A GRAMMATICAL STUDY OF LUCHUAN: Focusing upon the Verb Forms in Shuri Dialect

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A GRAMMATICAL STUDY OF LUCHUAN
— Focusing upon the Verb Forms in Shuri Dialect —

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1. Introduction

Luchuan is now threatened by extinction. The legacy of Luchuan transmission from parents to children is virtually ceasing, therefore the language seems to be in the process of changing from an endangered language to a moribund language. In an attempt to reverse this phenomenon, I will describe and analyse the verb system which has not been substantially examined as of yet. Although there are many excellent studies about Shuri dialect, it is difficult to find a study which focuses on the descriptions necessary for the practical usage of the language. In addition to this point, the context in which the utterances have emerged has been neglected, in spite of its importance. Consequently, people who desire to learn Luchuan, immediately face compound difficulties. That is to say, it is exceedingly difficult to speak Luchuan in a way that is appropriate to the context. The main aim of this study is to clarify the usage of each verb form, present examples, and analyse the data systematically, in order to resolve the problems above. Clarification of the verb forms is a crucial step, not only in understanding the mechanics of the language but also in making it more accessible to those who wish to study Luchuan. Illuminating the verb system will contribute to the preservation of Luchuan as a living language, spoken in real life, not as data exhibited in a museum like a fossil.

2. Background

In this section, I will attempt to present the brief information about Okinawa and Shuri dialect.

2.1 Background of Okinawa

Luchuan languages are spoken in the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa Prefecture), which are the southernmost islands of Japan. Okinawa is composed of about 160 small islands, 40 of which are inhabited and located in the Pacific Ocean and the East China Sea. These islands are
surrounded by beautiful coral reefs, which like Luchuan are also in danger of extinction for a variety of reasons. Because Okinawa has a subtropical oceanic climate, varieties of plants and animals found in Okinawa are very different from those found in mainland Japan. Many of these species can only be seen in Okinawa.

In addition to indigenous plants and animals, although Okinawa is now a part of Japan, its history, culture, and languages differ considerably from those of Japan. Historically, Okinawa used to be an independent nation, the Ryukyu Kingdom, from 1429 to 1879, until mainland Japan invaded the islands. Regarding its subsistence, despite the limitations of natural resources, the Ryukyu Kingdom flourished through overseas trade with many Asian countries, and as a transit trade nation in East Asia, under the authority of China. In this way, Okinawan culture developed, affected by many other countries.

Due to the Japanese annexation of Okinawa, the effects of World War II, and subsequent control by the U.S. military; circumstances surrounding Okinawa continue to change rapidly. Although tourism is succeeding, Okinawa’s main income still depends on military bases and national government spending, which comprise a high proportion of Okinawa’s economy. Accompanying this change of lifestyle, traditional Okinawan culture gradually has been fading.

With concern to Okinawa’s language, Luchuan is in danger of extinction. I will explain the present situation in section 2.3. It is generally accepted that Luchuan is a sister language of Japanese; and that the two are estimated to have diverged from each other no later than the eighth century. Luchuan and Japanese have been individually changing, and are now mutually incomprehensible. The contemporary dialects of Luchuan are divided into two large major groups: the dialects spoken in the north, and the dialects spoken in the south. Shuri dialect, the language which I will examine in this report, belongs to the former group.

2.2 Background of Shuri Dialect

Naha City has been the seat of the present prefectural government in Okinawa since the annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom by mainland Japan in 1879. However, it was Shuri which used to function as the capital city of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Shuri was a center of government and culture. Therefore Shuri dialect played an important role as a common language among the different varieties of dialects in the Ryukyu Islands.

The remarkable feature of Shuri dialect is its strict honorific systems, which make distinctions according to the class, gender, and age of the addressee and speaker. The classes were divided into three groups; the general population, the members of the ruling class dynasty, and the *samurai* who were warriors. At the present time, there are no differences in classes. The usage of the language mainly depends on the ages of the speakers. However, because of the
rigidity and complexity of honorific systems, people tend to use Japanese instead of Luchuan in order to avoid honorific mistakes in the conversation. This inability to use honorifics is possibly one reason which contributes to the diminished opportunity for younger generations to speak Luchuan.

In 1532, the first classical literature in Luchuan, called “Omoro Soshi,” was collected and edited by the government of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Twenty-two volumes of “Omoro Soshi,” which is a collection of poems remain. However as Luchuan is fundamentally, only used orally and is not written or read on a regular basis, the data is limited to the spoken language.

2.3 Present Condition of Shuri Dialect

The population of Okinawa is about 1.3 million people. An accurate number of native speakers of Luchuan is not available. However, in general, as younger generations under the age of fifty rarely speak Luchuan in daily life; it can be estimated that less than three hundred thousand people, at the most, still use Luchuan according to statistics in the most recent census. The population of Naha City is about 305,000 people, and there are 58,000 people living in the Shuri district of Naha. The number of native speakers in Naha City, where Shuri is located, is probably less than eighty thousand speakers. The rest of the younger generations speak standard Japanese or a new language variant called Uchina-Yamato dialect, which is a fusion of Luchuan and standard Japanese. Even people who can speak Luchuan are inclined to speak Japanese when they talk with people who come from different dialectal areas. Thus the number of Luchuan speakers is rapidly declining due to the decreased opportunity to use the language, and this is even effecting native speakers.

My paternal grandparents, who were born in the 1890’s, spoke only Luchuan. They did not understand Japanese, at all, and could neither read nor write Japanese or Luchuan. In contrast my parents, born in the 1930’s, speak Luchuan in daily life, but they also read and write Japanese.

My father’s mother tongue is Luchuan, not Japanese. He spoke only Luchuan until he began to go to school. In general, children used to start to learn Japanese at elementary school, at that time. However, my father lost the opportunity to attend school for four years, because of the Battle of Okinawa, and the chaotic situation after the war. Luchuan was the only language which he spoke until he started to go to school, when he was 10 or 11 years old. He recalls those days when it was really difficult for him to study his school subjects without any knowledge of Japanese. Even at school, Okinawans utilized Luchuan at every possible opportunity, except during classes.

As for my maternal parents, although their first language was Luchuan, they could also
speak Japanese. Because my grandfather died in the war before my mother was born, she grew up without having heard her parents converse, and my grandmother spoke Japanese, not Luchuan to my mother. Occasionally, there were chances for my mother to speak Luchuan when she talked with her grandmother, who could not speak Japanese at all. After getting married, my mother started to learn Luchuan in earnest, in order to communicate with her mother-in-law. Learning honorifics was a daunting task for her. However, traditional customs, wherein everybody respected the oldest members of the family, demanded that she master Luchuan including honorifics quickly. Because my mother mastered Luchuan, conversations between my father and my mother have always been spoken in Luchuan. However, regrettably they never spoke Luchuan to their children.

As a result, the inheritance of Luchuan ceased to be transmitted to younger generations during my lifetime; and Luchuan is now becoming obsolete, and may soon become extinct. I understand Luchuan, because I have heard my parents’ conversations, but my speaking ability is far from fluent. Needless to say, it is unfortunate that I was unable to communicate with my paternal grandmother. Even if I tried to speak Luchuan to her, as I did not know honorifics, I was not allowed to speak Luchuan. I regret tremendously not having learned Luchuan at that time. As a result, it is regrettable, that I cannot speak Luchuan with my child. My child, certainly cannot understand his grandparents’ conversations. However, he can communicate with his grandparents in Japanese, because they speak Japanese fluently, unlike my grandmother. He does not have to feel a barrier that separates him from his grandparents. Luchuan is steadily following the typical process toward becoming a moribund language.

3. Transcriptions and Abbreviations

For phonetic symbols, I will use broad transcriptions in this paper. Instead of using special phonetic symbols, I will utilize symbols available on an ordinary computer keyboard.

\([hw,hu]\) for a labial fricative
\([']\) for a glottal stop
\([c]\) for a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
\([z]\) for a voiced palato-alveolar affricate/fricative
\([sj]\) for a palatal-alveolar fricative
\([j]\) for a palatal semi-vowel
\([N]\) for a syllabic uvular nasal
\([Q]\) for a syllabic voiceless consonant
Abbreviations used in this paper are listed below:

ACC: accusative case
ATTR: attributive
AP: adverbial particle
CONC: conclusive
CONT: continuative
FC: focus
FP: final particle
NEG: negation
NOM: nominative
PAST: past tense
PL: plural
POL: politeness
Q: question
QUOT: quotative
RESULT: resultative
TOP: topicalization

4. Overview of Contemporary Luchuan Studies

Before starting to present my data and analysis, I will first introduce traditional analysis concerning verb forms of Shuri dialect, and explain the necessity of further study.

4.1 The Dictionary of Okinawan Language

Shuri dialect is considered the most well-studied dialect in Luchuan. The representative study below is a dictionary of the Okinawan language published in 1963, which is the main reference for all researchers. In this section, I will briefly explain the verb forms which are described in this dictionary, so we may understand how preceding studies organized the verb forms. Thus the content in this section is not my analysis but what is written in the dictionary. The vocabularies compiled in the dictionary were gathered from native speakers of Shuri dialect. In the grammar section of the dictionary, which is twenty eight pages long, there is a table of verb forms concerning present tense and past tense, which is shown below.
According to the dictionary, there are two kinds of tenses; present and past. With respect to aspect, there are four aspects; *Hututai*, *Zizokutai*, *Kekkatai*, and *Hozontai*. Firstly, *Hututai* is a conclusive form. It functions as a simple present, and it is also considered to express a similar meaning to a present progressive. However as there is no example of these usages in this grammar section, it is not clear under what circumstances the speaker should use this form.

Secondly, *Zizokutai* (continuative) expresses two meanings. Firstly, it indicates a situation where an action or a change of states has been completed in the past. Secondly, it refers to an action or an event, which is repeated or continues at the time of the utterance. Example (1) is an example of the former meaning, and (2) is an example of the latter usage as presented in the dictionary.

(1) \textit{naci nat-oo-N.} \\
summer become-CONT-N \\
"It became summer."

(2) \textit{nama sjumuci jud-oo-N.} \\
now book read-CONT-N \\
"(I’m) reading a book now."

Thirdly, *Kekkatai* (resultative) is used when an action is completed and its result continues. Non-volitional verbs like \textit{aN} and \textit{uN} (be) do not have this form. Finally, *Hozontai* indicates the speaker’s intention to perpetuate the result of an action. This form is a derivational word consisting of a particle and a verb, ‘\textit{ucu N}’ (put).
4.2 Necessity of Further Study

Although the existent verb forms are presented in the dictionary, and these are translated into Japanese, each usage is not thoroughly illustrated and examples of each verb form are limited or not provided. For example, according to the translation in example (3a), *Kekkatai* (resultative), can be translated into Japanese as in (3b). However, example (4) shows that these are syntactically different in that the object, *tigami*, cannot be marked by the nominative case marker as in (4a), whereas (4b) is possible. The ungrammaticality of (4a) signifies that these two forms have different syntactical rules. That is to say, a direct translation from Luchuan to Japanese is insufficient and greater accuracy and deeper examination is required. The differences between Japanese and Luchuan should always be made clear, otherwise, Luchuan learners will contrast ungrammatical (*) sentences as in example (4a), due to their knowledge of Japanese, in which (4b) is a grammatical sentence.

(3) a. waN-nee naa tigami kac-ee-N.
   I TOP already letter write-RESULT-N
   “I have already written a letter.”

   b. watashi wa mo tegami kai-te-aru. [Japanese]
   I TOP already letter write-TE-be
   “I have already written a letter.”

(4) a. *tigami nu kac-ee-N.
   letter NOM write-RESULT-N
   “The letter is written.”

   b. tegami ga kai-te-aru. [Japanese]
   letter NOM write-te-be
   “The letter is written.”

In addition to descriptive inaccuracies caused by translation into Japanese, the differences between each form are not adequately represented. For instance, *Hututai*, is explained as functioning not only as a simple present, but also as expressing a similar meaning to a present progressive. However, one of the main usages of *Zizokutai* is as a progressive. What is the difference in a progressive usage between *Hututai* and *Zizokutai*? How do native speakers choose either of these properly? The answers to these questions cannot be found in the existent studies. The comparison between each form will be discussed in section 7.
5. Verb Conjugation

In this section, I will attempt to make clear how each verb is conjugated, and try to illustrate what kinds of rules are required to produce appropriate forms. The stems of verbs from numbers 1 to 6 have vowel endings; on the other hand, the stems of the verbs from 7 to 19 have consonant endings as shown in table 2. Basically, verb stems consist of a root and inflectional endings. When the verbs end with vowels, inflectional endings do not appear. However, when the verbs end with consonants, their inflectional endings after their roots change, according to the morphemes which follow the stems. The inflectional endings are written in underlined bold type shown in table 1. In general, negation forms consist of a stem and -raN, non-past forms consist of a stem and -ju-, and past forms consists of a stem and -t-(c). Table 3 shows present participles and past participles. The present participles consist of a stem and -i, on the other hand, past participles consist of a stem and -t-i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. tu-raN</td>
<td>tu-ju-N</td>
<td>tu-t-a-N (take)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. uki-raN</td>
<td>'uki-ju-N</td>
<td>'uki-t-a-N (wake up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. uki-raN</td>
<td>'uki-ju-N</td>
<td>'uki-t-a-N (receive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. koo-raN</td>
<td>koo-ju-N</td>
<td>koo-t-a-N (buy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ci-raN</td>
<td>ci-ju-N</td>
<td>ci-c-a-N (wear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. wara'-raN</td>
<td>wara-ju-N</td>
<td>wara-t-a-N (laugh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. kanD-aN</td>
<td>kaNg-u-N</td>
<td>kaN-t-a-N (put on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. kuNd-aN</td>
<td>kuNg-u-N</td>
<td>kuNg-c-a-N (tie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Nd-aN</td>
<td>'Ng-u-N</td>
<td>'Ng-c-a-N (see)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 'iri-aN</td>
<td>'iri-ju-N</td>
<td>'iri-t-a-N (put)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. cir-aN</td>
<td>ci-ju-N</td>
<td>ci-c-a-N (cut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. 'ir-aN</td>
<td>'i-ju-N</td>
<td>'iri-c-a-N (shoot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. jum-aN</td>
<td>jumari-ju-N</td>
<td>jumari-t-a-N (can read)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tat-aN</td>
<td>ta-g-u-N</td>
<td>taQ-c-a-N (stand up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. kak-aN</td>
<td>kaQ-u-N</td>
<td>kaQ-a-N (write)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. wiig-aN</td>
<td>wiiz-u-N</td>
<td>wiiz-a-N (swim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. tub-aN</td>
<td>tub-u-N</td>
<td>tub-a-N (fly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. jum-aN</td>
<td>jum-u-N</td>
<td>jum-a-N (read)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. nas-aN</td>
<td>nas-ju-N</td>
<td>na-g-a-N (bear)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Present participle</th>
<th>Past participle</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tu-raN</td>
<td>tu-i</td>
<td>tu-t-i</td>
<td>(take)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 'uki-raN</td>
<td>'uki-i</td>
<td>'uki-t-i</td>
<td>(wake up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 'uki-raN</td>
<td>'uki-i</td>
<td>'uki-t-i</td>
<td>(receive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 koo-raN</td>
<td>koo-i</td>
<td>koo-t-i</td>
<td>(buy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ci-raN</td>
<td>ci-i</td>
<td>ci-c-i</td>
<td>(wear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 wara'-raN</td>
<td>wara-i</td>
<td>wara-t-i</td>
<td>(laugh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kaNd-aN</td>
<td>kaNg-i</td>
<td>kaN-t-i</td>
<td>(put on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kuNd-aN</td>
<td>kuNg-i</td>
<td>kuNg-g-i</td>
<td>(tie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 'NNd-aN</td>
<td>'NNg-i</td>
<td>'NN-g-i</td>
<td>(see)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 'iri-aN</td>
<td>'iri-i</td>
<td>'iQ-t-i</td>
<td>(put)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 ci-aN</td>
<td>ci-i</td>
<td>ciQ-c-i</td>
<td>(cut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 'ir-aN</td>
<td>'i-i</td>
<td>'iQ-c-i</td>
<td>(shoot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. jumar-aN</td>
<td>jumari-i</td>
<td>jumaQ-t-i</td>
<td>(can read)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tat-aN</td>
<td>tag-i</td>
<td>taQ-c-i</td>
<td>(stand up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. kak-aN</td>
<td>kag-i</td>
<td>kag-i</td>
<td>(write)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. wiig-aN</td>
<td>wiiz-i</td>
<td>wiiz-i</td>
<td>(swim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. tub-aN</td>
<td>tub-i</td>
<td>tuQ-i</td>
<td>(fly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. jum-aN</td>
<td>jum-i</td>
<td>jum-t-i</td>
<td>(read)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. nas-aN</td>
<td>nas-i</td>
<td>naQ-g-i</td>
<td>(bear)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

5.1 Classification of Vowel Endings and Consonant Endings

Each stem is written in bold type in the first column of Table 2. The verbs will be divided into two groups: vowel endings and consonant endings. Attention must be paid when we consider the verbs whose stems end with [r] as in examples 10 to 13. It is difficult to distinguish if [r] belongs to the stem or if it belongs to the suffix which indicates negation. Negation forms are made by adding -raN/aN to the stems. When the verbs end with a vowel, -raN should follow, and for those verbs which end with a consonant, -aN should be used as rule (5) indicates.

(5) raN→aN/ _ [+consonant]

I classified the verb ci-ju-N (wear) as a vowel ending verb, and the verb ci-juN (cut) as a
consonant ending verb. The non-past forms of these two verbs are exactly the same, and so are their negation forms. However, their past forms are different. The past form of the verb ‘wear’ is ci-ca-N. On the other hand, the past form of the verb ‘cut’ is ciQ-c-a-N. In general, past forms are produced by adding ti/ci to the stems when the stems are vowel endings. Therefore, the past form of ci-ju-N ‘wear’ can be considered as a vowel ending verb. However, the past form of the verb ‘cut’ is not ci-caN but ciQ-caN as we can see in table 4 below. This difference leads to the possibility that the verb ‘cut’ may have a consonant ending, namely –r ending, and it can be altered into syllabic voiceless consonants when appropriate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Non-past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ci-raN (wear)</td>
<td>ci-ju-N</td>
<td>ci-c-a-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciQ-raN (cut)</td>
<td>ci-ju-N</td>
<td>ciQ-c-a-N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Comparison of the verb ‘wear’ and ‘cut’

Because the five verbs from 10 to 14 in table 2 including ‘cut’ have syllabic voiceless consonants, it may be possible to say that when the sound of the stem is apical such as [t] or [r], the morphological alternations occur from [r] and [t] into [Q] before [t] and [c] as rule (6) shows. This is the reason why I have classified these verbs as consonant ending stems.

(6) t, r \rightarrow Q / __ t/c

5.2. Non-past Forms
Non-past forms are composed of the stems and –ju-N. The following six verbs need some additional rules according to rule (7).

(7) Non-past stem + -ju-N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Non-past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 kNd-aN</td>
<td>kaNz-u-N</td>
<td>kaN-t-a-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kNd-aN</td>
<td>kuNz-u-N</td>
<td>kuN-c-a-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ‘NNd-aN</td>
<td>‘NNz-u-N</td>
<td>‘NN-c-a-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tat-aN</td>
<td>taQ-u-N</td>
<td>taQ-c-a-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. kak-aN</td>
<td>kaQ-u-N</td>
<td>kaQ-a-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. wiig-aN</td>
<td>wiiz-u-N</td>
<td>wiiz-a-N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The phonetic combinations of number 7, 8 and 9 are similar. Each of their stems ends with the sequence of the consonants [N][d]. The last [d] sound is palatalized when the morpheme \(-ju\) follows.

\[(8) \text{d} \rightarrow z/ \_ j \quad (7-9)\]

The next example shows the omission of the last sound of the stem. When [r] is surrounded by the high vowel \(-i\) or semivowel \(-j\), it is omitted.

The verbs in (14), (15) and (16) are simple. The last consonants of these stems are palatalized in the environment in which the semivowel \(-ju\) is attached to the stem, and this semivowel \(-j\) itself is omitted.

\[(9) \text{t} \rightarrow c/ \_ j \quad (14)\]
\[(10) \text{k} \rightarrow c/ \_ j \quad (15)\]
\[(11) \text{g} \rightarrow z/ \_ j \quad (16)\]

These rules can be summarized simply by noting that the velar stops (voiced and voiceless) and the alveolar stops (voiced and voiceless) are palatalized in the environment in which \(-ju\) appears after a stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Present participle</th>
<th>Non-past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 (\text{irir-aN})</td>
<td>(\text{iri-i})</td>
<td>(\text{iri-ju-N}) (put)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (\text{cir-aN})</td>
<td>(\text{ci-i})</td>
<td>(\text{ci-ju-N}) (cut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. (\text{ir-aN})</td>
<td>(\text{i-i})</td>
<td>(\text{i-ju-N}) (shoot)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 6 |

5.3. Past Forms

There are two morphemes which indicate past tense in the verb groups which end with vowels, \(-t\-a\) and \(-c\-a\). The vowel ending verbs which have one syllable stems require \(-c\-a\), and the other vowel ending verbs require \(-t\-a\). The verb which contains a long vowel in number four requires \(-t\-a\), and the verb which contains one short syllable is attached by \(-c\-a\) as number 5 in table 7 shows.
With respect to consonant ending verbs, five patterns can be recognized. First, the three verbs in 7, 8, and 9 have the combination of the sequence of two consonants, [N] and [d]. In these cases, the past morpheme $-tci$ devocalizes the last sound of the stem, namely, [d] and it is omitted.

\[(12) \; N_d \rightarrow N / \_ t/ci \; (7-9)\]

Secondly, the next five verbs from number 10 to 14 end with [r] and [t] as shown in Table 8. In these cases, a morphophonemic alternation takes place as rule (13) shows.\[ (13) \; t, r \rightarrow Q / \_ t/ci \; (10-14)\]

Thirdly, when the inflectional endings end with [k] or [s], these endings are converted to [c].

\[(14) \; k, s \rightarrow c / \_ t/ci\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Non-past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kak-aN</td>
<td>kac-u-N</td>
<td>kac-a-N (write)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nas-aN</td>
<td>nas-ju-N</td>
<td>nac-a-N (bear)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10

Fourthly, the past form of the verb *wiiz-u-N* "swim" is the same as the non-past form.

(15) \( \rightarrow z/\_ \ t/ci \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Non-past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wiig-aN</td>
<td>wiiz-u-N</td>
<td>wiiz-a-N (swim)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11

Lastly, labial sounds as [b] and [m] are omitted before -t-, and -t- is altered to the voiced sound [d], inheriting the feature of the voiced sounds of [b] and [m].

(16) \( b,m \rightarrow \emptyset/\_ \ t/ci \) (17,18)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Non-past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tub-aN</td>
<td>tub-u-N</td>
<td>tuj-a-N (fly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jum-aN</td>
<td>jum-u-N</td>
<td>juj-a-N (read)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12

There are six varieties of stem endings, and five of them require some alternation depending on the last sound of the stem. The verbs which end with vowels do not require alternations of inflectional endings. The numbers in the parenthesis signify the verb numbers shown in table 2.

(17) a. Verbs which end with vowels (1-6)
   b. Verbs which end with the combination of \( \mathcal{ND} \) (7-9)
   c. Verbs which end with \( t \) and \( r \) (10-14)
   d. Verbs which end with \( k \) and \( s \) (15, 19)
   e. Verbs which end with \( g \) (16)
   f. Verbs which end with \( b \) and \( m \) (17,18)
I need to mention another past form which is not introduced in table 2 or 3. This form is made by adding the past morpheme \(-t-a\) to the non-past form before \(-N\). For example, \('uki-juN\) is a non-past form of the verb 'wake up'. The other past form of this verb is \('uki-ju-t-a-N\). Basically this form is used to refer to the third person's activity. As for the differences of \('uki-ju-t-a-N\) and \('uki-t-a-N\), I will discuss this in 7.3. There are no negations corresponding to this form.

### 5.4 Summary

**Vowel endings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present participle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>'uki-i</td>
<td>stem + i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Non-past form</td>
<td>'uki-ju-N</td>
<td>stem + ju+N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Non-past Neg</td>
<td>'uki-raN</td>
<td>stem + Neg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Non-past Neg Q</td>
<td>'uki-ran-i</td>
<td>stem + Neg + Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Non-past yes-no Q</td>
<td>'uki-ju-m-i</td>
<td>stem + ju+N+Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Non-past Wh-Q</td>
<td>'uki-ju-ga</td>
<td>stem + ju+WhQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Non-past Wh-Q</td>
<td>'uki-raN-ga</td>
<td>stem + Neg + WhQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past participle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>'uki-ji</td>
<td>stem + ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Past form</td>
<td>'uki-t-a-N</td>
<td>stem + ta+N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Past Neg</td>
<td>'uki-raN-t-a-N</td>
<td>stem + Neg + Past + N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Past Neg Q</td>
<td>'uki-ran-i-t-i</td>
<td>stem + Neg + Past + Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Past yes-no Q</td>
<td>'uki-t-i</td>
<td>stem + Past + Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Past Wh-Q</td>
<td>'uki-t-a-ga</td>
<td>stem + Past + WhQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Past Neg Wh-Q</td>
<td>'uki-raN-t-a-ga</td>
<td>stem + Neg + Past + WhQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consonant endings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present participle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>kac-i</td>
<td>stem + i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Non-past form</td>
<td>kac-u-N</td>
<td>stem + u+N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Non-past Neg</td>
<td>kac-aN</td>
<td>stem + Neg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Non-past Neg Q</td>
<td>kac-an-i</td>
<td>stem + Neg + Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Non-past yes-no Q</td>
<td>kac-u-m-i</td>
<td>stem + u+N+Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Non-past Wh-Q</td>
<td>kac-u-ga</td>
<td>stem + u+WhQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Non-past Wh-Q</td>
<td>kac-aN-ga</td>
<td>stem + Neg + WhQ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(21) a. Past participle : kac-i stem + i
    b. Past form : kac-a-N stem + Past+N
    c. Past neg. : kak-a-N -t-a-N stem + Neg+Past+N
    d. Past Neg Q : kak-a N -t-i stem + Neg+Past+Q
    e. Past yes-no Q : kac-i stem + past+Q
    f. Past Wh-Q : kac-a-ga stem + past+WhQ
    g. Past neg Wh-Q : kak-aN -t-a-ga stem + neg+past+WhQ

6. Morphology

I have presented examples of verb conjugation in the previous section. In this section, I will examine the details of each form, focusing upon interrogatives and negations.

6.1. Interrogative

Interrogative sentences are divided into three groups; yes-no questions, questions with interrogative words, and negative questions. As for the detailed explanation of each morpheme, I will discuss this in a later chapter on the section of each form.

6.1.1 Yes-no Question

In yes-no questions, the morpheme –i, which functions as a question marker needs to be added to the end of the sentence, just after –N, which expresses speaker’s judgment to the statement. Examples (22a) and (22b) are instances of non-past tense sentences and (23a) and (23b) are past tense sentences.

(22) a. wan-nee tigamu kac - u - N.
    I-TOP letter write-CONC-N
    “I write a letter.”
    b. jaa ja tigami kac - u - m - i?
    you TOP letter write-CONC-N-Q
    “Will you write a letter?”

(23) a. wan-nee tigami kac - a - N.
    I-TOP letter write-PAST-N
    “I wrote a letter.”
    b. jaa ja tigami kac - i?
you TOP letter write-Q

"Did you write a letter?"

The phonetic sequence -N and -i is changed into m-i as shown in example (22b). However, the past tense of example (22a) is not kac-a-mi but kac-ii as shown in (23b). The morpheme which expresses past, -a-, does not appear before a question marker as in example (23b).

Examples (24a) and (24b) are other forms which also indicate past. According to the Dictionary of Okinawan Language, there are two past forms. As far as their differences and usages between them are concerned, I will discuss this later in sections 7 and 8. I will treat the morpheme -a- as an allomorph of -t-a in this report. Example (24a) is also an example that contains the past tense marker -t-a-, but -a- is not shown in an interrogative sentence as in (24b).

(24) a. 'jaa ja tigami kac-u-t-a-N
    you TOP letter write-CONC-PAST-N
    "You wrote a letter."

    b. waN-nee tigami kac-u-t-i?
    I - TOP letter write-CONC-PAST-Q
    "Did I write a letter?"

Examples (25) and (26) are non-past sentences, which do not contain past tense markers. The method of making interrogative sentences is the same as in (22b).

(25) a. waN-nee tigami kac-ee-N.
    I - TOP letter write-RESULT-N
    "I have written a letter."

    b. 'jaa ja tigami kac-ee-m i?
    you TOP letter write-RESULT-N-Q
    "Have you written a letter?"

(26) a. waN-nee tigami kac-oo-N.
    I - TOP letter write-CONT-N
    "I'm writing a letter."

    b. 'jaa ja tigami kac-oo-mi?
    you TOP letter write-CONT-N-Q
    "Are you writing a letter?"
6.1.2 Questions with Interrogative Words

When the sentence contains interrogative words like, ‘what,’ ‘where,’ ‘which,’ and ‘how,’ the question marker -ga is required at the end of the sentence. This question marker and the morpheme -N, are a complementary distribution. Therefore, -N does not appear in questions with interrogative words. (27a)-(27c) are non-past sentences, while (28a) and (28b) are past tense sentences. The past tense morpheme, -a-, does not appear in past interrogatives as in example (23) and (24) when they are yes-no questions; however, in questions with interrogative words, the sentences always keep their tense morphemes as shown in (28).

(27) a. wan-nee tigami kac-u-N.
I-TOP letter write-CONC-N
“I will write a letter.”
b. mau kac -u - ga?
what write-CONC -Q
“What will you write?”
c. maa uti kac -u - ga?
where at write-CONC-Q
“Where will you write?”

(28) a. mau kac-a-ga?
what write-PAST-Q
“What did you write?”
b. maa uti kac-a-ga?
where at write-PAST-Q
“Where did you write?”

6.1.3 Negative Question

Example (29a) is a negative form of (27a). The morpheme which indicates negation is -aN. Although this morpheme contains -a- and -N, this morpheme is not a combination of a past tense marker, -a-, and -N, which indicates the speaker’s judgment to the statement; and therefore, it should be considered as a different morpheme because -a- and -N cannot be separated. Example (30a) and (30b) are the past forms of (29a) and (29b).

(29) a. wan-nee tigami kak-aN.
I-TOP letter write-NEG
“I will not write a letter.”

b. *'ja a tigami kak-an-i?*
   you TOP letter write-NEG-Q
   “Won’t you write a letter?”

(30) a. *waN-nee tigami kak-an-ia-N.*
   I-TOP letter write-NEG-PAST-N
   “I didn’t write a letter.”

b. *'ja a tigami kak-an-t-i?*
   you TOP letter write-NEG-PAST-Q
   “Didn’t you write a letter?”

6.2 Negation

As can be seen in examples (29) and (30), the morpheme which indicates negation is -aN. However, in addition, there are two other morphemes. One of them is -neeN as in example (31b). It is a negative form of the irregular verb ‘aN (be), which denotes the existence of something inanimate. Another morpheme which expresses negation is -uraN as in (32b). It is a negation form of the verb uN (be), which expresses the existence of humans or animals.

(31) a. *waN-nee tigami kac-eeN.*
   I-TOP letter write-RESULT-N
   “I have written a letter.”

b. *waN-nee tigami kac-ee-neeN.*
   I-TOP letter write-RESULT-NEG
   “I haven’t written a letter.”

(32) a. *waN-nee tigami kac-oo-N.*
   I-TOP letter write-CONT-N
   “I am writing a letter.”

b. *waN-nee tigami kac-ee-uraN.*
   I-TOP letter write-RESULT-NEG
   “I am not writing a letter.”

7. A Deductive View of Grammatical Structures Based on Contemporary Data
In this section, I will attempt to examine the usage of each form, presenting a variety of examples. The data I will provide are mainly based on field work which was done in September 1999, and additional work which has been done since then. The data have been collected from nineteen speakers.

7.1 The Suffixes Which Are Attached to Verb Forms

There are three suffixes, -N, -sa, and -ru, which are attached to verb forms. They are in complementary distribution. Basically, these suffixes can appear in any forms, conclusive forms, and resultative forms. Therefore, the following combinations are possible; conclusive (kac-u-N, kac-u-sa, kac-u-ru), conclusive (kac-oo-N, kac-oo-sa, kac-oo-ru), resultative (kac-ee-N, kac-ee-sa, kac-ee-ru).

7.1.1 The Feature of -N and -sa

I have explained that the morpheme -N indicates speaker’s judgment. In this section, I will clarify the feature of this morpheme in detail. In Luchuan, the verb form which ends with -N, for example, kac-u-N, has been considered as a conclusive form. It is true that this form occurs in matrix clauses, however, it should not be regarded as exactly the same as the conclusive form in Japanese. For instance, when the speaker talks about today’s plan he/she can use the conclusive forms as below. While (33a) shows an example of Luchuan, (33b) is an example of Japanese. Both of them are acceptable. 13

(33) a. waN-ne cuu tigami kac-u-N.  
    I TOP today letter write-CONC-N
    “I will write a letter today.”

    b. watashi wa kyo tegami wo kak-u. [Japanese]
    I TOP today letter Acc write-CONC
    “I will write a letter today.”

However, as can be seen in (34a), this conclusive form is unnatural in Luchuan when the subject of the sentence is third person; although in (34b), we can see that the Japanese example which corresponds to (34a) is acceptable.

(34) a. ?? Taruu ja cuu tigami kac-u-N.  
    Taro TOP today letter write-CONC-N
“Taro will write a letter today.”

b. Taro wa kyo tegami wo kak-u. [Japanese]
   Taro TOP today letter Acc write-CONC
   “Taro will write a letter today.”

The previous examples suggest that the third person cannot appear in the subject position of conclusive forms in Luchuan when the speaker is referring to someone else’s plan. Native speakers of Luchuan always try to explain that they do not use (34a) because they do not know for certain the intention of others. In other words, the speaker knows what he/she is going to do, but the speaker does not know what others are going to do. So therefore, what sentence would be used if the speaker knows Taro’s intention because Taro tells it to the speaker? Even if Taro tells his plan to the speaker, (34a) still sounds unnatural. The quotative marker ndi should be added at the end of the sentence in order to show the source of the information as shown in (35).

(35) Taru ja cuu tegami kak-u-N ndi.
    Taro TOP today letter write-U-N QUOT
    “(I heard that) Taro would write a letter.”

The fact that even if the speaker clearly knows what Taro is going to do today, nevertheless (34a) is unnatural, and implies that the function of –N indicates the speaker’s judgment, not only the reliability of the information. To make the matter clearer, let us consider the following examples.

(36) a. ‘uree wan ga kak-u-N.
      it I NOM write-CONC-N
      “I will write it.”

b. ‘uree Taro ga kak-u-N.
   it Taro NOM write-CONC-N.
   “Taro will write it.”

Example (36a) is natural, however (36b) is unnatural. It appears that the morpheme –N tends to be connected with the first person only. If so, we now need to consider which form can be used when the agent is the third person.  

--- 186 ---
(37) a. ‘uree wan ga kac-u-sa.
   it I NOM write-CONC-SA
   “I will write it.”

b. ‘uree Taroo ga kac-u-sa.
   it Taro NOM write-CONC-SA
   “Taro will write it.”

Both (37a) and (37b) are natural sentences. The difference between (36) and (37) is only whether the sentences end with -N or -sa. As can be seen, the translations in English are insufficient to distinguish (36) from (37). Example (36a) differs from (37a) in that (36a) expresses the speaker’s subjective decision. On the other hand, (37a) is objective, leaving room for further discussion or negotiation, and thus, it sounds rather suggestive. These differences exclude the combination of the third person agent and -N, and allow the symbiotic situation of the third person agent and -sa. These two morphemes, -N and -sa are mutually exclusive because of their contrastive functions. Example (37b) is used when the speaker believes or knows that Taro will write it. If the speaker just guesses that Taro will write it, another form like (38) would be used.

(38) ‘uree Taroo ga kac-u-ru hazi.
   it Taro NOM write-CONC-RU-may
   “Taro may write it.”

Next, I will present examples which contain the second person as an agent. Both (39a) and (39b) are awkward because the morpheme -N can only express the speaker’s decision, and the speaker also cannot suggest objectively what the addressee should do. These examples show that these two morphemes do not appear with the second person agent.

(39) a. ‘uree jaa ga kac-u-N.
   it you NOM write-CONC-N
   “You will write it.”

b. ‘uree jaa ga kac-u-sa.
   it you NOM write-CONC-SA
   “You will write it.”

To examine further, let us consider other usages which contain the conclusive forms.
Example (40) describes the speaker’s present activity which is regularly done in his/her daily life. Although the continuative form, *jud-oo-N*, is generally preferable when the speaker refers to his/her present habitual state as in (40b), the conclusive form as in example (40a) can often be used.

(40) a. *wan-ne meenaci sinbuN jum-u-N.*  
    I-TOP everyday paper read-CONC-N.  
    “I read a newspaper everyday.”

b. *wan-ne meenaci sinbuN jud-oo-N.*  
    I-TOP everyday paper read-CONT-N  
    “I read a newspaper everyday”

However, when the speaker attempts to describe the addressee’s present habitual state with the same construction, the sentence sounds unnatural as shown in (41). As I have shown in the previous paragraph, the second person agent basically does not co-occur with a conclusive form.

(41) *'ja-ja meenaci sjumuci jum-u-N.*  
    you-TOP everyday book read-CONC-N.  
    “You read a book everyday.”

The next example (42) shows examples of a case, where the third person appears as an agent in the conclusive sentence.

(42) a. *?Taruja meenaci sjumuci jum-u-N.*  
    Taro TOP everyday book read-CONC-N  
    “Taro reads books everyday.”

b. *Taruja meenaci sjumuci jud-oo-N.*  
    Taro TOP everyday book read-CONT-N  
    “Taro reads books everyday.”

Example (42a) sometimes can be used only under circumstances in which the speaker lives with Taro, and the speaker knows Taro’s habit of reading books. But the continuative form, *jud-oo-N* in (42b) is more appropriate for referring to present habitual actions, and in such circumstances should not be strictly limited as in (42a).

Compared with the acceptability of the conclusive forms with the first person agent in
example (40a), the sentences which have the second person agent as in (41) are unnatural. Even the sentence with the third person agent in (42a), is not as natural as the ones with the first person agent. The reason may proceed from the feature of the morpheme, -N which indicates a speaker’s subjective judgment. This feature of this morpheme -N is considered to be the reason why this morpheme can be used, when the speaker attempts to express his/her own will or activity. In contrast, it is peculiar that the speaker asserts his/her judgment about the listener’s intention or action.

Because of this same reason, for events which cannot be judged by the speaker, the morpheme -N is not available as shown in (43b). Similarly, questions in which it can be assumed that the addressee cannot judge such as example (43a), the interrogative sentence is also unacceptable. The speaker cannot ask the addressee if it is going to rain because the addressee cannot assert nor judge that it is going to rain for certain.

(43) a. * cuu ‘ami hjui-u-m-i?
today rain rain-NonP-N-Q
“Is it going to rain today?”
b. * cuu ‘ami hjui-u-N.
today rain rain-CONC-N
“It is going to rain today.”

In Luchuan, the source of the information is extremely important; whether it is the speaker’s judgment, hearsay, inference, deduction, or direct speech. As the morpheme -N clearly indicates the speaker’s judgment, in a situation in which the speaker cannot form a judgment, words showing modality or auxiliaries should be chosen instead of -N, as in (44) below.

(44) cuu ja ‘ami hjui-ru hazi.
today TOP rain rain-ATTR may
“It may rain today.”

As I presented in example (37), there is another suffix -sa, which indicates a contrastive meaning to -N. It expresses an objective view, not a subjective judgment. When the speaker can observe the situation objectively, sharing the information with the addressee, -sa tends to be chosen. It does not denote the strong intention of the speaker.
The suffix -sa is basically chosen when information can be shared with others. For example, (45) is used when the speaker found the ground wet after it rained. If the ground is wet, it is clear to anybody that it rained. The fact that it rained can be deduced, objectively, from the shared obvious information. These suffixes -sa and -N divide two contrastive functions.

7.1.2 The Feature of -ru

I have explained the features of the morpheme -N and -sa in the preceding section. Next, I will consider cases, which contain -ru at the end of the conclusive forms.

(46) a. 'uree waN ga ru kac-u-ru
   it I NOM FC write-CONC-RU
   “I will write it.”

   b. 'uree Taro ga ru kac-u-ru
   it Taro NOM FC write-CONC-RU
   “Taro will write it.”

There are two particles, ru in each sentence in (46a) and (46b). The function of the first ru is to focus on the noun which is marked by the nominative case marker; namely in this case, waN, “I” in (46a) and Taro in (46b). When this particle is added to the nominative case marker, another -ru should be placed at the end of the sentences. This construction is called kakari musubi. The speaker uses this construction when he/she wants to focus on the words before -ru. Therefore, the cleft sentence may be able to express the nuance of the sentence more accurately. Example (46a) can be translated into, “It is I who will write it.” in English. The word before the focus particle -ru is the information which the addressee wants to know.

The next example shows a case in which this particle focuses on the object. In this case, the particle can directly follow the word which is focused upon, because there is no accusative case marker in Shuri dialect.

(47) 'iju ru kad-oo-ru.
    fish FC eat-CONT-RU
“(I'm) eating a fish.” (It is a fish which I am eating.)

This construction can be used when the adjective is used as a predicate as shown below. To make the interrogative sentence, the question marker -i should be attached after -ru as in (48b).

(48) a. ˈjaa ɡa ru ɡaɡas-ru.
you NOM FC wrong-RU
“You are wrong.” (It is you who are wrong.)

b. ˈari ɡa ru ɡaɡas-ru-i?
he NOM FC wrong-RU-Q
“Is he wrong?” (Is it he who is wrong?)

When the speaker does not need to focus on something, for example, when we speak of a unique subject like “the sun”, this construction appears to be awkward. In fact, example (49a) is unacceptable, although (49b) is acceptable.

(49) a. ??tiida nu ru ˈagaj-ru.
sun NOM FC rise-CONC-R
“The sun rises.”

b. tiida nu ˈagaj-ru-N.
sun NOM rise-CONC-N
“The sun rises.”

In this section and in the previous section, I have introduced the main suffixes which can be attached to the verb forms. Whereas the morpheme -N has a strong feature in that it expresses the speaker’s judgment subjectively, in contrast, -sa describes a situation which can be observed objectively without much speaker reflection. However -ru is neutral in terms of the speaker’s viewpoint. It is neither subjective nor objective.

7.2 Non-past Forms

In this section, I will attempt to clarify each function that the three non-past forms; conclusive forms, continuative forms, and resultative forms maintain.
7.2.1 Conclusive Forms

Conclusive forms express the speaker's present habits as shown in (50a), although continuative forms like (50b) and (50c) are more commonly used.

(50) a. \textit{wan-nee meenaci haru nkai 'ic-\text{-}u-N.}  
I-TOP everyday field to go-CONC-N  
"I go to the field everyday."

b. \textit{wan-nee meenaci haru nkai 'rz-oo-\text{-}N.}  
I-TOP everyday field to go-CONT-N  
"I go to the field everyday."

c. \textit{Taruujja meenaci sinbun jud-\text{-}o0N.}  
Taro TOP everyday newspaper read-CONT-N  
"Taro reads a newspaper everyday."

In addition to describing present habits, conclusive forms can describe the near-future. When the speaker asks the addressee what he/she is going to do today as shown in (51a), the addressee can reply to this question by using the conclusive form with –\text{-}N as in (51b).

(51) a. \textit{jaa cuu ja maa Nkai 'ic-\text{-}u-ga?}  
you today TOP what do-CONC-Q  
"Where are you going today?"

b. \textit{wan-nee cuu ja haru Nkai 'ic-\text{-}uN.}  
I TOP today TOP field to go-CONT-N  
"I'm going to the field today."

(52) a. \textit{? Keiko ja cuu maa Nkai 'ic-\text{-}u-ga?}  
Keiko TOP today where to go-CONC-Q  
"Where is Keiko going today?"

b. \textit{? Keiko ja cuu haru Nkai 'ic-\text{-}u-N.}  
Keiko TOP today field to go-CONT-N  
"Keiko is going to the field today."

Since the speaker cannot talk about what the other person is going to do as we discussed in 7.1.1, (52b) sounds unnatural. Consequently, the interrogative sentence which leads to an unacceptable answer is automatically awkward as shown in (52a). Instead of the examples in
(52), the examples in (53) are preferable. The difference between them is only whether the sentences contain *nri* which indicates quotative.

(53) a. *Keiko ja cau maa Nkai ic-u-N nri ga?*
   Keiko TOP today where to go-CONC-N QUOT Q
   “Where is Keiko going today?”
   
   b. *Keiko ja cau haru Nkai ic-u-N nri.*
   Keiko TOP today field to go-CONC-N QUOT
   “Keiko is going to the field today.”

The yes-no question directed at the addressee as in (54a) is often used, however when the speaker wants to ask the addressee whether Taro will drink it or not, (54a) is unnatural.

(54) a. *'uree ja'aa ga num-u-m-i?*
   it you NOM drink-CONC-N-Q
   “Will you drink it?”
   
   b. *'uree Taa'ru ga num-u-m-i?*
   it Taro NOM drink-CONC-N-Q
   “Will Taro drink it?”

As we have seen above, the conclusive form has some restrictions in terms of the words which appear in the subject position. The factors which generate these restrictions seem to be caused by the feature of –*N*. To be precise, I should postulate that the combination of the morpheme –*u*- which appears before –*N* in the conclusive form is relevant to these restrictions, because the combination of a continuative morpheme –*oo*- and –*N* does not seem to have such restrictions. However, a past sentence which contains the morpheme –*u*- also has some restrictions. I will return to this problem later.

7.2.2 Continuative Forms

Continuative form can describe continuative activities or states. Example (55a) describes successive activity, and (55b) is a continuative unchanged state.

(55) a. *waN-nee sjumuchi jud-ooN.*
   I TOP book read-CONT-N
   “I’m reading a book.”
This continuative form has been considered to be almost the same form as the continuative in Japanese, but the usages of them are different. For example, it must be noted that the usages of interrogatives of continuative forms are limited. For instance, example (56a) is acceptable when the speaker cannot see Taro, but the speaker assumes that the addressee can see Taro. The speaker expects the addressee to answer the question. If the speaker does not assume that the addressee can see Taro, the speaker will use a different expression like (56b).

(56) a. *Taruu ja tigami kac-oo-m-i?*
   Taro TOP letter write-CONT-N-Q
   “Is Taro writing a letter?”

b. *Taruu ja tigami kac-oo-ga-jaa?*
   Taro TOP letter write-CONT-wonder-FP
   “(I wonder) if Taro is writing a letter.”
   “(Do you think) Taro is writing a letter?”

Therefore, when both the speaker and the addressee can see Taro, example (56a) is not acceptable. The unacceptability of example (56a) in this context could perhaps be explained by the consideration that the speaker does not have to ask a question about Taro’s activity if he/she can see it for him/herself. However, even when the speaker wants to clarify what the addressee is eating, example (57a) is still unnatural if the speaker can see the listener’s activity. On the other hand, in Japanese, this example is perfectly appropriate as shown in (57b).

(57) a. ?? *'jaa 'iju kad-oo-m-i?*
   you fish eat-CONT-N-Q
   “Are you eating fish?”

b. *anata sakana tabe-teiru-no? [Japanese]*
   you fish eat-CONT-Q
   “Are you eating fish?”

If example (57a) is used to ask about present habitual customs, it is an acceptable sentence, but if the speaker wants to ask what the listener is eating directly at the time of the utterance, (58) is
used instead of (57a). The Japanese example corresponds to example (58) and does not exist in the present. As I have discussed in section 7.1.2, this -ru before a predicate in (58) follows the word which needs to be focused upon. Thus (58) implies that what the speaker wants to know is what the addressee is eating.

(58) ˈjaː ˈju ru kʰad-oo-ru-i?
     you fish FC eat-CONT-AP-Q
     “Is it fish that you are eating?”

The next examples also show the difference between continuative forms in Luchuan and Japanese. Example (59a) is an example of Luchuan, while (59b) is an example of Japanese.

(59) a. ?? ˈjaː niNi-oo-m-i?
     you sleep-CONT-N-Q
     “Are you sleeping?”
 b. anata nemut-teiru-no? [Japanese]
     you sleep-CONT-Q
     “Are you sleeping?”

Although, in Luchuan, the speaker cannot ask the question as in example (59a) to make sure whether the addressee has fallen asleep, (59b) is acceptable in the same situation. Example (60) is an appropriate sentence to ask the addressee if he/she is sleeping or not.

(60) ˈjaː niNi-ru-u-ru-i?
     you sleep-FC-be-RU-Q
     “Are you sleeping?”

Suppose a situation wherein my friend visits me and we start to drink. When we continue to drink until midnight, my parents wake up and say, “Are you still drinking?” In this context, the continuative form is also unnatural as shown in (61a), and instead, (61b) is used as below. (62) is an example of Japanese.

(61) a. ?? naa ˈmud-oo-m-i?
     still drink-CONT-N-Q
     “Are you still drinking?”
b.  
\textit{naara mudi-ru-u-ru-i?}
still  
\textit{drink-FC-be-RU-Q}
“Are you still drinking?”

(62)  
\textit{mada non-deiru-no?}  
\textit{Japanese}
still  
\textit{drink-CONT-Q}
“Are you still drinking?”

There are more different usages of continuative in Luchuan than found in Japanese. A situation in which the parents are waiting for their son to come back home at night, and his mother, who is going to bed, asks the father whether the father will keep waiting for his son, the mother will use sentence (63a) in Japanese. However, this construction is unacceptable in Luchuan as in (63b). In this context, (64) is appropriate.

(63) a.  
\textit{mada mat-teiru?}  
\textit{Japanese}
still  
\textit{wait-CONT}
“Are (you) still waiting?” (Will you wait for him more?)

b.  
\textit{naara maQc-oo-m-i?}
still  
\textit{wait-CONT-N-Q}
“Are you still waiting?” (Will you wait for him more?)

(64) a.  
\textit{naara maQc-oo-cu-m-i?}
still  
\textit{wait-CONT-put-N-Q}^{19}
“Are you still waiting?” (Will you wait for him more?)

As I have explained so far, the usages of the continuative form in Luchuan are different from those of Japanese. The major difference is that the interrogative of continuative forms cannot be used to ask what the addressee is doing at the time of the utterance. To be precise, the combination of the morpheme \textit{-oo-}, which indicates continuative and \textit{-N} cannot be used when the speaker wants to ask about the addressee’s ongoing action while the speaker observe. For example, suppose a situation in which a small child is drawing a picture of an apple. His mother comes to him and says, “Wow, are you drawing an apple? What a great picture you are drawing!” In this context, (65a) is not an acceptable sentence, whereas the Japanese example is acceptable as shown in (65b).
(65) a. *jaa ringo kac-oo-m-i?*
   you apple draw-CONT-N-Q
   “Are you drawing an apple?”

b. *anata ringo kai-teiru no?*
   you apple draw-CONT Q
   “Are you drawing an apple?”

If the speaker cannot see the addressee’s action or state, the interrogative of the continuative form is acceptable. The speaker can ask the addressee in the next room if he/she gets up. For example, a mother has woken up her son a few minutes ago and comes back to the kitchen to prepare breakfast. The mother wants to know if her son has gotten up or not because he hasn’t come to the kitchen yet. In this situation, the mother can ask her son in the next room “Have you gotten up?”

(66) *'ukit-oo-m-i?*
    wake-CONT-N-Q
    “Have you gotten up?” (Are you continuing to wake up?)

Similarly, the next example is natural if (67) is uttered when the speaker happens to see his friend on the street and asks if she has already started to write a paper. However, the same example cannot be used if the speaker meets his friend in the library while she is writing a paper there. It means that the continuative form can only be used if the addressee’s action is not seen by the speaker.

(67) *jaa ranhuN kac-oo-m-i?*
    you paper write-CONT-N-Q
    “Are you writing a paper?”

In the case of verbs where observation is impossible like “think”, “know” and “listen”, it is possible to use these forms while the speaker sees the addressee. One of these examples is presented in (68).

(68) *jaa cic-oo-m-i?*
    you listen-CONT-N-Q
    “Are you listening to me?”

— 197 —
Next, I return to the problems of restriction concerning words which appear in the subject position. As we discussed in the previous section, the conclusive form which ends with \(-N\) basically co-occurs with the first person. However, the continuative form does not have such restrictions. Example (69b) can be used if the speaker knows what Keiko is doing. But of course, the speaker should not use (69b) without possessing knowledge of what Keiko is doing.

(69) a. \(\text{wa} \text{n} \text{nee sjumucj} \text{jud-oo-N.}\)  
I-TOP book read-CONT-N

"I'm reading a book."

b. \(\text{Keiko ja sjumuci} \text{jud-oo-} -N\) 
Keiko TOP book read-CONT-N

"Keiko is reading a book."

7.2.3 Resultative Forms

This usage focuses on the present situation which has been derived from some past activity. For example, if there is a new handmade shelf in the room, we can consider it as a result of an activity that someone has performed. In other words, someone made the new shelf. As a result of this, the new shelf exists. Example (70) shows this relationship.

(70) a. Present situation (Result): There is a shelf.

b. Past activity: Taro made it.

(71) a. \(\text{Taruu ga kumu} \text{tara cukut-ee-N.}\)  
Taro NOM this shelf make-RESULT-N

"Taro has made it."

b. \(\text{Taruu ga kumu} \text{tara cukut-ee-sa joa.}\)  
Taro NOM this shelf make-RESULT-SA FP

"Taro has made it."

When the speaker uses a sentence as in example (71a), it sounds assertive, showing the speaker's confidence. It means that the speaker must have seen the situation where Taro was making the shelf, and the speaker also must verify the completion of the shelf. Thus, the speaker can insist with confidence that there is a new shelf because Taro made it. Comparatively, when the speaker expects the addressee's agreement, example (71b) is preferred. In the case where the speaker knows that Taro was planning to make a shelf but the speaker actually did not see Taro's activity,
(71b) is chosen. Resultative is apt to co-occur with the suffix -sa rather than -N if the agent is not the speaker him/herself. The reason for the frequent usage of -sa is probably the fact that the present situation can be recognized by others objectively rather than the speaker's subjective judgment.

To understand the feature of this form, let us consider the next examples. This resultative form is considered to behave similarly to -tearu constructions in Japanese. In fact, this construction is translated from Luchuan to Japanese by using the -tearu construction, even in the Dictionary of Okinawan Language, as if these were the same constructions. However, as claimed in section 4.2, these two forms are syntactically different. I have presented the same examples which I used in section 4.2.

(4) a. *tigami nu kac-ee-N.
   letter NOM write-RESULT-N
   “The letter is written.”

   b. tegami ga kai-te-aru. [Japanese]
      letter NOM write-te-be
      “The letter is written.”

Although the construction focuses on the object which is produced from the past act, this activity and the result should be considered as one complete action. Therefore, we cannot mark the object, “the letter,” in example (4) by the nominative case marker. Example (72) is an appropriate sentence. As a result of the fact that the speaker wrote a letter, a letter was written and exists now.

(72) waN-nee tigami kac-ee-N.
    I-TOP letter write-RESULT-N
    “I have written the letter.”

When the agent is the speaker as shown in example (72), the relationship between the past action (wrote a letter) and the object, which has been created (the written letter) by this action is clear. This consequence is a necessary factor which leads to this construction. I will now attempt to expand on this concept in detail. To use the resultative form, confirming the existence of an object is not sufficient. In other words, the speaker has to know the action has definitely been completed by someone. The speaker must understand the relationship between the agent's action and the object, which is created by the agent's action. For example, (73a) is used to ask
if the addressee has written the letter. The addressee can reply with (73b) because it is obvious
that the addressee understands the relationship between one's activity (to have written the letter) and the result (the existence of the letter). This example shows that this resultative form with \(-N\) can often co-occur with the first person in affirmative sentences, and can co-occur with the second person in an interrogative sentence.

(73) a. 'jaa ja tigami kac-ee-m-i?
you TOP letter write-RESULT-N-Q
"Have you written the letter?"
b. kac-ee-N.
write-RESULT-N
"(I) have written it."

So therefore, the question arises of what will happen if the addressee is not the agent, as shown in example (74). The speaker in (74a) wants to know whether Keiko wrote the letter or not. But the addressee is not Keiko herself. In this case, to answer with (74b), the addressee must surely know for a fact that Keiko actually wrote it. It means that the speaker needs to see Keiko's activity. Thus, even if the addressee finds the letter on Keiko's desk, (74b) cannot be used as an answer to question (74a) unless the speaker in (74b) saw Keiko writing the letter.

(74) a Keiko ja tigami kac-ee-m-i?
Keiko TOP letter write-RESULT-N-Q
"Has Keiko written the letter?"
b. kac-ee-N.
write-RESULT-N
"(She) has written it."

This means that the resultative with \(-N\), namely, ee-\(N\) can be used if two conditions are fulfilled. First, the speaker must see the agent's activity. Second, the speaker must see the object which the agent produced. For example, when the speaker asks the question as in (75a), the person who can answer by using (75b) is only the one who actually planted it, or the one who saw this action.

(75) a. 'Qtaa bānsiru: 'wi:t-ee-m-i?
you PL guava plant-RESULT-N-Q
“Have you planted the guava tree?”

b. ‘wi:t-ee-N.
   plan-RESULT-N
   “I have planted it”

Therefore, even if someone who happens to visit the house recognizes that there is a guava tree in the garden, he/she cannot use (75b) because he/she didn’t plant the tree nor see the situation in which the tree was planted.  

Next, I will present an example where the agent is not the speaker himself/herself, but the resultative form can be used. In this case, the resultative form has to be followed by a final particle *tee* which indicates inference as shown in (76).

(76) *Taruu ja tigami kac-ee-N tee.*
    Taro TOP letter write-RESULT-N FP
    “Taro must have written a letter.”

I have explained that the relationship between the action and result is important. We now need to consider how the resultative form behaves in a sentence which does not contain the object. Let us consider the example of an intransitive verb.

(77) a. *Ryu ja kurud-ee-sa jaa.*
    Ryu TOP fall-RESULT-SA FP
    “Ryu must have fallen down.”

Example (77) is used when a mother found a bruise on her son’s kneecap. The mother can infer from the bruise on his kneecap that he fell down and scraped, himself. When the mother wants to ask if her son fell down, the resultative should not be used. While in example (78a), the past form is appropriate, but in (78b), the resultative is ungrammatical.

(78) a. *’jaa kurud-i?*
    you fall-Q
    “Did you fall down?”

b. *’jaa kurud-ee-m-i?*
    you fall-RESULT-N-Q
    “Did you fall down?”
However, it must be noted that the interrogative of (72) is possible as presented in (73). The speaker expects that the result (a letter) has been completed by the addressee. Only if the result is completed by the agent deliberately, and also the speaker expects it, is an interrogative sentence acceptable.

(73) 'jaa ja tigami kac-ee-m-i?
you TOP letter write-RESULT-N-Q
‘Have you written the letter?

The next example is a combination of continuative and resultative. If there is a result which is caused by somebody’s successive activity, this form can be chosen. For instance, in the library, a student leaves his seat for a while, but when he comes back, his seat is warm as if somebody was sitting there while he/she was away. In such a context, example (79) is used.

(79) taagara kuma nkai ic-oo-tee-N tee.
somebody here in sit-CONT-RESULT-N FP
‘Somebody must have been sitting here (in my seat).”

In this context, the speaker deduces that somebody was sitting in his seat, because of the result, which is the warm seat. The resultative is used when the speaker can expect the result of somebody’s activity, and alternatively, when the speaker can deduce the result from the evidence of somebody’s activity.

Resultative is used to show that the action is completed, and consequently, the object exists as a result of this activity. The speaker using this form with -N must witness both the action and the result. When the resultative indicates inferential meanings, the evidence of someone’s activity leads to the speaker’s conclusion that some activity must have been performed. This relationship between activity and the result should be considered as one completed action.

7.3 Past Forms
I have used the term ‘past’ in this report, however, the meaning of ‘past’ seems to be different from the past tense in English. In this section, I will discuss the definition of past, and then I will attempt to clarify the differences which are maintained in each past form.
7.3.1 The Definition of Past

Before I start to discuss past forms I need to define what past means in this report. The past morpheme -t-a- is used when the speaker sees the event in the past. For example, when the mother asks her daughter Keiko, what her brother, Taro is doing now, if she can see Taro from the place where she sits, she can reply to her mother using example (80a). However, if she has to stand up and go to the next room to see what Taro is doing, she will use example (80b) to report what Taro was doing. It should be noted that Taro may still be eating dinner in the next room at the moment of utterance, but she can use the morpheme -t-a- to indicate the fact that she saw Taro eating dinner when she went to the next room to check on him. This morpheme shows that it was the past when the speaker saw a certain event.

(80) a. Taro ja juuhaN kad-oo-N.
   Taro TOP dinner eat-CONT-N
   "Taro is eating dinner."

b. Taro ja juuhaN kad-oo-t-a-N.
   Taro TOP dinner eat-CONT-PAST-N
   "Taro was eating dinner."

Example (80b) can also be used as an answer to the question, as in (81). Even if the event (Taro was eating dinner) happened yesterday, if Keiko saw it, she can use (80b). In this case, of course, Taro would have finished eating dinner. If the speaker sees the event before the time of the utterance, the past morpheme can appear in the verb.

(81) cinuu Taro ja juuhaN kad-oo-t-i? 
   yesterday Taro TOP dinner eat-CONT-PAST-Q
   "Was Taro eating dinner yesterday?"

The next situation is: a mother is preparing dinner for Taro in the kitchen and asks Keiko to bring it to Taro in the next room. A half hour later, the mother asks Keiko to go and see if Taro has eaten everything. Keiko will use example (82a) to report to her mother with a loud voice from the next room. That is to say, example (82) is used when she first sees Taro's empty dishes. However, if she comes back to the kitchen where her mother is waiting because her mother couldn't hear Keiko's words, she uses (82b) to report the situation she saw.
(82) a. *kad-ee-N.*
   eat-RESULT-N
   "(He) has eaten all of his dinner."

   b. *kad-ee-t-a-N.*
   eat-RESULT-PAST-N
   "He had eaten all of his dinner."

It is important to know that the past in Luchuan always expresses the tense of the speaker who witnesses the event.

### 7.3.2 Comparison of the Past Forms

It is generally considered that there are two past forms of conclusive forms in Luchuan, despite the fact that only one non-past conclusive form exists. One of these two past forms is generally called simple past, and the other is regarded as *keizoku* or *shinko*, which means continuative. For example, the simple past form of the verb *kam-u-N* (read) is *kad-a-N*, and another form is *kam-u-t-a-N*. However, I claim that this latter form is neither *keizoku* nor *shiko*. That is to say, this form belongs to neither the continuative aspect nor the progressive aspect. Moreover, some researchers state that the concept of witness is a very important factor for using this form. I attempt to examine whether this is true or not in this section.

(83) a. *Taru u ja juubaN kad-a-N.*
   Taro TOP dinner eat-PAST-N
   "Taro ate dinner."

   b. *Taru u ja juubaN kam-u-t-a-N.*
   Taro TOP dinner eat-U-PAST-N.
   "Taro was eating dinner."

   c. *Taru u ja juubaN kad-oo-t-a-N.*
   Taro TOP dinner eat-CONT-PAST-N
   "Taro was eating dinner."

Example (83a) is called the simple past in the literature, and (83b) is regarded as another form of past, which is considered to behave like the continuative/progressive, and (83c) is the past tense of the continuative. Example (83b) looks as if it is a progressive sentence. In fact, the translation of example (83c) is the same as (83b). Moreover, it is also true that the speaker has to witness Taro's activity to utter example (83b). However, notice that we also cannot use...
example (83c) without witnessing Taro’s activity. Example (83a) can only be used if the speaker saw that Taro was eating dinner and finished it. The situation is strictly limited. Example (83a) can be distinguished from the other two forms, because its aspect is perfective, therefore, the activity is regarded as a single whole. Now the problem is what the difference between example (83b) and (83c) is. Both sentences should be used under circumstances wherein the activity is ongoing, and the speaker has witnesses. To clarify this problem, we need to examine the next examples, which contain the verb accompanying the change of states.

(84) a. Taro /ja 'uki-t-a-N.
   "Taro woke up."

b. Taro /ja 'ukij-u-t-a-N.
   "Taro woke up."

c. Taro /ja 'ukit-oo-t-a-N.
   "Taro was awake."

The differences among them are quite clear. When the speaker sees Taro coming from his room in the morning, example (84a) can be used. The speaker only has to know that Taro has already woken up. However, in the same situation, example (84b) is not acceptable. To use example (84b), the speaker has to see the precise moment that Taro woke up, for example, the moment of opening his eyes, or the moment of awakening movements. This means that this form is neither progressive nor a continuative of successive states. It expresses the moment of the event which took place. Example (84c) is used when the speaker sees the situation wherein Taro has already gotten up, not the moment of the change of states. From example (84), it is clear that the simple past expresses the fact that Taro woke up. Example (84b) points out the exact moment when Taro woke up. Continuative form describes the successive situations that Taro woke up and stays up. Therefore, the second past form which has been considered as similar to continuative indicates the moment when the speaker confirms that some events took place, and it is perceived by the speaker.

The discussion above implies that the source of the information does not have to be limited to witness. It can be all cognitive perceptions, which human beings possess. I will present an example where a mother is invited and visits a school event for her son’s kindergarten. The children sing songs in front of their parents, but the mother cannot find her son because of a
crowded situation. Finally, although she could not find her son, she recognized her son’s voice singing songs very loudly. Even though she could not recognize her son’s appearance, she can use the sentence in example (85).

(85)  *Ryu ja magii kwii si ‘utaj-u-t-a-N.*
      Ryu TOP loud voice with sing-CONC-PAST-N
      “Ryu was singing songs loudly.”

(86)  *kuneeda-kara tabako-o jami–jabij-u t-a –N.*
      last time from tobacco-TOP stop-POL-U-PAST-N
      “He quit smoking some time ago.”

Example (86) is a good example. The action of giving up smoking cannot be witnessed, but the information can be perceived. When the speaker perceives the moment when the event occurs or the information comes into the speaker’s perception, this form can be used. The most important factor is the fact that the speaker recognized the event/information. In other words, the important thing is the moment when the event or information comes into the speaker’s sphere of cognition.

I would now like to return to example (83b) again. This form emphasizes the fact that the speaker witnessed the moment that Taro was eating dinner. It does not imply whether Taro is still eating or Taro finished eating. Thus, after hearing sentence (83), Taro’s mother can say to Keiko “Can you bring this salad to Taro?” or “Can you clean up the table and bring the dishes?”

(83) b.  *Taruu ja juuban kam-u-t-a-N.*
       Taro TOP dinner eat-U-PAST-N.
       “Taro was eating dinner.”

Example (83b) does not imply that Taro’s action may still continue, nor that Taro’s action may finish at the time of the utterance. It means that this form does not contain the end of the activity. The important thing is that Taro’s action arises at some point in the past, and this fact comes into the speaker’s perception.

(87) a.  *Taruu ja juubanN kad-ii?*
       Taro TOP dinner eat-Q
“Did Taro eat dinner?”

b. *Taruu ja juubaN kad-oo-t-i?
   Taro TOP dinner eat-CONT-PAST-Q
   “Was Taro eating dinner?”

c. *Taruu ja juubaN kam-u-t-i?
   Taro TOP dinner eat-CONC-PAST-Q
   “Did Taro eat dinner?” or “Was Taro eating dinner?”

I will now explain the differences among the three past forms in (87). When the speaker wants to ask if Taro finished eating dinner or not, example (87a) will be chosen. If the speaker wants to ask whether Taro was in the middle of eating dinner when the addressee saw Taro, example (87b) is appropriate. The speaker uses (87c) in order to focus upon the question if Taro started to eat dinner and also if the addressee saw it.

8. Subject Restriction

One of the most significant features of Shuri dialect to be noted is the phenomenon, which can be considered as subject restriction. In short, although one form co-occurs with the first person, it usually does not co-occur with the third person. Moreover, another verb form basically co-occurs with only the second or third person, but it does not co-occur with the first person. I have already presented some examples of this in section 7.1 and 7.2. In this section, I will present the various kinds of examples of these restrictions, and attempt to clarify the reasons why these kinds of restrictions take place.

The first person cannot co-occur with kac-u-taN in affirmative sentences as shown in example (88a). However, example (88b) shows that the combination of the first person and this form is possible in the case of interrogative sentences. On the other hand, although the second person can appear in the subject position of kac-u-taN in affirmative sentences as in example (89a), this combination is unacceptable in the interrogative sentence in (89b).

(88) a. *waN-nee tigami kacu-t-a-N.
   I–TOP letter write-PAST-N
   “I wrote a letter.”

b. waN-nee tigami kacu-t-i?
   I–TOP letter write-PAST-Q
   “Did I write a letter?”
(89) a. *'jaa tigami kacu-t-a-N doo.
  you letter write-PAST-N FP
  "You wrote a letter"

b. * 'jaa tigami kacu-t-i?
  you letter write-PAST-Q
  "Did you write a letter?"

This phenomenon is related to the discussion in the previous section 7.3. It is not a simple automatic syntactical rule. Considering the discussion about the concept of the way of perception, it is unnatural for the speaker to perceive his/her own activity as a moment. The speaker should describe his/her own activity as a whole, if it is done to use simple past. Thus, the simple past should be chosen as shown in (90), instead of (88a).

(90) wan-nee tigami kac-aN.
    I- TOP letter write-PAST-N
    "I wrote a letter."

Similarly, example (89b) is ungrammatical due to the inherent contradiction. For example, (88b) is used to ask the addressee if he/she perceives the speaker's action. This sentence is used when the speaker cannot remember if he/she wrote a letter, and asks the addressee whether the action (the speaker writing a letter) has occurred. The speaker expects the addressee to have seen the event. On the other hand, in example (89b) the opposite situation occurs. Example (89b) sounds awkward because the speaker asks the addressee if the speaker perceives the addressee's action. The addressee cannot answer because it is only the speaker himself/herself who can judge if he/she perceives the moment of information occurring. In the case of (89b), the addressee can answer 'yes,' when the information about the event, namely the fact that the speaker wrote a letter, came into the addressee's sphere of cognition. And if not, the answer is 'no.' Instead of example (89b), we can simply use the simple past of the conclusive form as shown in (91). It is simply asking the addressee if he/she performed an activity, having nothing to do with the speaker's cognition.

(91) 'jaa tigami kac-i?
    you letter write-Q
    "Did you write a letter?"
With regard to the combination of this form and a third person subject, no contradiction occurs because both the speaker and the addressee can observe Taro’s action, and therefore, can answer as in example (92b).

(92) a. Tarau ja tigami kac-u-t-a-N.
   Taro TOP letter write-CONC-PAST-N
   “Taro wrote a letter.”

   b. Tarau ja tigami kac-u-t-i?
   Taro TOP letter write-CONC-PAST-N
   “Did Taro write a letter?”

The next examples look like counter-examples, but these examples support the explanation above.

(93) wan-nee Nkashee meenaci saki mumj-u-t-a-N.
   I-TOP once-TOP every day sake drink-CONC-PAST-N
   “I used to drink sake (alcohol) everyday.”

Note that the first person and the perceptive past form can co-occur in sentence (93), because the speaker talks about the past habit in which, he/she can retrace and recognize his/her own activity objectively. 

(94) wan-nee ‘uturasjaN Ndi ‘umu-ju-t-a-N.
   I-TOP scare QUO think-CONC-PAST-N
   “I thought that I was scared.”

Example (94) is also an example wherein the first person subject and the perceived form co-occur. It is impossible to witness one’s own mind, but it is possible for the speaker to reconfirm one’s thoughts objectively.

9. **Adjectives**

In the preceding sections, I have introduced some phenomena which behave differently depending on which agent appears in the subject position, and some of these differences are derived from the feature of $-N$. In this section, I will try to explain that this feature of $-N$, also
affects adjectives in Luchuan.

9.1 Non-past Forms

Adjectives in Luchuan can be divided into two categories; first the group of adjectives which describe the situation objectively, second, the group of adjectives which describe the human’s feelings. To be precise, the adjectives which belong to the second category express the feelings or situations which only the speaker can experience, for example, happy, sad, hungry, etc. The first category includes adjectives such as “high” and “blue” as shown in (95). The adjective “cold” in (96) below, belongs to the second category. The adjective ends with sa-N in the non-past forms.

(95) a. *kunu kii ja takasa-N.
   this tree TOP high-N
   “This tree is high.”

   b. *kunu mii ja naara ‘oosa-N.
      this fruit TOP yet blue N
      “This fruit is still immature.”

In section 8, I have explained some restrictions upon the combination of agents and verb forms. I will now present some examples in which similar kinds of restrictions can be shown. Although the speaker of (96a) is not represented in (96a), a native speaker of Luchuan can easily recognize that the speaker is him/herself because of the form of the adjective. When the speaker refers to someone, he/she needs to use other forms as shown in (96b) and (96c).

(96) a. *hwiisa-N.
   cold-N
   “(I) feel cold.”

   b. *Taruu ja hwiisa s-oo-N.
      Taro TOP cold do-CONT-N.
      “Taro feels cold.”

   c. *Taruu ja hwiisa gisa s-oo-N.
      Taro TOP cold look do-CONT-N
      “He feels cold.” “(He) looks cold.”

The adjectives include the morpheme −N as other verb forms do. Recall that the non-past
conclusive form tends to co-occur with the first person. In the same way, in general, the adjective which expresses a human's feeling inclines toward co-occurrence with the first person. To express a human's feeling, except for the speaker's feeling, the continuative form of the verb "do" (s-oo-N) should follow as shown in (96b). When the speaker uses example (97b) he/she must understand that Taro feels cold at the moment of speech. For example, if Taro says, "I feel cold," the speaker uses the example (96b). However, the speaker cannot use example (97), which does not contain the continuative form of the verb "do" (s-oo-N). The adjectives belonging to the second category are basically used to express the speaker's feelings if these adjectives end with sa-N without s-oo-N.

(97)?

Taruu ja hwiisa-N.
Taro TOP cold-N
"Taro feels cold."

When the speaker judges that Taro must feel cold because Taro looks cold, but the speaker is not sure whether it is true or not (96b) is appropriate. It means that attaching s-oo-N to the hwiisa "cold" is insufficient unless the speaker knows how Taro feels. The adjective forms should be varied depending on the information which the speaker possesses. It is important to distinguish if the speaker is describing him/herself or other's feelings.

9.2 Past Forms

To make past adjective forms, the morpheme \(-t-a-\) should be attached to the end of the form. This morpheme is the same morpheme as the one which is attached to the verb forms in order to make past forms. For example, example (98) is used to describe the past situation when the tree the speaker is referring to was still small. However as time passed, the tree got bigger. In this way, the morpheme \(-t-a-\) can express the past situation. However, attention must be paid to the feature of this past morpheme. As shown in section 7.3.1, although I have written that this morpheme denotes past tense, it means the speaker's judgment which has been formed before the time of the utterance. Let us consider example (98b). The speaker can use example (98b), pointing to the fruit which the speaker tried eating a few minutes ago. The condition that this fruit is still hard cannot be changed in a few minutes, therefore it is apparent that the fruit is still hard when the speaker uses (98b). In spite of this fact, the speaker can use (98b) because the time of the speaker's experience precedes the moment when the example (98b) is spoken.
(98) a. 'anu kii ja gunasa-t-a-N.
that tree TOP small-PAST-N
("That tree was small."

b. kunu mii ja naara kuhwasa-t-a-N.
this fruit TOP yet hard-PAST-N
("This fruit was still hard."

The next example shows the past forms of the adjectives which belong to the second group. Examples (99a-b) are the past forms of example (96). The unacceptability of example (100) shows that the continuative form of "do" s-oo-N is necessary just like the non-past form needs s-oo-N in order to show that the experiencer is the non-first person.

(99) a. hwiisa-t-a-N.
cold-PAST-N
("I") felt cold."

b. Taran ja hwiisa s-oo-t-a-N.
Taro TOP cold do-CONT-PAST-N.
"Taro felt cold."

c. Taran ja hwiisa gisa s-oo-t-a-N.
Taro TOP cold look do-CONT-PAST-N
"He felt cold." "(He) looks cold."

(100) ?? Taran ja hwiisa-t-a-N.
Taro TOP cold-PAST-N
"Taro felt cold."

10. For Further Study

In this report, I have attempted to provide a variety of examples, setting up contexts, and not simply enumerating sentences. As a result, aspects which have previously been unexamined, are now becoming noticed. For instance, even if the sentence itself is grammatical, it sometimes becomes unacceptable, depending on the context. If the speaker views the addressee's activity, observes the agent's activity, expects the addressee's obvious answer, and other various factors are considered, then appropriate sentences can be elicited.

For people who study Luchuan, it is really important that the language is not spoken apart
from the contexts of daily life. Some features in the language, for example, the concept of
witness, cannot exist by themselves. Witness is a facet of Luchuan’s language system, and there
must be a reason for this feature to exist. It is indisputable that we must consider ‘when,’
‘where,’ and ‘how,’ each sentence has evolved; depending upon the context of real life, in order
to understand Luchuan. Further studies, which focus upon Luchuan culture, peoples’ ways of
thinking, and their ways of perceiving things are necessary.

Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge that this paper could not have been written without the kind
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Shigeko Kinjyo; 1924

Notes

1 Okinewago jiten (The dictionary of Okinawan Language) (1963)
2 Uemura (1992)
3 It was written in a combination of Chinese characters, Japanese cursive syllabary, and a variant thereof. The
   poems have not been deciphered completely yet.
4 According to the census tallied in 2002, the number of people who were over fifty in Okinawa was about
   three hundred and forty thousand. As there are people who came from other prefectures or overseas, I
   estimated the number of native speakers of Luchuan to be less than three hundred thousand.
5 The accurate population of the Naha city is 305,358 people, and the population of Shuri is 58,522 people,
   according to statistics counted in the end of September, 2002.
In school, students were prohibited to speak Luchuan. If they spoke it, they had to wear Hogen-fuda (Dialect Disgrace Tags) around their necks. Then these students wearing them around their neck passed them to the next person who spoke Luchuan. Although this system was not as strict after the war, for students who couldn't speak Japanese like my father, this tag was like a kind of necklace. They wore it everyday by turns.

Another main reference is Tsuhako (1992)

In the dictionary, the non past form is historically compounded from the stem and wari, which means existence. Wari also expresses an ongoing action or a continuous state, being combined with other verbs.

The terms in English such as conative and resultative within the parentheses, are added by me. These technical terms in English were not used in the Dictionary of the Okinawan Language. I chose the technical terminologies which were considered the closest meanings to Japanese terminologies used in the dictionary.

This jur is often substituted by jr after vowel ending stems. However, I use jur in this report because of consistency, following the Okinawan Language.

Rule (13) is not sufficient to account for these two verbs. Firstly, (13) explains why the inflectional ending -t is omitted, but this regulation does not explain why the ri in the middle of the stem is also omitted in (9) below. In regard to jumarijun 'can read' in (6), it may be better categorized as a vowel ending verb because the conjugation seems to be irregular. However, as it also behaves like other -t ending verbs, I tentatively classify this verb as a consonant ending verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Nonpast</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ureraN</td>
<td>ureraN</td>
<td>ureraN (put)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) jumariN</td>
<td>jumariN</td>
<td>jumariN (can read)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The detailed function of the -N is explored in the section 7.1.1.

In Luchuan, the conclusive form without -N can not be an independent form. Therefore, the word without -N like kacu 'write' cannot be used as a conclusive form. On the other hand, in Japanese, the conclusive form cannot be followed by -N.

In Shuri dialect, the sentences cannot end with the morpheme -u like Japanese does. Something has to follow -u; -N, -sa, -ru, and so on.

The same phenomenon can be seen in Miyara dialect. See Izuyama (2002).

(jure) Ian ga ru lacura.

it I Nom FC write USA

"I will write it."

Instead of -ru, it appears that -sa can be seen in the end of the conclusive form as shown in (9) above. However, -N usually cannot be substituted for -ru.

In the case wherein the speaker judges the addressee does not eat fish in spite of it being served the
speaker can use (60e) to be prompted to eat fish.

18 In old Japanese, there was a similar phenomenon called Kakarimusubi, which contains a combination of a focus particle and other auxiliaries or other forms of predicates.

19 This form metQ-coocur N is a form called Hozontai in the Dictionary of Okinawan Language. It is considered to be a fusion of naci + ja + 'nocur N (wait+Top+put).

20 Same phenomena can be seen in Yaeyama dialects. See Izuyama (2002)

21 In the dictionary of Okinawan Language the term Keisaku is used, and Tsubako (1992:887) uses the term Shinkoro. She called it progressive.

22 Tsubako(1989), Shinzato(1991), Kina(1990), and Miyara(2002). Kina uses the terminology, 'observation' instead of witness.

23 With respect to the definition of perfectivity, see Connie (1976:18).

24 The example (83b) implies that Taro's action may still continue, or Taro's action may finish at the time of the utterance. It means that this form does not contain the end of the activity. The important thing is that Taro's action arose at some point in the past, and this fact comes into the speaker's perception.

25 The same phenomenon can be seen in the other examples which contain the verbs, expressing the change of state: die, fall, kill and so on.

a. baNsiruu nu 'utijor-te-N
   
guava NOM fall-U-Past:N "The guava fell"

b. baNsiruu nu 'utisoor-te-N
   
guava NOM fall-CONT-Past:N "The guava was on the ground."

The speaker had to see the moment that the guava was falling from the tree to the ground when he/she utters (a). However, (b) expresses the situation wherein the guava fell and was still on the ground. The former indicates the moment of a change happening, and the latter describes the continuous situation wherein the guava is still lying on the ground.

26 This example (80) is cited from Miyara (2002). His sentence was as follows

(a) Kuneeda-kara tabako yamitieyabi+(y)i +ta+n

He calls the morpheme -(y)i kenazuruji, which means observation.

27 This form implies that this past habit is not continued in the present. It behaves like the expression 'used to.'

References


