An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

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CHAPTER 4

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 /:/.

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*.

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2.1.2 Consonants and Glides

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

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

TABLE 4.1 Chart of consonants and	glides
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There are some allophonic rules to note: first, /s/ is realized as [ϵ] always before /i/ and often before /e/ (as in /sima/[ϵ ima] 'island' and /se:ku/[se:ku]~[ϵ e:ku] 'carpenter'); second, /z/, which contrasts with /s/ in voicing, is realized as [z] in between vowels (as in /mizu/[mizu] 'water') and as [dz] elsewhere (as in /sunza/[sundza] 'water well'); third, /h/ is realized as [ς] before /i/ (as in /hi:/[ς i:] 'fire') and as [$d\varphi$] before /u/ (as in /huni/[ϕ uni] 'boat'); fourth, /n/ assimilates its place of articulation to the following consonant (as in /janme/ [jamme] 'illness') and is realized as [N] in word-final position (as in /ningwan/ [ningwan] 'prayer').

2.2 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The syllable structure of Kin is schematized as $(C_1)(G)V_1(V_2)(C_2)$, 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// \rightarrow /n:tja:/[n:tcar] '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:/[fcu:] 'human') and rarely with /h/ (as in /anu=hja:/ [anu=ca:] 'that guy'). Also, the glide /w/ can often cooccur with /k/ and /g/ (as in /kwi:/[kwi:] 'voice' and /uhu+gwi/[uфugwi] 'loud voice'), and rarely with /h/ (as in /te:hwa/[te:da] '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-:-n// (get.up-NPST-IND) \rightarrow /ukin/[ukin] 'get up', or //bo:-ttji// (stick=INS) \rightarrow /bottji/[bottci] '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 wordfinal 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.

Pitch pattern	Example word	Tone realization
Pattern A	hana 'nose'	НН
	<i>kibusi</i> 'smoke'	HHH
	sidekuni 'carrot'	HHHL
Pattern B	//hana// → <i>ha:na:</i> 'flower'	HHLH ~ LLLH
	//kuruma// <i>→ kuruma:</i> 'car'	HHLH ~ LLLH
	//itjimusi// → <i>itjimusi:</i> 'creature'	HHHLH ~ LLLLH
Pattern C	//hama// → <i>ha:ma</i> 'beach'	LLH
	garasa 'crow'	LLH
	sitimiti 'morning'	HHLH ~ LLLH

TABLE 4.2 Tone assignment of nominal words

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 *katamai* 'chunk' (HHHH, rather than *HHHL) or *agima:mu* 'dryland taro' (HHHHL, rather than *HHHL), 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 polarquestion 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:znu ar-Ø-sse.
 belly+difficult-PRED=FOC 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,

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 (\S 4.4) and a variety of particles (see \S 9.3, \S 11.7, \S 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 semiword 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:kutfea* 'wow', etc.).

³ The occurrence of sequential voicing ($kwi \rightarrow gwi$) 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

Person	Circumstance	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
ıst	Default	-	wanu	watta
	Genitive	-	wa:=	
	<i>≠ga</i> (NOM)	-	wa:(=ga)	
	<i>N</i> (ADT)	-	wa:nu(=N)	
2nd	-	Non-honorific	jar	itta
	-	Honorific	na: ~ na:mi	natta ~ na:mita
Interrogative	Default	-	taru	tatta ~ tarutta
U U	Genitive	-	ta:=	

TABLE 4.3 Personal pronour

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.

Person	Circumstance	Honorificity	Singular	Plural
	_ <i>=ga</i> (NOM) ≉ <i>N</i> (ADT)	-	ta:(≠ga) ta:ru(≠N)	

TABLE 4.3 Personal pronouns (cont.)

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:sibi:-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-

^{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.

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

TABLE 4.4 Numeral words

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

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.ном', etc.).

(82) Epenthesis Rule⁸

If the base-final phoneme is a front vowel (/i/, /e/) and the affix-initial phoneme is a vowel, insert /r/ between them: $//V-V// \rightarrow /VrV/$.

(83) Vowel Fusion Rules

If the base-final phoneme is a non-front vowel (/a/, /u/) and the affixinitial phoneme is a vowel, fuse them into a short vowel: //a-i// \rightarrow /e/; //u-i// \rightarrow /i/; //a-a// \rightarrow /a/; //u-a// \rightarrow /a/.

(84) C-j Realization Rules

If the affix-initial phoneme is /j/, the following rules apply depending on the base-final consonant: $//r-j// \rightarrow /j/; //b-j// \rightarrow /b/; //m-j// \rightarrow /m/; //s-j// \rightarrow /s/; //k-j// \rightarrow /tj/; //g-j// \rightarrow /z/.$

(85) C-t Realization Rules

If the affix-initial phoneme is /t/, the following rules apply depending on the base-final consonant: //r-t// \rightarrow /t/; //b-t// \rightarrow /d/; //m-t// \rightarrow /d/; //s-t// \rightarrow /tj/; //k-t// \rightarrow /tj/; //t-t// \rightarrow /ttj/; //g-t// \rightarrow /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 components: stem, tense, and ending. The ending is the locus for mood suffixes (imperative, indicative, interrogative, etc.) or coordinator/subordinator suffixes. 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-

⁸ Many researchers of the Japanese-Ryukyuan languages assume that /r/ is an affix-initial segment 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// \rightarrow /(C)itj/ (e.g., //si-ta-n// (wear-PST-IND) \rightarrow /sitjan/), //#(C)ir-t// \rightarrow /(C)ittj/ (e.g., //sir-ta-n// (cut-PST-IND) \rightarrow /sittjan/), //nb-t// \rightarrow /nt/ (e.g., //ninb-ta-n// (sleep-PST-IND) \rightarrow /nintan/).

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

TABLE 4.5 Obligatory inflections of finite verbs

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 (-*i*- for Class I stems, -*i*- for Class II 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: *-i-*, *-i-*, and *-ju-*. It cooccurs with the past-tense suffix to yield the *imperfective past form*.

¹⁰ The politeness suffix also has the allomorph -:bi- 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: -*:* 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 (\S 10.1.2), in a special aspectual expression with a mirative sense (\S 11.6.2), in causal subordinate clauses which can be insubordinated in a certain environment (\S 12.3), and for clausechaining (\S 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 nonagentive 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 *circum-stantial potentiality* as in (86), which contrasts with *ability* expressed by the modal verb *jo:s-* (see § 10.1.1).

(86) su:-ja kwattji:n kam-ar-i-n=do:.
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 *ker*- is used to trivialize the semantic content of verbs.

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 $-\emptyset$ - 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.

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

TABLE 4.6 Word forms of existential verbs and copula

a The long vowel in the underlying //ne:-n// is shortened to avoid a superheavy syllable (see \S 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 independent 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)a:sa/, select the zero-morph - \emptyset as their predicativizer suffix. There are just two instances of Class I roots: *ma:sa-* 'tasty', and *ja:sa-* '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 -*i* (exemplified by *mindasi-* 'rare' in Table 4.7). Class III roots consist of two subtypes: monosyllabic roots, which have /#(C)V:/ as a phonological template (exemplified by *her-* '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'

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 dependentmarking 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.

Class	Root form	Compound noun	Predicative form	Adverbial form
I II-A	<i>ma:sa-</i> 'tasty' <i>kasimasi-</i> 'noisy'	<i>ma:sa+munu:</i> 'tasty food' <i>kasimasi+munu</i> 'annoyer'	ma:sa-Ø≠n kasimas-a≠n	ma:sa-ku kasimasi-ku
11-B 111	<i>mindasi-</i> 'rare' <i>he:</i> - 'early' <i>magi-</i> 'big'	<i>mindasi+munu:</i> 'rare item' <i>he:+uki</i> 'early rising' <i>magi+gwi</i> 'loud voice'	minda-:=n he:-sa=n magi-sa=n	~ kasimas-a-ku minda-ku he:(-sa)-ku magi(-sa)-ku
IV	taka- 'high'	<i>taka+dima</i> 'high salary'	taka-:≤n	taka-ku

TABLE 4.7 Various word forms which include an adjectival root

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).

^{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-Ø-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: $-\emptyset$ and *-ji*. Verbs whose stem-final phoneme is a front vowel /i/ or /e/ are nominalized by the zero-affix $-\emptyset$ (e.g., //kange- \emptyset // \rightarrow *kange* 'thought'); other verbal stems select *-ji* as the nominalizer (e.g., //uwar-ji// \rightarrow *uwai* 'the end').

The suffix *-ja*: derives agentive nouns from verbal stems (e.g., $//\text{mo:r-ja:}// \rightarrow mo:ja$: '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: $-\emptyset$ for the Class I roots, -a for the Class II roots (with their root-final /i/ dropped) and -sa elsewhere (examples for each are: $ja:sa-\emptyset$ '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' \rightarrow *siwa s*- 'worry'; *kanasa* 'adorableness' \rightarrow *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' (//ninbtta-:=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.).

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:	ата	ma:
	Time	-	-	uni:	itju

TABLE 4.8 Demonstrative and interrogative words

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.

Word class	Semantic type	Proximal	Medial	Distal	Interrogative
Numeral	Quantity	-	-	-	iku- ^a
Adnominal	Specifier	kunu=	unu=	anu≠	<i>zinu≠</i> 'which'
	Exemplifier	kunna≠	unna≠	anna≠	ikana=
Adverb	Complement	kar	a:	-	itja ~ tja:
	Manner	kattji	attji	-	itjattji
	Degree	kuhina	uhina	ahina	tjassana
	Reason	-	-	-	nunnitji

 TABLE 4.8
 Demonstrative and interrogative words (cont.)

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, *sga* and *snu*, 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 nouns¹⁷),

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.

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	<i>≈ttji</i>	Instrument, Number of the participants of action
Comitative	≠tu	Accompaniment
Comparative	=jo:ka	Standard of comparison

TABLE 4.9 Case particles

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	jaː.
	atamani	tju:≠ru	use- ti ur -∅-sa	jaı.
	really	person≠FOC	make.fun-seq cont-npst-ass	ADF
	'(He) is re	eally 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 sikotesa.
otto:>ga ju:ban siko-ti ar-Ø-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-	ʻgoʻ	
Directional (toward the deictic center)	<i>k</i> -	'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.
arisja simasnu tju:sru je:-Ø-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, nonpast, 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-Ø-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	jartami	je ssa .
	ar	nar-ti ar-⊘-su≠ja	ja:≠tami	je-∅-ssa.
	so	become-seq res-npst-nmlz=top	28G.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.

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 $aga.^{20}$

(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).

 $_{20}$ 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-Ø-ga
	poverty+person>NOM	what≠NOM	EXT-NPST-WHQ
	'What does such a poo	or 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:sga kam-tiskara ittaskatji kam-as-ju-gutu.
 1SG=NOM eat-SEQ=ABL 2PL=ALL eat-CAUS-IPFV.NPST-CSL
 'Tll 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 \S 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 archeological 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:* (admonitive), *#te* (inferential), *#ni* (reportative), etc.

(112) a:tja:ja a:mi:dente.
 a:tja:₂ja a:mi:ru je-Ø-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) *ри:ри:=ja me:nitji saki num-i-n.* grandpa=тор 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 nominative and the topic particle.

(114) *watta=ga=ja wakar-an-Ø-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) *wa:ta=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* je:- \emptyset -ru// is realized as *de:ru*).

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?
	ja:≠n	ma:zui	ik-ju-mi?
	2SG≠ADT	together	go-npst-ynq
	'Do you a	lso want t	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)	sarisosa	se:gana	juti	iza kutu ,	tju:nu
	saː-iso-sa	s-jegana	jur-ti	ik-ta- kutu ,	tju:≠nu
	ATT-joyful-NMLZ	do-sim	approach-seq	go-PST-CSL	man≠NOM

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

nutu:ranuhunide:tanni.nur-ti ur-an-∅-nuhuni*ru je:-ta-n≠ni.get.on-SEQ CONT-NEG-NPST-ADNboat*FOC COP-PST-IND*REP'(He) got closer with glee (to see what it is) and it was an unmannedboat.'

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 subordinator *-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:-Ø-sa.* 38G=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 uttunuguwanitji 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 evaluation (some sense of compliment or blaming). This construction can be analyzed 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-Ø-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.

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	jaːja	asa	he:ku
	mukasi≠ja	tjine+zine≠nu	jar≠ja	asa	heː-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, urikara, 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-Ø-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<tu 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.'</pre>
- (129)sukuimuzukui dikigahu:nitji ja:ninzunu <karada>nu sukui+muzukui dikigahu:•nitji ja:ninzu≠nu ⟨karada⟩≠nu good.harvest=QUOT family=GEN body=GEN crop+crop <kenko:>nu ningan su:nu kenko:>₅nu ningan s-ju-nu health=GEN prayer do-IPFV.NPST-ADN hizdezbitaru. 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.'

- surja irera, kwez, hira, nukuziri:. (130)muntagemitji, irera, kwez, hira, su:≠ja muntage:≠nitji, nukuziri. today=TOP muntagee=QUOT sickle hoe hand.hoe saw nuimununu hazi. 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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