



Mysteries of Verb-Verb complexes
in Asian Languages, NINJAL
December 14, 2013

V-V and V-te V Complexes in Ryukyuan

Masayoshi Shibatani
Department of Linguistics
Rice University
Houston, Texas

Development of Type 4 (V-i=te V) verb complexes in Japanese

Old Japanese GO and COME V-complexes (*Man'yōshū* 7th~8th C)

Non-alternating (?) *-i* (INF) continuative forms (INF=*ren'yōkei*/adverbal)

tob-i yuku 'go flying'

fly-INF go

kog-i yuku 'go rowing'

row-INF go

Alternating *-i* (INF) and *-i=te* (INF=CON) continuative forms

ide kuru / ide=te kuru 'come out'

exit-INF come exit-INF=CON come

nak-i yuku / nak-i=te yuku 'go singing (of a bird)'

sing-INF go sing-INF=CON go

Non-alternating (?) *-i=te* (INF=CON) continuative forms

yador-i=te yuku 'go (after) resting'

rest-INF=CON go

Old Japanese 7th~8th C (*Man'yōshū* song 789-song 1819)

V-i GO/COME 52

V-i=te GO/COME 18

Early Middle Japanese 11th C (*Genjimonogatari* first three chapters)

V-i GO/COME 34

V-i=te GO/COME 4

Late 17th C (*Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* 1682)

V-i GO/COME 19

V-i=te GO/COME 23

Late 19th C (*Ukiyoburo* 1809-1813)

In conversations

V-i GO/COME 0

V-i=te GO/COME 39

In stage directions

Alternations seen

Modern Japanese

Only

V-i=te GO/COME

Question:

How and why this expansion

of V-i=te V?

Initial exposure to Ryukyuan verb complexes

Yaeyama Taketomijima dialect

Auji ya yama iin hari(-i), appa ya kawara iin haritta. (Pre-Mod. J. ik-i=te...)
old.dman TOP mountain to go-INF old.woman TOP river to went

'The old man went to the mountain, and the old woman went to the river.'

Yaa iin kair-i, tii yu aria-i, ii yu fua-i, nunbutan. (kaer-i=te...araw-i=te...tabe=te...)

'(I) returned home, washed the hands, ate a meal, and slept.'

Ami nu hipp-i, fuma iin hararu natta. (hur-i=te...)

'Because it rained, (I) couldn't go to the beech.'

gusan yu hik-i aroon. (tuk-i=te)
'walk using a stick'

ara-i haritta (aru-i=te...)
'went walking'

mizi yu hun-i ukun (kum-i-te...)
'draw water and keep it'

Ka-i mirun (kak-i=te...)
'try writing (it)'

ka-i biirun (kak-i=te...)
'is writing'

ka-i hazimirun (kak-i...)
'begin to write'

Ka-i poorun (kak-i...)
'write away'

os-i toosun (os-i...)
'push down'

Pre-Japanese/Proto-Japonic?

Proto-Japanese

6th-8th C?

Ryukyuan

Southern
Ryukyuan

Yonaguni
dialects

Miyako-
Yaeyama
dialects

Northern
Ryukyuan
dialects

Nara-period central dialects

Kyoto dialect,
etc.

Nara-period (8th C) eastern dialects

Eastern
dialects

Hachijō
dialects

(Based on Hattori 1976)

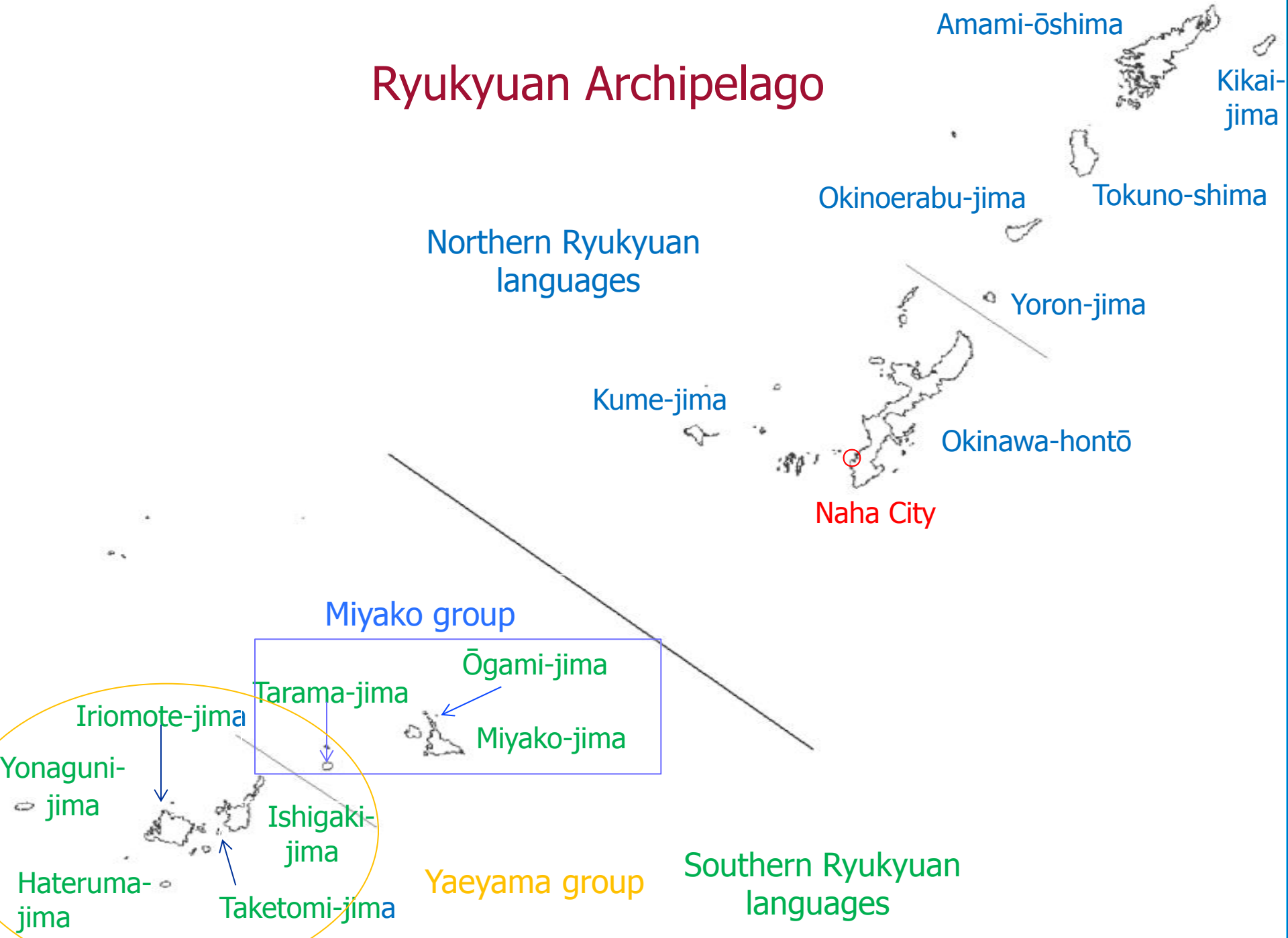


Hokkaidō

◎ Tōkyō

Ryukyu Islands

Ryukyuan Archipelago



Two INF (*ren'yōkei*/adverbial) forms in Southern Ryukyuan

Miyako Ikema (Hayashi and Pellard 2010)

kac-i hazimii
write-INF₁ begin
'begin to write'

Correspond to J. V-i (*ren'yōkei*/adverbial INF)
in form and function

uwaii ~終わる 'finish', kaii ~直す 'redo correctly'
sigii ~過ぎる 'exceed', kanii ~損なう 'miss doing X'
kaisi 「~返す」 'redo', tausii 「~倒す」 'push down'

kak-i ui
write-INF₂ be
'be writing'

Correspond to J. V-i=te in function,
but not in form

ui ている 'be', ai である 'be in state of',
njaan てしまう 'end up doing X', hai ていく 'go', fuu てくる 'come'
mii てみる 'try', fii くれる てくれる 'do favor of doing X'
ssii てしまう 'end up doing X'

Hayashi, Yuka and Thomas Pellard. 2010. 宮古語における動詞の連続体と接続形
[Verbal continuative form and conjunctive form in Miyako]. 2nd Workshop on Ryukyuan
Languages and Linguistic Research. Naha, Okinawa.

Yaeyama Ishigaki dialect (Miyara 1995)

kak-ï had3imi+ru+N <書き始める> 'begin to write'

kak-ï idas+ï+N <書きだす> 'begin to write'

kak-ï kis+u+N <書き切る> 'can write'

kak-ï tuus+ï+N <書きとおす (=書いてばかりいる)> 'keep writing'

kak-ï poor+u+N <書き散らす> 'write away'

kak-ï ttsas+ï-N <書き散らかす> 'write away'

kak-ï nagu+N <書き込む> 'write in/enter in writing'

kak-ï marabas+ï+N <書きなぐる> 'write away'

kak-ï noos+ï+N <書き直す> 'rewrite'

kak-ï kuns+ï+N <書き損じる> 'write mistakenly'

kak-i mii+ru+N <書いてみる> 'try writing'

kak-i tsik+u+N <書いておく> 'write in preparation for X'

kak-i u+N <書いている> 'be writing'

kak-i kii+N <書いてくる> 'write and be back'

kak-i kuu <書いてきなさい> 'go write and be back'

kak-i çii=ru+N <書いてくれる> 'write for me'

Miyara, Shinshō. 1995『南琉球八重山石垣方言の文法』[A grammar of Southern Ryukyu Yaeyama Ishigaki Dialect]. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

Younger speakers of the Ishigaki dialect have lost this contrast; other Yaeyama languages do not seem to show the vowel contrast in question.

Where does V-i (INF₂) of Southern Ryukyuan come from?

Shimoji, Kayoko. 2002. Miyako Taramajima Hōgen no Kisoteki Kenkyū [A Basic Study of Miyako Tarama Dialect]. Master's thesis, Chiba University.

Kak-i **ari**> kakeri> kakiri> kakii> kaki:

Karimata, Shigehisa. 2013. The Representative, Negative, Past, and Continuative Forms of Miyako Verbs. *International Journal of Okinawan Studies*. Vol. 7.

“The Miyako *ari*-continuative developed from the grammaticalization of the fusion of the [*ren'yōkei* V-i] form of the existence verb *az* (J. *aru*) to the [*ren'yōkei* V-i] form of a preceding verb...”

V-i(i) (INF₂) is most versatile continuative form; used in (1) parallel coordinate sentences, (2) clause-chaining, (3) subordinate clauses, (4) in combination with *hojodōshi* auxiliary verbs (mediated by *-te* in Japanese).

Initial exposure to Ryukyuan verb complexes

Yaeyama Taketomijima dialect

Auji ya yama iin hari(-i), appa ya kawara iin haritta. (Pre-Mod. J. ik-i=te...)
old.dman TOP mountain to go-INF old.woman TOP river to went

'The old man went to the mountain, and the old woman went to the river.'

Yaa iin kair-i, tii yu aria-i, ii yu fua-i, nunbutan. (kaer-i=te...araw-i=te...tabe=te...)

'(I) returned home, washed the hands, ate a meal, and slept.'

Ami nu hipp-i, fuma iin hararu natta. (hur-i=te...)

'Because it rained, (I) couldn't go to the beech.'

Miyako V-i(i) (INF₂)

gusan yu hik-i aroon. (tuk-i=te)
walk using a stick

ara-i haritta (aru-i=te...)
'went walking'

mizi yu hun-i ukun (kum-i-te...)
'draw water and keep it'

Ka-i mirun (kak-i=te...)
'try writing (it)'

ka-i biirun (kak-i=te...)
'is writing'

.....

Miyako V-i/i (INF₁)

ka-i hazimirun (kak-i...)
'begin to write'

Ka-i poorun (kak-i...)
'write away'

os-i toosun (os-i...)
'push down'

Third continuative form in Southern Ryukyuan

Yaeyema Kohamajima dialect

- a. Auchee yama nge waari, afuaa kaara nge warisita.
old.man mountsin to go.HON old.woman river to went.HON
'The old man went to the mountain, and the old woman went to the river.'
- b. Auchee yama nge waari-**siti**, afuaa kaara nge warisita
old.man mountain to go.HON-CONJ old.woman river to went.HON
'The old man went to the mountain, and the old woman went to the river.'

Yaeyama Taketomijima dialect

- a. Auji ya yama iin hari(-i), appa ya kawara iin haritta.
ol.man TOP mountain to go old.woman TOP river to went
'The old man went to the mountain, and the old woman went to the river.'
- b. Auji ya yama iin hari-**tti**, appa ya kawara iin haritta.
ol.man TOP mountain to go-CONJ old.woman TOP river to went
'The old man went to the mountain, and the old woman went to the river.'

On Miyako –*tti*/*-siti* forms

Shimoji, Kayoko. 2002. Miyako Taramajima Hōgen no Kisoteki Kenkyū [A Basic Study of Miyako Tarama Dialect]. Master's thesis, Chiba University.

kak-i *arite*> kakerite> kakiriti> kakiiti> kak-i-*tti*

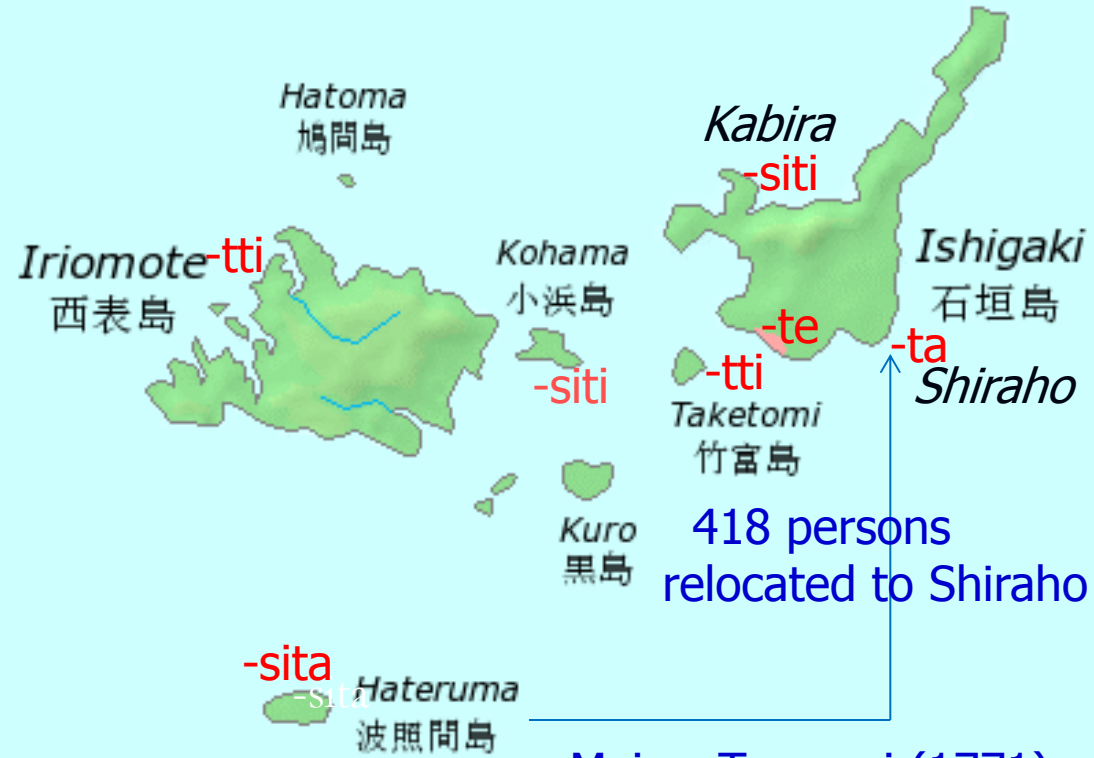
Hayashi and Pellard (2010)

「テ形は池間方言には現れないが、大神方言（その他の方言）においては、化石的に残存する形でのみ現れる。」

“-te form does not appear in Ikema dialect, but in Ōgami (and other dialects), [it] appears only as a fossilized form.”

Yaeyama Islands 八重山諸島

 -tti
Yonaguni
与那国島



On Southern Ryukyuan -*tti*

-*tti* and its variants are from *-siti*; does not correspond to J *-te* directly

1. Hateruma *-sita* → Shiraho *-ta*

2. Where there is *-siti* (Kohamajima) or *-sita* (Hateruma), there is no *-tti*; where there is *-tti/-te*, there is no *-siti/-sita*

3. Kohamajima *haisiti* (そして *sosite*) → Taketomijima *aitti*

Miyako Ōgami dialect (宮古大神)

uri=i ara-i-**s(i)ti** nuku-i-**s(i)ti** nnas-i usk-i
prox=acc 洗う-cvb-seq 拭く-cvb-seq 片付ける-cvb prep-imp
'Wash this, wipe, and put away.'

fii-ripa urε=ε mut-i pεr-i-**sitti**=tu...
give-CIRC PROX=ACC carry=CVB leave=CVB=SEQ=FOC
As they gave them to him, he took then and left...
(glosses and translations by Thomas Pellard)

Karimata (2013) on other Miyako dialects

-**ɕiti** (Kugai久貝, Karimata狩俣)

-**ttci** (Bora保良, Shimajiri島尻)

On the function of *-siti/-tti* in Miyhako languages

Hayashi and Pellard (2010)

「*sti* は補助動詞構文や複雑述語には現れず、節連鎖及び継起節にしか用いられない。」“*sti* does not appear together with auxiliaries or in compound verbs and appears **only in clause-chaining and sequential clauses.**”

pampin=nu mut-i(*-sti) kss-i(*-sti) fii-ru
fritter=acc hold-cvb(-seq) come-cvb(-seq) give-imp
“do me the favor of bringing (take-come) fritters”

Karimata (2013)

“The Miyako *shite*-continuative form can **serve as the predicate of a compound sentence** and in this function and in its structure, it resembles the Japanese *shite*-continuative form. However, **it is not used in subordinate clauses** and it does not function as an element in the construction of aspectual forms, the “try to” construction, or donatory verbs.”

Summary of Southern Ryukyuan continuative forms

Southern Ryukyuan

V-i₂=**siti**/=**tti** V

Clause-chains, **some subordinate clauses** (see below) (**co-exist w/ V-i₂ V**)

V-i₂ V
(< V-i₁ ari 'exist/be')

Clause-chains, subordinate clauses,
With *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verbs

V-i₁/**-i** V

With *hazimeru* 'begin', *owaru* 'finish'
Verb compounds

Historical expansion



Mod. Japanese

V-i=te V

Clause-chains, subordinate clauses (**has replaced V-i V in Mod. Coll. Japanese**)

V-i=te V

With *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verbs
-te oku 'put', *-te yaru* 'give',
-te iku/kuru 'go/come',
-te iru 'be', etc. (**has completely replaced V-i V in Mod. Japanese**)

V-i V

With *hazimeru* 'begin', *owaru* 'finish',
Verb compounds

-siti/-tti : from clause-chains to subordinate clauses

Hayashi & Pellard and Karimata on Miyako *-siti / -tti* continuatives

Hayashi and Pellard (2010)

「*sti* は補助動詞構文や複雑述語には現れず、節連鎖及び継起節にしか用いられない。」”*sti* does not appear together with auxiliaries or in compound verbs and appears **only in clause-chaining and sequential clauses.**”

Karimata (2013)

“The Miyako *shite*-continuative form can **serve as the predicate of a compound sentence** and in this function and in its structure, it resembles the Japanese *shite*-continuative form. However, **it is not used in subordinate clauses** and it does not function as an element in the construction of aspectual forms, the “try to” construction, or donatory verbs.”

Yaeyama *-siti /-tti /-te, -sita/ -ta* continuatives

おじいさんは山に*いって*、お婆さんは川に行った。

The old man went to the mountain, and the old woman went to the river.

Buya ya yama ci ngi(*-ta*), appa ya kaara go/ci ngen (Shiraho)

Auji ya yama iIn hari(*-tti*), appa ya kawara iIn haritta (Taketomijima)

Auchee yama nge waari(*-siti*), afuaa kaara nge warisita (Kohamajima)

学校から帰って、手を洗って、ご飯を食べた。

Came back from school, washed the hands, and ate a meal

Gakkoo gara kaeri(*-ta*), tii arai(*-ta*), ii hee yan (Shiraho)

Gakko kara kairi(*-tti*), tii yu arai(*-tti*), ii yu hoota (Taketomijima)

Gakoo kara kaeriki(*-siti*), ti wa aarai(*-siti*), mbon wa fuasita (Kohamajima)

石垣で馬に乗ってきた。

(I) rode a horse in Ishigaki and came back.

Sika nangi uma nuri(-ta) ken (Shiraho)

Inashi naai uma noori(-tti) kutta (Taketomijima)

Ishaki nga ma wa noori(-siti) kita/kitaru (Kohamajima)

学校に馬に乗ってきた。

(I) came to school riding a horse.

Gakkoo go uma nuri(-*ta) ken (Shiraho)

Gakoo iin uma noori(-?tti) kuta (Taketomijima)

Gakko nge uma wa noori(-siti) kitaru (Kohamajima)

杖をついて歩く。

walk using a cane

gusan siki(-[?]ta) arago (Shiraho)

gusan yu hiki(-tti) aroon (Taketomi)

gusan wa ciki(-siti) arukun (Kohamajima)

学校に歩いていく。

go to school walking

gakkoo go aragi(-*ta) ngiba (Shiraho)

gakkoo iin arai (-*tti) haritta (Taketomijima)

gakkoo nge aruki(-siti) hattaro (Kohamajima)

傘を持ってきた。

brought (take-come) an umbrella'

Kasa much(-[?]ta) ken (Shiraho)

Sana yu miti(-*tti) kitta (Taketomijima)

Kasa wa muchi(-siti) kitaru (Kohamajima)

子供を病院に連れて来た

brought (accompany-come) the child to the hospital

utama byooin ga soori(-*ta) kyan (Shiraho)

fuaa byooin iin saari(-*tti) kutta (Taketomijima)

fuaa yu byooin nge saari(-*siti) kitaru (Kohamajima)

Other *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verbs

精一杯ご飯を食べておく。

eat a meal earnestly in preparation for X

siippe ii hee(-***ta**) siki (Shiraho)

Ii yu hiigosara fuoi(-***titi**) ukun (Taketomijima)

Ussoo mbon wa fuai(-***siti**) cikirun (Kohamajima)

書いてみる

try writing

kaki(-***ta**) mira (Shiraho)

Kaki(-***titi**) mirun (Taketomijima)

kaki(-***siti**) miri sita (Kohamajima)

From V-i₂ V to Compounds?

「宮古池間方言では、日本語では語彙的複合動詞で表されるような事象も、以下のように単一の動詞または複文によって表されることが多い。」

In Miyako Ikema events that would be expressed by compounds are frequently expressed by single verbs or as compound sentences. (Hayashi and Pellard 2010)

a. waa=nu nubui=ju **simi** **sinasi-tai**
pig=GEN throat=acc squeeze kill-PAST
'kill a pig by squeezing (its neck)'

b. kii=ju **kiri** **tausi-tai**
tree=ACC cut fell-PAST
'cut down a tree'

Subordinate to *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verb pattern in Mod. Japanese

Osaka dialect

sakana o yai-te tabe-ta (Sequential and Manner readings)
fish ACC broil-CON eat-PAST
'(I) broiled fish and ate it./ (I) ate the fish broiling it.'

sakana o yai-te tabe-ta. (Only Manner reading)
*(I) broiled the fish and ate it./ (I) ate the fish broiling it.'

Hojodōshi pitch pattern:

yai-te mita
'try broiling'

yai-te oku
'broil in prep of X'

yai-te iru
'is broiling'

Summary of Southern Ryukyuan continuative forms

Southern Ryukyuan

V-i₂=siti/=tti V

Clause-chains, **some subordinate clauses**

V-i₂ V
(< V-i₁ ari 'exist/be')

Clause-chains, subordinate clauses,
With *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verbs

V-i₁/-i V

With *hazimeru* 'begin', *owaru* 'finish'
Verb compounds

Historical expansion



Mod. Japanese

V-i=te V

Clause-chains, subordinate clauses

V-i=te V

With *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verbs
-te oku 'put', *-te yaru* 'give',
-te iku/kuru 'go/come',
-te iru 'be', etc.

V-i V

With *hazimeru* 'begin', *owaru*
'finish'
Verb compounds

Semantically less congruous junctures require a more explicit connective marking. (Shibatani and Chung 2010:39)

Two events are congruous to the extent they

- (a) share participants
- (b) show spatio-temporal overlap
- (c) Causally connected
- (d) Conventionally connected

杖をついて歩く。

walk using a cane

gusan siki(-[?]ta) arago (Shiraho)

gusan yu hiki(-tti) aroon (Taketomijima)

gusan wa ciki(-siti) arukun (Kohamajima)

学校に歩いていく。

go to school walking

gakkoo go aragi(-*ta) ngiba (Shiraho)

gakkoo iin arai (-*tti) haritta (Taketomijima)

gakkoo nge aruki(-siti) hattaro (Kohamajima)

Why faster rate of replacement/expansion in So. Ryukyuan?

Southern Ryukyuan

V-i₂=siti/=tti V

Clause-chains, some subordinate clauses (co-exist w/ V-1₂ V)

V-i₂ V
(< V-i₁ ari 'exist/be')

Clause-chains, subordinate clauses,
With *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verbs

V-i₁/-i V

With *hazimeru* 'begin', *owaru* 'finish'
Verb compounds

Historical expansion

Mod. Japanese

V-i=te V

Clause-chains, subordinate clauses

V-i=te V

With *hojodōshi*/auxiliary verbs
-te *oku* 'put', -te *yaru* 'give',
-te *iku/kuru* 'go/come',
-te *iru* 'be', etc.

V-i V

With *hazimeru* 'begin', *owaru*
'finish'
Verb compounds

Desubordination/Insubordination of V-i₂ in So. Ryukyuan

Miyako Ōgami (Pellard 2012)

kii=ia munu=u fa-i=tu kss-i.

today=TOP thing=ACC eat-CVB=FOC come-CVB

'Today I ate before coming.' (lit. 'I ate and then came.')

Yaeyama Miyara (Davis 2013)

nga at-ta saata-tempura=ja Mariko=n=du fa-i.

there.at exist-PAST sugar-fried.dough=TOP Mariko=NM=DU eat-PAST₂

'Mariko ate the fried dough over there.' (Davis 2013)

Pellard, Thomas (2012) Converbs and their desubordination in Ōgami Ryukyuan. *Gengo Kenkyu* 142:95-118.

Davis, Christopher. 2013. Surface position and focus domain of the Ryukyuan focus particle du: Evidence from Miyara Yaeyaman. *International Journal of Okinawan Studies*, Vol. 7.

What about robust *-ti* / *-cci* continuatives in Amami Northern Ryukyuan?

Amami (Shigeno 2010)

kagora=sii kago mu-**cci** iz-i
basket.ABL=INST basket have-MED go-NPST
'(The boy) took the basket.'

wan=ja habu=nzi kam-ar-**ti**=doo
I=TOP habu=DAT bite-PASS-MED=EMP
'I **was** bitten by the habu snake.'

Amami *-cci/-ti* (and the equivalents of other Northern Ryukyuan languages) show perfect correspondence to Mod. Japanese *-te* continuatives, except for the past-tense marking function.

Shigeno, Hiromi. 2010. Ura (Amami Ryukyuan). Michinori Shimoji and Thomas Pellard (eds.) An Introduction to Ryukyuan Languages. Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.15-34.









浦内亮平