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Attitudinal and Aspectual Properties of Two Aspect Morphemes in West Japanese Dialects ... and Oru

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Abstract

The present thesis is concerned with describing the aspect morphemes *toru* and *yoru*, as well as the existential verb *oru*, prevalent in the dialects of western Japan in general, and the central Kinki region in particular. We will discuss the semantic properties of these morphemes in five dialects using a survey of predicate structure in Japanese dialects. With the aid of an informant from Osaka we will also discuss the attitudinal dimension that these expressions carry. The purpose is to make available to an English speaking audience some of the results that have been available and well-known in Japanese for quite some time. Given that the obtained results are applicable, we find in Kobe an aspectual system similar to that of Uwajima, and we also find that the dialect of Tsu is dominated aspectually by *toru*, leading to the hypothesis that pejorative *yoru* might be ready to enter the dialect. Furthermore, with the informants aid we find that *oru* is not felt to be pejorative by native speakers of Osaka Japanese, in contrast to statements by other researchers in the area.

Keywords: Aspect, aspectual opposition, attitudinality, dialect, Kinki, *oru*, pejorativity, *toru*, western Japan, *yoru*

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Conventions

The following conventions are used in this thesis.

A system corresponding at large to the Leipzig Glossing Rules has been used to gloss the Japanese sentences occurring in this paper. Sentences taken from other publications have had the glossing altered to conform to the conventions of the present thesis. In the case of lack of glossing in the original text, one has been supplied where appropriate. When glossing the construction *teiru*, the choice has been made to deviate somewhat from the norm, in order to obtain a gloss with a more uniform appearance, consistent with the gloss used for the dialectal *teru*, *toru* and *yoru* introduced later on.

Words corresponding to the Japanese lexicon will be italicized. English translations will be surrounded by single quotes when occurring in the running text, and by double quotes when occurring in conjunction with example sentences. Japanese words, most notably names, that can be considered parts of the English lexicon are romanised as is commonly done with long vowels unmarked.

Abbreviations

AHON	anti-honorific	ALL	allative
EVD	evidential	FOC	focus
FP	final particle	GEN	genitive
GER	gerund	HON	honorific
HORT(C)	hortative (complementizer)	INC	inchoative
INTER	interjection	LOC	locative
NOMI	nominaliser	NPAST	non-past
OBJ	object	PAST	past
PL	plural	POL	polite
PROG	progressive	PRT	(generic) particle
SBJ	subject	TOP	topic

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

In this paper we will investigate some aspectual phenomena that are widely spread throughout the dialects of western Japan and the Kinki region, on which we will focus our attention. Where appropriate, we will however touch upon other dialects. The object of study is the pair of aspect morphemes *toru* and *yoru*, which at least to some degree can be said to stand in mutual opposition, and the existential verb *oru* by the relation it has to these morphemes.

In many of these dialects the following way of expression is not uncommon.

- (1.1) kuruma tome-tor-u
vehicle stop-TORU-NPAST
“(I) have stopped the car.”
“(I) am stopping the car (at this very moment).”

The meaning of this sentence varies with the dialect and the context in which it is uttered. For instance, in the dialect of Tsu in Mie prefecture, both a resultative as well as a progressive interpretation is possible, while in Uwajima only the resultative sense is sensible. As we will see, other interpretations are available as well.

Moreover, some dialects explicitly mark the progressive aspect with the morpheme *yoru*. The opposition between *yoru* and *toru* in these dialects is not always perfectly mutually exclusive (Inoue, 2006), however ideally we may think of it in the following way;

- (1.2a) kuruma tome-tor-u
vehicle stop-TORU-NPAST
“(I) have stopped the car.”
- (1.2b) kuruma tome-yor-u
vehicle stop-YORU-NPAST
“(I) am stopping the car (at this very moment).”

In the first example the sentence is interpreted resultatively, i.e. the speaker has already completed the action of stopping the car, while the second sentence is interpreted continually, i.e. the car is being stopped right now.

Both *yoru* and *toru* are grammaticalised from the existential verb *oru*. In the central Kinki region, this verb is what in this paper will be called a *light pejorative*, and thus *toru* is also such in these regions. In these regions *yoru* is a pejorative verb associated with an additional attitudinal dimension, likened to the anti-honorific *yagaru* by Inoue (1993):

- (1.3) meshuu kui-yor-u
 rice eat-YORU-NPAST

In regions with pejorative *yoru* this sentence is translated to standard Japanese by Inoue as follows:

- (1.4) (shigoto mo shi-na-i kuse -ni) meshi (bakkari)
 work FOC do-NEG-NPAST habit-PRT rice nothing but
 kut-te yagar-u
 eat-GER AHON-NPAST

“Despite not doing as much as working for the food, that idiot is only eating.”

Here *yoru* is better thought of as an attitudinal rather than an aspectual expression. In these dialects, the morpheme *teru*, grammaticalised from the verb *iru*, is also employed as a neutral aspect marker. This is a necessity since otherwise there would be no way to express aspect in a neutral way.

1.2 Purpose

In this thesis we will describe a subset of the usage of *toru* and *yoru* in a few of the dialects of the Kinki region. These are the dialects of Kashihara and Nara (Nara prefecture), Tsu (Mie prefecture), Kobe (Kobe prefecture) and Uwajima (Ehime prefecture). We will study a set of example sentences using a set number of verbs and expressing certain chosen aspectualities. These will then be compared with standard Japanese. In this connection, we will also touch upon the aspectual opposition between *toru* and *yoru*.

In the second part of the thesis, a discussion of the attitudinal dimension will be performed with the aid of an informant, a native speaker from northern Osaka. The purpose is to obtain a more concrete image of the attitudinal dimension

To the author's knowledge, although Martin (1988:454-455) mentions several of these forms, this subject has not previously been touched upon in detail in any literature or research in English, although the subject has previously been investigated in Swedish by Nilsson (2010). However, where Nilsson focuses on Kyushu we will in the present thesis focus on the central Kinki region and Ehime prefecture. Thus the main purpose of this thesis is to simply make available some of the ideas and results that exist, in Japanese, in this field of research.

The span of the present thesis is too small to be able to draw any general and far-reaching conclusions, however the author hopes that it can serve as the starting point for the reader interested in the subjects covered within.

1.3 Organisation and Methodology

This thesis is organised into five chapters. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the description of the fundamentals of the aspectual machinery of standard Japanese. Having done this, chapter 3 is dedicated to describing (a subset of) the usage of the morphemes *yoru* and *toru* in a few dialects, and comparing it with standard Japanese, based on the survey of predicate structure in Japanese dialects (Kudo, 2005). In chapter 4 we will discuss the pejorative function based on comments from informants of the survey, various articles and also interviews with an informant¹ born and raised in Osaka, which is a region not covered by the survey. In chapter 5 we will summarise briefly what has previously been said.

1 The informant is a 20 year old female, Japanese native speaker from central Osaka.

Chapter 2

In this chapter we will describe the aspects of standard Japanese grammar that are relevant to the present problem, namely that of the progressive and resultative aspect due to the aspect morpheme *teiru*. We will also speak of the stative verb *iru* that expresses the existence of animate objects. The reader already familiar with standard Japanese may choose to skip this chapter, although it is recommended that it be read at least once in order to familiarize oneself with the notation used in this paper.

In section 2.1 we introduce some basic concepts and terminology. Section 2.2 will deal with the aspect morpheme *teiru* from a morphological and semantic point of view. In section 2.3 we will give a brief treatment of the stative verb *iru*.

2.1 Basic Concepts

In this section basic concepts related to standard Japanese grammar will be introduced briefly. Japanese verbs have been described in various ways by both western and Japanese scholars, however there are often several differences in approach between the two groups.

According to Kindaichi, Japanese verbs can be classified into four categories depending on their *lexical aspect* (or *Aktionsart*); *stative*, *durative*, *instantaneous* and *durative-stative*. Stative verbs are verbs that describe eventualities of unlimited duration, that is, there is neither a beginning nor an end to the eventuality (or at the very least they do not matter) and the verb cannot co-occur with the *teiru* form described below, except under special circumstances. Durative and instantaneous verbs are relational antonyms and describe durative and punctual eventualities, corresponding respectively to imperfective and perfective verbs. Co-occurring with *teiru* the former will lead to a progressive and the latter to a resultative interpretation. The fourth category contains verbs that always occur with the *teiru* form.

Examples of the first category are *aru* and *iru* 'to exist', *yoosuru* 'to need' and most potential verbs. These verbs are for the most part intransitive, however, *yoosuru* is transitive and other exceptions do exist as well. They do not normally co-exist with *teiru* however exceptions do exist. Durative verbs are for instance *yomu* 'to read', *kaku* 'to write' and *taberu* 'to eat'. These are all transitive verbs which are common in this category; however, intransitive verbs also exist in this category, such as *aruku* 'to walk', *hataraku* 'to work' and *naku* 'to cry'. Examples of punctual verbs are *shinu* 'to die', *motsu* 'to take hold of, to grasp' and *aku* 'to become open'. In this category intransitive verbs are very common, but as can be seen from the fact that *motsu* belongs to this category, transitive verbs also appear. Verbs in the last category are very few in comparison with the others, but include *sobieru* 'to stand tall' and *sugureru* 'to be outstanding'².

2.2 *teiru*

There is a wide variety of aspect morphemes in Japanese that focus on various nuances of the action described by the verb. For instance, auxiliaries *hajimeru* 'to begin', *naosu* 'to redo' and *tsuzukeru* 'to continue doing' all describe different aspects of the verb to which they are attached.

² Some verbs have no clear category, or belong to several different categories at the same time. For instance the verb *chigau* 'to be different' is equivalent to its *teiru* form.

The aspect morpheme *teiru*³ can take on various meanings which depend on both context and the lexical aspect of the verb itself, be it instantaneous or durative. The purpose of this section is to describe these briefly. We begin by first discussing the morphology of the construction in section 2.2.1, and then we discuss the semantics in section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Morphology

The morpheme *teiru* derives from the combination of the gerund of the verb and the auxiliary *iru*. Morphologically, *teiru* conjugates precisely as *iru* does. Using the vowel verb *taberu* as basis the following example sentences are provided to illustrate this.

(2.1a) kare wa ichigo o tabe-tei-ru
 he TOP strawberry OBJ eat-TEIRU.NPAST
 “He is eating strawberries.”

(2.1b) kare wa ichigo o tabe-tei-ta
 he TOP strawberry OBJ eat-TEIRU-PAST
 “He was eating strawberries.”

(2.1c) kare wa ichigo o tabe-tei-te
 he TOPIC strawberry OBJ eat-TEIRU-GER
 “He is/was eating strawberries, and then...”

As the last example shows, the form also has a gerund; however it is not possible to apply *teiru* repeatedly in standard Japanese, as seen in the non-validity of examples such as the following.

(2.2)* kare wa ichigo o tabe-tei-tei-ru
 he TOPIC strawberry OBJ eat-TEIRU-TEIRU-NPAST

Moreover, unlike normal verbs it does not have a suspensive form⁴, instead that of the verb *oru* is used, as in the following example.

(2.3) kare wa ichigo o tabe-te ori
 he TOPIC strawberry OBJ eat-GER be-CONT

3 *teiru* might perhaps more accurately be considered a construction consisting of two morphemes, however, for reasons of simplicity it will be treated as a single unit in this paper.

4 In Japanese notation the so called *renyookei*.

“He is/was eating strawberries, and then...”

In addition, *teorazu* is used in the negative. This usage is usually limited to the written language. The verb *oru* is in standard Japanese a verb used in very polite/formal situations⁵. However, interestingly, the *or-* used in this way to connect sentences derives from a different source than the polite verb (Kinsui 2005, 2006).

2.2.2 Semantics

The semantics of *teiru* is traditionally thought of as being ambiguous in that several interpretations are possible for sentences in which it appears (Nishiyama, 2006). Verbs in this form can take on a *continuative* (progressive or habitual) a *resultative* or a *repetitive* interpretation, depending on the lexical aspect of the verb. There is also the experiential interpretation possible, which is there regardless of the lexical aspect of the verb. In addition, the verb *iru* can also take on its original meaning in sentences such as the one below.

(2.4) Tookyoo e it-te (ichinen-kan) i-ta
Tokyo ALL go-GER (one.year-ADV) be-PAST
“I went to Tokyo and stayed there (for one year).”

Note that while this usage superficially resembles that of *teiru*, it is really not an instance of this construction, but simply the gerund used in conjunction with *iru*.

A common phenomenon in Japanese is verbs forming transitive-intransitive pairs. The two verbs, one transitive and the other intransitive, describe two different views of the same eventuality. For instance the pair *aku/akeru* describes the case when an object (such as a door) is opening. One verb (*aku*) describes the opening of the subject without regards to what causes it to become open, while its companion (*akeru*) describes the opening of the same object by an agent.

In general, adding *teiru* to an intransitive verb will result in a sentence with a resultative interpretation, that is, the action of the verb is completed, and the state of the result applies. This is also an instance of stativity, that is, the resulting verb phrase is a stative verb. Adding *teiru* to a transitive verb will in general result in a continuative sentence, in other words the action is unfolding at the reference time, or else some kind of habitual action is being described. To illustrate this, let us consider the following two sentences.

(2.5a) mado ga ai-tei-ru
window SBJ open-TEIRU-NPAST
“The window is open.”

(2.5b) mado o ake-tei-ru

5 Here it always occurs with the polite auxiliary *-masu*, and never in its conclusive form.

window OBJ open-TEIRU-NPAST

“(I) am opening the window.”

In the first example, the verb is an intransitive and instantaneous verb which leads to the resultative interpretation, which is that the window has become open and remains in the state of being opened at speech time. In the latter example, the verb is transitive and instantaneous. Here the event of the window being opened is currently unfolding; thus it is a sentence that could be uttered by someone in the process of opening a window.

Another interpretation possible with this *teiru* is the habitual. A person that reads the newspaper every morning could for instance utter a sentence like the following.

(2.6) *maiasa* *shinbun* o *yon-dei-ru*
every morning newspaper OBJ read-TEIRU-NPAST

“I read the newspaper every morning.”

Note the presence of the adverb *maiasa* here. The sentence is possible without this adverb as well, however that makes the sentence ambiguous between several readings. When the subject is in plural a repetitive interpretation like the following is also possible.

(2.7) *gakusei-tachi ga* *gakoo* o *de-tei-ru*
student-PL SBJ school OBJ exit-TEIRU-NPAST

“The students leave the school one by one.”

In Japanese it is very common to drop parts of the sentence that are understood from context. Thus you might encounter a sentence like the following.

(2.8) *uchi* o *de-tei-ru*
home OBJ exit-TEIRU-NPAST

This sentence is very ambiguous. Since the subject is not clearly stated, it might be either singular or plural. Thus the following translations are all plausible.

He has/have left the house.

He leaves the house regularly.

They leave the house regularly.

They leave the house one by one.

In addition to the interpretations covered here, the experiential reading also exists. This interpretation is possible regardless of the lexical aspect of the verb in question. To see this, consider the interpretations revealed in the translations of the following pair of sentences borrowed from Ogihara (2001).

(2.9a) Ken -san wa 1980 nen ni kekkon shi-tei-ru
Ken TOP 1980 year in marriage do-TEIRU-NPAST
“Ken has had the experience of getting married in 1980.”

(2.9b) Ken -san wa kyonen ichigo o tabe-tei-ru
Ken TOPIC last year strawberry OBJ eat-TEIRU-NPAST
“Ken had the experience of eating strawberries last year.”

Note first that the verb in the first of these sentences is an instantaneous verb and that the verb in the second sentence is a durative verb. In the first sentence we add the *teiru* form to an instantaneous verb and would thus expect an interpretation of a state resulting from a past event that is valid at speech time. In the second sentence we attach *teiru* to a durative verb and would thus expect a progressive state to result, however this is not the case. Note that in both of these sentences an adverbial describing a time interval in the past is added (Ogihara, 2001).

Before concluding this section, we will touch upon one more point concerning stative verbs. Normally, *teiru* cannot occur with stative verbs, however there are exceptions. Not all verbs in this category are completely stative; for instance the verb *dekiru* 'to be able to do' is stative, however it also happens that it acts as an instantaneous verb at times, with the meaning that something 'gets done' or 'is produced' (Martin, 1988:275). The verb *mieru* 'to be visible' also appears in this form at times. The difference between the two in this case is that when *teiru* takes a stative verb as input, it produces an episodic statement, in contrast with the habitual statement derived from the bare verb. Consider the following example sentences.

(2.10) yama kara umi ga mie-ru
mountain LOC sea SBJ is visible-NPAST
“You can see the sea from the mountain.”

(2.11) yama kara umi ga mie-tei-ru
mountain LOC sea SBJ is visible-TEIRU-NPAST

“The sea is visible from the mountain.”

In the first (habitual) sentence, the speaker is describing a general feature of the mountain, while in the second (episodic) sentence the speaker is probably on the mountain when he utters the sentence (Nishiyama, 2006:200).

Finally, as an interesting note, in standard Japanese stative verbs such as the aforementioned *iru* cannot co-occur with the *teiru* construction. However, there are certain verbs that seem to always occur in this form when they function as predicates. For these verbs the *teiru* is semantically empty. One of these verbs is the verb *sobieru* 'standing tall' which the following example shows.

(2.12) yama ga taka-ku sobie-tei-ru
 mountain SBJ high-ADV stand tall-TEIRU-NPAST
 “The mountain stands tall.”

As Ogihara (2001) notes, reasoning backwards from the sentence above leads one to conclude that *sobieru* means *to become tall*, however this is not the case. Just like there are some verbs that cannot co-occur with the *teiru* construction, there also seems to exist verbs that require this construction in order to be meaningful.

2.2.3 Summary

In this section we have looked at the syntax and semantics of the *teiru* construction in standard Japanese. We have seen that the lexical aspect of the verb in some respects affect the meaning of *teiru*. For instantaneous verbs a continuative interpretation is almost impossible (although a repetitive one is possible). It might be interesting to notice in this connection that the construction *tsutsuaru* always has a progressive interpretation, regardless of the lexical aspect of the verb (Martin, 2004:417).

As might be evident from the variety in interpretations of the examples, this form is highly complex and one cannot hope to cover everything of interest in this short an introduction. However, what is important in the following is the contrast between the progressive and the resultative aspectualities.

2.3 Verbs of Existence

In Japanese there are many verbs of existence. The most common verbs in this category of standard Japanese are the vocal verb *iru* and the consonant verb *aru*, which describe the existence of inanimate and animate objects respectively⁶. In addition, the polite/formal verb *orimasu*, the honorific *irassharu* and *orareru* all express the existence of animate subjects. Dialectally, the verb *or-* is also very common in western Japan.

Let us focus our attention on the verb *iru*, since this verb will be discussed later on. Concerning the question of the lexical aspect of this verb we paraphrase Martin (2004:275): it seems that the verb has properties of both stative as well as durative verbs. Stative verbs do not combine neatly with

6 In certain dialects, as well as in Classical Japanese, the verb *aru* is used for animate subjects as well.

hortative or imperative forms on the one hand, while *iru*, on the other hand, neatly combines with both of these. Like other duratives, however, it cannot be combined with *teiru*. Thus it is clearly not durative, and it is also clearly not instantaneous. This applies to the synonyms as well (*oru*, *irassharu* and so on). Martin suggests that they might form a class of their own.

2.3.1 Some Notes on *oru*

Oru will be a very prominent part of the following discourse. In standard Japanese it exists in three forms, the *orimasu* used in very formal situations, the subject exalting honorific verb *orareru* and the suspensive form used in written language *ori* (*orazu*). The first of these derives from the language of Kamigata (Kyoto and Osaka); the second derives from the language of the warrior-clans, *bushi*; and the third one derives from classical Chinese texts with Japanese readings, *kanbun* (Kinsui 2006). These different versions of the *oru* explain how the same verb can be used in such varying contexts.

Chapter 3

In the previous chapter, a subset of the aspectual machinery of standard Japanese was explained. In this chapter we will expand our view and look at the corresponding parts of the dialects in the Kinki region of Japan. Where appropriate, we will also touch upon dialects further west, which in this regard share some common features with the dialects of Kinki. The description given here of the two aspect morphemes *yoru* and *toru* is, as stated before, one of the aims of this thesis. We will also touch upon the aspect morpheme *teru*, as well as the verbs *iru* and *oru*, from which these morphemes derive, as they are closely related to these three aspect morphemes (Kinsui 2006).

After introducing some basic terminology and having briefly discussed the usage of these morphemes in the dialects (section 3.1), we will discuss the history of these expressions. We will then make use of a pre-existing survey to shed some light on the grammar of these constructions, contrasting them with standard Japanese (section 3.3), the presentation of which being one of the main purposes with this thesis. This will be done by studying mainly three verbs; the verbs *akeru* and *aku* were chosen due to their transitivity opposition, and the verb *shinu* was chosen since it is inherently an attitudinally negative expression, and thus the way of expression in dialects with a pejorative *yoru* (Kashihara) becomes a point of extra interest (see chapter 4).

The dialectal material used herein is taken from the survey titled “Structures of Predicates in Japanese Dialects: a Typological Study” (Kudo et al., 2005). This survey encompasses verbal and adjectival predicate structure in Japanese dialects from the Tohoku region down to Amami and also including Okinawa Islands, and is led by Kudo Mayumi from Osaka University.

3.1 Introduction to *yoru* and *toru*

Let us begin by quoting Martin (2004:454-455) on *yoru*.

56. [DIALECT] -*yoru*: This is from V-i [w]oru, a widely used dialect form that is [...] equivalent to the simple V-ru of standard Japanese or to the V-i-ya[a]garu auxiliary that depreciates the verb. It is popular in West Central Kinki (Koobe, Hyoogo) where *Yuki ga huri-yoru* is used as the progressive 'It is snowing (now)' and *Yuki ga huttoru* (*hutte oru*) is used as a resultative 'Snow is on the ground' [...] -- both expressed in Tookyoo by *Yuki ga hutte iru*.

This summarises neatly the essence of the three most important entities of interest. To these we must add *teru* used in the central Kinki region in addition to *toru*, and the existential verbs *oru* and *iru*; the latter in use in central Kinki in addition to *oru*. Note that these morphemes do not always take on the form as given here as local morphological variations do exist in various dialects, for instance *choru* and *ooru* in the Suoooshima dialect (Kudo, 1993). However, we will only write *yoru* in the running text, and take it to mean any instance of the *family of morphemes* represented by *yoru*, and similarly for *toru*.

The morpheme *teru* is a contraction of *teiru* and has the same morphology as the similar morpheme in standard Japanese, however, we do not dare to venture as far as to say that they are the same. *toru* is similarly a contraction of *teoru* which in turn derives from the stative verb *oru*, in analogy with *teiru* and *iru*. *yoru* is special since it completely lacks a counterpart in standard Japanese. It derives from the verb *-oru* which was originally added to the continuative form of the verb as an aspect

marker. This usage of the original verb will be denoted *-oru*. The similarly used verb derived from *iru* will be denoted *-iru*. Thus *oru* and *iru* are verbs expressing existence appearing as free units, while *-oru* and *-iru* are aspect morphemes bound to other verbs and carrying meanings which will be discussed in the next section.

The three morphemes *yoru*, *teru* and *toru* could probably be called auxiliaries as well, but the fact that they do not appear as free morphemes along with our goal of describing their aspectual properties, the terminology *aspect morpheme* has been borrowed from Ogihara (2001) for these entities. Kinsui calls these forms *existential aspect forms* and argues that they are very closely related to the existential verbs from which they derive (Kinsui, 2006).

Despite being a very formal verb in standard Japanese, the verb *oru* is used in daily life in most of the dialects in western Japan (Kinsui, 2005). It is usual for these dialects to use *yoru* as well. Moreover, some dialects in the central Kinki region also employ the verb *iru* and the morpheme *teru*. It is widely known that there exists an aspectual opposition between *toru* and *yoru*, where the former tends towards a resultative aspect marker, and the latter towards a continuative aspect marker, however, it is far from all dialects where this opposition is such that the morphemes are completely mutually exclusive (Kudo, 1993). The “idealised” version of this aspectual opposition is reflected in the quote given in the beginning of this section, and was also presented in chapter 1.

The last thing that we need to mention here in the introduction is the additional dimension added to *oru* and *toru* in general, and *yoru* in particular in the central Kinki region. According to Kinsui, Inoue and others, in the dialects of this region, the former two carry a slightly pejorative connotation, while the latter carries a strong pejorative connotation. An object that carries only a slight pejorative connotation will be called *light pejorative* in this paper. This pejorativeness will be examined further with the aid of an informant in the next chapter, but it is necessary to know of it in order to understand some of the sentences in the survey analysed below.

3.2 Some Historical Notes

Before entering into the main discussion, we will briefly touch upon the history of the aspect morphemes in Japan, paraphrasing Kinsui (2006). By examining the existential verbs and aspectual markers used during notable periods of Japanese history, Kinsui argues that there is a close connection between these two. In other words, like *iru* and *teiru* could be said to stand in a mutual “correspondence” now, so has been the case between other existential aspect markers and verbs in other time periods as well.

Let us briefly summarise the history of the relevant aspectual markers in central Japan.

- During the Kamakura period, the morpheme *tari* was in use.
- During the Muromachi period *tearu* was in use.
- During the Edo period, *teiru* was used for animate, and *tearu* was used for inanimate subjects.
- In modern times, *teiru* has come to dominate.

From these changes in aspectual markers, Kinsui draws two conclusions. Firstly, existential aspect forms change together with the existential verbs. Secondly, existential aspect forms are close to spatial existential expressions.

3.3 Aspect Survey

Let us begin by comparing the aspectual forms in the dialects with those of standard Japanese. We will use sentences from standard Japanese as a basis, and then show sentences in dialects from five regions, namely those of the cities of Kashihara and Nara (Nara prefecture), Tsu (Mie prefecture), Kobe (Hyogo prefecture) and Uwajima (Ehime prefecture). These are taken from the survey on predicate structure by Kudo et al. (2005). The locations of these cities are displayed in map 1.

This section is laid out in the following way. Firstly we describe the aspectual opposition between *yoru* and *toru* in the next section. Then a series of sections will follow, in each of these we will discuss a limited set of aspects using example sentences and comments from the informants of the survey. Following a sentence in standard Japanese, fully glossed and accompanied by an English translation, the sentences will be presented in tables consisting only of the predicate; the reason being that we are only interested in this part. Where these actually do come into play, we will mention them in the running text.

While presenting the example sentences, we will also discuss the differences between them. By analysing the sentences as they are presented, the discussion will hopefully be easier to follow, without the need for cross-referencing. At the end of each section, we attempt a summary of the relevant parts of each dialect.



Map 1: The cities of the dialects covered by the survey: Kashihara (Ka), Kobe (Ko), Nara (N), Tsu (T) and Uwajima (U).

3.3.1 Aspectual Opposition

Before proceeding any further, one thing that deserves a more thorough treatment is the aspectual opposition that exists between *yoru* and *toru*. There is, as we have mentioned previously, a tendency for *yoru* and *toru*, to varying degrees, to be responsible for their own parts of the aspectual spectrum.

According to Kinsui (2006:42), there seems to be a correspondence between dialects where the form based on the continuative form and the form based on the gerund stand in opposition, and dialects where this opposition does not exist; the former employs an aspectual machinery where a certain morpheme expresses a certain aspect (*imi teki asupekuto*), while on the other hand in the latter the aspect is a function of the subject or direct object (*toogo teki asupekuto*). Kinsui gives the Uwajima dialect as an example;

(3.1a) mado o ake-tor-u
 window OBJ open-TORU-NPAST
 “(I) have opened the window.”

(3.1b) mado ga ai-tor-u
 window OBJ open-TORU-NPAST
 “The window is open.”

These sentences both express a resultative aspect. On the other hand, in the common language, which is of the latter type, we have;

(3.2a) mado o ake-tei-ru
 window OBJ open-TEIRU-NPAST
 “(I) am opening the window at this very moment.”

(3.2b) mado ga ai-tei-ru
 window OBJ open-TEIRU-NPAST
 “The window is open.”

Here the first sentence becomes a progressive sentence, while the second sentence is a resultative one. In other words, in the Uwajima dialect, where the aspectual opposition exists, different aspects are expressed using different morphemes while, on the other hand, in standard Japanese the aspect is a function of grammatical factors such as transitivity.

In this section we paraphrase Kudo (1993)⁷. The opposition reportedly exists in all grammatical categories. Thus the following pairs stand in opposition, using the verb *nomu* 'to drink' as an example⁸.

Non past	nondoru	nomiyoru
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7 Since Kudo does not provide English translations of the examples, the English translations in this section, and consequently any and all mistakes therein, are the authors own.

8 To these we should also add the conjugations depending on the *orehen* and *orahen* 'does not exist' families of *oru*.

Imperative	nondore	nomiyore
Past	nondotta	nomiyotta
Passive + aux	nomaretoru	nomareyoru
Causative + aux	nomasetoru	nomaseyoru
Negative + non past	nondoran	nomiyoran

There is a tendency for the opposition to evolve from a mutually exclusive opposition to a non-mutually exclusive opposition. However, Kudo says, this is not a sign of *yoru* disappearing but, rather, it seems to be a change in function of the morphemes involved. Kinsui (2006:42) also mentions this phenomenon, and adds that dialects where *toru* takes on more and more of the functions of *yoru* and becomes central are not uncommon.

Kudo mentions the Suoooshima dialect as an example of a dialect where the opposition is completely mutually exclusive. In this dialect, it is not possible to use *toru* (realised as *choru*) to express for instance repetitive and continuative aspects. The following sentences must accordingly be expressed using *toru* (realised as *choru*).

(3.3a) *yuki ga tsumoc-chor-u*
snow SBJ pile up-TORU-NPAST
“Snow has piled up.”

(3.3b) *tsubame ga su hitotsu kuc-chor-u*
swallow SBJ nest one hollow out-TORU-NPAST
“The swallow has built a nest.”

On the other hand, only *yoru* (realised as *-yooru*) can be used in the following sentences.

(3.4a) *Ken -chan ga hon yom-yoor-u*
Ken SBJ book read-YORU-NPAST
“Ken is reading a book (at this very moment).”

(3.4b) *kinyoobi ni wa nee isso sushi tabe ni*
friday on TOP PRT always sushi eat DAT
ik-yoor-u n yo
go-YORU-NPAST NOMI FP
“On Fridays, you know, we always go to eat sushi.”

In this way, in this dialect, *yoru* and *toru* have their own domains of usage, entrance into which they which they mutually prohibit.

Albeit theoretically beautiful, this kind of ideal situation is not very common, and dialects where the opposition is non-mutually exclusive are the most frequent. However, the variation between the dialects is not irregular, and a few generalisations may be done. Listing them in the same order as Kudo, they are as follows⁹.

1. In dialects that employ *yoru* and *toru*, only *toru* is used for aspectualities such as the resultative and the experiential. There are almost no dialects that differ in this regard.
2. When it comes to continuative (progressive, repetitive and habitual) aspectualities, both *yoru* and *toru* have come to be employed with a difference in nuance.
3. Actions that are in a state where they are about to start cannot be expressed with *toru*, and neither can actions that go as far as to be about to start, but never do.

We will keep these points in mind during the discussion in the following. At this point, the reader is also recommended to look into Nilsson (2010) for a more detailed insight into the aspectual situation on Kyushu.

3.3.2 *Progressive and Resultative Aspect*

In this section we investigate the formation of progressive and resultative aspects in the dialects.

In chapter 2 when we studied the semantics of *teiru* in standard Japanese; one of the first examples we considered was the basic function of this morpheme on the pair of verbs *aku* and *akeru*. As we saw, in the former, *teiru* gives rise to a resultative interpretation while in the latter case a progressive interpretation is necessary. In the dialects we have elected to study, these are in the former case of *aku* realised as follows.

- (3.5) mado ga ai-tei-ru
window SBJ open-TEIRU-NPAST
“The window is open.”

9 These are simplified versions of the points Kudo present. For details see (kudo, 1993:6).

Kashihara; Nara (a)	ai-tei-ru open-TERU-NPAST
Kashihara; Nara (b)	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Tsu	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	ai-too open-TORU.NPAST
Uwajima	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST

Table 1: The verb *aku* occurring with resultative aspect in the non-past tense.

In the reference sentence we have a sentence with the intransitive and instantaneous verb *aku*; thus the corresponding *teiru*-sentence is a resultative sentence. In almost all dialectal sentences, the *oru*-group is used to express this; however, in both Kashihara and Nara *iru* can also be used. In Kashihara, since *oru* is a light pejorative, there is a tendency for female speakers to avoid this expression. In Nara there is no notable difference between the two versions. Using the survey, we can also confirm that there is no change to the above set-up when switching to the past tense, thus *teru* would be *teta* and *toru totta*. Of particular interest is the sentence from Tsu. To see why this is the case, let us make the above standard Japanese sentence into a progressive sentence.

(3.6) mado ga aki-tsutsuar-u
window SBJ open-PROG-NPAST

“The window is currently in the process of being opened.”

Here the informants were reportedly instructed to create sentences that describe a situation where they remember seeing a window opening gradually. This might explain why there is no past tense in the Kashihara sentence. In the Nara sentence, *yoru* shows up where an inceptive *teru* was previously being employed.

Let us now take a look at *akeru* -- the transitive verb corresponding to *aku*. Ignoring interpretations such as experiential or interpretations that result from having a plural subject; in standard Japanese, applying *teiru* directly to this verb results in a progressive sentence.

(3.9) Taroo ga mado o ake-tsutsuar-u
 Taro SBJ window OBJ open-PROG-NPAST

“Taro is in the process of opening the window in this very moment.”

Kashihara (unrelated results omitted)	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST
Nara (unrelated results omitted)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Tsu	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	ake-yoo open-YORU.NPAST
Uwajima	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST

Table 3: The verb *akeru* occurring with a progressive aspect in the non-past tense.

In Kashihara, Kobe and Uwajima *yoru* is employed, while in Nara and Tsu, *toru* is employed. In Kashihara and Nara other ways of expression are available though they are unrelated to the aspect morphemes currently under consideration and so have been omitted; this includes the light-weight honorific verb *haru* used in Nara when the subject is to be exalted. This variation did not appear previously as the subject in that case was the window itself.

In the case of the intransitive verb *aku* and the dialect of Tsu, we saw previously that *toru* was employed for expressing both a continuative and resultative aspect. This is also a possibility when we deal with the transitive counterpart.

(3.10) Taroo ga mado o ake-te i-ru
 Taro SBJ window OBJ open-GER be-NPAST

“Taro has opened the window.”

Kashihara (a)	ake-te-ru open-TERU-NPAST
Kashihara (b)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Nara (a)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Nara (b)	ake-yot-ta open-YORU-PAST
Nara (c)	ake-hat-ta open-HON-PAST
Tsu	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Kobe (a)	ake-too open-TORU.NPAST
Kobe (b)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Uwajima	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST

Table 4: A resultative non-past usage of the verb *akeru*.

In the standard Japanese sentence, it is the verb *iru* that is being employed, not the grammaticalised *teiru*; i.e. the sentence says that Taro has opened the window and that state is now in effect. Note that it in the dialects represented above, it would seem that *toru* is preferred, however we cannot know whether this is a contraction of the gerund and the verb *oru*, or if it really is the grammaticalised *toru* that is being used. With this in mind, both *teru* and *toru* are registered in Kashihara, with unrelated results omitted, while Nara reveals *toru*, as well as a *yoru*. In the case of the subject being a person that is to be exalted, the light-weight honorific *haru* is employed. Interestingly the past tense appears in these two cases, which might be a mistake due to reasons of irregularity. We can also see that in Tsu, *toru* is again employed for expressing both progressive and resultative eventualities. In Kobe, both *too* and *toru* of the *oru*-family are employed with equal frequency in this case. *toru* is also employed in Uwajima.

We now transform the previous two settings into past tense. With the progressive reading we get the following sentences in the dialects¹⁰.

(3.11) Taroo ga mado o ake-tei-ta
 Taro SBJ window OBJ open-TEIRU-PAST
 “Taro was in the process of opening the window.”

(3.12) Taroo ga mado o ake-te-ta (Kashihara)
 Taro SBJ window OBJ open-TERU-PAST

(3.13) Taroo ga mado o ake-tot-ta (Kashihara)
 Taro SBJ window OBJ open-TORU-PAST

(3.14) Taroo ga mado o ake-tot-ta (Kobe)
 Taro-NOUN SBJ window-NOUN OBJ open-TORU-PAST

The informants were here instructed to remember Taro being in the process of opening the window. The dialects not represented here form past tense by simply conjugating the corresponding verbs presented before into the past tense. In some cases, constructions which are outside the scope of this thesis were employed. In the Kashihara dialect, *teru* and *toru* appear where *yoru* was previously being employed. This also holds for Kobe where *toru* is employed in place of *yoru* which was used to express the same eventuality in the non-past tense.

In the past resultative sentences with the same verb as before, the informants were asked to remember that Taro had opened the window, and then produce their sentences. In all dialects under scrutiny, the sentences transform to the past tense as one would expect, except that the informant in Kashihara reportedly expressed a difficulty of answering the question.

We now study the instantaneous intransitive verb *shinu* 'to die'. This verb has no transitive corresponding verb and so is set apart from *aku* and *akeru*. Furthermore, due to the attitudinal properties of the verb, the *oru-* and in particular *yoru-*family of expressions become extra clear.

The first example involves a resultative aspect. The informants of the survey were asked to produce sentences appropriate to a scene where they witness a goldfish floating on the surface of the water.

(3.15) kingyo ga shin-dei-ru

¹⁰ The survey referenced in this work employed *aketsutsuaru* in the presentation of the non-past tense question, while a normal *teiru* was employed in the questions involving past tense.

goldfish SBJ die-TEIRU-NPAST
 “The goldfish is dead.”

Kashihara (a)	shin-de-ru die-TERU-NPAST
Kashihara (b)	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST
Nara (a)	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST
Nara (b)	shin-der-u die-TERU-NPAST
Tsu	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	shin-doo die-TORU.NPAST
Uwajima	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST

Table 5: Resultative sentences with the verb *shinu* occurring in the non-past tense

In this case, all of the dialects use either *teru* or *toru*. In the Kashihara dialect, it is possible to use *toru*. However, in this region there is a tendency to put emphasis on the attitudinal aspects of the expression rather than the aspectual. Accordingly, using *toru* might result in a pejorative interpretation. In addition, the verb *shinu* is already associated with an attitudinally negative connotation. Due to this, informants of the survey report that female speakers often chose the more neutral expression involving *teiru*. In Nara, usage of *toru* connotes an emotional involvement and could be employed for emphasis.

The next example is of a change in progress. Here the inchoative aspect morpheme *kakeru* is used in conjunction with *teiru*. Using only *teiru* will result in a resultative sentence. The adverbial *dandan* is also inserted to exclude other interpretations, such as the experiential, of the aspect morpheme.

(3.16) kingyo ga (dandan) shini-kake-tei-ru
 goldfish SBJ gradually die-INC-TEIRU-NPAST
 “The goldfish is dying.”

Kashihara (a)	shini-kake-te-ru die-INC-TERU-NPAST
Kashihara (b)	shini-kake-tor-u die-INC-TORU-NPAST
Nara (a)	shini-kake-tor-u die-INC-TORU-NPAST
Nara (b)	shini-kake-te-ru die-INC-TERU-NPAST
Tsu (a)	shini-kake-tor-u die-INC-TORU-NPAST
Tsu (b)	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST
Kobe (a)	shini-kake-too die-INC-TORU.NPAST
Kobe (b)	shini-kake-yoo die-INC-YORU.NPAST
Uwajima	shini-yor-u die-YORU-NPAST

Table 6: Progressive constructions including the verb *shinu* occurring in the non-past tense.

In Kashihara, it is possible to use *toru* in such instances. However, the previous comments on attitudinality apply here as well. In Nara, the usage of *teru* results in a more impartial view of the situation, without emotional involvement. In Tsu, it is possible to use *toru* as is, however the combined usage of *kakeru* and *toru* is more common. In Kobe, usage of *toru* is the more frequent of the two expressions available.

In this section we have studied the formation of progressive and resultative aspect in the dialects of choice. We have seen that there are dialects where *toru* shoulders both of these roles, as in the Tsu dialect, and also that there are dialects where *yoru* and *toru* are used for different purposes in this regard (at least given the verbs studied here), such as in the Uwajima and Kobe dialects. In Nara as well, *toru* can be used mostly for both resultatives and progressives, however, when the verb is intransitive and instantaneous, it seems that *toru* is only progressive, since additional auxiliaries are, as

is the case with standard Japanese as well, necessary in order to produce a progressive sentence.

3.3.3 Prospectivity and Unrealised Actions

yoru and *toru*, but in particular *yoru*, also appear in connection with evidentiality and actions that are imminent, or actions that appear imminent but in reality do not occur (non-realisation). This is however not a feature of all dialects. For instance, in the Uwajima dialect, *yoru* conjugated in the past tense can express this idea of non-realisation (Kudo, 2008).

(3.17) kinoo Taroo kuruma ni hikare-yot-ta.
 yesterday Taro car DAT be run over-YORU-PAST
 abuna-katta n yo
 dangerous-PAST NOMI FP

“Yesterday, Taro was almost run over by a car. That was really dangerous!”

This functionality is however not present when the present tense is used. However, when the present tense is used, the meaning may be interpreted as an action that is in preparation to take place (prospective aspectuality). A similar function also exists in the Awajima dialect. This dialect employs a pejorative *yoru* however, under certain circumstances, *yoru* undergoes a phonemic change and loses the pejorative function. *yoru* used in this way is used in the past tense and expresses non-realisation.

Tanimori (2012) discusses the Awajima dialect in detail, and also cites Kudo, making a comparison with the Uwajima dialect.

(3.18) a neko ga sakana tabe-yor-u
 INTER cat SBJ fish to eat-YORU-NPAST

(3.19) sakki machi no ue o hikooki ga tobi-yot-ta
 some time ago town GEN above LOC airplane SBJ fly-YORU-PAST

(3.20) choodo hikooki ga tobi-yot-ta n yo.
 precisely plane SBJ fly-YORU.PAST NOMI FP
 kodomo-ra neshhin-ni mi-yot-ta
 children-PL intently-ADV watch-YORU-PAST

If these sentences are taken to be of the Uwajima dialect, the first sentence would be used when the speaker sees the cat draw near the fish; the second sentence would be a normal progressive sentence; the third sentence describes the air plane getting ready to tax out on the runway, i.e. in the process of

getting ready to fly. If the sentences are taken to be of the Awajima dialect, all of the sentences express progression.

Having seen these introductory examples of *yoru*, we turn to see how our chosen dialects express the same ideas for our chosen verbs. In this example we deal with the sensory evidential construction *-sooda* and the verb *shinu*. The sentence in standard Japanese is as follows, and expresses an imminent action.

(3.21) kingyo ga shini-soo da
 goldfish SBJ die-EVD COP.NPAST
 “The goldfish is about to die.”

Nara (a)	shini-kake-tor-u die-INCH-TORU-NPAST
Nara (b)	shini-kake-te-ru die-INCH-TERU-NPAST
Kashihara	shini-soo da die-EVD COP.NPAST
Tsu	Shinoto shi-tor-u die:HORTC do-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	shini-yoo die-YORU.NPAST
Uwajima	shini-yor-u die-YORU-NPAST

Table 7: Prospective sentences with the verb *shinu*.

Here there is no sentence from Kashihara, since it is virtually identical to the standard Japanese sentence in all ways that matter here. Although not reflected in the sentences above, that expression is possible in Tsu and Nara as well. In Nara, the expressions employ the inchoative/inceptive aspect morpheme *kakeru* in conjunction with *toru* and *teru*. In this dialect, *teru* can, more so than *toru*, be used with all subjects while the latter is used for animals and so on. In Tsu as well, *toru* can be used to encode the same reading as the standard Japanese sentence; however in this dialect this morpheme is not attached directly to the verb *shinu*, which results in the need to use a different morphological construction. In both Kobe and Uwajima *yoru* is used here, which in the case of the latter is in accordance with what was stated earlier.

In the next example, we look at a non-realised situation when the goldfish was close to dying, but in the end did not do so. This is accomplished in standard Japanese using the noun *tokoro* 'moment' (Pettersson, 1995:163).

(3.22) kingyo ga moo sukoshi de shin-u tokoro datta
 goldfish SBJ just a little bit more die-NPAST moment COP.PAST
 “Just a little bit more, and the goldfish would have died.”

Nara (a)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese sentence.</i>
Nara (b)	shini-yor-u die-YORU-NPAST
Kashihara	<i>Identical to standard Japanese sentence.</i>
Tsu	<i>Identical to standard Japanese sentence.</i>
Kobe	shini-yot-ta die-YORU-PAST
Uwajima	shini-yot-ta die-YORU-PAST

Table 8: Prospective but in the end unrealised eventualities with the verb *shinu*.

Again, there is no using *yoru* or *toru* together with *shinu* in the Tsu dialect. The sentence given above for Nara is reportedly not used when the subject is a human. In both Uwajima and Kobe we again see *yoru* making an appearance.

Having studied the verb *shinu*, we again turn to the verb *aku*. The first example is about a window that is about to open.

(3.23) mado ga ima ni mo akooto shi-tei-ru
 window SBJ any moment open:HORTC do-TEIRU-NPAST
 “The window is about to open.”

Kashihara (a)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>
Kashihara (b)	aki-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST
Nara (a)	akk-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST
Nara (b)	aki-kake-te-ru open-INCH-TERU-NPAST
Nara (c)	aki-kake-tor-u open-INCH-TORU-NPAST
Tsu (a)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>
Tsu (b)	aki-so ya open-EVD COP.NPAST
Tsu (c)	aki-kakat-tor-u open-INCH-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	akooto shi-too open:HORTC do-TORU.NPAST
Uwajima	aki-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST

Table 9: The verb *aku* occurring with the prospective aspect.

The standard Japanese sentence uses the hortative complementiser to express the idea of the action about to be initiated. In comparison, this is also possible in the dialects of Kashihara, Tsu and Kobe, although the latter two combines the expression with *toru* instead of *teru*. In Tsu, *yoru* and *toru* are not directly added to *aku*. In both Kashihara and Nara, *yoru* is used. This is also the case in Uwajima.

When examining a situation where the door came to the point where it nearly opened, however whether it did or did not do so is unclear, the responses in the survey are analogous to those of *shinu* above, thus we will not reproduce them here.

Next, let us turn our attention to *akeru*.

(3.24) Taroo ga mado o akeyooto shi-tei-ru
Taro SBJ window OBJ open:HORTC do-TEIRU-NPAST

“Taro is about to open the window.”

Kashihara (a)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>		
Kashihara (b)	akeyotoo open:HORTC	shi-tor-u do-TORU-NPAST	
Nara (a)	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST	toko moment	ya COP.NPAST
Nara (b)	ake-har-u open-HON-NPAST	toko moment	ya COP.NPAST
Tsu	akeyotoo open:HORTC	shi-tor-u do-TORU-NPAST	
Kobe	ake-yoo open-YORU.NPAST		
Uwajima	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST		

Table 10: The verb *akeru* occurring with the prospective aspect.

In both Kashihara and Tsu the informants produced sentences with the hortative complementiser, in perfect unison with standard Japanese. In Kashihara one unrelated way of expression has been omitted. In Nara, *yoru* is combined with the noun *tokoro* to produce the same effect as in the standard Japanese sentence with the hortative complementiser. In Kobe and Uwajima, *yoru* is used unmodified.

Let us also look at a non-realisation situation where the window was about to be opened but in reality never came to that point.

- (3.25) moo sukoshi de mado o ake-ru tokoro datta
just a little bit more window OBJ open-NPAST moment COP.NPAST
“Just a little more, and (Taro) would have opened the window.”
“(Taro) was not far from opening the window.”

Kashihara (a)	<i>Identical with standard Japanese.</i>		
Kashihara (b)	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST	toko moment	yatta COP.PAST
Nara (a)	<i>Identical to Kashihara (b).</i>		
Nara (b)	ake-har-u open-HON-NPAST	toko moment	yatta COP.NPAST
Tsu	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>		
Kobe	ake-yot-ta open-YORU-PAST		
	ake-yot-ta open-YORU-PAST		

Table 11: non-realised actions with the verb *akeru*.

In both Kashihara and Nara *yoru* can reportedly be employed. In Kashihara the same expression used in the standard Japanese sentence may also be used. Interestingly, there is no comment on pejorativity among the results from the survey concerning the *yoru* sentence from Kashihara. Another interesting point to note, albeit unrelated to *yoru* or *toru*, is the sentence from Nara employing the light-weight honorific *haru*, which is only set apart from the previous sentence by the tense of the copula. The sentence from Tsu is almost identical to the standard Japanese sentence. Once again, *yoru* makes an appearance in Kobe and Uwajima.

In this section we have studied sentences that express not yet realised eventualities; either the action of the verb is about to be, or was about to but never was, initiated. Concerning Uwajima, the examples above are in accordance with Kudo in that *yoru* expresses an action about to take place (present tense) or an action that was about to take place, but never did (past tense). Although a wider array of verbs need to be tested to know for certain, it would also seem that the dialect of Kobe also follows this pattern, as the sentences from Kobe follow the sentences from Uwajima in both the tense as well as the morpheme employed, in all but one sentence. It is indeed interesting that the same morpheme could be used to express these aspectualities, as well as a progressive aspect. In that case, the context becomes all the more important in judging what is being said.

On the other hand, the sentences from the Tsu dialect are somewhat irregular, however to summarise one could perhaps say that they are close to the sentences of standard Japanese, while still retaining a flavour of the dialect, such as replacing *shiteiru* with *shitoru*. In Nara, the idea of an imminent action is often represented in the sentences above as a combination of *yoru* and *tokoro*. In the case of *akeru*, the only difference between an imminent action and an imminent but not realised action is the tense of the copula, in one of the sentences. The fact that the corresponding honorific sentence is realised with *haru*, and not the gerund in conjunction with *haru* might perhaps suggest that this *yoru* is not realising a progressive aspect but something else, although what this might be is currently unclear.

3.3.4 Habitual and Repetitive Aspect

In the previous subsection we studied progressive and resultative aspectual constructions in the dialects under consideration. In this section we will study how habitual and repetitive aspects are expressed. We will use the same verbs as before, and start once again with the verb *aku*.

- (3.26) kono mise wa maiasa ku ji ni ak-u
 this store TOP every morning nine hour at open-NPAST
 “This store opens nine o clock every morning.”

Kashihara	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>	
Nara (a)	akk-yon open-YORU-NPAST	-de FP
Nara (b)	ai-ten open-TERU-NPAST	-de FP
Nara (c)	ai-ton open-TORU-NPAST	-de EMPH
Tsu (a)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>	
Tsu (b)	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST	
Kobe	ai-too open-TORU-NPAST	
Uwajima	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>	

Table 12: Habitual and repetitive sentences with the verb *aku*.

As we can see, all three of *teru*, *toru* and *yoru* can be used in Nara. In Tsu, either *toru* or the plain verb can be used, while in Kobe only *toru* is used.

Using the same verb, we take a look at a repetitive resultative sentence. The informants were asked to mention the window of the neighbour, which is always open.

- (3.27) tonari no ie no mado wa itsumo ai-tei-ru
 neighbour GEN home GEN window TOP always open-TEIRU-NPAST
 “(My) neighbours window is always open.”

Kashihara (a)	ai-te-ru open-TERU-NPAST	
Kashihara (b)	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST	
Nara (a)	ai-ten open-TERU-NPAST	-de FP
Nara (b)	ai-ton open-TORU.NPAST	-de FP
Tsu	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST	
Kobe	ai-too open-TORU.NPAST	
Uwajima	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST	

Table 13: The verb *aku* occurring with a resultative repetitive aspect.

In Kashihara as well as Nara, both *teru* and *toru* are acceptable, albeit there is a discrepancy in Nara and there were other unrelated ways of expression in Kashihara. In Nara, informants report that they feel the sentence using *toru* should be followed by a warning urging for caution. In Tsu only *toru* is possible here.

Let us take a look at a few sentences using *akeru*, the transitive counterpart of *aku*.

- (3.28) Taroo wa mainichi roku ji ni mado o
Taro TOPIC every day six hour at window OBJ
o ake-tei-ru
OBJ open-TEIRU-NPAST

“Taro opens the window at six o clock every day.”

Kashihara (a)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>
Kashihara (b)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Nara (a)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Nara (b)	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST
Tsu (a)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Tsu (b)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>
Kobe	ake-yoo open-YORU-NPAST
Uwajima (a)	ake-ru open-NPAST
Uwajima (b)	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST

Table 14: The verb *akeru* occurring with repetitive and habitual aspect.

In Kashihara *toru* and *teru* are feasible. In Nara, in the case of the subject being a person that is to be exalted, *akeharu* and *aketaharu* are also employed. *toru* can be used in Tsu in this case as well, however there is no danger of misunderstanding since the temporal adverb clearly marks the sentence as a habitual one.

The examples above treat situations that are both repetitive and habitual. Another possibility is a sentence that is not habitual although it is repetitive. Using the same verb, the informants of the survey were asked to create sentences conforming to a situation where they see Taro open the windows of a room one by one.

- (3.29) Taroo ga tsugitsugi ni mado o ake-tei-ru
Taro SBJ one by one PRT window OBJ open-TEIRU-NPAST
“Taro is opening the windows of the room one by one.”

Kashihara (a)	<i>Identical to standard Japanese.</i>
Kashihara (b)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Nara	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Tsu (a)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Tsu (b)	ake-ru open-NPAST
Kobe	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST
Uwajima	ake-yor-u open-YORU-NPAST

Table 15: Instances of the verb *akeru* occurring with repetitive reading.

Here we see either *toru* or *teru* sentences in Kashihara, Nara and Tsu. In Kashihara, results unrelated to the morphemes under consideration were reported in addition to the ones shown here. In Nara, if the subject is to be exalted, *haru* is used instead, as was the case in previous sentences. In Tsu, it is possible for the unmodified verb to take the place of *teiru* in standard Japanese. This is not surprising since there is a connotation of repetition in the dictionary form of the verbs as well, however in standard Japanese usage of *teiru* emphasises the regularity of the eventuality. The usage of *toru* in this dialect reportedly emphasises the regularity, analogously with standard Japanese. In the other dialects we see *yoru* sentences being employed.

In this section we studied repetitive and habitual aspects using the pair of verbs *aku* and *akeru*. According to the summary in 3.3.1 there is a tendency for these aspectualities to be shouldered by both *yoru* and *toru* in the dialects. Indeed, in Kobe and Uwajima both of these morphemes turn up in the survey. Nara seems to be particularly rich in variety of expressions, however notable is that *toru* can be used in all cases raised here. This applies for Tsu as well. In Kashihara, *toru* is recorded in almost all cases, however here the pejorative dimension also exists.

3.3.5 Experientiality

In the previous section we studied habitual and repetitive aspects. In this section we study the formation of some experiential sentences. As usual, we begin with the verb *aku*, and then move on to the verb *akeru*. The first example with *aku* is about a store that opens at 9 o'clock every morning.

(3.30) (kono mise wa maiasa ku ji ni kaiten
 this store TOP every morning nine hour at opening of store
 suru ga) kinoo wa juu ji ni
 to do-VERB.NPAST but-CONJ yesterday TOP ten hour at
 ai-tei-ru
 open-TEIRU-NPAST
 “(This store opens at nine o'clock every morning, but) (it) opened at ten o'clock yesterday.”

Kashiahra (a)	ai-te-ta open-TERU-PAST
Kashihara (b)	ai-tot-ta open-TORU-PAST
Nara (a)	aki-yot-ta open-YORU-PAST
Nara (b)	ai-tot-ta open-TORU-PAST
Nara (c)	ai-te-ta open-TERU-PAST
Tsu	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	ai-tot-ta open-TORU-PAST
Uwajima	ai-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST

Table 16: *Experiential sentences realised with the verb aku.*

taru, which is omitted here may also be employed in Kashihara, in addition to *teru* and *toru*. Informants of the survey report that *taru* is the most appropriate in this context. Concerning *toru*, the previously made remarks on pejorativity apply here as well, and females tend to avoid this way of expression. In Tsu, Kobe and Uwajima, *toru* is used; in Kobe it however seems that the past tense was preferred by the informants.

The next set of experiential sentences involve the verb *akeru*.

- (3.31) Taroo wa kinoo roku ji ni mado o
 Taro TOPIC yesterday six hour at window OBJ
 ake-tei-ru
 open-TEIRU-NPAST
 “Taro has opened the window yesterday at 6 o'clock.” (lit.)

Kashihara (a)	ake-ta open-PAST
Kashihara (b)	ake-yot-ta open-YORU-PAST
Nara (a)	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Nara (b)	ake-yot-ta open-YORU-PAST
Tsu	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	ake-too open-TORU.NPAST
Uwajima	ake-tor-u open-TORU-NPAST

Table 17: *Experiential sentences realised with the verb akeru.*

In Kashihara, the plain past tense of the verb, as well as *yoru* can be employed. Turning to Nara, both *toru* and *yoru* can be employed; some unrelated forms can moreover be employed but have been omitted. In Tsu, Kobe and Uwajima *toru* is employed.

We next take a look at the instantaneous and intransitive verb *shinu*.

- (3.32) ano ko no otoosan wa go nen maeni shin-dei-ru
 that girl GEN father TOP five years before die-TEIRU-NPAST

“That girl's father died five years ago.”

Kashihara (a)	shin-de-ru die-TERU-NPAST
Kashihara (b)	shin-da-har-u die-GER-PROG.HON-NPAST
Nara (a)	shin-de-har-u die-GER-PROG.HON-NPAST
Nara (b)	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST
Tsu	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST
Kobe	shin-doo die-TORU.NPAST
Uwajima	shin-dor-u die-TORU-NPAST

Table 18: Experiential sentences realised with the verb *shinu*.

In Kashihara, using *teiru* is a neutral way of expression. However, since we are talking about the father of another person, responses using the light-weight honorific *haru*, also show up. Nara is similar to Kashihara in that sentences involving *haru* also appear, in the case of a close or respected person having passed away. In Tsu, it is not possible to use *yoru* here; moreover is the fact that *toru* expresses an experiential and not a resultative reading inferred from the temporal adverb appearing within the sentence. *toru* is used in both Kobe and Uwajima in this case.

In this section, the formation of experiential sentences in the dialects, based on the verbs *aku*, *akeru* and *shinu* was studied. The most common way of expression seems to be the morpheme *toru* for our chosen combination of dialects and verbs. This is in accordance to the statement by Kudo (1993:6) that in dialects using both *yoru* and *toru*, *toru* is used for these types of sentences. Interestingly indeed is then the appearance of *yoru* in some of the sentences from Nara and Kashihara. If this is a sign of the relationship between these morphemes having changed since Kudo wrote her article, or simply an exception to the general rule is unknown. Noteworthy is also that when it came to the verb *akeru*, many of the dialectal sentences occurred in past tense.

3.4 Conclusion

We have in the above sections studied a large number of sentences of varying aspectualities in five different dialects, comparing them among themselves and against standard Japanese. In this section, we try to point out the most important points of the above discussion and, where necessary, also expand on what has already been said.

In standard Japanese, the aspect expressed by *teiru* is largely dependent on the verb; as we have seen is *aiteiru* in general a resultative sentence while *aketeiru* is a progressive sentence. The verb itself is instantaneous but there is a difference in transitivity that gives rise to the different interpretations. In the Tsu dialect, both these aspects are expressed using *toru*. However, *aitoru* can in addition express progression, and *aketoru* can express a resultative sentence. The latter is analogous with standard Japanese, where the gerund of *akeru* in conjunction with *iru* (not to be confused with the very different expression of *aketeiru* with the grammaticalised *teiru*) also expresses a resultative sentence. In this dialect, it would thus seem that *toru* works like *teiru* in standard Japanese, but with some additional functionality. Since this dialect uses the existential verb *oru*, this is in conjunction with the theory that the existential verbs and the aspectual expressions are closely connected (Kinsui, 2006).

Given the opposition of *aku* and *akeru* with respect to *teiru*, the Kobe and Uwajima dialects are also of high interest. In these dialects we have seen that the morphemes *toru* and *yoru* are used for different purposes; namely the former expressing progressive aspect and the latter expressing continuative aspect. Interesting here is the fact that this division of roles is independent of verbal aspect as well as transitivity. It would thus seem that the aspectual opposition of which Kudo (1993) and Kinsui (2006) speak is to a high degree mutually exclusive in Kobe as well, although the results presented in this thesis are not enough to judge the degree of completion, we hypothesise that it has a high degree of completeness. As a side note, this might be due to the proximity to Kyushu (Nilsson, 2010).

To summarise we present the following table.

Standard Japanese	<i>teiru</i> (resultative)	<i>teiru</i> (progressive)
Tsu	<i>toru</i>	<i>toru</i>
Kobe	<i>too</i> (<i>toru</i>)	<i>yoo</i> (<i>yoru</i>)
Uwajima	<i>toru</i>	<i>yoru</i>

Turning to the habitual and repetitive aspectualities, it was unfortunately difficult to draw any further conclusions based on this investigation. The relatively few number, and in particular types, of verbs makes it difficult to discern any patterns in the data set.

The experiential sentences investigated revealed a result in accordance with the general principle that *toru* shoulders the responsibility of this aspectuality, although other results were disclosed as well, among which a few occurrences of *yoru* are particularly interesting.

When it comes to the prospective and associated aspectualities, a number of interesting phenomena appear. We have seen examples of *yoru* expressing an action that is about to take place, and a non-realised action, the difference between the two cases being only the tense. For comparative purposes, we note that this function does not exist with the morpheme *teiru* in standard Japanese. We also take note on the combination of *yoru* and *tokoro* in Nara. This *yoru* seems to have different properties than that of Kobe or Uwajima. However, to discern this, further inquiry as to what ways of expression are available in these dialects is required.

To summarise, *toru* and *yoru* are two multi-faceted morphemes which together shoulder the functions of *teiru* in standard Japanese. However, the expressive power of these two is more diverse than that of *teiru*, as they can be used to express aspectualities not included in the repertoire of this morpheme.

Chapter 4

In the previous chapter we discussed some of the grammatical aspects of the morphemes *yoru* and *toru*, and touched briefly upon the pejorative function of these and the existential verb *oru*. Our primary goal in this chapter is to obtain a more concrete picture of how the pejorativity of these morphemes works. This will be done by discussing the Kashihara and the Osaka dialects, discussion of the former being drawn from data from the survey presented in chapter 3, and discussion of the latter being based on interviews with a native speaker from Osaka as informant.

The pejorativity of these morphemes has already been introduced in the previous chapter, however, that introduction merely served to give the reader a level of comprehension of the comments on pejorativity in the examples displayed. Accordingly, a more thorough introduction will be given here.

After the introduction (section 4.1), we will briefly touch upon the history of the pejorative function (section 4.2) and then begin our discussion (section 4.3) based on interviews with a native speaker from Osaka, and some of the data from the survey analysed in the previous chapter.

4.1 Introduction

As we have previously seen, in the dialects of the central Kinki region, to the morphemes *yoru* and to some extent also *toru* (*oru*), an attitudinal dimension is added onto the aspectual, in that the former carries a strong pejorative connotation and the latter carries a slight pejorative one. Due to this, it is unclear to what extent we can actually say that for instance *yoru* in Osaka is the same as *yoru* in Kyushu, nor to what extent the aspectual functionality is influenced by the attitudinal dimension, however, due to the limited time available for this report, this question cannot be pursued to the fullest, to the author's dismay.

In the dialects of central Kinki, this pejorative connotation is necessarily accompanied by the usage of the neutral *iru* and *teru*. The reason is that otherwise there would be no neutral way to speak of the existence of animate objects. However, light pejoratives are used by speakers in the central Kinki region, despite the negative attitudinal dimension (Kinsui, 2005), to express intimacy (Inoue, 1993). The pejorative *yoru* is only seen in the central Kinki region, and it is possible that it should in this region be seen primarily as an attitudinal tool for expressing disapproval etc., rather than as an aspect morpheme per se. (Masui, 2007).

As an interesting observation, pejorative expressions seem to be more prevalent in the Kinki region than in standard Japanese. Beyond the three discussed here and *yagaru*, *ketsukaru* and *kusaru* also exist (Kinsui, 2001:18).

4.2 The History of the Pejorative Function

Let us briefly look at the historical development of the pejorative function, paraphrasing Inoue (1993).

In the central Kinki region the verb *iru* expressing the existence of animate objects can be seen in written sources as far back as the middle of the Muromachi period, which stands in stark contrast to the rest of Japan of this time, where *iru* did not exist. The verb *oru*, expressing existence of animate objects, as well as the aspect morphemes *-oru* and *teoru* also existed in this region at this time.

Furthermore, the aspect morphemes *-iru* and *teiru* existed even before this period. These *-iru* and *-oru* expressed progressive aspect, while the other two expressed resultative aspect. Thus the aspectual situation at this time can be summarised as follows.

Progressive aspect	Resultative aspect
<i>-iru</i>	<i>teiru</i>
<i>-oru</i>	<i>teoru</i>

At this point, an integration occurs, and *teiru* and *teoru* begin to express the progressive aspect as well. The next step in the process is the disappearance of *-iru* expressing a progressive aspect. This was to avoid a vowel collision, since this morpheme is added to the continuative form of verbs, which itself ends in an /i/. At this point in time, that is at the end of the Muromachi period or the beginning of the Edo period, all three of *-oru*, *teoru* and *teiru* were capable of expressing a progressive aspect. There is in other words a considerable redundancy in this regard. A special honorific expression, *oV-aru*, involving the verb *aru*, came to be used, and as a result, the syntactically similar construction of *-oru* came to be seen as comparatively pejorative. As a result, the original verb *oru* also came to be seen as pejorative (Kinsui, 2001); (Inoue, 1993). However, this pejoration did not advance as far; *oru* stopping at being a light pejorative. According to Fumiko, this was a result of the step between *oru* and *iru* being smaller than the step between *-oru* and the honorific expression. Similarly, *teoru* also became a light pejorative.

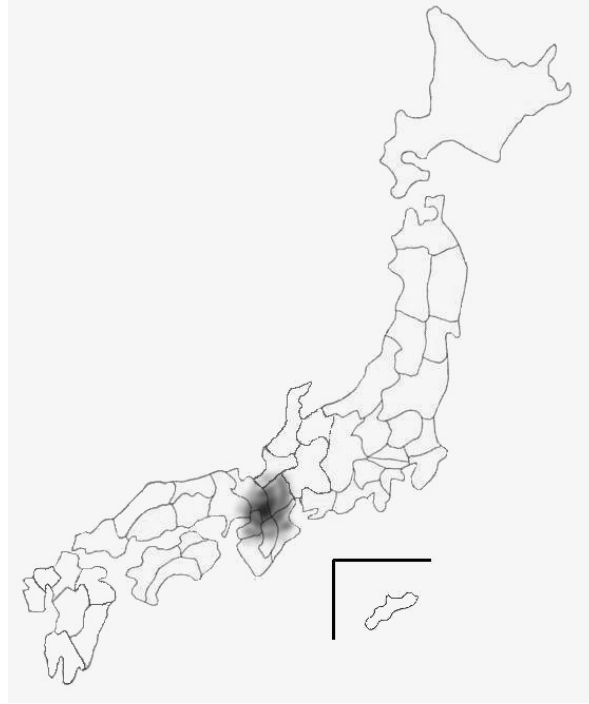
An interesting remark in connection to this is coming from Kinsui (2001). During a normal process of grammaticalisation, the item undergoing the process loses the original semantic (semantic bleaching), morphological (morphological reduction) and phonological (phonetic reduction) properties and becomes quite different from the original item from which it derived. However, Kinsui notes that what we have here seems to be the grammaticalised item conferring a new meaning upon the original verb. In other words, *oru* first underwent a process of grammaticalisation giving rise to *-oru*, which then in turn becomes pejorative and confers a connotation of light pejorativeness onto the original verb. This seems indeed to be a violation of the unidirectionality hypothesis. Paraphrasing Kinsui, it seems much more natural that the pejorative connotation existed in the original verb *oru* from the beginning, which was then passed on to *-oru*. Kinsui thus refutes (parts of) the explanation that is summarised in the above paragraph.

Returning again to *yoru* (*-oru*); the fact that the pejorative *yoru* could make an appearance is due to the disappearance of the purely aspectual *yoru* giving way to *toru*. In for instance southern Osaka, despite the proximity to the central Kinki region, *yoru* does not exist. This seems to be due to the fact that *iru* is used to express progressive, and *aru* is used to express resultative aspectualities. In regions lacking *oru* and related words, it seems that the appearance of *yoru* is obstructed. Reversing the argument, Inoue states that when aspectual *yoru* disappears, pejorative *yoru* gains an opening to enter the dialect.

4.3 The Pejorative Function

Inoue (1993) describes the area of the Kinki region where *oru*, *yoru* and *toru* are pejorative, as well as the area where only *yoru*, but neither *oru* nor *toru*, is pejorative. The former consists of the regions of

the following prefectures: northern Osaka, southern Kyoto, the part of Hyogo which borders on Osaka, northern Nara and entire Shiga. The latter consists of central Mie prefecture and the Funami region of Kyoto prefecture. In particular, from the survey, it is clear that *yoru* and *toru* in Kashihara are pejorative, and it is also known that *yoru* in Awajima is pejorative (Tanimori, 2012).



Map 2: The approximate area where according to Inoue pejorative *yoru* or *toru* are prevalent.

We borrow an example from Inoue (1993:19) to illustrate this. This is the same example as presented in chapter 1, reproduced here for the sake of convenience.

(4.1) meshuu kui-yor-u
 rice eat-YORU-NPAST

This sentence is assumed to be said by a speaker from a dialect with a pejorative *yoru*. The corresponding sentence in standard Japanese¹¹ would be

(4.2) (shigoto mo shi-na-i kuse -ni) meshi (bakkari)
 work FOC do-NEG-NPAST habit-PRT rice nothing but

11 As an interesting side-note, it seems that the verb *yagaru* appearing here is not limited only to speakers of standard Japanese (Martin, 2004:454).

kut-te yagar-u
 eat-GER AHON-NPAST

“Despite not doing as much as working for the food, that idiot is only eating.”

Notice how the aspectual information in this example is conveyed by the use of the gerund. This is in reality a contracted form of *teiru* being used together with the anti-honorific *yagaru*. This morpheme serves only to depreciate the verb (Martin, 2004:454), which is not reflected in the attempted English translation where the depreciation lands on the subject instead. Interestingly, *yagaru* derives from the somewhat honorific *agaru* (Kinsui, 2001:18) and builds on the Japanese division of society into low and high layers (Pettersson, 1995:284). Since this division of society is not as grammatically evident in English, we must use various forceful expressions when translating this morpheme. However, we should be aware that such a translation does neither convey the true meaning nor force of the expression.

4.3.1 *oru*

In conjunction with this example, Inoue also raises examples of *oru* and *toru*, comparing them with *yoru* and states that *oru* and *toru* are light pejoratives while *yoru* is pejorative. However, based on the interviews with the informant from Osaka, this statement seems to be in need of some modification. In the view of the informant, *oru* and *iru* in standard Japanese are equivalent, and there is no feeling of pejorativity, light or otherwise, although the informant mentions that *oru* has a colloquial tone.

The informant also reports that *oru* is used more frequently in daily dialectal speech than *iru*, and in conversations between friends, *iru* is not used at all. However, in situations that require a more formal language, *iru* is used. *iru* is felt to be a bit more polite than *oru*, however, the informant adds, this might be due to the fact that dialectal speech is always befitted with a colloquial connotation. There might also be situations where *oru* is used with the polite auxiliary of standard Japanese (e.g. *orimasu*) as well as the honorific *haru* with *oru*; *oriharu*.

As mentioned earlier, Kinsui (2005:187) states that the light pejorative *oru* is used in Osaka, and mainly by young men. However, based on the above, a modification to this statement seems to be necessary. Generalising slightly, people are not employing *oru* in spite of the pejorativity, rather, they do not harbour any negative sentiments towards the verb at all, freely using it in all but the formal contexts that require other verbs.

4.3.2 *toru*

Given some of the comments from informants of the survey, some of which are reported in the previous chapter, it seems that *toru* is pejorative in Kashihara. Looking for instance at sentences Kashihara (a, b) from table 5, we see that the following ways of expressing the death of the goldfish are available:

(4.3a) kingyo ga shin-de-ru
 goldfish SBJ die-TERU-NPAST

(4.3b) kingyo ga shin-dor-u
 goldfish SBJ die-TORU-NPAST

The usage of *teru* is reportedly the neutral way of expression, while using *toru* might result in a pejorative interpretation. This is coupled with the inherently negative attitudinal values of the verb itself which makes the expression forceful and female speakers tend to avoid it. Similar comments are obtained together with the sentences from Kashihara on many other places.

Interestingly, *toru* did not turn out to be used among the sentences from Kashihara in table 18. Instead, the neutral *teru* and the honorific *haru* turned out to be selected by the informants. Although it is only a conjecture at this point, this might be an indicator that the corresponding expression using *toru* would be too forceful to be considered. The fact that *toru* is not used to form the experiential sentence is also interesting from the point of view of the aspectual opposition. As we saw in section 3.3.1, *toru* tends to be used for these kinds of sentences in dialects with both *yoru* and *toru*. Rather than refuting that statement, table 18 might be an indication that the attitudinal dimension of *toru* is affecting the aspectual dimension as well, although substantially more research would be needed to actually prove this.

Turning to Osaka, when it comes to *toru*, the view of the informant and Inoue are more in line with each other than they were when we discussed *oru*. *toru* is reported to be a severe, or rough, expression, and, with the exception of female speakers taken to “bad language” or when quarrelling, not used by women in general. It is reportedly used with a comparatively higher frequency by males speaking among themselves or when looking down on another person, passing on judgement, scorn, disdain and similar emotions. *toru* can also be employed when jeering at someone, as shown in the following example.

(4.4) anta! nani shi-to nen
 you what do-TORU.NPAST FP
 “Hey you! What the hell are you doing?”

Next, the following example was raised by the informant, when asked to explain *toru*.

(4.5) aitsu meshi kut-tor-u de
 that guy rice eat-TORU-NPAST FP
 “The bastard is eating at a time/situation like this.”

The speaker uttering this is looking down on the man eating, be it him eating at the wrong time or situation, or the speaker might be affected negatively in some way through the man's eating. In addition to using *toru*, scornful or vulgar words such as *aitsu* and *meshi* are also employed.

From these words following *toru*, we suspect that the expression is incompatible with polite language. Taking this to the extremes, honorific words accompanying *toru* is felt by the informant as

being very unnatural.

(4.6) * ano kata gohan kut-tor-u de
that person.HON rice eat-TORU-NPAST FP

The informant reports that it might be used as a joke, however intended as a natural sentence, it is unnatural. In contrast to this, a sentence such as the following which uses a neutral word to refer to the subject is reported to have its possible uses, but it is interesting that it is not obviously a natural sentence.

(4.7) ? ano hito gohan kut-tor-u de
that person rice eat-TORU-NPAST FP

We also note that *toru*, and *yoru* as well for that part, is largely incompatible with the polite language form called *teineigo*, which is exemplified in the next sentence.

(4.8) * ano hito gohan kut-tori-mas-u de
that person rice eat-TORU-POL-NPAST FP

The informant reports that this sentence might be uttered by a person without proper knowledge of the polite language, but that case notwithstanding this kind of sentence is not used. As a side note, it would be interesting to investigate what speakers of dialects with non-pejorative *toru* think about this combination with polite language.

The general impression that the informant has is that male speakers employing a harsh way of speech are using *toru* comparatively frequently. To speakers used to harsh expressions, *toru* is probably not thought of as that harsh and, accordingly, the usage frequency of *toru* should be higher among these speakers. There is however a general awareness that *toru* is a harsh expression, and there is a tendency to avoid usage in the presence of females. Moreover, the informant notes that it is very common to add sentence-final particles to the expression, and, interestingly, sentences with *toru* lacking these may sound childish or strange. Here the intonation is also important.

Lastly, we note that aspectually *toru* seems to be compatible with the habitual/repetitive aspectualities as well.

(4.9) aitsu mainichi / itsumo meshi kut-tor-u de
that guy every day / always rice eat-TORU-NPAST FP

“That guy nothing but eats every day.”

“That guy is always eating.”

Sadly, there was not enough time to test the entire aspectual spectrum with the informant. However, it is clear that the morpheme is not chosen by speakers for the aspectual properties as is done in for instance Uwajima or Kyushu.

4.3.3 *yoru*

As is evident from the survey, *yoru* is pejorative in Kashihara. The informant of the survey report on several occasions that the usage of the verb, although aspectually the correct choice, is considered arrogant, haughty or an instance of vulgar language.

Thus instead of expressing oneself in a way such as the following, which is aspectually the correct choice;

(4.10) mado ga ima ni mo aki-yor-u
 window SBJ any moment open-YORU-NPAST
 “The window is about to become open any minute.”

it is from the data in the survey apparent that other ways of expression are preferred, such as the one given in the next example.

(4.11) mado ga ima ni mo akooto shi-tei-ru
 window SBJ any moment open:HORTC do-TEIRU-NPAST

See the sentences of table 9 in the previous chapter. Interestingly, among the prospective sentences of table 8, *yoru* is not mentioned at all by the informants of the survey, even though the aspectuality is qualitatively the same as in (4.7). If this is due to the combined negative attitudinal images of the verb and the morpheme forming a too strong expression, or simply a matter of *yoru* not being grammatically compatible with *shinu*, is unknown.

Turning to Osaka, *yoru* is also felt by the informant to be extremely pejorative, and more so than *toru*. Using the same example as above we illuminate the differences between the two.

(4.12) aitsu meshi kui-yor-u de
 that guy rice eat-YORU-NPAST FP
 “The son of a bitch is stuffing himself at a time like this.”

In addition to giving the same impression as the sentence above, this sentence reportedly includes a much stronger attitudinal and emotional dimension than before. The informant reports that this kind of speech is not common among her friends, however she thinks that it is used much more frequently in conversations between male speakers. Consequently, *yoru* is also incompatible with polite language. Aspectually, there is reportedly no way to interpret a sentence such as (4.12) in a prospective way as is

the case in for instance Uwajima (Kudo, 2008).

We note that, the above said notwithstanding, both *toru* and *yoru* are felt by the informant to be usable with animals without problem.

- (4.13a) neko ga sakana wo kut-tor-u
 cat SBJ fish OBJ eat-TORU-NPAST
- (4.13b) neko ga sakana wo kui-yor-u
 cat SBJ fish OBJ eat-YORU-NPAST
- “The cat is eating the fish.”

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have studied more closely the pejorative function present in some dialects, notably the dialects of the cities of Osaka and Kashihara. Beginning with a historical survey, we saw how the pejorative function came to be in the central Kinki region. Based on the survey and interviews with an informant from Osaka, we then discussed the pejorativity of *oru*, *toru* and *yoru* in that order.

The interviews with the informant about *toru* and *yoru* revealed that they are both very rude expressions, with *yoru* more so than *toru*. These expressions are used when judging or looking down on someone, or in speech between male speakers, among whom the usage frequency is higher than for female speakers. However, they may be used towards animals without any problem. This may be productively compared to the consonant verb *yaru* 'to give' in standard Japanese, which is used almost exclusively by male speakers towards other males of equal or lower status. The verb is, however, used by female speakers as well when the recipient is an animal or a plant (Pettersson, 1995:281). Due to the nature of the expressions, they are largely incompatible with polite language however they seem to have at least some of the aspectual properties that we “expect”, although more research is needed in order to confirm this. On the other hand, in the Kashihara dialect, *toru* was not used among the experiential sentences we studied previously, which might indicate that the attitudinal dimension is affecting the aspectual.

Concerning *yoru*, the function seems to be equivalent to that of *toru*, albeit with a stronger emotional content; the sense of scorn, disdain or despise is more powerful. Even here, usage seems to be more frequent among male speakers than females, and the expression is considered as very coarse or vulgar language. The situation seems to be the same in Kashihara as well.

Turning to *oru*, we found that there is no pejorativity associated with the verb. The informant felt the verb to be equivalent to *iru* in standard Japanese albeit a bit less polite, which she herself adds might simply be due to the inherent colloquial status of the dialect. This stands in contrast with the status of the verb as light pejorative and the statements of Kinsui and others. It might be argued then that *oru* has lost its pejorativity and become an attitudinally neutral verb in Osaka. Inoue (1993:28-29) however briefly discusses this neutralisation in a comparison of the usage of *oru* between Shiga and Osaka, and she states that as a consequence of difference in social structure, the usage frequency of *oru* is higher in Osaka. She also states that the higher usage of *oru* in Osaka might be due to a higher tolerance against rude ways of speech. Whether it is due to social factors or the neutralisation of the pejorative function, the fact remains that *oru* is used without the recognition of a light pejorative

component. If the pejorative function has been neutralised, the problem of when, and how, this happened surfaces. That is however a problem to be dealt with in another paper.

5. Concluding Remarks

In this thesis we have studied the aspect morphemes *yoru* and *toru* as well as the existential verb *oru*, prominent in the dialects of western Japan in general and the Kinki region in particular. In chapter 3 we studied the aspectual properties of these morphemes in the context of a set of five dialects, making comparisons with standard Japanese using a limited set of three verbs. In chapter 4 we studied the pejorative function a bit more closely, attempting to get a concrete understanding at how it is used. This was done by means of interviews with a native speaker from Osaka, as well as using data from the survey referenced in chapter 3 to make some remarks around the Kashihara dialect.

As a result of the rather limited number, and in particular number of types, of verbs investigated, we cannot draw any general conclusions from the investigation in chapter 3. Using the survey, it is possible to, and this has indeed been done, perform dialectal research. The research performed in chapter 3 should be seen as a trial attempt at performing such research, which given the short time-span available to the thesis was all that could be accomplished.

However, we have accomplished two things of interest in chapter three, being:

1. We have presented the results in English, where results previously only existed in Japanese, which hopefully aids the reader unfamiliar to the subject in finding his or her way through to the Japanese sources of interest.
2. We have introduced a number of dialects and aspectual phenomena and made clear that these are richer in variety than standard Japanese.

As stated in the first chapter, the objective of the thesis is mainly in accordance with point (1). The author considers his investigation in chapter 3 and 4 only secondary to this point.

If the results of the considerations in chapter 3 were applicable, we would here claim that the dialect of Kobe possesses an aspectual system similar to that of the Uwajima dialect, with a high degree of mutual exclusiveness between *yoru* and *toru*. We would also note that it seems that *toru* is preferred in Tsu, even in places where we might expect *yoru*. If this is an indication that *yoru* is in the process of being replaced by *toru*, then this also means that the way is made clear for the pejorative *yoru* to enter into the dialect. It might be too speculative at this point, but perhaps the dialects are moving towards an aspectual system where *oru* and *toru* are employed analogous to *iru* and *teiru* in standard Japanese, and pejorative *yoru* being used in parallel. That is however mere speculation at this point.

From the discussions in chapter 4, we have learned that *toru* and more so *yoru* are pejorative in Osaka. They are used when passing judgement onto, or looking down on someone with scorn, disdain and similar emotions. The expressions are considered as vulgar or coarse language and are used with higher frequency by male speakers than by female speakers.

From the interviews with the informant, it is clear that *oru* is not pejorative in Osaka, and used with higher frequency than *iru*, which in turn is only slightly more polite than *oru*. As previously stated, this stands in slight contrast to statements by Kinsui and others, who speak of *oru* as a light pejorative; the verb is used without any awareness of such a connotation. Inoue suggests that the high usage frequency of *oru* in Osaka might be due to the dialect being generally forgiving towards harsh ways of expression, rather than the pejorativity having undergone a process of neutralization. In this

area, more research is apparently needed. How is *oru* seen today in other dialects in the central Kinki region? If there are regions where *oru* is pejorative, then that might suggest that there indeed is a truth in Inoue's words, and that the forgiving nature of the people of Osaka is the key. Should this not be the case, however, that might be an indicator that *oru* really has been neutralized. We might add here as an interesting remark, that *oru* is used pejoratively in standard Japanese as well, in the form of role-language.

We might add here as a final remark, that using the survey to discuss the Kashihara dialect was only somewhat fruitful. This kind of investigation really requires an informant with whom interaction can take place, rather than a set of data tables. The tables with aspectual data are however better suited the kind of research that we presented in chapter 3, although this could perhaps be productively supplemented by an informant as well.

With this thesis the author hoped to introduce the reader to the exciting area of research that is aspectuality in the central Kinki area of Japan. Any important conclusions were not drawn through the research presented herein, however, if the reader has had his eyes open through reading this thesis, then that is sufficient.

There are many problems, not already mentioned above, related to this area, the most basic of these being the description of individual dialects. As more dialects are investigated and classified, our understanding of the aspect morphemes deepens; we can draw far-reaching conclusions and test already existing hypotheses, such as the generalisations presented in chapter 3.3.1. There are historical problems yet to be solved as well, particularly in relation to the aspectual expressions and *oru*. There are also problems existing with the relation between the aspectual expressions of western Japan in general, and the central Kinki area (Kinsui, 2006). The research within this area has progressed far, however, there are still many unsolved problems ahead. With this outlook toward the future we conclude this thesis.

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