The grammaticalization of the Kikaijima Ryukyuan SFE *soo*

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Our goal is to examine whether the sentence final expression *soo* in Kikaijima Ryukyuan is a case of grammaticalization. We propose that the synchronic data are compatible with an assumption that *soo* is a reduced form of a negated copula occurring sentence-finally. Synchronically, we distinguish the following three sentence-final strings:

(1) *takasee kagoshima-kara shii-**soo** **araa**.*
PN-TOP Kagoshima-from   come-NMLZ.TOP COP.NEG
"Takashi isn't coming from KAGOSHIMA."

(2) *takashi-nu waa-kawari-en sen   kurii-**soo**   **aran**   **ka**?*
PN-NOM   I.GEN-stead-DAT do.SEQ BEN-NMLZ.TOP COP.NEG YNQ
"Won't Takashi do it in my stead?"

(3) *da-nu   iki-ten   icha-**soo**   **yo**.*
you-NOM go.IMP-QUOT say.PST-*soo* SFP
(in reply to: "Why did you go there?") "But you told me to go!"

Negation in (1) targets the constituent "from Kagoshima", *i.e.* this is a case of constituent negation. A cleft sentence can be derived from (1), in which negation attaches to the constituent it singles out:

(4) *takashi-nu   shii-**soo**   kagoshima-karaa   **aran**   doo.*
PN-NOM   come-NMLZ.TOP   Kagoshima-from.CTOP COP.NEG   ASS
"It's not Kagoshima Takashi is coming from."

In (2), negation is not constituent negation but rather used as an expression of an expectation of the speaker that the proposition holds. We assume that the string *soo aran ka* is reinterpreted as a sentence-final expression of doubt, as a contrastive reading like in (1) is not aviable. Finally, this string is reduced to *soo* in (3), and the utterance conveys that the speaker takes the proposition to hold, *soo* contributing to its expressive meaning only (we are not concerned with the details of its meaning here). We propose a process of lexicalization followed by grammaticalization as in (5) to explain the synchronic data.

(5) *focus negation   >   epistemic expression   >   SFE*
NMLZ-NEG   NMLZ-NEG-YNQ   *soo*

We argue that the contrast between (1) and (2) is due to a process of lexicalization in which negation is no longer propositional and the entire string is interpreted as a single expression of doubt. This is a prerequisite for the subsequent process of grammaticalization from which the sentence final element (SFE) *soo* (3) arises. We observe the following distributional properties of *soo* pointing towards grammaticalization to a sentence-final particle:

- *soo* can follow a non-negated copula

  (6) *ami furoo su-**ja** { -soo / yaa / *-soo aran ka }*

- *soo* can occur in *why*-questions

  (7) ***nuwa** khuran { -soo / *-soo aran ka }*

- *soo* combines with other sentence-final particles

  (8) *un suitchi ushi su-ja { -soo / yaa / -soo **yaa** }*

This could be analogical change where *soo* is reanalyzed as a sentence-final particle. Comparing different classes of KR sentence-final elements with *soo*, we conclude that it does not straightforwardly pattern with any of them but has some properties from different classes, showing that the sentence-final element *soo* is not the result of (purely) analogical change. Finally, considering that *soo* only contributes to the expressive meaning of the utterance, we observe that the final stage of its grammaticalization process can be viewed as pragmaticalization.

References

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