

# 11. Tense, Aspect, and Mood in Miyara Yaeyaman

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## 1 Introduction

This chapter provides a descriptive overview of the Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) system of Miyara Yaeyaman, as encoded in its inflectional verbal morphology. Before moving on to a description of the TAM system, we give a brief overview of the language.

### 1.1 Overview

The Miyaran dialect of Yaeyaman, referred to henceforth as Miyaran, is traditionally spoken in the village<sup>1</sup> of Miyara on Ishigaki Island. It is referred to as *meera-muni* in Miyaran itself; *meera* refers to ‘Miyara’ and *muni* is the term used for languages or dialects. Miyaran is highly endangered, with fluent speakers typically in their 60s or older, although we have encountered seemingly fluent speakers in their 40s. Despite its endangered status, it is probably one of the healthiest of the Yaeyaman varieties spoken on Ishigaki Island, a situation that has been helped by the strong group identity of many speakers, as well as the importance placed on various traditional festivals and rituals which are carried out in the local language. Natural transmission of the language has all but ceased, although there are occasional young people with some degree of competency in the language. There is also strong interest in language preservation among community members, reflected in activities carried out by the Miyara wives’ association (*fujinkai*) aimed at teaching the language to younger women, including those who have married in from outside the village.

Miyaran is a dialect of Yaeyaman (see the overview in Shimoji and Pellard 2010, as well as Uemura 2003: 32–33), and is synchronically very similar to and mutually intelligible with the so-called Ishigaki dialect, spoken in the urbanized *shika* area in the southern part of the island, which constitutes something like the standard variety of Yaeyaman. The Ishigaki dialect is relatively well documented, with an expansive dictionary (Miyagi 2003) and a relatively extensive

grammatical description (Miyara 1995), in addition to other scholarly and community texts. Miyaran has been most extensively described by Atsuko Izuyama, including a fairly extensive grammatical sketch available in English (Izuyama 2003) to which the reader is referred for a general overview. There is also a recently released bilingual (Miyaran to Japanese, Japanese to Miyaran) word list compiled by native speaker and community member Saneyoshi Ishigaki, which contains over 5,000 basic vocabulary items, in addition to proverbs, information about the history of Miyara, local maps, and the like (Ishigaki 2013).

Miyara itself lies about 5 kilometers east-northeast of the *shika* area (about 8 kilometers traveling by road). As of December 2011, the village had a population of 1,813 people, with 763 households (Ishigaki 2013: 2). The village sustained massive damage from a large tsunami in 1771, in which a great number of villagers perished. Subsequently, the village was repopulated by a forced migration from the island of Kohama, where a distinct variety of Yaeyaman is spoken. The resulting population of 491 villagers was composed of 171 original residents and 320 immigrants from Kohama (Ishigaki 2013: 2). This historical affiliation between Miyara and Kohama is evident in many of their shared cultural and religious festivals, and Kohama itself is referred to in Miyaran as *ujazima*, the ‘parent island/village’. Linguistically, the connection between Miyara and Kohama is less clear, and it remains to be determined the amount to which current-day Miyaran was influenced by its Kohaman substrate. Native speakers report that whereas they can communicate relatively easily with speakers of the neighboring *shika* dialects, the Kohama variety is much harder to understand. These informal observations suggest that, at least synchronically, Miyaran groups more closely with its geographic neighbors to the west on Ishigaki Island.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.2 Sound inventory

The Miyaran consonant inventory is summarized in Table 11.1. Most of the consonants are pronounced more or less as in Japanese. The vowel *u* is generally more rounded than the unrounded high back vowel *u* found in Japanese.  $\phi$  and *h* are very closely related; *h* becomes  $\phi$  before *u* and is in free variation with  $\phi$  before *o*. Thus, they are allophones or in free variation between the back rounded vowels. Before *a*, *e*, and *i*, they are distinctive phonemes. The “placeless” moraic nasal archiphoneme  $\mathfrak{n}$ , like its counterpart in Japanese, assimilates in place features to following segments. Although a more detailed phonetic investigation may reveal more subtleties, the moraic nasal seems to be realized as one of *m*, *n*, or  $\eta$ , depending on its environment. The velar nasal  $\eta$  exists only as a result of assimilation of  $\mathfrak{n}$  before velars, while the bilabial nasal *m* and alveolar nasal *n* exist as independent phonemes. We use *n* to represent the moraic nasal in the transcriptions used in this paper, except in positions where it has assimilated to a following bilabial consonant, where we instead use *m*. Phonologically, this nasal is not restricted to coda position, unlike in Japanese. This is seen, for example, in the word *mbon*, where it occurs word-initially, either as part of the onset, or perhaps hosting its own syllable. The glottal stop  $ʔ$  appears regularly

before word-initial vowel segments; there are no phonemic contrasts based on this segment, and its appearance is completely predictable. We therefore leave it out of our broad transcriptions.

Table 11.1: Miyaran Consonant Inventory

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d		k g	ʔ
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Fricative	ɸ	s z	ʃ		h
Affricate		ts	tʃ dʒ		
Liquid		r			
Glide			j	w	

Miyaran has the six vowels in Table 11.2. The mid vowels *e* and *o* only exist as long vowels, as in many varieties of Ryukyuan. However, they are often shortened when followed by the moraic nasal *ɳ*. The high central vowel<sup>3</sup> *i* does not exist after nasals (*m*, *n*), glides (*j*, *w*), alveolar stops (*t*, *d*), or *h*, *ɸ*, and *ʃ*. Following the alveolar fricatives *s*, *z*, and affricate *ts*, *u* neutralizes to *i*. Underlying /tʃ/ surfaces as [ts] when followed by *i*. Vowels are often lengthened at the end of a phrase. This lengthening is especially common in sentence-final position.

Table 11.2: Miyaran Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Throughout the paper, we employ broad transcriptions, making the following substitutions in place of some of the above phonetic symbols:  $\phi \rightarrow f$ ,  $\int \rightarrow sj$ ,  $dʒ \rightarrow zj$ ,  $tʃ \rightarrow c$ ,  $r \rightarrow r$ . As in Japanese, /s/ maps to [ʃ] and /z/ to [dʒ] before *i*. In our broad transcriptions, we write *si* and *zi* for *ʃi* and *dʒi*, respectively.

In the rest of the chapter, we give a description of the tense, aspect, and mood system of Miyaran verbs. This aspect of Miyaran grammar has been most extensively discussed in Izuyama (1997, 2001b, 2002) and (in English) Izuyama (2003). We refer to these works throughout our own discussion, and include occasional example sentences from them as well. Although we adopt a number of aspects of Izuyama’s analyses, there are important differences in terms of both approach and substance. We highlight these differences where appropriate. The present work should be compared in particular with that of Izuyama (2003), who provides a large number of examples illustrating further uses of the forms described in this chapter. We also make references where appropriate to other literature on Ryukyuan. When using examples from published work, the source is indicated. Transcriptions of Miyaran examples from other sources

are modified to our own conventions, and glosses and translations are our own, except where stated. All unattributed examples are from our own fieldwork.

## 2 Basic tense and mood distinctions

### 2.1 Overview

Table 11.3 illustrates three basic forms of what Izuyama (2002, 2003) labels Class 1 and Class 2 verbs. The first two forms are both present tense, while the third is past tense. In descriptions of Ryukyuan based on traditional Japanese grammar, the two present tense forms are called the *rentaikei*, or “attributive” form, and the *shūshikei*, or “final” form (see Arakaki, this volume). This categorization derives from a pattern in Old Japanese in which verbs have different forms in sentence-final and adnominal positions. The bare simple present forms in Table 11.3 can modify nominals, while the simple present indicatives cannot, suggesting some functional overlap with the Old Japanese paradigm.

Table 11.3: Class 1 and Class 2 Basic Verb Forms

	Class 1		Class 2	
bare simple present (‘attributive’)	<i>jumu</i>	‘read’	<i>ukiru</i>	‘get up’
	<i>kaku</i>	‘write’	<i>utiru</i>	‘fall’
simple present indicative (‘final’)	<i>jumun</i>	‘read’	<i>ukirun</i>	‘get up’
	<i>kakun</i>	‘write’	<i>utirun</i>	‘fall’
simple past	<i>junda</i>	‘read’	<i>ukida</i>	‘got up’
	<i>kakida</i>	‘wrote’	<i>utida</i>	‘fell’

In Miyaran, however, there is no special morphology to mark the attributive form of simple present verbs. This contrasts with what we find in, for example, Okinawan, where the suffix *-ru* appears in simple present attributive verbs, giving forms like *jumuru* for the attributive simple present of ‘to read’ (see Miyara on Naha-Shuri Okinawan, this volume). In Miyaran simple present tense verbs, the so-called attributive/final distinction reduces to the presence or absence of a final *-N*.<sup>4</sup> This is a widely attested pattern in Yaeyaman; in traditional terms, the “final” form is built from the “attributive” form and *-N*. As emphasized by Izuyama (2002), the final *-N* is not semantically vacuous, and moreover can be found after a host of other forms, suggesting that it is an independent morpheme. Semantically, we suggest that this morpheme, like its cognates in other Ryukyuan languages, contributes something like indicative force or mood to the clause in which it is found.<sup>5</sup> Unlike the simple present form, no final *-N* is possible with the simple past, a fact that we argue reflects a semantic and/or structural incompatibility between the past suffix *-da* and *-N*.

We analyze the forms in Table 11.3 as being formed by attaching to the verbal root either (a) the present tense marker *-u* to form the bare simple present, (b) the present tense marker *-u* along with the indicative mood marker *-N* to

form the simple present indicative, or (c) the past tense marker *-da* to form the simple past form. In the rest of the section, we take up the three morphemes *-u*, *-n*, and *-da* in turn, providing a sketch of how they function in the three forms described above.

## 2.2 Present tense marker *-u*

We analyze the bare simple present verb form as consisting of the verb root and the present tense marker<sup>6</sup> *-u*, which we gloss as PRS. With Class 1 verbs, the resulting derivation is straightforward: *-u* is attached directly to the root, with phonological adjustments for verb roots ending in *a* or *o*, as illustrated in Table 11.4. We argue that Class 2 verbal roots all end in *i*, and that the *r* appearing between the root-final *i* and the present tense suffix *-u* is the result of epenthesis to break up the vowel sequence *iu*, which seems to be avoided or possibly not allowed in the language.<sup>7</sup> The resulting analysis for the simple present verb forms is summarized in Table 11.4.<sup>8</sup> In addition, there are several irregular verbs. We include the simple present indicative forms in the final column for reference.

Table 11.4: Simple Present Verb Forms

	Root	<i>-u</i>	Process	with <i>-n</i>
Class 1	<i>kak-</i> ‘write’	<i>kak-u</i>		<i>kak-u-n</i>
	<i>jum-</i> ‘read’	<i>jum-u</i>		<i>jum-u-n</i>
	<i>ka-</i> ‘buy’	<i>ka-u</i>		<i>ka-u-n</i>
	<i>fa-</i> ‘eat’	<i>fo-o</i>	fusion of <i>au</i> to <i>oo</i>	<i>fo-o-n</i>
	<i>fu-</i> ‘fall’	<i>fo-o</i>	lowering of <i>uu</i> to <i>oo</i>	<i>fo-o-n</i>
Class 2	<i>uki-</i> ‘get up’	<i>uki-ru</i>	<i>r</i> epenthesis	<i>uki-ru-n</i>
	<i>uti-</i> ‘fall’	<i>uti-ru</i>	<i>r</i> epenthesis	<i>uti-ru-n</i>
Irregulars	<i>ar-</i> ‘exist’	<i>ar-u</i>		<i>ar-u-n</i>
	<i>sī-</i> ‘do’	<i>hu-u</i>		<i>h-u-n</i>
	<i>kī-</i> ‘come’	<i>ku-u</i>		<i>k-u-n</i>

There are two types of verb whose simple present form ends in *oo*. The first of these, represented in Table 11.4 by *fo-o* ‘eat’, are verbs whose roots we analyze as ending in the vowel *a*. This analysis is supported by the way these verbs conjugate in other forms; for example, the medial form of ‘eat’ is *fa-i*, consisting of the verb root *fa-* and the medial converb marker *-i* (discussed in Section 6.2). We argue that the surface form *fo-o* result from vowel fusion of underlying *fa-u*. The second group whose simple present ends in *oo* is represented by verbs like *fo-o* ‘fall’, whose simple present form is segmentally indistinguishable from that of ‘eat’. The difference is seen in other forms; for example, the medial form of ‘fall’ is *fu-i*. We therefore posit an underlying verb root ending in *u* for such verbs; the underlying sequence *uu* resulting from attachment of the present marker *-u* then lowers to *oo* in the simple present form. Although the details of when such lowering processes are triggered requires further investigation, we

think it is due to a (violable) preference that high vowels be short.

One of the co-authors (Lau) has found that there is both inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation in the fusion process described above for verbs whose roots end with *a*. This variation seems to be linked in part to accent placement, but currently the distribution is difficult to describe, let alone explain. So far, we have explored this process with 11 verbs and two speakers (who we refer to as speakers A and B). There was agreement upon four verbs (we mark accent placement in what follows, since we think accent has a role in determining the pattern of fusion rules): *fá-* ‘to eat’, *síká-* ‘to use’, *ká-* ‘to buy’, and *báara-* ‘to laugh’: *fá-* and *síká-* obligatorily undergo fusion, *ká-* cannot undergo fusion, while for *báara-* fusion is optional. Four other verbs (*katsína-* ‘to carry on one’s back’, *síkana-* ‘to raise’, (*futsi*) *kana-* ‘to retort’, (*izi*) *bántsa-* ‘to cook (fish)’ may not be fused for speaker A but are optionally fused for speaker B. The last three verbs (*áara-* ‘to wash’, *atsíra-* ‘to order’, and *nká-* ‘to greet’) exhibit more complex patterns of variation. Table 11.5 illustrates the fusion patterns for those verbs on which speakers agreed, illustrating verbs for which fusion is mandatory, prohibited, and optional. For the purposes of this chapter, we illustrate non-fusing verbs with *ka-* ‘to buy’, and fusing verbs with *fa-* ‘to eat’, leaving investigation of when and why fusion does or does not apply to future research.

Table 11.5: Vowel Fusion Patterns for *a*-final Roots

Root		Unfused	Fused
<i>ká-</i>	‘buy’	<i>ká-u-n</i>	_____
<i>fá-</i>	‘eat’	_____	<i>fó-o-n</i>
<i>síká-</i>	‘use’	_____	<i>síkó-o-n</i>
<i>báara-</i>	‘laugh’	<i>báara-u-n</i>	<i>báaro-o-n</i>

Semantically, the simple present (both bare and indicative) encompasses a variety of non-past meanings, including general statements of fact (1), habitual actions (2), and future (3).

- (1) *<singoo>=ju pīdarī=ge=du har-u.*  
*<traffic.light>=ACC left=DIR=FOC go-PRS*  
 ‘You turn left at the traffic light.’
- (2) *tairaa-san=ja juu hun=du jum-u=naa.*  
*Tyler-POL=TOP often book=FOC read-PRS=CNF*  
 ‘Tyler reads a lot of books, eh?’
- (3) *attsa=n takidun=ge har-u-n.*  
*tomorrow=also Taketomi=DIR go-PRS-IND*  
 ‘(Someone) will go to Taketomi tomorrow as well.’

One meaning the simple present form does *not* express is present, ongoing action. For such meanings, the stative present is used, as described in Section 3.1.

### 2.3 The mood marker -*n*

The addition of *-n* does not have any obvious effects on the tense or aspectual dimensions of the resulting verb. Instead, it indicates something like the agent's commitment to the truth of the proposition along with a declarative sentence type. We henceforth call *-n* an indicative marker, and gloss it as IND. Declaratives with *-n* are interpreted as assertions with a sentence-final fall (4), but as polar questions with a sentence-final rise (5).

- (4) *naoja=ja sinbun jum-u-n* ↘  
 Naoya=TOP newspaper read-PRS-IND  
 'Naoya will read the newspaper.' or 'Naoya reads newspapers.'
- (5) *naoja=ja sinbun jum-u-n* ↗  
 Naoya=TOP newspaper read-PRS-IND  
 'Will Naoya read the newspaper?' or 'Does Naoya read newspapers?'

Examples like (5) might lead one to question the status of *-n* as an indicative mood marker, since indicative mood might be thought to be compatible only with assertions. These examples show that the particle itself does not serve to make the sentence into an assertion. Instead, sentence-final intonation is used to distinguish between assertive and questioning uses of sentences with *-n*. This is also true of bare simple present declaratives, which do not have a final *-n*:

- (6) *naoja=ja sinbun=du jum-u* ↘  
 Naoya=TOP newspaper read-PRS  
 'Naoya will read the *newspaper*.' or 'Naoya reads *newspapers*.'
- (7) *naoja=ja sinbun=du jum-u* ↗  
 Naoya=TOP newspaper read-PRS  
 'Will Naoya read the *newspaper*?' or 'Does Naoya read *newspapers*?'

We might then take the final fall ↘ (which we henceforth indicate with a final period) as spelling out a [+assertion] feature, and final rise ↗ (which we henceforth indicate with final question mark) as spelling out a [+question] feature. Turning to wh-questions, it becomes apparent that this simple view is untenable. As illustrated in (8), wh-questions in Miyaran end in a sentence-final fall, not the rise seen in polar questions.

- (8) *naoja=ja noo=du jum-u (\*-n)* ↘  
 Naoya=TOP what=FOC read-PRS (\*IND)  
 'What does/will Naoya read?'

The indicative suffix is impossible in wh-questions. In (8), this constraint might be attributed to the presence of the focus particle =*du*. Quite generally, the presence of this particle makes *-n* ungrammatical for the verb in the local clause within which =*du* occurs. That is, within a local clause, =*du* and *-n* are in complementary distribution. This restriction makes examples like the following ungrammatical:

- (9) \* *naoja=ja sinbun=du jum-u-n.*  
 Naoya=TOP newspaper=FOC read-PRS-IND.  
 Intended: ‘Naoya reads newspapers.’

Since wh-words are generally marked with =*du* in Miyaran, as well as in other varieties of Yaeyaman, one might attribute the ungrammaticality of -*N* in wh-questions like (8) to the presence of =*du*. However, as noted by Izuyama (2002), =*du* marking is not mandatory in all wh-questions. Although the details require further investigation, it seems that while wh-phrases in core argument positions (subjects and objects) generally require =*du*, it is often optional for wh-phrases in adjunct or more peripheral argument positions. The use of -*N* in wh-questions is illicit even in the absence of =*du*, as illustrated by (10).

- (10) *zima=ge har-u (\*-n).*  
 where=DIR go-PRS (\*IND)  
 ‘Where are you going?’

This shows that it is not (only) the presence of =*du* that makes -*N* ungrammatical in wh-questions. We argue here that it is the indicative semantics of -*N* that makes it ungrammatical in wh-questions. Polar questions with -*N*, like the one in (5), are in essence a kind of rising declarative, and are not true syntactic interrogatives. Wh-questions (which do not have a final rise) are true interrogatives, specified with interrogative mood, and are thus incompatible with indicative mood, explaining the ungrammaticality of -*N* in wh-questions.

## 2.4 Past tense marker -*da*

The simple past form expresses a past event or situation with no internal aspect; forms in which -*da* combines with the aspectual markers -*i* and -*ee* are described in Section 3. In the simple past form, the attachment of -*da* to the verb root is often mediated by the accentless theme vowel segment *i*. Many stems show assimilation processes with -*da*, or with the theme vowel *i*. These assimilated forms are listed and illustrated in Table 11.6.

Table 11.6: Simple Past Forms

Root	Assimilated Form	Example	Simple Past
<i>r-</i>	<i>t-ta</i>	<i>har-</i>	<i>hat-ta</i> ‘went’
<i>n-</i>	<i>n-da</i>	<i>sin-</i>	<i>sin-da</i> ‘died’
<i>m-</i>	<i>n-da/</i> <i>m-u-da</i>	<i>num-</i>	<i>nun-da/</i> <i>num-u-da</i> ‘drank’
<i>a<sub>1</sub>-</i>	<i>a-u-da</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-u-da</i> ‘bought’
<i>a<sub>2</sub>-</i>	<i>o-o-da</i>	<i>fa-</i>	<i>fo-o-da</i> ‘ate’
<i>u-</i>	<i>o-o-da</i>	<i>umu-</i>	<i>umo-o-da</i> ‘thought’
<i>i-</i> (Class 2)	<i>i-da</i>	<i>uki-</i>	<i>uki-da</i> ‘got up’
Other	<i>-i-da</i>	<i>kak-</i>	<i>kak-i-da</i> ‘wrote’

As can be seen in Table 11.6, roots ending in *r*, *n*, and *m* assimilate with *-da* directly, with no theme vowel intervening. At least one of our informants also accepts the alternative forms in which the theme vowel appears after root-final *m* to host *-da*. Since *i* is not possible after nasals, the theme vowel here surfaces as *u*. After vocalic roots ending in *a* and *u*, the theme vowel fuses with the root-final vowel, producing surface *oo*. This fusion process is parallel to the one seen above for the simple present form. After *i* the theme vowel disappears altogether. Elsewhere, the theme vowel appears as *i* and no further assimilation is seen.

The following examples illustrate the use of the simple past:

- (11) *unu* <*hon*>=*ja*     *umus-sa-a-neenu=di*  
 that <book>=TOP interesting-ADJ-IRR-NEG=QUOT  
*sik-i-da=ra=du*                     *jum-u-ta-ha-a-neenaa*  
 hear-THM-PST=because=FOC read-THM-want-ADJ-IRR-NEG  
*nar-i*.  
 become-MED  
 ‘I ended up not wanting to read that book because I heard it was not interesting.’
- (12) *atsuko=o*     *kino=o*             *tigami kak-i-da?*  
 Atsuko=TOP yesterday=TOP letter write-THM-PST  
 ‘Did you (Atsuko) write the letter yesterday?’  
 (elicited sentence based on one found on p.73 of Izuyama 2001a)
- (13) *mizi=nu*     *tamar-i=songa*             *ami=n=du*     *fo-o-da?*  
 water=NOM accumulate-STAT=but rain=NOM=FOC fall-THM-PST  
 ‘There’s some water – did it rain?’  
 (elicited sentence based on one found on p.79 of Izuyama 2001a)

In Class 2 verbs, the past form is segmentally ambiguous between the simple past and the stative past; as we show in Section 3.1, these forms are distinguished accentually. The following are examples of forms which are in principle ambiguous; we adopt a policy of glossing these ambiguous Class 2 forms as simple past unless semantic or accentual evidence favors a stative past interpretation.

- (14) *kino=o*             *paja-haa*     *uki-da*.  
 yesterday-TOP early-ADV rise-PST  
 ‘(I) woke up early yesterday.’
- (15) *kinu*             *naku-s-i-ta*             *jubi-wa*     *baa=du*     *tumi-da*.  
 yesterday lose-TR-THM-PST finger-ring 1SG=FOC find-PST  
 ‘I found the ring you lost yesterday.’
- (16) *ami=nga*     *zoffi-da=songa*     *kaarag-ita-soo=naa*.  
 rain=DIR soak-PST=but dry-COMPL-NMLZ=TAG  
 ‘(The clothes) were soaked by the rain, but they dried.’

We refer to the suffix *-da* as a “past tense” marker, and gloss it as PST. The interpretation of this marker appears to encompass the “psychological” past of the speaker’s experience, rather than the objective temporal past. For *-da* to be felicitous, not only must the action/event/state described by the verb have occurred in the past, but the speaker’s confirmation of this fact must have happened in the past as well (Izuyama 2002, 2003). In questions with *-da*, the psychological perspective is shifted to the addressee, and the purpose of the question is to confirm that the listener has knowledge of an action, event or state having occurred in his/her psychological past. As evidence for the idea that *-da* marks “psychological”, rather than objective temporal past, we note that *-da* is incompatible with an event that has just occurred in front of the speaker’s own eyes:

- (17) \* *agaja! tana=n=du toori-da.*  
 oh.no shelf=NOM=FOC topple-PST  
 ‘Oh no! The shelf fell!’

Because the event has already occurred, it is objectively in the past; in English or Japanese one could use the past tense to describe the event in such cases. Having just happened, however, the event is not yet in the speaker’s psychological past, and the use of *-da* is infelicitous.

A salient feature of *-da* is that it is incompatible with the mood marker *-N*; forms in which *-da* is combined with *-N* do not exist in the language. We suggest two potential explanations for this restriction. The first possibility is that *-N* itself bears tense features incompatible with those of *-da*. Such an explanation lines up with the proposal of Miyara (1995), who treats *-N* in the Ishigaki dialect as a kind of present tense morpheme. Another possibility is that *-da* encodes both tense and mood features; this seems plausible, given that the notion of “past” relevant to the semantics of the morpheme seems to be what we have called “psychological past”. In the same way that *-N* encodes an agent’s *current* confirmation of the truth of an event or situation, *-da* can be understood, following suggestions made by Izuyama (2002), as encoding the agent’s *past* confirmation. We follow the second line of explanation and tentatively suggest that *-da* occupies both the tense and mood slots of the verbal template, blocking the occurrence of a following *-N*.

### 3 Aspect: stative *-i* and resultative *-ee*

Coming optionally between the verb root and the tense suffixes *-u* and *-da* we find one of two optional aspect morphemes: the stative marker *-i*, glossed STAT, and the resultative *-ee*, glossed RES. These are discussed in turn.

#### 3.1 Stative marker *-i*

The stative marker *-i* is found after the verb root and before tense morphology. As discussed below, it is inherently accented. Table 11.7 illustrates stative forms

of the verb *kak-* ‘to read’. These forms parallel the aspectless forms seen in the previous section, and are labeled accordingly. We briefly discuss these forms in turn.

Table 11.7: Stative Verb Forms

$\sqrt{\quad}$	STAT			
<i>kak-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-ru</i>	<i>kakiru</i>	bare stative present
		<b>-N</b>	<i>kakin</i>	stative present indicative
		<i>-da</i>	<i>kakida</i>	stative past

### Stative present

The stative present, like the simple present discussed in Section 2, has a bare form ending in *u* and an indicative form ending in *n*. Unlike the simple present indicative, however, the stative present indicative does not appear on the surface to be formed from simply attaching the indicative marker **-N** to the bare stative present. This is illustrated in Table 11.8, giving the predicted (given the discussion in Section 2) and attested forms for the stative present indicative.<sup>9</sup>

Table 11.8: Stative Present Verb Forms

	Bare	Predicted Ind.	Attested Ind.	
Class 1	<i>kakiru</i>	* <i>kakirun</i>	<i>kakin</i>	‘is writing’
	<i>jumiru</i>	* <i>jumirun</i>	<i>jumin</i>	‘is reading’
Class 2	<i>ukiru</i>	* <i>ukirun</i>	<i>ukin</i>	‘has gotten up’
	<i>utiru</i>	* <i>utirun</i>	<i>utin</i>	‘has fallen’

One way of interpreting the attested versus predicted forms would be in terms of the traditional *rentai* (attributive) and *shūshi* (final) form distinction rejected for simple present verb forms in Section 2. We call this the *attributive analysis*:

(18) **Attributive Analysis:**

The present stative form of verbs consists of the verb root and the marker *-i*, /V-*i*/. The attributive form is marked by *-ru*, while the final form is marked with **-N**. The two markers are in complementary distribution.

We have already seen one problem for this analysis, which is that simple present verb forms lack an overt attributive marker. Moreover, such an analysis would leave mysterious where the above verb forms receive their present tense interpretation; given that the stative marker *-i* can occur with the past marker *-da* to give a past stative, it seems problematic to attribute present tense features to the stative marker *-i* itself.

The second possible analysis we call the *phonological analysis*:

## (19) Phonological Analysis

The stative present indicative, whose surface form is [V-*i-n*], is derived from underlying /V-*i-u-n*/, from which the present tense marker *-u* has been deleted. The final *-ru* in the bare stative present results from epenthesis of *r* before the present tense marker *-u*.

The surface form of bare stative present verbs under this analysis exhibits the same process of epenthetic *r* insertion seen in Section 2 for the simple present form of Class 2 verbs. The underlying form of the verb form *kak-i-ru* seen in (23) would be /*kak-i-u*/; attaching the present marker *-u* to the stative *-i* results in the illicit vowel sequence *iu*, which is resolved through epenthesis of *r*.

Deletion of *-u* in the indicative form, we suggest, might take place due to constraints on accent placement. As we show below, the stative marker *-i* bears its own accent, leading to a pitch fall on the syllable in which it appears. At the same time, the attachment of indicative *-n* leads to a heavy syllable with a coda nasal. Such syllables exhibit a strong tendency to be accented in Miyaran, as well as in other Yaeyaman varieties we have looked at. In the predicted forms in Table 11.8, these two accentual requirements would lead to consecutive accented syllables; in the case of the verb meaning ‘to write’, for example, we would have [ka.ki.rún]. Consecutive accented syllables are independently ruled out in the language. Deletion of *u* leads to [ka.kín], allowing both accentual requirements to be satisfied simultaneously by a single accent on the same syllable.

Although we tentatively maintain the phonological analysis throughout this chapter, we note that this is a point of clear analytic ambiguity, and, we think, reflects an area of the grammar that, at least for some speakers, is in flux. At least one of our informants judges *-ru* to be possible, but not mandatory, after the past tense marker *-da* in adnominal position, as illustrated by the following examples:

## (20) a. Simple Past

*tigami kak-i-da(-ru) pítu*  
 letter write-THM-PST(-ATTR) person  
 ‘person who wrote a letter’

## b. Stative Past

*tigami kak-i-da(-ru) pítu*  
 letter write-STAT-PST(-ATTR) person  
 ‘person who was writing a letter’

Given that past and present tense markers are in complementary distribution, the *-ru* in these examples cannot be analyzed as a present tense marker. On the other hand, its optionality here contrasts with the mandatory presence of *-ru* in the bare stative present and bare resultative present (discussed below). The mandatoriness of *-ru* in these latter forms suggests that there it contributes present tense semantics, rather than (just) attributive marking.

We suggest that the free variation in attributive past forms with and without *-ru* reflects a tension in the grammar resulting from the analytic ambiguity of

*-ru* as a present tense or an attributive marker. This ambiguity is reflected in our glosses, where we treat it as either PRS, ATTR, or both, depending on the grammatical context in which it occurs. We think this grammatical flux provides a possible clue as to one diachronic source of the “true” attributive marker *-ru* found in other varieties of Ryukyuan. The phonological processes of *-u* deletion before *-n* and *r* epenthesis elsewhere lead to an ambiguous paradigm, which can easily be reanalyzed as one involving a contrast between the markers *-ru* and *-n*. This diachronic path suggests that the Yaeyaman attributive/final pattern, in which there is no independent attributive marker *-ru*, is the older pattern, with the phonological processes described above setting the stage for the grammaticalization of an independent attributive marker *-ru*. We leave further exploration of this idea for future research.

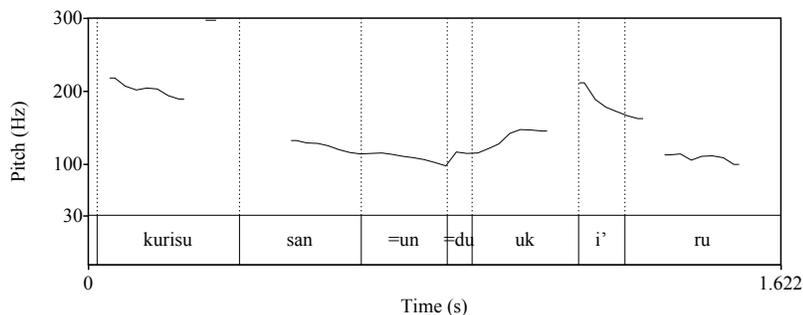
Given that the Class 2 roots end in *i*, we would expect attachment of stative *i* to lead to a long vowel *ii*. Although the length of the vowel here is often hard to judge, we think it is basically short, meaning that the underlying *ii* is shortened to *i*. This makes the Class 2 bare stative present segmentally identical to the bare simple present form discussed in the previous section. There is a difference, however, in the accent patterns of the two forms; the stative marker *-i* bears its own accent, leading to an accentual peak on the *i* in the bare present stative, over and above any such accent pattern seen in simple present uses. This distinction is illustrated by examples (21) and (22), whose pitch tracks are shown in Figures 11.1 and 11.2, respectively.

## (21) Bare Stative Present

*kurisu-san=un=du uk-i-ru.*  
Chris-POL=NOM=FOC get.up-STAT-PRS

‘Chris is awake.’

Figure 11.1: Pitch track of (21)

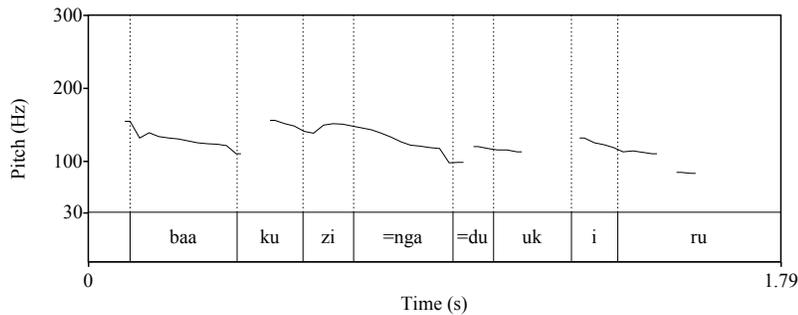


## (22) Bare Simple Present

*baa ku-zi=nga=du                      uki-ru.*  
 1SG nine-o'clock=LOC=FOC get.up-PRS

‘I (will) get up at nine.’

Figure 11.2: Pitch track of (22)



The Class 2 indicative forms, interestingly, are *not* segmentally ambiguous. For the root *uki*, the simple present indicative is *ukirun*, while the stative present indicative is *ukin*. The difference here may reflect the same accent-triggered deletion process suggested above for Class 1 roots; *-u* is deleted so that accent can fall simultaneously on the lexically accented stative *-i* and on the heavy syllable created by attachment of *-N*.

Both the bare and indicative stative present forms are used to talk about ongoing actions or states that hold at the time of utterance. Like the bare simple present, the bare stative present is often found in conjunction with the focus particle *=du*, as in the following example:<sup>10</sup>

- (23) *kisa=a                      unu hon=ba=du                      jum-i-da=songa*  
 just.now=TOP that book=OBJ.FOC=FOC read-STAT-PST=but  
*nama=a                      tigami=ba=du                      kak-i-ru.*  
 now=TOP letter=OBJ.FOC=FOC write-STAT-PRS  
 ‘I was just reading that book but now I am writing a letter.’

This example makes clear the contrast between the stative present and the stative past discussed in Section 3.1; the speaker uses the stative past for a previous ongoing activity (reading) which no longer holds, and the stative present for continuing activity (writing) that holds at utterance time.

### Stative past

The stative past form consists of the progressive/stative aspect marker *-i* combined with the past marker *-da*, and is used to talk about a continuing state in the (psychological) past. As with the simple past, the stative past requires that

the speaker has personally confirmed that the event/state occurred in his/her past. Some examples of the form are provided below:

- (24) *kuzo-o*            *hon=ba*            *juu jum-i-da.*  
 last.year-TOP book=OBJ.FOC often read-STAT-PST  
 ‘Last year, I read books often.’ (or, ‘I was often reading books.’)
- (25) *kisa-a*            <*joofuku-ja*>=*ge=du*            *har-i-da=songa*  
 just.now-TOP <western.clothes-store>=DIR=FOC go-STAT-PST=but  
*ami=nu ho-o-da=ra=du*            *jaa=ge=du mudur-i*  
 rain=NOM fall-THM-PST=because=FOC home=DIR=FOC return-MED  
*ki-i.*  
 come-MED  
 ‘I was going to a tailor shop just now, but because it rained, I returned home.’

Table 11.9 illustrates the contrast between the simple and stative past for several Class 1 and Class 2 verbs. While the surface forms are different for Class 1 verbs, there is a segmental ambiguity with Class 2 verbs. This segmental homophony results from reduction of the underlying *ii* sequence resulting from the Class 2 root-final *i* and the stative *-i* to a surface short vowel, the same reduction that was seen above for stative present Class 2 verb forms.

Table 11.9: Simple Past and Stative Past Forms

	Simple Past	Stative Past
Class 1	<i>kaki-da</i> ‘wrote’	<i>kak-i-da</i> ‘was writing’
	<i>jun-da</i> ‘read’	<i>jum-i-da</i> ‘was reading’
Class 2	<i>uki-da</i> ‘got up’	<i>uk-i-da</i> ‘had gotten up’
	<i>uti-da</i> ‘fell’	<i>ut-i-da</i> ‘had fallen’

Although the Class 2 simple and stative past forms are segmentally identical, they exhibit the same contrasting accent patterns seen above in the stative present, due to the lexical accent requirements of the stative morpheme *-i*. This is illustrated by the contrasting pitch tracks for of the examples in Figure 11.3 using the verb root *uti-* ‘to fall’. These utterances were elicited with contrasting videos. A video showing many leaves falling, and ending with many leaves still in the process of falling, was used to trigger a stative past description (leaves were falling), while a video of single leaf falling, and ending with the leaf on the ground, was used to trigger a simple past description (a leaf fell). As shown in the pitch tracks, the simple past has a flat accent, while the stative shows a pitch peak at *-i*, followed by a sharp drop to the following *-da*.

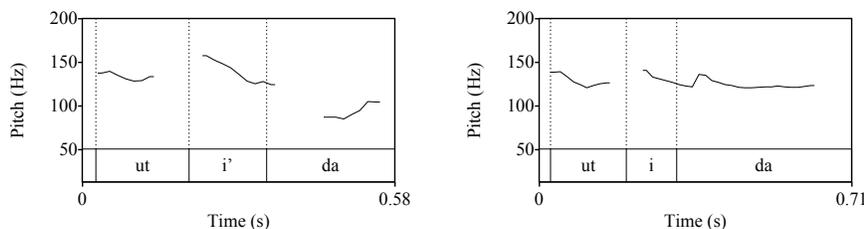
### 3.2 Resultative *-ee*

In complementary distribution with the stative marker *-i-* is the marker *-ee-*. This marker serves multiple functions that have extended from what was likely

Figure 11.3: Pitch tracks of simple and stative past sentences

Stative Past: Uttered after watching a video of leaves falling.

Simple Past: Uttered after watching a video of a single leaf fall.



originally a resultative meaning; for convenience, we therefore label it a resultative aspect marker, RES. We surmise that this marker historically developed from the merging of the medial form of the verb *V-i* (discussed in Section 6.2) and the existential verb *ar-*. The vowel sequence *ia* in Miyara then changed to *ee*, reflecting a more general sound change, as can be seen in the Miyaran word for Miyara, *meera*.

The resultative verb form mirrors the stative in its bare present, present indicative, and past forms, as illustrated in Table 11.10. As with the stative, there is a surface alternation between a final *-ru* in the bare form, and a final *-N* in the indicative form. As before, this pattern allows for two analyses: 1) treating the *-ru* in the bare form as an overt attributive marker, or 2) treating the lack of *-ru* in the indicative as the result of phonological deletion of an underlying present tense marker. We tentatively adopt the latter analysis, again noting that this seems to be a real point of grammatical ambiguity.

Table 11.10: Resultative Verb Forms

$\sqrt{\quad}$	RES			
<i>kak-</i>	<i>-ee-</i>	<i>-ru</i>	<i>kakeeru</i>	bare resultative present
		<i>-N</i>	<i>kake(e)n</i>	resultative present indicative
		<i>-da</i>	<i>kakeeda</i>	resultative past

We identify the following uses of *-ee-*: 1) “Canonical” usage of the resultative, in which an action was carried out by an unknown agent. 2) Evidential usage, in which the speaker has indirect evidence that someone carried out a certain action but did not witness the action itself. 3) Perfect/Experiential usage, in which the speaker refers to something he/she has or has not experienced. We briefly discuss and illustrate each of these uses below.<sup>11</sup>

**Canonical resultative**

The canonical usage occurs with transitive verbs, and involve the speaker remarking on an action carried out by an unknown agent.

- (26) *jado=o ak-ee-n=doo.*  
 door=TOP open-RES-PRS.IND=EMP  
 ‘The door has been opened.’

This in effect means ‘the door is open’, but unlike a simple intransitive, it describes the state as the result of a door-opening event. The use of such a sentence tends to implicate speaker ignorance about who opened the door. While *-ee-* may originally have been to limited transitive verbs in contexts with unknown agents (as in the Japanese resultative *-te aru*, which is often given as the translation for *-ee* and its analogs in other Ryukyuan languages), it is synchronically compatible with sentences that involve known agents and/or intransitive verbs, giving the construction a very different synchronic distribution from its standard translation equivalent in Japanese.

**Indirect evidence**

This usage involves the speaker making a conjecture about an event whose past occurrence the speaker infers based on indirect evidence. Below are examples of this usage with first, second, and third person subjects.<sup>12</sup>

- (27) *kīnu wanu=ge <denwa> h-ee-n=jo=naa.*  
 yesterday 2SG=DIR <telephone> do-RES-PRS.IND=POL=CNF  
 ‘It turns out I called you yesterday.’

An example context for this sentence would be if the speaker had drunk alcohol to the point of not remembering her actions. She then checks her phone the next morning and sees that she called the listener. The next example has an overt second-person subject:

- (28) *waa <keetai> ut-ah-ee-n? bar-i-soo.*  
 2SG <cell.phone> fall-TR-RES-PRS.IND break-STAT-NMLZ  
 ‘Did you drop your phone? It’s broken.’

An example context for this sentence would be if the speaker notices the listener’s phone has a crack in it and surmises that it may have been because the listener dropped it.

The next example, which has a third-person subject, would naturally be used by a father who goes into his son’s room to wake him, but instead finds an empty bed with disheveled sheets.

- (29) *cakusa=a duu-pituri=saari uk-ee-rja-n=naa.*  
 eldest.son=TOP self-one.person=INS rise-RES-RLS-IND=CNF  
 ‘My eldest son must have woken up by himself.’

These examples are all used with verbs describing events for which the speaker witnesses a resulting state, although they did not directly witness the event itself. These uses give the resultative the flavor of an indirect evidential, indicating that the speaker has access to some resulting state of the verbal event but not to the original event itself.

We suggest that this evidential meaning is a pragmatic epiphenomenon, stemming from the core resultative meaning of the morpheme, which describes a resulting state of the verbal event. The indirect evidential inference stems, we suggest, from pragmatic competition with forms that indicate the speaker witnessed the verbal event itself. By going out of their way to describe a resulting state of an event, rather than the original event itself, speakers can implicate that they did not witness the original event. While this kind of pragmatic implicature might in principle be grammaticalized, allowing eventually for the transformation of the resultative into an indirect evidential, it does not seem that this transition has taken place in Miyaran, since the form can be used in certain circumstances when the verbal event itself was witnessed by the speaker, like the perfect/experiential use described below.

### Perfect/Experiential

This usage of *-ee-* is compatible with the agent's direct experience of the verbal event. Many examples of this usage involve the verb *m-ee-n* (negative form: *m-uu-nu*), which appears to have been grammaticalized into an experiential marker from the verb *mi-* 'to see'.

- (30) *kaar-i-ru fa-i-munu nke-e-m-oor-ee-n?*  
 change-STAT-PRS eat-MED-thing eat.HON-MED-see-HON-RES-PRS.IND  
 'Have you eaten strange food before?'

Lack of experience can also be expressed with the resultative form of the animate existential verb *ur-* combined with the negative form of the verb. This usage also seems to have been grammaticalized in the verb *sik-ee-n*, which appears to contribute a perfect meaning when attached to the medial form of another verb.

- (31) *too-hoo=d-ar-ee-ru=kii=du junon=ge har-a-naa*  
 far-ADJ=FOC-exist-RES-PRS=because=FOC Yonaguni=DIR go-IRR-NEG  
*ur-ee-ru.*  
 exist-RES-PRS  
 'Because it is far, I have not gone to Yonaguni.'

This usage also seems to have been grammaticalized in the verb *sik-ee-n*, which appears to contribute a perfect meaning when attached to the medial form of another verb.

- (32) *unu <uekibace>=e bar-i ut-ta=songa jattu-bai=sari*  
 this <flower.pot>=TOP break-MED exist-PST=but finally-way=INS  
*noo-sim-i sik-ee-r-u.*  
 fix-CAUS-MED PRF-RES-PRS

‘This flower pot was broken but I finally had it fixed.’

- (33) *kīnu maja=n=du jattu=saari ujanču=ba kur-ah-i*  
 yesterday cat=NOM=FOC finally=INS mouse=OBJ.FOC kill-TR-MED  
sik-ee-da.  
 PRF-RES-PST

‘Yesterday, the cat finally killed the mouse.’

Note that the present marker *-u* is used in (32) because the pot was fixed some time before the present, while the past *-da* is used in (33) because the mouse was killed some time before yesterday when the speaker saw its dead body.

Both experiential and perfect usages are tied to resultatives crosslinguistically, suggesting that these usages are an organic semantic expansion in Miyaran of the original resultative meaning. Another use of *-ee-* involves answering a question and implicitly seeking approval of the questioner. It is employed when the speaker is unsure whether his or her action was undesired by the questioner. This hesitant usage naturally derives from the resultative as well, since this allows the speaker to shift the focus away from the agent.<sup>13</sup>

- (34) A: *waa=du jadu=ba=du ak-i?*  
 2SG=FOC door=FOC=OBJ.FOC open-MED  
 ‘Was it you who opened the door?’  
 B: *oo baa=du jadu=ba=du ak-ee-ru =juu.*  
 yes 1SG=FOC door=OBJ.FOC=FOC open-RES-PRS =POL  
 ‘Yes, I opened the door. (Is that okay?)’

In the above example,<sup>14</sup> it is possible that speaker B is worried that he/she should not have opened the door because it is raining or cold or for some other reason. It appears that in such usages, *=du* is required on the first person subject, as the speaker confesses that it was he/she who carried out the action. Izuyama (2001b) provides an example in which a teacher (T) shows an essay that has no name written on it, and a student (S) responds that it is theirs.

- (35) T: *wre=e taa=du kak-ee-ru?*  
 this=TOP who=FOC write-RES-PRS  
 ‘Who is it that wrote this?’  
 S: *baa=du kak-ee-ru.*  
 1SG=FOC write-RES-PRS

‘I wrote it.’

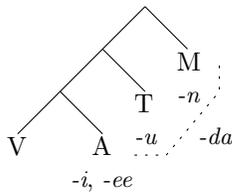
(Izuyama 2001b: 85)

Izuyama does not mention whether the student is hesitant in the response so it is not fully clear whether this falls under the same usage. One of our informants describes such forms using the Japanese construction *V-te-oku*, used when the action described by the verb is done “in advance” in preparation for something. This suggests another usage, in which the resulting state is described to indicate that the action was done with some purpose in mind.

## 4 Interim summary: the core Miyaran TAM system

The analysis so far is summarized in Table 11.11, which gives the forms discussed thus far for representative verbs with different root-final segments.<sup>15</sup> The patterns seen here give a basic picture of the Miyaran verb in which the verbal root (V) can be followed by an Aspect (A), Tense (T), and Mood (M) morpheme, in that order. Morphosyntactically, we posit one slot for each of these elements, as illustrated by the following tree:

(36) Structure of TAM in Miyaran



This basic structure is made opaque by the deletion of *-u* and *-i* discussed in the above sections. The semantics of the forms, along with regular phonological generalizations, however, make clear that the underlying forms of these apparent exceptions fit into the schema illustrated in (36). In the rest of the chapter, we discuss verbal forms that go beyond this core TAM paradigm.

## 5 Completive markers

### 5.1 *-ita*

As seen in the following example, verbs marked with *-ita* are used to describe events that took place in the past, but whose consequences still hold or are relevant at the time of utterance.

(37) *kjuu=ja baa sika-a-nu munu=ju muuru sit-ita.*  
 today=TOP 1SG use-IRR-NEG thing=ACC all throw.away-COMPL  
 ‘Today, I threw away everything I didn’t need.’

Here, the throwing away of unneeded things results in a salient current situation, namely, the absence of those things. This contrasts with the past form *-da*, which tends to be used for past events that do not have this direct link with the current utterance time.

Verbs with *-ita* are often used when an action suddenly occurs in front of the speaker, a fact also noted in Izuyama (2001b). This use is illustrated in the following example:

(38) *agaja! tana kubur-ita.*  
 oh.my shelf collapse-COMPL

Table 11.11: Basic TAM Verb Forms

	Root	Aspect	-(r)u	(-u)-n	-da
-m	jum- ‘read’	-∅-	jumu	jumun	junda
		-i-	jumiru	jumin	jumida
		-ee-	jumeeru	jumeen	jumeeda
-k	kak- ‘read’	-∅-	kaku	kakun	kakida
		-i-	kakiru	kakin	kakida
		-ee-	kakeeru	kakeen	kakeeda
-g	arag- ‘walk’	-∅-	aragu	aragun	aragida
		-i-	aragiru	aragin	aragida
		-ee-	arageeru	arageen	arageeda
-r	tur- ‘take’	-∅-	туру	turun	tutta
		-i-	turiru	turin	turida
		-ee-	tureeru	tureen	tureeda
-n	sīn- ‘die’	-∅-	sīnu	sīnun	sīnda
		-i-	siniru	sinin	sinida
		-ee-	sineeru	sineen	sineeda
-s	us- ‘push’	-∅-	usi	usīn	usida
		-i-	usiru	usin	usida
		-ee-	usjeeru	usjeen	usjeeda
-z	iz- ‘say’	-∅-	izi	izīn	izida
		-i-	iziru	izin	izida
		-ee-	izjeeru	izjeen	izjeeda
-ts	tats- ‘stand’	-∅-	tatsi	tatsīn	tatsida
		-i-	taciru	tacin	tacida
		-ee-	taceeru	taceen	taceeda
-īs	kīs- ‘wear’	-∅-	kīsī	kīsīn	kīsida
		-i-	kisiru	kisin	kisjida
		-ee-	kisjeeru	kisjeen	kisjeeda
-ik	sik- ‘hear’	-∅-	siku	sikun	sikida
		-i-	sikiru	sikin	sikida
		-ee-	sikeeru	sikeen	sikeeda
-a <sub>1</sub>	ka- ‘buy’	-∅-	kau	kaun	kauda
		-i-	kairu	kain	kaida
		-ee-	kaieeru	kaieen	kaieeda
-a <sub>2</sub>	fa- ‘eat’	-∅-	foo	foon	fooda
		-i-	fairu	fain	faida
		-ee-	faieeru	faieen	faieeda
-u	fu- ‘fall’	-∅-	foo	foon	fooda
		-i-	fuiru	fuin	fuida
		-ee-	fuieeru	fuieen	fuieeda
-i (Class 2)	uki- ‘get up’	-∅-	ukiru	ukirun	ukida
		-i-	ukiru	uki(i)n	ukida
		-ee-	ukeeru	ukeen	ukeeda

‘Oh my! The shelf has collapsed!’

These uses further illustrate the generalization that completive-marked verbs indicate events whose consequences continue into the utterance time, which is generally true of events that have just happened in front of the speaker.

In many cases, the event described with *-ita* must have been completed within a relatively short time frame that includes the utterance time. For example, when shown a video of a piece of paper being completely cut, one informant noted that the *-ita* form would be acceptable in an exclamation made just after seeing the cutting event (39a), but would not be acceptable if the cutting had been seen yesterday and reported to another person today (39b); in such cases the simple past *-da* or desubordinated medial *-i* form (described in Section 6.2) is required.

- (39) Context: A video of a piece of paper being cut in half was shown.
- a. *nama hatsaan=saari kabī kīs-ita.*  
 now scissors=INS paper cut-COMPL  
 ‘(Someone) cut the paper with scissors just now.’
- b. # *kīno-o hatsaan=saari kabī kīs-ita.*  
 yesterday-TOP scissors=INS paper cut-COMPL  
 ‘(Someone) cut the paper with scissors yesterday.’

This distribution contrasts with that of *-da*, which as we discussed in Section 2 and Section 3 is used to talk about events that took place in the speaker’s “psychological past”, which does *not* overlap with the utterance time (the psychological present). We suggest that the completive is used to describe states that hold in the speaker’s psychological present, but result from events that occur in the temporal (not necessarily psychological) past.

We note that the completive can also be used in questions; the psychological present in such uses seems to be shifted from the speaker to the addressee, and may reach further into the past than when used in assertions, a fact which deserves further investigation. The following example is from Izuyama (2001b).

- (40) A: *atsuko=o kak-ita?*  
 Atsuko=TOP write-COMPL  
 ‘Has Atsuko written it yet?’
- B: *meeda kak-a-nu.*  
 yet write-IRR-NEG  
 ‘She hasn’t written it yet.’ (Izuyama 2001b: 73)

The completive marker *-ita* might be decomposed into the stative marker *-i-* followed by *-ta*. But *-ta* is found only after *i*, and would thus be “defective”, since it cannot combine with the other aspect marker *-ee*, or directly to the verb root. We thus treat *-ita* as a single grammaticalized form. Distributionally, we note that *-ita* seems to be a matrix form, and does not allow for adnominal uses; the following relative clause use is judged ungrammatical.<sup>16</sup>

- (41) \* *kak-ita(-ru)*                      *pītu*  
       write-COMPL(-ATTR) person

## 5.2 *-ican*

Like *-ita*, *-ican* might be decomposed into the stative *-i* followed by *-can*, but since *-can* can only appear following *-i*, it is defective. We therefore do not pursue such an analysis. We do suggest, however, that the final *n* in this form is derived (at least historically) from the mood marker *-N*. Synchronically, it seems that the combination of these elements has been grammaticalized, so that one could think of *-ican* as a single unit. We remain agnostic about whether *-ican* is related to *-ita* either synchronically or diachronically, although later in the section we suggest a possible link between the two. For the purposes of what follows, we analyze *-ican* as being composed of a completive marker *-ica*, similar to *-ita*, followed by the indicative marker *-N*. In other words, we treat *-ican* as the indicative counterpart of *-ita*.

Verbs ending in *-ican* seem often to be used when a negative result has come about by an unintended or premature action, as illustrated by the following example:<sup>17</sup>

- (42) A: *waa sika-a-nu <isu>=nu at-ta-soo=naa. ure=e*  
       2SG use-IRR-NEG <chair>=NOM exist-PST=NMLZ=CNF that=TOP  
       *banu=ge hi(i)-rjaa.*  
       1SG=DIR give-IMP.POL  
       ‘There was a chair that you weren’t using. Give that to me.’  
       B: *agaja, ure=e kinu baa sit-ica-n.*  
       INTJ this=TOP yesterday 1SG throw.away-COMPL-IND  
       ‘Oh no! I threw that away yesterday.’

The following example has a similar flavor, but with the speaker registering surprise:

- (43) *waa <sootoo> joogar-ica-n=naa.*  
       2SG <very> get.thin-COMPL-IND=CNF  
       ‘You’ve gotten extremely thin!’

Izuyama (2001b: 73) claims that *-ican* may not be used with second person subjects or with questions. However in (43), elicited in our own fieldwork, *-ican* is used grammatically with a second person subject. It appears that the indicative marker *-n* is generally incompatible with second person subjects, except in questions (Izuyama 2003: 95). This restriction is, however, lifted when the sentence final particle *=naa* is used. Likewise, *-ican* appears to be permissible with second person subjects if the particle *=naa* is used. This gives support to the idea that *-ican* contains the indicative marker *-N*.

## 6 Medial converb constructions

### 6.1 The medial converb

Miyaran has a medial converb marker spelled out as *-i* after Class 1 verbs and phonologically null after Class 2 verbs. This form is frequently found in medial clauses in multi-clause discourses, and we accordingly gloss it MED. The following example shows two instances of this canonical clause-linking usage of *-i*:

- (44) *dugu mma-haa-ru munu=ba fa-i gusi=ba*  
 very tasty-ADJ-PRS thing=OBJ.FOC eat-MED alcohol=FOC  
*num-i=du pantar-i-ru.*  
 drink-MED=FOC get.fat-STAT-PRS  
 ‘I’ve gotten fat from eating very tasty food and drinking alcohol.’

The final verb in this discourse is in the stative present form, while discourse internal clauses are marked with *-i*. The second medial clause is further marked with the focus particle *=du*; this serves to mark the two subordinated medial clauses as a reason or explanation for the superordinate clause.

The clause-connecting clitic *=tee* may also be attached to *-i* when it is used as a clause-linker:

- (45) *<ooba> kis-i=tee <erimaki> hi-i=tee*  
 <overcoat> wear-MED=and <scarf> do-MED=and  
*an=tee=n pii-sjaa=d-ar-u siku.*  
 that.way=and=also cold-ADJ=FOC-exist-PRS extent  
 ‘(It was so cold that) I wore an overcoat and a scarf and even then it was cold.’

### 6.2 Desubordination: the medial converb as a matrix past tense marker

In addition to its role as a clause-linker, the medial converb can also be used clause-finally in matrix clauses, resulting in a kind of past-tense interpretation:

- (46) a. *kusaja=di iz-i munu=ba=du fa-i.*  
 horse.mackerel=QUOT say-PRS thing=OBJ.FOC=FOC eat-MED  
 ‘I ate something called *kusaya*.’  
 b. *kunu bigidun=ja noo=ba=du fa-i.*  
 this male=TOP what=OBJ.FOC=FOC eat-MED  
 ‘What did that boy eat?’

The following example contains both a clause-linking and a sentence-final use of the medial converb form:

- (47) *kii=gara ut-i=du tii=ba jam-ah-i.*  
 tree=from fall-MED=FOC hand=OBJ.FOC hurt-TR-MED  
 ‘I fell from the tree and hurt my hand.’

This kind of desubordination, in which a medial narrative converb is used as a matrix past-tense form, has been documented in Ōgami Miyakoan by Pellard (2012).<sup>18</sup> Like Miyaran, the Ōgami converb is spelled out as *-i*, when overt. Also as in Miyaran, the Ōgami converb has a basic clause-linking function in multi-sentence discourses, as seen in the following example from Pellard (2012: 12).<sup>19</sup>

- (48) *mmna [iak-i] sun-as-tau=tta.*  
 all burn-CVB die-CAUS-PST=HS  
 ‘It is said they burned them all to death.’ (*lit.* ‘they killed them all by burning them’)

In matrix contexts, the narrative converb receives a past interpretation (what Pellard (p.14) calls a “perfective past value”). The following assertive and interrogative Ōgami examples are comparable to the Miyaran examples in (46):

- (49) Ōgami Miyakoan Desubordinated Converb (Pellard 2012: 14)
- a. *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 I came.’)
- b. *kunaa nau=iu=tu asi?*  
 yesterday.TOP what?=ACC=FOC do.CVB  
 ‘What did you do yesterday?’

There are many similarities suggesting that we are seeing the same phenomenon in both languages. Pellard notes (p.14) that the narrative converb in matrix position can be followed by the focus particle *=tu* (50); the same holds for the Miyaran form, which can be followed by the corresponding focus particle *=du* (51).

- (50) Ōgami Miyakoan (Pellard 2012: 15)
- a. *ffau=u=pa mm num-i=tu.*  
 medicine=ACC=TOP already drink-CAB=FOC  
 ‘I have already taken my medicine.’
- b. *a=a pssnii=pa asi=tu?*  
 you=TOP nap=TOP.OBJ do.CVB=FOC  
 ‘Did you take a nap?’

- (51) Miyaran
- mii=nu akam-i=songa nak-i=du?*  
 eye=NOM redde-MED=but cry-MED=FOC

‘Your eyes are red. Were you crying?’

Pellard notes that in Ōgami sentence-final *=tu* is only licensed after the desubordinated medial narrative converb; the same seems to be true of Miyaran *=du*. We have yet to find, either in natural texts or in elicited examples, other environments in which *=du* can appear sentence-finally.

In some sentences involving a presupposition, it appears that the desubordinated past usage requires the accompaniment of the focus particle *=du* after the verb. The example in (51) was elicited on the basis of an example in Izuyama (2001b: 79), where *=du* appears after the second-person pronoun *waa* instead of after the verb:

- (52) *mii=nu akam-i=songa waa=du nak-i?*  
 eye=NOM redder-MED=but 2SG=FOC cry-MED  
 ‘You’re eyes are red. Were you crying?’ (Izuyama 2001b: 79)

Our informant corrected this sentence to the version in (51), where the second person subject is deleted and *=du* appears after the verb. This probably reflects the fact that focusing the verb rather than the second person subject makes more pragmatic sense in this context. Note also that the simple past *nak-ida* is also acceptable in this context, but the stative past *nak-i-da* is not, unless the speaker heard the listener crying in the next room.

Pellard (2012: 20) notes that the narrative converb’s role as a past marker is in competition with the “true” past tense form in Ōgami, contrary to the generalization that desubordination of the narrative converb only occurs in order to remedy a paucity of grammatical past tense forms. This same process appears to be occurring in Miyaran as well; the sentence-final use of the medial converb *-i* appears to play the same role as the simple past *-(i)da*. In fact, in our own field experience, *-i* appears to be chosen more often than the simple past *-(i)da* in translations of past tense forms from Japanese, as well as in a variety of spontaneous utterances. For example, after being shown a video of a piece of paper being cut in half, an informant used the following sentence to describe what he had just seen:

- (53) *hatsaan=saari kabi=ba kis-i.*  
 scissors=INS paper=OBJ.FOC cut-MED  
 ‘(Someone) cut the paper with scissors.’

On the other hand, after seeing a video in which a piece of paper is only partially cut, both the simple past *-(i)da* and desubordinated past *-i* forms were deemed unacceptable, the stative past *-i-da* being required instead. Like *-da* forms, the desubordinated past form may not be used in exclamative sentences, in which the speaker registers surprise about an event that has just occurred in front of his (and the listener’s) eyes. Only the completive markers *-ita* and *-ican* and the pragmatic negative *-i-neenu* (described in Section 6.4) forms are acceptable in such a circumstance.

- (54) \* *agaja! bar-i.*  
 oh.no break-MED  
 ‘Oh no! It broke.’

The forms *bar-ita*, *bar-ican*, and *bar-i-neen-u* are all acceptable here, but not *bar-i*.

### 6.3 Comparison with Izuyama

At this point, we pause for a comparison of our analysis with that of Izuyama. The following chart gives examples of what Izuyama (2001b: 71) calls the group E form of Class 1 and 2 verbs, based on the verb *kak-* ‘write’ with and without the indicative mood marker *-N*.<sup>20</sup>

- (55) From Izuyama (2001b: 71)

	D	E
Class 1	<i>kak-u-n</i>	<i>kak-i-n</i>
	<i>kak-u</i>	<i>kak-i</i>
Class 2	<i>uk-ir-u-n</i>	<i>uk-i-n</i>
	<i>uk-ir-u</i>	<i>uk-i</i>

As can be seen from the chart, Izuyama analyzes forms like *kakin* and *kaki* as forming a minimal pair; *kakin*, under this analysis, is formed from *kaki+n*. The same analysis is adopted in Izuyama (2003: 68–74), where it is called the “stative infinitive”.

The semantic evidence we have adduced for these forms makes this analysis untenable. We have seen that forms like *kakin* have a present stative interpretation, forming a semantic pair with *kakiru*. We argued that surface *kakin* comes from underlying /*kak-i-u-n*/ by deletion of /*u*/, making the form slightly opaque. The meaning, however, suggests that this analysis is on the right track. The form *kak-i*, as we have seen above, *cannot* have such an interpretation. Instead, in root clause (desubordinated) uses of this form, we get a consistent (simple) past interpretation. Under Izuyama’s analysis, in which *kak-i* and *kak-i-n* constitute a minimal pair, this divergence of interpretation is left unexplained.

Our own proposal places forms like *kak-i*, which we follow Pellard in analyzing as desubordinated converbs, outside the regular TAM system. Pellard argues that in Ōgami, these forms do not accept further TAM morphology, and the same is true of the corresponding Miyaran form as well. In particular, we argue that there is *no* version of *kak-i* to which *-N* is added, because no further suffixation is possible with this form. The surface similarity of these forms is an accident, belied by their very different semantics, which cannot naturally be attributed to the presence or absence of *-N*. In short, we argue that forms like *kak-i* are outside of the normal TAM paradigm completely, and that forms like *kak-i-n* form a pair with forms like *kak-i-ru*.

Related to this fundamental analytic divergence is a factual conflict in the results of our own fieldwork and the inventory of forms described by Izuyama

(2001b, 2002, 2003). Izuyama lists forms like *kak-i-ru-n* as the indicative counterpart of bare stative present forms like *kak-i-ru*. In our own fieldwork, we not only have failed to elicit such forms, but speakers reject them as impossible when we ask about them. We believe that such forms do not exist, at least in the Miyaran spoken by our own informants. There are several possible explanations for the existence of such forms in Izuyama’s descriptions. One possibility is simple error (we note here that such forms are not described in Izuyama 1997, which gives verbal charts more in accordance with what we have presented here). Another possibility is idiolectal variation. A final possibility is diachronic change; more than a decade has passed since Izuyama’s own fieldwork was conducted, and her informants were generally older than our own. The latter possibility deserves further investigation.

#### 6.4 Pragmatic negative *-i-neenu*

Miyaran has a “pragmatic negation” construction formed from the medial form of the verb and the negative existential *neenu*. Similar constructions are found throughout Ryukyuan, in which a negative morpheme is used not for logical negation but to express a kind of completive aspect with generally negative pragmatic overtones. The pragmatic negation construction has lost any logical negative meaning originally associated with *neenu*. The pragmatic negation construction is, however, ambiguous with a construction in which *neenu* has its normal negative meaning. This ambiguity is illustrated by the following examples, disambiguated toward regular negation (56a) or pragmatic negation (56b) by adverbs which can only occur with one of the two interpretations.

- (56) a. *meeda iz-i-neenu.*  
 yet say-MED-exist.NEG  
 ‘(I) haven’t said (anything) yet.’
- b. *kisa iz-i-neenu.*  
 just.now say-MED-exist.NEG  
 ‘(I) went and said it just now.’

Note that the regular negation interpretation in (56a), which was offered along with a number of similar examples by one of our informants, seems contrary to Izuyama’s (2003) claim that there is only one form of negation for each verb stem.

#### 6.5 Analytic stative *-i ur-*

In addition to the stative suffix *-i* described in Section 3.1, Miyaran has a stative construction formed from the medial converb and the animate existential verb *ur-*. This construction, which we label the *analytic stative*, is generally in free variation with the stative forms described earlier, with tense and mood distinctions hosted by the existential verb *ur-*, whose bare present form is *ur-u* (57), present indicative is *ur-u-n* (58), and simple past is *ut-ta* (59).<sup>21</sup>

- (57) *nama kīnooree neenaa na-as-ita zin-fukuru=ba=du*  
 now previously NEG.ADV become-TR-PST money-bag=OBJ.FOC=FOC  
*tum-i ur-u.*  
 find-MED exist-PRS  
 ‘Now I’m looking for the wallet that I lost the other day.’
- (58) *kī=ja sīk-i ur-u-n.*  
 air=TOP attach-MED exist-PRS-IND  
 ‘(Someone) is paying attention.’<sup>22</sup>
- (59) *juube ik-a-nu imi=ba mi-i=du naa-ai*  
 last.night go-IRR-NEG dream=OBJ.FOC see-MED=FOC long-interval  
*uk-i ut-ta.*  
 wake-MED exist-PST  
 ‘I was awake all last night because I had a bad dream.’

All these compound constructions may be replaced with the stative forms *-i-ru*, *-i-n*, and *-i-da*, respectively. On the other hand, negation and (past tense) verbal focus both require the more complex analytic form. The following sentence shows negation of the analytic stative construction, which has no counterpart using the simple stative suffix *-i*:

- (60) *kjuu=ja noo=n hi-i ur-a-nu=kīi <zikan>=du*  
 today=TOP what=also do-MED exist-IRR-NEG=because <time>=FOC  
*deezi=nu siko=o...*  
 very=GEN extent=TOP  
 ‘I didn’t do anything today, so it was a waste of time.’

The following two examples have a verb-internal focus marker *=d(u)*. While the present form might be analyzed as having *=du* attached directly to the stative marker *-i*, the past tense form requires the analytic stative construction. We analyze the present form analogously, as a shortened form of *=du ur-u*, which is also possible. Note that focused forms are incompatible with the present indicative existential *ur-u-n*.

- (61) a. *auda=nu nak-i=d-ur-u.* (or *naki=du uru*)  
 frog=NOM cry-MED=FOC-exist-PRS  
 ‘The frog is croaking.’
- b. *kunu hon=ja meeda jum-a-nu. asab-i=du ut-ta.*  
 this book=TOP yet read-IRR-NEG play-MED=FOC exist-PST  
 ‘I haven’t read this book yet. I was playing.’

It seems clear that the stative verb forms described in Section 3.1 result from shortening of the analytic *-i ur-u* form to *-i-ru*. We also think the accent associated with the stative marker *-i* derives from the lexical accent of *ur-* (note that the medial converb marker *-i* does not have an accent). We argue, however, that this shortening is purely a diachronic process, and that the reduced stative

marker *-i* is synchronically distinct from the construction described here. The main reasons for this position are 1) the lack of negative and focus versions of the simple stative, and 2) the unnatural shortening process required for present indicative and past tense forms. The first problem was illustrated just above. In addition to this gap, a synchronic shortening analysis would also need explain how the present indicative *-i ur-u-n* is reduced to *-i-n*, and how the past *-i ut-ta* is mapped to *-i-da*. The latter reduction seems particularly implausible. We thus treat the analytic stative construction as distinct from the stative marker described in Section 3.1.

The semantics and pragmatics of the focused verbal forms seen above is a topic that deserves further research. Example (61) has a focused verb in which focus particle *=du* is followed by the animate existential verb *ur-*. When the resultative *-ee* form of the verb is focused, the auxiliary verb following *=du* is instead the inanimate existential verb *ar-*. We think that this relates to what we take to be the historical source of the resultative, in which the medial form *-i* fused with a following inanimate existential *ar-*.<sup>23</sup> The focused resultative may take one of two forms: The resultative marker can be hosted by the main verb, giving *-ee=d-ar-u* (62), or the resultative can be hosted by the auxiliary existential verb, giving *-i=d-ar-ee-ru* (63). The forms *\*-ee=d-ar-ee-ru* and *\*-i=d-ar-u* are unacceptable.

- (62) *ban-caa=nu cakusi=ja kjuu=ja paja-haa*  
 1SG-family=GEN eldest.son=TOP today=TOP early-ADV  
*uk-i=d-ar-ee-ru.*  
 rise-MED=FOC-exist-RES-PRS  
 ‘Our son must have woken up early today.’
- (63) *ure=e mee nim-ee=d-ar-ja-n=naa.*  
 3SG=TOP already sleep-RES=FOC-exist-COP-IND=CNF  
 ‘He must have already gone to sleep.’

The form in (62) may be replaced with *uk-ee=d-ar-u*, and the form in (63) may be replaced with *nim-i=d-ar-ee-rja-n=naa*.<sup>24</sup> In all examples we have found to date, such substitution seems to be free, and it is unclear whether there is a salient semantic difference between the two forms. Both forms are used similarly to the non-focused resultative form to refer to an event that is surmised to have happened by the speaker on the basis of a resulting state.

Sentence (63) may be replaced with the resultative form (either focused or unfocused) of the animate existential verb preceded by the medial form of the main verb. Such forms likely emphasize the progressive aspect of the verb:

- (64) *ure=e mee nim-i(=du) ur-ee-rja-n=naa.*  
 3SG=TOP already sleep=MED(=FOC) exist-RES-RLS-IND=CNF  
 ‘He must be sleeping already.’

## 7 Negative and irrealis verb forms

### 7.1 Negation

Negative forms of representative Class 1 and Class 2 verbs are illustrated in Table 11.12. Looking at the Class 1 verbs, we find that the negative suffix *-nu* is not attached directly to the root. Instead, we find the vowel *a* appearing between the root and *-nu*. Forms like *jum-a* are traditionally called *mizenkei* in the Japanese literature, corresponding to something like an irrealis verb form. Following this line of analysis, we treat forms like *jum-a-nu* as consisting of the verb root *kak-*, the irrealis suffix *-a*, and the negative suffix *-nu*:

- (65) a. *jum -a -nu*  
           read -IRR -NEG  
       b. *kak -a -nu*  
           write -IRR -NEG

Table 11.12: Negative forms of Class 1 and Class 2 verbs

	Present		Negative	
Class 1	<i>jum-u</i>	‘read’	<i>jum-a-nu</i>	‘not read’
	<i>kak-u</i>	‘write’	<i>kak-a-nu</i>	‘not write’
Class 2	<i>uti-ru</i>	‘get up’	<i>ut-u-nu</i>	‘not get up’
	<i>uki-ru</i>	‘fall’	<i>uk-u-nu</i>	‘not fall’

Class 2 verbs pose an apparent problem for this analysis; what we would expect given the above analysis are forms like the following:

- (66) a. \* *uki -(r)a -nu*  
           get.up -IRR -NEG  
       b. \* *uti -(r)a -nu*  
           fall -IRR -NEG

The forms we do find are not related in any transparent way to these predicted forms, and do not include the segment *i* at all. Instead, it seems like the irrealis marker for Class 2 verb roots is *-u*, and that the root-final *i* is deleted, giving negative Class 2 verb forms the following analysis:

- (67) a. *uk -u -nu*  
           get.up -IRR -NEG  
       b. *ut -u -nu*  
           fall -IRR -NEG

On the other hand, in other irrealis environments (including the irrealis volitional uses discussed below), Class 2 verbs show up with the predicted *-a* form; the bare irrealis form of *uki-* ‘get up’, for example, is *uki-ra*. On the basis

of these observations, we suggest that the irrealis suffix IRR takes one of two forms. After most roots it is *-a*, while after Class 2 roots and preceding negation it appears as *-u*. We argued earlier that Class 2 verbs end in the vowel *i*. We suggest that when the *-u* variant of IRR attaches to Class 2 root, the root-final *i* is then deleted, giving the surface form (note that the pre-deletion sequence is *iu*, a dispreferred or illegal sequence that is fixed by either deletion or epenthesis elsewhere in the grammar as well). This is illustrated in Table 11.13.

Table 11.13: Negative Forms of Class 2 Verbs

Root	Underlying	Surface
<i>uki-</i> ‘get up’	<i>/uki-u-nu/</i>	<i>uk-u-nu</i>
<i>uti-</i> ‘fall’	<i>/uti-u-nu/</i>	<i>ut-u-nu</i>
<i>aki-</i> ‘open’	<i>/aki-u-nu/</i>	<i>ak-u-nu</i>

Crosslinguistic support for this derivation comes from related verbs in the Ishigaki dialect of the nearby *shika* area, as described in the grammar companion to the Ishigaki Dialect Dictionary (Miyagi 2003). There, an alternative pronunciation for the irrealis is given which includes a semivowel *j*, giving forms like *ukj-u-nu* in addition to *uk-u-nu* for the negative form of *uki-* ‘get up’. This in turn suggests a gradual weakening of the underlying root-final *i*, first to a glide and then to nothing.

An interesting situation occurs in the case of the verb meaning ‘disappear’, which we analyze as having the root form *kii-*. The simple present and negative forms of this verb, as described in Izuyama (1997), are as follows:

(68)	Root	Simple Present	Negative
	<i>kii-</i> ‘disappear’	kii-ru	kju-u-nu

In the simple present, *r* is inserted to break up *iu*, as expected. With the underlying negative form */kii-u-nu/*, something interesting happens. First, the offending *iu* is fixed by a process deleting the final *i* of *kii*, as with other Class 2 verbs, leaving *ki-u-nu*. But this has not fixed the problem; it leaves yet another *iu* sequence. This sequence is fixed not by deletion, but by transforming *kii* to *kjuu*. Although the fixes applied in each case differ, we can see that the goal is to avoid the illicit vowel sequence *iu*. When such sequences arise in the course of a morphological derivation, these transformations cause the underlying forms to become less transparent.<sup>25</sup> In addition to Class 2 verbs, the other vowel-final verb roots undergo some phonological processes when appearing in negative forms. Examples, based on those found in Izuyama (1997), are given in Table 11.14. The verb roots *mi(i)* ‘to say’ and *hi(i)* ‘to give’ have irregular negative forms *muu-nu* and *huu-nu* instead of the expected *mii-nu* and *hii-nu*.

### Simple negative *-nu*

The most basic form of negation results from attaching *-nu* to the irrealis forms discussed above. This form has a wide range of uses. Unlike in Japanese,

Table 11.14: Positive and Negative Forms of Vocalic Roots

	Root	Positive	Negative
-a	<i>fa-</i> ‘eat’	<i>fo-o</i>	<i>fa-a-nu</i>
-u	<i>fu-</i> ‘fall’	<i>fo-o</i>	<i>fo-o-nu</i>
-i	<i>kī-</i> ‘come’	<i>ku-u</i>	<i>ku-u-nu</i>

in Miyaran the simple negative can be used to describe an event that has not happened yet, as illustrated by the use of the simple negative *jum-a-nu* in (69).

- (69) *kunu hon=ja meeda jum-a-nu. asab-i=du ut-ta.*  
 this book=TOP yet read-IRR-NEG play-MED=FOC exist-PST  
 ‘I haven’t read this book yet. I was playing.’

### **-naa-da**

To express past negation, the negative morpheme itself changes form to *-naa*, to which the past tense marker *-da* attaches. This form is used to describe events or states which failed to happen or hold some past time, as seen in the following example:<sup>26</sup>

- (70) *taroo=n ku-u-naa-da=ra=du pituri=saari har-i*  
 who=also come-IRR-NEG-PST=because=FOC one.person=INS go-INF  
*kutu nar-i neenu.*  
 thing become-MED exist.NEG  
 ‘Because no one came, I ended up going alone.’

The alternation between *-nu* in present/non-past tense sentences, and *-naa-da* in past tense sentences, suggests that *-nu* may encode present tense features. Although here we gloss *-nu* as just NEG, it might be possible to analyze it further into *-n-u*, with *-n-* encoding negation and *-u* encoding present (or non-past) tense. We put aside further discussion of this possible decomposition, and the related issue of the alternative form *-naa-* appearing before the past tense suffix *-da*. We label both alternatives as NEG in this chapter.

## **7.2 Irrealis volitional forms**

The bare irrealis form can be used for a volitional interpretation with first person singular subjects, and a kind of hortative or group volitional interpretation with first person plural subjects. The following examples are from Izuyama (1997).

- (71) a. *baa kak-a.*  
 1SG.TOP write-IRR  
 ‘I shall write (it).’  
 b. *baga maazon kak-a.*  
 1PL.TOP together write-IRR  
 ‘Let’s write (it) together.’ (Izuyama 1997: 14)

In addition to the bare irrealis, one can also express a strong volitional meaning using the simple present and indicative marker *-n*. The bare irrealis, in combination with one of the two morphemes *-mba* and *-i*, can be used to express a softer form of volition, with the first morpheme expressing stronger volition than the second. Both are preceded by the irrealis *-a* (with the *-ira* form being used for Class 2 rather than *-u*) and are accompanied by a rising intonation, suggesting that these volitional markers contain an interrogative aspect. The following examples express volition, and are arranged in order of decreasing strength:

- (72) a. <denwa> *hi-i*     *ujooh-u-n*.  
 <phone> do-MED give.HON-PRS-IND  
 ‘I will call for you.’
- b. *ure=e*     *taboor-ari-ra*.  
 this=TOP receive.HON-PASS-IRR  
 ‘I will take this.’ (used when receiving something, such as money)
- c. <terebi>     *miir-a-mba?*  
 <television> see-IRR-VOL  
 ‘I will watch TV, okay?’
- d. *ure=e*     *wanu=ge* *hiir-a-i?*  
 this.TOP 2SG=LOC give-IRR-Q  
 ‘Shall I give this to you?’

The sentences above are laid out in order of strongest volition to weakest volition. Sentence (72a) is an indicative assertion, and so does not involve the listener’s permission at all. Sentence (72b), with a bare irrealis form, is the strongest of the irrealis volitional forms. Sentence (72c) seems to indicate a request for permission to do something, but does not require a permissive answer. The final sentence (72d) expressly asks the listener for permission to carry out the action and so requires an answer from the listener. Functionally it is similar to the permissive construction in the following example, which with a sentence final rise is interpreted as a question asking for permission:

- (73) *attsa=n*     *ku-u-ba=n*     *mi-sja-n?*  
 tomorrow=also come-IRR-COND=also okay-ADJ-IND  
 ‘May I also come tomorrow?’

The difference between these two is that sentence (72d) expresses the speaker’s intent to carry out the action, while sentence (73) is a simple question about whether it is permissible to do something. We tentatively analyze the final *-i* in uses like like (72d) as a question particle. Although polar questions in Miyaran generally lack a final question particle, the form seen here seems to be an exception; we suspect that it corresponds to the polar question particle/suffix *(m)i* seen in various varieties of Okinawan.

In addition to strength, another difference between the *-mba* and *-i* forms is that while *-i* is only compatible with the first person, *-mba* may be used with the second or third person to suggest that someone else carry out an action:

- (74) Context: A teacher asks someone to write on the board. The speaker turns to her friend and utters the following sentence:

*waa kak-a-mba? kak-jaa!*  
 2SG write-IRR-VOL write-IMP  
 ‘Why don’t YOU write it? Write it!’

Although we have glossed *-mba* as a volition marker, there are other uses that suggest a different analysis. This is illustrated by the following example, found in the following example from Izuyama (1997), the meaning of which we confirmed with one of our informants:

- (75) *noodi kak-a-mba.*  
 why write-IRR-mba  
 ‘Why will you not write?’ (Izuyama 1997: 14)

Note that this sentence is a negative wh-question, and appears to have no volitional meaning. As with all wh-questions, this sentence ends with a final fall, unlike the uses of *-mba* seen above. This suggests that the *-mba* in (75) can be broken down into a negative marker *-n* and a question marker *=ba*. While *=ba* is not attested as a question marker elsewhere in Miyaran, we note that a homophonous question particle is attested in Okinawan and in Uchinaa-Yamatuguchi (the Okinawan-influenced variety of Japanese spoken by younger people in Okinawa prefecture). Furthermore, it appears as a wh-question particle in the Shiraho variety of Yaeyaman, a geographic neighbor of Miyaran. As evidence of *-n* being a reduced negative marker, we note that the negative marker *-nu* is reduced to *-n* elsewhere in Miyaran, as seen in the following examples:

- (76) a. *ai, fa-i ur-a-n-soo=ja taru.*  
 ah eat-MED exist-IRR-NEG-NMLZ=TOP who  
 ‘Ah! Who’s the one who didn’t eat?’  
 b. *sikai=tu bagar-a-n=songa ajas-sa-ru=kii ki*  
 well=ADV know-IRR-NEG=but dangerous-ADJ-PRS=because air  
*siki-ri=joo.*  
 attach-IMP=IMP.POL  
 ‘I don’t know it well, but be careful because it’s dangerous.’

The above examples illustrate the fact that *-nu* generally reduces to *n-* when preceding a (consonant-initial) clitic. Thus, it is likely that it would also reduce before *ba* if *ba* is indeed a question clitic.

## 8 Imperatives

The imperative marker *-i* is illustrated in (77). While this morpheme may be used by itself, *-joo* may optionally be attached to make the utterance more polite

(79). In addition, there is an alternate imperative marker *-jaa*, illustrated in (78). Both imperative markers, *-i* and *-jaa*, can attach directly to the verb root, as well as to other derived forms. The resulting forms are illustrated by the following examples, ordered from least polite to most polite.

- (77) *mee p̄itu mus̄i iz-i m̄i-ri.*  
 already one time say-MED see-IMP  
 ‘Say it one more time.’
- (78) *bazabaza=di mizi=ju iri-rjaa.*  
 quickly=QUOT water=ACC insert-IMP  
 ‘Pour the water quickly.’
- (79) *itsi=n hima jar-u=kii itsikaa asab-i-naa*  
 when=also free COP-PRS=because some.time play-INF-PUR  
*oor-i-joo.*  
 come.HON-IMP-POL  
 ‘Since I am always free, come over some time.’

Note that the epenthetic consonant *r* precedes *-i* and *-jaa* if the stem to which it attaches ends in a vowel, as seen in (77) and (78).

One common imperative construction uses the medial form of the main verb followed by the auxiliary verb *hi(i)-* ‘to give’, to which the imperative marker is attached. This is illustrated for both *-i* and *-jaa* in the following examples:

- (80) *pats̄i p̄it̄i-z̄i tur-i h̄i-ri.*  
 chopsticks one-CLF take-MED give-IMP  
 ‘Please pass me one pair of chopsticks.’
- (81) *oobe=e mee sas-i h-oor-jaa.*  
 this.event=TOP already forgive-MED give-HON-IMP  
 ‘Please forgive me (for this).’

Negative imperatives are formed by attaching the negative imperative morpheme *-na* to the infinitive *-i*. Note that for Class 2 verbs, the infinitive marker *-i* appears to be absorbed into the *i* part of the stem.

- (82) *kurage=ja ur-a-nu=kii sjuwa s̄i-i-na.*  
 jellyfish=TOP exist-IRR-NEG=because worry do-INF-NEG.IMP  
 ‘There are no jellyfish, so don’t worry.’
- (83) *uri=ge hi-i-na.*  
 3.SG=LOC give-INF-NEG.IMP  
 ‘Don’t give (this) to him.’
- (84) *kjuu=ja gusi nk-oo-n-na.*  
 today=TOP alcohol drink.HON-HON-INF-NEG.IMP  
 ‘Don’t drink alcohol today.’

As seen in example (84), the *r* in the honorific marker *-oor-* when combined with the infinitive marker *-i* may be, and often is, reduced to *n* before morphemes beginning in *n*. In other words, the underlying *nk-oor-i-na* is reduced to *nk-oo-n-na*. The same pattern occurs with verb stems ending in *-m*, in which there is free variation between negative imperative forms *-n-na* and *-u-na* (since *i* does not occur after *m* for phonological reasons).

- (85) *gusi num-u-na/nu-n-na.*  
 alcohol drink-INF-NEG.IMP/drink-INF-NEG.IMP  
 ‘Don’t drink alcohol.’

However, there seem to be some idiosyncratic cases in which the choice between these variants leads to different meanings:

- (86) *unu hon jum-u-na.* (*?ju-n-na*)  
 this book read-INF-NEG.IMP  
 ‘Don’t read this book.’
- (87) *munu ju-n-na.* (*?jum-u-na*)  
 thing read-INF-NEG.IMP  
 ‘Don’t complain.’

While the root of both words in the above examples is *jum-*, there is a dichotomy between the meanings in the negative imperative.

## 9 Other verbal forms

We close the chapter by very briefly describing several verbal forms that do not fit into the categories described thus far.

### 9.1 Infinitive *-i*

Class 1 verbal roots can appear in what Izuyama (2003) calls an active infinitive, which we will call simply the infinitive, formed by attaching *-i* to the verb stem. In Class 2 verbs, the final *-i* is reduced, leaving what looks like the bare verb stem. (Izuyama 2003: 58) says that the infinitive is the most basic verb form, and has both clause-final, noun-modifying, and nominal uses. The infinitive form hosts a number of morphemes expressing notions like volition, ability, desire, and the like, as described by Izuyama (2003: 59), which we leave out here for reasons of space.

### 9.2 Nominalizer *-soo*

A variety of verbal forms can be followed by *-soo*. The resulting forms, when used as matrix predicates, seem to express non-subjective factual situations; as Izuyama (2003: 66) puts it, such sentences do “not have relation with the

speaker’s judgment or recognition”, and are used by a speaker to declare a “state as it is”. Izuyama also mentions that this form can be used as a nominal, giving the following example (transcription, gloss, and translation modified):

- (88) *unu p̄itu=nu an-soo=ja atar-i=d-ur-u.*  
 that man=NOM say-NMLZ=TOP hit-MED=FOC-exist-PRS  
 ‘What that man says comes true.’ (modified from Izuyama 2003: 67)

We believe that such nominal uses are (at least diachronically) the source of the predicate uses of this form. Comparison with other varieties of Yaeyaman (including Yonaguni) suggests this as well. For example, in the Ishigaki dialect, as described in the grammar companion to the Ishigaki Dialect Dictionary (Miyagi 2003), the suffix *-su* (likely deriving from the verb for ‘do’) is attached to verbs to form nominals. These nominalized verbs are often topicalized with *=ja*. Morphophonological rules apply to map the underlying *-su=ja* to surface *soo*. What seems to have happened in Miyaran is that this topicalized version has been reanalyzed as the simple nominal form; the topic marker *=ja* can then be attached, giving *-soo=ja*. This reanalyzed nominal form, we suggest, is used in matrix positions to express “objective” information, contrasting with assertions that reflect a speaker’s subjective position or stance. The following example shows this form attached to an adjective in matrix predicate position:

- (89) *k̄juu=ja att-saa-soo=naa*  
 today=TOP hot-ADJ-NMLZ=CNF  
 ‘Today is hot.’

### 9.3 Realis marker *-ja(n)*

Izuyama (2003: 89–92) describes verbal forms ending in *-ja* or *-jan*, labeling them realis verb forms. The realis marker, under this analysis, is *-ja*, which we gloss as RLS. The indicative *-N* can then attach to the realis form, giving *-jan*. These forms have a curious distributional property compared to the other verb forms described so far. We have seen elsewhere that in a single clause, the presence of the focus particle *=du* blocks the occurrence of indicative *-N*. This generalization seems to have no exceptions, *except* in the *-jan* form. As described by Izuyama (2002, 2003), assertive realis sentences end in *-jan*, even when *=du* is used; this is illustrated by the following example:

- (90) *baa har-a-nu. atsuko=n=du har-ja-n.*  
 1SG go-IRR-NEG. Atsuko=NOM=FOC go-RLS-IND  
 ‘I cannot go; Atsuko is going.’ (Izuyama 2003: 90)

This apparent exception to the otherwise solid generalization barring *-N* from occurring in the same clause as *=du* must be explained. We suggest that this form may in fact instantiate a bi-clausal copular construction. The copula in Miyaran is *ja*, and we suggest that this is the source of the irrealis *-ja* here. If

*-ja* derives (at least historically) from the copula, and takes as its complement a clausal constituent, then the apparent violation of the complementary distribution of *=du* and *-N* can be explained, since *=du* only blocks *-N* in its local clause, and *-ja* heads a higher copular clause.

## 10 Conclusion

This chapter has briefly overviewed the verbal forms used to express TAM-related meaning distinctions in the Miyaran variety of Yaeyaman. We argued for a core TAM system, describing its structure and phonological processes that serve to make it opaque in some places. In addition we described a host of other forms that express TAM-related meanings but sit outside this core paradigm. The present chapter provides a basic grammatical analysis in terms of which we hope future investigation, both on Miyaran itself and other Yaeyaman varieties, can be fruitfully pursued.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Miyara is currently officially classified as an *aza* ('section') within Ishigaki City.

<sup>2</sup>Just to the east of Miyara is Shiraho, which was also largely resettled after the 1771 tsunami. Shiraho, however, was resettled from Hateruma island, and the number of original survivors seems to have been much smaller than in Miyara. Accordingly, the language spoken in Shiraho is closely related to that spoken in Hateruma, and is practically mutually unintelligible with Miyaran or other nearby varieties of Yaeyaman spoken on Ishigaki Island. See Aso (2010, this volume) for a description in English of Hateruma Yaeyaman.

<sup>3</sup>This is a traditional way to describe this vowel. Its exact phonetic characteristics are in need of further research. It is prone to being fricativized, in particular after consonants **k**, **p**, and **b**, giving rise to surface consonant clusters. We ignore this in our transcriptions, transcribing all such variants as *i*. We assume that in these cases the underlying form is still a vowel, but leave further discussion aside here.

<sup>4</sup>Although we do not use the placeless nasal **-ŋ** in our broad transcriptions, we employ **-ŋ** when talking about the indicative marker in the text.

<sup>5</sup>See Uemura (2003: 81–85) for an overview of the cognates of **-ŋ**, which Uemura calls the *conclusive* mood of the verb.

<sup>6</sup>Note that “present” is a label for the form; the details of its semantics are a separate issue. The label “non-past” could also be justifiably used, since the form is used to indicate future and habitual events.

<sup>7</sup>Alternatively, one could posit two alternative forms, *-u* and *-ru*, for the present tense suffix itself, with the form chosen depending on the segment to which it attaches. The presence of *r*, however, seems to be a fix for the vowel sequence that would otherwise result, suggesting that the basic form is *-u*.

<sup>8</sup>The verbs in this chart are based on those found in Izuyama (1997), where they are called *rentai shūshi* ('attributive final') forms.

<sup>9</sup>Note that *ukirun* and *utirun* are attested as simple present forms, just not as stative present forms.

<sup>10</sup>We gloss the particle *=ba* as an "object focus" marker, OBJ.FOC, but the details of its distribution require further research. Although the particle appears most commonly with direct objects, Izuyama (2003: 30) gives an example where it marks the subject of an intransitive (probably unaccusative) predicate. The particle also shows co-occurrence restrictions with the tense/aspectual category of the verb. We leave discussion of these restrictions aside in this paper.

<sup>11</sup>Note that we are not suggesting that these uses cannot or should not be integrated theoretically. In the interests of descriptive clarity, we divide the uses into these categories, leaving their theoretical integration to future research.

<sup>12</sup>Here we tentatively label the particle *=jo* as a politeness marker, by analogy with the homophonous particle used with imperatives, but further research is required to determine whether these are in fact the same particle.

<sup>13</sup>Crosslinguistically, this usage also occurs in Spanish, in which negative actions such as forgetting or breaking something employ the passive morpheme (which may also be used as a resultative) in conjunction with the indirect object form of the person. Examples:

- (91) *se me olvid-ó.*  
 PAS 1SG.IO forget-PST  
 'I forgot'
- (92) *se me romp-i-ó el vaso.*  
 PAS 1SG.IO break-THM-PST DEF vase  
 'I broke the vase.'

<sup>14</sup>Note that these examples have the focus particle *=du* appearing simultaneously on the subject and object of a simple clause, in apparent violation of the generalization (Izuyama 2003: 30) that only one *=du* is possible per clause. The licensing conditions for these exceptional occurrences of multiple *=du* deserve further investigation. We note here that at least one of our informants seems to prefer the focus-marked object to be left out of the answer.

<sup>15</sup>The verbs chosen for inclusion in the chart, as well as some of the surface forms, are based on the discussion in Izuyama (1997).

<sup>16</sup>Note that we tested both *kak-ita* and *kak-ita-ru* to ensure that ungrammaticality did not result from the lack of any putative attributive marker.

<sup>17</sup>We note that in these examples, *-ican* may be replaced by the completive *-ita* or by the “pragmatic negation” marker *-i-neenu*, discussed in Section 6.4.

<sup>18</sup>We thank Thomas Pellard for pointing out the similarities between the Miyaran pattern and the one he documents in Ōgami Miyakoan.

<sup>19</sup>We leave transcriptions and glosses as in Pellard’s original text. Note that Pellard calls this form a narrative converb and glosses it as CVB.

<sup>20</sup>Transcription slightly modified from the original text, with *-n* replacing Izuyama’s N.

<sup>21</sup>The resultative form *ur-ee-ru* appears to only be compatible with the negative; see example (31).

<sup>22</sup>‘Pay attention’ is expressed by the idiom ‘attach air’, as in Japanese.

<sup>23</sup>Note that the focused form of adjectives also uses *ar-*, as seen in (31).

<sup>24</sup>Note regarding example (63) that one of our speakers has *nib-* as the root for ‘to sleep’ while another has *nim-*.

<sup>25</sup>It is important but difficult to determine how many of the patterns described in this section should be built into a synchronic grammar of the language. We have taken an approach favoring derivation from consistent underlying morphological representations, and leave aside the question of how much of the derivation is synchronically valid, and how much is historical reconstruction.

<sup>26</sup>It is difficult to tell whether the final vowel in what we have transcribed below as *har-ĩ* is in fact *ĩ* or *u*.