Abstract of the Thesis

A Grammar of Hisamatsu Miyakoan

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This thesis provides a systematic and comprehensive description of the grammar of the Hisamatsu dialect of Miyakoan, a southern Ryukyuan language, based on primary data collected through my field work carried out since 2018. It is spoken in the Hisamatsu area of Miyakojima City, Okinawa Prefecture. Although recent advances in Ryukyuan linguistics have been remarkable, with numerous intriguing phenomena being reported in Japanese linguistics and linguistic typology, much of the research has focused on particular grammatical phenomena, leaving comprehensive descriptions scarce. While several descriptive grammars have been written for dialects of the Miyako language within Ryukyuan studies, most have targeted dialects spoken on outlying islands around Miyako Island. In contrast, there has been little descriptive work on the dialects spoken on Miyako Island itself, which are classified into the Central Miyako dialect group in the literature. This thesis fills the research gap in the Central Miyako dialect group by systematically describing the Hisamatsu dialect using general linguistic methods informed by linguistic typology. It also aims to contribute new insights to Japanese linguistics and linguistic typology. The thesis is structured into nine chapters, with two samples of natural discourse data provided in the appendix.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the geography, genealogy, speaker population, and basic typological features of the Hisamatsu dialect. The Hisamatsu area, administratively part of the Hirara region of Miyakojima City, consists of two communities: Kugai, know as *figabara* [fugabara] in the dialect, and Matsubara, referred to as *macibara* [matsibara] in the dialect. While sub-dialects spoken in those areas are slightly different in some areas of lexicon, they are nearly identical in terms of their phonetics and grammar.

Chapter 2 provides an analysis of the phonetics and phonology of the Hisamatsu dialect. The dialect features six vowels and 17 consonants. There are sequences of identical vowels and sequences of different vowels. Some consonants can function as syllabic nuclei, acting phonologically as consonants but occupying vowel slots. This chapter also details morphophonemic rules such as lengthening, consonant deletion, affrication, deletion and insertion of specific sounds, minimal phonological word constraints, voicing in compound words, consonant devoicing, sound alternations

within extended words and between extended words, and morphophonemic rules specifically applied for topic and accusative particles. Accent and intonation are also analyzed, with the conclusion that HL...H patterns do not occur within a single phonological word, and any occurrence of the patterns indicates a phonological word boundary. Intonational patterns for declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences are also described.

Chapter 3 introduces key grammatical terms essential for the analysis, distinguishing between "phonological words" and "grammatical words" based on phonological and grammatical autonomy. Definitions are provided for clitics, affixes, roots, stems, and compounds, with a focus on addressing issues in prior research and creating definitions specific to the Hisamatsu dialect. The relationship between compounds and phonological/grammatical words is also explored. The classification of parts of speech in the Hisamatsu dialect is based on 11 features, and the definitions of phrases, clauses, sentences, and the three main grammatical relations (subject, direct object, indirect object) are presented.

Chapter 4 details noun phrases. Noun phrases can have dependents such as noun phrases, adjectival phrases, adjectival noun phrases, verbal phrases, and attributive clauses. The heads of these noun phrases may include a general noun, pronoun, numeral, formal noun, or quasi-attributive clause. Differences in usage between case markers are noted, as well as overlaps in semantic domains for certain cases. The inactive case can mark low-agentivity subjects and objects of transitive verbs. Semantic roles for noun phrases are categorized into 15 types, such as agent, experiencer, instrument, location, recipient, and so forth.

Chapter 5 focuses on nouns, including general nouns, pronouns, and numerals. Pronouns include personal, reflexive, demonstrative, and interrogative types. The chapter primarily discusses personal pronouns, which have first- and second-person forms with singular and plural distinctions, and reflexive pronouns (*duu*, *naa*, *(d)uuna*), detailing their distribution and constraints. Numerals are analyzed for their functional, morphological, and syntactic properties. Morphological features of nouns, such as diminutive suffix *-gama*, plural suffixes *-ta* and *-nukja*, approximative suffix *-nagi*, and nominalizing suffix *-bas*, are also described.

Chapter 6 discusses pro-forms, focusing on demonstratives and interrogatives. Demonstratives include pronouns (kui, ui, kai), locatives (kuma, uma, kama),

prenominal modifiers (*kunu*, *unu*, *kanu*), and the adverb (*k*) *ansi*. The medial form *u*- is more commonly used than the proximal *ku*- in the Hisamatsu dialect. Interrogatives include *noo* "what", *taa/too* "who", and *nza/iza* "where", all of which have forms denoting singular, plural, and uncertainty.

Chapter 7 describes verbs, starting with an analysis of their conjugation structure as "(i) athematic stem (-(ii) thematic vowel) -(iii) inflectional suffix", with morphophonemic rules applied at boundaries. Verbs are categorized into two types, namely vowel-stem (V1) and consonant-stem (V2) verbs. Lexical aspects important for describing the non-past conjectural suffix -*m* and auxiliary constructions are also discussed. Regular and irregular verbs are distinguished by four criteria, and 12 irregular stems are analyzed. Derivational suffixes and two-predicate constructions, namely auxiliary constructions and light verb constructions, are also described.

Chapter 8 discusses adjectives and adjectival nouns. The properties of adjectival forms are examined, focusing on their phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics in both non-independent and independent forms. The environments in which these forms can be analyzed as words are described. The classification of adjectival nouns and their morphosyntactic functions are also discussed. The nu-type adjectival nouns, i.e., the adnominal forms to which the enclitic =nu attaches. The na-type adjectival nouns, i.e., the adnominal forms to which the suffix -na attaches, are borrowed entirely from the Standard Japanese.

Chapter 9 covers different types of particles: "toritate", information-structure, conjunction, and sentence-final and modal particles. "Toritate" particles, a term primarily used in Japanese linguistics, refer to various context-oriented relations, usually follow case markers, though some case markers can be omitted when preceded by a "toritate" particle. The information structure particles generally appear after case markers or the main verb in auxiliary verb constructions, while topic particles can appear after various limiter particles. Focus particles include =du for general focus, =ju for yes/no question focus, and =ga for wh-question focus. Younger speakers often omit =ju. Conjunction particles follow subordinate clauses, and sentence-final particles appear at the end of sentences, sometimes in sequence. Modal particles can host both phrases and clauses.