

Indirectification of Benefactive and Directional Verbs in Japanese

ŌNO Kiyoharu*

Key words: **direct and indirect discourse, benefactive and directional verbs**

Kuno (1978: 273ff.) examines the empathy phenomena in indirect discourse in Japanese and proposes what he calls direct discourse analysis to account for conflict in the speaker's empathy in indirectified benefactive and directional constructions. He uses the following examples:

1. a. *Taroo-wa boku-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta.
Taro has lent me money.
- b. Taroo-wa [boku-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta] to iihurasi-te i-ru.
Taro is spreading the word that he has lent me money.
- c. Taroo-wa "Boku-wa X-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta" to iihurasi-te i-ru.
[where X=the speaker of the entire speech]
Taro is spreading the word, "I have lent X money."
2. a. *Boku-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ik-e.
Come to me for advice.
- b. Taroo-wa Hanako-ni [boku-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ik-e] to it-te i-ru rasi-i.
Taro appears to be telling Hanako that she should come to me for advice.
- c. Taroo-wa Hanako-ni "X-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ik-e" to it-te i-ru rasi-i.
[where X=the speaker of the entire speech]
Taro appears to be saying to Hanako, "Go to X for advice."

Kuno considers why 1b and 2b are acceptable while 1a and 2a are unacceptable and attempts to explain the acceptability of the former in terms of direct discourse; specifically, the Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy, in which the speaker has to empathize more with himself than with anyone else, is satisfied while 1b and 2b are still in direct discourse as are 1c and 2c, respectively.

Kuno's (1978: 276ff.) hypothesis depends upon who is the addressee of indirect discourse in the discourse level of speech where the Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy that should be satisfied is different. If the speaker of the entire speech is the addressee of indirect discourse, it should be satisfied more at the indirect discourse level than at the direct discourse level. If the speaker of the entire speech is not the addressee of indirect discourse, it should be satisfied more at the direct discourse level than at the indirect discourse level.

This article is the result of a small-scale survey of native speakers' accept-

* 大野喜代治: Associate Professor, University of Newcastle, Australia.

ability judgments on indirect discourse sentences containing benefactive and directional verbs. The goal of the survey was to find out if there are any principles like Kuno's hypothesis in which they prefer not to indirectify verbs in otherwise indirectified reported speech.

INTRODUCTION

Kuno (1978: 273 ff.) examines the empathy phenomena in indirect discourse in Japanese and proposes what he calls the direct discourse analysis to account for conflict in the speaker's empathy in indirectified benefactive and directional constructions. He uses the following benefactive constructions as examples:

1. a. **Taroo-wa boku-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta.*
TOP I-to money-OBJ lend-GER give-PAST
Taro has lent me money.
- b. *Taroo-wa boku-ni okane-o kasi-te kure-ta.*
give
Taro is spreading the word that he has lent me money.
2. a. *Taroo-wa [boku-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta] to iihurasi-te i-ru.*
that spread-GER be-PRES
Taro is spreading the word that he has lent me money.
- b. ??*Taroo-wa [boku-ni okane-o kasi-te kure-ta] to iihurasi-te i-ru.*

Both *yaru* and *kureru* mean "to give," but the former looks at the action from the viewpoint of the subject, whereas the latter sees it from the viewpoint of the dative object.¹ Sentence 1a is unacceptable because the speaker empathizes more with Taro than with himself, violating Kuno's Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy, in which the speaker has to empathize more with himself than with anyone else.² Sentence 1b is acceptable because the speaker empathizes more with himself than with Taro, thus conforming to this hierarchy.

According to this analysis sentence 2a should be unacceptable and 2b acceptable. However, the native speaker's intuition judges acceptability in the opposite way. Sentence 2a is absolutely acceptable and 2b is just marginally acceptable. Kuno then attempts to construe the acceptability of 2a using direct discourse to satisfy the Empathy Hierarchy while being in direct discourse, such as in sentence 3 below:

3. *Taroo-wa "Boku-wa X-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta" to iihurasi-te i-ru.*
[where X=the speaker of the entire speech]
Taro is spreading the word, "I have lent X money."

The same kind of empathy conflict is observed in indirectified directional constructions. Consider the following examples from Kuno:

4. a. **Boku-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ik-e.*
I-'s place-to advice-for go-IMP

¹ For details of this analysis, see Kuno (1978: 141ff.), which is a slightly revised version of Kuno and Kaburaki (1977: 630ff.).

² For details of this analysis, see Kuno (1978: 146), which is also a slightly revised version of Kuno and Kaburaki (1977: 652).

Come to me for advice.

- b. *Boku-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ko-i.*

come-IMP

5. a. *Taroo-wa Hanako-ni [boku-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ik-e] to*
 TOP to that
it-te i-ru rasi-i.
 say-GER be-PRES appear-PRES

Taro appears to be telling Hanako that she should come to me for advice.

- b. ??*Taroo-wa Hanako-ni [boku-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ko-i] to it-te i-ru rasi-i.*

Iku (to go) describes motion from one's viewpoint from a starting point and *kuru* (to come) from the viewpoint of one at a point of arrival.³ Sentence 4a is unacceptable due to violation of the Empathy Hierarchy: The person at the starting point is not the speaker but the hearer; thus, the speaker is trying to empathize more with the hearer than with himself. In contrast, 4b is acceptable because the person at the point of arrival is the speaker himself, and this sentence meets the Empathy Hierarchy.

Given the above explanation, 5a should be unacceptable but in reality it is perfectly acceptable, whereas 5b, which is supposed to be perfectly acceptable, is only marginally acceptable. Kuno again resorts to his direct discourse analysis for an explanation. He attempts to account for the acceptability of 5a by showing that the Empathy Hierarchy is satisfied while 5a is still in direct discourse, as in sentence 6 below:

6. *Taroo-wa Hanako-ni "X-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ik-e" to it-te i-ru rasi-i.*

[where X=the speaker of the entire speech]

Taro appears to be saying to Hanako, "Go to X for advice."

Kamada (1983: 115 f.) observes cases where benefactive verbs can be in both direct and indirect discourse forms in indirectified reported speech. Consider his examples:

7. a. *Kinoo watasi-no musuko-ga ne "Okane-o oyazi-ni*
 yesterday I-'s son-SUB you know money-OBJ Dad-to
yar-u yo" tte kinzyo-no kodomo-ni it-te-ru
 give-PRES that neighbourhood-'s child-to say-GER PRES
no-o kii-ta n des u yo.
 fact-OBJ hear-PAST it is that you know.

Yesterday, you know, I heard my son saying to children in the neighborhood, "I give money to Dad."

- b. *Kinoo watasi-no musuko-ga ne [okane-o watasi-ni yar-u] tte kinzyo-no kodomo-ni it-te ru no-o kii-ta n des-u yo.*
 c. *Kinoo watasi-no musuko-ga ne [okane-o watasi-ni kure-ru] tte kinzyo-no kodomo-ni it-te ru no-o kii-ta n des-u yo.*
 8. a. *Kinoo watasi-no musuko-ga ne "Oyazi-ga okane-o kure-ru yo" tte kinzyo-no kodomo-ni it-te ta n des-u yo.*

PAST

Yesterday, you know, my son was saying to children in the neighborhood, "Dad gives me money."

³ For details of this analysis, see Kuno (1978: 253ff.).

- b. *Kinoo watasi-no musuko-ga ne [watasi-ga okane-o kure-ru] tte kinzyo-no kodomo-ni it-te ta n des-u yo.*
 c. *Kinoo watasi-no musuko-ga ne [watasi-ga okane-o ya-ru] tte kinzyo-no kodomo-ni it-te ta n des-u yo.*

The direct discourse sentences embedded in 7a and 8a are indirectified in 7b and c and 8b and c, as shown by the conversion of *oyazi* (dad) into *watasi* (I) and deletion of the sentence final particle *yo*. Regarding the benefactive verbs *yaru* and *kureru*, however, both the original direct discourse form and indirectified form are acceptable. Where the benefactive verb is indirectified as in 7c and 8c, the reported speech is in complete indirect discourse. Where the benefactive verb is not indirectified and remains direct, as in 7b and 8b, the reported speech is incomplete indirect discourse. Kamada refers to the latter kind of case, where direct and indirect discourse elements are mixed, as a *zyunkansetu inyooku* or semiindirect quotation.

Kuno (1988) refers to reported speech where direct and indirect discourse portions are mixed as “blended discourse”⁴ and proposes what may be described as the blended discourse analysis, as a substitute for his earlier direct discourse analysis, to account for conflict in the speaker’s empathy. Let us take his examples (Kono, 1988: 86)

9. a. *Hanako-wa [boku-ni okane-o yat-ta] to iihurasi-te i-ru.*
 TOP I-to money-OBJ give-PAST that spread-GER be-PRES
 Hanako is spreading the word that she gave me money.
 b. **Hanako-ga boku-ni okane-o yat-ta.*
 Hanako gave me money.
 c. *Hanako-wa “Watasi-wa X-ni okane-o yat-ta” to iihurasi-te i-ru.*
 [where X=the speaker of the entire speech]
 Hanako is spreading the word, “I gave money to X.”
10. a. *Hanako-wa [boku-ga kanozyo-ni okane-o kure-ta] to it-te i-ru.*
 SUB she-to give-PAST say-GER
 Hanako is saying that I gave her money.
 b. **Boku-ga Hanako-ni okane-o kure-ta.*
 I gave money to Hanako.
 c. *Hanako-wa “X-ga watasi-ni okane-o kure-ta” to it-te i-ru.*
 [where X=the speaker of the entire speech]
 Hanako is saying, “X gave me money.”

The *to*-clauses contained in 9a and 10a are indirect discourse versions of the direct discourse quotes given in 9c and 10c. These indirect discourse versions are unacceptable as independent sentences, as shown in 9b and 10b. Nonetheless, both 9a and 10a are “perfectly acceptable.”⁵

⁴ Kuno (1988) gives a detailed account of blended discourse and proposes its conditions: Direct discourse elements in blended discourse must appear only in clause-final position and must be quasi-direct with “speech-level adjustment” applied. Murakami (1975: 24f.) also notes the mixed form of direct and indirect discourse and attributes this observation to KOIDE Fumiko.

⁵ This is Kuno’s judgment. Some speakers find 10a not “perfectly acceptable” with the phrase *kanozyo ni*. However, they find it “perfectly acceptable” without it.

Kuno explains this problem as follows: The *to*-clauses in 9a and 10a are blended discourse where *yatta* and *kureta* are in a direct discourse mode and the rest of the clauses in an indirect discourse mode.

Note that 2a, 5a, 7b, 8b, 9a, and 10a do not have their benefactive and directional verbs indirectified, but they are all acceptable. Sentences 2b, 5b, 7c, and 8c have their benefactive and directional verbs indirectified, but only 7c and 8c are fully acceptable, and 2b and 5b are marginally acceptable. This limited data appears to show more chances for acceptability if the speaker does not indirectify benefactive and directional verbs in indirect discourse sentences.

The following study uses data from a small-scale survey of native speakers' acceptability judgments on indirect discourse sentences containing benefactive and directional verbs to find out if there are any principles in which they prefer not to indirectify these verbs in otherwise indirectified reported speech.⁶

Survey

Regarding terminology, the speaker of the original utterance is referred to as the primary speaker and the speaker who quotes it is the secondary speaker. The original utterance is primary discourse, and the secondary speaker's rendition of primary discourse is secondary discourse. Primary discourse is thus the same as what is traditionally called direct discourse.

Secondary discourse is not exactly the same as what is traditionally called indirect discourse; it includes both complete indirect discourse, like those contained in 7c and 8c, and incomplete indirect discourse, like those embedded in 7b and 8b. Incomplete indirect discourse is the same as what Kamada and Kuno define as semiindirect quotation and blended discourse.

Kuno (1978: 276 ff.) hypothesizes that the discourse level of speech where the Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy should be satisfied is different depending upon who is the addressee of secondary discourse. If the secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse, it should be satisfied more at the surface level than at the direct discourse level. If the secondary speaker is not the addressee of secondary discourse, it should be satisfied more at the direct discourse level than at the surface level. Consider the former case, referring to the following examples of Kuno:

11. a. **Taroo-ga* [*mae ni boku-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta koto-ga*
 once I-to money-OBJ lend-GER give-PAST fact-SUB
 ar-u] *to denwa-o kake-te kita.*
 be-PRES that phone-OBJ ring-GER come-PAST
 Taro rang me to say that he had once lent me money.
 b. ?*Taroo-ga* [*mae ni boku-ni okane-o kasi-te kure-ta koto-ga ar-u*] *to denwa-o*
 give-PAST
 kake-te kita.

⁶ For comprehensive analyses of indirectification in Japanese, see Okutsu (1968), Endo (1982), and Nitta (1988).

In the above examples, the secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse. Sentence 11a satisfies the Empathy Hierarchy at direct discourse level and 11b at surface level. Kuno judges that 11b is much better than 11a.

The latter case is illustrated by the examples given in 2:

2. a. *Taroo-wa [boku-ni okane-o kasi-te yat-ta] to iihurasi-te*
 TOP I-to money-OBJ lend-GER give-PAST that spread-GER
i-ru.
 be-PRES

Taro is spreading the word that he has lent me money.

- b. *??Taroo-wa [boku-ni okane-o kasi-te kure-ta] to iihurasi-te i-ru.*

In these examples the secondary speaker is not the addressee of secondary discourse. Sentence 2a satisfies the Empathy Hierarchy at direct discourse level and 2b at surface level. As far as acceptability is concerned, 2a is perfect, whereas 2b is just marginal.⁷ The same phenomenon is observed in directional constructions. Kuno gives the following examples:

12. a. **Taroo-ga [asita boku-no tokoro-ni it-te mo yo-i daroo*
 SUB tomorrow I's place-to go-GER even good-PRES would
ka] to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.
 if that phone-OBJ ring-GER come-PAST

Taro rang me to ask if it would be all right for him to visit me tomorrow.

- b. *(?)Taroo-ga [asita boku-no tokoro-ni ki-te mo yo-i daroo ka] to denwa-o*
 come-GER
kake-te ki-ta.

13. a. *(?)Taroo-wa [boku-no tokoro-ni ayamari-ni it-te mo yo-i] to mina-ni*
 apologize-to go-GER everyone-to
it-te i-ru rasi-i.
 say-GER be-PRES appear-PRES

Taro appears to be saying to everyone that he does not mind coming to my place to apologize.

- b. *?Taroo-wa [boku-no tokoro-ni ayamari-ni ki-te mo yo-i] to mina-ni it-te*
 come-GER
i-ru rasi-i.

The secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse in 12a and b but is not the addressee of secondary discourse in 13a and b. As is expected, 12b satisfies Empathy Hierarchy at the surface level and is much more acceptable than 12a, in which the Empathy Hierarchy is met at direct discourse level. Sentence 13a satisfies the Empathy Hierarchy at direct discourse level and reads much better than 13b, which meets the Empathy Hierarchy at the surface level.

Although Kuno admits that acceptability judgments of these examples vary from

⁷ Kuno (1978: 319) attributes to Murakami (1975: 25) the observation that sentences of the type given in 2a are acceptable only when the secondary speaker is not the addressee of secondary discourse.

person to person, it seems productive to consider secondary discourse by distinguishing those whose addressee is the secondary speaker from those whose addressee is not. Whether the Empathy Hierarchy is satisfied at surface level or at direct discourse level depends upon whether the benefactive and directional verbs are indirectified in secondary discourse. In other words, Kuno's hypothesis could be rephrased as "If the secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse, the benefactive and directional verbs should be indirectified. If the secondary speaker is not the addressee of secondary discourse, these verbs should remain direct or unindirectified."

Since acceptability judgments of secondary discourse containing benefactive and directional verbs appear to vary widely from person to person, it is not a valid exercise to discuss any related issues on the basis of the judgment of a particular native informant or two. Thus, we surveyed thirty-nine students at Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan who are native speakers of Japanese.⁸

In the questionnaires we created various cases of directions in which favors and motions take place, such as from primary speaker to secondary speaker and vice versa. There were twenty questions, out of which the first ten contain the benefactive verbs *yaru* and *kureru* and the second ten the directional verbs *iku* and *kuru*. Each question consists of three sentences. Sentence (a) embeds within it a direct discourse clause, sentence (b) an incomplete indirect discourse clause with a benefactive or directional verb unindirectified, and sentence (c) a complete indirect discourse clause with a benefactive or directional verb indirectified. The odd questions are those in which the secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse, and the even questions are those in which the secondary speaker is not the addressee of the same. These odd and even questions constitute ten pairs, such as 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6, and so on. In these pairs, the secondary discourse clauses embedded in the odd b sentences are identical with those contained in the even b sentences. Likewise, the secondary discourse clauses embedded in the odd c sentences are exactly the same as those contained in the even c sentences. These pairs are organized to find out if there are any significant differences depending upon who the addressee of secondary discourse is in the subjects' acceptability judgments. A sample questionnaire is attached at the end of the paper.

Questionnaire

Kono shitumonshi wa Nihongo no chisiki o shiraberu mono de wa naku, Nihongo no neitibu spiikaa to shite tsugi no bun no hitotsu hitotsu ga ieru mono ka doo ka handanshite itadaku mono desu.

Kaku kōmoku no (a) wa mondai naku ieru mono desu. (b) to (c) wa (a) o iikaeta mono de, ieru ka ienai ka neitibu spiikaa ni yotte handan ga wakareru mono desu. Anata no handan de wa ieru to omowareru mono ni wa ○ o, ienai to omowareru mono ni wa × o,

⁸ Before completing the questionnaires, we conducted a preliminary survey at the Nagoya City Hall. At Nanzan University two more students participated in the survey, but they have been excluded from the statistics because, having been educated abroad for several years, they are considered seminative speakers of Japanese.

mata, ienai koto wa nai ga shizen de wa nai to omowareru mono ni wa ? o aruhabetto no (b) to (c) no mae ni sozozore tsukete kudasai.

This questionnaire is not to check your knowledge of Japanese, but to ask you, as a native speaker, to judge whether each of the following sentences is acceptable or not.

The sentences in a-series are acceptable without doubt. The sentences in b- and c-series are converted from those in a-series, and native speakers' acceptability judgments of them are varied. Please place, in front of the characters b and c, circles for those which you judge as acceptable, X's for those which you judge as unacceptable, and question marks for those which you judge as acceptable but not natural.

1. (Favor from primary speaker to secondary speaker)

- a. *Ani-wa* " *Mukasi-wa yoku omae-ni eigo-o osie-te*
 elder brother-TOP former times often you-to English-OBJ teach-GER
yat-ta yo " *to zimansooni it-ta.*
 give-PAST you know that boastingly say-PAST

My elder brother said boastingly, "I often taught you English a long time ago, you know."

- b. *Ani-wa, mukasi-wa yoku boku-ni eigo-o osie-te yat-ta to zimansooni it-ta.*

My elder brother said boastingly that he often taught me English a long time ago.

- c. *Ani-wa, mukasi-wa yoku boku-ni eigo-o osie-te kure-ta to zimansooni it-ta.*
 give-PAST

2. (Favor from primary speaker to secondary speaker)

- a. *Ani-wa sigotonakama-ni* " *Mukasi-wa yoku otooto-ni eigo-o osie-te*
 colleagues-to younger brother-to
yat-ta yo " *to zimansooni it-te i-ru rasi-i.*
 say-GER be-PRES appear-PRES

My elder brother appears to be boastingly saying to his colleagues, "I often taught English to my younger brother a long time ago, you know."

- b. *Ani-wa sigotonakama-ni, mukasi-wa yoku boku-ni eigo-o osie-te yat-ta to zimansooni it-te i-ru rasi-i.*

My elder brother appears to be boastingly telling his colleagues that he often taught me English a long time ago.

- c. *Ani-wa sigotonakama-ni, mukasi-wa yoku boku-ni eigo-o osie-te kure-ta to zimansooni it-te i-ru rasi-i.*

3. (Favor from primary speaker to third person/secondary speaker)⁹

- a. *Midori-san-wa watasi-ni* " *Mukasi-wa yoku Akiko-tyan-no mendoo-o mi-te*
 HONS I-to ENDEAR

⁹ The notation like third person or secondary speaker indicates that the third person should be identified as the secondary speaker in considering the direction of the favor or motion. In sentence 3, for example, the favor is given from the primary speaker, Midori, to the third person, Akiko, who is a daughter of the secondary speaker (me). Therefore, the favor given to the third person should be regarded as that given to the secondary speaker.

- yat-ta no yo* ” to *onkisegamasiku it-ta*.
 it is that patronizingly
 Midori said to me patronizingly, “ I often looked after Akiko a long time ago, you know.”
- b. *Midori-san-wa watasi-ni, mukasi-wa yoku Akiko-no mendoo-o mi-te yat-ta to onkisegamasiku it-ta*.
 Midori told me patronizingly that she had often looked after Akiko a long time ago.
- c. *Midori-san-wa watasi-ni, mukasi-wa yoku Akiko-no mendoo-o mi-te kure-ta to onkisegamasiku it-ta*.
4. (Favor from primary speaker to third person/secondary speaker)
- a. *Midori-san-wa mina-ni* “ *Mukasi-wa yoku Akiko-tyan-no mendoo-o mi-te*
 everyone
yat-ta no yo ” to *onkisegamasiku it-te i-ru rasi-i*.
 Midori appears to be patronizingly saying to everyone, “ I often looked after Akiko a long time ago, you know.”
- b. *Midori-san-wa mina-ni, mukasi-wa yoku Akiko-no mendoo-o mi-te yat-ta to onkisegamasiku it-te i-ru rasi-i*.
 Midori appears to be patronizingly saying to everyone that she often looked after Akiko a long time ago.
- c. *Midori-san-wa mina-ni, mukasi-wa yoku Akiko-no mendoo-o mi-te kure-ta to onkisegamasiku it-te i-ru rasi-i*.
5. (Favor from secondary speaker to primary speaker)
- a. *Toshihiro-wa* “ *Nee Ozisan, Ozisan-wa boku-o itido Kyooto-e ture-te*
 you know uncle I-OBJ once to take-GER
t-te kure-ta koto-ga ar-u yo ” to *natukasisooni it-ta*.
 go-GER fact-SUB be-PRES you know fondly
 Toshihiro said fondly, “ Uncle Goro, you once took me to Kyoto, you know.”
- b. *Toshihiro-wa, boku-ga kare-o itido Kyooto-e ture-te t-te kure-ta koto-ga ar-u to*
 he-OBJ
natukasisooni it-ta.
 Toshihiro said fondly that I once took him to Kyoto.
- c. *Toshihiro-wa, boku-ga kare-o itido Kyooto-e ture-te t-te yat-ta koto-ga ar-u to*
natukasisooni it-ta.
6. (Favor from secondary speaker to primary speaker)
- a. *Toshihiro-wa ane-ni* “ *Ozisan-wa boku-o itido Kyooto-e ture-te t-te kure-ta*
 elder sister
koto-ga ar-u yo ” to *natukasisooni hanasi-ta rasi-i*.
 speak-PAST
 Toshihiro appears to have fondly said to my elder sister, “ My uncle once took me to Kyoto, you know.”
- b. *Toshihiro-wa ane-ni, boku-ga kare-o itido Kyooto-e ture-te t-te kure-ta koto-ga*

ar-u to natukasisooni hanasi-ta rasi-i.

Toshihiro appears to have fondly told my elder sister that I once took him to Kyoto.

- c. *Toshihiro-wa ane-ni, boku-ga kare-o itido Kyooto-e ture-te t-te yat-ta koto-ga ar-u to natukasisooni hanasi-ta rasi-i.*

7. (Favor from secondary speaker to third person/primary speaker)

- a. *Noda-san-wa "Kimi-wa yoku kodomo-tati-ni benkyoo-o osie-te kure-ta yo nee" to kansya-no kimoti-o kome-te it-ta.*

you children study teach
didn't you thanks-'s feeling with

Mr. Noda said with much appreciation, "You often helped my children with their studies, didn't you?"

- b. *Noda-san-wa, boku-ga yoku o-ko-san-tati-ni benkyoo-o osie-te kure-ta to HONS-children kansya-no kimoti-o kome-te it-ta.*

Mr. Noda said with much appreciation that I had often helped his children with their studies.

- c. *Noda-san-wa, boku-ga yoku o-ko-san-tati-ni benkyoo-o osie-te yat-ta to kansya-no kimoti-o kome-te it-ta.*

8. (Favor from secondary speaker to third person/primary speaker)

- a. *Noda-san-wa mina-ni "Honda-san-wa yoku kodomo-tati-ni benkyoo-o osie-te kure-ta n-des-u yo" to kansya-no kimoti-o kome-te hanasi-te i-ru rasi-i.*
it is that

Mr. Noda appears to be saying to everyone with much appreciation, "Mr. Honda often helped my children with their studies, you know."

- b. *Noda-san-wa mina-ni, boku-ga yoku o-ko-san-tati-ni benkyoo-o osie-te kure-ta to kansya-no kimoti-o kome-te hanasi-te i-ru rasi-i.*

Mr. Noda appears to be telling everyone with much appreciation that I often helped his children with their studies.

- c. *Noda-san-wa mina-ni, boku-ga yoku o-ko-san-tati-ni benkyoo-o osie-te yat-ta to kansya-no kimoti-o kome-te hanasi-te i-ru rasi-i.*

9. (Favor from third person/secondary speaker to primary speaker)

- a. *Hattori-san-wa "Otaku-no ozyoosan-wa watasi-tati-ni hontooni sinsetuni si-te kure-masi-ta yo" to kokoro-o kome-te it-ta.*

POL heart with

Mr. Hattori said from the heart, "Your daughter has really been kind to us, you know."

- b. *Hattori-san-wa, musume-ga karera-ni hontooni sinsetuni si-te kure-ta to they kokoro-o kome-te it-ta.*

Mr. Hattori said from the heart that my daughter had really been kind to them.

- c. *Hattori-san-wa, musume-ga karera-ni hontooni sinsetuni si-te yat-ta to kokoro-o kome-te it-ta.*
10. (Favor from third person/secondary speaker to primary speaker)
- a. *Hattori-san-wa mina-ni* “*Honda-san-no ozyoosan-wa watasi-tati-ni hontooni sinsetuni si-te kure-masi-ta yo*” *to kokoro-o kome-te hanasi-te i-ru rasi-i.*
Mr. Hattori appears to be saying to everyone from the heart, “Mr. Honda’s daughter has really been kind to us.”
- b. *Hattori-san-wa mina-ni, musume-ga karera-ni hontooni sinsetuni si-te kure-ta to kokoro-o kome-te hanasi-te i-ru rasi-i.*
Mr. Hattori appears to be telling everyone from the heart that my daughter has really been kind to them.
- c. *Hattori-san-wa mina-ni, musume-ga karera-ni hontooni sinsetuni si-te yat-ta to kokoro-o kome-te hanasi-te i-ru rasi-i.*
11. (Motion from primary speaker to secondary speaker)
- a. *Akiyama-san-wa* “*Ima-kara sugu soko-ni it-te mo ii ka naa*” *to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
now-from immediately over there go-GER even good Q
I wonder phone give-GER come-PAST
Mr. Akiyama rang to say, “I wonder if it is all right for me to come over there straightaway?”
- b. *Akiyama-san-wa, ima-kara sugu koko-ni it-te mo ii ka to denwa-o kake-te*
over here
ki-ta.
Mr. Akiyama rang to ask if it was all right for him to come over here straightaway.
- c. *Akiyama-san-wa, ima-kara sugu koko-ni ki-te mo ii ka to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
12. (Motion from primary speaker to third person/secondary speaker)
- a. *Akiyama-san-wa kanai-ni* “*Ima-kara sugu soko-ni it-te mo ii ka naa*” *to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
Mr. Akiyama appears to have rung my wife to say, “I wonder if it is all right for me to come over there straightaway?”
- b. *Akiyama-san-wa kanai-ni, ima-kara sugu koko-ni it-te mo ii ka to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
Mr. Akiyama appears to have rung my wife to ask if it was all right for him to come over here straightaway.
- c. *Akiyama-san-wa kanai-ni, ima-kara sugu koko-ni ki-te mo ii ka to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
13. (Motion from primary speaker to third person/secondary speaker)
- a. *Yamada-san-ga* “*Ima-kara butyoo-san-ni ai-ni ik-u node, sono mune tutae-te oi-te hosi-i n-da ga*” *to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
now-from dept head meet-to go because that effect convey place want-PRES it is that but
Mr. Yamada rang to say, “As I am now coming to see the department

- head, please tell him I will visit.”
- b. *Yamada-san-ga, ima-kara butyoo-ni ai-ni ik-u node, sono mune tutae-te oi-te hosi-i to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
Mr. Yamada rang to say that he was now coming to see the department head and wanted us to tell him, “I will visit.”
- c. *Yamada-san-ga, ima-kara butyoo-ni ai-ni ku-ru node, sono mune tutae-te oi-te hosi-i to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
14. (Motion from primary speaker to third person/secondary speaker)
- a. *Yamada-san-ga kakari-ni “Ima-kara butyoo-san-ni ai-ni ik-u node, sono subordinate mune tutae-te oi-te hosi-i n-da ga” to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
Mr. Yamada appears to have rung my subordinate to say, “As I am now coming to see the department head, please tell him I will visit.”
- b. *Yamada-san-ga kakari-ni, ima-kara butyoo-ni ai-ni ik-u node, sono mune tutae-te oi-te hosi-i to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
Mr. Yamada appears to have rung my subordinate to say that he is now coming to see the department head and wanted us to tell him of his visit.
- c. *Yamada-san-ga kakari-ni, ima-kara butyoo-ni ai-ni ku-ru node, sono mune tutae-te oi-te hosi-i to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
15. (Motion from secondary speaker to primary speaker)
- a. *Ani-wa “Kyuyoo-da kara omae-wa ima sugu ore-no tokoro-ni ko-n urgent-be because you I place-to come-NEG to ika-n naa” to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
if no good you know
My elder brother rang to say, “Because it’s urgent, you’ve got to come to my place at once, you know.”
- b. *Ani-wa, kyuyoo-da kara boku-ga ima sugu kare-no tokoro-ni ko-n to ika-n to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
My elder brother rang to say that since it was urgent, I’ve got to go to his place at once.
- c. *Ani-wa, kyuyoo-da kara boku-ga ima sugu kare-no tokoro-ni ika-n to go-NEG if ika-n to denwa-o kake-te kita.*
no good
16. (Motion from secondary speaker to primary speaker)
- a. *Ani-wa kanai-ni “Kyuyoo-da kara Goro-wa ima sugu ore-no tokoro-ni ko-n to ika-n naa” to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
My elder brother appears to have rung my wife to say, “Since it’s urgent, Goro’s got to come to my place at once, you know.”
- b. *Ani-wa kanai-ni, kyuyoo-da kara boku-ga ima sugu kare-no tokoro-ni ko-n to ika-n to denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
My elder brother appears to have rung my wife to say that since it was

urgent, I've got to go to his place at once.

- c. *Ani-wa kanai-ni, kyuyyoo-da kara boku-ga ima sugu kare-no tokoro-ni ika-n to ika-n to denwa-o kake-te kita rasi-i.*
17. (Motion from secondary speaker to third person/primary speaker)
- a. *Kanai-wa "Katoo-san-ga kootuuziko-ni ai nyuuin si-ta node,*
traffic accident meeting hospitalized because
anata-wa ima sugu omimai-ni ko-na-ku-tya nar-ana-i n-des-u " to
inquire after come-have to it is that
byooiin-kara denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.
hospital-from
My wife rang from the hospital to say, "Because Mr. Kato's had a traffic accident and is hospitalized, you've got to come to inquire after him immediately."
- b. *Kanai-wa, Katoo-san-ga kootuuziko-ni ai nyuuin si-ta node, boku-ga ima sugu omimai-ni ko-na-ku-tya nar-ana-i to byooiin-kara denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
My wife rang from the hospital to say that because Mr. Kato's had a traffic accident and is hospitalized, I've got to go to inquire after him immediately.
- c. *Kanai-wa, Katoo-san-ga kootuuziko-ni ai nyuuin si-ta node, boku-ga ima sugu omimai-ni ik-ana-ku-tya nar-ana-i to byooiin-kara denwa-o kake-te ki-ta.*
18. (Motion from secondary speaker to third person/primary speaker)
- a. *Kanai-wa musume-ni "Katoo-san-ga kootuuziko-ni ai nyuuin si-ta node,*
daughter
otoosan-wa ima sugu omimai-ni ko-na-ku-tya nar-ana-i no yo " to *byooiin-kara denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
My wife appears to have rung my daughter from the hospital to say, "Because Mr. Kato's had a traffic accident and is hospitalized, Dad's got to come to inquire after him immediately."
- b. *Kanai-wa musume-ni, Katoo-san-ga kootuuziko-ni ai nyuuin si-ta node, boku-ga ima sugu omimai-ni ko-na-ku-tya nar-ana-i to byooiin-kara denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
My wife appears to have rung my daughter from the hospital to say that because Mr. Kato's had a traffic accident and is hospitalized, I've got to go to inquire after him immediately.
- c. *Kanai-wa musume-ni, Katoo-san-ga kootuuziko-ni ai nyuuin si-ta node, boku-ga ima sugu omimai-ni ik-ana-ku-tya nar-ana-i to byooiin-kara denwa-o kake-te ki-ta rasi-i.*
19. (Motion from third person/secondary speaker to primary speaker)
- a. *Nisida-san-wa "Musuko-san-wa itudemo watasi-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ki-te*
son anytime place advice-for come
ii n-des-u yo " to *sinsetuni it-te kure-ta.*
all right you know kindly
Mr. Nishida kindly said to me, "Your son is always welcome to come to me for advice, you know."

- b. *Nisida-san-wa, musuko-ga itudemo kare-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ki-te ii to sinsetuni it-te kure-ta.*
Mr. Nishida kindly said that my son was always welcome to go to him for advice.
- c. *Nisida-san-wa, musuko-ga itudemo kare-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni it-te ii to sinsetuni it-te kure-ta.*
20. (Motion from third person/secondary speaker to primary speaker)
- a. *Nisida-san-wa kanai-ni "Musuko-san-wa itudemo watasi-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ki-te ii n-des-u yo" to sinsetuni it-te kure-ta rasi-i.*
Mr. Nishida appears to have kindly said to my wife, "Your son is always welcome to come to me for advice, you know."
- b. *Nisida-san-wa kanai-ni, musuko-ga itudemo kare-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni ki-te ii to sinsetuni it-te kure-ta rasi-i.*
Mr. Nishida appears to have kindly told my wife that our son is always welcome to go to him for advice.
- c. *Nisida-san-wa kanai-ni, musuko-ga itudemo kare-no tokoro-ni soodan-ni it-te ii to sinsetuni it-te kure-ta rasi-i.*

Results

The four tables below present the results of the survey. The first two are for benefactive verbs and the remaining two for directional verbs.

First, are there any significant differences in native speakers' acceptability judgments when the secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse and when the secondary speaker is not? As may be seen, Tables A1 and A2 are very close to each other in distributions of marks in both totals and individual items. Tables B1 and B2 are not as close to each other as between Tables A1 and A2. However, they still show essentially the same tendencies in mark distributions. What the tables suggest is that there are no marked differences in native speakers' acceptability judgments on secondary discourse containing benefactive and directional verbs in terms of who the addressee of secondary discourse is. Therefore, we cannot prove the correctness of Kuno's hypothesis that if the secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse, the benefactive and directional verbs should be indirectified; if the secondary speaker is not the addressee of secondary discourse, these verbs should remain direct or unindirectified.

Second, are there any strong differences in native speakers' preferences between indirectification of benefactive verbs and directional verbs? Regarding the benefactive verbs, about 75 percent of the respondents accept the direct or unindirectified use of these verbs whereas only around 50 percent of them accept the indirectified use. Regarding the directional verbs, some 61 to 70 percent of the respondents accept the unindirectified use of these verbs while as high as about 85 to 90 percent of them accept the indirectified use. These figures suggest that in secondary discourse in Japanese, irrespective of who the addressee of secondary discourse is, native speakers prefer not to indirectify the benefactive verbs, although they prefer to indirectify the directional verbs.¹⁰

Table A1 Benefactive Verbs
Where Secondary Speaker Is Addressee of Secondary Discourse

	b (direct)					c (indirect)					
	○	?	×	non	T	○	?	×	non	T	
1	26	7	6	0	39	8	7	24	0	39	<i>yaru</i> ↓ <i>kureru</i>
3	38	1	0	0	39	1	7	31	0	39	
S	64	8	6	0	78	9	14	55	0	78	
%	82.0	10.3	7.7	0	100	11.5	18.0	70.5	0	100	
	92.3					29.5					
5	9	1	29	0	39	31	3	5	0	39	<i>kureru</i> ↓ <i>yaru</i>
7	24	4	11	0	39	15	10	14	0	39	
9	32	3	4	0	39	9	10	20	0	39	
S	65	8	44	0	117	55	23	39	0	117	
%	55.6	6.8	37.6	0	100	47.0	19.7	33.3	0	100	
	62.4					66.7					
T	129	16	50	0	195	64	37	94	0	195	
%	66.2	8.2	25.6	0	100	32.8	19.0	48.2	0	100	
	74.4					51.8					

Notes

- : acceptable
 ? : acceptable but not natural
 ×: unacceptable
 ↓: indirectification
 non: noncommitted (unanswered)
 S: subtotal
 T: total

Third, do native speakers' preferences distinctly differ in indirectification of these verbs in terms of directions of favors and motions? These directions simply mean from whom to whom favors and motions take place, and they can be paraphrased as indirectification of *yaru/kureru* into *kureru/yaru* and *iku/kuru* into *kuru/iku*.

Let us first take the case of the directional verbs. In indirectification of *iku* into *kuru* some 62 to 65 percent of the respondents accept the unindirectified use while about 76 to 83 percent accept the indirectified use. In indirectification of *kuru* into *iku* some

¹⁰ Notice what we are discussing here is preferences rather than acceptability or unacceptability.

Table A2 Benefactive Verbs

Where Secondary Speaker Is Not Addressee of Secondary Discourse

	b (direct)					c (indirect)					
	○	?	×	non	T	○	?	×	non	T	
2	31	8	0	0	39	4	4	31	0	39	<i>yaru</i> ↓ <i>kureru</i>
4	39	0	0	0	39	1	2	36	0	39	
S	70	8	0	0	78	5	6	67	0	78	
%	89.7	10.3	0	0	100	6.4	7.7	85.9	0	100	
	100					14.1					
6	8	1	30	0	39	27	6	6	0	39	<i>kureru</i> ↓ <i>yaru</i>
8	23	4	12	0	39	17	8	14	0	39	
10	32	3	4	0	39	11	10	18	0	39	
S	63	8	46	0	117	55	24	38	0	117	
%	53.9	6.8	39.3	0	100	47.0	20.5	32.5	0	100	
	60.7					67.5					
T	133	16	46	0	195	60	30	105	0	195	
%	68.2	8.2	23.6	0	100	30.8	15.4	53.8	0	100	
	76.4					46.2					

61 to 73 percent accept the unindirectified use whereas about 91 to 94 percent accept the indirectified use. These figures indicate that indirectification of *kuru* into *iku* is strongly preferred to that of *iku* into *kuru*. However, in both directions of motions, native speakers can be said to prefer to indirectify the directional verbs. This is what we have stated before and requires no further comment.

Let us then take the case of the benefactive verbs. In indirectification of *yaru* into *kureru* about 92 to 100 percent of the respondents accept the unindirectified use whereas only about 14 to 30 percent accept the indirectified use. Native speakers thus can be said to prefer not to indirectify *yaru* into *kureru*. Regarding indirectification of *kureru* into *yaru*, some 61 to 62 percent of the respondents accept the unindirectified use while around 67 percent accept the indirectified use. If we take these figures at face value, native speakers can be said to prefer to indirectify *kureru* into *yaru*. This preference appears to contradict our previous statement that native speakers, in general, prefer not to indirectify the benefactive verbs. We are thus obliged to look into individual items.

Table B1 Directional Verbs
Where Secondary Speaker Is Addressee of Secondary Discourse

	b (direct)					c (indirect)					
	○	?	×	non	T	○	?	×	non	T	
11	5	6	28	0	39	37	1	1	0	39	<i>iku</i> ↓ <i>kuru</i>
13	29	8	2	0	39	20	7	12	0	39	
S	34	14	30	0	78	57	8	13	0	78	
%	43.6	17.9	38.5	0	100	73.1	10.2	16.7	0	100	
	61.5					83.3					
15	9	11	19	0	39	35	4	0	0	39	<i>kuru</i> ↓ <i>iku</i>
17	18	8	12	1	39	26	8	3	2	39	
19	20	5	14	0	39	31	6	2	0	39	
S	47	24	45	1	117	92	18	5	2	117	
%	40.2	20.5	38.5	0.8	100	78.6	15.4	4.3	1.7	100	
	60.7					94.0					
T	81	38	75	1	195	149	26	18	2	195	
%	41.5	19.5	38.5	0.5	100	76.4	13.4	9.2	1.0	100	
	61.0					89.8					

The figures in items 5 and 6 in Tables A1 and A2 show a significant difference. Only for these particular items do the respondents prefer to indirectify the benefactive verbs. Obviously this contributes greatly to the above discrepancy. It is thus important to consider why the respondents prefer to indirectify the benefactive verbs in items 5 and 6. We suspect that this is because the respondents must have conceived the clauses embedded in 5b and 6b as those in primary discourse. Hence many of them judged these sentences as unacceptable. Suppose we delete the phrase *kare o* "him" from them, many respondents would mark them as acceptable.¹¹ Given this problem we cannot generalize that native speakers prefer not to indirectify *kureru* into *yaru*. However, we can maintain that there is an overall tendency of preferring the unindirectified use of the benefactive verbs in general, regardless of who the addressee of secondary discourse is.

¹¹ This is the same kind of problem as the one observed in example 10a. See also footnote 5.

Table B2 Directional Verbs

Where Secondary Speaker Is Not Addressee of Secondary Discourse

	b (direct)					c (indirect)					
	○	?	×	non	T	○	?	×	non	T	
12	6	7	25	1	39	36	1	1	1	39	<i>iku</i> ↓ <i>kuru</i>
14	34	4	1	0	39	12	10	17	0	39	
S	40	11	26	1	78	48	11	18	1	78	
%	51.3	14.1	33.3	1.3	100	61.5	14.1	23.1	1.3	100	
	65.4					75.6					
16	13	12	14	0	39	32	4	3	0	39	<i>kuru</i> ↓ <i>iku</i>
18	22	8	9	0	39	26	10	3	0	39	
20	23	7	9	0	39	27	7	5	0	39	
S	58	27	32	0	117	85	21	11	0	117	
%	49.6	23.1	27.3	0	100	72.7	17.9	9.4	0	100	
	72.7					90.6					
T	98	38	58	1	195	133	32	29	1	195	
%	50.3	19.5	29.7	0.5	100	68.2	16.4	14.9	0.5	100	
	69.8					84.6					

Let us consider why native speakers generally prefer not to indirectify the benefactive verbs but prefer to indirectify the directional verbs. What seems to be an important distinction is these verbs' sense of directionality. Naturally, the directional verbs possess stronger directionality than the benefactive verbs and are difficult to appear in contradiction to deictic words like *koko* (here) and *soko* (there) even in secondary discourse. For instance, it is inconsistent to say such things as *koko ni iku* (to go here)¹² and *boku ga soko ni kuru* (for me to come there) even in indirectified reported speech. This seems to be the reason many respondents mark 11b and 12b as unacceptable and the vast majority of them accept 11c and 12c. In contrast, the benefactive verbs do not seem to be very affected by directions within secondary discourse.¹³ This may be the reason utterances like *boku ni okane o kasite yatta to iihurasite iru* (for someone to be spreading the word that he has lent me money) are possible.¹⁴

¹² Note that *koko ni iku* (to go here) is possible in primary discourse if it is uttered while the primary speaker is pointing to a place on a map.

¹³ These verbs are incompatible with matrix verbs.

The figures in items 13 and 14 require comment, since they also show a significant difference. Only for these items in Tables B1 and B2 do the respondents prefer not to indirectify the directional verbs. What seems to be the issue is where the office of the *butyoo* (department head) is located. If it is considered far away from where the secondary speaker is now, the unindirectified form *iku* is preferred. If it is taken as close to the secondary speaker's position, the indirectified form *kuru* is preferred.¹⁵ Apparently many of our respondents took the first case, hence their preference of the unindirectified use. However, this discrepancy is not strong enough to upset the overall phenomenon where native speakers prefer to indirectify the directional verbs.

Finally, let us emphasize that what we have discussed in this section is merely the matter of preferences and not that of acceptability or unacceptability. This can easily be understood when we look at the totals in both Tables A and B. In Tables A1 and A2 about 74 to 76 percent of the respondents accept the unindirectified use, whereas about 46 to 52 percent accept the indirectified use. In Tables B1 and B2 some 61 to 70 percent accept the unindirectified use while 85 to 90 percent accept the indirectified use. These figures indicate that it is impossible to generalize indirectification or unindirectification of benefactive and directional verbs in the absolute terms of acceptability or unacceptability.

Furthermore, these preferences would vary depending upon linguistic and extralinguistic elements as we have observed in items 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, and 14. Items 3 and 4 are also of particular interest in this connection. As is seen in Tables A1 and A2, all respondents judge the unindirectified form *yaru* as acceptable and some 80 to 92 percent judge the indirectified form *kureru* as unacceptable. In other words, the respondents' judgments are overwhelmingly for unindirectification and against indirectification. What should be looked at here is semantic compatibility between the embedded verb and the matrix verb. *Yaru* has connotations of the benefactor patronizing the beneficiary, and *kureru* has those of the beneficiary appreciating the favor.¹⁶ In contrast, the verb phrase *onkisegamasiku iu* (to say patronizingly) has connotations of the secondary speaker criticizing the primary speaker for a patronizing attitude. Therefore, the matrix verb phrase *onkisegamasiku iu* is perfectly compatible with the embedded verb phrase *mendoo o mite yaru* (to look after patronizingly), but not compatible

¹⁴ See example 2a.

¹⁵ There are cases where conversion from *iku* into *kuru* and vice versa are not possible at all. For instance, suppose a friend of mine is to ring me from Australia to convey his son's intention to visit Japan, he cannot convert *iku* into *kuru*. Consider the following example:

*Mosi mosi, musuko-ga tikadika Nihon-e ik-u | *ku-ru to it-te ru n-des-u ga . . .*

Hello, my son is saying that he is leaving shortly for Japan and . . .

What we are discussing in this paper is cases where conversion is possible, yet it is not always done.

¹⁶ These benefactive verbs can also be used in an accusatory or belligerent sense. Consider the following example:

Yokumo sonna koto-o si-te kure-ta na! Ituka kitto sikaesi-o si-te yar-u kara oboe-te i-ro!

How come you've done such a bloody thing to me! Don't forget I'll make sure to take revenge on you one day!

with the embedded verb phrase *mendoo o mite kureru* (to look after kindly). Native speakers' preferences in indirectification of benefactive and directional verbs are very much affected by the linguistic and extralinguistic elements involved. Therefore, it is difficult to establish principles of indirectification of these verbs in absolute terms.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have presented mixed forms of direct and indirect discourse or incomplete indirect discourse in Japanese, where benefactive and directional verbs remain direct or unindirectified in otherwise indirectified reported speech. We then discussed Kuno's hypothesis that if the secondary speaker is the addressee of secondary discourse, the benefactive and directional verbs should be indirectified, whereas if the secondary speaker is not the addressee of secondary discourse, these verbs should remain direct or unindirectified. To prove this hypothesis, we conducted a small-scale survey of native speakers' acceptability judgments on secondary discourse sentences containing the benefactive and directional verbs.

Unfortunately, the results of the survey did not prove Kuno's hypothesis to be correct. On the basis of these results, however, we found that native speakers in general prefer not to indirectify the benefactive verbs but prefer to indirectify the directional verbs. We considered different degrees of sense of directionality to be a factor in this distinction. We found that there are no significant differences in indirectification of the benefactive and directional verbs regarding directions of favors and motions. We concluded that various linguistic and extra-linguistic elements interact with each other and that no absolute generalizations are possible in indirectification of these verbs.

Japanese people prefer primary discourse to secondary discourse in reporting someone's speech for its directness, vividness, and authenticity. Even when they indirectify reported speech for logic and consistency in the secondary speaker's viewpoint, they would still endeavor to retain some primary discourse elements in secondary discourse by not indirectifying them. Their preferences in discourse are thus considered to be the following:

1. Primary discourse=Direct discourse
2. Secondary discourse
 - a. Incomplete indirect discourse=mixed forms of direct and indirect discourse
 - b. Complete indirect discourse=pure indirect discourse

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is a paper I read before the Asian Studies Association of Australia 8th Biennial Conference held at Griffith University in July 1990.

Research represented in this paper has been supported by a Japan Foundation fellowship. I wish to express my gratitude to ISHIDA Hirohisa of Nanzan University and KOBAYASHI Tatsuō of Nagoya City Hall for their invaluable suggestions and cooperation in conducting the survey for the present study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kuno, S. 1988. Blended quasi-direct discourse in Japanese. In *Japanese syntax*, ed. W. J. Poser. Stanford: CSLI.
- Kuno, S. and Kaburaki, E. 1977. Empathy and syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8, no. 4: 627-72.
- Murakami, Y. 1975. The benefactive verbs *yarū* and *kureru* and the mixed forms of direct and indirect narrations. In *Attempt in linguistics and literatures*. Tokyo: International Christian University.
- 遠藤裕子 (1982) 「日本語の語法」, 『言語』 11, no. 3: 86-94.
- 奥津敬一郎 (1968) 「引用構造と間接化転形」, 『言語研究』 56: 1-26.
- 鎌田 修 (1983) 「日本語の間接語法」, 『言語』 12, no. 9: 108-17.
- 久野 暉 (1978) 『談話の文法』, 大修館書店.
- 仁田義雄 (1988) 『語彙論的統語論』, 再版, 明治書院.

Abbreviations and Symbols

略語と記号

ENDEAR	愛称	endearment
GER	テ形	gerundive
HONS	敬語	honorification
IMP	命令形	imperative
NEG	否定形	negative
OBJ	目的語	object
PAST	過去形	past
POL	丁寧語	polite
PRES	現在形	present
Q	疑問詞	question
SUP	主語	subject
TOP	主題	topic
*	とても不自然	
??	かなり不自然	
?	不自然	
(?)	やや不自然	

Appendix

この質問紙は日本語の知識を調べるものではなく、日本語のネイティブ・スピーカーとして次の文の一つ一つが言えるものかどうか判断していただくものです。

各項目の a は問題なく言えるものです。b と c は a を言い換えたもので、言えるか言えないかネイティブ・スピーカーによって判断が分かれるものです。あなたの判断では言えると思われるものには○を、言えないと思われるものには×を、また、言えないことはないが自然ではないと思われるものには？をアルファベットの b と c の前にそれぞれつけて下さい。

- 1 a. 兄は「昔よくお前に英語を教えてやったよ」と自慢そうに言った。
b. 兄は、昔はよく僕に英語を教えてやったと自慢そうに言った。
c. 兄は、昔はよく僕に英語を教えてくれたと自慢そうに言った。
- 2 a. 兄は仕事仲間に「昔はよく弟に英語を教えてやったよ」と自慢そうに言っているらしい。
b. 兄は仕事仲間に、昔はよく僕に英語を教えてやったと自慢そうに言っているらしい。
c. 兄は仕事仲間に、昔はよく僕に英語を教えてくれたと自慢そうに言っているらしい。
- 3 a. みどりさんは私に「昔はよく亜紀子ちゃんの面倒を見てやったのよ」と恩着せがましく言った。
b. みどりさんは私に、昔はよく亜紀子の面倒を見てやったと恩着せがましく言った。
c. みどりさんは私に、昔はよく亜紀子の面倒を見てくれたと恩着せがましく言った。
- 4 a. みどりさんは皆に「昔はよく亜紀子ちゃんの面倒を見てやったのよ」と恩着せがましく言っているらしい。
b. みどりさんは皆に、昔はよく亜紀子の面倒を見てやったと恩着せがましく言っているらしい。
c. みどりさんは皆に、昔はよく亜紀子の面倒を見てくれたと恩着せがましく言っているらしい。
- 5 a. 敏博は「ねえ、叔父さん、叔父さんは僕を一度京都へ連れてってくれたことがあるよ」と懐かしそうに言った。
b. 敏博は、僕が彼を一度京都へ連れてってくれたことがあると懐かしそうに言った。
c. 敏博は、僕が彼を一度京都へ連れてってやったことがあると懐かしそうに言った。
- 6 a. 敏博は姉に「叔父さんは僕を一度京都へ連れてってくれたことがあるよ」と懐かしそうに話したらしい。
b. 敏博は姉に、僕が彼を一度京都へ連れてってくれたことがあると懐かしそうに話したらしい。
c. 敏博は姉に、僕が彼を一度京都へ連れてってやったことがあると懐かしそうに話したらしい。
- 7 a. 野田さんは「君はよく子供たちに勉強を教えてくれたよねえ」と感謝の気持ちを込めて言った。
b. 野田さんは、僕がよくお子さんたちに勉強を教えてくれたと感謝の気持ちを込めて言った。
c. 野田さんは、僕がよくお子さんたちに勉強を教えたことと感謝の気持ちを込めて言った。
- 8 a. 野田さんは皆に「本田さんはよく子供たちに勉強を教えてくれたんですよ」と感謝の気持ちを込めて話しているらしい。
b. 野田さんは皆に、僕がよくお子さんたちに勉強を教えてくれたと感謝の気持ちを込めて話しているらしい。
c. 野田さんは皆に、僕がよくお子さんたちに勉強を教えたことと感謝の気持ちを込めて話しているらしい。
- 9 a. 服部さんは「お宅のお嬢さんは私たちに本当に親切にしてくれましたよ」と心を込めて言った。
b. 服部さんは、娘が彼等に本当に親切にしてくれたと心を込めて言った。

- c. 服部さんは、娘が彼等に本当に親切にしてやったと心を込めて言った。
- 10 a. 服部さんは皆に「本田さんのお嬢さんは私たちに本当に親切にしてくれましたよ」と心を込めて話しているらしい。
- b. 服部さんは皆に、娘が彼等に本当に親切にしてくれたと心を込めて話しているらしい。
- c. 服部さんは皆に、娘が彼等に本当に親切にしてやったと心を込めて話しているらしい。
- 11 a. 秋山さんは「今からすぐそこに行ってもいいかなあ」と電話をかけて来た。
- b. 秋山さんは、今からすぐここに行ってもいいかと電話をかけて来た。
- c. 秋山さんは、今からすぐここに来てもいいかと電話をかけて来た。
- 12 a. 秋山さんは家内に「今からすぐそこに行ってもいいかなあ」と電話をかけて来たらしい。
- b. 秋山さんは家内に、今からすぐここに行ってもいいかと電話をかけて来たらしい。
- c. 秋山さんは家内に、今からすぐここに来てもいいかと電話をかけて来たらしい。
- 13 a. 山田さんが「今から部長さんに会いに行くので、その旨伝えておいて欲しいんだが」と電話をかけて来た。
- b. 山田さんが、今から部長さんに会いに行くので、その旨伝えておいて欲しいと電話をかけて来た。
- c. 山田さんが、今から部長さんに会いに来るので、その旨伝えておいて欲しいと電話をかけて来た。
- 14 a. 山田さんが係りに「今から部長さんに会いに行くので、その旨伝えておいて欲しいんだが」と電話をかけて来たらしい。
- b. 山田さんが係りに、今から部長さんに会いに行くので、その旨伝えておいて欲しいと電話をかけて来たらしい。
- c. 山田さんが係りに、今から部長さんに会いに来るので、その旨伝えておいて欲しいと電話をかけて来たらしい。
- 15 a. 兄は「急用だからお前は今すぐ俺の所に来んといかんなあ」と電話をかけて来た。
- b. 兄は、急用だから僕が今すぐ彼の所に来んといかんと電話をかけて来た。
- c. 兄は、急用だから僕が今すぐ彼の所に行かんといかんと電話をかけて来た。
- 16 a. 兄は家内に「急用だから五郎は今すぐ俺の所に来んといかんなあ」と電話をかけて来たらしい。
- b. 兄は家内に、急用だから僕が今すぐ彼の所に来んといかんと電話をかけて来たらしい。
- c. 兄は家内に、急用だから僕が今すぐ彼の所に行かんといかんと電話をかけて来たらしい。
- 17 a. 家内は「加藤さんが交通事故に遭い入院したので、あなたは今すぐお見舞に来なくちゃならないんです」と病院から電話をかけて来た。
- b. 家内は、加藤さんが交通事故に遭い入院したので、僕が今すぐお見舞に来なくちゃならないと病院から電話をかけて来た。
- c. 家内は、加藤さんが交通事故に遭い入院したので、僕が今すぐお見舞に行かなくちゃならないと病院から電話をかけて来た。
- 18 a. 家内は娘に「加藤さんが交通事故に遭い入院したので、お父さんは今すぐお見舞に来なくちゃならないのよ」と病院から電話をかけて来たらしい。
- b. 家内は娘に、加藤さんが交通事故に遭い入院したので、僕が今すぐお見舞に来なくちゃならないと病院から電話をかけて来たらしい。
- c. 家内は娘に、加藤さんが交通事故に遭い入院したので、僕が今すぐお見舞に行かなくちゃならないと病院から電話をかけて来たらしい。
- 19 a. 西田さんは「息子さんはいつでも私の所に相談に来ていいんですよ」と親切に言ってくれた。
- b. 西田さんは、息子がいつでも彼の所に相談に来ていいと親切に言ってくれた。
- c. 西田さんは、息子がいつでも彼の所に相談に行っていていいと親切に言ってくれた。
- 20 a. 西田さんは家内に「息子さんはいつでも私の所に相談に来ていいんですよ」と親切に言ってくれたらしい。
- b. 西田さんは家内に、息子がいつでも彼の所に相談に来ていいと親切に言ってくれたらしい。
- c. 西田さんは家内に、息子がいつでも彼の所に相談に行っていていいと親切に言ってくれたらしい。