

Kakari-musubi in Ikema Ryukyuan
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In this presentation we will argue for the existence of *kakari-musubi* in Ikema Ryukyuan, one of the dialects of Miyako, a language belonging to the Southern Ryukyuan group. The purpose of this paper is to show that Ikema has 'positive' KM by proposing an information-structural account of the phenomenon. We will then go on to show that the method proposed provides a means to identify KM in languages where the distinction between conclusive (CCL) and adinal (ADN) endings has been lost.

Kakari-musubi (KM) is a construction involving concord between *kakari*- particles (special focus particles: KP) and conjugational endings. In (1), the existence of the focus-KP *sō* requires the ending to be in an ADN instead of a CCL form.

- (1) a. *ura sipo miti-ku imada ak-an-aku-ni* (Man'yōshū 3707) **No KP.. CCL**
 bay tide rise-INF-come-CCL yet be-satisfied-NEG-NML DV-INF
 'The tide in the bay rose but I have not yet (enjoyed this) enough.'
 b. *yose-k-uru nami-ni* (Man'yōshū 3709) **ADN+N**
 approach come-ADN wave-LOC
 'In the waves that come together...'
 c. *ikoma-no yama-wo kōye-te sō a-ga k-uru* (Man'yo 3590) **NP-KP.....ADN**
 Ikoma-GEN mountain-ACC cross-INF KM I-NOM come-ADN
 'I will come crossing the Ikoma mountain, (where I tread on roots and rocks)'

KM existed in Old Japanese but virtually disappeared in Modern Japanese by the 17th century in most of the mainland dialects Japan possibly because of the loss of the morphological distinction between CCL and ADN, while it has continued to exist in dialects of Northern Ryukyuan and those of Yaeyama (see (2) for examples from Oku in Okinawa).

- (2) a. *ʔupu gui-ʃi ware:ŋ* (Uchima (2000:134)) **No KP..CCL**
 big voice-INST laugh-CCL
 b. *ware:-ru warabi-nu ʔuiŋ* (Ibid.:134) **ADN+N**
 laugh-ADN child-NOM be-CCL
 c. *ʔariga-du ware:ru* (Ibid.:134) **NP-KM.....ADN**
 he-KM laugh-AD

It has generally been assumed that dialects of Miyako lacked KM, because, as in Modern Japanese, the distinction between ADN and CCL endings has been lost in most dialects (see (3) for examples from Shimozato, Miyako).

- (3) a. *ban-mai kaks.* Finite Sentence (Karimata 2009)
 I-also write
 'I also write.'
 b. *kaks pstu* ADN+N (Ibid.)
 write person
 'The/a person who writes.'
 c. *ba-ga-du kaks.* Focused Sentence (Ibid.)
 I-NOM-FOC write
 'It is I that write.'

In Ikema, the ADN and CCL endings are still distinct in the two verbs of existence. When there is a focus particle, CCL forms *uri* (be-animate) or *ari* (be-inanimate), cannot end a sentence. Instead, *ui* or *ai*, forms used for ADN modification, are used. When there are no focus particles, *ui* or *ai* cannot be used to end a sentence but *uri* or *ari* must be used. The distribution can, thus, be characterized as a typical case of KM: a focus KP obligatorily taking the ADN ending in place of CCL ending.

- (4) a. kuruma-a haasa {ari/*ai}.
 car-TOP many {be_CCL/*be_ADN}
 'Many cars are there.'
 b. kuruma-nu-du haasa {*ari/ai}.
 car-NOM-FOC many {*be_CCL/be_ADN}
 'There are many cars.'
 c. kama-n {ai/*ari} kuruma
 there-LOC {be_ADN/be_CCL} car
 'A/The car which are there'

For verbs other than *ui/uri* and *ai/ari*, there is no distinction between CCL forms and ADN forms in Ikema. Basic forms (forms without any suffixes or modals) cannot end a sentence unless there is a focus particle. Coupled with the fact they are also used in ADN positions, they can be taken to be ADN rather than CCL forms. Here too we can discern a KM pattern involving a focus-KP and ADN endings.

When a focus-KP is not present in a sentence, CCL forms of verbs can be used, as with verbs of existence. If verbs do not have a CCL form, they must take a modal auxiliary such as *-dusI* (assertive, originally *du+asI* (do)) or *-hazI* (inferential) attached to them. The resultant complex forms can be used with a focus particle or without (see (5)). This is true with ADN forms *ui* and *ai* as well (see (6)). The distribution can be summarized as in (7).

- (5) a. unu tui-ya {*nacI/nacI-dusI} b. unu tui-nu-du {nacI/nacI-dusI}
 this bird-TOP{*chirp_ADN/chirp-ASS} this bird-NOM-FOC {chirp_ADN/chirp-ASS}
 'This bird chirps.' 'It is this bird that chirps.'
- (6) kama-n-na hurana-a {*ai/ai-dusI}
 there-LOC-TOP cave-TOP {be_ADN/be-ASS}
 'There is a cave there.'
- (7) a. NP[-F].....CCL/ *ADN/ ADN-MOD
 b. NP[+F].....ADN/*CCL/ ADN-MOD

The distribution described above can be accounted for if we assume that focus particles divide the sentences they appear in into two parts, assertion and presupposition. Usually the constituent that a focus particle attaches to is the assertion and the rest is presupposition. We argue that the distribution of the focus-KP and endings observed above of Ikema can be derived by assuming that the presupposed part must not contain an assertive illocutionary force. The distribution of ADN in Ikema follows directly from that assumption given that the adnominal form cannot have assertive illocutionary force. If there is no non-predicate focus, then the predicate must have illocutionary force, which means that they cannot be in ADN. If there is a non-predicate focus, then the predicate cannot have assertive force, thereby excluding the CCL. Notice in this context the observation of Shimoji (to appear) that in Nagahama, one of the dialects in Irabu spoken Irabu Island, located to the Southwest of Miyako Island, there is a rule such that a specific verb form (*-m* ending) is excluded (rather than chosen) in the presence of a focus particle, characterizing it as a negative concord pattern in Irabu. The pattern can easily be taken care of by our approach as a case of [+F] excluding CCL.

The distribution of forms with modal auxiliaries can be accounted for if we assume that modals such as *-dusI* or *-hazI* can be ambiguous between assertive and descriptive (i.e. interpreted as not having assertive illocutionary force). In fact, they can be in the scope of other modals and can be embedded in non-quotative sentences.

We show that our approach is quite useful in finding hitherto unknown KM in dialects which have lost the MDN-CCL distinction in verbal morphology, and sheds a new light on the KM phenomenon.

References: Karimata, S. 2009. Hôgen bunnô no kijutsu kenkyû -shôshitsu to henyô o mae ni shite. A talk given at the workshop "Future of Japanese Studies" held at Kokuritu Kokugo Kenkyûsho to commemorate the restructuring of the institute. Shimoji, M.(to appear). Quasi-Kakarimusubi in Irabu. J/K18. CSLI publications. Uchima, C. 1985. Kakarimusubi no kakari no yowamari: Ryukyu hôgen no kakarimusubi o chûshin ni. Okinawabunkakenkyû 11: 223-244.