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Verb Conjugation in the Miyako Language: Perfective, Negative, Past, and Continuative Forms

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1 Survey overview

Over a period of four days between September 4 and September 7, 2011, grammar surveys were conducted at nine sites on Miyakojima as part of the joint survey of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. The survey sites were Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, Kurima, Kugai, Karimata, Ikema, and Kuninaka. The surveyed items comprised the 37 verbal items included in *Ryūkyū Rettō no Gengo no Kenkyū: Zen-Shūroku Chōsahyō (Studies on the Languages of the Ryukyu Islands: Survey Sheets for All Villages; henceforth ‘the Zen-Shūroku’)*, compiled in 1982 by the Okinawa Center for Language Studies. The verbal items included there have been selected with the purpose of getting a grasp of the conjugation classes of the dialects of the Ryukyuan languages in mind; included were Japanese regular verbs, comprising strong as well as weak regular verbs with stems ending in sounds such as *b, *m, *k, *g, *s, *t, *n, *r, *w, and irregular verbs, namely *aru* ‘to be (inanimate); to exist’, *iru* ‘to be (animate)’, *kuru* ‘to come’, *suru* ‘to do’, and *nai* ‘to be absent; to be nonexistent’. In order to be able to identify the conjugation class of each verb, their perfective¹ (e.g. *suru*), negative (e.g. *shinai*), past (e.g. *shita*), and continuative (e.g. *shite*) forms were all included as sub-items.

The perfective forms were included in order to identify perfective aspect verb forms. The negative forms were included in order to identify the base stems of the verbs. Although base stems can also be obtained from imperative and hortative forms, the negative forms were chosen because imperative and hortative forms are not available for non-volitional verbs. The past tense forms were included in order to identify any *onbin* verb stems². In the Northern Ryukyuan languages, *onbin* stems can also be identified in continuative forms. The continuative forms were included in the *Zen-Shūroku* in order to determine whether *onbin* stems are used in forms other than past tense forms in the Southern Ryukyuan languages.

For the joint survey on Miyakojima, we amended the *Zen-Shūroku* to include example sentences. The example sentences were included in the amended survey sheet as part of the research project *The Study of the Linguistic Geography of the Miyako Dialects of Ryukyuan*, JSPS KAKENHI

¹ *Translator’s note:* throughout, the author uses the term ‘*daihyōkei*’, meaning ‘representative form’, akin to the term ‘dictionary form’.

² *Translator’s note:* ‘euphonic stems’; see section 4.1 for an explanation.

Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B), led by Satoshi Nishioka (Okinawa International University), in order to make it easier to obtain the conjugated verb forms. The method used in the survey consisted of asking the informants to translate the example sentences on the survey sheet into their respective dialects.

Taking the considerable number of surveyed items and the number of survey days into account, the items were divided into three subsets and three groups of researchers tasked with eliciting the items of one subset each. Due to problems of informant availability and the number of available researchers, we were unable to form three groups and elicit all of the items at some of the sites. Furthermore, there were cases where a sentence was elicited but the intended word form was not obtained. In this chapter, I will use materials obtained in surveys I conducted in Shimajiri³ (December 10, 2011), Kugai⁴ (March 3, 2012), and Karimata⁵ (August 15 and 16, 2011) in addition to the materials obtained in the joint survey on Miyakojima. The Shimajiri grammar survey is a completely new addition. In all, data from ten sites will be examined in this chapter.

Corresponding to the *shite*-type continuative of Japanese, the dialects of the Miyako language (henceforth simply ‘the Miyako language’ or ‘Miyako’) have two types of continuative forms. One type, exemplified by *numi*: ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’ and *kaki*: ‘to.write-CONTINUATIVE’, is formed by suffixing *-i* to the base stem. The other type, exemplified by *numitti* (to.drink-CONTINUATIVE) and *kakitti* (to.write-CONTINUATIVE), ends in *-ti*. On the amended survey sheet the former is called the ‘*ari*-continuative’ and the latter the ‘*shite*-continuative’, so I will also use those terms in this chapter.

The *ari*-continuative is used for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates to express how two actions take place in succession, either in a subordinate or in a non-subordinate manner. The *shite*-continuative is used for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates to express mainly non-subordinate actions. The *ari*-continuative is also used for the first element of a compound predicate. In order to be able to elicit both types of continuative forms, example sentences for both were made for each verb in preparing the survey sheet.

³ The informant was S. I., a male speaker born and raised in Shimajiri, date of birth May 6, 1937.

⁴ The informant was K. Y., a male speaker born and raised in Kugai, date of birth December 23, 1926.

⁵ The informant was Y. N., a female speaker born and raised in Karimata, date of birth December 15, 1926.

2 Stems and suffixes

Conjugated verb forms consist of elements such as the stem, suffixes, and particles⁶. The suffixes and particles form the part that is modified according to the intended grammatical meaning; the remaining, unchanging part is the stem. Verbs in the Northern Ryukyuan languages alternate between three stem types: base stems, *onbin* stems, and infinitive stems⁷. Among these three stem types, base stems and *onbin* stems also exist in Japanese, but infinitive stems can be said to be peculiar to the Northern Ryukyuan languages. In this chapter, I will use ‘-’ to indicate boundaries between stems and suffixes, as in *kak-e-*, and ‘=’ to indicate boundaries between stems and particles, as in *nudi=kara*.

Base stems	<i>Onbin</i> stems	Infinitive stems
kak-aN ‘to.write-NEGATIVE’	kate-aN ‘to.write-PAST’	kate-uN ‘to.write-PERFECTIVE’
tur-aN ‘to.take-NEGATIVE’	tut-aN ‘to.take-PAST’	tu-iN ‘to.take-PERFECTIVE’
jum-aN ‘to.read-NEGATIVE’	jud-aN ‘to.read-PAST’	jum-uN ‘to.read-PERFECTIVE’

Table 1. The Shuri dialect of Naha City, Okinawa Island.

Base stems	<i>Onbin</i> stems	Infinitive stems
hak'-aN ‘to.write-NEGATIVE’	hattʒ-aN ‘to.write-PAST’	hattʒ-uN ‘to.write-PERFECTIVE’
tur-aN ‘to.take-NEGATIVE’	tutt-aN ‘to.take-PAST’	tu-N ‘to.take-PERFECTIVE’
jum-aN ‘to.read-NEGATIVE’	jud-aN ‘to.read-PAST’	jum-iN ‘to.read-PERFECTIVE’

Table 2. The Jana dialect of Nakijin Village.

As can be seen in Table 3, and as was also pointed out by Moriyasu Motonaga (1973), it is not necessary to posit *onbin* stems, as in Modern Japanese (henceforth just ‘Japanese’), or infinitive stems, as in the Northern Ryukyuan languages, for the Miyako language; only base stems have to be recognized⁸. The fact that it is not necessary to posit *onbin* stems is a notable characteristic of Miyako verb conjugation. Some verbs in Miyako have a base stem variant with a reduplicated final consonant. Among the items in our survey, *kav* ‘to put on (headwear)’, *niv* ‘to fall asleep’, and *az* ‘to say’ have such variant stems. While the perfective forms *kav*, *niv*, and *az* consist of stems ending in consonants without suffixes, their stem-final consonants are reduplicated in the corresponding imperative, hortative, and negative forms: *kavv-i*

⁶ I use the terms ‘stem’ and ‘suffix’ as defined by Shigeyuki Suzuki (1972).

⁷ *Translator’s note: ren’yō* stems.

⁸ I have adopted the terms ‘base stem’, ‘*onbin* stem’, and ‘infinitive stem’ for the three stem types from Yukio Uemura’s (1963) ‘Shuri Hōgen no Bunpō’, *Okinawago Jiten (A Dictionary of Okinawan)*. In addition to these three stems types, Uemura also posits fused stems and contracted stems.

‘to.put.on(headwear)-IMPERATIVE’, *kavv-a* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-HORTATIVE’, *kavv-an* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’, *nivv-i* ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’, *nivv-a* ‘to.fall.asleep-HORTATIVE’, *nivv-an* ‘to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE’, *azz-i* ‘to.say-IMPERATIVE’, *azz-a* ‘to.say-HORTATIVE’, and *azz-an* ‘to.say-NEGATIVE’. The perfective form *v*: ‘to sell’ consists of a single long consonant without a suffix, but the corresponding imperative, hortative, and negative forms have stems that consists of just a reduplicated short consonant: *vv-i* ‘to.sell-IMPERATIVE’, *vv-a* ‘to.sell-HORTATIVE’, and *vv-an* ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’. Although there are verb types with stem variants different from these, as well, I hope to discuss them as part of a complete description of the conjugated forms and conjugation types of the Miyako dialects at a later time.

Base stems		
kak-an ‘to.write-NEGATIVE’	kak-ŋtaŋ ‘to.write-PAST’	kak-ŋ ‘to.write-PERFECTIVE’
jum-an ‘to.read-NEGATIVE’	jum-taŋ ‘to.read-PAST’	jum ‘to.read.PERFECTIVE’
tur-an ‘to.take-NEGATIVE’	tu-ŋtaŋ ‘to.take-PAST’	tu-ŋ ‘to.take-PERFECTIVE’
kavv-an	kav-taz	kav
‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’	‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’	‘to.put.on(headwear).PERFECTIVE’

Table 3. The Shimozato dialect of Hirara.

The verbs elicited in response to the following Japanese verbs have been identified as strong verbs: *tobu* ‘to fly; to jump’, *asobu* ‘to play’, *kogu* ‘to row’, *iku* ‘to go’, *otosu* ‘to drop’, *dasu* ‘to put out’, *motsu* ‘to carry; to hold; to have’, *kiru* ‘to cut’, *shibaru* ‘to tie up’, *horu* ‘to dig’, *furu* ‘to fall (e.g. rain)’, *kaburu* ‘to put on (headwear)’, *tojiru* ‘to close’, *neru* ‘to sleep’, *kau*, ‘to buy’, *uru* ‘to sell’, *nomu* ‘to drink’, *taberu* ‘to eat’, *you* ‘to get drunk’, *arau* ‘to wash’, and *iu* ‘to say’. The verbs elicited in response to the following Japanese verbs have been identified as weak verbs: *suteru* ‘to discard’, *oriru* ‘to get off (e.g. a vehicle)’, *ochiru* ‘to fall’, *kureru* ‘to give’, *morau* ‘to receive’, *okiru* ‘to get up’, *kiru* ‘to put on (e.g. clothing)’, *suwaru* ‘to sit down’, *miru* ‘to see; to look’, and *keru* ‘to kick’. The verbs elicited in response to the following Japanese verbs have been identified as irregular verbs: *kuru* ‘to come’, *suru* ‘to do’, *aru* ‘to be (inanimate); to exist’, *iru* ‘to be (animate)’, *shinu* ‘to die’, and *nai* ‘to be absent; to be nonexistent’.

Although *nai* is classed as an adjective in Japanese, the equivalent in the Ryukyuan languages is classed as an irregular verb. In Miyako, adjectives have conjugated forms consisting of a grammaticized combination of a *-ku*-infinitive and the existential verb *az* or forms containing a reduplicated stem, for example; the Miyako equivalent of *nai* is classed as a verb because it has no such forms. Even though it is classed as a verb, however, it of course does not have the morphological categories of aspect and voice, nor does it have forms for the imperative or hortative moods; in these respects, it has the same grammatical properties as adjectives.

In response to *shibaru*, the use of a verb corresponding to Japanese *kubiru* ‘to tie up’ is expected; in response to *neru*, that of a verb corresponding to *nemuru* ‘to sleep’; in response to *taberu*, that of a verb corresponding to *kurau* ‘to eat’; in response to *tojiru*, that of a verb corresponding to *kuru*; in response to *morau*, that of a verb corresponding to *eru* ‘to get’; in response to *suwaru*, that of a verb corresponding to *wiru* ‘to sit down’; in response to *iru*, that of a verb corresponding to *woru* ‘to be (animate)’.

Among the weak verbs of Japanese, those with one-syllable stems ending in the vowel *-i*, such as *mi-ru* ‘to see; to look’, *ki-ru* ‘to put on (e.g. clothing)’, and *ni-ru* ‘to boil’, were also weak in Central Old Japanese (henceforth just ‘Old Japanese’), but those with two-syllable stems ending in either the vowel *-i* or the vowel *-e* (called ‘upper bigrade verbs’ and ‘lower bigrade verbs’, respectively) had a combination of weak conjugated forms, such as negative *oki-zu* ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’ and imperative *oki-yo* ‘to.get.up-IMPERATIVE’, and strong conjugated forms, such as perfective *ok-u* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’ and adnominal non-past *ok-uru* ‘to.get.up-ADNOMINAL’. Verbs of the latter type can be called verbs with a ‘mixed conjugation’ of strong and weak forms (henceforth ‘mixed verbs’). The verb *shinu* ‘to die’, a strong verb in Japanese, can be seen as having had a type of mixed conjugation combining conjugated forms comprising a strong conjugation stem and a suffix, such as *sin-azu* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’ and *sin-itari* ‘to.die-ALTERNATIVE’, with conjugated forms comprising a mixed conjugation stem and a suffix, such as *sin-uru* ‘to.die-2ND.CONCLUSIVE’ and *sin-ure* ‘to.die-3RD.CONCLUSIVE’⁹.

			Negative	Imperative	Past	Non-past	Adnominal
Modern	Strong conjugation	‘to go’	ik-anai	ik-e	iQ-ta	ik-u	ik-u
		‘to die’	ein-anai	ein-e	eiN-da	ein-u	ein-u
	Weak conjugation	‘to get up’	oki-nai	oki-ro	oki-ta	ok-iru	ok-iru
		‘to see’	mi-nai	mi-ro	mi-ta	mi-ru	mi-ru
Old Japanese	Strong conjugation	‘to go’	ik-adzu	ik-e	ik-itari	ik-u	ik-u
	Mixed conjugation <i>a</i>	‘to die’	ein-adzu	ein-e	eiNi-tari	ein-u	ein-uru
	Mixed conjugation <i>b</i>	‘to get up’	oki-dzu	oki-jo	oki-tari	ok-u	ok-uru
	Weak conjugation	‘to see’	mi-dzu	mi-jo	mi-tari	mi-ru	mi-ru

Table 4. Verb conjugation types in Japanese.

⁹ The second conclusive form is used for predicates of emphatic sentences, agreeing with the focus particles *zo*, *nan*, *ya*, and *ka*, and is homophonous with the adnominal form. The third conclusive form is used for predicates of emphatic sentences, as well, agreeing with *koso*, and is homophonous with the conditional form.

In the Shimajiri, Karimata, and Kugai dialects, not only the negative of the Old Japanese weak conjugation, but also those of the Old Japanese mixed conjugations correspond to forms in which the negative suffix *-n* is attached to a base stem ending in the vowel *-i*. In other words, the mixed conjugations of Old Japanese have become weak. In the Shimajiri and Karimata dialects *shinu* ‘to die’ has become weak, as well; it has become strong in the Kugai dialect.

- (1) ki:ju jurugææa:mai n:ta: utin. (Karimata)
 tree=ACCUSATIVE to.shake-CONTINUATIVE=too fruit=TOPIC to.fall-NEGATIVE (*ochinai*)
 ‘No mandarins fall from the tree, even when you shake it.’¹⁰
- (2) baja: umanna urin. (Kugai)
 I=TOPIC here=LOCATIVE=TOPIC to.get.off-NEGATIVE (*orinai*) (Kugai)
 ‘I don’t get off here.’

While forms such as the perfective and the imperative of verbs corresponding to Old Japanese weak and mixed verbs also follow the weak conjugation in, among others, the Bora, Miyaguni, and Kurima dialects, comprising a base stem ending in the vowel *-i* or the vowel *-i:* and a suffix such as *-ru*, the negative form instead follows the strong conjugation, comprising a base stem ending in a consonant and a suffix beginning with the vowel *-u* or the vowel *-u:*. In these dialects, the weak conjugation has become mixed.

- (3) vvaga tuzzuba smari fi:ru. (Bora)
 you=NOMINATIVE chicken=ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE
 (*kure*)
 ‘You tie up the chicken.’ (imperative)
- (4) utyt^ha sudaŋkaija ka:ssuba fu:ŋ. (Bora)
 younger.brother=TOPIC older.brother=DATIVE=TOPIC sweets=ACCUSATIVE
to.give-NEGATIVE (*kurenai*)
 ‘The younger brother doesn’t give sweets to the older brother.’
- (5) kunu fsuzza azumakar^ria numi mi:ru. (Bora)
 this medicine=TOPIC to.be.sweet=because to.take-CONTINUATIVE to.see-IMPERATIVE
 (*miro*)
 ‘This medicine is sweet, so try taking it.’

¹⁰ *Translator’s note:* throughout this chapter, Japanese model sentences have been replaced by glosses and their English translations; the relevant Japanese conjugated verb forms of the model sentences are given underlined in parentheses.

- (6) uja: jakju:juba: mju:ŋ. (Bora)
 father=TOPIC baseball=TOPIC to.see-NEGATIVE (*minai*)
 ‘My father doesn’t watch baseball.’
- (7) gumiu umaŋkai s̄tiru. (Miyaguni)
 garbage=ACCUSATIVE there=LOCATIVE to.discard-IMPERATIVE (*sutero*)
 ‘Throw away the garbage over there.’
- (8) mma: fz:fznu k̄nnumai s̄itun. (Miyaguni)
 grandmother=TOPIC to.be.old-ADNONMINAL kimono=too to.discard-NEGATIVE (*sutenai*)
 ‘My grandmother doesn’t even throw away her old kimonos.’
- (9) unu ma:zzu kumaŋkai kiri fi:ru. (Miyaguni)
 that ball=ACCUSATIVE here=LOCATIVE to.kick-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE
 (*kure*)
 ‘Kick that ball this way.’
- (10) q̄t̄ūtoo adzaŋ koosuba fu:ŋ. (Miyaguni)
 younger.brother=TOPIC older.brother=DATIVE sweets=ACCUSATIVE to.give-NEGATIVE
 (*kurenai*)
 ‘The younger brother won’t give sweets to the older brother.’
- (11) vvaŋa tuzzuba: smari/s̄maŋi fi:ro. (Kurima)
 you=NOMINATIVE chicken=ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE
 (*kure*)
 ‘You tie up the chicken.’ (imperative)
- (12) ut̄ūtoa azanna/suzanna ko:suba: fu:ŋ. (Kurima)
 younger.brother=TOPIC older.brother=DATIVE=TOPIC sweets=ACCUSATIVE
to.give-NEGATIVE (*kurenai*)
 ‘The younger brother won’t give sweets to the older brother.’

There are Miyako dialects in which a mixed conjugation is used for verbs that correspond to Old Japanese mixed verbs. They are mixed conjugations of a different kind, however; as will be discussed later, strong conjugation forms are used for the conclusive non-past and adnominal non-past forms of mixed verbs in Old Japanese, while they are used for the negative and hortative forms of mixed verbs in Miyako. The negative suffixes *-uŋ* and *-u:ŋ* are used for mixed verbs, *-iŋ* and *-i:ŋ* for weak verbs, and *-aŋ* and *-a:ŋ* for strong verbs.

			Negative	Imperative	Past	Non-past	Adnominal
Bora	Strong conjugation	‘to go’	ik-aŋ	ik-i	ik-sta:	ik-s	ik-s
		‘to die’	sn-aŋ	sn-i	sn-ta	sn	sn
	Mixed conjugation	‘to get up’	uk-uŋ	uki-ru	uki-ta:	uki	uki-z
		‘to see’	mj-u:ŋ	mi:-ru	mi:-ta:	mi:	mi:-z
Simajiri	Strong conjugation	‘to go’	ik-aŋ	ik-i	ik-staz	ik-s	ik-s
	Weak conjugation	‘to die’	sni-ŋ	sni-ru	sn-ta	sni-z	sni-z
		‘to get up’	uki-ŋ	uki-ru	uki-taz	uki-z	uki-z
		‘to see’	mi:-ŋ	mi:-ru	mi:-taz	mi:-z	mi:-z

Table 5. Verb conjugation types in the Bora and Simajiri dialects.

In this chapter, we examine the conjugated forms and conjugation types by comparing them to those of Old Japanese, and occasionally those of Modern Japanese, as well.

3 Negative forms

Whether a Miyako verb follows a strong conjugation, a weak conjugation, or a mixed conjugation can be determined by looking at its negative form.

Miyako negative forms end in either *-an*, *-in*, or *-un*. Forms in which *-dza:n* or *-d'a:n* is substituted for the final *-n* are observed, as well. Forms ending in *-an*, *-in*, or *-un* take a variety of shapes and are used in multiple senses. Forms ending *-adza:n*, *-i-dza:n*, and *-udza:n* express the intention or judgment of the speaker. As the forms ending in *-adza:n*, *-i-dza:n*, and *-udza:n* are also formed with base stems, I will treat them together with *-an* in this chapter.

- (13) uja: tɛiŋkzga bazkaiba imkaija ikazaŋ. (Miyaguni)
 father=TOPIC weather=NOMINATIVE to.be.bad=because sea=ALLATIVE=TOPIC
to.go-NEGATIVE (*ikanai*)
 ‘My father won’t go to the sea, because the weather is bad.’
- (14) ameno tʰo:kʲa:nna pukaŋkai nimottsu idasadza:ŋ. (Miyaguni)
 rain=GENITIVE time=LOCATIVE=TOPIC outside=LOCATIVE=TOPIC luggage=ACCUSATIVE
to.put.out-NEGATIVE (*dasanai*)
 ‘When it’s raining, I don’t put my things outside.’
- (15) ka:ʲa: unaga du:nu wa:juba: vvan/vvadja:n. (Yonaha)
 he=TOPIC self=GENITIVE pig=TOPIC to.sell-NEGATIVE (*uranai*)
 ‘He doesn’t sell his pig.’

-an is used in verbs that correspond to Old Japanese strong verbs; it is suffixed to base stems ending in a consonant. *-in* is used in verbs that correspond to Old Japanese weak verbs; when their negative forms are compared to other conjugated forms, they can be analyzed as *uki-n*, consisting of a vowel stem of the weak conjugation to which the suffix *-n* has been attached. *-un* is used in verbs that correspond to Old Japanese mixed verbs; while their imperative forms are formed by suffixing *-ru* to a vowel stem, their negative forms can be analyzed as *uk-un*, consisting of a consonant stem of the strong conjugation to which the suffix *-un* has been attached. When their conjugations are considered in their entirety, verbs whose negative forms are formed with the suffix *-un* thus follow a mixed conjugation.

For reference, I will also give imperative forms obtained in the survey. While imperative forms are formed by suffixing *-i* to a base stem that ends in a consonant in the strong conjugation, they are formed by suffixing *-ru* to a base stem that ends in the vowel *-i* or the vowel *-i:* in the weak conjugation.

The Bora dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Bora dialect, with the suffixes *-uŋ* and *-u:ŋ*. On the other hand, the forms corresponding to *keranai* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, *kinai* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, and *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, which derive from Old Japanese weak verbs, as well as *shinantai* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’, which derives from a strong verb, follow the strong conjugation, while the form corresponding to *minai* ‘to.see-NEGATIVE’, which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the mixed conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’ follows the mixed conjugation, while the form corresponding to *inai* ‘to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’ follows the strong conjugation.

Strong conjugation

- *tubaŋ* ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, *asɽpaŋ* ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, *numaŋ* ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, *kugaŋ* ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, *ikaŋ* ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, *utusaŋ* ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, *idasaŋ* ‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, *mutaŋ* ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, *puran* ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, *ffaŋ* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, *kssaŋ* ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, *vvaŋ* ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, *kavvaŋ* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’, *nivvaŋ* ‘to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE’, *azzaŋ* ‘to.say-NEGATIVE’, *ka:ŋ* ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, *fa:ŋ* ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’, *ara:ŋ* ‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, *mura:ŋ* ‘to.receive-NEGATIVE’, *bj:a:ŋ* ‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE’
- *kiran* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, *kssaŋ* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, *bzzaŋ* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, *snaŋ* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- uruŋ ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, utuŋ ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, ukuŋ ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, stuŋ ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, fu:ŋ ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’
- mju:ŋ ‘to.see-NEGATIVE’, ju:ŋ ‘to.get-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:ŋ ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’, su:ŋ ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, uraŋ ‘to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’, nja:ŋ ‘to be absent’

Imperative forms

- piriŋo ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE=EMPHATIC’, kai ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, jukui ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, n’ivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, fi:ru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, zziru / iziru ‘to.put.in-IMPERATIVE’
- ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’, ŋi:ru / aŋiru ‘to.do-IMPERATIVE’

The Uruka dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Uruka dialect, with the suffix *-uŋ*, except for *ukiŋ* ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, which follows the weak conjugation. The form corresponding to *minai* ‘to.see-NEGATIVE’, which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, is the weak conjugation form *mi:ŋ*; forms for other verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, however, so further details on the Uruka dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, asŋpaŋ ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, numaŋ ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, kugaŋ ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, ffaŋ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, utusaŋ ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, idasaŋ ‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, puraŋ ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, vvaŋ ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, kŋsaŋ ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, ka:ŋ ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, fa:ŋ ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’, ara:ŋ ‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, mura:ŋ ‘to.receive-NEGATIVE’, bjo:ŋ ‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- urudjaŋ ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, utuŋ ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, stuŋ ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, ffudzaŋ ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- ukiŋ ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’
- mi:ŋ ‘to.see-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:ŋ ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’

Imperative forms

- iki jo: ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE=EMPHATIC’, piri ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, jukui ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, nivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, kākiru ‘to.put.on-IMPERATIVE’, ffiru / fi:ru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, izirujo: / idzirujo: ‘to.put.in-IMPERATIVE=EMPHATIC’
- ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’,

The Miyaguni dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Miyaguni dialect, with the suffix *-uŋ*, except for *ukiŋ* ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, which follows the weak conjugation. The form corresponding to *keranai* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’ is the strong conjugation form *kiraj*; forms for other verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, however, so further details on the Miyaguni dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- asɿpaŋ ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, nomaŋ ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, kugaŋ ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, ikazaŋ ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, ffaŋ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, utusaŋ ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, idasadza:ŋ ‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, motadza:ŋ ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, poraŋ ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, kɿsaŋ ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, ʷvaŋ ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, ɸa:ŋ ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’, ka:ŋ ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, bʰo:ŋ ‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE’, ara:ŋ ‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, mora:ŋ ‘to.receive-NEGATIVE’
- kiraj ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- uruza:ŋ ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, utuŋ ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, sutuŋ ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, fuzzaŋ ‘to.tie.up-NEGATIVE’, ɸu:ŋ ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’, ituŋ ‘to.go.out-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- ukiŋ ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:ŋ ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’

Imperative forms

- p^hiri ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, ɸai ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, jukui ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, nivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- miru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, fi:ru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, sɿturu ‘to.discard-IMPERATIVE’, ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’

The Yonaha dialect

The negative forms of some verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Yonaha dialect, with the suffix *-uj*, while those of others follow the weak conjugation, with the suffix *-ij*. Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, so further details on the Yonaha dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- tuban ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, kugan ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, ikan ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, ffan ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, utusan ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, kiran ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, kiran ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, idasan (to.put.out-NEGATIVE) mutan ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, vvān ~ vvadja:n ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, ka:n ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- urudjan ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, utun ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, stun ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, fudja:n ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- ukin ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:n ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’

Imperative forms

- iki ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, fe: ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, jukui ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, nivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, kakiru ‘to.put.on-IMPERATIVE’, ffiru / firu ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’
- ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’

The Kurima dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Kurima dialect, with the suffix *-uj*. The form corresponding to *keranai* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’ is the strong conjugation form *kiranj*; forms for other verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, however, so further details on the Kurima dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- tubanj ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, aspanj ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, numanj ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, kuganj ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, ikanj ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, utusanj ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, idasanj ‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, muteanj ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, pranj ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, sɣmaranj

‘to.tie.up-NEGATIVE’, ffaŋ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, tssaŋ ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, muraŋ ‘to.receive-NEGATIVE’, vvaŋ ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, fa:ŋ ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’, ka:ŋ ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, ara:ŋ ‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, bʲo:ŋ ‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE’

- kiraŋ ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- uruŋ ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, utuŋ ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, ukuŋ ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, stuŋ ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, fu:ŋ ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:ŋ ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’

Imperative forms

- iki ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, pire ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, smare ‘to.tie.up-IMPERATIVE’, idae: ‘to.put.out-IMPERATIVE’, jarae ‘to.give(-CAUSATIVE)-IMPERATIVE’, teje: ‘to.cut-IMPERATIVE’, ke: ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, fe: ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, jukui / juke: ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, nivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, fi:ru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, stiro ‘to.discard-IMPERATIVE’, zziro ‘to.put.in-IMPERATIVE’
- ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’

The Kugai dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Kugai dialect, with the suffixes *-iŋ* and *-i:ŋ*. Furthermore, the form corresponding to *shinai* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, which derives from an Old Japanese irregular verb, is the weak conjugation form *ʃi:ŋ*. The forms corresponding to *keranai* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’ and *shinanai* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’ follow the strong conjugation. While the forms corresponding to *kinai* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’ and *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’ follow the strong conjugation in other dialects, the weak conjugation forms *kifiŋ* and *biziŋ* are used in the Kugai dialect.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, aspaŋ ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, numaŋ ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, kugaŋ ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, ikaŋ ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, utasaŋ ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, idasaŋ ‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, mutaŋ ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, puraŋ ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, furaŋ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, kʲsaŋ ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, sɰmaraŋ ‘to.tie.up-NEGATIVE’, vvaŋ ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, kavvaŋ ‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’, ffaŋ ‘to.close-NEGATIVE’,

nivvaŋ ‘to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE’, ka:ŋ ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, fa:ŋ ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’, bja:ŋ ‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE’, ara:ŋ ‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, andzaŋ ‘to.say-NEGATIVE’

- kiraŋ ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, snaŋ ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- uriŋ ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, utiŋ ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, ukiŋ ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, sɽtiŋ ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, fi:ŋ ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’

- zziŋ ‘to.get-NEGATIVE’, kiŋiŋ ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, bi:ziŋ ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, mi:ŋ ‘to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:ŋ ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’, ʃi:ŋ ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, nja:ŋ ‘to be absent’

Imperative forms

- iki ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, jukui ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, idafi ‘to.put.out-IMPERATIVE’, uri ‘to.be(animate)-IMPERATIVE’, kavvi ‘to.put.on(headwear)-IMPERATIVE’, ffijo: ‘to.close-IMPERATIVE’

- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, fi:ru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, kaŋkiru ‘to.put.on-IMPERATIVE’, kiŋiru ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-IMPERATIVE’

- ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’, ʃi:ru ‘to.do-IMPERATIVE’

The Shimajiri dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Shimajiri dialect, with the suffixes *-iŋ* and *-i:ŋ*. The forms corresponding to *keranai* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’ and *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, which derive from weak verbs, follow the strong conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’ follows the weak conjugation. *ʃiro* > *sru* > *ssu*.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, appaŋ ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, numaŋ ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, kugaŋ ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, ikaŋ ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, utusaŋ ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, idasaŋ ‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, mutaŋ ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, puraŋ ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, ffaŋ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, kssaŋ ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, fgzzaŋ ‘to.tie.up-NEGATIVE’, kavvaŋ ‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’, vva:ŋ ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, ffaŋ ‘to.close-NEGATIVE’, nivvaŋ ‘to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE’, azzaŋ ‘to.say-NEGATIVE’, ka:ŋ ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, fa:ŋ ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’, ara:ŋ ‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, bja:ŋ ‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE’

- kiraŋ ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, bz:zaŋ ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *uriŋ* ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, *utŋ* ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, *stŋ* ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, *fi:ŋ* ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’, *ukiŋ* ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, *sniŋ* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’
- *mi:ŋ* ‘to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’, *zɜiŋ* ‘to.get-NEGATIVE’, *ʃŋ* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *ku:ŋ* ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’, *ʃiŋ* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, *nja:ŋ* ‘to be absent’

Imperative forms

- *iki* ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, *uki* ‘to.place-IMPERATIVE’, *piri* ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, *kai* ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, *fai* ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, *jukai* ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, *nivvi* ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- *mi:u* ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, *fi:ru* ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, *ʃŋ* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-IMPERATIVE’, *ku:* ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’, *ssu* ‘to.do-IMPERATIVE’

The Karimata dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Karimata dialect, with the suffixes *-iŋ* and *-i:ŋ*. The forms corresponding to *kinai* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, and *shinanai* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’ also follow the weak conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’ follows the weak conjugation, while the form corresponding to *inai* ‘to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’ follows to the strong conjugation.

Strong conjugation

- *tubaŋ* ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, *asbaŋ* ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, *numaŋ* ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, *kugaŋ* ‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, *ikaŋ* ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, *utasaŋ* ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, *idasaŋ* ‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, *mutaŋ* ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, *puraŋ* ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, *smaraŋ* ‘to.tie.up-NEGATIVE’, *ffaŋ* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, *kssaŋ* ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, *kaʋʋaŋ* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’, *ffaŋ* ‘to.close-NEGATIVE’, *ʋʋaŋ* ‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, *niʋʋaŋ* ‘to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE’, *azzaŋ* ‘to.say-NEGATIVE’, *ka:ŋ* ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, *ara:ŋ* ‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, *fa:ŋ* ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’
- *kiraŋ* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *uriŋ* ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, *utiŋ* ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, *ukiŋ* ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, *ʃitiŋ* ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, *fi:ŋ* ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’, *ʃimiŋ* ‘to.close-NEGATIVE’, *kadzɜiŋ*

‘to.nibble-NEGATIVE/to.dig-NEGATIVE’, sniŋ ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’, bʲu:iŋ
‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE¹¹’

- iziŋ ‘to.get-NEGATIVE’, kiʃiŋ ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, biʒiŋ
‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, mi:iŋ ‘to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:iŋ ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’, aʃiŋ ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, uraŋ ‘to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’, nja:iŋ ‘to
be absent’

Imperative forms

- iki ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, uki ‘to.place-IMPERATIVE’, idaʃi ‘to.put.out-IMPERATIVE’, kai
‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, ɸai / fai ‘to.eat-IMPERATIVE’, jukui ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, niui
‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, fi:ru / ffiru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, uriru ‘to.get.off-IMPERATIVE’,
kaʒiru ‘to.put.on-IMPERATIVE’, ɛimiru ‘to.close-IMPERATIVE’, ŋgiru
‘to.return.home-IMPERATIVE’, iziru ‘to.put.in-IMPERATIVE’
- ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’, aʃiru ‘to.do-IMPERATIVE’

The Ikema dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Ikema dialect, with the suffixes *-iŋ* and *-i:iŋ*. The forms corresponding to *keranai* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, *kinai* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, and *shinanai* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’ follow the strong conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’ follows the mixed conjugation.

Strong conjugation

- tuban ‘to.fly-NEGATIVE’, aeiban ‘to.play-NEGATIVE’, numan ‘to.drink-NEGATIVE’, kugan
‘to.row-NEGATIVE’, ikan ‘to.go-NEGATIVE’, utuhan ‘to.drop-NEGATIVE’, idanan
‘to.put.out-NEGATIVE’, mutean ‘to.carry-NEGATIVE’, furadza:n ‘to.dig-NEGATIVE’, kiran
‘to.cut-NEGATIVE’, ɛimaran ‘to.tie.up-NEGATIVE’, ffan ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE’, vvan
‘to.sell-NEGATIVE’, kavvan ‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’, ttadza:n ‘to.close-NEGATIVE’,
nʲivvan ‘to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE’, azzan ‘to.say-NEGATIVE’, ka:n ‘to.buy-NEGATIVE’, ara:n
‘to.wash-NEGATIVE’, fa:n ‘to.eat-NEGATIVE’

¹¹ *bʲu:iŋ* may be a negative potential form corresponding to Japanese *yoenai* ‘to.get.drunk-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE’.

- kiran ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, ttean ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, bidzan ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, einan ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- ukiN ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, uridza:N ‘to.get.off-NEGATIVE’, utiN ‘to.fall-NEGATIVE’, sītiN ‘to.discard-NEGATIVE’, fi:N ‘to.give-NEGATIVE’
- zziN / ddiN ‘to.get-NEGATIVE’, b’u:iN ‘to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE¹²’, mi:N ‘to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ku:N ‘to.come-NEGATIVE’, φun ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, n’ja:N ‘to be absent’

Imperative forms

- iki ‘to.go-IMPERATIVE’, jukui ‘to.rest-IMPERATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-IMPERATIVE’, n’ivvi / n’iivi ‘to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE’
- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, fi:ru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, s’itiru ‘to.discard-IMPERATIVE’
- ku: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’, assu ‘to.do-IMPERATIVE’

The Kuninaka dialect

The form corresponding to *minai* ‘to.see-NEGATIVE’, which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, is the weak conjugation form *mi:N*; those corresponding to *kinai* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’ and *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, however, are the strong conjugation forms *ʔtan* and *bʔzan*, respectively. The form corresponding to *okinai* ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE’, which derives from an Old Japanese mixed verb, follows the weak conjugation. As only a small number of word forms was obtained for the Kuninaka dialect, no more than a brief outline can be given at present.

Strong conjugation

- kavvan ‘to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE’, nivvan ‘to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE’, azzan / aʔzan ‘to.say-NEGATIVE’
- sʔnan ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’, ʔtan ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, bʔzan ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- okinni: ‘to.get.up-NEGATIVE¹³’
- mi:N ‘to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE’

¹² *b’u:iŋ* may be a negative potential form corresponding to Japanese *yoenai* ‘to.get.drunk-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE’; further confirmation is needed.

¹³ *ni:* in *okinni:* may be a sentence-final particle.

Irregular conjugation

- ahon / ason ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, nja:n ‘to be absent’

Imperative forms

- mi:ru ‘to.see-IMPERATIVE’, φi:ru ‘to.give-IMPERATIVE’, eimiru ‘to.close-IMPERATIVE’, kɔ: ‘to.come-IMPERATIVE’, asso ‘to.do-IMPERATIVE’

3.1 Summary of negative forms

As it was not possible to obtain data for all the survey items at all the sites where the verb conjugation survey was conducted, the number of word forms that were obtained is limited, but when comparing the conjugation types of the Northern Ryukyuan languages (the dialects of Okinawa Island in particular), Old Japanese, and the Miyako language, the following observations can be made.

- (i) Miyako has strong, weak, mixed, and irregular conjugation types.
- (ii) Verbs deriving from Old Japanese strong verbs consistently follow the strong conjugation in Miyako.
- (iii) The verb corresponding to *keru* ‘to kick’, which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the strong conjugation in Miyako.
- (iv) The verb corresponding to *miru* ‘to see; to look’, which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the weak conjugation in some dialects and the mixed conjugation in others.
- (v) Verbs deriving from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Kugai, Karimata, Ikema, and Kuninaka dialects, while they follow the mixed conjugation in the Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, and Kurima dialects.
- (vi) The verb corresponding to *shinu* ‘to die’, which derives from an Old Japanese mixed verb, follows the weak conjugation in the Karimata and Shimajiri dialects, while it follows the strong conjugation in the Bora, Kugai, and Ikema dialects¹⁴.

¹⁴ In the Nishizato dialect of Miyako, according to Moriyasu Motonaga (1973), the form *snan* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’, among others, follows the strong conjugation, while the forms *sniru* ‘to.die-IMPERATIVE’, *sniriba* ‘to.die-CONDITIONAL’, and others follow the weak conjugation. Furthermore, in a survey on the Nobaru dialect of former Ueno Village I conducted in November 2011 (the informant: Y. N., male, b. 1943), both a strong form, *snatti: u:* ‘to be about to die’, and a weak form, *snitti: u:* ‘to be about to die’ were obtained for expressing an impending boundary point of the event referred to by the verb. Of these, the former expresses the impending inception point of a volitional action, while the latter expresses an impending terminal point of a non-volitional change of state. All kinds of conjugated forms have to be examined in order to determine what the conjugation type of *sn* ‘to die’ is and which of its conjugated forms follow the weak conjugation. It is interesting to note that there are different mixed conjugation variants in different dialects. Together with the question of how these things have arisen, these are matters to be resolved in future research.

- (vii) A phenomenon is observed in the dialects of Okinawa Island in which verbs deriving from Old Japanese weak verbs have changed into strong verbs; similarly, the form corresponding to *keranai* ‘to.kick-NEGATIVE’, which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the strong conjugation in every Miyako dialect, while the same holds for *kinai* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’ in the Bora and Ikema dialects, and for *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’ in the Bora, Shimajiri, and Ikema dialects. Not enough word forms were obtained draw conclusions regarding the other dialects.
- (viii) Although a phenomenon is observed in the dialects of Okinawa Island in which verbs deriving from Old Japanese mixed verbs have changed into strong verbs (i.e. into verbs with *-r*-stems), such a change is not observed in Miyako.
- (ix) In the Kugai, Shimajiri, and Karimata dialects, the forms corresponding to *kinai* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE’, *winai* ‘to.sit.down-NEGATIVE’, and *enai* ‘to.get-NEGATIVE’ also follow the weak conjugation.
- (x) The form corresponding to *shinai* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’, which derives from an Old Japanese irregular verb, follows the weak conjugation in the Kugai, Karimata, and Shimajiri dialects, while it follows the mixed conjugation in the Bora and Ikema dialects.

An interesting fact regarding the lexical meaning of negative verbs is that there were multiple sites where the negative form of *miz* ‘to see; to look’ was used in addition to *uran* as a present tense negative form of *uz* ‘to be (animate)’.

- (16) *tunaznna imma mi:ŋ.* (Shimajiri)
 next.door=LOCATIVE=TOPIC dog=TOPIC to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE
 ‘My neighbors don’t have a dog.’
- (17) *tunaznu ja:nna inna mi:ŋ.* (Kugai)
 next.door=GENITIVE house=LOCATIVE=TOPIC dog=TOPIC to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE
 ‘My neighbors don’t have a dog.’

4 Past tense forms

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffixes used for the past tense are *-ta:*, *-ta*, *-tai*, and *-ta^zŋ*. Unlike in Japanese and the Northern Ryukyuan languages, voicing of the *-t-* in these suffixes is not observed in strong verbs. As the sound changes *ri > i*, exemplified by *tu^zŋ* ‘bird’ and *pa^zŋ* ‘needle; pin’, and *ru > z*, exemplified by *piru > pi^zŋ* ‘garlic’ and

saru > *sa^zγ* ‘monkey’, have occurred in Miyako, *-ta^zγ*, *-tai*, *-ta:*, and *-ta* must derive either from *-tari* or from *-taru*.

The Bora dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is either *-ta:* or *-ta*, in which the final *-z* has undergone lenition. The sole exception is *ataγ* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, in which *-taγ* is used.

Strong conjugation

- *tubzta*: ‘to.fly-PAST’, *asγpγta* ‘to.play-PAST’, *kugzta*: ‘to.row-PAST’, *iksta*: ‘to.go-PAST’, *utusta*: ‘to.drop-PAST’, *idasuta*: ‘to.put.out-PAST’, *mutsγta* ‘to.carry-PAST’, *numta* ‘to.drink-PAST’, *fumta*: ‘to.put.on(footwear)-PAST’, *puzγta*: ‘to.dig-PAST’, *fuzta*: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, *pizta*: ‘to.go-PAST’, *smazta*: ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, *kssta*: ‘to.cut-PAST’, *kavta*: ‘to.buy-PAST’, *arouta* ‘to.wash-PAST’, *fouta* ‘to.eat-PAST’, *bju:ta*: ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, *kavta*: ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’, *nivta*: ‘to.fall.asleep-PAST’, *fu:ta*: ‘to.close-PAST’, *azta*: ‘to.say-PAST’, *vvita*: ‘to.sell-PAST’, *kssta*: ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PAST’, *kizta*: ‘to.kick-PAST’, *fttsta*: ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, *bz:ta*: ‘to.sit.down-PAST’, *snta*: ‘to.die-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- *urita*: ‘to.get.off-PAST’, *uteita*: ‘to.fall-PAST’, *steita*: ‘to.discard-PAST’, *ffita*: ‘to.give-PAST’, *bakita*: ‘to.divide-PAST’, *pingita* ‘to.escape-PAST’, *ukita*: ‘to.get.up-PAST’
- *mi:ta*: ‘to.see-PAST’, *i:ta*: ‘to.get-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- *ksta*: ‘to.come-PAST’, *sγ:ta*: ‘to.do-PAST’, *ataγ* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, *uta*: ‘to.be(animate)-PAST’

The Uruka dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-ta^zγ*. Forms in which *-ta:* is used are also observed.

Strong conjugation

- *tuv^zγta^zγ* ~ *tub^zγta^zγ* ‘to.fly-PAST’, *asγp^zγta^zγ* ‘to.play-PAST’, *iksγta^zγ* ~ *iksta*: ‘to.go-PAST’, *kug^zγta^zγ* ‘to.row-PAST’, *utu^zsta^zγ* ~ *utu^zsta:* ‘to.drop-PAST’, *idasγta^zγ* ‘to.put.out-PAST’, *mutsγta^zγ* ‘to.carry-PAST’, *numta^zγ* ‘to.drink-PAST’, *funta^zγ* ‘to.put.on(footwear)-PAST’, *pu^zγta^zγ* ‘to.dig-PAST’, *muduri pi^zγta^zγ* ‘to.return to.go-PAST’, *f^zγta^zγ* ~ *f^zγta:* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, *kavta^zγ* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’, *kauta^zγ* ‘to.buy-PAST’, *fo:ta^zγ* ~ *fauta^zγ* ~

fouta^zl ‘to.eat-PAST’, murauta^zl ‘to.receive-PAST’, bju:ta^zl ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, arauta^zl ‘to.wash-PAST’, v:ta^zl ‘to.sell-PAST’, ksta^zl ~ ksɿ:ta^zl ‘to.cut-PAST’, sɿma^zlta^zl ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, k^slta^zl ‘to.kick-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- urita: ~ urita^zl ‘to.get.off-PAST’, utita^zl ~ utita: ‘to.fall-PAST’, piŋgita: ‘to.escape-PAST’, stita^zl ~ stita: ‘to.discard-PAST’, ffita^zl ‘to.give-PAST’, bakita^zl ‘to.divide-PAST’, piŋgita^zl ‘to.escape-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- sɿta^zl ‘to.do-PAST’, ksɿta^zl ~ ksɿta: ~ k^sl:ta^zl ‘to.come-PAST’, kugi^kstaɿ ~ kug^zi^kstaɿ ‘to.row-to.come-PAST’

The Miyaguni dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-ta:*.

Strong conjugation

- asɿp^hlta: ‘to.play-PAST’, u:gɿ:ta: ‘to.swim-PAST’, iksta: / ikɿta: ‘to.go-PAST’, utɿsta: ‘to.drop-PAST’, idaεita / idasɿta ‘to.put.out-PAST’, pira^siŋta: ‘to.go-CAUSATIVE-PAST’, moŋtεiŋta: ‘to.carry-PAST’, nuŋta: ‘to.drink-PAST’, fu^zta: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, pɿzta ‘to.dig-PAST’, muduŋta: ‘to.return-PAST’, kī:ta: ‘to.cut-PAST’, naka^zlta: ‘to.divide-PAST’, fu^zta: / fɿzta: ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, kizta: ‘to.kick-PAST’, kauta: ‘to.buy-PAST’, fɿoota: ‘to.eat-PAST’, mo^rauta: / mo^roota: ‘to.receive-PAST’, bjo:ta: ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, arauta: ‘to.wash-PAST’, u:ta: / uvta: / uvta: ‘to.sell-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- urita: ‘to.get.off-PAST’, ucɿta: ‘to.fall-PAST’, sɿtita: ‘to.discard-PAST’, fɿiita: ‘to.give-PAST’, p^hiŋgita: / fɿiŋgita: ‘to.escape-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- kī:ta: / kīta: ‘to.come-PAST’, kugiksta: ‘to.row-to.come-PAST’, kugiuta ‘to.row-PROGRESSIVE-PAST’

The Yonaha dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-ta:*.

Strong conjugation

- tubɯta: / tubɯtan ‘to.fly-PAST’, appɯta: ‘to.play-PAST’, ikʷɯta: ‘to.go-PAST’, kuɯta: ‘to.row-PAST’, utusɯta: ‘to.drop-PAST’, idasɯta: ‘to.put.out-PAST’, mutsɯta: ‘to.carry-PAST’, numta: ‘to.drink-PAST’, ffɯtta: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, puzta: ‘to.dig-PAST’, pi:ta: ‘to.go-PAST’, kɯsɯta: ‘to.cut-PAST’, ko:ta: ‘to.buy-PAST’, aro:ta: ‘to.wash-PAST’, fo:ta: ‘to.eat-PAST’, bju:ta: ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, u:ta: / u:ta: ‘to.sell-PAST’, kizɯta: ‘to.kick-PAST’, sɯmaʷɯta: ‘to.tie.up-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- urita: ‘to.get.off-PAST’, utita: ‘to.fall-PAST’, sɯtita: ‘to.discard-PAST’, fi:ta: ‘to.give-PAST’, bakita: ‘to.divide-PAST’

Weak conjugation

- zzita: ‘to.get-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- ksta: / kɯsɯta: ‘to.come-PAST’, kuɯdu sɯta: ‘to.row=FOCUS to.do-PAST’, u:duɯta: ‘to.sell=FOCUS to.do-PAST’ bju:i uta: ‘to.get.drunk-STATIVE-PAST’, tubɯdu sɯta: ‘to.fly=FOCUS to.do-PAST’

The Kurima dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-taɯ*. Forms deriving from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained. In the strong conjugation, the suffix takes the shapes *-ztaɯ*, *-ɯtaɯ*, and *-taɯ*; in the mixed conjugation, it takes the shape *-taɯ*.

Strong conjugation

- tubztaɯ / tubztaɯ ‘to.fly-PAST’, aspɯtaɯ ‘to.play-PAST’, numutaɯ¹⁵ ‘to.drink-PAST’, kudztaɯ ‘to.row-PAST’, itstaɯ ‘to.go-PAST’, piɯtaɯ / piʷɯtaɯ ‘to.go-PAST’, utɯstaz / utɯstaɯ ‘to.drop-PAST’, idastaɯ ‘to.put.out-PAST’, puztaɯ ‘to.dig-PAST’, sɯmaɯtaɯ / smaɯtaɯ ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, ffɯtaɯ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, tsɯtaɯ / tsɯstaz ‘to.cut-PAST’, muro:taɯ ‘to.receive-PAST’, u:taɯ ‘to.sell-PAST’, fo:taɯ ‘to.eat-PAST’, ko:taɯ ‘to.buy-PAST’, aro:taɯ ‘to.wash-PAST’, biu:taɯ ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’
- kiztaɯ / kiztaɯ ‘to.kick-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- uritaɯ / uritaɯ ‘to.get.off-PAST’, utitaɯ ‘to.fall-PAST’, stitaɯ / stitaɯ ‘to.discard-PAST’, fi:taɯ ‘to.give-PAST’, bakitaɯ ‘to.divide-PAST’, piŋgitaɯ ‘to.escape-PAST’

¹⁵ Although the suffix does not begin with a vowel in strong verbs with a stem ending in *-m* in the other dialects, *-u-* appears here; further confirmation is needed.

Irregular conjugation

- tsstaŋ / tstaŋ ‘to.come-PAST’, kugitstaŋ ‘to.row-to.come-PAST’, uritstaŋ / tsstaŋ ‘to.get.off-to.come-PAST’, muraitstaŋ ‘to.receive-to.come-PAST’, ikju:taz / ikju:taŋ ‘to.go-STATIVE-PAST’, mmjaŋtaŋ ‘to.come-HONORIFIC-PAST’ u:gi tstaŋ ‘to.swim-to.come-PAST’

The Kugai dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-ta:*. In the strong conjugation, the suffix takes the shapes *-sta:*, *-ŋta:*, and *-ta:*; in the weak conjugation, it takes the shape *-ta:*.

Strong conjugation

- aspsta: ‘to.play-PAST’, kugzta: ‘to.row-PAST’, iksta: ‘to.go-PAST’, utasta: ‘to.drop-PAST’, idasta: ‘to.put.out-PAST’, mutsta: ‘to.carry-PAST’, numta: ‘to.drink-PAST’, fumta: ‘to.put.on(footwear)-PAST’, fuŋta: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, puzta: ‘to.dig-PAST’, piŋta: ‘to.go-PAST’, ksta: ‘to.cut-PAST’, kiŋta: / kiŋta: ‘to.kick-PAST’, sŋmaŋta: ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, naka:zta: ‘to.divide-PAST’, ko:ta: ‘to.buy-PAST’, aro:ta: ‘to.wash-PAST’, fo:ta: ‘to.eat-PAST’, moro:ta: ‘to.receive-PAST’, bju:ta: ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, v:ta: ‘to.sell-PAST’, nivta: ‘to.fall.asleep-PAST’, kavta: ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’, ffta: ‘to.close-PAST’, anta: ‘to.say-PAST’, snta: ‘to.die-PAST’

Weak conjugation

- urita: ‘to.get.off-PAST’, utita: ‘to.fall-PAST’, ukita: ‘to.get.up-PAST’, sŋtita: ‘to.discard-PAST’, kieita: ‘to.sell-PAST’, fi:ta: ‘to.give-PAST’, smita: ‘to.wash-PAST’, piŋgipiŋta: ‘to.escape-PAST’
- mi:ta: ‘to.see-PAST’, zzita: ‘to.get-PAST’, bizita: ‘to.sit.down-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- ksta: ‘to.come-PAST’, kugiksta: ‘to.row-to.come-PAST’, sta: ‘to.do-PAST’, uta: ‘to.be(animate)-PAST’, ata: ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, ariuta: ~ arju:ta: ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, bju:iuta: ‘to.get.drunk-STATIVE-PAST’, tatei:uta: ‘to.stand.up-STATIVE-PAST’, niviuta: ‘to.fall.asleep-STATIVE-PAST’

The Shimajiri dialect

-ta: is the suffix most often used for the past tense in the Shimajiri dialect, but *-ta* and *-taz* are used, as well. In the strong conjugation, the suffix takes the shapes *-sta:*, *-zta:*, *-uta:*, and *-ta:*; in the weak conjugation, it takes the shape *-taz*.

Strong conjugation

- tubzta: ‘to.fly-PAST’, appsta: ‘to.play-PAST’, kugzta: ‘to.row-PAST’, iksta: ‘to.go-PAST’, utusta: / utusta ‘to.drop-PAST’, idasta: ‘to.put.out-PAST’, mutsta ‘to.carry-PAST’, nunta: ‘to.drink-PAST’, funta: / fnta: ‘to.put.on(footwear)-PAST’, puzta: ‘to.dig-PAST’, ffta: / ffvta ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, pizta: ‘to.go-PAST’, kssta: ‘to.cut-PAST’, kauta: ‘to.buy-PAST’, arauta: ‘to.wash-PAST’, fava: ‘to.eat-PAST’, bju:taz ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, kavta: ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’, n’ivta: ‘to.fall.asleep-PAST’, ffta: / ffvta: ‘to.close-PAST’, azta: ‘to.say-PAST’, v:ta: / v:ta: ‘to.sell-PAST’, fgzta: ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, kizta: ‘to.kick-PAST’, bz:ta: ‘to.sit.down-PAST’, snta: ‘to.die-PAST’

Weak conjugation

- urita: ‘to.get.off-PAST’, uteita: ‘to.fall-PAST’, steita: ‘to.discard-PAST’, fi:ta: ‘to.give-PAST’, bakitaz ‘to.divide-PAST’, ukitaz / ukita: ‘to.get.up-PAST’
- mi:ta: ‘to.see-PAST’, zzitaz ‘to.get-PAST’, jfitaz ‘to.sell-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- ssta: ‘to.come-PAST’, ssta: ‘to.do-PAST’, ata: ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, u:ta: / uta: ‘to.be(animate)-PAST’

The Karimata dialect

In addition to *-taz*, *-daz* is used as a suffix for the past tense in the Karimata dialect. At first glance, *-daz* in *nundaz* ‘to.drink-PAST’ looks like an *onbin* form¹⁶, but as *-daz* is used in weak verb forms such as *uridaz* ‘to.get.off-PAST’ and *utidaz* ‘to.fall-PAST’ as well as in strong verb forms such as *asvdaz* ‘to.play-PAST’, and as there are verbs such as *sntaz* / *sndaz* ‘to.die-PAST’ and *εimitaz* / *εimidaz* ‘to.close-PAST’ in which the use of *-taz* and *-daz* as variant forms is observed, they seem to be phonetic variants. In the Karimata dialect the suffix thus takes the shapes *-itaz* and *-taz* in the strong conjugation; in the weak conjugation, it takes the shape *-taz*.

Strong conjugation

- tubitaz / tuvtaz ‘to.fly-PAST’, asvdaz ‘to.play-PAST’, kugitaz / kuvtaz ‘to.row-PAST’, iftaz / ikitaz ‘to.go-PAST’, utastaz ‘to.drop-PAST’, idastaz ‘to.put.out-PAST’, mutstaz ‘to.carry-PAST’, nundaz ‘to.drink-PAST’, puztaz ‘to.dig-PAST’, ffvtaz ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, ksstaz ‘to.cut-PAST’, kaztaz / ko:ta: / ko:taz ‘to.buy-PAST’, aro:daz ‘to.wash-PAST’, fo:taz ‘to.eat-PAST’, b’u:ztaz ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, kavtaz ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’, n’ivtaz

¹⁶ *Translator’s note*: a ‘euphonic form’; see section 4.1 for an explanation

‘to.fall.asleep-PAST’, ffitaz ‘to.close-PAST’, aztaz ‘to.say-PAST’, v:taz ‘to.sell-PAST’, ks:daz ‘to.kick-PAST’, smaztaz ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, sntaz / sndaz¹⁷ ‘to.die-PAST’

Weak conjugation

- uridaz ‘to.get.off-PAST’, utidaz ‘to.fall-PAST’, eitidaz ‘to.discard-PAST’, fi:taz ‘to.give-PAST’, ŋgidaz ‘to.return.home-PAST’, taskaritzaz ‘to.be.saved-PAST’, ukitzaz ‘to.get.up-PAST’, eimitaz / eimidaz ‘to.close-PAST’
- mi:daz ‘to.see-PAST’, zzitaz ‘to.get-PAST’, kiitaz ‘to.sell-PAST’, bizitaz ‘to.sit.down-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- ksstaz ‘to.come-PAST’, kugiftaz ‘to.row-to.come-PAST’, astaz ‘to.do-PAST’, ataz ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, utaz ‘to.be(animate)-PAST’

The Ikema dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense in the Ikema dialect is *-tai*.

Strong conjugation

- aeibitai ~ aeu:tai ‘to.play-PAST’, kugitai ‘to.row-PAST’, ifutai ~ ikitai ‘to.go-PAST’, utaeitai ‘to.drop-PAST’, idaeitai ‘to.put.out-PAST’, muttai ‘to.carry-PAST’, nuntai ‘to.drink-PAST’, mmitai ‘to.put.on(footwear)-PAST’, fu:tai ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, fuitai ‘to.dig-PAST’, muduitai ‘to.return-PAST’, hatai ‘to.go-PAST’, kiritai ‘to.cut-PAST’, eɽmaritai ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, kautai ~ kavtai ~ kaitai ‘to.buy-PAST’, vvitai ‘to.sell-PAST’, faitai ~ fautai ~ fautai ‘to.eat-PAST’, b'u:itai ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, araitai ‘to.wash-PAST’, aitai ‘to.say-PAST’, kavvitai ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’, ffitai ‘to.close-PAST’, n'u:tai ‘to.fall.asleep-PAST’, taskaitai ‘to.be.saved-PAST’, ki:tai ‘to.kick-PAST’, tteaddan ‘to.cut-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE-PAST¹⁸’

Weak conjugation

- ukitai ‘to.get.up-PAST’, uritai ‘to.get.off-PAST’, uteita: ‘to.fall-PAST’, bakitai ‘to.divide-PAST’, uɽɽmitai ‘to.bury-PAST’, piŋgita ‘to.escape-PAST’, fi:tai ‘to.give-PAST’
- mi:tai ‘to.see-PAST’, tsɽitai ~ ttitai ‘to.sell-PAST’, bi:tai ‘to.sit.down-PAST’, ddzитай ‘to.get-PAST’

¹⁷ While the past tense forms *sntaz / sndaz* ‘to.die-PAST’ follow the strong conjugation, the negative form *sniŋ* ‘to.die-NEGATIVE’ follows the weak conjugation. This verb thus follows a mixed conjugation, albeit a different one from that of Old Japanese.

¹⁸ This form was elicited in response to Japanese *kirenakatta* ‘to.cut-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE-PAST’, but as it appears to follow the strong conjugation, it may be a form corresponding to *kiranakatta* ‘to.cut-NEGATIVE-PAST’.

Irregular conjugation

- ttai ‘to.come-PAST’, asʔtai / aɛtai ‘to.do-PAST’, aru:tai ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, uru:tai ‘to.be(animate)-PAST’

The Kuninaka dialect

Although only a small number of word forms was obtained, the suffix observed most often is *-taʔ*, irrespective of whether the verb is strong, mixed, weak, or irregular; *-ta:* is used as well.

Strong conjugation

- Ngitaʔ ‘to.go-PAST’, pjaʔtaʔ ‘to.go-PAST’, kavtaʔ ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PAST’, ɸumtaʔ ‘to.put.on(footwear)-PAST’, nivtaʔ ‘to.fall.asleep-PAST’, sʔntaʔ ‘to.die-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- ɛimɛtaʔ ‘to.close-PAST’, okitaʔ ‘to.get.up-PAST’

Weak conjugation

- mi:taʔ ‘to.see-PAST’, tsʔ:ta: ‘to.sell-PAST’, bʔ:ta: / bʔzta: ‘to.sit.down-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- asta:ʔ ‘to.do-PAST’, ataʔ ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’, ɔtaʔ ‘to.be(animate)-PAST’, tateii ɔtaʔ ‘to.stand.up-STATIVE-PAST’

4.1 Past tense forms—discussion (1): on the presence of *onbin*

The sound changes undergone by Heian-era Japanese verb stems that are called ‘*onbin*’ are also observed in the *Omoro Sōshi*¹⁹ and the Northern Ryukyuan languages. ‘*Onbin*’ refers to sound changes involving stem-final consonants and suffixes that have resulted in changes in the paradigms of strong verbs, which acquired alternating stems in the process. Alternate stems are used in past tense and *shite*-continuative forms, which includes derived forms containing a *shite*-continuative as an element.

Neither ‘*-i-onbin*’ in *-k*-stem and *-g*-stem verbs, nor ‘nasal *onbin*’ in *-b*-stem verbs, nor ‘geminating *onbin*’ in *-t*-stem or *-r*-stem verbs are observed in the strong conjugation of the Miyako language. The ‘*-i-onbin*’ seen in *-s*-stem verbs in the Northern Ryukyuan languages are not observed, either. Although the suffix-initial vowel *-i-* is elided in the case of *-m*-stem verbs, ‘nasal *onbin*’ is not observed. Furthermore, the ‘elision *onbin*’ seen in the strong conjugation of the Northern Ryukyuan languages is not observed, either. It can thus be concluded that *onbin* stems need not be posited for Miyako.

¹⁹ *Translator’s note*: a Ryukyuan compilation of poems and songs compiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the *Omoro Sōshi*, the stem-final consonant and the initial vowel *-i-* of the suffix *-ite* are elided in the *shite*-continuatives of *-b*-stem and *-m*-stem verbs, and the *-t-* in the suffix is voiced, resulting in the suffix *-de*: *tsu-de* < *tsuNde* < *tsum-ite* ‘to.pile-CONTINUATIVE’; *era-de* < *eraNde* < *erab-ite* ‘to.choose-CONTINUATIVE’. It is assumed that the syllables *-mi-* and *-bi-* on the boundary between the stem and the suffix collapsed into the moraic nasal *-N-*, which then caused the voicing of the *-t-* in the suffix through assimilation, after which the moraic nasal was elided. The sound changes *-mi-* > *-N-* and *-bi-* > *-N-* occurred before palatalization.

In *-r*-stem verbs, too, the stem-final consonant and the suffix-initial vowel are elided. The stem-final consonant *-r-* and the initial vowel *-i-* of the *shite*-continuative suffix *-ite* are thus elided, but voicing of the *-t-* in the suffix is not observed: *ino-te* < *inoQte* < *inor-ite* ‘to.pray-CONTINUATIVE’. The elision of the suffix-initial vowel *-i-* and the appearance of the geminate element *-Q-* are thought to have occurred before palatalization, after which degemination must have occurred.

In *-w*-stem verbs, the stem-final consonant and the suffix-initial vowel collapsed into the vowel *-u-*, which was then elided. It is thought that Old Japanese intervocalic *-p-* consecutively underwent fricativization, voicing, labial lenition, and *onbin* into *-u-*: *wara-te* < *waraute* < *waraw-ite* ‘to.laugh-CONTINUATIVE’. Both the sound change *-ri-* > *-Q-* and the sound change *-wi-* > *-u-* occurred before palatalization.

In the case of *-k*-stem, *-s*-stem, and *-g*-stem verbs, the stem final consonant and the suffix-initial vowel *-i-* are elided, and the consonant *-t-* in the suffix palatalized into *-tɕ-*: *da-tɕe* < *da-itɕe* < *dak-ite* ‘to.embrace-CONTINUATIVE’; *wata-tɕe* < *wata-itɕe* < *wataɕ-ite* ‘to.transfer-CONTINUATIVE’; *ko-dze* < *ko-idze* < *kog-ite* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’. ‘Elision *onbin*’, in which the stem consonant is elided, is thus observed. Furthermore, the voicing of the suffix-initial consonant into *-dze-* in the case of *-g*-stem verbs is the result of voicing occurring before ‘*-i-onbin*’.

In *-t*-stem verbs, the *-t-* in the suffix is palatalized: *mote-itɕe* < *mote-ite* ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’. Although palatalization and affrication due to the suffix-initial *-i-* are thus observed, any kind of *onbin* is not.

In the weak conjugation, in which stems end in vowels, no *onbin* of any kind has occurred: *ore-te* ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’; *ake-te* ‘to.open-CONTINUATIVE’. In verbs with stems ending in the vowel *-i-*, however, the *-t-* in the suffix is palatalized under the influence of this *-i-*: *mi-tɕe* < *mi-te* ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’; *mitɕi-tɕe* < *mitɕite* ‘to.become.full-CONTINUATIVE’.

The *onbin*-phenomena observed in the *Omoro Sōshi* have been preserved in the Northern Ryukyuan languages:

tudi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, iradi ‘to.choose-CONTINUATIVE’, nudi ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, huti ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, huti ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, ?arati ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, warati ‘to.laugh-CONTINUATIVE’, datʃi ‘to.embrace-CONTINUATIVE’, katʃi ‘to.write-CONTINUATIVE’, kudzi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, tudzi ‘to.sharpen-CONTINUATIVE’, ukutʃi ‘to.raise’, watatʃi ‘to.transfer-CONTINUATIVE’, nitʃi ‘to.boil-CONTINUATIVE’, n:tʃi ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’

Conclusions regarding why the Miyako language does not have *onbin* stems and if this is indicative of its age can as yet not be drawn. When we consider, however, that *onbin*-phenomena are not observed in the Southern Ryukyuan languages and *onbin* had thus not yet occurred when the Southern Ryukyuan languages split from Proto-Ryukyuan, while *onbin* had already occurred in the sixteenth century, when the *Omoro Sōshi* was compiled, it can at least be surmised that the Northern Ryukyuan languages and the Southern Ryukyuan languages had split before the writing of the *Omoro Sōshi*, and that *onbin* occurred in the Northern Ryukyuan languages after this split.

4.2 Past tense forms—discussion (2): the *shi*-continuative form observed in stems

Another aspect of past tense forms that warrants attention is that they appear to consist of *shi*-continuatives to which *-ta*, *-ta:*, *-tai*, or *-tazʃ* has been attached, similarly to pre-*onbin* Old Japanese *shitari* ‘to.do-PAST’, *nomitari* ‘to.drink-PAST’, and *uketari* ‘to.receive-PAST’. Of course, a variety of sound changes have occurred in the Miyako language, so it has not preserved the *shi*-continuative forms of Old Japanese in their original shape.

Shi-continuatives are almost never observed in their original adverbial usage, but rather exclusively as elements in the formation of forms and words; it is therefore possible to determine the phonetic shapes of *shi*-continuative forms in Miyako by looking at the stem portions of Miyako past tense forms.

As I have discussed before (Karimata 1999), forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used as the perfective forms of *-b*-stem, *-k*-stem, and *-g*-stem verbs in the strong conjugation of the dialects of the central and southern regions of Miyakojima, such as those of Hirara and Bora. I concluded from this that the perfective forms of the Miyako language may derive from *shi*-continuative forms. In dialects such as those of Karimata and Ikema, however, forms deriving from *suru*-conclusives or *suru*-adnominals are used as well, as will be discussed below. As past tense forms allow us to identify the shape of *shi*-continuative forms, they also play a key role when investigating the origin of the perfective forms of verbs in Miyako.

As the non-past assertive predicative conclusive (henceforth ‘*su*-conclusive’) and non-past adnominal (henceforth ‘*suru*-adnominal’) forms of the strong conjugation of Old Japanese are

homophonous, it cannot be determined whether the perfective forms of *-*w*-stem verbs such as Bora dialect *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’ and *arau* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’ and Shimajiri dialect *ko:* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’ and *aro:* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’ derive from *su*-conclusives or from *suru*-adnominals. As regards strong conjugation -*m*-stem, -*s*-stem, -*t*-stem, and -*r*-stem verbs in the Miyako language, it cannot be determined whether their perfective forms derive from Old Japanese *shi*-continuatives, *su*-conclusives, or *suru*-adnominals.

Weak conjugation *shi*-continuative and *su*-conclusive forms differ in shape in Old Japanese as well as in Miyako, but as their *su*-conclusive and *suru*-adnominal forms are homophonous both in Old Japanese and in Miyako, it cannot be determined whether perfective forms derive from *su*-conclusives or from *suru*-adnominals. Mixed conjugation *shi*-continuative, *su*-conclusive, and *suru*-adnominal forms, on the other hand, all differ in shape in Old Japanese, and their reflexes in Miyako are different, as well; it is therefore essential to examine Miyako verbs that correspond to Old Japanese mixed verbs.

In the following, we will examine past tense forms by conjugation, covering each of the strong, weak, and mixed conjugations; as regards the strong conjugation, we will look at the shapes taken by -*b*-stem, -*k*-stem, -*g*-stem, and *-*w*-stem verbs.

4.2.1 -*b*-stem verbs

The Japanese -*b*-stem verb past tense form that was included on the survey sheet was *tonda* ‘to.fly-PAST’, but the only past tense forms of a -*b*-stem verb that were obtained in Miyaguni, Kugai, and Ikema were those corresponding to *asonda* ‘to.play-PAST’. Forms with stems deriving from one of the *shi*-continuatives **tobi* and **asobi* were observed at every site; in Karimata and Ikema, respectively, the stems *tuv-* and *æu:-*, which derive from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms **tobu* and **asubu*, were observed in addition to those deriving from *shi*-continuatives.

tubzta: (Bora), tuv^zɣta^zɣ ~ tub^zɣta^zɣ (Uruka), tubɣta: / tubɣtaŋ (Yonaha), tubzta^z / tubztaɣ (Kurima), tubzta: (Shimajiri), tubitaz / tuvtaz (Karimata), asɣp^hɣta: (Miyaguni), aspsta: (Kugai), æibitai ~ æu:tai (Ikema)

4.2.2 -*g*-stem verbs

The Japanese -*g*-stem verb past tense form that was included on the survey sheet was *koida* ‘to.row-PAST’, but the only past tense form of a -*g*-stem verb that was obtained in Miyaguni was the form corresponding to *oyoida* ‘to.swim-PAST’. Forms with stems deriving from one of the *shi*-continuatives **kogi* and **ojogi* were observed at every site; in Karimata, the stem *kuv-*, which

derives from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form **kogu*, was observed in addition to the stem deriving from the *shi*-continuative.

kugzta: (Bora), kugʒtaʒ (Uruka), kuŋta: (Yonaha), kudztaŋ (Kurima), kugʒta: (Kugai), kugzta: (Shimajiri), kugitaz / kuvtaz (Karimata), kugitai (Ikema), u:gʒ:ta: (Miyaguni)

4.2.3 -*k*-stem verbs

The Japanese *-k*-stem verb past tense form that was included on the survey sheet was *itta* ‘to.go-PAST’. Forms with stems deriving from the *shi*-continuative **iki* were observed at every site; in Karimata and Ikema, the stem *if-*, which derives from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form **iku*, was observed in addition to the stem deriving from the *shi*-continuative.

iksta: (Bora), iksʒtaʒ ~ iksta: (Uruka), iksta: / ikʒta: (Miyaguni), ikʒta: (Yonaha), istaŋ (Kurima), ikʒta: (Kugai), iksta: (Shimajiri), iftaz / ikitaz (Karimata), ifutai ~ ikitai (Ikema)

4.2.4 *-*w*-stem verbs

The Japanese **-w*-stem verb past tense forms that were included on the survey sheet were *katta* ‘to.buy-PAST’, *kuratta* ‘to.eat-PAST’, *aratta* ‘to.wash-PAST’, *yotta* ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, and *itta* ‘to.say-PAST’. We will look at word forms corresponding to *katta*. Forms with one of the stems *kau-* and *ko:-*, which derive from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form **kawu*, were observed at every site. In Karimata and Ikema, the stem *kai-*, which derives from the *shi*-continuative **kawi*, was observed in addition to the stems deriving from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form.

kavta: (Bora), kautaʒ (Uruka), kauta: (Miyaguni), ko:ta: (Yonaha), ko:taŋ (Kurima), ko:ta: (Kugai), kauta: (Shimajiri), kaztaz / ko:ta: / ko:taz (Karimata), kautai ~ kavtai ~ kaitai (Ikema)

4.2.5 The weak conjugation

The Japanese weak verb past tense forms that were included on the survey sheet were *mita* ‘to.see-PAST’, *kita* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PAST’, *ketta* ‘to.kick-PAST’, *eta* ‘to.get-PAST’, and *wita* ‘to.sit.down-PAST’. The form corresponding to *ketta* follows the strong conjugation at every site, as does the form corresponding to *kita* at some of them. Below, I give the forms corresponding to *mita*, except for Yonaha, for which I give the form corresponding to *eta*. No weak verb forms were obtained in Uruka, Miyaguni, and Kurima. Past tense forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives were observed, not only for *mita* and *eta*, but for all weak verbs.

mi:ta: (Bora), mi:ta: (Kugai), mi:ta: (Shimajiri), mi:daz (Karimata), mi:tai (Ikema), mi:ta| (Kuninaka), zzita: (Yonaha)

4.2.6 The mixed conjugation

The Japanese mixed verb past tense forms that were included on the survey sheet were *orita* ‘to.get.off-PAST’, *ochita* ‘to.fall-PAST’, *suteta* ‘to.discard-PAST’, *kureta* ‘to.give-PAST’, and *okita* ‘to.get.up-PAST’. We will consider word forms corresponding to *okita*, except for those from Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, and Kurima, where no word forms corresponding to *okita* were obtained; for these dialects, I give the word forms corresponding to *ochita*, instead. Forms with stems deriving from one of the *shi*-continuative forms **oke* and **ote* were observed at every site. Past tense forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives were observed not only for *okita* and *ochita*, but for all mixed verbs.

Although there are two types of mixed verb in Old Japanese, namely those that have *-i* as the stem-final vowel of the *shi*-continuative (‘upper bigrade verbs’) and those that have *-e* (‘lower bigrade verbs’), only one type of mixed verb is observed in the Ryukyuan languages, which has *-e*.

ukita: (Bora), utita^{z1} ~ utita: (Uruka), uc̣ita: (Miyaguni), utita: (Yonaha), uṭita^z (Kurima), ukita: (Kugai), ukita^z / ukita: (Shimajiri), ukita^z (Karimata), ukitai (Ikema), okita| (Kuninaka)

While in all the other dialects forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives are observed for *-b*-stem, *-g*-stem, and *-k*-stem verbs, two kinds of forms coexist in the Karimata and Ikema dialects, namely those with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives and those with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms. Forms with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms are observed for **-w*-stem verbs. As regards mixed and weak verbs, forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives are observed at every site.

The questions of why forms with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms are observed for *-g*-stem and *-k*-stem verbs in the Karimata and Ikema dialects and why forms with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms are observed for **-w*-stem verbs, instead of the expected forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives, must be considered when we examine the perfective forms.

5 Perfective forms

Although the *shi*-continuative and *su*-conclusive forms of the strong and weak conjugation differ in shape in Old Japanese, their *su*-conclusive and *suru*-adnominal forms are homophonous.

Conversely, although the *su*-conclusive forms of the verbs corresponding to *aru* ‘to be (inanimate)’ and *oru* ‘to be (animate)’ differ in shape from their *suru*-adnominal forms in Old Japanese, their *shi*-continuative and *su*-conclusive forms are homophonous. *Shi*-continuative, *su*-conclusive, and *suru*-adnominal forms each take a different shape in the mixed conjugation, as well as in those of the verbs corresponding to *shinu* ‘to die’, *kuru* ‘to come’, and *suru* ‘to do’.

In the case of Miyako, it can be determined whether the perfective forms of *-k*-stem, *-g*-stem, *-b*-stem, and **-w*-stem strong verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives or from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms, but not whether they derive from *su*-conclusives on the one hand or from *suru*-adnominals on the other. Furthermore, as sound changes such as *-mi* > *-m*, *-mu* > *-m*, *-si* > *-s*, *-su* > *-s*, *-tsi* > *-ts*, *-tsu* > *-ts*, *-ri* > *-z*, and *-ru* > *-z* have occurred, it cannot be determined whether the perfective forms of *-m*-stem, *-s*-stem, *-ts*-stem, and *-r*-stem strong verbs as well as those of the irregular verbs corresponding to *suru*, *oru*, and *aru* derive from *shi*-continuatives, *su*-conclusives, or *suru*-adnominals. As regards *sn* ‘to die’, which has changed into a strong verb, it is difficult to determine from which form it derives, as the sound changes *-ni* > *-n* and *-nu* > *-n* have also occurred. As regards the verb corresponding to *kuru*, which follows either the weak or an irregular conjugation, it can be determined whether it derives from a *shi*-continuative or from a *su*-conclusive, but not whether it derives from a *su*-conclusive or from a *suru*-adnominal. It can be determined whether a perfective form derives from a *shi*-continuative, from a *su*-conclusive, or from a *suru*-adnominal only in the case of the mixed conjugation.

In emphatic sentences with the focus particle =*du*, emphatic forms homophonous with adnominal forms and different from the perfective forms used in sentences without =*du* are used in the dialects of Okinawa Island, but in the Miyako language, the same forms are used for the predicate irrespective of whether the focus particle =*du* is used²⁰. For this reason, I will not take into account whether =*du* is used in reporting the perfective forms in this chapter.

- (18) p̄atume: t̄akame: tubz. (Kurima)
pigeon=too hawk=too to.fly-PERFECTIVE (*tobu*)
‘Pigeons and hawks both fly.’
- (19) t̄akanudu tubz. (Kurima)
hawk=NOMINATIVE to.fly-PERFECTIVE (*tobu*)
‘A hawk flies away.’
- (20) sarumai ki:kara utei. (Bora)
monkey=too tree=ABLATIVE to.fall-PERFECTIVE (*ochiru*)

²⁰ I have pointed out that whether a focus particle is used does not determine which conjugated form is used as a conclusive form in an earlier work, as well (Karimata 2011).

‘Even monkeys fall from trees./Even the best sometimes make mistakes.’

(21) m:na umandu uri. (Bora)

everyone there=LOCATIVE to.get.off-PERFECTIVE (*oriru*)

‘Everyone gets off (e.g. the bus) there.’

(22) maznudu ama:tta ari uz²¹. (Shimajiri)

rice=NOMINATIVE much to.be-PROGRESSIVE (*iru*)

‘I have a lot of rice.’

(23) ssuznu arittei taskari: uz. (Shimajiri)

medicine=NOMINATIVE to.be-CONTINUATIVE to.be.saved-PROGRESSIVE (*iru*)

‘I’m lucky to have some medicine.’

The Bora dialect

In the Bora dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are observed for strong (e.g. *tubz* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’), mixed (e.g. *uki* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’), and weak (e.g. *k^sɣ:* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE’) verbs, as well as for the irregular verb *k^sɣ:* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *k^hav* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’). Either a perfective form deriving from a strong conjugation *shi*-continuative or one deriving from a *suru*-adnominal is used for *sɣŋ* ~ *ʃŋ* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’.

Strong conjugation

- *tubz* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, *asɣp^sɣ* ~ *asɣbɣ* ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’, *kugz* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, *iks* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *piz* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *utus* ~ *utusɣ* ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, *idasɣ* ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE’, *mutsɣ* ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, *num* ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, *puzɣ* ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE’, *fɣz* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, *k^sɣ:* ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, *fits* ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, *smaz* ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, *k^hav* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, *fɔv* ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, *arɔv* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, *bju:* ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’, *kaɸ* ~ *kaf* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE’, *fɸ:* ‘to.close-PERFECTIVE’, *niɸ* ‘to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE’, *az* ‘to.say-PERFECTIVE’, *vvɣ* ‘to.sell-PERFECTIVE’, *sɣŋ* ~ *ʃŋ* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’
- *kiz* ‘to.kick-PERFECTIVE’, *k^sɣ:* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE’, *b^zɣ:* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’

²¹ *ari uz*, a combination of the *ari*-continuative form of *az* ‘to be (inanimate)’ and the existential verb *uz* corresponding to Japanese *atte iru* ‘to.be-PROGRESSIVE’, is used for the transient, actual existence of inanimate objects. Further confirmation is needed in regard to the details of this form.

Mixed conjugation

- *stei* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’, *uri* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE’, *utei* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’, *ffi:* ‘to.give-PERFECTIVE’, *uki* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’
- *mi:* ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’, *i:* ‘to.get-PERFECTIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *k^sɿ:* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *sɿ:* ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *uz ~ u:* ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’, *aɿ* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE’, *nja:ŋ* ‘to be absent’

The Uruka dialect

In the Uruka dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *asɿp^si* ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’), as well as for the irregular verb *ksɿ:* / *ks^sɿ:* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’. Only a small number of examples of mixed verbs were obtained, but *ɕti* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’ appears to derive from a *shi*-continuative. No examples of weak verbs were obtained. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’).

Strong conjugation

- *asɿp^si* ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’, *kugu^sɿ* / *kugu^zɿ* ²² ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, *ik^sɿ* / *ikɿs* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *fu^zɿ* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, *utusɿ* ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, *idasɿ* ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE’, *mutsi* ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, *ks^zɿ* ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, *sɿmari* ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE ²³’, *pu^zi* ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE’, *num* ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, *fou* / *fau* ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, *arau* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, *murau* ‘to.receive-PERFECTIVE’ *bju:* ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’, *kav* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE’, *v:* / *vuv* ‘to.sell-PERFECTIVE’, *ki^zɿ* ‘to.kick-PERFECTIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- *ɕti* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’, *urittea:* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE-QUOTATIVE (evidential?)’, *utidu* *sɿ:* / *sɿ^zɿ* ‘to.fall=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE’

Weak conjugation

(no data)

Irregular conjugation

- *ksɿ:* / *ks^zɿ:* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *sɿ:* / *sɿ^zɿ* ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *u^zɿ* ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’

²² The obtained word forms suggest a derivation from either **kogoru* or **kogori*.

²³ *sɿmari* may correspond to Japanese *shibare* ‘to.tie.up-IMPERATIVE’.

The Miyaguni dialect

In the Miyaguni dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *ik^si* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’), as well as for the irregular verb *kī*: ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’. Only a small number of examples of mixed verbs were obtained, but *uci* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’ appears to derive from a *shi*-continuative. No examples of weak verbs were obtained. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’).

Strong conjugation

- *butukⁱ* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, *kugi* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, *ik^si* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *fu^ɲ* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, *ut^usu* ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, *idaei* ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE’, *kⁱsi* ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, *m^ot^s^ɲ* ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, *arau* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, *φ^au* / *φ^oo* ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, *bⁱu*: *du^s^ɲ*: ‘to.get.drunk=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *u*: / *uv* ‘to.sell-PERFECTIVE’, *kiz* ‘to.kick-PERFECTIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- *sⁱciu* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE²⁴’, *uriru* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE²⁵’, *uci* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’, *φⁱ*: ‘to.give-PERFECTIVE’,

Weak conjugation

(no data)

Irregular conjugation

- *kī*: ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *u*: ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’

The Yonaha dialect

In the Yonaha dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *kug^ɲ* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’), as well as for the irregular verb *k^ɲs^ɲ* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’. Only a small number of examples of mixed verbs were obtained, but *uti*: ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a *shi*-continuative, while *suti^z^ɲ* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’ appears to derive from a *suru*-adnominal. No examples of weak verbs were obtained. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *ko*: ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’).

²⁴ *sⁱciu* may correspond to Japanese *sutete iru* ‘to.discard-PROGRESSIVE’.

²⁵ *uriru* may correspond to Japanese *oriro* ‘to.get.off-IMPERATIVE’.

Strong conjugation

- tubɔdu sɪ ‘to.fly=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE’, kugɪ ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, ik*ɪ ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, utusɪ ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, idasɪ ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE’, mutsɪ ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, num ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, puzɪ ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE’, ffɪ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, kɪsɪ ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, sɪmaɪ ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, ko: ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, fo: ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, aro: ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, bju: ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’, kɪ:dusu / kizɪ ‘to.kick-PERFECTIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- sutiʔɪ ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’, uriru ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE²⁶’, uti: ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’

Weak conjugation

(no data)

Irregular conjugation

- kɪsɪ ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, sɪ ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, uɪ ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’

The Kurima dialect

In the Kurima dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubz* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’), as well as for the irregular verb *tsɪ* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’. Perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals are used for mixed verbs (e.g. *uriʔɪ* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE’). Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *ko:* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’).

Strong conjugation

- tubz ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, aspi ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE²⁷’, kudzɪ ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, its / itsɪ ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, utɔsɪ ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, idaɛ: ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE²⁸’, mutsu / mutsɪ ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, num ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, puɪ ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE’, ffɔ ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, samaɪ²⁹ ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, tsɪ / tsɪɪ ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, v: ‘to.sell-PERFECTIVE’, ko: ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, fo: ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, muroa ‘to.receive-PERFECTIVE’, aroa ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, bju: ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’
- kiz / kiɪ ‘to.kick-PERFECTIVE’

²⁶ *uriru* may correspond to Japanese *oriro* ‘to.get.off-IMPERATIVE’.

²⁷ *aspi* may correspond to Japanese *asobe* ‘to.play-IMPERATIVE’.

²⁸ *idaɛ:* may correspond to Japanese *dase* ‘to.put.out-IMPERATIVE’.

²⁹ Perhaps *smaɪ*.

Mixed conjugation

- *stiŋ* / *stiz* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’, *uriʔŋ* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE’, *utidus* / *utidusŋ* ‘to.fall=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *utimdo:* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE=FOCUS’, *fi:ŋ* ‘to.give-PERFECTIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *tssŋ* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *nja:ŋ* ‘to be absent’

The Kugai dialect

In the Kugai dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubʔŋ* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’), as well as for the irregular verb *kʂŋsŋ* / *ks:* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’. Perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals are used for mixed (e.g. *ukiz* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’) and weak (e.g. *mi:z* ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’) verbs. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *ko:* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’). A perfective form deriving from a strong conjugation *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form is used for *ʂŋ* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’.

Strong conjugation

- *tubʔŋ* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, *asps* ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’, *kugʔŋ* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, *ikʂŋ* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *utasŋ* ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, *idas* ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE’, *muts* ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, *num* ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, *sŋmaʔŋ* ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, *puz* ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE’, *fuʔŋ* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, *kjei* ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, *kiʔŋ* ‘to.kick-PERFECTIVE’, *ko:* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, *moro:* ‘to.receive-PERFECTIVE’, *fo:* ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, *bju:* ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’, *aro:* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, *kav* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE’, *ffʊ* ‘to.close-PERFECTIVE’, *niʔ* ‘to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE’, *v:* ‘to.sell-PERFECTIVE’, *andz* ‘to.say-PERFECTIVE’, *ʂŋ* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *ukiz* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’, *stiʔŋ* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’, *uriʔŋ* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE’, *utiʔŋ* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’, *fi:z* ‘to.give-PERFECTIVE’, *ukiz* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’
- *mi:z* ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’, *biziz* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’, *kieiz* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *kʂŋsŋ* / *ks:* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *ss* ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *u:* ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’, *az* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE’, *nja:ŋ* ‘to be absent’

The Shimajiri dialect

In the Shimajiri dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubz* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, *kugz* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’), as well as for the irregular verb *ss* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’. Perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals are used for mixed verbs. For *uriz* / *uri* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE’, however, a perfective form deriving from a *suru*-adnominal and one deriving from a *shi*-continuative appear to coexist. As regards weak verbs, *mi:z* ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a *suru*-adnominal, while *bz:* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a *shi*-continuative. As only a small number of examples was obtained, a definitive conclusion cannot be drawn. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs. A perfective form deriving from a mixed conjugation *suru*-adnominal is used for *sniz* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’.

Strong conjugation

- *tubz* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, *kugz* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, *iks* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *ffu* / *ff* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, *utus* ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, *kizdus* ‘to.kick=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *kss* ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, *fgz* ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, *puz* ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE’, *muts* ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, *v:* ‘to.sell-PERFECTIVE’, *nun* ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, *fau* / *fao* / *fo:* ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, *apps* ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’, *bju:* ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’, *arau* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, *kav* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE’, *ff* / *ffu* ‘to.close-PERFECTIVE’, *niy* ‘to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE’, *az* ‘to.say-PERFECTIVE’, *bz:* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *steiz* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’, *uriz* / *uri* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE’, *uteiz* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’, *ffi:z* ‘to.give-PERFECTIVE’, *zziz* ‘to.get-PERFECTIVE’, *ukiz* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’, *sniz* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’
- *mi:z* ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’, *ss* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *ss* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *ss* ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *az* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE’, *uz* ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’, *nja:ŋ* ‘to be absent’

The Karimata dialect

In the Karimata dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives (*tubi* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’) and perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms (*tuv* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’) coexist for strong verbs. For mixed verbs (*utei* / *utiz* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’), too, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives and perfective forms

deriving from *suru*-adnominals coexist. As regards weak verbs, *mi*: ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a *shi*-continuative, while *bz:z* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a *suru*-adnominal. It cannot be determined from which form *kss*: ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)’ derives. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *ko*: ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’). A perfective form deriving from a mixed conjugation *suru*-adnominal is used for *snɿz* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’. The perfective form used for the irregular verb *ffu* / *ff* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’ may derive either from a *su*-conclusive or from a *suru*-adnominal; a definitive conclusion cannot be drawn.

Strong conjugation

- *tubi* / *tuv* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, *asuvi* / *asv* ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’, *kugi* / *kuv* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, *ifu* / *if* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *utasɿ*: / *utaʃ* ‘to.drop-PERFECTIVE’, *idas* ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE’, *mutsɿ* / *muts* ‘to.carry-PERFECTIVE’, *num* ~ *nuɿ* ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, *ffu* / *fv*: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, ^ɸ*ɸɿ* / ^ɸ*ɸ*: / *puz* ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE’, *kiri* / *kss* ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, *sɿmari* / *smaz* ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, *ko*: ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, *aro*: ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, *fo*: / ^ɸ*o*: ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, *bɿu*: / *bɿu:z* ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’, *kavvi* / *kav* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE’, *ffi* ‘to.close-PERFECTIVE’, *niv* ‘to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE’, *az* ‘to.say-PERFECTIVE’, *ɸ*: ‘to.sell-PERFECTIVE’, *ki*: / *ks:dus* ‘to.kick-PERFECTIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *uriz* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE’, *utei* / *utɿz* ‘to.fall-PERFECTIVE’, *ukɿ* ~ *ukɿz* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’, *fɿ* / *fɿ* / *fɿ*: ‘to.give-PERFECTIVE’, *siti* / *situdu* / *sɿtɿ* ‘to.discard-PERFECTIVE’, *kadz:z* ‘to.dig-PERFECTIVE/to.nibble-PERFECTIVE’, *snɿz* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’
- *mi*: ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’, *kss*: ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE’, *bz:z* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’, *izitaʔɿ* / *zzidaz* ‘to.get-PERFECTIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *ffu* / *ff* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *as* ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *uz* ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’, *az* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE’, *nɿa:ɿ* ‘to be absent’

The Ikema dialect

In the Ikema dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubi* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’). Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’). As only a small number of examples were obtained, a definitive conclusion cannot be drawn, but the perfective forms used

for mixed verbs (e.g. *uki*: ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’) seemingly derive from *shi*-continuatives. The possibility that they derive from *suru*-adnominals can at present not be denied, however.

Weak verb forms such as *bizi* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’ also seem to derive from *shi*-continuatives, although the possibility that they derive from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms can at present not be denied, either. More examples of mixed and weak verb forms have to be obtained and the sound changes that have occurred in the Ikema dialect must be examined. The perfective form *ɛini* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’ seems to derive from a mixed conjugation *shi*-continuative.

Strong conjugation

- *tubi* ‘to.fly-PERFECTIVE’, *kugi* ‘to.row-PERFECTIVE’, *ifu* ‘to.go-PERFECTIVE’, *idaɛi* ‘to.put-PERFECTIVE’, *kiri* ‘to.cut-PERFECTIVE’, *numi* / *nun* ‘to.drink-PERFECTIVE’, *sīmai* ‘to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE’, *fu*: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE’, *kau* ‘to.buy-PERFECTIVE’, *fau* / *fau* ‘to.eat-PERFECTIVE’, *arau* ‘to.wash-PERFECTIVE’, *bju:i* ‘to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE’, *kavvi* / *kavvi* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE’, *ffi* ‘to.close-PERFECTIVE’, *njivvi* ‘to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE’, *addzi* ‘to.say-PERFECTIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *fi*: ‘to.give-PERFECTIVE’, *uki*: ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’, *ɛini* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’, *uriru* ‘to.get.off-PERFECTIVE³⁰’
- *bizi* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’, *ɬɣ:* / *ɬɣi* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *fu*: ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’, *assɿ* / *aɛɛi* ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, *urijui* / *uri:ui* ³¹ ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’, *ari:jui* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE’, *nja:N* ‘to be absent’

The Kuninaka dialect

Only a small number of examples of strong verbs were obtained for the Kuninaka dialect; moreover, only examples of which it is difficult to determine whether they derive from *shi*-continuatives or from *su*-conclusives were obtained. The mixed verb example *okiɿ* ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’ seems to derive from a *suru*-adnominal.

Strong conjugation

- *kaɸ* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE’, *aɿ* ‘to.say-PERFECTIVE’, *sɿN* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’, *ɬɣ:* / *ɬɣ:i* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE’, *bɿ:* / *bizi* / *bɿzɿ* ‘to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE’

³⁰ *uriru* may correspond to Japanese *oriro* ‘to.get.off-IMPERATIVE’.

³¹ /ui/ is used as an auxiliary verb in continuous aspect forms, such as *tubiui* ‘to.fly-PROGRESSIVE’.

Weak conjugation

- okil / okilli ‘to.get.up-PERFECTIVE’, eimidzi ‘to.close-PERFECTIVE’
- mi:dzi ‘to.see-PERFECTIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- asɿ ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’, ol ‘to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE’, al ‘to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE’, nʲa:N ‘to be absent’

5.1 Summary of perfective forms

Regarding the origin of the perfective forms of the Miyako language, it has been thought that forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives functioned both as perfective forms and as adnominal forms, on the basis of sound correspondences between these forms in the dialect of the urban area of former Hirara City (Nishizato, Shimozato, Higashi-Nakasone, and Nishi-Nakasone; henceforth just the ‘Hirara dialect’) and the *shi*-continuatives of Japanese. I have taken this view in previous work, as well (Karimata 1990). Until now, however, discussion has been limited to the strong conjugation; moreover, it has only taken into account the south-western dialects of Miyako, spoken for example in former Gusukube Town, former Ueno Village, and former Shimoji Town, centering on the Hirara dialect. In this section, we additionally considered the Karimata and Ikema dialects, and although the number of examples was limited, we examined data regarding the weak and mixed conjugations and looked at the derivations of the assertive forms of Miyako verbs.

- (i) In all of the dialects except for those of Karimata and Ikema, the perfective forms of *-k*-stem, *-g*-stem, and *-b*-stem verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives.
- (ii) In the Karimata and Ikema dialects, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives and perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms coexist for strong verbs.
- (iii) For **-w*-stem verbs, perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used.
- (iv) The Ikema form *einʲi* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a mixed conjugation *shi*-continuative, while the Karimata form *snʲz* ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a mixed conjugation *suru*-adnominal.
- (v) In the Bora, Kurima, and Ikema dialects, the perfective forms of weak verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives, while in the Kugai dialect, the perfective forms of weak verbs derive from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms.
- (vi) In the Bora, Miyaguni, and Ikema dialects, the perfective forms of mixed verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives, while in the Kurima and Shimajiri dialects, the perfective forms

of mixed verbs derive from *suru*-adnominals. In the Karimata dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives and perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals coexist for mixed verbs.

- (vii) In the Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, Kurima, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects, the perfective form of the irregular verb corresponding to *kuru* ‘to.come-PERFECTIVE’ derives from a *shi*-continuative. In the Karimata and Ikema dialects, the perfective form of the irregular verb corresponding to *kuru* seems to derive from a *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form.
- (viii) It cannot be determined whether the perfective forms of *-m*-stem, *-s*-stem, *-ts*-stem, and *-r*-stem strong verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives, from *su*-conclusives, or from *suru*-adnominals.

More examples of verb forms from the sites reported on in this chapter have to be obtained, and it must be determined what sound changes have occurred in each of the dialects; moreover, further research at an increased number of survey sites is necessary. Although the extent to which we can draw conclusions is thus limited, it is possible to identify within the whole of the data forms deriving specifically from *shi*-continuatives as well as forms deriving specifically from *suru*-adnominals, while no dialects or verbs are found for which forms deriving specifically from *su*-conclusives can be identified³².

6 *Ari*-continuative forms

Among the continuative forms of the Miyako language, the one that is most similar in function to the Japanese *shite*-continuative is the *ari*-continuative. *Ari*-continuatives can be used as independent constituents for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates to express how two actions take place in succession, either in a subordinate or in a non-subordinate manner. The *ari*-continuative can also be used for forming compound predicates. In these respects, it corresponds to the Japanese *shite*-continuative.

- (24) ki:nu va:gun nu:ri n:to: utaɛi fi:ru. (Karimata)
 tree=GENITIVE top=LOCATIVE to.climb-CONTINUATIVE fruit=ACCUSATIVE
 to.drop-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE (*nobotte*)

³² The mixed conjugation form *ukiN* ‘to get up’ and the weak conjugation form *mi:N* ‘to see’ of the Ishigaki dialect of the Yaeyama language seem to be forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives with *-N* suffixed to them, while *ukiruN* ‘to get up’ and *mi:ruN* ‘to see’ seem to be forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals with *-N* suffixed to them.

- ‘Climb the tree and drop some fruit.’
- (25) tuzzu smari kagoŋkai iziru. (Karimata)
 chicken=ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE cage=LOCATIVE to.put.in-IMPERATIVE
 (*shibatte*)
 ‘Tie up the chicken and put it into the cage.’
- (26) tavkia:aidu fŋʷu: kuŋi ksta:. (Bora)
 one.person=INSTRUMENTAL boat=ACCUSATIVE to.row-CONTINUATIVE to.come-PAST
 (*koidē*)
 ‘I rowed the boat by myself.’
- (27) ki:n nu:ri: nazzu utuŋi fi:ru. (Bora)
 tree=LOCATIVE to.climb-CONTINUATIVE fruit=ACCUSATIVE to.drop-CONTINUATIVE
 to.give-IMPERATIVE (*otoshite*)
 ‘Climb the tree and drop some fruit.’
- (28) kaŋa: bʷu:itti cununu kʷtʷ: bassii uŋ. (Kurima)
 he=TOPIC to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE yesterday=GENITIVE thing=TOPIC
to.forget-STATIVE (*wasurete*)
 ‘He got drunk, so he has forgotten about yesterday.’

Formally, the Miyako *ari*-continuative does not correspond to the *shite*-continuative. At first glance, it appears to correspond to the *shi*-continuative of Old Japanese. If the Miyako *ari*-continuative corresponded to the Japanese *shi*-continuative, the fact that sound changes such as *-ki* > *-ks*, *-gi* > *-gz*, *-bi* > *-bz*, *-mi* > *-m*, *-si* > *-s*, *-tei* > *-ts*, and *-ri* > *-z* have occurred in many of the dialects of Miyako would lead us to expect the *ari*-continuative forms of strong verbs to be identical to the *shi*-continuative forms contained in their past tense forms that were discussed above, such as *kaks* ‘to.write-CONTINUATIVE’, *kugz* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, *tubz* ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, *num* ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, *utus* ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, *mutz* ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, and *puz* ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’. Formally, however, the *ari*-continuative does not correspond to the *shi*-continuatives of Japanese and the Northern Ryukyuan languages. The *shi*-continuative forms used in the Miyako language as elements in the formation of words and forms differ formally from *ari*-continuative forms. Let us take a look at the kinds of forms observed for the *ari*-continuative.

The Bora dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, asɣpi: ~ asɣbi: ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, kugi / kugʻi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, iki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, idaei ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, utuei ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, puri ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’, kiei ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, mutei ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, numi ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, arai ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, bʲu:i ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, vvi: ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, kavvi: ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, nivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, ftei ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, azzi: ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’
- sɣnʲi ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’, kiei ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, bizi: ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- fi: ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, utei ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, sumi: ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, uki: ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, stei ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’
- mi: ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, i: ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- kiei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, ei: ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, ari: ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, uri ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Uruka dialect

Strong conjugation

- tuvi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, asɣpi ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, kugi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, iki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, utuei ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, idafɣi ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, muɣɣi ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, numi ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, puri ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, sɣmari ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, kɣei / kiei ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, arai ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, murai ‘to.receive-CONTINUATIVE’, bʲu:i ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, vvi ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, kavvi ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’
- kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uti ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, sɣti ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- k_iɛi / kiei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Miyaguni dialect

Strong conjugation

- t_ubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, ku_gi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, i_ki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, ut_usi ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, k_iʃi ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, s_imari ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, p_ori ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, ida_eitei³³ ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, mo_te_i ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, k^hai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, u_vi ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, mo_rai ‘to.receive-CONTINUATIVE’, n_omi ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, ɸai ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, as_ɲpi ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, ara_i ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’
- kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- ɸii ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, s_it_si ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, uc_ɲ ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- k_iʃi ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Yonaha dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, appi ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, iki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, numi: ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, utu_ei ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, mut_ei ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, s_ɲmari ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, puri ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, k_ɲe_i ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, v_vi ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, ke: ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, bju:i ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, are: ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’
- kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uti ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, s_ɲti ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, ɲzi ‘to.put.in-CONTINUATIVE’, pi_ŋgi ‘to.flee-CONTINUATIVE’, fi: ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’
- zzi ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- k_ɲe_i ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

³³ When compared to other word forms, it appears that this may be a *shite*-continuative form.

The Kurima dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, kugi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, iki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, idasi ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, utuēi ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, mutēi ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, tejei ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, smari ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, puri ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, nu:ri: ‘to.climb-CONTINUATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, vvi ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, murai ‘to.receive-CONTINUATIVE’, numi ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’
- kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uti ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, sti ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, fi: ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, piŋgi ‘to.flee-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- tejei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Kugai dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, aspi / aspi: ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, numi ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, kugi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, u:gi ‘to.swim-CONTINUATIVE’, iki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, ka:raki ‘to.dry.up-CONTINUATIVE’, utaei ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, idaei ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, mutei ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, smari ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, puri ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, javvi: ‘to.tear-CONTINUATIVE’, furi: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, nu:ri ‘to.climb-CONTINUATIVE’, vvi: ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, kiei ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, bu:i ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, tskai ‘to.use-CONTINUATIVE’, arai ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, kavvi ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, nivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, tatei: ‘to.stand.up-CONTINUATIVE’, andzi ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’
- kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’
- sn’i ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uti ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, fa:sari ‘to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE’, uki: ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, ŋzi ‘to.put.in-CONTINUATIVE’, piŋgi ‘to.flee-CONTINUATIVE’, fi: ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, sŋti ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’

- mi: ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, bizi ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’, zzi ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’,
kiei ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- kiei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, ei: ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, ari:
‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, uri: ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Shimajiri dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, appi ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, kugi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’,
ujagi ‘to.swim-CONTINUATIVE’, iki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, utuei ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’,
idaei ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, mutei ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, numi
‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, piri ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’,
kiei ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, vvi ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, fgzzi ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’,
puri ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, kavvi ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi
‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, b’u:i
‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, arai ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, nivvi
‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, azzi ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’
- kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- uki ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, st̄ei
‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, utei ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, izi: ‘to.put.in-CONTINUATIVE’, sskai
‘to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE’, bāei ‘to.forget-CONTINUATIVE’, fi: ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’,
pīngi ‘to.flee-CONTINUATIVE’
- sn̄i ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’
- mi: ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, bizi ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’, eei ‘to.put.on(e.g.
clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, zzi ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- eei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, ei: ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, uri ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Karimata dialect

Strong conjugation

- asbi ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, tubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, numi ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’,
kugi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, uigi ‘to.swim-CONTINUATIVE’, iki ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, idaei
‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, utaei ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, mutei ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’,
ffi ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, kiei ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, smari

‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, puri ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, kadzi
 ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE/to.nibble-CONTINUATIVE’, vvi ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, kavvi
 ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, nivvi ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi
 ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, fai ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, b’u:i
 ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, arai ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, azzi ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’

- kiri ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- uri ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uti ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, uki ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, eiti
 ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, fi: ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, piŋgi ‘to.flee-CONTINUATIVE’, baeei
 ‘to.forget-CONTINUATIVE’, eikari ‘to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE’
- mi: ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, izi ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’, bizi ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’,
 kiei ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’
- sn’i ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- kiei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, aei ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, ari
 ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, uri ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’,

The Ikema dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, aeibi: ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, numi: ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’,
 kugi ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, u:gi ‘to.swim-CONTINUATIVE’, iki: / ik̄i: ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’,
 ka:ki ‘to.dry.up-CONTINUATIVE’, utaçi / utaçi: ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, idaçi:
 ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, muti: ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, nu:ri: ‘to.climb-CONTINUATIVE’,
 ffi: ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, kiri: ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, s̄imari:
 ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, furi: ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, vvi: ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, kavvi /
 kavvi: ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, ffi: ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, sadari:
 ‘to.precede-CONTINUATIVE’, nivvi / nivvi: ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, hari:
 ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, kai ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, arai ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, fai
 ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, b’u:i ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, ad̄zi: ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’,
 kiri: ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- uki: ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, uri / uri: ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uti:
 ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, s̄iti: ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, baeei ‘to.forget-CONTINUATIVE’,
 hikai: ‘to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE’, ç̄iŋgi ‘to.flee-CONTINUATIVE’, s̄imi: / s̄umi:
 ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, fi: ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, d̄zi ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’

- mi: ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, tti: ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, bizi: ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’, ein’i ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’,

Irregular conjugation

- tti ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, çï: ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, ari: ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, uri ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Kuninaka dialect

Strong conjugation

- kavvi: ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, ni’vvi: ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, a’zi: ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’
- s’ni: ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’
- tci: ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, bizi: ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- okii ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, p’kaii ‘to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE’, eimii / eimi ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, taskari ‘to.be.saved-CONTINUATIVE’
- mi: ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ei: ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, arii ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, ore: ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

In the Miyako language, *ari*-continuatives of strong verbs are formed by suffixing *-i* to stems ending in consonants, while those of weak verbs are identical in shape to base stems ending in vowels. Both the suffix used for strong verbs and the final vowel observed in weak verbs derive from *e*.

As will be discussed below, it is thought that the *ari*-continuative arose through the grammaticization of *shi*-continuatives to which the *shi*-continuative form of the existential verb *az* had been suffixed, in which these were fused together, but this can not yet be said to be certain³⁴. Further surveys and research into these forms in Miyako and the dialects of the Yaeyama language are needed.

6.1 Characteristics of *ari*-continuative forms

Although their origins are different, the grammatical behavior of the Miyako *ari*-continuative is identical to that of the *shite*-continuative of the Northern Ryukyuan languages. Not only are they

³⁴ Mitsunari Nakama (1982) views the Miyako forms in question as *shite*-continuatives.

used for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates, they are also used identically as elements in, for example, continuous aspect forms, forms expressing attempts such as *numi mi:ru* ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE to.see-IMPERATIVE’ and *tubi mi:ro* ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE to.see-IMPERATIVE’, and benefactive forms such as *sti fi:ro* ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE’ and *tejei fi:ru* ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE’.

Continuous aspect forms such as *aeibi ui* ‘to.play-PROGRESSIVE’ and *ffi uɿ* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PROGRESSIVE’, which are analytical forms combining *ari*-continuatives with the existential verb *uz* or *u:*, coexist with fused, synthetic forms such as *aeib'u:i* ‘to.play-PROGRESSIVE’ and *f'u:zɿ* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PROGRESSIVE’. The continuous aspect forms of action verbs in examples (29)–(32) express a continuing action of the subject referent³⁵, while those of inchoative verbs in examples (33)–(40) express a continuing state resulting from a change in the subject referent³⁶. How the semantics of the continuous aspect are realized is also similar to how they are realized with the *shite*-continuative of the Northern Ryukyuan languages³⁷.

Continuing action of the subject referent

- (29) *ffaf naik'ata:çi: aran aeibi ui / aeib'u:i.* (Ikema)
to.be.dark-INFINITIVE to.become=TERMINATIVE outside=LOCATIVE to.play-PROGRESSIVE
(*asonde iru*)
‘I’m playing outside until it gets dark.’
- (30) *mainitei tereb'u: mi: jui.* (Ikema)
every.day television=ACCUSATIVE to.see-PROGRESSIVE (*mite iru*)
‘I’m watching television every day.’
- (31) *nama: aminudu ffi uɿ / f'u:zɿ.* (Uruka)
now=TOPIC rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-PROGRESSIVE (*futte iru*)
‘It’s raining now.’
- (32) *nnama: aminudu fju: / ffju:.* (Karimata)
now=TOPIC rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-PROGRESSIVE (*futte iru*)
‘It’s raining now.’

³⁵ *Translators note:* in glosses, this usage is represented as ‘progressive’.

³⁶ *Translators note:* in glosses, this usage is represented as ‘stative’.

³⁷ There is also a continuous aspect form that combines the *ari*-continuative form of the existential verb *az* with *uz*, which expresses a transient state existing at the time of the utterance.

maznu ama:tta ari uz. (Shimajiri)

rice=NOMINATIVE much to.be-PROGRESSIVE ‘I have a lot of rice.’

kumanna ka:nu arju:ta:. (Kugai)

here=LOCATIVE=TOPIC well=NOMINATIVE to.be-PROGRESSIVE-PAST ‘There used to be a well here.’

Continuing state resulting from a change in the subject referent

- (33) upuaminu ffitteidu pja:rinu tsudzukiu:. (Bora)
 heavy.rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-CONTINUATIVE drought=NOMINATIVE
to.continue-STATIVE (*tsuzuite iru*)
 ‘After the heavy rain, there has continued to be a drought.’
- (34) ka:ja: bju:ittidu k*ɲnu:nu kutu:ba baeɛidu uɲ. (Uruka)
 he=TOPIC to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE yesterday=GENITIVE thing=TOPIC
to.forget-STATIVE (*wasurete iru*)
 ‘He got drunk, so he has forgotten about yesterday.’
- (35) gaba:aminu ffi: ntanu ka:ki jui. (Karimata)
 heavy.rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-CONTINUATIVE earth=NOMINATIVE to.dry.up-STATIVE
 (*kawaite iru*)
 ‘After the heavy rain, the soil has dried up.’
- (36) ka:ja: ksnunu kutu:ba: baeɛi uɲ. (Ikema)
 he=TOPIC yesterday=GENITIVE thing=TOPIC to.forget-STATIVE (*wasurete iru*)
 ‘He has forgotten about yesterday.’
- (37) bo:ɛu: utueiteidu tuzga ikiu:ta:. (Bora)
 hat=ACCUSATIVE to.drop-CONTINUATIVE to.get=DATIVE to.go-STATIVE-PAST (*itte ita*)
 ‘I had dropped my hat and was on my way to get it.’
- (38) bututuzza jamakasa numi:du bju:i uta:. (Kugai)
 day.before.yesterday=TOPIC much to.drink-CONTINUATIVE to.get.drunk-STATIVE-PAST
 (*yotte ita*)
 ‘The day before yesterday, I had drank a lot and was drunk.’
- (39) einei:ja bizieitidu, ffanukja:ja tatei: uta:. (Kugai)
 teacher=TOPIC to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE child=PLURAL=TOPIC
to.stand.up-STATIVE-PAST (*tatte ita*)
 ‘The teacher was sitting, while the children were standing.’
- (40) ku:mujamai sni:du jumunumai sni u:. (Kugai)
 cockroach=too to.die-CONTINUATIVE mouse=too to.die-STATIVE (*shinde iru*)
 ‘The cockroach is dead, as is the mouse.’

Although the phonetic forms are different, the tense and aspect contrasts displayed by Miyako verbs are similar to the binary contrasts of the eastern Japanese languages (Modern Japanese).

	Non-past	Past
Perfective	asps ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’ sn ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’	aspsta: ‘to.play-PAST’ snta: ‘to.die-PAST’
Continuous	aspju: ‘to.play-PROGRESSIVE’ snju: ‘to.die-STATIVE’	aspju:ta: ‘to.play-PROGRESSIVE-PAST’ snju:ta: ‘to.die-STATIVE-PAST’

Table 6. Tense and aspect in the Bora dialect.

Miyako *ari*-continuatives can be used as sentence-final predicates to express past events; in this, too, they are similar to the *shite*-continuatives of the Northern Ryukyuan languages. In the case of the dialects of Okinawa Island, the *shite*-continuative is used for past perfective polar questions, while in the dialects of Amami Ōshima, the *shite*-continuative is used for the past indicative. I hope to discuss this matter in more detail at a later time.

- (41) kju:ja tubansuga ksno: tubi. (Karimata)
today=TOPIC to.fly-NEGATIVE=CONCESSIVE yesterday=TOPIC to.fly-PAST
Although they won’t fly today, they flew yesterday.
- (42) ksnumaidu iŋgaija iki. (Karimata)
yesterday=too sea=ALLATIVE=TOPIC to.go-PAST
‘I went to the sea yesterday, too.’
- (43) ksno aminudu ffi / fftaz. (Karimata)
yesterday=TOPIC rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-PAST
‘Yesterday, it rained.’

6.2 The origins of *ari*-continuative forms

Ari-continuatives are also observed in the dialects of Okinawa Island. In the dialects of central and southern Okinawa Island, *ari*-continuatives function as non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences, but they are not used to form a variety of grammatical forms as in the Miyako language. In the Shuri dialect, the *ari*-continuative takes the shape of *numa:ni* or *numa:i*; according to the *Okinawago Jiten (A Dictionary of Okinawan*; National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (ed.) 1963), *numa:i* is the older form.

The *ari*-continuatives of the dialects of Iheya and Izena seem to resemble that of Miyako the most. Like in Miyako, *ari*-continuative forms display degree of productivity in the Iheya and Izena dialects, being used not only as predicates in compound sentences, but also as elements in forming words and forms such as continuous aspect forms.

	'to.write -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.play -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.get.up -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.get.off -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.wash -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.resemble -CONTINUATIVE'
Shuri dialect	katʃa:i	ʔafɪba:i	ʔukija:i	ʔurija:i	ʔaraja:i	nija:i
Iheya dialect	katʃe:	ʔafine:	ʔukije:	ʔurije:	ʔaraje:	nije:
Hirara dialect	kaki:	aspi:	uki:	uri:	arai:	ni:
Ishigaki dialect	kaki:	asɸbi:	uke:	ure:	araja:	nija:

Table 7. *Ari*-continuative forms in the dialects of Okinawa and the Miyako and Yaeyama languages.

- (44) ʔamaNdʒi ʔafine: hwa:.. (Gakiya, Iheya Village)
 over.there=LOCATIVE to.play-CONTINUATIVE to.come-IMPERATIVE (*asonde*)
 ‘Go play over there.’
- (45) ʔutuhe: hu:.. (Jitchaku, Izena Village)
to.drop-CONTINUATIVE to.come-IMPERATIVE (*otoshite*)
 ‘Go drop it.’
- (46) ʔwidʒe: watataN. (Shomi, Izena Village)
to.swim-CONTINUATIVE to.cross-PAST (*oyoide*)
 ‘I swam across.’
- (47) bo:ʃi hauje: ʔattʃuN. (Gakiya)
 hat to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE to.walk-PERFECTIVE (*kabutte*)
 ‘I walk with a hat on.’
- (48) ʔnaNma ʔaminu hujo:N. (Shomi)
 now rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-PROGRESSIVE (*futte iru*)
 ‘It’s raining now.’
- (49) ʔnama ʔami hujoN. (Shimajiri)
 now rain to.fall-PROGRESSIVE (*futte iru*)
 ‘It’s raining now.’
- (50) hunu ʔiʃi kije: Nri. (Gakiya)
 this stone to.kick-CONTINUATIVE to.see-IMPERATIVE (*kette miro*)
 ‘Try kicking this stone.’

In the dialects of Gakiya in Iheya Village, Noho, and Shimajiri, there are past tense forms such as *ʔafinaN* ‘to.play-PAST’, *sukunaN* ‘to.die-PAST’ (Gakiya and Shimajiri; cf. Shomi *ʔikudaN*), *nunaN* ‘to.drink-PAST’, and *junaN* ‘to.call-PAST’, which are thought to consist of *ari*-continuatives to which *ʔaN* ‘to.be(inanimate)-PAST’ has been attached. This type of past tense form has been displaced, however, by a type of past tense form deriving from *shite*-continuatives, such as *ʔafidaN* ‘to.play-PAST’.

The *ari*-continuatives of the dialects of Okinawa Island originated as *shi*-continuatives such as *numi* ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’ combined with the existential verb *ʔai*, corresponding to Japanese *ari*, and are mostly used to express temporal ordering relations. In the *Omorō Sōshi*, a compilation of poems and songs whose first volume was compiled in 1531, these forms end in the *hiragana* corresponding to *-yari*. According to Toshizo Takahashi (1982), the *-yari* forms in the *Omorō Sōshi* consist of infinitive forms to which *-yari* has been attached, express perfect aspect, and are only used in a continuative usage.

- (51) *Toyomu Ōkimiya momoshima soroheyari mioyase.* (volume 176)
 to.resound-ADNOMINAL sovereign=TOPIC Momoshima to.gather-CONTINUATIVE
 to.present-IMPERATIVE
 ‘Gather the Momoshima Islands and present them to the renowned sovereign.’
- (52) *Ito nukiyari, nawa nukiyari,* (volume 632)
 thread put.through-CONTINUATIVE rope put.through-CONTINUATIVE
 Putting through threads, putting through ropes, and...’

The strong conjugation *ari*-continuatives of the Miyako language consist of base stems to which *-i* or *-i:* has been attached. Weak and mixed conjugation *ari*-continuatives, on the other hand, are homophonous with *shi*-continuatives (base stems). Although *shi*- and *ari*-continuatives of the strong conjugation also resemble each other, the final vowel of strong conjugation *shi*-continuatives as used for the stem portions of past tense forms derives from **-i*, while that of *ari*-continuatives derives from **-e*. The *ari*-continuatives of Miyako appear to derive from forms like the *ari*-continuatives of the Iheya dialect.

Supplementary note

The tense-aspect system of the dialects of Okinawa Island appears to derive from the ternary contrast system of the western Japanese languages. Continuous aspect forms consist of *shite*-continuatives combined and fused together with the animate existential verb, corresponding formally to western Japanese perfect aspect forms such as *ɛitoru* ‘to.do-STATIVE’. They differ from

western Japanese *ëitoru* in their aspectual meaning, however; they express a continuing action by the subject referent in the case of action verbs, while they express a continuing state resulting from a change in the subject referent in the case of inchoative verbs, similarly to the continuous aspect forms of the eastern Japanese languages and the Miyako language.

In the dialects of Yaeyama, too, there are forms combining the *ari*-continuative with *uN* ‘to be (animate)’, fused together phonetically, such as the Ishigaki dialect forms *numi: uN > numiN* ‘to.drink-PROGRESSIVE’, *uke: uN > uke:N* ‘to.get.up-STATIVE’, and *kaNgaja: uN > kaNgaja:N* ‘to.think-PROGRESSIVE’.

- (53) *utudo: guei numiN.* (continuing action)
 younger.brother=TOPIC liquor=ACCUSATIVE to.drink-PROGRESSIVE
 ‘My brother is having a drink.’
- (54) *aQpa:ja me: uke:N.* (continuing resultant state)
 mother=TOPIC already to.get.up-STATIVE
 ‘My mother is already up.’

Although the tense-aspect system of the southern dialects of Okinawa Island is similar to that of the western Japanese languages in that it has a ternary contrast of the type *suru-ëijoru-ëitoru*, its continuous aspect is used similarly to that of the eastern Japanese languages; it is thus a unique system. That of the Miyako language is similar to that of the eastern Japanese languages in that it has a binary contrast and its continuous aspect is used similarly, but it is a unique system in that its continuous aspect forms are formed differently from those of the eastern Japanese languages. It can therefore be concluded that the tense-aspect systems of the dialects of southern Okinawa Island, the Miyako language, the western Japanese languages, and the eastern Japanese languages all have similarities as well as differences, each being unique in their own way.

	Non-past	Past
Perfective	<i>?afibuN</i> ‘to.play-PERFECTIVE’, <i>finuN</i> ‘to.die-PERFECTIVE’	<i>?afidaN</i> ‘to.play-PAST’, <i>fidzaN</i> ‘to.die-PAST’
		<i>?afibutaN</i> ‘to.play-PAST’, <i>finutaN</i> ‘to.die-PAST’
Continuous	<i>?afido:N</i> ‘to.play-PROGRESSIVE’, <i>fidzo:N</i> ‘to.die-STATIVE’	<i>?afido:taN</i> ‘to.play-PROGRESSIVE-PAST’, <i>fidzo:taN</i> ‘to.die-STATIVE-PAST’

Table 8. Tense and aspect in the Agena dialect of Uruma City, Okinawa Island.

7 *Shite-continuative forms*

The *shite*-continuative of the Miyako language is used for predicates in compound sentences, functioning similarly to the *shite*-continuative of Japanese; it is formally similar to it, as well. It has no subordinate usages, however; it is not used in the formation of forms such as continuous aspect forms, forms expressing attempts, and benefactive verbs. In this respect, it is different from the *shite*-continuatives of Japanese and the Northern Ryukyuan languages.

- (55) oto:ja sakju: muteittei, mma: faumunu: muts. (Karimata)
 father=TOPIC liquor=ACCUSATIVE to.carry-CONTINUATIVE, mother=TOPIC
 food=ACCUSATIVE to.carry-PERFECTIVE (*motte*)
 ‘My father carries the liquor; my mother carries the food.’
- (56) mmaduꞑnu tubittei, fa:duꞑmai tubin^ja:n. (Karimata)
 parent.bird=NOMINATIVE to.fly-CONTINUATIVE little.bird=too to.fly-PAST (*tonde*)
 ‘The parent bird flew away, and the little bird flew away, too.’
- (57) fnju: kugitti unu atu jukui. (Kurima)
 boat=ACCUSATIVE to.row-CONTINUATIVE after.that to.rest-IMPERATIVE (*koide*)
 ‘Row the boat; then, take a rest.’
- (58) funju: kuqittikara jukui. (Uruka)
 boat=ACCUSATIVE to.row-CONTINUATIVE=after to.rest-IMPERATIVE (*koide*)
 ‘Row the boat; then, take a rest.’
- (59) fʉsizzu numitti pja:pja:ti nivvi. (Uruka)
 medicine=ACCUSATIVE to.take-CONTINUATIVE to.be.early-INFINITIVE
 to.sleep-IMPERATIVE (*nonde*)
 ‘Take some medicine and go to bed early.’

The Bora dialect

Bora dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-ttei* has been attached. The sounds corresponding to *ti* in the other dialects have undergone affrication in the Bora dialect, becoming *tei*, as in *tei*: ‘hand’ and *teida* ‘the sun’; *-ttei* thus seems to derive from *-tti*.

Strong conjugation

- *tubittei* ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, *kugittei* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, *ikittei* ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, *ffittei* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, *utueittei* ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, *kieittei* ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, *ftteittei* ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’,

purittei ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, idaeitei ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, muteittei
‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, kaittei ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, vvittei ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’,
numittei ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, faittei ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, asɽpittei ~ asɽbittei
‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, numittei ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, araittei ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’,
kavvuttei ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, ffittei ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, nivvttei
‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, azzittei ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’, kirittei
‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’, kieittei ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, bizzittei
‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’, sɽn^hittei ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- ukittei ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, urittei ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uteittei
‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, steittei ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, fi:ttei ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’,
mi:ttei ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, i:ttei ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- kieittei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, ɛi:ttei ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, arittei
‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, urittei ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Uruka dialect

Uruka dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-tti* has been attached.

Strong conjugation

- tuvitti ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, asɽpitti ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, numitti
‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, kugittikara ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE=ABLATIVE’, ikitti
‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, idaɽɽitti ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, muɽfitti ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’,
utuɛitti ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, ffitti ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, puritti
‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, kɽɛɛiti / kieɛiti ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, ɛimaritti
‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, kavvitti ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, araitti
‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, kaitti ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, vitti ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’,
muraitti ‘to.receive-CONTINUATIVE’, faitti ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, bju:itti
‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’
- kiritti ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- uritteɽ ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, utittii ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, ffitti
‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, stitti ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- kieṭṭi ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Miyaguni dialect

Miyaguni dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-cci* has been attached. The suffix seems to have undergone affrication, as in the Bora dialect.

Strong conjugation

- kugicci ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, ikṭccieṭ ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, ficci ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, utṣṭṭi ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, kṣṣṭteṭ ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, pṗrittei ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, idaṗitei ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, uvittei ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, nṗmittei ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, ḥaittei ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, asṗpittei ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, araittei ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, nu:ricci ‘to.climb-CONTINUATIVE’, moraittei ‘to.receive-CONTINUATIVE’, bjo:ittei ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- ucṭccci ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, sṣṭccṭ ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, ḥiittei ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- kṣṣicci ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Yonaha dialect

Yonaha dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-tti* has been attached.

Strong conjugation

- tubitti ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, kugitti: ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, v:gitti ‘to.swim-CONTINUATIVE’, ikitti ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, ffitti ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, utueitti ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, kṗeitti ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, sṗmaitti: ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, idasitti ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, muteitti ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, kaitti ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, vvitti ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, numitti ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, fe:ti ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, appitti ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, bju:itti ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, are:tti ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, kiritti ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- *uritti* ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, *utɛitti* ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, *sutitti*: ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, *fitti* ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, *zzitti* ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *kɲɛjiti* ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Kurima dialect

Kurima dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-tti* has been attached.

Strong conjugation

- *tubitti* ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, *kugitti* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, *ikjiti* ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, *utɯɲɛjiti* ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, *ffaɛjiti* ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, *tɛjɛitti* ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, *smaritti* ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, *ffjiti* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, *idasjiti* ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, *vvitti* ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, *numitti* ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, *faitti* ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, *aspɲiti*³⁸ ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, *bju:itti* ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, *araitti* ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, *kiritti* ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’

Mixed conjugation

- *uritti* ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, *utjiti* ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, *stjiti* ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, *fi:tti* ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *tɛjɛitti* ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Kugai dialect

In the Kugai dialect, *shite*-continuatives consisting of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-ɛjiti* has been attached, such as *aspsejiti* ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’ and *ukiejiti* ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, coexist with forms to which *-tti* has been attached, such as *kugitti* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’ and *uritti* ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’³⁹. Further confirmation is necessary regarding whether this is due to individual differences between speakers or due to influence from the surrounding dialects.

³⁸ Differently from the other *shite*-continuative forms, this form consists of a *shi*-continuative form to which *-tti* has been attached. Further confirmation is necessary.

³⁹ I obtained forms ending in *-ɛjiti* such as *puriejiti* ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’ and *ei:ɛjiti* ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’ in a survey in December, 2011.

Strong conjugation

- *aspsej̄ti* ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, *kugitti* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, *numiēj̄ti* ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, *idaēj̄ti* ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, *utaēj̄ti* ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, *mutsēj̄ti* ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, *puriēj̄ti* ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, *kjēitti* ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, *s̄j̄maritti* ‘to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE’, *vviēj̄ti* ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, *kavviēj̄ti* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, *ffiēj̄ti* ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, *nivviēj̄ti* ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, *kaiēj̄ti* ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, *faiēj̄ti* ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, *bju:iēj̄ti* ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, *araiēj̄ti* ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, *andziēj̄ti* ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’, *kiriti* ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’, *sn̄iēj̄ti* ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *ukiēj̄ti* ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, *uritti* ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, *ut̄j̄tti* ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, *s̄j̄titti* ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, *fi:ē̄j̄ti* ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’
- *mi:ē̄j̄ti* ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, *zziēj̄ti* ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’, *biziēj̄ti* ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’, *kiciēj̄ti* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *k̄ēj̄ēittikara* / *k̄iēittikara* ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE=ABLATIVE’, *ei:ē̄j̄ti* ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, *ariēj̄ti* ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, *uriēj̄ti* ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Shimajiri dialect

Shimajiri dialect *shite*-continuatives, too, consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-cci* has been attached. The suffix seems to have undergone affrication, as in the Bora dialect.

Strong conjugation

- *tubittei* ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, *appittei* ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, *numittei* ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, *kugittei* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, *idaeitei* ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, *utueittei* ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, *muteitei* ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, *kieittei* ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, *purittei* ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, *ffittei* ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, *vvittei* ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, *kavvittei* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, *ffittei* ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, *nivvttei* ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, *kaittei* ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, *araittei* ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, *faittei* ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, *bju:ittei* ‘to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE’, *azzittei* ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’
- *kirittei* ‘to.kick-CONTINUATIVE’
- *bizittei* ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- ukittei ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, urittei ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, uteittei ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, steittei ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, fi:ttei ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, sn’itttei ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’
- mi:ttei ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, ɛeittei ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, zzittei ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- ɛeittei ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, aeittei ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, arittei ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, urittei ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Karimata dialect

Karimata dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-ɛ̃iti* has been attached, as in the Kugai dialect.

Strong conjugation

- tubiẽiti ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’, asbiẽiti ‘to.play-CONTINUATIVE’, kugiẽiti ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, numiẽiti ‘to.drink-CONTINUATIVE’, ikiẽiti ‘to.go-CONTINUATIVE’, utaẽiti ‘to.drop-CONTINUATIVE’, idaẽiẽiti ‘to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE’, mutẽiẽiti ‘to.carry-CONTINUATIVE’, ffiẽei ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE’, puriẽiti ‘to.dig-CONTINUATIVE’, kiẽiẽiti ‘to.cut-CONTINUATIVE’, ṽṽiẽiti ‘to.sell-CONTINUATIVE’, kavviẽiti ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, ffiẽiti ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, nĩṽiẽiti ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, kaiẽiti ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’, araẽiti ‘to.wash-CONTINUATIVE’, faiẽiti ‘to.eat-CONTINUATIVE’, azziẽiti ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’, sn’iẽiti ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- ukiẽei ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, uriẽiti ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’, utiẽiti ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’, ẽitiẽiti ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’, fi:̃ẽiti ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, ẽimiẽiti ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’
- mi:̃ẽiti ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, iziẽiti ‘to.get-CONTINUATIVE’, kiẽiẽiti ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, biziẽiti ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- kiẽiẽiti ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, aẽiẽiti ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, ariẽiti ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, uriẽiti ‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

The Ikema dialect

While the three forms given below are *shite*-continuatives, *ari*-continuatives are observed in almost all cases where one would expect a *shite*-continuative. The irregular verb form *titi* ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’, too, is homophonous with the *ari*-continuative. Further confirmation seems necessary regarding whether *shite*-continuatives are not used in the Ikema dialect or they could be obtained using a different survey method.

Strong conjugation

- *kugitti* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *sandzari:ti* ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *titi* ‘to.come-CONTINUATIVE’

The Kuninaka dialect

As only a small number of examples were obtained for the Kuninaka dialect in the survey, not much can be said regarding its *shite*-continuative, but no examples have been obtained that can be said with certainty to be *shite*-continuative forms. In response to sentences intended to elicit *shite*-continuatives, the forms *alzii* ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’, *niyvii* ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, and *sɲnii* ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’ were obtained, while the forms *a^zzi:* ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’, *niyvi:* ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, and *sɲni:* ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’ were obtained in response to sentences intended to elicit *ari*-continuatives; although they are different, a further survey is necessary to determine whether this is a significant difference.

Strong conjugation

- *kavvi:* ‘to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE’, *niyvii* ‘to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE’, *alzii* ‘to.say-CONTINUATIVE’
- *sɲnii* ‘to.die-CONTINUATIVE’
- *tɛi:* ‘to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE’, *bizi:* ‘to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE’

Weak conjugation

- *okii* ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, *p^ɣkaii* ‘to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE’, *ɕimii* ‘to.close-CONTINUATIVE’, *taskari* ‘to.be.saved-CONTINUATIVE’
- *mi:* ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’

Irregular conjugation

- *ei*: ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’, *arii* ‘to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE’, *ore*:
‘to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE’

It may seem like geminating *onbin* has occurred in the *shite*-continuatives of the dialects of Miyako, both in those like Uruka *uritti* ‘to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE’ and *utittii* ‘to.fall-CONTINUATIVE’ and in those like Bora *tubittei* ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’ and *kugittēi* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’, which have undergone affrication. They are formed in the same way irrespective of verb type, however, in the strong, weak, mixed, and irregular conjugations; it therefore seems that this is not an *onbin* phenomenon.

In strong verb *shite*-continuatives, suffixes such as *-itti* and *-ittei* are attached to consonant stems, while in weak verb *shite*-continuatives, suffixes such as *-tti* and *-ttei* are attached to vowel stems. Both kinds of forms consist of *ari*-continuatives to which suffixes such as *-tti* and *-ttei* are attached.

In forms such as Karimata *tubiēiti* ‘to.fly-CONTINUATIVE’ and *kugieiti* ‘to.row-CONTINUATIVE’ and Kugai *kaieiti* ‘to.buy-CONTINUATIVE’ and *fi:ēiti* ‘to.give-CONTINUATIVE’, a form like *ēiti* (corresponding either to Japanese *shite* ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’ or to Japanese *sute* ‘to.discard-CONTINUATIVE’) seems to have been suffixed to *ari*-continuative forms. Further research is needed regarding these forms.

There are *shite*-continuatives in which *-Qte* is suffixed to *ari*-continuative forms in the Ishigaki dialect of the Yaeyama language, too, such as *kakiQte* ‘to.write-CONTINUATIVE’, *uke:Qte* ‘to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE’, *mija:Qte* ‘to.see-CONTINUATIVE’, and *ēi:Qte* ‘to.do-CONTINUATIVE’.

8 Conclusion

As the survey was conducted within a limited period of time, the amount of data that was obtained is limited, as well. Furthermore, the survey was limited to only five verb conjugation forms, namely the perfective (corresponding to Japanese *suru* ‘to.do-PERFECTIVE’), negative (corresponding to Japanese *shinai* ‘to.do-NEGATIVE’), past tense (corresponding to Japanese *shita* ‘to.do-PAST’), *ari*-continuative, and *shite*-continuative forms. On the other hand, the survey was conducted at a balanced selection of sites, spread over Miyako: Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, Kurimajima, Kugai, Shimajiri, Karimata, Ikemajima, and Kuninaka on Irabujima. Thanks to this, we were able to review the conjugation types and five conjugated forms of the Miyako language.

Further surveys covering a larger number of verbs at each site as well as more conjugation forms are needed. In addition, it is necessary to examine the dialects of Ōgamijima; Sawada and

Nagahama on Irabujima; Irabu and Nakachi on Irabujima; Taramajima; and so on, which we were unable to examine in this survey and which are known to have unique characteristics within the Miyako language.

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