

# Aspectual Distinction via Pitch Accent in Yaeyaman

Tyler Lau

Harvard University

[tylerlau@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:tylerlau@fas.harvard.edu)

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# Overview

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# Breakdown of Ryukyuan Languages

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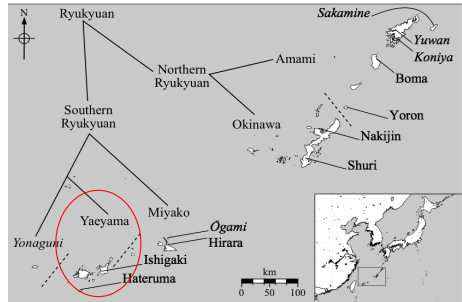
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- Minimally **5 languages** under the “dialect chain” definition (Serafim, 2008)
- But boundary between language and dialect unclear



Pellard (2013)

# Endangered Status

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- Youngest speakers of most languages 70-80
- A few have speakers as young as 40 (Miyara)
- Difficult to make exact count of number of speakers, due to difficulty of division between language and dialect and no surveys of who is a speaker
- **No children are learning the language**
- However, an Okinawan language nest has opened in Naha, the capital of Okinawa Prefecture

# Map of Yaeyama Islands

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## Yaeyama Islands 八重山諸島



# Language Diversity in the Yaeyamas

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• <b>Japanese:</b>	doko=e	ik-u=no
• <b>Ishigaki:</b>	zɪma=nkai=du	har-u
• <b>Kabira:</b>	duma=he:=du	par-u
• <b>Miyara:</b>	zɪma=ge=du	har-u
• <b>Taketomi:</b>	ma:=ĩ=du	har-i=ja
• <b>Kuroshima (Miyazato):</b>	ma:=ha=du	par-u=ja <sup>1</sup>
• <b>Iriomote (Funauki):</b>	zan=tti	ngi=rja
• <b>Shiraho/Hateruma:</b>	za=go=du	ng-o
• <b>Gloss:</b>	where=to(=FOC)	go-PRS(=Q)
• <b>Translation:</b>	Where are you going?	

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<sup>1</sup>Alternatively *pa:=ja*

# The Relationship Between Aspect and Pitch Accent

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- Aspect differentiation via pitch is well-documented in African languages
- According to WALS, 13 languages show this phenomenon (Dryer, 2013)
  - 12 in Africa
  - 1 in Papua New Guinea (Skou)
- However, at least 3 Yaeyaman languages show this phenomenon as well, via pitch accent
  - Miyara and Funauki distinguish stative from a “bare” form
  - Shiraho distinguishes stative from resultative

# Bare and Stative Forms in Miyara

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- Following data summarized from Davis and Lau (in press)
- Yaeyaman bare non-past ending is *-u*
- **Miyaran** stative (includes progressive) ending is *-í*
- It is only **pitch** that distinguishes the bare forms from the stative forms for *-i* root verbs

	C-root <i>jum-</i> 'to read'		<i>i</i> -root <i>uki-</i> 'to get up'	
Aspect	Non-Past	Past	Non-Past	Past
Bare	<i>jum-u</i>	<i>jum-u-da</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>uki-ru</i>	<i>uki-da</i>
Stative	<i>jum-í-ru</i>	<i>jum-í-da</i>	<i>uk-í-ru</i>	<i>uk-í-da</i>

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<sup>2</sup>alternatively *jum-da*



# Pitch Tracks

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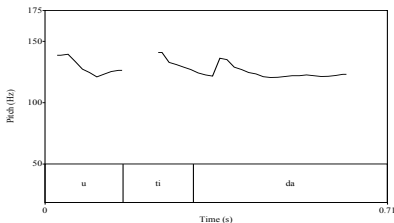
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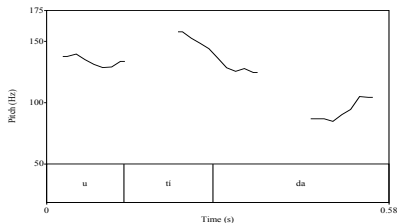
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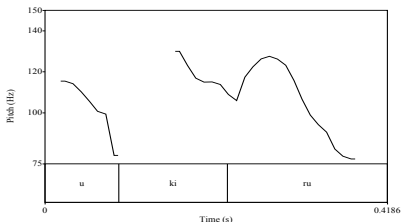


‘fell (bare past)’

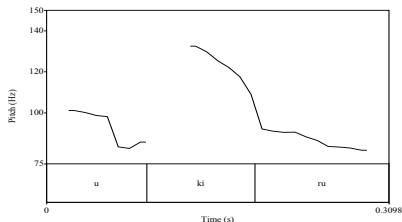


‘was falling (stative past)’

- Funauki has same pattern, but different past tense forms



‘gets up (bare present)’



‘is getting up (stative present)’

# Stative and Resultative Forms in Shiraho

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- Shiraho shows a vowel quality distinction between bare and stative/perfect forms for both classes
- However, stative/perfect and resultative forms for both classes differ only by pitch
- Resultative is commonly used in Yaeyaman to make a conjecture based on indirect evidence (Davis and Lau, in press)

(1)      ami=n=du          f-é-ru=rá                  Stative  
rain=NOM=FOC fall-STA-PRS=PRT  
'(Oh,) it's raining now.'

(2)      ami=n=du          f-e-ru=rá                  Resultative  
rain=NOM=FOC fall-RES-PRS=PRT  
'(Oh,) it must have rained.' (ex. it is wet outside)

# Stative/Perfect and Resultative Forms in Shiraho

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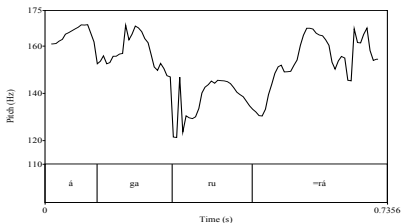
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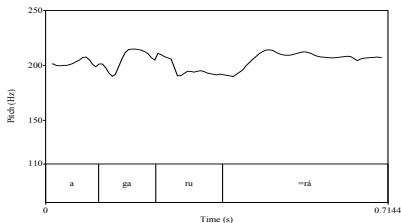
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'is opening (stative present)'



'was opened (resultative)'

	C-root <i>nuff-</i> 'to sleep'		<i>i</i> -root <i>uti-</i> 'to fall'	
Aspect	Non-Past	Past	Non-Past	Past
Bare	<i>nuff-o</i>	<i>nuff-u-ta-ro</i>	<i>uti-ro</i>	<i>uti-ta-ro</i>
Sta./Perf.	<i>núff-e-ro</i>	<i>núff-e-ta-ro</i>	<i>ut-á-ro</i>	<i>ut-á-ta-ro</i>
Resultative	<i>nuff-e-ro</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>nuff-e-ta-ro?</i>	<i>ut-a-ro</i>	<i>ut-a-ta-ro?</i>

- Tonic verb accent is initial, atonic on stative morpheme

<sup>3</sup>The non-past forms are actually elicited as *nuff-e-ru=rá* and *ut-a-ru=rá*

# Summary Thus Far

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- Miyara and Funauki distinguish bare and stative forms for *i*-stem verbs by presence or absence of pitch accent on *i*
- Shiraho distinguishes stative and resultative forms
  - C-stem verbs by presence or absence of pitch accent on -e
  - *i*-stem verbs by presence or absence of pitch accent on -a
- We will now explore the origins of these forms

# The Miyara Stative

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- In Davis and Lau (in press), we argue that the Miyara stative derives from the continuative (*renyou*) form in combination with the existential *úr-*
- Due to a phonological ban on the sequence *i(w)u*, Miyara solves by deleting the *u*, but preserving the pitch accent
- In fact, Miyara preserves the longer *-i úr-* form for verbs

kak-i úr-u > kak-í-ru 'is writing'  
uk-i úr-u > uk-í-ru 'is getting up'

- Also morpheme =*duru* < =*du ur-u* (=FOC exist-PRS)

(3)    nã:    ubingani tum-i=duru                    Taketomi  
         now ring            find-STA=FOC.exist  
         'I'm looking for the ring now.'

- This morpheme exists across all Yaeyaman varieties

# The Funauki Stative

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- Does the Funauki stative have the same origin as in Miyara?
- Considering the distance between Funauki and Miyara, it would be difficult to say that the Funauki stative came about via borrowing
- Whether the two languages share this grammaticalized retention or underwent parallel development, the accentual data points to both their statives originating in the connective + existential verb
- However, outside of the varieties on Ishigaki island (Ishigaki, Miyara, Kabira), the animate existential verb is *búr-* and not *úr-*

# Historical Implications

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- Funauki data suggests strongly that, \*w underwent fortition to *b* in Yaeyaman and probably across Southern Ryukyuan (\*wor- 'to exist' > \*wur- > *bur-*)
- Contrary to theories about \*b lenition to *w* across Japono-Ryukyuan except in Southern Ryukyuan (Martin, 1966; Whitman, 1985; Vovin, 2010)
- If Yaeyaman *b* is original, it would have to be argued
  - Funauki borrowed from Miyara, despite distance
  - OR \*b underwent lenition to \*w and fortition back to *b* and that grammaticalization occurred in the \*w period
- More parsimonious to assume that grammaticalization happened in both varieties before fortition occurred

# The Resultative

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- Across most varieties of Yaeyaman, the resultative morpheme is -e(e)
- Likely derived from \*-i a(r)- (-CON exist-)
- A focused form -i=*daru* across Yaeyama supports this derivation (example from Kuroshima)

(4) ko:ne=e fuk-i=daru=waja  
eldest.son=TOP awake-CON=FOC.exist=PRT  
'(It appears) my eldest son has awoken.'



# The Origin of the Shiraho/Hateruma Stative/Perfect

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- The SH stative/perfect, *-já/-é*, remains a mystery
  - C- root verbs have *-já* instead of *-é* (so the stative of 'to rain' is *f-já-ro* instead of *f-é-ro*)
  - *i*-root verbs in H conjugate the same as in S
- Because *ar-* 'to exist' does not have an accent in Yaeyaman, we should not expect this morpheme to derive from *-i ar-*, although the vowel correspondence works out

# More Hints from Funauki

- Funauki has a perfect aspect marker *-já* that functions separately from its stative *-í*

(5)     ki:   to:r-já-n  
         tree fall-PRF-IND  
         'The tree has fallen!'

- Also has a resultative marker *-e*, used as well in the analytic resultative

(6)     ta=kka=du             a:r-e-ru=sa  
         who=INDEF=FOC wash-RES-PRS=PRT  
         'It's been washed by someone.'

(7)     kazi=du    jadu fu-i             cik-e-ru  
         wind=FOC door close-CON put-RES-PRS  
         'The door has been shut by the wind.'

# Comparison with Hateruma

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- The Hateruma perfect *-já* takes the function of the stative as well when used with the “present” marker *-o* but retains a perfect meaning when used with the indicative marker *-n*

(8)      *mana kapi ss-já-ro /ss-já-n*  
         now    paper cut-PRF-PRS cut-PRF-IND  
         ‘I am cutting/have cut the paper now.’

- Like Funauki and unlike Shiraho, the Hateruma perfect *-já* has not undergone criasis to *-e*
- However, the Hateruma resultative is also *-ja*

(9)      *kapi sïts-ah-e      sik-ja-n*  
         paper cut-TRS-CON put-RES-IND  
         ‘The paper has been cut up.’

# A Caveat

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- Due to the pitch accent on -ja here, it is possible that *sikjan* is actually the perfect
- However, other Yaeyaman varieties consistently use -e(e) with the analytic resultative, and not a perfect or past

(10)      unu <uekibace>=e      no:h-i    sik-e:-ru  
             this <flower.pot>=TOP fix-CON put-RES-PRS  
             'I had this flower pot fixed.' (Miyara)

- Must explore Hateruma resultative in more detail as pitch accent on sik-já-n may be phonological and not lexical
  - cf. Shiraho has initial pitch accent on tonic words, which shifts if the first syllable is voiceless
  - Furthermore, moraic *n* causes a falling tone in many Yaeyaman varieties

# Separate Origins for Perfect/SH Stative and Resultative

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- Considering that the resultative and perfect forms of Funauki have separate vowel qualities, it seems that the Shiraho (and likely Hateruma as well) perfect/stative and resultative may have different origins
- The resultative derives from the connective form in conjunction with the inanimate existential:  $*-e\ a(r)- \rightarrow -ja$
- This in turn underwent criasis to become  $-e(e)$  in the remaining Yaeyaman varieties (that I am aware of)
- Funauki shows  $-já$  for the perfect but  $-e$  for the resultative. Possible that the pitch accent prevented criasis
- But, possibility that resultative is borrowed from neighboring varieties

# Summary Chart

## Stative in Miyara/Funauki

\*-e wó(r)- → \*-i(w)ú(r)- → -í(r)

## Resultative

\*-e a(r)- → (\*)-ia(r) → (\*)-ja(r) → -e(e)  
(Retained in Hateruma)

## Western Yaeyama Perfect(/Stative)

-já(r) *Hateruma/Funauki*

\*-já(r) →  
→  
-é- *Shiraho*

## Development of 'to exist'

\*wór- → \*wúr- →  
→  
úr- *Mainland Ishigaki*  
búr- *Outer Yaeyama*

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- Pitch accent distinguishes aspect for at least three Yaeyaman languages
- Provides insight into historical development
- Chart above also provides possible evidence for subgrouping
  - Western Yaeyama characterized by existence of perfect morpheme
  - Mainland Ishigaki varieties characterized by lack of fortition for *úr-*
- Uncertain origin of perfect (> stative) *-já/-é*, but possible that the resultative and perfect simply grammaticalized at different times (i.e. *a(r)-* had an accent at some prior time)
- More research should be done into pitch accent and its relation to aspect in Yaeyama

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