1I," meaning that there is only one I (the SPEAKER), to whom all expressive elements are attributed, for each expression (E) (p.57).

However, in a type of a sentence called "represented speech and thought" which appears only in "literary text," expressive elements might not attributed to the SPEAKER, but to the consciousness of a third person (SELF). In other words, in "represented speech and thought," "the third person may behave in ways usually reserved in speech for the first person by functioning as the repository of subjectivity or point of view." (p.91) Recall in this context the observation that Kuroda makes about Japanese emotional adjectives being used grammatically with a third person subject in a "literary" text (his "non-reportive style") A passage from Lawrence's "England, My England" cited in Banfield (p.65) exhibits typical examples of represented speech and thought.

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(23) Was there blood on his face? Was hot blood flowing? Or was it dry blood congealing down his cheek? It took him hours even ask the question: time being no more than an agony in darkness, without measurement.
A long time after he opened his eyes he realized he was seeing something -- something, something, but the effort to recall was too great. No, no; no recall!.

Here none of the expressive elements (direct speech elements), such as inverted questions, incomplete sentences, and exclamations belong to the narrator (SPEAKER) but to the referent of "he" (SELF). Thus this passage shows a clear case of a split of SPEAKER and the subject of consciousness (SELF).

Banfield reformulates the "1E/1I" principle as follows.

(24) 1E/1SELF. For every node E, there is at most one referent, called the 'subject of consciousness' or SELF, to whom all expressive elements are attributed. That is, all realizations of SELF in an E are coreferential.

Banfield further notes that if there is "I" in "literary" text, then the "I" and SELF must be coreferential. This principle is called "priority of SPEAKER."

Besides a sentence of represented speech and thought in "literary" text, Banfield recognizes a sentence which does not express anyone's consciousness but only narrates. This is the only sentence type found in a style of writing which Benveniste calls histoire[13]

To summarize so far, recognizing the expression node E, Banfield characterizes quoted clauses in direct and indirect speech. This distinction is clear in speech in the context of "colloquial" text because the person who produces an E is the sole individual who can express his subjectivity. However, the

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distinction becomes blurred in a "literary" style which contains represented speech and thought. This is due to the fact that the producer of an E (i.e., the SPEAKER) can in "literary" text represent a third person's internal state. This is the foundation of a sentence type identified as "represented speech and thought." Together with sentences of pure narration, a sentence of represented speech and thought characterizes "literary" text.

Probing sentences of represented thought further, Banfield identifies sentences which represent reflective consciousness and non-reflective consciousness. Simply put, reflective consciousness is a conscious mental activity and non-reflective consciousness is a mental activity which underlies one's active thought (e.g., perception). Non-reflective consciousness (e.g., avoiding a water paddy without thinking) can be brought to a full consciousness upon request (e.g., by a question such as "what did you just do ?")

It is now possible to compare the speaker's perspective, as it is developed in this thesis, with Banfield's analysis of subjectivity. First, the data under investigation are clearly a type of discourse which presumes the SPEAKER.[14] The unity of SPEAKER and SELF is anticipated and a consequent inability of the SPEAKER to penetrate someone else's internal being and describe it from within is also predicted. That is, the data under investigation are ordinary "colloquial" text and not a "literary" text.

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Next, although the SPEAKER and the SELF are inseparable in the discourse under investigation, it is useful to consider the dual role of a speaker in order to distinguish "primary" and "secondary" perspectives. The dual role of speaker as "reporter" and "participant" has been already mentioned. The role of reporter clearly corresponds to Banfield's concept of the SPEAKER. "Participant" and the SELF are very similar concepts also. However, the relationship of SPEAKER and SELF is different from the relationship of "reporter" and "participant." This will be discussed in detail in Section 4 in this chapter.

Finally, reflective and non-reflective consciousness is a useful distinction within primary perspective. This difference influences the use of TARA, which will be investigated fully in Chapter 4.

In the work of Benveniste, Kuroda, and Banfield, two types of text are identified. I roughly identified them as "literary" text and "colloquial" text. In "literary" text, the speaker or the I-you pair is excluded. In this context, some unique grammatical phenomena can be observed, which does not exists in the ordinary "colloquial" context. Subjectivity in languages is a significant factor in the context where the speaker communicates with an addressee.

1.3. "Point of view" and morphology

"Point of view" influences morphology in language. First I will review Delancy's (1981, 1982, 1983) "viewpoint" as a concept

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which explains marked morphology in his crosslinguistic research. Then I will review two reseachers' work, Maynard (1980, 1987) and Kuroda (1987), who consider the "topic" marking is a way to show point of view.

1.3.1. DeLancy's "viewpoint" and morphology

DeLancy (1981) posits two psychological notions, "attention flow" (AF henceforce) and "viewpoint," to explaine the split ergativity and related phenomena in languges. Since I will use his data to show possible universality of my concept of "perspective" in Chapter 5, I outline his theory only briefly here.

He explains that "(e)vents have an inherent natural AF" (1981:632). The prototypical scene is the basis of linguistic AF. That is why, for example, it is more natural to say (a) 'I drove from X to Y' rather than (b) 'I drove to Y from X.' Here the prototypical driving scheme is that departure from X took place prior to arrival to Y. This temporal ordering imposes to the ordering of two location noun phrases. In a transitive situation, the prototype or natural AF of the event is from agent to patient. Thus the "SO" pattern rather than "OS" is the predominant sentence pattern in languages.

There are instaces, however, in which a speaker must or wants to reverse the natural AF when coding events. The cause for such alternation of AF is explained by the concept of "viewpoint." His concept of "viewpoint" is close to Kuno's

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"point of view" or "empathy" (see 1.4.2.). Consider a situation in which a third person gives something to the speaker. The natural AF of the event is specified as a movement of an object from the giver to the receiver (e.g., 'She gave me a check'). (Notice the parallelism of this situation to the "driveing" situation mentioned in the previous paragraph.) However, "viewpoint" tends to put the speaker in the subject position ('I got a check from her'). Thus "viewpoint" causes an unnatural AF. This non-prototypical AF in the sentence causing the exp- -it marking of the source ('from her').

He extends this theory to morphological markings of other sort. In particular, split ergativity is motivated by non-prototypcal agent. That is, since the agent which is lower on the animacy hierarchy is a marked agent (e.g., animal), it is marked differently morphologically from a more typical agent (e.g., first person). His explanation for split phenomena gives support to my concept of perspective. I will elaborate on this in Chapter 5.

1.3.2. Point of view and topic marking

Inoue (1979:267) notes, "The speaker's perspective is reflected, in most fundamental sense, in what he chooses to talk about." Narrative writers often choose one particular "point of view" to tell a story or a portion thereof. Some linguists point out the topic marking particle wa contributes to create the "point of view" in literary narrative. In this subsection, the

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concepts of "staging" (Maynard 1980, 1987) and "categorical judgment" (Kuroda 1987) with respect to "point of view" and wa are examined.

1.3.2.1. Maynard's "staging" and "point of view"

Maynard (1980, 1987) suggests a function of wa as the "staging" device in narrative. In her terminology, "staging" refers to the "narrator's manipulation of thematization (including non-thematization) when narrating a story." And "(t)hrough this 'staging' strategy, a narrator accomplishes an organization of narrative information in accordance with his/her perspective." (1987:61) That is, a narrator picks out one participant as the thematized character by marking it with wa, and tells a story from this character's "point of view."

She shows this effect of wa by comparing two identical (made up) texts whose only difference lies in the identity of the referent which is presented as a wa marked noun phrase. In the next passage given in English only, there are two participants, Kimura and Tanaka. In the first Japanese text 'kimura' in sentences (b), (c) and (e) is marked with wa and 'tanaka' in sentences (d) and (f) is marked with a subject making particle ga. Wa and ga are supplied in (25) to show this pattern. In the second Japanese text particle markings are reversed. Thus in the second text, wa in (25) is substituted with ga and ga is substituted with wa.

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(25) (Maynard 1980:87-9)
a. This is a story of the school days of Kimura, the murderer, and Lieutenant Tanaka.

b. Kimura-WA often skipped class.

c. Kimura-WA didn't study at all and failed in every exam.

d. Tanaka-GA worried about Kimura and wanted to help him.

e. But Kimura-WA refused any help.

f. Tanaka-GA visited Kimura's house many times.

g. But it always ended in a quarrel.

Though the semantic contents of the two texts, i.e., the one which marks 'kimura' with wa and the other which marks 'tanaka' with wa, are identical, the "points-of-view" expressed in them are different. The particle wa, thus, provides a writer a way to fix the position from which a story is told. Maynard further analyzes written fairy tales to show how staging works in actual written discourse. Though topicalization (or wa marking) is influenced by many different factors (see articles in Hinds et al. 1987), there is no doubt that it may be influenced by the speaker/writer's decision to keep a particular character on stage. This is certainly a way for subjectivity penetrate to sentences and utterances.

Fujii Ueno (1987) also recognizes that wa exhibits the "staging" function at the level of discourse in addition to the other functions at the level of sentence/clause. This function is related to what Kuno calls "Topic Empathy" (see 1.4.2 of this chapter). A speaker tends to impose his "empathy" (or "point of

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view") on discourse topic rather than non-topic, and in Japanese, discourse topic may be marked with wa.

1.3.2.2. Kuroda's "categorical judgment" and "point of view"

Maynard's text, (25) above, is an artificial example as an illustration. In real narratives, topic marking wa and subject marking ga appear in a more complex manner. Kuroda (1987) studies how these two particles appear with verbs of quotation in Japanese translations of short passages from Tolstoi, Lawrence, and Faulkner. His conclusion is that wa appears when a "categorical" judgment, or "double judgment" operates in the text. As background to his argument, I first present the theory of judgment concerning wa and ga that Kuroda has developed.

Kuroda (to appear) construes the difference between two sentences with ga and wa as reflecting two different types of judgment, the "thetic" and "categorical" judgments, as shown in (26) and (27).[15]

(26) inu ga hashitte-iru.
dog NOM run-STA

A/The dog is running.

(27) inu wa hashitte-iru.
dog TOP run-STA

The dog is running.

Sentence (26) represents a "direct response to the perceptual intake of an actual situation." Thus it is a simple representation of the actual perception of a situation in which a dog is a part. This is called the "thetic judgment." It is not

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crucial whether or not the identity of 'dog' is known in this context, thus either an indefinite or a define article can appear in the English translation. (27), on the other hand, involves, in addition to the perception of a situation, apprehension of the dog as "a particular entity in the perceived situation." (ms. p.8) This is called the "categorical judgment." Here, the identity of 'dog' must be known. Since the "categorical" judgment involves the two processes, the "thetic" judgment and apprehension of the subject entity, it is characterized as a "double" judgment.[16]

Examining Japanese translations of the above mentioned passages Kuroda (1987) shows that a noun phrase marked with wa has a double role; a constituent of an event and a "point of view" (or attention directed by the "point of view"). In other words, a sentence with wa does not simply report an observed situation but in addition recognizes consciousness which places its focus on the referent of the wa marked phrase.

The passage from Tolstoi examined is told from the "point of view" of one character (named Nicolai). This is demonstrated by the fact that 'Nicolai' appears as the subject of an "inner process" verb (e.g., "'Everything's still the same with them," thought Nicolai.") Referring to the two sentences containing 'Nicolai' and an inner process verb, 'think,' he claims, "(t)hese are two sentences where it is lexically explicit that the passage represents Nicolai's point of view." (p.146) I will come back to

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this type of sentence again in a short while after examining other types of wa sentence.

There are three types of wa marked phrase: (a) the referent of the phrase is not Nicolai, (b) the referent of the phrase is Nicolai and the verb is not an "inner process" verb, i.e., 'say' or 'ask,' and (c) the referent of the phrase is Nicolai and the verb is an "inner process" verb, i.e., 'think.' I will explain these cases below after giving a description of the passage

The Tolstoi passage Kuroda examines represents a scene in which Nicolai (a young man) arrives at home where a number of people are engaged in various activities such as singing and playing cards in a joyous mood. At first no one notices Nikolai's arrival. He is standing and observing people. His attention is directed towards one of his beautiful cousins, Natasha. The noun phrase 'Natasha' is marked with wa for the verbs of speech (e.g., '"Beautiful! Wonderful!" cried Natasha.') This is the case of (a) above. Kuroda argues that the reason why 'Natasha' is marked with wa rather than ga is because 'Natasha' is not only a constituent of a speech event but also a center of Nicolai's attention. This constitutes the "double judgment." Contrasting Natasha, Sonya (Natasha's sister), is not a focus of Nicolai's attention in this scene. Thus 'Sonya' is marked with ga in a sentence representing her speech. The sentence merely reports Nicolai's perception of Sonya's speech (i.e., the "thetic judgment").

Case (b) above (e.g., '"Is Papa home?" he (=Nicolai)

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asked.') is similar to case (a) in that Nicolai plays a double role of being an element of the event and a component in his own consciousness. Kuroda shows the independence of the character's consciousness from the constituent role in a situation by comparing the situation in the passage and an imaginary context where Nicolai says the same thing under hypnosis. In this hypothetical context, Nicolai is only a constituent of the speech event and not the subject of "point of view." (In this case, the "point of view" shifts to someone else and becomes situation (a) from the new "point of view.")

Case (c), which has been already mentioned (e.g., '"Everything's still the same with them," thought Nicolai'), is somewhat different from the other two cases because it involves reader's consciousness, hence is text external. It is impossible to conceive that someone in the story observing Nicolai's inner process of thinking. Nicolai himself might not actively aware of his own thinking. (One possibility is that an omniscient narrator is focusing on Nicolai's thought, but Kuroda denies such a position.) Kuroda explains that the function of this type of sentence is to "create in the reader's mind a meaning and simultaneously a section of the imaginary world with which it is referentially interpreted." (p.152) In this framework, a reader obtains two kinds of understanding: understanding that Nicolai is the constituent of the event and understanding that Nicolai is the subject of "point of view" in the passage. Hence, this type

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of sentence also represents the "double judgment."

Similar to Maynard, Kuroda applies an experiment of substituting wa with ga in the text. He notes that this substitution is possible in case of (a). This substitution, however, will give the impression that Nicolai's consciousness is unfocused. Substitution is impossible in case of (c) and difficult in case of (b). However, if sentences of type (c) are eliminated from the passage, substitution in the type (b) sentences becomes possible. This is an indication that the type (c) sentence establishes Nicolai's "point of view" so firmly that it is difficult to read the passage from any other "point of view" when Nicolai is the subject as in type (b). If Nicolai's "point of view" is removed from the passage by eliminating (c) type sentences, there will be no interference to interpret the passage from someone else's "point of view." Thus the particle substitution in (b) sentences become possible. But if (c) sentences are removed and wa in (b) sentences is replaced with ga, then there will be no longer a "point of view" in this passage. This shows the relevance of wa in the creation of "point of view."

To summarize so far, a sentence of quotation containing wa exhibits "double judgment" or "categorical judgment." A part of this judgment recognizes the referent of the noun phrase marked with wa as a constituent of the event which is being described. The other part of this judgment recognizes the same referent as the "point of view" determined externally to the story or the

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locus of attention directed by the possessor of "point of view" text-internally.

Though the analysis by Kuroda is similar to Maynard in that both consider the function of wa as reflections of "point of view," they differ in details (largely due to the data they analyze) and in the richness of the theoretical implications of Kuroda's. The "point of view" discussed in Maynard is conceived of a "device" that is made available to a narrator, hence it is a text-external factor. Kuroda's "point of view," on the other hand, is two-layered, i.e., text-internal as well as external. As has been discussed already, when a character from whose "point of view" a story is told (i.e., the protagonist) is the subject of an inner process verb ('think'), wa is used to create an impression of such mental process in the reader's mind. This is a literary artistic device available to the writer and is called "represented thought" in Banfield's terms.[17]

Kuroda's analysis goes beyond the manipulation of text by a writer, and probes the minds of characters in the story. He appeals to the working of consciousness of the character who perceives and reacts to his environment in order to understand the use of wa in contrast to ga. The position of the protagonist in a "literary" text from whose "point of view" a story is told is close to that of the speaker in a "colloquial" text. This similarity has been discussed in section 1.2.2.

Finally it should be briefly noted that Kuroda's "double

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judgment" is a helpful concept for describing my "primary" and "secondary" perspectives. Recall I explained that the "primary perspective" is obtained when the speaker has the double role of "reporter" and "participant in the situation," and that the "secondary role" when the speaker is only as a reporter. Now the "double judgment" consists of a "constituent of the event" and a "component of consciousness (i.e., "point of view"). My "participant" directly corresponds to Kuroda's "constituent of the event." The relationship between my "reporter" and Kuroda's "component of consciousness ("point of view")" is a more indirect one. As will be discussed in section 4, the speaker in the "colloquial" context is an unanalyzable entity composed of SPEAKER and SELF (using Banfield's terminology.) Thus although the term "reporter" emphasizes the aspect of SPEAKER, it inevitably refers to SELF as well. Kuroda's "component of consciousness" is obviously the same notion as SELF. This means that Kuroda's "double judgment" and my "primary perspective" are very similar concepts. His "thetic judgment" and my "secondary perspective" are similar as well. I will take up on this point briefly in section 4 again.

In this subsection, three major works on morphology in relation to subjectivity, "point of view" in particular, were reviewed. In the next subsection, other grammatical phenomena that are claimed to be related to subjectivity are examined as discussed by three linguists.

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1.4. Subjectivity with relation to syntax and semantics

The four linguists' works reviewed in this section concern the syntactic and semantic effects of subjectivity. They all touch upon various aspects of Japanese in comparison with other languages and these works suggest, explicitly or implicitly, that Japanese has rich resources for expressing subjectivity.

1.4.1. Akatskuka's study of "epistemology" in language

Akatsuka (1977, 1979) emphasizes the importance of "epistemology" in analyzing certain sentence types. She denies the possibility of explaining the "root transformation" phenomenon in English purely syntactically. This view is consonant with Hooper and Thompson (1973) who account for it by appealing to the concepts of assertion and emphasis.

Akatsuka, however, points out some inadequacies of Hoopper and Thompson. For example, while according to Hooper and Thompson, the unacceptability of a sentence such as (28) is due to the restriction on the embedded clause under a truly factive predicate sorry, according to Akatsuka it is due to incompatibility of the main predicate and the embedded proposition.

(28) *Wendy was sorry that she opened the window and in flew Peter Pan.
[Underline due to Akatsuka]

If the preposition in is changed to out, the sentence becomes acceptable.

(29) Wendy was sorry that she opened the window and out flew Peter Pan.

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Akatsuka explains that the preposition out which signals the Wendy's (or EGO in the narrative, or Banfield's SELF) sense of loss is compatible with the meaning of sorry, but the preposition in is not. Akatskuka claims that this is one of the pieces of evidence why "epistemology" or EGO's internal affair is important in linguistic analysis.

Akatskuka also shows that in Japanese the epistemic difference appears clearly in the form of certain predicates which I have described in Chapter 1 under the name of "internal state" predicates. Thus, her study indicates the possible universality of "epistemology" which influences individual languages. Ohye's work (reviewed in the next subsection), which contrasts the influence of subjectivity in Japanese and English, also points to the importance of subjectivity in more than one language.

The basic idea of my "perspective" parallels Akatsuka's "epistemology." I depart from Akatsuka in that while her focus is on syntactic and semantic descriptions of sentences, my focus in this dissertation will be on the relationship between "perspective" and morphology.

1.4.2. Ohye's study of "subjectivity" in Japanese and English

Ohye (1975) considers two areas of subjectivity expressed in Japanese and English. One area is identified as "subjective predicate" (shukan jutsugo) and the other can be summarized as "speaker's (physical and metaphorical) position expressed in a

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sentence."

In English, he claims, there are two types of subjective predicate, which are called "objectified subjective predicate" and "pure subjective predicate," respectively. (cf. Postal 1971) The objectified subjective predicate reports a third person's subjective experience. For example, consider a case in which John said (30) to Bill.

(30) (Ohye's (3), p.188)
I wonder if she comes to my graduation [sic].
Or
Will she come to my graduation?

When Bill reports what he heard to someone else, he objectifies the expression (30) and can say (31).

(31) (Ohye's (1), p.188)
John wonders if she'll come to his graduation.

The objectified subjective predicate includes 'think, wish,' and 'want.' These verbs characteristically can express the third person's subjectivity with the present tense as seen in (31).

The pure subjective predicate, on the other hand, can only express the speaker's subjectivity. Observe the contrast between (32) and (33).

(32) (Ohye's (12-a), p.190)
It seems to me that Mary is ill.

(33) (Ohye's (12-b), p.190)
?It seems to John that Mary is ill.

Other pure subjective predicates are 'it strikes me...,' and 'it is certain/clear/obvious...').

Contrasted with English, Japanese lacks the "objectified

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subjective predicate." Thus the Japanese verb omou 'think' cannot express a third person's thought. This is shown in (34) and (35).

(34) (Ohye's (16-a), p.193)
(watashi wa) taroo ga byooki da to omou.
I TOP Taro NOM sick COP QT think:NPT

I think Taro is sick.

(35) (Ohye's (16-b), p.193)
?*hanako wa taro ga byooki da to omou.
Hanako TOP Taro NOM sick COP QT think

Hanako thinks that Taro is sick.

To express a third person's thought, the verb must be modified with the aspectual suffix iru. Compare (35) with (36), which is grammatical.

(36) (Ohye's (18-b), p.193)
hanako wa taroo ga byooki da to omotte-iru.
Hanako TOP Taro NOM sick COP QT think-STA

Hanako thinks that Taro is sick.

This morphological adjustment is one way to objectify a pure subjective predicate. Other types of pure subjective predicates (e.g., what I called internal predicates in the last chapter) might require different methods. Recall the sensation adjective discussed in 1.2.2: garu 'to show a sign of' must be attached for a sensational adjective when the subject is third person. Ohye further describes the use of no da 'it is that,' soo da 'I hear that' and rashii 'it seems that,' which must be used to show the third person's subjectivity indirectly as the speaker understands it.

To sum up so far, the pure subjective predicate can only

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express the speaker's subjectivity. This is the only type of subjective predicate found in Japanese. If the third person's subjectivity is expressed, morphological or structural adjustment is required. To put it differently, only the speaker can express his subjectivity with an unmodified form of the subjective predicate.

However, Ohye sees a need to modify this conclusion because there are sentences which have the first person subject with a modified predicate form. He gives (37) as an example.

(37) (Ohye's (86-a), p.213)
tooji watashi wa hidoku sabishigatte-ita.
that time I TOP very sad-show sign of-STA:PST

I appeared to be very sad at that time.

He calls this phenomenon "split ego" (jiko no nibun) in which the speaker (as an observer ego) sees himself as if he is a third person (an experiencing ego), as if the situation is being described in the past or irrealis. This reminds us of the "reflective" and "nonreflective consciousness" discussed in Banfield. Ohye also discusses "displaced ego" which can be seen in a sentence such as; "I look pale." He says that this sentence is possible when said while the speaker is looking at himself in a mirror.

I have reviewed one area of Ohye's research: a description of subjective predicates in Japanese and English. His study further supports for the importance of subjectivity in language. The second research area of Ohye can be summarized under the

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heading of "speaker's position expressed in a sentence."[18]

Verbs which semantically contain some movement require the specification of the speaker's location. If the speaker is not involved in a situation, the speaker must take one person's position. The first group of such verbs includes 'come' and 'go' in English and their counterparts in Japanese (kuru and iku). The use of these verbs in Japanese are conditioned by the position of the speaker. If the speaker is at the end point of movement at the time of speech and/or arrival of the person who moves, kuru 'come' is used. Otherwise, iku 'go' is used. The condition for the use of 'come' in English is more accommodating than in the Japanese case. It allows the hearer in addition to, or in place of, the speaker to be at the end point. Thus even if the speaker was not in Tokyo on February the second, as long as the hearer was there, (38) with either 'come' or 'go' is grammatical.

(38) (Ohye's (7), p.15)
John came/went to Tokyo on February the second.

However, due to the condition stated for the use of kuru in Japanese, only iku 'go' is used if the speaker was not in Tokyo on that day, even if the hearer was there then. This is shown in (39).

(39)

jon	wa	ni-gatsu	futsuka	ni tookyoo	ni	itta/*kita.
John	TOP	Feb.	2nd	on Tokyo	LOC	go:PST/ come:PST

Thus, the use of "coming and going" verbs are influenced by the position of the speaker in Japanese and by that of speaker and hearer in English. This suggests that Japanese gives the speaker

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more of a celebrated position than English.

The other group of verbs which concern the position of speaker is called "giving and receiving" verbs. These verbs are similar to "coming and going" verbs in that they involve movement, in this case the movement of objects. The role of the speaker is important for the selection of a verb of 'giving' in Japanese. Depending on the role of the speaker in the exchange situation, one of the two "giving" verbs must be selected. If the speaker is a giver, ageru is used, and if he is a receiver, kureru is used.

Verbs of "giving and receiving" require the speaker to take a position even when he is not involved. This is clearly evident in the use of kureru, which can never be used neutrally. If the speaker feels that the receiver is close to him (e.g., a family member), he uses this verb. Otherwise he must use ageru. To summarize, in the use of "coming and going" and "giving and receiving" verbs, the position of the speaker is important, especially in Japanese. To describe these situations, the speaker must anchor his position in them. The speaker "views and describes situations not from outside but from inside of them as a participant." (Ohye 1975:228)

It is true that the verbs that Ohye considers require the speaker to be in the situation, but it is possible to expand this notion of speaker's involvement for other verbs. This is the position of the current thesis: if a speaker is involved in a situation, he must present it in a way different from a situation

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in which he is not involved. I identify this difference by the opposition of "primary perspective" vs. "secondary perspective." This opposition is clear in the narrative of past events because, unlike future situations where the involvement of speaker and that of third person are equally irrealis, if a speaker is a participant in a past situation, he has a direct experience of it.

The last point to be noted in Ohye's study concerns the speaker's psychological position expressed in a sentence. Any "giving and receiving verbs" can be used as auxiliaries, as shown in (40).

(40) (Ohye's (47), p.50)
watashi wa hanako-san ni ningyoo o
I TOP Hanako-Miss for doll ACC

tsukutte-ageta.
make-AUX:PST

I made a doll for Miss Hanako.

In any sentence with the auxiliary use of "giving and receiving" verbs, a certain type of subjectivity is expressed, a sense of gratitude. This type of subjective expression is also found in the use of honorifics. In an honorific expression, the speaker's sense of social distance towards someone (the hearer or a third person) is expressed. The honorific system is rather complex and I do not attempt to describe it here any further except to point out that one way to express honorific attitude is to modify a predicate morphologically. For example, the stem of a verb is prefixed with o or go and suffixed with ni-naru to make an

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honorific verb; the honorific form of yomu 'to read' is o-yomi-ni-naru.

On the one hand, Japanese has resources for expressing favorable subjectivity through the use of "giving and receiving" verbs as auxiliaries and honorifics. On the other hand, it also has resources to express unfavorable subjectivity through the use of passive and the -te shimau construction. I will make a comment on these constructions in section 4.

In conclusion, Japanese is rich in subjective expressions which can be expressed not only lexically but also morphologically and structurally. Two kinds of phenomena in Ohye's work, both of which might be subsumed under the heading of "subjectivity" have been identified. One has to do with the speaker's physical or metaphorical position which is relevant for the use of verbs of "giving and receiving" and "coming and going." The other has to do with the speaker's internal state (pure subjective predicate). These two are not separate phenomena but are related intimately. The pure subjective predicate takes a different form depending on whether the speaker is involved or not. Also the connection between the speaker's position and pure subjectivity is expressed in the use of auxiliary "giving and receiving" verbs and honorifics. In the present research, I define "perspective" as the speaker's involvement (not the exact position in the situation) and look for its effect in grammar in discourse.

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Kuno's research, which is reviewed in the immediately following section, emphasizes the speaker's position in a situation.

1.4.3. Kuno's "functional perspectives"

Kuno (1987) gives two functional perspectives for some syntactic phenomena in language, without which, he claims, no adequate generalization can be achieved.[19] The two functional perspectives he considers are the "direct discourse perspective" and the "empathy perspective," respectively. These are relevant for a theory which recognizes a speaker in the system of language.

Direct discourse represents the original form of speech, thought and feeling which underlies a complement in certain sentence forms. Direct discourse is turned into indirect discourse optionally or obligatorily depending on the verb. For instance, 'claim' is a verb which requires that the complement be indirect discourse. Thus the underlying form (41) is realized as (42) on the surface.[20]

(41) (Kuno's (2.6), p.106)
[Ali claimed ["I am the best boxer in the world"]]

(42) (Kuno's (2.7), p.106)
Ali claimed that he was the best boxer in the world.

The inner bracket in (41) represents what Ali actually said, i.e., the direct discourse. In (42), it is turned into an indirect discourse. With direct discourse perspective, some aspects of pronouns and reflexives which might escape

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generalization if a purely syntactic perspective is maintained can be explained naturally. For example, while (43) is not acceptable, (44) is.

(43) (Kuno's (2.4.a), p.105, acceptability judgment due to Kuno)
??That Ali$_i$ was the best boxer in the world was claimed by him$_i$ repeatedly.

(44) (Kuno's (2.3.a), p.105)
Those who trusted John$_i$ were betrayed by him$_i$ repeatedly.

From the non-parallel behavior of pronouns and their antecedents, Kuno hypothesize the following. Certain verbs are called "logophoric verbs," which involve the speaker/experiencer and the hearer. The NP that represents the speaker/experiencer is marked with [+logo-1] and that which represents the hearer with [+logo-2]. All other NP's are [-logo]. The Logophoric Pronoun Rule is stated as follows.

(45) (Kuno's (22.5), p.109)
Logophoric Pronoun Rule: Given a verb that takes [+logo-1/2] NPs and a logophoric complement clause, a full (nonpronominal, nonreflexive) NP in that complement cannot be coindexed with the [+logo-1/2] NPs in main clause.

'Ali' in the complement of (43) is thus a violation of this rule and the sentence is unacceptable. In (44) forward pronominalization is not blocked since the verb 'betray' is not a logophoric verb.

Kuno attempts to show how various aspects of pronominalization and reflexivization in English and other languages work in terms of this direct discourse perspective. The most relevant discussion for the present thesis is, however,

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his exposition of the "subject's direct feeling and the speaker's knowledge." (pp.112-6)

In certain sentence types, pronominalization appears differently depending on whether the complement represents directly the internal feeling of the referent of [+logo] NP or the speaker's knowledge of the referent's feeling. Observe (46) and (44).

(46) (Kuno's (5.1.a), p.112)
That he$_i$ was blond worried John$_i$.

(47) (Kuno's (5.1.b), p.112)
That John$_i$ was blond worried him$_i$.

If the verb 'worry' is a logophoric verb, the full noun 'John' in the complement in (47) cannot be coindexed with 'him.' However, (47) shows that it is possible to do so. This suggests that 'worry' is ambiguous between a logophoric use as in (46) and a nonlogophoric use as in (47). This further suggests that the interpretations of (46) and (47) might be different.

The difference is, Kuno suggests, that the complement with a logophoric 'worry' (i.e., (46)) "represents John's feeling." He gives several different but similar situations to support his claim.[21]

Direct representation of someone else's internal feeling is parallel to Kuroda's "nonreportive style" and Banfield's "represented speech and thought." Although Kuno's acceptability judgment on some example sentences is not always without dispute, his research is in line with our understanding of the two types

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of utterance, one which assumes speaker and hearer and one which does not.

His second functional perspective, the "empathy perspective," also assumes a speaker's role in sentence formation. Empathy (also called by Kuno "camera angle" and "point-of-view") is defined as "the speaker's identification, which may vary in degree, with the person/thing that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence." (p.206) Degree of empathy varies between value 1 (=total identification with someone) and value 0 (=total lack of identification with someone). For example, to describe a "hitting" situation in which one individual named John gives a blow and another individual named Bill receives a blow and the two individuals are brothers, a sentence can take different forms. Sentences (48) though (54) are taken from Kuno (p.203) with a slight modification.

(48) John hit Bill.
(49) John hit his brother.
(50) Bill's brother hit him.
(51) Bill was hit by John.
(52) ??John's brother was hit by him.
(53) ??His brother was hit by John.
(54) Bill was hit by his brother.

Kuno gives five different hierarchies which interact with each other to produce sentences with various degrees of acceptability. Though it is not clear from his writing whether he conceives these hierarchies as factors which condition certain linguistic forms or as being of an interpretive nature, it is possible to see such a difference among them.

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The five hierarchies are explained below. The first two are triggering factors for empathy and the rest are of a more interpretive nature. The Speech Act Empathy Hierarchy dictates that the speaker must empathize with himself rather than any other person or object which might be involved in a situation to be described. The Topic Empathy Hierarchy dictates that the speaker must empathize with a discourse topic rather than a non-topic. The Descriptor Empathy Hierarchy specifies that given two descriptors (e.g., 'John' and 'John's brother'), the one on which the other descriptor depends shows the speaker's focus of empathy (e.g., 'John' rather than 'John's brother'). The Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy indicates that the subject of a sentence, rather than any other grammatical terms in a sentence, is the focus of empathy. Finally, the Word Order Empathy Hierarchy shows that the left hand NP in a coordinate structure is more readily empathized than the right hand NP (e.g., 'John' is more empathized than Bill in the structure 'John and Bill').

There cannot be more than one focus of empathy or one camera angle allowed within a sentence. Thus if there is a conflict of empathy, a sentence will not be acceptable. Kuno characterizes this constraint as the "Ban on Conflicting Empathy Foci." However, this restriction is lifted if the conflict is created unintentionally. This principle is called the Markedness Principle for Discourse-Rule Violations. This principle explains why (55-a) is acceptable while (55-b) is not.

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(55) (Kuno's (3.1.b and 3.3.b, pp.209-10)
Mary had quite an experience at the party she went to last night.

a. An eight-foot-tall rowdy harassed her.
b. *An eight-foot-tall basketball player met her.

In the context of (55) 'Mary' has been established as the discourse topic. Thus a subsequent discourse anticipates Mary as a topic (Topic Empathy Hierarchy) until a different topic is established. This means that 'Mary' will be chosen as the subject over the other if she is one of the participants in the situation (Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy.) This explains why (55-b) is unacceptable. The speaker deliberately chose 'an eight-foot-tall basketball player' as the subject of the verb 'meet.' (Note that the speaker could have chosen Mary as the subject: "She (=Mary) met an eight-foot-tall basket player.") Consequently multiple empathy foci were created by intentional violation of "Ban on Conflicting Empathy Foci."

Kuno's explanation for the acceptability of (55-a) is as follows. The reason why (55-a) is acceptable though it has the exactly the same structure as (55-b) is because the choice of "eight-foot-tall rowdy" is not due to the speaker's intention in (55-a). The semantics of 'harass' requires the 'harasser' to be in the subject position. Of course, the passive construction is available to align the discourse topic and surface subject. Yet, this application is optional and Kuno maintains that nonapplication of passive is the speaker's "benign neglect and not an intentional choice." (p.212)[22]

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The Ban on Conflicting Empathy Foci explains partially how a text will acquire coherence. As stated in the previous chapter, this is the ultimate goal of study of subjectivity but I must leave this problem untouched in the present thesis for it will take us too far afield.

Another clear demonstration of empathy in grammar is seen in the use of "empathy adjectives" (pp.234-7). Empathy adjectives such as 'beloved' and 'dear' express the internal feeling of the speaker or someone with whom the speaker empathizes. Now if the speaker empathizes with one person other than himself, he will put this person in the subject position unless other factors work against it. Thus 'John' is empathized in both (56) and (57).

(56) (Kuno's (9.1), p.234)
John talked to Bill about his wife.

(57) (Kuno's (9.2), p.234)
John talked to Bill about his beloved wife.

'His' in (54) is most likely coreferential with 'John' rather than 'Bill' because the speaker's empathy focus is on 'John' (the subject of the sentence) and this indicates that the speaker has better access to John's internal states ('beloved') rather than Bill's.

Kuno expands the theory of empathy to other grammatical phenomena such as the use of "picture noun reflexives" (e.g., "a picture of himself") in English and the "giving and receiving" verbs in Japanese. He states that "picture noun reflexives are expressions which require the speaker to enter into their referents' internal feeling." (p.238)

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Kuno shares the view with Ohye that Japanese is rich in perspective expressions due to the auxiliary use of "giving and receiving" verbs. (p.254) He also discusses reflexives and empathy adjectives in Japanese.

To summarize, although Kuno's argument is difficult to accept entirely due to the lack of empirical support, his empathy perspective is another acknowledgment of the role of speaker in the production of a sentence. In particular, certain kinds of information are expressible only when the speaker describes his own situation. If the speaker expresses such information about another person, the speaker identifies, or empathizes, with the person in question. When the speaker has a greater degree of identification with someone else, he is approaching the "nonreportive style" or "represented speech and thought." Kuno maintains that total identification is possible not only in literary style but also in "the syntax of colloquial speech." (p.266) However, this is an empirical question; it is necessary in the future to study what is possible not in a constructed discourse but in real discourse with regard to the representation of other's internal state.

1.4.4. Sells' decomposition of logophoricity

The linguistic concept of logophoricity was first discussed in the study of a certain type of pronouns ("logophoric pronouns") in African languages (Hagége 1974, Clements 1975). Logophoric pronouns appear in the environment where the "speech,

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thoughts, feelings, or general state of consciousness (of the referent of antecedent) are reported." (Clements 1975). Recently logophoricity has been found to be relevant in the operation of "long distance reflexivization" in Icelandic (e.g., Maling 1984) and Japanese (e.g., Kameyama 1984).

Sells (1987) denies logophoricity as a primitive concept and proposes to decompose it into three primitive roles (SOURCE, SELF, and PIVOT), within the theory of anaphora called Discourse Representation Structure developed by Kamp (1981). He claims that these primitive roles must be recognized in order to account for the logophoric phenomena observed in different languages. The definition of each primitive is given as follows (p.457):

> SOURCE: one who is the intentional agent of the communication.
> SELF: one whose mental state or attitude the content of the proposition describes.
> PIVOT: one with respect to whose (space-time) location the content of the proposition describes.

These roles are exemplified in the next sentence.

> (58) (Sells' (41), p.460)
> That Louise ignored him_i distressed Max_i.

In (58), 'Max' is SELF because it is Max's mind that is presented in this sentence. 'Max' is also PIVOT since presenting someone's mind implies taking his physical point of view or "standing in his shoes." This is a general implicational hierarchy. 'Max,' however, is not SOURCE because in this sentence he is not presented as producing the utterance.

The SOURCE for (58) is understood to be the external

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speaker, while the SELF and PIVOT are internal. The external speaker is the one who actually produces an utterance. A sentence internal referent, or "internal protagonist" in Sells' terms, is "someone in the sentence." (p.456) Thus both SELF and PIVOT are internal in (58).

Sells claims, "These roles define different discourse environments, depending on the specification of each, namely whether each role is predicated of sentence-internal, or of the external speaker." (p.456)[23] He specifically talks about three different "discourse environments": 3POV (third person's point of view), psych-verb, and "logophoric"-verb.

Example (58) examined above is a case of the "psych-verb" environment with the psych-verb, 'distress.' The "logophoric" environment is established with a logophoric verb such as 'say' or 'hear.' (59) is a "logophoric" sentence with 'say.'

(59) Logophoric sentence (Sells' (40), p.460)
Max_i said Louise loved him_i.

The "3POV" (or "empathy oriented") environment is different from the other two environments in that it is constructed, not by particular verbs but by the fact that the external speaker takes the internal protagonist's point of view. In the following sentence, the external speaker takes Max's point of view.

(60) 3POV sentence (Sells' (42), p.460)
Max_i was reading when Maria came to visit him_i.

Sells presents the following table to show the three different environments (and the direct speech environment) with the specification of each feature. (p.456)

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[TABLE 1] Discourse roles and discourse environments

	Direct speech	3POV	Psych-verb	"Logophoric" verb
SOURCE	ext.	ext.	ext.	int.
SELF	ext.	ext.	int.	int.
PIVOT	ext.	int.	int.	int.

[ext. = external; int. = internal]

This view allows to explain certain cases of the Japanese reflexive which remain unsolved under the unanalyzed view of logophoricity. Further, Sells claims that independent support for his theory of logophoricity can be found in Japanese (as well as Icelandic and other languages.) Also certain "discourse-oriented" words and phrases are interpreted with reference to one of the primitive roles of logophoricity. In particular, he argues that such expressions as baka no X 'that fool X,' fukakainimo 'mysteriously,' and itoshii 'beloved X' look to different roles for their interpretations. I will show below some difficulties in his argument.

The first difficulty is that Sells does not consider other factors which might cause particular interpretations of the "discourse oriented" words and phrases. I will show this point through the examination of the evaluative phrase baka no X 'that fool X.'

According to Sells, the phrase baka no X 'that fool X' is always interpreted with reference to SOURCE, which appears either internally or externally in different "discourse environments." (See Table 1.) Since the SOURCE role is an external speaker in

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the "psych-verb" and the "3POV" environments, it is the external speaker who calls X 'fool' in these environments. The next is an example of the "psych-verb" environment. Notice, since the SOURCE is the external speaker in this environment, the person who is calling 'Yoshiko' fool is the external speaker and not Mitsuko (SELF).

(61) (Sells' (45), p.463)
[baka no yoshiko ga jibun o oikake-mawashite-
fool LK Yoshiko NOM self ACC chase-around

iru koto] ga mitsuko o zetsuboo e oiyatta.
STA NML NOM Mitsuko ACC desperation to drive:PST

That that fool Yoshiko was following
her$_i$ drove Mitsuko$_i$ to desperation.

In (61) a reflexive pronoun jibun is coreferential with 'mitsuko,' an internal protagonist (SELF).[24] This is an argument for independence of SOURCE and SELF.

In the "logophoric" environment, the SOURCE is an internal protagonist. Thus in the next two "logophoric" sentences, Takashi, the referent of the internal SOURCE, is calling Yoshiko fool.

(62) (Sells' (45), p.462)
takashi$_i$ wa taroo ni [baka no yoshiko ga jibun$_i$
Takashi$_i$ TOP Taro DAT fool LK Yoshiko NOM self

o oikake-mawashite-iru koto] o hanashita.
ACC chase-around-STA NML ACC tell:PST

Takashi$_i$ told Taro that that fool Yoshiko
was following him$_i$.

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(63) (Sells' (46), p.463)
taroo wa takashi$_i$ kara [baka no yoshiko ga jibun$_i$
Taro TOP Takashi from fool LK Yoshiko NOM self

o oikake-mawashite-iru to] kiita.
ACC chase-around-STA QT tell:PST

Taro heard from Takashi$_i$ that that fool Yoshiko was following him$_i$.

Sells also notes a possibility that the external speaker is calling Yoshiko fool in the above two sentences (p.462). That is, he recognizes that both internal and external SOURCE are possible responsible persons who express the evaluation through the phrase baka no X 'that fool X.' What Sells does not recognize is the possibility that Taro can be also a responsible person in (63) (but not in (62). In fact this is a more natural interpretation. Recall Maynard's point (1.3.2.) that a wa marked noun phrase is likely to be the "point of view" of discourse. Thus in (63) 'taroo' is likely to be the center of point of view; (63) is executed from Taro's point of view and the expressive element is likely interpreted from this point of view as well.

In (63), coreferencing of the reflexive pronoun with 'takashi' is crucial for Sells' interpretation of the phrase baka no X 'that fool X' as Takashi's evaluation because it marks that the quoted clause is from Takashi's point of view.[25] If, however, (63) is interpreted normally, i.e., from Taro's point of view, and the reflexive pronoun is interpreted as coreferencing with 'taroo,' the phrase baka no X 'that fool X' must be interpreted as representing Taro's evaluation.

This means that it is wrong that the phrase baka no X 'that

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fool X' is always interpreted with respect to (internal or external) SOURCE. It is influenced by other factors which pick out someone whose point of view is expressed. This point can be exemplified in "3POV" sentences as well. First observe (64).

(64) (Sells' (48), p.463)
taroo$_i$ wa [baka no yoshiko ga mizu o jibun$_i$
Taro$_i$ TOP fool LK Yoshiko NOM water ACC self$_i$

no ue ni koboshita node] nurete-shimatta.
LK on LOC spill:PST because get wet-AUX:PST

Taro$_i$ got wet because that fool Yoshiko spilled water on him$_i$.

Sells argues that since (64) is a "3POV" sentence and the SOURCE is always external, the responsible person who calls Yoshiko fool is the external speaker. However, this seems to be due to the neutral nature of the sentence. If the content of the sentence is altered in such a way that it reflects the feelings of Taro, the ascription of foolishness to Yoshiko is understood to be Taro's. This is shown in (65), which shows Taro's anger induced by Yoshiko's mockery.

(65) taroo$_i$ wa [baka no yoshiko ga jibun$_i$
Taro$_i$ TOP fool LK Yoshiko NOM self$_i$

o waratta node] okori-dashita.
ACC laugh because get angry-AUX:PST

Taro$_i$ got angry because that fool Yoshiko laughed at him$_i$.

Another argument against Sells' explanation about "discourse roles" can be constructed by comparing baka no X 'that fool X' and itoshii X 'beloved X.' Sells claims that while baka no X is interpreted with respect to SOURCE, itoshii X with PIVOT. Thus

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the person who is calling Yoshiko fool in (61) (repeated here as (66)) is the (external) speaker, but it is Michiko who does so in (67).

(66) (Sells' (45), p.463)
[baka no yoshiko ga jibun$_i$ o oikake-mawashite-
fool LK Yoshiko NOM self $_i$ ACC chase-around

iru koto] ga mitsuko$_i$ o zetsuboo e oiyatta.
STA NML NOM Mitsuko$_i$ ACC desperation to drive:PST

That that fool Yoshiko was following her$_i$ drove Mitsuko$_i$ to desperation.

(67) (Sells' (58), p.466)
[itoshii yoshiko ga jibun$_i$ o nikunde-iru
beloved Yoshiko NOM self $_i$ ACC hate-STA:NPT

koto] ga mitsuko$_i$ o zetsuboo e oiyatta.
NML NOM Mitsuko$_i$ ACC desperation to drive:PST

That beloved Yoshiko hates her$_i$ drove Mitsuko$_i$ to desperation.

The problem in these examples is that while the embedded clause in (66) is a rather neutral description of a situation, that in (67) is subjective with respect with Mitsuko. In other words, a context is already created in (67) that the embedded clause reflects Mitsuko's evaluation. There is no surprise that itoshii is also interpreted as Mitsuko's feeling.

To avoid this problem, a more neutral predicate should be used to test Sells' hypothesis. The verb naguru 'to hit' is such a predicate.

(68) [baka no yoshiko ga jibun$_i$ o nagutta
fool LK Yoshiko NOM self $_i$ ACC hit-AUX:NPT

koto] ga mitsuko$_i$ o zetsuboo e oiyatta.
NML NOM Mitsuko$_i$ ACC desperation to drive:PST

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That that fool Yoshiko hit
her$_i$ drove Mitsuko$_i$ to desperation.

(69) [itoshii yoshiko ga jibun$_i$ o nagutta
beloved Yoshiko NOM self ACC hit-AUX:NPT

koto] ga mitsuko$_i$ o zetsuboo e oiyatta.
STA NOM Mitsuko ACC desperation to drive:PST

That beloved Yoshiko hates
her$_i$ drove Mitsuko$_i$ to desperation.

The above two sentences show that both baka no X and itoshii X are expressing Yoshiko's feeling.

Thus the first problem in Sells' argument is that he ignores other factors (e.g., point of view of a sentence and reflection of feeling of a particular person) which influence the interpretation of so-called "discourse oriented" words and phrases.

The second difficulty that should be discussed is Sells' unclear stance concerning the linguistic context of his data. Since he recognizes the existence of an external speaker, the data should be "colloquial." Yet, examining his examples, markers of "colloquial" text are missing. For example, the next sentence should be marked with some kind of evidential word (e.g., yoo da 'it seems') since it contains an internal state predicate (kinishite-i-nai 'doesn't mind') if it is a sentence of "colloquial" text.

(70) (Sells' (52), p.464)
[yoshiko ga fukakainimo ato o tsuke-mawashite-
Yoshiko NOM mysteriously after ACC follow-around-

iru noni] takashi wa kinishite-i-nai.
AUX though Takashi TOP care-STA-NEG:NPT

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Takashi$_i$ doesn't mind though Yoshiko
is mysteriously following him$_i$.

This sentence is odd as a "colloquial" sentence. Thus it will be concluded that his data consist of sentences of a particular literary genre called "first person narrative," which Banfield describes as a kind of "narration" which can be distinguished from "colloquial" text (her "discourse") by the lack of physically present hearer (1982:128-9). If Sells intends to explain this type of data, his exposition should not go beyond that type of text.[26]

The third difficulty in Sells' argument has directly to do with his treatment of the external speaker. That he underestimates the notion "external speaker" can be seen in the following statement:

> (71) the speaker is not constructed directly in the present system; here it differs from that proposed by, say, Banfield (1982). This is intentional, as there seems to be no clear primitive role that we might call SPEAKER. Rather 'speaker' seems to be simply one way of being a SOURCE. The pronoun I usually indicates that SELF and SOURCE are predicated of the external speaker [sic]. [A]n unanalyzed notion of the 'speaker' or the I [sic] simply does not allow for enough distinctions to be drawn when a range of languages are considered. (p.462)

Here Sells criticizes Banfield's notion of SPEAKER. However, Banfield's concept of SPEAKER is effectively abstract (hence the capital letter) and contrasts with SELF as Sells' SOURCE contrasts with SELF. It could accommodate a case of oblique SOURCE if necessary. In other words, there is little difference between Sells' SOURCE and Banfield's SPEAKER.

Sells' comment about the pronoun I is not accurate. He says

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"The pronoun I usually indicates that SELF and SOURCE are predicated of the external speaker." However, I is always an internal protagonist as well. (Consider, "I said to John ...") This is a peculiarity of the first person pronoun (or the linguistic construct of the speaker.)

To summarize, Sells' attempt of decomposing logophoricity has certain difficulties. One type of difficulty is the lack of attention to other elements besides "discourse roles" which influence interpretation of certain elements in sentences. The second difficulty is his ambiguous treatment of text types. This also causes unclear view of the (real) speaker in discourse.

Despite these problems Sells' attempt shows an interesting view on the notion subjectivity. For example, it has shown that the notion point of view (PIVOT) is a category of subjectivity which can be separated from other types of subjectivity. I will elaborate on this separation of subjectivity-related phenomena in the next section.

2. Conclusion

As a conclusion of this chapter, I will reconsider the notion of speaker's perspective which is being developed in this thesis. I will achieve this goal by considering different notions presented in this chapter. First, the notions of SPEAKER (or SOURCE) and SELF with the roles that a speaker plays ("reporter" and "participant" roles) will be compared. Then in the second part, the speaker's perspective is defined further

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through comparison with the other two subjectivity-related phenomenon, "speaker's attitude" and "point of view."

2.1. SPEAKER/SELF vs. reporter/participant

In Banfield, the notion of speaker is decomposed into SPEAKER and SELF. This is useful to explain certain phenomenon in the "literary" context, because in this context there are sentences which represent third person' SELF without being produced by any SPEAKER.

However this decomposition is neither possible nor necessary in the context of "colloquial" speech, i.e., "speaking" is "self expression." In other words, a sentence is always subjective or represents the first person (SPEAKER)'s SELF if it is used in the "colloquial" context.

It is necessary now to give a more detailed definition of "colloquial" in order to make the statement in the previous paragraph tenable and to ascertain that the data under consideration are indeed "colloquial" texts. In the "colloquial" context, there must be an intentional speaker and an intentional hearer or hearers. The hearer must be present physically in the environment of speech event. (Banfield 1982:129) Thus the "colloquial" discourses are exemplified by any dialogue between interlocutors.

The data under analysis in this thesis are all monologues. However, this type of monologues is considered to be a "colloquial" discourse. Although for the most part a narrator

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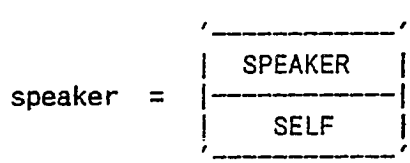
talks alone, it is evident that the hearer(s) participates actively in the speech event. The hearer's involvement is evident from two sources. One is the hearer's use of backchannel expression, (nn 'uhm' is the most common backchannel), exclamations, comments and brief questions on the content of a story. The other piece of evidence that the narratives used here are "colloquial" discourse is the speaker's use of the sentence ending particles (SE), typically yo 'I'm telling you' and ne 'right?'. Thus the data used in this study are all "colloquial." Now that it is established that the data are "colloquial," the discussion on the difference between SPEAKER/SELF and reporter/participant can be resumed.

Diagrams (72) and (73) present visually the difference of the SPEAKER/SELF dichotomy and reporter/participant relationship.

(72)



(73) speaker = reporter (= participant)

(72) shows that the notion speaker is always componentially analyzed by two parts, while (73) represents the speaker's possible constituent(s), either one or two. Primary and secondary perspectives can be now represented as follows.

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(74) Primary Perspective:
speaker = reporter = participant

Secondary Perspective:
speaker = reporter

(At this point the similarity between primary perspective and Kuroda's "double judgment" should be recalled. (section 1.3.2))

Within primary perspective, there are two possible ways by which the speaker views himself, i.e , as a reflective self and nonreflective self. Thus Primary Perspective in (74) c be elaborated as (75).

(75) Primary Perspective (Reflective):
speaker = reporter = conscious participant

Primary Perspective (Nonreflective):
speaker = reporter = nonconsciuos participant

Another aspect of perspective is infiltration of primary perspective into a secondary perspective situation (cf. Section 6, Chapter 1). A detailed discussion of this phenomenon will be given in the next chapter. Here I will relate this concept to Kuroda's "double judgment" which was discussed in 1.3.2. of this chapter. Since Kuroda (1987) analyzes a "literary" text, it cannot be compared with my "colloquial" data directly. However, it is instructive to make a note of the similar line of thought behind a part of "double judgment" and my "infiltration of primary perspective."

The relevant fact of his discussion about the "double judgment" is that if the referent of the subject of a quotative verb, e.g., 'say,' is a focus of attention of the protagonist, the sentence is interpreted as representing "double judgment."

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Consequently the subject noun phrase will be marked with wa rather than ga. In the Tolstoi passage Kuroda examines, Natasha (the focus of attention of Nicolai, the protagonist) is presented as the subject of a quotative verb. This is a secondary perspective situation in my framework because Nicolai is only observing the situation and not participating in it.[27] However, 'Natasha' in this sentence is marked with wa. This is because Natasha is the focus of Nicolai's attention and the situation cannot be told objectively. I will call this situation the infiltration of primary perspective through "speaker's hidden experiencer role" in Chapter 4.

To summarize, the speaker is an unanalizable entity consisting SPEAKER and SELF. The speaker has the role of reporter by definition, and at the same time he may be a participant. These two notions are not the components of speaker, but rather are two independent functions. These two roles define primary and secondary perspectives. Finally, a secondary perspective situation can be interpreted as primary when the speaker has special relationship with the situation he is describing.

2.2. Speaker's evaluation, point of view, and perspective

In this section, I will try to make the notion of "perspective" more precise by comparing it with "speaker's evaluation" and "point of view."

The works reviewed in the previous sections in this chapter

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revealed linguistic forms which might be related to the notion of speaker ranging over lexical items, morphology, syntax, semantics and stylistics. Apparently these forms are somehow related to each other by virtue of being influence by the notion speaker. However, it is possible to categorize them into different types which represent different aspects of subjectivity. Attempts to sort out subjectivity-related phenomena have been missing in the previous studies.

I suggest three types of subjectivity-related phenomena: "speaker's evaluation," "speaker's point of view" and "speaker's perspective." Below I summarize as a table the three categories of subjectivity and the corresponding linguistic forms with some examples.

[Table 2] Three categories of subjectivity

I. Speaker's attitude

A: lexical

exclamatory word: aa 'oh!'
exclamatory particle: yo 'I'm telling you!'
vocative: oi 'hey!'
kin term: otoo-chan 'Daddy' anata 'Honey'[28]
social relational term: sensei 'teacher'[29]
epithet: baka no X 'that fool X'
addressee oriented adverb: hakkiri itte 'frankly'

B: morphological

honorific construction: o-yomi-ni-naru 'read (HON)'
gratitude expression: -te kureru 'receive a favor of'
adversity expression: -te shimau 'do regrettably'
passive construction

II. point of view

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directional verbs: kuru/iku 'come/go'
motte-kuru/motte-iku 'bring/take'
yaru/kureru 'give' morau 'receive'
reciprocal verb: au 'meet'

III. Speaker's perspective

internal state predicate: sensational, psychological, emotional predicates
tense variation in Japanese: (Chapter 3)
switch reference system in Japanese: (Chapter 4)

"Speaker's evaluation" refers to linguistic elements which show how a speaker evaluates a situation, or indicates a speaker's attitude toward what he is describing. This class includes inherently subjective lexical items such as exclamatory words and exclamatory sentence final particles (Japanese), epithets, and some morphological forms whose function is to add speaker's evaluation or attitude towards the proposition communicated in a sentence.

Though speaker's evaluations are usually expressed through lexical items, there are a few morphological forms which show such evaluations in Japanese. Since this shows an interesting grammaticalization of speaker's evaluation, I will discuss two such forms: The -te shimau construction and the adversity passive construction.

The predicate form consisting of the -te form of the verb and the auxiliary shimau (or its past tense form shimatta) expresses either completion of action or speaker's regret. When the situation is instantaneous (expressed by such verbs as 'die' or 'banish'), the 'regret' meaning is achieved easily (e.g., Kindaichi 1955).

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This predicate form can take either a first or a third person subject. However, when 'regret' is expressed, it is always the speaker's regret about a situation. Observe (76) and (77). Both sentences are within speaker's primary perspective.

(76) watashi wa kodomo o unda.
I TOP child ACC give birth:PST

I gave birth to a child.

(77) watashi wa kodomo o unde-shimatta.
I TOP child ACC give birth-AUX:PST

I gave birth to a child (to my regret).

Sentence (77) communicates the speaker's regret about her giving birth to a child, while (76) simply reports the fact.

When this form is used with a third person subject, the sentence still exhibits the speaker's regret. Thus while (78) only states the fact of Mami's returning to Hong Kong, (79) indicates speaker's regret about the fact.

(78) mami wa honkon e kaetta.
Mami TOP Hong Kong to return:PST

Mami returned to Hong Kong.

(79) mami wa honkon e kaette-shimatta.
Mami TOP Hong Kong to return-AUX:PST

Mami returned to Hong Kong (to my regret).

(79) is the appropriate form if the speaker has a special relationship with Mami and the situation affects the speaker negatively. The -te shimau construction, in this way expresses speaker' attitude toward a situation. A closely related phenomenon is observed in the use of adversity passive.

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Japanese is famous for its adversity passive.[30] This type of passive is used when a situation affects the referent of the subject adversely. The subject of the adversity passive does not have to correspond to the direct object in a related active sentence. In fact some adversity passive sentences do not show a direct relationship with corresponding intransitive sentences, as shown in (80) and (81).

(80) boku wa kinoo ame ni furareta.
I TOP yesterday rain by fall-PSS:PST

I got rained on yesterday.

(81) ame ga futta.
rain NOM fall:PST

It rained.

(80) is a sentence which has reinterpreted an objective situation expressed in (81). Similarly observe the next sentence.

(82) taroo wa jiroo ni ashi o ker-areta.
Taro TOP Jiro by leg ACC kick-PSS:PST

Taro was kicked on the leg by Jiro.

The related active sentence for (82) is (83).

(83) jiroo wa taroo no ashi o ketta.
Jiro TOP Taro LK let ACC kick:PST

Jiro kicked Taro's leg.

Taro, the affected in (82), has a special relationship with the speaker (e.g., speaker's brother) and the speaker expresses his negative evaluation.

As a final note, it is possible to combine the -te shimau/shimatta and the adversity passive to show the speaker's evaluation more strongly. For example, example (79) can be

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passivized as (84) to show stronger adversity.

(84) mami ni honkon e kae-rarete-shimatta.
Mami TOP Hong Kong to return-PSS-AUX:PST

Mami returned to Hong Kong (to my greatest regret).

Although the speaker's attitude is usually expressed in lexical choice, some grammatical constructions have the function of expressing such speaker's feeling as observed here.

The second class in Table 2 is the "speaker's point of view." This concept requires some discussion since this word has variety of interpretations. First, the non-technical interpretation of this term is one's opinion. ("What is your point of view on this problem?"). Second, the "point of view" is interpreted as the center of subjectivity or SELF. That is, the "point of view" with this interpretation is the concept to which all the expressive elements or constructions are referred for interpretation. (Banfield 1982:188). In the present framework used in this thesis, as described earlier, SELF is inseparably included in the speaker. Thirdly, it has an interpretation in literary criticism (i.e., the concept borrowed from visual arts.) The "point of view" in a literary work is a technique that a writer manipulates to create certain effect. Maynard (1987) claims that the particle wa helps create such effect and give a text cohesion. (p.102)

The interpretation of "point of view" which is adopted here is close to Ohye's concept, "speaker's (physical and

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metaphorical) position expressed in a sentence." Certain situations require a speaker situate himself in one particular position to describe them. These include the situations described by verbs with directionality such as "coming/going" and "giving/receiving." Even when the speaker is not involved in a situation, he must take someone's point of view to describe it. "point of view" used in Kuno (1987) and Sells (1987) are also similar to this interpretation of "point of view."

The third class in Table 2, and the main concern in this thesis, is the concept "speaker's perspective." This is sometimes explained as "epistemic" difference between the referent of the first person and third person (e.g., Kuroda 1973, Akatsuka 1977, 1979, N. McCawley 1978). Elements that show "speaker's perspective" are sensitive to whether the speaker himself is an experiencer in a situation. I have shown that internal predicates are dictated by this concept.

2.3. Independence of the three classes of subjectivity

In Table 2 I posited the three classes of subjectivity-related phenomena. In order to see the necessity of having these three classes, I examine the following three sentences.

(85) I gave John a book.
(86) I gave that fool John a book.
(87) John gave me a book.

Each type of subjectivity influences sentence forms differently in Japanese. Sentence (86) expresses the speaker's negative attitude towards John, and maybe by extension to the whole

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expression, while (85) is neutral. In Japanese, in addition to using an expressive word baka no jon, the sentence might take a form of -te shimau as (88) below.[31]

(88) boku wa baka no jon ni hon o
I TOP fool LK John DAT book ACC

yatte-shimatta.
give-AUX:PST

(To my regret) I gave the book to that fool John.

This sentence expresses the speaker's regret for the action he performed as well as his negative attitude toward 'John.'

Speaker's point of view describes a different aspect of the speaking subject. The proper verb must be chosen in order to reflect the position of point of view or empathy in the sentence. If the point of view is on the subject as in (85), the verb ageru is used and if it is on the dative object as in (87) kureru is used. If a third person appears in place of 'me' in (87), and if he is someone close to the speaker (e.g., a brother), the speaker can impose his point of view on this third person and used kureru.

So far I have considered the difference between the "speaker's attitude" and "speaker's point of view." The third type of speaker-influenced phenomenon, "speaker's perspective" must be distinguished from the other two. "Speaker's perspective" is motivated by the fact that different predicate forms are required in describing certain situations depending on the identity of the subject. That speaker's perspective is

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independent of speaker's point of view is seen in the fact that even if the third person is someone close to the speaker, the distinction must be maintained in the form of the internal state predicate. Thus (89) is ungrammatical though the subject is the speaker's brother.

(89) *otooto wa kanashii.
younger brother TOP sad

My younger brother is sad.

So far I have only considered single sentence, but if the domain of research is restricted to the level of the sentence, the difference in predicate morphology that shows up between the two sentences below cannot be recognized.

(90) I gave John a book.
(91) Bill gave John a book.

As will be explored in the next chapter, the distinction between sentence types will appear in the form of the tense. Namely, (90) takes the past tense form, while (91) takes the non-past tense form in the narratives of past experience.

As a final note, it should be mentioned that there is a possible interaction between the subjectivity factors and discourse organization. While "speaker's attitude" might be independent of discourse organization, discourse factors influence the choice of point of view (cf. Kuno's "Topic Empathy Hierarchy"). It is not clear at this point how "speaker's perspective" interacts with discourse structure. Some discussion for this will be offered in Chapter 4, where clause combining forms are investigated with respect to speaker's perspective.

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3. Summary

This chapter has reviewed major works which concern "subjectivity." Subjectivity is something that a speaker brings to linguistic expression. As long as there is a speaker, there is subjectivity.

The examination of pervious research has lead to the conclusion that subjectivity influences sentence forms in three distinct ways. "Speaker's attitude" is expressed mainly through lexical choice (e.g., epithets) and sometimes through morphological forms (e.g., some honorific forms). "Speaker's point of view" forces a speaker to position himself with respect to some activity. Verbs with directionality (e.g., come/go, give/receive) must be used with specific reference to the position of the speaker. "Speaker's perspective" reflects the difference between the first and third persons. These two persons are inherently different with respective to accessibility of their internal state.

Previous works on subjectivity have investigated this concept either in the literary context or at the level of (imaginary) sentences. As a consequence, the most crucial factor for subjectivity, the role of real speakers in the production of discourse, has never been studied. In this thesis I will try to investigate "speaker's perspective" in the "colloquial" context and initiate a step toward the study of perspective in the real context.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

[1] Suzuki (1824) classifies parts of speech into four categories; nouns, adjectives and existential verbs, other verbs, and tenioha. Tenioha refers to particles, conjugating particle (see Note 4), exclamation words, connectives, adverbs, and inflectional suffixes. Suzuki describes tenioha as kokoro no koe 'voice of heart,' which can be interpreted as speaker's subjectivity. As will be discussed shortly, Tokieda was greatly influenced by this classification. See kokugogaku daijiten 'Comprehensive dictionary of Japanese Language Studies' (Kokugo Gakkai 1980:283-4, 511) for discussions of Suzuki's works.

[2] The original words he uses are gainenka 'conceptualization' and kyakutaika 'objectification.'

[3] He is not concerned with the difference in predicate forms of a word expressing internal state such as kanashii 'sad' discussed in Chapter 1. Yet his point is still valid since it is true that although different forms must be employed, the same "word" is used to express a third person's as well as a first person's emotion.

[4] The class jodooshi is not easy to describe in terms of any model of Western grammar. The general definition is that a jodooshi is a bound morpheme and constructs a predicate with the preceding verb, adjective or nominal. Semantically it shows various types of modality (e.g., politeness, negation, tense and aspect, supposition and intention.) For example, suffixes such as masu glossed as POL (or polite) and oo glossed as PRV (provisional) in the next examples are examples of jodooshi.

(i) iki-masu
go-POL 'I will go.'

(ii) ik-oo
go-PRV 'Let's go.'

Also at this point, it should be pointed out that the parts-of-speech which belong to shi are words or free morphemes, but those which belong to ji are either free or bound morphemes.

[5] "Sentence" here is defined as a linguistic unit which ends in a finite form of the predicate with or without sentence ending particles and is marked by a period. "Clause" may or may not have a finite form but is not marked by a period. I will consider these units more precisely in Chapters 3 and 4.

[6] "Limiting particles" is a translation of Tokieda's gentei joshi, which are usually called fuku joshi "adverbial particles."

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[7] In Chapter 3, I will discuss the use of the past tense form ta that reflects speaker's perspective. However, the use of ta shown here points to the past time and does not involve the speaker at all.

[8] The "colloquial" text is primarily oral but it can take a written form. According to Benveniste, it is possible to find "colloquial discourse" in the midst of "literary discourse" when, for example, a historian makes his comments on some facts or quotes someone else. Benveniste recognizes the possibility of a merger of "literary" and "colloquial" utterances, which he calls "indirect speech," in which an event is described but no narrator is present. This is investigated extensively in Banfield (1982).

[9] It is implicit that Benveniste considers situations in which first person appears in the non-subject position (e.g., 'He hit me'). However, he does not discuss it explicitly.

[10] Thus my use of "literary" should not be interpreted as any kind of literary texts because both types of texts that Kuroda considers are literal. "Literal" in my terminology refers to a specific type (i.e., nonreportive type) of literal text. Some literature is written in "colloquial" mode. This type of literature is called first person narration. (Banfield 1982:171-180).

[11] Kuroda claims that a sentence which contains more than one point of view is possible. This position is denied in Banfield (1982).

[12] This is where Banfield's definition of "narrative" and Benveniste's histoire differ. For Benveniste the absence of I qualifies a text to be "non-communicative." But for Banfield, this is not sufficient and both I and you must be absent for a text to be "non-communicative."

[13] Benveniste recognizes that "colloquial" text can be embedded within histoire (or "literary" text). This is different from Banfield's description here. Banfield describes that some "literary" texts are composed of two different kinds of sentences interwoven with each other.

[14] To be more precise, it also has to contain the ADDRESSEE/HEARER. See p.128 for the discussion of ADDRESSEE/HEARER.

[15] Kuroda's theory of judgment is based on Brentano-Marty's philosophical discussion of judgment. See Kuroda (1987) for references on this topic.

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[16] Not surprisingly Kuroda's dichotomy of judgment type is associated to information status in discourse. The thetic judgment represents newly acqured information. This translates into newly introduced participants in discourse. The categorical judgment represents information which is partically old. Thus it means information which, or part of which, has been introduced in the present discourse.

[17] Although the form of 'think' in the Japanese transration Kuroda consulted is not known since he does not present the original translation in his paper, it is likely the unmodified past tense form, omotta 'think:PST.' As discussed in Chapter 1, this unmodified form of 'think' cannot appear in a "colloquial" text.

[18] This is what Kuno calls "point-of-view," "empathy" or "camera angle," to be described further in the next section.

[19] Kuno (1987) is an extended study of his previous works, including Kuno (1972a, 1972b, 1975) and Kuno and Kaburaki (1977).

[20] Some speakers of English would accept (36) as it is.

[21] However, the judgment on the difference between (46) and (47) is not agreed on by some English speakers.

[22] Kuno's explanation on this point is, again, not very convincing for the following two reasons. First, he assumes that passive sentences are derived from active sentences. Though this is a standard view in the generative grammar tradition, it is difficult actually to show that this is the case. Second, it is almost impossible to argue that nonapplication of passive is speaker's "benign neglect and not an intentional choice." This is partially because what "benign neglect" and "intentional choice" mean is not exactly clear and even if they are defined there seems to be no way to access the distinction.

[23] "Discourse" in Sells' definition does not seem to indicate any other factors from the "real discourse" which most discourse researchers consider important such as "information flow" (e.g., Chafe 1987) or narrative structure (e.g., Labov and Waletzky 1969, Hopper and Thompson 1980). Thus, "discourse environment" specifically means the specification of each role as to internal or external speaker.

[24] Actually Sells argues that it is PIVOT which is relevant for the interpretation of reflexive pronouns. As mentioned before, an internal SELF always means an internal PIVOT.

[25] Sells explains the use of the quotative marker to in (63) rather than a nominal clause construction as (62) as follows:

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"the to-marked clause is more naturally understood as representing Takashi's speech." (p.454).

[26] Sentence (70) is odd for another reason. The adverb fukakainimo 'mysteriously' is usually used in a sentence describing a situation which involves an inanimate subject ('The diamond disappeared mysteriously.') and not usually for a sentence which describes someone's action. ('The thief stole the smallest diamond mysteriously.')

[27] I am equating the speaker in the "colloqual" text and a protagonist in the "literary" text. They are different in many ways as Banfield (1982) has shown. However, such differences are not substantial in this portion of my discussion.

[28] Though anata is usually translated as 'you,' it is also used as vocative (vocative pronoun) especially when used by a woman to address her husband.

[29] Titles are used frequently as vocative pronoun in Japanese.

[30] See the following references for syntactic and semantic aspects of Japanese passive. Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976, Kuroda 1979, Inoue 1979, Kuno 1983.

[31] The use of yaru (in yatte-shimatta) also marks that this sentence involves speaker's attitude. Yaru is semantically close to ageru but it is usually used when the recipient is lower in social status.

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CHAPTER THREE

TENSE FORM VARIATION IN NARRATIVE

0. Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to explicate the influence of "speaker's perspective" on the choice of tense form for a predicate that appears in spoken narrative of past experience. Tense form variation in this type of discourse cannot be explained unless the speaker's perspective is taken into account.

Japanese tense is marked in the morphology of the predicate element. Two tense morphemes, -ta and -ru, are said to refer to past time (prior to the speaking time) and non-past time (concurrent or posterior to speaking time) respectively. However this simplistic generalization cannot be maintained strongly since the morphological contrast sometimes appears to ignore the speech time. The distinct uses of tense forms are recognized as "absolute tense" (or "basic" or "primary" tense) and "relative" (or "secondary") tense (Kindaichi 1955, Soga 1983, Teramura 1984).[1] The working of relative tense is usually seen in a dependent clause since a -ta form in a dependent clause indicates completion of situation[2] prior to the time of main clause situation, which may be at any point on the temporal axis with respect to speech time.

Kindaichi (1955) construes the difference between these two types of tense as presence and absence of "circumstantiality" (or

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"deixis" to use a more accepted term). "Circumstantiality" is first introduced by Mikami (1972) to characterize an element which reflects the relationship between interlocutors. All pronouns, temporal adverbials such as "today" or "next year," and directional verbs such as "to come", "to go", or "to give" are circumstantial words. Since absolute tense concerns the temporal relationship of a situation with respect to the speech time, i.e., the time when the interlocutors interact, it is a tense with "circumstantiality." Relative tense, on the other hand, concerns the temporal relationship between two situations, and the speech time is not relevant, hence not circumstantial. Notice, however, that in both cases the tense form is used to indicate relationship between two temporal points, and this use of tense form is referred as "temporal use."

I claim in this chapter that in a particular context the tense form loses its basic function of pointing at some point on the temporal axis. Admitting a contradiction in term, I call such use of tense form a "nontemporal use" of a tense form.

It is our first objective in this chapter to understand this nontemporal use of tense forms. Szatrowski (1985a, 1985b) notices that in one of the narratives she analyzes the past tense form is used when a clause has the speaker as the subject and the non-past form when the other main character in the narrative is the subject. I will show that this tendency is not limited to Szatrowski's one particular narrative but is widespread. This

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complementary distribution of tense forms is explainable by the concept "information accessibility," a notion to be developed here, and speaker's perspective.

The second objective of this chapter is to explore a possible motivation for the association of the nontemporal past form with first person subject (or more accurately primary perspective) and the nontemporal non-past with third person subject (or secondary perspective). This correlation between tense forms and subject is a part of more general pattern which exists between transitivity of a clause (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980) and information accessibility.

The third objective is to investigate in detail how an utterance comes to be in primary perspective. The most obvious way for a clause to obtain primary perspective is through the speaker's position as subject in it but there are some other more subtle paths as well such as the speaker's covert experiencer role.

The fourth point of concern is to make it explicit under what condition a tense form acquires nontemporal function. I suggest that nontemporal use of tense becomes possible when a temporal frame in which an utterance appears is made clear. Clarification of temporal frame is performed by explicit words (e.g., "two summers ago") or phrase or clause (e.g., "when I was a student"). The temporal frame for a narrative is usually set by such explicit markers. Once the reference time is set, a tense form acquires the freedom to perform nontemporal functions.

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This will lead us to a discussion of the English historical present. It will be shown, however, that Japanese tense variation cannot be equated with the English historical present.

Fifth, factors allowing and disallowing tense variation are considered. There are several types of clauses which cannot have a nontemporal tense form. A clause which sets temporal frame must have deictic tense form. A clause which indicates "flashback" locates one situation in narrative with respect to another, similar to the function of English past perfect (thus temporal). In narratives there also appear clauses which do not narrate events but rather give meta comments or which interact with interlocutors directly. In these clauses, the tense form is always anchored in the present speech time, hence it has the temporal function.

Finally I will show that the description of tense form variation in spoken narrative from the speaker's perspective can explain many noncanonial uses of tense forms discussed in previous studies of Japanese tense. It can also explain the "vividness" effects that are observed in narrative discourse.

It is necessary at the outset to clarify certain terminology and limitations of the focus of this chapter. It is important to separate form from meaning in a discussion of tense. "Past (time)" refers to the absolute temporal anteriority with respect to the speech time and "non-past (time)" means either present time concurrent with the speech time or future time posterior to

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the speech time. "Past tense form," on the other hand, refers to a morphological form of predicate (i.e., -ta form), which may, but need not, be used to denote "past (time)." There are three classes of words that conjugate for tense in Japanese; verbs (including auxiliary verbs), adjectives, and copula. Past tense for all the words is marked by the past tense form morpheme -ta or its variant form da (abbreviated here as TA). "Non-past form" is marked by -(r)u (abbreviated as RU) which may be used to denote "non-past (time)." Thus, while past form and non-past form are morphologically defined, past time and non-past time (or more specifically present or future) are semantic notions.

"Tense" is understood to be a system to assign the corresponding form to a given clause describing a situation located somewhere on the temporal axis. It is crucial to note that a "tense" system as defined above can be suppressed when the temporal reference is unambiguously understood, for example, when the default past time is assigned to a whole narrative.

Though aspect is not the immediate concern in this chapter, some definitions are given here to avoid confusion with tense. Teramura (1984) classifies aspect into three types, primary, secondary, and tertiary. Secondary aspect is constructed with the TE form of predicate followed by a closed class aspectual auxiliary (e.g., -te iru - progressive, -te aru - resultative etc.). Tertiary aspect is constructed with the continuative form (renyoo-kei, cf. Chapter 4) of predicate followed by a different set of aspectual auxiliary from the ones used with the TE form.

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Primary aspect is indicated by the TA and RU forms of predicate ("completive" and "incompletive," respectively), which also have the tense function as mentioned earlier. It is not possible to distinguish the aspect function from the tense function in an isolated context. However, adverbial words and contextual information will clarify the ambiguity.

Later in the discussion, I will be concerned with the stativity of a predicate. Predicates are either "stative" or "non-stative" lexically (e.g., wakaru 'understand' is stative while naguru 'hit' is non-stative.)[3] Further, a non-stative predicate can be turned into a stative predicate by suffixation of iru to the TE form of non-stative predicate mentioned above (e.g., nagutte-iru 'is hitting').

The definition of "subject" was already given in Chapter 1, but it is repeated here. I use this term to mean a slot for the case frame associated with each predicate. It does not have any syntactic significance such as a trigger of coreference or reflexivization. Subject in Japanese is usually, but not always, marked with the nominative case particle ga in the case frame. However, it often appears with the topic marking particle wa or it is not explicitly mentioned (i.e., it is elided) in actual utterances.

I should also mention that in this chapter only tense in independent clauses is examined. This is because the tense form behaves differently in dependent clauses. Independent clauses

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are clauses which end in a finite predicate form with or without sentence extension markers such as wake (desu) or no (desu) and/or sentence ending particles such as ne 'ok?' or yo 'I'm telling you' but not a conjunctive word such as kara 'because' or noni 'though.' However I counted as an independent clause a finite clause ending with kedo unless the clause clearly connects to the next with a semantic relation of 'but.' This decision was made on the basis of my observation that a kedo clause appears more often than not without a following clause on which it structurally depends. In the present data, such independent kedo clauses constitute 81.2% (78/96) of all occurrences of kedo clauses. Independent kedo seems to have lost its semantic content and appears to be used as some sort of mitigation device.[4]

Finally, such notions as sentence, clause and utterance must be spelled out. I call a constructed example a "sentence." The unit of analysis of discourse in this dissertation is always a "clause." It is a construct consisting of a predicate and its obligatory and optional arguments, which may or may not be present in it. An "utterance" is made up of "clause" and speech features such as intonation and expressive phonology.

1. Tense variation in narrative: the canonical pattern

Observation of tense forms in spoken narrative suggests that it is not enough to consider tense forms as mere temporal markers. Tense forms may be used for other purposes besides

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indicating temporal relationship between situations when the temporal frame in which a discourse develops is unambiguously set. English historical present is one such nontemporal use of tense form. I will suggest in this chapter that tense forms distribute in a narrative not according to their temporal function but according to the accessibility of information available to the speaker.

The first examples of tense form variation are given below. (1) and (2) are typical examples of clauses with first person subject and third person subject found in the data, respectively.

(1) (False ID)
109: oofuku-kippu o katta no.
round trip ticket ACC buy:PST SE

(I) bought a round trip ticket.

(2) (Day After)
313: soida moshite-n no yo.
and burn-STA:NPT SE EX

and (the soldiers) were burning (the corpse).

It is seen in the above examples that the past tense form is used with first person subject while the non-past tense form with third person subject.[5] The distribution of past tense and non-past tense forms in the data are shown in Table 1 on the next page.

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[TABLE 1] Tense Form Distribution by Different Subjects

	PAST TENSE FORM	NON-PAST TENSE FORM	TOTAL
1S	169 (78.6%)	46 (21.4%)	215 (100%)
3S	49 (36.0%)	87 (64.0%)	136 (100%)
NON-HUMAN	68 (34.7%)	128 (65.3%)	196 (100%)
TOTAL	286	261	547

It is immediately clear that 1S (first person subject) is associated more frequently with the past form (78.6%) and 3S (third person subject) and non-humans with the non-past form (64.0% and 65.3%, respectively). (The differences are significant at .05 level by a Chi-square test.) This distribution must be explained. Grounding theory fails to explain the distribution since it would predict that 1S and 3S, which are main participants would behave similarly, as opposed to incidental participants (non-humans). A "historical present" interpretation also fails. As will be seen later, "historical present" is usually possible in an action sequence where both 1S and 3S appear. Thus the distribution of tense forms for 1S and 3S should be similar. Subject-predicate coreferencing cannot explain this distribution either, since there is no such general system between subject and predicate in Japanese. (but cf. Shibatani 1978a, 1978b)

The sensible direction to take is to consider the "speaker's perspective." This is a more attractive solution than the other

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possible solutions mentioned above because as seen in the previous two chapters there are attested splits between 1S and 3S for certain types of predicate in Japanese. In this framework, a demarcation between 1S (a grammatical realization of the speaker) and non-1S is assumed to be a reflection of speaker's perspective.

The position which assumes that speaker's perspective determines tense form for predicate must answer the following two questions. The first question concerns a logical link between the past tense form and 1S and between the non-past tense form and 3S. The second question concerns the apparent exceptions in Table 1. Why in some cases is the non-past form used for 1S and the past tense form for 3S? The following two sections try to answer these questions.

2. Information accessibility

2.1. The concept

In order to answer the question why the tense form variation found in data is as it is, I will introduce a concept of "information accessibility." Information accessibility is the concept with which perspective is defined and it refers to the degree of certainty with which a speaker accesses the information conveyed in a clause. Metaphorically it is the distance between the speaker and the information. The distance is shorter if the speaker is involved in the information and greater if not.

Take, for example, the two clauses presented in the previous

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section: Clause (1), '(I) bought a round trip ticket' and clause (2), '(the soldiers) were burning (the corps).' Both clauses are transitive clauses with no overt subject noun phrase, and both are understood to be explaining situations that took place in the past. However, these two clauses are significantly different in terms of information accessibility. The speaker's experience of 'buying a ticket' in (1) is immediate because she actually participated in this transaction. On the other hand, the speaker did not experience the act of 'burning (the corps)' in (2). She merely observed it. Hence the act of 'burning (the corps)' is not immediate to the speaker as compared to the case of (1).

The clearest case of high degree of information accessibility involves 'internal predicate' discussed in the preceding chapters. The speaker has the highest degree of accessibility to his own internal affair but he can access someone else's internal state only indirectly.

This semantic and pragmatic difference of the speaker vis-à-vis the situation to be described appears as a difference in subject person. In general, if the speaker figures in a clause as the grammatical subject, the speaker has more direct, more immediate access to the information conveyed compared to the situation where a non-first person figures as a subject. A clause is said to be in primary perspective if the information described in it relates to the speaker's direct experience.

However, the speaker's involvement, hence higher degree of information accessibility, is not always marked in the first

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person subject because the speaker might be involved as a participant which can be coded as non-subject, e.g., patient or goal. ('He woke me up.')[6]

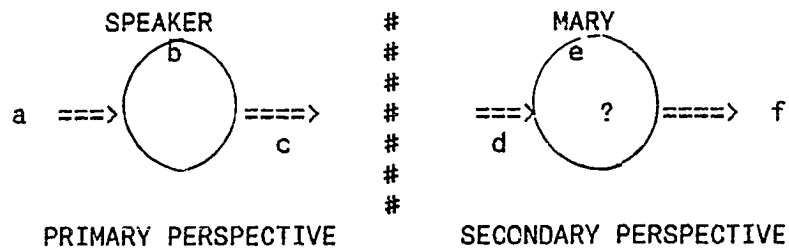
Perspective was defined in Chapter 1 in terms of the speaker's role in producing an utterance. Here it is given a functional definition using the concept of information accessibility.

A. Primary perspective is present in a clause describing a situation in which a speaker is involved. In this case a speaker has a dual role of reporter and participant. Otherwise, secondary perspective is present.

B. Primary perspective means, because of A, that the speaker has more direct access to the information he is communicating compared to secondary perspective.

The next diagram shows the difference between primary and secondary perspectives and summarize the various situations in each perspective.

[DIAGRAM 1] Primary and Secondary Perspectives (1)



(a) in Diagram 1 describes a situation where the speaker is a recipient or goal (this will be discussed in 4.2), (b) is a internal state of the speaker, and in (c) the speaker is an actor. (d) through (f) are third persons counterparts of (a)

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through (c), respectively. A sentence that describes each situation in the above diagram, (a) through (f), is given below.

(3)
a. Bill hit me.
b. I was scared.
c. I hit John.

d. Bill hit Mary.
e. (Mary was scared.)
f. Mary hit John.

Situation (b) shows highest degree of information accessibility. Situations (a) and (c) show a little lower accessibility, but they are still in primary perspective. Situations (d), (e), and (f) are of secondary perspective and show lower degree of information accessibility. In particular accessibility to (e) is so low that explicit marking (evidential marking or morphological marking) is necessary to describe it.

Diagram 1 needs a further complication when all sentence types are considered. A subtype of situation (a) would be a case in which a non-human affects the speaker. One such example would be, in semantic terms, a situation where some sound reaches to the speaker. Compare sentence (4) with sentence (a) in (3).

(4) The sound reached me.

In English, this is usually expressed as 'I hear the sound.' As a contrast, in Japanese an impersonal sentence, i.e., a sentence with no experiencer role, is used (i.e., oto ga kikoeru 'sound NOM audible'). However, this situation must be considered as being in primary perspective as will be discussed in section 5.

I conceive a situation like (4) as a case of "nonrelective"

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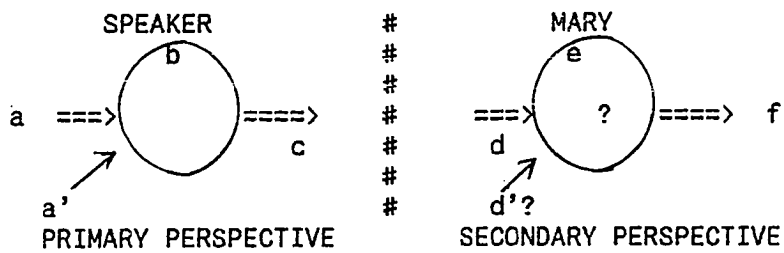
consciousness (cf. Banfield 1982) in order to distinguish it from a situation like (a) in Diagram 1, which represents "reflective" consciousness. Representation of the "nonreflective" consciousness is available, similar to the cases of (b) and (e), only for primary perspective sentence. Diagram 1 is modified as Diagram 2 to include all the possible situations concerning perspective.

[DIAGRAM 2] Primary and Secondary Perspectives (2)



Now that the concept of information accessibility is spelled out, I will present in the next section how this concept explain some grammatical phenomena in Japanese.

2.2. Grammatical manifestations of information accessibility

The difference of degree in information accessibility influences clause forms variously. Marking and non-marking of a clause with an evidential word is one common means. The difference can also appear in the morphological difference in the predicate element. Higher degree of information accessibility is associated with less stative morphology while lower degree of information accessibility with more stative morphology. This

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difference in stativity expressed in morphology is related to the tense form variation in discourse. First I present cases where the perspective distinction directly corresponds to the information accessibility distinction. Then I will consider some cases where degrees of information accessibility exist within primary perspective.

The first case to be examined is a verb of inner process, omou 'think.'. (This was considered in 5.4. in Chapter 1.) According to the test that Kuno (1973a) provides (see note 3 in this chapter) the verb omou 'think' is semantically a stative verb. Independently the auxiliary suffix iru attached to the verb TE form marks the verb as stative. Thus, the form omotte iru is doubly coded as stative: once semantically and once morphologically. Therefore, though both omou (think:NPT) and omotte-iru (think-STA:NPT) are stative, omotte-iru can be said more stative than omou. Now observe the sentences in (5) through (7).

(5)	boku wa soo omou. I TOP so think:NPT	I think so.
(6)	*jon wa soo omou.	John thinks so.
(7)	jon wa soo omotte-iru. think-STA:NPT	John thinks so.

In a primary perspective sentence, (5), omou (semantically stative) is used and in a secondary perspective sentence, (7), (a semantically and morphologically stative) is used. (6) shows that a less stative variety will create an ungrammatical sentence

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if used in a secondary perspective sentence. Thus the pattern primary perspective with less stative predicate and secondary perspective with more stative predicate is observed.

A similar stativity split is seen with a verb of communication. The verb yuu 'say:NPT' is a nonstative verb and its morphologically marked form itte-iru 'say-STA:NPT' is stative.

(8) boku wa soo itta.
I TOP so say:PST I said so.

(9) *boku wa soo itte-ita.
say-STA:PST I was saying so.

(10) jon wa soo itte-ita. John was saying so.

Sentences (8) through (10) show that a less stative form cannot be used in a primary perspective sentence.

As described in the previous section, a primary perspective clause might have a third person subject with first person as a non-subject argument. Even in this case, a less stative form is used compared to a secondary perspective clause. Observe (11), a secondary perspective sentence first.

(11) taroo wa hanako ni nanika itte-ita.
TOP DAT something say-STA:PST

Taro was saying something to Hanako.

This sentence describes a situation where a speaker witnessed that Taro was talking to Hanako but he did not hear the content of Taro's speech. Contrasting to this situation, it is possible to imagine a situation where Taro said something to the speaker but the speaker did not hear what he said. However, in this

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situation the less stative form is much more natural.

(12) taroo wa boku ni nanika itta.[7]
TOP I DAT something say:PST

Taro said something to me.

The above examples showed that the distinction between primary and secondary sentences is realized in the predicate morphology. However, this split is actually more sensitive to information accessibility since the stativity split can be observed among primary perspective sentences themselves. In particular a more stative form of 'think' (i.e., omotte-iru) can be used in primary perspective. Compare (5), repeated as (13), with (14), a sentence with a more stative predicate.

(13) boku wa soo omou.
I TOP so think:NPT I think so.

(14) boku wa soo omotte-iru. I think so.
think-STA:NPT

The speaker is less certain in (14) than in (13). The morphological difference between these two sentences reflects the degree of certainty with which the speaker asserts the statement, or the information accessibility. This difference becomes more apparent in past tense sentences. Compare (15) and (16).

(15) sono toki boku wa soo omotta.
that time I TOP so think:PST

At that moment I realized that.

(16) sono toki boku wa soo omotte-ita.
think-STA:PST

At that time I was (erroneously) thinking that.

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(15) could expresses the speaker's sudden realization of some fact at one point in the past, as the translation suggests. On the other hand, (16) communicates the speaker's misunderstanding during some period in the past. Thus a speaker has a higher degree of certainty towards the content of soo 'that' in (15), thus a higher accessibility to the information, while he has a lower degree of certainty for the content of soo in (16), or lower accessibility.

The relationship observed between higher information accessibility and less stative morphology does not seem arbitrary. In the next subjection I will discuss the stativity split in terms of the Transitivity Hypothesis propsed by Hopper and Thompson (1980).

2.3. Information accessibility and the Transitivity Hypothesis

It was shown in the discussion so far that a less morphologically stative (more transitive) form is used for a primary perspective sentence, which is associated with higher information accessibility compared with a secondary perspective sentence.[8] Furthermore, among primary perspective sentences, a sentence with a lower degree of information accessibility is expressed with morphologically more stative (or lower transitive) forms.

There is the same relationship between tense form and perspective. Recall that the past tense form also marks the perfective aspect and the non-past tense form marks

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imperfectivity (cf. Introduction of this chapter). Thus according to the Transitivity Hypothesis, it can be inferred that the past tense (or perfective aspect) form, which is associated with primary perspective (higher information accessibility) indicates higher transitivity than the non-past tense (or imperfective aspect) form which is associated with secondary perspective (lower information accessibility).

Thus the general pattern is clear: higher information accessibility is associated with high transitivity and lower information accessibility with low transitivity. I will show below how these two concepts are related in detail.

Information accessibility refers to a degree of directness which a speaker has for the information that he is conveying, and it reflects speaker's involvement in a situation under description. By definition, the speaker has higher information accessibility for primary perspective situations and lower information accessibility for secondary perspective situations. Furthermore, within primary perspective the speaker has either higher or lower degree of information accessibility depending on the degree of his involvement in the situation. Thus the speaker has a higher degree of information accessibility for, for example, 'I killed a tiger' than 'I fell asleep,' because the act of 'killing a tiger' might be preceded by a process of decision making while the act of 'falling asleep' there is not such an extra process.

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The difference of information accessibility in the two situations just described can be understood in terms of the VOLITIONALITY component of Transitivity complex. The speaker's action of killing of a tiger is volitional, while his action of falling asleep is not. Now according to the Transitivity Hypothesis, volitional acts correlate with higher transitivity and non-volitional acts with lower transitivity because volitinal acts are a more prototypical transitive action.

Volition is a kind of internal state in that volition must be accessible for the person who possesses it but no one else has this privilege. DeLancy (1987:61) claims that an event whose CAUSE or EFFECT is not fully accessible to an observer is deviant from the transitivity prototype. A prototypical transitive event must include both onset and terminal points of an action. Furthermore the onset of a canonical transitive action (volitional and controllable) must be within the person who carries out the action. If John has the volition to kill a tiger, he must be aware of his volition and he has a control over the action, but there is no volition that he can be aware of and no control that he can exert in the case of 'John fell asleep.'

Although we understand that 'John killed a tiger' exhibits more of John's volition than 'John fell asleep' which lacks volition, from speaker's perspective, both sentences are equally low on the information accessibility scale. I will show this point by comparing the following three sentences.

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(17) I killed a tiger.
(18) John killed a tiger.
(19) Hunger killed a tiger. (= A tiger died of hunger.)
(cf. DeLancy 1984)

Let's compare (18) and (19) first. Both sentences are structurally identical in that both take the same direct object. Furthermore, both sentences are identical for speaker's perspective since volition of "John" and volition of "hunger" (if there is such a thing) are equally opaque.

However, (18) is higher on the transitivity scale than (19) for the AGENCY component because 'John' is a sentient being who can possess volition and 'hunger,' which is an abstract concept, cannot. Thus (19) is more deviant than (18) from the transitivity prototype on semantic grounds. If a language allows a speaker to "empathize" completely with "John," we can clam that the volition is accessible to the speaker (or in the "literary" variety mentioned in Chapter 2.) However, even if the speaker can "empathize" with "hunger" there is no volition to access to. Thus, from the AGENCY and VOLITION components of transitivity (19) is lower than (18) on the transitivity scale.

It is then predicted that (19) is marked as a lower transitivity clause than (18) in some languages. In English an intransitive construction is preferred for (19) and in Japanese it is required.

Now let's compare (17) and (18). I noted that John must be aware of his volition of killing a tiger in case of (18). However, John's volition is opaque to anyone else including the

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speaker who reports it. In contrast, the speaker has access to the volition of his own act when he utters (17). Thus (17) shows higher information accessibility than (18) and if a language manifests this difference in grammar, (17) is marked more transitive than (18). English apparently does not show such a distinction in its grammar but Japanese shows it in the tense form variation in discourse by marking the primary perspective sentence with perfective (high transitive marker) and the secondary perspective sentence with imperfective (low transitive marker).

I have shown that the VOLITIONALITY component is an aspect of information accessibility. If a speaker has higher information accessibility for an event described, the clause exhibits more transitive features.

Thus when the information accessibility distinction is marked in grammar, it could appear as transitivity split in the predicate. The information accessibility distinction has another consequence for transitivity. Finer distinctions can be made in primary perspective clauses than in secondary perspective clauses. Existence or absence of volition or intention for actions, or degree of control over action can be marked only within primary perspective. When such distinctions are made, existence rather than absence of volition or intention or higher control causes a higher transitivity marking.

I will show below two cases where a finer distinction is

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made within primary perspective in Japanese. The first case involves speaker's volition vs. non-volition. The second case involves control of a desired action.

In Japanese the distinction of volition and non-volition appears in verbs of perception.

(20) boku wa yama o mita.
I TOP mountain ACC look at:PST

I looked at the mountain.

(21) boku ni wa yama ga mieta
DAT TOP NOM see:PST

I saw a mountain.

Sentence (20) has a transitive verb and thus is higher on transitivity scale, while sentence (21) has an intransitive verb and is of lower transitivity. The more transitive sentence, (20), indicates a volitional act (i.e., higher information accessibility) and the less transitive sentence (21) a non-volitional act (i.e., lower information accessibility).

The distinction observed in (20) and (21) is only possible for primary perspective. (22) is a possible sentence of description of John's action, but (23) is not possible.

(22) jon wa yama o mita.
John TOP mountain ACC see:PST

John saw the mountain.

(23) *jon ni wa yama ga mieta.
DAT TOP NOM see:PST

John saw a mountain.

Thus higher information accessibility (which is described as volitional act) is marked with higher transitivity by verbal

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selection for primary perspective. This pheonomenon does not show up in the secondary perspective situations where the speaker stands as an outsider of the internal affair of other persons and hence does not have direct access to it.

There is another phenomenon similar to that involving volitional and non-volitional acts just described. This has to do with control of the agent. A predicate expressing desire with primary perspective is formed with the desiderative suffix -tai. When a desiderative sentence contains the direct object, it is marked with either ga (NOM) or o (ACC). (cf. Sugamoto 1982)

(24) boku wa biiru ga/o nomi-tai.
I TOP beer NOM/ACC drink-want:NPT

I want to drink beer.

The selection of the marker for 'beer' does not indicate any semantic difference and there is no preference for a choice. However, certain pairs of verbs show a preference for the particle selection. In (25) o is preferred and in (26) ga is preferred, although the other alternative does not cause ungramaticality.

(25) boku wa shinsoo o/(ga) hanashi-tai
I TOP truth ACC/(NOM) tell-want:NPT

I want to tell the truth.

(26) boku wa shinsoo ga/(o) kiki-tai
NOM/(ACC) hear-want:NPT

I want to hear the truth.

Watanabe (1984) attributes this pattern to the degree of control by the agent. The agent has more control in the

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situation where he has the "true information" and wants to reveal it rather than where he wants to solicit such information. Notice the second noun phrase in (25), a sentence with more control, is marked with the accusative case marker, which is an indicator of higher transitivity rather than the nominative case marker which marks the same noun phrase in (26), a sentence with less control.

This transitivity distinction is neutralized for secondary perspective. Case marking for the second noun phrase is invariably accusative.

(27) jon wa shinsoo o hanashi-ta-gatte-iru.
John TOP truth ACC tell-want-express-STA:NPT

John wants to tell the truth.

(28) jon wa shinsoo o kiki-ta-gatte-iru.
John TOP truth ACC hear-want-express-STA:NPT

John wants to hear the truth.

Thus the distinction of volition and control can be only made within primary perspective. Furthermore, clauses with volition rather than non-volition and those with more control rather than less control co-occur with higher transitivity features.

The relationship between higher degree of information accessibility and higher transitivity is suggested in the morphology of some other languages. In Lummi, a detransitivizing morpheme is employed as an inverse marker (Jelinek and Demers 1983). That is, a transitive sentence in which the first person

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is a patient and a third person is an actor is marked as lower in transitivity. For example, 'The man knows me' is marked morphologically as lower in transitivity than 'I know the man.' Now it has been pointed out already that a speaker has higher degree of information accessibility in a sentence with first person subject compared to that with third person subject. In conclusion, there is a link between higher degree of information accessibility and higher degree of transitivity.

To summarize, information accessibility is (related to) one feature of transitivity. If information accessibility for a clause is higher, the clause is marked higher in transitivity. High information accessibility is a feature of more canonical transitive action because a canonical transitive action must include the onset and terminal point of action and the ultimate onset point of a canonical transitive action is volition which only the actor has access to. Thus when the speaker is the actor himself (primary perspective), he has a higher information accessibility and a clause will exhibit other transitivity features (i.e., less stative verb morphology).

The relationship between information accessibility and transitivity explains why most 1S clauses are marked with PST and 3S clause with NPT (cf. Table 1). Since 1S usually entails primary perspective, i.e., higher information accessibility, it is marked with higher transitive verb morphology. This will make further predictions about deviant cases. 1S clauses are marked with NPT when information accessibility is low despite first

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person subject. 3S clauses are marked with PST when information accessibility is higer despite third person subject.

I will first consider the cases of 1S clauses with NPT and then discuss the cases of 3S appearing with PST in Section 4. To see that 1S clauses are marked with NPT when information accessibility is low, I examine transitivity of the predicates appearirg with 1S. See Table 2.

[TABLE 2] Percentage of Predicate Types in Past and Non-past Clauses with 1S Clauses

Predicate type	NTP	PST
Non-stative	4 (8.8%)	111 (65.6%)
Stative	21 (45.6%)	52 (30.7%)
Negative	21 (45.6%)	6 (3.7%)

This table shows a clear association between the tense form and transitivity of the predicate. While non-stative predicates (i.e., higher transitivity) appear frequently with the past tense form (65.6% of the time), stative and negative predicates (i.e., lower transitivity) appear less frequently (30.7% and 3.7% of the time, respectively). Conversely, non-past tense form is associated with stative and negative predicates (45.6% in both cases) and not with non-stative predicates (only 8.8%).[9]

It is natural to assume that a speaker has less access to the information expressed negatively since a negative clause indicates a non-existence of a situation (i.e., irrealis). One example of a stative, non-past predicate, (29), and one example

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of negative, a non-past predicate, (30), are given below.

(29) (Language Game)
160 chizu wa moratte-aru kedo
map TOP receive-STA:NPT SP

I had received a map.

(30) (East Europe)
54 .h dakedo mashoomen ni ko:..
but right in front LOC like this

ate-rarete-ru kara
shine-PSS-STA:NPT because

56 mi-e-nai wake yo.
see-POT-NEG:NPT SE EX

54 but the light came right from
the front so
56 we couldn't see anything, you see.

Besides negative and stative predicates, irrealis clauses are also lower in transitivity (compared with realis clauses). Thus another prediction of the use of non-past form in irrealis clauses (even with primary perspective) is made. This prediction is also born out since all irrealis clauses (six in the data) have non-past tense form. Below I only show two examples. In the first example, the speaker is reporting that he was afraid to wake up a man who he was sharing a hotel room with.

(31) (Las Vegas)
124 soo de nai to tochuu kaeru to
so COP NEG if in the middle return if

125 yakkosan okosu desho.
guy wake up:NPT right?

124 If not, if I go back in the middle
(of his sleep)
125 I would wake up the guy, right?

Clause 125 in the above example is a consequence clause related

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to a conditional clause 124. That is, 125 is an irrealis clause. In the next example, the speaker had to go to refund her money for the ticket she didn't use. This clause is also irrealis suffixed with a modality auxiliary.

(32) (False ID)
317 genkin ni kae-nakuchanaranai wake.
cash DAT change-AUX:NPT SE

I would have had to change it for cash.

It is concluded that clauses with lower transitivity features such as stativity, negativity,[10] and irrealis mode correlate with the use of nontemporal non-past tense form. This means that clauses with higher transitivity features tends to cause the use of nontemporal past tense form.

It was suggested that higher transitivity means higher degree of information accessibility. Thus a primary perspective clause which has a higher degree of information is marked with a "nontemporal" past tense form in narrative. Transitivity and information accessibility, however, are different in one important respect. The difference appears with internal state predicates. Internal state predicates are lower on the transitivity scale because they are always expressed in a stative predicate, but they show high accessibility if the subject is first person.

This means that an internal state predicate with 1S appears with past tense form even though it is a stative predicate to go against the "stative"-"non-past" pattern. Thus it is not

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surprising to find, though not statistically significant, more than half (29 out of 52) of stative past tense predicates with 1S are internal state predicates.[11] A few typical examples follow.

(33) (Search Light)
22 saachi-raito de teras-areta yoo na
search light INS shine-PSS:PST NML LK

kigashita wake.
feel:PST SE

I felt I was spotted by he search light.

(34) (Bus Accident)
39 hikkurikaette-ru toki ni ne,
tumble-STA when DAT EX

42 a moo dame da to omotta.
oh already no good COP QT think:PST

39 While we were tumbling down
42 I thought this is it.

(35) (Las Vegas)
272 chotto bibitte-ta wake yo.
a little scared-STA:PST SE EX

I was a little scared.

The predicates that appear in the above examples, kigashita 'felt,' omotta 'thought,' and bibitte-ta 'was scared,' are all stative. Nonetheless, they have past tense form, because they exhibit the internal state of the speakers.

To summarize the discussion so far, the motivation for a primary perspective clause to appear in past tense form is related to the transitivity scale proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). Past tense form is inherently associated with higher transitivity. If a situation is of a prototype transitive action, it should include the ultimate cause of the action (i.e.,

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volition). The speaker has an access to his own volition for such an action, thus has a higher information accessibility. This is the motivation for the use of nontemporal past tense form for primary perspective clause. However, although an internal state is lower on transitivity, it is high in information accessibility. That is why an internal state predicate, although expressed in a stative predicate, often appears with past tense.

3. Non-narrative clause and primary perspective

In section 2, I discussed one cause for non-past tense form marking for a clause with 1S as lower accessibility (e.g., negative and irrealis predicates) to the situation expressed in the clause. There is also a different kind of motivation for such a non-canonical pattern for a clause with 1S. The non-canonical pattern appears in a clause which does not narrate but gives meta comments from the speaking time or clauses that aims direct interaction with the hearer. In section 6 I will consider such non-narrative clauses in detail again. Here it is only briefly described.

Tense form in non-narrative clauses is temporal and substitution of non-past tense form with past tense form will result in unacceptability. Non-past tense form is used with 1S because a clause is not within a narrative proper but it appears as a meta comment to the narrative. Three of the examples in my data have an explicit present temporal adverbial, ima 'now.' The next is one such example.

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(36) (False ID)

5 ano ne gakusee-jidai ne,
uhm EX student-time EX

--> 7 a ima mo gakusee na n da kedo.
oh now also student LK SE COP:NPT EX

9 ano: gakubu no gakusee no toki ne,
uhm undergraduate LK student LK time EX

5 uhm when I was a student
7 oh, I'm still a student
9 uhm when I was an undergraduate student

This is the beginning of a narrative and clause 5 sets a temporal framework. (I will come back to how a temporal frame is set in section 6.3.) The speaker notices her statement in line 5 of (36) is problematic since she is still a (graduate) student, and indicates this problem in clause 7. This clause is clearly not a part of the narrative.

Even if there is no present temporal adverb, meta comments from the speaking time are obvious in ten clauses. The following example is typical.

(37) (Air Raid)

kuushuu no koto wa
air raid LK things TOP

mou yoku oboete-masu yo.
EM well remember-STA:POL:NPT EX

I remember the air raid very clearly.

The speaker of (37) gives a meta comment about her memory of the air raid.

In some clauses direct interaction with the interlocutor is intended. I will discuss this type of clause along with others later. Here it suffices to say that such a direct interaction

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clause is marked with a modal such as desho 'right?' This type of clause seeks involvement of the hearer in the interaction. There are three sentences that end with this modal.

To summarize, primary perspective clauses that have first person subject in first person narrative of past experience normally appear with nontemporal past tense form. There are some exceptions to this pattern. However, if each sentence is examined carefully, most of the apparent exceptions can be accounted for. In fact forty one out of forty six apparent exceptions are caused by such factors as lower transitivity clauses, non-narrative clauses, or a combination of these. There are five cases which are not explained by any of these factors. However, I will not attempt any explanation of these five clauses.

4. Infiltration of primary perspective

The canonical pattern for a secondary perspective clause (i.e., with humans other than first person and nonhumans as the subject) is with nontemporal non-past tense form. However there are exceptions to this pattern as observed in Table 1. Causes for these exceptions are of two types. The first type was already mentioned in the discussion of non-canonical patterns for the primary perspective clause. Namely, clauses outside the narrative proper do not allow nontemporal tense forms. This type of clauses will be surveyed in detail in section 6. The second type concerns speaker's perspective. Although a situation that a

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clause describes does not overtly involve a speaker, it can be within the primary perspective. I identify three ways by which primary perspective infiltrates a clause: goal and recipient, a hidden experiencer, and a discoverer.

Below I consider each of these cases and show that they explain most past tense forms used with non-1S which are in the narrative proper.

4.1. Goal and recipient

The first case of perspective infiltration to be examined is a clause with the speaker in non-subject position (e.g., "Bill kicked me"). In this case, the speaker is not just an observer but someone who is affected by the other's action. Thus it is predicted in this case, even though the subject is non-first person, the past tense form will be used.

Since first person is usually ellipted (regardless of its grammatical role), the above hypothesis cannot be tested straightforwardly. However, the hypothesis can be extended to mean that an unexpressed non-subject with the reference to the speaker make a clause into a primary perspective clauses. This can be done by examining the tense form of predicate which necessarily or most likely involves the speaker as someone expressed as non-subject. Predicates of this type include the speaker as a participant in the narrative playing a role of recipient or goal. I will consider all occurrences of the verb of kureru 'to give to me' or -TE kureru, 'to do for me (an

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auxiliary verb construction).' These verbs presuppose the speaker as a recipient of an object or a favor. Another verb to be considered is the verb kuru 'to come' with 3S since it always presupposes the speaker as the goal in Japanese. (Ohye 1975:14, see also the review of Ohye's work in Chapter 2.)

There are only four cases of -TE kureru construction in the data and no independent verbs kureru appear. The distribution of tense forms for -TE kureru is shown in Table 3.

[TABLE 3] Tense Form of -TE kureru Predicate

	PAST	NON-PAST
3S	3	1

The claim cannot be easily justified that -TE kureru is used in the past tense form with 3S, because the number is too small and the two of the three cases of past tense form are outside the narrative proper. Thus, I simply recognize here a potential tendency of past tense form when a 3S has a goal or recipient role with the -TE kureru predicate. A clearer example is given in (38).

(38) (False ID)

64 sorede ne doomo aki ga atte.
and EX anyway emptiness NOM exist:TE

--> 65 nosete-kureru koto ni natta wake.
ride-give NML DAT become:PST SE

64 and anyway there was an empty seat-TE
65 they let me board (the plane).

65 is a type of clause called 'mutative' having the meaning of

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'to become.' In this construction the tense is carried in the mutative verb naru 'to become' since the pre-koto position is not allowed for tense.

There are slightly more data available for the verb kuru. See Table 4.

[TABLE 4] Tense Form with Kuru

	PAST	NON-PAST
1S	8	-
3S	5	2

Not surprisingly all cases of kuru with 1S appear in the past tense form. There are also five cases of this verb appearing in the past tense form even with 3S. (39) is a typical case of 3S with past tense form for the speaker as the goal.

(39) (Language Game)
107 nn gaigodai no
yeah Univ. of Foreign Languages LK

gakusee ga ne chikazuite kita no.
student NOM EX close come:PST SE

107 Yeah a University of Foreign Languages' student approached me.

The past tense form kita is used since this event is described in the primary perspective.

The hypothesis that a predicate which involves the speaker as recipient or goal cannot be strongly supported due to the small number of such predicates.[12] I simply indicate that it is a tendency for the past tense to be used with such predicates.

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In the following two subsections more convincing cases of speaker's covert involvement in situations are examined.

4.2. Experiencer

The speaker might be involved in a situation as an experiencer. When he is involved as an experiencer, the sentence is within the primary perspective and the past tense form is used. In this section adjectival predicates are examined since they are known to have an aspect of subjectivity (Nishio 1972:176), which I consider a case of experiencer involvement.

Adjectives in Japanese are formally distinct from nouns and verbs. They are of two types. The first type, which is called simply "adjective," ends in the vowel /i/ after one of the four vowels, /a/, /i/, /u/, or /o/. Adjectives conjugate for tense and mood. (See, for example, Miller 1967:328-9, Hinds 1986:332-50) The second type is called "nominal adjective" and behaves like a noun in that it is followed by the copula when used as a predicate in a polite style. Nominal adjectives are also like nouns because they do not conjugate. However, they differ from nouns in that as a modifier they are followed by na while a noun as a modifier is followed by no. The distinction between adjectives and nominal adjectives is historical rather than semantic. That is, all nominal adjectives are of foreign origin (mostly Chinese, e.g., rippa 'magnificent' but there are recent borrowing from Western languages - mostly English - such as nau 'fashionable (from the English word now)'. In this section I use

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"adjective" to include both types.

Some adjectives refer to person's (experiencer) feeling or sensation (i.e., internal state predicate). Some adjectives simply describe objects. This difference can be stated in terms of the case frame of an adjective. Internal state adjectives have the experiencer role in the case frame while object-describing adjectives lack it. Some adjectives have more than one case frame with and without the experiencer role. The following chart, modified from Ohye (1975:207), shows different case frames associated with different types of adjectives.[13] After the name of adjective type, the case role and the case particle showing that case are indicated. A case role in parentheses is an optional case. Nominative marking ga with experiencer is sometimes replaced by dative ni when there is also the object role present.

(40) Types of Adjectives

Type A: Experiencer ga
sabishii 'lonely'
nemutai 'sleepy'
samui '(feel) cold'

Type B: Experiencer ga (Object ga)
kanashii 'sad'
kuyashii 'mortifying'
zannen 'regrettable'

Type C: Experiencer ga
Object ga
Experiencer ga Object ga
tsurai '(emotionally) hard'
mabushii 'glaring'
kurushii 'painful'

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Type D: (Experiencer ga) Object ga
omoshiroi 'interesting'
muzukashii 'difficult'
kinodoku 'pitiful'

Type E: Object ga
shikakui 'square'
tsumetai '(something is) cold'
kitanai 'dirty'
choohoo 'useful'

Adjectives of Type A and Type B are internal state predicates. They always include the experiencer role, and, hence, they have primary perspective. Adjectives of Type C and Type D may or may not include an experiencer.

It is very difficult to determine whether or not a particular use of adjectives of Types C or D include the experiencer role because more often than not a noun phrase carrying the experiencer role is not mentioned explicitly in actual discourse. However, in the theory being developed here it can be hypothesized that if an adjective appears in the past tense in a past narrative, it has primary perspective (i.e., involvement of the speaker as the experiencer).

For example, a minimal pair can be constructed as follows.

(41) ano eega wa omoshiroi.
that movie TOP interesting:NPT

That movie is interesting.

(42) ano eega wa omoshirokatta.
interesting:PST

That movie was interesting.

Both (41) and (42) are possible statements to make after seeing a movie. The difference between these statements lies in degree of

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objectivity (or subjectivity) in the statement. While (41) is an objective report made by the speaker who saw the movie, (42) is his subjective opinion about it. To see this difference clearly, consider slightly modified versions of (41) and (42).

(43) Q: kinoo no eega doo datta?
yesterday LK movie how COP:PST

* A-1: boku ni wa omoshiroi yo
I DAT TOP interesting:NPT EX

A-2: boku ni wa omoshirokatta yo
interesting:PST

Q: How was the yesterday's movie?
A: It was interesting for me.

(43 A-1) is not acceptable because a non-past predicate implies an objective statement (i.e., the movie has a quality which appeals to everyone) but the phrase boku ni wa 'for me' (a dative marked experiencer) implies that the quality of "interesting" is limited to the speaker.[14]

Adjectives of Type E do not include the experiencer role. However, as Ohye points out (1975:209), it is difficult to clearly separate Type E adjectives from others.[15] For example, since the adjective tsumetai usually refers to low temperature of object (e.g., biiru wa tsumetai "Beer is cold,"), this is an objective adjective. This adjective contrasts with a subjective adjective of the same meaning (i.e., samui 'feel cold'). To put it differently, objective adjectives cannot have the experiencer role, while subjective adjective can. However, in certain contexts, the objective tsumetai 'cold' can include the experiencer role as in the next example.

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(44) umi no mizu wa boku ni wa tsumetakatta.
sea LK water TOP I DAT TOP cold:PST

The water in the ocean was cold for me.

The experiencer must be the speaker himself. If boku 'I' is replaced by a third person, the sentence becomes unacceptable (as a sentence of "colloquial" language (cf. Chapter 2). Even if there is no overt experiencer coded as dative or nominative the sentence has primary perspective with the past tense form. This means that speaker's subjectivity can infiltrate an adjectival clause even when there is no experiencer role in the case frame and it shows up as the past tense form in a past narrative.

(45) is one example of an adjective which is within primary perspective though the speaker is not coded as a subject.

(45) (East Europe)
366 wain o ... dashite-kureta no.
wine ACC offer-give:PST SE

368 nanka (1.2) h- 'herzdame' tte yuu no kana::
something Herzdame QT say NML MOD

370 lady's heart toka tte yuu no.
or something QT say:NPT SE

371 =wain na no.
wine COP:NPT SE

—> 372 .h 6-#monosugoku-6 oishikatta no ne:,
extremely tasty:PST SE EX

366 (The wife) offered us some wine.
368 It was called something like Herzdame
370 It means something like "lady's heart."
371 It's wine.
--> 372 It was EXTREMELY delicious.

The past tense with 3S of 366 is due to -TE kureru 'do for me' as explained in 5.2. 368 is an example of an interactional

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utterance indicated by modal kana. (This type of sentence is explained later in this chapter.) The tense of 370 and 371 are non-past but could be changed to past, thus it is nontemporal. Now the tense form of the adjective in 372 is past. If the statement is about the quality of the wine in general terms, it can be stated in the non-past tense form. However, as indicated clearly by context and the emphatic lexical item monosugoku 'extremely' and expressive phonology associated with it (indicated here by 6--6 (animated sound) and # (stressed syllable)), this is a statement of subjective opinion.

As line 372 in (45) exemplifies, when the subject is non-human (e.g., 'wine') in adjectival clauses, a statement is usually made from primary perspective. That is, the quality of some non-human object is usually interpreted and expressed as speaker's evaluation of it.

Table 5 summarizes tense forms of adjectives with different subjects.

[TABLE 5] Adjective Tense Forms

	PAST		NON-PAST	
	Generic etc.	Definite	Generic etc.	Definite
1S	-	3	-	1
3S	-	-	-	4
NON-HUMAN	-	18	10	-

This table summarizes tense form patterns of adjective with different types of subjects. As long as the situation to be

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described is a definite event in narrative, the canonical pattern for 1S and 3S are maintained. 1S appears with past tense form three out of four times,[16] and 3S appears with only non-past tense form (four times).

When the subject is non-human, the tense is influenced by the type of situation under description. If a situation is a definite one, the past tense form is used (18 out of 18 times) and if it is a generic one, the non-past tense form is used (ten out of ten times). The use of past tense form for definite situation was due to infiltration of primary perspective as explained with regards to the adjective oishii 'delicious' earlier. Thus Table 6 confirms the affinity of primary perspective and past tense form.

From Table 6 the pattern that adjectives (mostly Types D and E in the present data) in narrative appear in the past tense form even when the subject (the object role in case frame) is non-first person emerges. This is because the perspective of the speaker, who is an experiencer, is hidden in such utterances. It is concluded that past tense form with adjectives for definite situation is a norm with non-human subjects despite the fact that it is against the overall pattern for non-human subject. The reason for this fact is that the speaker is frequently a hidden experiencer in a statement with an adjective predicate.

4.3. Discovery

A slightly more subtle involvement of speaker's primary

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perspective is observed when an utterance communicates the speaker's discovery of a situation. To report a situation in which a speaker discovers something, two options are available. One is to use an explicit verb of discovery (e.g.,mitsukeru 'find') and the other is to simply state the existence of an object. In both options the speaker is the discover and the clause has primary perspective.

Observe in the next example the past tense form is used for the verb of existence ita despite the fact it has the third person subject.

(46) (Drowning)
45 nde: sorede: mo hontoni oboreru ka to omotte ne
and then EM really drowned QT QT think:TE EX

47 awatete ne
panic:TE EX

48 yoko ni ne konnani ookina ne
side LOC EX such big EX

--> futotta obasan ga ita no
fat lady NOM exist:PST SE

45 and then I thought I was going to be drowned
47 panicked
-> 48 there was this big, fat lady at the side.

The speaker of (46) thought that she was going to be drowned (line 45) and panicked (line 47), then next thing she did is to realize that there was a big lady close to her in the water (line 48). Thus in such a case a speaker is involved as an experiencer which is not coded structurally in the clause, but shows up in past tense form.

This is also related to the use of nontemporal past tense

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forms used to refer to present and future events discussed in 7.1 in this chapter. A person who has been looking for a misplaced book will utter atta "exist:PST". This past form is not a temporal marker. Past form is used because the speaker is involved as an experiencer.

Again in "discovery" situations the speaker lurks in the situation which gives a clause primary perspective and consequently marks it with past tense.

To summarize this section, a primary perspective clause can be identified by its first person subject. However, a speaker can be involved in a situation more indirectly as recipient, goal, experiencer or discover.

5. Two types of primary perspective clauses

In the preceding sections it was shown that a clause with a non-first person subject is marked in the past tense because it has primary perspective due to speaker's covert involvement in a situation. This fact forces us to complicate the notion of speaker's perspective further.

Within primary perspective, there are two types of clause representing two types of consciousness. Clauses of one type within primary perspective refer to situations in which the speaker is willfully, consciously involved (e.g., "I wrote a letter"). Clauses of the other type, on the other hand, simply indicate what the speaker experienced. For example, the sentence, "There was a house," indicates speaker's experience of

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recognizing the existence of the object "house."

Simple indication of speaker's experience is a linguistic approximation of "nonreflective (or spontaneous) consciousness" discussed in Banfield (1982). Nonreflective consciousness is a kind of consciousness which one is not actively aware of when he experiences it, or which is "not equivalent to full consciousness, (or) to thinking" (p.197). Banfield cites Russell's (1940) example of nonreflective consciousness (pp. 197-8): A person is walking on the street on a rainy day, and he suddenly stops and steps aside to avoid a puddle. This course of action is initiated because he sees the puddle. Seeing a puddle constitutes nonreflective consciousness. He can explain verbally this nonreflective consciousness if someone asks him. Recognition of the puddle is not full consciousness at the time of perception but nevertheless is something that he can verbalize if required.

In Japanese, expressions involving nonreflective consciousness usually take non-human subjects unlike English. Compare the Japanese sentences below with their English equivalents.

(47) ongaku ga kikoeru.
music NOM hear:NPT — I hear music.

(48) yama ga mieru
mountain NOM see:NPT — I see a mountain.

(49) nioi ga suru
smell NOM do:NPT — I smell (something).

These Japanese expressions of nonreflective consciousness are

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within primary perspective though they have non-human subjects.

In sum, there are two types of perspective; primary and secondary. Within primary perspective there are two types of clauses which express reflective and nonreflective consciousness.

6. Prohibition of tense form alternation

In section 3, I briefly mentioned non-narrative clauses which cause non-canonical patterns of tense form variation in narrative. In this section, more comprehensive discussion of factors which prohibit tense form alternation is presented. Non-narrative clauses, i.e., interactional and commentary clauses are reviewed first and then another non-narrative clause, i.e., the generic clause, is explained. Finally two types of narrative clauses which do not allow tense form alternation are discussed.

6.1. Interactional and commentary clauses

Even in a solicited narrative, people (e.g., interviewer and interviewee) constantly interact with each other, sometimes overtly. Since an utterance used in this way is only relevant to the moment of speech and completely outside the narration, tense alternation is not a possibility.

(50) (Bus Accident)

43 H: dooshite ikite-rareta no.
how alive-POT:PST SE

45 W: ==wakan-nai.
know-NEG:NPT

43: H: How could you survive?
45: W: I don't know.

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The past tense form of 43 in (49) above (an interviewer's utterance) functions to refer to the time of a bus accident (a temporal function), and the present tense form of 45 (an interviewee's reaction) refers to the present moment (also a temporal function)[17] Also consider the next exchange.

```
    (51)                                (Day After)
--> 355 hen     na  koto  yuu     kedo
        strange LK  thing say:NPT EX

    356 mae   no ke   mo   nanni   mo   nai
        front LK hair also nothing also exist:NEG:NPT

        no ne
        SE EX

     ->  355  Sorry to say such a thing but
         356  there's not even pubic hair.

    (52)                                (Father's Death)
    56  chotto   fushigi na koto  ga  atta-n
        a little strange LK thing NOM exist:PST-SE

        desu kedo
        COP  but

--> 57  yo< yoroshii desu ka.
            alright  COP  Q

         56  There was this spooky thing.
      -> 57  Is it ok (to talk about it)?
```

355 of (51) and 57 of (52) are meta comments about the speaker's own speech, something completely outside of the story. Tense form must be used as a temporal marker regardless the subject of a clause.

Tense form is used deictically with respect to the speech time in the clauses which intends direct communication with an interlocutor and that which gives meta comment. Some of the uses of past tense form with non-first person subject observed in

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TABLE 1 in section 1 are of this type.

6.2. Generic statements

True generic statements do not allow tense alternation either. A generic statement is either truly generic (e.g. "The earth is round.") or generic within, for example, a certain time range (e.g., "The Emperor was a god (during the war).") While tense alternation is possible for the latter kind of generic statement, which I call limited generic, it's not possible for a true generic statement. (53) is an example of true generic statement.

(53) (Air Raid)
105 kotchi kara hi ga kuru-n dattara
this way from fire NOM come-SE COP:TARA

107 kotchi e niger-eba
this way LOC escape-CND

--> 109 raku desho?
easy:NPT MOD

105 If the fire comes from this way,
107 if you escape this (=opposite) way
-> 109 it's easier, right?

It is universally true that it is easier to escape in the opposite direction from an approaching fire (rather than escaping through the fire). Since 109 is truly generic, tense alternation is not possible. Since tense form in true generic statements is timeless, i.e., it does not contrast with the past, tense form alternation is not possible.

However, in limited generic statements, the alternation is possible. Limited generic is a statement which is or was held to

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be true within a limited temporal, geographical, or cultural setting. Of course, these two kinds of generic statement are just approximations of a variety of utterances found in the data and should be considered as two points on a scale of shared knowledge.

In order to demonstrate degrees of genericness, two components of information should be recognized: one is the nature of the information itself (a piece of information may be within the speaker's territory (Kamio 1979, 1986, see also the discussion about this concept in Chapter 1) or in the public domain), and the other is the speaker's understanding of his interlocutor's knowledge about the information. A true generic is a case of public domain information which a speaker assumes is in the hearer's knowledge system; it must have a eternal validity. (e.g., "The sun is round.")[18] At the opposite end, there is a personal information which in no way can be accessed by the others. (i.e., internal state such as "I am hungry.") A limited generic information is in the public domain but the speaker doubts that it is in the interlocutor's knowledge system because they do not share the crucial temporal, geographical, or cultural background.[19] If it is temporally limited, i.e., a generally accepted truth during a certain limited period of time, a tense form becomes variable but is usually stated in the past. (Thus some uses of past tense with non-first person subject are of the limited generic type.) If geographically limited, a non-

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past form is used.

It is interesting to compare two narratives in the data in this regard. One is the narrative called EAST EUROPE, which is an account of the speaker's travel in East Europe with her husband, and the other is AIR RAID, which is an account of air raid during World War II in Japan. There is a geographical gap between the first story and the hearer and a temporal one between the second story and the hearer. In EAST EUROPE there are four independent clauses with a generic subject, of which one is truly generic and marked with a non-past tense form (clause 67). In the other three, though they are limited generics, the tense forms are also non-past (clauses 166, 171, and 183). On the other hand, in the story of AIR RAID three temporally limited generics have past tense marking (clauses 61, 130, and 159) and one true generic has non-past (i.e., (53) above). This explains partially (5 out of 88 cases) why some non-first person subjects are marked with a past tense form although usually they are associated with a non-past form.

True generic statement clauses do not allow tense alternation and must be stated in the non-past tense form. This type of clause, along with interactional clauses and meta-comment clauses are not in the narrative proper. The next two subsections will examine some narrative clauses which do not allow tense alternation.

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6.3. Scene setting utterances

In an utterance of scene setting, which is called "orientation" in the Labovian narrative analysis, a speaker sets a temporal and locational framework before he starts a narration. In a scene setting clause, tense form is used as a temporal marker and tense form alternation is not allowed.

Typical scene setting is observed in the next example.

(54) (London)
9 ototoshi no natsu igirisu ni ni-kagetsu
2-years-ago LK summer England LOC 2-month

.h itta-n desu kedo
go:PST-SE COP EX

I went to England for two months two summers ago.

The temporal adverbial phrase ototoshi no natsu 'two summers ago' sets the temporal framework. The past form itta 'went' indeed positions the narrative as prior to the speech time. Thus the use of this verb form marking is regulated by the deictic-temporal tense system. In a scene setting clause tense form is always past.

Since nine narratives out of the sixteen under investigation here are parts of larger conversations or interviews, the exact scene setting utterances are sometimes not easily isolated. However one common feature is generally seen when such utterances can be isolated. That is, a word or phrase which specifically refers to a particular point in time; "two summers ago" in one case (see (54) above) and "when" phrase/clauses in four cases (see (55) through (59)) are used.

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(55) (Air Raid)
18 son toki watashi wa ne.
that time I TOP EX

21 n hatachi deshita ne,
yeah 20 years old COP:PST EX

18 At that time
21 yeah I was 20 years old.

(56) (Day After)
11 ... ano: kita-senji ni ita no
uhm North Senju LOC exist:PST SE

13 sono ... toki wa ne?
that time TOP EX

11 ... uhm I was in North Senju
13 at that time.

(57) (Drowning)
22 de soko de chiisai toki:
and there LOC small time

23 ryooshin ni tsurer-arete itta-n da kedo
parents by take-PSS:TE go:PST-SE COP EX

22 and there, when I was small
23 I went there with my parents.

(58) (Language Game)
6 kore boku amerika ni ita toki.
this I America LOC stay:PST time

8 daigaku o sotsugyoo-shite ichi-nenkan
college ACC graduate:TE one-year

nyuuyooku de hataraite-ita no ne.
New York LOC work-STA:PST SE EX

6 this is when I was in America.
8 I worked for one year in New York after I graduated college.

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(59) (Bus Accident)
11 noosu-karoraina karoraina ni iru toki nee.
North Carolina Carolina LOC stay time EX

13 sugoku chiisana gakkoo datta no.
very small school COP:PST SE

11 When I was in North Carolina
13 it was a very small school.

When a temporal deictic adverbial phrase or clause is indicated, the form of a verb which appears in the same or immediately following clause must be a past form. Thus an utterance which contains or follows immediately a word, phrase or clause of temporal deixis is also temporal-deictic. Thus even when the subject is not the first person as in line 13 of (59), the tense form is past, contrary to the usual pattern.

6.4. Flashback

A clause describing a situation in a narrative which interrupts a sequence of situations in temporal order must be expressed with a past tense form and cannot be changed with a non-past tense form. This type of clause is called "flashback" and the past tense form used in it locates a situation earlier than another situation. Unlike tense in interactional, commentary or scene setting which anchors with the speech time, tense in a flashback clause is temporal with respect to other situation(s) in narrative.

When a temporal frame is shifted to the point earlier than the current event time, the new temporal frame might terminate in just one clause or it might continue for a while and return back

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to the point from which the flashback started. (60) below is such an example.[20]

(60) (East Europe)

203 dakara .h (0.8) dooshite tome-chaikenai no ka
so why stop-cannot NML QT

zenzen wakara-nai wake.
at all understand-NEG:NPT SE

205 atashitachi.
we

--> 206 de (1.5) ano: (1.2) sono: okane harau toki ni ne
and uhm uhm money pay time at

208 sono monban mitai na hito ga ite
that gate keeper seem LK person NOM exist:TE

210 .h doko de-mo ii tte itta wake.
where even good QT say:PST SE

211 =dakara tometa wake desho,
so stop:PST SE MOD

--> 212 de jurek nanka (a)no hit· ki-ga-mijikai kara
and Jurek EM that person short-tempered so

214 ano okori-dashita wake.
uhm get mad-start:PST SE

215 dooshite na-n da tte.
why LK-SE COP QT

203 So we couldn't understand why we couldn't
park there,
205 we (couldn't.)
-> 206 When we had paid the money
208 there was a person who looked like a gate
keeper, and
210 he said any place would be fine.
211 So we parked there, right?
-> 212 and Jurek, since he is short-tempered,
214 started to get mad,
215 saying "Why?".

Up to 205 the scene was at the camp site which the speaker and her husband had selected to stay overnight. They were having an

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argument with East Germans who told them that they could not camp out there. In 206 with a "when" clause the temporal frame is moved backward and the flashback sequence begins. The flashback takes four clauses and the original narrative temporal frame is resumed in 212. Notice that the tense of the finite verb forms in 210 and 211 is past in both cases, even with a third person subject (210).

To summarize, tense form alternation is not possible when it has a temporal function, as in cases of interactional and commentary utterances, or scene setting. Also tense form alternation is not possible when the tense form locates a situation with respect to another in narrative in flashback clauses. These two factors explain why some non-first person subjects appear with past tense forms although the usual tense form in narrative for such subjects is non-past.

The discussion so far has identified temporal and nontemporal uses of tense forms. Incorporating the nontemporal use, many aspects of particular functions of tense forms are explainable. In the first part of the next section, some special uses of tense forms are considered and are given an explanation from the theory of speaker's perspective. These uses have been discussed extensively in the literature, but no unified theory has been offered yet. In the second part, the nontemporal use of tense form in discourse (or historical present) is discussed. In particular, the "vividness" interpretation of historical present is explained from the speaker's perspective.

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7. Nontemporal use of tense form

Investigation of the tense form alternation in the data shows clearly that tense forms have both temporal and nontemporal functions. Teramura (1984) surveys the literature on Japanese tense form and identifies three interpretations of tense form: tense, aspect and modality. Temporal function is regulated by the system of either tense or aspect and nontemporal function is regulated by the system of modality.[21]

However, since most research on the tense in the past do not clearly recognize the nontemporal use of tense forms, description of tense is usually confusing or ad hoc. In this section I try to explicate problematic uses of tense form from the point of view of the theory of speaker's perspective at the levels of sentence and discourse.

7.1. Sentence level

In many studies of Japanese tense and aspect, researchers find it challenging to make sense of some apparently deviant uses of tense forms: the non-past forms used to refer to the past time event and the past forms used to refer to the present or future time event.

I present here two opposing views on the interpretations of these types of sentences. I will characterize these two views as the "absolute tense model" and the "relative tense model," respectively. The difference between these two views lies in the treatment of the speech time (S). Following Reichenbach (1947),

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three points on the temporal axis are assumed. Speech time (S) refers to the moment of speaking. Event time (E) is established in relation to other events (or "situations"). Reference time (R) is the point from which a situation is viewed. These three points are independent of each other but sometimes two or all three temporal points overlap.

The absolute tense system locates E in relation to S while the relative tense system locates E in relation to R. I will consider first the situation where the non-past form refers to a past event. (Made up) utterances in (61) through (63) below are expressions of complaint about the situations which has just happened. For example, right before the utterance of (61) the other party said something unacceptable to the speaker. Thus yuu 'say:NPT' refer to the past event in a strict sense.

(61) (from Soga 1983:48)
nani o yuu ka!
what ACC say:NPT Q

What are you talking about!

(62) nante koto o suru-n da.
what thing ACC do:NPT-SE COP

What a terrible thing you just did!

(63) (from Matsumoto 1985:93)
omae wa ore no tsuma ni nan-to-iu koto o
you TOP I LK wife DAT what thing ACC

yuu ka!
say:NPT Q

What sort of thing do/did you say
to my wife!

In the absolute tense model, this use of the non-past form has

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been explained, for example, as follows: "to bring the past effectively to the present moment so that the hearer or reader can re-experience that past event" (Soga 1983:46). This kind of explanation is defective at least in three ways. First, as Kuno (1973a) has shown, the present tense form of non-stative verb refers to, not present, but future, i.e., those verbs used in the above examples (e.g., yuu 'say' and suru 'do') usually means 'will say' and 'will do,' respectively. That is, the use of the present tense form does not bring the past event to the present moment but rather to the future, strictly speaking. Second, such a statement by Soga does not explain when this type of sentence is used. Third, it doesn't explain the asymmetry between 1S and non-1S in the type of sentences shown above. For this last point, it will be noted that it is impossible to interpret the ellipted subject in (61) and (62) as first person.

For the relative tense model, the first objection raised in the above paragraph is not problematic since it claims that non-past tense indicates the simultaneity of E and R and it does not have to move S to E or E to S. For the second objection posited, it claims that this type of utterance only appears when the context makes it clear that E took place in the past. Under such a condition, the speaker can indicate that:

> his reference R is the time when the situation E .. took place. This will convey the speaker's feeling of immediacy. (Matsumoto 1985:94)

However, there still is no answer to the question of why the

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speaker cannot express the same immediate feeling about his own action, as the third objection indicates.

The speaker's perspective (or information accessibility) model claims that this use of a non-past form is not used as a temporal marker at all because the temporal framework is unambiguously set (as Matsumoto claims). The function of tense form in this situation is to shape a predicate. The non-past tense form is selected in (50) through (52) because of the non-first person subject. A past tense form will be selected if the subject is 1S (i.e., primary perspective). Thus reflecting on what he has just said, the speaker must say:

(64) hidoi koto o itta ne.
terrible thing ACC say:PST EX

What a terrible thing I just said.

But he cannot say:

(65) * hidoi koto o yuu ne.[22]
say:NPT

The past form sometimes seems to refer to the present as shown in the following examples.

(66) wakatta.
understand:PST I understand.

(67) aa nodo ga kawaita.
oh throat NOM dry up:PST I am thirsty.

Soga only points out that these sentences convey "hot news" (p. 59) but does not give an account from the absolute tense model. It is important to note that this type of sentence must have 1S if the predicate refers to internal mental, emotional, or physical state. If (66) or (67) were about a third person, the

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sentences would require some evidential markers as discussed before. Matsumoto does not consider these types of examples in his relative tense model.

Finally the case where the past form refers to the future is considered.

(68) (Nakau 1976:471)
(yatto) basu ga kita.
finally bus NOM come:PST

The bus has come after all!

(69) (Matsumoto 1985:97)
kondo no shiai wa katta!
next LK game TOP win:PST

We'll win the next match.

(70) (Matsumoto 1985:98)
ashita kaigi ga atta!
tomorrow meeting NOM exist:PST

There's a meeting tomorrow!

Soga labels sentences like (68) "future completed state" and comments that "(t)he -ta form [our past form - SI] may be used to express the future completed state which will definitely occur in the immediate future" (p.65). Matsumoto, assigning a sentence such as (69) the interpretation of "anticipated action," argues, however, that the event does not have to happen in the "immediate" future. He further says: "(The relative tense) would locate the reference time R .. at the future time from which the event is viewed as anterior" (p.97) What both theories lack is the recognition of information accessibility features.

In the present framework, the 1S, or the primary

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perspective, is responsible for attracting the past form on the predicate. (68) is possible only when the speaker makes an observation through the most immediate sensory perception (i.e., visual, auditory, or olfactory). Sentence (69) is only possible when the speaker is predicting the (hopeful) victory of his own team or the team that he feels he is affiliated with. Thus if one is a Dodgers fan, he can predict a Dodgers' victory in the next game with the Padres. But the same individual cannot use (69) to foretell the Padres' victory. Our model can easily make sense of what I have just described about the use of past form for the future time. It can also treat (65) in exactly the same way. The speaker must have direct access to the information conveyed in the clause. Notice that except for (69), all the examples from (66) through (70) have one common characteristic of "discovery." In other words, the speaker is an experiencer of discovering a situation or fact and thus is warranted a direct access to the information. Exactly the same pattern in the real data has been already observed in section 4.4.

Seen in terms of nontemporal interpretation, all cases of atypical uses of tense forms discussed in this section are explained. However, if temporal interpretations is imposed, (70), for example, is not accounted for, since it does not express some putative future completed action. Therefore both Soga and Matsumoto have to resort to a very unattractive ad hoc solution.[23]

To summarize, I have argued that it is not reasonable to

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treat the noncanonical uses of tense forms in the system of deictic tense. Recognizing nontemporal use of tense forms will show a way to understand these apparent deviant uses. I claimed that a nontemporal tense form is a result of high information accessibility. This claim commits me to a rejection of a so-called historical present interpretation of non-past tense form use in narrative. The next few subsections will be devoted to this topic.

7.2 Discourse level

I have argued that tense forms in Japanese spoken narrative can lose their temporal function. Though this is similar to the phenomenon called "historical present" in English, they are not equivalent to each other. I will clarify the deference between the two systems in this section.

The use of present tense forms in reference to past situations in English is traditionally called the "historical present" or "historic present." The historical present (HP henceforth) appears both in written and spoken discourse and is evidenced across time and across languages. (See Jespersen 1929, Fleischman 1986 for example.) A standard interpretation of the HP is its "vividness effect"; a speaker "forgets all about time and imagines, or recalls, what he is recounting, as vividly as if it were now present before his eyes (Jespersen 1929:19).

However, the fact that in narratives about past events the past tense form also appears besides the HP leads some

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researchers to consider a more dynamic interpretation of the HP. Joos (1964:131) points out that what distinguishes a narrative with the HP from a running comment on the event unfolding before the speaker's eyes is the mixture of the HP with the past tense form in a narrative text. Wolfson (1978, Wolfson 1979) emphasizes the coexistence of the HP and the past tense form in conversational narrative and argues that it is the switch between the two tense forms rather than the HP itself that is significant. The switch occurs, either from the past to the HP or vice versa, when there is a partition between important events in the story (1978:220).

Wolfson's conclusion about the nonsignificance of the direction of the tense form shift is a great challenge to the traditional understanding of the HP since in her system an important event might be reported in the past rather than the HP, which is supposed to make the report more vivid. Schiffrin (1981), working in the Labovian framework of narrative analysis, agrees with Wolfson about the tense switch coinciding with an event break but maintains that it is the HP that reports a significant event in a narrative. She thus considers the HP as an internal evaluation device. (See alsc Silva-Corvalan 1983). Schiffrin provides statistics showing that the progressive form is used more frequently than the non-progressive among action verbs in "restricted"[24] clauses to support her claim. She argues that since in regular use a progressive form of an action verb

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includes the time of speaking but a non-progressive form doesn't, the progressive form conveys more vividness, and that by analogy progressive forms, which usually appears in present tense in narratives convey more vividness.

There are two points that must be clarified before Schiffrin's claim can be accepted. First, she considered only action verbs in restrictive clauses. It is possible that she has used as a defining factor the semantics of progressive to classify certain clauses as "restrictive" clauses. If this is the case, it is not surprising to find many progressive forms in such clauses. Second, if it is true that the progressive form of the HP conveys vividness, then the progressive aspect, not the present tense per se, might be responsible for creating the effect.[25]

Wolfson stresses this point and says that present tense in English is timeless and does not create vividness because it could refer to the future ("Sally leaves for Chicago tomorrow") or past ("I was driving down town yesterday and all of a sudden this woman starts blowing her horn at me")[26] as well as the present. I will later modify this view in two ways in the discussion of Japanese tense forms.

7.2.1. Present tense form used in spoken narratives

The preceding section outlined the use of the HP in English narratives. Some of the points discussed are a) it is the switch between the HP and the past tense that is

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significant rather than the HP itself, b) a tense switch appears at a break between narrative events, and c) a tense switch can appear only in complicating action sections (as defined by Labov and Waletzky) but not in the orientation or external evaluation sections. The purpose of this subsection is to characterize Japanese tense form variation by comparing it with English HP.

As a take-off point, the use of present tense form in Japanese spoken narrative is compared with the features of the HP found in English conversational narratives. The first point about the significance of the tense switch is true in Japanese spoken narratives. If a narrative is about a sequence of non-generic, definite events in which the speaker is involved, it contains both non-past and past tense forms.[27]

The second point about the English HP is its occurrence at the break point in events. This is not observed in Japanese because, as will be discussed in the next chapter on switch reference, in Japanese the finite form itself (regardless of the tense) marks the break in events and the tense form is determined independently of this consideration.[28]

The third point, that tense switch only appears in complicating action, is motivated by the fact that in complicating action clauses, "tense is freed from its main job of providing a reference time" (Schiffrin 1981:51). Since the present thesis has not adopting the Labovian tradition a direct comparison is not possible. However, it is true in Japanese also that tense forms are allowed to function differently from its

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basic deictic function when the narrative tense is clearly set.

To summarize, although both in English and Japanese narratives the switch between the tense forms, rather than the non-past tense form alone, is significant and the unambiguous temporal frame of the story is necessary to make the switch possible, the regulating or motivating factors differ in the two languages. In English, the tense switch is motivated by the organization of narrative (i.e., the tense switch punctuates event breaks), while in Japanese the switch is motivated by the consideration of the speaker's perspective, which reflects information accessibility. This different function of Japanese tense is discussed and identified as representing the speaker's, writer's or main character's "inner world" and "inner thought" in Brannen (1979) and Kuno (1981).[29]

7.2.2. Vividness and tense form

In traditional analyses of the HP in narratives, the feature "vividness" is always discussed and has been thought to be a major cause of the use of HP. (e.g., Curme 1931, Jespersen 1929, Palmer 1965, Quirk et. al. 1985) As seen in 7.2, Wolfson (1979) recently challenges the association of "vividness" with present tense form. She points out "the present tense is not used to refer to present moment action" (p.180) and also "much of the important action is recounted in the past tense" (p.172).

In the field of Japanese linguistics, there are also two

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opposing views. Soga (1985) claims that in the narrative "foreground" (as defined by Hopper (1979) and Hopper and Thompson (1980)) the past tense forms are used, but for the purpose of "vividness" the non-past form may appear. His observation is made according to a very limited (as Soga himself admits) data base (five very short excerpts from literary narratives by four different writers). Makino (1981b) dismisses the "vividness" feature associated with the non-past form since in his study of 20 different versions of the Cinderella story written in Japanese, he found the non-past tense form is used for some events which are not dramatic and the past tense form is used for some very dramatic events. I will come back to this controversy and show that these opposing views are not contradictory.

Admittedly, to decide what is dramatic or what is vivid calls for subjective decisions. In Soga (1985) and Makino (1981) the decision is made by the researchers themselves. Although relying on the linguists' own intuition is a legitimate procedure to probe certain linguistic phenomenon to a certain extent, it becomes less reliable when a discourse phenomenon is examined since there are many factors that will influence judgments.

To overcome this difficulty, Szatrowski (1985a, 1985b) proposes a methodology which indirectly captures native speakers' intuition. She concludes that on the average the non-past tense form of a verb (but not that of nominal predicate) heightens "vividness" in spoken discourse but also points out that the

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degree of vividness-heightening varies from clause to clause. The most important observation she makes in the context of the present study is, however, the fact that the non-past tense form heightens vividness for a clause with the 1S while the past tense form assumes the same effect for a clause with 3S. I will outline her study in what follows and show how her findings will lead to my conclusion about a vividness interpretation of certain clauses. My proposal is: "vividness" is not a feature associated with the non-past tense form per se, but is a feature created by an unexpected use of tense forms. If a past tense form is used where a non-past tense form is expected, this form gives an impression of vividness, and vice versa.

Szatrowski (1985a, 1985b) used two conversational narratives (of 128 clauses and 98 clauses, respectively) as the data base for her study. From each taped conversation, two modified audio replicas were constructed; in one replica all the non-past tense forms were changed to past tense forms whenever possible,[30] and in the other all past forms were changed to non-past whenever possible. Then she selected different features that might be relevant to the choice of tense forms such as "vividness, narrator's experience, narrative events, generality, characterization (of participants), emotion" and a few others.[31]

She then played each version of narrative to a different class of university students and asked them to mark on a written transcript the presence or absence of each feature in all the clauses as they listened to the tape. A total of 199 students

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participated in this survey. The advantage of this method, she claims, is that:

> (S)tudents' attention was not drawn to the particular tense-aspect forms used in the clauses. They were not directed to associate the features studied with the tense-aspect forms used. Rather, they were asked to consider the conversation as a whole and judge in terms of the clausal units as given in the transcript. (1985a:133)

She compares the average ratings of each feature in three different versions of a conversation with respect to tense forms and presents statistical result for each feature. As for the feature vividness, she reports the following. The non-past tense form heightens the vividness rating in a clause with a verbal predicate but the past tense form heightens the rating in a clause with a nominal predicate. Similarly the non-past tense form heightens the vividness in a clause with 1S, while the past tense form heightens it in a clause with 3S. Thus in some instances past tense form causes the "vividness" interpretation. However, on the average, she concludes, the non-past tense form rather than the past tense form heightens vividness. She also finds that clauses with TE, a tenseless predicate form, are rated high for the vividness feature. This suggests that vividness is not solely determined by the use of particular tense form.

She also observes that tense forms are sometimes used as a device for participant tracking, based on the fact that in one of the conversations, the past tense form is associated with 1S and the non-past tense form with 3S. In fact, as has been seen in

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the much larger data base used in the present study, most finite clauses with 1S end in the past tense form and most clauses with 3S end in the non-past tense form. However, the "participant tracking" explanation does not explain why 1S is associated with PST and 3S with NPT. Thus I refute the participant tracking interpretation and maintain that speaker's perspective is responsible for the tense form distribution.

Szatrowski (1985a:175) also tries to explain the tense form distribution in terms of evidentiality. She finds that when the subject is 3P the past tense form is associated with the high rating of two features; the "speaker's experience" and "vividness." This means that the past tense form heightens "vividness" when the speaker has direct evidence for third person's actions. However, this is not easily accepted since it is assumed that a speaker has more evidence for his own action than others'. It is difficult to explain why the past tense does not heightens vividness in a clause with 1S. Szatrowski suggests that the Japanese word rinjoo-kan, an equivalent of "vividness," used in the survey, is responsible for this skewed behavior of past tense form effect for different subjects. The word rinjoo-kan involves visual perception and since it is not possible to view oneself as an external object, it is not possible to assign vividness for oneself as the same way one does to other people.

Notice that my assumption is diametrically opposed to her view. While Szatrowski says that a speaker cannot have access to his own action because he cannot see himself as an outside

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object, I maintain that the speaker has a higher degree of accessibility to his own action, perception, and cognition than for any one else's. This seems the most fundamental fact about evidentiality. That is why there is an obligatory use of indirect expressions of internal state for 3S, for example.

I claim that the reason why the past tense form heightens vividness in a clause with 3S is because it is the marked form for this type of subject, since such a clause is usually associated with a non-past tense form. Then it is natural to expect that it is the non-past tense form which heightens vividness in a clause with the 1S. This is exactly what Szatrowski finds.

> RU [our non-past tense form - SI] tended to heighten the vividness rating of clauses which related to the speaker and the group she identified with... (F)or clauses referring to the speaker's father, TA [our past tense form - SI] heightened the effect of vividness more than RU. (Szatrowski 1985a:112)

Now the two opposing views represented by Soga (1985) and Makino (1981) can be reconciled. Soga, analyzing third person narratives, says intuitively that the non-past tense form is used to indicate vividness. Because the subject of a foreground clause in third person narratives (i.e., a third person main character) is usually equivalent to 1S of first person narratives. Thus clauses containing the main character in third person narratives should behave similar to those with 1S in first person narratives. Thus the normal tense form for clauses with main character is past, therefore the non-past tense form will

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create the impression of vividness. Yet, as Makino finds, such a clause can keep the normal tense form and still be felt as having vividness. This is possible because, as Szatrowski's finding suggests, tense form is not the only feature that can bring about vividness although it is not clear what other factors are.

To summarize the discussion, I rejected the HP interpretation for Japanese non-past tense form that appears in spoken narrative. The traditional theory of HP would suggest that all the uses of non-past tense form will create "vividness." This is not the case as Szatrowski's data shows. I claimed that the "vividness" effect is created by the use of marked tense forms, which I have identified as noncanonical patterns for 1S and 3S. Thus in order to understand both tense form distribution and the vividness effect, speaker's perspective and information accessibility are crucial concepts.

8. Nontemporal use of tense form and the structure of clause

As mentioned in the preceding section, in the literature on tense form variation in narrative, it is always assumed, implicitly or explicitly, that alternation of tense forms does not affect the temporal semantic interpretation of events involved. Wolfson (1979:170) considers this the most important characteristic feature of the historical present in English.

Also it is noted that Szatrowski (1985a, 1985b) assumes tense form alternation without semantic change is possible in conversational narratives in Japanese and makes use of this fact

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in her experimental design. In her experiment she changed some non-past forms to past tense forms, and some past to non-past, to make comparison of effects that each form brings about with respect to different features such as "vividness" and "speaker's experience." She notices not all tense forms in narrative can undergo tense form change. That is, a narrative contains a mixture of clauses, those which allow tense form alternation and those which don't.

Based on this observation, the condition of tense form alternation is made explicit; Tense form alternation is possible when the tense form is used nontemporally." In sections 3 and 5, it was pointed out that non-narrative clauses and some narrative clauses do not allow tense form variation because the tense form in this type of clauses is temporally deictic or temporally related to other situations in narrative. Only in a limited type of narrative clauses is the tense form alternation is possible.

This section further examines exactly where in a narrative clause the nontemporal tense form appears. Most utterances in spoken narrative consist of two different kind of material, which can be termed the "propositional (or narrative) component" and the "interactional component."[32]

Sometimes, though not frequently, there appears an utterance which consists of just one of the two components. I will show these uni-component utterances first. Clause 172 of (71) is an example of an utterance which has only an "interactional

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component." (72) consists of only a "propositional component."

```
    (71)                              (Day After)
    171 I: 5-makkuro-5 .. ne
             jet-black    EX

--> 172 A: ##ne
             EX

         171 I: (They were) all jet black.
         172 A: Indeed!

    (72)                              (Day After)
--> 134  .h shibafu no: tokoro ni  narabete-ta.
           grass   LK  place  LOC line up-STA:PST

         134 (The soldiers) lined up (the corpses)
             on the grass.
```

Speaker I in (71) says that the faces and bodies of all the people on the street were covered by the black soot the day after the severe bombing in Tokyo during the war. Speaker A, then, emphatically agrees with this statement. Sentence ending particle ne is glossed usually appears after a phrase but here it is the sole component of the utterance, and it communicates the speaker's interactional intent of agreeing.

Contrasting with this utterance, clause 134 of (72) merely describes an event witnessed when the speaker was walking through the bombed site in the same story as (71) without explicit word of interaction.

However, examples such as (71) and (72) are rather rare in the present data. Most clauses contain both components of proposition (i.e., narrated situation) and interaction. For example, observe (73) below.

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(73) (Las Vegas)
64 sorede sono tomokaku mukoo tsuita deshoo,
and INJ anyway there arrive:PST MOD

64 and anyway we arrived there, right?

Notice the mixture of components in (73). After the connective word, sorede 'and' and a hesitation sono 'uhm,' the clause tomokaku mukoo tsuita 'anyway we arrived there' tells a part of the story, hence a propositional component. The final element deshoo 'right?' is a marker of interaction which intends to involve the listener in the speech exchange.

The more usual type of mixture of two different modes in a clause can be seen in utterances consisting of a sentence extension (SE) followed by copula. The verb form before SE must be the finite form. Schematically;

(74) ..... FINITE FORM] - SE - COPULA]

There are several different sentence extensions, but no (or its attenuated form n) and wake appear most frequently in the present data base. Some examples with wake (75) and n ((76) and (77)) follow.

(75) (Father's Death)
115 sono yon-mai totta wake desu yo ne.
INJ 4-CLS take:PST SE COP EX EX

115 and I took four pictures.

(76) (Bombing)
20 soko orita toko n kaisha
there get off place LK company

tsutometa-n desu yo.
work:PST-SE COP EX

20 I worked for a company located near (the station).

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(77) (No Way Out)

170 ak-anai-n desu yo ne,
open-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX EX

170 It (=the window) wouldn't open, you see.

Since all sentence extensions (SE) are formally nouns, structurally these are nominalized sentences and are usually given a translation of "It is that ... " (Kuno 1973a:221-32).[33] I am suggesting, however, that functionally the element before SE refers to a narrated event and that after SE refers to the speech interaction itself.

Since the copula in a sentence type described here refers to the speech event, and it must thus carry deictic information, temporal and social.[34] The copula in Japanese has the temporal and social oppositions summarized as follows.

(78)

	POLITE	PLAIN
NON-PAST	desu	da
PAST	deshita	datta

Notice that all three cases in the above examples (75) through (77) are polite, non-past tense forms. The plain variant could appear under the appropriate social relation between the interlocutors, but the past tense form could not appear since the speech time is always present. It is further noted here that in many utterances of the type under discussion the copula is missing. In this case, it is grammatical to supply the non-past tense form of copula but not the past tense form.[35] Notice in the following examples, wake in (79) and (80) and no in (80) are not followed by a copula.

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(79) (Air Raid)
71 atashi to chichi wa moo saigo made
I and father TOP EM last till

uchi ni ita wake.
house LOC stay:PST SE

71 My father and I remained in the house
till the very last moment.

(80) (Las Vegas)
257 mosomoso itte-ru wake yo
ONM say-STA:NPT SE EX

257 He mumbles to himself.

(81) (East Europe)
104 .h soshitara ne kore wa nan da tte
and EX this TOP what COP QT

yuu no
say:NPT SE

104 Then they asked me what these were.

After each SE in above examples desu (polite non-past) or da (plain non-past) can be supplied but not deshita (polite past) or datta (plain past).

Let's turn our attention from the SE-COPULA to the predicate before SE. All the pre-SE predicate forms in (75) through (77) and (79) through (81) lack politeness marking which is indicated by the suffixes -mas- or -des- suffixes. Normally the lack of politeness marking in the utterance final position indicates the plain speech register, i.e., a speaker marks his speech deliberately as non-polite because, for example, he is talking to an intimate friend. However, the lack of politeness marker in the pre-SE position does not indicate plain register because the politeness marking in this position is generally not possible,

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i.e., a plain form cannot mean plain register when it does not contrast with a polite form.[36]

Now notice not only the social deixis but also the temporal deixis is neutralized in the pre-SE position: the past form is used in (79) but non-past form is used in (79) and (81) though all the events are understood to have taken place in the past time. It is possible now to state precisely under what condition and environment a tense form loses its deictic function; In the pre-SE position of a clause (i.e., propositional or narrative component), a tense form does not have temporally deictic function. In this environment, a tense form is selected according to the degree of information accessibility. Thus the tense forms in the examples from (74) through (76) and (78) through (81) show degree of information accessibility rather than temporality.

The use of SE is prevalent. Only 9.0% (or 49 out of 547) of all the clauses considered here are produced without SE. This ratio of clauses with and without SE is reversed in a written narrative. I analiezed fifty-one sentences in a portion of written narrative which describes the author's trip to Chiangmai, Thailand (Tsuruta 1987) and found that only three sentences (5.9%) were marked with SE. This suggests the use of SE is a feature of spoken discourse, and I believe there is a reason for this fact.[37]

There seems to be a reason why SE is frequent in spoken

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discourse. In order to see this, structures of clauses with and without SE will be compared. (82) is an example of a clause without SE and (83) an example of a clause with SE. Both examples contain the sentence ending particle yo (one of sentence ending particle glossed as EX) which is a possible final element in a clauses.

(82)
Gloss: iki -mashi -ta yo
go -POL -PST EX
Component: PROP INT PROP INT

Meaning: (I/he etc.) went, you know.

(83)
Gloss: itta -n desu yo
go:PST -SE COP:NPT EX
Component: PROP INT

Meaning: (I/he etc.) went, you know.

PROP stands for propositional component and INT for interactional component respectively. In the SE structure, (83), the two components are entirely separate, while in the structure without SE, (82), the two components are unanalyzably mixed. In other words, (82) is more synthetic and (83) more analytic in terms of the two different components. As a strategy of clause formation in speech, the analytic structure like (83), which is organizationally less complex, is preferred.

Notice in (83) there are two places where a tense form is required. The first tense form is for the predicate which shows the narrative event and the second for the copula which is the interactional predicate. Only the tense form for the copula is temporal-deictic and, as has been discussed, the tense of the

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copula must be non-past since the speech interaction always occurs in the present time. However, the tense form for the narrative event is not temporally deictic. This has been also shown by the fact that shift of the past form in this position to non-past form does not necessarily alter the temporal reference point, i.e., past. However, if the tense form in (82) is changed to non-past, it cannot mean past event. It must be a future event.

In conclusion a non-past tense form in the pre-SE position could refer to a past narrative event. However, non-past tense form in a predicate without a sentence extension cannot. In other words, a non-past tense form without a sentence extension refers to the present or future. Indeed in all fourteen clauses with 1S which do not have a sentence extension are commentary clauses referring to the speech time. Two out of five clauses with 3S which have a sentence extension are also commentary clauses.[38]

In this section, the exact location where a tense form loses its deictic temporal function was specified. It is in the pre-SE (sentence extension) position. This is a part of propositional component which narrates a situation in a story. The SE with or without copula is the interactional component of an utterance.

9. Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that speaker's perspective influences the choice of tense form in spoken narrative. If a

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clause is within speaker's primary perspective, the past tense form is used, and if it is within secondary perspective, a non-past tense form is selected. This observation is related to the fact that speaker's direct access to the content of information (i.e., information accessibility) influences the form of clauses in Japanese. A clause might be marked by some evidential words or might be marked by more stative morphology.

The relationship between high information accessibility (or primary perspective) and past tense form follow a general pattern that higher information accessibility is marked by higher transitivity.

It is very important to understand that this use of tense form is not temporal. A tense form has both temporal uses and nontemporal uses. A tense form in a narrative clause may be freed of deictic function only when the reference time of a narrative is set clearly. This means that the first narrative clause must have deictic tense since it must sets the temporal framework. Also a narrative clause which gives flashback effect is temporal in that it relates situations in narrative. Non-narrative clauses such as commentary and interactional clauses cannot have nontemporal tense forms, since they are not narrative clauses and they are bound by the speech event time.

Most of the narrative clauses in the spoken narrative are formed with a sentence extension (SE). The position before SE, which is the propositional, or narrative, component is where the

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nontemporal tense form appears. After SE, the interactional component appears. This is a preferred structure in spoken discourse since it separates the two components clearly. If SE is not used, both propositional and interactional components must be expressed synthetically.

Through the discussion of tense form in spoken narrative, the concept of speaker's perspective is made more explicit. Primary perspective is given when a speaker is involved in a situation. Involvement in a situation, however, takes various forms. A speaker might be an actor, recipient, or goal. He can also be a hidden experiencer of situation (usually in a situation described by adjectives) or of discovery (usually in a situation described by verbs of existence and perception.)

Thus speaker's perspective is a crucial factor in the formation of finite clause which appears with tense form. This concept also influences non-finite clauses. The next chapter investigates how speaker's perspective is involved in the selection of two non-finite predicate forms TE and TARA.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

[1] See Reichenbach (1947) for a general discussion of these two types of tense system.

[2] Following Comrie (1976:13), I use the term "situation" to cover state, event and process which a clause describes. I will freely use the specific terms (state, event, and process) when some particular situation is at issue.

[3] See Kuno (1973a) for ways to determine stativity of each predicate. He identifies a verb as "stative" if its non-past tense form, or RU form, refers to a "present time." A verb is nonstative if its non-past form refers to a "future time." Thus, while wakaru means '(I/he ect.) understand(s),' naguru means '(I/He etc.) will hit.'

[4] Kamio (1986:188-9) suggests that both kedo and kara are used as mitigation devices. In the present data, however, a kara clause without its following clause, including a postposed kara clause, is rare (35.9% or 37 out of 103) especially compared to kedo. Thus I did not include kara clauses as objects of investigation in this chapter.

[5] Since in the data I am considering there is no place for the second person subject, I simply ignore the second person for the time being. Second person, together with first person, is usually treated as a "speech act participants" and stands against third person (Comrie 1981, DeLancy 1981). Woodbury (1986) points out a symmetry between first person subject statement and second person subject question in the system of Sherpa evidential. Discussion of second person will be found in Chapter 5.

[6] Of course, the first person subject with roles other than actor or experiencer is possible. This suggests that first person subject with different semantic roles define different degrees of information accessibility because, for example, the actor role ('I shot a tiger') seems to express a higher degree of accessibility than the patient role (I was wakened by the noise'). However, I will not discuss this topic here.

[7] If itte-ita is used instead of itta in (12), his recollection of the event is very vague. It is used in a situation like the following.

(i) A: taroo anta ni nanika iw-anakatta,
taroo you DAT something say-NEG:PST

B: soo-ieba nanika itte-ta ne.

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that's right something say-STA:PST EM

A: Didn't Taro say something to you?
B: That's right. He was saying something.

B vaguely remembers the fact that Taro said something.

[8] The stativity split is not available where two completely different forms are used in two sentences with different perspectives. For example, an emotional adjective kanashii 'sad' used in a primary perspective sentence must be changed to a verb and modified with a stative auxiliary suffix iru in a secondary perspective sentence. (i.e., kanashigatte-iru) as explained in the previous chapters. In this case, we cannot say which is more stative.

[9] Actually tense forms counted for this table include both temporal and nontemporal tense forms. However, the majority of them are nontemporal. I will discuss the restricted environments where the temporal tense form may appear in the discourse type under investigation in section 6.

[10] Mikami (1972:223) points out that non-past appears more often with stative and negative predicates, but he only shows one short paragraph with seven sentences, in which one non-past negative and three non-past stative predicates appear.

[11] Sometimes stative predicates which are not internal state appears in the past tense form (23 out of 52). These stative predicates are either progressive or iterative. Non-internal state predicates which appear with past tense form are usually resultative. Further investigation on the types of stative predicate and their tense forms is needed.

[12] Also it should be mentioned that a verb of communication with third person subject which could implicitly involve the speaker as a goal are marked rather consistently with non-past tense form. Among 37 instances of verb of communication with 3S, 33 instances are marked with non-past tense and 4 with past tense. This suggests verbal semantics must be considered for the perspective distinction as well as the speaker's involvement of a situation. However, I will not investigate this point here.

[13] Tokieda (1950:53) classifies adjectives into three types; subjective, objective, and comprehensive (= intermediate) adjective. Nishio (1972) also gives a classification of adjectives using more semantico-syntactic features.

[14] It is important to distinguish the type of sentence shown as (A-1) in (43), which is a report based on the past experience or observation as indicated here by kinoo 'yesterday,' and a kind

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of generic statement such as:

(i) seebugeki wa boku ni wa omoshiroi
western TOP I DAT TOP interesting:NPT

Westerns are interesting for me.

This sentence describes the speaker's taste in movies and is not a report. Past tense is never a possibility in (i).

[15] In fact it might be more realistic to consider all adjectives on a continuum. Such a continuum must recognize "evaluative" (or "subjective") and "attributive" (or "objective") functions of adjective. For discussion of these functions, see Nishio 1972.)

[16] One case of definite situation in which the speaker was involved was marked with non-past tense form. (See (i) below.) This might be due to a performance error. As Szatrowski points out (1985a:199), this utterance (line 25) is taken to mean the present situation rather than past by the interlocutor, who exhibits her (mis-) understanding by asking 26.

(i) (Father's death)
23 M: soo yuu, koo, chiisai no o ne,
that say like small NML ACC EX

hikinobashite
enlarge:TE

--> 25 M: koo yan no ga suki na n desu yo.
this way do NML NOM like:NPT LK SE COP SP

26 K: ja, ima demo odekininaru no.
then now even can:HON:NPT QU

23 M: Enlarging small (negative films)
-> 25 M: I like doing that.
26 K: So can you do it even now?

[17] In my statistical analyses in the current study this type of utterance exchange whereby both conversational participants are actively involved is not included.

[18] "Ronald Reagan is the President of the United States." is less generic than "The sun is round" because the former lacks eternal validity.

[19] There is of course the fourth type, personal information, or secrets, shared between friends. There are fine gradations between these clear points. I believe it is possible to

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characterize different kinds of evidential markers and tense forms along the axis defined by the features, territory of information and the speaker's assessment of other's knowledge system.

[20] Reinhart (1984) uses this type of temporal sequence in background material to argue that a temporal sequence cannot be the absolute criterion to isolate foreground sequences, as some researchers believe.

[21] Nakau (1976) also distinguishes a "modal" use from a temporal or aspectual use of the tense forms. He suggests that the past tense form of some verbs shows "speaker's present awareness" (p.470). However, for him the modal interpretation is a direct consequence of the aspectual meaning of the past form.

[22] If the non-past tense form is used in this case as in (65), the utterance would sound like a joke. The speaker treats himself as someone for whom he does not take responsibility.

[23] Both authors bring in "transformational rules" which delete the abstract modality marker or predicate to explain this type of sentence of "recall of fact or truth" (Soga p.64) or "discovery and recollection" (Matsumoto p.98). I will not discuss their arguments here, but it is quite puzzling why only in this case, but not in other cases, do they want to appeal to such a quasi-generative semantic approach. The same kind of solution is suggested in Nakau (1976).

For the sake of completeness, I should mention here one more non-canonical use of tense. This is a case of past tense used as an immediate request (Teramura 1984:111, 341).

(i) doita doita
make way:PST make way:PST Move! Move!

This is clearly a non-deictic use of past form. However, as an imperative speech act this is very different from the type of sentences we have considered in this section, which are essentially statements. For this reason I am inclined to think this usage is not due to information accessibility.

[24] "Restricted" clauses are defined as those which can move within a restricted domain in narrative. As opposed to restricted clauses, free clauses can be placed anywhere in narrative without disturbing their semantic interpretation, and narrative clauses are fixed in position in relation with each other. See Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) for further discussion of these types of clauses.

[25] To be fair with Schiffrin, I must point out that she presents two other statistics to support her point. Namely, it

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was shown that the HP is preferred with direct quotes, which are more "vivid" than indirect quotes, and that go as a verb of saying, which reports a speech event more "vividly" than say, is almost always used in the present tense. It is also worth noting, however, that Wolfson (1979:178-9) notices the anomalous nature of verbs of saying. She reports that the say/said alternation does not follow her pattern of tense switch, i.e., separating events.

[26] These examples are due to Cristal (1966) cited by Wolfson. Underlining has been added by me.

[27] All the data under investigation here are of this type, stories about some definite, concrete events. However, this is not the only type of discourse that a speaker can create. I have discarded many stories such as (i) below while selecting the data base for this study precisely because they are not reports of definite events or the speaker reports as if they are not about definite events. I call this type of discourse "generic narrative." As the next example shows, in a generic narrative, tense switch usually does not occur and gives a rather "flat" impression upon hearing. The narrator of (i) is describing how hard it was to commute in the snow in straw shoes, which is assumed to be generally true in the time and place which she is speaking about. (i.e., "limited generic" as described in 4.2.)

(i) (Evacuation)

1 waragutsu ga ne, i-kkai haku to
straw shoes NOM EM once wear TO

2 kondo koo-chau no ne.
this time freeze-AUX:NPT SE SP

3 kochin kochin ni koot-chau desho
ONM freeze-AUX:NPT MOD

4 de sore o ne: .. irori de atatameru to
and that ACC EM fireplace INS warm TO

5 =kondo torontoron nat-chau wake.
this time ONM become-AUX:NPT SE

6 bishobisho n nat-chau wake.
ONM DAT become-AUX:NPT SE

7 de sono bishobisho de iku wake.
and that ONM INS go:NPT SE

1 If you wear straw shoes once,
2 they get frozen
3 they get frozen hard

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4 and if you warm them up at a fireplace
5 they get all mushy
6 they get all soggy
7 and we would go in soggy shoes.

There are four finite narrative clauses in (i) (shown as underlined), all of which are in the non-past tense form. Notice in line 7, even when the subject is the 1S and the statement is affirmative, the non-past form is used.

[28] Maintenance of a same tense form in English corresponds to a chain of clauses with TE and TARA in Japanese. As Schiffrin (1981:55f) suggests, maintaining the same tense does not necessarily mean that acts that are described in a stretch of clauses with a same tense combine to be one single event. Clauses that are combined with TE and TARA in Japanese also do not always constitute one single event.

[29] Though Brannen's suggestion is interesting, he does not give a definition of the term "writer's inner world." Kuno's argument was presented at the Middlebury Symposium on Japanese Discourse Analysis. However, his paper is not included in the proceedings of the conference edited by Makino and is only available through Soga's report (1983:233-4); and its details are not known to me.

[30] Not all tokens of tense forms are interchangeable with the other form. Szatrowski reports that she carefully selected only forms which allow such substitution (1985a:130). I will discuss cases which do not allow such a substitution later.

[31] Refer to Szatrowski (1985a:114-128) for the definitions of these features. She selected some of these features through discussion with the native speakers and some from the literature on tense and narrative in the past.

[32] Jakobson (1957) calls these "narrative event" and "speech event," respectively.

[33] See Mikami (1972) and Teramura (1984:263-4) for a discussion on differences between nominalized clause with these formal nouns and those with regular nouns.

[34] For various aspects of social deixis, see Miller 1967:268-307, Minami 1974:221-283, Martin 1975:331-354, 1026-1040, Harada 1976 and Wenger 1984 among others.

[35] When a sentence extension (SE) appears with the past tense form copula, it must be further embedded in another SE. Thus in (i) below the main predicate, iku 'go,' is modified by a hedge te yuu and followed by wake and a past tense copula, but the whole

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utterance is concluded with another SE no.

(i) (False ID)
134 sorekara .. Rochester ni
and LOC

—> iku tte yuu wake datta no
go QT say SE COP:PST SE

134 and I was supposed to go to Rochester.

Embedding of the SE might be used to indicate a hedge. Thus the past tense form, a form for a higher information accessibility, is not possible (i.e., iku in 134 above cannot be replaced by itta (past tense form)). Pursuing this subject, however, would take us beyond the limit of the present discussion.

[36] Politeness marking in the pre-SE position is usually prohibited as indicated in (i) below. However, in a hyper-polite situation polite predicate form might appear before SE without copula as shown in (ii).

(i) * ikimashita no desu.
go:POL:PST SE COP I went.

(ii) ikimashita no. I went.

(ii) is a characteristic of a variety of women's speech (McGloin 1980a:146). Probably some reanalysis of no has taken place and it is now considered to be a politeness marker by some women. This type of no is called a female politeness marker and is not considered here.

Another reanalysis of no should also be mentioned in this context. As shown in (iii), no appears frequently in an informal question. Instead of no, a polite equivalent desu with a true question marker ka can appear but not the plain variety da.

(iii) iku no ?
go Are you going?

(iv) iku no desu ka
go COP Q Are you going?

(v) * iku no da ka Are you going?

This type of no then should be called an informal question marker. This is also not considered in this thesis.

[37] It is possible that the function of SE is different in spoken and written discourses. Shimozaki (1981) studies one type of construction with SE (i.e., -no de aru) in a novel by

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Ogai Mori and concludes that it frequently appears at the end of a paragraph to give cohesion to the paragraph. Iwasaki (1985b) discusses the use of the equivalent of -no de aru in spoken discourse and shows more dynamic nature of the SE, which appears throughout spoken texts. It is necessary to consider the functions of SE in spoken and written discourses where the interactional concern is different.

[38] There are five 3S clauses which have the structure with SE. Two of them are commentary clause: (3.248) "He is a man who talks to himself" and (10.14) "He is an American." However the other two are not commentary but a part of fast succession of event; (5.126) and (11.242). I will not elaborate on these here. The remaining one instance is clearly affected by performance factor. The speaker (16.149) was very emotional and could not finis the utterance.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PERSPECTIVE AND SWITCH REFERENCE

0. Introduction

Switch reference systems, found abundantly in languages in New Guinea, South and North America and some parts in Australia, indicate whether or not the following clause has the same subject as the current clause. Languages with this system are characteristically clause chaining languages. In the system of clause chaining, a series of clauses may be combined with a non-finite, medial verb form and this clause chain is unified by a clause with the finite verb form. (Haiman and Munro 1983, Longacre 1972, Longacre 1985)[1]

I claim in this chapter that in Japanese a similar system is found to be operating in narrative. Though Japanese is not usually characterized as a switch reference language, the fact that Japanese is a verb final and clause chaining language suggests such a possibility. Also the fact that the putative switch referencing in Japanese is marked in verb morphology encourages us to hypothesize that this language has developed a similar system.

The switch reference system in Japanese is employed most effectively when the subject is the first person; tenseless TE form is used when the first person continues to be the subject in the next clause, and another tenseless form TARA is used when the subject changes in the next clause. Although TE may appear when

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a non-first person subject continues, TARA does not mark subject shift for such subjects. A clause tends to terminate when the subject changes from non-first to first person. In other words, the switch reference system is somewhat deficient for third person or non-human subjects.[2] This discrepancy between the situations with first and third person subjects is not explicable unless speaker's perspective is taken into account. The first objective of this chapter is to achieve such an explanation.

The second objective is to consider the switch reference system in the context of narrative structure. Recent studies of switch reference systems in other languages (e.g., Stewart 1987, Comrie 1987) have shown the possibility that the system is not strictly sentence grammatical, but rather discourse sensitive. It will be shown that this is also the case for the Japanese system.

Finally I will discuss the environments in which TE and TARA are used as clause chaining forms. Through this discussion it will also be shown that in a different discourse environment both TE and TARA are interpreted as supplying circumstantial information such as reason and condition.

Before pursuing these proposed objectives, however, I present below a description of some conjunctive forms in Japanese which are used for clause chaining.

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1. Forms for clause chaining

I have suggested that TE and TARA are forms that are used for switch reference. However, there are two other forms that are used in similar situations; the form traditionally known as ren'yoo-kee (abbreviated as RY, henceforth) and TO. Most simply put, RY is similar to TE and appears when the subject continues in the following clause. TO, on the other hand, is similar to TARA, and appears when there is a shift in subject.[3]

TE, TARA, RY and TO are bound morphemes which form conjugating words such as verbs and auxiliary verbs.[4] These forms connect clauses without any particular circumstantial relation such as condition, concession or reason. They simply string clauses togetehr which represent events in narrative in the order of actual occurrence.

The stem of verb ends either a vowel (/i/ or /e/) or a consonant. Those which end with a vowel are called "vowel stem verbs" and those which end with a consonant "consonant stem verbs." To the stem of the verb is added the vowel -u (for a consonant stem verb) or -ru (for a vowel stem verb) to form a basic form. This form is called variously the citation form, the dictionary form, or the finite form (shuushi-kee). Also this is the form used as the non-past tense form, as explained in the previous chapter on tense.

RY is created by substituting the final -u of the basic form of a consonant stem verb with the vowel i. In case of a vowel stem verb, the RY form is same as the stem. For example,

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(1)

	Stem	Basic Form	RY Form	
consonant stem verb	nom-	nom-u	nom-i	'to drink'
vowel stem verb	tabe-	tabe-ru	tabe	'to eat'

The TE form of a vowel verb is made by attaching -te to the RY form. (Thus, tabe-te). In case of consonant stem verb except for the final /s/ consonant stem, a phonological process known as onbin applies.[5] The effect of onbin varies depending on the final consonant of stem. The three groups of consonant stem verbs are listed below.

(2)

Final consonant of stem	Basic	RY-te	TE	
-w,-t,-r	kar-u	kar-i-te	kat-te	'reap'
-k,-g	kak-u	kak-i-te	kai-te	'write'
-m,-n	kam-u	kam-i-te	kan-de	'bite'

In transcription, the boundaries for these basic morphemes are not indicated to enhance readability. Thus, for example, the RY form of 'write' would be shown as kaki and glossed as 'write:RY'; the TE form of this verb would be shown as kaite and glossed as 'write:TE.'

The TARA form is also formed from RY with the onbin process applied to it. Thus the example words in (2) above have the following corresponding TARA forms.

(3) kar-i-tara --> kat-tara
kak-i-tara --> kai-tara
kam-i-tara --> kan-dara

However, there is another historical source for the TARA form

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found in Modern Japanese. There is a bound morpheme -tareba (conditional) in Old Japanese. This form underwent a historical phonological change and the surface form is indistinguishable from the form listed in (3) in Modern Japanese (Yoshida 1971:225). Observe the historical phonological process below.

(4) kak-i-tareba —> kak-i-taryaa —> kai-tara

The dual source of TARA might be responsible for the dual interpretation of TARA in Modern Japanese (i.e., clause combining and conditional).

TO attaches to the basic form. Thus

(5) kar-u-to
kak-u-to
kam-u-to

In transcription, the TARA form is spelled, for example, as kaitara and glossed as 'write:TARA,' and the TO form as kakuto 'write:TO.'

I have just sketched the morphological structures of the four clause chaining verb forms. They are all tenseless verb forms. However, in the present data set of spoken narratives, RY and TO do not appear as frequently as TE and TARA. That is, TE and TARA are more or less colloquial equivalents of RY and TO, respectively.

In fact, discourse-oriented works which study these forms suggest that the most fundamental distinction between TE and TARA on the one hand and the RY and TO on the other is their distribution across different types of registers. Inoue and

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Hirata (1978) and Inoue (1984) report the ratio of RY in a 45 minute discussion on politics against all other connective forms as only 1.1% while that in newspaper editorials on the same topic is 36.9%. In my spoken data of over 1,200 clauses, only a few instances of RY form are found.

Myhill and Hibiya (1988) report that in the novel they studied, consisting of 500 clauses, TO appears 28 times but TARA does not appear, they claim, often enough for statistic analysis. In my spoken data, TARA appears 33 times and TO nine times.

From these reports, it is apparent that written varieties of Japanese contain many more instances of RY and TO than spoken varieties. However, it should be also pointed out that in at least some written varieties, TE, though not as frequent as RY, also appears. Inoue and Hirata (1978) and Inoue (1983) show that TE appears 17.2% of the time (compared to 36.4% for RY) against all the connectives that appear in the above mentioned newspaper editorial. In the written corpus of data Myhill and Hibiya (1988) examine, 50 out of 500 clauses have TE (against 122 RYs). Also in a cookbook that Ono (1987) studied, TE appears 46 times (versus 78 RYs). It can be generalized then that RY and TO mainly appear in written language and TARA mainly in spoken language, and that though TE appears more in spoken language, it also appears in witten language.

Co-existence of TE and RY in written texts demands an explanation because they seem to have a very similar clause chaining function. Kuno (1973a:196) describes the difference

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between TE and RY in terms of "self-controllability" of the situations to be reported. He discusses the acceptability of (6-a) and (6-b) below.

(6) a. jon wa asa okite,
TOP morning get up:TE

kao o aratta
face ACC wash:PST

John got up in the morning:TE
(he) washed his face

b. ?jon wa asa me-o-samashite,
TOP morning wake up:TE

kao o aratta.
face ACC wash:PST

John woke up in the morning:TE
(he) washed his face

The TE connection has a restriction such that the two events described in the two clauses must be the same in terms of "self-controllability." Since both "getting up" and "washing face" are self-controllable, (6-a) is acceptable. On the other hand, since "waking up" is not self-controllable, (6-b) is not acceptable. RY must be used in the situation described by (6-b), as in (7).

(7) jon wa asa me-o-samashi, kao o aratta.
wake up:RY

This explanation of the difference between TE and RY leads some linguists to a conclusion that that a TE verb is more closely bound to the following clause than a RY verb. (Tamori 1977, Inoue 1983, Ono 1987).[6]

Myhill and Hibiya (1988) make a statistic study of four grounding features (i.e., humanness of subject, subject

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continuation, aspect, and chronological sequencing) associated with TE clauses and RY clauses and offer several points of difference between the two clause chaining forms. The most significant point in their discussion is:

> (TE) is favored when the following verb has foregrounding features (...). (The RY) is favored when the present and following clauses are parallel constructions, either both foregrounded or both backgrounded.

Thus though there is a converging area where either TE or RY can be appropriate (i.e., when the both clauses to be chained have foreground features), there are rather clear cases where either TE or RY is preferred. It can be concluded then that there is some functional division, albeit very subtle, between TE and RY.

This explanation, however, does not acccunt for the non-occurrence of a sentence such as (7) in spoken discourse. Therefore, I am inclined to state that the main function of RY is to mark a register of written style. This is supported by the distributional fact discussed earlier and the feeling that a native speaker has on hearing a sentence with RY. (It gives a distinct written flavor.)

In this connection, it should be noted that RY is a strictly learned form and its use "marks" a planned discourse register (Ochs 1979). On the other hand, in unplanned spoken discourse, TE form, which is acquired much earlier in life, gets used almost exclusively. In the study of the development of the use of connectives in children's compositions (grades one through nine),

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Inoue (1983:70-1) finds that TE is used very often from Grade One on but RY does not appear until Grade Eight. Clancy (1980b:258) also finds in her study of child language acquisition in Japanese (ages from 3.10 to 7.4) that TE is always the most preferred connective that appear in spoken narrative.

Even in an adult narrative, if it is not planned, as in the present data, a speaker uses this early learned form. Thus I maintain that the basic function of RY is to mark the planned written registry. (When it co-exists with TE in written text, it mighst show a weaker connection than TE.)

It has been pointed out earlier that TARA appears in spoken discourse and TO in written discourse. However, it will be shown later that both forms are found in the present data. In this case, an interesting division of labor exists between these two forms: TARA is used as a clause chaining form most of the time and TO as a "generic conditional." (cf. Section 5)

To recapitulate, there are at least four clause chaining forms in modern Japanese which are used for switch reference. In this chapter I will be mainly concerned with TE and (the non-conditional use of) TARA. However, toward the end of this chapter the conditional use of TARA and the generic conditional TO will also be dealt with in relation to discourse environments in which they appear.

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2. The switch reference system in Japanese

This section aims to establish the canonical pattern of uses of TE and TARA in the data. Observing the number of occurrences with a same or different subject in the next clause, I will argue that TE marks continuous subject and TARA discontinuous subject. In this section I will discuss only cases where TE and TARA appear with first person subject. Other cases will be treated separately for they deviate from the canonical pattern.

Most TARA found in the present data (narratives of past experience) are "temporal" rather than "conditional." This is hardly surprising because if the finite clause carries past tense, TARA is always interpreted as temporal. (e.g., Kuno 1973a, 1973b, Akatsuka 1985). In the present section I am only concerned with the temporal TARA with first person subject. Later I will show that TARA does not appear with 3S (in Section 3) and that when it appears with non-human subjects, its interpretation is generic conditional rather than temporal.

Kuno (1973a:181) notices that when two clauses are combined with temporal TARA, there cannot be self-controllable timing between the two events described by the two clauses. That is, if one plans one event to take place after another, TARA cannot be used to connect the two clauses. This requirement often results in the interpretation of the second event as a "surprise" as shown in (?). (This is a case where subject changes from 1S to NHS. This situation will be explained in Section 2.4.)

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(8) (No Way Out)

141 A: sono doa o shimetara
that door ACC close:TARA

142 A: moo doa ga aka-nai-n desu yo ne
already door NOM open-NEG-SE COP EX EX

141 (I) closed the door-TARA
142 the door wouldn't open.

The second event, "the door wouldn't open," expressed in 142 above is an unexpected one that the speaker encountered after he had closed the door. In the narratives I studied, most instances of TARA with first person subject are of this type.

Since the requirement of non-selfcontrollable timing is easily satisfied when the subjects of the two clauses are different, the TARA typically appears in the data when there is a switch of the subjects between two clauses. Below I show a few such examples. In (9), the speaker and her husband encountered a problem at a camp site with East Germans when they were traveling in East Europe.

(9) (East Europe)

197 M: de senmen: ka nanika ni itte
and wash up or something for go:TE

—> 198 M: kaette-kitara ne
return-come:TARA EX

199 M: .h nanka higashi doitsu-jin ga
somehow East German-people NOM

wa::to atsumatte-kite ne
ONM gather-come:TE EX

201 M: koko wa tome-chaikenai tokoro da tte yuu no
here TOP stop-must not place COP QT say:NPT EX

197 and (we) went to freshen up or something-TE
-> 198 (we) came back-TARA

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199 East Germans came around-TE
201 (they) said, "This is not the place for you to
park.

The TARA form is used in line 198 when there is a switch from the first person (plural) subject to a third person subject in the next clause. (Notice also when the subject continues to be the same, the TE form is used regardless of the identity of the subject; in 197 for the continuous first person subject and in 199 for the continuous third person subject.)

(10) is another typical example. The speaker had to wake up a person who shared a room with him on his Las Vegas trip because he did not have a key to enter. TE is used for a continuous subject and TARA for a switch from first to third person subjects between 186 and 187.

(10) (Las Vegas)

184 K: (1.0) soshite hair-e-nakute
and enter-POT-NEG:TE

185 K: =okoshite
wake up:TE

—: 186 K: (1.0) de hai ... haittara
and FRG enter:TARA

187 K: yakkosan moo ... shikata-nai tte na
the guy already no way QT LK

kanji de nee* okite-kite:.
appearance INS EX wake up-come:TE

190 K: ... sss soshite: (1.2) soshite shawaa o abite
and and shower ACC take:TE

184 and (I) couldn't enter-TE
185 (I) woke him up-TE
-> 186 and (I) entered-TARA
187 the guy, apparently annoyed, came-TE
190 and (he) took a shower-TE

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The subject for 184 through 186 is the first person and the clauses are connected with TE. The subject changes in 187 to yakkosan 'the guy' and in 186 the TARA form is used. Since "the guy" continues to be the subject in 190 the TE is used in 187.

The above examples suggest that TE is used for continuous subject (first or third persons) and TARA for discontinuous subject (from first to third person). Indeed in the data examined, the distribution of TE and TARA according to the continuous and discontinuous subjects is rather regular for the first person subject. See Table 1.

[TABLE 1] Distribution of TE and TARA with 1S

CURRENT SUBJECT		NEXT SUBJECT SAME (1S)	DIFFERENT (3S)
1S	TE:	111	4
	TARA:	4	21

N=140
Chi Sq. with Yate's correction=6.174 $p<0.05$
(1S = First person subject, 3S = Third person subject)

When a first person subject (1S) continues to be the subject in the next clause, TE appears 111 times while TARA appears only four times. In contrast to this, when the subject changes from 1S to 3S across two clauses TARA is used (21 times) more than TE (four times).

This distribution of TE and TARA suggests that TE and TARA are used in a switch reference system for first person subject in Japanese. It must be emphasized here, however, this table only

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considers the cases of continuation of first person subject and change from first person subject to other human subjects (i.e., a third person subject). Cases in which a first person shifts to a non-human subject and those in which a third person subject continues or changes must be treated separately. This is because, as will be clear through the discussion, the switch reference system in Japanese is sensitive to speaker's perspective and first person subject has a special status in this system.

Though Table 1 shows statistical significance for a difference between TE with continuous subject and TARA with non-continuous subject for 1S clauses, it is still neccessary to consider some exceptions shown in Table 1, i.e., four cases of TE when the subject shifts to a third person and four cases of TARA when there is no shift. I will show later (Section 3) that some of these apparent exceptions are explicable if speaker's perspective is considered to be a factor regulating switch reference system. One apparent exception is explained when the narrative structure is considered (Section 4).

Before discussing these specific points, however, it is still necessary to give a little more clarification on the figures in Table 1. It has been shown that in the environment of continuous subject (i.e., first person subject follows first person subject), TE appears 111 times and TARA four times. Of course this does not exhaust the cases which appear in this

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environment. Other connectives such as kara 'because' or noni 'though' (to be discussed in 3.1) may connect two clauses, or the finite form of the predicate might appear in this environment. The use of other connectives might be dictated by some semantic consideration such as setting temporal orientation or giving circumstantial or temporal information. The use of a finite form might be related to a more global discourse organization such as a sequence of events or "paragraph break" (Hinds 1979, Clancy 1980a).[7]

It is not necessary, however, for the present purpose in this chapter to consider these other cases (although passing comments on these forms will be found in the discussion). The question to be addressed here is: When a clause appears in a chain, which clause chaining form is used with respect to continuity of subject?

Myhill and Hibiya's (1988) analysis suggests that TE and RY appear when there is no change of subject in the next clause and TO when there is such a change in a written data. However, they deny that this is a switch reference system "although (TE and RY) show a strong statistical preference for either same or different subject following." (their Note 5) Their decision not to name this phenomenon as switch reference is based on the fact that these clause chaining forms are also related to other features. TE, for example, is associated with perfective aspect. The RY, on the other hand, is sensitive to whether two clauses have the same grounding, either fore- or background, as described earlier.

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I claim, however, it is important to recognize that TE and TARA in spoken language and TE, RY and TO in written language function as switch reference markers. To study these forms enhances our understanding of both switch reference in general and grammar of Japanese.

This section has established the canonical pattern for switch reference in Japanese for first person subject. TE shows continuation of subject and TARA discontinuity. It was briefly mentioned that TE also shows continuation of third person subject. It will be shown later, however, that discontinuity of third person is not marked by TARA, and that TE and TARA work very differently when the subject is non-human. It is important to note, at this point, that switch reference is sensitive to this discrepancy between first person subject and non-first person subject, or, as we will see, difference of speaker's perspective.

3. Speaker's perspective and switch reference

The main purpose of this section is to show why switch reference in Japanese cannot be considered as a sentence-level grammatical phenomenon. This will be shown by the two facts; (1) there are certain systematic exceptions for the use of TARA, and (2) the use of TE and TARA as switch reference markers is observed systematically only when the first clause of the two to be connected has first person subject.

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3.1. The shift of information accessibility

Subject shift from 1S to 3S usually corresponds to perspective shift since a 1S clause is normally within primary perspective and a 3S clause within secondary perspective. If this perspective shift is viewed as a shift of degrees of information accessibility, as discussed in Chapter 3, TARA can be said to mark a high-to-low accessibility shift. This characterization is correct since within primary perspective TARA does indicate a more subtle shift from high to low information accessibility. I will discuss a few cases of this situation below.

Primary perspective typically coincides with 1S and secondary perspective with 3S, as explained in the previous chapters. Thus in most cases subject shift from the first person to a third person entails a perspective shift from primary to secondary. Conversely a continuous 1S entails no perspective shift. However, a closer examination of TARA indicates that this predicate form seems to respond to a little more subtle change within primary perspective, i.e., "information accessibility."

Recall the "information accessibility" was defined in Chapter 3 as the "degree of directness that a speaker has vis-à-vis the situation being described." Primary perspective is associated with higher information accessibility compared to secondary perspective. Section 2.2 of that chapter further pointed out that within primary perspective different degrees of information accessibility are observed, which show up in the

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stativity of predicate. A pair of sentences showing this point is given in (11) (same as examples (13) and (14) of Chapter 3).

(11) a. boku wa soo omou.
I TOP so think:NPT

I think so.

b. boku wa soo omotte-iru.
I TOP so think-STA:NPT

I think so.

It was pointed out that a less stative form, such as (11-a), represents higher information accessibility compared to the more stative form, as in (11-b). Also as indicated in Note 7 for Chapter 3, a similar stativity split exists according to the degree of information accessibility for the verb yuu 'say.'

TARA responds to the change of information accessibility from a higher degree to a lower degree within primary perspective. In fact three cases of TARA for unchanged first person subject shown in Table 1 are such cases. (The remaining one apparent exception is explained in Section 3.)

The next two examples show this pattern clearly. In (12) the speaker found out that she would have to forge a signature in order to get refund for the ticket that she had bought with a false ID.

(12) (False ID)
--> 331 N: .h de kondo ginkoo ni ittara
and this-time bank to go:TARA

332 N: mata sain shi-nakuchanaranai wake.
again sign do-must SE

-> 331 and then (I) went to the bank-TARA

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332 (I) would have to sign again.

The speaker of (13) below realized that he did not have any idea how to find his friend's father's house when he got out of a station.

(13) (Language Games)

—> 158 Y: eki oritara.
station go out:TARA

159 Y: .s sate wakar-anai to. ie ga.
now know-NEG QT house NOM

-> 158 (I) came out of the station-TARA
159 (I) didn't know where the house was.

Notice that in both examples above, the second clause is an irrealis clause; a clause suffixed with a modal of obligation in (12) and a clause with a negative predicate in (13). In this kind of situation, the speaker is not an instigator of an action, but he is merely a reporter of the situation, although he appears as the subject. Since the first clause in these examples refers to a concrete action instigated by the speaker, speaker's accessibility to information changes from higher to lower.

This leads to a prediction that if the second clause expresses a situation for which a speaker has equal information accessibility with an incident told in the first clause, TARA cannot appear. That this is true is easily shown by the following examples.

(14)
a. *ginkoo ni ittara, sain o shita.
bank to go-TARA sign ACC do:PST

(I) went to the bank-TARA
(I) signed my name.

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b. *eki oritara, kooban e itta.
station go-out:TARA police box LOC go:PST

(I) got out of the station-TARA
(I) went to the police station.

The above sentences are ungrammatical since the second clauses in (14-a) and (14-b) represent situations where a speaker is the instigator of actions, i.e., there is no change in degree of information accessibility.

This is consistent with Kuno's (1973a:181) semantic constraint on the use of TARA. He notes;

> "there cannot be self-controllable timing between the action or event represented by S1 and that represented by S2 when the tara construction is used for referring to past time." [S1 is the clause with TARA and S2 is the clause following S1.-SI]

One of his constructed examples is interesting for our understanding of information accessibility and perspective.

(15) gakkoo ni ittara benkyoo sas-er-areta.
school LOC go:TARA study do-CAU-PSS:PST

(I) went to school-TARA
(I) was forced to study.

In his framework, the second incident expressed in a clause with a passive construction had not been planned to occur by the speaker after he went to school. It was an unexpected situation. In the framework being presented here, this means that a passive sentence indicates a lower degree of information accessibility although the speaker is involved in a passive sentence, 1S is not an instigator of action.

(16) below is similar to examples (12) and (13). Previous

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to the situation described in this excerpt, the speaker, who had been away from Japan for a while, could not make himself understood when he was looking for a gas station because he could not remember the appropriate Japanese word for "gas station." Upon hearing the correct Japanese word for "gas station," he pondered and finally realized that it was the word he was supposed to use.

(16) (Language Problem)

--> 114 Y: soide yoku kangaetara
and well think:TARA

115 Y: naruhodo naa to omotta #ne
indeed EX QT think:PST EX

-> 114 and (I) thought about it for a while-TARA
115 (I) realized that it would make sense.

Notice there are two words glossed as 'think' in the above excerpt; kangaetara (kangaeru, basic form) and omotta (omou, basic form). Nagashima (1979:104-12) shows the difference between these two verbs of cognition. He says that omou is "intuitive and emotive" and kangaeru "logical and processed." In other words, the difference between these verbs lies in the degree of cognizer's intention or his initiative in the thought process. kangaeru represents a deliberate mental process while omou represents a spontaneous thinking process (something close to 'feel' in English). Thus the following sort of contrasts exist.

(17)

a. mondai o kangaeru.
problem ACC think:NPT

(I) think about the problem.

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b. *mondai o omou.
think:NPT

(I) think about the problem.

As shown in (17), if the thinking requires an active mental process as in pondering on some problem to solve it, only kangaeru is possible. In contrast to kangaeru, omou does not represent such an active mental process but shows spontaneous thinking which captures feeling and sensation. Thus, there is a contrast such as (18).

(18) (from Nagashima)
a. kuyashii/itai to omou.
regrettable/painful QT think:NPT

I think it's regrettable/painful.

b. *kuyashii/itai to kangaeru.
think:NPT

I think it's regrettable/painful.

Example (19) below is from my data, which describe the speaker's spontaneous thinking. That is, thought of death at the critical moment of a bus accident does not involve a full mental process. Omou is used in this case and kangaeru will result an unacceptable utterance.

(19) (Bus Accident)
42 a moo dame da to omotta
oh already no chance COP QT think:PST

I thought that was it.

Also the contrast between (20-a) and (20-b) below reflects the two kinds of speaker's thinking. That is, (20-a) is a statement resulted from some careful thinking and (20-b) is a statement

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said out of desperation.

(20) a. boku mo shin-oo to kangaeta.
I also die-HRT QT think:PST

I thought I would also die.

b. boku mo shinoo to omotta.
I also die-HRT QT think:PST

I thought I would also die.

The discussion above shows that a speaker has a higher degree of accessibility for a situation expressed with the verb kangaeru compared to that expressed with omou. Thus (16) exactly parallels the situations in (12) and (13).

This difference in information accessibility between kangaeru and omou can be traced to the two different types of consciousness, "reflective" and "nonreflective" consciousness discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 5).[8] There, all perceptual verbs are said to represent nonreflective consciousness. Omou is another verb which represents such a consciousness.

Examples (12), (13) and (16) show that TARA appears even if the subject remains the same across clauses, because there is a change in the degrees of information accessibility or a change from full consciousness to nonreflective consciousness.

As can be imagined, a reverse case, where there is shift of subject but no change in degree of information accessibility, is also possible. For example, consider the following made up example.

(21)
1 sorede ne sono kippu o misete,
and EX that ticket ACC show:TE

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2 ani ga jijoo o setsumee shita no.
brother NOM circumstance ACC explain do:PST SE

1 and then (I) showed my ticket-TE
2 my brother explained the situation.

There is a subject change between 1 and 2 in (21), but a brother is usually considered an extension of oneself, thus TE can connect the two clauses. However, there is no clear case in the data to show this pattern.[9]

Example (21) exemplifies again that the exact identity of subject in the next clause is secondary for the purpose of switch reference in Japanese. The more important consideration here is whether the referent of the next subject can be treated as an extension of the speaker himself against some other participant(s). Though a third person is usually conceived as a separate entity from the first person, it can be treated as being on the speaker's side when some other third person(s) are involved in a situation.

To summarize the discussion so far, three apparent exceptional uses of TARA (out of four) were accounted for from the theory of speaker's perspective. Though TARA usually appears when there is a change from primary to secondary perspective, it also appears when there is a slight change from a higher degree of information accessibility to a lower degree of information accessibility within primary perspective. This shift of degrees in information accessibility also exists when an expression of full consciousness changes to that of nonreflective

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consciousness.

In the next section, cases of shifts of types of consciousness will be re-examined when a clause that appears after TARA has a non-human subject.

3.2. Discovery and perspective shift

TARA appears when there is a shift from a higher to a lower degree of information accessibility, which often corresponds to a change of perspectives. This fact is captured as a semantic constraint on the sequencing of clauses described in Kuno (1973a): If there is a premeditated sequencing of two actions, TARA is not used.

This fact can be also explained from the point of view of participant's experience in the situation. For example, after one instigates an action, he can successively instigate another action ("He brushed his teeth and went to bed") or something beyond his control might happen ("He brushed his teeth and blood started to flow from the gums").

TARA is designed to code the second type of the situations above (and TE the first type.) Seen from the point of view of the person referred to by the subject of a TARA clause, a situation described by a clause which follows TARA is always associated with some sort of discovery by this person. All the cases of TARA examined so far are of this type. This becomes especially clear when the second clause has a non-human subject (NHS), because non-human is not considered to be an active

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instigator of an action in Japanese grammar. Non-human is there to be discovered by human and a situation which is explained with NHS also awaits discovery by a human.

There are eleven instances of TARA with the first person subject followed by a NHS clause. All eleven cases involve some sort of discovery by the speaker. One example was already shown as (8) in Section 2.1., where the speaker finds himself locked out from a hotel hallway. A similar example from the same narrative is given in (22). Here the speaker finally managed to open the door, but he did it by accident.

(22) (No Way Out)

189 shite chokonto ue ni agetara
and flip up LOC raise:TARA

190 aita-n desu.
open:PST-SE COP

189 and (I) flipped it up-TARA
190 (it) opened.

The action described in 189 is a speaker-initiated action but the event described in 190 is something that the speaker found out. Contrast (22) with a modified version (23) below.

(23)
189 shite chokonto ue ni agete
and flip up LOC raise:TE

190 aketa-n desu.
open:PST-SE COP

189 and (I) flipped it up-TE
190 (I) opened it.

If TE is used instead of TARA in the first clause as in (23), the second clause must also describe a speaker-initiated action.

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Notice the change of verb in the second clause from the intransitive verb (aita 'it opened') to the transitive verb (aketa 'I opened it').

The next example illustrates the discovery interpretation of the post-TARA clause equally well. This is from "Day After," a story in which the speaker walked around the damaged city of Tokyo after a severe bombing. Notice in the first clause in (24) TARA appears before a NHS clause.

(24) (Day After)

—> 264 kameido e i< no i-tchoome e ittara
Kameido LOC FRG LK Section One to go:TARA

266 soko zenbu yakete-te
there all burned down-STA:TE

-> 264 I went to Section One in Kameido-TARA
266 It had been burnt down completely-TE

The verb with TARA in (24) is iku 'go.' In this story the same verb iku appears one more time (line 343) and kuru 'come' also appears (line 83) with TARA before a NHS clause. These verbs are verbs of motion. Verbs of motion in narrative usually take a participant to another location. If a verb of motion is used with TARA, it further indicates that a participant discovers something at this new location.

To recapitulate the discussion of TARA in this section, TARA appears between clauses of different perspective or different degrees of information accessibility. To put it from the point of the experience of speaker, TARA codes the connection between the speaker's intentional action and his unexpected discovery of

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a situation.

The cases examined so far have 1S in the TARA clause. In the next section I will show that 3S does not appear in a TARA clause and discuss the reason for this fact. In section 4, I will consider a NHS in the TARA clause.

3.3. Direction of perspective shift

I have argued the importance of maintenance and shift of perspective and information accessibility in the use of TE and TARA with 1S. However, this view must be modified for TE and TARA clauses with 3S and NHS. I will show in this section that perspective or information accessibility is a concept only relevant for 1S because perspective is something that the speaker brings into his utterance.

When 3S remains as the subject in the following clause, TE connects the two clauses as we expect. However, a striking difference emerges when we consider the case of a change from 3S to 1S, to a different 3S or to NHS. Consider Table 2.

[TABLE 2] Frequencies of TE and TARA with 3S

		NEXT SUBJECT			
		SAME	DIFFERENT		
		3S	1S	3S	NHS
CURRENT SUBJECT					
3S	TE:	48	4	1	5
	TARA:	–	–	–	–

N=58

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This table shows that TARA never appears with 3S. Thus it is confirmed again that it is not the case that TARA unconditionally marks any subject shift. TARA only appears when 1S changes to something else. (cf. Table 1) This discrepancy between 1S and 3S cannot be adequately dealt with under a theory which treats grammatical function without reference to perspective, because there is no known fact in Japanese about a grammatical asymmetry between first and third person subjects. In other words, there is no grammatical difference between a shift from first to third person subjects and a shift from third to first person subject. An explanation based on semantic interpretation will fail also, since in most cases the semantic role of first and third subject are equally an "actor-like." The discrepancy between the first and the third persons can only be accounted for in a theory which includes perspective as a relevant category.

At this point let's make the notion of perspective more precise. Perspective is something that a speaker brings in when producing a clause. No one else can assume perspective. Thus perspective shift should be understood as a shift within the speaker's perspective and not as a shift to someone else's perspective.

Thus the concept of perspective differs Kuno's "point-of-view," or "empathy." (cf. Chapter 2) In his theory, a speaker can view a situation from a third person's "point-of-view." In other words, a speaker can completely identify himself with

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someone else in describing certain situations. In real Japanese discourse, however, complete identification with third person is nearly impossible. A rich evidential system always keeps track the proper "perspective" in discourse. (See Kamio 1979, 1986). Only in a reportive style of discourse (Kuroda 1973) does complete identification become possible. (See Chapter 2.)

It is stressed one more time that "perspective shift" is a shift from primary to secondary perspective, both of which are within speaker's perspective. When a clause chain consists of 1S only, the whole clause chain is within primary perspective. In this case TE connects the clauses. When it consists of 1S and 3S, the perspective shifts from the primary to the secondary, but not from the secondary to primary.[10] In this case TARA connects the two clauses. When a chain consists of solely the third person subject, it only has the secondary perspective.

A natural question that follows from the above argument is how the shift from 3S to 1S or to NHS is treated in clause combining. Table 2 showed sporadic uses of TE in this situation, but more often thatn not, a clause chain simply terminates. Table 3 shows this tendency.

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[TABLE 3] Frequency of Finite Form with 3S

		NEXT SUBJECT			
		SAME	DIFFERENT		
		3S	1S	3S	NHS
CURRENT SUBJECT					
3S	FINITE:	43	43	4	16

N=106

When there is a shift from 3S to 1S, the finite form appears 43 times as opposed to four times for TE and no occurrences of TARA. This means that to get back to the primary perspective the speaker must end the clause or a chain of clauses with the finite verb and start a new clause. It seems that once a speaker sets the perspective to the secondary position, he cannot get back to the primary perspective within a same clausal chain.

Table 3 also confirms that switch reference cannot be thought of as a sentence grammatical operation since the finite form appears frequently even when the same subject follows. This tendency to terminate a clause chain with a same subject clause is not unique to 3S. NHS exhibits the same tendency even more clearly. Consider Table 4 on the next page.

This table shows that if a subject is 1S, TE more often than not marks the continuous subject, but this tendency is not seen as clearly for 3S and especially not for NHS. To put it differently, two clauses that share 1S are more likely than not to be within a single clause chain, but two clauses with 3S may or may not be in the same chain. And two clauses that share the

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same NHS are likely to be in different clause chains.

[TABLE 4] Frequency of TE and Finite Form for Continuous Subjects

CURRENT SUBJECT		NEXT SUBJECT (SAME AS CURRENT)
1S	TE:	111
	FINITE:	88
3S	TE:	48
	FINITE:	43
NHS	TE:	4
	FINITE:	26

3.4. Summary

This section has described a phenomenon in Japanese first person narrative similar to switch reference systems reported in other languages. The Japanese system supports the claim that switch reference is not strictly a sentence grammatical phenonmenon. An interesting feature of the Japanese system is the asymmetry of treatment of shifts. The shift from 1S to 3S or that of high to low information accessibility can be marked but the opposite shift cannot. This is a manifestation of perspective influence, a concept so prevelent in Japanese grammar.

Since perspective is dictated by the presence of the speaker, the system works perfectly only when 1S is involved. In

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particular, TE connects when 1S continues to be the subject or there is no perspective shift. In contrast to this, TARA connects clauses when there is a shift from primary to secondary perspectives, or higher to lower information accessibility within primary perspective. TARA usually marks speaker's discovery of some situation described in a clause with 3S or NHS. It should be clear now that without the concept of speaker's perspective and information accessibility there cannot be an adequate description for TE and TARA.

In the next section, I will discuss these switch reference form from a point of view of narrative structure. This will not be directly related to speaker's perspective, but in order to fully understand TE and TARA it is inevitable to look into such issues of discourse organization.

4. Narrative structure and switch reference

Recognition of discourse structure explains why some apparent exceptions are not true exceptions. The framework of discourse structure assumed here is a narrative organization which is composed of sections of action-event sequences (or "foreground") and sections of background material. I will briefly clarify the concepts of narrative structure and clause combining forms to be discussed in this section.

4.1. Overview of narrative structure

Much research on narrative structure assumes that independent clauses which communicate a sequence of actions or

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events appear in the actual order of actions or events, and that if the order is altered the semantic interpretation of narrative is also altered. Independent clauses which supply supporting material to the story, on the other hand, do not have this property and they can be moved at a different place with respect to other clauses. Labov and Waletzky (1967) call attention to this fact and define "narrative clauses" as those which characteristically report events in their actual order in the real world. This is a criterion that many researchers use to identify "foregrounded" clauses in the recent development of "foreground - background" theory of narrative (e.g., Reinhert 1984).

Along with the difference of temporal sequencing, foreground and background clauses are different in their functions. Grimes (1976) recognizes that "different parts of a discourse communicate different kinds of information," i.e., "event information" and "identificational and other kinds of information." (pp.33-5) (See also Du Bois 1980.) These two parts are named as "foreground" and "background" by Hopper (1979) and Hopper and Thompson (1980). Foregrounded clauses constitute the "backbone or skeleton of a text" and backgrounded clauses "put flesh on the skeleton." (Hopper and Thompson 1980:281) Since then many studies have been conducted to explain some grammatical distinctions made in the different parts in discourse in particular languages. (Kalmar 1982, McCleary 1982, Silva-

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Corvalan 1983, Fox 1983, Fleishman 1986. Thompson 1987 etc.)

I will adopt this view here. However, since all my data are narratives of past events in which a speaker is engaged in a series of actions or events, I will use the term "event sequence" instead of "foreground" and call the clauses which appear in event sequence "event clauses." Event sequence is defined as a sequence of events which take place strictly one after another on the temporal line. Thus two events which occur simultaneously do not constitue an event sequence although as a unit they might be a part of an event sequence with another event which either precedes or follows it.

All others are considered "background" information, which include circumstantial and temporal information, introduction of participants with an existential construction, and events which co-occur with another event. If two events co-occur, the one which is coded in the second position is always interpreted as the main event in Japanese grammar. For example, if playing the guitar "accompanies" the main event of singing, the clause order should be "playing the guitar" followed by "singing."

Recall at this point that in Chapter 3 I identified clauses which do not allow tense form alternation. These clauses and background clauses somewhat overlap; commentary and generic clauses are narrative background clauses.

I must point out one other important consideration that must be taken into account in applying the "grounding" theory to the study of switch reference in Japanese. In Japanese narratives,

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it is not possible to consider only finite clauses as event sequences (cf. Labov and Waletzki 1977) since some non-finite, medial clauses are qualified as event clauses by their fixed position with respect to other clauses in narrative. In fact most event sequences are expressed by non-finite, medial TE or TARA clauses. (cf. Givon 1987)

There is another type of non-finite clause besides TE and TARA in Japanese. This second type of non-finite clause can be called an "adverbial" clause. An adverbial clause is defined formally as a clause which is marked by an explicit connective with semantic contents such as kara 'because' and noni 'although.' The function of adverbial clauses is to give circumstantial or temporal information for situations described in other clauses. Adverbial clauses, however, do not include embedded clauses. Thus (25) is an example of adverbial clause but (26) is not. (26) is a case of noun modification.

(25) iku tame-ni junbi o shita.
go for preparation ACC do:PST

I prepared myself for going (somewhere).

(26) iku tame no junbi o shita.
go for LK preparation ACC do:PST

I made a preparation of going (somewhere).

(25) is marked by a connective tame-ni which indicates purpose. Notice also the order of an adverbial clause with respect to the clause it modifies. The adverbial clause always precedes its head in Japanese. (26), on the other hand, contains, not an

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adverbial clause, but an embedded purpose clause. Embedding, here, is marked by the linker no.

The TE or TARA clause with 1S connects clauses by "clause chaining." (Longacre 1972, 1983, 1985). In many clause chaining languages, clauses which represent chronological events are strung together in a chain-like fashion and switch reference works with this type of clause combining strategy. Adverbial clauses, on the other hand, supply explicit temporal or circumstantial information for other events or situations.

The other difference between clause chaining clauses and adverbial clauses is found in the type of dependency they exhibit. Foley and Van Valin (1984) call the dependency of clause chaining "grammatical category dependency" because a chaining clause (e.g., TE and TARA) lacks some grammatical category (e.g., tense) which must be filled in by the finite clause which appears at the end of a clause chain. (See also Lehmann 1988) The adverbial clause is independent for the grammatical category (tense). The dependency of the "adverbial clause" is indicated by a specific connective, as already explained.

The function of adverbial clauses was defined as giving circumstantial or temporal information. Matthiessen and Thompson (1988), following Halliday, call the clause type which has this function "enhancing hypotaxis." They then inquire the relationship between the rhetorical structure of written expository text and this type of clause combining form. One type

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of rhetorical relation is identified as Nucleus-Satellite. The Nucleus is the information which is central to the writer's purpose in creating a text and Satellite supplies supporting information for Nucleus (ms.p.12). Matthiessen and Thompson claim that enhaucing hypotaxis is often reveals the Nucleus-Satellite relation in text.

I further extend Matthiessen and Thompson's suggestion about the rhetorical structure of expository text to narrative.[11] Apparently the Nucleus-Satellite relationship in narrative does not always correspond to the relationship of event sequence and background information because it can also exist between two or more pieces of background information. However, if one clause expresses an event and there is a clause which describes the event circumstantially (e.g., giving reason or showing concession) or temporally, there is Nucleus-Satellite relation between them. This relation can be, though is not necessarily, expressed by a connective.

In this section an overview of narrative structure was presented. Event clauses trace what the speaker and other participants did, and are put in the chronological order of the actual events. Background clauses supply supporting information for event sequences. The order of placement of background clauses with respect to event clauses is not strictly fixed. However if a background information clause is expressed as an adverbial clause and attaches to an event clause, the adverbial

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clause must be placed first for structural reasons.[12]

There are, then, two types of non-finite clauses; clause chaining (switch reference) clauses and adverbial clauses. Clause chaining combine clauses without a Nucleus-Satellite relationship and often traces event sequences chronologically (when the subject is human). Adverbial clauses (Satellite) give circumstantial or temporal information to the Nucleus clauses. TE and TARA discussed so far represents chaining (switch reference) clauses. In Section 6, the adverbial "interpretation" of TE and TARA will be discussed.

4.2. "Embedded BG" and "BG Skipping" (1)

It has been shown in the literature how the structure of clause chain and discourse influences the use of switch reference markers (Longacre 1972, Gordon 1983). For example, if a chain contains a "subordinate" clause (e.g., an adverbial clause as defined earlier), such a subordinate clause is pushed off the line of event sequence. A clause before a subordinate clause looks ahead and finds the clause to which the subordinate clause relates. In other words switch referencing cannot be interpreted strictly linearly. In the present data, there are cases which exemplify this situation.

Some exceptional uses of TE and TARA seen in Table 1 can be understood if such clause and discourse structures are identified. I will show below two cases of TE with the first person subject followed by a third person subject and one case of

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TARA with the first person subject followed by the same subject.

In the next excerpt, TE appears unexpectedly before a clause with a different subject. Here the speaker became nervous wher a helper in a hotel where she was staying offered a glass of wine because she thought he might be trying to seduce her.

(27) (London)

205 Y: uun oishi-soo nee to-ka itte
yes delicious-looking EX or something say:TE

206 Y: sukoshizutsu nonde-te
little by little drink-STA:TE

—>208 Y: de mata .h koo patto satta suki-ni ne
INJ again this way ONM leave while EX

210 Y: kono ma:do giwa ni itte.
INJ window side LOC go:TE

212 Y: mado akete.
window open:TE

214 Y: sootto koo .. wain o sute-tari
quietly this way wine ACC pour out-and such

205 (I) said, "Oh, it looks delicious"-TE
206 (I) was drinking little by little-TE
-> 208 and (he) left-SUKI NI
210 (I) went to the window-TE
212 (I) opened the window-TE
214 (I) poured out the wine-TARI

Notice a change of subject between 206 and 208. Therefore TARA is expected in 206 but TE appears.

However a closer examination of this chain of clauses reveals a Nucleus-Satellite relation between 208 and the next clause 210, indicated by a connective suki-ni 'while.' (27) can be shown schematically as (28):

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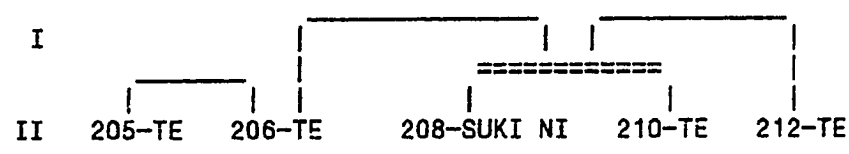
(28)



(FIN=Finite Clause)
(ES=Event Sequence, BG=Background Information)
(1S=First person subject, 3S=Third person subject)

In (28), line II is a representation of actual utterances with a verb form or a connective specified, line III indicates whether the piece of information conveyed in a clause belongs to the event sequence (ES) or background (BG). Line IV shows the subject of each clause. Finally line I shows visually the progression of the event sequence. The clause chain relation is indicated by a single line (——) and the Nucleus-Satellite (adverbial) relation is indicated by a double line (===).

In this portion of narrative, the background information expressed in line 208 is dislocated from the event sequence for the purpose of switch reference as if clause 206 foresees 210 as the next clause in the event sequence. I call the discourse structure represented by (28) "Embedded Background Information" (Henceforce "Embedded BG").

An interesting suggestion can be made about the status of the subject of 210 as compared to that of 208. Since the third person subject of 208 is an actor within the background portion, its pragmatic status might be less significant compared to the

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subject of 210, on which 208 depends structurally. This difference in pragmatic status can be captured by the notion of "topic" more easily. Thus switch reference in Japanese can be said to be more sensitive to (pragmatic) topic than to (grammatical) subject. That is, "topic" here is defined as the subject of the Nucleus clause. (Subject was defined in Chapters 1 and 3 as the first noun phrase slot for each case frame, which is usually associated with case particle ga.)

There is structural evidence that the subject of 210 has a different status than 208. Below is a modified version of (27) with an overt subject noun phrases.

(29) (modified from (27))

1 kare ga satta suki-ni
he NOM leave while

2 watashi ga mado giwa ni itta.
I NOM window side LOC go:PST

Watashi 'I' in line 2 can be placed at the beginning of line 1 and the so-called topic marking particles wa could mark this noun phrase as shown in (30).

(30)
1 watashi wa, kare ga satta suki-ni
I TOP he NOM leave:PST while

2 mado giwa ni itta.

However, kare 'he' in this position cannot take wa, as shown in (31).[13]

(31)
1 *kare wa satta suki ni
2 (watashi wa/ga) madogiwa ni itta.

For a clause combination such as 208 and 210 of (27), a "topic"

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is the subject of a Nucleus clause on which a Satelite clause depends. For a simple clause chain with no adverbial clause, the subject and the topic coincide. With these interpretations of subject and topic, it is possible now to say that Japanese switch reference is sensitive not strictly to the grammatical subject but to the topic. In the following discussion I will use subject and topic in this way, but these terms can be used interchangeably where no confusion is expected.

The structures identified as "Embedded BG" can be considered to be a "neat" packaging of background information and this sort of structure might be found in edited discourses more often. However, since the present data base is a collection of unplanned spoken narratives, more "crude" packaging of background information is observed. A more dynamic interpretation of discourse structure is required to interpret some cases. In the examples examined below, background information is not structurally packed in an adverbial clause but is presented in an independent clause.

In (32) below, a clause with the first person subject is followed by a clause with a third person subject. TE appears between them though TARA is the expected form. The excerpt describes an incident in which the speaker was nearly drowned.

(32) (Drowning)

45	O:	nde:	sore	de:	mo	honto-ni	oboreru	ka-to omotte ne
		and	then		EM	really	drown	QT think:TE EX

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```
--> 47   O: awatete  ne
            panic:TE EX

    48   O: yoko ni  ne konna-ni  ookina ne
            side LOC EX this much big    EX

            futotta obasan ga  ita       no
            fat     lady   NOM exist:PST SE

    51   I: ==iya:n*
            oh no!

    52   O: obasan no  ne (      ) ne
            lady  GEN EX         EX

    53   I: shigamitsuite:.
            grab:TE

    54   O: shigamitsuite
            grab:TE

        45 O: and (I) thought (I) was going to be drowned-TE
     -> 47 O: (I) panicked-TE
        48 O: There was this fat lady next to me.
        51 I: Oh no.
        52 O: the lady's (    )
        53 I: (You) grabbed it-TE
        54 O: (I) grabbed it-TE
```

The subjects of clauses 45 and 47 are the first person, but it changes in 48. Thus TARA is expected in 47 but TE is used. However, notice that clause 48 is background information to introduce obasan 'a lady' who becomes essential in this event sequence (Grime's "identification clause"). The discourse structure for this portion of narrative can be diagrammed as follows.

(33)

```
        ________  ______________________
I       |       ||                      |
II     45-TE   47-TE     [ 48-FIN ]     54-TE

III     ES      ES       [ BG ]          ES

IV      1S      1S         3S            1S
```


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I call the type of discourse structure represented by (33) "BG (background) Skipping."

The difference between (28) and (33) is that in (28) background information is grammatically packed into a clause with a connective, suki ni 'while' and in (33) it is presented in an independent clause. Diagrams (28) and (33) above suggest that the notion of "next subject" should not be understood as the linearly next, but rather as the next subject which is in an event sequence of a narrative (i.e., a topic).

Cases of apparent exceptions seen in Table 1 have led to the conclusion that TE signals the same subject of a clause which is not immediately following but a clause which appears later. Thus it is suspected that some of the 111 cases where TE appears between two 1S clauses, TE signals the same subject not in the immediately following but a later clause. Next is an example of "Embedded BG" in such a situation. Notice the subject is first person from line 8 through 13. The speaker is explaining why she and her husband decided to stop driving and rest on their journey.

(34) (East Europe)

8 de watashi-tachi ichido ne
and we once EM

ano: mo tsukarete ne,
INJ already tired EX

=unten suru no.
driving do SE

11 .h ano: .. yote: no: tomaru tokoro ni
INJ plan LK stop place LOC

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tome, azu ni
stop:NEG instead

13 moo chotto tochuu de ne yasumoo tte
already a little on the way LOC EM rest:PRV QT

yuu koto-ni-shita wake.
say decide:PST SE

8 Once (we) were tired from driving-TE
11 (we) decided not to stay at the place
we had planed to stop-ZU NI
13 (We) decided to stay on the way .

Here ZU NI in line 11 is an adverbial connective, which indicates accompanying (non-) action 'without doing,' and indicates that this is a background information for 13. This type of structure does not support the argument for "BG Skipping" directly since it cannot be determined whether or not the appearance of TE in line 8 is due to the same subject in line 11 or 13. Yet the argument for (25) suggests that it signals the same subject appearing in the chain consisting of 11 and 13, i.e., the topic of the chain.

I have shown that two features of discourse organization, "BG Skipping" and "Embedded BG," explain all the apparent exceptional cases of TE in Table 1. "Embedded BG" explains the situation where the next clause is the first part of an adverbial clause combination marked by an overt connective. "BG Skipping" explains a situation where the immediately next clause is an independent clause but in a background portion of the narrative. In this case, the TE clause skips over this background clause and connects to the next clause in the event sequence.[14]

Just as a consideration of discourse structure explains some

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apparent exceptional uses of TE, it also explains one apparent exception with TARA. Notice TARA in 283 of (35) below. Here the speaker tells a story of a drunken man who came to her and her husband one evening to apologize for the bad manner of his fellow East Germans. According to the man, he was sent by his wife who witnessed the argument that the speaker and her husband had had with the East Germans during the day.

(35) (East Europe)

281 M: nde .h ano: ^ doo yuu kot koto ka-to
and INJ what kind FRG thing QU

omotte
think:TE

--> 283 M: kiite-mitara
ask-try:TARA

284 M: sono ... ohiru ne watashi-tachi ga
that noon EX we NOM

hora: .. ^ ano: iiarasoi o shite-ita
EM INJ argument ACC do-STA:PST

toki-ni
when

287 M: .h kare: no #okusan ga ne
he LK wife NOM EX

tooku kara ne mite-ta wake. sore o.
far from EX see-STA SE that ACC

291 M: de sono okusan #ga sono dannasan ni
and that wife NOM that husband DAT

itta wake.
tell SE

293 M: =jitsu-wa sono: ^^^ higashi nishi
truth INJ East- West

yooroppa kara kita hito ga ne
Europe from come people NOM EX

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koo yuu me ni #atte-ta tte.
this kind of misfortune DAT meet-STA:PST QT

296 M: =hontoo-ni kinodoku datta kara ne,
really sorry COP:PST because EX

297 M: .h ayamatte-irasshai tte
apologize-give:IMP QT

299 M: soide ne kita-n da tte
and EX come:PST-SE COP QT

281 So (we) wondered-TE
-> 283 (we) asked him-TARA
284 When we had an argument in the daytime
287 his wife was watching that.
291 and the wife said to the man.
293 "People from East- uhm West Europe were treated badly,-QT
296 (I) felt bad for them-KARA
297 (you)'d better go apologize."-QT
299 so that's why (he) came (to apologize)-QT

TARA in 283 actually indicates subject change though the subject in 283 and its immediately following clause 284 are the same (first person plural). However, a definite hierarchical juncture exists between them. That is, 284 is the beginning of a side sequence of flashback that leads into the explanation of why the strange man came to visit the speaker and her husband. In other words, the sequence from 284 through 297 is background and 299 resumes the event sequence. The subject of 299 is the man, with the verb of saying ellipted. This is the case of "BG Skipping." Schematically it can be diagrammed as follows[16]:

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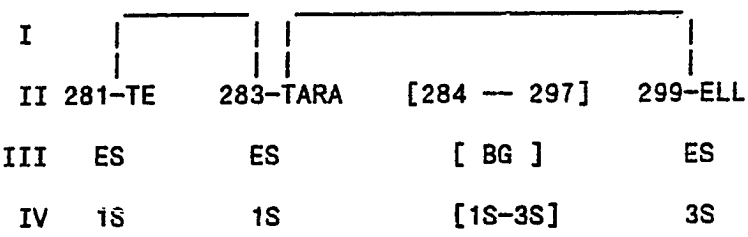
(36)



[ELL=verbal ellipsis]

Let's summarize so far. Canonically TE is used when the primary perspective, which is usually but not always coinsides with first person subject, continues to be the type of perspective in the next clause, and TARA is used when perspective changes to secondary perspective (or a lower information accessibility). Most apparent exceptions to this generalization are found to be non-exceptional in light of discourse structure. Two specific discourse structures, "Embedded BG" and "BG Skipping" were identified to cause the unexpected use of TE and TARA. In the next subsection, more examples of the discourse influence on switch reference clauses will be examined.

4.3. "Embedded BG" and "BG Skipping" (2)

In the discussion of narrative structure (3.2), I have only considered cases where a background information clause has a third person subject (3S). However, more often than not background information is expressed in a clause with a non-human subject (NHS). Studying NHS clauses will clarify further the "Embedded BG" and "BG Skipping."

When there is a change from first person to non-human

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subject (NHS), TARA can connect these two clauses. Indeed TARA appears in this situation 11 times as noted in 2.4, but TE appears more often. (See Table 5.) I will show that in most cases where TE is used, there is an explanation from discourse structure.

[TABLE 5] TE and TARA between 1S and NHS Clauses

		NEXT SUBJECT NHS
CURRENT SUBJECT		
	TE:	13
1S		
	TARA:	11

Table 5 shows that though TARA is used 11 times when the first person subject changes to a non-human subject, TE is used as almost as frequently in the same environment. However, it is found that most of these are accounted for on closer examination of the discourse environment.

The two types of discourse structure that give a distorted impression of the use of TE and TARA, "Embedded BG" and "BG Skipping," play a role here too. There are four cases of "Embedded BG" among the 13 apparent exceptional uses of TE shown in Table 5. Two such cases will be examined first. Consider (37). The speaker was walking around town to find her family members after a bombing in Tokyo during World War II.

(37) (Day After)
—> 336 soko i yotte
there LOC stop by:TE

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338 daremo inai kara
nobody exist:NEG because

339 kondo koo itte
this time this way go:TE

—> 340 eki no toori i dete
station LK street LOC come out:TE

341 eki yori moo chotto saki ga ..
station than EM a little ahead NOM

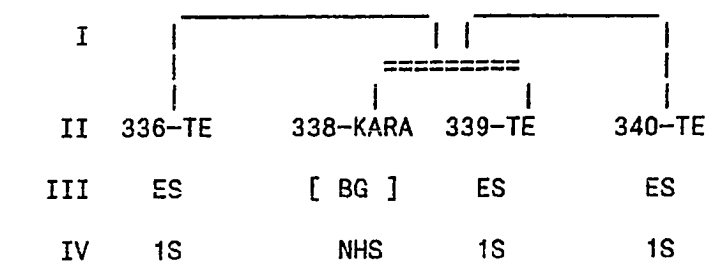
sekita-san toko datta n-de
the Sekita's place COP:PST because

343 .h eki e ittara
station go:TARA

-> 336 (I) stopped there-TE
338 No one was there-KARA
339 (I) went this way then-TE
-> 340 (I) went to a street near the station-TE
341 Mr. Sekita's house was a little ahead of the station-N(O)DE[17]
343 (I) went to the station-TARA

Between clauses 336 and 338 in (37), there is a subject switch from the first person to generic human; nonetheless TE appears in 336. However, notice that KARA 'because' connects 338 and 339 with the Nucleus-Satelite relation and 336 relates to the combination of these two clauses. This is a case of "Embedded BG." Graphically it can be represented as (38).

(38)



The subject of 336 is anticipating the subject of 339 (or the

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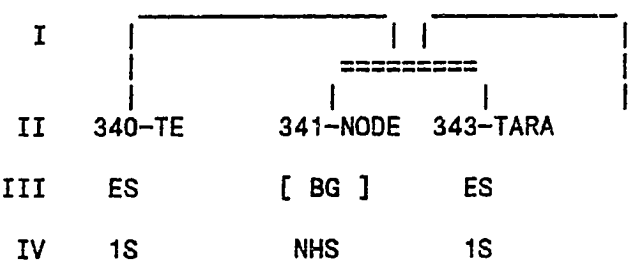
topic of the entire clause combination of 338 and 339). The second half of (37) has exactly the same structure.

(39)



In the discourse structure represented in (38) and (39), some background information is structurally tagged on to a clause, which is a part of the event sequence.

In the previous section "Embedded BG" was described as a "neat" packaging of background information. A more crude packaging of background information, "BG Skipping" is also found in NHS clauses. As a matter of fact, most cases of TE in Table 5 are of this type. Only two such examples are shown here.

(40) (Bombing)

51 ano: bookuugoo iku made
INJ air raid shelter go till

maniaw-anaku#te
be on time-NEG:TE

—> 53 jimusho ga nikai datta-n desu ne,
office NOM second floor COP:PST-SE COP EX

54 ano: .. #kaidan no shita e minna de nee
INJ stair GEN under LOC all of us with EX

nan-nin ka de kaidan no shita e
some people with stair LK under LOC

koo chijimatta.
this way huddle:PST

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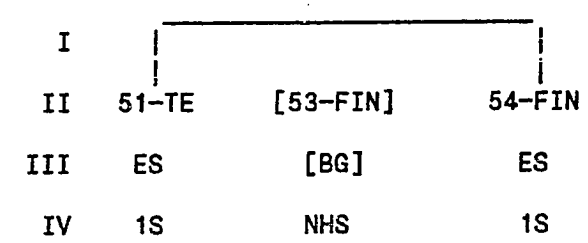
51 (We) didn't have time to get to
the air-raid shelter-TE
-> 53 Our office was on the second floor-FIN.
54 uhm .. under the stairway (we) all
huddled together-FIN.

53 in (40) is a parenthetical background (a commentary clause, as discussed in Chapter 3). The topic of 51, 'we,' continues to 54 skipping over 53. In other words, this is a case of "BG Skipping" and can be diagrammed as (41).

(41)[18]



The cases considered so far contain a finite form with NHS and it has been shown that such a clause conveys background information. In fact association of NHS clauses and background information is very strong. This is described in the next section.

5. Non-human subject and background information

Discussion so far mainly focuses on clauses with human subject (1S or 3S). Humans in narrative are most likely main characters who advance story lines. Non-humans, on the other hand, are usually associated with background information. It is the aim of the following sub-section (5.1) to show NHS's tendency to carry background information by appealing to the transitivity features of a clause. This characteristic feature of non-human

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subject points to a different interpretation of TE than when it is used with 1S. This is the concern of section 5.2.

This section also serves a purpose as a preface to Section 6 in which two distinct interpretations of TE and TARA are discussed. The two functions distribute themselves across event sequence and background portions of narrative.

5.1. Transitivity of non-human subject clauses

The discontinuous nature of NHS clause is a consequence of its backgroundedness. I will describe the backgrounded nature of NHS clause in the framework of grounding and transitivity theory. In this thesis the Transitivity Hypothesis proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) has been referred from time to time (Chapter 3 and Section 4.1 of the current chapter). In the discussion of backgroundedness of NHS, this theory is also useful since the theory makes a claim about the relationship between grounding and transitivity.

The transitivity of a clause is determined by the sum of ten transitivity "features" which include "kinesis" of action reported by a predicate and "agency" of the subject (stated as 1A-J (p.252)). Hopper and Thompson state their Transitivity Hypothesis as follows (p.255):

> If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity.

They further hypothesize that background clauses have lower

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transitivity scores than foreground clauses, and support this hypothesis in three English narrative texts. Two of their transitivity features relevant to the present discussion are "volitionality" and "agency." They are described as follows:

> Volitionality: The effect on the patient is typically more apparent when the A is presented as acting purposefully.
>
> Agency: It is obvious that participants high in Agency can effect a transfer of an action in a way that those low in Agency cannot.

A clause with a non-human subject[19] then is supposed to have lower transitivity since such a subject cannot act purposefully and cannot transfer an action effectively (as compared to human subjects). This means that such a clause might also score lower in transitivity for other features. This is found to be true since such a clause typically has a predicate which indicates "state" rather than "action" (Kinesis) and that is atelic rather than telic (Punctuality).

Table 6 below shows that human subjects, especially 1S, cooccur with non-stative predicate while non-human subjects appear more with stative predicates. Compare first the ratio of non-stative predicate for 1S (61.9%) and that for NHS (24.1%). Then compare it with the ratio of stative predicates for 1S (29.7%) and for NHS (59.9%). The asymmetry is clear from this table between 1S and NHS for transitivity. Also interesting in this table is that 3S assumes the middle point between the two extreme points assumed by 1S and NHS.

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[TABLE 6] Stativity for Different Subjects

	HUMAN 1S	HUMAN 3S	NON-HUMAN NHS
STATIVE	170 (29.7%)	96 (35.8%)	229 (59.9%)
NEGATIVE	48 (8.4%)	24 (9.0%)	61 (16.0%)
NON-STATIVE	354 (61.9%)	148 (55.2%)	92 (24.1%)
	572 (100%)	268 (100%)	382 (100%)
Chi Square	248.47	93.41	125.57
	p<.05	p<.05	p<.05
d.f.=2			

Table 7 is a breakdown of predicate types for different types of subject.

[TABLE 7] Predicate Types for Different Subjects

	HUMAN 1S	HUMAN 3S	NON-HUMAN NHS
TRANSITIVE	90 (15.7%)	57 (21.3%)	18 (4.7%)
MOTION	122 (21.3%)	35 (13.1%)	25 (6.5%)
CONTACT	30 (5.2%)	5 (1.9%)	6 (1.6%)
INTRANSITIVE	123 (21.5%)	53 (19.8%)	73 (19.1%)
SPEECH	57 (10.0%)	63 (22.4%)	9 (2.4%)
COGNITION	101 (17.7%)	9 (3.4%)	2 (0.5%)
PERCEPTION	4 (0.7%)	1 (0.3%)	2 (0.5%)
EXISTENCE	16 (2.8%)	21 (7.8%)	82 (21.5%)
MUTATIVE	10 (1.7%)	2 (0.7%)	21 (5.5%)
ADJECTIVE	7 (1.2%)	5 (1.9%)	38 (9.9%)
NOMINAL-ADJ	3 (0.6%)	6 (2.2%)	8 (2.1%)
NOMINAL	9 (1.6%)	14 (5.2%)	98 (25.7%)
TOTAL	572 (100%)	268 (100%)	382 (100%)

Although some predicate types with lower kinesis such as SPEECH, COGNITION and MOTION are used frequently with the 1S for semantic reasons, predicates with rather higher transitivity are preferred. On the other hand, NHS are strongly associated with predicate type with lower transitivity such as EXISTENCE,

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MUTATIVE[20], ADJECTIVE and NOMINAL. For example, the proportion of EXISTENTIAL verbs against all verb types for NHS is 21.5%. Compare this with 2.8% which is the percentage of this type of verb against all others for 1S.

This supports the Transitivity Hypothesis. Further, the second part of Hopper and Thompson's hypothesis about the relationship between narrative structure and transitivity predicts that non-human subject clauses appear in narrative background. We will see that this is the case in a little while.

This sub-section has provided support for the claim that a clause with a NHS is likely to be in background portion of narrative. This was shown by the association of NHS with low transitivity features.

5.2. Clause forms with first and non-human subjects

The previous subsection showed the tendency of NHS to carry lower transitivity, which is a feature of background clause, and the tendency of 1S to appear with higher transitivity features, a feature of event sequences. This finding suggests that NHS might be rather discontinuous while 1S is continuous. This further suggests NHS might appear more with the finite form of the predicate and 1S with non-finite, and TE in particular. (cf. Table 4) This section will consider if these predictions are valid.

By definition first person is the most important participant in first person narratives. According to the "topic continuity

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hypothesis" (Givon 1983a:8), then, 1S should be most continuous. NHS in this type of discourse, on the other hand, should be discontinuous.

Table 8 below indicates this tendency. This table shows number of instances where both previous and next clauses have the same subject as the current one (continuous subject) and where both previous and next clauses have different subjects from the previous one (discontinuous subject) for three different types of subject (1S, 3S and NH). It is understood that a clause ending can be of any type, (e.g., TE, TARA, FINITE or any other.)

[TABLE 8] Subject Continuity and Subject Types

	CONTINUOUS FROM PREVIOUS a TO THE NEXT	DISCONTINUOUS FROM PREVIOUS a TO THE NEXT	TOTAL	Chi Square*
1S	148 (61.7%)	92 (38.3%)	240 (100%)	12.60 p<0.05
3S	38 (40.8%)	55 (59.2%)	93 (100%)	2.74 N.S.
NHS	8 (3.6%)	214 (96.4%)	222 (100%)	189.3 p<0.05

[*Chi square with correction factor]

It is clear from this table that while a human subject, especially 1S, is continuous, NHS is very discontinuous.

In order to consider the relationship between clause ending form and subject continuity, however, only the subject continuity to the following clause must be examined. Table 9 shows the

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result. Here only 1S and NHS are considered.

[TABLE 9] Continuity of Subject to the Next Clause

Subject	Continuous	Discontinuous	TOTAL	Chi Square*
1S	295 (51.6%)	277 (48.4%)	572 (100%)	0.5 N.S.
NH	42 (11.0%)	340 (89.0%)	382 (100%)	230.90 p<0.5

[*Chi square with correction factor]

Table 9 shows the discontinuous nature of NHS very clearly. Only 11.0% of the time, a NHS continues to be the subject in the next clause. However, strong continuity of 1S is not seen in Table 9; only about 50% of the time does it continue to be the subject in the next clause. This may be due to the fact that, since 1S appears very frequently, the chance of it's appearing at a paragraph break is higher.

If, however, 1S continues to be the subject, TE marks the continuity. (This tendency, in fact, was already seen in Table 4.) Table 10 shows the number of TE vs. other forms including the finite form when the same subject continues.

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[TABLE 10] Forms for Continuous Subject

	NEXT SUBJECT (SAME AS THE CURRENT) TE	ALL OTHERS	TOTAL	Chi Square*
CURRENT SUBJECT				
1S	111 (37.6%)	184 (62.4%)	295 (100%)	17.56 p<0.05
NHS	4 (9.5%)	39 (90.5%)	42 (100%)	26.88 p<0.05

[*Chi square with correction factor]

Table 10 shows a greater tendency of TE marking the continuous subject when the subject is first person (111 out of 295 cases, or 37.6% of subject continuing clause) compared the case when the subject is non-human (only four out of 42 cases of subject continuation, or 9.5%.)

This tendency is more evident in the next table where the ratios of TE used before the same or a different subject for 1S and NHS are compared.

[TABLE 11] Distribution of TE with Respect to Continuity of Subject

		NEXT SUBJECT SAME	DIFFERENT	TOTAL	Chi Square*
CURRENT SUBJECT					
1S	TE:	111 (86.7%)	17(13.3%)	128(100%)	67.56 p<0.05
NHS	TE:	4 (8.5%)	43(91.5%)	47(100%)	30.72 p<0.05

[*Chi square with correction factor]

This table shows that the total number of TE with 1S is 128,

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in 111 of which (or 86.7%) TE marks the same subject. TE with a NHS shows a drastic contrast with this: the total number of TE with NHS is 47, in only four (or 8.5%) of which TE marks the same subject.

The above charcterization of the NHS clause with lower transitivity and backgroundedness suggests that TE has a function different from switch reference (same subject marker) when the subject is NHS. This is a reasonable assumption since the switch reference system is mostly needed to track participants in the event sequence and NHS tend not to be trackable and tend not to be in the event sequence in narrative. (Haiman and Munro 1983:xi)

To summarize so far, 1S is generally a continuous subject and the continuity is usually signaled by TE (Table 10). In contrast to this, NHS is very discontinuous. NHS is associated with lower transitivity features and thus assumes positions in the background in narrative. When the subject is non-human, TE rarely signals a continuous subject. Thus, it is suspected that TE used with NHS might have different function from TE used with 1S. To account for such non-clause chaining use of TE will command our attention now.

6. Clause chaining and "background information"

At the end of Section 5, it was suggested that TE with NHS might be different from that with 1S. This suggestion was made since TE with NHS does not mark a same subject for the next clause.

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Sub-section 6.1 below examines how TE is interpreted differently. Three interpretations of TE and the relationship between such interpretations and the subject of TE clause are considered. Then, in 6.2, different interpretations of TARA are considered.

6.1. Adverbial interpretation of TE

It has been established in Section 4 that NHS clauses are background clauses. Thus even when TE appears in such a clause, it does not work as a switch reference marker since switch reference is necessary to track participants (Haiman and Munro 1983:xi) in an event sequence in narrative.[21]

Further it was shown in Table 11 in the previous section that the distribution of TE with 1S and NHS with respect to the identity of subject in the next clause is different. It was suggested there that TE is a continuous subject marker for first person subject only and that when TE appears in a NHS clause, this characterization doesn't hold. This means that it is not possible to generalize that TE is a continuous subject marker.

At this point, I should make clear the relationship between the "function" and "interpretation" of TE. I claim that TE has only one function, which is to simply connect two clauses without any specific semantic relation. (cf. Hata 1985:21) However, TE is interpreted in a number of different ways. I will attempt to give some characterization of the conditions under which TE is interpreted differently.

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In the literature, different interpretations of TE are found. Inoue (1984:72) lists four interpretations: (a) sequential, (b) reason, (c) contradiction, and (d) means. In addition to these, Martin (1975:479-85) further identifies the following: (e) contrast, (f) condition, (g) witness, (h) simple conjoining, and (i) manner. Martin's long list of "meanings" of TE indicates great freedom of interpretation in context.

In my data, TE interpreted as "sequential" and "reason" are rather easily identified. However, other meanings or interpretations that Martin mentions are not always clearly separated. It is more feasible to have a category, "accompanying action/state." This interpretation includes such situations as follows: (a) when two actions occur simultaneously (Longacre's "overlap") (e.g., "He sang while playing the guitar"), (b) one action/state is a manner in which an action takes place (e.g., "we were sitting without talking"), (c) one action/state indicate how the action takes place (e.g., "I went downtown by riding a bus.") From the point of view of narrative structure, "reason" and "accompanying action/state" give some background information for the other clause or clause chain.

Another category necessary and important for spoken data such as these is "paraphrase" (cf. Longacre 1985:246-8). This interpretation is obtained when two or more clauses refer to the same event or state usually seen from different angles give different information about it (e.g., "I asked the man. I said

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to him 'Can you find me a room?'") Below I will show examples of these meanings and characterize them separately.

"Sequential" is characterized as temporally sequenced. This meaning is obtained when two clauses represent two independent actions which take place one after another. The switch reference system correlates with TE in this interpretation, as has been seen already. The following is another typical example of this type. In this portion of the narrative the speaker got lost on a mountain and had to spend a night behind a large rock.

(42) (Alaskan Mountain)

—> 48 ichiban ookii iwa o mitsukete
first big rock ACC find:TE

49 sono kage ni itte
that shade to go:TE

48 (I) found the biggest rock-TE
49 (I) went behind it-TE

The event reported in 49 occurred after that reported in 48.

TE meaning "reason" is identified by substituting kara 'because' for TE. Observe the following, which explains that the speaker enjoyed a classical music festival in London and attended concerts several times.

(43) (London)

—> 121 de sore ga hontoni yokute
and that NOM really good:TE

122 sorede mi-ban ka yon-ban gurai
so three-CLS or four-CLS about

kayotta-n desu
attend:PST-SE COP

121 and (the concert series) was really good-TE
122 so (I) attended it three or four nights.

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The predicate yokute 'good:TE' in 121 can be replaced by yokatta kara 'good:PST because.'

An example of "accompanying action/state" is seen in the next example. In this example, the first clause describes how the speaker went downtown.

(44) (Bus Accident)

27 sono basu ni notte
that bus on ride:TE

28 dauntaun ni itta wake
downtown to go:PST SE

27 Riding on that bus-TE
28 (I) went downtown.

Finally, (45) is an example of "paraphrasing." Two clauses connected with TE refer to the same situation but describe it slightly differently. The clause after TE usually give some additional information regarding to the given situation. In (45), the speaker first indicates that she made a request to the inn keeper in 68 and then explain exactly how she made it in 70.

(45) (London)

68 =soide ne ima made tomatta toko
and EM now till stay:PST place

no yadoya no ojisan ni tanonde
LK inn LK man DAT ask:TE

70 =dooka nari-mas-en ka tte tte
somehow become-POL-NEG QU QT say:TE

68 and (I) asked the manager at the inn
at which I had been staying-TE
70 (I) asked (him) if he could do anything.

The "paraphrase" interpretation will not be discussed further (except in Table 12) since it constitutes a small portion of TE found in data.

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The two meanings associated with TE, the interpretations of "reason" and "accompanying state/action" are similar in that they both give circumstantial information for the following clause or a clause chain which a TE clause connects to. Then these two connections are also semantically similar to adverbial clauses. Thus I group these two interpretations under the heading of "adverbial" interpretation. The "adverbial" interpretation stands against the "sequential" interpretations which is obtained when the two clause do not have such a Necleus-Satelite relation. And those two types of interpretation are contrasted with the third type, the "paraphrasing" interpretation. TE is interpreted as "paraphrasing" when the two clauses refer to the one and the same situation.

One of the factors which differentiates between the "sequential" and "adverbial" interpretations is the identity of the subject of TE clause. It was shown already that a TE clause with 1S is used as a continuous subject marker but that with NHS is not. This fact is related to the interpretations of TE. That is, in order for a temporal sequence relation to hold between two clauses, the two clauses must represent independent events. An independent event has a specific actor. Thus it becomes important to track the identity of an actor in this kind of sequence. Thus TE, as opposed to TARA, is used to indicate a continuous subject/topic. However, if the two clauses do not have a temporally sequential relation, one event is the main

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event upon which the other attaches for the purpose of giving some circumstantial or temporal information. In this case participant tracking is not a concern for the clause combining form. Thus it does not exhibit switch referencing force.

This then predicts the following. Since a NHS does not indicate continuous subject, it does not have a sequential interpretation. This prediction is supported by the next table.

[TABLE 12] Interpretation of TE for 1S and NHS[22]

	SQ	AD	PP	Other	Total	Chi Sq.
1S	56 (33.5%)	58 (34.7%)	14 (8.4%)	39 (23.4%)	167 (100%)	29.80 p<0.05
NHS	7 (12.1%)	37 (63.7%)	3 (5.1%)	11 (19.1%)	58 (100%)	48.74 p<0.05

[SQ = Sequential, AD = Adverbial, PP = Paraphrase]

This table points to the following facts: When the subject is first person, the interpretations of "temporal sequence" and "adverbial" are obtained equally often. That is, when the TE clause has a first person subject, it is either in the event sequence or it gives background information for a sequenced event in which the speaker is involved. When the subject is non-human, TE is likely to be interpreted as "adverbial" (37 out of 58 or 63.7% of the time) rather than "temporal sequence."

I will show below an excerpt from one narrative which contains both TE with 1S (event sequence) and TE with NHS (background). The speaker here drives up to a police station to

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ask where the closest gas station is when he finds out the gas is low.

(46) (Language Problem)

42 dakara: gasorin naku-nat-chatta kara
so gasoline empty-become-AUX:PST because

45 a kore mazui ya to omotte #ne
oh this bad EX QT think:TE SP

—> 46 toomee no naka ni
Tokyo-Nagoya Highway LK in LOC

kidootai honbu keesatsu to
Special Police Headquarters police and

(poriis steeshon) ga atte ne
(police station) NOM exist:TE SP

51 soko itte
there go:TE

42 so all the gas was gone-KARA
45 (I) thought I was in trouble-TE
46 there was a Special Police Headquarters and (a police station)-TE
51 (I) went there-TE

Since the subject of 46 is non-human, this use of TE is understood as not marking the continuous subject in the following clause but giving background information for clause 51. Thus 46 modifies 51. TE in 46 can indeed be replaced by kara 'because.' Therefore the narrative structure of (46) can be represented as (47) below.

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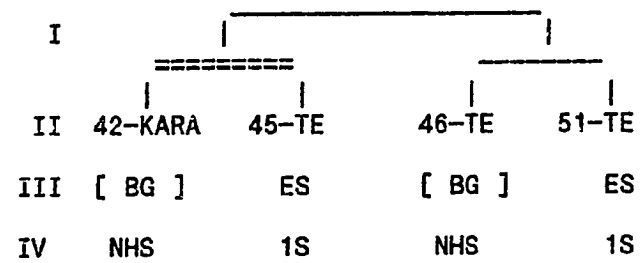
(47)



Notice that the adverbial relation between 42 and 45 is explicitly marked with kara 'because' (indicated by a double line ===). However the relationship between 46 and 51 is a clause chain (indicated by a single line ——) and their modifier-head relation is obtained only through interpretation.

The relationship between the non-humanness of the subject and the adverbial (background) interpretation of TE is consistent with the constructed examples found in Martin (1975), though he does not explicitly discuss this point. He gives many examples of the "sequential" interpretation, almost all of which have a human subject in the TE clause. (48) is one example.

(48)

hon o karite yon-da.
book ACC borrow-TE read-PST

(I) borrowed a book-TE
(I) read it.

As a striking contrast, all his examples of clauses with "consequence" (or "reason") meaning of TE have NHS. He notes (p.480);

> The CONSEQUENCE (or "cause and result") meaning sometimes carries quite a strong flavor of "because", equivalent to that of -ru/ta kara; the gerundized [i.e., TE marked-SI] sentence can take a different subject from that of the

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sentence to which it attached.[23]

A typical example of this type in Martin is the following.

(49)
ame ga futte ik-e-nakat-ta
rain NOM fall:TE go-can-NEG-PST

It rained so (we) couldn't go
(or) Because it rained, we couldn't go.

To summarize, the TE clause works as a part of the switch reference only when it has a first person subject. When it has a non-human subject, the TE clause tends to give some circumstantial background information. The reason why TE is interpreted differently is that its function is to simply to connect two clauses without any specific meaning as a adverbial clause does. In the next sub-section, the case of TARA is considered and compared with the case of TE.

6.2. Interpretation of TARA

This section considers the interpretations of TARA compared with those of TE.

Like TE, TARA has been known to have more than one meaning. The two distinct meanings of TARA often discussed in literature are "temporal" and "conditional." (See for example Kuno 1973a, 1973b, Akatsuka 1983, 1985). This suggests a direct parallelism with the multiple interpretations of TE since "temporal" is the same as "sequential" and "conditional" is adverbial, supplying "background" information.

Thus it is predicted when the subject is 1S, TARA is used as a switch reference marker in an event sequence, and when the

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subject is non-human, it is interpreted as "conditional." The first half of this prediction is supported. All of the TARA in the data have 1S and show temporal sequence between two events which have different actor-subjects. However, unfortunately, TARA appears with non-human subject only five times and it is difficult to make any generalization or a conclusive statement.

[TABLE 13] TARA with 1S and NHS with Temporal and Conditional Interpretation

	Temporal			Conditional		
	Continuous Subject	Discontinuous Subject		Continuous Subject	Discontinuous Subject	
		NHS	3S		NHS	3S
1S	2	11	21	-	-	-
NHS	2	1	-	-	2	-

Table 13 shows that when the subject is 1S the interpretation is always "temporal" and furthermore that TARA appearing under this circumstance is nealy always followed by a clause with a different subject (94.3%). When the subject is non-human, three out of five cases are interpreted as "temporal" and two out of five are interpreted as "conditional."[24]

The number of non-human subject appearing with TARA in the data is too small to warrant any further discussion.[25] However, the form, TO, which is very similar to TARA, appears nine times in the data with NHS. It is worth discussing this form at this point.

The connective form TO appears exclusively with NHS. It

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will be shown in a short while that TO is always (except for one marginal case out of nine cases in my data) used in a generic statement. Not only TO but also five instances of TARA with NHS do not refer to definite-specific incidents and are statements about generic, iterative, or hypothetical situations. This is quite a contrast with TARA clauses with first person subjects, where situations are always definite-specific past events.

I will describe some uses of TO first. The fact that TO has a similar function to TARA can be shown by their interchangeability in such examples as the following.

(50) (Drowning)

—→ 17 de natsu ni nattara
and summer DAT become:TARA

18 minna atsumatte-kite
everybody gather-come:TE

19 kai chottoshita kaisuiyoku mitai naru no ne
FRG a little ocean resort like become SE SP

-> 17 it becomes summer-TARA
18 people come gathering-TE
19 (the place) will become a some sort of resort beach

17 in (50) has the TARA ending but it could be changed to TO.

(51) de natsu ni naruto
and summer DAT become:TO

Although in some cases, as in (50) and (51), TARA and TO are nearly equivalent, the impossibility or difficulty of interchanging them with each other, as in (52), indicates that they are not synonymous.

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(52) (East Europe)

—> 165 nde higashi doitsu ni tusitara
and East Germany LOC arrive:TARA

166 =ano ... ano: minna hookoku
INJ INJ everybody report

shi-nakerebaikenai no.
do-must SE

-> 165 and (one) gets to East Germany-TARA
166 uhm ... uhm everybody has to report.

It is difficult to substitute TARA in 165 of (52) with TO.

Conversely it is difficult to change TO in 148 of (53) to TARA.

(53) (East Europe)

—> 148 nn de: koo .h shingoo ga aruto nee,
and like signal NOM exist:TO SP

149 tokidoki ano: nanka san-dai yon-dai gurai
sometimes INJ like three-CLS four-CLS about

mieru keredomo ne,
can-see:NPT but SP

-> 148 and there is a signal-TO
149 (you) see three or four cars-KEREDOMO

The difference between these two endings is that TA, a part of TARA, is related to the past tense morpheme, TA (cf. Chapter 3. See also Kuno 1973a:177). Since in (52), the action reported in 165 must be completed before the action described in 166, TARA is appropriate. In contrast to this, the situation reported in 148 in (53) is not something that can be completed since it signifies existence of an object (shingoo 'signal'). TO is more appropriate in such a case when completion of one action is not required for the realization of the other.

Since clauses with TO and TARA with NHS do not refer to the

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specific-definite events (i.e., the following clause is not the definite past), they are out of an event sequence. From the facts described above, we can conclude that TARA/TO with a NHS signals a different kind of connection from that signaled by TARA with 1S, since a switch reference TARA only appears in an event sequence by definition.

To summarize, although the "conditional" use of TARA and TO are not observed often due to the nature of the data, TARA and TO clauses with NHS are clearly backgrounded. This parallels the TE clause with NHS.

6.3. Summary

In this sub-section different interpretations of TE and TARA were considered. For both types of clauses, the "sequential" interpretation is obtained with 1S, while the "adverbial" interpretation with NHS. Only when TE or TARA is interpreted as sequential does the switch referencing work perfectly. TARA with NHS is followed by a different subject as is TARA with 1S. TE with NHS, however, is usually followed by a different subject, unlike TE with 1S, which is followed by the same subject.

From the point of view of narrative structure, this can be restated as follows. An event sequence contains an actor which will be coded as the subject of a clause. In this case, care must be taken so that identity of the subject is unambiguously retrieved. Thus the system of switch referencing with TE and TARA is employed. This system is important in a language like

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Japanese which allows great freedom of ellipsis and lacks subject-verb coreferencing.

Clauses which supply background information, on the other hand, do not have this concern. Background clauses are off the event sequence, and even if they are connected to the next clause with either TE or TARA/TO, it is not their concern to indicate the participant in the next clause.

The switch reference system is necessary only for event sequence because that is where a clear indication of the identity of the subject is necessary. Further, in a first person narrative, a clause with 1S requires continuous and discontinuous subject marking since this is where important events occur and strict identification of participants is necessary.

7. Conclusion

Speaker's perspective, which is relevant for the tense form selection discussed in Chapter 2, also influences the clause chaining form selection (TE and TARA). The distribution of these two forms in narrative is very systematic: TE appears when the same subject continues in the next clause and TARA otherwise. In other words, these two forms mark switch reference in a clause chain.

There are three ways in which speaker's perspective is involved in the use of TE and TARA. First, the switch referencing works only for first person subject. In particular, TARA never appears when a third person subject changes to first

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person subject. This might be because the speaker must tell a story from his "perspective." Second, speaker's perspective is important for the Japanese system in that TE and TARA with non-human subjects do not exhibit switch reference. They are interpreted as giving background information rather than signaling same or different subject.

Third, some apparent exceptions, where TARA appears between two clauses with the first person subject, can only be explained in terms of a concept such as perspective. TARA normally marks the shift from primary to secondary perspectives, but this change is actually a change from a higher to a lower degree of information accessibility. That is why TARA appears between "reflective consciousness" and "non-reflective consciousness."

Another point of discussion in this chapter is the relationship between discourse structure and the switch reference system. It has been pointed out in the literature that it is not possible to conceive of switch reference systems as operating strictly linearly. This chapter confirms this claim further. Adverbial clauses, which are specifically marked with connectives, are out of consideration for switch referencing in Japanese. A TE or TARA which appears before an adverbial clause skips over it. I called this type of discourse structure "Embedded BG" since by definition adverbial clauses give some background information and are embedded in a string of clauses.

The other discourse structure I identified which distorts

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the linearity of clause chaining is "BG Skipping." This structure contains an independent clause with background information and a TE or TARA clause appearing before it. This structure is characteristic of unplanned discourse. The speaker halts in the middle of a clause chain and inserts an independent clause for the purpose of, say, introducing a necessary participant.

The Japanese system of switch reference is similar to those found in other languages. However, the distinct treatment of first person subject is rather unusual. Haiman and Munro (1983:xi) claim: "we should never expect to find languages which mark switch-reference in the first and second persons, but not the third." I hope to have shown that such languages do in fact exist and why they behave as they do.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Clause combining by chaining cannot be classified either as "subordinate" or "coordinate" connection (Longacre 1972, 1985, Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1984). The status of clause chaining strategies for clause combining is partially responsible for recent arguments in clause combing typology. For example, Van Valin (1984) sees a necessity to characterize clause chaining as "co-subordinate" which does not belong to either "subordinate" and "coordinate." See Haiman and Thompson (1988) for various aspects of clause combining.

[2] Haiman and Munro (1983:xi) note that most switch reference systems cross-linguistically work efficiently for third person subjects. (See also Comrie 1983:25-6, 36.) If their generalization is correct, then the Japanese system is very different.

[3] Akiba (1978) notes that the BA form in Old Japanese functions similarly to a different subject marker. It is interesting to observe all the forms which are claimed to show a changed subject (BA, TO and TARA) have also a conditional meaning. See also Fujii (1985) for a discussion of switch refence in Old Japanese. I will discuss the conditional use of TARA in Section 5 in this chapter.

[4] Henceforth, I use "verbs" to include "auxiliary verbs" since they behave exactly the same for morphological alternation in Japanese. Conjugating words include, besides verbs, adjectives and the copula. Here only the description of verbs are given since the majority of predicates that appears with TE and TARA are of this type. I ignore the cases of irregular verbs, which include only a handful of verbs in Japanese.

[5] According to Yamada (1952:5), the onbin process appeared in the Heian period (late eighth to late twelfth centuries), probably influenced by the Chinese pronunciation at that time.

[6] The "stronger connection" property of TE is usually given as an intuitive feeling of a linguist. Ono (1987), however, substantiates this claim by a statistical analysis of clauses appearing in recipes. His findings suggest that TE indicates higher continuity than RY in terms of participant, temporal, and spatial orientations. That is, there tends to be a continuous participant, and the same temporal and locational orientation between clauses connected with TE rather than RY.

[7] It is very important to question when the finite form appears with respect to same and different subject. This will lead to a discussion of information unit (e.g., Chafe 1980,

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Pawley and Syder 1977) which might show a very different structure from, say, English. However, investigation into this topic will take us too far away from the current investigation.

[8] There is another pair similar to omou and kangaeru. They are wakaru 'know' (nonreflective) and shiru 'know' (reflective). (cf. N. McCawley 1978) Some other randomly selected expressions which represent nonreflective consciousness are listed below.

me ni haitte-kuru	'to come into sight'
kibun ga waruku natte-kuru	'to become sick'
(warui kangae ga) ukande-kuru	'(a vicious thought) comes to one's mind'
ki-ni-nari-dasu	'to start worrying'
wasurete-shimau	'to forget'
omoi-dasu	'to recall'

These expressions represent low degree of information accessibility; thus if the previous clause has 1S as an instigator, TARA can connect the two clauses naturally.

[9] The closest example in the data to (21) is (i) below. Although the subject of clause 276 in (i) is third person and the previous subject is first person, the third person in 276, the other passengers, represents an alliance between the speaker and the other passengers against an airlines ticket clerk.

(i) (False ID)

275 N: sorede ne sono kippu o misete,
and EX that ticket ACC show:TE

276 N: .h anoo hoka-ni mo nan-nin-ka ne
INJ other also some people EX

kippu shiraber-areta no.
ticket check-PSS:PST SE

275 and then I showed my ticket-TE
276 some other passengers were also checked for their tickets.

However, this portion of discourse might not have been well organized, i.e., this portion does not sound natural according to some native speakers. Thus I did not consider (i) for Table 1.

[10] An apparent counterexample to the claim I am making might be such a sentence as follows. Notice the subject changes from 'John' (3S) to the speaker.

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(i) (from Kuno 1973a:182)
jon ga inaku-nattara
John NOM exist:NEG-become:TARA

benkyoo dekiru yoo-ni-natta.
study can AUX:PST

When John had left, I came to be able to study.

The first clause describes John's departure and the second clause describes the situation that came about after John's departure.

According to the theory developed here, this clause chain is within primary perspective since it contains the first person subject, and the first clause has a lower degree of information accessibility than the second one despite the fact that the subject changes from third to first person. In this example, the degree of information accessibility of the first clause is higher maybe because it is the situation that the speaker has been waiting for. (The speaker wanted John to leave so that he/she would be able to study.)

TARA also appears in a reverse situation and in this case the reason for the use of TARA might be different. Observe (ii).

(ii) jon ga kitara
John NOM come:TARA

benkyoo deki-naku-natta
study can-NEG-AUX:PST

When John came, I came to unable to study.

In this case, the situation described in the first clause is not something that the speaker was awaiting. Yet the degree of information accessibility for the first event is higher than the second event since its transitivity is higher.

[11] However, it is not possible to apply their theory based on written texts to the spoken discourse completely. See note [14] for more discussion on this point.

[12] Some languages structurally require adverbial clauses to precede the main clause (Longacre and Thompson 1985:174); Japanese is one such language. Yet, of course, there are cases of post-posed adverbial clauses found in the data. It will be interesting to see if post-posed adverbial clauses have a different function in discourse organization. See Chafe (1984), and Thompson (1985) for some investigation into the functional difference between adverbial clauses placed at front and those placed at the end in English. See also Longacre and Thompson (1985:212-5) for additional discussion of function of adverbial clauses in discourse.

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[13] Kuno (1973a:207-9) briefly discusses movability of "subject" with respect to different types of clause connectives. Certain connectives (such as to 'and,' node 'because,' toki 'when') allow the subject of the second clause to move, when it is different from that of the first clause, to the beginning of the first clause with the topic marker wa. However, in a clause connection with TE, RY, and shi 'and', such movement is not possible. He uses this fact to argue that different connectives express different degrees of subordination.

[14] Anticipating a possible argument against a structural analysis such as (33), let's consider this situation from a different angle. A portion of discourse such as (33) can be explained as a result of speaker's "moment-by-moment" decision (cf.Sacks et al. 1974, Schegloff et al. 1977). That is, the speaker does not construct a hierarchical structure such as (33): the TE which appears before an independent clause does not signal the same subject which appears in a clause after the independent clause. The speaker might not have any intention to organize discourse this way.

Although it is certain that the "moment-by-moment" analysis is necessary, it does not discout a hierarchial veiw of discourse. This is because when producing a discourse a speaker must have some sort of scenario (or goal) in telling a story, which can be captured by a hierarchical diagram. In order to achieve this goal he must produce one unit (e.g., clause) at a time (cf. Pawley and Syder 1977). Thus a discourse is constrained by these two factors: goal-oriented hierarchical structure and a moment-by-moment decisions. A structure such as (33) is not intended to represent a mental picture of the speaker but is rather a post-hoc analysis based on the usual pattern that TE exhibits. There are number of cases of TE which do not connect directly to any clause in the following discourse. These cases are not considered for the analysis. See note [22] for more discussion on this point. A resercher should take a great caution not to impose his analysis too rigidly.

A study of discourse should address the question of how these constraints interact. However, I will not discuss this issue further here sice it would take us too afield.

[15] This type of TARA form is a VP conjunction. That is, a TARA form of a verb is followed by the adjective ii 'good' and constructs a predicate meaning 'it is all right to do such and such.' This type of TARA is not considered here. TE also has a VP conjunction use (e.g., -TE ageru 'to do something for someone as a favor') and this type of TE is not considered here either.

[16] The internal structure of 284 through 279 is rather complex but specifiable in the schema adopted here with a few modifications. However, a precise representation is not

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required for the present analysis.

[17] Clause 341 ends in n-de, which is a contracted form of no-de 'because.' See also note [23].

[18] An extreme case of the type represented by (39) is found when a background clause is an utterance completely outside of the narrative (e.g., sorede nan datta ka naa 'and I wonder what happened next' (LAS VEGAS)). I called this type of utterance "commentary" in Chapter 3.

[19] The non-human referents in this thesis can be characterized by some of the features of Hopper and Thompson's "non-individuated" noun referents, e.g., "inanimate, abstract, or non-referential."

[20] MUTATIVE is a verb phrase consisting of either a noun followed by the particle ni, or the -ku form of the adjective, and the verb naru 'to become.' For example, natsu ni naru 'to become summer' or atsuku naru 'to become hot.' Other verb types in TABLE 10 should be self explanatory. The entries TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE are used as default categories when a verb cannot be classified into any of the other entries.

[21] However, Cole (1983:1-15) notes that in Ancash and Imbabura (both Quechua languages) switch-reference is limited to adverbial clauses.

[22] The "other" category includes all the uses of TE which are not readily interpreted as either "sequential, adverbial" or "paraphrase." Some uses of TE in the "other" category might be considered to be not well formed in context due to performance errors. These deviant cases are in fact interesting since frequent misuse of TE is evidence of TE's function of connecting clauses without a specific semantic relation. That is, TE is so versatile that it is used to the extent of being abused and a speaker might end a clause with TE without considering the next clause to follow since it is "the 'safest' option." (cf. Clancy 1980b:264-5). This suggests the impossibility or inappropriateness of trying to impose a perfect rhetorical structure covering the whole (unplanned) spoken discourse.

I believe that the structure of unplanned spoken discourse is constrained both by a rather global, hierarchical orientation and the clause-by-clause orientation. These two orientations interact with each other and to create discourse.

[23] This quote from Martin will give an impression that some TE clauses are very much like kara clauses. However, a few differences must be noted here. While TE is possible only when two events or situations are expressed in chronological order, kara does not have such a restriction. There is also a semantic

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difference between the two. As Martin correctly indicates, the "meaning" of adverbial TE is "cause" rather than "reason." In some cases such distinction becomes obscure, but they are different in that "reason" can be either "internal" or "external" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:240) but "cause" must be "external." Therefore, (i-a), (i-b) and (ii-a) are fine, but (ii-b) isn't.

(i) External Connection

a) denki ga tsuita kara akaruku-natta.
light NOM turn on:PST KARA bright-become:PST

b) denki ga tsuite akaruku-natta.

Because the light was turned on,
it became bright.

(ii) Internal Connection

a) denki ga tsuita kara jon wa kaette-kita-n daroo.
John TOP return-come:PST-SE MOD

b) *denki ga tsuite John wa kaette-kita-n daroo.

Since the light has been turned on,
John must have come home.

There is yet another form which conveys a "because" meaning, i.e., -no de. This is the TE form of no desu construction. (no is a nominalizer and desu is the copula). (For more discussion of no desu, refer to Mikami 1972, Kuroda 1973, McGloin and Terakura 1978, McGloin 1980a, McGloin 1981, McGloin 1983, Noda 1981, Iwasaki 1985b.) More research is needed to clarify the exact semantic or functional differences among these three strategies to indicate "reason/cause." Refer to Miyagawa and Nakamura (1988) for an interesting discussion of kara and node.

[24] TARA is interpreted here as having the "conditional" meaning if the phrase with TARA could be introduced with an conditional adverb moshi.

(i) (Alaskan Mountain)

76 detara
come out:TARA

77 oshimai desu yo.
end COP:NPT EX

76 (if a bear) comes out
77 that will be the end.

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In line 76, moshi can be placed before the verb. However, it cannot be placed in line 17 of (50) which will be be discussed next.

[25] The reason why the conditional meaning is not found in the present data is that conditional clauses does not usually have a significant role in narrating a story. In narrative, background information such as "reason" and "concession" have a heavier semantic load in developing a story line. For discussion of conditional TARA, see the references listed earlier.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

0. Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by (a) summarizing the main claims presented in the previous chapters, (b) showing the possible generality of some claims made, extending them to other languages, and (c) suggesting related areas of future research.

1. Perspective principle

The central claims of the thesis can be summarized as the following principle.

(1) Perspective Principle
A speaker views "primary perspective" and "secondary perspective" situations differently.

"Primary perspective" situations are the situations in which the speaker is involved. Hence the speaker plays a double role of "reporter" of, and "participant" in these situations. 'Secondary perspective" situations, on the other hand, refer to situations in which the speaker is not a participant. Thus when describing a secondary perspective situation, the speaker is simply a reporter.

The difference between primary and secondary perspectives also represents a difference in the degree of "information accessibility." This concept refers to how direct the speaker's relation is with the information he is conveying. In a primary perspective clause, the information accessibility is high because

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the speaker himself is a participant in it (i.e., a direct experiencer). It is lower for a secondary perspective clause because the speaker is outside the situation under description (i.e., is an indirect experiencer).

Principle (1) is, in essence, a cognitive principle. It has been shown that this principle is supported by linguistic data and that it can explain some other linguistic phenomena.

I argued that Japanese predicates which show internal states, including sensation, emotion, and intention are clear evidence for Principle (1). These predicates code the difference between primary and secondary perspective situations most clearly because internal states are not observable from outside. The difference in predicate forms in (2) and (3) was pointed out in Chapter 1.

(2) boku wa kanashii.
I TOP sad:NPT

I am sad.

(3) jon wa kanashi-gatte-iru.
John TOP sad-show sigh of-SAT:NPT

John is sad.

(2) is a primary perspective sentence because the speaker is the experiencer of the emotion 'sadness.' In this case, the adjective form of 'sad' is used. On the other hand, if a sentence is in secondary perspective as (3), the predicate must be modified to show that the sentence reports an indirectly observed situation.

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The influence of perspective is not restricted to Japanese but is observed in other languages as well. In Lhasa Tibetan and other related dialects and languages, volitionality is indicated morphologically only in primary perspective sentences. Newari is one such language. (DeLancy 1987:63-4)

(4) ña-s deb der bźag-pa-yin.[1]
I-ERG book there put-PERF/VOL

I put the book there.

(5) *kho-s deb der bźag-pa-yin.
he-ERG book there put-PERF/VOL

He put the book there.

The (perfective) volitional marker pa-yin cannot be used in a secondary perspective sentence, (5). For (5), a simple perfective marker soñ must be used instead. DeLancy's explanation for the distribution of the volitional marker perfectly coincides with my explanation. He says: "the reason for (the restriction of volitionality marking) to clauses with first person actors is that one can have direct knowledge of the volitionality or non-volitionality only of one's own acts; volitionality is a mental state not observable by others." (p.64)

The perspective principle stated in (1) can be interpreted in terms of information accessibility. That is, information accessibility for primary perspective situations is higher and that for secondary perspective situations is lower. The concept of information accessibility further allows us to recognize levels within primary perspective. Recall in Chapter 3, I contrasted two sentences (given (6) and (7) here) and showed that

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primary perspective situations can be expressed in two levels of control (or information accessibility) but such a distinction is neutralized in secondary perspective situations (as shown in (8) here).

(6) boku wa yama o mita.
I TOP mountain ACC look at:PST

I looked at the mountain.

(7) boku ni wa yama ga mieta
DAT TOP NOM see:PST

I saw a mountain.

There is no counterpart of (7), a level of lower information accessibility, in a secondary perspective situation.

(8) jon wa yama o mita.
John TOP mountain ACC see:PST

John looked at the mountain.

(9) *jon ni wa yama ga mieta.
John DATA TOP NOM see:PST

John saw a mountain.

Tibetan shows a parallel case: more levels of information accessibility are only possible for primary perspective situations. The following examples are from (Chamdo) Tibetan. (Iwasaki 1985c)

(10) ŋe tš'eraŋ la ñen dzin yin.
I:ERG you DAT listen FUT AUX

I will listen to you.

(11) ŋa ñop tšin re.
I:ABS fall asleep FUT AUX

I will fall asleep.

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Notice that in the future tense, the two different auxiliaries (yin and re) appear for a controlled and non-controlled actions for primary perspective situations. This distinction is neutralized in secondary perspective situations as shown in the next examples.

(12) k'oŋ ŋa la ñen dzin re.
he:ABS I DAT listen FUT AUX

He will listen to me.

(13) k'oŋ ñop tšin re.
he:ABS fall asleep FUT AUX

He will fall asleep.

The reason why primary perspective situations allow more levels of information accessibility is that the speaker can distinguish different internal states of his own. Whether or not a third person has an intention to control an action, a speaker as an outside observer cannot penetrate the third person's mind.

In the discussion of the above Japanese examples ((6) through (9)), I also noted the relationship between information accessibility and transitivity. Whenever there is a transitivity difference, high information accessibility and high transitivity marking co-occur. Thus a more controlled action described in (6) employs a transitive verb and a less controlled action described in (7) employs an intransitive verb.

Though the Tibetan cases shown above do not show clearly the relationship between information accessibility and transitivity, some languages indicate higher transitivity for higher information accessibility. Some "fluid S marking" languages

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(Dixon 1979) mark first person S with the ergative case if S represents a controlling agent of an event and with the absolutive case if S represents a non-controlling agent. Bats (Comrie 1981:53-4) and Spoken Tibetan (Chang and Chang 1980) are said to be such languages. Since the canonical ergative case marking appears in transitive rather than intransitive constructions, it is a marker which is higher in transitivity than the absolutive marker.

A similar case can be found in Yidin (North Queensland) which can distinguish controlled and non-controlled actions for primary perspective situations only.[2] The following examples are form Dixon (1977:283-4).

(14) ŋayu gunda :ɟiɲu
I:NOM cut SFX:PST

I cut myself (on purpose)

(15) ŋanan gunda :ɟiɲu
I:ACC cut SFX:PST

I cut myself (accidentally)

Similarly, some languages exhibit obligatory passivization or antipassivization for primary perspective situations. For example, in Lummi (a coast Salish language) when first person is the patient and third person is agent, a passive sentence must be employed with an intransitivizing suffix, n. Compare (16) and (17). (Jelinek and Demers 1983)

(16) xči-t-san cə sway?q?
know-TRA-1st the man

I know the man.

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(17) xči-t-ŋ-sən ə cə sway?q?
know-TRA-INT-1st by the man

I am known by the man.

Yukulta (Queensland) shows obligatory antipassivization in the same environment discussed above. Again an antipassive sentence is marked with intransitive verb morphology as compared to transitive verb morphology for ergative construction (Keen 1972, cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980)

The languages surveyed so far exhibit rather straightforward manifestations of the principle stated in (1). Since this principle is cognitively based, it might be manifested in other areas in grammar (less straightforwardly than the cases presented above). In this thesis, I proposed that the distribution of nontemporal tense forms in discourse is such an example (cf. Chapter 3). In more universal terms, the principle can be seen to contribute to some grammatical phenomena influenced by the demarcation between the speech act participants (i.e., first and second person) and third person. (I will consider the status of second person shortly. Meanwhile first and second persons are considered as one category as "speech act participants." (Delancy 1981:627, Comrie 1981:188)

One possible instantiation of the perspective principle is seen in the so-called "split ergativity" based on (inherent) semantic distinctions of noun phrase referents. Languages with this type of split ergativity show two distinct case marking patterns, ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative. In

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general, a transitive sentence with the A^3 role "higher" on the animacy hierarchy (see (18) below) exhibits a nominative-accusative pattern while that with the A role "lower" on the hierarchy follows the ergative-absolutive pattern. One example of the animacy hierarchy can be summarized as below:

(18) Animacy Hierarchy
SAP > human 3rd > non-human animate > inanimate
[SAP= Speech Act Participants]

The exact point on the animacy hierarchy where the split occurs varies from language to language. The cut-off point might be between non-human animate and inanimate, as in Thargari spoken in Western Australia, or between human and non-human, as in Arabana spoken in northern South Australia. (cf. Comrie 1981) However, the most common cut-off point is between the speech act participant (first and second person) and human 3rd person. (DeLancy 1981:628) DeLancy cites an example from Kham (a Tibeto-Berman language):

(19) ŋa: nan-lay ŋa-poh-ni-ke.
I you-OBJ 1A-hit-2P-PERF

I hit you.

(20) no-e nan-lay poh-na-ke-o.
he-ERG you-OBJ hit-2P-PERF-3A

He hit you.

Though both (19) and (20) have a transitive structure, the treatments of the A in primary and secondary perspective sentences are different. Ergative marking only appears in a secondary perspective sentence.[4]

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Dyirbal is also an example of split language in which split ergativity is based on noun phrase referents. In this language, not only are primary perspective sentences treated differently from secondary perspective sentences, but also first (and second) persons are always assigned nominative (if A) or accusative (if P) case. Conversely, a third person is always marked with either ergative (if it is A) or absolutive (if it is P) (Comrie 1981:124). The case marking paradigm is shown below. (Dixon 1979:87)

[TABLE 1] Dyirbal case marking pattern

A	-Ø	-ŋgu	-ŋgu	-ŋgu
S	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
P	-na	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
	1st/2nd	3rd person pronouns	proper names	common nouns

This table shows that for first and second persons A and S are treated the same with no marking while P is marked with -na (nominative/accusative pattern), while for third persons and other noun phrases S and P are coded identically with Ø and A with an overt marker -ngu.

Finally I present a slightly different phenomenon form Shona (a Bantu language) (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974:163). In a sentence with a verb marked with passive and benefactive for interpretation and the pronoun him in the object position as the patient.

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(21) ȟdà-ká-mú-svípúr-ír-ẁ-á
I-PST-him-kiss-for-PSS

He was kissed for me.

This pattern is invariable for secondary perspective situations. Thus the expected interpretation of (22) below is 'I was kissed for him.'

(22) á-kà-ȟdí-svípúr-ír-ẁ-á
he-PST-me-kiss-for-PSS

He was kissed for me.

However, the first person must be selected for the benefactive overriding the morphosyntactic rule. I take this as an example of the influence of information accessibility as well, giving a more freedom in primary perspective situations.

I have listed some linguistic phenomena across languages which are often accounted for by appealing to some version of the animacy hierarchy shown in (18). However, many phenomena described by the animacy hierarchy can be in fact described by the distinction between the speech act participants and human third person. (Comrie 1981:179, 186-7, 188; DeLancy 1981:639, 643) This distinction is indeed the distinction between primary and secondary perspectives. That is, besides clear examples of perspective influence on grammar (e.g., Japanese internal state predicates, volitionality marking in Tibetan languages, and control marking in Bats), there are some other covert influence of perspective on grammar.[5]

Thus I have proposed a cognitive motivation for such split phenomena in language. Speaker's experience is qualitatively

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different between primary and secondary perspective situations. Some languages recognize these cognitively different kinds of information and code them differently. It will be necessary to follow up this line of investigation by analyzing split phenomena in languages in more detail.

Analysis of first person narratives is a fruitful way of investigating this issue because they necessarily include primary and secondary perspectives which are rather easily identified. A split phenomenon might be found in an unexpected area in grammar as in the case of the distribution of nontemporal tense forms in Japanese discourse.

2. Second person

I have avoided the issue of second person so far. In the analysis of the data, this is justified since no second person pronoun appears (except marginally in "interaction utterances"). However, I briefly present my view on second person in this section.

As DeLancy (1981) shows it is most plausible to categorize first and second persons together as "speech event participants" in a crosslinguistic study since split phenomena in some languages treat first person as a higher category on the animacy hierarchy but others treat second person as such. And yet in some other languages, first and second persons are treated similarly for split phenomena. Thus it is plausible to state the following as a principle operating across languages. (See also

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Silverstein 1976:117, Dixon 1979:85.)

(23) SAP > 3rd

In particular languages, the SAP is given a unique structure. The possibilities are:

(24) 1st > 2nd

(25) 2nd > 1st

(26) 1st = 2nd

According to the perspective principle given in (1) (and "egocentric scale" in Zubin 1979:495), (24) is the most natural structure. Motivation for (25) and (26) must be sought out. Rather than giving a separate motivation for each case above, however, I will try to give argumentation for the nonunitary nature of first and second persons.

As mentioned earlier, second person is similar to first person in that both, and only they, are speech act participants and (personal) "shifters." (Silverstein 1976, Jacobson 1957) However, seen from a communication point of view, second person is different from all other categories, including first person, which appear on the animacy hierarchy (cf. (18)). I suggest that narration (as well as some other discourse genres) can be defined as communication which reports something unshared between speaker (first person) and hearer (second person). Third person narrative, thus, is not only a story in which third person acts as a protagonist, but also it must be a story which the hearer does not know. Similarly, first person narrative is an untold

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story in which the speaker figures as a protagonist. Unsharedness is an essential part of narration. If a communication act lacks this feature, it is no longer narration. Thus reminiscing about "our" good old days or remembering how "we" got into trouble do not count as narratives.

Since unsharedness is a necessary part of narration, it is natural that there is no such thing as "second person narrative." A second person narrative would have to mean a story which sets up the hearer as a protagonist and is not shared between the interlocutors. This is obviously a contradiction since the speaker must know the story when he tells it and at the same time the hearer must know the story if he is a protagonist. A speaker can tell a story about the second person who lost normal consciousness induced by hypnosis or drinking. However, in this case the story should be counted as a third person narrative since an unconscious self is considered as a separate personality (cf. "split ego" discussed in section 1.4.2, Chapter 2).

I have suggested that second person is qualitatively different from any other referents because of its inability to be a protagonist in narrative. All other referents, including inanimates and abstract notions (though less likely), are capable of being protagonists. This suggests that second person cannot be considered on a par with first and third persons on the animacy hierarchy.

This in turn suggests that the confusion of ordering of first and second person observed earlier (24) through (26)) might

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not be real. A second person is defined solely in terms of the relationship with the speaker in the environment of the speech event. Thus a modified animacy hierarchy would look like (27).

(27) 1st > 3rd > ....
|
2nd

(27) can explain the widely attested cut-off point between first and third persons and variant orderings of first and second persons in different languages.

I maintain that the "1st-3rd" cut-off point is based on a universal cognitive principle (the "perspective" principle given in (1)) and that this affects some grammatical phenomena in some languages. Treatment of second person varies from language to language because there are other factors besides the cognitive perspective factor which define second person, especially the status of hearer in the speech exchange (cf. Banfield 1982:128ff). This line of investigation has yet to be explored.

As a final note to the discussion of second person, I will show that second person in Japanese is treated like a third person in terms of the perspective principle but is treated differently from third person in terms of speech exchange participants.

The next chart shows the compatibility of subject with an internal state predicate, samui 'cold' in a statement and a question. (desu is the copula and ka is a question particle.)

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SUBJECT	STATEMENT samui desu	QUESTION samui desu ka
first	ok	-
second	*	ok
third	*	*

This chart clearly shows the ambivalent nature of second person. Second person subject patterns with third person subject in statements since internal state is only observable by the person who experiences it. The perspective principle can be extended to discriminate second person as against first person. However, in questions second and third persons behave differently. Second person subject is compatible with the predicate in the question while third person is not. This is because a question puts a hearer into a responsible party to report internal states. The hearer can report his internal state but still cannot comment on third person's. In sum, two different forces (the perspective principle and the speech act environment) influence the behavior of second person.[6]

The status of second person has not been fully investigated in linguistics. It has to be considered from two different angles; the perspective principle which separates second person from first person and the speech act environment which separates it from third person. Understanding second person will clarify the various patterns of second person with respect to first and third persons in the animacy hierarchy and split phenomena based

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on semantic nature of noun phrase referents. I will leave this for future research.

3. Other main points

The perspective principle was presented in (1) in the simplest way possible. To fully understand this principle, two other aspects must be included. In this thesis they were identified as "infiltration of primary perspective" and "perspective shift," respectively. Discussion of infiltration of primary perspective will lead to establishing a hierarchy of information accessibility represented as:

(28) primary (full conscious) > primary (nonreflective) > secondary

This hierarchy is confirmed in the discussion of perspective shift.

3.1. Infiltration of primary perspective

Infiltration of primary perspective was posited since initially a perspective sentence was defined as a sentence which includes first person as an argument which can take any grammatical function. Thus if a sentence contains no first person argument, it is automatically considered as a secondary perspective sentence. However, some sentences which are in secondary perspective by this definition exhibit similarity to primary perspective sentences in the marking of nontemporal tense form in discourse. Some of the apparent secondary perspective sentences were found to form a coherent subgroup which include

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covert involvement of speaker. In particular, a speaker might be a goal or recipient in a situation though no mention is made in a sentence (e.g., 'a student approached (me)'). A speaker might be a hidden experiencer in the situation. This usually happens in an adjectival sentence which describes the quality of some object from the speaker's point of view. (e.g., 'The wine was so delicious'). Finally, a speaker is present as a discoverer of a situation. (e.g., 'There was this big lady next to me').

The degree of covertness of speaker increases from the goal/recipient role to the discover role. This can be shown by the possibility of explicit mention of a speaker in such sentences. Languages can usually accomodate a speaker with a goal/recipient role, though some languages (e.g., Japanese) prefer not to include it when no confusion is expected. Languages can express the experiencer role for adjectival sentences easily as well (e.g., 'The wine was delicious to me'). Some languages can encode the speaker's role in a much more explicit way. Thus in English, beside the adjectival sentence just mentioned, such sentences as 'I liked the wine very much,' co-exist. This second alternative to describe the quality of an object is clearly in primary perspective. Japanese, however, lacks this option.

Speaker's role as a discoverer also tends to be coded implicitly in Japanese. Discovery situations are often expressed through the existential construction in Japanese. However, again some languages have other means to describe the same situation.

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Iwasaki (1985a) studies strategies for introducing participants in Japanese and English narratives. In English new participants can be introduced by the existential constructions but also through the P role for a perception verb.

Since the data used in Iwasaki (1985a) consist of third person narratives ("Pear Story", cf. Chafe 1980), it is not possible to compare them with the present Japanese data directly. (The use of generic 'you' as in 'you see a man dragging a goat,' for example, seldom appears in first person narratives) However, even in first person narratives, the strategy of "introduction through P" still exists in English (e.g., 'Then I saw this dog') while is lacking in Japanese. This shows a clear difference between English and Japanese in the treatment of discovery situations. In Japanese, like the "experiencer" role of the speaker in the adjectival sentence, the "discover" role (a kind of experiencer role) of the speaker is most often communicated through the existential sentence.

Types of sentence, such as existential sentence, which covertly include the speaker/experiencer can be described as communicating "nonreflective consciousness" (cf. Chapter 2). Nonreflective (or spontaneous) consciousness (usually) refers to the perception with which one experiences certain situations without being fully aware of the peception process. Recognition of sound or smell is processed in the nonreflective consciousness. Recognition of sound or smell, however, can be

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brought into "reflective" (or full) consciousness when necessary. Japanese grammar seems to be sensitive to this distinction of consciousness. (Kuroda 1973, 1987) Sentences which represent nonreflective consciousness have been called sentences of "neutral description" by Kuno (1973).

I claimed that sentences which describe situations in which a speaker discovers or perceives something represent nonreflective consciousness. Both types of sentences are in primary perspective even if they do not include the speaker as any covert argument in them. That a missing experiencer is necessarily the speaker can be shown in the following examples. First observe (29) which was examined in Chapter 2.

(29) ongaku ga kikoeru
music NOM hear:NPT

I hear music.

Compare the Japanese sentence with its English equivalent. In English the speaker is coded as the subject (apparently a primary perspective sentence), while in Japanese the speaker is not coded (apparently not a primary perspective sentence). However, it is possible to include an argument representing the speaker in (29). As in many languages the experiencer of this type is coded as a dative. Thus (30) with the explicit experiencer in the dative is a possible alternative to (29).

(30) boku ni wa ongaku ga kikoeru.
I DAT TOP music NOM hear:NPT

The reason why (29) is a subtype of primary perspective (with nonreflective consciousness) can be shown by the fact that boku

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'I' in (30) is not exchangeable with any other persons (second or third): (29) must include the speaker as the experiencer.

It should be also noted that the difference between reflective and nonreflective consciousness appears as the difference of degree of information accessibility. This will be further discussed in the next subsection.

To summarize so far, some sentences which do not contain an argument which codes the speaker might be interpreted as primary sentences. I described this situation as infiltration of primary perspective into a secondary perspective sentence. However, this should be taken simply as descriptive. It is probably more accurate to say that certain situations are inherently in primary perspective, but the grammar of Japanese either cannot (in the case of the "discovering" situation) or does not usually (in the case of "adjectival" and "perception" situations) code the speaker in sentences. I have summarized in this subsection perspective within a clause. In the next subsection, I will summarize perspective across clauses.

3.2. Perspective shift

In narratives, a speaker produces one clause after another. There are independent clauses, but more often than not clauses are chained together through nontensed verb morphology. Some of these clauses are in primary perspective and some are in secondary perspective. Within a clause chain, clauses with the same perspective are combined with the TE form of predicate.

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Perspective can shift at the break of a clause chain or within a chain. When a shift of perspective occurs at the break of a chain, the direction of shift is not restricted. It can shift from primary to secondary, or from secondary to primary. However, when a shift occurs within a chain, the direction must be from primary to secondary. This shift is marked with TARA. Because of this distribution of TE and TARA, I called them markers of switch reference.

TARA not only indicates the change from primary to secondary perspectives, but can also indicate a more suotle change in information accessibility from higher to lower. An example of this subtle change is observed when the first clause represents a full consciousness and the second nonreflective consciousness (cf. a hierarchy presented as (29)). TARA can be employed in this case. Thus:

(31) doa o aketara inu ga ita no.
door ACC open:TARA dog NOM exist:PST SE

(I) opened the door-TARA
there was a dog.

If the first clause in (31) ends in TE, then the second clause must represents the same degree of information accessibility, i.e., primary perspective with reflective (or full) consciousness. For example,

(32) doa o akete omote e deta no.
door ACC open:TE outside to go out:PST SE

(I) opened the door-TE
(I) went outside.

I noted that the TARA clause must be in primary perspective.

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This means an inanimate subject does not appear in TARA clause. This is true when TARA functions as a switch reference marker. However, I also noted that both TE and TARA have adverbial function. With this function such a restriction on TARA does not apply.

It has been argued in this thesis that, although TE and TARA function similar to switch reference markers, they are more sensitive to the degree of information accessibility. Thus TARA appears when there is a shift from full consciousness to nonreflective consciousness, from primary to secondary perspectives, as well as from first person subject clause to third person subject clause.

4. Conclusion

This thesis has shown the importance of speaker's perspective in language which has not been fully investigated in linguistics. Since language is realized through its use by the speaker, perspective and other subjectivity-related phenomena which the speaker brings in cannot escape from language. While some aspects of subjectivity phenomena might be best treated as phenomena at the level of parole, perspective influences language at the level of langue, especially, as investigated in this thesis at the level of morphology (e.g., in Japanese internal state predicates and Tibetan volitional predicate). In future research, other types of grammatical phenomena might be found to be explicable by the notion of speaker's perspective.

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Special abbreviations used in this chapter are:

ABS	absolutive
ERG	argative
FUT	future
INT	intransitive
PERF	perfective
TRA	transitive
VOL	volitional

[2] The Yidin case is interesting since the "control" marking in primary perspective is a consequence of split ergativity and the suffix -:di-n of this language. Example (14) is a reflexive sentence signaled by the -:di-n suffix and the patient noun phrase is marked with nominative. Example (15) is a transitive sentence with an (unspecified) inanimate agent (e.g., an ax), which is also signaled by the same suffix and the patient is marked with the accusative.

Since third person patients in secondary perspective cases are marked with the absolutive, no distinction can be made.

[3] Following Comrie (1978:330-1), I use S to refer to "the single argument of an intransitive verb"; A to refer to the "argument of a transitive verb which would be its subject in a non-ergative language like English"; and P to "the argument that would be the direct object."

[4] Kham is not a typical ergative language according to the general definition of the term since it does not mark P in a transitive construction and S in an intransitive construction in the same way. However, for the present purpose, this deviant pattern does not present a problem since the concern here is the difference in the marking of A between the two sentence types. See DeLancy (1981:628) for more on the point of the non-canonical ergative pattern of Kham.

Note also that in this case the ergative marking appears in secondary perspective (lower information accessibility). For languages which show a split like that in Kham, variant case marking patterns appear within transitive constructions. This should not be confused with the case described for Bats and Yidin in which variant case marking patterns appear within intransitive constructions. It was argued that ergative marking for an intransitive clause indicates higher transitivity since it is usually a marker of transitive construction. However, neither ergative nor nominative marking in a transitive clause in split ergative languages show higher (or lower) transitivity.

[5] It should be noted, however, that the perspective principle is just one factor that causes split phenomena. It will not

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necessarily explain splits at other cut-off points or splits based on other grammatical factors such as tense and aspect.

[6] First person subject with the predicates in question is not applicable; the question 'Am I cold?' does not usually make sense.

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APPENDIX

DATA ID NUMBER:: #1
TITLE: EAST EUROPE

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (1)
SEX: female
AGE: 30's
OCCUPATION: graduate student

RECORDING DATE: 5/2/1986

---

10 M: ano hora konoaida ano: kiefu de ano
INJ INJ recently INJ Kiev LOC INJ

11 hora ano: jiko ga atta
INJ INJ accident NOM happen:PST

desho,
right?

12 M: sore-de 1- so: soreni -1
so RG also

13 M: .h ano: sore-de:
INJ so

14 omoidashita-n da kedo
remember:PST-SE COP EX

15 M: =atashi-tachi ano: hi#gashi-doitsu
I-PL INJ East Germany

16 ni itta koto ga atta no.
to go:PST NML NOM exsist:PST SE

17 S: =nn
BCH

18 M: de are nan-nen gurai
and that how many-years about

mae kashira ne.
before MOD EX

19 M: =tabun ... roku-nen ka shichi-nen
maybe six-year or seven-year

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20 gurai mae kana:,
about before MOD

21 S: =nn
BCH

22 M: de sore ha#jimete watashi-ta< watashi
and that first time we< I

23 wa hajimete higashi-yooroppa ni
TOP first time East Germany to

24 itta no.
go:PST SE

25 M: iwayuru kyoosanken ne,
so-called Eastern Bloc EX

26 M: .h soide: ..... ano: oslo kara
and INJ Oslo from

27 zuu-1-tto -1 denmark o tootte ne,
all the way Demark ACC pass:TE EX

28 M: zuutto doitsu o tootte.
all the way Germany ACC pass:TE

29 M: sore kara ..... #berurin made
that from Berlin up to

30 itta no.
go:PST EX

31 M: %saisho.
first

32 S: =nn
BCH

33 M: basu de itta no.
bus INS go:PST EX

34 M: basu tte yuu ka ano hora
bus QT say or INJ INJ

35 forukusuwaagen no basu.
volkswagen LK bus

36 S: aha::
BCH

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37 M: de "capmping" yoo-ni koo
and in order this way

38 naka o kaizoo-shite ne,
inside ACC alter:TE EX

39 M: sono tomar-eru yoo-ni shite
INJ stay-POT in order do:TE

40 M: zuutto itta no.
all the way go:PST EX

41 S: aha::
INJ

42 M: .h de doitsu no: nishi-doitsu no
and Germany LK West Germany LK

43 hoo tootte-ru toki wa
side pass-STA time TOP

44 M: sugoku kaiteki de ne,
very comfortable COP:TE EX

45 M: ano: ^^ itsudemo tomari-tai toki ni
INJ whenever stay-want:NPT time at

47 M: tatoeba ano .h ano: koosokudooro
for example INJ INJ highway

48 no yoko ni ne,
LK side LOC EX

49 M: ano: tomaru tokoro ga aru no.
INJ stay:NPT place NOM exist:NPT SE

50 M: =%chanto.
perfectly

51 S: nn
BCH

52 M: chuushajoo .. no tokoro ni ne.
parking lot LK place LOC EX

53 M: .h ano: ..... a nan te iu
INJ INJ what QT say

no kana:
NML MOD

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54 M: koo senmenjo ga at-tari ne
this way bathroom NOM exist-also EX

55 M: shawaa o abi-tari suru tokoro
shower ACC splash-also do:NPT place

56 mo an no.
also exist:NPT SE

57 N: =%chanto.
perfectly

58 M: dakara .. yoru tomatte-mo ne,
so night stay-though EX

59 M: yasunde tomatte mo ii
rest:TE stay:TE also good

60 yoo-ni natte-ru no.
for become-STA SE

61 M: dakara soko ni zuutto
so there LOC all the way

tomatte itte.
stay:TE go:TE

62 M: .h de .h ano: berurin ni tsuita
and INJ Berlin GL arrive:PST

63 no nee,
SE EX

64 M: de.h (1.9) eeto ne berurin ni (1.2)
and INJ EX Berlin GL

65 tsuku mae
ariive:NPT before

66 M: are doo datta kana:*
INJ how COP:PST MOD

67 M: (2.3) nanishiro ne sono berurin ni
anyway EX INJ Berlin to

68 iku made ne~
go:NPT until EX

69 M: ano:: .h ano kontorooru ga aru
INJ INJ control NOM exist:NPT

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70 deshoo,
right?

71 S: nan no kontorooru desu ka,
what LK controle COP:NPT QU

72 M: hora higashi: no hoo ni iku
INJ east LK side to go:NPT

to[ki ni]
time at

73 S: [a sono tsuuka suru] toki
INJ that passing do:NPT time

74 M: =nn nn
BCH BCH

75 M: sorede sore ga taihen de nee~
and that NOM severe COP:TE EX

76 M: .h ano: nande mukoo muite-n no,
INJ why that way face-AUX:NPT SE

77 S: yaa ano hito kinishi-naide
INJ that person mind-NEG:TE

78 M: 1----1

79 S: atchi mi-nai hoo ga
that direction look-NEG side NOM

ii desu yo.
good COP:NPT EX

80 M: 1-----1

81 N: nanishiro ne monosugoi no.
anyway EX severe SE

82 M: moo.
EM

83 M: ano shepaado no inu wa iru
INJ shepherd LK dog TOP exist:NPT

shi nee~
also EX

84 M: ano: ^ kuruma no naka o zenbu
INJ car LK inside ACC all

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85 shiraberu wake.
search:NPT SE

86 S: aa aa
INJ INJ

87 M: =nn soide tatoeba zasshi wa
BCH and for example magazine TOP

88 dooyuu zasshi ga aru ka
what kind magazine NOM exist:NPT QU

toka nee,
or something EX

89 S: =nn
BCH

90 M: =soide watashi ne chood ano .h ...
and I EX right INJ

91 ano: noruwee ni ita toki
INJ Norwqy LOC stay:PST time

92 M: =hataraite-ta kara nee.
work-STA:PST because EX

93 S: =nn
BCH

94 M: ano: .h hora ... nihon no shinbun
INJ INJ Japan LK newspaper

95 M: shinbun ne, mora-eta no.
newspaper EX receive-PTN:PST SE

96 S: nn
BCH

97 M: =de asahi shinbun no nanka .h
and Asahi newspaper LK INJ

98 san-kagetsu bun ka
three-months quantity or

1- nanka ne: -1
something EX

99 S: =nn
BCH

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```
100  M: yomi-takatta  kedo   yom-e-nai
        read-want:PST though read-PTN-NEG:NPT

101        no  ga  atta      no.
           NML NOM exist:PST SE

102  M: =sore o   tsunde-ta    no.
         that ACC load-STA:PST SE

103  S: =nn
         BCH

104  M: .h soshitara ne kore wa #nan  da
           then      EX this TOP what COP:NPT

105        tte yuu     no.
           QT  say:NPT SE

106  S: =nn
         BCH

107  M: de  nihon-go          de  kaite-aru
        and Japanese-language INS write-STA:NPT

           kara
           because

108  M: =mochiron  yom-e-nai        deshoo,
         of course read-PTN-NEG:NPT right?

109  M:  .h de sore  o   hitotsu zutsu
           and that ACC one     each

110        hitotsu ni yakuso        tte
           one     GL translate:IMP QT

           yuu     wake.
           say:NPT SE

111  S: 1---1

112  M: 6- de  sonnani takusan aru        noni -6
           and that    many    exist:NPT  though

113  M: [yakus-e-nai          kara]
         translate-PTN-NEG:NPT because

114  S: [1----1]
```


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115 M: =moo .h moshi nee,
INJ if EX

116 M: =ano: yomi-tai-naraba
INJ read-want-if

117 M: =doozo motteitte-kure tte
please take-AUX:IMP QT

itta no.
say:PST SE

118 M: soshitara sore wa yokatta-n
then that TOP good:PST-SE

da kedo
COP EX

119 M: =nanka moo honto sumi kara
INJ INJ really corner from

120 sumi made sagasu no.
corner till search:NPT SE

121 M: .h de ano gasorin: no hora ...
and INJ gasoline LK INJ

122 gasorin o ireru tokoro ga
gasoline ACC put:NPT place NOM

aru desho,
exist:NPT right?

123 M: %ano forukusuwaagen no.
INJ volkswagen LK

124 M: sore no naka sono naka ni nee,
that LK inside that inside GL EX

125 M: ano: nanka osooji yoo no ano: nante
INJ INJ cleaning for LK INJ what

126 yuu no burashi mitai na no o
call NML brush like LK NML ACC

127 irete ne
put:TE EX

128 M: =hito ga i-nai ka doo ka
person NOM exist-NEG:NPT or how QU

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129 1- tashikame-tari ne ----1
check-also EX

130 M: 1- .h sukoshi chotto -1 .h ano:
a little a little INJ

131 M: (1.0) nanishiro chotto kibishikatta
anyway a little severe:PST

132 no nee,
SE EX

133 M: de .h sorede .. maa sore wa
and then INJ that TOP

134 daijoobu de
no problem COP:TE

135 M: =mochiron .. itta-n da kedo.
of course go:PST-SE COP EX

136 M: zu:tto higashi-doit .. higashi::
all the way East Germany East

137 (0.9) iya beruring ni iku made nee,
no Berlin to go:NPT until EX

138 M: michi ga zenzen nan te yuu
road NOM not at all what QT say

139 no, akari ga nai no.
SE light NOM exist:NEG:NPT SE

140 S: makkura na-n desu ka,
pitch dark LK-SE COP QU

141 M: ==nn
BCH

142 M: (3.0) h honto chotto
really a little

143 kimochi-ga-warukatta no.
weird:PST SE

144 M: =kyorikan ga zenzen
sense of distance NOM at all

naku-naru no ne,
exist:NEG-become:NPT SE EX

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145 S: hoka no kuruma wa,
other LK car TOP

146 M: hoka no kuruma nanka mo mareni
other LK car SOF also rarely

147 shika i-nai shi.
only exist-NEG:NPT also

148 M: nn de: koo .h shingoo ga
BCH and INJ traffic light NOM

aruto nee,
exist:TO EX

149 M: tokidoki 1- ano:----------1 nanka
sometimes INJ INJ

150 san-dai yon-dai gurai mieru
three-CLS four-CLS about visible:NPT

151 keredomo ne,
though EX

152 S: nn
BCH

153 M: nn hontondo .. i-nai no ne,
BCH almost exist-NEG:NPT SE EX

154 S: ==nn
BCH

155 M: =dakara makkura na naka nanka
so pitch-dark LK inside INJ

156 honto zenzen kyorikan
really not at all sense of distance

ga nakatta wa ne.
NOM exist:NEG:PST EX EX

157 S: ==nn
BCH

158 M: nanka (1.4) michi no sekai
INJ unknown LK world

159 ni iku i- tte yuu soo yuu -1
to go:NPT QT say that say

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160 M: .h soo yuu kanji datta wa,
that say feeling COP:PST EX

161 S: nn
BCH

162 M: de zu:tto itte soshite ne.
and all the way go:TE and EX

163 M: .h ano: higashi doitsu ni:
INJ East Germany GL

164 tsuita no nee,
arrive:PST SE EX

165 M: nde higashi doitsu ni tusitara
and East Germany GL arrive:TARA

166 M: =ano ... ano: minna hookoku
INJ INJ everybody report

167 shi-nakerebaikenai no.
do-must:NPT SE

168 S: nn
BCH

169 M: de ano: keisatsu: no tokoro ni
and INJ police LK place to

170 itte ne
go:TE EX

171 M: =yotei o hanasu wake.
schedule ACC tell:NPT SE

172 M: =jibun-tachi wa .h nan-nichi ni
self-PL TOP what-day on

173 wa doko ni tomatte
TOP where LOC stop:TE

174 M: .h nan-ji ni wa shuppatsu shite
what-time at TOP depart do:TE

175 M: doko ni itte tte.
where to go:TE QT

176 M: de sonna koto watashi-tachi
and that kind thing I-PL

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177 shi-nakatta no.
do-NEG:PST SE

178 M: =%ima made.
now until

179 M: moo katte-ni ne,
already free will SE

180 M: suki na jikan ni .. dekakete-itte
like LK time at depart-go:TE

181 M: sode: .h tsukaretara
and get tired:TARA

182 M: =yasun-dari suru deshoo,
rest-also do:NPT right?

183 M: .h ... dakedo ichiichi hookoku
but precisely report

184 suru wake.
do:NPT SE

185

186 M: soide ichi-ban saisho ni ano:
and most first at INJ

187 #kyanpu: .. o shiyoo to omotte nee,
camp ACC do:PRV QT think:TE EX

188 M: ano kyanpu suru tokoro< tokoro ga
INJ camp do place place NOM

189 aru no.
exist:NPT SE

190 M: de soko ni itta no.
and there to go:PST SE

191 M: soide .h ano: aite-ru tokoro
and INJ empty-STA:NPT place

192 ga aru kara
NOM exist:NPT because

193 M: soko ni: ano: forukusuwaagen o
there LOC INJ volkswagen ACC

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tomete ne
park:TE EX

194 M: de kyanpu hatta-n<
and camp set up-SE

195 kyanpu o hatta tte yuu ka soko
camp ACC set up QT say or there

de tomaroo to omotte
LOC stay:PRV QT think:TE

196 M: soko ni oite-ta no.
there GL put-STA:PST SE

197 M: de senmen: ka nanika ni itte
and freshening or something for go:TE

198 M: kaette-kitara ne,
return-come:TATA EX

199 M: .h nanka higashi doitsu-jin ga
INJ East German-people NOM

200 wa:: to atsumatte-kite ne
ONM QT gather-come:TE EX

201 M: koko wa tome-chai#kenai tokoro
here TOP park-must not place

202 da tte yuu no.
COP QT say:NPT SE

203 M: dakara .h (.8) dooshite
so why

204 tome-chaikenai-no ka zenzen
park-must not-SE QT at all

wakan-nai wake.
understand-NEG:NPT SE

205 M: =%atashi-tachi.
I-PL

206 M: de (1.5) ano: (1.2) sono: okane
and INJ INJ money

207 harau toki ni ne,
pay:NPT time at EX

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208 M: =sono m monban mi1-tai na
that FRG gatekeeper like LK

209 hito ga ite,-1
person NOM exist:TE

210 M: .h doko-de-mo #ii tte itta wake.
anywhere good QT say:PST SE

211 M: =dakara tometa wake desho,
so park:PST SE right?

212 M: de yuurik nanka (a)no hito
and Jurik SOF that person

213 ki-ga-mijikai kara
short tempered:NPT because

214 M: =ano okori-dashita wake.
INJ get angry-start:PST SE

215 M: %dooshite na-n da tte.
why LK-SE COP:NPT QT

216 M: =soide .h ano: nanishiro koko
and INJ anyway here

217 wa nee,
TOP EX

218 M: higashi doitsu no hito dake shika
East German LK person only only

219 tom tomar-e-nai tokoro na-n
FRG park-PTN-NEG:NPT place LK-SE

da tte
COP:NPT QT

220 M: de n: ano nishi-gawa no hito
and INJ INJ west-side LK person

wa ne
TOP EX

221 M: =betsu na tokoro ni
other LK place LOC

222 tomar-anakyaikenai [tte yuu no.]
stay-must:NPT QT sat SE

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223 S: [nn]
BCH

224 M: de wa1-tashi-tachi-1 ne
and I-PL EX

ganbatte ne
persistent:TE EX

225 M: =iya sekkaku koko ni tometa-n
INJ already here GL park:PST-SE

226 da shi ne,
COP also EX

227 M: .h ano: sonna koto i#w-are-nakatta
INJ such thing say-PSS-NEG:PST

228 shi ne,
also EX

229 M: de ganbatta wake.
and persistent:PST SE

230 M: .h soshitara sono monban no
then that gatekeeper LK

231 hito ga kite ne.
person NOM come:TE EX

232 M: =iya gomennasai tte ayamaru
INJ "I'm sorry" QT apologize:NPT

wake.
SE

233 M: =nanka moo ki kinodoku-soo na
INJ already FRG sad looking LK

234 kao shite ne
face do:TE EX

235 M: =sode .h ano: sore iw-anakatta no
and INJ that say-NEG:PST NML

236 wa jibun ga warukatta kedomo ne,
TOP self NOM bad:PST though EX

237 M: =jitsu wa sono ... ano:
truth TOP INJ INJ

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```
238      #kubetsu     ga  aru       tte
          distinction NOM exist:NPT QT

         yuu     wake.
         say:NPT SE

239  S: =nn
          BCH

240  M: dakara .. warui   kedo mukoo     ni
         so        bad:NPT but  overthere to

241      itte-kure  tte yuu     no.
         go-AUX:IMP QT  say:NPT SE

242

243  M: =nantonaku kawaisoo ni natte     ne
          somehow   pitiful  GL become:TE EX

244  M: %sono hito.
          that person

245  M: ojiisan.
         old man

246  M: .h de  utsutta  wake.
            and move:PST SE

247

248  M: de  fungaishite
         and get mad:TE

249  M: =watashi-tachi ne 1-butsubutsu
          I-PL           EX   ONM

250      butsubutsu itte-ta-1   no nee,
         ONM        say-STA:PST SE EX

251

252  M: .h sode: ..  nanka iron na tokoro
            and       INJ   many LK place

253      mite
         look:TE

254  M: =sorede .. moo     sorosoro:
          and       already soon
```


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```
255      neyoo          tte yuu koto ni natte
         go to bed:PRV QT  say NML  GL become:TE

256  M:  nemutte-ta     wake.
         sleep-STA:PST SE

257  M:  =%sono forukusuwaagen no sono: wagon
           that volkswagen     LK that  wagon

258      no naka   de.
         LK inside LOC

259

260  M:  soshitara mayonaka ni natte
         then      midnight GL become:TE

261  M:  =dondon tte tataku    no.
          ONM    QT  knock:NPT SE

262  M:  =%dareka.
           someone

263  M:  .h n de (1.5) mata  moshikashitara
            and           again possibly

264      ne,
         EX

265  S:  ==nn
           BCH

266  M:  ^ sakki  mitai na hito-tachi
           before like  LK person-PL

267  M:  mo      mo      nanka takusan da      tte
         already already INJ   enough  COP:NPT QT

268      yuu kanji   natta  wake.
         say feeling become SE

269  S:  ==nn
           BCH

270  M:  =soshitara .h hanbun yopparatta
          then         half   drunken

271      doitsu-jin    ga  kite    nee.
         German-person NOM come:TE EX
```


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```
272  S: =nn
         BCH

273  M: .h ano: warukatta tte yuu
           INJ  sorry:PST QT  sat:NPT

        [wake yo]
         SE   EX

274  S: [1----1]

275  M: {soide ne:} soide warukatta tte
         and   EX   and   sorry:PST QT

276     yutta   tte
        say:PST QT

277  S: {1-----1}

278  M: sono watashi-tachi sono hito
        INJ  I-PL          that person

279     shir-anai    shi  nee,
        know-NEG:NPT also EX

280  S: ==nn
          BCH

281  M: nde .h ano: ^ doo yuu kot koto  ka
        and    INJ    how say FRG thing QU

282     to omotte
        QT think:TE

283  M: kiite-mitara
        ask-AUX:TARA

284  M: sono ... ohiru    ne watashi-tachi
        INJ      day time EX I-PL

285     ga  hora: .. ^ ano: iiarasoi o
        NOM INJ        INJ  quarrel  ACC

286     1-shite-ita  toki-1 #ni
          do-STA:PST time    at

287  M: .h kare: no #okusan ga  ne,
           he    LK  wife   NOM EX

288  M: tooku kara ne mite-ta       wake.
        far   from EX watch-STA:PST SE
```


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289 M: =%[sore o.]
that ACC

290 S: [nn]
BCH

291 M: de sono okusan #ga sono dannasan
and that wife NOM that husband

292 ni itta wake.
DAT say:PST SE

293 M: =jitsu wa sono: ^^^ higashi nishi
truth TOP INJ east west

294 yooroppa kara kita hito ga ne,
Europe from come:PST person NOM EX

295 M: koo yuu me ni #atte-ta tte.
this say tragedy DAT experience-AUX:PST QT

296 M: =hontoo-ni kinodoku datta
really pitiful COP:PST

kara ne,
because EX

297 M: .h ayamatte-ira[1-sshai tte----1]
apologize-go:POL:IMP QT

298 S: [1-----1]

299 M: 1-soide ne kita-n da tte-1
then EX come:PST-SE COP QT

300 M: soide .h mo #ho:nto ne.
and EM really EX

301 M: yopparatte ne,
get drunk:TE EX

302 M: sode .h iya honto-ni ne ano: ..
and well really EX INJ

303 doitsu-jin tte yuu no wa warui
German-people QT say NML TOP bad

304 hito ja-nai kedomo ne
people COP-NEG:NPT though EX

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305 S: ==nn
BCH

306 M: =tokidoki #ba:ka na no ga
sometimes stupid LK NML NOM

iru kara
exist:NPT because

307 M: =hontoo-ni warukatta tte yuu wake.
really sorry:PST QT say:NPT SE

308 S: ==1----1

309 M: hoide ne,
and EX

310 M: .h ano: ... ^ jitsu-ni sono
INJ really INJ

311 sumanakatta kara ne,
sorry:PST because EX

312 M: =jibun-tachi no tento ni asobi ni
self-PL LK tent to play for

313 o ^^ irasshai tte yuu wake.
FRG come:IMP QT say:NPT SE

314 M: =dakara .h ano: ja zehi
so INJ then by all means

315 iku [1-toka itte ne-1]
go:NPT or something say:TE EX

316 S: [1---1]

317 M: chooshi-yoku #tsuite-itta
lightheartedly follow-go:PST

wake ne,
SE EX

318 M: .h soshite .h ano: (2.0) sono
and INJ INJ

319 hito-tachi no #o:kina tento n
person-PL LK big tent LK

320 naka ni ita wake.
inside LOC exist:PST SE

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321 S: =nn
BCH

322 M: soshitara ne: ano: .h sono hito no
then EX INJ that person LK

323 okusan sugoku futotta hontoo
wife very fat really

324 [tenkeiteki na] doitsu-jin.
typical LK German-person

325 S: [nn nn nn]
BCH BCH BCH

326 M: =sugoku nikoniko shita obasan
very smiling do:PST lady

to ne .h
and EX

327 srekara yasehosotta sono {dannnasan}
and thin that husband

328 to ne,
and EX

329 S: {1----1}

330 M: sorekara nanka #fu-tari moo fu-tari
and INJ two-CLS more two-CLS

331 waka:i hito kana,
young people MOD

332 M: (1.0) tsk ano kite ne,
INJ come:TE EX

333 M: soide hanashi o kiku wake.
and story ACC listen:NPT SE

334 M: .h mo#nosugoku: kyoomi ga
extremely interest NOM

aru wake.
have:NPT SE

335 M: =%nishi: yooroppa ni.
west Europe DAT

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336 S: =a a:
BCH

337 M: nde: tatoeba .h maitsuki
and for example every month

338 donogurai sararii o [morau
how much salary ACC receive:NPT

toka ne,]
or something EX

339 S: [nn n:n]
BCH BCH

340 M: sono .h denki-seihin wa
INJ electric appliances TOP

341 yasui ka toka ne,
cheap QU or something EX

342 M: .h sorekara: ano:: shakai-hoshoo
and INJ social security

343 wa doo da toka ne.
TOP how COP or something EX

344 M: =monosugoku: ^^ ano:^ kich shitsumon
much INJ FRG question

345 suru wake ne,
do:NPT SE EX

346 S: =nn
BCH

347 M: .h de sore o shitsumon shite-iru
and that ACC question do-STA:NPT

348 aida-ni ne.
during EX

349 M: .h hi-tori ga kanarazu
one-CLS NOM always

mihatte-ru no
keep watch-STA:NPT SE

350 M: =%soto de.
outside LOC

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351 S: nani o mihatte-ru no,
what ACC keep watch-STA:NPT SE

352 M: hoka no hito ga
other LK people NOM

kiite-i-nai ka doo ka.
listen-STA-NEG:NPT or how QU

353 S: aa #honto.
INJ really

354 M: =nn
BCH

355 M: soide ne,
and EX

356 M: .h dakara hi-tori no hito
so one-CLS LK person

357 #ga .. kiku wake.
NOM ask:NPT SE

358 S: =nn
BCH

359 M: de shibaraku suruto
and a while pass:TO

360 M: =kondo #koo[tai shite ne.]
this time change do:TE EX

361 S: [a::]
BCH

362 M: mihari ni deru wake.
watch for out:NPT SE

363 M: soide ne: sono: sono toki ni ano:
and EX INJ that time at INJ

364 sono: #okusan ga nee,
that wife NOM EX

365 M: tokubetsu da tte itte ne
special COP:NPT QT say:TE EX

366 M: #wain o .. dashite-kureta no.
wine ACC serve-AUX:PST SE

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```
367  S: =nn
          BCH

368  M: nanka (1.2) "h@ heltzdam" tte yuu
        INJ                       QT  say

369     no  kana:,
        NML MOD

370  M: ^ "lady's heart" toka          tte yuu no.
                        or something QT  say SE

371  M: =wain na no.
         wine LK SE

372  M: .h 6-#monosugoku-6 oishikatta no nee,
           extremely    tasty:PST  SE EX

373  S: ==nn
          BCH

374  M: =hanbun yotte-ta          1-kara
         half   get drunk-STA:PST   because

375     kamoshirenai kedo-1
        maybe        though

376  M: .h #ho:nto-ni oishikatta no.
           really    tasty:PST  SE

377  M: .h de  nanishiro sugoku tanoshikutte
           and anyway    very   enjoyable:TE

378     nee,
        EX

379  M: =ano: .. ja   tsugi no:: hi  ni ne,
         INJ     then next  LK   day on EX

380  M: .h asa     issho-ni #sanpo  o
           morning together  stroll ACC

381     shiyoo tte yuu koto ni natta      wake.
        do:PRV QT  say NML  GL become:PST SE

382  M: .h dakara: sanpo:: ... o
           so      stroll      ACC

383  M: sono chikaku ni  oshiro ga
        that nearby  LOC castle NOM
```


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```
384      aru       kara    ne,
         exist:NPT because EX

385  M:  annai shite-kurer .. shite-ageru
         guide FRG             do-AUX:NPT

386      kara,
         because

387  M:  .h asa     ne jibun no tento ni ne
           morning EX self  LK tent  to EX

388      moo  ichi-do ... oide     tte
         more once        come:IMP QT

         yuu     wake.
         say:NPT SE

389  S:  =nn
          BCH

390  M:  de  doomo arigatoo         tte itte
         and "thank you very much" QT  say:TE

391  M:  =soide modotte
          and   return:TE

392  M:  =nete
          sleep:TE

393  M:  =soide tsugi no asa     itta   wake.
          and   next  LK morning go:PST SE

394  S:  =nn
          BCH

395

396  M:  #nai           no.
          exist:NEG:NPT SE

397  S:  nani ga #tento ga [nai           no,]
         what NOM tent  NOM exist:NEG:NPT SE

398  M:  [tento ga] 1-nai           shi-1 ne
          tent  NOM   exist:NEG:NPT also  EX

399  M:  .h #i-nai         no.
            exist-NEG:NPT SE
```


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400 M: =%sono hito-tachi.
those people-PL

401

402 M: =soide watashi-tachi ne .h mochiron
and I-PL EX of course

403 hora tento ippai aru
INJ tent many exist:NPT because

[kara ne,]
because EX

404 S: [nn]
BCH

405 M: =watashi-tachi .. machigae-nai
I-PL make mistake-NEG

406 {yoo-ni tte}
for QT

407 S: {nn}
BCH

408 M: =mejirushi o #tukete-itta wake.
land mark ACC make-STA:PST SE

409 S: =nn
BCH

410 M: (1.1) @ide ne: ano: de watshi wa
and EX INJ and I TOP

411 yoku mayou kara ne,
often get lost:NPT because EX

412 M: .h ano: anmari ate-ni-nar-anai-n
INJ not very dependable-NEG:NPT-SE

413 da kedo.
COP though

414 M: =uchi-no wa ne.
my husband TOP EX

415 M: =chanto oboete-n no ne.
perfectly remember-STA:NPT SE EX

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416 S: ==nn nn
BCH BCH

417 M: =ano: nanka doobutsu-1-teki na ano-1
INJ INJ animal-like LK INJ

418 kankaku ga atte
instinct NOM exist:TE

419 M: .h ... de watashi mo ne mejirushi
and I also EX mark

420 ni shite
for do:TE

421 M: =chanto oboete-oita no.
perfectly remember-AUX:PST SE

422 M: koko o koo itte nee,
here ACC this way go:TE EX

423 M: ano: kado no tokoro ni tatoeba
INJ corner LK place LOC for example

424 akai tento ga atte toka soo
red tent NOM exist:TE and something such

425 yuu fuu na mejirushi.
say type LK mark

426 M: nai no.
exist:NEG:NPT SE

427 M: =%so( ) ga sa.
that NOM EX

428 M: sore de< hitto asa-juu
that FRG all morning-long

429 M: #zu::tto nee sagashite-mo
all the way EX search-though

430 M: =nai no.
exist:NEG:NPT SE

431 S: a honto*
INJ really

432 M: nn
BCH

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433 M: =zenzen nai no.
at all exist:NEG:NPT SE

434 M: =dakara [fu-tari-tomo]
so two-CLS-both

435 S: [( ) wake?]
SE

436 S: sono ( )
that

437

438 M: wakan-nai.
understand-NEG:NPT

439 M: =nanka #zenzen wakar-anai
somewhat at all understand-NEG:NPT

440 M: =dakara honto yume mitai.
so really dream seem:NPT

441 S: doo shita-n daroo nee*
how do:PST-SE MOD EX

442 M: wakan-nai.
understand-NEG:NPT

English Translation of #1 (East Europe)

10 M: You know,
11 there was an accident at Kiev a while ago.
12 M: That ...
13 M: that reminded me of something.
14
15 M: We once went to East Germany.
16
17 S: uh-huh
18 M: How many years ago was that?
19 M: Maybe around six or seven
20 years ago.
21 S: uh-huh
22 M: That was my first time to Eastern Europe.
23
24
25 M: What's called communist bloc.
26 M: uh... we went from Oslo,
27 crossed Denmark, and
28 M: went straight through Germany, and

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M: then made it to Berlin,

M: first.
S: uh-huh
M: We went by bus.
M: It wasn't really a bus, but you know,
a Volkswagon bus.
S: uh-huh
M: We changed the inside of it for camping,
and ...
M: in order for us stay in it, and
M: We went all the way.
S: uh-huh
M: And when we were crossing Germany,
West Germany,
M: it was really comfortable, and
M: whenever we wanted to stop ...

M: For instance, on the side of a highway,

M: there was a place,
M: without fail.
S: uh-huh
M: In a parking lot,
M: uh ... what would you call them?
M: They had washrooms and
M: showers, too,

M: nicely.
M: It is made so that at night one can stay ...
M: rest and stay over.

M: So we stayed at places like that the whole
time.
M: And, uh, we reached Berlin.

M: um, before we reached Berlin

M: How did it go?
M: Anyway, until we got to Berlin,

M: uh, you know, there's control.

S: What kind of control?
M: You know, when you go to the East ...
S: Oh, when you were passing through?
M: Yes.
M: It was hard, and
M: Why are you looking over there?
S: Oh, don't pay any attention to him.
M: [laugh]

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79 S: It's better not to look that way.
80 M: [laugh]
81 M: Anyway, it was really something.
82 M: Really.
83 M: There were German shepherds and
84 M: they checked everything in the car.
85
86 S: uh-huh
87 M: For example, they checked to see what
88 kind of magazines we had.
89 S: Hmm
90 M: When I... uh, when I was in Norway,
91
92 M: I worked, so
93 S: uh-huh
94 M: You know, the Japanese newspaper
95 M: I could receive some.
96 S: uh-huh
97 M: I got about 3 months' worth of the Asahi
98 newspaper.
99 S: uh-huh
100 M: There were some which I really wanted to read,
101 but I couldn't.
102 M: They were in the car.
103 S: uh-huh
104 M: Then they said what these were.
105
106 S: uh-huh
107 M: They were written in Japanese, so
108 M: they couldn't read them, of course.
109 M: So they told me to translate
110 each part.
111 S:
112 M: There was so much
113 M: that I couldn't translate everything.
114 S: [laugh]
115 M: So I told them that if
116 M: they wanted to read them,
117 M: they could have them.
118 M: That was all right.
119 M: They kept checking the car inside and out.
120
121 M: And even the thing for gas ...
122 You know where you put gas, right?
123 M: in a Volkswagon.
124 M: Well, the inside of that,
125 M: they checked the inside
126 with something like a brush for cleaning,
127 and
128 M: They made sure
129 if there were no people, or ...

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M: It was kind of ...
M: It was really harsh.

M: Well, it was all right in the end, and

M: And we went on.
M: Until we got to East Germany.
No, until we got to Berlin,
M: the road was... how would you call it?
M: There wasn't any light.
S: Was it pitch dark?
M: Yeah.
M: Yeah, it
was kind of eerie.
M: You lose sense of distance.
S: What about other cars?
M: There were barely any others to speak of, and

M: When there was a traffic light,
M: we could see three or four, but

S: uh-huh
M: there were hardly any.
S: uh-huh
M: So in the dark,
we didn't have a sense of distance at all.
S: uh-huh
M: It was like going into the Twilight Zone.

M: It felt like that.
S: uh-huh
M: So, then we just kept going and then,
M: we reached East Germany.

M: And when you get East Germany,
M: you have to let (the authorities) know your
plans.
S: uh-huh
M: You go to the police, and

M: tell them about your stay there.
M: When you are going to stay
where,
M: what time you would be going out,
M: and where you would be going.
M: We hadn't reported anything like that
before.
M: Until then.

M: We left when we felt like it, and

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M: when we were tired, then
M: we rested, right?
M: But you have to explain everything.

M: At first, we thought we'd camp out, and

M: there was a camp site.

M: So we went there.
M: Since there was an open place,

M: we stopped our Volkswagon, and
M: we set up camp there ...
well, we decided to stay there, and
M: so we placed our camping gears there.
M: And we went to the restroom, and
M: when we got back,
M: some East Germans
gathered swiftly, and
M: They said
we couldn't stay there.
M: We didn't know
why we couldn't stay.

M: When we paid our money,

M: there was someone like a guard, and

M: he said we could park anywhere.
M: That's why we parked, right?
M: Since Jurek is
really short-tempered,
M: he really got angry.
M: saying "Why?"
M: They said that this section
is where
only East Germans
could stay.
M: and people from the West
must stay somewhere else.

S: uh-huh
M: We tried hard, and (said)
M: "Since we got here,

M: and we weren't told anything about that ..."

M: So we tried hard.
M: Then that guard came to us, and

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M: he apologized (saying) "I'm sorry."
M: He looked really pitiful, and

M: He said that it was his falt that he
    hadn't told us anything about that, but
M: in fact
    there was that separation.
S: uh-huh
M: So he asked us to move someplace else.

M: We felt sorry, and ...
M: for this guy.
M: the old man.
M: So we moved.

M: We were very angry, and
M: we complained a lot.

M: And we went looking at a lot of places, and

M: then we were ready to sleep, and

M: we were sleeping
M: in the Volkswagen.

M: Then in the middle of the night, and
M: there was a knock.
M: Someone was there.
M: Maybe ...

S: uh-huh
M: some people like those earlier ...
M: We had already had enough of this.

S: uh-huh
M: Then a German who was half drunk
    came toward us, and
S: uh-huh
M: He said he felt bad.
S:
M: Though he said he was sorry,

S:
M: we didn't even know
    who this person was, and ...
S: Hmm
M: We were wondering
    what was going on ...

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283 M: And when we asked,
284 M: he said that
285 that afternoon when we were quarreling,
286
287 M: his wife
288 M: was watching from a distance away.
289 M:
290 S: uh-huh
291 M: And his wife spoke to him about what happened.
292
293 M: She told him that
294 some people who came from Eastern, no,
Western Europe
295 had some kind of trouble.
296 M: "Because it was so pitiful.
297 M: go and apologize
298 S: [laugh]
299 M: So that's why he had come.
300 M: And he was really
301 drunk, and
302 M: He said the Germans
303 really aren't bad people, but
304
305 S: uh-huh
306 M: sometimes there are fools among them, so
307 M: he said he felt bad.
308 S:
309 M: Then ...
310 M: he said that he really
311 felt bad, so
312 M: he wanted to invit us to their tent.
313
314 M: So we said
315 we'd go, and
316 S: [laugh]
317 M: we followed him there.
318 M: And we
319 were in their big tent.
320
321 S: Hmm
322 M: And his wife...
323 she was really fat,
324 a typical German.
325 S: uh-huh
326 M: A smiling woman
327 and a very thin man.
328
329 S: [laugh]
330 M: Two other young people, I think,
331
332 M: came, and

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333 M: they listened to our stories.
334 M: They were really interested in
335 M: Western Europe.
336 S: uh-huh
337 M: Like about their monthly
338 salaries,
339 S: uh-huh
340 M: or whether their electrical goods are cheap,
341
342 M: or about social security.
343
344 M: They asked a lot of questions.
345
346 S: uh-huh
347 M: While they were asking them,
348
349 M: someone was always standing guard
350 M: outside.
351 S: What was he watching for?
352 M: If anyone was listening or not.
353 S: Really?
354 M: Yes.
355 M: And then
356 M: someone would ask questions.
357
358 S: Hmm
359 M: Then after a while
360 M: they'd trade places, and
361 S: uh-huh
362 M: someone else would go out and guard.
363 M: Then the wife ...
364
365 M: said this was a special evening, and
366 M: she brought out wine for us.
367 S: uh-huh
368 M: It was called "Heltzdam", I think.
369
370 M: or "lady's heart" ?
371 M: It is wine.
372 M: It was really tasty.
373 S: uh-huh
374 M: Maybe because I was half drunk.
375
376 M: it tasted so good.
377 M: I really had an enjoyable time, and
378
379 M: Well, anyway, about the next day ...
380 M: we decided
381 to go for a walk together in the morning.
382 M: We'd walk ...
383 M: They said that there was a castele nearby, so

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384
385 M: they'd show us around, so
386
387 M: they told us
388 to come back to their tent in the morning.
389 S: Hmm
390 M: We said "thank you" and
391 M: returned to our tent, and
392 M: slept, and
393 M: in the morning we went to their place.
394 S: uh-huh
395
396 M: Nothing there.
397 S: What do you mean, the tent wasn't there?
398 M: There wasn't a tent, and
399 M: they weren't there,
400 M: the people.
401
402 M: So we..., of course,
403 there were a lot of tents there, so
404 S: uh-huh
405 M: in order for us not to make a mistake,
406
407 S: uh-huh
408 M: we spotted landmarks.
409 S: uh-huh
410 M: I get lost easily, so
411
412 I am not very reliable, but
413
414 M: My husband remember exactly
415 M: where places are.
416 S: uh-huh
417 M: with someting like an animal's sense.
418
419 M: And I also followed the landmarks, and
420
421 M: I remembered clearly where it was.
422 M: At this point, you go this way, and
423 M: I had landmarks
424 like a red tent at the corner,
425 or something like that.
426 M: But it wasn't there.
427 M:
428 M: All morning
429 we kept looking, but
430 M: there was nothing.
431 S: Really?
432 M: Yeah.
433 M: Nothing at all.
434 M: So both of us ...

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435 S: ( )
436 S: ( )
437
438 M: I don't know what happened.
439 M: Not at all.
440 M: It was just like a dream.
441 S: I wonder what happened.
442 M: I don't know.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #2
TITLE: SEARCH LIGHT

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (1)
SEX: female
AGE: 30's
OCCUPATION: graduate student

RECORDING DATE: 5/2/1986

---

8 M: de watashi-tachi ichido ne*
and I-PL once EX

9 M: ano: mo tsukarete ne,
INJ already get tired:TE EX

10 M: =%unten suru no.
drive do:NPT NML

11 M: .h ano: .. yotee no: tomaru
INJ schedule LK stop:NPT

12 tokoro ni tomar-azu#ni
place LOC stop-NEG

13 M: moo chotto tochuu de ne
EM a little on the way LOC EX

14 yasu#moo tte yuu koto ni shita wake.
rest:PRV QT say NML GL do:PST SE

15 M: =de #paakingu preesu ga
and parking place NOM

atta kara
exist:PST because

16 M: .h ano: chuushajoo ni ne,
INJ parking lot GL EX

17 kuruma o tomete
car ACC park:TE

18 M: =nemu nemutte-ta wake.
FRG sleep-STA:PST SE

19 M: soshitara mayonaka ni 1-ne----1
then midnight at EX

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20 M: nanka ano: akaru:i sono nan te
something INJ bright INJ what QT

21 yuu no saachi raito de teras-
say NML search light INS shine-

22 areta yoo na ki-ga-shita wake.
PSS:PST like LK feel:PST SE

23 S: =nn
BCH

24 M: moo monosugoi mabushii hikari ga
EM very bright light NOM

25 kite ne.
come:TE EX

26 S: ==nn
BCH

27 M: .h me-ga-sameta wake.
wake up:PST SE

28 S: =nn
BCH

29 M: ...nde (2.0) .h hora moo ironna
and INJ EM many

30 koto ga atta kara ne,
thing NOM exist:PST because EX

31 M: sugoku kekkyoku: osore[te-ta
very in short afraid-STA:PST

32 wake yo: {sukoshi.}
SE EX a little

33 S: [nn] {nn}
BCH BCH

34 M: sode .h ano: uchi-no wa moo ..
and INJ my husband TOP EM

35 ki-ga-mijikai kara ne
short tempered:NPT because EX

36 M: =i#ronna tokoro de moo kekkyoku hora
various place LOC EM in short INJ

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37 .h fujoori na koto o
unreasonable LK thing ACC

yuuto ne,
say:TO EX

38 M: ano:: okoru wake.
INJ get angry:NPT SE

39 S: =nn nn
BCH BCH

40 M: soide hora ano hito
and INJ that person

41 nigete-kita hito [da kara:]
escape-come:PST person COP:NPT because

42 S: [nn]
BCH

43 M: .h ano: tsukamat-tari shitara
INJ get caught-also do:TARA

44 M: =atashi #doo shiyoo ka to itsum
I how do:PRV QU QT FRG

45 [itsumo shin]pai shite-ta {wake.}
always worry do-STA:PST SE

46 S: [nn] {nn}
BCH BCH

47 M: dakara sono .h ... saachi raito mitai
so that search light like

48 na hikari ga sono: (1.0) ^
LK light NOM INJ

49 teras-areta toki ne.
shine-PSS:PST time EX

50 S: =nn
BCH

51 M: ki#tto omawari-san da to omotta
surely police man COP:NPT QT think:PST

52 wake.
SE

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53 S: =nn
BCH

54 M: .h dakedo mashoomen ni ko: ..
but right in front GL this way

55 ater-arete-ru kara
shine-PSS-STA:NPT because

56 M: mie-nai wake yo.
visible-NEG:NPT SE EX

57 M: dooyuu kuruma na no ka dooyuu
what kind car LK NML QU what kind

58 [hito na no ka.]
person LK NML QU

59 S: [aa aa aa aa]
BCH

60 M: ne?
EX

61 S: =nn
BCH

62 M: .h soide .h moo fu-tari tomo moo
and EM two-CLS both EM

63 nanka moo #doo shiyoo tte yuu
INJ EM how do:PRV QT say

64 M: soo yuu nanka ....
that say something

65 1----sorede----na:nka--1
and something

66 M: .h moo kitto ne?
INJ surely EX

67 M: =chikayotte-kuru-nichigai[nai
near-come:NPT-must

68 to] omotta wake.
QT think:PST SE

69 S: [nn nn]
BCH BCH

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70 M: ko-nai no ne:,
come-NEG:NPT SE EX

71 S: =@n nn
BCH BCH

72 M: tada sono: hikari ga mo ..
only that light NOM EM

73 #mabushiku koo teras-arete-ru
brightly this way shine-PSS-STA:NPT

74 dake na wake.
only LK SE

75 S: =nn
BCH

76 M: nde mie-nai shi ne,
and visible-NEG:NPT also EX

77 M: 1-soshitara-1 yuurik ga nee.
then Jurik NOM EX

78 M: kyuu-ni ne,
suddenly EX

79 M: .. 1-o#tearai ni iki-tai tte
bathroom to go-want:NPT QT

80 [ii-dashita no]----1
say-start:PST SE

81 S: [1-------1]

82 M: 1-sorede ima ne ik-a{nakutemoii}
and now EX go-no need

83 desho tte [yuu] n-1 da kedo
right? QT say:NPT SE COP though

84 S: {nn} [a:n]
BCH BCH

85 M: .h iya boku wa ze#{1-ttai
no I TOP by all means

86 ika-nakyaikenai tte yuu no}-----1
go-msut QT say:NPT SE

87 S: {1----------}

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88 M: 1-soide-1 .hh soide ne: kekkyoku:
and and EX in short

89 M: are yappari kinchoo shita
that after all tense do:PST

90 [kara ja-nai kashira ne:?]
because COP-NEG MOD EX

91 S: [( )]

92 M: dakedomo: moo zettai moo
but EM by all means EM

93 ika-nai to boku wa taihen da
go-NEG:NPT QT I TOP problem COP:NPT

1-tte yuu no ne,--1
QT say:NPT SE EX

94 S: ==mukoo wa zenzen
opposite TOP at all

ugok-anai no?
move-NEG:NPT SE

95 M: ugok-anai no.
move-NEG:NPT SE

96 M: zenzen.
at all

97 M: .h nde moo moo sukoshi da
and INJ EM a little COP:NPT

kara
because

98 M: gaman shita-hoo-ga-ii tte
persevere do-had better QT

99 M: ganbatta no ne,
insist:PST SE EX

100 S: =nn
BCH

101

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102 M: .h soshitara ne kekkyoku ano:..
then EX in short INJ

103 hito ga orite-kite.
person NOM get off-come:TE

104 M: ..nde: .. kekkyoku wa futsuu no
and in short TOP ordinary LK

105 kankoo-kyaku datta mitai.
tourist COP:PST EVD

106 M: =kankoo-kyaku tte yuu ka
tourist QT say QU

107 wa[kan-nai kedo]
know-NEG:NPT EX

108 S: [nn nn]
BCH BCH

109 M: tada sono: (.9) tomatta dake
only INJ stop:PST only

110 datta datta mitai.
COP:PST COP:PST like

111 S: a betsu-ni nanika: miyoo
INJ especially something see:PRV

112 to shite-ta wake ja-[nai no,]
QT do-STA:PST SE COP-NEG SE

113 M: [nn] omawari-san ja-nakatta.
BCH police man COP-NEG:PST

114

115 M: =da:kedo honto a are nan-pun?
but really INJ INJ what-minute

116 S: ==1-.h-1

117 M: =.h ( ) .hh [ju-ppun gurai.]
ten-minute about

118 S: [meiwaku na] hanashi {desu nee,}
bother LK story COP:NPT EX

119

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120 M: {#ho::n}to soshite .hh moo
really then INJ

121 tsukamattara
get caught:TARA

122 M: =tsukamaer-aretara ne?
catch-PSS:TARA EX

123 S: =nn
BCH

124 M: watashi wa ittai dotchi no
I TOP on earth which LK

125 taishikan ni ne?
embassy to EX

126 S: =nn
BCH

127 M: =ano toiawasetara ii-n daroo ka
INJ inquire:TARA good-SE MOD QU

128 [to omotta gurai.]
QT think:PST about

129 S: [aan] a: honto?
BCH BCH really

130 M: =nn
BCH

131 M: {kitto yuurik tsukamaru-n daroo
surely Jurik get caught:NPT-SE MOD

132 to} omotta no 1-----1
QT think:PST SE

133 S: {1------1} taihen da ne:*
tough COP:NPT EX

134 M: ==ho:nto: n dakedo: nn ii
really INJ but INJ good

135 benkyoo datta wa nee,
lesson COP:PST EX EX

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English Translation of #2 (Search light)

M: and one time we
M: were tired, and ...
M: from driving.
M Instead of stopping at a rest areas
we had planed to stop,
M: we'd decided to rest before
we get there.
M: Since there was a place to park,
M: you know, in a parking lot,
M: so we stopped the car there, and
M: slept.
M: Then in the middle of the night
M: I noticed there was something bright,
M something like a serch light
M: shone.
S: uh-huh
M: A really bright light came, and

S: uh-huh
M: I woke up then.
S: uh-huh
M: You know, a lot of things
had already happened to us, so
M: we were pretty scared
(a little).
S: uh-huh
M: And my husband is
M: short tempered, so
M: when people say something
M: unresonable,
M: he gets angry.
S: uh-huh
M: And he was a refugee, so

S: uh-huh
M: if he were caught,
M: I was always worried
about what to do.
S: uh-huh
M: So when that light
that was like a search light shone,

S: uh-huh
M: I thought for sure it was
a policeman.
S: Hmm
M: But because the light was directly
in front of us,
M: we couldn't see

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M: what kind of car it was or who the person was.

S: uh-uh.
M: You know?
S: Yeah.
M: Then the two of us were wondering
what we should do ...
M: Such ...
you know.
M: I was sure ...
M: I was sure
it was coming closer.
S: uh-huh
M: It didn't come.
S: uh-huh
M: It was just that light...
It just kept shining brightly.

S: uh-huh
M: And I couldn't see anything, and ...
M: Then Jurik,
M: all of a sudden,
M: said he wanted to go to the bathroom.

S: [laugh]
M: Then I said that he didn't have to go just
then, but
S: uh-huh
M: But he said that he really
had to go,
S: [laugh]
M: Then... then... well, in the end...
M: Maybe
it was because he was nervous.
S: [laugh]
M: But he said if he didn't go soon
he'd be really bad off.
S: The people didn't move at all?
M: No.
M: Not at all.
M: I said he had to be patient
since it'd be over soon.
M: I insisted.
S: uh-huh

M: Then finally,
a man got out of the car, and
M: He looked to be an ordinary
tourist.
M: Well, whether it was a tourist or not,
I don't know.

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S: uh-huh
M: He simply stopped there.
M: So it seemed.
S: He wasn't trying to see something?

M: That's right. He wasn't a policeman.

M: But how long did that all take?
S:
M: About 10 minutes.
S: What a story.

M: But what if we
were caught,
M: What if he were caught,
S: hmm
M: Which embassy should I go to?

S: hmm
M: I even wondered about which embassy to go to

S: Really?
M: Yes.
M: I thought for sure that Jurik
would be caught.
S: [laugh] That must've been rough.
M: Really. But we were learned
a lesson.

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DATA NUMBER: #3
TITLE: LAS VEGAS

SPEAKER NUMBER: (2)
SEX: male
AGE: 40's
OCCUPATION: university professor

RECORDING DATE: May, 1986

---

5 K: ee (1.4) itsu goro datta kana*
INJ when about COP:PST MOD

6 K: =maa itsu de-mo ii-n deshoo,
INJ when though good:NPT-SE right?

7 S: itsu de-mo ii desu yo,
when though good:NPT COP EX

8 K: ==i itta toki no hanashi.
FRG go:PST when LK story

9 S: =hai
yes

10 K: hajimete itta-n.
first time go:PST-SE

11 K: umarete hajimete.
born:TE first time

12 S: "Las Vegas" ni,
to

13 K: =iya iya ni-kaime
no no second time

14 K: .h tsk aa ni-dome kana,
INJ second MOD

15 K: %itta no wa.
go:PST NML TOP

16 K: de kono mae #basu de itte ne,
and this before bus INS go:TE EX

17 S: ei
BCH

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18 K: de ss ee sore ga omoshiroi no wa ne,
and INJ INJ that NOM fanny NML TOP EX

19 K: omoshiroi no wa sono itta 1-toki
fanny NML TOP INJ go:PST time

20 #nii-1
at

21 K: henna ojisan ga kite-ta-n
strange man NOM come-STA:PST-SE

desu yo.
COP EX

22 K: =kore ga.
this NOM

23 K: sss de sono shito ga desu nee*
INJ and that person NOM COP EX

24 K: ano basu no ichi-ban ushiro ni
INJ bus LK most back LOC

25 suwatte-te ne,
seat-STA:TE EX

26 K: de dok-kara dono hen ga
and where-from which part NOM

27 hanashitara ii no kana
talk:TARA good SE MOD

28 nagai hanashi na-n da kedo#mo*
long story LK-SE COP:NPT EX

29 K: sss tomokaku ano: eega ni
INJ anyway INJ movie GL

30 dete-kuru yoo na kakkoo
out-come:NPT appearance LK appearance

de ne,
COP:te EX

31 K: kono kuroi sebiro kite ne,
this black suit wear:TE EX

32 S: nn
BCH

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33 K: kuroi shatsu kite:
black shirt wear:TE

34 K: ss soshite: nanishiro (.9) kuro
INJ and anyway black

35 no nekutai de ne,
LK necktie COP:TE EX

36 K: ano yoosuru-ni na (0.8) mukashi no
INJ in short FRG old times LK

37 hanashi ga aru deshoo,
story NOM exist:NPT right?

38 K: =ano.
INJ

39 K: yakuza yakuza tte yuu ka
gangstar gangstar QT say or

40 .. kapon no ne,
Capone LK EX

41 S: nn
BCH

42 K: annna kakkoo de
that kind appearance COP:TE

kite-ru wake desu yo.
come-STA:NPT SE COP EX

43 K: soreni kuro no yamatakaboo de ne,
and black LK tall hat COP:TE EX

44 S: nn
BCH

45 K: sss de tomokaku sono: (1.2) sono
INJ and anyway that that

46 shito to issho no heya ni
person with together LK room LOC

47 tomaru koto ni natta wake.
stay:NPT NML GL become:PST SE

48 S: hai
yes

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49 K: ==%scno hi ni ne,
that day on EX

50 S: =ee
BCH

51 K: soshite issho no heya da
and together LK room COP:NPT

kara
because

52 K: ano: jamashi-chaikan to omotte nee,
INJ in way-no good QT think:TE EX

53 K: ss ano: nan-ji goro
INJ INJ what-o'clock about

54 K: (1.0) iyaa sonna hanashi wa<
no that story TOP

55 K: omoshiroi no wa donna
fanny NML TOP what kind

no kana.
SE MOD

56 K: =yoosuru-ni
in short

57 Y: =nanka [obentoo o tabe]ta toka
INJ luch ACC eat:PST or something

58 (yuw-anakatta,)
say-NEG:PST

59 K: [nanka]
INJ

60 K: aa 6-soo soo {soo soo soo soo}-6
BCH INJ INJ INJ INJ INJ INJ

61 Y: {1-------1}

62 K: sonna hanashi atta ne*
that kind story exist:PST EX

63 S: nn
BCH

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64 K: ee sorede sono tomokaku mukoo
yes and INJ anyway over there

65 tsuita deshoo,
arrive:PST right?

66 K: tsuite*
arrive:TE

67 K: soshite: (1.2) aaa (1.0) soshite
and INJ and

68 gohan o issho-ni tabe ni ikoo
meal ACC together eat for go:PRV

69 te yuu ni omotta-n da kedo#mo
QT say for think:PST-SE COP though

70 K: mazu yotee o kikoo to
first of all plan ACC ask:PRV QT

omotte ne,
think:TE EX

71 K: =%onnaji heya da kara.
same room COP:NPT because

72 K: soshite: ss kiitara
and INJ ask:TARA

73 K: sono hito ga nee,
that person NOM EX

74 K: iyaa anoo ima kara neru tte
well INJ now from sleep:NPT QT

yuu wake.
say:NPT SE

75 K: mukoo tsuita 1-toki ni ne,-1
over there arrive:PST time at EX

76 S: ee
yes

77 K: 1-tsuita toki wa-1 mada
arrive:PST time TOP still

78 are ... go-ji gurai kana:*
that five-o'clock about MOD

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79 K: banmeshi: no mae na no ne,
dinner LK before LK SE EX

80 K: sss da kore kara neru tte yuu
INJ so this from sleep:NPT QT say:NPT

wake
SE

81 K: dee .. jaa soshite itsu goro
and then and when about

82 okite doo suru-n ka
get up:TE how do:NPT-SE QU

ttsutara nee,
QT:say:TARA EX

83 K: daitai yonaka no juuni-ji
about midnight LK tweleve-o'clock

84 ka ichi-ji goro okite,
or one-o'clock about get up:TE

85 K: de sorekara asa made zuutto
and then morning till all the way

86 1-yodooshi yaru-n da tte--1
throughout night do:NPT-SE COP QT

87 K: 1-sonde nee,-1
and EX

88 K: de boku wa sss boku wa sore maa
and I TOP INJ I TOP that INJ

89 choodo ii naa to omotte.
exactly good:NPT EX QT think:TE

90 K: boku wa hayaku owatte
I TOP early finish:TE

91 K: =moo juuni-ji goro kara
already tweleve-o'clock about from

ne-tai kara ne,
sleep-want:NPT because EX

92 S: a: hn
BCH INJ

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93 K: (0.9) nde sorede maa maa
and and INJ INJ

94 ho hott-oite*
FRG leave-AUX:TE

95 K: boku wa e bok aa shokuji ni
I TOP INJ FRG INJ meal for

itte*
go:TE

96 K: soshite: (1.0) sorede are nan
and and INJ what

97 datta kana
COP:PST MOD

98 K: ya sorede nee*
INJ and EX

99 K: ano: #eega ka nanika miyoo
INJ movie or something watch:PRV

100 to omotta wake.
QT think:PST SE

101 K: doose sonnani: .. nagaku ne m ano
SOF that much long EX FRG INJ

102 are kakegoto yaru nante okane mo
INJ gamble do:NPT SOF money also

103 nai shi ne
exist:NEG:NPT also EX

104 S: =nn
BCH

105 K: s dakara sorede ma ya itte:*
INJ so and INJ INJ go:TE

106 K: =shokuji shite:*
meal do:TE

107 K: ...yasunde:*
rest:TE

108 K: (0.9) de chotto asonde
and a little play:TE

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109 K: ss asonda tte yutte-mo
INJ play:PST QT say-though

110 K: =okane naku-natta kara ne,
money exist-become:PST because EX

111 K: =1-sugu ne,-1
immediately EX

112 K: %ichi-jikan hodo de.
one-hour about within

113 S: =nn
BCH

114 K: dakara juu-ji goro natta
so ten-o'clock about become:PST

kara
because

115 K: =sorekara maa eiga demo mite:*
then INJ movie SOF watch:TE

116 K: ss ni-jikan hodo shite
INJ two-hour about pass:TE

117 K: kaiette-kitara
return-come:TARA

118 K: =juuni-ji sugi da kara:*
tweleve-o'clock past COP:NPT because

119 K: soide yakkosan ga okite nee,
and the guy NOM get up:TE EX

120 S: =nn
BCH

121 K: ano (0.7) choodo ii daroo to
INJ exactly good MOD QT

122 omotta wake.
think:PST SE

123 K: kotchi ga ner-arete ne,
I NOM sleep-PTN:TE EX

124 K: sos soo de-naito tochuude
FRG so COP-NEG:TO in the middle

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kaeruto
return:TO

125 K: yakkosan okosu desho.
the guy wake up:NPT right?

126 K: =%nete-ru kara nee*
sleep-STA:NPT because EX

127 K: =yodooshi gan1-baru-n da
throughout night try hard-SE COP

kara nee*-1
because EX

128 K: ss ne-sashite-ageyoo to 1-omotte
INJ sleep-CAU-give:PRV QT think:TE

129 sa*-1
EX

130 K: ss demo mo juu juuni-ji gurai
INJ but INJ FRG tweleve-o'clock about

131 made motsu kana to omottara
till hold:NPT MOD QT think:TARA

132 K: =mota-nai wake yo.
hold-NEG:NPT SE EX

133 K: =okane ga 1-daiichi ( )-1
money NOM first of all

135 K: sonna-no ne motsu wake
that EX hold reason

136 nai.
exist:NEG:NPT

137 K: =.h %hajime kkara.
beginning from

138 K: ss dakara soide juuichi-ji goro
INJ so and eleven-o'clock about

139 tomokaku kaette-kite.
anyway return-come:TE

140 K: =shikatanai sto aa
cannot help FRG INJ

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141 kaette-kita-n ja-nai.
return-come:PST-SE COP-NEG

142 K: e eegakan o sagashite ne,
FRG movie ACC look for:TE EX

143 S: =nn
BCH

144 K: #kiita wake.
ask:PST SE

145 K: =tokoroga eegakan nante asoko
but theater SOF there

146 aite-nai no ne*
open-NEG:NPT SE EX

147 K: i-kken shika nai-n da tte
one-CLS only exist:NEG-SE COP QT

148 "Las Vegas" 1-juu ni nee,-1
entire LOC EX

149 K: de soko itta-n da kedo
and there go:PST-SE COP though

150 K: =soko shimatte-ru wake.
there close-STA:NPT SE

151 K: =are nan-yoobi datta ka wa
that what-day COP:PST QT TOP

152 wasureta kedo.
forget:PST though

153 K: =shuujitsu da ne*
weekday COP:NPT EX

154 K: =%osoraku ne*
maybe EX

155 K: de shimatte-ru kara
and close-STA:NPT because

156 K: =anata shikata 1-nai ja-nai.-1
you way exist:NEG MOD

157 K: 1-suru koto nai ja-nai.-1
do:NPT thing exist:NEG MOD

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158 S: =nn
BCH

159 K: de nee mite-te-mo omoshiroi
and EX watch-STA-though interesting

160 mon ja-nai shi nee.
thing COP:NEG:NPT also EX

161 K: ^^ nee doose tobaku da kara.
EX SOF gamble COP:NPT because

162 K: dakara kaette-kite:*
so return-come:TE

163 K: tsk de maa mooshiwake-nai kedo.
and INJ excuse-NEG though

164 K: ^ kossori haitte ne,
quietly enter:TE EX

165 k: ^^^ neyoo kana to omotte
sleep:PRV MOD QT think:TE

166 K: =haitta wake yo.
enter:PST SE EX

167 K: da haittara:
so enter:TARA

168 K: yakkosan choodo shawaa
[illegible] guy exactly shower

169 abite-ta no.
splash-STA:PST SE

170 K: =%moo.
already

171 S: =nn
BCH

172 K: ss yaa abite-ta no kana*
INJ INJ splash-STA:PST SE MOD

173 K: y ya: ya: gomennasai
FRG INJ INJ sorry

174 K: nete-ta-n da.
sleep-STA:PST-SE COP

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175 K: =%yappari.
expectedly

176 K: =mada nete-ta no.
still sleep-STA:PST SE

177 K: n okoshite
FRG wake up:TE

178 K: =mooshiwake-nakatta kedo nee.
"I feel bad" EX EX

179 K: te no wa soto kara: are
QT:say NML TOP outside from INJ

hair-e-nai
enter-PTN-NEG:NPT

180 K: naka kara kagi kakete-ta
inside from lock lock:TE-STA:PST

no ne?
SE EX

182 K: =%osoraku.
probably

183 K: =%heya no ne?
room LK EX

184 K: (1.0) soshite hair-e-nakute
and enter-PTN-NEG:TE

185 K: =okoshite
wake up:TE

186 K: (1.0) de hai ... haittara
and FRG enter:TARA

187 K: yakkosan moo ... shikata nai
the guy already way exist:NEG

188 tte na kanji de nee*
QT LK appearance COP:TE EX

189 K: okite-kite:.
get up-come:TE

190 K: ... sss soshite: (1.2) sohite shawaa
INJ and and shower

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```
191     o   abite:*
        ACC splash

192  K: 2-demo mada juuni-ji
          but  yet  tweleve-o'clock

193     ni nara-2-nai     wake.
        GL become-NEG:NPT SE

194  K: =juuichi-ji     gurai kana:
         eleven-o'clock about MOD

195  K: gotagota yatte-ru   uchi-ni nee*
        ONM      do-STA:NPT while   EX

196  K: =sono koro nee*
         that time EX

197  K: ano eiga-kan sagashi-tari  shite
        INJ theater  look for-also do:TE

198  K: =kaette-kita     kara    ne:*
         return-come:PST because EX

199  K: ss  sorede (0.9) sorede
        INJ and          and

200     juuichi-ji     han  goro
        eleven-o'clock half about

        (yakkosan)  shawaa o abite:*
         the guy    shower ACC splash:TE

201  K: soshite kore kara maa dete-iku
        and     this from INJ go out-go:NPT

202     no  kana: to omotte
        NML NOD   QT think:TE

203  K: =neyoo         kana: to omotta    wake ne
         go to bed:PRV MOD   QT think:PST SE   EX

204  K: shitara  yakkosan nan  no koto wa
        and then the guy  what LK thng TOP

205     nai       ne baggu o   koo
        exist;NEG EX bag   ACC this way

206     1-sagashi-dashite sa--1
          look for-AUX:TE EX
```


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```
207  S: =nn
          BCH

208  k: baggu no naka   kara
        bag   LK inside from

209  K: =gohan motte-ru   1-wake yo.-i
         meal  have-STA:NPT SE   EX

210  K: =mottekite-ru  wake yo.
         bring-STA:NPT SE   EX

211  K: =jikasee   no gohan nee,
         self made LK meal  EX

212  K: hok<
        FRG

213  S: =sono hito   nihon-jin       na no,
         that person Japanese-person LK SE

214  K: 1- nihon-jin -----1
           Japanese-person

215  K: dakara ka#watte-ru     wake yo.
        so     strange-STA:NPT SE   EX

216  K: basu no naka   demo #dare to   mo
        bus  LK inside also  who  with also

217     hanas-anai-n (     )
        speak-NEG-SE

218  K: =i#tchi-ban ushiro ni  suwatte ne,
         most       back   LOC sit:TE  EX

219  K: ^^  (     ) kono makkuroke no are
                     this jet black LK that

220     1-kite    sa.---1
          wear:TE EX

221  K: kimochi warui   ja-nai.
        feeling bad:NPT MOD

222  S: ==1-----1

223  K: 1-nee, ----1
           EX
```


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224 K: 1-soshite-1 ^ iyaa doo naru
then INJ how become:NPT

225 kanaa to omotte 1-saa---1
MOD QT think:TE EX

226 K: soshitara shawaa abite
then shower splash:TE

227 K: dete-kite-tara saa*
out-come:TE-TATA EX

228 K: konna henteko konna nan te
this kind strange this kind what QT

229 yuu no koona sss (0.8)
call NML this kind INJ

nan te yuu no are.
what QT say NML that

230 K: yoosuruni kono n anoo ... #ranchi
in short this FRG INJ lunch

231 o tabete-ru wake yoosuru-ni nee*
ACC eat-STA:NPT SE in short EX

232 K: =ranchi tsu-ttemo nani ga
lunch QT:say-though what NOM

233 haitte-ru no ka shira-nai kedomo
in-STA:NPT NML QU know-NEG:NPT EX

234 K: =sonna mono mda<
that kind thing FRG

235 mochi-dashite-kite ne,
have-out-come:TE EX

236 K: kono: ss koko de taberuto
this INJ here LOC eat:TO

237 K: nanika gen ga warui ka nanka
something luck NOM bad or something

238 sanna koto i-ttotta nee*
that kind thing say-AUX:PST EX

239 S: 1-.h-1

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240 K: tomokaku tabe-nai-n da #tte e
anyway eat-NEG:NPT-SE COP QT

241 K: =nanka shir-anai #warui no ka
INJ know-NEG:NPT bad NML or

242 ii no ka shira-nai kedo.
good NML or know-NEG:NPT EX

243 K: =tomokaku tabe-nai-n da tte
anyway eat-NEG:NPT-SE COP QT

244 %zenzen jibun wa.
at all self TOP

245 K: ... .h dee sorede sore no sore o
and that that LK that ACC

246 mosomoso mosomoso tabete ne,
ONM ONM eat:TE EX

247 S: =nn
BCH

248 K: soide hi-tori yug hitorigoto yuu
and one-CLS FRG self-speech say:NPT

249 hito da ne.
person COP:NPT EX

250 K: =%ano hito nee*
that person EX

251 K: de mosomoso mosomoso jibun de
and OMN OMN self with

252 jibun to koo mosomoso
self with like this ONM

253 shabette-ru wake.
speak-STA:NPT SE

254 K: %sore mo chiisai chiisai koe
that also small small voice

255 de nee*
INS SE

256 K: nani itte(-n) no ka
what say:STA:NPT NML QU

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wakara-nai
understand-NEG:NPT

257 K: =mosomoso mosomoso itte-ru
ONM ONM say-STA:NPT

258 [1-wake yo.-1]
SE EX

259 S: [1----1]

260 K: kimoshi waru{kute nee*}
feeling weird:TE EX

261 S: {1--------1}

262 Y: {1--------1}

263 K: 1- honto-ni nee doo nan no kana:
really EX how do:NPT SE MOD

264 omotte saa.-1
think:TE EX

265 K: ss d demo ima kara atode
INJ FRG but now from later

266 n natte kara sa sono hito
GL become:TE from EX that person

ano mata<
INJ again

267 K: ...sono akuru hi nee,
INJ next day EX

268 K: chotto ^so hanshita kara ne,
a little INJ talk:PST because EX

269 K: soide ano: ... warui ningen ja-nai
and INJ bad person COP-NEG

270 tte na koto wakatte
QT LK NML understand:TE

271 K: =ima konna koto itte-ru
now like this NML say-STA:NPT

kedo
though

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272 K: = ono tooji wa nee ... sono sss koo
that time TOP EX INJ INJ INJ

273 chotto bibitte-ta wake yo.
a little scared-STA:PST SE EX

27 K: hoide nanni-mo mono iwa-nai
and nothing thing say-NEG:NPT

275 shi saa
also EX

276 K: (mos mono shi de saa)
FRG ? also COP:TE EX

277 K: hoshite: .. daichi rasu begasu
and first of all Las Vegas

278 nanka kite-ru-n da kara
SOF come-STA:NPT-SE COP because

nee*
EX

279 K: =%are goronto hitori-de.
INJ ONM by himself

280 K: nani mono ka wakan-nai deshoo,
what character QU know-NEG:NPT right?

281 K: ...de ^ (1.0) sorede sore tabete*
and and that eat:TE

282 K: de 1-yakkosan-1 kore kara ..
and the guy this from

283 dete-iku toki ( )
out-go:NPT when

284 K: sore ga ichiban omoshiroi n.
that NOM most interesting:NPT SE

285 K: dete-iku [toki ni 1-saa-1]
out-go:NPT when at INJ

286 S: [1----1]

287 K: 1-ss koo waa-to koo
INJ INJ ONM like this

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kite nee,-1
come:TE SE

288 S: =nn
BCH

289 K: soide kore kara iku te yuu toki ni
and this from go:NPT QT say when at

290 saa*
EX

291 K: (0.9) tsk ano 1-koa----- chigau
INJ FRG wrong:NPT

292 chigau-1
wrong:NPT

293 K: sono toki wa [yatte-nakatta-n da
that time TOP wear-NEG:PST-SE COP

294 yo.]
EX

295 S: [1----1]

296 K: {sono toki wa}
that time TOP

297 Y: {nanka minna ni ranchi o ( )}
INJ everybody for luch ACC

298 K: sss sono toki ni iya sono toki
INJ that time at no that time

299 yatte-nakatta-n.
wear-NEG:PST-SE

300 S: =nn
BCH

301 K: sore wa maa jaa iku tte yutte
that TOP INJ INJ go:NPT QT say:TE

302 K: =itta wake yo.
go:PST SE EX

303 S: =nn
BCH

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304 K: de ne ... de maa sore-jaa sore de
and EX and INJ then that with

305 soko wa oshimai-n nar-no yo.
there TOP end GL become-SE EX

306 S: =nn
BCH

307 K: sorede boku wa moo neta
and I TOP already sleep:PST

wake
SE

308 S: =nn
BCH

309 K: soshite asa:: nan-ji ni
and morning what-o'clock at

310 shuppatsu kana
departure MOD

311 K: =shichi-ji goro kana:*
seven-o'clock about MOD

312 K: %shuppatsu.
departure

313 K: =soide boku wa roku-ji han
and I TOP six-o'clock half

goro:
about

314 okiru tsumori ga chotto.
get up intention but INJ

315 K: =roku-ji yonjuu go
six-o'clock forty five

go-fun goro
five-minuets about

316 ni-natta no kana,
COP-become:PST SE MOD

317 K: de: sono ^go iya mada
and INJ FRG no yet

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318 nete-ta-n dara.
sleep-STA:PST (TARA)

319 K: tara.
TARA

320 K: kare ga yaora kaette-kite ne,
he NOM suddenly return-come:TE EX

321 K: sss de moo iku jikan ja-nai
INJ and already go time COP-NEG

322 kana: te na koto yutte
MOD QT LK thing say:TE

323 K: =nani shi ni kaette-kita no ka
what do for return-come:PST NML QU

324 yoku wakara-nai kedo nee,
well know-NEG:NPT EX EX

325 K: nanka tsukareta yoo-na kao shite
somewhat tired:PST as face do:TE

326 K: kaette-kite-ru wake.
return-come-STA:NPT SE

327 K: ...de sono toki ni bikkuri-shita
and that time at surprise:PST

328 no ga saa.
NML NOM EX

329 K: kono 1-kono sa --- eye patch o
INJ INJ EX eye patch ACC

330 tsukete-ru [wake yo.
wear-STA:NPT SE EX

331 K: =%kondo wa-1]
this time TOP

332 S: [1-----1]

333 K: kono makkuroke no kono no {ue ni
this jet black LK this LK above LOC

334 moo eye patch ga tsuite-ru}
EM eye patch NOM attach-STA:NPT

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```
        wake yo
        SE   EX

335  S: {1------1}

336  K: =[6-are  o   mite   saa*-6]
            that ACC see:TE EX

337  Y: [1----------1]

338  S: [1----------1]

339  K: 6-bikkuri-shite nee,-6
          surprise:TE   EX

340  K: (kore hanto-ni) kori    ni  mo
         this really    finical for even

341     {kotte-ru        yo ne.}
         finical-STA:NPT EX EX

342  Y: {1----------1}

343  S: {1----------1}

344  K: (         )

345  K: ss  ^sh  ee  dakedo dakedo maketa
        INJ  FRG yes but    but    lose:PST

346     rashii kedo nee,
        EVD    EX   EX

347  S: aa
        BCH

348  K: nn  demo maketta  te mo   yuwa-nai
        INJ but  lose:PST QT also say-NEG:NPT

        shi  ne
        also EX

349  K: mosomoso moso1-moso itte-ru-1   wake.
        mumble   mumble     say-STA:NPT SE

350  K: (      )kao  mo   shite-nai  shi  ne
                face also do-NEG:NPT also EX

351  K: (1.2) nanka konna sa nanka an   toki
                INJ   this  EX INJ   that time
```


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352 wa inshoo ga atte
TOP impression NOM exist:TE

353 K: =omoshirokatta kedo ne*
fanny:PST though EX

354 K: =ima kangaeruto
now think:TO

355 K: anmari omoshiroi hanashi
not very fanny story

356 ja-nai nee*
COP-NEG EX

English Translation of #3 (Las Vegasu)

5 K: I wonder when that was?
6 K: Well, whenever, the time doesn't matter,
does it?
7 S: It doesn't matter.
8 K: This is about when I went there.
9 S: Okay.
10 K: It was my first time there.
11 K: The first time in my life.
12 S: To Las Vegas?
13 K: No, no, it was my second time.
14 K: Yeah, I think it was the second time
15 K: for me to go there.
16 K: This time I went by bus, and ...
17 S: Yes.
18 K: The thing that was interesting was ...
19 K: The interesting thing when I went was ...
20
21 K: that there was this strange guy.
22 K:
23 K: This man ...
24 K: sat in the very back of the bus, and ...
25
26 K: Where should I start telling you
27 about this?
28 It's a long story
29 K: Anyway, he looked like someone
30 straight from a movie, and
31 K: he was wearing a black suit, and
32 S: uh-huh
33 K: a black shirt, and
34 K: he was wearing a black
35 necktie ...
36 K: Like a story from old times.

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37
38 K: um
39 K: like having to do with yakuza...
40 like Capone...
41 S: uh-huh
42 K: He was there with that kind of outfit.
43 K: And he had a black top hat.
44 S: uh-huh
45 K: Anyway, I had to share a room
46 with this man,
48 S: Yes.
49 K: on that day.
50 S: uh-huh
51 K: Since we had to share a room,
52 K: I thought I better not bother him, and
53 K: what time ...
54 K: No this is not ...
55 K: Which part is interesting?
56 K: Anyway ...
57 Y: Didn't you say something about
58 eating a box lunch?
59 K: um
60 K: Ah, yes, that's right.
61 Y: [laugh]
62 K: There was something like that, wasn't
there?
63 S: uh-huh
64 K: Anyway, we
65 reached the place, right?
66 K: We arrived, and
67 K: then, ah, then
68 I thought of asking him to join me to eat,
69 but
70 K: I thought I'd first ask what his plans were,
and ...
71 K: since we were in the same room.
72 K: So when I asked him,
73 K: this man ...
74 K: said he was going to sleep from now.
75 K: When we arrived there, you know.
76 K: Yes.
77 K: When we got there it was still
78 around 5:00.
79 K: It was before dinner time.
80 K: He said he was going to sleep then.
81 K: So I asked what time he'd get up and
82 what he'd do then.
83 K: He said around midnight or 1:00
84 he'd get up, and
85 K: then he'd stay up
86 all night long.

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87 K: Then ...
88 K: I thought that was
89 perfect for me, and
90 K: I'd finish up early, and
91 K: I want to sleep from around 12:00.
92 S: uh-huh
93 K: So I left him alone, and
94
95 K: I went to eat, and
96 K: then, how did it go?
97 K:
98 K: oh, and then ...
99 K: I thought
100 I'd go see a movie or something.
101 K: After all,
102 I didn't have enough money
103 to do gambling for a long time ...
104 S: uh-huh
105 K: So I went, and
106 K: had dinner, and
107 K: rest, and
108 K: then mess around a bit, and ...
109 K: I say mess around
110 K: but I'd run out of money
111 K: real soon
112 K: in about an hour.
113 S: uh-huh
114 K: So around 10:00
115 K: I'd go to see a movie, and
116 K: and that would take about 2 hours, and
117 K: I'd get home, then
118 K: it would be after 12:00, so
119 K: then that guy would be up, and ...
120 S: uh-huh
121 K: I thought it would be perfect timing.
122
123 K: I'd be able to sleep, and ...
124 K: If I got back earlier
125 I would wake him up,
126 K: because he'd be sleeping, right?
127 K: Since he'd gamble all night,
128 K: I thought I'd let him sleep, and ...
129
130 K: But I had though that I'd be able to last
131 till midnight, but
132 K: I didn't last.
133 K: First of all, the money ...
134
135 K: There was no way I could last that long.
136
137 K: It was obvious from the the beginning.

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138 K: So around 11:00
139 I came back, and ...
140 K: I didn't have much choice.
141 It's not that I came back.
142 K: I looked for a theater, and
143 S: uh-huh
144 K: I asked around.
145 K: But, you know, the theater
146 wasn't open then.
147 K: I was told there's only one theater in Las
148 Vegas.
149 K: And I went there, but
150 K: it was closed.
151 K: I forgot what day it was.
152
153 K: It was a weekday,
154 K: maybe.
155 K: And it was closed, so
156 K: there was no choice.
157 K: I had nothing to do.
158 S: uh-huh
159 K: Watching (gambling)
160 wouldn't have been interesting anyway
161 since it's "gambling" after all.
162 K: So I went back to the room, and
163 K: Though I felt bad,
164 K: I though I would slip into the room
165 K: to sleep, and
166 K: I entered.
167 K: And when I went in,
168 K: the guy was taking a shower
169
170 K: already.
171 S: uh-huh
172 K: Wait, was he showering?
173 K: Oh, sorry,
174 K: he was sleeping.
175 K: Yeah.
176 K: He was still sleeping.
177 K: I woke him up, and
178 K: I felt bad.
179 K I couldn't get in from the outside.
180 K: He
181 locked the door from the inside.
182 That's what it was, I think.
183 K: The door of the room, you know.
184 K: I couldn't get in, and
185 K: I woke him up, and
186 K: then when I went into the room,
187 K: the guy looked as if
188 he didn't have a choice.

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189 K: and got up, and
190 K: then took a shower, and ...
191
192 K: But it still wasn't even 12:00 yet.
193
194: K: It was around 11:00,
195 K: having had all the trouble
196 K: of the day
197 K: looking for a theater and
198 K: coming home.
199 K: Then around 11:30
200 the man was taking a shower, and
201 K: I though he was going out now, and
202
203 K: I thought I'd sleep.
204 K: Then the man
205 got out his bag, and
206
207 S: uh-huh
208 K: from inside his bag ...
209 K: He had food.
210 K: He'd brought it with him.
211 K: Food brought from home.
212 K:
213 S: Was that man a Japanese?
214 K: Yes.
215 K: He was really strange.
216 K: Even on the bus
217 he didn't talk to anyone.
218 K: He sat in the very back, and
219 K: wearing
220 all black, and
221 K: it was an eerie feeling.
222 S: [laugh]
223 K: Right?
224 K: I was wondering
225 what would happen, and ...
226 K: I finished my shower, and
227 K: came out, then ...
228 K: What would you say, this strange...
229 how would you describe it?
230 K: You know, he was eating his food like that...
231 really...
232 K: I don't know what he was eating
233 but
234 K: He took out such a thing, and
235
236 K: he said eating there was bad luck.
237
238
239 S: .h

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240 K: Anyway, he said he wouldn't eat (outside).
241 K: I don't know if it was bad or good.
242
243 K: Anyway he said he wouldn't eat (outside).
244 K: Not at all.
245 K: And then, then
246 he just kept eating, and
247 S: uh-huh
248 K: And he is a kind of person who talks
249 to himself,
250 K: that man.
251 K: He just kept
252 K: mumbling
253 to himself,
254 K: in a real soft voice.
255
256 K: I don't know what he was saying.
257 K: He just kept on mumbling.
258
259 S: [laugh]
260 K: It was a horrible feeling.
261 S: [laugh]
262 Y: [laugh]
263 K: I was really wondering
264 what was going to happen, and ...
265 K: But from now ... later
266 the man ...
267 K: The next day,
268 K: I talked with him
269 K: and I found out
270 he wasn't a bad person, and
271 K: I am telling this now, but
272 K: at that time
273 I was scared a little.
274 K: He was really silent, and
275
276 K: (uninterpretable)
277 K: Since he came to Las Vegas
278
279 K: by himself without purpose,
280 K: I didn't know anything about him, right?
281 K: The guy finished eating, and
282 K: when he
283 K: was about to leave ...
284 K: This is most interesting.
285 K: When he was leaving
286 S: [laugh]
287 K: He came over, and
288 S: uh-huh
289 K: just when he was leaving,
290 you know,

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K: No,
no
K: He wasn't wearing it then,

S: [laugh]
K: at that time.
Y: Something about luch for everyone ...
K: At that time, no,
he wasn't wearing it then.
S: uh-huh
K: Anyway, he said he was leaving, and
K: he left.
S: uh-huh
K: And that was the end of that.

S: uh-huh
K: Then I slept.
S: uh-huh
K: Then in the morning, what time were we
supposed to leave?
K: Around 7:00?
Our departure time.
K: I planned to get up
around 6:30, but
K: it must've been about 6:45, I think.

K: No, I was still sleeping,

K: when I was still sleeping,
K: he suddenly came back, and
K he said
it was just about time to leave, and
K: I don't really know
why he came back to the room.
K: He looked somewhat tired, and
K: he was in the room.
K: What surprised me
at this time was that
K: he was wearing
an eye patch,
K: this time.
S: [laugh]
K: Besides his black outfit,
he was wearing an eye patch.
S: [laugh]
K: I saw that, and
Y: [laugh]
S: [laugh]
K: I was surprised, and ...
K: He was completely involved in this set up.

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342 Y: [laugh]
343 S: [laugh]
344 K: [laugh]
345 K: But he looked
346 like he had lost.
347 S: ah
348 K: But he didn't say anything about it, and ...
349 K: He just kept mumbling.
350 K: He didn't even show ( )
351 K: At that time
352 there was a strong impression, and
353 K: it was interesting.
354 K: But when I think about it now,
355 K: it isn't really an interesting story,
356 is it?

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DATA ID NUMBER: #4
TITLE: LONDON

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (3)
SEX: female
AGE: early 20's,
OCCUPATION: undergraduate student

RECORDING DATE: May, 1986

---

8 Y: ano nee*
INJ EX

9 Y: ototoshi no natsu
the year before last LK summer

igirisu ni .h
England to

10 ni-kagetsu itta-n desu kedo
two-months go:PST-SE COP EX

11 S: ==nn
BCH

12 Y: =sore ga .. .h hajimete no watashi
that NOM first LK I

13 no kaigai hitori-tabi
LK overseas alone journey

14 Y: .. de nihon no naka de-mo .. ^
and Japan LK inside though

15 hi ano tabi nante hitori-de
FRG INJ journey SOF alone

16 shita koto nakatta no ne,
do:PST NML NEG:PST SE EX

17 S: ==nn
BCH

18 Y: .h de sorede saisho no .h
and then first LK

19 san-shuukan: #ni san-shuukan
three-week two three-week

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Cambridge ni ite
Cambridge LOC exist:TE

20 Y: .h soide .. sore wa ano:
and that TOP INJ

21 ICU no ^.. Cambridge no seminaa hausu
ICU LK Cambridge LK seminar house

22 tsu tte no ga atte ne,
QT:say QT NML NOM exist:TE EX

23 S: =nn
BCH

24 Y: soko ni san-shuukan hoka no .h
there LOC three-week other LK

25 ICU no gakusei nanka to isshoni ...
ICU LK student SOF with together

26 toma .. netomari-shite.
FRG stay:TE

27 S: =nn
BCH

28 Y: soide iroiro achikochi
and variously hear and there

29 mite-mawat-tari toka shite.
look-around-also or something do:TE

30 Y: sore mo kekkoo koo .. .h
that also rather INJ

nante no kana koo hogo-sareta
what:QT NML MOD INJ protect:PSS:PST

31 naka de na koo .. hogo-sareta
inside LOC FRG INJ protect:PSS:PST

32 naka de ... koo ^ zenbu tuaa gaido
inside LOC INJ all tour guide

33 mitain na kanji de.
like LK appearance with

34 Y: .h iroiro mite-mawatte
variously look-around:TE

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35 Y: sore zenzen ^^.. maa shinpai
that at all INJ worry

36 nai tte yuu ka.
exist:NEG QT say QU

37 Y: sore tada .. koo ^ nurumayu
that only INJ luke warm water

38 ni tsukatte
GL soak:TE

39 Y: =pochapocha tte koo mite-ru
OMN QT INJ look-STA

40 [1-kanji datta-n desu-1
appearance COP:PST-SE COP

kedo ne?]
EX EX

41 S: [nn nn]
BCH BCH

42 Y: .h de sore ga san-shuukan owatte
and that NOM three-week finish:TE

43 Y: .h sorekara ato #London ni
then later London to

44 itta-n desu'.
go:PST COP

45 S: =nn
BCH

46 Y: saisho wa .h yo-nin gurai de
first TOP four-person about with

47 itta-n desu kedo ne?
go:PST-SE COP EX EX

48 Y: hit ano: zenzen ato
FRG INJ at all the rest

49 sukejuuru ga minna chigau kara
schedule NOM all different:NPT because

50 Y: =hi-tori sari 6-fu-tari
one-person leave:RY two-person

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```
        sari     tte-6 itte
        leave:RY QT    go:TE

51   S: =nn
         BCH

52   Y: saigo-ni watashi hi-tori    nokotte:.
        last     I       one-person remain:TE

53   S: =nn
         BCH

54   Y: de  hitori     da      kara.
        and one-person COP:NPT because

55   Y: .h ano: ryokan nanka ton        no
           INJ  inn    SOF   secure:NPT NML

56      taihen        na no  ne,
        difficult:NPT LK NML EX

57   Y: =%kekkoo.
          rather

58   Y: (.8) dakara .h doo shoo   kanaa
               so        how do:PRV MOD

59      to omotte
        QT think:TE

60   Y: =atchikochi     tanonde-mo:
         here and there ask for-though

61   Y: ^^.. #nai           ka kotowaru   ka
              exist-NEG:NPT or refuse:NPT or

62      ato .. ano sooku .. honto-ni ..
        and    INJ very     really

63      yatara-to takai     no ne,
        extremely expensive SE EX

64   S: =nn
         BCH

65   Y: dakara soo  yuu-n    ja
        so     such call-NML COP:TOP

66      kuyashii    to ka omotte   ne,
        regrattable QT QT think:TE EX
```


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67 S: =nn
BCH

68 Y: =soide ne ima made tomatta toko
and EX now till stay place

69 no yadoya no ojisan ni tanonde ne,
LK inn LK man DAT ask for:TE EX

70 Y: =dooka nar-imas-en ka tte tte.
how become-POL-NEG:NPT QU QT say:TE

71 S: =nn
BCH

72 Y: .h soshitara jaa .h shokudoo
then then dining hall

73 dattara ii yo tte 1-yuu no.-----1
COP:TARA good EX QT say:NPT SE

74 I: shokudoo [ni tomaru-n ( )]
dining hall LOC stay-SE

75 Y: [nn nn nn] .h de shokudoo
BCH BCH BCH and dining hall

ni ne?
LOC EX

76 Y: sono kan'i beddo o ..
INJ portable bed ACC

77 mochikonde-{1-kite ne,----1}
bring in-come:TE EX

78 S: {1------1}

79 Y: sore dattara futsuu no ryookin no
that COP:TARA ordinary LK rate LK

80 han-gaku de ii yo to 1-ka
half-price with good:NPT EX QT QT

yuu kara-1
say:NPT because

81 Y: aa 1-jaa [ii ya to ka omotte.-1]
oh then good:NPT EX QT QT think:TE

82 S: [1------1]

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83 Y: .h jaa onegai shimassu to ka yutte.
then please do QT QT say:TE

84 S: =nn
BCH

85 Y: de de ma yasuk( )
and and INJ cheap

86 Y: hito-ban tomatta-n desu kedo nee?
one-night stay:PST-SE COP EX EX

87 S: =nn
BCH

88

89 Y: de sono toki London ni ita toki
and that time London LOC stay:PST when

90 Y: =sono .. .h London n ni natsu
that London FRG LOC summer

91 nee,
EX

92 Y: .h ni-kagetsu-kan gurai .h .. ano:
two-month-duration about INJ

93 ^^ kurasshiku fesutibal tte no ga
classic festival QT NML NOM

atte,
exist:TE

94 S: =nn
BCH

95 Y: sono "Royal Albert Hall" tte yuu
INJ QT say

96 soo honto-ni furui okki na nee,
yes really old big LK EX

97 S: =nn
BCH

98 Y: .h sono on ^^^ kurasshikku consaato
INJ FRG classic concert

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```
99       hooru mitai na tokoro de.
         hall  like  LK place  LOC

100  Y:  .h sono kurasshiku: no (1.3) sono
           INJ  classic     LK       INJ

101      ongakkai       ga  m   #mai-ban
         music concert NOM FRG every-night

102      hirak-arete-ru   no.
         open-PSS-STA:NPT SE

103  S:  =nn
          BCH

104  Y:  .h de  sorede .h ^ mata sono
           and then        also that

105      shisutem ga  yokute  ne,
         system   NOM good:TE EX

106  Y:  =sono .h .. gakusei toka        (0.8)^
          INJ        student or something

107      ni  taishite        wa  ne?
         for with respect to TOP EX

108  Y:  (0.8) san-pondo   tte .. yuu a
                three-pound QT     say oh

109      "no" chigau.
          no  wrong

110  Y:  i   ichi-pondo gurai no.
         FRG one-pound  about LK

111  Y:  honto-ni sanbyaku      en  gurai no
         really   three hundred yen about LK

112      yasui .h ken    o   kureru   no ne,
         cheap    ticket ACC give:NPT SE EX

113  Y:  demo 6-yasui ken    tte-6  no  sono
         but    cheap ticket QT     NML INJ

114      .h ichi-ban shita de     nee,
            most     below COP:TE EX

115  Y:  koo tatte:*
         INJ stand:TE
```


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116 Y: ^^ mite-iru ka*
look-STA:NPT or

117 Y: ato i#chi-ban ue no tenjoosajiki
other most up LK the gallery

118 de mata koo tatte
LOC also INJ stand:TE

119 Y: koo mite-ru ka dake na-n
INJ look-STA:NPT or only LK-SE

120 da kedo.
COP though

121 Y: .h de sore ga honto-ni yokutte
and that NOM really good:TE

122 Y: sorede nan mi-ban ka yon-..ban
and FRG three-night or four- night

123 gurai kayotta-n desu.
about commute:PST-SE COP

124 S: =nn
BCH

125 Y: .h de .h sore yoru n naru desho,
and that night FRG become right?

126 Y: =de hitori itta kara.
and alone go:PST because

127 Y: de yoru owatte.
and night end:TE

128 Y: juu-ji goro natte.
ten-o'clock about become:TE

129 S: =nn
BCH

130 Y: soikara soko kara .h ano: mata: basu
then there from INJ also bus

131 de niju-ppun gurai hanareta
INS twenty-minutes about distant

132 tokoro no yadoya 1-made
. place LK inn up to

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```
133      kaen-nakyaikenai no ne,-1
         return-must:NPT  SE EX

134  S: =nn
          BCH

135  Y: dakara hi-tori    da      kara
         so     one-person COP:NPT because

136      kekkoo .h kowai kana to ka
         rather    scary MOD  QT QT

         omotta     kedo.
         think:PST  though

137  Y: demo London tte sonna-ni
         but  London QT  so

138      kowaku-nai    no nee?
         scary-NEG:NPT SE EX

139  I: ==aa soo desu    ka?
           oh so  COP:NPT QU

140  Y: =ichi-ban nanka hanka no nee*
          most     INJ   busy  LK EX

141  Y: .h nanka .h bikutoria: suteeshon atari
            INJ      Victoria   station   around

142      nanka o   hitori     de   koo basu
         SOF   FRG one-person with INJ bus

143      o   orite      kara
         ACC get off:TE after

144  Y: =tokotoko aruite-mo.
          ONM      walk-though

145  Y: ^ doo yuu koto nakatta       shi  nee*
           how say NML  exist:NEG:PST also EX

146  S: h@:n
         BCH

147  Y: n:n*
         BCH

148  Y: soide: ya  yadoya ni kaette.
         and    FRG inn    GL return
```


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149

150 Y: sorede aru ban nee .h mo ammashi
and one night EX EM very

151 nanka tsukareta kara
INJ tired:PST because

152 Y: =moo sono ongaku no concert ni
already that music LK concert GL

153 kayou no yameyoo to 1-ka
commute NML stop:PRV QT QT

[omotte.]-1
think:TE

154 S: [nn nn nn]
BCH BCH BCH

155 Y: =hayame-ni sono yadoya ni kaetta
early that inn GL return:PST

156 no ne,
SE EX

157 Y: =sono .h .. an da kke sono:
INJ what COP QT INJ

158 shokudoo ni toma1-tte-ru
dining hall LOC stay-STA:NPT

tokoro no.-1
place LK

159 S: =nn
BCH

160 Y: soshitara soko no nee,
then there LK EX

161 Y: .h soko de hataraite-ru .. otoko
there LOC work-STA:NPT male

162 no .. wakai otoko-no-ko ga ite.
LK young boy NOM exist:TE

163 S: =nn
BCH

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164 Y: de sono ko ga iroiro koo
and that boy NOM variously INJ

165 shinsetsu-ni shite-kureru no nee,
kindly do-give:NPT SE EX

166 S: =nn
BCH

167 Y: .h sore dakara .h ..nn sono toki
that so INJ that time

168 atashi mo honto-ni tsukarete-ta
I also really tired-STA:PST

169 shi nee,
also EX

170 S: =nn
BCH

171 Y: nde sono .. ^^ shokudoo ni sono
and that dining room GL that

172 ko mo haitte-kite.
boy also enter-come:TE

173 Y: =iroiro ohanashi shite-ta no.
variously talk do-STA:PST SE

174 Y: (1.2) de: nnn nanika no hyooshi-ni
and INJ something LK chance

175 nee,
EX

176 Y: ^^ "Do you feel like dringking ?"

177 tte yuu fuu-ni yuw-arete.
QT say manner say-PSS:TE

178 S: =nn
BCH

179 Y: de watashi honto-ni mada yon-kage
and I really still four-month

180 yon-shuukan gurai datta desho,
four-week about COP:PST right?

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```
181  Y: sono (    ) no kaigai   seikatsu tte
        INJ        LK overseas living   QT

182     yuu no  ga.
        say NML NOM

183  S: =nn
         BCH

184  Y: dakara wakan-nakute      nee,
        so     understand-NEG:TE EX

185  S: =nn
         BCH

186  Y: nn  "I like drinking" tte yutte
        yes                   QT  say:TE

187  Y: =sono: tada futsuu-ni koo nomu  tad
         INJ   only usually   INJ drink FRG

188     osake  o   nomu      no  ga  suki desu
        drinks ACC drink:NPT NML NOM like COP:NPT

189     yo tte kanji de yutte
        EX QT  appearance with say:TE

190  Y: .h a  soo to ka yutte
           oh yes QT QT say:TE

191  Y: =koo         patto tatte
         this manner ONM   stand up:TE

192  Y: =daidokoro ni itte  nee,
         kitchen   to go:TE EX

193  S: =nn
         BCH

194  Y: nanka     konna     okkina .h gurasu
        something this much b_g       glass

195     i-ppaibun no (    ) wain nanka
        one-CLS   LK       wine SOF

196     mottekite-[kureru no.]
        bring-give:NPT    SE

197  S: [aa  aa]
         BCH BCH
```


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198 Y: .h a komatta [1-naa to ka
oh in trouble EX QT QT

omotte.-1]
think:TE

199 S: [1-----1]

200 Y: .h de kore de #moshikashite
and this with maybe

201 koo damas-areru-n ja-nai ka
INJ deceive-PSS:NPT-SE COP-NEG QU

202 {toka soo yuu no patto} koo
or something so say NML ONM INJ

203 atama ni haitte-[kita kara] nee,
head to enter-come:PST because EX

204 S: {( )} [( )]

205 Y: uun oishi-soo nee to {1-ka
yes delicious-looking EX QT QT

206 Y: itte sukoshizutsu-1} nonde-te
say:TE little by little drink-STA:TE

207 S: {1-------1}

208 Y: de mata .h koo patto satta suki-ni
and again INJ ONM leave while

209 ne
EX

210 Y: kono 1-ma:do giwa ni itte.-1
this window side to go:TE

211 S: ==1--1

212 Y: [mado akete.]
window opne:TE

213 S: [1-----1]

214 Y: {1-sootto koo .. wain o
silently this manner wine ACC

215 sute-tari shite nee,-1}
discard-also do:TE EX

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```
216  S: {1-----1}

217  Y: .h sorede maa ato  wa  doo tte koto
          and    INJ rest TOP how QT  NML

218     1-na[katta-n       da  kedo-1]
          exist:NEG:PST-SE COP EX

219  S: [aa honto*]
         oh really

220  Y: nn  nn
        BCH BCH

221

222  S: bare-nakatta,
        be discovered-NEG:PST

223  Y: nn  1-daijobu-1 datta.
        yes   all right COP:PST

224  Y: .h de  mukoo     wa  honto  sore de
          and the other TOP really that with

225     yorokon-dete      nee.
        be pleased-STA:TE EX

226  S: =nn
         BCH

227  Y: a  issho-ni osake nonde-kurete
        oh together drink drink-give:TE

228     a#rigatoo to [1-ka nan  toka-1]
        thank you QT    or what or something

229  S: [1-----1]

230  Y: soide yorokonde
        and   be pleased:TE

231  Y: =kaette-tta-n     da  kedo.
         return-go:PST-SE COP EX

232  S: ==a  honto
          oh really

233  Y: nn  so  sorede: ato      London wa
        yes FRG and     the rest London TOP
```


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234 s sore gurai #de ^^ itsu-ka gurai
FRG that about with five-day about

235 tomatta no kana:,
stay:PST SE MOD

English translation for #4 (London)

8 Y: You know,
9 Y: two summers ago
10 I went to England for 2 months.
11 S: uh-huh
12 Y: That was the first time for me to go
13 abroad by myself.
14 Y: Even in Japan...
15 I had never traveled alone.
16
17 S: uh-huh
18 Y: The first three weeks, first two, three
19 weeks I was in Cambridge, and ...
20 Y: ICU has a seminar house in Cambridge, and
21
22
23 S: uh-huh
24 Y: I was there with
25 other ICU students for three weeks, and
26
27 S: uh-huh
28 Y: I saw lots of places
29 here and there, and ...
30 Y: It was really like, how should I say it...
31 I was protected ...
32 like I had a tour guide the whole time, and
33
34 Y: I went around to see many places, and
35 Y: there was nothing to worry about, you know.
36
37 Y: With a lot of protection as if we were in
38 Y: lukewarm water, and
39 Y: we just saw places briefly here and there.
40
41 S: uh-huh
42 Y: Then it was over after three weeks, and
43 Y: after that I went to London.
44
45 S: uh-huh
46 Y: There were about four of us at the beginning.
47
48 Y: Everyone's schedule was

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different, so
Y: one left, then two left, and
S: uh-huh
Y: in the end, I was left alone, and
S: uh-huh
Y: because I was alone,
Y: it was hard to get a room.

Y: Pretty hard.
Y: So I thought about
what to do, and
Y: I inquired about places here and there, but
Y: either there was no room or I was refused
or very expensive.

S: uh-huh
Y: I didn't like that, and

S: uh-huh
Y: and I decided to ask the owner of the place
I'd been staying in up until then, and ...
Y: (asked him) if he could help me out, and
S: uh-huh
Y: he said I could stay there
if the dining hall was all right.
I: Staying in the dining hall?
Y: Yes, and into the dining hall, you know,
Y: he brought a portable bed, and

S: [laugh]
Y: he said all I'd have to pay was
half of the regular fee, so
Y: I thought it was all right, and
S: [laugh]
Y: I said I'd take it, and
S: uh-huh

Y: I spent the first night.
S: uh-huh

Y: And, at that time, when I was in London ...
Y: In the summer, in London ...

Y: for about two months...
there was a classical music festival, and ...
S: uh-huh
Y: At Royal Albert Hall ...
a really big, old hall ...
S: uh-huh
Y: At this place which is like
a classical music hall,

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100 Y: there was a classical music
101 concert every day.
102
103 S: uh-huh
104 Y: And the system was
105 also good, and ...
106 Y: For students,
107 you know?
108 Y: it was 3 pounds ...
109 No, that's not right.
110 Y: About 1 pound.
111 Y: You could get really cheap tickets
112 for about 300 yen.
113 Y: But the cheap tickets would allow you
114 to go to the bottom floor, and
115 Y: you would have to stand, and
116 watch, or
117 Y: you would have to go to the farthest seats
118 in the gallery and again would have to
119 stand and watch,
120 but
121 Y: it was really good, and
122 Y: I went to three or four concerts.
123
124 S: uh-huh
125 Y: They were at night, right?
126 Y: And I went alone, so ...
127 Y: And they were over in the evening, and
128 it was around 10:00, and
129 S: uh-huh
130 Y: then from there
131 I had to take a bus for about 20 minutes
132 to return to the inn.
133
134 S: uh-huh
135 Y: I though I would be scared
136 going by myself, but
137 Y: actually London's not that scarey,
138 you know.
139 I: Really?
140 Y: At the busiest place,
141 Y: around Victoria Station,
142 I got off the bus by myself
143 and
144 Y: I walked a bit, but
145 Y: nothing ever happened, you know.
146 S: uh-huh
147 Y: uh-huh
148 Y Then I returned to the inn, and
149
150 Y: one night

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151 I was so tired, so
152 Y: I thought of not going
153 to the concert, and
154 S: uh-huh
155 Y: I returned to the inn early.
156
157 Y: um... you know ...
158 to the dining hall where I was staying.
159 S: uh-huh
160 Y: Then,
161 Y: the guy who worked there ...
162 there was this young guy ...
163 S: uh-huh
164 Y: He was very kind to me.
165
166 S: uh-huh
167 Y: I was really tired
168 then, you know.
169
170 S: uh-huh
171 Y: He came into the dining hall, too, and
172
173 Y: we talked about different things.
174 Y: And then on the spur of the moment,
175
176 Y: "Do you feel like drinking?"
177 I was asked, and ...
178 S: uh-huh
179 Y: It'd only been
180 about 4 weeks, right?
181 Y: Staying abroad.
182
183 S: uh-huh
184 Y: So I didn't know what he had meant, and
185 S: uh-huh
186 Y: I said, "I liked drinking." and ...
187 Y: What I meant was that I liked drinking
188 in general, and ...
189
190 Y: He said, "Really?" and
191 Y: he stood up suddenly, and
192 Y: went into the kitchen, and
193 S: uh-huh
194 Y: he brought wine
195 in a glass this big for me.
196
197 S: uh-huh
198 Y: I though to myself, "I am in trouble", and
199 S: [laugh]
200 Y: I suddenly thought
201 that maybe

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202 he was trying to trick me into something, so
203
204 S: ( )
205 Y: I said it looked good, and
206 Y: drank a little at a time, and
207 S: [laugh]
208 Y: when the guy left for a while,
209
210 Y: I went to the window, and
211 S: [laugh]
212 Y: opened it, and
213 S: [laugh]
214 Y: quietly threw out the wine, and
215
216 S: [laugh]
217 Y then after that nothing really happened.
218
219 S: Really.
220 Y: Yeah.
221
222 S: He didn't know what you did with the wine?
223 Y: No, it was fine.
224 Y: The guy seemed really
225 happy, and
226 S: uh-huh
227 Y: (he said) "Thanks
228 for drinking together."
229 S: [laugh]
230 Y: He was happy with that, and
231 Y: then he left.
232 S: Really.
233 Y: That was about it for London. I stayed there
234 for about 5 days, I think.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #5
TITLE: AIR RAID

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (4)
SEX: female
AGE: 66
OCCUPATION: house wife

RECORDING DATE: August, 1986

---

9 S: ato wa kuushuu no koto ya
the rest TOP air raid LK thing and

10 nanka oboete-masu ka,
and something remember-STA:POL:NPT QU

11

12 I: kuushuu no koto wa moo yoku
air raid LK thing TOP FM well

13 oboete-[masu yo.]
remember-STA:POL:NPT EX

14 A: [=kuushuu n toki no] koto wa
air raid LK time LK NML TOP

15 {oboete-ru wa.}
remember-STA:NPT EX

16 I: {are no koto ne}
that LK thing EX

17 S: nn
BCH

18 I: [son toki watashi wa ne.]
that time I TOP EX

19 A: [are wa wasurer-an-nai nee,]
that TOP forget-PTN-NEG:NPT EX

20 S: =nn
BCH

21 I: n hatachi doshita #ne,
yes twenty years old COP:POL:PST EX

22 S: =nn
yes

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23 I: hatachi desu kara
twenty years old COP:POL:NPT because

24 I: honde mashite .. kootoo-ku: maa
and especially Koto Ward INJ

25 mukashi no fukagawa kiba tte yuu
former LK Fukagawa Kiba QT say

26 toko #ne?
place EX

27 S: =nn
BCH

28 I: maa watashi wa moo fukagawa de
INJ I TOP EM Fukagawa LOC

29 sodatte
grow up:TE

30 I: =mo fukagawa de mmareta tte jibun
EM Fukagawa LOC be born:PST QT self

31 de jifu-shite-ru kurai da ka#ra.
by self-conceited:NPT about COP because

32 I: ma fukagawa ni i#te
INJ Fukagawa LOC exist:TE

33 I: mm dai-ichi-banme gurai ni
INJ first about at

34 yar-areta-n da kara.
do-PSS:PST-SE COP because

35 I: ..de kiba no san-choome tte yuu
and Kiba LK third-district QT say

36 tokoro wa ne?
place TOP EX

37 I: (0.7) ano: are sonde sono toki uchi
INJ INJ and that time home

38 ni wa nee*
LOC TOP EX

39 I: ano: okkii ane to ne?
INJ big older sister and EX

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40 I: ...okkii ane fuufu to
big older sister husband and wife and

41 I: sono ima yu iwayuru ano .. ne
INJ now say so to speak INJ EX

42 I: ano sa saiki-san no are to.
INJ EX Saiki-Mr. LK that and

43 I: kyoodai to atashi no ane to*
sibling and I LK older sister and

44 I: ...nan-nin ita-n da,
how many-persons exist:PST-SE COP

45 I: chichi desho,
father right?

46 I: chichi desho,
father right?

47 I: ...kara ane fuufu
then older sister husband and wife

desho,
right?

48 I: =imooto desho,
younger sister right?

49

50 I: atashi desho,
I right?

51 I: mei ... shi#chi-nin imashita #ne,
niece seven-person exist:PST EX

52 I: soshite: ... nenjuu (0.9) kuushuu
and always air raid

53 kuushuu de
air raid with

54 I: =an toki wa: ..yuki wa: futta no
that time TOP snow TOP fall:PST NML

55 wa sono mae ne.
TOP that before EX

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56 A: =atashi ano ne.
I INJ EX

57 I: san-gatsu n toki wa
March LK time TOP

58 fur-ana[katta ne?]
fall-NEG:PST EX

59 A: [( )] fur-anai fur-anai
fall-NEG:NPT fall-NEG:NPT

60 I: nn fur-anaku#te*
BCH fall-NEG:TE

61 I: moo nan-kai-mo nan-kai-mo:
already many times many times

62 kite-ta-n da kedo:
come-STA:PST-SE COP FX

63

64 I: chichi tte yuu no wa osake ga
father QT say NML TOP 'sake' NOM

65 suki de ne,
like COP:TE EX

66 I: osake nonde
'sake' drink:TE

67 I: ne-chatte-ta no ne,
sleep-AUX-STA:PST SE EX

68 S: nn
BCH

69 I: ...de hoka no hito wa moo
and other LK people TOP already

70 hayaku: ^^ nige-chatta-n da kedo
early escape-AUX:PST-SE COP though

71 I: atashi to chichi wa moo saigo
I and father TOP EM last

72 made uchi ni ita wake.
till home LOC exist:PST SE

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73 I: dooshite ru ka tte chichi wa osake
why FRG QU QT father TOP 'sake'

74 nonde:.
drink:TE

75 I: gussuri ne-chatte-ta.
deeply sleep-AUX-STA:PST

76 I: de atashi mo dotchi ka tsu to.
and I also which QU QT:say QT

77

78 I: ... anmari odorok-anai hoo
not very surprise-NEG:NPT side

79 da ka#ra
COP:NPT because

80 I: nete-teta [wake.]
sleep-STA:PST SE

81 A: [n:n]
BCH

82 I: #soode doo shiyoo mo nakute.
and how do:PRV also exist:NEG:TE

83 I: yobi ni ko-rarete
call for come-PSS:TE

84 I: dete-tte-ta no ne?
out-go-STA:PST SE EX

85 S: =nn
BCH

86 I: (1.0) demo son toki wa moo::
but that time TOP already

87 soshi#te ... chichi wa moo
then father TOP already

88 shinsai ni mo atte-ru
earthquake GL alos meet-STA:NPT

kara
because

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89 I: =mo hi no naka wa
already fire LK inside TOP

90 keikensha da kara ne?
experiencer COP:NPT because EX

91 A: ==n:n
BCH

92 I: kaza-shimo e: .. kaza-shimo e
wind-down to wind-down to

93 nigetara dame tte yuu wake
escape:TARA no good QT say:NPT SE

ne?
EX

94 I: hantai-ni kaza: [kaze: no #naka
oppositely wind wind LK inside

95 hi no naka o] ku#gutte
fire LK inside ACC go under:TE

96 nigero tte yuu wake.
escape:IMP QT say:NPT SE

97 A: [( )]

98 A: n:n
BCH

99 I: soide kugutte nigeta kara
and go under:TE escape:PST because

100 I: =moo sono shitori-de taihen na
EM INJ alone tough LK

101 omoi shite nigeta wake ne?
experience do:TE escape:PST SE EX

102 S: =nn
BCH

103 I: .. soo deshoo
so right?

104 kaza-shimo ni nigeru-nara
wind-down to escape-if

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105 I: kotchi kara hi ga ku-n [dattara]
this way from fire NOM come-SE COP:TARA

106 A: [n:n]
BCH

107 I: kotchi e niger{-eba.}
this way to escape-if

108 A: {( )}

109 I: raku desho?
easy right?

110 S: =nn
BCH

111 I: sore o ... kotchi e ... hi o
that ACC this way to fire ACC

112 kugutte-ta-n da kara.
go under-go:PST-SE COP because

113 S: =[nn]
BCH

114 A: [nn]
BCH

115 I: sono toki no: kaze #ne?
that time LK wind EX

116 S: =[n:n]
BCH

117 A: n:n
BCH

118 I: kaze wa sugokatta desu yo.
wind TOP fierce:PST COP EX

119 I: moo atashi-tachi futon
EM I-PL bed clothes

120 ko mo shotte
like this EM carry on back

nigeta-n da kedo
escape-SE COP though

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121 I: =futon wa tob-asare-chau.
bed clothes TOP fly-PSS-AUX:NPT

122 S: n:n
BCH

123 I: de: nde: ue no ane wa
and and up LK older sister TOP

124 sukoshi .. hosokatta mon da kara.
a little thin:PST NML COP because

125 I: ...kaze ni fukitobas-arete
wind by blow away-PSS:TE

126 I: taore-chau.
fall-AUX:NPT

127 S: n:n
BCH

128 I: de motte-ta ano:: (1.0) ko
and carry-STA:PST INJ INJ

129 zatsunoo tte fukuro ga
miscellaneous bag QT bag NOM

an no ne?
exist:NPT SE EX

130 I: son naka e hijoo-shoku to
that inside GL emergency food GL

131 shite mame toka.
do:TE bean or something

132 S: nn
BCH

133 I: ano: .. soo yuu mono [zenbu keitai
INJ so say thing all carry

134 shite-ta-n da kara ne?]
do-STA:PST-SE COP because EX

135 A: [( )] yoo-na mono ne?
as thing EX

136 I: #so.
right

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137 I: kan[zume toka #chotto]
canned food or something a little

138 A: [katsubushi toka]
dried fish or something

139 I: {tabe-r}areru mono irei-oite
eat-PTN:NPT thing put-AUX:TE

140 N: {n:n}
BCH

141 I: dakedo sore o boroboro boroboro
but that ACC ONM ONM

142 ..koboshi-nagara itta no
spill-AUX go:PST NML

143 oboete-ru wa ne.
remember-STA:NPT EX EX

144 S: n:n ..... kekkyoku tasukatta-n
BCH in the end be saved-SE

145 desho,
right?

146 I: kekkyoku moo [zeiin]
in the end EM all member

147 A: [demo m:inna] zeiin
but all all member be

tasukatta.
saved:PST

148 I: ==zeiin tasukari-[mashita.
all member be saved-POL:PST

149 I: =hitottsu mo kega nashi.]
one also injury exist:NEG:RY

150 A: [( )] {erakatta:*}
splendid:PST

151 N: {( )}

152

153 I: n:n dakara chichi ga n: ne
BCH so father NOM INJ EX

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154 shinsai no keikensha.
earthquake LK experiencer

155 N: n:n
BCH

156 I: hoide koo totta koodoo ga yokatta
and INJ take:PST action NOM good:PST

157 [wake.]
SE

158 N: [n:n]
BCH

159 I: =honde shit minna atsui atsui tte
and FRG all hot hot QT

160 mizu n naka e tobikonda [shito]
water LK inside GL junm into people

161 wa yake-chatta wake.
TOP burn-AUX:PST SE

162 N: [n:n]
BCH

163 N: soo {nee}
so EX

164 S: {a soo}
oh so

165 I: =n:n
BCH

166

167 I: de okaachan-tachi wa kono
and mother-PL TOP this

168 shiohama e nigete-kita wake ne,
Shiohama to escape-come:PST SE EX

169 A: n:n
BCH

170 I: de shiohama e nigete-ki#te,
and Shiohama to escape-come:TE

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```
171  I: chotto   shinseki  ga  atta
        a little relatives NOM exist:PST

        kara
        because

172  I: soko  e  shito-ban toma#tte
        there to one-night stay:TE

173  I: .h (0.7) soshite [yokujitsu]
                    and      the next day

174  A: [demo kotchi]  e  nigete-kita
         but  this way to escape-come:PST

        kara
        because

175     yokat{ta-n} desu [ne?]
        good:PST-SE COP   EX

176  I: {ssoo} [a:n]
         yes    yes
```

English Translation for #5 (Air Raid)

```
9    S:   Do you remember
10        anything about the air raid?
12   I:   I still remember
13        the air raid very well.
14   A:   I remember
15        the air raid.
16   I:   About that,
17   S:   uh-huh
18   I:
19   A:   I couldn't forget that.
20   S:   uh-huh
21   I:   I was twenty,
22   S:   uh-huh
23   I:   I was twenty so ...
24   I:   and I was still in Koto Ward, well
25        what was then Fukagawa Kiba.
26
27   S:   uh-huh
28   I:   Well, I was raised in Fukagawa, and
29
30   I:   I was born there
31        and I'm proud of that, so ...
32   I:   Anyway, I was in Fukagawa, and
33   I:   that was the first place
```


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34 that was hit.
35 I: And, the place
36 called the Third District, Kiba ...
37 I: At that time, in our house ...
38
39 I: there were, uh, my eldest sister, and ...
40 I: she and her husband and
41 I: you know...
42 I: uh, Saiki's ...
43 I: his brother and my sister and ...
44 I: How many people were there?
45 I: my father,
46 I: my father,
47 I: and there was my sister and her husband,
48 I: my younger sister,
49
50 I: me,
51 I: my neice... there were seven people.
52 I: And every so often there were air raids, and
53
54 I: At that time ... It had snowed
55 before that time.
56 A: I ...
57 I: It didn't snow in March,
58 did it?
59 A: No, no.
60 I: No, it didn't snow, and ...
61 I: They kept coming and coming.
62
63
64 I: My father liked "sake", and
65
66 I: Hhe drank "sake", and
67 I: fell asleep.
68 S: uh-huh
69 I: Everyone else
70 had already run away, but
71 I: my father and I were the last ones
72 to stay in the house.
73 I: The reason is that my father
74 drank his "sake" and
75 I: slept.
76 I: And I am also a type who
77
78 I: would not get surprised easily,
79 so
80 I: I was sleeping.
81 A: uh-huh
82 I: And at the end,
83 I: we were called out, and
84 I: we left.

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S: uh-huh
I: But at that time ...
and ... my father had already
experienced the Great Earthquake, so
I: he was already experienced with fires.

A: uh-huh
I: He said it wasn't good for us
to run towards the leeward side.
I: He said we had to run into the wind
and go under the fire.

A: ( )
A: uh-huh
I: So we escaped under the fire, so
I: I ran
with great difficulty.
S: uh-huh
I: You see.
if I had run towards the leeward side
I: if the fire would have come from this
direction,
A: uh-huh
I: escaping this way
A: ( )
I: would be much easier, right?
S: uh-huh
I: But, I went this way,
I went unde the fire.
S: uh-huh
A: uh-huh
I: At that time, you know, the wind,
S: uh-huh
A: uh-huh
I: the wind was very strong.
I: We carried our "futon"
on our sholders and escaped, but
I: the futon was blown away.
S: uh-huh
I: Since my older sister
was rather thin,
I: the wind blew her
down.
S: uh-huh
I: The thing I was carrying ...
there was a bag we called a duffle bag ...
I: I had put some emergency food in it,
like beans.
S: uh-huh
I: I was carrying everything in it, you know.

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135 A: Things like ( ).
136 I: Right.
137 I: And a few canned foods and ...
138 A: Dried bonito and ...
139 I: I put edible things inside.
140 N: uh-huh
141 I: I remember
142 some of the things were falling out
143 as I was escaping.
144 S: But in the end you were saved,
145 weren't you?
146 I: Yes, everyone ...
147 A: Everyone was saved.
148 I: Everyone was saved?
149 I: No one was hurt.
150 A: That was brave of you all.
151 N: ( )
152
153 I: My father
154 had experienced the earthquake.
155 N: uh-huh
156 I: We moved along well.
157
158 N: uh-huh
159 I: Those who screamed "Oh hot!"
160 and jumped into the water
161 got burnt to death.
162 N: uh-huh
163 N: That's right.
164 S: Really?
165 I: Yes.
166
167 I: Some others and I
168 escaped to Shiohama.
169 A: uh-huh
170 I: We escaped to Shiohama, and ...
171 I: because we had relatives there,
172 I: we stayed there one night, and
173 I: And the next day ...
174 A: But it's good you came this way,
175 isn't it?
176 I: Yes.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #6
TITLE: BOMBING

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (5)
SEX: female
AGE: late 50's
OCCUPATION: house wife

RECORDING DATE: August, 1986

---

9 N: are nan-gatsu kashira.
that what month MOD

10 N: soide gakkoo sotsugyoo shita no
and school graduate do:PST NML

11 ga san-gatsu de:
NOM March COP:TE

12 N: sorekara tsutometa no ga asaka
and work:PST NML NOM Asaka

13 yori hitotsu kotchi no .. .h ano
more one this side LK INJ

14 ima wa wakoo-shi tte yuu eki ni
now TOP Wako City QT say station GL

15 natte-ru.
become-STA:NPT

16 N: n desu kedo ne,
SE COP EX EX

17 I: ee
BCH

18 N: soko no: hitotsu: ... maa saki no
there LK one INJ ahead LK

19 eki na-n
station LK-SE

20 N: soko orita toko n kaisha
there get off place LK company

21 tsutometa-n desu yo ne?
work:PST-SE COP EX EX

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22 N: (1.0) de sono: toki ni ne ano: ..
and that time at EX INJ

23 yappari hora ano: ..
expectedly INJ INJ

24 kijuusoosha tte yuu-n desu ka,
machine-gunning QT say:NPT-SE COP QU

25 I: =ee
BCH

26 N: =are mo ya .. ano: kinjo no
that also FRG INJ neighborhood LK

27 kaisha de yar-arete
company LK do-PSS:TE

28 N: onna no hito wakai hito
woman LK person young person

29 nakunar-imashita kedo ne?
die-POL:PST EX EX

30 S: aa soo desu ka
oh so COP:NPT QU

31

32 N: ==de ... ano: sono ima no wakoo-shi
and INJ INJ now LK Wako City

33 no #eki ni ne bakudan ga
LK station LOC EX bomb NOM

34 ochita-n [desu] yo.
drop:PST-SE COP EX

35 S: [ee]
BCH

36 N: dakara are nan-gatsu daroo
so that what month MOD

37 N: =atashi ga tsutomete kara da
I NOM work:TE after COP

kara
because

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38 N: =[go-gatsu ka]
May or

39 A: [( )] go-gatsu
May

40 N: {go-gatsu ka} nanka desu ne?
May or something COP:NPT EX

41 A: {( )}

42 N: ano toki ni #eki ni bakudan ga
that time at station LOC bomb NOM

43 ochita-n [desu.]
drop:PST-SE COP

44 S: [ee]
BCH

45 N: sono toki wa*
that time TOP

46 N: .h chotto eki no soba desho,
a little station LK near right?

47 N: =%kai[sha ga.]
company NOM

48 S: [ee ee]
yes yes

49 N: da sore wa moo ne.
so that TOP already EX

50 N: .h ano jimusho kara tobidashite nee.
INJ offoce from rush out:TE EX

51 N: ano: bookuugoo iku made
INJ air arid shelter go:NPT till

52 maniaw-anaku#te
on time-NEG:TE

53 N: jimusho ga nikai datta-n
office NOM second floor COP:PST-SE

desu ne,
COP EX

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```
54   N: ano: .. #kaidan no shita      e
        INJ      stairs LK underneath GL

55      minna de   nee.
        all   with EX

56   N: =nan-nin-ka  de   kaidan no
         some people with stairs LK

57      shita      e   koo
        underneath LOC like this

        chijikomatta.
        crouch:PST

58   N: .h sore wa  oboete-masu      kedo ne?
           that TOP remember-STA:POL EX   EX

59   S: ==a   soo desu    ka
          INJ so  COP:NPT QU

60   N: ==n:n dakara .. #soonna-ni ko  kowai
          INJ so         that much FRG scared

61      omoi       tsu    no  wa
        experience QT:say NML TOP

        nai-n        desu ke#do
        exist:NEG-SE COP  EX
```

English Translation of Data #6 (BOMBING)

```
9    N:  What month was that?
10   N:  I graduated
11       in March, and
12   N:  And my place of work was
13       near the station before Asaka
14       where the station Wakoo-shi is now.
15
16   N:  But,
17   I:  uh-huh.
18   N:  one station beyond that.
19
20   N:  I worked in the company
21       located just as you leave the station.
22   N:  And just then, you know,
23       it must have been a machine gun,
24
25   I:  uh-huh
26   N:  The companies in the neighborhood
```


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were attacked, and
N: a young woman
died.
S: Really?

N: And there was a bombing
where the Wakoo-shi Station is now.

S: uh-huh
N: What month was that?
N: It was after I started to work so
N: it must have been May.
A: ( ) May.
N: Sometime like May.
A: ( )
N: A bomb fell then.

S: uh-huh
N: That time,
N: it was near the station, right?
N: My company was.
S: uh-huh
N: So it was really ...
N: I ran out of the office, and
N: I didn't have enough time to make it
to the air-raid shelter, and ...
N: My office was on the second floor, you know.
N: We all, under the stairs, ...

N: Several of us huddled under the stairs.

N: That, I remember.
S: Really?
N: So I don't have very
frightening memory.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #7
TITLE: THE DAY AFTER

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (6)
SEX: female
AGE: late 60's
OCCUPATION: house wife

RECORDING DATE: August, 1986

---

10 A: ano atashi wa ne kita-senji kara.
INJ I TOP EX North Senju from

11 A: ... ano: kita-senji ni ita no
INJ North Senju LOC exist:PST SE

12 S: ee
yes

13 A: sono ... toki wa ne?
that time TOP EX

14 S: ==ee
yes

15 A: san-gatsu tooka n toki wa.
March tenth that time TOP

16 A: suide .. ano: ane ga:
and INJ older sister NOM

17 fukagawa ni i#te
Fukagawa LOC exist:TE

18 A: kameido ni ni-ken shinseki ga
Kameido LOC two-CLS relatives NOM

19 at#te
exist:TE

20 A: .. soide: ano: kuushuu .. tte no
and INJ air raid QT NML

21 wa mo sugokatta tte no wa
TOP EM severe:PST QT NML TOP

22 shitte-ru wake.
know-STA:NPT SE

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23 S: ==nn
BCH

24 A: %m me de wa mie-nakatta kedo.
FRG eye INS TOP see-NEG:PST though

25 A: ... ... dakara .. ^ soide uchi:
so and house

26 ga yake-nai noni
NOM burn-NEG:NPT though

27 A: dare-mo ko-nai kara
no one come-NEG:NPT because

28 A: shin-jatta no kana: to omotta no.
die-AUX:PST SE MOD QT think:PST SE

29 A: %mi-kka tatte ne,
three-days pass:TE EX

30 S: =nn
BCH

31 A: ano: ... dakara .. .h are too-ka
INJ so that tenth

32 no asa desho,
LK morning right?

33 I: =nn
BCH

34 A: d kokono-ka no [ban] kara too-ka
FRG ninth LK night from tenth

35 ni kakete da kara
to extending COP:NPT because

36 I: [soo]
right

37 A: juuni-nichi no hi ni ne
twelfth LK day on EX

38 A: ..^^ ho. . jibun ga soo yuu
INJ self NOM so say

39 tsutomete-iru · tokoro ga .h ano:
employ-STA:NPT place NOM INJ

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40 shokuji ... soo yuu shokuji no
meals so say meals NOM

41 dekiru gunji-koojoo da kara
able:NPT military-factory COP:NPT because

42 A: sh shokuryoo ni wa komatte-nai
FRG food for TOP in trouble-NEG:NPT

43 wake.
SE

44 S: ee
yes

45

46 A: soide dare-mo ko-nai kara: tte
and no one come-NEG:NPT because QT

47 yutte
say:TE

48 A: jyuni-nchi no hi ni hima morat#te
twelfth LK day on day off receive:TE

49 A: .h yakusho kara
goverment office from

50 A: .h ano: sono koro .. gohan no naka
INJ that time rice LK insde

51 e uzuramame haitte-ta no
GL kidney beans put-STA:PST SE

52 I: nn
BCH

53 A: dakedo ... ... ^ minkan wa motto
but civilian TOP more

54 hidoi mono tabete-te
terrible thing eat-STA:TE

55 A: uzura ga haitte-ru gurai
kidney beans NOM put-STA:NPT extent

56 tottemo jooshoku datta no ne,
very excellent food COP:PST SE EX

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57 A: sore o onigiri ippai morat#te
that ACC rice ball a lot receive:TE

58 A: .h soide: ano ... zatsunoo o
and INJ miscellaneous ACC

59 e ne?
GL EX

60 S: nn
BCH

61 A: ano: sagete.
INJ carry:TE

62 A: soide ^ a ano: sorekoso
and FRG INJ indeed

63 takuan da ka umeboshi
pickled radish COP or pickled plum

64 da ka wasure-chatta kedo
COP or forget-AUX:PST EX

65 A: moratte ne?
receive:TE EX

66 A: soide ano: densha mo nanni-mo
and INJ tram also nothing

nai wake.
exist:NEG:NPT SE

67 A: %yake-chatte-ru kara.
burn-AUX-STA:NPT because

68 S: nn
BCH

69 A: kita-senji kara ne ichi-ban saisho
North Senju from EX first first

70 fukagawa made kita-n desu yo.
Fukagawa up to come:PST-SE COP EX

71 S: =nn
BCH

72 A: sono toki ne minami-senju o
that time EX South Senju ACC

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73 tootte-kita wake.
pass-come:PST SE

74 N: n:n
BCH

75 A: .. ano: senju-oohashi wataruto
INJ Senju Bridge pass:TO

76 A: .h ano: kotchi kureba
INJ this side come:if

77 A: hora ano: ... ueno no iku hoo
INJ INJ Ueno LK go:NPT side

78 A: kotchi kuruto
this way come:TO

79 A: minami-senji no
South Senju LK

80 I: n:n
BCH

81 A: ... are na-n desu [yo] ne?
that LK-SE COP EX EX

82 S: [n:n]
BCH

83 A: soko o tootte zuutto
there ACC pass:TE through out

kitara #ne
come:TARA EX

84 A: minami-senji no atari wa
South Senju LK area TOP

85 hidokatta #shi
terrible:PST also

86 S: nn
BCH

87 A: are dakedomo ne ... koo totan
INJ but EX INJ tin

88 mitai no ga koo fuu ni
like LK NOM this fashion in

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```
89        yotte-ru          tokoro wa  5-honto-ni ne-5
          gather-STA:NPT    place  TOP   really   EX

90        .h shinin    nante matagu-n
             the dead  EM    step over:NPT-SE

91        matai-ja       ike-nai      dokoro no
          step over-NEG  no good:NPT  beyond LK

92        sata          [ja-nai       no.]
          appearance    COP-NEG:NPT   SE

93     S: n::n
          BCH

94     A: moo ##ne
          EM    EX

95     I: =aru[k-e-nai]      {gurai}
           walk-PTN-NEG:NPT   almost

96     A: [a   ts] {aruk-e-nai        hodo}
           INJ FRG  walk-PTN-NEG:NPT  almost

97     I: =nn
           BCH

98     S: ==n:n
            BCH

99     A: 5-hontoni-5
            really

100    S: [a   soo::.]
           INJ so

101    I: [(      )]

102    A: soide ne yakiba     no nioi  datta
          and   EX crematory  LK smell COP:PST

103       wa yo
          EX EX

104    S: == [ee  ee]
              BCH BCH

105    I: [n:n]
           BCH
```


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106 A: soide ne, .. kite
and EX come:TE

107 A: soide atashi wa ano
and I TOP INJ

108 A: ... ^ ^ ora ... itsumo norimon
INJ usually vehicle

109 de shika toor-anai kara
INS only pass-NEG:NPT because

110 A: ^ norimon no michi shika shir-anai
vehicle LK way only know-NEG:NPT

111 wake desu yo ne,
SE COP EX EX

112 S: =ee
BCH

113 A: soide kototoi-bashi watattara
and Kototoi Bridge cross:TARA

114 A: .. ano ... kototoi-bashi no nanka
INJ Kototoi Bridge LK EM

115 moo sono toki ne
EM that time EX

116 A: ..... soo yuuto oogesa
so say:TO exaggeration

117 ja-nai kedo
COP-NEG:NPT though

118 A: .h 5-honto-ni ne-5 sumidagawa ne.
really EX Sumida River EX

119 A: kawa men ga meenai hodo
river surface NOM see-NEG:NPT almost

120 A: shinin [datta.]
corpse COP:PST

121 I: [n:n]
BCH

122 A: soide sono toki mo keibishooshoo
and that time also patrol

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123 no heitai ga dete-te ne,
LK soldier NOM out-STA:TE EX

124 S: n:n
BCH

125 A: .h ano su sumida-kooen no shibafu
INJ FRG Sumida Park LK lawn

126 e ne,
GL EX

127 S: n:n
BCH

128 A: .h namae kaite-aru shito wa minna
name write-STA:NPT person TOP all

129

130 A: .. namae kaite-nakute-mo
name write-NEG-though

131 A: ageta-n deshoo kedo ne
raise:PST-SE COP:PRV EX EX

132 S: n:n
BCH

133 A: .h agete
raise:TE

134 A: .h shibafu no: tokoro ni
lawn LK place LOC

135 narabete-ta.
line up-STA:PST

136 S: [n:n]
BCH

137 I: [n:n]
BCH

138 A: soide ne ano: (2.25) asoko no
and EX INJ there LK

139 (1.80) kototoi-bashi no tokoro e
Kototoi Bridge LK place GL

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140 #ne
EX

141 A: ...jitensha toka ne
bicycle or something EX

142 shooboojidoosha ga ne
fire engine NOM EX

143 A: ano ... jidensha wa yama ni
INJ bycycke TOP mountain as

144 atta wa #ne
exist:PST EX EX

145 A: jidensha kitto notte nigeyoo
bicycle maybe ride:TE escape:PRV

146 to shite
QT do:TE

147 A: minna asuko e atsukutte
all there GL hot:TE

148 oi-chatta no #ka
leave-AUX:PST SE or

149 S: nn
BCH

150 A: dotchi sono shito-tachi itta
which way those person-PL go:PST

151 no ka jidensha de wa moo
NML QU bicycle INS TOP already

152 ik-are-nakatta-n ja-nai,
go-PTN-NEG:PST-SE COP-NEG

153 S: nn
BCH

154 A: .h soide shoobooji ... 1-jidoosha
and fire engine

155 tte yuuto
QT say:TO

156 A: furui [kotoba da kedo]-1
old word COP:NPT EX

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157 I: [1---1]

158 A: yyakete
burn:TE

159 A: hashi no ue ni atte sa
bridge LK above LOC exist:TE EX

160 I: nn
BCH

161 A: soide ... atashi wa sono ...
and I TOP that

162 kototoi wattatte
Kototoi cross:TE

163 A: hashi-giwa tootte
bridge-side of pass:TE

164 A: kondo wa yoroi-bashi
this time TOP Yoroi Bridge

165 wa[tatt]a-n da kedo ne
cross:PST-SE COP EX EX

166 I: [nn]
BCH

167 S: =nn
BCH

168 A: s sono aida moo ne ... shito
FRG that duration EM EX people

169 ga ne? 5-minnna ne-5 ... susu de
NOM EX all EX soot with

170 5-mak[kuro] -5
jet black

171 I: [5-makkuro-5] .. ne
jet black EX

172 A: ##ne
EX

173 I: n:n moo ( ) de moo 5-honto-5
BCH EM and EM really

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174 [me mo mie-nai]
eye also see-NEG:NPT

175 A: [( ) kojiki datte]
begger even

176 A: ima anna kakoo shite-ru shito
now such appearance do-STA:NPT person

{i-nai.. ne}
exist-NEG EX

177 I: {chotto ima i-nai desu}
a little now exist-NEG:NPT COP

178 S: n:n
BCH

179 A: soide minna bookuu-zukin nee
and all air raid hood EX

180 A: .. ano atsui noni
that hot:NPT though

181 A: tor-yaa ii noni
take off-if good though

182 A: minna .h sono kiryku ga
all that spirit NOM

nakka[tta-n] da to omou
exist:NEG:PST-SE COP QT think:NPT

183 S: [n:n]
BCH

184 S: ==nn nn
BCH BCH

185 A: bookuu-zuki[n] kabutte-n no
air raid hood wear-STA:NPT SE

186 I: [nn]
BCH

187 S: nn
BCH

188 A: sore ga minna yake-kogete-ru
that NOM all burn-scorch-STA:NPT

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desho,
right?

189 S: ee
BCH

190 A: soide 5-hotondo-5 no shito ga ne
and almost LK person NOM EX

191 hadashi da kedo
bare feet COP:NPT though

192 A: doo ka sutto haite-ru shito ga
how or do:TO wear-STA:NPT person NOM

193 iru desho,
exist:NPT right?

194 S: nn
BCH

195 A: ryoohoo haite-nai no %katappo
both wear-STA:NEG SE one side

196 S: ee
BCH

197 A: ..katappo nara sute-cha ii
one side if discard-AUX:BA good

desho,
right?

198 I: ==soo ne
yes EX

199 S: ee
BCH

200 A: sore minna katappo haite-[n no
INJ all one side wear-STA:NPT SE

201 ne]
EX

202 I: [1----1] n:n
BCH

203 S: [ha haan]
BCH BCH

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204 A: are: wa ne
that TOP EX

205 S: n:n
BCH

206 A: ... moo ano tamashii no [nukegara
already INJ spirit LK slough

207 tsuu-n {ja-nai}] no
QT:say-SE COP-NEG SE

208 S: [soo desu nee]
yes COP:NPT EX

209 I: {n:n}
BCH

210 S: ==moo ki ga nee
already spirit NOM EX

211 A: [##ne]
EX

212 I: [nn nn]
BCH BCH

213 S: nn
BCH

214 A: soide natsu da kara
and summer COP:NPT because

215 A: koo yuu tokoro wa [nora ... ase
this say place TOP INJ sweat

216 to susu to
and soot and

217 A: ... ^ yogore mo aru desho,
dirt also exist:NPT right?

218 S: nn
BCH

219 A: me dake #ne
eye only EX

220 I: =n:n
BCH

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221 A: me to
eye and

222 I: =me dake
eye only

223 A: sono me mo minna hora ... kebui
that eye also all INJ fumous:NPT

224 kara
because

225 A: kebutta are da kara
fumed that COP:NPT because

226 A: shoboshobo yo ne,
ONM EX EX

227 S: n:n
BCH

228 A: suide ne ... mm makkuro de
and EX FRG jet black COP:TE

229 A: me ga shoboshobo de
eye NOM ONM COP:TE

230 A: sorekoso ha ga masshiro de
indeed teeth NOM white COP:TE

231 A: anna no ima kojiki da-tte anna no
such LK now begger though such LK

232 inai wa yo
exist:NEG:NPT EX EX

233 S: nn
BCH

234 A: (1.6) soide densen wa
and electric wire TOP

235 koo fu ni [tarete]-{ru shi} #ne
this fashion in hang-STA:NPT also EX

236 S: [n:n]
BCH

237 I: {n:n}
BCH

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238 A: ano ne (1.0) uchi ga ne soko n
INJ EX house NOM EX there LK

239 toko atta no wa ne
place exist:PST NML TOP EX

240 A: atashi ga senji kara ne .h
I NOM Senju from EX

241 kameedo no it-choome made
Kameido LK First District up to

242 ma toriaezu itta a: aida
EM first of all go:PST INJ between

243 de ne .h yake-nokotte-ta no
LOC EX burn-remain-STA:PST LK

244 yoroibashi no .. ne hashi watatta
Yoroi Bridge LK EX bridge cross:PST

245 sugu no kiwa n tokoro ga ne
immediate LK side LK place NOM EX

246 i-kkaku nokotte-ta wa ne
one-CLS remain-STA:PST EX EX

247 S: ee
BCH

248 A: ato wa ne [ano] hora gakkoo
the rest TOP EX INJ INJ school

toka
or something

249 I: [nn] nn
BCH BCH

250 A: ano dozoo nanka a: nak: a
INJ storehouse SOF INJ FRG INJ

moete
burn:TE

251 I: n:n
BCH

252 A: ta da to [omou kedo]
PST COP QT think:NPT EX

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253 I: n:n
BCH

254 A: naka wa garandoo de
inside TOP empty COP:TE

255 A: tatemon dake [wa noko]tte-ta
building only TOP remain-STA:PST

256 I: [n:n]
BCH

257 S: aa soo desu ka. (1.7) soozoo
oh so COP:NPT QU imagine

258 chotto deki-nai desu ne
a little can-NEG:NPT COP EX

259 A: ==deki[-nai deki-nai #nee]
can-NEG:NPT can-NEG:NPT EX

260 I: [nn deki-nai] ne:
BCH can-NEG:NPT EX

261 N: ==nn
BCH

262 I: ==zet[tai-ni deski-nai desu yo]
at all can-NEG:NPT COP EX

263 N: [( )wakar-anai ( )]
understand-NEG

264 A: kameido e i< no i-tchoome e
Kameido to FRG LK First District to

265 ittara
go:TARA

266 A: soko zenbu yakete-te
there all burn-STA:TE

267 I: ==n:n
BCH

268 A: soide sono.. ima de yuu hora ano
and INJ now at say INJ INJ

269 kameedo tte no wa ano kinshi-choo
Kameido QT NML TOP INJ Kinshi-cho

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```
270      no (1.2) kinshi-choo kara massugu
         LK       Kinshi-cho  from straight

271      hora [  ] kameedo no hoo      {ni}
         INJ   FRG Kameido LK direction to

272      mukatte iku    no ne?
         towards go:NPT SE EX

273  I: [nn]
         BCH

274  S: {ee}  ee
         BCH  BCH

275  A: asuko.. ano: ... ^ ano densha no
         there   INJ         INJ tram   LK

276      hora .. senro ga  aru       desho.
         INJ     track NOM exist:NPT right?

277  S: ee
         yes

278  A: dote
         bank

279  S: hai
         yes

280  A: asuko n  toko  kotchi-gawa mada
         there LK place this-side   yet

281      annani   uchi  nakatta       no.
         not very house exist:NEG:PST SE

282  A: ano  dote ne:, ano: sore-koso ..
         that bank EX   INJ  indeed

283      sho .. ano: shooboo ..    shooboo-
         FRG    INJ  fire fighting fire

284      dan     no shito  dake ka .h a
         brigade LK people only or    INJ

285      ano nan  da  kke sono koro
         INJ what COP QT  that time

286  I: keeboo..  ke
         vigilance FRG
```


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287 A: =ke .. [keeboo-dan,]
FRG vigilance corps

288 I: keeboo-dan.
vigilance corps

289 A: tte yuu-n da kke?
QT say-SE COP QT

290 A: e? nee* [zaigoo]-gunjin mitai no
right? EX ex-soldier like NML

291 I: [n:n]
BCH

292 A: {soo yuu no ita no ne}
so say NML exist:PST SE EX

293 I: {keeboo-dan}
vigilance corps

294 N: {keeboo-dan} keeboo-dan
vigilance corps vigialnce corps

295 A: de tsts .. de kara are heitai da
and and so that soldier COP

296 to omou no
QT think:NPT SE

297 A: soo yuu shito ga shiki-shite ne
so say people NOM supervise:TE EX

298 S: nn
BCH

299 A: .h shinin o s asko e minna ne*
corpse ACC FRG there GL all EX

300 I: [nn]
BCH

301 S: [nn]
BCH

302 A: ano: dote no ue e sa atsumete
INJ bank LK top GL EX gather:TE

303 I: n[n]
BCH

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304 S: [n]n
BCH

305 A: .. .h soide ne .. koo maki
and EX like this firewood

e #ne
GL EX

306 S: nn
BCH

307 A: ano: maki tsunde
INJ firewood pile up:TE

308 A: nama maki na-n ja-nai,
fresh firewood LK-NML MOD

309 S: nn
BCH

310 A: tsunde ne:
pile up:TE EX

311 S: sekiyu kakete ne
petroleum pour:TE EX

312 S: n:n
BCH

313 A: soide moshite-n no yo
and burn-STA:NPT SE EX

314 S: aa
BCH

315 A: suto sore ga yakiba no nioi [na
then that NOM crematory LK smell LK

316 no] {ne}
SE EX

317 S: [ee]
BCH

318 I: {n:n}
BCH

319 A: moo hana e tsui-chatta-n ne,
EM nose GL attach-AUX:PST-SE EX

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320 S: [ee ee]
BCH BCH

321 A: de asuko o sa
and there ACC EX

322 A: .. sono juuni-nchi datta no yo?
INJ twelfth COP:PST SE EX

323 I: ... ... sore [ga] sang a s{an-
that NOM FRG FRG March

324 gatsu (san-gatsu no juuni-nchi)}
March LK twelfth

325 A: [a] {san-gatsu juuni-nichi}
INJ March eleventh

326 A: soide ... ano: asuko no
and INJ there LK

327 kinshichoo no hashi n toko
Kinshichoo LK bridge LK place

328 rakutenchoo no hashi n toko
Rakutenchoo LK bridge LK place

329 watatte
cross:TE

330 A: kameido no hoo ni mukatte tte
Kameido LK direction GL toward go:TE

331 A: kameido: no .. kinshichoo to
Kameido LK Kinshichoo and

332 kameido no aida atari no kotchi
Kameido LK between around LK this

333 gawa ni .. ano: .h ^^ a are: a
side LOC INJ INJ INJ INJ

334 sekita-san no jik[ka ga
Sekita-Mrs. Lk parents' house NOM

atte]
exist:TE

335 I: [n:n]
BCH

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336 A: {soko} i yo#tte
there GL stop:TE

337 I: {a:n} nn
BCH BCH

338 A: daremo i-nai kara
nobody exist-NEG:NPT because

339 A: kondo koo i#tte
this time this way go:TE

340 A: eki no toori i de#te
station LK stree to out:TE

341 A: eki yori moo chotto saki ga ..
station more EM a little ahead NOM

342 sekita-san toko datta-n #de
Sekita-Mrs. place COP:PST-SE COP:TE

343 A: .h eki e ittara
station to go:TARA

344 A: eki no #ne .h mae ni ne
station LK EX front LOC EX

345 shooboojidoo ... sha ga yake#te
fire engine NOM burn:TE

346 A: ... soko e onna ka otoko ka wa
there LOC woman or man or TOP

347 wakan-nai-n da kedo #ne
know-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX EX

348 A: .h are .. koo
INJ this

fuu-n nar-anaide
appearance-GL become-NEG:TE

349 A: 5-chanto-5 koo yatte
neatly this way do:TE

tatte-n no.
stand up-STA:NPT SE

350 S: ==[ee]
BCH

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```
351  N: ==[a::]
           BCH

352  I: =n:n
         BCH

353  A: s   sore ga  ne
        FRG that NOM EX

354  I: n:n
        BCH

355  A: hen     na koto yuu     kedo
        strange LK NML  say:NPT though

356  A: mae   no ke   mo   nannimo nai
        front LK hair also nothing exist:NEG:NPT

        no ne,
        SE EX

357  A: =are  [chis]soku    shi#te
         that  sufforcation do:TE

358  I: [n:]
         BCH

359  A: .. ano: ato   kara yaketa-n
           INJ  later from burn:PST-SE

360     {da  to omou}
         COP QT think:NPT

361  I: {n:n n:n}
         BCH BCH

362  A: 5-rooningyoo-5 mitai [na no #n: ]
          wax doll     like   LK SE  EX

363     %soo yuu no  wa.
         so  say NML TOP

364  I: [n:  a:]  a:
         BCH BCH  BCH

365  A: de  ne: .. sorekoso 5-zenzen-5
        and EX     indeed     at all

366     mae   mo   nanimo wakar-anai   no yo,
        front also noting know-NEG:NPT SE EX
```


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367 A: =[tada] koo yatte
only this way do:TE

368 A: .h sono yaketa .h ano: .. shooboo
that burnt INJ fire

369 jidoosha n toko koo-ni
engine LK place like this

370 yoshikakatte
lean:TE

371 A: [koo] yatte tatte-ru no
like this do:TE stand up-STA:NPT SE

372 S: [n:n]
BCH

373 S: {n:n}
BCH

374 N: {n:n}
BCH

375 A: are ikite-ru mitai na
that live-STA:NPT like LK

376 A: [a] ningyoo ga tatte-ru
INJ doll NOM stand up-STA:NPT

377 mi{tai} na no
like LK SE

378 S: [a:]
BCH

379 I: [a: soo] {a:}
BCH BCH BCH

380 N: [a: soo] {a:}
BCH BCH BCH

381 S: ee
yes

382 A: soide ... kameedo no eki no
and Kameido LK station LK

383 naka mo sorekoso shinin de
inside also indeed corps with

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384 5-ippai-5 datta.
full COP:PST

385 A: (1.4) are eki i doonika to
INJ station GL somehow QT

386 [omotte]
think:TE

387 I: [a:n] eki ni ne
BCH station GL EX

388 A: {nigeta-n} ja-nai [no? %are.]
escape:PST-SE MOD SE that

389 I: {a: eki} [( )passhi ne:]
BCH estation expectedly EX

390 A: nee*<
EX

391 A: (1.0) soshite:
and

392 I: ==ee
BCH

393 A: moo chotto saki ni ... ano:
EM a little ahead LOC INJ

394 maruai tte no [atte]
Maruai QT NML exist:TE

395 I: [a:]
BCH

396 A: sono ura ni {ita-n} da kara
that back LOC exist:PST-SE COP because

397 I: {n:n}
BCH

398 A: soko itte-mo
there go-though

399 A: soko wa mo zenzen .h d.. daremo
there TOP EM at all no one

400 i-nakutte
exist-NEG:TE

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401 A: .. yake-chatte
burn-AUX:TE

402 A: uchi ga nai-n da kara
house NOM exist:NEG:NPT-SE COP because

403 S: ==n:n
BCH

404 A: suide kondo .. dara .. kiitara sa
and this time so ask:TARA EX

405 A: kameedo no n nana-choome ka
Kameido LK FRG Seventh District or

406 kyuu-choome e minna nigeta
Ninth District GL all escape:PST

407 rashii tte yuu kara
EVD QT say:NPT because

408 A: .h soko made kyuu-choome made
there up to Ninth District up to

409 it[ta] kedo
go:PST though

410 I: [n:n]
BCH

411 A: a-e-nakute
meet-PTN-NEG:TE

412 I: ==n:n
BCH

413 A: de sono hen ni ita hito ni sa*
and that area LOC exist:PST person GL EX

414 I: =n:n
BCH

415 A: sekkaku mottekita onigiri
especially bring:PST rice ball

416 da kara sa
COP:NPT because EX

417 I: ==n:n
BCH

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418 A: tabete-moratta kedo
eat-receive:PST EX

English Translation for #7 (The Day After)

10 A: I went from North Senju.
11 A: I was in North Senju,
12 S: Yes.
13 A: on that day,
14 S: Yes.
15 A: on March tenth.
16 A: And my sister
17 lived in Fukagawa, and
18 A: I had two relatives in Kameido, and
19
20 A: and I know
21 how severe
22 the air raids had been,
23 S: uh-huh
24 A: though I hadn't seen them myself.
25 A: Even though my house wasn't
26 burned down,
27 A: no one came, so
28 A: I thought that maybe they had died.
29 After three days had passed, you know.
30 S: uh-huh
31 A: That was the morning of March tenth,
32 right?
33 I: uh-huh
34 A: Since (it was) from the evening of
35 the 9th to the 10th, so
36 I: Yes.
37 A: on the 12th ...
38 A: you know
39 the place I worked at
40 provided us with food. It was
41 a military factory where we could have meals.
42 A: So we were all right as far as food went.
43
44 S: Yes
45
46 A: Since no one came,
47
48 A: I got the 12th off
49 A: from the office.
50 A: Our rice had kidney beans in it
51 at that time.
52 I: uh-huh
53 A: But the civilians
54 ate much worse food, and

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55 A: rice with beans
56 was good quality food.
57 A: And I got a lot of it in the form of rice balls, and
58 A: and a provision bag,
59
60 S: uh-huh
61 A: I carried it, and ...
62 A: I don't remember if it was pickled
63 radish or pickled plum.
64
65 A: I got them also.
66 A: There were no trams.
67 since they were all burned.
68 S: uh-huh
69 A: From North Senju,
70 first I came to Fukagawa.
71 S: uh-huh
72 A: I came through South Senju.
73
74 N: uh-huh
75 A: After crossing Senju Bridge,
76 A: if you come this direction,
77 A: you know... you're going towards Ueno.
78 A: If you come this way,
79 A: it is South Senju's ...
80 I: uh-hu
81 A: you know what I mean.
82 S: uh-huh
83 A: I went through that area and kept going, then
84 A: around South Senju
85 was terrible, you know.
86 S: uh-huh
87 A: But... at the place
88 where tin boards were
89 scattered around, really ...
90 there were so many dead bodies
91 that I couldn't avoid stepping over them.
92
93 S: uh-huh
94 A: Really ...
95 I: One couldn't even walk.
96 A: One couldn't even walk.
97 I: uh-huh
98 S: uh-huh
99 A: Really ...
100 S: Is that right?
101 I: ( )
102 A: And the place smelled like a crematory,
103 you know.
104 S: uh-huh

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105 I: uh-huh
106 A: Then I had come there, and
107 A: and I,
108 A: you know, since I had gone there
109 only by tram,
110 A: the only way I knew was the road for trams.
111
112 S: Yes.
113 A: And when I crossed Kototoi Bridge,
114 A: Kototoi Bridge ...
115 at this time
116 A: ... this is no exaggeration,
117 but
118 A: Sumida River was completely, you know,

119 A: it was covered with so many dead bodies
120 that I couldn't even see the river.
121 I: uh-huh
122 A: Also at this time, defense
123 soldiers were out there, and
124 S: uh-huh
125 A: to the lawns of the Sumida Park,
126
127 S: uh-huh
128 A: all the people who had their names
written on themselves,
129
130 A: and even those whose names weren't on them,
131 A: they pulled up these dead people.
132 S: uh-huh
133 A: They pulled out, and
134 A: lined up the bodies on the lawns.
135
136 S: uh-huh
137 I: uh-huh
138 A: Anyway,
139 at Kototoi Bridge,
140
141 A: there were bicycles and
142 fire engines ...
143 A: There was a pile of bicycles.
144
145 A: Everyone must have tried to leave by bike,
146 and
147 A: it had been so hot, and they left
148 the bikes there ...
149 S: uh-huh
150 A: I don't know where they went,
151 but they couldn't have gone by bicycle.
152
153 S: uh-huh

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154 A: And the fire engins ... "fire engins"
155 is an old way of putting it, isn't it.
156
157 I: [laugh]
158 I: They were burned
159 A: on the bridge.
160 I: uh-huh
161 A: And I
162 crossed Kototoi Bridge, and
163 I walked on the side of the bridge, and
164 A: next I crossed Yoroi Bridge,
165 but
166 I: uh-huh
167 S: uh-huh
168 A: the people there ...
169 They were all
170 black
171 wit soot.
172 I: All black.
172 A: Right.
173 I: I couldn't even
174 see their eyes.
175 A: Even beggars now
176 don't look like that.
177 I: You can't find anyone like that anymore.
178 S: uh-huh
179 A: Everyone had an air defense hood ...
180 A: It was hot, so ...
181 A: they should remove them, but
182 A: I think they didn't have stength to do so.
183 S: uh-huh
184 S: uh-huh
185 A: They were wearing these air defense hoods.
186 I: uh-huh
187 S: uh-huh
188 A: And they all have been burned, right?
189 S: Yes.
190 A: And most of the people
191 were bare-footed, but
192 A: there were some who had shoes on,
193 right?
194 S: uh-huh
195 A: Some with only one shoe.
196 S: uh-huh
197 A: It would've been better to have just
thrown the one shoe away, right?
198 I: uh-huh
199 S: uh-huh
200 A: Everyone had one shoe.
201
202 I: [laugh] uh-huh

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203 S: uh-huh
204 A: That ...
205 S: uh-huh
206 A: You can call them as spiritless human
207 beings.
208 S: That's right.
209 I: uh-huh
210 S: The spirit was already, you know ...
211 A: Right.
212 I: uh-huh
213 S: uh-huh
214 A: And since it was summer,
215 A: these places ... by sweat,
216 and by soot...
217 and also by dirt
218 S: uh-huh
219 A: Just their eyes ...
220 I: uh-huh
221 A: Eyes and ...
222 I: Only their eyes ...
223 A: Their eyes... from the smoke
224
225 A: They were irriated by smoke, so
226 A: they were heavy and dry.
227 S uh-huh
228 A: And their faces were dark, and
229 A: their eyes were heavy, and
230 A: their teeth were really white, and ...
231 A: There aren't any beggars who are like that.
232
233 S: uh-huh
234 A: And the electric wires were
235 hanging like this, you know.
236 S: uh-huh
237 I: uh-huh
238 A: The houses in that area ...
239
240 A: First I went from Senju to
241 the First District in Kameido ...
242 Along the way, the place which hadn't been
243 desctoyed by the fire was ...
244 at the side right after crossing Yoroi Bridge
245 ... a block of houses was still there.
246
247 S: uh-huh
248 A: And there was also a school and ...
249 I: uh-huh
250 A: The interior of a warehouse had been
destroyed ...
251 I: uh-huh
252 A: I think so.

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253 I: uh-huh
254 A: It was empty inside, and
255 A: just the building remained.
256 I: uh-huh
257 S: Really? I can't really
258 imagine what it was like.
259 A: No, you can't.
260 I: No, you can't.
261 N: uh-huh
262 I: It's just impossible.
263 N: I don't know.
264 A: When I got to the First District of
265 Kameido,
266 A: the entire place had been burned down, and
267 I: uh-huh
268 A: then... let's see, you call it now ...
269 Kameido is
270 straight ahead from Kinshi-choo ...
271 you know, you go towards Kameido.
272
273 I: uh-huh
274 S: Yes.
275 A: That train's ...
276 you know... there are tracks.
277 S: Yes.
278 A: There is an embankment.
279 S: Yes.
280 A: On this side of the railway track
281 there weren't many houses.
282 A: You know that on the bank ...
283 well, only the fire-fighters ...
284
285 what were they called then?
286 I: Civilian ...
287 A: Civilian guards.
288 I: Civilian guards.
289 A: Is that what they're called?
290 A: Huh? You know, they're like people
in the reserves.
291 I: uh-huh
292 A: Those kinds of people were there.
293 I: Civilian guards.
294 N: Civilian guards. Civilian guards.
295 A: They were soldiers,
296 I think.
297 A: They supervised, and
298 S: uh-huh
299 A: all the dead bodies,
300 I: uh-huh
301 S: uh-huh
302 A: they gathered them on the bank.

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303 I: uh-huh
304 S: uh-huh
305 A: And firewood ...
306 S: uh-huh
307 A: They piled up firewood ...
308 A: fresh firewood, I think.
309 S: uh-huh
310 A: They piled it up, and
311 S: poured kerosene over them, and
312 S: uh-huh
313 A: and burned the dead bodies.
314 S: uh-huh
315 A: And it is the smell of a crematory.
316
317 S: uh-huh
318 I: uh-huh
319 A: The smell remained in my nose.
320 S: uh-huh
321 A: Then there ...
322 A: That was the 12th.
323 I: It was
324 the 12th of March
325 A: March 12th.
326 A: Then... um, there
327 I crossed the bridge at Kinshichoo,
328 I mean the bridge at Rakutenchoo, and
329
330 A: I was going towards Kameido, and
331 A: in Kameido ...
332 between Kinshichoo and Kameido and on this
333 side, uh, was the Sekita's parents' house.
334
335 I: uh-huh
336 A: I stopped there, and
337 I: uh-huh
338 A: no one was there, so
339 A: I went this way, and
340 A: I went out on the street in front of the
station, and
341 A: a little beyond the station
342 was Sekita's house, so
343 A: I got to the station, then
344 A: in front of the station
345 was a fire truck... all burned up, and
346 A: ... there was a body,
347 I couldn't tell if it was a male or female.
348 A: It wasn't like this, and
349 A: stood straight like this.
350 S: uh-huh
351 N: uh-huh
352 I: uh-huh

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353 A: It ...
354 I: uh-huh
355 A: I had to say something strange ...
356 A: That person didn't have any (pubic) hair in
the front.
357 A: I think this person was suffocated first,
358 I: uh-huh
359 A: then was burned later.
360
361 I: uh-huh
362 A: You can say
363 it looked like a wax figure.
364 I: uh-huh
365 A: And that...
366 I couldn't tell anything from the front.
367 A: It, just like this,
368 A: The body was leaning
369 against the fire truck
370 that had burned, and
371 A: it was standing like this.
372 S: uh-huh
373 S: uh-huh
374 N: uh-huh
375 A: It looked alive ...
376 A: It looked like a doll was standing.
377
378 S: uh-huh
379 I: Oh, really?
380 N: Oh, really?
381 S: uh-huh
382 A: And... inside the Kameido Station
383 the place was full of dead bodies.
384
385 A: They thought they'd get help at that
386 station, and
387 I: Oh, to the station.
388 A: they all ran to the station, I think.
389 A: Oh, to the station, I see.
390 A: Right?
391 A: Then ...
392 I: uh-huh
393 A: Just a little beyond that point,
394 there was a Maruai Store, and
395 I: uh-huh
396 A: I was behind that, so
397 I: uh-huh
398 A: even when I got there,
399 A: there wasn't anybody there, and
400
401 A: everything was burned down, and
402 A: there were no houses, so

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403 S: uh-huh
404 A: and I asked, then
405 A: (he) told me that everyone there seemed to
406 have had escaped to the Seventh or Ninth
407 Distirict of Kameido, so
408 A: I went as far as the Ninth District,
409 but
410 I: uh-huh
411 A: I couldn't see them, and
412 I: uh-huh
413 A: (I asked) the people who were around that
area
414 I: uh-huh
415 A: to eat the rice balls which I brought all the
416 way.
417 I: uh-huh
418 A: I asked them to eat them.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #8
TITLE: NO WAY OUT

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (7)
SEX: male
AGE: late 20's,
OCCUPATION: graduate student

[Recorded by Pat Clancy.]

---

8 A: ano boku:: ga, sono ... washinton
INJ I NOM INJ Washington

9 no ne,
LK EX

10 I: ==nn
BCH

11 A: sono wai-emu-shii-ee ni tomatta
INJ YMCA LOC stay:PST

12 koto ga aru-n desu yo.
NML NOM exist:NPT-SE COP EX

13 I: ==aa watashi mo tomatta
oh I also stay:PST

14 A: ==aa soo desu ka.
oh so COP:NPT QU

15 I: =1-----1

16 A: washinton no sono ..^ ano ..
Washington LK INJ INJ

17 waito hausu no ^ ano soba no ano
White House LK INJ near LK INJ

18 [soba no ne,]
near LK EX

19 I: [a:a]
BCH

20 A: go-fun go-fun gurai
five minutes five minutes about

aruite.
walk:TE

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21 I: =he:e
BCH

22 X: ==fu:n
BCH

23 A: go-fun gurai no::^^ toko ni
five minutes about LK place LK

24 toma[tta-n desu] kedo#mo
stay:PST-SE COP EX

25 I: [n:n]
BCH

26 A: soko de sono: ..... ano moo
there LOC INJ INJ EM

27 saisho wa: ..... travelaz ano:
fisrt TOP traveler's INJ

28 paasnaru chekku de okutte-aru-n
personal check INS send-STA:NPT-SE

29 desu yo ne*
COP EX EX

%[tomaru] okane wa ne,
stay:NPT money TOP EX

30 I: [a:n] nn
BCH BCH

31

32 A: sorede furonto ni itte
so front desl to go:TE

33 A: tomete-kudasai tte yuttara#ba
stay-give:IMP QT say:TARABA

34 I: nn
BCH

35 X: =nn
BCH

36 A: soshitara sono furonto de ...
then INJ front desk LOC

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```
37      namae o   kiite
        name  ACC ask:TE

38   A: soshite sain o   shita-n   desu
        and     sign ACC do:PST-SE COP

39      keredomo
        though

40   I: =nn
         BCH

41   A: zenzen kite-nai     tte yuu-n
        at all come-NEG:NPT QT  say:NPT-SE

42      desu yo ne,
        COP  EX EX

43   I: nn
        BCH

44   X: ==aa
          BCH

45   A: ==sono ano paasonaru ch:: am
          that INJ personal  FRG  FRG

46      ^^ chekku ga.
           check  NOM

47   A: soide: doo shiyoo ka to omotte
        then    how do:PRV QU QT think:TE

48   A: =sono: chijin       no tokoro e
         INJ   acquaintance LK place  GL

49   I: nn
        BCH

50   A: ano: ^^ baajinia ni  iru-n
        INJ     Virginia LOK exist:NPT-SE

51      [desu] kedo#mo
         COP   EX

52   I: [nn  nn]
         BCH BCH

53   A: soko  e  denwa     kake-tari
        there GL telephone call-also
```


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54 shita-n desu ke:omo
do:PST-SE COP though

55 A: soko mo tsuuji-nai-n desu yo ne
there also connect-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX EX

56 A: =[denwa ga:] ano tsuujinai-n
telephone NOM INJ connect-NEG:NPT-SE

de
COP:TE

57 I: [n:n]
BCH

58 X: [n:n]
BCH

59 A: s@shite doo shiyoo kana: to omotte
then how do:PRV MOD QT think:TE

60 A: moo shite shikata-nai kara
EM so no way-NEG because

tsu-n de
QT:say-SE COP:TE

61 A: shokuji ni ikoo to yuu-n #de
meal for go:PRV QT say:NPT-SE COP:TE

62 A: shokuji ni itte-ta-n desu yo #ne
meanl for go-STA:PST-SE COP EX EX

63 A: soshite kaette-kite-mitara
then return-come-AUX:TARA

64 A: =sono: ..... ^^ boku no rusu ni
INJ I LK absence at

65 sono v@@jinia no tomodachi kara
that Virginia LK friend from

66 I: =n:n
BCH

67 A: denwa ga [gyaku-ni kakatte]-kite
telephone NOM opposite call-come:TE

68 I: [a{:a}]
BCH

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69 X: {n:n}
BCH

70 A: iru ka tte yuu-n desu kedomo
exist:NPT QU QT say:NPT-SE COP though

71 I: nn
BCH

72 A: sono: boku wa sono toki choodo
INJ I TOP that time exactly

73 i-nakatta-n de
exist-NEG:PST-SE COP:TE

74 I: ==nn
BCH

75 A: de: ano: chotto kyoo wa yu: ano
and INJ a little today TOP FRG INJ

76 ^^ joo ano: yooji ga atte
FRG INJ business NOM exist:TE

77 I: nn
BCH

78 A: au koto ga deki-nai dakara yuus
meet NML NOM can-NEG:NPT so FRG

79 ano: yado no koto wa ..
INJ staying LK NML TOP

80 wakar-anai .. ano:
know-NEG:NPT INJ

81 I: a:a
BCH

82 A: ...^^ tte yuu ka sono
QT say or INJ

83 I: nn
BCH

84 A: .. settai ga deki-nai te yuu-n
service NOM can-NEG:NPT QT say:NPT-SE

85 [desu ne,]
COP EX

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```
86   I: [n:n]
        BCH

87   A: soshite koma-chatte
        and     in trouble-AUX:TE

88   I: =n:n
        BCH

89   A: te ano: moo  ichido sono furonto
        FRG INJ more once   that front desk

90      ni itte
        to go:TE

91   A: kiite-mita#ra
        ask-AUX:TARA

92   A: mada to  ano zenzen
        yet  FRG INJ at all

93      sagashite-mita   kedo   zen[zen
        look for-AUX:PST though at all

94      nai           to yuu]-n     desu yo #ne
        exist:NEG:NPT QT say:NPT-SE COP  EX  EX

95   I: [n:n]
        BCH

96   X: n:n
        BCH

97   A: soide shikata nai           kara    to
        so    way     exist:NEG:NPT because QT

98   A: sono matte-taraba
        INJ  wait-STA:TARA

99   A: sono: nanka sono: yuubinkyoku: no
        INJ   INJ   INJ   post office  LK

100     kankei  [ni hanashi] o
        relation GL talk     ACC

101     shite-kure#te
        do-give:TE

102  I: [n:n]
        BCH
```


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```
103  A: shite mada  sono: soko ni
        and   still INJ   there LOC

104     yuubinkyoku ni  hokan s-arete-r
        post office LOC keep  do-PSS-STA:NPT

105     tte yuu-n       [desu ne?]
        QT  say:NPT-SE  COP  EX

106  I: [a:::]
         BCH

107  A: sorede yooyaku wakat#te
        so     finally know:TE

108  A: irete: sono maa
        FRG    INJ  INJ

109  A: njaa kite-ru      kara    ii     to
        then come-STA:NPT because ok:NPT QT

110     [yuu koto] de
         say NML   COP:TE

111  I: [nn]
         BCH

112  A: sono: irete-moratta-n    deesu kedomo
        INJ   put-receive:PST-SE COP   though

113  A: soko  ippai datta-n    desu yo ne
        there full  COP:PST-SE COP  EX EX

114  A: =[sono toki] choodo {go-gatsu} no
          that time  exactly May       LK

115     koro   de
        season COP:TE

116  I: [nn]  {a::n}
         BCH   BCH

117  A: [[ii]] ..... kikoo   desu    kara.
          good        weather COP:NPT because

118  I: [[n:n]]
          BCH

119  A: soide yooyaku heya ni haitta-n
        and   finally room GL enter:PST-SE
```


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120 desu kedo#mo
COP EX

121 I: ==nn
BCH

122

123 A: shite: heya ni hai#tte
and room GL enter:TE

124 A: ano: jaa naka o ^^ chotto
INJ then inside ACC a little

125 mite-miyoo to yuu-n de
look-AUX:PRV QT say:NPT-SE COP:TE

126 I: =n:n
BCH

127 A: sono: kaidan o nobotte
INJ stairs ACC climb:TE

128 A: dete shi ano:: kaidan: te yuu ka
out:TE FRG INJ stairs QT say or

129 nobotte hoka no tokoro e
climb:TE other LK place to

130 ni-kai san-kai
second floor third floor

131 I: nn
BCH

132 A: boku tomatta no wa san-kai
I stay:PST NML TOP third floor

133 datta-n [desu] kedo#mo
COP:PST-SE COP though

134 I: [nn]
BCH

135 A: yon-kai go-kai made
forth floor fifth floor up to

136 itte-mita-n desu yo ne,
go-AUX:PST-SE COP EX EX

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137 I: =nn
BCH

138 A: shite doa o akete
and door ACC open:TE

139 A: ano: kaidan ni tsuuzuru tokoro
INJ stairs to connect:NPT place

140 haitta-n desu kedomo
enter:PST-SE COP EX

141 A: sono doa o shimetara
that door ACC close:TARA

142 A: moo doa ga ak-anai-n desu
EM door NOM open-NEG:NPT-SE COP

[yo ne,]
EX EX

143 I: 5-he?-5 iya
what no

144 A: soshite [moo]
and EM

145 I: [n:n]
BCH

146 A: monosugoku atsukute
extremely hot:TE

147 %sono toki wa
that time TOP

148 I: ==nn
BCH

149 A: =sanjuu go-do gurai de
thirty five degrees about COP:TE

150 A: .h [sono:] kaminari toka sono
INJ thunder or something INJ

151 ... ^ano hyoo desu ka.
INJ hail COP QU

152 I: [nn] nn
BCH BCH

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153 A: sono toki hyoo nanka hajim anna
that time hail EM FRG such

154 ooki no hajimete mita-n desu
big LK first time see:PST-SE COP

155 keredo#mo
EX

156 I: ==n::n
BCH

157 A: sono: futte-te
INJ fall-STA:TE

158 A: shite mado ga ue no hoo ni..
and window NOM above LK side LOC

159 honto-ni sukuna .. [ano:] aru
really FRG INJ exist:NPT

160 dake na-n desu yo ne,
only LK-SE COP EX EX

161 I: [nn] nn
BCH BCH

162 A: soshite: moo nannimo nakute
and EM nothing exist:NEG:TE

163 A: atsukute
hot:TE

164 A: moo dondon dondon kikoo ano:
EM ONM ONM weather INJ

165 I: =a:n
BCH

166 A: ondo ga agatte-kuru to
temperature NOM rise-come:NPT QT

yuu-n de.
say:NPT-SE COP:TE

167 A: .h shite kore wa moo owari kana:
and this TOP already end MOD

168 to omotte
QT think:TE

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169 A: honto-ni aketa-n desu kedo
really open:PST-SE COP though

170 A: ak-anai-n desu yo ne,
open-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX EX

171 I: ha:n
BCH

172 A: soshite ... ^ moo koo nattara
and EM this become:TARA

173 saigo no shudan da tte yuu-n
last LK means COP QT say:NPT-SE

de
COP:TE

174 A: ano: moo dame no toki wa ano
INJ EM no good LK time TOP INJ

175 mado o yabutte ne,
window ACC break:TE EX

176 A: nanka sakeboo to yuu-n
something shout:PRV QT say:NPT-SE

177 I: 6-wha wha wha-6
oh oh oh

178 X: ==ah::n
BCH

179 A: datta-n desu kedo#mo
COP:PST-SE COP though

180 A: ano: ..... sore wa boku no
INJ that TOP I LK

181 kanchigai datta rashikute
misunderstanding COP:PST seem:TE

182 I: nn
BCH

183 A: sono: mado ano: doa o koo
INJ window INJ door ACC INJ

184 akeyoo to omotte
open:PRV QT think:TE

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185 A: shita e shita e to yatte-ta-n
down GL down GL QT do-STA:PST-SE

186 desu ne,
COP EX

187 I: nn nn
BCH BCH

188

189 A: shite chokon-to ue ni agetara
and ONM up GL raise:TARA

190 A: gii-to aita-n desu.
ONM open:PST-SE COP

191 I: a::1---1
BCH

192 A: sorede
and

193 X: ==a sorede
BCH and

194 A: ==hajimete der-areta-n [desu]
first time out-PTN:PST-SE COP

195 kedomo
EX

196 I: [a:]
BCH

197

198 A: a: ano toki wa honto-ni doo na[ru
oh that time TOP really how become:NPT

199 ka to omotte]
QU QT think:TE

200 X: [1-wha-----1]
BCH

201 A: [1-moo koko de owari ja-nai kana:
EM here LOC end MOD MOD

202 to-1 omotta-n desu.]
QT think:PST-SE COP

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```
203  I: [1----------------1]

204  A: daremo hoka  wa  moo kikoe-mas-en
        nobody other TOP EM  hear-POL-NEG:NPT

205     shi  nee
        also FX

206  I: ==[n:n]
           BCH

207  X: ==[n:n]
           BCH

208  A: honto-ni kurai heya ni
        really   dark  room GL

209     hai-{chatta-n}   de
        enter-AUX:PST-SE COP:TE

210  I: {a:n}
         BCH

211  A: doo naru       ka to omotta-n     [desu
        how become:NPT QU QT think:PST-SE  COP

212     kedo ne,]
        EX   EX

213  I: [he:e*]
         BCH

214

215  A: soo yuu keeken ga ari-mashite.
        so  say experience NOM exist-POL:TE

216  I: ==he[:e*]
           BCH

217  X: [mo:r]
         BCH

218  A: sore ga  ichi-ban kowa{katta to}
        that NOM most     scary:PST  QT

219     yueba  kowakatta to [yuu-n]
        say:BA scary:PAT QT  say:NPT-SE
```


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```
220      desu kedo ne,
         COP  EX   EX

221  I:  {kowakatta (   )} [a:] n::n
         scary:PST          BCH BCH

222  A:  sono gurai desu    kedo ne,
         that about COP:NPT EX   EX
```

English Translation of #8 (No Way Out)

```
8    A:   I ... in Washington
9
10   I:   uh-huh
11   A:   I've stayed at the YMCA.
12
13   I:   Me, too.
14   A:   Really?
15   I:
16   A:   It was near the White House
17        in Washington,
18        near it.
19   I:   uh-huh
20   A:   You walk about five minutes, and ...
21   I:   Yeah?
22   X:   uh-huh
23   A:   About 5 minutes.
24        I stayed there.
25   I:   uh-huh
26   A:   I had already sent
27        a traveler's, uh,
28        a personal check
29        for the room.
30   I:   uh-huh
31
32   A:   I went to the front desk, and
33   A:   inquired about my room, then ...
34   I:   uh-huh
35   X:   uh-huh
36   A:   Then the clerk
37        asked my name, and
38   A:   and I signed the register,
39        but
40   I:   uh-huh
41   A:   I was told that it hadn't come yet.
42
43   I:   uh-huh
44   X:   uh-huh
45   A:   I mean that personal
46        check.
```


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47 A: So I wondered what I should do, and ...
48 A: to my friend's place ...
49 I: uh-huh
50 A: uh, my friend was in Virginia ...
51
52 I: uh-huh
53 A: I tried calling,
54 but
55 A: I couldn't get through.
56 A: I couldn't get through on the phone, so
57 I: uh-huh
58 X: uh-huh
59 A: I didn't know what to do, and
60 A: I didn't have much choice, so
61 A: I though I would go to eat, and
62 A: I went to eat.
63 A: Then when I came back,
64 A: I found out that while I was gone
65 my friend from Virginia
66 I: uh-huh
67 A: had called.
68 I: Oh.
69 X: uh-huh
70 A: He was checking if I was there, but
71 I: uh-huh
72 A: it was just then that
73 I wasn't around, so ...
74 I: uh-huh
75 A: He said that
76 he had something to do today, and
77 I: uh-huh
78 A: he said that he couldn't meet me ...
79 so he didn't know if he could do anything
80 about accommodations ...
81 I: Oh.
82 A: ... or something like that.
83 I: uh-huh
84 A: He said he couldn't come to see me.
85
86 I: uh-huh
87 A: I was in a mess, and
88 I: uh-huh
89 A: I went again to the front desk, and
90
91 A: inquired about the check, then
92 A: the clerk said that he looked everywhere,
93 but couldn't locate it.
94
95 I: uh-huh
96 X: uh-huh
97 A: I thought it couldn't be helped, so

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98 A: I waited, then
99 A: they talked
100 with the people at the post office, and
101
102 I: uh-huh
103 A: They said that
104 the post office are still holding it.
105
106 I: uh-huh
107 A: And finally the hotel understood what had
happened, and
108 A: they said okay, and
109 A: they said the check came
110 so it was okay, and
111 I: uh-huh
112 A: They let me stay there, but
113 A: the place was full.
114 A: It was May then,
115 and
116 I: uh-huh
117 A: it was a good time of year for the weather.
118 I: uh-huh
119 A: I finally got in the room.
120
121 I: uh-huh
122
123 A: And I entered the room, and
124 A: I thought
125 I'd take a look around, and
126 I: uh-huh
127 A: I went up the stairs, and
128 A: I went out ... stairs ...
129 got up to the second floor
130 then the third floor.
131 I: uh-huh
132 A: My room was on the third floor,
133 but
134 I: uh-huh
135 A: I went up to see the 4th floor,
136 then the 5th floor.
137 I: uh-huh
138 A: And I opened the door, and
139 A: and entered the door that led from the
140 stairs.
141 A: Once I closed door, then
142 A: it wouldn't open again.
143 I: Oh, no.
144 A: Then
145 I: uh-huh
146 A: it was really hot
147 at that time, and

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148 I: uh-huh
149 A: it was about 35 degrees, and
150 A: there was thunder
151 ... and hail ...
152 I: uh-huh
153 A: That was the first time
154 for me to see such big hailstones.
155
156 I: uh-huh
157 A: They were falling, and
158 A: the window was up above ...
159 just a small window ...
160 it was there.
161 I: uh-huh
162 A: Then there was nothing, and
163 A: it was hot, and
164 A: Rapidly the weather ...
165 I: uh-huh
166 A: the temperature was rising, and
167 A: I thought that was the end for me,
168 and
169 A: I really tried to open the door, but
170 A: it couldn't open.
171 I: uh-huh
172 A: I thought
173 it was my last resort, and
174 A: if all else failed,
175 I'd break the window, and
176 A: I thought of yelling something.
177 I: Oh no!
178 X: uh-huh
179 A: But,
180 A: that seemed to be my misunderstanding, and
181
182 I: uh-huh
183 A: I thought of
184 opening the window, no, the door, and
185 A: I kept pushing it down.
186
187 I: uh-huh
188
189 A: When I pulled it up, then
190 A: it opened.
191 I: uh-huh
192 A: And then,
193 X: Then?
194 A: I finally got out.
195
196 I: uh-huh
197
198 A: At the time

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199 I really wondered what would happen to me,
and
200 X: Wow.
201 A: I thought
202 that was the end for me.
203 I: [laugh]
204 A: Nobody could hear me.
205
206 I: uh-huh
207 X: uh-huh
208 A: I was in a really dark room, so
209
210 I: uh-huh
211 A: I wondered what would happen.
212
213 I: uh-huh
214
215 A: That's what kind of experience I had, and
216 I: uh-huh
217 X: oh.
218 A: That I could say was the most frightening
219 thing for me.
220
221 I: Frightening, yeah.
222 A: That was about it.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #9
TITLE: DROWNING

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (8)
SEX: female
AGE: 20's,
OCCUPATION: graduate student

[Recorded by Pat Clancy.]

---

7 O: ano: shoogakkoo no toki ni #ne
INJ elementary school LK time at EX

8 I: ==nn
BCH

9 O: ano: .. ie no chikaku ga minato
INJ house LK near NOM harbor

10 datta no.
COP:PST SE

11 I: =nn
BCH

12 O: sorede: .h tokidoki ... fune o
and sometime boat ACC

13 mi ni itte-ta-n da kedo
watch for go-STA:PST-SE COP EX

14 O: =sono chikaku de .h oyogu tokoro
that near LOC swim:NPT place

15 ga aru no ne,
NOM exist:NPT SE EX

16 I: =nn
BCH

17 O: de natsu ni-nattara
and summer COP-become:TARA

18 O: minna atsumatte-kite
all gather-come:TE

19 O: kai chottoshita kaisuiyoku mitai
FRG more or less sea bathing like

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20 naru no ne,
become:NPT SE EX

21 I: nn
BCH

22 O: de soko de chiisai toki:
and there LOC small:NPT time

23 O: ryooshin ni tsurer-arete
parents by bring-PSS:TE

24 itta-n da kedo
go:PST-SE COP EX

25 O: watashi wa oyog-e-nai no ne,
I TOP swim-PTN-NEG:NPT SE EX

26 %sono toki.
that time

27 I: nn
BCH

28 O: zenzen oyog-e-nakute
not at all swim-PTN-NEG:TE

29

30 O: asai tokoro de bochabocha
sharow place LOC ONM

31 yatte-[ta-n da kedo]
do-STA:PST-SE COP though

32 I: n:n
BCH

33 O: nan nantonaku shir-arai
FRG with no intention know-NEG:NPT

34 uchi-ni ne,
while EX

35 I: nn
BCH

36 O: ano: uku no wa uku desho,
INJ float NML TOP float:NPT right?

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```
37   I: ==nn
          BCH

38   O: dakara konna      koto  yatte-ta   no
        so      this kind thing do-STA:PST SE

39      nee,
        EX

40   O: de: ukibukuro hazushi-chatte:                    [AUX]
        and float      take off-AUX:TE

41   I: =nn
         BCH

42   O: koo        fyattetara
        like this do:TARA

43   O: .h ano kyuu-ni  fukaku natte-ta
           INJ suddenly deep   become-STA:PST

        no.
        SE

44   I: ==n:n
          BCH

45   O: nde: sorede: mo honto-ni oboreru
        and  and      EM really   drown

46      ka to omotte   ne
        QU QT think:TE EX

47   O: awatete  ne yoko ni  ne 1-konna-ni
        panic:TE EX side LOC EX   this much

48      ookina ne
        big    EX

49   I: =n:n
         BCH

50   O: ==futotta obasan ga  ita       no
          fat      lady   NOM exist:PST SE

51   I: ==iya:n*1----1
          no

52   O: 1----obasan no ne (      ) ne---1
             lady   LK EX         EX
```


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53 I: shigamitsuite:.
hold on:TE

54 O: shigamitsuite
hold on:TE

55 O: mukoo wa honto-ni bikkuri
other TOP really surprise

56 shi-chatte nee,
do-AUX:TE EX

57 I: =soo nee,
so EX

58

59 O: kyuu-ni nee*
suddenly EX

60 I: n:n
BCH

61 O: dare ka wakar-anai 1-no ga ne,--1
who QU know-NEG NML NOM EX

62 I: =n:n he:e
BCH BCH

63 O: ==mada kodomo ka mo wakar-anai
yet child QU also know-NEG:NPT

64 desho.
right?

65 I: n:n*
BCH

66 O: kodomo ja-nai kamo[shirenai
child COP-NEG maybe

67 desho:.]
right?

68 I: [n:n]
BCH

69 O: sonna no zenzen
such thing at all

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wakar-anai ( )
know-NEG:NPT

70 I: n:n
BCH

71 O: kyuu-ni ne*
suddenly EX

72 I: n:n
BCH

73 O: dareka ga mizu ( ) kara
someone NOM water from

74 I: ==soo nee
so EX

75 O: ==bikkuri-shita mitai da kedo
surprise:PST seem COP though

76 I: =nn
BCH

77 O: =.h atashi no hoo mo bikkuri-shite
I LK side also surprise:TE

78 ne
EX

79

80 O: mugamuchuu-de shigamitsuite
lose self hold on:TE

81 I: ==nn
BCH

82 O: ano: [tasukatta no.]
INJ be saved:PST SE

83 I: fn:n
BCH

84 O: sonna
BCH

85 I: ==honto* he::e
really BCH

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English Translation for #9 (Drowning)

O: When I was in elementary school,
I: uh-huh
O: there was a harbor near our house.

I: uh-huh
O: So sometimes
I went there to look at the ships.
O: There was a place to swim close by.

I: uh-huh
O: When summer came,
O: people would gather there, and
this place would become a bit like an ocean
resort.
I: uh-huh.
O: And when I was small,
O: my parents would take me there.

O: I couldn't swim
at that time
I: uh-huh
O: I couldn't swim at all, and

O: I would just splash around in the shalow
water, but
I: uh-huh
O: before I knew it ...

I: uh-huh
O: I was able to float, right?
I: uh-huh
O: So I was doing this.

O: And I removed my life preserver, and
I: uh-huh
O I was doing this, then
O: the water was suddenly deep.
I: uh-huh
O I really thought
I was going to drown then, and
O: I didn't know what to do ...
on my side, there was a big ...
I: uh-huh
O: fat lady.
I: oh, no.
O: The lady's ( )
I: You grrabbed onto her, and ...
O: I clung on to her, and ...
O: She was really shocked, and ...

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56
57 I: I bet.
58
59 O: Suddenly,
60 I: uh-huh
61 O: someone unknown ...
62 I: uh-huh
63 O: She still didn't know it was a child,
64 right?
65 I: uh-huh
66 O: It might not be a child, right?
67
68 I: uh-huh
69 O: She didn't know anything.
70 I: uh-huh
71 O: Suddenly,
72 I: uh-huh
73 O: someone ... from the water...
74 I: That's right.
75 O: She looked really surprised.
76 I: uh-huh
77 O: I was surprised, too, and
78
79
80 O: I grabbed onto her without thinking, and
81 I: uh-huh
82 O: I was saved.
83 I: uh-huh
84 O: It was like that.
85 I: Really.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #10
TITLE: LANGUAGE PROBLEM

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (9)
SEX: male
AGE: 20's
OCCUPATION: graduate student

[Recorded by Pat Clancy.]

---

6 Y: ano ne, kore ga ii
INJ EX this NOM good:NPT

7

8 Y: ano ne, bokku wa ne:*
INJ EX I TOP EX

9 Y: ... kyonen eeto: choo moo
last year INJ FRG already

10 ni-nen ni wa nar-anai kana,
two years COP TOP become-NEG:NPT MOD

11 Y: zu:tto amerika ni ita wake ne,
EM America LOC exist:PST SE EX

12 Y: boku wa ano ojisan ga amerika
I TOP INJ uncle NOM America

13 ni ita:
LOC exist:PST

14 Y: ano kare wa amerikan [da
INJ he TOP American COP:NPT

15 kedomo] ne,
EX EX

16 I: [nn]
BCH

17 Y: zutto boku mo kanari (mae
EM I also considerably before

18 kara) ita wake zutto.
from exist:PST SE EM

19 Y: honde kyonen ototoshi
INJ last year year before last

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20 oji ga nakunatta no de
uncle NOM die:PST SE COP:TE

21 I: ==nn
BCH

22 Y: honde boku wa ma nihon
and I TOP INJ Japan

23 kaette-kita.
return-come:PST

24 I: =nn
BCH

25 Y: son toki ni omoshiroi koto ga
that time at fanny thing NOM

26 atta wake.
exist:PST SE

27 I: =nn
BCH

28 Y: ano betsu-n taishita koto
INJ especially extraordinary thing

29 ja-nai-n da kedo nee*
COP-NEG-SE COP EX EX

30 I: =nn
BCH

31 Y: boku kuruma unten suru kara
I car drive do:NPT because

32 tte yuu koto de
QT say NML COP:TE

33 Y: sore oomisoka na-n da
that New Year's Eve LK-SE COP:NPT

kedo ne,
EX EX

34 I: =nn
BCH

35

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36 Y: toomee o toomee
Tokyo-Nagoya ACC Tokyo-Nagoya

37 jidoo[sha-koosoku-dooro] o
Express Way ACC

{hashitte-ta wake}
drive-STA:PST SE

38 I: [nn] {nn} nn
BCH BCH BCH

39 Y: shitara gasorin ga
then gasoline NOM

40 naku-nat-chatta no yo.
exist:NEG-become-AUX:PST SE EX

41 I: nn
BCH

42 Y: dakara: gasorin
so gasoline

43 nakunat-chatta ka#ra
exist:NEG-become-AUX:PST because

44 I: =nn
BCH

45 Y: a kore mazui ya to omotte #ne
oh this no good EX QT think:TE EX

46 Y: toomee no naka ni
Tokyo-Nogoya Express Way LK in LOC

47 kidootai honbu keesatsu [to]
Mobil Unit Headquarter Police and

48 {(poriis steeshon)} ga atte ne,
police station NOM exist:TE EX

49 I: [nn]
BCH

50 X: {nn nn nn}
BCH BCH BCH

51 Y: soko itte
there go:TE

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52 Y: oomisoka da kara
New Year's Eve COP:NPT because

53 Y: sutando yatte-nakatta
gas station do-STA:NEG:PST

54 I: ==nn
BCH

55 Y: oomisoka datta kana:*
New Year's Eve COP:PST MOD

56 Y: tashika na:*
surely EX

57 Y: de gasorin-sutando yatte-nai
and gas station do-STA:NEG:NPT

kara
because

58 I: ==nn
BCH

59 Y: doko ittara ii
where go:TARA good

60 Y: =sore o ne:,
that ACC EX

61 Y: ... 5- zenzen -5 soo futsuu
at all so ordinary

62 gasorin nihon de wa
gasoline Japan LOC TOP

63 Y: eeto gasu sutando ka:*
INJ gas stand QU

64 I: nn
BCH

65 Y: matawa .. eeto na:n chu-n daro.
or INJ what QT:say-SE MOD

66 Y: [ma kyuuyujo]
INJ filing station

67 I: [gasorin sutando]
gasoline stand

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68 Y: =gaso{rin sutando #ne}
gasoline stand EX

69 I: {nn}
BCH

70 Y: =ii wake #ne
correct:NPT SE EX

71 I: ==nn
BCH

72 Y: mo .. 5- honto -5 muishikiteki-ni
EM really unconsciously

73 kore honto na no.
this true LK SE

74 Y: de ne itte ne
and EX go:TE EX

75 Y: suimasen tsu tte
"Excuse me" QT say:TE

76 Y: ano "gas station" doko desu ka
INJ where COP:NPT QU

77 tte kiita wake.
QT ask:PST SE

78 I: ==nn
BCH

79 Y: 2- soshita wakan-nai
then understand-NEG:NPT

no yo -2
SE EX

80 I: =nn
BCH

81 Y: 4- ( ) .h -4 tte
QT

82 I: 1--1

83 Y: wakan-nai no.
understand-NEG:NPT EX

84 I: 1--1

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85 Y: dakara #e doko desu ka? tte
so INJ where COP:NPT QU QT

86 yuu kara ne
say:NPT because EX

87 Y: san-kai gurai ( ) "gas station"
three times about

88 tte yuu kara
QT say:NPT because

89 Y: .. o#mae ni nani nani-go
you FRG what what language

90 shabette-ru-[n da tte ( )]
speak-STA:NPT-SE COP QT

91 I: [1--------1]

92 X: [1--------1]

93 Y: iya nani-go mo nani mo "gas
INJ what language also what also

94 station" wakar-imas-en ka
understand-POL-NEG:NPT QU

tsu kara.
QT:say:NPT because

95 Y: ittai nani suru mon da.
what on earth what do:NPT thing COP:NPT

96 tyu kara ne,
QT:say:NPT because EX

97 I: ==1-1

98 Y: ni#hon-go de yue tyu: kara
Japanese INS say:IMP QT:say:NPT because

99 Y: .ss ano "gas station" tte ano
INJ INJ QT INJ

100 hora kuruma ni untensuru naka ni
INJ car GL drive:NPT in GL

101 .. koo ireru desho, kuruma
INJ put:NPT right? car

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```
102      hashi-raseru [tame]-ni tsu        kara
         run-CAS:NPT   in order QT:say:NPT because

103  I:  [nn]
          BCH

104  Y:  o#mae sore ga#sorin no koto ka
         you   that gasoline LK NML  QU

105      tte yuu     kara
         QT  say:NPT because

106  I:  =nn
          BCH

107  Y:  ee sore  desu    sutara
         yes that COP:NPT QT:say:TARA

108

109  Y:  omae 5- gasu sutando ka -5 tte
         you     gas  stand   QU    QT

110      tsuu       no #ne
         QT:say:NPT SE  EX

111  I:  ==1—1

112  Y:  dakara ee  soo   desu    tte
         so     INJ right COP:NPT QT

113

114  Y:  soide yoku kangaetara
         and   well think:TARA

115  Y:  naruhodo naa to omotta    #ne
         indeed   MOD QT think:PST  EX

116  I:  ==nn
           BCH

117  X:  ==n:n
           BCH

118  Y:  so:i sorede ne:*
         FRG  then   EX

119  Y:  ano: ja:  sonde oshiete-moratta
         INJ  then then  teach-receive:PST
```


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```
120      no #ne
         SE  EX

121  I: =nn
          BCH

122  Y: tokubetsu-ni.
         especially

123  Y: oshiete-moratta   kedo ne*
         teach-receive:PST EX   EX

124  I: =nn
          BCH

125  Y: soo yuu koto ga  aru       no ( ) #ne
         so  say NML  NOM exist:NPT SE      EX

126  I: ==he::e
           BCH

127  Y: =="gas station" ja  tsuuji-nai
                        COP comprehend-NEG:NPT

128      desho. mada.
         right? still

129  I: ==[nn]
            BCH

130  X: ==[nn]
            BCH

131  Y: nihon no gasorin  sutando ka.
         Japan LK gasoline stand   QU

132  I: =[nn]
           BCH

133  X: =[nn]
           BCH

134  Y: gasu stando (       )
         gas  stand

135  I: =nn
          BCH

136  X: =gasu sutando tte yuu~
          gas  stand   QT  say:NPT
```


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```
137  I: amari ..       yuw-anai
        not very much say-NEG:NPT

138  X: ==yuwanai      ne
          say-NEG:NPT EX

139  I: [(    ) gasorin  sutando]
             gasoline stand

140  X: [(yappari)   gasorin  sutando]
          expectedly gasoline stand

141  Y: =gasorin surando (  ) #ne
        gasoline stand         EX

142  Y: de  gasu gasu tte yuu     ne
        and gas  gas  QT  say:NPT EX

143  I: =[a:a]
          INJ

144  X: =[a:a]
          INJ

145  Y: de  im@ soo ne soo yuu shir-anai
        and now so  EX so  say know-NEG:NPT

146     koto  ga  atta      no ne,
        thing NOM exist:PST SE EX

147  I: ==[a::a]
            BCH

148  X: =[a::a]
          BCH
```

English Translation of #10 (Language Problem)

```
6    Y:   uh, this is good.
7
8    Y:   uh, I ...
9    Y:   last year, um,
10        maybe it hasn't been two years yet.
11   Y:   I was in America.
12   Y:   I have an uncle in America.
13
14   Y:   He's an American.
15
16   I:   uh-huh
```


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Y: I also lived there from a while back.

Y: And last year, no, the year before last,
my uncle passed away, so
I: uh-huh
Y: I came back to Japan.

Y: uh-huh
Y: It was then that something really
interesting happened.
I: uh-huh
Y: Well, it was nothing really special.

I: uh-huh
Y: I drive, you know.

Y: It was New Year's Eve.
I: uh-huh

Y: I was driving on the Tomei (Tokyo-Nagoya)
Highway.
I: uh-huh
Y: And I ran out of gas.

I: uh-huh
Y: Since I'd run out of gas,

I: uh-huh
Y: I thought I was in a real jam, and
Y: there was the Raiot Police Headquarter and
a police station
on the Tomei Highway, and
I: uh-huh
X: uh-huh
Y: so I went there, and
Y: because it was New Year's Eve
Y: the "stand" wasn't in operation.
I: uh-huh
Y: I guess it was New Year's Eve,
Y: I'm sure.
Y: Because the gasoline station wasn't open,
I: uh-huh
Y: I didn't know where to go.
Y: That ...
Y: ... never ... usually
gas in Japan ...
Y: Is it "gas stands" ?
I: uh-huh
Y: Or ... uh, what would you call it?
Y: A filling station.
I: A "gasoline stand".

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68 Y: Yes, a "gasoline stand".
69 I: uh-huh
70 Y: That's what we say, right?
71 I: uh-huh
72 Y: Unconsciously ...
73
74 Y: I went there ...
75 Y: I said, "Excuse me" and
76 Y: asked where a "gas station" was located.
77
78 I: uh-huh
79 Y: Then the person didn't understand.
80 I: uh-huh
81 Y: He said ( ), and
82 I: [laugh]
83 Y: He didn't understand me.
84 I: [laugh]
85 Y: So he said, "What is it?" so
86
87 Y: I said "gas station" about three times, so
88
89 Y: He said, "What language are you speaking?"
90
91 I: [laugh]
92 X: [laugh]
93 Y: I said, "What do you mean what language",
94 asked him if he didn't know "gas station."
95 Y: He said, "Exactly how you use it?" so ...
96
97 I: [laugh]
98 Y: He said, "Say it in Japanese", so
99 Y: I said, "A gas station is ...
100 you know, when you drive,
101 ... you have to put something in the car
102 to make it run." so
103 I: uh-huh
104 Y: And he said, "Oh you're talking about
105 gasoline", so
106 I: uh-huh
107 Y: I said, "Yeah, that's it", then
108
109 Y: He said, "Oh, you were saying "gas stand",
110 right?"
111 I: [laugh]
112 Y: And I said yes, and
113
114 Y: and I thought it all out, then
115 Y: thought, "Of course."
116 I: uh-huh
117 X: uh-huh
118 Y: And then,

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119 Y: he explained it to me.
120
121 I: uh-huh
122 Y: He made a special explanation
123 Y: for me.
124 I: uh-huh
125 Y: That kind of thing happens.
126 I: Really.
127 Y: People still don't understand "gas
128 station", right?
129 I: uh-huh
130 X: uh-huh
131 Y: A "gasoline stand" in Japan.
132 I: uh-huh
133 X: uh-huh
134 Y: A "gas stand".
135 I: uh-huh
136 X: Do we say "gas stand" ?
137 I: No, we don't really.
138 X: We don't say it, do we?
139 I: "Gasoline stand".
141 Y: Yeah, "gasoline stand", huh?
142 Y: I was saying "gas gas"
143 I: Oh.
144 X: Oh.
145 Y: I didn't know that.
147 I: Oh.
148 X: Oh.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #11
TITLE: LANGUAGE GAME

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (9)
SEX: male
AGE: 20's
OCCUPATION: graduate student

[Recorded by Pat Clancy.]

---

6 Y: kore boku amerika ni ita toki.
this I America LOC exist:PST time

7 I: =nn
BCH

8 Y: daigaku o sotsugyoo shite
university ACC graduate do:TE

9 ichi-nen-kan nyuuyooku de
one-year-duration New York LOC

10 hataraite-ita no ne,
work-STA:PST SE EX

11 I: ==[nn]
BCH

12 X: ==[nn]
BCH

13 Y: koo tsuuyaku mitai na koto yatte.
INJ interpreter like LK NML do:TE

14 I: =[nn]
BCH

15 X: =[nn]
BCH

16 Y: =son toki ne.
that time EX

17 Y: .h sono:: mukoo de sh tomodachi
INJ there LOC FRG friend

18 .. nihon-jin no hito to atte.
Japanese LK person with meet:TE

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19 I: ==nn
BCH

20 Y: sono shito ga nihon ni moo
that person NOM Japan to already

21 ni-nen kaette-nai-n da to
two-year return-NEG:NPT-SE COP QT

22 I: ==nn
BCH

23 Y: .h dakara choodo boku ga nihon @
so timely I NOM Japan

24 jaa rainen kaeru kara
INJ next year return:NPT because

25 Y: u ch sono: ie ga koganei
FRG FRG INJ house NOM Koganei

26 datta ( ) tte ne,
COP:PST QT EX

27 Y: o otoosan n@ okane o
FRG father GL money ACC

28 todokete-kure to
deliver-give:IMP QT

29 I: ==nn
BCH

30 Y: iw-areta wake.
say-PSS:PST SE

31 I: =nn
BCH

32 Y: de ii desu yo tte boku wa
and ok COP EX QT I TOP

33 todoketa wake.
deliver:PST SE

34 Y: =son toki kare iwaku ne,
that time he saying EX

35 Y: ano boku ne*
INJ I EX

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36 Y: ano mukoo ni iru toki ne irciro-to
INJ there LOC stay:NPT time EX variously

37 mondai ga atte ne*
problem NOM exist:TE EX

38 Y: boku wa nihon-jin de-mo boku
I TOP Japanese COP-though I

39 no koto joo tte yobu wake.
LK NML Joe QT call:NPT SE

40 I: =nn
BCH

41 Y: tsu no wa boku no tsune tte yuu
QT:say NML TOP I NML Tsune QT say

42 namae #ga
name NOM

43 I: [n:n]
BCH

44 X: [n:n]
BCH

45 Y: are ... joo to mo {yomu} desho,
that Joo QT also read:NPT right?

46 I: {nn}
BCH

47 X: nn
BCH

48 Y: da boku ga kore kodomo n toki
so I NOM this child LK time

49 kara minna boku no koto.
from all I LK thing

50 I: =nn
BCH

51 Y: joo joo tte yonde-ta kara
Joo Joo QT call-STA:PST because

52 Y: amerika de mo joo joo [tte
America LOC also Joe Joe QT

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53 itte-ta] wake ne,
say-STA:PST SE EX

54 I: =nn
BCH

55 Y: dakara ne, hataraite-ru ( ) ni
so EX work-STA:NPT at

56 ne
EX

57 Y: =boku o nisee to
I ACC second generation as

58 machigaeta-n (da) ne,
mistake:PST-SE COP EX

59 I: =n::n
BCH

60 Y: nisee to ne,
second generation as EX

amerika-jin to.
American as

61 I: =nn
BCH

62 Y: 5- sonde -5 .h sdaka#ra mukoo
so so there

63 itte-ru (toki)
go-STA:NPT time

64 Y: omoshiroi kara ne,
interesting:NPT because EX

65 Y: nihon no sekai tsu no wa ne,
Japan LK world QT:say NML TOP EX

66 Y: ano shitte-ru? (ka.)
INJ know-STA:NPT

67 Y: ko nihon no sekai tte yuu no wa ne
INJ Japan LK world QT say NML TOP EX

68 gaijin ni taishite sugoku
foreigner for towards very

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69 yasashii-n da to.
kind:NPT-SE COP QT

70 I: =nn
BCH

71 Y: .h anta ne.
you EX

72 Y: ittara ne.
go:TARA EX

73 Y: ano nihon-go d de ne.
INJ Japanese-language FRG INS EX

74 Y: yan-naide eigo de chotto
do-NEG:TE English INS a little

75 yatte boku no ie made iku n ni
do:TE I LK house up to go NML for

76 yatte-goran to.
do-AUX:IMP QT

77 I: =nn
BCH

78 Y: uchi no oyaji ga eego shaberu
house LK father NOM English speak:NPT

79 [kara] to.
because QT

80 I: [nn]
BCH

81 Y: dakara yatte-minasai to.
so do-AUX:IMP QT

82 Y: sonde boku wa nee*
so I TOP EX

83 Y: ssss kangaeta no yo.
INJ think:PST SE EX

84 I: =nn
BCH

85 Y: #so#n#na koto shite daijobu
such thing do:TE all right

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```
86      kana to
        MOD  QT

87   Y: demo omoshirokatta   no.
        but  interesting:PST SE

88      %shoojiki itte   mata.
         honest   say:TE EM

89   Y: omoshiroi       kara    yatte-mita wake.
        interesging:NPT because do-AUX:PST SE

90   Y: sonde nee*
        then  EX

91   Y: hiratsuka no ie    da      kara.
        Hiratsuka LK house COP:NPT because

92   I: =nn
         BCH

93   Y: hiratsuka nori-hajimete
        Hiratsuka get on-start:TE

94   Y: son  toki wa  zuutto kankee
        that time TOP EM     relation

        nai.
        exist:NEG:NPT

95   Y: daitai       shinjuku kara da      ne,
        aproximately Shinjuku from COP:NPT EX

96   I: =nn
         BCH

97   Y: yari-hajimeta no.
        do-begin:PST  SE

98   Y: .h hooshitara ne #mazu .. boku wa
           then       EX  first   I    TOP

99      kore saisho ... zenzen
        this first      at all

100     shi-nakatta-n da  kedo ne,
        do-NEG:PST-SE COP EX   EX

101  I: ==nn
          BCH
```


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```
102  Y: koo "time magazine" o   yonde-ta
        INJ                 ACC read-STA:PST

103     wake.
        SE

104  I: ==nn
          BCH

105  Y: soshitara ne,
        then      EX

106  Y: (2.6) 4- eeto nani (      )-4
                  INJ  what

107  Y: nn  gaigodai
        INJ University of Foreign Languages

        no  gakusee ga  ne,
        NOM student NOM EX

108  I: =nn
         BCH

109  Y: chikazuite-kita no.
        near-come:PST   SE

110  Y: de eego     de  hanashikakete-kita
        and English INS accost-come:PST

111     wake.
        SE

112  I: =nn
         BCH

113  Y: de  boku bikkurishi-chatte nee,
        and I    surprise-AUX:TE   EX

114  I: ==nn
          BCH

115  Y: okashii na dare ni mo   boku wa
        strange EX who  GL also I    TOP

116     eego    shabette-naide
        English speak-NEG:TE

117  Y: =eego    de  hanashikakeru (tte) doo
         English INS accost         QT   how
```


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```
118      yuu koto kana to omottara   nee*
         say NML  MOD  QT think:TARA EX

119  I: =nn
         BCH

120  Y: patto kite    #ne
         ONM   come:TE  EX

121  Y: anata nisee              desu    ka?
         you   second generation COP:NPT QT

122      tte koo         kita     kara    ne,
         QT  this manner come:PST because EX

123  I: ==[nn]
           BCH

124  X: ==[nn]
           BCH

125  Y: soo yu#w-areta  kara    sa.
         so  say-PSS:PST because EX

126  Y: soo desu    yo tte yutta   no ne,
         so  COP:NPT EX QT  say:PST EX EX

127  I: =nn
         BCH

128  Y: sonde koo iroiro-to
         and   INJ variously

129      hanashi-hajimeta (no)
         talk-begin:PST    SE

130  I: =[nn]
           BCH

131  X: =[nn]
           BCH

132  Y: .sss de  itta    no.
         INJ  and say:PST SE

133  Y: dooshite boku ga  nihon-jin nai to
         how       I    NOM Japanese  NEG QT

134      omotta    no tsuttara    ne,
         think:PST SE QT:say:TARA EX
```


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135 Y: .n nn iya,
INJ INJ

136 Y: .ss nihon-jin ja-nai kana,
INJ Japanese MOD MOD

137 Y: =kao wa nihon-jin da kara to
face TOP Japanese COP:NPT because QT

138 o#motta-n da kedo
think:PST-SE COP though

139 Y: =son toki boku wa ne
that time I TOP EX

140 kaette-kita toki "afro" de
return-come:PST time COP:TE

ne,
EX

141 I: =nn
BCH

142 Y: moo jiinzu yoreyore no kakkoo
EM jeans ragged LK appearance

143 shite-ta kara
do-STA:PST because

144 Y: hippii mitai na kakoo datta
Hippy like LK appearance COP:PST

145 kara ne,
because EX

146 Y: .h da sorede: de "time" (ka
so then and or

147 nanka) yonde-ru kara
something read-STA:NPT because

148 Y: mshi#ka-shitara hippii ka nanka
maybe Hippy or something

149 I: ==nn
BCH

150 Y: [nyuuyooku no nanka to omotta
New York LK something QT think:PST

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151 rashii no.]
EVD SE

152 I: [nn nn nn n:::n] nn
BCH BCH BCH BCH BCH

153 Y: soo itta (no ne,)
so say:PST SE EX

154 Y: honde hanashite-ki#te
and speak-come:TE

155 Y: ma #sore wa yokatta no.
INJ that TOP good:PST SE

156 Y: de zu(tto i)tte
and EM gc:TE

157 Y: =koganei ni tsuite*
Koganei GL arrive:TE

158 Y: eki ori oritara.
station FRG get off:TARA

159 Y: .s sate wakar-anai to. %ie ga.
FRG INJ know-NEG QT house NOM

160 Y: chizu wa moratte-aru kedo
map TOP receive-STA:NPT though

161 Y: wakan-nai kedo i-ppatsu kore
know-NEG though one-CLS INJ

162 tameshite-yaroo to omotte ne,
try-AUX:PRV QT think:TE EX

163 Y: .h koganei no mae no ne keesa
Koganei LK before LK EX FRG

164 kooban ( )ta wake.
police box SE

165 I: nn
BCH

166 Y: de kooban it#te
and police box go:TE

167 Y: suimasen ( )
excuse me

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168 Y: koo yuu wake da kara
this say reason COP:NPT because

tte yuttara
QT say:TARA

169 Y: soshitara daremo wakan-nai no
then no one know-NEG:NPT SE

170 %eego ga.
English NOM

171 I: ==nn
BCH

172 Y: saa kare-tachi ten'yawan'ya
INJ he-PL confusion

173 yatte-te
do-STA:TE

174 Y: (mo) wakaru wake yo:
EM know:NPT SE EX

175 I: ==a:ha han
BCH BCH

176 Y: 6- boku yowta-chata -6
I in trouble:PST

177 I: =1-ahan-1
BCH

178 Y: ==sohitara ne, kare-tachi no
then EX he-PL NOM

179 shita koto wa tookyoo #no .. ano
do:PST NML TOP Tokyo LK INJ

180 #honbu. keeshichoo
head office Metropolitan Police

181 e [denwa shita] wake.
Board GL telephone do:PST SE

182 I: [nn] {nn}
BCH BCH

183 X: {nn}
BCH

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184 Y: nde: honbu ni wa itsumo
and head office LOC TOP always

185 tsuuyaku no .. [sentaa ga
interpretation LK center NOM

a#tte]
exist:TE

186 I: [a::a]
BCH

187 X: =n:n
BCH

188 Y: iru #wake.
exist:NPT SE

189 I: =n:n
BCH

190 Y: dakara: warui kedo sono
so trouble though INJ

191 tsuuyaku sentaa #de sono
interpreter center LOC INJ

192 tsuuyaku eego ( ) shaberu
interpreter English speaker

hito dashite-kure to
person push out-give:IMP QT

193 I: n:n
BCH

194 Y: =.h sooshitara son toki ( )
then that time

195 5- inai no -5 yo:
exist-NEG:NPT SE EX

196 I: =n:n
BCH

197 Y: =hooshitara mukoo kara no
then other side from LK

198 shiji ga ne, iwaku ne,
instruction NOM EX saying EX

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199 Y: ano: fuchuu no
INJ Fuchu LK

200 I: =nn
BCH

201 Y: .. tachikawa kana,
Tachikawa MOD

202 I: =nn
BCH

203 Y: no .. em pii ni denwa shite.
LK M.P. GL telephone do:TE

204 I: =nn
BCH

205 Y: sono em pii #no toko ni zettai
that M.P. LK place LOC surely

206 nihon no tsuuyaku ga iru
Japan LK interpreter NOM exist:NPT

kara
because

207 Y: soko ni renraku shite to.
there LOC report do:TE QT

208 Y: de tanonda wake.
and ask:PST SE

209 Y: soshitara sotchi renraku
then there report

210 Y: =6- sono kan ni ne mo minna ga
that duration for EX EM all NOM

211 ne gatagata -6 yatta kedo ne
EX ONM do:PST EX EX

212 Y: =maa nanto teenee na no.
EM very polite LK SE

213 Y: =maa suwatte-kudasai
EM sit dowm-give:IMP:POL

214 Y: =ocha wa dashi[te-kureru
tea TOP offer-give:NPT

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```
215     desho,]
        right?

216  I: [1---------1]

217  Y: honde ko  sooshite sono kan      ni
        and   INJ and      that duration in

218     iron-na nihon-jin ga  koo kooban
        various Japanese  NOM INJ police box

219     ni {ta#zune ni  kuru     wake.}
        to  ask     for come:NPT SE

220  I: {nn  nn  nn}
         BCH BCH BCH

221  Y: =hooto  ne zu< ano zubora to yuu ka
         really EX FRG INJ sloppy QT say or

222     5- bu#kkiraboo na no yo -5
           blunt       LK SE EX

223  I: =nn
         BCH

224  Y: nn 6- soko  soo itte (     ) tte -6
        yes   there so  go:TE       QT

225  I: =nn
         BCH

226  Y: sonde boku ni  taishite wa  su#goi
        and   I    for towards  TOP extremely

227     teechoo na no yo.
        polite  LK SE EX

228  I: nn
        BCH

229  Y: .sss 6- [kashii  na to -6 motte
        INJ      strange EX QT    think:TE

230     (  )]

231  I: [n:::]::n
         BCH

232  Y: ==kore ga  nihon-jin na no ka to
          this NOM Japanese  LK SE QU QT
```


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233 chotto gakkari shita #ne
a little dissapointed do:PST EX

234 I: =nn
BCH

235 Y: .ss so[shitara nee*]
INJ then EX

236 I: [n:n]
BCH

237 Y: nanto nee*
to my surprise EX

238 Y: sono em pii: ga ne 6- ikenai koto
that M.P. NOM EX bad thing

239 ni nee, -6
for EX

240 Y: 6- sono em pii ga nee,-6
that M.P. NOM EX

241 Y: kuru tte
come:NPT QT

242 Y: =miritari porisu ga kuru.
Military Police NOM come

243 Y: =ano: .. denwa ni deta-n da
INJ telephone GL out:PST-SE COP

kedo*
EX

244 Y: boku wa nee*
I TOP EX

245 Y: =sono n sono saisho nihon-jin no
INJ FRG INJ fisrt Japaense LK

246 tsuuyaku ga deta wake.
interpreter NOM out:PST SE

247 I: =nn
BCH

248 Y: de iroiro hanashite-ru uchi-ni
and various talk-STA:NPT while

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249 nee,
EX

250 Y: anata kokuseki wa doko desu
you nationality TOP where COP:NPT

251 ka tte kik-areta wake.
QU QT ask-PSS:PST SE

252 I: =nn
BCH

253 Y: de boku wa amerikan da tsu
and I TOP American COP:NPT QT

254 tta wake ne,
say::PST SE EX

255 Y: 6- soshitara ne -6
then EX

256 Y: .sss biza toka soo yuu no
INJ visa or something such say NML

257 zenbu sorotte-masu ka to.
all complete-STA:POL:NPT QU QT

258 Y: ima yoosuruni kita. nihon-jin no
now in short come:PST Japanese LK

259 [keesatsu ga denwa ( )
police NOM telephone

260 itta kara.]
say:PST because

261 I: [a:::a]
BCH

262 X: =a::a
BCH

263 Y: ne?
EX

264 Y: sorotte-masu ka tte
complete-STA:POL:NPT QU QT

265 kik-areta kara sa,
ask-PSS:PST because EX

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```
266  Y: hai tsu tta      no.
        yes QT  say:PST SE

267  Y: 6- sooshitara soo yutte-ru
           then       so  say-STA:NPT

268     aida-ni nee* -6
        while   EX

269  Y: mei sono em pii ga  jiipu de
        FRG INJ  M.P.   NOM jeep  INS

270     6- ki-chatta    no yo -6 (          )
           come-AUX:PST SE EX

271  Y: 6- kondo     keesatsu ga. -6
           this time police   NOM

272  Y: 1- soko  ni  ki-chatte   saa* -1
           there LOC come-AUX:TE EX

273  I: ==1--1

274  Y: .ss sooshite ya  denwa     de
        INJ then    INJ telephone INS

275     hanashite-ru uchi-ni
        talk-STA:NPT while

276  Y: hanashite-ru tte itta    kedo
        talk-STA:NPT QT  say:PST though

277  Y: sore ga [kirete-ru-n
        that NOM be disconnected-STA:NPT-SE

        ne,]
        EX

278  I: [nn  nn]
         BCH BCH

279  Y: 5- ki-chatte* -5
           come-AUX:TE

280  Y: honde sono otoosan tsuu   no  wa
        and   INJ  father  QT:say NML TOP

281  Y: sono okane todokeru    uchi  ni mo
        INJ  money deliver:NPT house GL also
```


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282 denwa atta kara
telephone exist:PST because

283 Y: denwa shite
telephone do:TE

284 Y: kite-moratta no.
come-receive:PST SE

285 Y: 6- .h shitara nee* -6
then EX

286 Y: 6- jiipu de ki-chatte nee* -6
jeep INS come-AUX:TE EX

287 Y: 6- ma#zui koto ni ne -6 em pii to
bad NML for EX M.P. with

288 kondo hanashi-( )ta wake.
this time talk SE

289 Y: de iroiro hanashite-tara
and various talk-STA:TARA

290 Y: boku mo 6- nantoka kono ko boro
I also somehow INJ INJ defect

291 ga de-nai yoo-ni saa* -6
NOM out-NEG for EX

292 Y: 6- isshookenmee -6 koo
hard INJ

293 Y: ... .h nantoka koo boku mo sono
somehow INJ I also that

294 koro tsu: ka. ma ijo nantoka
time QT:say or EM INJ somehow

295 shabe-re[ta] ka#ra*
speak-PTN:PST because

296 I: [nn]
BCH

297 Y: te yuu koto de koo
QT say NML COP:TE this manner

298 yatte-tara ne,
do-STA:TARA EX

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299 Y: ... omae doko kara kita tte
you where from come:PST QT

300 yuu kara
say:NPT because

301 Y: "indiana" da to.
Indiana COP:NPT QT

302 Y: da soshitara .. .h nn omae
FRG then INJ you

303 akusento nai naa* tsuu
accent exist:NEG:NPT EX QT:say:NPT

kara nee,
because EX

304 Y: n nn "indiana" wa soo da.
INJ Indiana TOP so COP:NPT

305 sonna kanji ja-nai,
such appearance MOD

306 %"diana" hatsuon wa tsu tte
Indiana pronunciation TOP QT say:TE

307 Y: wazato maa dekirudake
on purpose EM as mucha as possible

308 sonna hatsuon de hanashita
such pronunciation INS speak:PST

wake yo.
SE EX

309 I: =nn
BCH

310 Y: soshitara ne*
then EX

311 Y: .h omae soo yuu omae no suteetasu
you so say you LK status

312 toka biza toka doo
and visa and how

313 natte-ru-n da tte yuu
become-STA:NPT-SE COP:NPT QT say:NPT

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kara ne,
because EX

314 Y: hai chanto motte-ru tte ( )
yes neatly hold-STA:NPT QT

315 Y: ano ryokoo biza de kita tsu
INJ travel visa INS come:PST QT

316 tta wake ne,
say:PST SE EX

317 Y: son#de .. ano sore wa ( )
and INJ that TOP

318 mooshiwakenai.
I'm sorry

319 Y: motte-nai to.
carry-STA-NEG:NPT QT

320 Y: ie no oji n toko ni
house LK uncle LK place LOC

321 oi-chatte-aru kara tsu tta
leave-AUX-STA:NPT because QT say:PST

no.
SE

322 Y: dakedo chanto omae-ra ryokoosha
but neatly you-PL traveler

323 tsu mono wa aru teedo
QT:say NNL TOP certain degree

324 tsune-ni biza to yuu mono wa
always visa QT say:NPT thing TOP

325 keetai shite-nai#to
carry do-STA:NEG:TO

326 I: ==nn
BCH

327 Y: ano: [are s-areta toki]
INJ that do-PSS:PST time

328 I: [n:n]
BCH

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329 Y: {teishi s-aretara} komaru
stop do-PSS:TARA in trouble

330 desho to.
right? QT

331 I: {n:n}
BCH

332 Y: 6- de iw-areta (kara)
and say-PSS:PST because

333 ichioo juusho oshieta wake -6
unwillingly address teach:PST SE

334 Y: %jibun no ie no.
self LK hosue LK

335 Y: 5- oshieta kedo nee* -5
teach:PST EX EX

336 Y: ja ato renraku toru
then later correspondence take:NPT

kara
because

337 Y: ano: koko made motte-koi to
INJ here up to bring-come:IMP QT

338 ( )

339 Y: sono renraku totta toki ni
that correspondence take:PST time at

340 chanto sono biza no
neatly that visa LK

341 4- bangoo mo zenbu ( )-4
number also all

342 Y: soshitara denwa ko-nai no.
then telephone come-NEG:NPT SE

343 I: .ha:
BCH

344 Y: =nn de soko nantoka ano
BCH and there somehow INJ

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345 kirinuke-reta
escape-PTN:PST

346 I: =a:
BCH

347 Y: -5 moo ase bisshori -5
EM sweat ONM

348 Y: are ga ichi-ban ima made de ne*
that NOM most now till in EX

349 I: n:n
BCH

350 Y: moo hiya-ase kaita.
EM cold-sweat flow:PST

351 I: n:n
BCH

English Translation of #11 (Language Game)

6 Y: This was when I was in America.
7 I: uh-huh
8 Y: After I graduated from university,
9 I worked in New York for a year.
10
11 I: uh-huh
12 X: uh-huh
13 Y: I did translation work.
14 I: uh-huh
15 X: uh-huh
16 Y: While I was there,
17 Y: I had a friend ...
18 I met a Japanese person.
19 I: uh-huh
20 Y: He said he hadn't returned to Japan
21 in two years.
22 I: uh-huh
23 Y: So I told him that I'd be returning to
24 Japan the following year.
25 Y He said his house was in Koganei.
26
27 Y And he asked me to take some money
28 to his father.
29 I: uh-huh
30 Y: That's what I was asked.
31 I: uh-huh
32 Y: So I said yes

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33 and took the money for him.
34 Y: And he made a suggestion.
35 Y: I ...
36 Y: had a lot of problems
37 when I was there, and
38 Y: Even though I'm Japanese,
39 people called me Joe.
40 I: uh-huh
41 Y: Because my name, Tsune,
42
43 Y: uh-huh
44 X: uh-huh
45 Y: is also read "Joo", right?
46 I: uh-huh
47 X: uh-huh
48 Y: So ever since I was a child
49 everyone
50 I: uh-huh
51 Y: called me "Joo", so
52 Y: everyone in America
53 called me "Joe" also.
54 I: uh-huh
55 Y: Because of that, while I was working
56
57 Y: people mistook me for a Japanese-American.
58
59 I: uh-huh
60 Y: A Japanese-American or an American.
61 I: uh-huh
62 Y: (He said to me) "when you go there
63 (to Japan) ...
64 Y: it would be interesting ...
65 Y: In Japan ...
66 Y: D you know ...
67 Y: In Japan ...
68 foreigners
69 are treated very nicely."
70 I: uh-huh
71 Y: "When you ...
72 go to Japan ...
73 Y: don't speak Japanese, and
74 Y: try speaking in English
75 when you go to my house.
76
77 I: uh-huh
78 Y: "Because my father speaks English."
79
80 I: uh-huh
81 Y "So try it."
82 Y: And I ...
83 Y: thought about it.

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84 I: uh-huh
85 Y: I wondered if it would really be all
86 right to try it.
87 Y: It was interesting,
88 honestly speaking.
89 Y: It seemed interesting so I tried it.
90 Y: And ...
91 Y: my house is in Hiratsuka, so
92 I: uh-huh
93 Y: I got on a train in Hiratsuka, and
94 Y: nothing happened for a while.
95 Y: It started when I got to somewhere around
Shinjuku.
96 I: uh-huh
97 Y: I started it around there.
98 Y: So at first...
99 I didn't initiate at all
100 at the beginning.
101 I: uh-huh
102 Y: I was reading a "Time" magazine.
103
104 I: uh-huh
105 Y: And then ...
106 Y: um, what ...
107 Y: A University of Foreign Languages' student
...
108 I: uh-huh
109 Y: approached me.
110 Y: And he started speaking to me in English.
111
112 I: uh-huh
113 Y: I was really surprised, and
114 I: uh-huh
115 Y: I thought it was strange because
116 I hadn't spoken to anyone in English, and
117 Y: I wondered what this guy was doing
118 speaking to me in English, then
119 I: uh-huh
120 Y: he came all of a sudden, and
121 Y: he asked if I were a Japanese-American.
122
123 I: uh-huh
124 X: uh-huh
125 Y: Since I was asked that,
126 Y: I answered yes.
127 I: uh-huh
128 Y: And we started talking about
129 different things.
130 I: uh-huh
131 X: uh-huh
132 Y: And this is what I said.

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133 Y: "Why didn't you
134 think I was a Japanese?" I asked, then,
135 Y: "Well,
136 Y: I thought you might be a Japanese,
137 Y: because your face was that of a Japanese.
138
139 Y: At that time I had gone back to Japan
140 with an afro hair style, and
141 I: uh-huh
142 Y: I wore worn out jeans, so
143
144 Y: I was dressed like a hippie, so
145
146 Y: and on top of that,
147 I was reading "Time" or something, so
148 Y: He thought I was some kind of hippie
149 I: uh-huh
150 Y: or something from New York.
151
152 I: uh-huh
153 Y: That's what he said.
154 Y: So he was talking to me, and
155 Y: that was all fine.
156 Y: Then I kept on riding, and
157 Y: I reached Koganei, and
158 Y: When I left the station,
159 Y: I didn't know which way the house was.
160 Y: My friend had given me a map, but ...
161 Y: I didn't know (if it would be good), but
162 Y: I thought I'd just try (speaking Englihs),
and
163 Y: there was a police box
164 in front of Koganei station.
165 I: uh-huh
166 Y: So I went there, and
167 Y: I said, "Excuse me..."
168 Y: and explained my situation, then
169 Y: no one there understood English.
170
171 I: uh-huh
172 Y: They were running around, and
173
174 Y: I understood (why they were acting like
that).
175 I: uh-huh
176 Y: I was in a mess, and
177 I: yes
178 Y: So what they did was
179 called the Tokyo Metropolitan Police
180 Headquarters.
181

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182 I: uh-huh
183 X: uh-huh
184 Y: There's always someone who interprets there...
185 at the center, and
186 I: oh.
187 X: uh-huh
188 Y: An interpreter is there.
189 I: uh-huh
190 Y: The officer asked to speak to the
192 interpreter at the center who spoke English.
193 I: uh-huh
194 Y: But at that time (the interpreter)
195 wasn't there.
196 I: uh-huh
197 Y: The the instructions the officer was given
198 were
199 Y: "Fuchu ..."
200 I: uh-huh
201 Y: "or was it Tachikawa?"
202 I: uh-huh
203 Y: "Call the "MP" there."
204 I: uh-huh
205 Y "There would certainly be someone there who
206 could interpret, so
207 Y: contact them."
208 Y: And the police requested an assistance.
209 Y: Then the police contacted Tachikawa.
210 Y: While we were waiting,
211 a lot of things were going on.
212 Y: But anyway, the officer was polite.
213 He said, "Please take a seat."
214 Y: They brought tea out for me.
215
216
217 Y: While all that was going on,
218 a lot of Japanese
219 came to the police station
220 I: uh-huh
221 Y: Then they were really negligent
222 or abrupt with them.
223 I: uh-huh
224 Y: They said "Just go there ..."
225 I: uh-huh
226 Y: And they were
227 really kind with me.
228 I: uh-huh
229 Y: I thought it was really strange, and
230
231 I: uh-huh
232 Y: I though that this is Japanese and
233 was rather disappointed with them.

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234 I: uh-huh
235 Y: And then ...
236 I: uh-huh
237 Y: to my surprise ...
238 Y: the MP ... unfortunately ...
239
240 Y: the MP would come,
241 Y: so said the police.
242 Y: The military police were coming.
243 Y: (I) got on the phone, but
244 Y: I ...
245 Y: First a Japanese interpreter spoke.
246
247 I: uh-huh
248 Y: When we spoke about various things,
249
250 Y: he asked me what my nationality was.
251
252 I: uh-huh
253 Y: I answered that I was American.
254
255 Y: And then ...
256 Y: He asked, "Do you have a visa and all the
257 other necessary papers?"
258 Y: "I just heard. A Japanese policeman said
259 ( ) on the phone, so"
260
261 I: oh
262 X: oh
263 Y: Right?
264 Y: Since he asked if I had all those things,
265 so
266 Y: I said yes.
267 Y: And while I was saying that,
268
269 Y: that MP
270 had arrived in a jeep.
271 Y: And then the police
272 Y: came there, and ...
273 I: [laugh]
274 Y: While I was talking on the phone
275
276 Y: I said I was talking but
277 Y: the line was disconnected.
278 I: uh-huh
279 Y: They came, and ...
280 Y: And the (friend's) father ...
281 Y: To the house to which I was supposed to
deliver the money ...
281 Y: since they had a phone,
283 Y: I telephoned him, and

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284 Y: and asked him to come.
285 Y: Then ...
286 Y: they came in the jeep, and
287 Y: this time, so terrible,
288 I talked to the MP.
289 Y: We talked over everything, then ...
290 Y: In order not to mess up my story,
291
292 Y: I tried hard ...
293 Y: I spoke some English then.
294
295
296 I: uh-huh
297 Y: So that's how I was doing.
298
299 Y: He said "Where do you come from?" so
300
301 Y: I said, "Indiana."
302 Y: And he said, "You
303 don't have an accent." so
304 Y: I said "That's the way it is in Indiana.
305 That's the way the pronunciation is there.
306
307 Y: I tried really hard
308 to speak with that pronunciation.
309 I: uh-huh
310 Y: And then ...
311 Y: He said, "What about your status
312 and visa?"
313
314 Y: I answered, "I have all the proper things."
315 Y: I said, "I came with a tourist's visa."
316
317 Y: Then I said, "I am sorry."
318
319 Y: "I didn't have it on me."
320 Y: I said I had left it at my uncle's house.
321
322 Y: But if travelers don't
323 carry their visas,
324
325
326 I: uh-huh
327 Y: uh, when it happens ...
328 I: uh-huh
329 Y: when they're stopped, then
330 they'll be in trouble, right?
331 I: uh-huh
332 Y: I was told all this, so
333 I told them the addre_
334 Y: of my place.

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335 Y: I told him it.
336 Y: he said he'd be in touch with me, so
337 Y: he said "Bring it to here."
338
339 Y: When the call came
340 I would tell him... the visa number and
341 everything.
342 Y: But there was no call.
343 I: oh
344 Y: And it all ended at that, and
345
346 I: uh-huh
347 Y: I was really sweating then.
348 Y: That was the worst (experience up till now
for me)
349 I: uh-huh
350 Y: I broke into a cold sweat.
351 I: uh-huh

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DATA ID NUMBER: #12
TITLE: FALSE ID

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (10)
SEX: female
AGE: late 20's
OCCUPATION: graduate student

[Recorded by Pat Clancy.]

---

5 N: ano ne gakusei jidai ne,
INJ EX student age EX

6 I: =nn
BCH

7 N: =a ima mo gakusei na-n [da
INJ now also student LK-SE COP

kedo.]
EX

8 I: [1-ehe--]--1
BCH

9 N: ano: gakubu no gakusei no toki
INJ undergraduate LK student LK time

ne,
EX

10 I: =nn
BCH

11 N: ano, hora,... are ga aru
INJ INJ that NOM exist:NPT

12 deshoo...ano:..
right? EX

13 N: "stand by" tte yuu no de*
QT say NML COP:TE

14 N: ano:, goju-ppaasento hikooki no,
INJ fifty percent airplane LK

15 ne< ano:
EX INJ

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16 I: =nn arimasu nee*
BCH exist:POL:NPT EX

17 N: ==gakusei [waribiki tte] aru
studnet discount QT exist:NPT

{deshoo,}
right?

18 I: [ee] {nn}
BCH BCH

19 N: de, sore de ne, otomodachi no
and that INS EX friend LK

20 toko ni asobi ni iku: toki
place GL play for go:NPT time

21 datta no.
COP:PST SE

22 N: sono toki, choodo ne, nijuui-
that time exactly EX twenty one

23 ssai ni nari-tate datta no.
years old GL become just COP:PST SE

24 I: nn n:n
BCH BCH

25 N: ==toshi ga.
age NOM

26 I: nn nn
BCH BCH

27 N: sorede ne, dakedomo
and EX but

28 nijuui-ssai de*
twenty one years old by

29 N: are wa kireru wake.
that TOP expire:NPT SE

30 N: .h sorede .. otomodachi de ne?
so friend COP:TE EX

31 N: ano: tai no onna-no-ko ga ita
INJ Thai LK girl NOM exist:PST

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no.
SE

32 N: roshirii tte, onna-no-ko [na-n
Roshirii QT girl LK-SE

33 da kedo.]
COP EX

34 I: [nn]
BCH

35 N: kanojo ga ne,
she NOM EX

36 N: mada ni.. ano: .h sono:,
yet FRG INJ INJ

37 mibun-shoomeesho ga ne [ookei
idenfification card NOM EX ok

da kara ne,]
COP:NPT because EX

38 I: [@: @: @: nn]
BCH BCH

39 N: doose tai-jin mo
anyway Thai-people also

40 nihon-jin mo wakan-nai
Japanese-people also know-NEG:NPT

kara*
because

41 N: .h [watashi no] {kasu kasu,
I LK lend:NPT lend:NPT

42 tte yuu wake.}
QT say:NPT SE

43 I: [.hh] {a:a aa nn}
BCH BCH BCH

44 N: de ne, sonna koto shita koto
and EX such thing do:PST NML

45 nakatta-n da kedo*
exist:NEG:PST-SE COP EX

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46 I: nn
BCH

47 N: haafu puraisu ni naruto ne,
half price GL become:TO EX

48 I: =nn

49 N: chotto ii deshoo,
a little good right?

50 I: =nn
BCH

51 N: dakara ne, ja karite-iku to ka
so EX then borrow-go:NPT QT QT

52 yutte nee~
say:TE EX

53 I: =nn
BCH

54 N: .h ano hajimete soo yuu koto
INJ fisrt time such say thing

55 yatte-mita wake.
do-AUX:PST SE

56 I: =nn
BCH

57 N: sorede ne,
and EX

58 N: .h anoo: are wa:: ano:
INJ that TOP INJ

59 N: (1.0) zeiin futsuu no< anoo "fair"
all ordinary LK INJ

60 hara[tta okyaku ga] zenbu
pay:PST passenger NOM all

61 notte kara de wa naito
get on:TE after COP:TE TOP NEG:TO

62 nosete-kure-nai {no ne,}
lift-give-NEG:NPT SE EX

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63 I: [nn nn] {nn}
BCH BCH BCH

64 N: .h sorede ne doomo aki ga
then EX somehow space NOM

atte.
exist:TE

65 N: nosete-kureru koto ni-natta
lift-give:NPT NML COP-become:PST

66 wake.
SE

67 N: .h sorede sono mae ni ne,
then that before at EX

68 N: sono sain o isshookenmei
INJ signature ACC hard

69 shite-itta-n da keredo*
do-go:PST-SE COP though

70 N: .h anoo nakanaka nee~
INJ not easily EX

71 N: ano yappari tanin (na) no
INJ expectedly difficult LK SE

72 %sain,
signature

%sono toki ni naruto ne,
that time GL become:TO EX

73 N: te ga furue-chatte
hand NOM tremble-AUX:TE

[de#ki-nai wake.]
can-NEG:NPT SE

74 I: [a:n an an]
BCH BCH BCH

75 N: de kippu o kau toki ni ne,
and ticket ACC buy:NPT time at EX

76 N: .h soko n sain suru
there LOC signature do:NPT

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77 tokoro ga aru wake.
place NOM exist:NPT SE

78 I: ==nn
BCH

79 N: soko de moo ne,
there LOC EM EX

80 N: #zen#zen ne,
at all EX

81 N: .h so mibun-shoomeesho ni
FRG identification card LOC

82 shite-aru sain to ze( )
do-STA:NPT signature with

83 shi-chatta wake.
do-AUX:PST SE

84 N: .h 6-nanishiro mo superingu mo
EM EM spelling also

85 machigat-chatte ne,-6
make mistake-AUX:TE EX

86 N: .h shita kot nai deshoo.
do:PST NML exist:NEG:NPT right?

87 N: %soo yuu koto.
such say thing

88 N: dakara moo dokidoki datta wake.
so EM ONM COP:PST SE

89 N: .h de moo bareru-n
and EM be revealed:NPT-NML

90 ja-nai ka to omotte
COP-NEG QU QT think:TE

91 N: kowakutte ne,
scared:TE EX

92 I: [6- aha::n -6]
BCH

93 N: [( )]te furue-chatte ne,
tremble-AUX:TE EX

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94 I: ==.h nn
BCH

95 N: moo konna nat-chatte.
EM this manner become-AUX:TE

96 I: -&- ahan -6
BCH

97 N: zenzen .h moo superu mo
at all EM spelling also

98 machigaereba nee,
make mistake:BA EX

99 I: =nn
BCH

100 N: moo sain mo zenzen nite
EM signature also at all resemble

101 mo nitsu[kanai sain
also not resemble signature

shi-chatta] no.
do-AUX:PST SE

102 I: [nn nn]
BCH BCH

103 N: .h sorede-mo maa maa ne,
but well well EX

104 N: amari koo mir-are-nakute,
not very INJ look at-PSS-NEG:TE

105 N: .h ano kippu o ka-eta wake
INJ ticket ACC buy-PTN:PST SE

106 N: de moo ne kaeri mo sono ... soo
and EM EX return also INJ such

107 yuu keiken suruto iya
say experience do:TO no good

108 datta kara
COP:PST because

109 N: oofuku kippu o katta no.
round trip ticket ACC buy:PST SE

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110 N: .h sorede ano: "rochester" tte
and INJ Rochester QT

111 yuu nyuu yooku no ne,
say New York LK EX

112 I: =nn
BCH

113 N: appu su'eto ni aru-n da
Up State LOC exist:NPT-SE COP

kedo,
EX

114 N: soko made iker iku.
there up to FRG go:NPT

115 N: tomodachi soko ni tomodachi ga
friend there LOC friend NOM

ite
exist:TE

116 N: .h soko made oofuku kippu
there up to round trip ticket

katta no.
buy:PST SE

117 I: ==nn
BCH

118 N: da tamatama sono toki.. wa ne,
FRG accidentally that time TOP EX

119 N: ... nanka .. tenkoo ga warukute,
INJ weather NOM bad:TE

120 N: .h anoo "boston" kara ne,
INJ Boston from EX

121 N: "rochester" made chokutsuu-bin ga
Rochester up to direct-flight NOM

122 tob-anakaatta no.
fly-NEG:PST SE

123 N: =%sono hi ni [kagitte.]
that day on only

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124 I: [a: an]
BCH

125 N: sore ga ne notte kara wakatta
that NOM EX get on:TE from know:PST

wake.
SE

126 N: .h soshite mazu ne,
and first EX

127 N: nyuuyooku no "la guardia" kuukoo
New York LK La Gardia air port

128 ni itte,
to go:TE

129 I: ==nn
BCH

130 N: sorekara "la guardia" kara ... .h
then La Gardia from

131 nori-kaete,
get on-change:TE

132 N: a nori-kae-nai no kana?
oh get on-change-NEG:NPT SE MOD

133 N: nanishiro itte
any way go:TE

134 N: sore-kara .. "rochester"
then Rochester

135 ni [iku tte yuu wake datta no.]
to go:NPT QT say SE COP:PST SE

136 I: [nn nn]
BCH BCH

137 N: sorede ne,
and EX

138 N: ma iiya iiya demo nimotsu wa zenbu
INJ ok ok but luggage TOP all

139 ne,
EX

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```
140  N: "rochester" made  zenbu ireta-n
         Rochester  up to all   put:PST-SE

141     da  kara,
        COP because

142  I: =nn
         BCH

143  N: moo      .h anshin        to omotte
        already    peace of mind QT think:TE

144  N: [notta       wake.]
         get on:PST SE

145  I: [nn  nn]
         BCH BCH

146  N: soshite nottara      nee,
        and     get on:TARA EX

147  N: anor ichioo "la guardia" #de
        INJ  first   La Gardia    LOC

148  I: =nn
         BCH

149

150  N: ano zenbu: ori-nakuchaikenakatta no.
        INJ all    get off-must:PST      SE

151  I: ==nn  nn
          BCH BCH

152  N: .h de: oritara       nee~
            and get off:TARA EX

153  N: 6-nani o   machigaeta       ka
          what ACC make mistake:PST QT

154     watashi no ^nimo nimotsutsu ga
        I       LK  FRG  luggage    NOM

155     dete-ki-chatta   wake.-6
        out-come-AUX:PST SE

156  N: ... sorede ne,
            then   EX
```


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157 N: .h soko no tokoro de ne,
there LK place LOC EX

158 N: #a sono nimotsu ne "rochester"
oh that luggage EX Rochester

159 made yaru-n desu tte yutta
up to send:NPT-SE COP QT say:PST

noni ne,
though EX

160 I: =nn
BCH

161 N: .h moo soko n kakari no
already there LK in charge LK

162 hito ga de-chatta kara,
person NOM out-AUX:PST because

163 N: .h mata chekku-in shite-kuda#sai
again check in do-give:IMP:POL

164 tte yuw-areta wake.
QT say-PSS:PST SE

165 I: =5- wa::a -5
BCH

166 N: 6- sorede watshi wa moo #ne, -6
so I TOP EM EX

167

168 N: n nimotsu ni ookiku endoo nante
FRG luggage LOC big Endo SOF

169 N: endoo tte namae [datta no ne.]
Endo QT name COP:PST SE EX

170 I: [nn nn]
BCH BCH

171 N: #endoo nante kaite-aru no.
Endo SOF write-STA:NPT SE

172 I: nn
BCH

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173 N: a toshiko endoo nante kaite-aru
INJ Toshiko Endo SOF write-STA:NPT

174 "japan" nante.
Japan SOF

175 I: 1-a ha-1
BCH

176 N: a kono nimotsu ga
INJ this luggage NOM

177 dete-kite-[(shimatta)]
out-come-AUX:PST

178 I: [1---------1]

179 N: .h moo sugoi asetta wake.
EM very worry:PST SE

180 N: .h {sorede moo shooganai
so EM no way

181 de-chatta} kara
out-AUX:PST because

182 I: {n:::::n}
BCH

183 N: mata ne, anoo .. chekkin kauntaa
again EX INJ check in counter

184 no toko [ni] tte
LK place to go:TE

185 I: [nn]
BCH

186 N: kono nimotsu machigaete de-chatta
this luggage by mistake out-AUX:PST

187 kedo "rochester" made chekkuin
though Rochester up to check in

188 shita-n {#da} tte yutte.
do:PST-SE COP QT say:TE

189 I: {nn}
BCH

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190 N: .h mata soko de hitomonchaku
again there LOC trouble

atte
exist:TE

191 N: yatto-no-koto-de, sono namae ni
finally that name to

192 mo ki-ga-tsukarezu-ni*
also notice:NEG

193 I: =nn
BCH

194 N: rosheriinii puradiganon de
Rosheriinii Phradiganon as

195 notta wake.
get on:PST SE

196 I: n:n
BCH

197 N: de soko de mo mata ne saigo
and there LOC also again EX last

198 made ^nos no-sete-kure-nakatta
till FRG get on-CAS-give-NEG:PST

199 no ne,
SE EX

200 I: =[1-----1]

201 N: [sorede yatto-no-koto-de]
and finally

202 nor-eta no.
get on-PTN:PST SE

203 I: .hh

204 N: de moo sore made moo dokidoki no
and EM that until EM ONM LK

205 (rera rera) deshoo. {%"boston"}
right? Boston

206 kara.
from

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```
207  I: {nn}
        BCH

208  N: moo ne aa  moo zettai konna
        EM  EX INJ EM  never  such

209     koto [(      )] to omotta    wake.
        thing           QT think:PST SE

210  I: [1------1]

211  N: .h sore de-mo  {moo ne}
          that though  EM  EX

212     ik-anakuchanaranai kara
        go-must:NPT        because

213  I: {.h}

214  I: n:n
        BCH

215  N: doonika notta      no.
        somehow get on:PST SE

216  N: soshitara noru       toki ni nee,
        then      get on:NPT time at EX

217  N: chekkuin no .. kauntaa no hito
        check in LK    counter LK person

218     ga  ne,
        NOM EX

219  N: .h a  kawatta namae da      ne
          oh rare    name  COP:NPT EX

220     6-nan te yuu     wake.-6
          SOF QT say:NPT SE

221  N: [1----------]- sorede ne, sorede ne-1
                       so     EX  so     EX

222  I: [1---------1]

223  N: ee  nante yuttara  ne
        yes SOF   say:TARA EX

224  N: nante hatsuon   suru   no 1-[(    )]-1
        how   pronounce do:NPT SE
```


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225 I: [1-----1]

226 N: sorede ne,
so EX

227 N: moo kono hen hikitsutte-ru
already this area tense-STA:NPT

228 kara {ne,}
because EX

229 I: {th)

230 N: mo rosheriinii nan te yutta-n
EM Rosheriinii SOF QT say:PST-SE

231 da [kedomo,]
COP though

232 I: [nn]
BCH

233 N: kono hen hikitsutte {zenzen}
this area tense:TE at all

234 deki-nai wake.
can-NEG:NPT SE

235 I: {i-h-i}

236 N: .h de #san-kai mo
and three-times as many as

yuw-a[1-( )-1]
say

237 I: [1----1]

238 N: e? nani? moo ichi-do itte
INJ what again one-time say:TE

239 nante.
SOF

240 N: moo [(dokkidoki de ne,)]
EM OMN COP:TE EX

241 I: [1--------1]

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242 N: .h moo doo shoo doo shoo to
EM how do:PRV how do:PRV QT

omotte
think:TE

243 N: ya{tto}-no-koto-de ne,
finally EX

244 I: {nn}
BCH

245 N: nani-jin na-n te kiku
what-nationarity SOF QT ask:NPT

[wake.]
SE

246 I: [(soide)]
and

247 N: de ne moshi tai-jin wa motto
and EX if Thai-people TOP more

248 iro ga kuroi-n ja-nai ka
color NOM black-SE COP-NEG QU

249 kik-aretara komaru naa to
ask-PSS:TARA in trouble EX QT

250 omotta no.
think:PST SE

251 N: demo tai ni-mo iroiro atte ne
but Thai in-though various exist:TE EX

252 N: [iro no shiroi hito mo
color LK white person also

iru no ne,]
exist:NPT SE EX

253 I: [a:::n] n:n
BCH BCH

254 N: ==de rosheriinii mo sugoku iro
and Rosheriinii also very color

255 no shiroi hito {datta no.}
NOM white person COP:PST SE

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256 I: {n::n}

257 N: tai-(j)in ni-mo iroiro
Thai-people in-though various

258 aru to ka yuoo to
exist:NPT QT QT say:PRV QT

omotte-ta no.
think-STA:PST SE

259 I: nn
BCH

260 N: de maa maa kik-are-nakute
and well well ask-PSS-NEG:TE

261 N: #yatto notta no ne,
finally get on:PST SE EX

262 N: .h mune o ne #hotto ne .h
chest ACC EX with relief EX

263 nadeoroshita no,
stroke down:PST SE

264 N: soshitara mata sakki no nee,
then again previous LK EX

265 .h che< ano sono kauntaa no hito
FRG INJ that counter LK person

266 ga kite nee,
NOM come:TE EX

267 N: .h sumimasen chotto kippu
excuse me a little ticket

268 1-misete-kudasai nante yuu
show-give:IMP:POL SOF say:NPT

no.-1
SE

269 I: w 1-wa-1
BCH

270 N: notte kara yo.
get on:TE after EX

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271 I: nn
BCH

272 N: sorede #a [( ) omotte . ne,
then INJ think:TE EX

273 N: moo dame ka to omotta
already no good QU QT think:PST

wake.]
SE

274 I: [1----------1]

275 N: sorede ne sono kippu o misete,
then EX that ticket ACC show:TE

276 N: .h anoo hoka-ni mo nan-nin-ka ne
INJ other also some people EX

277 N: [kippu] shiraber-areta no.
ticket check-PSS:PST SE

278 I: [nn]
BCH

279 N: tabun sutanbai no hito ga zenbu
maybe stand-by LK person NOM all

280 shiraber-areta to {omou-n desu
check-PSS:PST QT think:NPT-SE COP

kedo}
EX

281 I: {@ nn nn}
BCH BCH

282 N: de ichioo shirabete
and once check:TE

283 N: hai doomo nante ne,
ok thanks SOF EX

284 I: nn
BCH

285 N: nandemo nakatta no.
nothing NEG:PST SE

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286 N: .hh da: yokatta: [(to omotte ne,)]
INJ good:PST QT think:TE EX

287 I: [a:::a]
BCH

288 N: sorede yatto hikooki ga
then finally plane NOM

289 [ugoki-dashita no.]
move-start:PST SE

290 I: [(1-).h——1]

291 N: de aa mo kore de yatto ne,
and oh EM this with finally EX

292 N: .h moo "rochester" made ik-eru
EM Rochester up to go-PTN:NPT

to omotte
QT think:TE

293 I: ==nn
BCH

294 N: soshite "rochester" ni tsui..te,
then Rochester GL arrive:TE

295 N: mo tomodachi no toko ni itta toki
EM friend LK place to go:PST time

wa,
TOP

296 N: moo [#hotto shite ne,]
EM relief do:TE EX

297 I: [.h tsukareta]
get tired:PST

298 N: mo (tsukare) tte yuu no to ne
EM tired QT say NML and EX

299 N: de moo ni-do to ne,
and EM two-times EM EX

300 N: mo konna keiken
EM this kind experience

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301 shi-taku-nai kara to omotte,
do-want-NEG:NPT because QT think:TE

302 N: .h moo kaeri wa moo #basu de
EM return TOP EM bus INS

303 kaetta no.
return:PST SE

304 N: [moo kippu tsuka<] tsukatte hairu
EM ticket FRG use:TE enter:NPT

305 no {iya da} kara.
NML hate COP:NPT because

306 I: [a:n] {nn nn}
BCH BCH BCH

307 N: sorede basu de moo en-en-to ne,
then bus INS EM long EX

308 N: moo tokotoko tokotoko ne,
EM ONM ONM EX

309 N: r ano: "boston" made
FRG INJ Boston up to

kaette-kita no.
return-come:PST SE

310 N: .h soshitara kondo hora
then this time INJ

311 oofuku kippu kat-chatta deshoo?
round trip ticket buy-AUX:PST right

312 N: de nee,
and EX

313 N: katamichi no kippu o ne,
one way LK ticket ACC EX

314 N: #kyanseru shi-nakuchaanaranai
cancel do-must:NPT

315 N: =anoo
INJ

316 I: [nn nn nn]
BCH BCH BCH

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317 N: .h [ano] genkin ni
INJ cash GL

318 kae-nakuchaanaranai wake.
change-must:NPT SE

319 I: nn
BCH

320 N: .h soshitara ne,
then EX

321 N: ano hikoo> hikooki no toko ni
INJ FRG plane LK place to

322 mata #ik-anakuchaanaranai wake.
again go-must:NPT SE

323 H: .h de ittara ne,
and go:TARA EX

324 N: moo hikooki no tokoro< tokoro
EM plane LK place place

325 de nanka koo nanka
LOC something INJ something

326 kaite-kurete,
write-give:TE

327 N: kore o ginkoo ni motteike[ba,]
this ACC bank to take:BA

328 I: [nn]
BCH

329 N: genkin ga dema{su tte yuu
cash NOM out:POL:NPT QT say:NPT

no.}
SE

330 I: {nn. nn}
BCH BCH

331 N: .h de kondo ginkoo ni ittara
and this time bank to go:TARA

332 N: mata sain shi-nakuchaanaranai
again signature do-must:NPT

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333 wake.
SE

334 I: n:n
BCH

335 N: .h sorede mata soko de moo te
then again there LOC EM hand

336 ga furue-nagara
NOM tremble-while

337 N: yatto-no-koto-de sain shite ne,
finally signature do:TE EX

338 N: .h genkin ni shita-n desu keredo,
cash GL do:PST-SE COP EX

339 I: #o:::,
BCH

340 N: moo aayuu keiken wa,
again such experience TOP

341 N: ni-do to shi-taku-nai na tto
two-times EM do-want-NEG:NPT EX QT

omotte
think:TE

342 N: .h sore irai tanin no
that since other person LK

343 mibun-shoomeesho o [tsukau
identification card ACC use:NPT

344 no wa] {yameta} no.
NML TOP stop:PST SE

345 I: [hh] {1-yameta}----1
BCH stop:PST

English Translation of #12 (False ID)

5 N: When I was a student,
6 I: uh-huh
7 N: I'm still a student, but
8 I: yes.
9 N: When I was an undergraduate student,
10 I: uh-huh

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N: uh, you know ... there's that
you know ...
N: thing called "Stand-by", and
N: uh, you get a 50% discount,

I: oh yes, there is that sort of thing.
N: You know, a student discount?
I: Yes. uh-huh
N: Anyway, this happened
when I went over to my friend's place.

N: At that time I had just turned 21.

I: uh-huh
N: My age.
I: uh-huh
N: And, ... but at 21 ...

N: You lose the privilege.
N: And, my friend ...
N: I had a Thai girlfriend.
N: She's a female named Rosherinee

I: uh-huh
N: She ...
N: Her ID card is still ok, so

I: uh-huh
N: Since no one would know the difference
between a Thai and a Japanese,
N: she'd lend it to me, so she said.

I: oh yes.
N: And I had never done anything like that
before.
I: uh-huh
N: Getting half price discount
I: uh-huh
N: would be nice, right?
I: uh-huh
N: So I said okay and would borrow it, and

I: uh-huh
N: I did such a thing for the first time.

I: uh-huh
N: Then ...
N: uh, that ...
N: They don't let you on
until everyone who's paid the regular fare
has boarded.

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62
63 I: uh-huh
64 N: And then there finally was an opening, and
65 N: they let me c...
66
67 N: But before that,
68 N: I tried really hard with the signature,
69 but
70 N: it's very ...
71 N: difficult, you know, when the time comes.
72
73 N: My hand just shook and I couldn't sign it.
74 I: oh
75 N: And when I bought the ticket ...
76 N: there was a place to sign.
77
78 I: uh-huh
79 N: There ...
80 N: not at all ...
81 N: I signed a completely different
82 signature from the one on the ID.
83
84 N: Even the spelling
85 was wrong, and ...
86 N: because I'd never done it before, you see,
87 N: such things.
88 N: So I was really nervous.
89 N: I thought they'd find out (about my false
90 ID), and
91 N: I was so scared, and
92 I: uh-huh
93 N: my hand was shaking, and
94 I: uh-huh
95 N: I was like this, and
96 I: uh-huh
97 N: The spelling
98 was all off, and
99 I: uh-huh
100 N: it didn't look anything like the ID
101 signature.
102 I: uh-huh
103 N: But, anyway
104 N: Tthey didn't look that hard, and
105 N: I was able to buy the ticket.
106 N: I didn't want to have
107 the same kind of trouble on the way back,
108 so
109 N: I bought a round trip ticket.
110 N: And Rochester, New York,
111
112 I: uh-huh

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113 N: It's in Up State ...
114 N: I was going there ...
115 N: I have a friend there, and
116 N: I got a round trip ticket that far.
117 I: uh-huh
118 N: At that time
119 N: the weather wasn't very good, and
120 N: from Boston
121 N: to Rochester
122 there weren't any direct flights,
123 N: only on that day.
124 I: oh
125 N: I didn't know about that
until I boarded the plane
126 N: And first ...
127 N: I went to New York's La Guardia Airport, and
128
129 I: uh-huh
130 N: and I changed flights in La Guardia, and ...
131
132 N: Or did I?
133 N: Anyway I went there, and
134 N: then
135 I was going to go to Rochester.
136 I: uh-huh
137 N: Then ...
138 N: that's all right, all my bags ...
139
140 N: I checked in all the luggage for Rochester,
141 so
142 I: uh-huh
143 N: I thought everything was all right, and
144 N: I boarded the plane.
145 I: uh-huh
146 N: And I boarded, then ...
147 N: at La Guardia ...
148 I: uh-huh
149
150 N: everyone had to disembark.
151 I: uh-huh uh-huh
152 N: And I got down, then
153 N: with some mistake
154 my bags were unloaded from the plane.
155
156 N: Then ...
157 N: at that place
158 N: I said, "Oh! My bags were to go
159 to Rochester", but
160 I: uh-huh
161 N: Then the person in charge
162 said, "Since they already came out,

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163 N: could you check them in again."
164 so I was told.
165 I: oh, no.
166 N: And I was already ...
167
168 N: "Endo" was written really big on my bags.
169 N: "Endo" was my maiden name.
170 I: uh-huh
171 N: "Endo" was written on them.
172 I: uh-huh
173 N: Like "Toshiko Endo"
174 "Japan".
175 I: Oh.
176 N: These bags had come out.
177
178 I: [laugh]
179 N: I was getting so nervous.
180 N: Then I couldn't do anything else,
181 since they came out.
182 I: Yes.
183 N: Again I went to the check-in counter, and
184
185 I: uh-huh
186 N: I said "I had checked them in to Rochester,
187 but they were unloaded here by mistake", and
188
189 I: uh-huh
190 N: trouble started all over again, and
191 N: finally, without the name
192 been noticed,
193 I uh-huh
194 N: I boarded
195 as Rosheriinii Puradiganon.
196 I: uh-huh
197 N: Again they didn't let me board
198 until the very end.
199
200 I: [laugh]
201 N: Then finally I could board.
202
203 I: .hh
204 N: I was nervous the whole time
205 from Boston.
206
207 I: uh-huh
208 N: I thought
209 I'd never do this again.
210 I: [laugh]
211 N: But
212 I had to go, so
213 I: .h

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214 I: uh-huh
215 N: I boarded somehow.
216 N: The when I was about to board,
217 N: the agent at the check-in counter
218
219 N: commented that
220 my name was different.
221 N: [laugh] Then, then ...
222 I: [laugh]
223 N: I said yes, then
224 N: He asked, "How would you pronounce it?"
225 I: [laugh]
226 N: Then ...
227 N: this area (of my face) was all tense, so
228
229 I: oh
230 N: I said Rosheriinii, but
231
232 I: uh-huh
233 N: this area (of my face) was so tense
234 that I couldn't pronounce it.
235 I: [laugh]
236 N: I was made to say it 3 times.
237 I: [laugh]
238 N: He said "Huh? What? Say it again."
239
240 N: I was so nervous, and
241 I: [laugh]
242 N: I thought about what to do, and
243 N: finally ...
244 I: uh-huh
245 N: He asked, "What is your nationality?"
246 I: Then
247 N: I thought I'd be in real trouble if he asked
248 if Thais
249 were much darker.
250
251 N: But there are lots of different Thais, and
252 N: there are those with light skin.
253 I: uh-huh
254 N: Rosheriinii also
255 has really light skin.
256 I: uh-huh
257 N: I thought I'd tell him
258 that there are many kinds of Thais.
259 I: uh-huh
260 N: And, well, he didn't ask, and
261 N: I finally boarded the plane.
262 N: I felt really relieved.
263
264 N: Then again,

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265 the agent from the counter
266 came, and
267 N: asked "Excuse me. Could I see your tickets,
268 please?"
269 I: oh, no.
270 N: This was after I boarded.
271 I: uh-huh
272 N: Then I thought ( ),
273 N: I thought this was it.
274 I: [laugh]
275 N: Then I showed him the ticket, and
276 N: a few other people were asked to
277 show their tickets as well.
278 I: uh-huh
279 N: I think all the stand-by passengers
280 were checked.
281 I: uh-huh
282 N: He checked our tickets, and
283 N: and said "Thank you" ...
284 I: uh-huh
285 N: And there was no problem.
286 N: I thought that I was saved, and
287 I: oh
288 N: then finally the plane
289 began to move.
290 I: [laugh]
291 N: And finally ...
292 N: I thought I'd finally get to Rochester.
293 N: uh-huh
294 N: And I arrived at Rochester, and
295 N: and when I got to my friend's place,
296 N: I was so relieved, and ...
297 I: You must've been tired.
298 N: I was tired, and ...
299 N: never again,
300 N: I thought that I wou 't want to have
301 the same experience, an
302 N: on the way back I took bu
303
304 N: I didn't want to use the ticket, so ...
305
306 I: oh uh-huh
307 N: And by bus ... for a quite long distance ...
308 N: taking long time ...
309 N: I went back to Boston.
310 N: I had bought a round trip ticket,
311 right?
312 N: So ...
313 N: the return ticket,
314 N: I had to cancel.
315 N: You know.

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316 I: uh-huh
317 N: I had to cash it in.
318
319 I: uh-huh
320 N: So ...
321 N: I had to go back to
322 the airlines.
323 N: When I got there,
324 N: the agent at the airlines
325 wrote something
326 for me.
327 N: He told me, "Take it to a bank
328 I: uh-huh
329 N: and you can get it cashed."
330 I: uh-huh uh-huh
331 N: So when I went to the bank

332 N: I had to sign my name again.
333
334 I: uh-huh
335 N: Then again
336 while my hand was shaking,
337 N: I finally signed it, and
338 N: I was able to get the cash.
339 I: oh
340 N: That kind of experience,
341 I thought I'd never want to have again.
342 N: From that time on
343 I stopped borrowing
344 other people's IDs.
345 I: oh. You quit.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #13
TITLE: ALASKAN MOUNTAIN

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (11)
SEX: female
AGE: 20's
OCCUPATION: graduate student

RECORDING DATE: April, 1986

---

6 S: doo yatte maigo-n natta-n
how do:TE lost-GL become:PST-SE

desu ka,
COP QU

7 Y: watashi?
I

8 Y: watashi nandaka hara-ga-tatta kara,
I somehow get ungry:PST because

9 Y: =hitori tottottottotto-tte saki-ni
alone OMN ahead

10 itta-n desu.
go:PST-SE COP

11 Y: =nan datta kana,
what COP:PST MOD

12 Y: nanka shite-ta no.
something do-STA:PST SE

13 Y: hss.

14 S: nn
BCH

15 Y: tottottottottottotto-tte saki-ni
OMN ahead

16 itte
go:TE

17 Y: hss. anmari iki-sugi-1-chatte--1
so much go-exceed-AUX:TE

18 S: sss
INJ

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19 Y: maa kono toko wa nan-do-mo
INJ this place TOP many times

20 kita michi da kara
come:PST way COP because

21 Y: wakaru daroo to omotte
know COP:PRV QT think:TE

22 Y: yappari ip-po
expectedly one-step

machigae-mashita.
make mistake:POL:PST

23 S: nan-do kita michi de-mo,
many times come:PST way though

24 S: sore masshiro na-n deshoo,
that white LK-SE right?

%demo sore.
but that

25 Y: a. sore wa futsuu no haikingu.
oh that TOP ordinary LK hiking

26 Y: [haikingu tte yuu ka haikingu] to
hiking QT say or hinking QT

27 itte-mo*
say-though

28 S: [a. futsuu no haikingu. ha::] nn
oh ordinary LK hiking BCH BCH

29 Y: nihon no yamanobori ne,
Japan LK mountain climbing EX

30 S: ha ha ha ha.
BCH

31 Y: ... hito-tsu machigaeruto
one make mistake-TO

32 Y: =taihen na-n desu yo.
serious matter LK-SE COP EX

33 Y: =mukoo no yama ni 1-it-chau
other LK mountain to go-AUX:NPT

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kara ne.-1
because EX

34 Y: de hito-ban yo akashita no.
and one-night night pass:PST SE

35 Y: %iwa no soba de.
rock LK near LOC

36 Y: kowakatta,
be scared:PST

37 Y: %demo. .hh
but

38 S: =hitori-de?
alone

39 Y: nn datte kuma ga itsu
BCH because bear NOM when

40 dete-kuru ka wakan-nai-n da mo
out-come:NPT QU know-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX

41 S: ==hitori-de yo akashita no?
alone night passs:PST SE

42 Y: datte ne,
because EX

43 Y: =kaer-enakatta.
return-NEG:PST

44 Y: =moo makkura-n-nat-chatte
EM pitch dark-COP-become-AUX:TE

45 Y: =michi wakara-nakatta-n desu kara.
way know-NEG:PST-SE COP because

46 S: #ho:nto-ni:*
really

47 Y: sorede ne komatte
so EX in trouble:TE

48 Y: ichiban ookii iwa o mitsukete
most big rock ACC find:TE

49 Y: sono kage ni itte
that shadow to go:TE

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50 Y: nete-ta no.
sleep-STA:PST SE

51 Y: de yo nete-ta-n da ka
and FRG sleep-STA:PST-SE COP or

52 Y: neru ni mo ne-re-nai shi,
sleep for also sleep-PTN-NEG:NPT also

53 Y: samui shi tonikaku.
cold:NPT also anyway

54 Y: ... kaze ga tsuyoi shi::,
wind NOM strong:NPT also

55 S: nn

56 Y: datte fuyu de-mo ne,
because winter though EX

57 Y: ne ja-nakatta.
EX COP-NEG:PST

58 Y: =natsu de-mo zuibun yappari
summer though extremely expectedly

ne,
EX

59 Y: yoru samuku narimasu yo ne:*
night cold become:NPT EX EX

60 S: nn.

61 Y: de ne:*
and EX

62 Y: samukute sa:,
cold:TE EX

63 Y: .h komatte ne:*
in trouble:TE EX

64 Y: de ano: aru desho hora ano:
and INJ exist:NPT right? INJ INJ

65 jaketto o ne,
jacket ACC EX

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66 Y: ookime no jaketto atta
large size LK jacket exist:PST

no de
SE COP:TE

67 Y: 6-son naka ni hitori-de
that inside LOC alone

kurumatte-6
wrappted up:TE

68 Y: .hhh

69 S: kowaku-nakatta desu ka?
be scared-NEG:PST COP QU

70 Y: iya moo kowai
EM EM scared:NPT

71 Y: demo kuma ga kitara
but bear NOM come:TARA

72 Y: komaru na: to omoimashi[ta kedo]
in trouble EX QT think:POL:PST EX

nee*
EX

73 S: [deru-n desu ka,]
out:NPT-SE COP QU

74 Y: demasu yo,
out:POL:NPT EX

75 S: o{okii.}
big

76 Y: {detara}
out:TARA

77 Y: oshimai desu yo.
end:NPT COP EX

78 Y: ano higuma mitai no
INJ brown bear like NML

79 S: ho:nto-ni.
really

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80 Y: dondon deru-n desu.
one after another out:NPT-SE COP

81 S: shinda mane shite-mo dame.
die:PST pretending do-though no good

82 Y: da:me desu nee, %kekkyoku
no good COP EX in the end

yappari.
expectedly

83 S: n:n
BCH

84 Y: de komatte
and in trouble:TE

85 Y: ya kowakatta kedo
INJ scared:PST EX

86 Y: =soshite ne. .hh nanka.
then EX SOF

87 Y: (0.5) demo yo ga ne
but night NOM EX

ake-kakete( )
dawn-almost

88 Y: isoide moo kaette-kita no ne,
hurriedly INJ return-come:PST SE EX

89 Y: michi ga chotto akaruku natte
way NOM a little bright become:TE

90 Y: moo wakaru kara.
already know:NPT because

91 S: =nn
BCH

92 Y: =%isoide.
hurriedly

93 Y: .h soshite patto kitara ne
and OMN come:TARA EX

94 Y: kawaikatta
cute:PST

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95 Y: hitsujisan ga ne*
sheep NOM EX

96 Y: me no mae ni ne*
eye LK front LOC EX

97 Y: m( )koo mo michi ni mayotte ne
other also way in get lost:TE EX

98 Y: furafura-to
ONM

99 Y: yo yoru kurai desho?
FRG night dark:NPT right?

100 S: nn nn
BCH BCH

101 Y: pt kita no ne,
FRG come:PST SE EX

102 Y: .hh ha hitsuji da to omote
oh sheep COP QT think:TE

103 Y: watashi no t te ni sawatte
I LK FRG hand GL touch:TE

104 Y: nige-chatta kedo.
run away-AUX:PST EX

105 Y: kawai[katta:.]
cute:PST

106 S: [1------1]

107 S: de tasukatta-n desu ka,
and be saved:PST-SE COP QU

108 Y: =nn (ee) watashi
BCH yes I

kaette-kimashita yo:,
return-come:PST EX

109 Y: chanto michi wakatta kara.
exactly way know:PST because

110 Y: akaruku natte.
bright become:TE

111 [SIPPING NOISE]

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112 S: ano::: uchi made,
INJ house up to

113 Y: =#a uchi made ja-nai desu yo:.
oh house up to COP-NEG COP EX

114 Y: yama yama naka de.
mountain mountain in LOC

115 Y: tento made.
tent up to

116 S: #te a #tento made.
FRG oh tent up to

117 S: a so ka tento kara dete-tta wake
oh so QU tent from out-go:PST SE

118 %hitori-de.
alone

119 Y: hai.
yes

120 S: soshite aruite-itte
and walk-go:TE

121 Y: =hai
yes

122 S: maigo-n-natte
lost-COP-become:TE

123 Y: =hai
yes

124 S: kaer-[er-anaku natta to]
return-PTN-NEG become QT

125 Y: [aruite-te
walk-STA:TE

126 Y: yama nobotte]-itte ne
mountain climb-go:TE EX

127 Y: tokotoko tokotoko dondon
OMN OMN OMN

128 it-chatta-n desu.
go-AUX:PST-SE COP

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129 S: =son toki goshujin wa
that time husband TOP

130 nani shite-ta-n.
what do-STA:PST-SE

131 Y: tashika ne 1-buruuberii o
probably EX blueberry ACC

132 tsunde-mashi[ta ---1]
pick-STA:POL:PST

133 S: [1-dha-----1]
BCH

134 S: shinpai shi-nakatta-n {desu ka,}
worry do-NEG:PST-SE COP QU

135 Y: {ya shinpai} sshite-ta rashii desu
EM worry do-STA:PST EVD COP

yo,
EX

136 Y: .hh haitte-kitara
enter-come:TARA

137 Y: inakatta no.
exist:NEG:PST SE

138 Y: %tento n naka ni
tent LK inside LOC

139 Y: =sono mayonaka no.
that midnight LK

140 Y: .. yo no akegata no hayaku ni.
night LK dawn LK early at

141 Y: .h [sa]gashi ni itta-n desu tte
search for go:PST-SE COP QT

142 S: [a:]
BCH

143 Y: =a yo ga aketa totan-ni
oh night NOM dawn:PST as soon as

144 Y: de watashi kotchi gawa kara
and I this side from

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145 kaette-kite %yama no.
return-come:TE mountain LK

146 S: 1--1

147 Y: ==de koko ni yama ga aru
and here LOC mountain NOM exist:NPT

148 deshoo? %hitotsu.
right? one

149 S: =nn
BCH

150 Y: koko ni hoka no yama ga
here LOC other LK mountain NOM

atte
exist:TE

151 Y: koko yama futatsu atte
here moutain two exist:TE

152 S: nn
BCH

153 Y: koo yatte
like this do:TE

154 Y: .hh atashi tokotoko-tte itte
I OMN go:TE

155 Y: kotchi it-chatta-n ne
this way go-AUX:PST-SE EX

156 S: nn
BCH

157 Y: de taihen de koo
and hard COP:TE this way

mawatte kaette-[kita.]
go round:TE return-come:PST

158 S: [nn nn nn]
BCH BCH BCH

159 Y: kare wa kotchi o koo sagashi ni .hh
he TOP this way ACC EX search for

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160 S: =nn nn nn
BCH BCH BCH

161 S: dono gurai aruite dono gurai no
how much about walk:TE how much LK

162 kyori datta-n desu ka,
distance COP:PST-SE COP QU

163 %sono mayotta [chiten made wa.]
that get lost:PST point up to TOP

164 Y: [a mayotta chiten] made,
oh get lost:PST point up to

165 S: nn
yes

166 Y: mayotta tte yuu ka ano.
get lost:PST QT say or INJ

167 S: (0.5) to{matta tokoro ne,}
stop:PST place EX

168 Y: {dondon dondon} itt<
OMN OMN FRG

169 Y: tomatta tokoro made wa ne,
stop:PST place up to TOP EX

170 Y: sonna tooku-nai.
not very far-NEG:NPT

171 Y: =ni-jikan san-jikan kurai kana:*
two-hours three-hours about MOD

172 S: sore de-mo sonna-ni
that though that much

173 Y: ichiban itta tokoro made wa
most go:PST place up to TOP

174 daitai yo-ji go-jikan gurai
about four-FRG five-hours about

kakatta.
take:PST

175 S: khhh .hh ande s konna tokoro ni
and such place LOC

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176 hito wa anmari ko-nai-n desho,
people TOP not very come-NEG-SE right?

177 Y: dare-mo imas-en yo,
no one exist:POL-NEG:NPT EX

178 Y: sono go-jikan
that five-hours

179 Y: =atta tento no chiten no tokoro
exist:PST tent LK point LK place

180 made,
up to

181 Y: (0.6) n:n yama no fumoto kara,
INJ mountain LK foot from

182 S: nn
BCH

183 Y: (0.9) go-jikan roku-jikan gurai
five-hours six-hours about

184 kakaru-n desu yo ne*
take:NPT-SE COP EX EX

185 S: =nn
BCH

186 Y: .h de soko made machi kara soko
and there up to town from there

187 made kuruma de kuru noni
up to car INS come:NPT in order to

188 Y: yo-jikan 1-kararu-n desu
four-hours take:NPT-SE COP

yo ne,-1
EX EX

189 S: tsh:::
BCH

190 S: yoku ikite-masu ne %anata.
well live-STA:NPT:POL EX you

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English Translation of #13 (Alaskan Montain)

S: How did you get lost?
Y: Me?
Y: I was angry, so
Y: I went ahead by myaself
hurriedly on foot.
Y: How did it go?
Y: I was doing something.
Y: Hmmm.
S: uh-huh
Y: Hurriedly on foot, I went ahead, and

Y: Hmmm. And I went too far, and ...
S: Hmmm
Y: Well, this was
a road that I had come to many times, so
Y: I thought I knew it well enough, and
Y: I'd made a mistake.
S: Even though you had been there several times
before,
S: it was snow white, right?
Y: No, it was a regular hike.
Y: I said it was a hike, but
it's not really ...
S: It was a usual hike. I see.
Y: You know, mountain climbing ...
S: Oh yes.
Y: If you make one mistake,
Y: you're in trouble
Y: because you end up on other mountains.
Y: I stayed up in a mountain all night
Y: by a big rock.
Y: I was really scared
Y: really.
S: You were alone?
Y: Because
I didn't know when a bear would come out.
S: You sat up all night by yourself?
Y: Because
Y: I couldn't get back.
Y: It was already pitch dark, and
Y: I couldn't see the roads, so ...
S: Really?
Y: so I was in a mess, and
Y: I found the bigest rock, and
Y: went near it, and
Y: slept.
Y: And I slept or ...
Y: I tried sleep but I couldn't ...
Y: It was cold ...

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54 Y: And the wind was really blowing ...
55 S: uh-huh
56 Y: You know, even in winter ...
57 oh, no ...
58 Y: even during the summer,
59 Y: it gets pretty cold at night.
60 S: Hmm.
61 Y: And
62 Y: It was so cold, and
63 Y: I was really in for it, and ...
64 Y: I had my, uh, my jacket,
65 you know,
66 Y: Since it was fairly big, so
67 Y: I wrapped myself in it, and
68 Y: .hhh
69 S: Weren't you scared?
70 Y: Yes, of course.
71 Y: If a bear came out,
72 Y: I'd really be in trouble, I thought.
73 S: Do they really come out?
74 Y: Yes.
75 S: They're big?
76 Y: If one comes out
77 Y: that's it.
78 Y: They're brown bears.
79 S: Really?
80 Y: They keep coming.
81 S: Even if you pretend to be dead, it's no good?
82 Y: No, that doesn't work in the end.
83 S: Hmm
84 Y: So I was in a mess, and
85 Y: I was really scared.
86 Y: Then ... somehow ...
87 Y: At dawn
88 Y: I went back right away.
89 Y: The road became bright, and
90 Y: I could see where I was going, so
91 S: uh-huh
92 Y: I hurried, and
93 Y: I came (to a place), then
94 Y: it was really cute.
95 Y: A sheep
96 Y: came out in front of me.
97 Y: It was also lost, and
98 Y: was moving along unsteadily.
99 Y: It's dark at night, right?
100 S: uh-huh
101 Y: It just came out.
102 Y: I thought it was a sheep, and
103 Y: it brushed against my hand, and
104 Y: it ran off.

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105 Y: It was really cute.
106 S: [laugh]
107 S: Were you all right?
108 Y: Yes, I returned all right,
109 Y: since I figured the roads out,
110 Y: since it became light.
111 [SIPPING NOISE]
112 S: uh, (you made it back) to your house?
113 Y: No. Not back home.
114 Y: Back to the mountain.
115 Y: To the tent.
116 S: Oh, to the tent.
117 S: Right. You went from the tent
118 by yourself?
119 Y: That's right.
120 S: And you went on foot, and ...
121 Y: Right.
122 S: you got lost, and ...
123 Y: Yes.
124 S: you got lost, right?
125 Y: I kept walking, and
126 Y: I climbed the mountain, and
127 Y: I kept going on and on.
128
129 S: What was you husband
130 doing then?
131 Y: I think he
132 was picking blueberries.
133 S: [laugh]
134 S: Wasn't he worried about you?
135 Y: Yes, it seemed that he was.
136 Y: When I went into the tent.
137 Y: He wasn't there
138 Y: in the tent.
139 Y: At midnight ...
140 Y: At that early in the morning ...
141 Y: He said he had gone looking for me.
142 S: oh
143 Y: At dawn
144 Y: just as I had returned
145 around this way.
146 S: [laugh]
147 Y: Here was a mountain right?
148 One mountain.
149 S: uh-huh
150 Y: And here was another mountain, and
151 Y: there were two mountains, and
152 S: uh-huh
153 Y: like this
154 Y: I kept going, and
155 Y: I went this way, you see.

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156 S: uh-huh
157 Y: It was really hard and I came around this
way.
158 S: uh-huh
159 Y: He came looking around this way ...
160 S: Hmm
161 S: How long did you walk and what was the
162 distance
163 to the place you got lost?
164 Y: To where I got lost ...
165 S: uh-huh
166 Y: The place where I got lost? well ...
167 S: The place you stayed up all night.
168 Y: I kept going and going, and
169 Y: To the place I stoped ... well ...
170 Y: It wasn't that far.
171 Y: It must've been around 2 or 3 hours.
172 S: But even still.
173 Y: The furthest I went
174 must've taken about 4 or 5 hours.
175 S: People don't often come around this area,
176 right?
177 Y: There was no one.
178 Y: Five hours ...
179 Y: Up to the place the tent was
180
181 Y: from the bottom of the mountain.
182 S: uh-huh
183 Y: it would take
184 about 5 or 6 hours
185 S: Hmm
186 Y: And from the town to that point
187 by car,
188 Y: it would take 4 hours.
189 S: oh
190 S: You really went through a lot.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #14
TITLE: BUS ACCIDENT

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (12)
SEX: female
AGE: 20's
OCCUPATION: graduate student

[Recorded by John Hinds.]

---

8 W: ichido wa nee.
once TOP EX

9

10 W: (0.8) itsu datta kana:: ee
when COP:PST MOD INJ

11 tonikaku noosu-karoraina karoraina
anyway North Carolina Carolina

12 ni iru toki nee.
LOC exist:NPT time EX

13 W: sugoku chiisana gakkoo datta no ne,
very small school COP:PST SE EX

14 H: nn
BCH

15 W: sorede: machi made iku
and town up to go:NPT

noni:
in order to

16 W: (0.7) gakkoo kara basu ga: minibasu
school from bus NOM minibus

17 ga dete-ru wake.
NOM leave-STA:NPT SE

18 H: nn nn
BCH BCH

19 W: tatoeba ichi-nichi ni san-kai
for example one day in three times

gurai ne,
about EX

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20 H: nn
BCH

21

22 W: de: aru: fuyu: datta kana*
and one winter COP:PST MOD

23 W: nanka yuki ga futte-te ne*
INJ snow NOM fall-STA:TE EX

24 H: nn
BCH

25 W: sorede: betsu-ni: nanka
and nothing particular INJ

26 nan to mo omowazu-ni
what QT also think:NEG

27 W: sono basu ni notte
that bus GL ride:TE

28 W: dauntaùn ni itta wake.
down town to go:PST SE

29 H: nn.
BCH

30

31 W: sorede mat ano: kaerimichi-ni gake
and FRG INJ on the way back cliff

32 kara ot-chatta no.
from fall-AUX:PST SE

33 W: sono ano: kuruma ga ne~
INJ INJ car NOM EX

34 W: gake kara ochi-chat.a no.
cliff from fall-AUX:PST SE

35 W: %nanka 'ntenshu no misu de.
INJ driver LK mistake with

36 W: (1.0) [sore-to tonikaku sono toki:
and anyway that time

37 nanka.]
INJ

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38 H: [wa:::::.]
BCH

39 W: nanka ko: korokoro hikkurikaette-ru
INJ INJ OMN turn over-STA:NPT

40 toki ni ne,
time at EX

41

42 W: a moo dame da to
oh already no good COP:NPT QT

omotta.
think:PST

43 H: (0.85) 6- dooshite ikite-r-areta
how live-STA-PTN:PST

44 no-6 1---1
SE

45 W: ==wakan-nai.
know-NEG:NPT

46

47 W: nanka hachi-nin gurai soko ni
INJ eight-people about there LOC

48 ita-n da kedo ne,
exist:PST-SE COP though EX

49 H: nn
BCH

50 W: ==amari minna kega shin-akatta no.
not very all injury do-NEG:PST SE

51 W: =demo: kuruma dakya pechanko
but car only:TOP flat

ni natte
GL become:TE

52 W: kowareta no yo,
break:PST SE EX

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53 H: a soo~
BCH

54 W: ==n dakara mattaku nanka kuruma
BCH so at all INJ car

55 nanka nan te yuu kana:*
SOF how QT say MOD

56 W: ano: (1.4) ee
INJ INJ

sakasama-n natte ne::~
up side down-GL become:TE EX

57 W: de ningen ga naka kara
and people NOM inside from

58 hipparidas-areta tte kanji.
drag out-PSS:PST QT appearance

59 H: anata wa sakasama ni naranakatta
you TOP up side down GL become:PST

60 no?
EX

61 W: natte-ta natte-ta
become-STA:PST become-STA:PST

62 H: natte-taa,
become-STA:PST

63 W: n demo dakara mado kara
INJ but so window from

64 hipparidas-are[ta no.]
drag out-PSS:PST SE

65 H: [ha:::.]
BCH

66 W: 1----1

67 H: (2.5) basu ga sakasama ni
bus NOM up side down GL

68 natte-ta-n desho?
become-STA:PST-SE right?

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69 W: ==natte-ta nn.
become-STA:PST yes

70 H: de anata mo sakasama
and you also up side down

[ni natta nc?]
GL become:PST SE

71 W: [minna sak] dakara ano: ee (C.75)
all FRG so INJ INJ

72 dauntaun ni sugoku ironna: ... ano:
downtown GL very various INJ

73 kaimono nanka shita hito takusan
shopping SOF do:PST people many

74 ita no ne,
exist:PST SE EX

75 H: nn
BCH

76 W: dakara tamago motte-ru hito
so egg caryy-STA:NPT person

mo ita shi
also exist:PST also

77 W: juusu mo motte-ru hito mo
juice also caryy-STA:NPT person also

ita shi
exist:PST also

78 W: dakara soo yuu nc ga betchari atama
so such say NML NOM OMN head

79 ni tsui-tari sugokatta kedo.
GL attach-also horrible:PST EX

80 H: a hidoi [wa ne.]
oh horrible:NPT EX EX

81 W: [son toki wa.]
that time TOP

82 H: de kega shi-nakatta?
and injury do-NEG:PST

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83 W: n kata chotto utte
BCH sholder a little hit:TE

84 W: nanka ni-san-nichi:: nanka chotto
INJ two-three-says INJ a little

85 itakatta kedo.
painful:PST EX

86 H: nn
BCH

87 W: =sore dake kana,
that only MOD

88 H: a soo rakki ne.
oh right lucky EX

89 W: nn
BCH

English Translation of #14 (Bus Accident)

8 W: One time, you know.
9
10 W: When was it? Well, anyway,
11 this was when I was in North Carolina.
12
13 W: It was a really small school.
14 H: uh-huh
15 W: And to get to town
16 W: there was a mini-bus that left from school.
17
18 H: uh-huh
19 W: It ran about 3 times a day.
20 H: uh-huh
21
22 W: It was one winter, I think.
23 W: It was snowing.
24 H: uh-huh
25 W: And then
26 without tninking at all,
27 W: I got on that bus, and
28 W: I went downtown.
29 H: uh-huh.
30
31 W: Then on the way back,
32 the bus went off a cliff.
33 W: The bus
34 W: went off a cliff

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W: becuase of the driver's fault.
W: Well, anyway
somehow, at that time.
H: oh my
W: When it was turning over

W: I thought that was the end.
H: How did you live through that

W: I don't know.

W: There were about 8 of us,
but
H: uh-huh
W: the people got away with only minor injury.
W: But the bus was totalled, and
W: was finished.
H: Really?
W: It was completely ... the car ... somehow ...
what would you say?
W: It was turned over, and
W: And it was like ... the people inside it
had to be dragged out.
H: You weren't turned over?

W: Yes, I was, I was.
H: You were.
W: That's why we were
pulled out from the windows.
H: oh
W: [laugh]
H: The bus was turned over, right?

W: Yes.
H: And you were flipped over also?
W: Everybody was ... so ...
downtown ... there were lots of...
there were a lot of people who went
for shopping.
H: uh-huh
W: So there were people with eggs,
W: people with juice,
W: So everyone was a mess
with the food and drinks they had bought.
H: That must've been awful.
W: At that time ...
H: You didn't get hurt?
W: I hit my shoulder (against something), and
W: and it hurt
two or three days.

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86 H: uh-huh
87 W: That was about all.
88 H: Then you were lucky.
89 W: uh-huh

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DATA ID NUMBER: #15
TITLE: FATHER'S DEATH

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (13)
SEX: female
AGE: 40's
OCCUPATION: actress

[Recorded and transcribed by Polly Sztrowski from the TV interview show "Tetsuko no Heya". (The transcription conventions for this narrative differ from those used for other narratives.)]

---

6 M: sorekara toru hoo wa
then take (pictures) side TOP

7 daisuki ni narimashita.
like GL become:POL:PST

8 M: iroiro chichi kara osowatte,
various father from learn:TE

9 K: a. shasin o?
oh pictures ACC

10 M: ee. toru hoo mo daisuki
yes take side also like

11 ni narimashita.
GL become:POL:PST

12 K: a. soo desu (ka).
oh right COP:NPT QU

13 M: ee. sorekara anshitsu tte
yes and dark room QT

14 aru-n desu yo ne.
exist:NPT-SE COP EX EX

15 K: ee.
BCH

16 M: de, soko e haitte,
and there GL enter:TE

17 M: anoo, hikinobashi tte aru-n
INJ enlargement QT exist:NPT-SE

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desu yo.
COP EX

18 K: ee.
BCH

19 M: sore o, anoo, tetsudatte,
that ACC INJ help:TE

20 M: anoo, me ga totemo yokatta mon desu
INJ eye NOM very good:PST SE COP

21 kara.
because

22 K: araa.
BCH

23 M: soo yuu, koo, chiisai no o ne,
such say INJ small NML ACC EX

24 hikinobashite,
enlarge:TE

25 M: koo yaru no ga suki na-n
this manner do:NPT NML NOM like LK-SE

desu yo.
COP EX

26 K: ja, ima de-mo odeki-ni-naru no?
then now though can:HON:NPT SE

27 M: imaa, chichi ga ikite-ru toki
now father NOM live-STA:NPT time

wa ne,
TOP EX

28 M: anoo, are na-n desu yo.
INJ that LK-SE COP EX

29 M: chotto nakunar-imashita mon de,
a little die-POL:PST SE COP:TE

30 K: a. soo desu (ka).
oh right COP:NPT QU

31 M: hai.
yes

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32 K: wari-to saikin desu ka.
rather recently COP:NPT QT

33 M: kyonen no shi-gatsu nijuuku-nichi
last year LK April twenty ninth

desu.
COP:NPT

34 K: araa.
BCH

35 M: anoo, chotto, ee, kootoogan de,
INJ a little INJ throat cancer with

36 K: soo desu ka.
right COP:NPT QT

37 M: ee.
BCH

38 K: oi-, otoosama oikutsu datta no?
FRG father how old COP:PST SE

39 M: ano ne, nanajuu-san desu.
INJ EX seventy three COP:NPT

40 K: nanka, sono toki desu ka.
INJ that time COP:NPT QU

41 K: otoosama no toko, otoosama wa
father LK place father TOP

42 daitai shashin utsus-areru no
generally picture take-PSS:NPT NML

43 wa okirai na kata dat-
TOP hate LK person COP

44 M: moo, daikirai datta-n desu yo nee.
EM hate COP:PST-SE COP EX EX

45 K: nn.
BCH

46 M: de, soree, nn, soo yuu no tte, nanka
and INJ INJ such say NML QT INJ

47 sorekoso, chotto reikan tte
EM a little inspiration QT

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48 yuu no kashira.
say NML MOD

49 M: nanika, anoo, yoku hito ga
something INJ often person NOM

50 nakunaru toki tte,
die:NPT time QT

51 M: koo, nanka, koo, yobiyoseru tte yuu
INJ INJ INJ call:NPT QT say

52 no ar-imasu deshoo?
NML exist-POL:NPT right?

53 K: ee.
yes

54 M: maa, sore ka doo ka wakan-nai-n desu
INJ that or how or know-NEG:NPT-SE COP

55 kedo ne,
EX EX

56 M: chotto fushigi na koto ga
a little strange LK NML NOM

57 atta-n desu kedo,
exist:PST-SE COP EX

58 M: yo- yoroshii desu ka.
FRG ok COP QU

59 K: ii desu yo.
ok COP EX

60 M: anoo, zenzen ne, ano maa,
INJ at all EX INJ INJ

61 omimai wa tokidoki itte-mashita
visiting TOP sometime go-STA:POL:PST

kedo ne,
EX EX

62 K: ee. tookyoo de,
BCH Tokyo LOC

63 M: ee. ee. tookyoo desu kedo,
yes yes Tokyo COP:NPT EX

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64 M: anoo, nanka, kazoku de, zen'in de
INJ INJ family with all with

ne,
EX

65 ik-anakyaikenai tte yuu ki
go-must:NPT QT say mind

ni natte,
GL become:TE

66 M: anoo, sorede, sono maa, minna de
INJ then INJ INJ all with

67 itta wake desu yo.
go:PST SE COP EX

68 K: ee. toku-ni, sorehodo
BCH especially so

69 seppatsumatta jootai de-wa-naku.
urgent condition COP-TOP-NEG

70 M: ja-nai-n desu.
COP-NEG:NPT-SE COP

71 K: aa soo.
oh right

72 M: tada, anoo, byooin ni
only INJ hospital LOC

73 nyuuin shite-ru tte yuu
be hospitalized do-STA:NPT QT say

koto de,
NML COP:TE

74 K: ee.
BCH

75 M: sorede ittara,
so go:TARA

76 M: anoo, moo, kanari ne, yasehosotte,
INJ EM very EX get thin:TE

77 M: moo, kok kara kuda o tooshite,
EM here from tube ACC pass:TE

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78 M: hidoi-n desu yo.
horrible:NPT-SE COP EX

79 M: kootoogan desu kedo.
throat cancer COP:NPT EX

80 M: anoo, shokuji deki-mas-en kara ne,
INJ meal can-POL-NEG:NPT because EX

81 M: de, moo, yasehosotte-mashita kara,
and EM get thin-STA:POL:PST because

82 M: aa, dame kana: nante
oh no good MOD SOF

83 omotte-mashita kedo
think-STA:POL:PST though

84 K: ee.
BCH

85 M: genki-yoku shaberu-n desu yo ne.
cheerfully speak:NPT-SE COP EX EX

86 K: aa.
BCH

87 M: konna-ni yase-chatte naa, sorede,
this much thin-AUX:TE EX and

88 nanka yami-joozu no shini-beta
INJ sick well LK die unskillfully

89 da to ka itte,
COP QT QT say:TE

90 M: shabette-ru-n desu yo ne.
speak-STA:NPT-SE COP EX EX

91 K: ee.
BCH

92 M: de, sono toki, itsumo kamera o
and that time always camera ACC

93 mot-anai-n desu yo.
caryy-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX

94 K: ee.
BCH

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95 M: de, yon-mai,
and four-CLS

96 K: anata ga ...
you NOM

97 M: ee, yon-mai nokotte-ru kara,
yes four-CLS remain-STA:NPT because

98 M: motteikoo to omotte,
take:PRV QT think:TE

99 M: motte-ta-n desu yo.
take-STA:PST-SE COP EX

100 K: ee.
BCH

101 M: sore-jaa,
then

102 K: kazoku de irashite,
family with go:HON:TE

103 M: totte-ageyoo ka. ee. totte-ageyoo
take-give:PRV QU INJ take-give:PRV

104 ka tte tte ne,
QU QT say:TE EX

105 K: otoosama.
father

106 M: de, kirai na noni ne,
and hate LK though EX

107 K: n.
BCH

108 M: koo, kamera no hoo muku-n
INJ camera LK direction face:NPT-SE

desu yo.
COP EX

109 K: ee.
BCH

110 M: sorede, anoo, kodomo mo ne,
and INJ child also EX

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111 tsureteiki-mashita kara,
take-POL:PST because

112 M: jaa, mago to issho-ni
then grand child with together

doo tte ne,
how QT EX

113 K: n.
BCH

114 M: anoo, issho-ni pachipachi-to totte,
INJ together OMN take:TE

115 M: sono yon-mai totta wake desu yo
INJ four-CLS take:PST SE COP EX

ne.
EX

116 K: ee. anoo, nokotte-ta no ne, sono
BCH INJ remain-STA:PST SE EX INJ

117 fuirumu ga nokotte-ta no o
film NOM remain-STA:PST NML ACC

118 omochi-ni-natta no ne.
take:HON:PST SE EX

119 M: soo na-n desu.
right LK-SE COP

120 M: sore ga dooshite yon na no ka
that NOM why four LK SE QU

121 wakan-nai-n desu kedo ne,
know-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX EX

122 K: aa.
BCH

123 M: yon te, anmari yoku-nai rashii
four QT not very good-NEG:NPT EVD

124 desu kedo ne,
COP EX EX

125 K: n. sore wa, soshite, atarashii no
BCH that TOP and new NML

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126 wa irete,
TOP put:TE

127 M: irete-ik-imasu yo ne.
put-go-POL:NPT EX EX

128 K: demo, maa,
but INJ

129 M: de, watashi tte, soo yuu toko
and I QT such say place

130 ari-masu kara,
exist-POL:NPT because

131 K: karui kanji de
light feeling with

motte-rashita-n desho?
take-STA:HON:PST-SE right?

132 M: soo na-n desu.
right LK-SE COP

133 K: n.
BCH

134 M: sorede, anoo, maa, minna shabette
and INJ INJ all speak:TE

135 ne,
EX

136 M: jaa, anoo, watashi, nanika
then INJ I something

137 attara yonde ne, toka
exist:TARA call:IMP EX or something

itte,
say:TE

138 M: anoo, ja, kaeru wa yo:, nante
INJ then return:NPT EX EX SOF

139 M: baa-to kaetta-n desu yo.
OMN return:PST-SE COP EX

140 K: ee.
BCH

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141 M: de, uchi e tsuite,
and house GK arrive:TE

142 M: go-fun-go ni ne, denwa
five-minutes-after at EX telephone

ga ki-mashite,
NOM come-POL:TE

143 M: sakki nakunar-imashita, nante,
a while ago die-POL:PST SOF

144 ano:, oneesan kara denwa
EX older sister from telephone

ar-imashite,
exist-POL:TE

145 K: aa.
BCH

146 M: bikkuri shit-chatta-n desu yo.
surprise do-AUX:PST-SE COP EX

147 M: dakara, sore ga saigo datta-n
so that NOM last COP:PST-SE

desu.
COP

148 K: donna shashin ga dekita-n
what kind picture NOM come out:PST-SE

desu ka?
COP QU

149 M: sore ga nee, chanto-ne, kamera no
that NOM EX straight camera LK

150 hoo muite ne,
direction face:TE EX

151 K: ee.
BCH

152 M: koo, nan te yuu no kashira.
INJ what QT say LK MOD

153 M: hontoni, koo, kamera ni sugaru mitai
really INJ camera GL cling like

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154 no ne, hyoojoo o shite,
NML EX expression ACC do:TE

155 K: ee. ee.
BCH BCH

156 M: sorede, mago to wa chanto
and grand child with TOP tightly

157 te o ne, nigitte ne,
hand ACC EX hold:TE EX

158 K: a soo.
BCH

159 M: ee. soo yuu shashin ga ba, sore
BCH such say picture NOM FRG that

160 mo zenzen pinboke
also not at all out of focus

ja-nai-n desu yo.
COP-NEG:NPT-SE COP EX

161 K: a soo.
oh right

162 M: de, haha ni sore o agemashita
and mother GL that ACC give-POL:PST

163 kedo nee,
EX EX

164 K: n.
BCH

165 M: de, fushigi desu nee.
and strange COP:NPT EX

166 K: n.
BCH

167 M: ima, koo kerokero
now like this calmly

168 shabette-masu kedo nee,
speake-STA:POL:NPT EX EX

169 M: maa, sono toki wa, chotto ne,
INJ that time TOP a little EX

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```
170      dakara, soo  yuu tokoro tte
         so      such say place  QT

171      aru       mitai desu yo.
         exist:NPT EVD   COP  EX

172  K:  soo na no ne, %kitto.
         so  KL SE EX   surely

173  M:  ma, soo  yuu mono  ga, yahari
         INJ such say thing NOM expecdedly

174      ningen no ikite-ru     tte koto
         human  LK live-STA:NPT QT  NML

175      na no kamoshirenai shi ne,
         LK SE maybe        als EX
```

English Translation of #15 (Father's Death)

```
6    M:  I really came to like taking photos, and
7
8    M:  I learnd a lot from my father, and ...
9    K:  Oh.  About photos?
10   M:  Yes.  I really got to like taking them.
11
12   K:  Oh, really?
13   M:  Yes.  We had a dark room.
14
15   K:  uh-huh
16   M:  And we'd go in there, and
17   M:  enlarging photographs ...
18   K:  uh-huh.
19   M:  I used to help him with it
20   M:  because my eyes were really good.
21
22   K:  Really?
23   M:  We'd enlarge small photos.
24
25   M:  I like doing things like that.
26   K:  Can you still do that now?
27   M:  Now ... when my father was still living ...
28   M:  you know ...
29   M:  He passed away, so ...
30   K:  Oh, I see.
31   M:  Yes.
32   K:  Did that happen rather recently?
33   M:  (He died) last year on April 29th.
34   K:  Oh.
35   M:  From cancer of the larynx.
```


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K: Really?
M: Yes.
K: How old was he?
M: 73.
K: Was it then?
K: Your father's place ...
your father didn't really like having his
photo taken.
M: He hated it.
K: Hmm.
M: And that ... that is ...
you might call inspiration?

M: Somehow, um, when a person is about to die,

M: he calls people for something,
you know?
K: Yes.
M: Well, I don't know if it was that or not,
but
M: a strange thing happened.

M: Can I tell you about it?
K: Yes, of course.
M: Sometimes I went to visit him in the
hospital, but ...
K: uh-huh. In Tokyo?
M: Yes. Yes. In Tokyo ...
M: Somehow all of us in the family
felt we should go, and
M: so, anyway, we all
went.
K: uh-huh. But it wasn't that it was
his last time to see you.
M: No.
K: I see.
M: No, he was just staying in the hospital, so

K: uh-huh
M: so we went, then
M: uh, he had already become quite thin, and
M: he had a tube inserted in him from here, and
M: it was terrible.
M: It was cancer of the larynx.
M: And he couldn't eat anything, so
M: he'd become so thin, so
M: I didn't think he'd make it much longer.

K: Yes.
M: He spoke well.
K: oh

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87 M: He said, "I have gotten so thin.
88 I am good at getting sick, but not at dying."
89
90 M: He talked on.
91 K: uh-huh
92 M: I didn't usually
93 carry my camera.
94 K: Yes.
95 M: And four shots ...
96 K: You ...
97 M: Yes, since I had four shots left,
98 M: I thought I'd bring it along, and
99 M: so I did.
100 K: uh-huh.
101 M: Then ...
102 M: the whole family went there together, and
103 M: I said, "Let me take your picture.
104 Let me take it." and
105 K: Your father ...
106 M: And even though he didn't like having his
picture taken.
107 K: Hmm.
108 M: He looked toward the camera.
109 K: Yes.
110 M: And since we had brought all the children
111 along,
112 M: I said, "How about with the grandchildren."
113 K: uh-huh
114 M: I took his photo with them, and
115 M: I took the four pictures.
116 K: uh-huh. So the remaining ...
117 you brought the left-over film,
118 right?
119 M: That's right.
120 M: I don't know why
121 there were four left.
122 K: oh
123 M: "Four" isn't supposed to be very good,
124 you know.
125 K: Hmm. And so then, you didn't
126 put in a new film,
127 M: You usually put a new film, right?
128 K: But, well ...
129 M: And I am like that, so ...
130
131 K: You brought it without thinking too much
about it, right?
132 M: Yes.
133 K: Hmm.
134 M: Well, anyway, we talked, and
135

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136 M: Then I said,
137 "Call me if anything happened." and
138 M: And I said, "See you later"
139 M: And I quickly left.
140 K: uh-huh
141 M: And I got home, and
142 M: five minutes later, the telephone rang, and
143 M: My sister said,
144 "Father has just passed away." and ...
145 K: I see.
146 M: I was surprised.
147 M: So that was the last time (I got to see him alive.)
148 K: How did the pictures turn out?
149 M: You know,
150 he looked straight at the camera, and ...
151 K: Yes.
152 M: How can I put it?
153 M: You know, it was really like he was hanging
154 onto it.
155 K: Yes. Yes.
156 M: And he was grasping his grandchildren's
157 hands,
158 K: Is that right?
159 M: They were photos like that ...
160 and not out of focus at all.
161 K: Really?
162 M: And I gave them to my mother.
163
164 K: Hmm.
165 M: And it was strange, you know.
166 K: Hmm
167 M: I'm talking like this calmly, but
168 you know,
169 M: at that time ... well, things like that
170 do happen.
171
172 K: It seems that way.
173 M: Well, maybe that kind of thing is
174 part of living.

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DATA ID NUMBER: #16
TITLE: OLD FARMER IN MANCHURIA

SPEAKER ID NUMBER: (14)
SEX: male
AGE: 70's
OCCUPATION: actor

[Recorded from the TV talk show "Subarashiki nakama".]

9 M: hijoo-ni inshoo ni fukai no
extremely impression for deep NML

10 wa desu nee.
TOP COP EX

11 M: .h jamsu kara moo sukoshi i: kita
from EM a little FRG north

12 no hoo ni yor-imashita
LK direction LOC approach-POL:PST

tokoro ni desu ne.
place LOC COP EX

13 M: .h seeshoonen giyuu-tai tte no
youth volunteer-army QT NML

14 ga kite-[ta-n desu.]
NOM come-STA:PST-SE COP

15 S: [hai.]
BCH

16 O: =ha ha ha
BCH

17 M: ==de sore o rokuon ni toroo
and that ACC record for take:PRV

18 to omo-imashite desu nee.
QT think-POL:TE COP EX

19 M: shichi-nin bakari ma a: kakari
seven-people about INJ INJ member

20 o tsurete desu ne.
ACC take:TE COP EX

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21 M: sono chi#i:sana kanson no
that small small village LK

22 eki ni ori-tachimashita-n.
station GL get off-stand-POL:PST-SE

23 O: =nn nn
BCH

24 M: soshitara dare-mo ori-nai-n desu
then no one get off-NEG-SE COP

ne*
EX

25 O: =naruhodo
I see

26 M: de kisha ga zuutto itte-shimatta
and train NOM EM go-AUX:PST

27 mukoo-kkawa ni desu ne.
other-side LOC COP EX

28 M: shingen-bukuro sageta o#jii-san
bag caryy:PST old man

29 ga hito-ri iru-n desu yo.
NOM one-CLS exist:NPT-SE COP EX

30 M: d@ ara nihon no hito ja-nai
that Japanese LK person COP-NEG

daroo ka
COP:PRV QU

31 M: chotto itte ( ) de koi tte
a little go:TE come:IMP QT

32 tsu-tta no.
say-PST EX

33 M: to ojii-san ga desu ne.
then old man NOM COP EX

34 M: .h asha sono shinshuu no .. are
I:TOP INJ Shinshu LK INJ

35 hyakyshoo de-aru to.
farmer COP QT

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36 M: ... maa ..... segare ga ee
INJ son NOM INJ

37 ma#go ga ... hagaki o
grand child NOM post card ACC

kurete.
give:TE

38 S: =nn
BCH

39 M: jii ni i-ppen mite-miro to.
grandpa GL one-time look-AUX:IMP QT

40 S: =nn
BCH

41 M: ... tomokaku na: nihon no washi-ra no
anyway EX Japan LK I-PL LK

42 hatake to wa desu ne #hyaku-bai
field with TOP COP EX 100-times

43 mo hiroi tokoro o washi-ra
as much as large place ACC I-PL

44 wa tagayashite-oru to.
TOP plow-STA:NPT QT

45 M: .h ... nde: hi: asa wa gunji
and sun morning TOP military

46 kyooren o yari gogo maa
training ACC do:RY afternoon INJ

hatake yaru to.
field do:NPT QT

47 M: .h hoide jagaimo nanka san-bun-no-
and potato SOF one third

48 ichi wa koor-ashite-shimatte
TOP freez-CAU-AUX:TE

49 M: moo ... sutete-shimawanyanaran te
EM throw away-must:NPT QT

50 [yuu wake da.]
say SE COP

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51 O: [ee]
BCH

52 M: .h dee ... tsui-ni chokin hataite
and finflly saving use:TE

53 M: watashi wa mi ni kita
I TOP look for come:PST

tsun: desu ne
QT:say:NPT COP EX

54 S: ==[nn]
BCH

55 O: ==[haa]
BCH

56

57 M: .h nde kore wa ii zairyoo da
and this TOP good material COP:NPT

58 to omotte desu nee*
QT think:TE COP EX

59 M: ... de watshi-tachi mo so
and I-PL also FRG

60 giyuutai iku kara
volunteer army go:NPT because

61 S: =nn
BCH

62 M: anata no giyuutai.
you LK volunteer army

63 M: to konya wa desu nee.
so this evening TOP COP EX

64 M: ..... sono basu ga sono torakku
INJ bus NOM INJ truck

65 ga de-nai to.
NOM leave-NEG:NPT QT

66 S: =nn
BCH

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67 M: ..... tsk ato futsu-ka
more two-day

68 matte-kure to.
wait-give:IMP QT

69 M: soshitara soshitara torakku ga
then then truck NOM

70 kuru to.
come:NPT QT

71 M: ..... d@ k@@ eki-mae ni desu
so INJ station front LOC COP

72 ne ryokan mo nani-mo nai-n
EX inn also nothing exist:NEG:NPT-SE

desu kara
COP because

73 M: bengijo tte ii-masu ka
convenient place QT say-POL:NPT or

74 jimusho ga [desu ne]
office NOM COP EX

75 O: [ha haa]
BCH

76 M: ee jimusho ga aa aru-n
yes office NOM INJ exist:NPT-SE

de.
COP:TE

77 M: soko de ma zakone
there LOC INJ sleep togetehr

78 de-mo shite-kure tte
or something do-give:IMP QT

yuu-n desu ga ne.
say:NPT-SE COP but EX

79 M: ojii-san ga gan-to-shite iya da
old man NOM stubbornly no COP:NPT

80 to yuu[(-n desu.)]
QT say:NPT-SE COP

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81 O: [ha haa]
BCH

82 M: atasha hyakyushoo da kara
I:TOP farmer COP:NPT because

83 hyakushoo n toko tomari-tai
farmer LK place stay-want:NPT

te [yuu-n de]
QT say:NPT-SE COP:TE

84 S: [nn]
BCH

85 M: sonna ojii-san muri na koto
INJ old man unreasonable LK thing

86 itta tte desu nee.
say:PST QT COP EX

87 M: konna toko de are da
like this place LOC that COP:NPT

yo tte
EX QT

88 M: .sss de kekkyoku desu nee tootoo
INJ and finally COP EX finally

89 orete desu ne.
agree:TE COP EX

90 M: .. kikai o zenbu: sono rokuon
machine ACC all that recording

91 suru kikai o tsumi-mashite desu
do:NPT machine ACC load-POL:TE COP

ne.
EX

92 S: =nn
BCH

93 M: .h (taacho) ni notte desu ne.
on ride:TE COP EX

94 S: ==nn
BCH

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95 M: .h sore ga nanto ne manshu de ..
that NOM EM EX Manchuria LOC

96 san-ri to yuu kara dono kurai
three-miles QT say because how about

97 aru-n de-[shoka ne,]
exist:NPT-SE MOD EX

98 O: [( )]

99 M: ... ma i ichi-ri chikaku ..
INJ FRG one-mile nearly

100 aru-n ja-nai [deshoka ne]
exist:NPT-SE MOD MOD EX

101 S: [nn]
BCH

102 O: [nn]
BCH

103 M: sore o tokotoko tokotoko
that ACC OMN OMN

104 iki-masshite desu ne.
go-POL:TE COP EX

105 M: chang-san to yuu shito ga iru
Chang-Mr. QT say person NOM exist:NPT

to.
QT

106 M: sokora hen wa chang-san no
around there area TOP Chang-Mr LK

107 hatake da( )
field COP

108 S: ==[nn nn]
BCH

109 O: ==[nn nn]
BCH

110 M: ... honde sono:: ... kono shito a
and INJ this person FRG

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```
111     i   chotto   tsumuji-magari da
        FRG a little strange        COP:NPT

112     kara    ne tomete-kureru ka doo ka
        because EX stay-give:NPT or how or

113     wakar-anai   kedo   itte-miyoo to.
        know-NEG:NPT though go-AUX:PRV QT

114  O: =e*
         BCH

115  M: ojii-san ga  yakamashiku yuu     mon
        old man  NOM repeatedly  say:NPT SE

116     desu kara
        COP  because

117  M: .h de  sonna tsumuji-magari
          and such  strange

118     ja          sona nihon-jin
        COP:TE:TOP INJ  Japanese

119     tomete-kure-nai daroo   to motte
        stay-give-NEG   COP:PRV QT think:TE

120  M: =ma  yatto   chang-san no o:taku e
         INJ finally Chang-Mr. LK house  GL

121     tsuita-n      desu ga  ne.
        arrive:PST-SE COP  but EX

122  M: ... m@@ ano o   ranpu no seekatsu
            EM  INJ FRG lump  LK life

123     kura:i ran[pu (     )]
        dark   lump

124  S: [denki       nan]ka {na}kute
         electricity SOF     exist:NEG:TE

125  M: {ee}  e#ee
         BCH  BCH

126  M: soide desu nee.
        and   COP  EX

127  M:  ... n:n "hao   lao chang lao #chang"
             INJ  hallo old Chang lod  Chang
```


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```
128      tsu tte
         QT  say:TE

129  M:  watashi ga  maa
         I       NOM INJ

130  O:  =ee
          BCH

131  M:  ano: toshi(yori) tte tsukemasu (wa)
         INJ  old person  QT  attach     EX

132      ne,
         EX

133  O:  =hai hai
          yes yes

134  S:  ==keishoo desu    yo ne,
           title   COP:NPT EX EX

135  M:  ==ee
           yes

136  S:  %sore wa  ne,
          that TOP EX

137  M:  "lao chang lao chang" tsu ttara
          old Chang old Chang  QT  say:TARA

138  M:  =sorede dete-kita-n     desu yo ne
          then   out-come:PST-SE COP  EX EX

139  M:  .. nde maa hai..ir-e-mashita-n
            and INJ enter-PTN-POL:PST-SE

         de.
         COP:TE

140  M:  .h jitsu wa  maa nihon no "lao-bai-shan"
            truth TOP INJ Japan LK  old farmer

141      da      to.
         COP:NPT QT

142  O:  =nn  nn
          BCH BCH

143  M:  ma  toshitotta hyakushoo da      to.
         INJ old        farmer    COP:NPT QT
```


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144 O: =ee
BCH

145 M: de jitsu wa hyakushoo da
and truth TOP farmer COP:NPT

146 kara hyakushoo n tokoro e
because farmer LK place LOC

147 tomari-tai tte yuu ga ne
stay-want:NPT QT say:NPT but EX

tomete-kureru ka ttara ne.
stay-give:NPT QU say:TARA EX

148

149 M: .hhh .. ikinari desu ne.
suddenly COP EX

150 M: (a shin)

151 O: =aa
oh

152 M: ii tyuu
ok QT:say:NPT

153 S: nn
BCH

154 M: ... soide so suto haitte-ik-imashitara
then INJ INJ enter-go-POL:TARA

155 desu nee.
COP EX

156 M: .h sono ojii-san ga shingen-bukuro
that old man NOM bag

157 o tsutto oroshimashite desu ne.
ACC OMN take down:TE COP EX

158 O: ==ee
BCH

159 M: ... booshi totte desu ne.
hat take off:TE COP EX

160 M: (2.0) ano: yuka ni
INJ floor LOC

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```
161      dogeza-suru-n          desu yo.
         sit on the ground-SE CCP  EX

162  O:  ==aa::: hee
           BCH   BCH

163  M:  nihon no
         Japan LK

164  S:  fn:n
         BCH

165  M:  (6.0)

166  M:  soide ne,
         and   EX

167  M:  (1.7) mago         ga .. okuni
               grand child NOM   your contry

168      ni goyakkai-ni-natte-orimasu
         by be taken care of-STA:POL:NPT

169      6-arigatoo-gozaimasu  tsu yuu-n
           thank you very much QT  say:NPT-SE

         desu yo-6
         COP  EX

170  O:  a:a
         BCH

171

172  M:  =boka  nai-[chatte] ne
          I:TOP cry-AUX:TE   EX

173  O:  [a]
          BCH

174  S:  =a:a
          BCH

175  O:  e:::
         BCH

176  M:  sonna koto  itte
         such  thing say:TE
```


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```
177  M: haitte-kita     nihon-jin wa
        enter-come:PST Japanese  TOP

        shi-tori   mo
        one-person not even

178  O: =ee
         BCH

179  M: .. kono shito  shi-tori   shika
           this person one-person only

180     i-nai         desu ne
        exist-NEG:NPT COP  EX

181  S: ee
        BCH

182  O: ==hee
          BCH
```

English Translation of #16 (Old Farmer in Manchuria)

```
9    M:   It left a big impression on me.
10
11   M:   In a place
12        a little further north from Jamsu
13   M:   Youth Volunteer Army was stationed.
14
15   S:   Yes.
16   O:   Yes.
17   M:   I thought we would record them, and
18
19   M:   I took about seven assistants, and
20
21   M:   we got off at the station of a deserted town.
22
23   O:   uh-huh
24   M:   But no one else got off.
25   O:   I see.
26   M:   On the opposite from us after the train had
27        left,
28   M:   there was an old man carrying a bag.
29
30   M:   I thought he probably was a Japanese.
31   M:   I said to someone to go and call him over.
32
33   M:   Then the old man ...
34   M:   said, "I am a poor farmer from Shinshuu."
35
```


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M: He said his son, no, his grandchild
... had sent him a postcard, and
S: uh-huh
M: said, "Grandpa, you should come and see
Manchuria."
S: uh-huh
M: Anyway, his grandson said,
"the fields I am tilling there is
a hundred times larger than ours in Japan."

M: "In the morning we have military exercises
and in the afternoon, we tended our fields."
M: "About one-third of the potatoes
would be frozen, and
M: would have to be throw out."

O: Yes.
M: And he took out his savings, and
M: he came to see it, so he said.
S: uh-huh
O: oh

M: I thought
this was good news, and
M: "Since we were also going to meet
the soldiers ..."
S: uh-huh
M: "the volunteer army which you are going to
visit ..."
M: "Tonight ...
M: a bus or truck doesn't leave."

S: uh-huh
M: "Can you wait two days?"

M: "And the truck will come."

M: ... in front of the station
there wasn't an inn or anything like that,
so ...
M: There was a building for people or something
like an office ...
O: uh-huh
M: Yes, there was an office, so
M: We asked him stay there
with us, but
M: The old man said stubbornly
he didn't want to do that.
O: uh-huh
M: He said, "Since I am a farmer
I want to stay on a farm."

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84 S: uh-huh
85 M: We said, "You say such an impossible thing,
86
87 M: it is just impossible here."
88 M: And at last
89 we gave in, and
90 M: I put the recorder and all
91 away, and
92 S: uh-huh
93 M: we got on a (cart), and ...
94 S: uh-huh
95 M: Three Manchurian miles ...
96 How far is that?
97
98 O: ( )
99 M: Well, it must be about 1 mile.
100
101 S: uh-huh
102 O: uh-huh
103 M: We kept on going, and
104
105 M: We heard that there was a person called Chang
there.
106 M: Chang's fields were around that area.
107
108 S: uh-huh
109 O: uh-huh
110 M: We heard that he (Chang)
111 was a bit of a cranky person so
112 he didn't know if he'd let us stay there
113 but we'd give it a try ...
114 O: yes.
115 M: since the old man spoke boisterously.
116
117 M: I didn't think
118 that cranky farmer would let us, Japanese,
119 stay there, and ...
120 M: Anyway, we finally
121 got to Chang's house.
122 M: Life with oil lamps ...
123 dark lamps ...
124 S: There were no electricity, and ...
125 M: Right.
126 M: Then ...
127 M: I called out, "Old Chang, Old Chang."
128
129 M: I ...
130 O: Yes.
131 M: You put "old", right?
132
133 O: Yes. Yes.

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134 S: That was to show respect, right?
135 M: Yes.
136 S: that is.
137 M: I called out "Old Chang, Old Chang", then
138 M: he came out.
139 M: and we could go into his house, so
140 M: I said, "This is an old farmer
141 from Japan."
142 O: uh-huh
143 M: "He was an old farmer."
144 O: Yes.
145 M: And "He said since he was a farmer
146 he wanted to stay on a farm.
147 Can you let us stay here." so I said, and
148
149 M: And all of a sudden,
150 M: ( )
151 O: oh
152 M: the man said yes.
153 S: uh-huh
154 M: So we went in, then
155
156 M: The old man
157 put his bag down, and
158 O: Yes.
159 M: and he took off his hat, and
160 M: sat down on the floor.
161
162 O: oh
163 M: Japanese ...
164 S: Really?
165 M:
166 M: Then ...
167 M: he said, "Your country is
168 good to my grandchild who is living here.
169 Thank you very much."
170 O: oh
171
172 M: I started crying seeing that, and ...
173 O: oh
174 S: oh
175 O: yes
176 M: Saying such things ...
177 M: No Japanese ever entered Manchuria.
178 O: Yes.
179 M: Except this person, no one entered Manchuria
180 saying such things.
180
181 S: Yes.
182 O: Hmmm

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