

V-V and V-te V complexes in Ryukyuan

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Studying the development of Southern Ryukyuan verb complexes corresponding to the V-V and V-te V complexes of Modern Japanese may shed light on the development of these verb complexes, especially on the expansion of V-te V forms in Japanese, which converted Old Japanese V-V forms like *kogi-yuku* ‘go rowing’ and *yose-kuru* ‘come moving closer’ to V-te V forms like *koi-de yuku* and *yose-tekuru* (Shibatani and Chung 2007).

The correspondences of the relevant forms are summarized in the following table:

Mod. Japanese/Northern Ryukyuan	Southern Ryukyuan
V-i V/V-i V	V-i ₁ V
V-i-te V/V-i-ti	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V-i}_2(< *ari) \text{ V} \\ \text{V-i}_2\text{-tti V} \end{array} \right.$
V-i ₂ -siti/sita V	

Table 1

An interesting characteristic of Southern Ryukyuan is the presence of two adverbial/*ren'yookei* V-i's, which may be distinguished phonetically as V-i and V-ii as in certain verbs in Miyako or as V-ï and V-i by conservative speakers of the Ishigaki dialect (Miyara 1995) and some others in Yaeyama. The Southern Ryukyuan V-i₁ is a cognate of the Japanese adverbial V-i, and there is close correspondence between the two in the formation of verbal compounds falling under Kageyama's Types 1-3 (e.g., Ishigaki *hakï-manziru* (Japanese *kaki-mazeru*) ‘mix by stirring’, *kakï-kisun* (J. *kaki-kiru*) ‘write-up completely’, *kakï-hađjimirun* (J. *kaki-hazimeru*) ‘start writing’).

The second Southern Ryukyuan adverbial V-i₂ form is a new development derived from the combination of the older adverbial V-i₁ and the adverbial form (corresponding to J. *ari*) of the local existential verb (J. *aru*) (Karimata 2013). The new adverbial form is used in the formation of Type 4 verb complexes mediated by the conjunctive particle

-*tein* Japanese (and the parallel forms in Northern Ryukyuan), e.g., Ishigakik*kaki-un* (J. *kai-teiru*) ‘be writing’, *kaki-mirun* (*kai-temiru*) ‘try writing’, *kaki-çiirun* (*kai-tekureru*) ‘gives (me the favor of) writing’, *kaki-kiiin*(*kai-tekuru*) ‘write and be back’.

Southern Ryukyuan shows two further developments. Many Miyako dialects (e.g., Bora, Kugai, Karimata, Shimajiri) and some Yaeyama dialects (e.g., Ishigaki, Taketomijima, Iriomote) have developed a form that formally corresponds to the Japanese (and the Northern Ryukyuan) V-i-te (V-i-ti) form, attaching the cognate of *-te* to the V-i₂adverbial form, e.g., Ishigakik*kaki-ttiikiin*(J.*kai-tekuru*) ‘write and be back’. As this example shows, some Type 4 verb complexes may be expressed by the new V-i₂-tti V form. Some Yaeyama dialects, e.g., Kohamajima, Hateruma, have developed what appears to be an alternative to this V-i₂-tti V form. The Kohamajima dialect uses *siti* and Haterumas*ita*, e.g., Kohamajima*aruki-hattaru* ~ *aruki-sitihattaru*(J.*arui-teitta*) ‘went walking’, Haterumas*inusi-ngjatan* ~ *inusi-sitangjatan* (J. *huku=o ki-teitta*) ‘put on the clothes and went’.

A close examination of the distribution of these verbal complexes and of the clause-chaining use of the first-verb forms, e.g. *kaki-*, *kaki-*, *kaki-tti/kaki-siti/sita* (J. *kaki-*, *kai-te*) point to the following hypotheses: (i) Semantically less congruous combinations of verbal expressions require a more explicit marking, (ii) A new form of verbal complexes develops first in semantically less congruous combinations and then spreads to more congruous combinations, i.e., from the bottom forms to the top forms in Table 1 (see Shibatani and Chung 2007 on the notion of “congruous combinations of verbal expressions”). A possible motivation for this spread is also explored.

References:

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