Semantic representation: A study of the usage and development of characteristic Okinawan verb forms and case particles

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CG - Cognitive Grammar
emp - emphatic marker
gen - genitive marker
imp - imperative marker
loc - locative marker
MiOk - Middle Okinawan
MNJ - Modern Japanese
MOk - Modern Okinawan
NR - Northern Ryukyuan
OOk - Old Okinawan
OSL - Okinawan as Second Language
pol - politeness marker
sub - subject marker
SR - Southern Ryukyuan
top - topic marker
vol - volitional marker
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The motivation for this thesis began not with any particular eye on Okinawan and its history, but rather out of methodological interests I had developed while working on the Salishan languages in general, and in particular the language Lushootseed.¹ To varying degrees of complexity, all of the Salishan languages are polysynthetic, and have unusually transparent morphology, that is to say, in Salishan languages often entire utterances are but single word sentences composed of numerous but clearly discernible pieces. However, the kinds of semantic and syntactic relationships encoded are quite different than those of Indo-European. For example, instead of encoding an action as ‘transitive vs. intransitive,’ Lushootseed morphology encodes information about how an action is manifested, i.e. whether the energy of the action was applied directly or indirectly, whether the action was controlled or random or creative, whether the action was physical or mental or non-real; while certainly valid for talking about the semantics of a certain usage or context, such distinctions like transitive and intransitive have little power to carve demarcations in Lushootseed’s morphological system. Even more troubling for the linguist, is the fact most of the markers representing concepts described above are not just added to what an English speaker would think of as typically verbs, but also to those that in English would be adjective, nouns, and even prepositions.

When dealing with such a language, then, one needs to understand language composition as encompassing a rather different set of categories. While such categories may be exotic or unintuitive for a native speaker of say, English, they are nonetheless as

¹ The Salishan languages are distributed throughout the north west of North America, with the greatest area of diversity centered around coastal areas of Washington state. Lushootseed is spoken in an area around Puget Sound, with two main dialects (Northern and Southern) that diverge around the area of present day Tulalip.
fundamental for Lushootseed and the other Salishan languages as, for example, transitivity, plurality, and noun vs. verb distinctions are for English and Indo-European. This presents a unique kind of problem in which most fundamental categories in Lushootseed are difficult to represent clearly and systemically with many of the dominant, syntax-centric models of present day Linguistics. That is, where a modern grammatical description of English would hinge around syntactic class definitions and clear morphological categories, linguists working with Lushootseed to this day have yet to agree on the issue of whether Lushootseed has only nouns, only verbs, or even if such issue is even an issue when framed in those terms.  

For English, the category of linguistic units and their ordering largely control what is grammatical and what is not, but paramount for the notion of acceptability in Lushootseed is not how one puts the linguistic pieces together, but what kind picture they represent. Turning through the pages of the Lushootseed Dictionary (Hess, et al., 1994), or looking at the ‘corrections’ one native speaker has made to transcriptions of earlier recorded stories (Hess, et al., 1996), one sees that the nature of ‘unacceptability’ in Lushootseed almost always revolves around how one speaker conceptualizes an action or object as opposed to another. Barring mistakes in speech production, errors in Lushootseed are almost never syntactic, but rather semantic. For example, while one group may accept the concept ‘thought’ as being referable to as a ‘tangible object of verbalization’, others only accept it as a ‘volume of mental action,’ and yet others accept both, but with a close semantic distinction such that the former maybe better translated as

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'idea’ where the latter by ‘intuition.’ Thus, when describing Lushootseed categorical distinctions, i.e. syntactic considerations, are far less useful than those of conceptual distinctions, i.e. semantic considerations.

Formal linguistics, as mentioned earlier, places a great emphasis on the categorization and classification of linguistic components. This allows for the study of language to be approached in parallel to that of the physical sciences; where the physicist is looking for patterns of energetic interaction between atomic particles, the linguist can look for patterns of interaction between subjects and objects, etc. Yet, language does not reside wholly external in the physical world, but rather is a process of the human mind, and so inherits all the splendors and mystery of such a medium. The counterpart to formal linguistics that deals with this mental aspect, cognitive linguistics, tends to not focus on systems of linguistic representation, but rather on more abstract investigations, for example, into how the human mind distributes attention or processes physical shapes. Such a bifurcation of the field is comparable, for example, to a world where Geology was divided into two camps: those who catalog the properties of rocks, and those that speculate about the processes that shape and create rocks. Here the artificial distinction between the physical object of study and the forces surrounding it seems foolish, yet in Linguistics such a divide is real and active.

Returning to Lushootseed, it is clear that one needs a far more conceptually-oriented apparatus of description in order capture the demarcations of its complex morphology. Yet most cognitively oriented research into such fine semantic distinctions is devoid of practical, representational means. That is, while much research has been done into what kinds of conceptual distinctions informing the world-view encoded in
Lushootseed, there is often no parallel to the clean diagrams and syntactic hierarchies that are the mainstays of formal linguistic descriptions of structure.

Fortunately, there is one such descriptive system that attempts to bridge the gap between formal linguistic representations and the semantic insights of cognitive linguistics, namely, Cognitive Grammar (CG). While explained in more detail in subsequent chapters, this model does not advocate any particular view of semantic or syntactic theory, but simply posits a symbolic structure of language in which abstract (largely structural) schemas combine with more conceptual (largely semantic) schemas to facilitate linguistic communication and representation.

This model has been affectively used to begin work on concretely describing Lushootseed in a concise manner (Beck 1996, 2000). While there is yet grammar of Lushootseed, the language has been well preserved and there are a few pedagogical texts to help revitalize it. However, there are only a handful of native speakers remaining at present, and furthermore all that are presumably learning Lushootseed on the reservations are now native English speakers, which as described above does not provide the Lushootseed learner with many (if any) points of comparison. CG, though, allows one to represent the complex semantic structures of Lushootseed in a simple and straightforward manner, so that without needless discussion of the (still debated) theoretical grammatical classes of the language, or lengthy exposition on the nuances of certain morphs, one can immediately and literally see those concepts represented. Thus, CG not only helps linguists see more clearly the connection between form and meaning, but is a boon for the

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3 This method of linguistic representation was developed by Ronald Langacker, one of the early pivotal figures in cognitive linguistics. Originally trained as a formal linguist in the generative grammar tradition, Langacker devoted his early career to the historical study of Uto-Aztecan languages, but decided that a more semantic approach was needed to capture them in full (Langacker, 1987), and so began working on the grammatical model now known as CG.
students of language as well. Without having to brave much seemingly arcane syntactic or semantic theory, a student can approach even ‘exotic’ languages such as Lushootseed in depth. These last two points, clarity of form and meaning, alongside approachability, are the impetus for this thesis.

Having become acquainted with Lushootseed and CG in his native home of Washington, I decided to combine these familiar experiences with new discoveries in my graduate coursework. As a part of the language requirement for an MA in Asian Studies, I was afforded the opportunity to take a class on Okinawan language and culture, both modern and historic. Having long been a student of Japanese, I was struck by the degree of divergence in Okinawan from Japanese, and the diversity of the Ryūkyūan language family in general. As Okinawan, along with all the languages of the Ryūkyūs are endangered, the comparison between them and Lushootseed and other Salishan languages became plain. From this observation, two questions emerged, 1) Could CG style analysis be used to describe some aspects of Okinawan in a way that would help future students? and 2) As Okinawan has a relatively deep historical record, could CG be used to clarify any historical points?

Turning from broader questions to more specific goals, the following points of interest came to mind. As for the first question, I found that many aspects of Okinawan were familiar to a student who already had a background in Japanese, a fact not surprising considering they are related. However, two areas above all others seemed most distinct: Okinawan verbs and particles. As this is an MA thesis, a complete examination of modern Okinawan (MOk) verbal development is beyond the scope of this research, as in like, is an examination of all particles in the historical record. That said, for the
Okinawan as second language (OSL) student, regardless of background in Japanese, English, or Portuguese, certain basic verbal forms make semantic distinctions not found in any of these languages. Also, while particles in general will be unfamiliar for English and Portuguese students, all but a handful of particles in Okinawan are drastically different from those in modern Japanese. With an eye to these look-a-like forms in the case of Japanese speaking OSL students, or the general different semantic notions for all, CG could be best applied to such fundamental verb and particle forms in MOk to clearly express them. Thus this thesis will focus developing a clear, CG based, semantic encapsulation of the most fundamental verb forms, and common noun markers.

With regards to the second question, namely, the possibility for historical study, Okinawan presents many opportunities. Unlike the other languages of the Ryūkyūs, Okinawan has a written record of forms perhaps datable back to the 15th century. This record has been instrumental in reconstructing older forms of the language, even informing the reconstruction of Proto-Ryūkyūan itself. However, while most historical study in formal linguistics has revolved around discovering the regular ways in which sounds change through time, there have been similar historical advances on the cognitive side as well. Researchers in what is known as Grammaticalization have been studying the ways in which grammatical forms develop, that is, how some words in languages gradually loose their general function to index objects and actions, and become more apart of the mechanics, the grammar of a language. There has been much work on documenting the stages of Okinawan, as well as the reconstruction of the proto-language

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4 These three languages are listed to represent the primary languages spoken by OSL students in the major diasporic regions for Okinawans, namely Hawai‘i, Brazil, and in the sense that Japanese culture and language is ascendant, the fringes of Okinawa itself.
5 The hypothetical language from which all Ryūkyūan languages descended.
from which it sprang, however nothing has been done that uses these new findings about grammatical development patterns. As one major aspect of this thesis will be the semantic representation of selected MOk verbal and particle forms, it seems natural to explore how the language fits these cross-linguistic trends, and even more so with the depth of history and quality of formalist scholarship already available. Thus the second goal of this thesis will be to examine the grammaticalization and semantic changes involved in the development of the forms examined, where possible from the proto-language to the most recent developments in modern speech.

Finally, one third goal of this thesis emerges out of the status of Okinawan as and endangered language, just like Lushootseed mentioned above: to preserve clearly the semantics of the language for future generations of second language learners interested in its survival and revitalization. In particular, the close structural relationship between Japanese and Okinawan puts MOk in danger of becoming ever more Japan-ified in its patterns of expression. While a particular construction or word choice is clearly Okinawan from the historical record, the modern OSL student with a background in Japanese can easily replace them with cognate forms from that language, and thus loose the original essence of MOk. In particular, despite a separation between the Okinawan and Japanese most likely since the Kofun period,® cognate forms in the languages remain quite close on the surface. In this way it is especially easy for a speaker aware of such correspondences to Okinawan-ize a Japanese word, and use it as if it was a native formation. While the majority of the thesis dealing with this thirds goal of preservation will focus on verb and particle forms in current teaching materials, naturally so as the other two areas of exposition deal with just those issues, I would like to present a sample

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® Beginning roughly around 300 BCE.
of the kinds of lexical differences in MOk and Japanese. The following is a poem from an anthology of work by Yamauchi Norimasa, an award winning Okinawan poet and language activist.

\[
\text{shimi shiran umee ga / amata yushi-gutu ya /}
\text{wa ga uta nu michi nu / tifun sarami}
\]

墨 知らない お前 の/余った 寄せ事 は/
我 の 歌 の 道 の/手本 であろう ぞ

\[
\text{sumi shiranai omae no / amatta yosegoto wa /}
\text{wa(tashi) no uta no michi no / tehon de-arō zo}
\]

The bare teachings of my ancestors
Accumulated through the generations,
Are they not my study
In the craft of poetry?

The Okinawan original is given in Romanization above, followed by my close translation into Japanese. While the particles have been normalized to reflect MNJ convention, as well as the final phrase sarami ‘isn’t it (the case that),’ the words have been translated literally to show cognates. Following the Japanese is again a Romanization of the Japanese, and my free translation of the poem into English. While glosses have been omitted, as they may actually confuse the issue in this particular case, the purpose of presenting this poem is to show the great differences in semantics not easily seen in the subtle differences in sound.

First, the MOk word shimi, is cognate with MNJ sumi ‘ink’. However, in MOk the word has taken on the additional meanings of ‘character,’ ‘writing,’ as well as ‘learning’ and ‘academics’. One word for student, for instance, in MOk is shiminarayaa, literally ‘studier of ink [words]’. In the poem then, the usage of shimi most closely

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7 Itself corresponding etymologically to a construction like ‘...(ko)so ara-me’ in classical Japanese.
corresponds with MNJ *gakumon* ‘formal learning,’ which by the regular sound changes would be *gakumun* in Okinawan. However, if an OSL student was not familiar with these extended uses of *shimi*, only familiar with its clear cognate in MNJ, the uniquely Okinawan semantic range could be lost easily.

Again, the MOk *umee* is clearly cognate with MNJ *omae* ‘you (informal),’ but the Okinawan *umee* means ‘ancestor’. Both words come literally from a sequence ‘honorable-before(er)’ but whereas Japanese has used the word to mean a person before the speaker, physically, the Okinawans have used it to mean those who have come before in terms of generations. There is nothing to stop OSL learners of Okinawan from using this word, though, as if it meant the same thing as Japanese.

Such deviations could be given for virtually every word in that poem, but yet the similarity in sound would betray nothing of such deeper semantic shifts. Thus it is vital for the survival of Okinawan that current textbooks and teaching materials make OSL learners aware of such differences, lest eventually Okinawan becomes nothing more than convergent dialect of Japanese.

To summarize, the purpose of this thesis is to record clearly some fundamental semantic notions peculiar to Okinawan in its verbal and particle systems. Whether for OSL or linguistic research, these notions will be tracked from their beginnings in the proto-language to their expression in the modern language. The CG model will be used to encapsulate and display these semantic notions, as well as show how grammaticalization processes are at work through time. Finally, the semantic distinctions charted in earlier sections will be compared to their presentation in a selection of modern texts and teaching materials, to see if improvement is needed for preservation.
CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

This thesis takes several independent streams of linguistic research, and combines them to gain new insights not necessarily available to any alone. More specifically, it takes grammaticalization theory and structural historical linguistics, and weds them under the umbrella of Cognitive Grammar (CG) style analysis. While both grammaticalization research and traditional historical linguistics are concerned with language in a diachronic way, the semantic emphasis of grammaticalization theory is difficult to express as concisely as the physical data used in historical reconstruction. However, CG allows for a seamless integration of semantic and formal representation, and will be used to bridge this gap.

2.1.1 CG

Cognitive Grammar is a language model developed by Ronald Langacker (Langacker 1987), and relies on insights from cognitive science to understand linguistic structure. Its basic approach to language involves only three kinds of linguistic units: phonologic, semantic, and symbolic. In short, phonological units are chiefly strings of a language’s phonemes, but CG also used the term more abstractly to include all other sounds and even gestures and speech contexts that affect language use. For example, in CG societal status of the speakers could be represented as ‘phonological units’ if they had a clear affect on linguistic production; so long as the codified entity carries meaning with linguistic influence it can be called a phonological unit in CG. Where phonologic units are the ‘physical’ vehicles of the linguistic expression, semantic units represent the conceptual content within. Last, symbolic units represent the links between semantic and
phonologic content. So, in CG, a word (whether grammatical or completely lexical) constitutes the regular symbolic link between a certain phonologic unit and a certain semantic unit. For example, the sounds used to produce the word ‘tree’ are symbolically linked to a certain set of concepts. In this manner any language can be described in terms of the symbolic pairs of phonologic and semantic content that constitute them, along with the higher order symbolic patterns that make up the ‘rules’ of morphology and syntax. While this is a gross over-simplification of CG, the idea here is that one can treat language as a system of symbolic combinations and correspondences.

While CG has many facets, important for this thesis will be CG’s treatment of verbs, and the specifics will be explained where needed as the analysis of Okinawan verbal semantics progresses.

2.1.2 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization theory is concerned with regular patterns of language development, specifically those processes that involve elements once freely used becoming more specialized, that is, less lexical and more grammatical. While much of grammaticalization theory is devoted to the study of in what kinds of situations and through what mechanisms certain words become increasingly less semantic, this thesis is concerned with another aspect of grammaticalization, the study of grammaticalization pathways.

Grammaticalization pathways are simply patterns that cut across language families and history, whereby certain kinds of words are often grammaticalized into the same roles. For example, the majority of all languages that have been studied in this way,
have used or currently are using a grammatical form expressing future and/or purpose built on a verb of motion, i.e. a verb meaning broadly ‘to go to’. English is no exception. When one says ‘I am going to read this now,’ it does not necessarily imply that the speaker is going to move somewhere in order to read, but rather simply that there is an intention to read in the near future. At some point in the past, the ancestor of modern English ‘to go’ was used as a regular verb to express motion, but with the passage of time it gradually extended its original meaning of physical translation to became specialized into a marker of future and intention. These broad linguistic trends can help us in our understanding of language development, in so far as certain patterns are to be expected. While there has been much discussion as to the motivation behind these patterns, this thesis will ‘encode’ such well attested linguistic patterns in CG, and evaluate their presence in Okinawan.

2.1.3 Historical Reconstruction

One of the major concerns of the historical linguistic enterprise is the careful reconstruction of hypothetical ancestors of both individual languages and larger language families. Two main kinds of reconstruction exist, internal and comparative, often overlapping in their application. In summary, internal reconstruction looks at a single language and its internal variation, and tries to extrapolate an earlier and more regular system, a ‘pre-language’ that could have existed before the current diversity and irregularities. Comparative reconstruction follows a similar process, but instead takes a group of languages that are presumed to be related, and in turn develops the possible

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8 Cornerstones of this are the works of Ronald Langacker, Leonard Talmy, Joan Bybee, George Lakoff, and certainly others.
‘proto-language’ from which they all could have descended. Again, to this proto-language one can apply internal reconstruction and arrive at a pre-proto-language, to reach even further back in time. In this thesis Maner Thorpe’s Proto-Ryukyuan reconstruction (reference) will play a key role. It provides a basis not only for developments in Okinawan, but also for all other Ryukyuan languages with which we may make comparisons.

2.2 A Synthetic Approach

This thesis will combine the above three approaches into a synthetic and unified approach. First, the semantics of selected modern Okinawan (MOk) features will be explored and framed in a CG style description, capturing both the relevant semantic and structural facts together. Next, the same process will be applied to Proto-Ryukyuan (PR), again capturing the relevant semantic and structural facts related to verbal morphology and case particles. At this point the thesis will examine some common grammaticalization pathways and their motivation, followed by a look at how the PR forms match the cross-linguistic trends. Finally, having established the semantics of MOk and PR verbal morphology, the time span between them will be compared against expected typological developments, as well as observable changes and innovations attested through earlier stages of Okinawan.

The second half of the thesis will take the insights presented in the section on verbal morphology and apply them in like to an examination of case particles. The particles themselves will be divided into word families based on form and function, followed by a chronological ordering therein. As the majority of Okinawan particles have
apparent or plausible origins from grammaticalized verbal forms, the merits of those arguments and their semantic consequences will be taken up.

Finally, having delved into the semantics and usage of the chief characteristic verbal and particle forms, their presentation in a sample of Okinawan textbooks can be evaluated. As Japanese is the dominant language of most speakers in Okinawa (few under 30 even speak Okinawan) the manner in which Okinawan it is taught as a second language is crucial for its survival. With a clear sense of linguistic history, semantics, and usage differences, the quality of the selected texts can be probed along these lines.

This thesis attempts to reconcile two often disparate ends of the linguistic research landscape, cognitive and structural, and deepen the clarity of both via each other. It hopes to accomplish this task by introducing a powerful and yet relatively yet untapped language model, CG, in order to allow both kinds of research to inform one another in a visual and concrete way. It is my hope that such a method may help others engender communication between linguistic theories often assumed to be mutually exclusive, or beyond the concern of more specific spheres of research.
CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

The project outlined above requires several different strains research to be synthesized: materials about cognitive grammar and grammaticalization pathways, materials about Okinawan semantics, and finally materials about Okinawan language history. Below I will outline in three sections the most significant works.

3.1 CG & Grammaticalization

With regards to CG, there are currently three major texts available by Ronald Langacker that explain the theory. His first book in his planned two volume set (Langacker 1987) sets down the idea that discoveries in cognition can be used to model language. Within, he describes how language can be thought of as a symbolic system, and how syntax, morphology, and the lexicon can be thought of as a unified spectrum of schematic, symbolic, and semantic complexity. The second volume (Langacker, 1991) applies these notions in a ‘field test’ to English, as well as several exotic constructions found in the various Uto-Aztecan languages he has studied. As this two volume set has a considerable gap between the two books, and over several thousand pages of material, Langacker decided to produce what is essentially a how-to guide for CG (Langacker, 2008), explaining all the basics, but leaving out the majority of the mathematic and computational aspect of how the mind computes.

The grammaticalization information is taken from three main sources. The first is a survey text that presents the entire field of grammaticalization theory (Hopper, et al., 2008), and so not only outlines a few grammaticalization pathways, but also the various environments and mechanical causes of grammaticalization in general. As for the
pathways themselves, there are two excellent books available. The first is a cross-
linguistic study of how various verbal categories such as tense, aspect, modality, etc. are
expressed throughout the world (Bybee, 1994). This work not only surveys the kinds of
constructions used to make up these verbal forms, but also describes the general patterns
and trends found throughout. The second pathway oriented work is (Heine, 2002) a
dictionary of commonly occurring grammaticalization patterns. While (Bybee, 1994)
focused solely on verbal constructions, (Heine, 2002) examines all kinds of syntactic and
morphologic classes. In this thesis, both works will be used to inform the discussion of
how certain Okinawan particle and verb formations relate to greater global linguistic
trends.

3.2 Okinawan Semantics

The initial idea to do this study came from reading (Shinzato, 1984), a dissertation
on how epistemics can cut across then unclear usages in Okinawan verbal morphology.
While the paper does not try to comprehensively define all the verb forms examined, if
provides a wealth of information otherwise unavailable until the past few years along the
way. This thesis uses Shinzato (1984) to organize the initial forms to be examined and
uses the findings therein as a point of reference to organize the following discussion. One
recent textbook, Miyara (2000), is essentially an intermediate reference grammar of MOk.
While the other text I use to provide many examples of dialogue (Nishioka, 2005) does a
much better job of ‘teaching’ the language, Miyara (2000) is almost encyclopedic in the
number of grammatical and semantic topics it covers. These two texts form the basis for
the majority of examples used.
Of particular mention is (Izuyama 2006), in which there is an excellent essay on
the notion of how MOk represents reality through speech. This essay largely overlaps in
content between (Shinzato, 1984) and (Miyara, 2000), but in a way that generalizes over
the specific takes presented in those two works. One final source of semantics, although
not intended to be so, is (Honda, 2003) a modern dictionary of Okinawan. In many of the
glosses on verbal forms Honda freely notes usage nuances and differences between
similar forms in Japanese. This thesis takes (Shinzato, 1984) as a basic presentation of
complex verbal forms, and then uses the other sources described above to build off of and
extend her analysis.

3.3 Okinawan Language History

The mainstay of the historical sections of this thesis is Thorpe (1983), his
reconstruction of Proto-Ryukyuan. In this work not only does Thorpe meticulously
reconstruct the various Ryukyuan dialects, he often decides to root out semantic
differences beyond simple glosses. Thus, at least for the most basic verb forms, Thorpe
provides this thesis with a solid semantic ground from which to chart further
developments on to MOk.

Beyond Thorpe, there are numerous excellent works of Japanese scholarship.
With an eye to pan-Ryukyuan, (Nohara, 1998) is a concise reference to all particle forms
that exist within Ryukyuan. Beyond the epic task such a compilation must have taken,
Nohara also includes scores of examples for each particle, and as the book is divided by
dialects, it also serves as a window into lesser studied Ryukyuan languages where sources
are more scarce. Tackling the Omoro specifically, Takahashi Toshizō produced two
volumes, one on verbs (Takahashi 1991a) and another of general articles (Takahashi 1991b). The volume on verbs captures similar ideas as (Nohara, 1998) was to particles: it is a complete alphabetical indexing of all verbs in the Omoro, and all forms that they occur in. His other more general work provides a brief overview of the Omoro, followed by mostly discussion on the usage and semantics of various particles and verb forms from the perspective of traditional, native Japanese grammatical analysis. One final source (Hokama 1995) is particularly important to this thesis, as beyond a dictionary of Literary Okinawan, it provides information for all of its glosses as the stratum of Okinawan a word belongs, that is, whether a word is attested in the Omoro, or later collected genres of more modern plays and poems. This work was invaluable in working out the chronology of particle forms, and making the diachronic patterns become easily visible.

### 3.4 This Thesis and the Field

With regards to Linguistics, it is my hope that the content herein will demonstrate how complex semantic notions and abstract cognitive research can be easily represented with Cognitive Grammar models. As time progresses it seems to I that the field is growing ever distant between the areas of cognitive and structural research, and so a means of middle-ground will soon become a fast need. While this is only an experiment in such a task, hopefully it will inspire others to attempt similar explorations.

More importantly, though, this work is intended to bring information about MOk language usage that needs to be clearly articulated in order to preserve Okinawan language’s core. With the Japanization of Okinawa, the language is in serious danger of becoming extinct in its own home, but revitalization efforts are hampered by a lack of
materials. In particular, here in Hawai‘i where there is a large number of Okinawans, language heritage is just as important. However, there are few to no learning materials available\(^9\) in English, and most of the Japanese works (two will be discussed in Chapter 7) suffer from serious problems. This thesis then hopes to clarify some of the most characteristic, but also some of the most divergent from Japanese and English, aspects of MOk for the English speaking learner.

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\(^9\) The only one I know of is (Sakihara, 2006) an Okinawan-English wordbook. It has some grammatical information, but is intended not as a learning tool, but a reference for inserting Okinawan into daily life.
CHAPTER 4. CG & MODERN OKINAWAN VERBAL SEMANTICS

In this chapter there will be a presentation of characteristic MOk verbal forms, and the ways in which their semantic nuances can be demonstrated and captured in CG-style notation. First there will be an example-based presentation of how the various verb forms can be distinguished, along with their points of commonality and divergence from similar constructions in English and Japanese. Next the notion of ‘verb’ in CG will be discussed, and the semantics developed earlier will be encapsulated along those lines. The schematic representations developed herein will be used in the later chapters on grammaticalization and particles.

4.1 Semantics of Selected Okinawan Forms

While Okinawan shares many cognates and more recent borrowings with Japanese, such that its lexicon alone does not indicate the great time depth at which the two were separated, the true length is betrayed in a comparison of the languages’ verbal morphology. In this section we will use observations from a variety of sources on Okinawan semantics to build a clear understanding of what forms exist in the language, and how they can be differentiated in meaning and use.

Before the discussion of semantics begins, a brief explanation of Okinawan verbal structure is necessary. In order to produce an efficient structural description of Okinawan verbs, it is convenient to present three basic forms for each verb from which all remaining forms can be regularly built. For example, the Okinawan-English Wordbook (Sakihara, 2006) (Wordbook) has the following three listings: headword ending, nonpast negative, and gerund. With these three forms a reader can determine the necessary
information to make the remaining, regular inflectional patterns. This thesis adopts a similar tripartite system and refers to a verb’s ‘base-form,’ ‘i-form,’ and ‘t-form.’ To help those familiar with Wordbook, my terminology corresponds in the following way for regular verbs: 

- base-form = nonpast negative minus -an, i-form = headword ending minus -(i/u)n, and t-form = gerund minus -i. Irregular verbs, however, must be learned separately: e.g. the negative of the verb ‘to come’ in Okinawan is kuun, for which there is no segment -an to remove. As there is only a handful of such irregulars, and Wordbook is a readily available English-Okinawan dictionary, this thesis will defer a richer discussion of verb classification to that source.

Regardless of how one labels these basic verb forms, the underlying purpose is to account for morphologized contractions of once regular morpheme sequences, fully present in prior stages of the language. In particular, the utility of such tripartite systems is to account for contractions that have left as their only trace consonantal assimilations and palatalizations. For example, the following two forms of the verb muchun ‘to hold’ differ only slightly in form, but reflect significantly different historical origins: muchi ‘to hold [infinitive]’ is cognate with Japanese mochi (Old Japanese möti) ‘to hold [infinitive]’ whereas mucchi ‘to hold [perfective participle]’ is cognate with Japanese motte (Old Japanese mötite) ‘to hold [perfective participle]’. In other cases, as with kachun ‘to write,’ sound changes have left no traces of the complex, prior morphological structure, and so we have simply kachi ‘to write [infinitive], [perfective participle]’ cognate with both Japanese kaki ‘to write [infinitive]’ and kaite ‘to write [perfective participle]’. By using a system as found in Wordbook or this thesis, one establishes a way to refer clearly to certain morphological histories and their relevance therein, regardless
of whether a given Okinawan verb will have one, two, or the maximum three distinct surface alternations. The following table gives a selection of common verbs, both regular (from top down to *shinun* ‘to die’) and irregular (from *wun* ‘to exists, animate’ to end).

Some verb types that are less common, and all sub-patterns of those below, have been omitted to condense the chart. In like manner, some less common irregular verbs have been omitted as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Type</th>
<th>Base-Form</th>
<th>I-Form</th>
<th>T-Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wakain</em> ‘to understand’</td>
<td>wakar</td>
<td>wakay</td>
<td>wakat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wiijun</em> ‘to swim’</td>
<td>‘wiig’</td>
<td>‘wiij’</td>
<td>‘wiij’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kachun</em> ‘to write’</td>
<td>kak</td>
<td>kach</td>
<td>kach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tachun</em> ‘to stand’</td>
<td>tat</td>
<td>tach</td>
<td>tacch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nasun</em> ‘to give birth’</td>
<td>nas</td>
<td>nash</td>
<td>nach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yubun</em> ‘to call’</td>
<td>yub</td>
<td>yub</td>
<td>yud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yumun</em> ‘to read’</td>
<td>yum</td>
<td>yum</td>
<td>yud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shinun</em> ‘to die’</td>
<td>shiun</td>
<td>shin</td>
<td>shij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wun</em> ‘to exist, animate’</td>
<td>wur</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>wut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sun</em> ‘to do’</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>ssh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>an</em> ‘to exist [inanimate]’</td>
<td>ar</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yun</em> ‘to say’</td>
<td>‘y’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yan</em> ‘to be’</td>
<td>(aran)</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>yat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ichun</em> ‘to go’</td>
<td>ich</td>
<td>‘nj’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chuun</em> ‘to come’</td>
<td>(kuun)</td>
<td>(chi)</td>
<td>cch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 1. Okinawan Tripartite System

With a conventional method of referring to different basic forms of the Okinawan verb now in place, next I will present the specific forms to be examined. The following is an indexed table of the inflection patterns that will be taken up, alongside suggested Japanese and English translations. To this selection of fundamental forms, further

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10 These forms are analyzed morphemically and labeled in Chart 4.
secondary inflections such as passive, causative, negative, etc. can be added, as well as further differences in finite, modifying, and non-finite forms. It should be noted that neither English nor Japanese is capable of capturing distinct meanings for all the Okinawan forms, and that further, some Okinawan forms have developed double meanings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Modern Okinawan</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yumun</td>
<td>Yomu / Yondeiru</td>
<td>Reads / Is reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yudoon</td>
<td>Yonde iru</td>
<td>Is reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yudeen</td>
<td>Yonde aru</td>
<td>Has read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yudan</td>
<td>Yonda</td>
<td>Read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yumutan</td>
<td>Yonde ita</td>
<td>Was reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yudootan</td>
<td>Yonde ita</td>
<td>Was reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yudeetan</td>
<td>Yonde atta</td>
<td>Had read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Yudeen</td>
<td>Yonda no da</td>
<td>Certainly read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Yumuteen</td>
<td>Yonde ita noda</td>
<td>Certainly was reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yudooteen</td>
<td>Yonde ita noda</td>
<td>Certainly was reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Yudeeteen</td>
<td>Yonde atta no da</td>
<td>Certainly had read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Yumuteeteen</td>
<td>Yonde ita no datta</td>
<td>Certainly had been reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Yudooteeteen</td>
<td>Yonde ita no datta</td>
<td>Certainly had been reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Yudeeteeteen</td>
<td>Yonde atta no datta</td>
<td>Certainly had been read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yudai</td>
<td>Yondari / Yonde</td>
<td>(Since there is) reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Yudaani</td>
<td>Yonde</td>
<td>Reads and then...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Yudi</td>
<td>Yonde</td>
<td>Reads (and then...)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 2. Forms for Analysis
The first eleven are examined in depth in Shinzato’s dissertation (Shinzato, 1984), as well as numbers 1-10 in Kōza (Miyara, 2000), 1-5 in Hōgen (Izuyama, 2006), and 1-6 in Tanoshii (Nishioka, 2005). Numbers 12-14 all involve the addition of a single morpheme -te in (discussed in Shinzato, 1984; and Handa, 2000) to forms 9-11, while numbers 15 and 16 are discussed both in Tanoshi and Ryukyu-ji (Handa, 2000). Finally, number 17 is itself a fundamental form, the perfect participle, and will be discussed in detail in (Thorpe, 1983) as well as throughout this thesis.

A convenient point of departure for this semantic investigation is Shinzato’s 1984 dissertation. While her goal is to present epistemological categories as morphologically relevant throughout Okinawan, in the process she comments in various degrees of depth on the majority of forms, namely, 1-11 directly, and 12-14 by describing a morpheme ‘-te’ to be examined in detail later. To start her work she takes the analysis and classification of Uemura Yukio, and creates a chart summary of his work from which she endeavors to explain away some inconsistencies. In like fashion, Uemura had based his own analysis of Okinawan verb forms on another description of the language done by a previous scholar, Kinjō Chōei (Shinzato, 1984). As a continuation of this work, this section will begin with a presentation of Shinzato’s findings and my extension of it therein. While the table itself may have some ambiguous points of presentation, the semantic distinctions between all forms will be clarified in detail in the coming discussion:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Affirmative Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ordinary (Simple)</strong></td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sub&gt;(yomu, yonde iru)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘to read’)</td>
<td><em>yudeen</em>&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonda)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘certainly read’)</td>
<td><em>yudeen</em>&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonda noda)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘certainly read’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ordinary (Progressive)</strong></td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde ita)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘was reading’)</td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde ita noda)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘has certainly been reading’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continuous</strong></td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde iru)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘is reading’)</td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde ita)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘was reading’)</td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde ita noda)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘has certainly been reading’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resultative</strong></td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde aru)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘has read’)</td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde atta)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘had read’)</td>
<td><em>yumed</em>&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sub&gt;(yonde atta noda)&lt;/sub&gt; (‘had certainly read’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 3. Shinzato/Uemura Verb Array

Shinzato points out several inconsistencies with Uemura’s analysis above: 1) *yumed* is listed twice, once as a ‘present resultative’ and again as an ‘ordinary affirmative past’ (bottom left, and top right), 2) there seems to be two varieties of ‘ordinary’ forms that go unexplained (rows one and two), as well as 3) no differentiation between the ordinary progressives and the continuous forms (rows two and three), i.e. they have the same translation in Japanese and English (Shinzato 1984). Once these points of confusion are resolved, there will be enough semantic information to further break down the first 14 forms examined by this thesis into their component morphemes, and specific semantics of each therein.

Concerning Sinzato’s first point, the double categorization of the *yumed* as representing both an affirmative past and/or a present resultative, Shinzato presents several criteria for differentiating which usage occurs at which time, despite the formal match. For instance, if the object of the verb is physically present with the speaker at the
time of speech, the present resultative meaning is manifested. Also, with first person and an intransitive verb, the resultative meaning is present, while with second and third persons the affirmative past is manifested (Shinzato 1984). With transitive verbs and unexpressed objects the context supplies the distinction. Shinzato explains these various facts with the notion of observed information and inferred information, such that when the context is based on observed or experienced facts the resultative meaning (MNJ *yonde aru*, English *has been*) manifests, whereas when inference is involved the past affirmative (MNJ *yonda no da*, English *certainly...*) holds (Shinzato 1984).

*shinshii-tai, shiibun-(u)n ufooku itteeibiin doo*

*sensei-sir, extras too alot adv put in polite resultive you know*

Sir, I have put in plenty of extra [parts]


*aree chinuu umi nji ‘wiijee sa*

*he topic yesterday ocean loc swam affirmative*

He must have swum in the ocean yesterday

EXAMPLE 2. Swimmer, Affirmative (Shinzato, 1984, pp. 51)

Example 1, from Tanoshi, is a dialogue snippet between a butcher and customer. Here the customer has asked for a variety of organs to cook, and the butcher says the above while handing over the meats. As the object is clearly present, *shiibun* ‘extra portion,’ and in addition the verb is transitive, *iriyun* ‘to put in,’ the meaning is undoubtedly resultative. The butcher is not asserting that he believes the action to be true, but rather is relating to the customer that the bag is filled up with extras. In example 2, Shinzato’s criteria clearly show this to be an affirmative. First and foremost, it is the use of an intransitive verb with a non-first person pronoun. Also, the word ‘yesterday’ helps establish the content as removed from the current situation, as well as the locative particle *nji*, usually used with remote locations in both time and space. Finally, the sentential
particle *sa* conveys notions of speaker oriented information, as opposed to general facts (Shinzato 1984).

As for her second and third points, they ultimately hinge around the issue of ambiguous labeling: both the ‘continuous’ and ‘ordinary, progressive’ forms correspond to the same Japanese translation, as well as it not being apparent what makes a form ‘ordinary.’ To begin, let us consider the difference between the pasts of these three, as there are three distinct surface forms.

With regard to difference between past progressives and past continuatives, i.e. verb forms like *yumutan* and *yudootan*, respectively, Shinzato explains they are most clear when discussing punctual verbs. Consider the following sentence:

_Yamada san taa yaa ya sanji guru denki nu chichootan_

Yamada _hon.pl._ home three.’o.clock about light _sub._
was.turned.on
Around three ‘o clock the lights were on at the Yamadas’ house
EXAMPLE 3. Continuous, Past (Shinzato, 1984, p. 40)

_Yamada san taa yaa ya sanji guru denki nu chichutan_

Yamada _hon.pl._ home three.’o clock about light _sub._
was.turned.on
Around three ‘o clock the lights were on at the Yamadas’ house
EXAMPLE 4. Progressive, Past (Shinzato, 1984, p. 40)

Example 3 with *chichootan* parallels the Japanese *tsuite ita* ‘turned on’ exactly, meaning that at around three o’clock the lights at the Yamada’s house were already lit. However, example 4 with *chichutan* has no equivalent in Japanese, and means that at around three the lights were in the process of being turned on, i.e. not already lit, but a chain of events that would lead to them being lit was underway. Shinzato further notes that this kind of reasoning holds for verbs of motion as well, so that the verb *chuun* ‘to come’ in its

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11 That is, verbs that are understood to take little or no time to complete.
continuous form, *choon* parallels the Japanese *kite iru* ‘has come’ in meaning that the subject has already arrived. This contrasts with the progressive *chutan*, which again does not have a standard Japanese parallel, and means the subject has left his original location and is in the process of coming (Shinzato, 1984).

Another difference emerges with durative actions, where progressives cannot be used to refer to action that is continuing over a period of time:

\[ \text{Wan ga ‘wiijooru eeda, aree sumuchi yudootan / *yumutan} \]

*While I was swimming he was reading a book.*

EXAMPLE 5. (Shinzato, 1984, p. 41)

As a factual statement about another’s action during the specified time, *yumutan* is unacceptable as a translation of the English given, or a similar sentence using the Japanese *yonde ita* ‘was reading’. However, this does not of course mean the sentence with *yumutan* is meaningless or syntactically problematic. The sentence with *yumutan* describes the progression towards an action that could later be indicated as *yudoon*, that is, if the other person was in the process of taking out the book or looking up the right page *yumutan* would be acceptable. The apparent unacceptability comes from the fact that most people go swimming for a period far longer that it takes one to open book and begin reading. Also, if the emphasis is not on the aspect of the action as it is in the English or Japanese equivalent, *yumutan* could also be used felicitously by the speaker to state their past observation of an action. Forms labeled ‘progressive’ in chart 3 are used not just to describe the aspect of an action, but are also used by speakers to describe actions that they do not completely comprehend, or do not wish to express as concrete reality. While Shinzato does not delve deeply into this issue in her dissertation, this other use of ‘progressive’ forms like *yumutan* will be discussed in detail later.
Further clarifying the semantics of system present in chart 3, Shinzato notes that ‘ordinary’ forms like *yudan* too are incompatible with durative clauses, and so such a form in the above example would also be unacceptable (Shinzato 1984). She explains that while progressives, i.e. forms like *yumutan*, indicate a middle point of an action, a form like *yudan* introduces the endpoint (Shinzato 1984). Again this is clear with an example using ‘to come,’ such that while *choontan* ‘to come [continuous, past]’ means the subject has come, and is still in that state, and *chutan* ‘to come [continuous, past]’ profiles a subject that had left, and was in the process of coming, the simple past *chan* ‘to come [ordinary, past]’ means that the subject has now come, that is, the action was realized presently. Thus in terms of aspect, the continuous is the only form that refers to a durative action, while progressives and simple pasts refer to a single moment of time, either in the middle of the action or the end, respectively. As the focus of her dissertation is on epistemic reasoning in linguistic description, Shinzato naturally goes on to give such an explanation for the forms above: When there is a reference to an actual personal experience, a form like *yudan* ‘read.*past*’ is acceptable, and when referring to the experiences of second or third persons, one like *yumutan* ‘read.*past*.*progressive*’ is the most acceptable form (Shinzato 1984).

As seen above, Shinzato’s explanation of verbal forms in MOk cuts across several aspectual and epistemological meanings. However, her main concern was not to completely describe all the verb forms in chart 3, but only to show that epistemic considerations alone are capable of making useful distinctions, specifically those ambiguous areas above. However, as this thesis seeks a complete semantic picture of
each component morpheme, more information is necessary before we can begin creating a CG analysis of the language.

While Shinzato explains how one can tell when a form like *yudeen* ‘to read [present resultative] or [past affirmative]’ is resultative in meaning, her thesis is not concerned with how a resultative is semantically distinct from a continuous form. For example, consider the following:

*aree munu kadootee sani*

[he], *top food ate*.continuous.affirmative isn’t.it
Didn’t he eat some food?
EXAMPLE 6. Affirmative Question (Miyara, 2000, p. 161)

*yii kadoota sa*

yes ate.continuous.past you.know
Yeah, he was eating
EXAMPLE 7. Continuous, Past, Answer (Miyara, 2000, p. 161)

*yii kadeeta sa*

yes ate.evidential.past you.know
Yeah, he had eaten some.
EXAMPLE 8. Evidential, Past, Answer (Miyara, 2000, p. 161)

According to chart 3 (and all suggested translations I have seen in Japanese materials) resultative sentences correspond to Japanese -*te aru*, whereas continuous sentences correspond to Japanese -*te iru*, so that the suggested translations of the verbs in examples 7 and 8 should be *tabete ita* and *tabete atta*. However, the distinction in MNJ between *tabete iru* and *tabete aru* is not in fact parallel to the Okinawan. The notion with *tabete iru* is that there is some episode of eating going on, and it is simply a neutral statement, while *tabete aru* states that something has been clearly eaten, as well as the implication that there is agentive purpose. In Okinawan, a phrase like *kadeen* ‘to eat [resultative]’ conveys the fact that the state of being eaten is present, while *kadoon* ‘to eat
[continuous]’expresses that the act of eating is in progress. That is, both Japanese phrases are said about a current situation, but differ as to whether the statement is purely descriptive of an action, or involves a sense of agentivity and purpose that brought about a state. This contrasts to the Okinawan, where the distinction is between expressing an existential fact about a state, i.e. kadeen ‘there is eaten-ness’, or a description of ongoing action. Again, in modern Japanese tabete aru is said about a piece of food with the additional notion of an agent and/or purpose involved. This contrasts to the Okinawan kadeen which could be equally felicitous when referring to a piece of food or the person who had eaten it, and with no underlying notions of purpose or emphasized agentivity.

Let us return to the example sentences. In example 8, the focus of the sentence is on the person (as is made clear in example 6, the question that it answers) and so is a statement that with regards to the eater there was a complete episode of eating. It is ambiguous as to whether all the food was eaten or not, but states that the eater continued to eat until he stopped (presumably full). Miyara, in his translation of the sentence into Japanese gives un, tabe owatte ita ‘yes, he was finished with eating it,’ clearly stressing the simple fact that the agent ate and then stopped (Miyara, 2000). However, if the sentence had focused on the food, the object of eating instead of the eater, then the sentence would be equally appropriate. Here, while indeed similar to the Japanese tabete aru, there is no emphasis on some specific purpose in the action, and is simply a statement: the food has been eaten (there are bites out of it) or the food is eaten (there is no more food, just these empty plates.)

Clear from the above is the error in positing a semantic correlation between MOk resultative forms and Japanese -te aru constructions. Also, while the examples presented
thus far indicate that MOk continuous constructions are much closer in semantics to the given equivalent MNJ -te iru, this too is not entirely exact. The MOk continuous forms profile the ongoing continuation of some process (Miyara, 2000, Izuyama, 2006). In MNJ the -te iru form is often used to talk about a current state, for example, if one was cooking in the kitchen and wanted to tell someone else that a pot of water was boiling the appropriate form would be something like, [name]san, mizu ga waite iru yo! ‘Mr./Ms. [name], the water is boiling.’ However, the MOk versions of that sentence with wachoon ‘boiling.continuous’ highlights the fact that the water is actively bubbling away, that is, it is a statement about the action of the water as boiling as doing something else like splashing or being still. In contrast, to express the fact that the water had boiled, i.e. was in that state as opposed to not-boiled, one would use the resultative. Consider the following snippet from a dialogue between two cooks in Tanoshi:

\[
\text{naabi nkai yuu wakacheibiin doo}
\]

pot loc hot.water boiled.res.pol emp
Hey, the water’s boiled!

The Okinawan in example 9 would correspond to MNJ nabe ni oyu wo wakashite arimasu yo, according to chart 3, despite the questionability of that sentence in such a context. As stated above, the MNJ -te aru has an emphasis on a state being made to exist for some purpose, while MNJ -te iru describes either a neutral statement about a state, or an ongoing action depending on context.12 In MOk, though, the continuous always refers to an action as seen to be ongoing or actively continuing, as opposed to statements about states which are expressed with resultatives. Thus in MOk, one can talk about oneself as

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12 Without context, can one tell whether a verb phrase like MNJ kite iru from ‘to wear’ means the subject is currently getting dressed, or rather the subject has dressed and the state continues, i.e. wearing.
being well rested using an intransitive verb phrase like *nineteen* ‘to sleep [resultative]’
MNJ *nete aru* ‘is slept’ (Shinzato, 1984), or the fact the water is boiling with an
transitive verb phrase like MOk *wakacheen* ‘to boil [resultative]’ as in example 9 above.
This is far different from MNJ where the notions of agentivity, and action vs, state,
overlap between the two forms *-te iru* and *-te aru*. In MOk, transitivity is expressed in the
verb root, i.e. *wachun* ‘to boil [intransitive]’ vs. *wakachun* ‘to boil [transitive],’ while the
notion of state vs. action is expressed in the verbs morphology: continuous forms for
actions, and resultative forms for states.

This distinction between a state vs. an action is what allows the MOk resultative
morphology, *-tee*, to be used as an affirmative as well. As Shinzato noted, when the
object of conversation is apparent to the speaker and hearer the form is a resultative
(Shinzato, 1984), that is, the form comments on the current situation (i.e. physical state)
at hand. However when the object is not present to reference, the speaker’s assertion of
the situation is taken to be an assertion of general facts. Japanese expresses the same
notion by nominalizing a verbal construction in order to make it concrete, like an object
in the room that can be pointed to: {yonda / yonde iru / yonde ita/ etc.} + {NO/MONO
da}.

Another set of forms requiring further clarification beyond Shinzato’s dissertation
are the ordinary progressives. Izuyama points out that in order to use these verb forms the
speaker must remember seeing or hearing the event (Izuyama 2006). A similar
observation underlies Shinzato’s analysis as explained above. Miyara expands on this,
noting that this form is strange for actions the speaker himself consciously undertook
(Miyara 2000). Further, Miyara notes that when the element of consciousness is removed
from the action, even actions taken by the speaker become expressible with progressives. As an example of such a situation, he gives that in describing one’s action taken in a dream progressive forms are common, and convey the sense one did not really act, but rather watched an action take place through themselves (Miyara 2000). Shinzato too notes a related phenomenon in her dissertation, namely, that when reporting actions about oneself known only second hand, e.g., a story about yourself when a child, and don’t clearly remember, the progressive form is normal (Shinzato, 1984). Again, when talking about something one consciously did the progressive form is inappropriate, but when asking oneself about one’s own actions, as when trying to recall an event, it is used (Shinzato, 1984). Miyara tries to capture such observations by calling this verb form the ‘observed’ form of the verb (Miyara 2000, 3:8). The idea here is that with progressive verb forms one states that one is aware of a recognizable portion of the content of a verb, that is to say, a progressive form means something like ‘I am aware of some verbing’. This contrasts with resultative forms that describe states, continuous forms that describe ongoing action, and or simples that describe action as realized holistically.

Of the remaining verb forms from chart 2 that have yet to be discussed, the last six verb forms (12-17) are far less difficult to handle semantically. The first three (12-14) are all combinations of discussed forms, with a newly minted -teen suffixed to make ‘perfect assertives’ out of the final ‘past assertives’ in given in the third column of chart three. In other words, the ‘past assertives’ in the chart declare that with reference to the current speech situation the verb form it is attached too is the case, whereas the new ‘perfect assertives’ declare that with reference to some prior point in time the verb form was the case. To clarify, MOk yudooteen ‘to read [continuous, past assertive] means something
like ‘It is clear to me (at this moment) there was reading going on in the past’. Also, recall in example 6 this is the same ‘continuous, assertive past’ form was used to ask whether or not it is the case that some other person had eaten. This is slightly different than yudooteeteeen ‘to read [continuous, perfect assertive]’, meaning something like ‘It was clear to me (at that prior moment) that there was reading going on in the past’. This difference is also clearly expressed in the Japanese translations, [verb-form] no da, as contrasted with [verb-form] no datta.

This leaves now only the final three (15-17), yudai, yudaani, and yudi, as with previous examples from yumun ‘to read’. This thesis will not develop CG accounts of these, as they will not participate in the historical discussion of the next chapter. However, they do seem involved in some particle formations, as discussed in chapter 6, and so a brief discussion of their semantics will be presented with that in mind.

First, yudai expresses the general presence of an action, and is used like Japanese yondari ‘reading’ to talk about action in a nonspecific, general way. Also, in older Okinawan texts forms like yudai have a meaning close to the continuous, with the difference being that while yudai focuses on the process of the action ‘reading’ having come to be present, the continuous form of ‘to read’ yudoon focuses on the actual progression of some particular ‘reading.’ The following example helps illustrate:

*Nudai kadai,...*

*drinking eating*

*[Doing things like] drinking and eating, …*

EXAMPLE 10. ‘yudai’ forms (Hnada, 1999, p.13)

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13 As mentioned above, as these forms are note examined in the next chapter, and only appear in some particle forms, they will receive less analysis in this thesis. That said, it should be noted that while a form like yudai is built off of the t-form of the verb and only the t-form in MOk. However, in older Okinawan texts like the example above, it can be suffixed to the i-form plus i, or for those familiar with Classical Japanese nomenclature, the renyokei of the verb.
The line above describes the background actions leading up to some further state of affairs. That is, ‘drinking’ and ‘eating’ in the example above are largely neutral to any specific tense/aspect, and merely describe the context for the next sentence.

Both the forms *yudaani* and *yudi* are close in semantics to the Japanese *yonde* followed by another verb. The difference being that *yudaani* means something like ‘read and then immediately after’, where *yudi* simply means ‘read, and then...’ with no implications of immediacy (Handa, 2000).

*kuchi magiku akiyaani, nuudii nu uku mishiti kwimisheebiri.*

mouth widely open.*imp*, throat *pos* back show.*imp* give.*pol.imp*

open your mouth wide and show me the back of your throat
EXAMPLE 11. ‘yudaani’ forms (Nishioka, 2005, p. 65)

*nichi nu ati, fiiku natoon.*

fever *sub* there.is, cold become
I have a fever, and am cold.
EXAMPLE 12. ‘yudi’ forms (Nishioka, 2005, p.52)

In example 11 there is the implication that the speaker wants the listener to open their mouth up and immediately show it, where as with example 12 there is no implication that the speaker felt cold immediately after getting a fever. In fact there is not even ‘necessarily’ a connection between the fever and feeling cold, other than the fever comes temporally before the practice. However, if example 12 were do have *yudaani* instead, there would be the implication that the feeling would happen in close connection to the onset of the fever.

In this section the semantics of each verb form in chart 2 has been demonstrated. It began with a look at the information presented in Rumiko Shinzato’s dissertation, itself a refinement of a long tradition of Okinawan verbal semantic analysis. Then, as a more complete understanding was required for selected forms, some more recent sources and
examples were discussed. Moving on, a presentation of how CG handles verbs will be presented, followed by the section after showing how that information, along with the semantics developed above, can be used to produce a semantic picture.

4.2 Verbs in CG

The notion ‘verb’ corresponds to one of five basic grammatical classes used in CG description. To begin with, all five classes will be explained briefly, followed by the sub-classes specific to verbs. Also, to help ground the presentation the English system of parts of speech will also be outlined using these class terms.

Each of the CG classes is based on prototypical cognitive processes observable in humans, as well as a class schematic that is extracted from it and applicable to all members. That is, each class has a clear motivation in cognitive psychology, and a linguistic abstraction from it. For the purposes of this thesis the cognitive motivations will be omitted, and only the linguistic schema will be discussed.

Before beginning, one CG term must be explained: profile. The profile of an expression can be thought of as the conceptual content that is directly represented that expression. For example, the word ‘earthquake’ conjures images of crumbling buildings and Earth splitting asunder. However, while those concepts (and certainly others) are activated by the word, only the central notion of the ground shaking is profiled. As another example, consider the following terms used to describe a wagon wheel: axel, spoke, rim and wheel. Each word has the same context, as each term depends on a relationship to others for meaning, e.g. the physical relationship of a rod to the rim determines whether that rod is labeled a spoke or an axle. However, despite a shared
conceptual base, that of the entire wagon wheel, the terms axle, spoke, and rim profile specific parts of that conceptual base, while the term wheel profiles them all at once. In CG it is not the specifics of the conceptual base that determine a grammatical class, but what of that base is profiled. For example, while the earthquake inevitably brings active scenes to mind, it is not a verb, but rather a noun as the whole event is treated linguistically as a singular conceptual object. In CG diagrams the profiled content will be represented in bold. Moving on, here are the five basic CG grammatical classes, and what they profile.

The first class, the entity, is something akin to a variable in algebra. An entity can be any bit of cognizable content that may play a role in the description of a language. In this regard its most common use in CG is to serve as a placeholder in descriptive content, where a maximally abstract term is needed. In diagrams an entity is represented by a square.

The second class, the thing, profiles a reified bit of conceptual content. That is, where the entity class is specifically not any singular, concrete content, the thing represents the opposite, that which is a conceptually real, manipulatable object. It should be noted that in this capacity thing is a technical term and more broad that the English word used to name the class. In diagrams it is represented by a circle.

Third is the simplex, non-processual relationship. This is the most fundamental of the three varieties of relationships in CG, where a relationship is defined as profiling the symbolic link between two entities. In this case, the relationship is non-processual as it does not involve changes through time, and simplex, as it does not involve multiple
component states. In diagrams a relationship is represented by a dashed line, connecting the two entities.

Fourth, the complex, non-processual relationship, is virtually identical to the above, but it varies by being composed of multiple component states. Where the simplex relation is inherently static, the complex variety is made up of a connected sequence of simplex ones. In diagrams it will be represented as a dashed line connecting a sequence of simplex relationships.

The Fifth and final class is the complex, processual relationship. Similar to how the complex relationship represented a compounding of simplex relationships, the process in CG is a complex relationship, but one where the component states have a temporal import. That is, the component states of a process are profiled as a progression through time. In diagrams a process is represented as a complex relationship with a timeline underneath it.

The above was an extremely concise overview of the five CG classes, and so a description of how these can be used to model the familiar, traditional classes of English will be used to clarify and exemplify them below. To begin with, we will discuss those that can be completely depicted without further CG discussion.

Perhaps one of the most fundamental English grammatical class is that of the noun. In CG terms a noun would directly correspond to a thing, as every English noun delineates and indexes a specific bit of conceptual content: whether abstract content such as emotions and events, or concrete physical objects, the content profiled by an English noun represents a reified conceptual object.
An English verb corresponds precisely with a CG process. The content profiled by the verb is a string of identifiable states that occur through time. To understand the nature of the component states, one must run an internal simulation of them occurring though imagined time. This kind of complex relationship differs from those that do not invoke temporality. For example, the English spatial prepositions such as ‘into’ or ‘onto’ express a series of linked spatial relationships, but do not invoke a specific sense of time on their own in the same way a verb like ‘enter’ does.

English adjectives and adverbs are both kinds of simplex relationships. The adjective relates one kind of entity, in this case specifically a thing, to another entity (some conceptual, usually qualitative, content). Likewise, the adverb links an entity, specifically relationships, to some other conceptual content.

While English has a rather complicated set of grammatical classes, many of which seem to have counterparts in other language families, CG is able to define them in a cognitively plausible and more basic manner. For example the English distinction between adjectives (qualitative modification of things), and adverbs (qualitative modification of relationships) is easily captured in CG. Compare this, however, to German, a close cousin of English, where only one kind of modifier is used for both things and relationships, i.e. where English has ‘quickly’ and ‘fast’, German has typically uses the one word *schnell* to serve both functions (that is, qualitative modification of other entities in general). Another example of unusual grammatical classes that are easily captured in CG is found in Lushootseed. In Lushootseed, there are a handful of non-synthetic, i.e. un-analyzable, things, but almost every morpheme in the language expresses a complex, non-processual relationship. Thus if combined with other
morphemes that profile time, the Lushootseed form leads to a verbal translation in English, but if combined with no other morphs, perhaps an adjectival or adverbial translation depending on context, and if used with a morph expressing a thing, a translation as a noun. As mentioned in the introduction, even at present there is still the occasional debate as to whether Lushootseed has only adjectives, only verbs, or only nouns, etc., terms that are unable to capture the underlying conceptual generalization. CG however is able to visually capture these distinctions exactly, without needless debate using distinctions form other languages that may not be entirely accurate.

To examine the remaining basic English classes, two more CG terms must be introduced: trajector and landmark. Both terms designate focal prominence, where the trajector is the entity under primary focus, and the landmark secondary. The profile of any individual semantic content is inherently the trajector, but often an object of secondary focus is required to supply meaning. For example, consider the words ‘above’ and ‘below.’ Both have the same conceptual base, two objects in a vertical relationship. However, inherent to the meaning of ‘above’ is the comparison to another object, lower down on the vertical axis, while the opposite is essential for the meaning of ‘below’. As a word of caution, this is not to say every relationship has a trajector and landmark, as a landmark is not just some related content, but an active object of focus. For example, the adjective ‘red’ simply links its trajector, the thing it is describing, to a set of qualitative content, in this case a particular region of color space. This is in contrast to ‘above’ and ‘below’ where these adjectives require the separate cognition and comparison of two individual objects to possess meaning.
This concept of primary and secondary focus can be seen in the English grammatical class known as prepositions. A preposition can take any kind of entity for its trajector, but relates it specifically to a thing under secondary focus. Consider, \{The dog / It is hot / They are running / etc.\} under the bed, where, regardless of being a noun, a state, or even and action, all are related to the specific landmark, here, the bed. Another example of trajector/landmark alignment is the English distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. In English the trajector of a verb is inherently the agent, however abstract, and a verb is intransitive when there is no conception of another focused entity, or transitive when the conceptual content of the verb depends on the profiling of a secondary thing, the landmark. This notion of trajector/landmark has many applications across the linguistic landscape, whether when dealing with issues of case and alignment, or definitions of grammatical concepts such as subject and object. While these will not be explored specifically in this thesis, the reader simply needs to have a conception of primary and secondary focus.

With some sense of key CG terms, and how grammatical classes can be described, only a bit more specific information on how CG specifically treats processes (verbs) is required before moving on to the MOk semantics developed in the previous section and how to capture them in CG.

Beyond the basic class definition given above for complex, processual relationships, CG distinguishes three sub types: imperfective, perfective, and a cross between the two. Perfective verbs profile a heterogeneous series of component relationships, whereas imperfective verbs profile a homogeneous set. For example, consider the imperfective verb ‘to know.’ My knowing something yesterday and knowing
something tomorrow, regardless of when profile the same relationship between a piece of knowledge and my awareness of it. However, a perfective verb like ‘to melt’ profiles a different set of relationships at each moment of time, i.e. each step in the melting process represents a position along the continuum from not melted to melted. Another way of conceiving this distinction is with the notion of endpoints. A perfective verb inherently profiles distinct beginnings and endings, e.g. unmelted ->{melting} -> melted, where an imperfective verb does not profile these. There is no sense in asking if one is in the middle of ‘knowing’, where as it is completely logical to ask whether something is in the middle of ‘melting’ or ‘falling.’

The third category is a cross of the two, a perfective process in that it has a clear beginning an end, but the component states are homogeneous, as with the imperfective. Common English examples would be the verbs ‘to sleep’ or ‘to swim.’ Each verb could conceptually continue indefinitely, with any particular component relationship being essentially the same as any other, but we conceptualize these events in discrete time frames, that is, with concrete beginnings and ends. For example, to say ‘I knew the poem yesterday’ implies that ‘knowing’ stretched over the entirety of yesterday, where as ‘I slept yesterday’ could potentially mean one slept the entire day, it almost always means one slept a normal unit of ‘sleeping.’ Again, consider how ‘I swam yesterday’ readily conveys the fact one engaged in a discretely defined episode of ‘swimming,’ however long it may be, where as ‘I sneezed yesterday’ conveys a prototypical act of sneezing; it makes sense to ask how long was one’s swim, but not as much to ask how long was one’s sneeze or bite.
All events, however, do have beginnings and ends. Even though the statement ‘I know the poem’ does not profile these boundaries, there was of course a point at which one learned the poem, thus now at that point beginning to know, and one will inevitably stop knowing, either because one forgets it or the person themselves ceases to exist.

Another set of CG concepts are used here to capture this distinction: *maximum scope*, and *immediate scope*. The maximum scope is the sum total of all cognitive content that is readily linked to the trajector, and the immediate scope is the cognitive content that is ‘on stage’ so to speak. With the wagon wheel example above, the maximum scope could include concepts like the American West, cattle drives, etc. that would not make sense if we were talking about stock car tires. Again with the wheel example, each term had the same conceptual base, or immediate scope, of the other wheel components to which they bear a relation. Within this shared immediate scope, though, they differed as to which elements of that immediate scope they profiled; an axel is just a stick if there is no conception of a wheel to which it fits (a part of the conceptual base), but the word itself only refers to the rod, that is, it only profiles the rod.

Turning back to the definition of a process as the connected series of relationships profiled through time, we can use the notion of scope to see how the three subclasses discussed above are defined. Perfective verbs are those for which the entirety of the component relationships are ‘on stage’ in the immediate scope. On the other hand, while imperfective verbs too are ultimately composed of a limited set of relationships, those endpoints go un-profiled, and so only a selection of internal relationships fall within the immediate scope. The third, hybrid variety of verb, is perfective, in that the endpoints are...
profiled and within the IS, but that that boundary is simply a temporal one and bears no relation to any inherent heterogeneity of the component states themselves.

While only taking a brief glance at some fundamental CG concepts, enough ground has been covered in order to facilitate the purposes of this thesis. Again, while this has been but a brief overview of those concepts, the will further clarified though their application to Modern Okinawan.

Also, one final word on the purpose of CG. Unlike most linguistic models in which a finite set of primitive units is posited, and all phenomena are supposedly explainable therein, CG simply tries to supply a general base of linguistically relevant cognitive processes. With CG there is the implication that while all of the processes discussed are available in general to human beings and the languages they speak, any description will inevitably involve a specialized, unique extension and subset of them. For example consider how English has three quite complex varieties of simplex relationships: adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions. None directly corresponded to any particular CG class, or even those in its close Germanic relations, but all were are describable with some extension thereof. Similarly, consider Lushootseed, a language that has no single grammatical class comparable to the English verb. Yet, Lushootseed speakers still talk about and describe processes, despite the more complex manner in which that information is encoded. CG is not designed to be the answer to linguistic structure, but rather a tool to build cognitively plausible and precise descriptions.

Well, I liked your thesis so far, but if you are really want to become a solid historical linguist, we should have a long talk about CG.
4.3 CG Representation

With the semantics of the various MOk verb inflections explored, the next step of capturing those semantics in CG can be undertaken. First we will review the CG description of a verb as described in 4.2, and how that fits Okinawan. Next we will dissect the forms into their component morphemes, and based on the semantic descriptions in section 4.1, see how each contributes to the meaning. Finally this meaning will be depicted in a CG diagram.

As described in 4.2, CG defines a verb as a complex, processual relationship. That is, a verb profiles a related sequence of component states, scanned sequentially through time. Further, CG makes a basic distinction between two primary subclasses of verbs (perfective and imperfective) with the distinction being that a perfective verb profiles an entire process in toto, including its inception and end, whereas an imperfective verb profiles a process in a homogenous manner, without including its beginning or end. While some languages (e.g. Lushootseed) may not grammaticalize such distinctions into the verb roots themselves, many do, and Okinawan is no exception. In this preliminary analysis of Okinawan verbal morphology, I too will assume a basic distinction between imperfective and perfective verbal construals, and follow Shinzato in positing that this distinction is present within the root (Shinzato, 1984).14 In the diagrams that follow, the component relationships of a verb will be represented by three squares connected with a

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14 Shinzato bases her discussion on the work of Kindaichi Haruhiko. Kindaichi’s findings are completely re-worked in an updated proposal (Shirai 2000), where Shirai incorporates transitivity into his discussion of root aspects, and demonstrates that such a parameter creates a more telling explanation of Japanese root semantics. While the basic CG distinction of perfect/imperfective will suffice for this thesis, a later analysis incorporating transitivity may yield significant findings for Okinawan as well.
The unfilled square represents the beginning of the verbal relationships, and the filled one, the end, while the half filled square stands for some intermediate relationship(s) between these two.

With the notion of imperfective/perfective semantic content present in the root, the remaining semantic contributions can be thought to come from the apparent verbal morphology. In this section the semantic distinctions in 4.1 will be transformed into a rudimentary CG representation, as well as a developing a synchronic analysis of the verbal morphology involved. It should be noted that this section does not intend to create a complete picture of modern Okinawan verbal morphology, nor does it intend to create a system that is reflective of historical processes. It simply attempts to ‘encode’ the semantic information described previously, as well as develop some preliminary morphological segmentation based on those forms alone. While outlined in detail below, the following segments can be abstracted to compose the forms treated in this thesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>Statement marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u-</td>
<td>Inconclusive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(t)a-</td>
<td>Past marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(t)oo-</td>
<td>Continuous marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(t)ee-</td>
<td>Perfective marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(t)ee-</td>
<td>Evidential marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Semantic Extension of Perfective)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(t)i</td>
<td>Past Participle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 4. MOk Morphemes
The first morpheme to be examined is the statement marker. With the exception of *kakari-musubi* constructions, any Okinawan predicated verb must end in this morpheme. It is clear that it functions to end a statement and mark it as complete. In CG terms we can assign the statement marker the properties of marking the preceding conceptual content as the scope of predication, and declaring that scope to be valid for the time of speech. This is diagramed below, diagram 1, with the bolded portion along the timeline representing the speech event, and the bolded rectangle in the middle representing the previously developed, and profiled conceptual content.

![Diagram 1](image)

**DIAGRAM 1. N**

The only verb inflections in chart 2 that do not end in the statement marker are the final three (15-17). This is expected, as each of them serves to provide content related to a later predicated verb; all three of these forms without the statement marker carry with them the sense of ‘there is [verbal-situation], and so... / and then...’ As the statement marker appear on all verb forms listed in chart 3, it represents a common piece of those forms which can now be put aside. The next most fundamental pieces are the three
citation forms, namely ‘base-form,’ ‘t-from,’ and ‘i-form’ themselves, as they are the bases from which the other inflections are built.

As describe in the beginning of this chapter, the notion of a tripartite system such as in Word Book or this thesis is to account for morphologized contractions. Of the verb forms to be analyzed, none of them involve the ‘base-form’ and so it will be largely omitted from the discussion. That said, the ‘base-form’ does seem to represent the original consonantal or vowel ending of the verb root. For example, consider kachun ‘to write’ has a base form of kak-, directly comparable to Old Japanese and Proto-Ryukyuan root kak- of the same meaning.

While the base-form may possibly be the original shape of the verbal root, in most cases the i-form and t-from encapsulate changes owing to underlying morphology. With regards to the synchronic discussion, amongst the forms examined in this chapter, the i-form of a verb will not appear in any position other than directly before the inconclusive marker. The historical semantics and morphology of this form will be discussed in the following chapter, but for now suffice it to say that the i-form is so named because it captures sound changes owing to the addition to the verb root of an infinitivizing suffix, not surprisingly of the shape $i$. While clearly distinct in prior phases of the language, in many consonant final verb roots it has merged completely into a palatalized form. Thus we have kak as the base form of ‘to write’, kach is the i-form of the same verb, reflecting the changes $\text{kak}-i > \text{kach}-i$.

The most important verb base for the purposes of this thesis, then, is the t-form of the verb. Much like how the i-form represents the assimilation of the earlier infinitivizing suffix, the t-form represents the assimilation of earlier perfective morphology. Discussed
in detail in the next chapter, the t-form, the past marker, the evidential marker, and the past participle all owe their existence to morphologization of previous serial verb construction, likely of the shape *t(V), where V represents an inflectional vowel. However, this once regular verb had already begun the process of becoming grammaticalized at the time of Proto-Ryukyuan, and by Okinawan has become fused into several distinct verbal suffixes as well at the t-form. In this manner, a vowel final verb such as wakayun ‘to understand’ has a t-form of wakat, simple past in waka-ta, past participle in waka-ti, and perfective in waka-teen, clearly preserving the Proto-Ryukyuan *waka t(V) serial verb construction where V is the various vowel inflections of the consonant stem. However, in most consonant final verb roots, the *t of the Proto-Ryukyuan perfective verb attached to the infinitive, and underwent palatalization as a result: thus the base-form of ‘to stand’ is tat, the i-form is tach from earlier PR *tati > tachi, and the t-form tacch from an earlier PR *tat-i-t(V) > OOk taty-i-ty(V) > MOk tacch where the infinitivizing suffix caused both the final consonant of the verb root and the *t of the perfective verb to be pronounced with a palatal glide, i.e. ty. Later on in Middle Okinawan these glides became full palatal affricates, ch. Some verbs like ‘to stand,’ ending in an original final t, resulted in a geminated t-form cch and a palatalized i-from ch, where as other consonant verbs show different patterns, e.g. ‘to write’ has an i-from kach and an identical t-form kach, where as ‘to read’ has the i-form yum reflecting an earlier PR *yum-i > OOk yumi > MOk yum(i), and a t-form yud from earlier PR *yum-i-t(V) > OOk yumyi-ty(V) > MOk yud(V).

Particularly clear with such progressions described above is the problem these assimilations cause for the synchronic morphemic analysis of modern Okinawan.
Synchronic vowel-root verb conjugations such as *wakayun ‘to understand’ clearly show the underlying morphology: the shape of the PR perfective verb \( *t(V) \) is preserved, e.g. *ta ti tee etc., as well as the underlying morphology of the i-form owing to the presence of the infinitive in i, e.g. *wakay where the glide is due to the earlier infinitive marker. However consonant stem verbs have largely obscured this process as is clear from the selection of verbs and their three forms presented in chart 1, itself not even a complete chart as there are an equal number of subtypes not listed. In order to avoid positing an awkward system, such as asserting for example the simple past is to be analyzed as [t-form]-[perfective, \( a \)]-[conclusive, \( n \)], so that *yudan = *yud-\( a \)-\( n \), thus separating the \( t \) from the past, perfective, and past participles with which clearly it is a component of, this thesis will posit forms including the \( t \), but with the rule that a verbs t-from obscures the initial \( t \) of these markers.\(^{15} \) This obscuration is reflected with the morphemes having their \( t \) component listen in parenthesis. In this system, for the past, perfective, and past participle, (\( t \)a, (\( t \)ee, (\( t \)i, respectively, the initial \( t \) is removed as it is already reflected in the verb’s t-form, however complex or even non-existent the sound changes may be.

Above was discussed how roots themselves may belong to two broad aspectual classes, the meaning of the statement marker, and finally the history behind the formation

\(^{15} \) This is a thorny issue in Okinawan studies. For example, Shinzato bases her analysis, again, on Uemura, and posits that the simple past of a verb like *yudan ‘to read’ is of the shape, *yudi an, where *yudi is given as the ‘gerund’ and an is the inanimate existential verb, cf. Japanese *aru. While not mentioned in her dissertation, this analysis may have some historical accuracy in so far as the Japanese past tense marker ta is often thought to come from an earlier Classical Japanese -tari, in turn thought to come from OJ –te ari. However, Uemura’s (and by extension Shinzato’s) system is designed for deriving surface forms. For example, the analysis of the evidential/perfective, i.e. a form like *yudeen is given as *yudi ya an, where *yudi and an are the same as above, and ya is the topic marker. While easily producing the surface, *yudeen, it is unlikely on historical grounds. Even more unlikely is the derivation of the continuous, i.e. *yudoon, from *yudi ya un, where un is the animate existential verb, c.f. Japanese *oru. Clearly designed to parallel the derivation of *yudeen, it however does not represent any common phonologic changes, and is even less likely historically. Finally, in this system the past marker is given as *tan, despite the fact the final \( n \) is removed in all non-predicated environments and replaced by other content, thus clearly showing its nature as an affix.
of the three basic verb stems referred to as ‘base-form,’ ‘i-from,’ and ‘t-form.’ With these examined, the discussion can advance to the various morphological markers themselves. To begin with, the semantic distinction between the i-form and the t-form of the verb shall be reviewed. It was shown that forms built off the i-form and the inconclusive u, i.e. forms built on a base like yum-u- profiled an intermediate point in the action (Shinzato, 1984) as well as the sense of objective observation (Miyara 2000). In contrast, those built off of the t-form, e.g. yud-, all involved conceptualization of some final relationship, a fact especially clear with perfective verbs. For example:

\[
\text{chinuu nu ami saani iyugumui nu micchi, iyu nu nugiti ichutan}
\]

\[
\text{yesterday gen rain inst fishpond sub filled, fish sub fled left}
\]

Yesterday the fishpond was filled with rain, and the fish fled out.


In example 13, a snippet of dialogue from a teacher talking to his students, the final verb ichutan ‘left’ is in the progressive. Here the progressive, that is, [i-from] + [inconclusive, u], is used to tell the students what the teacher had seen. If the teacher had used the continuous, ‘njootan, the implication is that the fish were continuously leaving the pond over a period of time, presumably until they were all gone, and further that the teacher knew this either because he watched it unfold or had heard about it from another source. However, with ichutan, the implication is that the teacher saw something that he recognized as ‘fish escaping the pond on account of the rain’. Here there is an implications of other factors, such that the teacher himself recognized the semantic content personally, but does not express absolutely that the fish all left, that the fish were leaving continuously, or even that the reasoning behind his conclusion was definite. With the progressive forms of the verb, the speaker wishes to assert what the personally recognized to be the case, but which the totality of facts feels to be missing. Looking
back at example 4, from which Shinzato came to the conclusion that progressive forms profile mid-points of action, it is clear that in that case the speaker was witnessing some activity that made them think the lights were being turned on, i.e. in the middle of turning them on. However, as soon as the lights came on, the speaker would have to use the progressive to profile the ongoing on-ness of the lights, or the resultative to profile that the lights had reached the state of on. Also, when telling the information to others, after witnessing the lights come on, the progressive would become inappropriate, as the speaker had a complete awareness of the action. Instead, then, the speaker would refer to that action with the simple past. Thus the after seeing the entire event the speaker can refer to the fact the state ‘on’ was achieved, the fact ‘on-ness’ continued to exist, or the entire concept of ‘turned on’ holistically, but no longer with a progressive, ‘I recognized some on-ness’. These semantic notions can be captured below:

DIAGRAM 2. Simple, Continuous, Resultative, Past
In the top left of diagram 2, we have a representation of an ordinary (as so listed in chart 3), such as *yumu*. The three connected squares represent the phases of action as described earlier in this section, while the larger rectangle around the medial relationship and the timeline is the scope of predication, the profile. Such forms represent the idea that the speaker recognized a specific part of an action, but that they lack a holistic understanding. The diagram clearly represents this by showing a verb’s medial content under focus, thus recognizable, but the end points of the action beyond the profile and so the whole action is beyond the speakers knowledge.

The top right of diagram 2 is a CG representation of a continuous form. The continuous forms take the final state of an action, and profile it as stable over a period of time. That is, the final state of the verbal action is profiled as a part of a new verbal process (for which the grammaticalization will be discussed later.) Here the original verb content is shown above and to the left, while the final state of that content forms the center of the profile. The understanding that this state is currently ongoing is represented by the unfilled beginning and endpoints to the side of the profile.

On the bottom left is a schematic for evidential/perfective constructions. It is quite similar to that of continuous, but where the continuous takes the final state of a verbal process and profiles as a part of a new, ongoing verbal action, the evidential/perfective profiles it as a thing, i.e. an object stable through time. In this manner, on can refer to a state as being more ‘real’ and thus more affirmative, as well as allowing for concrete references to the state itself. Here the diagram captures that double meaning.

Finally in the bottom right there is a diagram of the past marker (*t)a, which profiles the verbal action as having happened outside the speech moment. The contents of
the verbal phrase is represented by the bolded box, and the previous timeline is the line at
the bottom of the profiled space. One should also note that as the continuous and
perfective/evidential share the same PR verb from which they developed, not surprisingly
they all have similar semantic representations. While at present the past marker \( (t)a \) is the
most generalized, simply pointing to a bound region of past time, both the
perfective/evidential and continuous also incorporate this meaning: in both those form a
prior verbal process is referred to from which the final state is extracted.

Moving on to the past forms, it is as if another row of options has appeared. While
the addition of the past marker to the present forms \( (yumutan, yudootan, yudeetan) \)
simply imposes a window of time prior to the speech event (diagrammed above), a new
form appears, \( yudan \). Shinzato described \( yudan \) as meaning the action had just occurred,
focusing on the immediacy of the endpoint (Shinzato 1984), while Izuyama adds that this
form is used when the action is seen holistically, and that awareness is reported (Izuyama
2006). Also, Shinzato’s epistemic analysis notes that when talking about actions taken,
simple past forms like \( yudan \) are appropriate for first persons, where progressive pasts are
appropriate for second and third person subjects (Shinzato 1984). Presumably the holistic
realization pointed out by Izuyama walks hand in hand with the epistemic properties
noted by Shinzato, namely, that if one did not experience the action fully then there is a
sense of unacceptability with using the simple past. This can be diagrammed as below:
Here in diagram 3, the complete content of the verbal information is realized by speaker, and represented by the entire verbal occurring inside the scope of predication. However, as illustrated by the profile and moment of speech taking place at the same time, the notion that the speaker is realized the action holistically at present is charted.

The next set of six verb inflections (9-15) all involve the addition of a singular morpheme ~tee, the resultative/evidential to those previously discussed. We have seen that a verb like yudeen ‘read.resultative’ refers to a situation, and so not surprisingly the addition of -teen to the prior inflections turns information about a phase of action into a statement about a situation. For example, yudoon means ‘is reading (presently)’ while yudooteen means ‘it is indeed the case that there exists such reading’. That is, yudooteen is an assertion of fact that the described event exists and is true. In another example, yudeen ‘be read.resultative’ states that something is in the state of having been read, while yudeeteen asserts the factuality of that state of ‘read-ness’.

In one final extension these new -teen forms can have -teen appended again to form a kind of ‘perfect assertive form.’ The idea here being that the reified assertion of the ‘past affirmative’ form is asserted to have existed at some prior time. For example, choon ‘come.continuous’ profiles the ongoing action of somebody having arrived and continuing to ‘be arrived’, while chooteen ‘come.continuous.assertive’ is an assertion
that at the moment of speech it is the case, the situation, that somebody has arrived and continues to ‘be arrived’. From this we can make *chooteetee* ‘come.continuous.perfect assertive’, which asserts that at some specific point in time, before the moment of speech, it was the case that somebody had arrived and continued to ‘be arrived’. While this concept may be strange to express in English, for those familiar with Japanese, one can think of *-teen* as an appending ‘no da’ to the verb form before it, and in like *-teeteen* as appending ‘no datta.’ So for the above, then, *chooteen* is like MNJ *kiteru no da*, and *chooteetee* like MNJ *kiteru no datta*. These forms are diagrammed below.

![Diagram 4: *tee* and *teeteen*](image)

**Diagram 4. ***tee* and *teeteen*

Here in diagram 4, at the top is a schematic of *tee* and the bottom of *teeteen*. As just described, the resultative/affirmative forms take some semantic content and profile it
as a stable thing over time, a state. For the resultative in diagram 2 this content was clearly shown to be taken from the final relationship of a verb, but construed as a thing. Here the same diagram is drawn with a dashed entity in the middle of the profiled thing, and stands for the semantic content, being reified and presented. The addition of another tee to form perfective resultatives, again, takes the semantic content of the tee affixed verb, and applies the same cognitive process of reification as a stable thing. Thus, instead of the dashed entity in the top diagram for tee, one finds the entire tee diagramed fixed inside of itself. This clearly shows that a teetee form asserts that for the present situation, there existed another stable situation in the past.

The last three forms (15-17) can be described as follows. The form yudi profiles the processual completion of the verb to its end, while yudai profiles the existence of the verbal process in toto. That is, yudi means ‘to read, and...’ whereas yudai means ‘there is (/are episodes of) reading.’ While to be discussed later, yudaani is related to yudai, and profiles the moment immediately after the existence of the verbal content. For example,

Too, anshi, naabi yachaani, anda itti, yasheemun hajimi, tuunaa iriree.

_emot._ then, pot light.up, oil put.in, vegetables begin [with], tuna put.in._imp_
Great! So, put the heat on the pot and add the oil. Then add the vegetables, and tuna.
_EXAMPLE 14. yudi yudai & yudaani (Nishioka, 2005, p. 129)_

Here the usage of yachaani ‘to light [aani]’ implies that the speaker is to immediately put the oil in after the stove is lit, that is, there is no confusion about whether or not to wait for the pot to boil. However, the vegetables and tuna are talked about with the itti ‘to put.in [di]’ implying that they are to be added later in contrast. Finally, while the last verb iriree ‘to put.in [imp]’ is used in the example above, the speaker could change the form to ittai ‘to put.in [-ai]’ then the sentence would be talking about a general situation
after the addition of the oil. That is, the sentence would be an expression of the kinds of things one might add after the water had heated, and not necessarily any specific ingredients.
CHAPTER 5. GRAMMATICALIZATION ACCOUNT

In the previous chapter, an analysis of MOk verb forms was developed. First their semantics were analyzed in detail, followed by encapsulating those results in CG. In this chapter a similar process will be undertaken, whereby Thorpe’s reconstruction of Proto-Ryukyuan verbal morphology will be used to establish a semantic base. This semantic base will be analyzed along grammaticalization pathways to help explain the motivation and mechanics of such forms.

After surveying the structural and semantic developments in Proto-Ryukyuan, along with those further changes that lead to Proto-Northern-Ryukyuan (PNR), the discussion will turn to the Omoro-sōshi. The Omoro is a large collection of incantations and songs, and is the oldest native record of Okinawan. It records an intermediate state between PNR and MOk, vital for understanding how those forms not reconstructable to PR or PNR developed.

5.1 Proto Ryukyuan

We will begin with Thorpe’s reconstruction of Proto-Ryukyuan verbal morphology. At the base of all Okinawan verbal formations analyzed in this thesis is one of the consonant alternations captured in the concept of the three bases. While they are now clearly morphologized, it is evident from the written records of the Omoro, and comparative evidence outlined in Thorpe, that these all owe their origins to regular patterns that have since become fused as outlined in previous chapters. However, while almost all of MOk verb morphology dealing with the expression of facts is built off of the
infinitive and serial verbs, at the Proto-Ryukyuan stage participle forms were actively
used as well. Looking at these once productive forms and their semantics is the first step
to understanding the MOk verbs described thus far.

In PR there were two kinds of phonologically minimal, affirmative, real stems
built by additions to the root: root + i and root + e. Thorpe calls the stem in i the infinitive,
and the stem in e, the imperfect participle (Thorpe, 1983). Also slightly more complex,
are the two stems built on the shape infinitive + te and infinitive + ta. Both have
perfective meanings and Thorpe wavers on the issue of their relationship, i.e. whether
they are two forms of the same underlying morpheme, i.e. both te and ta < Pre-PR *t(V),
or two unrelated items with coincidentally similar forms. Regardless, he calls the form in
-te the perfective participle, and lists it with his chart of primary verb forms, along with
the other forms discussed above. As for the shape in -ta, he leaves it out of his chart, but
includes it in the discussion of the charted forms that follows, a prime example of the
manner in which the relationship of -ta and -te are in flux. In that discussion, he calls the
-ta form the perfective aspect marker. An understanding of the semantics of these four
stems presented above will allow for a development of all the verb forms and semantic
senses discussed in the previous chapters.

First let us look at the two most formally simple forms, the infinitive and
imperfective participle. Like in modern Okinawan and Japanese, the PR infinitive seems
to have two functions. The first is nominalizing verb roots, and the second is forming
serial verb constructions. For example, PR *nomimono ‘a drink,’ and *yakimono ‘a
ceramic’ demonstrate the nominalizing function, and infinitive + PR *t(V) ‘perfective
verb’ as an example of the serial verb construction.
In both cases the nominalizing and serial verb construction seem closely related semantically. In Okinawan two nominals or uninflected words can come together to make compound nouns. For example consider MOk akana ‘shiso’ lit. red-leaf. Here ‘red’ is being used nominally, and it is helpful to note that it is also being used to create an intrinsic modification. That is, akana is specific kind of red leaf, not an adjective phrase. If aka ‘red’ is used adjectivally in the form aka-sa to form akasaru na ‘red leaf,’ the meaning changes to a general description: akana is always shiso, but akasaru na could be said to point out redness in any kind of leaf. Similarly yakimono and nomimono are not used to describe the speaker’s impressions, but form the abstract nouns ‘drink’ and ‘ceramic ware’. That is, one cannot point to any one specific thing that has been baked and call it a yakimono, or to any swallowable item and call it descriptively a nomimono, as to do so necessarily is to describe the object as a member of those broad classes and does not describe a specific feature.

Also, semantically relevant to the discussion is the fact that the infinitive does not seem to select a specific aspect of the verb root it attaches to: yakimono by nature does not refer to a lump of clay, but the final product after having been fired, while to the contrary nomimono does not refer to something that has already been consumed, but something that has yet to be drunk. In this way the compound simply refers to the verbal action holistically, and without reference to any particular phase of it.

The second property to note is that in PR and MOk an unmarked noun before a verb serves as the locus of the verbal action, the ‘object’ of the verb. For example, unlike in Japanese where the particle wo marks the direct object, the Okinawan equivalent of a MNJ phrase like ocha wo nomu ‘drink tea’ would chaa-gwaa numun. In this way the
nominalized verb form can also be thought to function as the object of the verb it connects to: *ocha wo nomi-hajimeru* ‘start to drink tea’ can be thought of conceptually as *ocha wo nomu koto wo hajimeru* ‘begin tea-drinking’. With intransitive verbs, the object analysis cannot be had, but again, the infinitive plus verb pattern mirrors the noun-noun pattern discussed above. For example, the MNJ *mai-ochiru* ‘to fall (gracefully)’ cannot be used to describe any kind of event, e.g. if a dancer on stage falls mid pilé, but rather captures a specific kind of falling motion.

CG helps us capture this semantic nominal-esque quality that infinitives have and present them in a concrete way. We have discussed that a verb is captured in CG through the notion of a complex, temporal relationship. That is, it is a sequenced number of relationships that have their development through time profiled. The infinitive in CG is exactly like the process, except that while time is still specifically part of its conceptual base, the sequential progression is no longer under focus, i.e. no longer profiled. To clarify, consider the semantic relationship of the words ‘into’ ‘to enter’ and ‘enters.’ All three words have the same conceptual content, an enclosure (abstract or physical) and an entity passing from one side of the enclosure to the other. The inflected verb ‘enters’ describes an event, an action being carried out step by step, while the preposition ‘into’ simply describes the relationship holistically, without reference to time. For example, one can talk in general about ‘into the tomb’ referencing only the abstract relationship of entities to a tomb, where as to say ‘enters the tomb’ implies a specific actor and time frame. In between this is the infinitive ‘to enter’ which like the verb ‘enters’ implies an action in time, but not necessarily an action through time. Again, the ‘to enter the tomb’
is a reference to the relationships that make up the action of something entering a tomb, we are still talking about an event, but not profiling its temporal manifestation.

Lastly, consider the nuances of the phrases ‘to enter is forbidden’ and ‘entering is forbidden.’ With the infinitive ‘to enter’ the focus is clearly on the holistic act, that is, we must consider each of the component relationships that compose the act. The nominalized ‘entering’ no longer makes one consider the steps of the action, but simply treats it as an object we can hold or point to; one can say ‘there was entering here’ as easily as one can say ‘there was an apple.’

As suggested above, CG style notation captures an infinitive in a manner visually close to that of a verb. The difference is that where with the verb, shown on the left of diagram 5, the timeline is bolded to show it’s profiling through time, whereas the infinitive, the right of diagram 5, does not have temporal progression profiled, and so the line is normal.

The next phonologically simple verb stem in PR is Thorpe’s imperfective participle, and the semantically related perfective participle. Thorpe explains that the PR imperfective participle meant to be carrying out a repeated action or state (Thorpe, 1983).
For example a root like PR *kak ‘to scratch’ in the form *kake would mean ‘scratching,’ i.e. to have completed a scratch and continue on completing more. This is in contrast to the PR perfective participle, in this case *kakite ‘scratched,’ meaning that one is no longer scratching, i.e. a sufficient amount of scratches have taken place and no more are to occur (Thorpe, 1983, p. 187). In CG what is usually called a participle is modeled as profiling the existence of a relationship, but one that has a process as its semantic base. In other words, a participle is a slice of a verb that is seen as existing on stable through time.

In PR it seems that the semantic difference between the two varieties of participles was the imperfective carried with it a sense of maintained action while the perfective profiled the fact of completion. That is, the imperfective profiled continuation through time of a verb’s final state, either iteratively for perfective verbs or continually for imperfectives. Conversely, the perfective participle profiled that the final state of an instance of verbal process had been reached. This is most clearly seen in diagram 6, where the PR imperfect participle is on the left and the perfective participle is on the right. The PR imperfective differs only slightly from the classic CG participle definition: where the CG participle profiles a single stable state, the PR participle additionally profiles iterations if the verb is perfective. This slight difference is diagramed by using an empty
box as opposed to the full box normally used to present the final state of a verbal process. As for the PR perfective, it profiles the stable state of affairs of a verbal process having been fulfilled prior to the time of speech. Again, the verbal process here is represented as an empty box that had been stable, but reached a point of completion as represented by the vertical line. This semantic content is then enclosed in another box to capture that relationship, and profiled like any other participle as stable through time.

In Northern Ryukyuan (NR) the imperfective participle was replaced by the perfect participle, and this is one of the major splits between NR and Southern/Sakishima Ryukyuan (SR) (Thorpe, 1983). In SR, the imperfective participle is reconstructed to have existed independently, but would ultimately survive only as the stem from which the SR continuatives are built: imperfect participle + wo(ri) ‘to sit in wait’. Also, SR eliminated the PR perfective participle with the exception of one form, the perfective of PR *sasu ‘to do,’ which was regularly attached to the imperfective participle of other verbs to form a new perfective participle: imperfective participle + *site. The chart below summarizes these changes with the verb ‘to scratch’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Ryukyuan</td>
<td>*kake</td>
<td>*kakite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ryukuan</td>
<td>*kakite</td>
<td>*kakite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Ryukyuan</td>
<td>*kake (later, *kake wo(ri))</td>
<td>*kakesite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 5. Thorpe’s PR > NR & SR Participles

While Thorpe does not examine the cause of the split between NR and SR in the participle forms, from a semantic perspective there seems to be clear motivation in how one understands the notion of ‘perfective’ with perfective verbs. Recalling that a perfective verb is one that profiles a heterogeneous set of states, and in particular with
Japanese where perfectives seem to profile that transition quickly, there is some ambiguity as to whether a single instance of the perfective action constitute a holistic view of it, or whether a linked sequence of perfective actions creates the sense of whole. To put it another way, is ‘a scratch’ complete when on places a nail on the skin and drags it across, or is it complete when one stops the usual repeated sequence of scratches. In NR it appears that the perfective participle was interpreted as meaning one full instance of the action has occurred, so continuing with the above example, one drag of nail across the skin constitutes a complete state of ‘scratched’. In this way the PR participles seemed to loose their sharp temporal distinctions in the north, and just express the realization of a verbs semantic content. In SR the PR distinction seems to have held between both kinds of participles, but perhaps a shift in semantics like that proposed for NR also was occurring in SR as well. However where the NR participle seemed to take on a hybrid meaning between the two PR forms, the SR speakers re-clarified them with additional content: the PR imperfective had ‘wo(ri)’ eventually added to it to maintain the sense of ongoing, concurrent action, while the PR imperfective had the PR perfective of *suru ‘to do’ appended to it to emphasize the process as being ‘completely done’.

5.2 Proto-Ryukyuan to Old Okinawan - A Grammaticalization Account

In the previous chapter we discussed the verb stems in PR that figure into the formation of the three MOk verb bases. In this chapter we will examine how those semantics have evolved. Using what grammaticalization pathways can explain about cross-linguistic trends, and the clear notation of CG, in this chapter we will cover the developments that can be reconstructed up to Old Okinawan.
While Thorpe suggests that the perfective participle and perfective marker may be related on the close connection of shape and perfective nuances, he does not pursue the issue. With all but a handful of verbs (MOk *wun* ‘to exist [animate]’, *an* ‘to exist [inanimate]’, *yan* ‘[copula]’), and then only in some Ryukyuan languages, the perfective marker and participle both appear before the infinitive form of the verb (Thorpe, 1983). In addition, the perfective participle *te* ends in the same form as a normal PR participles, *t-e*. Given the function of the infinitive to form nominals and link serial verbs, along with the match in form and function of the PR participle, it seems likely that the PR perfective marker and perfective participle are both forms of an earlier consonant verb of the shape *t*. Given the semantics of the perfective forms to profile the action as a completed episode, such a verb would likely have a meaning of ‘to be full’ or ‘to be complete,’ all of which are common sources of perfectives cross linguistically (Bybee 1994). One also thinks of the perfective co-verb *tu* in OJ, as well as the CJ verbs *tasu/taru* ‘to make be/ to be in a state of fulfillment’. While this is currently beyond the scope of this thesis, further investigation is needed. Regardless of the origins, it is reasonable to take both perfectives as interacting with the infinitive, and the perfect participle as reflecting a typical PR imperfect participle in semantics.

This suggestion also helps clarify the discussion above about the motivation behind the SR and NR split over imperfect and perfect expressions. If the perfect participle does not represent a unique marker in PR or Proto-Japonic, but simply a regular verbal construction comparable to those like MNJ *kaki owaru, kaki hajimeru*, and their equivalents in MOk, then Thorpe’s perfective participle was just one of many novel forms available. Clearly there was semantic ambiguity as to what constitutes ‘complete’
with perfective verbs in post-PR, as exemplified with the discussion of ‘to scratch’ and the collapse of the PR participle system. In NR the understanding was that a complete instance of a perfective verb meant that the process it encodes had happened once. That is, ‘to be scratched,’ NR *kakite, meant that one had placed a finger or other implement on another object and drug it across at least once. In essence, this is a middle ground between the PR *kake ‘to have scratched and least once and to be continuing to scratch’ and the PR *kakite ‘to have scratched at least once (likely many times more) but no longer be continuing’. NR simply dropped the aspectual distinction, and so the meaning of *kakite highlighted that indeed one instance of the verb’s semantic content took place. SR, though took the original semantic senses and clarified them with additional content. The continuative meaning of PR *kake was clarified by the addition of *wo(ri) to profile that the state expressed by the imperfective participle was indeed ongoing, and the episodic meaning of PR *kakite was clarified by using PR *shite ‘have done fully’ attached to the imperfect, thus, *kake (scratching) combined with *shite to mean ‘have fully done some scratching’. Again, while these SR facts do not directly pertain to the MOk forms in the previous chapters, and so will not be pursued in further detail, the semantics involved with the process of participles and infinitives combining with other verbs plays a large part in MOk development and will be presented in detail below.

With these ambiguous points of PR discussed, the analysis of MOk forms with direct ancestors at the PR and NR stage can be had. As the PR participle system was replaced by a semantic re-analysis and leveling, the result was a new NR participle, *te. With the semantic distinction between PR imperfective and perfective gone, the infinitive becomes the most basic form from which new constructions are built.
The most apparent form, and one that is pan-Ryukyuan (Thorpe, 1983), is the combination of the infinitive and *wo(ri). Cross linguistically, the most common source of progressives is non-finite (read, atemporal) verbal forms combined with stative verbs of posture, and the most common source of presents is non-finite verb forms combined with copulas and verbs of existence (Bybee 1994). In both MOk and Japanese the descendants of *wo(ri) are verbs of animate existence, having come from a verb with the original sense ‘to sit’.

Also, the grammaticalization pathway of posture verb > existential verb is one of the most widely attested (Heine, 2002). Both branches of the Japonic family clearly fit these cross linguistic norms, cf. MNJ (Western) oru ‘to exist [animate]’ and MOk wun ‘to exist [animate]’. The semantic account of this process lies in allowing the atemporal verbal to profile a kind of relationship, and the auxiliary verb to profile that relationship’s extension through time. For example, in present day English a verb’s present form plus -ing creates the present participle, which profiles atemporally, the medial state of a process. In other words, a verb like fall profiles the entire event through time, but falling profiles the medial state of that action. By adding the verb ‘to be,’ English then re-temporalizes that state as progressing through time at the moment of speech and creates the sense of something actively in the middle of a fall. In a similar manner, posture verbs profile a continued moment of stability for innately dynamic things, prototypically human beings. That is, human agents are innately dynamic, acting on the world around them, but when assuming certain postures such as sitting or laying, they become stable and un-dynamic. This notion is then applied to another kind of dynamic thing, a perfective process, to achieve the effect of profiling a stable, intermediate state. Returning to Post-PR, it seems straightforward that a verbal infinitive,

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16 The verb wo(ri) also had the more specialized meaning ‘to be in wait for something’ (Leon Serafim, p.c.)
of say the shape *tuki* ‘to attach, to arrive’, would profile in summary the complex relationship of an object transitioning to the surface of another. Then adding *wo(ri)* ‘to sit/to exist’ focuses our attention on the middle of that complex relationship and re-temporalizes it. This is diagrammed below:

![Diagram 7. Participle & wo(ri)](image)

Here in diagram 7, we have almost the exact same CG picture as with that of the simple ordinary in Diagram 2. The infinitive of the verb has been zoomed in upon, and re-temporalized, profiling the progression of an action internally.

The other MOk forms all involve either the perfective participle or the perfective marker. This presents an interesting predicament for several MOk inflections. Four distinct forms involve a dental with a seemingly past/perfect meaning in chart 3: *yudan*, *yumutan*, *yudootan*, and *yudeen*. In her dissertation Shinzato follows a morphemic analysis as follows. The first column has the verb form, the second her analysis as written in her dissertation, and the third column those same forms as they would appear with the morphemic analysis used in this, that is, they her underlying forms. In her dissertation *yudi* is given as the ‘gerund,’ and *yumi* ‘the infinitive’ of the verb *yumun* ‘to read,’ *an* ‘exist inanimate,’ *wun* ‘exist animate,’ *ya* ‘topic marker,’ and *tan* ‘past marker’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Shinzato (1984)</th>
<th>Morpemicization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yudan</td>
<td>yudi an</td>
<td>yumi ti a n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yumutan</td>
<td>yumi un tan</td>
<td>yumi u ta n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yudeen</td>
<td>yudi ya an</td>
<td>yumi ti ya a n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yudoon</td>
<td>yudi ya un</td>
<td>yumi ti ya u n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 6. Shinzato’s Morphemic Analysis

Based on the discussion of infinitives and wo(ri) in Ryukyuan, the analysis of
yumutan is a nice semantic fit, where *ta is the perfective marker and the *n the conclusive
form. However, according to Shinzato, the other three forms all involve the combination
of a participle. This analysis too first nicely with the semantics of yudoon and yudeen, the
first profiling the continuation of some final state, and the second profiling the completed
state of an action. However, yudan requires the speaker to have a holistic experience of
the verbal process, which seems at odds with an analysis of yudan as simply the
perfective participle and *an. In fact, that analysis seems to be a perfect structural-
semantic fit for yudeen. Thorpe too comes to a similar conclusion, as when discussing
that in SR the participle and PR *a(ri) form the resultative (Thorpe, 1983), and in turn it
seems likely that in NR a similar structure took place, but built on *te, the new NR
participle par excellence. Here the concept of the participle in *e being used in verbal
compounds is key. The use of a participle in *t-e parallels the Sakishima progressive
construction also discussed above. That is, SR *yome wo(ri) and Okinawan yudoon < NR
*yomi te wo(ri) have readily comparable semantic senses, and similar origins. Given then
that yudeen, and not yudan, involves a participle combining with ‘*an,’ where then does
yudan come from? To this end I suggests that yudan comes from *yomi *ta *mu, that is, the
infinitive plus the Proto-Ryukyuan perfect aspect marker. In CG, again, a perfect is
defined as a holistic profile of the action, and this is precisely the kind of meaning
embodied by a simple past like yudan, and is reflected in its semantics discussed in
chapter 4. To make this clear, *yudan profiles the conception from beginning to end process of an action over a specific period of time, precisely what one would expect from and infinitive and perfect combination. The following chart summarizes the developments so far:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ordinary (Simple)</strong></td>
<td><em>yumun</em> <em>yomi wo mu</em></td>
<td><em>yudan</em> <em>yomi ta mu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ordinary (Progressive)</strong></td>
<td><em>yumutan</em> <em>yomi wo ta mu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continuous</strong></td>
<td><em>yudoon</em> <em>yomi te wo mu</em></td>
<td><em>yudoottan</em> <em>yomi te wo ta mu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resultative</strong></td>
<td><em>yudeen</em> <em>yomi te a mu</em></td>
<td><em>yudeetan</em> <em>yomi te a ta mu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms labeled past all involve the perfective *ta*, which accounts for their semantic profile of a specified region of time. This was outlined above in the previous chapter. The present continuous and resultative forms represent the possibilities of the perfective participle *te*, used both dynamically with *wo(ri)* and statically with *a(ri)*, as well as the semantic effect that *wo(ri)* has on an infinitive. These notions are then extended with the perfective marker to create the pasts, plus the additional option of the infinitive plus past aspectual marker. At this point, all of such constructions reflect a Post-Proto-Ryukyuan stage, as the function of the Proto-Ryukyuan imperfect participle *e* has been overshadowed by the perfect participle *te*, creating a split between NR and SR.

The forms labeled affirmative past in chart 3, however, cannot be completely reconstructed for this state, and owe their semantic derivation to more recent developments. For example, *yudooteen* can not sensibly be derived from this NR system:
yudooteen < *yomi te wo te a mu does not make semantic sense. As seen above, the semantic effect in modern Okinawan of the yudooteen is to profile a past, atemporalized situation. However, from the reconstructions at the PR and NR level, such a form would profile an ongoing state. As such, a natural synchronic analysis of the verb would involve the verb an ‘to exist’, and this is exactly the route taken by Shinzato (basing her presentation on prior work by Uemura.) This is also facilitated by the fact that most Okinawan speakers (or at least Okinawan dictionary makers) analyze -oon and -een as being composed of [infinitive] + [topic marker] and then wun or an respectively, and this is indeed how the negatives are formed in modern Okinawan, yudee neeran < yudi ya neeran and yudee wuran < yudi ya wuran. However, just as deriving the ee sequence from -te a(ri) did not make semantic sense, deriving all instances of ee from a contraction with the topic particle makes no structural sense: yudeeteen < *yumi ti ya ti ya an. It appears then that ee in these forms has two semantic interpretations, but cannot be explained plausibly with either the Proto-Ryukyuan, NR, or MOk systems. Instead the answer seems to lie in the Old Okinawan of the Omoro.

5.3 Old/Middle Okinawan Continued Development

While Thorpe does not treat this in his dissertation at the Proto-Ryukyuan level, it is clear that in the time of the Omoro speakers had begun combining -a(ri) ‘to exist, inanimate’ with the infinitive in addition to the earlier infinitive and-wo(ri) ‘to exist, animate’ (Takahashi 1991). The semantic effect is clearly analogous as well: where -wo(ri) focused on the verb internally, -a(ri) viewed the verbs semantic content holistically, like a thing. It was commonly used to show means, method, cause, reason,
goal of action, emotional state, contrastive sides, and location. The uses largely depend on the context of the sentence, with the semantically nominalized content of the -a(ri) clause being construed to different effects (Takahashi 1991). Also clear from the Omoro is at this time the past participle *te was already on its way to become ti. At first the PR vowel was centralized e > i, and then later on raised i > i. Thus some passages of the Omoro reflect the backed vowel, while later passages the current value i. One corollary of these changes is that the PR and NR participle forms in e were now identical to the infinitive in i. It seems reasonable to posit then the PR *yomi te a mu > OOk *yunyi tyı a mu > MOk yudeen was reanalyzed by middle and modern Okinawan speakers as reflecting *yumi ti, with the appropriate semantic change of an infinitive as well. It is easy to imagine the current morphemic understanding as descending from a reanalysis whereby the original glide and vowel raising shown above resulting in the ee sequence of MOk is taken as the topic maker and infinitive: PR *yomi te a-mu > MOk yudeen is reanalyzed to reflect underlying MOk yudeen <-- yumi ti ya an. As time progressed, the resulting perceived ti ya contraction to tee becomes morphologized, and now we have the current Okinawan verbal system.

This also provides an historical explanation for the double interpretation of yudeen as both present resultative and past affirmative. It maintains its original sense yomi te amu in the resultative but also is reinterpreted as yumi ti ya an in the affirmative past. This analysis gets extended to the other past paradigms as well, that is, easily by analogy if yudan : yudeen then yumutan yudootan yudeetan : yumuteen yudooteen yudeeteen. The complete re-analysis into a distinct morpheme -teen is also clear from modern texts. While Shinzato does not mention it in her chart, there exist forms such as
discussed in the previous chapter, with the new additional -tee only making sense with the understanding of -tee and n as distinct morphemes.

As we can see, the phonetic situation at the time of the Omoro gave rise to the situation marked by two asterisks for the affirmative past, which in turn permitted the re-analysis labeled as R. This new understanding of what constituted ee gave rise through analogy, labeled on the chart as A, to give the remaining forms and complete the paradigm originally presented in chart 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Affirmative Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ordinary (Simple)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yumun</td>
<td>yutan</td>
<td>yudeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*yomi wo mu</td>
<td>*yomi ta mu</td>
<td>R yumi ti ya a mu, &lt;--**yumyi tyi a mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ordinary (Progressive)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yumutan</td>
<td>yudootan</td>
<td>yudooteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*yomi wo ta mu</td>
<td>*yomi te wo ta mu</td>
<td>A yud oo tee N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continuous</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yudeen</td>
<td>yudeetan</td>
<td>yudeeteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*yomi te a mu</td>
<td>*yomi te a ta mu</td>
<td>A yud ee tee N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also while not shown, it seems clear that a new formation built on the morphemes tee and n are present as evidenced by the potential for a new column, perhaps labeled Perfect Affirmative Past, which would contain all the affirmative past forms with an additional -tee-n suffixed, e.g. yudeeteeteen ‘to read [resultative, perfect affirmative]’.

In this chapter, first the CG model was applied to Okinawan to provide precise semantic depictions of common verbal elements. This will hopefully allow for students of Okinawan to be able to grasp more quickly the nuances and usages of those forms: if a picture is truly worth a thousand words, then perhaps a picture can also help one learn a single word a thousand times faster. Following this treatment of modern verbs, Thorpe’s
reconstruction of Proto-Ryukyuan morphology was reviewed with a CG lens in order to understand more clearly the semantics therein. After two semantic representations were had, one of Okinawan’s present, and the other of Okinawan’s greater past, the necessary steps to bridge that gap were considered. It became clear that several stages could be distinguished: Proto-Ryukyuan, North-Ryukyuan, Omoro-Okinawan (Old Okinawan), Post-Omoro-Okinawan (Middle Okinawan), and finally Modern Okinawan. It is clear that *yumun*, *yudan*, and *yumutan* can be reconstructed back to Proto-Ryukyuan, while *yudoon*, *yudeen*, *yudootan*, and *yudeetan* can be dated to the era of Northern Ryukyuan. The re-analysis of *yudeen* is dependent on sound changes and phonotactic rules of Old Okinawan, and that *yumuteen* *yudooteen* and *yudeeteen* are analogized (presumably) shortly after. Finally, the most recent analysis of *-tee* as a distinct morpheme has enabled a new column to be added to the paradigm, representing the MOk verbal system for all forms examined.
CHAPTER 6. OKINAWAN PARTICLES THROUGH TIME

In this section we will explore basic particle usage in MOk, and where possible let the findings above on verbal semantics inform the discussion. We will see that for Okinawan there are typically two layers within a particle’s history. The first is found in the Omoro, reflecting a system of participle forms having been grammaticalized, and the second happening near the end of the Omoro era where vowel mergers and semantic shifts have caused the earlier and more transparent system to take divergent paths.

6.1 Subject/Genitive

Clearly related to OJ no and ga, the MOk nu and ga too both serve as genitive and subject markers. The particle ga seems to serve a bewildering variety of functions, with little to relate them, whereas nu is fairly consistent as a marker of subject and genitive relations. To begin with, some current usages of ga will be demonstrated with a few example sentences, and then discussed as to which functions are innovations and how they came to be.

As a marker of subjects, ga has a more limited range of use than nu. As a general rule it is appended to names of people, places, and pronouns referring to people, while all others are marked by nu. As for genitive usages, the kinds of nouns marked by ga do not need a particle to express possession, while those subjects marked by nu typically do:

\texttt{kumaa hana ga wuran}

\texttt{here.top Hana sub not.present.animate}

Hana is not here
EXAMPLE 15. *ga* subject (Author Provided)\(^{17}\)

**kumaa hana nu neeran**

*here.top* flower(s) *sub* not *present.inanimate*

There are no flowers here

EXAMPLE 16. *nu* subject (Author Provided)

**kuree hana yaa yaibiin**

*here.top* Hana house is *copula*

This is Hana’s house

EXAMPLE 17. *ga* type genitive (Author Provided)

**kuree hana nu yaa yaibiin**

*here.top* flower(s) *gen* house is *copula*

This is the flower house

EXAMPLE 18. *nu* type genitive (Author Provided)

The additional uses of *ga* are to mark questions and expressions of purpose.

Specifically, *ga* is used when a question involves a question word, or a particular part of a statement that is cast in an uncertain light. In the latter usage, the verb is in the ‘tentative’ form.

**kuree nuu yaibii ga**

*this.top* what is *pol.* *question*

What is this?

EXAMPLE 19. *ga* question, sentence (Author Provided)

**kuma ga yaibiira**

*here* question is *pol.* *subjunctive*

Is it here (I wonder)?

EXAMPLE 20. *ga* question, word (Author Provided)

**uri tui ga ‘njan**

*it take* *infinitive purpose* go *past.simple*

---

\(^{17}\) The following examples 15-20 have been created by the author based on similar examples given in Nishioka (2005, p. 13, 100, and 102). They have been reduced in length for easy readability, and in the case of 15-18, the name Hana has been used to illustrate changes in meaning affected simply by change in particle, i.e. that depending solely on particle usage the word will either refer to a person, Hana, or ‘flowers.’
As for ga used as a marker of purpose, this function seems to be cognate with the analog construction in Japanese, renyokei ni [verb of motion], e.g. the translation of example 21 into MNJ would be sore wo tori ni itta. In the Omoro, phrases of purpose are marked with ni as well as ga (Takahashi, 1991), and in modern Okinawan, ga shows the same structural patterns that ni, i.e. attaching to a verb’s ren’yōkei. It seems then that in Proto-Ryukyuan there may have been a structure *ni-ka which later changed along the lines of *nka>ga as the PR syllable ni would regularly become the mora nasal n in MOk. This ka could have been from PR *ika, ‘to go [volitional]’, combined with the ren’yōkei and ni, meaning something like ‘progressing towards the action.’ In a similar vein, the ka could also be derived from a verb proposed below, meaning ‘to go out to.’ All of these forms would be consistent with the Japonic internal pattern of ni and motion verbs, as well as the cross-linguistic tendency for markers of purpose to be grammaticalized out of verbs with meanings such as ‘go to’ and ‘arrive at’ (Bybee 1994).

The usage of ga as a marker of questions seems cognate with Japanese ka. In this light MOk ga could be the result of voicing this PJ particle, as it always occurs after the occurrence of a final nasal. PJ ka was voiced under the influence of a velar nasal, i.e. *Nka>ga, which would fit nicely with the other MOk question marker mi, and the regular sound changes of nu, mu, ni, mi>n. In Okinawan the finite form of verbs also ends in a velar nasal n, derived in negative sentences from an earlier *nu and in affirmative ones from an earlier *mu. This is also reconstructable back to Proto-Ryukyuan. Once the such sequences as *mu ka,* nu ka, *mi ka > *nka > ga it would be easy to reanalyze them all as containing MOk conclusive n and question marker ga.
6.2 Locatives

Both in usage and form Okinawan locative particles overlap greatly. In the Omoro there are the particles *ni, kati, kara*, all appearing independently, as well as occasionally combined with *ni* to yield, *nikati* and *nikara*. Also, the particle *wuti* appears in the Omoro, while *wutooti* is a more recent development, appearing in Ryuka and dramas. In modern Okinawan, the particle *nakai* seems prevalent amongst the older generation, while younger speakers typically use *nkai* in similar places (Nohara 1998). Also, *kati* is no longer used in Shuri-Naha, but speakers in Northern Okinawa and Amami use *kati* and *kachi*, respectively (Nohara 1998). In addition a new particle, *nji*, has emerged in recent years, and despite not being listed in Wordbook, was frequently found by I in modern texts. The particle *nai* is listed in several modern dictionaries, but did not appear in any works read for this thesis.

As for the semantics of these forms, in earlier stages of Okinawan, *ni* is used to mark a point in time or space, and is not generally used as in Japanese for active locations, directions, or objects of verbs of becoming. In MOk such uses can be seen, but are clearly influenced by Japanese ascent. Likewise, *kara* is identical to the Japanese particle in form, but different in semantic application. It is used for origins in time and space, materials, and reasons, just like Japanese, but *kara* in Okinawan of all stages also marks the path along which an action occurs, as well as means of transportation, and so overlapping with Japanese *wo* and *de*, respectively:

*michi kara acchun*

road *loc* walk  
*Walk on the road*  
The particle *kati* was used virtually the same as Japanese *e*, marking the direction in which an action is carried out (Takahashi 1991, Nishioka 2005). Finally, *wuti* was used to mark the space through which an action was developing, a dynamic space, comparable to the usage of Japanese *de*. In MOk *wutooti* is used in an identical manner, but with notions of permanence and formality when compared to *wuti* (Handa, 2003). This is likely the result of the durative meaning inherent in continuous verb forms. In this sense *wuti* and *wutooti* contrast with *ni*, which was used to profile the location as a point, typically in time (Handa 2003, Nohara 1998). For the time being, *ni* is clearly cognate with OJ *ni*, and *wuti* is clearly a grammaticalization of *wo(r)i* ‘to sit / exist [animate]’+te.

The particles *kara* and *kati* will be discussed later below.

The most prevalent modern particle, *nkai*, covering all the uses of Japanese *ni* and *e*, has many etymologic theories. Two prevalent views encountered in the dictionaries and textbooks I reviewed are that it comes from the Old Japanese particle *gari*, or it is the grammaticalization of the modern Okinawan verb ‘to face’ *nkayun*. The problem with the *gari* based explanations are that *gari* seems only to be used with people and place names in Eastern Old Japanese (Ono 2006), where as *nkai* occurs without any such restriction. In addition, all of the OOk particles that occur with nasals also occur without them, and further, the source of that nasal is transparently the particle *ni*. Given the complexity of the Okinawan system, if anything, OJ *gari* would be the declining survivor of an Okinawan-like system at the Proto-Japonic level. As for the *nkayun* theory, it has clear
motivation at the surface, a formal match, but also could just as easily be derived from earlier forms. Following regular sound change rules, *nkai should correspond to a prior PR (nu/ni/mu/mi)ka(ri/re). As for the source of the initial velar nasal, mi seems the least likely as there is no particle of that shape, or verb beginning with mi that would produce nkai. If the first syllable was mu then MOk *nkayun (*muka(r)i womu > nkayun > nkai [infinitive]) is indeed a plausible candidate. However, the particle ni regularly combines with other particles in the Omoro, and so ni-kai is also a likely source. In terms of chronology, the earliest particle is kati, then later on both kai and nikai seem to replace it. The semantic distinction being that kai generally marks the direction an action develops towards, while nikai marks the end point the action is or is about to reach (Hokama, 1995).

Pursuing the likely possibility that the velar nasal in nkai is due to the prior particle, the origins of the kai half of ni-kai need further examination. As stated above, kai occurs as a free particle in the period after the Omoro, and suggested etymologies unanimously relate it to OJ ka ‘place’, combined with OJ pye ‘direction’ (Hokama 1995, Nohara 1998). While a locative particle e is attested in Middle Okinawan, its usage is minimal, and thus likely to be a borrowing from Japanese. Also, structurally the particle kai occurs with a variety of nouns, and so one would expect a far more restricted usage if indeed something like OJ ka-pye is representative of its source. Finally, as kai survives today in that form, the most likely source of the final i is from a previous (r)i, as earlier a-e and a-i vowel combinations regularly merged into MOk ee.

Such a form like *kari, then, suggests a verbal origin on par with the likes of those seen above based on wun, and later with sun ‘to do’. Also, this would help explain
the older particle *kati as well, which is often described as being derived from OJ *ka ‘place’ plus the bound morpheme CJ *chi ‘earth’ seen on directionals such as OJ *kochi, *sochi, *achi, ‘this direction’, ‘that direction’, and ‘that over there direction’, respectively. However, this theory suffers from two problems: first as with *kai above, *kati combines with a variety of nouns, and so its likelihood of being the OJ bound-noun *ka is low.

Second, OJ *ka does not appear in combination with OJ *chi, and the distribution of the OJ *chi seems to be restricted to demonstratives and verbs in the ren’yōkei (Hokama, 1995). However, if *kai reflects an earlier *kari then *kati would reflect the past participle of a Proto-Ryukyuan *kate, again, similar to the PR forms like *wute and *ate described in the previous chapter. If verbal in origin, the verb would have been of the shape *ka(ru) and like *wo(ri) a vowel stem verb, that is, the perfective participle and past aspectual marker would affix directly to the stem without an intervening ren’yōkei (r)i, e.g. *wote *wota, *kate *kata. As for the meaning of the verb, I would propose the ancestor of the Japanese kariru ‘to borrow’ (originally a yodan conjugation, karu), karu ‘to become distant’, and karu ‘to go hunt’. All of these verbs involve moving out and away for an object. Thus the original sense of the PJ verb *karu would have meant something like ‘go out to’ and then later as it grammaticalized simply ‘towards.’ Cross linguistically, directionals of all kinds (i.e. allatives / ablative / andative / venetive / etc.) are grammaticalized from verbs of motion, usually those with general meanings of ‘go’ or ‘come’ (Heine 2002).

Let us examine the semantic side of things more closely. To begin, *kati appears as a verb form since grammaticalized. Originally it must have been PR *kate as PR *ti regularly became MOK *chi, that is, PR *kati would be OK *kachi. Given what we know
about PR verb forms, the te in *kate would be the NR participle, profiling the
continuation of a final verbal state. So taking our suppositional PJ, *karu ‘to go out to’,
then the PR forms *kare ‘currently out and going on towards’ and PR *kate ‘had gone
out to’ would have merged into Northern Ryukyuan *kate ‘left towards’ with the
semantic shifts in participles outlined in the previous chapter. Thus in a hypothetical NR
sentence:

*sanzan wa yamato kate ikusa yarasita
the.three.kingdoms top Yamato gone.towards soldier(s) sent
The Sanzan dispatched soldiers to Yamato

EXAMPLE 24. Hypothetical NR particle

Here, one would literally be saying, ‘headed out towards Yamato, Sanzan sent soldiers,’
with the verbal meaning still intact. Later on, the vowel merger NR e, i > MOK i
obliterates the distinction between participle and infinitive, and the verbal phrase is now
on its way to being interpreted as a particle. One can further, even imagine a stage before
the merger of the participles in NR, where two versions of this example are possible. The
first with the imperfective participle *kare would mean ‘...on there way out to Yamato,
soldiers were sent’, while the perfective *kate, ‘...gone out to Yamato, soldiers were sent’.
That is, because of the different aspectual implications of the verb forms, the speaker has
control over their expression with regards to where the soldiers are. As PR *kate began to
take the semantic shift as described for NR participles in the previous chapter, *kare
would have become less used, and eventually this finer distinction between participle
forms would have been completely lost. However, this change appears to happen around
the time of the vowel merger, and so while in NR *kate > OOk kati survives in Northern
Okinawa with the general new semantic value of the NR participle, the earlier PR
participle distinction is replaced by alternations of the particle ni in later forms of Central
and Southern Okinawan: the imperfective participle PR *kare ‘going out to’ vs. *kate ‘gone out to’ > Early OOK kati ‘to be out at’ in North Okinawa vs. kari ‘to go out to’ in the South and Central Okinawa > Middle Okinawan nikai ‘to be out at’ vs. kai ‘to be out to’ > MOk nkai and kai. This progression also helps explain why MOk nkai can be used to mark a wide variety of grammatical relations, such as agents in passive constructions.

As the original involved the particle *ni, it too was able to subsume many of its functions.

The above is of course, highly speculative, and would require further exploration across the Ryukyuan languages. That said, it does seem to explain several underlying forms and usage facts in a more satisfactory way than yet proposed.

As for nakai, Nohara notes a generational gap between the usage of nkai and nakai in so far as the older generation uses nakai to express dynamic locations, but that nkai is the normal particle for other uses (Nohara, 1998). Also, nakai can be used much like Japanese dakara and node to express reasons, but this is not typical of the younger generation who prefer a more Japanese like syntax (Nohara 1998). Given the general pattern for MOk ai in verbal forms to represent an earlier *ari, then one would suspect that nakai comes from a prior *nakari. The situation is further supported by the fact a number of Ryukyuan dialects incorporate a particle of the shape na to serve the function of MOk wuti, that is, they did not grammaticalize wuti as a dynamic locative marker, but instead use na (Thorpe, 1983).

This phenomenon is pan-Ryukyuan. For instance the northern Okinawan dialects that preserve kati < *kate also use na instead of wo(ri) derived particles (Nohara, 1998). Thorpe, while largely leaving the issue of locative particles in Ryukyuan alone due to their great divergence in form and function in the daughter languages, does posit a PR na
dynamic locative and *ni static locative marker. Thus, much how kai was combined with
*ni to create nkai, the particle nakai could represent a similar substitution with the PR
particle *na. However just as *na is not found in the Omoro, neither is nakai. The particle
begins to be attested in Middle Okinawan with a long a vowel (Hokama, 1995), i.e.
nakaai, as well as just short naka and nakai alone. The version with a long vowel is
reminiscent of verbal constructions involving a(ri), e.g. MOk yudaani < Middle
Okinawan *yomi ti ai ni (Handa, 2003), and so could suggest that in the Pre-Omoro stage
when dynamic locative *na was being replaced by wuti, and the re-analysis of participle
semantics and infinitive conflation to form kati and kai, the form nakai became confused
with the noun naka ‘inside’ and the existential verb a(r): na-kai was reanalyzed as naka-
ari. This is also supported by the usage of naka alone when specifying location, clearly
being used as the noun ‘inside.’ By the MOk stage, a form seemingly between the two,
nakai, became used, and perhaps represents a compromise between the competing
interpretations.18

There is another particle nai that expresses motion towards a living or named
entity. It too would reflect an earlier *nari or *na-ari. In MOk nayun, cognate with
Japanese naru ‘to become’ does not mean only ‘to become,’ but also ‘to go’ and ‘to be
able,’ and so one might try and define it abstractly as ‘to reach’. In this way, nai < *nari
could be the infinitive form grammaticalized from ‘to go’ to ‘towards’. On the other hand,
in northern Okinawan dialects na is used to mark the dynamic location of verbs, and also
by extension, to mark paths: na is used in these dialects like kai is used in MOk. Thus na-

18 Since *na as a dynamic locative marker is attested throughout the Ryukyuan languages, its status as a PR
particle is undeniable. That being the case, one wonders if this particle was also present at the Proto-
Japonic level. If so, it could very well be that Japanese and Ryukyuan *naka ‘inside’ reflects and earlier PJ
na-ka where *na is the dynamic particle and ka is the ancestor of OJ ka and PR kaa ‘place, side.’
*ari* as in ‘on the path to, towards’ is also a likely etymology. In either case, as neither *nakai* or *nai* are found in the Omoro, nor have apparent Omoro-era ancestors like the particles discussed beforehand, further research into the development and semantics of Ryukyuan dialects on the whole would be required to sort out such a problem.

Finally, the newest Okinawan particle *nji* is clearly a grammaticalized form of the MOk verb ‘to go’. However, as far back as the Omoro two verbs meaning ‘to go’ *iku* and *inu* were used, where the verb ‘to go’ itself has a suppletive paradigm: *iku* is used to construct the ‘base-form’ and ‘i-form’ while *inu* derives the ‘t-from’. In terms of usage, it seems to mark past locations, and locations distanced from the present context either physically or metaphorically (Handa, 2003). In my own reading I find it commonly used in background narrative descriptions and abstract contexts. Further research would be necessary to see if there are discernible contrasts between *iku* and *inu* before the paradigms are merged.

Clear from the above, the PR system likely had two simple locatives, i.e. *ni* and *na*, that later became incorporated into various grammaticalized verbal phrases. Indeed, the similarity in shape and function of *ni* and *na* make one wonder if they too are not from a common root. In a similar vein, Japanese particles of comparison and ablative meanings seem to form a word family: *yu*, *yuri*, *yo*, *yori*. In this way further research into the historical development of Japanese particles as derived from verbs could prove fruitful. Slightly further out on the limb of speculation, the subject/genitive *ga* could have been derived from *ni-ka*, i.e. locative and PJ *ka(r)* ‘out to’ as discussed above. The most common source of possessive and agent markings cross-linguistically are locative and ablative phrases (Heine 2002).
6.3 Instrumental and Object

All forms of the Okinawan instrumental particle appear to be derived from the PR verb *suru, MOk sun ‘to do’. Both shi and sshi reflect the changes PR *sise > OOk *shishi > sshi > shi, where shi is the most recent form, but alternates with sshi. The imperfective participle, PR *sire has replaced the historical PR *site so that the MOk paradigm of ‘to do’ has sshi instead of shichi < PR *site. Initial glottal stops are often lost on words three moras long in Shuri, and so sshi began to alternate with shi in longer verb forms, and later began to replace sshi (Thorpe, 1983).

While not attested in the Omoro in the capacity of an instrumental one does find the proper, historical syityi < PR *shite used in serial verb constructions. At some point though, as pointed out by Thorpe above, the imperfective participle must have replaced the perfective, and the imperfective began grammaticalizing into an instrumental. Also not in the Omoro, the forms in saai and saani begin with Middle Okinawan, and apparently they are thought to be derived from si-ari and si-ari ni (Handa 2003, Nohara 1998, Hokama 1995). The semantic import with these forms is clear, the PR imperfective *sise profiled the ongoing use of the noun it was connected to. Later, after the collapse of the participle system and vowel mergers, it was replaced by combinations with ari ‘to exist.’ As described in the pervious chapters, infinitive ari combinations profile a backgrounded action, cf. example 10, and so saai and saani both reflect a new semantic take on instrumentals; instead of the older *sise ‘using,’ now there was saai ‘having used [backgrounded info]’.
Similar to the forms of *wun* ‘to exist animate’ and my speculative verb *karu* ‘go out to’ above, here too there seem to be two separate layers of development. The first layer relies on overt participle forms, and the latter layer develops after confusion due to vowel mergers and semantic shifts.

As for direct objects, in MOk the object of sentence is normally unmarked and stands before the verb. In the Omoro, there is a particle *yu* that marks direct objects like Japanese *wo*, but its occurrence is not mandatory and seems to be mostly used to match syllabic conventions of Ryukyuan poetry (Uchima, 1994, Nohara 1998). With verbs of motion, and all verbs for that matter, the unmarked versions of the sentence implies a nuance of contact or forceful transfer or other effect. With verbs that express motion to a specific location, or orientation the use of particles like *nkai* or *kai* is usual, however, with verbs involving motion that interacts with the location, no particle is typically used. This helps explain how *wun* ‘to sit / exist animate’ was grammaticalized:

*mā ni ga wura wakaran*

where *loc be.animate.vol understand.neg*  
I don’t know where [they] are.  
EXAMPLE 25. Location marking (Handa, 2003, p. 580)

*kuma wutēe ashidee naran*

here *loc.top playing not.possible*  
[You] can’t play here.  
EXAMPLE 26. Location marking, bare (Handa, 2003, p. 601)

In example 22 the particle *ni* is used to show that the action ‘be.animate’ takes place at a certain location. However, in example 23 where *wun* ‘to be, animate’ is used as a particle the original sense of the location as a direct object is clear: ‘being here on and throughout,’ that is, actively existing on the location. In turn, this meaning was extended to mark locations of actions.
CHAPTER 7. REPRESENTATION FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

In the previous chapters some characteristic verbal forms of modern Okinawan were presented. Their semantics were examined in detail, followed by an investigation to their morphological history and periods of development. In this section we will be leaving linguistic considerations and turn to more practical matters, namely, the representation of Okinawan in language learning materials. Specifically, we will examine two popular Okinawan textbooks, and see how they choose to teach Okinawan in general, but will pay special attention to the verb forms discussed above, and their presentation therein. The two books are, *Okinawa-go no Nyūmon: Tanoshii Uchinaa-guchi* (Tanoshii), and *Uchinaa-guchi Kōza: Shuri Kotoba no Shikumi* (Shikumi).

While Japanese and Okinawan have been on separate courses of development likely since Japonic’s arrival to Japan (Thorpe, 1983), they have retained a great deal of phonological similarity. However, the fact that cognate relationships have not been greatly obscured by the passage of time does not warrant conclusions that Okinawan is a dialect (MNJ hōgen) of Japanese, and as the discussion of verbal derivation above has shown, such a position would be structurally impossible. Yet, while it may be a clear linguistic fact the languages of the Ryukyus and those of Japan form two distinct, principal branches of the larger Japonic family, the last two hundred years have placed Okinawan in a position to become largely placed in a ‘Japanified’ state of affairs.

The continued colonization of Okinawa by the Japanese has now reached a point where the majority of young Okinawans are not native speakers of Okinawan but rather of standard Japanese, a fact that has recently led UNESCO to classify the language as
definitely endangered. As mentioned above, cognates within the lexicon are easily recognized and, similarly, standard Japanese words are easily Okinawan-ized through salient sound changes apparent to anyone familiar with both languages. In morphology too, there are many cognates (and re-analyzed, seeming cognates) with standard Japanese.

This situation provides fertile ground for shifts in usage and semantics that would eliminate the Ryukyuan-ness of the language and bring it closer to Japanese. For example, as mentioned in the previous section the negatives of forms such as yudoon and yudeen are yudee wuran and yudee neen, where the original complex verb form is re-analyzed as being a topicalized infinitive combined with an auxiliary verb. This is virtually the same system as MNJ yonde iru / aru, both in grammatical construction, and with the sound change caused by the topic marker to a long ee, even more so in form. All one needs to do is begin using the negative verb construction in affirmative situations and the original forms could be made quickly obsolete: instead of yudoon vs. yudee wuran, speaker might replace them with yudee wun vs. yudee wuran.

As another example, consider the close semantic match in Shinzato’s chart for the affirmative forms and Japanese nominalized verbs, i.e. MNJ no da constructions. Again, an original form such as yudooteen might be dropped in favor of the more Japanese-like yudooru mun yan ‘to read. continuous thing copula,’ or taking into account the possible change above, yudee wuru mun yan, c.f. Japanese yonde iru mono da. While the focus of this thesis is on a selection of verbal forms and verb based particles, such situations that suggest the possible changes sketched above exist at all levels of the language and are not solely confined to verbal morphology. For example, Japanese ga and no (subject and

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19 Definitely Endangered is defined as referring to a language that children no longer learn as a mother tongue in the home. That is, it will likely be extinct within a hundred years at this pace of change.
genitive markers) are cognate with Okinawan *ga* and *nu*. However, Okinawan preserves a situation similar to that of Old Japanese, where both particles are used to mark genitive relationships along with subject relationships. Yet the younger generation could easily not adhere to these patterns and begin using the Okinawan particles as if they were the same as the ones that they know in Japanese.

Without a firm grounding in traditional Okinawan, as had been passed on to children in the home, the coming generations may completely abandon the language, drastically alter it to conform closely with Japanese, or do a combination of both. From this perspective then, the issue of how Okinawan is being represented in textbooks will become ever more crucial with the passing of time and of native speakers. In this section we will look at how the two popular texts above present the verb forms and particles discussed in the previous chapters.

### 7.1 Verbal Forms

The strategy taken by Tanoshii is to build on the reader’s native Japanese skills to approach Okinawan. It is divided into three sections, where the first two are accompanied by grammatical explanations and serve to introduce the reader to the basic grammar of the language, while the third section presents a selection of annotated but authentic Okinawan language samples. However, while this system is likely effective in teaching the language to native Japanese speakers, its basis on Japanese first means delaying many of the more structurally characteristic features of the Okinawan verb.

Of the unique Okinawan forms discussed in this thesis, only the progressive form appears in the chapters with grammatical explanation. Even then, the space devoted to its
discussion is less than any other verb form, and the depth of explanation is arguably the least of any grammatical element presented in the book. It begins with the disclaimer that this form is difficult to translate into Japanese, but that it is used by the speaker to say he/she saw or heard the information expressed.

In the authentic Okinawan materials section, the progressive and resultative forms appear frequently. Yet, glosses of the progressive verbs refer the reader back to the brief explanation mentioned above, and only the first resultative form gets an actual comment. Again, the resultative gloss is in the vocabulary notes, and simply says it means something like MNJ *shite aru*. All further resultative glosses again simply refer the reader back to that one comment. Despite the frequent usage of these forms in the authentic materials, Tanoshii does not prepare the reader to confidently use either of these verb forms.

On the other hand, Shikumi mentions all of the verb forms discussed, as well as providing ample formal and semantic information. Nevertheless, Shikumi devotes considerably less space to the unique forms, and additionally concentrates them into a single section making them appear exotic and somewhat obtuse. Where most verb forms have succinct and linguistic explanations, forms such as the resultative and progressives are presented surrounded by abstract semantic examples and hypothetical situations.

### 7.2 Particles

As is clear from the above discussion, while Tanoshii does not strive to present Okinawan verb forms that are not relatively transparent to Japanese native speakers, it does stress the differences between Japanese and Okinawan particle uses. It covers
almost all of the modern particles presented in the previous chapter, and not only has lengthy explanations and examples of how MOk usage differs from Japanese despite the similarity in form, it also provides exercise questions at the end of each chapter so the reader can put these distinctions into practice.

Again, at odds with the presentation of verbs, Shikumi’s presentation of particles does not compare to other sections. While it devotes most of a chapter to the various usages of *ga*, it presents all of the other particles in a single page of example sentences followed by comments on correspondences to Japanese. From a purely syntactic standpoint this explanation does provide enough information to enable the reader to understand the meaning of MOk particles, but there could be more to describe the nuances between often overlapping cases such as *nkai* vs. *nakai* and *wuti* vs. *wutooti*.

### 7.3 Layout and Curriculum

Regardless of their various shortcomings in verb and particle presentation, both books take different approaches to the same goal: making it clear that Okinawan is not a mere dialect or affected pronunciation of Japanese. Tanoshii takes a structured approach in so far as chapters build in complexity and are designed to be read in sequence. What it lacks in presenting the unique forms of Okinawan, it makes up for with numerous cultural notes and proverbs. Again, while more could be done to enable the learner to use the forms found in the authentic materials section, it provides the reader a snapshot of Okinawan through time. It begins with several everyday dialogues, but then moves on to folk songs, old poems, *kumiwudui* dance plays, and finally two selections from the Omoro. In this way, the reader may only have a basic understanding of how to produce
MOk, but is undoubtedly aware of Okinawan as a distinct language, separated distantly from Japanese.

Contrasted to this, Shikumi takes the path of modern linguistic analysis. It explains how modern, structural linguistics works, and then applies those techniques to Okinawan. However, while this does allow the reader to approach Okinawan completely divorced from any and all comparisons to Japanese, certainly asserting the independent nature of MOk, it also renders the numerous points of contact opaque. As a textbook, Shikumi does not provide a practical means of learning Okinawan. Yet, for one who has some knowledge of the language already it can serve as a powerful reference text to take language skills to an intermediate level.

Neither book does a complete job of presenting the MOk language. Ideally, a text would have a building structure or curriculum like that of Tanoshii alongside the comprehensive explanations of Shikumi. The main problem seems to be balancing the useful knowledge that a native speaker of Japanese has already by virtue of the languages’ relation, with the need to show the numerous differences and innovations that cannot be simply explained within a Japanese context. Too Japanified, like that of Tanoshii, and the reader could be left feeling that Okinawan is not as different, and easily fill in the grammatical gaps with Okinawanized, Japanese substitutions à la those discussed in the introduction to this chapter. Conversely, Shikumi with its completely linguistic analysis (positing consonant final verb stems, for example) makes even the descriptive style of the book a hurdle to be conquered by the everyday Japanese learner before any appreciation of Okinawan can be had. For the time being there does not yet exist a book that fuses structure and depth.
CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was simple, and twofold: first, to show how Cognitive Grammar can be used to bring together the often polarized areas of formal and semantic research, and second, to use that technique to expose new facts about the usage and historical development of many of the verb and particle forms that set Okinawan apart. To this end, it became apparent that at the Proto-Ryukyuan level the semantic differences and preservation of various Proto-Japonic participle forms have been crucial for the structure of the Ryukyuan languages. Also, subsequent shifts in participle interpretation, alongside a sound change that formally merged the participle and infinitive, set the base for a series of innovations to take place in Okinawan and the other Ryukyuan dialects. Thus in both the verbal and particle systems one can distinguish two layers of development, representing the earlier more Proto-Ryukyuan situation, and then the aftermath of change. In verbal morphology there are forms that can be semantically reconstructed back to the earliest stage, and follow well attested grammaticalization pathways, e.g. *yomi wori. Later on, after semantic shifts and vowel mergers in OOk, a new layer of verbal forms emerges that can not be rationalized within the earlier system, and while also following regular grammaticalization pathways, can only do so if certain structural and semantic reanalyses have taken place already, e.g. yudooteen, and most recently yudeeteeteen. This pattern emerges again in particles, with previous participle based constructions such as *sise, *wote, *kare being replaced with new combinations possible only after reanalysis of the participle as an infinitive, e.g. nkai. Clear then is the divergent nature of Okinawan constructions, despite the fact that on the surface this
distance is blurred by linguistic influence from Japanese and less extreme accrual of sound changes than other parts of the Ryukyus.

Naturally, with the endangerment of Okinawan, the manner in which the language is taught has never been more crucial. With the population of Okinawa now largely comprised of native Japanese speakers, great attention must be paid to highlighting the sometimes formally blurry differences between the two. While there are many good resources available, there are not as yet ideal learning materials, and this is a gap in dire need of closure. It is my hope that ultimately this thesis can help others learn and appreciate Okinawan in all its splendor.

OK, good work, but we need to talk not only on particulars, but also about your future development and training. A.V.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


