

# Development of ‘say’-derived constructions

## The case of *tote* and *totemo*

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*Totemo* in contemporary Japanese is a degree adverb (intensifier). Previous studies have reported that *totemo* derived from the adverb *totemo kakutemo*, which means ‘either way’ (and hence is a bipolar item) in classical Japanese. These studies also reported that *totemo* became a negative polarity item (an adverb modifying words for negative evaluation), but then shifted to a positive polarity item (an adverb modifying words for positive evaluation), and that counter-expectation factors played an important role in this shift. It is reported that the ‘say’-derived complementizer develops into a hearsay evidential marker, counter-expectation marker, and in some cases an intensifier (e.g. Wang et al. 2003) in some languages. *Tote* in classical Japanese is known as a ‘say’-derived complementizer, but it does not grammaticalize into an intensifier. This study maintains that the intensifier *totemo* also derived from the verb ‘say’ and the entire process of grammaticalization of *totemo* may be chronologized as follows: concessive use of quotative > concessive use of hearsay evidential > counter-expectation marker > intensifier. Thus, this study reveals the language-specific development of grammaticalization of the intensifier *totemo*. We also reveal that a reanalysis of the concessive subordinator and the elision of the complement clause preceding *totemo* as a sentence initial counter-expectation marker further gave rise to the sentence-medial parenthetical phrase (intensifier) *totemo*.

**Keywords:** *totemo*, grammaticalization, ‘say’-derived constructions, hearsay evidential, counter-expectation marker, intensifier, concessive, the elision of complement clause

### 1. Introduction

*Totemo* in contemporary Japanese is a degree adverb (intensifier). It is normally regarded as a degree adverb that intensifies words for positive evaluation, such

as shown below with *kawaii* ‘cute’ in example (1).<sup>1</sup> However, it was originally a degree adverb that intensified words for negative evaluation, such as with *taberarenai* ‘cannot finish eating’ in example (2).

- (1) あの犬はとてもかわいい。

*Ano inu wa totemo kawaii.*

that dog TOP very cute

That dog is very cute.

- (2) こんな大きいスイカはとてもひとりで食べられない。

*Konna ookii suika, wa totemo hitoride taberarenai.*

Such big water.melon TOP very by.oneself eat.POT.NEG

I cannot finish eating such a big watermelon by myself.

Because *totemo* currently intensifies the degree of both positive and negative evaluations, previous studies have concluded that the lexical source of *totemo* is the older formulaic expression *totemo kakutemo* ‘either way,’ which consists of the medial deictic *to* plus connective *temo* ‘and’ and proximal *ka(ku)* plus *temo*, together meaning ‘that way or this way,’ i.e. ‘either way’ (Harima 1993; Shinzato 2014). Shinzato (2014) also reported that counter-expectation factors played an important role in the shift of *totemo* from negative to positive evaluation. However, this study posits a rather different hypothesis that the lexical origin of the intensifier *totemo* is a ‘say’ construction.

The grammaticalization of various words related to the ‘say’ verb derived into quotative complementizers, hearsay evidential markers, counter-expectation markers, and intensifiers has been demonstrated in other languages (e.g. Wang et al. 2003). *Tote* in classical Japanese is a ‘say’-derived complementizer, but it did not grammaticalize into an intensifier. This study maintains that the intensifier *totemo*, as well as the ‘say’-derived complementizer *tote*, derived from the ‘say’ verb and reveals the language-specific development of grammaticalization of the intensifier *totemo*.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews previous studies on the development of *totemo* from *totemo kakutemo*. Section 3 reviews typological studies on the grammaticalization of ‘say’-derived complementizers.

1. The following abbreviations are used in this paper: ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb; ADMIR, admiring; ASSUMP, assumptive; ATTR, attributive; CAUS, causative; CE, counter-expectation; COD, conditional; COMP, complementizer; CONCESS, concessive; CONN, connective; CVB, converb; DAT, dative; EPST, epistemic; EVID, evidential; FOC, focus; GEN, genitive; HMB, humble; HON, honorific; INF, infinitive; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; PFT, perfect; PN, person’s name; POT, potential (modality expressing mental possibility); PTV, perfective; QT, quotative; SFP, sentence final particle; SG, singular; TOP, topic; VOL, volitional.

Section 4 explains the data and methodology employed in this study. Section 5 describes the process of diachronic development of *tote* and *totemo*. Section 6 analyzes the process of grammaticalization of *totemo* from a typological perspective.

## 2. Previous studies on the development of *totemo* from *totemo kakutemo*

Previous studies have reported that the degree adverb *totemo* derived from part of a formulaic expression, *to-temo kaku-temo* ‘either way,’ which consists of the medial deictic *to* plus the connective *temo* ‘and’ and the proximal *ka(ku)* plus *temo*, meaning ‘that way or this way,’ i.e. ‘either way.’ Hence, *to-temo kaku-temo* could end in either a positive or negative polarity and express the meaning of ‘either way, what follows is inevitable.’ The following example (3) illustrates one usage of this ‘either way’ *to-temo kaku-temo*.

- (3) わが身はとともかくても同じこと。

*Waga mi wa totemo-kakutemo onaji koto.*

1SG.GEN body TOP either.way same thing

‘To the extent myself is (concerned), either way, [it is the] same thing.’

(*Genji Monogatari*, p. 216, A.D. 1008)

*Totemo* was established as a single adverb when an elision of *kakutemo* occurred around the Kamakura period (late 12th to early 13th centuries) (Yoshii 1993: 1). With this, the *totemo* clause came to be used in conditional clauses (or clauses interpretable as such), as in (4).

- (4) とともたすかるまじき身、刹那のながらへもくるしく...

*Totemo tasukaru-majiki mi, setsunano nagarahe mo*

**no.matter.what** save-NEG.INF body momentary delay TOP

*kurushiku.....*

painful

‘My life (lit. my body) won’t be spared, no matter what. (If so,) momentary delay is even painful...’

(*Soga Monogatari*, 14th–15th c.; cited in Shinzato 2014)

*Totemo* developed a collocational affinity with negative potentials around the Edo period (17th century), and it became a categorical negative polarity item (NPI) around the Meiji period, as shown in (5) (Yoshii 1993: 5–7).

- (5) 一般の人間は**とても**相撲取りに勝つこと抗わず。

*Ippan no ningen wa totemo sumootori ni katsu koto*  
ordinary GEN people TOP no.matter.what sumo.wrestler DAT beat COMP  
*atagawazu.*

can.NEG

‘Ordinary people cannot possibly beat the sumo wrestlers.’

(*Jiyuu no Daidai*; cited in Shinzato 2014)

Subsequently, the positive polarity item (PPI) usage (*totemo* + positive adjective) appeared, and a polarity shift from NPI to PPI occurred around 1925. Example (6) is an early example.

- (6) ほんとうは**とても**いい鼓...

*Hontoo wa totemo ii tsuzumi...*

truth TOP very good drum

‘The truth is it’s a very good drum...’

(*Ayakashi no Tsuzumi* 1926; cited in Shinzato 2014)

For the polarity shift of *totemo* from NPI to PPI, previous studies have maintained that the counter-expectation factor had a role in the bridging of polarity contexts (e.g. Shinzato 2014). Here, the counter-expectation refers to the speaker’s point of view, which is in opposition to normative viewpoints held by the general public (Traugott & Dasher 2001: 157). These previous studies claimed that the counter-expectation reading was induced by potential verbs in negative forms (e.g. *omo-e-nai* ‘cannot possibly imagine’) combined with *hodo* ‘to the extent’ as in (7), as they present extreme cases for comparison. The degree of extremity goes beyond the expected norm, which induces the counter-expectation reading. At some point, the extremity phrase is elided, but the sense of extremity is transferred to *totemo*. The following shows this process of elision from the structures mentioned in Shinmura (1940) and Yoshii (1993).

- (7) Xは**とても** [この世のものとは思えない] ほど美しい。

*X wa totemo [kono yo no mono to wa omoenai] hodo*

TOP extremely this world GEN person as as TOP think.POT.NEG extent  
*utsukushi.*

beautiful

‘X is extremely beautiful [to the extent one can’t possibly think of (that quality) as that of a person on the earth].’

- a. If X is a person on earth (=A), her beauty is expected to be that of a person on earth (EXPECTATION)
- b. Counter to the expectation in (7), X’s beauty cannot possibly be thought of as something of A (COUNTER-EXPECTATION)

- c. X is *totemo* Y [to the extent one cannot possibly think of Y to be generally/expectedly attributable to A, thus Y is an extreme quality]
- d. X is *totemo* Y 'A is extremely Y'.

(7a) represents the expected norm (i.e. EXPECTATION), while (7b) deviates from/opposes the common expectation (i.e. COUNTER-EXPECTATION), which invites the negative potential “can’t possibly ~” reading to come into play. Thus, the sense of extremity emerges, as in (7c). In (7d), the bracketed part is elided, but the extremity meaning is transferred to *totemo*, thus making it a PPI.

Shinzato (2014) analyzed this process using the concept of structural reanalysis proposed by Traugott (2010).

- (7') X wa [*totemo kono yo no mono to wa omoenai hodo*] *utsukushii*.  
 → (reanalysis) X wa *totemo* [*kono yo no mono to wa omoenai hodo*]  
*utsukushii*  
 → (elision) → *totemo utsukushii*

Thus, the findings of previous studies can be summarized as follows: 1) *totemo* derived from the bipolar item *totemo kakutemo* ‘either way’; 2) the elision of *kakutemo* and collocational affinity with negative potentials made *totemo* a categorical NPI; and 3) a polarity shift from NPI to PPI was triggered by a counter-expectation factor. The process of the derivation of the degree adverb *totemo* from the formulaic expression *totemo kakutemo* is illustrated below in Figure 1.

- Stage 1: *totemo kakutemo* ‘either way’...positive/negative  
 Stage 2: *totemo* ‘either way’ or ‘no matter what’...negative (potential)  
 Stage 3: *totemo* ‘degree adverb’...positive adjective

Figure 1. Grammaticalization of *totemo* according to previous studies

Previous studies have maintained that the intensifier *totemo* derived from a bipolar formulaic expression *totemo kakutemo* via the elision of *kakutemo* and that counter-expectation function played an important role in a polarity shift from NPI to PPI. Both counter-expectation and an intensifier mark a speaker’s subjective evaluation, and therefore these are used in both negative and positive contexts. Hence, counter-expectation can give rise to both NPI and PPI. Nevertheless, previous studies did not explain why the counter-expectation function played an important role in the emergence of only PPI. Furthermore, previous studies did not explain why sentence-initial *totemo*, as seen in example (4), emerged. These studies treated such instances of sentence-initial *totemo* as a conditional clause, although they are syntactically different from conditional clauses usually located in the clause-final position in the subordinated clause.

Thus, the previous studies overlooked the process of grammaticalization of *totemo* in terms of both semantic and syntactic change. It is assumed that these studies did not analyze the process of grammaticalization of *totemo* based on the universality of the grammaticalization pathway.

According to the universality of the grammaticalization pathway, it is reported that 'say' verbs or 'say'-derived constructions developed into quotative complementizers, hearsay evidential markers, counter-expectation markers, and sometimes intensifiers (see Saxena 1988; Wang et al. 2003). As we have pointed out, the counter-expectation function can give rise to both NPI and PPI and therefore this study treats both NPI and PPI as intensifiers. This study proposes an alternative view of *totemo* as a 'say'-derived construction and an alternative grammaticalization pathway of *totemo* following such a universal grammaticalization pathway. The study also analyzes the process of syntactic change of *totemo* in accordance with its grammaticalization. Specifically, we shall clarify the process of how sentence-initial *totemo*, as shown in example (4), emerged.

### 3. Typological studies of the grammaticalization of the 'say' verb

Some forms of 'say' verbs are used as quotative complementizers, which have been shown to have various functions in the languages of the world (Saxena 1988). Some of these have also developed into hearsay evidential markers (e.g. Lord 1976; Jacobsen 1986; Aksu-Koc & Slobin 1986). Lord (1976) points out that when these 'say' verbs established themselves as complementizers, they underwent a 'bleaching' process whereby the sense of 'say' was lost and the verb became a grammatical morpheme marking the relations between clauses, such as seen in modern African and Asian languages. As a result, such 'say' -derived complementizers came to have a hearsay evidential function along with various pragmatic functions.

The primary function of hearsay evidentials is to identify the source of information. As such, they carry an undertone of "that's what they say; whether or not it's true is nothing I can take responsibility for" (Willett 1988: 52–53); therefore, they also serve extended functions such as marking epistemic modality. In the case of counter-expectations, in which the speaker's point of view is in opposition to normative viewpoints held by the general public, the marker carries the meaning of an 'unprepared mind' with respect to receiving the unexpected new information. Such a 'surprise' brought to the speaker by the obtained information is also derived from hearsay evidentiality.

Thus, the claim that such 'say'-derived complementizers developed into quotative, hearsay evidential, and counter-expectation markers has been attested across languages. In some languages, counter-expectation markers have further

developed into intensifiers, which are used to add the speaker's strong feeling to the utterance.

Wang et al. (2003) analyzed the process by which the Taiwanese Mandarin *shuo* 'say' developed into a quotative complementizer, hearsay evidential marker, counter-expectation marker, and intensifier. They also analyzed the process of syntactic change in sentences with *shuo* in accordance with grammaticalization. The following sentences (8) to (11) are examples of *shuo* being used as a quotative complementizer, hearsay evidential marker, counter-expectation marker, and intensifier, respectively.

*Shuo* in example (8) is in the sentence medial position and follows the psych/cognitive verb *renwei* 'think'; therefore, this usage of *shuo* is as a quotative complementizer. Instances of this sentence/utterance medial *shuo* following other utterance verbs are also considered to be quotative complementizers.

- (8) *Ta renwei shuo ni hui lai.*  
 3SG think say 2SG will come  
 'He thinks that you will come.'

(constructed example cited in Wang et al. 2003)

The sentence/utterance initial *shuo* shown in (9) indicates that the source of information is omitted. This is because the source of information is a third person or can be inferred from the context. Sentence/utterance initial *shuo* does not have a lexical sense of 'say' and thus serves a hearsay evidential function.

- (9) A: *Zuotian kan wan Guanlangaoshou hou, shuo cong 9/9 ri qi*  
 Yesterday watch finish Slamdunk after say from 9/9 day since  
*yao bo jia you jiangou...*  
 want show family have bad.dog  
 'After watching "Slamdunk" yesterday, it is said that "The Bad Dog in Our Family" will take its place and will be shown on Sept. 9th.'

(cited in Wang et al. 2003)

Sentence/utterance final *shuo* is a marker used to express the state of the subjective belief and attitude of the speakers or participants of the utterance. Wang et al. (2003) reported that sentence/utterance final *shuo* functions as a counter-expectation marker and an intensifier. The following examples (10) and (11) illustrate these usages as counter-expectation marker and intensifier, respectively. Once sentence/utterance final *shuo* acquired the function of counter-expectation, it then developed the function of intensifier.

- (10) A: *Dui a! Ta guanggao de yangzi yidian dou bu haokan!!*  
 Right SFP 3SG advertisement DE manner a.little all NEG good-looking  
 'Right! She doesn't look as good as she does in that new advertisement!'

*Yidian dou bu xiang ta shuo....*

a.little all NEG like she say

'She is not like herself at all shuo.'

(cited in Wang et al. 2003)

(11) (Speaker H gives a compliment on her recipient's personality.)

H: *Wo juede ni ganjue qilai hen wenrou shuo,*

1SG feel 2SG seem ADV very gentle say

'I feel that you are very gentle shuo.'

(cited in Wang et al. 2003)

Thus, these examples (8) to (11) indicate that the *shuo* 'say' verb in Taiwanese Mandarin grammaticalized into a quotative complementizer, hearsay evidential marker, counter-expectation marker, and intensifier. The 'bleaching' of the lexical meaning of 'say' as *shuo* worked to established itself as a complementizer, as Lord (1976) pointed out. This enabled it to appear in the sentence/utterance-initial and -final positions, and made it possible for *shuo* to develop into a hearsay evidential marker, counter-expectation marker, and intensifier.

It has also been reported that various morphological forms of 'say', especially non-finite forms such as infinitive and participial forms, are employed as 'say'-derived quotative complementizers (Saxena 1988). These forms are sometimes gradually contracted to uninflected conjunctions (decategorization), or their phonological constituents are reduced (erosion), when the lexical sense of 'say' is being eliminated in the process of grammaticalization.

Such phenomena have been demonstrated in the process of grammaticalization of the 'say'-derived complementizers *tako*, *tamye*, and *tamyense* in Korean. These are composed of the complementizer *ta*, 'say' verb *ha*, and the converbal connective particles *-ko*, *-mye*, and *-myense*, respectively. Ahn & Yap (2014) examined the process of grammaticalization of these 'say'-derived complementizers using a diachronic corpus, and found that they grammaticalized into quotative complementizers, hearsay evidential markers, and mirative and counter-expectation markers. Ahn & Yap (2014) also identified robust phonological reduction processes accompanying their grammaticalization, namely, the elision of the 'say' verb *ha* (e.g. VP-*ta ha-ko* > VP *tako*; VP-*ta ha-mye* > VP *tamye*; VP-*ta ha-myense* > VP *tamyense*) and the elision of the main clause, which facilitated the reanalysis of these non-finite 'say' constructions as finite structures (e.g. VP *tako* + Main Clause > 'stand-alone' VP *tako* with main clause elided).

Elision of the 'say' verb is also thought to have been involved in the emergence of the complementizer *tote* in Classical Japanese. *Tote* was identified as early as the 8th century and survived until the 19th century. It appeared as a form of *tote* when it was first identified in a text written in the 8th century, and therefore is generally considered to be a combination of the complementizer *to* and converbal linking particle *-te*. However, many Japanese scholars (e.g. Yamada 1936; Yoshida 1970;



Konoshima 1973; Moriwaki 1995) posit a ‘verbal elision’ analysis for *tote*, where converbal *tote* may have been derived from the elision of a ‘say’ verb via an [X *to V-te*] > [X *tote*] process. The findings of our previous study (Tamaji 2015) also support this ‘verbal elision’ analysis of *tote*, which reveals that *tote* underwent the grammaticalization pathway of lexical ‘say’, quotative, quotative complementizer, hearsay evidential, hearsay evidential marker, and pragmatic marker. However, our study did not recognize the development of *tote* into an intensifier.

Some studies consider that *totemo* is a compound word comprising *tote* and focus particle *mo* (e.g. Moriwaki 1995). It is, however, difficult to consider that the elision of the ‘say’ verb occurred before the particle *mo* attached. This study therefore maintains that the intensifier *totemo* derived from the elision of a ‘say’ verb of *to ihite-mo*. This study also posits the hypothesis that *totemo* undergoes a typological specific pathway of grammaticalization and the mechanisms of structural analysis.

#### 4. Data and methodology

Data for our diachronic analysis come from the Taikei Honbun database, an electronic version of *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* [Collection of Japanese Classical Literary Texts], compiled and published by Iwanami Shoten and built into an on-line corpus by Kokubungaku Kenkyuu Shiryookan (National Institute of Japanese Literature). The database consists of 27,521,040 words from 556 texts, comprising poems, historical documents, fictional narratives, essays, *kyoogen* (comedy drama scripts), and novels from the 8th to 19th centuries (before the Meiji period). The database consists of various genres of articles, but there are few genre differences between token types.

The number of tokens of *tote* related to ‘say’ appearing in the database is 9,378. In terms of data analysis, we first culled all tokens of *tote* and *totemo* from the Taikei Honbun database. Each *tote* and *totemo* token was categorized according to its function. We further identified when (and more specifically, which century) each of these functions was first noted to better describe the grammaticalization pathway of *totemo*.

Similarly, the number of tokens of *totemo* found in the database is 247. Each token of *totemo* was categorized according to its function.

## 5. Grammaticalization of *tote* and *totemo*

This study posits that *totemo* derived from the elision of the 'say' verb via *to ihite mo*. We hypothesize that the lexical origin of *totemo* is not the quotative complementizer *tote* and the grammaticalization pathway of *totemo* is independent from that of *tote*. We shall analyze the grammaticalization pathways of both *tote* and *totemo*. Since both *tote* and *totemo* derived from the elision of the 'say' verb, we shall first analyze their relationship with *to ihite* and *to ihitemo*.

### 5.1 Grammaticalization of *tote*

*Tote* in classical Japanese is known as a combination of quotative complementizer *to* and converbal connective particle *te*. According to the Iwanami dictionary of classical Japanese (Ono et al. 1990), *tote* is a connective particle following phrases of quotative, cause, reason, and objective. Since *to* is a quotative complementizer, it is normally followed by complement-taking cognitive verbs such as *say* and *think*. The form of *to ihite* (a combination of the complementizer *to* and converbal connective form of 'say' *ihite*) actually existed in classical Japanese. Many scholars of Japanese (e.g. Yamada 1936; Yoshida 1970; Moriwaki 1995) consider that *tote* derived from *to ihi-te* via elision of the 'say' verb *ihi*. Both *tote* and *to ihite* appeared in the Taikēi Honbun database from the 8th to 19th centuries.

Tables 1 and 2 show the functional distribution and number of tokens of each function by century for *to hi-te* and *tote* respectively. Table 1 indicates that the number of tokens of *to ihi-te* is 762 and the usages shown are lexical 'say', labeling (the one which is called ~) quotative, hearsay evidential, and topic marker (speaking of X). However, most of the tokens are used as lexical 'say' (637 out of 762). Sentence final evidential and pragmatic markers were not shown.

On the other hand, Table 2 indicates that the number of tokens of *tote* related to 'say' is 9,378 and the usages attested are lexical 'say', hearsay evidential, quotative, quotative marker, quotative complementizer, concessive, labeling, hearsay evidential marker, and pragmatic marker.

These indicate that *to ihi-te* had mostly been used as lexical 'say', whereas *tote* developed various usages. This means that *tote* derived from *to ihi-te* via the elision of the 'say' verb and grammaticalized into a quotative complementizer and hearsay evidential marker. Hence, it is possible to consider that the co-existence of *to ihi-te* and *tote* is due to functional differentiation. These tables also suggest that a form in the process of grammaticalization may retain its older functions and manifest its newer functions at the same time in what is known as "overlay" (Hopper 1991) and "layering" (Traugott 1997).

Table 1. Distribution of *to ihte* in Old, Middle and Modern Japanese

Functions of <i>Tohte</i> constructions	No. of <i>to ipite</i> ~ <i>to ifite</i> ~ <i>to ihte</i> tokens attested by century													
	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	Sum
Lexical verb 'say'	95	40	100	12	57	188	32	1		34	45	33	NA	637
Labeling/naming	12	2	11	9	8	5	8	2		2	16	7	NA	82
Quotative	6	4	1	1	1	2	1				4	2	NA	22
Hearsay evidential	2			2							5	2	NA	11
Topic marker				1				1		2	6		NA	10
Sum	115	46	112	25	66	195	41	4		38	76	44		762

Note. NA = token not known to occur in the 20th century; WA = data widely attested in the 20th century

Table 2. Distribution of *tote* in Old, Middle and Modern Japanese

Functions of <i>tote</i>	No. of tokens of <i>tote</i> attested by century													
	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	Sum
Lexical 'say'	2	9	1185	1148	184	880	528	1791	54	234	239	588	NA	6842
Hearsay evidential		7	231	106	99	29	40	81	4	172	125	75	NA	969
Topic marker		17	8	19	1	23	1			5	5	3	NA	82
Quotative		20	56	54	46	33	31	29		50	67	56	NA	442
Quotative complementizer			87	11	37	25	29	20		2	3	28	NA	242
Concessive			10	11	13	11	2	12	5	37	41	28	NA	170
Labeling			87	23	62	35	86	135		102	23	79	NA	632
Hearsay evidential marker			13	4	1	1	2	2		42	130	20		215
Pragmatic marker							2			2	6			10
Sum	2	53	1677	1376	443	1037	721	2070	63	646	639	877		9604

This study follows previous studies of the verbal elision analysis of *tote*: [X to V-te] > [X-tote]. Structurally, *tote* involves elision of a complement-taking verb, with an utterance/mental verb such as 'say' or 'think'. Therefore, we should not exclude the elision of the 'think' verb *omohi*: [X to *omohi-te*] > [X *tote*]. The following example (12) involves courses of action and is interpreted as purposive constructions with the meaning 'in order to (do something)', and hence it is considered as an example of the elision of the 'think' construction.

- (12) 赤子答へ白ししく、「己が志を願し白さむとて参出つ。」とまをしき、

*Akaiko kotaheshiroshishiku*, "onore ga kokorozashi wo utsushi

PN reply.clearly 1SG GEN wish ACC real

*shirosamu tote maizudetsu*" to *mawoshiki*.

Clear.CAUS.VOL think.CVB come.out.PFT COMP say.PFT

'Akaiko replied clearly, "I came here in order to make my wish come true."

(*Itsubun*, p. 448, 8th c.)

The tokens of 'say'-derived *tote* have been attested during the period from the 8th to 19th centuries in the Taikē Honbun database. The example (13) indicates lexical 'say', which was attested in the 8th century.

- (13) 汝さへ嫁を得ずとて捧げては下し。

*Nanji sae yome o ezu tote sasagete wa oroshi*.

You even bride ACC get.NEG say donate TOP get.down

'Even you donate (money) and pray, saying "I don't get married"'

(*Mikagurauta*, p. 238, 8th c.)

The quotative use of *tote* was first evidenced in the 9th century. As seen in (14), the initial uses of quotative *tote* involved 'double marking,' with the quoted complement clause preceded by an introductory clause with a complement-taking utterance verb, such as *ifu* 'say,' and itself further marked at the right periphery by *tote* (< to *ihi-te* 'saying that').

- (14) 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 miru take

old.man say thus 1SG morning every evening every LOC watch bamboo

*no naka ni owasuru nite, shirinu. ko to nari tamafu*

GEN inside LOC exist.HON therefore know.PTV child COMP become HON

*beki hito nameri*” *tote*, *te ni uchi irete ie (e) mochite*  
 should person may QT hand LOC house put.CVB home LOC have.CVB  
*kinu.*

come.PFT.

‘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*, p. 29, 9th c.)

Example (15) is a quotative use of *to ihite* attested in the 8th century. It is worth noting that the quotative *to ihite* construction is similar to that of *tote* as seen in the previous example. It is introduced by a preceding adverbial clause with an utterance verb such as *ihsiku*, as in (15), often to identify the source of information (in this particular case, *Chikuwanomikoto*), which then gave rise to a converbal quotative construction that was biclausal in structure and ‘double-marked’ in terms of its ‘say’ verbs. The similarities between the quotative construction of *to ihite* and that of *tote* supports the hypothesis that *tote* derived from *to ihite* via the elision of the ‘say’ verb *ihi*.

- (15) 時に筑波の命いひしく、「我が名をば国につけて後の世に伝へしめ  
 むと思ふ。」といひて、即ち元の号を改めて、更に筑波と称ふとい  
 へり。

*Tokini Chikwanomikoto ihsiku*, “*Wa ga na wo ba kuni*  
 at.that.time PN say.ADV 1SG GEN name ACC FOC country  
*ni tsukete, nochi no yo ni tsutahe shimemu to omofu.*”  
 DAT put.CVB later GEN generation DAT pass.on.to CAUS.VOL COMP think  
*to ihite sunawachi moto no goo wo aratamete, sarani Tukuba*  
 QT therefore original GEN name ACC renew.CVB furthermore PN  
*to tatafu to iheri.*  
 COMP honorable.call COMP say.PTV

‘At that time, as Chikuwanomikoto was saying, “I want to name this country after me and to pass this on to future generations” *to ipite*, he revived the original name (of the country) and he furthermore honorably called it Tsukuba.’  
 (*Hitachikoku Fudoki*, p. 39, 8th c.)

By the 10th century, as seen in (16), quotative *tote* could be used without an introductory complement-taking utterance verb. There is thus a shift from ‘double-marked’ to ‘single-marked’ quotative *tote* constructions.

- (16) 「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, fumi kakite dashi*  
 if person ask this ACC present QT letter write.CVB take.out  
*keru,*  
 PFT  
 ‘Saying “If someone asks, present this (to him),” he wrote a letter and passed  
 it (to his servant).’  
 (Yamato Monogatari, p. 352, A.D. 951)

The example (17) below is attested in the 11th century. As seen in this example, ‘say’ verbs such as *iheba* (if you say) follow *tote*. In the Taikei Honbun database, the tokens of *tote* followed by other types of utterance verbs such as *moosu* and *kikoegasu* (the humble forms of ‘say’ verbs) or other cognitive verbs such as *yomu* (compose poems) are also seen during the period from the 10th to 19th centuries. This means that *tote* established itself as a quotative complementizer around the 10th century.

- (17) 「『はづかし』と思はせたまつらむ」とていへば、心のうちに  
*“Hazukashi” to omohase tatematsu ramu tote iheba,*  
 shameful COMP think HON. ASSUMP COMP say.COND.  
 ‘If he said, “You might think ‘shameful’”...  
 (Genji Monogatari, p. 279, A.D. 1001)

Hearsay evidential uses of *tote* also began to emerge at the turn of the 11th century, primarily involving indirect quotations where the source of information is unspecified and *tote* expresses a generic or vague reading, such as ‘People say,’ or ‘It is said,’ as in (18). By the end of the 10th century, hearsay evidential *tote* was used in the sentence final position as seen in the example (19). Such sentence-final hearsay evidential use means that *tote* developed into a hearsay evidential marker.

- (18) わかきをとこもちたるだに見ぐるしきに、こと人のもとへいきたる  
 とてはら立つ  
*Wakaki otoko mochitaru dani migurushikini, koto*  
 young guy have.PTV.ATTR even disgraceful.ATTR.CONCESS furthermore  
*hito no moto e ikitaru tote haratatsu yo.*  
 person GEN place LOC go.PTV.ATTR EVID get.angry SFP  
 ‘It is disgraceful that (she) has a young guy (as her boyfriend); furthermore it  
 is exasperating to hear that she went and stayed at (his) place.’  
 (Makura no Sooshi, p. 93, A.D. 1001)

- (19) 二月晦がたよりはなほ楼にて習はしたてまつりたまふ。山の景色色づく見るも、いとおかしとて。

*Nigatsu tsugomorigata yori ha naho rou nite narahashi*  
 second.month end.of.month from TOP further tower LOC earn.PTV  
*tatematsuri tamafu. Yama no keshiki irodukku miru mo*  
 HMB HON mountain GEN scenery change.color See.ATTR. FOC  
*ito okashi tote.*

quite interesting EVID

‘(Sadaiden) had continued to stay on and study in the tower since the end of February, **because** (< it was said/thought this was because) seeing the mountain changing colors is quite interesting.’

(*Utsubo Monogatari*, p. 474, 10th c.).

Interestingly, with the emergence of *tote* in sentence final position in the 10th century, various pragmatic uses came to be associated with it as well. This came about because sentence final *tote* could serve as an ideal ‘landing site’ (hence a ‘host’) for the speaker’s sentence final prosody.

Example (20) shows pragmatic usage of *tote* attested in the 14th century. It is considered that the clause “*sonata made isoggazutomo yoi* (you don’t have to hurry)” following the clause “*ikani isogeba tote* (no matter how much I am hurried)” is elided. The speaker utilized *tote* when he expressed his opinion, which gave the impression that he was quoting the opinion of somebody else rather than his own opinion. This produces an effect that the speaker has detached himself from his own utterance and that the speaker spoke softly when he presented his idea to the listener.

- (20) 浄土僧: でもそなたが急ぐによって、愚僧も急いだ。

Joodosoo: *Demo sonata ga isogu niyotte gusoo mo isoida.*  
 but you FOC hurry because foolish.monk also hurry.PFT  
 ‘You, however, hurried up, therefore I also hurried up.’

法華僧: いかに急げばとて。

Hokkesoo: *Ikani isogeba tote.*  
 no.matter.how.much hurry.COND EVID

‘Even though I hurried up (, you did not have to hurry up, too).’

(*Shukke zatoo kyoogen sooron*, p. 22, 14th c.)

Example (21) is another pragmatic usage to express counter-expectation attested in the script of *jooruri* (a Japanese puppet show) written in the 18th century. In this narrative scene, *Shigenoi*, who became a nurse of a princess and a lady of the court, meets her abandoned son *Sankichi*, but she could not introduce herself to him owing to her status.

- (21) ア、いかなる因果な生性。現在我が子に馬追させ。男の行方も知らぬ身が母は衣裳を着飾って。お乳人よお局よと玉の輿に乗ったとて。

Aa, ikanaru ingana seishoo. Genzai waga ko ni umaoui  
well what.kind.of unfortunate fate currently I.GEN child DAT Horse.chase  
sase. Otoko no yukue mo shiranu mi ga haha  
CAUS man GEN whereabouts FOC know.NEG.ATTR body FOC mother  
wa ishoo wo kikazatte. Omenoto yo otsubone yo to  
NOM cloth ACC dress.up nurse SFP a.lady.of.the.court SFP COMP  
tamanokoshi ni notta tote.

marry.into.money LOC ride.on.PFT CE

'Well, how unfortunate fortune is! She currently let her son do a horse driver. Her husband is missing, but she dresses herself up. It is said that she became a nurse of princess, a lady of the court and married into money!'

(*Tanba yosaku matsuyo no komurobushi*, pp. 101, 1707)

*Tote* in this example expresses the narrator's astonishment at the mother (*Shigenoi*) who advanced herself to become the nurse of a princess and a lady of the court without knowing that her abandoned child had become a horse driver in order to make a living for himself. Thus, *tote* here is used to express the narrator's counter-expectation, the speaker's point of view, which is in opposition to normative viewpoints held by the general public (Traugott & Dasher 2001: 157).

To briefly sum up our discussion thus far, we have seen that *tote* is highly versatile and can be used as a lexical 'say' verb, as well as a quotative, quotative complementizer, hearsay evidential, hearsay evidential marker, pragmatic marker, and counter-expectation marker. These various functions of *tote* are summarized in Figure 2.

Old Japanese	Middle Old Japanese	Middle Japanese	Modern Japanese
Lexical 'say' (8th c.)	.....▶		
	Quotative (9th c.)	.....▶	
	Quotative Complementizer (10th c.)	.....▶	
	Hearsay evidential (10th c.)	.....▶	
	Hearsay evidential marker (10th c.)	.....▶	
	Pragmatic marker (14th c.)	.....▶	
		Counter-expectation marker (18th c.)	.....▶

Figure 2. Grammaticalization of *tote* in Old, Middle, and Early Modern Japanese



As seen in the examples above, *tote* is used in the final position of adverbial subordinate clauses followed by main clauses. This clause-linking function of *tote* is because of the connective particle *te*, which is suffixed to converbal forms of verbs. *Tote* could develop the functions of the hearsay evidential in such a clause-final position of a subordinate clause.

Example (17) shows that a quotative complementizer *tote* was followed by another ‘say’ verb such as ‘*iheba* (if you say)’. This indicates that *tote* came to have a function other than clause-chaining and therefore can appear in positions other than the clause-final position of the subordinate clause. When *tote* grammaticalized into quotative, hearsay evidential and pragmatic markers, it could appear in the sentence-final position. These indicate that the establishment of *tote* as a complementizer enabled it to appear in sentence final positions, although *tote* is a converbal infinitive form. The mechanism involved in such reanalysis of the non-finite form as finite structure is insubordination of subordinate clauses owing to elision of the main clause. The elision of the main clause produces an effect for listeners to fill in the information left unsaid, which further enables sentence-final *tote* to develop into pragmatic markers to express a speaker’s subjectivity and intersubjectivity.

The grammaticalization process and syntactic change of *tote* follows the directionality of grammaticalization of the ‘say’-derived complementizer attested among other languages. The syntactic change in accordance with the grammaticalization of *tote* is summarized as follows. We have put the numbers of examples for each usage so that we can specify which stage is attested by which example.

Stage 1	VP <i>tote</i> , VP	lexical ‘say’ (13), quotative (14), hearsay evidential (18)
Stage 2	VP <i>tote</i> + utterance verb	quotative complementizer (17)
Stage 3	VP <i>tote</i> .	hearsay evidential marker (19) pragmatic marker (20)

Figure 3. Syntactic change of *tote* in accordance with its grammaticalization

Unlike the case of Taiwanese *shuo*, *tote* did not grammaticalize into an intensifier. We shall now discuss the process whereby *totemo* derived from lexical ‘say’ *to ihite* and the concessive use of *totemo* gives rise to counter-expectation and subsequently an intensifier.

5.2 Grammaticalization of *totemo*

The first token of *totemo* began to emerge around this time (10th century). As seen in the examples of *tote* above, *tote* is used in the final position of adverbial subordinate clauses followed by main clauses. This clause-linking function of *tote* is

because of the connective particle *te* which is suffixed to converbal forms of verbs. Konoshima (1973), however, pointed out that concessive use had increased owing to the influence of the clause-chaining function of *tote* since Middle Japanese (12th–16th centuries). Moriwaki (1995) noted that the emergence of *totemo* contributed to the establishment of *tote* as a concessive marker, since the focus particle *mo* gives rise to concessive meaning. These indicate that *totemo* became a specific form to express concessive meaning.

Moriwaki (1995) also pointed out that concessive *totemo* did not have a substantial meaning of 'say', which means the 'say' meaning is bleached. *Tote* had already established itself as a quotative complementizer by that time; therefore, it is difficult to consider that the elision of the 'say' verb occurred before the particle *mo* attached. It is unlikely that the lexical origin of *totemo* is a compound word of quotative *tote* and focus particle *mo*. In this study, we hypothesize that *totemo* derived from *to ihite-mo* (lexical 'say' usage of *to ihite* plus focus particle *mo*).

Since no token of *to-ihite-mo* was found in the Taikei Honbun database, it is difficult to maintain that *totemo* derived from *to ihite-mo*. Similarly, however, no token of concessive use of *to ihite* was found. These findings indicate the functional differentiation between *to ihite* and *totemo*: the former is a specific form to express lexical 'say', and the latter is a specific form to express concessivity. This, in turn, supports our hypothesis that *totemo* developed from concessive use of lexical 'say' *to ihite mo*, although the tokens of *to ihite mo* were not found. We shall now analyze the diachronic development of *totemo* and suggest the possibility that *totemo* developed from the concessive use of lexical 'say'. Table 3 is the functional distribution of *totemo* by century.

The first token of *totemo* was attested in the 10th century in the Taikei Honbun database. This example (22) shows *totemo*'s concessive use meaning 'although'. It is also possible to interpret this as having a concessive quotative meaning 'although you said ~', because *nanji* (you) is regarded as an explicit source of quotation.

Table 3. Distribution of *totemo* in Old, Middle and Modern Japanese

Form of 'say' construction with concessive uses	No. of tokens of constructions related to concessive <i>totemo</i> along the <i>tote</i> pathway and to concessive <i>totemo</i> along the <i>to ihite</i> pathway attested by century														
	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	Sum	
<i>Totemo</i> (concessive) <sup>2</sup>			10	25	30	15	21		10	35	22	18	NA	186	
<i>totemo</i> (counterexpectation)							2						NA	2	
<i>totemo</i> (intensifier)							2	7		11	23	16	WA	59	
Sum			10	25	30	15	25	7	10	46	45	34		247	

(22) 阿修羅、いやますますに怒りていはく「汝が累代の命をとどめんと  
ても、この木一寸をうべからず。」

*Asyura, iya masumasuni okorite ihaku* “*Nanji ga*  
PN rather more.and.more angry.CVB say.ADVR 2SG GEN  
*ruidai no inochi wo todomen totemo, kono ki*  
successive.generations GEN life ACC keep.VOL CONCESS.QT this wood  
*issun wo ubekarazu.*”  
a.little ACC get.POT.NEG  
‘*Asyura* got more and more angry and said, “**Although** you want to keep  
successive generations of your life, you won’t even get to keep this small  
piece of wood.”’ (Utsubo *Monogatari*, p. 41, 10th c.)

The following (23) is another example of concessive use of *totemo* attested in the 11th century. This could also be interpreted as having a concessive hearsay evidential use meaning ‘although it is said that ~’, because the source of information is not specified. As seen in these examples, most tokens of concessive *totemo* are also interpreted as either quotative or hearsay evidential. This supports our hypothesis that the ‘say’ verb is the lexical origin of *totemo*, and *totemo* derived from *to ihite mo* via the elision of ‘say’. Since the tokens of concessive use of lexical ‘say’ *totemo* were not found, the ‘say’ meaning had already been bleached when *totemo* emerged as Moriwaki (1995) stated.

2. Concessive *totemo* is either concessive quotative or concessive hearsay evidential use of *to-temo*.

- (23) 朝に起きさせ給ふ**とても**、「明くるも知らで」とおもほし出づるにも、猶、朝まつりごとは、怠らせ給ひぬべかめり。

*Asa ni okisase tamafu totemo, "Akuru mo morning time get.up.HON HON CONCESS.EVID day.break.ATTR FOC shirade."* to omohoshi iduru nimo, naho, asa

know.NEG.CVB COMP think.HON come.out.ATTR CONCESS still morning matsurigoto wa okotarase tamahinubekameri.

administration TOP neglect.HON HON.PTV.ATTR.should.EVID

‘Although (the emperor) gets up in the morning, he came out saying “I did not know the dawn break” and he does not seem to do administrative jobs in the morning.’  
(*Genji Monogatari*, p. 41, A.D. 1008)

As previous studies have reported, and as shown in example (24), *totemo* as a NPI was also found to be used during the Kamakura period in the Taikei Honbun database.

- (24) **とても**たすかるまじき身、刹那のながらへもくるしく...

*Totemo tasukaru-majiki mi, setsunano nagarahe mo kurushiku... no.matter.what save-NEG.INF body momentary delay FOC painful*

‘My life (lit. my body) won’t be spared, no matter what. (If so,) momentary delay is even painful...’

(*Soga Monogatari*, 14th–15th c.; cited in Shinzato 2014)

Previous studies concluded that example (24) is an NPI (a degree adverb to intensify/modify words for negative evaluation) and that the counter-expectation reading was induced by the implied cue for a comparison (e.g. potential verbs in negative forms combined with *hodo* ‘to the extent’). Unlike such previous studies, however, this study claims that *totemo* in example (24) is showing the speaker’s counter-expectation. As a ground for such a claim, we maintain that there should be background context to become the basis for such a subjective stance by the speaker. In other words, we shall analyze whether or not the preceding sentence(s) contains the information-giving rise to the speaker’s counter-expectation. Before we analyze this example with its background context, we analyze a simpler example.

Example (25) shows the use of *totemo* as a degree adverb that intensifies/modifies words for negative evaluation, as found in the 13th to 14th centuries in the Taikei Honbun database. This provides us with an example that appeared earlier than that in (4).

- (25) 日本國に、平家の庄園ならぬ所やある。とてものがれざらむ物ゆへに、年來住なれたる所を人にみせむも恥がましかるべし。

*Nihonkoku ni Heike no shooen naranu tokoro ya aru. Totemo*  
 PN LOC PN GEN manor be.NEG.ATTR place FOC exist hardly  
*nogarezaranu mono yueni nenrai sumi naretaru tokoro*  
 escape.NEG.ATTR thing therefore long.term live accustom.PTV.ATTR place  
*o misemu mo hajigamashikaru beshi.*  
 ACC show.VOL FOC shameful.ADMIR.ATTR EPST

‘There are some places that are not the manor of the Heike clan in Japan. It is **quite** difficult to escape from there; therefore it must be shameful to show the place where they had been living for a long time.’

(*Heike Monogatari*, p. 259, A.D. 13–14th c.)

*Totemo*, in this example, is also in the sentence initial position, and *totemo nogarezaranu* is interpreted as ‘(it is) quite difficult to escape’. Because *to* is a complementizer, *totemo* usually follows an embedded complement clause (e.g. [XP] *totemo*, main clause). Such a sentence initial *totemo* can occur with its complement clause elided, particularly in echoic contexts. Since the elided complement clause indicates the information obtained from “what the others said/what it is said”, it is possible to consider that the hearsay evidential function gives rise to the speaker’s subjective stance to express a speaker’s subjective evaluation of the situation that exceeds common expectation, namely counter-expectation. Thus, the process that hearsay evidential function gives rise to counter-expectation reading follows the universality of the grammaticalization process.

It is also possible to interpret *totemo* in this example as ‘Although it is said so’ or ‘Although people said so’: “Although it is said there are some places that are not the manor of the Heike clan in Japan, it is difficult to escape from there”. Such a misaligned stance of the speaker is also induced by the concessive reading of *totemo*. These examples indicate that hearsay evidential reading due to the elision of a complement clause and concessive use of *totemo* enables *totemo* to be used as a discourse marker at the left periphery of an utterance to express counter-expectation. This supports our hypothesis that the lexical source of *totemo* is related to ‘say’. We shall now begin to analyze the sentence-initial use of *totemo* in example (4) introduced by Shinzato (2014), including its background context.

The following example (26) is example (4) with preceding sentences attested in the Taikei Honbun database. Unlike the abovementioned example (25), the elided complement clause is not only a preceding sentence, but the whole paragraph preceding it. We shall provide a brief summary of the paragraph here. This is a scene where *Yoritomo*, the boss of the samurai clan, calls a monk priest to kill him. However, *Yoritomo* said that he would save the priest in order to test him.

- (26) 御助けあるほどならば、如何で、これまで召さるべき。「人に依りてこそ、然様の御言葉は候ふべけれ。口惜しき仰せかな」とぞ申しける。禅師、重ねて申しけるは、「**とても**たすかるまじき身、刹那のながらへもくるしく...」

*Ontasuke aru hodo naraba, ikade, kore made mesarubeki.*  
 HON.save exist as.much.as be.COD why here up.to call.me.ASSUMP  
 “*Hito niyorite koso sayoo no okotoba wa sourou bekere.*  
 person according.to FOC such GEN HON.word TOP exist should.COD  
*Kuchioshiki oose kana*” to zo mooshikeru. Zenshi,  
 disappointing word SFP COMP FOC say.HUMB.PRF.ATTR Monk.priest  
*kasanete mooshikeru wa, “Totemo tasukaru-majiki*  
 subsequently say.HMB.PTV.ATTR TOP **no.matter.what** save-VOL.NEG.ATTR  
*mi, setsunano nagarahe mo kurushiku.....*”  
 body momentary delay TOP painful  
 If you want to save my life, why did you call me here? You should say such a word, “judging a character of people. It’s a disappointing word to me.”  
 ‘My life (lit. my body) won’t be spared, no matter what. (If so,) momentary delay is even painful....’

(Soga Monogatari, 14th–15th c.; cited in Shinzato 2014)

In the preceding sentences, the monk priest asked *Yoritomo* why he wanted to save the priest. The priest said “*Totemo tasukaru majiki mi* (My life won’t be spared, no matter what)”. The sentence “*Totemo tasukaru majiki mi*” could also possibly be interpreted as “Although you said you wanted to save my life, my life won’t be spared”. This is the subjective use of *totemo* expressing the speaker’s surprise based on what the speaker heard, which indicates that sentence initial *totemo* is used to express counter-expectation.

This study also assumes that the emergence of sentence initial *totemo* is a result of the reanalysis of the concessive subordinator (clause-final position) *totemo*. Onodera (2004) reported that evolution of the elements in the unit-final position into unit-initial discourse markers is one of the typological features of Japanese. She introduced the grammaticalization process of *Demo* as one such example.

*Demo* in contemporary Japanese is known as a conjunction in the sentence-initial position. Onodera (2004) mentioned that *demo* derived from the clause-final connective device *V-te + mo* (converbal connective form *V-te* plus a connecting particle *mo*)<sup>3</sup> in the 14th century. It then came to be used as *-demo* in the Edo period (1603–1898), and it developed into a sentence-initial *Demo* in the 18th century. The following (27) is the example of *V-te + mo*, (28) is the example of *-demo*, and (29) is the example of sentence-initial *Demo* introduced by Onodera (2004).

3. Onodera defined *mo* as a connecting particle, but *mo* here is considered as a focus particle.

- (27) 身をこっかに砕けても、かのものを助けんためなり、.....  
*Mi o kokkani kudakite mo, kano mono o tasuken tame nari,*  
 Body ACC now break.CVB but that person ACC save.VOL purpose COP  
 .....  
 ‘Although my body would fall apart, it (my body falling apart) is to save that person.....’  
 (Jinenkoji before 1384 cited in Onodera 2004: 90)
- (28) 女: 今の代せけえじゃあ泣くと食わうのねねさんでも、無面目じゃあねえわな。  
 Woman: *Ima no yo sekee jaa naku to kuwau no Nenesan*  
 Today GEN age world COP cry. and eat GEN women  
*demo, mumenmoku jaa nee wa na.*  
 although absurd COP NEG FOC SFP  
 ‘Even today’s young women like them are not absurd, are they?’  
 (Ukiyoburo, 1809 cited in Onodera 2004: 92)
- (29) A: しかし、あいつを持って行っても、何の役に立つまい。  
 A: *Shikasi, aitsu o motte itte mo, nan no yakunitatsu*  
 But that.person ACC bring.CVB go.CVB but any be of.use  
*mai.*  
 NEG.ASSUMP  
 ‘But, if (the thief) robs it, it will be of no use.’  
 B: でもおめえ金が入っているじゃあねえかい。  
 B: *Demo omee kene ga haitte iru jaa nee kai.*  
 But you money NOM enter.CVB is COP NEG SFP  
 ‘But, there’s money in it, isn’t there? Man.’  
 (Kakesuzuri, 1775 cited in Onodera 2004: 93)

In (27), *V-te + mo* is a connecting device only working within a sentence. (28) is interpreted as ‘although I (the speaker) cannot understand the young women who caused such a tumult, they shouldn’t be just absurd.’ Thus, *-demo* in (28) expresses the sense of adversative rather than carrying an explicit clause-linking function. In the case of sentence-initial *Demo* in (29), the connecting function of *demo* works beyond the level of the sentence and hence it creates cohesion. Sentence-initial *Demo* also has a function to express the speaker’s action of refuting ideas of others, which is considered as a function derived from the adversative sense of *-demo* as seen in (28). Thus, sentence-initial *Demo* is regarded as not only a conjunction but also a discourse marker.

Onodera (2004) also analyzed the grammaticalization process of other sentence-initial conjunctions, which function as discourse markers, and revealed that these conjunctions also derived from connective devices in the clause-final position of subordinate clauses. Hence, it is possible to consider that the clause final

concessive *totemo* shifted to the sentence-initial position, allowing it to be reanalyzed as a sentence-initial discourse marker. Such syntactic changes of *totemo*, including the elision of the complement clause and the reanalysis of the concessive *totemo*, give rise to the sentence-initial counter-expectation marker *totemo*.

In the Taikei Honbun database, only two examples of *totemo* (25 and 26) were found in the sentence-initial position. These are considered to have more than two functions: NPI (a degree adverb to intensify/modify words for negative evaluation) and counter-expectation marker. These tokens are considered as a bridging context.

The following example (30) illustrates the use of the degree adverb (intensifier) *totemo* identified in a story written in the Kamakura period. Both examples (24) and (27) are actually attested in the same text, *Heike Monogatari*. Since both counter-expectation and intensifier mark a speaker's subjective evaluation of someone/something/some situation that exceeds common expectation, *totemo* came to develop the function of intensifier once it acquired the function of counter-expectation.

(30) 行末とてもたのもしからず。

*Yukusue totemo tanomoshikarazu.*

future very promising.EPST.NEG

'His future should be promising.' (*Heike Monogatari*, p. 262, A.D. 13–14th c.)

As this example suggests, *totemo* as an intensifier can appear in the sentence/utterance medial position; it follows the topic *yukusue* 'future' and is followed by an adjective of positive meaning, *tanomoshikarazu* 'promising.' Thus, the intensifier *totemo* can appear just before the adjective it modifies and serve to intensify its degree.

Such positional shift of *totemo* from sentence-initial to sentence-medial seems to be contrary to the shift from core to periphery proposed by the grammaticalization model (e.g. Traugott 1995; Tabor & Traugott 1998). However, the intensifier *totemo* is not an argument structure (core) but parenthetical phrase. Such a positional change of *totemo* from sentence-initial to sentence-medial is similar to the positional shift attested in the process of grammaticalization of epistemic parentheticals such as *I think* and *I guess* in English.

In the influential study by Thompson & Mulac (1991), they proposed a cline from a matrix clause with a *that*-complementizer, to omission of *that*, and finally to a parenthetical disjunct in non-initial position. In the case of *totemo*, the elision of the complement clause occurred instead of the omission of the complementizer. The elision of the complement clause played an important role in the emergence of the sentence-initial counter-expectation marker *totemo*. When it grammaticalized into an intensifier, the connection between the elided invisible complement clause



and *totemo* was weakened. This enabled *totemo* to appear in sentence-medial positions like a parenthetical phrase. Figure 4 is a summary of the grammaticalization pathway of *totemo*.

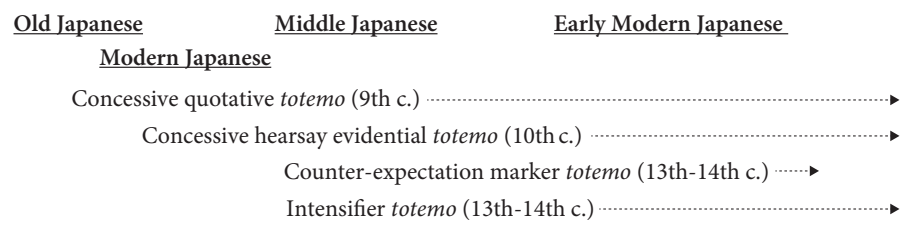


Figure 4. Grammaticalization pathway of *totemo* in Old, Middle, Early Modern, and Modern Japanese

The syntactic changes of *totemo* also occurred in accordance with the process of grammaticalization. Both the quotative and hearsay usages in the concessive context appeared in the final position of subordinate clauses (subordinator). When it developed into a counter-expectation marker, however, *totemo* shifted to the sentence-initial position by elision of the complement clause and a reanalysis of the concessive subordinator. The intensifier *totemo* can appear after the topic, though this is optional, and just before the word it is modifying in the same way as epistemic parenthetical phrases in English. These syntactic changes of *totemo* in accordance with its grammaticalization process are summarized in Figure 5.

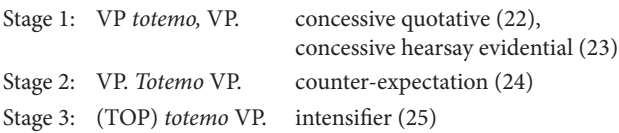


Figure 5. Syntactic change of *totemo* in accordance with its grammaticalization process

This study reveals the possibility that the intensifier *totemo* developed from a ‘say’ related construction *to ihitemo* comprising a complementizer *to*, converbal connective form of ‘say’ *ihite* and a focus particle *mo*. Previous studies maintained that *totemo* derived from a formulaic expression of a bipolar item meaning ‘either way’ *totemo kakutemo*. This study supports the view that the function of a counter-expectation marker played a crucial role in the development of the intensifier function of *totemo*. Furthermore, we pointed out the different stages in which this counter-expectation factor played a part. While previous studies maintained that the counter-expectation factor was the main bridging context for the shift of *totemo* from a NPI to PPI (NPI > Counter-expectation > PPI), the present study reveals that the sentence-initial counter-expectation marker actually gave rise to the development of the intensifier *totemo* (Counter-expectation > NPI & PPI).

Figure 2 also indicates that the counter-expectation usage of *totemo* was only attested for a short time (from about the 13th or 14th century to the 15th century) and furthermore only two examples of such sentence-initial *totemo* were attested in the Taikei Honbun database. This finding suggests that the counter-expectation usage of *totemo* can also be considered as an alternative bridging context.

## 6. Grammaticalizations of *tote* and *totemo* from a typological perspective

In the previous section, we analyzed the process of the diachronic development of the 'say'-derived complementizer *tote* and 'say'-derived word *totemo*. Here, we shall analyze the process of their grammaticalization from a typological perspective. The entire grammaticalization process of *tote* can be chronologized as follows.

Lexical 'say' > quotative > quotative complementizer >  
hearsay evidential > hearsay evidential marker > pragmatic marker

**Figure 6.** Entire grammaticalization process of *tote*

Similarly, the entire grammaticalization process of *totemo* can be chronologized as follows.

Concessive quotative > concessive hearsay evidential >  
Sentence initial counter-expectation marker > intensifier

**Figure 7.** Entire grammaticalization process of *totemo*

Figure 6 indicates that the stages involved in this grammaticalization process of *tote* follow the typical directionality of the grammaticalization of a 'say'-derived complementizer identified across languages. Conversely, our diachronic analysis also reveals the language-specific development of the grammaticalization of the intensifier *totemo*: the development of the concessive use of *totemo* whose lexical source is thought to be *to ihite* as well as *tote* via the addition of the focus particle *mo* and the elision of the 'say' verb *ihi*. This also triggered the emergence of the counter-expectation marker *totemo*, and subsequently, the intensifier *totemo* as well. This phenomenon, whereby concessive use of a 'say'-derived word grammaticalized into an intensifier, is specific to Japanese. We shall now consider the perspective of syntactic change as we argue why *tote* did not grammaticalize into an intensifier when *totemo* did.

As discussed in previous sections, Figures 3 and 5 present summaries of the syntactic change of *tote* and *totemo* respectively. Both *tote* and *totemo* were originally clause-linkers in the subordinate clause. While *tote* then developed into a quotative complementizer and subsequently a sentence-final hearsay evidential

and pragmatic marker, *totemo* developed into a sentence-initial counter-expectation marker and then intensifier. This difference was caused by the mechanisms involved in the structural reanalysis of *tote* and *totemo*. The first type is the elision of a main clause, which results in the complement clause being insubordinate, triggering its head-final ‘say’ complement-taking predicate *tote* to be reanalyzed as a sentence-final pragmatic marker at the right periphery. The second type is the elision of the complement clause, which can give rise to the sentence-initial discourse marker *totemo* at the left periphery. The elision of the complement clause also facilitated the reanalysis of the sentence-initial counter-expectation marker *totemo* as a sentence-medial intensifier as well as the epistemic parenthetical verb phrase *I think*.

Typologically, the development of the ‘say’-derived word into a quotative complementizer plays a crucial role in its grammaticalization into a hearsay evidential marker, a counter-expectation marker and an intensifier. In the case of Japanese, the elision of the complement clause enabled *totemo* to grammaticalize into an intensifier without being a quotative complementizer.

## 7. Conclusion

This study examined the grammaticalization process of the intensifier *totemo* in Japanese. Previous studies maintained that *totemo* derived from a bipolar item *totemo kakutemo* and reported that *totemo* became a NPI (an adverb modifying words for negative evaluation), but then shifted to a PPI (an adverb modifying words for positive evaluation), and that counter-expectation factors played an important role in the shift from a negative to a PPI. Moreover, previous studies overlooked the process of syntactic reanalysis of *totemo*. In particular, these studies did not explain the process and the mechanism by which sentence-initial *totemo* emerged.

This study posits that a ‘say’ verb construction of *to ihitemo* is the lexical origin of *totemo*. We consider that both NPI *totemo* and PPI *totemo* as an intensifier and counter-expectation function give rise to the intensifier function. Our diachronic study also reveals that the process of grammaticalization of *totemo* is as follows: concessive quotative > concessive hearsay evidential > sentence-initial counter-expectation marker > intensifier. The process of diachronic development of *totemo* supports our hypothesis that *totemo* derived from a ‘say’ construction. The process of semantic change of *totemo* also follows the typological generalization of the grammaticalization pathway of the ‘say’-derived complementizer. However, *totemo* did not undergo the stage of being a quotative complementizer, and hence it did not undergo the stage of being a hearsay evidential marker. This indicates

the language specific process of grammaticalization of a 'say'-derived construction *totemo*.

It is reported that development into quotative complementizers enables such complementizers to become hearsay evidential and counter-expectation markers and sometimes intensifiers, because the 'bleaching' of the 'say' meaning enables them to appear in the sentence-initial and -final positions. In the case of *totemo*, reanalysis of the concessive subordinator and the elision of the complement clause contributed to the emergence of sentence-initial counter-expectation function of *totemo* without being a quotative complementizer. The elision of the complement clause also played a crucial role in the further development of *totemo* into an intensifier resulting in reanalysis of sentence-initial *totemo* as a sentence-medial parenthetical phrase.

This study also compared the process of grammaticalization of the 'say'-derived complementizer *tote* and that of *totemo*. The grammaticalization process of *tote* is summarized as follows: lexical 'say' > quotative > quotative complementizer > hearsay evidential > hearsay evidential marker > pragmatic marker (counter-expectation marker). This indicates that *tote* developed into a counter expectation marker but that did not further grammaticalize into an intensifier, while *totemo* developed into an intensifier. This is due to a difference in the mechanisms of syntactic reanalysis involved in the grammaticalization of *tote* and the grammaticalization of *totemo*. While the elision of the main clause contributed to the reanalysis of a converbal linker *tote* as a sentence-final hearsay evidential and pragmatic marker at the right periphery, the elision of the complement clause contributed to the reanalysis of a converbal linker *totemo* as a sentence-initial counter-expectation marker at the left periphery. The elision of the complement clause contributed to the reanalysis of the sentence-initial counter-expectation marker *totemo* as a sentence-medial parenthetical phrase thereby disconnecting the elided complement clause and *totemo*, which enabled *totemo* to grammaticalize into an intensifier.

This study investigated the grammaticalization process of a 'say'-derived construction. The findings shed light on the process of grammaticalization of a 'say'-derived construction, which is not a 'say'-derived complementizer. Such an analytical perspective has the potential to extend this line of study to future typological work in other languages. Since 'say' constructions in Japanese have various phonologically-reduced variants such as *to ifute*, *to iute*, and *to itte*, in the future we shall investigate the process of grammaticalization of these constructions.

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