

琉球大学学術リポジトリ

琉球・八重山語宮良方言の焦点化辞「du」の 焦点範疇と文法的分布

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Surface Position and Focus Domain of the Ryukyuan Focus Particle *du*: Evidence from Miyara Yaeyaman

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the relationship between the grammatical position of the Ryukyuan focus particle *du* and its associated focus domain on the basis of data from the Miyaran variety of Yaeyaman, a Southern Ryukyuan language spoken in and around Ishigaki Island. The focus particle *du* is a characteristic feature of the entire Ryukyuan language group¹⁾ and can be found from the northernmost regions in Amami (see, e.g., Shigeno 2010, p. 25 for examples from the Ura variety of Amami Ryukyuan) all the way to Yonaguni Island at the very southwestern edge of the Ryukyus (Yamada et al. forthcoming). Descriptively, *du* has been labeled a focus marker and has often been taken to stand in opposition to the topic marker *ja*. Karimata (2011) calls *du* a focus particle,²⁾ which in Yaeyaman serves to “focus a particular portion of non-imperative sentences.”³⁾ I take this analysis as the starting point for the present paper, examining exactly *which* “particular portion” of the sentence it is that *du* targets. I label this portion of the sentence the *focus domain* (following roughly the terminology of Lambrecht 1994) and show that the relationship between this domain and the surface position of *du* is systematic but non-trivial.

In addition to its role in focusing some portion of a sentence in which it occurs, *du* has often been implicated in triggering a particular kind of verbal agreement phenomenon, which in the traditional Japanese grammatical literature is called *kakarimusubi* (Uchima 1985). In Okinawan, for example, the presence of *du* (or its phonological variant *ru*) is typically associated with the verbal mood suffix *-ru* (Sugahara 1996, Miyara 2000). Karimata (2011), however, argues against a simple agreement-based account of *du* and other Ryukyuan focus particles traditionally analyzed under the rubric of *kakarimusubi*, showing that the co-occurrence of particles and corresponding verbal suffixes and sentence final particles is not as simple as such an account would lead one to expect. The use of *du* in Yaeyaman, I suggest, triggers what Shimoji (2011) dubs “quasi-*kakarimusubi*,” in which the presence of the particle *blocks* certain verbal forms rather than *requiring* a specific one.

The two major issues that must be addressed in modeling the semantic contribution of

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du, then, are 1) in what way does *du* determine the focus domain, and 2) in what way does *du* restrict verbal forms? In the first part of the paper, I show that while there are situations in which the position of *du* maps straightforwardly to its focus domain, there are also cases of mismatch. On the basis of the mismatching cases, I propose some tentative generalizations relating the surface position of *du* and its corresponding focus domain. I then suggest a theoretical model in which these generalizations find a natural explanation and link this model to the “quasi-kakarimusubi” phenomenon whereby the presence of *du* blocks a particular verbal form from occurring in the clause where it takes scope.

2. *Du* in question-answer sequences

In Miyaran, as in Yaeyaman more generally, interrogatives do not have a question particle corresponding to Japanese *ka* or to Okinawan *ga*. On the other hand, the focus particle *du* characteristically appears after wh-phrases in the language. In certain circumstances, the use of *du* seems to be obligatory; this obligatory use of *du* seems most common with wh-phrases in core argument positions, but the details of the obligatory / non-obligatory split require further work. There is also a strong tendency to use *du* in answers to wh-questions, on the constituent corresponding to the wh-phrase in the question. In the following two examples, the question has a wh-phrase in subject position, to which *du* attaches, and in the corresponding answer, *du* attaches to the subject as well.^{4),5)}

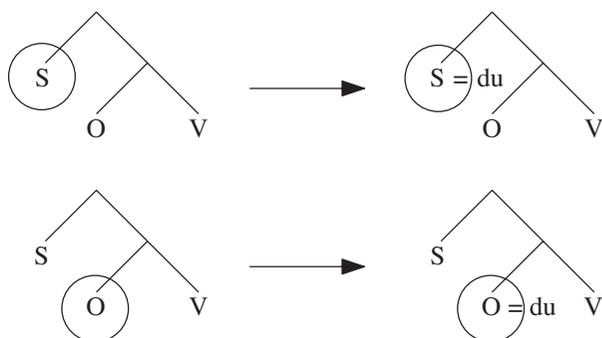
- (1) a. *taa=du suba tsukur-ee-ru?*
 who=DU soba make-RES-PRS
 ‘Who made soba?’
 b. *jurie=n=du tsukur-ee-ru.*
 Yurie=NOM=DU make-RES-PRS
 ‘Yurie made (soba).’
- (2) a. *taa=du nga at-ta saata-tempura fa-i?*
 who=DU there.at exist-PST sugar-fried.dough eat-PST
 ‘Who ate the fried dough over there?’
 b. *nga at-ta saata-tempura=ja mariko=n=du fa-i.*
 there.at exist-PST sugar-fried.dough=TOP Mariko=NOM=DU eat-PST
 ‘Mariko ate the fried dough over there.’

We see the same pattern when the wh-phrase is found in object position. In the following examples, *du* attaches to the object wh-phrase in the question, and to the corresponding object NP in the answer.⁶⁾

- (3) a. *jurie=nu utudo=o noo=ba=du ut-ah-i.*
 Yurie=NOM younger.sibling=TOP what=BA=DU fall-TRS-PST
 ‘What did Yurie’s younger sibling drop?’

- b. *deezì=nu takahaa-ru tsubu=ba=du ut-ah-i coo.*
 great=GEN expensive-PRS pot=BA=DU fall-TRS-PST EVID
 ‘She apparently dropped a very expensive pot.’
- (4) a. *kunu bigidun=ja noo=ba=du fa-i?*
 this male=TOP what=BA=DU eat-PST
 ‘What did that guy eat?’
- b. *saata-tempura=ba=du fa-i.*
 sugar-fried.dough=BA=DU eat-PST
 ‘(He) ate fried dough.’

Pretheoretically, we can take the *wh*-phrase in the question, and its corresponding constituent in the answer, as the *focus domain* of these sentences. Following Karimata (2011), this domain is marked by *du*. The following diagrams show the relation between the focus domain (indicated by a circle) and the location of *du* for the examples seen so far. In these diagrams, S stands for subject, O for object, and V for verb. Throughout this paper I adopt a structural analysis in which the object and verb form a constituent to the exclusion of the subject.



The above patterns might lead one to the following generalization:

- (5) The constituent to which *du* attaches is interpreted as the focus domain, and other elements of the sentence are taken as given or backgrounded.

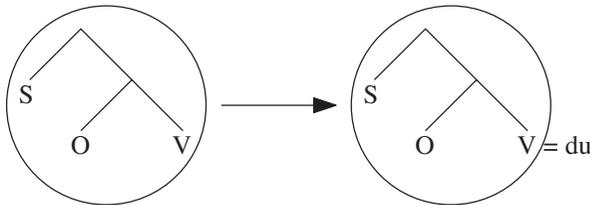
Syntactically, it seems as if *du* attaches immediately *after* the focused constituent. Morphologically, it seems as if it attaches to the *final* element within that constituent. Although rarely if ever made explicit, descriptive accounts of the role of *du* in marking focus seem to assume that something like the above distribution holds. In the following sections, I present data that call this simple picture into question, and reconsider the relation between the location of *du* and the domain of focus.

3. Broad and VP focus

The answer in the following question-answer sequence contains *broad focus*, in which all material (subject, verb, and object) in the answer is new information, and hence expected to be within the focus domain.

- (6) a. What happened?
 b. Hayashi hit Jiro.

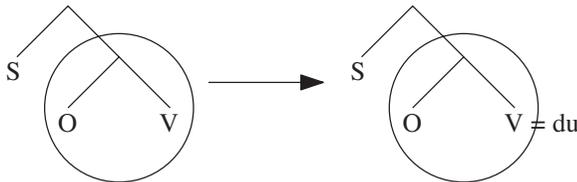
On the basis of the generalization drawn above, we predict that *du* in the answer to such questions should attach to the entire SOV constituent, and thus appear to the right of that constituent, attached to the verb:



The next sequence is an example of *VP (verb phrase) focus*, in which the object and verb are both new information, and should thus form the focus domain of the answer.

- (7) a. What did that woman do?
 b. That woman ate fish.

When the VP is the target of a *wh*-question or forms the domain of new information, we expect that the OV constituent should constitute the focus domain. In this case too, then, we predict that *du* would attach after the verb, as we predicted in the case of broad focus.



In both the configurations considered above, the generalization drawn in the last section predicts that *du* should appear after the verb. The following elicited examples⁷⁾ show that this prediction is false.

(8) Broad focus

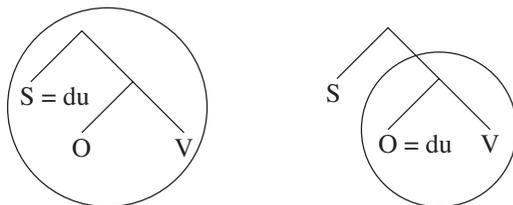
- a. *noo=n=du ar-i?*
what=NOM=DU exist-PST
'What happened?'
- b. *hajasi-san=du ziroo=ba bar-i.*
Hayashi-san=DU Jiro=BA hit-PST
'Hayashi-san hit Jiro.'

(9) VP focus

- a. *unu midun-pito=o noo=ba=du hi-i?*
that female-person=TOP what=BA=DU do-PST
'What did that woman do?'
- b. *kunu midun-pito=o izi=ba=du fa-i.*
this female-person=TOP fish=BA=DU eat-PST
'This woman ate fish.'

In the broad focus example, *du* attaches to the subject, and in the VP focus example it attaches to the object.

(10) Broad focus and VP focus *du* attachment:



Note that the non-occurrence of *du* after the verb cannot be attributed to a more general morphosyntactic restriction against *du* occurring in this position. As will be seen later, there are circumstances in which *du* is licensed in just this position.⁸⁾

The broad focus pattern deserves particular attention. In fieldwork elicitation, researchers often ask informants to translate sentence “out of the blue,” without any definite prior context. In such circumstances, it would be natural for informants to mark the sentences as “all new” information; in other words, to mark them with broad focus. And in such circumstances, it seems that *du* appears on the subject. My own fieldwork experience suggests that informants often mark subjects in “out-of-the-blue” elicited examples with *du*. This tendency might make it seem as if *du* is acting as a kind of subject-marker, rather than a focus marker. The patterns seen above, however, suggest that this tendency instead derives from the broad focus structure of such elicited examples.

Another puzzle that the broad focus facts explain is the occurrence of *du* on indefinites. This is illustrated by the following example:

(11) Question: Why does it stink here?

Answer: *nooningasa=n=du fucar-i-ru hazi doo.*
 something=NOM=DU rotten-STA-PRS EVID SFP
 ‘Something must be rotten.’

Under a naive theory of focus marking with *du*, the above example is mysterious, since it is unclear why or how an indefinite subject should be construed as the focus domain of the sentence. One might therefore predict that *du* would be infelicitous on an indefinite subject. But not only was the above sentence produced with *du* on the indefinite subject, the informant who produced it reported that it is infelicitous in this context without *du* on the subject. Given the background question, however, it is clear that this example fits into the general pattern of broad focus sentences in the language, in which *du* ends up following the subject. It is thus *not* the subject that is being focused here, but the entire sentence. Broad focus is marked by attaching *du* to the subject, even when that subject is itself an item that would not normally be focused.

This paper is based on data from the Miyara variety of Yaeyaman, but it is important to compare the data here with other varieties of Yaeyaman, and to other Ryukyuan languages more generally, since the focus particle *du* is found throughout the Ryukyuan language group. According to Wayne Lawrence (pc), broad focus marking in the Hatoma variety of Yaeyaman also involves *du*-marking of the subject. The following Hatoma example, due to Wayne Lawrence, is in answer to a broad focus question about what happened:

(12) *taroo=du macoo kiri-kkeerasi-ta*
 Taro-DU Matsu.ACC kick-cause.to.fall-PST
 ‘Taro kicked Matsu down.’ (Wayne Lawrence, pc)

According to Lawrence, variants of the above response in which the object is marked with *du* are felt by informants to be infelicitous in a broad focus context. This suggests that the Hatoma variety also marks broad focus with *du* on the subject, in turn suggesting that the distributional facts seen above are not a peculiarity of Miyara Yaeyaman but likely to hold more broadly.

Shimoji (2011, p. 120) mentions the following example from Irabu Miyakoan, about which he says “even if one wants to say “a man is coming” with no focus on a *man*, focus marking still occurs on the noun” (example transcription and glossing follow the original):

(13) *pžtu=nu=du fi-θ*
 man=NOM=FOC come-NPST
 ‘A man is coming.’ (Shimoji, 2011, p. 120)

Given the above discussion, examples like this may in fact be cases of broad focus, mark-

ing all new information.⁹⁾ If so, Irabu Miyakoan provides evidence for this pattern in a non-Yaeyaman variety of Ryukyuan.

4. Comparison to Japanese *kakari* particles

Based on its surface position in broad and VP focus examples, it seems that *du* attaches not in general to the entire focus domain, but to some element *within* that domain. This mismatch between the surface position of *du* and its corresponding focus domain is reminiscent of a pattern pointed out by Kuroda (1965) for the so-called *kakari* particles in Japanese, as illustrated in the following example, based on one found in Aoyagi (2006, p. 122).

- (14) *kinoo=no konpa=de mada miseinen=no taroo=wa sake=o non-da*
 yesterday=GEN party=LOC yet underage=GEN Taro=TOP sake=ACC drink-PST
dake de-naku...
 only COP-NEG
 ‘At yesterday’s party, underage Taro not only [drank sake], but...’
- a. *tabako=o sui=mo si-ta.*
 tobacco=ACC suck=MO do-PST
- b. *tabako=mo sut-ta.*
 tobacco=MO suck-PST
 ‘(he) also [smoked tobacco].’

The two extensions above both contain the additive particle *mo* (which I have glossed simply as MO). The focus domain of *mo* in these extensions is the verb phrase [smoke tobacco], which contrasts with the background verb phrase [drink sake]. In (14a), the particle occurs just after the verb itself, triggering insertion of the light verb *su-* to host tense, while in (14b) it appears just after the direct object. The post-verbal attachment site in (14a) is consistent with a syntactic position of the particle just to the right of the verb phrase containing both verb and object NP, and hence adjacent to the VP focus domain of the particle. But the placement of the particle after the direct object in (14b) would seem to put it strictly *within* the constituent that serves as the particle’s focus domain.

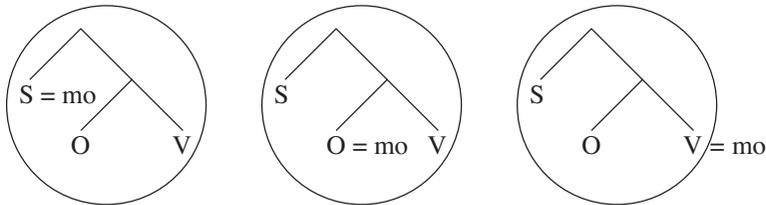
Analogous facts are seen with broad focus uses of *mo*, as illustrated by the following example from Aoyagi (2006, p. 123).

- (15) *kinoo=no paati=de=wa, hanako=ga dansu=o odot-ta dake*
 yesterday=GEN party=LOC=TOP Hanako=NOM dance=ACC dance-PST only
de-naku...
 COP-NEG...
 ‘At yesterday’s party, not only did [Hanako dance a dance], but...’

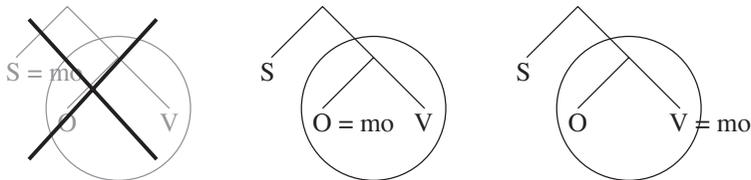
- a. *taroo=ga piano=o hiki=mo si-ta.*
 Taro=NOM piano=ACC play=MO do-PST
- b. *taroo=ga piano=o=mo hii-ta.*
 Taro=NOM piano=ACC=MO play-PST
- c. *taroo=mo piano=o hii-ta.*
 Taro=MO piano=ACC play-PST
 ‘also, [Taro played the piano].’

In broad focus interpretations, *mo* can appear after the verb (15a), after the direct object (15b), or after the subject (15c). The distribution facts for *mo* are shown below, where the focus domain of the particle is marked by a circle.

(16) a. Broad focus



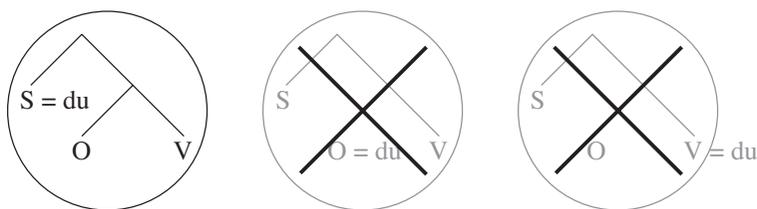
b. VP focus



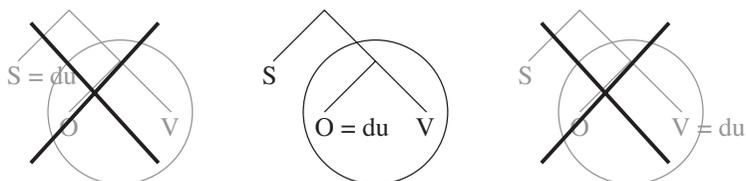
The distributional possibilities for *mo* seen above can be summarized by saying that the particle must occur attached to an element within the constituent serving as its focus domain. As long as this constraint is satisfied, the attachment site of the particle is relatively free.¹⁰⁾

We saw above that Miyaran *du* can also occur after an element that is strictly within its focus domain. The distribution of *du*, however, seems to be more restricted than Japanese *mo*. As far as I have been able to determine in my fieldwork to date, *du* seems only to be able to occur attached to the *leftmost* element within its associated focus domain, as summarized schematically below:

(17) a. Broad scope



b. VP scope



In descriptions based on the Japanese grammatical tradition, *du* is often considered a *kakari* particle. These data show that the syntax-semantics mapping principles governing *du* seem to be different, and in this case more restrictive, than those governing Japanese *kakari* particles like *mo*.

5. *Du* appearing outside the predicted focus domain

The following question (elicited through a translation task from Japanese) creates a context in which the focus domain would be expected to target the verb, which I call a *verbal focus* context.

(18) Verbal focus

a. Question:

kurisu=nu sizjaa naara utudu=ge noo=ba=du
 Chris=GEN elder.sibling.TOP self younger.sibling=LOC what=BA=DU
hi-i?
 do-PST

‘What did Chris’s older brother do to his younger brother?’

b. Answer: ‘(He) kicked (him).’

The answer to this question was elicited using a Japanese sentence consisting of just the verb ‘kicked’. Given that both the subject and object are given, we expect that *du* should be able to be attached to the bare verb in the answer. And indeed, such an answer is felicitous, as shown by the following Miyaran translation given by an informant:

- (19) *kir-i=du*.
 kick-PST=DU
 ‘(He) kicked (him).’

However, the first translation given by my informant was the following:

- (20) *pan=sari=du kir-i*.
 leg=INST=DU kick-PST
 ‘(He) kicked (him) with (his) leg.’

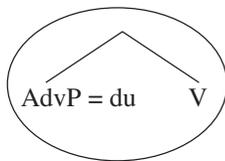
In this response, the informant added the adverbial ‘with (his) leg’, attaching *du* to the adverbial phrase instead of to the verb. Of course, the adverbial phrase constitutes new information, and the entire response falls naturally within the focus domain, so that *du* here follows the generalization derived above, occurring on the leftmost constituent of the focus domain. Still, it is interesting that the speaker added this phrase, which may reflect a tendency to avoid marking the verb itself with *du*.

In addition to these two responses, the same informant also provided the following option, in which the direct object was repeated and followed directly by *du*:

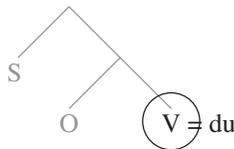
- (21) *utudu=ba=du kir-i*.
 younger.sibling=BA=DU kick-PST
 ‘(He) kicked (his) younger brother.’

The predicted focus domains and observed attachment site of *du* in these three responses are summarized below:

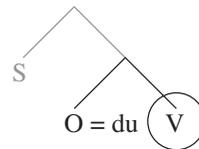
- (22) Answer patterns with verbal focus



a.



b.



c.

Patterns (22a) and (22b) are in line with the generalization drawn in the last section, but (22c) seems to violate it, assuming that the focus domain here in fact consists of the verb. The object is old information, and thus presumably not in the domain of focus. The pattern exhibited by (22c) is not seen with the Japanese *kakari* particles, as illustrated in the following example, where *mo* cannot be attached to the direct object:

(23) At yesterday’s party, not only did Hanako hit Taro, but...

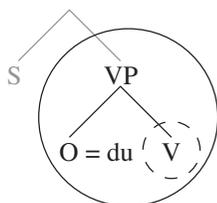
a. *tarou=o keru=mo si-ta.*
 Taro=ACC kick=MO do-PST

b. #*tarou(=o)=mo ket-ta.*
 Taro(=ACC)=MO kick-PST
 ‘...also kicked Taro.’

This difference shows another distributional difference between *du* (at least in Miyaran) and Japanese *kakari* particles like *mo*.

To explain the fact that *du* appears on the direct object in this circumstance, I suggest that, for the purposes of determining the position of *du*, the entire VP, rather than just V, serves as the focus domain. The leftmost element of the VP is the direct object, so that the generalization derived in the previous section is satisfied if the focus domain here is actually VP, rather than just V. The following diagram shows this mismatch between the predicted focus domain (shown with a dashed circle) and the focus domain used for the purposes of *du* marking (shown with a solid circle).

(24)



This leaves the question of *why* the answer should have the VP as its focus domain, instead of just the verb, as would be expected on pragmatic grounds. I suggest that this results from a more general constraint, whereby the focus domain of *du* can only target phrases, not heads. I propose an explanation for this constraint in the next section.

The positions of *du* in the following examples are also not what we would predict, given the pragmatically expected focus domain of both the question and the answer:

- (25) a. *taa kak-eer-u hon=ba=du jum-i.*
 who write-RES-PRS book=BA=DU read-PST
 ‘Who_i did (you) read a book that x_i wrote?’
- b. *comusukii=nu kak-eer-u hon=ba=du jum-i.*
 Chomsky=NOM write-RES-PRS book=BA=DU read-PST
 ‘(I) read a book that Chomsky wrote.’

Given that the *wh*-word and its corresponding phrase are normally interpreted as the focus domain, we would expect the *wh*-word in (25a) and the noun phrase ‘Chomsky’ in

(25b) to constitute the focus domains in this question-answer sequence. Given the distributional generalizations above, this in turn would lead one to expect *du* to appear attached to the wh-word in (25a) and to ‘Chomsky’ in (25b), contrary to fact. In (25a), *du* attaches not to the wh-word itself, but to the head noun of the relative clause within which the wh-word appears. Similarly, in the answer (25b) *du* appears after the head noun of the relative clause, despite the fact that all of the material except ‘Chomsky’ is given in the question.

In these examples, *du* seems to appear on a proper superconstituent of the predicted focus domain. As in the case of predicted verbal focus, I propose that in these cases the structural focus domain associated with *du* is a larger constituent than that predicted by purely pragmatic factors. In the next section, I propose a syntactic analysis of the *du* construction that makes sense of these mismatches.

6. Summary and analysis

Given that *du* serves to focus some part of the sentence in which it occurs, we need an explicit account of *which* part of the sentence gets targeted for focus. As I hope to have shown above, this is by no means a straightforward issue, and naive expectations (e.g. that *du* attaches directly after the constituent that it focuses) are not tenable. Although the present paper is only a first step towards elucidating the principles linking *du* to its focus domain, I draw the following tentative generalizations:

1. In some circumstances *du* can attach to material that is strictly within its associated focus domain; in such cases, it attaches to the leftmost element within its focus domain.
2. In cases where the expected focus domain is the head of a phrase, the structural focus domain expands to encompass the entire phrase.
3. In cases where the expected focus domain is within a relative clause, the focus domain expands to the entire NP containing that relative clause.

These three generalizations are tentative, and require further investigation, both in Miyaran and in other Ryukyuan languages. At this point, I would like to give a theoretical account that helps to explain these three observations.

I begin with the third generalization. Sugahara (1996) and Miyara (2000) describe a similar phenomenon for the question particle *ga* in Shuri/Naha Okinawan. In embedded interrogatives in Okinawan, *ga* attaches to the wh-phrase, and the final verb of the clause where the wh-phrase takes scope appears with the agreeing suffix *-ra*. Typical matrix interrogatives instead have the particle *ga* appearing after the verb, in place of *-ra*, but in certain circumstances matrix interrogatives can appear with the syntax typical of embedded interrogatives.¹¹ The following examples are from Miyara (2000, p. 127), but transcription, gloss, and English translations are my own.

- (26) a. *taa=ga=ga ich-u-ra?*
 who=NOM=GA go-PRS-RA
 ‘Who (in the world) is going?’

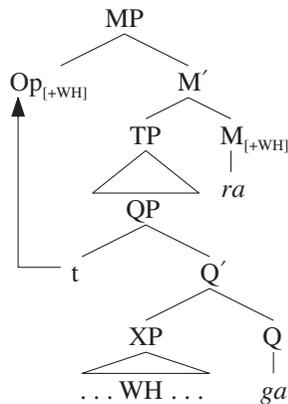
- b. *nuu=ga s-oo-ra?*
 what=GA do-STA-RA
 ‘What (in the world) are (you) doing?’

In general, the particle *ga* attaches to the wh-phrase in such constructions, but when the wh-phrase occurs inside a relative clause, *ga* must appear after the head noun, at a distance from the wh-phrase, as illustrated by the following example from Miyara (2000, p. 136):

- (27) a. **taa=ga=ga chuku-tee-ru uta=nu umussa-ra?*
 who=NOM=GA make-RES-ATT song=NOM interesting-RA
 b. **taa=ga chuku-tee-ru=ga uta=nu umussa-ra?*
 who=NOM make-RES-ATT=GA song=NOM interesting-RA
 c. *taa=ga chuku-tee-ru uta=nu=ga umussa-ra?*
 who=NOM make-RES-ATT song=NOM=GA interesting-RA
 ‘Whoi was the song that xi made interesting?’

When the wh-phrase to which *ga* would normally attach appears inside a relative clause, *ga* cannot attach to the wh-phrase (27a) or to the relative clause-internal verb (27b). It must instead attach to the head noun of the relative clause (27c). Sugahara (1996) argues that this restriction results from a syntactic locality constraint due to the relationship (*kakarimusubi*) that holds between the particle *ga* and the verbal suffix *-ra*. In Sugahara’s analysis *-ra* projects a modal phrase (MP) and *ga* projects a quantifier phrase (QP). A silent operator $Op_{[+WH]}$ in the specifier of QP then agrees with M, and moves to the specifier of MP. The resulting derivation of Okinawan interrogatives is illustrated in (28).

- (28) Okinawan interrogative particle agreement (Sugahara, 1996)

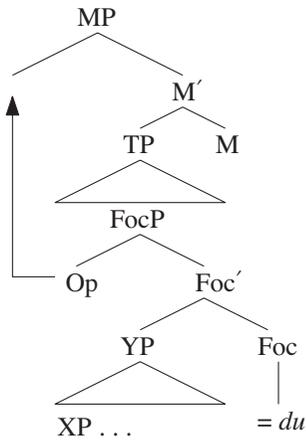


According to this analysis, the reason that *ga* cannot appear inside the relative clause is due to general island constraints on movement (Ross, 1967). If *ga* appeared inside a relative clause, movement of Op_{+WH} would be forced to violate a movement island. Instead,

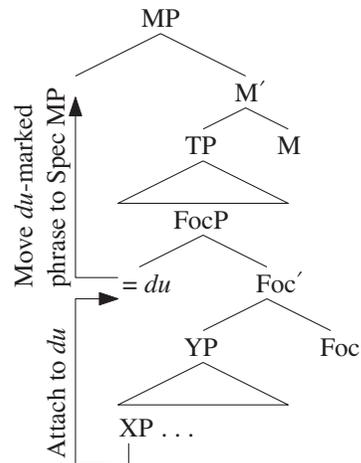
ga appears as close as possible to the *wh*-phrase without violating islands.¹²⁾ In the terms used in this paper, the expected focus domain of *ga* is the island-internal *wh*-phrase, but locality constraints on the relation established between Op_{+WH} and M_{+WH} force the focus domain to be bigger than expected.

A straightforward extension of Sugahara’s analysis would make *du* the head of a projection analogous to QP, which we can label FocP for “focus phrase”. This analysis, which I dub Analysis 1, is shown in (29). The complement YP of Foc constitutes the focus domain of *du*, and as with Okinawan *ga*, this domain can be bigger than expected, when the expected domain would lead to a violation of locality constraints on the association between *Op* and *MP*.

(29) Analysis 1



(30) Analysis 2



This account, however, does not make sense of the first generalization, according to which *du* attaches in some cases not to the right edge of the entire focus domain, but to the leftmost element within it. In particular, when the focus domain YP consists of the object and verb (verbal focus) or the subject, verb, and object (broad focus), *du* attaches to the leftmost constituent within YP, rather than after the verb on its right edge. As it stands, Analysis 1 provides no account for this pattern, which does not seem to exist for Okinawan *ga*.

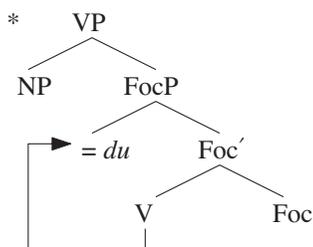
To account for the disparity between the expected and observed distribution of the particle, I suggest that *du* does *not* head FocP. If it did, we would expect *du* to appear consistently after its focus domain, contrary to fact. I instead suggest that Foc itself is phonologically null, and that *du* spells out the operator in the specifier of FocP, whose analog in Sugahara’s analysis of Okinawan *ga* is null. This analysis, which I call Analysis 2, is illustrated in (30). The idea here is that, as a clitic suffix, *du* requires overt material to attach to. This need is satisfied by attracting the “closest” available material from within the complement of Foc, which can be either the entire focus domain (YP) or the

leftmost element of that domain (XP), depending on the syntactic details of the focus domain itself.¹³⁾

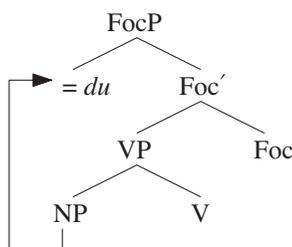
This view can derive not only the fact that *du* attaches to material within the focus domain, but moreover that it attaches to material to the left. This attach-to-the-left constraint is, under this account, reducible to a locality constraint on the procedure by which the clitic *du* finds material to host it. When there is no sub-YP leftmost constituent to which *du* could legitimately attach (by whatever relevant morphosyntactic constraints are in play), the entire YP moves up to the specifier of FocP, and *du* ends up attaching to the entire focus domain.

Analysis 2 thus provides a way to understand the first and third generalizations. I turn now to the second, which says that in cases where pragmatic factors would make a head (in the data discussed here, the verb) the focus domain, the structural focus domain is expanded to the phrase projected by that head (here, the VP). This generalization can be derived by appealing to general syntactic projection principles. Imagine that Foc attaches directly to a lexical verb V, in order to derive a verbal focus domain. Given the discussion above, Foc now projects a FocP. But having done so, its complement V is no longer able to project a VP. Basic principles of syntactic projection block structures like that shown in (31), in which VP is projected after its head has been “closed off” by FocP.

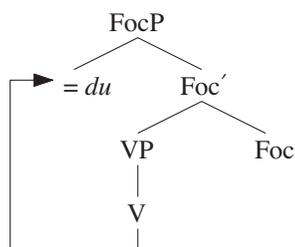
(31) Illicit projection



(32) Licit projection 1



(33) Licit projection 2



This is just the kind of illicit structure that would be required to get *du* marking on the verb in sentences when an old direct object is repeated; as we saw earlier, in such cases *du* appears not on the verb but on the direct object. This is correctly derived by the structure in (32), where Foc attaches *after* the projection of VP. The only time *du* can appear on the verb itself is when the verb is “bare,” without an overt direct object or VP-adverbs, and hence when there is no extra material within VP that ends up in the scope of Foc, as illustrated in (33). These facts are naturally derived under the present account.

7. The effect of *du* on mood

The analysis of *du*-sentences presented in the previous section assumes a relationship holding between the particle and a higher mood or modal element in the clause. Although Miyaran sentences with *du* do not contain any obvious agreeing modal elements like Oki-

nawan *-ra*, there is a phenomenon that can be treated analogously. Miyaran, like other Ryukyuan languages, has an indicative mood suffix, *-n*, which occurs attached to matrix clause verbs. As described by Izuyama (2002, p. 384), the Miyaran verbal paradigm can be split at the highest level into forms that end with the suffix *-n* and those that do not. The use of *du* makes the use of *-n* ungrammatical. Since *-n* itself seems to be a kind of indicative mood marker, this restriction shows that the presence of *du* places restrictions on sentential mood.¹⁴⁾

- (34) a. *naoja=ja sinbun=du jum-u.*
 Naoya=TOP newspaper=DU read-PRS.
 b. *naoja=ja sinbun jum-u-n.*
 Naoya=TOP newspaper read-PRS-IND.
 c. **naoja=ja sinbun=du jum-u-n.*
 Naoya=TOP newspaper=DU read-PRS-IND
 Intended: ‘Naoya reads newspapers.’

We can understand this restriction by assuming that *du* makes requirements on the modal/mood properties of the clause containing it, and that the semantics of *-n* conflicts with these requirements. Shimoji (2011) describes a very similar pattern for the Irabu Miyakoan focus particle *du* and indicative mood marker *-m*, which are cognate with Miyaran *du* and *-n*.¹⁵⁾ Shimoji shows that *du* is incompatible with *-m*, and argues that it is the modal semantic properties of *-m* that make it incompatible with *du*, an incompatibility he labels *quasi-kakarimusubi*. Shimoji (2009) calls *-m* an epistemic modal,¹⁶⁾ and makes the following claims about its semantic properties:

1. It encodes speaker’s perceived certainty.
2. It encodes speaker’s judgment that the proposition has new information, or high information value to the hearer. (quoted from Shimoji 2009)

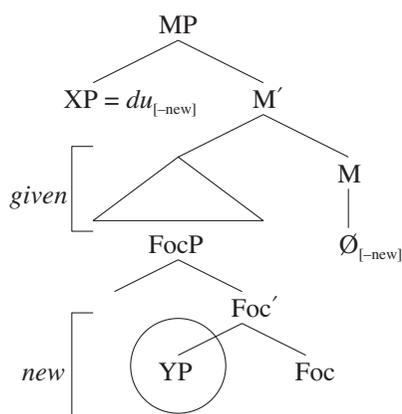
There is not space in this paper to go into a detailed discussion of the semantic properties of Miyaran *-n*, so I will merely say that it seems to bear the hearer-new information property described by Shimoji for Irabu *-m*.¹⁷⁾ Building on Shimoji’s suggestion, I argue that it is in particular the *second* of these two properties, the new-information value of the proposition marked with *-m/-n*, that can explain its incompatibility with *du*.

The question is *why* this semantic feature is incompatible with *du*. To answer this question, I rely on the common intuition that at least one of the roles of focus is to divide an utterance into “old” and “new” informational content. Given the analysis we are working with here, the material found outside of the focus domain (i.e. all of the material outside of FocP) would be interpreted as “given,” while (at least some of) the material within FocP is interpreted as “new.” If we were to put a [+new] element in M, we would end up requiring that the material outside of FocP was both given and new.

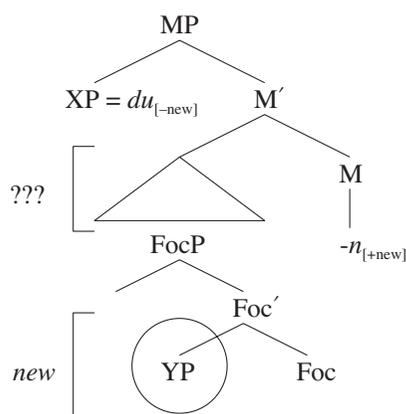
Formally, we can encode the new-information requirement of *-m/-n* as a [+new] feature on the corresponding M head. I would like to suggest that *du* has an incompatible

[–new] feature. In the normal course of events, this feature marks all material in the scope of *du* as given, *except* the material that occurs inside FocP.¹⁸⁾ The result is the expected division of the sentence into given and new information. For the purposes of this paper, I suggest that there is a null M head that is in complementary distribution with *-n*; this null head is compatible with (and maybe even requires) a [–new] semantic value, and is hence compatible with *du*, as shown in (35). The [+new] *-n*, however, is incompatible, as shown in (36). The incompatibility is due to the fact that *-n* and *du* make conflicting demands on the [+/-new] value of the material in their scope.¹⁹⁾

(35) Compatible



(36) Incompatible



Abstracting away from the details of implementation, the idea is that in addition to its focus domain, *du* has a clause-level semantic effect that determines the givenness domain of the utterance. The givenness semantics of sentences with *du* is incompatible with the new-information semantics of *-n*.

8. A final problem: Apparent violations of locality

The analysis in the last chapter was based on that of Sugahara (1996), and was motivated in part by data showing that the position of *du* seemed to obey islands restrictions, like *ga* in Okinawan. In addition to appearing at a distance from *wh*-phrases in relative clauses, we also find *du* occurring at the right edge of other islands, such as adjuncts and antecedents of conditionals, as illustrated by the following examples, in which islands are demarcated by square braces:

- (37) *kunu bunee-ja [faa-nu kumarite noo-ba foo-da-ra]=du*
 this mother-TOP [child-NOM sneakily what-BAeat-PST-if]=DU
kunzjokurirja?
 get.angry
 ‘What_i did this mother get angry [because (her) son ate *t_i*]_{island}?’

- (38) *itsu-n [jaa-ge taa ku-u bashu]-du in-ja nak-u?*
 when-also [house-LOC who come.PRS time]-DU dog-TOP cry.PRS
 ‘Who_i does the dog always cry [when *t_i* comes to the house]_{island}?’

These data are consistent with the analysis given in the last section, which predicts island sensitivity of the *du*-marked phrase. There are, however, examples that seem to violate this expectation. This is illustrated by the following examples, in which *du* appears on a wh-phrase and its constituent answer within a relative clause:²⁰⁾

- (39) a. *ajako=ja [taa=du maja=ge hii-da funin]=ba fai-eer-u?*
 Ayako=TOP who=DU Maya=LOC give-PST tangerine=BA eat-RES-PRS
 ‘Who_i did Ayako eat the tangerine that *x_i* gave Maya?’
 b. *ajako=ja [mina=n=du maja=ge hii-da funin]=ba fa-i.*
 Ayako=TOP Mina=NOM=DU Maya=LOC give-PST tangerine=BA eat-PST
 ‘Ayako ate the tangerine that Mina gave to Maya.’

There are two potential ways that such examples could be integrated into the analysis sketched in the last section. Although I do not yet have enough data to make any definite descriptive generalizations, it is interesting to note that the apparently island-violating use of *du* appears on the leftmost element of the island in the above examples. This might reflect some kind of “escape hatch,” whereby *du* can be attached to the leftmost constituent of an island.

The other possibility is that *du* in these examples does not in fact associate with the matrix clause MP at all, but instead to an island-internal one. Note that, in these cases, we have a clause appearing inside the island. If the island-internal clause has its own mood slot, then it is conceivable that *du* associates with the relative clause internal MP instead of the matrix MP. Further analysis of such examples will have to await the results of future fieldwork.

9. Conclusion and further questions

I have shown that there are non-trivial problems in linking the surface position of *du* to its focus domain. I suggested that these linking problems can be resolved by introducing an abstract focus head *Foc* that determines the focus domain; *du* appears as an operator in the specifier of *FocP* and attaches to the closest available material from within the focus domain. Movement of the *du*-marked phrase to the specifier of *MP* then imposes a [–new] requirement on the clausal material outside of the focus domain. This restriction blocks the [+new] indicative suffix *-n* from co-occurring with *du*.

There are a number of questions that this analysis raises. Foremost is the question of whether movement of the *du*-marked phrase to the specifier of *MP* is overt or covert. The data at this point are not completely clear, and I leave further discussion aside for now.

Another issue concerns the detailed morphosyntactic restrictions determining exactly *which* FocP-internal constituent *du* attaches to. The sentences discussed in this paper are almost all simple transitives without additional adverbial or adjunct material. Future work should investigate the behavior of *du* with a wider variety of verb types, as well as sentences with adverbial/adjunct material and sentences in which constituents have been scrambled.

Finally, the discussion in this paper is based solely on contexts involving only a *single* focus domain. There are, however, pragmatic contexts in which one might expect more than one focus domain to occur. What happens, for example in the case of multiple *wh*-questions and their responses? Is there a focus domain corresponding to each *wh*-phrase? Or is some other strategy used? I leave these issues to future research.

Notes

*This paper is based on work previously presented (in Japanese) in Davis (2013), but the contents are not identical; the present paper includes, in particular, additional theoretical speculation not found in Davis (2013); in addition, certain data points have been made clearer in the present paper, thanks in part to advice from Natsuko Nakagawa and Matt Shibatani. The data in this paper comes from fieldwork by the author with native speakers of Miyara, to whom I express my heartfelt gratitude. I have received a particularly large amount of help (and soba) from Arakaki Shigeo. This research was supported in part by City University of Hong Kong College Research Grant (9610227, ‘The interaction among clause types, discourse markers and intonation’, PI: Yurie Hara (City University of Hong Kong)), by a Grant in Aid for JSPS fellows, and by JSPS Grant in Aid for Research 24242014 (消滅危機言語としての琉球諸語・八丈語の文法記述に関する基礎的研究). Part of the data was collected as part of collaborative fieldwork with Yurie Hara. All errors are my own.

- 1) See Uemura (2003) and Shimoji (2010) for overviews in English of the Ryukyuan language group.
- 2) *shootenjoji*, 焦点助辞
- 3) Original text: “はたらきかける文以外の文にあらわれて、特定の文の部分を焦点化させる焦点化助辞である”
- 4) The examples use a phonological transcription. Glosses use the following abbreviations:

ACC	accusative	ATT	attributive	COP	copula
EVID	evidential	GEN	genitive	IND	indicative
INST	instrumental	LOC	locative	MED	medial form
NEG	negation	NOM	nominative	PRS	present tense
PST	past tense	RES	resultative	SFP	sentence final particle
STA	stative	TOP	topic marker	TRS	transitivizer
- 5) The examples in (2) feature a construction found in many other examples in this paper, in which the medial verb form appears in a desubordinated matrix position, and gets a past interpretation. An analogous use is described for Ōgami Miyakoan by Pellard (2012). More information about this use in Miyaran is provided in Davis and Lau (forthcoming). Note that the desubordinated medial form allows a sentence-final use of *du*, a point that will be important in the following discussion.
- 6) The particle *ba* appearing after the direct object in these and other examples is left unanalyzed in the gloss, where it is written BA. This particle itself seems to involve some sort of focus-related meaning, but its proper analysis is not yet clear.
- 7) Elicited on the basis of corresponding Japanese sentences.
- 8) As noted earlier, the post-verbal occurrence of *du* is possible only with the desubordinated medial converb construction, which is what is used in the examples above.
- 9) Shimoji also notes that a variant without *du* is judged as ill-formed.

- 10) See Aoyagi (2006) for a more detailed description and analysis of these facts in Japanese.
- 11) See Miyara (2000) for a more detailed description.
- 12) This construction and similar ones in Old Japanese and Sinhala are discussed in some detail by Hagstrom (1998), who provides a movement-based analysis differing in detail from that presented here, but with some similarities. Cable (2010) describes an analogous distributional pattern for the Tlingit Q particle *sá*. In Tlingit, we see overt movement of the entire phrase projected by *sá*, rather than verbal agreement.
- 13) Alternatively, we could say that the clitic moves *down* into the material in its scope, looking for a host. The difference here is somewhat theory-internal, and I leave it aside for now.
- 14) Ishigaki Yaeyaman, according to the description in Miyara (1995), exhibits the same restriction. This complementary distribution between *du* and *-n* is, according to the analysis of Miyara (1995), a kind of *kakarimusubi*, or particle-verb agreement.
- 15) Note that, in Ryukyuan varieties which allow for a distinctive bilabial coda nasal, the indicative morpheme is spelled out as *-m*.
- 16) In Shimoji (2011) it is called a realis mood marker.
- 17) See Izuyama (2002) for more discussion of Miyaran *-n*.
- 18) I leave a detailed account of the formal semantic mechanism driving this division aside for another occasion. Note that the XP to which *du* attaches ends up outside the [-new] domain, which consists of all the material below M and above FocP.
- 19) Note that we could instead use a [+/-given] feature in the above discussion, or indeed incompatible privative features [new] and [given]; the choice is theory-internal and seems immaterial to the discussion at hand.
- 20) These sentences were inspired by ones found in Hara (2006).

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琉球・八重山語宮良方言の焦点化辞「du」の 焦点範疇と文法的分布

クリストファー・デイビス

本論文では琉球諸語で広く使われる焦点化辞「du」の文法的分布と意味上の焦点範疇の関係を、八重山語宮良方言のデータに基づいて論じる。「du」は、文が表す情報を「新情報」と「旧情報」とに分け、新情報を担う構造部分に「焦点」を与えられる。しかし、その新情報となる部分をいかに表示するかはまだ不明である。八重山語宮良方言の資料から、「du」が付く要素自体が焦点範疇となる場合があるものの、「du」の統語上の位置と焦点範疇が一致しないこともあることを明らかにする。さらに、後者の状況を精査のうえ、「du」の統語上の位置と焦点範疇の関係についての一般化をまとめ、「du」の分布を説明する理論の構築を試みる。
