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Ōgami (Miyako Ryukyuan)

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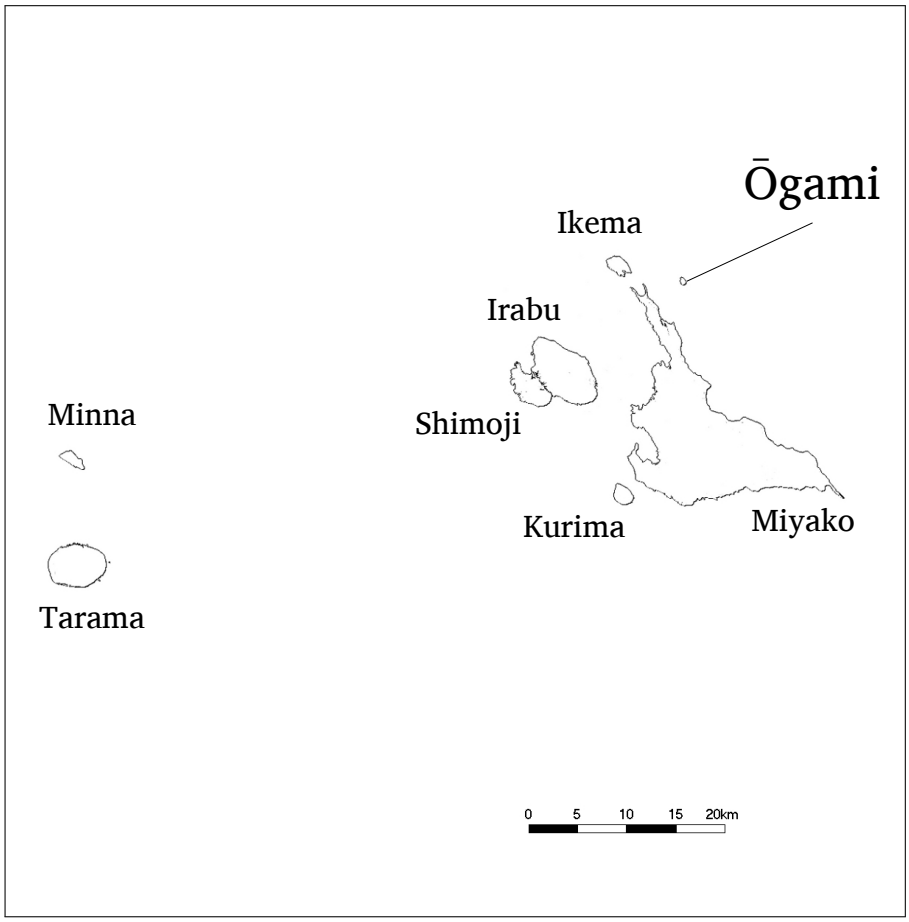

Figure 1: Miyako Islands

Introduction

Ōgami Ryukyuan is a verb-final language with an SXOV and a modifier-head order. The alignment is nominative-accusative, with both the nominative and the accusative marked. The phonology has uncommon features, like a very reduced phonemic inventory (5 vowels, 9 consonants) and a great variety of syllabic

consonants, which do not conform to the "universal" hierarchy of syllable nuclei. Voiceless fricatives can be syllabic, and whole words and utterances can be constituted of voiceless consonants only (§ 2.4.3). Property concept stems (eg. *taka* 'high') are morphologically bound and serve as a base to derive adjectives, stative verbs and nouns. Syntactic, semantic and pragmatic roles of the different constituents are morphologically encoded by post-posed markers. Two accusative case markers coexist, one of them being restricted to adverbial and chain-medial clauses. Two different topic markers coexist: one for general topics, the other for topicalized objects. Coordinate and sequential events are encoded by clause-chains, which can involve a dozen of clauses headed by converbs (§ 11.3). Such chain-medial clauses are also subject to desubordination, and for example the narrative converb can be used as an independent past tense form (§ 11.5.2).

1 The language and its speakers

1.1 Geography

The main community of Ōgami Ryukyuan speakers is located on the small island of Ōgami (jp. *Ōgami-jima*, vernac. *ukam*), located 4 km North-East of the main Miyako island. It is also spoken to some extent in the Takano village on the main island, where several families from Ōgami have moved in 1992.

1.2 Affiliation

The Ōgami dialect belongs to the Central Miyako branch of Miyako Ryukyuan, which is defined by several common innovations such as the irregular voicing of the dental consonant in the word for 'tongue'.[1] Miyako Ryukyuan belongs in turn to the Southern branch of Ryukyuan, together with the Yaeyama and Yonaguni languages.[2]

No common innovation is found to refine Ōgami's position within the Central Miyako branch. The fact that it preserves some archaic features, like the first person pronoun *anu* or some instances of proto-Miyako *r after *ɭ, while other Miyako dialects have lost it,[3] indicates it might constitute a distinct subbranch.

[1] In Ōgami the dental consonant has subsequently devoiced (*suuta*), but the fact the preceding vowel has not undergone syncope shows the *-t-* we now observe comes from an earlier voiced *-d-*.

[2] See Pellard (2009) for a detailed treatment of the inner classification of the Ryukyuan languages and the Miyako dialects.

[3] See Pellard (2009) and Pellard (2010) on the reconstruction of Proto-Miyako.

1.3 Sociolinguistic overview

1.3.1 The number of speakers

The actual number of fluent speakers is difficult to ascertain. The inhabitants of the Ōgami Island currently number as approximately 30. We also have to take into account their relatives living in other places, but the total number of speakers is probably not greater than 100–150 as a rough estimate.

1.3.2 Sub-dialects

The variety spoken in the Takano village is under heavy influence of surrounding dialects and has been gradually assimilating to these.

1.3.3 Viability, education and documentation

Most speakers are now in their seventies or older, and intergenerational transmission of the language ceased several decades ago. The youngest speakers are in their late forties and they constitute the last generation of native speakers: no children are acquiring Ōgami Ryukyuan as their native language anymore. All speakers are bilingual in Japanese, and the youngest generations are Japanese monolinguals.

No writing system nor educational materials exist, and so far no attempt to revitalize the language has been made. Some documentation exists in the form of some short texts transcribed and translated in Japanese (Hirayama et al. 1967, Shibata 1972). Pellard (2009) contains four texts transcribed phonemically and accompanied by interlinear glosses and a translation in French.

1.4 Previous works

Apart from a few articles on some phonological issues, very little research has been undertaken on Ōgami Ryukyuan. Hōsei daigaku Okinawa bunka kenkyūjo (1977) deserves to be mentioned as it contains a lexicon and tables of verb paradigms, as well as short elicited examples. The many shortcomings and inadequacies of previous works have been criticized in detail in Pellard (2009), which contains a description of the phonology, morphology, syntax and historical developments of Ōgami Ryukyuan.

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmentation: grammatical word and phonological word

In Ōgami Ryukyuan the grammatical word doest not always correspond one to one with the phonological word. A grammatical word is defined here as:

- the smallest unit that can be manipulated by syntax;
- a unit made up of one or several morphemes which always occur together in a fixed order.

Such a grammatical word can be phonologically bound to a host, the two constituting a single phonological word. This is the case with auxiliary verbs, which can cliticize and fuse with a preceding verb:

(1) a. *iki uɯ* → *iki*=*ɯ* 'go=IPF'
b. *iki aɯ* → *ikɛ*=*ɯ* 'go=RES'

The phonological word in Ōgami Ryukyuan is characterized by a strict minimal length constraint: a word must be at least bimoraic. In consequence, the many monomoraic markers are phonologically bound to their host and cannot appear independently. Some of the clitics are even monosegmental and are included within their host's final syllable.

(2) *pstu*=*n* [pṣ.tun] 'person=DAT'

2.2 Phoneme inventory

2.2.1 Consonants

The native consonant system of Ōgami Ryukyuan comprises nine consonants (table 1).

Table 1: Ōgami consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental/alveolar	Velar
Stop	p		t	k
Nasal	m		n	
Flap			ɾ	
Fricative		f	s	
Affricate				
Approximant		ʋ		

There is no voicing distinction for stops, which are usually voiceless but can be optionally voiced between vowels.

Other allophonic realizations are as follows:

- /k/ is usually a velar stop, but often lenits to a fricative [x ~ ɣ] before the vowel /ɑ/;

- /n/ is usually a dental nasal but has a velar or uvular allophone in final position ([ŋ ~ ɴ]); this nasal also assimilates to the place of articulation of a following obstruent, and a devoiced allophone is also often observed after a voiceless fricative;

- /s/ has a palato-alveolar realization [ɕ] before the front vowels /i/ and /ɛ/; for some speakers an intrusive dental stop ([ts ~ tɕ]) appears after the nasal /n/

- /ʋ/ is usually an approximant but can be a fricative [v] when geminated/long.

There is a length distinction for /m, n, f, s, ʋ/, and we also find a geminate /tt/, but in one morpheme only, the hearsay marker *tta*.

The palatal approximant [j] is not considered to be a distinct phoneme but a contextual allophone of the vowel /i/; there is no minimal pair opposing the two and the realization as [j] or [i] is fully predictable from the linear sequence of segments:

(3) $/i/ \rightarrow [j] \; /___ \begin{Bmatrix} ɑ \\ u \end{Bmatrix}$

Furthermore, consistency requires us to treat these two sounds as variants of the same phoneme, like /m, n, f, s, ʋ/, which can similarly appear both as a syllable margin and as a nucleus.

Some words do have distinctively voiced stops, but almost all of them can be demonstrated to be loans from Japanese or other Miyako dialects. There is also some speaker variation regarding voicing, and the distinction is often very unstable. Apart from voiced consonants, borrowings also show some otherwise non existent consonants like the affricates [ts] and [tɕ].

2.2.2 Vowels

The vowel system of Ōgami has the following five vowels, any of which can be short or long (table 2).

Table 2: Ōgami vowels

	Front	Back
High	i	ɯ u
Mid	ɛ	
Open		ɑ

The vowel /ɯ/ has been previously described as a central vowel (Hirayama et al. 1967, Kajiku 1977, 1989, Sakumoto 2004) or as an "apical" vowel (Sakiyama 1963, Karimata 1993), but its articulatory and acoustic characteristics are those of a close back unrounded vowel pronounced with spread lips (Pellard 2009). Some speakers have a somewhat more centralized realization, but on the other hand younger speakers tend to merge /ɯ/ with /u/.

Contrary to other Miyako dialects (or Standard Japanese), vowel devoicing does not occur in Ōgami. Previous studies have usually posited a very active vowel devoicing process, but though this is historically true, those devoiced vowels they posit are better viewed as synchronically nonexistent. Historically, earlier *ɿ and *u have been completely absorbed by an adjacent fricative when between two voiceless consonants. They correspond to the syllabic fricatives of the present analysis. Acoustic data (Pellard 2009) clearly shows there is no synchronic vowel devoicing in Ōgami Ryukyuan, even between voiceless consonants.

2.3 Suprasegmentals

2.3.1 Length

Length is distinctive for both vowels and consonants, and nasals as well as fricatives even exhibit a three-way length distinction, though in such a case they belong to different syllables.

(4) /faa/ [fa:] 'child'
/f.fa/ [f:a] 'grass'
/ff.fa/ [f::a] 'comb = TOP'

However, there seems to be some cases of non-distinctive lengthening in final position of some intonational phrases. This is attested for narrative, sequential and anterior converb forms as well as the quotative particle *ti*. This occurs even if a focus marker is added to the form.

2.3.2 Tone and accent

Although Shibata (1972) has reported the existence of a typical Ryukyuan two-word tone system in Ōgami, no other scholar has been able to confirm this fact. Even the eldest speakers still alive have no such system, and no recordings nor acoustic analyses exist to confirm this claim.

Ōgami Ryukyuan has no fixed lexical pitch pattern nowadays, and words spoken in isolation can be pronounced with various melodies. The details of Ōgami Ryukyuan's prosody above the word are still yet to be investigated.

2.3.3 Mora

The basic prosodic unit of Ōgami Ryukyuan is the mora, and its importance is most visible in the bimoraic minimal word constraint and the compensatory lengthening processes. For instance, there are no words of the mono-moraic shape CV, while CCV and CVV words are common. Speakers are also most of the time able to break a word into morae by separating them with pauses.

Syllabic segments, geminate consonants and codas each bear a mora, and long vowels as well as long syllabic consonants bear two morae. The segments that can bear a mora are thus /i ɯ u ɛ ɑ m n f s ʊ/, i.e. all continuants but /ɾ/.

2.3.4 Syllable

The syllable is also a meaningful unit in the description of some morphonological processes. For instance, the topic marker has a different shape depending on whether it attaches to words with a final diphthong or long vowel, or to a word ending with a short vowel.

(5) a. 'staff' /pɑu + =ɑ/ → /pɑu=iɑ/
b. 'vegetable' /suu + =ɑ/ → /suu=iɑ/
c. 'person' /pstu + =ɑ/ → /pstɑ=ɑ/

The syllable is also needed to explain why words like /kss/ 'breast' escape the *ɯ*-epenthesis phenomenon while words like /ksks/ 'month' do not, although both are bimoraic (§ 2.5).

In Ōgami Ryukyuan, any continuant except /ɾ/ can be syllabic: vowels as well as /m, n, f, s, ʊ/ can assume the function of syllable nucleus.

(6) a. /mm/ [m̩ː] 'yam'
b. /ʊʊ/ [ʋ̩ː] 'sell'
c. /ntɑ/ [n̩tɑ] 'where?'
d. /pstu/ [ps̩tu] 'person'
e. /ftɑi/ [f̩tɑi] 'forehead'

This seems to be in contradiction with the "universal" hierarchy of syllable nuclei (Zec 2007): the existence of syllabic fricatives is usually assumed to entail the existence of syllabic liquids.

Syllable nuclei can be short and simple, long or complex. Complex nuclei are those that contain a sequence of two different vowels.

(7) a. /ɑ.mi/ 'rain' (simple nucleus)
b. /pɑɑ/ 'leaf' (long nucleus)
c. /mm.nɑ/ 'all' (long nucleus)
d. /pɑi/ 'south' (complex nucleus)

All consonants as well as as the vowel /i/ can be syllable onsets, and the sonorants /m n ʋ/ can also appear in the coda. There are no long or complex onsets nor codas, and there are no medial glides. The syllabic consonants are also subject to restrictions on their possible onsets:

- the sonorant consonants /m n ʋ/ cannot have an onset;
- /s/ can only have /p/ or /k/ as its onset;
- /f/ can only have /k/ as its onset.

The syllable structure is thus rather simple in Ōgami Ryukyuan. There is an obligatory nucleus (Nu), long or complex, which can be occupied by a vowel or a consonant. There can be a simple onset (O) and a simple coda (Co), but they remain optional. The syllable template is thus as follows:

(8) (O)Nu(Nu)(Co)

2.4 Phonotactics

2.4.1 The structure and phonotactics of the root word

Root words are most often dissyllabic, although mono- and trisyllabic roots are not uncommon. This is due to the strict minimality constraint applying to both lexical roots and phonological words: a word is minimally bimoraic, and C, V or CV are not valid word forms.

In lexical roots, onsetless syllables are usually restricted to the word-initial position. Other phonotactic constraints restrict the possible segment sequences. Many of them are the consequence of sonority sequencing principles and of the syllable template described above, but others, such as the absence of sequences like *sm, *sf, *ts, *tɯ, *ɑɛ, etc, are mostly by-products of historical developments.

2.4.2 The structure and phonotactics of the morphologically complex word

In a morphologically complex word, some otherwise non-existent segment sequences and syllable structures can appear when suffixes attach to a root or stem, or when clitics are incorporated into a phonological host.

(9) a. /us=n/ ‘cow=DAT’
b. /ff=si/ ‘comb=INSTR’

2.4.3 Voiceless, vowelless words and utterances

Ōgami Ryukyuan is very unique within the Japonic family as it allows words to be constituted by voiceless consonants only, a typologically very uncommon feature, reported hitherto for only a handful of languages in the world.

Table 3: Voiceless, vowelless words in Ōgami Ryukyuan

/ss/	'dust', 'rub'
/ff/	'comb', 'bite', 'fall (rain)'
/kss/	'breast', 'fish-hook', 'to fish', 'come'
/kff/	'make'
/ksks/	'month', 'listen'
/fks/	'mouth', 'build'
/psks/	'pull'

Some short sentences or phrases aligning several voiceless words can be found:

(10) a. *urɛ=ɛ a=ka iks=mai kff kss*
this=TOP I=NOM when?=INCL make fish-hook
'These are the fish-hooks that I use to make.'

b. *urɛ=ɛ tɯɯ=nu maitus kff ss*
this=TOP bird=NOM each.year make nest
'This is the nest that the bird makes every year.'

Previous studies have often assumed the presence of an underlying devoiced /ɯ/ or /u/, but this view is clearly untenable, as shown by both acoustic analyses and (morpho-)phonological evidence (Pellard 2009). Strong evidence is found in the existence of minimal pairs like /sta/ 'below' vs. /sɯta/ 'tongue', /fkɯ/ 'mouth' vs. /fukɯ/ 'lottery, lapel', /kss/ 'breast' vs. /kɯɯ/ 'written character' or /ff/ 'comb' vs. /ffu/ 'excrement'. More supporting evidence is found in the patterning of syllabic fricatives with consonants and not vowels in morphophonological processes and in the absence of the putative vowel where devoicing should be blocked (i.e. before clitics with a voiced initial segment or when lenghtened).

(11) a. /us/ + /=ɑ/ → /ussɑ/ *usɯɑ 'cow=TOP'
b. /us=nu/ → [usn̥u] *[usɯnu] 'cow=NOM'

2.5 Phonological alternation rules

A final /s/ is regularly followed by an epenthetic vocoid [ɯ] when preceding a pause. This phenomenon is mandatory for polysyllabic voiceless words, but not

for monosyllabic ones. Similarly, a final /f/ is often followed by an epenthetic vocoid, though it is difficult to say whether it is [ɯ] or [ʊ]. This inserted vocoid is not a true segment but a boundary marker.

(12) a. /ksks#/ → [ksksɯ] 'moon'
b. /saiaf#/ → [sajafɯ ~ sajafʊ] 'carpenter'

Other alternation rules involve several vowel coalescence processes:

- Ci + a → Cεε
- Cu + a → Caa
- Ci + u → Cii
- Ci + a → εε
- C_0u + ɯ → C_0uu (optional)

Some consonant assimilations also occur:

- s + f, f + s → ff
- ʊ + f → ʊ
- n/m + n]$_\sigma$ → n/m
- ɯ + s → ss

In the verbal morphology, suffixes lose their initial consonant when they attach to verbs of the general class:

(13)

fa + -ɾai	→	fa-ai	'eat-POT'
uɾ + -samaɾ-	→	uɾ-amaɯ	'be-HON'
num + -ɾipa	→	num-ipa	'drink-CIRC'

Before the topic and accusative markers *a* and *u*, a word-final consonant is reduplicated, while an epenthetic /i/ is inserted if the word ends with a heavy vocalic nucleus.

(14)

'stone'	is	→	issa
'sea'	im	→	imma
'child'	faa	→	faaia

Stems and suffixes underlyingly ending in /ɾ/ undergo a /ɾ/ → /ɯ/ change before a word boundary and also loose their final consonant before the indicative suffix *-m*:

(15) a. mma-kaɾ → mma-kaɯ 'tasty-VBZ'
b. mma-kaɾ + -m → mma-ka-m 'tasty-VBZ-IND'

2.6 Variation

One of the most vexing issues in the description of Ōgami Ryukyuan phonology is the behavior of the vowel /ɯ/. First of all, as seen above, some instances of word-final [ɯ] are not truly phonemic segments but epenthetic boundary markers. Second, /ɯ/ and the syllabic /s/ seem to be in the process of merging to /ɯ/ after /k-/ in word-final position. While one can find several minimal pairs opposing the two, the opposition is often neutralized and both phones are then in free variation.

(16)	/mukɯ/	'wheat'	≠	/muks/	'rice cake'
	/mkɯ/	'right (side)'	≠	/mks/	'road'
	[fks]	~ [fkɯ]	'mouth'		
	[ftɑːks]	~ [ftɑːkɯ]	'two'		
	[iks]	~ [ikɯ]	'go'		

3 Descriptive preliminaries

3.1 Basic clause and phrase structure

3.1.1 Basic clause structure

A basic clause is minimally constituted of a predicate, verbal, nominal or adjectival. Core arguments are often unexpressed, especially if they are speech-act participants, though if they are expressed the basic word order is SXOV.

This basic order is rather rigid, but can be modified according to the information structure of the sentence. In such a case, a special marking is required on the topicalized or focalized elements. The head of the clause is always final, though it can be followed by some clitic markers.

3.1.2 Nominal phrase

A nominal phrase is headed by a nominal. An NP followed by role markers, which indicate its syntactic, semantic and/or pragmatic role(s), can be recognized as an *extended NP* rather than as a different constituent type. An NP can be modified by a determiner, an adjective, a relative clause or a genitival NP, and all modifiers are placed before the head noun.

3.1.3 Predicate

A predicate can be verbal, nominal or adjectival.

3.1.3.1 Verbal predicate

A verbal predicate minimally contains a lexical verb. Analytic verb forms exist and combine a lexical main verb with an auxiliary verb, most usually an aspectual marker. Complex verbal predicates that combine more than one lexical verb into a single predicate are also found in Ōgami Ryukyuan.

3.1.3.2 Nominal predicate

A nominal predicate consists of an NP, which can be reduced to a single bare nominal. No copula is required unless converb, TAM or polarity markers are added to the predicate.

(17) a. *a=ka=tu suta*
I=NOM=FOC elder.brother
'I am older (than him).'

b. *ikɛɛm=n=na kama=nu im=ma suma=tu ia-tauu=tim*
old.days=DAT=TOP there=NOM sea=TOP island=FOC COP-PST=HS
'It is said this part of the sea was land during the old days.'

3.1.3.3 Adjectival predicate

An adjectival predicate involves an adjective in predicative position. In the case of reduplicated adjectives, an auxiliary verb is always required, while similative adjectives can stand on their own as a predicate, like nominals.

(18) a. *upu-upu=tu uu ira*
big-big=FOC IPF DSC
'It's big, isn't it?'

b. *im=nu kssitiki ira*
sea=NOM beautiful DSC
'The sea is beautiful, isn't it?'

3.2 Word, clitic and affix

3.2.1 Word

A word minimally contains a root, more than one if it is a compound. In the case of nouns, a bare root is always an independent word, while many verb roots must first undergo a stem-formation process to acquire wordhood. Adjectives on the other hand are always morphologically complex and involve a property concept stem accompanied by a suffix or are reduplicated.

3.2.2 Suffix

Ōgami Ryukyuan's morphology is suffixal, and there seem to be no prefixes nor infixes. However, it is not always easy to distinguish a suffix from a clitic (see below). The main criteria usually invoked are:

i. suffixes can attach to a bound root or stem, but not clitics;

ii. suffixes exhibit serious restrictions on the kind of host they can attach to, while clitics have more freedom;

iii. suffixes are bound to a word, while the syntactic host of a clitic can be a phrase.

Verb suffixes are the most easily identified since they appear only on verbs and often attach to a bound root or stem. Some other morphemes attach to nominals only and do not seem to have any freedom, and they can be recognized as nominal suffixes, like the plural.

3.2.3 Clitic

The distinction between suffixes and clitics is not always straightforward. Some role markers like the nominative *ka* or the topic *a* attach to an irregular bound stem of the first person pronoun (*anu* + *ka* → *aka*, *anu* + *a* → *araa*). On the other hand, the scope of role markers is an entire phrase, and some of them can attach not only to NPs but also to predicates of subordinate clauses as well. In such cases, it would make sense to consider them to be a kind of phrasal affix.

(19) a. [[*us*=*tu* *pinta*]=*nu*]=*tu* *uu*
cow=COM goat=NOM=FOC be
'There is a cow and a goat.'

b. [*kisa* *mii-r-ipa*]=*tu* *nau-kara*=*nu* *mui* *u-tau*
before see-CIRC=FOC what?-INDEF=NOM burn.CVB IPF-PST
'When I looked before, something was burning.'

Moreover, several auxiliary verbs tend to lose their phonological autonomy and to cliticize to the main verb. They tend to get phonologically reduced and to fuse with the main verb, to the point where it is sometimes difficult to segment the two units. They are clearly gradually acquiring more and more suffixal properties, but retain some syntactic freedom that prevent treating them as pure suffixes. For example auxiliary constructions retain the possibility of introducing a pragmatic role marker between their two terms.

(20) a. *ik-i*=*u* 'go-CVB=IPF'
b. *ik-i*=*tu*=*u* 'go-CVB=FOC=IPF'

Finally, there are several short words that do not seem to belong to a particular word class, cannot head a constituent, and are usually not uttered alone. There is often little basis to decide if these are truly phonologically dependent or not and if they should be described as clitics. I have chosen to label them as *particles* and to remain somewhat agnostic about their exact status.

3.2.3.1 Syntactic host and phonological host

For clitics, we must distinguish their phonological host, the word they attach to and form a single phonological unit with, and their syntactic host, the word or constituent they have scope over. As seen above (19), role markers usually attach to a noun, but have scope over a whole NP, and some of them can attach to a verb but have scope over a whole clause.

3.3 Word classes

There are two major word classes in Ōgami Ryukyuan: nominals and verbs. To these we can add a class of adjectives, a heterogeneous class of grammatical particles, and several other minor word classes.

3.3.1 Nominals

Nominals are defined as the class of words that can head an NP and can constitute an argument of a predicate. Nominals thus regroup nouns, pronouns and numerals.

3.3.2 Verbs

Verbs differ from other word classes by their ability to take TAM markers and to head an independent sentence on their own, while not being able to assume directly the role of argument of a predicate.

3.3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are a secondary word class in Ōgami Ryukyuan. They are derived by reduplication or addition of the similative suffix *-ki* to a property concept stem. Adjectives are generally used to modify a noun, and they cannot constitute the argument of a predicate (unlike nominals) and do not inflect (unlike verbs).

3.3.4 Particles

Ōgami Ryukyuan has a set of grammatical morphemes that are not suffixes but do not belong to a precise word class and cannot head a phrase. Many of them are clitics that attach to a phrasal constituent. The label *particle* is used here to

regroup such markers as the role markers, the restrictive and inclusive markers, as well as the modal markers. The role markers will be detailed in § 8, and an overview of other particles is given below.

3.3.4.1 Final particles

Final particles are markers that appear after a main predicate and express various kinds of modal values. They can appear after any kind of predicate, and in the case of a nominal predicate they do not trigger insertion of the copula.

The most common final particles include *tta* ~ *tim* for hearsay, *i* ~ *iu* for exclamation, *ɪra* for requesting agreement, *saika* for requesting confirmation, *pɛɛm* for doubt, *tara* for assertion, *ka* for question or *na* for prohibition.

3.3.4.2 Restrictive and inclusive particles

The restrictive particle *tɛɛn* attaches to an extended NP before a focus marker, or to a dependent verb form.

(21) *karɛ=ɛ* *saki=i=tɛɛn* *num-i=tɯ* *skama=u=pa*
DIST=TOP alcohol=ACC=RESTR drink-CVB=FOC work=ACC=TOP.OBJ
asi-n
do-NEG
'He only drinks alcohol and does not work.'

The inclusive particle *mai* attaches to extended NPs or to subordinate clauses.

(22) *akaɯrɛɛ=nu* <*kjoodai*> *ftaaɯ=nu* <*fuufu*> *=n*
Akaɯrɛɛ=NOM sibling two=NOM couple=DAT
nar-i=ik-i *mamuia=u=mai* *nas-taɯ*
become-CVB=PARF-CVB *Mamuya*=ACC=INCL to.father-PST
'The brother and the sister of the *Akaɯrɛɛ* house became husband and wife and gave birth to Mamuya too.'

3.3.5 Other word classes

3.3.5.1 Determiners

Determiners form a small closed word class (*unu* 'proximal' and *kanu* 'distal') and are used for adnominal modification only. They correspond to demonstrative adjectives in other languages and are based on the same roots as the demonstrative pronouns.

(23) unu *nkɛna=u* *ɯpu-ɯpu-na* *kitam-i* *fii-ɾu*
PROX *nigana*=ACC big-big-DISTR cut-CVB give-IMP
'Cut me these *nigana* roughly.'

3.3.5.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are used to modify a verbal predicate and cannot be used as a predicate (unlike verbs, nominals and adjectives), as a predicate's argument (unlike nominals). Adverbs do not inflect (unlike verbs).

(24) a. piimɑ-kɑɑ-nɑ *mut-i=ɾa*
few-DIM-DISTR hold-IMP=DISC
'Take them little by little!'

b. *ikɛɛm=n=na* ɑnsi=*nu muna=a* *nɛɛ-tata-m*
old.days=DAT=TOP so=NOM thing=TOP NEG-PST.NEG-IND
'In the old days, there were no such things.'

3.3.5.3 Conjunctions

There are few conjunctions in Ōgami Ryukyuan, and only one is used for (disjunctive) coordination: *suka* 'but'. Most of the conjunctions seem to be clitics attaching to the right edge of a clause.

(25) *aks-kaɯ=kɛ* *num-i=ɾa*
hot-VBZ=when drink-IMP=DISC
'Drink while it's still hot!'

3.3.5.4 Ideophones

Ideophones are used adverbially and are of two types: reduplicated ideophones (*samisami* 'rugose') and simple ideophones (*ɛtti* 'circular movement').

3.3.5.5 Interjections

Interjections are uninflected words that can be used in isolation to mark an exclamation, like *ikɛi* and *akiɾa* for surprise, *mmaiu* for refusal or *tii* to raise attention.

4 Nominals and nominal phrases

Nominals are words that can head a nominal phrase, take (in general) any role marker and function as a predicate with or without the copula. Nouns are the most common type of nominals, and their bare root is always a free form. Other noticeable nominal subclasses are detailed below, as well as the properties of the nominal phrase.

4.1 Subclasses of nominals

4.1.1 Pronouns

The basic pronouns of Ōgami Ryukyuan are given in table 4 (some stem variants are omitted). Pronouns referring to humans can be marked for (associative) plural, but there is no inclusive/exclusive distinction for the first person pronoun. There is no real third person pronoun, and demonstrative pronouns are used instead. Both demonstrative and locative pronouns are organized around a proximal/distal opposition. The original proximal pronouns have been replaced by the original mesial ones, though the former do appear in some rare occasions.

Table 4: Pronouns in Ōgami Ryukyuan

Category		Form	
		sg.	pl.
Personal	first person	*anu*	*anta*
	second person	*vva*	*vvata*
Demonstrative	proximal	*uri* (*kuri*)	*urita*
	distal	*kari*	*karita* ~ *karikɛ*
Locative	proximal	*uma*	
	distal	*kama*	
Reflexive		*tuu*	*tuuta*
Logophoric		*naa*	*naata*
Interrogative	humans	*taru*	
	non humans	*nau*	
	alternative	*nti* ~ *iti*	
	locative	*nta* ~ *ita*	
	temporal	*iks*	
	causal	*nauripa*	
	numeral	*if* + classifier	
	manner	*naupasi*	
	quantity	*naunupusa* ~ *ntikapusa*	

Some other pronouns derived from the interrogative ones exist too:

- specific indefinite pronouns are derived by the suffix *-kara* (ex: 'what?' *nau* → *nau-kara* 'something')
- non-specific indefinite pronouns are derived by addition of the inclusive marker *mai*, after any case marker (ex: 'what?' *nau* → *nau*=*mai* 'anything')

4.1.2 Time nouns

Time nouns are a subclass of nouns, like 'today', 'now' or 'old days', that can be used like adverbs: their bare form can appear alone in the sentence, without any role marker.

(26) *kii* *sinsii=ka* *kuu-ti=tta*
today teacher=NOM come-PROSP=HS
'It is said the teacher will come today.'

4.1.3 Numerals

The original numerals are gradually being replaced by Sino-Japanese ones borrowed from Japanese. This is especially true of numerals over ten.

For generic enumerations, the following series of truncated numerals is used: *tii* '1', *taa* '2', *mii* '3', *iuu* '4', *iks* '5', *muiu* '6', *nana* '7', *iaa* '8', *kukunu* '9', *tuu* '10'.

On the other hand, a numeral root is always followed by a classifier suffix when counting or quantifying beings or objects. There are some stem alternations and idiosyncrasies in the combination of numeral roots and classifiers, but the usual numerals are as follows: *pstu* '1', *fta* '2', *miu* '3', *iu* '4', *iks* '5', *muiu* ~ *mm* '6', *nana* '7', *ia* '8', *kukunu* '9 ', *tuu* '10'. Classifier suffixes include for example *-ks*, a generic classifier, *-nupstu* for humans, *-ka* for days, *-kara* for animals, *-uuna* for ships, *-ɯa* for flat objects, *-kssi* for cut bits, *-kiv* for houses, etc.

Numerals behave like other nominals and can head an NP, but they can also be floating:

(27) *nnama siitu=nu=tu* *an-ta=ka* *iaa=nkai* ftɑɑɯ
now student=NOM=FOC I-PLUR=NOM house=DIR two
kss-i=ɯ
come-CVB=IPF
'Now there are two students in my house.'

4.1.4 Formal nouns

Formal nouns are nouns that have undergone some grammaticalization. Some of them have entirely lost their lexical meaning and are now pure grammatical markers, while others can still be used as lexical nouns. Both retain some morpho-syntactic characteristics of nouns, which requires classifying them as a subcategory of nouns. For example, formal nouns can be used in predicative position on their own and take the copula for some inflectional categories.

Usually formal nouns follow a verb in relative clause-like structure and serve as conjunctions or TAM markers.

(28) *kari=ka* *ks-tika* *panas* kumata *ia-taɯ* *munuɯ*
DIST=NOM come-ANT speak PREV COP-PST though
'If he had come we would have spoken.'

The most common formal nouns are *kumata* 'previsional', *munu* 'complementizer', *paa* 'temporal subordinator', *pakuɯ* 'presumptive', *sammin* 'intentional'.

4.2 Nominal morphology

Nominals can attach some suffixes like the plural, diminutive, and approximative.

4.2.1 Plural

Plural marking is possible for animate nouns, though it is always optional except for personal pronouns. There are three different plural suffixes, which all convey the same associative plural meaning:

- *-ta* attaches to pronouns referring to humans as well as address nouns (see § 4.3);
- *-kɛ* attaches only to the distal demonstrative pronoun *kari*, which can also be pluralized by *-ta*;
- *-nummi* attaches to other animate nouns.

(29) a. *kama=n=tu* *taroo-ta=ka* *ɯɯ*
there=DAT=FOC Tarō-PLUR=NOM be
'Tarō and the others are over there.'

b. *kari-kɛ=ɛ* *ikima=nkai iks kumata*
DIST-PLUR=TOP Ikema=DIR go PREV
'They are going to Ikema.'

c. *urɛ=ɛ* *an-ta=ka* *faa-nummi*
PROX=TOP I-PLUR=NOM child-PLUR
'These are our children.'

4.2.2 Diminutive

The suffix *-kaa* generally has a diminutive value, but it can also convey the meaning of an approximate direction. Polysemous markers combining such seemingly disconnected meanings as diminutive, approximative, endearment and plural are in fact not uncommon in the world's languages, especially in Japanese and other East Asian languages (Antonov 2007). The diminutive suffix can appear not only on nominals but also on reduplicated adjectives and some adverbs.

(30) a. *mitum-faa-kaa = nsi = nu* *pstu* *ira*
woman-child-DIM = SIMIL = NOM person DISC
'He looks like a little girl.'

b. *uma-kaa = n = tu* *aɯ*
here-DIM = DAT = FOC RES
'It's around here.'

4.2.3 Approximative

The suffix *-naki* indicates an approximation or an ambiguity.

(31) *uma-naki = i = kara* *saukɯ = pa* *assu*
here-APPROX = ACC = ABL cleaning = TOP.OBJ do.IMP
'Clean the room beginning from around here.'

4.3 Nominal hierarchy

Nominals in Ōgami Ryukyuan are organized according to a hierarchy that governs several morphosyntactic features. It is not fundamentally different from what is usually called the *animacy*, *empathy*, *topicality*, *referentiality* or *indexability* hierarchy (Silverstein 1976, Bickel and Nichols 2007).

The nominal hierarchy of Ōgami Ryukyuan specifically distinguishes inanimates from animates, humans and non-humans, address nouns from common nouns. *Address nouns* are kinship terms for elders ('father', 'elder sister', etc.) or status or function names ('teacher', 'chief', etc.) that are used to address someone.

Features correlated with the nominal hierarchy are:

- the choice of the interrogative pronoun *taru* or *nau*;
- the choice of the nominative-genitive marker *ka* or *nu*;
- the possibility and choice of the plural suffix-*ta* or *-nummi*;
- the choice of the existential verb *ur* or *ar*.

The nominal hierarchy and the correlating features can be schematized as in figure 2.

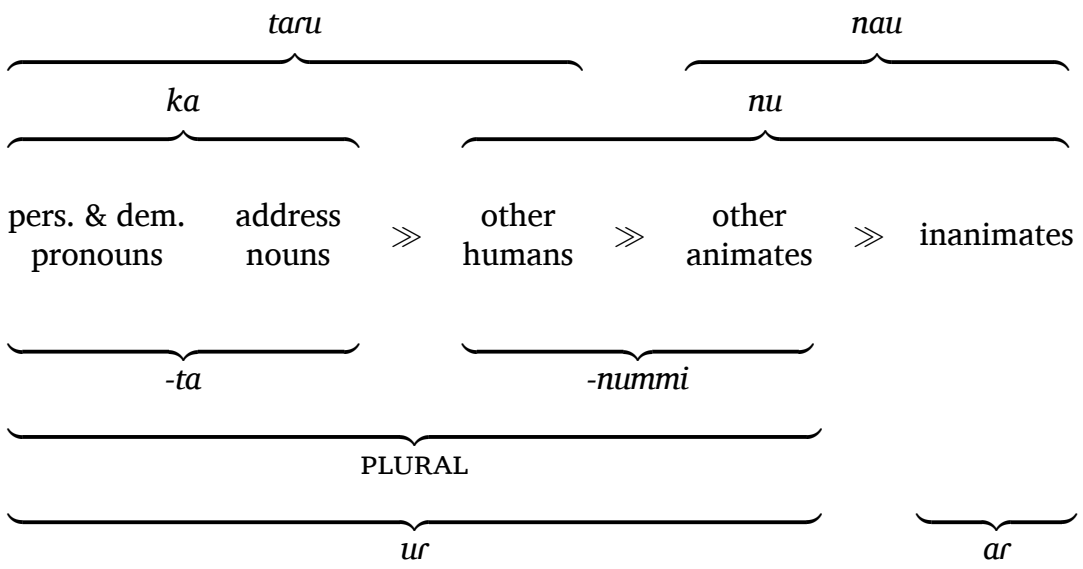

Figure 2: The nominal hierarchy in Ōgami Ryukyuan

4.4 Nominal phrases

A nominal phrase contains a nominal head that can be preceded by a modifier and followed by a role marker.

4.4.1 Modifier

Nominal phrases contain an optional modifier slot before the head noun. It can be occupied by a determiner, another NP, a relative clause or an adjective.

4.4.1.1 Modifier filled by a determiner

The NP modifier position may be occupied by a determiner.

(32) *araa* kanu *mitum=mu=tu* *nukum-i=ɯ*
I.TOP DIST woman=ACC=FOC love-CVB=IPF
'I love that woman.'

4.4.1.2 Modifier filled by an NP

A modifier NP is marked by one of the two nominative-genitive case markers and can be labeled a *genitive phrase*. However, the semantic relationship involved is not restricted to possession but also includes attribution or quantification.

(33) a. *urɛ=ɛ a=ka kankai=kami ia=ssuka=tu*
PROX=TOP I=NOM thought=TERM COP=but=FOC
'This is just my opinion.'

b. *<epuron> =nu <poketto> =kara mut-i kss-i*
apron=NOM pocket=ABL hold-CVB comeCVB
'He brought them from his apron's pocket'

c. *mii-taɯ=nu pstu=nu kss-i*
three-CLF=NOM person=NOM come-CVB
'Three persons came…'

The modifier NP may already carry a case marker, and then the marker *nu* attaches after it, no matter the place of the noun in the nominal hierarchy.

(34) *an=kara=nu <tegamɛ> =ɛ a-ta-m ?*
I=ABL=NOM letter=TOP be-PST-IND
'Was there a letter from me?'

4.4.1.3 Modifier filled by a relative clause

A noun can also be modified by a relative clause.

(35) *uma=a [[a=ka mai ks-taɯ] tukuma]*
here=TOP I=NOM before come-PST place
'This is a place I have been before.'

4.4.1.4 Modifier filled by an adjective

An adjective may also appear as a noun modifier.

(36) *imi-imi=nu suma-kaa iar-iiri=tu pari=mai*
small-small=NOM island-DIM COP-CVB.IPF=FOC field=INCL
tar-a-n
suffice-IRR-NEG
'Since (Ōgami) is a small island, there are not enough fields.'

4.4.2 Head

The head nominal is always required in an NP, and no headless NPs seem to occur, though some headless relative clauses are attested.

Some NPs have a formal noun as their head. These nouns are more or less grammaticalized nouns which have the morphosyntactic properties of nouns but serve as grammatical markers. Relativization of a formal noun is a widely used strategy of complementation and subordination.

4.4.3 Extended nominal phrases

Nominal phrases also often carry *role markers* that indicate their grammatical, semantic and/or pragmatic role in the clause or sentence. Most of these grammatical morphemes are clitic particles and cannot be said to form a new kind of phrase that they would head, though some of the role markers do have postposition-like properties. They are better viewed as extensions of the NP, with whom they form an *extended nominal phrase*. Like simple NPs, extended NPs can act as predicates, though it is not very frequent.

(37) *<iakuba> = nkai ia-tika uma = nu mks = kara = si ik-i*
town.hall = DIR COP-ANT here = NOM road = ABL = INSTR go-IMP
'If you're going to the town hall, go by this way.'

5 Verb morphology

All regular verbs can be divided into two main classes according to the shape of their stem and to which suffix they take for certain inflectional categories: the *-i verbs class* and the *general class*. There is only one completely irregular verb (*kss* 'come'), and less than a dozen verbs (including the copula) have one or two irregular forms in their paradigm.

5.1 The structure of the verb

The morphological structure of the verb can be symbolized as follows:

(38) [ROOT *-derivation*]$_{\text{STEM}}$ *-inflection*

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{-honorific}\\ \textit{-causative-passive}\end{array}\right\} \qquad \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{POLARITY-DEPENDENCY}\\ \text{TAM}\end{array}\right\}$$

5.1.1 Stem

The *-i* verbs, which also include the passive and one class of derived causative verbs, have a single and invariable *basic stem* ending in *-i*. For non-derived verbs, the stem is identical to the root, and all inflectional affixes attach directly to it.

The general verb class is less homogeneous and has a more complicated morphology. Some of these verbs have not only a *basic stem* but also a *special stem*, whose form is not entirely predictable (table 5). Both stems take different inflectional suffixes and have to be listed in the lexicon. Some verbs also undergo some minor phonological alternations in their paradigms, but these are regular processes which apply elsewhere in the phonology. We also have to mention the gemination in *-f* and *-v* verbs:

(39) *niv* + *-i* → *niv-vi* 'sleep-IMP'

The *irrealis* form is also used as a stem to build other forms like the negative, negative past, negative converb, prospective and anti-commissive.

Table 5: Verb stems in Ōgami Ryukyuan

		Root		Basic stem	Special stem
-i class		-i	'get up'	*uki*	
General class	1 stem	-f	'to water'	*ikɛf*	
		-v	'sleep'	*niv*	
		-m	'drink'	*num*	
		-n	'die'	*sun*	
		-s	'push'	*us*	
	2 stems	*-p*	'play'	*asup*	*asupɯ*
		-k$_{(1)}$	'row'	*kuk*	*kukɯ*
		-k$_{(2)}$	'write'	*kak*	*kaks*
		-t	'wait'	*mat*	*maks*
		-r	'take'	*tur*	*tuɯ*
		-u	'think'	*umu*	*umuɯ*
		-a	'laugh'	*para*	*parau*

5.1.2 Inflection

Inflection is marked by suffixes attaching to a stem, though it can also be marked by particles and some formal nouns attached to a predicate. Inflection covers the categories of tense, aspect, mood and polarity, but also encodes differences in the syntactic status of forms.

5.2 Inflectional morphology

A primary distinction is made between *dependent* and *independent* verb forms. This roughly corresponds to the finite/non-finite distinction, but finiteness is an ambiguous concept which can refer to morphological deficiency, syntactic autonomy, or both.[4] *Dependent verb forms* are defined here as special verb forms that cannot head an independent sentence and are morphologically overtly marked as such.

[4]See Creissels (2006a,b), Nikolaeva (2007b).

5.2.1 Independent verb forms

Independent verb forms appear in main independent clauses, as well as in relative clauses, but independent verb forms inflected for the directive moods are restricted to main clauses.

The bare basic stem is used as an independent verb form, called here the *neuter* form, to express generic non-past tense. Other forms show an overt marker for tense-aspect-mood and polarity. A list of suffixes appearing on independent verb forms is given in table 6.

Table 6: Independent verb suffixes in Ōgami Ryukyuan

Category	Generic class 'say' *auɾ-*	*-i* verbs 'see' *mii-*
neuter	*auɯ*	*mii*
negative	*auɯ-a-n*	*mii-n*
past	*auɯ-taɾ-*	*mii-taɾ-*
negative past	*auɯ-a-tataɾ-*	*mii-tataɾ-*
imperative	*auɾ-i*	*mii-ɾu*
precative	*auɾ-ɛɛɾi*	—
prohibitive	*auɯ=na*	*mii=nna*
irrealis	*auɯ-a*	*mii-*
previsional	*auɯ-a-ti*	*mii-ti*
anti-commissive	*auɯ-a-tɛɛn*	*mii-tɛɛn*
interrogative	*auɾ-ɛɛ*	—
potential	*auɯ-ai*	*mii-ɾai*

5.2.2 Dependent verb forms: converbs

Ōgami Ryukyuan has a set of dependent verb forms that cannot head an independent sentence[5] and appear only in adverbial subordinate clauses and non-final clauses of clause-chains. These verb forms can be labelled *converbs* as a whole, although some of them are not strictly confined to adverbial subordinated clauses. The definition of *converb* adopted here thus follows that of Nedjalkov (1995) rather than the narrower definition of Haspelmath (1995), and it partly overlaps with the category of *medial verbs* (Foley 1986).

At least some of the converb suffixes can combine, and some of them can follow an otherwise independent inflected verb form to mark it as dependent.

Table 7 lists the different converb forms and their major uses.

[5]See §11.5 for the special desubordination constructions.

Table 7: Converbs in Ōgami Ryukyuan

converb	attaches to	suffix	use
concessive	irrealis	*-pamai*	concession
negative concessive	irrealis	*-tarapamai*	negative concession
simultaneous	special stem	*-(s)sɛɛn*	simultaneity
purposive	special stem	*-ka*	goal of motion
negative conditional	irrealis	*-taka*	negative condition
anterior	special stem	*-tika*	anteriority, condition
circumstancial	basic stem	*-(r)ipa*	circumstance, condition
imperfective	basic stem	*-(i)iri*	state parallel to the main event
conditional	basic stem	*-iika*	condition
negative	irrealis	*-ta*	negation
narrative	basic stem	*-i*, Ø for *-i* verbs	sequentiality, manner, complex predicate
sequential	narrative converb	*-siti* ~ *-sti*	event sequence

5.3 Derivational morphology

Non-class changing verbal derivation includes the voice categories (causative and passive) as well as honorification. These are marked by suffixes attached directly to the root.

5.3.1 Voice: causative and passive

Voice categories include the causative and the passive, which trigger the valency changes to be detailed in §10.4. The causative is marked by either *-as* or *-(a)sumi*, with no major distinction between the two, except that the former appears only with verbs from the general class. The passive is marked by the suffix *-(ɾ)ai* and it should be distinguished from the potential even if both are marked by the same suffix and are historically related; while the passive triggers important changes in the verb's valency, the potential only adds a modal value to the verb.

5.4 Honorific

The honorific category marks deference toward the subject of the verb. Honorific verbs are scarcely used nowadays in Ōgami Ryukyuan, but it is still possible to elicit partial paradigms that involve the suffix *-(s)amaɾ-*. Several verbs exhibit suppletive morphology for honorification.

(40)	'be'	*uɾ-*	→	*uɾamaɾ-*
	'eat'	*fa-*	→	*nkɛk-*
	'drink'	*num-*	→	*nkɛk-*
	'come'	*ks-*	→	*mmɛɾ-*
	'give'	*fii-*	→	*mɛɾas-*

5.5 Complex verb forms

Ōgami Ryukyuan has several types of *complex verb forms* that involve several verb roots but function as a whole and do not form different clauses.

First, *compound verbs* are easily identifiable from their morphophonological and syntactic properties: the first member is always a special stem, the two terms form a single phonological word and cannot be separated by another element, and the second member does not affect the global valency of the compound, which is identical to that of the first one. For example *V-pakumi* 'begin to V' compounds where *V* is intransitive do not acquire an extra argument though *pakumi* 'begin' is itself transitive. Most of the second members of compounds are thus more like auxiliaries and often add an aspectual or modal value. Some of the most frequent ones include *pakumi* 'begin', *puskaɾ* 'want', *kani* 'cannot' and *iuus* 'can'.

Analytic verb forms on the other hand involve a narrative converb followed by a TAM auxiliary, and the two can be interrupted by a topic or focus marker attached to the converb. This structure is similar to that of complex predicates (§ 9.2.1), but the second term of analytical forms is not a fully lexical verb but an auxiliary verb. Auxiliary verbs have undergone grammaticalization, and thus have no argument structure. Moreover, auxiliaries have a value sometimes rather different from their original lexical meaning. The most frequent auxiliary verbs are given in table 8.

Table 8: Auxiliary verbs in Ōgami Ryukyuan

Form	Auxiliary value	Lexical meaning
ur	imperfective	< 'be' (animate)
ar	resultative	< 'be' (inanimate)
nɛɛn	completive	< 'not be'
mii	conative, experiential	< 'see'
usk	preparative	< 'put'

Complex predicates are very similar to analytical verb forms, the main difference is that their second member retains its argumental structure and has not (yet) undergone full grammaticalization. They will be further detailed in § 9.2.1.

6 Adjectives

6.1 The adjective class as opposed to nominals and verbs

A class of *adjectives* can be distinguished from both nominals and verbs. Unlike nominals, adjectives cannot stand as an argument of a predicate and cannot be marked for most case categories or for plural, nor can they be modified by a determiner. Adjectives also do not occur with the copula *iar-*. Unlike verbs, they do not inflect, and are thus incompatible with the TAM suffixes.

Two subclasses of adjectives exist in Ōgami Ryukyuan. The *reduplicated adjectives* are formed by reduplication of a property concept stem, with lengthening of the final mora of the first part. The *similative adjectives* are formed with the suffix *-ki* added to a property concept stem and have the special meaning 'like, seemingly'.

6.2 The function of adjectives

The principal function of adjectives is to modify a noun. While similative adjectives can be placed just before the noun they modify, reduplicated adjectives

must be followed by the nominative-genitive case marker *nu*.

(41) a. *urɛ=ɛ ututu=nu fau-pus-ki kaas ira*
PROX=TOP younger.sibling=NOM eat-DES-SIMIL cookie DISC
'This is the cookie my younger brother seems to want to eat.'

b. *takaa-taka=nu kii*
high-high=NOM tree
'A tall tree'

Adjectives can also be used predicatively. In such a case, similative adjectives can be used alone while reduplicated adjectives must be followed by the imperfective auxiliary *ur-*.

(42) a. *im=nu kssiti-ki ira*
sea=NOM beautiful-SIMIL DISC
'The sea is beautiful, isn't it?'

b. *ikima=a irav=nsɛ=ɛ upu-upa=a ur-a-n suma*
Ikema=TOP Irabu=SIMIL=TOP big-big=TOP IPF-IRR-NEG island
'Ikema is an island not as big as Irabu.'

Reduplicated adjectives can also be used adverbially, though it is not their most frequent use.

(43) *unu nkɛna=u upu-upu-na kitam-i fii-ru*
PROX *nigana*=ACC big-big-DISTR cut-CVB give-IMP
'Cut me these *nigana* roughly.'

Adjectives also appear in fientive and causative constructions, and reduplicated adjectives then appear with a suffix *-f*

(44) a. *vva=ka tii=nu skata-ki nar-i urɛ=ɛ ara-i*
you=NOM hand=NOM dirty-SIMIL become-CVB PROX=TOP wash-IMP
'Your hands are dirty, wash them.'

b. *pssi-f=tu nar-i kss*
cold-SUFF=FOC become-CVB come
'The weather is becoming cold.'

7 Class-changing derivations

7.1 Nominalization

Nouns can be derived from a property concept stem in two ways:

- the suffix *-sa* derives abstract nouns

(45) *taka* 'high' → *takasa* 'height'

- the suffix *-munu* derives concrete nouns

(46) *uturus* 'frightening' → *uturusmunu* 'something/someone frightening'

Nominalization of verbs seems to be rather unproductive. It is difficult to identify synchronically the process of nominalization behind such examples as *panas* 'to speak' → *panas* 'story' or *nika* 'to pray' → *nikau* 'prayer'. On the other hand, it is possible to identify a suffix *-εε* deriving agent nouns:

(47) *kupar-* 'to stutter' → *kupar-εε* 'stutterer'

7.2 Verbalization

Stative verbs can be derived from property concept stems, similative adjectives and property nouns by adjunction of the suffix *-kar-*.

(48) a. *taka-* 'high' → *taka-kar-* 'be high'
b. *pus-ki* 'seem to want' → *pus-ki-kar-* 'seem to want'
c. *taia* 'strength' → *taiakar-* 'be strong'

7.3 Adjectivalization

Adjectives are derived from property concept stems by reduplication with lengthening or by adding the similative suffix *-ki*.

(49) a. *taka-* 'high' → *takaa-taka* 'high'
b. *skata-* 'dirty' → *skata-ki* 'seem dirty'

8 Role marking: case and information structure marking

Ōgami Ryukyuan has a set of role markers that can appear on NPs, as well as some converbs. Some of these markers have some suffixal properties, while others are more akin to cliticized postpositions, and still others exhibit a rather ambiguous combination of the two. For the sake of convenience I will write all of them as clitics (with the = boundary symbol) and assume they simply form an extended phrase with the phrase they attach to.

The main role markers of Ōgami Ryukyuan are given in table 9, where S, A, P and E respectively refer to the single argument of an intransitive predicate (S), the most agent-like (A) and patient-like (P) argument of a prototypical

Table 9: Role markers in Ōgami Ryukyuan

Label	Marker	Categories or functions marked
nominative	*a*	S/A, possessor, nominal modifier
nominative	*nu*	S/A, possessor, nominal modifier
accusative	*u*	P
accusative	*a*	P
dative	*n*	E, destination, location, passive/causative agent
directive	*nkai*	E, destination, agent in passive constructions
ablative	*kara*	source, mean or path of transportation
terminative	*kami* ~ *taasi*	temporal or spatial limit
instrumental	*si*	instrument, material
comitative	*tu* ~ *sui*	companion, addition
comparative	*iuuu*	standard of comparison
similative	*nsi*	standard of equal comparison
topic	*a*	topic
topic object	*pa*	topicalized object
focus	*tu*	focus

transitive predicate, and to the extended core argument (E). The topic and focus markers will be further described in §10.6.

The difference between the two nominative-genitive markers lies within the nominal hierarchy: *ka* is used with nominals located on the upper part of the hierarchy (pronouns and address nouns), and *nu* with the other nominals.

(50) a. *a=ka=tu kss*
I=NOM=FOC come
'Here I come!'

b. *mii-tauu=nu pstu=nu kss-i*
three-CLF=NOM person=NOM come-CVB
'Three people came.'

The accusative marker *a* is not very common in the Ōgami dialect in comparison to other Miyako dialects (Koloskova 2007, Shimoji 2009), and contrary to the other accusative marker *u*, it can only appear in non-final clauses of a chain or in subordinate clauses.

(51) a. *faa-nummi=i saar-i im=nkai ik-i*
child-PLUR=ACC take.to-CVB sea=DIR go-CVB
'We used to take the children to the sea…'

b. *nnama=kara kam=ma nika-i*
now=ABL god=ACC pray-CVB
'Going to pray the gods now…'

Case ellipsis occurs only with the core arguments SAP marked for nominative or accusative. It is not uncommon in the case of the accusative, but very rare in the case of the nominative, except for topicalized subjects, in which case the topic marker *a* is obligatory and forbids the presence of the nominative marker. The nominative is also always ellipted when the inclusive marker *mai* appears on the NP.

9 Predicate phrase

9.1 The structure of the predicate phrase

A predicate can be verbal, nominal or adjectival in Ōgami Ryukyuan.

9.2 Verbal predicate

A verbal predicate can be a simple verb, a compound verb, an analytic form or a complex predicate.

9.2.1 Complex predicates

Complex predicates involve several verb forms that resemble complex phrasal constructions since they are formed by narrative converbs. In fact, complex predicates act as single mono-clausal predicates. In this way they differ from both subordinate constructions and clause-chains. They must also be distinguished from analytic verb forms, which they also resemble superficially: in the case of complex predicates all verbs retain their lexical meaning and argument structure, while only the first member of analytical verb forms is a lexical verb.

Complex predicates do not imply a temporal sequence of several events, and, contrary to clause-chains, it is never possible to replace the narrative converb with a sequential converb or to introduce a constituent between the two members without changing the meaning.

(52) *pampin=nu mut-i(*-siti) kss-i(*-siti) fii-ru*
fritter=ACC hold-CVB(-SEQ) come-CVB(-SEQ) give-IMP
'Bring me some fritter!'

Complex predicates are also often not interpretable as involving a manner adverbial subordinate clause, though some cases can be ambiguous. However, contrary to subordinate clauses, members inside a complex predicate cannot be focalized or negated independently.

Moreover, all verbs of a complex predicate retain their argument structure which they share as a whole with the other members. For instance a complex

predicate with a motion verb like *kss* 'come' entitles the presence of a locative argument.

(53) *uma = nkai muti kuu*
here = DIR hold-CVB come-IMP
'Bring it here!'

9.3 Nominal predicate

A nominal can also serve as a predicate. It can appear without a copula if the clause is independent and does not require special TAM marking. In other cases, the copula *iar-* (negative stem *ara-*) is required and it bears the marks of coordination, subordination or TAM and polarity.

(54) a. *urɛ = ɛ mɛɛku-pstu ?*
PROX = TOP Miyako-person
'Is he from Miyako?'

b. *mɛɛku-pstu ar-a-n*
Miyako-person COP-IRR-NEG
'He's not from Miyako.'

9.4 Adjectival predicate

Adjectives, too, can be used as predicates. In such cases, reduplicated adjectives must appear with the auxiliary *ur-*, while similative adjectives can stand on their own.

10 The simple sentence

10.1 Speech acts

The different types of sentences, declarative, interrogative and imperative can be distinguished by their morphosyntactic features. Intonation is also an important cue to distinguish between the three types, and it can be the only evidence to discriminate between declarations and questions.

10.1.1 Declarative sentence

Declarative sentences are the unmarked type: they exhibit the greatest variety of inflections and have no specific morpho-syntactic marking.

10.1.2 Interrogative sentence

Interrogative sentences are very much similar to declarative ones and often exhibit no morpho-syntactic differences. A special question marker *ka* can *optionally* be added to a sentence to mark it overtly as interrogative. Verbs of the generic class can also be marked with the interrogative suffix *-εε*. The interrogative mood is detailed in §10.5.2.4.

However, the main cue to discriminate interrogative sentences from declarative ones is the intonation: interrogative sentences are uttered with a special pitch pattern. The pitch is high and level and falls sharply on the last syllable.

10.1.3 Imperative sentence

Imperative sentences can easily be identified as the verb is always inflected for one of the *directive* categories: imperative, precative or prohibitive.

10.2 Existence

The expression of the various types of existence show isomorphism to some extent.

10.2.1 Equation and proper inclusion

Proper inclusion (e.g. 'he is a student') and equation (e.g. 'he is my father') are mainly expressed by a nominal predicate, which does not require the copula in most cases.

(55) *karε=ε* *sinsii*
DIST=TOP teacher
'He's a teacher.'

10.2.2 Location

Location is expressed by an existential verb. The choice between the two verbs *ur* and *ar* depends on the nominal hierarchy, and here correlates with the animacy feature: animate subjects (humans, gods, animals) require *ur* while *ar* is used with inanimate subjects. The place of location is marked by the dative case marker *n*.

(56) a. *a=ka* *asta=a* *nta=n=tu* *aɯ*
I=NOM clog=TOP where?=DAT=FOC be
'Where are my clogs?'

b. *kama=n=tu* *tuɯ=nu* <*ɨppai*> *uɯ*
there=DAT=FOC bird=NOM lot be
'There are a lot of birds there.'

10.2.3 Possession

Existence of a possession can be encoded by the same construction as a locative existence, i.e. with an existential verb. In this case the possessed thing or being is marked for nominative.

(57) a. *tin = nu* *nɛɛ-n = suka = tu* *tin = nu* *ar-ipa = tu*
money = NOM be.NEG-NEG = but = FOC money = NOM be-CIRC = FOC
iaa = u *fks-pus-kaɯ*
house-ACC build-DES-VBZ
'I don't have money but if I had I would like to build a house.'

b. *suta = ka = tu* *uɯ = tim*
elder.brother = NOM = FOC be = HS
'He said he has an elder brother.'

When the possessor is human, the verb *ur* can be used even if the possession is an inanimate object.

(58) *kanu psta = a* *funi = nu = tu* *miɯ-uɯna uɯ*
DIST person = TOP boat = NOM = FOC three-CLF be
'He has three boats.'

Possession of animals can be expressed by the verb *kskana* 'to rear', and temporary possession of an object is usually expressed by the verb *mut-* 'hold'.

10.3 Negation

Negation is expressed by special suffixes carried by a predicative element (verb, copula, auxiliary). The main negative suffix is *-n*, which attaches to the irrealis form of verbs. However, the two existential verbs as well as the copula have irregular or suppletive negative forms.[6]

(59) 'be' : *ur* → *mii-n*
'be' *ar* → *nɛɛ-n*
copula *jar* → *ara-n*

Derived stative verbs in *-kar* exhibit special negative forms in which the verbalizing suffix is replaced by *-ffanɛɛ-n*

(60) *takakar-* → *taka-ffanɛɛ-n*

There are also several portmanteau morphemes that express both negation and another inflectional category:

- prohibitive *na* (imperative + negation);

[6]The regular forms in *-a-n* are however used when the existential verbs are used as auxiliaries.

- negative converb *-ta*;
- negative past *-tatar-*;
- anti-commissive *-tɛɛn* (prospective + negation);
- impotential auxiliary *kani* (potential + negation).

10.4 Valency-changing operations

The are two valency-changing operations in Ōgami Ryukyuan, the causative and the passive, which can be also be combined together.

10.4.1 Causative

The causative has the main effect of increasing the verb's valency. A new participant is introduced as the subject, and the original subject of the corresponding active construction is demoted. The subject is demoted to the role of object in the case of intransitive verbs, and to an oblique dative role with transitive verbs. Typically, the new participant is a *causer* controlling the *causee*, the effective agent.

(61) a. *faa=nu=tu* *<hon>=nu ium-i*
child=NOM=FOC book=ACC read-CVB
'The child read a book.' (active)

b. *sinsii=ka=tu* *faa=n* *<hon>=nu ium-as-i*
teacher=NOM=FOC child=DAT book=ACC read-CAUS-CVB
'The teacher made the child read a book.' (causative)

We also find an *adversative* use of the causative, where the subject is not a real causer but a participant negatively affected by the event.

(62) a. *araa tin=nu=tu* *nustu=n* *nisum-as-i*
I.TOP money=ACC=FOC burglar=DAT steal-CAUS-CVB
'I got my money stolen by a burglar.'

10.4.2 Passive

The passive voice has the main effect of demoting the subject of an active construction to the role of oblique argument. The demoted argument is marked as dative or directive. In the case of transitive verbs, the original object is also typically promoted to the role of subject.

(63) a. *pav=nu=tu* *faa=iu* *ff-i*
snake=NOM=FOC child=ACC bite-CVB
'A snake bit a child.' (active)

b. *faa=nu* *pav=n=tu* *ff-ai*
child=NOM snake=DAT=FOC bite-PASS.CVB
'A child was bitten by a snake.' (passive)

The passive voice also has some uses more akin to that of a *middle* voice, with a decausative/anti-causative meaning: the subject is viewed as the center of a spontaneous event.

(64) a. *unu* *iata=a* *ff-ipa=mai* *suku* *aki-rai*
PROX door=TOP close-CIRC=INCL immediately open-PASS
'Even if we close this door, it opens right away.'

b. *suma=nu=tu* *mii-rai* *uɯ*
island=NOM=FOC see-PASS.CVB IPF
'We see an island.' (=is visible)

In some constructions the valency seems to be increased instead of being decreased; the subject is demoted but there is no promotion of the object, and another participant is introduced as the subject. The new subject is usually a possessor or controller, and such constructions can be interpreted as cases of *possessor-raising*.

(65) a. *araa* *pakɯ=u=tu* *us=n* *fumtar-ai* *pakɯ=u*
I.TOP leg=ACC=FOC cow=DAT trample-PASS.CVB leg=ACC
iam-as-ɛ=ɛɯ
suffer-CAUS-CVB=RES
'I got my legged trampled by a cow and I'm injured.'

b. *kau-taɯ ftakina=nu* *kuruma=u=tu nisum-ai*
buy-PST recently=NOM car=ACC=FOC steal-PASS.CVB
'The car I had just bought was robbed.'

However, Ōgami Ryukyuan seems to have no *indirect passive*, an adversative passive used with intransitive verbs, as attested in Japanese (Shibatani 1990).

10.4.3 Combination of the causative and the passive

Both the causative and the passive voice can be combined in a single construction, by attaching the passive suffix after the causative. There is no demotion of the subject nor promotion of the object, and instead a causer is newly introduced as an oblique argument, and the causee/detrimental assumes the role of subject.

(66) a. *araa* *kunu=tu* *sinsii=n* *simuks* *ium-as-ai*
I.TOP yesterday=FOC teacher=DAT book read-CAUS-PASS.CVB
'I was obliged by the teacher to read a book yesterday.'

b. *kuna = a* *upu-ɯa = n = tu* *< ippai >* *saki = i*
yesterday = TOP grand-father = DAT = FOC lot alcohol = ACC
num-as-ai
drink-CAUS-PASS.CVB
'Yesterday, I was obliged by my grand-father to drink a lot of alcohol.'

10.5 Tense, aspect and mood

10.5.1 Tense

Ōgami Ryukyuan has only one formally marked purely temporal category: the past tense, marked by the verbal suffix *-tar-*.

(67) *< ʑitençа > = kara kss-i* *< kago > = sui nisum-i* *pɛɯ-taɯ*
bicycle = ABL come-CVB basket-COM steal-CVB leave-PST
'He came by bicycle and robbed them with his basket.'

Perfective past tense can also be expressed by a desubordinated construction with a narrative converb.

(68) *katam = mu = tu* *kurus-i*
mosquito = ACC = FOC kill-CVB
'I killed the mosquito.'

Non past-tense categories are not overtly marked. The *neuter* form can thus mark present or future, often with a value of generic truth or habitual.

(69) *ansi = tu tauf = fu = pa* *kff*
so = FOC tōfu = ACC = TOP.OBJ make
'This is how we make *tōfu*.'

10.5.2 Major moods

10.5.2.1 Indicative

The indicative mood is nowadays very rare in Ōgami Ryukyuan, though it seems it was more frequent some decades ago (Hirayama et al. 1967, Shibata 1972, Hōsei daigaku Okinawa bunka kenkyūjo 1977). The indicative suffix *-m* is now restricted to past tense forms and stative verbs. The exact semantic value of this decaying suffix is difficult to pin down, but the comparison with other dialects reveals its original value was to indicate the speaker's certitude and implication in the assertion (Shimoji 2008b).

10.5.2.2 Irrealis

The bare irrealis form in *-a* is used with a hortative meaning, expressing request, invitation, or intention of the speaker.

(70) *suu=nu pss-i=ir-ipa im=nkai ik-a*
tide=NOM dry-CVB=IPF-CIRC sea=DIR go-IRR
'Let's go to the sea when the tide is out.'

10.5.2.3 Directive

Ōgami Ryukyuan has different types of directive mood that express more or less strong requests: the imperative (*-i/-ru*), the precative (*-εεri/-nε*) and the prohibitive (*=na*).

(71) a. *ara-i mut-i kss-i*
wash-CVB carry-CVB come-IMP
'Wash it and bring it!'

b. *kanu pau=iu tur-εεri*
DIST staff=ACC take-PREC
'Give me that staff!'

c. *uri=nkai savaw=na*
PROX=DIR touch=PROH
'Don't touch this!'

10.5.2.4 Interrogative

Interrogative mood is often unmarked, but can be marked by the particle *ka*. A special verb form with a suffix *-εε* also exists but is limited to past tense forms, the copula and stative verbs.

(72) *nauripa=tu kuu-tatar-εε ?*
why?=FOC come-PST.NEG-INTERR
'Why didn't you come?'

10.5.2.5 Emphatic

Emphatic mood indicates a special emphasis made by the speaker, often a strong assertion. It is formed by adding the focus marker to the special stem of a verb, followed by a reduced form *s* of the verb 'do' (*as*).

(73) a. *naupasi=nu ww=u=mai fau=tu=s*
how?=NOM fish=ACC=INCL eat=FOC=EMPH
'I do eat all sorts of fishes.'

b. *ata = a* *kuu-rai = tu = s ?*
tomorrow = TOP come-POT = FOC = EMPH
'Can you come tomorrow?'

10.5.3 Possibility and obligation

10.5.3.1 Potential

Potential expressions can be formed by either the suffix *-rai* or compounding with *iuus*.

(74) a. *asatɛ = ɛ* *kuu-rai = ssuka ata = a* *kuu-rai-n*
day.after.tomorrow come-POT = but tomorrow = TOP come-POT-NEG
'I can come the day after tomorrow but not tomorrow.'

b. *upuusa iar-iiri = tu* *fau-iuus-a-n*
lot COP-CVB.IPF = FOC eat-POT-IRR-NEG
'There is a lot so I can't eat all of it.'

10.5.3.2 Impotential

Impotential indicates impossibility and is formed by compounds with *kani*.

(75) *unu psta = a* *ukam = nu* *pstu* *ia = ssuka = tu* *ukam = nu*
PROX person = TOP Ōgami = NOM person COP = but = FOC Ōgami = NOM
munuu = u = pa *au-kani* *uu*
word = ACC = TOP.OBJ say-IMPOT IPF
'He's from Ōgami, but he cannot speak the local language.'

10.5.3.3 Permissive

Permissive expresses permission granted to the subject of the verb and is formed by desubordination of the concessive converb (see §11.5).

(76) *ata = a* *kuu-pamai ?*
tomorrow = TOP come-CSV
'May I come tomorrow?'

10.5.3.4 Debitive

Debitive expression is periphrastic and combines a negative conditional converb with a negative form of the verb *nar-* 'become'.

(77) *karɛ = ɛ* *uki-takaa* *nar-a-n = suka* *mmita uki-n*
DIST = TOP get.up-COND.NEG become-IRR-NEG = but still get.up-NEG
'He must get up but he's still not waking up.'

10.5.4 Volition

10.5.4.1 Intentional

Intentional indicates a concrete project of the subject and is formed by adding the formal noun *sammin* to the predicate.

(78) *ara = a ata pssara = nkai iks sammin*
I = TOP tomorrow Hirara = DIR go INT
'Tomorrow I'm planning to go to Hirara.'

10.5.4.2 Desiderative

Desiderative is formed by compounding with *puskar-* and marks a wish or a desire of the subject.

(79) *a = ka fau-pus-ka-m muna = a uri*
I = TOP eat-DES-VBZ-IND thing = TOP PROX
'That's what I want to eat.'

10.5.4.3 Anti-commissive

Anti-commissive indicates a refusal or the lack of intention by adding the suffix *-tɛɛn* to the irrealis form.

(80) *ara = a ik-a-tɛɛn*
I = TOP go-IRR-ACOM
'I won't go'

10.5.5 Conjecture

Conjectural categories express the commitment of the speaker regarding the truth of the information.

10.5.5.1 Presumptive

The presumptive (*pakɯ*) indicates the information is deduced by the speaker and is highly probable or logically expected to be true.

(81) *ata = a stumuti = kara = tu ami = nu ff pakɯ*
tomorrow = TOP morning = ABL = FOC rain = NOM fall PRESUM
'Tomorrow it will probably rain from the morning.'

10.5.5.2 Prospective

The prospective (*-ti*) is used as a kind of modal future or conjectural imperfective. It expresses an event that has not yet occurred but is, or was, expected to occur. It can also express the intention of the subject.

(82) a. *a=ka vva=ka iaa=nkai kuu-ti=ssɛɛ mat-i=ir-i*
I=NOM you=NOM house=DIR go-PROSP=since wait-CVB=IPF-IMP
'I'm coming to your house so wait for me!'

b. *ami=nu ff-a-ti*
rain=NOM fall-IRR-PROSP
'It's going to rain.'

10.5.5.3 Previsional

The previsional (*kumata*) expresses an expectation or a project of the speaker.

(83) *vva=ka ks-taɯ paa=n=na ɾaa iti pɛɯ*
you=NOM come-PST moment=DAT=TOP I.TOP go.out.CVB leave
kumata=tu iataɯ
PREV=FOC COP-PST
'When you came I was about to go out.'

10.5.6 Evidentiality

Ōgami Ryukyuan has four evidential categories which indicate the existence of an external source for the information provided.

10.5.6.1 Hearsay

Hearsay is marked by *=tim* or *=tta:*[7]

(84) a. *tunaɯ=nu <oʑii>=ka=tu kunu sun-taɯ=tta*
neighbour=NOM old.man=NOM=FOC yesterday die-PST=HS
'It'said the old man from the neighbour house passed away yesterday.'

b. *ikɛɛm=n=na kama=nu im=ma suma=tu ia-taɯ=tim*
old.days=DAT=TOP there=NOM sea=TOP island=FOC COP-PST=HS
'It is said this part of the sea was land during the old days.'

10.5.6.2 Inferential

The inferential is marked by *sauna* and expresses the existence of an external source of information and a certain unreliability of this information: the in-

[7]The difference between the two remains unclear.

formation is presented as what can be inferred to be true from the evidence available.

(85) *<obaa>* *uɯ=tu=s* *sauna*
grand-mother be=FOC=EMPH INFER
'It seems grand mother is there.'

10.5.7 Aspect

10.5.7.1 Imperfective

Imperfective aspect is formed with the auxiliary verb *ur-*. It can express a habit, an ongoing action or state. It thus combines the values of habitual, progressive and durative.

(86) a. *makssɛ=ɛ mainiks <kuʑi>=n=tu aki=ɯ*
store=TOP everyday 9h=DAT=FOC open.CVB=IPF
'The store opens everyday at 9.'

b. *pataka=n nar-i=tu=ɯ*
naked=DAT become-CVB=FOC=IPF
'He's naked.'

c. *karɛ=ɛ skama=u=mai asi-ta=tu niv-vi=tɛɛn uɯ*
DIST=TOP work=ACC=INCL do-CVB.NEG=FOC sleep-CVB=RESTR IPF
'He does not work and all he does is sleep.'

10.5.7.2 Completive

Completive aspect is marked by the auxiliary *nɛɛn* and conveys the meaning of an event completed in an irreversible fashion.

(87) *<bas>=nu=tu kui pɛr-i nɛɛn*
bus=NOM=FOC go.past.CVB leave-CVB CPLF
'The bus has left (and won't come back).'

10.5.7.3 Inchoative

Inchoative aspect is marked by compounding with *pakumi* and indicates the event is at its beginning stage.

(88) *unu <hon>=nu=pa kuna=a ium-pakumi=tu*
PROX book=ACC=TOP.OBJ yesterday=TOP read-INCHO=FOC
'I began to read this book yesterday.'

10.5.7.4 Terminative

Terminative aspect can be marked by the auxiliaries *tukumi* and *uvar-*. It marks an event at its final stage.

(89) a. *kak-i=tu* *uvar-i=ɯ*
write-CVB=FOC TERM-CVB=IPF
'I have finished writing.'

b. *fau-tukumi=tu*
eat-TERM=FOC
'I have finished eating.'

10.5.7.5 Resultative

Resultative aspect is formed with the auxiliary *ar-* and marks a persistent result of an event.

(90) *ɯa=ka=tu* *mmita pssara=n* *ik-ɛ=ɯ*
father=NOM=FOC still Hirara=DAT go-CVB=RES
'My father is still in Hirara.'

10.5.7.6 Perfect

The perfect is seldom used in Ōgami Ryukyuan. It is formed with the auxiliary *uk-* and expresses a past event viewed as linked with a posterior situation.

(91) *akaɯrɛɛ=nu* *<kjoodai>* *ftaaɯ=nu fuufu=n*
Akaɯrɛɛ=NOM sibling two=NOM couple=DAT
nar-i=ik-i *mamuia=u=mai* *nas-taɯ*
become-CVB=PARF-CVB *Mamuiaa*=ACC=INCL to.father-PST
'The brother and sister of the *Akaɯrɛɛ* house, having become husband and wife, gave birth to Mamujaa.'

10.5.7.7 Conative

Conative aspect is marked by the auxiliary *mii* and expresses an attempt, a try or an experience.

(92) a. *ansi=nu muna=a* *ɯpu-mma=nkai* *ksk-i* *mii-ɾipa=tu*
so=NOM thing=TOP grand-mother=DIR ask-CVB CON-CIRC=FOC
ss-i=ɯ
know-CVB=IPF
'That kind of thing, if we ask grand-mother, she will know it.'

b. *ɯɾɛ=ɛ* *mii=ia* *mii-n* *ɯu*
PROX=TOP see=TOP CON-NEG fish
'It's a fish I have never seen.'

10.5.7.8 Preparative

Preparative aspect indicates an action done ahead, in prevision of an other event. It is marked with the auxiliary *usk-*.

(93) *urii* *ara-i-siti* *nukui-siti* *nnas-i* *usk-i*
PROX = ACC wash-CVB-SEQ wipe.CVB-SEQ tidy;up-CVB PREP-IMP
'Clean it, wipe it and put it away (for next use).'

10.6 Information structure

10.6.1 Topicalization

Topicalization of a constituent is always formally marked in Ōgami Ryukyuan. The two different topic markers *a* and *pa* have a different distribution:

- *pa* appears after object arguments only;
- *a* can appear after all other kinds of constituents, subject and oblique arguments, as well as adverbial clauses; it follows case markers but prevents the occurrence of a nominative-genitive marker.

The topic marker *a* is also used to mark arguments that are at the same time the object of a clause and the subject of another.

A topicalized constituent is free to appear in a non-canonical position, usually the sentence-initial position.

Topicalization is also used to express contrast or emphatic negation.

(94) a. *akaurɛɛ = nu* *miitu-kam = ma* *uri = kara = tu*
Akaurɛɛ = NOM couple-god = TOP PROX = ABL = FOC
suma = u = pa *pssuki-taw*
village = ACC = TOP.OBJ widen-PST
'The married gods of the house of *Akaurɛɛ* then populated the village.'

b. *unu* *<gaikoku> = nu* *psta = a* *unu* *ukam = nu*
PROX foreign = NOM person = TOP PROX Ōgami = NOM
pstu = pa *mmna* *<zenbu>* *pstu-tukuma = n* *matumar-i*
person = TOP.OBJ all all one-place = DAT gather-CVB
'These foreigners gathered all the people of Ōgami in one place…'

c. *unu* *katana = sɛ = ɛ* *skss-ai-n*
PROX knife = INSTR = TOP cut-POT-NEG
'I can't cut it with this knife.'

10.6.2 Focalization

Focalization of a constituent is also always morphologically marked, by the clitic marker *tu*. Focus marking is very common, and most sentences contain an overtly marked focus, even if its informative value is rather low. The variety of focus markers in Ōgami Ryukyuan is rather poor in comparison of other Miyako dialects (see Shimoji 2008a). The main focus marker is *tu*, which can appear after any constituent. However, it seems impossible to focalize a constituent embedded inside a subordinate clause or an NP.

(95) a. *tauf=fu=pa* *<daizu>=si=tu as*
tōfu=ACC=TOP.OBJ soy=INSTR=FOC do
'*Tōfu* is made from soy beans.'

b. *upusuu paur-ipa=tu* *<sizento>* *tauf=n* *nar-i=ɯ*
seawater pour-CIRC=FOC naturally tōfu=DAT become=CVB=IPF
'When you pour seawater in it, it naturally becomes *tōfu*.'

11 The complex sentence

11.1 Overview of complex clause structures

Apart from subordinate relative clauses, whose recognition is rather straightforward, the distinction between coordination and subordination in complex sentences is problematic in Ōgami Ryukyuan.

The main strategy to build complex sentences is by the combination of clauses headed by converbs, which are formally dependent verb forms. However, many clauses headed by converbs cannot be straightforwardly described as strictly subordinate. They rather encode coordinate events, and such clauses correspond to the co-subordinate structures defined by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997).

The distinction between coordination and subordination in Ōgami Ryukyuan is thus rather blurred, and the same clause can be interpreted as coordinate/co-subordinate or subordinate depending on the context.[8]

11.2 Coordination

Syntactic clausal coordination is not a prominent feature in Ōgami Ryukyuan, and clause-chains (§11.3) are used instead as a coordination strategy. The only coordination construction *stricto sensu* is by the disjunctives conjunction *suka*.

[8]See Bickel (1998) for a typological overview of the blurred distinction between coordination and subordination as well as the converb category in Asian languages.

(96) *ara = a saki num-a-ti = ssuka vva = a num-a-tɛɛn ?*
I = TOP alcohol drink-IRR-PROSP = but you = TOP drink-IRR-ACOM
'I am going to drink alcohol, but will you drink too?'

11.3 Clause-chaining

Ōgami Ryukyuan exhibits syntactic constructs that resemble the clause-chains of the languages of Papua-New Guinea (Foley 1986). In such chains a series of clauses follow each other and only the final verb is an independent verb form carrying the TAM markers. In Ōgami Ryukyuan, such chain-medial clauses are usually headed by a narrative or sequential converb, and clause-chains are sometimes difficult to distinguish from adverbial subordinate structures. Clause chains are also close to coordinated structures, and indeed they are the only strategy to express conjunctive coordination in Ōgami Ryukyuan.

(97) a. *uri = i ara-i-siti nuku-i-siti nnas-i usk-i*
PROX = ACC wash-CVB-SEQ wipe-CVB-SEQ put.in.order-CVB PREP-IMP
'Wash it, wipe it and put it away!'

b. *kama-naki = kara < tomodatɕi > = nu kss-i pssui mmna*
there-APPROX = ABL friend = NOM come-CVB pick.up.CVB all
kago = nkai ɯr-i tɯr-as-i-sitii = tu…
basket = DIR put.in-CVB take-CAUS-CVB-SEQ = FOC
'Some friends came from somewhere, they picked (the pears) up, put them all in the basket and gave it to him…'

Clause chains are frequently used in narrations to express a sequence of events in their chronological order, and all of these events are seen as having the same semantic and discursive rank. Clause chains can easily include a dozen narrative or sequential converbs, to which many true adverbial subordinate clauses can be added. Chain-medial clauses are used for plot-advancing in narrations, while adverbial subordinate clauses are used to describe background information.

(98) *fii-ɾipa urɛ = ɛ mut-i pɛr-i-sitii = tu…*
give-CIRC PROX = ACC carry-CVB leave-CVB-SEQ = FOC
'As they gave them to him, he took them and left…'

11.4 Subordination

11.4.1 Adverbial subordination

Adverbial subordinate clauses are most usually headed by converbs.

(99) a. *aspɯ-ka kuu*
play-PURP come.IMP
'Come to have fun.' (purpose)

b. *mainiks ffa-f naɯ-tikaa iatu=u=tɯ ff*
everyday dark-SUFF become-ANT door=ACC=FOC close
'Everyday I close the door when it gets dark.' (time)

c. *iaa=nkai kss-ipa=tu ami=nu ff-i taikɯ ia-taɯ*
house=DIR come-CIRC=FOC rain=NOM fall-CVB terrible COP-PST
'While I was going home, it rained and it was terrible.' (simultaneous time)

The other adverbial subordination strategy available is through the use of an independent verb form followed by a subordinating conjunction or by formal noun in a relative-like construction (see §11.4.2).

(100) a. *aks-kaɯ=kɛ num-i=ɾa*
hot-VBZ=when drink-IMP=DISC
'Drink while it's hot!'

b. *suma=nu pstu=n=mai mii-ɾai-n iaun kss-i…*
village=NOM person=DAT=INCL see-PASS-NEG for come-CVB
'They came in a way that they would not be seen by the villagers…'

c. *uɾi=i sumar-a-ti=ssɛɛ kanu kiskɯ=nu paa=u*
PROX=ACC bind-IRR-PROSP=car DIST Eulalia.grass=NOM leaf=ACC
mut-i kuu
carry-CVB come.IMP
'Since I'm going to bind this, bring me those leaves of Eulaliae grass!'

11.4.2 Relative subordination

Relative subordinate clauses appear just before the relativized domain noun, without any relativizer of any kind. Relative clauses are headed by independent verb forms, but there are some restrictions on the moods that can appear in a relative clause. There seem to be no internally headed relative clauses in Ōgami Ryukyuan, and headless relative clauses are very uncommon.

All kinds of syntactic and semantic roles can be relativized, like the subject, the object, as well as various oblique arguments.

(101) a. [[*pssaɾa=nkai iks*] *pstu*]
Hirara=DIR go person
'the person going to Hirara' (subject)

b. *uɾɛ=ɛ* [[*a=ka kff*] *kss*]
PROX=TOP I=NOM make fish-hook
'Here are the fish-hooks I make.' (object)

c. [[*fii-taɯ*] *pstu*]=*nu naa=u=tɯ passi=ɯ*
give-PST person=NOM name=ACC=FOC forget.CVB=IPF

'I forgot the name of the person I gave it.' (dative)

d. *kurɛ=ɛ* [[<*tegami*> =*i kaks-taɯ*] <*pen*>]
this=TOP letter=ACC write-PST spen
'This is the pen I used to write the letter.' (instrumental)

Relative clauses are also widely used as a complementation and adverbial subordination strategy. For example, the noun *munu* 'thing' often appears as a complementizer in relative-like structures which cannot be interpreted as relative clauses meaning 'the thing that…'.

(102) [[*kari=ka iaa=n simuks ium-i=i-taɯ*] *munu*]=*u=tu*
DIST=NOM house=DAT book read-CVB=IPF-PST thing=ACC=FOC
mii-taɯ
see-PST
'I saw him reading a book at home.'

Relativization of a formal noun is also often used to express adverbial subordination, like with *paa* 'moment' > 'when'.

(103) [[*imi-kaɯ*] *paa*]=*n=na iamutu=n=tu u-taɯ*
small-VBZ time=DAT=TOP Japan=DAT=FOC be-PST
'When he was a child, he lived in mainland Japan.'

11.4.3 Complementation

For most verbs, the only complementation strategy available is through the *munu* construction described above. However, verbs of speech and thought have a complementation strategy with the quotative marker *ti(i)* following the quoted speech.

(104) *Taroo=ia* [*naa=ka=tu paɯ-kaɯ=ti*] *umu-i ɯɯ*
Tarō=TOP LOG=NOM=FOC bad-VBZ=QUOT think-CVB IPF
'Tarō thinks it's his fault.'

Interrogative complements are usually embedded questions marked by *ka*, and yes-no questions are marked by *mukara*.

(105) a. [*naɯ=iu as-sipa=tu taɯ-kaɯ=ka*] *ss-ai-n*
what?=ACC do-CIRC=FOC good-VBZ=Q know-POT-NEG
'I don't know what I should do.'

b. *maataki naɯ mukara ss-ai-n*
together become Q know-PASS-NEG
'I don't know whether they are getting married.'

11.5 Desubordination

Ōgami exhibits a *desubordination* process whereby a dependent clause headed by a converb is used as a main clause. Though this phenomenon also applies to coordinate-like medial clauses of clause-chains and not only to strictly subordinate clauses, I shall retain the term of *desubordination*.[9]

11.5.1 From concessive to permissive

The concessive converb in *-pamai* is often used in a construction with *iunumunu* 'same' to express permission.

(106) *karɛ=ɛ kuu-pamai iunumunu*
DIST=TOP come.IRR-CSV same
'He can come.' (*litt.* 'Even if he comes, it is the same.')

The *iunumunu* part can be ellipted without altering the meaning of the sentence. This is a case of *conventional ellipsis*: the missing element can be recovered, but ellipsis is restricted to this particular element and the sentence cannot have another interpretation (Evans 2007).

(107) a. *karɛ=ɛ ik-a-pamai ias=suka*
DIST=TOP go-IRR-CSV COP=but
'He, he may go but…'

b. *ata kuu-pamai ?*
tomorrow come.IRR-CSV
'May I come tomorrow?'

11.5.2 From narrative to past

Clauses headed by a narrative converb in *-i* can also undergo desubordination. The narrative converb then has a perfective past value, and no aspectual auxiliary may appear on the verb.

The desubordinate clause retains the characteristics of a dependent clause, and for instance the narrative converb can be followed by the focus marker *tu*.Indexfocus This is the only case where this marker can appear in the final position of a sentence. The desubordinate clause also cannot carry polarity or TAM markers, like many dependent clauses that depend on a matrix clause for the expression of these categories, and contrary to independent clauses.

(108) a. *ffuɯ=u=pa mmɛ num-i=tu*
medicine=ACC=TOP.OBJ already drink-CVB=FOC
'I have already taken my medicine.'

[9]See Aikhenvald (2004). The same phenomenon is labelled *insubordination* by Evans (2007).

b. *vva = a pssnii = pa asi = tu ?*
you = TOP nap = TOP.OBJ do.CVB = FOC
'Did you take your nap?'

c. *kuna = a nau = iu = tu asi ?*
yesterday = TOP what? = ACC = FOC do.CVB
'What did you do yesterday?'

The desubordinate clauses headed by a narrative converb have gone one step further on the desubordination scale, and contrary to the desubordinate concessive clauses, they cannot be considered as cases of ellipsis. No element can be recovered and added to the sentence, and the desubordinate clause is clearly fully independent.

The emergence of new tense-aspect forms through desubordination seems to be not very common from a typological point of view (Evans 2007), and the Ōgami case is thus remarkable.

Sample text: the Pear story

(T.1) *<oʒii> = ka* *<nasi> = i mur-i = ir-ipa…* *mur-i…*
old.man = NOM pear = ACC pick.up-CVB = IPF-CIRC pick.up-CVB
'An old man was picking up pears,'

(T.2) *<epuron> = nu* *<poketto> = kara* *<poketto> = nkai uri* *mur-i…*
apron = NOM pocket = ABL pocket = DIR PROX pick.up-CVB
mur-i-sitii = tu
pick.up-CVB-SEQ = FOC
'he was picking them up into his apron's pocket, then'

(T.3) *<epuron> = nu* *<poketto> = kara mut-i* *kss-i*
apron = NOM pocket = ABL carry-CVB come-CVB
'he brought them from his apron's pocket'

(T.4) *mmna uma = nkai mut-i-siti* *auk-i-siti*
all there = DIR carry-CVB-SEQ pour-CVB-SEQ
'he brought them up over there and then poured them'

(T.5) *ik-i* *<nasi>* *muɯ-ka* *pɛr-ɛ = ɛr-ipa = tu* *mata*
go-CVB pear pick.up-PURP leave-CVB = RES-CIRC = FOC again
'and as he was gone to pick up pears,'

(T.6) *tau-karaa…* *nau-karaa* *iarapi = nu* *kss-i*
who?-INDEF what?-INDEF child = NOM come-CVB
'somebody, a child, came,'

(T.7) *<ʒitençа> = kara kss-i* *<kago> = sui…* *nisum-i* *pɛɯ-taɯ*
bicycle = ABL come-CVB basket-COM steal-CVB leave-PST
'he came by bicycle and stole them with his basket.'

(T.8) *nisum-i* *pɛɯ-taɯ*
steal-CVB leave-PST
'He stole them.'

(T.9) *asi* *mut-i* *ik-i* *kama = nki ik-i*
do.CVB carry-CVB go-CVB there = DIR go-CVB
'Then he took them away,'

(T.10) *<ʒitençа> = kara* *<hikkurigaer>-i mmna sti-ripa = tu*
bicycle = ABL turn.over-CVB all loose-CIRC = FOC
'he fell off his bicycle and as he lost them all,'

(T.11) *kama-naki = kara* *<tomodatçi> = nu kss-i* *pssui*
there-APPROX = ABL friend = NOM come-CVB pick.up.CVB
'some friends came from over there and picked them up,'

(T.12) *mmna* <*kago*> = *nkai* *ɯr-i…* *tɯr-as-ipa…* *-sitii* = *tɯ* *pɛɯr-ipa*
all basket = DIR put.in-CVB take-CAUS-CVB -SEQ = FOC leave-CIRC
'they put them all into the basket, gave them to him, and as they went away,'

(T.13) <*boosi*> = *i* = *tɯ* *passi* *pɛr-ɛ* = *ɯ* = *ti* *mut-i* *kss-i*
hat = ACC = FOC forget.CVB leave-CVB = RES = QUOT carry-CVB come-CVB
tɯr-as-ipa
take-CAUS-CIRC
'they realized "he's leaving without his hat" and brought it and gave it to him,'

(T.14) *unu* <*nasi*> = *i* *pstii-ks* *tama* *nakaar-i* *fii* *fii* *aɯ* *fii-taɯ*
PROX pear = ACC one-CLF share share-CVB give.CVB give.CVB RES give-PST
'then he gave one of those pears to each one of them.'

(T.15) *fii-ripa* *urɛ* = *ɛ* *mut-i* *pɛr-i-sitii* = *tɯ*
give-CIRC PROX = ACC carry-CVB leave-CVB-SEQ = FOC
'He gave them and they went away with them.'

(T.16) <*oʑii*> = *ka* *mai* = *nkai* *mata* *kss-i* *mii-taɯ* = *nɯ*
old.man = NOM front = DIR again come-CVB three-CLF = NOM
pstɯ = *nɯ* *kss-i*
person = NOM come-CVB
'They came again in front of the old man, three of them,'

(T.17) *maar-i* <*oʑii*> = *ka* *mai* *maar-i-siti* *pɛɯ-taɯ…* *pɛɯt-aɯ*
turn-CVB old.man = NOM front turn-CVB-SEQ leave-PST leave-PST
'they went past the old man and went away.'

Abbreviations

<…>	loanword from Japanese / code-switching
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACOM	Anti-comissive
ANT	anterior
APPROX	approximative
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circumstancial
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
CON	conative
COND.NEG	negative conditional
COP	copula
CPLF	completive
CSV	concessive
CVB.IPF	imperfective converb
CVB.NEG	negative converb
CVB	narrative converb
DAT	dative
DES	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive
DISC	discourse marker
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
EMPH	emphatic
FOC	focus
HON	honorific
HS	hear-say
IMP	imperative
IMPOT	impotential
INCHO	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INFER	inferential
INSTR	instrumental
INT	intentional
INTERR	interrogative
IPF	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOG	logophoric
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect
PLUR	plural
POT	potential
PREC	precative
PREP	preparative
PRESUM	presumptive
PREV	previsional
PROH	prohibitive
PROSP	prospective
PROX	proximal
PST.NEG	negative past
PST	past
PURP	purposive
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
RES	resultative
RESTR	restrictive
SEQ	sequential
SIMIL	similative
SUFF	suffix
TERM	terminative
TOP.OBJ	topicalized object
TOP	topic
VBZ	verbalizer

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