Aleksandra Jarosz Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

The formation of bare and modal conclusives of strong conjugation verbs in Proto-Sakishima

Keywords: Proto-Sakishima, Japonic languages, comparative linguistics, verb morphology, analogy

The purpose of this paper is to introduce findings from the author's Proto-Sakishima (PS) verb system reconstruction, focusing on the three PS sources of the modern conclusive forms of the strong conjugation verbs.

Sakishima-Ryukyuan is a subgroup of the Japonic family, genetically (Pellard 2015) divided into Miyakoan and Macro-Yaeyaman, and the latter further into Nuclear Yaeyaman and Dunan (Yonagunian).

The conclusive verb forms in Miyakoan and Yaeyaman do not match phonologically (Nakama 1992, Karimata 2016). First, the default finite form in a simple, unfocused sentence in Yaeyaman has a final -n morpheme, cf. Shika-Ishigaki *kakun* 'to write'. On the other hand, in Miyakoan the few more conservative regiolects such as Karimata have the "bare" -n-less doublets, *kafu / kaki*, the latter derived from the PS infinitive, while most regiolects retain only the latter. Yaeyaman conclusives should therefore rather be compared with Miyakoan modal conclusives (*realis* in Shimoji 2017's terminology), like Karimata *kafum* and *kakim*.

Second, a comparison of Shika *kakun* and Karimata *kafum* gives an erroneous correspondence, since Yaeyaman /ku/ can only be traced to PS *ko (Shika-Ishigaki *kusi* < *kosi 'hips') and Miyakoan /fu/ to PS *ku (Hirara *futsi* < *kutsi 'lips').

This paper will establish two PS conclusive forms, the bare (unmarked) conclusive and the modal conclusive, and employ the notion of analogical change to explain the above controversies. Cf. Table 1 for specific examples of the discussed changes.

PS vowel system underwent a major shift: following alveolar obstruents, close vowels *i and *u became *i. This led to a homophony of the thus far *i-final infinite and *u-final bare conclusive forms. Losing this opposition in a significant part of the lexicon triggered a functional blurring also of the forms that were not yet homophonous at the PS stage. In strong conjugation, this led to the use of infinites in the environments so far reserved for the conclusives¹, and *vice versa*. The change also affected the modal conclusive, here reconstructed with an original final -*umu, giving birth to infinite-derived modal conclusives such as *kakimu 'to write', as reflected in modern Karimata-Miyakoan *kakim* or Kabira-Yaeyaman *kakin*.

The *i, *u > *i shift was paralleled by the mid-vowel raising *e > *i, *o > *u. A post-bilabial nasal raising *mo > *mu is believed to have occurred already at the Proto-Ryukyuan level (Jarosz 2018); it was followed by $*o > *u / [+alveolar]__ in PS$. This change affected the *o-final attributive forms, which served as predicates in focalized and relative clauses. Its direct consequence was a formal merger of conclusives and attributives in the relevant verb groups. Although at the PS stage, a formal infinitive/conclusive or conclusive/attributive merger may not have yet occurred in verbs with stem-final stops or stem-final vowels, through a gradual reanalysis of the conclusive suffix *-u

¹ Cf. Hattori 1977 or Karimata 2016 for evidence that despite their English name, infinite forms were used finitely already in Proto-Ryukyuan, possibly as a perfective-marked form. This syntactic overlap with conclusives in sentence-final position would provide a further opportunity to merge the use of conclusives and infinitives in PS.

as an allomorph of the attributive *-o, the functional distinction between the two discussed categories may also have been reduced through analogy with the affected verbs. Thus, if *jumu 'to read' (merged in PR) or *tato > *tatu 'to stand' (raised in PS) were now used for both functions, conclusive *kaku 'to write' could also be used alongside the morphologically still distinct attributive *kako, and likewise *tobu 'to fly' alongside *tobo.

While modern Miyakoan retains the early PS *u-based modal conclusives, in Proto-Yaeyaman an expansion of the bare attributive form occurred, resulting in an analogical replacement of the original modal conclusives with the *o-based ones. This may have been caused by a reanalysis of attributive *-o as an allomorph of conclusive *-u – a sort of reverse to what had occurred in PS – with a subsequent leveling of all allomorphs to *-o. Conversely, as a result of further extensive verb-final sound changes and analogical processes, Proto-Miyakoan eliminated the original attributive/conclusive opposition virtually completely, leveling the PS-stage attributive-conclusive *-o/*-u allomorphy to *-u. At the same time, the Proto-Miyakoan infinitive inherited from PS has gained an even greater functional prominence, in most regiolects becoming now the default conclusive form at the expense of the original PS *-u conclusives.

	infinitive	bare conclusive	modal conclusive	attributive
'to read'	*jumi > *jum i	*jumu [+ analogy] ~*jum i	*jumumu	*jumu
'to stand'	*tati > *tatsi	*tatu > *tatsi	*tatumu > *tatsimu [+ analogy in Proto- Yaeyaman] ~*tatumu	*tato > *tatu [+ analogy in Proto- Miyakoan] > *tatsi
'to talk'	*panaci > *panasi	*panasu > *panasi	*panasumu > *panasimu [+ analogy in Proto- Yaeyaman] ~*panasumu	*panaso > *panasu [+ analogy in Proto- Miyakoan] > *panasi
'to fly'	*tobi > *tubi	*tobu > *tubu [+ analogy] ~ *tubi	*tobumu > *tubumu [+ analogy] ~*tubimu [+ analogy in Proto- Yayeaman] ~*tubomu	*tobo > *tubo [+ analogy] ~*tubu [+ analogy in Proto- Miyakoan] > *tubi
'to write'	*kaki > *kaki	*kaku [+ analogy] ~ *kaki	*kakumu [+analogy] ~*kakimu [+ analogy in Proto- Yaeyaman] ~*kakomu	*kako [+ analogy] ~*kaku [+ analogy in Proto- Miyakoan] > *kak i

Table 1. Analogy and conclusive verb forms in Proto-Sakishima

References

Hattori Shirō 1977. "Ryūkyū hōgen dōshi "shūshikei"-no tsūjiteki henka [diachronic change of the verbal "conclusive" in Ryukyuan dialects]". *Gengo Kenkyū* 72:19–28.

Jarosz, Aleksandra 2018. "Innovations, distribution gaps and mirror images: The reflexes of Proto-Ryukyuan close vowels in a post-nasal position". *Yearbook of the Poznań Linguistic Meeting* 4 (2018):75–104.

Karimata Shigehisa 2016. "Ryūkyū shogo-no asupekuto/tensu taikei-o kōsei suru keishiki [on forms the tense-aspect systems-constituting forms in Ryukyuan languages]". In: Yukinori Takubo, John Whitman, Tatsuya Hirako (eds). *Ryūkyū shogo-to kodai nihongo* [Ryukyuan languages and Old Japanese]. 125–147. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

Nakama Mitsunari 1992. *Ryūkyū hōgen-no kosō* [old strata in Ryukyuan dialects]. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō.

Pellard, Thomas 2015. "The linguistic archeology of the Ryukyu islands". In: Patrick Heinrich, Shinsho Miyara and Michinori Shimoji (eds.). *Handbook of the Ryukyuan languages: history, structure, and use*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 13-37.

Shimoji, Michinori 2017. *A grammar of Irabu, a Southern Ryukyuan language*. Studies in Humanistics 12. Fukuoka: Kyushu University Press.