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*

**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

(2) Mother:  「袴はいつ出来上がると言いたい？」

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)
(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 nyoooboo 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
nyoooboo 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.
(4) A: 「ここにないのなら、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)
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.”

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).
Self-mockery

(6) A: 「クビになった人がいるようなニュアンスで・・・。」

Kubininatta hito ga iru yoono 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.
Table 1: frequency rates of usages of *to ihite* by century

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Development of *to ihite*

```plaintext
to ihite : Lexical ‘say’
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(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*

*ikanari to ihite-te, kimi wo ba matamu.*

‘There is a rumor spreading (about you) in Asajiharono. I wonder if it is true (lit. ‘I say to myself Is it true?’). Still I will wait for you.’

*(Manyoshuu, 8\textsuperscript{th} c., p.181)*
時に、筑箪命いひしく、「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 kuni ni tsukete, nochi no yo ni tsutaheshimemu to omofu” to ihite, sunawachi, moto no goo wo aratamete, sarani Tsukuba to tatafu to iheri.‘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)
“(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)
(10) ふねのにのりはじめしせひより、ふねにはくれなるこくよききぬきず。それはうみのかみにおじてといひて。

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

‘SAY’ → QT → Converbal EVID → Conclusive EVID

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

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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、鱸に打身食びょう、などと言って、立居の人に笑われ給うな。

‘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: Converbal ‘say’

(13) 同じ様に鉾太鼓で「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)
とかく向ふの娘と若衆殿が訳が有るといって、気を揉むげなよ。

‘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いって、茶の水には谷水がよかろとは、措きゃアがれ、・・・」

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

'SAY' → QT → Converbal EVID → Conclusive EVID

to ihite

to ihite

to ihite

*to ihite

(to also concessive EVID)

*to itte

(to itte)

(also concessive EVID)

tote

tote

tote

(also concessive EVID)

(tote)

(also pragmatic uses)

*tte

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(also pragmatic uses)

tte
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<td>(derived from concessive ‘although you said that’ via main-clause ellipsis)</td>
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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 : Converbal ‘say’ ~ QT

• USE JUJI EXAMPLE
to ifute : Concessive EVID

(18) いかに子供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
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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)
うちわらひ給ひて、「あはれともや御覧ずるとて」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)
(23) 翁ifiu yau, 「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)
(She) said, “Although (it is) quite uncomfortable (here), I at least would like to say thank you.”

*(Genji Monogatari, 1001 AD, p. 210)*
(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)*
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) 南殿の桜は、村上の御とき、式部卿重明親王の家の桜匂ふことなりとて。

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*

*to ihite*  
↓  
*to itte*  
↓  
*to itte*  
↓  
*tote*  
↓  
*tte*

*To iute*  
Attested 13th c.

*To ifute*  
Attested 15th c.

*To (V)-te*  
Attested 8th c.

Attested 19th c.

Attested 15th c.

Attested 15th c.

Attested 13th c.
Factors contributing to the rise of *tte*

- Frequency
- Verbal ellipsis
- Phonological reduction
Additional observations

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

\[(1) \text{to ihite} > \text{to iite} (1 \text{ token}) > \text{to itte} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{to itte} & \rightarrow tte \\
\text{to itte} & \rightarrow totte > tte
\end{align*}
\]

(Lexical `say`)

(QT & EVID)

(Topic marker)
Our findings suggest multiple pathways for the origin of *tte*:

\[(2a) \quad \text{to i(f)ute} \rightarrow \text{tote} \quad \text{(Lexical `say`)\,} \]

\[a. \quad \text{to iute} \quad \Downarrow \]

- lexical `say`
- vocative
- QT
- EVID
- **concessive EVID**
- Pragmatic (echoing, CE)
- Topic marker

\[b. \quad \text{to i fute} \quad \Downarrow \]

- lexical `say`
- vocative
- QT
- EVID
- concessive EVID
- **Pragmatic (disagreement marker)**
- Topic marker
Our findings suggest multiple pathways for the origin of *tte*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{to V-te} & \quad \text{(Lexical `say`) } \\
(3) \quad \text{to V-te} & \rightarrow \text{tote} \\
& \rightarrow \text{tte}
\end{align*}
\]

- Lexical `say`
- Vocative
- QT
- EVID
- Concessive EVID
- Pragmatic (CE, joking, self-mockery, etc.)
- Topic marker
The origins of *tte*

- *To ihite*
  - *To iite*
  - *To itte*

- *To ifute*

- *To (V)-te*

- *tote*
  - *tte*
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References—contd.


