

An Introduction to Ryukyuan Languages

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Tsuken (Okinawan)

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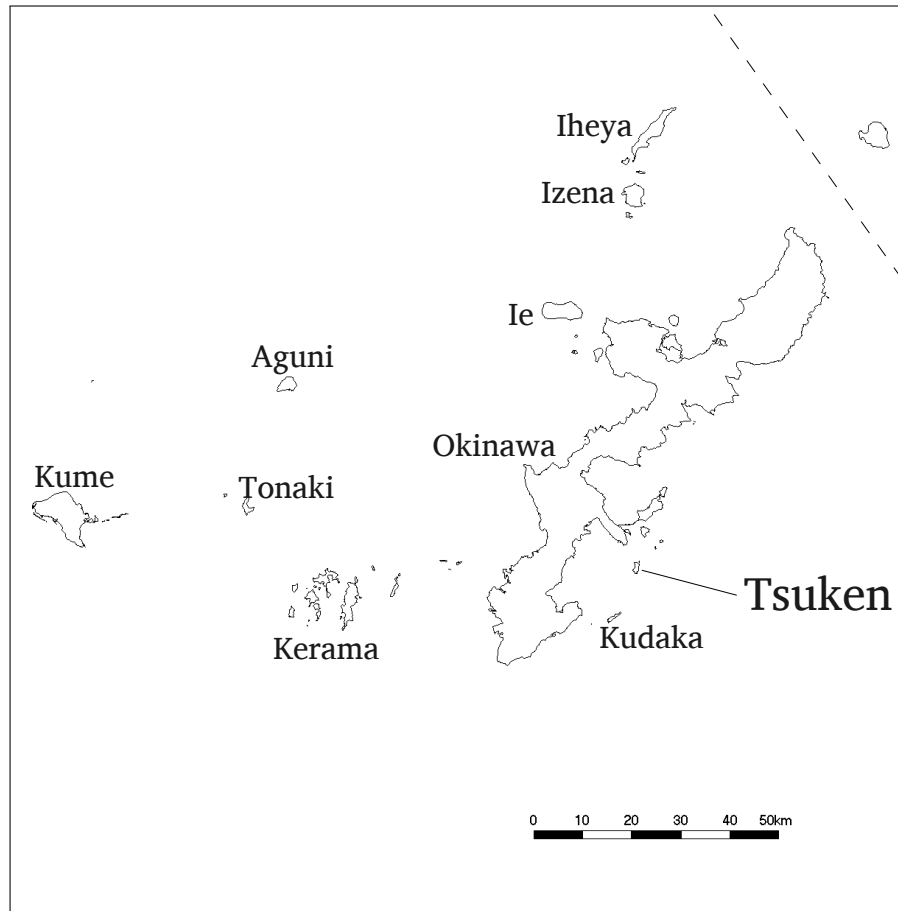


Figure 1: Okinawa Islands

Introduction

Tsuken has a remarkable case system. In particular, instruments are encoded not only by instrumental case, but also by locative case and ablative case. The choice of these case markers is based on the semantic characteristics of the noun to which the case marker is attached, or on the verb that follows the instrument NP.

1 The language and its speakers

Tsuken is spoken on the Tsuken Island, which is located approximately 5 kms south-east of the Yokatsu peninsula, in central Okinawa. The number of the local population is 557.¹ They subsist via fishing and farming, and especially on the cultivation of carrots.

Tsuken is a dialect of Okinawan, a northern Ryukyuan language. Though the Tsuken island is geographically located in central Okinawa, its dialect shares several features with northern Okinawan varieties.

The local population is decreasing, and native speakers are now restricted to those over their seventies. Speakers in their fifties and sixties are also able to speak the local dialect to some degree, even though their speech is influenced by central Okinawan and standard Japanese. The younger generations are most often passive bilinguals, and the situation is worse in generations that are even younger.

Dialectal differences are almost absent, but some speakers do report that in past times there used to be a certain dialectal difference between the inner region and the coastal region.

2 Phonology

2.1 Vowels

The inventory of vowel phonemes is listed in [table 1](#).

Table 1: Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid		e	o
Low		a	

Long vowels are phonemically treated as vowel sequences. The mid vowels generally occur only in loanwords.

2.2 Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes is listed in [table 2](#).

¹This is valid as of November, 2009.

Table 2: Consonants

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	voiceless	p	t	k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d		
Fricatives	voiceless		s		h
Affricates	voiceless		c		
	voiced		z		
Sonorants	nasal	m	n		
	flap		r		

Voice is distinctive for both stops and fricatives. The fricative /s/ is sometimes realized as an affricate [tʃ] when palatalized, in which case the opposition with the palatalized variant of the affricate /c/ is neutralized. The affricate /z/ is realized as [ʒ] or [dʒ]. The glides (and the vowels /a/ and /i/) contrast in glottalization, and this contrast is phonemically interpreted as the presence or the absence of a preceding glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/.

- (1) /ʔjaa/ [ʔja:] ‘2sg’ vs. /ʔwaa/ [ʔwa:] ‘pig’
 /jaa/ [ja:] ‘house’ vs. /waa/ [wa:] ‘1sg’

2.3 Syllable and mora

The syllable templates are as follows, with pattern (1) being the most basic.

- (1) (C)V /kusi/ ‘mouse’, /pana/ ‘flower’
 (2) (C) G V /ʔjaa/ ‘you’, /ʔwaa/ ‘pig’
 (3) nC /nmaga/ ‘grandchild’, /nni/ ‘chest’
 (4) GV /jaa/ ‘house’, /waa/ ‘I’
 (5) CCGV /kkwa/ ‘child’

In (2) the C slot is filled by a glottal stop phoneme, and the nucleus slot is mostly a long vowel as in (4). Only /kkw/ can appear in the onset slot of (5).

2.4 Tone/accents

Tsuken is considered to be an accent-less language, but there is much to be uncovered until any solid conclusions are drawn. With regard to intonation, clause-final lowering indicates various speech acts ranging from affirmative/negative, questions, and rhetorical questions. Clause-final raising is rare in Tsuken.

3 Basic clause structure and phrase structure

3.1 Basic clause Structure

The basic word order of Tsuken is SOV for transitive clauses. However, in actual speech, neither core argument is frequently unexpressed.

- (2) *wa = nu mooi = Ø mii-ga ik-un*
 1SG = NOM dance = CORE watch-CVB go-NPST
 ‘I will go watch a dance.’

Declarative clauses are exemplified in the following examples.

- (3) a. *?jaa = ga kak-u-n*
 2SG = NOM write-NPST-SF
 ‘You will write.’
 b. *taroo = ja kak-an*
 Tarō = TOP write-NEG
 ‘Tarō won’t write.’
 c. *taroo = ga kak-u = hazi*
 Tarō = NOM write-NPST = maybe
 ‘Tarō should write.’

Interrogative clauses carry a sentence-final question marker.

- (4) *?jaa = ga kak-u = mi*
 2SG = NOM write-NPST = Q
 ‘Will you write?’

Imperative clauses have a special verb form inflected for imperative mood, which may be further followed by a special particle.

- (5) a. *miici = nka wakir-i*
 three = LOC1 divide-IMP
 ‘Divide it into three.’
 b. *?jaa = ga kak-i = be !*
 2SG = NOM write-IMP = DSC
 ‘Write!’

The intentional inflection is used for the predicate of persuasive clauses.

- (6) *manna kak-a*
 together write-INT
 ‘Let’s write together.’

Exclamatory clauses often have a stative verb as their predicate.

- (7) *uri saa anci usu-ha-ru !*
 this tea so.much thin-VLZ-NPST
 ‘This tea is really thin!’

Complex clause structures are exemplified as follows:

- Adverbial clause

- (8) a. *ruu = n kwa-nsaa = n kam-an = kutu wattaa = ni*
 herself = FOC child-PL = FOC eat-NEG = because us = DAT
muta-u-ru = baajo
 give-CAUS-NPST = DSC
 ‘Because neither she nor the children ate it, she gave it to us.’
- b. *?jaa = ga jaa = nka u-uri-ba wa = nu*
 2SG = NOM house = LOC1 COP-PROG-CVB.CND 1SG = NOM
suuw-a = ja
 go-INT = DSC
 ‘If you are home, I will go.’

- Adnominal clause

- (9) *anci takaaru = mun kooi-ru cu = nu uu = mi ?*
 so.much expensive = things buy-NPST man = NOM COP = Q
 ‘Are there people who would buy such an expensive thing?’

- Nominal clause

- (10) a. *?jaa = ga iih-Ø-jee² jukucimuni ja = ha*
 2SG = NOM say-NLZ = TOP lie COP = DSC
 ‘What you say is a lie.’
- b. *taroo = ga hwuuru = kutu icin wa-sa-ru kutu = bika*
 Tarō = NOM do = thing always bad-VLZ-NPST thing = only
 ‘What Tarō does is always bad.’

4 Word classes

Four major word classes can be identified on the basis of their morphosyntactic properties.

²This forms is the result of a phonological change *ih-i = ja* → *iihjee*.

4.1 Nominal

The nominal is an uninflected word form which may carry a case marker or other role markers such as topic and focus markers. Nominals are sub-classified into common nouns, proper nouns, pronouns, interrogatives, and numerals.

- (11) a. *niisan = ga ka-sa-n*
 elder.brother = NOM write-PST-SF
 ‘My elder brother wrote it.’
- b. *isiku = nu tuzi*
 cousin = GEN wife
 ‘The cousin’s wife’
- c. *taa = ga sa = ga ?*
 who = NOM do = Q
 ‘Who does?’
- d. *hwusika = ni ikkwai = ja kusa kat-aku = munaa*
 two.days = DAT once = TOP green.vegetables eat-HBT = DSC
 ‘I eat green vegetables once every two days.’

4.2 Verb

The verb is an inflected word, and it can be inflected for medial verb form and imperative mood. The verb may also carry tense markers and aspect markers.

- (12) a. *nmunijanaabi = nka nis-i nmu ka-tu-ta-n = roo*
 pan = LOC1 boil-MED potato eat-PROG-PST-SF = DSC
 ‘I boiled potatoes with a pan and ate them.’
- b. *miici = nka waki-ri*
 three = LOC1 divide-IMP
 ‘Divide it into three.’
- c. *sake kumikoozi = kara suku-ta-n = ro*
 liquor yeast = ABL make-PST-SF = DSC
 ‘Liquor was made from yeast.’
- d. *wattaa cuu = nu nama sika-tu-n = ro*
 our man = NOM now use-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘Someone in our family is using it now.’

The so-called “adjective” is a subtype of verb: the property concept root is transformed into a verb stem by the suffixation of *-ha*.³

³This has two variants, *-sa* and *-wa*, depending on the preceding phoneme.

- (13) a. *uri saa suu-ha-n = roohja*
 this tea thin-VLZ-SF = DSC
 ‘This tea is thin.’
- b. *tuunaa = tu uri = tu ii-ti maa-hat-ta-n*
 tuna = ASC this = ASC put-CVB delicious-VLZ-PST-SF
 ‘Tuna and this were mixed, and it was good.’

4.3 Interjection

Interjections are uninflected words which cannot carry a case marker, and are thus distinguished from nominals. Interjections do not modify other words, but rather they are independent utterances themselves.

- (14) a. *?akkee aminaka = kara acc-i kis-i !*
 oh in.the.rain = ABL walk-MED come-MED
 ‘Oh dear, you have walked in the rain!’
- b. *?i ?i jaa = nka un = roo*
 yes yes house = LOC1 COP = DSC
 ‘Yes, I’m home.’

4.4 Adverb

Words other than those discussed above are collectively called adverbs. This catch-all category includes predicate modifiers such as *zikoo* ‘very’, *manna* ‘together’ or *picji* ~ *piccjii* ‘frequently’, and onomatopoeic words such as *pisjupisju* ‘swish-swash’.

5 Basic morphology

5.1 Morphological typology

5.1.1 Derivational morphology

Word-class changing derivation by affixation includes verb-to-noun derivation.

- (15) a. *hontoo ka-jaa*
 main.island visit-NLZ
 ‘island visiting’
- b. *kwaa mu-jaa*
 child nurse-NLZ
 ‘baby-sitting’

5.1.2 Compounding

There are compound nouns and compound verbs. Compound nouns are formed by connecting two noun roots or by connecting a property concept root and a noun root.

- Noun root + Noun root

- (16) a. *inagu + sooree*
 woman + brother
 'sister'
- b. *tida + mii*
 sun + inside
 'in the sunlight'

- Property concept root + Noun root

- (17) *naga + ami*
 long + rain
 'long rain'

A compound verb is formed by connecting a property concept root and a verb root or by connecting a noun root and a verb root.

- Property concept root + Verb root

- (18) a. *isunaa + sun*
 busy + do
 'be busy'
- b. *mikegee + sun*
 hateful + do
 'to hate'

The above type of compound is used when the speaker talks about a third person or about himself from an objective point of view.

- Noun root + Verb root

- (19) a. *tempura + sun*
 tempura + do
 'make tempura'
- b. *joosaiten + sun*
 tailor + do
 'to tailor'

In this type of compound, the verb root denotes the action related to the concept denoted by the noun root.

5.1.3 Reduplicated form

The reduplicated form is a full reduplication of a property concept root followed by a suffix *-tu*. A reduplicated form functions adverbially.

- (20) *sabi + sabi-tu sun*
 lonely + lonely-AVLZ do
 ‘It seems to be lonely.’

5.2 Basic nominal morphology

Nominals are not inflected and have only derivational morphology. Nominal derivational affixes include the diminutive and plural suffixes.

5.2.1 Diminutive

The diminutive affix is attached to various kinds of noun stems without respect to animacy. Moreover, it may attach to a stem that designates direction and location, with the meaning of ‘somewhere around’.

- (21) a. *nkazi-gwaa*
 centipede-DIM
 ‘centipede’
 b. *kusui-gwaa*
 medicine-DIM
 ‘medicine’
 c. *waabi-gwa*
 above-DIM
 ‘around above’

5.2.2 Plural

The plural suffixes are *-taa* and *-nsa*. In addition to the expected plural meaning, these suffixes also express the location at which the referent is situated.

- (22) a. *paapa-taa*
 grandmother-PL
 ‘grandmothers’
 b. *kwa-nsaa*
 child-PL
 ‘children’
 c. *sensee-taa = si ik-u-n*
 teacher-PL = ALL go-NPST-SF
 ‘(She) will go to the teacher’s house.’

5.3 Basic verbal morphology

Tsuken verbs fall into three major classes in terms of inflectional morphology.

- Regular verbs 1: *akkun* ‘walk’, *kamun* ‘eat’, *numun* ‘drink’, etc.
- Regular verbs 2: *urin* ‘go down’, *utin* ‘fall’, *kiin* ‘kick’, etc.
- Irregular verbs: *sun* ‘come’, *sun* ‘do’, etc.

Table 3: Finite inflection

		Affirmative		Negative		Example <i>jum</i> ‘read’	
Indicative	non-past	<i>-un</i>	<i>-an-Ø</i>	<i>jum-un</i> ‘read’	<i>jum-an-Ø</i> ‘don’t read’		
	past	<i>-an</i>	<i>-an-tan</i>	<i>jud-an</i> ‘read’	<i>jum-an-tan</i> ‘didn’t read’		
Intentional		<i>-a</i>		<i>jum-a</i> ‘will read’			
Imperative		<i>-i</i>	<i>-una</i>	<i>jum-i</i> ‘read’	<i>jum-una</i> ‘don’t read’		

Regular verbs 1 and 2 are easily distinguished by the formation of negatives: *-an* for Regular verb 1, and *-ran* for Regular verb 2. Thus we have Regular verb 1 forms like *jum-an*, ‘don’t read’, *num-an*, ‘don’t drink’, and *kam-an*, ‘don’t listen’, whereas we have Regular verb 2 forms like *uri-ran*, ‘don’t go down’, *uti-ran*, ‘don’t fall’, and *siti-ran*, ‘don’t throw (it) away’.

6 Argument marking

6.1 Case Marking

As listed in table 4, there are thirteen case forms, including one zero case form. There are two homophonous case forms, allative = *si* and instrumental = *si*, but they have different historical origins. The nominative and the genitive are formally syncretized.

Nominative (NOM)

- (23) a. *waa = ga uui-ne ama = ru oo-ta = mun*
 1SG = NOM COP-CVB there = FOC COP-PST = DSC
 ‘When I was on the island, she was there.’ (S)
- b. *wattaa cuu = nu nama sika-tu-n = ro*
 our man = NOM now use-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘Someone in my family is using (the ladder) now.’ (A)

Table 4: Case forms and their functions

Name	Form	Function (case)
Nominative	= <i>ga/ = nu</i>	S/A
Genitive	= <i>ga/ = nu</i>	NP modifier
Dative	= <i>ni</i>	beneficiary, comparative, time, frequency standard
Allative	= <i>si</i>	direction, result of change (forced change), listing (ending marker)
Locative 1	= <i>nka</i>	static action, reaching, point of movement, result of change, instrument
Locative 2	= <i>nzi</i>	active action
Locative 3	= <i>uti</i>	active action
Instrumental	= <i>si</i>	instrument
Associative	= <i>tu</i>	associated motion, result of change (equivalent value), listing (equivalent value), comparative
Comparative	= <i>juka</i>	comparative ('than')
Ablative	= <i>kara</i>	source, instrument (movement), static action (movement), listing (beginning marker)
Limitative	= <i>mari</i>	limit ('as far as')
Core argument	= \emptyset	S/A/O

Genitive (GEN)

- (24) *hanako = ga kkwa*
 Hanako = GEN child
 'Hanako's child' (NP modifier)

Dative (DAT)

- (25) a. *hanako = ni aziki-tu-ru = baate*
 Hanako = DAT leave-PROG-NPST = DSC
 'I will leave (a gift) to Hanako.' (beneficiary)
- b. *jaami inagun uja = ni nisu = gajaa*
 2SG woman parent = DAT look.like = DSC
 'You look like your mother.' (comparative)
- c. *zuuhaci = ni kkwaa nasu-n = ro*
 eighteen = DAT child have.a.baby-SF = DSC
 'I gave birth to my child when I was 18 years old.' (time)
- d. *hwusika = ni ikkwai = ja kusa kat-aku = munaa*
 two.days = DAT once = EMP green.vegetable eat-HBT = DSC
 'I eat green vegetables once every two days.' (frequency standard)

Allative (ALL)

- (26) a. *?aba umi = si iku-n = ci ii-ta = munaga*
 oh sea = ALL go-SF = HS say-PST = DSC
 ‘Oh? Didn’t he say he went to the sea?’ (direction)
- b. *en = si kirikae-ta-kutu ihwi ra-ta-n = ro*
 yen = ALL change-PST-because a.few COP-PST-SF = DSC
 ‘I changed it to yen from dollars, which means that I got less in return.’
- c. *sanee = kara junion = kara seikjoo = si iku-i = ga unu*
 San’ei = ABL Union = ABL Seikyō = ALL go-CVB = but this
mise = nakante muru urikire jan = baajo
 shops = AMBG all sellout COP = DSC
 ‘I went to San’ei, Union, and Seikyō, but in these shops, all the bean-jam buns were sold out.’ (equalis (ending marker))

Locative 1 (LOC1)

- (27) a. *?i ?i jaa = nka un = roo*
 yes yes house = LOC1 COP = DSC
 ‘Yes, yes, I’ll be home.’ (static action)
- b. *puni = nu suba = nka utsui-bin = roo*
 ship = GEN corner = LOC1 put.on-POL = DSC
 ‘Luggage is put on the corner of the ship.’ (reaching point of movement)
- c. *miici = nka waki-ri*
 three = LOC1 divide-IMP
 ‘Divide it into three.’ (result of change)
- d. *jakwan = (n)ka sizir-an = ga*
 kettle = LOC1 infuse-NEG = Q
 ‘Infuse it with the kettle.’ (instrument)

Locative 2 (LOC2)

- (28) *uma sanee = nzi isa-ta-n = ba ?*
 here san’ei = LOC2 meet-PST-SF = Q
 ‘Did you meet him in a San’ei here?’ (active action)

Locative 3 (LOC3)

- (29) *anci kazipuki = ni puka = uti asibu-ru cuu = nu uu = mi ?*
 so.much typhoon = DAT outside = LOC3 play-NPST man = NOM COP = Q
 ‘Is there a person who plays outside during the typhoon?’
 (= Nobody plays outside at the typhoon.) (active action)

Instrumental (INST)

- (30) *zookin = si isur-i = be*
 dust-cloth = INST wipe-IMP = DSC
 ‘Wipe it with a dust-cloth.’ (instrument)

Associative (ASC)

- (31) a. *rusinsaa = tu manna iku-n = tsun*
 friends = ASC together go-SF = HS
 ‘(Hanako) will go with a friend.’ (associated motion)
- b. *uri-satsuu gohjakuen taaci = tu keeti-turahan = ga ?*
 this = bill five.hundred.yen two = ASC exchange-POL = Q
 ‘Would you exchange this one thousand yen bill for two five hundred yen coins?’ (result of change: equivalent value)
- c. *coonan = tu zinan = tu rokunan = tu ukinaa*
 eldest.son = ASC second.son = ASC sixth.son = ASC Okinawa
 ‘The eldest son, the second son, and the sixth son are in Okinawa.’
 (listing: equivalent value)
- d. *paapa-taa = tu kawa-tu-i = gate*
 grandmother-PL = ASC different-PROG-CVB = DSC
 ‘My dialect is different from that of my old grandmothers.’ (comparative)

Comparative (CMP)

- (32) *wan = juka tiicee siizaa = ra-ru*
 1SG = CMP one older = COP-NPST
 ‘She is one year older than me.’ (comparative: ‘than’)

Ablative (ABL)

- (33) a. *arakaa = kara mizi kuru-kuu = be*
 Araka = ABL water draw-come:IMP = DSC
 ‘Get water from Araka’ (name of a well) (source)

- b. *kuruma = kara si-sa-n = na ?*
 car = ABL come-PST-SF = Q
 ‘Did you come by car?’ (instrument: movement)
- c. *tidamii = kara acc-aku = mi ?*
 sunlight = ABL walk-PROG = Q
 ‘Are you walking in the sunlight?’ (static action: movement)
- d. *sanee = kara junion = kara seikjoo = si iku-i = ga*
 San’ei = ABL Union = ABL Seikyō = ALL go-CVB = but
unu = mise = nakante muru urikire = ja-n = baajo
 DEM = shops-AMBG all sellout = COP-SF = DSC
 ‘I went to San’ei, Union, and Seikyō but in these shops, all the bean-jam buns were sold out.’ (equalis: beginning marker)

Limitative (LIM)

- (34) *jozi = mari asiri-kisu-n = roo*
 four = LMT play-come-NPST = DSC
 ‘She has played until four o’clock.’ (limit: ‘as far as’)

Core (CORE)

- (35) a. *koohii = ∅ mucuku-ba simu-ta = muja anca*
 coffee = CORE bring-CVB.CND be.good-PST = DSC DSC
 ‘I should have brought some coffee, shouldn’t I?’
- b. *sooree = ∅ uu = gutujo inagu-sooree*
 relative = CORE COP = DSC female-relative
 ‘There is a female relative.’

6.2 Information structure marking

Focus is marked by the focus clitic =*ru*. This may co-occur with a range of case-marked NPs (e.g. *maa = si* ‘to where’), but whether this is also true for the associative =*tu* and the comparative =*juka* can’t be confirmed.

- (36) a. *wattaa niinii-taa = ga = ru kam-un*
 our son-PL = NOM = FOC eat-NPST
 ‘My son eats.’
- b. *maa = si = ga muta-ti-nzj-uru wakar-an = baajo*
 where = ALL = FOC take-CVB-go-NPST know-NEG = DSC
 ‘He doesn’t understand where it is taken to.’

Topic is marked by the topic clitic =*ja*.

- (37) a. *hanako-ja taroo = ni pumi-raru-ta-n*
 Hanako-TOP Tarō = DAT praise-PASS-PST-SF
 ‘Hanako was praised by Tarō.’

7 Predicate categories

7.1 Negation

Negation is made by suffixation of *-an* or *-ran* (see §5.3) to the verb stem. When the stative verb is negated, the negative verb *neen* or its reduced form *nen* is used.

i. Negation of ordinary verbs

- (38) *isaasi suku-i-ta = gaja wakar-an = ja*
 how make-CVB-PST = DSC know-NEG = DSC
 ‘He doesn’t know how it was made, does he?’

ii. Negation of stative verbs

- (39) a. *nbu-ku ne-e = mun*
 heavy-AVLZ NEG-NEG = DSC
 ‘It is not heavy.’
 b. *ure maa-ku n-an*
 this delicious-AVLZ NEG-NEG
 ‘This is not good.’

7.2 Tense, aspect, and mood

7.2.1 Tense

Tense is indicated by verb inflection, with past and non-past formally distinguished. The form of the non-past affix differs depending on the conjugation class: *-un* for Regular verbs 1, and *-in* for Regular verbs 2.

- (40) a. *wattaa niinii-taa = ga = ru kam-un*
 our son-PL = NOM = FOC eat-NPST
 ‘Our son will eat.’
 b. *nama ka-ta-n*
 now eat-PST-SF
 ‘I just ate.’

7.2.2 Mood and modality

Mood is expressed by finite inflection, whereas non-grammaticalized modalities are expressed by various post-predicate clitics such as =*hazi*, ‘maybe, will’, and =*ba* (assertive, which has two variants =*baa* and =*baate*), etc. The clitic =*ba* has functions related to emphasis and confirmation. An additional rising intonation contour indicates question and confirmation.

- (41) a. *sanzuu ama-tu-taru = hazi*
 30.years exceed-PROG-PST = maybe
 ‘She’s probably over thirty years old.’
- b. *nigatsu hwutsuka = ni ja-ta-n = baa*
 February two = DAT COP-PST-SF = DSC
 ‘I did it on February 2nd.’

7.2.3 Aspect

Three major aspectual expressions are identified, as shown in [table 5](#).

Table 5: Aspect

	non-past	past
Completive	<i>kakun</i> ‘write’	<i>kasan</i> ‘wrote’
Progressive	<i>kakinzjan</i> ‘is writing’	<i>kakutan</i> ‘was writing’
Resultative	<i>kakatun</i> ‘have been written’	<i>kakatutan</i> ‘had been written’

Progressive aspect (non-past) is marked by the affixes *-nzjan* and *-tun*. The suffix *-nzjan* attaches to atelic verb stems, as in *acci-nzjan*, ‘is walking’, *jumi-nzjan*, ‘is reading’, and *kaki-nzjan*, ‘is writing’. On the other hand, the suffix *-tun* attaches to telic verb stems, as in *kuma-tun*, ‘be in trouble.’, *aziki-tun*, ‘is depositing’, and *kasi-tun*, ‘is lending’.

7.3 Voice

There are three major voices that contrast to active voice: passive, causative, and potential. These are expressed by the verbal affixes *-raru*, *-hwun* ~ *-un*, and *-run* respectively.

Active

- (42) *taroo = ga hanako pumii-ta-n*
 Tarō = NOM Hanako praise-PST-SF
 ‘Tarō praised Hanako.’

Passive (-raru)

- (43) *hanako-ja taroo = ni pumi-raru-ta-n*
 Hanako-TOP Tarō = DAT praise-PASS-PST-SF
 ‘Hanako was praised by Tarō.’

Causative (-hwun)

- (44) a. *hanakoo = ni kama-hwu-n*
 Hanako = DAT eat-CAUS-SF
 ‘I will make Hanako eat.’
 b. *asa hanakoo = ni muta-u = wa*
 tomorrow Hanako = DAT bring-CAUS = DSC
 ‘I will make Hanako bring (it) tomorrow.’

Potential (-run)

- (45) *nboku-na-an-gutu muta-run*
 heavy-NEG-NEG-because have-POSS
 ‘Because it isn’t heavy, I can hold it.’

Sample text: the Pear story

- (T.1) *ikiga = nu uhwucu = ru ja-ra-hazi = ro ure*
 man = GEN adult = EMP COP-CVB-maybe = DSC DEM
 ‘This person might be an adult man.’
- (T.2) *naa tusui = ga ja-ra mata wak-a-arū⁴ cu = ga ja-ra*
 DSC old = NOM COP-CVB DSC young-VLZ-NPST man = NOM COP-CVB
wakar-an-i = ga ma anu ikiga jai-ga kii = nu ii = si
 know-NEG-CVB = but FIL FIL man COP-CVB tree = GEN above = ALL
nubuj-aaku-n = baajo
 climb-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘I don’t know whether he’s old or young, but he is climbing the tree.’
- (T.3) *unru hasigo = kara uma = nka ure kii = nu mii tui-ga*
 FIL ladder = ABL here = LOC1 DEM tree = GEN fruit take-CVB
ja-ra-hazi = ro
 COP-CVB-maybe = DSC
 ‘(He climbs) the ladder, he might take the fruits.’
- (T.4) *uma = nka rippa-nu unu pasi uri kii = nu mii = ja mata*
 here = LOC1 properly-AVLZ DSC FIL DEM tree = GEN fruit = TOP DSC
kagu = nka ii-ne sugu muta-r-an = gutu
 basket = LOC1 put.in-CVB easy lift-POSS-NEG = because
 ‘When he puts the fruits in the basket, he cannot lift it easily, so...’
- (T.5) *caanto uma = nka anu tui-sinre ii-ti*
 properly here = LOC1 DSC take-CVB put.in-CVB
 ‘He puts them in the basket as soon as he takes them.’
- (T.6) *anci uri-ti kis-i mata miici = nu kago usukat-tu = je*
 and get.down-CVB come-MED DSC three = GEN basket put-PROG = DSC
 ‘And (he) goes down, and three baskets are put below, aren’t they?’
- (T.7) *uri = nka buru*
 this = LOC1 all
 ‘(He) puts everything in these (baskets).’
- (T.8) *taaci = ja ippai-si mata nanci naan tiici = nu mun mata*
 two = TOP full-do DSC FIL more one = GEN thing DSC
 ‘Two are full, another is...’
- (T.9) *nugara uma = nka mae jodarekake hankaci-gwa su-i = ga*
 DSC here = LOC1 FIL bib handkerchief-DIM do-NLZ = NOM
uri-n mata tu-ti-ti su-i-ga hi-nzjan = baajo
 this-FOC DSC take-CVB-go:IMP do-CVB-CVB do-PROG = DSC

⁴*waka-ha-arū* → *wak-a-arū*.

‘There is something like a handkerchief in that place, and he’s taking that.’

- (T.10) *anci uma = si mata naahwin mata nan cici aru-sa*
and here = ALL DSC more DSC more one COP = DSC
‘Another is here, isn’t it?’
- (T.11) *uri tui-ga = ci mata nubu-ti-nzja = gutu*
DIM take-CVB = HS DSC climb-CVB-go:IMP = DSC
‘(He) climbed again to take that.’
- (T.12) *uma = nka na mata nugara piizaa-neesuru cu tuuj-aaku-n = baajo*
here = ALL DSC DSC DSC goat-AMBG man pass-PROG-SF = DSC
‘Something looking like a goat and a person are passing.’
- (T.13) *uri cu-nsa = ja nu-n tu-ra = na tuurisugi-ti*
this man-AMBG = TOP what-FOC take-CVB = NEG pass-CVB
ikj-aaku-n = baate
go-PROG-SF = DSC
‘This person passes without taking anything’
- (T.14) *ancuiga mata boosi kan-ti*
but DSC hat wear-CVB
‘But (he) wears a hat...’
- (T.15) *naa ure naa ikuci ne-iru warabi = ga = ru wakar-an-i = ga*
DSC he DSC how.old become-PROG child = Q = EMP know-NEG-CVB = but
‘(I) don’t know how old this child is.’
- (T.16) *sugu naa ari zitsensja nu-ti-kis-i boosi kan-ti*
DSC DSC DSC bicycle ride-CVB-PROG-MED hat wear-CVB
‘(He) is riding a bicycle and is wearing the hat.’
- (T.17) *sakutu uri mun-ci naa uri-cu mii-mi-si i-nka*
and DIM watch-HS DSC this-man watch-watch-do above = ALL
nubu-tu-ru cu mii-mi-su-u-ti
climb-PROG-NPST man watch-watch-do-PROG-CVB
‘He watches the person climbing the tree.’
- (T.18) *naa uri ga cuu = nu na nr-an-uci = ti na uri tiici kago*
DSC DSC GEN man = NOM DSC watch-NEG-CVB = HS DSC DIM one basket
zitsensja ruu = nu zitsensja = nu mee = nka nusi-ti ik-aaku-n = baajo
bicycle himself = GEN bicycle = GEN front = ALL put-CVB go-PROG-SF = DSC
‘(He) thinks the man is not watching, and (he) is putting one basket on the front of his bicycle and is leaving.’

- (T.19) *ncagutu mee = kara nuu = ga cu anu nusu-i-tu sikkakat-ti*
 and front = ABL what = Q FIL DSC ride-CVB-ASC scratch-CVB
ikkeera-su-n = baate
 spill-do-SF = DSC
 ‘What was put (on the bicycle) collided and fell.’
- (T.20) *ikkeera-sa-gutu na ruu-n ari su-i = hjeja*
 spill-do-because DSC himself-FOC DSC do-CVB = DSC
 ‘The basket overturned and he himself...’
- (T.21) *uma suu-gisanaa po pooraka-su-gutu uma = nka naa misee = nu*
 here pass-CVB FIL spill-do-because here = ALL DSC three = GEN
waraba-taa = ga kis-i
 child-PL = NOM come-MED
 ‘Because a basket was turned over when (he) came here...three children came there.’
- (T.22) *uri na tu-ti anu kasi hi-nzja-n = baaje manna iri-ti*
 this DSC take-CVB DSC support do-PROG-SF = DSC together put-CVB
 ‘They take them, and help him, they put them in the basket together.’
- (T.23) *sagutu anci ii-ta-gutu mata iki-nzja-n = baajo*
 and DSC put-PST-CVB DSC go-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘They have gone, after putting them into the basket.’
- (T.24) *cu uru waraba-taa unnen nu-n tu-te na-an = ro*
 FIL this child-PL DSC something-FOC take-CVB NEG-NEG = DSC
ki-rar-an = ro
 give-PASS-NEG = DSC
 ‘Nothing is given to these children.’
- (T.25) *uma = uti za saru uma = kara mata boosi sa-kutu boosi mucu-nzi*
 this = LOC3 FIL go.away DEM = ABL DSC hat do-CVB hat take-go
sagu
 FIL
 ‘When (he) was going to go, (they) took a hat.’
- (T.26) *kusi aizu sun = baje hwuuhwu-s-i*
 FIL signal do = DSC ONM-do-MED
 ‘(They) signal by whistling.’
- (T.27) *wanni kusibue = kara nugara wakar-an-i = ga*
 1SG whistle = ABL what know-NEG-CVB = but
 ‘I don’t know whether it is a whistle or something else.’
- (T.28) *ancagutu uma tuma-tu-n = baajo*
 and here stop-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘And (he) stops there.’

- (T.29) *anci boosi = roo = ci tura-ca-gutu⁵ unniutte mata naa anu aa*
 DSC hat = DSC = HS take-PST-because DSC DSC DSC DSC FIL
boosi = na arigatoo = ci = garana tura-i-nzja-n = baate
 hat = DSC thank.you = HS = AMBG take-CVB-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘When (they) came with the hat, (he) seemed thankful.’
- (T.30) *miici-gara mucchi-nz-i*
 three-AMBG take-PROG-MED
 ‘(He) carries out about three.’
- (T.31) *ancuru waraba-taa mata anci ari missai ari miccai ja-ta-i = je*
 DEM child-PL DSC DSC DSC three DSC three COP-PST-CVB = DSC
 ‘There were three children, weren’t there?’
- (T.32) *ciici = na = ci turac-i ki-ti-nzja-n = baajo*
 one = DSC = HS take-MED give-CVB-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘(He) was giving (them) each one.’
- (T.33) *ancisagutu naa uri naa zitsnja nunguraa = ja mata uri-ti*
 and DSC DEM DSC bicycle something = FOC DSC get.off-CVB
 ‘(He) gets off his bicycle.’
- (T.34) *a kii = nka nubu-tu-i = hjeja uri naa ippai ii-ti*
 FIL tree = ALL climb-PROG-CVB = DSC DEM DSC full put-CVB
uri-ti-kisa-gutu na-an na-tu = je
 get.down-CVB-come:IMP-CVB NEG-NEG become-PROG = DSC
 ‘When the person climbing the tree puts a lot of fruits in a basket and goes down, a basket disappears.’
- (T.35) *tooto taa = ga tu-ta = gaja = ci = jo nasu-i*
 DSC who = NOM take-PST = DSC = HS = DSC do-CVB
 ‘He wondered who had taken it.’
- (T.36) *tiic-e kagu nna-kagu ja = hjeja*
 one-TOP basket empty-basket COP = DSC
 ‘One is an empty basket, isn’t it?’
- (T.37) *uri misin = ciru mata nubu-ti-nzju-ru = ha jaiga ancisinci sagutu*
 this fill = HS DSC climb-CVB-go:IMP-NPST = DSC but DSC DSC
naa taa = ga mucc-i-nzja = gajaa = ci = jo = nu hwuuzii sun = baate
 DSC who = NOM take-CVB-go:IMP = DSC = HS = NOM atmosphere do = DSC
 ‘The person climbed the top again to fill this basket, but he seems not to know who took it.’

⁵*turasu-ta* → *tura-ca*. The verb *turasun* ‘let somebody take’ is inherently (i.e., lexically) causative.

- (T.38) *ancisagutu naa ure-e isaasi uma = nka uri nu = ci = ga*
 DSC DSC DEM-TOP how here = LOC1 DSC what = HS = Q
toorisugi-ti-nzj-uru cu = nu = ru mucc-i-nzj-uru = ci = nu
 pass-CVB-go:IMP-NPST man = NOM = FOC take-CVB-go:IMP-NPST = HS = GEN
hwuuzii sa-i = ga
 atmosphere do-CVB = but
 ‘It seems that he thinks those who have passed took it.’
- (T.39) *ato naa uri = ga nunko wakar-an na-tu-n = baaje*
 DSC DSC this = NOM FIL understand-NEG become-PROG-SF = DSC
 ‘He doesn’t know anymore what that is.’
- (T.40) *maa = si = ga muta-ti-nzj-uru wakar-an = baajo*
 where = ALL = FOC take-CVB-go:IMP-NPST know-NEG = DSC
 ‘He doesn’t know where it was taken.’
- (T.41) *unnee = ru s-i = nu are ar-an*
 DEM = EMP do-MED = GEN DSC COP-NEG
 ‘Wasn’t this such a story?’

Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular	IMP	imperative
2SG	second person singular	INST	instrumental
ABL	ablative	INT	intentional
ALL	allative	LMT	limitative
AMBG	ambiguity	LOC1	locative1
ASC	associative	LOC2	locative2
AVLZ	adverbializer	LOC3	locative3
CAUS	causal	MED	medial verb
CMP	comparative	NEG	negation,negative
COP	copula	NLZ	nominalizer
CORE	core argument	NOM	nominative
CVB	converb	NPST	non-past
CVB.CND	converb condition	ONM	onomatopoeia
DAT	dative	PASS	passive
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	POL	politeness
DSC	discourse marker	POSS	possessive
EMP	emphatic	PROG	progressive
FIL	filler	PST	past
FOC	focus	Q	question particle/marker
GEN	genitive	SF	sentence final particle
HBT	habitual	TOP	topic
HS	hearsay	VLZ	verbalizer