Multifunctionality of the Japanese Simile Marker *Mitaina*: Its Evolution to an Interactional Modal Particle

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the multifunctionality of the Japanese simile marker *mitaina*[1] in contemporary spoken Japanese. The functional distribution across the synchronic versatile uses *of mitaina* suggests an evolutionary path of grammaticization. The fundamental function of *mitaina* is to connect one entity to another by their resemblance. Some *mitaina* constructions have other functions such as exemplification, portraying images, obscuring, and speculation. I argue that on the basis of these functions that, with the exception of speculation, *mitaina* has come to be grammaticized as an interactional modal particle to mark the performative activity. Such a performative activity is represented in what is called "represented discourse," the utterance highly expressive in presenting the speaker's images and feelings, and simultaneously appealing to the interlocutor's empathy and involvement. Additionally, when *mitaina* takes the form *mitai da-ttari shite*, not marking a represented discourse but a noun phrase, it also functions as an interactional modal particle and marks the speaker's playful stance, that is, the idea represented in the preceding noun phrase is meant to be "not real." This function as a play-stance index is also observed in the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction, but not always, which suggests that it has not been exclusively grammaticized as a play-stance index and relies upon the speech participants' mutual negotiation in the meaning-making process, with the aid of a series of contextualization cues.

The structure of this paper is as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of

the semantic properties of *mitaina*, as well as socio-historical accounts for its present-day use. Section 3 briefly explains the data for this study and its methodology. Section 4 illustrates the data analysis, paying attention to the distribution in terms of the morphosyntactic environment and its functions. Section 5 provides concluding remarks.

2.   An Overview of *Mitaina* in Contemporary Japanese

2.1.   The semantic properties of *mitaina*

It has been assumed that *mitaina* is originally a simile marker that compares the resemblance between two entities in appearance or manner (*Daijirin* second ed., 1995, Maeda 2004, Maynard 2005, Nitta 2009). In other words, two entities are approximated but not identified as the same. The original *mitaina* construction is [A + *mitaina* + B] ('B that resembles A')], in which the entity B is the main referent. In its simplest case, both A and B are noun phrases and *mitaina* together with the preceding noun phrase A modifies the noun phrase B. This function of showing the resemblance is extended from its use in the pre-nominal form *mitaina* to the adverbial form *mitaini* and the predicate form *mitaida*.

In addition to resemblance, *Daijirin* (second ed., 1995) lists three other semantic properties of *mitaina*: to mark exemplification, an uncertain quote, and an uncertain/indirect/speculated statement. *Mitaina* and *mitaini* can follow a noun phrase for showing exemplification. A hearsay verb *iu* ('to say') often co-occurs with *mitaina* after an uncertain quote. The predicate form of *mitaida* and its conjugated forms can be added as an auxiliary verb at the end of an utterance to show the speaker's modality of uncertainty/indirectness/speculation towards the proposition.

Mitaina with the last semantic property mentioned above marks epistemic modality, and more specifically, the evidential modality. Epistemic modality "concerns the degree of speaker commitment for the information conveyed" (Iwasaki 2013: 297), and *mitaina* marks the speaker's lack of evidentiality as to the certainty of the proposition. Iwasaki (2013) states that *mitai* covers the range of other auxiliary forms *yoo* and *rashii* on the continuum of evidentiality (*yoo* is high and *rashii* is low, including hearsay), on which Nitta (2009)

comments that *mitaida* is closer to *yooda* than to *rashii*. That is, the speaker has access to recognition of the proposition, but not to the full extent. This explains the link between the evidential function of *mitaina* and the base- resemblance function of *mitaina*: namely, that the speculation is based on the speaker's own recognition of the proposition for evidence to a certain degree. Therefore, the functions of showing the resemblance of two entities and their approximation are maintained throughout the remaining pages, with some illustrations that those functions are maximally weakened for the use of evidential modality.

2.2.   Socio-historical accounts of *mitaina*

Mitaina originally emerged as a contracted form of *mita yooda* ('it seems as if (I) see 〜'), in which *mita* is the past-finite form of *miru* ('to see') and *yooda* is an evidential auxiliary verb. This form appeared in the mid-Meiji period and has been in use since that time (*Daijirin* second ed., 1995). *Mitaina* is regularly used in the form of *mitaina*, *mitaini*, or *mitaida* (and its conjugated forms), and its syntactic position is after noun phrases, stems of nominal adjectives, or the finite-forms of conjugated verbs. Its newly developed form of the stem only (= *mitai*), with or without the following interactional particle such as *yo*, *sa*, and *ne*, is characterized as usage by women and children (*Daijirin* second ed., 1995).

Mitaina is a colloquial expression of *yoona*, which marks resemblance and likelihood (Maynard, 1990). In addition, Nitta (2009) and Iwasaki (2013) are in agreement in their claim that *mitai* (or *mitaida*) is a colloquial expression of *yoo* (or *yooda*) and *rashii*. Nitta (2009) further claims that *mitaida*, as an evidential modality marker, is semantically closer to *yooda* (higher in evidentiality) than to *rashii* (lower in evidentiality).

As described above, the colloquial trait of *mitaina* explains why women and children were the first to start using the non-standard form, *mitai*, because as social minorities, they were seen less in the public sphere than men. Thus, it is speculated that the use of *mitai* spread among women and children at home and in other informal situations where colloquial language was mainly spoken. The frequent co-occurrence of interactional particles such as *yo*, *sa*, and *ne*, after *mitai* offers more evidence that its use was promoted in private social

life where the context could be more emotive and interactive.

Yet a more recent use of *mitaina* has been reported (Satake 1995, 1997, Koyano 2004, Maeda 2004, Takanashi 2004, Maynard 2005, Hoshino 2008, Ishiguro 2013), which resembles the use of *mitai* by women and children as described above in terms of its syntactic slot — and it occurs at the end of an utterance. However, there is a morphosyntactic difference between the two cases. The use of *mitai* as characterized by women and children takes the predicate form; that is, there is no morphosyntactically required grammatical element afterwards, which does not make it look awkward. In contrast, the recent use of *mitaina* is a pre-nominal form that morphosyntactically requires a noun phrase to follow. The utterance-final use of the pre-nominal form *mitaina* gives the impression that the utterance is incomplete, deviating from standard grammar.

From a historical point of view, the use of utterance-final *mitaina* started in the early 1990s (Satake 1995, Maynard 2005).[2] Although users of the utterance-final *mitaina* construction are primarily young people (Satake 1995, 1997, Maeda 2004, Maynard 2005, Hoshino 2008), adults today are also using it (Satake 1995, Maeda 2004, Maynard 2005). Interestingly, Maynard (2005) points out that among young people, adolescent girls are frequent users of utterance-final *mitaina*, which is consistent with the fact that women and children often employ utterance-final *mitai* as a predicate form. This gender and age preference suggests that young females are playing an initiative role in creating the new language use in Japanese society.[3]

Scholars agree that the function of this new use of utterance-final *mitaina* serves to mitigate the utterance tone by avoiding making a direct statement (Satake 1995, 1997, Koyano 2004, Maeda 2004, Maynard 2005, Hoshino 2008). However, there are negative and positive accounts with regard to the cause of this phenomenon. The negative account views the new usage as a defensive strategy; speakers who use this utterance-final *mitaina* construction, particularly young people, show their objective point of view towards their own utterance preceding *mitaina*, thus not actually committing to what they are saying, which is attributed to a lack of confidence (Satake 1995, 1997, Koyano 2004, Maeda 2004, Maynard 2005, Hoshino 2008). On the other hand, the positive account views the usage as a strategy to actively promote the

sharing of direct feelings among the participants as well as enhancing their sense of solidarity (Maeda 2004, Maynard 2005, Hoshino 2008). Maeda (2004), Takanashi (2004), Maynard (2005), and Hoshino (2008) further report that utterance-final *mitaina* is sometimes used for a playful purpose. In Takanashi (2004), I argue that utterance-final *mitaina*, originated from a simile marker, functions as one of the primary play-stance indexes in the play frame (as opposed to the secondary play-stance indexes that can appear in the proximate stages around the play frame), and serves to demonstrate the speaker's playful stance towards both the stance object and the ongoing speech activity. I further argue that it typically fills the second slot of the syntactic structure of [Playful Speech + Primary Play-Stance Index], with other primary play-stance indexes being *-tte/-toka* (quotative-based), *-tari* (conjoining morpheme-based), and their variations or the combinatory configurations across sources such as *-tte kanji*, *-toka itte*, *-ttari shite*, *-toka i-ttari shite*, and *-mitaida-ttari shite*. Although they do not occur exclusively in the play frame, these configurations were found to abound in the play frame. Additionally, they are often used almost interchangeably to fill the second slot of this construction, which suggests that they are all grammaticized as a single grammatical category to mark the playful stance. In that study, I focused on the use of *mitaina* and other primary play-stance indexes within the play frame. In this paper, I intend to fill the gap by illustrating all uses of *mitaina* in one entire conversation to compare their functions in different constructions.

3. Data and Methodology

The data are drawn from a naturally occurring conversation, "CALORIES," between two female friends (Aki and Machiko)[4] in their twenties, which took place in a restaurant in Tokyo while they were having dinner. The conversation lasted 78 minutes and 11 seconds, and the linguistic form of *mitaina* and its variations (*mitai*, *mitaini*, and *mitaida*, with the last one in different conjugated forms) were all extracted for examination. The recorded conversation was transcribed by the author following the transcription conventions in Du Bois (2006), the updated version of the original proposed in Du Bois et al. (1993). The gloss and free English translation are provided below the text line in examples. See the Appendix at the end of this paper for transcription sym-

bols and gloss notations.

4.   Data Analysis

A total of 44 tokens of *mitaina* and its variations were observed throughout the conversational data. Table 1 shows the distribution of *mitaina* in terms of form. The leftmost column indicates the three types of form that precede *mitaina* and its variations: (1) noun phrase, (2) clause, and (3) represented discourse. The second column from the left indicates the sub-types of the *mitaina* construction, considering the following syntactic environment (either utterance-final or followed by other morphosyntactic elements except for interactional particles). The number of occurrences is presented to the right of the forms.

The tokens of *mitaina* following a represented discourse counted 20, the largest number of the three forms, constituting about 45% of all occurrences. The second was *mitaina* after a noun phrase (17 tokens and about 39%), and the least was 7 for *mitaida* after a clause (about 16%). Utterance-final *mitaina* (including the case with an interactional particle such as *ne*) was found either after a noun phrase (2 tokens) or after a represented discourse (10 tokens). This overview demonstrates the frequent use of utterance-final *mitaina* after a represented discourse. Close examination of each type of *mitaina* will be discussed next in an attempt to explore its functions.

Table 1.   Distribution of *Mitaina* by Form

Form Preceding *Mitaina*	Form of *Mitaina*	Number	
Noun Phrase	NP1 + *mitaina* + NP2	11	17 (39%)
	NP + *mitai*	2	
	NP + *mitaini*	1	
	NP + *mitaina*	2	
	NP + *mitaida–ttari shite*	1	
Clause	Clause + *mitaida*	7	7 (16%)
Represented Discourse	RD + *mitaina* + NP	10	20 (45%)
	RD + *mitaina*	10	
Total		44	44 (100%)

4.1.   Noun phrase + *mitaina*

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of the [Noun Phrase + *mitaina*] construction in reference to each function.

4.1.1.   NP1 + *mitaina* + NP2

Out of 17 tokens of the [Noun Phrase + *mitaina*] construction, about 65% (11 tokens) were used most basically to connect two noun phrases. *Mitaina* in this [NP1 + *mitaina* + NP2] construction grammatically functions as part of a modifier together with the preceding noun (= NP1), and the modified noun (= NP2) comes immediately afterwards. This type of *mitaina* basically func-

Table 2.   Distribution of the [NP + *Mitaina*] Construction by Sub-Form and Function

Form of *Mitaina*	Sub-Form	n.	n.	Grammatical Category	Function
NP1 + *mitaina* + NP2	NP1+*mitaina*+*ko*	1	11	Pre-nominal modifier	Resemblance / Image
	NP1+*mitaina*+*hito*	2			Resemblance / Image
	NP1+*mitaina*+*mono*	6			Resemblance / Image / Exemplification / Obscuring
	NP1+*mitaina*+*kanji*	2			Resemblance / Image / Exemplification / Obscuring
NP + *mitai*			2	Predicate	Resemblance / Image
NP + *mitaini*			1	Adverbial	Resemblance / Image / Exemplification
NP + *mitaina*			2	(Pre-nominal / Interactional modal particle)	Resemblance / Image / Exemplification / Obscuring
NP + *mitaida-ttari shite*			1	Predicate / Interactional modal particle	Resemblance / Image / Exemplification / Obscuring / Play
Total			17		

tions as a simile marker, referring to NP2 in reference to NP1 that possesses a resembling property to NP2. In example (1) below, Machiko's utterance line 881, *otokonoko mitaina ko* ('the girl who is/was like a boy'), shows this construction: NP2 is *ko* ('girl') who is compared to and approximated to NP1, *otokonoko* ('boy'), by virtue of the resemblance.

(1)   880   Machiko; =☺#*ano* ☺*hito* ☺*wa*?.
                              that   person TOP
                              'What about that person?'

→ 881   .. ☺*moo* ☺*hitori*   @*no* @*otokonoko*
                              other one.person LK   boy
                     ☺**_mitaina_**   ☺*ko*.
                        MITAINA   girl
                     'The other one who is/was like a boy.'

A similar use is found in (2), uttered by Aki, 31 lines after Machiko's previous use of *mitaina*.

(2)   912   Aki;   *moo   hitori   nanka*,
                     other one.person HESI

→ 913   *otoko* **_mitaina_**   *hito   inakatta   kke*.
                     man   MITAINA person there.is:PST Q
                     'Wasn't there another person who was like a man?'

Otoko mitaina hito ('the person who is/was like a man') in line 913 refers to the same person Machiko referred to in line 881 in (1). Yet another example referring to the same person is *otokonoko mitaina hito* ('the person who is/was like a boy') in (3).

(3)   940   Machiko;   ☺*otokonoko* ☺**_mita@ina_** ☺*hito* ☺*da* ☺ *yo*.
                        boy   MITAINA   person COP IP
                        '(She) is/was the one who is/was like a boy.'

In the above three examples, the referent the speech participants are trying to identify stays the same. In this case, the referent person is a mutual acquaintance from the same university department the girls graduated from. Because they are not exactly sure who is being talked about, they are negotiating the identification of the referent through her description. Indeed, there is more description than just "a person like a boy" in the surrounding utterances. The nouns that fill the NP2 slot are *ko* ('child/girl') and *hito* ('person'), which are both concrete nouns for "human." *Mitaina*'s original function as a simile marker to connect two noun phrases by their resemblance is maintained, but as stated above, the emergence of the descriptive function to deliver the image that helps the other interlocutor identify the referent is observed.

Other nouns that fill the NP2 slot are *mono* ('thing') and *kanji* ('feeling'). A touch of the abstracting trait observed for the nouns *ko* and *hito* becomes more salient for *mono* and *kanji*. Similar to *ko* and *hito*, *mono* originally stood for a physical object, but its use has been extended to include abstract concepts; that is, to describe the image of a thing or situation and to frame the description as an example among other possible ones. This in turn obscures the statement because describing something as an example can be regarded as making an indirect statement. For this reason, the functions of "exemplification" and "obscuring" are added to the functions of showing "resemblance" and expressing "image." See (4) as an example.

(4)   369   Machiko; ☺*seezu*   ☺*wa*   ☺*nanka* ☺`*nare*   ☺**mitaina**
                        drawing   TOP   HESI   experience MITAINA
              ☺*no*   ☺*aru*   ☺*kedo*.
                NMZ   there.is   but
              '(The skill of) drawing (can be improved) by something like experience.'

In *nare mitaina no* ('something like experience'), *no* ('thing') in the NP2 slot is considered to be originally *mono*, but has developed as a nominalizer. This form of *mitaina no* ('something like 〜') was also found in another example, *kigae-kata mitaina no* ('something like how to change costumes').

None of the six instances of *mono* in the [NP1 + *mitaina* + NP2] construc-

tion retain the full *mono* form; five of them take the form of nominalizer *no* and one takes an even more reduced form of *n* as in (5).

(5)   396   Machiko;   .. *sono naratta tokoro`no kako-mon      `o,*
                                that   learned part   LK past-question ACC

→ 397   *shukudai* **mitai**   *n*   *de deru.*
                         home.work MITAINA NMZ as assign
                         'The past questions for the part we learned are
                         assigned as something like homework.'

In (5), Machiko is explaining the learning system at the special school she attended to prepare for a national exam. She says that at the end of each class, past questions from actual exams were assigned as "something like homework" (*shukudai mitai n*). Here, *n* is the reduced form of *no*, which is already reduced from *mono*. Moreover, the preceding *mitai* is the reduced form of *mitaina*. The repetition of the voiced nasal alveolar [n] in the last two syllables of *mitaina n*, together with another alveolar [d] immediately afterwards, seems to have contributed to this phonological deletion of one [n], resulting in dropping [na] of *mitaina*. Note, however, that it is still a pre-nominal modifier, and therefore, its underlying form is *mitaina*.

    This phenomenon of phonological reduction from *mitaina* to *mitai* was seen in three other examples, where the modified noun *mono* takes the reduced form *no*, as in (6), (7), and (8) shown below:

(6)   655   Aki;   (H) *rooka* **mitai**   *no   ga   atte:,*
                       hall   MITAINA NMZ NOM there.is
                       '(When you open the front door), there is something like
                       a hall.'

(7)   670   Aki;   *ribingu*   **mitai**   *no   ga   atte:,*
                   living.room MITAINA NMZ NOM there.is
                   'There is something like a living room.'

(8)   3671   Aki;   (H) *shi-yakusho* **_mitai_**   *no*,
                    city-office   MITAINA NMZ
                    'Something like a city hall,'

In (6) and (7), Aki is describing the floor plan of her friend's apartment to Machiko, who has not been there before. Aki is trying to help Machiko visualize the place by explaining "there is something like a hall" and "something like a living room" at the positions she describes within the floor plan. In (8), on the other hand, Aki is talking about a metropolitan city hall in New York City. Because she does not know exactly what it is called in English, she describes it in reference to its Japanese equivalent office building, *shi-yakusho* ('city hall').

   In all of the above cases, the [Noun Phrase + *mitaina* + *mono*] construction (although *no* and *n* are used instead of *mono*, and *mitaina* is sometimes phonologically reduced to *mitai*), the basic function of *mitaina* as a simile marker, namely, showing resemblance between the two entities upon comparison, as well as the expressive function of portraying the image for description (as seen for the cases of *ko* ('child/girl') and *hito* ('person')) are maintained. In addition, the generalizing and abstracting nature of *mono* ('thing') seems to have added the exemplifying and obscuring functions. Thus, Aki in (6) describes one area in her friend's apartment as *rooka mitai no* ('something like a hall'), not knowing exactly what to call it. She says "hall" as an option, which can be replaced by some other name. In this way, she refrains from making a straightforward statement and obscures her expression, not only because she is not confident enough to directly call it "a hall," but also because her main objective is not to name it correctly, but to give her interlocutor a general picture of what it looks like to share the same image.

   The point of sharing the images and building the common ground for the ongoing conversation becomes more significant when the NP2 takes the noun *kanji* ('feeling') in the [NP1 + *mitaina* + NP2] construction. There were two cases of *kanji* in this construction, both of which appear in each conjugated form. See (9) as one such example.

(9)   2735   Aki;   *yuujoo   shutsuen   **_mitaina_**   kanji   na   n*
                    friendship appearance MITAINA feeling COP NMZ

da   kedo.
COP but
'It's something like a guest appearance.'

In (9), *kanji* ('feeling') in the NP2 slot does not play the role of a referent anymore; instead it only conveys the "feelings" or images of the situation. The situation being described is an actor's guest appearance in a film. As in the case of *mono*, the speaker does not know exactly what his appearance in the film is technically called, but she describes it as *yuujoo shutsuen* ('guest appearance') as an example among other possible names. Accordingly, the functions are basically the same as the case of *mono*, but there is a slight difference that, due to the nature of *kanji*, which means an abstract concept of "feeling," the degree of abstraction increases. As a result, the function to describe the images and feelings increases as well, making its referential meaning almost empty.

4.1.2.   NP + *mitai*

So far, we have seen *mitaina* and its variations linking two noun phrases. Now we turn to cases that do not take a following noun phrase. First, I will show the case of utterance-final *mitai*. There are two such instances, one of which is illustrated in (10).

(10)   959   Machiko;   .. *yamashitasan*,
                                    Yamashita-san

    → 960   *hontoni otokonoko* **mitai**,
                              indeed boy   MITAINA
                              'Yamashita-san is/was indeed like a boy.'

Machiko is talking about the same person in (1), (2), and (3), as described earlier. This use is considered to be a special case of *mitaina* in its predicate form, which usually appears as *mitaida*, and in which the subject is presented beforehand, as presented here in line 959. As noted in *Daijirin* (second ed., 1995), this is the non-standard use of *mitaida* with the stem only, often used by women and children. These factors of female gender and younger age are in accordance with the speakers' gender and age in this example. The semantic

functions are showing resemblance and portraying the image.

4.1.3.   NP + *mitaini*

There is one instance of *mitaini*, an adverbial form of *mitaina*, which modifies a clause, as shown in (11). Aki is talking about not having to speak English at her working place. Immediately preceding this passage, she expresses the fact that she is aware of the need to study English but finds it difficult to become motivated because she does not have occasion to use it in her everyday life.

(11)   → 2842   Aki;   *daigaku*   **mitaini**   *sa*,
                                university   MITAINA   IP

        2843   \`*nanka   no*,
                                something   LK

        2844   \`*shiken ga    aru     toka       ja\`nai*
                                exam NOM   there.is   or.anything   COP:NEG
                                kara   sa:,
                                because   IP
                                'Because (our current situation) is not something like we have some kind of exams like (in the days back) at the university.'

In line 2842, *mitaini* describes her current situation in which there is no exam or anything of the like that forces her to study English. This situation is in contrast to her college days when she had to study English for an exam to pass the course. The semantic function is to show resemblance, although it is negated to give a counter example in this case, and exemplification, because the situation at the university is just an example, among other possible situations that would force her to study English. By giving an example, she is capable of delivering the situational image she has in mind to her interlocutor.

4.1.4.   NP + *mitaina*

There is an intriguing construction [Noun Phrase + *mitaina*] without a following noun phrase despite the fact that *mitaina* is a pre-nominal form, and

therefore morphosyntactically requires another noun phrase to follow. Unlike the utterance-final *mitaina* that follows a represented discourse, which will be presented in Section 4.3.2, the utterance-final *mitaina* after a noun phrase does not seem to be fully grammaticized as an interactional modal particle. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate this type.

Before the passage shown in (12), Aki has been talking about a troublesome client at her workplace who bothers her with his/her aggressive attitude. She refers to the client in line 3226, then becomes tongue-tied in line 3227, as indicated by the truncation symbol "—," not being able to find the suitable words to describe him/her, when Machiko overlaps and offers a description of the person on the basis of her inference.

(12)   3226   Aki;   *sekkee jimusho no hito   na   n   da*
                          design office   LK person COP NMZ COP
                          kedo:,
                          but

         3227   *de*[*mo nanka*] —
                          but   HESI
                          'Yeah, (s/he) works for an architectural design
                          firm, but somehow—'

→ 3228   Machiko;   [# *nanimo waka*]*ttenai ashisutanto* **mitaina**.
                          nothing know: NEG assistant   MITAINA
                          '(S/he) is someone like an assistant who knows
                          nothing.'

Nanimo wakattenai ashisutanto mitaina ('(that person) is someone like an assistant who knows nothing') can be understood as a modifier to the absent referent that should then follow.[5] The fact that Machiko infers what Aki wants to say and expresses it for her suggests that *mitaina* here functions as exemplifying and obscuring this client as "someone whose role resembles that of an assistant." Machiko's primary purpose rests on conveying the image of the role of the client rather than an accurate identification of the role. Viewed in this

way, the interpretation that this *mitaina* somehow functions as an interactional modal particle is possible, because, although vague, it invites the interlocutor to participate in co-constructing the common ground for the referent identification through sharing the image of the referent. Indeed, I consider this construction to be in the still-evolving process of its grammaticization to an interactional particle.

The other example of this construction, (13), also has a person as a referent for the missing noun phrase.

(13)   3036   Aki;   *kachoo*:   *toka*,
                        section.manager and.so.on

         3037   *buchoo*   *kyuu*:,
                        general.manager level
         (1 line omitted)
    →   3039   Aki;   ***mitaina***   *ne*.
                        MITAINA IP
                        '(Those with) the rank of section manager, general manager, or something like that, are (trying to get the certificate).'

In explaining what rank of employee obtains the certificate of superintendent at her workplace, Aki says *kachoo*: *toka*, *buchookyuu*:, *mitaina ne* ('(Those who have) the rank of section manager, general manager, or something like that, are (trying to obtain the certificate)'). As in (12), it can be considered that a noun such as *hito* ('person') is omitted after *mitaina*, but the interactional function to appeal to the image rather than conveying the referential meaning cannot be denied, which is further strengthened by the use of the following interactional particle *ne* that invites the interlocutor to share the content of the utterance.

4.1.5.   NP + *mitaida-ttari shite*

The last type of *mitaina* that follows a noun phrase is a special type of *mitaina* in its predicate form. In Section 4.1.2, we discussed the predicate form of *mitaina* with the stem only (= *mitai*). However, the predicate form we see here

takes the full predicate form *mitaida* followed by *-ttari shite* ('for all we know'), in which *-ttari* is a conjoining morpheme and *shite* is a non-finite form of the verb *suru* ('to do'). Satake (1995, 1997) claims that *-ttari shite* obscures the statement by expressing it in a circumlocutional way and that *-ttari shite* sometimes presents a statement in a joking manner. In Takanashi (2004), I presented the latter point in the discussion of a play-stance index. I argued that *-ttari shite*, a play-stance index based on the conjoining morpheme *-ttari*, occurs utterance-finally and serves as a framing device for a playful speech event. Another play-stance index that includes *-ttari shite* is *mitaida-ttari shite*, which, as well as *-ttari shite*, has come to be grammaticized as a fixed expression for indexing a play stance. *-Ttari shite* points out an unexpected potentiality (*Daijirin* second ed., 1995), which matches the nature of play as a hypothetical fantasy world that is incongruent with the real world.

(14)　⇒　76　Machiko;　…　`*zenzen aji*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　not.at.all taste
　　　　　　　　　　*naka–**ttari shite***.
　　　　　　　　　　there.is:NEG–for.all.we.know
　　　　　　　　　　'For all we know/Like/What if, (each dish at this restaurant) has absolutely no taste.'
　　　　　　(3 lines omitted)
　　→　80　Aki;　　　*byooin-shoku*　**mitaida–ttari shite**.
　　　　　　　　　　hospital-meal　MITAINA–for.all.we.know
　　　　　　　　　　'For all we know/Like/What if, it tastes like hospital food.'

In (14), both *-ttari shite* and *mitaida-ttari shite* are seen in the same context in which the speech participants are mocking the dishes of the restaurant. Machiko starts to play in line 76, saying *zenzen aji naka-ttari shite* ('What if (each dish) has absolutely no taste'), exaggerating the fact that the restaurant's dishes are very low in calories. Joining Machiko's playful and mocking stance towards the dishes, Aki says in line 80 that *byooin-shoku mitaida–ttari shite* ('What if it tastes like hospital food'). "Having no taste" and "tasting like hospital food" are aligned as equivalent in meaning because hospital food is ste-

reotyped as tasteless. Both are imagined playful speeches and in this sense, both -*ttari shite* and *mitaida-ttari shite* can be interpreted as belonging to the same grammatical category of interactional modal particle, and more specifically, play-stance index (Takanashi 2004). What differentiates the form is the element that precedes *mitaina*; -*ttari shite* follows a predicate (an adjective *nai* ('there is no') in this case), whereas *mitaida-ttari shite* follows a noun (*byooin-shoku* ('hospital meal') in this case). Functionally, the meanings of showing the resemblance of the stance object to the description, exemplification, portraying the image, and obscuring are maintained. In addition, *mitaida-ttari shite* as well as -*ttari shite* has gained a new function of showing playfulness.

4.2. Clause + *mitaida*

Now we turn to the auxiliary use of *mitaina* following a clause. As we can see in Table 3, only 7 tokens out of 44 were found for this use. This construction of [Clause + *mitaida*] can take either the form of stem-only *mitai* utterance-finally or with each conjugated form. In both cases, it appears in the predicate form, or, more precisely, as a modal auxiliary verb that indicates the speaker's speculation towards the content of the proposition.

Table 3.   Distribution of the [Clause + *Mitaida*] Construction by Sub-form and Function

Form of *Mitaina*	Sub-Form	n.	Grammatical Category	Function
Clause + *mitaida*	Clause + *mitai* (utterance-final)	3	Predicate (Modal auxiliary verb)	Speculation
	Clause + *mitaida* (conjugated)	4		
Total		7		

Example (15) shows the utterance-final use of *mitaida* in its form of stem only. In this context, Machiko is asking Aki if Non-chan, their mutual friend, is doing well with her job.

(15)   1017   Machiko;   *nonchan*,
                                                       Non-chan

1018		*doo na no*?.
		how COP NMZ
		'How is Non-chan doing?'

(2 lines omitted)

1021	Aki;	*nonchan wa ne:*,
		Non-chan TOP IP
		'She is,'

1022	Machiko;	.. *chanto yatteru_(/yatten/) no*?,
		properly do IP

1023		*kaisha*.
		company
		'Is she doing OK with her company?'

(4 lines omitted)

→ 1028	Aki;	*yatteru* **_mitai_**.
		do MITAINA
		'She seems to be doing OK.'

Although Machiko has not seen Non-chan lately, Aki has, and accordingly, she has some new information. Aki marks her remarks with the evidential modal auxiliary verb *mitai* after the verb *yatteru* ('be doing (OK)') in line 1028. Here, the apparent linguistic element that precedes *mitai* is only the verb, but we consider it as a clause with the absent subject, Non-chan. This modal auxiliary verb *mitai* can be translated into English as "it seems to me ～," whereby Aki expresses her lack of certainty and subjective speculation because her judgment is made based on the information she gathered from the talk with Non-chan.

Example (16) also demonstrates the [Clause + *mitaida*] construction, this time with the conjugated form of the auxiliary verb *mitaida*. The passage starts three lines after the end of (15) and describes the same person.

(16)	1032	Aki;	*boonasu wa*,
			bonus TOP

→ 1033   *nakatta*   ***mitaida***   *kedo.*
              there.is:NEG:PST MITAINA but
              'It seems that (she) didn't get any bonus, though.'

Previously in (15), Machiko asked Aki about the current situation of Non-chan's job because she knew that Non-chan's company was not doing well financially. Aki answers that "she seems to be doing OK" in (15), and now in (16), she adds a new piece of information, *boonasu wa nakatta mitaida kedo* ('it seems that she didn't get any bonus, though'). This use of evidential modality *mitaida* is semantically close to hearsay marking. According to Iwasaki (2013), when *mitai* covers the evidential area on the continuum from direct to indirect, the latter endpoint is hearsay, which lacks the speaker's direct access to the recognition of the proposition. Here, Aki is reporting to Machiko what she heard from Non-chan.

In all seven instances of the [Clause + *mitaida*] construction, *mitaida* (the form is either stem *mitai* or in conjugation) is used as an evidential modal auxiliary verb that indicates the speaker's speculation retrieved from her indirectly accessible knowledge. Indeed, all the examples for this construction have a proposition concerning a third person or an event/situation, which is neither within the speaker's nor the addressee's territory of information. This factor seems to have promoted the obscuring function to evolve to a new function of speculation, and once it is grammaticized, other functions of showing resemblance, exemplification, and portraying an image are all weakened to the point they are not recognizable any more.

4.3.   Represented discourse + *mitaina*

The most frequent use of *mitaina* in my data is found in the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction. *Mitaina* in this construction is grammatically characterized as an interactional modal particle, which is concerned with the speaker's attitude towards the hearer in interaction. This construction is further divided into two sub-types, with or without a following noun phrase. Both sub-types were observed to have the new interactional function of dramatization and the speaker's direct vivid expression of strong feelings and images to the hearer, in addition to the functions we have seen so far, with the

exception of speculation. The function of conveying an image, which is concomitant with the function of showing resemblance, seems to have been reinforced in the new function of dramatization that greatly concerns the image through its vivid description and strong emotional commitment. Viewed as such, the proposition framed by *mitaina*, which is manifested in a represented discourse in this construction, is not of much importance; instead of the accuracy of the proposition, the images and feelings expressed in the represented discourse are foregrounded.

This grammaticized interactional use of *mitaina* owes a great deal to the nature of represented discourse. Represented discourse is the term Oropeza-Escobar (2011) uses to refer to the phenomenon also called "constructed dialogue" (Tannen 1995, 2007/1989), "direct reported speech" (e.g., Oropeza-Escobar 2013), or more generally, "direct speech" or "quotation." Although direct reported speech often enacts someone's past speech, typically of a third person, the intrinsic nature of reported speech involves taking a different stance from the original speaker's. In this sense, reported speech is constructed, no matter how precisely reproduced. When constructed, reported speech represents the current reporting speaker's stance and voice. In line with the claim by Tannen (1995, 2007/1989) that constructed dialogue creates involvement among speech participants, Oropeza (2011) asserts that represented discourse in her Mexican-Spanish conversational data is used as an involvement strategy. She further points out the theatrical character of represented discourse due to its dramatic presentation, which is in accordance with Mayes' (1990) analysis that spoken English quotations have a performative character that dramatizes events. In the following analysis, I will demonstrate the interactional function of *mitaina* that frames the preceding represented discourse as the dramatization of the speaker's own images and feelings, which appeal to the interlocutor to share such emotive, as opposed to referential, dimensions of her speech.

Table 4 summarizes the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction with its sub-forms and functions. The distribution shows the clear half-and-half occurrences for each [Represented Discourse + *mitaina* + Noun Phrase] construction and [Represented Discourse + *mitaina* (utterance-final)] construction: Out of the total 20 tokens, there are 10 tokens for each construc-

Table 4.   Distribution of the [RD + *Mitaina*] Construction by Sub-Form and Function

Form of *Mitaina*	Sub-Form	n.	n.	Grammatical Category	Function
RD + *mitaina* + NP	RD + *mitaina* + *hito*	1	10	Pre-nominal / Interactional modal particle	Resemblance / Image / Exemplification / Obscuring / Feelings / Dramatization / (Play)
	RD + *mitaina* + *koto*	3			
	RD + *mitaina* + *kanji*	6			
RD + *mitaina*			10	Interactional modal particle	
Total			20		

tion.

4.3.1.   RD + *mitaina* + NP

First, I will show the analysis of the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina* + Noun Phrase] construction. In all 10 examples of this construction, *mitaina* takes the pre-nominal form, morphosyntactically modifying the following noun phrase. Nevertheless, it can be construed that this use of *mitaina* has developed as an interactional modal particle to signal that the preceding represented discourse is created by the speaker's own voice to convey her great deal of involvement, and moreover, to invite the interlocutor to share the same images and feelings.

Three different noun phrases, *hito* ('person'), *koto* ('thing'), and *kanji* ('feeling') were observed to follow *mitaina* in this construction in my data. In each of the following examples, the beginning and ending of represented discourse are indicated by a set of symbols for quoted voice quality, "<Q>" and "</Q>." The shift of voice quality is recognized in represented discourse even though the degree of the shift differs in each case. Example (17) shows the case that takes *hito* ('person') as a noun phrase after the represented discourse and *mitaina*. Prior to this context, Aki has been telling Machiko that several women at her workplace got married this year.

(17)   → 1290   Aki;   (1.0) <Q>   *moo_(/mo/)*   *zettai madamada shinai*
                                    EMPH   never yet   do:NEG

                       yo </Q>   ***mitaina***   *hito*   *ga:*,
                       IP   MITAINA   person   NOM

       1291   .. *moo*   *kekkonshiteru.*
                        already   be.married
                     '(My senior colleague, about whom I think)
                     something like "she will never get married anytime
                     soon," is already married.'

Hito ('person') in line 1290 refers to Aki's senior colleague, and the preceding represented discourse *mo zettai madamada shinai yo* ('she will never get married anytime soon') exemplifies what Aki feels about her colleague, leaving room for other possible wordings that can express her feelings. In this respect, we see here the functions of exemplification and obscuring.

   It is not realistic to think that Aki actually said these words either to her colleague or to herself. In this sense, this represented discourse is not a reported speech of a past experience. It is still a description of the person (*hito*) but expressed in a direct manner, differentiating the voice from the one that is embedded in the current context. This phenomenon is equivalent to what Maynard (2005) calls "inserted speech," which manifests as the speaker's "multiple dialogized voices" and contributes to the "rich expressivity of language" (840). We have already seen in 4.1.1. the construction of *mitaina* before *hito* ('person'), in which *mitaina* appears after a noun phrase. In that case, *mitaina* functions as a simile marker to show the resemblance between the ideas represented in the two noun phrases before and after. Contrastively, *mitaina* after a represented discourse in this case has less of that function, whereas the function to convey images and feelings through dramatization is enhanced.

   Mitaina after a represented discourse can take *koto* ('thing') as a modified noun. Three instances of this sub-form in my data enact the past speech of a third person to which the addressee does not have access. Moreover, all three instances co-occurred with the hearsay verb *iu* ('to say'), which explains that

even though represented discourse is creative in nature, the reporting nature of a third person's past speech largely remains in this sub-construction. The following are two such examples. Aki is reporting to Machiko what the woman being talked about said on TV in (18), and what a client told her in (19).

(18)   4579   Aki;   (H) <Q> *atashi mo soo yattekimashita* </Q>
                                    I   too so have.been.doing
     →   ***mitaina*** *koto*   *itteite_* (/*yuttete*/) *sa*.
                        MITAINA thing say   IP
                        '(She) was saying something like, "I myself have been doing that".'

(19)   3316   Aki;   <Q> ` *nande*,
                              why

         3317   *mae   made yokatta   noni* </Q>,
                        before till be.fine:PST though
         (1 line omitted)
     → 3319   Aki;   ***mitaina***   *koto iwaretemo sa*,
                        MITAINA thing say:PASS IP
                        '(I don't know what to say) when (the client) says something like, "Why (isn't it OK anymore? It) was OK before".'

The noun *kanji* ('feeling') also follows the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction. This sub-form was seen as often as 6 out of 10 instances of the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina* + Noun Phrase] construction. All examples of *mitaina* with *kanji* ('feeling') occur with a represented discourse that expresses the speaker's own feelings or descriptive images towards the topic being discussed. The original abstract and emotive meaning of *kanji* is tied together with one of *mitaina*'s functions that conveys the image. Consequently, *mitaina kanji* as a set has come to be grammaticized as an interactional modal particle.

(20)   402   Machiko;   ... *kotoshi   no   tesuto de*:,
                                    this.year LK exam with

→ 403   <Q> *kako-mon   dake ja dame   da* </Q>
                              past-question only P no.good COP
                         mitaina   *kanji   ni_(/n/) natta*   *#no*.
                         MITAINA   feeling to   become:PST IP
                         'This year's exam has changed to something
                         that gives me the impression like, "It's not
                         enough to prepare with only the past
                         questions".'

In (20), *kako-mon dake ja dame da* ('It's not enough to prepare with only the
past questions') directly expresses Machiko's impressions about the national
exam she took. This represented discourse is regarded as not reporting what
she said to herself, but being improvised at this moment of her utterance.

    Example (21) shows an additional intriguing point in a similar vein. This
sequence takes place shortly prior to (19). Machiko asks Aki if she has any
client who stays at her office for consultation for too long and will not leave.
To that question, Aki answers "yes" and expresses how she feels about such a
client by the use of onomatopoeia *dandandan* in line 3139.

(21)   3136   Machiko;   ☺*na`kanaka_*(/*nak`kanaka*/)
                                    not.easily
                            ☺*kaera*[*nai*]_(/*kaen*[*nai*]/)
                              leave:NEG
                            [₂☺*hito*   ☺*toka*   ☺*iru*]?.
                                 person   and.the.like   there.is
                            'Do you have any client who won't leave for
                            quite a long time, and the like?

          3137   Aki;   [☺*soo_*(/*so*/)].
                                yes
                            'Yes.'

3138   [₂ ☺ *dakara*_(/*daka*/),
           so

→ 3139   \<Q\> ☺#*dan*]*danda*:*n* \</Q\>
          ONOMAT
        ☺**mitai@na**   *kanji* @*na* @*n* —
          MITAINA feeling COP NMZ

3140   @*na* @*n*   ☺*da* ☺*kedo*.
          COP NMZ COP so
        'So, I'm like, "Go away! (imitating the sound
        of hitting the office desk)".'

Aki's utterance *dandandan* does not take the grammatical form of clause, but represents her feelings through the imagined act she would do in the situation being described. In the story of her past experience, Aki obviously shows her frustration towards such a client who stays long and keeps annoying her. In such a situation, she feels like banging the office desk, *dandandan* (this onomatopoeia presumably represents the sound of banging the desk three times in succession), in front of the client, which she never did and never will do as long as she wants to keep her current job. This example demonstrates a highly imaginative case of represented discourse. Since Japanese onomatopoeia is a rich resource for expressing images and feelings, using it in represented discourse doubles the effects of dramatization. In addition, the creation of such a hypothetical world that derives from the real world gives *mitaina* a play function. Notice the abundant smiling and laughing voice quality throughout the passage, as indicated by the symbols "☺" (smiling voice quality) and "@" (laughing voice quality) before words (or syllables, if they occur in the middle of a word). These are prosodic features that often index a playful stance (Takanashi 2004).

4.3.2.   RD + *mitaina*

There are ten instances of the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction that occur utterance-finally. Since no noun phrase occurs afterwards despite that it is a pre-nominal form, *mitaina* in this construction can be re-

garded as having been more firmly grammaticized as an interactional modal particle than *mitaina* in the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina* + Noun Phrase] construction. It shows that the speaker's preceding represented discourse should be interpreted as a dramatization of her feelings and images. In my data, the voice of the represented discourse in this construction was either of a first person, a second person, or a third person. Regardless of the person whose voice is represented, the speaker takes the liberty to creatively enact the situation in the represented discourse.

The following example (22) is a sequence right after (17) that we saw before. Having said that her colleague who she thought will never get married anytime soon is already married, Aki started to describe the person in (17). Here, it is not likely that the represented discourse *kodomo moosugu umareru shi* ('I'm going to have a baby soon') was actually uttered by the colleague because the utterance ending *shi* gives a slightly abrupt impression, and therefore not suitable to be used among colleagues. Instead, it is more natural to think that Aki is expressing her surprised feelings in the represented discourse.

(22)   1292   *shikamo*,
                 moreover

→   1293   <Q> *kodomo moosugu umareru shi* </Q> **mitaina**.
                 child   soon   be.born   and   MITAINA
                 'Moreover, she's like, "(I got married, and) I'm going to
                 have a baby soon".'

Another example is (23), which occurs immediately after (19). Recall that in (19), Aki was telling Machiko that she did not know what to say when her client complains about the change of the law. Immediately after in (23), Machiko takes over Aki's stance and speaks for her, saying *datte, kawatten da mo:n* ('because it's changed'), as if talking to Aki's client.

(23)   3320   Machiko;   <Q> @*datte*,
                                  because

3321   ☺*kawatteru* ☺*n_(/kawatten/)* [☺*da*
                                 change   NMZ   COP
                             ☺*mo:n* </Q>,
                                 P

3322   Aki;   (H) [<Q> *kawatta*   *n*   *da*
                                     change:PST NMZ   COP
                             mon </Q>].
                             P
                             'Because it's changed.'

→ 3323   Machiko;   ☺**_mitaina_**] @@@
                                MITAINA
                             '(You're like), "Because it's changed".'

This represented discourse is clearly Machiko's creative performance because first, she was not present when Aki was dealing with her client, and consequently would not know what Aki actually said to her client. Second, the drastically colloquial speech style is employed; *datte* ('because') and *mon* (reasoning particle) are extremely casual lexical choices that would never be used with clients in public service. Here, the lengthening of the vowel in *mon* further indicates her assertiveness and emotional commitment to what she says. Third, the content of the represented discourse ("it's changed because it's changed") is tautological and does not show logical reasoning, making fun of the client. Moreover, notice that the last part of Machiko's represented discourse "*da mon*" in line 3321 is overlapped by Aki's almost identical represented discourse without *mitaina* in line 3322. Although Aki's represented discourse expresses her inner feelings in contrast to what she would say to her client in the hypothetical and playful world as Machiko did, the occurrence of these two represented discourses with the same idea across the speakers clearly indicates that the opposed stance towards the client is equally taken by the two speech participants.

All of the represented discourses that have been presented so far entail the issue of voice. Here voice is not physical as in "voice quality," but refers to the

matter of who is speaking (Bakhtin 1981, Bauman 2004, among others). In (23), for example, Machiko's represented discourse is distinguished from the surrounding discourse not only by the shift of physical voice quality (from her own natural voice quality to enacting someone else's), but also by the shift of voice, as in overlapping her own ironic voice onto Aki's voice. Such a merging of voice is linguistically characterized by the style of the represented discourse as explained earlier and revealed by *mitaina*.

There are two other points to note that are mutually dependent: 1) the abundant prosodic features of smiling and laughing-voice quality as well as paralinguistic cues of laughter in Machiko's utterances index the speaker's light state of mind in performing a play, and 2) the play function is not exclusive to the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction. In fact, whether the ongoing speech activity is a play or not is negotiated between the speech participants, resorting to the "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1992). Such contextualization cues include prosodic features such as laughing and smiling-voice quality, and quote-voice quality (slight change in voice quality in represented discourse), as well as the content of the represented discourse and speech style shift.

The last example (24) also shows the use of *mitaina* for play. Prior to this passage, Machiko has been talking about how her company is encouraging the employees to take early retirement because of the economic difficulties due to the recession. The represented discourse in line 3907 is supposed to represent the company's attitude, loaded with Machiko's ironic tone of voice.

(24)   3907   Machiko;   <Q> ☺*ima* ☺*nara*   ☺ *o-toku* </Q>,
                                        now   COP:COND HON-bargain

→ 3908   ☺***mitaina***.
                                    MITAINA
                                    'It's like, "It's a bonus buy now".'

Machiko's represented discourse *ima nara o-toku* ('It's a bonus buy now'), followed by *mitaina* in the next line of 3908, altogether constitutes the syntactic pattern of [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*]. Machiko's voice shift is linguis-

tically characterized by the style in the represented discourse, ending with the nominal *o-toku* ('a bonus buy') without any modality marker afterwards, which gives an impression as if it were a catch phrase of a campaign to call for early retirees. In addition, the use of honorific in the noun phrase *o-toku* ('a bonus buy') conveys the image that it is addressed to customers in an advertisement. What should be emphasized here is that Machiko directly portrays a third person's voice in represented discourse and then adds *mitaina* to display that the preceding represented discourse was not exactly her own voice. In other words, by adding *mitaina*, she reveals her stance that she has just played a performance and is now back to herself. The use of such [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction has the effect of portraying the voice of the represented agent directly (as it takes the form of direct speech) and vividly, so that images and feelings toward the subject are delivered to the interlocutor in a straightforward manner. As in (23), the smiling "physical" voice quality serves as a contextualization cue for a playful speech, just like the speech style in the represented discourse. Machiko's state of mind is non-serious and playful, and the content of her represented discourse seems to be freely created by her for the purpose of enjoyment based on the facts the speech participants have been talking about.

5.   Conclusion

This paper has provided an overview of the multifunctionality of *mitaina* in its synchronic use in Japanese conversation. Morphosyntactically, *mitaina* was found to occur either after a noun phrase (about 39%), clause (about 16%), or represented discourse (about 45%).

The [Noun Phrase + *mitaina*] construction has five sub-forms, according to what element *mitaina* takes afterwards. The first sub-form takes another noun phrase after *mitaina*, and the difference in the degree of abstractness in terms of the nature of the noun phrase was observed; the degree of abstractness increases in the order of *ko* ('child/girl') or *hito* ('person'), *mono* ('thing') (the reduced forms of *no* and *n* are actually used), and *kanji* ('feeling'). For *ko* and *hito*, *mitaina* mainly functions to show the resemblance between the two noun phrases that occur before and after, with the concomitant-descriptive function to express the image of the referent. In contrast, for *mono* and *kanji*,

the referential meaning of the noun phrase is obscured, and the noun phrase that precedes *mitaina* is given as an example to describe the "thing" (*mono*) or "feelings" (*kanji*).

The second sub-form takes the construction [Noun Phrase + *mitai*] in which the stem of *mitaina* plays the syntactic role of predicate. Its function is the simple one that shows resemblance between the subject topic of the utterance and the noun phrase that precedes *mitaina*, with the concomitant function to portray its image. This is the non-standard form used mainly by women and children (*Daijirin* second ed., 1995) although it may have spread beyond those social categories.

The third sub-form [Noun Phrase + *mitaini*] takes the adverbial form *mitaini*, modifying the following predicate, and it functions to show resemblance and images by mentioning the idea of the noun phrase for the purpose of exemplification.

The fourth sub-form [Noun Phrase + *mitaina*] takes the pre-nominal form *mitaina*, but differs from the first sub-form in that the noun phrase that is supposed to follow is not present. It seems to have two overlapping grammatical functions; one as a pre-nominal modifier with the omission of the noun phrase it actually modifies, and the other as an interactional modal particle. Nonetheless, the latter function does not seem to be working in its full sense at this stage of grammaticization because it is basically the same as the first sub-form. The difference lies in the omission of the following noun phrase, which creates an impression that something is missing, and which in turn invites the conversational partner's inference to identify what is missing. In the process of such inference, the speaker relies on the image provided by the noun phrase that precedes *mitaina*. This mechanism is of great importance in fully understanding the grammaticized *mitaina* in the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction.

The fifth sub-form is [Noun Phrase + *mitaida-ttari shite*], which was found in one usage instance in my data, and it functions as a play-stance index based on other functions of showing resemblance, exemplification, and portraying images. -*Ttari shite* ('for all we know') is a combination of -*ttari* (a conjoining morpheme) and *shite* (a non-finite form of the verb *suru* ('to do')). When used together with *mitaina*, as *mitaida-ttari shite*, its obscuring nature (Satake

1995, 1997) is reinforced by the similar nature inherent in *mitaina*, resulting in the grammaticization of this form as a play-stance index.

In the second construction [Clause + *mitaida*], *mitaida* exclusively functions as an evidential modal auxiliary verb and can have different conjugated forms. It has been fully grammaticized to present the speaker's speculation towards the proposition of the preceding clause. Other functions of *mitaina*, such as showing resemblance and images, have been maximally weakened, and consequently are no longer present.

It was found that among its versatile uses, the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction occurred most frequently in my data (about 45%). *Mitaina* in this construction has gained a new grammatical function as an interactional modal particle. Furthermore, the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction can be divided into two categories: the one followed by a noun phrase (*hito*, *koto*, and *kanji* in my data), and the other that occurs utterance-finally (except for the case that takes an interactional particle such as *ne*). In the first category, the noun *koto* ('thing') after *mitaina* co-occurred with the hearsay verb *iu* ('to say'), reporting what a third person had actually said despite wording that may not be exactly the same. This use retains the primary function of reported speech, i.e., quoting other person's words, while at the same time having the performative function of represented discourse as in the case that takes *mitaina* and *hito* ('person') afterwards. However, we can say that its performative function is weaker as well as that its reporting function is stronger compared to other uses.[6]

As many as six instances of the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina* + *kanji*] construction were seen in my data. The original meaning of *kanji* ('feeling') seems to have foregrounded *mitaina*'s expressive function to convey the images. As a result, *mitaina kanji* as a set has been grammaticized as an interactional modal particle and has also gained the new function of delivering images and feelings vividly dramatized in the preceding represented discourse. As an example of showing such intense feelings and involvement, I have shown the case with the use of onomatopoeia. This function of dramatization by delivering the speaker's images and feelings directly is seen throughout the examples of the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction, but is particularly salient when used utterance-finally as well as in the form of *mitaina*

kanji. *Mitaina* in the utterance-final [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction is also grammaticized as an interactional modal particle; its main function is to share the images and feelings of the speaker and to appeal to the interlocutor's involvement.

As has been illustrated above, among the versatile uses of *mitaina*, the construction [Noun Phrase + *mitaina*] hints at the emergence of the new interactional function, whereas the construction [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] shows the grammaticization of that function. In my data, this grammaticized *mitaina*, particularly when occurring utterance-finally, is observed to be used for active involvement in interaction by presenting the speaker's direct impressions and appealing to the interlocutor's empathy. As for the function of showing the speaker's play stance, the construction [Noun Phrase + *mitaida–ttari shite*] is grammaticized as a play-stance index.[7] Although the [Represented Discourse + *mitaina*] construction does not have the exclusive function of showing the speaker's play stance, some instances are used in playful speech events. *Mitaina* has been reported to be used in playful or joking contexts (Maeda 2004, Takanashi 2004, Maynard 2005, Hoshino 2008), and therefore we can assume that it is indeed a new function. However, we should note that the ultimate judgment of whether it marks a playful speech or not depends on the overall contextualizing or framing process, in which contextualization cues play a major role in the speech participants' negotiation of what kind of speech activity they are engaged in.

Lastly, I would like to suggest four issues for further study. First, because this study dealt with only one conversation, more data will be needed to see if its findings hold true in general. Second, the range of the discourse genre is worth exploring. The discourse genre we saw was a private and casual conversation between close friends. *Mitaina* has been reported to occur in the colloquial language, but its use may have spread to public conversation to some extent, as I have heard it in conversations in the media. Third, other social factors of the speech participants should be considered. The speakers in this study were relatively young (in their twenties) females, which accords with previous studies that claim its use primarily among the youth, and particularly females. To investigate whether it is used by people in other generations and male gender would be of interest. Fourth, the use of *mitaina* should be

compared with other forms that function in a similar way. I have demonstrated that *mitaina* can be combined with *kanji* ('feeling') and *-ttari shite* (conjoining morpheme + the non-finite form of *suru* ('to do')) when functioning as an interactional modal particle as a set. These other sources in conjunction with other quotatives such as *-tte* (as in *-tte kanji*) and *toka* (as in *toka i-ttari shite*), which also occur utterance-finally as interactional modal particles, need to be studied in comparison with *mitaina* in search of a larger system of quote, voice, performance, and constitution of social life.

Notes

1 The term *mitaina* is adopted in this paper to encompass all its variations in form; e.g., *mitaini*, *mitaida*, *mitai*, unless otherwise indicated.

2 Although this use of *mitaina* is observed in the speech of actor Kiyoshi Atsumi (1928–1996) before 1990s, it was comedian Takaaki Ishibashi who spread the use around that time via his series of TV show by imitating script writer Kiyoshi Tamai's way of speaking (Matsumoto 2010, cited in Ishiguro 2013).

3 Adolescent girls in Macaulay's (2001) study are also innovative users of Scottish English "like" as a quotative to introduce a represented discourse.

4 Personal names in the data transcription are replaced with pseudonyms for the protection of the speakers' identity.

5 In such a view, this may be a case of zero anaphora whose antecedent is *hito* ('person') in line 3226.

6 We need more data to see if this observation holds true in other utterances that do not take hearsay verbs.

7 Not a single form of the [Represented Discourse + *mitaida-ttari shite*] construction was found in my data.

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Appendix

1)   Transcription symbols

,	continuative intonation
.	terminative intonation
?,	appeal intonation combined with continuative intonation
?.	appeal intonation combined with terminative intonation
—	truncated intonation unit
..	short pause
…	long pause
(1.0)	timed pause (in second)
:	lengthening
[WORDS]	overlap
=	latching
`	accent
(H)	inhalation
@	laughter during speech
☺	smiling voice quality
<Q> WORDS </Q>	quote-voice quality
#	uncertain sound per syllable
#WORDS	uncertain words
_(/ WORDS/)	phonetic transcription

2)   Gloss notations

ACC	accusative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
EMPH	emphasis
HESI	hesitation
HON	honorifics
IP	interactional particle
LK	linker
NEG	negation

NMZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
ONOMAT	onomatopoeia
P	particle
PASS	passive
PST	past
Q	question particle
TOP	topic particle