An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

Grammatical Sketches of Japanese Dialects and Ryukyuan Languages

Edited by

Michinori Shimoji

BRILL

An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

Endangered and Lesser-Studied Languages and Dialects

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Contents

Preface

The present volume is the first in the series *Endangered and Lesser-Studied Languages and Dialects*, a brand-new series of monographs of Brill which focuses on 'poorly studied languages and dialects around the world' and 'especially welcomes contributions on languages of Japan and the rest of the Asia-Pacific region.' In their special website, the series editors clearly state that '(t)he single most important imperative of contemporary linguistics is to document, describe, and analyze endangered languages and other lesser-known languages and dialects.'[1]

With this strong emphasis on the description and documentation of endangered languages, I had a clear picture in mind about what the volume should *not* be. I did not want to make our volume a collection of various topics on various languages, where a chapter describes the word prosody of language A while another chapter describes the verbal conjugation of language B, etc. Such an unfocused collection of grammatical topics would leave us with a pile of incomplete work which never qualify as a holistic documentation of the languages being described.

I did not want to make it what I call a 'collaborative grammar' either, where different authors describe different topics of a single language X with a view to providing a grammar of X. Unfortunately, such work is not a grammar as a coherent description of a language. First, it crucially lacks cohesiveness in analysis or in terminology. Imagine that phonemization differs in the phonology chapter and the morphology chapter of a grammar of a particular language. Second, it may end up an arbitrary collection of topics which may not represent the whole system of the language, picking up interesting topics (interesting for the authors) and disregarding others.

The question remains. What should the present volume be, then? With much help from the contributors of the volume, my answer has now been embodied as a collection of grammatical sketches of nine Japonic languages (four from Japanese dialects and five from Ryukyuan languages) where each chapter is dedicated to the phonological and grammatical description of a particular language/dialect, covering a wide range of descriptive topics from phonology to discourse with the primary data collected and analyzed by the author. A thirty-page grammatical sketch would not be sufficient for being called a detailed grammar or for being regarded as the language's substantial

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1   https://brill.com/view/serial/ELSL.

documentation, but the authors will keep on further refining and 'growing' their grammatical sketches to make them detailed grammars in the future. Or, it may be an interested reader who will do this job, e.g. as his/her PhD project. At any rate, our volume will serve as a good introduction to the language described in each chapter.

As a final note, I must confess that I had not ever thought of publishing this volume until the end of July, 2021 (Yes, six month before the final submission to Brill), when NINJAL, a collaborative institution of the Brill series, contacted me asking if I was interested in publishing a book about Ryukyuan languages and Japanese dialects. It was a great opportunity for me, but taking the offer of publishing a book within half a year was clearly a gamble. Undoubtedly, the project was made possible by the excellent contributors whom I asked to join me and who took the bet with me. Most of the contributors are post-doc researchers and postgraduate students, but they are mostly the only specialists of their subject languages, strongly determined to describe and document their subject languages. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to these people, who were always quick and responsive in every step for final submission, were generous in sparing their time on the project, and were crazy enough to enjoy the jeopardy like myself.

Mr. Kanji Kato wrote a sketch grammar of Tokunoshima, a Northern Ryukyuan language. He was formerly my student and is now a PhD student at TUFS. He helped me edit the volume with his excellent skill of handling LaTeX and Python. Ms. Aoi Matsuoka, Ms. Yuko Urabe and Ms. Danning Wang are currently my PhD students and wrote grammatical sketches of Yanagawa (Kyūshū Japanese), Shiraho (Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyuan) and Aragusuku (Miyako, Southern Ryukyuan) respectively. Mr. Naoyuki Hirosawa is also my student and works on the Shiiba dialect of Miyazaki Prefecture, Japan. He and I co-authored a grammatical sketch of Shiiba (Kyūshū Japanese). Dr. Salvatore Carlino, who completed his PhD at Hitotsubashi University and is now a PD researcher at my lab, wrote a grammatical sketch of Iheya (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan). Dr. Natsuko Nakagawa got her PhD at Kyoto University and is assistant professor at NINJAL. She wrote a grammatical sketch of Nambu (Eastern Japanese). Dr. Tatsuya Hirako is an associate professor at Nanzan University. He got his PhD at Kyoto University and is a specialist of historical phonology. He wrote a grammatical sketch of Izumo (Western Japanese). Mr. Koji Tamamoto, who got his MA at Kyoto University and works at Kin Town Office of Okinawa Prefecture, Japan, wrote a grammatical sketch of Kin (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan).

Dr. Wayne Lawrence kindly checked both the content and wordings (and English) of each chapter and provided us with his invaluable feedback, which was so quick and precise. Dr. Shoichi Iwasaki read a draft of my introduction

chapter and gave me helpful and encouraging advice. Dr. Yuto Niinaga, Dr. Christopher Davis, Dr. Aleksandra Yarosz, Dr. Izumi Konishi, Dr. Nana Tohyama, Dr. Gijs van der Lubbe, Dr. Kan Sasaki were kind enough to spare time for reviewing the chapters of our volume and giving detailed comments to them.

Michinori Shimoji
February, 2022

Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

Abbreviations

	sentence boundary	CNT	conative
1	first person	CNTR	contrastive
2	second person	COM	comitative
ABL	ablative	COMP	complementizer
ABP	ability potential	COMPL	completive
AC	anti-causative	CONC	concessive
ACC	accusative	COND	conditional
ADD	additive	CONJ	conjunction
ADJ	adjective	CONT	continuative
ADJVZ	adjectivalizer	COP	copula
ADJZ	adjectivalizer	CPL	completive
ADM	admonitive	CRP	circumstantial potential
ADN	adnominal	CSL	causal
ADNLZ	adnominalizer	CVB	converb
ADR	addressive	DAT	dative
ADRS	addressive	DEG	degree
ADT	additive	DEM	demonstrative
ADV	adverbial	DES	desiderative
ADVRS	adversative	DHD	dummy head
ALL	allative	DIM	diminutive
ASP	aspect	DIST	distal
ASS	assertive	DSC	discourse marker
ATT	attenuative	DUB	dubitative
AUG	augmentative	EMP	emphasis
AUX	auxiliary	ENDO	endocentric
BEN	benefactive	EPST	esperienced past
BUT	but	EXCL	exclusive
CAP	capability	EXM	exemplificative
CAUS	causative	EXP	explanation
CFP	clause-final particle	EXT	existential
CIRC	circumstantial	FCCD	focus concord
CJC	conjectural	FIL	filler
CLF	classifier	FL	filler
CMPR	comparative	FMN	formal noun
CNC	concessive	FN	formal noun
CND	conditional	FOC	focus
CNJ	conjunctive	FP	final particle

GEN	genitive		NPST	non-past
GR	group		OBLG	obligative
HAB	habitual		PARA	parallel
HBT	habitual		PASS	passive
HON	honorific		PFV	perfective
HOR	hortative		PL	plural
HORT	hortative		PLT	polite
HRS	hearsay		PN	proper noun
HS	hearsay		POL	polite
HSY	hearsay		POSS	possessive
IMP	imperative		POT	potential
INC	inceptive		PRED	predicative
INCL	inclusive		PREP	preparative
IND	indicative		PRES	present
INDEF	indefinite		PRF	perfect
INF	infinitive		PROG	progressive
INFR	inferential		PROH	prohibitive
INS	instrumental		PROS	prospective
INST	instrumental		PROX	proximal
INT	intentional		PST	past
INTERJ	interjection		PTCL	particle
INTJ	interjection		PTCP	participle
IPFV	imperfective		PUR	purposive
ITS	intensifier		PURP	purposive
JUX	juxtaposition		Q	question particle
LAT	lative		QT	quotative
LCTN	low certainty		QTF	quantifier
LIM	limitative		QUOT	quotative
LIST	list		RED	reduplication
LMT	limitative		REFL	reflexive
LMTD	limited		REM	reminder
LOC	locative		REP	reportative
LV	light verb		RES	resultative
MED	medial		RPT	repeat
MOD	modal marker		RSL	resultative
MPST	modal past		RSN	reason
NEG	negative		SEEM	seeming
NLZ	nominalization		SEQ	sequential
NMLZ	nominalizer		SFN	softner
NOM	nominative		SFP	sentence final particle

SG	singular		TOP	topic
SIM	simultaneous		VBLZ	verbalizer
SLFQ	self-question		VLZ	verbalizer
SML	simile		VOL	volitive
STA	stative		WHQ	content question
THM	thematic vowel		YNQ	polar question

The Japonic Languages: an Introduction

Michinori Shimoji

1 Introduction to the Present Volume

1.1 *The Japonic Languages*

The Japonic languages comprise Japanese and Ryukyuan and their respective local dialects (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).

Under the name of 'Japanese' are subsumed all local varieties spoken on Japan's mainland (Mainland dialects) and a language spoken in Hachijōjima, which lies to the south of Japan's mainland. Ryukyuan languages are spoken in an area that was once an independent country (Ryukyuan kingdom, 1429–1869), from the Amami islands to Yonaguni. There is no mutual intelligibility between Japanese and Ryukyuan, between Mainland dialects and Hachijō, or between Northern and Southern Ryukyuan languages. Even within Northern and Southern Ryukyuan, there is no mutual intelligibility among major island varieties. So, it is a recent shared recognition among Japanese linguists that Japonic comprises several distinct languages, Mainland language (which is 'Japanese' in a narrower sense), Hachijō, Amami, Okinawan, Miyako and Yaeyama.

Based on various lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic variations, several major dialectal groupings (isoglosses) have been suggested (Tojo 1966, Kindaichi 1964, Hirayama 1968, inter alia). The foundational classification is Tōjō's work, to which revisions, both major and minor, have been made subsequently by a number of researchers. According to Tōjō's classification and Hirayama's (1968) revision, the Japonic languages divide into three major dialectal groups: the Mainland dialects, the Hachijōjima dialect and Ryukyuan. The Mainland dialects further subdivide into (a) Eastern Japanese (E.Jpn) (Hokkaidō, Tōhoku, Kantō, Tōkai-Tōsan), (b) Western Japanese (W.Jpn) (Hokuriku, Kinki, Chūgoku, Shikoku), and (c) Kyūshū Japanese (K.Jpn). Ryukyuan subdivides into (a') Amami, (b') Okinawa, and (c') Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni.

A genetic subgrouping of the Japonic languages yields a different grouping of languages, according to which the Japonic family first divides into Japanese and Ryukyuan. Japanese further subdivides into Mainland dialects and the Hachijōjima dialect. Ryukyuan subdivides into Northern Ryukyuan (N.Ryu)
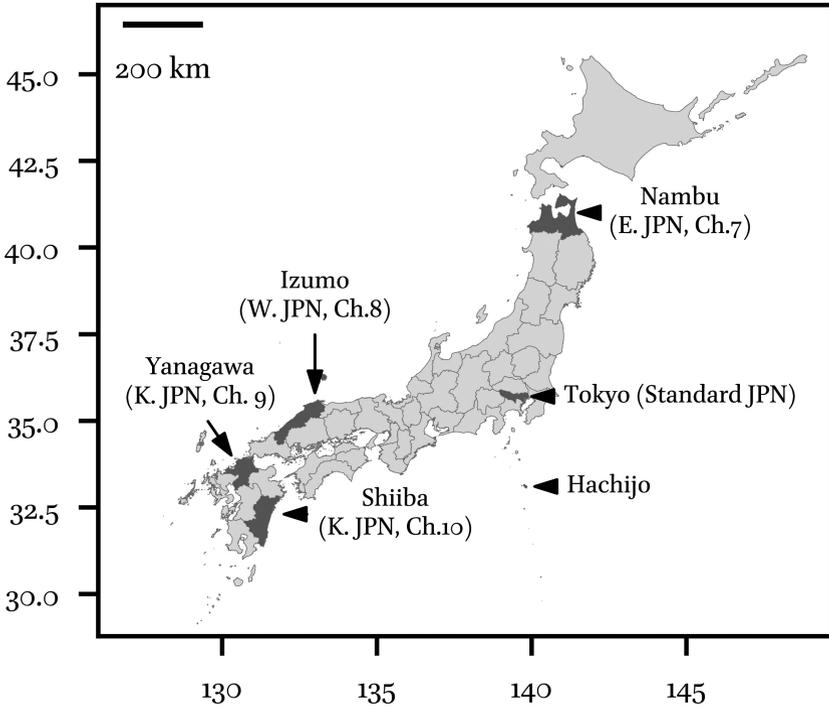
FIGURE 1.1   Japanese
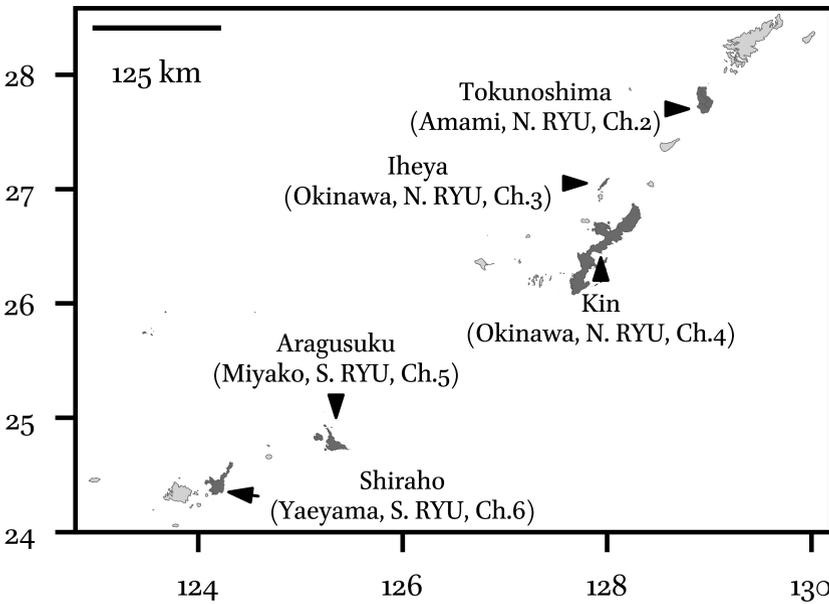
FIGURE 1.2   Ryukyuan languages

and Southern Ryukyuan (S.Ryu). Northern Ryukyuan subdivides into Amami and Okinawan, while Southern Ryukyuan subdivides into Miyako and Macro-Yaeyama, which further subdivides into Nuclear Yaeyama and Yonaguni (Pellard 2015). (Hattori 1976) suggests a different hypothesis where Ryukyuan and Kyūshū dialects form a subgroup, which branched off from proto Kyūshū-Ryukyuan, a hypothesis which has recently been taken seriously by several scholars (see Igarashi 2021 for discussion).

1.2   *The Focus of the Present Volume*

Our focus in the present volume is *not* on Standard Japanese (SJ; the de facto standard language based on Tokyo Japanese), which is perhaps one of the best known and most oft-cited languages in typological literature. Rather, our exclusive focus is on the local varieties of Japonic, four from Mainland dialects (Nambu, Izumo, Yanagawa and Shiiba) and five from Ryukyuan (Tokunoshima, Iheya, Kin, Aragusuku and Shiraho) (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Local varieties of Japonic have hitherto been little known to the readers outside Japan, and have thus largely been ignored in typological studies. For example, the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS, Haspelmath et al. 2005), which is the world's largest typological database, does not include data on a single dialect of Japanese. This by no means indicates that the Japonic Family is typologically homogenous or that it suffices to take up SJ when making typological claims under the name of 'Japanese'. On the contrary, just as SJ is a typologically interesting language and is worth a separate book, the various local varieties of Japonic are also worth a detailed typological characterization in their own right. In fact, a detailed look at the local varieties of Japonic often sheds new light on various typological claims which, as mentioned, have been made without reference to these languages. For example, as discussed in §2.2.3 below, marked-nominative case alignment (Handschuh 2014), which is often regarded as a highly unusual alignment type cross-linguistically or even as an 'unexpected' type, is robustly observed in a number of Ryukyuan languages, casting strong doubts on the existing typological and theoretical assumption pertaining to case alignment which theoretically rules out such a system.

The purpose of the present volume is thus to serve as a useful and informative introduction to the typologically heterogeneous language family, the Japonic languages, by providing a collection of grammatical sketches of diverse Japonic languages both from Mainland dialects and Ryukyuan. Each chapter covers a wide range of descriptive topics that will aid the readers to have a broad picture of the phonological and morphosyntactic organization of each language (see the next section for the structure of each chapter). Our prospective readers are linguists based outside Japan: typologists, descriptive linguists

working on neighboring languages, historical linguists and general linguists of any theoretical persuasion who are not expected to be familiar with Japanese linguistics. Since the target readers are not expected to be familiar with Japanese linguistics and its terminological tradition, the present volume carefully avoids making too much use of the local linguistic terminology and tries to adhere to terms and concepts which are widely recognized in general linguistics, especially linguistic typology.

1.3   *The Structure of the Present Volume*

The present volume consists of ten chapters. The present chapter has set the goal of the volume and will give a typological overview of the Japonic Family in the following sections with frequent references to the data and description in the subsequent chapters in the volume. Chapters 2 to 6 are grammatical sketches of Ryukyuan languages, and Chapters 7 to 10 are grammatical sketches of Mainland dialects. Genetic and geographical coverage have been taken into consideration in selecting which languages were taken up in the present volume. The five chapters on Ryukyuan languages cover both Northern and Southern Ryukyuan varieties and their major subgroups (Amami, Okinawan, Miyako and Yaeyama). The four chapters on Mainland dialects cover all three major dialectal areas, i.e. Eastern, Western and Kyūshū dialects.

Each chapter follows roughly the same descriptive format (Table 1.1), with minor adjustments where necessary depending on the language being described. The shared descriptive format enables readers to quickly search for typological features they are interested in and also to easily compare different languages with respect to specific typological topics such as syllable structure, prosody, word-class assignment, verbal inflectional categories, interrogative-sentence formation, etc. Note that each chapter includes a fully glossed sample text. It is intended as a sample of the way the language is actually used in natural discourse and as supplemental data which demonstrates the usage of morphemes, constructions, etc., described in each chapter.

2   A Typological Overview

This section aims to give a typological overview of the Japonic languages, focusing on both phonology and morphosyntax. It does not go into the phonological and grammatical detail which specialists of Japanese linguistics would expect to see. Rather, the present section serves to give the readers a basic understanding of the phonology and grammar of Japonic and pays attention to several typological highlights.

TABLE 1.1   Descriptive format for each chapter

	Topics	Subtopics to be addressed
Section 1	The language and its speakers	Geographic, genealogical and sociolinguistic information, etc.
Section 2	Phonology	Inventory of phonemes, syllable structure and phonotactics, word-level prosody, intonation, etc.
Section 3	Descriptive units	Word classes, segmentation (word, affix, clitic, etc.), grammatical relations, etc.
Section 4	Nouns	Pronouns, lexical nouns, numerals, their internal structure, etc.
Section 5	Verbs	Inflectional morphology, stem-internal structure, special grammatical verbs like the copula, etc.
Section 6	Adjectival expressions	Word-class status, inflected vs. non-inflected adjectives, etc.
Section 7	Class-changing derivation	Nominalization, verbalization, adjectivalization, etc.
Section 8	Demonstratives and interrogatives	Words for deixis and anaphora; interrogative words, indefinite words, etc.
Section 9	Argument phrase	Internal structure of NP, case markers, headless structures, etc.
Section 10	The simple sentence	Sentence types, alignment, possession, valency-changing, TAM, information structure, etc.
Section 11	The complex sentence	Coordination, subordination, clause-chaining, etc.
Appendix	Sample text	Fully-glossed spontaneous speech collected, transcribed and annotated by the author(s)

2.1   *Phonology*

Phonology is one major area where Japonic languages show conspicuous internal variation, although Japonic languages do share a number of basic typological features, which I briefly overview here before discussing dialectal variation below. First, the open light syllable CV is the most basic building block of the basic vocabulary. Second, word-medial consonant clusters are limited to, or at least include, geminates or partial geminates (e.g. homorganic nasal + C). Third, if a word-final coda is permitted, it must be, or at least include, the nasal /n/ (typically pronounced as [N] or [ŋ]). Fourth, there is no stress language among the Japonic languages, and word-level prosody of the Japonic languages is broadly characterized under the rubric of pitch-accent system (see § 2.1.4 for more detail).

2.1.1 Vowels

In SJ and most other Japonic languages, the length distinction between short and long vowels is robust, but this is not the case in some Mainland dialects and Ryukyuan. Nambu (see Nakagawa, this volume), for example, has no length distinction for vowels (although it has a singleton-geminate contrast, i.e. a contrast for consonants). In a few Southern Ryukyuan languages such as Shiraho (Urabe, this volume), the length contrast for vowels does seem to exist in some words (e.g., /turu/ 'bird' vs. /tuuruu/ 'lamp') but seems to be absent for others (e.g., /pitu/ [pitu] or [pitu:]).

SJ and most other Mainland dialects have a five-vowel system with /a/, /e/, /o/, /i/ and /u/, although in some dialects neutralization may occur, especially after a coronal obstruent where neutralization of the high vowels is very common. For example, /i/ and /u/ is neutralized after coronal obstruents in Izumo (Western Japanese, Hirako, this volume), as in //das-u// (put.out-NPST) and //das-i// (put.out-INF) which are both realized as [dasɨ]. See also Nakagawa (this volume) for a detailed description of the neturalization of /i/ and /u/ in Nambu. In addition to the five cardinal vowels, cross-linguistically less common vowels such as [ɛ], [æ], [œ], [ɜ], etc., may arise from diphthongs (hence occurring as long in many dialects), which may be due to a historical change or may be derived by a synchronic rule. For example, Tōhoku dialects such as Nambu (Nakagawa, this volume) typically has /ɛ/, which was formerly a diphthong such as /ai/, /oi/, /ae/, etc., as in /kɛna/ 'arm' (cf. a cognate of which, *kaina*, is found in other Japonic languages such as Miyako Ryukyuan). In Kisogawa (Eastern Japanese, Hirako et al. 2019), the vowels [æː] and [œː] are derived from underlying /ai/ and /oi/ respectively, as in //taka-i// (high-NPST) 'high' → [takæː], //hoso-i// (thin-NPST) 'thin' → [hosœː], etc.

Ryukyuan languages show more conspicuous internal variation regarding their vowel systems. Basically, /e/ and /o/ occur as long, as proto-Ryukyuan short *e and *o changed to /i/ and /u/ in Ryukyuan languages. Yonaguni (Southern Ryukyuan) has the smallest inventory of vowels, /a/, /i/ and /u/. Amami (Northern Ryukyuan), especially the north Amami languages, characteristically have central vowels /ɨ/ and /ə/.[1] Southern Ryukyuan languages generally have a high central vowel which may carry a friction noise to different degrees depending on the dialect, as in Miyako [pstu] and Ishigaki [pɨtu] 'person'. The sound in question is typologically known as a fricative vowel (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996, Shimoji 2006). In some languages such as Miyako (except

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1 Articulatory and acoustic analysis of the mid central vowel shows phonetic variation. See Kato, this volume, for his detailed description of this and the other central vowel in Tokunoshima.

for Ōgami), the phonetic fricative vowel has a dual function phonologically, making it difficult to analyze it as a phonemic vowel or consonant (see Shimoji 2006 for a brief summary of various analyses of the fricative vowel in Miyako). For example, in Aragusuku (see Wang, this volume), the fricative vowel /ž/ may occur as a syllable margin (/žža/ [zːa] 'father' (CCV), /paž/ [paz] 'fly' (CVC), etc.) or, with a restriction on the onset, may additionally occur as a nucleus (/pžtu/ [pstu] 'person' (CÇ.CV)). Wang analyzes it as a syllabic consonant.

2.1.2 Consonants

SJ and most other Japonic languages have a two-way distinction between voiceless and voiced consonants for obstruents, but some have a three-way distinction between voiceless, voiced and prenasalized (e.g. /t/ [t] vs. /d/ [d] vs. /ⁿd/ [ⁿd]), as is commonly observed in the Tōhoku dialects (Eastern Japan; see Nakagawa, this volume), or between voiceless, voiced and laryngealized for stops (e.g. /t/ [t] vs. /d/ [d] vs. /ʔt/ [ʔt]), as in Ryukyuan, especially Northern Ryukyuan languages (see Katō, this volume).[2] Ōgami (Pellard 2009; Miyako, Southern Ryukyuan) lacks a voicing contrast altogether for obstruents, where all obstruents are voiceless (/p, t, k, f, s/). Sonorants do not have a voicing contrast (always voiced phonetically), except that a language like Ikema (Hayashi 2013; Miyako, Southern Ryukyuan) has a contrast between /n/ and /n̥/ (/nna/ [nːa] 'conch' vs. /n̥na/ [n̥ːa] 'rope'). Shiraho (Urabe, this volume) has a similar contrast between /n/ and /n̥/.

Japonic languages have a phoneme which reflects proto-Japonic *p, which later lenited to /h/ via ɸ word-initially and to /w/ (or zero) medially in most Japonic languages. Some Mainland dialects such as Tsugaru (Eastern Japanese, Aomori) and Shiiba (Kyūshū, see Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume) have ɸ which reflects *p, as in Tsugaru [ɸebi] 'snake' (cf. SJ hebi), Shiiba /hwyaa/ [ɣaː] 'fly' (cf. SJ *hae*), etc. A number of Ryukyuan, especially in Southern Ryukyuan languages (see Wang, this volume, and Urabe, this volume) have /p/, as in /paa/ 'leaf' (cf. SJ ha), /paz/ 'fly' (cf. SJ *hae*), etc. The debuccalization process *p > ɸ > h caused a number of synchronic peculiarities of the phoneme in question in the present systems of many Japonic languages, in such a way that the labial

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2 Nakagawa (this volume) notes that it is difficult to find minimal triplets to justify the three-way distinction in Nambu. It may be alternatively analyzed as a two-way system where the voiceless vs. voiced contrast is now reanalyzed as geminate vs. singleton, as in /tt/ [t] vs. /t/ [d], especially given the fact that in this language, the voiceless sound tends to be pronounced with a longer duration, as in [odotːo] 'younger brother', which is interpreted by Nakagawa as /odoto/ but may be /ototto/ by the present author's alternative analysis.

feature still remains in some parts of the current language system.[3] One such example is *Rendaku* (Sequential Voicing), where a voiceless obstruent (e.g. /t/) becomes its voiced counterpart (e.g. /d/) if it occurs as the initial onset of a non-initial root in a compound structure, as in SJ /hon-**d**ana/ 'bookshelf' (//hon// 'book' + //**t**ana// 'shelf'). If the obstruent in question is /h/ underlyingly, then it alternates with /b/, as in SJ /hon-**b**ako/ 'bookcase' (//hon// 'book' + //**h**ako// 'case').

2.1.3   Syllable and Mora

SJ has a cross-linguistically common canonical syllable structure (C)(G)V(C) where V may be a long vowel or a diphthong, as in /ka/ 'mosquito', /kya.ku/ 'guest', /kai.ko/ 'silkworm', etc. The same canonical syllable structure is observed across most Mainland dialects, although some dialects show conspicuous divergence from this, as in Shiiba (Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume) where there is a double glide sequence /wy/, which is phonetically realized as a non-syllabic (i.e. glide) version of the rounded front vowel [ʏ], as in /wyaata/ [ʏːta] 'boiled' or /hwyaa/ [ʏ̥ːː] 'fly'.

Ryukyuan languages often have a more complex syllable structure with an onset cluster CC and/or with a special pre-onset slot which is filled only by a laryngeal ʔ. In Miyako, for example, there is a wide range of consonants which may form an onset geminate CC with the first C being a moraic onset, as in /ffa/ [fːa] 'child', /ssan/ [sːaŋ] 'not know', /vva/ [ʋːa] '2sg', /mma/ [mːa] 'mother', etc. (see Wang, this volume). It is a controversial issue whether onset geminates can be moraic (cf. Hayes 1989), but the Ryukyuan data suggests that they may be moraic in some languages (and other languages such as Trukese, Topinzi 2008). Miyako further has a rich array of syllabic consonants, and some of them may even carry an onset, as in /pztu/ [pz̩tu] 'person' (CC̩.CV), etc.

The mora plays a central role in most Japonic languages in such a way that the length contrast between long and short vowels and between singleton and geminate consonants is phonemic. Prosodic rules also make much more reference to the mora than the syllable. Such significant roles of the mora over the syllable are not clear in Tōhoku (see Nakagawa, this volume) and southern Kyūshū, which are collectively known as 'syllabeme' languages in Japanese linguistics as opposed to 'moraic' languages. Western Japanese dialects typically have a bimoraic minimality constraint (BMC) whereby a word in isolation

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3   In SJ, several scholars analyze what is usually analyzed as /h/ as /p/, which is realized as [h] by rule, an analysis which captures the labial feature still present in SJ. See, for example, McCawley (1968).

must have at least two morae. This constraint is also observed in Ryukyuan languages in general. Languages may differ with respect to what domain the BMC applies to: a word or to a word plus clitic (Shimoji 2010), a noun or a noun plus a noun modifier within an NP (Matsuoka 2021). Another factor which plays a role in the application of the BMC is the type of clitic which attaches to the host noun: Matsuoka (2021) demonstrates that certain types of clitic (e.g. case particle) tend to be integrated into the domain of the BMC while others (e.g. copula, sentence-final particle, etc.) do not.

2.1.4   Prosody

As mentioned in the introduction to the present section, word-level prosody of Japonic has traditionally been characterized as a pitch-accent system (see Uwano 2012 for an overview), in which an accented word contains one (and only one) prominent mora (or syllable), which causes a certain pitch event (abrupt fall or rise). In SJ, for example, the accented trimoraic word /tamágo/ 'egg' (where the accented mora is marked) is pronounced as [tàmáŋò] (%LHL), with the initial %L being a phrase-initial boundary tone and the final L being a result of the abrupt fall in pitch after the accented mora /ma/. In some Japonic languages, the accented mora causes an abrupt rise rather than fall, either of the mora itself or after it. In Nambu (Eastern Japanese; see Nakagawa, this volume), for example, /manágu/ 'eye' is pronounced as [mànágù] (LHL%) and /kendó/ 'road' is pronounced as [kèǹdô] (LLHL%, where the final H and L% docks onto the final mora /o/ and are realized a rise-fall contour). Notice that the mirror image situation of SJ is found with regard to boundary-tone assignment, whereby the final lowering L% lowers the pitch of the final mora.

In this way, pitch accent is characterized by its culminative nature, i.e. the existence of one prominent mora/syllable within the word domain, a feature which makes the pitch-accent system look like a stress system. However, the pitch accent system of Japonic differs from a stress system in that in the former, a word may crucially lack a prominent mora, i.e. a word may be 'unaccented' in Japanese linguistics terms, as in SJ /sakana/ [sàkáná] (%LHH) 'fish' and in Nambu /nazugi/ [nàⁿzùgí] (LLH) 'forehead'.[4] In a stress system, an unstressed lexical word is usually ruled out, i.e. there must be one prominent syllable/mora within a word. In prosodic typology, a stress system and a tone system constitute two distinct linguistic types and a pitch-accent system is regarded as a hybrid of the two, not a distinct 'type' (Hyman 2006). As a typological hybrid,

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4   The final H for /gi/ in the Nambu data must be due to a predictable post-lexical rule which signals a boundary tone.

then, the various prosodic systems which are collectively called pitch-accent systems of Japonic languages may show a considerable internal variation, and the variation can be captured in terms of what kind of stress-like features and tone-like features are present in the system.

Some Japonic languages exhibit a feature which is characteristic of tone languages, i.e. the paradigmatic choice between specific tonal melodies for each lexeme, e.g. between 'Level' and 'Rising' in Kyoto Japanese (Western Japanese), or between 'Level' and 'Falling' in Kagoshima Japanese (Kyūshū Japanese). Tone as is found in these systems is called 'word tone' (Hayata 1998), as the domain of the paradigmatic tonal contrast is the word rather than the syllable/mora. However, these systems still show a stress-like character in that a certain mora/syllable is specified as prominent, i.e. accented, although the nature and function of accent differs between the two languages. In Kyoto, a lexeme is specified for tone and prominence (accent), with both having a contrastive function. In Kagoshima, a word is specified for tone only, and a post-lexical and non-contrastive rule determines which syllable/mora is accented to realize the lexically specified tone (Falling or Level). For example, in Kagoshima Japanese, the word /onago/ 'woman' has a Falling tone (/onago/[F]) while the word /otoko/ 'man' has a Level tone (/otoko/[Lv]). A post-lexical rule then determines where the fall occurs (penultimate syllable), with the output for /onágo/[F] becoming [ònágò]. In the case of the level tone, the final syllable is assigned H by a post-lexical rule. The Kagoshima type is especially common in Kyūshū and Ryukyuan languages (see Kato, Tamamoto, Carlino and Urabe, this volume).[5]

A few Japonic languages have a characteristic typically associated with a stress language, i.e. a foot-based metrical structure. This is true, for example, the Aoya dialect of Tottori (Western Japanese, Matsumori 2012), the Maisaka dialect of Shizuoka (Eastern Japanese, Poppe 2016), the Nakijin dialect of Northern Ryukyuan (Lawrence 1990), the Nagahama dialect of Irabu (Miyako, Southern Ryukyuan), etc. However, such languages are much less well documented than tone-like pitch accent languages as noted above.[6]

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5   Miyakonojō Japanese has an extremely small range of paradigmatic choice of tone, i.e. Level tone only (Kibe 2010: 25), which is realized as a tonal contour with H on the word-final syllable (/onago/ [ònàgó] 'woman', /otoko/ [òtòkó] 'man', etc.). Yanagawa (Matsuoka, this volume) and Shiiba (Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume) further lack a post-lexical fixed accent rule, resulting in a prosodic system where there is no consistent pitch pattern. Diachronically speaking, it is one possible scenario that the lexically contrastive word-tone system changed to the Miyakonojō type, which further changed to the Yanagawa-Shiiba type where the tonal information has been lost altogether.

6   Bimoraic feet are reported to play a significant role in the pitch accent of a number of Japonic languages as mentioned above. In the domain of morphophonology, the importance

2.2   *Morphosyntax*

This section discusses the morphosyntactic features of Japonic. From a broad range of topics pertaining to morphosyntax, this section focuses on the number category, adjectival expressions and alignment systems, since these in particular exhibit a surprising amount of internal diversity, are well documented in our volume, and are worth the special attention of theoretical linguists and typologists. There are of course many more typologically interesting topics which are not covered in this section simply due to limitations of space, and the reader is referred to § 3 of the present chapter to see other topics covered in the present volume.

Before going into detail, let us briefly note morphosyntactic features which are shared by all Japonic languages and therefore show no variation. Japonic languages are strictly verb-final, with a modifier-head order and dependent marking. Morphological organization is overwhelmingly suffixing and agglutinating, although verbs and adjectives may show a fusional character due to their complex inflectional morphology, especially when compared with nouns. Besides affixation, compounding and reduplication are common word-formation strategies.

2.2.1   Number

As in SJ, most Japonic languages have a dichotomic number system in which the singular and the plural are distinguished, while some Ryukyuan languages, especially Amami (Northern Ryukyuan), have a trichotomic system where the singular, the plural and the dual are distinguished for personal pronouns. In Tokunoshima (Amami, Northern Ryukyuan), for example, first- and second-person reference distinguishes between the singular (e.g. first-person *wan*), the plural (*waakja/wakkja*) and the dual (*wanten/wattari*), while third-person reference is made by using demonstrative pronouns which show a dichotomic number contrast between the singular and the plural (see Kato, this volume).

In SJ and all other Japonic languages, number marking is sensitive to the lexical properties (especially animacy) of the noun to which number marking applies in two major ways: obligatoriliness and semantic interpretation of plural marking.

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of bimoraic feet as a morphological template has been extensively documented, both in SJ (e.g. Poser 1990, Kubozono 1993) and in various Japonic languages, including Yanagawa (Western Japanese, Kyūshū; Matsuoka, this volume), where clipping of unfooted segments occurs in the derivation of specific verb forms. Also, the bimoraic minimality constraint as observed in Western Japanese and Ryukyuan (§ 2.1.3) can be analyzed as a constraint which requires a word to contain at least one foot.

Regarding obligatoriliness, the number distinction between singular (zero) and non-singular is obligatory only for pronouns and a limited set of lexical nouns, or address nouns (Shimoji 2022), which can be used as terms of address. Here, the lack of non-singular marking indicates singular denotation, as in SJ *watasi-∅* 'I' vs. *watasi-tati* 'we'. All chapters of the present volume report that the number distinction is obligatory for pronouns. Many report that address nouns also show the same property, as in Tokunoshima (Northern Ryukyuan, Kato, this volume), Shiiba (Kyūshū, Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume) and Yanagawa (Kyūshū, Matsuoka, this volume). In contrast, for other classes of noun, a lack of non-singular marking may be a mere underspecification of number, as in SJ *kodomo* 'child/children', whereas an explicit marking of non-singular is always interpreted as non-singular, as in SJ *kodomo-tati* 'children/*child'. Inanimate nouns are usually not subject to number marking at all, although there are languages like Shiraho (Urabe, this volume) which allow plural marking of both animate and inanimate nouns (e.g. *hanako-nda* 'Hanako and others', *sara-nda* 'dishes', etc.). Typically, if an inanimate noun takes plural marking, the effect is 'quasi-pluralization', whereby a certain set of referents are denoted in the way the focal referent represents it as an exemplar (see Niinaga 2020 for a typological survey of this phenomenon as observed in Japonic). In Shiiba (Kyūshū Japanese, see Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume), for example, a plural-marked inanimate noun functions to denote an exemplar of a certain unspecified set, as in *sumoo-domo* (Sumo.wrestling-PL) 'Sumo wrestling and suchlike'.

Regarding the semantic interpretation of plural marking, animacy plays a significant role in the interpretation of associativity, a distinction between additive and associative plural. The additive plural has to do with a homogeneous pluralized set, as in SJ *gakusee-tati* (student-PL) 'students', while the associative plural has to do with a heterogeneous set of entities which consists of a focal referent and his/her associates, as in SJ *taroo-tati* (Taro-PL) 'Taro and his associates'. Whereas SJ and most other Mainland dialects do not have a formal distinction between additive and associative plurals and the animacy of the noun serves as an indirect indicator of associativity (i.e. the higher the animacy of the noun, the more likely it is to denote associative plural), a number of Ryukyuan languages have differential plural-marking patterns which serve to disambiguate the distinction between associative vs. additive interpretations. For example, in Kin (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan; see Tamamoto, this volume) and Iheya (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan; see Carlino, this volume), there are two plural markers, (a) *-ta* (Kin)/*-taa* (Iheya) as a general plural marker which can be used for a wide range of nouns and is not specified for associativity, and (b) *-ntja* (Kin)/*-nčaa* (Iheya), which is attached to a much

more restricted set of human nouns (which pertain to certain age, sex, kinship-role groups). (b) is used to denote the additive plural only (e.g. Kin *ikiga-ntja* 'males'). To the best of my knowledge, if a Ryukyuan language has a strategy to disambiguate the distinction between associative and additive plural, the system always has a special additive plural marker in addition to a general plural marker, and not a special associative plural marker.[7] Nakagawa (this volume) reports a special plural marker *-ho* in Nambu (Tōhoku, Eastern Japanese), which denotes a specific group (family, village, organization, etc.) to which the focal referent being marked with this suffix belongs. She lists examples like *ora-ho* (1-GR) 'we (our family)', which is in contrast in form and function to *ora-ndo* (1-PL) 'we'. Whereas the denotation of the first-person plural is simply the speaker + other referents, the denotation of the first-person 'group' further specifies the way referents are united as a group.

The distinction in clusivity for the first person non-singular, i.e. exclusive and inclusive, is very common in Ryukyuan, while it is totally absent in Mainland dialects.[8] The typology of clusivity (Filimonova 2005) has revealed that there are two major types of languages which distinguish between the exclusive and the inclusive: (a) languages which have the two distinct forms and (b) languages which have a dedicated inclusive form but lack a dedicated exclusive form. Type (b) is usually understood as a system where 'I' and 'we:EXCL' are neutralized (with both denoting a referent/referents without the addressee). In our data, both types are documented, with Shiraho (Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyuan;

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7 Yoron (Amami, Northern Ryukyuan) is another such example (Kibe et al. 2019). In Yoron, reaccentuation occurs to denote the additive plural meaning as opposed to associative plural meaning, as in [ʔatɕa-taa (father-PL) 'father and his associates' → ʔatɕa[taa (father-PL) 'fathers', where [indicates an accented mora after which abrupt rise occurs. The reaccentuation induces an additive plural interpretation where an associative interpretation is usually expected, as in proper names and elder kinship terms. It thus reflects the functional markedness of the additive plural interpretation for address nouns.

8 It is often pointed out that SJ does have the distinction in clusivity with the humble first person plural *watasi-domo*, which usually excludes the addressee. However, one can say *watasi-domo mo mairimasyoo* 'Let's us (INCL) go'. Let us imagine a situation where there are a master and two of his servants with an equal rank and the master left them. The sentence above is uttered by the servants to each other, i.e. with inclusive reference, meaning they (the two servants) should follow him (the master). The upshot is that the humble *-domo* has a pragmatic effect of excluding the addressee by its very nature of humble marking: the speech participants are divided into the honored person and the speaker who gives such honor. Usually, the honored person is the addressee, leading to exclusive reference. But in a situation like the one I set above where the person to be honored happens to be absent in the speech situation but where the use of humble marking is still the norm, the humble *watasi-domo* 'we' can easily be inclusive, demonstrating that it is semantically not an exclusive pronoun but a mere humble marker.

see Urabe, this volume) exemplifying (a) and Aragusuku (Miyako, Southern Ryukyuan; see Wang, this volume) exemplifying (b). However, the Aragusuku system diverges from the canonical type (b): in Aragusuku, the first-person plural category contrasts between the general (which may be used for either exclusive or inclusive reference) and the inclusive.[9]

2.2.2   Adjectival Expressions

The typology of adjectival expressions in diverse languages (Dixon 1977, 2004, Wetzer 1996, etc.) has revealed that adjectival expressions may show considerable cross-linguistic variation with respect to their word-class assignment. Japanese (i.e. SJ) is understood as a cross-linguistically uncommon 'split-adjectival' system in terms of Wetzer's (1996) typology of adjectival expressions, where two major lexical classes of adjectives co-exist within a single language system, *i*-adjectives (inflected/verbal adjectives) and *na*-adjectives (non-inflected/nominal adjectives). For example, *taka-* 'high' is an *i*-adjective root while *kiree* is a *na*-adjective root, and which root belongs to which class is lexically determined. *i*-adjectives are like verbs as they inflect for tense (e.g. *taka*[-*i*] 'high (present)' vs. *taka*[-*katta*] 'high (past)'). However, they differ from verbs in the kind of inflectional suffixes they take: in SJ, for example, the non-past affirmative inflection of the verb is *-ru*, while that of the *i*-adjective is *-i*, etc. *na*-adjectives (e.g. *kiree* 'beautiful') are like nouns in that they do not inflect and require a copular verb for inflection (*kiree=da*[-*tta*] 'beautiful (past)'). However, the *na*-adjectives differ from nouns since they cannot occur as arguments.

The above-mentioned character of the split-adjectival system found in SJ largely holds true for most, if not all, Mainland dialects (see the four grammatical sketches of Mainland dialects in this volume), with some minor dialectal variation mentioned below. For example, some Mainland dialects, especially Kyūshū dialects, have a small class of roots which may be coded ver-

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9 A few Okinawan dialects of Ryukyuan such as Jana have a distinction similar to clusivity, in which three referential categories are distinguished: (a) exclusive 'we', (b) inclusive 'we' which is in contrast with a third person (as in 'They're going to eat noodle, and what are **we:INCL** going to eat then?') and (c) inclusive 'we' without contrast with a third person. The common feature of (a) and (b) is 'contrast' (with the addressee in the case of (a), or with the non-locutor in the case of (b)). In Jana, the same form (*wattaa*, which is cognate with an exclusive pronoun in neighboring dialects) is used for (a) and (b) while a different form (*agamii*, which is cognate with an inclusive pronoun in neighboring dialects) is used for (c). A clusivity system would distinguish between (a) and (b)/(c), but the Jana system crosscut the clusivity distinction, distinguishing between (a)(b) and (c). See Shimoji (2021) for details of this system and its typological characteristics.

bally (as a verbal adjective) or nominally (as a nominal adjective). In Yanagawa (Kyūshū Japanese, see Matsuoka, this volume), a root like *kiree-* 'beautiful' may be coded as a verbal adjective with tense inflection, e.g. *kiree-katta* (beautiful-PST), or as a nominal adjective with a copular verb following it, e.g. *kiree꞊yat-ta* (beautiful꞊COP-PST).

In Ryukyuan languages, a lexical class distinction such as that between *i-* and *na-* adjectives in SJ is largely irrelevant, with all adjectival roots being treated homogeneously. The single class of adjective roots is usually treated like verb roots, in the sense that they inflect for tense, mood, etc. Unlike SJ and many other Mainland dialects, the inflectional suffixes used with verbal adjectives are identical to those used with (existential) verbs, making the verbal adjective one step closer to the verb class. Tokunoshima (Amami, Northern Ryukyuan; see Kato, this volume) and Shiraho (Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyuan; see Urabe, this volume) treat verbal adjectives in their respective languages as a subclass of verbs. In some Ryukyuan languages, especially in Miyako, a given adjectival root may be coded either nominally or verbally, demonstrating a cross-linguistically rare 'switch-adjectival' system in Wetzer's (1996) typology of adjectival expressions. The difference between switch- and split-adjectival systems is that in the former, one and the same adjective root may be coded either nominally or verbally. For example, in Aragusuku (Miyako, Southern Ryukyuan; see Wang, this chapter) a given adjectival root may carry a verbalizer suffix *-kar-* which further carries a verbal inflectional suffix, as in *taka-ka-taa* (high-VLZ-PST) 'was high', while the same root may be suffixed with the morpheme *-munu*, as in *taka-munu* (high-MUNU) '(sthg is) high'. The *munu* form exhibits a nominal characteristic in that it may be used in construction with copula. The morpheme *munu* is undergoing a grammaticalization process whereby the nominal compound root *munu* 'thing' is being recategorized as a nominal-adjective derivational suffix *-munu* (see Shimoji 2009).

A switch-adjectival system is also reported in the Kin and Iheya dialects of Okinawan (Northern Ryukyuan; see Tamamoto and Carlino, this volume). As mentioned above, Kyūshū dialects like Yanagawa show a similar fluctuating coding pattern for a restricted set of adjectival roots, and the difference between Ryukyuan switch-adjectival systems and that of Yanagawa is that in Yanagawa, the set of adjectival roots which exhibit a switch-adjectival character is much more restricted and is considered a historical shift from nominal adjectival roots to verbal adjectival roots.

2.2.3   Alignment

One prominent feature of the alignment patterns found in Japonic is that all alignment patterns except ergative-absolutive are attested, i.e. nominative-accusative, neutral, split intransitive and tripartite, demonstrating the typo-

logical diversity of the Japonic languages. Nominative-accusative alignment is found across Mainland dialects and Ryukyuan. Neutral alignment is found in Hateruma (Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyuan; Aso 2020), which has no core case marker and word order is an important way to identify S, A and P. Neutral alignment is also partially integrated in the alignment system of a number of Japonic languages. For example, Nambu (Tōhoku, Eastern Japanese; see Nakagawa, this volume) displays an animacy-driven split of alignment whereby animate nouns show a nominative-accusative pattern where A/S is zero coded and P is marked with accusative *=ba*, as illustrated in (1a), while inanimate nouns are typically zero-marked and may yield a neutral pattern, as in (1b).

(1) a. *taro {wa/omɛ/hanako/tomodati/inu}={ba/??∅} mi-tera.*
        Taro {1sg/2sg/Hanako/friend/dog}={ACC/∅}   see-PROG
        Taro is looking at {me/you/Hanako/(his) friend/a dog}.

     b. *taro sodo={ba/∅}   mi-tera.*
        Taro outside={ACC/∅} see-PROG
        Taro is looking outside.

This kind of animacy-driven overt P marking is widely known as Differential Object Marking (Bossong 1985), and is common in Eastern Japanese.

Yonaguni (Macro-Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyuan; Shimoji 2016) exhibits a split-intransitive pattern. In Yonaguni, A is always marked with *=nga*, which is cognate with SJ *ga*, while P is always zero-marked. With regard to S, a certain lexically determined set of intransitive verbs such as MOVE, GO, WALK, etc. (unergative, motion verbs) always require S to be marked with *=nga*, while another set which designates change-of-state events like BREAK, FALL, CRACK, BEND, etc. (unaccusative, change-of-state verbs) always require S to be zero-marked. Other intransitive verbs may align either way. Thus, Yonaguni has a lexical split of S into S$_A$ and S$_P$, which are coded like A and P respectively, demonstrating a Split-S as opposed to a Fluid-S system (Dixon 1994).

Tripartite alignment is very rare in Japonic, but is attested in a very small number of Kyūshū dialects. It occurs as a result of an animacy-driven split of alignment. In Shiiba (Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume), for example, alignment splits into nominative-accusative, split-intranstive and tripartite depending on the animacy of the S/A/P. As summarized in Table 1.2, down to the lower end of Animacy Hierarchy, animal nouns take different marking for A (*=ga*), S (*=ga* or *=no*) and P (*ba/=oba/=o*). Note also that in the middle of Animacy Hierarchy, human nouns show a split-intransitive alignment pattern where *=ga* covers

TABLE 1.2   Alignment patterns of Shiiba

	Pronoun	Human	Animal	Inanimate
A			G	
		G	————	
SA	G			N
		————	G/N	
SP		G/N		
P	B/OB/O	B/OB/O	B/OB/O	B/OB/O

A and SA while *=no* covers SP only. Unlike a typical pattern found in the world's languages where there are distinct case forms for S, A and P, the distinction between A and S in Shiiba involves the difference in terms of whether the argument in question may take either *=ga* (A) or *=ga* plus *=no* (S). Thus, there is no dedicated case marker for A.

Another feature which is worth typologists' attention is the internal diversity of nominative-accusative systems exhibited in Japonic languages, where all possible nominative-accusative alignment patterns are attested: marked nominative-accusative where both are marked, as observed in SJ, marked accusative where only P is marked (see (1a)), and marked nominative where only S/A are marked, as illustrated in (2) from Iheya (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan; see Carlino, this volume).

(2)   a. *taruu=ga   ačč-oo-ta-n.*
           Taro=NOM   walk-PROG-PST-IND
           Taro (S) is walking. (Intransitive)

       b. *taruu=ga   hasi   wata-ee   nz-a-n.*
           Taro=NOM   bridge   cross-SEQ   go-PST-IND
           Taro (A) crossed the bridge (P). (Transitive)

Cross-linguistically, marked nominative is known to be extremely rare (Handschuh 2014: 1). However, Iheya and two other Northern Ryukyuan languages included in the present volume display a marked-nominative alignment system: Kin (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan) and Tokunoshima (Amami, Northern Ryukyuan). All Okinawan dialects and a few Amami dialects such as Okinoerabu (Yokoyama 2017) exhibit the same marked-nominative pattern where S/A are marked by the nominative *=ga* or *=nu* and P is always left unmarked.

Marked nominative is unusual or even unexpected if we assume that core-case marking exists to distinguish between the two core arguments of a transitive clause, i.e. A and P (Comrie 1978, Hoop and Malchukov 2008, etc.). According to this widely-held assumption, there should be no functional motivation for S being overtly case-marked. It is therefore predicted that if there is an unmarked case for any of S, A, and P, then it must be used (at least) for S, a prediction known as Greenberg's Universal 38 (Greenberg 1963). The prediction is then made that if A or P is left unmarked in a system, S must also be unmarked. The marked-accusative pattern (where only P is marked) and the marked-nominative-accusative pattern (where S, A, and P are all marked) do not contradict this prediction, whereas marked-nominative alignment clearly goes against this prediction.

There is one thing which may be a key to understand the underpinnings of marked-nominativity in Japonic, which pertains to a well-known typological characteristic of this language group, i.e. its topic-prominent feature. In all languages of Japonic, whether they have marked-nominative alignment or not, nominative-case marking and topic marking *=wa* are in a paradigmatic relationship.[10] That is, nominative marking not only marks a grammatical relation (S/A) but an information-structural status of non-topic (Shimoji 2018). Nominative indicates that the argument so marked is not a topic. S/A are relatively more likely to be interpreted as a topic, so nominative marking may serve as a useful alert of S/A being non-topic against hearer's expectation. Crucially, especially in those languages which are claimed to be marked nominative (Okinawan), certain kinds of S strongly tend to be left unmarked (i.e. without nominative marking) even if they are not a topic, and Shimoji (2018) has shown that such S is inanimate and unaccusative S, which is low in topicality and thus are not expected to be a topic of a sentence, making the non-topic marking (i.e. nominative marking) dispensable.

The ostensible 'mystery' of why S (and A) is marked may thus become a well-motivated coding strategy if we carefully examine marked nominativity exhibited in Japonic languages especially in terms of information structure, but much is left for further investigation. Focusing on Okinawan and other marked nominative languages of Japonic will be a promising field of research for the typology of marked nominativity.

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10   In most Ryukyuan languages, the nominative may cooccur with the topic, as in Miyako
      mma=ga=a (mother=NOM=TOP), but in this case the topic is always a contrastive topic.

3   A Brief Summary of the Subsequent Chapters

Chapter 2 is a grammatical sketch of Tokunoshima (Amami, Northern Ryu-kyuan), focusing on the Isen dialect. It has a number of features which are substantially different from other Amami dialects or even from other areal vari-eties in the island in terms of vocabulary, phonology, and morphosyntax, such as an ongoing merger of front and mid vowels, residual intervocalic /r/ and marked-nominative system.

Chapter 3 is a grammatical sketch of Iheya (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan). Iheya is an endangered language with a speaker population of about 400, mostly in their 60s and older. The chapter is one of the first comprehensive descriptions of an Okinawan variety besides Shuri, the prestige dialect spoken in what used to be the capital of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Covering a wide range of descriptive topics, it uncovers features unreported in the Ryukyuan languages until now, such as the use of the reflexive pronoun *duu* as a second-person pro-noun. It also includes a description of intonation, which is still under-described in many Japonic varieties, focusing on interrogatives, which have as an unusual feature a non-rising pitch when forms with an interrogative meaning are used.

Chapter 4 is a grammatical sketch of Kin (Okinawan, Northern Ryukyuan). Kin is in many ways distinct from well-known varieties of the Okinawan lan-guage such as Shuri. Topics which have been little discussed in the literature and will be covered extensively in this chapter include: tone assignment (in which both notions of mora and syllable are relevant), adjectival morphology (in which an alleged adjectival "word" is decomposed into two components, i.e., a grammatically independent stem and an inflectional clitic), and declarative uses of the non-finite connective form of verbs (whose semantics are related to the continuative aspect and mirativity.)

Chapter 5 provides a grammatical sketch of Aragusuku (Miyako, Southern Ryukyuan). In addition to describing basic phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics of Aragusuku, the chapter addresses several typological issues particular to Aragusuku or the Miyako language in general. For examples, the fricative vowel (e.g. [ksks] (CÇ.CÇ) 'listen'), differential reflexive marking whereby different reflexive forms are used depending on person, plurality and case, the double-subject construction which is sensitive to the kind of posses-sive relationship between the two subject NPs (e.g. *karjaa miinudu kagimunu.* 'As for him, (his) eyes are beautiful.', etc.)

Chapter 6 gives an overview of the grammar of Shiraho (Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyuan). Shiraho village was formed as a result of massive migration from Hateruma Island during the early eighteenth century. With this peculiar demo-graphic history and its later language contact with the neighboring villages

speaking other Yaeyaman dialects, Shiraho occupies a unique position within Yaeyama in terms of phonology, morphology and vocabulary. Notable features are as follows: (1) a sonorant voicing contrast (/n/ vs. /ṇ/), (2) a plural suffix which can attach to non-animate nouns unlike in other Japonic languages, (3) an aspectual distinction expressed using pitch, (4) two types of past tense (simple past form and converbal form).

Chapter 7 is a grammatical sketch of Nambu (Tōhoku, Eastern Japanese). It has a trichotomic contrast between voiceless, voiced and prenasalized obstruents (e.g. /akeru/ [akeɾu] 'openable' vs. /ageru/ 'open' vs. /aⁿgeru/ 'raise'). Both A/S and P are frequently zero-coded, and P may be overtly marked with the accusative =ba if it is animate, a phenomenon cross-linguistically known as Differential Object Marking. In addition to causativization and passivization, which are common in all Japonic langauges, there is a third productive valency-decreasing strategy, anticausativization, whereby a transitive verb is intransitivized to construe an event as a spontaneous event with no agency or control.

Chapter 8 is a grammatical sketch of Izumo (Umpaku, Western Japanese). Despite the fact that Izumo is geographically a dialect of Western Japanese, it shares a number of features with Eastern Japanese dialects, such as the existence of the copula =da, leading to a long-standing controversy among linguists with regard to how Izumo is situated in the history of Japanese. The chapter is the first detailed grammatical description of this dialect written in English, covering a broad range of phonological and grammatical topics based on the author's own fieldwork. It addresses typologically interesting features such as a (morpho-)phonemic alternation involving the liquid /r/ (e.g. /ku-ru/ [kwaː] come-NPST), zero nominalization, as in *jai-ta=o kuu-ta* (bake-PST=ACC eat-PST) '(I) ate the baked (one)', differential nominative/genitive-case marking which is sensitive to the animacy of the NP, etc.

Chapter 9 gives a grammatical sketch of Yanagawa (Kyūshū Japanese). Yanagawa is spoken by the older generation (in their seventies or older) and is in imminent danger of extinction. The chapter covers a range of descriptive topics and discusses a number of typologically interesting features such as symmetrical differential subject marking (two nominative particles, =ga and =no, which are used according to the animacy of the S/A argument), minimal-word constraints sensitive to various syntactic conditions (such as the presence or absence of cliticization), morphophonological rules which refer to bimoraic foot structure, etc.

Chapter 10 is a grammatical sketch of Shiiba (Kyūshū Japanese), with a special focus on the Omae dialect, which is one of the most endangered dialects of Shiiba with a local population of approximately 400. The chapter includes descriptions of typologically uncommon features of this language such as the

existence of the complex glide onset /wy/ (which may even be combined with the glottal /h/, as in /hwyaa/ [ɣaː] 'fly'), Differential Object Marking which is sensitive to the animacy of both A and P, whereby P must be overtly marked if the animacy of P outranks that of A, an Experiencer Construction where the stimulus argument is non-canonically marked with dative, potentiality marking which distinguishes between 'situation-driven' potentiality and 'ability-driven' potentiality, etc.

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Tokunoshima (Kagoshima, Northern Ryukyuan)

Kanji Kato

1 The Language and Its Speakers

1.1 *Geography*

The Tokunoshima dialect (hereafter, Tokunoshima or TKN) is spoken in Tokunoshima Island. The three maps on figure 2.1 show the Japanese Archipelago, the islands of the Northern Ryukyus, and Tokunoshima Island, in order from left to right.

Tokunoshima is divided into three towns: Amagi Town in the northwest, Tokunoshima Town in the east, and Isen Town in the south. Out of dozens of villages (TKN: *sima*, or *sjuuraku*) on the island, the present chapter focuses on the dialect of three villages in the southern part of Isen Town unless otherwise stated: Higashihama (also known as Higashiomonawa in Japanese and Agarebaa in Tokunoshima), Kenbuku (TKN: Kinbuu), and Uemonawa (TKN: Unnoo).

1.2 *Genetic Affiliation and Typological Classification*

The Amami language genealogically belongs to the Northern Ryukyuan branch of the Japonic family (Pellard 2015). The second map on figure 2.1 shows the islands where the Northern Ryukyuan languages (Amami, Kunigami and Okinawa) are spoken.

As far as the author recognizes, there is no comparative linguistic study on the genetic relationship among areal variations of Amami. Uemura (1972) classified the Northern Ryukyuan languages into four groups based on their typological features: Kikaijima, Oshima-Tokunoshima, Okinoerabu-Northern Okinawa, and Southern Okinawa. According to Uemura (1972), Tokunoshima falls into the Oshima-Tokunoshima group with Amami Oshima, Kakeromajima, Ukejima, and Yorojima. Nakamoto (1990) regarded the dialects of islands located from Amami Oshima in the north to Yoronjima in the south as 'Amami dialect', and classified them into five groups: Northern Amami Oshima, Southern Amami Oshima, Tokunoshima, Northern Kikaijima, and Southern Kikaijima-Okinoerabujima-Yoronjima.

Tokunoshima has dozens of villages, each of which has a unique dialect. As far as the author recognizes, there is no comparative linguistic study on the genetic relationship among areal variations of Tokunoshima. Sakimura (1983)
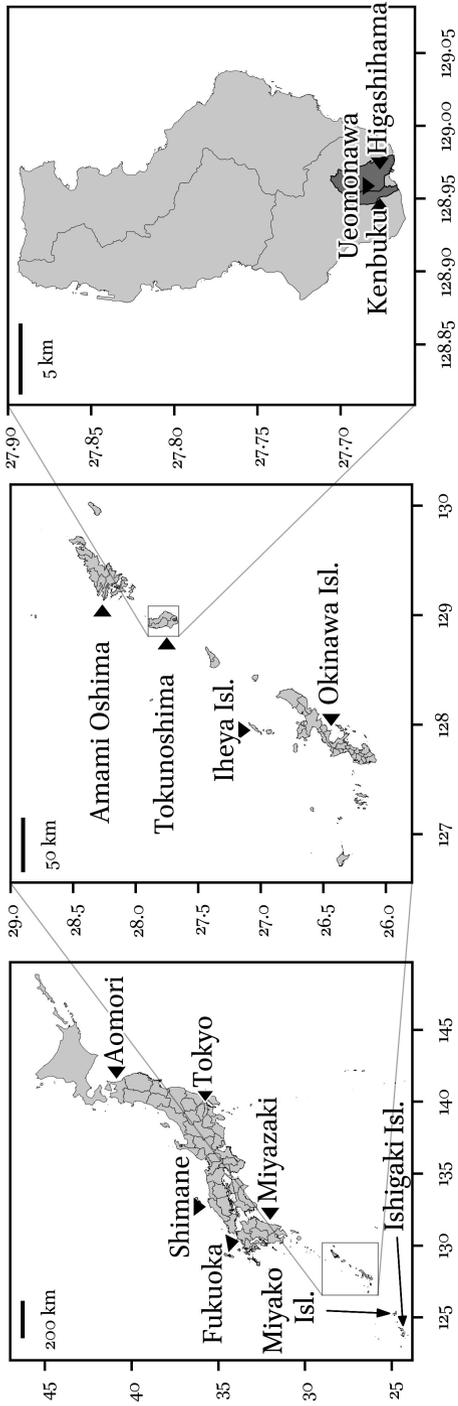
FIGURE 2.1 Maps of Japanese Archipelago

divided the dialects of Tokunoshima into three groups (Northwest, East, and South) based on their typological features, and classified Isen into the Southern group. Hirayama et al. (1966) divided the Tokunoshima dialects into two groups (North and South) based on their typological features and classified Isen into the Southern group.

Isen has a number of features which are substantially different from other Amami dialects or even from other areal varieties in the island in terms of vocabulary, phonology, and morphosyntax (see Hirayama et al. 1966).

1.3 *Data*

This chapter is based on the data set collected through field works (2017–2020) and mail surveys (2020–2022) by the present author. Table 2.1 below gives the information about the consultants.

TABLE 2.1   Consultants

Consultant	Age	Sex	Village
SO	71	F	Kenbuku
Seiko Ryu	66	M	Kenbuku
YT	73	F	Kenbuku
FA	84	F	Ueomonawa
SM	87	M	Ueomonawa
TS	85	M	Ueomonawa
TS	88	M	Ueomonawa
Katsumi Ito	87	M	Higashihama

2   Phonology

2.1 *Phonemes*

There are three subtypes of phonemes: vowel, glide, and consonant.

Tokunoshima has seven vowels, /a, i, u, e, o, ɨ, ɛ/. Table 2.2 summarizes the inventory of vowels.

(3) shows words that are distinguished by the vowels.

(3)   a. /mii/ 'fruit', /mɨɨ/ 'hole', /mɛɛ/ 'fron', /maa/ 'time', /muu/ 'algae'
      b. /too/ 'octopus', /tuu/ 'ten'
      c. /jan/ 'potato', /jen/ 'relationship'

TABLE 2.2   Vowels

Front	Center	Back	
i	ɨ	u [u]	High
e [e]		o [o]	Mid
ɛ [ɛ–ə]	a [ɒ]		Low

Back vowels, /u/ and /o/, are also [+round]. Back rounded vowels are articulated with rounded protruded lips.

Scholars argue that /ɨ/ in Kametsu Tokunoshima is an advanced central-close vowel (Hattori 1959: 284, Hirayama 1966: 31, Nakamoto 1976: 112). Kato (2021) argues that /ɨ/ in Kametsu Tokunoshima is distinguished from /i/ by F_3, and not by F_1 or F_2, which suggests /i/ and /ɨ/ are distinguished by some articulatory feature which is not frontness.

The height and the frontness of /ɛ/ is controversial. Hirayama et al. (1966: 31) argues that /ɛ/ is an advanced central-open vowel, and Shibata (1981: 32) maintains it is a central-open mid vowel, based on sound impression respectively. Phonetic analysis, however, suggests /ɛ/ is a front-mid vowel, which is barely distinguished from /e/ by F_1, F_2, and F_3 (Kato 2021), although speakers recognize /ɛ/ and /e/ are different sounds.

There are four glides: /j, jˀ, w, wˀ/. Although their sound qualities are similar to that of vowels, they do not constitute morae.

Table 2.3 shows the consonant inventory.

TABLE 2.3   Consonants

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	(Glottal)
Stop	voiceless	p	t	k	
	voiced	b	d	g	
	laryngealized		tˀ	kˀ	
Fricative	voiceless		s[s–ɕ]		
	voiced		z[z–dz–ʑ]		h[h–ç–x–ɸ]
Affricate			c[ts]		
Nasal	non-laryngealized	m	n		
	laryngealized	mˀ	nˀ		
Tap		r			

Table 2.4 summarizes phonetic realizations of alveolar plosives and affricates.

TABLE 2.4   Phonetic realizations of alveolar plosives and affricates

	/a/	/i/	/u/	/e/	/o/	/ɨ/	/ɛ/
t	ta	ti	tu	te	to	ti–tɨ	tɛ
d	da	di	du	de	do	di–dɨ	dɛ
c	N/A	N/A	tsu	N/A	N/A	tsɨ	N/A
tj	tɕa	tɕi	tɕu	tɕe	tɕo	tɕi–tɕɨ	N/A

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

The maximum possible syllable structure is (C1)(G)V1(V2)(C2), where C stands for a consonant, G for a glide, and V for a vowel. Parentheses indicate that the slots are optionally filled. Laryngealized segments can C1 or G only when word-initial. Non-laryngealized consonants can fill C1 at any part in the word. C2 can be filled by /n/ at any part in the word and by /p, t, k, s/ word-medially as the first half of a geminate formed at the boundary of two syllables. CV is the most frequent syllable. Super-heavy syllables occur very infrequently, but they are not completely absent. For example, there are two tokens of *boon* in the appendix text.

2.2.1   Deletion Rules

Affixation and cliticization can produce alignments of segments that defy the possible syllable structure noted above; that is heterorganic *CC (e.g., /rn/). Also, super-heavy syllables which straddles morpheme boundaries are disallowed, although they can occur within one morpheme. Such disallowed alignments of segments are resolved by deletion of segments following the rules noted in (4).

(4)   a. Delete C1 of heterorganic C1C2 except when C1 is /n/ (e.g., /koow**j**uri/ → /koo**j**uri/).
      b. Delete V1 of super-heavy V1V2C which includes a morpheme boundary (e.g., /kw**aa-n**.kja/ → /kw**an**.kja/).

2.3   *Mora*

V1, V2 and C2 in a syllable each constitute a mora. Isen utilizes morae as phonological units. As noted in § 2.4, the mora is the basic unit of accentuation.

Also, the constraint on the length of a word is sensitive to the number of morae; that is, a word must be bimoraic or longer. Monomoraic words should be lengthened to bimoraic in their surface form (e.g., *ki* 'tree' → /kɨɨ/).

2.4   *Accent*

TABLE 2.5   Two-way accentual distinction among verbs

Mora	Gloss	*kir*- 'cut'	*kir*- 'wear'
1	INF	*kìrí* LH	*kírí* HH
2	CAUS.INF	*kìràsí* LLH	*kírásí* HHH

Isen is a pitch accent language where H and L are distinguished. Nouns have a three-way distinction; that is, each noun lexically has one of the three tonal patterns (Hirayama et al. 1966). (5) shows the ternary accentual distinction among bimoraic nouns.

(5)   a. A vs. B: /kóó/ HH 'river', /kòó/ LH 'skin'
        b. A vs. C: /hásí/ HH 'bridge', /hásì/ HL 'chopsticks'
        c. B vs. C: /kàmɨ́/ LH 'turtle', /kámì/ HL 'pot'

We have not yet been able to generalize the mechanism behind the surface tonal realizations that would produce them.

Verbs have a two-way accentual distinction: one class of verbs has a rising pitch contour and the other lacks this rise. Table 2.5 shows the two-way distinction.

2.5   *Intonation*
Isen shows at least two intonation patterns: falling and rising. Interrogative sentences usually have a rising intonation. The collection and classification of intonation patterns in Isen requires further attention.

3   Descriptive Units

3.1   *Morphological Units*
This subsection introduces three morphological units: the word, clitic, and affix. The word is the smallest syntactically and phonologically independent

unit. The clitic is a morphosyntactically independent but phonologically dependent unit. The clitic almost always occurs with its host. One morpheme is sometimes phonologically dependent and sometimes not depending on its morphosyntactic environment. Affixes are morphologically dependent and always attach to a stem.

3.2 *Word Classes*

Five word classes are identified: nouns (§4), verbals (§5), particles, adnominals, and adverbs. Nouns are words that head a nominal phrase. A noun functions as an argument of predicates or as a predicate itself. Verbals head a predicate phrase and inflect for tense, mood, and voice. Verbals include verbs, whose roots are verb roots, and adjectives, whose roots are PC roots. Particles attach to clauses or phrases, and encode various grammatical functions such as the case of nouns, modality, or grammatical relations between clauses. Adnominals modify NPs without any case marking. Adverbs are words that modify other words or phrases except nouns.

3.3 *Root Classes*

Three major root classes are identified: nominal roots, verb roots, and PC roots. Nominal roots can appear as a word without suffixation (address nouns and some pronouns require number marking. See §4). Verb roots have obligatory inflection and optional derivation (see §5.1). PC roots need to be verbalized as a rule (see §5.5.1 for exceptional sequential and adnominal forms).

4 Nouns

Nouns are words that meet all of the following criteria: (i) They can be the predicate of a clause alone (nominal predicate, cf. §8.2). (ii) Without linking items such as ꞊*nu* (*maju꞊nu mii*, cat꞊NOM2 eye, 'cat's eye'), they do not modify other nouns (pronouns are exceptions. See §4.1). (iii) They can be followed by case particles and limit particles. (iv) They are independent words.

4.1 *Pronouns*

Pronouns are organized in terms of person (first-person and second-person) and number (singular, dual, and plural). Tokunoshima is not sensitive to clusivity, unlike some Ryukyuan dialects. Demonstratives are used to address a third-person object (See §6.1). In addition to person and number, second-person pronouns are sensitive to politeness. Also, first-person singular pronouns are divided into three forms (unmarked fusion, unmarked non-fusion, and bare)

TABLE 2.6   List of pronouns

	1st unmarked	Bare	2nd polite	Non-polite
Singular non-fusional	*wan*	*wa*	*uri*	*ura*
Singular fusional	*waa*			*uraa*
Dual	*wanten / wattari*		*urinten*	*uranten*
Plural non-fusional			*uri-taa*	*ura-taa*
Plural fusional	*wakkja / waakja*		*ukkja*	

depending on their morphosyntactic behavior as noted below. Table 2.6 summarizes the pronominal system.

The bare form, which is unique to first-person singular, shows a strong selectional restriction in that it precedes only *=ga* (NOM1). The distinction between fusional[1] and non-fusional pronouns is morphosyntactic; the former stand as the topical subject of a clause or the modifier of a noun without a case particle as in *waa kuma=nu tjootjoo* ('I am the mayor of the town'). However, the latter require a particle when they appears in a sentence. In addition to this, non-fusional forms are used in nominal predicate phrases.

4.2   *Lexical Nouns*

A lexical noun can be extended by suffixation or compounding. The maximum structure of a noun is as follows: (prefixal numeral -) stem core (- AUG/DIM) (- PL). *-ganasi* is a dedicated augmentative suffix used to refer to personified natural entities and older relatives (e.g., *tida-ganasi* 'the sun', *wuba-ganasi* 'aunt'). Also, kinship terms and names of professions are used as augmentative when they are attached to personal names (e.g., *ziru-aka*, 'sister Ziru'). A diminutive suffix, *-gwa*, is typically used for small or beloved objects. There are two types of plural suffixes: *-taa* and *-nkja*. The former is associated with human nouns and demonstratives whose referents are humans. Although dual number is marked by pronominal inflection, there is no dual suffix for lexical nouns. Dual number is encoded by phrasal expression as in *taroo=tu ziroo tʼaari* (PN=COM PN two.people) 'Taroo and Ziroo, the two of them'.

---

1 Fusional forms are thought to be the result of fusion of the nominative particle *=ga* or the topic particle *=ja* and the non-fusional forms, as in **wa=ga > waa*. This is because fusional forms have the same syntactic function as nouns with nominative or topic particles. However, we have no solid historical evidence to support such a change, and we can only speculate at this stage.

TABLE 2.7 List of numerals and numeral prefixes

Number	Cardinal	Iterative	Personal	Prefix
1	*tʔin*	*tʔjukeeri*	*tʔjuuri*	*tʔju-*
2	*tʔaaci*	*tʔakeeri*	*tʔaari*	*tʔa-*
3	*miici*	*mikeeri*	*mitjaari*	*mi-*
4	*juuci*	*jukeeri*	*jutaari*	*ju-*
5	*icici*	*itjukeeri*	(*gonin*)	*ici-*
6	*muuci*	(*rokkai*)	(*rokunin*)	*mu-*
7	*nanaci*	(*nanakai*)	(*nananin/sitjinin*)	*nana-*
8	*jaaci*	(*hatjikai*)	(*hatjinin*)	*ja-*
9	*kuunuci*	(*kjuukai*)	(*kjuunin*)	(*kjuu-*)
10	*tuu*	(*zjukkai*)	(*zjuunin*)	(*zjuu-*)

Lexical nouns are divided into two sub-types: address nouns and non-address nouns. Address nouns are used as terms of address. For example, *ama* 'mother' in (6) is used as a term of address.

(6) *amama   kiiga*
 ama⸗ma   k-i⸗ga
 mother⸗ADD come-INF⸗Q
 'Mom, will you come with me?'

Proper names, elder kinship terms, and some profession names (e.g., *sinsii* 'teacher') fall into this category. Number marking is obligatory for address nouns. If an address noun is marked by nothing, it is interpreted as singular noun.

4.3 *Numerals and Adnominals*

4.3.1 Numerals

There are two types of numerals: those that function as independent words by themselves (cardinal, iterative, and personal), and prefixes that are followed by a noun. The basic numerals are shown in Table 2.7. Forms in parentheses are Japanese or Sino-Japanese.

When numbers are used as abstract mathematical concepts without referring to concrete objects, the Sino-Japanese forms are used. The cardinal numerals are used to count non-human entities such as the number of things and animals (e.g., *usi tʔaaci mutjun* (cow two have) 'I have two cows'). The iterative

numerals are used to quantify the frequency of events (e.g., *uri t'jukeeri≠du ṣjan* (it once≠FOC did) 'I did it only once'). The personal numerals are used to count people (e.g., *t'aari≠si ika* (two≠INS go.HORT) 'Let two of us go'). The prefixal numbers are attached to non-human nouns to count the noun (e.g., *t'ju-uban*, 'one night').

5   Verbals

There are two types of verbals: verbs and adjectives. Those consisting of verb roots are called verbs, while those consisting of PC roots are called adjectives. Verb roots and PC roots differ in terms of inflection, derivation, and syntax. We will discuss those topics in detail in the remainder of this section.

5.1   *Verbs*

The internal structure of the verb is as follows: optional derivational suffixes follow the stem core to form a stem, and one and only one inflectional suffix follows the stem. The stem core is a term adopted by Shimoji (2018: 192–193), to denote the smallest unit that constitutes a stem. A stem core can be a single verb root, but it can also be a compound stem, or a PC root and a derivational suffix, as in the following example, where pairs of square brackets indicate the domain of the stem core: [*ut-i+hugas*]-*i* (hit-INF+dig-INF), 'to drill a hole', [*naga-mir*]-*i*, 'to lengthen'.

5.2   *Inflectional Morphology*

A verb root requires mandatorily one and only one inflectional suffix. Inflectional suffixes are classified into five types depending on the syntactic property of their inflected form: finite, converb, sequential, participle, and infinitive. Table 2.8 shows the list of inflectional suffixes, types, their functions, and alternation stems they attach to. In Table 2.8, *koow-* 'to eat' exemplifies surface forms. Table 2.9 summarizes the syntactic behavior of inflectional types. In the 'Type' column, F, S, C, P, I stand for Finite, Sequential, Converb, Participle, and Infinitive respectively.

For a detailed descriptions of syntax of each verb type, see §9 and §10.

TABLE 2.8   List of inflectional suffixes

Suffix	Form	Label	Type
-a	koow-a	Hortative	F
-ee	koow-ee	Imperative	F
-u	koow-jur-u[a]	Focus	F
-una	koow-una	Prohibitive	F
-oo	koow-oo	Volitional	F
-ɨ	koow-ɨ	Imperative	F
-i	koo-i	Infinitive	I
-taari	koo-taari	Juxtaposition	C
-taatu	koo-taatu	Anterior	C
-ma	koow-ar-ma[b]	Negative conditional	C
-nba	koow-ar-nba[c]	Negative conditional	C
-n	koow-jur-n[d]	Participle	P
-ti	koo-ti	Sequential	S

a In the example form containing *-jur-*, *-u* does not immediately follow the stem, and always requires at least one of *-jur-*, *-tar-*, or *-tur-*.
b In the example form containing *-ar-*, i.e., *koow-ar-ma* and *koow-ar-nba*, *-ma* and *-nba* always immediately follow the negative suffix *-ar-*.
c In the example form containing *-ar-*, i.e., *koow-ar-ma* and *koow-ar-nba*, *-ma* and *-nba* always immediately follow the negative suffix *-ar-*.
d In the example form containing *-jur-*, *-n* does not immediately follow the stem core, and always requires at least one of *-jur-*, *-tar-*, or *-tur-*.

TABLE 2.9   Types of inflection

	Finite	Sequential	Converb	Participle	Infinitive
becomes a main predicate	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
forms an adverbial clause	-	✓	✓	-	✓
modifies a noun	-	-	-	✓	-
functions as a noun	-	-	-	✓	✓

5.3   *Derivational Morphology*

A verb can bear optional derivational suffixes between the stem core and the inflectional suffix. Table 2.10 schematizes the general internal structure of a verb. For a detailed explanation of functions of suffixes, see §9.

TABLE 2.10   Internal structure of the verb

Stem core	Voice		Tense, aspect, polarity		Inflection
	-as- CAUS	*-ar-* PASS	*-tur-* PROG *-adar-(-tar-/-i)*[a] NEG.PST	*-ar-* NEG *-tar-* PST	Inflection
			-jur- NPST		

a   Parentheses here indicate that the negative past is always followed by the past suf-
    fix or the sequential suffix.

Negative past *-adar-* does not co-occur with progressive *-tur-* or past *-tar-*,
and past *-tar-* does not co-occur with negative *-ar-*. Also, non-past *-jur-* do
not co-occur with progressive, negative, past, or negative past. The partici-
ple inflectional suffix *-n* cannot immediately follow the stem core, and obli-
gatorily requires at least one of the suffixes in the 'tense, aspect, polarity'
slot. *-ar-* that is glossed as PASS in the table also functions as the potential
marker. *-jur-* is selected in non-past, affirmative, and non-progressive environ-
ments.[2]

   The inflectional and derivational affixes introduced so far that begin with
/t/ (past *-tar-*, progressive *-tur-*, sequential *-ti*, anterior *-taari*, and juxtaposi-
tion *-taatu*) and infinitive *-i* are subject to the morphophonological rules noted
below depending on the base-final consonant (e.g., *jum-tur-n* (read-PROG-
PTCP) is realized as *judun*, whereby /m-t/ becomes /d/). The morphophonolog-
ical rules of /t/-initial suffixes are shown in (7), and the morphophonological
rule of the infinitive suffix is shown in (8).

(7)   a. Suffix-initial /t/ becomes /d/ after /b, m/ and deletes /b, m/.
      b. Suffix-initial /t/ becomes /tj/ after and /k, s, t, j/ deletes /k, s, t, j/.
      c. Suffix-initial /t/ becomes /zj/ after /g, n/ and deletes /g, n/.
      d. Delete /r, w/ before suffix-initial /t/.

2   When *-jur-* is followed by suffixes other than *-n*, as in *jum-ar-jur-i* (read-PASS-NPST-INF), 'to
    be readable', the function of *-jur-* is unclear because *-jur-* is not obligatorily required by *-i*. The
    function of optional *-jur-* needs further investigation.

(8)　/t/ becomes /tj/ before infinitive /-i/.

5.4　*Existential, Resultative and Copula*

5.4.1　Existential Verbs

There are three existential verbs: animate existential *wur-*, inanimate existential *ar-*, and negative existential *neer-*. The existentials differ from regular verbs with regard to their inflectional morphology, restriction on animacy, negation strategies, and auxiliary usages.

First, the existentials differ from regular verbs in that they can directly be followed by the participle inflectional suffix *-n*.

Second, they exhibit a restriction on animacy for their subject. *wur-* takes an animate noun as a subject, while *ar-* and *neer-* take an inanimate noun. (25) in the appendix well exemplifies the animacy restriction. Two instances of *ar-* take *atama* 'head', and *wanrjoku* 'strength' each, and *wur-* takes *samurai* 'samurai' as the subject of the clause.

Third, they also differ in terms of negation strategies. Whereas *wur-* takes the negative suffix *-ar-* as in regular verbs, the negative existential *neer-* is suppletively used for negation of *ar-* in its existential usage (cf. *kuma⸗nin⸗ja wur-ar-n* '(he/she) is not here' vs. *kuman⸗nin⸗ja neer-n/neer-ar-n*[3] '(that) is not here'). Instead, the negative form of *-ar-*, i.e., *aran/anan*,[4] functions as the negative auxiliary for regular verbs (e.g., *nii aran* '(I) will not cook it') and the negative suppletive form for the copula *jar-* (see § 5.4.2).[5] Both *neer-* and *ar-* can be used in nominal predicates (cf. (10c, d)) and *neer-* is also used as a negative copula in nominal predicates.

Fourth, they also have auxiliary usages. *ar-* functions as a resultative auxiliary (9a) and the predicate of light verb constructions (9b) (see also § 8.1), and *neer-* as their negative counterpart. *neer-* is used for the negative form of adjectives (see § 5.5.1).

(9)　a. *kabinu*　　*tudi*　　*an*
　　　kabi⸗nu　　tub-ti　　ar-n
　　　paper⸗NOM2 blown-SEQ RSL-PTCP
　　　'A piece of paper has been blown away.'

3　*neer-* may or may not take the negative suffix *-ar-*, but in either case, the forms function as the negation of existence, and not a double negation even when it takes the negative suffix.

4　*anan* is a free allomorph of *aran*.

5　As discussed in § 9.5, differences between negation with the negative suffix and the negative auxiliary without particle need further examination.

   b. *an*   *tjuja*   *kjurakuma*   *an*
      an   tju⹀ja   kjura-ku⹀ma   ar-n
      that person⹀TOP beautiful-SEQ⹀ADD STA-PTCP
      'That person is also beautiful.'

5.4.2   Copula

The copular verb *jar-* occurs in nominal predicate phrases. No copula occurs in affirmative non-past environments (10a), but it does occur in other environments (10b). Also, as noted in § 5.4.1, it is substituted by *ar-* with the negative suffix (10c) or the negative existential *neer-* (10d) in negative sentences.

(10) a. *wan.ja*[6] *sinsii*
       wan⹀ja   sinsii
       1SG⹀TOP teacher
       'I am a teacher.'

      b. *wan.ja*   *sinsii*   *jatan*
       wan⹀ja   sinsii   jar-tar-n
       1SG⹀TOP teacher COP-PST-PTCP
       'I was a teacher.'

      c. *wan.ja*   *sinsii*   *aran*
       wan⹀ja   sinsii   ar-ar-n
       1SG⹀TOP teacher COP-NEG-PTCP
       'I am not a teacher.'

      d. *wan.ja*   *sinsiija*   *nen*
       wan⹀ja   sinsii⹀ja   neer-n
       1SG⹀TOP teacher⹀TOP NEG-PTCP
       'I am not a teacher.'

5.5   *Adjectives*

Adjectives are words that describe the nature, color, state, etc., and mainly function as predicates in clauses. Words suffixed with *-na*, however, are not considered to constitute an independent class since the number of words is exceedingly small and it is unclear whether suffixation of *-na* is productive or

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6 A dot in the phonetic form stands for a syllable boundary, which clarifies the difference between V.nGV and Vn.GV.

not.[7] They are referred to as 'adjective-like words' in § 5.5.2. Hereafter, the term 'adjective' refers only to those derived from PC roots.

5.5.1   Inflected Adjectives

The adjective in Tokunoshima is a sub-class of verbals that is derived from a PC root. (11) exemplifies the two internal structures of an adjective. There are two ways to form an adjective: one that contains the verbalizer suffix *-har* and is morphologically similar to verbs (11a); and one that contains the sequential suffix *-ku* and is unique to adjectives (11b).[8]

(11) a. *kjura*   *-har*   *-tar*   *-n*
          'clean'   -VBLZ   -PST -PTCP
          [[[Adj. root]$_{SC}$ -VBLZ]$_S$ -Drv. -Infl.]$_{Adj}$
          '(s/he) had a beautiful heart.'

      b. *kimu*   *+kjura*   *-ku*
          'heart'   +'clean'   -SEQ
          [[[Noun +Adj. root]$_{SC}$]$_S$ -Infl.]$_{Adj}$
          'having a beautiful heart.'

The former is similar to verbs in that it takes the same derivational and inflectional suffixes as verbs except for *-har-*, but the latter does not take derivational suffixes in the first place, and its inflectional suffix (*-ku*) is not found in verbs. The rest of this section discusses the similarities and differences between the *-har-* form and verbs, and the morphosyntax of the *-ku* form.

The adjective in (11a) has the following similarities with verbs: the stem core is the smallest target of affixation; voice and/or tense suffixes are optionally follows the stem; and one and only one inflectional suffix is mandatorily required. The differences with verbs are as follows: verbal suffixes attach to the stem formed by the stem core and the verbalizer derivational suffix;[9] exceptionally, adjective stems (i.e., *-har-* form) can appear in the sentence without an inflec-

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7   Some Japanese mainland dialects are known to have productive suffixation of *-na* (e.g., Tokyo Japanese: *kjuu-na* 'urgent'). It is likely that *-na* suffixation in Tokunoshima was borrowed from mainland dialects.

8   Abbreviations used here except those in small capitals are as follows: Adj (adjective); SC (stem core); S (stem); Drv (derivational suffix); and Infl (infelctional suffix).

9   Two verbalizer suffixes are attested so far: *-har-* and *-mir-*. The former produces an intransitive stem, and the latter produces a transitive stem. The former is significantly more frequently used.

tional suffix when the stem is followed by the sentence-final particle =*sa*; there is a selectional restriction on inflectional suffixes, where the only inflectional suffixes that the adjective stem chooses are volitional -*oo*, sequential -*ti*, and infinitive -*i*; and the sequential -*ku* form (discussed immediately below) and the negative existential *neer*- is used for negation instead of the negative suffix -*ar*-.

There are two inflectional suffixes that are exclusively used with adjectives: sequential -*ku*, and adnominal -*ka*. The -*ku* form is similar to the converb in Table 2.9 in that it can be the head of an adverbial clause and cannot be the main predicate. However, it has the following unique morphosyntax. First, it produces a light verb construction with a verb such as *ar*- (cf. 9b), *nar*-, or *s*-. In addition, since the negative suffix -*ar*- cannot follow adjective stems, they form the negative adjective phrase with the negative existential *neer*- (e.g., *kjura-ku neer-n* (beautiful-SEQ NEG-PTCP) 'It is not beautiful'). The adnominal -*ka* form functions only as a modifier of a noun (*gunja-ka huni* (small-ADNLZ ship) 'small ship'), and not as a predicate.

5.5.2   Non-canonical Adjective-Like Words

-*na* follows adverbs and nouns to function as a modifier (e.g., *rippa-na ningin* (great-ADNLZ person) 'a great person'). It functions only as a modifier, and not as a predicate. Only a few examples of the -*na* form have been observed in the present author's fieldwork.

6   Demonstratives and Interrogatives

6.1   *Demonstratives*

The demonstrative system of Tokunoshima is ternary, and each series begins with a unique segment: proximals with /k/, medials with /u/, and distals with /a/. Table 2.11 shows the list of demonstratives.

There are two usages of demonstratives: reference to a concrete object (deixis) and reference to an object already mentioned in the discourse (anaphora). In deictic usage, either a proximal, medial, or distal demonstrative is chosen depending on the psychological and physical distance among the referent, the speaker, and the hearer.

The juxtaposition of a distal and a proximal demonstrative gives a phrase that means 'various/every/a lot of things, people, and so forth' as in (12).

TABLE 2.11   Demonstratives

Part of speech	Function	Form		
		Proximal	Medial	Distal
Noun	Pronoun	*kurɨ*	*urɨ*	*arɨ*
Noun	Locative	*kuma*	*uma*	*ama*
Noun	Adnominal	*kun*	*un*	*an*
Noun, adverb	Directional	*kan*	*ugan*	*agan*
Verb	Manner	*kassi*[a]	*ussi*	*assi*
Verb, adverb	Manner	-	*ug(w)asi*	*agasi*
Verb	Manner	*kassan*	*ugasan*	*agasan*

a   It is assumed that the lexical forms of manner demonstratives are comprised of
    a demonstrative base and inflected forms of the light verb *s-*, such as *sjun* (*s-jur-
    n*). However, in this chapter, we do not analyze them into multiple morphemes,
    because the inflected form of *s-* is fused to demonstrative bases.

(12) *arɨ   kurɨ jun*
     arɨ   kurɨ iw-jur-n
     that this say-NPST-PTCP
     'to say a lot of things'

arɨ kurɨ, *ama kuma* 'everywhere', and *assi kassi* 'in various ways' are attested so
far.

6.1.1   Demonstrative Pronoun
Tokunoshima has no third-person pronoun. Instead, demonstrative pronouns
(*arɨ*, *kurɨ*, and *urɨ*) and demonstrative adnominals (*an*, *kun*, and *un*) are used
to refer to third-person nouns. They can refer to all nouns regardless of their
animacy, but different plural suffixes are chosen depending on the animacy of
the referent: *-taa* for personal nouns (e.g., *kurɨ-taa* as reference to people), and
-nkja for non-human nouns (e.g., *kurɨ-nkja* as reference to cars).

    Different situations to investigate the usages of demonstrative pronouns are
illustrated by pictures in figure 2.2d, where the person with an open mouth asks
the other to look at the referent object.[10]

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10   The pictures are taken from the questionnaire 'demonstratives_ninjal20170413.xlsx' cre-
      ated by the Endangered Languages and Dialects in Japan project of the National Institute
      for Japanese Language and Linguistics.

(a) 'Look at this'   (b) 'Look at this'   (c) 'Look at that'   (d) 'Look at that'
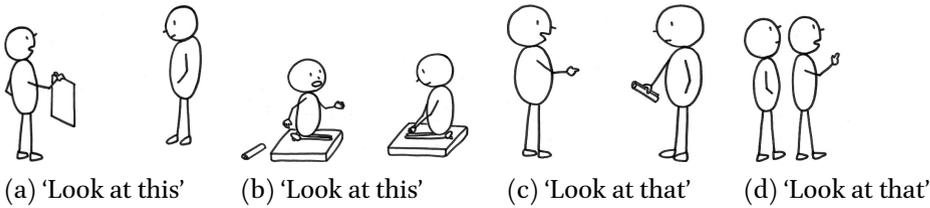
FIGURE 2.2 Different situations of deictic reference

Proximal *kurɨ* is used only for 2.2 and 2.2a, where the referents are closer to the speakers than than addressees. Mesial *urɨ* is used for 2.2b, where the referent is closer to the hearer. Finally, *arɨ* is used for 2.2c, where the referent is far from both the speaker and the addressee. *urɨ* is mainly used for indefinite deictic referents as in (28) of the appendix. It is uncertain whether *urɨ* is substitutable with the proximal. *arɨ* functions as a definite deictic reference as in (13).

(13) *kiinu   kootan   arɨ mutji   tjii*
     kiinu   koow-tar-n   arɨ mut-ti   tjii
     yesterday buy-PST-PTCP that bring-SEQ come.IMP
     'Bring those goods (someone) bought yesterday to me!'

6.1.2   Demonstrative Locative
Demonstrative locatives function in the same syntactic way as lexical nouns. Similar to demonstrative pronouns in their deictic usage, locations nearer to the speaker are referred to by the proximal, ones nearer to the addressee by the medial, and ones far from both by the distal.

6.1.3   Demonstrative Adnominal
Demonstrative adnominals function most commonly as nominal modifiers, and occasionally as nominal heads.

6.1.4   Demonstrative of Direction
Usually demonstratives of directions function as adverbs. When they function as nouns, they indicate 'a place located hither/thither'.

6.1.5   Demonstrative of Manner
Demonstratives of manner are verbs, but they are rarely the predicate of a clause, and in most instances they modify nouns as participle forms (*kassjun kutu* 'such things'), or modify verbs as sequential forms (*ugwasi natan* 'things

went like this'). *ug(w)asi* is also frequently used as a filler, an interjection which expresses speaker's agreement with the speaker, or a discourse marker indicating a change of scene.

6.2 *Interrogatives and Indefinites*

There are seven interrogatives: personal nominal *taru/tan*; non-personal nominal *nuu*; locative nominal *daa*; selectional nominal *dɨn*; temporal adverbial/nominal *icɨ*; numeric adverbial/nominal *ikucɨ*; and verb of manner *ikjasi.*

Interrogative nouns function as nouns, in that they can be followed by case particles or be arguments of verbs. However, they cannot be modified by any other words. *tan, taru,* and *nuu* can be reduplicated (*tandaru, tarudaru,* and *nuunuu*) to function as plural interrogatives (e.g., *tarudaru⸗nu kii⸗ga* 'Who and who will come?'). *icɨ* and *ikucɨ* function both as nouns and adverbs; it is possible for them to be followed by a case particle, or be arguments of verbs. The interrogative verb *ikjasi* modifies nouns in its participle form (e.g., *ikjasjun mun kootan⸗ga* (what.kind thing ate⸗Q) 'What kind of things did you eat?'), or modifies a predicate in its sequential form (e.g., *ikjasi izjan⸗ga* (how went⸗Q) 'How did you get there?'). Interrogative words are usually located in the same place as the corresponding words in declarative sentences.

7 Nominal Phrase

7.1 *The Head*

Various nouns can be the head of a nominal phrase. Lexical nouns can be the head without any modifier. Some nouns, which we will call formal nouns, necessarily require a modifier. Formal nouns have undergone grammaticalization. For example, *duki*, whose lexical source is *tuki* 'time', always requires a participle verb before it and functions as the head of a phrase which indicates 'the time when'.

Tokunoshima also displays headless noun phrases, in which participle words stand as modifiers without head nouns as in (14).

(14) *mɛɛ* *katjan* *mutji* *tjii*
     mɛɛ kak-tar-n mut-ti tjii
     before write-PST-PTCP have-SEQ come.IMP
     'Bring to me what (I) wrote before!'

mɛɛ katjan functions as a nominal phrase without a head noun, 'what (I) wrote before'.

TABLE 2.12 Cases

Label	Function	Example	Translation
Nominative: =ga, =nu, =no	Subject	[wunagu=ga] akkjun	[A woman] is walking.
Genitive: =ga, =nu, =no	NP modifier	[wan=nu] hun	[My] book
(Accusative: -)	-	-	-
Dative: =nin, =n, =nen, =nin	Indirect object	[uttu=nen] hun turatjan	I gave a book [to my brother].
	Place and time	[sanzi=nin] tjan	I came [at 3 o'clock].
	Goal	[jakuba=nin] izi	I went [to the village office].
	Passive and causative agent	[azja=nin] utatan	I was hit [by my father].
Locative: =nan, =nanti	Place	[jaa=nan] wun	I am [at my house].
Allative: =ka, =katji	Direction	[un=katji] izi	I arrived [at the seashore].
Instrumental: =si	Means	[mizi=si] aroi	to wash [with water]
Comitative: =tu	'with, and'	[taroo=tu] ziroo	[Taroo and] Ziroo
Comparative: =juri	Comparison	azja=ja [ama=juri=ma] uitun	My father is older [than my mother].
Ablative: =kara, =kaa	Source	[tookjoo=kara] tjan	I come [from Tokyo].
Limitative: =ntee	limit	[atja=ntee] san	I won't do it [until tomorrow].

7.2 *The Modifier*

There are four types of words that modify nouns: the participle form of a verb, the adnominal form of an adjective, demonstrative adnominals, and nouns with the genitive particle. They precede and modify nouns (e.g., *akk-jur-n tju* (walk-NPST-PTCP man) 'walking man', or *jaa=nu mɛɛ* (house=GEN front) 'garden'). Exceptionally, some pronouns directly modify nouns without a particle (see §9.3).

7.3 *Case and Other Role Marking*

Table 2.12 is a list of case particles and their usages. The relevant noun phrases are enclosed in square brackets in the 'example' and 'translation' columns.

=ga and *=nu/=no*[11] alternate depending on the animacy of its host. Also, the nominative and genitive cases show different patterns of alternation. Table 2.13 shows patterns of alternation, where G stands for *=ga*, and N stands for *=nu/=no*.

Case particles lack their own accentual information and their tonal realizations depend on the tonal information of the succeeding word. However, case

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11 *=no* is an allomorph of *=nu*. Since *=no* is not broadly distributed in the Ryukyuan languages, it is highly possible that this form is borrowed from the Mainland Japanese.

TABLE 2.13   Alternation of *≠ga* and *≠nu/≠no*

	Pronoun	Proper noun (human)	General human	Non-human
Nominative	G	G	G/N	N
Genitive	G	G/N	G/N	N

particles sometimes have their own accent (e.g., *≠juri≠ma* is always realized as LLL regardless of its host). Phonological dependencies of case particles need further examination.

8   Predicate Phrase

In §5 we discussed predicates composed of one verbal stem core. In this section we will discuss predicates composed of two stem cores: the light verb construction, verbal compounds, auxiliary verbs, and nominal predicates.

8.1   *Verbal Predication*

8.1.1   Light Verb Construction

Light verb constructions are composed of V1 (lexical main verbal) and V2 (light verb). *ar-*, *nar-*, *s-*, and *neer-* function as V2. It is used when a verb is followed by a particle (e.g., *jum-i* followed by the additive particle *≠ma* in (15a)), or when referring to a verb that has already been mentioned (e.g., *s-* refers to *ik-* 'to go' that has already been mentioned in the first sentence in (15b)).

(15) a. *jumima   san   hun   koouna*
         jum-i≠ma   s-ar-n   hun   koow-una
         read-INF   do-NEG-PTCP   book   buy-PROH
         'Do not buy a book that you never read!'

      b. *gakkoonen   ikjun   munma   mukasija   akki   jatan*
         gakkoo≠nen   ik-jur-n   mun≠ma   mukasi≠ja   akk-i   jar-tar-n
         school≠DAT   go-NPST-PTCP   FN≠ADD   past≠TOP   walk   COP-PST-PTCP
         | *attji   sjan*
         | akk-i   s-tar-n
         | walk-SEQ   do-PST-PTCP
         'We used to walk to school. We did so (i.e., to go to school) by walking.'

8.1.2   Verbal Compound

A compound verb is a verbal stem core in which V1 and V2 compose a single verbal stem core. V1 is in the infinitive form. The strength of connection between V1 and V2 varies; some compounds allow V1 to have derivational suffixes (e.g., *-ar-* in the predicate of (16a), but some do not allow this (16b)).

(16) a. *nengazjooga*   *kubararihazimɨti*
         ⟨nengazjoo⟩≥ga   kubar-ar-i+hazimɨr-ti
         new.year's.card≥NOM deliver-PASS-INF+start-SEQ
         'New Year's cards began to be mailed out.'

     b. **utarihugasi*
        ut-ar-i+hugas-i
        hit-PASS-INF+dig-INF

8.1.3   Auxiliary Verb

Single verbal predicate can be formed by the sequential form of a lexical verb as V1 and an auxiliary verb as V2. *ar-* 'to be', *uk-* 'to put', *nii-* 'to see', *kii* 'to come', *neer-* 'not to be', and *kurir-* 'to give' are attested so far.

8.2   *Nominal Predication*

A noun or the infinitive form of a verb may compose a complex predicate with a copular verb (cf. (10)). In a non-past affirmative main predicate, a noun can be the predicate without a copular verb. In other environments, copula or existential verbs appear. See § 5.4.2 for details of V2.

9   The Simple Sentence

9.1   *Sentence Type* (*Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative, Etc.*)

Sentence types can be divided into two main categories: sentences that narrate and sentences that demand something from the other person. The former is a declarative sentences. The latter includes interrogative sentences,[12] imperative sentences, and hortative sentences.

The basic word order in Isen is subject (topic)–indirect object–direct object–predicate. The basic word order basically follows this. In natural discourse,

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12   Interrogative sentences are thought of as a sentence that require an answer to what is being asked.

sentences with a word order that differs from the basic word order can be observed as shown in (17), where the subject *wan⹀ja* follows the predicate *ikjun wakɨjoo*.

(17) *hosjuuzjugjootji   jitjijaa   ikjun   wakɨjoo benkjoo*
     〈hosjuuzjugjoo〉⹀tji jiw-ti⹀jaa ik-jur-n   wakɨ⹀joo 〈benkjoo〉
     remedial.class⹀QUOT say-SEQ⹀CFP go-NPST-PTCP FN⹀CFP study
     siigatji   jitji   wan.ja
     s-i⹀ga⹀tji   jiw-ti   wan⹀ja
     do-INF⹀PUR⹀QUOT say-SEQ 1SG⹀TOP
     'It was called a remedial class. Saying "in order to study", I used to go to remedial class.'

9.1.1   Declarative Sentences

Four inflectional forms of the verb function as the predicate of declarative sentences: *-n* (participle), *-ti* (sequential), *-i* (infinitive), or *-oo* (volitional). (18) shows sentences where the infinitive form (18a) and the sequential form (18b) function as the predicate.

(18) a. *kumanan   wuri*
        kuma⹀nan wur-i
        here⹀LOC   EXT-INF
        'I'm here.'

     b. *umanan   wuti*
        uma⹀nan   wur-ti
        there⹀LOC EXT-SEQ
        'He was there.'

9.1.2   Interrogative Sentences

In interrogative sentences the predicative phrase is marked by *⹀ga*, or *⹀see*. Interrogative words are placed in the same word order as in declarative constructions. That is, they are positioned at the beginning of the sentence when they serve as the subject, and before the verb when they are the object or an adverb.

9.1.3   Imperative and Hortative Sentences

Imperative sentences are marked by *-ee*, or *-ɨ*, and hortative sentences are marked by *-a*.

9.2   *Alignment*

Tokunoshima has marked nominative alignment, whereby subjects of transitive and intransitive sentences are almost always marked by the nominative marker, and objects are never marked. As noted in §7.3, the nominative markers *=ga* and *=nu* are chosen depending on the subject's animacy. Subjects may also be unmarked, although it is rare. Attested unmarked subjects occur in sentences that express weather, existence, or the emergence of things. Since unmarked subjects are observed more often in natural discourse than in elicitation, this complicates investigation under controlled conditions, and requires more data. In addition, subjects of predicates with low transitivity, such as perceptual verbs, potential verbs, and existential verbs, can be marked by the dative case (19).

(19) *wannin.ja*   *saaran*
      wan=nin=ja   sa-ar-ar-n
      1SG=DAT=TOP do-POT-NEG-PTCP
      'I can't do that.'

9.3   *Possession*

There are two possessive constructions: phrasal possession (corresponding to 'my house' in English) and possessive predicates (corresponding to 'I have this.' in English).

Phrasal possessions are encoded through linking a possessor and a possessee by a genitive marker, or by direct modification. Nouns other than personal pronouns modify another noun with the genitive case marker (e.g., *maju=nu mii* (cat=NOM eye) 'cat's eyes').

Pronouns show different patterns of possessive expression in that some are marked by the genitive case marker and some modify a noun directly in a possessive phrase. Out of the 16 pronominal forms in Table 2.6, *wan*, the first-person singular non-fusional, does not occur in possessive phrases. Other non-fusionals and their plural forms, *uri*, *ura*, *uri-taa*, and *ura-taa*, are marked by *=ga* to modify nouns (e.g., *ura=ga jaa* 'your house'). Fusionals and plurals that end with *-kja* modify nouns directly (e.g., *wakkja azja* 'our father'). No possessive structure is attested so far for dual pronouns.

Second, there are two possessive predicates: the dative possessive and the lexical possessive. Locative possessive phrases are composed of a possessee subject, a dative possessor, and an existential verb (20a), and lexical possessives of a possessor subject, a possessee object, and a lexical possessive verb (20b).

(20) a. *wannin.ja   kaninu   nen*
　　　 wan‿nin‿ja   kanɨ‿nu   neer-n
　　　 1SG‿DAT‿TOP money‿NOM NEG.EXT-PTCP
　　　 'I have no money.'

　　 b. *an   tjuja   teegee kani   mutjun*
　　　 an   tju‿ja   teegee kanɨ   mut-tur-n
　　　 that person‿TOP much money have-PROG-PTCP
　　　 'S/he has much money.'

9.4　*Valency Changing Operations*

Subjects are marked by a nominative marker unless they are marked by the additive *‿ma* or topic *‿ja*. Objects are unmarked in active affirmative sentences. This subsection discusses operations that introduce additional arguments and/or change their case marking.

9.4.1　Passive

Passivization derives an intransitive clause from a transitive clause by affixation of the passive suffix *-ar-* onto the verb and an operation on arguments. The original object is raised to the new subject as a patient, and the original subject/agent is lowered to a peripheral argument marked by the dative. For example, the active sentence *maju‿ja nizɨmɨ kam-ar-n* (cat‿TOP mouse eat-PST-PTCP) 'A cat ate a mouse' is passivized into *nizɨmɨ‿ja maju‿nen kam-ar-tar-n* (mouse‿TOP cat‿DAT eat-PASS-PST-PTCP) 'A mouse is eaten by a cat'. The agent (lowered original argument) of a passive phrase often does not appear in the sentence.

In addition, intransitive phrases can be passivized (indirect passive), where the original subject is lowered to a dative argument, and a new noun is introduced as the subject. In indirect passives, physical or psychological harm is inflicted by the dative argument on the new subject. For example, the intransitive sentence *ami‿nu hur-tar-n* (rain‿NOM fall-PST-PTCP) 'It rained' is passivized into *wan‿ja ami‿nen hur-ar-tar-n* (1SG‿TOP rain‿DAT fall-PASS-PST-PTCP) 'I got caught in the rain'.

9.4.2　Causative

There are two processes through which causativization occurs: addition of a derivational suffix and an auxiliary verb.

Through causative derivation, the original object is lowered to the peripheral argument marked by the dative case as a causee, and a new noun is introduced as the causer subject. The original object remains unmarked. For example, the

non-causative sentence *uttu⸗nu hun jum-i* (younger.brother⸗NOM book read-INF) 'My younger brother reads a book' is causativized into *wan⸗ja uttu⸗nen hun jum-as-i* (younger.brother⸗NOM book read-CAUS-INF) 'I make my younger brother read a book'.

   The causative voice is marked by a light verb construction with the causative suffix when a lexical verb is followed by a particle (21a). The causative auxiliary *simɨr-* forms complex causative predicates without the causative suffix (21b).

(21) a. *mun   kooima   satjan*
        mun   koow-i⸗ma   s-as-tar-n
        thing eat-INF⸗ADD   do-CAUS-PST-PTCP
        'I also made someone eat.'

     b. *hun   jumima   simɨtan*
        hun   jum-i⸗ma   simɨr-tar-n
        book read-INF⸗ADD   CAUS-PST-PTCP
        'I also made someone read a book.'

9.5   *Polarity*

The affirmative is the unmarked polarity, and negative is overtly marked. Particular negation (Some S is not P) is encoded by predication. Universal negation (No S is P) is encoded by a combination of an interrogative word and a negative predicate. There are three ways to encode negation in a predicate: suffixation of the negative suffix *-ar-* onto to the main verb, suffixation of the negative suffix onto the light verb, or the negative existential verb. When the verb is not followed by any particle, the negative *-ar-* derives the negative form (e.g., *kak-ar-n* (write-NEG-PTCP)). Table 2.14 summarizes strategies for negation of verbs, adjectives, and nominal predicates. Each class is represented by *kak-* 'write', *aa* 'red', and *wan⸗ja sinsii* 'I am a teacher' respectively. Translations for universal negations are as follows: '(I) don't write anything', 'Nothing is red', and 'No one is a teacher'. 'PTCL' in the table stands for any one of the limit particles and information particles (such as *⸗ma*, *⸗du*, *⸗ja* and so on). Ones enclosed in parentheses may or may not require a particle. Ones NOT indicated in parentheses always require a particle. Thus, while *aa-ku neer-n* is grammatical, *kaki s-ar-n* is ungrammatical. *⸗ma* in universal negations cannot be substituted by any other particle.

9.6   *TAM*

9.6.1   Tense

Two tenses are formally encoded: past and non-past. Past tense is marked by the past verbal suffix *-tar-* or the sequential *-ti*. These two suffixes do not co-occur. Tense is formally expressed only in sequential, focus, infinitive, and participle forms. When *-tar-* occurs, the tense of the predicate is past. Otherwise, the predicate appears as non-past. Other inflectional forms are formally unmarked in terms of tense, and each form has a different interpretation of tense. Finite forms other than focus always refer to irrealis events. Thus, these forms may be interpreted as coding future events. When the sequential form is the predicate of the main clause, it is past tense. When it is the predicate of a subordinate clause, tense interpretation depends on the main clause. Tense interpretation of converbs always depends on the tense of the main clause.

9.6.2   Aspect

There are four aspects formally distinguished: unmarked, perfect (encoded by PST *-tar-*), progressive (*-tur-*), and resultative (*ar-*).[13] Unmarked aspect expresses habitual (e.g., *icima un⸗nan wun* '(I) am always here'), or perfective.

9.6.3   Mood

Irrealis and realis moods are formally distinguished. Finite verbs except the focus form (i.e., imperative, prohibitive, hortative, and volitional) are classified as irrealis, and other forms as non-irrealis. Irrealis verbs always refer to events that have not yet occurred or are virtual. Non-irrealis verbs, despite the terminology, can represent irrealis events when they function as the predicates of conditional clauses.

9.7   *Information Structure and Its Formal Encoding*

Topicalized nouns are marked by the topic particle ⸗*ja*. Nominative particles do not co-occur with the topic marker. Focalized elements are sometimes marked by the focus particle ⸗*du*, which can also co-occur with nominative particles. ⸗*du* appears within focalized sentences in which the speaker recalls the contrast compared to the focalized element.

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13   Functions of each form differ depending on the lexical aspect of the stem cores. The functions of the different lexical aspect types need further examination, and this section gives brief description.

TABLE 2.14   Strategies of negation

	Verb	Adjective	Nominal predicate
Affirmative	kak-jur-n	aa-har-n	wan꞊ja sinsii
NEG suffix, *-ar-*	kak-ar-n	-	-
EXT-NEG, *ar-ar-n*	kak-i ar-ar-n	-	wan꞊ja sinsii(꞊PTCL) ar-ar-n
NEG.EXT, *neer-n*	-	aa-ku(꞊PTCL) neer-n	wan꞊ja sinsii꞊PTCL neer-n
NEG light verb, *s-ar-n*	kak-i꞊PTCL s-ar-n	-	-
Universal negation	nuu꞊ma kak-ar-n	nuu꞊ma aa-ku neer-n/ar-ar-n	taru꞊ma sinsii꞊ja neer-n

(22) *mukasija   jangadu   hanmɛɛ jatan*
     mukasi꞊ja   jan꞊ga꞊du   hanmɛɛ jar-tar-n
     old.time꞊TOP potato꞊NOM꞊FOC food   COP-PST-PTCP
     'Potatoes were the only food at that time.'

In (22), the speaker recalls other foods like rice or bread, and excludes them as candidates for what he was eating at that time.

10   The Complex Sentence

10.1   *Clause Combining Strategies*
10.1.1   Coordination
Coordination of clause is the juxtaposition of syntactically equivalent clauses. A coordinative clause can be formed with the infinitive form, sequential form, or participle form with coordinative particles such as ꞊*siga*, ꞊*naati*.

10.1.2   Subordination
Subordination of clauses is the juxtaposition of syntactically unequivalent clauses. Subordinate clauses are formed with a converb and the sequential form of a verb.

10.2 *Quotatives*

A quotative clause is a clause formed with the quotative marker *=tji*. Any word, phrase or sentence followed by the quotative marker can form a quotative clause. A quotative clause functions as the complement of speech or cognitive verbs.

(23) *arigatooja   simagutjisi   oboradaanitji   jun*
⟨arigatoo⟩=ja simagutji=si oboradaani=tji iw-jur-n
thank.you=TOP local.dialect=INS thank.you=QUOT say-NPST-PTCP
'We say *Oboradaani* in the local dialect for "Thank you".'

10.3 *Insubordination*

A subordinate clause may appear in a sentence without a main clause as in (24).

(24) *ugwasi natikajaa*
ugwasi nar-ti=ka=ja
so   become-SEQ=COND=CFP
'I wish that were true (lit. If it became ...).'

The sequential form of verbs (*-ti*) functions as a predicate of the main clause. This usage of the sequential form may have originally been an insubordination of a dependent clause whose predicate is a sequential verb.

Acknowledgements

Appendix: Sample Text

This appendix presents a monologue text narrated by Mr. Katsumi Ito, a native of Agarebaa village, and recorded by the present author in 2017. The material is an excerpt from Kato (in print). Loanwords are enclosed in angle brackets. The content is about *Amaterasuoomikami*, a deity of traditional Japanese mythology. The version in this appendix is the first half of the story. It goes on to describe an event that will be the origin of the traditional events of Tokunoshima, *Hamauri* and *Miibamakumashi*. After that, they travel to Kagoshima to exterminate the Kumaso (a mythical people of ancient Japan).

(25) *mukasi monosugoka   jii   atamano   an*
mukasi ⟨monosugo⟩-ka   ⟨jii⟩ atama≠no ar-n
old.time tremendous-ADNLZ good head≠NOM EXT-PTCP
wanrjokuno   an   samuraiga   wutanbɛɛ
⟨wanrjoku⟩≠no ar-n   ⟨samurai⟩≠ga wur-tar-n≠bɛɛ
strength≠NOM EXT-PTCP samurai≠NOM EXT-PST-PTCP≠HSY
'Once upon a time, there was a samurai with a smart brain and strength, they say.'

(26) *usjattuja ama kumanan warumonono   wuntjikara*
usjattu≠ja ama kuma≠nan ⟨warumon⟩≠no wur-n≠tji≠ka
then≠CFP there here≠LOC1 bad.guy≠NOM   EXT-PTCP≠QUOT≠COND
sugu uma izi   warumon.o taizi   sii
sugu uma ik-ti   ⟨warumon≠o⟩ taizi   s-ti
soon there go-SEQ bad.guy≠ACC exterminate do-SEQ
'Then, wherever she recognized the emergence of criminals, she went there to destroy them,'

(27) *ka   kundu   mata cɨgi   mata urɨ sjun*
ka   kundu   mata cɨgi   mata urɨ s-jur-n
COND next.time again next.time again it   do-NPST-PTCP
atika   mata mukkonan   warumonno
ar-ti≠ka   mata mukko≠nan   ⟨warumon⟩≠no
EXT-SEQ≠COND again over.there≠LOC1 bad.guy≠NOM
wuntjikara   mata urɨ taizi   siija
wur-n≠tji≠kara   mata urɨ ⟨taizi⟩   s-ti≠ja
EXT-PTCP≠QUOT≠ABL again it   exterminate do-SEQ≠CFP
maati   nihon zenkoku   akkjun
maar-ti   ⟨nihon⟩ ⟨zenkoku⟩   akk-jur-n
go.around-SEQ Japan   whole.country walk-NPST-PTCP
tjunu   wutan
tju≠nu   wur-tar-n
person≠NOM EXT-PST-PTCP
'then, again, when she heard criminals were doing these things, she went thither, and when people said criminals were here, she destroyed them, and she was roaming all over Japan.'

(28) *urɨga   mata daimeega   oosjan   tjujo*
urɨ≠ga   mata ⟨daimee⟩≠ga oosja-har-n   tju≠jo
it≠NOM again title≠NOM   strange-VBLZ-PTCP person≠SFP
'That (person) is a person with a peculiar title.'

(29) *un   tjunu   naaja   amaterasuoomikamitji   wakɨ*
      un   tju⸗nu   naa⸗ja   amaterasuoomikami⸗tji   wakɨ
      that person⸗GEN name⸗TOP Amaterasuoomikami⸗QUOT   reason
      'Her name is Amaterasuoomikami.'

(30) *urɨ uma hansjarikaratjo*
      urɨ uma hansjari⸗kara⸗tjo
      it there grandmother⸗ABL⸗SFP
      'It is, there, from grandmother.'[14]

(31) *usjattu kunduja   mukasija   gunjaka   huniga*
      usjattu kundu⸗ja   mukasi⸗ja   gunja-ka   hunɨ⸗ga
      then   next.time⸗TOP   old.time⸗TOP small-ADNLZ   ship⸗NOM
      gunjaka   mungwanaatija
      gunja-ka   mun-gwa⸗naatɨ⸗ja
      small-ADNLZ   thing-DIM⸗CSL⸗CFP
      'Then, because ships were small in the past,'

(32) *gunjaka   hunɨgwanaatɨ ugwasi kikaija*
      gunja-ka   hunɨ-gwa⸗naatɨ ugwasi ⟨kikai⟩⸗ja
      small-ADNLZ   ship-DIM⸗CSL   INTERJ machine⸗TOP
      neeran
      neer-ar-n
      NEG.EXT-NEG-PTCP
      'because they were small ships, yes, there were no machines,'

(33) *kaisi   kuzidu   akkijasaja*
      ⟨kai⟩⸗si   kug-ti⸗du   akk-i⸗ja⸗sa⸗ja
      oar⸗INS   row-SEQ⸗FOC   walk-INF⸗CFP⸗SFP⸗SFP
      'it was by rowing that they powered the boat (i.e. rowing was the only way
      to navigate the ship because there was no engine in the past).'

(34) *cɨkjaka   tooja   kaisi   kugarjusɨga*
      cɨkja-ka   too⸗ja   ⟨kai⟩⸗si kug-ar-jur-sɨga
      short-ADNLZ   place⸗TOP oar⸗INS   row-POT-NPST-CNC
      'Although they could row across it with oars if it was close enough,'

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14   This sentence does not fit into the context.

(35) *jamatukan*   *watarjuntji*   *natikara*
     jamatu⸗kan   watar-jur-n⸗tji   nar-ti⸗kara
     Yamato⸗ALL2   cross.over-NPST-PTCP⸗QUOT   become-SEQ⸗ABL
     kjoriga   *tuuwan*   *munnaati* *zenzen*   *tairjokutekini*
     ⟨kjori⟩⸗ga   tuu-har-n   mun⸗naati   ⟨zenzen⟩   ⟨tairjoku-teki⟩⸗ni
     distance⸗NOM   far-VBLZ-PTCP   thing⸗CSL   not.at.all physical-SEQ⸗DAT2
     ugattoo kugjuntjima   *saaransaja*
     ugatoo   kug-jur-n⸗tji⸗ma   sa-ar-ar-n⸗sa⸗ja
     thither row-NPST-PTCP⸗QUOT⸗ADD   do-POT-NEG-PTCP⸗SFP⸗SFP
     'they had to cross to Yamato (i.e. the Japanese mainland), but the distance
     was too far and they were not strong enough to row to such a place.'

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Iheya (Okinawa, Northern Ryukyuan)

Salvatore Carlino

1 The Language and Its Speakers

1.1 *Geography*

Iheya is spoken in Iheya village, which extends over Iheya island and Noho island, located north of the Motobu peninsula, in the northern part of the Oki-nawan archipelago. There are five districts in Iheya: Dana, Maedomari, Gakiya, Shimajiri and Noho. The population is about 1200 people. Its economy is mostly based on fishing and agriculture. Whilst it is located in the northern part of Oki-nawa, together with the neighboring island of Izena, Iheya has historically had strong ties with the royal government in Shuri, located in the southern part of the island, since together with Izena it was considered to be the place of origin of the Shō Dynasty, which unified the Okinawan kingdoms of Nanzan, Chūzan, and Hokuzan, and later the whole Ryukyuan archipelago. This relationship may have influenced the language, an influence which manifests itself at the phono-logical, morphological and lexical levels.

1.2 *Language Outline*

Iheya Okinawan (henceforth Iheya) is a regional variation of the Okinawan lan-guage, the language spoken in the Okinawan archipelago. The Okinawan lan-guage belongs to the Northern Ryukyuan language group, which itself belongs to the Ryukyuan language family.[1] There are five districts in Iheya, but the internal linguistic difference between the districts is small. This paper mostly focuses on data collected in Dana.[2] Iheya is an endangered language, its speak-ers being mostly over 60 years old, and the number of speakers about 400. The younger generations may be only semi-fluent or not fluent at all.

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1 In previous literature, Iheya has been before classified as belonging to the so-called Kunigami language, a proposed language group that would include include the dialects of northern Okinawa and southern Amami. However, as pointed out by Pellard (2015), there is no con-vincing basis for this subgroup, and the author will classify it as a member of the Okinawan subgroup.

2 I would like to thank everyone who collaborated with the language survey.
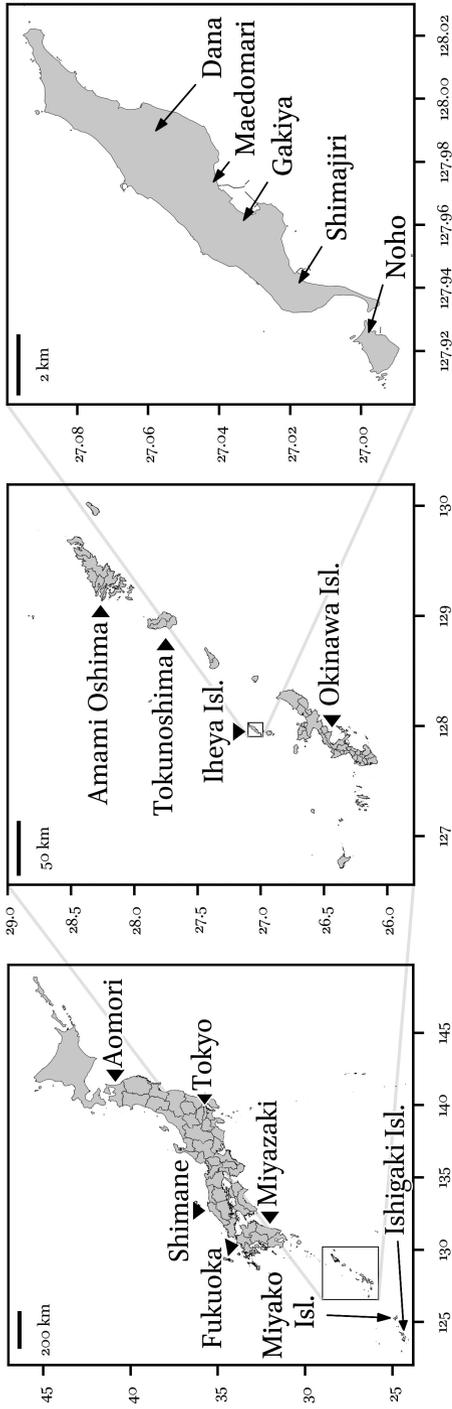
FIGURE 3.1 The location of Iheya

1.3   *Language Contact*

Within the Ryukyus the language of the capital, Shuri, has historically held the position of the prestige language, being the language of the court and the arts. This variety still has influence in the Okinawan archipelago, and many here are actually trilingual, being able to speak Japanese, their local dialect, and to at least at some degree the Shuri dialect. Iheya has always had strong ties with the Shuri court and language contact with speakers from there may have been more frequent than in other regions. Local religious events such as the *Shinugu* and the *Unjami* festivals also make use of the Shuri dialect in songs and rites. Language contact persists today, as many speakers head out to the main island to pursue work and higher education (there are only elementary and middle schools in Iheya), and may also occur through traditional Okinawan folk songs and plays (the so-called *Okinawa shibai*). Language contact is a topic which is need of further investigation.

2   Phonology

2.1   *Phoneme Inventory*

The vowel inventory is as in Table 3.1. /e/ and /o/ are very rare in their short form, some rare examples being /haberu/ [haberu] 'butterfly' and /sakko/ [sakko] 'very'.

TABLE 3.1   Vowels in Iheya

	Front	Central	Back
High	i[i]		u[u]
Mid low	e[e]		o[o]
Low		a[a]	

TABLE 3.2   Consonants in Iheya

	Bilabial	Dental-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p[p] b[b]	t[t] d[d]	k[k] g[g]	ʔ[ʔ]
Nasal	m[m]	n[n, ŋ, ɴ, m]		
Tap		r[ɾ, r]		
Fricative	f[ɸ]	s[s, ɕ]		h[h, ç]

TABLE 3.2   Consonants in Iheya (*cont.*)

	Bilabial	Dental-alveolar			Velar	Glottal
Affricative		c[ts]	č[tɕ, ts]	z[z, dz]		
Glide	w[w]	j[j]				

The consonants are shown in Table 3.2. /p/ is rare and found word-initially only in onomatopoeic words which may be loanwords like /pačipači/ [patɕipatɕi], an onomatopoeia for the sound of hands' clapping, or word-internally as in /uppi/ [uppi] 'only this much'. /d/ may alternate with /r/ in some contexts, such in the reflexive pronoun /duu/ [duu] or [ɾuː] or internally such as in /nadaa/ [naɾaː] / [nadaː] 'tear', but this alternation is unattested in some words such as in /dakii/ [dakiː] 'bamboo' or /Dana/ [Dana], a district in Iheya. /ʔ/[ʔ] is optional and non-phonological in word-initial position before vowels and there are no attested minimal pairs. It is distinctive in front of glides such as in /ʔwaa/ [ʔwaː] 'pig' vs. /waa/ (1.SG) and /ʔjaa/ [ʔjaː] (2.SG) vs. /jaa/ [ʔjaː] 'house'. It also appears before nasals initially such as in /ʔnčaa/ [ʔntɕaː] 'soil'.

/n/ is realized as [n], and as [ŋ] in front of velars /k/ and /g/, as [m] in front of bilabials and [ɴ] in word-final position.

/č/ is realized either as [tɕ] or [ts] in front of /u/, but only as [tɕ] in front of other vowels, so we can have /aččun/ 'to walk' realized as [attɕuɴ] or [attsuɴ] but, for example, with /ačisan/ 'hot' only [atɕisaɴ] is acceptable. In certain words such as like /cukuin/ [tsukuiɴ] 'to make' and /cuin/ [tsuiɴ] 'to hang', only [ts] is acceptable, so it was necessary to postulate another phoneme, /c/ [ts], distinct from /č/. /f/ [ɸ] can be realized as [ɸw] in front of /a/, as in faa [ɸwaː] 'leaf'. Sometimes it is realized as /h/, probably due to the influence of Japanese. It is in a partial complementary distribution with /h/ but is distinctive at least in front of /a/ and /e/, as shown by /faa/ [ɸwaː] 'leaf' vs. /haa/ [haː] 'leather' vs. /fee/ [ɸeː] 'flatulence' and /h-ee/ (do-SEQ). /s/ palatalizes to [ɕ] in front of /i/, as in /asii/ [aɕiː] 'sweat'. /z/ is realized either as [dz] or rarely [z] in front of every vowel but not in front of /i/, so we can have /hiiza/ [hiiza] / [hiːdza] 'goat' and /zii/ [dziː] 'earth' but not *[ziː]. /z/ has been observed to freely alternate with /d/ in one single case: /zuusi/ [dzuːɕi] / [duːɕi] 'rice porridge'. Long consonant segments are limited to voiceless stops such as in /uttuu/ 'younger sibling', fricative /s/ as in /assamijo/ (an interjection), the voiceless affricate /tɕ/ i.e. /aččun/ [attɕuɴ] and the nasal /n/ i.e. /kennaa/ [kennaː] 'arm'.

2.2 *Mora, Syllable and Phonotactics*

The mora is an important unit in Iheya, as it is the tone-bearing unit. Because of the existence of word minimality, words must be at least 2-morae long in Iheya, being realized either as (C)VV (either as a diphthong i.e., /fai/ 'needle' or a long vowel i.e., /haa/ 'skin') or (C)VC (only the nasal /n/ [ɴ] is allowed in word-final position) i.e., /čin /[tɕiɴ] 'clothing', /in/ [iɴ] 'dog'. The syllable structure is (P) (C_0) (C_1) (G) V_1 (V_2) (C_2), with a bare V_1 in its minimal form. P is a special pre-onset slot[3] which does not carry any weight and may only be filled by /ʔ/. C_0 can only be filled by /n/. Any consonant but /ʔ/ can fill C_1. Glides fill G. Any vowel can fill V_1 and V_2. Any sequence of the same vowel is acceptable, but with diphthongs V_2 can usually only be filled by /i/. In the coda, /n/, /s/ and any voiceless stops or affricates may appear, but word-finally only /n/ is acceptable.

2.3 *Phonological Rules*

The phonological rule of sequential voicing will be described. In Iheya verbs the final consonant of verbal bases changes according to the following suffixes, and this alternation will be described in § 3.5. In compounds the onset consonant of the second element of the compound may undergo sequential voicing; that is, a voiceless segment can change into a voiced sound. For example /tamana/ [tamana] 'cabbage' and /haruu/ [haruː] 'field' compound to form /tamanabaruu/ [tamanabaruː] 'cabbage field'. Sequential voicing is blocked if the second element already contains a voiced obstruent as in /nisikazi/ (/*nisigazi/) 'northerly wind'; this is so-called Lyman's law.

2.4 *Word-Level Prosody*

Iheya is a pitch-accent language. The position of a high pitch within the word is lexically determined and it is distinctive, as in /kii/ (HH) 'hair' vs /kii/ (LH) 'tree'. There are two to three different patterns for accent realization for nominals and two each for verbs and adjectives. Monosyllabic words have two accent patterns. Disyllabic and longer nouns have three patterns. These patterns will be called A, B and C.[4] Type-A nouns have a high pitch assigned from the word-initial mora, so /kii/ 'hair' and /mizi/ 'water' have a HH pattern. With longer nouns a pitch fall becomes noticeable so /kugani/ 'gold' is realized as HHL. Type-B nouns have a high pitch on the final mora, as in /kii/ LH 'tree'. Disyllabic and longer nouns which belong to this class also undergo vowel lengthening

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3   This kind of special slot in Japonic was first proposed by Shimoji (2008, 2017).

4   These three types correspond to the three tonal classes proposed by Matsumori (2012), thought to exist in proto-Ryukyuan. Exceptions are monosyllabic tonal class-C words, which are realized either as type-A (*ʔwaa* 'pig') or B (*mee* 'front').

when uttered in isolation, as in /fanaa/ 'flower'. In type-B nouns the final high pitch moves to the right when a particle is attached to the noun, so /jamaa/ 'mountain' is realized as LLH, but /jama↗ga/ is realized as LL↗H. With type-C nouns, the high tone is assigned to the final mora of the noun, but it does not move even if a particle is attached, so /nuumi/ 'flea' is always realized as LLH. Verbs and adjectives have two types of accent realization, called A and B. Type-A verbs start with a high tone, while in type-B verbs the pitch rise is on the last mora, so the type-A verb /meein/ 'to burn (intransitive)' is realized as HHLL, while its transitive counterpart /meefun/ is LLLH. As with verbs, type-A adjectives have a level tone contour, as in /mii-sa-/ HH-L 'new', while in type-B adjectives the pitch rise is on the final part of the adjective stem as in /nii-sa-/ LL-H 'slow'.

2.5   *Intonation*

In this section interrogative intonation will be described. In the world languages the intonation of interrogative sentences varies, with many languages having a rising intonation in polar questions (Gordon 2006). In Iheya both polar and content questions take a non-rising intonation when a form which has an interrogative meaning is present, that is an interrogative word (in content questions), an interrogative suffix or clitic. A rising intonation may be used when these are absent, and this is common in echo questions. In previous research, a similar behavior has been described by Nagano-Madsen (2015) for the Shuri dialect, where a terminal pitch rise is not used to express questions, since interrogative meaning is morphologically expressed. However, Nagano-Madsen does not mention what happens when forms with interrogative meaning are absent.

3   Descriptive Units

3.1   *Morphological Units*

Grammatical and phonological words, root, stem, base, affix and clitics will be defined.

3.1.1   Root, Stem, Base

A root is a minimal form bearing meaning which can not be divided into other morphemes (i.e. *jum-* 'to read'). A stem is what results after inflectional suffixes are removed. For example, in *jum-ari-ta-n* (read-PASS-PST-IND), *jum-ari-* would be the passive stem. A base is a connecting point from the viewpoint of the affix. Roots, stems and bases may be bound or free. In this chapter, property-

concept (Thompson 1988; for its first use in Japonic see Shimoji 2008, 2017) roots will also be used as a descriptive unit. Property-concept roots bear meanings such as color, age, dimension and value. A PC root does does not by itself have a word class, and it takes different suffixes to function as different word classes, such as adjectives or adverbs (see §6 for details).

3.1.2 Affixes and Clitics
An affix is a morpheme dependent on its host phonologically and syntactically, and has roots and stems as hosts. A clitic is phonologically dependent, and takes words, phrases, clauses and sentences as hosts.

3.1.3 Phonological Words and Grammatical Words
A phonological word has to fulfill two main requirements to be independent: 1) it must be at least two morae long (word minimality); 2) it must have accent assigned to it (§2.4). A grammatical word consists minimally of a free root, and has semantic or grammatical meaning. It may consist of a single free root or may be formed from different elements. The order of these elements is fixed.

3.2 *Word Classes*
As word classes, we can recognize nominals, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, particles and interjections. Nominals include as subcategories lexical nouns, numerals, pronouns, nominal demonstratives and nominal interrogatives. Nominals fill the head slot of a argument phrase. Verbs head a predicate and can inflect for tense and mood. Adjectives can be divided into inflecting adjectives, which are similar to verbs and inflect for tense and mood, and non-inflecting adjectives which are similar to nouns and indicate tense and mood information by the use of a copular verb. Adverbs modify adjectival/verbal predicates, clauses and whole sentences. Particles are clitics which attach to phrases, clauses or sentences, and have grammatical and pragmatic meanings. They can be divided into case particles, limitative particles, information-structure particles, modal particles, conjunctive particles and sentence final particles. Interjections express a number of meanings such as surprise (e.g. *assami*), or pain (e.g. *agaa*), or function as discourse markers as *too*, a function marker with no clear meaning.

3.3 *Grammatical Relations*
As grammatical relations, we can recognize the subject, object and indirect object. A typical subject can be identified as follows: 1) Is usually marked with the nominative case; 2) semantically is usually the agent or the experiencer; 3) is the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun if present; 4) is in an agreement

TABLE 3.3   Iheya pronouns

	Referent	Singular	Plural
Personal pronoun	1st person	*waa*, *wan*	*wattaa*
	2nd person	*ʔjaa*	*ittaa*
		ura	*urataa*
		uga (polite)	*ugataa* (polite)
Reflexive		*duu*	*duunaa, duunaataa, duutaa* (2.PL)

relationship with honorific forms if present; 5) comes early in the sentence. The typical direct object 1) takes the accusative case (unmarked); 2) semantically is usually the target; 3) usually comes after the subject. The indirect object 1) takes the dative case; 2) is semantically a goal, a recipient, or in causative constructions the causee.

4   Nominals

In this section nominals will be described. Nominals include pronouns, lexical nouns, numerals, nominal demonstratives and interrogatives. Nominal demonstratives will be described in §7.4, and nominal interrogatives in §7.5.

4.1   *Pronouns*

In this section personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns will be described. Iheya is a so-called two-person language (Bhat 2008) that is a language which only has first and second person pronouns. The demonstratives *uri* (proximate/mesial demonstrative) and *ari* (distal demonstrative) may be used to indicate a third person, *uri* if this person is present, *ari* if s/he is absent. There is also a reflexive pronoun, *duu*. The pronouns of Iheya are summarized in Table 3.3. Number marking is obligatory with pronouns.

Iheya has two first-person singular pronouns, *waa* and *wan*. There is only one plural form, *wattaa*. Compared to *wan*, the use of *waa* is limited, and it can only be used with genitive and nominative case markers. There are three second-person pronouns, *ʔjaa*, *ura*[5] and *uga*. Their respective plural forms are *ittaa*,

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5   *ʔjaa* and *ura* are cognates, and one of the two may have re-entered the dialect as a loanword, but this topic needs further investigation.

urataa, and *ugataa*. *ʔjaa* and *ura* are used with listeners of the same or lower social standing and age, but *ura* is more polite than *ʔjaa*. A speaker mentioned that his father would use *ura* with his male firstborn and *ʔjaa* with all his daughters and younger sons. *Uga* is the most polite, and it is used with listeners older than or of a higher social standing than the speaker. *Duu* is the reflexive pronoun in Iheya. It is also used as a second person pronoun, a feature until now unattested in other Ryukyuan languages. In (36) *duu* is used to address another speaker, to ask if the area he is talking about is a certain area in Okinawa.

(36) *duuga*   *isija*   ⟨*Isikawa*⟩?
     duu=ga   i-si=ja   ⟨Isikawa⟩
     REFL=NOM say-COMP=TOP Ishikawa
     'Is what you are talking about Ishikawa?'

Duu has three plural forms, *duunaa*, *duunaataa* and *duutaa*. The first two have the reflexive plural meaning, but *duutaa* is used only as a second-person plural.

4.2 *Lexical Nouns*
Lexical nouns include all the other types of nouns, proper and common.

4.3 *Nominal Affixes*
We can find nominal prefixes and suffixes in Iheya.

4.3.1 Nominal Prefixes
There are few prefixes and they are low in productivity, such as the polite suffix *u-* which occurs only with a small number of nouns like *učaa* 'tea'. *uu-* and *mii-* prefix onto only a limited range of nouns. One example is *mun* 'thing' as in *uumun* 'male animal' and *miimun* 'female animal'. In other Okinawan varieties such as in Shuri *mii-* and *uu-* are also see in words such as *miidui* 'male bird' and *uudui* 'female bird', and these may also be present in Iheya.

4.3.2 Suffixes
As suffixes we can find diminutive, plural, and exemplative suffixes. The diminutive suffix is *-gwaa*, such as in *ingwaa* 'small dog/puppy'. In some cases the suffixed version is more common than the suffix-less version, such as in the case of *amigwaa* 'candy'. A variation of *-gwaa*, *-nkwaa* is used with the so-called *yagō*, that is the traditional name of a home, as a physical building. When one member of a family moves out to a new house somewhere, they may bring the

yagō with them, so someone who has moved out of the *yagō Asataa* may be given the new *yagō Asatankwaa* for their new home.

There are plural suffixes in Iheya, but number marking is optional with lexical nouns. Inanimate lexical nouns are not marked for number. The plural suffixes are *-taa*, *-nčaa* (also appears as *-nučaa*), and *-naa*. *-taa* can be used with human-related nouns (for example *sinsiitaa* 'teachers'), personal pronouns, demonstratives (see §4.1, §7.4), and in some cases with animals. It cannot be used with certain human-related nouns, such as *duusi* 'friend'. Regarding animals, its use is limited. One speaker accepted *majataa* 'cats' but not *ʔwaataa* 'pigs' as grammatical. There may be idiolectical variation and further investigation is needed. The use of *-nčaa/-nučaa* is more limited, and is only used with human-related nouns, as in *warabinčaa* 'children'. *-taa* can also be used as an associative plural, to mean 'someone and the people associated with them'. *-naa* only connects to the reflexive pronoun *duu*, resulting in *duunaa*. As exemplative suffixes, we find *-nagee*, *-sinkaa* and *-rika*. *-nagee* is productive, but the use of *-sinkaa* is limited to indicating someone who has a relation with the noun it connects to. *-sinkaa* has been observed in cases such as *simazirisinkaa* and *uumisinkaa*. *Simaziri* is the name of a district in Iheya, and in this case it means 'people from Shimajiri', while with *uumi* 'sea' it is used to mean people whose work involves the sea, such as fishermen. The last exemplative suffix *-rika* is affixed to place demonstratives as in *uma-rika* (here-APPROX) 'around here'.

4.4   *Nominal Compounds*

Lexical nouns undergo compounding, such as in the case of *ikigauttu*, formed by *ikiga* 'man' and *uttuu* 'younger sibling' resulting in 'male younger sibling'. There are words which are historically compounds which then lexified, such as *ujakkwa* 'parent and child'. Compound nouns may also form with a PC root or a verbal stem as its first element, such as *magiutu* (*magi+utu* big+sound) 'loud sound' or *kamimun* (*kam-i+mun* eat-THM+thing) 'food'.

4.5   *Numerals*

Numerals are formed by a numeral root plus a quantifier suffix, such as in *tii-či* (one-QTF) 'one', where *tii-* is the numeral root and *-či* is the quantifier suffix. Numeral roots and quantifiers may be of native (such the above-mentioned *tiiči*) or Sino-Japanese origin (such as *gunin* 'five people'). Different quantifier suffixes are used depending on the referent. For example *-či* is used in general for non-human entities, *-kei* for number of times. There is also a suffix which used for people which has many allomorphs (see Table 3.4). For people, native numeral roots and suffixes are used up to four, and Sino-Japanese numerals and suffixes for five and up.

TABLE 3.4   Iheya numerals

Number	General	Person	Times	Number	General	Person	Times
1	*tii-či*	*čuu-i*	*ču-kei*	6	*muu-či*	*ruku-nin*	*mu-kei*
2	*taa-či*	*ta-i*	*ta-kei*	7	*nana-či*	*siči-nin*	
3	*mii-či*	*mič-čai*	*mi-kei*	8	*jaa-či*	*hači-nin*	
4	*juu-či*	*jut-tai*	*ju-kei*	9	*kukunu-či*	*ku-nin*	
5	*iči-či*	*gu-nin*		10	*tuu*	*zuu-nin*	

5   Verbs

In this section verbal morphology will be described. Verbs fill the predicative slot in a clause and inflect for tense and mood. The structure of the verb is as follows: root-(derivative suffix)-inflectional suffix. Morphologically, verbs are sub-categorized by base-ending: verbs with a base ending in a consonant and those ending in a vowel. There are also irregular verbs. Verbs whose base ends in a vowel take *-i* as a non-past suffix, and in some cases this may have zero realization, so 'to buy' may be realized as *koo-∅-n* or *koo-i-n*. Verb bases which end in *-i* always have zero marking, such as *uki-∅-n* 'to wake up'.

Consonant-base verbs take *-u* as a non-past suffix, such as *jum-u-n* 'to read'. With consonant base verbs the verb's base-final consonant changes according to the connecting suffix (see § 5.1). Other verbs such as *sun/fun* 'to do' and *čun* 'to come' will be classified as irregular verbs, since they have many suppletive forms in their paradigm as can be seen in Table 3.6. With the verb 'to do' we have two forms, *sun/fun*, where /s/ alternates with /f/ or /h/ depending on the form. The form *fun* may be a newer form, while the *sun* form may have entered the lexicon as a loanword. Examples of the verbal paradigm are given in Table 3.6.

5.1   *Verb-Base Alternation*

TABLE 3.5   Base alternation in consonant-base verbs

	NPST	PST	NEG	IMP	PROG	PASS	CAUS
	-u	*-ta*	*-ran*	*-ree*	*-joo*	*-rari*	*-ras*
read	*jumun*	*judan*	*juman*	*jumee*	*jumoon*	*jumarin*	*jumasun*
play	*asibun*	*asidan*	*asiban*	*asibee*	*asiboon*	*asibarin*	*asibasun*

TABLE 3.5   Base alternation in consonant-base verbs (*cont.*)

	NPST	**PST**	**NEG**	**IMP**	**PROG**	**PASS**	**CAUS**
wait	*mačun*	*mačan*	*makan*	*makee*	*mačoon*	*makarin*	*matasun*
write	*kačun*	*kačan*	*kakan*	*kakee*	*kačoon*	*kakarin*	*kakasun*
swim	*eezun*	*eezan*	*eegan*	*eegee*	*eezon*	*eegarin*	*eegasun*
kill	*kuruf/sun*	*kuručan*	*kuruh/san*	*kuruh/see*	*kuruh/soon*	*kuruh/sarin*	*kurusimin*

In this section morphological alternations of verb bases will be described. In Iheya the bases of consonant-ending verb stems alternate depending on the following affix. In their underlying form, affixes are divided into consonant-initial affixes (*r*-affixes such as passive -*rari*-, *t*-affixes like past -*ta*-, *j*-affixes like progressive -*joo*-), and vowel affixes, such as sequential -*ee*. Consonant-initial affixes lose their initial consonant when connected to consonant bases. The final consonants of verbal bases alternate according to the following suffix. This alternation is predictable in most cases, but there are exceptions.

With -*m* base verbs such as *jumun*, the base consonant does not change with *r*-, *j*- and vowel affixes, as in *juman* 'don't read' *jumoon* 'reading', and it changes to *d*- with *t*-affixes (*judan* read.PST.IND), but sometimes appears with an -*n* base with the non-past affix -*u*- and *t*-affixes (i.e. *junun, junan*). With -*g* bases the base is -*g* with *r*-affixes (as in *eegan* 'don't swim') but palatalizes to -*z* with vowel affixes, *j*- and *t*-affixes such as in the past form *eezan* 'swam' and progressive *eezoon* 'swimming'. -*b* base verbs as *asibun* 'to play' change with *t*-affixes, such as in the past form *asidan* 'played', but as with -*m* base verbs, a -*n* base variation is seen in the non-past and with bases which take *t*-affixes (i.e. *asinun, asinan*). With -*k* verbs the consonant is -*k* with *r*-affixes, as in negative form *kakan* 'not to write' and -*č* with *t*-, *j*- and vowel affixes, as in *kačan* 'wrote' or the sequential form *kačee*. -*t* verbs are highly irregular, as they have a -*t* consonant base with the causative suffix -*ras*- as in *matasun* 'to make someone wait', but behave as -*k* base verbs in other cases, so with the other *r*-affixes such passive -*rari*- it is realized as *makarin* 'to be waited for' and not **matarin*. Verbs whose base ends in a *s*- have a paradigm similar to the verb *sun/fun* (see Table 3.6), with the one difference that the past form is, for example, *kuručan* 'killed' and not **kurusičan*.

5.2   *Inflectional Morphology*
Examples of verbal inflection for tense and mood are shown in Table 3.6. The indicative mood comes after a tense suffix, but other mood suffixes cannot

occur with tense suffixes and connect directly to the root, such as in impera-
tive *numee* 'drink!'.

TABLE 3.6   Verbal inflection

Mood	Tense	Example			
		'to buy'	'to read'	'to do'	'to come'
Indicative	Non-past	*koo(i)n*	*jumun*	*sun/fun*	*čun*
	Past	*kootan*	*judan*	*sičan*	*čan*
	Past(2)	*kooitan*	*jumutan*	*sutan/futan*	*čutan*
Volitive		*kooraa*	*jumaa*	*saa/haa*	*čaa*
Conditional		*kooruwa*	*jumuwa*	*suwa/fuwa*	*kuwa/čuwa*
Interrogative		*koojoo*	*jumoo*	*soo/hoo*	*koo*
Imperative		*kooree*	*jumee*	*see/hee*	*kee*
Prohibitive		*koorankee*	*jumankee*	*sankee/hankee*	*kunkee*

5.3   -i *Form Verbs*

Verb bases take a thematic vowel *-i* (this is different from the non-past suffix
-i)[6] to form an *-i* stem verb. This stem has a number of functions. First it may
function as the base for a number of suffixes, such as the suffix *-gači* which
expresses a simultaneous action, as in *kam-i-gači* (eat-THM-SIM) 'while eating'.
The *-i* form is also used when the verb is part of a light verb construction, where
it takes an information-structure particle (§ 9.1.1). In other cases it may function
as a nominal. This can be observed in compounds (see § 9.1.1).

5.4   *Derivational Morphology*

Derivation is used to express polarity with the suffix *-ran-*, aspect with *-joo-* and
voice in passives with the suffix *-rari-* and in causatives with the suffix *-ras-*. The
order of the voice suffixes is causative-passive, and aspect or polarity come after
these, as in *ha-ras-ari-joo-n* (run-CAUS-PASS-PROG-IND) 'To be made to run' or
ha-ras-ari-ra-n (run-CAUS-PASS-NEG-IND) 'Not to be made to run'. Polarity and
aspect suffixes do not co-occur, but a negative progressive construction may
be formed by an auxiliary verb construction with the verb *neen* as an auxiliary
verb (see § 9.1.1). This seems to be rarely used.

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6   The notion of thematic vowel common in Indo-European linguistics was first introduced into
     Ryukyuan linguistics by Shimoji (2008, 2017).

5.5   *Existential Verbs and the Copula*

There are two types of existential verb, *un* (alternative form *uin*) which is used for animate entities and *an* (alternative form *ain*) for inanimate entities. As a copula we can find three different forms. One is *jan*, and another *dan*. It is possible that *jan* is a loan from Okinawa. Another form is *deeru*, which is limited in use. The negative copula has the suppletive form, *aran* (also pronunced *anan*).

6   Adjectival Expressions

Adjectives can be divided into inflected and non-inflected. Inflected adjectives are derived from property-concept roots (see §3.1.1) to which an adjectivizer suffix *-sa-* has been attached, and they are similar to verbs in that they take tense and mood suffixes. Non-inflected adjectives are more similar to nominals as they take a copular verb to express tense, polarity, mood and focus. Next the internal structure of the two types of adjectives will be introduced.

6.1   *Inflected Adjectives*

Inflected adjectives are formed from a PC root and the adjectival suffix *-sa-* (also pronounced *-ha-*) and inflect for tense and mood. The combination of a PC root and the *-sa-* affix will be called an adjectival stem, so for example in *taka-sa-n* (tall-ADJ-IND) 'tall', *taka-* is the PC root, and *taka-sa-* is the adjectival stem. Tense and mood suffixes attach to the stem, so the past form of *taka-sa-n* would be *taka-sa-ta-n*, with *-ta* and *-n*. The non-past form is always unmarked for tense.

   PC roots can form an adverbial form with the adverbial suffix *-ku*, so from the PC root *kuru-* 'black' one can form the adjectival stem *kuru-sa-* and adverbial stem *kuru-ku*, such as in *čin kuru-ku simi-ta-n* (clothing black-ADV dye-PST-IND) 'dyed some clothing black'. An adverbial form can also be formed by reduplication of the root and affixation of the suffix *-tu*, as in *kuru-guru-tu* (black-black-ADV). In a very small number of inflected adjectives the suffix *-sa-* appears to have fused with the original root, such as in *wassan* 'bad', *gassan* 'light', *mussan* 'funny'. In these cases the PC root has incorporated the *-sa-* suffix. In order to form an adverbial form from this, the adverbial suffix *-ku* is directly connected, so 'lightly' is realized as *gassa-ku* and not **gas-ku* or **gak-ku*.

6.2   *Non-inflected Adjectives*

In non-inflected adjectives tense and mood information is indicated with the use of a copular verb. Non-inflected adjectives are few in number and are

mostly loanwords, like *zootoo* 'good' (Sino-Japanese *zjootoo* 'good'). Non-inflected adjectives stand as free roots and do not need an adjectivizer *-sa-*, but some have an inflected version which takes *-sa-*, like *ganzuu* 'sturdy, healthy' which also has an inflected form: *ganzuusan*.

7   Class-Changing Derivation

7.1   *Nominalizations*
Adjective stems with *-sa/ha-* can express a nominal meaning, such as in *takasa* 'height' (compare *takasan* 'high'). Adjectives and verbs which take the suffix *-si* behave like nominals in that they appear as the head in a nominal phrase, such as in *ganzuuhan* 'robust' becoming *ganzuuhasi* 'a robust one' or *numusi* 'the one that (someone) drinks' from *numun* 'to drink'. Verbs which take *-si* seems to be unable to take modifiers or suffixes which nominals usually take. Verbs that take the thematic vowel *-i* also behave as nominals, usually in compounds such as *sakinumi* (*saki+num-i* (alcohol+drink-THM) 'drinking').

7.2   *Verbalization*
It is hard to find true verbalization in Iheya, as in the formation of a verb stem from other word classes. Some nominals can take a light verb to express an action, such as with the noun *siwa* 'worry' becoming *siwa sun* 'to worry'. With human emotion-related adjectives, the adjective stem may take a light verb, such as in *utura-sa s-u-n* (scary-ADJ do-NPST-IND) 'to be afraid of'.

7.3   *Adjectivizations*
Adjectivization is possible with nouns and verbs through compounding where the second element is an adjective, such as in *tii+guma-sa-n* (hand+small-ADJ-IND) 'skillful, precise'. A productive case is seen with the desiderative form of verbs, in which the adjective *fussan* 'to want' is connected to the verb stem, such as in *num-i+bussa-n* (drink-THM+to.want-IND) 'wanting to drink'. Similar productive cases include the use of adjectives *jassan* 'easy' and *gurisan* 'hard' to express 'easy to' and 'hard to' as in *s-i+jassa-n* (do-THM+easy-IND) 'easy to do'.

7.4   *Demonstratives*
'Demonstratives' indicates a functional category, whose members belong to different word classes. Demonstratives and the classes they belong to are summarized in Table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7   Iheya demonstratives

Word class	Category	Prox/Mes	Distal	Word class	Category	Prox/Mes	Distal
Nmn.	Ent.	*uri*	*ari*	Adv.	Mann.2	*untee*	*antee*
	Ent. (PL)	*uttaa*	*attaa*	Adn.	Qlt.	*untunu*	*antunu*
Nmn.	Place	*uma/ʔmaa*	*ama*	Adv./Nmn.	Qnt.	*ussa*	*assa*
Adn.	Adn.	*unu*	*anu*	Adv.	Qnt.2	*uppi*	NA
Adv.	Mann.	*untu*	*antu*				

Entity demonstratives (demonstratives that indicate entities, mostly humans but in some cases non-humans) and place demonstratives are nominals and will be grouped under 'nominal demonstratives'. Adnominal demonstratives are named after the class they belong to. Manner demonstratives are adverbs. Quantity demonstratives are more similar to nominals as they appear as modifiers in the AP phrase. Demonstratives have a two-way distinction, one class with a proximate or mesial meaning, and another with distal meaning. This differs from many Japanese-Ryukyuan languages that have a three-way distinction. There are two demonstrative roots, one for proximate/mesial that is *u-*, and one for distal, that is *a-*. These connect directly to a demonstrative suffix like *-ri* or *-ma*, but in some cases, there is insertion of a nasal /n/ or the gemination of the following consonant such as with the quantity demonstratives *ussa* and *uppi*. The proximate root *ku-* can be seen in fused forms as *arikuri* 'this and that' and *amakuma* 'here and there'. The demonstrative *uma* may also be realized as *ʔmaa*. The manner demonstratives *untee* and *antee* may have originated from the grammaticalization of the sequential form of the verb *sun* 'to do', *see*, with the fricative becoming a stop, so these forms may have originated as a verbal demonstratives.

7.5   *Interrogative Words and Indefinite Pronouns*
Interrogative words are as in Table 3.8. The same interrogative word may belong to different word classes, so the place interrogative *iči* may behave like a nominal and take case particles or modify the verb like an adverb. Indefinite words are formed from interrogative words. Specific indefinite words are formed by adding the indefinite suffix *-gara* such as in *taa-gara* 'someone' while unspecified indefinite words are formed with the additive particle *=n* such as in *taa=n* 'no one'.

TABLE 3.8   Iheya interrogative words

Word class	Target	Interrogative	Word class	Target	Interrogative
Nominal	Person	*taa*	Adverb	Reason	*nuuga*
Nominal	Person plural	*tattaa*	Adverb	Manner	*ičaa*
Nominal	Thing	*nuu*	Adverb	Manner 2	*čaa*
Nominal	Place	*maa*	Adverb	Manner 3	*ičantu*
Nominal	Place 2	*daa*	Adverb	Manner 4	*čantu*
Nominal/Adverb	Time	*iči*	Adverb	Manner 5	*ičantee*
Nominal	Selective	*duuri*	Adnominal	Quality	*ičantunu*
Nominal/Adverb	Degree	*čassa*	Adnominal	Quality 2	*čantunu*
Adverb	Quantity	*iku-*			

There are two forms for the place interrogative, *daa* and *maa*.[7] The quantity interrogative root *iku-* can take different numeral suffixes depending on what is being counted, for example *-či* for generic things, *-tai* for people, *-kei* for times (see §4.5). Value, selection and manner interrogative words are morphologically related to the corresponding demonstratives.

8   Argument Phrase

The Argument Phrase (AP) consists in a modifier and a head. In (37) the adjective *čurasan* 'beautiful' fills the modifier slot, while *fanaa* fills the head slot.

(37) *čurasanu*   *fanaa*
      čura-sa-nu   fana
      beatiful-ADJ-ADN flower
      'A beautiful flower'

8.1   *The Head*
The head is filled by a nominal. Some nominals may appear only if they are modified; these are formal nouns with an abstract meaning, which have many

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7   *daa* and its variations can be widely seen in the Ryukyus, while *maa* is mostly seen in Southern-Central Okinawa, so this may be a loanword.

TABLE 3.9 Case particles in Iheya

Particle	Case	Function	Particle	Case	Function
⸗ga⸗/nu/⸗∅	Nominative	Subject	⸗kara	Ablative	Point of origin
⸗ga⸗/nu/⸗∅	Genitive	Possession	⸗madi	Limitative	Goal
Unmarked	Accusative	Direct object	⸗nkan	Comparative	Comparison
⸗ke	Dative	Indirect object	⸗hee	Instrumental	Instrument, cause
⸗tu	Comitative	Company	⸗ni	Locative	Location

functions such as showing intention as with *čimui* or forming a temporal clause such with *baa*.

8.2   *The Modifier*
Adnominal clauses, adnominal demonstratives or another AP taking the genitive can stand as a modifier. Verbs and inflected adjectives take the *-nu* affix in order to act as a modifier. Non-inflected adjectives do not need any affix, as in *zootoo čin* 'a good piece of clothing'.

8.3   *Case and Other Role Markings*
Case is marked with case particles. Case particles in Iheya are summarized in Table 3.9.

Iheya is a marked nominative language, as the nominative case is marked morphologically while the accusative is unmarked. In Iheya an animacy scale influences case marking, this scale may be represented as: personal pronouns > human-related > non-human entities. In the Okinawan language it is common to have distinction by animacy in the use of the nominative particle, ⸗*ga* for nouns with high animacy and ⸗*nu* for low animacy. In Iheya even older speakers seem to have lost this distinction, and ⸗*ga* is widely used. However, with the genitive case, which uses the same particle, there is still a clear distinction, so that pronouns and human-related nominals (including personal names) take ⸗*ga* and other words lower on the animacy scale take ⸗*nu*. The genitive can also be zero-marked for personal pronouns and when nominals take the plural suffix *-taa* such as in *wattaa jaa* (1.PL house) 'our home' or in *X-taa mun* (X-PL thing, where x is a personal name) 'X's place'. One feature of Iheya is that the accusative case is used with adjectival predicates, so one may say *zin fussa-n* (money.ACC want.ADJ-IND) 'I want money', where *zin* takes the accusative case.

9   Predicate Phrase

Verbal, adjectival and nominal predication will be described below.

9.1   *Verbal Predication*

Simple and complex verbal predicates can be distinguished. In simple verbal predicates there is one verb stem. Complex verbal predicates with more than one stem are examined below.

9.1.1   Complex Verbal Predicates

As complex verbal predicates we find compound-verb constructions (CVC) and serial-verb constructions (SVC). CVCs include lexical compounds and syntactic compounds. In the first the meaning of the second part of the compound is preserved such as in *tatačikumun* 'to hammer in', in which the two meanings of hitting/hammering something (*tatačun*) and inserting (*kumun*) are preserved, while in syntactic compounds the second element takes a grammatical meaning such as completion, as in *numisimain* 'to finish drinking'.

SVCs include symmetrical constructions and asymmetrical constructions. In symmetrical constructions there is no restriction on what verbs can be compounded. In asymmetrical constructions, one of the two verbs is taken from a closed class of verbs used to express aspect, voice, movement and other meanings.

As asymmetrical SVCs we have light verb constructions and auxiliary verb constructions. In light verb constructions, the main verb takes the thematic stem form and an information-structure particle. As a light verb we have the verb *sun/fun* 'to do'. The meaning of these constructions is not clear. Tense and mood are shown on the light verb, as we can see in (38) where the tense is shown on the verb 'to do'.

(38) ⟨*nenzuu*⟩   *mizunu*   *airu*   *futasee.*
     ⟨nenzuu⟩   mizu⸗nu   a-i⸗ru   f-uta⸗see
     all.the.year   water⸗NOM   exist-THM⸗FOC   do-PST2⸗EXP
     'There was water all year long.'

In auxiliary verb constructions the main verb takes the sequential form, and the auxiliary verb fully inflects for tense and mood. Auxiliary verbs and their functions are summarized in Table 3.10.

TABLE 3.10 Auxiliary verbs in Iheya

	Function	Verb	Lexical source
Aspect	Undesiderable result	*neen*	existential verb *neen* 'to not exist'
	Result	*an*	existential verb *an* 'to exist'
	Completion	*un*	existential verb *un* 'to exist (animate)'
	Progression	*aččun*	verb *aččun* 'to walk'
Movement		*nzun*	verb *nzun* 'to go'
		čun	verb *čun* 'to come'
Voice	Benefactive	*turasun*	verb *turasun* 'to give, to take'
Other	to try to	*nčun*	verb *nčun* 'to see'
		učun	verb *učun* 'to put'

neen indicates the completion of an action with an undesirable result. In (39) the speaker is speaking sadly about a type of tree which is going extinct in Iheya.

(39) *muru cubuee   neen.*
      muru cubu-ee nee-m
      all   die-SEQ exist.NEG-IND
      'They are all dead.'

un indicates a perfective aspect (see §10.6.2). *Aččun* indicates a progressive aspect, as in (51). It can only be used with animate subjects. *Nzun* indicates movement to a point away from the speaker (40), or that the action is going to take place from that point in time, while *čun* indicates movement towards a point near the speaker, as in (41).

(40) *tarooga   hasi   wataee   nzan.*
      taroo⸗ga   hasi   wata-ee   ng-ta-m
      taroo⸗NOM bridge cross-SEQ go-PST-IND
      'Taroo crossed the bridge.'

(41) *nahake   nzee   kan.*
      naha⸗ke   ng-ee   k-ta-m
      Naha⸗ALL go-SEQ come-PST-IND
      '(I) went to Naha (and came back).'

turasun indicates a benefactive action. In (42) *turasun* is used to express that the 'reading' action is for the sake of the speaker.

(42)　*fun　jumee　turačan.*
　　　　fun　jum-ee　turas-ta-m
　　　　book　read-SEQ BEN-PST-IND
　　　　'(He) read me a book.'

an indicates the result of a human action. In (43) *an* is used to express that the curry was the result of human action.

(43)　*karee　cukuee　atan.*
　　　　karee　cuku-ee　a-ta-m
　　　　curry　make-SEQ exist-PST-IND
　　　　'There was curry (that someone made).'

9.2　*Non-verbal Predication*

Nominal and adjectival predication are described below.

9.2.1　　　Nominal Predication

A nominal predicate is formed in its minimal form from a nominal, which may be followed by a copular verb. The minimal form is common, and the copula is obligatory only with negation, when the head is focused, or a past tense is used. So, for example, one may say *wan=ja sinsii* (1.SG=TOP teacher) 'I am a teacher' but to say that this was their past occupation the copula is needed to express tense: *wan=ja sinsii ja-ta-n* (1.SG=TOP teacher COP-PST-IND) 'I was a teacher'.

9.2.2　　　Adjectival Predication

In minimal adjectival predication, the predicate is formed by an adjective by itself, as in *čuu=ja ači-sa-n* (today=TOP hot-ADJ-IND) 'Today is hot' (inflected adjective) or *uri=ga masi* (this=NOM better) 'This is better' (non-inflected adjectives). With non-inflected adjectives the copula is obligatory in the same cases as with nominals (see §9.2.1).

10   The Simple Sentence

10.1   *Sentence Type*
Sentence types can be divided into declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives.

10.1.1   Declaratives
Declaratives are unmarked and may take different forms. In declaratives different particles may be used such as the emphatic sentence-final particle *=doo*, and modal particles *=see* and *=jo*.

10.1.2   Interrogatives
Interrogatives are divided into polar questions and content questions. Content questions include an interrogative word, and the predicate is marked with the particle *=ga* or the mood suffix *-joo*. In polar questions the sentence-final particle *=i* is used. Other types of question include the modal particle *=kajaa* and the suffix *-ra* used in self questions.

10.1.3   Imperatives
In imperatives the verb is marked with an imperative mood marker (see §10.6.3). Prohibition is also marked with a prohibitive mood marker. Another type of imperative is marked with a conditional mood marker, such as in example (44).

(44) *taagu   mučee   nzee   sinzagaa   nzee   kumee*
      taagu   muk-ee   ng-ee   sinzagaa   ng-ee   kum-ee
      bucket   bring-SEQ go-SEQ Sinza.spring go-SEQ get.water-SEQ
      fwaa.
      f-ruwa
      come-COND
      'Take a bucket go to the Sinza spring and get some water.'

10.2   *Alignment*
Iheya is a marked nominative language. Nominative is marked and accusative is left unmarked.

10.3   *Possession*
In possessive constructions, the possession fills the head slot, while the possessor is the modifier and marked with particles *=nu* or *=ga*, or zero-marked depending on the animacy of the possessor (see §8.3). With first- and second-person pronouns, the highest in the animacy scale, it can be left unmarked,

such as with *wan kwaasi* (1.SG sweets) 'my sweets'. Nominals lower in the scale, such as personal names, can also be left unmarked if they take a plural suffix. Possession can be also expressed by use of the verb *mučun* 'to bring/to have'. Existential verbs can also be used to show possession.

10.4   *Valency Changing*

Change in valency is expressed through the use of derivational suffixes in causative, passive, and benefactive constructions.

10.4.1   Causative

Causative construction increases the valency of verbs by one argument. Causative constructions are formed by adding a causative derivational suffix to the verb stem. With intransitive verbs the causee takes an accusative case (unmarked), while with transitive verbs it takes a dative case.

(45) *ujaga   warabi nakačan.*
     uja⸗ga   warabi nak-ras-ta-m
     parent⸗NOM child   cry-CAUS-PST-IND
     'The parent made the child cry.'

(46) *ujaga   warabike jasee   kamačan.*
     uja⸗ga   warabi⸗ke jasee   kam-ras-ta-m
     parent⸗NOM child⸗DAT vegetable eat-CAUS-PST-IND
     'The parent made the child eat vegetables.'

10.4.2   Passive

In passive constructions valency decreases by one argument (47). The verb takes the passive suffix *-rari-*. The agent takes the dative case.

(47) *wanja   suuke   suguraritan.*
     wan⸗ja   suu⸗ke   sugu-rari-ta-m
     1.SG⸗TOP father⸗DAT hit-PASS-PST-IND
     'I was hit by father.'

10.5   *Polarity*

Affirmative is morphologically unmarked. On verbs, negation is shown morphologically by adding a negative suffix *-ran*, so the negative form of *ukin* 'wake up' would be *ukiran* 'not to wake up'. Nominal negation is formed by adding the topic particle to the nominal. The negative copula *aran* then follows to express negation, such as in *wan⸗ja sinsii⸗ja aran* (1.SG⸗TOP teacher⸗TOP COP.NEG) 'I

am not a teacher'. In inflecting adjectives negation is formed by a combination of a PC root adverbialized with *-ku* and the negative copula *neen*, for example *taka-ku nee-n* (tall-ADV COP.NEG-IND) 'not tall'. With non-inflecting adjectives, negation is formed as with nouns, so the topic particle *=ja* is added and then the negative copula is added, such as in *zoozi=ja aran* (good=TOP COP.NEG) 'not good'.

10.6   *Tense, Aspect, Mood and Modality*
In this section the TAM system is described together with modality.

10.6.1   Tense
Iheya has non-past and past tenses. There are two types of past tenses in Iheya. One indicates simple past, and the other type includes evidential information, such as the fact that the speaker actually witnessed or experienced the event as in (48) (the ⟨⟩ symbols are here used to indicate code switching).

(48) *ʔwaaja ⟨ningen⟩nu kusuu kwaaitandoojaa*
    ʔwaa=ja ⟨ningen⟩=nu kusu kwaa-ita-m=doo=jaa
    pig=TOP human=GEN feces eat-PST2-IND=EMP=SFP
    'The pigs ate human feces.'

10.6.2   Aspect
Aspect is shown morphologically with the suffix *-joo-* or with the use of auxiliary verbs. *-joo-* can mark an action in progress, its completion, or even a state (such as in *gari-joo-n* slim-PROG-IND 'to be slim'). In example (49) with *-joo-* two interpretations are possible: the leaves are currently in the air falling to the ground, or they are already on the ground as the result of having fallen. In (50) the auxiliary verb *un* is used; in this case the only acceptable interpretation is that the leaves are on the ground.

(49) *faaga   utijoon.*
    faa=ga   uti-joo-m
    leaf=NOM fall-PROG-IND
    'The leaves are falling.'

(50) *faaga   utiee   un.*
    faa=ga   uti-ee   u-m
    leaf=NOM fall-SEQ exist-IND
    'The leaves are falling.'

The auxiliary verb *aččun* 'to walk' is used to express an action in progress.

(51) *ari   načee   aččun.*
ari   nak-ee   akk-u-m
that   cry-SEQ   walk-NPST-IND
'He is crying.'

Repetition of the verb in its sequential form can express the repetition of an action.

(52) *ari   čiee   čiee   ⟨monozasi⟩nu   ⟨kawarini⟩ futan*
ari   či-ee   či-ee   ⟨monozasi⟩꞊nu   ⟨kawarini⟩ f-uta-nu
that   cut-SEQ   cut-SEQ   ruler꞊GEN   instead   do-PST2-ADN
hazidoojaa.
hazi꞊doo꞊jaa
FMN꞊EMP꞊SFP
'He cut and cut that and probably used it instead of a ruler.'

10.6.3   Mood

Verbs and adjectives inflect for mood. Verbs have indicative, imperative, prohibitive, volitional and interrogative moods. The indicative mood is marked with *-m*. The imperative mood is marked with the suffix *-ree*. There is a separate prohibitive mood which is marked with the suffix *-rankee*.

(53) *nahin   feeku   haree!*
nahin   fee-ku   ha-ree
more   fast-ADV   run-IMP
'Run faster!'

(54) *tarooga   ⟨sukudai⟩   nkankee!*
taroo꞊ga   ⟨sukudai⟩   nk-rankee
Taroo꞊GEN   homework   watch-PROH
'Don't watch Taro's homework!'

The volitional mood is marked with the suffix *-raa*. It is often accompanied by the particle *꞊jaa*, such as in *num-aa꞊jaa* (drink-VOL꞊SFP) 'Let's drink'.[8] The inter-

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8   A reviewer pointed out that when *꞊jaa* is used, this may express the volition of a single speaker as in 'I will drink it', and this may indeed be the case.

rogative mood marker *-joo* is used only in content questions, as in *taa-ga u-joo* (who-NOM exist-WHQ) 'Who's there?'.

10.6.4   Modality

Modality can be expressed by syntactic or lexical means. Obligation, desire, ability and permission will be described. Obligation (or necessity) is expressed through a construction formed by a main verb and the verb *nain* 'to become'. In this construction the main verb takes the negative conditional form and *nain* the negative form, as in (55).

(55) ⟨*wakučin*⟩ *ukankwa*   *naran*   *hazi jasiga ...*
     ⟨wakučin⟩ uk-rankwa   na-ra-nu   hazi ja-siga
     vaccine   hit-NEG.CND become-NEG-ADN FMN COP.NEG-CNC
     'Probably (we) have to receive the vaccine but ...'

Desiderative modality is expressed by compounding in which the second part of the compound is an adjective, *čahan* or *fussan*, as in *num-i+fussa-n* (drink-THM+DES-IND) or *num-i+ča-ha-n* (drink-THM+DES-ADJ-IND 'wanting to drink'). Ability can be expressed by using the passive form of the verb or lexically with the verb *nain* 'to become' or through compounding in verbs, by using the verb *usun*. When *nain* is used with other verbs, the preceding verb takes the adnominal form and the formal noun *kutu* is used.

(56) *arija*   ⟨*eigo*⟩   *nain*
     ari-ja   ⟨eigo⟩   na-i-m
     that-TOP English become-NPST-IND
     'He can speak English.'

(57) *duuga*   *wassanu ičunu*   *kutu narantan.*
     duu-ga   wassa-nu ik-u-nu   kutu na-ran-ta-m
     body-NOM bad-ADN go-NPST-ADN FMN become-NEG-PST-IND
     'I was feeling bad so I couldn't go.'

10.7   *Information Structure*

In this section topic and focus will be discussed. Topic is marked morphologically with the particle *-ja*. In (58) the topic of the phrase is *sara* 'plate', which is marked with *-ja*. As it can be seen in (59), *-ja* can be used to express contrast focus.

(58) *anu saraja   taroogaru   waee   neen.*
     anu sara=ja   taroo=ga=ru   wa-ee   nee-m
     that plate=TOP Taroo=NOM=FOC break-SEQ COP.NEG-IND
     'That plate, Taro broke it.'

(59) *anu saraja   taruga   watasiga   unu saraja   waaga*
     anu sara=ja   taruu=ga   wa-ta-siga   unu sara=ja   waa=ga
     that plate=TOP Taroo=NOM break-PST=CNC this plate=TOP 1.SG=NOM
     waee   neen.
     wa-ee   nee-m
     break-SEQ COP-IND
     'That plate, Taro broke it, but this plate, I broke it.'

Focus is marked morphologically with the focus-marking clitic *=ru*. There is also another focus particle, *=ga*, which is used with content questions and usually used with the dubitative *-ra*. *=ru* is used with information focus where new information is provided to the addressee, and contrast focus, where the information goes against the addressee's expectation. Focus is possible on arguments, predicates, and the whole sentence. It is unacceptable on imperatives, volitional forms and, in the case of *=ru*, with content interrogatives (where *=ga* is possible). (60) is the response to being asked 'Why are you so angry?', to which the speaker answers, marking the new information with *=ru*. As an example of contrastive focus, in (61) the speaker is being asked if he is the younger in the family, which he denies.

(60) *uttugaru   isu   koočan.*
     uttu=ga=ru   isu   koos-ta-m
     younger.brother=NOM=FOC chair break-PST-IND
     'My younger brother broke the chair.'

(61) *wan anan   uttugaru   baači   jassa.*
     wan anan   uttu=ga=ru   baači   ja=sa
     1.SG COP.NEG younger.brother=NOM=FOC younger COP=EXP
     'It is my younger brother that is the younger in the family, not me.'

Sometimes when the argument is focused the predicate will also take a focus-marking morpheme as a concord mechanism as in (62). With *=ga*, used in content questions, the dubitative suffix *-ra* is used as in (63). Here the speaker is wondering about what the old inhabitants of Iheya made as food.

(62) *taruugaru*   *aččootaru.*
     taruu⸗ga⸗ru   akk-joo-ta-ru
     taroo⸗NOM⸗FOC walk-PROG-PST-FOC
     'Taroo is walking.'

(63) *nuuga*   *cukutarajaa.*
     nuu⸗ga   cuku-ta-ra⸗jaa
     what⸗FOC make-PST-DUB⸗SFP
     'I wonder what they made.'

11 The Complex Sentence

In this section clause-combining strategies, quotatives, and clause-chaining structures are described.

11.1 Clause Combining Strategies

Coordination, subordination and insubordination are described below.

11.1.1 Coordination

In coordinate sentences, two sentences are linked by a conjunctive marker. These may be affixes such as with the adversative suffix *-siga*.

(64) *taruuja*   ⟨*gakusei*⟩ *jasiga*   *hanakuja*   *cutomenin* *jassa*
     taruu⸗ja ⟨gakusei⟩ ja-siga   hanaku⸗ja cutomenin ja⸗sa
     Taroo⸗TOP student   COP⸗ADVRS Hanako⸗TOP employee COP⸗EMP
     'Taroo is a student, but Hanako is an employee.'

11.1.2 Subordination

Subordinate clauses may be formed by marking the predicate with affixes, such as with conditional clauses (marked with the suffix *-ruwa*), causal clauses (marked with the suffix *-tu*), simultaneous clauses (marked with the suffix *-gači* or *-giči*), adnominal clauses (marked with the suffix *-nu*). Other strategies include using particles such as the combination of quotative and focus ⸗*te⸗ru* for purpose or the additive ⸗*n* with the sequential suffix *-ee* for concessive clauses.

11.2 Quotatives

Quotatives are marked using the conjunctive particle ⸗*te*. They are used with verbs which express the meaning of speaking or thinking.

(65) ⟨*mottetteiijo*⟩*te*   *ičatujaa*   *wan jaake*
     ⟨mot-te-it-te⸗ii⸗jo⟩⸗te   i-ta-tu⸗jaa   wan jaa⸗ke
     bring-SEQ-go-SEQ⸗good⸗EMP⸗QT say-PST-CSL⸗SFP 1.SG home⸗ALL
     tenzan.
     teng-ta-m
     bring-PST-IND
     '(He) said you can bring it home with you, so I brought it back home.'

11.3   *Insubordination*

Insubordination can be observed with causal and sequential clauses, such in
example (66), where the speaker is talking about seashells. When insubordina-
tion occurs the particle ⸗*jaa* commonly appears.

(66) *hansitaa*   *suu naruwa*   *meeniči teečee*   *suu*
     hansii-taa   suu na-ruwa   meeniči teek-ee   suu
     grandmother-PL tide become-CND every.day bring-SEQ tide
     miččuwa isinu   waabini   ⟨gangan⟩   waeejaa.
     mikk-uwa isi⸗nu   waabi⸗ni ⟨gangan⟩   wa-ee⸗jaa
     fill-CND   rock⸗GEN up.on⸗LOC onomatopoeia crush-SEQ⸗SFP
     'My grandmother and others when the tide was low … they would bring
     those up on the rocks and crush them.'

11.4   *Clause-Chaining Structure*

The sequential form is used to chain clauses. In example (67) the speaker is
talking about his routine on a typical day when working in the fields.

(67) *haruke*   ⟨*bentoo*⟩ *tenzee*   ⟨*bentoo*⟩ *kamee uumike*
     haru⸗ke   ⟨bentoo⟩ teng-ee   ⟨bentoo⟩ kam-ee uumi⸗ke
     field⸗ALL lunch   bring-SEQ lunch   eat-SEQ sea⸗ALL
     uriee …
     uri-ee
     go.down-SEQ
     '(I would) bring my lunch to the field, eat it, go down to the beach …'

Appendix: Sample Text

In the following texts three men, whose ages range from their late 50s to their early 60s, are talking about American military surplus stores, common in Okinawa, the products sold there, and how they were used in their daily lives.

(68) C: ⟨*urumasi*⟩ ⟨*isikawa*⟩*ni an.*
⟨urumasi⟩ ⟨isikawa⟩=ni a-m
Uruma.City Ishikawa=ALL exist-IND
'There is one in Ishikawa, Uruma city.'

(69) A: *jatu uriga* ⟨*kanzen*⟩*nu* ⟨*haresage*⟩*toka*
ja-tu uri=ga ⟨kanzen⟩=nu ⟨haresage⟩=toka
COP-CSL that=NOM complete=GEN surplus.store=EXM
anana
a-na-na
COP-NEG-SEQ
'That may be not a real surplus store'

(70) A: *unu fuuzi soobai hee tada* ⟨*torijoseta*⟩ ⟨*hontooni*⟩
unu fuuzi soobai h-ee tada ⟨tor-i+jose-ta⟩ ⟨hontooni⟩
that way business do-SEQ just gathered really
⟨*haraisage*⟩ *jaka* ⟨*aratani*⟩ *cukurarijoosi ananka*
⟨haraisage⟩ ja=ka ⟨aratani⟩ cuku-rari-joo-si a-nan=ka
surplus COP=Q newly make-PASS-PROG-COMP COP.NEG=Q
umuin baa
umu-i-nu baa
think-NPST-ADN FMN
'I think … if it is not really surplus … I don't know if they just do business like that, if it's really surplus or it is new.'

(71) C: *ari jagajaa* ⟨*Mangasooko*⟩
ari ja=gajaa ⟨Mangasooko⟩
that COP=Q ⟨Mangasooko⟩
'Is it that one maybe? Mangasooko.'

(72) B: ⟨*Mangasooko*⟩*ni ainjaa*
⟨Mangasooko⟩=ni a-i-m=jaa
⟨Mangasooko⟩=LOC exist-NPST-IND=SFP
'Yes there is one in Mangasooko.'

(73) B: *anu uttaaga*   ⟨*bindamatuka*⟩ ⟨*parasuuto*⟩*jo ari*
          anu uttaa�-ga   ⟨bindama⟩⸗tuka ⟨parasuuto⟩⸗jo ari
          FIL those⸗NOM glass.jar⸗EXM   parachute⸗EMP that
          ganzuuhanujo
          ganzuu-ha-nu⸗jo
          sturdy-ADJ-ADN⸗EMP
          'Uhm those … stuff like glass jars, parachutes … parachutes are sturdy.'

(74) B: ⟨*hijoke*⟩   *sičai*   ⟨*siiankaa*⟩ *sičai*   *zootoo jatan*   *baa*
          ⟨hijoke⟩   s-tai   ⟨siiankaa⟩ s-tai   zootoo ja-ta-nu   baa
          sunscreen do-LIST sea.anchor do-LIST good   COP-PST-ADN FMN
          gassanu.
          gassa-nu
          light-ADN
          'We used that as a sunscreen, as a sea-anchor, it was good. Being
          light.'

(75) A: *ʔnkasija*   *činan*   *ganzuuhantekarani*
          ʔnkasi⸗ja   čina⸗n   ganzuu-ha-m⸗te⸗kara⸗ni
          a.long.time.ago⸗TOP rope⸗ADD robust-ADJ-IND⸗QT⸗ABL⸗LOC
          ⟨*čoohoo*⟩ *saritasiga*
          ⟨čoohoo⟩ s-rari-ta-siga
          treasure   do-PASS-PST-CNC
          'At home we used to treasure the rope too, since it was sturdy.'

(76) C: *ʔnkasi*   *dakkuki*   *hee*   *anu muumi*
          ʔnkasi   dakkuki   h-ee   anu muumi
          long.time.ago remove.husk do-SEQ fil   rice.husk
          sizuutasee
          sig-uta⸗see
          unshell-PST2⸗EXP
          'A long time ago we removed the husks … we used to remove the husks
          of rice grains.'

(77) C: *uri anu* ⟨*mannaka*⟩*ke dakisoo*   *tatieekarani*
          uri anu ⟨mannaka⟩⸗ke daki+soo   tati-ee⸗kara⸗ni
          that FIL middle⸗DAT bamboo+pole make.stand-SEQ⸗ABL⸗ALL
          ⟨*rakkasan*⟩ *uriheeru*   ⟨*hijoke*⟩   *sutandoo.*   *wattaa*
          ⟨rakkasan⟩ uri⸗hee⸗ru   ⟨hijoke⟩   s-uta-m⸗doo   wattaa
          parachute   that⸗INST⸗FOC sunscreen do-PST2-IND⸗EMP 1.PL

jaa   wattaa suuga
jaa   wattaa suu⸗ga
home 1.PL   father⸗NOM
'After erecting a bamboo pole in the middle my father used the parachute, used that as a protection from the sun.'

(78) A: ⟨*rakkasan*⟩*nu   unu jatu   činaa čikain*
⟨rakkasan⟩⸗nu unu ja-tu   čina čika-i-n
parachute⸗GEN FIL COP-CSL rope use-NPST-IND
⟨*rakkasan*⟩*teru   itasee   činaa suuja*
⟨rakkasan⟩⸗te⸗ru i-ta⸗see   čina suu⸗ja
rakkasan⸗QT⸗FOC say-PST⸗EXP rope   father⸗TOP
ganzuusante
ganzuu-sa-m⸗te
sturdy-ADJ-IND⸗QT
'The parachute uhm … We called it *rakkasan*. We used the rope. The rope … since my father said it was sturdy'

(79) C: *uri naman   mučoondoo.*
uri nama⸗n   muk-joo-m⸗doo
that now⸗ADD have-PROG-IND⸗EMP
'I still have that.'

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Kin (Okinawa, Northern Ryukyuan)

Koji Tamamoto

1 The Language and Its Speakers

Kin, a regional variety of the Okinawan language, is spoken in the villages of Kin and Namisato, located in the middle of Okinawa Island. It is spoken almost exclusively by elderly people who were born in or before the 1950's and the number of fluent speakers is estimated to be approximately 1,000. People in the younger generations have few opportunities to learn Kin Okinawan.

The Okinawan language is spoken on Okinawa Island and the surrounding islands, and constitutes a group of the Northern Ryukyuan languages together with the Amami language. Dialects of the Okinawan language are grouped into two major subgroups: the Northern and the Southern subgroups. Shared lexical innovations suggest that Kin belongs to the Northern subgroup,[1] in which inter-dialectal differences are much greater than in the Southern subgroup.

2 Phonology

2.1 *Inventory of Phonemes*

2.1.1 Vowels

Kin has five vowel phonemes: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. There are very few words containing the short /e/ and /o/ vowels because *e and *o that existed in the proto-language have diachronically changed to /i/ and /u/, respectively.

Long vowels, which constitute a heavy syllable, are analyzed as a sequence of a vowel and a moraic phoneme /:/.

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1 Lawrence (2006) argues that an example of lexical innovations shared among the Northern subgroup is provided by a proto-Northern Okinawan word *gasusu* 'sea urchin' derived from a proto-Northern Ryukyuan (the common ancestor of Okinawan and Amami) counterpart *gacucu*. The corresponding word in Kin is *kasusu*.
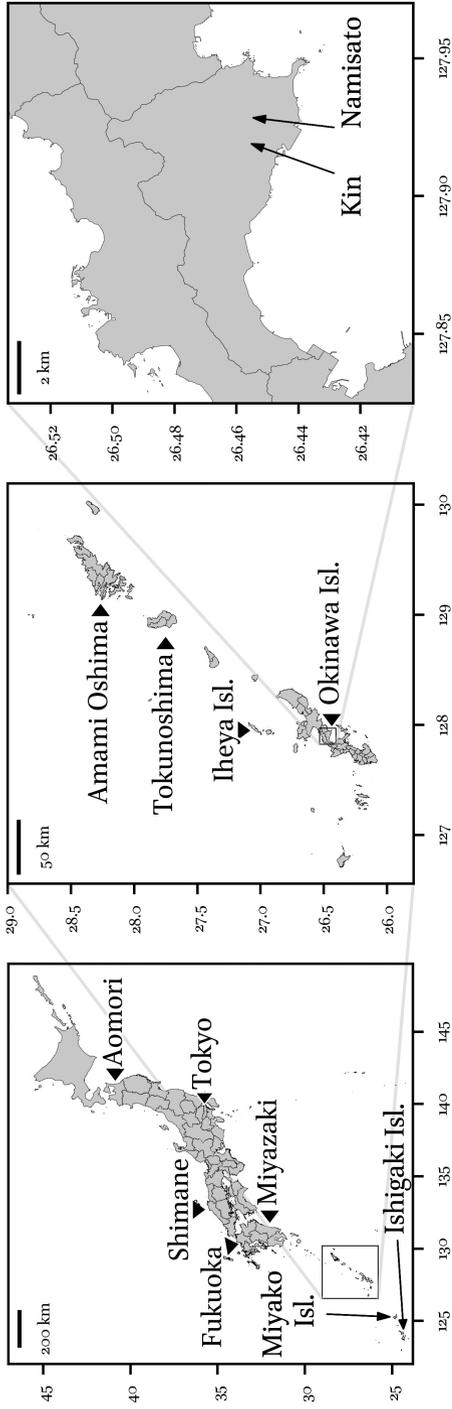
FIGURE 4.1 Location of Kin and Namisato

2.1.2 Consonants and Glides

Kin has twelve consonants and two glides as shown in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1 Chart of consonants and glides

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obstruent	Stop	p / b	t / d		k / g	
	Fricative		s / z			h
Sonorant	Nasal	m	n			
	Tap		r			
	Glide	w		j		

There are some allophonic rules to note: first, /s/ is realized as [ɕ] always before /i/ and often before /e/ (as in /sima/[ɕima] 'island' and /se:ku/[se:ku]~[ɕe:ku] 'carpenter'); second, /z/, which contrasts with /s/ in voicing, is realized as [ʑ] in between vowels (as in /mizu/[miʑu] 'water') and as [d͡ʑ] elsewhere (as in /sunza/[sund͡ʑa] 'water well'); third, /h/ is realized as [ç] before /i/ (as in /hi:/[çi:] 'fire') and as [ɸ] before /u/ (as in /huni/[ɸuni] 'boat'); fourth, /n/ assimilates its place of articulation to the following consonant (as in /janme/ [jamme] 'illness') and is realized as [ɴ] in word-final position (as in /ningwan/ [niŋgwaɴ] 'prayer').

2.2 *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

The syllable structure of Kin is schematized as (C1)(G)V1(V2)(C2), where C, G, and V represent consonants, glides and vowels, respectively, and the parenthesized slots are optional.

All vowels can occur in V1 as the nucleus of the syllable. V2 can be filled by /i/, which constitutes the second half of a diphthong, or /:/, which constitutes the second half of a long vowel. The nasal /n/ can also occur in V1 as a syllabic consonant, which can be lengthened (as in //ntja// → /n:tja:/[n̩:t͡ɕaː] 'soil'). The syllabic /n/ is parasitic to the following syllable with the onset.

All consonants can occur in C1 as the onset of the syllable. Glides can also occur as an onset either on their own or together with C1. The glide /j/ often cooccurs with /t/ (e.g., /tju:/[t͡ɕuː] 'human') and rarely with /h/ (as in /anu‿hja:/ [anu‿çaː] 'that guy'). Also, the glide /w/ can often cooccur with /k/ and /g/ (as in /kwi:/[kwiː] 'voice' and /uhu+gwi/[uɸugwi] 'loud voice'), and rarely with /h/ (as in /te:hwa/[te:ɸa] 'joke'). The glide /w/ never occurs before the vowel /o/. Thus, there is no syllable /wo/, /kwo/, /gwo/ nor /hwo/.

Consonants that can occur in C2 (the coda of the syllable) are restricted to /n/ and the voiceless obstruents except /h/. Voiceless obstruents occur in C2 only when the syllable is not (phonologically) word-final and it is identical to the following syllable's C1.

2.3   *Mora*

V1, V2, and C2 in the syllable structure count as a single mora. As will be seen in § 2.4, the notion of mora plays a significant role in tone assignment.

Superheavy syllables that consist of three morae (long vowel + coda) tend to be avoided. If such a superheavy syllable is derived by affixation or cliticization, the underlying long vowel is often shortened (as in //uki-ː-n// (get.up-NPST-IND) → /ukin/[ukiɴ] 'get up', or //boːˀttji// (stick‹INS) → /bottji/[botʨi] 'with a stick').

2.4   *Word-Level Prosody*

Kin has a pitch-accent system in which pitch patterns can be represented by H and L tones. The tone-bearing unit is the mora.

As Matsumori (2009) has revealed, three pitch patterns are lexically distinguished in Kin: Pattern A, in which the word-initial three morae bear H tones and the following morae (if any) bear L tones; Pattern B, in which the word-final vowel is lengthened to bear a LH sequence and the rest bears a sequence of either H or L tones; and Pattern C, in which the word-final two morae bear a LH sequence and the rest bears a sequence of either H or L tones. In addition, if the underlying forms of words with the pitch patterns B or C contain only two vowels, the first one is lengthened. Examples are shown in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2   Tone assignment of nominal words

Pitch pattern	Example word	Tone realization
Pattern A	*hana* 'nose'	HH
	kibusi 'smoke'	HHH
	sidekuni 'carrot'	HHHL
Pattern B	//hana// → *haːna* 'flower'	HHLH ~ LLLH
	//kuruma// → *kuruma* 'car'	HHLH ~ LLLH
	//itjimusi// → *itjimusi* 'creature'	HHHLH ~ LLLLH
Pattern C	//hama// → *haːma* 'beach'	LLH
	garasa 'crow'	LLH
	sitimiti 'morning'	HHLH ~ LLLH

In tone assignment, not only morae but also syllables play a role. For example, there is a constraint that blocks a HL sequence in a single syllable. Thus, if the third and fourth morae of a word with pitch pattern A constitute a heavy syllable, then the tone of the relevant word is realized as HHHH, as in *kata-mai* 'chunk' (HHHH, rather than *HHHL) or *agima:mu* 'dryland taro' (HHHHL, rather than *HHHLL), etc. Similarly, if the penultimate mora of a word with pitch pattern C is a second half of a heavy syllable headed by the antepenultimate mora, then the tone of the last three morae of the relevant word is realized as LLH, as in *ju:sanbi* 'evening' (HHLLH or LLLLH, rather than *HHHLH), etc. Note that a LH sequence can be realized even in a single syllable, as in *basanai* 'banana' or *hinpun* 'blind fence' (both result in HHLH or LLLH).[2]

2.5 *Intonation*

Intonation serves as a means of expressing the intended speech act. A polar-question sentence is uttered with a rising intonation in general as in (80). However, when a polar-question is intended to blame someone, rather than questioning, it is uttered with a falling intonation as in (81).

(80) *watagoro:nu*   *asse.* (↗)
     wata+goro-:ꜜnu   ar-∅-sse.
     belly+difficult-PREDꜗFOC AUX-NPST-YNQ
     'Is your belly aching?'

(81) *na:da ukitu:rantasse.* (↘)
     na:da   uki-ti ur-an-ta-sse.
     yet   wake-SEQ CONT-NEG-PST-YNQ
     'Aren't you awake yet!'

3 Descriptive Units

3.1 *Morphological Units*

Words in a broad sense fall into two subtypes: independent words and clitics. Independent words usually can stand alone as an utterance and some syntactic operations such as topicalization or focalization are applicable to them. Clitics are morphosyntactically independent but phonologically dependent words,

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2   I am very grateful to Prof. Akiko Matsumori for generously providing me with the data collected by her, to which I owe this subsection. Needless to say, all errors are my own responsibility.

which always require a host. Adnominals (§ 4.4) and a variety of particles (see § 9.3, § 11.7, § 11.6.3, etc.) are instances of clitics.

There are two classes of bound forms below the level of the word: affixes and semiwords (cf. Kenesei 2007). An affix is a bound form which attaches to a stem or a root. Semiword refers to the morphological status of morphs that never stand alone but can become an element of compounds. One type of semi-word is adjectival roots: for example, the adjectival root *magi* 'big' can become a compound element as in *magi+gwi* 'loud voice' although it never stands alone as a word.[3]

3.2   *Word Classes*

Three criteria serve to identify major word classes in Kin: (i) the kind of syntactic slot (i.e., argument, predicate or modifier) it fills; (ii) whether it inflects in its own right or not; and (iii) the kind of constituent it modifies and how. Using these criteria, we can identify six major word classes: *nominals*, *adnominals*, *verbs*, *adjectives*, *adjectival nouns*, and *adverbs*.

Nominals are words which head an argument phrase; *pronouns*, *lexical nouns*, and *numerals* are subclasses of nominals. Verbs are words which head a predicate phrase and inflect in their own right (e.g., *numin* 'drink (NPST, IND)', *nudan* 'drank (PST, IND)', etc.). Adjectives are words which function as a lexical head of a predicate and do not inflect in their own right: (e.g., *magisa*, in *magisa≠n* 'is big', or *magiku*, in *magiku nen* 'isn't big'). Adjectival nouns are words which modify nominal heads, with the aid of the dedicated adnominal particle *≠na* (e.g., *makutu≠na munu* 'honest person'). Adnominals are proclitics which always modify nominal heads, without the aid of any adnominal particle (e.g., *i:≠* 'good', in *i:≠wa:sitji* 'fine weather'). Adverbs are words which modify any constituent (including a sentence) except nominal heads (e.g., *mi:suku* 'neatly', *ippe* 'very', *jadin* 'maybe', etc.).

In addition to the major word classes introduced above, there are also some minor word classes. *Particles* are bound words which cliticize onto a phrase or a clause: *case particles*, *topic/focus particles*, *conjunctive particles* and *sentence-final particles* are subclasses of particles. *Conjunctions* are words which appear in sentence-initial position to indicate the logical relation between the preceding and the following sentences (e.g., *attjikara* 'then', *je:suga* 'but', etc.). *Interjections* are words which occur as an utterance on their own and express a spontaneous feeling or reaction (e.g., *i:* 'yes', *i:ii:* 'no', *je:kutʨa* 'wow', etc.).

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3   The occurrence of sequential voicing (*kwi → gwi*) indicates that it is compounding rather than affixation, as sequential voicing applies at compound-stem boundaries.

3.3 *Grammatical Relations*

In what follows, I use the conventional *S, A*, and *P* symbols instead of the terms "subject" or "object", for the sake of avoiding the issues of definition. S is the single core argument of an intransitive clause. A is the agent-like argument of a canonical transitive clause. P is the patient-like argument in a canonical transitive clause.

I also use the term *complement* to refer to the syntactic position of certain constituents which form a predicate phrase with the copula or verbs like *nar-* 'become', *s-* 'do', *j-* 'say', etc. Complements can be substituted by the pro-form *a:* 'so'.

4 Nominals

4.1 *Pronouns*

Typologically, Kin is a *two-person* language (Bhat 2004: p. 134), in which third person pronouns are identical or derivationally related to demonstratives.

Personal pronouns obligatorily inflect for number. The number distinction is two-fold: singular and plural. When a referent is plural, morphological plural-marking (*-tta*) is required. Conversely, when a pronoun is zero-marked, the referent is construed as singular. Table 4.3 shows the system of the personal pronouns in Kin.[4]

TABLE 4.3   Personal pronouns

Person	Circumstance	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
1st	Default	-	*wanu*	*watta*
	Genitive	-	*wa:ꜝ*	
	__ꜝga (NOM)	-	*wa:(ꜝga)*	
	__ꜝN (ADT)	-	*wa:nu(ꜝN)*	
2nd	-	Non-honorific	*ja:*	*itta*
	-	Honorific	*na: ~ na:mi*	*natta ~ na:mita*
Interrogative	Default	-	*taru*	*tatta ~ tarutta*
	Genitive	-	*ta:ꜝ*	

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4 Personal interrogative pronouns are included in Table 4.3 to call attention to the fact that their inflection pattern is similar to that of the 1st person pronoun. For other interrogative and demonstrative words, see Table 4.8 in § 8.

TABLE 4.3   Personal pronouns (*cont.*)

Person	Circumstance	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
	__≠*ga* (NOM)	-	*ta:*(≠*ga*)	
	__≠*N* (ADT)	-	*ta:ru*(≠*N*)	

4.2   *Lexical Nouns*

In most cases, lexical nouns do not inflect. However, when a lexical noun denotes a human (e.g., *ikiga* 'man', *warabi* 'child', etc.), plural-marking is possible.

The most productive plural marker for lexical nouns is *-ta*,[5] which concatenates with various nominal roots (including proper names) and expresses not only *additive plurals* but also *associative plurals*. Thus, the noun phrase *mura≠nu jakunin-ta* (village≠GEN officer-PL) can have two interpretations; one is 'village officials' (additive plural reading) and the other is 'a village official and other associated people' (associative plural reading). Another plural marker is *-ntja*, which concatenates with nominal roots that denote a human's age or sex, e.g., *ware-ntja* 'children', *tusiju-ntja* 'elderly people', *ikiga-ntja* 'men', and *inagu-ntja* 'women'.[6] Unlike *-ta*, *-ntja* expresses additive plural only. There is yet another plural marker *-bi(:)*, which concatenates with nominal roots that denote human relationships, e.g., *we:ka-bi:* 'relatives', *itjiku-bi* 'cousins', *du:si-bi:* 'friends', etc. Interestingly, *-ntja* and *-bi(:)* can cooccur with *-ta* in a single word, in which *-ntja* and *-bi(:)* always precede *-ta*, as in *ware-ntja-ta* 'children', *du:si-bi:-ta* 'friends'.

A diminutive suffix *-ngwa:* is used to express that the referent denoted by the host noun is small or trivial, as in *matjija-ngwa:* 'small store', *a:mi-ngwa:* 'light rain', etc.

4.3   *Numerals*

Numeral words consist of a bound root and a classifier suffix. The most common classifier suffix is *-tju(:)*, which is used to count various non-human enti-

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5   *-ta* must be distinguished from *-tta*, which is the dedicated plural marker for pronouns. In this regard, the second person honorific *na:mi* appears to be exceptional, for it selects *-ta* rather than *-tta* as the plural marker. This can be accounted for by the etymological fact that *na:mi* originates from a nominal phrase consisting of the genitive pronoun *na:* and the lexical noun *mi* 'body' (cf. Uchima 1984).

6   It should be noted that *-ntja* does not attach to all nominal roots that denote a human's age or sex. For example, *ni:se:* 'young man' and *me:rabi* 'young girl' select *-ta* as the plural marker, as in *ni:se:ta* and *me:rabita*.

ties. The classifier suffix *-(ta)i* is used to count humans up to four. When counting five or more humans, numeral roots and a classifier (*-nin*) of Sino-Japanese origin are used. Other classifier suffixes are: *-kara* for livestock animals, *-tjuki* for months, *-tu* for years, *-kei* for events/actions, etc.

TABLE 4.4   Numeral words

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine
Entity	*ti:tju*	*ta:tju*	*mi:tju*	*ju:tju*	*itjutju:*	*mu:tju*	*nanatju:*	*ja:tju*	*kukunutju:*
Person	*tjui*	*tai*	*mittjai*	*juttai*	*gunin*	*rukunin*	*sitjinin*	*hatjinin*	*kunin*

Being a semiword (see §3.1), the numeral root can also combine with other nominal roots to yield compound words like *tju+kutuba* 'one word', *tju+hisa* 'one step', *tju+makai* 'one rice bowl', etc.

4.4   *Adnominals*

Adnominals are a closed class and the number of words that belong to them is quite small. Some instances are: *i:⸗* 'good' (e.g., *i:⸗wa:siki* 'fine weather'), *inu⸗* 'same' (e.g., *inu⸗tusi* 'same age'), *ka:ma⸗* 'remote' (e.g., *ka:ma⸗mukasi* 'remote past'), *tja:⸗* 'constant' (e.g., *tja:⸗kane:* 'constant health'), etc.

Adnominals classified as demonstrative and interrogative are introduced in §8.

5   Verbs

Morphologically, a verb consists of a bound stem and inflectional affixes. A verbal stem consists of at least one root (more than one in the case of compounds) and optional derivational affixes.

Before describing the verbal morphology, I shall introduce some general morphophonological rules that are applied to the base-affix boundaries of regular verbs.[7]

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7   These rules are only partially applied to irregular verbs such as existentials and the copula (§5.3), as well as mono-consonantal-root verbs (*s-* 'do', *k-* 'come', *m-* 'see', *j-* 'say') and some other irregular verbs (*ik-* 'go', *mo:r-* 'come.HON', etc.).

(82) *Epenthesis Rule*[8]
      If the base-final phoneme is a front vowel (/i/, /e/) and the affix-initial
      phoneme is a vowel, insert /r/ between them: //V-V// → /VrV/.

(83) *Vowel Fusion Rules*
      If the base-final phoneme is a non-front vowel (/a/, /u/) and the affix-
      initial phoneme is a vowel, fuse them into a short vowel: //a-i// → /e/;
      //u-i// → /i/; //a-a// → /a/; //u-a// → /a/.

(84) *C-j Realization Rules*
      If the affix-initial phoneme is /j/, the following rules apply depending on
      the base-final consonant: //r-j// → /j/; //b-j// → /b/; //m-j// → /m/; //s-j// →
      /s/; //k-j// → /tj/; //g-j// → /z/.

(85) *C-t Realization Rules*
      If the affix-initial phoneme is /t/, the following rules apply depending on
      the base-final consonant: //r-t// → /t/; //b-t// → /d/; //m-t// → /d/; //s-t// →
      /tj/; //k-t// → /tj/; //t-t// → /ttj/; //g-t// → /z/.[9]

5.1   *Inflectional Morphology*

5.1.1   Obligatory Inflections of Regular Finite Verbs

The morphological structure of a finite verb minimally consists of three com-
ponents: stem, tense, and ending. The ending is the locus for mood suffixes
(imperative, indicative, interrogative, etc.) or coordinator/subordinator suf-
fixes. Among the mood suffixes, the imperative and intentional/hortative mood
suffixes are exceptional in that they concatenate with a stem directly, without
any tense suffix intervening.

    Stems of regular verbs are classified into three classes depending on their
final segment. Class I is for stems whose final segment is a front vowel (/i/, /e/)
or /r/ (exemplified by *uki-* 'get up' in Table 4.5). Class II is for stems whose final
segment is a non-front vowel (/a/ or /u/, both of which result from diachronic
loss of the stem-final /w/; exemplified by *wara-* 'laugh' in Table 4.5) or a bil-

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8 Many researchers of the Japanese-Ryukyuan languages assume that /r/ is an affix-initial seg-
   ment rather than introduced by epenthesis. Such an analysis cannot hold for Kin, for /r/ does
   not appear after stems whose final segment is a non-front vowel, where the Vowel Fusion
   Rules (83) are applied.
9 There are some predictable exceptions to the C-t Realization Rules: //#(C)i-t// → /(C)itj/ (e.g.,
   //si-ta-n// (wear-PST-IND) → /sitjan/), //#(C)ir-t// → /(C)ittj/ (e.g., //sir-ta-n// (cut-PST-IND) →
   /sittjan/), //nb-t// → /nt/ (e.g., //ninb-ta-n// (sleep-PST-IND) → /nintan/).

TABLE 4.5 Obligatory inflections of finite verbs

Class	Stem	Tense	Ending	Underlying form	Word form
I	*uki-* 'get up'	-	*-i* (IMP)	//uki-i//	*ukiri*
		-ː- (IPFV.NPST)	*-n* (IND)	//uki-ː-n//	*ukin*
		-ta- (PST)	*-n* (IND)	//uki-ta-n//	*ukitan*
II	*wara-* 'laugh'	-	*-i* (IMP)	//wara-i//	*ware*
		-i- (IPFV.NPST)	*-n* (IND)	//wara-i-n//	*waren*
		-ta- (PST)	*-n* (IND)	//wara-ta-n//	*waratan*
	num- 'drink'	-	*-i* (IMP)	//num-i//	*numi*
		-i- (IPFV.NPST)	*-n* (IND)	//num-i-n//	*numin*
		-ta- (PST)	*-n* (IND)	//num-ta-n//	*nudan*
III	*kak-* 'write'	-	*-i* (IMP)	//kak-i//	*kaki*
		-ju- (IPFV.NPST)	*-n* (IND)	//kak-ju-n//	*katjun*
		-ta- (PST)	*-n* (IND)	//kak-ta-n//	*katjan*

abial consonant (/b/, /m/; exemplified by *num-* 'drink' in Table 4.5). The other stems whose final segment is a non-labial obstruent (/k/, /g/, /t/, or /s/) belong to Class III (exemplified by *kak-* 'write' in Table 4.5).

The non-past tense of regular verbs is expressed by an imperfective suffix, which is realized as one of three allomorphs according to the class to which the host stem belongs (*-ː-* for Class I stems, *-i-* for Class II stems, and *-ju-* for Class III stems). The relevant morphophonological rules (82)–(85) apply to the base-affix boundaries of underlying forms to yield the surface word forms shown in the rightmost column in Table 4.5.

5.1.2 Optional Inflections of Regular Finite Verbs

Finite verbs optionally inflect for politeness, negation, and imperfectivity. The politeness suffix *-jabi-*[10] expresses politeness on the part of the speaker towards the addressee (see (96) and (97) for example sentences). Verbal stems are negated by the negative suffix *-an*. As we saw in §5.1.1, the imperfective suffix is realized as one of three allomorphs: *-ː-*, *-i-*, and *-ju-*. It cooccurs with the past-tense suffix to yield the *imperfective past form*.

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10   The politeness suffix also has the allomorph *-ːbi-* for the existential *ar-* and the copula *je-*. See Table 4.6 for the word forms.

5.1.3   Inflections of Non-finite Verbs

There are three types of non-finite verb: infinitive, connective, and a variety of converbs. The infinitive form is used when a verb occurs as V1 of a certain kind of compound verbs (§10.1.1) and when the verbal stem is marked with the topic/focus or subordinator particles.[11] The infinitive suffix has three conditional allomorphs: *-ː* for Class I stems, *-ji* for Class II and III stems, and *-na* for negated stems.

The connective form, which is marked with the sequential suffix *-ti* is multifunctional: it is used in auxiliary constructions (§10.1.2), in a special aspectual expression with a mirative sense (§11.6.2), in causal subordinate clauses which can be insubordinated in a certain environment (§12.3), and for clause-chaining (§12.4), etc.

Instances of converb markers are: *-jegana* (simultaneity; e.g., *attjegana* 'while walking'), *-iwa ~ -uwa* (causal condition; e.g., *kamiwa* 'if (you) eat'), *-tekara* (hypothetical condition; e.g., *narantekara* 'if (you) can't do'), *-tante* (concessive; e.g., *ntjagitante* 'even if (you) eat'), etc.

5.2   *Derivational Morphology*

There are three derivational suffixes that create verbal stems: causative, inceptive, and passive/potential. These suffixes do not cooccur with inherently non-agentive verbs, namely, the existential *ar-* and the copula *je-*.

The causative suffix, which causativizes a verbal root, has two conditioned allomorphs: *-imi-*, for /s/-final verbal roots, and *-as-* elsewhere (see (103) in §11.4.1). The inceptive suffix *-jagi-* expresses that the event denoted by the verb has just begun and is not completed (see (108) in §11.6.2). The passive/potential suffix *-ar-* passivizes or potentializes a stem (see (104) in §11.4.2 for an example of passivization). Verbal stems potentialized by the suffix *-ar-* express *circumstantial potentiality* as in (86), which contrasts with *ability* expressed by the modal verb *joːs-* (see §10.1.1).

(86) *suː⸗ja   kwattji⸗n   kam-ar-i-n⸗doː.*
        today⸗TOP feast⸗ADT eat-POT-IPFV.NPST-IND⸗ADM
        'Today, we can have a feast.' [Because the speaker is going to a celebration party.]

There are also a few derivational prefixes that attach to verbal roots. For example, the attenuative prefix *keː-* is used to trivialize the semantic content of verbs.

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11   Instances of the subordinator particles which attach to the infinitive form are: ⸗*ija* (conditional), ⸗*ini* (temporal condition), ⸗*ga* (purposive), etc.

In the polite imperative sentence (87), the prefix *ke:-* is used to indicate that the addressee's visiting will not bother the speaker.

(87) *ke:-mo:r-i⸗jo:.*
ATT-come.HON-IMP⸗REM
'Feel free to drop by us.'

5.3 *Existential and Copula*

On several points, the morphology of the existential verbs and the copula is somewhat different from that of regular verbs. First, existential verbs and the copula select the zero-morph -∅- as their non-past suffix. Second, their stem-vowel is lengthened when consonant-initial suffixes (e.g., past tense -*ta*-) immediately follow. Third, the existential verb (for inanimate S) and the copula exhibit strong suppletion when they are negated. Furthermore, for the allomorphic stem *ne:*-, a special allomorph -*n* is selected as the negative suffix, rather than invoking the /r/-epenthesis strategy.

TABLE 4.6   Word forms of existential verbs and copula

Verb type	Stem	Non-past	Past	Polite	Negation	Polite+ Negation
Existential (animate S)	*ur-*	*un*	*u:tan*	*ujabin*	*uran*	*ujabiran*
Existential (inanimate S)	*ar-*	*an*	*a:tan*	*a:bin*	*nen*[a]	*ne:jabiran*
Copula	*je-*	*jen*	*je:tan*	*je:bin*	*aran*	*ajabiran*

a   The long vowel in the underlying //ne:-n// is shortened to avoid a superheavy syllable (see §2.2).

6   Adjectival Expressions

Adjectival expressions fall into two word classes: *adjectives* and *adjectival nouns*.

6.1   *Adjectives*

6.1.1   Morphosyntactic Structure

Adjectival predicates, which appear to be a single word and actually have been dealt with as such in the literature on Ryukyuan linguistics, are analyzable as predicate phrases consisting of two separate words: a morphologically inde-

pendent stem which does not inflect in its own right, and an inflectional clitic, which is best analyzed as a contracted auxiliary verb (an instance of Zwicky's (1977) *simple clitics*). Within the adjectival predicate, what should be identified as an "adjectival word" is only the stem component.[12]

Cliticization of the auxiliary verb results from reduction of the stem of the auxiliary verb *ar-*, whose lexical source is the existential verb. As an example, take the adjectival predicate *magisan* 'is big': here, *magisa* is a stem and *=n* is a cliticized auxiliary verb, which expresses non-past tense and indicative mood simultaneously.

Morphological independency of the adjectival stem is shown by the fact that it can be focalized (i.e., become a host of the focus particle *=ru*). When it is focused, the stem of the auxiliary verb is not reduced (e.g., *magisa=ru a:ru*) and thus cliticization of inflectional affixes does not occur.

6.1.2   Stem Formation

There are two forms for each adjectival stem, which I call the *predicative form* and the *adverbial form* respectively.

The predicative form, which occurs in an affirmative predicate, consists of an adjectival root and a predicativizer suffix.[13] Adjectival roots fall into four classes depending on their phonological properties and the predicativizer suffix has four allomorphs conditioned by the phonological properties of the adjectival roots: Class I roots, which have the phonological template /#(C)aːsa/, select the zero-morph -∅ as their predicativizer suffix. There are just two instances of Class I roots: *maːsa-* 'tasty', and *jaːsa-* 'hungry'. Class II roots are those whose root-final syllable is /si/. They are further divided into two subclasses; Class II-A, whose root-final vowel /i/ drops when followed by the predicativizer suffix -*a* (exemplified by *kasimasi-* 'noisy' in Table 4.7), and Class II-B, whose root-final syllable /si/ entirely drops when followed by the predicativizer suffix -*ː* (exemplified by *mindasi-* 'rare' in Table 4.7). Class III roots consist of two subtypes: monosyllabic roots, which have /#(C)Vː/ as a phonological template (exemplified by *heː-* 'early' in Table 4.7), and roots whose root-final segment is a high vowel /i/ or /u/ (except the case of Class II; exemplified by *magi-* 'big'

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12   Given that adjectives themselves do not inflect, they can no longer be considered "verblike" (Dixon 2004), as has been assumed in the literature. This view is consistent with Dixon's generalization that "non-verb-like" adjectives tend to be found in dependent-marking languages (Dixon 2004, p. 33).

13   The morphological status of adjectival roots is semiword (see §3.1). Hence, they can be a component of compounds, as in *magi+gwi* 'loud voice', although they cannot stand alone as a word. The root forms of adjectives are attested when they appear in compound nouns as the first element, as shown in Table 4.7.

TABLE 4.7 Various word forms which include an adjectival root

Class	Root form	Compound noun	Predicative form	Adverbial form
I	*ma:sa-* 'tasty'	*ma:sa+munu:* 'tasty food'	*ma:sa-∅≠n*	*ma:sa-ku*
II-A	*kasimasi-* 'noisy'	*kasimasi+munu* 'annoyer'	*kasimas-a≠n*	*kasimasi-ku* ~ *kasimas-a-ku*
II-B	*mindasi-* 'rare'	*mindasi+munu:* 'rare item'	*minda-:≠n*	*minda-ku*
III	*he:-* 'early'	*he:+uki* 'early rising'	*he:-sa≠n*	*he:(-sa)-ku*
	magi- 'big'	*magi+gwi* 'loud voice'	*magi-sa≠n*	*magi(-sa)-ku*
IV	*taka-* 'high'	*taka+dima* 'high salary'	*taka-:≠n*	*taka-ku*

in Table 4.7). They select *-sa* as their predicativizer suffix. Finally, Class IV roots are those whose final vowel is a non-high vowel /a/, /o/ or /e/ (except the case of Class I; exemplified by *taka-* 'high' in Table 4.7). They select *-:* as their predicativizer suffix.

The adverbial form of adjectival stems appears in negative predicates or in the complement position of such verbs as *nar-* 'become'. This special stem form has been called "*ku*-adverbial form" in the literature (Uemura 1963, inter alia). Adverbial forms are formed by concatenating the adverbializer suffix *-ku* with adjectival roots.[14] In the case of Class II-B roots, *-ku* always concatenates with the form whose final syllable /si/ is dropped.

6.2 *Adjectival Nouns*

Adjectival nouns constitute a separate word class. Like lexical nouns, but unlike adjectives, their morphology is quite simple. They modify nominal heads with a designated adnominal particle *≠na*. The number of words that are classified as adjectival nouns is quite small. Some instances are: *de:zi(≠na)* 'terrible', *za:he(≠na)* 'troublesome', *jakke(≠na)* 'troublesome', *makutu(≠na)* 'honest', *mari(≠na)* 'rare', *masi(≠na)* 'better', *sukutji(≠na)* 'thoughtless', etc.[15]

Adjectival nouns also become the complement of the copula or the verb *nar-* 'become' as in (88).

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14   *-ku* also attaches to some predicative forms which are derived from the roots which belong to Classes II-A and III, as shown in Table 4.7.

15   The parenthesized (*≠na*) in each example word is an adnominal particle which is used when adjectival nouns modify nouns.

(88) *na:*   *de:zi*   *natiru*   *ussa.*
      na: de:zi   nar-ti⌀ru   ur-∅-ssa.
      already terrible become-SEQ⌀FOC CONT-NPST-ASS
      'The situation has become terrible.'

7   Class-Changing Derivations

7.1   *Nominalizations*

7.1.1   Nominalization of Verbal Stems

There are two kinds of nominalization of verbal stems: event/result nominalization and agentive nominalization.

The nominalizer suffix which derives event/result nouns from verbal stems has two allomorphs: *-∅* and *-ji*. Verbs whose stem-final phoneme is a front vowel /i/ or /e/ are nominalized by the zero-affix *-∅* (e.g., //kange-∅// → *kange* 'thought'); other verbal stems select *-ji* as the nominalizer (e.g., //uwar-ji// → *uwai* 'the end').

The suffix *-ja:* derives agentive nouns from verbal stems (e.g., //mo:r-ja:// → *mo:ja:* 'dancer').

7.1.2   Nominalization of Adjectival Roots

Nominalization of adjectival roots derives two types of nouns: concept nouns and entity/human nouns.

The nominalizer suffix which derives concept nouns from adjectival roots has three allomorphs: *-∅* for the Class I roots, *-a* for the Class II roots (with their root-final /i/ dropped) and *-sa* elsewhere (examples for each are: *ja:sa-∅* 'hunger', *kasimas-a* 'annoyingness', *taka-sa* 'height').

The nominalizer suffix *-:* creates a deadjectival noun which denotes an entity/human having a property denoted by the root (e.g., *magi-:* 'large person', *hiko-:* 'short person').

7.2   *Verbalization*

Some adjectival roots are verbalized by the special suffixes *-mi-* (transitive) and *-mar-* (intransitive): *tju:-mi-* 'strengthen', *taka-mar-* 'heighten', etc. These derivations are lexically restricted and not productive.

The verbalizer suffix *-mikas-* attaches to onomatopoeia and derives a verb with a meaning like 'do something making such a sound': *patjin-mikas-* 'slap', *tjara-mikas-* 'sizzle', etc.

Although denominal verbalization is not common in Kin, a light verb construction is frequently used as an alternative strategy in which the light verb

s- 'do' takes a noun (including derived nouns) as its complement and creates a verbal predicate (e.g., *siwa* 'anxiety' → *siwa s-* 'worry'; *kanasa* 'adorableness' → *kanasa s-* 'care for', etc.).

7.3   *Adjectivalization*

The adjectivalizer suffix *-tta-* concatenates with a verbal root to derive an adjective which expresses the speaker's physiological desire (as in *hattja:n* 'nauseous' (//hak-tta-:⍫n// 'vomit-ADJVZ-PRED⍫NPST.IND'), *ninta:n* 'sleepy' (//ninb-tta-:⍫n// 'sleep-ADJVZ-PRED⍫NPST.IND'), etc.).[16]

There is another adjectivalizer suffix *-ra:si-*, which attaches to a noun (say, *ikiga* 'man') to yield words like *ikigara:sa*(*n*) 'manly' (< //ikiga-ra:si-a(⍫n)// 'man-ADJVZ-PRED⍫NPST.IND').

8   Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Kin makes a three-way distinction between demonstratives: proximal, medial, and distal. The proximal demonstratives refer to a referent near the speaker, either physically or metaphorically. The medial demonstratives can refer to a referent either near the speaker or the addressee. Thus, the range of possible referents overlaps between the proximal and the medial. The distal demonstratives refer to a referent distant from both speaker and addressee.

Some instances of the demonstrative and the interrogative words are shown in Table 4.8, though it is not an exhaustive list. For the interrogative personal pronouns, see Table 4.3 in §4.1.

Indefinite pronouns are derived by attaching the suffix *-gaje:ra* to interrogative words (e.g., *taru-gaje:ra* 'someone', *nu:-gaje:ra* 'something', *ma:-gaje:ra* 'somewhere', etc.).

TABLE 4.8   Demonstrative and interrogative words

Word class	Semantic type	Proximal	Medial	Distal	Interrogative
Pronoun	Entity	*kuri*	*uri*	*ari*	*nu:* 'what' / *ziru* 'which'
	Person (SG)	*kuri*	*uri*	*ari*	(See Table 4.3)
	Person (PL)	*kuritta*	*uritta*	*aritta*	(See Table 4.3)
Noun	Location	*kuma*	*ma:*	*ama*	*ma:*
	Time	-	-	*uni:*	*itju*

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16   Desire in general ('want to V') is expressed by the modal adjective *busa*(⍫*n*), which combines with the infinitive form of verbs. See §10.1.1.

TABLE 4.8 Demonstrative and interrogative words (*cont.*)

Word class	Semantic type	Proximal	Medial	Distal	Interrogative
Numeral	Quantity	-	-	-	*iku-*[a]
Adnominal	Specifier	*kunu⸗*	*unu⸗*	*anu⸗*	*zinu⸗* 'which'
	Exemplifier	*kunna⸗*	*unna⸗*	*anna⸗*	*ikana⸗*
Adverb	Complement	*ka:*	*a:*	-	*itja ~ tja:*
	Manner	*kattji*	*attji*	-	*itjattji*
	Degree	*kuhina*	*uhina*	*ahina*	*tjassana*
	Reason	-	-	-	*nunnitji*

a The numeral interrogative *iku-* is a semiword (see § 3.1) which needs a classifier suffix (as in *iku-tai* 'how many people') or a nominal stem to compound with (as in *iku+tukuru* 'how many places') in order to stand as a word.

9 Argument Phrase

9.1 *The Head*

A phrase which functions as an argument in a clause (NP, henceforth) consists of a nominal head and optional modifiers. For some nominal heads, the modifier is necessary rather than optional, and these heads are classified as formal nouns; *gutu*, which expresses a simile, is an instance of a formal noun (see (93) in § 10.2 for an example sentence).

9.2 *The Modifier*

What can be an NP modifier are: adnominals, genitive pronouns, NPs followed by a genitive case particle, adjectival nouns followed by the adnominal particle *⸗na*, and an adnominal clause.

9.3 *Case and Other Role Marking*

Cases are marked by *case particles* which cliticize onto NPs as postpositions.

The nominative and the genitive case particles are homonymic. They have two forms, *⸗ga* and *⸗nu*, and the allomorph selection is sensitive to the animacy hierarchy, as reported by Kinjo (2020): if the argument is ranked higher in the animacy hierarchy (i.e., personal pronouns, proper names, address nouns[17]),

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17   Address nouns refer to common nouns which are used to address someone (e.g., kinship terms for older relatives).

=ga is selected as the nominative and genitive particle, and if it is ranked lower (i.e., common nouns except address nouns), *=nu* tends to be selected (sometimes *=ga* is also used, especially when the argument is focused).

Note that there is no particle that marks the accusative case. Thus, the P argument occurs as a bare NP unless other kinds of particles (topic, focus, etc.) attach to it.

TABLE 4.9   Case particles

Case	Particle	Functions to be marked
Nominative	*=ga / =nu*	S/A
Genitive	*=ga / =nu*	Possessor, NP modifier
Dative	*=nake*	Location of existence, Recipient, Passive agent
Allative	*=katji*	Location of existence, Recipient, Passive agent, Goal of locomotion, Direction, Causee agent
Locative	*=ti / =zi / =nake:ti*	Location of action/event
Ablative	*=kara*	Source, Path, Means of transportation
Limitative	*=madi*	Spatial or temporal limit
Instrumental	*=ttji*	Instrument, Number of the participants of action
Comitative	*=tu*	Accompaniment
Comparative	*=jo:ka*	Standard of comparison

10   Predicate Phrase

A predicate phrase necessarily includes a verbal component. Lexical verbs can be a predicate on their own. Adjectives need the aid of the cliticized auxiliary verb when they function as a predicate (see §6.1.1). Nominals, adjectival nouns and adverbs serve as a predicate in conjunction with the copula verb.

10.1   *Verbal Predication*
A single verbal predicate can include two (or more) verbal roots. Such a complex predicate is either a compound verb or a sequence of a main verb and an auxiliary verb. I focus on these complex verbal predicates here. In what follows, the preceding verb and the second verb are abbreviated as V1 and V2, respectively.

10.1.1   Compound Verbs

Compound verbs consist of V1 in its dedicated forms and V2 which carries the inflection. There are two kinds of compound verb: one is what I call *nominalization compounds*, in which V1 occurs in a nominalized form; and the other is what I call *infinitive compounds*, in which V1 occurs in an infinitive form.[18] Nominalization compounds can be further classified into two types: lexical and productive.

In lexical nominalization compounds, the combination of V1 and V2 is lexically fixed. *tui+ke:sun* 'take back' is an example of a lexical compound verb, in which V1 is the nominalized form of the verb *tur-* 'take' and V2 is an inflected form of the verb *ke:s-* 'return'.

In productive nominalization compounds, V2 adds some adverbial meaning to V1. The combination of V1 and V2 is not lexically fixed (i.e., it is productive). Instances of verbs which can be V2 in productive nominalization compounds are: *no:s-* 'V1 over again' (e.g., *sikoi+no:sun* 'remake' (lit. 'make+repair')), *hatti-* 'V1 completely' (e.g., *ui+hattin* 'sell out' (lit. 'sell+come to an end')), etc.

In infinitive compounds, V2 is limited to a few modal verbs that are dedicated to the compound verb predicate: *jo:s-* 'can V1' (e.g., *siko:+jo:sun* 'can make (something)'); *nso:r-*, which expresses the speaker's respectful attitude to the S/A argument of the clause (e.g., *ko:+nso:ri* 'please buy'). Some modal adjectives are also employed in infinitive compounds: *busa(≠n)* 'want to V1' (e.g., *sa:+busan* 'want to touch'), *gisa(≠n)* 'likely to V1' (e.g., *hu:+gisan* 'likely to rain').

10.1.2   Auxiliary Verb Construction

The connective form of verbs, which is marked with the sequential suffix *-ti*, cooccurs with various auxiliary verbs to yield complex predicates, most of which are aspectual expressions. Instances of auxiliary verbs are shown in Table 4.10.

In auxiliary constructions, the connective forms phonologically fuse with the auxiliary verbs *ur-* (as in (89)) and *ar-* (as in (90)).

(89) *atamani tju:ru   use**tu**sa   ja:.*
　　 atamani tju:≠ru   use-**ti ur**-∅-sa   ja:.
　　 really   person≠FOC make.fun-SEQ CONT-NPST-ASS ADR
　　 '(He) is really making fun of me, isn't he?'

---

18   Nominalized forms and infinitive forms are distinctive in verbs whose stem-final segment is /r/. For instance, the nominalized forms of the stems *tur-* 'take', *sikor-* 'make', *sa:r-* 'touch' are *tui, sikoi, sa:i*, on the one hand; and their infinitive counterparts are *tu:, siko:, sa:,* on the other.

(90) *otto:ga   ju:ban siko**tesa**.*
    otto:⸗ga   ju:ban siko-**ti ar**-∅-sa.
    father⸗NOM dinner make-SEQ RES-NPST-ASS
    'Father has cooked the dinner for us.'

TABLE 4.10   Auxiliary verbs

Functions to be marked	Auxiliary verb	Lexical meaning
Continuative	*ur-*	'exist' (animate S)
Resultative/Benefactive[a]	*ar-*	'exist' (inanimate S)
Completive (undesired result)	*nen*	'not exist' (inanimate S)
Preparative	*uk-*	'put'
Directional (away from the deictic center)	*ik-*	'go'
Directional (toward the deictic center)	*k-*	'come'
Benefactive	*turas-*	'give'
Conative/Experiential	*(⸗n) m-*	'see'

a   Sentence (90) is ambiguous between resultative and benefactive readings. The benefactive reading becomes much clearer when the *ar*-auxiliary construction appears in an imperative sentence (as in *tasukite:ri* 'Help me!'), where the resultative reading vanishes.

10.2   *Non-verbal Predication*

A phrase headed by a nominal, an adjectival noun, or an adverb serves as a predicate in conjunction with the copula verb. Sentence (91) is an example of nominal predication.

(91) *arija   simanu   tju:de:ru.*
    ari⸗ja   sima⸗nu   tju:⸗ru je:-∅-ru.
    3SG⸗TOP village⸗GEN person⸗FOC COP-NPST-IND.FCCD
    'He is our fellow villager.'

The copula verb is obligatorily omitted when the sentence is affirmative, non-past, indicative, and no other marking is involved.

(92) *anu⸗hja:⸗ja   wa:⸗du:si.*
    that⸗guy⸗TOP 1SG.GEN⸗friend.
    'That guy is a friend of mine.'

Phrases headed by the formal noun *gutu*, which expresses a simile, is an exception, in that the auxiliary verb *ar-*, rather than the copula verb, is employed when it serves as a predicate.

(93) *gaikukunu*   *guturu*   *a:ru.*
      gaikuku≠nu   gutu≠ru   ar-∅-ru.
      foreign.country≠GEN SML≠FOC AUX-NPST-IND.FCCD
      'It's like a foreign country.'

11   The Simple Sentence

11.1   *Sentence Type*
Four sentence types can be distinguished by their speech acts and verbal morphology: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamative.

11.1.1   Declarative Sentences
The main verb in declarative sentences has its ending marked with the mood suffixes *-n* (indicative) or *-(s)sa* (assertive). While the indicative mood suffix *-n* is used to express objective facts, the assertive mood suffix *-(s)sa* expresses the speaker's subjective judgment, which is unknown or uncertain information for the addressee as in (94).[19]

(94) *a: natesuja*   *ja:tami*   *jessa.*
      a: nar-ti ar-∅-su≠ja   ja:≠tami   je-∅-**ssa.**
      so become-SEQ RES-NPST-NMLZ≠TOP 2SG.GEN≠fault COP-NPST-ASS
      'It's your fault that it happened.'

11.1.2   Interrogative Sentences
The main verb in interrogative sentences has its ending marked with a mood suffix such as *-:* (polar question; *nuda:?* 'Did you drink?'), *-(s)se* (polar question in a demanding tone; see (80) and (81) in §2.5), *-mi* (intentional question; *numimi?* 'Will you drink?'), *-ga* (content question), *-ra* (self-question), etc. The content question suffix *-ga* marks the verb's concord with an interrogative word.

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19   In a monologue, the assertive mood suffix *-(s)sa* also expresses a sense of mirativity as in (88) in §6.2.

(95) **ma:katji   itjuga?**
    ma:⸗katji   ik-ju-**ga**?
    where⸗ALL go-IPFV.NPST-WHQ
    'Where are you going?'

Similarly, the self-question suffix *-ra* marks the verb's concord with the interrogative focus particle *⸗ga*.[20]

(96) *nu:nu   ju:zuga   je:bira?*
    nu:⸗nu   ju:zu⸗**ga**   je-:bi-∅-**ra**?
    what⸗GEN errand⸗FOC COP-POL-NPST-SLFQ
    'I wonder what errand you came on.'

The sentence-final particle *⸗na*, which cliticizes onto the indicative form of verbs, also serves as a polar-question marker.

(97) *tja:⸗kane: je-:bi-ta-n⸗na?*
    constant⸗well COP-POL-PST-IND⸗YNQ
    'Have you been well ever since then?'

11.1.3   Imperative Sentences

The verb of imperative sentences has its ending marked with mood suffixes such as *-i* or *-iwa ~ -uwa*. Prohibition is expressed by periphrasis of the infinitive form of a negated verb and the imperative form of the preparative auxiliary verb *uk-* (lit. 'put').

(98) *aberanna   uki.*
    abe-an-na   uk-i.
    shout-NEG-INF PREP-IMP
    'Don't shout.'

Alternatively, the prohibitive suffix *-ki* or *-kiwa ~ -kuwa* attaches immediately after the negative suffix. Thus, the two-word sentence (98) can be paraphrased as a single word, *aberanki* or *aberankiwa ~ aberankuwa*.

11.1.4   Exclamative Sentences

Exclamative sentences are signaled by the demonstrative adverb *attji* 'in such a way' and a verb whose ending is marked with the focus concord suffix *-ru* (see §11.7.2).

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20   In (96), the self-question sentence is used as a polite question.

(99) *attji*   *ma:sa-∅⸗nu*   *mizu je:-∅-ru!*
in.such.a.way tasty-PRED⸗NPST.ADN water COP-NPST-IND.FCCD
'What tasty water this is!'

11.2   *Alignment*

Kin has a marked nominative alignment system, in which the S/A argument is marked for nominative and the P argument remains unmarked (as was seen in §9.3, Kin has no accusative case marker). Although non-volitional S arguments tend to be zero-marked in main clauses (as in (100)), they are marked for nominative in subordinate clauses as in (101).

(100) *a:mi: hu:gisan.*
ami   hur-:+gi-sa⸗n.
rain fall-INF+likely-PRED⸗NPST.IND
'It's likely to rain.'

(101) *a:minu   huija,   ma:katjin   nziran.*
ami⸗**nu**   hur-:⸗ija,   ma:⸗katji⸗n   nzi-an.
rain⸗NOM fall-INF⸗COND where⸗ALL⸗ADT go.out-NEG.NPST.IND
'When it rains, (I) don't go anywhere.'

11.3   *Possession*

Predicative possession is expressed by existential verbs. Unless the possessor argument is topicalized, both the possessor and the possessed are marked for nominative. In (102), while the possessor *hinsu:mun* 'poor man' is marked with the nominative (⸗*nu*), the possessed *nu:* 'what' is also marked with the nominative (⸗*ga*).

(102) *hinsu:mun**nu***   *nu:**ga***   *a:ga*
hinsu:+mun⸗**nu**   nu:⸗**ga**   ar-∅-ga
poverty+person⸗NOM what⸗NOM EXT-NPST-WHQ
'What does such a poor man (like me) have?'

11.4   *Valency Changing*
11.4.1   Causativization
Causativization is a valency-increasing operation, in which the S/A argument of the underlying predicate becomes a causee agent and the causer argument is introduced as the A argument of the derived predicate. The causativized verb is marked with the derivational suffix *-as-* or *-imi-* (see §5.2).

(103) *wa:ga   kadikara   ittakatji kamasugutu.*
      wa:⸗ga   kam-ti⸗kara   itta⸗katji kam-**as**-ju-gutu.
      1SG⸗NOM eat-SEQ⸗ABL 2PL⸗ALL eat-CAUS-IPFV.NPST-CSL
      'I'll eat first and then let you eat.'

11.4.2 Passivization

Passivization is a valency-decreasing operation, in which the A argument of the underlying predicate is demoted and the P argument of the underlying predicate is promoted to the S argument of the derived predicate. The demoted A argument is either omitted or marked with the dative or allative particle as in (104). The passivized verb is marked with the passive suffix *-ar-* (see § 5.2).

(104) *habu⸗nake ku:r-**ar**-i-n-do:.*
      snake⸗DAT bite-PASS-IPFV.NPST-IND⸗ADM
      'You'll get bitten by a snake.'

11.5 *Polarity*

Negation is marked on verbs with the negative suffix (see § 5.1.2). As was observed in § 5.3, the existential verb *ar-* and the copula verb have special stem allomorphs for negation.

    The negation of adjectival predicates is expressed by periphrasis of an adverbial form (see § 6.1.2) and an auxiliary verb whose lexical source is the negative existential verb *nen*.

(105) *ma:sa-ku ne-n-tekara   kam-an-ki.*
      tasty-ADV EXT-NEG-COND eat-NEG-PROH
      'If it doesn't taste good to you, don't eat it.'

11.6 *TAM*

11.6.1 Tense

There are fundamentally two tenses marked in the Kin dialect: non-past and past. In addition, there is also a *modal past* suffix whose semantic functions will be overviewed in § 11.6.3.

11.6.2 Aspect

The periphrastic aspectual expressions were introduced in § 10.1.2, but there are other strategies for aspect marking. For example, the imperfective past form (§ 5.1.2) is used to express reminiscences about a habit in the past.

(106)   *wakasai⹀ja   me:nitji   saki   num-i-ta-n.*
        younger.days⹀TOP   every.day alcohol drink-IPFV-PST-IND
        'When I was young, I used to drink alcohol every day.'

As has been reported in the literature on Shuri Okinawan (Tsuhako 1989), the imperfective past form is also used to mark evidentiality of direct perception. Sentence (107) has a strong implicature that the speaker directly saw the scene of his/her father's drinking alcohol.

(107)   *otto:⹀ga   saki   num-i-ta-n.*
        father⹀NOM   alcohol drink-IPFV-PST-IND
        'Father drank alcohol.'

The inceptive suffix *-jagi-* (§5.2) is used to report events denoted by the verb as having just begun and not yet completed.

(108)   *amakara   ⟨hiko:ki⟩ga   sa:gi:sa.*
        ama⹀kara   ⟨hiko:ki⟩⹀ga   k-jagi-:-sa.
        there⹀ABL airplane⹀NOM   come-INC-IPFV.NPST-ASS
        'An airplane is coming from there.'

There is also an aspectual expression in which the non-finite connective form serves as a predicate in a main clause, without the aid of the auxiliary verbs. This kind of predicate expresses not only the continuative aspect but also some sense of mirativity. Sentence (109) expresses the speaker's sudden realization of the situation.

(109)   *a:mi: huti!*
        a:mi: hur-ti!
        rain   fall-SEQ
        'It's raining!'

11.6.3   Modality

The modal past tense suffix *-te-* expresses such modal senses as evidence-based inference, counterfactual assumption, or mirativity (sudden discovery/recollection). Sentences (110) and (111) exemplify the usages of evidence-based inference and sudden recollection, respectively.

(110) *kumakatji tju:nu   ja:nu   a:tesa   ja:.*
       kuma⪦katji tju:nu   ja:⪦nu   ar-**te**-sa   ja:.
       here⪦ALL   human⪦GEN house⪦NOM EXT-MPST-ASS ADR
       'There must have been someone's house here.' [There are some arche-
       ological traces, etc.]

(111) *su:ja   zu:guja   je:tesa   ja:.*
       su:⪦ja   zu:guja   je-**te**-sa   ja:.
       today⪦TOP Fifteenth.Night COP-MPST-ASS ADR
       '(Come to think of it,) tonight is the Fifteenth Night.'

Sentence-final particles are also used to express modal meanings: ⪦*do:* (admoni-
tive), ⪦*te* (inferential), ⪦*ni* (reportative), etc.

(112) *a:tja:ja   a:mi:dente.*
       a:tja:⪦ja   a:mi:⪦ru je-∅-n⪦**te**.
       tomorrow⪦TOP rain⪦FOC COP-NPST-IND⪦INFR
       'It'll probably rain tomorrow, I think.'

11.7   *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings*
11.7.1   Topicalization
The topicalized element is marked with the topic particle ⪦*ja*. In most cases,
the nominative case particle does not cooccur with the topic particle: topic
marking takes precedence over nominative marking. In (113), the A argument
pu:pu: 'grandpa' is marked with the topic particle ⪦*ja*, without a nominative case
marker.

(113) *pu:pu:⪦**ja***   *me:nitji saki   num-i-n.*
       grandpa⪦TOP everyday alcohol drink-IPFV.NPST-IND
       'Grandpa drinks alcohol every day.'

However, the S/A argument of a verbal predicate with a connotation of ability
(e.g., *nar-* 'can do' or *wakar-* 'understand', etc.) is double-marked by the nomi-
native and the topic particle.

(114) *watta⪦**ga**⪦**ja** wakar-an-∅-gutu,   itta ta-i   ik-uwa.*
       1PL⪦NOM⪦TOP understand-NEG-NPST-CSL 2PL two-CLF go-IMP
       'We don't understand (what they say) so you two should go.'

11.7.2 Focalization

The contrastive focus particle *⸗ru* marks the host constituent as new information contrasted with alternatives ('not others but X'). In concord with the contrastive focus particle, the verb's ending is marked with the focus concord suffix *-ru* as in (115), unless the verb is marked with non-indicative mood suffixes or followed by a sentence-final particle.

(115) *waːta⸗nu⸗**ru**   jam-i-**ru**.*
       stomach⸗NOM⸗FOC hurt-IPFV.NPST-IND.FCCD
       'It is my stomach that hurts.'

When the contrastive focus particle *⸗ru* is followed by the copula, it is phonologically fused into the copula and pronounced as if they are a single word (i.e., the underlying //⸗ru jeː-∅-ru// is realized as *deːru*).

   The additive focus particle *⸗n* marks the host constituent as new information additional to alternatives already introduced in the discourse ('not only others but also X').

(116) *ja**n**   maːzui   itjumi?*
       jaː⸗**n**   maːzui   ik-ju-mi?
       2SG⸗ADT together go-NPST-YNQ
       'Do you also want to go with us?'

12   The Complex Sentence

12.1   *Clause Combining Strategies*

12.1.1 Coordination

In the coordination structure, two clauses are linked by inflectional coordinator suffixes (conjunctive *-kutu*[21] 'and/so' or adversative *-suga* 'but'), which are marked on the verb of the first clause.

(117) *saːisosa   seːgana juti   iza**kutu**, tjuːnu*
       saː-iso-sa   s-jegana jur-ti   ik-ta-**kutu**, tju⸗nu
       ATT-joyful-NMLZ do-SIM   approach-SEQ go-PST-CSL man⸗NOM

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21   *-kutu* (*-gutu*) is also used as a causal subordinator in the subordination structure.

> *nutu:ranu*   *hunide:tanni.*
> nur-ti ur-an-∅-nu   huni⸗ru je:-ta-n⸗ni.
> get.on-SEQ CONT-NEG-NPST-ADN   boat⸗FOC COP-PST-IND⸗REP
> '(He) got closer with glee (to see what it is) and it was an unmanned
> boat.'

12.1.2   Subordination

Inflectional subordinator suffixes, which fill the ending slot of verbs, form
adverbial clauses, adnominal clauses, and nominal clauses. The bracketed parts
in (118)–(120) are instances of each clause type subordinated by the causal sub-
ordinator *-ruwa*, the adnominal subordinator *-nu*, and the clause nominalizer
-su, respectively.

(118)   [*su:ja   hamati   tja:**ruwa**],   *ja:saku   nati.*
        su:⸗ja   hamar-ti   k-ta-**ruwa**,   ja:sa-ku   nar-ti.
        today⸗TOP work.hard-SEQ come-PST-CSL   hungry-ADV become-SEQ
        'Since I worked hard outside today, now I've become starving.'

(119)   [*ja⸗ga   wi:-ta-**nu**]   *hiru.*
        2SG⸗NOM plant-PST-ADN garlic
        'The garlic you planted.'

(120)   [*ari⸗ga   j-u:-**su**]⸗ja   *muttumu   je:-∅-sa.*
        3SG⸗NOM say-IPFV.NPST-NMLZ⸗TOP reasonable COP-NPST-ASS
        'What he says is reasonable.'

12.2   *Quotatives*

The quotative clause is marked with the conjunctive particle *⸗nitji.*

(121)   *na:migaru   uttunuguwa**nitji***
        na:mi⸗ga⸗ru   uttunug-uwa⸗nitji
        2SG.HON⸗NOM⸗FOC dive-IMP⸗QUOT
        itjuru.
        j-ti ur-∅-ru.
        say-SEQ CONT-NPST-IND.FCCD
        'It is you, who is saying (to me) "Dive!".'

12.3   *Insubordination*

The connective form of verbs used in sentence-final position expresses evalu-
ation (some sense of compliment or blaming). This construction can be ana-

lyzed as an ellipsis of a main clause such as 'I'm very impressed' or 'I'm very disappointed'.

(122) *attji*   *hudui-ti!*
       in.such.a.way grow-SEQ
       '(I'm very impressed to see that) you've grown so big!'

The adversative coordinator *-suga* expresses a warning when used in sentence-final position.

(123) *kuma⸗katji kuruma: tumi-ti⸗ja   nar-an-∅-suga.*
       here⸗ALL   car   park-SEQ⸗TOP can.do-NEG-NPST-ADVRS
       'You cannot park a car here.'

12.4   *Clause-Chaining Structures*
The connective form of verbs is used for clause chaining. In this construction, the number of linked clauses is virtually unbounded.

(124) *... sa: wakatji, kamitanakatji usagiti,   ... ningwan*
       ... sa: wakas-ti, kamitana⸗katji usagi-ti,   ... ningwan
       ... tea boil-SEQ altar⸗ALL   offer-SEQ ... prayer
       sa:bitan.
       s-jabi-ta-n.
       do-POL-PST-IND
       '(People used to) brew the tea, offer it on the altar of ancestors, ... and say a prayer.'

Appendix: Sample Text

The following text is collected from a recording by the Shimakutuba Bukai (Local Language Club) of the Kinchō Bunka Kyōkai (Kin Town Culture Association) in 2018. The speaker is Yaeko Ashitomi (female, born in 1942). The story is about the old May Festival.

(125) *mukasija   tjinezine:nu   ja:ja   asa   he:ku*
       mukasi⸗ja   tjine+zine⸗nu   ja:⸗ja   asa   he:-ku
       those.days⸗TOP family+family⸗GEN house⸗TOP morning early-ADV

ukiti,
uki-ti,
get.up-SEQ
'In those days, it was a day when each family got up early in the morning,'

(126)   *ukamaganasi:katji   me: usagiti,   urikara,*
ukama-ganasi:⸗katji   me: usagi-ti,   uri⸗kara,
cooking.stove-HON⸗ALL rice offer-SEQ that⸗ABL
'and offered rice to the god of fire, then,'

(127)   *ta:kara   me:nu   hu: sanbun*
ta:⸗kara   me:⸗nu   hu: san-bun
rice.field⸗ABL rice⸗GEN ear three-CLF
nuzittje:sutu,
nug-ti k-ti ar-∅-su⸗tu,
pull-SEQ come-SEQ RES-NPST-NMLZ⸗COM
'three ears of rice which had been taken from a rice field,'

(128)   *sirume:tu   misusiru:nu   mitjugumi to:to:me:katji*
siru+me:⸗tu   misu+siru⸗nu   mitjugumi to:to:me:⸗katji
white+rice⸗COM   miso+soup⸗GEN   set.of.three altar⸗ALL
usagiti,
usagi-ti,
offer-SEQ
'cooked rice and miso soup, we offered the set of three on the altar of ancestors,'

(129)   *sukuimuzukui dikigahu:nitji   ja:ninzunu ⟨karada⟩nu*
sukui+muzukui dikigahu:⸗nitji   ja:ninzu⸗nu ⟨karada⟩⸗nu
crop+crop   good.harvest⸗QUOT family⸗GEN body⸗GEN
⟨kenko:⟩nu   ningan su:nu
⟨kenko:⟩⸗nu ningan s-ju-nu
health⸗GEN   prayer do-IPFV.NPST-ADN
hi:de:bitaru.
hi:⸗ru je-:bi-ta-ru.
day⸗FOC COP-POL-PST-IND.FCCD
'as a thanksgiving for a good harvest and a prayer for the good health of the family.'

(130) *su:ja   muntage:nitji,   irera, kwe:, hira,   nukuziri:,*
       su:⸗ja   muntage:⸗nitji,   irera, kwe:, hira,   nukuziri,
       today⸗TOP   muntagee⸗QUOT   sickle hoe   hand.hoe saw
       nuimununu   ha:i,
       nuimunu⸗nu   hai,
       sewing⸗GEN   needle
       'On this day, people did a kind of purification called *muntagee*. As for
       sickles, hoes, hand hoes, saws, or sewing needles,'

(131)   *sukatija   narando:nitji*
        suka-ti⸗ja   nar-an⸗do:⸗nitji
        use-SEQ⸗TOP do.POT-NEG.NPST.IND⸗ADM⸗QUOT
        jattujabitan.
        j-ar-ti ur-jabi-ta-n.
        say-PASS-SEQ CONT-POL-PST-IND
        'we had been told not to use them.'

(132)   *je:sugajo:, ho:tja:ja   sukatin   juta:bitan.*
        je:suga⸗jo:, ho:tja:⸗ja   suka-tin   juta-:⸗:bi-ta-n.
        but⸗REM   kitchen.knife⸗TOP use-CONC good-PRED⸗POL-PST-IND
        'However, we were allowed to use kitchen knives.'

(133)   *attji, matjigati   uri mamurankui,   ha:munu:*
        attji, matjiga-ti   uri mamur-an-kui,   ha:+munu:
        then make.mistake-SEQ this follow-NEG-CIRC bladed+object
        ke:sukeja,
        ke:-suka-i⸗ija,
        ATT-use-INF⸗COND
        'If you go against this custom by mistake and used a bladed object,'

(134)   *habunake   ku:rarindo:nitji*
        habu⸗nake   ku:r-ar-i-n⸗do:⸗nitji
        poisonous.snake⸗DAT bite-PASS-NPST-IND⸗ADM⸗QUOT
        jattujabitan.
        j-ar-ti ur-jabi-ta-n.
        say-PASS-SEQ CONT-POL-PST-IND
        'it had been said that you'll be bitten by a poisonous snake in that year.'

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Aragusuku (Okinawa, Southern Ryukyuan)

Wang Danning

1 The Language and Its Speakers

The Aragusuku dialect (hereafter Aragusuku) is an areal variety of the Miyako language spoken in the southeastern area of Miyako Island in the southern Ryukyus (Figure 5.1). The main characteristics are the "fricative vowel" (e.g., [kṣkṣ] 'listen'), the presence of three reflexive markers (differentiated according to person, number and case), a double-nominative construction that is sensitive to the possessive relationship between the two subject NPs (e.g., *karjaa miinudu kagimunu* 'As for him, (his) eyes are beautiful'), etc.
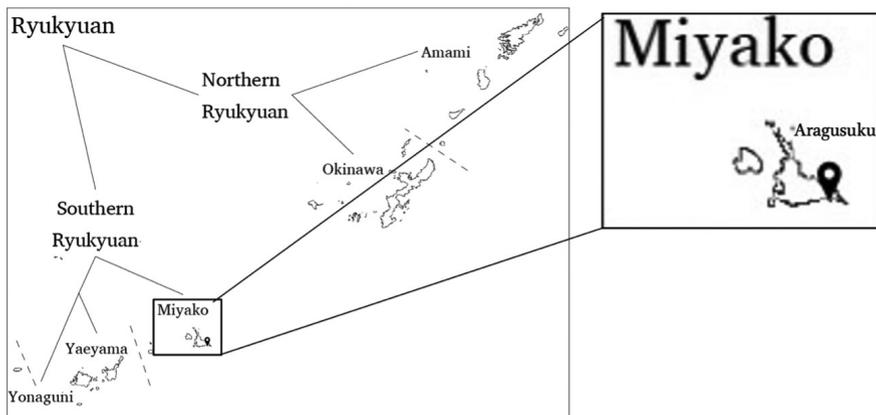
FIGURE 5.1   Map of Ryukyuan (Shimoji 2010: 3) and Aragusuku

Few previous studies have focused on the southeastern area of Miyako, much less on the Aragusuku dialect. Besides three relevant papers on particular topics (Inagaki 1966 on accent, Tabira 2018 on modification, Takahashi 2018 on case marking), the author's MA thesis (Wang 2019a) provides a preliminary description, but many issues are left unresolved. This chapter is a considerably revised version enriched by up-to-date data and analyses.[1]

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1   For more information about the fieldwork and methodology, please refer to Wang (2019a) and Wang (forthcoming).

TABLE 5.1   Criteria for phoneme classification

Phonemes	Temporary obstruction of the air stream	Able to be syllabic
Vowels	–	+
Consonants	+	±
Glides	–	–

Miyako Ryukyuan is identified as a definitively endangered language by UNESCO (2009) due to aging speakers, multilingualism and low vitality. Aragusuku speakers are generally over 60 years of age, despite a lack of appropriate statistics. Adults under 60 generally have difficulty mastering the Aragusuku dialect, let alone youngsters who are familiar with standard Japanese education. Furthermore, even the older speakers are bilinguals, and Standard Japanese has became their primary language of communication with family members and the younger generations.

2   Phonology

Aragusuku phonology is characterized by the existence of the "fricative vowel" (e.g., *pžtu* [pʂtu] 'person', *bžda* [bʐda] 'low, short'), which possesses the properties of both vowels and consonants. In the present section, §2.1 is devoted to the inventory of phonemes, §2.2 to the syllable structure and phonotactics, and §2.3 to morae. The following §2.4 and §2.5 address the word-level prosody and intonation respectively. Please refer to Wang (2019a) for more information.

2.1   *Phoneme Inventory*

Based on the criteria shown in Table 5.1, the Aragusuku dialect has six vowels, sixteen consonants, and two glides.

As shown in Table 5.1, consonants are distinguished by the fact that they are the only segments that obstruct the airstream during pronunciation. Next, vowels and glides differ in their ability to be syllabic: vowels are always syllabic, while glides can never be syllabic.

2.1.1   Vowels

The Aragusuku dialect has a six-vowel system: /a [a], i [i], u [u], ɨ [ɨ], (e [e~ɛ], o [o])/. /e/ and /o/, which are parenthesized, occur mostly in Japanese loanwords (e.g., *eego* 'English', *otoo* 'father').

TABLE 5.2   Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i [i]	ɨ [ɨ]	u [u]
Mid	(e [e~ɛ])		(o [o])
Low			a [a]

Unlike other vowels, /ɨ/ is analyzed as a vowel which is inserted by mor-phophonological rule (e.g., //pus// → /pusɨ/ [pusɨ] 'star'). The reasons for this are as follows. Firstly, /ɨ/ has restricted occurrence. It can not appear word-initially and can occur only after the fricatives /f,s,c,z/ (e.g., *fɨsa* [fɨsa] 'grass', *sɨta* [sɨta] 'tongue', *cɨna* [tsɨna] 'cord', *zɨmigi* [dzɨmigi] 'wonderful'), pronounced as [ɨ]. The second reason lies in the morphophonological rule concerning vowel-initial clitics. Take the topic marker ⸗a for example. The realized forms differ when ⸗a attaches to nouns with different syllable structures.

(135)   The vowel-initial clitic ⸗a is realized as
    a. /Ca/ when attaching to nouns which end with a consonant
       (e.g., //kam⸗a// (god⸗TOP) → /kam**ma**/).
    b. /ja/ when attaching to nouns which end with long vowels or diph-thongs
       (e.g., //mii⸗a//(eye⸗TOP) → /miija/; //kui⸗a// (voice⸗TOP) → /kui**ja**/).
    c. /a/ elsewhere
       (e.g., //mipana⸗a// (face⸗TOP) → /mipana**a**/).

If we regard /ɨ/ as a normal vowel existing in both deep and surface structures, based on the rule shown in (135c), ⸗a should be realized as /⸗a/ when the pre-ceding noun ends with /ɨ/. However, //pusɨ⸗a// (star⸗TOP) is not realized as */pusɨa/. Instead, we get the form /pussa/, just like the cases of consonant-final nouns. This indicates that /ɨ/ does not exist in the deep structure and it is bet-ter to analyze it as the result of insertion to avoid some consonant sequences or word-final consonants.

Vowels except /ɨ/ can occur in lengthened form, without significant differ-ence in phonetic quality.

There are three diphthongs in Aragusuku, all beginning with a non-front vowel: /ui/, /ai/ and /au/ (e.g., *kui* 'voice', *mai* 'front', *au* 'blue'). /iu/, /ia/ are not counted as diphthong, because they are observed only in the process of suffix-ation or clitic adding and obligatorily realized as [ju] and [ja] respectively.

TABLE 5.3   Consonants

			Labial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Glottal
Obstruents	Stops	Voiceless	p [p]		t [t]		k [k]	
		Voiced	b [b]		d [d]		g [g]	
	Fricatives	Voiceless		f [f]	s [s~ɕ]	c [ts~tɕ]		(h [h])
		Voiced			z [dz~dʑ]			
Resonants	Approximants			v [v~ʋ]	ž [ʂ~ʐ~z]			
	Nasals		m [m]		n [n~ŋ~ɴ]			
	Flaps				r [ɾ]			

2.1.2   Consonants and Glides

There are sixteen consonant phonemes (Table 5.3). They are further divided into two groups: obstruents /p, t, k, b, d, g, f, s, c, z, h/ and resonants /m, v, ž, n, r/. Obstruents and resonants are different in two ways. Firstly, obstruents have the voiced-voiceless distinction, while resonants do not. Secondly, obstruents cannot stand in the coda slots of word-final syllables, while resonants can (e.g., *kam* 'god', *pav* 'snake', *paž* 'fly', *kan* 'crab', *tur* 'take').

I analyze the "fricative vowel" as a resonant (/ž/) based on the following characteristics. /ž/ can stand in the V slot only when the onset is /p, b, m, k, g/ (e.g., *pžtu* [pʂtu] 'person', *bžda* [bʐda] 'low, short', *mžcjaaž* [mʐtɕaːʐ] 'three people', *kžkž* [kʂkʂ] 'listen', *pagž* [pagʐ] 'leg').[2]

Note that /h/ is observed only in loanwords (e.g., *Hanako* 'Ms. Hanako (person's name)'). Geminates occur only in the cases of voiceless fricatives and resonants (e.g., *ffa* 'child', *ssam* 'louse', *cca* (the hearsay particle), *mma* 'mom', *vva* (2.SG), *žžu* 'fish', *nna* 'shellfish').

Glides /w/ and /j/ are both restricted in occurrence. /j/ occurs only before /a/, /u/, and /o/ (e.g., *jaa* 'house', *junai* 'midnight', *joomunu* 'weak'). Whereas /w/ is restricted to occurring before /a/ (e.g., *waa* 'pig') in a limited number of words. Furthermore, when after a consonant, /j/ shows no restrictions, while /w/ can follow only the consonants /k/ and /g/ and generally in such cases a fusion rule applies (e.g., /**kw**aasɨ/[kwaːsɨ] or [koːsɨ] 'sweets', /sata**gw**aasɨ/[satagwaːsɨ] or [satagoːsɨ] 'sugar sweets').

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

Root words have a syllable structure of $((R_i)\ R_i)\ ((C_i)C_i(G))\ V_1\ (V_2)\ (C_{coda})$, where R represents only word-initial resonants, C the consonants (both obstru-

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2   Please refer to Wang (forthcoming) for further details.

ents and resonants), G the glides and V the vowels. The parenthesized elements are optional (Table 5.4).

TABLE 5.4   Syllables structure and mora

(Sesqui-syllable)		Regular syllables					
#((R$_i$)	R$_i$)	((C$_i$)	C$_i$	(G))	V$_1$	(V$_2$)	(C$_{coda}$)
μ	μ	μ	-	-	μ	μ	μ

Note that the sesquisyllable is only found word-initially. It can be filled only with a single resonant sound (e.g., *m.cɨ* 'road') or its geminates (e.g., ***mm.cɨ*** 'six'). However, I yet know of no words that include /r/ or /rr/ in their sesqui-syllables. The restriction of slots are as follow (Table 5.5).

TABLE 5.5   Restrictions of slots

SESQUI	(R$_i$) R$_i$	Resonant only (Note that R$_i$R$_i$ must be a sequence of identical resonants)
REGULAR	C$_{onset}$	SINGLE ONSET: All consonants or glides; GEMINATE ONSET: C$_i$C$_i$ must be the sequence of identical resonants or voiceless obstruents
	G	Glide(s) only (Note that when G slot is filled, the former C$_{onset}$ slot rejects glides)
	V$_1$	All vowels, or /ž/ only if the single onset is filled with one of /p,b,k,g,m/
	V$_2$	Identical vowel with V$_1$, or the latter part of a permitted diphthong (/i/ or /u/ when V$_1$ is /a/; /u/ when V$_2$ is /i/)
	C$_{coda}$	WORD FINAL: Resonant only; ELSEWHERE: Voiceless obstruents or resonants

Note that the coda slot may be filled with a voiceless obstruent (pronounced as [ʔ]) only when it is in word-medial position. In this case, the onset of the following syllable must be an identical obstruent (e.g., ***bap.pai*** [baʔpai] 'do something wrong'; *kakat.tan* [kakaʔtaɴ] 'didn't write'; *kakžk.ka* [kakʂʔka] 'If somebody writes'; *bas.sitar* [baʔsita:] *kakžtarc.ca* [kakʂta:ʔtsa] '(I heard that she) wrote').

TABLE 5.6   Word-level prosody

	Tonal class	Examples	Meaning	In isolation	⸗NOM⸗FOC	⸗ABL
Monosyllabic	A	paa	'leaf'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
	B	paa	'tooth'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
	B	nom	'chisel'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
	C	nom	'flea'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
Disyllabic	A	kata	'shape'	LH	LHHH	LHHH
	B	kata	'shoulder'	LH	LHHH	LHHH
	C	kata	'grasshopper'	LH	LHHH	LHHH

Moreover, Aragusuku rejects vowel strings made up of three or more vowels. To avoid such strings, two strategies are employed: (A) the insertion of /j/ (e.g., //mii⸗a// (eye⸗TOP) → /miija/ [miːja]), (B) vowel deletion (e.g., //mii-i// (watch-SEQ) → /mii/ [miː]).

2.3   *Mora*

In addition to "syllable", the phonological unit "mora" is primarily involved when describing the prosody of the Aragusuku dialect. The corresponding relationship between syllables and morae is illustrated in Table 5.4. *μ* indicates the position that carries one mora. As is evident from the table, resonants (R) in the sesquisyllable each carry one mora. As for regular syllables, an onset consonant carries a mora only when it is the first part of a C_iC_i sequence. Vowels always carry one mora each, and the coda consonants also carry one mora each. Aragusuku has a minimal word constraint that a word must have at least two morae.

2.4   *Word-Level Prosody*

It is reported by Inagaki (1966) that Aragusuku shows the '*n+1* pattern' of pitch accent; that is, where for words consisting of *n* syllables, there are *n+1* accent patterns. To put it specifically, for monosyllable words (*n=1*), there are two patterns: **the initial accent** (where the falling accent is assigned to the first syllable) and **the unaccented pattern** (the one that has no falling accent but only a raising one between the first and the second syllable); for disyllabic words (*n=2*), there are three patterns: **the initial accent, the penultimate accent** (where the falling accent is assigned to the second syllable) and **the unaccented pattern.**

TABLE 5.7   Word, clitic and affix (applicable: Y; not applicable: N)

	Morphological criteria	Word	Clitic	Affix
A.	It can be utterance independently	Y	N	N
B.	It can attach only to the stem of a particular kind of part-of-speech	N	N	Y

However, based on the author's research, pitch contrasts are not observed: when pronounced in isolation, monosyllabic words are observed always with the falling pith contour (that is, **the initial accent**), while when followed by clitics there is no fall in pitch (**the unaccented pattern**). On the other hand, disyllabic words have no falling accent (**the unaccented pattern**). In Table 5.6, the tonal classes are historical classes based on Igarashi (2017), and H/L is indicated for every mora. The question of whether there is an accentual distinction with longer suffixes requires further research.

2.5   *Intonation*

There are two basic intonation patterns in Aragusuku: **the falling intonation** and **the rising intonation**. The former can be found in declarative, imperative, and prohibitive sentences. The latter, on the other hand, is employed in all interrogative sentences (both content interrogatives and polarity interrogatives), whether with or without final interrogative particles (to be specific, ⸗*rjaa*/⸗*ga* for content interrogatives, and ⸗*na* for polarity interrogatives). It is worth noting that native speakers consider rising intonation to be a feature which distinguishes Aragusuku from neighboring dialects.

3   Descriptive Units

3.1   *Morphological Units*
3.1.1   Word, Clitic and Affix
In Aragusuku, "word", "clitic" and "affix" are distinguished by two morphological criteria: (A) utterance independency, (B) degree of selection to the host. As shown in Table 5.7, based on criterion (A), the **word** is the only unit that can be uttered by itself. Next, criterion (B) is employed to distinguish clitics and affixes: **clitics** can attach to several kinds of word-class elements, while **affixes**, as internal elements of words, can attach only to the stem of a particular kind of part-of-speech.

3.1.2   Root and Stem

A **root** bears the lexical meaning of the word and it is the part that cannot further be reduced morphologically. A **stem**, on the other hand, is what remains after removing all inflectional suffixes. A stem may comprise a root (e.g., *mii-* in /**mii**-tar/ (watch-PST) 'watched'), a compound root (e.g., *mii+pazɨmi* in /**mii+pazimi**-tar/ (//mii+pazmi-tar//) (watch+start-PST) 'started to watch'), or a combination of derivational suffixes (e.g., **mii**-*simi-tar* (//mii-smi-tar//) (watch-CAUS-PST) 'make (someone) watch').

3.1.3   Word Classes

Aragusuku has eight major word classes: The **noun** functions as the head of noun phrases (NPs). The **verb** is the only word class that inflects. The **adjective** refers to the reduplicated form derived from property concept (hereafter, PC) roots, with the root-final vowel lengthened in the first half of the word (e.g., *kagii~kagi* (RED~cute) 'cute'). **Adnominals** can only function as the modifier of an NP with no particular dependency marking (e.g., *kanu* in *kanu hun* 'that book'). **Interjections** can be uttered independently and are generally embedded under the quotative marker *=tti*. **Conjunctions** are restricted to sentence-initial position, serving as the juncture between the preceding and the following classes. **Particles** always stand phrase- or clause-finally, adding information about case, mood and so on. Words that do not belong to the above word classes are all classified as **adverbs.**

3.2   *Grammatical Relations*

In the present description, three grammatical roles are distinguished: intransitive subject (S), transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O; DO for direct object and IO for indirect object). For greater clarity, S is the only argument of an intransitive sentence, marked by the nominative case markers *=ga/=nu* (*tuž* 'bird' in (136)).

(136)   *tužnu   tubjuu.*
         tuž=nu   tub-i+ur-∅.
         bird=NOM fly-THM+PROG-NPST
         'A bird (S) is flying.'

A is the argument marked by the nominative case marker *=ga/=nu* (*maju* 'cat' in (137)), while DO refers to that marked by the accusative case marker *=u* (*jumuru* 'mouse' in (137)) in a transitive sentence. When there is an IO, it is marked by the dative marker *=n* or the allative marker *=nkai* (see (138)).

(137)   *majunu   jumuruu   fautaa.*
maju⸗nu jumuru⸗u   faw-tar
cat⸗NOM mouse⸗ACC eat-PST
'A cat (A) ate a mouse (O).'

(138)   *baga   hunnu   Hanakondu/Hanakonkaidu   turasitaa.*
ba⸗ga   hun⸗nu   Hanako⸗n⸗du/Hanako⸗nkai⸗du   turas-tar.
ba⸗NOM hun⸗ACC Hanako⸗DAT⸗FOC/Hanako⸗ALL⸗FOC pass-PST
'I (A) passed the book (DO) to Hanako (IO).'

4   Nominals

4.1   *Personal Pronouns*

Aragusuku has a pronominal system which distinguishes the first-person (the speaker) and the second-person (the addressee). It lacks special pronoun forms to express the third-person (all others). Instead, the demonstratives *kuri/ uri/ kari* are used referring to both animate and non-animate entities. *kuri/ uri/ kari* will be described in §8.1, together with other forms derived from the demonstrative roots *ku-/ u-/ ka-*.

TABLE 5.8   Pronouns

		1	2
SG		*ba⸗; banu; ban*	*vva*
PL	general	*ban-taa*	*vva-taa*
	inclusive only	*duu-taa*	-

Two numbers are distinguished, singular and plural. The plural affix *-taa* is used to indicate the plural for both persons. For second-person pronouns, there are *vva* for singular, and *vva-taa* for plural.

However, the forms of the first-person pronoun are more complicated. As shown in Table 5.8, there are three allomorphs for the first-person singular: *ba⸗*, *banu*, and *ban*. The three variants cannot be derived through transparent phonological rules. Which form is used depends on the clitics that follow (specifically, *ba⸗* co-occurs only with the nominative markers *⸗ga/⸗nu*, genitive *⸗ga/⸗nu* and the topic marker *⸗a* (e.g., *ba⸗ga* (1.SG⸗NOM/⸗GEN), *ba⸗a* [baja:] (1.SG⸗TOP))). *banu* co-occurs with accusative *⸗u* and the dative marker *⸗n* (e.g.,

banu⸗u (1.SG⸗ACC), *banu⸗n* (1.SG⸗DAT)). *ban*, the unmarked form, is used else-
where (e.g., *ban⸗kara* (1.SG⸗ABL), *ban⸗nkai* (1.SG⸗ALL)).

As for the plural counterpart, there are two kinds of first-person plural:
ban-taa (consisting of first-person singular *ban* and the plural suffix *-taa*) and
duu-taa (consisting of reflexive *duu* (§4.2) and the plural suffix *-taa*). Exam-
ples (139) and (140) illustrate the contrast between inclusive and exclusive plu-
rals respectively. In the case of inclusive reference, both *ban-taa* and *duu-taa*
can be used, while in the case of exclusive reference, only *ban-taa* is accept-
able.

(139) (Mrs. A took me to her girlfriends' party. I didn't know anyone but her.
       After a while, Mrs. A whispered to me)
       kamariidu   *uudara.*   *bantaaja/duutaaja*
       kamar-i-i⸗du   ur-∅⸗dara   ban-taa⸗a/duu-taa⸗a
       feel.bored-THM-SEQ⸗FOC   PROG-NPST⸗SFP   1-PL⸗TOP/1-PL.INCL⸗TOP
       sadarii ikadi.
       sadarii ik-a-di.
       ahead   go-THM-INT
       'Feel bored? Let us (Mrs. A, the speaker, and I, the addressee) leave first.'

(140) (Mrs. A was telling me about the episode between her and her husband
       Mr. A, who was absent at that time.)
       bantaaja/*duutaaja   *kanu tukjaanna,*   *funindu*
       ban-taa⸗a/*duu-taa⸗a   kanu tukjaa⸗n⸗na   funi⸗n⸗du
       1-PL⸗TOP/1-PL.INCL⸗TOP   that time⸗DAT⸗TOP   boat⸗DAT⸗FOC
       nuurjuutaasugadu,   *unu tukjaa*
       nuur-i-i+ur-tar⸗suga⸗du   unu tuki⸗a
       aboard-THM+PROG-PST⸗CNC⸗FOC   that time⸗TOP
       ssattansuga.
       ss-a-ttan⸗suga
       know-THM-NEG.PST⸗CNC
       'We (Mrs. A, the speaker, and Mr. A, her husband) were in the same
       boat at that time, but we didn't know it at that time.'

4.2   *Reflexives*

Aragusuku has three forms to indicate 'oneself', *una, duu*, and *nara*, all of which
are called reflexives in this chapter. The distribution of these three forms is cap-
tured by the three factors summarized in Table 5.9.

Factor (A) distinguishes *una* from the other forms. The form *una* can only
refer to plural referents, expressing the distributive plural (Quirk et al. 1985)

TABLE 5.9   The distinction of the functions of these forms (applicable: Y; not applicable: N)

	Relevant factors	*una*	*duu*	*nara*
A.	distributive plural only	Y	N	N
B.	with restrictions on the person of the referent	N	N	Y
C.	with restrictions on the case marking	Y	N	Y

meaning of 'for each one respectively'. *una⸗ga jumi* (REFL⸗GEN dream), for example, can only mean '(different) dreams of each individual'. In contrast, *duu* and *nara* refer to singular referents. For plural referents, the corresponding plural forms *duu-taa, nara-taa* (PL) are used, with no restriction on their meanings. For instance, *duu⸗ga jumi, nara⸗ga jumi* can be understood as both '(different) dreams of each individual' and '(the same) dream for everyone'. Factors (B) and (C) place additional constraints on *nara*. As shown in Table 5.9, *nara* is used only when it refers to a third-person referent whose case must be nominative ⸗*ga*, accusative ⸗*u*, genitive ⸗*ga*, dative ⸗*n*, allative ⸗*nkai* or ablative ⸗*kara*. Since there are no restrictions on *duu*, it can be used under any circumstances, and that of course includes the circumstances where *nara* can be used. In such cases, *nara* is preferred, because it leads to an unambiguous reference in person. Further details are available in Wang (2021).

Plurality marking is obligatory. *-taa* is used after reflexives, forming *duu-taa* and *nara-taa*.[3]

4.3   *Lexical Nouns*
Lexical nouns may precede the diminutive suffix *-gama* and plural suffixes *-taa/ -nukja*. When the noun is followed by several suffixes, the order is **Noun stem (-PL) (-DIM)** (e.g., *ffa -nukja -gama* '(cute) children').

The diminutive suffix *-gama* generally implies the smallness of the referent (e.g., *jubi-gama* 'the pinky finger'), an affectionate quality (e.g., *ffa-gama* 'the

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3   Note that I distinguish the reflexive *duu-taa* from the first-person inclusive plural pronoun *duu-taa*. The reasons for this are as follows. Firstly, they differ with regard to the presence of an antecedent: *duu-taa*, as the first-person inclusive plural pronoun, has no antecedent, whereas the reflexive almost always co-occurs with an antecedent. Secondly, they differ in what they refer to. As a personal pronoun, *duu-taa* can only refer to the first-person inclusive plural, while as a reflexive pronoun, it can refer to any person, which is determined by the antecedent.

TABLE 5.10 Plural affixes

	Pronouns	Person interrogative *tau*	Address nouns	Demonstratives	Human nouns
-taa	Y	Y	Y	N	N
-nukja	N	N	Y	Y	Y

TABLE 5.11 Numerals

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cardinal/ Age	*pitii-cɨ*	*futaa-cɨ*	*mžž-cɨ*	*juu-cɨ*	*ici-cɨ*	*mm-cɨ*	*nana-cɨ*	*jaa-cɨ*	*kukunu-cɨ*	*tuu*
People	*taukjaa*	*futaaž*	*mžcjaaž*	*jutaaž*	*icɨ⸗nu pžtu*	*mm⸗nu pžtu*	*nana⸗nu pžtu*	*jaa⸗nu pžtu*	*kuku⸗nu pžtu*	*tuu⸗nu pžtu*
Animal	*pžtu-kara*	*futaa-kara*	*mžž-kara*	*juu-kara*	*ici-kara*	*mm-kara*	*nana-kara*	*jaa-kara*	*kukunu-kara*	*tuu-kara*

child (with affection)'), as well as contempt towards the referent (e.g., *vva-gama* 'you (with contempt)').

There are two suffixes which mark plurality marking, *-taa* and *-nukja*, and these are obligatory for pronouns but optional for lexical nouns. They may co-occur with different kinds of noun phrases (Table 5.10; "Y" means "applicable"; "N" means "not applicable").

4.4 *Numerals*

Numerals in Aragusuku behave like nouns. They may occur in the main part of a noun phrase acting in a pronominal way (e.g., *futaaž⸗ga* (two.people⸗NOM) 'two people'). They may also be found as a modifier in a noun phrase, functioning as an adnominal and limiting the quantity of the noun (e.g., *futaaž⸗ga pžtu⸗nu* (two.people⸗GEN people⸗NOM) 'two people').

Aragusuku has an impoverished numeral system which can count only up to ten. When the amount is in excess of ten, native speakers tend to use the adjective *jamakasa* 'many'. For more precise reference, Standard Japanese numerals are used. The cardinal numerals and their derivative forms are given in Table 5.11. When counting more than five people, the form 'cardinal numeral⸗GEN people' is used. To count animals, the suffix *-kara* is utilized, no matter the size of the animal. Except for shellfish, for which the suffix *-kuu* is used instead.

5   Verbs

Verbal stems in Aragusuku can be divided into three classes: (A) **vowel-final stems**, (B) **consonant-final stems** and (C) **irregular stems**. All vowel-final stems end in the vowel /i/. Consonant-final stems are observed to end in /p, b, k, g, f, ff, vv, s, ss, c, žž, m, mm, n, r, w/. Unlike the other verb classes, when followed by certain suffixes, the thematic vowel *-a-* or *-i-* is required between the stem and inflectional suffixes (the choice of *-a-* or *-i-* depends on the inflectional suffix). There are two irregular verb stems: the light-verb 'do' (*ssuu-, sii-, as-*) and 'come' (*k-, kuu-, kisi-*). Each has three stem-variants that cannot be derived by morphological rules.

Aragusuku verbs may be divided into two categories: **independent verbs** and **dependent verbs** (the terminology and criteria below are based on Pellard 2012). They differ in both their code property and their behavioral property. Independent verbs are inflected for tense (past or non-past), polarity (unmarked positive or marked negative), and mood (indicative, intentional or imperative), while dependent verbs cannot take the full range of inflections. Secondly, independent verbs are fully autonomous and can function as the head of an independent clause in both simple and complex sentences. In contrast, the dependent verbs, in most cases, cannot function as the head of an independent clause.

5.1   *Inflectional Morphology*

Verbs inflect for tense, polarity and mood in independent clauses, while they inflect for polarity and conjunctional relationships in the dependent clauses. The inflectional paradigms for the three verb classes are given in Table 5.12 (*B* indicates the basic stem, *E-a* the expanded stem requiring the thematic vowel *-a-*, and *E-i* the expanded stem requiring the thematic vowel *-i-*).[4]

TABLE 5.12   Examples of verb inflection

	Vowel-final	Consonant-final	Irregular	
Examples	'watch'	'write'	'do'	'come'
B stem	mii-	kak-	sii-, ssuu-	k-, kuu-
E-a stem	-	kak-a-	sii-	kuu-
E-i stem	-	kak-i-	ssuu-	kisi-

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4   Please refer to Wang (forthcoming) for further details on the full process of inflection, where several morphophonological rules are applied.

TABLE 5.12 Examples of verb inflection (*cont.*)

		Vowel-final	Consonant-final	Irregular	
INDEPENDENT VERBS					
Affirmative mood, Non-past tense, Positive polarity	B	*mii-∅*	*kak-∅*	*sii-∅*	*k-∅*
Affirmative mood, Non-past tense, Negative polarity	E-a	*mii-n*	*kak-a-n*	*ssuu-n*	*kuu-n*
Affirmative mood, Past tense, Positive polarity	B	*mii-tar*	*kak-tar*	*sii-tar*	*k-tar*
Affirmative mood, Past tense, Negative polarity	E-a	*mii-ttan*	*kak-a-ttan*	*ssuu-ttan*	*kuu-ttan*
Intentional mood, Positive polarity	E-a	*mii-di*	*kak-a-di*	*ssuu-di*	*kuu-di*
Intentional mood, Negative polarity	E-a	*mii-daan*	*kak-a-daan*	*ssuu-daan*	*kuu-daan*
Imperative mood, Positive polarity	B	*mii-ru*	*kak-i*	*sii-ru/ ssuu*	*kuu*
Imperative mood, Negative polarity	B	*mii-na*	*kak-na*	*sii-na*	*k-na*
DEPENDENT VERBS					
Simultaneous 'while'	B	*mii-ccjaan/ mii-gacnjaan*	*kak-ccjaan/ kak-gacnjaan*	*sii-ccjaan/ sii-gacnjaan*	*k-ccjaan/ ˋk-gacnjaan*
	B	*mii-kaa*	*kak-kaa*	*sii-kaa*	*k-kaa*
Conditional 'if'	E-i	*mii-ruba*	*kak-i-ruba*	*sii-ruba*	*kisi-ruba*
Causal 'because'	E-i	*mii-ba*	*kak-i-ba*	*sii-ba*	*kisi-ba*
	E-i	(*//mii-i//*→)*mii*	*kak-i-i*	*sii-i*	*kisi-i*
Sequential	B	*mii-tti*	*kak-tti*	*sii-tti*	*kisi-tti*
Exemplifying 'for example'	E-i	*mii-ttja*	*kak-i-ttja*	*sii-ttja*	*kisi-ttja*
Purposive 'in order to'	B	*mii-ga*	*kak-ga*	*sii-ga*	*k-ga*
Negative sequential	E-a	*mii-dana*	*kak-a-dana*	*ssuu-dana*	*kuu-dana*
Negative conditional 'unless'	E-a	*mii-dakara*	*kak-a-dakara*	*ssuu-dakara*	*kuu-dakara*

5.2 *Derivational Morphology*

Verb stems may be extended by adding derivational suffixes to verb nuclei: **the causative markers** *-sɨmi-/-asɨ-* (*mii-sɨmi-* (*//mii-smi-//*) 'to make someone see', *kak-asɨ-* (*//kak-as-//*) 'to make someone write'),[5] **the passive/potential marker** *-rari-* (*mii-rari-* 'to be seen'), **the polite marker** *-samac-* (*mii-samac-* 'see (with respect))'. The derivational suffixes attach to the verb in a specific order. When these three suffixes are all added, the order is **Nucleus-Causative-Passive/Potential-Polite** (e.g., *mii-sɨmi-rari-samac-* 'to be made to see (with respect)').

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5 Which causative affix is used depends on the verb class. *-sɨmi* co-occurs with vowel-final verbs and the irregular verb forms *sii* 'do' and *kuu* 'come'. On the other hand, *-asɨ* is the counterpart for consonant-final verbs and *kisi* 'come'.

6   Adjectival Expressions

There are three types of adjectival expressions in Aragusuku: **the redupli-
cated type**, **the verbalized type** and **the dummy-head compound type.** All are
derived from property concept (Thompson 1988: 168) roots (below, PC roots).

The reduplicated type is derived from full reduplication of the PC root, with
the final vowel of the first part lengthened (e.g., *takaa~taka* (RED~tall) 'tall',
aparagii~aparagi (RED~good-looking) 'good-looking', and so forth). This is the
only type recognized as the distinct class "adjective" in Aragusuku, since it can
function as the complement of an intransitive predicate of existential verbs
(§10.2), and as a modifier within an NP (§9.2).

The verbalized type is the form in which the verbalizing suffix *-kar-* attaches
to the PC root (e.g., *taka-kar-*), inflecting like a lexical verb (e.g., *taka-kar-∅*
(tall-VLZ-NPST) 'be tall'; *taka-kar-tar* (tall-VLZ-PST) 'was tall'). For this reason, I
classify this type as a verb form. Similar to other lexical verbs, it can function as
an intransitive predicate, and as a relative clause. Semantically, the verbalized
type is often used in a comparative context. For example, *taka-kar-∅* implies a
comparison between two people or things, and the one marked with nomina-
tive ⸗*ga*/⸗*nu* is taller (141). The negative expression of this type uses the suffix *-f-*
(e.g., *taka-f-∅⸗a njaa-n* 'be not tall'; see §11.5).

(141)   (*kanu pžtujužža,*)   *baga   takakaa.*
         (kanu pžtu⸗južža,)   ba⸗ga   taka-kar-∅
         (that   person⸗COMP,) 1.SG⸗NOM tall-VLZ-NPST
         '(Compared to that person,) I am taller.'

The dummy-head compound type is a compound form made up of the PC root
and *munu* (e.g., *taka+munu* (tall+DHD) 'tall'). It can only occur in the predi-
cate, functioning as the complement of a copular-verb predicate as other nouns
do. Since *munu* is a dummy noun meaning 'thing, person', *taka+munu* can also
indicate 'tall things, tall person' where is a "the lexical-head compound". In
this case, *munu* literally indicates 'thing, person' and can be used as a normal
noun in a range of syntactic positions. I therefore regard the dummy-headed
compound and the lexical-headed compound as two different forms and only
the dummy-headed compound is recognized as an adjectival expression. The
semantic difference between the reduplicated type and the dummy-headed
compound type should be investigated further.

7   Class-Changing Derivations

7.1   *Nominalizations*

In Aragusuku, there are two strategies for verb nominalization: by zero marking (-∅) (142), and compounding by adding the noun *jaa* (143) or formal nouns *kutu, munu* (e.g., *fau+kutu* 'eating', *fau+munu* 'food').

(142)   *faunu   sigama.*
        faw-∅�nu   occupation
        eat-NLZ�NOM   occupation
        'Eating is (my) occupation.'

(143)   *jamsijaa*
        jam+sii+jaa
        be.ill+do+home
        'People who tend to get sick.'

For the the nominalization of adjectives, the suffix *-sa* is used (*upu-sa* 'size', *taka-sa* 'height').

7.2   *Adjectivizations*

Aragusuku uses reduplication to indicate adjectivization. However, this is limited to nouns that imply properties, such as *ffa* 'child' (*ffaa~ffa* 'childish') and *avva* (*avvaa~avva* 'greasy').

8   Demonstratives and Interrogatives

8.1   *Demonstratives*

There are three demonstrative roots, *ku-, u-, ka-*. They function as different word classes by taking the derivational affixes *-(r)i, -ma, -nu*. When functioning as pronouns, plural marking is obligatory. To express manner, only the derived form of the *ka*-root and the other special root *a-* are observed. In other words, the derivational affix *-ncii* does not attach to give **kucii, *ucii*. The origin of the special root *a-* requires more research.

8.2   *Interrogatives and Indefinites*

The list of interrogatives is given in Table 5.14. Note that, apart from the basic interrogative words, there are two derived adverbs *nau�tti* 'why' (derived from *nau* 'what') and *naubasi�nu* 'what kind of' (derived from *naubasi* 'how'). These

TABLE 5.13 Demonstrative root and derived forms

		Proximate	Mesial	Distal
Demonstrative Pronouns	SG	*kuri*	*uri*	*kari*
	PL	*kuri-taa/*	*uri-taa/*	*kari-taa/*
		kuri-nukja	*uri-nukja*	*kari-nukja*
Demonstrative noun for location		*kuma*	*uma*	*kama*
Demonstrative noun for manner		*kancii*	*ancii*	*ancii*
Demonstrative adnominal		*kunu*	*unu*	*kanu*

TABLE 5.14 Interrogatives

Interrogatives	Meanings	Indefinites	Meanings
tau	'who'	*tau-gara*	'someone'
nau	'what'	*nau-gara*	'something'
nza	'where'	*nza-gara*	'somewhere'
ici	'when'	*ici-gara*	'sometime'
ifu(ci)	'how many/how much'	*ifuci-gara*	'some'
nau≠tti	'why'	*nautti-gara*	'for some reason'
nzi	'which'	-	-
naubasi	'how'	*naukuru*	'in some way'
naubasi≠nu	'what kind of'	-	-

interrogatives relate to the regular word classes, for instance, *ici* is an adverb; *tau, nau* are pronouns, etc. For interrogative pronouns, plural marking is optional, and is only used when the speaker wants to emphasize the plural amount. As is evident from the table, the suffix *-gara* attaches to the interrogatives to form the corresponding indefinite forms.

9   Argument Phrase

Argument phrases precede the predicate. The argument phrase is structured as **'modifier head≠postposition'** where the postposition is added to specify the case or other information (e.g., *takaa~taka≠nu kii≠nu* (RED~tall≠GEN tree≠NOM) 'a tall tree').

9.1 *The Head*

Any kind of noun can be the head of an argument phrase. In general, the head can be optionally modified. However, modifiers are necessary when the formal nouns *kutu, munu* function as head.

9.2 *The Modifier*

Modifiers always precede the head in Aragusuku. Nouns (or noun phrases), adjectives, adnominals, and relative clauses may function as modifiers.

If a noun phrase functions as a modifier, the genitive marker *=ga/=nu* is required (e.g., *mjaaku=nu pžtu* 'Miyako's people', *ffu+zata=nu kwaasɨ* 'sweets made from brown sugar'). Compounding can be employed to express a similar meaning (e.g., *mjaaku+pžtu* (Miyako+people), *ffu+zata+kwaasɨ* (black+ sugar+sweet)).

When the modifier is an adjective, similar to the case of an NP modifier, the genitive marker *=ga/=nu* is also required, attaching to the modifier (*kagii~kagi=nu pžtu* 'cute person'). Similar to noun modifiers, compounding can be an alternative strategy (*kagi+pžtu*). In this case, instead of the reduplicated form, the root functions as the first element of the compound.

As shown in § 4.4, adnominals can also be a modifier (e.g., *kunu hun* 'this book').

Relative clauses may also be a modifier of an NP. They always come directly before the NPs they modify. The relative-clause verb inflects for tense when functioning as a modifier (e.g., *hunnu kakž pžtu* 'people who writes books', *hunnu kakžtaa pžtu* 'people who wrote books'). Note that when a modifier ends with an intransitive verb, there are two forms observed: the relative clause with the progressive aspect (*juu*-form in Tabira 2018; (144a)) and the nominalized form followed by the genitive marker (*iinu*-form in Tabira 2018; (144b)). These two differ in meaning. According to Tabira (2018), the former is used to express a progressive action, while the latter tends to be used when expressing occupations or characteristics.

(144)   Relative clause as a modifier:

a. *budurjuu*   *pžtu*
   budur-i+ur-∅   pžtu
   dance-THM+PROG-NPST person
   'the person who is dancing'

b. *buduriinu*   *pžtu*
   budur-i-i=nu   pžtu
   dance-THM-SEQ=GEN person
   'the dancer'

9.3   *Case and Other Role Marking*

Case markers indicate the semantic or logical relationship between the nouns or nominal elements that they follow and other parts of the clause. Aragusuku has a case system comprising ten case markers. The list of case particles is given below.

TABLE 5.15   Case particles

Case	Particle	Functions
Nominative	*=ga/=nu*	S or A
Genitive	*=ga/=nu*	possessor, modifier
Accusative	*=u*	O
Dative	*=n*	location, recipient, passive agent
Allative	*=nkai*	direct, recipient, passive agent
Ablative	*=kara*	source, path
Instrumental	*=sii*	instrument
Associative	*=tu*	accompaniment
Limitative	*=gami*	spatial or temporal limit
Comparative	*=južža*	standard of comparison

It is worth mentioning that the nominative and genitive are isomorphic, *=ga/=nu*. As with other Miyakoan languages (Shimoji 2010, etc.), these two alternate according to the animacy of the S or A noun phrase, as shown in Table 5.16.

TABLE 5.16   *=ga/=nu*

	Pronouns	Nouns (proper, kinship/social status)	Numerals	Others	
=ga	>>>	>>>	>>>		
		<<<	<<<	<<<	***=nu***

10   **Predicate Phrase**

As in most languages, the predicate phrase is the core of a clause in the Aragusuku dialect, and it is the verb that functions as the head. However, based on the choice of verb, I make a clear division between two types of predicate

phrase: **the general-verbal predicate phrase** (§10.1) and **the copular-verbal predicate phrase** (§10.2).

10.1   *General-Verbal Predication*

In a general-verbal predicate phrase, any verb can function as the predicate head. It is composed of one verb phrase (VP) and, if required, its complement. It may further be divided into two types: the simplex predicate (145a). and the complex predicate. A simplex verb predicate phrase contains a single verb root, whereas a complex predicate consists of two verb roots. Complex predicates can be further subdivided into compound-verb predicates (145b), auxiliary-verb predicates (145c) and light-verb predicates (145d).

(145)   a. **(complement) simplex verb**
             e.g., *mii-tar* (watch-PST) 'watched'
         b. **(complement) verb root1 (+verb root2)**
             e.g., *mii+pazɨmi-tar* (//mii+pazmi-tar// (watch+start-PST)) 'started to watch'
         c. **(complement) verb root (auxiliary-verb)**
             e.g., *mii ur-∅* (watch PROG-NPST) '(be) watching'
         d. **(complement) verb root (light-verb)**
             e.g., *miiɯa sii-tar* (watch≠TOP do-PST) 'watched'

10.2   *Copular-Verbal Predication*

Copular-verbal predicate phrases can be divided into two types: **one comprising a NP** (the NP-type) and **one comprising an adjective** (the Adj-type). In the case of the NP-type, the copular-verb (*j*)*ar-* functions as the head, bearing the inflection for tense, mood and polarity. (*j*)*ar-* is the realization in positive polarity (146a), while /ar/ is used in negation (146b)). Note that (*j*)*ar* is obligatorily omitted in non-past tense, affirmative mood and positive polarity sentences (147).

(146)   (j)ar-:
         a. *Tarooja   siitu   jaataa.*
            Taroo≠a   siitu   jar-tar
            Taroo≠TOP student COP-PST
            'Taroo was a student.'

         b. *Tarooja   siitu   aran.*
            Taroo≠a   siitu   ar-n
            Taroo≠TOP student COP-NEG
            'Taroo is not a student.'

(147) Omission:
       Tarooja   siitu.
       Taroo⸗a   siitu
       Taroo⸗TOP   student
       'Taroo is a student.'

In the case of the Adj-type, the copular-verbs *ur-* (positive, animate), *ar-* (positive, inanimate) and *njaa-n* (negative) function as the head. Omission of *ur-, ar-* occurs optionally in the non-past tense, affirmative mood and positive polarity (148) (149). However, when the focus marker is attached to an adjective, this omission never occurs (150) (151).

(148) *Tarooja   takaataka   (uu).*
       Taroo⸗a   takaa~taka (ur-∅)
       Taroo⸗TOP   RED~taka   (COP-NPST)
       'Taroo is tall.'

(149) *kunu kiija   takaataka   (aa).*
       kunu kii⸗a   takaa~taka (ar-∅)
       this   tree⸗TOP RED~taka   (COP-NPST)
       'This tree is tall.'

(150) *Tarooja   takaatakadu   uu.*
       Taroo⸗a   takaa~taka⸗du ur-∅
       Taroo⸗TOP   RED~taka⸗FOC   COP-NPST
       'Taroo is tall.'

(151) *kunu kiija   takaatakadu   aa.*
       kunu kii⸗a   takaa~taka⸗du ar-∅
       this   tree⸗TOP RED~taka⸗FOC   COP-NPST
       'This tree is tall.'

As for negation, the head verb switches from *ur-* to *njaa-* (152). In this case, the adjective complement no longer reduplicates. Instead, the verbalization marker *-f-* and the topic marker *⸗a* are required.

(152) *Tarooja   takaffa   njaan.*
       Taroo⸗a   taka-f-∅⸗a   njaa-n
       Taroo⸗TOP   tall-VLZ-NPST⸗TOP COP.NEG-NPST
       'Taroo is not tall.'

11   The Simple Sentence

In the Aragusuku dialect, the basic word order is SV/AOV.

(153)   SV:
baga   barautaa.
ba=ga   baraw-tar
1.SG=NOM laugh-PST
'I laughed.'

(154)   AOV:
baga   sibaiju   miitaa.
ba=ga   sibai=u   mii-tar
1.SG=NOM play=ACC watch-PST
'I watched a play.'

11.1   *Sentence Type*

The different sentence types of Aragusuku, **the declarative sentence** (see (153) (154)), **the interrogative sentence** and **the imperative sentence**, are illustrated below.

Interrogatives can be divided into content interrogatives and polarity interrogatives. The interrogative clitics *=rjaa/=ga* are optionally added to the end of content interrogatives while *=na* is optionally added to polarity interrogatives. An interrogative is always accompanied by a rising intonation, regardless of the type of interrogative and the appearance of clitics (§ 2.5).

(155)   Content interrogative:
vvaga   miitaa   sibaija   naurjaa/nauga?
vva=ga   mii-tar   sibai=a   nau=rjaa/nau=ga
2.SG=NOM watch-PST play=TOP what=SFP/what=SFP
'What is the play you watched?'

(156)   Polarity interrogative:
vvaa   aca   ikadina?
vva=a   aca   ik-a-di=na
2.SG=TOP tomorrow go-THM-INT=SFP
'Will you go tomorrow?'

Imperatives are expressed using inflectional affixes, with *-ru/-i* used[6] for imperatives and *-na* for prohibition (§5.1).

(157)   a. Imperative:
        sibaiju   miiru.
        sibai⹗u   mii-ru
        play⹗ACC watch-IMP
        'Watch the play!'

     b. Prohibition:
        sibaiju   miina.
        sibai⹗u   mii-na
        play⹗ACC watch-PROH
        'Do not watch the play!'

11.2   *Alignment*

Aragusuku dialect has a nominative-accusative case alignment system, with the S or A marked with *⹗ga/⹗nu*, and the object (O) marked with *⹗u* obligatorily in most circumstances. However, though case-particle ellipsis rarely occurs, it is observed only in invitational sentences (e.g., *cjaa(ju) numga cii* 'Let's go for a cup of tea'; Takahashi 2018).

11.3   *Possession*

Aragusuku uses three constructions to indicate possession or part-whole relationships: (a) using the genitive marker *⹗ga/⹗nu*; (b) using an existential verb *ar-/ur-* 'to be, exist'; (c) using the double-nominative constructions.

Regardless of inalienability, a noun phrase of possession is formed by using the genitive marker *⹗ga/⹗nu* between the possessor and the possessed (Inalienable: *ba⹗ga tii* (1.SG⹗GEN hand) 'my hand'; Alienable: *ba⹗ga hun* (1.SG⹗GEN book) 'my book'). As explained in §9.3, the choice between *⹗ga* or *⹗nu* depends on the possessor's animacy.

Using an existential sentence is another strategy. In this construction, the possessor is generally marked with the dative case *⹗n* and the topic marker *⹗a*, or just with the topic marker *⹗a* (*⹗n* can be omitted optionally). The possessed, on the other hand, is marked with the nominative case *⹗ga/⹗nu*. The choice between the existential verbs *ar-/ur-* depends on the animacy of the possessed. *ur-* is generally selected when the possessed is a living creature, either a human

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6   Which imperative affix is used depends on the verb-stem class. *-ru* co-occurs with vowel-final verbs and *sii* 'do', whereas *-i* is used with consonant-final verbs.

being or an animal. In other cases, *ar-* is used. However, there are exceptions. Both *ur-* and *ar-* are acceptable in some cases, where the possessed is a kinship noun or a word meaning 'friend' (*dusɨ* or *agu*).

(158)   *banna/bajaa*   *ututunudu*
        ban=n=a/ba=a   ututu=nu=du
        1.SG=DAT=TOP/1.SG=TOP younger.brother (sister)=NOM=FOC
        uu/aa.
        ur-∅/ar-∅
        exist-NPST/exist-NPST
        'I have (a) younger brother/younger sister.'

A third strategy is the double-nominative construction (hereafter, DSC) with a non-verbal predicate. In the DSC, the possessor is marked with the topic marker =*a* and the possessed with the nominative marker =*ga*/=*nu*.

(159)   a. *bajaa*   *miinudu*   *upumunu.*
           ba=a   mii=nu=du   upu+munu
           1.SG=TOP eyes=NOM=FOC big+DHD
           '(literally) I, eyes are big.'

        b. **bajaa*   *jaanudu*   *upumunu.*
           ba=a   jaa=nu=du   upu+munu
           1.SG=TOP house=NOM=FOC big+DHD
           '(literally) I, house is big.'

As shown in (159), the DSC strategy applies in restricted circumstances. According to my research, the use of the DSC is relevant to the Possession Cline (Body part > Attribute > Clothing > Kin > Pet animal > Product > Others; Tsunoda 1991, 1995, 2009). Generally, Aragusuku allows the use of the DSC only when the possessed is part of a 'body part' or 'attribute' (Table 5.17). More information is available in Wang (2019b), Wang and Shimoji (2020).

TABLE 5.17   The use of the DSC (applicable: Y; not applicable: N)

Body part	Attribute		Clothing	Kin	Pet animal	(Real) product	Others
	Inherent	Derived					
Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N

11.4   *Valency Changing*

There are two strategies that can be used to change the valency of a verb: **the causative derivation** which increases valency, and **the passive derivation** which decreases valency.

11.4.1   Causative

Adding the causative suffix *-simi-* (//-smi-//)/ *-asi-* (//-as-//) (§ 5.2)[7] to a verb increases the number of participants by adding a causer.

(160) a. *Tarooga   ututuuudu   budurasitaa.*
          Taroo=ga   ututu=u=du   budur-as-tar
          Taroo=NOM younger.brother=ACC=FOC dance-CAUS-PST
          'Taroo (causer) made his younger brother (causee) dance.' (Intransitive verb)

       b. *Tarooga   Hanakon   Zirooju   kurusasitaa.*
          Taroo=ga   Hanako=n   Ziroo=u   kurus-as-tar
          Taroo=NOM Hanako=DAT Ziroo=ACC kill-CAUS-PST
          'Taroo (causer) made Hanako (causee) kill Ziroo (patient).' (Transitive verb)

11.4.2   Passive

The passive derivation (§ 5.2) reduces the valency of a verb by the demoting of the passive agent. In a passive construction, the patient is marked with the nominative, while the agent, which is omitted in most situations, will be marked with the dative. As shown in (161c), the passive of intransitive verbs is unacceptable when the verb is a meteorological verb. "Y" means "grammatical"; "N" means "unacceptable".

(161)   a. Intransitive verb: N
            Zirooga   amin   ffaritaa.
            Ziroo=ga   ami=n   ff-rari-tar
            Ziroo=NOM rainfall=DAT rain-PASS-PST
            'Ziroo (patient) was affected by rainfall (agent).'

---

7   *-simi-* is used with vowel-final verbs while *-asi-* is used with consonant-final verbs.

b. Intransitive verb: Y

> *Hanakoo   annan   sinarii,   kanasimunu.*
> Hanako⊰a   anna⊰n   sn-rari-i,   kanas+munu
> Hanako⊰TOP mother⊰DAT pass.away-PASS-SEQ, pitiful+DHD
> 'Hanako (patient)'s mother (agent) died and she is pitiful.'

c. Transitive verb: Y

> *Zirooga   (Hanakon)   kurusaritaa.*
> Ziroo⊰ga   (Hanako⊰n)   kurus-rari-tar
> Ziroo⊰NOM Hanako⊰DAT kill-PASS-PST
> 'Ziroo (patient) was killed by Hanako (agent).'

11.5 *Polarity*

Only the negative polarity is marked. Negation is primarily expressed by attaching the negative inflectional affix to the verbal stem (§ 5.1).

(162) a. General-Verbal predication:

> *Tarooja   miin.*
> Taroo⊰a   mii-n
> Taroo⊰TOP watch-NEG
> 'Taroo does not watch.'

b. Nominal-Comprising predication:

> *Tarooja   siitu   aran.*
> Taroo⊰a   siitu   ar-a-n
> Taroo⊰TOP student   COP-THM-NEG
> 'Taroo is not a student.'

c. Adjectival-Comprising predication:

> *Tarooja   upuffa   njaan.*
> Taroo⊰a   upu-f-∅⊰a   njaa-n
> Taroo⊰TOP big-VLZ-NPST⊰TOP COP.NEG-NPST
> 'Taroo is not big.'

11.6 *TAM*

Tense is expressed using inflectional affixes. Please refer to § 5.1 for further details.

Aspect is indicated primarily by auxiliary-verbs: *ur-* (progressive), *ar-* (resultative), *njaa-n* (perfect), *uk-* (prospective), *mii-* (experiential). In addition, the full reduplication of a verb root is used to express a habitual event (e.g., *mii~mii* '(habitually) watch').

Modality is expressed by the inflection of verbs (intentional: *-di*, *-daan*, imperative: *-ru*, *-i*, prohibitive: *-na* (refer to §5.1)), sentence-final particles (low certainty ⸗*dara*, ⸗*jaa*, non-subject focus ⸗*doo*, confirmative ⸗*ira*, self-question ⸗*bjaa*), or a combination of both.

11.7 *Information Structure and Its Formal Encoding*

In the Aragusuku dialect, the topic is marked with the topic marker ⸗*a* (⸗*uba* for the accusative topic). The focus is specified by the focus particle ⸗*du* (⸗*ga* for content interrogative focus). It may precede any word class (Noun: after the case markers; e.g., *maju⸗nu⸗du* (cat⸗NOM⸗FOC); Adj: e.g., *kagii~kagi⸗du* (RED~cute⸗FOC); Verb: after the sequential form; e.g., *kak-i-i⸗du* (write-THM-SEQ⸗FOC)).

12   The Complex Sentence

12.1 *Clause Combining Strategies*
12.1.1   Coordination
Two independent clauses are linked by the concessive particle ⸗*suga*, expressing a contradictory conjunction.

(163) *pudunu   takamunusuga*(*du*)   *turarain.*
        pudu⸗nu   taka+munu⸗suga(⸗du)   tur-ra(r)i-n
        body⸗NOM   tall+DHD⸗BUT(⸗FOC)   take.off-POT-NEG
        'I am tall but cannot (reach and) take it off.'

12.1.2   Subordination
Subordination is represented by the inflection of dependent verbs (§5.1), typically using the focus marker ⸗*du*. Below is an example of causal subordination.

(164) *aminu   ffjuuriba*(*du*),   *sanau*
        ami⸗nu   ff-i+ur-i-ba(⸗du),   sana⸗u
        rainfall⸗NOM rain-THM+PROG-THM-CSL(⸗FOC), umbrella⸗ACC
        mucii   piri.
        muc-i-i   pir-i.
        take-THM-SEQ leave-IMP
        'Because it is raining, take an umbrella!'

12.2   *Quotatives*

The quotative clause is marked with the quotative marker *=tti*.

(165)   *ujaga   faitti   ažžtaa.*
        uja=ga   faw-i=tti   ažž-tar.
        father=NOM eat-IMP=QT say-PST
        'Father said 'Eat!''

12.3   *Insubordination*

Like other variants of Miyako (Pellard 2012), three types of insubordination are observed. See below for sample examples.

(166)   a. From concessive to permissive:
            karjaa   kuujaamai (zaumunu).
            kari=a   kuu-jaamai zau+munu.
            3.SG=TOP   come-CNC   good+DHD
            'I don't care if he comes.'

        b. From negative conditional to debitive:
            karjaa   ukidakara   (naran).
            kari=a   uki-dakara   nar-a-n.
            3.SG=TOP   get.up-NEG.SEQ become-THM-NEG
            'He has to get up.'

        c. From narrative to past:
            kjuuja   fauttikara   kisii.
            kjuu=a   faw-tti=kara   kis-i-i
            3.SG=TOP   eat-SEQ=ABL   come-THM-SEQ
            'I've been here since I ate today.'

12.4   *Clause-Chaining Structure*

The clause-chaining structure is frequently used in monologues. It is realized using the sequential inflected form of verbs (e.g., *paz-i-i, kis-i-i, kanz-i-i* in (167)). In this construction, subjects can be the same or different.

(167) *oziija   naraga   kisjuu   kžnnu*
oziiⵥa   naraⵥga   kis-i+ur-∅   kžnⵥnu
grandfather�-TOP REFL⸺GEN wear-THM+PROG-NPST kimono⸺ACC
paziidu,   bantaaga   urjuu   kisii,
paz-i-iⵥdu,   ban-taaⵥga uri⸺u   kis-i-i,
take.off-THM-SEQ⸺FOC 1.SG-PL⸺NOM that⸺ACC wear-THM-SEQ,
nukumurjuu kanzii   nivvtaa.
nukumuri⸺u kanzi-i   nivv-tar.
warmth⸺ACC feel-SEQ sleep-PST
'Grandfather took off the kimono he was wearing, and we put that on, and slept in the warmth.'

Appendix: Childhood Memories

(168) *nginu   panasɨsugadu, bantaaja pukazɨman*
ngi⸺nu   panasi⸺suga⸺du, ban-taa⸺a puka+sma⸺n
similar⸺GEN story⸺CNC⸺FOC 1-PL⸺TOP outside+island⸺DAT
ikii,   nusɨmii   kisjuusaiga,
ik-i-i,   nusm-i-i   kis-i+ur-∅⸺saiga,
go-THM-SEQ,   steal-THM-SEQ ENDO-THM+PROG-NPST⸺SFP,
bantaaja sɨmanu   ižjaanu,   kamaga   basanažpuka,
ban-taa⸺a sma-nu   iž+jaa⸺nu,   kama⸺ga   basanaž⸺puka,
1-PL⸺TOP island⸺GEN west+home⸺GEN, there⸺NOM banana⸺other,
kanu, toomorokosinukjaamaidu   arjuutaajuu.
kanu, toomorokosi-nukjaa⸺mai⸺du ar-i+ur-tar⸺juu.
uh,   corn-PL⸺ADT⸺FOC   exist-THM+PROG-PST⸺SFP.
'It's kind of a similar story. We went to another island and stole (from them). We (went to) a field over on the west side of the island, there were bananas, uh, corn as well.'

(169) *mmna, junai,   mata, kjuunu   juuja   faugamatatti*
mmna, junai,   mata, kjuu⸺nu juu⸺a   faw-gamata⸺tti
all,   evening, again, today⸺GEN evening⸺TOP eat-plan.to⸺QT
zjunbjaa   sii,   mmiimai   uutaapazɨ.
zjunbi⸺a   sii,   mm-i-i⸺mai   ur-tar⸺paz.
prepare⸺ACC do.SEQ, be.ripened-THM-SEQ⸺ADT PROG-PST⸺LCTN.
'(We were) going to eat them all tonight. They will be ripe (at that time).'

(170) *faa(di)tti*   *uribadu,*   *tumikaa,*
       faw-a(-di)≠tti   ur-i-ba≠du,   tumi-kaa,
       eat-THM(≠INT)≠QT   PROG-THM-CSL≠FOC,   look.for-CND,
       njaan!
       njaa-n!
       no.exist-NPST!
       'Going to eat them, we looked for them, but there was nothing!'

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Shiraho (Okinawa, Southern Ryukyuan)

Yuko Urabe

1   The Language and Its Speakers

Shiraho is spoken in Shiraho village on Ishigaki Island, which is located in the southernmost islands of the Ryukyu archipelago. While Shiraho village has a population of about 1,600, the number of speakers of Shiraho is under 100. This is because the majority of speakers are over seventy years of age. Community members in their fifties and sixties seem to have passive language knowledge of Shiraho, but the situation among younger generations is not known.

Shiraho belongs to Yaeyaman, which is a sub-branch of Macro-Yaeyaman, within the Southern Ryukyuan languages (Pellard 2015). The language-internal genealogical classification of Yaeyaman is the subject of discussion, but according to Lawrence (2000), Shiraho and Hateruma diverged from other Yaeyaman dialects at an early stage. This genealogical relationship with Hateruma is due to the twice forced migration from Hateruma Island in 1710 and 1771.

There are previous works focused on Shiraho written in Japanese. Notable works are Nakagawa et al. (2016), which is the first grammar sketch of Shiraho, and Ryūkyū Hōgen Kenkyū Club (2006), which gives a vocabulary list. This chapter gives a grammatical overview of Shiraho with new data collected in my fieldwork. This paper is also a grammar sketch, but diverges from Nakagawa et al. (2016) in terms of (i) updated analysis of simple sentences, and (ii) giving basic description of complex sentences. There are descriptive studies on other Yaeyaman dialects: Aso (2020) for Hateruma, Harada (2015) for Kuroshima, and Izuyama (2003) for Miyara. Lawrence (2011) describes Southern Ryukyuan, focusing on the data from the Hatoma dialect.

2   Phonology

2.1   *Inventory of Phonemes*

Shiraho has six vowels (/i, e, a, o, u, ɨ/). The vowel /e/ is realized as [je] optionally in syllable-initial position (e.g., [jema]~[ema] /ema/ 'the Yaeyama region'). The vowel /ɨ/ only follows /s/, /z/, and /c/ (e.g., [amisɨna] /amisɨna/ 'sugar cane', [mizɨ] /mizɨ/ 'water', [kuːnatsɨju] /kuunacɨyu/ 'Wishing for a good harvest in
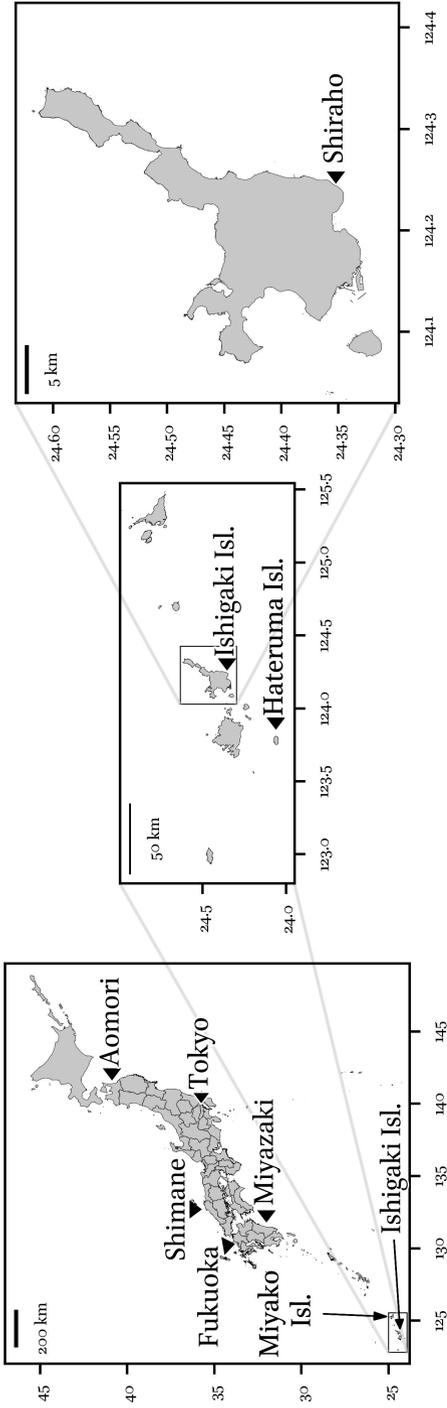
FIGURE 6.1   The location of Shiraho

the coming year'). Shiraho seems to make a distinction between long and short vowels (e.g., [tu̥ṟu] /turu/ 'bird' vs. [tu:ru:] /tuuruu/ 'lamp'), but sometimes the distinction becomes blurred (e.g., [pitu]~[pitu:] /pitu/ 'people'). Diphthongs are descending diphthongs (e.g., /baima/ '1PL.EXCL', /kui/ 'voice', /yoi/ 'celebration') and two ascending diphthongs (e.g., /muanu/ '(x) does not think' and /uencyu/ 'mouse').

Shiraho has fifteen consonants (/p, b, t, d, k, g, c, s, z, f, h, m, n̥, n, r/) and two glides (/w, y/). As with other Yaeyaman dialects, aspiration is prominent in Shiraho. Aspiration occurs where the word starts with a voiceless obstruent. Because of aspiration, following vowels and sonorant consonants (i.e., /n, m, r/) are devoiced (e.g., [si̥n̥u] /sɨnu/ 'yesterday', [tu̥ṟu] /turu/ 'bird'), but this is not a phonologically distinctive feature. However, the voiceless nasal dental consonant /n̥/ and voiced consonant /n/ contrast in the word-initial position (e.g., [n̥da] /n̥da/ 'why' and [nda] /nda/ 'appear (infinitive form)'). The consonant /h/ has allophones according to which vowel follows it: [ç] before the vowel /i/, [ɸ] before the vowel /u/, and [h] in elsewhere. In intervocalic position, /h/ sometimes becomes voiced or drops (e.g., [araɸu]~[araɦu]~[arau] /arahu/ 'wash'). The consonant /f/ always appears as geminate (e.g., [ɸɸa] /ffa/ 'saddle', [nuɸɸi] /nuffi/ 'sleep (imperative form)'). It may be possible to analyze [ɸɸ] as /hh/, but I do not adopt this analysis. The consonant /c/ is the voiceless affricate [ts]. The consonant /r/ is pronounced as [ɾ].

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

The syllable structure in Shiraho is (#(C1) C2) (G) V1 (V2) (C3).[1] There is an obligatory vowel (V1), but other slots are optional. C1 can be filled by /s/, /f/, /m/, and /n/ only in word initial position (e.g., /ssu/ 'cut', /ffu/ 'fall', /mma/ 'horse', and /nta/ 'mud'). When /n/ fills C1, it becomes a homorganic nasal with C2 (e.g., [nta] /nta/ 'mud' vs. [ŋgo] /ngo/ 'go'). The /G/ slot is filled by /w/ or /y/. /w/ precedes only /a/. While other Yaeyaman dialects have sequences like [kʷa:] /kwaa/ 'pedal' (Funauki dialect (Urabe 2018), Shiraho has labialized consonants only in [mikkʷa] /mikkwa/ 'blind person'. /y/ follows /p, b, c, s, z, k/ and palatalizes the preceding consonant. /y/ precedes only /u, o, a/. V2 can be occupied by /i/, /e/, /a/, or a vowel that is identical to V1. C3 can be filled by a voiceless obstruent in word-medial position and /n/ in word-medial and -final positions. In word-medial position, geminate consonants consist of C3 and C2 of the onset of the next syllable. C3 is always the same as C2 in the following syllable (e.g., /sip.pe/ (C2V**C3.C2**V) 'much').

―――――――――
1   C: consonant, G, glide, V: vowel.
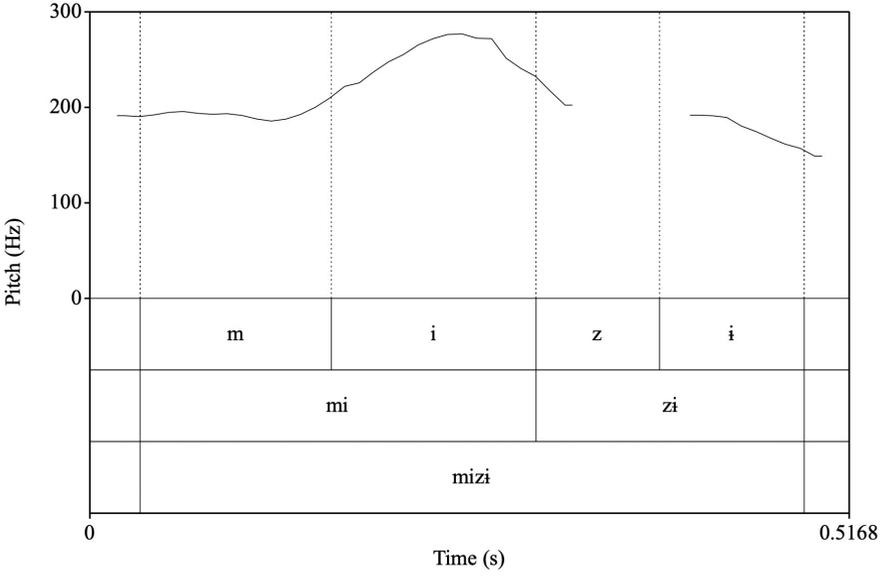
FIGURE 6.2 Falling-1: /mizɨ/ 'water'
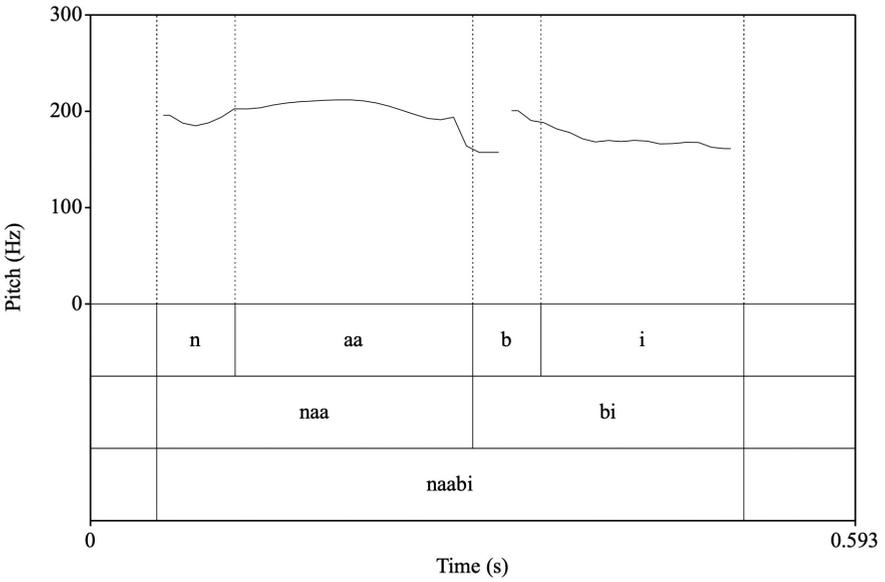
FIGURE 6.3 Falling-2: /nabi/ 'pan'
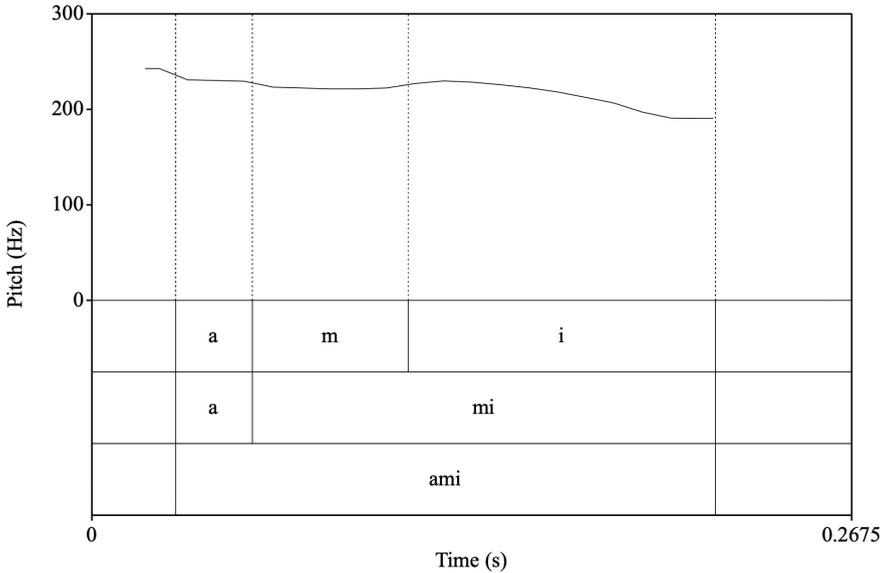
FIGURE 6.4 Level: /ami/ 'rain'

2.3   *Mora*

Regarding syllable structure, V1, V2, C1, C3 each carry a mora (e.g., *suu* (CV1V2/ 2 morae) 'tide', *ffa* (C1C2V1/ 2 morae) 'saddle', *kan* (C2V1C3/ 2 morae) 'crab'). In this schema, it is expected that the syllable in Shiraho can carry a maximum of four morae, but this is not attested.

2.4   *Word-Level Prosody*

Shiraho has a three-pattern pitch accent system that is determined lexically (Nakagawa and Celik 2019). The accent patterns are shown in figures 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4. Falling-1 is a steep falling pattern in which pitch falls around the second syllable. Falling-2 is a slightly falling pattern in which the pitch falls around the second syllable, but the degree of fall in pitch is lower than Falling-1. The level pattern keeps a high pitch.

According to Nakagawa and Celik (2019), the falling-2 and level patterns are in complementary distribution; words with the falling-2 pattern have an initial voiced consonant, and words with the level pattern begin with a vowel or voiceless consonant.

In compound nouns, the tonal pattern is determined by that of the first constituent.

(171)   a. Falling-1: /nisi+kaci/ 'north wind' (F1+F1), /mizi+maffa/ 'water pil-
            low' (F1+F2), /mizi+uki/ 'water bucket' (F1+L),
        b. Falling-2: /yamatu+pitu/ 'Japanese' (F2+F1), /macci+yama/ 'pine-
            clad hill' (F2+F2), /macci+kii/ 'pine tree' (F2+L),
        c. Level: /pari+sigutu/ 'needle work' (L+F1), /aba+nabi/ 'oil pan' (L+F2),
            /kii+usi/ 'mill made from wood' (L+L),

2.5   *Intonation*

Intonation in Shiraho distinguishes sentence types: a rising intonation in polar
questions, falling in content questions, falling sharply in imperatives, and flat
in declaratives. Examples of each sentence type are shown in §11.1. Intonation
changes depending on whether the sentence is with or without final particles.
For example, the intonation falls sharply in imperatives (e.g., *tupi!* 'Fry!'), but
not when ⸗*ba* is attached to imperative form (e.g., *tupiba!* 'Fry!').

3   **Descriptive Units**

3.1   *Morphological Units*

In this paper, I distinguish three morphological units: word, affix, and clitic.
The word has a fixed order within it, so root and affixes are arranged in order.
For example, within lexical nouns the diminutive suffix -*ntama* and the plural
suffix -*nda* are arranged in the order root-diminutive-plural (e.g., *maya-ntama-
nda* (cat-DIM-PL) 'kittens'). Affixes and clitics differ in their distribution. While
an affix is included within a word, a clitic is attached to a phrase. For example,
⸗*obi* (only) is attached to a verbal phrase, not a single word.

(172)   *miri   hiiruobi*
        mir-i   hiir-u⸗obi
        look-INF   BEN-NPST⸗only
        '(S/he) just takes care of me.'

In Shiraho, suffixes and enclitics are abundant, but prefixes and proclitics are
rare. *bii-* 'male' and *mii-* 'female' are the only prefixes found in Shiraho (e.g., *bii-
turu* 'a cock').[2] No proclitics are found. As with other Japonic languages, suffixes
abound in Shiraho.

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2   There may be more prefixes in Shiraho, but they are not found in my database. See Miyagi et
    al. (2003) which listed prefixes in the Sika dialect (e.g., *maa-* 'genuine').

3.2   *Word Class*

Shiraho distinguishes six word classes based on syntactic and morphological criteria. Nouns fill the head of the NP. Verb inflects for tense and mood and fills the predicate of the clause. Adjectives take adjectivalizer suffixes *-har-/ -sar-/-har-* and are accompanied by a negative verb to encode negation. Adverbs modify verbal predicates. Adnominals can only be the modifier of an NP. Particles are always attached to phrases and clauses.

3.3   *Grammatical Relations*

Subject is marked with the nominative marker *-nu* and tends to be topicalized with the topic marker *-ya* in narrative data. The object appears without markers, but is marked with *-yu* or *-ba* in narrative converbal clauses. The indirect object is marked with the dative marker *-go*. In (173), the subject (*okkan* 'mother') is marked with *-nu* and the object (*kee* 'gruel') is not overtly marked.

(173) *bainu   okkannu   meenu   ii   kee   takitayoo ...*
       bai-nu   okkan-nu   mee-nu   ii   kee   tak-ita-yoo
       1PL.EXCL-GEN   mother-NOM   rice-GEN   meal   gruel   boil-SEQ-SFP
       'Our mother cooked rice.'

Shiraho has a S(X)OV and modifier-head word order. It has a nominative-accusative alignment system. Nominative is marked with *-nu* and accusative is without markers basically and is marked with *-yu* or *-ba* depending on the clause type. Occasionally intransitive subjects are marked with *-yu* or *-ba*. The same behavior of *-yu* and *-ba* is reported in the literature on other dialects (e.g., Harada (2015)), but details are unclear.

4   Nominals

Nominals include personal and reflexive pronouns (§ 4.1), lexical nouns (§ 4.2), numeral nouns (§ 4.3), and demonstrative nouns (§ 8.1).

4.1   *Pronouns*

The personal pronouns are summarized in Table 6.1. The first- and second-person singular have alternative forms depending on the case marking. *baa/ daa* are the forms for the nominative/genitive (see (187a) and (199a)), while *banu/danu* appear in other circumstances.

Plural forms do not have alternative forms based on grammatical relations as their singular counterparts do. The first-person plural distinguishes be-

TABLE 6.1   Pronouns

	SG	**PL**
First	*baa/banu*	EXCL: *baima, banda*/INCL: *beema*
Second	*daa/danu*	*deema*
Third	*usita*	*usitanda*

tween inclusive and exclusive. *baima* is the basic exclusive form and *banda* is rarely used.

(174)   a. *beema   keera.*
            beema   keer-a
            1PL.INCL return-VOL
            'Let's go home.'

        b. *baima   pitegiya   deema piteginka   gumahadaraa.*
            baima   pitegi⸝ya deema pitegi⸝nka   guma-ha⸝daraa
            1PL.EXCL field⸝TOP 2SG   field⸝COMP   small-ADJ⸝SFP
            'Our field is smaller than yours.'

        c. *unu iiya   bandadu   kaki   sikeru.*
            unu ii⸝ya   banda⸝du   kak-i   sik-er-u
            this picture⸝TOP 1PL.EXCL⸝FOC write-INF put-PRF-NPST
            'This picture is what we drew.'

The third-person pronouns *usita* (singular) and *usita-nda* (plural) refer to a person or people who is/are neither the speaker nor the addressee. While speakers of Shiraho used this form in our elicitation sessions, these forms never appeared in narrative and conversation data. In narrative and conversational data, the demonstrative pronouns (*kuri* and *uri*) are used to refer to non-participants.

(175)   a. *usitasi sungara.*
            usita⸝si s-u-n⸝gara
            3⸝INS   do-NPST-IND⸝CONJ
            'S/he will do it by himself/herself.'

b. *usitandanu   sungara.*
   usita-nda⹀nu   s-u-n⹀gara
   3-PL⹀NOM   do-NPST-IND⹀CONJ
   'They will do it.'

The reflexive pronoun, which takes the subject NP as its antecedent, is *duu.* This pronoun is derived from *duu* 'body'.

(176)   *tarooya   duunu   pitegi duusi   keesero.*
        taroo⹀ya   duu⹀nu   pitegi duu⹀si   kees-er-∅-o
        Taroo⹀TOP REFL⹀GEN field   REFL⹀INS cultivate-PROG-NPST-IND
        'Taroo (proper name) is cultivating his field by himself.'

4.2   *Lexical Nouns*

Lexical nouns take suffixes: the diminutive suffix *-ntama*, the plural suffix *-nda*, and the location suffix *-nta*. The diminutive suffix refers to a young child and small animals (e.g., *yarabi-ntama* 'a child', *maya-ntama* 'a kitty'). The plural suffix *-nda* denotes associative plural with proper nouns (e.g., *hanako-nda* 'Hanako and others') and additive plural with other human, animal, and non-animate nouns (e.g., *sara-nda* 'dishes'). The location suffix *-nta* is attached to directional nouns (e.g., *me-nta* 'the front side', *nisya-nta* 'the north side').

4.3   *Numerals*

Numerals consist of a numeral root and classifier suffix. Shiraho has the native set shared among Japonic languages up to ten and uses Sino-Japanese roots to count months (e.g., *ici-gacu* 'January') or for higher numbers. Classifier suffixes take on different forms depending on what is counted. So far five classifiers have been identified: *-ci* for general nouns, *-gara* for non-human animate nouns, *-tari* for humans, *-giburi* for buildings, and *-siki* for months. Table 6.2 shows a list of numeral roots and word forms to count general nouns and human beings.

TABLE 6.2   Numerals

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine
Roots	*piti-*	*huta-*	*mii-*	*yuu-*	*ici-*	*nn-*	*nana-*	*yaa-*	*kukunu-*
General	*piti-ci*	*huta-ci*	*mii-ci*	*yuu-ci*	*ici-ci*	*nn-ci*	*nana-ci*	*yaa-ci*	*kukunu-ci*
Human	*pituri*	*hutari*	*mi-tari*	*yu-tari*					

TABLE 6.3   The inflectional paradigm of finite verbs

	Class 1 (e.g., *tur-* 'take')	Class 2 (e.g., *ugi-/ugir-* 'awaken')	Class 3 (*k-* 'come')
NPST	*tur-u*	*ugir-u*	*k-u*
NEG NPST	*tur-an-u*	*ugir-an-u/ug-un-u*	*k-un-u*
PST	*tur-u-ta*	*ugir-u-ta/ugi-ta*	*k-u-ta*
NEG PST	*tur-an-a-tta*	*ugir-an-a-tta*	*k-un-a-tta*
NPST-IND	*tur-u-n*	*ugir-u-n*	*k-u-n*
PST-IND	(*tur-u-ta-n*)	(*ugi-ta-n*)	*k-u-ta-n*
NPST-IND	*tur-∅-o*	*ugir-∅-o*	*k-∅-o*
PST-IND	(*tur-u-tar-o*)	(*ugi-tar-o*)	*k-u-tar-o*
VOL	*tur-a*	*ug-a*	*k-a*
IMP	*tur-i*	*ugir-i*	*k-u*
PROH	*tur-una*	*ugir-una*	*k-una*

5   Verbs

5.1   *Inflectional Morphology*

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 show the inflectional paradigm and types of stem-ending phonemes respectively. Table 6.3 shows inflectional paradigm of finite verbs. Table 6.4 lists verb stems with different phonemes which are found in Shiraho. Parenthesized forms are unattested, but expected based on the forms of other verbs.

As shown in Table 6.3, finite endings include tense (non-past *-u,-∅* / past *-ta*), indicative (*-n/-o*), volitional (*-a*), imperative (*-i/-u*), and prohibitive (*-una*). *-∅* is postulated in non-past indicative forms because there is a contrast between the past with an overt tense suffix (e.g., *kutaro*) and the non-past (e.g., *ko*). While indicatives are marked for tense and polarity, the other forms are not. Verbal stems in Shiraho are divided into three types based on (i) the availability of stem alternation (only class 2), (ii) negative suffix *-an* (class 1, optionally class 2) versus *-un* (class 3, optionally class 2), and (iii) imperative suffix *-i* (classes 1 and 2)/-*u* (only class 3). Class 3 contains only *k-* 'come'. Class 1 includes verbs which show regular inflection. Class 2 verbs are basically those that end in a final *-i* or *-e* (e.g., *kee-/keer-* 'return').

Class 2 stems are gradually taking an *r*-ending stem. For example, *mi-* 'look' historically belonged to class 2, but it has changed into the *r*-ending stem *mir-* and now belongs to class 1 in Shiraho.

TABLE 6.4   Inflectional paradigm of class 1 and 2 verb roots with different final phonemes

	NPST	NEG NPST	PST	VOL	IMP
mu- 'think'	*mu-u*	*mu-an-u* [moːnu]	*mu-u-ta*	*mu-a* [moː]	*mu-i*
ha- 'eat'	*ha-u* [hoː]	*ha-an-u*	*ha-u-ta* [hoːta]	*ha-a*	*ha-i* [heː]
tup- 'fly'	*tup-u*	*tup-an-u*	(*tup-u-ta*)	*tup-a*	*tup-i*
yub- 'call'	*yub-u*	*yub-an-u*	(*yub-u-ta*)	*yub-a*	*yub-i*
nuff- 'sleep'	*nuff-u*	*nuff-an-u*	*nuff-u-ta*	*nuff-a*	*nuff-i*
yum- 'read'	*yum-u*	*yum-an-u*	*yum-u-ta*	*yum-a*	*yum-i*
tat- 'stand'	*tac-u*	*tat-an-u*	(*tac-u-ta*)	*tat-a*	*tac-i*
muc- 'take'	*muc-u*	*muc-an-u*	(*muc-u-ta*)	*muc-a*	*muc-i*
ss- 'wear'	*ss-u*	*ss-an-u*	*ss-u-ta*	*ss-a*	*ss-i*
en- 'say'	*en-u*	*en-an-u*	*en-ta*	*en-a*	*en-i*
mir- 'look'	*mir-u*	*mir-an-u*	*mir-u-ta*	*mir-a*	*mir-i*
kak- 'write'	*kak-u*	*kak-an-u*	*kak-u-ta*	*kak-a*	*kak-i*
ng- 'go'	*ng-u*	*ng-an-u*	*ng-u-ta*	*ng-a*	*ng-i*
ndah- 'push'	*ndah-u*	(*ndah-an-u*)	*ndah-u-ta*	*ndah-a*	*ndah-i*
ugi-/ugir- 'awaken'	*ugir-u*	*ugir-an-u*	*ugi-ta*	*ug-a*	*ugir-i*

Additionally, verbs have non-finite ending forms. So far four converb forms have been identified: sequential converb *-ita/-ata*, conditional converb *-(u)cyaa*, causal converb *-ikii*, and simultaneous converb *-ici* (see §12.1.2). The conditional, causal, and sequential converbs inflect for polarity. The simultaneous converb always takes an affirmative form. Infinitive forms ending in *-i/-a* function as a constituent of compounds (*yum-i+kak-i* (read-INF+write-INF) 'reading and writing', §7.1) and as a narrative converb (§12.2).

5.2   *Derivational Morphology*
There are four suffixes which form new verbal stems: two causative suffixes, *-ah* and *-sim/-simir*, the passive/potential suffix *-ar/-arir*, and the aspect suffix *-er/-ar*. These suffixes derive a new stem from the verbal root with the order verbal root-(CAUS)-(PASS)-(ASP) (e.g., *num-ah-ar-atta* (drink-CAUS-PASS-SEQ) 'be made to drink', *nogor-ar-er-ta* (survive-CAP-PRF-PST) 'was able to survive').

5.3   *Existential, Stative and Copula*
Existential verbs denote the existence of the subject NP and are differentiated by the animacy of the subject NP. Copular verbs are used in equative con-

TABLE 6.5   Existential, stative and copula inflection

	bur-/bu- exist (animate)	ar- exist (non-animate)	neen- negative stative	yar- copula
NPST	bu-u/bur-u	ar-u		yar-u
NEG-NPST	bur-an-u		neen-u	ar-an-u
PST	bu-ta	at-ta/ar-u-ta		yat-ta
NEG-PST	bur-an-atta		neen-a-tta	ar-an-atta-n
NPST-IND	bu-∅-n	ar-u-n/a-∅-n		yar-u-n
NEG-NPST-IND			neen-u-n	
PST-IND	(bu-ta-n)	(at-ta-n/ar-u-ta-n)		
NPST-IND	bur-∅-o	ar-∅-o		yar-∅-o
NEG-NPST-IND			neen-∅-o	
PST-IND	(bu-tar-o)	(at-tar-o/ar-u-tar-o)		yat-tar-o

structions. The inflectional paradigm of existential, stative, and copular verbs is shown in Table 6.5. Parenthesized forms are unattested, but expected based on the forms of other verbs. The non-animate existential verb has suppletive form *neen-* for negation. /r/ often assimilates to [t] when the past tense suffix follows and drops when indicative suffix *-n* follows. These are similar to the inflectional paradigm of *tur-* in Table 6.3, but with some differences: *bur-* has the alternative stem *bu-* for the non-past and past tense. The non-past tense suffix *-∅* appears in indicative forms.

6   Adjectival Expressions

In Shiraho, roots denoting property concepts cannot function as a grammatical word on their own. They require suffixation, reduplication, compounding, or the presence of the copular verb. In this section, 'inflectional adjectives' refer to adjectival stems that consist of a root and an adjectivalizer. The copular verb must accompany non-inflectional adjectives.

6.1   *Inflectional Adjectives*
Inflectional adjectives consist of a property concept root, adjectivalizer (*-har/-sar/-syar*), and inflectional suffixes. Inflectional adjectives share their inflectional paradigm with the existential verb *ar-*, as is shown in Table 6.6. This is because inflectional adjectives are derived using the nominalizer *-sa and the

TABLE 6.6   Inflectional adjectives

	aca-har- (hot)	*mi-syar-* (good)	*pee-sar-* (fast)	cf. *ar-* (existential verb)
NPST	*aca-ha*	*mi-sya*	*pee-sa*	*ar-u*
PST	*aca-hat-ta*	*mi-syat-ta*	*pee-sat-ta*	*at-ta/ar-u-ta*
NPST-IND	*aca-har-∅-n*	*mi-syar-∅-n*	*pee-sar-∅-n*	*ar-u-n/a-∅-n*
PST-IND	*aca-hat-ta-n*	*mi-syat-ta-n*	*pee-sat-ta-n*	(*at-ta-n*)
NPST-IND	*aca-har-∅-o*	*mi-syar-∅-o*	*pee-sar-∅-o*	*ar-∅-o*
PST-IND	(*aca-hat-tar-o*)	*mi-syat-tar-o*	*pee-sat-tar-o*	(*at-tar-o*)

existential verb *ar-* (Karimata 2015). The three adjectivalizers *-har-/-sar-/-syar-* are allomorphs, and the choice between them is determined by the final vowel of the preceding root: *-sya* after *i-* or *e-*, *-sa* after a long vowel, and *-ha* elsewhere. /r/ assimilates to [t] when the past suffix follows and drops in the non-past forms or in indicative *-n* forms.

Inflectional adjectives and verbs differ in how negation is expressed. While verbs express negation through suffixation, inflectional adjectives are accompanied by the negative stative verb *neen-* (see §11.5). Inflectional adjectives have attributive (177a) and predicative functions (177b).

(177)   a. *bagaharu   munu*
           baga-har-u   people
           young-ADJ-NPST   people
           'Young people'

        b. *inagandu   tuusarikii …*
           inaga⹂n⹂du   tuu-sar-ikii
           sea⹂NOM⹂FOC   far-ADJ-CSL
           'Because the sea is far from here, …'

6.2   *Non-inflectional Adjectives*

Almost all adjectives belong to the inflectional category, and there is only one root that can be categorized as a non-inflectional adjective: *magi* 'big'. This root behaves like a noun, i.e., it takes the copular verb to function as the predicate (178a). In attributive function, there are two ways in which *magi* functions as a modifier of the head of NP: (i) reduplication plus genitive *⹂nu* (178b) and (ii) compounding (e.g., *magi+paci* (big+pot) 'a big pot').

(178)   a. *tanabura   mata magi arungara ...*
           tanabura   mata magi ar-u-n⹀gara
           mud.snail also   big   exist-NPST-IND⹀CONJ
           'Mud snails are big, so ...'

        b. *magimaginu   munu*
           magi~magi⹀nu munu
           big~RED⹀GEN   thing
           'big one'

7   Class-Changing Derivations

7.1   *Nominalization*

Nominalization occurs through suffixation. Verbs take infinitive suffixes *-i*
(classes 1, 3) or *-a* (class 2). Nominalized verbs are found in compound nouns
(e.g., *asa+nuff-i* (morning+sleep-INF) 'oversleeping', *yum-i+kak-i* (read-INF+
write-INF) 'reading and writing'). In the case of adjectives, root + adjectival-
izer *-ha/-sa/-sya* function as nouns to nominalize adjectives (e.g., *acaha* 'heat,
warmth'). Adjectival roots may comprise a part of compound nouns (e.g.,
buu+zara 'large plate').

7.2   *Verbalization*

There is no way to derive verbs from nouns and adjectives by affixation. For
this function, there is a light verb construction in which nouns appear with the
light verb *s-* (do) as in (179).

(179)   *suu pisucyaa   mata asarago   sii ...*
           suu pis-ucyaa   mata asarago   s-i
           tide ebb-COND again clamming do-INF
           'When the tide is on the ebb, (we) go clamming, and ...'

7.3   *Adjectivalization*

There are four suffixes which derive adjectives from verbs: *-igisyar-* 'seem to
do' (*toor-igisyar-∅-o* 'seems to fall down'), *-yassar-* 'easy to do' (*sike-jassa* 'easy
to use'), *-ingurisyar-* 'difficult to do' (e.g., *en-ingurisya* 'difficult to say'), and
-bohar-/bahar- 'want to do' (e.g., *ibi-bahar-∅-o* (plant-DES-NPST-IND) 'want(s)
to plant'). Inflectional morphology of these suffixes is the same with the inflec-
tional adjectives (§ 6.1). There is no way to derive adjectives from nouns.

8 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

8.1 *Demonstratives*

Demonstratives are summarized in Table 6.7. Shiraho has three series: the *ku*-series referring to proximate, the *ka*-series for distal, and the *u*-series. While the distinction between the *ku*- and *ka*- series is clear, the distinction between *u*- and the others is unclear in their deictic-pronoun usage. The same lack of clarity in the function of the *u*-series is reported not only on the literature of other Yaeyaman dialects, but also in the literature on other Ryukyuan languages (Uchima 1984). In addition to the demonstrative *kuma*/*uma*/*kama* locatives in Table 6.7, there is another locative series *moo*, *n*, and *ha*. The difference between the two series of demonstrative locatives is unclear.

TABLE 6.7 Demonstratives

	ku-series	*u*-series	*ka*-series
Things or person	*kuri*	*uri*	*kari*
Adnominal	*kunu*	*unu*	*kanu*
Location	*kuma*	*uma*	*kama*

8.2 *Interrogatives and Indefinites*

Table 6.8 summarizes interrogatives and indefinites in Shiraho. The number interrogative *uu-* is a bound morpheme which has to attach to a classifier (see §4.3). Indefinite forms of number and reason interrogative are lacking in my data.

TABLE 6.8 Interrogative morphemes

	Thing	Person	Place	Time	Number	Reason
Interrogatives	*nuu* 'what'	*taa*/*taima* 'who(SG/PL)'	*zaa* 'where'	*ici* 'when'	*uu-* 'how many'	*ņda* 'why'
Indefinites	*nundara* 'somewhat'	*tandara* 'someone'	*zandara* 'somewhere'	*icika* 'someday'		

9   Noun Phrase

Noun phrases behave as arguments of the predicate in the clause. A noun phrase obligatorily has a head and may optionally have a modifier. The head is occupied by pronouns, demonstratives, lexical nouns, numerals, or formal nouns (§ 9.1). The modifier is filled by NP with a genitive marker, an adnominal, or adnominal clauses (§ 9.2).

9.1   *The Head*
The head is filled with lexical nouns (180a), numerals (180b), and formal nouns (180c). Formal nouns have abstract meanings, and fill the head of NPs. They have to be accompanied by one or more modifiers. So far, seven formal nouns have been identified in Shiraho: *basu* 'time', *kami* 'period', *kutu* 'thing', *munu* 'thing', *kata* 'place', *tami* 'purpose', and *kuti* 'manner'.

(180)   a. *uwanu* **suu**yoo   saikoo mmahattaro.
            uwa⸗nu suu⸗yoo saikoo mma-ha-ttar-o
            pig⸗GEN soup⸗SFP best   tasty-ADJ-PST-IND
            'Pork soup was the best.'

        b. **hutari**go ssabomuniba   narahu   kutoo ...
            hutari⸗go ssabo+muni⸗ba   narah-u   kutu⸗ya
            two⸗DAT   Shiraho+langauge⸗ACC teach-NPST thing⸗TOP
            'To teach Shiraho to both of you'

        c. *unu panayu   ibiru   katayu   kimira.*
            unu pana⸗yu ibir-u   kata⸗yu   kimir-a
            this flower⸗ACC plant-NPST place⸗ACC decide-VOL
            'Let's decide where we plant this flower.'

9.2   *The Modifier*
The modifier slot of an NP can be occupied by an NP with the genitive marker ⸗*nu* (181), an adnominal, or an adnominal clause (182). With regard to the genitive NP, the semantic relation between the modifier and the head ranges widely. However, unlike other Japonic languages, Shiraho modifiers cannot express an appositional relation (181b).

(181)   a. *ssabunu   hikoozyoo*
            ssabu⸗nu   hikoozyoo
            Shiraho⸗GEN airport
            'Shiraho Airport'

b. *sinsiinu   maa*
   sinsii⋰nu   maa
   teacher⋰GEN grandchild
   'OK The teacher's grandchild / *The grandchild who teaches in a
   school'

An adnominal can only occur in the modifier slot. The members of this category
are few: *yunu* 'same' (e.g., *yunu munu* 'the same thing'), *yana* 'unpleasant' (e.g.,
yana kutu 'an unpleasant thing'), and demonstrative adnominals (§ 8.1). An
adnominal clause precedes its head. Adnominal clauses can be relative clauses
(182a), where the head noun corresponds to an argument or adjunct position
inside the clause, or as a non-relative clause (182b), in which the head noun is
not interpreted as an argument or adjunct. The head noun can correspond to
the subject (182a) or object in the relative clause.

(182)   a. *boorago   nguta   pitu*
           boora⋰go   ng-u-ta   pitu
           Mt.Hoora⋰DAT go-THM-PST person
           'A person who went to Mt. Hoora'

        b. *tamunu   bareru   utu   sikarirusaa.*
           tamunu   bar-er-u   utu   sik-arir-u⋰saa
           fire.wood split-PROG-NPST sound hear-CAP-NPST⋰SFP
           'I hear the sound of chopping firewood.'

9.3   *Case and Other Role Marking*

9.3.1   Case Marking

Table 6.9 lists the case markers in Shiraho. S, A, O in Table 6.9 refer to the Sub-
ject of intransitive verb, Agent of a transitive verb, and Object of a transitive
verb respectively. The nominative/genitive marker ⋰*nu* attaches to demonstra-
tives, proper names, human, animal, and non-animate nouns (see § 4.1 about
personal pronouns). The accusative markers ⋰*yu* and ⋰*ba* attach to the object of
transitive verbs, mainly in subordinate clauses. Of the three allative markers,
⋰*kaci* and ⋰*gaci* have restrictions on the nouns to which they attach: ⋰*kaci* only
attaches to *isasu* 'Ishigaki city' and ⋰*gaci* only to *hii* 'house'. ⋰*ci* is the general
allative marker attaches to other nouns.

9.4   *Other Marking*

Shiraho employs a topic marker, a focus marker, and limiters. These attach to
NP or NPs with a case marker. The topic marker and the focus marker will be

TABLE 6.9 Case markers

Marking	Label	Main roles
=nu	Nominative/Genitive	S, A, and genitive function
=yu/=ba	Accusative	O, (S)
=go	Dative	recipient, beneficiary, destination
=na	Locative	location, time
=ci/=kaci/=gaci	Allative	direction
=si	Instrumental	instrument
=gara	Ablative	a point of departure, path, moving means
=yakka	Comparative	standard of comparison
=tu	Comitative	addition, companion
=madi	Terminative	destination

discussed in §11.7. The limiter markers indicate addition (183a–183b), limitation (183c–183d), and approximation (183e). The addition markers *=yun* and *=n* are differentiated in terms of their distribution. *=yun* attaches only to subjects and objects (183a), while *=n* attaches to arguments including subjects and objects (187b), to adjuncts, and to non-nominal phrases (214).

(183)   a. Addition (*=yun*)
        enpicuyun   arun?
        enpicu=yun ar-u-n
        pencil=ADD exist-NPST-IND
        'Are there pencils too?'

      b. Addition (*=n*)
        urigon   hiriba.
        uri=go=n   hir-i=ba
        this=DAT=ADD give-IMP=SFP
        'Please give (it) to him/her too.'

      c. Limitation (*=obi*)
        yuruobee   meenu   ii.
        yuru=obi=ya   mee=nu ii
        night=only=TOP rice=GEN meal
        '(We ate) rice only at night.'

    d. Limitation (⸗*kaasi*)
      naciya   amikaasi ffi.
      naci⸗ya   ami⸗kaasi ff-i
      summer⸗TOP rain⸗only fall-INF
      'It rained all summer.'

    e. Approximation (⸗*bagara*)
      teegee icizikanbagara kakaren.
      teegee icizikan⸗bagara kakar-er-∅-n
      usually one.hour⸗about cost-PRF-NPST-IND
      'It usually takes about one hour.'

10   Predicate Phrase

10.1   *Verbal Predication*

The verbal predicate consists of one lexical verb and optionally an auxiliary verb. The minimal verbal predicate consists of only one lexical verb carrying the inflection by itself as in (184a). When the predicate is a compound comprising verb stems, the last constituent carries the inflection as in (184b). In the case of the auxiliary construction, the auxiliary verb carries the inflection as in (184c).

(184)   a. *kurumayu usiba.*
        kuruma⸗yu us-i⸗ba
        car⸗ACC   push-IMP⸗SFP
        'Push the car!'

      b. *kiiyu   usitoosi.*
        kii⸗yu   us-i+toos-i
        tree⸗ACC push-INF+knock.down-IMP
        'Push down the tree!'

      c. *kagonda amidu   oru.*
        kago-nda am-i⸗du   or-u
        basket-PL knit-INF⸗FOC PROG.HON-NPST
        '(A superior) is knitting baskets.'

Table 6.10 shows the list of auxiliary verbs in Shiraho. Examples of aspectual auxiliaries will be given in §11.6.

TABLE 6.10 Auxiliary verbs

	Stem	Lexical meaning
Progressive	*bir-*	'sit'
Habitual	*arag-*	'walk'
Perfect	*sitir-*	'throw'
Perfect	*neen-*	'not exist'
Experimental	*mir-*	'look'
Preparation	*sik-*	'put'
Honorific or Honorific Progressive	*or-*	'exist (honorific)'
Benefactive	*hi-/hir-*	'give'

The honorific auxiliary verb *or-* must be used when the subject should be shown respect. Basically, the honorific verb is mandatory when the subject is older than the speaker.

(185) *daa okanda   ici nii san   sii*
       daa okan-nda ici nii san   sii
       2SG mother-PL one two three four
       wakaroorunteni ...
       wakar-i+or-u-n⸗teni
       know-INF+HON-NPST-IND⸗QUOT
       'Mothers, do you know (numeric characters like) one, two, three and four?'

The benefactive auxiliary *hi-/hir-* indicates that the subject of the clause provides benefit to others by the subject's action as in (186).

(186) *ututugo   yumi   hiyan.*
       ututu⸗go   yum-i   hi-ar-∅-n
       younger.brother⸗DAT read-INF BEN-PRF-NPST
       '(I've) read (a book) to (my) younger brother.'

10.2   *Non-verbal Predication*
The nominal predicate consists of NP and the copular verb *ya-*. The copular verb does not appear when the predicate is non-past, affirmative, non-focused, and in the main clause (187a). (187b) is an example where the copular verb appears in order to encode past tense.

(187) a. *uree   baa utamadoo.*
　　　　uri⌐ya   baa utama⌐doo
　　　　this⌐TOP 1SG child⌐SFP
　　　　'S/he is my child.'

　　　b. *urin   hoo   munu yattaro.*
　　　　uri⌐n   ha-u   munu yar-tar-o
　　　　that⌐ADD eat-NPST thing COP-PST-IND
　　　　'That was also food.'

11 The Simple Sentence

11.1 Sentence Types (Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative)

There are three main sentence types in Shiraho: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Interrogative sentences are divided into content questions that include an interrogative word and polar questions that are marked by rising intonation. Imperative sentences take the imperative form of verbs as the predicate.

(188) a. Declarative sentence
　　　　sunu   ssitadu   gakkugo   haruta.
　　　　sunu   ss-ita⌐du   gakku⌐go   har-u-ta
　　　　kimono wear-SEQ⌐FOC school⌐DAT go-THM-PST
　　　　'I wore a kimono and went to the school.'

　　　b. Interrogative sentence (polar question)
　　　　isasukacidu   nguu?
　　　　isasu⌐kaci⌐du   ng-u
　　　　Ishigaki⌐ALL⌐FOC go-NPST
　　　　'Will you go to Ishigaki city?'

　　　c. Interrogative sentence (content question)
　　　　ure   nuudu   wakaru?
　　　　uri⌐ya   nuu⌐du   wakar-u
　　　　that⌐TOP what⌐FOC understand-NPST
　　　　'Do you know what that is?'

d. Imperative sentence
   pii huki!
   pii huk-i
   pii blow-IMP
   'Blow the whistle!'

11.2   *Alignment*

Shiraho has a nominative-accusative alignment system. The agent of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb are marked with the same marker *=nu* (NOM), but the patient of the transitive verb appears as a bare noun, or with *=yu* or *=ba*.

(189) *bainu   okkannu   meenu   ii   kee   takitayoo ...*
       bai=nu   okkan=nu   mee=nu   ii   kee   tak-ita=yoo
       1PL.EXCL=GEN mother=NOM   rice=GEN   meal   gruel boil-SEQ=SFP
       'Our mother cooked rice.'

(190) *turunu   tupero.*
       turu=nu   tup-er-∅-o
       bird=NOM   fly-PROG-NPST-IND
       'A bird is flying.'

As is reported in the literature on other Yaeyaman dialects, *=yu* is occasionally attached to the subject of an intransitive verbs. What factor determines this behavior of *=yu* is unclear.

(191) *panyu   nda   kii ...*
       pan=yu   nd-a   k-ii
       bread=ACC   appear-INF   come-INF
       'Bread appeared (in the market), and ...'

11.3   *Possession*

The possessive relation is basically expressed by the genitive marker *=nu* regardless of alienability (e.g., *taroo=nu huci* 'Taroo's mouth' (inalienable) vs. *taroo=nu nii* 'Taroo's baggage' (alienable)). Shiraho has predicative possession as in (192) in which the possessor NP and the possessed NP function respectively as the subject and the direct object of the verb *muc-* 'have'.

(192) *utamaya butu mucidaru.*
utama�~ya butu muc-i≀du+ar-u
child≀TOP husband have-INF≀FOC+exist-NPST
'My child has a husband.'

11.4 *Valency Changing*

Shiraho has two types of valency-changing operations. One is the causative construction, in which the causer functions as the subject. The marking of the causee varies depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. In the case of a transitive verb (193a), the causee is marked with the dative case marker ≀*go*. In the case of an intransitive verb (193b), the causee is marked with the accusative case marker ≀*yu*.

(193) a. *utamago asayu turahaa/ turasimira.*
utama≀go asa≀yu {tur-ah-a/ tur-asimir-a}
child≀DAT sea.lettuce≀ACC {catch-CAUS-VOL/ catch-CAUS-VOL}
'Let's make my child gather sea lettuce.'

   b. *unu urigara mmayu tupahiyooteni ...*
unu uri≀gara mma≀yu tup-ah-i≀yoo≀teni
FL that≀ABL horse≀ACC jump-CAUS-IMP≀SFP≀QUOT
'Then, let (your) horse jump.'

The other valency-changing operation is the passive construction, in which the agent is marked with the dative and the patient functions as the subject. Passivization in Shiraho, and most of Yaeyaman dialects except for the Hatoma dialect (Lawrence 2011), applies only to transitive verbs, not also to intransitive verbs as in Standard Japanese.

(194) *banciruyu tandarago turaran.*
banciru≀yu tandara≀go tur-ar-a-∅-n
guava≀ACC someone≀DAT take-PASS-PRF-NPST-IND
'My guava has been stolen by someone.'

11.5 *Polarity*

Negative polarity is marked overtly, but the affirmative is not. In order to express negation, verbs take the negative suffix *-an/-un* (195a). In the case of the non-animate existential verb, the suppletive verb *neen-* is used to encode negation (see (222)). *neen-* is used to express negation when the adjectival predicate (195b). In the case of nominal predicates, the copular verb takes the negative suffix (195c).

(195)　a. *moonu　　mmaya　　pitu　　keranoo.*
　　　　　moo⚍nu　mma⚍ya　pitu　ker-an-∅-o
　　　　　here⚍GEN　horse⚍TOP　people　kick-NEG-NPST-IND
　　　　　'The horse belonging to this house does not kick people.'

　　　　b. *uriya　　maaha　　neenu.*
　　　　　uri⚍ya　maa-ha　neen-u
　　　　　that⚍TOP　tasty-ADJ　NEG.STA-NPST
　　　　　'That is not tasty.'

　　　　c. *baa sinsiiya　　aranattan.*
　　　　　baa sinsii⚍ya　ar-an-a-tta-n
　　　　　1SG　teacher⚍TOP　COP-NEG-THM-PST-IND
　　　　　'I was not a teacher.'

11.6　*TAM*

11.6.1　Tense

Shiraho has a non-past /past tense system, which is expressed using verbal inflection (*-u*/-∅ for non-past (196a) and *-ta* for past (196b)). Some Yaeya-man varieties have a distinction of remoteness in the past, but Shiraho does not.

(196)　a. *amikaasi　ffudoraa.*
　　　　　ami⚍kaasi　ff-u⚍doraa
　　　　　rain⚍only　fall-NPST⚍SFP
　　　　　'It's just raining.'

　　　　b. *sunoo　　　ami　ffutan.*
　　　　　sunu⚍ya　　ami　ff-u-ta-n
　　　　　yesterday⚍TOP　rain　fall-THM-PST-IND
　　　　　'Yesterday it rained.'

11.6.2　Aspect

Grammatical aspect is encoded by the verbal suffixes *-ar* (for class 2 verbs)/-*er* (for class 1 or 3 verbs) or the auxiliary verbs listed in Table 6.10. The grammat-ical aspect suffixes *-ar*/-*er* can be interpreted as either progressive (197a) or perfect aspect (see (174c)). The progressive and perfect interpretations are dis-tinguished by associated pitch patterns: progressive by steep falling and resulta-tive by high pitch (see Davis and Lau (2015) for a detailed discussion of a similar phenomenon in Miyara Yaeyaman). The progressive verb *bir-* is more restricted

in its distribution than the aspectual suffixes. It always takes the aspectual suffix -*er* in my database.

(197) a. *mana yuudu   tureroo.*
          mana yuu≠du tur-er-∅-o
          now   fish≠FOC catch-PROG-NPST-IND
          'Now I am catching fish.'

       b. *ņdadu   nagi   bireba?*
          ņda≠du   nag-i   bir-er-∅≠ba
          why≠FOC cry-INF sit-PROG-NPST≠SFP
          'Why are you crying?'

arag- denotes habitual aspect, and in my data its subject is always an animate noun.

(198) *piroma nuffi   aragun?*
       piroma nuff-i   arag-u-n
       daytime sleep-INF HAB-NPST-IND
       'Do you sleep all the day?'

The perfect auxiliary verb *neen-* indicates that the speaker has regretted what happened. *sitir-* also encodes perfect and always follows transitive verbs which express a direct effect on the patient.

(199) a. *baa basuka   neenu.*
          baa basuk-a   neen-u
          1SG forget-INF NEG.STA-NPST
          'I have forgotten.'

       b. *kii   buttagahi   sitiriba!*
          k-i   buttag-ah-i sitir-i≠ba
          kick-INF roll-CAUS-INF throw.away-IMP≠SFP
          'Kick it over!'

11.6.3   Mood
Mood is encoded in verbal inflection, and there is an abundance of sentence-final particles which encode modality: ≠*haci* for presumptive, ≠*cyo* for hearsay.

(200)   Imperative
        piteginu   husayu   turi!
        pitegi꞊nu   husa꞊yu   tur-i
        field꞊GEN   grass꞊ACC weed-IMP
        'Weed the garden!'

(201)   Prohabitive
        gumahanu   kanya   turunaa!
        guma-ha꞊nu   kan꞊ya   tur-unaa
        small-ADN꞊GEN   crab꞊TOP   take-PROH
        'Do not catch small crabs!'

(202)   Volitional
        piteginu   husayu   turaa.
        pitegi꞊nu   husa꞊yu   tur-a
        field꞊GEN   grass꞊ACC weed-VOL
        'Let's weed the field.'

(203)   Presumptive
        accaya   pareruhaci.
        acca꞊ya   par-er-u꞊haci
        tomorrow꞊TOP   clear-PRF-NPST꞊probably
        'It should be going to clear up tomorrow.'

(204)   Hearsay
        duunu   kurumasi   haruncyoo.
        duu꞊nu   kuruma꞊si   har-u-n꞊cyoo
        REFL꞊GEN   car꞊INS   go-NPST-IND꞊HSY
        'He's apparently going to go by car.'

11.7   *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings*

Topic and focus are marked by ꞊*ya* and ꞊*du* respectively. The topic marker ꞊*ya* is in a paradigmatic relationship with the nominative and accusative markers. It follows other case markers when they co-occur (e.g., *yama꞊go꞊ya* (mountain꞊DAT꞊TOP) 'to (a/the) mountain'). The focus marker ꞊*du* follows all case markers, and attaches to the leftmost constituent of the focus domain (Davis 2013). It denotes contrastive and information focus (Shimoji 2018). These markers are attached not only to NPs, but also non-nominal phrases (e.g., (206a) and (229)). Shiraho does not have a cleft construction which functions as a focus construction in Japanese, Northern Ryukyuan, and some Yaeyaman dialects (e.g., Lawrence (2011)).

(205) *baa sikeru   munuya   bandu   katazikiru.*
       baa sik-er-u   munu⸗ya   ban⸗du   katazikir-u
       1SG use-PRF-ADN   thing⸗TOP 1SG⸗FOC put.away-NPST
       'It's me that puts away what I used.'

12 The Complex Sentence

12.1 *Clause-Combining Strategies*

There are two clause-combining strategies: coordination and subordination. Subordinate clauses are divided into three types: relative clauses (§ 9.2), adverbial clauses (§ 12.1.2), and complement clauses (§ 12.1.3).

12.1.1 Coordinate Clauses

Clauses are combined using conjunctive particles: *⸗siga* (adversative, (206a)) or *⸗gara* (resultative, (206b)). Verbs in the coordinate clauses inflect separately for polarity, tense, or indicative mood.

(206) a. *kurumayu usitasigadu   uganattan.*
           kuruma⸗yu usi-ta⸗siga⸗du   ug-an-atta-n
           car⸗ACC   push-PST⸗CONJ⸗FOC   move-NEG-PST-IND
           '(I) pushed a car, but it did not move.'

       b. *daa pii keehanakidu   yaseeya*
           daa pii keeh-an-aki⸗du   yasee⸗ya
           2SG fire put.out-NEG-CSL⸗FOC vegetable⸗TOP
           kugararukawa.
           kugarar-u⸗kawa
           be.burned-PASS-NPST⸗SFP
           'Because you have not put out the fire, the vegetables are burned.'

12.1.2 Adverbial Clauses

There are four types of adverbial clauses shown in (207)–(210). The predicate in an adverbial clause is marked by one of several converbs, not by finite verbs encoding tense or mood.

(207) Conditional clause
       sunu   pisucyaa   mata kainda asumarikii ...
       su⸗nu   pis-ucyaa   mata kai-nda asumar-ikii
       tide⸗NOM ebb-COND   FL   shell-PL gather-CSL
       'When tide ebbed, (we went to sea and) gathered shellfish, so ...'

(208)   Causal clause
     daa pii keehanakidu   yaseeya
     daa pii keeh-ana-ki꞊du   yasee꞊ya
     2SG fire put.out-NEG-CSL꞊FOC vegetable꞊TOP
     kugararukawa.
     kugarar-u꞊kawa
     be.burned-PASS-NPST꞊SFP
     'Because you have not put out the fire, the vegetables are burned.'

(209)   Sequential clause
     mma nurita   huca kari   ngirugarayoo.
     mma nur-ita   huca kar-i   ngir-u꞊gara꞊yoo
     horse ride-SEQ grass mow-INF go-NPST꞊CONJ꞊SFP
     '(I) get on a horse, go, and mow the grass.'

(210)   Simultaneous clause
     sunu   ssicidu   gakkugo   aragi ...
     sunu   ss-ici꞊du   gakku꞊go   arag-i
     kimono wear-SIM꞊FOC school꞊DAT walk-INF
     'While wearing a kimono, (I) went to a school ...'

12.1.3   Complement Clauses (Quotatives)

Complement clauses are clauses that function as an argument in main clauses. Basically, they function as the argument of speech act verbs and cognitive verbs. They are introduced by ꞊*ti* (QUOT) in (211), ꞊*teni* (QUOT) in (212), ꞊*yu* (polar-question particle) in (213), and ꞊*gasa* (content-question particle) in (214).

(211)   *duunu   kurumasi harunti   eneru.*
     duu꞊nu   kuruma꞊si har-u-n꞊ti   en-er-u
     REFL꞊GEN car꞊INS go-NPST-IND꞊QUOT say-PROG-NPST
     'He is saying that he'll go in his car.'

(212)   *yuu turu   pituya   icimantenidu   eno.*
     yuu tur-u   pitu꞊ya   iciman꞊teni꞊du   en-∅-o
     fish catch-NPST person꞊TOP Itoman꞊QUOT꞊FOC say-NPST-IND
     '(We) call a man who serves as a fisherman 'Itoman' (in Shiraho).'

(213) *uridu   sɨkara narutayu   wakaranusiga ...*
       uri∗du   sɨkara nar-u-ta∗yu   wakar-an-u∗siga
       this∗FOC power become-THM-PST∗Q understand-NEG-NPST∗CONJ
       '(I) don't know if it helped, but ...'

(214) *zaanadu   mizɨ arungasan   wakaranu.*
       zaa∗na∗du   mizɨ ar-u-n∗gasa∗n   wakar-an-u
       where∗LOC∗FOC water exist-NPST-IND∗Q∗ADD know-NEG-NPST
       'I do not know where water issues from.'

12.2   *Clause-Chaining Structure*

Clause-chaining is marked by narrative converbs formed with the infinitive suffix *-i/-a* or sequential converbs formed with the sequential suffix *-ta*.

(215) *ngomadi   higara   kuruma **sikita**   ngo   kuruma*
       n∗go∗madi hii∗gara   kuruma sik-ita   n∗go   kuruma
       there∗LIM house∗ABL car   park-SEQ there∗DAT car
       uratta**   mata **arag-i**   mata kuruman   tukumadi **aragii
       ur-atta   mata arag-i   mata kuruma∗nu tuku∗madi arag-i
       get.off-SEQ and   walk-INF and   car∗GEN   place∗LIM walk-INF
       kii ...
       k-i
       come-INF
       'And then, I went there from my house, parked my car, got out of my
       car, and started walking. And I went back to the car, and ...'

12.3   *Insubordination*

In Shiraho, coordinate clauses, causal converb clauses, and narrative converb clauses appear as independent clauses. Coordinate clauses with *∗gara* and causal converb clauses are used to explain reasons. Narrative converbs can behave as predicates of the main clause and encode past tense, as is found in other Ryukyuan languages (Pellard 2012). Narrative converbs are used in interrogative sentences or in argument/sentence focus sentences as in (216).

(216) a. *daadu   kaki?*
          daa∗du   kak-i
          2SG∗FOC write-INF
          'Did you write (this)?'

b. *bandu   kaki.*
   ban⸗du   kak-i
   1SG⸗FOC write-INF
   'It's me who wrote this.'

Acknowledgements

Appendix: Sample Text

This text is about the diet of Shiraho people around 80 years ago. The speaker was born in Shiraho and has been living there continuously except for some breaks due to work. Because of food shortages, they ate snails, leaves, and the like by gathering from rice fields.

(217) *ssabuya   gumaguma   siirenu   katacumuree*
       ssabu⸗ya   guma~guma siir-e-∅-nu   ⟨katacumuri⟩⸗ya
       Shiraho⸗TOP   small~RED do-PROG-NPST-ADN   snail⸗TOP
       sitami.
       sitami
       snail
       'In Shiraho, small snails are (called) *sitami*.'

(218) *sitami sitamito   iu.*
       sitami sitami⸗⟨to⟩ ⟨iu⟩
       snail snail⸗QUOT   say
       '*Sitami*, (we) call snails *sitami*.'

(219) *ita taana   buru   munuwa   mata tanabura.*
       ita taa⸗na   bur-u   munu⸗⟨wa⟩   mata tanabura
       then rice.field⸗LOC exist-NPST thing⸗TOP   also mud.snail
       'Then, what is in a rice field is mud snails.'

(220)   *taana   mata magimaginu   munu buta.*
        taa‿na   mata magi~magi‿nu munu bu-ta
        rice.field‿LOC also big~RED‿GEN   thing exist-PST
        'There are big shells in rice fields.'

(221)   *uree   urin   hoo   munu yattaro.*
        uri‿ya   uri‿n   ha-u   munu yar-tar-o
        this‿TOP   this‿ADD   eat-NPST   thing COP-PST-IND
        'That was … that was also food.'

(222)   *sitamiyun agai gumahanu   kamiya   unu mugasyee‿ya*
        sitami‿yun agai guma-ha‿nu   kami‿ya   unu mugasi‿ya
        snail‿ADD FL   small-ADJ‿GEN time‿TOP this past‿TOP
        tanpakusicutencyaa   nuun   neenu.
        ⟨tanpakusicu⟩‿ti+en-cya nuu‿n   neen-u
        protein‿QUOT+say-COND what‿ADD NEG.STA-NPST
        'Snails are … in my childhood, in the past, there was no so-called pro-
        tein.'

(223)   *hucanu   paaobidu   herora.*
        huca‿nu   paa‿obi‿du   h-er-∅-o‿ra
        grass‿GEN leaf‿only‿FOC eat-PRF-NPST-IND‿SFP
        'We ate only leaves.'

(224)   *unu sitamin pisi   kii   urin   bagahi hee.*
        unu sitami‿n pis-i   k-ii   uri‿n   bagah-i ha-i
        this snail‿ADD pick-INF come-INF this‿ADD cook-INF eat-INF
        'We gathered those snails and went home and ate them.'

(225)   *tacci   ngucyaa kondo   mata tanabura.*
        ta‿cci   ng-ucyaa ⟨kondo⟩ mata tanabura
        rice.field‿TOP go-COND next   also mud.snail
        'When I would go to a rice field, then (I found) mud snails.'

(226)   *agai tanabura mata magi arungara   urin*
        agai tanabura mata magi ar-u-n‿gara   uri‿n
        FL   mud.snail also big COP-NPST-IND‿COND that‿ADD
        pisii.
        pis-i
        pick-INF
        'Mud snails are (also) big, so I would also gather those.'

(227) *mana   tago   ngucya   tanaburan*
       mana   ta⹁go   ng-ucya   tanabura⹁n
       now   rice.field⹁DAT go-COND   mud.snail⹁ADD
       miraruno.
       mir-ar-un-∅-o
       see-CAP-NEG-NPST-IND
       'Now when (we) go to rice fields, (we) can't see mud snails.'

(228) *sitamin   tukiduki   bainu   minagana   bun.*
       sitami⹁n   tukiduki   bai⹁nu   minaga⹁na bu-∅-n
       snail⹁ADD sometimes my.house⹁GEN garden⹁LOC exist-NPST-IND
       'There are sometimes snails in my garden (now).'

(229) *sitami. isiga manaya   ureeyaa   heeya   sanutoyona.*
       sitami isiga mana⹁ya   uree⹁yaa ha-i⹁ya   s-an-u⹁toyona
       snail   but   now⹁TOP   this⹁TOP eat-INF⹁TOP   do-NEG-NPST⹁SFP
       'Snails. But (we) do not eat them now.'

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Nambu (Aomori, Eastern Japanese)

Natsuko Nakagawa

1   Introduction
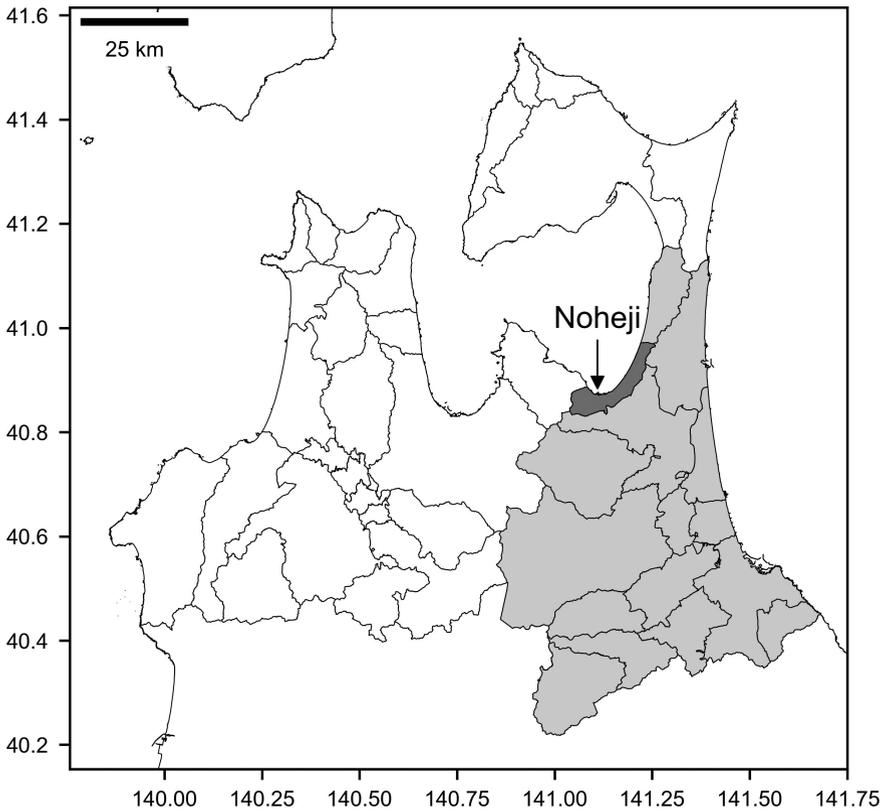
FIGURE 7.1   Map of Aomori prefecture and Noheji town (light gray part: Nambu region)

This chapter provides a grammatical sketch of the Nambu dialect spoken in Aomori Prefecture, in the Northern Tohoku Region of Japan's mainland. Aomori is divided into three dialectal areas, Nambu (the southeastern part), Shimokita (the northeastern part), and Tsugaru (the western part). The Nambu area straddles the prefectural border of Aomori and Iwate. See Figure 7.1, where the Nambu region is highlighted in light gray (the part in Iwate is omitted); Tsugaru is west of Nambu; and Shimokita is north of Nambu.

Of the varieties of the Nambu dialect, I mainly describe the Noheji dialect. I conducted fieldwork for four years from 2016 to 2019. My main consultant is a female speaker born in 1945, to be referred to as MT, who grew up with her grandparents as well as her parents, and who mainly speaks the Noheji dialect. She studied in Tokyo when she was 18–21 years old. Occasionally I also consulted two other female speakers born in 1944 and 1947. Unfortunately, the latter speaker did not permit me to record her voice and so the information from her is based only on my field notes.

1.1   *Typological Characteristics*

Tohoku dialects are known to have consonant-voicing (stops, affricates, and optionally fricatives) between vowels. For example, *oto* 'sound' in Tokyo Japanese corresponds to *odo* in Tohoku dialects. Northern Tohoku dialects distinguish voiced vs. prenasalized stops and affricates. For instance, *hidʒi* 'elbow' in Tokyo Japanese corresponds to *hiⁿdʒi* in Northern Tohoku dialects. Minimal pairs are also found; *wa-ⁿdo* means '1SG-PL (we)', whereas *wa≠do* means '1SG≠COM (with me)'. While in many Tohoku dialects, /zi/, /zu/, /di/, and /du/ are pronounced as homophones, the Nambu dialect distinguishes /zi/ from /zu/, but does not distinguish /zi/ from /di/ [(d)zɨ ~ (d)ʒi], and /zu/ from /du/ [(d)zɨ ~ (d)zu] (making it a so-called *futatsugana* dialect). Eastern Japanese, including Tohoku dialects, widely uses *-nai* 'does not exist' to negate verbs (and often adjectives) instead of *-n*, which is widely used in Western Japanese. Tohoku dialects use *-ne* (from *-nai*) for negation.

Morphologically, the Nambu dialect is an agglutinative language which predominantly employs suffixes rather than prefixes, and totally lacks conclusive vs. adnominal distinctions like many other Japanese languages.

Syntactically, the Nambu dialect is a head-final language with basic SOV word order. It has bi-directional valency alternations, with both causative constructions which demote the agent of an action to the dative and anti-causative constructions which promote the patient to the subject. Case marking systems in Tohoku dialects are also note-worthy: both nominative and accusative nouns are frequently zero-coded, while accusative nouns of particular characteristics (e.g., animate objects) are overtly coded, which is a phenomenon known as differential object marking (DOM). Different Tohoku dialects have different accusative markers and some dialects have more than one marker. This indicates that DOM phenomenon in Tohoku dialects developed independently in different regions. See Otsuki (2018) for the DOM phenomenon in the Tsugaru dialect, which is the closest dialect to Nambu. See also Sasaki (2004) for the Mitsukaido dialect (Kanto region) and Sasaki (2006) for a review of case marking systems in Japonic languages.

1.2   *Previous Literature*

As far as I know, there are no grammar sketches on the Nambu dialect. As has been described above, however, Nambu dialects share some characteristics with Northern Tohoku dialects, some with Tohoku dialects more generally, some with Eastern Japanese, and some with all Japonic languages. There are descriptions of some phonological and grammatical aspects on the Nambu dialect in Iwate. In this section, I will give an overview of grammar sketches of Eastern Japanese.

Otsuki (2018) contains a grammar sketch and detailed description of the DOM in the Tsugaru dialect. Takeda (2020) describes the tense-aspect-mood systems of the Tohoku dialects including the Nambu dialect in Iwate. Matsumori and Onishi (2012) is a brief sketch of the Tsuruoka dialect. Sasaki (2004) describes case and grammatical relations in the Mitsukaido dialect. Konishi (2016) is a reference grammar of the Toyama dialect.

Occasionally, I refer to Nakaichi (1936), which is a glossary of the Noheji dialect with some examples. Since the expressions in this book were written in *hiragana* (Japanese characters), where one *hiragana* basically corresponds to one mora to express the pronunciation of Standard Japanese, I have romanized the *hiragana* using the *kunrei-shiki* system of romanization. Note that in this writing system, it is impossible to represent [ɨ], and that the *hiragana* might not represent the exact pronunciation of the Nambu dialect.

2   Phonology

This section first lists the phoneme inventories of the Nambu dialect. It then describes the syllable structure and phonotactics, mora, word-level prosody, and finally intonation.

2.1   *Phoneme Inventory*

This section is based on Nakagawa (2020), which can be consulted for more details, especially in phonetic variation.

2.1.1   Vowels

Table 7.1 shows the vowel inventory in the Nambu dialect. The assumed phonemes are in / /, and the actual pronunciations are given in [ ]. MT's vowel space is shown in Figures 7.2 and 7.3.
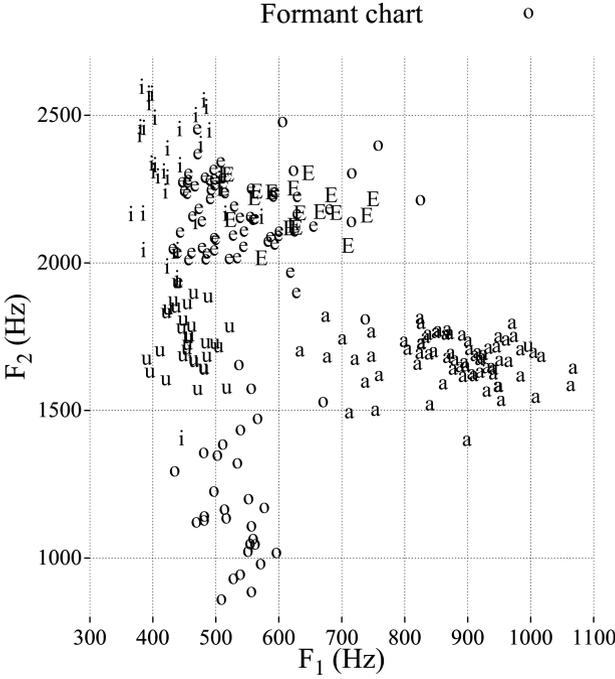
FIGURE 7.2 Vowel space
(NAKAGAWA 2021: 43)

TABLE 7.1 Vowels

	Front	Center	Back
High	/i/ [i (~ ɨ)]	/ɨ/ [ɨ]	/ɯ/ [ɯ (~ ɨ)]
High-mid	/e/ [e (~ ɪ, e̞)]		/o/ [o]
Low-mid	/ɛ/ [ɛ]		
Low		/a/ [a]	

Formant chart
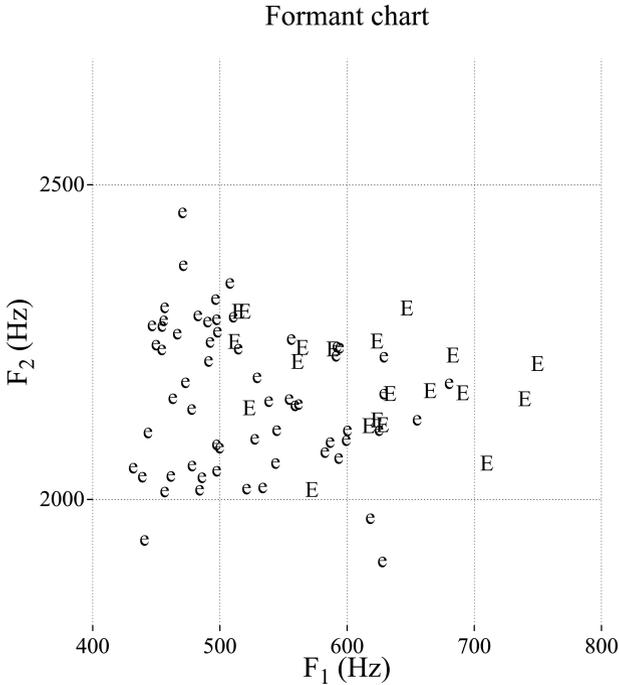
FIGURE 7.3 Vowel space of /e/ vs. /ɛ/, indicated as E
OP. CIT.: 46

Examples of each vowel after /k/ are shown in (230).

(230)   Examples of vowels after /k/
        [kattʃa] /kattja/ 'married woman,   [kettsɨ] /kettu/ 'buttocks'
        mother'
        [kɛna] /kɛna/ 'arm'   [kobura] /kobura/ 'a road between
                                            houses'
        [kina] /kina/ 'yesterday'   [kudʒi] /kuzi/ 'mouth'

Minimal pairs of non-open vowels are shown below.

(231)   /o/ vs. /u/
        a. [motsɨ] /motu/ 'bowels' vs. [muutsɨ] /mutu/ 'Mutsu (place name)'

(232)   /i/ vs. /e/
        a. [miɾɯ] /miru/ 'look at'
        b. [meɾɯ] /meru/ 'be visible'

Both /i/ and /u/ can be pronounced as [ɨ]; however, I analyze /i/ and /u/ as separate phonemes because the range of variation differs. The phoneme /i/ can be pronounced as either [i] or [ɨ], whereas /u/ can be pronounced as either [ɯ] or [ɨ] as in (233).

(233) /i/ vs. /u/
    a. [asɨ ~ aʃi] /asi/ 'foot/leg' vs. [sɨne] /sune/ 'shin'
    b. [tsɨtsɨ ~ tʃitʃi] /titi/ 'breast' vs. [motsɨ] /motu/ 'bowels'
    c. [kɯtʃi] /kuti/ 'mouth' vs. [kɯtsɨ] /kutu/ 'shoes'[1]
    d. [motʃi] /moti/ 'mochi (rice cake)' vs. [motsɨ] /motu/ 'bowels'

The phonological rule in (234) applies only when /i/ is pronounced as [i], although the pronunciation [i] and the rule itself are presumably influenced by Standard Japanese. The rule (234) explains the variation, for example, [asɨ ~ aʃi] in /asi/ (233a) and [tsɨtsɨ ~ tʃitʃi] in /titi/ (4b). Note that [ʃine] 'shin' (233a) and [motʃi] 'bowels' (233b) are not possible.

(234) Alveolar-to-palatal rule
    a. [+alveolar, +stop] → [+palatal, +affricate] / __ [i]
    b. [+alveolar, +fricative] → [+palatal] / __ [i]

In (233), I assume /u/ for /sune/ 'shin' and /motu/ 'bowels' without attested examples of [ɯ] because there are corresponding words for them in Standard Japanese (/sune/ [sɯne] and /motu/ [motsɯ]).

However, there are words that do not appear to correspond to Standard Japanese and are only pronounced with [ɨ]. I analyze the vowel inventory as containing /ɨ/ in addition to /i/ and /u/. Some examples of /ɨ/ are shown in (235).[2]

(235) Examples of /ɨ/
    a. [bottsɨ] /botɨ/ 'head (of octopus or fish)'
    b. [entsɨko] /entɨko/ 'baby basket'
    c. [hondzɨnaʃi] /honzɨnasi/ 'person who does not know things'

---

1 Regarding 'mouth', it can be pronounced as both [kɯtʃi] (as in (233c)) and [kɯdʒi] (as in 230), depending on whether the high vowel devoicing rule (237) is applied or not.

2 The reviewer pointed out that /ɨ/ could be analyzed as /u/ because [ɨ] and [ɯ] seem to show complementary distribution; [ɨ] appears after alveolar consonants and [ɯ] appears elsewhere. Since I do not have enough data to support or to reject this hypothesis, I shall retain /ɨ/ as a phoneme for now.

TABLE 7.2   Consonants

	Bilabial		(Post-)alveolar		Velar		Glottal
Stop	/ᵐp/ [ᵐp]						
	/p/ [p]	/b/ [b]	/t/ [t]	/d/ [d]	/k/ [k]	/g/ [g]	
		/ᵐb/ [ᵐb]		/ⁿd/ [ⁿd]		/ŋ/ [ŋ]	
Fricative			/s/ [s]	/z/ [z]			/h/ [h]
				/ⁿz/ [ⁿz (~ z)]			
Nasal	/m/ [m]		/n/ [n]				
Tap			/r/ [ɾ]				
Approx.			/j/ [j]		/w/ [w]		

Figure 7.3, reproduced from Nakagawa (2021), is a plot of /e/ and /ɛ/, indicated as E in the figure, as produced by MT. The F1 of /ɛ/ is significantly higher than that of /e/ ($t < 0.001$). Some examples of /e/ vs. /ɛ/ are shown in (236).

(236)   /e/ vs. /ɛ/
    a. [nekko] /ne-kko/ 'plant.root-DIM' vs. [nɛkko] /nɛ-kko/ 'sapling-DIM'
    b. [kettsɨ] /kettu/ 'buttocks' vs. [kɛna] /kɛna/ 'arm'

High vowels are devoiced between voiceless consonants and after a word-final voiceless consonant. This rule is formalized in (237).

(237):   [+high, + vowel] →   [−voice] / [−voice] __ [−voice]
                        →   [−voice] / [−voice] __ ##

2.1.2   Consonants

The consonant inventory of the Nambu dialect is in Table 7.2.

It is difficult to find minimal pairs in this dialect for a historical reason; voiceless consonants become voiced between vowels, and voiced stops and fricatives become prenasalized in the same environment. Here I do not list examples of each consonant because of limitations of space. See Nakagawa (2021) for more examples.

Historically, /ᵐp/ is considered to stem from /ᵐb/, and at some point became voiceless /ᵐp/ since it is never confused with other phonemes. However, not all /ᵐb/ changed to /ᵐp/, and I analyze /ᵐp/ as an independent phoneme here.

(238) /ᵐp/
    a. [juᵐpu̥te] /juᵐpute/ 'smoky', [neᵐpu̥te] /neᵐpute/ 'sleepy',
       [kuᵐpi̥ta] /kuᵐpita/ 'neck'

As mentioned in (234), alveolar stops and fricatives become palatal affricates before [i]. This rule is repeated here as (239a–b). Alveolar stops also become alveolar affricates before [ɨ] as formulated in (239c).

(239) The affrication and palatalization rules
    a. [+alveolar, +stop]   → [+palatal, +affricate] / __ [i]
    b. [+alveolar, +fricative] → [+palatal] / __ [i]
    c. [+alveolar, +stop]   → [+alveolar, +affricate] / __ [ɨ]

For now, I distinguish prenasalization (syllable-initial nasal) and coda (syllable-final) nasals. In some cases, the etymologies are clear and it is relatively obvious to regard the nasal as being in the coda position: [nanda] < *nani꞊da* 'what꞊COP', [dʒeŋko] < *zeni-kko* 'money-DIM', and [taɴ ~ taã] < *tan* 'phlegm'. Meanwhile, prenasalized consonants correspond to voiced consonants in Standard Japanese as in [hiⁿdʒi] < *hizi* 'elbow' and [oᵐberɯ] < *oboeru* 'remember'.

    Finally, I formulate the nasal assimilation rule in (240). It is cross-linguistically common for the place of articulation of nasals to assimilate to that of the following consonant.

(240) Nasal assimilation rule
    /n/ → [m] / __ [+labial]
        → [ŋ] / __ [+velar]
        → [n] / __ [+alveolar]
        → [ɴ ~ ṽᵢ] / elsewhere

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*
This dialect allows (C)(j)V(C) syllable structure where C stands for a consonant, V for a vowel, j for /j/. Phonemes in parentheses are optional. This is exemplified below.

(241) (C)(j)V(C), e.g., /dak.kja/ (TOP), /bjon/ (FP)

Words cannot end with C other than N. Also, glides (j) always follows C. I did not find examples of /CwV/ which is found in the Shimokita dialect. This is one of the facts that indicate the Nambu dialect differs from the Shimokita dialect.

TABLE 7.3   Examples of words with different kernel positions

0 (no accent)	1	2	3
1 *ke* [H] 'hair'	*'he* [F] 'flatulence'	–	–
2 *tura* [LH] 'face'	*'titi* [HL] 'breast'	*a'se* [LF] 'sweat'	–
3 *nazugi* [LLH] 'forehead'	*'kobura* [HLL] 'calf (of leg)'	*ma'nagu* [LHL] 'eye'	*ken'do* [LLF] 'road'

2.3   *Mora*

Unlike many other Japanese varieties, this dialect has no distinction between short and long vowels. It does, however, have long consonants or geminates word-medially that may be realized as short. As shown in (242), for example, /tt/ and /kk/ can optionally be pronounced as [t] and [k], respectively.

(242)   a. [dʒeŋkko ~ dʒeŋko] /zjen-kko/ 'money-DIM'
        b. [otʃakko ~ otʃako] /otja-kko/ 'tea-DIM'
        c. [mittaɡunɛ ~ mitaɡunɛ] /mittaɡunɛ/ 'ugly'
        d. [okketta] /okketta/ 'fall'

Geminates can be distinguished from word-medial voiceless consonants by the fact that they never become voiced, and adjacent vowels are never devoiced.

2.4   *Word-Level Prosody*

The Nambu dialect is known to have an ascending kernel (*nobori-kaku*) accent system (Uwano 2017), where only the accented mora rises within a phrase. "In the unaccented type, the pitch of the last mora rises; In the word-final kernel type, the pitch of the last mora falls; In other types, the pitch of the mora with the kernel rises" (Uwano 2017: 2). Table 7.3 shows examples of one-, two-, and three-mora words with different kernel positions. The number "0" indicates that the word has no kernel, "1" indicates that the first mora has the kernel, and so on.

The accent of words in Noheji from my field notes almost always corresponds to the accent of words reported in Uwano (2017).

2.5   *Intonation*

Declarative sentences and content questions (or wh-questions) end with falling intonation, while polar questions optionally end with rising intonation but can also end with falling intonation. Kibe et al. (2018) investigated corpora

TABLE 7.4 Morphological units

prefix-{0,1}	root	-suffix*	
	word		⸗clitic*
	clitic group		

across Japanese dialects and reported that all three types end with a falling pitch in the Hirosaki dialect (a variant of the Tsugaru dialect). However, they also report that the steepness of the falling pitch differs depending on the type of sentence: polar questions have a sudden drop, declaratives have the shallow and steady drop, and wh-questions have a rather steep but steady drop. In my impression, the Nambu dialect follows the patterns Kibe et al. report, although a quantitative characterization awaits further study.

3 Descriptive Units

3.1 Morphological Units

The morphological units described in this study are listed in Table 7.4. A phrase consists of a word and, optionally, one or more clitics; a word consists of a root optionally preceded by a prefix and followed by one or more suffixes.

As far as I know, only a single prefix can appear before the root, whereas multiple suffixes can appear after the root. The order of affixes is fixed and will be outlined in the relevant sections.

3.2 Parts of Speech

A noun typically refers to a thing or a person. A pronoun refers to somebody or something that the speaker and the addressee are both aware of and often replaces a noun that the speaker can use instead. A verb typically refers to an event. An adjective typically describes a property. Adjectives and nominal adjectives are distinguished by their morphology (§6). An adverb typically describes manner, attitude, time reference, and location. Particles denote a relation between a noun and a verb or between sentences. Interjections express the speaker's attitude towards the preceding utterance, the addressee, etc.

3.3 Grammatical Relations

As discussed in §9.3 and §11.2, the case alignment of subject and direct object in Noheji is a nominative-accusative type with differential object marking. A noun that is a subject can be followed by the particles ⸗∅, ⸗a, or ⸗ŋa. A noun

TABLE 7.5   Personal pronouns

	1	2	3
SG	*wa, ora*	*ome, na* (~ *ŋa*)	*kore/sore/are, sono* {*hito/huto*}
PL	*wa-ⁿdo, ora-ⁿdo*	*ome-ⁿdo*	*sore-ⁿdo, sono* {*hito/huto*}*-ⁿdo*
GR	*ora-ho*	*ome-ho*	–

that is an object can be followed by the particles *≠∅* or *≠ba*. A noun that is an indirect object can be followed by the particle *≠ni*.

4   Nominals

The class of nominals includes pronouns (§ 4.1), nouns (§ 4.2), and numerals (§ 4.3).

4.1   *Pronouns*
The personal pronouns are listed in Table 7.5.

There are two types of first-person pronoun: *wa* and *ora*. According to MT, she uses both pronouns interchangeably with no gender or age constraints, although I observe that she prefers to use *wa*. An example is given in (243).

(243)   *ano kasi≠dakkja **wa** tabe-ta≠jo*
         that sweet≠TOP   1SG   eat-PST≠FP
         'Regarding that sweet, I ate it.'

The plural affix *-ⁿdo* follows the pronoun to indicate plural. The form *ora-ⁿdo* can be used for both exclusive (244) and inclusive (245) first-person plurals.

(244)   *kore **ora-ⁿdo** hutari≠de   taberu no   da-kara*
         this 1-PL   two.people≠INST eat   NMLZ COP-because
         ***ome**-∅≠sa k-ahe-nɛ≠jo*
         2-SG≠DAT   eat-CAUS-NEG≠FP
         '(I) won't let you eat this because we two (excluding you) are going to eat this.'

(245)   *kore **ora-ⁿdo** minna≠de taberu besi*
        this 1-PL   all≠INST eat   INFR
        'This one, we all are going to eat it.'

Another plural suffix *-ho* is used when the speaker thinks that the people being referred to belong to the same group: e.g., the same family, the same village, the same organization, etc. In (246), for example, the speaker describes how and what to arrange things in front of his/her Buddhist altar and asks how the interlocutor arranges their altar.

(246)   a. ***ora-ho**≠daba mikan   mame≠no ue≠sa   aŋe-te*
           1-GR≠TOP   mandarin bean≠GEN top≠DAT offer.to.altar-SEQ
           *jat-ta≠n   da-kedomo **ome-ho**≠daba desu*
           give-PST≠NMLZ COP-though 2-GR≠TOP   how.do
           'We (our family) offer a mandarin orange on beans to the Buddhist altar. What do you (your family) do?'

        b. ***ora-ho**≠daba aŋe-nɛ*
           2-GR≠TOP   offer.to.altar-NEG
           'We (Our family) don't offer (in that way).'

The second person pronouns *ome* and *na* (~*ŋa*) can also be used interchangeably, and the speaker MT prefers *ome* over *na* or *ŋa*. There could be dialectal differences between *ome* and *na* (*ŋa*). The demonstratives *kore/sore/are* can refer to people and things, but it is rude to refer to people using *kore/sore/are*. Since the main function of *kore/sore/are* is to refer to things in the context of utterances, I will describe them in § 8.1.

4.2   *Lexical Nouns*

Only lexical nouns can be followed by *-kko* (-DIM). Other post-nominal affixes are listed below. As far as I know, the plural and honorific suffixes can follow pronouns as well as to nouns.

(247)   Time: *ban-**ŋe*** [bãŋe] 'night-time', *asa-**ma*** 'morning-time' (Nakaichi 1936)

(248)   Person: *jame-**tto*** 'sick-person', *rusu-**tto*** 'absent-person' (Nakaichi 1936)

(249)   Plural: *warasi* 'child', *warasa-**ⁿdo*** 'chile-PL'

(250)   Honorific: *ome-**sama*** '2SG-HON' *o-ga-**sama*** 'HON-mother-HON' *o-ᵐba-**sama*** 'HON-grandmother-HON'

Another plural suffix *-ho* has been described in (246) in § 4.1. Animate entities tend to require plural marking when used of plural referents, whereas inanimate entities are only optionally marked for plural as shown by the distinction between (251) and (252). In (251), the speaker chose to use *-ⁿdo* to clarify that there was more than one person who ate the sweet, while, in (252), she chose not to use *-ⁿdo* for sweet potatoes.

(251)   *ano kasi   {are-**ⁿdo**/ano huto-**ⁿdo**}   ku-te   mat-ta⹀no⹀ga*
          that sweet {that-PL/that person-PL} eat-SEQ finish-PST⹀NMLZ⹀Q-GR
          'That sweet, did they eat it?'

(252)   *soko⹀ni   aru **satumaimo** mina ku-ttɛ⹀na*
          there⹀DAT exist sweet.potato all   eat-want⹀FP
          'The sweet potatoes there, (I) want to eat them all.'

4.3   *Numerals*

Like other Japonic languages, the Nambu dialect has classifiers. Here I provide example (253) which is the number (one to ten) + classifier combinations (one to ten) used when counting small inanimate entities in general. This series uses the Sino-Japanese numerals.

(253)   *ikka* 'one', *ni-ka* 'two', *san-ka* 'three', *si-kka* 'four', *go-ka* 'five', *ro-kka* 'six', *nana-{??ka/tu}/??siti-ka* 'seven', *ha-kka* 'eight', *ku-kka* 'nine', *zi-kka* 'ten'

The Nambu dialect also has a series of native numerals (*hitottu, hutattu, mittu, jottu* …), which I have not investigated thoroughly. Other numerals needs to be studied further.

5   Verbs

5.1   *Inflectional Morphology*

A summary of verbal inflection is shown in Table 7.6. The cells marked "?" have not been investigated yet. The two major categories of verbs are vowel-ending roots (e.g., *mi-* 'see') and consonant-ending roots (e.g., *nar-* 'become'). The non-past-tense suffix *-ru* follows the former, and *-u* follows the latter. Also, the vowels *-a-* and *-i-* are inserted in negation and medial forms only after the

TABLE 7.6   Verbal inflection

	mi- 'see'	*nar-* 'become'	*kak-* 'write'	*su-* 'do'	*ku-* 'come'	*k-* 'eat'	*omo-* 'think'
NPST	*mi-ru*	*nar-u*	*kak-u*	*su-ru*	*ku-ru*	*k-u*	*omo-ru*
NEG	*mi-nɛ*	*nar-a-nɛ*	*kak-a-nɛ*	*si-nɛ*	*ko-nɛ*	*k-a-nɛ*	*omo-nɛ*
SEQ	*mi-ttɛ*	*nar-i-ttɛ*	*kak-i-ttɛ*	*si-ttɛ*	*ki-ttɛ*	*k-u-ttɛ*	*omo-ttɛ*
SEQ2	*mi-te*	*nar-te*	*kai-te*	*si-te*	*ki-te*	*k-u-te*	*omo-te*
COND	*mi-reba*	*nar-eba*	*kak-eba*	*su-reba*	*ku-reba*	*k-eba*	*omo-eba*
IMP	?	?	?	?	?	*k-e*	*omo-re*

consonant-ending roots. The phonemes *k* and *g* in the *k-* and *g*-ending roots change into *i* in the sequential and past forms (known as the *i*-euphonic or *i-ombin* form). Also, /i/ is inserted after *s*-ending verb root in the same condition; for example, the sequential form of *hanas-* 'release' is *hanas-i-ta*. The verbs *su-* 'do' and *ku-* 'come' are irregular. The root-final vowels of irregular verbs change depending on which suffixes follow them. Note that the negative form of *su-* is *si-* instead of *sa-*, unlike many other Tohoku dialects.[3] The verb *k-* 'eat' is a regular consonant-ending root except that the vowel *-u* is inserted in the medial form.

The conditional form of *omo-* 'think' is slightly unpredictable possibly because of the influence of Tokyo Japanese. The traditional conditional form might be *omo-(reba)*, which is exactly the same as *mi-* 'see'. Table 7.6 is not a complete list of verbal classes. The inflection of the verb roots which historically ended with *-h-* or *-p-* (e.g., *kah-* or *kap-* 'buy' depending on the stage of phonetic change) is unpredictable. Whereas the forms of *omo-* 'think' (historically *omoh-* or *omop-*) are as listed in Table 7.6, the negative form of *kaw-* 'buy' is **kaw-a-nɛ** and the non-past form is **ka-ru**. Sasaki (2019: 221) argues that the root-final consonant of this type of verb in the Tsugaru dialect is /w/ instead of /r/; /r/ is inserted for the onset of non-past-tense suffix *-(r)u*, and the root-final /w/ is deleted after non-low vowels and consonants. This analysis predicts the verb forms correctly: *ka-ru*, *kaw-a-nɛ*, *kaw-ttɛ*, and *kaw-te*. Further investigation is needed to describe the traditional forms of these verbs including imperative forms, which I have not investigated thoroughly.

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3   In the Morioka dialect (Takeda 2020: 22, for example, both *su-* and *sa-* are reported as negative forms.

TABLE 7.7   Verbal derivation

Causation	Potential	Voice	Polarity	Aspect	Tense	
-(r)ahe- (CAUS)	-(r)e- (POSS)	-(r)are- (PASS)	-nɛ (NEG)	-tera (PROG)	-ta (PST)	-tta (EPST)
-(r)asar- (AC)					-(r)u (NPST)	
-(r)agas- (CAUS)						

5.2   *Derivational Morphology*

Derivational affixes that follow verb stems are summarized in Table 7.7. Not all combinations and orders are possible; a detailed description requires further investigation.

Examples of combinations of suffixes are shown below. The experienced-past suffix *-tta* always occurs immediately following the past-tense suffix *-ta*. This suffix *-tta* is found prevalently among Tohoku dialects. Examples are given in (254) and (255). The morpheme *-tera* can be analyzed as *-te-ra* (-PROG-PST) and has variations such as *-de-da*, *-dda*, and *-dera* (Takeda 2020: 28). Since *-ra* in *-te-ra* can be analyzed as the past morpheme, *-tta* can follow it.[4]

(254)   *k-ahe-rare-ta-tta*
          eat-CAUS-PASS-PST-EPST
          '(I) was forced to eat.'

(255)   *ano hito   ki-te-ta⸗no   oᵐbe-tera-tta?*
          that person come-SEQ-PST⸗NMLZ remember-PROG-EPST?
          'Do you still remember that that person came?'

The phoneme /t/ in *-ta* (PST) and *-tera* (PROG) is voiced between voiced vowels; i.e., when it followes consonant-ending roots. For example, *mi-ta* is pronounced as [mida]. The rule is schematized as in (256).

(256)   *t*-voicing in verbal suffixes
          -t → /d/   / [+voice, +vowel] __ (e.g., *mi-ta* [mida], *ojoi-ta* [ojoida])
             → /d/   / [+nasal, –velar] __   (e.g., *jom-da* [jonda])
             → /tt/ / [–nasal] __   (e.g. *nar-ta* [natta])
             → /t/   / elsewhere   (e.g., *ki-ta* [ki̥ta], *hanasi-ta* [hanaɕi̥ta])

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4   However, the morpheme *-ra* appears to have lost the meaning of past tense, and I simply gloss *-tera* as -PROG.

When these morphemes follow verb roots such as *su-* 'do' and *ku-* 'come', the root vowels may be devoiced by the rule of devoicing high vowels between voiceless consonants (237). When this rule is applied, *si-ta* and *ki-ta* are pronounced as [ʃi̥ta] and [ki̥ta] respectively. On the other hand, if rule (256) applies first, they are predicted to be pronounced as [ʃida] and [kida], although [ʃida] is not attested and could be ill-formed for some unknown reason ([kida] is attested).

The usages of other suffixes *-(r)ahe-* (CAUS), *-(r)asar-* (AC), *-(r)agas-* (CAUS), and *-(r)are-* (PASS) will be discussed in §11.4, which deals with valency-changing morphology.

5.3 *Existential and Copula*

For nominal predicates and nominal adjective predicates, the copula *da* is used.

(257) *ara ame⸗da*
oh rain⸗COP
'Oh, it's raining.'

(258) *asita jasumi⸗da⸗kkja*
tomorrow holiday⸗COP⸗FP
'Tomorrow is holiday.'

(259) *dɛ⸗ⁿda?*
who⸗COP
'Who?'

(260) *kono hana kire-ⁿda⸗kkja*
PROX.DEM flower beautiful-COP⸗FP
'This flower is beautiful.'

The copula *-da* is sometimes prenasalized (*-ⁿda*) as in (259) and (260), and sometimes the prenasalization of the copula sounds longer than the usual prenasalization. I speculate that the prenasalization of the copula is used to preserve moraic structure. For example, since the older form of *kire-* 'beautiful' is considered to be *kirei* or *kireː*, the prenasalization could be inserted to preserve the length of the whole word *kirei-da* or *kireː-da*. In the same way, since the older form of *dɛ* could be *dare* > **daɛ* > *dɛ*, the prenasalization could be inserted for the same motivation as the case of *kire-*. See also the discussion in Nakagawa (2021: §4.3).[5]

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5 W. Lawrence suggested that the free form [nda] 'yes, it is', which is pronounced with full /n/

While most languages in the Japonic family distinguish the existence of animate and inanimate entities (*iru* vs. *aru*), *iru* is extensively used in the Nambu dialect. Only sometimes is *aru* used. The conditions in which *aru* can be used need further investigation.

6   Adjectival Expressions

Adjectival expressions consist of inflected adjectives (§6.1) and nominal adjectives (§6.2). They are distinguished by the suffixes they take in negation, predication, and modification.

6.1   *Inflected Adjectives*
The basic forms of inflected adjectives are given in Table 7.8. The parenthesized (*i*) means that it is optional, whereas other parenthesized morphemes are examples that can follow the verb form. The parenthesized expression (*atu-ka-tta*) is a predicted but not yet attested form.

TABLE 7.8   Adjective

	i 'good'	*atu-* 'hot'
NPST	*i*	*atu-(i)*
NEG	*i-gu≠nɛ*	*atu-ku(≠nɛ)*
SEQ	*i-{gu/hu}-te*	*atu-{ku/hu}-te*
COND	*i-ba*	*atu-i-ba*
PST	*i-ga-tta*	(*atu-ka-tta*)

TABLE 7.9   Nominal adjective

	kire-^{n}da 'pretty'	*si^{n}zuga-da* 'quiet'
NPST	*kire-^{n}da*	*si^{n}zuga-da*
NEG	*kire-^{n}de(≠nɛ)*	*si^{n}zuga-de(≠nɛ)*
SEQ	*kire-^{n}de*	*si^{n}zuga-de*
COND	*kire-^{n}da(-ba)*	*si^{n}zuga-da(-ba)*
PST	*kire-^{n}da(-tta)*	*si^{n}zuga-da(-tta)*

Inflected adjectives end with *i* when modifying noun in the adnominal form. The suffix *-gu, -ku, -hu* is inserted before the negative *≠nɛ* and the continuative *-te* suffix for inflected adjectives. Before the past-tense morpheme *-tta*, the suffix *-ga* or *-ka* is added after the inflected adjective root. The consonant at the beginning of the inflected adjective suffix *-g{u/a}* or *-k{u/a}* varies depending on the environment. It is voiced between voiced vowels but voiceless when one of the vowels is devoiced (see the high vowel devoicing rule (237)). In this case,

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and stem from [so:da], can be evidence for my argument, although [nda] violates the syllable structure for Nambu.

either rule can be applied first, and the morpheme-initial consonant can be either *g* or *k*. Since the high-vowel devoicing rule (237) applies to *u* in *atu-*, it is highly likely that the suffix starts with the voiceless consonant *k*. Another variant of *-ku* is *-hu*, which is an older form of *-ku*.

The past-tense suffix is *-tta* and not *-ta* (the past-tense suffix of verbs). There is a historical reason for this form: *-{k/g}u ar-ta* '-ADJ exist-PST' became *-{k/g}a-tta*. However, I analyze *-tta* as an independent past morpheme for inflected (and nominal) adjectives.

6.2   *Nominal Adjectives*

Nominal Adjectives (*keiyōdōshi* in Japanese) do not inflect. To function as a predicate, they are followed by a copula, as summarized in Table 7.9.

Note that *-da* is the conclusive as well as adnominal form in this dialect unlike in Standard Japanese.

(261)   *te⸗no   kire-ⁿda   hito*
         hand⸗GEN beautiful-COP person
         'A person who has beautiful hands.'

7   Class-Changing Derivations

7.1   *Nominalization*

The suffix *-sa* follows an adjective root to change it into a noun. For example, when *atu-* 'hot' (adjective) is followed by *-sa, atu-sa* means 'degree of hotness'.

The clitic *⸗no* follows the verb's non-past form to make a noun as in (262). The same morpheme behaves as a noun when another genitive noun precedes it as in (263).

(262)   *hare-tera⸗no⸗sa   kju-ni   ame⸗{n/ni} nar-ta⸗kkja*
         clear-PROG⸗NMLZ⸗ALL sudden-ADV rain⸗DAT   become-PST⸗FP
         '(The sky which was) clear suddenly turned into rain.'

(263)   *kore wa⸗no⸗no⸗da*
         this 1SG⸗GEN⸗NMLZ⸗NMLZ⸗COP
         'This is mine (my thing).'

The zero-suffix *-∅* combines with *⸗ni* to convert a verb into a noun to express a purpose.

(264)   (*kono basjo*) *maturi mi-ru-∅꞊ni*   *i꞊jo*
        this   place festival see-NPST-NMLZ꞊DAT good꞊FP
        'This place is good to see the festival.'

The suffix *-tto* attaches to verb and noun roots and forms nouns which refer to a person with the characteristic of the verb/noun (265).

(265)   a. jame-**tto** 'sick person'
       b. rusu-**tto** 'absent person' (Nakaichi 1936)

Further investigation into this word-formation process is necessary.

7.2   *Verbalization*

The morpheme *-megu* (-VLZ) forms verbs. Some examples are shown in (266). The parts of speech of the roots are not clear yet. Some roots such as *jotja* appear to be onomatopoeia, some such as *sira* appear to be adjectival, and others are unclear.

(266)   *sira-**megu*** 'be biting', *maja-**megu*** 'be halting', *jotja-**megu*** 'stagger', *gahu-**megu*** '(clothes) be too big' (Nakaichi 1936)

8   Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstratives and interrogative forms are summarized in Table 7.10.

8.1   *Demonstratives*

Demonstratives in this dialect have three-way distinctions as in many other Japanese dialects: proximal (*k-*), medial (*s-*), and distal (*a-*). Proximal refers to something near the speaker; medial to something near the addressee or a referent in the discourse; and the distal to something away from both the speaker and the addressee or a referent in the memory of the speaker. Examples of nominal and pronominal usages are shown in (267) and (268), respectively.

(267)   ***sore-ⁿdo꞊no namɛ nan꞊tteru꞊no***
       3-PL꞊GEN   name what꞊QT.call꞊NMLZ
       'What are their names?'

(268)   ***sono*** *hito꞊no*   *namɛ-kko* *oᵐbe-tera꞊ga*
       that person-GEN name-DIM remember-PROG꞊Q
       'Do you remember that person's name?'

TABLE 7.10   Demonstratives

	Nominal	Prenominal	Locative, selectional	Kind	Verbal
PROX	*kore*	*kono*	*koko, kotti*	*kotta(ra)*	*kesu*
MED	*sore*	*sono*	*soko, sotti*	*sotta(ra)*	*sesu*
DIST	*are*	*ano*	*asoko, atti*	*atta(ra)*	*esu*
Wh	*dore*	*dono*	*doko, dotti, dono*	*dottara*	*desu*

In addition to nominal, adnominal, locative, and kind demonstratives, this dialect has demonstrative verbs, which refer to actions in the context of utterances. The paradigm is described in Table 7.11.

TABLE 7.11   Paradigm of demonstrative verbs

	kes-u 'do in this way'	*ses-u* 'do in that way'	*es-u* 'do in that way'	*des-u* 'do in what way'
NEG	*kes-i-nɛ*	*ses-i-nɛ*	*es-i-nɛ*	*des-i-nɛ*
SEQ	*kes-te/kes-i-te*	*ses-te/ses-i-te*	*es-te/es-i-te*	*des-te/des-i-te*
NPST	*kes-u*	*ses-u*	*es-u*	*des-u*
COND	*kes-e-ba*	*ses-e-ba, se-ba*	*es-e-ba*	*des-e-ba*

For example, the speaker can use *kesu* when s/he is showing the procedure of something (e.g., cooking) in front of the addressee as in (269); the addressee can respond this using *sesu* when s/he sees it.

(269)   **kes-un⸗no**
        PROX.do-NPST⸗NMLZ
        'You can do in this way.'

(270)   **ses-u⸗no⸗ga**
        MED.do⸗NMLZ⸗Q
        'Oh, you do in that way!'

When the procedure is demonstrated away from both the speaker and the addressee, the speaker uses *esu* to refer to the activity.[6] The interrogative verb

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6   Kohei Nakazawa (p.c.) points out that the demonstrative verbs *kesu, sesu,* and *esu* can be

desu can be used to ask about the procedure. In (272), the speaker is asking of the mental state of the addressee.

(271)   ***es-te***   *tukuru≠no≠ga*
        DIST.do.SEQ make≠NMLZ≠Q
        '(I see!) you do in that way!'

(272)   ***des-ta≠no≠i***
        how-PST≠NMLZ≠FP
        'How did you do? (What's wrong?)'

8.2   *Interrogatives and Indefinites*

Some examples of interrogatives are given below. First, there is a singular vs. plural distinction in wh-questions. A special marker -*ⁿdari* is used to express plurality of wh-words as shown in (273).

(273)   ***de-ⁿdari*** *i-ru≠no*
        who-PL? exist-NPST≠NMLZ
        'Who (plural) are there?'

There are a number of variant forms of 'why' and 'how'; the expressions partially overlap with each other as can be seen in (274) and (275).

(274)   {***nande/nasite/des-i-te***} *kono i   kar-ta≠no*
        why   this house buy-PST≠NMLZ
        'Why did you buy this house?'

(275)   {***des-te/des-i-te***} *sono i   mekke-ta≠no*
        how   that house find-PST≠NMLZ
        'How did you find that house?'

Some expressions such as *nande* might be borrowed from Standard Japanese, which might be why the dialect has multiple expressions to express similar content.

    Indefinite expressions can be formed by a content question expression followed by -*ga* (276, 277). The morpheme -*ga* is also used for polar questions

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reconstructed as *ko-joo*(*ni*) *su*, *sa-joo*(*ni*) *su*, and *a-joo*(*ni*) *su*, respectively. At some point in the history, *o-j* changed into *e* and the -*oo*(*ni*) part was elided.

when used at the end of a sentence. Here I use the gloss (INDEF) for -*ga* as used in indefinite expressions since the functions differ from those of the *ga* that forms polar questions.

(276)   *tukamar-i sonta-tta⸝keⁿdomo* **des-te-ga**
        catch-SEQ seem-PST⸝CONC   do.what-SEQ-INDEF
        ki-ta⸝n⸝da⸝ga   niŋe-te   ki-ta
        come-PST⸝NMLZ⸝COP⸝Q run.away-and come-PST
        'Although I was almost caught, somehow I ran away.'

(277)   *zjen-kko   {**nanbo/nanbora-en**}-ga* *mot-te   ki-ta*
        money-DIM how.much-INDEF   bring-and come-PST
        'I brought some money.'

9   Argument Phrase

9.1   *The Head*

Nominals can be the head of a noun phrase (NP). For example, lexical nouns, modified by one or more adjectives, can be the head of NP.

Verbs can be the head of a verb phrase (VP). Elements such as NPs, adverbs, the adverbial form (SEQ) of adjectival expressions, etc. can modify a verb to form a verb phrase.

9.2   *The Modifier*

When another noun modifies the head noun, e.g., to express possession, to form a NP, the modifying noun is followed by genitive marker ⸝*no* (GEN). This is exemplified in (278). In the same way, the modifying noun followed by ⸝*no* modifies a formal noun ⸝*no* 'one' (279), unlike in other Japonic dialects such as Tokyo Japanese.

(278)   *sore⸝a   **wa⸝no**   okasi⸝da⸝be⸝i*
        that⸝NOM 1SG⸝GEN snack⸝COP⸝INFR⸝FP
        'That is my snack, isn't it?'

(279)   *kore **wa⸝no⸝no**⸝da*
        this 1SG⸝GEN⸝NMLZ⸝COP
        'This is mine (my thing).'

TABLE 7.12 Case markers

NOM	ACC	DAT	ALL	LOC	INST	COM	GEN	ABL	LAT	CMPR
=∅/(=a)/(=ŋa)	=∅/=ba	=ni	=sa	=de	=de	=do	=no	=gara	=made	=jori

Also unlike in other dialects of Japonic languages such as Standard Japanese is the fact that *=no* (=GEN) cannot be used within a relative clause to indicate a subject. This contrast is shown in (280).

(280) *kore   wa(*=no)   kɛ-ta   zi=da*
       PROX.DEM 1SG(=GEN) write-PST character=COP
       'These characters are the ones I wrote.'

See §5 and §6 for modification of nominals by verbs and adjectives.

9.3   *Case and Other Role Markings*
Case markers are listed in Table 7.12.

9.3.1   Nominative
Nominatives are most frequently zero-coded as exemplified in (281). It can also be zero-coded when the word order is changed as in (282).

(281) **ome** *dottara   okasi tukur-i-ttɛ=no*
       2SG   like.what sweet make-SEQ-want=NMLZ
       A   P
       'What kind of sweets do you want to make?'

(282) **sono siŋoto ome** *su-be*
       that job   2SG do=INFR
       P   A
       'That job, you do it, right?'

Nominative nouns (but not pronouns) can be followed by *=a* as in (283). Although the particle may be interpreted as a topic marker in other cases, I describe it as a nominative marker here (to be discussed in §11.7; see also Haga (2019)).

(283)   *taro⸗**a**   hikkurigɛr-e-ba musuko⸗a osɛ-de   ke-ru⸗zɨ*
        Taro⸗NOM fall-SEQ-COND son⸗NOM support-SEQ give-NPST⸗HRS
        'If Taro falls down, his son will support him.'

9.3.2   Accusative

This dialect has an accusative marker ⸗*ba* which follows animate objects as shown in (284). Inanimate objects are typically zero-coded as shown in (285). This pattern may be described as differential object marking Comrie (1979, 1983).

(284)   *taro {wa/omɛ/hanako/tomodati/inu}⸗{**ba**/??∅} mi-tera*
        Taro {1SG/2SG/Hanako/friend/dog}⸗{ACC/∅}   see-PROG
        'Taro is looking at {me/you/Hanako/(his) friend/a dog}.'

(285)   *taro sodo⸗{**ba**/∅}   mi-tera*
        Taro outside⸗{ACC/∅} see-PROG
        'Taro is looking outside.'

According to my impression, however, ⸗*ba* is less frequently used than zero-coding and some animate objects can also be zero-coded in natural conversation, whereas the examples above are from elicitation. Further investigation is necessary to reveal exactly under what conditions ⸗*ba* can or cannot be used.

This differential object-marking phenomenon is widely observed in Eastern Japanese dialects, some of which are well-described. See Otsuki (2018) for the Tsugaru dialect (western Aomori) and Sasaki (2004: Chapter 3) for the Mitsukaido dialect (Ibaraki).

9.3.3   Dative

The particle ⸗*ni* is used to express the agent in passive constructions (286) and the result of a change (287).

(286)   *taro⸗a   odotto⸗**ni**   putag-are-ta*
        Taro⸗NOM younger.brother⸗DAT beat-PASS-PST
        'Taro was beaten by his younger brother.'

(287)   *taro sense⸗**ni**   nar-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro teacher⸗DAT become-PST⸗HRS
        '(I) heard that Taro became a teacher.'

Indirect objects take the particle ⸗*sa* (⸗ALL) instead of ⸗*ni*. Although I regard ⸗*ni* as dative and ⸗*sa* as allative in this chapter, the distinction between the two is subtle and both particles are acceptable in some contexts. I will explain what we currently know in the following section.

9.3.4   Allative

The distinction between ⸗*sa* and ⸗*ni* is subtle and differs depending on the specific Nambu dialect. Here I describe the Noheji dialect. Further study is needed to figure out the exact usages and regional differences of both particles. Fundamentally, ⸗*sa* is used to indicate direction: the indirect object (288), the location of existence (289), the goal of a motion (290), the object of meeting (291), etc.

(288)   *taro odotto⸗**sa**   zibun⸗no i   ke-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro younger.brother⸗ALL self⸗GEN house give-PST⸗HRS
        'Taro gave his house to (his) younger brother.'

(289)   *kabe⸗**sa** toge kagat-teru*
        wall⸗ALL clock hang-PROG
        'A clock is hanging on the wall.'

(290)   *taro⸗a   ha   kina   tokyo⸗**sa** ik-te   mar-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro⸗NOM already yesterday Tokyo⸗ALL go-SEQ finish-PST⸗HRS
        '(I) heard that Taro left for Tokyo yesterday.'

(291)   *taro⸗a   kendo⸗de ziko⸗**sa**   at-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro⸗NOM road⸗LOC accident⸗ALL meet-PST⸗HRS
        '(I) heard that Taro encountered an accident on the road.'

The agent of causative constructions is expressed variously depending on whether s/he is forced to do the action. When the agent is forced to do something, ⸗*ba* is used as in (292); when s/he is not forced, ⸗*sa* is used as in (293). The particle ⸗*ni* is used irrespective of whether s/he is forced or not as in (294) and (295).

(292)   *taro⸗a   jar-ttagu-nɛ⸗noni   odotto⸗**ba***
        Taro⸗NOM do-want-NEG⸗CONC younger.brother⸗ACC
        ojoŋ-ase-ta⸗zɨ
        swim-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
        'Taro forced his younger brother to swim though he does not want to.'

(293)   *taro⸗a   warasi⸗sa sigidabuttsɨ   keki k-ahe-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro⸗NOM child⸗ALL as.much.as/s/he.likes cake eat-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
        'Taro let the child eat cake as much as s/he likes.'

(294)   *taro⸗a   odotto⸗ni   sigidabuttsɨ*
        Taro⸗NOM younger.brother⸗DAT as.much.as/s/he.likes
        ojoŋ-ase-ta⸗zɨ
        swim-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
        'Taro let the child swim as much as s/he likes.'

(295)   *taro⸗a   odotto⸗ni   murijari jasai⸗ba*
        Taro⸗NOM younger.brother⸗DAT forcibly vegetable⸗ACC
        k-ahe-ta⸗zɨ
        eat-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
        'Taro forced his younger brother to eat vegetables.'

Further investigation is needed to describe the possibilities of usages of each particle.

9.3.5   Instrumental

In addition to locative, ⸗*de* is used to indicate instrument or manner. It is not clear to me whether the locative ⸗*de* and the instrumental ⸗*de* are polysemous or homonymic.[7]

(296)   *taro kasɨgi tarai⸗de   arat-tera*
        Taro dishes basin⸗INST wash-PROG
        'Taro is washing dishes with basin.'

The location of event is indicated by ⸗*de* (⸗INST).

(297)   *taro⸗dakkja i⸗de   ne-tera⸗jo*
        Taro⸗TOP   house⸗LOC sleep-PROG⸗FP
        'Regarding Taro, (he) is sleeping in the house.'

---

7 W. Lawrence suggests that if the locative ⸗*de* and the instrumental ⸗*de* can be used in the same clause, they would be different morphemes. I leave this as open question because of the limition of my data.

9.3.6 Comparative

The marker *₌jori* is attached to elements to which another element is being compared.

(298) *kotti₌**jori**   sotti   mme₌to   omo-ru*
       PROX.DEM₌CMPR   MED.DEM delicious₌QT think-NPST
       '(I) think that one is more delicious than this one.'

The marker *₌jori* is also used with the sense of 'other than'.

(299) *zen ha   sore₌**yori**   nɛ*
       tray already DEMMED₌other.than not.exist
       'There are no trays other than that.'

10 Predicate Phrase

10.1 *Verbal Predication*

A verbal predicate minimally consists of a verb which at least one tense, aspect, or modality suffix.

10.2 *Non-verbal Predication*

The nominal predicate is formed by a noun and the copula *₌da*. The copula is almost always necessary regardless of tense. As shown in (300) and (301), *₌da* forms a nominal predicate whether or not the sentence is in the present or the past.

(300) *ara ame₌**da***
       oh   rain₌COP
       'Oh, it's raining.'

(301) *wa   sense₌**da**-tta*
       1SG teacher₌COP-PST
       'I was a teacher.'

The copula is necessary for wh-copula predicates as exemplified in (302), unless they are confirmation questions like (303).

(302) *kore   dɛ₌**ⁿda***
       PROX.DEM who₌COP
       'Who is this?'

(303) *dɛ⸗i*
     who⸗FP
     '(He passed away.)—Who?'

This follows the pattern reported by Shiraiwa et al. (2016), where dialects of the Kinki region and of the eastern regions more frequently have the copula in the non-past tense without following suffixes or particles.

11   The Simple Sentence

11.1   *Sentence Types*

There are three sentence types: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Interrogatives are further divided into polar and content questions. Polar questions typically end with the question morpheme *⸗ga* as exemplified in (304) and (305).

(304) *jama⸗sa*   *ig-u⸗no⸗ga*
     mountain⸗ALL go-NPST⸗NMLZ⸗Q
     'Are you going to the mountain?'

(305) *sono hito⸗no*   *name-kko oᵐbe-dera⸗ga*
     that person⸗GEN name-DIM remember-PROG⸗Q
     'Do you remember the name of that person?'

Content questions on the other hand, do not have special sentence-final markers as exemplified below. Both polar and content questions end with falling intonation (§2.5).

(306) *kore*   *de⸗no⸗da*
     PROX.DEM who⸗NMLZ⸗COP
     'Whose is this?'

(307) *ano*   *warasi* **dogo**⸗no   *warasi⸗da*
     DIST.DEM child   where⸗GEN child⸗COP
     'Where is that child from?'

Content questions with verbal and adjectival predicate do not require special sentence-final markers either. (308) and (309) are examples of content questions with verbal and adjectival predicates respectively. As shown in (309), the sentence can be optionally end with *⸗no* (⸗NMLZ) and *⸗i* (⸗FP).

(308) *ome asita   **nani** su-ru*
       2SG tomorrow what do-NPST
       'What are you going to do tomorrow?'

(309) *kono-hen⸗daba   **nani** mmɛ(⸗no⸗i)*
       DEM.PROX-area⸗CNTR what delicious(⸗NMLZ⸗FP)
       'In this area, what is delicious?'

A command may be expressed using the imperative verb form *-(r)o*, *-te* form, or the *⸗no⸗da* form. In (310), *mi-te*, *mi-te ke*, and *mi-te ke⸗n⸗da* are possible ways to order somebody to look at something.

(310) *kogo **mi-te**   ({**ke/ke⸗n⸗da**})*
       here look-and ({give.IMP/give⸗NMLZ⸗COP})
       '(Please) look at here.'

11.2   *Alignment*

The Nambu dialect has a nominative-accusative alignment system. While A (the agent in a transitive construction), S (the only argument in an intransitive construction), and P (the patient in a transitive construction) are zero-coded, special types of P (e.g., pronoun and words with animate referents) are sometimes overtly coded by *⸗ba*. See also § 9.3.2 and the references therein.

When both A and P are zero-coded, A almost always precedes P as in (311). However, given clear contexts where A is animate and P is inanimate, P can precede A without any overt coding as shown in (312), although it is highly likely that animate P preceding A is overtly coded by *⸗ba*.

(311) ***ome** dottara   **okasi** tukuri-ttɛ   no*
       2SG like.what sweet make-want NMLZ
       A   P
       'What kind of sweets do you want to make?'

(312) ***sono siŋoto** ome su be*
       that job   2SG do INDEF
       P   A
       'That job, you do it, right?'

11.3   *Possession*

As described in § 9.2, possession is expressed using the genitive marker *=no*. As far as I can tell, there are no distinctions between alienable and inalienable possession.

11.4   *Valency Changing*

This section describes the verbal suffixes *-(r)ahe-* (CAUS), *-(r)agas-* (CAUS), *-(r)asar-* (AC), and *-(r)are-* (PASS). The full list of verbal suffixes is provided in Table 7.7.

The suffix *-(r)ahe-* (CAUS) is used to add an agent that lets or makes someone carry out an action as in (313). The agent is expressed using the dative (*=ni*) or locative (*=sa*) markers.

(313)   *taro=a   odotto={sa/ni}   jasai=ba*
Taro=NOM younger.brother={ALL/DAT} vegetable=ACC
*k-**ahe**-ta=zɨ*
eat-CAUS-PST=HRS
'Taro made/let his younger brother eat vegetables.'

Another causative suffix *-(r)agas-* is used to add the agent of an event in a sentence that acts as a cause of a naturally occurring event.

(314)   *hotate   ame-ru*
scallop rot-NPST
'Scallops become rotten.'

(315)   *wa hotate ame-**ragas**-i-ttemar-ta*
1SG scallop rot-CAUS-CVB-PFV-PST
'I let the scallops go rotten.'

The suffix *-(r)asar-* (AC) is used to make an anti-causative construction (316).

(316)   *arug-**asar**-u* 'walk-AC-NPST', *tabe-**sar**-u* 'eat-AC-NPST'

The first form, *arug-asar-u*, indicates that the agent can walk the road easily (contrary to the speaker's assumption); the second form, *tabe-sar-u*, indicates that the agent can eat food easily (e.g., because it is delicious). Although the exact usage of this morpheme in the Nambu dialect is still under investigation, a suffix with the same or a similar form in the Tohoku and Hokkaido dialects is well-described (see Sasaki and Yamazaki (2006) for a description and anal-

ysis of the Hokkaido dialect, where the construction is analyzed as a sponta-
neous construction). (316) shows some examples of anti-causative expression.
Since I do not have examples in full sentence form, the examples below (317,
318) are from the Hokkaido dialect (Sasaki and Yamazaki 2006). I follow their
morphophonological analysis and romanization, but have changed the gloss
of *-asar-* from 'spontaneous' to AC (anti-causative)'. As shown in the contrast
between (317) and (318), the plain predicate *hos-* 'dry' in (317) takes the agent
(the mother) in the nominative and the patient (the laundry) in the accusative,
while the anti-causative predicate *hos-asar-* in (318) takes the patient (the laun-
dry) in the nominative.

(317) *haha-**ga***   *sentakumono-o sao-ni*   ***hos-u***
       mother-NOM laundry-ACC   bamboo.pole-DAT dry-PRES
       'Mother dries the laundry on the bamboo pole.'

(318) *sentakumono-**ga** sao-ni*   ***hos-asar-u***
       laundry-NOM   bamboo.pole-DAT hang.to.dry-AC-PRES
       'The laundry dries on the bamboo pole.' (Sasaki and Yamazaki 2006:
       354)

The suffix *-(r)are-* (PASS) is used to promote the object to the subject and to
demote the subject to the dative (coded by *-ni* (DAT)).

(319) *odotto*   *taro bokkake-ta-zɨ*
       younger.brother Taro chase-PST-HRS
       'His younger brother chased Taro.'

(320) *taro odotto-ni*   *bokkake-**rare**-ta-zɨ*
       Taro younger.brother chase-PASS-PST-HRS
       'Taro was chased by his younger brother.'

11.5   *Polarity*

Negation is expressed through the use of the negative morpheme *-nɛ* for verbs,
-gu/ku/hu-nɛ for inflected adjectives, and *-de-nɛ* for nominal adjectives and
nouns. Some examples are shown below.

(321) *kono huta atu-ku-te*   ***mot-e-nɛ***
       this   lid   hot-ADJ-and have-POSS-NEG
       'This lid is so hot that (I) can't hold (it).'

TABLE 7.13 Tense, aspect, modality expressions

Aspect	Tense	Modality
-tera (PROG)	*-ta* (PST)	*jonta, gotta* (INFR)
-ttemaru (PFV)	*-ta-tta* (EPST)	*-ttɛ* (DES), *sonta* 'nearly'
	-u (NPST)	*be, besi, bja, bjon* (INFR)

(322) *kono inu hutarasi-ku-nɛ*
       this   dog   ??-ADJ-NEG
       'This dog doesn't behave well.'

(323) *wa   sense⸗de⸗nɛ-ga-tta⸗jo*
       1SG teacher⸗COP⸗NEG-ADJ-PST⸗FP
       'I was not a teacher.'

11.6   *TAM*

Tense, aspect, and modality expressions are listed in Table 7.13. The basic order is aspect, followed by tense, followed by modality. Some of those are suffixes and clitics; others are verbs, adjectival expressions, and sentence-final particles.

Yakame et al. (2005) point out that *-ta* indicates simple past, and when *-tta* is added, it indicates that the event described was experienced by the speaker. This is shown by the contrast between (324) and (325). In (325), it is implied that the speaker actually saw the garbage.

(324) *kinona   kogo⸗sa gomi   ar-ta*
       yesterday here⸗ALL garbage exist-PST
       'Yesterday there was garbage here.' (Yakame et al. 2005: 54)

(325) *kinona   kogo⸗sa gomi   ar-ta-tta*
       yesterday here⸗ALL garbage exist-PST–EPST
       'Yesterday there was garbage here (and I saw it).' (Ibid.)

The marker *-tera* attaches to verbs to add a progressive meaning as in (255). Additionally, it can also follow adjectival expressions to indicate that the state is temporal. For example, compare (326) and (327). (326) expresses a temporary state and the morpheme *-tera* is felicitous, whereas (327) expresses a permanent state (relative to human life) and *-tera* is infelicitous.

(326) *ittsɨmo sizuka-na hito⸗a kjo⸗a zɨmbu niɲijaga-**tera***
always quiet-ADJ person⸗NOM today⸗TOP really talkative-PROG
'The person who is usually calm is talkative today.'

(327) *ano hito⸗dakkja ittsɨmo niɲijaga-{da⸗kkja/***tera**}*
that person⸗TOP always talkative-{COP⸗FP/PROG}
'That person is always talkative.'

The detailed usages for each expression need further study. See, for example, Takeda (2000) and Takata (2003) for tense, aspect, and modality systems of closely related dialects.

11.6.1 Discourse Marker

Common discourse markers are listed in (328). Details of the usage of each marker are not yet understood. The markers ⸗*i* and ⸗*sɛ* can attach to nouns in addition to sentences. As far as I aware, the other particles attach only to the end of sentences.

(328) ⸗*i* (⸗FP), ⸗*sɛ* (⸗FP), ⸗*zɨ* (⸗HRS), ⸗*kja* (⸗FP), ⸗*nisɨ* (⸗PLT)

The marker *nisɨ* varies widely within the Nambu dialect. I encountered *nasɨ* and *naʃi* in areas outside Noheji, and there may be more variation.

11.7 *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings*

The particle ⸗*a* may have originated from either ⸗*wa* (⸗TOP) or ⸗*ga* (⸗*ŋa*) (⸗NOM), either of which would be a natural but irregular sound change in this dialect. It could be from ⸗*wa* (⸗TOP) because ⸗*a* does not always follow nominatives in the closely related Shimokita, as shown in (329). The noun phrase *kono kaʃi* 'this sweet' is not nominative but accusative, and is topicalized in this case.

(329) *kono kaʃi⸗**a** wa kat-te kɨ̥-ta*
DEM.PROX sweet⸗a 1SG buy-SEQ come-PST
'Regarding this sweet, I bought (it).' (Nakagawa 2020: p. 54)

It is difficult to speculate that all examples of ⸗*a* are topics; clear cases of focus, such as the answer to a question and Brand-New NPs (Prince 1981), can also be coded by ⸗*a*.

(330)   dɛ   biriketu⸗da⸗no   –   hanako⸗**a**/∅   biriketu⸗da⸗jo
        who   youngest⸗COP⸗NMLZ   –   Hanako⸗a/∅   youngest⸗COP⸗FP
        'Who is the youngest child (in your family)?'—'Hanako is the youngest.'

Moreover, it can code Brand-New NPs, which are not typically followed by a topic marker. In idioms like (331) and (332), for example, Brand-New NPs (which have not been mentioned in the discourse or shared between the speaker and the addressee) such as 'flavor' and 'liver' are coded by ⸗a.

(331)   kibi⸗**a** wari 'flavor⸗a bad (creepy)'

(332)   kɨmo⸗**a** jageru 'liver⸗a burn (exasparating)'

Therefore, I conclude that ⸗a in this dialect is a nominative marker, rather than ambiguous between topic and nominative markers. However, a single exception to this generalization has been found, (326), where two ⸗a-coded nouns appear in a row as in hito⸗a kjo⸗**a**. In this case, kjo⸗a should be interpreted as 'today⸗TOP'.

      The morphemes ⸗dakkja and ⸗daba are examples of topic particles. As shown in (333) and (334), ⸗dakkja can code both S and P; it can also code other elements but examples are omitted because of limitations on space.

(333)   taro⸗**dakkja** i⸗de   ne-tera⸗jo
        Taro⸗TOP   house⸗LOC sleep-PROG⸗FP
        'Regarding Taro, (he) is sleeping at home.'

(334)   taro⸗**dakkja** sakita   egi-maɛ⸗de   mi-ta⸗jo
        Taro⸗TOP   a.while.ago station-front⸗LOC see-PST⸗FP
        'Regarding Taro, (I) saw (him) in front of the station a while ago.'

It seems that the topic marker ⸗dakkja is formed from the copula ⸗da followed by the subordinate suffix ⸗kkja 'then' (see §12.1).

      The morpheme ⸗daba is also a topic marker; in addition to the topicalization function, it also appears to have a contrastive function.[8] This is especially clear in example (335), where the usual state of the teacher and his/her state today are contrasted. (336) is less clear, but 'around here' could be considered to be contrasted with other areas.

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8   I became aware of this in an elicitation session with Michinori Shimoji and his students. I am grateful that they came up with wonderful questions.

(335) *ittumo⸗**daba** jasasi⸗tatte   kjo⸗no   sense   okkane-ga-tta⸗kkja*
       usually⸗CNTR friendly⸗CONC today⸗GEN teacher scary-ADJ-PST⸗FP
       'The teacher who is usually friendly is scary today.'

(336) *kono hen⸗**daba** nani mmɛ?*
       this   area⸗CNTR what tasty
       'Around here, what is tasty?'

I speculate that *⸗daba* consists of the copula *⸗da* followed by a conditional suffix *-ba*.

Focus is not overtly coded by particles in this dialect; instead, it is expressed using a cleft construction. See Nakagawa (2020) for more about this in a related dialect.

12 The Complex Sentence

12.1 *Clause-Combining Strategies*

Below is a list of some clause-combining suffixes. Note that this is not an exhaustive list. All these suffixes follow a clause and indicate the relation between that clause and the following one. There are two kinds of concessive suffixes (*⸗(ke)ⁿdomo, ⸗tatte*) and two kinds of reason suffixes (*⸗mono, ⸗site*). The differences between the similar suffixes are still not clear.

(337) *⸗(ke)^{n}domo* (CONC), *⸗tatte* (CONC), *⸗mono* (RSN), *⸗site* (RSN), *⸗dogo⸗de*
       '?', *-(r)eba* (COND), *⸗si* (ADD), *-te* 'and', *⸗kkja* 'then'

12.2 *Quotatives*

Declarative and direct speech are coded using quotative *⸗tte* or *⸗tto*.

(338) *her-eba   her-ta-**tte**   her-are-ru-si ...*
       speak-COND speak-PST-QT speak-PASS-NPST-and
       'If I speak, I would be said to have spoken I spoke, (if I don't speak, I would also be accused, so it's better to speak than not to speak. Either way I would be accused.)'

(339) *i   ur-ttɛ⸗**tto**   omo-ru-kedo   ome do omo-ru?*
       house sell-want⸗QT think-NPST-CONC 2SG how think-NPST
       'I am thinking I want to sell my house. What do you think?'

=tte and *her-u* 'speak' are conflated into =tte-ru, which I call a quotative verb. An example is given in (340). However, it is not clear whether the verb has other forms such as the negative form, although I have found the past-tense form =tte-tta.

(340) *sore-ⁿdo=no   name {nan=tteru/nan=tte heru}=no*
       that-PL=GEN name {what=say.QT/what=QT speak}=NMLZ
       'What are their names?'

Content and polar questions are quoted using =ga, as exemplified in (341).

(341) *de-ga   de-ru=be=ga   oᵐbe-teru?*
       who-INDEF answer-NPST=INFR=Q remember-PROG
       '(If you make phone call,) do (you) remember who will answer (the phone)?'

12.3 *Insubordination*

All the clause-combining suffixes listed in (337) can also close a sentence, but such sentences imply that the speaker has not finished the sentence. Example (342) is relatively clear. When speaker A asks why B is angry, speaker B answers the question with a reason clause or leaves the sentence unfinished with 'and …'.

(342) a. (Why are you so angry?)

       b. *odotto   sara {kasi-ta-site/*
          younger.brother plate {break-PST-RSN/
          kasi-ta-n=da-mono/   kasi-te=i}
          break-PST-NMLZ=COP-RSN/ break-and-FP}
          'Because (my) younger brother broke a plate …'

A similar strategy can be applied without any explicit question like (342a).

12.4 *Clause-Chaining Structure*

With a rich array of suffixes indicating the relations between sentences and insubordination, the dialect also has clause-chaining especially in narratives and monologues. Examples of clause-chaining are to be found in the Appendix.

Acknowledgements

Appendix: Sample Text (Nosaka 2009)

(343) *mugaʃi   mugaʃi   nohedʒisa   otonosamaŋa*
       mugasi   mugasi   nohezi‧sa   o-tono-sama‧ŋa
       long.ago long.ago Noheji‧ALL HON-governor-HON‧NOM
       merasɨkkoba   hede   kɨtazɨ
       merasi-kko‧ba   he-te   ki-ta‧zɨ
       girl.child-DIM‧ACC accompany-and come-PST‧HRS
       'A long time ago, a governor came to Noheji with a little girl.'

(344) *osamuraisamano   hiŋekko   nobide   kimonokkomo*
       o-samurai-sama‧no   hiŋe-kko   nobi-te   kimono-kko‧mo
       HON-samurai-HON‧GEN beard-DIM grow-and clothing-DIM‧ADD
       kɨtanagu   natterattazɨ
       kitana-gu   nar-tera-tta‧zɨ
       dirty-ADJ   become-PROG-PST‧HRS
       'The samurai grew an untidy beard and wore dirty clothes.'

(345) *nugui   nazɨdamono   naŋe   tabide*
       nugu-i   nazu‧da-mono   naŋe   tabi‧de
       hot-ADJ summer‧COP-RSN long   travel‧LOC
       asagenaikurai   tsɨkarederattazɨ
       asag-e-nai‧kurai   tukare-tera-tta‧zɨ
       walk-POSS-NEG‧amount tired-PROG-PST‧HRS
       'Because it was a hot summer, they were too tired to walk further after a long trip.'

(346) *nodokko   kawaide idadogode*
       nodo-kko   kawai-te i-ta-dogode
       throat-DIM dry-and exist-PST-since
       'Since they were thirsty,'

(347) *ojakode*   *miwanoŋawano*   *kiʃisa*   *ʃaŋandakkja*
       oja-ko⁀de   biwano-ŋawa⁀no   kisi⁀sa   sjaŋam-ta⁀kkja
       parent-child⁀LOC Biwano-river⁀GEN bank⁀ALL   crouch-PST⁀then
       'the father and the child crouched down and'

(348) *gabugabutte*   *miz̞ikkoba*   *nondaz̞ɨ*
       gabu~gabu⁀tte   mizu-kko⁀ba   nom-ta⁀zɨ
       gulp~gulp⁀QT   water-DIM⁀ACC   drink-PST⁀HRS
       'gulped water.'

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Izumo (Shimane, Western Japanese)

Tatsuya Hirako

1 The Language and Its Speakers

1.1 *Geography and Affiliation*
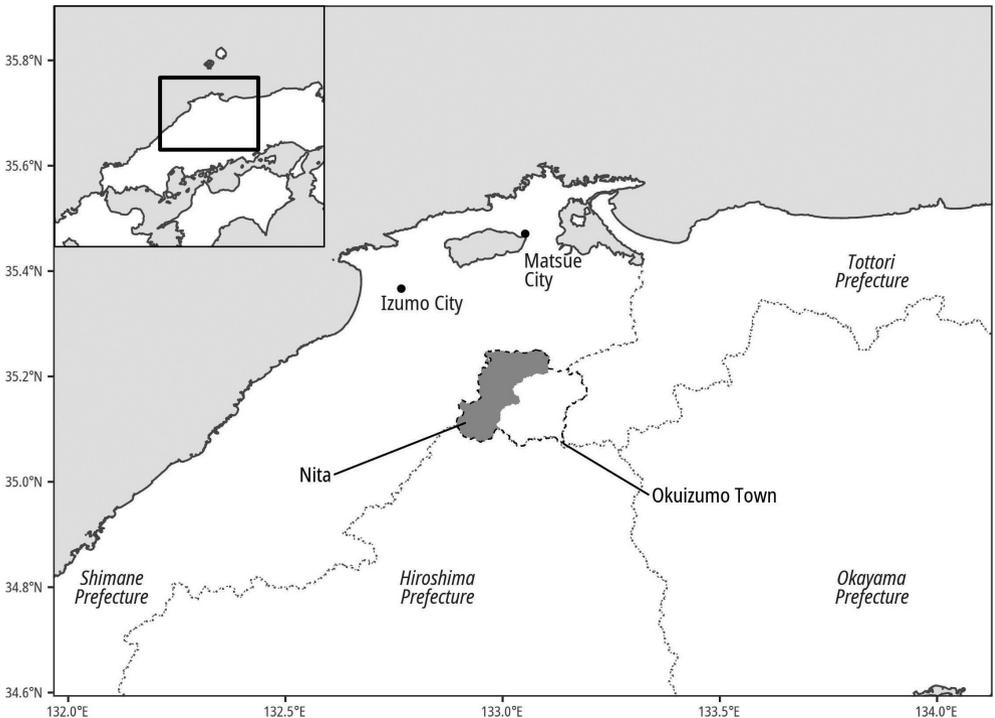
FIGURE 8.1 Nita area

The Izumo dialect is spoken in the Izumo area, the east part of Shimane Prefecture, including Izumo City, Unnan City, Matsue City, Yasugi City, and Okuizumo Town. Shimane Prefecture is situated in the western part of the main island of Japan, so the Izumo dialect has been classified as a Western Japanese dialect since Tōjō (1953). However, it shares several features with Eastern Japanese dialects, such as the existence of the copula ⸗*da*, leading to a long-standing controversy among linguists with regard to how Izumo is situated in the history of Japanese.

TABLE 8.1   Differences within Izumo dialects

	go-INT	'sit down'
Northwest	*ek-a*	*nemar-*
Northeast	*ek-a*	*siwar-*
South	*ek-aa*	*nemar-*

According to Hiroto (1950), the Izumo dialect can be classified into three subdivisions: the Northeastern dialects, the Northwestern dialects, and the Southern dialects. These differences are based on their phonological, lexical, and grammatical features (Table 8.1). The present chapter focuses on the Nita dialect, one of the Southern dialects (Figure 8.1). The Nita dialect is spoken in the former Nita Town area of the present Okuizumo Town, located on the prefectural border of Shimane and Hiroshima prefectures.

1.2   *Sociolinguistic Overview*

The population of the former Nita area of Okuizumo Town is about 6,500 (as of 2020), but the number of people who can speak the traditional Nita dialect is much fewer. Fluent speakers of Nita are mostly over seventy years old, and many are in their eighties or nineties.

While able to understand the traditional dialect, the younger generations normally choose to speak Standard Japanese or use dialectal forms familiar to the whole region of Izumo, which is similar to the dialect spoken in Izumo City and distant from the traditional Nita dialect.

1.3   *Previous Works*

One of the earliest descriptive studies on the Izumo dialects is Katō (1935), a short description of the morpho-syntax of one dialect in Northeastern Izumo. Hiroto (1950) is the landmark study on Izumo, and it contains some descriptions of the phonology and morphology of the dialects spoken in Shimane and Tottori prefectures. Since then, no work has produced a comprehensive synchronic description of this dialect, although there have been some studies on individual phenomena, such as Hirako (2016) on case marking and Hirako and Tomosada (2018) on the morphology.

2   Phonology

The first thing to mention on the phonology of Nita is that there are some variants such as *oroko ~ uroko* 'fish scale' both among and within individual speakers. These variations must be due to sound changes and standardization. For example, *oroko* is considered to be 'traditional', as it was derived from the proto-form *uroko through the historical sound change *u > o, while the form *uroko* may be a loanword from Standard Japanese. This section will describe the Nita phonology based on its 'traditional' forms.

2.1   *Phoneme Inventory*

Nita has five vowels (/i[i̥ ~ i ~ ɨ], e[e ~ e̥], a, o[o ~ o̥], u[ɯ]/), thirteen consonants (/p, b; t, d; k, g; c[ts ~ tɕ], z[dz ~ dʑ]; s[s ~ ɕ], h[h ~ ɸ], m, n[n ~ m ~ ŋ ~ ɴ], r[ɾ ~ l]/) and two glides (/w, y[j]/). Phonetic long vowels are analyzed as a sequence of vowel phonemes: [aː] is /aa/, [oː] is /oo/, and so on. Closed vowels can be devoiced after a voiceless consonant, and non-closed vowels can also be devoiced between voiceless consonants (e.g. /sine/[si̥ne] 'shin', /kata/[kḁta] 'shoulder').

The contrast between the closed vowels /i/ and /u/ is neutralized after /s, c, z/, and they appear as /i/[ɨ]. For example, when the verbal suffix //(r)u//(NPST) attaches to an *s*-stem verb such as *das-* 'put out', it is realized as /das-i/[dasɨ] (put out-NPST).

/i/ has three allophonic variants: the front vowels [i] and [i̥] appear after a vowel, while the central vowel [ɨ] appears in other environments (e.g. /sjooi/ [ɕoːi] 'soy sauce', /ki/ [kˢi̥] 'tree'). /u/ does not appear in word-initial position.

/t/ and /d/ appear only before /a, e, o/.[1] /k, g/ have allophones with contain a fricative off-glide [s, z], which often appear before /i/ (e.g. /ki/[kˢi̥] 'tree'). /c, z/ are affricates. /c/ is palatalized before /y/ (e.g. /cya/[tɕa] 'Japanese tea'), while /z/ is always palatalized before /y/ and /e/ (e.g. /mesizyakusi/[mesɨdʑakɯ̥sɨ] 'rice scoop', /zene/[dʑene] 'money'). The fricative /s/ is also palatalized before /y/ and /e/ (e.g. /ase/[aɕe] 'sweat', /bosya/[boɕa] 'bath'). Note that the palatalization of consonants before /i/ is optional in Nita, while the consonant before /i/ is almost obligatorily palatalized in most of the other Japanese-Ryukyuan dialects (e.g. /ci/[tsɨ̥ ~ tɕi̥] 'blood'). This may be due to the phonetic nature of /i/ in Nita, which is a central vowel [ɨ] after a consonant.

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1   /t/ in verb stem-final position alternates with /c/ when followed by the suffixes -(*r*)*u*(NPST) and -(*r*)*una*(IMP) and the thematic vowel -*i*-, e.g. //tat-ru// (stand-NPST) → //tac-u// → /tac-i/ (neutralization of closed vowels). For more information on verbal morphology, see §5.

/h/ is realized as [ɸ] before /u/ and /i/. /n/ is realized as the dental nasal [n] in onset position, but in coda position it is a homorganic nasal, which is realized as [ɴ] in word-final position, [ŋ] before velars, [m] before bilabials, and as a nasalized vowel before vowels, fricatives, and approximants. /r/ is realized as [l] before /i/ (e.g. /kiiri/[kɨːl̥ɨ] 'cucumber').

Glide phonemes may combine with other consonants to form complex onsets, as in /hwaa/ [ɸaː] 'day', /kwaama/ [kʷaːma] 'car', /kyaa/ [kʲaː] 'fog'.

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Mora*

The syllable template in the Nita dialect is schematized as $(O)(G)Nu_1(Nu_2)(Cd)$. The syllable contains an obligatory nucleus (Nu), which can be filled by vowels. The onset position (O) can be occupied by any consonant, while the coda position (Cd) cannot be occupied by the voiced obstruents /b, d, g, z/, the glides /w, y/, /m/, and the liquid /r/ in the data at hand. The glides /w, y/ can fill the G slot. /w/ precedes /k, g/ and /h/ only (e.g. /kwasi/[kʷasɨ̥ ~ kʷaɕɨ̥] 'sweets'; /hwaa/[ɸaː] 'daytime'). /y/ can follow any consonant but /y/ itself, and precede /a/ or /o/ (e.g. /syooi/[ɕoːi] 'soy sauce'; /kaw-ya/[kawʲa] (buy-COND)).

The mora, as opposed to the syllable, plays a significant role in the description of the accentuation (§2.3). The nucleus and coda each constitute one mora, while the onset and glide are not moraic.

2.3   *Word-Level Prosody*

The prosodic system of Nita is a 'pitch accent' system (Uwano 2012). This dialect has *n+1* distinctive pitch patterns for *n* morae words, which are distinguished by whether a fall in pitch exists or not and, if there is a fall in pitch, where it is located. Some basic data are given in Table 8.2. The acute accent mark indicates the locus of the 'accent'; the pitch falls after an accented mora.

TABLE 8.2   Examples of pitch pattern

Mora count	Form	Gloss	Pitch pattern	
			Isolation	*=ga*
1	*ci*	'blood'	H	LH
	té	'hand'	H	HL
2	*eka*	'squid'	LH	LHH
	kusá	'grass'	LH	LHL
	áka	'red'	HL	HLL

TABLE 8.2   Examples of pitch pattern (*cont.*)

Mora count	Form	Gloss	Pitch pattern	
			Isolation	*=ga*
3	*sakana*	'fish'	LHH	LHHH
	kokoró	'hear'	LHH	LHHL
	awábi	'abalone'	LHL	LHLL
	kábito	'helmet'	HLL	HLLL

H = High pitch, L = Low pitch

2.4   *Intonation*

For Japanese, Igarashi (2018: 189) defines an Accentual Phrase (AP) as "having a delimitative rise to high around the second mora and a subsequent gradual fall to low at the end of the phrase and as having at most one lexical pitch accent", and further defines the Intonation Phrase (IP) as "the prosodic phrase immediately above the AP in the hierarchy within which pitch range is specified" (Igarashi 2018: 193). These definitions can also be applied to describe the intonational phrasing of Nita, and the intonational phrasing may mark a focus domain, though further research is needed.

Pitch movements at the end of the prosodic phrase contribute to the pragmatic or modal interpretation of the utterance. For instance, a rise in pitch on the final syllable of the utterance indicates a question (§11.2). Interaction between modal markers, discourse markers, and intonation may create various modal or pragmatic indexes, but these details have yet to be researched.

2.5   *Alternations Concerning the Liquid /r/*

In Nita, some (morpho)phonological processes are observed: the neutralization of closed vowels after /s, c, z/ (§2.1), segmental alternations in the verb morphology (§5), and vowel coalescence across the boundary between an adjective stem and a suffix (§6.1). In this section, one of the notable phonological processes, the alternations concerning the liquid /r/ as shown in (349), are described. Other phonological processes will be detailed in the following sections.

(349)   a. *arigo ~ aago* 'ant'
         b. *tori ~ too* 'bird'
         c. *kwaama ~ kuruma* 'car'

    d. *kiri ~ kyaa* 'fog'
    e. *eri ~ yai*[jae] 'collar'

Two pieces of evidence lead us to believe that each of the paired forms in the alternations in (349) is considered to be derived from a single underlying form, and that the form containing /r/, such as *kuruma*, must be the underlying form. Strong evidence of this view is found in the morphophonemic alternations in the verbal inflections as shown in (350).[2]

(350)   a. //ar-u// → /aa/ (exist-NPST)
        b. //tor-u// → /too/ (take-NPST)
        c. //cikur-u// → /cikwaa/ (make-NPST)
        d. //kir-u// → /kyaa/ (cut-NPST)
        e. //ker-u// → /kyai/ (kick-NPST)

Based on the non-past forms of the other C-verbs such as *kak-u* (write-NPST), an allomorph of the non-past suffix must be //-u//, and the conditional forms such as /ar-ja/ (exist-COND) or the negative non-past forms such as /cikur-a-n/ (make-THM-NEG.NPST) show that all the stems of the verbs in (350) must end in /r/. See §5 for more details on verb morphology.

    Supporting evidence for this view is found in the relationship between the segment and the prosody. In this dialect, while the locus of fall in pitch is distinctive, the locus of the rise in pitch is predictable from the segmental conditions of the word. For example, if the first syllable of the word contains a long vowel or diphthong or it ends in /n/, the word begins with high pitch (e.g. *kiiri* HHH 'cucumber'). On the other hand, if the second mora of the word contains a closed vowel (i, u) and the third mora contains a non-closed vowel (a, e, o), the rise in pitch occurs after the second mora (e.g. *kobira* LLH 'calf'). The fact that *kwaama* appears as LLH suggests that the underlying form of this word is /kuruma/, and the second mora contains a closed vowel /u/. Note that the form *kuruma* is used in somewhat formal situations.[3]

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2 Contrary to the prediction from (350d), //sir-u// (know-NPST), //cir-u// (fall(leaves)-NPST) and //tozi-ru// (close-NPST) are realized as *saa, caa* and *tozaa*, not **syaa, *cyaa* and **tozyaa*. Historical speaking, the merger of the closed vowels after /s, c, z/ must have preceded the changes of (i) and (ii) in footnote 3. After /s, c, z/, the vowel /i/ appeared as the central vowel [ɨ] that did not trigger the palatalization of the consonants.

3 Based on comparisons with other dialects, the sound changes shown in (i) and (ii) must have occurred in Nita.
   (i)   a. *(C)ar{i/u} > (C)aa
          b. *(C)or{i/u} > (C)oo

3   Word Classes

There are two major word classes in Nita, nominals and verbals, and these can be identified on the basis of their morpho-syntactic properties. In addition to these two major word classes, a word class called here 'particles', as well as three minor and closed categories, adverbs, adnominals, and interjections, are recognized.

Nominals are defined as words which can head an NP and constitute an argument of a predicate. There are five subcategories of nominals: nouns (§ 4.2), pronouns (§ 4.1), numerals (§ 4.3), formal nouns (§ 4.4) and nominal adjectives (§ 6.2). Nominal adjectives differ from other subcategories in that they take special forms of the copula ⸗*na*. See § 6.2 for details.

Verbals are words that inflect, and they divide into **verbs** (including copular verbs) and **adjectives**. They occur in verbal predicate phrases, while the copular verb ⸗*da* occurs in nominal predicate phrases. Both verbs and adjectives inflect word-finally, and inflectional categories of verbals vary depending on whether they are finite (inflecting for tense and mood) or non-finite (inflecting for neither). The morphology of verbs is described in § 5, and the morphology of adjectives in § 6.1.

Nita has a set of grammatical morphemes that can be considered clitics. They occur phrase- or clause-finally, and are phonologically dependent on their hosts, i.e. they cannot constitute a single accentual phrase by themselves. The label **particle** is used here to group together role markers, conjunctive markers, modal markers, and discourse markers. Role markers will be discussed in § 9.2 (case markers) and § 9.3 (other role markers). **Conjunctive markers** mark clause combinations, such as *and*-relation (juxtaposition; ⸗*si*), *but*-relation (adversative; ⸗*damo*, ⸗*ne*), and *for*-relation (causal; ⸗*ken*). They can appear after any kind of predicate, and trigger insertion of the copula in the case of a nominal predicate. See § 12 for the clause combinations.

Modal markers and **discourse markers** can appear after any kind of predicate as conjunction markers. Modal makers such as ⸗*ka* (Q), ⸗*koi* (HOR), ⸗*zo*, ⸗*wa(a)*, and ⸗*ga* express various kinds of modal value, and they cannot follow

---

(ii)   a   *Cur{i/u} > C(w)aa
         b.   *Cir{i/u} > Cyaa
         c.   *(C)er{i/u} > (C)yai

In other Izumo dialects, the changes in (i) occurred regardless of what vowel appears before the /r/. Therefore, in other Izumo dialects, only forms like *kuuma* are observed, and forms like *kwaama* are not observed. Also in Nita, forms such as *kuuma* may be used, and such forms must have been borrowed from other nearby dialects.

other modal or discourse markers. Discourse markers such as *=ne(e)*, *=yo*, and *=na(a)* may follow modal markers and other discourse markers and express emphasis, though further research will be needed to investigate their functions.

Adnominals are used for adnominal modification only. In addition to the adnominal forms of demonstratives and interrogatives, there are a few adnominals such as *taisita* 'great' as in the first sentence of the sample text. **Adverbs** are non-inflecting words whose function is to modify verbs, adjectives, adverbs, nominal predicates or sentences (e.g. *moo* 'already' as in (355), *yoo* 'often'). Note that some adverbs such as *kaisiki* require the negative forms of the predicates as in *kaisiki ne-rare-datta* (not.at.all sleep-POT-NEG.PST) '(I) couldn't sleep at all'. **Interjections** are non-inflecting words that can be used in isolation to mark an exclamation, like *maa* in the fifth sentence of the sample text.

4   Nominals

4.1   *Pronouns*

Nita has personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns. Non-speech-act participant reference, i.e. third person, location, and direction, is intertwined with the demonstrative system (see §8). Here, an overview of the personal pronouns is given.

Table 8.3 shows the personal pronoun system of Nita. Pronouns of the Nita dialect are considered to inflect for number, i.e. they distinguish different word forms for different numbers (e.g. *ora-∅* (1-SG) vs. *ora-nci, ora-raci*, and *ora-yaci* (1-PL)).

TABLE 8.3   Personal pronouns of Nita

	Singular	**Plural**
First	*ora-∅, oranci-∅* *adan-∅*	*ora-nci, ora-raci, ora-yaci* *adan-ci, adan-raci, adan-yaci* *waawa-ci, waawa-raci, waawa-yaci*
Second	*waa-∅, waaci-∅* *omai-∅*	*waa-raci, waa-yaci* *omai-ci, omai-raci, omai-yaci*
Reflexive	*waawa-∅*	*waawa-raci, waawa-yaci*

The first-person pronoun *adan* tends to be used by female speakers, while *ora(-nci)* is a general form, which is used by both male and female speakers.

Different forms for second-person referents are used depending on the hierarchical social relationship between the speaker and the addressee; the forms *waa, waaci* are used to indicate that the speaker finds themself to be of higher social status, while *omai* is used to indicate that the speaker considers themself to be of equal social standing with the addressee. To show the recognition that the addressee is superior on the social hierarchy, the honorific suffix *-san* is attached to the pronoun (e.g. *omai-san* (2-HON)), and it cannot be attached to *waa* or *waaci*.

The differences between the plural suffixes *-nci, -ci, -raci* and *-jaci* are not known in detail, but they have different distributions. For example, *-ci* attaches only to first-person *adan* and second-person *waawa* or *omai*. *-nci* attaches only to *ora*, and the form *ora-nci* may not only refer to more than two persons, but also to one person. *waaci* contains the plural suffix *-ci*, but it refers to one person only, and it cannot refer to two or more persons. Both *-raci* and *-yaci* can be attached to nouns denoting humans and animate beings. In other words, nouns denoting inanimate entities do not distinguish number. For example, in (351a), the distal demonstrative pronoun *aa* refers to something to eat, meaning that the plural suffix cannot be used, thus rendering the number of things to eat ambiguous. On the other hand, in (351b), the plural suffix is obligatorily attached to the demonstrative *aa*, which refers to someone who is not participating in the speech act, therefore, expressing plurality.

(351) a. {*aa/*aa-raci/*aa-yaci*}≠*ga*   *kuu-ta-i*
           {that/that-PL/that-PL}≠NOM eat.THM-DES-NPST
           '(I) want to eat that/those.'

       b. {**aa/aa-raci/aa-yaci*}≠*ga*   *kuu-ta*
           {that/that-PL/that-PL}≠NOM eat-PST
           'Those people ate (it).'

The plural suffixes may follow the honorific suffix. For example, *omai-san-ci, omai-san-raci* is used to express the second person, but **omai-san-yaci* is not acceptable.

4.2   *Nouns*

Nouns do not inflect. Cross-linguistically common inflectional categories for nouns such as number, gender, and case are either absent (in the case of gen-

der) or present in systems other than inflection; case is marked by a clitic attaching to an NP, and plural marking is derivational, i.e. it is not obligatory for nouns.

The plural suffixes *-yaci* and *-raci* attach to nouns referring to humans and animate beings: *taroo-raci* (Taroo-PL), *sensee-yaci* (teacher-PL), *hebi-raci* (snake-PL).

4.3   *Numerals*

A numeral may be composed of a numeral root and a classifier suffix. Two usual numeral sets are as follows. In some numerals, as in (353) below, numbers greater than three or five may be expressed by numerals of Sino-Japanese origin.

(352)   For general non-animate objects: *huto-ci* '1', *hutaa-ci* '2', *mec-ci* '3', *yoc-ci* '4', *eci-ci* '5', *moc-ci* '6', *nana-ci* '7', *jac-ci* '8', *kokono-ci* '9', *too* '10'.

(353)   For humans: *hutoo* '1', *hutaa-ri* '2', *san-nin* '3', *yottaa* '4', *go-nin* '5', *roku-nin* '6', *sici-nin* '7', *haci-nin* '8', *ku-nin* '9', *zii-nin* '10'.

Numerals behave like other nominals and can head an NP, but they can also float (e.g. *ringo hutoci kuu-ta* (apple one eat-PST) 'I ate one apple').

4.4   *Formal Nouns*

Nita has some formal nouns, which have undergone some grammaticalization. Formal nouns cannot be used alone, and the modifier always precedes them. Some of them have entirely lost their lexical meaning and are now pure grammatical markers, while others still retain lexical meaning. For example, *eci ~ yaci*, which may have originated from *yaci* 'guy', can be used not only for humans and animate beings but also for inanimate things or events as in (354). On the other hand, *sii*, which may be derived from *sii* (< **syuu* 'people', from Chinese *zhòng*), can be used only for persons (355).

(354)   *kaee⸗ga   negee   yaci mi-ta*
          frog⸗NOM run.away.NPST YACI see-PST
          '(I) saw a frog run away.'

(355)   *moo   ano sii   ene+kake-cyot-te⸗da⸗yo*
          already that SII.TOP leave.INF+begin-CONT-SEQ⸗COP.NPST⸗DSC
          'That person is about to leave.'[4]

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4 One of the reviewers pointed out that the form *ene* in (355) may result from perseverative

4.5   *Compound Nouns*

In Nita, like other Japanese-Ryukyuan dialects, compounding is very common in nominal (and verbal) morphology, and *rendaku* (sequential voicing) is also common. For example, the second element of each compound noun of (356a–c) is subject to *rendaku*: *hara* 'stomach' → *bara*, *syakusi* 'ladle' → *zyakusi*, *kwaa* 'chestnut' → *gwaa*. The plus sign "+" here indicates the boundary between elements of a compound.

(356)   a. *waki+bara*
            side+stomac
            'flank'

         b. *mesi+zyakusi*
            rice+ladle
            'rice scoop'

         c. *ega+gwaa*
            burr+chestnut
            'chestnut in its burr'

5   Verbs

All regular verbs are of one of two subtypes according to the shape of their stem, and this determines which allomorphic suffix they take for certain inflectional categories. There are vowel-stem verbs (V-verbs) and consonant-stem verbs (C-verbs). Examples of each types of C-verb stem are given in Table 8.4. The V-verb ends in /i/ or /e/, and the C-verb ends in /b, m, t, s, k, g, r, w/ or /n/. Note that the *n*-verbs, of which there are only *en-* 'leave' and *sin-* 'die', have irregular non-past forms like *enoo* //en-oru// (leave-NPST). In addition to the two subtypes, there are two completely irregular verbs, the *come*-verb and the *do*-verb.

The structure of the verb is schematized as stem (+ thematic vowel) + inflection. The thematic vowel *-a-* is inserted when negative-polarity suffixes follow C-verbs (e.g. *kak-a-sikoni* write-THM-NEG.SEQ '(I) did not write and …'). The thematic vowel *-i-* is inserted when the C-verbs are followed by the imperative

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(left-to-right) assimilation (i.e. //en-i-∅// (leave-THM-INF) → /ene/). This point may be correct, since the infinitive form of *sin-* "die" is not *sine* but *sini* or *sin*. I would like to thank the reviewer for the suggestion.

TABLE 8.4   Examples of each type of C-verb stem

Stem-final consonant	Stem	*-n* (NEG.NPST)	*-ru* (NPST)	*-ta* (PST)	*-rya* (COND)
b	*yob-* 'call'	*yob-a-n*	*yob-u*	*yon-da*	*yob-ya*
m	*yom-* 'read'	*yom-a-n*	*yom-u*	*yon-da*	*yom-ya*
t	*tat-* 'stand'	*tat-a-n*	*tac-i*	*tat-ta*	*tac-ya*
s	*sas-* 'point'	*sas-a-n*	*sas-i*	*sai-ta*	*sas-ya*
k	*kak-* 'stand'	*kak-a-n*	*kak-u*	*kai-ta*	*kak-ya*
g	*kag-* 'smell'	*kag-a-n*	*kag-u*	*kai-da*	*kag-ya*
r	*tor-* 'take'	*tor-a-n*	*too*	*tot-ta*	*tor-ya*
w	*kaw-* 'buy'	*kaw-a-n*	*ka-u*	*kaa-ta*	*kaw-ya*
n	*en-* 'leave'	*en-a-n*	*en-oo*	*en-da*	*en-ya*

suffix *-tae*, the infinitive suffix *-∅*, the purposive suffix *-ni ~ -i*, the desiderative suffix *-ta-*, and the polite suffix *-mas-*.

When followed by *-ta* (PST), *-te* (SEQ), *-tara* (COND), *-cyor-* (CONT) and *-cyar-* (RES / HON), the stem-final consonants of the C-verbs alternate with other segments and the suffix-initial consonant /t/ or /c/ may alternate with /d/ or /z/ respectively. To describe such alternations, the following morphophonological rules are identified: (a) the alternation of the suffix-initial consonant—/t/(or /c/) alternates with /d/ (or /z/), if the stem ends in /b, m, g, n/ (e.g. //yom-ta// (read-PST) → yom-da); (b) the stem-final consonant alternation—(b-1) /b, m/ alternate with /n/ (e.g. //yom-da// → *yon-da*), (b-2) /s, k, g/ alternate with /i/ (e.g. //kak-ta// (write-PST) → *kai-ta*),[5] (b-3) /r/ alternates with /t/ (e.g. //tor-ta// (take-PST) → *tot-ta*); (c) /Vw/ contraction—the vowel-glide sequence in *w*-verbs may change to long vowel, i.e. /Vw/ → /VV/ (e.g. //kaw-ta// (buy-PST) → *kaa-ta*). Note that /w/ also alternates with /t/ or /c/, so that *morat-ta* //moraw-ta// (receive-PST), *utac-cyor-aee* //utaw-cyor-ae-ru// (sing-CONT-HON-NPST) are observed, as shown in the appendix.

5.1   *Inflectional Morphology*

Inflection covers the categories of tense, mood and polarity,[6] but also encodes differences in the morpho-syntactic status of forms, i.e. finite or non-finite (see Table 8.5).

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5   The verb *ek-* 'go' is an exception to rule (b-2), i.e. the stem form followed by suffixes such as *-ta* is *eki-*, and the past-tense form of this verb is *eki-ta* 'went'.

6   The optional *n*-elements contained in *-(n)datta*, *-(n)zyatta*, and *-(n)dattara* may be identical

TABLE 8.5   Inflectional paradigms of verbs

Finite	Polarity		*kak-* 'write'	*mi-* 'look'	'come'	'do'
Unmarked	Affirmative	*-ru*	*kak-u* //kak-ru//	*myaa* //mi-ru//	*kwaa* //ku-ru//	*saa* //si-ru//
/Non-past	Negative	*-n*	*kak-a-n*	*mi-n*	*ko-n*	*se-n*
Unmarked	Affirmative	*-ta*	*kai-ta*	*mi-ta*	*ki-ta*	*si-ta*
/Past	Negative	*-(n)datta* ~ *-(n)zyatta*	*kak-a-(n)datta* ~ *kak-a-(n)zyatta*	*mi-(n)datta* ~*mi-(n)zyatta*	*ko-(n)datta* ~ *ko-(n)zyatta*	*se-(n)datta* ~ *se-(n)zyatta*
Inferential	Affirmative	*-oo/-aa*	*kak-aa*	*myoo* //mi-yoo//	*k-oo*	*syoo* //si-oo//
/Non-past	Negative	*-mai*	*kak-a-mai*	*mi-mai*	*ki-mai*	*se-mai*
Inferential/Past	Affirmative	*-taraa*	*kai-taraa*	*mi-taraa*	*ki-taraa*	*si-taraa*
Imperative		*-re/-i*	*kak-e* //kak-re//	*mi-re*	*ko-i*	*se-e* //se-i//
		-tae	*kak-i-tae*	*mi-tae*	*ki-tae*	*si-tae*
Prohibitive		*-runa*	*kak-una* //kak-runa//	*myaana* //mi-runa//	*kwaana* //ku-runa//	*saana* //si-runa//

Non-finite	Polarity		*kak-* 'write'	*mi-* 'look'	'come'	'do'
Infinitive		*-∅*	*kak-i-∅*	*mi-∅*	*ki-∅*	*si-∅*
Sequential	Affirmative	*-te*	*kai-te*	*mi-te*	*ki-te*	*si-te*
	Negative 1	*-sikoni*	*kak-a-sikoni*	*mi-sikoni*	*ko-sikoni*	*se-sikoni*
	Negative 2	*-nko(o)ni*	*kak-a-nko(o)ni*	*mi-nko(o)ni*	*ko-nko(o)ni*	*se-nko(o)ni*
Conditional 1	Affirmative	*-rya(a)*	*kak-ya* //kak-rya//	*mi-rya*	*ku-rya(a)*	*s-ya(a)*
	Negative	*-nya*	*kak-a-nya*	*mi-nya*	*ko-nya*	*se-nya*
Conditional 2	Affirmative	*-tara*	*kai-tara*	*mi-tara*	*ki-tara*	*si-tara*
	Negative	*-(n)dattara*	*kak-a-(n)dattara*	*mi-(n)dattara*	*ko-(n)dattara*	*se-(n)dattara*
Purposive		*-ni ~ -i*	*kak-i-(n)i*	*mi-(n)i*	*ki-(n)i*	*si-(n)i*

The suffix-initial /r/ in *-ru* (NPST), *-re* (IMP), *-runa* (PROH) and *-rya(a)* (COND) is omitted when these suffixes are attached to the C-verb stem (i.e. //kak-re// → /kak-e/ write-IMP).

-oo, one of the allomorphs of the inferential suffix, follows the V-verbs and *come* and *do* verbs. In this case, the stem-final vowels /i/ and /e/, if present, alternate with /y/ (i.e. //ake-oo// → /aky-oo/ 'will open'; cf. /k-oo/ 'will come'). On the other hand, the allomorph *-aa* follows C-verbs (i.e. *kak-aa* '(Someone) will write (something)').

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to the negative suffix *-n*, and they may have been inserted secondarily to express negation analytically. Furthermore, according to Ōnishi (2019: 13), the negative sequential form *-sikoni* may be derived from *-zi ok-uₐni (-NEG put-NPST⪥CNC).

The infinitive forms participate in compounding as in (357a,b).

(357) a. *nahayasi*
           na+hayas-i-∅
           greens+cut-THM-INF
           'knife for cutting greens'

       b. *enesagare!*
           en-i-∅+sagar-re
           leave-THM-INF+step.back-IMP
           'Go away!'

Note that there are negative forms such as *kaka-sen* 'do not write', which are derived from *kak-i-∅⹀wa se-n* (write-THM-INF⹀TOP/CNTR do-NEG.NPST).

5.2   *Derivational Morphology*
Non-class changing verbal derivation includes the causative (*-sase-*), passive (*-ra(r)e-*), potential (*-e-*, *-ra(r)e-*), aspectual (*-cyor-*), honorific (*-ra(r)e-*, *-nahar-*, *-syar-*, *-cyar-*). The different honorification suffixes may be used depending on the hierarchical social relationship between the speaker and the subject. The speaker uses the suffix *-cyar-* to show a moderate degree of respect to the subject, while, to show a higher degree of respect, the speaker must use the other suffixes.[7]

The polite marker *-mas-* can often be observed in formal speech, and its inflection may be restricted; only the non-past indicative form *-mas-i* as in *kak-i-mas-i* (write-THM-POL-NPST) '(I) will write it' and the past habitual form *-mas-yot-ta* as in *ii-mas-yot-ta* (say.THM-POL-HAB-PST) '(I) used to say it' have been observed.

5.3   *Existential and Copular Verbs*
In Nita, there are two existential verbs: *or-* and *ar-*. The former is used for animate subjects, while the latter is for inanimate subjects. Their inflectional patterns are almost identical to that of *r*-verbs, except that the negative adjective *na-* is used to express the non-existence of an inanimate subject instead of **ar-an*. Table 8.6 shows the paradigm of the copular verb *⹀dar-*. In addition to the forms in Table 8.6, the copula has a special polite form *⹀des-*.

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7 In addition to honorification via the above suffixes, the sequential *-te* forms can be used to show respect to the subject as in (355) above.

TABLE 8.6   The paradigm of the copular verb in Nita

Finiteness		Tense		*d*-series	*n*-series (special form)
Finite	Indicative	non-past		⸗*da* //dar-∅//	⸗*na* //nar-∅//
		past		⸗*datta* //dar-ta//	⸗*natta* //nar-ta//
	Inferential	non-past		⸗*daraa* //dar-aa//	⸗*naraa* //nar-aa//
		past		⸗*dattaraa* //dar-taraa//	⸗*dattaraa* //dar-taraa//
Non-finite	Conditional 1			⸗*nara*	⸗*nara*
	Conditional 2			⸗*dattara* //dar-tara//	⸗*nattara* //nar-tara//
	Sequential			⸗*de*	⸗*de*
	Adverbial			⸗*ni*	⸗*ni*
	Noun modifier			(⸗*no/ga*)	⸗*na*

The *n*-series forms are used only for nominal adjectives (see §6.2), while the *d*-series forms are used for all the types of nominals.

In negation, the analytical forms ⸗*da na-* ~ ⸗*zya na-* (//de⸗wa na// (COP.SEQ⸗ TOP NEG)), ⸗*nya na-* (//ni⸗wa na// (COP.ADV⸗TOP NEG)) and ⸗*n na-* (//ni na// (COP.ADV⸗TOP.NEG)) are used.

⸗*da*, the non-past indicative form of the *d*-series, does not precede a noun (i.e. **otoko⸗da huto* (male⸗COP.NPST person) 'male person'). Instead, the genitive particle ⸗*no/ga* is used when an NP modifies another NP (e.g. *otoko⸗no huto* (male⸗GEN person) 'male person').

6   Adjectival Expressions

There are two classes of adjectival roots in Nita: verbal adjectives and nominal adjectives. Like verbs, verbal adjectives inflect for tense and mood, while nominal adjectives do not inflect, and they take the *d*- or *n*-series copular verb (see §5.3).

6.1   *Verbal Adjectives*
Tables 8.7 and 8.8 give the paradigm of the verbal adjective *haya-* 'fast/early'.[8]

Vowel coalescence optionally takes place across a boundary between an adjective stem and the indicative non-past suffix *-i*. As shown in (358), /ai/ and

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8   The negative verbal adjective *na-* has the special conditional form *na-keranya*.

TABLE 8.7   Verbal adjective paradigm 1

Finite	Tense	
Indicative	non-past	*haya-i ~ haye(e)*
	past	*haya-katta*
Inferential	non-past	*haya-karaa*
	past	*haya-kattaraa*

TABLE 8.8   Verbal adjective paradigm 2

Non-finite	
Infinitive	*haya-∅*
Conditional 1	*haya-kerya*
Conditional 2	*haya-kattara*
Adverbial	*haya(-a)* //haya-u//
Sequential	*haya-(a)te*

/oi/ alternate with /e(e)/, and /ui/ alternates with /i(i)/ via vowel coalescence, which is optional.

(358)   a. //taka-i// (high-NPST) → *takai ~ take(e)*
        b. //too-i// (far-NPST) → *tooi ~ toe(e)*
        c. //hiku-i// (low-NPST) → *hikui ~ hiki(i)*

Infinitive forms participate in adverbial expressions such as *haya-∅ koto* and *haya-∅⸗n(i)*, and such adverbial expressions are used to form so-called *light-verb* constructions such as *haya-∅ koto saa* 'hurry up (lit. do something in haste)' or *haya-∅⸗n(i) naa* 'become fast(er)'.

The complex verbal phrase is used to negate the verbal adjective. The adjective inflects as an infinitive form and the auxiliary verb is the negative verbal adjective *na-* (e.g. *haya-∅ na-i* (fast/early-INF NEG-NPST) 'not fast/early').

6.2   *Nominal Adjectives*

Nominal adjectives do not inflect and may take a copula to indicate tense, mood, polarity and finiteness. Moreover, as shown in §5.3, nominal adjectives may take special *n*-series copular forms as in (359). Note that some nominal adjective roots may occur in a special construction *X⸗ga aa*, where *X* may be a noun or a nominal adjective as shown in (360).

(359)   {*genki⸗na/genki⸗da*}⸗*ka*
        fine⸗COP.NPST⸗Q
        '(Are you) fine?'

(360)   *genki⸗ga   aa*
        fine⸗NOM exist.NPST
        '(S/he) is fine.'

7   Class-Changing Derivations

7.1   *Nominalization and Nominalizers*

In Nita, three nominalizers, ⸗∅, ⸗*ga* and ⸗*no*, have been identified. In (361), the phrase *yai-ta*⸗∅ serves as an object. The slot filled by ∅ can be filled by the nominalizer ⸗*no* or formal nouns such as *bun* or *yaci*. Younger speakers tend to fill the slot with such overt forms.

(361)   {*yai-ta*⸗∅   / *yai-ta*⸗*no*   / *yai-ta yaci*   /
        {bake-PST⸗NMLZ / bake-PST⸗NMLZ / bake-PST YACI /
        yai-ta bun}⸗*o*   *kuu-ta*
        bake-PST BUN}⸗ACC eat-PST
        'I ate the baked one.'

The nominalizer ⸗∅ is often used in an event nominalization as observed in (362a). ⸗∅ cannot be used for a referential nominalization which refers to a person as in (362b). In contrast, it can be used in referential nominalizations which refers to a non-human referent as in (363a,b).

(362)   a. *kyonen   aa-ta*⸗∅⸗*o*   *oboe-cyoo*
            last.year meet-PST⸗NMLZ⸗ACC remember-CONT.NPST
            'Do you remember that we met last year?'

        b. *kyonen   {*aa-ta*⸗∅   / *aa-ta sii*}   *oboe-cyoo*
            last.year {meet-PST⸗NMLZ / meet-PST SII} remember-CONT.NPST
            'Do you remember the person you met last year?'

(363)   a. *sara*⸗*ne   at-ta*⸗∅⸗*ga*   *naanat-ta*
            plate⸗DAT exist-PST⸗NMLZ⸗NOM disappear-PST
            'What was on the plate was gone.'

        b. *sara*⸗*ne   at-ta*⸗∅⸗*o*   *ora*⸗*ga   kuu-ta*
            plate⸗DAT exist-PST⸗NMLZ⸗ACC 1st⸗NOM eat-PST
            'I ate what was on the plate.'

7.2   *Other Class-Changing Derivations*

Verbal adjective stems are derived from verb roots with the desiderative suffix -*ta*- (e.g. *kuu-ta-karaa*⸗*zi* (eat.THM-DES-INFR⸗MOD) '(You) will want to eat'). Several verb stems which are derived from nouns have been identified (e.g. *kyaa-gom*- (fog-VLZ) 'become foggy').

8   Demonstratives and Interrogatives

The demonstrative system in Nita is the three-way contrast system of *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-*. Table 8.9 shows the demonstratives and interrogatives in Nita.

TABLE 8.9   Demonstratives and interrogatives in Nita

	Pronoun 1 (individual)	Pronoun 2 (location)	Pronoun 3 (direction)	Adverbial (manner)	Adnominal 1	Adnominal 2 (state / quality)
Proximate	*koo ~ kore*	*koko*	*kocci*	*koge*	*kono*	*kogyan*
Medial	*soo ~ sore*	*soko*	*socci*	*soge*	*sono*	*sogyan*
Distal	*aa ~ are*	*asiko*	*acci*	*age*	*ano*	*agyan*
Interrogative	*doo ~ dore*	*doko*	*docci*	*doge*	*dono*	*dogyan*

In deictic use, three types of demonstratives are used differently depending on the relative distance between the speaker, the addressee and the referent, while, in anaphoric use, only two types, the *so-* and *a-* types, are used, though it is unclear how they differ.

Other than the forms in Table 8.9, there are nominal adjectives such as *koge≠na*, *soge≠na*, and *age≠na*. In (364a), the nominal adjective *age* 'like that' anaphorically refers to 'impatient' in the preceding comment. On the other hand, when *age* anaphorically refers to the whole comment before that, *age* cannot take the special copular form *≠nar-* as in (364b). In (364b), *age* should be analyzed as an adverbial form of the *a-*type demonstrative in Table 8.9.

(364)   a. (In response to the comment 'He is impatient')
          arya   honne age≠nat-ta   mukasi≠kara
          that.TOP really like.that≠COP-PST the.past≠ABL
          'He has been impatient for a long time.'

        b. (In response to the comment 'Was he impatient?')
          *age≠dat-ta≠yo/*age≠nat-ta≠yo*
          like.that≠COP-PST≠DSC
          'That is right.'

There are interrogatives other than those listed in Table 8.9 (e.g. *nan(i)* 'what', *daa ~ dare* 'who', *nanbo* 'how many/how much', *dogesite* 'why',[9] *ecu* 'when').

As in (365), indefinites are composed of interrogatives plus the particles *=zi*, *=dai* and *=ka*.

(365) *asiko=ne   daa=dai oo=wa*
there=DAT who=Q exist.NPST=MOD
'There's someone out there.'

9 Argument Phrase

9.1 Basic Structure

A nominal phrase (NP) consists of the head and (optionally) a modifier, which may be filled by a noun plus a genitive particle *=no/=ga*, an adjective, an adnominal, or an adnominal clause. An argument NP is followed by case and other role markers.

9.2 Case Marking

In Nita, the case particles listed in Table 8.10 have been identified.

TABLE 8.10   The Case particles in Nita

Case	Form	Function
Nominative	*=ga*/*=no*	Subject
Genitive	*=no*/*=ga*	Noun modifying
Accusative	*=o*	Direct object
Dative	*=ni~=ne*	Recipient, Passive agent, Goal, Existential location
Limitative	*=made*	Limit
Allative	*=e*	Goal
Ablative	*=kara*	Source
Instrumental	*=de*	Means, Event location
Comitative	*=to*	Associate
Comparative	*=yoo*	Object of comparison

9 This form is considered to be a grammaticalized form of *doge si-te* (how do-SEQ) 'in what way/for what reason'.

As shown in Table 8.10, the same case forms are used as nominative and genitive markers. For convenience, I use the term 'nominative' (NOM) when the marker is attached to an NP that serves as an argument of the predicate, and 'genitive' (GEN) when the marker is attached to an NP that serves as a modifier of a larger NP. As in (366a), when the relative social rank of the NP to which the marker is attached is high, *=no* is used.[10] In the case of the nominative, only *=ga* is used in the main clause, while *=no* can be used in adnominal clauses. On the other hand, when the relative social rank of the NP is not higher than the speaker's, the choice between the two markers is based on the animacy-definiteness of the NP. In the case of the genitive, when the NP to which the marker is attached refers to human beings, both *=ga* and *=no* can be used (366b), while only *=no* can be used when the NP refers to animals or inanimate things (366c).

(366)   a. *sense={no/*ga} tenugui*
           teacher=GEN   towel
           'a towel of our teacher'

        b. *taroo={no/ga} tenugui*
           Taro=GEN   towel
           'Taro's towel'

        c. *cikue={no/*ga} nezi*
           desk=GEN   screw
           'desk screw'

As suggested by (367a–c), the relative rank in the animacy hierarchy of the subject and object may affect the choice to use or not use the overt accusative marker *=o*, though further investigation is needed.[11]

(367)   a. *ziroo=ga   {*omae / omae=o} mi-cyoo*
           ziroo=NOM {2   / 2=ACC}   look.at-CONT.NPST
           'Ziroo is looking at you.'

        b. *ziroo=ga   {inu / inu=o}   mi-cyoo*
           ziroo=NOM {dog / dog=ACC} look.at-CONT.NPST
           'Ziroo is looking at a dog.'

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10   See the first and final sentences of the sample text for examples of nominative *=no*.
11   Direct objects may appear with final-vowel lengthening, but the details are not yet clear (cf. Fujiwara 1981: 197–198).

    c. *ora=wa {omae / omae=o} mi-cyoo*
      1=TOP {2   / 2=ACC} look.at-CONT.NPST
      'I am looking at you.'

9.3 *Other Role Markers*

So far, the following role markers have been identified: *=mo* (ADD 'also, even'), *=dari* (ADD 'even'), *=kurai* (EXM), *=demo* (EXM), *=nato* (EXM), *=doma(a)* (EXM), *=sika* (LMTD 'only'), *=dake* (LMTD 'only'), *=hodo* (LMTD 'only, at least'), *=bakka(a)* (LMTD 'just'), *=wate* (DIST 'at a time, each'), and *=wa* (CNTR). See the sample text for concrete examples of *=kurai*, *=sika* (398), and *=dake* (400).

In the data at hand, there are some cases where a role marker follows the case particle as in (368), while there are no examples where it precedes the case particle.

(368)   *tanzyoobi=ni=doma kaet-tara*
       birthday=DAT=EXM return-COND
       'Come home at least on your birthday.'

The same form as the contrastive *=wa* is also used as a topic marker (see §11.7). Note that the topic (and contrastive) marker *=wa* and the additive markers always replace the nominative and accusative markers (e.g. *ora=wa* not **ora=ga=wa*). Further research will be needed to clarify the co-occurrence restrictions of case and other role markers.

10 Predicate Phrase

10.1 *Verbal Predicate*

A verbal predicate consists of a lexical verbal root (either a verb or a verbal adjective) and optionally an auxiliary verb, which dilutes or changes the lexical meaning and expresses a grammatical meaning. In a complex verbal predicate, a lexical verb inflects as the sequential converb *-te*, and the auxiliary verb inflects for tense, mood, and polarity. The auxiliary verb constructions in (369) have been identified. Benefactive auxiliary verbs derive from verbs of giving (*yar-, age-* 'give others', *gos-* 'give us') or receiving (*moraw-, maw-*). Aspectual auxiliary verbs will be described in §11.5.1. In addition to (369), *-te mi-* is used to designate the speaker's intention to try (deontic modality).

(369)   a. Benefactive: *-te yar-, -te age-, -te gos-* (giving of a favor), *-te moraw-, -te maw-* (receiving of a favor)

b. Aspectual: *-te ar-* ~ *-cyar-* (resultative), *-te ok-* ~ *-cyok-* (preparatory),
-te maw- ~ *-cyaw-* (completive)

10.2   *Nominal Predicate*

A nominal predicate consists of an NP as the head of the predicate and a copular verb, which inflects for tense and mood as would a general verb (see § 5.3 for the morphology of copular verbs).

A nominalized phrase (or clause) with the nominalizer ⸗∅ can be followed by a copular verb as in (370), which is presented as new information for the addressee (see also § 11.2 and § 11.7).

(370)   *taroo⸗wa   sara⸗o   wat-ta⸗∅⸗da⸗yo*
         taroo⸗TOP   plate⸗ACC   break-PST⸗NMLZ⸗COP.NPST⸗DSC
         'Taro broke a plate.'

11   The Simple Sentence

11.1   *Alignment System and Non-canonical Case-Marking*

The alignment system of Nita is a nominative-accusative system, in which S/A are obligatorily marked with a nominative case marker ⸗*ga*/⸗*no* and P is optionally marked with accusative ⸗*o*.[12] In a clause whose predicate is a ditransitive verb (e.g. *yar-* 'give others', *okur-* 'send'), the recipient or goal is marked with dative case as in (371), and the causee agent is also marked with the dative case in a ditransitive clause derived by the causativization (see § 11.4).

(371)   *taroo⸗wa   otooto⸗ne   waawa⸗no ie⸗o   yat-ta*
         Taroo⸗TOP   brother⸗DAT   REFL⸗GEN house⸗ACC   give-PST
         'Taro gave his house to his younger brother.'

Nita has a double nominative construction in which the predicate takes two nominative arguments (372). In this construction, the first NP is marked with ⸗*wa* (TOP), and the second NP with ⸗*ga* (NOM).

(372)   *kome⸗wa nita⸗ga   ma-i*
         rice⸗TOP Nita⸗NOM good.taste-NPST
         '(For) rice, Nita is (a) good (place).'

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12   Here, S is defined as the nominal argument of a single-argument clause, A as the most AGENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause and P as the most PATIENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause, following Payne (1997: 133–134).

Nita also has a transitive adjectival construction in which the predicate takes an experiencer and stimulus (373). In this construction, the two NPs are canonically nominative-marked as in the double nominative construction, while the second NP can be marked with ⸗*ni* (DAT). Such constructions can be formed with predicates such as *suki⸗dar-* (love⸗COP) or *suk-* (like).

(373) *adan⸗wa ni-i-∅+mono⸗{ga/ni}   sik-a-n*
       1⸗TOP   sew-THM-INF+MONO⸗{NOM/DAT} like-THM-NEG.NPST
       'I do not like sewing.'

11.2   *Sentence Type*

Based on morpho-syntactic and prosodic properties, three distinct sentence types are identified: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. This section provides an overview of interrogatives and imperatives.

Interrogative sentences divide into two subtypes: polar and content interrogatives. In Nita, both polar and content questions are marked with question particles such as ⸗*ka*. Furthermore, rising intonation in sentence-final position indicates that a question is being asked (374, 375). The final rising intonation is also observed when the question marker ⸗*ka* is used. Further research is needed to clarify the relationship between question markers and intonation.

(374) *zisin⸗ga   ar-ta(⸗no)   {sit-cyor-u⸗ka⸗ne(↘)   /*
       earthquake⸗NOM exist-PST(⸗NMLZ) {know-ASP-NPST⸗Q⸗DSC /
       sit-cyor-u(↗)}
       know-ASP-NPST}
       'Did you know that there was an earthquake?'

(375) *korya   daa⸗no   {tenogui⸗ka⸗ne(↘) / tenugui⸗da(↗)}*
       this.TOP who⸗GEN {towel⸗Q⸗DSC   / towel⸗COP}
       'Whose towel is this?'

Imperatives are commands addressed to a second person. Nita has the following three forms dedicated to expressing commands: (a) the imperative inflection (*oki-re* or *oki-tae(⸗yo)*), (b) the imperative forms of the honorific suffixes, as in *kak-i-naha-i* (write-THM-HON-IMP) 'Please write it', and (c) the imperative forms of the benefactive auxiliary verbs, as in *noo-te gos-e* (sew-SEQ BEN-IMP) 'Please sew it'. In addition, there are some conventionalized ways of expressing commands pragmatically, and these are declarative in morphological terms: (d) the sequential form, as in *kak-a-sikoni oi-te* (write-THM-NEG.SEQ put-SEQ) 'Don't write it down, just let it be', (e) the non-past form plus copula construc-

tion, as in *kak-u⹀∅⹀da* (write-NPST⹀NMLZ⹀COP) 'Write it!', (f) the past form, as in *sore goi-ta* (it give-PST) 'Please give it (to me)'.

Prohibitives (negative commands) are marked with the inflectional suffix *-runa*.

11.3 *Possession*

In the possessive construction, the possessor is marked with dative case *⹀ni* and the possessed with nominative case *⹀ga*. In this construction, the existential verbs *ar-* and *or-* are used (376).

(376) *oci⹀nyaa   eno-ga   oo⹀yo*
      (My) family⹀DAT.TOP dog⹀NOM exist.NPST⹀DSC
      'We have a dog.'

When the possessed is inanimate and alienable, *mot-* 'have, hold' may be used, and in this case, the possessor is marked with the nominative case and the possessed with the accusative case.

11.4 *Valency Changing*

11.4.1 Causative

The causative is productively built upon an intransitive or transitive verb with the suffix *-sase-*. In both types, the causer is introduced and is coded as A. The causee object is marked with either the dative or accusative case in intransitive-based causativization (377a), while it is marked with the dative case in transitive-based causativization (377b).

(377) a. *taroo⹀wa   otooto⹀{ni/o}   sii-ta⹀∅⹀hodo*
         taroo⹀TOP young.brother⹀{DAT/ACC} like-PST⹀NMLZ⹀LMTD
         oyog-ase-ta
         swim-CAUS-PST
         'Taro let his brother swim as long as he wanted. (intransitive-based causative)'

      b. *taroo⹀wa   otooto⹀ni   yamekucya   yasai⹀o*
         taroo⹀TOP young.brother⹀DAT against.his.will vegetable⹀ACC
         kw-ase-ta
         eat-CAUS-PST
         'Taro forced his brother to eat vegetables. (transitive-based causative)'

11.4.2   Passive
Passive sentences are built upon both intransitive and transitive verbs with the
suffix *-ra(r)e-*. The patient is coded as the subject, while the agent is coded as
a dative *=ni* phrase (378a). The agent is often not explicitly stated as in (378b).
Note that the benefactive construction *-te moraw-* as in (378b) is used in place
of the suffix *-ra(r)e-*.

(378)   a. *taroo=wa   otooto=ni   hanas-i-∅+kaker-are-ta*
            taroo=TOP young.brother=DAT talk-THM-INF+set-PASS-PST
            'Taro was spoken to by his younger brother.'

        b. *katte=ni   {ko-raee   / ki-te moraa}=to*
            selfish=COP.ADV {come-PASS.NPST / come-SEQ BEN.NPST}=COND
            komaa
            be.troubled.NPST
            'I don't want (him) coming here on his own.'

The availability of passivization may depend on the animacy of the object NP
and the transitivity of the verb as suggested by (379a,b). Further research will
be needed to clarify this point.

(379)   a. *kono ie=wa   oziicyan=ga   tate-ta*
            this   house=TOP grandfather=NOM build-PST
            '(My) grandfather build this house.'

        b. **kono ie=wa   oziicyan=ne   tate-rae-ta*
            this   house=TOP grandfather=DAT build-PASS-PST
            '[intended meaning] This house was built by (my) grandfather.'

11.4.3   Potential
The potential suffixes *-e-* and *-ra(r)e* are used to express ability (380a), circum-
stantial possibility (380b) and middle voice (380c).

(380)   a. *yorokuso=de   toe   toko=wa   ek-are-n*
            weak=COP.SEQ far.NPST place=TOP go-POT-NEG
            '(I am) too weak to travel far.'

        b. *asikaa   toe=ken   arii-te=mazya   ek-are-n*
            there.TOP far.NPST=CSL walk-SEQ=LMT.CONT go-POT-NEG
            'It is too far to go there on foot.'

c. *kono pen⸗wa   yoo kakyae⸗wa*
   this   pen⸗TOP well write.POT.NPST⸗MOD
   'This pen writes well.'

11.5   *Aspect and Tense*

11.5.1   Aspect

For the perfective aspect, simple verb forms such as *ku-u* 'eat' and *kuu-ta* 'ate' are used, while for the imperfective aspect (progressive (381a) and resultative (381b)) *-cyor-*.[13]

(381)   a. *neko⸗ga esa kuu-cyoo*
       cat⸗NOM feed eat-CONT.NPST
       'A cat is eating food.'

     b. *neko⸗n   ke⸗ga   oci-cyoo*
       cat⸗GEN hair⸗NOM fall-CONT.NPST
       'Cat hair is on the floor.'

While in many other western Japanese dialects there is a morphological opposition between completive *-tor-*/*-cyor-* and progressive *-(y)or-* (see Chapters 9 and 10 on Kyūshū dialects), Nita has no such opposition. For the past habitual aspect, however, *-yot-ta* //yor-ta// is used, while, for the present habitual aspect, the non-past forms are used.

For the resultative aspect, the auxiliary verb construction *-te ar-* ~ *-cyar-* is also used, and here S is interpreted as the object of the lexical verb (382).

(382)   *kono hon⸗wa   eego⸗de   kai-cyaa⸗wa*
      this   book⸗TOP English⸗INS write-RES.NPST⸗MOD
      'This book is written in English.'

For the perfect aspect, past-tense forms are used, and the perfect interpretation is compatible with certain adverbs such as *moo* 'already' as in (383).

(383)   *moo   hai yasai   kit-ta⸗yo*
      already early vegetable cut-PST⸗DSC
      'I have already cut the vegetables.'

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13   The *-cyor-* form could be an auxiliary verb construction //-te or-// as in other Japanese dialects, but there is no evidence to assume so and it is treated here as a suffix.

Nita has other marked aspectual expressions such as inceptive (INF+*kake-* 'just begin to' (356)), preparatory (*-te ok-* ~ *-cyok-*), which indicates an action in preparation for the future, and completive (*-te maw-* ~ *-cyaw-*) (384).

(384) *kodomo꞊ga omocya꞊o mee-zyat-ta꞊ge꞊na꞊ne*
  child꞊NOM toy꞊ACC brake-COMPL-PST꞊LCTN꞊COP꞊DSC
  'I think my child has broken a toy.'

11.5.2 Tense

Tense is expressed by two opposing inflectional suffixes, non-past suffixes (e.g. *-ru* and *-i*) vs. past suffixes (e.g. *-ta* and *-katta*). Non-past forms are used to refer to present states or properties (e.g. *kuutai* 'want to eat' in (351a)), future events (385), as well as atemporal or generic events.

(385) *kooni siicyooken kaatenzyaawa*
  koo꞊ni sik-cyor-u꞊ken kaw-te en-te yar-u꞊wa
  this꞊DAT like-CONT-NPST꞊CSL buy-SEQ
  'He likes this one, so I'll buy it for him.'

11.6 *Mood and Modality*

In Nita, two opposing types of mood have been identified, and they are marked with mood inflectional suffixes: declarative and imperative. See § 5.1 and § 11.2 for each inflection and the relationship with sentence type.

Intentional modality is expressed by the non-past form plus the modal marker ꞊*ka*, or the discourse marker ꞊*wa* or ꞊*jo*. The intentional form is not used in isolation to express volition. It is always followed by ꞊*to* (*o*)*mow-* (꞊QUOT think) as in the second sentence of the sample text.

The intentional form of a verb may be followed by the modal marker ꞊*koi*, which comes from the imperative form of the 'come'-verb, or ꞊*ya*, and it expresses hortativity as in (386).

(386) *asita꞊mo koko꞊e k-oo꞊koi*
  tomorrow꞊ADD here꞊ALL come-INT꞊HOR
  'Let's come back here together tomorrow.'

Inferential (epistemic) modality is expressed by intentional forms plus the modal markers ꞊*zo*/꞊*zi* (387a). Note that the formal noun *sikoo*(꞊*da*) is used to express inferential modality as in (387b) and that the inferential form of the copula ꞊*dar-aa* is also used for the inferential as in (387a,b). Additionally, there are nominal adjective constructions such as *ge*(꞊*na*), *ya*(*a*)(꞊*na*), *saa*(꞊*na*),

which express evidential modalities, although the difference between these constructions is still unclear.

(387) a. *sorosoro* {*k-oo�-zo⸗naa* / *kwaa⸗dar-aa*}
soon {come-INT⸗MOD⸗DSC / come.NPST⸗COP-INFR}
'(He) will be here soon.'

b. *asita⸗wa* {*huu sikoo⸗da* /
tomorrow⸗TOP {rain.NPST SIKOO⸗COP.NPST /
huu⸗dar-aa}
rain.NPST⸗COP-INFR}
'It will rain tomorrow.'

Some kinds of complex predications which express deontic modalities have been found (388), but the details are not yet clear.

(388) *haya benkyo+suu⸗ga ee⸗ga⸗na*
soon study+do.NPST⸗NOM good.NPST⸗MOD⸗DSC
'The sooner you study, the better.'

11.7 *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings: Topic and Focus*

In principle, a topicalized argument is marked with *⸗wa*, and it appears in sentence-initial position (e.g. the subject *taroo* is topicalized in (378a), while the object *kono ie* is topicalized in (379a)). However, as in (355), the topicalized argument may appear without any particle.

In Nita, there is no dedicated morphological focus marker. A focus is marked with a cleft construction '*X⸗wa Y⸗da*', in which *Y* is the focus (389).

(389) *akamboo⸗ga nai-cyoo⸗wa o-naka⸗ga*
baby⸗NOM cry-CONT⸗TOP POL-stomach⸗NOM
hec-cyoo⸗ken⸗da⸗wa.
decrease-CONT⸗CSL⸗COP.NPST⸗MOD
'(I think that) It is because s/he is hungry that the baby is crying.'

The intonation must also have something to do with information structure, but this has not been investigated in detail.

12 The Complex Sentence

In Nita, one of the main strategies employed to build complex sentences is the combining of clauses headed by converbs. However, based on semantic-syntactic criteria, many clauses headed by converbs cannot be described as strictly subordinate, but they rather encode coordinate events. The distinction between coordination and subordination in Nita is thus blurred.

12.1 *Coordination*

In Nita, syntactic clausal coordination is not prominent, and clause-chaining constructions are used instead as a coordination strategy (§12.3). Only constructions with the conjunctive markers *=si*, *=damo* and *=ne* (390a,b) are identified as coordination constructions.

(390) a. *eno=mo   oo=si   neko=mo oo(=si)*
dog=ADD exist.NPST=and cat=ADD exist.NPST(=and)
'There are dogs, and (there are) cats.'

b. *eno=wa   oo={damo/ne} neko=wa   or-an*
dog=CONT exist.NPST=but cat=CONT exist-NEG.NPST
'There are dogs, but there are cats.'

12.2 *Subordination*

There are three types of subordinate clause: complement clauses, adnominal clauses, and adverbial clauses.

Complement clauses divide into two subtypes: noun clauses and quotative clauses. Noun clauses are formed by attaching a nominalizer, and they serve as arguments (see §7). Quotative clauses are formed by being directly followed by verbs of saying or thinking, or by attaching the quotative markers *=to* and *=tte*. See the sample text for concrete examples of quotative clauses with *=to* (394) and *=tte* (402) and without any marker (394 and 402).

An adnominal clause precedes a head noun without a relativizer such as a relative pronoun (391). Verbals in adnominal clauses inflect as the unmarked forms (*-ru, -n, -ta, -i*, etc.).

(391) [*oci=ne   at-ta*]   *sara   zyanzyane mee-da*
[my house=DAT exist-PST] plates many   break-PST
'(I) broke many plates in my house.'

Adverbial clauses are most usually headed by converbs (392).

(392) *cyonbo ake-ryaa   sizisiˑn   naa꞊yo*
       a little   open-COND   cool꞊COP.ADV become.NPST꞊DSC
       'If you open (the windows) a little, it'll be cooler.'

The other adverbial subordination strategy available is the use of a finite form followed by the formal noun *nakai* 'interval', and the nominalizer ꞊∅ followed by a conditional form of copular verb such as *saa꞊∅꞊nara* (do.NPST꞊NMLZ꞊COP. COND).

12.3   *Clause-Chaining*

In the clause-chaining construction, a series of non-finite (converbal) clauses follow each other and only the final verb is finite carrying the TAM markers. Clause-chaining constructions are close to adverbial subordinate structures in that they connect non-finite clauses, and they are also close to coordinated structures in that they are used as a coordination strategy. Chain-medial clauses are headed by a sequential converb. See the first sentence in the appendix for a concrete example.

12.4   *Insubordination*

Nita exhibits an insubordination process whereby a non-finite clause is used as a main clause. For example, in the third sentence in the appendix, the causal marker ꞊*ken* behaves as a discourse marker, and it may express 'I envy her because I never return to my parents' home for *hange domari*.'

Acknowledgements

Appendix: Sample Text

The following discourse is about *hange domari* (lit. 'mid-summer stay'), for which a woman who has married returns to her parents' home for a few days after her first rice planting.

(393) A: *tonarino   oyomesanno   kyoowa   taisita*
           tonari⸗no   o-yome-san⸗no   kyoo⸗wa   taisita
           neighbor-GEN POL-bride-HON-NOM today-TOP great(ly)
           hanauta   utaate   newano   hoo   batabata   site
           hana+uta   utaw-te   newa⸗no   hoo   bata+bata   si-te
           nose+song sing-SEQ garden-GEN direction bata+RED do-SEQ
           hanauta   utaccyoraee.
           hana+uta   utaw-cyor-ae-ru
           nose+song sing-CONT-HON-NPST
           ' 'My neighbor's wife is humming in a good mood today, flapping
           around in the garden, and humming,' I thought.'

(394) A: *asitawa   hangede   osatoe*
           asita⸗wa   hange⸗de   o-sato⸗e
           tomorrow-TOP mid.summer-COP.SEQ POL-home-ALL
           ekaakato   omoote   yorokonzyoraeewa
           ek-aa-ka⸗to   omow-te   yorokob-cyor-ae-ru⸗wa
           go-INT-Q-QUOT think-SEQ rejoice-CONT-HON-NPST-MOD
           iitenee.
           iw-te⸗nee
           say-SEQ-DSC
           ' 'She is happy that tomorrow is *hange* and that she will be able to
           go back home,' I thought.'

(395) A: *watasira eku   tokoga   naiken.*
           watasi-ra ek-ru   toko⸗ga   na-i⸗ken
           1-PL.TOP go-NPST place-NOM NEG-NPST-CSL
           'We had nowhere to go.'[14]

(396) A: *cikakudaken.*
           cika-ku⸗dar-∅⸗ken
           near-ADV-COP-NPST-CSL
           'Because my parents' house was nearby.'

(397) A: *soode honne tonaano   obasanno hanauta   utaate*
           soode honne tonari⸗no   obasan⸗no hana+uta   utaw-te
           then   really neighbor-GEN lady-NOM nouse+song sing-SEQ

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14   The form *watasira* may come from Standard Japanese.

> *maa asitawa   ekakato   motte   maa*
> maa asita‿wa   ek-a‿ka‿to   omow-te maa
> INTJ tomorrow‿TOP go-INT‿Q‿QUOT think-SEQ INTJ
> *ii   mondanaato   mootene*
> i-i   mon‿dar-∅‿naa‿to   omow-te‿ne
> good-NPST thing‿COP-NPST‿DSC‿QUOT think-SEQ‿DSC
> *omootanowa.*
> omow-ta‿no‿wa
> think-PST‿NMLZ‿TOP
> 'Then, I heard her humming, and I envied her, thinking that tomorrow she would be going to *hange*. That is what I thought.'

(398) B: *sonoguraisika   tanosimiga   naiwanee.*
       sono‿kurai‿sika tanosim-i-∅‿ga   na-i‿wa‿nee.
       its‿EXM‿LMTD   enjoy-THM-INF‿NOM NEG-NPST‿MOD‿DSC
       'It was the only thing she could look forward to, was not it?'

(399) B: *zikkae   ekuguraisika.*
       zikka-e   ek-ru‿kurai‿sika
       parents' home‿ALL
       'The only thing she could look forward to was going home to her parents.'

(400) A: *soo soo zikka   ekunoga   tatta*
       soo soo zikka   ek-ru‿no‿ga   tatta
       yes yes parents' home.ALL go-NPST‿NMLZ‿NOM just
       soredakegane   tanosimidattano.
       sore‿dake‿ga‿ne   tanosim-i-∅‿dar-ta‿no
       it‿LMTD‿NOM‿DSC enjoy-THM-INF‿COP-PST‿DSC
       'Yes, the only thing she was looking forward to was going home to her parents.'

(401) A: *nna   ryokoone ekuzya   naisinee.*
       (so)nna ryokoo‿ne ek-ru‿de‿wa   na-i‿si‿nee
       INTJ   travel‿DAT go-NPST‿COP.ADV‿TOP NEG-NPST‿JUX‿DSC
       'Well, she was not going to travel.'

(402) A: *soresorene   obaasanne   okaasannette   omiyage*
       soresore‿ne   obaasan‿ne   okaasan‿ne‿tte   o-miyage
       each one‿DAT grandmother‿DAT mother‿DAT‿QUOT POL-gift

>   *yooisite*   *moratte   ittekimasi iite.*
>   yooi+si-te   moraw-te ittekimasi iw-te
>   preparation+do-SEQ BEN-SEQ *ittekimasi* say-SEQ
>   'She had gifts prepared for each of her family members; in other
>   words, for her grandmother, mother and so on, and said *itteki-*
>   *masi.*'[15]

(403)   Researcher: Was the gift *sasamaki* (a Japanese rice cake wrapped in
                    bamboo leaves)?

(404)   A: *sasamakinee.*
             sasa+mak-i-∅⁀nee
             bamboo.leaves+roll-THM-INF⁀DSC
             'Yes, it was *sasamaki*.'

(405)   Researcher: Did she take the *sasamaki* as a gift?

(406)   B: *omiyageninee.*
             o-miyage⁀ni⁀nee
             POL-gift⁀DAT⁀DSC
             'Yes, as a gift.'

(407)   A: *uun omiyageni   kanarazi sasamaki   motasete*
             uun o-miyage⁀ni kanarazi sasamaki   mot-ase-te
             INTJ POL-gift⁀DAT always   SASAMAKI have-CAUS-SEQ
             moratte   ette   modottawaneette   XXsanno.
             moraw-te ek-te   modor-ta⁀wa⁀nee⁀tte   XX-san⁀no
             BEN-SEQ go-SEQ return-PST⁀MOD⁀DSC⁀QUOT XX-HON⁀NOM
             'Well, 'I used to go and come back, always with *sasamaki* as a gift,'
             XX said.'

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    two important places on the Chugoku San'in-do: Dialects of the former Maki Village,

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15   A Japanese greeting used on the way out. The literal meaning is 'I am off'.

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Yanagawa (Fukuoka, Kyūshū Japanese)

Aoi Matsuoka

1 The Language and Its Speakers

The Yanagawa dialect (Yanagawa, hereafter) is spoken in Yanagawa City, Fukuoka Prefecture, Kyūshū (Figure 9.1).

The Kyūshū dialects are divided into three main groups depending on their syntactic, lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features: the Honichi dialects spoken in the east, the Hichiku dialects spoken in the northwest, and the Satsugu dialects spoken in the south (Kamimura 1983: 7–8). Yanagawa belongs to the Hichiku dialect group (Okano 1983: 85). Yanagawa is similar to other Hichiku dialects in that it has two series of nominative markers ⸗*ga* and ⸗*no* in both main and subordinate clauses, and in the use of the sentence-final particles ⸗*bai* and ⸗*tai*. On the other hand, it is distinguished from the neighboring dialects by its use of the honorific affix -*mes*- and the interjection *nomo* (Okano 1983: 65). There are few previous studies about Yanagawa and they (Fujiwara 1952, Takano and Tanaka 1972, Matsunaga 1973) have focused only on some sentence-final particles and vocabulary items. The author has written a sketch grammar of Yanagawa in Japanese as her master thesis (Matsuoka 2021). This chapter is a heavily revised version based on newly collected data as well.

At the end of July 2020, the population of Yanagawa City was about 65,000, of which about 15,000 were in their 70s or older and likely to speak the traditional Yanagawa dialect fluently. The younger generations usually speak Standard Japanese or a version of the Yanagawa dialect which is strongly influenced by Standard Japanese. There are differences between the Yanagawa dialect spoken by the older generations and that spoken by the younger generations. For example, the older generations use the suffix -*ka* as a non-past suffix for verbal adjectives (§6), while the younger generations use -*i*, which is the same form as Standard Japanese. In the present chapter, the author focuses on Yanagawa spoken by the older generations. The data presented in this chapter are the author's field data. The data were collected from two consultants, HK and YM. HK is female and YM is male, and both of them are in their 80s.

20 km

Yanagawa City

100 km

Fukuoka Pref.
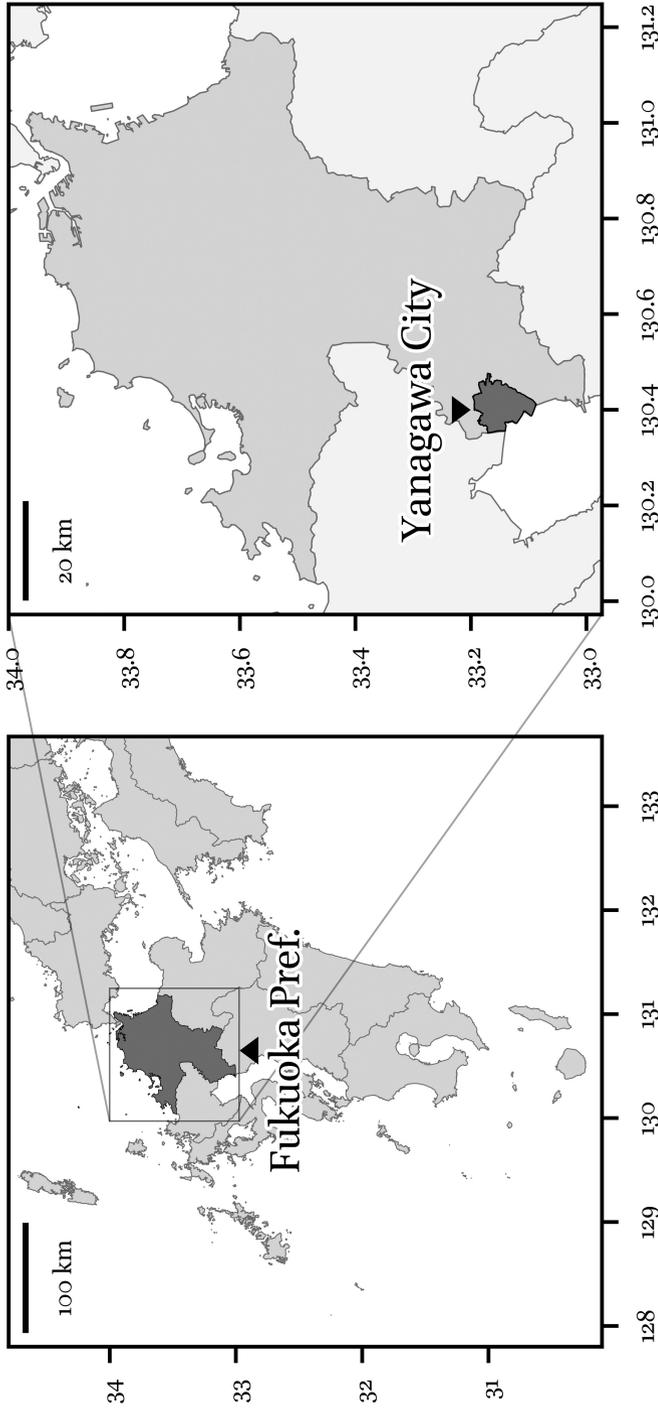
FIGURE 9.1   Yanagawa

TABLE 9.1   Relationships among *s, t, c, z,* and *d*

	s	**t**	**c**	**z**	**d**
before /i, y/	s [ɕ]	t [tɕ]		z [dʑ, ʑ]	
before /u/	s [s]	t [ts]		z [dz, z]	
before /o/	s [s]	t [t]	c [ts]	z [dz, z]	d [d]
before /e/	s [s, ɕ]	t [t]		z [dz, z]	d [d]
before /a/	s [s]	t [t]	c [ts]	z [dz, z]	d [d]

2   Phonology

2.1   *Inventory of Phonemes*
2.1.1   Vowels
Yanagawa has five vowels: /i/ [i]; /e/ [e]; /u/ [ɯ]; /o/ [o]; /a/ [a]. /a/ is low, /e/ and /o/ are mid, /i/ and /u/ are high. A long vowel is regarded as a sequence of two identical vowels. Diphthongs are all closing (e.g. /hai/ 'fly', /tukau/ 'use', /aeta/ 'fell', /oi/ 'nephew', /kusui/ 'medicine'). Underlying vowel sequences can be realized as long vowels (e.g. /kakoo/ //kak-a-u// 'will write'), as shown in §2.4.

2.1.2   Consonants
Yanagawa has 15 consonants: /p/ [p]; /b/ [b, β]; /m/ [m]; /w/ [w]; /t/ [t, ts, tɕ]; /d/ [d, ɾ]; /s/ [s, ɕ]; /z/ [z, dz, ɾ]; /c/ [ts]; /n/ [n, m, ŋ, ɴ]; /r/ [ɾ]; /y/ [j]; /k/ [k]; /g/ [g, ɣ]; /h/ [h, ç, ɸ]. /b/ and /g/ can be phonetically realized as fricatives between vowels. As for /n/, it is realized as [n] in onset position (see §2.2). When it fills the coda position, it is a homorganic nasal (e.g. /sin.yuu/ [ɕiɲjuː] 'best friend',[1] /anmari/ [amːaɾi] 'not much', /anta/ [anta] 'you', /senka/ [seŋka] 'that'). When /n/ appears word-final position, it is realized as [ɴ] as in /agotan/ [agotaɴ] 'jaw'. The relationship among /s/, /t/, /c/, /z/,[2] and /d/ is complex as shown in Table 9.1. These phonemes contrast only before /a/ and /o/.

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1   From the perspective of phonotactics, the syllable boundary is clear in most cases in this phonemicization. However, it is unclear between /n/ and vowels; /n/ and /y/. Therefore, I show the syllable boundary when /n/ is followed by vowels and /y/, as in /o.no/ 'Ono (family name)' and /on.on/ 'onomatopoeia to indicate crying'.

2   In other Kyūshū dialects, both /s/ and /z/ can palatalize before /e/ (e.g. the Nogata dialect of Nagasaki Prefecture (Nakamura 2019: 9)). As for Yanagawa, it is unknown whether /z/ palatalize before /e/ or not, and further study is needed.

/c/ appears only as a geminate, i.e. /cc/, and only before the vowel /a/ (/anac-can/ 'you (respectful)') and /o/ (/ogoccoosan/ 'Thank you for the nice meal'). In almost all cases /c/ emerges as a result of a morphophonological process (e.g. /miccan/ //miti⌾san// (road⌾ALL) 'to the road'). The voiced counterpart of /t/, /d/, does not occur before /i/, /y/, or /u/. In environments where the voiced counterpart of /t/ is expected, as in sequential voicing (see §2.4), /z/ appears instead (e.g. /amido/ //ami+to// (net+door) 'screen door', /hanazi/ //hana+ti// (nose+blood) 'epistaxis').

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

Yanagawa has two types of syllables, pre-syllables and ordinary syllables. The syllable structure of ordinary syllables is $(C_1)(G)V_1(V_2)(C_2)$. All consonants except /y/ and /w/ can fill the C_1 position. /y/ and /w/ can fill the G position, although /y/ cannot appear when C_1 is /d/ or /c/, and /w/ can appear only when C_1 is left empty. All vowels can fill the V_1 position. V_1 and V_2 may be identical (i.e. as a long vowel) or different (i.e. in the case of the diphthongs /ai/, /au/, /ui/, /ae/, and /oi/). In word non-final syllables, all consonants except /h/ and /r/ can fill the C_2 position. C_2 consonants except /n/ of a non-word-final syllable form a geminate with the C_1 consonant of the next syllable (e.g. /oddon/ [od:oɴ] '1.PL'). C_2 /n/ may make a partial geminate with the C_1 consonant of the next syllable (e.g. /benpu/ [bempu] 'cheek'). In word-final syllables, only /n/ can fill the C_2 position. The pre-syllable is a syllabic consonant which may occur only word-initially and is filled by /n/ alone. In this case, only nasals can occur at the onset of the next syllable, as in /nma/ 'horse'.

2.3   *Mora*

The relationship between syllable structure and morae is shown in (408). N represents the pre-syllable.

(408)   (N). (C_1) (G) V_1 (V_2) (C_2)
         μ   μ   μ   μ

Yanagawa has a minimal word constraint (MWC). There are underlyingly monomoraic nouns in Yanagawa, such as *me* 'eye', *si* 'city', *ko* 'child', etc. If a monomoraic noun is pronounced in isolation (i.e. followed by no clitics), the word-final vowel is lengthened. When clitics follow a monomoraic noun, some clitics count towards the MWC, and others do not. When a monomoraic noun is followed by a sentence-final particle or a copula, vowel lengthening (VL) occurs regardless of the number of morae in the following clitic as in /zii⌾ka/ (//zi⌾ka//, character⌾Q) and /koo⌾yatta/ (//ko⌾yar-ta//, child⌾COP-PST) '(She) was a child';

consequently it is considered that only the noun counts toward MWC. If the following clitic is a case particle or limiter particle and has two or more morae, VL occurs as in /sii꞊kara/ (//si꞊kara//, city꞊ABL) 'from the city'; therefore only the noun counts towards MWC. If the following clitic is a monomoraic case particle or limiter particle, VL rarely occurs as in /meni/ (//me꞊ni//, eye꞊DAT) 'to the eye'. Therefore, it is considered that monomoraic nouns plus a monomoraic case or limiter particle count toward the MWC.

2.4 *Phonological Rules*

Yanagawa has general phonological rules, which apply to all morphemes, and morpheme-specific phonological rules. Here I focus on the former.

The initial voiceless consonant of the non-initial root of a compound may be voiced if its initial consonant is underlyingly voiceless. This phenomenon is widely distributed in the Japonic-Ryukyuan family and is known by its traditional name '*rendaku*' or sequential voicing (Shibatani 1990, p. 173). Although almost all consonants become their voiced counterpart phonemes by sequential voicing, underlying /h/ is realized as /b/ (because /h/ was historically *p), and underlying /t/ is realized as /z/ before /i, y, u/ (see § 2.1.2).

Vowel fusion rules apply to vowel sequences. All vowel sequences and long vowels derived from them are shown below: //au// → /oo/, //iu// → /yuu/, //ou// → /oo/, //eu// → /uu/ or /yuu/, //ai// → /ee/, //ui// → /ii/, and //oi// → /ee/.

2.5 *Word Level Prosody and Intonation*

Yanagawa does not have a lexical accent according to Hirayama (1951, p. 240) and Okano (1983, p. 64). In the survey conducted by the author, neither lexically specified accent nor fixed accent was identified.[3] An intonational unit, the unit that has a rising contour and falling contour in itself, usually corresponds to an extended word, which is the unit formed from a word plus a series of clitics, although its pitch peak is not fixed. Sometimes it corresponds to an auxiliary verb construction (see § 10.1) and a noun phrase that has a modifier (e.g. verb, verbal adjective, etc.) and a head noun.

As for the relationship between prosody and sentence type, declarative sentences have a falling intonation. Polar-question sentences have a rising intonation. Content-question sentences take a falling pattern. Imperative sentences with an imperative marker (*-re, -ro, -i*) have a falling pattern, though the rhetorical imperative with the conditional marker ꞊*nara* has a rising pattern.

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3 However, only monomoraic and bimoraic nouns were examined. The pronunciation of the target word in isolation and in the frame *xx꞊ga*(*no*) *oru*(*aru*) 'There is _' were considered.

TABLE 9.2   Word classes in Yanagawa

	Argument Function	Predicate Function	Inflection	Modifier of NP only	Phrase-final only	Sentence-initial only	Utterance
Nominal	+	+	–(+)	–	–	–	–
Nominal adjective	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
Verbal	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Adnominal	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Particle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Conjunction	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
Interjection	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Adverb	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

3   Word Classes

In this section, I describe the word classes, not the root classes (Lehmann 2008). The case where word classes differ from root classes is discussed in §7.

Yanagawa has eight word classes: nominals, nominal adjectives, verbs, adnominal, particles, conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs. The nominal class contains pronouns, nouns, and numerals. They can be the head of an NP and a predicate with a copular verb. In nominals, only pronouns inflect for number. Nominal adjectives are similar to nominals in that they can be a predicate with a copular verb, but they cannot serve as an argument. Verbals include verbs and verbal adjectives. They can inflect for tense, mood, etc. Adnominals can only occur in the modifier position of an NP. Particles always stand in phrase-final position. Particles include case particles (Table 9.10), information particles, limiter particles (Table 9.11), conjunctive particles, and sentence-final particles. Conjunctions stand at the beginning of a sentence and indicate the logical relationship between that sentence and the preceding sentence. Interjections behave as a clause by themselves and can only be embedded in another clause using the quotative marker =ti. Adverbs are positioned as a 'catch-all' class that does not fall into any of the above categories.

4   Nominals

Nominals divide into four types: pronouns, lexical nouns, formal nouns, and numerals. Here I focus on pronouns, lexical nouns, and numerals.

TABLE 9.3   Personal pronouns (? indicates that the corresponding form is not attested)

First person		Second person	
SG	**PL**	**SG**	**PL**
ori-∅	ori-don, ori-don-tati	anaccan-∅	anaccan-don, anaccan-tati
watasi-∅	watasi-don, watasi-tati	anta-∅	anta-don
		omae-∅	omae-don
		nusi-∅	?
		waga-∅	waga-don

4.1   *Pronouns*

Pronouns include personal pronouns, the reflexive pronoun, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. In this section, I focus on the personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun, while demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are described in §8, comparing them with other demonstrative and interrogative words.

4.1.1   Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns inflect[4] for number. Personal pronouns take -∅ as a singular suffix and *-don* or *-tati* as a plural suffix. Since there are no third-person pronouns in Yanagawa, the system of personal pronouns is of the 'two-person type' (Bhat 2004: 134). Demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *ari*) or nouns derived from demonstrative roots (e.g. *ayatu*) are used to indicate a person who is neither the speaker nor the addressee. Table 9.3 lists the personal pronouns.[5]

Personal pronouns take *-don* or *-tati* to express plural. However, at least the first-person pronoun *ori-* can take both the plural affixes *-don* and *-tati*, in this

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4   In this chapter, I call what indicates grammatical categories which are essential for words 'inflection', while what indicates grammatical categories which are not essential for words is called 'derivation'. Personal pronouns take a plural marker obligatorily when their referents are plural. Therefore, number marking on personal pronouns is considered to be inflection. As for lexical nouns, they take plural markers optionally, even if their referents are plural. Therefore, number marking on lexical nouns is considered to be derivation.

5   The personal pronouns listed in Table 9.3 were extracted from discourse data. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether the logically possible combinations not included in Table 9.3 (e.g. *ori-tati* (1-PL)) are ungrammatical or simply did not occur in the discourse. Further investigation is needed.

order. It is not clear at present whether or not there is any semantic difference between the cases where either *-don* or *-tati* is attached and those where both *-don* and *-tati* are attached.

The second-person pronoun *waga-* differs from other personal pronouns and lexical nouns in that it cannot co-occur with the nominative particle *=ga* and the genitive particle *=ga*. This is because *waga* is historically **wa* (1.SG) and **=ga* (GEN). *waga* might also be restricted from co-occurring with other particles, but this has not been tested.

4.1.2 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is *waga-*. Like the second-person pronoun *waga-*, it cannot take the nominative particle *=ga* and the genitive particle *=ga* and might also be restricted from co-occurring with other particles (although it has not been tested). There are no examples of the reflexive pronoun with a plural suffix in my field data and I need to test whether it exists or not.

(409) *oriwa   komaka   tokkara   wagade   sikitta.*
       ori-∅=wa   koma-ka   toki=kara waga=de   si-kir-ta
       1-SG=TOP   small-NPST time=ABL   REFL=INS   do-ABP-PST
       'I could do it (= take care of myself) from a very young age.'

4.2 *Lexical Nouns*

Lexical nouns may take the polite prefix *o-* (e.g. *o-kusui* 'medicine') and the plural suffixes *-don* and *-tati*. Like personal pronouns, lexical nouns can take both *-don* and *-tati* in this order, as in *kodomo-don-tati* 'kids'. Unlike pronouns, number-marking of lexical nouns is not obligatory. With regard to plural marking, there are many languages where animacy influences plural marking (Corbett 2000: 56–57). In Yanagawa, it has been confirmed that pronouns and nouns denoting humans and animals can take *-don* and pronouns and human nouns can take *-tati*, but it is not clear where on the hierarchy these two markers are distributed, or whether they can be explained in terms of this hierarchy in the first place.

4.3 *Numerals*

A numeral is made up of a numeral root plus a classifier suffix. There are two series of numeral roots in Yanagawa: a native series and a Chinese (Sino-Japanese) loanword series. Classifier suffixes relate to features or qualities (e.g. animacy, shape, usage, etc.) that are natural or inherent to the referent(s) counted. Some classifiers have forms from both series, as in *-ri* and *-nin* and which one is used depends on the numeral roots. If the numeral root is *hito-*

TABLE 9.4   Numerals

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
Human	hito-ri	hute-ri	san-nin	yo-nin	go-nin	roku-nin	siti-nin	hati-nin	kyuu-nin
General	hito-tu	huta-tu	mit-tu	yot-tu	itu-tu	mut-tu	nana-tu	yat-tu	kokono-tu

'one' or *hute-* 'two', *-ri* is used; otherwise *-nin* is used.[6] In information questions, the numeral root is replaced by *nan-* or *iku-* as in *nan-nin* 'how many persons' and *iku-tu* 'how many things'. Table 9.4 shows examples of numerals.

4.4   *Adnominals*

Almost all adnominals are formed from demonstrative roots or interrogative roots (see §8) like *ko-n* (PROX-ADN) 'this', *ko-genka* (PROX-ADN) 'like this', *do-n* (what-ADN) 'which', and *do-genka* (what-ADN) 'what kind of'. An exception is *honna* 'real' as seen in *honna sin.yuu* 'true best friend'.

5   Verbs

This section describes the internal structure of verbs, focusing on both their inflectional and derivational morphology. Verbal stems divide into three classes according to the kind of the stem-final segment: consonant-final stems, vowel-final stems, and irregular stems. The consonant-final stems end in one of the following: b; m; w; s; t; r; n; k; g. They take a thematic vowel (Bickel and Nichols 2007: 203) to form an extended stem. They take *-a* when followed by the indicative negative suffix, obligative suffix, inferential/intentional suffix, or negative sequential suffix. They take *-i* when followed by the purpose suffix or become the non-final element of compound verbs (§10.1).[7] The vowel-final stems have two subcategories, *i*-final (e.g. *mi-* 'look') stem and *e/u*-final stem (e.g. *tabe-/tabu-* 'eat'). As for *e/u*-final stems, the stem-final vowel shows fluidity between /e/ and /u/ depending on the kind of suffix that follows (e.g. //tabe-ta// (eat-

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6   Although not confirmed by the author's research, Matsuishi (1989: 207), which is a vocabulary of Yanagawa, describes the forms *mit-teri* 'three people' and *yot-teri* 'four people'. Many Japanese dialects lack the form cognate with *mit-teri* (e.g. Shiiba, see Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume) and Yanagawa is rare in having this form.

7   Consonant-final stems also take *-i* when followed by some derivational suffixes (e.g. the potential suffix *-kir-*, the honorific suffix *-nahar-*), which derived from compound verbs.

TABLE 9.5   Inflection of verbs

Finiteness	Mood	Tense	Polarity	
			Affirmative	**Negative**
Finite	Indicative	Non-past	-ru	-n
		Past	-ta	-n(⟋yar-ta)
	Obligative	Non-past	-yan	
		Past	-yan(⟋yar-ta)	
	Inferential/Intentional	Non-past	-u/-yoo	-n(⟋yar-a-u)
		Past	-taroo	-n(⟋yar-ta⟋yar-a-u)
	Imperative		-ro/-re/-i	-runa
Non-finite		Sequential	-te	-nna/-dena/-zi
		Conditional	-tara	
		Parallel	-tai	
		Purpose	-ge	

PST) and //tabu-ru// (eat-NPST)). Note that *i*-final stems and monomoraic *e/u*-final stems have *r*-final stem alternatives for some suffixes (e.g. //mir-a-n// (see-THM-NEG)).[8] Irregular stems are the *s*-irregular verb 'do' and the *k*-irregular verb 'come'.

5.1   *Inflectional Morphology*

Verbs are either finite or non-finite. In finite environments, verbs inflect for mood and may or may not inflect for tense and polarity. In non-finite environments, verbs inflect for conjunctional relationships and may or may not inflect for polarity. Table 9.5 shows the paradigm of verbs. Elements which are not part of the inflectional form, but which mark grammatical categories such as tense (e.g. *⟋yar-ta*), are given in brackets.

The imperative suffix has three allomorphs: *-ro*, *-re*, and *-i*. Consonant-final stems (including the *r*-final stem derived from a vowel-final stem) and the *s*-irregular stem take *-re* (e.g. //kak-re// 'Write it!', //mir-re// 'Look!', and //se-re// 'Do it!'). Vowel-final stems and the *s*-irregular stem take *-ro* (e.g. //mi-ro// 'Look!', //se-ro// 'Do it!'). The *k*-irregular stem takes *-i* (e.g. //ko-i// 'Come!').

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8   This phenomenon where vowel-final stem verbs act as *r*-final stem verbs is widely distributed in the Japonic family (Kobayashi 1996, Miyaoka 2021).

A number of morphophonological rules apply to the stem and the suffix when a consonant-final stem takes any one of the following suffixes: the sequential suffix *-te*, the past suffix *-ta*, the conditional suffix *-tara*, the parallel suffix *-tai*, the perfect suffix *-tor-*, and the prospective suffix *-tok-*.[9] The rules are: (a) if the stem-final consonant is one of /b, m, n, g/, the /t/ becomes /d/ (e.g. //sikom-ta// (sharpen-PST) → sikom-da); (b) if the stem-final consonant is one of /b, m, w/, it becomes the vowel /u/ (e.g. sikom-da → sikou-da), and if the stem-final consonant is one of /s, k, g/, it becomes the vowel /i/ (e.g. //hanas-ta// (speak-PST) → hanai-ta); (c) if the stem-final consonant is /r/, it assimilates to the following /t/ (e.g. //nar-ta// (become-PST) → /natta/); (d) vowel fusion occurs, with /ai/ becoming /ee/, /ui/ becoming /ii/, and /au/ and /ou/ becoming /oo/ (e.g. sikou-da → sikoo-da, hanai-ta → hanee-ta); and (e) when a foot is formed at the left edge of the stem and the foot boundary would split a long vowel, the long vowel is shortened (e.g. sikoo-da → /sikoda/, hanee-ta → /haneta/).[10] Examples are shown in Table 9.6.

5.2   *Derivational Morphology*

Verbal derivation includes formation of the causative (*-sase-/-sasu-*), passive (*-rare-/-raru-*), potential (*-kir-, -rare-/-raru-*), aspect (*-tor-, -tok-*), and honorific (*-rass-, -nahar-*). The causative suffix *-sase-/sasu-* and the passive suffix *-rare-/-raru-* form *e/u*-final stems, while the other derivational suffixes form consonant-final stems.

5.3   *Existential and Copular Verbs*

Yanagawa has two existential verbs, *or-*, and *ar-*. The former is used when the subject is animate, and the latter is used when the subject is inanimate.[11] As *r*-final stems, they inflect according to the inflectional pattern for *r*-final verbs, with the only exception that *ar-* cannot take the negative suffix *-n*. Instead, a suppletive stem is used (i.e. *ar-* (affirmative) > *na-* (negative)).

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9   *-ta, -tara,* and *-tai* diachronically derive from the sequential suffix *-te* and the existential verb *ar-*. *-tor-* and *-tok-* derive from *-te* plus the existential verb *or-* and *-te* plus *ok-* 'put' respectively.

10   The same morphophonological rules are found in a neighboring dialect (Kato and Ideguchi 2018). In Yanagawa, for compound verbs, only the second element of the compound verb is subject to the foot count, as in //tukur-i+naos-ta// → /tukunnaeta/ 'remade'.

11   It is possible that *or-* can be used when the subject is an inanimate object assumed to be able to control its motion (e.g. vehicles, typhoons, etc.) like *i-* 'exist' of Standard Japanese. Whether it can be or not has not been checked, so further study is needed.

TABLE 9.6   Examples of consonant-final stems connected to *-ta* (PST)

Underlying	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	Surface
tob-ta	tob-da	tou-da	N/A	too-da	N/A	tooda 'flew'
sikom-ta	sikom-da	sikou-da	N/A	sikoo-da	siko-da	sikoda 'sharpened (rice)'
yuw-ta	N/A	yuu-ta	N/A	N/A	N/A	yuuta 'said'
omow-ta	N/A	omou-ta	N/A	omoo-ta	omo-ta	omota 'thought'
matigaw-ta	N/A	matigau-ta	N/A	matigoo-ta	N/A	matigoota 'mistook'
kas-ta	N/A	kai-ta	N/A	kee-ta	N/A	keeta 'lent'
hanas-ta	N/A	hanai-ta	N/A	hanee-ta	hane-ta	haneta 'spoke'
gamadas-ta	N/A	gamadai-ta	N/A	gamadee-ta	N/A	gamadeeta 'worked hard'
mot-ta	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	motta 'had'
nar-ta	N/A	N/A	nat-ta	N/A	N/A	natta 'became'
sin-ta	sin-da	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	sinda 'died'
tuk-ta	N/A	tui-ta	N/A	tii-ta	N/A	tiita 'reached'
kag-ta	kag-da	kai-da	N/A	kee-da	N/A	keeda 'smelled'

(410) *oziityanga   otta.*
       oziityan=ga   or-ta
       grandfather=NOM   exist-PST
       'My grandfather was there.'

(411) *hatino   suno   atta.*
       hati=no   su=no   ar-ta
       bee=GEN   hive=NOM   exist-PST
       'There was a beehive.'

Yanagawa has two copular verbs, *=yar-* and *=zyar-*. It is unclear whether there is any difference between these two other than the pronunciation. The *=yar-* form is mainly used by HK (female) and the *=zyar-* form is mainly used by YM (male); therefore the gender of the speakers may affect usage. Copular verbs follow verbs, verbal adjectives, nominal adjectives, and nouns. In this section, I describe the paradigm of copular verbs, which is shown in Table 9.7.

Note that the indicative non-past form *=zyar-u* (*=yar-u*) can appear only in some circumstances, such as before the clitics *=ken* or *=mon* as shown in (412), and does not appear when a clitic does not follow.

TABLE 9.7   The paradigm of the copular verb

Finiteness		Tense	Polarity	
			Affirmative	Negative
Finite	Indicative	Non-past	=yar-ru	=ya (na-ka)
		Past	=yar-ta	=ya (na-katta)
	Inferential	Non-past	=yar-a-u	=ya (na-karoo)
		Past	=yar-ta(=yar-a-u)	=ya (na-kattaroo)
Non-finite	Noun modifier		=na	
	Sequential		=ni	

(412) *mukasino   kotobayakken*
       mukasi=no   kotoba=yar-ru=ken
       old.time=GEN word=COP-NPST=CSL
       'Because the words (I use) are old'

6   Verbal Adjectives and Nominal Adjectives

In this section, I describe the structure of verbal adjectives and nominal adjectives. Verbal adjectives are a subclass of verbals and inflect like verbs. Nominal adjectives do not inflect like nouns, but differ from nouns in that nouns can be arguments while nominal adjectives cannot.

6.1   *Verbal Adjective*

This section describes the internal structure of verbal adjectives, focusing on inflectional morphology. Table 9.8 shows the paradigm of verbal adjectives. In negation, the sequential form (e.g. /hayo/ (fast-SEQ)) is followed by the verbal adjective *na-* which is inflected for tense and mood (e.g. /hayo naka/ 'isn't fast', /hayo nakatta/ 'wasn't fast'). In Table 9.8, the negative verbal adjective is shown in brackets.

Almost all inflectional suffixes contain the element *ka*. This is because these inflectional suffixes diachronically derive from the adverbial suffix *-ku*, which becomes *-u* in modern Yanagawa, and the verb **ar-* 'to be' (Yoshimachi 1931: 58). Although verbal adjectives are a subclass of verbals, verbal adjectives and verbs are distinguished by two points. First, verbal adjectives take inflectional

TABLE 9.8   The paradigms of verbal adjectives

Finiteness		Tense	Polarity	
			Affirmative	Negative
Finite	Indicative	Non-past	-ka	-u (na-ka)
		Past	-katta	-u (na-katta)
	Exclamative		-sa	
	Inferential	Non-past	-karoo	-u (na-karoo)
		Past	-kattaroo	-u (na-kattaroo)
	Habitual		-kariyotta	
Non-finite	Conditional		-kattara	
	Parallel		-kattai	
	Sequential		-u	

suffixes (e.g. the indicative non-past suffix *-ka*, the past suffix *-katta*, etc.) which differ from those that verbs take (e.g. the indicative non-past suffix *-ru*, the past suffix *-ta*, etc.). Second, verbal adjectives have an exclamative mood that verbs do not have.

6.2   *Nominal Adjectives*

Nominal adjectives themselves do not inflect, but the copula that follows the nominal adjectives inflects instead. The roots of nominal adjectives are almost all loanwords from Chinese (*kiree* 'beautiful') or English (*sumaato* 'slender'). The paradigm of the copula after nominal adjectives is the same as the paradigm shown in Table 9.7.

6.3   *Roots Which May Be Realized Both as Verbal Adjectives and Nominal Adjectives*

Yanagawa has two kinds of roots that can be realized as a verbal adjective without derivational operation applying. One can be realized only as a verbal adjective (e.g. *hiku-* 'low', *oso-* 'slow', *waka-* 'young', etc.) with no derivational operation applying, while the other can be realized both as a verbal adjective (e.g. *kiree-katta* (beautiful-PST)) and nominal adjective (e.g. *kiree⸗yatta* (beautiful⸗COP-PST)) without a derivational operation applying. This phenomenon is shared with neighboring dialects and Kambe (1980) points out that roots that were once realized only as nominal adjectives are now taking the

same affixes as verbal adjectives. It is unclear whether there are any semantic differences between forms such as *kiree-katta* and *kiree⸗yat-ta*.

Yanagawa also has roots that can only be realized as nominal adjectives and they cannot be realized as verbal adjectives (e.g. *iya⸗yat-ta* (unpleasant⸗COP-PST), **iya-katta* (unpleasant-PST)).

7 Class-Changing Derivations

The nominalizer *-sa*[12] converts a verbal-adjective stem into a noun. *-sa* does not attach to stems which can only become nominal adjectives without a derivational operation applying (e.g. *iya* 'unpleasant').

(413) *tumegureeno   hutosano   aru.*
      tume⸗guree⸗no   huto-sa⸗no   ar-ru
      nail⸗DEG⸗GEN   big-NMLZ⸗NOM exist-NPST
      'It (= a bee) is as big as my thumbnail.'

Non-expanded stems of vowel-final verbs (e.g. *tuke* 'pickle') and *i*-expanded stems of consonant final stem verbs (e.g. *kak-i* 'write') can behave as nouns by conversion. They are often the internal elements of compound nouns as in *gane+zuke* 'pickled crabs'.

The verbalizers *-gar-*, *-me-*, and *-mar-* form verbs from adjectival roots.

(414) *kawaigariyotta.*
      kawai-gar-i+or-ta
      pretty-VLZ-THM+HAB-PST
      '(My grandson) loved (his dog).'

The verbal adjectivalizer *-ta-* forms a verbal adjective from a verbal root and expresses desiderative meaning.

(415) *doramaba   mitaka.*
      dorama⸗ba   mi-ta-ka
      TV.drama⸗ACC look-ADJZ-NPST
      'I want to watch the TV drama.'

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12   The nominalizer suffix *-sa* is cognate with the exclamative suffix *-sa* (see § 6.1). From the synchronic perspective, they are regarded as different morphemes because they have differing functions.

TABLE 9.9 Demonstratives and interrogatives

	Form	Proximate	Medial	Distal	Interrogative
Pronoun (person)	-ri	ko-ri	so-ri	a-ri	da-ri
Pronoun (thing)					do-ri
Locative	-ko/ -suko	ko-ko	so-ko	a-suko	do-ko
Adnominal (kind)	-genka	ko-genka (kenka)	so-genka (senka)	a-genka	do-genka (denka)
Adnominal (entity)	-n/-no	ko-n/ko-no	so-n/so-no	a-n/a-no	do-n/do-no
Manner adverb	-gen	ko-gen (ken)	so-gen (sen)	a-gen	do-gen (den)

8 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstratives and interrogatives are functional categories, not word classes. Demonstratives and interrogatives are realized across the noun, adnominal, and adverb classes. Demonstratives consist of a demonstrative root, which is a bound form, and a suffix or a formal noun (e.g. *siko* 'amount', *yatu* 'person'). Demonstrative roots distinguish between proximate *ko-*, medial *so-*, and distal *a-*. Interrogatives consist of an interrogative root and a suffix which a demonstrative root also takes. Demonstratives and interrogatives are shown in Table 9.9. Contracted forms are parenthesized.

9 Argument Phrase

9.1 *The Head*
Nominals can stand in the head position of an argument phrase. Formal nouns which have no lexical meaning (*ǂtu/ǂto* 'thing, person', *ǂgotu/ǂgoto* 'like', *kotu/koto* 'thing', *toki* 'time', *niki* 'vicinity') always need a modifier (e.g. *atu-kaǂtu* 'hot thing'), and the same applies when filling the head position of an argument phrase.

9.2 *The Modifier*
Adnominals, noun phrases composed of a noun and a genitive particle, and adnominal clauses whose head is a verb or an adjective can stand in the modifier position.

TABLE 9.10 Case marking

Name	Form	Function
Nominative	=ga, =no/=n	S/A marking, P marking (in transitive adjective sentences)
Genitive	=ga, =no/=n	NP modifier
Accusative	=ba	P marking
Dative	=ni/=n/=i	indirect object, goal, place of static action, passive agent
Allative	=san	goal
Ablative	=kara	source, passive agent
Instrumental	=de	instrument, place of active action
Comitative	=to	associate
Comparative	=yori	standard of comparison
Limitative	=made	limit

9.3 *Case and Other Role Markings*

Case in Yanagawa is indicated by case particles following an NP. The form and function of the case particles are given in Table 9.10. Yanagawa has two nominative markers, which are discussed in more detail in §11.2.

Nominative and genitive markers have the same forms (*=ga* and *=no/=n*) and these two markers diachronically derive from the genitive markers *ga and *no. They, however, are distinguished for the following reasons. Firstly, nominative markers and genitive markers have different functions. The former marks a S/A argument (and a P argument in transitive adjective sentences) (see §11.2), while the latter marks the modifier of an NP, as in *ori=ga oya* 'my parent'. Secondly, the default choice of *=ga* and *=no/=n* differs for nominative markers and genitive markers. If an NP is a S/A argument, *=ga* can be used regardless of the animacy of the NP, while *=no/=n* can be used only when the NP is low in the animacy hierarchy (§11.2). When an NP modifies another NP, *=no/=n* can be used regardless of the animacy of the modifying NP (e.g. *ori=no ko* 'my child' and *bikitan=no ko* 'tadpole (lit. child of a frog)'), while *=ga* can be used only when the animacy of the modifying NP is high (e.g. *ori=ga ko* 'my child' and **bikitan=ga ko* 'tadpole').

An information-structure particle, which indicates the information-structure status of the noun, and limiter particles, which indicate quantifier or qualifier meaning, attach to an NP. When the topic marker *=wa*, additive marker *=mo*, or exemplative markers *=den* and *=don* attach to S/A argument or P arguments, they replace the nominative or accusative marker (e.g. *tarooga* (Taro=NOM) becomes *taroowa* (Taro=TOP)).

TABLE 9.11   Information-structure marking and limiter marking particles

Type	Form	Function	Type	Form	Function
Information structure	꞊wa	topic	Limiter	꞊ten/꞊teron	parallel
Limiter	꞊mo	additive	Limiter	꞊dake	exclusive
Limiter	꞊den	exemplative	Limiter	꞊guree	degree
Limiter	꞊don	exemplative			

10   Predicate Phrase

A predicate phrase falls into two types, verbal predication and non-verbal predication, as shown in §10.1 and §10.2 below.

10.1   *Verbal Predication*

Verbal predicates are classified into simple predicates, which contain one root, and complex predicates, which contain more than one root. This section focuses on the complex predicate. Complex predicates fall into two types: compound verbs and auxiliary constructions.

Compound verbs can be roughly divided into syntactic compound verbs (e.g. *tabe+hazimu-ru* (eat-start-NPST) 'start eating') and lexical compound verbs (e.g. *ot-i+ayu-ru* (fall-THM+fall-NPST) 'fall') (Kageyama 1993). When the first element of a compound verb is a consonant-final stem, the thematic vowel *-i-* is needed. In the case of syntactic compound verbs, the first element of the verb can take the causative affix *-sasu-/-sase-* or the passive affix *-raru-/-rare-* (*tabe+hazimu-ru* 'start eating', *tabe-sase+hazimu-ru* 'start feeding'), whereas lexical compound verbs cannot take these affixes (*ot-i+ayu-ru* 'fall', **oti-sase+ ayu-ru* 'letting something fall'). Of the second elements of syntactic compound verbs, only *hazimu-/hazime-* 'start', *owar-* 'finish', *naos-* 'repair, put away', and *or-* 'exist' have been identified so far. *hazimu-/hazime-* and *oyu-/oe-* indicate the beginning and the end of an action respectively. *naos-* indicates that the action is to be performed again. *or-* expresses imperfective aspect (see §11.5.2). For *or-*, when it follows the first element of compound verbs, a morpheme-specific phonological rule applies which inserts *y* before *o*, as in *kak-i+yor-u* (write-THM+PROG-NPST) 'be writing' (cf. *kak-i+owar-u* (write-THM+finish-NPST) 'finish writing').

An auxiliary construction is composed of a main verb, which takes the sequential suffix *-te*, and an auxiliary verb/adjective, which takes an inflectional suffix. The main verb is a lexical verb and functions as the main semantic

TABLE 9.12 Auxiliary verbs and an auxiliary verbal adjective

Form	Function	Lexical source	Form	Function	Lexical source
kure-/kuru-	benefactive	kure-/kuru- 'to give' (non-speaker subject)	simaw-	perfect, regret	simaw- 'to put away'
yar-	benefactive	yar- 'to give' (speaker subject)	saruk-	go around doing	saruk- 'to walk'
			deke-n	prohibit	deke-/deku- 'to occur'
			mi-	experiential	mi- 'to look at'
ku-	directional	ku- 'to come'	yo-	permission	yo- 'good'
ik-	directional	ik- 'to go'			

component. The auxiliary verbs/adjectives that we have found so far are given in Table 9.12.

10.2 *Non-verbal Predication*

Non-verbal predication is classified into three types: verbal adjectival predication, nominal adjectival predication, and nominal predication. These predicates divide into simple predicates and complex predicates. This section focuses on the latter.

In non-verbal complex predicates, light verbs and a light verbal adjective are used.

A light verb construction is composed of a main part and a light verb or verbal adjective. The light verbs are *nar-* 'to become' and *si-* 'to do', and the light verbal adjective is *na-* 'not exist'. As a main part of a light verb construction, a verbal adjective takes the sequential suffix *-u* as in *hayo nar-u* (//haya-u nar-ru//, fast-SEQ become-NPST) 'It becomes fast'. A nominal adjective or a noun takes the sequential copula form *꞊ni* as in *kiree꞊ni nar-u* (beautiful꞊COP.SEQ become-NPST) 'It becomes beautiful'.

11 The Simple Sentence

11.1 *Sentence Types*

Yanagawa has three major sentence types: declaratives (statements), interrogatives (requests for the addressee to speak), and commands (requests for the addressee to act). Examples of each sentence type are shown below.

(416) *amadowa   yosari kuru.*
       amado⸗wa   yosari kur-ru
       shutter⸗TOP night   close-NPST
       '(I) close the shutter at night.' (declarative)

(417) a. *dariga   miyoba   kurasitatukai.*
          dari⸗ga   miyo⸗ba   kuras-i-ta⸗tu⸗kai
          who⸗NOM Miyo⸗ACC hit-THM-PST⸗FMN⸗Q
          'Who hit Miyo?' (content question)

       b. *koryaa   mikanka.*
          kori⸗wa   mikan⸗ka
          this⸗TOP orange⸗Q
          'Is this an orange?' (polar question)

(418) a. *hayo   hasire.*
          haya-u   hasir-re
          fast-SEQ run-IMP
          'Run fast!' (brusque command)

       b. *sotosan   dete   minnara.*
          soto⸗san   de-te   mi-ru⸗nara
          outside⸗ALL get.out-SEQ CNT-NPST⸗COND
          'Why don't you go out?' (polite command)

Interrogative sentences fall into two subclasses: polar questions and content questions. For each type of interrogative, question markers (e.g. ⸗*ka*, ⸗*ya*, ⸗*to*, etc.) are used. In terms of intonation, polar questions take a rising contour, while content questions take a falling contour (§ 2.5).

For commands, imperative suffixes are used as in (418a), but euphemisms using the conditional particle ⸗*nara* are also used as in (418b) and are more frequent. Commands using ⸗*nara* are polite, while commands using imperative suffixes are brusque.

11.2   *Alignment*

The alignment of Yanagawa is nominative-accusative, with obligatory S and A argument marking and optional P argument marking. For a one-place predicate sentence, the S argument is marked with nominative ⸗*ga* or ⸗*no*, as in (419).

TABLE 9.13   Animacy and differential subject marking

	1	2	Demonstrative	Address noun	Human noun	Animal	Inanimate
Intransitive	ga	ga	ga	ga/no	no/ga	no/ga	no/ga
Transitive	ga	ga	ga	ga/no	ga/no	ga/no	

(419)   *taroo{ga/no}   sarukiyoru.*
        taroo⸗{ga/no}   saruk-i+or-ru
        Taro⸗{NOM/NOM} walk-THM+PROG-NPST
        'Taro is walking.'

For a two-place predicate sentence, the A argument is marked with ⸗*ga* or ⸗*no*
and the P argument is marked with ⸗*ba* as in (420) or is non-marked. It is unclear
when the P argument occurs without ⸗*ba*, but in discourse, it occurs more often
when the P argument is inanimate and in the position immediately preceding
the verb, as in (421).

(420)   *mamiga   miyoba   kurasita.*
        mami⸗ga   miyo⸗ba   kuras-i-ta
        Mami⸗NOM Miyo⸗ACC hit-THM-PST
        'Mami hit Miyo.'

(421)   *piisu   tigitte   okura tigitte   mame tigitte*
        piisu   tigir-te   okura tigir-te   mame tigir-te
        green.peas pick-SEQ okra   pick-SEQ beans pick-SEQ
        '(I) picked the green peas, the okra, and the beans ...'

The animacy of the S and A arguments and the valency of the clause affects
the choice of nominative markers. Table 9.13 shows the distribution of nomi-
native markings in discourse data. Those shown before the slash have a higher
frequency in discourse. Blank spaces indicate that there were no relevant exam-
ples in discourse.

   For a three-place predicate sentence, the A argument is marked with ⸗*ga* or
⸗*no*, the P argument is marked with ⸗*ba*, and the E argument is marked with ⸗*ni*,
as in (422).

(422) *origa   tarooni   honba   yatta.*
       ori-∅⸗ga   taroo⸗ni   hon⸗ba   yar-ta
       1-SG⸗NOM   Taro⸗DAT   book⸗ACC   give-PST
       'I gave Taro a book.'

11.3   *Valency Changing*

11.3.1   Causative

The causative increases a verb's valency through the addition of the causative suffix *-sase-/-sasu-*. In a causative clause, the causee is marked with *⸗ni*, the causer is marked with *⸗ga*, and the patient is marked with *⸗ba*.

(423) *tarooga   zirooni   komeba   motaseta.*
       taroo⸗ga   ziroo⸗ni   kome⸗ba   mot-sase-ta
       Taro⸗NOM   Ziro⸗DAT   rice⸗ACC have-CAUS-PST
       'Taro made Ziro carry some rice.'

11.3.2   Direct and Indirect Passive

The direct passive decreases the verb's syntactic valence through the addition of the passive suffix *-rare-/-raru-*, although it does not change its semantic valence, i.e. the presence of the agent is always implied. In a direct passive clause, the patient is marked nominative, and the passive agent, if it appears, is marked dative or ablative.

(424) *origa   hatikara   sasareta.*
       ori-∅⸗ga   hati⸗kara   sas-rare-ta
       1-SG⸗NOM   bee⸗ABL   sting-PASS-PST
       'I was stung by a bee.'

The suffix *-rare-/-raru-* is also used as an indirect passive marker. In this case, *-rare-/-raru-* increases the syntactic valence with the introduction of a new subject as in *ori* in (425b). Unlike Standard Japanese, the indirect passive is restricted to cases where the new subject and the original subject are in a possessor-possessum relationship. The subject of the original clause is marked dative. It is possible that it may be marked ablative, but this has not been confirmed.

(425) a. *imootoga   kasiba   tabeta.*
          imooto⸗ga   kasi⸗ba   tabe-ta
          young.sister⸗NOM   snack⸗ACC   eat-PST
          'My young sister ate snacks.'

b. *oryaa   kasiba   imootoni   taberareta.*
ori-∅⹁wa kasi⹁ba   imooto⹁ni   tabe-rare-ta
1-SG⹁TOP snack⹁ACC young.sister⹁DAT eat-PASS-PST
'I was troubled (by the fact that) my young sister ate my snacks.'

11.4   *Polarity*

For verbal clauses, polarity is an inflectional category and polarity is expressed using an inflectional suffix (as in Table 9.5). For non-verbal clauses, polarity is not an inflectional category, and negation is expressed using the auxiliary verbal adjective *na-* 'not exist', as in (426).

(426)   *taroowa asino   {hayaka/   hayo   naka}*
taroo⹁wa asi⹁no   {haya-ka/   haya-u   na-ka}
Taro⹁TOP leg⹁NOM {fast-NPST/ fast-SEQ not.exist-NPST}
'Taro {is/ isn't} quick on his feet.'

11.5   *TAM*

11.5.1   Tense

The tense system of Yanagawa is binary, distinguishing past and non-past. In affirmative verbal and verbal adjectival predicates, tense is marked with inflectional suffixes, e.g. past *-ta* vs. non-past *-ru* (see Table 9.5 and 9.8). In other predicates, tense is marked on the copula (Table 9.7) following the head of the predicate (e.g. past ⹁*yar-ta* vs. non-past ⹁*yar-ru*).

11.5.2   Aspect

The major aspectual opposition is between the perfective and the imperfective. The perfective, which construes the situation as an independent whole, is expressed in one of the past suffix *-ta* and the sequential suffix *-te*. The imperfective, which construes the situation as having an internal structure, is expressed in one of four ways: suffixes, syntactic compounds, auxiliary constructions, and full reduplication of verbal roots. The aspectual suffixes *-tor-* and *-tok-*, and *or-*, which occurs as the second element of compound verbs, are used to indicate various imperfective meanings. *-tor-* expresses perfect aspect, which indicates the situation relates some state to a preceding situation. *-tok-* expresses prospective aspect, and *or-* expresses progressive, iterative, and habitual aspects. An example of each is shown below.

(427)   *toba   aketoru.*
        to� ba   ake-tor-ru
        door⸗ACC open-PRF-NPST
        '(I) have opened the door.'

(428)   *watasiga   asukode   otyadon   waketokuto*
        watasi-∅⸗ga asuko⸗de o-tya⸗don   wakas-tok-ru⸗to
        1-SG⸗NOM   there⸗INS POL-tea⸗EXM boil-PROS-NPST⸗COND
        'When I made tea there (for the coming guests) …,'

(429)   *ameno   huriyoru.*
        ame⸗no   hur-i+or-ru
        rain⸗NOM rain-THM+PROG-NPST
        'It's raining.'

Aspect is also marked using an auxiliary construction (see Table 9.12) and full reduplication of a verbal root (e.g. *tabeetabe* '(repeatedly) eat').

Verbal adjectives have the aspectual suffix *-kariyotta* as in *isogasi-kariyotta* '(was/were) always busy', which is related to the *or-* element of compound verbs. Although the *yor* of *-kariyotta* is related to *or-*, there are some differences between the two. First, *or-* can be followed by a series of inflectional suffixes *-ru*, *-ta*, etc., while *-kariyotta* is fixed, and *-kariyoru* or *-kariyotte* are unacceptable. Second, *or-* can express progressive, iterative, or habitual meanings, while *-kariyotta* can express only the past habitual meaning.

11.5.3   Modality

Modality is expressed by suffixes, complex predicates, and sentence-final particles. Verbal predicates have four moods: indicative, obligative, inferential/intentional, and imperative (see Table 9.5). Verbal adjectival predicates have three moods: indicative, inferential, and exclamative. The other predicates have two moods: indicative and inferential. Inferential meaning is also expressed by a copula in its inferential form following a verb in its indicative form as in *mi-ru⸗yar-a-u* 'will see'. Complex predicates also express modality. For example, the construction ⸗*goto* {*ar-/na-*} expresses inferential or volitional meaning, as in (430).

(430)   a. *ameno   huriyorugotaru.*
           ame⸗no   hur-i+or-ru⸗goto⸗ar-ru
           rain⸗NOM rain-THM+PROG-NPST⸗SEEM⸗exist-NPST
           'It seems to be raining.'

b. *doramaba*   {*myuugotaru*/   *myuugon*
   dorama⸗ba   {mi-u⸗goto⸗ar-ru/   mi-u⸗goto
   TV.drama⸗ACC {see-INT⸗SEEM⸗exist-NPST/ see-INT⸗SEEM
   naka}.
   na-ka}
   not.exist-NPST
   'I want to watch a TV drama./ I don't want to watch a TV drama.'

Some sentence-final particles (e.g. ⸗*dai*, ⸗*mee*, etc.) express modal meaning. ⸗*dai* occurs with inferential forms of verbs (e.g. *kakoo* 'will write') and expresses addressive meaning. ⸗*mee* occurs with negative and obligative forms of verbs and expresses inferential meaning. Examples of each are shown below.

(431) *namaeba yuutoga   honnakotuyaroodai.*
       namae⸗ba yuw-ru⸗to⸗ga   honnakotu⸗yar-a-u⸗dai
       name⸗ACC say-NPST⸗FMN⸗NOM truth⸗COP-THM-INFR⸗ADRS
       'Isn't it right that you should tell people your name (before asking them to tell you their name)?'

(432) *tooka   tokosan   dete   simoteno   moo*
       too-ka   toko⸗san   de-te   simaw-te⸗no moo
       far-NPST place⸗ALL go.out-SEQ PRF-SEQ⸗SFP already
       oranmeega.
       or-a-n⸗mee⸗ga
       exist-THM-NEG⸗INFR⸗SFP
       '(Young people) have gone far away and are no longer here, right?'

Other sentence-final particles may also have a modal meaning, but they have not been examined and further research is needed.

11.6   *Potential*

There are two potential suffixes in Yanagawa: *-kir-* and *-rare-/-raru-*. The differences between these two morphemes are unclear, but in discourse data, *-kir-* expresses that the agent does or does not have the ability to do something, and *-rare-/-raru-* expresses that the agent can or cannot do something due to the environment. This distinction is widely distributed in the dialects of northern Kyūshū (Kambe 1992).

(433) *asino   hayakaken   ariba   oikiru.*
       asi⸗no   haya-ka⸗ken   ari⸗ba   ow-i-kir-ru
       leg⸗NOM   fast-NPST⸗CSL   that⸗ACC   overtake-THM-ABP-NPST
       'I'm fast on my legs, so I can overtake him.'

(434) *okaneno   aruken   keanimo   ikaruru.*
       o-kane⸗no   ar-ru⸗ken   kea⸗ni⸗mo   ik-raru-ru
       POL-money⸗NOM   exist-NPST⸗CSL   rest.home⸗DAT⸗ADD   go-CRP-NPST
       'I have money, so I can go to the rest home.'

11.7   *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings*

In Yanagawa, topic is indicated with the topic marker ⸗*wa*.

(435) *ano occanna   keebanibakkai   itatte*
       ano occan⸗wa keeba⸗ni⸗bakkai   itar-te
       that man⸗TOP   horse.race⸗DAT⸗RPT   go-SEQ
       'That man only goes to horse races, …'

The choice of nominative particles ⸗*ga* and ⸗*no* depends on the animacy of the subject (see §11.2), but focus types (information focus vs. contrastive focus) also affect the choice, as in (436), (437).

(436) *in{ga/no}   sarukiyoru.*
       in⸗{ga/no}   saruk-i+or-ru
       dog⸗{NOM/NOM}   walk-THM+PROG-NPST
       'A dog is walking. (In response to the question 'what is walking?')'

(437) *in{ga/*no}   sarukiyoru.*
       in⸗{ga/no}   saruk-i+or-ru.
       dog⸗{NOM/NOM}   walk-THM+PROG-NPST
       '(It is not a cat,) it is a dog that is walking.'

12   The Complex Sentence

12.1   *Clause-Combining Strategies*

Yanagawa has two clause-combining strategies: coordination and subordination.

12.1.1   Coordination

Coordinated clauses have two or more independent clauses joined with con-
junctive particles, such as the causal particle =*ken/kengara* and the adversative
particle =*batten/battengara* 'but'.

(438)   *terebino   nedokattoruken   kawayan.*
        terebi=no nedokar-tor-ru=ken   kaw-a-yan
        TV=NOM   break-PRF-NPST=CSL buy-THM-OBLG
        'My TV is broken, so I need to buy a new one.'

(439)   *hutoka   ziwa   mekkarubatten   komaka*
        huto-ka   zi=wa   mekkar-ru=batten koma-ka
        big-NPST character=TOP see-NPST=ADVRS   small-NPST
        ziwa   mekkakaran.
        zi=wa   mekkakar-a-n
        character=TOP see-THM-NEG
        'I can see big characters, but cannot see small ones.'

12.1.2   Subordination

Subordinated clauses divide into three types: adverbial subordinates, adnom-
inal subordinates, and complements. An adverbial subordinate clause is ex-
pressed by a converb inflection as in (440) and (441), or the conditional par-
ticles =*nara, =getto* attached as in (442).

(440)   *amadoba   aketottara   kurawareta.*
        ama+to=ba   ake-tor-tara   kuraw-rare-ta
        rain+door=ACC open-PRF-COND eat-PASS-PST
        'When I opened the sliding shutter, I was bitten (by a mosquito).'

(441)   *sakanaba turige   itta.*
        sakana=ba tur-i-ge   ik-ta
        fish=ACC   fish-THM-PURP go-PST
        'I went fishing.'

(442)   *rensyuu sunnara   motto asino   hayo*
        rensyuu su-ru=nara   motto asi=no   haya-u
        training LV-NPST=COND more leg=NOM fast-SEQ
        naroo.
        nar-a-u
        become-THM-INFR
        'If I practice, I will get faster.'

In adnominal subordination, an adnominal clause modifies an NP. In an adnominal clause, a verbal (including verbal adjective) predicate is finite.

(443)   *tannaka site   umi siyotta   hitotati*
        tannaka si-te   umi si+or-ta   hito-tati
        rice.field LV-SEQ sea LV+HAB-PST person-PL
        'People who worked in rice farming and fishing'

12.2   *Quotative*

A quotative clause is a complement of speech-act verbs such as *yuw-* 'say', *hanas-* 'speak'; writing-act verbs such as *kak-* 'write'; cognitive verbs such as *omow-* 'think', *wakar-* 'understand'; and the existential verbs *or-* 'exist (animate)' and *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)'. The quotative particle *=ti* attaches to a complement clause.

(444)   *basarakawa iretaga   yokarooti   omoubai.*
        basaraka=wa ire-ta=ga   yo-karoo=ti   omow-ru=bai
        very=TOP   add-PST=NOM good-NPST.INFR=QUOT think-NPST=SFP
        'I think it would be better to include the word 'very' (in the sentence).
        (In response to an example of Yanagawa presented by the author)'

(445)   *sandenti   arooga.*
        sanden=ti   ar-a-u=ga
        Sanden(Place)=QUOT exist-THM-INFR=SFP
        'Don't you know Sanden?'

12.3   *Insubordination*

Clauses to which the conditional particle *=nara* attaches can be insubordinated and used to express commands, as in (418b).

12.4   *Clause-Chaining Structure*

Clause-chaining structures usually express temporal relations such as overlap and succession (Payne 1997: 321). A clause chain consists of a series of converbs, which do not exhibit non-past/past tense opposition.

(446)   *kokoni   hukinba   irete   mesiba   koo   irete*
        koko=ni   hukin=ba ire-te   mesi=ba koo   ire-te
        here=DAT cloth=ACC put-SEQ rice=ACC this.way put-SEQ
        'I put a cloth (in a rice tub), and put rice (in the rice tub), ...'

Appendix: Sample Text

In this section, I present a monologue narrated by HK. This monologue was recorded on 9 February 2020 and lasted about ten minutes. Here, I give the first minute.

(447) *moo   syoku tiitaken   atotugino*
moo   syoku tuk-ta�²ken   ato+tug-i⸱no
already job   get-PST⸱CSL heir+succeed-NMLZ⸱NOM
nakakennomo.
na-ka⸱ken⸱nomo
not.exist-NPST⸱CSL⸱SFP
'(My son) has got a job and there is no successor.'

(448) *kondowa yoka   kikaino   zidooba*
kondo⸱wa yo-ka   kikai⸱no   zidoo⸱ba
now⸱TOP   good-NPST machine⸱GEN automatic⸱ACC
kawayangon   zidaini nattarooga.
kaw-a-yan⸱gon   zidai⸱ni nar-taroo⸱ga
buy-THM-OBLG⸱FMN era⸱DAT become-PST.INFR⸱SFP
'Now we have to buy good automatic machines to do farming.'

(449) *soriken   moo uuzyakuzya nanzenmanti*
sori⸱ken   moo ?   nan+sen+man⸱ti
that⸱CSL FIL   what+thousand+ten.thousand⸱QUOT
surunomo.
su-ru⸱nomo
LV-NPST⸱SFP
'That's why it's hard to continue farming; it costs tens of millions of yen to buy the machines.'

(450) me:
sogen   suttodesuka.
sogen   su-ru⸱to⸱desu⸱ka
that.way LV-NPST⸱FMN⸱POL⸱Q
'Oh, it's so expensive! (lit. Does it cost that much?)'

(451) *ee iccyogatto   yuwangoto   zaisanno*
ee iccyo⩽gatu⩽to yuw-a-n⩽goto zaisan⩽no
FIL a.little⩽FMN⩽QUOT say-THM-NEG⩽FMN asset⩽NOM
ittobanmo.
ir-ru⩽to⩽banmo
need-NPST⩽FMN⩽SFP
'Yes, I needed ⟨a lot of (lit. I don't say it is a little)⟩ money (to continue farming).'

(452) *soriwa   modosi ... modosikiranyan.*
sori⩽wa   modosi ... modos-i-kir-a-n⩽yan
that⩽TOP ...   return-THM-ABP-THM-NEG⩽SFP
'(If I borrowed that amount,) I wouldn't be able to pay it back, would I?'

(453) *sosiken   moo   sogen   yuute   yameta.*
sosi⩽ken   moo   sogen   yuw-te   yame-ta
that.do⩽CSL already that.way say-SEQ stop-PST
'So I stopped farming.'

(454) *umi sitai   tannaka sitai   sitenomo*
umi si-tai   tannaka si-tai   si-te⩽nomo
sea LV-PARA rice.field LV-PARA LV-SEQ⩽SFP
'I did fishing and rice farming,'

(455) *kome tukuttenomo   kome tukurantoki   hatake site*
kome tukur-te⩽nomo kome tukur-a-n⩽toki   hatake si-te
rice   make-SEQ⩽SFP rice   make-THM-NEG⩽FMN field   LV-SEQ
'I grew rice, and when I wasn't growing rice, I worked in the fields,'

(456) *huyubunna kome tukutte   ano hatakeba titto   iroiro*
huyubun⩽wa kome tukur-te   ano hatake⩽ba titto   iroiro
winter⩽TOP   rice   make-SEQ FIL field⩽ACC a.little various
tukuriyotta.
tukur-i+or-ta
make-THM+HAB-PST
'In the wintertime, I used to grow rice and work in the fields ... I made various things.'

(457) *tukkara   tugi nookyoodasi   surugoto.*
       tugi⧸kara tugi nookyoo+das-i   su-ru⧸goto
       next⧸ABL next farmers'cooperative+forward-NMLZ LV-NPST⧸FMN
       'I made various things so that I can send them to the agricultural coop-
       eratives.'

(458) *yokattayo.*
       yo-katta⧸yo
       good-PST⧸SFP
       'It was good.'

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Shiiba (Miyazaki, Kyūshū Japanese)

Michinori Shimoji and Naoyuki Hirosawa

1 The Shiiba Dialect and Its Speakers

The Shiiba dialect is spoken in Miyazaki Prefecture, Kyūshū (Figure 10.1). Geo-linguistically, Kyūshū is classified into three dialectal areas, Hichiku, Hōnichi and Satsugū, based on various lexical, phonological and grammatical features (Tojo 1966, Kamimura 1983, Kyūshū Hōgen Gakkai 1991).

Shiiba has traditionally been classified as a Hōnichi dialect, although it exhibits both Hichiku and Hōnichi features as Shiiba village lies at the border of both areas and the Shiiba people are in regular contact with the Hichiku region which results in a large amount of language contact.

Shiiba village is located in a mountainous area and the Shiiba people have traditionally engaged in hunting, slash-and-burn agriculture and forestry. Their daily life centers on various Shintō rituals, ceremonies and festivals (see the sample text attached to the present chapter for an illustration of their religious culture), which are also major tourism resources. The village comprises four regions which are distant from each other and constitute distinct dialectal areas, Fudono, Shimofukura, Matsuo and Ōkawauchi. Our focus in this chapter is on the Omae dialect of Fudono, one of the most endangered dialects of Shiiba with a local population of approximately 170 (as of 2015). No detailed grammar is available, although there is a grammatical overview with a list of basic vocabulary written in Japanese (Shimoji et al. 2016).

2 Phonology

2.1 *Phoneme Inventory*

2.1.1 Vowels

Shiiba has five vowels (/i, e, a, o, u/). The vowel /u/ is a less rounded [ɯ̜], but it is transcribed as [u] throughout this chapter. The vowel /e/ is realized as [je] syllable-initially (/mo.to.e/ [motoje] 'main family', /e.no.ha/ [jenoha] 'trout'). The vowel /o/ tends to be realized as [wo] after a vowel, especially after a high vowel (/kao/ [ka.wo]~[ka.o] 'face', /io/ [iwo] 'fish', /suo/ [su.wo] 'nest:ACC', etc.). A long vowel is phonemically interpreted as a sequence of two identical vow-
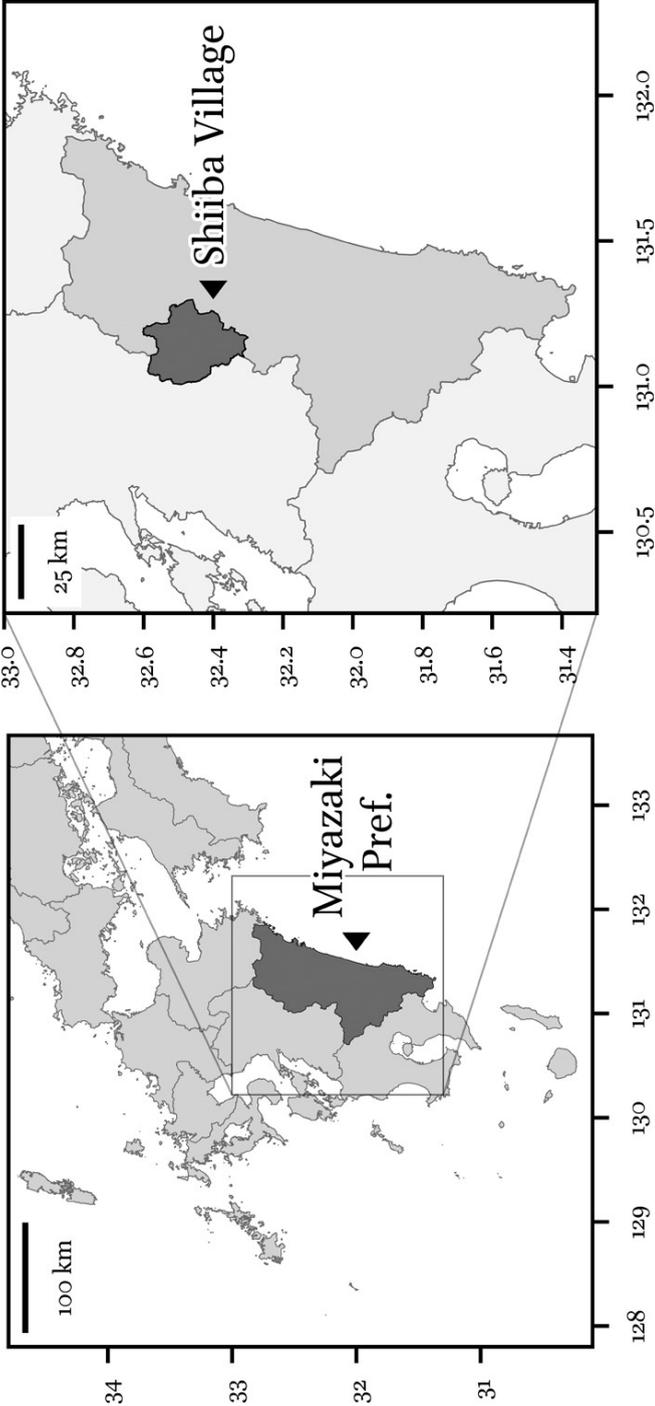
FIGURE 10.1 Shiiba village

els. Diphthongs are scarce in roots (e.g. /kaiko/ 'silkworm', /kauya/ 'river', /oiko/ 'nephew', etc.). Diphthongs arising from morpheme combinations regularly change to long vowels by a vowel fusion rule (see § 2.4).

2.1.2   Consonants and Glides

Shiiba has twelve consonants (/(p), t, k, b, d, g, s, h, z, m, n, r/) and two glides (/w, y/). The labial stop /p/ never occurs in native roots except in geminates (e.g. /happa/ 'leaf'). /r/ is a tap [ɾ], and does not occur initially in native roots. The nasal /n/ is a homorganic nasal whose place and manner features are determined by the segment that follows it (e.g. /hon/ [hoɴ] 'book', /zunbyaa/ [d͡zumbʲaː] 'plenty', /binta/ [binta] 'head', /senso/ [sežso] 'ancestor', /bebenko/ [bebeŋko] 'calf').

Systematic allophonic variations are observed in alveolar obstruents (Table 10.1).

TABLE 10.1   Alveolar obstruents and their allo-
phonic realizations

	Stops		Fricatives	
	/t/	/d/	/s/	/z/
Before /i, y/	t͡ɕ	d͡z/z	ɕ	d͡z/z
Before /u/	t͡s	d͡z/z	s	d͡z/z
Elsewhere	t	d	s	d͡z/z

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

The syllable template for Shiiba is (C1(G))V1(V2)(C2). C1 may be filled by any consonant (including /w/ and /y/), though /h/ does not occur word-medially. C2 must be /n/ word-finally. A word-medial C2.C1 cluster is either a geminate of voiceless/voiced stops (e.g. /ga.kip.pa.ra/ [gakipːaɾa] 'cliff', /wad.do.mo/ [wadːomo] '1PL') or voiceless fricatives (e.g. /as.sa.ge/ [asːage] 'paper wasp') or a partial geminate with the homorganic /n/ (e.g. /zun.byaa/ [d͡zumbʲaː] 'plenty').

The glide slot G is filled only by the glide phoneme /w/ or /y/. G must be accompanied by the onset C (hence CGV, CV, but *GV). Thus, /wa/ and /ya/ are analyzed as CV while /kwa/ and /kya/ are analyzed as CGV. The onset /Cw/ is limited to /kw/ (e.g. /kwasi/ [k̥asi] 'snack'), /gw/ (/amatigwii/ [amat͡ɕigiː] 'not satisfactorily sweet (i.e. too sweet or not sweet enough)') and /hw/ (e.g.

/hweeta/ [ɸeeta] 'dried'). For C₁G where G is /y/, C₁ may be any consonant except /y/.

Shiiba is characterized by the existence of the 'double glide' sequence /wy/, which is phonetically realized as a non-syllabic (i.e. glide) version of the rounded front vowel [ʏ], as in /wyaata/ [ʏaːta] 'boiled' or /hwyaa/ [ɣ̞aː] 'fly'. The double glide /wy/ is analyzed as CG. The complex onset /hwy/ is problematic in the synchronic phonology of Shiiba, as it cannot be analyzed as CGV but appears to be an exceptional *CCG or *CGG. This synchronic exceptionality is explainable from a diachronic perspective. That is, /h/ reflects proto-Japonic *p, and the labial feature is arguably still pervasive in /h/ in a few domains of the synchronic system where /h/ behaves as if it were a single labial phoneme /ɸ/.[1] In this view, the problematic triple cluster /hwy/ is seen as a remnant of the older /ɸ/ followed by /y/. Note that the labial feature of */ɸ/ is deemed to have been lost in most aspects of the Shiiba phonology and grammar, and we find a contrast between non-labial /h/ vs. labialized /hw/ (e.g. /hiita/ 'pulled' vs. /hwiita/ 'blew', from //hik-ta// and //huk-ta// respectively).

2.3   *The Mora*

The rhyme slots (V₁, V₂ and C₂) are one mora each. A word in isolation must have at least two morae. Thus, while //te// 'hand' must be lengthened if it is pronounced in isolation, as in /tee/ [teː], it may remain monomoraic if a case particle follows it, as in /te≠o/ (hand≠ACC).[2]

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1   It is impossible to analyze the glottal phoneme /h/ as a labial phoneme /ɸ/ whereby /ɸ/ remains [ɸ] before /w/ and /u/. This analysis, which was also proposed (for different reasons) for SJ by McCawley (1968), does not solve the exceptional phonotactics we noted here. There is a contrast between /hy/[ç] vs. /hwy/ [ʏ]. With /ɸ/, we would expect that [ç] should be analyzed as /ɸy/ (with delabialization and palatalization), and in this case [ʏ] must be analyzed as /ɸwy/ where /w/ blocks the delabialization. This phonemic interpretation would thus end up with an exceptional onset cluster /ɸwy/, where the problem with /hwy/ only shifts to /ɸwy/. The reason for taking /h/ analysis over /ɸ/ analysis is that /h/ analysis is more suitable for explaining (diachronically) the synchronic exceptional behavior of the vowel fusion rule involving //ai// (§2.4.3). The vowel fusion rule //ai// → /(w)yaa/ gives rise to an exceptional CCGV /hwyaa/, without the expected deletion of /w/. Diachronically speaking, this exceptionality is explainable by recognizing that the cluster /h/ + /w/ used to be a single labial phoneme /ɸ/, to which /yaa/ is connected to give rise to */ɸyaa/, with the deletion of /w/ as in the case of other C + /(w)yaa/ sequences (e.g. //k// + //(w)yaa// → /kyaa/).

2   Matsuoka (2021) states that, in Shiiba, the domain of the bimoraic minimality constraint (BMC) varies depending on the type of element which attaches to the word in question: noun + case particle tends to be treated as a domain to which the BMC applies (as in [*te≠o*] above, where [ ] indicates the domain of the BMC), while noun + copula tends to be treated as two separate domains for the BMC, requiring the noun to be lengthened, as in [*tee*] *zyatta* (hand COP.PST).

2.4 *Phonological Rules*

2.4.1 Sequential Voicing

Sequential voicing applies to compounding, changing the initial voiceless on-set C of the medial base to its voiced counterpart, as in *tyaagwasi* 'tea snack' (//tya// 'tea' + //kwasi// 'snack'), where the underlined segment undergoes this process. Examples such as *kusobyaa* 'fly of some kind' (//kuso// 'feces' + //hwyaa// 'fly') suggest that /h/ and /b/ form a natural class, which is due to the fact that /h/ corresponds to proto-Japonic *p (see §2.2).

2.4.2 T-suffixation

The past-tense suffix *-ta*, the sequential converbal suffix *-te* and the completive suffix *-tor-* share exactly the same morphophonological feature. They will be called 'T-suffixes' henceforth.[3] Table 10.2 illustrates the morphophonological pattern of T-suffixation with a T-suffix *-ta* (past).

A voicing rule converts the /t/ of T-suffixes to its voiced counterpart. A C-to-V alternation rule turns the stem-final C /s, k, g/ to /i/ and /b, m, w/ to /u/.

TABLE 10.2   T-suffixation and related ordered morphophonological rules

Root	Underlying	Regressive assimilation	Voicing	C-to-V alternation	Vowel fusion	Surface output
kak- 'write'	kak-ta			kaita	k(w)yaata	*kyaata*
kag- 'smell'	kag-ta		kagda	kaida	k(w)yaada	*kyaada*
tor- 'take'	tor-ta	totta				*totta*
kat- 'win'	kat-ta					*katta*

2.4.3 Vowel Fusion Rule

A vowel fusion rule (VFR) applies in three major morphological contexts, T-suffixation (§2.4.2), dative case cliticization and verbal-adjectival inflection.[4] In dative case cliticization, the dative case particle *=ni* may yield a diphthong

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3   T-suffixes are historically related: *-ta* and *-tor-* come from *-te + *ar- (inanimate existential) and from *-te and *wor- (animate existential) respectively. Two other suffixes, *-tara* (condi-tional converb, as in *nuudara* //nom-tara// 'if (someone) drinks') and *-tari* (exemplificational converb, as in *kutari nuudari* (//kuw-tari nom-tari//) 'eating, drinking, etc.') must also be con-sidered T suffixes, but the present authors have not confirmed yet that they follow the same morphophonological patterns of the other T-suffixes.

4   This rule also applies in some other environments which include some specific verbal inflec-tions like the imperative, as in //hutE-// 'throw away' + //-i// (imperative) → hutei → /hutyee/,

in the middle of its derivation, with deletion of its initial /n/ depending on the stem-final segment (e.g. //koko≠ni// (this.place≠DAT) → kokoi). Verbal-adjectival inflection (§ 6.1) also yields a diphthong in non-past tense, as in //aka-i// (red-NPST).

The derived diphthongs then undergo VFR. (459) illustrates VFR which derives (w)yaa from /ai/. The bracketed /w/ is deleted if the resulting form would lead to an impermissible CG cluster. Whereas (459a) surfaces as /wyaata/ (CGVV.CV) with no deletion of /w/, (459b) surfaces as /kyaata/ (CGVVCV) instead of */kwyaata/ (CGGVVCV). In (459c), /hwyaata/ does not undergo deletion despite the impermissible CCG cluster (see § 2.2 and footnote 1 for a historical account).

(459)   a. //ak-ta// (open-PST) → aita → VFR (ai → wyaa) → wyaata 'opened'
        b. //kak-ta// (write-PST) → kaita → VFR (ai → wyaa) → *kwyaata → kyaata 'wrote'
        c. //hak-ta// (vomit-PST) → haita → VFR (ai → wyaa) → hwyaata 'vomited'

Another VFR derives /Gee/ from //oi// (460), where G is an unspecified glide slot which is filled by /w/ if possible, and otherwise by /y/ to derive a permissible phonotactic structure. If neither is permissible, then G is deleted altogether by a general strategy of cluster reduction.

(460)   a. //too-i// (distant-NPST) → tooi → VFR (//oi// → Gee) → *towee* 'be distant'
        b. //siro-i// (white-NPST) → siroi → VFR → *siryee* 'white'
        c. //igok-ta// (move-PST) → igoita → VFR → *igeeta* (*igweeta, *igyeeta) 'moved'

Other VFRs derive /yee/ from //ei// (e.g. //kes-ta// (erase-PST) → keita → kyeeta 'erased'), /yuu/ from //eu// (e.g. //hute-u// (throw.away-INT) → huteu → hutyuu 'will throw away'; see Table 10.7), /yuu/ from //iu// (//iw-ta// (say-PST) → iuta → yuuta 'said'), /(w)ii/ from //ui// (e.g. /zuru-i/ (cunning-NPST) → *zurwii → zurii 'be cunning'), /oo/ from //au// (e.g. //kaw-ta// (buy-PST) → kauta → koota 'bought') and /uu/ from //ou// (e.g. //ow-ta// (chase-PST) → outa → uuta 'chased').

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where the underlying diphthong //ei// becomes /yee/ by rule. See Table 10.7 for imperative and other inflections of //hutE-//.

2.5 *Prosody*

Shiiba lacks a lexically determined accent system. Observed pitch contours at word level are considered to be a direct manifestation of phrasal or clausal intonation. As a result, the same word can be pronounced with different pitch contours depending on its position within a phrase or clause, and on the grammatical context which it is in (focus, interrogative, etc.).

3 Word Class

Shiiba has seven major word classes. **The nominal** is the only word class that can head a referential phrase, or a noun phrase (NP), functioning as an argument or as a predicate nominal. It comprises nouns, pronouns and numerals. **The nominal adjective** lacks the referential (argument) function but may serve as a predicate optionally with a copula just like nominals. **The verbal** inflects and only functions as the predicate of a clause. It divides into **the verb** (§5) and **the verbal adjective** (§6.1), based on finer-grained behavioral differences they exhibit (§6.1). **Particles** occur phrase- or clause-finally, marking various grammatical categories associated with their structural host, e.g. case for argument phrases, modality for predicate phrases, conjunctive relations in dependent clause, etc. **Interjections** exclusively function as utterances on their own, but they may be embedded in another clause with the quotative particle *=te*. Exclamatives (e.g. *aa* 'Oh'), addressives (e.g. *oi* 'Hey') and onomatopoeia (e.g. *sikusiku* 'describing the sound/state of someone crying') belong to this class. **Adnominals** function as the modifier of an NP with no particular dependency marking. **The adverb** is negatively defined as a word which does not exhibit any of the features noted above. It may function as an adjunct which modifies any element other than the head noun of an NP (a predicate, a whole sentence, an adverb itself, etc.).

4 Nominals

4.1 *Pronouns*

The class of pronouns consists of personal pronouns, reflective pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. The last two will be taken up with other demonstrative and interrogative words in §11.3.

Personal pronouns (Table 10.3) and reflexive pronouns (sg. *menme-∅* vs. pl. *menme-domo*) obligatorily indicate number (singular vs. plural). There is no dedicated pronoun for third-person reference, for which demonstrative pro-

TABLE 10.3   Personal pronouns

	1st person		2nd person	
	Neutral	Honorific		Pejorative
SG	ore-∅	ware-∅	wasama-∅/kon(a)ta-∅	waga-∅/unu-∅
PL	ore-domo	ware-domo	wasama-domo/kon(a)ta-domo	waga-domo/unu-domo

nouns are used instead (see §11.3). The second-person pronouns have various forms depending on the speaker's stance/relative social rank toward the addressee.

4.2   *Lexical Nouns*

There is a subset of lexical nouns which can be used as terms of address, e.g. proper names (e.g. *Hanako* 'Hanako'), kinship terms for elders (e.g. *tontyan* 'father', etc.) and social role names (e.g. *sensee* 'teacher'). They constitute a special subclass, the address noun, which is the only class of lexical nouns for which number marking is obligatory like pronouns.

The same plural suffix *-domo* is used for lexical nouns as well as for pronouns, as in *taroo-domo* (Taro-PL), *togi-domo* (friend-PL), etc. No morphological distinction is made between additive and associative plurals. Plural marking is restricted to humans and a limited set of animals which are socio-culturally salient in Shiiba (e.g. pets like *inu* 'dog', hunting targets like *kantyoo* 'deer', etc.). The suffix *-domo* may also indicate exemplification, as in *on-domo* (1-EXM) 'Someone like me', *tontyan-domo* (father-EXM) 'Someone like dad', *sumoo-domo* (Sumo-EXM 'Sumo wrestling and suchlike'), and so on (Niinaga 2020), in which case the suffix may attach to inanimate nouns as illustrated here. A noun root may be prefixed by the softener *o-*, as in *o-mizu* (SFN-water) 'water', *o-maturi* (SFN-festival) 'festival', etc., which functions to soften the tone of speech.

4.3   *Numerals*

A numeral word comprises the numeral root and the classifier suffix. The classifier suffix varies depending on the kind (animacy, shape, usage, etc.) of referent(s) for which numeral quantification is applied (e.g. *-tari* vs. *-tu* in Table 10.4). The classifier for counting humans comprises two sets, *-tari* (native; conservative) and *-nin* (Sino-Japanese), though numbers above 4 are counted with the *-nin* set.[5]

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5   The classifier *-tari* crucially lacks '3', and this irregular pattern is found across Japanese

TABLE 10.4　Numeral roots and classifier suffixes: some examples

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Human 1	hi-tori	hu-tari		yot-tari					
Human 2			san-nin	yo-nin	go-nin	roku-nin	nana-nin	hati-nin	kyuu-nin
General	ittyoo	hutatu	mit-tu	yot-tu	itu-tu	mut-tu	nana-tu	yat-tu	kokono-tu

5　Verb Morphology

5.1　*Stem Class*
Inflectional details differ depending on the class of the verb-stem to which inflection applies. Three major classes are identified, C-final stem, V-final stem and R-final stem (Table 10.5).[6]

TABLE 10.5　Stem class

	C-final	**R-final**	**V-final**
Example	tor- 'take'	miR- 'look.at'	hutE- 'throw.away'
Non-past	toru (tor-[ru])	miru (mi-[ru])	huturu (hutE-[ru])
Past	totta (tor-[ta])	mita (mi-[ta])	huteta (hutE-[ta])
Negative non-past		min (mi-[n])	huten (hutE-[n])
	toran (tor-a-[n])	miran (mir-a-[n])	
Imperative	tore (tor-[e])	mire (mir-[e])	hutyee (hutE-[i])

A C-final stem carries an inflectional suffix either directly or via a thematic vowel (e.g. /-a/ in the negative non-past inflection of *tor-*). Thus, there is a distinction between **thematic** and **athematic** stems for C-final stems. In contrast, V-final stems are always athematic. The stem-final vowel /E/ of a V-final stem

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dialects, except for a very few dialects such as Yanagawa, where *mit-teri* 'three persons' is found (see Matsuoka, this volume).

6　Besides the three major inflectional classes, there are two special classes, the stem that designates the action of coming (COME stem) and the stem that designates the action of doing (DO stem), which exhibit irregular inflectional patterns in most Japonic varieties. The present chapter omits the inflectional patterns of these irregular stems due to limitations of space.

is either /e/ or /u/ depending on the kind of inflectional affix that follows. C-final and V-final stems carry different inflectional suffixes for the imperative inflection.

R-final stems exhibit a hybrid nature combining aspects of both C- and V-final stems. On the one hand, it aligns with V-final stems as it may appear without stem-final R in specific inflections such as the past inflection and the negative non-past inflection. In Table 10.5, the past form /mita/ would be */mitta/ if the R-final stem /miR/ ended with /r/ underlyingly (cf. the C-final stem /totta/). On the other hand, R-final stems are like C-final stems since there is the thematic and athematic distinction and it carries the same inflectional affix as C-final stems for the imperative. Note that in the negative non-past, /miR/ has two inflectional patterns, one aligning with V-final stems (*min*) and the other with C-final stems (*miran*).[7]

5.2   *Inflectional Morphology*

5.2.1   Finite Inflection

The finite-inflectional paradigms of C-final and V-final stems are illustrated in Tables 10.6 and 10.7 respectively. The underlying structure of each form is indicated to the right of the italicized surface form, and the inflectional affix is indicated by [ ].

TABLE 10.6   C-final *tor-* 'take'

		Affirmative	Negative
Indicative	**Non-past**	*toru* (tor-[ru])	*toran* (tor-a-[n])
	Past	*totta* (tor-[ta])	*toradatta* (tor-a-[datta])
Intentional		*toroo* (tor-a-[u])	*torumyaa* (tor-[rumyaa])
Imperative		*tore* (tor-[e])	*toruna* (tor-[runa])

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7   From a diachronic perspective, R-final stems are undergoing a shift from a V-final stem to a C-final stem, a phenomenon known in Japanese linguistics as '/r/-stem shift' (Miyaoka 2021), whereby formerly V-final stems like /mi-/ 'look.at', /oki-/ 'wake.up', /ne-/ 'sleep', etc., are reanalyzed as C-final stems ending in /r/ (e.g. /mir-/, /okir-/ and /ner-/). The process is not yet complete, giving rise to the situation where R-final stems align with V-final stems in some inflections while they align with C-final stems in others. For some specific word forms of R-final stem verbs, it is impossible to determine whether it instantiates a C-final or V-final inflection. The non-past form of /miR-/ in Table 10.5 is tentatively analyzed as a combination of /mi/ + /ru/, i.e. a pattern which aligns with V-final stems, even though it could also be analyzed as /mir/ + /ru/ with the deletion of /r/ as in C-final stems. The only reason for treating the non-past as /mi + ru/ is that it minimizes morphophonological alternations.

TABLE 10.7   V-final *hutE-* 'throw away'

		Affirmative	Negative
Indicative	**Non-past**	*huturu* (hutE-[ru])	*huten* (hutE-[n])
	Past	*huteta* (hutE-[ta])	*hutedatta* (hutE-[datta])
Intentional		*hutyuu* (hutE-[u])	*huturumyaa* (hutE-[rumyaa])
Imperative		*hutyee* (hutE-[i])	*huturuna* (hutE-[runa])

An R-final stem such as *miR-* 'look at' inflects as a C-final stem in some environments, specifically in the imperative (e.g. *mir-e* //miR-re//) and in cases where the C-final stem takes the /a/ thematic form, as in *mir-oo* //miR-a-u// (intentional). It inflects as a V-final stem elsewhere, as in *mi-ta* //miR-ta// (past).

5.2.2   Non-finite Inflection
Non-finite inflection is found with converbal forms, which inflect to express various adverbial or adsentential clause relations.

TABLE 10.8   C-final *tor-* 'take'

	Affirmative	Negative
Sequential	totte (tor-[te])	torazi (tor-a-[zi])
		torande (tor-a-[nde])
Conditional	toryaa (tor-[ryaa])	toranyaa (tor-a-[nyaa])
Simultaneous	torikatugoo (tor-i-[katugoo])	
Purposive	torini (tor-i-[ni])	

TABLE 10.9   V-final *hutE-* 'throw away'

	Affirmative	Negative
Sequential	hutete (hutE-[te])	hutezi (hutE-[zi])
		hutende (hutE-[nde])
Conditional	huturyaa (hutE-[ryaa])	hutenyaa (hutE-[nyaa])
Simultaneous	hutekatugoo (hutE-[katugoo])	
Purposive	huteni (hutE-[ni])	

The sequential converb heads a chained clause (of the clause chaining structure; §12) or the dependent component of a complex predicate (§9.1.1). The conditional converb heads an adverbial subordinate clause which designates the 'if/when' relation, or may end a sentence to function with imperative force (§11.1). The simultaneous converb heads an adverbial subordinate clause which designates the 'while/during' relation. The purposive converb heads an adverbial subordinate clause which designates the 'in order to' relation, always co-occurring with a directional verb such as *iku* 'go' or *kuru* 'come', etc.

The negative sequential forms *-zi* and *-nde* both head adsentential clauses (461a). They differ with respect to whether they can serve as the lexical verb component of a complex predicate (461b).[8]

(461)   a. *nan꞊mo*   {*kw-a-zi/kw-a-nde*}
             what꞊ADD {eat-THM-NEG.SEQ/eat-THM-NEG.SEQ}
             katar-i-ot-ta꞊ga
             talk-THM-HBT-PST꞊SFP
             'They would talk without eating anything' (lit. Eating nothing, they would talk.)

        b. *nan꞊mo*   {*kw-a-zi/*kw-a-nde*}
             what꞊ADD {eat-THM-NEG.SEQ/eat-THM-NEG.SEQ}
             or-u꞊ga
             PROG-NPST꞊SFP
             'They are eating nothing.'

5.3   *Derivation (Stem Extension)*

The structure of a verb stem is schematized as **Nucleus-(Causative)-(Passive/Potential)**, where the parenthesized elements are optional. See §11.4.1 for causativization, §11.4.2 for passivization and §11.5 for potential expressions. The stem nucleus minimally consists of a single verb root, as in **nak-u** (**cry**-NPST) 'cry', but may also be a compound stem, as in **nak-i-orab-u** (**cry**-THM-**scream**-NPST) 'cry out', a derived verb stem, as in **muzoo-gar-u** (**adorable**-VLZ-NPST) 'adore', etc.

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8   Most example sentences in the present chapter will be presented in a trilinear glossing format, as in (461a) and (461b), but quadrilinear glossing will be employed where necessary, especially if underlying and surface correspondences are opaque due to morphophonological fusions, as in (462).

5.4   *Existential, Stative and Copula*

There are two existential verb roots, *or-* (for animate S) and *ar-* (for inanimate S). They inflect like other C-final stems, but the inanimate existential *ar-* lacks the imperative mood form (**are*) and the entire negative series. The negative *ar-* is expressed using a suppletive form with the special negative root *na-*, hence *aru* //ar-ru// (exist-NPST) vs. *nyaa* //na-i// (not.exist-NPST). Note here that *na-* is a verbal-adjectival root. The two existential verb roots do not take derivational affixes except that the inanimate existential *ar-* may carry the progressive aspect *-or-* to designate the past habitual 'used to exist'.

The copular verb root *ꜝzyar-* inflects like other C-final verb roots, but it also has peculiarities not found in ordinary verbs (Table 10.10, where the underlying structure is parenthesized).

TABLE 10.10 The inflection of the copula

	Non-past	Past
Adnominal	*ꜝna* (ꜝna-[∅])	*ꜝnakatta*(ꜝna-[katta])
Indicative	*ꜝzya* (zyar-[∅])	*ꜝzyatta* (zyar-[ta])
Conjunctive	*ꜝzyaru* (zyar-[ru])	
Conjectural	*ꜝzyaroo* (zyar-a-[u])	

First, it occurs in a non-verbal predicate phrase which is headed by a nominal or a nominal-adjective. The adnominal inflection, which makes a verbal head an adnominal clause, is found when the copula is attached to a nominal adjective (e.g. *kiryee{ꜝna/*ꜝzya} hito* 'beautiful.ADN person'; see §6.2).[9] Second, the copula has two non-past forms, one for ending a sentence (indicative) and the other for further carrying conjunctive elements such as *ꜝkyee* 'because' (conjunctive). This distinction is neutralized in the past tense.

6   Adjectival Expressions

Shiiba has a 'split' adjectival system (Wetzer 1996), in which there are two distinct classes of adjectival roots which are coded either nominally or verbally. Verbal adjectival roots (e.g. *taka* 'high') inflect for tense and mood like verb

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9   The adnominal form can also appear in sentence-final position when it attaches to a nominal adjective such as *kireenawaano* 'beautiful' ('ꜝwaano' is sentence-final particle).

roots (e.g. *taka-katta* 'was high') and the inflected word forms are subsumed together with verbs under the major word class of verbals (§ 3). Nominal adjectival roots (e.g. *zyaazi* 'troublesome', *zaazi⸗zyat-ta* 'was troublesome') are coded nominally in that they do not inflect and may require a copula verb when serving as a predicate, even though nominal adjectives never head a referential phrase and are distinct from nominals in this regard.

6.1   *Verbal Adjectives*
Table 10.11 gives the inflectional paradigm of the verbal adjective.

TABLE 10.11 Inflection of the verbal adjective *ama-* 'sweet'

			Surface	Underlying	Meaning
Finite	**Indicative**	**Non-past**	*amyaa*	ama-i	'be sweet'
		Past	*amakatta*	ama-katta	'was/were sweet'
	Conjectural		*amakaroo*	ama-karoo	'be probably sweet'
	Exclamative		*amasa*	ama-sa	'how sweet!'
Non-finite	**Sequential**		*amoo*	ama-ku	'sweetly'
	Conditional		*amakeryaa*	ama-keryaa	'if (it is) sweet'

Whereas verbal adjectives and verbs constitute a single word class (i.e. the verbal) based on their conspicuous feature of inflection, the following three differences have led us to distinguish them within the verbal class. First, the exclamative is a special mood not found in the verbal inflection. Second, even though verbs and verbal adjectives inflect for tense, the endings for both classes differ (e.g. indicative *-ru/-ta* for verbs and *-i/-katta* for verbal adjectives). Third, while verbs inflect for polarity (e.g. *kaku* 'write' vs. *kakan* 'not write', see § 5.2.1), verbal adjectives do not. Instead, a verbal adjective is negated analytically rather than inflectionally. As illustrated in (462), in negation the sequential form of a verbal adjective is followed by the negative existential form *na-*, which is also a verbal adjective. The tense-mood distinction of the whole negative adjectival construction is indicated on the negative existential form.

(462)   *kono kwasyaa   amoo   {nyaa/nakatta}*.
        kono   kwasi⸗wa   ama-ku   {na-i/na-katta}
        this   snack⸗TOP sweet-SEQ {NEG-NPST/NEG-PST}
        'This snack {is/was} not sweet.'

6.2   *Nominal Adjectives*

Like nominals, nominal adjectives do not inflect, requiring a copula to indicate tense, mood and conjunctive relations (see §5.4). Unlike nominals, however, nominal adjectives never serve as arguments, in which regard they are like verbs and verbal adjectives. Another feature that distinguishes nominal adjectives from nominals is the inflectional pattern that the copula exhibits when attached to a nominal adjective. That is, the copula obligatorily takes the special adnominal form ⸗*na* when a nominal adjective functions as the predicate of an adnominal clause (463).

(463)   *muzoo{⸗na/*⸗zya/*⸗zyaru}*   *akago*
         lovely{⸗COP.ADN}/*⸗COP.IND/*⸗COP.CNJ} baby
         'lovely baby'

The adnominal form may additionally end a sentence, though the difference between the adnominal-final sentence and the indicative-final sentence is still unclear.

(464)   *kono akago⸗wa*
         this   baby⸗TOP
         {*muzoo⸗na⸗nee/muzoo⸗zya⸗nee*}.
         {lovely⸗COP.ADN.NPST⸗SFP/lovely⸗COP.IND-NPST⸗SFP}
         'This baby is lovely, eh?'

A small set of nominal adjective roots like *muzoo* 'cute', *tyaahen* 'hard', etc., may be coded as verbal adjectives as well, as in *muzoo-katta* (cute-PST) 'was cute' (cf. *muzoo⸗zyat-ta*).[10]

7   Class-Changing Derivations

A nominal stem may be derived from a verbal adjectival root with the suffix *-sa*, which designates the standard against which the degree of something is measured, as in *taka-sa* (high-NLZ 'height'), *kitu-sa* (painful-NLZ 'painfulness'), etc. Note that the same suffix *-sa* is integrated into the verbal-adjectival inflec-

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10   These are analyzed as nominal adjective roots underlyingly given that they occur as nominal adjectives much more frequently than as verbal adjectives and their inflectional possibilities as verbal adjectives are somewhat restricted (e.g. they do not have non-past inflection).

tion as the Exclamative mood (e.g. *takasa* 'how high (it is)!'; see § 6.1), and this mood suffix has developed from the nominalization in question. A clause is nominalized not by suffixation but through the use of formal nouns, which occur as heads of NPs that contain an adnominal clause, making the adnominal clause function as a nominalized clause (§ 8.1). A verb stem may be derived from a verbal adjective root with various suffixes such as *-gar-*, as in *tuyo-gat-ta* //tuyo-gar-ta// ([strong-VLZ]-PST 'pretended to be strong'), *-mE-*, as in *nuku-me-ta* (warm-VLZ-PST 'warmed (something)'), etc.[11] A verbal-adjective stem may be derived from a verb root with the desiderative suffix *-ta-* 'want to', as in [*mi-ta*]-*katta* ([look.at-DES]-PST 'wanted to see'). This suffix is productive and may attach to almost any kind of verb root, except for a very few stative verb roots like *tigaw-* 'differ', etc.

8   Argument Phrase

8.1   *Basic Structure*
The structure of an argument phrase is schematized as **NP** + **case**, and the NP consists of the head noun and an optional modifier which precedes it.[12] The modifier may be filled by a genitive-marked NP, an adnominal word or an adnominal clause as illustrated in the examples below, where the brackets indicate the argument phrase and the underline indicates its modifier.

(465)   a.   [***uti⹀no***   *metago⹀ga*]   *nyaa-ta.*
              our.house⹀GEN2 daughter⹀NOM1 cry-PST
              'Our daughter cried.' (modifier: genitive-marked NP)

        b.   [***kono*** *metago⹀ga*]   *nyaa-ta.*
              this   daughter⹀NOM1 cry-PST
              'This daughter cried.' (modifier: adnominal)

        c.   [***sokee***   *suwat-tor-u metago⹀ga*]   *nyaata.*
              that.place.DAT sit-CPL-NPST daughter⹀NOM1 cry-PST
              'The daughter who was sitting there cried.' (modifier: adnominal clause)

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11   The root *nuku-* is a verbal-adjective root rather than a verb root.

12   See § 9.2 for the structure of predicate nominals where an NP is followed by the copula verb.

The head noun may be any nominal (§ 4). There is a special de-lexicalized nominal, or a formal noun, which always requires a modifier, either phrasal or clausal. The following examples illustrate two major formal nouns in Shiiba, *koto* 'fact' and *≠to* 'fact, thing; person'. The modifier of the formal noun in each example is indicated by square brackets. Note that *≠to* may function like a referential noun (467a, 467b) or like a complementizer (467c) depending on its meaning.

(466) The formal noun *koto* 'person; thing; fact'
   a. [*otooto≠no*]   *koto≠oba ojaa   kii-ta.*
      [younger.brother≠GEN2] fact≠ACC parent.DAT hear-PST
      '(I) heard the news [about his younger brother] from his parent.'

   b. [*otooto≠ga   bjooki≠i   nat-ta*]   *koto≠oba*
      [younger.brother≠NOM1 disease≠DAT become-PST] fact≠ACC
      ojaa   kii-ta.
      parent.DAT hear-PST
      '(I) heard from his parent that [his younger brother came down with illness].'

(467) The formal noun *≠to* 'person; thing; fact'
   a. [*agyan*]≠*to≠ga   *taore-tara   dare≠ga*
      like.that.ADN≠FMN≠NOM1 collapse-COND who≠NOM1
      mi-ru≠tyuu≠ga.
      care.for-NPST≠HS≠SFP
      'If a person [like that] collapses, who would care?'

   b. [*kusa kosag-u*]≠*to≠ba   *mot-te   ki-te   kure-i.*
      grass mow-NPST≠FMN≠ACC carry-SEQ ENDO-SEQ BEN-IMP
      'Why not bring something [with which (one can) mow grass]?'

   c. [*mesi tukut-ta*]≠*to≠no   gotar-u.*
      meal make-PST≠FMN≠NOM2 seem-NPST
      'It seems that (he) made meal.'

The adnominal clause structure consisting of an adnominal clause + formal noun as we noted above is a typical source structure for a predicate particle to develop. Compare (467b, 467c), which demonstrate an argument usage of the formal noun *≠to*, with (468) below, where the same morpheme now functions as a particle attaching to a main clause, expressing an information-structural function of assertion.

(468) *mago⸗ni*   *hon⸗ba*   *yuu-de*   *yat-ta⸗to⸗wai.*
        grandchild⸗DAT book⸗ACC   read-SEQ   BEN-PST⸗FMN⸗SFP
        '(I) read a book for my grandchild.'

8.2   *Case*

The full list of cases in Shiiba is given in Table 10.12. The nominative case is marked using ⸗*ga* (for referents higher in animacy) and ⸗*no* (for referents lower in animacy; §11.2.2). The nominative marks both the sole argument of an intransitive clause (S) and the agent-like argument of a transitive clause (A), but it may also be used for the stimulus argument of an experiencer construction as well (§11.2.5). The accusative case marks the patient-like argument (P) of a transitive clause. It has three forms, ⸗*ba*, ⸗*oba* and ⸗*o*. See §11.2.3 for differential P marking. See §11.2.1 for the alignment system of Shiiba. If A/S/P are topic-marked, the nominative/accusative case is replaced by the topic marker ⸗*wa* (§11.7).

The genitive is also marked using ⸗*ga* and ⸗*no*. However, unlike the nominative, the genitive strongly opts for ⸗*no* whatever the animacy of the possessor is, and it is thus considered as a default choice. The use of ⸗*ga* is limited to nominals at the highest end of the Animacy Hierarchy, especially the first person singular pronoun *ore*. The use of ⸗*ga* is also restricted with regard to the semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessum: ⸗*ga* is used when the possessive relation is not simple ownership but a body-part relation, as in *ore⸗ga agi* (1SG⸗GEN1 chin) 'my chin', or affiliation, as in *ore⸗ga⸗e* (1SG⸗GEN1⸗home) 'my house/my family', *ore⸗ga mago* (1SG⸗GEN1 grandchild) 'my grandchild', *ore⸗ga togi* (1SG⸗GEN1 friend) 'my friend', etc. Thus, the genitive ⸗*ga* is restricted to inalienable possession.

The dative case marks various core-like arguments, or what we call extended core arguments (E), which are not considered syntactic core arguments (A/S/P) but are still essential in the argument structure of the verb, contributing to its semantic valence. In a ditransitive clause, the recipient/goal is E, and in valency-changing operations (causative and passive) the original A/S becomes E (see §11.4.1 and §11.4.2 for valency-changing).

The locative case marks the location of an event as opposed to the location of existence, the latter of which is marked by the dative. The comitative case marks both an associate 'with' and a coordinant within an NP 'and'. The ablative case marks source 'from' and the passive agent, the latter of which is alternatively marked with dative case (see §11.4.2 for passivization). The limitative case marks spatio-temporal or psychological limit. It may be attached to a clause as a limiter particle (§10), in which case it designates excess 'even'. The comparative case marks the object of comparison 'than'.

TABLE 10.12 Cases in Shiiba

Case	Function	Example	Translation
Nominative: =ga/no	S/A	{kodomo}=ga nakioru.	{A child} is crying.
Genitive: =ga/no	NP modifier	araa {ore=ga} dosi=tai.	That's {my} friend.
Accusative: =o/oba/ba	P	{yoki=o} toge.	Sharpen {the axe}.
Dative: =ni	Recipient	{magee} kwasi yatta.	(I) gave snacks {to my grandchild}
	Passive agent	{otootyee} utareta.	(I) got hit {by my younger brother}.
	Goal	{byooin=ni} ita.	(I) went {to hospital}.
	Existential location	{byooin=ni} oru.	(I) am {at hospital}.
	Stimulus	{kaminarii} ozyee.	(I) am scared {of the thunder}.
Locative: =de	Event location	{yakuba=de} mattoru.	(He) is waiting {at the village hall}.
	Means	{tobase=de} io turu.	(We) catch fish {with lures}.
Comitative: =to	Associate	{syuuto'oya=to} kenka=sita.	(I) argued {with my father-in-law}.
	Coordinant	{musuko=to} metago.	{my son and} my daughter
Ablative: =kara	Source	{honkawa=kara} wakare-toru.	(The stream) splits {from the main river}.
	Passive agent	{mugiyara=kara} sasyaata.	(I) got stung {by Mugiyara bees}.
Limitative: =made	Limit	{yama=no toppen=made} ikoo.	Let's go {to the top of the mountain}.
Comparative: =yori(ka)	Object of comparison	{kinyuu=yorika} samii.	It's colder {than yesterday}, huh?

9 Predicate Phrase

9.1 *Verbal Predicate*

9.1.1 Coverb Construction

A verbal predicate may contain a single verb root or may consist of two verb roots, forming a coverb construction (Table 10.13). From the perspective of wordhood, a coverb construction may be a one-word construction or phrasal. From the perspective of function, a coverb construction may be symmetrical (with two lexical roots) or asymmetrical (with a lexical root and a grammatical root).

TABLE 10.13 Coverb constructions

	Symmetrical	**Asymmetrical**
One-word	Lexical compound	Syntactic compound
Phrasal	Serial Verb Construction	Auxiliary Verb Construction

(469)　a. *akago=no*　　[*nak-i-orab-u*]　　　　*koe.*
　　　　　baby=NOM2　cry-THM-scream-NPST　voice
　　　　　'the sound of a baby [crying out]' (Lexical compound)

　　　　b. *akago=no*　　[*nak-i-tuduku-ru*]　　*koe.*
　　　　　baby=NOM2　cry-THM-keep-NPST　voice
　　　　　'(I) the sound of a baby [keeping crying]' (Syntactic compound)

　　　　c. *io=oba*　　[*yaa-te*　　*kuta*]=*wai.*
　　　　　fish=ACC　[grill-SEQ　eat-PST]=SFP
　　　　　'(I) [grilled and ate] fish.' (Serial Verb Construction)

　　　　d. *io=oba*　　[*yaa-te*　　*kure-n*]=*no?*
　　　　　fish=ACC　[grill-SEQ　BEN-NEG.NPST]=Q
　　　　　'Why not [grill fish for me]?' (Auxiliary Verb Construction)

In both lexical and syntactic compounds, the first stem is /i/ thematic if it is C-final (e.g. /naki/ in *nakiorabu* in (469a)). A lexical compound differs from a syntactic compound in the functional asymmetry of the two stems in the compound structure: in a lexical compound, both stems are lexical, while in the syntactic compounds the second stem functions as a grammatical marker and is thus called a grammatical as opposed to lexical stem (e.g. /tudukE/ as a durative aspectual marker in (469b)). The two stems in a lexical compound form a single lexical item and thus a single stem nucleus, to which derivational affixes may attach (e.g. *nak-i-orab-ase-ta* (cry-scream-CAUS-PST) 'made (someone) cry out').[13] Syntactic compound structure and root-affix structure may often be ambiguous due to grammaticalization processes where the syntactic compound structure is a typical source structure for an affix to develop. See §11.6.2 for grammaticalization of aspect marking and §11.5 for grammaticalization of potential marking.

Like the distinction between lexical and syntactic compounds, the difference between the Serial Verb Construction (SVC) and the Auxiliary Verb Construction (AVC) is that the two words in a SVC are lexical verbs while the second word in an AVC is an auxiliary. A SVC is a lexicalized pair of verbs like *yaate*

13　The two stems in the syntactic compound each constitute a single stem nucleus, so it is possible to attach a derivational affix to the first (*ayum-ase-tuduke-ta*: walk-CAUS-keep-PST 'kept making (someone) walk'), the second (*ayumi-tuduke-sase-ta*: walk-keep-CAUS-PST 'made (someone) keep walking'), or both (ayum-ase-tuduke-sase-ta (walk-CAUS-keep-CAUS-PST) 'made (someone1) keep making (someone2) walk').

kuu 'grill and eat', *sariite kaeru* 'return by foot', etc., in which the two verbs share their arguments. The AVC is used for aspectual (see §11.6.2), directional (e.g. (472)), modal (e.g. *yaate simoota* 'grilled against my intention'), benefactive (e.g. (469d)), and many more constructions which are not covered in this chapter.

9.1.2 Infinitival Phrase Construction

The /i/ thematic stem form of a C-final verb (§5.1) and the bare form (athematic form) of a V-final verb may function like a word, occurring as the complement of a number of complex predicate structures, even though they are uninflected. This exceptional, uninflected verb form is called the infinitive form, and the complex predicates in which the infinitive form occurs as a complement are called infinitival phrase constructions, illustrated in (470).

(470)   a. *oyano   yuu   kotaa   [kikyaa   sen].*
           oya⸗no   iw-ru   koto⸗wa   [kik-i⸗wa   se-n]
           parent⸗GEN2 say-NPST   thing⸗TOP   [hear-THM⸗TOP   LV-NEG.NPST]
           '(Children) [never listen to] what their parents say.' (Light Verb Construction)

        b. *utino   konyaa   sono honwa   [yomyaa*
           uti⸗no   ko⸗ni⸗wa   sono hon⸗wa   [yom-i⸗wa
           our.home⸗GEN2 child⸗DAT⸗TOP that book⸗TOP   [read-THM⸗TOP
           en].
           yE-n]
           POT-NEG.NPST]
           'Our child [cannot read] that book.' (Potential; see §11.5)

9.2 *Non-verbal Predicate*

Nominal and nominal-adjectival predicates require a copular verb to indicate polarity, tense, mood, etc., except in the affirmative non-past indicative, in which case the copula may be absent even though a sentence-final particle is still present, as in *taroo⸗wa [ore⸗ga togi]⸗wai* (Taro⸗TOP 1SG⸗GEN1 friend⸗SFP) 'Taro is [my friend]', where the bracketed nominal predicate is directly followed by the sentence-final particle ⸗*wai* (assertive). As mentioned in §6.2, the copula takes the adnominal form if a nominal-adjectival predicate modifies a noun.

10   Particles

Particles are enclitics which attach to an argument phrase, a predicate phrase, or an entire clause as their syntactic hosts. Their phonological hosts vary depending on which kind of word comes phrase- or clause-finally.

Limiter particles have quantifier-like functions, designating exemplification ⸗*toka* 'and so on', addition ⸗*mo* 'also', excess ⸗*made* 'even', exclusion ⸗*nozyoo* 'only', etc. Conjunctive particles (§12) designate various clause-combining relations, such as ⸗*naryaa* (conditional), ⸗*kedo* (adversative: 'though'), ⸗*kyee* (causal; 'because'), etc. Modal-evidential particles designate evidential and epistemic modalities (§11.6.3), such as ⸗*huu* (inferential; Kato 2017), ⸗*tyuu* (hearsay), ⸗*dooka* (dubitative; 'I wonder'), ⸗*gotaru* (similative; 'seems like'), etc. Sentence-final particles designate various discourse-oriented meanings such as ⸗*wai* (assertion), ⸗*bai/bao* (polite assertion), ⸗*kai/kao* (question), ⸗*ka* (self-question), etc.

11   The Simple Sentence

11.1   *Question and Command*
Questions are encoded by intonation and/or a question particle, with no word-order alternation. Yes–No questions tend to carry a rising intonation contour whereas WH questions tend to carry a level or falling intonation contour. There are two major question particles, ⸗*ka* and ⸗*ja*, which are used for both WH questions and Yes–No questions. The particle ⸗*ka* may also designate self-question. The sequences of particles ⸗*ka⸗i* and ⸗*ka⸗o* unambiguously designate a question as opposed to a self-question. ⸗*ka⸗o* is more polite than ⸗*ka⸗i*. In WH questions, the interrogative word (§11.3) simply replaces the phrase to be questioned.

Commands are encoded by the imperative inflection (e.g. *kee* //ko-i// (come-IMP) 'You come') or de-subordinated conditional expressions, as in *ko-nyaa* (come-NEG.COND) and *ki-ta⸗naryaa* (come-PST⸗COND) 'If you could come, please'.

11.2   *Alignment and Non-canonical Case-Marking*
11.2.1   Alignment
Shiiba has a nominative-accusative alignment system where S/A is marked by the nominative case marker ⸗*ga/⸗no* and P is marked by the accusative case marker ⸗*ba*, ⸗*oba* or ⸗*o*. The differential marking of A/S and P is discussed in the following sections. In a ditransitive sentence, E (goal/recipient as an extended core argument) is marked with the dative case ⸗*ni*, and this holds true for a ditranstive sentence derived by causativization (see §11.4.1 for causativization).

(471)   a. *tontyan꞊ga   modot-te   ki-ta.*
            father꞊NOM1 return-SEQ ENDO-PST
            'My father came back.' (Intransitive)

         b. *tontyan꞊ga   kantyoo꞊oba utikoryeeta.*
            father꞊NOM1 deer꞊ACC   shoot.to.death-PST
            'My father shot the deer to death.' (Transitive)

         c. *tontyan꞊ga   ore꞊ni   hon꞊ba   kure-ta.*
            father꞊NOM1 1SG꞊DAT book꞊ACC give-PST
            'My father gave me a book.' (Ditransitive)

11.2.2   Differential Subject Marking
The choice of the two nominative markers is determined by two factors: animacy and transitivity. With respect to animacy, A/S at the higher end of the Animacy Hierarchy opts for ꞊*ga* (472a), while A/S at the lower end opts for ꞊*no* (472b). A/S at the middle of the hierarchy, especially human and domesticated animal nouns, may be marked either way (472c).

(472)   a. *tontyan꞊ga modot-te   ki-ta.*
            father꞊NOM1 return-SEQ ENDO-PST
            'My father came back.' (Animate human)

         b. *basu꞊no   modot-te   ki-ta.*
            bus꞊NOM2 return-SEQ ENDO-PST
            'The bus came back.' (Inanimate)

         c. *inu{꞊ga/꞊no}   modot-te   ki-ta.*
            dog{꞊NOM1/꞊NOM2} return-SEQ ENDO-PST
            'The dog came back.' (Animate non-human)

With respect to transitivity, A is more prone to take ꞊*ga* than S when the animacy of the NP in question is identical. Compare (472c) and (473), both of which have an animate non-human noun.

(473)   *inu꞊ga   tyoo꞊o   uu-te   tob-i-agat-ta.*
         dog꞊NOM1 butterfly꞊ACC chase-SEQ jump-THM-rise-PST
         'The dog chased the butterfly and jumped.' (A: animate non-human)

11.2.3   Differential Object Marking

While non-topic S/A are almost obligatorily case-marked, non-topic P may often be left unmarked. It is still unclear what determines the choice of the three accusative markers (*=ba*, *=oba* and *=o*). With regard to the choice between overt marking vs. zero marking of P, two factors play a crucial role: animacy and adjacency of P and V.

With respect to animacy, it is not the *absolute* animacy of P (i.e. the animacy of P itself), but the *relative* animacy of A and P, which affects overt vs. zero marking of P. As illustrated in (474a), zero marking is most common when the animacy of A is higher than that of P (A > P), which is a prototypical transitive situation with A having more control over P. The double parentheses in (474a) indicate that zero marking is more common than overt marking. By contrast, overt marking is obligatory if the animacy of P outranks that of A (A < P) (474b), a less likely transitive situation. Overt marking of P is varied among speakers when the animacy of A and P is equal (A = P) (474c).

(474)   a. *kodomo=ga   kantyoo((=oba))   mi-tor-u.*
              child=NOM1 deer((=ACC))   look.at-CPL-NPST
              'The child is looking at a deer.' (A: animate human > P: animate non-human)

         b. *kantyoo=ga kodomo=oba mi-tor-u.*
              deer=NOM1   child=ACC   look.at-CPL-NPST
              'The deer is looking at a child.' (A: animate non-human < P: animate human)

         c. *sensee=ga   kodomo(=oba) mi-tor-u.*
              teacher=NOM1   child(=ACC)   look.at-CPL-NPST
              'The teacher is looking at a child.' (A: animate human = P: animate human)

The adjacency of P to the verb is another important factor involved in determining overt vs. zero P marking. That is, whereas overt P marking is optional if P is adjacent to the verb with which it occurs, it is almost obligatory if P is removed from the verb-adjacent position. Thus, if the A argument and the P argument in (474a) is transposed to get a PAV order, then overt P marking becomes obligatory (i.e. *kodomo=ga **kantyoo((=oba))** mitoru → **kantyoo=oba** kodomo=ga mitoru*).

11.2.4 Double Subject Construction

In the Double Subject Construction (DSC), the predicate being either adjectival (verbal-adjectival or nominal-adjectival) or nominal, takes two nominative arguments, what we call the outer subject and inner subject, with the outer subject being topic-marked.

(475) a. *oraa   zu⸗no   ityaa.*
           1SG.TOP head⸗NOM2 hurt.NPST
           'I have a headache.' (lit. 'As for me, (my) head aches.') (verbal adjective)

       b. *araa   otooto⸗ga   oodoo⸗zyat-ta.*
           3SG.TOP younger.brother⸗NOM1 cheeky⸗COP-PST
           'As for him, (his) younger brother was cheeky.' (nominal adjective)

       c. *oraa   oya⸗ga   byooki⸗zyat-ta.*
           1SEQ.TOP parent⸗NOM1 disease⸗COP-PST
           'My parents were ill.' (lit. 'As for me, (my) parents had disease.') (nominal)

The two arguments of the DSC are in a possessive-possessum relationship. DSC is thus a kind of possessor-raising construction whereby the possessor of an NP is raised to the sentential topic.

11.2.5 Transitive Adjectival Construction

Shiiba has a transitive adjectival construction where the adjectival predicate (either a verbal or nominal adjective) takes the experiencer and stimulus (476a, 476b). The two arguments are canonically nominative-marked as in the DSC (§11.2.4), but the two arguments in transitive adjectival constructions are not in a possessive-possessum relationship but are independently required by the predicate. A few predicates like *ozyee* 'be scared', *sukan* 'dislike', *kitii* 'be distressed', which commonly depict a stimulus causing a negative feeling in the experiencer, may trigger non-canonical dative marking on the part of the stimulus (see Matsuoka et al. 2019 for details).

(476) a. *oraa   hanako⸗ga   suki⸗wai.*
           1SG.TOP Hanako⸗NOM1 like⸗SFP
           'I like Hanako.'

   b. *oraa*   *hanako{≠ga/≠ni}*   *ozyee≠wai.*
     1SG.TOP Hanako{≠NOM1/≠DAT} fear.NPST≠SFP
     'I fear Hanako.'

11.3   *Demonstrative and Interrogative Words*

Demonstratives and interrogatives crosscut several word classes. As is shown in Table 10.14, substantive demonstratives (e.g. *kore≠ga umyaa* '**this** is tasty'), directional demonstratives (***atti≠i ike*** 'go in **that direction**') and locational demonstratives (***koko≠kara yuudanaryaa*** 'Why not call from **here**') belong to the nominal (§4), while referential demonstratives (e.g. ***kono hito*** '**this** person') belong to the adnominal, and exemplificational demonstratives (e.g. *oya≠ga sogyaa yuutotta* 'my parents said **like that**') are adverbs. A demonstrative word is made up of a demonstrative root and a specifier suffix. The demonstrative root indicates the deictic distinction, which is a three-way distinction (proximate, mesial, and distal) and the specifier suffix specifies what type of deictic reference the word designates (e.g. *-re* for referring to a thing or person (substantive), *-ko* for referring to a place (locational), etc.).[14]

Interrogative words constitute a functional as well as morphological system with demonstrative words, sharing the specifier suffix and word class affiliations. Besides the interrogative words listed in Table 10.14, there are four other interrogative words which are not morphologically associated with demonstratives, *nani* 'what', *ikutu* 'how many', *itu* 'when', *nansite* 'why' (< *nani* 'what' + *site* 'do:SEQ').

TABLE 10.14 Demonstrative and interrogative words

	Substantive	Directional	Locational	Referential	Exemplificational
		Nominal		**Adnominal**	**Adverbial**
Proximate	*ko-re*	*ko-tti*	*ko-ko*	*ko-no*	*ko-gyaa*
Mesial	*so-re*	*so-tti*	*so-ko*	*so-no*	*so-gyaa*
Distal	*a-re*	*a-tti*	*a-kko*	*a-no*	*a-gyaa*
Interrogative	*do-re* (*which*)	*do-tti*	*do-ko*	*do-no*	*do-gyaa*
	da-re (*who*)				

14   The mesial and distal forms are also employed in the anaphoric reference whereby the distal forms seem to refer to what the locutors commonly know and the mesial forms seem to refer to what either of the locutors know. However, the present authors have not conducted detailed research on this topic and much remains for future research.

11.4   *Valency Changing*

11.4.1   Causative

The causative suffix *-sase-* introduces a new participant, the causer, which is coded as A, making the whole sentence transitive (477a) or ditransitive (477b). The original S/A, which is now the causee, is marked with dative case *≠ni* as an E argument (§8.2).

(477)   a. *ziroo≠ga   taroo≠ni   oyog-ase-ta.*
              Jiro≠NOM1(Causer) Taro≠DAT(Causee) swim-CAUS-PST
              'Jiro made Taro swim.' (Causative: transitive)

        b. *ziroo≠ga   taroo≠ni   tubo≠oba waraseta.*
              Jiro≠NOM1(Causer) Taro≠DAT(Causee) pot≠ACC   break-CAUS-PST
              'Jiro made Taro break the pot.' (Causative: ditransitive)

The same construction is used for both what is called the 'make' causative and the 'let' causative. In (477a), for example, one can add an adverb like *muriyari* 'against his will' (make-causative) or *sukinasiko* 'as much as he wants' (let-causative) without any morphosyntactic change.

11.4.2   Passive

The passive-potential suffix *-rarE-* is used for passivization and for encoding potential expressions (see §11.5 for potentials). The suffix derives a V-final stem, with the underspecified /E/ being /e/ or /u/. In passivization, the suffix backgrounds the agent, demoting it to an E argument (§8.2) marked with dative case *≠ni* or ablative case *≠kara*, while it promotes the original P to S. The demoted agent may often be left unstated.

(478)   *ziroo≠no tubo≠no   taroo{≠ni/≠kara} war-are-ta.*
        Jiro≠GEN2 pot≠NOM2 Taro{≠DAT/≠ABL} break-PASS-PST
        'Jiro's pot was broken by Taro.'

Shiiba has another passive construction where the possessor of the original P is raised to S (479) (cf. (478)). (479) is intransitive in the sense that the nominative argument (*ziroo*) is not the agent of the action denoted by the verb *war-* 'break', but the possessor of the patient (*tubo* 'pot'), who is affected by the event of Taro breaking his pot. The agent is now demoted and dative-marked. It is unclear whether it can also be marked by ablative *≠kara* as in the case of the direct passive (478).

(479)   *ziroo⸗ga   taroo⸗ni   tubo⸗oba   war-are-ta.*
        Jiro⸗NOM1 Taro⸗DAT pot⸗ACC break-PASS-PST
        'Jiro had his pot broken by Taro.' (Possessor passive)

11.5   *Potential*

Potentiality is encoded with the passive-potential suffix *-rarE-* (see §11.4.2 for passivization) or with the morpheme *yE-* (where E is either /e/ or /u/ as in the case of a V-final stem; see §5.1) which is undergoing a grammaticalization process, exhibiting both root-like and suffix-like features in the synchronic system.

The suffix *-rarE-* designates 'situation-driven' potentiality, construing the event as possible (in the affirmative) or impossible (in the negative) with the possibility being ascribed to external conditions as opposed to individuals' capability. (480a) states that the book in question is unreadable not because of a lack of literacy on the part of a certain individual but because, for example, it has been torn into pieces. Situation-driven potentiality contrasts with 'ability-driven potentiality' (480b), where another potential morpheme *yE-* 'be able to/be capable of' is used instead.

(480)   a. *kono   hon⸗wa   {yom-aru-ru/yom-are-n}.*
           this⸗GEN2 book⸗TOP {read-POT-NPST/read-POT-NEG.NPST}
           'This book {is/is not} readable.' (Situation-driven potentiality)

        b. *taroonyaa   kono honwa   yomyaa   en.*
           taroo⸗ni⸗wa   kono hon⸗wa   yom-i⸗wa   yE-n
           Taro⸗DAT⸗TOP this   book⸗TOP read-THM⸗TOP POT-NEG.NPST
           'Taro is incapable of reading this book.' (Ability-driven potentiality)

A situation-driven potential sentence with *-rarE* is intransitive with a theme S (e.g. 'this book' in (480a)), and with no agency of individuals being involved. By contrast, an ability-driven potential sentence with *yE* is transitive with a dative experiencer (*taroo* in (480b)) and a nominative theme (*hon* in (480b), which is topic-marked).

The potential morpheme *yE* 'be able to/be capable of' occurs in three constructions which instantiate three different stages of the grammaticalization pathway from a root to an affix. First, it occurs as an independent word in the infinitival-phrase construction (480b; see §9.1.2), where the infinitival word and the potential word constitute a phrase. Second, it may also occur in a syntactic compound (481a), where the potential morpheme serves as a grammatical stem of a single verb. Third, it may occur as a suffix (481b). The suffixal form is always *-yu,* requiring the inflection to be the affirmative non-past. Note

that the first two constructions are used for negative forms while the last one is used for the affirmative. That is, two different structures are used for the negative (infinitival phrase construction or syntactic compound) and the affirmative (suffixal).

(481) a. *taroonyaa   kono honwa   yomien.*
          taroo⸗ni⸗wa   kono hon⸗wa   yom-i-yE-n
          Taro⸗DAT⸗TOP this   book⸗TOP read-THM-POT-NEG.NPST
          'Taro is incapable of reading this book.' (Syntactic compounding)

       b. *taroonyaa   kono honwa   yomyuru.*
          taroo⸗ni⸗wa   kono hon⸗wa   yom-yE-ru
          Taro⸗DAT⸗TOP this   book⸗TOP read-POT-NPST
          'Taro is capable of reading this book.' (Suffixal)

11.6 *Tense, Aspect and Modality*

11.6.1 Tense

Tense opposition is between past and non-past. The non-past tense covers present reference (e.g. *tigau* (tigaw-[ru]) 'be different'), atemporal statements (e.g. *higemusi⸗ni sasareta⸗naryaa te⸗no **tadaruru*** (tadar{e/u-[ru]) 'If you get bitten by a caterpillar, your hand **gets inflamed**.'), and future reference (e.g. *tegami⸗wa ato⸗de **yomu*** (yom-[ru]) '(I) **will read** the letter later.').

11.6.2 Aspect

The major aspectual opposition is between the perfective and the imperfective. The perfective aspect, which construes the situation as an independent whole, is coded simply using a tense-marked finite verb or by the sequential converbal form (482). The imperfective aspects construe the situation as having its internal structure, focusing on its inceptive, durative and completive phases with the former two coded with a syntactic compound with the progressive root *or-* and the last one with the completive suffix *-tor-*.[15]

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15 The morphological asymmetry between the completive (suffix) and the progressive (root) is understood in terms of the differing degrees of grammaticalization they have undergone. The completive *-tor-* comes from AVC *-te* (sequential converb) + *or-* (existential root) while the progressive *or-* comes from the grammatical root of a syntactic compound. The completive has lost its phrasal character with the fusion of the former *-te* and *or-*, while the progressive still retains an important root-like feature whereby it occurs after a thematic stem (*nak-i-or-u* in (483c)). From a functional point of view, however, the completive and the progressive constitute a pair of aspectual markers.

(482)　*imooto=ga*　　　　　*kimono=oba* **aroo-te**　**hwee-ta.**
　　　　younger.sister=NOM1　clothes=ACC　wash-SEQ　dry-PST
　　　　'My younger sister **washed** the clothes and **dried** them.' (Perfective)

The progressive *or-* construes the situation as being in a durative phase, i.e.
a phase in which the event is ongoing (483a). In the cases of change-of-state
verbs (achievement and accomplishment verbs), the durative phase means the
event has not yet exceeded the point of change-of-state, gradually or abruptly
approaching the end point (483b). In the past tense, the progressive may desig-
nate habituality, which can be analyzed as an unbounded (ongoing) repetition
of a certain event (483c).

(483)　a. *musi=no*　　　*nak-i-or-u.*
　　　　　insect=NOM2　make.noise-PROG-NPST
　　　　　'There's an insect making noise.'

　　　　b. *musi=no*　　　*sin-i-or-u.*
　　　　　insect=NOM2　die-THM-PROG-NPST
　　　　　'There's an insect dying.'

　　　　c. *mukasyaa*　　　*koko-hen=wa*　　　　　*musi=no*
　　　　　in.old.days.TOP　this.place-around=TOP　insect-NOM2
　　　　　nak-i-ot-ta.
　　　　　make.noise-PROG-PST
　　　　　'In the past, insects used to make noise around here.'

The completive *-tor-* construes the situation as having exceeded the point of
change of state described by the verb and having entered a stable, resulting
phase (i.e. a perfect phase). If applied to achievement verbs, it always desig-
nates a phase after the end point of the change-of-state (484a), giving rise to a
clear aspectual contrast between the progressive and the completive (compare
(483a) and (484a)). If applied to accomplishment verbs, it may designate either
perfect or durative, as illustrated in (484b). This is due to the fact that accom-
plishment verbs refer to both a beginning point and an end point, and the
completive may construe the situation as having exceeded either the beginning
point (in which case the situation is construed as having entered the durative
phase) or the end point (in which case the situation is construed as having
entered the perfect phase). In the case of activity verbs (484c), which refer to
only a beginning point but lack an end point, the completive designates the
durative phase of the event.

(484)   a. *musi⹁no   sin-dor-u.*
          insect⹁NOM2 die-CPL-NPST
          'There's an insect dead.'

   b. {*mada/moo*}   *mi-tor-u*
          {still/already} watch-CPL-NPST
          '(someone) is still watching (durative phase)/has already watched
          (perfect phase).'

   c. *musi⹁no   nyaa-tor-u.*
          insect⹁NOM2 make.noise-CPL-NPST
          'There's an insect making noise.'

11.6.3   Modality

Modalities are expressed by inflection (mood), modal particles or by complex predicates. The moods are the indicative, intentional and imperative. The intentional mood covers both speaker's intention (e.g. *ore⹁ga toroo* 'I'll take') and locutors' intention (e.g. (*tyende*) *toroo⹁ya* 'let's take (together)'). Conditional converbal inflection designates a deontic-modal meaning, as in *tor-a-nyaa* (take-THM-NEG.COND) '(you) need to take' (lit. 'if (you) don't take').

As mentioned in §10, the present authors have identified the following modal particles: *⹁huu* (inferential; Kato 2017), *⹁tyuu* (hearsay), *⹁gotaru* (similative; 'seems like'), *⹁doo* (conjectural). We have not collected enough data to describe the function of each morpheme, though it is possible to state at this stage that all of these forms pertain to epistemic as opposed to deontic modality. The bulk of deontic modalities are expressed through mood inflection (intentional, imperative) and various kinds of complex predication (485b).

(485)   a. *hito⹁no   nak-i-or-u{⹁huu/⹁tyuu}⹁wai.*
          person⹁NOM2 cry-THM-PROG-NPST{⹁INFR/⹁HS}⹁SFP
          '(I heard that) there's a man crying.' (⹁tyuu: hearsay)
          '(I have certain evidence (e.g. sound) that) there's a man crying.'
          (⹁huu: inferential)

   b. *kore* [*kat-ta⹁ga   ee*]⹁*ga.*
          this buy-PST⹁NOM1 good.NPST⹁SFP
          'It's better for you to buy this.' (Deontic: suggestion)

11.7   *Information Structure Marking*

There is no dedicated morphological focus marker in Shiiba. A major way of marking a focus is a cleft construction (as in (486)), where the nominalized clause with a formal noun ⸗*to* serves as the information-structural background and the rest serves as the focus (which is underlined).

(486)   *nakyee   iruttowa   kayakuzyaroo.*
        naka⸗ni   irE-ru⸗to⸗wa   **kayaku**⸗zyar-a-u
        inside⸗DAT   put-NPST⸗FMN:COMP⸗TOP   gunpowder⸗COP-THM-CJC
        'What (they) put inside is **gunpowder**, I guess.'

A topic is marked with the topic particle ⸗*wa*. Topic marking with ⸗*wa* in Shiiba and in most known dialects of Japanese typically occurs on a referent which is both (a) activated in discourse and (b) described in a topic-comment structure, as in (487a). However, in Shiiba ⸗*wa* may also mark a referent which only satisfies (a), as in (487b) where the referent *takusii* 'taxi' has already been introduced in discourse and activated but occurs in a presentational sentence which newly introduces a referent with no topic-comment division (Mitsui 2020). (487c) is a typical presentational sentence where neither of (a) or (b) is satisfied.

(487)   a. *takusii⸗wa sakki⸗made   kokyee   ot-ta⸗ga.*
           taxi⸗TOP   a.while.ago⸗LMT this.place.DAT exist-PST⸗SFP
           'The taxi was here a while ago, wasn't it?'

        b. *takusii{⸗no/⸗wa}   ki-ta.*
           taxi{⸗NOM2/⸗TOP} come-PST
           'There's the taxi coming.' (The speaker and the addressee have been waiting for a taxi, and the speaker sees the taxi coming.)

        c. *takusii{⸗no/*⸗wa}   ki-ta.*
           taxi{⸗NOM2/*⸗TOP} come-PST
           'There's a taxi coming.' (The speaker and the addressee did not expect to see a taxi coming.)

12   The Complex Sentence

Three major clause-combining strategies are distinguished: coordination, subordination and clause-chaining. In coordination, two finite clauses are con-

nected by the conjunctive particle attached to the first clause, with no embedding relationship between the two clauses (488a). In subordination, a finite or non-finite clause is embedded within a main, finite clause (488b).

(488)   a. [*kyuu⹀ni   ki-i-ta⹀kyee*]   *hit-tamagat-ta⹀wai.*
           [sudden⹀DAT hear-THM-PST⹀CSL] ITS-get.surprised-PST
           '[(I) heard (it) suddenly, so] (I) was astonished.' (Causal coordination)

        b. [*nak-i-katugoo*] *kotowake yuu-ta.*
           [cry-THM-SIM]   excuse   say-PST
           '(He) said excuses [while crying].' (Adverbial subordination)

Subordination may be adverbial subordination which is headed by a converb (488b), adnominal subordination which is headed by the indicative form of a verb (see (466b) in §8.1) or the adnominal form of a copula in the case of a nominal-adjectival clause ((463) in §6.2), and quotative subordination where the quotative particle ⹀*tte* embeds any utterance as the complement of speech verbs like *yuu* 'say' (see (489) of the sample text). Complementation takes the form of the adnominal clause structure where the head is a formal noun (see §8.1).

A third clause-combining strategy, which does not involve embedding (like coordination) but connects non-finite clauses (like subordination), is called clause-chaining, which is the bulk of Shiiba discourse. A clause-chain consists of a series of converbal clauses which terminate with a finite clause. For example, in the sample text, (489)–(491) constitutes a single clause chain. The sample text consists of this and other clause chains.

Appendix: Sample Text

The following text is an excerpt from a long interview with a male speaker born in 1960. Recorded on May 17, 2015, the text is about an important local ritual called '*zigatame*'. It is a kind of narrative (as opposed to conversation) in that it is a series of explanations and comments to questions raised by the researcher (see (492) of the text).

(489) *omatsurino   nakagorone   zigatamette*
       o-matsuri‿no   naka-koro‿ne   zi-katame‿tte
       SFN-festival‿GEN2 middle-time‿SFP   ground-harden.nmlz‿QUOT
       yuutekara
       iw-te‿kara
       say-SEQ‿ABL
       'So, in the middle of the festival there is an event we call 'ground-hardening','

(490) *sono guuzito   wakini   yottarigurai*
       sono guuzi‿to   waki‿ni   yot-tari-kurai
       FIL chief.priest‿COM   side‿DAT   four-CLF:human1-around.that
       otte
       or-te
       exist-SEQ
       'where about four chief (Shinto) priests gather;'

(491) *sosite gosyoogondorute   yuute   ano omikio*
       sosite gosyoogondono‿tte   iw-te   ano omiki‿o
       then   local.deity‿QUOT   say-SEQ   FIL sacred.sake‿ACC
       sorewa   ano amazakenandesuyo
       sore‿wa   ano ama-sake‿na‿no‿des-ru‿yo
       it‿TOP   FIL sweet-sake‿COP‿FMN:NMLZ‿COP.POL-NPST‿SFP
       soreo konna   taruni   tukutte   sosite
       sore‿o konna   taru‿ni   tukur-te   sosite
       it‿ACC like.this.ADN barrel‿DAT make-SEQ   then
       agetaarunoo
       age-te‿ar-ru‿no‿o
       offer-SEQ‿RSL-NPST‿FMN:NMLZ‿ACC
       mannakani suete   yarundesuyo
       mannaka‿ni sue-te   yar-ru‿no‿des-ru‿yo
       center‿DAT set-SEQ   BEN-NPST‿FMN:NMLZ‿COP.POL-NPST‿SFP
       '(They) make sacred *sake* to Goshoogondono (a local deity), which is sweet *sake* put in a barrel in front of the god, and would set it in the middle for the ceremony.'

(492) (Researcher): Do you all drink the sweet *sake* together?

(493) *iya sosite sono moraitega*   *dete*   *kuru*
       iya sosite sono moraw-i-te⹁ga   de-te   ku-ru
       no then   FIL get-THM-NMLZ⹁NOM1 appear-SEQ ENDO-NPST
       wakenandesu
       wake⹁na⹁no⹁des-ru
       reason⹁COP⹁NMLZ⹁COP.POL-NPST
       'No. There's a specific recipient coming forward (to get the *sake*).'

(494) *daredemo iddesuyo*   *kono*
       dare⹁demo i-i⹁to⹁des-ru⹁yo   kono
       who⹁even good-NPST⹁FMN:NMLZ⹁COP.POL-NPST⹁SFP this
       kotoba   *tukoteyo*
       kotoba   tukaw-te⹁yo
       expression   use-SEQ⹁SFP
       'Anybody is OK, as long as they recite the words I mentioned (i.e. *go-syoogondoru*).'

(495) *aa   kono murawa   itinen   hoosakude*
       aa   kono mura⹁wa   iti-nen   hoosaku⹁de
       INTJ this village⹁TOP one-CLF:year good.harvest⹁COP.SEQ
       yokattanaatoka
       yo-katta⹁na⹁toka
       good-PST⹁SFP⹁EXM
       '(And they) would go like "It was great our village had good harvest this year",'

(496) *byookimo   sende   yokattanaatoka*
       byooki⹁mo   se-nde   yo-katta⹁na⹁toka
       illness⹁ADD LV-NEG.SEQ good-PST⹁SFP⹁EXM
       'or "It was great we didn't suffer disease",'

(497) *rainenmo   mata kotosiyora   yoka   tosini*
       rainen⹁mo   mata kotosi⹁yori⹁wa   yo-ka   tosi⹁ni
       next.year⹁ADD again this.year⹁CMPR⹁TOP good-NPST year⹁DAT
       naruyoonitoka   yuu
       nar-ru⹁yoo⹁ni⹁toka   iw-ru
       become-NPST⹁FMN:PUR⹁DAT⹁EXM say-NPST
       'or "Let us have a better year than this year";'

(498) *soo*   *yuu*   *onegaio*   *kamisamani*
       soo   iw-ru   o-negai⸗o   kamisama⸗ni
       like.that say-NPST SFN-prayer⸗ACC god⸗DAT
       suruto
       su-ru⸗to
       LV-NPST⸗FMN:NMLZ
       'They would pray like that to God.'

(499) *sosite itiban zyoozuna*   *hitoni*
       sosite itiban zyoozu⸗na   hito⸗ni
       then   most   excellent⸗COP.ADN   person⸗DAT
       daihyoode   *koo kurottoyo.*
       daihyoo⸗de   koo kuru-ru⸗to⸗yo
       representative⸗COP.SEQ FIL give-NPST⸗FMN:NMLZ⸗SFP
       'and the *sake* will be given to the most excellent person on behalf of
       the people.'

(500) *sorega   attozya,*   *gyooziga,*   *ano,*
       sore⸗ga   ar-ru⸗to⸗zyar-∅,   gyoozi⸗ga,   ano,
       it⸗NOM1 exist-NPST⸗FMN:NMLZ⸗COP-NPST ceremony⸗NOM1 FIL
       omaturin   *nakani.*
       o-maturi⸗no   naka⸗ni
       SFN-festival⸗GEN2 middle⸗DAT
       'We have this ceremony in the middle of the festival.'

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