

WHERE DOES PRAGMATIC MARKER *TTE* COME FROM?

On the convergence of *to ihite*, *to ifute* and *tote* in the diachronic development of ‘say’ constructions in Japanese

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Introduction

Crosslinguistically, ‘say’ verbs often develop into evidential and pragmatic markers (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004)

Japanese evidential marker *tte* in particular has developed various pragmatic functions such as marking mirativity, self-teasing and self-mockery (S. Suzuki 1998; R. Suzuki 2007).

Versatile uses of *tte*

1830's

Quotative

(1) 「『モンテベロにいるのね、今晩は』って言ったら、

“*Montebero ni iru no ne, konban wa*” *tte* ittara,

Montebello LOC be NMLZ PRT tonight Q QT say.then

“‘He is at Montebello, right?’, (I) said (to her), then ...’

(Suzuki 2007:211)

Evidential

1880's

(2) Mother: 「袴はいつ出来上がると言ったい？」

Hakama wa itsu dekiagaru to ittai?

Hakama TOP when ready QT say:PST

‘Did (the kimono shop) say when the hakama (formal skirt) will be ready?’

Oyuki: 「明後日にはぜひできあがりますって。」

Asatte wa zehi dekiagarimasu tte....

the.day.after.tomorrow TOP definitely ready **EVID**

“‘The day after tomorrow it will definitely be ready’ (they say).’

(*Otomegokoro* 1889, cited in Suzuki 2007:214)

Counterexpectation

1880's

(3) *Denkichi*: 「私の女房なんぞになる女が、そんな酔狂な女がどこにあるもんじゃない。」
Watashi no nyoofoo nanzo ni naru onna ga,
 1SG GEN wife EMPH to become woman NOM
sonna suikyoo na onna ga doko ni aru mon ja nai.
 such eccentric COP woman NOM where at exist FN COP NEG
 “There would be no woman, such an eccentric woman, who wants to
 marry me.”

Mother: 「何を言っておいでだよ、お前は。女房に来る女がないって。」
Nani o itte oide da yo, omae wa.
 What ACC say CONT COP COM.PTCL you NOM
nyoofoo ni kuru onna ga nai tte.
 wife to come woman NOM NEG **CE**
 “What are you talking about? “There would be no woman who would come
 to marry (me)” *tte*. (You can’t be serious!)”

(*Hemiden* 1895, cited in Suzuki 2007:217)

Counterexpectation *-tte*

Suzuki (2007) notes that “utterance + *tte*” constructions, which occur as immediate repetitions, are used “to indicate the speaker’s **non-acceptance/rejection**” (p. 219).

In other words, *tte* is used to indicate surprise or lack of anticipation on the part of the speaker, i.e. there has been a violation of his/her prior expectation.

Insistence

1940's

- (4) A: 「ここにはないのなら、家にわすれたんじゃないの。」
Koko ni nai no nara,
 here LOC NEG NMLZ if
ie ni wasureta n janai no.
 home LOC leave.behind.PST NMLZ NEG Q
 “If you don’t find it here, you left it behind at home?”
- B: 「いや、そんなことはないって。」
Iya sonna koto nai tte.
 no such NMLZ NEG *tte*
 “No, such a thing is not true (I insist) *tte*.”

(Suzuki 2007:211)

Joking

After 1940's

(5) M: 「一回行ったから、ドライブには自信もついてるして。」

Ikkai itta kara doraibu niwa
 once go.PST so driving with.TOP
jishin mo tsuiteru shi tte.
 confidence also have and *tte.*

“Since (I) drove (all the way to San Fransisco) once,
 (I) have confidence in my driving also (just kidding) *tte.*”

K: 「だって昌子、サンフランシスコに入ると、性格変わんだもん。」

Datte Masako, San Furanshisuko ni hairu to,
 well Masako, San Fransisco in enter then
seikaku kawanda mon.
 personality change:NML:COP PRT

“Masako, (you) undergo a personality change as you drive
 into (the city of) San Fransisco.”

(Suzuki 2007:229-230)

Joking *-tte* (“Just kidding”): intersubjective use

Suzuki (2007) notes that *tte* is used to indicate that the speaker is “presenting her thoughts to the addressee as if it is uttered by someone else” (p. 221).

In this way, the speaker can distance herself from the utterance, and “from the credibility of what she says” (p. 225).

After 1940's

Self-mockery

(6) A: 「クビになった人がいるようなニュアンスで……。」

Kubininata hito ga iru yoona nyuansu de ...

got.fired person NOM exist appear nuance with

“(He talked with a nuance that) there are some people got
fired....”

B: 「それは私ですって。」

Sore wa watashi desu tte.

that TOP me COP *tte*

“That’s me.” [said in a playful tone].

(Suzuki 1999:57)

Self-mockery

According to Maynard (1996: 207), self-mockery is “A linguistic act in which the speaker makes a statement and then denies[,] invalidates, or expresses his/her non-serious attitude towards the content of the utterance”.

In (6), Speaker A mentioned that an acquaintance had just got fired. Speaker B made a self-denigrating remark, saying that the one who got fired is herself, then quickly added *tte* to her remark to indicate that she was only joking. This type of joking which involves self-denigration is a form of self-mockery.

Previous Studies

- Previous studies have identified two possible sources for sentence final *tte*.
 - One possible source is *tote*.
(see Yuzawa 1957; Konoshima 1973; Saegusa 1997)
 - Another possible source is *to itte*.
(see Suzuki 2007)
- Our diachronic study suggests *to ifute* as another possible source for *tte*.

Limitation of previous studies

To itte

Suzuki (2007) analyzed the uses of *tte* during the past 200 years (covering the 19th and 20th century). Suzuki (2010) suggested a connection between *tte* and *to itte*.

Tote

Saegusa (1997) suggested that the versatile functions of *tote* are derived from the quotative and concessive functions of *to* + quotative, evidential and pragmatic functions of *te*.

Yuzawa (1954) traced the development of *tote* during the Edo period (1603-1868) and found functional similarities with *tte*.

These studies did not mention the relationship between *tote* and the ‘say’ verb *ipu* ~ *ifu*.

Objectives

- To examine how ‘say’ quotatives in Japanese develop into evidential and pragmatic markers.
 - *to ihite* > *to itte* (concessive) > *tote* > *tte*
 - *to iute* > *tte*
 - *to ifute* > *tote* > *tte*
 - *to-V-te* > *tote* > *tte*
- To examine the relationship between ‘say’ functions and finite uses.

	8 th	9 th	10 th	11 th	12 th	13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th
Lexical say	73	26	91	5	18	183	26	1		23	45	33
QT			1	1	1	1	1				4	2
Converbal EVID				2							5	2
Conclusive EVID				1								

Table 1: frequency rates of usages of *to ihite* by century

Development of *to ihite*

to ihite : Lexical ‘say’

(7) 浅茅原小野にしめゆふそらごともいかなりといひて、きみをばまたむ。

Asajiharaono ni shimeyufu soragoto mo
 name.of.place LOC spread.like.dye rumour EMPH

ikanari to ihi-te, kimi wo ba matamu.
 is.it.true COMP say-CONV 2SG ACC EMPH wait-VOL

‘There is a rumor spreading (about you) in Asajiharano.

I wonder if it is true (lit. ‘**I say to myself** Is it true?’). Still I will wait for you.’

(*Manyoshuu*, 8th c., p.181)

to ihite: QT (double marking)

- (8) 時に、筑筆命いひしく、「身が名をば國に着けて、後の代に流傳へしめむと欲ふ」といひて、即ち、本の號を改めて、更に筑波と稱ふといへり。

Toki ni, Chikuhanomikoto ihishiku, “Waga na wo ba
Time LOC Chikuhanomikoto **saying** 1SG.GEN name ACC EMPH

kuni ni tsukete, nochi no yo ni tsutaheshimemu
country LOC put.LNK after GEN world DAT tell.CAUS.FUT

to omofu” to ihite, sunawachi, moto no goo wo
COMP think” **QT** shortly, original GEN name ACC

aratamete, sarani Tsukuba to tatafu to iheri.
renew.LNK in.addition tsukuba COMP call **EVID**

‘At that time, as Chikuhanomikoto **said**, “I want to name this country by my name and to hand this down to posterity”. In other words, (he) changed the original name and called this (country) Tsukuba, so people say.’

(*Hitachikoku Fudoki*, 721 AD, p.39)

to ihite : **Converbal EVID**

- (9) 不死薬は食ふ万歳の齡ありといひて、かの国の帝王、
去る難しを立て、求められ、

Fushiyaku wa kufu mansai no yowahi ari
PN TOP eat.ATTR ten.thousand.old GEN year have

to ihite, *kano kuni no teioo, saru gatakishi wo tate,*
EVID that country GEN emperor leave difficult ACC send

motomerare, ...
seek.for

“(Since) **it is said** that the one who eats Fushiyaku (a type of medicine) will have ten thousand years of life, the emperor in that country sent loyal servants to look for it ...”

(*Utsubo Monogatari*, 10th c., p.182)

to ihite : Conclusive EVID (finite)

- (10) ふねにのりはじめしひより、ふねにはくれなゐこくよききぬきず。
それはうみのかみにおぢてといひて。

Fune ni norihajimeshi hi yori, fune ni wa
ship LOC embark.start.PFV day from ship LOC TOP

kurenai koku yoki kinu kizu
red deep good cloth wear.NEG

Sore wa umi no kami ni ojite to ihite.
that TOP sea GEN god DAT afraid EVID

‘It is usual that people don’t wear deep red and high-class clothes from the first day they board the ship. **It is said** to be because people are scared of the God of the Sea.’

(*Tosa Nikki*, 935 AD, p.38)

to ihite pathway



	8 th	9 th	10 th	11 th	12 th	13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th
Lexical say									1	1		4
QT												
Converbal EVID												2
Concessive EVID												9

Table 2: frequency rates of usages of *to itte* by century

To iite : Lexical use (1 token)

- (12) 御内の親は庖丁人、庖丁人のその子として、家をも継ごうずるそなたが、鱸に打身食べよう、などと言いて、立居の人に笑われ給うな。

Hoochoonin no sono ko toshite, ie wo tsugoozuru
 Nife.person GEN that sun as house ACC succeed.to

sonata ga, Suzuki ni uchimi tabyoo, nado to iite
 you TOP PN DAT bruise eat.VOL such.as COMP say.CONV

tachii no hito ni waraeare tamoona.
 sit.stand GEN people DAT laugh.PASS HON.PROHIBIT

‘You are supposed to succeed as the chef in your family. Don’t be laughed at by other people **saying** that we would eat Suzuki fish by bruising (it).’

(*Shoomyoo Kyoogen Suzuki Hoochoo*, 15th c., p.394)

To itte : Converbial ‘say’

- (13) 同じ様に鉦太鼓で「迷子の釣鐘ヤアイ」と言って歩くによって、
Onaji yoo ni kanedaiko de “*Maigo no*
 same as in PN by.means.of lost.child GEN
tsurigane yaai” ***to itte*** *aruku niyotte*,
 PN SFP COMP say.CONV walk because

‘Like them, he walked **saying** “(This is) the *tsurigane* drum for lost children!” by hitting the *kanedaiko* drum.’

(*Maika Tokumimasu no Tamagaki*, 1800, p.82)

EVID

(14) とかく向ふの娘と若衆殿が訳が有るといって、氣を揉むげなよ。」

Tokaku mukoo no musume to wakashuu dono ga
 anyhow other.side GEN daughter and young.PL HON TOP
wake ga aru to itte, kiwomomu ge na yo.
 reason TOP have EVID worry seem COP SFP

‘Anyhow, **it is said** that there is some relationship between the daughter in the house on the other side (of the street) and the young guys, and (the mothers of the young guys) seem to worry about (them).’

(*Osome Hisamatsu Irodokuhan*, 1813, p.175)

Concessive EVID

- (15) なんぼ哥が好きで詠めばとって、茶の水には谷水がよかるふとは、
措きやアがれ、・・・」

Nanbo uta ga sukide yomeba
how.much poem TOP like.because compose-CONCESSIVE

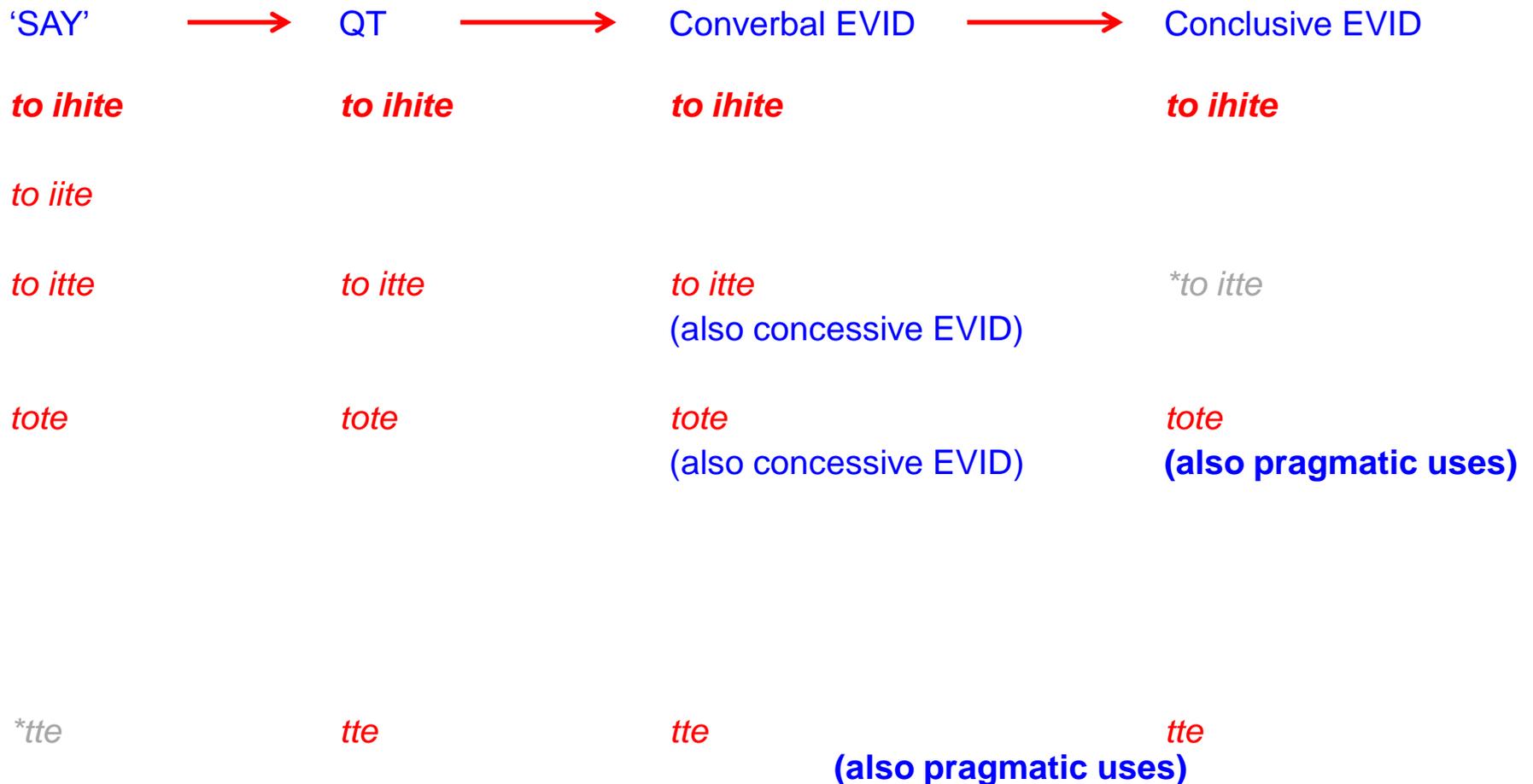
to itte, *cha no mizu ni wa tanimizu ga*
EVID tea GEN water for TOP valley.water TOP

yokaroo to wa, okiyagare,
good.ASSUMPTIVE COMP TOP give.me.a.break

‘No matter how much **people say** he likes to compose poems, he shouldn’t say (and neither should you say) that valley water would be suitable for making tea.’

(*Meika no Tokumimasu no Tamagaki*, 1800, p.94)

to ihite > *to itte* > *tte* pathway



	15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th
Lexical say	1	1	34	2	196
QT			17	4	8
Converbal EVID			7	5	3
Concessive EVID			2		
Pragmatic use: disagreement marker (SFP) (derived from concessive 'although you said that' via main-clause ellipsis)				8	17

Table 3: frequency rates of usages of *to ifute* by century

to ifu-te : **Converbal ‘say’**

(16) 「今おもへば」といふてしほらしく下にをきぬ。

“*Ima omoheba*” *to* *ifute* *shihorashiku*
 now remember.if **COMP** say-CONV commendably

shitani *okinu.*
 down.LOC put.PFT

‘**Saying**, “Now, if I remember (it),” (he) commendably put (it) down.’

(*Koshoku Ichidai Otoko*, 1682 AD, p.136)

To ifute : Converbial 'say' ~ QT

- USE JUJI EXAMPLE

to ifute : **Concessive EVID**

(18) いかにかいこどもじゃといふてあんまりな。

Ikani kodomo ja to ifute anmari na.
 how child COP **EVID.CONCESS** not.good SFP

‘It is not good (for you) to treat (him) like this,
although it is said he is a child.’

(*Natsumatsuri Naniwa Hanakagami*, 1745, p.267)

to ifute : Pragmatic use (disagreement marker)

(19) Hakuren: 「アへ是、仕舞には及ばねへ。」
A, kore, shimai ni wa oyobanee.
 well this clear.away DAT NOM need.NEG
 ‘Well, you don’t have to clear it away.’

Sayo: 「それじゃといふて。」
Sore ja to ifute.
 so COP SFP
 ‘Although you say so, (still I need to do it).’

(*Kosode Soga Azami no Ironui*, 1858 AD, p.367)

GRAMMATICALIZATION OF TO IFUTE

	8 th	9 th	10 th	11 th	12 th	13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th
QT		20	521	176	46	33	31	29		50	110	459
Concessive QT					1							
Converbal EVID	1	7	214	105	95	16	27	41	4	117	104	476
Concessive EVID	1	8	229	105	104	19	33	51	5	125	116	526
Reason EVID	1	1	10	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	7
Pragmatic marker (bridge context: CE but followed by main clause)			1									

Table 4: frequency rates of usages of *tote* by century

Development of *tote*

Complement-taking utterance verb
to (ifu)-te ‘say’
 > *tote*

(20) たびの心をよまんとてよめる

Tabi no kokoro wo yoman tote yomeru.

trip GEN feeling ACC compose.will say compose.PERF

‘**Saying** (he) wanted to compose a poem about a trip, (he) composed it.’

(*Kokin Wakshuu*, 905 AD, p.185)

Quotative *tote*—converbal use

(21) 「もし人とはば是をたてまつれ」とて、文書きて出しける、

“*Moshi hito towaba kore wo tatematsure*” *tote*,

if person ask this ACC present say

bun kakite dashi keru,

letter write.CONV take.out PERF

‘**Saying** “If someone asks, present this (to him)”,
he wrote a letter and passed it (to him) ...’

(*Yamato Monogatari*, 951 AD, p. 352)

Converbal QT *tote* (single marking)

- (22) うちわらひ給ひて、「あはれともや御覽ずるとて」
 などのたまふ、御ありさまども、これよりなにごとかはまさらん。

Uchiwarai tamaite, “*Aware to mo ya goranzuru **tote***”
 laugh HON.CONV faithful COMP also PRT see.HON think

Nado notamau, onarisama domo, kore yori nanigoto ka wa
 such.as say.HON HON.mannar also this than anything Q TOP
masaran.

excel.ASSUMPTIVE

(Mr. Ishuu came to see Queen Teishi on a day of heavy snow. Queen Teishi asked him how he could come to see her when snow had piled up on the roads.)

Ishuu laughed (**and said**), “I thought you would regard me as a faithful person.” The way he said such a thing is so nice.

(*Makura no Sooshi*, 996 AD, p.231)

Quotative *tote* (double marking)

- (23) 翁いふやう、「我あさごと夕ごとに見る竹の中におはするにて、知りぬ。
子となり給(ふ)べき人なめり」とて、手にうち入れて家(へ)持ちて來ぬ。

Okina ifu yau, "Ware asa goto yuu goto ni
old.man say thus 1SG morning every evening every LOC
miru take no naka ni owasuru nite, shirinu.
watch bamboo GEN inside LOC exist.HON therefore know.PERF
ko to nari tamafu beki hito nameru" tote,
child COMP become HON should person may say
te ni irete uchi (e) mochite kinu.
hand LOC put.LNK house LOC have.LNK come

‘The old man said thus, “I realized that (she) was in the bamboo, which I had been watching over every morning and every evening. (She) is supposed to be the one to become (our) child” *tote* (=QT), and he put her in his hand and brought her home.’

(*Taketori Monogatari*, 10th c., p.29)

Quotative *tote* - stand-alone (finite) use

(24) 「いと、むつかしげに侍れど、かしこまりをだに」とて。

“*Ito, mutsukashi ge ni haberedo,*
quite uncomfortable seem ADV exist.CONCESS

kashikomari wo dani.” *tote.*
appreciation ACC at.least.” QT

‘(She) said, “Although (it is) quite uncomfortable (here),
I at least would like to say thank you.” ’

(*Genji Monogatari*, 1001 AD, p. 210)

Evidential *tote*

(25) をとこ君は、朝拜に参り給ふとて、さしのぞき給へり。

Otoko gimi wa choohai ni
 man HON TOP morning.service for.the.purpose.of
mairi tamafu tote sashinozoki tamaeri.
 go HON EVID peek.into HON.PERF

‘**It was said** that the gentleman went to the morning service,
 and (she) took a peek at (him).’

(*Genji Monogatari*, 1001 AD, p. 278)

Concessive Evidential *tote*

- (26) 「月の宮古の人にて、父母あり。かた時の間とて、かの國よりまうで
來しかども、かくこの國にはあまたの年をへぬるになん有(り)ける。……。」

Tsuki no miyako nite, fubo ari. Katatoki no aida
moon GEN capital LOC father.mother exist short.term GEN while
tote kano kuni yori moode kishika domo,
EVID.CONCESSIVE that country from come come.PERF but,
kaku kono kuni niha amata no toshi
this this country LOC.LNK many GEN year
wo henuru ni nan arikeru.
ACC spend.PERF ADV EMPH exist.PERF

‘My (real) father and mother are in the capital city on the moon.
Although it is said (that I can be here) for some time, I actually came
over here from that country, and I have already spent a lot of time here.’

(*Taketori Monogatari*, 10th c., p. 60)

Concessive-Reason Evidential *tote*

(27) 我なくなりぬとて、口をしう思ひくづほるな。

Ware nakunarinu *tote*,
1SG pass.away.PERF CONCESS.EVID

kuchioshiu omoikuduhoru na.
disappointed think.discouraged NEG

‘Just because it is said I have passed away,
don’t be disappointed and discouraged.’

(*Genji Monogatari*, 1001 AD, p. 37)

Conclusive EVID (stand-alone finite use)

(28) 南殿の櫻は、村上の御とき、式部卿重明親王の家の櫻匂ふことなりとて。

Minamiden no sakura wa, Murakami no ontoki,
 PN GEN cherry TOP PN GEN HON.time

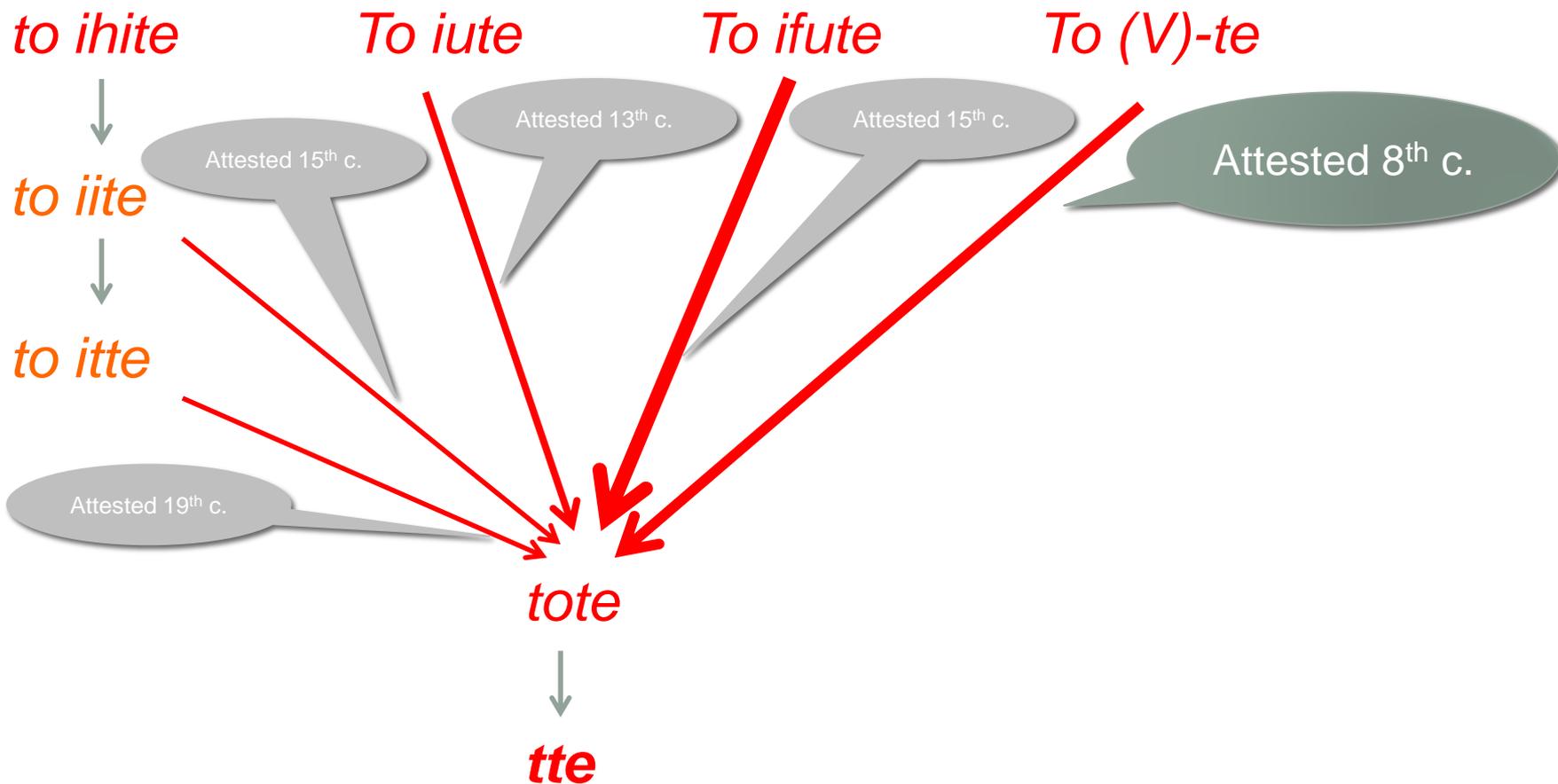
Shikibukyoo Shigeaki Shinnoo no ie no sakura
 PN PN prince GEN house GEN cherry

nioufu koto nari tote.
 smell thing become EVID

‘**It was said** that the fragrance of the cherry tree in Minamiden Palace changed (after it was transplanted) from the house of Shikibukyoo Shigeaki Shinnoo at the time of Emperor Murakami.’

(*Kokin Chomonjuu*, 13th c., p.494)

Summary: the origins of *tte*



Factors contributing to the rise of *tte*

- Frequency
- Verbal ellipsis
- Phonological reduction

Additional observations

- Our findings suggest multiple pathways for the origin of *tte*:

(1) *to ihite* > *to iite* (1 token) > *to itte* (Lexical 'say')

to itte > ***tte*** (QT & EVID)

to itte > *totte* > ***tte*** (Topic maker)

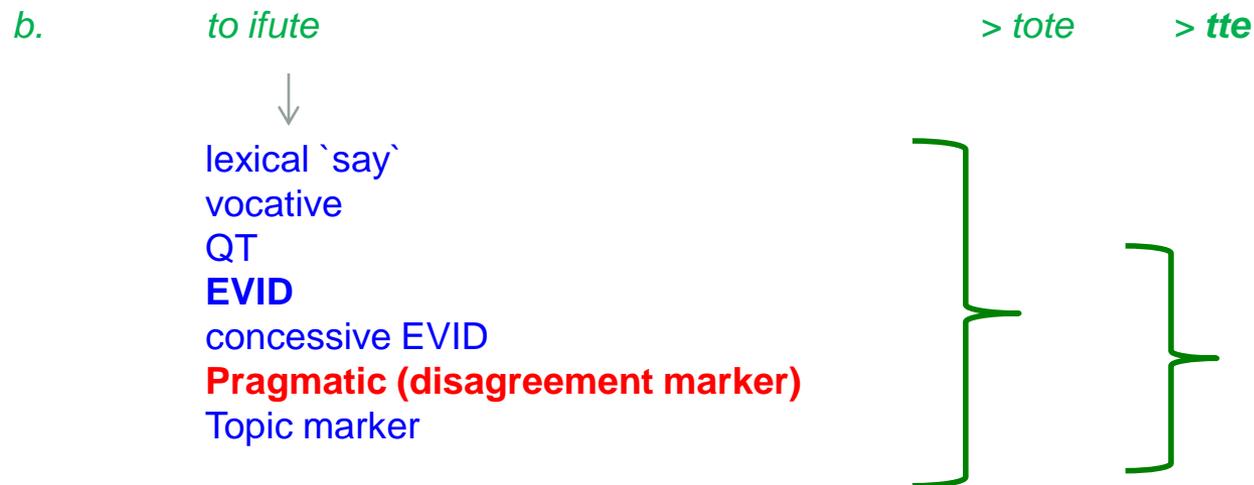
lexical `say`
 vocative
 QT
 EVID
 concessive EVID
 Topic marker

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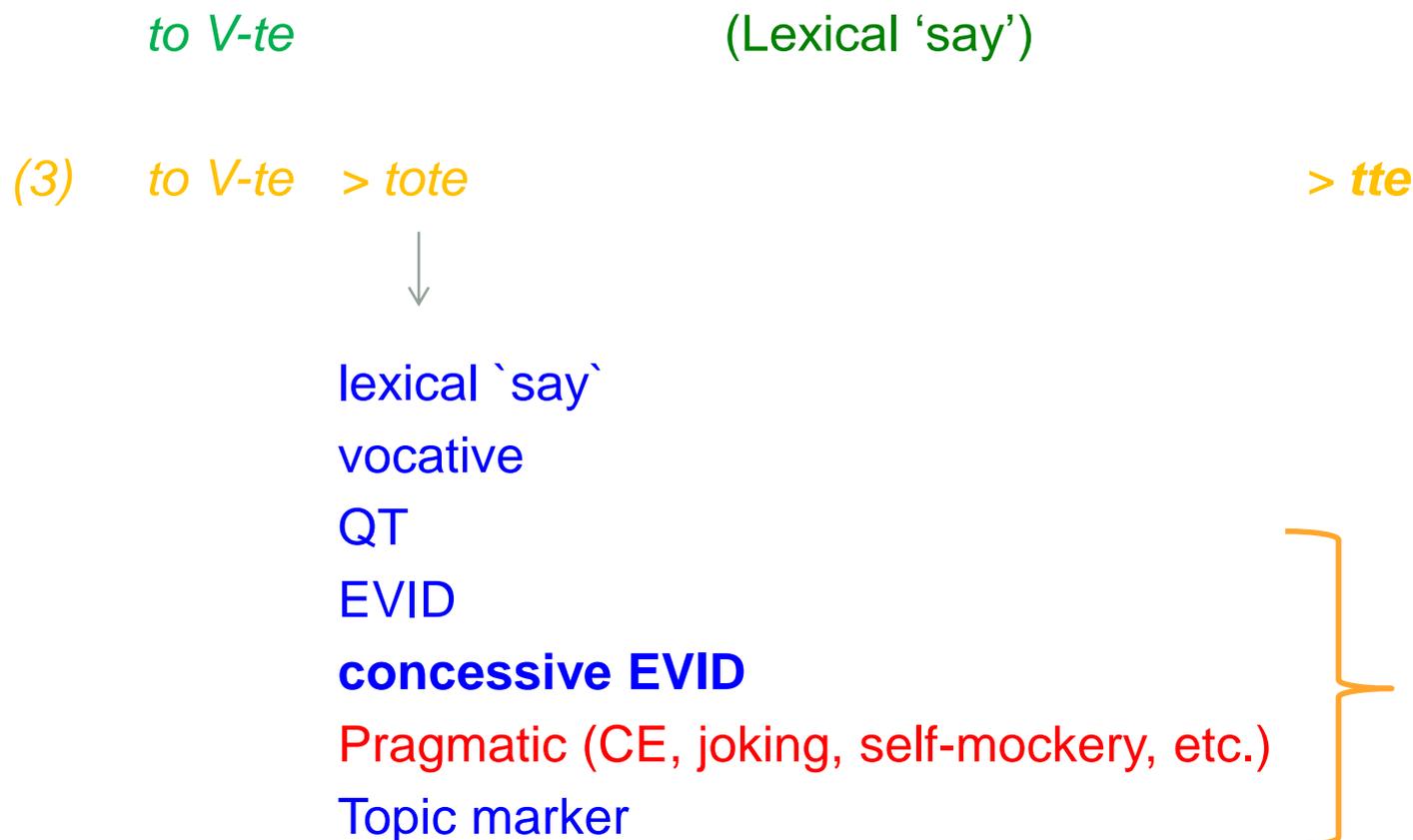
- Our findings suggest multiple pathways for the origin of *tte*:

(2a) *to i(f)ute* > *tote*

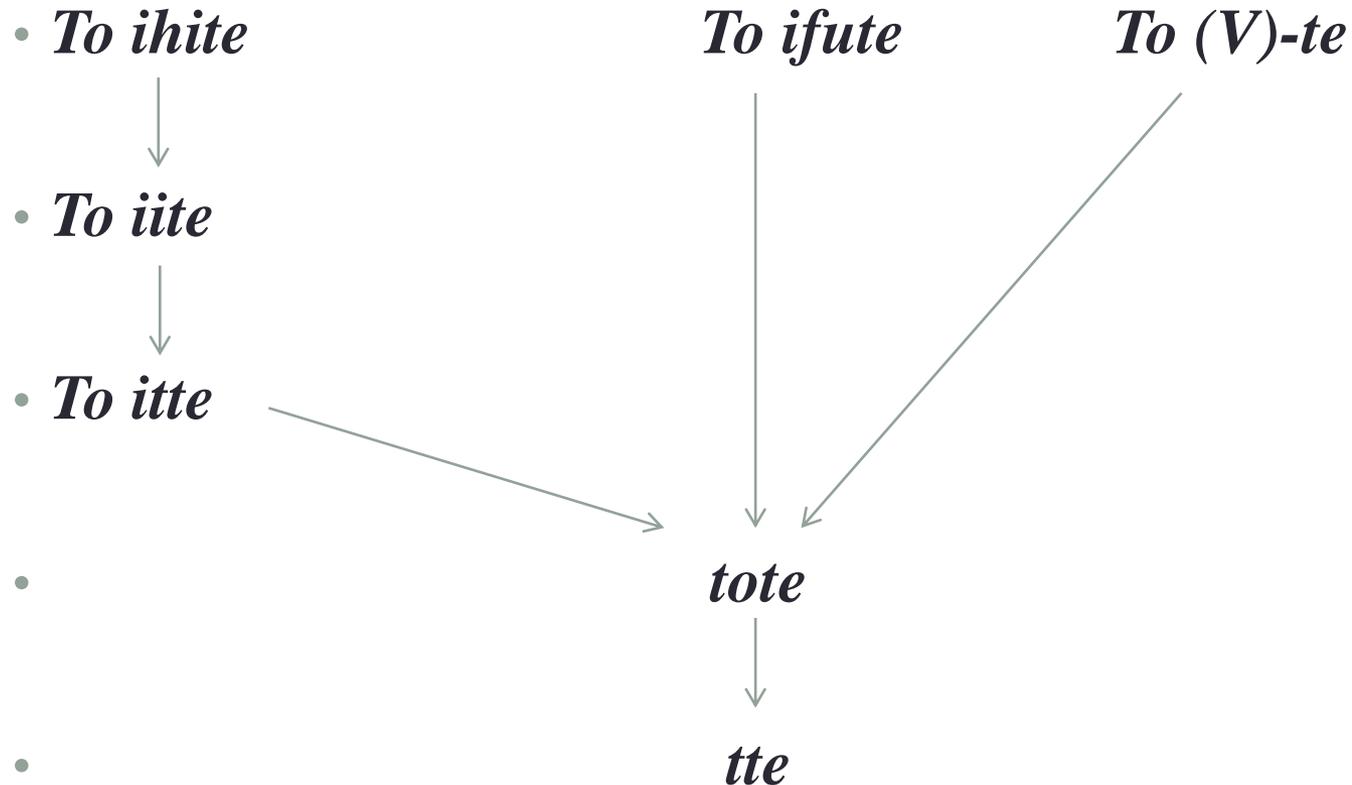
(Lexical 'say')



- Our findings suggest multiple pathways for the origin of *tte*:



The origins of *tte*



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