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## A Two-dimensional Aspectual Analysis of the *Te-iru* Construction

Chiaki Taoka

### 1. Introduction

In this paper, I will focus on the semantics of *te-iru* in Japanese in the framework of the two-dimensional geometric model proposed by Croft (2000, in prep.). *Te-iru* has drawn much attention from scholars partly because, depending on the types of verbs that it occurs with, it can refer to either an activity in progress or a result state, which are normally encoded by different morphemes in many languages. A complicating factor with *te-iru*, like other tense-aspect constructions, is its interaction with predicates that have distinctive aspectual potentials. Although it is not easy to reduce the multiple interpretations that *te-iru* has with different predicates into a single meaning, I will give a tentative account that should cover all of its different uses under one general definition. First, Croft's two-dimensional aspectual model will be introduced to show that there are more aspectual types than Vendler (1967) proposes. Secondly, Kindaichi's (1950) traditional classification of Japanese verbs in terms of *te-iru* will be presented. Then, the *Te-iru* construction will be discussed in relation to verbs of different situational types to demonstrate that it allows for different construals with different types of predicates. Finally, a single unified definition of *te-iru* in terms of the two-dimensional model will be proposed.

### 2. Croft's two-dimensional representation of aspect

#### 2-1. Basic notations

Croft's (2000, in prep.) aspectual representation is a two-dimensional diagram consisting of a qualitative dimension (denoted as *q*) and a time dimension (denoted as *t*). The addition of the qualitative dimension to a common time dimension is a unique property of his representation (cf. Comrie 1976; Dowty 1979; Machida 1989). The *q* dimension encodes the 'relevant' qualitative states and changes in an event. For example, in *The door is open*, the state of the door concerning its openness, not its colour, is encoded in the dimension. The *q* dimension is represented on the ordinate and the *t* dimension is represented on the abscissa. The following are the representations for *The door is open* and *The door opened*.

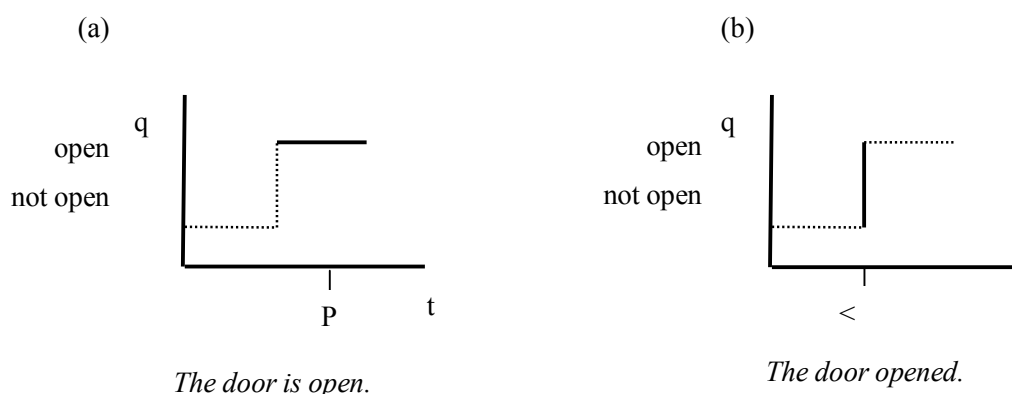


Figure 1. Aspectual representation

The participant, the door, undergoes a transition (represented by a vertical line) from being not open (a rest state that is represented by a lower horizontal line) to being open (a result state that is represented by a higher horizontal line). Each composite piece is called a phase and all these phases make up the aspectual contour, which describes the course of an event from its beginning to its end.

Following one of the main innovations in semantic representation in cognitive linguistics, the representation maintains a distinction between profiled phases and unprofiled ones in the aspectual contour. Profiled phases are those that are asserted by a sentence. The other phases that are not profiled function as necessary/background information, which is required to understand the meaning of the profiled part encoded by a sentence. They are considered as the frame or base. In Figure 1, the bold black line represents the profiled part and the broken line the unprofiled part. The phase that is asserted in the event in (a) is the transitory state of the door being opened. Both the transitional phase of the door from being closed to being open and the phase prior to that transition are presupposed. ‘P’ in the representation indicates the present moment, which is included in the time scale of the transitory state. In (b), the transition phase is profiled. That is, the phase that is asserted in the event is the transitional change. The phase following the transition is implied as part of the natural course of the event: It is implied that the state of the door being open holds, at least for a while. The transition phase is indicated in the time scale with the notation ‘<P’, which represents the past.

## 2-2. Aspectual types of events

Vendler (1967) proposes four aspectual classes for English predicates: states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments. The distinction between the four types has been widely accepted. Croft (in prep.) adds to Vendler’s classification by adopting a finer-grained analysis. One important revision is that he proposes 11 different aspectual types instead of four in order to develop a richer model that can capture the full variety of aspectual properties that events can have in the real world. Aspectual types are universal and describe the semantic structures that are found in languages. Figure 2 shows the geometric representations of all the types cited by Croft (in prep.).

The states described by Vendler (1967) can be divided into four categories in a two-dimensional geometric representation. They are a transitory state, an acquired permanent state, an inherent permanent state, and a point state. Transitory states are those that occur in a finite period of time, such as the door being open, with a presupposed initial (rest) state and a presupposed transition phase. The solid horizontal line of the transitory state in Figure 2.1 shows that the event has a start and may have an end. By ending the transitory state before the end of the time dimension, Croft expresses the possibility of its termination (compare with permanent states below). Inherent permanent states are states that are conceptualised as inherent properties of an individual: they are properties that are held by the individual for its entire lifetime. In acquired permanent states, a certain property is retained for the individual’s remaining lifetime once it has been acquired. The horizontal phase with an arrow indicates that the state in question

extends as long as the timeline extends. Point states are those that occur only at a point in time. Only the point is profiled and the individual goes back

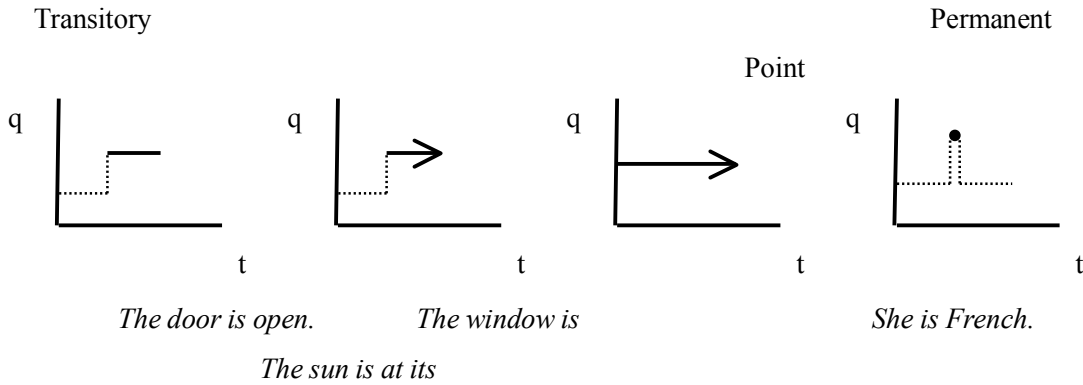


Figure 2.1. Four kinds of state

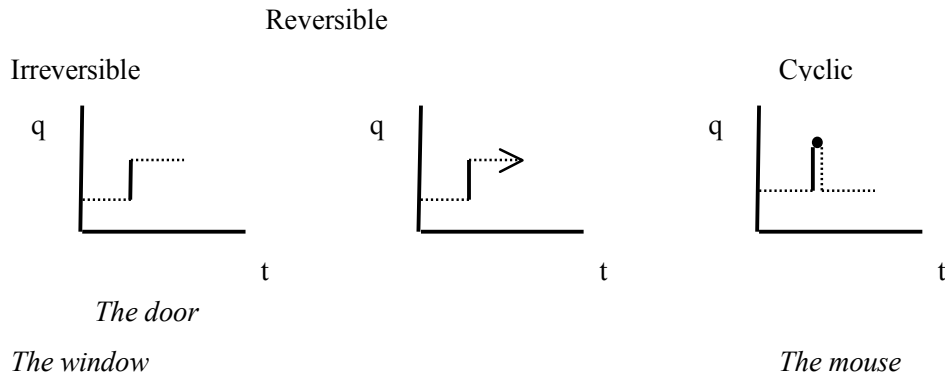


Figure 2.2. Three kinds of achievement

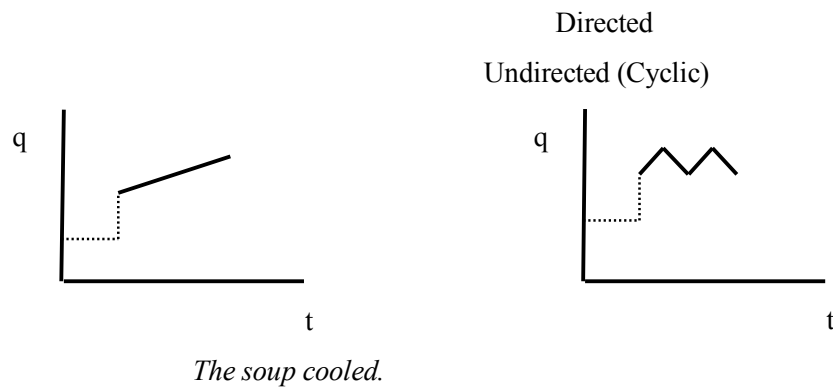


Figure 2.3. Two kinds of activity

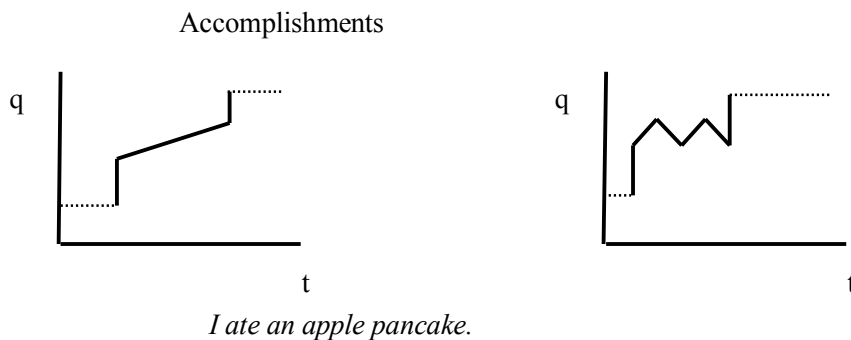


Figure 2.4. Bounded durative processes

to the rest state after that point. Geometrically, the profiled parts of all states are a single point on the  $q$  dimension.

There are three types of achievement: reversible directed, irreversible directed, and cyclic achievements. All the achievements have a profiled transition phase from an initial state to an (entailed) result state. That is, they have a profiled part at a single point on the  $t$  dimension. The three types differ in terms of the kinds of state that their entailed result states are. As a result state, reversible directed achievements have a transitory state, irreversible directed ones have an inherent state, and cyclic ones have a point state.

Activities, which are durative unbounded processes, have two types: directed and undirected. The former involves a directed change, that is, “a continuous change along the  $q$  dimension” (Croft in prep.), while the latter does not. For example, the activity of the soup’s cooling is directed in that the temperature of the soup becomes cooler and cooler as time goes by. The activity is proceeding to a certain state (probably to room temperature) although a transition to a result state is not represented. On the other hand, the girls’ chanting is an activity that is undirected since it is a repeated emission of certain types of sound. Undirected activities, therefore, are encoded as a succession of undirected achievements in the representation. For both types of activity, neither the result state nor the transition phase leading to it is represented and the profiled part is the phase that is extended on both the  $t$  and  $q$  dimensions.

To the two kinds of activity above, where there is no result state or a transition phase leading to it, there correspond two kinds of durative processes: accomplishments and runup achievements (nonincremental accomplishments). Both are bounded, that is, they have a result state. In accomplishments, as exemplified in *I ate an apple pancake*, the activity is directed and has a natural endpoint: every bite of eating a pancake gradually brings about the final result state in which all the pancake is consumed. Unlike accomplishments, the middle profiled part of runup achievements is an undirected activity. That is, “there is no monotonic progression from the rest state to the result state” (Croft in prep.). Prototypical runup achievements are manifested as basic achievement verbs with the progressive form in English such as *die* in *He’s dying*. The sentence refers to the process that leads to his ‘dead’ state. The dying process does not occur incrementally. Rather, the transition to dying should be captured as happening instantaneously as we do not have the state of being half-dead or two-thirds dead. Finally, it has to be noted that the result state may be transitory or permanent in bounded durative processes. For example, the result state of eating a pancake is permanent because, once eaten, the pancake is gone forever, while that of repairing a computer is transitory since the computer may break again. The geometrical representation does not distinguish these, and both types of the entailed (presupposed) result are encoded as dotted horizontal lines. Thus, in the geometrical representation, the phase that extends over both dimensions is profiled as well as the inception phase and the completion phase. On the basis of aspectual types and the  $t/q$  representation as a framework, the next section will feature an analysis of the *Te-iru* construction in Japanese<sup>1</sup>.

### 3. On the *Te-iru* construction

#### 3-1. Kindaichi's four types of verb

In this section, we will examine which aspectual interpretation different predicates receive in the *Te-iru* construction. *Te-iru* is the form that is opposed to the unmarked *u/ru* form in Japanese (the Simple Present construction). It consists of *te*, a participle form, plus the verb *iru* 'be'. An intriguing property of this construction is that it can be used to mark both progressive and resultative depending on the predicate used.

Kindaichi (1950) categorises Japanese verbs into four classes, which have been widely adopted by many scholars. They are stative verbs, continuative verbs, instantaneous verbs, and 'type 4' verbs. This classification is based on the interpretation that arises when they are used with *te-iru*.

Stative verbs refer to a state being true in the present moment in the Simple Present. They are characterised as not being able to occur with *te-iru*.

(1) Stative verbs: ex. *aru* 'be', *iru*<sub>1</sub> 'be', *iru*<sub>2</sub> 'need'

(a) the *Te-iru* construction

\*Hon ga tsukue no ue ni at-te-iru.  
 book NOM desk GEN surface at be-TE-IRU  
 The book is on the table.

(b) the Simple Present (*u/ru*) construction

Hon ga tsukue no ue ni aru.  
 book NOM desk GEN surface at be  
 The book is on the table.

Continuative verbs refer to an event of process that normally has a perceptible beginning and ending and that extends over a certain amount of time. *Te-iru* is used to indicate that an event is in progress at the moment of utterance.

(2) Continuative verbs: ex. *odoru* 'dance', *aruku* 'walk', *yorokobu* 'rejoice'

Jacqui wa odot-te-iru.  
 Jacqui TOP dance-TE-IRU  
 Jacqui is dancing.

Instantaneous verbs describe an event that occurs and is completed instantaneously. A good example is an event such as *shinu* 'die'. Because verbs of this type are instantaneous, it is only possible to interpret that the result of an event is true at the moment of utterance.

(3) Instantaneous verbs: ex. *shinu* 'die', *kekkkonsuru* 'marry', *iku* 'go'

Inu ga shin-de-iru.  
 dog NOM die-TE-IRU  
 The dog is dead.

Type 4 verbs are never used in a Simple Present construction. According to Teramura (1984: 124), verbs of this type do not have any temporal structure but indicate that something takes on a property of a state/stativity. They are always used with *te-iru*, in which case they can be regarded as frozen idiomatic adjectival expressions similar to *boring*, *surprising*, and *interesting* in English.

(4) Type 4 verbs: ex. *sugure-te-iru* ‘be outstanding’, *sobie-te-iru* ‘tower’, *bakage-te-iru* ‘be silly’

(a) the *Te-iru* construction

Watashi no ronbun wa kare no ronbun yori sugure-te-iru.  
 I GEN dissertation TOP he GEN dissertation than excel-TE-IRU  
 My dissertation is more outstanding than his dissertation.

(b) the Simple Present (*u/ru*) construction

\*Watashi no ronbun wa kare no ronbun yori sugureru.  
 I GEN dissertation TOP he GEN dissertation than excel  
 My dissertation is more outstanding than his dissertation.

Here is a summary of the types of Japanese verb with their occurrence and interpretation with *te-iru*:

Type of verb:	Meaning when used in the <i>te-iru</i> form:
stative verbs	N/A
continuative verbs	activity in progress
instantaneous verbs	resultative state
type 4 verbs	almost frozen adjectival expression

Table 1. Meanings of *te-iru*

However, as Kindaichi (1950) himself observes, this categorisation does not mean that every verb can be classified exclusively into one of these categories. The following examples illustrate this point:

(5a) Jack wa ima heya de huku o ki-te-iru.  
 Jack TOP now room in clothes ACC put.on-TE-IRU  
 Jack is dressing himself in his room now.

(5b) Jack wa akai shatsu o ki-te-iru.  
 Jack TOP red shirt ACC put.on-TE-IRU  
 Jack is in a red shirt./ Jack is wearing a red shirt.

(6a) Gengogaku wa bunkengaku to-wa kotonaru.  
 Linguistics TOP philology with-TOP differ  
 Linguistics differs from philology.

(6b) Gengogaku wa bunkengaku to-wa kotonat-te-iru.  
 Linguistics TOP philology with-TOP differ-TE-IRU  
 Linguistics differs from philology.

In (5), the verb *kiru*, with *te-iru* (5a), is interpreted as describing an activity in progress in that Jack is in the middle of the activity of dressing himself while it is interpreted as describing a resultative state denoting that Jack is in a red shirt, as a result of putting it on (5b). In (6), either the Simple Present construction or the *Te-iru* construction is used to denote that the same event is true at the present moment. Both (a) and (b) refer to the situation that linguistics and philology are different. Thus, there is an indeterminacy about which verb category some verbs belong to.

In fact, as Croft (2000) points out, “many classes of verbs display schizophrenic aspectual behaviour, in that they sometimes behave like one of the basic aspectual types and sometimes like another”. What happens is that many verbs belong to one basic aspectual type in one Tense/Aspect (TA) construction and to another type in another TA construction. They may belong to a different type even with the same TA

construction under another interpretation. Included in TA constructions are basic tense/aspect constructions such as the Simple Present tense, the Past tense, the Present Progressive, profile-changing constructions such as the inceptive construction (*start to Verb*) and the completive construction (*finish Verb-ing*), and adverbials such as iterative adverbials, durative adverbials, and container adverbials (for details, see Croft (2000)). The complexity here resides in the fact that a verb and various TA constructions together contribute to a sentence meaning: no verb appears without one of the TA constructions. What is more complex is the fact that the combination of a verb stem and the TA construction can involve a construal operation.

There are two types of construal operation in the geometric representation: one involving only a shift in profile and the other a reconstrual of the aspect contour itself. One example is the achievement-type verb *break*. When it occurs in the Past construction, as in *The glass broke*, it is an irreversible directed achievement. When used in the Resultative Adjective construction, as in *The glass is broken*, there is a shift in profile and the representation should be that of an acquired inherent state. The verb appearing in the Simple Present construction with an adverbial, as in *The glass breaks easily*, reconstrues the aspectual contour of an event as an inherent state.

The next section discusses the *Te-iru* construction and the different construals that it allows with predicates of different situational types. Owing to space restrictions, only a small number of examples are given. However, they are sufficient for the present purpose to illustrate the various construals that *te-iru* exhibits<sup>2</sup>. One important remark to make regarding the next section is that the term ‘predicate’ is used instead of ‘verb’ since the number and types of arguments that verbs take, as well as other expressions such as manner adverbials and degree adverbials, may change the aspectual types to which verbs belong. Therefore, it is more appropriate to treat verbal phrases as a whole rather than verbs alone.

### 3-2. Aspectual analysis of the *Te-iru* construction

Overall, the *Te-iru* construction allows for seven construals. The first aspectual type is an undirected activity.

The interpretation is prototypical with situations of motion (with and without manner) and performance.

- (7) Hanako wa ima oyoide-iru.  
Hanako TOP now swim-TE-IRU  
Hanako is swimming now.
- (8) Jishin de tsukue ga ugoite-iru!!  
earthquake with desk NOM move-TE-IRU  
The desk is moving because of the earthquake!!
- (9) Jacqui wa ima utatte-iru.  
Jacqui TOP now sing-TE-IRU  
Jacqui is singing now.

The predicates of (7)-(8) are verbs of motion without any goal phrases. Performance, without a direct

object, refers to an undirected activity without reaching any result point in (9).

Predicates that denote iterated cyclic achievements also get an undirected activity construal.

- (10) Jack ga mado o tatai-te-iru.  
 Jack NOM window ACC knock-TE-IRU  
 Jack is knocking at the window.
- (11) Sono dentou wa chikachika hikate-iru.  
 the light TOP ONMP2 shine-TE-IRU  
 The light is flashing.

With situations of contact in (10) above, the cyclic achievement of someone knocking at the door is iterated without achieving any specific result. In light emission in (11), the undirected activity construal is reinforced by adverbial support of reduplicated mimetic/onomatopoeic phrases. *Chika* describes the flashing of a light. The doubling-up of this expression (denoted as “ONMP2” above) means that the event is repeated.

A second construal associated with the *Te-iru* construction is a directed activity construal. Unlike undirected activities, these situations are interpreted as increasing degree on a certain scale (the verbal scale) and, therefore, in this construal, predicates can occur with adverbial phrases such as *sukoshizutsu* ‘little by little’ or *masumasu* ‘more and more’, which illustrate that the situation goes into directed change incrementally. The following predicates require this adverbial support to have this interpretation with *te-iru*.

- (12) Mary wa masumasu hutot-te-iru.  
 Mary TOP more.and.more get.fat-TE-IRU  
 Mary is getting fatter and fatter.
- (13) Suupu ga sukoshizutsu atatamat-te-iru.  
 soup NOM little.by.little get.warm-TE-IRU  
 The soup is getting warmer little by little.

The construal as an undirected activity is found with accomplishment-type events. The situations denoted in the following sentences have an endpoint that is imposed by the objects, ‘a pizza’ and ‘a novel’. With *te-iru*, the activity leading up to that endpoint is focused.

- (14) Joel wa yuushoku ni piza o tabe-te-iru.  
 Joel TOP dinner for pizza ACC eat-TE-IRU  
 Joel is eating a pizza for his dinner.
- (15) Sono chosha wa atarashii shousetsu o kai-te-iru.  
 the author TOP new novel ACC write-TE-IRU  
 The author is writing a new novel.

A third construal with the *te-iru* construction is from a transitory state interpretation. The following are examples:

- (16) Suupu ga atatamat-te-iru.  
 soup NOM get.warm-TE-IRU  
 The soup is warm.

- (17) Jack wa akai shatsu o ki-te-iru.  
 Jack TOP red shirt ACC put.on-TE-IRU  
 Jack is in a red shirt.

The nature of the result state, namely, whether it is transitory or permanent, is not always easy to judge, as it depends on various kinds of possible context. Some situation types may have both transitory state and permanent state construals, depending on the context or adverbial support. The following predicates have a transitory state interpretation with *te-iru*, but also have a permanent state construal in different contexts (to be discussed shortly):

- (18) Mary wa mezurashiku ima hutot-te-iru.  
 Mary TOP unusually now become.fat-TE-IRU  
 Mary is fat now, which is unusual for her.
- (19) Kiri ga machi o sukkari oot-te-iru.  
 fog NOM city ACC completely cover-TE-IRU  
 The fog completely covers the city.

In (18), *ima* ‘now’ forces the transitory state construal and in (19) the type of the argument gives its interpretation as the transitory state.

Some predicates that denote situations of inactive action (a state that involves an invisible process) are also thought to have a transitory state reading:

- (20) Steve wa asoko ni tat-te-iru.  
 Steve TOP there at stand-TE-IRU  
 Steve is standing over there.

A fourth construal that is allowed by *te-iru* is a permanent state construal. Intransitive achievement-type situations appear in *te-iru* with a permanent state interpretation:

- (21) Neko ga michibata de shin-de-iru.  
 cat NOM roadside on die-TE-IRU  
 The cat is dead on the roadside.
- (22) Heya no mado ga ware-te-iru!  
 room GEN window NOM break-TE-IRU  
 The window in the room is broken!

Type 4 verbs typically have this construal, too.

- (23) Kare no ronbun wa kono ronbun yori sugure-te-iru.  
 he GEN article TOP this article than excel-TE-IRU  
 His dissertation is superior to this dissertation.
- (24) Huji-san ga me no mae ni sobie-te-iru.  
 Mt.Fuji NOM eye GEN front at tower-TE-IRU  
 Mt. Fuji towers high in front of us.

Type 4 verbs, in fact, are regarded as verbs of achievements in Shirai (2000) following McClure (1993). McClure (1993), after carrying out six tests—the compatibility with the expressions of *Verb-hajimeru* ‘start to do’, *TimeUnit-kakatte-Verb* ‘take *TimeUnit* to do’, and *te-iru*, and the incompatibility with *Verb-tsuzukeru* ‘continue to do’, *Verb-owaru* ‘finish doing’, and durative adverbial—points out that they have similar behaviours with typical achievement verbs such as *shinu* ‘die’ and concludes that Type 4

verbs are not statives but achievements.

Some predicates that have the transitory state interpretation can also appear in this construal.

- (25) Mary wa hutot-te-iru.  
Mary TOP become.fat-TE-IRU  
Mary is fat.

- (26) Midori no kigi ga sono kuni o oot-te-iru.  
green GEN trees NOM the country ACC cover-TE-IRU  
Green trees cover the country.

Example (25), without the adverbial *ima* ‘now’, can denote an inherent property of a person (compare with (18)). In (26), the fact that the arguments are different from those of (19) can give the predicate the inherent permanent state reading.

A fifth construal is a runup achievement construal. This is identical to runup achievements in English (*She’s dying!*), although the number of predicates that allow this construal with *te-iru* is limited and the construal requires some special contexts. Adverbials that modify an incremental process such as *sukoshizutsu* ‘little by little’ are unacceptable in this construal (compare with (12) and (13)). The following sentence is grammatical but would become ungrammatical with the adverbial.

- (27) Jacqui wa ima tonari no heya de kimono o ki-te-iru.  
Jacqui TOP now next GEN room at Jap.dress ACC put.on-TE-IRU  
Jacqui is putting on her Japanese dress in the next room.

This construal can be regarded as a subtype of undirected activity as it refers to the middle of the process leading up to a result state. I consider this construal a separate one, however, in that it involves a reconstrual of the aspectual contour. *Te-iru* as well as special contexts (e.g. in the above case, with the help of the expressions ‘now’ and ‘in the next room’) makes this interpretation possible with predicates that denote directed achievement-type events in more natural interpretations. They get a directed achievement construal with the Past Construction, and have a transitory or permanent state construal with *te-iru* (e.g. (17) above) without special contexts. That is, this interpretation involves the reconstrual of the transition phase (from a rest state to a result state) in the aspectual contour to be extended on the *t* dimension. Therefore, I treat this construal as an independent category.

A sixth construal of the construction is a habitual interpretation (Shirai 2000). Predicates that have this construal also have the same construal in the Simple Present Construction. The habitual construal with *te-iru*, however, requires adverbials that manifest regularity such as *maitsuki* ‘every month’ or *mainichi* ‘every day’. The following example adequately illustrates this matter:

- (28) (a) the *Te-iru* construction  
Chichi wa maiban 11ji ni ne-te-iru.  
father TOP every.night 11o'clock at go.to.bed-TE-IRU  
My father goes to bed at 11 o'clock every night.  
(b) the Simple Present (*u/ru*) construction  
Chichi wa (maiban) 11ji ni neru.  
father TOP (every.night) 11o'clock at go.to.sleep  
My father goes to bed at 11 o'clock (every night).

Compared with the Simple Present construction, *te-iru* implies the agent's will to repeat the denoted event of habitual interpretation: it is implied in the above example that the agent makes it a rule to go to bed at eleven at night. Shirai (2000) argues that the habituality with *te-iru* denotes dynamicity and/or temporariness and, therefore, the simple present is more acceptable to refer to gnomic situations such as *The sun sets in the west* in Japanese.

The seventh construal associated with the *Te-iru* construction is an experiential (perfect) construal (cf. Machida 1989; Nitta 1997; Shirai 2000). With the support of past time adverbials such as *kako ni* 'in the past' or iterative adverbials such as *ikkai* 'once' and *nikai* 'twice', most predicates (except Kindaichi's stative verbs and type 4 verbs) have this construal. The following two examples adequately illustrate this:

(29) Kanojo wa nido rikonshi-te-iru.  
 she TOP twice get.divorced-TE-IRU  
 She has got divorced twice.

(30) Sono kenkyuu chiimu wa (kyonen) shinsei o hakkenshi-te-iru.  
 the research team TOP (last.year) new.star ACC discover-TE-IRU  
 The research team has discovered a new star (last year).

Some predicates such as *hakken-suru* 'discover' and *mokugeki-suru* 'witness' have only an experiential construal with *te-iru*. This is because the irreversible directed achievement that this type denotes cannot be construed as taking time like a runup achievement nor can it leave any perceptible result on its direct object. It may need some consistent effort on the part of the actor before it 'discovers' something, but the event of discovering itself is instantaneous and cannot be reconstrued as taking time. Moreover, without any result visible on the direct object, it is not construable as a result state.

Finally, some predicates are uninterpretable with *te-iru*. The situation types of existence and necessity (Kindaichi's state verbs) are uninterpretable with the construction.

(31) \*Hon ga soko ni at-te-iru.  
 book NOM there at exist-TE-IRU  
 The book is there.

(32) \*Watashi ni-wa kane ga it<sub>2</sub>-te-iru.  
 I to-TOP money NOM need-TE-IRU  
 I need money.

To summarise all the construals that the *Te-iru* construction allows, its general definition is considered to be the following: it takes the temporally extended phase after an achievement (inception or completion) and construes it as an extended state (i.e. (acquired) permanent state or transitory state). Figure 3 is a schematic representation of this.

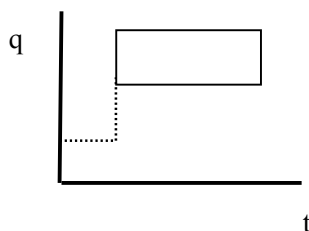


Figure 3. Schematic representation for situations that can be an input to the *Te-iru*



Regarding the habitual interpretation, I would argue that the construal operation of scalar adjustment is at work. (Croft and Cruse 2004; Croft in prep.). This is an operation in which the extent of a conceptual structure is fine-grained or coarse-grained on the relevant conceptual dimension(s). In the habitual construal, the regularly recurring events (fine-grained) are reconceptualised as a state under a coarse-grained scalar adjustment in the *t* and *q* dimensions.

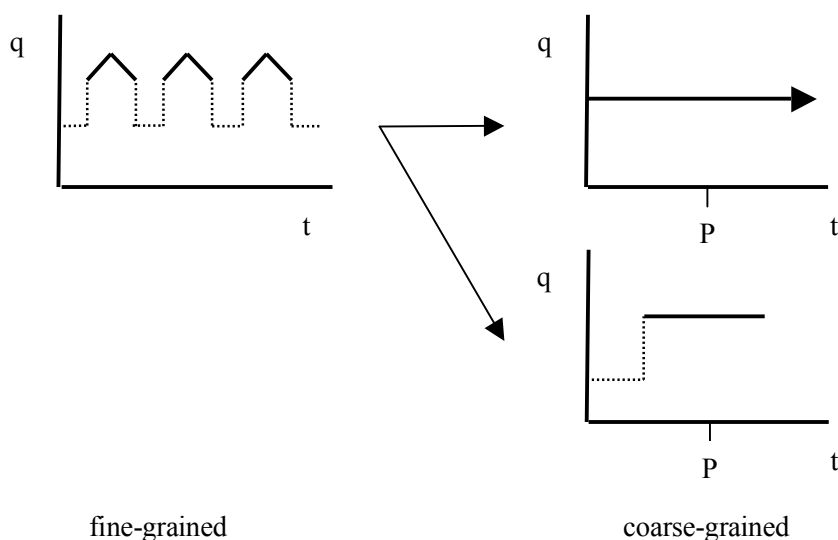


Figure 5. Scalar adjustment to the habitual interpretation

It may be argued that the habitual reading with the Simple Present construction constitutes an adjustment to an inherent state, and that with the *Te-iru* construction constitutes an adjustment to a transitory state. This may explain why the Simple Present is preferred for gnomic situations.

The experiential reading would be treated like the English Present Perfect, which Croft (2000) defines as “taking a bounded event preceding the present moment, construing it as an achievement”. That is, the operations at work here involve the whole change of contour. For example, in the case of somebody having divorced twice, the transition phase is thought of as that from the event of getting divorced twice having not occurred to that of the event of getting divorced twice having occurred.

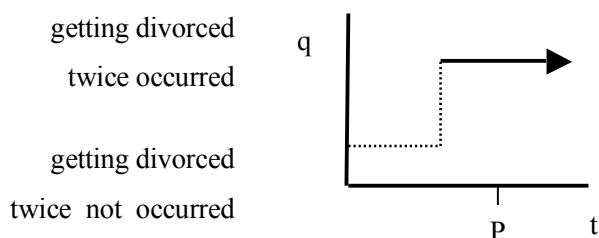


Figure 6. Analysis of perfect reading of the *Te-iru* construction

The aspectual contour of the experiential reading takes the form of irreversible directed achievements

since what has happened is unchangeable. In fact, most predicates can have this sense of *te-iru*. The high productivity is explained by the operation that changes the whole contour that each predicate has. Therefore, the kind of aspectual contour that each predicate can potentially have is not relevant.

The uninterpretability of Kindaichi's state verbs is also explained. They are inherent permanent states without any transition phase and, therefore, they cannot be input into the *Te-iru* construction.

There are two problems left unsolved by the geometric representation. One is an inability of *iru*<sub>2</sub> 'need' to be used in the *Te-iru* construction. Unlike *iru*<sub>1</sub> and *aru* 'exist', which denote existence, *iru*<sub>2</sub> can denote a transitory state of needing something for a limited time. This may be attributed to oddness of repeating the homophone *iru*. The other problem is a case of predicates that take the permanent state reading in both the Simple Present and the *Te-iru* construction as seen in the examples in (6). One solution to this problem might be to regard the predicates of this type as polysemous between achievement and state. The *Te-iru* construction imposes the achievement reading on the predicates. If this is the case, then the transition phase is considered what is called "subjective change" (Matsumoto 1996). It is not a real change but a change in a mentally constructed world: "a fictive change that is induced when an object in an unusual state is felt to have undergone a change from its expected or unusual state". In fact, some informants have agreed that when the same predicate refers to a certain state in the Simple Present and with the *Te-iru* constructions as in (6), the former sounds more assertive and the latter sounds more colloquial and soft. This might reflect the difference in the aspectual representation. That is, the former allows an inherent permanent state construal and the latter an acquired permanent state construal.

Finally, I will compare the two-dimensional aspectual analysis of *te-iru* with those of Jacobsen (1992) and Shirai (2000), who also give a unified account. Jacobsen proposes that a unified meaning of *te-iru* is that "it presents a state of affairs as existing in homogeneous, unchanging fashion over a given interval of time" (Jacobsen 1992: 200). Shirai (2000) notes that the general meaning that *-te i-* conveys is "focus on the durative phase of a situation", and it can be generally characterised as "durative imperfective", instantiating distinct senses such as progressive and resultative depending on the different parameters (syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic). The two analyses are not contradictory to the two-dimensional analysis but instead harmonious; Jacobsen explains that *te-iru* refers to a state that does not undergo any changes and Shirai focuses on the interaction between the inherent aspectual character of the predicates and the aspectual morpheme *te-iru*.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the *Te-iru* construction in the framework of an extensive list of aspectual types that lexical predicates denote and corresponding two-dimensional geometric representations proposed by Croft (2000, in prep.). Seven construals of the construction have been identified and the single aspectual operation that involves the construction has been proposed. That is, it takes the

temporally extended phase after an achievement (inception or completion) and construes it as an extended state. This contributes to sentence meaning when used with different kinds of predicate. I have also seen how construal operations, such as change in profile, reconstrual of the aspect contour, and scalar adjustment, work in the analysis. Although more research is needed to resolve a few issues concerning stative predicates and the semantic differences between the *Te-iru* construction and the Simple Present construction, it has been demonstrated that the two-dimensional geometric model, with its time and qualitative dimensions, is rich enough to capture the complex behaviours that the *Te-iru* construction exhibits.

#### Notes

1. List of abbreviations: NOM—nominative, TOP—topic marker, GEN—genitive, ACC—accusative, ALL—allative, ABL—ablative, INST—instrumental, TE-IRU—*te-iru*  
The construction has another phonological variant, *de-iru*, which is in complementary distribution with *te-iru*. It is included in the *Te-iru* construction and denoted as TE-IRU.
2. See Taoka (2000) for extensive data, in which 48 different situational types are analysed.

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編 集 委 員

岸野英治・直野裕子

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発 行 所 甲南女子大学英文学会  
神戸市東灘区森北町6丁目2-23  
甲南女子大学英語英米文学科コモンルーム  
TEL (078) 413-3124

編集代表

島 式 子

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