Embedded interrogatives in Shinokawa Amami

Kunio Kinjo

【Abstract】

This article presents a preliminary description of the three types of embedded interrogatives in the Shinokawa dialect of Amami, a Northern Ryukyuan language : *ka-Q, garo-Q* and *ro-Q*. They are distinguished each other in terms of the form of embedded predicates, the possibility of case marking, and the type of matrix predicates that can embed the interrogatives. It also describes the distribution of the focus particle in *ro-Q*.

【Keywords】

Amami, Ryukyuan, syntax, embedded interrogatives

1．The Shinokawa dialect of Amami Ryukyuan and their speakers

The Shinokawa dialect of Amami (henceforth SA) is a Northern Ryukyuan language spoken in the Shinokawa community of Setouchi Town, the southernmost part of the Amami Ohshima island in Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan (Map 1). SA, along with other Ryukyuan languages, is an endangered language and only people in their seventies or older speak it fluently. The data shown in this paper are elicited through fieldwork by the author with three informants, who grew up in Shinokawa.
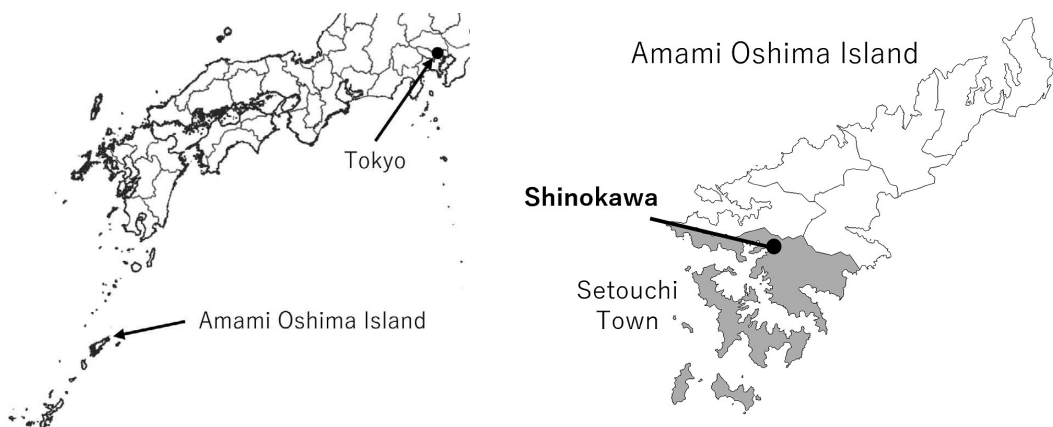
Map 1 : Japan, Amami Oshima Island, and Shinokawa[1]

1　The map is made at the website of Geographical Information Authority of Japan (https://www.gsi.go.jp/).

２．Three types of embedded interrogative in SA

SA has three distinct ways to form embedded interrogatives. These include clauses that end with *ka, garo* and *ro,* which I will refer to as *ka-Q*, *garo-Q* and *ro-Q,* respectively. The structure of the three types of interrogative are schematically represented in（1）, each of which is exemplified by the sentences in（2）.

（1）Three types of embedded interrogatives in SA
  a．Ka-Q　　　　[...Predicate-***ka***]
  b．Garo-Q　　　[...Predicate-***garo***]
  c．Ro-Q　　　　[...XP[focus]-***ga***..Predicate-***ro***]

（2）Embedded *wh*-interrogatives with verbal predicates
  a．*[amï=ga　　　it　　　　　hur-ju-**ka**]　　　waka-ran.　　　　　Ka-Q*
  　　　rain=NOM　　when　　　　fall-NPST-KA　　　know-NEG.NPST
  　　　"(I) don't know when it will rain."
  b．*[amï=ga　　　it　　　　　hur-ju-**garo**]　　waka-ran.　　　　　Garo-Q*
  　　　rain=NOM　　when　　　　fall-NPST-GARO　　know-NEG.NPST
  　　　"(I) don't know when it will rain."
  c．*[amï=ga　　　it=**ga**　　　hur-ju-**ro**]　　waka-ran.　　　　　Ro-Q*
  　　　rain=NOM　　when-foc　　　fall-NPST-RO　　　know-NEG.NPST
  　　　"(I) don't know when it will rain."

Ro-Q is accompanied by the focus particle *ga*, which marks the focused element of the question. This construction is known as "kakari-musubi" in the literature of Japanese linguistics（see Shinzato 2015 for an overview of the literature）. The distribution of the focus particle *ga* will be discussed in §4.

The following section will describe the morphosyntactic differences among these three types of interrogative clauses. Before examining the differences among these clauses, let us look at their common characteristics.

First, all of these clauses can embed polar questions.

（3）Embedded polar-questions
  a．*[Taro=ga　　kuma=hachi　　cjaa-**ka**]　　　　waka-ran.　　　Ka-Q*
  　　　Taro=NOM　here=to　　　　come.PST-KA　　　know-NEG.NPST
  　　　"(I) don't know if Taro came here."
  b．*[Taro=ga　　kuma=hachi　　cjaa-**garo**]　　　waka-ran.　　　Garo-Q*
  　　　Taro=NOM　here=to　　　　come.PST-GARO　　know-NEG.NPST
  　　　"(I) don't know if Taro came here."
  c．*[Taro=ga　　kuma=hachi=**ga**　cjaa-**ro**]　　waka-ran.　　　Ro-Q*
  　　　Taro=NOM　here=to=FOC　　　come.PST-RO　　know-NEG.NPST

"(I) don't know if it is here that Taro came."

Furthermore, in addition to embedding verbal predicates, they also allow for the embedding of adjectival and nominal predicate clauses.

(4) Adjective predicate

a. [*dun mise=ga*   *maasa-ta-ka*]   *ubu=ja-nen.*   *Ka-Q*
   which restaurant=NOM   delicious-PST-KA   remember-TOP=NEG
   "(I) don't remember which restaurant was good."

b. [*dun mise=ga*   *maasa-ta-garo*]   *ubu=ja-nen.*   *Garo-Q*
   which restaurant=NOM   delicious-PST-GARO   remember-TOP=NEG
   "(I) don't remember which restaurant was good."

c. [*dun mise=ga*   *maasa=ga a-ta-ro*]   *ubu=ja-nen.*   *Ro-Q*
   which restaurant=NOM   delicious- FOC COP-PST-RO   remember-TOP=NEG
   "(I) don't remember which restaurant was good."

(5) Nominal predicate

a. [*tar=ga*   *sjacjoo*   *a-ta-ka*]   *waka-ran.*   *Ka-Q*
   who=NOM   CEO   COP-PST-KA   know-NEG.NPST
   "(I) don't know who was the CEO."

b. [*tar=ga*   *sjacjoo*   *a-ta-garo*]   *waka-ran.*   *Garo-Q*
   that=NOM   CEO   COP-PST-GARO   know-NEG.NPST
   "(I) don't know who was the CEO."

c. [*tar=ga*   *sjacjoo=ga*   *a-ta-ro*]   *waka-ran.*   *Ro-Q*
   who= NOM   CEO=FOC   COP-PST-RO   know-NEG.NPST
   "(I) don't know who was the CEO."

3. Morphosyntactic differences among the three types of interrogatives

This section summarizes the differences among the three types of interrogative clauses based on the form of embedded predicates (§3.1, §3.2), the possibility of case marking (§3.3), and the type of matrix predicates that can embed the interrogatives (§3.4).

3.1 Nominalizer −*mun*

The nominalizing affix −*mun* takes verbal or adjectival predicates as its complements and turn them into nouns, as shown in (6b) and (7b).

(6) Nominalization of verbal predicate

a. *Taro=ga*   *uri=ba*   *koo-ta.*
   Taro=NOM   it=ACC   buy-PST
   "Taro bought it."

b. [*Taro=ga*   *koo-ta-mun*]=*na*   *dïr?*

Taro=NOM　　　buy-PST-NML=TOP　　which
"Which is the one Taro bought?"

（7）Nominalization of adjectival predicate

a. *kurï=ga*　　　　*jassa-ta.*
　 this=NOM　　　　heap-PST
　 "This was cheap."

b. *[jassa-ta-**mun**]=na*　　*dïr?*
　 cheap-PST-NML=TOP　　which
　 "Which was the cheap one?"

This nominalizing affix can appear with the predicates in *ka-Q* and *garo-Q*, but it cannot in *ro-Q*.

（8）The nominalizer −*mun* in embedded interrogatives

a. *[amï=ja*　　*it*　　*hu-ju-mun-**ka**]*　　　*waka-ran.*　　　　　　*Ka-Q*
　 rain=TOP　　when　　fall-NPST-NML-KA　　　know-NEG.PST
　 "(I) don't know when it will rain."

b. *[amï=ja*　　*it*　　*hu-ju-mun-**garo**]*　　　*waka-ran.*　　　　　　*Garo-Q*
　 rain=TOP　　when　　fall-NPST-NML-GARO　　know-NEG.PST
　 "(I) don't know when it will rain."

c. **[amï=ja*　　*it=**ga**　　*hu-ju-mun-**ro**]*　　*waka-ran.*　　　　　*Ro-Q*
　 rain=TOP　　when= FOC　　fall-NPST -NML-RO　　know-NEG.PST
　 "(I) don't know when it will rain."

3.2　Participle-*n*

The participle affix −*n* attaches to predicates to form adnominal clauses.[2]

（9）Adnominal clauses with the affix −*n*

a. *[waa=ga*　　*kinju*　　*oo-ta-**n**]*　　　*cju*
　 I=NOM　　　yesterday　　meet-PST-PTCP　　person
　 "the person I met yesterday"

b. *[jane-nu*　　*haasa-**n**]*　　　*jaa*
　 roof-NOM　　red.NPST-PTCP　　house
　 "the house whose roof is red"

The participle also appears in embedded clauses of indirect speech.

（10）Participle in embedded indirect speech

Hanako=ja　　　*[amï=ga*　　*hu-ju-**n**]cji*　　　　　*icj-uu-ta*
Hanako=TOP　　rain=NOM　　fall-NPST-PTCP-QT　　say-CONT-PST

2　I call this affix participle following Niinaga（2014）.

"Hanako was saying that it would rain."

The participle can appear embedded interrogatives. However, only *ka-Q* allows for it and the other two embedded interrogatives don't.

(11) Participle in embedded interrogatives

a . [*amï=ja*   *it*   *hu-ju-n-ka*]   *waka-ran.*   *Ka-Q*
    rain=TOP   when   falll-NPST-PTCP-KA   know-NEG.PST
    "(I) don't know when it will rain."

b . *[*amï=ja*   *it*   *hu-ju-n-garo*]   *waka-ran.*   *Garo-Q*
    rain=TOP   when   fallll-NPST-PTCP-GARO   know-NEG.PST
    "(I) don't know when it will rain."

c . *[*amï=ja*   *it=ga*   *hu-ju-n-ro*]   *waka-ran.*   *Ro-Q*
    rain=TOP   when=FOC   fall-NPST-PTCP-RO   know-NEG.PST
    "(I) don't know when it will rain."

3.3 Case marking of the embedded interrogatives

Another difference among the three types of interrogatives is the possibility of case marking. While *ka-Q* and *garo-Q* can be marked by case-markers, *ro-Q* cannot.

(12) Case marking of embedded interrogative
Context: What is important is not what you eat, but...

a . [*tar=tu*   *kam-ju-n-ka*]=*ga*   *icjiban-doo.*   *Ka-Q*
    who=with   eat-NPST-PTCP-KA=NOM   important-SFP
    "What is important is with whom you eat."

b . [*tar=tu*   *kam-ju-mun-garo*]=*ga*   *icjiban-doo.*   *Garo-Q*
    who=with   eat-NPST-NML-GARO=NOM   important-SFP
    "What is important is with whom you eat."

c . *[*tar=tu=ga*   *kam-ju-ro*]=*ga*   *icjiban-doo.*   *Ro-Q*
    who=with=FOC   eat-NPST-PTCP-RO=NOM   important-SFP
    "What is important is with whom you eat."

3.4 Embedding predicates

Finally, the three types of interrogative clauses can also be distinguished based on the predicates that embed them. While *ka-Q* can be embedded as complements of predicates such as *kik-* "to ask", which is optionally followed by the complementizer *cji* that embeds direct or indirect speech, the other two types cannot.

(13) Interrogatives embedded by *kik-* "to ask"

a . [*kinju*   *Taro=ga*   *nuu=ba*   *ka-da-n-ka*] (-*cji*)   *kic-cja*   *Ka-Q*
    yesterday   Taro=NOM   what=ACC   eat-PST-PTCP-KA-QT   ask-PST
    "(I) asked what Taro ate yesterday."

b．*[kinju　　　Taro=ga　　　nuu=ba　　　ka-da-mun-**garo**]（-cji）　　　kic-cja　　　Garo-Q

　　yesterday　Taro=NOM　what=ACC　eat-PST-NML-KA（-QT）　　　ask-PST

　　"(I) asked what Taro ate yesterday."

c．*[kinju　　　Taro=ga　　　nuu=**ga**　　　ka-da-**ro**]（-cji）　　　kic-cja　　　Ro-Q

　　yesterday　Taro=NOM　what=FOC　eat-PST-RO（-QT）　　　ask-PST

　　"(I) asked what Taro ate yesterday."

3.5　Summary

The morphosyntactic properties of the three types of interrogatives are summarized in table 1.

Table 1 ：Three types of embedded interrogatives in SA

	Ka-Q	Garo-Q	Ro-Q
Preceded by -*mun*	✓	✓	＊
Preceded by -*n*	✓	＊	＊
Case marking	✓	✓	＊
Embedding speech	✓	＊	＊

4．The focus particle *ga* in *ro-Q*

This section describes the distribution of the focus particle *ga* in *ro-Q*. As shown in §2, *ro-Q* is accompanied by the particle *ga*, which marks the focused element in the clause. The examples（2）and（3）are repeated here as（14）and（15）.

（14）Embedded wh-question

　[ami=ga　　　it=**ga**　　　hur-ju-**ro**]　　　waka-ran.

　rain=NOM　　when-FOC　　fall-NPST-RO　　　know-NEG.NPST

　"(I) don't know when it will rain."

（15）Embedded polar-question

　[Taro=ga　　kuma=hachi=**ga**　cjaa-**ro**]　　　waka-ran.

　Taro=NOM　here=to=FOC　　　come.PST-RO　　know-NEG.NPST

　"(I) don't know if it is here that Taro came."

The focus particle *ga* attaches to the wh-word *it* in（14）, and the focused phrase *kuma=hachi* in（15）.

It can also attach to the root of the predicate. If it is a verbal predicate, the light verb *s-* "do" is inserted and -*ro* follows it with a tense affix as shown in（16）. If it is a adjectival or nominal predicate, the copula verb *a-* "be" hosts a tense affix and -*ro*, as shown in（4c）and（5c）, repeated below as（17）.

（16）Verbal predicate focus in *ro-Q*

　[Taro=ga　　　acjaa=gadï　　　kii-ga　　　　　s-ju-ro]　　　　　　waka-ran.

Taro=NOM   tomorrow-by   come-FOC   do-NPST-RO   know-NEG.NPST

"(I) don't know if Taro will come by tomorrow."

(17) Adjectival and nominal predicate focus in *ro*-Q

  a. [*dun mise=ga*   *maasa=ga*   *a-ta-**ro**]*   *ubu=ja-nen.*

     which restaurant=NOM delicious=FOC   COP-PST-RO   remember-TOP=NEG

     "(I) don't remember which restaurant was good."

  b. [*tar=ga*   *sjacjoo=ga*   *a-ta-**ro**]*   *waka-ran..*

     who= NOM   CEO= FOC   COP-PST-RO   know-NEG.NPST

     "(I) don't know who was the CEO."

When the focused phrase is further embedded as an indirect speech by *cji*, *ga* attaches to the focused phrase or the *cji* clause, as schematically represented as (18), exemplified by (19).

(18) [[matrix]...[[ro-Q]...[...XP[FOC]-***ga***...Predicate-*cji*]-***ga***...Predicate-*ro*]...]

(19) Ga attaches to focused phrase or *cji* clause

  a. [[*Taro=ga* *acjaa*   *nuu=**ga*** *s-ju-n*]-*cji*   *icj-uu-ta-ro*]   *ubu-ja-nen*

     Taro=NOM tomorrow what=FOC do-NPST-PTCP-QT say-CONT-PST-RO remember-TOP-NEG

     "(I) don't remember what Taro said he would do tomorrow."

  b. [[*Taro=ga*   *acjaa*   *nuu*   *s-ju-n*]-*cji=**ga*** *icj-uu-ta-ro*] *ubu-ja-nen*

If the focused phrase is embedded in so-called syntactic islands (Ross 1967), such as adnominal clauses and adverbial clauses, *ga* can only appear outside of the clause.[3]

(20) Focused phrase embedded in adnominal clause

  a. [*arï=ga*   [*daa=zji* *oo-ta-n*]   *cjuu=**ga***   *a-ta-ro*]   *waka-ran*

     that=NOM   where=LOC meet-PST-PTCP person=FOC   COP-PST-RO know-NEG.NPST

     "I don't know where I saw her/him"

  b. *[*arï=ga*   [*daa=zji=**ga*** *oo-ta-n*]   *cjuu*   *a-ta-ro*]   *waka-ran*

(21) Focused phrase embedded in adverbial clause

  a. [[*nuu*   *s-ju-n*   *tamun*]=***ga*** *jaa=hacji* *zjaa-ro*]   *waka-ran*

     what   do-NPST-PTCP because=FOC   home=FOC go-PST-RO know-NEG.NPST

     "I don't know for what purpose I went back home."

  b. *[[*nuu=**ga*** *s-ju-n*   *tamun*]   *jaa=hacji* *zjaa-ro*]   *waka-ran*

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3   The island sensitivity of the focus particle *ga* is also observed in Okinawan, another Northern Ryukyuan language. See Miyara (2001) and Kinjo and Oseki (2016).

５．Conclusion

This paper has compared the characteristics of three types of embedded interrogative clauses in Shinokawa Amami. It has demonstrated that they can be distinguished based on the morphology of the embedding predicate, the possibility of case marking, and the types of predicates in the main clause. More data should be collected and analyzed for theoretical investigations of the syntactic structure of the three types of interrogatives. I leave it for future research.

Acknowledgements

A list of abbreviations

ACC accusative　　GEN genitive　　NPST non-pas　　SFT sentence final particle
CONT continuous　　LOC locative　　PST past　　TOP topic
COP copula　　NML nominalizer　　PTCP participle
FOC focus　　NOM nominative　　QT quotative

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［日本語要旨］

本稿は北琉球奄美語篠川方言における三種類の埋め込み疑問節（*ka* 節、*gar*o 節、*ro* 節）の予備的な記述である。これらの疑問節は埋め込み述語の形態、格標示の可能性、主節の述語の種類といった観点から区別することができる。また、*ro* 節における焦点化助詞の分布についても記述する。