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## Converbs and Their Desubordination in Ōgami Ryukyuan

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**Abstract:** This article describes the converb system of the endangered Ōgami Ryukyuan language. The Ōgami converbs form a well-defined class, but they are problematic for the traditional definition of “converb” based on the notions of finiteness and subordination, and they thus require to revise that definition.

The existence of several processes of desubordination, whereby a clause headed by a dependent verb form functions as an independent clause, is also described. Focus is put on the use of the narrative converb as an independent past tense form, which has been claimed to be a typologically rare phenomenon. The hypothesis that such a process arises in order to remedy the paucity of tense forms in a language does not hold in the case of Ōgami, where the explanation must be sought in discourse pattern.

The development of independent past forms out of sequential/narrative dependent forms is found to be not so rare cross-linguistically, and it thus constitutes a cross-linguistically valid evolutionary path.\*

**Key words:** Ryukyuan, converb, medial verb, desubordination, insubordination

### 1. Introduction

Ōgami Ryukyuan is a highly endangered variety of Miyako, a Southern Ryukyuan language of the Japonic family. It is primarily spoken on the small Ōgami Island (Okinawa prefecture, Miyako-jima city), where less than 30 speakers still live. Intergenerational transmission of the language ceased several decades ago, and most speakers are in their seventies or older. All speakers are bilingual in Japanese, but the two languages are not mutually intelligible.

Ōgami Ryukyuan is known in the Japonic family for its very unusual phonology (Karimata 1993, Pellard 2009, 2010), but its grammatical system has received comparatively little attention. Like other Japonic languages, Ōgami Ryukyuan

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is characterized by head-final and dependent-marking structure, agglutinative suffixal morphology, SOV word order, accusative alignment, and the marking of grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic roles by enclitics.<sup>1</sup>

The verb forms of Ōgami Ryukyuan have usually been described from a morphotactic point of view (Hirayama et al. 1967, Hōsei Daigaku Okinawa Bunka Kenkyūjo 1977), with the emphasis on the morphemic structure of a few basic forms. However, the syntactic functions of the different forms, as well as their discursive uses, have been overlooked in most previous studies.

The Ōgami verb forms can be divided into two categories: independent and dependent verb forms. A full-scale study of the Ōgami verb system is beyond the scope of this article,<sup>2</sup> and I will thus focus on the rich system of converbs, i.e., dependent verb forms that usually appear in adverbial subordinate clauses or in chain-medial clauses. The categorization of these forms is not unproblematic in Ōgami, and it seems we need to adopt a definition of “converb” that is less strict than the traditional one.

The non-canonical use of some converbs as the predicate of an independent clause is also particularly interesting, but this desubordination phenomenon has received little, if any, attention so far. The use of the narrative converb, a form which usually marks sequential non-final clauses, as an independent past tense form is particularly noteworthy. Though this particular development has been claimed to be cross-linguistically rare except in some languages with few tense/aspect forms, the case of Ōgami Ryukyuan constitutes a counter-example to that claim. In the case of Ōgami Ryukyuan, this development can be accounted for by a functional explanation that refers to discourse pattern. Moreover, it is possible to characterize the *sequential/narrative* > *past* desubordination process as a cross-linguistically valid evolutionary path, since it is found in other languages both inside and outside the Japonic family.

## 2. The Verb System of Ōgami Ryukyuan

### 2.1. Independent and dependent verb forms

Verb forms in Ōgami Ryukyuan can be categorized according to their syntactic properties. An important division can be drawn between forms that are syntactically autonomous, and those lacking syntactic autonomy.

First, independent verb forms<sup>3</sup> are fully autonomous and can function as the head of an independent clause in both simple and complex sentences (1a, 1b). In

<sup>1</sup> The present article follows the phonological and grammatical analysis of Pellard (2009, 2010), with some minor amendments. Ōgami Ryukyuan is thus analyzed as having a five-vowel (/i, u, e, a/) and nine-consonant (/p, t, k, m, n, f, s, r, v/) system. The fricative /s/ is realized as [ç] before the front vowels /i, e/, and the approximant /v/ is also frequently realized as a fricative [v]. The vowel /i/ can also function as a syllable onset ([ij]), and conversely the consonants /m, n, s, f, v/ can be syllabic too. There is no distinctive accent or tone.

<sup>2</sup> See Pellard (2009, 2010) for a more detailed description.

<sup>3</sup> These correspond to the category of “conclusive/terminative forms” (*iikiri* 言い切り形) in traditional Ryukyuan linguistics.

Ōgami Ryukyuan, they can also be found in adnominal (1c) and complement subordinate clauses (1d).

- (1) a. *ansi=tu      tauf=fu=pa      [kff].*  
 this\_way=FOC    tofu=ACC=TOP.OBJ    make  
 ‘This is how we make tofu.’ (independent clause, simple sentence)
- b. *imiimi=nu    suma-kaaiac-iici=tu    paci=mai    [tara-a-n].*  
 small=NOM    village-DIM COP-CVB.IPF=FOC    field=INCL    suffice-IRR-NEG  
 ‘Since (Ōgami) is a small village, there are not enough fields.’ (independent clause, complex sentence)
- c. *ucεε    [NP[a=ka      kff]      kss].*  
 PROX.TOP    1=NOM    make    fish\_hook  
 ‘These are the fish hooks that I make.’ (adnominal clause)
- d. *<Tarō>=ia    [naa=ka=tu      paw-kaw=ti]      umu-i      uu.*  
 Tarō=TOP    LOG=NOM=FOC    bad-VBZ=QUOT    think-CVB    IPF  
 ‘Tarō thinks it is his fault.’ (complement clause)

Ōgami Ryukyuan also has a set of dependent verb forms.<sup>4</sup> First, these are *verb forms*,<sup>5</sup> in the sense that they follow the same internal syntax as those heading independent clauses. Second, they are *dependent* since they are usually unable to function as the head of an independent clause. They thus only appear within complex sentences and depend on the presence of another clause in the sentence. In Ōgami Ryukyuan, such dependent verb forms can also fall within the scope of another verb’s TAM-polarity, in which case the dependent verb is left unmarked for those categories (2).

- (2) a. *upuusa [iac-iici=tu]      fau-iuus-a-n.*  
 many COP-CVB.IPF=FOC    eat-POT-IRR-NEG  
 ‘Since there is a lot, I can’t eat (all).’ (imperfective converb, present interpretation)
- b. *mmna=ka    fau-mut-εε      [tara-a-ta      uc-iici=tu]*  
 all=NOM    eat-hold-NMZ    suffice-IRR-CVB.NEG    IPF-CVB.IPF=FOC  
*<Takano>=nkai=ia    kus-i      iks-taw.*  
 Takano=DIR=TOP    move-CVB    go-PST  
 ‘Since there was not enough for everyone to eat, they moved to Takano.’ (imperfective converb, past interpretation)

<sup>4</sup> The term “dependent verb forms” is taken here as an equivalent of the category “formes intégratives” of Creissels (2006: 174). The terminology and definition of Creissels (2006) has the advantage of being less problematic than “non-finite” or “subordinate” (see Sections 2.2., 3.1.). Contrary to my English rendering of it as “dependent,” this label does not imply a head-dependent relationship with another clause either. It is thus appropriate for describing such various verb forms as the Ōgami converbs, the Papuan medial verbs, the conjunct order of Algonquian verbs, the dependent moods of Yup’ik, or the Bantu “participles.”

<sup>5</sup> They are thus not nominalized forms.

## 2.2. About “finiteness”

This important distinction between independent and dependent verb forms is also found in other Ryukyuan varieties, where it is often described in terms of finite vs. non-finite forms (Shimoji 2008, Shigeno 2010, Niinaga 2010, Aso 2010). However, the notion of “finiteness” is a problematic one, as already noted by many authors (Nedjalkov 1998, Creissels 2006: 175–176, Nikolaeva 2007b among others).

First, the very definition of “finiteness” differs from one linguist to another. This term is sometimes used to refer to a coding property, i.e., a morphological deficiency, as non-finite forms are defined as those that cannot take the full range of inflections. But it is also sometimes used to refer to a behavioral property, i.e., a restriction on the syntactic distribution of non-finite verbs, which are defined as those unable to function as a main clause’s predicate. These two parameters are even sometimes mixed together, but they need to be carefully distinguished: though both contribute to the desententialization of a clause, they do not necessarily always coincide. For instance, imperatives are a clear case of mismatch between these two parameters: cross-linguistically, imperatives often lack person and tense/aspect inflectional marking, but they are clearly syntactically independent. It is thus not clear whether they should be categorized as finite or non-finite.

Finiteness is similarly problematic in Ōgami Ryukyuan: though dependent verb forms are usually subject to syntactic distributional constraints, they are not uniformly inflectionally deficient. The same form can even vary in its inflectional potential, like the circumstantial and imperfective converbs, which can take tense/aspect marking (3), but can also depend on the inflection of another clause’s predicate (4).

- (3) a. *pstu-nummɛɛ (kanu) mmna iak-i [swn-as-ai-tar-ipa] unu*  
 person-PL.TOP (FILL) all burn-CVB die-CAUS-PASS-PST-CIRC this  
*Akawɛɛ=nu miitu-kam=ma uci=kaca=tu swma=u=pa*  
*Akawɛɛ=NOM couple-god-TOP this=ABL=FOC island=ACC=TOP.OBJ*  
*pssuki-taw.*  
 broaden-PST  
 ‘All the villagers having been burned to death, the two married gods of (the House of) *Akawɛɛ* repopulated the island.’ (circumstantial converb)
- b. *mucaw pstu=nu uma-kama=kaca [ks-tar-iiri]*  
 receive person=NOM here-there=ABL come-PST-CVB.IPF  
*<mendokusai>=ti <Bora>=nkai=kami ik-i kam nar-i=u.*  
 annoying=QUOT Bora=DIR=TERM go-CVB god become-CVB=IPF  
 ‘Men came from everywhere to marry her, and she had enough, went to Bora and became a god (i.e., died).’ (imperfective converb)
- (4) a. *nustu=nu=tu iaa=kaca iti [kss-ipa] a=ka kakum-i.*  
 thief=NOM=FOC house=ABL come\_out.CVB come-CIRC 1=NOM hold-CVB  
 ‘When the thief came out of the house, I caught him.’ (circumstantial converb)



subordinate clauses as clauses that do not assert,<sup>9</sup> but chain-medial clauses in Ōgami Ryukyuan encode semantically coordinate events that have the same discursive rank as main clauses, and they have a plot-advancing function in narrations (6). Actually, clause-chaining with a narrative or sequential converb is the only conjunctive coordination strategy available in Ōgami Ryukyuan.

- (6) a. *ucii* [aca-isti] [nuku-isti] *nna-s-i* *usk-i!*  
 PROX.ACC wash-SEQ wipe-SEQ tidy\_up-CVB PREP-IMP  
 ‘Wash it, wipe it and put it away!’
- b. <*oji*>=*ka* *mai=nkai* *mata* [*ks-i*] *mii-taw=nu* *psu=nu*  
 old.man=NOM front=DIR again come-CVB three-CLF=NOM person=NOM  
 [*ks-i*] [*maac-i*] <*oji*>=*ka* *mai* [*maac-isti*] *psu-taw*.  
 come-CVB turn-CVB old.man=NOM front turn-SEQ leave-PST  
 ‘They came again in front of the old man, three of them, they went past the old man and went away.’

This has led Shimoji (2008: 256–258)<sup>10</sup> to distinguish in his description of the Nagahama dialect of Miyako Ryukyuan between converbs proper and a “medial verb,” which corresponds to my *narrative converb*, on the basis that the latter often functions as the head of chain-medial clauses.<sup>11</sup> However, the uses and behaviors of the narrative converb show too many common features with other converbs for the distinction to be really useful. Also, the category of “medial verb” seems to be usually applied to verb forms that only appear in clause chains (Haspelmath 1995: 20–27), while the Miyako form also appears in clearly subordinate constructions (see Section 3.2.2.). Drawing a solid separation line between the narrative converb and all other converbs thus has little merit. We should rather consider all these forms as belonging to a single category with different subtypes.

The usual definition of converb quoted above seems to be too restrictive to be readily applicable as a cross-linguistic comparative concept,<sup>12</sup> especially since it relies on the problematic concept of *finiteness*. The restriction of the label “converb” to strictly subordinated verb forms is also challenged by the fact that the distinction between coordination and subordination is often blurred in many languages,

<sup>9</sup> This definition stems from the view that cross-linguistic comparative concepts should be defined on a semantic basis, though such concepts are insufficient to be used as such as language-specific descriptive categories (Haspelmath 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Shimoji has since (2011) revised his classification of the Nagahama verb forms, and his “medial verb” is now defined as a subtype of converb.

<sup>11</sup> Following Shimoji (2008), Niinaga (2010) and Aso (2010) also use the label “medial verb” for the similar verb form found in Yuwan (Amami) Ryukyuan and Hateruma (Yaeyama) Ryukyuan.

<sup>12</sup> I acknowledge that cross-linguistic categories should not be equated with descriptive categories, which should be defined on the basis of language-specific criteria. However, linguists need to use the same terminology for both language-specific categories and comparative concepts in order to be able to understand and compare linguistic descriptions. The definitions of the two thus need to be compatible as far as possible.

most notably in Asia (Bickel 1998, Yuasa and Sadock 2002, Rudnitskaya 1998) and the Caucasus area (Kazenin and Testelets 2004). It is often the case that “converb constructions exhibit structural ambiguity between coordination and subordination” (Kazenin and Testelets 2004: 238), and a single form can often be used in both adverbial subordinate clauses and chain-medial clauses.

The definition proposed by Nedjalkov (1995: 97), i.e., “a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., does not realize its semantic valencies,” is less strict and thus less problematic. It does not rely on the concept of finiteness and does not imply strict subordination either. Still, it excludes forms like participles and masdars and also has the advantage of being neutral about the extra functions of some Ōgami converbs (see Sections 3.2.2., 4.).

Table 1. Converbs in Ōgami Ryukyuan

Converb	Suffix	Use(s)
Concessive	<i>-pamai</i>	concession
Negative concessive	<i>-tacapamai</i>	negative concession
Simultaneous	<i>-(s)seen</i>	simultaneity
Supine	<i>-ka</i>	goal of motion
Conditional	<i>-iika</i>	condition
Negative conditional	<i>-taka(a)</i>	negative condition
Sequential	<i>-isti</i>	temporal sequence
Anterior	<i>-tika(a)</i>	anteriority, condition
Circumstantial	<i>-(c)ipa</i>	circumstance, condition
Negative	<i>-ta</i>	negation, absence
Imperfective	<i>-(i)iri</i>	state parallel to the main event
Narrative	<i>-i/Ø</i>	temporal sequence, manner, coordination, complex predicates, auxiliary constructions

### 3.2. The Ōgami converbs

#### 3.2.1. Specialized converbs

A useful distinction can be made among converbs according to their semantic specificity.<sup>13</sup> First, *specialized* converbs show a rather precise and constant meaning in their different uses.

#### **Concessive converb** *-pamai* (css)

The concessive converb heads adverbial subordinate clauses that express a concession. It is built upon an ancient conditional form, still used in some other dialects but not in Ōgami, followed by the inclusive marker *=mai*. The combination of the two gives the meaning ‘even if’.

- (7) a. *kaca-pssa=si* [awk-a-pamai] *paku=a iam-ffanecn?*  
 empty-foot=INSTR walk-IRR-CSS.NEG leg=TOP painful-NEG  
 ‘Don’t your feet hurt you even though you are walking barefoot?’

<sup>13</sup> See Nedjalkov (1995).

- b. *wa=a naupasi [fa-a-pamai] iks=mai tasa-a-n.*  
 father=TOP how? eat-IRR-CSS when?=INCL suffice-IRR-NEG  
 ‘No matter how much my father eats, he never has enough.’
- c. *ami=nu [ff-i=ir-a-pamai] kati=nu [fk-i=ir-a-pamai]*  
 rain-NOM rain-CVB=IPF-IRR-CSS.NEG wind=NOM blow-CVB=IPF-IRR-CSS.NEG  
*kanaraks ik-a-ti.*  
 for\_sure go-IRR-HORT  
 ‘I will go for sure, even if it rains or if the wind blows.’

**Negative concessive converb** *-tacapamai* (CSS.NEG)

The negative concessive converb is etymologically related to the concessive converb, but it is not analyzable as such synchronically, and it is thus not further segmented here. It expresses a negative concession (‘even if not’).

- (8) a. *mim=kai [asi-tacapamai] <daijōbu>?*  
 ear=DIR do-CSS.NEG fine  
 ‘Is it fine even if you don’t put (your headphones) on you ears?’
- b. *pīi-pamai [pīi-tacapamai] karēē iunusui.*  
 get\_drunk-CSS get\_drunk-CSS.NEG he.TOP same  
 ‘Drunk or not, he is the same.’

**Simultaneous converb** *-(s)seen* (SIM)

The simultaneous converb marks an event happening at the same time as that of the main clause.

- (9) a. *tapaku=u [fks-seen] niv=na!*  
 cigarette=ACC blow-SIM sleep=PRH  
 ‘Don’t sleep while smoking!’
- b. *pampin=nu [fau-ssēen] assu!*  
 fritter=ACC eat-SIM do.IMP  
 ‘Do it (ask your questions) while eating some fritter!’
- c. *uma=nkai [ks-seen=tu] awr-i.*  
 here=DIR come-SIM=FOC say-CVB  
 ‘He told it to me on the way here.’

**Supine** *-ka* (SUP)

The supine marks the goal of a motion, and it is always used with a motion verb in the main clause.

- (10) a. *[aspw-ka] kuu!*  
 play-SUP come.IMP  
 ‘Come to have fun!’
- b. *ututaa <gakkō>=nkai=ia ik-a-ta=tu [aspw-ka]*  
 younger\_sibling.TOP school=DIR=TOP go-IRR-CVB.NEG=FOC play-SUP  
*per-ew.*  
 leave-RES  
 ‘My younger sibling went to have fun without going to school.’

**Conditional converb** *-iika* (CND)

The conditional converb ('if') is used to mark the protasis of a conditional sentence.

- (11) a. [*apir-iika*] *an=mai ik-i=kami=t=aw.*  
 call-CND 1=INCL go-CVB=TERM=FOC=RES  
 'If you had called me, I would have gone too.'
- b. <*mukashi-dooi*> [*as-iika*] (*ansi*) *paku=mai ansi=n=na*  
 before-like do-CND thus leg=INCL thus=DAT=TOP  
*nar-εε uk-a-n.*  
 become-CVB.TOP PRF-IRR-NEG  
 'If they had left (the sacred stone) like it was before, my legs wouldn't be like this (i.e., disabled as the result of the god's curse).'

**Negative conditional converb** *-taka(a)* (CND.NEG)

The negative conditional converb marks a negative condition ('if not').

- (12) a. *vaiti nivv-a-ta [uki=ir-a-taka]*  
 with\_efforts sleep-IRR-CVB.NEG get\_up=IPF-IRR-CND.NEG  
*ffafnaw=n=tu nivv-ai-n.*  
 evening=DAT=FOC sleep-POT-NEG  
 'If I don't stay awake (now), I won't be able to sleep at night.'
- b. <*hyōjungo*> [*aw-a-taka*] *ss-a-n.*  
 standard\_language say-IRR-CND.NEG know-IRR-NEG  
 'He doesn't understand if we don't speak in the standard language.'
- c. *ucεε avva=si iak-i [fa-a-taka] mma-ffanεn saa.*  
 this.TOP oil=INSTR cook-CVB eat-IRR-CND.NEG good-NEG DISC  
 'It's not good if you don't eat it cooked with oil.'

**Sequential converb** *-(i)sti* (SEQ)

The sequential converb is etymologically a secondary form built on the narrative converb followed by *sti*, a fossilized converb form of 'do' related to the *-te* form of Japanese and the *-ti/-tī* forms of other Ryukyuan languages.<sup>14</sup> It is often used in narrations to mark a temporal succession of events.

- (13) a. *ututaa kama=n=tu [pwr-isti] muiuk-a-ta*  
 younger\_sibling.TOP there=DAT=FOC sit-SEQ move-IRR-CVB.NEG  
*pwr-i=w.*  
 sit-CVB=IPF  
 'My younger sibling sat over there and is sitting there without moving.'
- b. *masakan [mii-sti] munu=u=pa icap-i!*  
 correctly look-SEQ thing=ACC=TOP.OBJ choose-IMP  
 'Have a good look and then choose!'

<sup>14</sup> This form is often labeled "gerund," "suspensive" (*chūshikei* 中止形), or "connective/conjunctive" (*setsuzokukei* 接続形).

- c. *mma=ka=tu* <*chōnan*>=*na* <*sen'en*> *tin=nu* [*fi-sti*]  
 mother=NOM=FOC eldest\_son=TOP 1000\_yen money=ACC give-SEQ  
 <*jinan*>=*na* <*hyakuen*> *fi-tau*.  
 second\_son=TOP 100\_yen give-PST  
 'The mother gave 1000 yen to her elder son and 100 yen to her second son.'

### 3.2.2. Contextual converbs

Ōgami Ryukyuan also has a number of *contextual converbs*, whose meaning is comparatively more subject to variation according to context.

#### Anterior converb *-tika(a)* (ANT)

The anterior converb marks an event occurring before that of the main clause and which constitutes the presupposed background of the main event (14).

- (14) a. *kari=ka* [*fau-tikaa*] *nna-s-i*.  
 he=NOM eat-ANT tidy\_up-IMP  
 'Tidy things up when he has finished eating.'
- b. *mainiks* *ffa-f* [*naw-tikaa*] *iatu=u=tu* *ff*.  
 each\_day dark-ADVZ become-ANT door=ACC=FOC close  
 'Everyday I close the door when the dark comes.'
- c. *iaa=nkai* [*ksks-tikaa*] *suku* <*denwa*>=*u=tu* *as-i*.  
 house=DIR arrive-ANT immediately phone=ACC=FOC do-CVB  
 'I phoned as soon as I came home.'

The anterior converb can also mark the protasis of a conditional sentence (15).

- (15) a. *ata=a* *ami=nu* [*ff-tikaa*] *iaa=n* *ur-a-ti*.  
 tomorrow=TOP rain=NOM rain-ANT house=DAT be-IRR-HORT  
 'If it rains tomorrow, I'll stay home.'
- b. [*iks-pus-ka-tikaa*] *peεpeε* *peε-i!*  
 go-DES-VBZ-ANT quickly leave-IMP  
 'Leave quickly if you want to go!'
- c. <*sanji*>=*kami* [*ia-tikaa*] *an=mai* *iks* *kumata* *ia-ta=ssuka=tu*.  
 3h=TERM COP-ANT 1=INCL go PROSP COP-PST=but=FOC  
 'If (the meeting) had run until 3, I would have gone too.'

#### Circumstantial converb *-(i)ipa* (CIRC)

The circumstantial converb is rather versatile and has several context-dependent values, all of which refer to a circumstance or background information. It can express anterior time reference, cause, or condition (16).

- (16) a. *naks=n* [*nac-i=ic-ipa=tu*] *mmi* *kss*.  
 summer=DAT become-CVB=IPF-CIRC=FOC ripen.CVB come  
 'When summer comes, (the fruit) will ripen.'
- b. *iaa=nkai* [*kss-ipa=tu*] *ami=nu* *ff-i* *taikw* *ia-tau*.  
 house=DIR come-CIRC=FOC rain=NOM rain-CVB terrible COP-PST  
 'While I was going home, it rained and it was awful.'

- c. *paa=nu* [*iam-kar-ipa=tu*] *fa-ai-n.*  
 tooth=NOM painful-VBZ-CIRC=FOC eat-POT-NEG  
 ‘Since my teeth hurt, I can’t eat.’

It also can be followed by the inclusive marker =*mai* and express a concession (17), like the concessive converb.

- (17) a. *kaci=ka* *Ukam=nu* *kam=nu* *faa* [*iac-ipa=mai*]  
 he=NOM Ōgami=NOM god=NOM child COP-CIRC=INCL  
 <*isso*>=*n=na* *kss-i* <*kamisama*> <*shinji*>-*cai-tatam.*  
 together=DAT=TOP come-CVB god adore-POT-PST.NEG  
 ‘Though he was the child of the gods of Ōgami, he couldn’t join the others and celebrate the gods.’
- b. *unu* *iataa* [*ff-ipa=mai*] *suku* *aki-cai.*  
 PROX door.TOP close-CIRC=INCL immediately open-PASS  
 ‘This door immediately opens even if you close it.’
- c. *mme* *ffafnaw=n* [*nac-i=ic-ipa=mai=tu*] *mmita*  
 already evening=DAT become-CVB=IPF-CIRC=INCL=FOC not\_yet  
*kuu-n.*  
 come.IRR-NEG  
 ‘Though it’s already evening, he has not come yet.’

### Negative converb -*ta* (CVB.NEG)

The negative converb has a privative meaning and marks a negative adverbial clause (‘without Xing’).

- (18) a. *sakii=teen=na* [*num-a-ta*] *munu=u=mai* *fa-i!*  
 alcohol.ACC=RESTR=TOP drink-IRR-CVB.NEG food=ACC=INCL eat-IMP  
 ‘Don’t just drink alcohol but eat something too!’
- b. *skama=u* [*asi-ta*] *puw-i=i-tika* *pssi-f=tu*  
 work=ACC do-CVB.NEG sit-CVB=IPF-ANT cold-ADVZ=FOC  
*nac-i=w.*  
 become-CVB=IPF  
 ‘I’m starting to get cold as I’m sitting doing nothing.’

### Imperfective converb -(*i*)*ici* (CVB.IPF)

The imperfective converb expresses a state or an event parallel to or at the origin of that of the main clause.

- (19) a. <*isha*>=*nu* *mii-ripa=mai* *iam-as-i* [*ur-iici*] (...) *pepepe*  
 doctor=NOM look-CIRC=INCL suffer-CAUS-CVB IPF-CVB.IPF quickly  
*nika-a-taka.*  
 pray-IRR-CND.NEG  
 ‘As she was suffering though she had seen a doctor, I had to pray (for her).’ (see Section 4.2)
- b. *uma=a* *ffaaffa* [*ur-iici=tu*] *nau=mai* *mii-cai-n.*  
 here=TOP dark be-CVB.IPF=FOC what?=INCL look-POT-NEG  
 ‘Since it is dark here, I can’t see anything.’

**Narrative converb** *-i/Ø* (CVB)

The narrative converb is a contextual converb, but it stands out because of its rather wide array of uses.<sup>15</sup>

First, the narrative converb is often used in clause chains to mark medial clauses (20), and it is thus the most frequently used verb form in narratives.

- (20) <oji>=*ka*      *mai=nkai*   *mata* [*kss-i*]      *mii-taw=nu*      *pstu=nu*  
 old.man=NOM front=DIR again come-CVB three-CLF=NOM person=NOM  
 [*kss-i*]      [*maac-i*] <ojii>=*ka*      *mai*   *maac-isti*   *pew-taw*.  
 come-CVB turn-CVB old.man=NOM front turn-SEQ leave-PST  
 ‘They came again in front of the old man, three of them, they went past the old man and went away.’

Second, it can mark manner adverbial subordinate clauses (21).

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

The narrative converb can also appear in multi-verb but mono-clausal constructions, i.e., complex predicates and analytic auxiliary constructions (22).<sup>16</sup>

- (22) a. *pampin=nu*   [*mut-i*]      [*kss-i*]      *fii-ru!*  
 fritter=ACC hold-CVB come-CVB give-IMP  
 ‘Bring me some fritter!’  
 b. *kacce*      *skama=u=mai*      *asi-ta=tu*      [*nivv-i*]=*tɛɛn*      *uu*.  
 DIST.TOP work=ACC=INCL do-CVB.NEG=FOC sleep-CVB=RESTR IPF  
 ‘All he does is sleep and he does not work.’

**4. Desubordination**

Ōgami exhibits several instances of *desubordination*, “a process whereby a subordinate clause acquires the status of a main clause” (Aikhenvald 2004: 392), or “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on *prima facie* grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2007: 367).<sup>17</sup> In such a case, the desubordinated

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that, despite their surface homophony and their functional similarity, the narrative converb of Ōgami Ryukyuan and the “infinitive” (*ren’yōkei* 連用形) in *-i* of Japanese are not cognate. The exact origin of the Ōgami narrative converb is still unclear, but it does not phonologically correspond to the Japanese infinitive: the regular correspondence is Ōgami *i* :: Japanese *e*, Ōgami *s/w* :: Japanese *i* (Pellard 2009). Moreover, contrary to the Japanese infinitive, the Ōgami narrative converb is not used as a deverbal noun.

<sup>16</sup> The distinction between the two is not always easy to draw, and they most likely constitute two points along a continuum over a path of grammaticalization.

<sup>17</sup> Evans (2007) uses the term “insubordination.” Though this phenomenon also applies to coordinate-like chain-medial clauses and not only to strictly subordinate clauses, I shall retain the term “desubordination.”

converbs can retain some specific features which differentiate them from original independent verb forms, like the ability to be followed by a focus marker. They also express some TAM categories that differ from their usual value.

#### 4.1. From concessive to permissive

The converb in *-pamai* is used in adverbial subordinate clauses to express a concession ('even if'), but it is also often used in a special idiomatic construction where it is followed by *iinumunu* 'same' to express permission ('even if... it is the same' > 'may'), as exemplified in (23).

- (23) a. *kaceε kuu-pamai iinumunu.*  
 DIST.TOP come.IRR-CSS same  
 'He may come.' (*litt.* 'Even if he comes, it is the same.')
- b. *aw-a-pamai iinumunu?*  
 say-IRR-CSS same  
 'Can you say (that)?' (*litt.* 'Is it the same even if you say that?')

However, in many instances, the element *iinumunu* can be omitted without altering the permissive meaning of the sentence. In that case, the concessive converb stands alone in final position and seems to function as the head of an independent clause. Nevertheless, the absent element *iinumunu* is always recoverable (24), and such cases can thus be interpreted as involving final ellipsis.

- (24) a. *kaceε ik-a-pamai Ø/iinumunu ia=ssuka...*  
 DIST.TOP go-IRR-CSS Ø/same COP=but  
 'He may go but...'
- b. *ata kuu-pamai Ø/iinumunu?*  
 tomorrow come.IRR-CSS Ø/same  
 'May I come tomorrow?'

This ellipted permissive construction fits well into the category of "conventional ellipsis" proposed by Evans (2007) in his study of the gradual stages of desubordination. The missing element can always be recovered, but ellipsis is restricted to that particular element, and the sentence cannot have another interpretation. Here, the element *iinumunu* 'same' is optional, but a sentence ending with a circumstantial converb is never interpreted as anything other than an ellipsis of *iinumunu*, that is to say, with a permissive value.

#### 4.2. From negative conditional to debitive

The negative conditional converb (*-taka*) is a specialized converb expressing negative condition, but it is also used in a debitive construction (25) where it is followed by a negative form of the verb *nar-* 'become' ('if not X it won't become' > 'must X').<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> This is very similar to what is seen in Japanese, where negative conditional clauses headed by a verb form in *-nakereba*, *-nakya*, *-nakucha* or *-nai=to* can be followed by *dame da* 'it is

- (25) *karεε uki-takaa nar-a-n=suka mmita uki-n.*  
 DIST.TOP get\_up-CND.NEG become-IRR-NEG=but not\_yet get\_up-NEG  
 ‘He must get up, but he hasn’t yet.’

Like in the case of the permissive desubordination, the final element can be omitted without changing the meaning, which remains that of an obligation (26). The debitive construction is also an instance of conventional ellipsis, as the missing element is always fully recoverable.

- (26) <*isha*>=*nu mii-cipa=mai iam-as-i ur-iiri* (...)  
 doctor=NOM look-CIRC=INCL suffer-CAUS-CVB IPF-CVB.IPF  
*πεεπεε nika-a-taka.*  
 quickly pray-IRR-CND.NEG  
 ‘As she was suffering though she had seen a doctor, I had to pray (for her).’

### 4.3. From narrative to past

The narrative converb is also frequently subject to desubordination, in which case it has a perfective past value (27), which contrasts with its sequential or manner adverbial values in dependent clauses.

- (27) a. *kii=ia munu=u fa-i=tu kss-i.*  
 today=TOP thing=ACC eat-CVB=FOC come-CVB  
 ‘Today I ate before coming.’ (*litt.* ‘I ate and then came’)
- b. *ikeem=na kam=nu=tu ukam=kai ur-i*  
 old\_days.DAT=TOP god=NOM=FOC Ōgami=DIR go\_down-CVB  
*kss-i=tta.*  
 come-CVB=HS  
 ‘It is said a god came down to Ōgami in the past.’
- c. *kwnaa nau=iu=tu asi?*  
 yesterday.TOP what?=ACC=FOC do.CVB  
 ‘What did you do yesterday?’

This past tense use of the narrative converb had already been noticed by Hōsei Daigaku Okinawa Bunka Kenkyūjo (1977), but it was analyzed as a separate form and labeled “first past tense form” (*daiichi kakokei* 第一過去形). However, this construction retains characteristics of a dependent clause headed by a narrative converb, which suggests the two forms are actually one and the same. First, the predicate can be followed by the focus marker =*tu* (28), and this is the only case where this marker can appear in sentence-final position. Second, no polarity or TAM markers appear on the verb, and it is never followed by an aspectual auxiliary.

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bad’, *ikenai* ‘it is not all right’ or *naranai* ‘it won’t become’. Such constructions have a debitive value, which they retain even if the final predicate is omitted and the dependent form desubordinated.

- (28) a. *ffuw=u=pa*                      *mmε*      *num-i=tu*.  
 medicine=ACC=TOP.OBJ    already    drink-CVB=FOC  
 ‘I have already taken my medicine.’
- b. *vva=a*      *pssnii=pa*      *asi=tu?*  
 you=TOP    nap=TOP.OBJ    do.CVB=FOC  
 ‘Did you take a nap?’

Both the converb and the past tense form should thus be recognized as one and the same form, and the differences between the two should be viewed as properties of the respective constructions.

The origin and the history of the Miyako narrative converb are still unclear,<sup>19</sup> but the fact that it still exhibits several converbial characteristics in desubordinated constructions constitutes evidence that the direction of the change was from dependent to independent, and not the opposite.<sup>20</sup>

The desubordinate clauses headed by a narrative converb have obviously gone one step further on the desubordination scale, and contrary to the desubordinated concessive and negative conditional clauses, they cannot be considered cases of ellipsis. No omitted element can be recovered and added to the sentence, and the desubordinated clause is clearly fully independent.

Shimoji (2008: 328–329) reports a similar phenomenon in the Nagahama dialect of Miyako, but claims it should be analyzed as an ellipsis of the progressive auxiliary. However, although both cases are indeed formally and semantically very similar, the Nagahama and Ōgami dialects differ on several crucial points in their desubordinated use of the narrative converb.

First, in Nagahama, the converb-final construction has a progressive meaning (29), but in Ōgami it expresses perfective past (30) and seems to freely alternate with the regular past tense form. Most crucially, no auxiliary can be recovered and added to the sentence in Ōgami (31).

- (29) Nagahama  
*kari=a*      *mmja*    *nak-i-i=du*.  
 3SG=TOP    INTJ    cry-THM-MED=FOC  
 ‘(He) was crying.’ (Shimoji 2008: 329, ex. 7-48B)

- (30) Ōgami  
 a. *uma=nu*      *makssee*      *<kuji>=n=tu*    *ak-i*.  
 there=NOM    shop.TOP    9h=DAT=FOC    open-CVB  
 ‘This shop opened at 9.’

<sup>19</sup> Thorpe (1983) relates the Miyako narrative converb to the “evidential” form (*izenkei* 已然形) of pre-modern Japanese. Though the phonological correspondence is perfect for consonant-stem verbs, it is much more problematic for vowel-stem verbs.

<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, Hateruma Ryukyuan seems to have undergone the opposite change. Its medial/sequential form *-sita* (Aso 2010) contains the past tense suffix *-ta* and was thus probably originally an independent verb form.

- b. *iaa=nkai ksk-tikaa suku <denwa>=u=tu asi.*  
 house=DIR arrive-ANT immediately phone=ACC=FOC do.CVB  
 'I phoned as soon as I arrived home.'
- c. *ikeem=na kam=nu=tu ukam=nkai ur-i*  
 old\_days.DAT=TOP god=NOM=FOC Ōgami=DIR go\_down-CVB  
*kss-i=tta.*  
 come-CVB=HS  
 'It is said a god came down to Ōgami in the past.'
- (31) *kuwnaa pssara=nkai=tu ik-i/iks-taw/\*iki=w.*  
 yesterday.TOP Hirara=DIR=FOC go-CVB/go-PST/\*go-CVB=IPF  
 'Yesterday, I went to Hirara.'

Moreover, in Nagahama, it is claimed that the progressive auxiliary is often deleted if it is already present in a preceding sentence, as in (32), but there is no such tendency in Ōgami.

- (32) a. *manjuu=gami=a ar-i-i=ru u-tar?*  
 papaya=LMT=TOP exist-THM-MED=FOC PROG-PST  
 'Were (there) papayas (in those days)?'
- b. *ar-i-i=du.*  
 exist-THM-MED=FOC  
 '(There) were.' (Nagahama, Shimoji 2008: 328, ex. 7-47A, 7-47B)

Also, the presence of the focus marker on the converb is said to be mandatory in Nagahama, but it is not in Ōgami, where it is possible for a bare narrative converb to end the sentence (33).

- (33) a. *paks=n=tu sas-ai.*  
 bee=DAT=FOC sting-PASS.CVB  
 'I was stung by a bee.'
- b. *nnama=tu kss-i!*  
 now=FOC come-CVB  
 'Here I am!'

The two phenomena differ enough from each other to be considered distinct. The Ōgami case cannot be interpreted as a simple instance of auxiliary ellipsis, and it is best analyzed as a case of advanced desubordination, one that has gone beyond the stage of conventional ellipsis illustrated above.

The origin and the motivation of this desubordinated construction is an interesting question. The answer more than likely lies in the discourse pattern of Ōgami Ryukyuan and its use of long clause chains. Long clause chains involving as many as a dozen of chain-medial clauses are not rare in Ōgami, but clause chains can easily be interrupted. Several factors can trigger a premature interruption of a clause chain, like a hesitation, a sudden change of topic, or someone else cutting in. Such interrupted clause chains most often turn up ending with a narrative converb, and this may have been one major factor for the reinterpretation of the

narrative converb as an independent past tense form. The relative anteriority with the event of the final predicate as its reference point would have been reinterpreted as an absolute past, or a relative anteriority with the time of speech as its reference point.

**5. The narrative/sequential > past Development Cross-linguistically**

Though final ellipsis itself is far from rare in the world’s languages, according to Evans (2007: 408) the development of new tense categories through desubordination does not seem to be common cross-linguistically. He gives the Tangkic language family of Australia as a rare instance where such a strategy is widely attested, but he also notices the existence of such a phenomenon in Tigrinya and Amharic, two Ethiopian Semitic languages. Like in Ōgami, in these two languages a converb-like “gerund” is used in both clause chains and adverbial subordinate clauses, but it is also used in independent clauses with a past tense value.

It thus seems the phenomenon found in Ōgami is not unique, and actually a quick survey of the other Ryukyuan languages reveals that the same narrative/sequential > past development is pervasive in this language family. Broadening our horizons to other language families, we find that the same development is also attested in the Indo-Aryan family.

**5.1. Other Ryukyuan languages**

The desubordinate use of narrative/sequential converbs as independent past tense forms is well attested in other Miyako dialects (Yuka Hayashi p.c. 2010, personal field notes), but also in other Ryukyuan languages as well, including Amami Ryukyuan, Okinawan, and Dunan (Yonaguni).

It is important to note that the forms involved are not all cognate (Amami and Okinawan *-ti/ti* < \*-te, Miyako *-i* < \*-e, Dunan *-i* < \*-i), which implies that the same desubordination process has occurred independently several times. This strongly suggests the existence of either an areal or a universal tendency for narrative/sequential dependent forms to develop into independent past tense forms.

**5.1.1. Amami Ryukyuan**

The “medial verb” (*-ti/di* < \*-te) of Amami Ryukyuan is used in clause chains, but it also functions as an independent past tense form in polar interrogative sentences and their corresponding answers, as in the Yuwan dialect (34).

- (34) a. *ju-di, ka-cji, wara-ta.*  
 read-MED write-MED laugh-PST  
 ‘(I) read (something), and wrote (something), and laughed.’ (Niinaga 2010: 67, ex. 62)
- b. *uroo kun hon=ba ju-di=na?*  
 2SG.NHON.TOP this book=ACC read-MED=YNQ  
 ‘Did you read this book?’ (Niinaga 2010: 67, ex. 65)

Interestingly, this use has been replicated in the variant of Japanese spoken by

Amami Islanders, where the cognate converb in *-te* can also undergo desubordination (35).

- (35) *ima furo=kara agat-te?*  
 now bath=ABL rise-CVB  
 ‘Did you just get out from the bath?’ (in a public bath, Yuwan, personal field notes)

### 5.1.2. Okinawan

The same phenomenon as in Amami Ryukyuan is reported for the cognate form of the Shuri dialect of Okinawan (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1963). The “suspensive form” (*chūshikei* 中止形) in *-ti/-di* (< \*-te) has a converbial use (36a), but it is also used as a main clause predicate with a past tense value in polar questions (36b) and in declarative sentences (36c).

- (36) *jum-* ‘to read’ (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1963: 63)  
 a. *judi* ‘reading and...’ (suspensive/converb)  
 b. *judi-i* ‘did (you) read?’ (independent past interrogative)  
 c. *judi* ‘(I) read’ (independent past declarative)

This situation is already attested in the Korean (*Haytong Ceykwukki* 海東諸國紀, 1471) and Chinese (*Zhōngshān Chúanxìnlù* 中山伝信録, 1721) transcriptions of Old and Early Modern Okinawan.<sup>21</sup>

- (37) a. Okinawan \**agatte/agatti* ‘got up’ 上了 transcribed in Korean script as *angkattyeey* (*Haytong Ceykwukki*)  
 b. Okinawan \**ami*  $\phi$ *utti* ‘it rains’ 下雨 transcribed in Chinese as 阿梅福的 (Modern Chinese *amei fudi*, Early Mandarin<sup>22</sup>  $\text{ʔamuei fɔʔtiʔ}$ ) (*Zhōngshān Chúanxìnlù*)

### 5.1.3. Dunan (Yonaguni Ryukyuan)

In Dunan (Yonaguni Ryukyuan), the medial form cognate with the Japanese “infinitive” is used in chain-medial clauses and auxiliary constructions (38), but it has also developed into an independent past tense form (39).

- (38) a. *ttui* [*tharum-i*] *ttaintu=si* *hatarat-i* *bu-ta-n=di*.  
 one\_person beg-MED two\_people=INSTR work-MED IPF-PST-IND=QUOT  
 ‘It is said another man was hired, and the two of them were working together.’ (chain-medial clause, Iwase et al. 1983: 225)  
 b. *ibitati* [*mat-i*] *thura-i!*  
 little\_bit wait-MED BEN-IMP  
 ‘Wait for me a little bit!’ (auxiliary construction, personal field notes)

<sup>21</sup> I used the manuscript reproductions found in Tōjō (1930).

<sup>22</sup> Reconstructed from the data available in Coblin (2006, 2007) with the help of Laurent Sagart.

- (39) a. *kbū baga-ta-ba khundund-i.*  
 PROX understand-PST-CIRC get\_angry-MED  
 ‘Since I understood it I got angry.’ (personal field notes)
- b. *inu=nu nat-i-ŋui tt-iti udurut-i.*  
 dog=GEN cry-MED-voice listen-SEQ be\_surprised-MED  
 ‘I heard a dog barking and got frightened.’ (personal field notes)

## 5.2. Other language families

Apart from the Semitic case already noted by Evans (2007), the Indo-Aryan language Sinhala constitutes another interesting example of the desubordination of a sequential/narrative dependent form with a past tense value outside of the Japonic family.

In Sinhala, the “conjunctive participle” in *-la* is a converb-like dependent verb form used in clause chains (40), but it also functions as an independent form (41) expressing perfect aspect (Taylor 2006).<sup>23</sup>

- (40) a. *minihā gallak ussala wandura-tə gaballa duwəla heŋguna.*  
 man rock-IND lift-CP monkey-DAT throw-PPL run-PPL hide-PST  
 ‘The man picked up a rock, threw it at the monkey, ran away, and hid.’  
 (Taylor 2006: 158, ex. 21)
- b. *bootəle wətīla kəḍuna.*  
 bottle fall-PPL break-PST  
 ‘The bottle fell and broke.’ (Taylor 2006: 150, ex. 1)
- (41) a. *mamə Renu-wə dəkka habei dən əyə gibilla.*  
 1SG R-ACC see:PST but now 3SG:F go-PPL  
 ‘I saw Renu but now she has gone.’ (Taylor 2006: 151, ex. 5)
- b. *mahattea gibilla.*  
 gentleman go-PPL  
 ‘The gentleman has gone.’ (Taylor 2006: 151, ex. 4)

## 6. Conclusions

A new look at the verb forms of Ōgami Ryukyuan in a systematic perspective that takes into account the syntactic and discursive uses of the different forms reveals several interesting features not discussed by previous studies.

The dependent verb forms of Ōgami Ryukyuan form a rich system of converbs, but they require us to revise the traditional definition of “converb” and to abandon the two problematic concepts of “finiteness” and “subordination” as defining properties of this category. The ability or inability of a verb form to function as the head of an independent clause/sentence does not always correlate with its inflectional potential, and a coordination/subordination dichotomy is not always straightforward to establish due to the existence of clause chains. The polyfunctionality of

<sup>23</sup> The examples are quoted as found in Taylor (2006), which lacks explicit morpheme segmentation and a list of abbreviations. In (40a), “IND” presumably stands for “indefinite”, rather than for “indicative” as in the rest of this article.

some forms, being variably more or less clearly subordinate, is also problematic for their categorization. This is however not surprising if we consider that “subordination” is a syntactic property of clauses and not a morphological feature of verb forms.

The desubordinated use of converbs in Ōgami Ryukyuan is an interesting phenomenon, and though some cases are instances of conventional ellipsis, the independent use of the narrative converb as a past tense form stands out. Contrary to the analysis of previous studies, the converb and the independent past forms are clearly one and the same. The fact that it retains converbial properties even when used independently clearly indicates the direction of the change was from converb to independent past form, and not the other way around. It also cannot be analyzed as involving the ellipsis of an auxiliary, as is the case in other Miyako dialects, and its origin is thus probably different.

The case of Ōgami’s narrative converb cannot be explained by the hypothesis of Evans (2007) that the emergence of new tense-aspect forms through desubordination might be motivated by an original paucity in tense/aspect forms. In Ōgami, the desubordinated converb does not fill a gap in the system but actually competes with the original past tense form. Here, the origin of this development is to be sought in the discourse pattern and the use of long clause chains.

Ōgami is thus particularly noteworthy from a typological point of view, but this kind of development is actually not so rare. The development of new past/perfect forms out of narrative/sequential converbs has occurred independently several times in Ryukyuan, and the existence of a cross-linguistically valid evolutionary trend *sequential/narrative* > *past* is confirmed by its attestation in other unrelated language families, i.e., Indo-Aryan and Semitic. Whether the fact that all these languages have a basic SOV word order plays a role in the emergence of this change remains to be determined.

Desubordination, the independent use of originally dependent forms, is particularly interesting for the Unidirectionality Hypothesis of grammaticalization, which states that linguistic change leads from more independent to less independent forms and constructions. In this regard, the Ryukyuan languages constitute a valuable source of data that needs to be further investigated.

**Abbreviations**

<...>	Japanese loan/code-switching (Hepburn)	INTJ	Interjection
1	First person	IPF	Imperfective
2SG	Second person singular	IRR	Irrealis
3SG	Third person singular	LMT	Limitative
ABL	Ablative	LOG	Logophoric
ACC	Accusative	MED	Medial verb
ADVZ	Adverbializer	NEG	Negative
ANT	Anterior	NHON	Non-honorific
BEN	Benefactive	NMZ	Nominalizer
CAUS	Causative	NOM	Nominative
CIRC	Circumstantial	OBJ	Object
CLF	Classifier	PASS	Passive
CP	Conjunctive participle	PL	Plural
CND	Conditional	POT	Potential
COP	Copula	PPL	Participle
CSS	Concessive	PREP	Preparative
CVB	(Narrative) converb	PRF	Perfect
DAT	Dative	PRH	Prohibitive
DES	Desiderative	PROG	Progressive
DIM	Diminutive	PROSP	Prospective
DIR	Directive	PROX	Proximal
DISC	Discursive marker	PST	Past
DIST	Distal	QUOT	Quotative
F	Feminine	RESTR	Restrictive
FILL	Filler	RES	Resultative
FOC	Focus	SEQ	Sequential
GEN	Genitive	SIM	Simultaneous
HORT	Hortative	SUP	Supine
HS	Hearsay	TERM	Terminative
IMP	Imperative	THM	Thematic vowel
INCL	Inclusive	TOP	Topic
IND	Indicative	VBZ	Verbalizer
INSTR	Instrumental	YNQ	Yes-no question

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## 【要 旨】

### 南琉球宮古語大神方言の副動詞と脱従属化

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本稿では消滅の危機に瀕している南琉球宮古語大神方言の副動詞体系を記述する。大神方言の副動詞は一つのカテゴリーを成しているが、不確かな概念の「定形性」や「従属」による「副動詞」の従来の定義にとって問題であり、その定義の再検討が必要である。

副動詞のような「非言いきり形」が主要部にたつ節が主節として機能する脱従属化現象に注目する。特に通言語的にめずらしいと言われた継起などを表す副動詞が主節において過去形として使われる現象に焦点を当てる。時制を表す動詞語形の少なさがこの現象の要因であると提案されたことがあるが、大神方言ではその仮説が成り立たず、要因が談話様式に求められる。

継起などを表す副動詞が独立した過去形へ変化するのはそれほどめずらしい現象ではなく、通言語的な進化の経路であることを示す。