

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305638926>

Southern Ryukyuan

Chapter · January 2012

CITATIONS

0

READS

8

1 author:



[Wayne Lawrence](#)

University of Auckland

58 PUBLICATIONS 18 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



The prosodic system of Proto-Northern Ryukyuan [View project](#)

All content following this page was uploaded by [Wayne Lawrence](#) on 14 June 2017.

The user has requested enhancement of the downloaded file.

The Languages of Japan and Korea

Nicolas Tramter (ed.)

2012

London/New York: Routledge

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SOUTHERN RYUKYUAN*

Wayne P. Lawrence

13.1 INTRODUCTION

Southern Ryukyuan is the group of languages/dialects spoken on the Sakishima islands, which lie between Okinawa island to the northeast and Taiwan to the southwest. Genealogically the dialect group splits into the Miyako dialects and the Yaeyama dialects. The Miyako dialects, of which there are about 35, are spoken on Miyako island and surrounding islands, and on Tarama island and nearby Minna island; and the Yaeyama dialects, of which there are about 20, are spoken on the large islands of Ishigaki, Iriomote, and Yonaguni, and the surrounding smaller islands. The Yonaguni dialect was the first to diverge from the Yaeyama branch of Southern Ryukyuan, and because it has undergone many major innovations, it will be the focus of Chapter 14 and is not included in this description.

The Southern Ryukyuan dialects are all oral languages, but they have a rich oral literature of songs and plays, and the language of many of these differs from the colloquial language and may be termed literary.

All of the Southern Ryukyuan languages are underdescribed, with the possible exception of the Ishigaki dialect (Yaeyama), which now has a 17,600-word dictionary (Miyagi 2003). A Nakachi dialect (Miyako) dictionary is expected to be published in 2012, and a Hatoma dialect (Yaeyama) dictionary is being compiled.

The following introduction to the Southern Ryukyuan dialect group is based primarily on the Hatoma dialect (Yaeyama), but reference will be made to other Yaeyama and Miyako dialects where appropriate. All forms not specifically identified as being from a particular dialect are to be interpreted as being Hatoma dialect forms.

Southern Ryukyuan dialects are traditionally referred to using a toponym followed by the word 'dialect' (Kabira dialect, Tarama dialect, etc.), but hereafter in this description the toponym alone will be used to refer to the dialect.

13.2 PHONOLOGY

13.2.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory of Hatoma is set out in Table 13.1. *c* is realized as [ʈ]. *z* ([ɟ]) is functionally the voiced equivalent of both *c* and *s*. These sibilants are palatalized to [tɕ][ɟɕ][ɕ] before the front vowels and *j*. *h* is realized as [ç] in this same environment, and as [ɸ] before *u*. *h* is found geminated in only one form (*sahhun* 'soap', also attested as *saffun*), and *f* is usually geminated. In cases where it is pronounced short, it is transparently related to a word with a geminate *f*. This suggests that *ff* (and variant *f*) can be considered to be the phonetic realization of geminate *h*. Ikema and closely related Miyako dialects (Nishihara, Sarahama) have a contrast between *f* and *h* (Ikema *funi* 'boat', *huni* 'bone' [ɸuni]; *fau* 'eat', *hau* 'crawl'), with *h* deriving from historical *p*

TABLE 13.1 CONSONANT INVENTORY OF HATOMA

	Labial	Dental/alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d		k g	
Affricate		c z			
Fricative	(f)	s			h
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Tap		r			
Approximant	w		j		

before vowels other than original *u*, and *f* from *k* and *p* before *u*. *n* is pronounced as a moraic nasal with the same place of articulation as a following stop, but in other environments it is a somewhat backed [ŋ]. *n* is found in syllable-coda position, and in word/morpheme-initial position before stops (including affricates and nasals). Geminate nasals are interpreted as a *n* + nasal sequence. The Miyako dialects also have a moraic *m*, which also occurs in word/morpheme-initial position (Nakachi *mnivci* 'chest', *cibinum* 'rectum'), and Ikema and closely related dialects, Nagahama, and Tarama (all Miyako), also have a moraic *r* (retroflex [ɭ]) (Nagahama *par* 'needle', Tarama *arki-tar* 'walk-PAST').

Geminate voiceless fricatives occur in word-initial position (*ffa* 'child', *ssan* 'louse') and geminate voiceless consonants occur word-medially (*sippurun* 'suck on', *buccu* 'navel', *maffa* 'pillow'). The Miyako dialects and Agarisuji (Kuroshima island, Yaeyama) also have geminate *v* (Ikema, Tarama *vva* 'you', Kuroshima *vva* 'child'). Kuroshima and Aragusuku (Yaeyama) also have singleton *v* (Aragusuku *ava* 'fat, oil', Kuroshima *uva* 'you'), whereas in the Miyako dialects singleton *v* is moraic (Hirara *sivkaï*, Nakachi *sivkam* 'sour', Nakachi *jaci-va* 'mugwort' (cf. *fusa* 'grass')) and may be phonological *vu* (or, more abstractly, *gu* or *bu*).

Initial geminate plosives (pronounced with glottal tension) are found in the Miyako dialects in derived environments only (Nakachi *taa* 'come-PAST'), and in Taketomi (Yaeyama) they exist as phonetic variants of fricative + high vowel + stop sequences: *hupasa* 'dark' [ppasa ~ ɸɸpasa], *sikara* 'strength' [kkara ~ ɕj kara].

In the Yaeyama dialects, vowel- and *n*-initial forms tend to begin with a non-phonemic glottal stop, and this is sometimes preserved word-medially in compounds. In several Miyako dialects (Nakachi, Karimata) and in one form in Sonai (Iriomote island, Yaeyama), the glottal stop is used in reduplicated adverbs. It is always released, often producing creaky phonation: e.g. Nakachi *jam?-jam* [jamʔmjam ~ jam:jam] 'painful'; Karimata *ssu?-ssu* [ssuʔssu ~ sso:ssu] 'white'; Sonai *maro?-maro* [maroʔmaro] 'round'.

Ikema and closely related dialects have voiceless moraic nasals in word-initial position, always homorganic with a following nasal (Ikema, Nishihara *ŋimu* 'cloud', *ŋna* 'rope'), but, at least in Nishihara, compounds such as *ama-gumu* 'rain cloud', point to the voiceless nasal being derived (in this case, from morphophonemic *ku* via fricativization and assimilation).

Ōgami (Miyako) is unique among the Japonic languages in having no voiced obstruents except for *v*; however, the *cī* and *zī* of neighbouring dialects are distinguished as [k'ū ~ k'ūi] and [küi] respectively ([k'ūi:] 'breast milk', [küi:] 'letter, character'), suggesting that, at least for velars, the voicing distinction is underlyingly preserved, even if not phonetically realized on the stops.

13.2.2 Vowels

Hatoma has six vowels, of which one is marginal.

High	i	(i)	u
Mid	e	o	
Low	a		

All vowels except *i* also occur as contrastively long vowels, although there is a tendency to shorten long vowels in speech at normal speed. The mid vowels are restricted to heavy syllables, with exceptions in recent loanwords and in the sentence-final particle *-gera*. *i* is restricted to light syllables and is always preceded by *s* and followed by *k*, and is thus always devoiced (see below for environment for devoicing). The high vowels are in complementary distribution in this environment, the phonetic realization being determined by the following vowel according to the pattern illustrated below.

<i>sik</i> - 'to place'	<i>sik-ee</i> 'place-PERF'	<i>sik-iri</i> 'place-IMP'
	<i>sik-anu</i> 'place-NEG'	
	<i>sik-ooru</i> ~ <i>suk-ooru</i> 'place-HON'	<i>suk-uta</i> (~ <i>sik-uta</i>) 'place-PAST'

This *i* is replaced with *i* by younger-generation speakers (under 70 years old). *i* is fully phonemic in other dialects. In the Miyako dialects (except Ōgami) and in Aragusuku (Yaeyama), *i* is commonly pronounced as [z] (or as [s] in devoicing environments: e.g. Nakachi *pitu* 'person' [pstu]). The affricate *z* becomes a fricative following *i* (Nakachi *gazimagi* 'Chinese banyan tree' [gaʔzmagi:], *izu* 'fish' [zzu], *izaizi* 'borrow-INF' [zzazzi]). In Ōgami (Miyako), *i* is pronounced [i̥] and may have a velar fricative off-glide before *a* and a labiovelar off-glide before *u*.

Long *ē* ([ɜ:]) is attested morpheme-internally in Hateruma (Yaeyama) and closely related Shiraho. Ishigaki, Komi (both Yaeyama), Tarama (Miyako) and closely related Minna have long *ē* in morphologically derived environments, deriving from *i-a* (Ishigaki *mukasēē* 'long ago-TOP'; Tarama *fugēē* 'nail-TOP'). Tarama also has long *ū* ([y:]) synchronically deriving from *i-u*.

Phonetic nasal vowels are found in Sonai and Taketomi (Yaeyama) (Sonai [pət̚ā] 'Hatoma', [a:ɾjā] 'ant', [ɸʷā:] 'child' (cf. [ɸʷa:] 'saddle')), but in at least Taketomi these alternate with nasal consonants (Taketomi [jū:ndura]~[jumundura] 'read-FP', [ʔā:dari]~[ʔamadari] 'drop (of water)').

In Hatoma, vowels in light syllables are devoiced between voiceless consonants but vowels in adjacent syllables do not devoice unless separated by a compound boundary ([sakaɕiki] 'wine cup', [saki-sukka:] 'wine pourer', [to:ɸy-paku] 'tofu box').

In Nakachi (Miyako), which has vowel devoicing in the same environment as Hatoma, [ʔ] (from *k*) does not count as voiceless (e.g. [saki] 'bloom-IMP', [sɸu] 'bloom-ATTR', [saʔan] 'bloom-NEG'). In a number of dialects, including Hateruma, Kabira, Kohama, Komi, Shiraho, Sonai (Yaeyama) and Karimata (Miyako), vowels in light syllables are devoiced after voiceless consonants, and a following voiced consonant is also devoiced (Karimata [ɸɸmu] 'cloud', [kaɸɸi-ba-du] 'write-COND-EMPH').

13.2.3 Suprasegmentals

Words in Hatoma have a minimal word length of two moras. Several Yaeyama dialects (Sonai, Taketomi) show a strong tendency towards vowel shortening so have monomoraic

nouns; however, in Taketomi at least, this is synchronic shortening of underlyingly long vowels.

Hatoma is a language where pitch (tone) is phonemic. Most words in Hatoma fall into one of two tonal categories, the unmarked class and the marked class (Lawrence 1997a, 2001). In the marked class, words are high from the syllable containing the second mora (i.e. word-initial light syllables are low) to the end of the word or phrase. The unmarked class differs from the marked class in that the word/phrase-final syllable is also low.

unmarked	marked
páa 'tooth; blade'	páá 'leaf'
hùci 'comb; straw sandals'	hùcí 'mouth'
kinàl 'quinine'	kináí 'home'
káára 'tile'	káára 'river'
kásánàùñ 'carry on back'	kásánáúñ 'place one on another'
náñkúkúrú 'by itself'	húñsúkúrú 'pocket'

In word formation processes involving nouns (compounding, affixation), the class of the word-initial component usually becomes the class of the whole noun. In noun compounds with an unmarked first constituent, the sequence of high syllables covers the whole of the first constituent and finishes on the rightmost, non-final, iambic foot head (*itáná-dá-ffàì* 'eating for free', *itáná-dá-pátáràkì* 'working for free'). In addition to these two tonal classes, there are several peripheral tone classes: a number of nouns are pronounced entirely low (*rànpù* 'lamp', *zìñzìñbàjàà* 'firefly'), and many adverbs are pronounced with the word-initial iambic foot low (*jààdìñ* 'necessarily', *àtààcímá* 'a bit'). There is no requirement that a high tone be present somewhere in a phrase, so it is possible for whole sentences to be on low pitch, e.g. *bàná kàkìtì kàmàì tùrùñ* 'set a trap and catch wild boar'.

From the tonal distribution described above, the following details of syllable structure can be deduced (periods mark syllable boundaries): *Vun* is one syllable but *V.in* is two (*káúñ* 'buy', *kù.tàùñ ~ kù.tái.rùñ* 'reply'; *kù.ìñ* 'calendar', *kù.ìñ-nù* 'calendar-NOM'); *V:N* is one syllable but *V:i* is two (*ù.kòòñ ~ ù.kìñ* 'turmeric', *jóóñ* 'darkness', *kù.má.rí.kóó.ì* 'hide-and-seek').

Two tonal classes of the type found in Hatoma are found in most Yaeyama dialects, but in Aragusuku the distinction is in the process of being lost. Of the Miyako dialects, the dialects of Irabu island, inland Miyako island, Hirara city centre and environs, and Ōgami no longer have tonal distinctions. The northern dialects of Karimata and Ōura, and the dialects along the southern coast are reported to have two tonal classes (Hirayama 1967), but no further work has been done on their description. A recent brief description of the Tarama tone system (Matsumori 2010) indicates that Tarama (Miyako) has more than two contrasting patterns, and not the two as described in earlier literature.

13.2.4 Morphophonology

Hatoma is an agglutinative language, with very little in the way of segmental morphophonology. The only process which is widespread in the language is that by which the sequence *i-a* becomes long *e* when the *i* is in a light syllable, and *ija(a)* when in a heavy syllable: *kakeen* 'write-PERF' from *kaki-an*; *kaijan* 'buy-PERF' from *kai-an*. In parallel, the sequence *u-a* becomes long *o* when the *u* is in a light syllable, and *uwa(a)* when ending a heavy syllable: *karoon* 'light (adj.)' from *karu-an*; *kauwan* 'itchy' from

kau-an (exception: *aoon* 'blue' from *au-an*). However, not all Southern Ryukyuan dialects are as simple. In contrast to Hatoma which possibly has the simplest verb conjugation, in terms of morphophonological processes, of any Japanese or Ryukyuan variety, Ishigaki (Yaeyama) may well have the most complicated of any Japanese/Ryukyuan verb conjugation (Miyara 1995).

In many Miyako dialects the vowel-initial Topic and Object particles (*-a* and *-u* respectively) trigger gemination of an immediately preceding consonant articulation (including *i*) (Nobaru *ammu* 'net (*am*)-ACC', *toovvu* 'tool (*toov*)-ACC', *fugizu* 'nail (*fugi*)-ACC', *kūzu* 'health (*kū*)-ACC'), coalesce with the vowel of a preceding light syllable (Nobaru *funjuu* 'boat (*funi*)-ACC', *naboo* 'dirt (*naba*)-ACC'), and are pronounced as *-ja* and *-ju* respectively after other heavy syllables (Nobaru *paiju* 'south (*pai*)-ACC', *sooju* 'pole (*soo*)-ACC'). In Tarama (Miyako) the situation is somewhat different, with coalescence after light syllables (including after *i*) (*fugūū* 'nail (*fugi*)-ACC') (but *u* does not coalesce with *i* (*funiu* 'boat (*funi*)-ACC')), gemination after *r* (*budurru* [-l]u 'dance (*budur*)-ACC') unless a demonstrative (*kuruu* [-ru:] 'this (*kur*)-ACC'), and *-ja* (topic) and *-ju* (object) after other heavy syllables (*kagamju* 'mirror (*kagam*)-ACC', *cīiju* 'breast milk (*cīi*)-ACC', *kuiju* 'voice (*kui*)-ACC').

In Nakachi (Miyako), velar plosives become [h] between *a* (long or short) when preceded by a voiced consonant, and [ʔ] when not preceded by a voiced consonant (*ma-kaja* [mahaja] 'cogon grass', *pak-an* [paʔan] 'spit out-NEG', *a-ga* [aʔa] 'I-NOM'). The *k* of the postposition *-kaa* 'from' becomes [h] after *a* regardless of the preceding consonant (*naha-kaa* [nahha:] 'from Naha', with the devoiced *a* lost), and the *k* of the adjective-ending *-kam* is [h] after *a* and *o* regardless of the voicedness of the preceding consonant ([jo:ham] 'weak', [gabaham] 'old', [asaham] 'shallow'). This sound change was probably once productive after both *a* and *o* (note morpheme-internal *sooha* 'ginger' (cf. Ikema *sauka*)), but is now productive only after *a*.

13.3 MORPHOLOGY

13.3.1 NOUNS

Pluralization

Aside from the personal pronouns (see 13.4.2), the plural is usually unmarked, but, if the referent is human, plurality is optionally marked with one of three suffixes: *-taa*, *-nkee*, *-numee*. *-taa* is used with pronouns (*-caa* after the demonstrative series), personal names (*mijazato-san-taa* 'Mr Miyazato and others'), and a small number of kinship terms. *-nkee* and *-numee* are used after other human referents. Compared with *-nkee*, *-numee* lacks respect and is not used with referents deemed worthy of respect (*sakasa-nkee* / **sakasa-numee* 'priestesses', cf. *kangohu-nkee* / *kangohu-numee* 'nurses'). Reduplication is commonly used to mark wh-words as plural (*nuu-nuu* 'what (pl.)', *nuusi-nuusi* 'how (= in what ways (pl.))'), and is less commonly used to pluralize inanimate nouns (*jama-jama* 'places of worship', *kizaru-kizaru* 'events').

Case marking

The subject is marked with *-nu* or zero-marking, with *nu*-marking being the unmarked option. Zero-marking is used when the subject is a first or second person pronoun (but not third person), the anaphoric pronoun *unaa* (but not *duu*), the interrogative pronouns

'who' and 'where' (but not 'what' or 'when'), given names (but not family names), positions (e.g. 'mayor') referring to a specific individual (but not when used with general reference), plurals in *-taa/-caa* (but not in *-nkee* or *-numee*), and the kinship terms for mother, father, older sister, aunt, and uncle.

<i>waa</i> 'you-NOM'	<i>kari-nu</i> 's/he-NOM'
<i>taa</i> 'who-NOM'	<i>nuu-nu</i> 'what-NOM'
<i>sinsii</i> 'teacher (you)-NOM'	<i>sinsii-nu</i> 'teachers-NOM'
<i>usitu-taa</i> 'younger.brother-PL-NOM'	<i>buzasa-nkee-nu</i> 'uncle-PL-NOM'
<i>aaja</i> 'my.father-NOM'	<i>uja-nu</i> 'parent-NOM'
<i>anmaa</i> 'older.sister-NOM'	<i>siza-nu</i> 'older.brother-NOM'

In Miyako dialects, the subject is marked with *-nu* and *-ga* (cognate with Hatoma's zero-marking), and the distribution is similar to that of Hatoma (Nakama 2000: 177ff).

Overt case marking of the object is optional. If marked, as is common, *-ba* is used, or, in literary style, *-ju*. It is reported (Izuyama 2003: 30) that, in Miyara (Yaeyama), *-ba* may also be used to mark a subject in a situation which is undesirable for the speaker (Miyara: *ami-ba hui, zima-ge har-ar-anu* 'Rain is falling, and (I) cannot go anywhere'; cf. Hatoma: *ami-nu hui, maa-n par-ar-anu*; Yonaguni *-ba*, Chapter 14). In Hatoma this phenomenon is found in one fixed expression: *maa-ba sikibu* 'evil spirit has attached (onto s.o., causing bad behaviour)'. Nakachi (Miyako) marks the object with *-u* (1a), but *-a* is used when marking the object of a conjunctive form (1b) (see also 4b):

- (1) a. *kurjuu asi-ru* b. *kurjaa assi-kaa asib-i*
 this.ACC do-IMP this.ACC do-INF-after play-IMP
 'Do this!' 'Play after doing this!'

Other case marking particles include *-si*, which marks the instrumental; *-a* (Ø after a heavy syllable, except *pajaa* 'to the south' (*pai* 'south')) denotes movement, usually of the subject, to a place; *-naa* denotes location (in time/place), and also the place to which movement, usually of the complement, takes place; *-naati* marks the place where an action takes place; *-ara* (*-ra* after a heavy syllable) means 'from (time/place)', but is also used to mark the standard of comparison (see 32d) and also means of transportation; *-n* marks the destination of abstract motion, usually to a person (as in speaking, writing, or similarity to), and also the agent of a passive and causee of a causative formed with a transitive verb; *-tu* marks comitative; *-baaki* 'until' and *-baaki-naa* 'by (a point in time/place)'; *-saari* marks a means or cause (e.g. *kazi-saari* 'due to the wind').

Diminutives

Hatoma productively forms diminutives with the suffix *-ama* (*-naama* after *-n*, *-jaama/-waama* after heavy syllables ending in *i/u*, and *-ma* after long *a*) (Miyako *-gama*). The diminutive suffix *-naa* is common in Ishigaki and Miyara, and is found fossilized in Hatoma *oo-naa-ma* 'small pig' (cf. *oo* 'pig').

13.3.2 Verbs and adjectives

The citation form of Hatoma verbs is the Attributive (stem + *-u*) followed by modal *-n*. The other basic forms are the Negative (stem + *anu*), the Cohortative and Irrealis (stem + *a*), the Infinitive (stem + *i*), and the Imperative (stem + *i*). With the exception of a small

number of irregular verbs, all verb forms are formed as given above. A near exhaustive list of the irregular verbs in Hatoma is: *an* 'have/be' (stem *ar-*, citation form irregular), *bun* 'have/be' (stem *bur-*, Attributive *buu*, Perfect *bee*, and citation form irregular), *naanu* 'not have/exist', *sun* 'do' (Passive/Potential *sarin* ~ *sirarin*), *kun* 'come' (Cohortative, Irrealis, Imperative all *kui*, Passive/Potential *kirarin*), *ffaun* 'eat' (citation form and Attributive alternative forms based on *ff-*), *ssun* 'suck (a liquid)' (stem *ss-* in some forms, *ssu-* in others), *ffurun* 'give' (Honorific *ffoorun*), *-arin* passive, potential (stem *-ar-*, citation form irregular), *jan* copula (stem *jar-*). Most verbs with stems ending in *-ir-* have two forms (e.g. *uturun* ~ *utun* 'fall'). The form with *-ir-* is not used in the Infinitive, or in forms built on the Infinitive (the Perfect and Honorific), but all other forms have two alternative pronunciations (e.g. Neg. *utiram* ~ *utamu*, Imp. *utiri* ~ *uti*). In Ishigaki (Yaeyama) the alternation is *uturun* ~ *utin* 'fall', and most forms are based on the short stem (Neg. *ut(j)umu*, Attr. *uti*). The Perfect (see 13.4.3.2) and Honorific (see 13.4.6) forms themselves conjugate, having Negative, Cohortative, Irrealis, Conjunctive, and Imperative forms.

Negative *-anu* is pronounced as *-anu* in sentence-final position, but becomes *-an* elsewhere (including before sentence-final particles), except when preceding *-nu* 'but'. The past negative becomes *-ansen* in sentence-final position (including before sentence-final particles), is *-ansen* or *-anta* when modifying a noun, but is *-anta(n)* elsewhere (see examples 33b, 51). *naanu* 'not have/exist' is inflected similarly. Past tense *-utan* becomes *-itan* after verb stems ending in *s*, and is commonly *-ttan* with *r*-ending verb stems (*kak-utan* 'wrote', *ka-utan* 'bought', *panas-itan* 'spoke', *tut-tan* 'took' (*tur-* 'take')).

The citation form of Hatoma adjectives is the Attributive (stem + *-a*) followed by modal *-n*. This Attributive form is homophonous with the Adverbial form, which is used to form the Negative in conjunction with the negative verb *naanu*: *ac-a naanu* 'not hot' (*ac-an* 'hot'), *taka-a naanu* 'not high' (*taka-an* 'high'), *tuu-wa naanu* 'not far' (*tuu-wan* 'far'). The Irrealis form is the stem + (*a*)*ra* (32b). Adjectives may be nominalized by suffixing *-(s)a* to the stem: *ac-a* 'heat', *mis-a* 'goodness' (*mis-an* 'good'), *taka-sa* 'height', *tuu-sa* 'distance'.

A very small number of adjectival words do not conjugate, and appear with *-na* in their attributive usage: *deezi-na ujaki-pusu* 'extremely rich person', *ifa-na ganbari* 'odd mischief', *baa siki-na munu* 'things I like'. These are probably relatively recent loans from other dialects.

The adjectives *misan* 'good', *barasan*, *wassan* 'bad', and *majjan* 'big' are often replaced by the prefixes *ii-*, *jana-*, and *ubu-* when modifying nouns: *ii-oosiki* 'good weather', *ii-pusu* 'good person', *ii-tusi* 'good year', *jana-husi* 'bad habit', *jana-imi* 'bad dream', *ubu-kii* 'large tree', *ubu-kizaru* 'big event'.

13.3.3 Numerals and classifiers

The basic cardinal numbers in Hatoma are (native series) *pusu-*, *huta-*, *mii-*, *juu-*, *ici-*, *muu-*, *nana-*, *jaa-*, *kuru-*, *tuu-*, interrogative *giuu-*, and (Sino-Japanese series) *ici-*, *ni-*, *san-*, *jo(n)-si-*, *go-igu-*, *roku-*, *nana-/sici-*, *haci-*, *kjuu-/ku-*, *zjuu-*, interrogative *nan-*. In the absence of a classifier or measure word, numbers are given in the native series suffixed with *-ci* (exceptions: *piici* 'one', *hutaaci* 'two', *kukunuci* 'nine', *tuu* 'ten').

In Hatoma, native numbers are used for one to ten, and in Ishigaki and Hateruma (both Yaeyama) for one to 19 (Ishigaki *tuu-kukunuci*, Hateruma *tuu-hakonaci* (lit. 'ten-nine')). Ishigaki speakers can compose numbers up to 999 using the native system (e.g. 555 *pjaaku-nu icici-tu tuu-nu icici-tu icici* (100-GEN 5-and 10-GEN 5-and 5)), but usually Sino-Japanese numbers are used for 20 or above. In Nakachi (Miyako),

native numbers are used for one to 19; 20 is Sino-Japanese *nizjuu* or native *pataci*; the native numbers for multiples of ten are no longer used, with the exception of *jasici-jaaci* for 88 years old; 100 is Sino-Japanese *pjaaku* or native *mumuci*.

The Southern Ryukyuan dialects have a relatively large number of commonly used classifiers. In Hatoma there are over 50 classifiers used with the native series of numbers (Kajiku 1983; Lawrence 1997b), and over half of these fall into the following categories.

Classification according to animacy: People are counted with *-(taa)ru* (*pusuru* '1 person', *hutaaru* '2 people', *micaaru* '3 people', *jutaaru* '4 people'), but with Sino-Japanese numbers with the classifier *-nin* being used for numbers over four. Hateruma (Yaeyama) uses *-(ta)ri* for 1–4, and native Japanese numbers with *-pitu* 'person' for larger numbers. All animals except shellfish are counted using *-kkara*, and shellfish are counted with *-kku*. In Nakachi (Miyako), *-kuu* (cognate with Hatoma *-kku*) is used for shellfish and crustaceans, but turtles are counted with *-kara* (the shells are counted with *-knu*).

Classification according to shape: *-ira* 'flat objects', *-kku* 'roundish objects (eggs, balls of thread, rice bowls)' (also root vegetables: e.g. carrots), *-mutu* 'cylindrical rigid objects (trees, pillars, sticks, needles)' (also herbaceous plants: e.g. lettuces), *-sizi* 'long thin non-rigid objects (threads, noodles)', *-sizi* 'granular objects'.

Classifier is an object which counts its function: *-jaku* 'strokes (rowing)' (from *jaku* 'oar'), *-kabu* 'fishing trips' (from *kabu* 'groundbait'), *-kui* 'songs' (from *kui* 'voice'), *-pan* 'paces' (from *pan* 'leg, foot'); and quantities counted using the word for a container: *-baaki* 'basketfuls', *-saban* 'bowlfuls', etc.

Classifier is a deverbal noun: *-katami* '2 bucketfuls (carried on a pole on the shoulder)' (from *katam(ir)un* 'to carry on the shoulder'), *-kisi* 'slices', *-maaru* 'cycles', *-maraki* '30 bundles of rice' (from *marakun* 'to bind'), *-tabaru* ~ *-taburu* '2 handfuls of rice stalks bundled together' (from *tabarun* 'to bundle'), etc.

Classifier is a part which counts the whole: *-kkubi* 'shirts, kimonos' (related to *hubi* 'neck, collar'), *-kiburu* 'houses' (related to *kiboosi* 'smoke').

Units of length: [spatial] *-busi* 'inches; internode stems of bamboo or sugar cane', *-(h)iru* 'fathoms'; [temporal] *-juu* 'evenings', *-ka* 'days', *-nanka* 'weeks after death', *-siki* 'months', *-tusi* 'years', etc.

Sino-Japanese and Western loanwords function primarily as measure words (*-hun* 'minute', *-kin* '600 g', *-kilo* 'kilogram', *-doru* 'dollar') rather than as classifiers, and they are used with the Sino-Japanese series of numbers.

Approximate amounts are indicated with the particle *bukara*: *ici-zikan-bukara* 'about one hour', *tu-kkara-bukara* 'about ten (animals)'.

Ordinal numbers are formed with the suffix *-mii* or *-me(e)* after the classifier.

- (2) *mii-musi-mii-na izu hoos-i-n gee-ta pinma-a*
 3-time-ORD-at fish catch-INF-PURP went (suppletive) time-TOP
izu tu-kkara hoos-ee-tan
 fish 10-CL catch-PERF-PAST
 'The third time (I) went fishing, (I) caught ten fish'

Fractions are expressed according to the model *miici-nu piici* 'one third' (i.e. three-GEN one), but the quantity 'half' is usually expressed using *panbun*.

13.4 SYNTAX

13.4.1 Noun phrase structure

Nominal expansions of the demonstrative stems are given in Table 13.2. Although classified in Table 13.2 as proximal-medial-distal, the distinction in usage between proximal and medial forms is not clear-cut.

Noun modification

When used in an attributive relationship with a following noun, the location, time, and amount forms above are followed by the Genitive particle *-nu* (*un-nu maara* 'around that time', *ubi-nu cigai* 'just that much difference'). The "thing"-series suffixes *-nu* directly onto the stem (*u-nu panasi* 'that story'). "Kind of" is denoted by *kai-bu(u)/kai-buca*, *ai-bu(u)/a(i)-buca*, and indefinite *nuusi-buu/nuu-cca* (*kai-bu kazi* 'this kind of wind').

Possession is marked by the genitive particle *-nu* ~ \emptyset , the distribution of the two allomorphs being identical to that of the subject marker (see 13.3.1). Note the distinction between *bee sinta* 'behind us' and *bee-nu sinta* 'behind our house'. Modification of a noun by a postpositional phrase is mediated by the Genitive particle (3a), and clausal modification is achieved by embedding the clause-final conjugated element in the Attributive form before the modified noun (3b).

- (3) a. *isankeera-nu situ*
 Ishigaki.from-GEN souvenir
 'souvenir from Ishigaki'
 b. *noon sii-s-an pusu*
 anything do.INF-POT-NEG person
 'person who cannot do anything'

Internally headed relative clauses are formed using the nominalizer *-mu* (4a). Nakachi (Miyako) (4b) and Hateruma (Yaeyama) use cognate *mumu* 'thing'.

- (4) a. *basannaru-nu namandauumi s-ii-buu-moo hucisuboo-nu*
 banana-NOM half.ripe do-INF-be.ATTR-NMR.TOP tart-so
ffa-ar-anu
 eat-POT-NEG
 'Bananas which are half ripe are tart and are thus inedible'

TABLE 13.2 HATOMA DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOMINALS

	thing	location	point in time	small amount
proximal	<i>ku-ri</i>	<i>ku-ma</i>		<i>ku-bi</i>
medial	<i>u-ri</i>	<i>u-ma</i>	<i>u-N</i>	<i>u-bi</i>
distal	<i>ka-ri</i>	<i>ka-ma</i>	<i>u-N</i>	<i>u-bi</i>
interrogative	<i>ziri</i> 'which' <i>nuu</i> 'what'	<i>ma-</i>		

- b. *basanaa-i-nu namaumma s-ii bui-munoo fa-aiN*
 banana-NOM half.ripe-ACC do-INF be-NMR.TOP eat-POT.NEG
 'Bananas which are half ripe are inedible'

Ishigaki, Miyara (Yaeyama) and Hirara (Miyako) use the nominalizer *-su*, but this is not attested in Hatoma, and in Nakachi (Miyako) cognate *si* is very restricted in the structures it is used in (e.g. *ikan-si-du masi* '(It) is better not to go').

Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrases are coordinated using *-tu* (also the comitative marker) (*kabi-tu enpicu-nu an* 'There are paper and pencils'). A partial listing is given using the particles *-nujaa* or *-tiba* (*kabi-tiba enpicu-tiba, nuun-kuin micun-ken an* 'There are all sorts of things, paper and pencils and the like'). *-N* 'also' (*-nun* or *-jun* after *N*, and *-jun* after other heavy syllables) is used to indicate that all marked nouns are involved (*saki-N saa-jun numi buu* 'I drink both rice wine and tea', *isa-N jabu-N ooranu* 'There are neither doctors nor herbalists').

Quantification

Positive indefinite quantifiers are formed from wh-words by suffixing *-nnaa-ka*, and are formed from quantity words using *-kajaa*: *noo-nnaa-ka-nu an* 'There is something', *taa-nnaa-ka-ba mireeru* '(I) saw someone', *gjutaaru-kajaa oottan* 'Several people came'.

Wh-words followed by *-nnaa-N* and quantity words with *-N* give universal quantifiers ('everything' is also expressed as *nuu-N-kui(-N)*, and 'every time' is *iccin* 'always').

- (5) a. *mukasee maa-nnaa-N oo-nu makee ari-b-uta*
 long.ago.TOP where-nnaa-N pig-GEN farm.TOP have-be-PAST
 'In the past there used to be pig-sties everywhere'
- b. *husee noo-nnaa-N an*
 fault.TOP what-nnaa-N have
 'Everything has its faults'
- c. *pakoo gjuu-ci-N ari-b-uta-nu...*
 box.TOP how.many-CL-N have-be-PAST.ATTR-but
 '(There) were many boxes, but ...'

Negative indefinite quantification is expressed by a wh-word + *-N* followed by a negative predicate, and a wh-word + *-N* followed by non-negative predicate gives a free choice quantifier.

- (6) a. *taa-N sikai-oor-ansen* b. *noo-N ffa-ar-anu*
 who-N use-HON-NEG.PAST what-N eat-POT-NEG
 'Nobody used (it)' '(I) cannot eat anything'
- c. *aibu munoo taa-N tur-arin-doo*
 that.kind thing.TOP who-N take-POT-FP
 'Anybody can take that kind of thing'

The anti-quantifier (forcing distributivity) *naa* appears as a prefix with reduplicated forms but is a suffix with a quantity: *naa-jaajaa* 'everyone's respective houses',

naa-meemee 'each person respectively', *naa-taraasitaraasi* 'supplementing each other's deficiencies', *hutaaru-naa* 'two people each; in groups of two people', *kubi-naa* 'this small amount each', *nmeema-naa* 'a little each; little by little'.

13.4.2 Pronouns and anaphora

Hatoma personal pronouns are set out in Table 13.3, along with the parallel 'chez' (house of) series.

The interrogative pronouns are *nuu* 'what', *nuusi* 'how', *nunti* 'why', *ma-* 'where', *ici* 'when'.

Hatoma has two anaphoric pronouns: *duu* and *unaa*. *duu* is coreferent with the nearest c-commanding subject.

- (7) a. *baa_i usitu-nu duu_i-nu jaa peer-u-muu*
 I.TOP younger.brother-NOM self-GEN house enter-ATTR-NMR
mit-tan
 see-PAST
 'I saw my younger brother enter (his) own house'
- b. *baa_i usitu-N duu_i-nu zin batas-itan*
 I.TOP younger.brother-to self-GEN money pass-PAST
 'I passed my younger brother (my) own money'
- c. *taroo-ja ziroo_j mutikee-ta duu_j-nu bentoo-ba*
 Taro-TOP Jiro.NOM bring-PAST self-GEN packed.lunch-ACC
ffit-ta
 give-PAST
 'Taro gave me (his) own lunch which Jiro had brought'

In (7a,c) *duu-nu* may be replaced by *unaa* with no change in meaning. However, replacing *duu-nu* with *unaa* in (7b) results in a change of the referent to the younger brother. This is because *unaa* always has third person reference.

- (8) *hanako/*baa/*waa-ja unaa-duu-si duu-nu sigutu misikee-tan*
 Hanako/*I/*you-TOP self-self-by self-GEN work discover-PAST
 'Hanako/*I/*you found her/*my/*your job by her/*my/*your-self'

In Nakachi (Miyako), the anaphoric pronoun is *una*, but the form *duu* is used in two expressions: *duu-si* 'by oneself' (**una-si*) (e.g. *duu-si asi-ru* 'Do (it) yourself!'), and *duu-katti* 'selfish'.

TABLE 13.3 HATOMA PERSONAL PRONOUNS (SEE ALSO 13.4.6)

	1p	2p	3p			interrog.
			prox.	med.	dist.	
sg.	<i>baa</i>	<i>waa</i>	<i>kuri</i>	<i>uri</i>	<i>kari</i>	<i>taa/taru</i>
pl.	<i>bee</i> (incl.) <i>bantaa</i> (excl.)	<i>wa(a)taa</i>	<i>kuccaa</i>	<i>uccaa</i>	<i>kaccaa</i>	<i>taataa</i>
chez	<i>bante, bee</i>	<i>watte</i>	<i>kunne</i>	<i>unne</i>	<i>kanne</i>	<i>tatte</i>

In Hatoma, *duu*, with no overt antecedent, may also be used to refer to the speaker.

- (9) *duu-ja kai-ru umu-i-buu-juu*
self-TOP this.way-EMPH think-INF-be.ATTR-FP
'I am thinking along these lines'

13.4.3 The basic sentence

13.4.3.1 Declarative

The Southern Ryukyuan dialects are tense/aspect-final, with tense/aspect marked on verbs (including copula) and adjectives. The copula, however, is used only when required by morphological considerations, as in (10b) where the emphatic particle requires a following Attributive form (see also 36b).

- (10) a. *kuree sumuci* b. *kuree sumuci-du jaru*
this.TOP book this.TOP book-EMPH COP.ATTR
'This is a book' 'This is a book'

The negative of the copula *jan* is *aranu*, optionally preceded by the topic marker *-a*: *sumuci aranu ~ sumucee aranu* '(It) is not a book'. (Note that the negative of the verb *ar-* 'have/exist' is suppletive *naanu*.) The copula is also used in isolation as a complete utterance: *jan* 'That's right'; *aranu* 'That's wrong'.

Existence is expressed using the verbs *an* and *bun*. *bun* is used of entities which are perceived to be capable of self-controlled change of location, and *an* is used of all other subjects.

- (11) a. *bee taa-ja paita-naa an*
we.GEN paddy.field-TOP southern.place-at be
'My rice fields are on Iriomote island'
- b. *kazee iramuti-nu pajaaki-naa-ru b-ee*
wind.TOP Iriomote-GEN southerly.direction-at-EMPH be-PERF.ATTR
'The typhoon is to the south of Iriomote island'

Possession may be expressed using the existential construction with the possessor as the topic.

- (12) *karee usitu-nu bun*
s/he.TOP younger.brother-NOM be
'S/he has a younger brother'

In Hatoma the possessor is not given dative-marking, but in Nakachi (Miyako) the dative may also be used to indicate possession (13).

- (13) *abaa utu-nu-du bui* or *anna utu-nu-du bui*
I.TOP younger.brother-NOM-EMPH be I.DAT.TOP
'I have a younger brother'

13.4.3.2 Tense and aspect

The citation forms of verbs are perfective, with stative verbs being non-past, and dynamic verbs (e.g. *numun* 'drink') future.

Non-past Habitual (14a) is marked by the Infinitive form followed by *buu* 'be' (e.g. *numibuu* 'drink', Neg. *numiburaanu*), and this form is also used to mark a single event with the predictive sense of 'of course' (14b).

- (14) a. *buusoo-ja bikidumoo ffa-i-ja nar-anu-ti*
rice.offering-TOP man.TOP eat-INF-TOP become-NEG-QUOT
az-ar-i-b-uu
say-PASS-INF-be-AFF
'(It) is said that men must not eat rice offerings' [Kajiku 1991: 90]
- b. *acaa baa kair-i k-uu-baaki-naa sigutoo*
tomorrow I.NOM return-INF come-ATTR-until-at work.TOP
katazik-i-b-uu-naa-ree
clear.away-INF-be-ATTR-FP-FP
'By the time I return tomorrow, you will have finished the work, won't you!'

The Continuative is formed from the Infinitive form followed by the Perfect of *buu* (e.g. *numibee* 'is drinking', Neg. *numanbee*) and is used with both an action in progress (15a), or when the resulting state continues (15b,c).

- (15) a. *kari-nu k-uu-mu-ba mat-i-b-ee*
s/he-NOM come-ATTR-NMR-ACC wait-INF-be-PERF
'(I) am waiting for him/her to come'
- b. *jana-ssa-nu pana-nu sak-i-b-ee*
bad-grass-GEN flower-NOM bloom-INF-be-PERF
'The weeds are in flower'
- c. *ku-naa sik-ar-i-b-ee-moo nuu-ja*
here-at place-PASS-INF-be-PERF-NMR.TOP what-Q
'What is this thing put here?'

The Perfect is formed by fusing the conjunctive form with *an* 'have' (e.g. *numeen* 'has drunk', Neg. *numeenaanu*).

- (16) a. *waa ffa-a gju-taaru nas-ee-wa*
you child-TOP how.many-CL give.birth-PERF-Q
'How many children have you given birth to?'
- b. *hunee kisa nz-i-par-eeen*
boat.TOP already leave-INF-go-PERF
'(The) boat has already left'

Past tense forms are Perfective *numutan*, Habitual/predictive *numibutan* (Neg. *numiburaansen*), Continuative *numibeetan* (Neg. *numanbeetan*), and Perfect *numeetan* (Neg. *numeenaansen*).

Aspectual forms formed from other verbs include the following:

Habitual	<i>num-i-aak-un</i>	(drink-INF-walk-AFF)
Continuative	<i>num-ee-ti aak-un</i>	(drink-PERF-QUOT walk-AFF)
Conative	<i>num-un-ti s-un</i>	(drink-AFF-QUOT do-AFF)
Prospective	<i>num-un-ti b-un,</i> <i>num-un-ti aak-un</i>	

Irreversible	<i>num-i-naanu</i>	(<i>naanu</i> 'not exist')
Preparative	<i>num-i-suk-un</i>	(<i>sik-</i> 'place')
Experiential	<i>num-i-mit-tan</i>	(<i>mittan</i> 'saw')
	<i>num-uta kutoo an</i>	(drink-PAST thing.TOP have.AFF)
Completive	<i>num-i-kis-un</i>	(<i>kis-</i> 'cut')
Delimitative	<i>num-i-mir-un</i>	(<i>mir-</i> 'see')
Inchoative	<i>num-un-joo-ni nar-un</i>	(lit. 'become as to drink')
Inceptive	<i>num-i-pazimir-un</i>	(<i>pazimir-</i> 'begin (intr.)')

The Irreversible aspect formative *-naanu* is the negative of *an* 'exist' (and thus the past is *-naansen*). This usage of negative existence as the Irreversible aspect marker pervades the Ryukyu dialect area (cf. Miyako *-niin* (Nakachi), *-njaan* (Nishihara)). The Experiential 'have done before' is formed with the past tense form of *mirun* 'see', but the Negative is formed with the non-past, i.e. *numi-miranu*. This last expression is ambiguous between the Experiential 'have not drunk (it) before' and the Delimitative 'will not have a taste'.

13.4.3.3 Modality

Conjecture with little epistemic commitment to the proposition is expressed using an embedded question (this structure also means 'I do not know whether . . .', the interpretation being determined according to the context).

- (17) (*hjottu s-uu-kaa*) *par-un-juu ss-anu*
 perhaps do-ATTR-COND go-AFF-Q know-NEG
 '(He) might go'

Conjecture with a higher degree of commitment to the truth of the assertion is expressed using *pazi*, with the degree of certainty of the outcome optionally expressed by modal adverbs: (*noosin/jaadin*) *parun pazi* '(He) will probably/definitely go'. Speaker's commitment to the truth of the assertion is also expressed by verb/adjective-final *-n*: *jum-i-bee-ta* '(He) was reading', *jum-i-bee-ta-n* '(I declare he) was reading'; *kisar-i-bee* '(It) has been cut', *kisar-i-bee-n* '(Clearly it) has been cut'. A past event/situation which has not been witnessed first-hand but which the speaker is certain of from the available evidence (including hearsay) is expressed using the verb-ending *-eeru*: *jadu-nu ak-i-bur-eeru* '(No doubt) the window was open', *umussa ar-eeru* '(No doubt it) was interesting'.

Evidentiality is expressed by suffixes. Hearsay is marked by the reportative evidentials *-ti* (the quotative particle) or *-coo* (on a low pitch): *parun-ti doo* and *parun-coo* 'I hear that (he) will go'. Appearance (and also conclusions based on other evidence, including hearsay) is marked with the adjective *-ngisan*: *pari-ngisan* 'It looks/seems like (he) will go'. This suffix is commonly used with the Adverbial of adjectives which describe feelings and so, without a marker such as *-ngisan*, can only be used to describe the speaker, or the addressee if interrogative: *jaasa-ngisan* '(He) is hungry', *piija-ngisan* '(He) is cold', *umussa-ngisan* '(He) is happy'. Also used is the Adverbial form of adjectives followed by *sun* 'do': *sabisa sun* '(He) is (acting) lonely'.

The deontic modality of obligation [must] is expressed as a conditional.

- (18) *s-a-ba-ru* *nar-u* (also less commonly *subaru naru*)
 do-IRR-COND-EMPH become-ATTR
 '(You) must do (it).' (lit. 'It will do only if you do it.')

This is also expressed using a conditional linking two negatives (i.e. 'if not done, it will not do'), as in *s-an-kaa nar-anu* and, with the added implication that there will be an undesirable consequence if not done, *s-an-too nar-anu*. Also commonly used is the structure Infinitive + *-sariru* (e.g. *num-i-sariru* '(you) must drink'). Prohibition [must not] is expressed by making the prohibited action the topic of *nar-anu* 'become-NEG': *s-ee* (do-INF.TOP) *nar-anu* '(You) must not do (it)' (lit. 'doing (it) will not do').

Permission [may] and dispensation [need not] are expressed by *misan* 'good' preceded by positive and negative Infinitive forms respectively: *sii misan* '(It) is all right to do (it)', *san misan* '(It) is all right not to do (it)'.

Responsibility [should] is expressed using the noun *biki* after the Infinitive form of the verb, and this structure does not convey imperative force.

- (19) a. *kuree waa-ru kak-i-biki*
 this.TOP you-EMPH write-INF-should
 'You should write this'
- b. *kak-i-biki-nu kutu*
 write-INF-should-GEN thing
 'what (one) should write'
- c. *kunu gwansoo waa mut-i-bikee ar-anu*
 this funerary.tablet.TOP you hold-INF-should.TOP COP-NEG
 'You should not inherit this funerary tablet'

Volition in Hatoma is expressed using the adjective *-pusan* (Hateruma *-boh-*, Ishigaki *-pus-* ~ *-pis-*, Miyara *-pis-*): *par-i-pusan* 'want to go'. In some other Yaeyama dialects, a different form (Ishigaki, Taketomi *-tta-*, Miyara *-t'a-*) is also used to express volition. The cognate Hatoma form, *-cca-*, is used only with verbs expressing involuntary physical actions (*sibaru s-i-cca-an* 'want to (= be about to) urinate', *ssu mar-i-cca-an* 'want to defecate', *pak-i-cca-an* 'want to vomit', *pana pus-i-cca-an* 'want to sneeze'). This same distribution is found in Nakachi (Miyako) (*jum-busi-munu* 'want to read', but *sibai s-i-ta-munu* 'want to urinate', *niv-ta-munu* 'want to sleep').

Intention is conveyed by the nouns *kangai* (from *kanga(ir)un* 'consider') and, less commonly, *sanmin* 'calculation'.

- (20) a. *baa acaa par-u kangai / sanmin*
 I tomorrow go-ATTR consideration/calculation
 'I intend to go tomorrow'
- b. *enma-a ukinaa par-u sanmin jar-i-ngisaa*
 next.year-TOP Okinawa.to go-ATTR calculation COP-INF-seems
 '(It) seems (he) plans to go to Okinawa next year'

The potential modality (possibility) is expressed by a number of forms, with the distinction between ability potential (*-juus-*; cognate *-bus-* in Ishigaki, Komi, and Miyara (Yaeyama)) and circumstantial potential (*-ar-*) important. Note the following examples (potential morphemes are underlined): *baa ui-juusanu* 'I cannot [ability] swim'; *uijaa narumudu, pan buriti oor(ar)anu* '(I) can [ability] swim, but (I) broke (my) leg and cannot [circumstantial] swim'; *kjuu-ja pancasanu, uin pararanu* '(I) am busy today, so (I) cannot [circumstantial] go swimming'; *jarabee duu-si kin kisi-juusanu* 'The child cannot [ability] put on clothes by (him)self'; *kunu kinmaa gumaanu, kisaranu* 'These clothes are small, so (I) cannot [circumstantial] put (them) on'.

Ability potential can also be expressed using *-seen* (*ui-seen* 'can swim', *ui-sanu* 'cannot swim'). This is apparently a grammaticalization of the Perfect form of the verb *ssun* 'to know', a pan-Yaeyama development not found in Miyako (Uchima 1997). *narun* (*uijaa narun* 'can swim') is used with both ability and circumstantial meanings. *-kantii* (*ui-kantii sun* 'cannot swim') is a circumstantial potential with no positive equivalent.

In Nishihara (Miyako), the form *-(r)ai-* (*uugai-du si* 'can swim', *uugain* 'cannot swim'), cognate with the Hatoma circumstantial potential, is used for both ability and circumstantial potentials, whereas *-juus-* (*uuzi-juusi-du si* 'can swim', *uuzi-juuhan* 'cannot swim'), cognate with the Hatoma ability potential, is used with acquired ability (but not innate ability) and also where agent-internal circumstances (i.e. the agent's physical or mental condition) determine potentiality, but not agent-external circumstances (e.g. the weather or rules) (Nakama 2000: 225–33). Unlike Nishihara, Hatoma does not use a potential construction to denote innate ability ('fish can swim', 'birds can fly').

13.4.3.4 Non-declarative sentence types

Questions

Non-past wh-questions are marked with sentence-final Attributive + *-wa*: *waa nuu sibe-wa* 'What are you doing?', *ujaa taa-ru miru-wa* 'Who will look after the parents?', *nunti kakan-wa* 'Why won't (you) write?'. However, if the sentence ends in a noun phrase which includes an interrogative pronoun, the particle *-ja* is used.

- (21) a. *paaree-nu tumu-jakoo taa-ja*
dragon.boat-GEN stern-oar.TOP who-Q
'Who is the steerer of the dragon boat?'
b. *taa jui-ja* c. *kjuu-ja nuu-nu pii-ja*
who.GEN cause-Q today-TOP what-GEN day-Q
'Whose fault is it?' 'What day is it today?'

Yes/no (nexus) questions and past wh-questions are typically marked by intonation alone.

- (22) a. *waa aca-N k-ii ffiir-un*
you tomorrow-also come-INF give.me-AFF
'Will you come tomorrow too?'
b. *nuusi nat-taa*
how become-PAST
'What happened?'

Questions (both wh- and yes/no) are often made somewhat less direct by the use of clause-final *-kajaa* (*-kjaa* in fast speech), which is formally a self-directed expression of doubt, but which is often used to ask for information: *taa-ru buu-kajaa* 'I wonder who is (here)?', *taa-kajaa* 'I wonder who (is it)?'.

In Nakachi (Miyako), wh-questions are marked with *-ga* on the wh-word (*ta-ʔa ttaa* 'Who came?', *karjaa nza-n-ga bui* 'Where is he?'). Yes/no questions are marked with *-ru* on the non-final word being questioned (*jaa cimu-ru ttaa* 'Did you come yesterday?') or with *-ro* (*-mo* after *m*, *-no* after *n*) sentence-finally (*kjuu-ja ami-ro* 'Is it rain today?', *kafutam-mo* 'Did (you) write?').

Alternative questions are formed by coordinating the alternatives, each with the relevant intonation.

- (23) a. *kuree turu kaburee* b. *kuree turu-kajaa kaburee-kajaa*
this.TOP bird bat this.TOP bird-Q bat-Q
'Is this a bird or a bat?' '(I wonder) is this a bird or a bat?'

The interrogative particle *-ka* is used rhetorically, when the speaker is in doubt and is trying to build up confidence to make a decision: *nibun-ka* 'Shall I sleep? (Yes, I think I will)', *pararin-ka* 'I wonder if I can go?', *kari-ka* 'Is it him? (It seems it may be)'. Negative + *-noo* also forms rhetorical questions, expressing the speaker's judgment: *waa jarabee aran-noo* 'You're (just) a child, aren't you!'

Questions which function as negative assertions are formed with *-wa* following the *N*-form of verbs and adjectives: *kaijan-wa* 'Is it pretty? (No it is not!)', *narun-wa* 'Can (he) do it? (No, he cannot!)'. A similar effect (with slight differences in nuance) is gained by the endings *-tuu*, *-noo*, *-noo-coo*, and *-ree*, also after *N*-forms. All of these constructions express the speaker's opinion, so the subject must be third person. With a first-person subject, because the decision is in the hands of the speaker, 'Will I go? (No, I won't!)' is rendered as *paran-tuu-hjaa* (with a derogatory attitude towards the addressee) or simply as *paran-doo* 'I won't go!'.
-i after the Cohortative form with a rising intonation marks a statement accompanied by a request for agreement: *baa sakinari para-i* 'I will go on ahead, OK?'.
Negative leading questions are most naturally answered with *aai* 'no' followed by the appropriate form of the verb or adjective.

(24) Q. *basannaroo naanu* 'Aren't there any bananas?'
A. *aai, naanu* 'No, there aren't.'
A. *aai, an-daa* 'Yes, there are.'

Commands, requests and proposals

-mii (on a high pitch), grammaticalized from *mirun* 'to see', is used to mark a weak (low coercion) imperative (*kaki-mii* 'write!'). *-nooree* follows a negative to mark a weak imperative or invitation (*san-nooree* 'Won't you do (it)?'). The Imperative form of verbs (*jaa pari* 'Go home!') can be followed by *-ba* to make it more forceful (*pari-ba* 'Go!') and further by *-joo* for still more force (*pari-ba-joo* 'Go!'). *kurin kaka-naa* (*-naa* on low pitch) 'Write this too!' carries the implication that there will be an undesirable consequence if not done. The prohibitive (negative imperative) is formed with *-na* (*paru-na* / *pan-na* 'Don't go!').

Requests are typically formulated using the verb *ffiirun* 'give me' or an equivalent at the appropriate speech level (see 13.4.6).

- (25) a. *waa pimaajar-u-kaa teenai s-ii ffiir-i*
you free COP-ATTR-COND assistance do-INF give.me-IMP
'If you are free, please help me'
b. *tanam-ar-i ffiir-ar-anu*
request-PASS-INF give.me-POT-NEG
'Could you do me a favour?' (lit. 'Couldn't you give me (the favour of) being asked (to do something)?')

Proposals are made using the Cohortative form, usually followed by a sentence-final particle (*para-dii* (*-dii* on falling pitch) 'Let's go'; *kurin kaka-naa* (*-naa* on high pitch) 'Shall (I/we) write this too' (asking for permission)), or by using a conditional.

- (26) a. *kak-u-kaa nuusi-jaa*
 write-ATTR-COND how-Q
 'How about writing?'
 b. *kak-i-ba-ru masi*
 write-INF-COND-EMPH better
 'It is better to write'

Exclamations

Exclamations are formed by the suffixation of sentence-final particles to the attributive form of adjectives: *atarasa-wa-ree* 'How cute!', *ffaipusa-wa-ree* 'How I want to eat!', *kazi-nu piija-joo* 'How cold the wind is!'.

13.4.4 Topic, focus, and emphasis

The topic is marked with the particle *-a* (*-ma* after *n*, *-wa* after a heavy syllable ending in *u*, and *-ja* after all other heavy syllables). This particle is also used to mark contrastive focus. The topic is marked as zero after *baa* 'I', *waa* 'you', except for the purpose of contrast.

- (27) a. *taroo-ja isankee-naati kaimunu s-un*
 Taro-TOP Ishigaki-at shopping do-AFF
 'Taro will do the shopping in Ishigaki'
 b. *uree imee wakar-an-ban*
 that.TOP meaning.TOP understand-NEG-FP
 'I don't understand the meaning of that'

A clause may be topicalized by putting the verb into the Infinitive form, and placing tense/aspect/polarity markers on the light verb *sun* 'do' (28a). In (28b) this process has been repeated.

- (28) a. *uree baa-ja wakar-ee s-anu*
 that.TOP I-TOP understand-INF.TOP do-NEG
 'I don't understand that'
 b. *ai-ja nar-ee s-ee s-anu* [Kajiku 1973: 48]
 like.that.TOP able-INF.TOP do-INF.TOP do-NEG
 '(I) am not able to do (it) like that'

In the same way that topicalized verbs are supported by *sun* 'do', topicalized adjectives are supported by the verb *an* 'have'.

- (29) *kaija-a ar-u-nu...*
 pretty-TOP have-ATTR-but...
 'It is pretty, but...'

The Topic particle is not used with wh-words (**nuu-ja masi-ja* 'What is better?'). This sentence would be *nuu-ru masi-ja*, using the emphatic focus particle *-ru* (also pronounced as *-du*, especially after *n*). This particle requires an Attributive form in clause-final position (see 10), and is incompatible with the modal suffix *-n* (cf. 30 with 27a).

- (30) a. *taroo-ru isankee-naati kaimunu s-uu*
 Taro-EMPH Ishigaki-at shopping do-ATTR
 'Taro will do the shopping in Ishigaki'
 b. *taroo isankee-naati-ru kaimunu s-uu*
 c. *taroo isankee-naati kaimunu-ru s-uu*

-ru is unnatural in relative clauses (*baa(??-ru) par-u pinma...* 'when I go...'), but is possible in embedded interrogatives. It is limited to one occurrence per clause, in both declarative and interrogative clauses.

- (31) *taa-ru nuu-ba(*-ru) ici(*-ru) ka-i k-uuta*
 who-EMPH what-ACC-(-EMPH) when(-EMPH) buy-INF come-PAST.ATTR
 'Who bought what when?'

As a particle marking exclusive focus, *-ru* carries the strong implication that there are no other relevant candidates (32a,b), and it is also used in comparative constructions (32c,d).

- (32) a. *pakoo hutaaci-ru at-ta*
 box.TOP 2-EMPH have-PAST.ATTR
 'There were only two boxes'
 b. *karee taka-ra-ba-ru ka-u*
 s/he.TOP high-IRR-COND-EMPH buy-ATTR
 'S/he only buys expensive (things)' (lit. 'S/he buys only if expensive')
 c. *mai-ja-kaa mai-ja-mutee misa-ru ar-u*
 big.ATTR-COND big.extent-TOP good-EMPH have-ATTR
 'The bigger, the better'
 d. *tii-ra-n pan-du jam-u*
 hand-from-even foot-EMPH hurt-ATTR
 '(My) feet hurt more than (my) hands'

For increased emphasis, these focus particles are commonly doubled, but only when the pronunciations differ (i.e. **-ja-ja* and **-ru-ru*).

- (33) a. *kuree-ja baa-ru kak-u*
 this.TOP-TOP I-EMPH write-ATTR
 'As for this, I will write it'
 b. *cisa-a-ja nanzoo sukur-oor-anssen-naa*
 lettuce-TOP-TOP so.much make-HON-NEG.PAST-FP
 '(They) didn't grow lettuce very much'
 c. *sakusi-ru-du jaa-ja sig-u*
 oldest.son-EMPH-EMPH house-TOP inherit-ATTR
 'The oldest son inherits the house'

This particle doubling is also found in Taketomi (Yaeyama) (several examples in Kajiku 1998), but is not permitted in Nakachi (Miyako).

Other emphatic particles are *-baaki* 'even' (lit. 'until'), the exemplifier *-(a)ncan* (*-(maan)can* after *n*, *-wancan* ~ *-jancan* after heavy syllables ending in *u*, and *-jancan* after other heavy syllables), *-saagi* 'even' and *-n* 'even' (lit. 'also').

- (34) *rakkjoo-nu-saagi ar-u-kaa katimunoo naan-tantin*
 shallot-NOM-EMPH have-ATTR-COND main.dish.TOP not.have-CONC
misan
 good
 'If (I) only have shallots, I don't need any other dishes (with my rice)'

All of the above focus particles appear following case particles with no co-occurrence restrictions. The sequence of subject- and topic-marking particles expresses a strong feeling of unexpectedness, and is usually followed by a negative predicate, but given sufficient context may also be used without a following negative.

- (35) a. *uri-noo s-ii-juus-anu*
 s/he-NOM.TOP do-INF-POT-NEG
 '(Amazingly) s/he cannot do it'
 b. *uri-noo par-i s-u*
 s/he-NOM.TOP go-INF do-ATTR
 '(Completely unexpectedly) s/he will go'

Focus is also expressed by clefting. The cleft structure is formed using the nominalizer *-mu* (a truncated form of *munu* 'thing').

- (36) a. *baa uja-tu par-u-moo isanakee-ru ja-ru*
 I parent-with go-ATTR-NMR.TOP Ishigaki.to-EMPH COP-ATTR
 'It is to Ishigaki that I will go with (my) parent(s)'
 b. *uja-tu isanakee pat-ta-moo baa(-ru ja-ru)*
 parent-with Ishigaki.to go-PAST.ATTR-NMR.TOP I(-EMPH COP-ATTR)
 'It is I who went to Ishigaki with (my) parent(s)'

Hatoma is rich in sentence-final particles, and many of these are used to express emphasis. For example, '(I) don't understand!' can be expressed as *wakaran-saa*, *wakaran-daa*, or *wakaran-doo*, in order of increasing emphasis. *-ban*, *-gera* (*-gjaa* in fast speech) and *-curee* all express light exclamatory force (but stronger than *-saa*), but *-ban* additionally conveys unexpectedness and *-gera* a sense of confidence on the part of the speaker (similar to English 'of course'). *-coo* (on a high pitch) and *-joo* are both forceful indicators of conviction, but *-joo* may also simultaneously convey a request for confirmation.

13.4.5. Passive and causative

The Passive is formed with the morpheme *-ar-*, and with the logical subject (agent) marked with the particle *-N*.

- (37) *pabu-N hooreera deezi-daa (hooreera = hu- + ar-i- + -ara)*
 snake-by bite.PASS.after big.problem-FP
 'Having been bitten by a snake, it's a big matter'

Hatoma uses the same verb form as an 'adversative passive', where the logical object, if there is one, remains the object, the logical subject is marked with *-N*, and the subject is the affected party.

- (38) a. *agajaa kari-N koosi ffa-ar-inaanu*
 oh s/he-by sweet eat-PASS-IRREV
 'Oh! S/he has eaten my cake!' (lit. '(I) was eaten the cake by him/her')

- b. *uri-N pan hun (si)k-ar-i-ti jam-i nar-anu*
 s/he-by foot stand.on-PASS-INF-CONJ hurt-INF become-NEG
 'S/he stood on (my) foot, and it hurts to distraction'
 c. *ami-N hoor(-ar)-i-ti sigutu-N nar-anu*
 rain-by fall.PASS(-PASS)-INF-CONJ work-also become-NEG
 'It is raining, so (I) cannot even do any work'

The Passive form is also used to express 'spontaneous' (Shibatani 1990: 332-3).

- (39) a. *karee sidas-itan-ti umoor-i*
 s/he.TOP make.up-PAST-QUOT think.PASS-AFF
 'It occurs to me that she put on make up'
 b. *unu panasi suk-u-kaa nak-i-ru sir-ar-i-coo*
 that story hear-ATTR-COND cry-INF-EMPH do-PASS-ATTR-FP
 'When I hear that story, I cry'

The Causative has two forms, *-as-* and *-asim(ir)-* (*-im(ir)-* after *s*-ending verb stems): *kakasun ~ kakasim(ir)un* 'cause to write' (*kak-* 'write'), *umoosun ~ umoosim(ir)un* 'cause to think' (*umu-* 'think'), *ibasun ~ ibisim(ir)un ~ ibasim(ir)un* 'cause to plant' (*ib(ir)-* 'plant'), *panasasun ~ panasim(ir)un* 'cause to speak' (*panas-* 'speak'), *sasun ~ sim(ir)un* 'cause to do' (*s-* 'do').

With the Causative of a transitive verb, the causee is marked with *-N* (40a), and the causee of an intransitive verb is marked as the direct object (40b,c).

- (40) a. *baa kari-N-du tigamee kak-as-i-pusa-coo*
 I s/he-N-EMPH letter.TOP write-CAUS-INF-want.ATTR-FP
 'I want to make her write a letter'
 b. *karee par-i-pusa naan-ti s-ita-N-du*
 s/he.TOP go-INF-want NEG-QUOT say-PAST.ATTR-but-EMPH
baa macaa-ba iramutee par-as-ita
 I Matsu-ACC Iriomote.to go-CAUS-PAST.ATTR
 'He said he didn't want to go, but I made Matsu go to Iriomote island'
 c. *karee par-i-pusa s-ii bur-ee-nda-ru*
 s/he.TOP go-INF-want do-INF be-PERF-so-EMPH
baa macaa-ba iramutee par-as-ita
 I Matsu-ACC Iriomote.to go-CAUS-PAST.ATTR
 'He was wanting to go, so I let Matsu go to Iriomote island'

The Passive of the Causative is formed as in (41), with the causee of the Causative verb becoming the subject of the Passive-Causative.

- (41) *baa unza-N taku ffa-as-ar-itan*
 I s/he-by octopus eat-CAUS-PASS-PAST
 'I was made to eat (the) octopus by him/her'

In addition to being a Causative suffix, *-as-* is also a common formative in lexical transitive/intransitive pairings, the main patterns of which are given below.

intransitive	transitive
-ir-	-as-
niirun (ni-ir-) 'boil'	neesun (ni-as-) 'boil'
nzirun (nz-ir-) 'go out'	nzasun (nz-as-) 'put out'
-ar-	-ir-
sumarun (sum-ar-) 'be dyed'	sumirun (sum-ir-) 'dye'
tasikarun (tasik-ar-) 'help'	tasikirun (tasik-ir-) 'help'
-r-	-s-
birun (bi-r-) 'sit'	bisun (bi-s-) 'place'
nuurun (nuu-r-) 'get on'	nuusun (nuu-s-) 'place on'
Ø	-as-
sinkun (sink-) 'sink'	sinkasun (sink-as-) 'sink'
taraun (tara-) 'be sufficient'	taraasun (tara-as-) 'supplement'
-ir-	Ø
barirun (bar-ir-) 'split'	barun (bar-) 'split'
tarirun (tar-ir-) 'drip'	tarun (tar-) 'make (sugar, alcohol)'

13.4.6 Speech levels and respect

Respect language is a very important part of the Hatoma dialect. Age and social position are the primary factors which determine the level of respect language used, and of these age is the most important. When a person older than the speaker is the subject, subject honorification is used, and a speaker will use subject-honorific forms of a group which includes an elder, even if the group also includes the speaker.

- (42) *nika-a* *bugarinoosi* *s-oor-a*
 this.evening-TOP after.work.gathering do-HON-COH
 'Let's have a party this evening'

Other examples include *oora* 'Let's go' and *nkoora* 'Let's eat'. Also, an older person speaking to a younger person usually uses subject-honorific forms when speaking of himself.

Subject-honorifics are also used when the grammatical subject is an important natural entity (*siki-nu aar-oor-un* 'The moon rises'), or rice (*mai-nu uum-oor-an-ken* 'Before the rice ripens...'), an important crop which is not grown on Hatoma and which, until 1962, the people of Hatoma had to sail to their fields on Iriomote to tend.

The subject-honorific form of most verbs is formed with the suffix *-oor-* (*i-oor-* after vowel-ending verb stems: *kaioorun* from *kaun* 'buy', *kangaioorun* from *kanga(ir)un* 'consider'; adjectives use the Adverbial form followed by the Honorific form of *an* 'have': *suuwa ar-oor-un* 'strong'), but some verbs have suppletive subject-honorific forms: *oorun* 'go, come, be', *nkoorun* 'eat, drink (alcohol)', *maarasun* 'die'. This last form may be made more honorific by suffixing *-oor-* (*maarasoorun*). Another word for 'die', the euphemistic *juusigirun* (*juu* 'world' + *sigirun* 'pass by'), is also subject-honorific but the degree of honorificity is not as high as *maarasun*, and it too may be suffixed with *-oor-* (*juusigiroorun*). *ffoorun* 'give me', the subject-honorific form of *fiirun*, is used when the subject is a superior (elder), and *taboorun* is used of superiors of high social position (school principal, mayor) and of people the speaker feels particularly indebted to. *taburoorun* is still more honorific. *oosun* 'give' and *ssarun* 'say' are forms used when the speaker (who is not necessarily the subject) expresses respect towards the indirect object of the verb. These verbs may be converted to subject-honorific by suffixing *-oor-*. An object-honorific verb is *sikaasun* 'accompany'.

TABLE 13.4 HATOMA PRONOUNS AND SPEECH LEVELS

	superiors	equals and subordinates	derogatory
2p sg.	<i>waa</i>	<i>waa</i>	<i>wanza</i>
pl.	<i>wa(a)taa</i>	<i>wa(a)taa</i>	<i>wanza-nmee</i>
3p prox. sg.	<i>kumu-pusu</i>	<i>kuri</i>	<i>kunza</i>
prox. pl.	<i>kumu-pusu-nkee</i>	<i>kuccaa</i>	<i>kunza-nmee</i>
med. sg.	<i>unu-pusu</i>	<i>uri</i>	<i>unza</i>
med. pl.	<i>unu-pusu-nkee</i>	<i>uccaa</i>	<i>unza-nmee</i>
dist. sg.	<i>kanu-pusu</i>	<i>kari</i>	<i>kanza</i>
dist. pl.	<i>kanu-pusu-nkee</i>	<i>kaccaa</i>	<i>kanza-nmee</i>
anaphoric	<i>unaa</i>	<i>unaa</i>	<i>unanza</i>
indef. sg.	<i>taa</i>	<i>taa / taru</i>	<i>tanza</i>
pl.	<i>taataa</i>	<i>taataa / taccaa</i>	<i>tanza-nmee</i>

-juu is a sentence-final particle, used in positive declarative sentences, which expresses respect towards the addressee by depreciating the actions or belongings of the speaker: *parun-juu* 'I will go', *kuree baa-mu-juu* 'This is mine', also (9). *-neera* is a subject-honorific interrogative particle used in sentence-final position in both wh- and yes-no questions.

In addition to verbs, personal pronouns have different forms to indicate respect, as shown in Table 13.4. (Note: *pusu* 'person'.)

The forms used for 'yes' also depend on the addressee, with *oo* used towards superiors, and *nn* towards equals and subordinates. 'No' is *aai* to all addressees.

The Causative Imperative has a reduced pronunciation (*-aai*) which is used only towards subordinates (cf. 'Please pass me (it)' *jar-as-oor-i* [to superiors], *jar-as-i* [to equals or subordinates], *jar-aai* [to subordinates]).

13.4.7 Adverbs

The adverbial form of adjectives (and negative verbs) is homophonous with the attributive form: *kataa makun* 'sow (seeds) thickly' (*kataan* 'thick, dense'); *maiya narun* 'become big' (*maiyan* 'big'); *sabisa narun* 'become lonely' (*sabisan* 'lonely'); *tatan narun* 'become unable to stand' (*tatun* 'stand').

As for adverbial suffixes, *-ni*, *-si*, *-ti*, and *-(t)tu* are common.

atta-ni 'suddenly', *sama-ni* 'soberly', *takaa-ni* 'much', *z(j)un-ni* 'really'
jaata-si 'soon', *jaarama-si* 'slowly and carefully', *zeezee-si* 'in a drunken state'
biccu-ti 'identical', *dakka-ti* 'soaking', *gian-ti* 'jam-packed', *kisaa-ti* 'already'
sikai-(t)tu 'for certain', *musi-(t)tu* 'the least bit', *pasi-ttu* 'refreshingly'

Adverbs ending in *-ku* are rare and are likely loans (*cjuraa-ku* 'completely', *paa-ku* 'quickly'). Also relatively rare are adverbs ending in *-sa* (*pai-sa* 'quickly', *giuu-sa* 'how much', *ikaa-sa* 'how much').

Reduplication, often followed by *-si*, is very common with an intensifying function: *ffoo-ffoo* 'jet black' (*ffoon* 'black'), *naa-naa* 'for a long time' (*naan* 'long'), *pisoo-pisoo-ku* 'widely' (*pisoon* 'wide'), *turii-turi-si* 'quietly' (*tur(ir)un* 'become calm').

The demonstrative adverbs are *kai* 'in this way' and *ai* 'in that way'. Conjunctive adverbs include *andaa* 'and then', *andeekaa* 'if that is the case', *asi-ti* 'and', *asu-nu* 'however', *bee-ti* 'thus'.

Ryukyuan adverbs often display a characteristic suprasegmental structure. In Hatoma, adverbs often have the word-initial iambic foot on a low pitch (e.g. the adverbs ending in *-ti* above), or the word-final mora alone is on a high pitch (*kànmààzì* 'by all means', *tàkààtàká* 'high up'), and reduplicated adverbs in the Miyako dialects of Karimata and Nakachi are characterized by the presence of a glottal stop, which is not part of the underlying phonemic inventory of these dialects.

13.4.8 Clause linking

Verb-ending predicates and clauses may be coordinated using the Infinitive form of verbs (43a), but adjective-ending predicates and clauses are coordinated by converting the adjectives into the Adverbial form and using the verb *an* 'have' in the Infinitive form (43b) (cf. 29, 32c). A similar structure is also possible with verbs, using the light verb *sun* (43c) (cf. 28).

- (43) a. *dansi mai ssa-i pamai siko-or-i*
promptly rice polish-INF table.rice prepare-IMP
'Quickly polish the rice and prepare table rice'
- b. *jassa-N ar-i nmaa-N an*
cheap-also have-INF delicious-also have
'(It) is both cheap and delicious'
- c. *waa-ja kak-i baa-ja jum-i s-aa*
you-TOP write-INF I-TOP read-INF do-COH
'You write and I'll read'

The Infinitive form may be extended by the conjunctive particle *-ti*. However, *-ti* after adjectives and stative forms of verbs expresses reason/cause (*isikaa-ti* 'is short, so...'; *kak-ee-ti* 'have written, so...'). *-nu* after adjectives expresses the same but from a more subjective (less logical) viewpoint. *-nu* after verbs, including stative forms and the negative *naan* 'not have/exist', functions as a contrastive conjunctive particle.

- (44) a. *kirama-a mir-ar-i-nu mii-nu macee mir-ar-anu*
Kerama-TOP see-POT-ATTR-but eye-GEN eyelash.TOP see-POT-NEG
'(You) can see the Kerama islands, but (you) cannot see (your) eyelashes'
- b. *gee-ta-nu oor-ansén*
go-PAST-but be.HON-NEG.PAST
'(I) went, but (you) weren't (there)'

The contrastive conjunction of an adjective is achieved by introducing the verb *an* 'have'.

- (45) *kaija-a ar-u-nu azeé naanu*
pretty-TOP have-ATTR-but flavour.TOP not.have
'(It) looks good, but (it) lacks flavour'

Reason/cause with verbs is expressed using *-ki* after the Infinitive form (46a), or by using the bare past tense form (46b).

- (46) a. *garazi-nu jam-i-ki-ru ukir-ansén*
head-NOM hurt-INF-because-EMPH get.up-NEG.PAST.ATTR
'(I) had a head-ache, so I didn't get up'

- b. *ami-nu hu-uta(a) simikkeer-i-ti muir-anu*
rain-NOM fall-PAST damp-INF-CONJ burn-NEG
'It has rained, so (it) is damp and won't burn'

The conjunctive particle *-ba* after the Irrealis *-a* (cf. *kak-a* 'let's write') introduces a conditional. (Infinitive – actually a frozen realis, perhaps borrowed from Okinawan – is also found, cf. (26b).)

- (47) *baa kak-a-ba waa sik-i*
I write-IRR-COND you listen-IMP
'When/if I write, you listen'

The same *-ba* after the non-past attributive form of a verb is used when the speaker has made a firm decision: *baa kak-u-ba waa siki* 'I will write, so you listen' (also *baa kak-u-nda waa siki*); *baa kak-an-ba waa kaki* 'I won't write, so you write'.

The Conditional particle is *-kaa*, which follows the Attributive form (see also 25a, 32c, 34).

- (48) *tana-nu naan-kaa sikai-gurusán*
shelf-NOM not.be.ATTR-COND use-difficult
'If/when there are no shelves, (it) is difficult to use'

There are two hypothetical concessive structures, one based on the irrealis conjunctive form *-aba*, and the other on the past tense form *-utan*.

- (49) a. *baa kak-aban waa kak-una*
I write-CONCESS you write-PROH
'Even if I write, don't you write'
- b. *baa kak-utantin waa kak-ee nar-an-daa*
I write-CONCESS you write-INF.TOP become-NEG-FP
'Even if I write, you must not write'

In (49a), the speaker has no intention of writing at the time of speaking. In contrast, in (49b) the speaker is signalling that it is quite likely that he will write. Also concessive is the particle *-munu*, which is also used at the end of counterfactual statements.

- (50) a. *ai-ni sanija s-iibee-munu gakkoo-naato par-un-ree*
that.much-ADV happy do-CONT-CONCESS school-such.like go-AFF-FP
'(With him) so happy, will he go to school or the like? (Of course he won't!)'
- b. *kak-ee misa-munu*
write-INF.TOP good.ATTR-CONCESS
'It would be good if you wrote'
- c. *kak-ee-ba misa-ta-munu*
write-PERF.ATTR-COND good-PAST.ATTR-CONCESS
'(You) should have written'

kutoo (grammaticalized *kutu* 'thing.TOP') after the past tense form is used to introduce an immediate and unexpected occurrence in the following clause.

- (51) *acica hum-ee-ta kutoo buu kis-inaansén*
clog wear-PERF-PAST.ATTR thing.TOP cord cut-IRREV.PAST
'When (I) put on (my) wooden sandals, the thong broke'

Purposive, with a following verb of motion, is marked by *-N* (*-na* in most other Yaeyama dialects and cognate *-ga* in the Miyako dialects):

- (52) *manama mir-i-N par-ibee-ti u-naa mat-ibee-i*
 now see-INF-PURP go-CONT-so there-at wait-CONT-IMP
 '(I) will go and meet you now, so wait there'

Other purposive clauses use *-joo-ni*. *-joo-ni* and *-kataci-ni* both create manner adverbial phrases, but whereas *-joo-ni* is restricted to being used after verbs and adjectives, *-kataci-ni* is used predominantly after the Genitive of nouns. It is also used after verbs, but is much less frequent than *-joo-ni* in this usage.

- (53) a. *waa kak-u joo-nee kak-i-juus-anu*
 you write-ATTR like-ADV.TOP write-INF-POT-NEG
 '(I) cannot write like you do'
- b. *pusoo bara-an joo-ni s-ii*
 person.TOP laugh-NEG.ATTR like-ADV do-IMP
 'Act so as not to laugh at people'
- c. *waa kataci-ni kak-i-juus-anu*
 you.GEN like-ADV write-INF-POT-NEG
 '(I) cannot write like you'
- d. *isi-nu kataci-ni koor-ibee*
 stone-GEN like-ADV harden-CONT
 '(It) has hardened like stone'

Embedded questions, even if sentence-final through right dislocation, are marked with clause-final *-juu* or *-saa*.

- (54) *par-un-juu par-an-juu ss-an-ban*
 go-AFF-Q go-NEG-Q know-NEG-FP
 'I don't know whether (I) will go or not'

In Nakachi (Miyako), an embedded question has normal interrogative marking and is followed by *ga(a)ra*.

- (55) *abaa taroo-ga noo-ju-ga asi-taa-?aara ss-an*
 I.TOP Taro-NOM what-ACC-Q do-PAST-Q know-NEG
 'I don't know what Taro did'

The negative connectives *-amuti* and *-andoosi* are used as in (56), with *-amuti* used when the following clause is an undesirable situation in the circumstances, and *-andoosi* when it is a desirable situation (often an imperative).

- (56) a. *sigutoo s-amuti saki-kaani num-ibee*
 work.TOP do-NEGCONJ alcohol-only drink-CONT
 '(He) isn't working, but is only drinking'
- b. *sigutoo s-andoosi uja-nu kanbjoo s-uuta*
 work.TOP do-NEGCONJ parent-GEN caring do-PAST
 '(He) didn't work, but looked after (his ill) parent(s)'

Temporal relationships between clauses may be expressed using *-pin* 'time', *-ken* 'period', *-ara* 'after' (lit. 'from'), *-mai* 'before' (lit. 'front') and *-nteena* 'while' (two actions performed by the same subject).

- (57) a. *tii sim-u pin-maa sahhun sika-i-ba*
 hand wash-ATTR time-TOP soap use-IMP-FP
 'When you wash your hands, use soap'
- b. *tii sim-ibeen-ken maja-nu peer-i k-ee-tan*
 hand wash-CONT.ATTR-period cat-NOM enter-INF come-PERF-PAST
 'While I was washing my hands, a cat came in'
- c. *ami-nu hoon-ken-naa jaa par-a*
 rain-NOM fall.NEG.ATTR-period-at house.to go-COH
 'Before it starts to rain, let's return home'
- d. *tii sim-i-teera ii ffa-a-dii*
 hand wash-INF-CONJ.after food eat-COH-FP
 'After washing (our) hands, let's eat'
- e. *ff-uu mai-naa tii sim-i*
 eat-ATTR front-at hand wash-IMP
 'Wash your hands before eating'
- f. *ii ffa-i-nteena sinbun jum-ibee*
 food eat-INF-while newspaper read-CONT
 'While eating, (he) is reading the newspaper'

A non-exhaustive listing of predicates may be expressed using the conjunctive form *-tari*, based on the past tense + *-ri*, or the Attributive form with *aaru*, both followed by *sun* 'do'.

- (58) a. *uta iz-i-mit-tari buduru s-ii-mit-tari s-un*
 song say-INF-EXPER-tari dance do-INF-EXPER-tari do-AFF
 '(I) will (do such things as) sing and dance'
- b. *uta iz-u-aaru buduru s-uu-aaru s-ii ikkena*
 song say-ATTR-aaru dance do-ATTR-aaru do-INF very
umussa s-uutan
 interesting do-PAST
 '(I) did such things as sing and dance and thoroughly enjoyed (myself)'

Two actions by the same subject which take place repeatedly one after the other are expressed using an A-B-B-type reduplication followed by *sun* 'do'.

- (59) a. *tat-i-tee bir-i-bir-i s-un*
 stand-INF-CONJ.TOP sit-INF-sit-INF do-AFF
 'repeatedly stand up and sit down'
- b. *ffa-i-tee nib-i-nib-i s-un*
 eat-INF-CONJ.TOP sleep-INF-sleep-INF do-AFF
 'repeatedly eat and sleep'

A variation on this common pattern is *ffaiti nibee sii sii sun* 'repeatedly eat and sleep'.

13.5 LEXICON

Southern Ryukyuan dialects are straightforwardly identifiable by having an initial *i* in the word for 'sea', due to a change in proto-Southern-Ryukyuan from **umi* to **im*.

((Miyako) Hisamatsu, Ikema, Tarama *im*; (Yaeyama) Hateruma *inaga*, Hatoma *in* (literary), Ishigaki *in-*, Sonai *in*, Taketomi *inna*). Although there are some words of unknown provenance, the bulk of Hatoma vocabulary is inherited from proto-Ryukyuan.

Chinese loanwords are comparatively uncommon in Hatoma. A count of a 6,450 word glossary gives around 9 per cent to be of Chinese origin, or containing morphemes which are of Chinese origin. Most of the loans are Sino-Japanese, probably entering Southern Ryukyuan via Okinawa. Some Chinese loanwords have entered the Ryukyus directly from southern China (e.g. Hatoma *koosa* 'clenched fist' (cf. Fuzhou *k'au*^{213tsɔ⁵³})), but these too entered Southern Ryukyuan from Okinawa. A possible direct loan from a Chinese dialect into Southern Ryukyuan is Hatoma *daipaa* 'mortar' (Chinese *lěi bō*), with Miyako *naipa* suggesting a southern Chinese origin (cf. Fuzhou *lai*^{55pua²⁴} ~ *nai*^{55pua²⁴}).

A number of Sino-Japanese loanwords are so assimilated that native speakers are unaware of their relationship to the Japanese forms: *sinmin* 'expressly' (Sino-Japanese *senmin* 'devote oneself to'), *sippai* 'to the best of one's ability' (Sino-Japanese *sei-ioppai*).

Loanwords of Western origin constitute less than 1 per cent of the Hatoma vocabulary. A number of boating terms have been borrowed from English, probably around the period of the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905) when Hatoma men served in the imperial navy which had been modelled on the British navy: *ankaa* 'anchor', *burizi* 'bridge', *goohē* 'go ahead', *goositan* 'go astern'. (These forms are also found in the dialects of a number of mainland Japanese fishing ports.) The word *kinai* 'quinine' (for treating malaria, previously a major health problem on Iriomote island) was probably borrowed directly from English rather than from Standard Japanese, which has *kinīne* (from Dutch).

Loans from Northern Ryukyuan dialects include *haizoo* 'stern sprit' (the inherited Hatoma form would be **parizau*) and *haragoo* 'skipjack tuna belly'. These particular words would have been introduced in the early twentieth century by fishermen from Itoman, Kudaka, Ou-jima, and Motobu (Okinawa).

Hatoma nouns are steadily being replaced by Standard Japanese forms, even in the speech of the oldest speakers: e.g. *akaru* 'paper sliding door' by *soozi* (Sino-Japanese *shōji*), *bunaru-bikiru* 'siblings' (lit. 'female siblings–male siblings') by *kjoodai* (Sino-Japanese *kyōdai*), *ikusajuu-nu atoo* 'post-war period' by Sino-Japanese *sjuusengo* (*shūsengo*), *maikari* 'rice harvest' by Sino-Japanese *sjuukaku* (*shūkaku*), *pairu* 'vinegar' by *sii* (Native Japanese *su*), *pīi* 'guttering' by *tui* (Native Japanese *toi*), and *sahhun* 'soap' by Sino-Japanese *sekken*. Other generational changes include *azun* 'say' being pronounced as *asun* and *fuun* 'eat' as *fuun* in the speech of the younger generation. Older-generation *barasan* 'bad' has become *wassan* in the younger generation, probably a loan from a Northern Ryukyuan dialect.

Words of mixed ancestry are rare but include *kakuri-zuu* 'hiding place' (native or borrowed *kakuri-* + *-zuu* (Sino-Japanese *-jo* via Okinawa)), *kwajaa-izu* 'fish which are biting' (borrowed Okinawan *kwajaa* + native *izu* 'fish'), *nerukin* 'flannel clothing' (loan *neru* + native *kin* 'clothing') and *tamagarasu* 'glass' (native *tama-* 'glass' + loan *garasu*).

Mimetic vocabulary is predominantly adverbial and frequently involves reduplication. Typical examples are: *doon-toon-si* 'knocking (at a door)', *goon-koon-si* 'gulping (down a drink)', *ngoo-ngoo-si* 'babbling', *pacara-pacara-si* 'twinkling'.

The use of *agamunu* ~ *agamunooma* (lit. 'red-thing(-DIM)') for *pīi* 'fire' and *naamumu* (lit. 'long-thing') for *pabu* 'poisonous snake' in circumstances with strong religious significance is an example of linguistic taboo.

13.6 DIALECT ATTRITION

The youngest competent speakers of Hatoma are now in their 60s. The same is the case with Nakachi (Miyako). These are endangered languages, as are most Southern Ryukyuan dialects, yet until the mid-1950s these dialects were thriving. The following account of the decline of the Hatoma dialect draws heavily on Kajiku (2002).

The first school was established on Hatoma in 1896. Prior to this time, the inhabitants of Hatoma would have had no exposure to mainland Japanese language, or indeed to any written language, tied as they were to their island by the crippling poll-tax which was levied upon them from 1637 until its abolition in 1903. With very few exceptions, the furthest inhabitants would have ventured was to their paddy fields on Iriomote island seven kilometres away. Records of rice and cloth production used as payment of the poll-tax were kept using symbols denoting family groupings, types of produce and quantities (Uesedo 1976: 331–5). Some of this information was also recorded using knotted straw (*barazan*).

In 1898 Japan introduced conscription into Okinawa (although it was only in 1899 that the inhabitants of Okinawa gained Japanese citizenship). A number of men from Hatoma took part in the Russo-Japanese war, and Japan's victory in this war played a large rôle in moulding a sense of Japanese identity in the people of Okinawa. However, although conscripts and school children were exposed to Japanese, even in the late 1940s people on Hatoma who were proficient in Standard Japanese were the exception rather than the rule. There were only two radios on the island (one at the school, and one in the post office), so dialect was the normal language of all aspects of life outside of school.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, mainland Japan was experiencing intense economic growth, and one result of this was that junior high school graduates from Hatoma would go to the Japanese mainland to seek employment. This led to rapid depopulation of the island. The 1955 population of 567 had more than halved to 220 by 1965. With the realization that the economic success of their children lay in mainland Japan, parents and grandparents began to make a conscious effort to use Standard Japanese towards the children in their families.

In 1967 OHK (Okinawa Public Broadcasting Corporation), which merged with NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) in 1972 when Okinawa reverted to Japan, started television broadcasts into Miyako and Yaeyama, so from this year children became exposed to Standard Japanese from birth. The following year Hatoma's dried skipjack tuna factory closed due to falling catches. The skipjack tuna fishing and processing industry had been the main source of income for the island for over 50 years, and its collapse resulted in increased migration, so that by 1970 the population had fallen to 69. As of December 2011 it is 52 (36 households).

With increased travel to Okinawa island and mainland Japan, marriages between people of different dialect areas became common, and, because of the mutual unintelligibility of dialects, in such households the language used was usually, of necessity, Standard Japanese.

Although the youngest dialect-speaking generation is in its 60s, there are many in this age group who do not speak the dialect. Most confident speakers are now in their 70s or older. There are some rare cases of speakers of Southern Ryukyuan dialects who are in their 20s or 30s, but these are people raised in linguistically exceptional circumstances, such as those who were brought up by their grandparents who used dialect.

NOTE

* I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Professor Kajiku Shin'ichi, who tirelessly responded to my questions on all aspects of the Hatoma dialect, and to Mr Tomihama Sadakichi, who provided all of the Nakachi (Miyako) data.

REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

- Bentley, John R. (2008) *A Reconstruction of the Proto-Language of the Southern Ryukyus*, Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental.
- Hirayama Teruo (ed.) (1967) *Ryūkyū Sakishima-Hōgen-no Sōgōteki-Kenkyū* [Comprehensive research into the Sakishima dialects of the Ryukyus], Tokyo: Meiji shoin.
- (ed.) (1983) *Ryūkyū Miyako-Shotō-Hōgen-Kiso-Goi-no Sōgōteki-Kenkyū* [Comprehensive research into the basic vocabulary of the dialects of the Miyako islands of the Ryukyus], Tokyo: Ōfūsha.
- (ed.) (1988) *Minami-Ryūkyū-no Hōgen-Kiso-Goi* [The basic dialect vocabulary of the Southern Ryukyuan dialects], Tokyo: Ōfūsha.
- Iitoyo Ki'ichi (ed.) (1984) *Kōza Hōgen-gaku 10: Okinawa / Amami-Chihō-no Hōgen* [Dialectology 10: The dialects of the Okinawa and Amami regions], Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.
- Izuyama Atsuko (2003) 'The grammar of Ishigaki Miyara dialect in Luchuan', in Izuyama Atsuko (ed.) *Studies on Luchuan Grammar*, ELPR (Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim) Publications Series A4-024. [Original Japanese version published as ELPR Publications Series A4-004 (2002).]
- Kajiku Shin'ichi (ed.) (1973) *Okinawa-ken Yaeyama Hatoma-jima-Hōgen* [Hatoma island dialect of Yaeyama, Okinawa prefecture], (Dialect recording material series 15), National Language Research Institute.
- (1983) 'Okinawa-ken Taketomi-chō-hōgen [The dialect of Taketomi district, Okinawa prefecture]', in Hirayama Teruo (ed.) *Zenkoku Hōgen Jiten* [Japanwide dialect dictionary] 1, Tokyo: Kadokawa, 297–301.
- (1984) 'Yaeyama-hōgen-gaisetsu' [Overview of the Yaeyama dialects], in Iitoyo Ki'ichi (ed.) *Kōza Hōgen-gaku 10: Okinawa/Amami-Chihō-no Hōgen* [Dialectology 10: The dialects of the Okinawa and Amami regions], Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 289–361.
- (1991) 'Hatoma-hōgen-no saishi-kankei-goi (1)' [The ritual-related vocabulary of the Hatoma dialect (1)], *Ryūkyū-no Hōgen*, 16: 56–104.
- (1998) 'Taketomi-hōgen-no kiso-goi: Bun'ya 3 Shokubutsu' [The basic vocabulary of the Taketomi dialect: Field 3 Vegetation], *Ryūkyū-no Hōgen*, 23: 95–107.
- (2002) 'Yaeyama Taketomi-chō-no kiki-gengo-no hyakunen' [100 years of the endangered languages of Taketomi district, Yaeyama], <http://www.let.osaka-u.ac.jp/~sbj/genchijouhou.htm>.
- Kamei Takashi, Kōno Rokurō and Chino Ei'ichi (eds) (1992) *Gengogaku Dai-jiten Dai-4-kan* [Sanseido encyclopedia of linguistics, vol. 4], Tokyo: Sanseido.
- Karimata Shigehisa (1992a) 'Ryūkyū-rettō-no gengo (Miyako-hōgen)' [The languages of the Ryukyu archipelago (Miyako dialects)], in Kamei Takashi, Kōno Rokurō and Chino Ei'ichi (eds) *Gengogaku Dai-jiten Dai-4-kan* [Sanseido encyclopedia of linguistics, vol. 4], Tokyo: Sanseido, 388–403.
- (1992b) 'Ryūkyū-rettō-no gengo (Yaeyama-hōgen)' [The languages of the Ryukyu archipelago (Yaeyama dialects)], in Kamei Takashi, Kōno Rokurō and Chino Ei'ichi (eds) *Gengogaku Dai-jiten Dai-4-kan* [Sanseido encyclopedia of linguistics, vol. 4], Tokyo: Sanseido, 403–13.
- Lawrence, Wayne P. (1997a) 'Hatoma-hōgen-no akusento: Meishi' [Hatoma dialect accentuation: Nouns], *Okinawa Bunka*, 85: 1–26.
- (1997b) 'Hatoma-hōgen-no akusento: Sūshi/josūshi' [Hatoma dialect accentuation: Numbers/classifiers], *Okinawa Geijutsu-no Kagaku*, 9: 1–21.
- (2001) 'Tone and/or accent in Ryukyuan dialects,' in Kaji Shigeki (ed.) *Proceedings of the Symposium Cross-linguistic Studies of Tonal Phenomena: Tonogenesis, Japanese Accentology, and Other Topics*, Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 195–204.
- Matsumori Akiko (2010) 'Tarama-jima-no 3-kei-akusento-to "keiretsu-betsu goi"' [The 3-class accentual system of Tarama island and a 'classified vocabulary'], Uwano Zendō (ed.) *Nihongo-Kenkyū-no 12-shō* [12 Chapters of Japanese language research], Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 490–503.
- Miyagi Shin'yū (2003) *Ishigaki-Hōgen-Jiten* [Ishigaki dialect dictionary], Naha: Okinawa Times.
- Miyana Masamori (1982) [1931] *Yaeyama-Goi Kō-hen* [Yaeyama vocabulary Part 1], Tokyo: Dai'ichi Shobō.
- Miyara Shinshō (1995) *Minami-Ryūkyū Yaeyama Ishigaki-Hōgen-no Bunpō* [A grammar of the Ishigaki dialect of Yaeyama, Southern Ryukyu], Tokyo: Kurosio.
- Nakama Mitsunari (1991) 'Miyako Nishihara-hōgen-no asupekuto' [Aspect in the Nishihara dialect of Miyako], *Kokubungaku Kaishaku-to Kanshō*, 56: 1.86–92.
- (2000) *Ryūkyū-Hōgen-no Imiron* [The semantics of the Ryukyuan dialects], Tokyo: Rukku.
- Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (ed.) (1972) *Zenkoku Hōgen Shiryō Dai-11-kan Ryūkyū-hen II* [Japanwide dialect materials, vol. 11, Ryukyu II], Tokyo: Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai. [CD-ROM version published in 1999.]
- Ōno Makio (1989) 'Ryūkyū Hateruma-hōgen-no josūshi: Sono keitai-to imi-kōzō' [Hateruma dialect classifiers: Their morphological and semantic structure], *Ryūkyū-no Hōgen*, 14: 107–17.
- Shibatani Masayoshi (1990) *The Languages of Japan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Suzuki Shigeyuki et al. (2001) *Ryūkyū Yaeyama-Hōgen-no Dōshi-no Kenkyū: Ishigaki-Hōgen-no Dōshi-no Asupekuto-to Tensu* [Research into the verbs of the Yaeyama dialects: Aspect and tense in Ishigaki dialect verbs], Ministry of Education Research Fund (C)(2) research report. Project no. 11610438.
- Uchima Chokujin (1984) 'Miyako-shotō-no hōgen' [The dialects of the Miyako islands], in Iitoyo Ki'ichi (ed.) *Kōza Hōgen-gaku 10: Okinawa / Amami-Chihō-no Hōgen* [Dialectology 10: The dialects of the Okinawa and Amami regions], Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 251–87.
- (1997) 'Ryūkyū-hōgen-ni okeru kanō-hyōgen' [Potential expressions in the Ryukyu dialects], *Okinawagaku* [Okinawan Studies], 1: 59–76.
- Uesedo Tooru (1976) *Taketomi-Tōshi: Minwa / Minzoku-hen* [Chronicles of Taketomi island: Folklore edition], Tokyo: Hosei University Press.