

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

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Mandarin ‘say’ constructions

- 他 **說** 明天下雨。 ‘He **said**, ‘It will rain tomorrow.’
ta shuo mingtian xiayu
3SG say tomorrow rain
- Restricted use of complementizer *shuo*
- 有人 **說** 明天下雨。 ‘**Someone said** it will rain tomorrow.’
you ren shuo mingtian xiayu
EXST people say tomorrow rain
- 聽 **說** 明天下雨。 ‘**It is said that** it will rain tomorrow.’
tingshuo mingtian xiayu
hearsay tomorrow rain
- 明天下雨的 **說**。 ‘**It is said that** it will rain tomorrow.’
mingtian xiayu deshuo
tomorrow rain hearsay

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

1880's

(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).’

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

Counterexpectation

1880's

(3) *Denkichi*: *Watashi no nyooboo 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!)”

(*Hemiden*1895, 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 on the part of the speaker, i.e. there has been a violation of his prior expectation.

Insistence

1940's

- (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)

After 1940's

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).

Self-mockery

After 1940's

(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?

Old Japanese

- 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?

Old Japanese

- (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.iru*
Tanaka-san NOM come QT say.PROG
'Somebody said Mr Tanaka would come.'

Modern Japanese

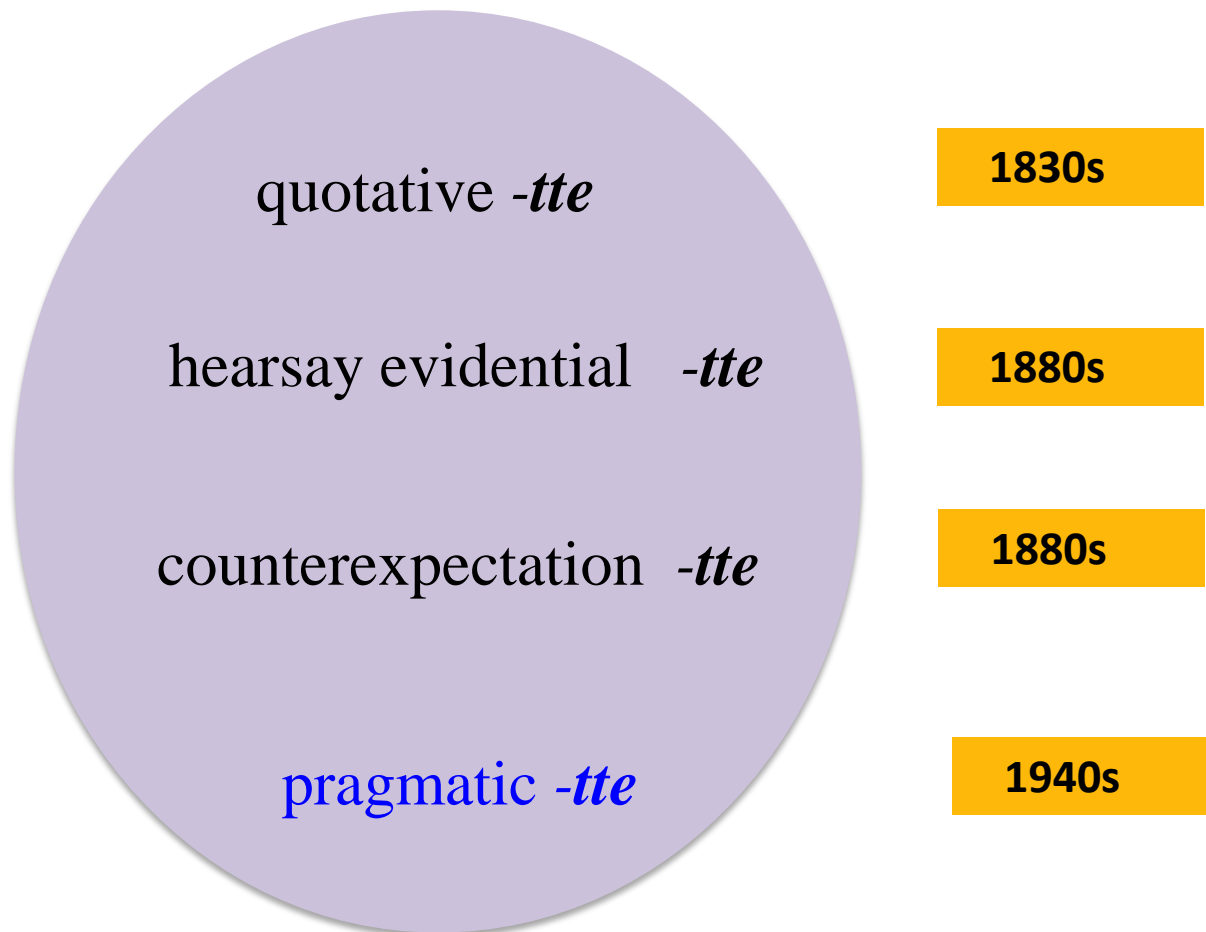
- (9b) *Tanaka-san ga kuru tte.*
Tanaka-san NOM come QT
'Somebody said Mr Tanaka would come.'

Process of grammaticalization of the utterance-final particle construction

Less subjective



More subjective



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

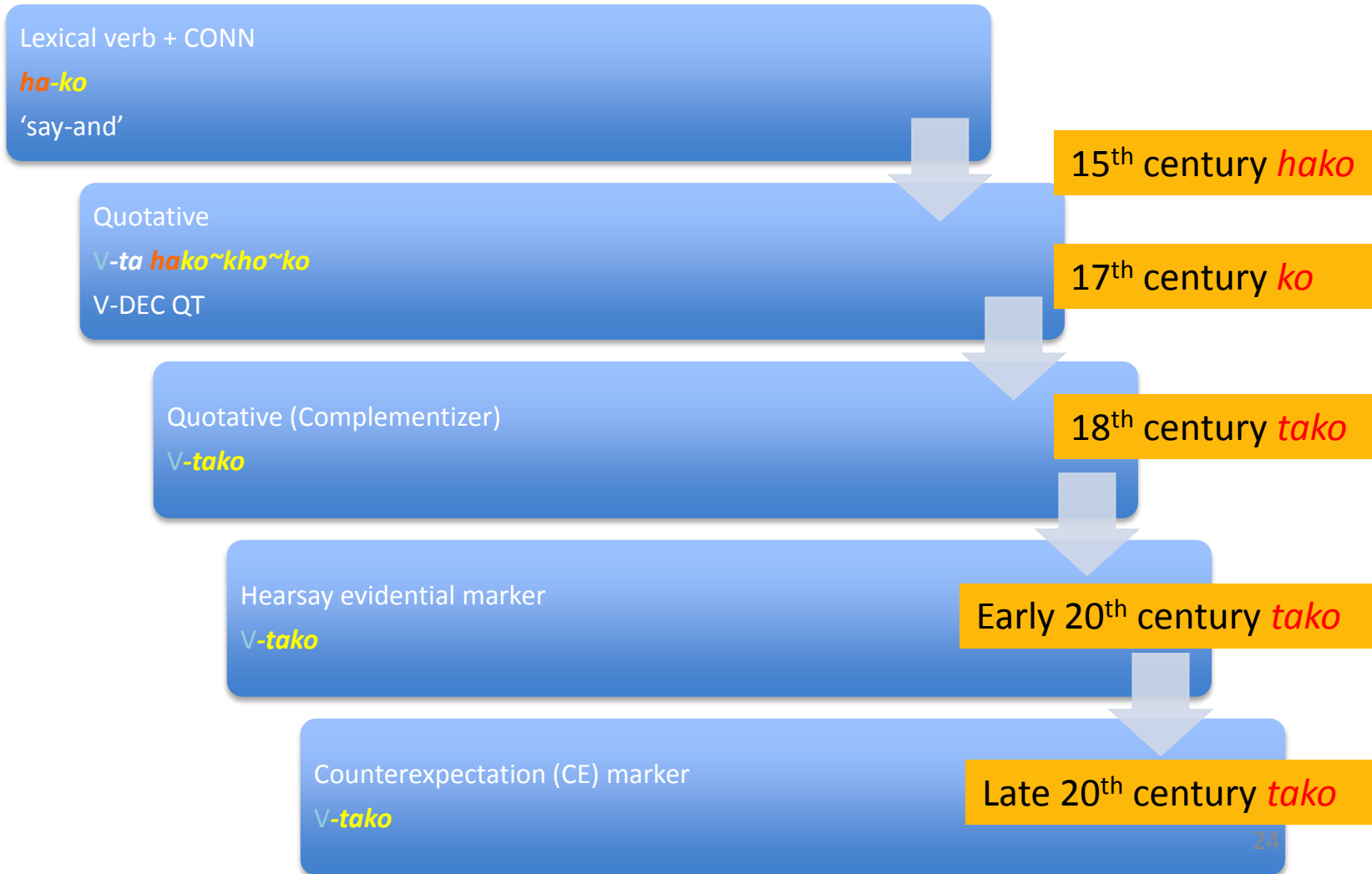
- Korean also show ‘say’ ellipsis and phonological reduction in the development of evidentials *tamye*, *tamyense*, *tanun* and *tanta*.
- QT.COMP + ‘say’-CONN > new complementizer > EVID > CE
 - *tako ha-mye* > *tamye*
 - *tako ha-myense* > *tamyense*
 - *tako ha-nun* > *tanun*
 - *tako ha-n-ta* > *tanta*

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 - tako *ha*-mye > *tamye*
 - tako *ha*-myense > *tamyense*
 - tako *ha*-nun > *tanun*
 - tako *ha*-n-ta > *tanta*

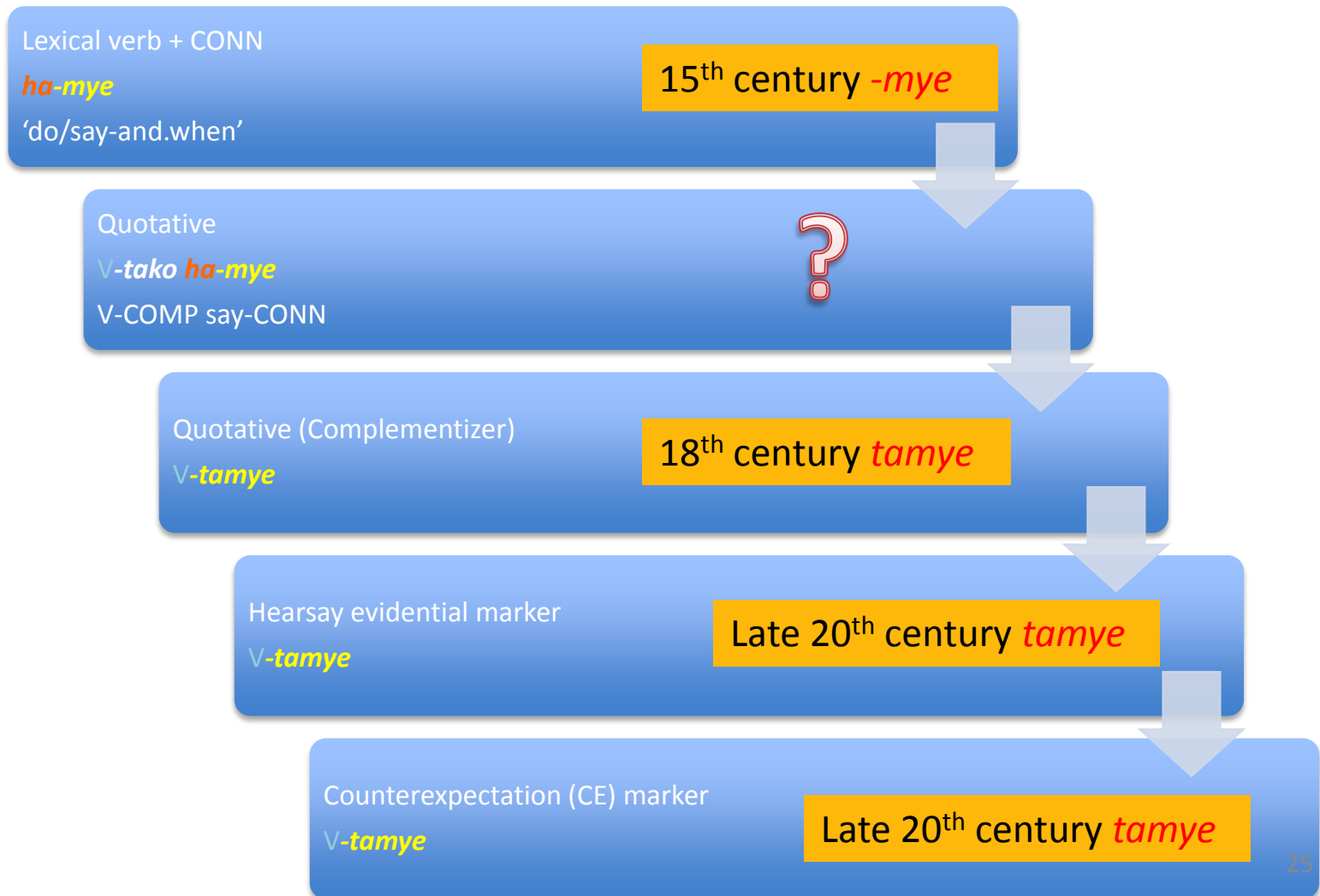
ha ellipsis

segment erosion
syllable fusion

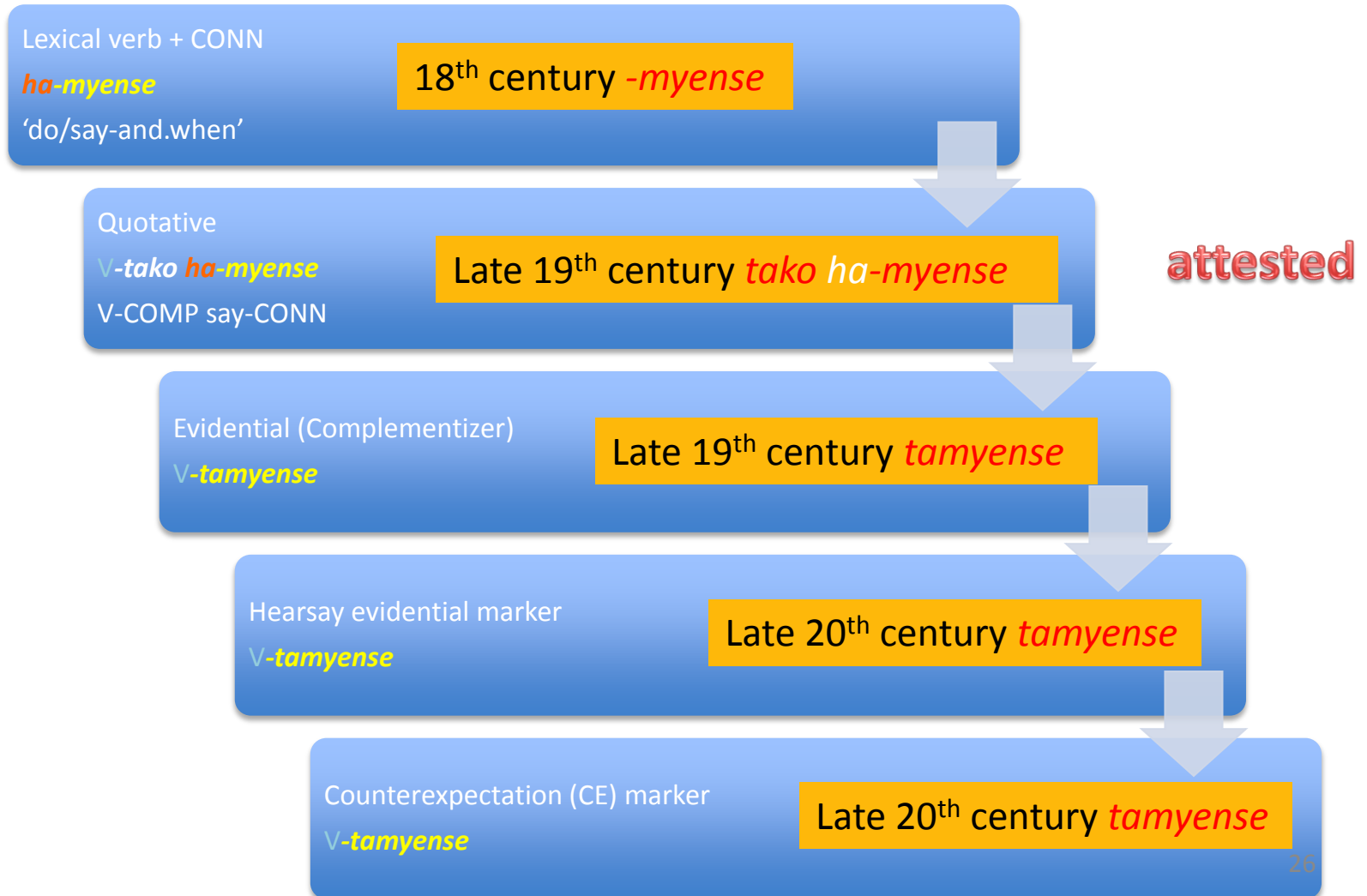
Grammaticalization of evidential marker *tako*



Grammaticalization of evidential marker *tamye*



Grammaticalization of evidential marker *tamyense*



Tanun

- See Horie (2012) – Invited paper for the Workshop on Stance and Discourse, May 5-7, 2012, PolyU
- 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*

Hearsay evidential marker

V-*tanta*

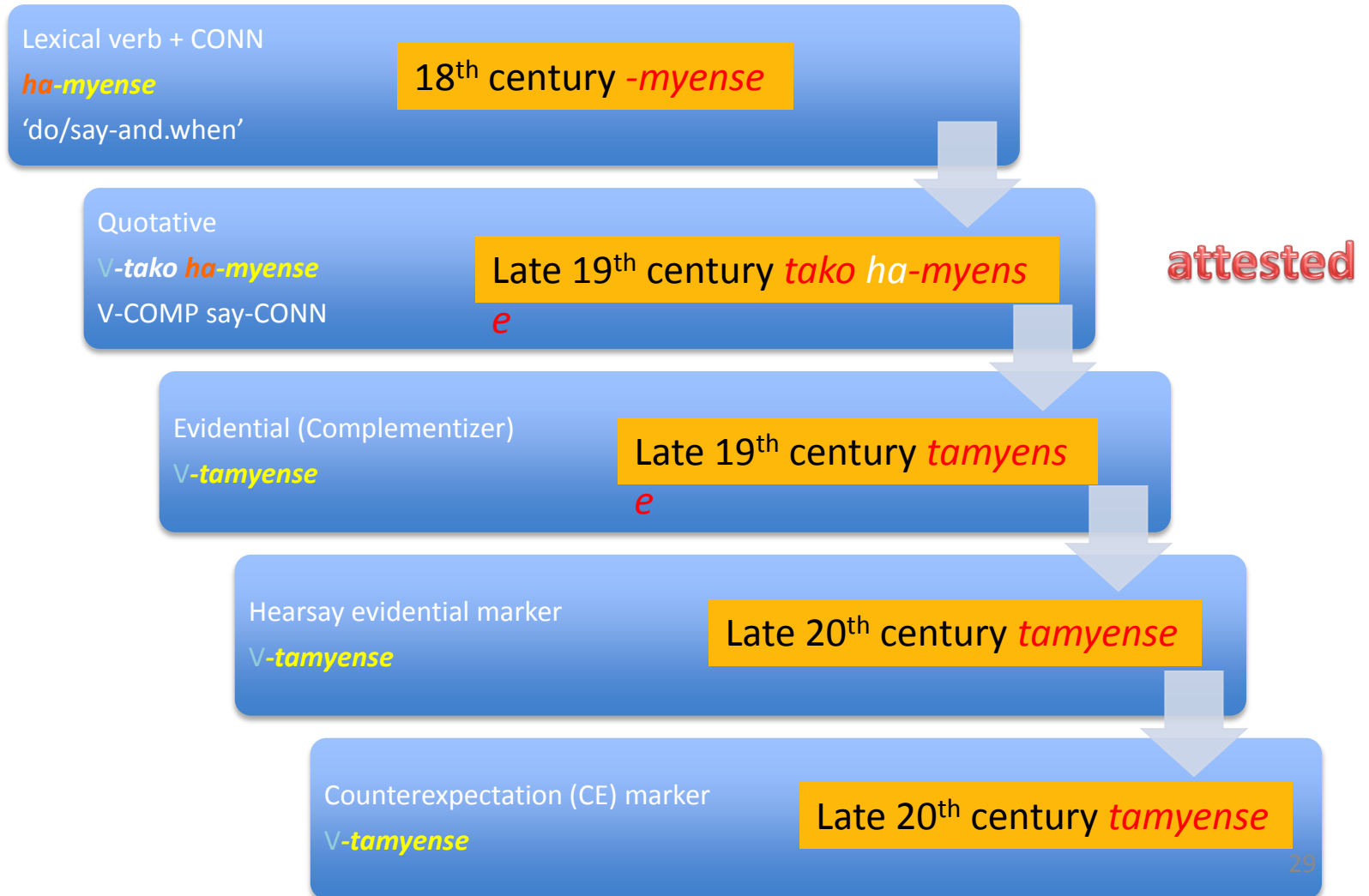
19th century *tanta*

*Counterexpectation (CE) marker

*V-*tanta*

Not attested

Examples for the grammaticalization of evidential marker *tamyense*



Connective *myense*

- (16) *syeyisyok-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*
dirty 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*

(VP-EVID.COMP < VP-COMP say-CONN)

- (17) [*alasya kongkwan-ey chyulniphA-n*]-*tako* *hA-myensye*
[Russia embassy-at come.and.go-PRES]-**COMP** **say-CONN**
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)

Late 19th century *-tako ha-myense*

Quotative complementizer *tamyensye*

(VP-EVID.COMP)

- (18) [inmin-ul pohohA-yacw-n]-*tamyense*
[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 hamyense*
and with similar meaning

Late 19th century *-tako ha-myense*

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?

Evidential
-- more forceful
than *tamye*

Acknowledges the
addressee’s
epistemic right

(Kim 2011:451)

Late 20th century *-tamyense*

Counterexpectation *tamyense*

Late 20th century *-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?**'

Evidential
-- more forceful
than *tamye*

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

<u>Old Korean</u>	<u>Middle Korean</u>	<u>Modern Korean</u>
Lexical source unknown	Connective <i>-myense</i> (18 th c.)	
		Quotative complementizer <i>tako-ha-myense</i> (late 19 th c.)
		Quotative complementizer <i>tamyense</i> ((late 19 th c.)
		Hearsay evidential <i>tamyense</i> (late 20 th c.)
		Counterexpectation <i>tamyense</i> (late 20 th c.)

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

Loss of verbal properties

- Korean

- *tako ha-nun*
tanun

Was there always
'say' ellipsis?

- Cantonese

- *waa6 + o3*
wo3

Or was there often a trace
of the 'say' morpheme, e.g.
expressed in Korean through
h /h/ as in hako > kho > ko?

Integrity of constituent boundaries

Segment erosion -- YES

Syllable fusion -- YES

Evidential markers derived from (quoted) *-tte*

1930s

-ndatte: more “subjective” hearsay particle

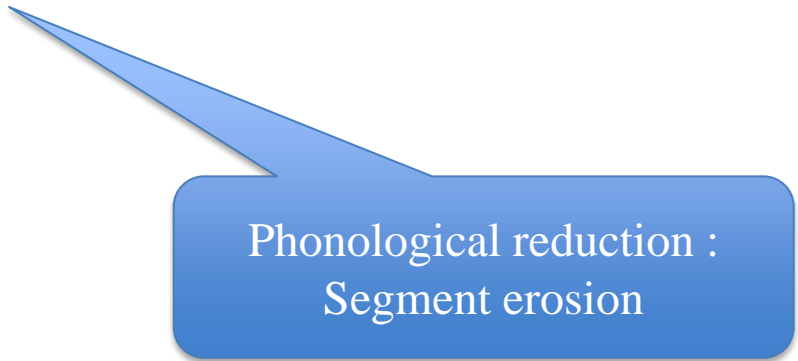
- (16) K: *Mae* *ne*, *raamen* *wo*, *otomodachi* *ga*,
a.while.ago PTL, noodle ACC friends NOM
sannin *de* *tabe* *ni* *itta* ***ndatte***.
three.persons with eat to go.PST ***ndatte***
“Three of my friends went to have noodles (I hear)
a while ago.”

(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*

Confirmation-seeking

- (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?”

(*Romantikku* 1986, cited in Suzuki (2007: 228))

Reflect the speaker-addressee relationship

Another evidential markers derived from

(quoted) *-tte*

Counterexpectation

-datte : Quoted + copular (*da*) + *tte*

After 1940

- (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)

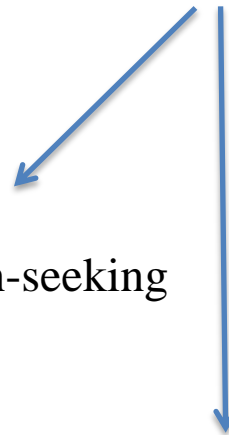
Process of grammaticalization of *-ndatte* and *-datte*

Less subjective



More subjective

Quotative *-tte*



Quotative &
Confirmation-seeking
-ndatte

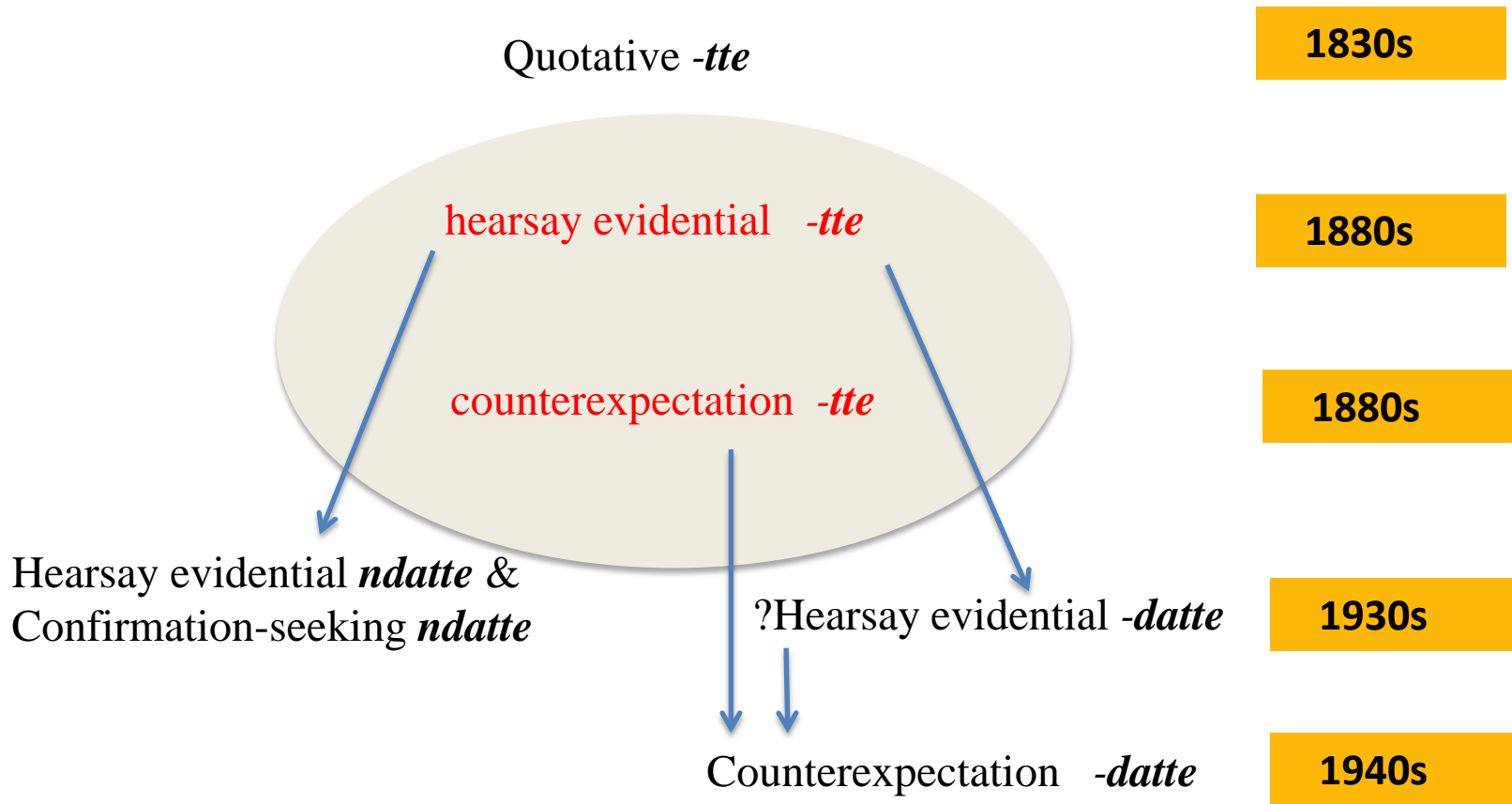
Counterexpectation *-datte*

1830s

1930s

1940s

Grammaticalization of *-ndatte* and *-datte* (Suzuki 2007)



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* > Counterexpectation *datte*
 - [_{CP-EVID}[Nominal + *da*] *tte*]
 - [_{CP-EVID}[Nominal adjective + *da*] *tte*]
 - > [_{CP-CE}[Nominal adjective] *datte*]

syllable fusion

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*]

syllable fusion

Morphosyntactic reanalysis of *datte* and *ndatte*

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

[_{CP-EVID}[Verbal + *noda*] *tte*]

[_{CP-EVID}[Verbal Adjective + *i* + *noda*] *tte*]

> [_{CP-EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]] *ndatte*]

> [_{CP-CE/CS}[_{EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]]] *ndatte*]

[_{CP-EVID}[Nominal adjective + *da*] *tte*]

[_{CP-EVID}[Nominal + *da*] *tte*]

> [_{CP-EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]] *datte*]

> [_{CP-CE}[_{EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]]] *datte*]

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.

SUMMARY

- We have also seen parallel scope expansions for both *ndatte* and *datte*:
 - $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]] \textit{ndatte}] > [\text{CP-CE/CS}[\text{EVID} [\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]]] \textit{ndatte}]$
 - $[\text{CP-EVID}[\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]] \textit{datte}] > [\text{CP-CE}[\text{EVID} [\text{QT}[\text{Quote}]]] \textit{datte}]$

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.

Confirmation-seeking

– Nominals and nominal adjectivals + *da* + *tte* > XP

datte

– Verbals and verbal adjectivals + *noda* + *tte* > XP

ndatte

(Inter)subjective

Morphosyntactic reanalysis of *datte* and *ndatte*

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

[_{CP-EVID}[Verbal + *noda*] *tte*]

[_{CP-EVID}[Verbal Adjective + *i* + *noda*] *tte*]

> [_{CP-EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]] *ndatte*]

> [_{CP-CE/CS}[_{EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]]] *ndatte*]

[_{CP-EVID}[Nominal adjective + *da*] *tte*]

[_{CP-EVID}[Nominal + *da*] *tte*]

> [_{CP-EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]] *datte*]

> [_{CP-CE}[_{EVID}[_{QT}[Quote]]] *datte*]

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