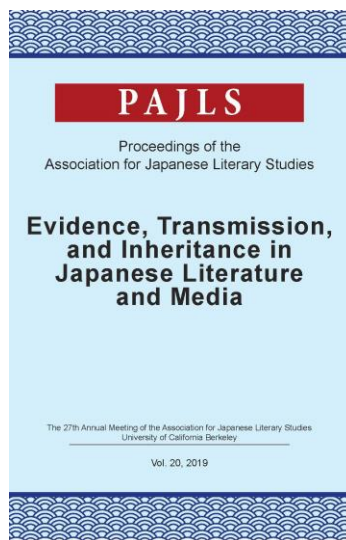


“Evidence in Heian Buddhist *Kundokugo* Narration”

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EVIDENCE IN HEIAN BUDDHIST *KUNDOKUGO* NARRATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

The use of the auxiliary *keri* in the framing of passages in vernacular² Heian-period (794–1185 CE) tales has been described as both the narrator asserting him/herself in the narrative and alluding to an external authority (Stinchecum 1985, Okada 1991). More generally, it is used throughout the texts of the Heian period to describe a judgment or interpretation based on the kind of evidence available to the narrator or speaker in the tale (Ogawa 1983, Suzuki 1992). The preponderance of *keri* in fictional texts is thus due to the narrator asserting the factuality of certain situations based on evidence external to the narrated scene (see Takeoka's (1963) *anata naru ba* 'removed ground' analysis of *keri*).

In Heian Buddhist texts, however, such as Chinese sutras read aloud in *kundokugo* (i.e., as Japanese, with the aid of *kunten* reading glosses),³ the epistemic stance the narrator takes is such that there is no need to allude to external evidence, as the sutras generally begin with, 'Thus I have heard.' Although every following line is thus hearsay, *keri* is absent in Buddhist texts outside of quotations. In comparing the use of *keri* as a narrative frame marker in Heian fiction to the use of *ki* in the same role in Heian *kundokugo* renditions of Buddhist texts, this paper proceeds as follows: section 2 addresses evidential strategies in Heian-period

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² I use the term "vernacular" to refer to the language of the Heian court in its opposition to Literary Chinese, the written language of most Heian texts beyond personal diaries and narrative fiction (Cf. Steininger 2017).

³ As *kundokugo* is a linguistic variety of Japanese used in translating Chinese texts using almost every source morpheme, it has many constructions directly translated from Chinese. However, as Middle Chinese, the variety of Chinese from which *kundokugo* was initially established, is a highly analytic language, Japanese translators had to maintain an awareness of the overarching context and narrative to properly construct natural Japanese agglutinative verb paradigms. For example, Chinese lacks morphological modal marking, but Japanese had auxiliaries (concatenative morphemes with their own paradigms) to display internal and external authority with regards to the certainty of the modified predicate. *Ki* and *keri* are two such auxiliaries and are focal in this paper.

vernacular fiction, focusing on the use of *keri* and *ki* in both standard and embedded narration. Section 3 moves the focus to contemporary (Heian-period) Buddhist sutras rendered in *kundokugo* and argues the prominent use of *ki* and the limited application of *keri* are due to the authoritative and religious nature of the texts. Section 4 concludes that the source of narrative evidence directly affects the discourse context and, thus, the ways in which differing Heian-period narrative genres were framed.

2. NARRATIVE EVIDENCE IN HEIAN-PERIOD VERNACULAR FICTION

This section, which reviews the uses of *ki* and *keri* as framing markers in vernacular Heian texts, primarily serves as a contrast to the narrative stance found in contemporary Buddhist *kundokugo* narrative. The text from which the richest analyses have been drawn is the *magnum opus* of the period, the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, 11th century CE). This is not only due to its length and continued popularity. It also has an engaging narrator who relates to the characters and events with varying degrees of psychological distance and, most importantly for the present study, rich embedded narratives—quotes by the characters themselves telling stories. Drawing from analyses that cover a wider range of the text, I will focus on the “Hahakigi” chapter due to its plethora of such embedded narratives with clear contrasting uses of *ki* and *keri* as narrative framing devices in vernacular Heian literature.

Suzuki Tai (1992) gives separate analyses for the use of *ki* and *keri* in quotations and in narration, which provide useful parallels with the analysis presented on *kundokugo* narration in section 3. Suzuki describes the employment of *ki* in *Genji monogatari* in both quotations and narration as primarily to express past tense events in some way experienced by the speaker (Suzuki 1992: 85–7, 96–8).

His discussions of *keri* in *Genji monogatari* cover much more ground. He finds four uses of *keri* in quotations: hearsay (伝聞 *denbun*), recognition of facts (認識 *ninshiki*), realization of facts (気付き *kizuki*), and interpretation of facts (解釈 *kaishaku*). All four of which, he adds, emphasize the current relevance of what the speaker is saying (Suzuki 1992: 87–94). In narrative discourse Suzuki finds the narrator using *keri* to mark relations between condition and consequence (条件—帰結関係 *jōken - kiketsu kankei*), contrast with other events (対比 *taihi*), contents (内容 *naiyō*), transitions (切替 *kirikae*), and ambiguous uses among the preceding four. Suzuki translates most of these uses of *keri* as nominalized

predicates in contemporary Japanese and notes *keri*'s use in framing the narrative (Suzuki 1992: 98–108).⁴

Similar conclusions regarding *ki* and *keri* were reached in analyses of the narrative time and narrative voice in the *Tale of Genji* (Kumakura 1980, and Stinchecum 1985, respectively). Chiyuki Kumakura (1980: 6–7) argues *ki* is a simple past marker and *keri* would best be translated as “the situation is that [such and such happened],” or, “what I have realized is that . . .” Amanda Stinchecum (1985: 28) has a slightly more nuanced understanding of *ki*, describing it as, “recollection of a fact that existed in the past,” or of “events not personally experienced by the speaker [. . .] clearly and firmly engraved upon his memory.” Her understanding of *keri*, however, reflects those of Suzuki and Kumakura: “it implies further that the narrator is making a statement of judgment, such as, ‘I’m telling you that it is so that. . .’” (Stinchecum 1985: 12). Examples in section 3 below demonstrate that Stinchecum’s analyses of these auxiliaries apply to their use in Buddhist *kundokugo* texts as well.

J. Christopher Kern (2007: 4–5) emphasizes the importance of these two auxiliaries in establishing narrative evidence in the “Hahakigi” chapter of the *Genji*:

The auxiliary *ki* is an evidentiary marker, used to represent something in the past that is within the speaker’s personal experience. The use of this auxiliary in the “Hahakigi” tales has an important effect on the mood of the storytelling [. . .] *ki* becomes a means by which the material is simultaneously personalized by the author and distanced from the listener, in contrast to the more immediate feel of those clauses not marked with *ki*. [. . .] *keri* [. . .] indicates something from outside the speaker’s experience that is being brought into the speaker’s knowledge.

⁴ The strategy of using the modal *keri* as an evidential marker in Heian-period texts is no longer an option in modern Japanese. This is why when *keri* is used to distance oneself from the information source in Heian-period Japanese we often find nominalizations in modern-day Japanese translations. The use of nominalizations to signify an evidential appears to be cross linguistic. Alexandra Aikhenvald (2004: 105) argues, “Mood, modality, tense, person, nominalizations, and complement clauses can develop overtones similar to some semantic features of evidentials.”

For example, the first two embedded narratives in the “Hahakigi” chapter of *Genji* are told by Genji’s older acquaintance Sama no Kami (左馬の頭 ‘Chief Equerry’).⁵

Example 1:

わがものとうち頼むべきを選らんにもえなん思ひ
定むまじかりける。(NKBZ: 137)⁶

*Wa ga mono to uchitanomubeki o eran ni, ōkaru naka ni mo e
nan omoisadamumajikarikeru.*⁷

‘When you are choosing your own for good, you may not easily
find what you want.’ (Tyler 2001: 24)

Here we find *keri* marking *maji*, a modal auxiliary of negative presumption regarding the unsuitability or impossibility of an action.⁸ Nobuo Ogawa (1983: 68–9) finds this combination 13 times throughout *Genji monogatari*. Furthermore, he argues this is used, “in contexts where the speakers make some judgment, often based on his or her own experience [providing further evidence that] the suffix *keri* can be and often is used in contexts where it does not indicate past tense.” Hence, Sama no Kami uses *keri* to reinforce his argument.

As the embedded narration ends, the narrator-proper of the tale concludes this section with narrative *keri*:

Example 2:

おのおの睦言もえ忍びとどめずなむありける。(NKBZ: 147)

Onoono mutsugoto mo eshinobitodomezu namu arikeru.

‘by now these young men were eager to share the most intimate
moments of their lives.’ (Tyler 2001: 27)

A possible translation taking *keri* and *namu* more literally into account may be ‘the situation was, you know, each of them could not bear stopping

⁵ Throughout this paper I use Royall Tyler’s (2001) translation of the *Genji* for character names and cited passages.

⁶ All Japanese citations of the *Genji* are from vol. 12 of *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*.

⁷ Romanization throughout this paper follows today’s reading practices rather than Heian-period phonology.

⁸ Although here we find *keru*, the adnominal form (*rentaikei*) of *keri*, and *majikari*, the participle (*ren’yōkei*) of *maji*, this paper follows the convention of referring to all cited morphemes by their conclusive form (*shūshikei*). This goes for examples of *ki* below as well, which include its adnominal form *shi* and realis form (*izenkei*) *shika*.

themselves from sharing even their intimate stories.’ We find *keri* marking in Sama no Kami’s argumentation as he draws on secondary sources, but, as he begins to share his own story, *ki* is used throughout to draw in his audience and emphasize his personal experience of the events he describes. The quote begins:

Example 3:

はやう、まだいと下臈にはべりし時、あはれと思ふ人はべりき。
(NKBZ: 147)

Hayō, mada ito gerō ni haberishi toki, aware to omō hito haberiki.
‘Long ago [. . .] when I was still very young, there was someone who meant a great deal to me.’ (Tyler 2001: 27)

Most sentences within his experience end thus with the first-hand evidential marker *ki*, but one is governed by *keri*:

Example 4:

思ひめぐらせば、なほ家路と思はむ方はまたなかりけり。
(NKBZ: 151)

Omoimeguraseba, nao ieji to omowamu kata wa mata nakarikeri.
‘I realized I had no other home to go to than hers.’ (Tyler 2001: 29)

Here *keri* is being used by Sama no Kami to convey a fact that just came into his perception, as the sentence is headed by *omoimegurasu*. Examples such as this are the basis from which Takeoka Masao (1963) derives his *anata naru ba* analysis of *keri*, that it marks facts that are established outside of the perception of the speaker or the audience.

Sama no Kami concludes his first experience describing the tragic end of his love due to his hardheadedness:

Example 5:

いといたく思ひ嘆きてはかなくなりはべりにしかば、戯れにくくなむおぼえはべりし。(NKBZ: 152)

Ito itaku omoinagekite hakanaku narihaberinishikaba, tawaburenikuku namu oboehaberishi.
‘She was so hurt that she died. That taught me that these things are no joke.’ (Tyler 2001: 29)

He goes on to compare her practical skills to ideal mythical women, ending his quote with another *ki*. Unlike in the overarching, *keri*-framed

narrative passages in the *Genji*, embedded narratives are framed with the marker of first-hand experience, *ki*. In Heian-period sutras rendered in *kundokugo*, however, *ki* plays a much more pivotal role in establishing narrative evidence throughout the texts.

3. NARRATIVE EVIDENCE IN HEIAN-PERIOD BUDDHIST SUTRAS

Kundokugo is a linguistic variety used when reading Literary Chinese texts aloud as Japanese. Jennifer Guest (2013: 25–26) writes, “the formation of semi-standardized tropes of equivalence (or calques) between written characters and Japanese words helped to shape *kundoku* renderings as a distinctive style [...] that was not expected to conform exactly to any other style of classical Japanese.” Brian Steininger (2017: 143) has recently described the process thus:

Rather than providing a naturalistic translation, *kundoku* cleaves closely to the original text. The sentence produced does not aim for an idiomatic construction according to colloquial speech patterns, but represents the meaning through a limited, formalized Japanese register while maintaining the structure of the original as much as possible.

Both Guest and Steininger focus their discussions on the act of reading Sinitic texts aloud as Japanese, *kundoku*, rather than the language produced in the act, *kundokugo*. This section examines the narrative use of *keri* and *ki* in Buddhist *kundokugo* narrative, focusing on two texts—an early 9th century rendition of the *Golden Light Sutra* housed at Saidaiji and a late 11th/early 12th century rendition of the *Lotus Sutra* housed in Ryūkō’in.⁹

Although used sparingly throughout the *Lotus Sutra*, in quotations *keri* is employed strikingly similarly to what we see in *Genji*. For example, near the beginning of the second scroll, the monk Śāriputra, who has just heard that there are multiple paths to Nirvana, realizes he had been following more rigorous precepts than necessary, and exclaims:

Example 6:

我(れ)是(の)法音(を)聞(きたま)へて、未曾有なる所
を得つ。心(に)大歡喜(を)懷(き)て疑網を皆已に除(き)
つ。昔より来、蒙れる佛(の)教は大乗を(於)失(は)不
(り)けり。(Ōtsubo 1968: 38)

⁹ I draw my examples from these sutras from the *kundokugo* renditions found in Kasuga (1942) and Ōtsubo (1968), respectively.

*Ware ko no hō'on o kikitamaete, misōu naru tokoro o etsu.
Kokoro ni daikanki o idakite gimō o mina sude ni nozokitsu.
Mukashi yori konokata, kōbureru hotoke no kyō wa daijō o
ushinawazarikeri.*

‘Having heard this sutra chanting, I have gained something unprecedented. Holding great joy in my heart, I have already cast off all the webs of doubt. I realize that since long ago the Buddha’s teaching we have received has not lost its breadth.’

Ōtsubo Heiji (1968: 337) analyzes this use of *keri* as a mirative (詠嘆 *eitān*). Mirativity is the grammatical marking of realization. The connection between mirativity, indirect evidentiality, and perfect aspect has been recently demonstrated by Monica Laura Lau & Johan Rooryck (2017) in their analysis of the Turkish morpheme *muş*. They conclude:

the relation between perfect aspect, indirect evidentiality in hearsay and inference, and mirativity/‘realization’ can be best understood as the result of an underlying template involving stages that can be interpreted either in terms of event stages or as information stages (Lau & Rooryck 2017: 118).

This connection also supports Takeoka’s (1963) *anata naru ba* analysis of *keri*, as the ‘removed ground’ can be either temporal or psychological.

Although we find much less *keri* marking in Buddhist *kundokugo* texts, its use in quotations generally follow Suzuki’s (1992) *Genji* analysis—*keri* is a marker of perfect aspect (currently relevant past fact), indirect evidentiality (hearsay), and mirativity (realization of facts). Religious texts mediated through *kundokugo*, however, show a clear evidential contrast with contemporaneous vernacular texts. In Heian secular narrative, *keri* is used as a framing device. However, we find *ki* possessing this function in *kundokugo*. Buddhist texts have no need for external legitimation as they are taken to be true. The events that take place in the sutra are generally marked by *ki* as they were witnessed in the sense that the hearsay is engraved in the narrator’s heart (see Stinchecum 1985: 28).

Thus, the orientations of both the *Golden Light Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra* are governed by *ki*, whereas that of the *Genji* is governed by *keri*. Examples 7, 8, and 9 display this contrast:

Example 7, Orientation of the *Golden Light Sutra*:

是(の)如キことを我レ聞きたまへキ。一時薄伽梵、王舍城驚

峰山の頂に、(於)最も清浄にして甚深なる法界の諸佛(の)
(之)境たる、如來の所居に在(し)キ。與には大苾芻の衆九
万八千人ありキ。(Kasuga 1942 *honbunhen*: 1)

*Ko no gotoki koto o ware kikitamaeki. Ichiji Bagabon, Ōshajō
Jūbuzan no itadaki ni, mottomo shōjōni shite jintan-naru hokkai
no shobutsu no sakaitaru, nyorai no shoi ni zaishiki. Tomo ni wa
daihisshu no shu kyūman hassen nin ariki.*

‘I have humbly heard something such as this. One time the
Tathāgata on Vulture Peak of Rajgir dwelled in the sphere of
religion in the profound Buddha-region. Alongside him was a
gathering of 98,000 supreme bodhisattvas.’

Example 8, Orientation of the *Lotus Sutra*:

是(くの)如く我(れ)聞(きたま)へキ。一時、佛、王舎城
と耆闍崛山との中に住(したま)へりキ。大比丘の衆萬二千の
人(と) (與)俱なりキ。(Ōtsubo 1968: 3)

*Kaku no gotoku ware kikitamaeki. Ichiji, hotoke, Ōshajō to
Kijakussen to no naka ni jūshitamaeriki. Daibiku no shu
mannisen no hito to gu nariki.*

‘I have humbly heard something such as this. Once the Buddha
was dwelling inside Vulture Peak and Rajgir. He was
accompanied by a gathering of 12,000 great monks.’

Example 9, Orientation of the *Tale of Genji*:

いづれの御時にか、女御、更衣あまたさぶらひたまひけるなか
に、いとやむごとなき際にはあらぬが、すぐれて時めきたまふ
ありけり。(NKBZ: 1)

*Izure no ohon-toki ni ka, nyōgo, kōi amata saburahitamahikeru
naka ni, ito yamgotonaki kiwa ni wa aranu ga, sugurete
tokimekitamō arikeri.*

‘In a certain reign (whose can it have been?) someone of no very
great rank, among all His Majesty’s Consorts and Intimates,
enjoyed exceptional favor.’ (Tyler 2011: 1)

The discussion of these auxiliaries above hints at their differing narrative use: *keri* marks external legitimacy, or an “externally established fact” whereas *ki* is more internal, or simply, an “established fact” (Quinn 1990). Both Richard Okada (1991) and Amanda Stinchecum (1985) argue *keri* is used in narration to assert narrative control, essentially to remind the audience of the narrator’s presence, and “[represent] a legitimizing element of affirmation for [literary Japanese] discourse through which the

discourse grounds itself” (Okada 1991: 42).¹⁰ On the other hand, Chinese-based prose, or *kundokugo*, had “discursive legitimation” (Okada 1991: 41), as its source text already carried continental prestige, so there was no need to give it emphasis in its narrative frame. We can see this in the conclusion of the *Golden Light Sutra*:

Example 10:

爾時に無量無邊恒沙の大衆い佛の説を聞（きたま）へ已（り）て、皆大に歡喜して信受し奉行しき。(Kasuga 1942 *honbunhen*: 208)

So no toki ni muryō muhen gōsha no daishu i hotoke no setsu o kikitamaeowarite, mina ōi ni kankishite shinjushi bugyōshiki.

‘At that time the limitless, immense, innumerable group, having heard the Buddha’s explanation, all in great delight, accepted and carried it out.’

There is no need for additional modal force as the authority of the religious text is taken for granted. The *Lotus Sutra* follows a similar narrative strategy, but *ki* governs essentially all clauses that frame the embedded narratives of quotation, rather than the first three and final lines of the *Golden Light Sutra*, as shown in examples 7 and 10.

There is also a clear evidential difference between the first sentence marked by *ki* in the sutras and all subsequent lines. That is, the first *ki* in each is the only truly direct evidential (‘Thus I have humbly heard.’). All subsequent lines of the two sutras are hearsay. However, the religious nature of these sutras entails that the narrator has, in a religious sense, “witnessed” the events described (see Stinchecum 1985: 28). The overarching narrative of the sutras is one of personal, religious truth, marked with the direct evidential *ki*, much like the embedded narratives found in the “Hahakigi” chapter of *Genji* discussed in section 2. The sutras

¹⁰ This employment of a single morpheme for both narrative authority and mirative realizations is cross-linguistic. Referring to data from Willem J. de Reuse (2003), Aikhenvald (2004: 203–204) writes: “For a Western Apache speaker, a story without the sentence-final *lé,k’eh* is not recognizable as a story. In non-narrative genres, however, *lé,k’eh* has a somewhat different meaning: [. . .] the speaker was not aware of the event when it occurred, but realized what it was later on [. . .] Employing *lé,k’eh* in a traditional narrative indicates that the evidence is not firsthand. At the same time it emphasizes that the storyteller is aware of their authority as narrator and often as author. This awareness can be considered a facet of the ‘deferred’ realization meaning of the particle *lé,k’eh* and provides a bridge between its two seemingly distinct meanings—as a marker of a narrative genre and as an indicator of post-factum realization of what the witnessed thing actually was.”

are also full of embedded narratives depicting didactic conversations among the religious figures and deities at the feet of the Buddha.

Both *kundokugo* sutras and vernacular fiction share evidential conventions in these embedded spoken narratives. In quotations they both use *ki* in orientations and *keri* in evaluative clauses. These shared features highlight the use of these auxiliaries—*ki* is used to present personal facts and *keri* to sum up external facts. We can see the choice to highlight personal facts in vernacular quoted narratives as Tō no Chūjō begins his personal tale in the *Genji* rainy night critique. When Genji's friend approaches his conclusion, he switches to primarily *keri* marking:

Example 11:

つれなくて、つらしと思ひけるも知らで、あはれ絶えざりしも、益なき片思ひなりけり。今、やうやう忘れゆく際に、かれ、はた、えしも思ひ離れず、をりをり人やりならぬ胸こがるる夕もあらむとおぼえはべり。これなむ、えたもつまじく頼もしげなき方なりける。(NKBZ: 83–4)

Tsurenakute tsurashi to omoikeru mo shirade, aware taezarishi mo, yaku naki kataomoi narikeri. Ima yōyō wasure-yuku kiwa ni, kare hata e shimo omoihanarezu, oriori hito yari-naranu mune kogaruru yūbe mo aramu to oboehaberi. Kore namu, etamotsumajiku tanomoshige naki kata narikeru.

‘She seemed so serene that I never knew she was hurt, and my lasting feeling for her went completely to waste. Even now, when I am beginning to forget her, she probably still thinks of me and has evenings when she burns with regret, although she has no one but herself to blame. She is a perfect example of the woman you cannot keep long and cannot actually depend on.’ (Tyler 2011: 32–3)

The first *keri* in example 11 is Tō no Chūjō evaluating the emotional state of Yūgao. It is of note that he then uses *ki* to discuss his internal emotional situation. The final two uses of *keri* are used to sum up his point and conclude his narration (or, *keri o tsukeru*).

Kundokugo texts also begin embedded narrative with *ki*-marking. This occurs, for example, in the first scroll of the *Lotus Sutra* when the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī explains the nature of the light emitting from the Buddha:

Example 12:

諸の善男子、我（れ）過去の諸佛に於て、曾し此の瑞を見（た

てまつり) しかば、斯 (の) 光を放 (ち) 已 (り) ては、即
(ち) 大法を説 (きたま) ひき。(Ōtsubo 1968: 12)

*Moro no zennanshi, ware kako no shobutsu ni oite, mukashi ko
no mizu wo mitatematsurishikaba, so no hikari wo
hanachiowarite wa, sunawachi daihō o tokitamaiki.*

‘Gentlemen, because I, from Buddhas of the past, saw this light’s
luster long ago, having emitted that light they had already
preached the great Law.’

Just like Tō no Chūjō, Mañjuśrī begins his narrative with *ki* to highlight his personal knowledge of the events he describes. One distinct difference between secular and religious Heian narrative not discussed above is the way evaluation occurs.¹¹ Rather than concluding one’s own narrative with a *keri*, as Tō no Chūjō does in his embedded “Hahakigi” tale, in Buddhist texts a listener often gives their reaction using the auxiliary. In fact, in example 6 above, Śāriputra is responding to Mañjuśrī’s explanation when he uses the first *keri* in the sutra, thus giving an evaluation.

The conclusion of the first scroll of the *Golden Light Sutra* shows the same *kundokugo* evaluation strategy while highlighting the use of *ki* in framing *kundokugo* narrative:

Example 13:

「我レ今始 (め) て如來大師は般涅槃 (し) たまはず (不) ア
リケリ、及舍利を留 (め) たまへルことは、普ク衆生を益せむ
となりケリと知 (り) 又。」とまをす。身心踊悦して、未曾有
にいましケリと歎したてまつる。[. . .] 妙幢菩薩は佛の足を礼し
たてまつり已 (り) て、(從) 座ヨリして (而) 起 (ち) て、
其の本處に還 (り) にき。(Kasuga 1942 *honbunhen*: 19)

“*Ware ima hajimete Nyorai Daishi wa hannehanshitamawazu
arikeri, oyobi shari o todometamaeru koto wa, amaneku jusei o
ekisemu to narikeri to shirinu.*” *to mōsu. Shinshin yōetsu shite,
misōu ni imashikeri to tanshitatematsuru.* [. . .] *Myōdō Bosatsu
wa Hotoke no ashi o reishitatematsuriowarite, za yori shite
tachite, sono honsho ni kaeriniki.*

“I now, for the first time, know that the great teacher Tathagata
did not enter Nirvana and also that his stopping his cremation was
for the benefit of all living beings.” His body and soul dancing
with joy, he declares that this is unprecedented. [. . .] The
Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha venerated himself at the feet of the

¹¹ See Labov 1972 for a detailed explanation of narrative evaluation.

Buddha, stood from his seat, and returned to his original place.’

The quote here is by the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, here called Myōdō Bosatsu but commonly known as Jizō Bosatsu in Japan today, who has just heard an explanation of why the Buddha remains in the mortal realm. He both sums up the explanation and gives an evaluation using *keri*. This section also has one of the only two clauses marked by *keri* that are not in quotes. But, as both are in clauses marked by quotative *to*, they should be interpreted as indirect quotes. In other words, *keri* is never used in non-quotative narration in these two religious *kundokugo* texts.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In vernacular Heian tales, such as the *Genji*, *ki* is used in narrative to highlight past tense and in quotes to bring witnessed authority regarding facts. *Keri* is used in narrative to frame and in quotes to bring external authority regarding facts. In Heian-period Buddhist *kundokugo* texts, such as the *Golden Light Sutra* and the *Lotus Sutra* investigated above, there is a complete absence of *keri* in all narrative clauses, as predicates marked by *keri* are all governed by quotative *to*. In quotes it is used when recognizing and evaluating external facts. *Ki*, on the other hand, is used in narratives to frame, and when it is used in quotes in the sutras those quotations themselves are parables or embedded narratives.

Kasuga Masaji (1942) argues *keri* originated as a grammatical perfect. Roumyana Ivorski (1997: 222) notes, “the morphology of the present perfect or a form historically derived from the present perfect, expresses a particular evidential category, one that indicates the availability of indirect evidence for the truth of a proposition,” which further supports the notion that *keri* may serve an evidential function.

One question still remains. Even if we concede *keri* can signify second-hand evidence, need we draw an evidential conclusion for *ki*? Most of the literature cited above takes the ‘simple past’ analysis. However, regarding the potential connection between past tense and direct evidentiality, Joan Bybee et al. (1993: 97) write:

[Perfects] developing into pasts of indirect evidence do not take over all the functions of simple past or perfective [morphemes] already existing in the language, but they do have the effect of restricting the range of usage of the existing [morphemes] to reporting situations about which the speaker has direct knowledge.

This cross-linguistic tendency of indirect evidentials constricting simple past morphemes to direct evidentials is found in Heian-period Japanese as well and is why *ki* and *keri* are often analyzed as a pair, as they are in this paper.

While narrators of vernacular Heian literature lay no claim to witnessing the events therein, Buddhist *kundokugo* texts are forms of ritual speech given from the perspective of unquestionable authority. These sutras, however, are self-acclaimed hearsay. The narration begins acknowledging that the contents of the entire sutra come from indirect evidence, clearly beginning with the line ‘Thus I have heard.’ In their *kundokugo* renditions, however, *ki* governs both the first line of personal experience and frames the subsequent indirectly experienced narrative. The authoritative, religious nature of the discourse context calls for the contents of the narration to be grammatically marked as self-evident.

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