

Perspective in Japanese narrative: The case of the quotative TO + V-*te iku* construction

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Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to identify the occurrence of the quotative TO construction in relation to where it appears and how it describes perspective in a narrative. Some scholars have noticed that the Japanese quotative-like construction appears without accompanying communication or cognition verbs for its syntactic and semantic heads (e.g., *takuya wa arigatou to banana o watasita* “takuya passed the banana as if to say “thank you”). Using Japanese narrative data, the author found when such atypical quotative TO-constructions occur, they often precede the verbs of going. Even more interestingly, the verb *iku* ‘go’ is found to frequently follow the quotative-like construction as in *kanzi de* ‘like’. Occurring either with the TO quotative or the quotative-like phrase, the verb *iku* ‘go’ and its preceding quotative phrase represented perspectives that are distinct from each other. It was also pointed out that a pair of a TO clause and a verb of going frequently occurred at the end of episode boundaries, describing motion events moving away from the narrator’s perspective or the antagonist’s perspective on which the narrator placed their deictic center.

Key Words: perspective, narrative, *the Pear Story*, quotative construction, deictic verbs

1. Introduction

Fillmore (1997) notes the unique use of the English phrases *come* and *go* when used in a third-person narrative as “taking the other fellow’s point of view”. Kuno (1987) discusses the same idea, establishing the concept of the *empathy perspective* effect, which accounts for the speaker’s identification of others. More recently, Sweetser (2012) argues that human beings inevitably cognize other people’s viewpoint and this fact is encoded in language. In the present study¹, we will explore how the speaker presents perspective in a third-person narrative by specifically investigating the quotative TO-marked construction followed by the verb *iku* ‘go’.

The non-verbal film *the Pear Story* was used in this study to show how the speaker appeals to the protagonist’s mind and quotes or summarizes it as if they are verbalizing these feelings, as

well as how the speaker distinguishes the speaker's own perspective from that of the protagonists. It will be suggested the speakers in the study describe the protagonist's state of mind by using other quotative means followed by the verb *iku* 'go', not just a TO-marked clause. The organization of the paper is as follows; section 2 refers to previous studies relevant to the notion of perspective and the nature of quotative constructions. Section 3 looks at data and methodology. Section 4 discusses the data and finally we conclude the paper in section 5.

2. Previous Studies

In this section, we will first identify the term *perspective* and review the nature of TO-marked quotative constructions.

2.1 Perspective

In the present study, we follow Kuno's (1987) sense of *perspective* and *empathy perspective* phenomena, which occurs when the speaker places perspective on someone other than themselves. We will also review *deictic verbs* as a crucial notion. They require the speaker's perspective to be the deictic center of the motion, or someone else's when the speaker empathizes with them rather than himself.

2.1.1 Empathy perspective (Kuno, 1987)

The present study relies on the definition of empathy perspective where it is likened to a particular camera angle. Kuno (1987) draws attention to the resemblance of a speaker taking perspective to a film director shooting a scene from a certain camera angle.

(1) a. *Taroo ga Hanako ni okane o yaru.*

NOM DAT money ACC give

b. *Taroo ga Hanako ni okane o kureru.*

NOM DAT money ACC give

(Kuno, 1987:246)

The propositional meanings of these two sentences are the same – “Taroo gives money to Hanako.’ However, they differ in the perspective the speaker describes. (1a) presents Taroo's point of view while (1b) presents Hanako's point of view. According to Kuno's observation, “in producing natural sentences, the speakers unconsciously make the same kind of decisions that film directors make about where to place themselves with respect to the events and states that their sentences are intended to describe” (ibid.: 204). In other words, the speaker casts empathy on

characters in the scene and views the world through the characters he or she identifies with. The definition of empathy is formulated as follows:

Empathy is the speaker's identification, which may vary in degree, with a person or thing that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence (ibid.: 206).

By "may vary in degree", Kuno emphasizes the concept that point of view is not all-or-nothing in nature, instead it should be regarded as a continuum (ibid.: 266). More importantly, Kuno recognizes that more than one viewpoint can be represented in the same sentence by manipulating "different modes of quotations –direct discourse, indirect discourse, quasi-direct discourse, and mixtures of the three" (ibid.: 268). In this study, we will examine the perspective of quotative constructions, especially TO-marked one, combined with the deictic verb *iku* 'go', whose nature we will look at in the next section.

2.1.2 Deictic verbs

Fillmore (1997) defines deixis as follows:

Lexical items and grammatical forms which can be interpreted only when the sentences in which they occur are understood as being anchored in some social context, that context defined in such a way as to identify the participants in the communication act, their location in space, and the time during which the communication act is performed. Aspects of language which require this sort of contextualization are what I have been calling *deictic* (ibid.: 59).

Verbs of coming and going are deictic in nature (Fillmore 1997; Shibatani, 1990, 2003) as they need to be anchored on a deictic center to allow the correct interpretation as to whether an object is moving towards the deictic center or away from it. By default the deictic center is in the speaker but it can be placed in the others when the speaker empathizes with them. The perspective that the speaker takes is indicated by who they choose to place the deictic center on. In other words, the use of deictic verbs is a crucial determiner to identify perspective. In this paper, we will examine the Japanese deictic verb *iku* 'go' when it occurs in the same construction with a TO-marked quotative clause.

2.2 TO-marked construction (Fujita, 2000)

Fujita was the first to systematically study quotative TO-marked clauses. He first categorized

the quotative TO-marked clauses into two groups. The first group includes communication verbs or cognition verbs as the main verb in quotative constructions, as in the example (2). Fujita (2000) argues the act represented in the main verb and the act represented in quotative clauses are semantically equivalent.

- (2) *Makoto wa "ohayou" to itta.*
TOP good.morning QUO said
'Makoto said "good morning".'

(ibid.: 202)

The second group takes other kinds of verbs, not the communication or cognition kind. The act represented in the main verb and the act represented in the quotative clause co-occur in the same scene. See the example below.

- (3) *Emiko wa "mado o akemashou" to tatiagatta.*
TOP window ACC let's.open QUO stood.up
'Emiko stood up, "Let's open the window".'

(ibid.: 203)

The present paper is interested in the second type of quotative construction where the main verb is not a communication or cognition type of verb. We will look at this type in more detail in the next section.

It is noteworthy that Fujita remarked on the quotative TO-marked clause when it appears with the verb *kuru* 'come', but excluded the cases of the verb *iku* 'go'. Fujita termed this construction as TO + *kuru* construction. See the example (4) below.

- (4) *Aitura no musekininna nareai no taido ga katin to kita nda.*
They GEN irresponsible undisciplined GEN manner NOM annoyed QUO come be
'Their irresponsible and undisciplined manner made me annoyed'

(ibid.: 204)

Here the quotative marked element is onomatopoeic, *katin* 'annoyed' and Fujita claims the combination of three elements (onomatopoeia, quotative TO and the verb *kuru* 'come') is almost conventionalized. Fujita also highlights the deictic nature of the verb *kuru* 'come', that is, a motion or attitude towards the speaker. However, I would like to stress here that all the examples of TO-marked clauses with *kuru* 'come' as the main verb construction listed in Fujita (2000) are not really motion towards a speaker, nor do they indicate an attitude towards the speaker. The speaker-centered meaning appears to be weaker. For some reason, Fujita made no remarks on the

other deictic verb, *iku* ‘go’ when it occurs with the quotative TO-marked clause and only examined the cases where the TO-marked clause appears with *kuru* ‘come’. However, my narrative data shows no tokens of what Fujita calls TO + *kuru* construction, but rather it shows tokens of TO-marked clause followed by the verb *iku* ‘go’, which was not at all mentioned in Fujita (2000). In section 4, we will discuss why the verb *iku* ‘go’ was preferred to the verb *kuru* ‘come’ in the same constructions of quotative TO-marked clauses in our third-person narrative data.

2.3 TO-marked construction (Fujii, 2013)

Using Japanese corpus data, Fujii demonstrated what Fujita (2000) categorized as the second group of quotative TO-marked constructions, that is those whose main verbs are neither communication or cognition. Analyzing the tokens from the corpus, Fujii demonstrated two characteristics of this type of TO clause, one of which is that “the speaker/ cognizer/experience of the quotative TO clause corresponds to the (semantic) subject of the main clause” (ibid.: 6). The second characteristic is that TO-marked clauses convey “the psychological state of the main clause’s semantic subject (or agent) while s/he is participating in the event expressed in the main clause” (ibid.). She further argues that these TO-marked clauses typically but not always contain the volitional form. As one of the crucial functions of TO-marked clauses, she further claims that the TO quotative clause depicts a perspective distinct from that of the speaker or writer. See the example below.

- (5) *sengyo-sentaa de yasukute sendo ga yokatta kara to iwashi o*
 fresh-fish-center at cheap freshness NOM good-PAST because QUO sardines ACC
hitohako itadakimasita.
 one-box received
 ‘I recived a box of sardines (as a gift) [%while the giver told me that s(he) wants to give the gift] because the sardines were cheap and fresh at a fish market.’ [% is not explicitly expressed in Japanese]

(ibid.: 10)

We know that the cognizer of the reason clause *kara* ‘because’ is not the speaker/ writer of this sentence due to the TO marker indicating a distinction between speaker and cognizer. Bearing these characteristics of TO clauses in mind, we examine our narrative data in section 4.

3. Data and Methodology

In this section, the method for the study is introduced. Specifically, we will look at the film

material used in the study, participant population, the transcription system, and finally the idea of episode boundary.

3.1 The Pear Stories (Chafe, 1980)

The 16mm color and sound film entitled “the pear film”(http://pearstories.org/) was used in this study. The film has no speech, just minimal background noise. The author presented the film to the participants and then later asked them to recall it and narrate what happened in the film to some imaginary hearer who has not watched the film yet. There are several characters in the film: a pear farmer, an unknown man with a goat, a boy with a bike, a girl on a bike, and three boys. The basic storyline is that the boy with the bike steals the pears from the farmer, he falls down from his bike and the three boys help him. A number of details were intentionally made vague so many possible interpretations could be made by viewers.

3.2 Participants

The narratives were collected from seventeen participants, 7 male and 10 female. Their first language is Japanese and they were either college students or university graduates. Those who were not currently enrolled in college were university graduates. The reference numbers, age, the deviation from the author’s age, the gender, and the relationship with the author at the time of recording are listed for each participant in table 1 below:

Table 1: The Participants

number	age	difference from the author's age 24	gender	relationship with the author
#1	26	2	male	close friend
#2	22	-2	female	younger sister
#3	22	-2	female	course mate
#4	22	-2	female	course mate
#5	21	-3	male	acquaintance
#6	25	1	male	course mate
#7	20	-3	male	close friend
#8	26	2	female	close friend
#9	23	-1	female	friend
#10	23	-1	female	close friend
#11	34	10	female	course mate
#12	22	-2	male	work friend
#13	35	11	female	work manager
#14	24	0	male	course mate
#15	47	23	female	friend's mother
#16	23	-1	female	close friend
#17	25	1	male	close friend

3.3 Transcription

All utterances are divided into intonation units, which are marked by the “carriage return”. The intonation unit is defined as “a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour” (Chafe, 1987). Accordingly, all clauses end with either “,” “.” or “?” to suggest the end of an intonation unit. Our transcription method is based on Fujii (2010), which aims to standardize the transcription system for spoken Japanese, adopting the methodology by Du Bois et al. (1993). Utterances are transcribed in the *kunrei romanization* system. Features of the utterance relevant to this study are summarized below;

(6)

Intonation unit: {carriage return}
Continuing intonation unit: ~
Intonation at the end of intonation unit:
 Final intonation .
 Continuing intonation ,
 Appeal intonation ?
Short pause : ..
Long pause: ...
More than one second: ...(3.2) →3.2 second
Vowel drawing: =
The utterance with laughter: <@ @>

(Fujii, 2010)

3.4 Episode Boundaries

I employed the notion of *episode boundaries* as the study methodology. The confirmation of *episode boundaries* will help us to analyze the study’s main concern: specifically where the quotative TO construction occurs, and how it presents a perspective at the end of episode boundary as we will see later. Clancy (1980) established the idea of *episode boundaries* in seeking to account for the shift from implicit to explicit forms of Japanese references in narrative. According to Clancy, the references are introduced explicitly at the onset of a new episode. My data also confirmed that the episode boundaries occurred where subjects were mentioned explicitly:

(7) Speaker #6

de sokode,

'Then'

e= sannin no kodomo-tati ga,

well three-person GEN kid-PL NOM

'Well, three children'

e= [sono koronda] -tokoro o mikake,

well[the fall.down-PERF]-when ACC look

'Well, saw him falling down'

e= [zitsensya de e= koronda] e= -ko o

well[bike INS well fall.down-PAST]well -kid ACC

~tasukete-kure-masi-ta.

help-give-POL-PAST

'Well, helped the boy, who fell down from the bike'

de sono ko-tati wa,

then the kid-PL TOP

'Then the children'

e= korondeta e= nasi toka o hirotte-kurete,

well fall.down-PERF well pear such.as ACC pick.up-give

'Well, picked up the pears from the ground for him'

e= otokonoko wa zitsensya o,

well boy TOP bike ACC

'Well, the boy, the bike'

e= nao..e= tatiage,

well fix..well stand.up

'Well, fixed..ehm, stood (the bike) up'

sorede,

'Then'

e= orei o itte,

well thanks ACC say-and

'Well, thanked them'

e toorisugite-iki-masita.

well pass.by-go-POL-PAST

'Well, they went on'

de sono totyuu,

then the halfway
 ‘Then on the way’
 e= [sakhodo tasuketa] -san-nin no otokonoko-tati ga,
 well[previous help-PAST]-three-person GEN boy-PL NOM
 ‘Well the three boys, who helped’
 e= [sono ko no bousi o,
 well[the kid GEN hat ACC
 ‘Well, the boy’s hat’
 e= otiteru] -no o kizuki,
 well drop-PERF] NMLZ ACC notice
 ‘Well, (they) noticed (it) was on the ground’
 e= yobi-modosi bousi o kaesite-age-masita.
 well call-back hat ACC return-give-POL-PAST.
 ‘Well, called him to come back and returned the hat to him.’

From where the reference is explicitly mentioned, we know that speaker #6 narrates three episodes here. In the first episode, he roughly describes the three boys helping the boy on the bike. In the second part, he describes this in more detail. In the third part, he describes the scene where the three boys returned the boy’s hat to him. Notice that he explicit references at the beginning of each episode boundary follow the adverb *de* ‘then’ or *de sokode* ‘then there’. I claim that these adverbs contribute to the speaker’s indication of the episode boundaries. This indication is helpful for the next section where we discuss how the quotative TO construction plays a role in removing a character from the scene and closing one episode.

4. Discussion and Analysis

In this section, we analyze the three types of quotative constructions² in terms of where they appear and how they present perspective in a narrative. It appears that the TO-marked quotative construction³ only occurred either in the episode where the boy steals the pears or where the farmer watches three boys passing him by. The first instance is the quotative TO-marked clause occurring with communication/ cognition verbs. The second instance, which is our main concern, is the quotative TO-marked clause occurring with the verbs of going. As the third instance, the quotative-like construction with verbs of going will also be discussed in comparison with the second instance of the quotative construction.

4.1 The quotative TO + communication and cognition verbs construction

The quotative TO + communication/ cognition verbs construction was only found in episodes where either the bike boy steals the pear or where the farmer watches the three boys walking past. The following example produced by speaker #1 describes the episode of the bike boy stealing the pears.

(8)

Speaker # 1

soko ni [zitensya ni notte-kita] -syoonen ga
there LOC bike INS ride-come-PAST -boy NOM
~arawarete sono yoosu o miru.
appear the situation ACC look
'There, the boy appears on a bike and looks over at the farmer'
honde oisi-soo.na younasi o mit "hosii na=" to omotte,
then delicious-looks pears ACC look want PART QUO think
'Looking at the nice pears, he thought to himself, "I want to have some."
sorede "hitotu demo ii kara mora-ou kana=" to omou n da kedo
then one-piece even fine because take-VOL PART QUO think NMLZ COP but
'Then he thought to himself "maybe I can take just one.", but'

Here, we can see that the speaker appeals to the bike boy's mind and describe the scene from his perspective. The evidence of the speaker's attrition to the bike boy can be seen in the use of cognition verbs *omou* 'think', *hosii* 'want', *morau* 'recieve', the volitional morphemes such as *ou*, and the final particle such as *na* and *kana*. It is worth mentioning that all the speakers who yielded the quotative construction in this episode took the boy's perspective, not the farmer.

We learnt that the phrases like *soko ni* 'there' are used at the onset of episode boundary. In this example the speaker introduces a character into a new episode and starts describing the character's mind. Next examples demonstrate the last episode of the film where the farmer is resumed and the three boys passing by him.

(9)

Speaker # 7

"are nandeka okasii na=" to omot-tara,
INTERJ somewhat peculiar PART QUO think-PAST
'He thought to himself "What's going on"'

[sokoni aruite-kita] sannin-gumi no otokonoko ga
 [there walk-come-PAST]three-person-group GEN boy NOM
 ~iko zutu onazi nasi o motte(i)ta to.
 one-piece each same pear ACC have-PERF REP
 ‘There appeared three boys holding a pear each.’
 “nan no koto kana=”to omotte ozisan wa,
 what GEN thing PART QUO think-and uncle TOP
 ‘He thought to himself, “what is this?”’
 gimon.ni.omotta.. asa desi-ta.
 puzzled morning COP-PAST
 ‘He was puzzled..it was kind of the morning.’

Here the speaker takes the farmer’s perspective as suggested by the use of deictic verb *kuru* ‘come’ to indicate the three boys coming towards the farmer. This is confirmed by the use of the cognition verb *omou* ‘think’ and by the final particle appealing to the farmer. The next example also describes this scene.

(10)

Speaker #14

ozisan wa sono obasan zya-nakute sono syounen-tati ga,
 man TOP the woman PM-NEG the boy-PL NOM
 ‘The man, the woman, no, the boys’
 nasi o nusunda n da to kantigai-simasita.
 pear ACC steal-PAST NMLZ COP that misunderstand-POL-PAST
 ‘(He) misunderstands and thinks that (they) have stolen the pears.’

Notice the main verb in the TO-marked clause is the same cogitative verb *kantigaisuru* ‘misunderstand’, but this verb reflects the speaker’s evaluation of the farmer. Unlike the two examples above that have a more straightforward cogitative verb *omou* ‘think’ to represent the character’s perspective together with the TO-marked clause in the construction, this example appears to take on the both perspectives, that is of the speaker’s evaluating the farmer and the farmer, the cognizer of the TO-marked clause.

4.2 The quotative TO + V-te iku construction

Fujita (2000) comments on the quotative TO construction appearing with the verb *kuru*

‘come’, but does not mention anything about a deictic verb *iku* ‘go’. Contradicting Fujita’s (2000) observation, our data showed no tokens of the combination of quotative and *kuru* ‘come’. In section 2.2 we argued that the deictic verb *kuru* ‘come’ in the quotative TO + *kuru* ‘come’ construction does not really suggest a motion or attitude towards a speaker, that is the speaker-centered meaning is bleached. However, in the example (11), the verb *iku* ‘go’ in the quotative TO + *V-te iku* construction indicates motion away from the speaker’s and arguably the farmer’s perspective as well.

(11)

Speaker #1

noofu wa zutto ringo o younasi o toru -koto ni
 farmer TOP still apple ACC pears ACC pick.up -that
 ~syutyu.siteite,
 concentration.do

‘Since the farmer is still focusing on picking the pears,’

kotti no hou o mattaku mi-nai.

this.way GEN direction ACC at.all look-NEG.

‘(He) doesn’t look at at all.’

“yosi, zya= hitohako zenbu morat-tya-ou” to,
 INTERJ,INTERJ one-box whole take-PERF-VOL QUO

‘Alright, then “I am gonna take a whole box”’

zitensya ni tumikonde kossori motte-iku.

bike INS load-and sneakkly take-go

‘loaded (the pears) onto the bike and took them away’

Recall one of the arguments Fujii (2013) made concerning the characteristics of the quotative TO-marked construction: that the quotative clause depicts a perspective that is distinct from the speaker. Interestingly, Shibatani (2003) explained a stance-taking function of compounded form of Japanese verbs of coming and going as “forms with *kuru* ‘come’ express the speaker’s involvement or interest in the described event, while those with *iku* ‘go’ convey an objective stance on the part of the speaker; e.g., when the speaker, as a detached observer, is narrating an event that has taken place some time ago”(ibid.: 71). Taking up these previous study observations, I propose that the TO quotative clauses and the deictic motion verb *iku* ‘go’ work together to create both a character’s perspective and the narrator’s own perspective distinct from the character’s. In this respect, I argue the quotative TO-marked clause + *V-te iku* construction is

preferred in third person narratives where the speaker is not directly involved in the story and only acts as a detached observer. Also, it is important to note that the TO + V-*te iku* construction keeps the deictic sense of the verbs of going, moving away from the speaker the characters the speaker empathizes with, while the TO + V-*te kuru* construction in Fujita's (2000) study seems to lessen the deictic sense of the verbs of coming.

4.3 The quotative-like construction + V-*te iku* construction

The two examples below are not TO-marked quotative constructions, but they represent the characters' inner thoughts and feelings. They are also followed by the verbs of going.

(12)

Speaker # 2

“maa ozisan mo mite-nai si ii kana” tte gurai.no kanzi de,
 INTERJ uncle even look-NEG and good PAR QUO like GEN manner with
 ‘He was like “Well, the guy is not looking at me, so it’s gonna be okay’
 <@de@>,
 ‘Then’,
 <@kago goto ikko zitsensya ni nosete motte-itte@>,
 bucket whole one-piece bike DAT load-and carry-go
 ‘(The boy) took away a whole bucket on his bike.’

The phrase *kanzi de* quotes the bike boy's inner thoughts. This is interesting because *kanzi* literally means manner, but the quoted element here behaves like direct speech. Notice this is one of the episodes where the speakers used TO-marked quotative constructions and the similar quotative construction is represented as in example (11).

The next example does not appear to be quotative, but the element before *no ka* is an indication of the speaker attributing it to the bike boy's thoughts.

(13)

Speaker #1

suruto syounen wa sono sinsetu.sa ni kanmei o uketa no ka
 then boy TOP the kind-ness DAT impression ACC get-PAST that PART
 ‘Then, the boy must have been moved by their kindness because’
 sarani younasi o kare..sinsetu.na sannin ni atae
 even.more pear ACC them kind three-person DAT give-and

~satte-iku.

leave-go

‘(The boy) gave them more pears and went on his way.’

sosite sinsetu.na syounen wa[zitensya no syounen ga yattekita

then kind boy TOP[bike GEN boy NOM come-PAST

~-no to wa gyaku no houkou,

-NMNL with TOP opposite GEN direction

‘And then the kind boys went in the opposite direction from where the boy on the bike came from’

[tumari nouhu ga iru] -houkou ni aruite-iku.

[that.is farmer NOM exist]-direction DAT walk-go.

‘That is, in the direction of where the farmer was.’

sousuruto,

‘Then’

[nouhu no younasi o totte aru] -ki no sita no atari

[farmer NOM pear ACC pick. exist]-tree GEN under GEN around

~made tadorituku.

to reach

‘(The boys) reached the trees where the farmer is picking the pears.’

The speaker made a speculative description as to why the bike boy gave the pears to the three boys but did not present the bike boy’s perspective as it is obvious. By using the *no ka* phrase, the speaker rather made an implicit impression of the bike boy’s motivation to give the pears to the three boys. If he had used the TO marked quotative construction, it would be more explicit. Notice also that the phrase *suruto* indicates where the episode boundary lies. The first episode describes the scene where the bike boy and the three boys went in different directions and closes the episode with the characters going away from the scene. The *no ka* phrase successfully narrates the bike boy’s motivation and leads him to go away, thereby closing the episode.

5. Conclusion

This paper examined the TO-marked quotative clause + *V-te iku* construction in line with other quotative/ quasi-quotative constructions. We discussed where these constructions were used to help to indicate episode boundaries and what perspective they bring into the narrative. In order to do so, first we reviewed previous studies relevant to the present study, that is empathy perspective, deictic verbs and the quotative TO-marked constructions. Second, constituting the

methodology of the study, we discussed *the Pear Story* film, participant details, transcription conventions, and episode boundaries. Finally, we observed that all the quotative constructions appeared either in the scene where the bike boy steals the pears or where the farmer watches three boys walking in the last scene. It was also discussed that speakers often removed the characters from an episode by using *V-te iku* and the TO clause preceding it accounts for the inner speech, feelings or the motivation of the character going away from the episode. Our study also speculated about the nature of TO-marked clauses; the nature of the verbs of going works together with this construction to distinguish the speaker and the character's perspective in the third person narratives. For future research, the characteristics of the third-person narratives needs to be more thoroughly investigated for the sake of the validity of the argument that the third person narratives provides the environment somewhat responsible for the use of the TO-marked quotative clause + *V-te iku* construction.

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Notes

- ¹ This paper is a revised version of my master's thesis (Fujinaga, 2014).
- ² It is surprising that the quotative constructions were elicited given that the film did not involve any dialogue or monologue.
- ³ I excluded the TO-marked clause when it is used parenthetically, as in the following example;

maa toku.ni syounen wa sonnani mazusii tte wake zyaa-nai
 well particularly boy TOP that.much poor that reason PM-NEG
 ~to omou kedo,
 QUO think but
 'Well, I don't think he is particularly poor or anything.'

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