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FIELD OF RESEARCH: dialect geography.

## RECONSIDERING THE CHANGE OF VERBAL CONJUGATION SYSTEMS IN TOKUNOSHIMA DIALECTS: THE PROHIBITIVE FORM AS ANOTHER PROOF

Veiksmazodžio asmenavimo sistemų kaita  
Tokunošimos tarmėse: draudimą reiškianti  
forma kaip dar vienas įrodymas

### ANNOTATION

The author was involved in the analysis of verbal conjugation system of a Tokunoshima dialect, which belongs to Ryukyu dialects of Japanese language. The study is part of the research of making a dialect dictionary in Tokunoshima. Fukushima (2017) discussed the reorganization of verbal conjugation systems in the dialects on the Tokunoshima Island, by comparing two local systems and examining geographical distributions of a particular verb form. The adverbial form was used as a key to show the on-going change. In this paper, the prohibitive form is used as another proof to show the variation on the island and to describe the reorganization of verbal conjugation systems in the dialects. The reorganization process of verbal conjugation systems in Tokunoshima is illustrated by using linguistic maps with a focus on the prohibitive form as well as the adverbial form. The newly drawn maps based on the 1977 Okamura survey data show clearly demarcated distributions, which demonstrate that the forms with a vowel-ending verb stem are older than those with an *r*-ending verb stem.

KEYWORDS: change of systems, verbal conjugation, Ryukyu dialects, prohibitive form, dialect maps.

## ANOTACIJA

Straipsnio autorė dalyvavo atliekant japonų kalbos Riūkiū tarmėms priklausančios Tokunošimos tarmės veiksmožodžio asmenavimo sistemos analizę. Šis darbas – su Tokunošimos tarmės žodyno rengimu susijusio tyrimo dalis. 2017 m. autorė aptarė Tokunošimos salos tarmių veiksmožodžio asmenavimo sistemos kaitą: lygino dvi vietines sistemas ir ištyrė geografinį vienos konkrečios veiksmožodžio formos paplitimą. Parodyti pokyčius buvo siekiama remiantis prieveiksmine forma. Šiame straipsnyje kaip dar vienas įrodymas pasi-  
telkiama draudimą reiškianti forma – ja siekiama atskleisti kalbos įvairovę saloje ir aprašyti tarmėse vykstančią veiksmožodžio asmenavimo sistemų kaitą. Tokunošimos veiksmožodžio asmenavimo sistemų kaitos procesas iliustruojamas lingvistiniais žemėlapiais, dėmesys sutelkiamas į draudimą reiškiančią formą ir prieveiksminę formą. 1977 m. Okamuros tyrimo duomenų pagrindu iš naujo sudaryti žemėlapiai atskleidžia akivaizdų geografinį pasiskirstymą, kuris rodo, kad balse besibaigiančių veiksmožodžio kamienų formos yra senesnės nei *r* besibaigiančio veiksmožodžio kamieno formos.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: sistemų kaita, veiksmožodžio asmenavimas, Riūkiū tarmės, draudimą reiškianti forma, tarmių žemėlapiai.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: THE CHANGE IN VERBAL CONJUGATION SYSTEM

The author reported on the change of verbal conjugation systems in Tokunoshima dialects with the focus on the adverbial form (Fukushima 2017). The present paper asserts that the prohibitive form is also involved in the change.

Tokunoshima is an island in the Ryukyu Archipelago (see Figure 1) and the author has been involved in the analysis of the verbal conjugation system of Asama dialect on the island. This is part of the research for making a dialect dictionary (Sawaki, Fukushima, Nakajima 2003, 2006, 2012; Fukushima 2010).<sup>1</sup> The survey of dialects of elderly informants at Asama and Inutabu (see Figure 1) revealed that they have different verbal conjugation patterns. The verbal conjugation system of Asama dialect consists of three conjugation patterns: regular conjugation I (consonant-ending verb stem type), regular conjugation II (vowel-ending verb stem type), and irregular conjugation (see Table 1), while the verbal conjugation system of Inutabu dialect consists of two conjugation patterns: regular conjugation (consonant-ending verb stem type) and irregular conjugation (see Table 2). Based on the comparison of conjugation patterns of

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Standard Japanese and the two dialects, it is considered that the verbs of regular conjugation II are being incorporated into regular conjugation I (see Table 3).

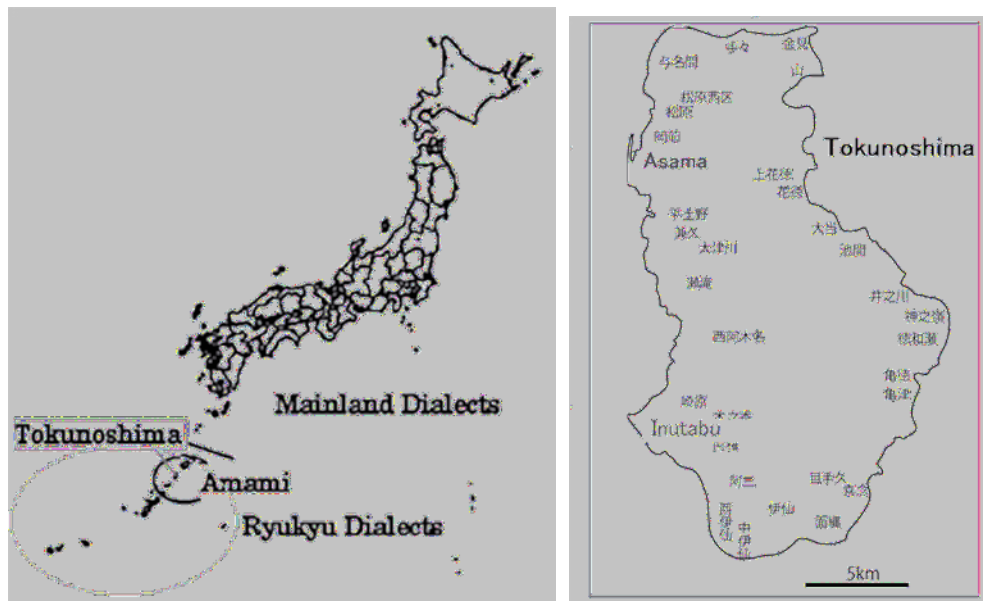


FIGURE 1. Surveyed area and localities

TABLE 1. Verbal conjugation patterns of Asama dialect in Tokunoshima

Equivalent Standard Japanese	basic stem (BS)	fused stem (FS)	euphonic stem (ES)	Headword	Main conjugation forms		
				- <i>jui</i> form	adverbial form	negative form	- <i>te</i> form (euphonic form)
				FS + <i>ui</i>	BS + <i>i</i>	BS + <i>aN</i>	ES + <i>I</i>
<b>Regular Conjugation I (Consonant-ending stem)</b>							
<i>asobu</i> 'play'	'asIb-	'asIbj-	'asId-	'asIbjui	'asIbi:	'asIbaN	'asI:dI
<i>kiku</i> 'hear'	KIk-	KIkj-	Kicj-	Kikjui	Kiki:	KikaN	KicjI:
<i>naru</i> 'become'	nar-	naj-	nat-	najui	nai	naraN	na:I
<b>Regular Conjugation II (Vowel-ending stem)</b>							
<i>okiru</i> 'wake up'	'wI:-	'wI:j-	'wI:t-	'wI:jui	'wI:	'wI:raN	'wI:tI
<b>Irregular Conjugation</b>							
<i>suru</i> 'do'	s-/sj-	sj-	sj-	sjui	sI:	sjaN	sjI:

TABLE 2. Verbal conjugation patterns of Inutabu dialect in Tokunoshima

				Headword	Main conjugation forms		
Equivalent Standard Japanese	basic stem (BS)	fused stem (FS)	euphonic stem (ES)	<i>-jui form</i>	<b>adverbial form</b>	<b>negative form</b>	<b>-te form (euphonic form)</b>
				FS + ui	BS + i	BS + aN	ES + I
<b>Regular Conjugation (Consonant-ending stem)</b>							
<i>asobu</i> ‘play’	’asIb-	’asIbj-	’asId-	’asIbjuri	’asIbi	’asIbaN	’asIdI
<i>kiku</i> ‘hear’	Kik-	Kikj-	Kicj-	Kikjuri	Kiki	KikjaN	KicjI
<i>naru</i> ‘become’	na -	narj-	nat-	najuri	nari	naraN	na:I
<i>okiru</i> ‘wake up’	’wI:r-	’wI:rj-	’wI:t-	’wI:rjuri	’wI:ri	’wI:raN	’wI:tI
<b>Irregular Conjugation</b>							
<i>suru</i> ‘do’	s-/sj	sj-	sj-	sjui	sji:	sjaN	sji:

I, E: central vowels [i], [e]; ’: glottal stop [ʔ]; K: glottalizedk [kʰ]; and N: syllabic nasal

TABLE 3. Verb groups and conjugation patterns: Incorporation of regular II into regular I

	Standard Japanese		Asama dialect		Inutabu dialect	
	conjugation pattern	adverbial form	conjugation pattern	adverbial form	conjugation pattern	adverbial form
<i>naru</i> ‘become’	Regular I	<i>nari</i>	Regular I	<i>nai</i>	Regular (I)	<i>nari</i>
<i>kiru</i> ‘wear’	Regular II	<i>ki</i>	Regular I	<i>KiriI:</i>	Regular (I)	<i>Kiri</i>
<i>ikiru</i> ‘live’	Regular II	<i>iki</i>	Regular I	’ <i>ikiri:</i>	Regular (I)	’ <i>ikiri</i>
<i>okiru</i> ‘wake up’	Regular II	<i>oki</i>	Regular II	’ <i>wI:</i>	Regular (I)	’ <i>wI:ri</i>
<i>deru</i> ‘go out’	Regular II	<i>de</i>	Regular II	’ <i>izjI:</i>	Regular (I)	’ <i>izjiri</i>

Regular I: -r ending stem verbs adverbial form: -r ending stem + i

Regular II: verb ending stem verbs adverbial form: vowel-ending stem

The change from regular conjugation pattern II to regular conjugation pattern I led to the change of systems. Asama dialect has an in-between system, compared with the standard language and Inutabu dialect. What is actually happening in this process is the addition of the form -ri to the original adverbial form. Thus, the expansion of this -ri added form shown below was the focus of Fukushima (2017).

’wI:>’wI:ri                      an adverbial form of *okiru* ‘wake up’  
 ’izjI:,’izji:>’izjiri              an adverbial form of *deru* ‘go out’

The prohibitive form is introduced as another proof to explain the change of systems in this paper.

## 2. HISTORY OF VERBAL CONJUGATION SYSTEM IN JAPANESE DIALECTS

Kobayashi (2004: 540) summarized the changes in verbal conjugation system in the particular verb group including *okiru* ‘wake up’ by examining the data of Japanese dialects. The changes have three stages. On the first stage, there are two vowel grades such as *oku-* or *oki-* in the vowel ending verb stem. This stage was observed in Classical Japanese and is observed in Kyushu dialects still now. On the second stage, there is just one vowel grade *oki-* in the vowel ending verb stem. This stage is observed in Standard Japanese. On the third stage, there emerges the *-r* ending verb stem *okir-*. This stage is observed in many Japanese dialects.

The end-forms *okiru* and *okuru* and the attributive forms *okiru* and *okuru* are the oldest type of forms with the *-r* ending stem, which are used in Standard Japanese and most dialects. In addition, there are many forms with the *-r* ending stem: negative forms *okira-*, *okera-*, *okirja-*, and *okerja-*, causative forms *okira-* and *okera-*, volitional forms *okiro-* and *okira-*, hypothetical forms *okire-*, *okere-* and *okure-*, and imperative forms *okiro*, *okire*, *okero*, and *okere* (Kobayashi 2004: 543, 545). However, the use of *okiri* as an adverbial form is rare. This *-ri* added form *okiri* is used in Tokunoshima. There are also prohibitive forms, *okiruna* and its variants, which are discussed later in this paper.

## 3. ADVERBIAL FORMS: GEOGRAPHICAL VARIATION IN RYUKYU DIALECTS AND GENERATIONAL CHANGES IN TOKUNOSHIMA

According to the map of adverbial forms of *okiru* ‘wake up’ based on the data from Nakamoto (1988) (see Figure 2; Fukushima 2017), the *-ri* added adverbial verb forms (black circles) are found in a part of Northern Ryukyu including Main Island of Okinawa, but not in Southern Ryukyu. The traditional verb forms without *-ri* (grey squares) are used in a part of Northern Ryukyu and Southern Ryukyu. This geographical distribution confirms that the *-ri* added adverbial verb forms are new.

Based on the data from different generations in Tokunoshima, the generational changes occurring on the island are shown (see Figure 3; Fukushima 2017). The data include previous publications, Hirayama (ed.) (1966) and Nakamoto (1988), and recent surveys by Fukushima in 2012–2015 and Sawaki et al. in

2012–2013 (see Figure 3). Traditional forms are expressed by grey squares and *-ri* added forms by black circles. The changes had occurred before the 1960s and have almost completed now. The expansion might have started from the southern town of Isen on the island. The recent survey of middle-aged informants shows that only three out of 40 informants maintained the traditional form without *-ri*.

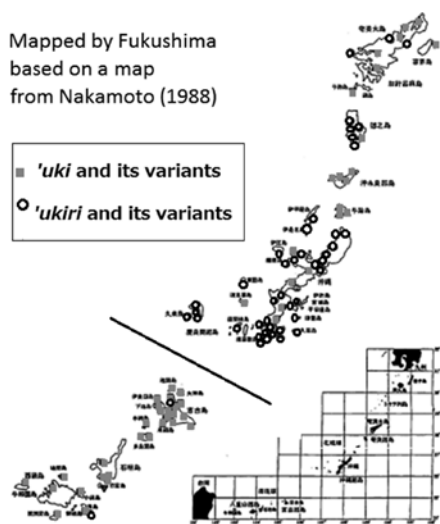


FIGURE 2. Adverbial forms of *okiru* 'wake up' from Nakamoto (1988)

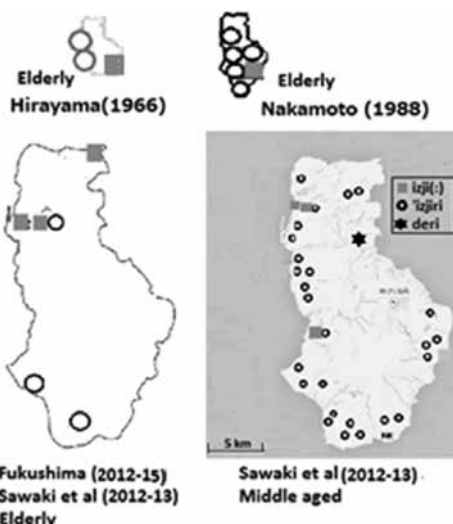


FIGURE 3. Generational changes of adverbial forms shown by various data

#### 4. THE VARIATION OF ADVERBIAL AND PROHIBITIVE FORMS IN TOKUNOSHIMA DIALECTS

Geolinguistic data of elderly informants surveyed by a native-speaking dialectologist, Takahiro Okamura, in 1977 included the regional data of adverbial and prohibitive forms. The linguistic maps drawn from the Okamura data show a clearly demarcated variation with 52 localities all over the island.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Figure 4, 5, and 6 were made using SEAL version 618J developed by Fukushima and Fukushima. The Okamura survey data are important because the surveyed area includes the northern part of the island which was not surveyed in Hirayama (ed.) (1966) and Nakamoto (1988).

In the map of adverbial forms (see Figure 4), the forms with a vowel-ending verb stem (black squares) are located at separate areas while the forms with an *r*-ending verb stem (white circles) are covering up the island. Thus, the forms with a vowel-ending verb stem are older than those with an *r*-ending verb stem. The interpretation made in the section above is confirmed.

In the map of prohibitive forms (see Figure 5), the regional variation looks similar although the area of a vowel-ending verb stem (black squares) is larger, compared with that of an *r*-ending verb stem in Figure 4. Thus, the change in the adverbial forms is a bit advanced, compared with that of prohibitive forms.

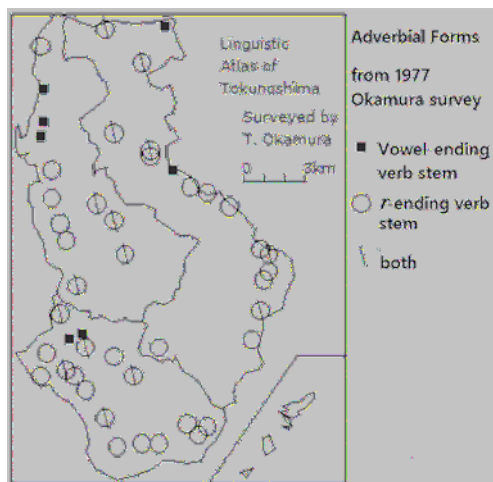


FIGURE 4. Adverbial forms from 1977 Okamura survey

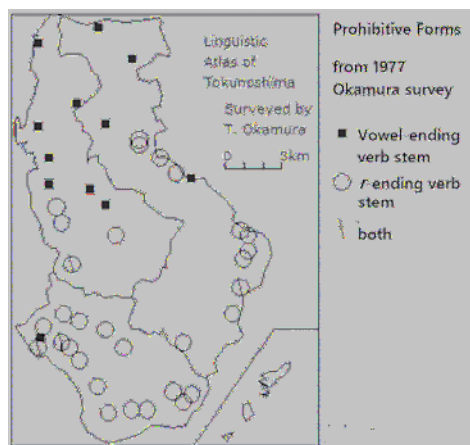


FIGURE 5. Prohibitive forms from 1977 Okamura survey

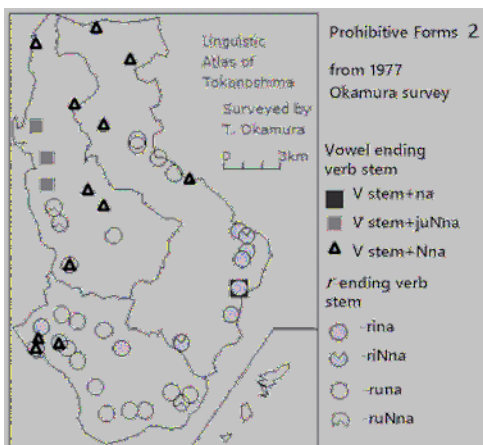


FIGURE 6. Prohibitive forms (detailed) from 1977 Okamura survey

TABLE 4. Prohibitive forms used at present

	ASAMA	INUTABU
<b>Vowel ending verb stem</b>	*'wI:na 'wINna	
<b>r-ending verb stem 1</b>		'wI:rina 'wI:riNna
<b>r-ending verb stem 2</b>		*'wI:runa 'wI:ruNna
<b>Fused stem</b>	'wI:juNna	'wI:rjuNna

In the map of prohibitive forms (detailed) (see Figure 6), the distribution of particular forms is shown, which is useful to interpret the course of change. The forms used at present in Asama and Inutabu are shown in Table 4 (investigated by the author). The following course of change is obtained through the interpretation of Figure 6 and Table 4.

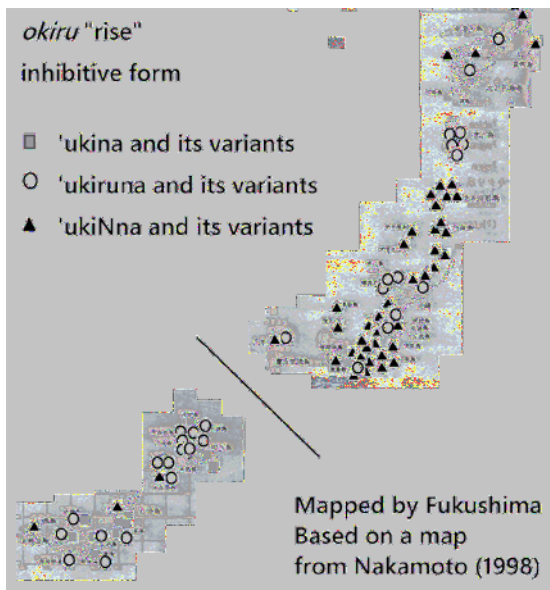
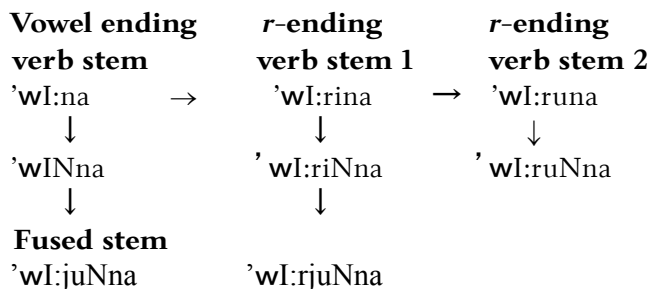


FIGURE 7. Prohibitive forms from Nakamoto (1998)





Thus, the form with a vowel ending verb stem is older than that with an r-ending verb stem. This is also confirmed by Figure 7, the map of prohibitive forms in Ryukyu dialects based on the data from Nakamoto (1998).

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The ongoing change of verbal conjugation systems in Tokunoshima is part of the trend to reorganize the verb conjugation systems in Japanese dialects. This paper introduces the newly drawn linguistic maps based on the 1977 Okamura survey and claims that there is another proof for the change, which is the prohibitive form. The maps of the adverbial form and the prohibitive form show similar distributions in which the forms with an r-ending verb stem are covering up the island while the forms with a vowel-ending verb stem are left separated on the island. Thus, the forms with a vowel-ending verb stem are older than those with an r-ending verb stem. This interpretation works well with the distributions of Ryukyu dialects as well as the history of the Japanese language.

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## Veiksmazodžio asmenavimo sistemų kaita Tokunošimos tarmėse: draudimą reiškianti forma kaip dar vienas įrodymas

### SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje aptariamas tarmės geografijos tyrimas, prasidėjęs nuo morfologinės veiksmazodžio asmenavimo sistemų analizės Riūkiū archipelago Tokunošimos saloje. Tyrimo tikslas – ištirti Tokunošimos veiksmazodžio asmenavimo sistemoje vykstantį kaitos procesą. Ši kaita rodo polinkį pertvarkyti japonų tarmių veiksmazodžio asmenavimo sistemas. Dviejų vietinių sistemų palyginimas atskleidė, kad šios kaitos dalis buvo naujovė, susijusi su prieveiksminėmis formomis, konkrečiai su *-ri* pridėjimu prie originalios formos, o skirtingų duomenų pagrindu sudaryti lingvistiniai žemėlapiai atskleidė istorinius pokyčius ir kartų lemiamą kaitą (Fukushima 2017). Šiame straipsnyje pateikiami 1977 m. Okamuros tyrimo pagrindu iš naujo nubraižyti lingvistiniai žemėlapiai ir teigiama, kad draudimą reiškianti

forma yra dar vienas kaitos įrodymas. Prieveiksminės formos ir draudimą reiškiančios formos žemėlapiai atskleidžia panašų geografinį pasiskirstymą: formos su *r* besibaigiančiu veiksmažodžio kamieniu dengia visą salą, o formos su balse besibaigiančiu veiksmažodžio kamieniu užima pavienius salos plotelius. Taigi, formos su balse besibaigiančiu veiksmažodžio kamieniu yra senesnės nei formos su *r* besibaigiančiu veiksmažodžio kamieniu. Ši išvada dera su Riūkiū tarmių pasiskirstymu bei japonų kalbos istorija.

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