

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

## 宮古語動詞の代表形、否定形、過去形、中止形

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# The Representative, Negative, Past, and Continuative Forms of Miyako Verbs

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1)</sup>

Concerning the origin of the representative form of Miyako verbs, Karimata (1990) argued, based on the fact that the corresponding forms in the dialect of the downtown areas of the former Hirara City (Nishizato, Shimosato, Higashi Nakasone, and Nishi Nakasone), referred to as the Hirara Dialect below, are homophonous with the *shi*-continuative form of Japanese, the form derived from the *shi*-continuative form functioned as both the representative form and the adnominal form. However, that idea was limited in application to strong conjugation verbs in the western and southern regions of Miyakojima such as the downtown areas of old Hirara City and Gusukube Town. There has been little attention to other verbs in the Miyako language. This report examines five grammatical forms: the representative form (e.g., *suru* ‘do’), the negative form (*shinai*), the past form (*shita*), and the *ari*-continuative form and the *shite*-continuative form of regular and irregular conjugation verbs in five Miyako dialects. The dialects are Shimajiri and Karimata from the northern part of Miyakojima, Kugai from the western part of the island, Bora from the southeastern part, and the dialect of Ikemajima, a detached island to the north.

The verbs examined are regular conjugation verbs with strong conjugations (“strong”), including those with the stem-final consonants \*b, \*m, \*k, \*g, \*s, \*t, \*n, \*r, and \*w, weak conjugations (“weak”), and the irregular verbs *aru* ‘exist (inanimate)’, *iru* ‘exist (animate)’, *kuru* ‘come’, *suru* ‘do’, and *nai* ‘not exist (inanimate)’. These include the verbs necessary to understand the types of verb conjugations in sub-dialects of the Ryukyuan languages and their correspondence to Old Japanese.

## 2. Stems and suffixes

Conjugational forms of verbs consist of the elements: stems, suffixes and auxiliaries.<sup>2)</sup> Verbs in the North Ryukyuan languages have three stems: the basic stem, the *onbin* stem, and the *ren'yōkei* adverbial stem. Of the three stems, those referred to as the basic stem and the *onbin* stem are also found in Japanese but the adverbial stem is characteristic to the

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**Table 1: Nakijin Village Jana dialect**

Basic Stem	<i>Onbin</i> Stem	Adverbial Stem
hak'-aN (J. <i>kakanai</i> ) 'not write'	hattz-aN (J. <i>kaita</i> ) 'wrote'	hatz-uN (J. <i>kaku</i> ) 'write'
tur-aN (J. <i>toranai</i> ) 'not take'	tutt-aN (J. <i>totta</i> ) 'took'	tu-N (J. <i>toru</i> ) 'take'
jum-aN (J. <i>yomanai</i> ) 'not read'	jud-aN (J. <i>yonda</i> ) 'read PST'	jum-iN (J. <i>yomu</i> ) 'read'

**Table 2: Hirara Shimosato dialect**

Basic Stem		
kak-an (J. <i>kakanai</i> ) 'not write'	kak-ztaz (J. <i>kaita</i> ) 'wrote'	kak-s (J. <i>kaku</i> ) 'write'
jum-an (J. <i>yomanai</i> ) 'not read'	jum-taz (J. <i>yonda</i> ) 'read PST'	jum (J. <i>yomu</i> ) 'read'
tur-an (J. <i>toranai</i> ) 'not take'	tu-ztaz (J. <i>totta</i> ) 'took'	tu-z (J. <i>toru</i> ) 'take'
kavv-an (J. <i>kaburanai</i> ) 'not wear'	kav-taz (J. <i>kabutta</i> ) 'wore'	kav (J. <i>kaburu</i> ) 'wear on head'

North Ryukyuan languages. The boundary between stem and suffix is indicated by “-” as in *kak-e*.

As shown in Table 2, it is not necessary to recognize the Japanese *onbin* stem or the North Ryukyuan adverbial stem for the stems of Miyako verbs; the basic stem alone is sufficient.<sup>3)</sup>

*Nai* ‘not exist (inanimate)’ is classified as an adjective in Japanese but is classified as an irregular verb in Ryukyuan. In contrast to adjectives in Miyako, which have grammaticalized conjugational forms formed with the *ku*-adverbial form and the verb of inanimate existence *az*, or which have forms with reduplicated stems, *nai* has no such conjugational forms and is therefore classified as a verb. Although classified as a verb, *nai* lacks the morphological categories of voice or aspect and does not have forms for moods like imperative or hortative and thus has the same grammatical characteristics as adjectives.

Among weak verbs in Japanese, those with one mora stems ending in *i* like *mi-ru* ‘see’, *ki-ru* ‘wear’, and *ni-ru* ‘boil’ were also weak verbs in old central Japanese (Old Japanese), but those verbs<sup>4)</sup> with stems of two or more mora ending in *i* or *e* mix weak verb forms like the negative form *oki-dzu* (Modern Japanese *okinai*) ‘not get up’ and the imperative form *oki-jo* (ModJ. *okiro*) ‘get up!’ with strong conjugation forms like the representative form *ok-u* (ModJ. *okiru*) ‘get up’ and the non-past adnominal form *ok-uru* (ModJ. *okiru*) ‘get up’. Conjugating verbs that have coexisting strong and weak conjugational forms are termed mixed-type verbs (“mixed”). The modern Japanese strong verb *shinu* ‘die’ showed a variation of the mixed-type in Old Japanese with the strong conjugational negative *sin-adzu* and imperative *sin-e* and conjugational forms with the same stems and endings as the mixed-type in *sin-uru* (ModJ. *shinu* Second Conclusive ) and *sin-ure* (ModJ *shinu* Third Conclusive form).<sup>5)</sup>

**Table 3: Japanese verb conjugation types**

			Negative	Imperative	Past	Non-past	Adnominal
Modern Japanese	Strong	<i>iku</i> ‘go’	ik-anai	ik-e	iQ-ta	ik-u	ik-u
		<i>shinu</i> ‘die’	sin-anai	sin-e	siN-da	sin-u	sin-u
	Weak	<i>okiru</i> ‘get up’	oki-nai	oki-ro	oki-ta	oki-ru	oki-ru
		<i>miru</i> ‘see’	mi-nai	mi-ro	mi-ta	mi-ru	mi-ru
Old Japanese	Strong	<i>iku</i> ‘go’	ik-adzu	ik-e	ik-itari	ik-u	ik-u
	Mixed a	<i>shinu</i> ‘die’	sin-adzu	sin-e	sini-tari	sin-u	sin-uru
	Mixed b	<i>okiru</i> ‘get up’	oki-dzu	oki-jo	oki-tari	ok-u	ok-uru
	Weak	<i>miru</i> ‘see’	mi-dzu	mi-jo	mi-tari	mi-ru	mi-ru

In the Shimajiri, Karimata, and Kugai dialects the negative form for stems ending in *i* are formed by adding the negative suffix *n*, not only with weak conjugation verbs but also with those corresponding to Old Japanese mixed conjugation verbs. That is, the old mixed conjugation has become a weak conjugation.

- (1) *ki:ju jurugaεεa:ma in:ta: utin.* (J. *Ki o yurashitemo mi wa ochinai.*) Karimata  
‘The nuts will not fall even if you shake the tree.’
- (2) *baja: umanna urin.* (J. *Watashi wa koko dewa orinai.*) Kugai  
‘I’m not getting off here.’

On the other hand, in the Bora dialect both verbs corresponding to the Old Japanese weak verbs and those corresponding to the mixed-type have weak conjugation forms for the representative form and imperative form, which are made by suffixing *ru* to basic stems ending with the vowel *i* or *i:*, but the negative is made by adding strong-form suffixes beginning with *u* or *u:* to a consonant-final stem. That is, in the Bora dialect, weak verbs have become mixed-type.

- (3) *kunu fsuzza azumakarja numi mi:ru.* (J. *Kono kusuri wa amai kara nonde miro.*) Bora  
‘This medicine is sweet, so try drinking it.’
- (4) *uja: ja:kju:juba: mju:n.* (J. *Chichi wa yakyuu wa minai.*) Bora  
‘My father doesn’t watch baseball.’

In the Shimajiri and Karimata dialects, the verb *shinu* ‘die’ has also become a weak verb, but in the Kugai and Bora dialects it has become a strong verb.

In the Old Japanese mixed-type conjugation, the conclusive non-past and the adnominal non-past showed strong verb conjugational forms but in the Bora mixed conjugation, the negative and hortative show strong verb forms.

**Table 4: Bora and Shimajiri dialect verb conjugation types**

			Negative	Imperative	Past	Non-past	Adnominal
Bora Dialect	Strong	<i>iku</i> ‘go’	ik-an	ik-i	ik-sta:	ik-s	ik-s
		<i>shinu</i> ‘die’	sn-an	sn-i	sn-ta	sn	sn
	Mixed	<i>okiru</i> ‘get up’	uk-un	uki-ru	uki-ta:	uki	uki-z
		<i>miru</i> ‘see’	mj-u:n	mi:-ru	mi:-ta:	mi:	mi:-z
Shimajiri Dialect	Strong	<i>iku</i> ‘go’	ik-an	ik-i	ik-sta:	ik-s	ik-s
		<i>shinu</i> ‘die’	sni-n	sni-ru	sn-ta:	sni-z	sni-z
	Weak	<i>okiru</i> ‘get up’	uki-n	uki-ru	uki-ta:	uki-z	uki-z
		<i>miru</i> ‘see’	mi:-n	mi:-ru	mi:-ta	mi:-z	mi:-z

### 3. Negative

It is possible to determine whether a given Miyako verb is strong, weak, or mixed by looking at the negative form. The negative suffixes are *an*, *in*, and *un*. *An* is suffixed to a consonant-final stem, corresponding to Old Japanese strong verbs. *In* appears with verbs corresponding to Old Japanese weak verbs and suffixes to stems ending in the vowel *i* as *n*, as shown in the analysis *uki-n* above. Verbs with negative forms in *in* are weak verbs. *Un* follows verbs that have a consonant-final basic stem, corresponding to mixed-type verbs in Old Japanese, giving the analysis *uk-un*. Verbs with negative forms in *un* are mixed-type verbs.

#### Bora dialect

The negative form for verbs corresponding to the Old Japanese mixed conjugation type appears in a mixed form with *un* or *u.n* suffixed. The Old Japanese weak conjugation verbs *keranai* ‘not kick’, *kinai* ‘not wear’, and *suwaranai* ‘not sit’ and the mixed conjugation *shinanai* ‘not die’, on the other hand, have become strong verbs and the Old Japanese weak verb *minai* ‘not see’ appears as a mixed-type verb. The irregular verb *suru* is mixed and *oran* ‘not exist (animate)’ is a strong verb.

Strong Verbs / *tuban* (J. *tobanai*) ‘not fly’, *aspan* (J. *asobanai*) ‘not play’, *numan* (J. *nomanai*) ‘not drink’, *kugan* (J. *koganai*) ‘not row’, *ikan* (J. *ikanai*) ‘not go’, *idasanj* (J. *dasanai*) ‘not send’, *mutanj* (J. *motanai*) ‘not hold in hand’, *puranj* (J. *horanai*) ‘not dig’, *kssanj* (J. *kiranai*) ‘not cut’, *uran* (J. *oran*) ‘not exist (animate)’ / *kiran* (J. *keranai*) ‘not kick’, *kssan* (J. *kinai*) ‘not wear’, *bzzan* (J. *suwaranai*) ‘not sit’, *snan* (J. *shinanai*) ‘not die’

Mixed Verbs / *urun* (J. *orinai*) ‘not get off’, *utun* (J. *ochinai*) ‘not fall’, *ukun* (J. *okinai*) ‘not get up’, *stun* (J. *sutenai*) ‘not discard’ / *mju:n* (J. *minai*) ‘not see’, *ju:n* (J. *enai*) ‘not obtain’, *su:n* (J. *shinai*) ‘not do’

Irregular Verbs / *ku:n* (J. *konai*) ‘not come’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### **Kugai dialect**

Old Japanese weak and mixed conjugation verbs appear in the Kugai dialect as weak verbs with the suffix *in* or *i:n*. The irregular verb *shinai* ‘not do’ also appears as a weak verb *fi:n*. *Keranai* ‘not kick’ and *shinanai* ‘not die’ are strong verbs. The verbs *kinai* ‘not wear’ and *suwarani* ‘not sit’, which are strong in other dialects, also have the weak forms *kifin* and *bizin*, respectively.

Strong Verbs / *tuban* (J. *tobanai*) ‘not fly’, *aspan* (J. *asobanai*) ‘not play’, *numan* (J. *nomanai*) ‘not drink’, *kugan* (J. *kogantai*) ‘not row’, *ikan* (J. *ikanai*) ‘not go’, *idasan* (J. *dasanai*) ‘not send’, *mutan* (J. *motanai*) ‘not hold in hand’, *puran* (J. *horanai*) ‘not dig’, *kssan* (J. *kiranai*) ‘not cut’ / *kiran* (J. *keranai*) ‘not kick’, *snan* (J. *shinanai*) ‘not die’

Weak Verbs / *urin* (J. *orinai*) ‘not get off’, *utin* (J. *ochinai*) ‘not fall’, *ukin* (J. *okinai*) ‘not get up’, *stin* (J. *sutenai*) ‘not discard’, *fi:n* (J. *kurenai*) ‘not give me’ / *zjin* (J. *enai*) ‘not obtain’, *kifin* (J. *kinai*) ‘not wear’, *bizin* (J. *suwaranai*) ‘not sit’, *mi:n* (J. *minai*) ‘not see’, *fi:n* (J. *shinai*) ‘not do’

Irregular Verbs / *ku:n* (J. *konai*) ‘not come’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### **Shimajiri dialect**

Old Japanese weak and mixed conjugation verbs appear in the Shimajiri dialect as weak verbs with *in* or *i:n* suffixed. Weak verbs *keranai* ‘not kick’ and *suwaranai* ‘not sit’ appear as strong verbs. The irregular verb *suru* ‘do’ appears as a weak verb.

Strong Verbs / *tuban* (J. *tobanai*) ‘not fly’, *appan* (J. *asobanai*) ‘not play’, *numan* (J. *nomanai*) ‘not drink’, *kugan* (J. *kogantai*) ‘not row’, *ikan* (J. *ikanai*) ‘not go’, *idasan* (J. *dasanai*) ‘not send’, *mutan* (J. *motanai*) ‘not hold in hand’, *puran* (J. *horanai*) ‘not dig’, *kssan* (J. *kiranai*) ‘not cut’, *ka:n* (J. *kawanai*) ‘not buy’ / *kiran* (J. *keranai*) ‘not kick’, *bz:zan* (J. *suwaranai*) ‘not sit’

Weak Verbs / *urin* (J. *orinai*) ‘not get off’, *utfin* (J. *ochinai*) ‘not fall’, *stfin* (J. *sutenai*) ‘not discard’, *ukin* (J. *okinai*) ‘not get up’, *snin* (J. *shinanai*) ‘not die’ / *mi:n* (J. *minai*) ‘not see’ or (J. *oran*) ‘not exist (animate)’, *zjin* (J. *enai*) ‘not obtain’, *ffin* (J. *kinai*) ‘not wear’ / *fin* (J. *shinai*) ‘not do’

Irregular Verbs / *ku:n* (J. *konai*) ‘not come’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### Karimata dialect

Old Japanese weak and mixed conjugation verbs appear in the Karimata dialect as weak verbs with the suffixes *in* or *i:n*. *Kinai* ‘not wear’, *suwaranai* ‘not sit’, and *shinanai* ‘not die’ are also weak verbs. The irregular verb *suru* ‘do’ is a weak verb and *inai* ‘not exist (animate)’ has a strong conjugation.

Strong Verbs / *tuban* (J. *tobanai*) ‘not fly’, *asban* (J. *asobanai*) ‘not play’, *numan* (J. *nomanai*) ‘not drink’, *kugan* (J. *koganai*) ‘not row’, *ikan* (J. *ikanai*) ‘not go’, *idasan* (J. *dasanai*) ‘not send’, *mutan* (J. *motanai*) ‘not hold in hand’, *puran* (J. *horanai*) ‘not dig’, *kssan* (J. *kiranai*) ‘not cut’, *ka:n* (J. *kawanai*) ‘not buy’ / *kiran* (J. *keranai*) ‘not kick’ / *uran* (J. *oran*) ‘not exist (animate)’

Weak Verbs / *urin* (J. *orinai*) ‘not get off’, *utin* (J. *ochinai*) ‘not fall’, *ukin* (J. *okinai*) ‘not get up’, *fitin* (J. *sutenai*) ‘not discard’, *snin* (J. *shinanai*) ‘not die’ / *iz̄in* (J. *enai*) ‘not obtain’, *kif̄in* (J. *kinai*) ‘not wear’, *biz̄in* (J. *suwaranai*) ‘not sit’, *mi:n* (J. *minai*) ‘not see’ / *aḟin* (J. *shinai*) ‘not do’

Irregular Verbs / *ku:n* (J. *konai*) ‘not come’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### Ikema dialect

Old Japanese weak and mixed conjugations appear as weak verbs with the suffix *in* or *i:n* in the Ikema dialect. *Keranai* ‘not kick’, *kinai* ‘not wear’, *suwaranai* ‘not sit’, and *shinanai* ‘not die’ are strong conjugation verbs. The irregular verb *suru* ‘do’ is a mixed-type.

Strong Verbs / *tuban* (J. *tobanai*) ‘not fly’, *aεiban* (J. *asobanai*) ‘not play’, *numan* (J. *nomanai*) ‘not drink’, *kugan* (J. *koganai*) ‘not row’, *ikan* (J. *ikanai*) ‘not go’, *idahan* (J. *dasanai*) ‘not send’, *mutεan* (J. *motanai*) ‘not hold in hand’, *kiran* (J. *kiranai*) ‘not cut’, *ka:n* (J. *kawanai*) ‘not buy’ / *kiran* (J. *keranai*) ‘not kick’, *ttεan* (J. *kinai*) ‘not wear’, *bidzan* (J. *suwaranai*) ‘not sit’, *εinan* (J. *shinanai*) ‘not die’

Weak Verb / *ukin* (J. *okinai*) ‘not get up’, *utin* (J. *ochinai*) ‘not fall’, *sitin* (J. *sutenai*) ‘not discard’ / *zzi:n* (J. *enai*) ‘not obtain’, *mi:n* (J. *minai*) ‘not see’ or (J. *oran*) ‘not exist (animate)’

Irregular Verbs / *ku:n* (J. *konai*) ‘not come’, *ḟun* (J. *shinai*) ‘not do’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### 3.1 Summary of observations on negative forms

- 1) The Old Japanese strong conjugation appears as a strong conjugation.
- 2) The Old Japanese weak conjugation verb *keranai* ‘not kick’ also appears as a

strong conjugation verb.

- 3) The Old Japanese weak conjugation verb *minai* ‘not see’ appears as a weak verb in the Kugai, Shimajiri, and Karimata dialects but as a mixed-type verb in the Bora dialect.
- 4) The Old Japanese mixed-type verbs appear as weak verbs in the Kugai, Shimajiri, Karimata, and Ikema dialects and as a mixed-type in the Bora dialect.
- 5) The Old Japanese mixed-type verb *shinanai* ‘not die’ is a weak verb in Karimata and Shimajiri dialects and is a strong verb in the Bora, Kugai, and Ikema dialects<sup>6</sup>.
- 6) The Old Japanese weak verb *kinai* ‘not wear’ is a strong verb in the Bora and Ikema dialects, but is a weak verb in the Kugai, Shimajiri, and Karimata dialects.
- 7) The Old Japanese weak verb *suwaranai* ‘not sit’ is a strong verb in the Bora, Shimajiri, and Ikema dialects, but is a weak verb in the Kugai and Karimata dialects.
- 8) The Old Japanese irregular verb *sinai* ‘not do’ is a weak verb in the Kugai, Karimata, and Shimajiri dialects but is a mixed-type in the Bora and Ikema dialects.

**Table 5: Comparison of verb conjugation types**

Type	OJ Word	MoDJ	Bora	Kugai	Shimajiri	Karimata	Ikema
Strong	<i>tobazu</i> ‘not fly’	strong	strong	strong	strong	strong	strong
Mixed	<i>shinazu</i> ‘not die’				weak	weak	
Weak	<i>kezu</i> ‘not kick’	weak	mixed	weak	strong	strong	weak
	<i>suwarazu</i> ‘not sit’				weak	weak	
	<i>kizu</i> ‘not wear’						
	<i>mizu</i> ‘not see’						
Mixed	<i>okizu</i> ‘not get up’						
	<i>ochizu</i> ‘not fall’						
Irregular	<i>orazu</i> ‘not exist’	irreg	strong			strong	
	<i>sezu</i> ‘not do’		mixed	weak	weak	weak	
	<i>kozu</i> ‘not come’	adjective	irreg	irreg	irreg	irreg	irreg
	<i>nasi</i> ‘not exist’						

#### 4. Past forms

In the past form and *shite*-continuative form of strong verbs in Japanese, a phonological change occurs at the boundary between a consonant-final stem and the suffix and a reanalysis of the boundary between the stem and the suffix occurs. The phonological change that takes place in the stem-final consonant is called *onbin* and the new, reanalyzed stem is called the *onbin* stem. The loss of stem-final *k* and *g* from the stems of strong



verbs in Old Japanese is called *i-onbin*. The loss of a suffix-initial *i* and the generation of a mora nasal is called nasal-*onbin*. The loss of a vowel and generation of a mora obstruent with verbs with final *r* and *t* is called obstruent-*onbin*. Following a nasal-*onbin* or the *i-onbin* of a verb with a stem-final *g*, a suffix-initial *t* is voiced, becoming *d*. Below is an examination of *onbin* in Miyako.

### Bora dialect

Whether the verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix is *ta:* or *ta* with a weakened final *z*.

Strong Verbs / *tubzta:* (J. *tonda*) ‘flew’, *aspsta* (J. *asonda*) ‘played’, *numta* (J. *nonda*) ‘drank’, *snta:* (J. *shinda*) ‘died’, *kugzta:* (J. *koida*) ‘rowed’, *iksta:* (J. *itta*) ‘went’, *idasta:* (J. *dashita*) ‘sent’, *mutsta* (J. *motta*) ‘had in hand’, *puzta:* (J. *hotta*) ‘dug’, *kssta:* (J. *kitta*) ‘cut.PST’, *kavta:* (J. *katta*) ‘bought’, *kssta:* (J. *kita*) ‘wore’, *kizta:* (J. *ketta*) ‘kicked’, *bz:ta:* (J. *suwatta*) ‘sat’

Mixed Verbs / *urita:* (J. *orita*) ‘got off’, *utēita:* (J. *ochita*) ‘fell’, *stēita:* (J. *suteta*) ‘discarded’, *ukita:* (J. *okita*) ‘got up’ / *mī:ta:* (J. *mīta*) ‘saw’, *i:ta:* (J. *eta*) ‘obtained’

Irregular Verbs / *ksta:* (J. *kita*) ‘came’, *s:ta:* (J. *shita*) ‘did’, *ata:* (J. *atta*) ‘existed (inanimate)’, *uta:* (J. *otta*) ‘existed (animate)’

### Kugai dialect

The suffix is *ta:* for all types of verb: strong, weak, and irregular.

Strong Verbs / *aspsta:* (J. *asonda*) ‘played’, *numta:* (J. *nonda*) ‘drank’, *snta:* (J. *shinda*) ‘died’, *kugzta:* (J. *koida*) ‘rowed’, *iksta:* (J. *itta*) ‘went’, *idasta:* (J. *dashita*) ‘sent’, *mutsta:* (J. *motta*) ‘had in hand’, *puzta:* (J. *hotta*) ‘dug’, *kssta:* (J. *kitta*) ‘cut.PST’, *kizta:* (J. *ketta*) ‘kicked’, *ko:ta:* (J. *katta*) ‘bought’

Weak Verbs / *urita:* (J. *orita*) ‘got off’, *utita:* (J. *ochita*) ‘fell’, *ukita:* (J. *okita*) ‘got up’, *stita:* (J. *suteta*) ‘discarded’, *kieita:* (J. *kita*) ‘wore’ / *mī:ta:* (J. *mīta*) ‘saw’, *zzita:* (J. *eta*) ‘obtained’, *bizita:* (J. *suwatta*) ‘sat’

Irregular Verbs / *ksta:* (J. *kita*) ‘came’, *sta:* (J. *shita*) ‘did’, *uta:* (J. *otta*) ‘existed (animate)’, *ata:* (J. *atta*) ‘existed (inanimate)’

### Shimajiri dialect

The suffix for the past form is mostly *ta:*, but *ta* and *taz* also occur.

Strong Verbs / *tubzta:* (J. *tonda*) ‘flew’, *appsta:* (J. *asonda*) ‘played’, *nunta:* (J. *nonda*)

‘drank’, *snta*: (J. *shinda*) ‘died’, *kugzta*: (J. *koida*) ‘rowed’, *iksta*: (J. *itta*) ‘went’, *idasta*: (J. *dashita*) ‘sent’, *mutsta* (J. *motta*) ‘held in hand’, *puzta*: (J. *hotta*) ‘dug’, *kssta*: (J. *kitta*) ‘cut.PST’, *kauta*: (J. *katta*) ‘bought’, *kizta*: (J. *ketta*) ‘kicked’, *bz:ta*: (J. *suwatta*) ‘sat’

Weak Verbs / *urita*: (J. *orita*) ‘got off’, *uteita*: (J. *ochita*) ‘fell’, *steita*: (J. *suteta*) ‘discarded’, *ukita*: (J. *okita*) ‘got up’ / *mi:ta*: (J. *mita*) ‘saw’, *zzitaz* (J. *eta*) ‘obtained’, *ffitaz* (J. *kita*) ‘wore’

Irregular Verbs / *ssta*: (J. *kita*) ‘came’, *ssta*: (J. *shita*) ‘did’, *ata*: (J. *atta*) ‘existed (inanimate)’, *uta*: (J. *otta*) ‘existed (animate)’

### **Karimata dialect**

In addition to *taz*, the past form suffix in the Karimata Dialect also appears as *daz*. It may be thought that in *nundaz* (J. *nonda*) ‘drank’ the *daz* is the result of *onbin*. However, given the fact that *daz* appears with both strong and weak verbs and that variant pairs with both *taz* and *daz* are found, as in *sntaz/sndaz* (J. *shinda*) ‘died’ and *εimitaz/εimida* (J. *shimeta*) ‘shut (tr)’, it can be seen that this variation is phonetic rather than being the result of *onbin*. The past form suffixes for strong verbs in the Karimata dialect are *itaz* and *taz* and the suffix for weak verbs is *taz*, with variants in *daz* for both.

Strong Verbs / *tubitaz* ~ *twtaz* (J. *tonda*) ‘flew’, *asvdaz* (J. *asonda*) ‘played’, *nundaz* (J. *nonda*) ‘drank’, *sntaz* ~ *sndaz*<sup>7)</sup> (J. *shinda*) ‘died’, *kugitaz* ~ *kuwtaz* (J. *koida*) ‘rowed’, *ikitaz* ~ *iftaz* (J. *itta*) ‘went’, *idastaz* (J. *dashita*) ‘sent’, *mutstaz* (J. *motta*) ‘held in hand’, *puztaz* (J. *hotta*) ‘dug’, *ksstaz* (J. *kitta*) ‘cut.PST’, *ko:taz* ~ *kaztaz* (J. *katta*) ‘bought’, *ks:daz* (J. *ketta*) ‘kicked’

Weak Verbs / *uridaz* (J. *orita*) ‘got off’, *utidaz* (J. *ochita*) ‘fell’, *ukitaz* (J. *okita*) ‘got up’ / *mi:daz* (J. *mita*) ‘saw’, *zzitaz* (J. *eta*) ‘obtained’, *kiitaz* (J. *kita*) ‘wore’, *bizitaz* (J. *suwatta*) ‘sat’

Irregular Verbs / *ksstaz* (J. *kita*) ‘came’, *astaz* (J. *shita*) ‘did’, *ataz* (J. *atta*) ‘existed (inanimate)’, *utaz* (J. *otta*) ‘existed (animate)’

### **Ikema dialect**

The past form suffix for all type of verbs, strong, weak, and irregular in the Ikema dialect is *tai*.

Strong Verbs / *acibitai* ~ *aeu:tai* (J. *asonda*) ‘played’, *nuntai* (J. *nonda*) ‘drank’, *kugitai* (J. *koida*) ‘rowed’, *ifutai* ~ *ikitai* (J. *itta*) ‘went’, *idaeitai* (J. *dashita*) ‘sent’, *muttai* (J. *motta*) ‘held in hand’, *fuitai* (J. *hotta*) ‘dug’, *muduitai* (J. *modotta*) ‘returned’, *kiritai*

(J. *kitta*) ‘cut.PST’, *kaitai* ~ *kautai* (J. *katta*) ‘bought’, *ki:tai* (J. *ketta*)

Weak Verbs / *ukitai* (J. *okita*) ‘got up’, *uritai* (J. *orita*) ‘got off’, *utɛitai* (J. *ochita*) ‘fell’  
/ *mitai* (J. *mita*) ‘saw’, *tsɛitai* ~ *ttitai* (J. *kita*) ‘wore’, *bi:tai* (J. *suwatta*) ‘sat’, *ddzɛitai*  
(J. *eta*) ‘obtained’

Irregular Verbs / *ttai* (J. *kita*) ‘came’, *astai* ~ *acitai* (J. *shita*) ‘did’, *aru:tai* (J. *atta*)  
‘existed (inanimate)’, *uru:tai* (J. *otta*) ‘existed (animate)’

#### 4.1 Absence of *onbin*

The suffixes for the past forms for all verbs, strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, are *taz*, *daz*, *tai*, *ta:* or *ta*. Given the phonological change in Miyako of *ri* > *z* as seen in *tuz* (J. *tori*) ‘bird’ and *paz* (J. *hari*) ‘needle’ and the change *ru* > *z* found in *piru* > *piz* (J. *hiru* (*nin-niku*)) ‘garlic’, *taz* is derived from *tari* or *taru*. *Tai*, *ta:*, and *ta* are forms that come from *taz* through lenition of and loss of the final *z*. *Onbin* as seen in Japanese or the North Ryukyuan languages is not observed.

*I-onbin* with strong verbs with stem-final *k* and *g*, nasal-*onbin* with stems ending in *b* and obstruent-*onbin* with stems ending in *t* and *r* are also not found. The kind of *i-onbin* with *s*-final stem verbs seen in North Ryukyuan languages is also not found. In the case of *m*-final stems, loss of a suffix-initial *i* is seen, but this is a phonological change found generally in Miyako languages and is not a case of nasal-*onbin*. It is clear, then, that the Miyako languages do not have *onbin*.

It cannot be determined yet whether the lack of *onbin* in Miyako is due to its antiquity. However, it can be thought that the fact that South Ryukyuan languages do not show *onbin* demonstrates that *onbin* had not developed by the time the South Ryukyuan languages split off from the Ryukyuan parent language. Since *onbin* is observed in the *Omorosōshi*, a collection of old songs from the court of the Kingdom of the Ryukyus compiled in 1613, it can be concluded that the North and South Ryukyuan languages had split before the compilation of the *Omorosōshi* and that *onbin* developed later in the North Ryukyuan languages.

#### 4.2 The *shi*-continuative form appearing in the stem of the past form

Another point concerning the past form that should be noted is that structurally it is formed by adding the suffixes *ta*, *ta:*, *tai*, or *taz* to the *shi*-continuative form. This is the same process as in Old Japanese before *onbin* occurred, as in *sitari* (ModJ. *shita*) ‘did’, *nomitari* (ModJ. *nonda*) ‘drank’, or *uketari* (ModJ. *uketa*) ‘received’. Of course, Miyako has undergone numerous phonological changes and the Old Japanese *shi*-continuative form has not been preserved unchanged.

Since the *shi*-continuative form is really only found as an element used in word formation or in the making of conjugational forms and is hardly ever found in its original use as an adverbial stem, we can see what phonetic forms the *shi*-continuative stem occurs in

by examining the stem portion of the past form.

The representative form of strong verbs with stems ending in *b*, *k*, and *g* in dialects in the central to southern part of Miyako such as the Bora, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects, appears in a form deriving from the *shi*-continuative form. Based on this fact, Karimata (1999) argued for the possibility that the representative form in Miyako was a form derived from the *shi*-continuative form. However, as argued below, the Karimata and Ikema dialects have representative forms derived from either the *suru*-adnominal form or the *su*-conclusive form.<sup>8)</sup>

Below the stems of the past forms of strong verbs with stem-final *b*, *k*, *g*, and *\*w*, weak verbs, and mixed-type verbs will be examined.

*B*-stem verbs are found in all areas with forms deriving from the *shi*-continuative stems *\*tobi* and *\*asobi*, but in addition, the Karimata and Ikema dialects also have the forms *tuv* and *acu*: that derive from *\*tobu* and *\*asobu*, which are either the *suru*-adnominal or the *su*-conclusive Old Japanese forms.

*tubzta*: (Bora), *tubzta*: (Shimajiri), *tubitaz* ~ *tvtaz* (Karimata), *aspsta*: (Kugai), *acibitai* ~ *acu:tai* (Ikema)

*G*-stem verbs are found in all areas with forms deriving from the *shi*-continuative stem *\*kogi*, but in Karimata the form *kuv* deriving from *\*kogu*, which is either the *suru*-adnominal or the *su*-conclusive Old Japanese form, is also found.

*kugzta*: (Bora), *kugita*: (Kugai), *kugzta*: (Shimajiri), *kugitaz/kwtaz* (Karimata), *kugitai* (Ikema)

*K*-stem verbs are found in all areas with forms deriving from the *shi*-continuative stem *\*iki*, but in addition, the Karimata and Ikema dialects also have forms with *if* from *\*iku*, which is either the *suru*-adnominal or the *su*-conclusive Old Japanese form.

*iksta*: (Bora), *iksta*: (Kugai), *iksta*: (Shimajiri), *iftaz* ~ *ikitaz* (Karimata), *ifutai* ~ *ikitai* (Ikema)

*\*W*-stem verbs are found in all areas with the form *kau* deriving from either the *suru*-adnominal or the *su*-conclusive Old Japanese form *\*kawu*, but in addition, the Karimata and Ikema dialects also have the form *kai* deriving from the *shi*-continuative stem *\*kawi*.

*kavta*: (Bora), *ko:ta*: (Kugai), *kauta*: (Shimajiri), *kaztaz* ~ *ko:taz* (Karimata), *kautai* ~ *kaitai* (Ikema)

All weak verbs, including the example *mita* ‘saw’, are built on a form deriving from

the *shi*-continuative form.

*mi:ta:* (Bora), *mi:ta:* (Kugai), *mi:ta:* (Shimajiri), *mi:daz* (Karimata), *mi:tai* (Ikema)

Mixed-type verbs appear in all dialects in a form derived from the *shi*-continuative form shown as *\*oke* and *\*ote*. The *shi*-continuative of mixed-type verbs in Old Japanese are of two types: those ending in *i* and those ending in *e*. In the Ryukyuan languages, however, there are no *e*-ending type mixed verbs.

*ukita:* (Bora), *ukita:* (Kugai), *ukitaz ~ ukita:* (Shimajiri), *ukitaz* (Karimata), *ukitai* (Ikema)

In contrast to the Bora, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects in which the *shi*-continuative form appears with *b*-stem, *k*-stem, and *g*-stem verbs, the Karimata and Ikema dialects have two co-existing forms with forms deriving from the *suru*-adnominal (or the *su*-conclusive) form in addition to the forms deriving from the *shi*-continuative. *\*W*-stem verbs appear in forms deriving from the *suru*-adnominal (or the *su*-conclusive) form. The weak verb and mixed-type verb forms derive from the *shi*-continuative form in all areas.

In order to understand why the *g*-stem and *k*-stem verbs in the Karimata and Ikema dialects have forms derived from the *suru*-adnominal (or the *su*-conclusive) form in addition to the expected forms based on the *shi*-continuative form and why *\*w*-stem verbs appear with forms based on the *suru*-adnominal (or the *su*-conclusive) form instead of the *shi*-continuative form, it is probably necessary to consider the representative forms as well.

## 5. Representative forms

In Old Japanese the *shi*-continuative forms and the *su*-conclusive forms of strong and weak conjugation verbs are distinct, but the *su*-conclusive and the *suru*-adnominal forms are homophonous. The verbs *aru* ‘exist (inanimate)’ and *oru* ‘exist (animate)’ in Old Japanese had different *suru*-adnominal and *su*-conclusive forms, but the *shi*-continuative and the *su*-conclusive forms were homophonous. The three forms, the *shi*-continuative, the *su*-conclusive, and the *suru*-adnominal, were all distinct only for the mixed-type verbs and the verbs *shinu* ‘die’, *kuru* ‘come’, and *suru* ‘do’.

In Miyako it is possible to ascertain whether the representative form of a strong verb with stem-final *k*, *g*, *b*, or *\*w* is derived from the *shi*-continuative form, on the one hand, or the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form on the other, but it is not possible to distinguish between derivation from the *su*-conclusive form and from the *suru*-adnominal form. For strong verbs with stems ending in *m*, *s*, *ts*, or *r* or for the irregular verbs *suru* ‘do’, *oru* ‘exist (animate)’, and *aru* ‘exist (inanimate)’, because of phonological changes like *mi* > *m*, *mu* > *m*, *si* > *s*, *su* > *s*, *tsi* > *ts*, *tsu* > *ts*, *ri* > *z*, and *ru* > *z*, it is impossible to

tell whether the representative form is derived from the Old Japanese *shi*-continuative, *su*-conclusive, or *suru*-adnominal form. In the case of *shinu* ‘die’, as well, the phonological changes *ni* > *n* and *nu* > *n* make it impossible to ascertain the original forms. For weak verbs and the irregular verb *kuru* ‘come’, it is possible to ascertain whether the representative form is derived from the *shi*-continuative form, on the one hand, or the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form on the other, but it is not possible to distinguish between derivation from the *su*-conclusive form and from the *suru*-adnominal form. For mixed-type verbs, it is possible in both Old Japanese and in Miyako to distinguish among derivation from the *shi*-continuative, the *su*-conclusive, and the *suru*-adnominal form.

In the Okinawan dialects, the sentence-final verb of emphatic sentences that contain a focus particle appears in an emphatic form homophonous with the adnominal form, while the sentence-final verb of an emphatic sentence not containing the particle *du* appears in the distinct representative form. In the case of Miyako, however, the sentence-final predicate form is the same whether or not the focus particle is present.<sup>9)</sup> Below are examples with the representative form ignoring the presence or absence of *du*.

(5) *sarumai ki:kara utei* (J. *Saru mo ki kara ochiru.*) (Bora Dialect)

‘Even monkeys fall from trees.’

(6) *m:na umandu uri* (J. *Minna soko ni oriru.*) (Bora Dialect)

‘Everyone gets off there.’

### Bora dialect

In the Bora dialect the representative form of most strong verbs, mixed verbs, weak verbs and the irregular verb *ks:* (J. *kuru*) ‘come’ appears as a form deriving from the *shi*-continuative form. \**W*-stem strong verb representative forms derive from either the *su*-conclusive form or the *suru*-adnominal form. It is impossible to determine from which the representative form of the verb *sn* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’, which has become a strong verb, is derived among the *shi*-continuative, the *su*-conclusive, or the *suru*-adnominal form.

Strong Verbs / *tubz* (J. *tobu*) ‘fly’, *asps* ~ *asbz* (J. *asobu*) ‘play’, *kugz* (J. *kogu*) ‘row’, *iks* (J. *iku*) ‘go’, *idas* (J. *dasu*) ‘send’, *muts* (J. *motsu*) ‘hold in hand’, *num* (J. *nomu*) ‘drink’, *puz* (J. *horu*) ‘dig’, *ks:* (J. *kiru*) ‘cut’, *kau* (J. *kau*) ‘buy’, *sn* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’ / *kiz* (J. *keru*) ‘kick’, *ks:* (J. *kiru*) ‘wear’, *bz:* (J. *suwaru*) ‘sit’

Mixed Verbs / *stei* (J. *suteru*) ‘discard’, *uri* (J. *oriru*) ‘get off’, *utei* (J. *ochiru*) ‘fall’, *uki* (J. *okiru*) ‘get up’ / *mi:* (J. *miru*) ‘see’, *i:* (J. *eru*) ‘obtain’

Irregular Verbs / *ks:* (J. *kuru*) ‘come’, *s:* (J. *suru*) ‘do’, *uz* ~ *u:* (J. *oru*) ‘exist (animate)’, *az* (J. *aru*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### Kugai dialect

In the Kugai dialect, the representative forms of strong verbs and the irregular verb *kss* ~ *ks*: (J. *kuru*) ‘come’ are derived from the *shi*-continuative form. Forms for weak verbs and mixed-type verbs that have become weak verbs are from the *suru*-adnominal form. \**W*-stem strong verb representative forms derive from either the *su*-conclusive form or the *suru*-adnominal form. It is impossible to determine from which among the *shi*-continuative, the *su*-conclusive, or the *suru*-adnominal form the representative form of the verb *sn* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’, which has become a strong verb, is derived.

Strong Verbs / *tubz* (J. *tobu*) ‘fly’, *asps* (J. *asobu*) ‘play’, *kugz* (J. *kogu*) ‘row’, *iks* (J. *iku*) ‘go’, *idas* (J. *dasu*) ‘send’, *muts* (J. *motsu*) ‘hold in hand’, *num* (J. *nomu*) ‘drink’, *puz* (J. *horu*) ‘dig’, *kiei* (J. *kiru*) ‘cut’, *kiz* (J. *keru*) ‘kick’, *ko:* (J. *kau*) ‘buy’, *sn* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’

Weak Verbs / *ukiz* (J. *okiru*) ‘get up’, *stiz* (J. *suteru*) ‘discard’, *uriz* (J. *oriru*) ‘get off’, *utiz* (J. *ochiru*) ‘fall’ / *mi:z* (J. *miru*) ‘see’, *biziz* (J. *suwaru*) ‘sit’, *kieiz* (J. *kiru*) ‘wear’

Irregular Verbs / *kss* ~ *ks*: (J. *kuru*) ‘com’, *ss* (J. *suru*) ‘do’, *u:* (J. *oru*) ‘exist (animate)’, *a:z* (J. *aru*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### Shimajiri dialect

In the Shimajiri dialect, the representative forms of strong verbs and the irregular verb *ss* (J. *kuru*) ‘come’ are derived from the *shi*-continuative form. Forms for weak verbs and mixed-type verbs that have become weak verbs are from the *suru*-adnominal form. However, the verb *uriz* ~ *uri* (J. *oriru*) ‘get off’ has two coexisting forms from the *suru*-adnominal and *shi*-continuative forms, respectively. For the weak verbs, *mi:z* and *ziz* are from the *suru*-adnominal form and *bz:* is from the *shi*-continuative form. \**W*-stem strong verb representative forms derive from either the *su*-conclusive form or the *suru*-adnominal form. *Sniz* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’ is from the mixed-type *suru*-adnominal form.

Strong Verbs / *tubz* (J. *tobu*) ‘fly’, *kugz* (J. *kogu*) ‘row’, *iks* (J. *iku*) ‘go’, *utus* (J. *otosu*) ‘drop’, *kiz* (J. *keru*) ‘kick’, *kss* (J. *kiru*) ‘cut’, *puz* (J. *horu*) ‘dig’, *muts* (J. *motsu*) ‘hold in hand’, *kau* (J. *kau*) ‘buy’, *nun* (J. *nomu*) ‘drink’, *apps* (J. *asobu*) ‘play’, *bz:* (J. *suwaru*) ‘sit’

Weak Verbs / *steiz* (J. *suteru*) ‘discard’, *uriz* ~ *uri* (J. *oriru*) ‘get off’, *uteiz* (J. *ochiru*) ‘fall’, *ukiz* (J. *okiru*) ‘get up’, *sniz* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’ / *mi:z* (J. *miru*) ‘see’, *ziz* (J. *eru*) ‘obtain’, *ss* (J. *kiru*) ‘wear’

Irregular Verbs / *ss* (J. *kuru*) ‘come’, *ss* (J. *suru*) ‘do’, *a:z* (J. *aru*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *u:* (J. *oru*) ‘exist (animate)’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### Karimata dialect

The strong verb representative forms *tubi* (J. *tobu*) ‘fly’, *asubi* (J. *asobu*) ‘play’, and *kugi* (J. *kogu*) ‘row’ are derived from the *shi*-continuative forms but the coexisting forms *tuv* (J. *tobu*) ‘fly’, *asuv* (J. *asobu*) ‘play’, *kuv* (J. *kogu*) ‘row’, and *if* (J. *iku*) ‘go’ are derived from the *su*-conclusive or the *suru*-adnominal forms. Mixed-type verbs like *utei/utiz* also have both forms coexisting. For weak verbs, *mi:* (J. *miru*) ‘see’ is from the *shi*-continuative, *bz:z* (J. *suwaru*) ‘sit’ is from the *suru*-adnominal form and it is impossible to tell which *kss:* (J. *kiru*) ‘wear’ is related to. \**W*-stem strong verb representative forms like *ko:* (J. *kau*) ‘buy’ derive from either the *su*-conclusive form or the *suru*-adnominal form. *Sniz* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’ is from the mixed-type *suru*-adnominal form. The irregular verb *ffu* (J. *kuru*) ‘come’ could be from either the *su*-conclusive form or the *suru*-adnominal form and it is impossible to tell which.

Strong Verbs / *tubi* ~ *tuv* (J. *tobu*) ‘fly’, *asubi* ~ *asv* (J. *asobu*) ‘play’, *kugi* ~ *kuv* (J. *kogu*) ‘row’, *ifu* ~ *if* (J. *iku*) ‘go’, *utas* (J. *otosu*) ‘drop’, *idas* (J. *dasu*) ‘send’, *muts* (J. *motsu*) ‘hold in hand’, *num* (J. *nomu*) ‘drink’, *puz* (J. *horu*) ‘dig’, *kss* (J. *kiru*) ‘cut’, *ko:* (J. *kau*) ‘buy’, *ki:* (J. *keru*) ‘kick’

Weak Verbs / *uriz* (J. *oriru*) ‘get off’, *utei* ~ *utiz* (J. *ochiru*) ‘drop’, *uki* ~ *ukiz* (J. *okiru*) ‘get up’, *fi* ~ *fi:z* (J. *kureru*) ‘give me’, *sti* (J. *suteru*) ‘discard’, *sniz* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’, *mi:* (J. *miru*) ‘see’, *kss:* (J. *kiru*) ‘wear’, *bz:z* (J. *suwaru*) ‘sit’

Irregular Verbs / *ffu* (J. *kuru*) ‘come’, *as* (J. *suru*) ‘do’, *uz* (J. *oru*) ‘exist (animate)’, *az* (J. *aru*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### Ikema dialect

The representative forms of strong verbs in the Ikema dialect are generally derived from the *shi*-continuative form. The *k*-stem verb *ifu* (J. *iku*) ‘go’, however, derives its representative form from the *su*-conclusive or the *suru*-adnominal form. \**W*-stem strong verb representative forms derive from either the *su*-conclusive form or the *suru*-adnominal form. The mixed type derives from the *shi*-continuative form. However, it is impossible at the present stage of knowledge to deny the possibility that it may be a form derived from the *suru*-adnominal form.

The representative form of weak verbs like *bizi* (J. *suwaru*) ‘sit’ are probably from the *shi*-continuative form, but it is impossible at the present stage of knowledge to deny the possibility that it may have derived from the *su*-conclusive or the *suru*-adnominal form. It is necessary to examine the phonological changes that have taken place in the Ikema dialect and to increase the number of examples of mixed-type and weak verbs in order to ascertain their history. The verb *€ini* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’ is probably from the *shi*-continuative form.



Strong Verbs / *tubi* (J. *tobu*) ‘fly’, *kugi* (J. *kogu*) ‘row’, *ifu* (J. *iku*) ‘go’, *idaei* (J. *dasu*) ‘send’, *kiri* (J. *kiru*) ‘cut’, *numi* ~ *nun* (J. *nomu*) ‘drink’, *kau* (J. *kau*) ‘buy’, *€ini* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’

Weak Verbs / *uki*: (J. *okiru*) ‘get up’ / *bizi* (J. *suwaru*) ‘sit’, *tsi*: ~ *tsii* (J. *kiru*) ‘wear’

Irregular Verbs / *fu*: (J. *kuru*) ‘come’, *ass* ~ *aei* (J. *suru*) ‘do’, *ui* (J. *oru*) ‘exist (animate)’, *ai* (J. *aru*) ‘exist inanimate’, *nja:n* (J. *nai*) ‘not exist (inanimate)’

### 5.1 Derivation of the representative forms

The treatment of Old Japanese strong verbs, weak verbs, mixed-type verbs and irregular verbs is summarized below.

- 1) It is not possible to determine among the *shi*-continuative, the *su*-conclusive, and the *suru*-adnominal which is the source for the representative forms of verbs deriving from Old Japanese strong verbs with stems ending in *m*, *s*, *ts*, and *r* and the irregular verbs *suru* ‘do’, *aru* ‘exist (inanimate)’, and *oru* ‘exist (animate)’.
- 2) The representative forms of \**w*-stem strong verbs are derived either from the *suru*-adnominal or the *su*-conclusive Old Japanese form.
- 3) Strong verbs with stems ending in *k*, *g*, and *b* in the Bora, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects have representative forms that derive from the *shi*-continuative.
- 4) Strong verbs with stems ending in *k*, *g*, and *b* in the Karimata and Ikema dialects have two coexisting representative forms deriving from the *shi*-continuative and either the *su*-conclusive or the *suru*-adnominal form, respectively.
- 5) Representative forms of weak verbs in the Bora and Ikema dialects are from the *shi*-continuative and those in the Kugai, Shimajiri, and Karimata dialects are from either the *su*-conclusive or the *suru*-adnominal form.
- 6) For mixed verbs, in the Bora and Ikema dialects the representative forms are from the *shi*-continuative and in the Kugai and Shimajiri dialects they are from the *suru*-adnominal forms. The Karimata dialect has forms from both coexisting.
- 7) The representative form for the verb *shinu* ‘die’ is a strong verb form deriving from the *suru*-adnominal or *su*-conclusive form in the Bora, Kugai, Shimajiri, and Karimata dialects. It is a mixed-type *suru*-adnominal form in the Shimajiri and Karimata dialects and it is a weak verb *shi*-continuative form in the Ikema dialect.
- 8) The representative form of the irregular verb *kuru* ‘come’ is a *shi*-continuative form in the Bora, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects and is either a *su*-conclusive or a *suru*-adnominal form in the Karimata and Ikema dialects.

Representative forms that are uniquely built on the *shi*-continuative form are strong verbs with stems ending in *k*, *g*, and *b* in the Bora, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects; the irregular verb *kuru* ‘come’ in the Bora, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects; the verb *shinu* in the Ikema dialect, where it has become a weak verb; and weak and mixed-type verbs in the

Bora and Ikema dialects. Representative forms that are uniquely built on the *suru*-adnominal form are mixed-type verbs in the Kugai and Shimajiri dialects and the verb *shinu* in both dialects, where it has become a weak verb. Representative forms built on the *shi*-continuative and on the *suru*-adnominal forms coexist for Karimata mixed verbs.

There are no dialects in which only representative forms uniquely built on the *su*-conclusive form appear. Forms built on the *su*-conclusive form only appear together with forms built on the *suru*-adnominal with *shinu* ‘die’ where it has become a strong verb, with weak verbs, with the verb *kuru* ‘come’, and with *k*-, *g*-, and *b*-stem verbs in the Karimata and Ikema dialects. These are forms for which, because of phonological changes, it has become impossible to identify the *su*-conclusive and *suru*-adnominal forms.

For mixed-type verbs, the only type in both Old Japanese and Miyako for which it is possible to distinguish the three types (*shi*-continuative, *su*-conclusive, and *suru*-adnominal), in Bora and Ikema, only the *shi*-continuative form appears, in Kugai only the *suru*-adnominal form appears, and in Shimajiri and Karimata the *shi*-continuative and *suru*-adnominal forms are both found. The *su*-conclusive form does not appear in any of the dialects. Giving this fact due weight, it seems possible to say that, in the cases where the *su*-conclusive and the *suru*-adnominal forms are indistinguishable and which were thus treated as “either the *su*-conclusive or the *suru*-adnominal” can all be stated to be the *suru*-adnominal form. This would allow the statement that there are verbs in Miyako that have representative forms deriving either from the *shi*-conclusive or from the *suru*-adnominal form and there are verbs that have coexisting representative forms derived from both and that how these forms are distributed differs by dialect. Clarifying how and when this situation arose is a major task for future research.

## 6. The *ari*-continuative form

Corresponding to the Japanese *shite*-continuative form, Miyako has two continuative forms: the *ari*-continuative form which is made by suffixing *i*: or *i* to the basic stem as in *numi*: (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’ and *kaki*: (J. *kaite*) ‘write’ and the *shite*-continuative which includes *ti* in the suffix as in *numitti* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’ and *kakitti* (J. *kaite*) ‘write’. The *ari*-continuative form appears without further affixation as a conjunctive predicate in compound sentences showing a sequence of two actions in either a subordinate or non-subordinate relation. The *ari*-continuative form can also be used in the formation of compound predicates. On these points, it corresponds to the Japanese *site*-continuative form.

- (7) *tuzzu smari: kagonkai iziru.* (J. *Tori wo shibatte, kago ni irero.*) Karimata dialect  
 ‘Tie the chicken and put it in the basket.’
- (8) *ki:nu va:gun nu:ri n:to: utaei fi:ru* (J. *Ki no ue ni nobotte, mi wo otoshite kure.*) Karimata dialect  
 ‘Climb up the tree and drop the fruits, please.’

Let us examine the forms the ari-continuative form appears in.

### Bora dialect

Strong Verbs / *tubi* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *aspi*: ~ *asbi*: (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *kugi* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *iki* (J. *itte*) ‘go’, *idaei* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *puri* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kiri* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’, *kiei* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *mutēi* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *numi* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *kai* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *bju:i* (J. *yotte*) ‘become intoxicated’ / *sni* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’, *kiei* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’, *bizi*: (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’

Mixed Verbs / *utēi* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *uki*: (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *stēi* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’, *uri* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’ / *mi*: (J. *mite*) ‘see’, *i*: (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’

Irregular Verbs / *kiei* (*kite*) ‘come’, *ēi*: (*shite*) ‘do’, *ari*: (J. *atte*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *uri* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

### Kugai dialect

Strong Verbs / *tubi* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *aspi* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *numi* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *kugi* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *u:gi* (J. *oyoide*) ‘swim’, *iki* (J. *itte*) ‘go’, *utaēi* (J. *otoshite*) ‘drop’, *idaei* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *mutēi* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *puri* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kiei* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *kai* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *bju:i* (J. *yotte*) ‘become intoxicated’ / *kiri* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’ / *sni* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’

Weak Verbs / *uri* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *uti* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *uki*: (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *siti* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’ / *mi*: (J. *mite*) ‘see’, *bizi* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’, *z:zi* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’, *kiei* (*kite*) ‘wear’

Irregular Verbs / *kiei* (J. *kite*) ‘come’, *ēi*: (J. *shite*) ‘do’, *ari*: (J. *atte*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *uri*: (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

### Shimajiri dialect

Strong Verbs / *tubi* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *appi* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *kugi* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *iki* (J. *itte*) ‘go’, *idaei* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *mutēi* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *numi* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *kiei* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *puri* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kai* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *bju:i* (J. *yotte*) ‘become intoxicated’ / *kiri* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’

Weak Verbs / *uki* (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *uri* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *stēi* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’, *utēi* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *izi*: (J. *irete*) ‘insert’ / *sni* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’ / *mi*: (J. *mite*) ‘see’, *bizi* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’, *ēēi* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’, *z:zi* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’

Irregular Verbs / *ēēi* (J. *kite*) ‘come’, *ēi*: (J. *shite*) ‘do’, *uri* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

### Karimata dialect

Strong Verbs / *asbi* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *tubi* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *numi* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *kugi* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *iki* (J. *itte*) ‘go’, *idaçi* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *mutçi* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *kici* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *puri* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kai* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *b'u:i* (J. *yotte*) ‘become intoxicated’ / *kiri* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’

Weak Verbs / *uri* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *uti* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *uki* (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *çiti* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’ / *mi:* (J. *mite*) ‘see’, *izi* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’, *bizi* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’, *kici* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’ / *sni* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’

Irregular Verbs / *kici* (J. *kite*) ‘come’, *açi* (J. *shite*) ‘do’, *ari* (J. *atte*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *uri* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

### Ikema dialect

Strong Verbs / *tubi* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *açibi:* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *numi:* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *kugi* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *iki:* (J. *itte*) ‘go’, *idaçi:* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *muti:* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *kiri:* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *furi:* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kai* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *bju:i* (J. *yotte*) ‘become intoxicated’, *kiri:* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’

Weak Verbs / *uki:* (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *uri/uri:* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *uti:* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *siti:* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’, *ddçi* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’ / *mi:* (J. *mite*) ‘see’, *tti:* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’, *bizi:* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’, *çini* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’

Irregular Verbs / *tti* (J. *kite*) ‘come’, *çi:* (J. *shite*) ‘do’, *ari:* (J. *atte*) exist (inanimate)’, *uri* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

The *ari*-continuative does not correspond to the Japanese *shite*-continuative in form but, at first glance, appears to correspond to the Old Japanese *shi*-continuative form. If, however, the Miyako *ari*-continuative form did correspond to the Old Japanese *shi*-continuative form, then as a result of such phonological changes as *ki* > *ks*, *gi* > *gz*, *bi* > *bz*, *mi* > *m*, *si* > *s*, *tçi* > *ts*, and *ri* > *z* that occurred in Miyako, the *ari*-continuative form of strong verbs would be expected to be *kaks* (J. *kaite*) ‘write’, *kugz* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *tubz* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *num* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *utus* (J. *otoshite*) ‘drop’, *muts* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, and *puz* (J. *hotte*) ‘did’ as observed in the past forms discussed earlier, which do incorporate the Old Japanese *shi*-continuative form. The *ari*-continuative form of strong verbs simply has the suffix *i* or *i:* added after the stem-final consonant. For weak verbs, the *ari*-continuative form is either the same as the vowel-final basic form or has the final vowel replaced by *i:*. In short, the *ari*-continuative and the *shi*-continuative forms are totally different.

### 6.1 Characteristics of the *ari*-continuative form

Although differing both in form and derivation, the grammatical behavior of the *ari*-continuative form in Miyako is the same as that of the *shite*-continuative form in North Ryukyuan languages. Not only can it form a predicate in compound sentences, it also is used similarly appearing as an element in continuative aspect constructions, in the “try doing” construction, as in *numi mi:ru* (J. *nonde miro*) ‘try drinking (IMP)’ and *tubi mi:ru* (J. *tonde miro*) ‘try flying (IMP)’, and in donatory verb constructions like *sti fi:ru* (J. *sutete kure*) ‘throw it away for me (IMP)’ and *tei ei fi:ru* (J. *kitte kure*) ‘cut it for me (IMP)’.

In addition to the analytic construction combining the animate existence verb *uz* or *u:* with the *ari*-continuative form as in *aeibi ui* (J. *asonde oru*) ‘be playing’ and *ffi: u:* (J. *futte oru*) ‘be raining’, the continuative aspect construction also appears in a contracted form as in *aeibju:i* (J. *asonde oru*) ‘be playing’ and *ffju:z* (J. *futte oru*) ‘be raining’. Continuative aspect examples (9) and (10) show the continuation of an action by the subject and examples (11) and (12) show the continuation of the result of a change of state affecting the subject. The interpretation of the aspectual meaning of the continuative aspect construction is also similar to the *shite*-continuative form in North Ryukyuan languages.

#### Continuation of action

- (9) *ffaf naikjata:çi aran aeibi ui* (J. *Kuraku naru made soto de asonde oru.*)  
 ‘Continue playing outside until it gets dark.’ Ikema Dialect
- (10) *nnama: aminudu ffi: u:* (J. *Ima wa ame ga futte oru.*) Karimata dialect  
 ‘Rain is now falling.’

#### Continuation of result of change of state

- (11) *gaba:aminu ffi: ntanu mmi ui* (J. *Ooame ga futte, tsuchi ga nurete oru.*)  
 ‘A heavy rain fell and the ground is wet.’ Ikema Dialect
- (12) *karja: ksnunu kutu:ba: baegi uz* (J. *Kare wa kinou no koto wa wasurete oru.*)  
 ‘He has forgotten about (what happened) yesterday.’ Karimata dialect

Although the phonetic forms are different, the tense—aspect oppositions in Miyako are two-way, as in Eastern Japanese Languages (Modern Japanese).

The Miyako *ari*-continuative form can appear in the predicate position of a sentence showing a past act. On this point as well, it is similar to the *shite*-continuative form in the North Ryukyuan languages. In the case of Okinawan dialects, the *shite*-continuative form shows up in the past form of perfective aspect past tense yes-no questions and in the Amami-Ōshima dialect the *shite*-continuative form appears as the direct speech past form.

- (13) *kju:ja tubansuga ksno: tubi* (J. *Kyou wa tobanai ga kinou wa tonda.*)  
 ‘I won’t fly today but I flew yesterday.’ Karimata dialect
- (14) *ksnumaidu ingaija iki* (J. *Kinou mo umi e wa itta.*) Karimata dialect

**Table 6: Tense and aspect in the Bora dialect**

	Non-Past	Past
Perfective aspect	<i>asps</i> (J. <i>asobu</i> ) ‘play’ <i>sn</i> (J. <i>shinu</i> ) ‘die’	<i>aspsta:</i> (J. <i>asonda</i> ) ‘played’ <i>snta:</i> (J. <i>shinda</i> ) ‘died’
Continuative aspect	<i>aspju:</i> (J. <i>asonde oru</i> ) ‘is playing’ <i>snju:</i> (J. <i>shinde oru</i> ) ‘is dead’	<i>aspju.ta:</i> (J. <i>asonde otta</i> ) ‘was playing’ <i>snju.ta:</i> (J. <i>shinde otta</i> ) ‘was dead’

‘I went to the ocean yesterday as well.’

## 6.2 Origin of the *ari*-continuative form

An *ari*-continuative form is also found in the dialects of the island of Okinawa. The *ari*-continuative in the central and south Okinawan dialects functions as a continuative predicate in an embedded clause and does not participate in the various grammatical constructions it does in Miyako. The *ari*-continuative form in the Shuri dialect appears as *numa:ni* or *numa:i* ‘drinking’ and, according to *Okinawago Jiten* ‘Okinawan dictionary’ (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1963), *numa:i* is the older form.

The *ari*-continuative forms in other dialects that most resemble the Miyako *ari*-continuative are probably those of Iheyajima and Izenajima. In these dialects, the *ari*-continuative form does not just function as a predicate in an embedded clause, but is productive, also functioning as an element in the continuative aspect construction.

**Table 7: The *Ari*-continuative form in Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama dialects**

	<i>kaite</i> ‘write’	<i>asonde</i> ‘play’	<i>okite</i> ‘get up’	<i>orite</i> ‘get off’	<i>aratte</i> ‘wash’	<i>nite</i> ‘resemble’
Shuri Dialect	<i>katfa:i</i>	<i>ʔafiba:i</i>	<i>ʔukija:i</i>	<i>ʔurija:i</i>	<i>ʔaraja:i</i>	<i>nija:i</i>
Iheyajima Dialect	<i>katfe:</i>	<i>ʔafine:</i>	<i>ʔukije:</i>	<i>ʔurije:</i>	<i>ʔaraje:</i>	<i>nije:</i>
Hirara Dialect	<i>kaki:</i>	<i>aspi:</i>	<i>uki:</i>	<i>uri:</i>	<i>arai:</i>	<i>ni:</i>
Ishigaki Dialect	<i>kaki:</i>	<i>asibi:</i>	<i>uke:</i>	<i>ure:</i>	<i>araja:</i>	<i>nija:</i>

- (15) *ʔwi:dʒe:* *watataN* (J. *Oyoide watatta.*) Izena Village Shomi dialect  
‘I crossed it by swimming.’
- (16) *ʔnanma ʔaminu hujo:N* (J. *Ima ame ga futte oru.*) Shomi dialect  
‘Rain is falling now.’
- (17) *ʔamaNdzi ʔafine:* *hwa:* (J. *Mukou de asonde koi.*)  
‘Go play over there.’ Iheya Village Gakiya Dialect
- (18) *bo:fi hauje:* *ʔattʃuN* (J. *Boushi wo kabutte aruku.*) Gakiya dialect  
‘Walk wearing a cap.’
- (19) *hunu ʔifi kije:* *nri* (J. *kono ishi wo kette miro.*) Gakiya dialect

‘Try kicking this rock.’

Since the *ari*-continuative form in the Okinawan dialects is formed by adding *?ai* (J. *ari*) ‘exist (inanimate)’ to the *shi*-continuative form *numi* (J. *nomi*) ‘drink’, it primarily shows something continuing from before. It appears in the form *~yari* in the *Omorosōshi*, a collection of old songs, the first volume of which was compiled in 1531. Concerning the *~yari* form that appears in the *Omorosōshi*, Takahashi (1991) points out, “It shows a perfective meaning in the pattern adverbial form + *yari*. The examples are of the continuative use only.”

- (20) *toyomu ookimiya momosima soroheyari mioyase.* (ModJ. *Nadakai ookimi wa momoshima wo soroete sashiageyo.*) *Omorosōshi* 176  
 ‘Famous lord, gather the hundreds of islands and present them.’
- (21) *ito nukiyari, nawa nukiyari* (ModJ. *Ito wo nuite, nawa wo nuite.*)  
 ‘Pass the thread through and pass the rope through.’ *Omorosōshi* 632

The *ari*-continuative form of Miyako strong verbs is formed of the suffixation of *i* or *i:* to the basic form. The *shi*-continuative and *ari*-continuative forms resemble each other but, comparing the *shi*-continuative form that functions as the stem for making the past form and the *ari*-continuative, it is apparent that the suffix in the *shi*-continuative traces back to *\*i* and that of the *ari*-continuative traces back to *\*e*. The Miyako *ari*-continuative developed from the grammaticalization of the fusion of the *shi*-continuative form of the existence verb *az* (J. *aru*) to the *shi*-continuative form of a preceding verb and developed from a pattern like the *ari*-continuative of the Iheya dialect.

## 7. The *shite*-continuative form

The Miyako *shite*-continuative form can serve as the predicate of a compound sentence and in this function and in its structure, it resembles the Japanese *shite*-continuative form. However, it is not used in subordinate clauses and it does not function as an element in the construction of aspectual forms, the “try to” construction, or donatory verbs. In this sense it differs from the *shite*-continuative form in Japanese or the North Ryukyuan languages.

- (22) *oto:ja sakju: mutteitei, mma: faumunu: muts* (J. *Chichi wa sake wo motte, haha wa tabemono wo motsu.*) Karimata dialect  
 ‘Father holds the sake and Mother holds the food.’
- (23) *mmaduinu tubittei, fa:du:mai tubin'a:n* (J. *Oyadori ga tonde, kotori mo tonde shimatta.*) Karimata dialect  
 ‘The parent bird flew and the chick also ended up flying.’

### Bora dialect

The *shite*-continuative in the Bora dialect is made by adding *ttei* to the *ari*-continuative. Since segments that are *ti* in other dialects are affricated to *ttei* in the Bora dialect as in *ttei*: (J. *te*) ‘hand’ and *tēida* (J. *taiyou*), *ttei* is a variant of *tti*.

Strong Verbs / *tubittei* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *kugittei* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *ikittei* (J. *itte*) ‘go’, *kicittei* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *purittei* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *idaçittei* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *mutçittei* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *kaittei* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *numittei* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *asɾpittei* ~ *asibittei* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *kirittei* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’, *kicittei* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’, *bizzittei* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’, *sinʹittei* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’

Mixed Verbs / *ukittei* (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *urittei* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *utçittei* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *stçittei* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’, *mi:ttei* (J. *mite*), *i:ttei* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’

Irregular Verbs / *kicittei* (J. *kite*) ‘come’, *çi:ttei* (J. *shite*) ‘do’ *arittei* (J. *atte*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *urittei* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

### Kugai dialect

The Kugai dialect *shite*-continuative form shows two patterns. One, as in *aspsejti* and *ukiejti*, is formed by adding *çiti* to the *ari*-continuative form and the other, found in *kugitti* (J. *koide*) ‘row’ and *uritti* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’ is formed by adding *tti*.

Strong Verbs / *aspsejti* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *kugitti* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *numiejti* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *idaçjti* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *muciejti* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *puriejti* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kijçitti* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *kaiejti* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *kiriejti* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’, *sniejti* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’

Weak Verbs ‘ *ukiejti* (J. *okite*) ’get up’, *uritti* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *utjiti* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *sititti* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’ / *mi:ejti* (J. *mite*) ‘see’, *zçiejti* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’, *biziejti* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’, *kiciejti* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’

Irregular Verbs / *kʹiittikara* (J. *kitekara*) ‘after coming’, *çijti* (J. *shite*) ‘do’, *ariejti* (J. *atte*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *uriejti* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

### Shimajiri dialect

The *shite*-continuative in the Shimajiri dialect is formed by adding *ttei* to the *ari*-continuative form. It shows the same affrication as in the Bora dialect.

Strong Verbs / *tubittei* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *appittei* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *numittei* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *kugittei* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *idaçittei* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *mutçittei* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *kicittei* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *purittei* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kaittei* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’,



*kirittei* (J. *kette*) ‘kick’, *bizittei* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’

Weak Verbs / *ukittei* (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *urittei* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *utettei* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *stettei* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’, *snittei* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’ / *mittei* (J. *mite*), *etttei* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’, *zetttei* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’

Irregular Verbs / *etttei* (J. *kite*) ‘come’, *atttei* (J. *shite*) ‘do’ *arittei* (J. *atte*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *urittei* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

### Karimata dialect

The *shite*-continuative form in the Karimata dialect is formed as in the Kugai dialect by adding *çiti* to the *ari*-continuative form.

Strong Verbs / *tubiçiti* (J. *tonde*) ‘fly’, *asbiçiti* (J. *asonde*) ‘play’, *kugiçiti* (J. *koide*) ‘row’, *numiçiti* (J. *nonde*) ‘drink’, *ikiçiti* (J. *itte*) ‘go’, *idaçiti* (J. *dashite*) ‘send’, *muçiti* (J. *motte*) ‘hold in hand’, *purieçiti* (J. *hotte*) ‘dig’, *kieçiti* (J. *kitte*) ‘cut’, *kaiçiti* (J. *katte*) ‘buy’, *sniçiti* (J. *shinde*) ‘die’

Weak Verbs ‘*ukiçiti* (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *uriçiti* (J. *orite*) ‘get off’, *utiçiti* (J. *ochite*) ‘fall’, *çitiçiti* (J. *sutete*) ‘discard’ / *miçiti* (J. *mite*) ‘see’, *iziçiti* (J. *ete*) ‘obtain’, *kieçiti* (J. *kite*) ‘wear’, *biziçiti* (J. *suwatte*) ‘sit’

Irregular Verbs / *kieçiti* (J. *kite*) ‘come’, *açitiçiti* (J. *shite*) ‘do’, *ariçiti* (J. *atte*) ‘exist (inanimate)’, *uriçiti* (J. *otte*) ‘exist (animate)’

For strong verbs, weak verbs, and irregular verbs, the *shite*-continuative form is made by suffixing *titi*, *ttei*, or *çiti* to the *ari*-continuative stem. In the Karimata and Kugai dialects, it appears that *çiti* has been suffixed to the *ari*-continuative stem. More consideration and research are necessary.

In the Yaeyama Ishigaki dialect, as well, the *shite*-continuative is formed by adding *Qte* to the *ari*-continuative stem, as seen in *kakiQte* (J. *kaite*) ‘write’, *uke:Qte* (J. *okite*) ‘get up’, *mija:Qte* (J. *mite*) ‘see’, and *çi:Qte* (J. *shite*) ‘do’.

## 8. Conclusion

Although limited to five forms, the representative form (*suru*), the negative form (*shinai*), the past form (*shita*), the *ari*-continuative form, and the *shite*-continuative form, this study has examined the languages of the northern part of Miyakojima, which have not been the object of comparison before. As a result, an overview was gained of the type of conjugations in Miyako and of these five conjugational forms. It is necessary to continue the present research, increasing the number of verbs and forms studied as well as to

extend consideration to such dialects as those of Ōgamijima and Irabujima, which show individual characteristics even within the dialects of Miyako.

## Notes

- 1) This work was supported in part by the grant-in-aid A24242014 of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.
- 2) “Stem” and “suffix” are defined as in Suzuki (1972)
- 3) The naming of the three varieties of stem follows Uemura (1963).
- 4) Verbs of this type with stems ending in *i* are called *kaminidan* ‘upper bigrade’ and those ending in *e* are called *shimonidan* ‘lower bigrade’.
- 5) The Second Conclusive form is homophonous with the adnominal form and is a form used in the predicate of emphatic sentences co-occurring with the focusing particles *zo*, *nan*, *ya*, and *ka*. The Third Conclusive form is also used in the predicate of emphatic sentences, is homophonous with the conditional form, and co-occurs with *koso*.
- 6) According to Motonaga (1973), in the Nishisato dialect of Miyako, *snan* (J. *shinanai*) ‘not die’ is a strong conjugation form but *sniru* (J. *shine*) ‘die! (Imperative)’ and *sniriba* (J. *shineba*) ‘provided one dies’ are weak conjugation forms. The present author found the two conjugational forms showing that an action or change of state is on the verge of accomplishment *snatti:i*: (J. *shinou to shite iru*) ‘be about to die’ and *snitti:u*: (J. *shinou to shite iru*) ‘be about to die’ in data collected in November 2011 on the Ueno Nobaru dialect (informant: N. Y., male, born 1943). The first form is a strong conjugation form and shows that a volitional action by the subject has just begun and is on the verge of accomplishment and the second is a weak conjugation form and shows that a non-volitional change of state is nearing completion on the verge of accomplishment. Various conjugational forms must be investigated in order to determine the type of conjugation the verb *sn* (J. *shinu*) ‘die’ belongs to and which forms belong to the weak verb conjugational pattern. It is highly significant that there are mixed-type variants depending on the sub-dialect.
- 7) The past forms *sntaz/sndaz* (J. *shinda*) are strong conjugation forms, but the negative form *snij* (J. *shinanai*) ‘not die’ is a weak conjugation form. Thus it is a mixed type, but a different mixed type than in Old Japanese.
- 8) *Su*-conclusive form refers to the Old Japanese strong verb non-past predicative affirmative conclusive form and “*suru*-adnominal form” refers to the non-past adnominal form.
- 9) Karimata (2011) explains that the sentence-final conjugational form is not controlled by the presence or absence of a focus particle.

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## 宮古語動詞の代表形、否定形、過去形、中止形

かりまた しげひさ

宮古語の動詞代表形の起源をめぐっては、旧平良市市街地（西里、下里、東仲宗根、西仲宗根）の方言（以下、平良方言）の当該形式が日本語のシ中止形と同音であることから、かりまた 1990 は、シ中止形由来形式が代表形も連体形も担っていたとする考えを論じた。しかし、その考えは、旧平良市市街地、旧城辺町などの宮古島南部と西部の方言の強変化動詞を対象に限定してなされたものであった。宮古語のそれ以外の動詞についてもあまり論じてられていない。本報告では宮古島北部の島尻、狩俣、西部の久貝、南東部の保良、北部離島の池間島の5つの方言の規則変化動詞と不規則変化動詞の代表形（スル）、否定形（シナイ）、過去形（シタ）、アリ中止形、シテ中止形のいつつの文法的な形を検討する。対象とする動詞は、語幹末子音に \* b、\* m、\* k、\* g、\* s、\* t、\* n、\* r、\* w 等をふくむ強変化動詞と弱変化動詞の規則変化動詞と、「有る」「居る」「来る」「する」「ない」の不規則変化動詞である。琉球諸語の下位方言動詞活用のタイプ、および古代日本語との対応を知るうえで必要な動詞がふくまれる。

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