# An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

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CHAPTER 5
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# Aragusuku (Okinawa, Southern Ryukyuan)

Wang Danning

# 1 The Language and Its Speakers

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



FIGURE 5.1 Map of Ryukyuan (Shimoji 2010: 3) and Aragusuku

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

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

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

on
C

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

### 2 Phonology

Aragusuku phonology is characterized by the existence of the "fricative vowel" (e.g.,  $p\breve{z}tu$  [pstu] 'person',  $b\breve{z}da$  [bzda] 'low, short'), which possesses the properties of both vowels and consonants. In the present section, § 2.1 is devoted to the inventory of phonemes, § 2.2 to the syllable structure and phonotactics, and § 2.3 to morae. The following § 2.4 and § 2.5 address the word-level prosody and intonation respectively. Please refer to Wang (2019a) for more information.

#### 2.1 Phoneme Inventory

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

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

### 2.1.1 Vowels

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

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

TABLE 5.2 Vowels

Unlike other vowels, /i/ is analyzed as a vowel which is inserted by morphophonological rule (e.g., //pus//  $\rightarrow$  /pusi/ [pusi] 'star'). The reasons for this are as follows. Firstly, /i/ has restricted occurrence. It can not appear word-initially and can occur only after the fricatives /f,s,c,z/ (e.g., *fisa* [fisa] 'grass', *sita* [sita] 'tongue', *cina* [tsina] 'cord', *zimigi* [dzimigi] 'wonderful'), pronounced as [i]. The second reason lies in the morphophonological rule concerning vowel-initial clitics. Take the topic marker *=a* for example. The realized forms differ when *=a* attaches to nouns with different syllable structures.

- (135) The vowel-initial clitic a is realized as
  - a. /Ca/ when attaching to nouns which end with a consonant (e.g., //kam\*a// (god\*TOP)  $\rightarrow$  /kamma/).
  - b. /ja/ when attaching to nouns which end with long vowels or diph-thongs

 $(e.g., //mii a //(eye TOP) \rightarrow /miija /; //kui a //(voice TOP) \rightarrow /kuija /).$ 

c. /a/ elsewhere (e.g., //mipana≠a// (face≠TOP) → /mipanaa/).

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

Vowels except /i/ can occur in lengthened form, without significant difference in phonetic quality.

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

			Labial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Glottal
Obstruents	Stops Fricatives	Voiceless Voiced Voiceless Voiced	p [p] b [b]	f [f]	t [t] d [d] s [s~c] z [dz~dz]	c [ts~t¢]	k [k] g [9]	(h [h])
Resonants	Approximants Nasals Flaps		m [m]	v [v~v]	ž [ş~z~z] n [n~ŋ~n] r [f]			

#### TABLE 5.3 Consonants

## 2.1.2 Consonants and Glides

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

I analyze the "fricative vowel" as a resonant  $(/\check{z}/)$  based on the following characteristics.  $/\check{z}/$  can stand in the V slot only when the onset is /p, b, m, k, g/ (e.g.,  $p\check{z}tu$  [pstu] 'person',  $b\check{z}da$  [bzda] 'low, short',  $m\check{z}cjaa\check{z}$  [mztca:z] 'three people',  $k\check{z}k\check{z}$  [ksks] 'listen',  $pag\check{z}$  [pagz] 'leg').<sup>2</sup>

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

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

### 2.2 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

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

<sup>2</sup> Please refer to Wang (forthcoming) for further details.

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

(Sesqui-syllable)		Regular syllables					
#((R <sub>i</sub> )	R <sub>i</sub> )	$((C_i)$	C <sub>i</sub>	(G))	$V_1$	$(V_2)$	(C <sub>coda</sub> )
μ	μ	μ	-	-	μ	μ	μ

TABLE 5.4 Syllables structure and mora

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

TABLE 5.5 Restrictions of slots

SESQUI	$\left( R_{i} ight) R_{i}$	Resonant only (Note that $R_{\rm i}R_{\rm i}$ must be a sequence of identical resonants)
REGULAR	C <sub>onset</sub>	SINGLE ONSET: All consonants or glides;
		GEMINATE ONSET: $C_iC_i$ must be the sequence of identical resonants or voiceless obstruents
	G	Glide(s) only (Note that when G slot is filled, the former C <sub>onset</sub> slot rejects glides)
	$V_1$	All vowels, or /ž/ only if the single onset is filled with one of /p,b,k,g,m/
	$V_2$	Identical vowel with $V_1$ , or the latter part of a permitted diphthong (/i/ or /u/ when $V_1$ is /a/; /u/ when $V_2$ is /i/)
	C <sub>coda</sub>	WORD FINAL: Resonant only; ELSEWHERE: Voiceless obstruents or resonants

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

	Tonal class	Examples	Meaning	In isolation	≠NOM≠FOC	≈ABL
Monosyllabic	А	раа	'leaf'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
	В	paa	'tooth'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
	В	nom	'chisel'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
	С	nom	'flea'	HL	LHHH	LHHH
Disyllabic	А	kata	'shape'	LH	LHHH	LHHH
	В	kata	'shoulder'	LH	LHHH	LHHH
	С	kata	'grasshopper'	LH	LHHH	LHHH

TABLE 5.6 Word-level prosody

Moreover, Aragusuku rejects vowel strings made up of three or more vowels. To avoid such strings, two strategies are employed: (A) the insertion of /j/ (e.g., //mii=a// (eye=TOP)  $\rightarrow$  /miija/ [mi:ja]), (B) vowel deletion (e.g., //mii=i// (watch-sEQ)  $\rightarrow$  /mii/ [mi:]).

#### 2.3 Mora

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

#### 2.4 Word-Level Prosody

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

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

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

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

### 2.5 Intonation

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

### 3 Descriptive Units

### 3.1 Morphological Units

### 3.1.1 Word, Clitic and Affix

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

### 3.1.2 Root and Stem

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

### 3.1.3 Word Classes

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

## 3.2 Grammatical Relations

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

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

A is the argument marked by the nominative case marker sga/snu (*maju* 'cat' in (137)), while DO refers to that marked by the accusative case marker su (*jumuru* 'mouse' in (137)) in a transitive sentence. When there is an IO, it is marked by the dative marker sn or the allative marker snkai (see (138)).

- (137) *majunu jumuruu fautaa.* maju=nu jumuru=u faw-tar cat=NOM mouse=ACC eat-PST 'A cat (A) ate a mouse (O).'
- (138) baga hunnu Hanakondu/Hanakonkaidu turasitaa. ba=ga hun=nu Hanako=n=du/Hanako=nkai=du turas-tar. ba=NOM hun=ACC Hanako=DAT=FOC/Hanako=ALL=FOC pass-PST 'I (A) passed the book (DO) to Hanako (IO).'

#### 4 Nominals

#### 4.1 Personal Pronouns

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

TABLE 5.8 Pronouns

	1	2
	ba≠; banu; ban	<i>vva</i>
general	ban-taa	vva-taa
inclusive only	duu-taa	-
	general inclusive only	Igeneralba>; banu; baninclusive onlyduu-taa

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 4.2 Reflexives

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

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

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

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

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

Plurality marking is obligatory. *-taa* is used after reflexives, forming *duu-taa* and *nara-taa*.<sup>3</sup>

### 4.3 Lexical Nouns

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

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

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

	Pronouns	Person interrogative <i>tau</i>	Address nouns	Demonstratives	Human nouns
-taa	Y	Y	Y	N	N
-nukja	N	N	Y	Y	Y

TABLE 5.10 Plural affixes

TABLE 5.11 Numerals

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cardinal/ Age	pitii-c <del>i</del>	futaa-c <del>i</del>	mžž-c <del>i</del>	juu-c <del>i</del>	ici-ci	mm-cɨ	nana-c <del>i</del>	jaa-ci	kukunu- c <del>i</del>	tuu
People	taukjaa	futaaž	mžcjaaž	jutaaž	ici≠nu pžtu	mm≠nu pžtu	nana≠nu pžtu	jaa≤nu pžtu	kuku≤nu pžtu	tuu≠nu pžtu
Animal	pžtu- kara	futaa- kara	mžž- kara	juu-kara	ici-kara	mm- kara	nana- kara	jaa-kara	kukunu- kara	tuu-kara

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

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

#### 4.4 Numerals

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

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

### 5 Verbs

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

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

### 5.1 Inflectional Morphology

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

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

TABLE 5.12 Examples of verb inflection

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

		Vowel-final	Consonant- final	Irreg	gular
INDEPENDENT VERBS					
Affirmative mood, Non-past tense, Positive polarity	В	mii-Ø	kak-Ø	sii-Ø	k-Ø
Affirmative mood, Non-past tense, Negative polarity	E-a	mii-n	kak-a-n	ssuu-n	kuu-n
Affirmative mood, Past tense, Positive polarity	В	mii-tar	kak-tar	sii-tar	k-tar
Affirmative mood, Past tense, Negative polarity	E-a	mii-ttan	kak-a-ttan	ssuu-ttan	kuu-ttan
Intentional mood, Positive polarity	E-a	mii-di	kak-a-di	ssuu-di	kuu-di
Intentional mood, Negative polarity	E-a	mii-daan	kak-a-daan	ssuu-daan	kuu-daan
Imperative mood, Positive polarity	В	mii-ru	kak-i	sii-ru/ ssuu	kuu
Imperative mood, Negative polarity	В	mii-na	kak-na	sii-na	k-na
DEPENDENT VERBS					
Simultaneous 'while'	В	mii-ccjaan/ mii agonigan	kak-ccjaan/ kak aganiaan	sii-ccjaan/	k-ccjaan/ `k agonigan
	R	mii-yacnjaan mii-kaa	kak-kaa	sii-yucnyuun sii-kaa	k-yucnjuun k-kaa
Conditional 'if'	D F_i	mii-ruha	kak-i-ruha	sii-ruha	kisi_ruha
Causal 'because'	E-i	mii-ha	kak i habu kak-i-ha	sii-ha	kisi-ha
	E-i	$(//mii-i//\rightarrow)mii$	kak-i-i	sii-i	kisi-i
Sequential	B	mii-tti	kak-tti	sii-tti	kisi-tti
Exemplifying 'for example'	E-i	mii-ttia	kak-i-ttia	sii-ttia	kisi-ttia
Purposive 'in order to'	В	mii-qa	kak-ga	sii-qa	k-ga
Negative sequential	E-a	mii-dana	kak-a-dana	ssuu-dana	kuu-dana
Negative conditional 'unless'	E-a	mii-dakara	kak-a-dakara	ssuu-dakara	kuu-dakara

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

### 5.2 Derivational Morphology

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

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

### 6 Adjectival Expressions

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

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

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

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

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

# 7 Class-Changing Derivations

# 7.1 Nominalizations

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

- (142) faunu sigama.
   faw-∅=nu occupation
   eat-NLZ=NOM occupation
   'Eating is (my) occupation.'
- (143) jamsijaa
   jam+sii+jaa
   be.ill+do+home
   'People who tend to get sick.'

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

# 7.2 Adjectivizations

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

# 8 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

# 8.1 Demonstratives

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

# 8.2 Interrogatives and Indefinites

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

		Proximate	Mesial	Distal
Demonstrative Pronouns	SG	kuri	uri	kari
	PL	kuri-taa/ kuri-nukja	uri-taa/ uri-nukja	kari-taa/ kari-nukja
Demonstrative noun for lo	ocation	kuma	ита	kama
Demonstrative noun for m	nanner	kancii	ancii	ancii
Demonstrative adnominal	l	kunu	unu	kanu

TABLE 5.13 Demonstrative root and derived forms

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TABLE 5.14 Interrogatives
```

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

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

### 9 Argument Phrase

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

### 9.1 The Head

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

### 9.2 The Modifier

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

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

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

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

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

 (144) Relative clause as a modifier:
 a. budurjuu pžtu budur-i+ur-Ø pžtu dance-THM+PROG-NPST person 'the person who is dancing'

b.	buduriinu	pžtu
	budur-i-i≠nu	pžtu
	dance-thm-seq₅gen	person
	'the dancer'	

### 9.3 Case and Other Role Marking

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

Case	Particle	Functions
Nominative	≠ga/≠nu	S or A
Genitive	≠ga/≠nu	possessor, modifier
Accusative	=U	0
Dative	=n	location, recipient, passive agent
Allative	≠nkai	direct, recipient, passive agent
Ablative	≠kara	source, path
Instrumental	≠sii	instrument
Associative	≠tu	accompaniment
Limitative	≤gami	spatial or temporal limit
Comparative	≠južža	standard of comparison

TABLE 5.15 Case particles

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

TABLE 5.16 *sga/snu* 

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

### 10 Predicate Phrase

As in most languages, the predicate phrase is the core of a clause in the Aragusuku dialect, and it is the verb that functions as the head. However, based on the choice of verb, I make a clear division between two types of predicate phrase: the general-verbal predicate phrase  $(\S_{10.1})$  and the copular-verbal predicate phrase  $(\S_{10.2})$ .

# 10.1 General-Verbal Predication

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

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

# 10.2 Copular-Verbal Predication

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

(146) (j)ar-:

a. *Tarooja siitu jaataa.* Taroo¤a siitu jar-tar Taroo¤TOP student COP-PST 'Taroo was a student.'

b. *Tarooja siitu aran.* Taroo≠a siitu ar-n Taroo≠TOP student COP-NEG 'Taroo is not a student.'  (147) Omission: *Tarooja siitu.*  Taroo≠a siitu Taroo≠TOP student 'Taroo is a student.'

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

- (148) Tarooja takaataka (uu).
   Taroo≠a takaa~taka (ur-Ø)
   Taroo≠TOP RED~taka (COP-NPST)
   'Taroo is tall.'
- (149) kunu kiija takaataka (aa).
   kunu kii≥a takaa~taka (ar-Ø)
   this tree≤TOP RED~taka (COP-NPST)
   'This tree is tall.'
- (150) Tarooja takaatakadu uu. Taroo≈a takaa~taka≈du ur-Ø Taroo≈TOP RED~taka≈FOC COP-NPST 'Taroo is tall.'
- (151) kunu kiija takaatakadu aa. kunu kii≠a takaa~taka≠du ar-Ø this tree≠TOP RED~taka≠FOC COP-NPST 'This tree is tall.'

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

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

### 11 The Simple Sentence

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

- (153) SV: baga barautaa. ba>ga baraw-tar 1.SG>NOM laugh-PST 'I laughed.'
- (154) AOV: *baga sibaiju miitaa.* ba\*ga sibai\*u mii-tar 1.SG\*NOM play\*ACC watch-PST 'I watched a play.'

### 11.1 Sentence Type

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

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

### (155) Content interrogative:

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

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

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

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

> b. Prohibition: sibaiju miina. sibai≠u mii-na play≠ACC watch-PROH 'Do not watch the play!'

#### 11.2 Alignment

Aragusuku dialect has a nominative-accusative case alignment system, with the S or A marked with *ga/nu*, and the object (O) marked with *u* obligatorily in most circumstances. However, though case-particle ellipsis rarely occurs, it is observed only in invitational sentences (e.g., *cjaa(ju) numga cii* 'Let's go for a cup of tea'; Takahashi 2018).

### 11.3 Possession

Aragusuku uses three constructions to indicate possession or part-whole relationships: (a) using the genitive marker sga/snu; (b) using an existential verb ar-/ur- 'to be, exist'; (c) using the double-nominative constructions.

Regardless of inalienability, a noun phrase of possession is formed by using the genitive marker *sga/=nu* between the possessor and the possessed (Inalienable: *ba=ga tii* (1.SG=GEN hand) 'my hand'; Alienable: *ba=ga hun* (1.SG=GEN book) 'my book'). As explained in § 9.3, the choice between *sga* or *nu* depends on the possessor's animacy.

Using an existential sentence is another strategy. In this construction, the possessor is generally marked with the dative case *n* and the topic marker *a*, or just with the topic marker *a* (*n* can be omitted optionally). The possessed, on the other hand, is marked with the nominative case *ga/enu*. The choice between the existential verbs *ar-/ur*- depends on the animacy of the possessed. *ur*- is generally selected when the possessed is a living creature, either a human

<sup>6</sup> Which imperative affix is used depends on the verb-stem class. *-ru* co-occurs with vowel-final verbs and *sii* 'do', whereas *-i* is used with consonant-final verbs.

being or an animal. In other cases, *ar*- is used. However, there are exceptions. Both *ur*- and *ar*- are acceptable in some cases, where the possessed is a kinship noun or a word meaning 'friend' (*dusi* or *agu*).

(158) banna/bajaa ututunudu
ban=n=a/ba=a ututunudu
l.SG=DAT=TOP/1.SG=TOP younger.brother (sister)=NOM=FOC uu/aa.
ur-Ø/ar-Ø
exist-NPST/exist-NPST
'I have (a) younger brother/younger sister.'

A third strategy is the double-nominative construction (hereafter, DSC) with a non-verbal predicate. In the DSC, the possessor is marked with the topic marker a and the possessed with the nominative marker aa/an.

(159)	a.	bajaa	miinudu	иритипи.
		ba≠a	mii≠nu≠du	upu+munu
		1.SG≠TOP	eyes=NOM=FOC	big+dнd
		'(literally	) I, eyes are big.'	
	b.	*bajaa	jaanudu	иритипи.
		ba≠a	jaa≠nu≠du	upu+munu
		1.SG≠TOP	house=NOM=FO	с big+рнр

As shown in (159), the DSC strategy applies in restricted circumstances. According to my research, the use of the DSC is relevant to the Possession Cline (Body part > Attribute > Clothing > Kin > Pet animal > Product > Others; Tsunoda 1991, 1995, 2009). Generally, Aragusuku allows the use of the DSC only when the possessed is part of a 'body part' or 'attribute' (Table 5.17). More information is available in Wang (2019b), Wang and Shimoji (2020).

TABLE 5.17 The use of the DSC (applicable: Y; not applicable: N)

Body part	Attri	bute	Clothing	Kin	Pet animal	(Real) product	Others
	Inherent	Derived					
Y	Y	Y	Ν	N	Ν	Ν	Ν

# 11.4 Valency Changing

There are two strategies that can be used to change the valency of a verb: **the causative derivation** which increases valency, and **the passive derivation** which decreases valency.

# 11.4.1 Causative

Adding the causative suffix *-simi-* (//-smi-//)/ *-asi-* (//-as-//) ( $\S$  5.2)<sup>7</sup> to a verb increases the number of participants by adding a causer.

- (160) a. Tarooga ututuudu budurasitaa. Taroozga ututuzuzdu budur-as-tar TaroozNOM younger.brotherzACCzFOC dance-CAUS-PST 'Taroo (causer) made his younger brother (causee) dance.' (Intransitive verb)
  - b. *Tarooga Hanakon Zirooju kurusasitaa.* Taroo=ga Hanako=n Ziroo=u kurus-as-tar Taroo=NOM Hanako=DAT Ziroo=ACC kill-CAUS-PST 'Taroo (causer) made Hanako (causee) kill Ziroo (patient).' (Transitive verb)

# 11.4.2 Passive

The passive derivation (§ 5.2) reduces the valency of a verb by the demoting of the passive agent. In a passive construction, the patient is marked with the nominative, while the agent, which is omitted in most situations, will be marked with the dative. As shown in (161c), the passive of intransitive verbs is unacceptable when the verb is a meteorological verb. "Y" means "grammatical"; "N" means "unacceptable".

(161) a. Intransitive verb: N

*Zirooga	amin	ffaritaa.
Ziroo≠ga	ami≠n	ff-rari-tar
Ziroo≠nom	rainfall≠DAT	rain-PASS-PST
'Ziroo (patie	ent) was affec	ted by rainfall (agent).

<sup>7 -</sup>simi- is used with vowel-final verbs while -asi- is used with consonant-final verbs.

b. Intransitive verb: Y *Hanakoo annan sinarii, kanasimunu.* Hanako=a anna=n sn-rari-i, kanas+munu Hanako=TOP mother=DAT pass.away-PASS-SEQ, pitiful+DHD 'Hanako (patient)'s mother (agent) died and she is pitiful.'

c. Transitive verb: Y Zirooga (Hanakon) kurusaritaa. Ziroo-ga (Hanako-n) kurus-rari-tar Ziroo-NOM Hanako-DAT kill-PASS-PST 'Ziroo (patient) was killed by Hanako (agent).'

### 11.5 Polarity

Only the negative polarity is marked. Negation is primarily expressed by attaching the negative inflectional affix to the verbal stem (§ 5.1).

- (162) a. General-Verbal predication: *Tarooja miin.*  Taroo≈a mii-n Taroo≈TOP watch-NEG 'Taroo does not watch.'
  - b. Nominal-Comprising predication: *Tarooja siitu aran.* Тагоо≠а siitu ar-a-n Тагоо≠ТОР student СОР-ТНМ-NEG 'Taroo is not a student.'
  - c. Adjectival-Comprising predication: *Tarooja upuffa njaan.* Тагоо=а upu-f-Ø=а njaa-n Тагоо=тор big-vlz-npst=тор сор.neg-npst 'Taroo is not big.'

## 11.6 TAM

Tense is expressed using inflectional affixes. Please refer to §5.1 for further details.

Aspect is indicated primarily by auxiliary-verbs: *ur*- (progressive), *ar*- (resultative), *njaa-n* (perfect), *uk*- (prospective), *mii*- (experiential). In addition, the full reduplication of a verb root is used to express a habitual event (e.g., *mii~mii* '(habitually) watch').

Modality is expressed by the inflection of verbs (intentional: -*di*, -*daan*, imperative: -*ru*, -*i*, prohibitive: -*na* (refer to § 5.1)), sentence-final particles (low certainty *=dara*, *=jaa*, non-subject focus *=doo*, confirmative *=ira*, self-question *=bjaa*), or a combination of both.

# 11.7 Information Structure and Its Formal Encoding

In the Aragusuku dialect, the topic is marked with the topic marker *=a* (*=uba* for the accusative topic). The focus is specified by the focus particle *=du* (*=ga* for content interrogative focus). It may precede any word class (Noun: after the case markers; e.g., *maju=nu=du* (cat=NOM=FOC); Adj: e.g., *kagii~kagi=du* (RED~cute=FOC); Verb: after the sequential form; e.g., *kak-i-i=du* (write-THM-SEQ=FOC)).

# 12 The Complex Sentence

## 12.1 Clause Combining Strategies

12.1.1 Coordination

Two independent clauses are linked by the concessive particle *suga*, expressing a contradictory conjunction.

(163)	pudunu	takamunusuga(du)	turarain.
	pudu≠nu	taka+munusuga(sdu)	tur-ra(r)i-n
	body=nom	tall+DHD=BUT(=FOC)	take.off-pot-neg
	ʻI am tall bı	ut cannot (reach and) ta	ake it off.'

# 12.1.2 Subordination

Subordination is represented by the inflection of dependent verbs (§ 5.1), typically using the focus marker *du*. Below is an example of causal subordination.

(164)	aminu	ffjuuriba(du),	sanau
	ami≠nu	ff-i+ur-i-ba(≉du),	sana≠u
	rainfall≠NOM	rain-THM+PROG-THM-CSL(=FOC),	umbrella≠ACC
	тисіі	piri.	
	muc-i-i	pir-i.	
	take-тнм-se	q leave-iмp	
	'Because it is	raining, take an umbrella!'	

### 12.2 Quotatives

The quotative clause is marked with the quotative marker *tti*.

(165) ujaga faitti ažžtaa.
uja∗ga faw-i∗tti ažž-tar.
father∗NOM eat-IMP∗QT say-PST
'Father said 'Eat!'.'

### 12.3 Insubordination

Like other variants of Miyako (Pellard 2012), three types of insubordination are observed. See below for sample examples.

- (166) a. From concessive to permissive: *karjaa kuujaamai (zaumunu).*  kari≈a kuu-jaamai zau+munu. 3.SG=TOP come-CNC good+DHD 'I don't care if he comes.'
  - b. From negative conditional to debitive: *karjaa ukidakara (naran).* kari≠a uki-dakara nar-a-n. 3.SG≠TOP get.up-NEG.SEQ become-тнм-NEG 'He has to get up.'
  - c. From narrative to past: *kjuuja fauttikara kisii.* kjuu=a faw-tti=kara kis-i-i 3.SG=TOP eat-SEQ=ABL come-THM-SEQ 'I' ve been here since I ate today.'

# 12.4 Clause-Chaining Structure

The clause-chaining structure is frequently used in monologues. It is realized using the sequential inflected form of verbs (e.g., *paz-i-i*, *kis-i-i*, *kanz-i-i* in (167)). In this construction, subjects can be the same or different.

kžnnu (167)oziija naraga kisjuu kžn≠nu ozii≠a kis-i+ur-∅ nara≠ga grandfather=TOP REFL=GEN wear-THM+PROG-NPST kimono=ACC paziidu, bantaaga urjuu kisii. paz-i-i,du, ban-taa-ga uri≠u kis-i-i. take.off-THM-SEQ=FOC 1.SG-PL=NOM that=ACC wear-THM-SEQ, nukumurjuu kanzii nivvtaa. nukumuri<sup>,</sup>u kanzi-i nivv-tar. warmth ACC feel-SEQ sleep-PST 'Grandfather took off the kimono he was wearing, and we put that on, and slept in the warmth.'

#### **Appendix: Childhood Memories**

- (168)bantaaja pukaziman nginu panasisugadu, panasi-suga-du, ban-taa-a puka+sma-n ngi≠nu similar=GEN story=CNC=FOC 1-PL=TOP outside+island=DAT ikii. nusimii kisjuusaiga, kis-i+ur-Ø≠saiga, ik-i-i. nusm-i-i go-THM-SEQ, steal-THM-SEQ ENDO-THM+PROG-NPST=SFP, ižjaanu, basanažpuka, bantaaja s<del>i</del>manu kamaga ban-taa•a sma•nu iž+jaa≠nu, kama-ga basanaž-puka, 1-PL=TOP island=GEN west+home=GEN, there=NOM banana=other, kanu, toomorokosinukjaamaidu arjuutaajuu. kanu, toomorokosi-nukjaa<sup>,</sup>mai<sup>,</sup>du ar-i+ur-tar<sup>,</sup>juu. uh. corn-PL=ADT=FOC exist-THM+PROG-PST=SFP. 'It's kind of a similar story. We went to another island and stole (from them). We (went to) a field over on the west side of the island, there were bananas, uh, corn as well.'
- (169)mmna, junai, mata, kjuunu faugamatatti juuja mmna, junai, mata, kjuu-nu juu≠a faw-gamatastti evening, again, today=GEN evening=TOP eat-plan.to=QT all. zjunbjaa sii. mmiimai uutaapazi. sii. mm-i-i≠mai zjunbi≠a ur-tarspaz. prepare=ACC do.SEQ, be.ripened-THM-SEQ=ADT PROG-PST=LCTN. '(We were) going to eat them all tonight. They will be ripe (at that time).'

(170) faa(di)tti uribadu, tumikaa, faw-a(-di)≠tti ur-i-ba≠du, tumi-kaa, eat-THM(\*INT)≠QT PROG-THM-CSL≠FOC, look.for-CND, njaan! njaa-n! no.exist-NPST! 'Going to eat them, we looked for them, but there was nothing!'

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