# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

## 沖縄語における節の焦点化構造
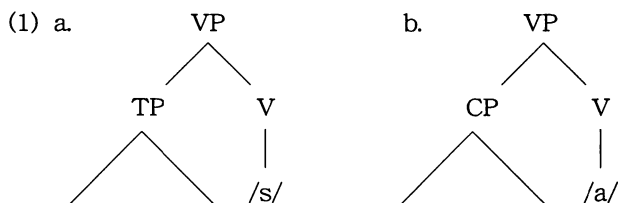
# Clausal Focus Structure in Okinawan*

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## 0. Introduction

In this paper, it is argued that in Okinawan, there are two different one-place predicates, each of which allows the occurrence of only the clausal argument, as indicated in (1):

(1) a.
```
        VP
       /  \
     TP     V
    /__\     |
          /s/
```
b.
```
        VP
       /  \
     CP     V
    /__\     |
          /a/
```

The two types of predicate in Okinawan are mainly designed to either focus or negate the two types of clause, TP and CP, so that they allow the adjunction of either a focus particle /du/ or a negation focus marker /ya/ to the clause periphery. The two types of complement show a difference in the manner of adjoining focus particles to the periphery; TP-complements must be nominalized by -*i* before the particles are adjoined, though CP-complements need no such nominalization. We will also see cases in which syntactic generalizations of the two types of one-place predicate in (1) cannot be attained without resorting to some general phonological rules.

## 1. Case Markers and Moods in Okinawan

As background to the present discussion, a sketch of moods and particles in Okinawan is given in this section.

In Okinawan, verbs do not need Case-marking particles for their NP-complements, as illustrated in the a-sentences of (2)-(4).[1]  Japanese verbs, such as *kat+ta* 'bought' in (2b), *at+ta* 'was' in (3b), and *nat+te* 'to become' or *nat+ta* 'became' in (4b), require Case-marking particles like *o, de,* and ni for their NP-complements, respectively.

   (2)  a.  wanne-e   miiguruma   koo+ta+n.
                I-TOP     new car  buy+PAST+IND
                'I bought a new car.'

         b.  watasi-wa  sinsya-o   kat+ta.
                I-TOP new car-ACC buy+PAST
                'I bought a new car.'

   (3)  a.  are-e      utasaa   ya+ta+n.
                she-TOP singer be+PAST+IND
                'She was a singer.'

         b.  kanozyo-wa   kasyu-de  at+ta.
                she-TOP      singer-  be+PAST
                'She was a singer.'

   (4)  a.  are-e   uhuttʃu    na-ti,     isa        na+ta+n.
                he-TOP adult    become-INF doctor become+PAST+IND
                'As an adult he became a doctor.'

         b.  kare-wa  otona-**ni**    nat-te,    isya-**ni**        nat+ta.
                he-TOP   adult-GOL become-INF doctor-GOL   become+PAST
                'As an adult he became a doctor.'

A further comparison of Okinawan and Japanese in (2)-(4) shows that in Okinawan, any finite verb ends in a mood morpheme, which is represented in boldface sentence-finally in (5a)-(5e):

(5)  a.  Kamadee-ga       basanai    ʧuku+i+**n**.
         Kamadee-NOM    banana   grow+PRES+IND
         '(I assert that) Kamadee grows bananas.'
     b.  Kamadee-ga       basanai    ʧuku+i+**mi**?
         Kamadee-NOM    banana   grow+PRES+Q
         'Will Kamadee grow bananas?'
     c.  Kamadee-ga-**du**         basanai    ʧuku+i+**ru**.
         Kamadee-NOM-FOC    banana   grow+PRES+C
         'It is Kamadee who grows bananas.'
     d.  taa-ga        basanai    ʧuku+i +**ga**?
         who-NOM    banana   grow+PRES+Q
         'Who will grow bananas?'
     e.  taa-ga-**ga**          basanai    ʧuku+i+**ra**    yaa?
         who-NOM-FOC    banana   grow+PRES+Q   I wonder
         'Who in the world will grow bananas, I wonder?'

When a sentence denotes a proposition, the mood element expresses the speaker's attitude toward the proposition. With the indicative mood morpheme +*n* in (5a), the speaker asserts the truth of the proposition, that is, the proposition that *Kamadee grows bananas* is asserted to be true. With the *yes-no* question mood morpheme +*mi* in (5b), the speaker asks whether the proposition that *Kamadee grows bananas* is true or not. In the case of the declarative mood morpheme +*ru* in (5c), part of the sentence, i.e., *Kamadee-ga*, needs to be focused by a particle du (boldfaced). In the case of *wh*-interrogative mood morpheme +*ga* in (5d),

part of the sentence, i.e., *taa-ga* 'who (NOM)', is questioned, yielding a *wh*-question. In the case of the interrogative mood morpheme +*ra* in (5e), part of the sentence, i.e., *taa-ga* 'who (NOM)', is focused by the other focus particle *ga* (boldfaced), yielding a question with a focused *wh*-phrase. In (5), +*i* is a variant of the non-past tense form /y+/ (cf. Miyara 1996, 1997, 2000, 2009; Miyara and Arakawa 1994). Focus particles *du* and *ga* in (5c) and (5e) can be called 'mood particles'; the presence of the particle *du* calls for the non-indicative +*ru,* and the particle *ga* must agree with the interrogative +*ra.* We will see that Okinawan has an intricate system of mood and focus.[2] A natural consequence of the presence of these mood morphemes is that if they are taken as occupying the position of C-head, all the sentences in (5a-e) constitute CPs.

In Okinawan, topic and negation scope are marked by the same form /ya/, which should be underlyingly distinguished. In (6a), the topic *uri* 'that' is followed by /ya/, yielding *ure-e* 'that-TOP', whereas the nominative phrase *waa-ga* 'I-NOM' is followed by /ya/, deriving *waa-ga-a* 'I-NOM-NS'. We will see a detailed phonological reduction of /ya/ in the next section.


(6) a. ure-e     waa-ga-a       na+**ran.**
      it-/ya/   I-NOM-/ya/   capable+NEG
      'That I can't do.'

   b. wanne-e      uri       na+i+n.
      I-/ya/       that   capable+PRES+IND
      'I can do that.'


Although both the topic particle and the negation scope marker undergo the same phrase-final reduction, there is a major syntactic distinction between a topic phrase and a phrase with the negation scope marker.

Firstly, as in (6a-b), topic phases generally occupy the sentence-initial position and precede those which mark the scope of negation. Secondly, when as in (6a) the subject NP is followed by the negation scope marker /ya/, the first person pronoun takes the form of /waa/ 'I' and co-occurs with the nominative particle /ga/. On the other hand, when as in (6b) the first person pronoun is followed by the topic particle /ya/, it does not allow the occurrence of the nominative particle /ga/ and a sporadic form of /wanni/ is selected, yielding *wanne-e* 'I-TOP (Nominative)' and *wanni-nkai* 'I-Goal'. With these basics in mind, we will go into the main discussion.

## 2. Verbs Taking Clauses as their Complements

Based on the fact that in Okinawan, any finite verb ends in a mood morpheme, it is assumed that the mood element occupies the position of C-head. As indicated in (7), when indicative mood element /n/ is present, the categorical status of the clause is CP; when absent, it is TP. Note that the particle /ya/ marks a topic in (7a) and negation scope (NS) in (7b).

(7)  a.  [CP [TP dʒiraa-ya      suba     ka+da]+n]
                  Jira-TOP   noodles   eat+PAST+IND
          'Jira ate noodles.'
     b.  [CP [TP ʧiruu-ya   Naahwa-ŋkai      ik+an+ta]+n]
                  Chiru-NS    Naha-GOL    go+NEG+PAST+IND
          'Chiru did not go to Naha.'

In (7a), the topic *dʒiraa-ya* will be extracted from inside of TP to a non-argument position like C-Spec (cf. Chomsky 1977) or be adjoined to CP

(cf. Lasnik and Saito 1992). In Takezawa and Whitman (1998), the Japanese topic marker /wa/ is taken as occupying the C-head position and the topic moves to the C-Spec to agree with the [+Topic]-feature in /ya/. Whichever analysis is taken, any topic appears CP-internally. Since, in (7a), topicalization may not extract the topic *ʤiraa-ya* out of the CP-complement, the analysis of topicalization is taken here as not affecting the main discussion seriously.

The main verb /a/ 'be' in (8) takes the CP-constituent in (7) as its complement.[3] In (8a-b), the CP allows adjunction of the particle /ya/, which focuses on the scope of negation; the CP attached by /ya/ is in the c-commanding domain of the negative +*(r)an*. In (8a-b), /ya/ is adjoined to the CP, and reduced into *o* (bold-faced) when preceded by the indicative mood element +*n*. We will see the phonological reduction in (12c).

(8) a. [CP ʤiraa-ya    suba      ka+da+no ]-**o**     a+ran+i
         Jiraa-TOP   noodles   eat+PAST+IND-/ya/   be+NEG+Q
     'Isn't it that Jira ate noodles?'

   b. [CP tʃiruu-ya   Naahwa-ŋkai   ik+an+ta+no ]-**o**      a+ran+i
         Chiru-NS   Naha-GOL   go+NEG+PAST+IND-/ya/   be+NEG+Q
     'Isn't it that Chiru did not go to Naha?'

On the other hand, the verb /s/ 'do' in (9) takes the TP-constituent in (7) as its complement. We will see a phonological reduction of -*i*-/ya/ into -*ye-e* (bold-faced); see (10c).

(9) a. ʤiraa-ya  [TP _____   suba      ka+da ]-**ye-e**    s+an+i
         Jiraa-TOP            noodles   eat+PAST-i-/ya/   do+NEG+Q
     'Isn't it that Jira ate noodles?'

b. [$_{TP}$ ʧiruu-ya  Naahwa-ŋkai  ik+an+ta ] -ye-e      s+an+i
        Chiru-NS  Naha-GOL  go+NEG+PAST-i-/ya/  do+NEG+Q
    'Isn't it that Chiru did not go to Naha?'

There is a fundamental difference in the way of particle adjunction between TP and CP; TP-constituents must be nominalized by -*i* before the particle /ya/ is adjoined, but there is no such nominalization process for CP-constituents. Besides, there is a fundamental difference in the interpretation between (8a) and (9a) or between (8b) and (9b). A past event expressed by TP is construed as being focused in (9). However, CP involves a mood element, which is construed as relating to the speaker's attitude toward an event; what is focused in (8) is a past event that the speaker conceives as a fact.

The form of focus particle /ya/ in (8) and (9) varies depending on the final vowel of the preceding word or morpheme. As indicated in (10a)-(10c), the particle /ya/ undergoes reduction whenever preceded by a short vowel. In (10a), /waa-ga-ya/ is reduced to *waa-ga-a* by the deletion of /y/ owing to the presence of a short vowel /a/ before the /y/. Likewise, in /wanni-ya/ 'I-/ya/,' /uri-ya/ 'that-/ya/,' *ka+da-i-*/ya/ 'eat+PAST-i-/ya/,' and *ik+an+ta-i-*/ya/ 'go+NEG+PAST-i-/ya/' in (10b) and (10c), the particle-initial /y/ undergoes deletion for the precedence of a short vowel /i/. The resulting diphthong *i-a* undergoes a further change of vowel coalescence, yielding *e-e*. In (10d), a successive application of /y/-deletion and vowel coalescence to /u-ya/ derives *o-o* (cf. Miyara 2000).

(10) a.  /waa-ga-ya/  →  waa-ga-a        'I-NOM-/ya/ '
     b.  /wanni-ya/  →  wanni-a  →  wanne-e       'I-TOP'
        /uri-ya/   →  uri-a   →  ure-e      'it-/ya/'
     c.  ka+da-i-/ya/  →  ka+da-i-a  →  ka+da-e-e  →  ka+da-ye-e

ik+an+ta-i-/ya/→ik+an+ta-i-a→ik+an+ta-e-e → ik+an+ta-ye-e

d.  /ʔmmu-ya/   → ʔmmu-a   →  ʔmmo-o   'sweet potato-TOP/NF'

In (10b) and (10c), a subsequent insertion of the semivowel [y] takes place between the low vowel *a* and the long vowel *ee* to disrupt three consecutive vowels.[4]

A further complication of the phrase-final reduction is observed when we have /ya/ preceded by /n/. When, as in (11a-b), the nouns *tʃin* 'clothes' and *dʒin* 'money' are followed by the particle /n/ 'also,' the vowel *u* (italicized) is inserted between the two consecutive nasals.

(11)  a.  tʃin-/n/   →  tʃin*u*-n     'clothes-also'
      b.  dʒin-/n/  →  dʒin*u*-n    'money-also'

As shown in (12a-c), the insertion of *u* will also take place between word-final /n/ and the following particle-initial /y/ (cf. Miyara 2000). If the inserted *u* forms the final position of a word or phrase, it will undergo the same reduction as /ʔmmu-ya/ in (10d). In (12) and (10d), a successive application of /y/-drop and vowel coalescence derives *o-o* from *u-*/ya/.

(12)  a.  tʃin-/ya/   →  tʃin*u*-ya  →  tʃin*u*-a  →  tʃin*o*-o   'clothes-TOP/NF'
      b.  dʒin-/ya/  →  dʒin*u*-ya  →  dʒn*u*-a  →  dʒin*o*-o   'money-TOP/NF'
      c.  ka+da+n-/ya/→ ka+da+n*u*-ya→ ka+da+n*u*-a→ ka+dan*o*-o   'ate-/ya/'
          ik+ran+ta+n/-/ya/→ ik+an+ta+n*u*-ya→ ik+an+ta+n*u*-a
                                        → ik+an+ta+n*o*-o   'did not go-/ya/'

In (10c) and (12c), reduction takes place not only in NP-final position, but also in clause-final position.

# 3. Verb Taking a CP as its Complement

In this section, we will mainly discuss such a one-place predicate that takes a CP as its complement in Okinawan.

## 3.1. Non-Past Negative Sentences in Complements

Based on the analysis of the main verb /a/ in (8), we will examine the categorical status of a non-past negative sentence that appears as its complement of the main verb in (13a) or (13b). As in (13b), the mood element +ru is accompanied by a focus particle *du.*

(13)  a.  [$_{\alpha P}$ ʤiraa-ya    daigaku-ŋkai    ik+ano ]-o      a+ran+i
           Jiraa-NS    college-GOL    go+NEG-/ya/    be+NEG+Q
           ´As for Jiraa, isn´t it that he doesn´t go to college?´

     b.  nuuga  [$_{\alpha P}$ ʤiraa-ya    daigakui-ŋkai    ik+an ]-du      a+ru
           why          Jiraa-NS    college-GOL    go+NEG-FOC    be+C
           ´As for Jiraa, why is it that *he doesn´t go to college?*

In the embedded clause of (13) above, it appears that the negative /+ran/ is not followed by non-past tense and mood elements. The sentential complement is followed by either the negation focus particle /ya/ or the other focus particle *du.*

There are some reasons for the categorical status of clausal complements in (13) as CP. First, when in Okinawan the particle /ya/ is attached to TP, the TP must be nominalized by -*i.* There is no such nominalization observed in (13), so $\alpha$P cannot be TP. Second, the analysis of the verb /a/ taking a CP-complement in (8) suggests that the non-past negative complement in (13) should represent a CP, since the past counterpart in (8b) or (14) below does.

(14) [CP ʤiraa-ya    daigaku-ŋkai    ik+an+ta+no ]-o      a+ran+i
        Jiraa-NS    college-GOL    go+NEG+PAST+IND-/ya/  be+NEG+Q
    'As for Jiraa, isn't it that he doesn't go to college?'

Third, the postulation of the indicative mood /+n/ in (15a) is supported by the fact that, as illustrated in (5), all finite verbs in Okinawan contain mood morphemes in the final position. In fact, when used as an independent sentence, the complement in (13a-b) is construed as expressing an assertion; that is, the proposition that *Jira doesn't go to college* is asserted to be true. Hence, as indicated in (15a), it is reasonable that the indicative mood /+n/ occurs verb-finally in the underlying representation of non-past negative sentence, though the negative non-past verb form *ik+an* accidentally lacks an overt form of non-past morpheme /y+/ before the indicative /+n/.[5]

(15) a. [CP ʤiraa-ya    daigaku-ŋkai    /ik+ran+$\phi$+n/]
            Jiraa-NS    college-GOL    go+NEG+IND
        'Jira does not go to college?'
     b. [CP ʤiraa-ya    daigaku-ŋkai    /ik+ran+ta+n/]
            Jiraa-NS    college-GOL    go+NEG+PAST+IND
        'Jiraa did not go to college?'

The accidental gap of non-past morpheme is not uncommon when we notice that English verbs (e.g., *go, read, etc.*) lack their overt present tense morpheme unless they inflect for person, number, and gender (as in *goes, reads, etc.*).

    Fourth, in Okinawan, there is a very general phonological rule, which is called 'Sonorant Deletion' in Miyara (2009), that deletes a morpheme-initial sonorant when preceded by a morpheme-final consonant. In (16a-c),

deletion of morpheme-initial sonorants (/r/, /n/, /m/) in the underlying representations derives the correct forms, such as *ik+_an+ɸ+_*, *a+ran+_ i*, and *s+_an+_i*.

(16)  a.  /ik+ran+ɸ+n/  → ik+_an+ɸ+_  'go+NEG+IND'
       b.  /a+ran+m+/   → a+ran+_i  'be+NEG+Q' (cf. (14) and (8a-b))
       c.  /s+ran+m+/   → s+_an+_i  'do+NEG+Q' (cf. (9a-b))

As a result, the recognition of this phonological rule guarantees the phrase structure analysis in which non-past negative sentences in the complements of (13a) and (13b) constitutes a CP: then, the indicative mood element /n/, occupying the C-head position, always undergoes a phonological reduction when preceded by the negative /+ran/.

## 3.2. CP Headed by Mood

In this section, we will examine some other examples of the verb /a/, which takes a CP as its clausal argument, as in the following:[6]

(17)  [CP waa-ga    i+tʃa    +no ]-o    a+ran+i
           I-NOM    say+PAST+IND-/ya/  be+NEG+Q
       'Isn't it the case that I said so?'

In (17), the complement of the main verb /a/ contains the indicative mood morpheme /+n/ in its final position, just in the same way that all negative clausal complements in the preceding section contain it, and the scope of negation is focused by the particle /ya/.

Based on the analysis of the non-past negative form presented above, negative sentences in the complement of the verb /a/ should be treated as forming CPs. In (18a) and (18b), the non-past negative sentence is

focused either by the particle *du* or by the particle /ya/.

(18)  a.  [CP ittaa-ya    uri-n      ʃi+ran]-du       a+ru    yi[7]
          you-NS   it-also   know+NEG-FOC   be+C    Q
          'Is it that you don't ever know it?'

      b.  [CP ittaa-ya    uri-n      ʃi+ran*o*] -o        a+ran+i
          you-NS    it-also   know+NEG-/ya/   be+NEG+Q
          'Isn't it that you don't even know it?'

In (19b) below, *nuuga* 'why' behaves as a focus element so that the focus phrase enters into a checking relation with the mood element +*ru* (Miyara 2000, 2005, 2007): see an account of (5c) too. Owing to the fulfillment of the licensing relation (Chomsky 1995), it seems that the occurrence of the focus particle becomes unnecessary in (19a).

(19)  a.  nuuga   [CP ʔyaa-ya        ure-e      s+an]    a+ru
          why          you-TOP    it-/ya/    do+NEG    be+C
          'Why is it that you never do it?'

      b.  nuuga   ʔyaa-ya    ʃikuʧi-ŋkai    ik+an+ta+ru
          why      you-NS    work-GOL    go+NEG+PAST+C
          'Why didn't you go to work?'

Even if, in (19a), a bare CP is taken as the complement, it is still taken as the focus in the sentence. It is thus assumed that the verb /a/ collaborates with its CP-complement in constituting a clausal focus structure.

## 3.3. CP Headed by Complementizer

If the verb /a/ 'be' takes a CP as its clausal argument, it is naturally

expected that it takes as its complement a clause in construction with the complementizer *(n)di* 'that'. In fact, we have such a sentence as the one in (20).

(20)  [CP [CP ttʃu-nu ʤaahwee s+oo+ʃe-e        taʃiki+i+n] -di]-du      a+ru
            -NOM trouble  do+CNT+case-CNTR  help+PRES+IND-COMP-FOC  be+C
      'It is that one should help those in trouble out.'

The complementizer *(n)di* in (20) takes another CP as its complement, and allows the adjunction of the focus particle *du* to its periphery in order to enter into a licensing relation with the mood element +*ru* in the higher clause; see (5c) for such an agreement.
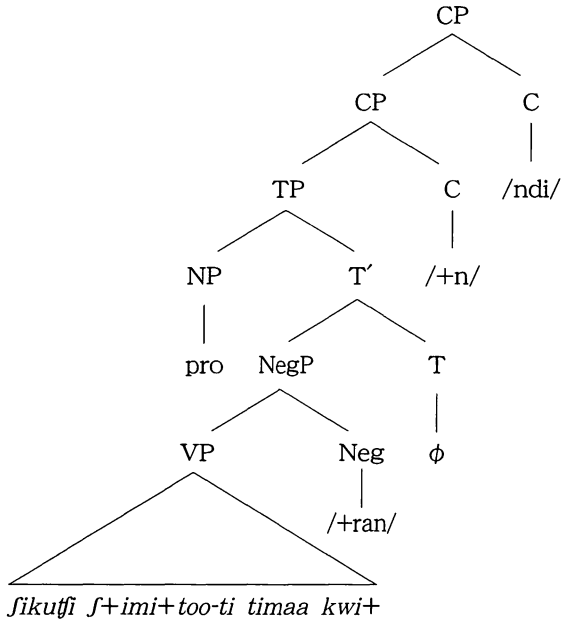
   Since the complementizer *(n)di* takes a lower CP as its complement, it is natural that the non-past negative complement sentence with *kwi+ran* in (21) must constitute a CP. (21) is another case in which the main verb /a/ does not necessarily require the adjunction of focus particles to the right of its CP argument.

(21)  [CP [CP ʃikutʃi    ʃ+imi+too-ti        timaa kwi+ran ]-di]      a+n    naa[8]
            work  do+CAUS+CNT-INF wage  give+NEG-COMP  be+IND  Q
      'Is it the case that you don't give the wage after having made me work?'

It is thus evident that (21), as well as (19a), represents the presence of a clausal focus structure.

   Based on the analysis of non-past negative sentences in section 3.2, the structure of the negative complement sentence in (21) should contain the C-head /+n/, as is represented in (22):

(22)

```
                                    CP
                                  /    \
                                CP      C
                              /    \    |
                            TP      C  /ndi/
                          /    \    |
                        NP      T'  /+n/
                        |      /  \
                       pro  NegP   T
                           /    \   |
                         VP      Neg φ
                       /    \     |
                                /+ran/
```

ʃikuʧi ʃ+imi+too-ti timaa kwi+

When Sonorant Deletion (Miyara 2009) is applied, the two morpheme-initial sonorant /n/'s in the underlying representation /kwi+ran+φ+n-ndi/ ʹgive+not+φ+IND-COMPʹ in (21) are deleted, yielding *kwi+ran+φ+_ -_di.* The present analysis of clausal focus structure resorts to the phonological rule Sonorant Deletion and allows a phrase structure with the complementizer *ndi* in the C-head to be focused, though adjunction of focus particles is not always needed.[9]


## 3.4. Comparison with the Existential and the Copula

In this section, to argue for the distinction of the one-place predicate /a/ with a CP-argument---which has the non-past tense form, *a+n* and *a +ru,* and the negative question form, *a+ran+i—,* it will be compared with the existential /a/ in Okinawan.

In Okinawan, as shown in (23) and (24), the existential /a/ and the copula /ya/ appear only in the affirmative context. When negated, they turn out to be *nee+ran* and *a+ran,* respectively. As a result, the existential negative question form *nee+ran+i* in (23b) will be derived from /nee+ran+m+/ by the application of Sonorant Deletion, and the negative question form of the copula becomes *a+ran+i* in (24b).

(23) a. kuma-ŋkai     dʒin-nu       a+n
      here-LOC    money-NOM   exist+IND
      'Here is money.'

    b. ʔyaa-ya       dʒino-o         nee+ran+i
      you-TOP    money-/ya/   non-existent+NEG+Q
      'Don't you have money?'


(24) a. are-e       umintʃu       ya+n
      he-TOP   fisherman   COP+IND
      'He is a fisherman.'

    b. are-e       umintʃo-o       a+ran+i
      he-TOP   fisherman-/ya/   be+NEG+Q
      'Isn't he a fisherman?'


Accordingly, the one-place predicate forms, *a+n, a+ru, a+ran,* and *a+ran +i,* which each takes a CP as its only argument, are different from the existential with variant forms, such as *a+n, a+ru, nee+ran,* and *nee+ran +i.*

     We can now come to the conclusion that in Okinawan, there is a distinct verb /a/ that takes a CP as the only argument, as roughly represented in (25):

(25)

```
              VP
            /    \
          CP      V
         /  \     |
        /____\   /a/
```
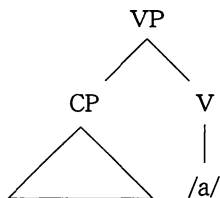
In (24), the C-head is occupied either by the complementizer /ndi/ or by the indicative morpheme /+n/. The clausal focus structure allows adjunction of the D-particle /du/ or the negation focus marker /ya/ to the CP-complement.

## 4. Verb Taking a TP or a VP as its Complement

As was presented in section 2, in clausal focus structures, the verb form differs from each other, depending on whether it takes as its complement a CP or a TP. When a TP is taken as the complement, the verb will be /s/ 'do'; (9) is quoted here as (25). Notice that the example like (17), with CP as its complement, almost always can have the counterpart with TP, as shown in (27).

(26)  a.  dʒiraa-ya  [TP _____   suba      ka+da ]-ye-e       s+an+i
          Jiraa-TOP            noodles  eat+PAST-i-/ya/  do+NEG+Q
          'Isn't it that Jira ate noodles?'

      b.  [TP tʃiruu-ya  Naahwa-ŋkai  ik+an+ta ] -ye-e      s+an+i
            Chiru-NS    Naha-GOL    go+NEG+PAST-i-/ya/  do+NEG+Q
            'Isn't it that Chiru did not go to Naha?'

(27)    [CP  waa-ga     i+tʃa ] -ye-e      s+an+i
             I-NOM    say+PAST-i-/ya/  do+NEG+Q
             'Isn't it the case that I said so?'

There are cases in which the verb /s/ takes as its complement some smaller clauses than a TP. In (28), the clausal complements do not contain tense morphemes, but aspectual morphemes such as the continuous /+too/ and the perfective /+tee/. In (29), the complement merely constitutes a VP.

(28) a. Nabii-ya  [ᵥₚ ʃikutʃi-kara  kee-ti  tʃ+oo]-ye-e  s+an+i
        Nabii-TOP    work-from return-INF come+CNT-ing-/ya/  do+Neg+Q
        ʹIsnʹt it the case that Nabii is returning from work?ʹ
     b. Kamadee-ya  [ᵥₚ sake-e  yami+tee]-ye-e  s+an+i
        Kamadee-TOP  sake-CNTR  stop+PFT-ing-/ya/  do+Neg+Q
        ʹIsnʹt it the case that Kamadee has stopped drinking sake?ʹ

(29) a. ʤiraa-ya  [ᵥₚ daigaku-ŋkai  itʃ]-e-e  s+an+i
        Jiraa-TOP    college-GOL  go-ing-/ya/  do+NEG+Q
        ʹJiraa does not *go to college?*ʹ
     b. ʤiraa-ga  [ᵥₚ daigaku-ŋkai  itʃ]-i-du  s+u+ru
        Jiraa-NOM    college-GOL  go-ing-FOC  do+PRES+C
        ʹJiraa does *go to college.*ʹ

In (28a-b) and (29a), the clause-final reduction involves the successive application of /y/-deletion and vowel coalescence, which are represented in (30a-c). In (30a-b), there is a subsequent insertion of the semivowel [y] between two long vowels *oo* and *ee* and between two *eeʹ*s. It is generally the case that a long vowel consists of two identical vowels, not three, so that three or more consecutive vowels should be separated by the insertion of [y]. See (10c) and note 4 for a related discussion.

(30)  a.  /k+too-i-ya/ → ʧ+oo-i-a → ʧ+oo-e-e → ʧ+oo-ye-e   ´come+CNT-ing-/ya/´

b.  /yam⊥+tee-i-ya/ → yami+tee-i-a → yami+tee-e-e → yami+tee-ye-e

´stop+PFT-ing-/ya/´

c.  /ik-i-ya/ → iʧ-i-a → iʧ-e-e   ´go-ing-/ya/´


In (30), -*i* is taken as the output of a nominalization process, which is equivalent to the English -*ing* in ´*going* to college´ or ´hav*ing* stopped drinking sake.´

In Japanese, support of dummy verb *si* takes place when as in (31a-b) focus particles like *wa* and *mo* intervene between V and T or between V and NEG, so that T- or NEG-head gets stranded.


(31)  a.  John-wa  [vp tegami-o      yom]-i-wa    *si*-ta.

-TOP     letter-ACC   read-ing-FOC   -PAST

´John did read/did not read the letter ´

b.  John-wa  [vp tegami-o     yom]-i-mo    *si*-nai.

-TOP     letter-ACC   read-ing-FOC   -NEG

´John didn´t read the letter, either. ´


In English, *do*-support takes place when as in (32) the negative *not* intervenes between V and T, or when VP is deleted or fronted with the T-head being stranded.


(32)  a.  Bill [т did] not [vp come to the party].

b.  John didn´t try to win the race, but Bill [т did] [vp ~~win the race~~].

c.  Bill tried to settle the problem, and [vp settle the problem] he actually [т did].


Likewise, the dummy verb *s* in (29a) and (29b) would have been inserted to support both the morphologically dependent negative +*ra(+i)*

'+NEG(+Q)' and the morphologically dependent tense +u(+ru) '+PRES(+C),' which were separated from the verb *itf* 'go' by focus particles /ya/ and *du*. Such a /s/-support would also be applicable to (28a) and (28b) if, as in Lasnik's (2000), auxiliaries like the continuous /+too/ and the perfective /+tee/ are taken to head a VP. Even if it is so, there is no way for the /s/-support to be applied in (26) and (27), because focus particles are placed on the right of past tense forms like +*ta*, +*da*, and +*tfa* in the tensed embedded clauses and by no means intervene between V and T.

Different from the cases of CP in section 3, TP- and VP-complements in (26)-(29) have to be uniformly nominalized by -*i* before focus particles are adjoined to the periphery. However, the analysis of /s/-support will be applicable only to VP-complements, and a different treatment is needed for TP-complements in (26). A uniform treatment of clausal focus structures in (26)-(29) suggests that the verb /s/ will be taken as having co-occurrence restrictions with a clausal complement of TP or VP, as represented in the following:

(33) a.            VP          b.      VP

        TP     V         VP     V

    TP   {/ya/, du}   /s/     VP   {/ya/, du}   /s/
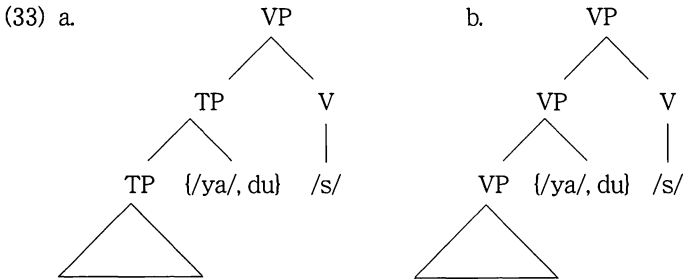
When a TP- or a VP-constituent is focused does the verb /s/ takes the TP or the VP as its complement to constitute a clausal focus structure.

As in the cases of (19a) and (21) with focus clauses of CP, adjunction of focus particles to VP is not always obligatory. In (34), there are no

focus particles following such verbs as *i+rari* ´say+POSS´ and *na+too* ´become+CNT´. In this respect, Okinawan is different from Japanese as to whether the adjunction of focus particles to VP is obligatory or optional.

(34) a. ʔyaa-ya    [vp uya-ŋkai ungutuʃʃi  uɸugutu    i+rari  ]   s+u+mi
        you-TOP     parent-GOL in-this-way  big-word  say+POSS   do+PRES+Q
        ´How can you talk big to your parents in this way?´
    a.  ittaa winagunngwa--a   [vp ɸuduɸudu            na+too ]   s+an+i
           your daughter-TOP   marriageable age   become+CNT   do+PRES+Q
        ´Isn´t your daughter now of marriageable age?´

The fact of optional adjunction of focus particles argues against the supporting verb analysis, based on the disruption of linear adjacency by focus particles, and for the strict subcategonizational analysis of (33b).

## 5. Summary

In this investigation, it is claimed that in Okinawan, any surface sentence ends with an overt C-element and that there are clausal focus structures in which the main verb is a one-place predicate and takes a focus clause as its complement: the verb /a/ is selected when the focus clause constitutes a CP, as represented in (25), and the verb /s/ takes a focus clause of TP or VP, as in (33). The focus clause allows the adjunction of focus particles /ya/ and *du* to the clause periphery, but there are cases where the focus particle adjunction is not obligatory. In Japanese, however, dummy verb /s/ (e.g., Miyara 1991) would be inserted to support a stranded T when focus particles intervene between V and T (Kishimoto 2009; etc.). In Okinawan, CP allows the direct attachment of focus particles to the periphery whether it ends with a mood element or a complementizer; TP or VP must be first nominalized by the insertion of

the vowel -*i* and then allows the adjunction of focus particles to the clause periphery. On the other hand, in Japanese, TP is never nominalized by -*i,* and adjunction of focus particles is thus not permitted.[10] In Japanese, only the VP undergoes nominalization to be adjoined by focus particles.

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## Notes

[1] Morpheme boundary (+) and word or phrase boundary (-) are used in the transcription employed here. Okinawan transcriptions are generally phonetic except in case the two types of boundary are used and pre-vocalic glottal stop [ʔ] is omitted.

[2] In addition to the three interrogative mood morphemes, Okinawan possesses two sentence-final interrogative particles. When *naa* appears at the sentence-final position of (5a), the sentence is changed into a question. The appearance of *yi* at the sentence-final position of (5c) changes the sentence into a question. For examples of the two interrogative sentence-final particles, see (18a) and (21).

³ For more examples of (8) and (9), see Miyara (2000; 150-151).


⁴ This type of *y*-insertion is generally applied when a short or long vowel is either preceded or followed by a long vowel in Okinawan. For example, nouns like *tantʃi* ´short temper´ allows the suffixation of /+aa/ to form a larger noun *tantʃ+aa* ´a short-tempered person´, and the suffixation involves the deletion of the word-final vowel *i*. However, what is derived from /nana makai+aa/ ´an eater of seven bowls´ is not *nana maka+aa,* but *nana maka+yaa,* where *y* is inserted between the short vowel a and the long vowel *aa*. See (30a-b) for cases where a long vowel is followed by a long vowel.


⁵ In Okinawan, non-past tense morpheme /y+/ fails to appear when it is preceded by the negative /+ran/ and the continuous /+too/ in (i) or by special *be*-type verbs, /a/ ´be (=exist)´, /wu/ ´be (=stay)´, and /ya/ ´be (=copula)´ in (ii).

(i) /a+ran+φ+n/ ´be+NEG+PRES+IND´ → a+ran ´be+NEG´

   (cf. /a+ran+ta+n/ ´be+NEG+PAST+IND´

  /uwa+too+φ+n/ ´close+CNT+PRES+IND´ → uwa+too+n ´close+CNT+IND´

   (cf. /uwa+too+ta+n/ ´finish+CNT+PAST+IND´)


(ii) /a+φ+n/ ´be+PRES+IND´ (cf. /a+ta+n/ ´be+PAST+IND´)

  /wu+φ+n/ ´be+PRES+IND´ (cf. /wu+ta+n/ ´be+PAST+IND´)

  /ya+φ+n/ ´be+PRES+IND´ (cf. /ya+ta+n/ ´be+PAST+IND´)


When, as in (i) and (ii), non-past verb forms are contrasted with the corresponding past tense forms, a parallelism provides a reasonable ground for the postulation of the non-past tense with a null form *φ*.

⁶ The Japanese equivalent to (17) will be like (i):

(i)  [NP [TP watasi-ga        it+ta]     no]-de-wa(→ nʤa)  na+i     no
              I-NOM   say+PAST                              NEG+PRES  Q
     'Isn't it that I told you?'

In (i), *nʤa* will be treated as being reduced from /no-de-wa/, in which *no* is a formal noun in construction with a TP to form an NP, *de* a case marker, and *wa* a negative focus particle. If so, sentence (i) will be a copula sentence with the complement *NP-de(-wa)* negated, and does not have anything to do with the clausal negation in question.

⁷ The sentence particle *yi* in (18a) is allowed either after focus sentences ending with the non-indicative +*ru* or after verb-less sentences like (i), and changes them into a question.

(i)  Are-e     wikiga  yi?   Winagu  yi?
     That-TOP  man     Q     woman   Q
     'Is it a man? A woman?'

⁸ The sentence particle *naa* turns an indicative sentence into a question. In (21), the function of indicative mood element /n/ is canceled out when *naa* occupies a higher C-head position than /n/.

⁹ In colloquial Japanese, a verb /ar/ 'be' may take a CP as its complement if -*tte* is taken as a complementizer. It usually occurs with the sentence-final interrogative particle *ka,* as in (i), or with a rising intonation ( ↗ ), as in (ii).

(i)  [CP [TP [VP [CP [TP sonna koto-ga      toor+u]  -tte]     ar+u] ] ka]
                 such thing-NOM be-allowed+PRES -COMP be+PRES Q
     'How is it (possible) that such a thing will be allowed?'


(ii)  [TP [VP [CP [TP anata-ga    ik+ana+i ]    -tte]     ar+u ] ] ↗
                 you-NOM go+NEG+PRES-COMP  be+PRES
     'How is it (possible) that you won't come?'


In English, as shown in (iii), the verb *be* will take a CP as its complement.


(iii)  Why is it that John doesn't go to college?


The function of the Japanese /ar/ and the English *be* in (i) and (ii) would be the same as the Okinawan /a/. See note 6 for an account of a related construction.


[10] Naturally, it is assumed here that focus particles are adjoined to some phrases smaller than clauses, e.g., NPs.


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論文要旨

# 沖縄語における節の焦点化構造

## 宮良　信詳

　沖縄語では、原則として独立文の末尾には明示的なC-要素がくると同時に、焦点化が関わる節（clause）を補部とする１項述語が２形存在することを明らかにしている。その焦点化が関わる節とは、CPの場合か、TP 又は VPの場合である。CPを補部とする１項述語は /a/、TP 又は VPを補部とする１項述語は /s/ である。焦点をあらわす不変化詞「や」「どぅ」が節の末端部に付加されるが、CPの場合にもTP 又は VPの場合にも、その付加は随意的な場合がある。さらに、TP 又は VPに不変化詞が付加される際にはまず母音iによってある種の名詞化（nominalization）が起こるが、CPの場合には起こらない。一方、この種の焦点化が関わる日本語動詞の /s/ の場合には、この /s/ は文生成の過程で挿入される意味内容をともなわない形式に過ぎず、沖縄語の１項述語 /s/ とは本質的に異なる。さらに、母音 i による名詞化（nominalization）に続いて起こる不変化詞の付加に関しても、日本語ではVPに限って起こり、TPには起こらない。