On the development of ‘say’ evidential markers in Japanese: a unified analysis of \textit{tte}, \textit{datte} and \textit{ndatte} construction

Foong Ha YAP and Mizuho TAMAJI

\textit{Hong Kong Polytechnic University}
Mandarin ‘say’ constructions

• 他 說 明 天 下 雨。
  ta shuo mingtian xiayu
  3SG say tomorrow rain
  ‘He said, ‘It will rain tomorrow.’

• Restricted use of complementizer shuo

• 有 人 說 明 天 下 雨。
  you ren shuo mingtian xiayu
  EXST people say tomorrow rain
  ‘Someone said it will rain tomorrow.’

• 聽 說 明 天 下 雨。
  tingshuo mingtian xiayu
  hearsay tomorrow rain
  ‘It is said that it will rain tomorrow.’

• 明 天 下 雨 的 說。
  mingtian xiayu deshuo
  tomorrow rain hearsay
  ‘It is said that it will rain tomorrow.’
Cantonese ‘say’ constructions

Keoi waa tingjat wui lok yu.
‘He said it will rain tomorrow.’

Keoi gong waa tingjat wui lok yu.
‘He said that it will rain tomorrow.’

Jau jan waa tingjat wui lok yu.
‘Someone / Some people said it will rain tomorrow.’

Tenggong tingjat wui lok yu.
‘I heard it said it will rain tomorrow.’

?Tengwaa tingjat wui lok yu.

Tingjat wui lok yu, waa.
‘It will rain tomorrow, (they) say.’

Tingjat wui lok yu wo.
‘It will rain tomorrow, they say, (so do X).’
‘It will rain tomorrow, I’m telling you, (so do X).’
Korean ‘say’ constructions
Japanese ‘say’ constructions

• *ashita ame ga huru to itteiru*
  tomorrow rain NOM fall QT say.PROG
  ‘(He) said, “It will rain tomorrow.”’

• *ashita ame ga huru tte*
  tomorrow rain NOM fall QT
  ‘(He) said, “It will rain tomorrow.”’

• *ashita ame ga huru tte*
  tomorrow rain NOM fall EVID
  ‘It is said it will rain tomorrow.’

• *ashita ame ga huru tte*
  tomorrow rain NOM fall CE
  ‘(Did you say) it will rain tomorrow?!’
Outline

• Objectives
• Functions of *tte* ‘say’ constructions in Japanese
• Diachronic development of *tte* constructions
• Morphosyntactic and phonological changes
• Some parallels with Korean ‘say’ evidentials
• Further development of *tte* constructions
  – *ndatte* constructions
  – *datte* constructions
• Summary
• Further issues
Objectives

• To examine the development of *tte, datte* and *ndatte* as evidential markers

• To more closely examine the phonological reduction processes in the grammaticalization of *tte*, in particular the ellipsis of the ‘say’ verb, with implications the semantic extensions that give rise to the pragmatic uses of *tte*.

• To provide crosslinguistic evidence from Korean in support of the significant role of ‘say’ ellipsis as a mechanism for semantic extension in the rise of hearsay evidentials and their extended pragmatic uses.
Functions of -tte

• Quotative
• Evidential (hearsay)
• Counterexpectation
• Insistence (Suzuki 1998)
• Joking (Suzuki 1998)
• Self-mockery (Suzuki 2001)
Examples of functions of –tte

1830’s

Quotative

(1) “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: *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: *Asatte wa zehi dekiagarimasu tte….*

the.day.after.tomorrow TOP definitely ready EVID

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

(3) Denkichi: Watashi no nyooobo no nanzo ni naru onna ga,
I 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: Nani o itte oide da yo, omae wa.
What ACC say CONT COP COM.PTCL you NOM
Nyooboo 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!”)

(Hemiden1895, cited in Suzuki 2007: 217)
Counterexpectation -tte

In conversations, the addressee sometimes summarize or paraphrase the previous speaker’s utterance by quoting him/her.

Suzuki (2007) notes that such “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 prior expectation.
Insistence

(5) A:  
\[ Koko \ ni \ nai \ no \ nara, \]
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:  
\[ Iya \ sonna \ koto \ nai \ tte. \]
No such NMLZ NEG tte

“No, such a thing is not true (I insist) tte.”

(Suzuki 2007: 211)
Joking

(6) M:  
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:  
Datte Masako, San Furanshisuko ni hairu to,
Well Masako, Sun Furansisco 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).
(7) A: *Kubininatta 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: *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 nonserious 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.
How did –tte evolve?

- Stage 1: Lexical verb use of *ihi* ‘say’

  [Quote] + Quotative + ‘say’

  [Quote] + *to + ifu* (> *iu*)

  [Quote] + *to + ihi-keru / ihi-keri* (> *itta*)
How did -tte evolve?

(8)  *Na wo ba Sakaki no Miyatsuko to nan ihikeru*

name ACC EMPH Sakaki GEN Miyatsuko QT EMPH say-PST

‘(He) said “Sakaki of Miyatsuko is his name.”’

*(Taketori monogatari, 9th century)*

(9a)  *Tanaka-san ga kuru to itte.i ru*

Tanaka-san NOM come QT say.PROG

‘Somebody said Mr Tanaka would come.’

(9b)  *Tanaka-san ga kuru tte.*

Tanaka-san NOM come QT

‘Somebody said Mr Tanaka would come.’
Process of grammaticalization of the utterance-final particle construction

Less subjective

More subjective

quotative -tte

hearsay evidential -tte

counterexpectation -tte

pragmatic -tte

1830s

1880s

1880s

1940s
Phonological reduction:  
**to itteiru > tte**

- What phonological reduction processes were involved?

- Elision of tense/aspect marker
  - Loss of verbal properties *to itteiru > to itte*

- Ellipsis of ‘say’ morpheme
  - Quotative *to itte* is often followed by new ‘say’ verbs.
  - Overt and explicit expression of ‘say’ in the quotative is now not necessary.
  - This triggers phonological reduction.

- Syllable fusion & segment erosion
  - *to itte > tte*
Crosslinguistic evidence of ‘say’ ellipsis from Korean evidentials

• Korean also show ‘say’ ellipsis and phonological reduction in the development of evidentials tamye, tamyense, tanun and tanta.

• QT.COMP + ‘say’-CONN > new complementizer > EVID > CE

  – tako ha-myae > tamye
  – tako ha-myense > tamyense
  – tako ha-nun > tanun
  – tako ha-n-ta > tanta
• Korean also show ‘say’ ellipsis and phonological reduction in the development of evidentials *tamyê, tamyense, tanun* and *tanta*.

• QT.COMP + ‘say’-CONN > new complementizer > EVID > CE

  – *tako ha-myê* > *tamyê*
  – *tako ha-myense* > *tamyense*
  – *tako ha-nun* > *tanun*
  – *tako ha-n-ta* > *tanta*
Grammaticalization of evidential marker *tako*

- **Lexical verb + CONN**
  - *ha-ko* ('say-and')

- **Quotative**
  - V-*ta ha-ko~kha~ko*
  - V-DEC QT

- **Quotative (Complementizer)**
  - V-*tako*

- **Hearsay evidential marker**
  - V-*tako*

- **Counterexpectation (CE) marker**
  - V-*tako*

- **15th century** *hako*
- **17th century** *ko*
- **18th century** *tako*
- **Early 20th century** *tako*
- **Late 20th century** *tako*
Grammaticalization of evidential marker *tamye*

- **Lexical verb + CONN**
  - *ha-mye*
  - ‘do/say-and.when’
  - **15th century -mye**

- **Quotative**
  - V-*tako ha-mye*
  - V-COMP say-CONN

- **Quotative (Complementizer)**
  - V-*tamye*
  - **18th century tamye**

- **Hearsay evidential marker**
  - V-*tamye*
  - **Late 20th century tamye**

- **Counterexpectation (CE) marker**
  - V-*tamye*
  - **Late 20th century tamye**
Grammaticalization of evidential marker *tamyense*

- **Lexical verb + CONN**
  - ha-*myense*
  - ‘do/say-and.when’
  - *18th century -myense*

- **Quotative**
  - V-*tako ha-*myense*
  - V-COMP say-CONN
  - *Late 19th century tako ha-*myense*

- **Evidential (Complementizer)**
  - V-*tamyense*
  - *Late 19th century tamyense*

- **Hearsay evidential marker**
  - V-*tamyense*
  - *Late 20th century tamyense*

- **Counterexpectation (CE) marker**
  - V-*tamyense*
  - *Late 20th century tamyense*
Tanun


- Ahn & Yap (in preparation)
Grammaticalization of evidential marker *tanta*

Lexical verb + TENSE + SFP

*ha-n-ta*

‘do/say-PRES-DEC’

Quotative (Complementizer)

*V-tako ha-n-ta*

V-COMP say-PRES-DEC

18th century *tako ha-hanta*

19th century *tanta*

Hearsay evidential marker

*V-tanta*

*Counterexpectation (CE) marker

*V-tanta*

Not attested
Examples for the grammaticalization of evidential marker *tamyense*

- **Lexical verb + CONN**
  - *ha-myense*  
  - ‘do/say-and.when’
  - *18th century -myense*

- **Quotative**
  - *V-tako ha-myense*
  - V-COMP say-CONN
  - *Late 19th century tako ha-myens*
  - *Late 19th century tamyens*
  - *e*

- **Evidential (Complementizer)**
  - *V-tamyense*
  - *Late 19th century tamyens*
  - *e*

- **Hearsay evidential marker**
  - *V-tamyense*
  - *Late 20th century tamyense*

- **Counterexpectation (CE) marker**
  - *V-tamyense*
  - *Late 20th century tamyense*
Connective *myense*

(16) syeysyok-i       hwangnyen-kwa       kamcho
brother-in-law-NOM   oriental.medicine-and   oriental.medicine
talhi-n    mul-lo    ahAy    kAsna-*myensye*
boil-ADN   water-with   child   give.birth.to-*when*
cyekcyek   mek-y-e    pAysok-uy
much       give-let-SEQ   stomach-GEN
teleon    kes    mek-un    stongul    nu-i-nAni
dirtry   NOMZ   eat-ADN   dung-ACC   defecate let-SFP

‘When I gave birth to a child, my brother-in-law let me drink a lot of water boiled with oriental medicine, and this helped cleanse my stomach (lit. ‘let me defecate dung’).’

*(Dwuchangkyeng 1711)*
Quotative complementizer *tako hA-myensye*

(\(\text{VP-EVID.COMP} < \text{VP-COMP} \text{ say-CONN}\))

(17)  
\[\text{[alasya kongkwan-ey chyulniphA-n]-tako hA-myensye} \]
\[\text{[Russia embassy-at come.and.go-PRES]-COMP say-CONN} \]
\[\text{liyengsil kangcAyung-ulpoko hA-nAn mal-i} \]

Lee Youngsil Kang Jaeung-DAT say-ADN word-NOM

‘While claiming that he regularly goes to the Russian Embassy, what he said to Lee Youngsil and Kang Jaeung is that …’

(*Toklipsinmwun 獨立新聞* 523, 1896)
Quotative complementizer *tamyensye*

(VP-EVID.COMP)

(18) [inmin-.ul pohohA-yacw-n]-*tamyensye*

[people-ACC protect-BEN-PRES]-EVID.COMP

*ile-n kes-ul pAlkhy-ecwu-cian-nAn kes-un*

*like.this-ADN thing-ACC clarify-BEN-NEG-ADN thing-TOP*

‘While claiming that they (as civil servants) are protecting the people, that they do not clarify this kind of matter (i.e. taxes imposed on Koreans by Chinese) is (neglecting their job)’

*(Toklipsinmwun 獨立新聞 1858, 1896)*

---

*Occurs in the same text as -tako ha-amyense and with similar meaning*
Hearsay evidential *tamyense*

(19) *mac-a-yo. mal-i kulekhey manh-*tamyense*-yo?*
    correct-IE-POL word-NOM so much-HEARSAY-POL

‘(That’s) correct. (They) talk (about others) so much like that, I hear, isn’t it true?’

(Kim 2011:451)
Counterexpectation *tamyense*

(20)  
A: *yenghwa-po-le ka*  
movie-see-CONV go  
‘I'm going to the movies.’

B: *mwe? [ne aphu]-tamyense*  
what? *[2SG be.sick]-CE*  
‘What? *Didn't you say you are sick?’

Challenges the addressee's prior utterance -- tends to express more negative affect than *tamye*.
Grammaticalization of *tamyense*

Figure 4. The grammaticalization of *tamyense* in Middle and Modern Korean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Korean</th>
<th>Middle Korean</th>
<th>Modern Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical source</td>
<td>Connective –<em>myense</em> (18th c.)</td>
<td>Quotative complementizer <em>tako-ha-myense</em> (late 19th c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quotative complementizer <em>tamyense</em> (late 19th c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearsay evidential</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hearsay evidential <em>tamyense</em> (late 20th c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Counterexpectation <em>tamyense</em> (late 20th c.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Disaffiliative move:**

Appears to elicit disalignment but often is an attempt to reintroduce alignment

SAY-CONN > QT > EVID > CE
Phonological reduction

- **Japanese**
  - to itteiru tte

- **Korean**
  - tako ha-nun tanun

- **Cantonese**
  - waa6 + o3 wo3

- **Loss of verbal properties**
- **Segment erosion -- YES**
- **Syllable fusion -- YES**

Was there always ‘say’ ellipsis?

Or was there often a trace of the ‘say’ morpheme, e.g. expressed in Korean through /h/ as in hako > kho > ko?
Evidential markers derived from (quoted) -tte

-ndatte: more “subjective” hearsay particle

(16) K:  
\[ Mae \quad ne, \quad raamen \quad wo, \quad otomodachi \quad ga, \]
\[ a.while.ago \quad PTL, \quad noodle \quad ACC \quad friends \quad NOM \]
\[ sannin \quad de \quad tabe \quad ni \quad itta \quad ndatte. \]
\[ three.persons \quad with \quad eat \quad to \quad go.PST \quad ndatte \]
\[ “Three of my friends went to have noodles (I hear) \]
a while ago.”

(Suzuki, 2007:227)
-ndatte

-ndatte : derived from no-da-tte

nominalizer (no) + copular (da) + -tte

Phonological reduction : Segment erosion
noda

Expression used when the addressee does not know or has no access to the information

Expressing the speaker’s own feeling or his private affairs: a marker of the speaker’s perspective.
Intersubjective use of -ndatte

(17)  
Kiitawa.  Sawako  kara.
hear.PST  NAME  from.
mukashi  tsukiatteta  ndatte  ne.
long.ago  date:CONT:STAT  ndatte  PTCL

“I heard about it. Sawako (told me).
(I hear that you guys ) were dating before, right?


Reflect the speaker-addressee relationship
Another evidential markers derived from (quoted) -tte

-datte : Quoted + copular (da) + tte

(18) Teire ga owatte kaeroo-to-shitara,
Treatment SB finishing when-about-to-go-home,
“Zenbu de nijuuman-en ni narimasu” da-tte!
“All with two-hundred-thousand-yen AV become ” CP-QP
“When I was about to go home after the treatment, I was very surprised to hear (the esthetician said), ‘The total cost is two hundred thousand yen.’”

(Suzuki, 1999: 44)
Process of grammaticalization of -ndatte and -datte

Less subjective

Quotative -tte

Quotative & Confirmation-seeking -ndatte

More subjective

Counterexpectation -datte

1830s

1930s

1940s
Grammaticalization of -ndatte and -datte
(Suzuki 2007)

- Quotative -tte
  - Hearsay evidential -tte
  - Counterexpectation -tte
- Hearsay evidential ndatte & Confirmation-seeking ndatte
- ?Hearsay evidential -datte
- Counterexpectation -datte

Timeline:
- 1830s
- 1880s
- 1930s
- 1940s
Phonological reduction of Japanese hearsay evidential *ndatte*

- ASSERTIVE SFP *noda* + hearsay *tte*
  > Subjective hearsay *ndatte* & confirmation-seeking *ndatte*

  - *noda tte* > *nda tte* > *ndatte*

---

**segment erosion**  
**syllable fusion**
Phonological reduction of Japanese hearsay evidential *datte*

- COP *da* + hearsay *tte*  $\rightarrow$ Counterexpectation *datte*

  $\rightarrow$ [CP-EVID][Nominal $+$ da] *tte*

  $\rightarrow$ [CP-EVID][Nominal adjective $+$ da] *tte*

  $\rightarrow$ [CP-CE][Nominal adjective] *datte*
Phonological reduction of Japanese hearsay evidential *datte*

- COP *da* + hearsay *tte*  > Counterexpectation *datte*
  - [CP-EVID][Verbal + *noda*] *tte* ]
  - [CP-EVID][Verbal Adjective + *i* + *noda*] *tte* ]
    > [CP-EVID][Quote] *ndatte*]
  - [CP-EVID][Nominal adjective + *da*] *tte* ]
  - [CP-EVID][Nominal + *da*] *tte* ]
    > [CP-EVIDp][Quote] *datte*]
Morphosyntactic reanalysis of *datte* and *ndatte*

- COP *da + hearsay tte*  >  Counterexpectation *datte*

  \[
  \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Verbal} + \text{node}] \text{tte }] \quad \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Verbal Adjective} + \text{i} + \text{node}] \text{tte }] \quad \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Nominal adjective} + \text{da}] \text{tte }] \quad \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Nominal} + \text{da}] \text{tte }] \quad \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Nominal adjective} + \text{da}] \text{tte }] \quad \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Nominal} + \text{da}] \text{tte }] \\
  \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Counterexpectation}] \text{ndatte}] \quad \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Quote}] \text{ndatte}] \quad \text{[CP-CE/CS}[\text{EVID}[\text{Quote}]] \text{ndatte}] \quad \text{[CP-EVID}[\text{Quote}] \text{datte}] \quad \text{[CP-CE [EVID[Quote]]] datte} \]

47
SUMMARY

• Previous literature (e.g. Suzuki 2007) has shown that quotative tte was attested at least from the early 1830s, and in the 1880s it further developed into evidential tte, and later into counterexpectation marker tte as well.
• Evidential ndatte and datte were derived from evidential tte.
• Given the (inter)subjective nature of noda~nda, ndatte further developed confirmation-seeking function.
• Datte, on the other hand, only further developed into a counterexpectation marker.
• The extended (inter)subjective functions of ndatte and datte were attested from the early 1900s.
SUMMARY

• The present study identifies that the following changes played a crucial role in the grammaticalization of tte, ndatte and datte:
  – ‘say’ ellipsis
  – phonological reduction (segment erosion & syllable fusion)

• Similar processes were also observed in Korean.
We have also seen parallel scope expansions for both \textit{ndatte} and \textit{datte}:

\[ [\text{CP-EVID}_{\text{QT}}[\text{Quote}]] \textit{ndatte} ] \succ [\text{CP-CE/CS}_{\text{EVID}} [\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]]] \textit{ndatte} ] \]

\[ [\text{CP-EVID}_{\text{QT}}[\text{Quote}]] \textit{datte} ] \succ [\text{CP-CE}_{\text{EVID}} [\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]]] \textit{datte} ] \]
SUMMARY

• We have further provided a unified analysis for the emergence of *ndatte* and *datte* from *tte*, namely that there is a nominal and verbal distinction in the quoted predicate preceding the two evidentials.

  – Nominals and nominal adjectivals + *da + tte > XP* *datte*
  – Verbals and verbal adjectivals + *noda + tte > XP* *ndatte*
Morphosyntactic reanalysis of *datte* and *ndatte*

- **COP da + hearsay tte > Counterexpectation datte**

  $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{Verbal} + \text{noda}] \text{tte}]$
  $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{Verbal Adjective} + \text{i} + \text{noda}] \text{tte}]$
  
  $>$ $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]] \text{ndatte}]$
  $>$ $[\text{CP-CE/CS}[\text{EVID}[\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]]] \text{ndatte}]$

  $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{Nominal adjective} + \text{da}] \text{tte}]$
  $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{Nominal} + \text{da}] \text{tte}]$
  
  $>$ $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]] \text{datte}]$
  $>$ $[\text{CP-CE}[\text{EVID}[\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]]] \text{datte}]$
Acknowledgments

• This research is supported by a grant from the Research Grants Council of Hong Kong (GRF PolyU 5513/10H) for the project entitled “Stance Marking in Asian Languages: Linguistic and Cultural Perspectives”.

• We thank Mikyung Ahn and Seongha Rhee for extensive discussion on Korean evidentials. We also thank Winnie Chor, Tak-Sum Wong and Stephen Matthews for valuable discussion on Cantonese evidentials.


