# An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

Shimoji, Michinori Kyushu University

Kato, Kanji Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Carlino, Salvatore Kyushu University

Tamamoto, Koji Kin Town Office of Okinawa Prefecture

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https://hdl.handle.net/2324/7342430

出版情報:Endangered and lesser-studied languages and dialects. 1, 2022-11-03. Brill バージョン: 権利関係:Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

# 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)





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	Μ	Kenbuku
YT	73	F	Kenbuku
FA	84	F	Ueomonawa
SM	87	Μ	Ueomonawa
TS	85	Μ	Ueomonawa
TS	88	Μ	Ueomonawa
Katsumi Ito	87	М	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, i,  $\epsilon$ /. Table 2.2 summarizes the inventory of vowels.

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

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

Front	Center	Back	
i e [e] ε [ε–ə]	i a [d]	u [u] o [o]	High Mid Low

TABLE 2.2 Vowels

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

Scholars argue that /i/ in Kametsu Tokunoshima is an advanced centralclose vowel (Hattori 1959: 284, Hirayama 1966: 31, Nakamoto 1976: 112). Kato (2021) argues that /i/ in Kametsu Tokunoshima is distinguished from /i/ by *F*<sub>3</sub>, and not by *F*<sub>1</sub> or *F*<sub>2</sub>, which suggests /i/ and /i/ are distinguished by some articulatory feature which is not frontness.

The height and the frontness of  $|\varepsilon|$  is controversial. Hirayama et al. (1966: 31) argues that  $|\varepsilon|$  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  $|\varepsilon|$  is a front-mid vowel, which is barely distinguished from |e| by *F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>2</sub>, and *F*<sub>3</sub> (Kato 2021), although speakers recognize  $|\varepsilon|$  and |e| are different sounds.

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

Table 2.3 shows the consonant inventory.

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	(Glottal)
Stop	voiceless	р	t	k	
	voiced	b	d	g	
	laryngealized		t?	k?	
Fricative	voiceless		s[s-c]		
	voiced		z[z-dz-z]		h[h–ç–x–ф]
Affricate			c[ts]		
Nasal	non-laryngealized	m	n		
	laryngealized	m <sup>?</sup>	n?		
Тар		r			

TABLE 2.3 Consonants

Phonetic realizations of alveolar plosives and

	/a/	/i/	/u/	/e/	/o/	/ <b>i</b> /	/ε/
t	ta	ti	tu	te	to	ti–t <del>i</del>	tε
d	da	di	du	de	do	di–di	dε
с	N/A	N/A	tsu	N/A	N/A	tsi	N/A
tj	tca	t¢i	t¢u	t¢e	tço	tci-tci	N/A

Table 2.4 summarizes phonetic realizations of alveolar plosives and affricates.

## 2.2 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The maximum possible syllable structure is  $(C_1)(G)V_1(V_2)(C_2)$ , 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 C<sub>1</sub> or G only when wordinitial. Non-laryngealized consonants can fill C<sub>1</sub> at any part in the word. C<sub>2</sub> 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

TABLE 2.4

affricates

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., /koowjuri/  $\rightarrow$  /koojuri/).
  - b. Delete V1 of super-heavy V1V2C which includes a morpheme boundary (e.g., /kwaa-n.kja/  $\rightarrow$  /kwan.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'  $\rightarrow /kii/$ ).

## 2.4 Accent

TABLE 2.5 Two-way accentual distinction among verbs

Mora	Gloss	<i>kir</i> - 'cut'	<i>kir-</i> '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: /kàmɨ/ LH 'turtle', /kámɨ/ 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)

	ıst 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		uk	kja

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<sup>1</sup> 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 t*<sup>2</sup>*aari* (PN=COM PN two.people) 'Taroo and Ziroo, the two of them'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fusional forms are thought to be the result of fusion of the nominative particle *sga* or the topic particle *sja* and the non-fusional forms, as in *wasga > 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.

Number	Cardinal	Iterative	Personal	Prefix
1	t°in	t²jukeeri	t²juuri	t²ju-
2	t²aaci	t <sup>?</sup> akeeri	t <sup>?</sup> aari	$t^{2}a$ -
3	miic <del>i</del>	mikeeri	mitjaari	mi-
4	juuc <del>i</del>	jukeeri	jutaari	ju-
5	icici	itjukeeri	(gonin)	ici-
6	тиис <del>і</del>	(rokkai)	(rokunin)	ти-
7	nanac <del>i</del>	(nanakai)	(nananin/sitjinin)	nana-
8	jaaci	(hatjikai)	(hatjinin)	ja-
9	kuunuci	(kjuukai)	(kjuunin)	(kjuu-)
10	tuu	(zjukkai)	(zjuunin)	(zjuu-)

TABLE 2.7 List of numerals and numeral prefixes

Lexical nouns are divided into two sub-types: address nouns and nonaddress 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 t'aaci mutjun* (cow two have) 'I have two cows'). The iterative numerals are used to quantify the frequency of events (e.g., *uri t<sup>2</sup>jukeeri>du sjan* (it once=FOC did) 'I did it only once'). The personal numerals are used to count people (e.g., *t<sup>2</sup>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<sup>2</sup>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.

Suffix	Form	Label	Туре
-a	koow-a	Hortative	F
-ee	koow-ee	Imperative	F
-u	koow-jur-u <sup>a</sup>	Focus	F
-una	koow-una	Prohibitive	F
-00	koow-oo	Volitional	F
-i	koow-i	Imperative	F
-i	koo-i	Infinitive	Ι
-taari	koo-taari	Juxtaposition	С
-taatu	koo-taatu	Anterior	С
-ma	koow-ar-ma <sup>b</sup>	Negative conditional	С
-nba	koow-ar-nba <sup>c</sup>	Negative conditional	С
-n	koow-jur-n <sup>d</sup>	Participle	Р
-ti	koo-ti	Sequential	S

TABLE 2.8 List of inflectional suffixes

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-*.

	Finite	Sequential	Converb	Participle	Infinitive
becomes a main predicate	1	1	-	1	1
forms an adverbial clause	-	1	1	-	1
modifies a noun	-	-	-	1	-
functions as a noun	-	-	-	1	1

TABLE 2.9 Types of inflection

## 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.

Stem core	Voi	ice	Tense, aspect, po		
	-as- CAUS	<i>-ar-</i> PASS	-tur- PROG -adar-(-tar-/-i) <sup>a</sup> NEG.PST	<i>-ar-</i> NEG <i>-tar-</i> PST	Inflection
			<i>-jur-</i> NPST		•

TABLE 2.10 Internal structure of the verb

a Parentheses here indicate that the negative past is always followed by the past suffix 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 participle inflectional suffix *-n* cannot immediately follow the stem core, and obligatorily 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 environments.<sup>2</sup>

The inflectional and derivational affixes introduced so far that begin with /t/ (past *-tar-*, progressive *-tur-*, sequential *-ti*, anterior *-taari*, and juxtaposition *-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 morphophonological 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/.

<sup>2</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup> '(that) is not here'). Instead, the negative form of *-ar-*, i.e., *aran/anan*,<sup>4</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup> 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.'

<sup>3</sup> *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.

<sup>4</sup> *anan* is a free allomorph of *aran*.

<sup>5</sup> 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
	'Tha	t person is als	so 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<sup>6</sup> sinsii
   wan≠ja sinsii
   1SG=TOP teacher
   'I am a teacher.'
  - b. wan.ja sinsii jatan wan<sup>2</sup>ja sinsii jar-tar-n 18G<sup>2</sup>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<sup>2</sup>ja sinsii<sup>2</sup>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

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

not.<sup>7</sup> 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).<sup>8</sup>

(11) a. *kjura* -*har* -*tar* -*n* 'clean' -VBLZ -PST -PTCP [[[Adj. root]<sub>SC</sub> -VBLZ]<sub>S</sub> -Drv. -Infl.]<sub>Adj</sub> '(s/he) had a beautiful heart.'

> b. kimu +kjura -ku'heart' +'clean' -SEQ [[[Noun +Adj. root]<sub>SC</sub>]<sub>S</sub> -Infl.]<sub>Adj</sub> '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;<sup>9</sup> exceptionally, adjective stems (i.e., *-har-* form) can appear in the sentence without an inflec-

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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).

<sup>9</sup> 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).

Part of speech	Function	Form			
		Proximal	Medial	Distal	
Noun	Pronoun	kur <del>i</del>	uri	ari	
Noun	Locative	kuma	ита	ата	
Noun	Adnominal	kun	un	an	
Noun, adverb	Directional	kan	ugan	agan	
Verb	Manner	<i>kassi</i> ª	ussi	assi	
Verb, adverb	Manner	-	ug(w)asi	agasi	
Verb	Manner	kassan	ugasan	agasan	

#### TABLE 2.11 Demonstratives

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) ari kuri jun

ari kuri iw-jur-n that this say-NPST-PTCP 'to say a lot of things'

*ari kuri, 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 (*ari, kuri,* and *uri*) 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., *kuri-taa* as reference to people), and *-nkja* for non-human nouns (e.g., *kuri-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.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The pictures are taken from the questionnaire 'demonstratives\_ninjal20170413.xlsx' created by the Endangered Languages and Dialects in Japan project of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics.



FIGURE 2.2 Different situations of deictic reference

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

(13)	kiinu	kootan	ari	mutji	tjii	
	kiinu	koow-tar-n	ari	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 *din*; temporal adverbial/ nominal *ici*; numeric adverbial/nominal *ikuci*; 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?'). *ici* and *ikuci* 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) *mee katjan mutji tjii* mee 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'.

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	[azja•nin] utatan	I was hit [by my father].
	agent		
Locative: «nan, »nanti	Place	[jaa≠nan] wun	I am [at my house].
Allative:	Direction	[un≠katji] izi	I arrived [at the seashore].
Instrumental: =si	Means	[mɨzɨ₅si] aroi	to wash [with water]
Comitative: ≠tu	'with, and'	[taroo≠tu] ziroo	[Taroo and] Ziroo
Comparative: •juri	Comparison	azja∘ja [ama∘juri∘ma]	My father is older [than my
		uitun	mother].
Ablative:	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 mee* (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*<sup>11</sup> 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

<sup>11</sup> *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.

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

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

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 mukasija akki jat-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 kubararihazimiti ⟨nengazjoo⟩>ga kubar-ar-i+hazimir-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, <sup>12</sup> 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,

<sup>12</sup> 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 wakijoo*.

(17) hosjuuzjugjootji jitjijaa ikjun wakijoo benkjoo {hosjuuzjugjoo}+tji jiw-ti=jaa waki-joo (benkjoo) ik-jur-n 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 'Tm 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 *sga*, 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 *-i*, 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 *sga* to modify nouns (e.g., *urasga 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 possesse 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 kani=nu neer-n 1SG=DAT=TOP money=NOM NEG.EXT-PTCP 'I have no money.'
  - b. an tjuja teegee kani mutjun an tju<sup>2</sup>ja teegee kani 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 nizimi kam-ar-n* (cat=TOP mouse eat-PST-PTCP) 'A cat ate a mouse' is passivized into *nizimi-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* (ISG=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 *simir*- 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	simitan
	hun	jum-i≠ma	sim <del>i</del> r-tar-n
	book	read-inf≠add	CAUS-PST-PTCP
	'I also	made someon	e 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., *kakar-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 cooccur. 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-*).<sup>13</sup> 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 *sja*. Nominative particles do not co-occur with the topic marker. Focalized elements are sometimes marked by the focus particle *sdu*, which can also co-occur with nominative particles. *sdu* appears within focalized sentences in which the speaker recalls the contrast compared to the focalized element.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

	Verb	Adjective	Nominal predicate
Affirmative	kak-jur-n	aa-har-n	wan≠ja sinsii
NEG suffix, - <i>ar</i> -	kak-ar-n	-	-
EXT-NEG, ar-ar-n	kak-i ar-ar-n	-	wan≠ja sinsii(≠PTCL) ar-ar-n
NEG.EXT, <i>neer-n</i>	-	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

#### TABLE 2.14 Strategies of negation

(22) mukasija jangadu hanmee jatan
 mukasi-ja jan-ga-du hanmee 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*, *snaati*.

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

I am grateful to the people in Tokunoshima who taught me the Tokunoshima dialect with patience. Dr. Salvatore Carlino, Mr. Koji Tamamoto, and two reviewers gave me constructive comments.

## **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 <ii>⟨jii⟩ atama≠no ar-n old.time tremendous-ADNLZ good head=NOM EXT-PTCP wanrjokuno samuraiga wutanbee an ⟨wanrjoku⟩₅no ar-n ⟨samurai⟩-ga wur-tar-n-bεε 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 cigi mata uri sjun kundu ka mata cigi mata uri s-jur-n COND next.time again next.time again it do-NPST-PTCP atika mata mukkonan warumonno ar-ti₂ka mata mukko<sup>2</sup>nan ⟨warumon⟩≠no EXT-SEQ=COND again over.there=LOC1 bad.guy=NOM wuntjikara mata uri taizi siija wur-n<sup>\*</sup>tji\*kara mata uri (taizi) s-ti≠ja EXT-PTCP=QUOT=ABL again it exterminate do-SEQ=CFP maati nihon zenkoku akkjun (nihon) <zenkoku)</pre> akk-jur-n maar-ti whole.country walk-NPST-PTCP go.around-seq Japan 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) *uriga mata daimeega oosjan tjujo* uri•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 waki* un tju<sup>,</sup>nu naa<sup>,</sup>ja amaterasuoomikami<sup>,</sup>tji waki that person<sup>,</sup>GEN name<sup>,</sup>TOP Amaterasuoomikami<sup>,</sup>QUOT reason 'Her name is Amaterasuoomikami.'
- (30) *uri uma hansjarikaratjo* uri uma hansjari<sup>s</sup>kara<sup>\*</sup>tjo it there grandmother<sup>\*</sup>ABL<sup>\*</sup>SFP 'It is, there, from grandmother.'<sup>14</sup>
- (31) usjattu kunduja mukasija gunjaka huniga usjattu kundu-ja mukasi≠ja gunja-ka huni-ga then next.time=TOP old.time=TOP small-ADNLZ ship=NOM gunjaka mungwanaatija gunja-ka mun-gwa=naati=ja small-ADNLZ thing-DIM=CSL=CFP 'Then, because ships were small in the past,'
- (32) gunjaka hunigwanaati ugwasi kikaija
  gunja-ka huni-gwa≈naati 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) cikjaka tooja kaisi kugarjusiga
  cikja-ka too≠ja ⟨kai⟩≠si kug-ar-jur-siga
  short-ADNLZ place≠TOP oar≠INS row-POT-NPST-CNC
  'Although they could row across it with oars if it was close enough,'

<sup>14</sup> This sentence does not fit into the context.

natikara (35) jamatukan watarjuntji nar-ti₅kara jamatu≠kan watar-jur-n≠tji Yamato=ALL2 cross.over-NPST-PTCP=QUOT become-SEQ=ABL kjoriga tuuwan munnaat<del>i</del> zenzen tairjokutekini mun=naati (zenzen) (tairjoku-teki)=ni ⟨kjori⟩<sub>≠</sub>ga tuu-har-n 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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