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Amami Nominalizations¹⁾

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1. Introduction

Displaying a wide variety of morphological patterns, the Ryukyuan Archipelago is a treasure trove for anyone working on the topics of nominalizations. Different types of nominalization morphology are also seen within smaller dialect areas on each island affording both large-scale and microscopic investigations into the pattern of development of the grammatical constructions that have been receiving focused attention in the field in recent years.²⁾ With a broader view on the Japanese and Ryukyuan nominalization patterns as a backdrop, this paper examines nominalizations of the Amami Ryukyuan dialects in Amami Ōshima, which have a morphological type not seen outside the island.

The form in question is *-N*, which appears in both adnominal modification-use and NP-use of nominalizations, as seen in the following examples from the Ura dialect in northern Amami Ōshima.³⁾

(1) Ura dialect⁴⁾

- a. [[ʔama=nzji taccju-**N**]_{NMLZ} [ʔkwakkwa]_N]_{NP} (Modification-use)
there=LOC stand-NMLZ child
'a child who is standing there'
- b. [[ʔama=nzji taccju-**N**]_{NMLZ}]_{NP=ga} wakja=nu=**N**
there=LOC stand-NMLZ=NOM we=NMLZ-NMLZ
ʔkwakkwa. (NP-use)
child
'The one standing there is our child.'

Concerning the northern Amami⁵⁾ nominalization, Uemura (1975:117) remarked that “to the best of my knowledge, it is only the Hachijō dialect and the northern Amami Ōshima dialects such as Naze in which the *rentaikei* adnominal form of a verb retains its function as a gerund” (our translation). Whereas the Hachijō adnominal verb form that Uemura refers to indeed corresponds to the adnominal ending of Old Eastern Japanese (Kaneda 2001), the Amami *-N* form is not as straightforward as such dialectal forms as the Izumo

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adnominals, which also have both modification- and NP-use (or a gerundive-use in Uemura's term).

(2) Izumo dialect (Shinjichō Kimachi)⁶⁾

- a. [asuko=ni tattjoo] ko=ga ötsi=no ko=da.
 there=LOC standing.NMLZ child=NOM house=NMLZ child=COP
 'The child who is standing there is our child.' (Modification-use)
- b. [asuko=ni tattjoo]=ga ötsi=no ko=da.
 there=LOC standing.NMLZ=NOM house=NMLZ child=COP
 'The one standing there is our child.' (NP-use)

While the nominalization form *tattjoo* 'standing' above (which is identical in form with the finite, conclusive form, as in the central Japanese dialects that have merged the adnominal and conclusive inflections into a single homophonous form) is a straightforward morpho-phonological development of the adnominal form *tati-yoru*, the Amami *-N* ending is less obvious. What we would like to show below is that the Amami nominalization *-N* ending is not a direct development of the adnominal *-ru* (of *uru* 'stay', see below) as Uemura's (1975) comment above suggests and as explicitly claimed by some others (see below). Instead, we argue for a connection between the *-N* ending and the so-called genitive particle below, which we propose to reanalyze as a nominalization marker (see below).

(3) Ura

- a. waN=nu hon
 I=NMLZ book
 'my book'
- b. an innga=nu ja
 that man=NMLZ house
 'that man's house'

2. Nominalization

Before going into the central issues of the paper, a brief introduction to the new theory of nominalization that we are advancing is in order. Nominalization as a process creates linguistic units/constructions that share an entity-denoting property with nouns. Unlike verbs and adjectives, which denote relational concepts describing properties ascribable to an entity, nominalizations, as products of the nominalization process, denote thing-like entities allowing them to refer to objects in the universe of discourse, such as things, people, and animals, which is an important function that nouns play. While the entity denotation is a property of nouns and nominalizations, reference is a property of noun phrases (NPs) headed by these elements. Verbs and adjectives do not contribute to this

referring function since they do not have entity-concepts associated with them. They must be first nominalized and acquire the entity-denoting property before they can head an NP.

A distinction must be made between lexical nominalizations and grammatical nominalizations. The former, e.g., Japanese *asobi* ‘playing, a play’, *okure* ‘a delay’, are nouns and are listed in the lexicon as such just like other nouns. Grammatical nominalizations to be dealt with in this paper are created for the nonce and are not nouns but are phrasal units, which we label as NMLZ (nominalization). As the following Japanese examples show, grammatical nominalizations have verbal syntax internally but largely nominal syntax externally such that they as a whole behave much like nouns.

- (4) a. [[Taro:=ga nessinni hon=o kaku]_{NMLZ=no}]_{NP=o} mita.
 Taro=NOM earnestly book=ACC wrote=NMLZ=ACC saw
 ‘(I) saw Taro write a book earnestly.’
- b. [Taro:=no nessinna hon=no [sippitu]_N]_{NP=ni} odorosite iru.
 Taro=NMLZ earnest book=NMLZ writing=at surprised be
 ‘(I) am surprised at Taro’s earnest writing of this book.’

The nominalization in (4a) displays verbal syntax internally containing an adverb and a direct object, while externally it behaves like a noun heading an NP and taking a case particle. Compare these properties with the noun head *sippitu* ‘writing’ in (4b), which is modified by an adjective and a nominalized NP as opposed to the adverb and the object counterparts found in the nominalization in (4a).

Essentially nominalization is a metonymic process, whereby a denotation is arrived at on the basis of its contiguity to or intimate association with the thing or the event a nominalization structure evokes. The nominalization in (4a), for example, evokes an event and those concepts closely associated with an event, such as the event itself, a fact characterized by the event, a proposition characterized by the content of the event, a time associated with the event, a place associated with the event, and so on. These are all possible denotations of the nominalization *Taroo=ga nessinni hon=o kaku (no)*. The cognitive mechanism of metonymy also evokes event participants as possible denotations, but many languages have a way to specify the type of event participant to be evoked. This is typically done by leaving out the relevant event participant from the event expression, i.e., by creating a gap in the nominalization structure, as in the case of subject and object nominalizations illustrated below. These are distinguished as argument nominalizations from event nominalizations of the type seen in (4a), where there is no argument gap in the nominalization structure.

- (5) a. Subject nominalization
 [∅ kono hon=o kaite iru]_{NMLZ=no=wa} ano otoko da.
 this book-ACC write be=NMLZ=TOP that man COP
 ‘The one who is writing this book is that man.’

b. Object nominalization

[ano otoko=*ga* Ø kaite iru]_{NMLZ=no=wa} kono hon da.
 that man=NOM write be=NMLZ=TOP this book COP
 ‘What that man is writing is this book.’

One of the most innovative aspects of our theory of nominalization is that we recognize a noun-based nominalization process. That nouns themselves submit to a noun-deriving process is not new (cf. citizen > citizenship, piano > pianist, bed > bed room). The N-based nominalization yields forms such as Japanese *Taroo=no* ‘Taro’s’, Chinese *wǒ=de* ‘my/mine’, and English *his* and *John’s*. These nominalizations denote entities closely associated with the referents of the base noun phrases, such as the book owned, the food made, and the shirts made from particular materials, etc., as in the following bold-faced examples:

- (6) a. Nà běn shì *tā=de* shū. Zhè shì **wǒ=de**. (Chinese)
 that CL is he=NMLZ book this is I=NMLZ
 ‘That is his book.’ ‘This is mine.’
- b. *Mary’s* pancakes taste better than **mine/John’s**. (English)
- c. Natu=*wa* **kinu=no** jori *momen=no* sjatu=*ga*
 summer=TOP silk=NMLZ than cotton=NMLZ shirt=NOM
 yoi. (Japanese)
 good
 Lit. ‘In the summer cotton shirts are better than silk’s (silk shirts).’

While the denotations of nouns (e.g., *apple*, *fish*) are generally uniform for classificatory purposes, the concepts denoted by grammatical nominalizations vary considerably. For example, Japanese *boku=no* (as in *Boku=no=o mite* ‘Look at mine’), like its English and Chinese equivalents *mine* and *wǒ=de*, can in principle denote any kind of entity, such as books, pancakes, shoes, etc. which can be metonymically related to the referent of the first person pronoun. It is because of this property of grammatical nominalizations (both N-based and V-based seen earlier) that they are typically used in a context that helps narrow down the range of denotations, as in the context provided in sentences (6).

Now, both N-based and V-based nominalizations have two major uses. One is a modification-use and the other NP-use. The two uses of V-based nominalizations are illustrated in (1) and (2) in the previous section. What is known as *rentai shūshoku* ‘adnominal modification’ or relative clauses is nothing but a modification-use of nominalizations—argument nominalizations here. The examples in (6) illustrate the two uses of N-based nominalizations—the italic forms are used as a modifier restricting the range of the denotation of the head noun, and the forms in the bold letters head an NP and play a referring function. These two uses of nominalizations are essentially what nouns in general are associated with.

- (7) a. [[inu]_N [koya]_N]_N (Modification-use)
 dog hut
 ‘dog house’
- b. [[inu]_N]_{NP=ga} hoete iru. (NP-use)
 dog=NOM bark be
 ‘A dog is barking.’

Our analysis of N-based nominalizations, on the one hand, obviates the notion of genitive case or possessive adjectives/pronouns. In particular, there is nothing like a genitive particle in Japanese and Ryukyuan apart from the nominalization markers *ga* and *no* (or *nu* in Ryukyuan). So-called possessive pronouns such as *mine*, *yours*, and *his* are simply N-based nominalizations of pronouns in an NP-use, whose modification-use calls for forms such as *my*, *your*, and *his*—so-called possessive adjectives. Our analysis explains the formal resemblances between N-based and V-based nominalizations seen across a large number of languages, e.g., the particle *no* in Japanese and *de* in Chinese. As suggested in the Introduction, it is this connection between N-based and V-based nominalizations that we would like to pursue in explaining the development of the *-N* nominalization ending in Amami Ryukyuan.

3. Amami nominalizations

Besides the *-N* ending introduced in the previous section, Amami Ryukyuan dialects show two additional nominalization forms. They are marked *si* and *mun* as seen in the following examples from a southern village of Sokaru.

- (8) Sokaru
- a. an ingga=ga ko:ju-**si**=ja, kun kuruma do.
 that man=NOM buy-NMLZ=TOP this car SFP
 ‘What that man buys is this car.’
- b. an ingga=ga ko:ju-**N=mun**=na kun kuruma do:.
 that man=NOM buy-NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP this car SFP
 ‘What that man buys is this car.’

The nominalization suffix *si* is obviously related to the pan-Ryukyuan nominalization maker /si/, which is wide-spread across both Northern and Southern Ryukyuan languages, though the vitality of the dialect forms varies from one dialect to another (see below). An interesting fact about this suffix is that it is not seen in the dialects of northern Amami Ōshima. It is not clear whether this suffix died out in northern Amami or whether it never existed. It is not clear either whether the absence of this suffix is in any way connected to the less developed status of the *mun* form in northern Amami, where the use of *-N* prevails. If *mun* developed as a replacement for *si*, then the status of these two forms in

Table 1: Distribution of *-N*, *si* and *mun* in Amami Ōshima V-based nominalizations

	in modification-use	in NP-use
North	-N Ura, Kasari	-N, -*si, %mun ⁷⁾ Ura, Kasari
Border area	-N Yuwan,	-*N, -si, *mun Yuwan
South	-N Kuji, Adetsu Katsuura Sekko, Sokaru	-(*N), -si, (-*N ⁸⁾ mun; -*N, -si, (-N) mun Kuji, Adetsu Katsuura, Sokaru Sekko

northern Amami would likely be connected. The overall distribution pattern of the three markers for V-based nominalizations is seen in the above table, where the *-N* form prevails in the north, while the southern part of the island favors the *mun* form for nominalizations in NP-use.

Being located on the north-south dialect division line that runs from Uken Village on the west to the area around Sumiyōchō on the east (see Sibata 1984 and the map in the Appendix), the Yuwan dialect shows similarity to northern dialects in lacking the *mun* form and to southern dialects in disfavoring *-N* and in sharing the *si* form. However, *si* in the southern dialects is not as robust as in Yuwan and appears more restricted in its usage than *mun* (see Section 7). Kuji, located south-west of Yuwan further away from the dialect division line, exhibits all three forms for NP-use, though the use of *-N* in this environment seems sporadic and appears hardly as consistent as in the north. Adetsu and other southern dialects do not permit *-N* forms like Kuji form (9a).

(9) Kuji

- a. mīci=nanti ʔasudu-**N**=na wa: kwa: do.
street=LOC play-NMLZ=TOP my child SFP
‘The one playing in the street is my child.’
- b. mīci=nanti ʔasudu-**ssa** wa: kwa do.
street-LOC play=NMLZ.TOP my child SFP
‘The one playing in the street is my child.’
- c. mīci=nanti ʔasudu=**mun**=na wa: kwa do:.
street=LOC play=NMLZ=TOP my child SFP
‘The one playing in the street is my child.’

Notice that, of the three nominalization markers, *-N* also occurs in a modification-use throughout Amami. In the south *-N* cannot occur in the context of the NP-use, where the

combination of *-N* and *mun*, or occasionally *si*, is seen. Compare the following with the Sokaru forms in (8) and the northern Ura forms in (1) above—in Ura (10b) would be grammatical.

(10) Sokaru

- a. Wan=ga ko:ju-**N** ja=ja, kuru do:.
 I=NOM buy-NMLZ house=TOP this SFP
 ‘The house that I buy is this.’
- b. *an ingga=ga ko:ju-**N**=ja, kun kuruma do.
 that man=NOM buy-NMLZ=TOP this car SFP
 ‘What that man buys is this car.’

The combination of *-N* and *mun* and the dropping of *-N* from this combination deserve special attention. For one thing, the dropping of *-N* before *mun* indicates that the latter has been fully grammaticalized and is distinct from the noun *mun(u)* (corresponding to Japanese *mono* ‘thing’), from which it apparently arose; *-N* does not drop in the true modification pattern headed by a noun. Compare (a) and (b) forms below from the Adetsu dialect:

(11) Adetsu

- a. Ja:=nan ?u:-**N** can denwa sja:. (*?u: can)
 house=LOC exist-NMLZ father telephone did
 ‘Father, who is at home, made a phone call.’
- b. Ja:= nan ?u:=**mun**=na wa: can do:.⁹⁾
 house=LOC exist=NMLZ=TOP my father SFP
 ‘The one at home is my father.’

Also, the dropping of a nominalization marker in doubly marked forms, as in the development of *-N=mun > mun* in Adetsu and other southern dialects, is a phenomenon to be kept in mind when we consider the development of *-N* itself; namely the reduction of doubly marked forms by losing an older form seems to be a common-place event.

Neither *si* nor *mun* occurs in the modification environment. The overall distribution pattern of *-N*, *si*, and *mun* in structure and in geographic terms suggests that *si*, which seems to have never developed in northern Amami, is disappearing in the south, while it is still robust in the border area dialects, especially the Yuwan dialect. The *mun* form, which is less frequently seen in the north, is replacing *-N* as a nominalization marker for V-based nominalizations in NP-use. It is likely that the *-N* seen in the modification environment throughout the island is the oldest form,¹⁰⁾ with *mun* being the newest. To see this, we must turn to the development of the *-N* form.

4. Development of *-N*

This section first reviews earlier views on the development of the Amami *-N* ending and then moves on to discuss our analysis based on our observations on the development of the nominalization particles in the central and peripheral dialects of Japanese.

4.1 Hirayama (1966) and Matsumoto (1982/2001)

Both Hirayama (1966) and Matsumoto (1982/2001) believe that the adnominal *-N* (the V-based nominalization form in a modification-use) has developed from the adnominal *-ru* ending of the auxiliary verb *-uru* ‘stay/exist’. In reference to the adnominal *-N* in northern Okinawan dialects, Hirayama (1966:260ff) tells us the following (our translation):

“[in the northern Okinawan dialects] the adnominal ending shows three different forms of *-ru*, *-nu*, *-N*.”

“Since the adnominal ending is a fusion of ‘*renyōkei/adverbal+uru*’, its ending is *-ru* in its original form.”

“*-nu* of the dialects of Nago, Iheya, and Onna, and *-N* of the Sakimotobu dialect have all changed from *-ru*. As a matter of fact, the Hentona dialect uses *-ru* and *-N* in parallel.”

Matsumoto (2001) tells us a similar story regarding the adnominal forms in the dialects of the Amami archipelago at large:

“adnominal verbal forms in Amami dialects are *numjuru* (Yoron), corresponding to [Japanese] *nomi-woru* [“drink-STAY”], or more frequently its changed form *numjuN* ([Amami] Ōshima, Tokunoshima).” (347)

“[Also existing is a form] like *numjunu*, as seen in the Okinoerabujima dialect, which has developed from *-ru*,”(346)

There are several problems with these accounts on the development of the adnominal *-N* ending in Northern Ryukyuan languages. First of all, it is not entirely clear what kind of change these authors have in mind when they say that the adnominal ending *-ru* (of the auxiliary *uru*) turned into *-nu* or *-N*. Is it a phonological change? If so, it must be shown that it is a possible phonological change generally attested in Northern Ryukyuan languages. If the change in question is morphological in nature, is it a direct replacement of *-ru* by *-nu* or *-N*, or did it involve a morphological replacement of *-ru* by *-nu* and then a phonological change of *-nu* to *-N*? A major challenge that the hypothesis of a morphological change faces is determining the identity of the replacing morpheme *-nu* and explaining why *-nu* is chosen rather than any other morpheme. Above all, the Hirayama-Matsumoto hypothesis lacks a detailed description of how the relevant change has taken place.

Both phonological and morphological hypotheses entertained above must deal with the fact that the change in adnominal ending *-ru* may take place in the modification environment independently from its finite use under the *kakarimusubi* phenomenon brought about by the focusing particle *du* (or its variant *ru* in some dialects). For example, in northern Okinawan dialects the adnominal form in the modification environment has the *-nu* ending, while the *kakarimusubi* finite form remains unchanged and ends in *-ru*. Observe this pattern in the following examples from the Nakijin Jana dialect and compare it with the pattern seen in Agena further south on Okinawan Island.

(12) Jana¹¹⁾

- a. nagari:**-nu** midzi
 flow-NMLZ water
 ‘flowing water’
- b. midzi=nu=du nagari:**-ru**.
 water=NMLZ=FOC flow-NMLZ
 ‘The **water** flows.’

(13) Agena

- a. nage:ri:**-ru** midzi
 flow-NMLZ water
 ‘flowing water’
- b. midzi=nu=du nage:ri:**-ru**.
 water=NMLZ=FOC flow-NMLZ
 ‘The **water** flows.’

Our point above is that a plausible account of the *-ru* > *-nu/-N* change must be consistent with facts like the above; i.e., why has the change taken place only in particular uses of nominalizations?

The final point we wish to make regarding the previous studies on Ryukyuan nominalizations, including much more recent studies such as Shinzato (2011), is that they fail to make a connection between verbal-based nominalizations (so-called *dōmeishi* (gerunds)) and noun-based nominalizations, even though there are obvious formal resemblances between the two. Below we advance a hypothesis that the change in question is a morphological change of a particular kind that is motivated by the usage patterns of nominalizations and that takes place in both V-based and N-based nominalizations. Our analysis of the Amami nominalization forms is highly similar to what we would offer for the development of nominalizations in various dialects of Japanese, including the central dialects of Kyoto and Tokyo. We shall, therefore, first look at the pattern of development of the Japanese nominalizations briefly.

4.2 Patterns of development of Japanese nominalizations

Old Japanese had two different nominalization forms for N-based and V-based nomi-

nalizations. Since Japanese nouns do not inflect, particles marked N-based nominalizations. The particles in question were *no* and *ga* in Classical Japanese,¹²⁾ as in the following examples.

- (14) a. kono uta ... Kakinomoto Hitomaro=**ga** nari. (*Kokinshū*)
 this poem Kakinomoto Hitomaro=NMLZ COP
 ‘This song...is Kakinomoto Hitomaro’s.’
 b. Kara=**no**=mo Yamato=**no**=mo kaki.kegasi (*Genji Monogatari*)
 China=NMLZ=also Japan=NMLZ=also write.away
 ‘writing away China’s (Chinese poems) and Japan’s (Japanese poems)’

In addition to the NP-use seen above, these N-based nominalizations also had a modification-use, e.g., *Kakinomoto Hitomaro=ga uta* ‘Kakinomoto Hitomaro’s poems’ and *Yamato=no uta* ‘Japanese poems’.

Verbal-based nominalizations in Classical Japanese had the form similar to a conclusive finite form for many verbs, but those belonging to the *upper bigrade* (*kami-nidan*) and the *lower bigrade* (*shimo-nidan*) conjugation classes, as well as irregular verbs, showed a clear formal difference in inflection. Adjectives and most auxiliary verbs also showed a formal difference in the two functions. For example, the verb ‘fall’ from the *upper bigrade* class and ‘flow’ from the *lower bigrade* class, had the conclusive forms as *otu* and *nagaru*, respectively, while their nominalized (so-called *rentaikei*/adnominal) forms were *ot-uru* and *nagaru-ru*.¹³⁾ These V-based nominalizations also had both NP- and modification-use. E.g.,

- (15) a. Mizu nagaru. (Conclusive form)
 water flow
 ‘Water flows.’
 b. Mizu=no nagaru-**ru**=o miru. (NP-use)
 water=NMLZ flow-NMLZN=ACC see
 ‘(I) see the flowing of water.’
 c. nagaru-**ru** mizu (Modification-use)
 flow-NMLZ water
 ‘flowing water’

The central dialects of Japanese started marking the V-based nominalization in NP-use beginning the late 16th century, turning forms such as (15b) to something like (16), where *-ru* is a true nominalizer and *-no* is a marker for the NP-use of nominalization.¹⁴⁾

- (16) Mizu=no nagaru-**ru**=**no**=o miru.
 water=NMLZ flow-NMLZ=NMLZ=ACC see
 ‘(I) see the flowing of water.’

This is how the so-called *juntai-joshi* ‘nominalization particle’ developed in the central dialects of Japanese. The rise of the nominalization particle is likely motivated by a desire to mark the NP-use, hence the referential use, of nominalizations, formally differentiating the forms for NP-use from those for modification-use. The fact that the nominalization particles are typically *no* (as in the central dialects), *ga* (as in Kanazawa, Toyama, and Niigata as well as in Kōchi), and their combinations (see below) indicates that these are recruited from the particles for N-based nominalizations, so-called genitive case particles, seen in (14).

One other fact concerning Japanese dialects worth taking notice of is compounding of nominalization markers seen in certain dialects. For example, N-based nominalizations in an NP-use are differentiated from those in the modification environment by compounding particles. Compare (17a.i) and (17b.i/ii) in the following expressions from Niigata Prefecture.

(17) Tōkamachi, Matsunoyama district

a. Modification-use of N-based nominalization

- (i) Taro:=**N** kasa
 Taro=NMLZ umbrella
- (ii) Taro:=**no** kasa
 Taro=NMLZ umbrella
 ‘Taro’s umbrella’

b. NP-use of N-based nominalization

- (i) Taro:=**ga**=wa ano kasa da.
 Taro=NMLZ=TOP that umbrella COP
- (ii) Taro:=**N**=wa ano kasa da.
 Taro=NMLZ=TOP that umbrella COP
- (iii) Taro:=**no**=wa ano kasa da.
 Taro=NMLZ=TOP that umbrella COP
- (iv) Taro:=**N=no**=wa ano kasa da.
 Taro=NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP that umbrella COP
- (v) Taro:(=**N**)=**ga-N**=na ano kasa da.¹⁵⁾
 Taro=NMLZ=NMLZ-NMLZ=TOP that umbrella COP
 ‘Taro’s is that umbrella.’

By compounding nominalization particles as in (17b.iv–v), formal differentiation is achieved for differences in function. V-based nominalizations show the parallel formal differentiation between their modification-use and NP-use forms, as below:

(18) Tōkamachi, Matsunoyama district

a. Modification-use of V-based nominalization

jomu sinbun
 read.NMLZ newspaper
 ‘newspaper to read’

b. NP-use of V-based nominalization

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------------------------|------|-----|
| (i) | sinbun | jomu= ga =wa | ee | na. |
| | newspaper | read.NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP | good | SFP |
| (ii) | sinbun | jomu= no =wa | ee | na. |
| | newspaper | read.NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP | good | SFP |
| (iii) | sinbun | jomu= ga-N =na | ee | na. |
| | newspaper | read.NMLZ=NMLZ-NMLZ=TOP | good | SFP |
- ‘Reading a newspaper is good.’

4.3 Closer look at northern Amami nominalizations

A closer look at the nominalizations in northern Amami Ōshima reveals much more complicated patterns than what is indicated in Table 1 above. Indeed, they show compound marking patterns similar to the Matsunoyama patterns. Let us first look at the pronouns. Amami Ryukyuan basically has a two-person system, with a third-person form being recruited from the demonstrative *an* ‘that’, most likely a derivative of *anu* (Japanese *ano* ‘that’). Since the plural forms of the first and second person pronouns are much more regular than the singular counterparts, we will look at the first person plural forms first.

(19) Ura

a. Modification-use

‘our house’

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------|
| (i) | wakja | ja |
| | our | house |
| (ii) | wakja=N | ja |
| (iii) | wakja=N=nu | ja |
| (iv) | wakja=N=nu=N | ja |
| (v) | wakja=nu | ja |
| (vi) | wakja=nu=N | ja |

b. NP-use

‘That house is ours.’

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|--------------|------|
| (i) | *An ja=ja | wakja | do:. |
| | that house=TOP | our | SFP |
| (ii) | An ja=ja | wakja=N | do:. |
| (iii) | An ja=ja | wakja=N=nu | do:. |
| (iv) | An ja=ja | wakja=N=nu=N | do:. |
| (v) | An ja=ja | wakja=nu | do:. |
| (vi) | An ja=ja | wakja=nu=N | do:. |

With non-pronominal nouns, the short form =N is generally unavailable, though some speakers may accept this marking; instead =nu is used, as in (20.iv) and (20.v) below.

(20) **a. Modification-use**

‘that man’s car’

- | | | | |
|------|-------|---------|--------|
| (i) | *an | ingga | kuruma |
| | that | man | car |
| (ii) | (*)an | ingga=N | kuruma |

b. NP-use

‘This car is that man’s.’

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------|-----------|------|---------|------|
| (i) | *Kun | kuruma=ja | an | ingga | do:. |
| | this | car=TOP | that | man | SFP |
| (ii) | (*)Kun | kuruma=ja | an | ingga=N | do:. |

- (iii) (*)an ingga=N=nu kuruma (iii) (*)Kun kuruma=ja an ingga=N=nu do:.
 (iv) an ingga=nu kuruma (iv) Kun kuruma=ja an ingga=nu do:.
 (v) an ingga=nu=N kuruma (v) Kun kuruma=ja an ingga=nu=N do:.

The form *an ingga=N kuruma* ‘that man’s car’ in (20a.ii) was rejected by the Kasari Uttabaru female speaker, while it was accepted by the Kasari Tekebu male speaker we consulted. The =N marker is apparently felt less polite than the longer version =nu and is generally avoided in Ura as well. Now, these patterns of nominalization markers for N-based nominalization have been extended to the NP-use of V-based nominalizations. Both =nu alone and the compound form of =nu=N are permitted, as seen below.

(21) Ura

a. **Modification-use**

?ama=zji taccju-N ?kwakkwa
 there=LOC standing-NMLZ child
 ‘a child who is standing there’

b. **NP-use**

(i) ?ama=zji taccju-N=ga wakja=nu=N ?kwakkwa.
 there=LOC standing-NMLZ=NOM our=NMLZ=NMLZ child

(ii) ?ama=zji taccju-N=**nu**=ga wakja=nu=N
 thereLOC standing-NMLZ=NMLZ=NOM our=NMLZ=NMLZ
 ?kwakkwa.
 child

(iii) ?ama=zji taccju-N=**nu**=N=ga
 there=LOC standing-NMLZ=NMLZ=NMLZ=NOM
 wakja=nu=N ?kwakkwa.
 our=NMLZ=NMLZ child
 ‘The one standing there is our child.’

(22) Ura

a. **Modification-use**

sawa=nu u:=nanti ?a-ta=N ?kwasi
 plate=NMLZN top=LOC exist-PAST=NMLZ candies
 ‘candies that were on the plate’

b. **NP-use**

(i) Sawa=nu u:=nanti ?a-ta=N=ba toti kada.
 plate=NMLZ top=LOC exist-PAST=NMLZ=EMPH.ACC take ate

(ii) Sawa=nu u:=nanti ?a-ta=N=**nu**=ba toti kada.

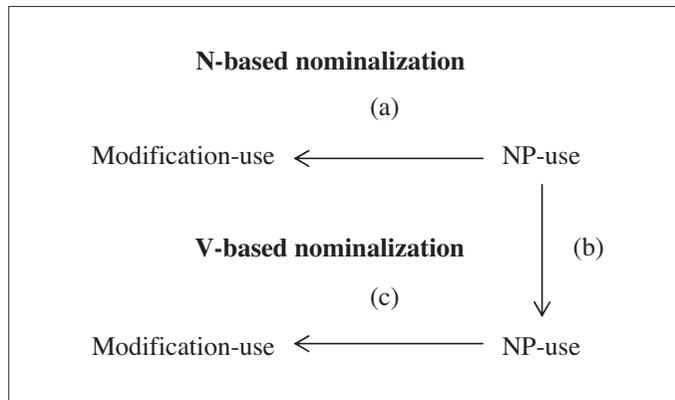
(iii) Sawa=nu u:=nanti ?a-ta=N=**nu**=N=ba toti kada.
 ‘(I) took and ate what was on the plate.’

The =*nu* marking and the compound form =*nu*=*N*, however, have not extended to V-based nominalizations in the modification environment, and the following are ungrammatical.

- (23) a. *ʔama=zji taccju-N=**nu** ʔkwakkwa (cf. (21a))
 there=LOC standing-NMLZ=NMLZ child
 b. *ʔama=zji taccju-N=**nu**=N ʔkwakkwa
 there=LOC standing-NMLZ=NMLZ child
 ‘a child who is standing there’

Compare these ungrammatical V-based forms with the well-formed N-based forms in (19), where the equivalent of (23a) and (23b) are grammatical (see (19a.iii) and (19a.iv)). The explanation we wish to offer for this difference is based on our hypothesis comprised of the following two components: (i) the marking pattern of nominalizations spreads from the NP-use to the modification-use and (ii) from N-based to V-based nominalizations. The hypothesis can be diagrammatically represented as in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Directions of spread of nominalization markers



Our hypothesis does not require that the spread from the NP-use to the modification-use (a) precedes that from N-based to V-based nominalizations (b). That is, (b) may take place without a prior spread from the NP-use to the modification-use of N-based nominalizations (a). We shall first look at the first component of our hypothesis focusing on the N-based nominalizations; that is, (a) process in the above diagram.

Looking back at the first person plural forms in (19), it is clear that pronouns do not require any nominalization marker when they modify a noun (see (19a.i)). We take this to mean that the pronoun *wakja* ‘we’, for example, functions both as a pronoun ‘we’ and a nominalized form ‘our(s)’, though there is no formal difference between the two. However, the pronouns by themselves cannot head an NP, as shown by ungrammatical form (19b.i). They require a special marker in the NP context. Somewhat similar are Mandarin

Chinese expressions such as *wǒ (=de) tàitai* ‘my wife’ and *wǒ=de* ‘mine’, where the pronoun in the modification environment can function as a nominalization by itself and can modify a noun, while the nominalization particle *=de* is obligatory in an NP-function.

The marker *=N* found in (19b.ii) marks the referential function of the nominalization *wakja* in the NP expression. Considering the fact that the Old Japanese forms for this function were *no* and *ga* and the observations that *=nu* is used in the compound form and that *=nu* easily turns into *=N* (see below), we assume that the earlier form of *=N* was *=nu*.¹⁶ We are assuming two different *=nu* here, the earlier *=nu* and the later *=nu*. The earlier *=nu* is a cognate of so-called Old Japanese genitive particle *no* (a nominalization marker for N-based nominalizations in our understanding). The change from *=nu* to *=N* discussed here involved this earlier *=nu*. The *=nu* marker found in (19iii–vi) is assumed to be the later *=nu*, recruited from the N-based nominalizations such as *sjensjei=nu kaban* ‘the teacher’s bag’ and *sjensjei=nu=ja kuri doo* ‘The teacher’s is this’. Now, our claim is that an earlier marking pattern for Amami was as in (24a.i) and (24b.i) below.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(24) a. Modification-use
 ‘our house’
 (i) wakja ja
 our house
 (ii) wakja=N ja</p> | <p>b. NP-use
 ‘That house is ours.’
 (i) An ja=ja wakja=N(< nu) do:.
 that house=TOP our=NMLZ SFP</p> |
|---|---|

The marker *=N* then migrated to the modification environment, as in (24a.ii) (= (19a.ii)). At this stage, where we see forms (24a.ii) and (24b.i), formal identity between the two uses of the nominalized pronominal form is achieved in the form of *wakja=N*. The spread of the marker from the NP-use to the modification-use, as hypothesized here, is likely motivated by the desire for maintaining the same form for the same structure. The one-form for one-structure pattern, however, comes at the cost of losing a formal distinction between different functions that the structure in question may play. In our case, the nominalization form in (24b.i) plays a referential function, while the same form in (24a.ii) plays a modification function, restricting the range of the denotation of the head noun. Marking the former by *=nu* restores a formal difference in the nominalizations playing these two different functions, as in (25a.ii) and (25b.ii) below.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(25) a. Modification-use
 ‘our house’
 (i) wakja ja
 we.NMLZ house
 (ii) wakja=N ja</p> | <p>b. NP-use
 ‘That house is ours.’
 (i) An ja=ja wakja=N(< nu) do:.
 that house=TOP we.NMLZ.NMLZ SFP
 (ii) An ja=ja wakja=N=nu do:.</p> |
|---|---|

Our claim, then, is that the overall pattern we see in (19) is the cumulative result of the repeated assimilation and dissimilation of the nominalization form in two different func-

tions. A new form is created in the NP-use, where a nominalization plays a referential function, and it spreads to a modification environment. Thus, the pattern of change is from (19b.ii) to (19a.ii), and from (19b.iii) to (19a.iii), and so on. Strong evidence for our claim comes from the pattern of development of the singular forms of the first person pronoun. The contemporary marking patterns of the first person singular pronoun in northern Amami are as follows.

(26) Ura

a. Modification-use

‘my house’

- (i) *wa ja
my house
- (ii) waN ja
- (iii) waN=nu ja
- (iv) waN-nu=N ja

b. NP-use

‘That house is mine.’

- (i) *An ja=ja wa do:.
that house=TOP my SFP
- (ii) (*)An ja=ja waN (<wa=nu) do:.
- (iii) An ja=ja waN=nu do:.
- (iv) An ja=ja waN=nu=N do:.

The reason that the nasal *N* is not separated in *waN* in the above is that it has been reanalyzed as part of the first person singular pronoun. Thus, *waN* now occurs in the topic and subject functions, as in (27a) below. With regard to the *wa* form, its status is less clear. *Wa* may be used similarly as *waN* in the topic and subject functions, perhaps more frequently in Kasari than in Ura and by older speakers than younger speakers in Ura, but forms like (26a.i) and (26b.i) are invariably rejected.

(27) a. WaN=ga ikjuri.

I=NOM go
‘I go.’

- b. Wa=ja kuruma koju=N do.
I=TOP car buy=NMLZ SFP
Lit. ‘I am car buying/I will buy a car.’

There is no doubt that *waN* derives from the combination of the first person pronominal form *wa* (cf. Old Japanese *wala* ‘I’) and the nominalization marker =*N* (< *nu*). Also the *wa* form is seen in the plural form *wa-kja* ‘we’ seen above (cf. *ja* ‘you.SG’ and *ja-kja* ‘you-PL’). Judging from (19a.i), the pronoun was able to function both as a pronoun and as a nominalized version by itself.¹⁷⁾ In other words, it is likely that (26a.i) was an earlier modification pattern for the first person pronoun. Then, the NP-pattern (26b.ii) developed as a way of showing a formal contrast between the form in a modification-function and that in an NP-function. At this stage, -*N* (or its earlier form =*nu*) was a nominalization marker. There are speakers in Kasari Town who accept a form like (26b.ii). Apparently, such speakers are (still) analyzing the *N* ending in such a form as a nominalization marker. Subsequently this form spread to a modification environment, deriving a form

like (26a.ii). The *wa=N* form eventually got reanalyzed as a unit prompting the rise of the form *waN=nu* as in (26b.iii), which subsequently spread to the modification environment, as in (26a.iii). The cycle was repeated again, this time involving the marker =*N*, reaching the most recent and complex pattern seen in (26a.iv) and (26b.iv).

The first person singular pronominal patterns may be contrasted with the second person pronominal patterns below, where *ja* ‘you’ functions as a nominalization by itself in a modification-use.

(28) **a. Modification-use**

‘your car’

- (i) *ja kuruma*
your car
- (ii) *ja=N kuruma*
- (iii) *ja=N=nu kuruma*
- (iv) *ja=N=nu=N kuruma*
- (v) *ja=nu kuruma*
- (vi) *ja=nu=N kuruma*

b. NP-use

‘Is that car yours?’

- (i) **An kuruma=ja ja na?*
that car=TOP your Q
- (ii) *An kuruma=ja ja=N na?*
- (iii) *An kuruma=ja ja=N=nu na?*
- (iv) *An kuruma=ja ja=N=nu=N na?*
- (v) *An kuruma=ja ja=nu na?*
- (vi) *An kuruma=ja ja=nu=N na?*

The above patterns are identical with those displayed by the first person plural forms we saw in (19). The two patterns, however, are potentially different for some speakers. That is, Kasari speakers appear to have reanalyzed *ja=N* as *jaN*, as with the first person *waN* form, for they allow both sentences below, where *jaN* functions as a unit.

(29) a. *Ja-ja gakusei na?*

you=TOP student Q
‘Are you a student?’

b. *JaN=ja gakusei na?*

you=TOP student Q
‘Are you a student?’

Ura speakers reject (29b), indicating that they have not reanalyzed *ja=N* as a unit. Even for Kasari speakers, the reanalysis is not as complete as *waN* ‘I/my’ since they allow forms like *ja kuruma* ‘your car’, as in (28a.i), while they reject such forms as **wa kuruma* for ‘my car’, which calls for *waN kuruma*. Thus, the second person singular forms *ja* and *jaN* show similarity both to the first person singular forms, where *waN* functions as a unit and to the first person plural forms, where *wakja=N* is clearly analytic. The second person plural form *jakja=N* ‘you.PL=NMLZ’ is similarly analytic.

Among the pronominal forms, the first person singular form *waN* has a phonological variant, *wa:*, whose usage patterns are not entirely consistent around Ura and Kasari. Unlike *waN*, *wa:* is difficult to use as a modifier—*waN ja* ‘my house’ vs. *?*wa:* *ja* ‘my house’. Yet, *wa:*, like *waN*, can function as a subject. It is however, difficult to use it as a

topic, as shown by the contrast between these two uses below.

- (30) Ura
- a. waN/wa:=ga ikjuri.
 I/I=NOM go
 ‘I will go.’
- b. waN/*wa:=ja gakusei do:.
 I/I=TOP student SFP
 ‘I am a student.’

In the Yuwan dialect at the dialect division line, the use of *waN* and *wa:* appears to be more systematically developed with the former being used in an argument position and the latter strictly as a modifier.

The spread of a nominalization marker from an NP-head environment to a modification environment depicted above is not an isolated event in Ryukyuan languages. An extremely interesting and instructive pattern of spread is seen in the Uyama dialect of Ginowan City on Okinawa Island, where *wa:* ‘I’ and *ja:* ‘you.SG’ occur in both NP-use and modification-use, as in (31a) and (31b). This is the expected pattern. What is interesting is that the *mun* forms used in an NP-use have migrated to a modification environment yielding forms (31a.iii) and (31a.iv).

- (31) Uyama (Ginowan City, Okinawa Island)¹⁸⁾
- | a. Modification-use | b. NP-use |
|--|---|
| (i) wa: kutsu
my shoes
‘my shoes’ | (i) Wa:=mun do.
my=NMLZ SFP
‘It’s mine.’ |
| (ii) ja: kutsu
yourshoes
‘your shoes’ | (ii) Ja:=mun do.
your=NMLZ SFP
‘It’s yours.’ |
| (iii) wa:= mun kutsu
my=NMLZ shoes
‘my shoes’ | |
| (iv) ja:= mun kutsu
your=NMLZ shoes
‘your shoes’ | |
| (v) sinsi:=nu kutsu
teacher=NMLZ shoes
‘teacher’s shoes’ | (v) Sinsi:=nu=mun do.
teacher=NMLZ=NMLZ SFP
‘It’s teacher’s.’ |

It is likely that the new patterns in (31a.iii) and (31a.iv) have developed in response to the pattern in (v), where a clear nominalization marker is seen in both NP- and modifica-

tion-use of a non-pronominal noun under nominalization. The fact that both *wa:* and *ja:* also occur in subject and object functions may have contributed to the development of their new modification forms. But the spread of *mun* to a modification environment has happened only with the first and second person singular forms, presumably the most frequently used pronouns.

Now turning to V-based nominalizations, our hypothesis has it that their marking patterns result from an extension of the marking patterns of N-based nominalizations. In other words, we are claiming that the *-N* ending found in the V-based nominalizations below comes from the *=N* marking for N-based nominalizations studied above.

(32) Ura

- a. [waN=nu jumu-N] sinbun
 I=NMLZ read-NMLN newspaper
 ‘newspaper which I read’
- b. [WaN=nu jumu-N]=ja Asahi Shinbun do:
 I=NMLZ read.NMLZ=TOP Asahi Newspaper SFP
 ‘What I read is the Asahi Newspaper.’

(32a) shows a V-based nominalization in a modification-function and (32b) shows use as the head of an NP, i.e., in NP-use. As with N-based nominalizations, the *-N* ending above is likely to have been *-nu*, whose adnominal usage is widely seen among northern Okinawan dialects and elsewhere, e.g., Taketomi Island and Iriomote in Yaeyama. As generally believed, the original nominalization ending in Ryukyuan was *-ru* of the auxiliary verb *uru* ‘stay’, which attached to the *renyōkei* adverbial form of a verb in forming a precursor of V-based nominalizations. The question remains whether *-ru* was replaced by *-nu* directly or there was a stage when a *-ru-nu* sequence obtained first and then *-ru* dropped out. The plausibility of the latter scenario is seen among some Yaeyama languages in the south of the Ryukyuan archipelago. For example, Nohara (1988) records forms such as the following.

(33) Taketomijima (Nohara 1988:607)

- a. kbasuta-ru=no: taruri=ja.
 broke=NMLZ=NMLZ.TOP who=Q
 ‘Who is the one who broke?’ (no: < nu=ja)
- b. ja:na bu-ru-no: tarutaruri=ja.
 house.LOC exist-NMLZ.NMLZ.TOP who.who=Q
 ‘Who are the ones at home?’

The form *no:* above is a contraction form of *nu=ja* ‘NMLZ=TOP’. These forms were not attested by the first author of this paper during his fieldwork in Taketomijima or Ishigakijima, where many Taketomi speakers reside. The *-ru=nu* sequence has been either

reduced to *-nu* or replaced by what we claim to be a newer nominalization marker *munu*, whose Taketomi pronunciation is [ũnu] (see below). In the Iriomotejima dialect, *-ru=nu* sequences are seen in adjective-based nominalizations, which are preferably reduced to *-nu* according to our Sonai-dialect consultant. Verbs take only *-nu* under nominalization.

(34) Sonai, Iriomotejima

- a. Banu=me hōpsi-ru=nu du s̄iki(ru).
 I=TOP black=NMLZ=NMLZ FOC like
 ‘I like the one that is black.’
- a’. Banu=me hōpsi=nu du s̄iki(ru).
 I=TOP black=NMLZ FOC like
 ‘I like the one that is black.’

It is thus plausible that the sequence of *-ru=nu* for V-based nominalizations also obtained in Amami and elsewhere, where the contemporary form is simply *-N* or *-nu*.

Our hypothesis that nominalization markers first develop in an NP-use of nominalizations makes us entertain a stage of development for Amami where the following pattern for V-based nominalizations obtained. This is the stage where the *-nu/-N* marker had been extended to V-based nominalizations from N-based nominalizations.

(35) a. **Modification-use**

[waN=nu jumu-ru] sinbun
 I=NMLZ read=NMLZ newspaper
 ‘the newspaper which I read’

b. **NP-use**

[waN=nu jumu-ru=**nu**]=ja...
 I=NMLZ read-NMLZ-NMLZ=TOP
 ‘What I read...’

Indeed, this is the stage that Nohara’s (1988) description has for Taketomijima dialect (see (33)).

(36) Taketomi pattern according to Nohara (1988)

a. **Modification-use**

[ja:na bu-ru] fua:
 house.LOC exist=NMLZ child house.LOC
 ‘the child who is in the house’

b. **NP-use**

[ja:na bu-ru=**nu**]=ja
 exist=NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP
 tarutaruri=ja
 who.who=Q
 ‘Who are the ones in the house?’ (*-nu=ja > no:*)

The migration of the new *-nu* marker to the modification environment leads to the new pattern of nominalization marking for Amami, turning (35) to (37) below.

(37) a. **Modification-use**

b. **NP-use**

[waN=nu jum <u>u</u> -ru- nu]	sinbun	[waN=nu jum <u>u</u> -ru- nu]=ja...
I=NMLZ read=NMLZ newspaper		I=NMLZ read-NMLZ-NMLZ=TOP
‘the newspaper which I read’		‘What I read...’

We obtain the contemporary pattern below by dropping *-ru* before the newly introduced marker *-nu*, and this *-nu* being reduced to *-N*.¹⁹⁾ As mentioned above, it is possible that *-nu* simply replaced *-ru* without a stage where the *-ru=nu* sequence obtained.

(38) a. Modification-use	b. NP-use	
[waN=nu jum <u>u</u> - N]	sinbun	[waN=nu jum <u>u</u> - N]=ja...
I=NMLZ read=NMLZ newspaper		I=NMLZ read-NMLZ=TOP
‘the newspaper which I read’		‘What I read...’

The spread of a nominalization marker for V-based nominalization in NP-use to a modification environment that we posited above, as in the transition from stage (35) to (37), is seen in the Sonai dialect of Iriomote Ryukyuan, where the doubling of nominalization markers *-ru=nu*, or its reduced form, is seen with adjectives, as we saw in (34a). This combination of two nominalization markers in NP-use has been extended to a modification environment as below.

(39) Sonai

Adjective-based

a. NP-use

Banu=me	hōpsi(-ru)=nu	du	siki(ru).
I	TOP	black-NMLZ=NMLZ	FOC like
‘I like the one that is black.’			

b. Modification-use

(i) hōpsi(-ru)=nu iru

black-NMLZ=NMLZ	color
‘black color’	

(ii) hōpsi-ru iru

black-NMLZ	color
‘black color’	

Verb-based

a. NP-use

Syu:=nu	jumu=nu=me,	Yaeyama	Mainichi.
father=NMLZ	read.NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP	Yaeyama	Mainichi
‘What father reads is the Yayeyama Mainichi (newspaper).’			

b. Modification-use

(i) syu:=nu jumu sinbun

father=NMLZ	read.NMLN	newspaper
‘the newspaper that father reads’		

- (ii) *syu:=n: jumu=nu sinbun
 father=NMLZ read.NMLZ newspaper

The reduction of the *-ru=nu* sequence occurs in a modification environment as well (see (39b.i)). As seen above, this spreading of the NP-use form to a modification environment does not happen with verb-based nominalizations. The fact that the modification pattern in (39b.ii) for adjective-based nominalizations, where the marker *=nu* has not been copied from the NP-use form, is also grammatical is consistent with the patterns of verb-based nominalizations of the language. This and the fact that Taketomi counterparts, where the NP-use forms have not spread to a modification environment, as below, indicate that the marking pattern of adjective-based nominalizations in a modification-use seen in (39) is an innovation of the Sonai dialect.²⁰⁾

(40) Taketomi

a. NP-use

- Gumasa-ru=nu dra.
 big-NMLZ=NMLZ SFP
 ‘It’s a big one.’

b. Modification-use

- (i) gumasa-ru sabā
 big-NMLZ sandal
 ‘big sandals’
 (ii) *gumasa-ru=nu sabā (cf. (39b.i))
 big-NMLZ=NMLZ sandal

As shown earlier in Table 1, the pattern in (38) obtains only in northern Amami dialects such as Ura and Kasari. In the central and southern areas of the island, the NP-use forms have been replaced by newer nominalization markers *si* and *mun*, to which we now turn.

5. /si/ and *mun(u)*

The nominalization marker most wide-spread in contemporary Ryukyuan languages is /si/, whose variant forms are seen pretty much all the way from the northern-most island of Amami Ōshima to the southern island of Ishigakijima of the Ryukyuan archipelago. The vitality of this marker as well as its structural distribution varies considerably from dialect to dialect. Where /si/ is on the wane, the rise in the use of *mun(u)* is seen, suggesting that /si/ is chronologically older, next to the *-N/-nu* form studied above, than *mun(u)*.

In Amami Ōshima the use of *si* is confined to the southern half of the island, but Yuwan and its neighbors along the dialect division line seem to be the enclave were *si*

remains most robust. In Yuwan both N-based and V-based nominalizations in NP-use are marked by *si*, displaying the following pattern, while it has not migrated to the modification environment.

(41) Yuwan

a. Modification-use

- (i) [an wunagu=nu] ja:
that woman=NMLZ house
'that woman's house'

b. NP-use

N-based nominalization

- (i) [an wunagu=nu=**si**]=ja diru?
that woman=NMLZ=NMLZ.TOP which
Lit. 'That woman's is which?' (si=ja > sē:)

V-based nominalization

- (ii) [an ?kwa=nu jumuju-N] hon (ii) [an ?kwa=nu jumuju-**si**]=ja
that child=NMLZ reading=NMLZ book that child=NMLZ reading=NMLZ=TOP
'the book which that child is reading' diru?
which
Lit. 'What that child is reading is which?'

Notice that the new nominalization marker *si* starts out in an NP-use of N-based nominalization. While it has migrated to V-based nominalizations in NP-use, it has not been generalized to the modification environment involving neither N-based nor V-based nominalizations. How do we know that the migration of *si* is from N-based nominalizations to V-based nominalizations, i.e., from (41b.i) to (41b.ii), rather than the other way around? This we know from the pattern of loss of *si* and from the pattern of development of yet another nominalization marker *mun*.

In the dialects south of Yuwan, *si* is losing its ground to *mun*. And this loss of *si* is much more conspicuously seen in the NP-use of N-based nominalizations as in (41b.i) than in that of V-based nominalization as in (41b.ii). The typical distribution pattern of /si/ and *mun* in southern Amami is represented by the Adetsu forms below.

(42) Adetsu

a. Modification-use

- (i) wa: ja:
my house
'my house'

b. NP-use

N-based nominalization

- (i) kun ja:=ja wa:=mun (do).
this house=TOP my=NMLZ (SFP)
'This house is mine.'
((i') kun ja:=ja wa:=su do.)
this house=TOP my=NMLZ SFP
'This house is mine.'

V-based nominalization

- (ii) [kur kjo:ca-N] kwa (ii) [kur kjo:ca=mun]=na ta:ri jo:?
this broke=NMLZ child this broke=NMLZ=TOP who Q

- ‘the child who broke this’ Lit. ‘The one who broke this is who?’
(ii’) [kur kjo:ca=su]=ja ta:ri jo?
this broke.NMLZ=TOP who Q (su=ja > ssa)
Lit. ‘The one who broke this is who?’

As the parentheses surrounding (42b.i’) above indicate, it is often the case that southern Amami speakers do not spontaneously produce a /si/ form in an NP-use of N-based nominalizations, and it is only after being asked about it that they recognize its existence. Even when they volunteer such a form, they provide such comments as “such a form sounds as if I am angry; I wouldn’t use it often” (an Adetsu speaker), “such a form is used when I want to emphasize that it is mine; the *mun* form is more ordinary” (a Kuji speaker) and “such a form is used in male speakers’ rough speech and is used in an emphatic context” (a Sekko speaker). While a /si/ form in an NP-use of V-based nominalizations like (ii’) also appears to be being quickly replaced by the *mun* counterpart, it is much more readily volunteered and fewer commentaries and complaints about it are heard, indicating that the use of /si/ in V-based nominalization is less stigmatized. We submit this pattern of loss of /si/ as an indication that the nominalization marker starts out in the NP-use of N-based nominalizations and then it spreads to the NP-use of V-based nominalizations, since it is generally the case that those that develop earlier are lost earlier than the newly developed items. (The loss of /si/ in N-based nominalizations but its retention in V-based nominalization is a widely observed phenomenon in Okinawan.)

The point made above is also supported by the development of the *mun* marker in Amami Ōshima and elsewhere. As shown in Table 1, *mun* has not fully developed as a nominalization marker in northern Amami, but its emergence is discernible. It is not easy to recognize this because there is a noun *mun* with the meaning of ‘thing’ and, accordingly, it is unclear whether *mun* in such an expression as *waN mun* is functioning as a noun (as in ‘my thing’) or as a nominalization marker (as an equivalent of ‘mine’). There is, however, some indication that *mun* functions as a grammaticalized nominalization marker for N-based nominalizations in NP-use in the northern dialects of Kasari Town. As briefly mentioned earlier, northern Amami dialects do not use the *wa:* (or *wa:=nu*) variant of *waN* as a modifier. Thus, forms like (43a.i) and (43a.i’) are not usually used. However, as seen in (43.b.i) and (43.b.i’), *wa:* can co-occur with *mun* in the relevant context, indicating that in this context *mun* is functioning as a grammatical morpheme rather than as a noun meaning ‘thing.’

(43) Kasari

a. Modification-use

- (i) *wa: ja
 my house
 ‘my house’

b. NP-use**N-based nominalization**

- (i) Kur=ja wa:=mun do.
 this=TOP my=NMLZ SFP
 ‘This is mine.’

(i') *wa: kutsu
 my shoe
 'my shoes'

(i') Wa:=mun=ja kuri do.
 my=NMLZ=TOP this SFP
 'Mine is this.'

V-based nominalization

- (ii) [ʔama=nzji asudu-N] 'kwa (ii) [ʔama=nzji asudu-N]=ja waN 'kwa do.
 there=LOC play=NMLZ child there=LOC play=NMLZ=TOP my child SFP
 'the child who is playing there' 'The one playing there is my child.'
 (ii')*[ʔama=nzji asudu=mun]=ja waN 'kwa do
 there=LOC play=NMLZ=TOP my child SFP

Compare Kasari form (43b.ii') with Adetsu form (42b.ii), where *mun* is perfectly grammatical. This contrast clearly shows that *mun* as a nominalization marker seen in N-based nominalization in (43b.i) and (43b.i') has not fully extended to V-based nominalization in northern Amami, where *mun* marks V-based nominalizations only when they denote concrete objects, excluding people, events and other abstract denotations. Yet, Kasari speakers distinguish noun *mun* and the nominalization marker *mun* in the following way.

(44) Kasari

- a. Kamju-N mun=ja nu:mu nen do.
 eat-NMLZ thingTOP anything non.existent SFP
 Lit. 'The thing to eat does not exist anything. / There is nothing to eat.'
- b. Wa=ga koju-N ja=ja, kuri.
 I=NMLZ buy-NMLZ house=TOP this
 'The house which I buy is this.'
- c. Wa=ga koju=mun=ja, kun ja do.
 I=NOM buy=NMLZ=TOP this house SFP
 'What I buy is this house.'

When *mun* functions as a noun, as in (44a), the modifying nominalization retains the marker *-N* like any other situations involving a modified noun-head, as in (44b). However, when *mun* functions as a nominalization marker, as in (44c), it is not modified by the *-N* marked nominalization, as in (44c), where the double marking of *-N=mun* is reduced to *=mun*. As noted earlier, this is the general pattern with the grammaticalized *mun* in southern villages like Adetsu and Sekko.

6. /si/ and *mun(u)* elsewhere

The southern-most island of the Amami Archipelago, Yoronjima, which lies just north of Okinawa Island, shows a transitional usage pattern of /si/ and *mun* sharing some characteristics with southern Amami Ōshima dialects to the north and some others with

Okinawan dialects. As for N-based nominalizations, Yoron is similar to Yuwan in Amami Ōshima in that /si/ marking is still very robust in both N-based and V-based nominalizations in NP-use. The *mun* marking of V-based nominalizations in Yoron is less developed than southern Amami Ōshima in that it is seen with argument nominalizations denoting concrete entities, as in (45b.ii').

(45) Yoron

a. Modification-use

- (i) wa: hasa
my umbrella
'my umbrella'
- (i') sinse:=nu hasa
teacher.NMLZ umbrella
'teacher's shoes'

b. NP-use

N-based nominalization

- (i) Ano hasa=ja wa:=si/mun do.
that umbrella=TOP my-NMLZ/NMLZ SFP
'That umbrella is mine.'
- (i') Sinse:=nu=si/mun(u)=ja are.
teacher.NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP this
'The teacher's is that.' (si=ja > sa.; munu=ja > muna:)

V-based nominalization

- (ii) [aca=ga jumju:-ru] sinbun (ii) [sinbun jumju-si/*mun(u)=ja]
father=NMLZ reading=NMLZ newspaper newspaper read=NMLZ/NMLZ=TOP
'the newspaper which father is reading' juka hutu ien.
good thing SFP
'Reading a newspaper is a good thing.'
- (ii') a. [Amma:=ga mica-si/mun(u)] ko:sa.
mother=NOM cooked-/NMLZ/NMLZ ate
'(I) ate what/the thing mother cooked.'
- b. [nakju:-ru:=munu:] ta: kwa ga? (Yamada 1995)
crying=NMLZ NMLZ.TOP whose child Q
Lit. 'The one crying is whose child?'

Without the kind of evidence we adduced above, it is not easy to ascertain whether *mun(u)* has already turned into a nominalization marker or it is still functioning as a noun referring to a thing or a person. In fact, the same question arises with regard to *mun(u)* marking N-based nominalizations as in (45b.i) and (45b.i'). The only evidence we have at the moment for treating these instances of *mun(u)* as nominalization marker is that for N-based nominalizations, *mun(u)* forms are readily given as alternatives to *si*-marked forms. The /si/ form does not function as a noun in Modern Ryukyuan, though it is said that it referred to an object or a person in the past.

As for the *mun(u)* marking V-based nominalizations, as in (45b.ii), a comparison with the Okinawan situation might be instructive. A major difference between Yoron and Okinawan dialects is that the latter have lost the use of /si/ in N-based nominalizations; only *mun*-marked forms are possible for N-based nominalizations. /si/, on the other hand, marks V-based nominalizations like Yoron, as in the following forms from Jana of Naki-

jin. That is, /si/ has been replaced by the new form *mun* for N-based nominalizations in NP-use, the environment which we claim is the cradle for nominalization markers.

(46) Jana

- a. ?ui=ja wa:=mun do:.
 that=TOP my=NMLZ SFP
 ‘That is mine.’
- b. ?ama=ni tatt?ui=si=ja wa: kwa:.
 there=LOC standing=NMLZ=TOP my child
 ‘The one standing there is my child.’

Compared to Yoron, *mun*-marked V-based nominalizations appear far less developed. Using *mun* in place of /si/ in expressions like (46b) is not possible in Jana. In other dialects, the use of *mun* in a similar context sounds “very stiff”.²¹⁾ In Standard Japanese, where *mono* ‘thing/person’ is not grammaticalized, using it for (46b) sounds very odd. A ban on the use of *mun(u)* in reference to a person is widely observed elsewhere. The best use of *mun* in Okinawan dialects is in reference to a concrete object. When it is used in reference to a person, it sounds as if the speaker is looking down on the person. Cf. the following forms from the Uyama district in Ginowan City.

(47) Uyama (Ginowan City)

- a. Anu inagu=nu ko:te:-se:, anu kin jasa.
 that woman=NMLZ bought-NMLZ.TOP that clothes COP
 ‘What that woman bought is that clothes. (si+ja > se:)’
- a’. Anu inagu=nu ko:te:-nu mun=ja, anu kin jasa.
 that woman=NMLZ bought-NMLZ thing?=TOP that clothes COP
 ‘The thing which that woman bought is that clothes.’
- b. waN go:ja nusure-nu mun=ja, ari jasa.
 my gōya stole-NMLZ NMLZ?=TOP that COP
 ‘The one who stole my *gōya* is that guy.’

Thus, if Yoron speakers use forms like (45b.ii.b) regularly, the grammaticalization of *mun(u)* is likely more advanced in Yoron than in Okinawan dialects.

Moving down to the Miyako group, we find more advanced use of *mun(u)* in the region. While *mun(u)* is found difficult for many speakers to use in reference to a person or even an animal, it is a versatile nominalization marker used for both N-based and V-based nominalization and for argument nominalizations (see (49a)) as well as event nominalizations ((49b.c). Besides *munu*, many dialects retain /si/ marking as well as the variants of the old *-ru* inflecting nominalization (49c).

(48) Ikema

- a. *ba=ga cin=nu=du akakai.*
 I=NMLZ clothes=NMLZ=FOC red
 ‘My clothes are red.’
- b. *unu aka+zin=na ba=ga=**munu**/ba=ga=**su**.*
 that red+clothes=TOP I=NMLZ=NMLZ/I=NMLZ=NMLZ
 ‘Those red clothes are mine.’
- (49) Ikema
- a. *Nakama-san=ga jumju-u=**munu**/**su**=u sinbun.*
 Nakama-Mr=NMLZ read-PROG=NMLZ/NMLZ=TOP newspaper
 ‘What Mr. Nakama is reading is a newspaper.’
- b. *Arabi-mmi=nu nci=n asibju-u-tai=**munu**/**su**=u=du*
 child-PL=NOM street=LOC play-PROG-PST=NMLZ/NMLZ=ACC=FOC
 mii-tai.
 watch-PST
 ‘I saw the children playing in the street.’
- c. *Kanu ffa=nu naki-ui=ja/naki-ui=**munu**=u ja:sikai=ba=du.*
 that child=NMLZ cry-PROG=TOP/cry-PROG=TOP hungry=because=FOC
 Lit. ‘That child’s crying is because (he is) hungry.’

Yaeyama Ryukyuan languages forming the southern-most group have extended the use of *munu* to the fullest extent, allowing it to mark argument nominalizations denoting a person, though some speakers still avoid its use in reference to respected persons. In Kuroshima, Kohama, and Hateruma, *munu* is the only regularly used nominalization marker for both N-based and V-base nominalizations. The use of /si/ for N-based and V-based nominalizations is seen in Taketomi, where this form is used only in reference to people. But Taketomi *su* is losing ground to a grammaticalized form of *munu* (see below).

(50) Taketomi (East Village)

- a. *Unu fua:=ja ba:=**su** (dra).*
 that child=TOP my=NMLZ (SFP)
 ‘That child is mine.’
- b. *Mina=nai asubi-ru=**su**=ja ba: fua:.*
 yard=LOC playing-NMLZ=NMLZ=TOP my child
 ‘The one playing in the yard is my child.’

In the Sonai dialect of Iriomote Island, *munu* is limited to N-based nominalizations, V-based nominalizations being marked by *-nu*. This *nu*-marking of V-based nominalization is also seen in Taketomi and the Miyara dialect of Ishigaki Island, along with the more dominant *munu* marking. In both Ishigaki Shika and Miyara dialects, /si/ has turned into /-soo/, which is used in unrefined speech. The Yonaguni dialect uses *munu* for N-based and *munu* and *si* for V-based nominalizations.

Of the Yaeyama nominalizations, the one particularly interesting from the point of view of grammaticalization is the *munu*-marking in Taketomi. There are Taketomi speakers who would pronounce the *munu* marker as clearly as [munu]. Our 83-year old female speaker from the West Village of Taketomi Island used [munu], but the *-nu* marking was much more dominant for both N-based and V-based nominalizations, indicating that *munu* has not fully taken root as a nominalization marker in her speech. There are perhaps many more Taketomi speakers who have grammaticalized *munu* to a fuller extent and who would nasalize the first /u/ vowel and drop the initial /m/, as in the speech of a speaker from the East Village of Taketomijima Island.

(51) Taketomi

- a. Un ha:miru sana=ja ba:=ũnu dura. (N-based NMLZ)
 that red umbrella=TOP my=NMLZ SFP
 ‘That red umbrella is mine.’
- b. I:zja=nu jumu=ũnu=ja, unu sinbun dura. (V-based argument NMLZ)
 father=NMLZ read=NMLZ=TOP that newspaper SFP
 ‘What my father reads is that newspaper.’
- c. Sinbun jumu=ũnu=ja i: kutu. (V-based event NMLZ)
 newspaper read=NMLZ=TOP good thing
 ‘Reading a newspaper is a good thing.’

The form *munu* still functions as a noun with the meaning of a thing or person. For those who nasalize *munu*, its noun form may be either nasalized or unnasalized, as below.

(52) Taketomi

- a. Karike:-ru ũnu /munu=ja haisa kaisi.
 borrow-NMLZ thing/thing=TOP quickly return
 ‘Return a thing that (you) borrowed quickly.’
- b. Gusi numiti guro:-mutu ũnu/munu=ja bacu si:rarirun. (Maeara, et al. 2011)²²⁾
 wine drinking car-drive person/person=TOP punishment do.PASS
 ‘A person driving a car after drinking will be punished.’

Crucially, when *munu* functions as a nominalization marker, only the nasal version is normally used, with the full form *munu* appearing only in an extremely emphatic context when the nominalization has a concrete denotation; speakers would usually reject the *munu* versions below.

- (53) a. un ha:miru sana=ja ba:=nu/ũnu/*munu dra.
 that red umbrellaa=TOP I=NMLZ/NMLZ/NMLZ
 ‘That red umbrella is mine.’

- b. Mina=nai asubi=ru=nu/ūnu/*munu=ja ba: fua:
 yard=LOC play=NMLZ/NMLZ/NMLZ=TOP my child
 ‘The one playing in the yard is my child.’

We see above a clear case of grammaticalization of a noun *munu* into a nominalization marker, contrasting in form with its original use as a noun.

7. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to offer an alternative and more detailed analysis of the Amami adnominal *-N* marker, which has been simply described as a change from *-ru* to *-N* by previous researchers. Our claim is that it is not a simple replacement of *-ru* by *-N* in an adnominal or modification environment but that it is a result of the expansion of *-N* (< *-nu*) marking in an NP-use of N-based nominalization. The pattern of expansion is from an NP-use to a modification/adnominal environment and from N-based to V-based nominalizations. This hypothesis is supported by the patterns of development of what we believe to be newer nominalization markers, namely the /si/ and *mun(u)* markers seen in Amami and elsewhere in the Ryukyuan archipelago.

One difficult issue involved in the study of nominalization markers, which obtains in the study of grammaticalization in general, is the question of when we can recognize that lexical nouns have changed into grammatical nominalization markers. We have tried to show how we can discern subtle changes in the status of the relevant forms by contrasting the lexical noun *mun(u)* and its grammaticalized version in both grammatical (whether *mun(u)* is modified like any other nouns) and phonological terms (whether *mun(u)* is pronounced as [mun(u)]).

Notes

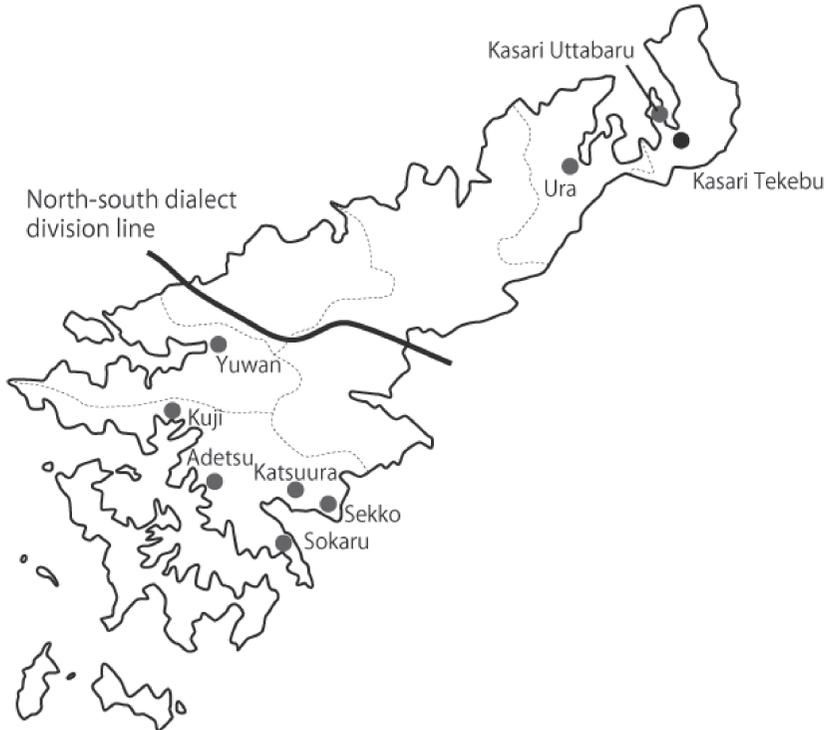
- 1) We are deeply indebted to a large number of speakers of Ryukyuan languages throughout the Ryukyuan archipelago, who put up with us patiently over long hours of data-gathering sessions. We also acknowledge with gratitude help by the following individuals, who offered us expert knowledge on the respective dialects: Reiko Asō (Hateruma), Yūto Niinaga (Yuwan Amami), Tetsuo Nitta (Kikaijima), Hiromitsu Hoshi (Yoronjima), Shigehisa Karimata (Jana and Agena Okinawan), Shinshō Miyara (Shuri Okinawan; Ishigaki), Yuka Hayashi (Ikema Miyako), Kayoko Shimoji (Tarama), Michinori Shimoji (Irabu Miyako), Thomas Pellard (Ōgami Miyako; Yonaguni), and Yukinori Takubo (Ikema Miyako; Ishigaki). This work was supported in part by the Japan Studies Fellowships of the Japan Foundation (2010 and 2012) to the first author, by the Japan Society for the Promotion grant-in-aid (24720180) to the second author, and by the JSPS grant-in-aid (A24242014) to Shigehisa Karimata.
- 2) See, for example, Yap, et al. (2011), which also contains Rumiko Shinzato’s work on Okinawan nominalizations.
- 3) The Amami data contained in this paper were collected by the authors during fieldwork in Amami Ōshima in the summer of 2011. The field sites are marked in the Amami map in the Appendix. Additional data from the Yuwan dialect are provided by Yūto Niinaga. Unless acknowledged otherwise, the data from other Ryukyuan dialects and Japanese dialects come from the field notes of the first author.
- 4) The nasal nominalization ending discussed in this paper will be written in the phonemic form of /-N/ for

prominence, while other moraic nasals are given in broad phonetic transcription. We treat /-N/ and /-nu/ attaching to verbs as suffixes and the ones attaching to nouns as clitics without any convincing evidence for the distinction. Abbreviations: ACC=accusative, CL=classifier, EMP=emphatic, LOC=locative, NMLZ=nominalization/nominalizer/nominalization marker, NOM=nominative, PASS=passive, Q=question marker, SFP=sentence final particle

- 5) As in the title of this paper, “Amami” henceforth specifically refers to Amami Ōshima, not the Amami archipelago.
- 6) Besides the Izumo dialect, some Miyako Ryukyuan dialects appear to have the kind of pattern that Uemura talks about.
- 7) The % mark indicates either that the form in question has not fully developed, as in the *mun* forms in northern Amami or that the grammaticality judgment regarding the form varies according to individual speakers or to geographic differences.
- 8) A remnant of *-N* is seen as lengthening of the preceding vowel in some forms. Cf. the Adetsu and Sekko forms *miju-N jama* ‘the mountain that (I) see’ and *miju:-mun* ‘what (I) see’ and Sokaru forms *u-N cu* ‘person who exists’, *u-N-mun* ‘what exists’, *u:-mun* ‘what exists’.
- 9) While the *-N* form in question is optional in Katuura and Sokaru, our Adetsu data contain no form like *ʔu:-N-mun* ‘what exists’, where *-N* occurs before *-mun*.
- 10) That the *-N* form was also used in NP-use in southern Amami is indicated by the sporadic *-N* forms in NP-use recorded by Nohara (1988).
- 11) The Jana and Agena data are by courtesy of Shigehisa Karimata. Glosses are our own.
- 12) Old Japanese and Middle Japanese are collectively referred to as “Classical Japanese” in this article.
- 13) The nominalization ending *-ru* that we find in many Ryukyuan languages is clearly a cognate of this *-ru*.
- 14) Strictly speaking we should distinguish in the example glosses between nominalizers, which actually convert a form to a nominalization, and nominalization markers, which simply mark what has been nominalized as such. For the sake of simplicity, this important distinction is not made in the example glosses in this paper. It is the first element glossed NMLZ in a series of NMLZ’s that is a nominalizer, and the following NMLZ’s are nominalization markers indicating that what precedes has been nominalized.
- 15) Notice that *-N* of *ga-N* is most likely from the short form of *no* seen in (17b.ii). This *-N* is tightly bonded with *ga* in *ga-N*, making this combination a characteristic Niigata nominalization marker seen in both N-based and V-based nominalizations. There are, however, areas like Nagaoka, where *ga-N* is not used frequently. And even in Matsunoyama village, some appear not to use *ga-N* very much, opting for the *ga*-form. In other parts of Tōkamachi and the neighboring Tsunanchō, the preferred form is *a-N*, in which the *g* of *ga-N* has apparently dropped out.
- 16) The Old Japanese distinction between the particles *no* and *ga* has been inherited by Ryukyuan and has been preserved to varying degrees in a number of dialects, where *ga* is used in reference to insiders, while *nu* is a general nominalization marker. The absence of *ga* in these paradigms indicates that the development we are examining took place before the development of the specialized form *ga* in Old Japanese.
- 17) In *Man’yōshū*, representing Old Japanese, the pronoun *wa* ‘I’ typically modifies by itself, though occasionally the nominalization marker *ga* is written. For example both *wa jado* and *wa=ga jado* ‘my house’ are found, but expressions like *wa seko* ‘my husband/lover’ are invariably written without *ga*.
- 18) The first author thanks Satomi Matayoshi for her assistance in his fieldwork in the Uyama district in Ginowan City.
- 19) We have not found the *-nu* form in Amami Ōshima, but Nohara (1998) records one instance in the Adetsu dialect. Professor Mitsuyoshi Nohara (p.c.) confirms the authenticity of his example upon re-examining his field notes. The *-nu/-N* alternation is going on among the languages of the Amami archipelago such as Kikaijima and Okinoerabu dialects and perhaps elsewhere, but not in Yoron, which maintains the *-ru* ending.
- 20) Taketomi and Iriomote show some similarities despite some distance between the two islands. There is a high probability that the two languages came into contact when Taketomi farmers came to Iriomote to cultivate the land.

- 21) Shigehisa Karimata (p.c.)
- 22) Maebara, et al. (2011) lists only the *munu* version. Our Taketomi consultant allows both *munu* and *ūnu* forms.

Appendix: Amami Ōshima field sites



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奄美準体言

柴谷方良・重野裕美

準体言のさまざまな形態的タイプを示す琉球諸語は、体言化現象についての類型のおよび歴史的考察のための貴重な資料を提供してくれる。本論は、奄美大島における琉球語奄美方言を中心に、四つの準体標識 *nu, N, /si/, mun(u)* の生長と衰退のパターンを記述・分析し、次の仮説を提示する。準体標識は、体言基盤準体言の名詞句用法を出発点として、(a) 名詞句用法から修飾用法に拡散し、(b) 体言基盤準体言から用言基盤準体言へと拡散する。
