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The Case Systems of the Kikaijima Dialects

Kayoko Shimoji

1 Introduction

As in Modern Standard Japanese, case forms in the Kikaijima dialects are formed agglutinatively by suffixing case particles to nouns (stems). In this paper, I give an outline of the case systems of the different localities of Kikaijima based on the results obtained by the groups covering ‘grammar’ in the joint survey of September 9–15, 2010¹. The ‘grammar’ groups surveyed the following five areas: Onotsu, Shitooke, Kamikatetsu, Nakasato, and Araki. In the following, I will give the case forms of each of the areas as well as their basic usages and attempt a comparison between them. The numbers assigned to each of the examples correspond to those in the *Grammar Data* section of the *Kikaijima Dialect Survey Data* chapter of this report. Unless otherwise noted, the dialect transcriptions and Standard Japanese model sentences are the same as those in the *Kikaijima Dialect Survey Data* chapter, as well.

2 Case forms in the Kikaijima dialects

2.1 Onotsu

In the Onotsu dialect, the following 11 case forms and 2 peripheral forms have been identified.

2.1.1 The *-ŋa*-case²

(1) It is used to express the subject of the action, change of state, or state referred to by the predicate. It can appear not only in main clauses, but also in subordinate clauses (6811, 3111).

- 1811 maεεirusun tuŋa, {sura/tin}joba tudui. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’
- 1711 kinju:ja kju:jukka hazŋa tsusataja:. ‘Yesterday, the wind was stronger (it was windier) than today.’
- 5311 φuzu ?itukuŋa tεu:gakko:nu εinse:nji natan{tei/do:}. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’
- 1911 ?an jamanje: ?inoεicŋa ?unti:do:. ‘I heard that there are wild boars on that mountain.’
- 6811 ?ieasamaŋa k?uritanu suijoba numiba no:juddo. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’
- 3111 nimotsuŋa ?ubussatannati, t’aizi mutteando:. ‘The luggage was heavy, so the two of us carried it together.’

The focus-marking usage in interrogative sentences with question words and sentences answering them known as ‘exhaustive listing’ is observed, as well.

- 0611 ɕzuriŋa da:(nu) hasajo. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’
 0711 ϕ unu hasaŋa wa: munɕa. ‘That bamboo hat is mine.’
 0211 daŋa {h/ ϕ }ate:kai ?iki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)
 0313 ?iN, hate:kae: wana ?ikiui. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’

(2) It is used to express the object of emotions and abilities.

- 3413 mago:ja k^waeiŋa suki. ‘My grandchild likes sweets.’
 4011 wano: to:nu saeimiŋa kanbusa(ja:). ‘I want to eat octopus sashimi.’
 5411 ?ituko: jeigonu honŋa jumi dikũndo:. ‘My cousin can read English books.’³

2.1.2 The *-nu*-case

(1) It is used to form an adnominal modifier of the noun phrase following it and express attributes of or things related to that noun phrase. Except for certain personal pronouns (see 2.1.3), there are no restrictions on nouns (noun phrases) taking the *-nu*-case.

- 1613 ?itukunu ?uduŋa janpija:nji ϕ utei ?ai. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on the roof.’
 4111 daja ϕ un ?ijunu na:joba eittɕunja. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’
 7011 miteidzi gakko:nu einse:nji ?o:tando:. ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’
 6514 ju:we:nu {duke:/dukinje:} ?anma:gari ?udutan do:. ‘At the time of (during) the celebration, even grandmother danced.’

Use of the *-nu*-case in phrases of the form ‘NP1-*nu* NP2’ is the norm; the usage corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* seen in Modern Standard Japanese (e.g. *Sore-wa watashi-no da*. ‘That is mine.’), taking the form ‘NP1-*nu*’, appears to be mostly unacceptable⁴. In the following examples, I provide a literal translation of the example sentences in parentheses.

- 0511 ϕ unu kama: taro:nu munna. ‘Is that sickle Taro’s (Taro’s thing; Taro’s one)?’
 0913 hure: ?uttu:nu munkamu eirira:. ‘That may be my brother’s (my brother’s thing; my brother’s one).’
 6312 hunu einbuno kiu:nu mun dza. kin’u:nu muno: huri{dza/do:}. ‘That newspaper is today’s (today’s thing; today’s one). This is yesterday’s (that is yesterday’s thing; yesterday’s one).’

(2) It is used to mark the subject of the main clause. Presently, the *-ŷa-* and *-nu-* cases appear to be in the process of functional differentiation (nominative case and genitive case) in the Onotsu dialect; depending on the speaker, fluctuation between the two forms is observed (1411, 1511, etc.).

- 1411 {mitɛiŷa ɕirusaija:/mitɛinu ʔubisaja:}. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’
 1413 mitɛinu ɕu:sa:nu:kka. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’
 3313 ʔokina:n̄e: mittasanu k^wacinu ʔai. ‘There are unique sweets in Okinawa (Okinawa has unique sweets).’
 1511 ʔa, ʔami{ŷa/nu} ʔutittea. ‘Ah, rain has started to fall (it has started to rain).’

-nu is also used with subjects in subordinate clauses, but here, too, fluctuation between it and *-ŷa* is observed (cf. 6413).

- 2211 ʔanu mi:nu ʔubisanu ʔirunu eirusanu jinŷa: tarukaja:. ‘Who could that person whose eyes are large and whose skin is white (large-eyed, light-skinned person) be?’
 6411 ʔaminu ʔujunte:, ʔanmaja ja:zi terebibakkai miteundo:. ‘On days when rain falls (rainy days), grandmother just watches TV at home.’
 Cf. 6413 ʔamina hujun pe: ʔanmaja ja:zi terebibe: miteui. ‘On days when rain falls (rainy days), grandmother just watches TV at home.’

2.1.3 The -Ø-case

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate. The same usage is also observed for the *-jo:ba-* case discussed in 2.1.4; in the Onotsu dialect it more often appears in that form, so fluctuation is observed, as well.

- 6212 wano: kin̄u:ja eɪnbun jomanti. ‘I did not read the newspaper yesterday.’
 3713 ʔazija ʔasakara ʔumikai ʔiju tunn̄ja ʔizi. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’
 7112 nu: ho:ro:ka. ‘What shall I buy?’
 4114 daja {ʔun/ʔunu} ʔiunu namai eitteun n̄ja. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’
 3714 ʔadzija ʔasakara ʔumik(?)ai {ʔiu/ʔiujo:ba} tunn̄ja {ʔidzi/ʔidzan do:}. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). In this usage, too, using the *-jo:ba-* case is the norm; not many examples with the *-Ø-* case were observed.

- 1211 ku:ko: ʔariba ʔumanu {mitɛi ʔikijo:/mitɛioba ʔizi tabo:ri}. ‘Go along this road for the airport.’

(3) Among personal pronouns, first and second person pronouns (singular) take the $-\emptyset$ -case instead of the *-nu*-case to form adnominal modifiers⁵. As is the case with adnominal modifiers formed with the *-nu*-case, a usage corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* has not been observed for the $-\emptyset$ -case (0711, 0811; a literal translation is provided in parentheses).

0411 wa: kʷwe:ja dza:nji ʔai. ‘Where is my hoe?’

0711 ʔunu hasaŋa wa: munɕa. ‘That bamboo hat is mine (my thing; my one).’

4611 wanna: ja:nu ʔazija se:mu tabakumu numan(do:). ‘Our family’s (our) grandfather neither drinks nor smokes.’

0613 zuriŋa da: hasa do:. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’

0811 ʔunu ʔurueike: da: munna. ‘Is that *furoshiki* yours (your thing; your one)?’

It appears that depending on the speaker, the *-nu*-case is sometimes used instead of the $-\emptyset$ -case, as well.

Cf. 0413 wannu ʔe:ja za:nji ʔakka. ‘Where is my hoe?’

0611 dzuŋa da:(nu) hasajo. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’

In addition, one example in which the $-\emptyset$ -case form of a temporal noun forms an adnominal modifier was observed.

6311 ʔun einbuno: ki:u:(nu) mundza. kinju: muno: ʔuriza. ‘That newspaper is today’s (today’s thing; today’s one). This is yesterday’s (that is yesterday’s thing; yesterday’s one).’

2.1.4 The *-jo:ba*-case⁶

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate. As noted above, the *-jo:ba*-case is used more often than the $-\emptyset$ -case in the Onotsu dialect.

3613 mago:ja manzu:jo:ba ha:be: kamʷun. ‘My grandchild eats only the skin (of) manju.’

7214 kazukonutu tʔitsu ʔassa:jo:ba hanakonjimu ho:ti {kuriro:/kuriranba ja:}. ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’

3011 dʒiro:, kun nimutsuoba hakkiti ja:gari ʔizi kuriri. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage to the house.’

4111 daja ʔun ʔijunu na:joba eitʷunja. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). As is the case with the direct object usage of (1), using this form is the norm.

1813 maεiru ssun tuiŋa tinto:jo:ba tudui. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’

1313 miteinu manna:jo:ba ʔattee: ʔikan do:. ‘You must not walk in the middle of the road.’

1213 çiko:zo:kara ?ariba human miteijo:ba ?iki jo:. ‘Go along this road for the airport.’

2.1.5 The *-ni*-case⁷

(1) It is used to express the indirect object, such as the recipient of an action or a reference point.

7011 miteidzi gakkono:nu einse:nji ?o:tando:. ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’

5614 ?unu jumët’a: tudzinjibë: {kikatei/kikatean} do:. ‘I only told that story to my wife.’

3811 ?uma: ?uminji teikasannati ?ijuna ?umasando:. ‘This place is close to the sea, so the fish tastes good.’

7411 hanako: tsurana ?okka:nji ju: niteuija:. ‘Hanako looks a lot like her mother.’

The *-ni*-case is also used to express the agent in passive and causative sentences.

6111 dairo:ja ?azinji butirattan(tei). ‘Jiro was scolded by (his) grandfather.’

5713 tuzinji ji:jo:ba tsukurai. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action or state or the time at which an action or state arises.

1613 ?itukunu ?uduña janpija:nji ?utei ?ai. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on top of (on) the roof.’

2311 mago:ña ?uzukara to:kjo:nji ?un. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’

3511 pakunu na:nji mandzu:ña ?ikutsu ?antei {?umujui/?umui}. ‘How many *manju* do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’

1111 çiko:ke: ?ittai:nji ?ikkaieika nendo:. ‘There is only one flight on a day (per day).’

2511 hateiqatsunje:⁸ mudutte kunteagisan(ña). ‘It appears he will come back in August.’

(3) It is used to express the result of a change of state.

5314 ?uzu ?itukuna te:gakko:nu einse:nji {natan do:/nati}. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’

In addition, there were cases in which *-ni* was used to express the purpose of a motion event in the Onotsu dialect. Seeing, however, that a form into which *-ja* seems to have merged (*tunnja*: ‘(in order) to get’), which is probably the original purposive verb form, was also observed often, and that there is fluctuation between the two, I consider this usage of *-ni* to have arisen by analogy with Modern Standard Japanese *-ni*.

3712 ʔazi:ja kʰanmakara ʔumini {ʔiju/ʔijuwo} {tuini/tuɲɲa} {ʔidzi/ʔidzando}. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’

Cf. 2611 ʔokka:ja ʔatea to:kʰo:kai musukonʔi ʔo:ɲɲa ʔikʰuntɛi. ‘The mother will go to Tokyo to see her son tomorrow.’

2.1.6 The *-zi*-case⁹

(1) It is used to express tools and means.

1011 ʔokinawanʔi ʔunɲi ʔikʰujukka ʔiko:kizi ʔizan ho:ɲa jutasando:. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’

3111 nʔimotsuɲa ʔubussatannati, tʰaizi mutteando:. ‘The luggage was heavy, so we carried it as a pair (the two of us carried it together).’

3211 ʔUN ʔuwaɲe: kono ʔaida ʔokina:ɔzi nʔisenenɔzi ho:tando:. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day with (for) 2000 yen.’

(2) It is used to express constituent elements such as materials and ingredients.

5813 uto: de:zi so:ʔiɲo:ba tsukuti. ‘My husband made a basket with (out of) bamboo.’

(3) It is used to express the location at which an action or state arises (locative nouns).

2813 jozimadi jekizi matteuri jo:. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’

7011 mitɛɔzi gakko:nu ɛinse:nʔi ʔo:tando:. ‘I ran into my school teacher on the street.’

3211 ʔUN ʔuwaɲe: kono ʔaida ʔokina:ɔzi nʔisenenɔzi ho:tando:. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day for 2000 yen.’

(4) It is used to express a cause. In this usage, fluctuation is observed between the *-zi*-case form of the noun *jamai* or *jami* ‘illness’ and the continuative form (*jadi*) of the verb *jamjui* ‘to be ill’, but it appears that the latter is used more often. There was only one Standard Japanese model sentence for this kind of example, so further investigation is required.

6613 hanako: kinʰu:kara jamaizi nʔittui. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday due to illness (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

6614 hanako: kinʰu:kara {jadi/jamidzi} nittun do:. ‘Hanako {has been in bed since yesterday, as she is ill/has been in bed since yesterday due to illness} (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

2.1.7 The *-kai*-case

It is used to express the goal of a motion event.

- 0211 daŋa {h/ϕ}ate:**kai** ʔiki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)
 3713 ʔazija ʔasakara ʔumik**kai** ʔiju tunŋja ʔizi. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish in the morning.’

2.1.8 The *-tu*-case

(1) It is used to express the comitative participant in a reciprocal action.

- 5911 ɕziro:ja ʔuttu:nu saburo:tu eikkitan(do:). ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’

(2) It is used to express an object with which a reciprocal relationship holds.

- 5111 kadi: nʔibbiUN{daki/bakkai} ʔariba ʔinŋa:ŋkja maja:tu {ʔieeoza/tʔittsuza:}. ‘If you only eat and sleep, you will be the same as dogs and cats (no different from dogs and cats).’
 7214 kazukonutu tʔitsu ʔassa:jo:ba hanakonʔimu ho:ti {kuriro:/kuriranba ja:}. ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’

2.1.9 The *-kara*-case

(1) It is used to express the starting point of an eventuality, such as the departure point of a motion event or the inception time of an action or state.

- 2411 mago:ja ʔitsu to:kjo:**kara** mudujukka. ‘When will our grandchild come back from Tokyo?’
 2311 mago:ŋa ɕuzuk**kara** to:kjo:nʔi ʔUN. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’
 3713 ʔazija ʔasak**kara** ʔumikai ʔiju tunŋja ʔizi. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish from (in) the morning.’

(2) It is used to express materials. It could not be confirmed whether there is a distinction between this usage and the use of the *-zi*-case to express materials and the like, so further investigation is required.

- 4411 se:ja ɕumik**kara** {tsukujui/tsukku su}. ‘Sake is made from rice.’

2.1.10 The *-gari/-madi*-case

It is used to express the limit to which an action or state extends. Two forms, *-gari* and *-madi*, are observed; the latter would seem to be the newer form¹⁰. Although they are completely different forms, I put them under the same header as old and new forms with nearly the same function. Incidentally, 2711 and 2713 are examples of compound adnominal case forms.

- 3011 ɕziro:, kuN nimutsuoba hakkiti ja:gari ʔizi kuriri. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage (up) to the house.’

- 2811 jozi{made:/gari} ?ekizi matteuri. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’ (*made*: < *madi* ‘TERMINATIVE’ + *-ja* ‘TOPIC’)
- 2711 ?o:sakakara to:k’o:garinu kieateino: k’ansakaja:. ‘How much might the train fare from Osaka to Tokyo be?’
- 2713 ?o:sakakara to:k’o:madinu kieateino: k’ansakaja:. ‘How much might the train fare from Osaka to Tokyo be?’

2.1.11 The *-gariⁿⁱ/-madiⁿⁱ*-case

It is used to express the time by which an action will take or has taken place. Here, too, two forms are observed: *-gariⁿⁱ* and *-madiⁿⁱ*. Their treatment follows that of the forms in 2.1.10.

- 2911 gozigariⁿⁱ muduramba naranmun. ‘I have to be home by five o’clock.’
- 2913 gozimadiⁿⁱ muduramba nara:. ‘I have to be home by five o’clock.’

2.1.12 The case periphery (or: peripheral cases)

Here, I list the forms corresponding to Modern Standard Japanese *-yori* ‘than’ and its quotative marker *-to*.

2.1.12.1 *-jukka*

It is used to express a standard of comparison.

- 1711 kin’u:ja k’u:jukka hazina tsusataja:. ‘Yesterday, it was windier than today.’
- 3913 ?ijujukka n’ikunu ho:ga ta:sa. ‘Meat is more expensive than fish.’

2.1.12.2 *-tei*

It is used to express the content of speech or thought.

- 3511 pakunu na:n’i mandzu:ga ?ikutsu ?antei {?umujui/?umui}. ‘How many *manju* do you think that there are (think there are) in the box?’

2.2 Shitooke

In the Shitooke dialect, the following 11 case forms and 2 peripheral forms have been identified.

2.2.1 The *-ga*-case

(1) It is used to express the subject of the action, change of state, or state referred to by the predicate. In this usage, *-ga*-nouns can also appear in subordinate clauses (6831, 3132).

- 1831 eiru tuga tin tudi uija:. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’
- 1531 ?ari, ?amga {?utittean/?utittei}. ‘Ah, rain has started to fall (it has started to rain).’

- 5331 ϕ uzuo: η itukuna teu:gakko:nu einse:nji {nat'a/natan}. 'Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.'
- 1931 η an jaman'je: η inueieina unti: {do:/na}. 'I heard that there are wild boars on that mountain.'
- 6831 η ieana kurita{N/nu} kusui numiba no:juro:. 'You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.'
- 3132 nimotsuna η ubusatatanati t'aidzi {muttean/muttea:}. 'The luggage was heavy, so the two of us carried it together.'

The usage known as 'exhaustive listing' is observed, as well.

- 0232 da(:)na pate:kai { η iki/ η iki}. 'You go to the field.' (imperative)
- 0331 n:, ϕ akkai wana η ikun{kara/na}. 'Yes, I will go to the field.'
- 0631 diruna da: hasajo:. 'Which is your bamboo hat?'
- 0731 η un hasana wa: {munu/mun}. 'That bamboo hat is mine.'

(2) It is used to express the object of emotions and abilities.

- 3432 mago:ja k^waei/kaei sukidza. 'My grandchild likes sweets.'
- 4033 wano: to:nu saemiga kanbusai. 'I want to eat octopus sashimi.'
- 5431 η ituko: je:gonu honna j'umi η usui. 'My cousin can read English books.'¹¹

2.2.2 The -nu-case

(1) It is used to form an adnominal modifier of the noun phrase following it and express attributes of or things related to that noun phrase. Except for first and second person pronouns (see 2.2.3), there are no restrictions on nouns (noun phrases) taking the -nu-case.

- 1632 η itukunu η udu η a janpira:nu wi:ni hutei η ai. 'My cousin's bedding is airing on the roof.'
- 5931 ϕ ziro:ja η uttu:nu saburo:tu {eikkita/a/eikkiti}. 'Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.'
- 4133 daja η un η ijunu na:ja eitteunn'a. 'Do you know the name of this fish?'
- 3531 η un ϕ akunu na:nji (mandzu:na) η ikutsu η antei η umuju{i/N}. 'How many manju do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?'
- 7031 miteizi gakko:nu einse:nji { η o:ti/ η o:tan}. 'I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.'

Use of the -nu-case in phrases of the form 'NP1-nu NP2' is the norm, as in the other dialects; the usage corresponding to the formal noun-like -no of Modern Standard Japanese is hardly accepted at all¹². In the following examples, I provide a literal translation of the example sentences in parentheses.

- 0531 ʔUN hama: taro:nu hamakaja:. ‘Is that sickle Taro’s (Taro’s sickle)?’
 0932 ʔure: ʔuttu:nu munkamo wakara:. (D) ‘That may be my brother’s (could be my brother’s thing; my brother’s one).’
 6333 ʔUN einbunja ku:nu mun za. kinju:nu muno: ʔuri za. ‘That newspaper is today’s (today’s thing; today’s one). This is yesterday’s (that is yesterday’s thing; yesterday’s one).’

(2) It is used to mark the subject of the main clause. It appears that in the Shitooke dialect, the *-ŋa-* and *-nu-*cases have presently become almost completely functionally differentiated into the nominative and the genitive case, respectively, and that the use of *-nu* with the subject of the main clause is restricted to agreement with exclamatory forms (wavy underline in 1431) and the like. This usage, however, can be considered to be in decline (cf. 1432).

- 1431 miteinu {ɸ/p}irusaja:. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’
 Cf. 1432 miteiŋa pirusaja:. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’

-nu is often used with subjects in subordinate clauses. Comparison with examples 6831 and 3132 in 2.2.1, however, shows that *-nu* is merely used here as an equivalent of the *-no* in the Standard Japanese model sentence; there is in fact no longer an alternation with *-ŋa*.

- 2232 ʔanu mi:nu ʔubisan ʔirunu eirusan jinŋa: tarukai. (D) ‘Who could that person whose eyes are large and whose skin is white (large-eyed, light-skinned person) be?’
 6433 ʔamnu hujun {p/ɸ}inje: ʔanmaja ja:zi terebibe: miteun. ‘On days when rain falls (rainy days), grandmother just watches TV at home.’

2.2.3 The -Ø-case

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate. The same usage is also observed for the *-ba-*case, discussed in 2.2.4, but it appears that the use of the *-Ø-*case is the norm in the Shitooke dialect¹³.

- 6831 ʔieŋa kurita{N/nu} kusui numba no:juro:. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’
 6233 wano: kinju:ja einbun jumantan. ‘I did not read the newspaper yesterday.’
 3731 ʔazi:ja kʔanmakara ʔumikai ʔiju tunja ʔidzan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’
 6731 hanako: ʔokkanni mun kamatei {mura:tan/mura:ti}. ‘Hanako had her mother feed her meals.’
 5733 tuzini ju:ban {te/ts}ukkasun. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’
 7131 nu: ho:jukkaja:. ‘What shall I buy?’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). As was the case with direct objects in (1), the same usage is also observed for the *-ba*-case.

1331 miteinu manna: ?attee: ?ikando:. ‘You must not walk in the middle of the road.’

1831 eiru tuija tin tudi uija:. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’

(3) Among personal pronouns, first and second person pronouns (singular) take the \emptyset -case instead of the *-nu*-case to form adnominal modifiers¹⁴. As is the case with adnominal modifiers formed with the *-nu*-case, a usage corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* has not been observed for the \emptyset -case (0731, 0831; a literal translation is provided in parentheses).

0431 wa: kwë:ja {ɕza:nji ?akka (B)/ɕza:kaina (A)}. ‘Where is my hoe?’

0731 ?un hasaja wa: {munu/mun}. ‘That bamboo hat is mine (my thing; my one).’

4631 wanna: ?azija se:mu tabakumu numan(do:). ‘Our grandfather neither drinks nor smokes.’

2431 (wanna:) magu:ja ?itsu to:kjo:kara {mudujukka /mudut?i kjukka}. ‘When will our grandchild come back from Tokyo?’

0631 diruŋa da: hasajo:. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’

0831 ?un ɸurueike: da: munna. ‘Is that *furoshiki* yours (your thing; your one)?’

It appears that human proper nouns—that is, personal names—take the \emptyset -case when forming an adnominal modifier, as well. We have only one example, and no examples with third person pronouns, so further investigation is required.

7233 kazuko muntu jin munnu ?assa:ba hanakonjimu ho:ti kurijun. ‘Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko’s (Kazuko’s things; Kazuko’s ones) for Hanako, as well.’

It appears that depending on the speaker, the *-nu*-case is sometimes used instead of the \emptyset -case, as well. Incidentally, the examples below were uttered in response to the same Standard Japanese model sentences as those that were observed in the Onotsu dialect (see 0413 and 0611 in 2.1.3).

Cf. 0432 wannu kwe:ja ɕza:nji ?ai. (D) ‘Where is my hoe?’

0632 diruŋa da:nu kasaka. (D) ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’

2.2.4 The *-ba*-case

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate¹⁵. As noted above, however, using the \emptyset -case is the norm in this usage.

3631 mago:ja mandzu:ba {hawa/ha:}be: kamjun. ‘My grandchild eats only the skin (of) manju.’

7233 kazuko mun

5831 uto: {de:de:/de:zi} maqu:(ba) {tsukut'a/ʈukuti}. ‘My husband made a basket out of bamboo.’

4131 daja: ʔUN ʔijunu na:(ba) eitʔeUNja. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). As is the case with the direct object usage, it appears that the use of the -Ø-case is predominant in this usage.

1832 {mae:ci:ru:/ci:ru:} tui(:)ŋa tinto:ba tudui. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’

1332 miteinu manna:ba ʔatʔee: ʔikan. (C) ‘You must not walk in the middle of the road.’

1231 ʧiko:ʤo:kæ: {ʔUN/ʔuma} mitai(ba) {ʔiki/ʔikiba jutasAN}. ‘Go along this road for the airport.’

Incidentally, we have one example in which *-juba* is used instead of *-ba*, but I consider this an incidental use due to influence from neighboring dialects such as that of Onotsu.

Cf. 7231 kazukotu jin ʔassa:(juba) hanakonʔimu ho:ti kuriro:. ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’

2.2.5 The *-nʔi*-case

(1) It is used to express the indirect object, such as the recipient of an action or a reference point.

7033 miteizi gakkō:nu einse:nʔi {ʔo:tan/ʔo:ti}. ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’

5631 ʔUN panase: tuzinʔibē: kʔikateAN. ‘I only told that story to my wife.’

3833 ʔuma: ʔuminʔi teikasankara ʔijuga ʔumasan. ‘This place is close to the sea, so the fish tastes good.’

7431 hanako: tsuraŋa ʔokkannʔi ju: {nʔiteui/nʔiteUN}. ‘Hanako looks a lot like her mother.’

The *-nʔi*-case is also used to express the agent in passive and causative sentences.

5731 tuzinʔi ju:ban(ba) {tsukurateAN/ʈukurasan/ʈukkasAN}. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’

6033 saburo:ja ziro:nʔi bo:zi ʔutattan. ‘Saburo was hit by Jiro with a stick.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action or state or the time at which an action or state arises.

1631 ʔitukunu ʔuduŋa janpira:nʔi {ʔuteen/ʔutei ʔAN}. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on top of (on) the roof.’

2331 magu:ja ʔuzukara to:kjo:nʔi ui. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’

- 3531 ʔUN ɸakunu na:nʃi (mandzu:ŋa) ʔikutsu ʔantei ʔumuju {i/N}. ‘How many *manju* do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’
- 1131 ɸiko:kje: ɸittei:nʃi ʔikkaieika nendo:. ‘There is only one flight on a day (per day).’
- 2531 hateiqatsunʃie:¹⁶ mudutʔi kʃUN {nessui/nessUN}. ‘It appears he will come back in August.’

(3) It is used to express the result of a change of state.

- 5331 ɸuzʊo: ʔitukuŋa tɕu:gakko:nu ɛinse:nʃi {natʔa/natan}. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’

Incidentally, unlike Onotsu dialect *-nʃi* and Modern Standard Japanese *-ni*, *-nʃi* is not used to express the purpose of a motion event in the Shitooke dialect.

- Cf. 3731 ʔazi:ja kʔanmakara ʔumikai ʔiju tunja ʔidʒan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’
- 6931 ʔokkano: ʔiteibakai ho:i mun ɛinnʃa {ʔizan/ʔizi}. ‘Mother went to the market to buy some groceries.’

2.2.6 The *-zi*-case¹⁷

(1) It is used to express tools and means.

- 1031 {ʔokinawa/naɸa}nʃie ɸunʒi ʔikʃUN jukkamu ɸiko:kizi ʔizan ho:ŋa jutasaija:. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’
- 3131 nʃi:ŋa {ʔubussati:/ʔubussatannati} tʔaizi {muttean(do:)/muttei}. ‘The luggage was heavy, so we carried it as a pair (the two of us carried it together).’
- 3231 ʔUN ʔkino: ɸunnaŋe: ʔokinawazi nʃisenendzi {ho:tando:/ho:tittean}. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day with (for) 2000 yen.’

(2) It is used to express constituent elements such as materials and ingredients.

- 5833 uto: de:zi kago: {tutta/tuttean}. ‘My husband made a basket with (out of) bamboo.’

(3) It is used to express the location at which an action or state arises (locative nouns).

- 2832 jodzimate jekidzi matteuri. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’
- 7033 mitcizi gakko:nu ɛinse:nʃi {ʔo:tan/ʔo:ti}. ‘I ran into my school teacher on the street.’
- 3231 ʔUN ʔkino: ɸunnaŋe: ʔokinawazi nʃisenendzi {ho:tando:/ho:tittean}. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day for 2000 yen.’

(4) Its use to express a cause was observed, as well. It appears that in the Shitooke dialect, too, the use of the continuative form of the verb *jamjui* ‘to be ill’ is more natural than the use of the *-zi-* case form of a noun, in this case *bʲo:ki* ‘illness’ (cf. 6631).

6633 hanako: kinʲu:kara bʲo:kizi nittu{i/N}. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday due to illness (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

Cf. 6631 hanako: kinʲu:kara jadi nittui. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday, as she is ill (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

Aside from the *-zi-* case examples given above, the forms *-de* and *-nti* were observed as well, but seeing how no similar forms are observed in the other dialects, I consider these to be most probably idiosyncratic uses.

5831 uto: {de:de:/de:zi} magu:(ba) {tsukutʲa/tsukuti}. ‘My husband made a basket with (out of) bamboo.’

6431 {ʔamiʔui nʲje:/ʔaminu ʔujun pinʲje:} ʔanma:ja {ja:dzi/ja:nti} terebi{bë:/bakkai} miteun. ‘On rainy days, grandmother just watches TV at home.’

2.2.7 The *-kai-* case

It is used to express the goal of a motion event.

0232 da(:)ŋa pate:kai {ʔiki/ʔiki}. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)

3731 ʔazi:ja kʲanmakara ʔumikai ʔiju tunja ʔidzan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish in the morning.’

2.2.8 The *-tu-* case

(1) It is used to express the comitative participant in a reciprocal action.

5933 ziro:ja ʔuttu:nu saburo:tu eikkitan. ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’

(2) It is used to express an object with which a reciprocal relationship holds.

5131 kadi: nʲippunde: ʔariba ʔinŋa:ja maja:tu {tʲitsu/jin} mun. ‘If you only eat and sleep, you will be the same as dogs and cats (no different from dogs and cats).’

7233 kazuko muntu jin munnu ʔassa:ba hanakonʲimu ho:ti kurijun. ‘Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko’s (as Kazuko’s things; as Kazuko’s ones) for Hanako, as well.’

2.2.9 The *-kara-* case

(1) It is used to express the starting point of an eventuality, such as the departure point of a motion event or the inception time of an action or state.

- 2431 (wanna:) magu:ja ?itsu to:kjo:kara {mudujukka/mudut?i kjukka}. ‘When will our grandchild come back from Tokyo?’
- 2331 magu:ja φuzukara to:kjo:nji ui. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’
- 3731 ?azi:ja k?anmakara ?umikai ?iju tunja ?idzan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish from (in) the morning.’

(2) Its use to express materials was observed, as well. Depending on the speaker, however, the *-zi-* case is used for this (cf. 4433); it appears that there is no usage distinction like those that are observed between English ‘of’ and ‘from’ and the Modern Standard Japanese *-de-* and *-kara-* cases.

- 4431 se:ja φumikara tsukkusu(do:). ‘Sake is made from rice.’
- Cf. 4433 se:ja φumizi teukkui. ‘Sake is made from rice (with rice.)’

2.2.10 The *-madi-* case

It is used to express the limit to which an action or state extends. Incidentally, 2731 is an example of a compound adnominal case form.

- 3031 φziro:, ?un n?imutsu: ja:madi hatamiti ?izi kuri. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage (up) to the house.’
- 2831 jozimade: jekizi matteuri. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’ (*made:* < *madi* ‘TERMINATIVE’ + *-ja* ‘TOPIC’)
- 2731 ?o:sakakara to:kjo:madinu kieateino: te?ansakaja:. ‘How much might the train fare from Osaka to Tokyo be?’

2.2.11 The *-madini-* case

It is used to express the time by which an action will take or has taken place.

- 2932 godzimadini muduranba {nara:/naran}. ‘I have to be home by five o’clock.’

2.2.12 The case periphery (or: peripheral cases)

Here, I list the forms corresponding to Modern Standard Japanese *-yori* ‘than’ and its quotative marker *-to*.

2.2.12.1 *-jukka(mu)*

It is used to express a standard of comparison.

- 1731 kinju:ja ku:jukka(mu) hazija {tsusanatittea/ tsusanatitteija:/ tsukunati}. ‘Yesterday, it was windier than today.’
- 3933 ?ijujukamu n?ikunu ho:ga ta:sa {N/i}. ‘Meat is more expensive than fish.’

2.2.12.2 -*tei*

It is used to express the content of speech or thought. It appears that depending on the speaker, the form *-teu* is used, as well (3532).

3531 ?UN ɸakunu na:nji (mandzu:ŋa) ?ikutsu ?antei ?umuju{i/N}. ‘How many *manju* do you think that there are (think there are) in the box?’

3532 hakunu na:nji mandzu:ŋa teansa {?antei ?umujui (D)/?anteu ?umujukka (C)}. ‘How many *manju* do you think that there are (think there are) in the box?’

2.3 Kamikatetsu

In the Kamikatetsu dialect, the following 13 case forms and 2 peripheral forms have been identified.

2.3.1 The *-ŋa*-case

Suffixation of this particle to a demonstrative pronoun to express the subject of the state referred to by the predicate has been observed. Unlike in the other dialects, it can be surmised that what are known as the nominative and genitive cases have been merging into the *-nu*-case in the Kamikatetsu dialect, but example 2153 below shows that the distinction between the *-nu*- and *-ŋa*-cases is marginally retained depending on noun type.

2153 ?anŋa jakubaza. ‘That is the town office.’ (identical to 2151 in the *Kikaijima Dialect Survey Data* chapter)

Furthermore, a number of examples showing fluctuation between *-nu* and *-ŋa* were observed. In the case of human nouns one might think of this as the vestiges of the awareness of an alternation, but as there are also many examples with common nouns, it is likely that this usage has arisen by analogy with that of Standard Japanese in both cases.

5353 kudo: ?ituku{nu/ga} teu:gakko:nu einse:nji natan. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’

6852 ?iea{ŋa/nu} kuritan kusuri numiba: {no:rin/no:rikkamu} do:. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’

1853 eiru turi:ga tinto:oba tubun. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’ (cf. 1851 in 2.3.2)

In addition, examples were observed in which *-ŋa* is suffixed to a question word or a noun functioning as the answer to an interrogative sentence in the usage known as ‘exhaustive listing’. Incidentally, forms to which the particle *-ja* seems to have been suffixed were observed in this usage more often than *-nu*, to which I will return in 2.3.2.

- 0653 dunŋa da: hasa jo. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’
 0753 ʔUN hasaga wa: mun. ‘That bamboo hat is mine.’

2.3.2 The *-nu*-case

(1) It is used to express the subject of the action, change of state, or state referred to by the predicate. As noted above, the *-ŋa*-case has been falling into disuse in the Kamikatetsu dialect, and the *-nu*-case is now the main exponent of this function. There are therefore no restrictions on nouns (noun phrases) taking the *-nu*-case, except for certain personal pronouns. In addition, *-nu*-nouns can also appear in subordinate clauses in this usage (6851, 3151).

- 1551 nama, ʔaminu {ʔurentei:/ʔurentean}. ‘Ah, rain has started to fall (it has started to rain).’
 1851 eirudurinu tinto:(oba) {tubo:ri/tubo:ndo:}. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’
 1453 miteinu ʧirusarija:.. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’
 1751 kiju: eu:juri hadinu {ʔteusari/ʔteusatando:}. ‘Yesterday, the wind was stronger (it was windier) than today.’
 1953 ʔAN jamajeno: ʔinoeieinu ʔunbe:za. ‘I heard that there are wild boars on that mountain.’
 6851 ʔieanu kuritan kueurje: numiba: no:ʔukkamu wakarando:. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’
 3151 niimutunu ʔubussa munnare: tʔarje: mutee:dʒAN(do:). ‘The luggage was heavy, so the two of us carried it together.’

Although the usage known as ‘exhaustive listing’ has been observed as well, the *-nu*-case was only used with first person pronouns in this survey; otherwise, forms into which the particle *-ja* has merged were used¹⁸ (cf. 0651, 0751).

- 0353 ʔi:, hate:kate: wannu ʔika. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’
 Cf. 0651 diruo: da: {munnu haena/muno: haea}. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’
 0751 ʔUN {haea/hasa:} wa: mundo:. ‘That bamboo hat is mine.’

(2) It is used to form an adnominal modifier of the noun phrase following it and express attributes of or things related to that noun phrase. Except for first and second person pronouns (see 2.3.3), there are no restrictions on nouns (noun phrases) taking the *-nu*-case.

- 1653 ʔitukunu ʔudo: janinu {ʔuwe:/wi:en} ʔusen AN. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on the roof.’
 5952 ʒi:ro:ja ʔuttunu saburo:tu eitaitan do:.. ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’
 4152 da: ʔUN junu na: eironnʒa:.. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’
 3551 hakunu nakae: mandzu:nu eansa ʔakka wakaran {ka:/na:}. ‘How many manju do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’

7051 mitteje: gakko:nu eiŋee: {tu/e} o:tʔan(do:). ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’

Use of the *-nu*-case in phrases of the form ‘NP1-*nu* NP2’ is the norm; a usage corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* of Modern Standard Japanese was not observed. In the following examples, I provide a literal translation of the example sentences in parentheses.

0553 ʔUN kama: taro:nu munnaʔ. ‘Is that sickle Taro’s (Taro’s thing; Taro’s one)?’

0953 ʔure: ʔuttunu munkamu eiŋira:. ‘That may be my brother’s (my brother’s thing; my brother’s one).’

6353 ʔUN eiŋbuno: su:nu mun za. dzijo:nu muno: ʔuriza. ‘That newspaper is today’s (today’s thing; today’s one). This is yesterday’s (that is yesterday’s thing; yesterday’s one).’

7251 kazukonu muntu tʔitumUN assa:(o:ba) hanakoemu ho:e: kuririjo:.. ‘Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko’s (Kazuko’s things; Kazuko’s ones) for Hanako, as well.’

(3) It is used to express the object of emotions and abilities.

4052 wano: to:nu sasuminu {kanbusan/kanbusarija:}. ‘I want to eat octopus sashimi.’

3453 mago: kʔaeinu suteiŋ do:. ‘My grandchild likes sweets.’

5453 ʔituko: je:gonu honnu jumineŋ. ‘My cousin can read English books.’¹⁹

2.3.3 The -Ø-case

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate. The same usage is also observed for the *-o:ba*-case discussed in 2.3.4; it appears that they are used about equally often. For example, in other sentences uttered in response to the same Standard Japanese model sentences as those of 7252, 3653, and 5753 below, forms with the *-o:ba*-case were observed.

6853 ʔisanu kuritan kusuri numiba {no:rikkaja:/no:riro:}. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’

7252 kadzukotu ninmunnu ʔassa: hanakojenmu {ho:okaja/ho:o:ja}. ‘Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’

6251 wano: kiju:ja eiŋbun mirantʔando:.. ‘I did not read the newspaper yesterday.’

3653 mago: manzu: kawadake kamin. ‘My grandchild eats only the skin (of) manju.’

5753 tuze:N ji: {tukkatae/tukkaeiŋ}. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’

7153 nu: ho:ka(ja:). ‘What shall I buy?’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). As was the case with direct objects in (1), the same usage is also observed for the *-o:ba*-case.

- 1253 ɕiko:zo:katee: ʔUN mitei tu:re:ki (jo:). ‘Go along this road for the airport.’
 1353 miteinu mannaka ʔatteiba ʔikan (do:). ‘You must not walk in the middle of the road.’

(3) Among personal pronouns, first and second person singular pronouns take the -Ø-case to form adnominal modifiers. Incidentally, the first person plural could not be identified in this survey. As is the case with adnominal modifiers formed with the *-nu*-case, a usage corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* has not been observed for the -Ø-case (0751, 0853; a literal translation is provided in parentheses).

- 0453 wa: ke:ja za:nji ʔari joʔ. ‘Where is my hoe?’
 0751 ʔUN {haea:/hasa:} wa: mundo:. ‘That bamboo hat is mine (my thing; my one).’
 0653 dunŋa da: hasa jo. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’
 0853 ʔUN ʔusukki(:)ja da: munna. ‘Is that *furoshiki* yours (your thing; your one)?’

The use of a *-nu*-case form was, however, also observed, albeit in only one example (cf. 0451). In addition, an example in which a -Ø-case form expresses the subject of a state was observed (cf. 3952).

- Cf. 0451 {wanUN/wannu} kʔe:ja dza:nji {ʔarijo/ʔando:}. ‘Where is my hoe?’
 3952 ʔju:jori nikudu²⁰ takasa(do:). ‘Meat is more expensive than fish.’

2.3.4 The *-o:ba*-case²¹

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate²². As noted above, it is used alongside -Ø-case forms.

- 3751 ʔazi:ja kʔanmakara {ʔumikatei/ʔumie:} jʔu:o:ba tunja ʔizando:. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’
 5851 utʔo: de:e: kaqooba tʔukutʔando:. ‘My husband made a basket out of bamboo.’
 5752 tudzien ji:jo:ba {tsukkatei/tukka ein}. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’
 7251 kazukonu muntu tʔitumUN assa:(o:ba) hanakoemu ho:e: kuririjo:. ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’
 3651 mago: mandzu:(o:ba) wʔabe:daki kamindo:. ‘My grandchild eats only the skin (of) manju.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). Unlike the direct object usage, we do not have many examples.

- 1853 eiru turi:ga tinto:oba tubUN. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’

2.3.5 The *-eN*-case²³

(1) It is used to express the indirect object, such as the recipient of an action or a reference point.

- 7252 kadzuotu ninmunnu ?assa: hanakojenmu {ho:okaja/ho:o:ja} ‘Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’
- 5653 ?UN hanase: {tuzen/tuzien}daki kikatean. ‘I only told that story to my wife.’
- 5651 ?UN hanaeie: tuzidakie: teikateando:. ‘I only told that story to my wife.’
- 3853 ?uma:ja ?umijen teikasan munen junu masan. ‘This place is close to the sea, so the fish tastes good.’
- 7452 hanako: t?uranu ?okkanie: ju: {ni:jo:ri/ni:o:ri} ja:. ‘Hanako looks a lot like her mother.’
(?okkanie: < ?okkan + e:)

The *-eN*-case is also used to express the agent in passive and causative sentences.

- 6051 eaburo:ja dziro:e: {bo:/guei:}e: ?ut?at?an. ‘Saburo was hit by Jiro with a stick.’
- 6751 hanako: ?anma:e: munoba kamae: murat?ando:. ‘Hanako had her mother feed her meals.’
- 5752 tuzien ji:jo:ba {tsukkatei/tukka ein}. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action or state or the time at which an action or state arises.

- 1653 ?itukunu ?udo: janinu {?uwe:/wi:en} ?usen an. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on top of (on) the roof.’
- 2353 mago:nu ?udukara to:k’o:jen ?un. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’
- 3551 hakunu nakae: mandzu:nu eansa ?akka wakaran {ka:/na:}. ‘How many *manju* do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’
- 1953 ?an jamajeno: ?inoeieinu ?unbe:za. ‘I heard that there are wild boars on that mountain.’
- 1151 ?iko:kje: cittei:e: ?ikkaieika ne:ran(do:). ‘There is only one flight on a day (per day).’

(3) It is used to express the location at which an action or state arises (locative nouns).

- 2851 jozimate: jekie: mateo:rijo:. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’
- 7052 miteie: gakko:nu einse:tu o:tando:. ‘I ran into my school teacher on the street.’
- 3251 ?un ?uwage: nanma ?okinawae: ni?eenjenoe: ho:tando:. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day for 2000 yen.’

(4) It is used to express tools and means.

- 1051 ?okinawanije funie: ?ikunjuri ciko:kje: ?izan ho:na jutasando:. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’

3151 niimutunu ?ubussa munnare: tʰarie: mutee:dzan(do:). ‘The luggage was heavy, so we carried it as a pair (the two of us carried it together).’

6052 saburo:{wa/ja} dʒiro:ni guei:{de/hen/jen} ?utattan do:. ‘Saburo was hit by Jiro with a stick.’

(5) It is used to express constituent elements such as materials and ingredients.

5851 utʉo: de:e: kagooba tʰukutʰando:. ‘My husband made a basket with (out of) bamboo.’

(6) Its use to express a cause was observed, as well. In the Kamikatetsu dialect, too, an example with the continuative form of the verb *jamju* ‘to be ill’ was observed in addition to an example with the *-eN*-case form of the noun *jamai* ‘illness’ (cf. 6653).

6651 hanako: kiju:kara jamaie: nʲinbondo:. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday due to illness (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

Cf. 6653 hanako: su:kara jamen nʲinbun. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday, as she is ill (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

(7) It is used to express the goal of a motion event.

0351 n:, hate:{je/e} wannu ?ikin. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’

3752 ?adzi:ja kʰanmakara {umikatei/umije:} ?ju: tunnʲa ?idza(do:). ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish in the morning.’

In each of the usages of the *-eN*-case given above, it overlaps with other cases: with the *-nʲi*-case in regard to usages (1) indirect object and (2) location or time of an event (2.3.6), with the *-zen*-case in regard to usage (3) location at which an event takes place (2.3.8), with the *-sen*-case in regard to usages (4) tool or means, (5) constituent elements, and (6) cause (2.3.7), and with the *-katei*-case in regard to usage (7) goal (2.3.9).

2.3.6 The *-nʲi*-case

(1) It is used to express the indirect object, such as the recipient of an action or a reference point. The same usage is observed for the *-eN*-case ((1) in 2.3.5)²⁴.

7253 kazukonu muntu jinmun getao hanakonʲimu ho:en turaso:. ‘Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’

3852 ?uma:ja umini teikasannati ?junu {?masando:/umasando:}. ‘This place is close to the sea, so the fish tastes good.’

7451 hanako: ?anma:{e:/nʲi} tura: tʰitumundo:. ‘Hanako looks a lot like her mother.’

The *-ni*-case is also used to express the agent in passive and causative sentences.

- 6053 saburo:wa ziro:{ni/en} bo:sen ?utattan. ‘Saburo was hit by Jiro with a stick.’
 6752 hanako: {?okka:/?okkan}ni mun{woba/joba} kamasarondo:. ‘Hanako had her mother feed her meals.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action or state or the time at which an action or state arises. The *-en*-case is used to express these, as well ((2) in 2.3.5).

- 1651 ?itukunu {?utu_Nnu/?udunu} j[?]ançira:(nu) {ui:ni/üi:e} ϕ uea:ri. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on top of (on) the roof.’
 2351 mago: ϕ udukara to:kjo:{je:/ni} undo:. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’
 2551 hateigatsunje: muduren eikkamu wakarando:te:. ‘It appears he will come back in August.’

(3) It is used to express the result of a change of state. This usage is not observed for the *-en*-case. An example with a *-Ø*-case form, however, was observed (cf. 5332), but as the total number of examples is itself small, further investigation is required.

- 5351 ϕ udu ?itukunu teu:gakko:nu einse:ni natando:. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’
 Cf. 5352 hudu: ?itokona teu:gakko:nu einse: natan(do:). ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’

Incidentally, in the Kamikatetsu dialect, too, *-ni* is not used to express the purpose of a motion event, nor is *-en*²⁵.

- Cf. 3751 ?azi:ja k[?]anmakara {?umikatei/?umje:} j[?]u:o:ba tunja ?izando:. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’
 6952 ?okka:ja wankatei mun ho:ija ?idzan do:. ‘Mother went to the market to buy some groceries.’
 2651 ?anma:ja ?atea to:kjo:katei jinŋank[?]annari o:ija ?i{te/k}indo:. ‘The mother will go to Tokyo to see her son tomorrow.’

2.3.7 The *-sen*-case²⁶

(1) It is used to express tools and means²⁷. The same usage is observed for the *-en*-case ((4) in 2.3.5).

- 3153 niimotsunu {?ubussaren/?ubusattan munen} ?tarisen muttean. ‘The luggage was heavy, so we carried it as a pair (the two of us carried it together).’
 6053 saburo:wa ziro:{ni/en} bo:sen ?utattan. ‘Saburo was hit by Jiro with a stick.’

3251 ϕ UN η uwage: nanma η okinawae: n η eenjence: ho:tando:. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day with (for) 2000 yen.’

(2) It is used to express constituent elements such as materials and ingredients. In this use, too, it overlaps with the *-eN*-case ((5) in 2.3.5).

5852 utto: de:he: so:bi tukutando:. ‘My husband made a basket with (out of) bamboo.’

(3) It is used to express a cause. Like the two usages above, this usage is also observed for the *-eN*-case ((6) in 2.3.5).

6652 hanako: teiju:kara jamai{sen/se:} ninbon do:. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday due to illness (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

2.3.8 The *-zen*-case

It is used to express the location at which an action or state arises (locative nouns). The same usage is observed for the *-eN*-case ((3) in 2.3.5).

2853 jozimadi jekij{je/zen} mateo:ri jo:. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’

7053 mitezen gakko:nu einse:tu η o:ta. ‘I ran into my school teacher on the street.’

3253 η UN η uwage: nanma:ta η okinawazen n η isenenzen ko:tan. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day for 2000 yen.’ (also see note 27)

Fluctuation among three cases was observed for the following example; namely, the *-zen*-case, the *-ni*-case, and the *-eN*-case. It can be inferred from this that when locative nouns take these case forms, their grammatical meanings are quite close to each other.

3353 η okinawa{zeno:/nie/nio:/jeno:} {middasan/mindasan} k η aeinu η AN. ‘There are unique sweets in Okinawa (Okinawa has unique sweets).’

2.3.9 The *-katsi*-case

It is used to express the goal of a motion event. The same usage is observed for the *-eN*-case ((7) in 2.3.5).

0251 da: {hate:katsi/hate:ni} { η ikijo:/ η ikinja}. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)

0353 η i:, hate:kate: wannu η ika. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’

3753 zi:sano: kanmakara η umikatsi ju tun η a η izan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish in the morning.’

In example 0251 above, the *-ni*-case was used, as well. No other examples were observed in which the *-ni*-case was used to express a goal, but it would seem that if, for example, *hatake-e* ‘field-ALLATIVE’ were changed to *hatake-ni* ‘field-LOCATIVE’ in the Standard Japanese model sentence, more examples would be observed.

2.3.10 The *-tu*-case

(1) It is used to express the comitative participant in a reciprocal action.

- 5951 $\text{d}z\text{iro:ja } \text{?uttunu } \text{saburo:tu } \text{eitteit?AN(do:)}.$ ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’
 7051 $\text{mitteje: } \text{gakko:nu } \text{einne: {tu/e} } \text{o:t?AN(do:)}.$ ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’

(2) It is used to express an object with which a reciprocal relationship holds.

- 5153 $\text{kamen } \text{n'inbidaki } \text{nariba } \text{?inŋa:ja } \text{qucu:tu } \text{{jinmun/?issu} } \text{za}.$ ‘If you only eat and sleep, you will be the same as dogs and cats (no different from dogs and cats).’
 7251 $\text{kazukonu } \text{muntu } \text{t'itumun } \text{assa:(o:ba) } \text{hanakoemu } \text{ho:e: } \text{kuririjo:}.$ ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko's (as Kazuko's things; as Kazuko's ones) for Hanako, as well.’

2.3.11 The *-kara*-case

(1) It is used to express the starting point of an eventuality, such as the departure point of a motion event or the inception time of an action or state.

- 2453 $\text{mago: } \text{?itu } \text{to:k'io:kara } \text{mudurikka}.$ ‘When will our grandchild come back from Tokyo?’
 2353 $\text{mago:nu } \text{?udukara } \text{to:k'io:jen } \text{?un}.$ ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’
 3751 $\text{?azi:ja } \text{k'anmakara } \text{{?umikatei/?umie:} } \text{j'u:o:ba } \text{tunja } \text{?izando:}.$ ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish from (in) the morning.’

(2) Its use to express materials was observed, as well. Further investigation is required regarding whether there is a distinction between this usage and the use of the *-sen-* and *-en-* cases to express materials and the like.

- 4451 $\text{ee:ja } \text{?umikara } \text{tukurindo:}.$ ‘Sake is made from rice.’

(3) Its use to express a location involved in an action (in the example below: a location that is passed through) was also observed, albeit in only one example. This usage of the *-kara*-case is observed throughout the Ryukyuan languages; this shows that it is also retained in the Kamikatetsu dialect.

1351 miteinu mannakakara: ?atteiba ?ikando:. ‘You must not walk in the middle (from the middle) of the road.’

2.3.12 The *-madi*-case

It is used to express the limit to which an action or state extends. Incidentally, 2753 is an example of a compound adnominal case form.

3053 ziro, ?un n?imoto: ja:madi hann?ijen izenkuri. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage (up) to the house.’

2851 jozimate: jek?e: mateo:rijo:.. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’ (*made*: < *madi* ‘TERMINATIVE’ + *-ja* ‘TOPIC’)

2753 ?o:sakakara to:k?o:madinu kisateino: sansakaja:.. ‘How much might the train fare from Osaka to Tokyo be?’

2.3.13 The *-madin?i*:-case

It is used to express the time by which an action will take or has taken place. This usage is also observed for the *-madi*-case, but as there are few examples of either, further investigation is required.

2951 gozimatejin?i: muduranba narando:.. ‘I have to be home by five o’clock.’

Cf. 2953 gozimate muduranba naran. ‘I have to be home by five o’clock.’

2.3.14 The case periphery (or: peripheral cases)

Here, I list the forms corresponding to Modern Standard Japanese *-yori* ‘than’ and its quotative marker *-to*.

2.3.14.1 *-jurimu/-jukkamu*

It is used to express a standard of comparison.

1751 kiju: eu:juri hadinu {?teusari/?teusatando:}. ‘Yesterday, it was windier than today.’

3951 {?ujukamu/?ujurimu} n?ikunu {ho:nu/ho:na} takaeando:.. ‘Meat is more expensive than fish.’

2.3.14.2 *-ten*

It is used to express the content of speech or thought.

3553 hakonu nakajeno: manzu:nu {?ik?ut?u/sansa} ?anten ?umi:rijo. ‘How many *manju* do you think that there are (think there are) in the box?’

2.4 Nakasato

In the Nakasato dialect, the following 11 case forms and 2 peripheral forms have been identified.

2.4.1 The *-ŋa*-case

(1) It is used to express the subject of the action, change of state, or state referred to by the predicate. In this usage, *-ŋa*-nouns can also appear in subordinate clauses (6873, 3171).

- 1871 {eiruduri:ŋa/mae:iru: tuŋa} tinto:(oba) {tuduija:/tuduso:ja:}. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’
- 1573 ʔa, ʔamiŋa ʔutittei:. ‘Ah, rain has started to fall (it has started to rain).’
- 5371 ʔudu ʔitukuŋa teu:gakko:nu ei:ŋe:nji natʔando:. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’
- 1971 ʔan jamanʔie: inueiŋa ʔun nessuija:. ‘I heard that there are wild boars on that mountain.’
- 6873 ʔisana kuritan kusui numiba no:juro:. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’
- 3171 ni:ŋa ʔubussatankara tʔaizi mutteando:. ‘The luggage was heavy, so the two of us carried it together.’

The usage known as ‘exhaustive listing’ is observed, as well.

- 0271 daŋa hate:gatei ʔiki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)
- 0373 ʔin, hate:gate: waŋa ʔiteui. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’
- 0671 diŋa da: hasajo:. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’
- 0771 ʔun hasaŋa wa: mundza. ‘That bamboo hat is mine.’

(2) It is used to express the object of emotions and abilities. Examples with the *-ba*-case were not observed in this dialect.

- 3471 maŋa:ja kʔaeŋa suteundo:. ‘My grandchild likes sweets.’
- 4071 wano: to:nu saeiŋa {kanbusai (A)/kanbusaja: (B)}. ‘I want to eat octopus sashimi.’
- 5473 ʔituko: je:gonu honŋa junʔunsui. ‘My cousin can read English books.’

2.4.2 The *-nu*-case

(1) It is used to form an adnominal modifier of the noun phrase following it and express attributes of or things related to that noun phrase. As in the other dialects, aside from the Kamikatetsu dialect, there are no restrictions on nouns (noun phrases) taking the *-nu*-case except for first and second person pronouns (see 2.4.3).

- 1672 ʔitokonu hutuŋa janinu i:nji hutean do:. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on the roof.’

- 5973 $\text{d}z\text{iro:ja } \text{?uttunu } \text{saburo:tu } \text{eittteiti}$. ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’
 4171 $\text{da:(ja) } \text{?un } \text{?iju:nu } \text{na: } \text{eittteun } \{ \text{ja/n}^{\text{ja}} \}$. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’
 3571 $\text{hakun } \text{na:n}^{\text{je:}} \text{manzu:}\eta \text{ sansa } \text{?antei } \text{?umujujo}$. ‘How many *manju* do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’
 7073 $\text{miteizi } \text{gakko:nu } \text{einse:n}^{\text{ji}} \text{ ?o:t}^{\text{i}}$. ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’

While use of the *-nu*-case in phrases of the form ‘NP1-*nu* NP2’ is the norm in the Nakasato dialect, too, a significant number of instances corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* of Modern Standard Japanese were observed, as well (cf. 0571, 0973, 6371). In the following examples, I provide a literal translation of the example sentences in parentheses.

- 0572 $\text{?un } \text{hama: } \text{taro:nu } \text{mun } \text{na}$. ‘Is that sickle Taro’s (Taro’s thing; Taro’s one)?’
 0973 $\text{?ure: } \text{?uttu:nu } \text{mun}^{\text{kamu}} \text{ wakara:}$. ‘That may be my brother’s (could be my brother’s thing; my brother’s one).’
 6373 $\text{?un } \text{einbuno: } \text{su:nu } \text{mun } \text{do:} \text{. } \text{tein}^{\text{ju:nu}} \text{ mun}^{\text{o:}} \text{ ?uri do:}$. ‘That newspaper is today’s (today’s thing; today’s one). This is yesterday’s (that is yesterday’s thing; yesterday’s one).’
 Cf. 0571 $\text{?un } \text{hama: } \{ \text{taro:nu } \{ \text{na/ka} \} / \text{taro:suna} / \text{taro:nu } \text{munna} \}$. ‘Is that sickle Taro’s?’
 0973 $\text{?ure: } \text{?uttu:nu } \text{kamu } \text{wakara:}$. ‘That may be my brother’s.’
 6371 $\text{?un } \text{einbuno: } \text{su:nu}^{\text{da}}$, $\text{kin}^{\text{ju:nu}} \text{ mun}^{\text{o:}} \text{ ?uriza}$. ‘That newspaper is today’s. This is yesterday’s.’

(2) It is used to mark the subject of the main clause. It appears that the functional differentiation of the *-ya*- and *-nu*-cases into the nominative and the genitive case, respectively, is in quite an advanced stage in the Nakasato dialect, too, and that the use of *-nu* with the subject of the main clause is restricted to agreement with exclamatory forms (wavy underline in 1472; cf. 1471) and the like, as was seen in the Shitooke dialect. At the same time, however, combinations of the *-ya*-case and exclamatory forms were also observed (cf. 1473), so the use of the *-nu*-case to mark the subject has almost completely disappeared.

- 1472 $\text{miteinu } \text{?irusa } \text{ja:}$. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’
 Cf. 1471 $\text{mite}^{\text{ina}} \text{ ?irusaija:}$. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’
 1473 $\text{mite}^{\text{ina}} \text{ ?irusa } \text{ja:}$. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’

-nu, too, is quite frequently used with subjects in subordinate clauses. *-nu* is merely used here as an equivalent of the *-no* in the Standard Japanese model sentence, however; there is in fact no longer an alternation with *-ya* as regards their use for the nominative case.

- 2272 ʔAN mi:nu ʔubisan ʔirunu eirusan ʔinŋaja taru{jo/kai}. ‘Who could that person whose eyes are large and whose skin is white (large-eyed, light-skinned person) be?’
- 6473 ʔaminu hujun he: {ʔanma/ʔani:}ja ja:zi terebibe: mitɕui. ‘On days when rain falls (rainy days), grandmother just watches TV at home.’

2.4.3 The -Ø-case

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate. The same usage is also observed for the *-jo:ba*-case discussed in 2.4.4; it is used alongside the -Ø-case.

- 6873 ʔisaŋa kuritan kusui numiba no:juro:. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’
- 6273 wano: tɕinju:ja ɕinbun jumanti. ‘I did not read the newspaper yesterday.’
- 3771 ʔazi:ja kʔamakara {ʔumjɕe:/ʔumigatɕi} ʔiju tɕinja ʔizan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’
- 3672 mago:ja mandzu: ha:daki kanju. ‘My grandchild eats only the skin (of) manju.’
- 7171 nu: ho:jukka. ‘What shall I buy?’

Although there is fluctuation between it and the *-ŋa*-case, examples in which an -Ø-case form expresses the object of an emotion were also observed.

- 4073 wano: to:nu {saeimŋa/saeimidu/saeimi} kanbusa(i). ‘I want to eat octopus sashimi.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). As was the case with direct objects in (1), the same usage is also observed for the *-o:ba*-case; they are used alongside one another.

- 1373 mitɕin manna: ʔattee: ʔikan do:. ‘You must not walk in the middle of the road.’

(3) Among personal pronouns, first and second person pronouns (singular) take the -Ø-case instead of the *-nu*-case to form adnominal modifiers. As is the case with adnominal modifiers formed with the *-nu*-case, a usage corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* has not been observed for the -Ø-case (0771, 0873; a literal translation is provided in parentheses).

- 0473 wa: ke:ja za:njɕu ʔaru. ‘Where is my hoe?’
- 0771 ʔUN hasaŋa wa: munda. ‘That bamboo hat is mine (my thing; my one).’
- 4673 wanna: ʔazi:ja se:mu tabakumu numa:. ‘Our grandfather neither drinks nor smokes.’
- 0671 dinŋa da: hasajo:. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’
- 0873 ʔUN hurueike: da: muna na. ‘Is that *furoshiki* yours (your thing; your one)?’

An example was observed in which a human proper noun (a personal name) takes the $-\emptyset$ -case to form an adnominal modifier, as well. As was the case with the Shitooke dialect, we have only one example, and no examples with third person pronouns, so further investigation is required.

7271 {kazukonutu/kazuko assa:tu} {jin mun/t²itu ?assa:}o:ba hanakon'imu ho:ti {tura so:/kuriro:}. 'Let me buy the same *geta* ({same things; same ones/same *geta*}) as Kazuko's ({as Kazuko's/as Kazuko's *geta*}) for Hanako, as well.'

It appears that depending on the speaker, the *-nu*-case is sometimes used instead of the $-\emptyset$ -case, as well.

Cf. 0472 wannu k²e:ja dza:ni. {?assu jo:/?akkai}. 'Where is my hoe?'

2.4.4 The *-jo:ba*-case²⁸

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate.

3671 maŋa:ja mandzu:o:ba ha:dakidu kan'ui. 'My grandchild eats only the skin (of) manju.'

7273 kazukonu muntu titu geta(jo:ba) hanakon'imu ho:ti turaso:'. 'Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko's for Hanako, as well.'

5873 uto: de:zi kaqujo:ba {t²ukuti/t²ukutan}. 'My husband made a basket out of bamboo.'

6773 hanako: ?okkann'i gohanjo:ba kamatei mura(t)t²i. 'Hanako had her mother feed her meals.'

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). As is the case with the direct object usage, it appears that the use of the $-\emptyset$ -case is predominant in this usage.

1873 maæeiru: tuiŋa sorajo:ba tudui. 'A pure white bird is flying in the sky.'

1273 çiko:zo: nariba ?un miteijo:ba ?iki jo:'. 'Go along this road for the airport.'

1371 miteinu manna:(o:ba) ?attee: ?ikan(do:). 'You must not walk in the middle of the road.'

2.4.5 The *-ni*-case

(1) It is used to express the indirect object, such as the recipient of an action or a reference point.

7073 miteizi gakkono:nu einse:ni ?o:t²i. 'I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.'

5671 ?un hanasje: tuzin'ibe:i teikate(a)(n). 'I only told that story to my wife.'

3873 ?uma: ?umin'ji teikasangara ?ijuŋa masai. 'This place is close to the sea, so the fish tastes good.'

7471 hanako: t²uraŋa ?okkann'ji ju: ni'teuija:'. 'Hanako looks a lot like her mother.'

The *-ni*-case is also used to express the agent in passive and causative sentences.

- 5771 tuzinji ji:(o:ba) tʰukurasui. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’
 6073 saburo:ja dziro:nji butto:zi ʔutatti. ‘Saburo was hit by Jiro with a stick.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action or state or the time at which an action or state arises.

- 1671 ʔitukunu ʔuduŋa ʔjançira:nji {ʔutei ʔai/ʔuteai}. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on top of (on) the roof.’
 2373 mago:ŋa hudukara to:kjo:nji ʔui. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’
 3572 hakun na:nji mandzu:ŋa ʔikutu ʔantei ʔumujukko. ‘How many manju do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’
 1173 çiko:ke: çittei:nji ʔikkaieika ne:. ‘There is only one flight on a day (per day).’
 2571 hateigatsunjie: muduti sun nessuija:. ‘It appears he will come back in August.’

(3) It is used to express the result of a change of state.

- 5371 ʔudu ʔitukuŋa teu:gakko:nu çinse:nji natʰando:. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’

Incidentally, in the Nakasato dialect, too, *-nji* is not used to express the purpose of a motion event.

- Cf. 3771 ʔazi:ja kʰamakara {ʔumiçie:/ʔumigatei} ʔiju tuinja ʔizan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’
 6973 ʔokkano: ʔiteibagatei çina ho:innja ʔizi. ‘Mother went to the market to buy some groceries.’

2.4.6 The *-zi*-case²⁹

(1) It is used to express tools and means.

- 1073 ʔokina: {nçie:/gatei} hunçizi ʔiteukkamu çiko:kizi ʔizan ho:ŋa juta(s)sai. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’
 3171 ni:ŋa ʔubussatankara tʰaizi mutteando:. ‘The luggage was heavy, so we carried it as a pair (the two of us carried it together).’
 3273 ʔun ʔuwage: nʰanma ʔokina:zi nʰisenenzi ho:ti. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day with (for) 2000 yen.’

(2) It is used to express constituent elements such as materials and ingredients.

- 5871 uto: de:zi so:çinkʰa:(o) tʰukutʰan. ‘My husband made a basket with (out of) bamboo.’

(3) It is used to express the location at which an action or state arises (locative nouns).

- 2871 jozimadi jekizi matteurijo:. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’
 7073 miteizi gakkono:nu einse:ni?i?o:t?i. ‘I ran into my school teacher on the street.’
 3273 ?UN ?uwage: n?anma ?okina:zi n?isenenzi ho:ti. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day for 2000 yen.’

(4) It is used to express a cause. Like in the other dialects, both the *-zi*-case form of the noun *jamai* ‘illness’ and the continuative form of the verb *jamjui* ‘to be ill’ were observed (cf. 6671).

- 6673 hanako: tein?u:kara jamaizi nittui. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday due to illness (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’
 Cf. 6671 hanako: tein?u:kara jadi nittui. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday, as she is ill (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

2.4.7 The *-gatei*-case

It is used to express the goal of a motion event.

- 0271 dana hate:gatei ?iki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)
 3773 ?azi:ja k?amakkara ?umigatei ?iju {tuinn?ia/tunn?ia} {?izan/?izi}. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish in the morning.’

2.4.8 The *-tu*-case

(1) It is used to express the comitative participant in a reciprocal action.

- 5971 d?iro: ?uttunu saburo:tu eititit?a(N). ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’

(2) It is used to express an object with which a reciprocal relationship holds.

- 5171 kadi nittun dakinariba: ?in?a:ja guru:tu {?issu/t?itu}za:. ‘If you only eat and sleep, you will be the same as dogs and cats (no different from dogs and cats).’
 7273 kazukonu muntu titu geta(jo:ba) hanakon?imu ho:ti turaso:. ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko’s (as Kazuko’s things; as Kazuko’s ones) for Hanako, as well.’

2.4.9 The *-kara*-case

(1) It is used to express the starting point of an eventuality, such as the departure point of a motion event or the inception time of an action or state.

- 2471 ma?a:ja itu to:kjo:kara {mudujukka/mudujusujo:}. ‘When will our grandchild come back from Tokyo?’
 2372 mago:na hudukara to:kjo:ni ?ui. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’

3771 ʔazi:ja kʔamakara {ʔumj̄e:/ʔumigatei} ʔiju t̄inja ʔizan. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish from (in) the morning.’

(2) It is used to express materials. Depending on the speaker, however, the *-zi*-case is used for this (cf. 4471); it appears that there is no usage distinction like those that are observed between English ‘of’ and ‘from’ and the Modern Standard Japanese *-de-* and *-kara-*cases.

4473 se:ja ʔumikara tʔukujusu do:. ‘Sake is made from rice.’

Cf. 4471 se:ja ʔumizi {tʔukujui (A)/tʔukjusudo: (B)}. ‘Sake is made from rice (with rice).’

2.4.10 The *-madi*-case

It is used to express the limit to which an action or state extends. Incidentally, 2772 is an example of a compound adnominal case form.

3073 ɖziro:, ʔUN n̄imutsu jo:ba ja:madi hatamiti ʔizikuri. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage (up) to the house.’

2871 jozimadi jekizi matteurijo:. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’

2772 ʔo:sakakara to:kjo:madinu kieateino: sansakai. ‘How much might the train fare from Osaka to Tokyo be?’

2.4.11 The *-madin̄i*-case

It is used to express the time by which an action will take or has taken place.

2971 gozimadin̄ie: muduranba: narando:. ‘I have to be home by five o’clock.’

2.4.12 The case periphery (or: peripheral cases)

Here, I list the forms corresponding to Modern Standard Japanese *-yori* ‘than’ and its quotative marker *-to*.

2.4.12.1 *-kkamu*

It is used to express a standard of comparison.

1773 tein̄u:ja su:kkamu hadiŋa teusatti. ‘Yesterday, it was windier than today.’

3971 ʔiju:kkamu nikunu ho:ŋa ta:sai. ‘Meat is more expensive than fish.’

1072 ʔokina:gatee: {huni/humi}dzi ʔiteukkamu ɕiko:kiɖzi ʔiɖzan ho:ŋa jutasari. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’

2.4.12.2 *-tei*

It is used to express the content of speech or thought.

3571 hakun na:nj̄e: manzu:ŋa sansa ʔantei ʔumujuijo. ‘How many *manju* do you think that there are (think there are) in the box?’

2.5 Araki

In the Araki dialect, the following 11 case forms and 2 peripheral forms have been identified.

2.5.1 The -ŋa-case

(1) It is used to express the subject of the action, change of state, or state referred to by the predicate. In this usage, -ŋa-nouns can also appear in subordinate clauses (6892, 3191).

1892 {eiru/maeēirunu} turiŋa tinto: {tuduī/tudun do:}. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’

1591 ʔage: ʔamiŋa ʔutittei: ‘Ah, rain has started to fall (it has started to rain).’

5392 huzu ʔitukunŋa teu:ŋakko:nu eīnee:n̄i natan do: ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’

1991 ʔan jaman̄j̄e: ʔinucieŋa ʔunti:sa. ‘I heard that there are wild boars on that mountain.’

6892 ʔieŋa kuritan kusuri numiba: no:rundaro: ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’

3191 n̄i:ŋa ʔubussatankann̄i tʔarizi {muttei/mutteando:}. ‘The luggage was heavy, so the two of us carried it together.’

The usage known as ‘exhaustive listing’ is observed, as well.

0291 danŋa hate:katei iki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)

0391 ʔin, hate:teje: wanŋa ʔiteui. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’

0692 dinŋa da: hasa jo: ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’

0792 ʔun hasanŋa wa: mun do: ‘That bamboo hat is mine.’

(2) It is used to express the object of emotions and abilities.

3492 manŋa:ja kʔaeiŋa suki do: ‘My grandchild likes sweets.’

4093 wano: to:nu saeimiŋa kanbusai. ‘I want to eat octopus sashimi.’

5493 ʔituko: je:gonu {honŋa jumi:su/hondu {jumi:/jumi: sui}}. ‘My cousin can read English books.’

2.5.2 The -nu-case

(1) It is used to form an adnominal modifier of the noun phrase following it and express attributes of or things related to that noun phrase. As in the other dialects, aside from the Kamikatetsu dialect,

there are no restrictions on nouns (noun phrases) taking the *-nu*-case except for first and second person pronouns (see 2.5.3).

- 1691 ʔitukunu ʔudu jaŋçira:nji ɸutei ʔai. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on the roof.’
 5993 ɔziro:ja ʔuttunu saburo:tu ɛittteiti. ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’
 4193 da: ʔUN junu namae ɛittɛUNnʔa. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’
 3592 hʷakun nakanji manzu:ŋa ʔikutsu ʔantei ʔuma:innʔa. ‘How many *manju* do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’
 7092 miteizi gakkō:nu ɛinee:nji ʔo:tando:. ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’

Use of the *-nu*-case in phrases of the form ‘NP1-*nu* NP2’ is the norm in the Araki dialect, too; a usage corresponding to the formal noun-like *-no* of Modern Standard Japanese was not observed in this survey. In the following examples, I provide a literal translation of the example sentences in parentheses.

- 0591 ʔUN hama: taro:nu munna. ‘Is that sickle Taro’s (Taro’s thing; Taro’s one)?’
 0991 ʔure: ʔuttu:nu munkamau {wakaran/ɛiriran/ɛirira:}. ‘That may be my brother’s (could be my brother’s thing; my brother’s one).’
 6392 ʔUN ɛinbunno: su:nu mundo: teinju:nu muno: ʔuri do:. ‘That newspaper is today’s (today’s thing; today’s one). This is yesterday’s (that is yesterday’s thing; yesterday’s one).’

(2) It is used to mark the subject of the main clause. The functional differentiation of the *-ŋa*- and *-nu*-cases into the nominative and the genitive case, respectively, can be considered to be in quite an advanced stage in the Araki dialect, too; it appears that the use of *-nu* with the subject of the main clause is restricted to agreement with exclamatory forms (wavy underline in 1491) and the like.

- 1491 miteiŋa ɕirusaija:./miteinu ɕirusaja:. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’

-nu is used more often with subjects in subordinate clauses than with subjects in main clauses. Examples in which the *-ŋa*-case is used even though the Standard Japanese model sentence has (*ame*)-*no* ‘(rain)-NOMINATIVE/GENITIVE’ were also observed (cf. 6492), however; it can therefore be said that the use of the *-nu*-case as the nominative case is in fact in decline.

- 2291 ʔAN mi:nu uɸusan irunu ɛirusan jinŋa: tarukai. ‘Who could that person whose eyes are large and whose skin is white (large-eyed, light-skinned person) be?’
 6493 ʔaminu ɸurun he: ʔanmaja ja:zi terebiba:ri miteui. ‘On days when rain falls (rainy days), grandmother just watches TV at home.’

Cf. 6492 ʔamiŋa hurun ɕi:ja ʔanmaja ja:zi terebibakkai mitsun do:. ‘On days when rain falls (rainy days), grandmother just watches TV at home.’

2.5.3 The -Ø-case

(1) Unlike in the other dialects, the unprompted use of the -Ø-case as the nominative case, expressing the subject of the action, change of state, or state referred to by the predicate, was observed in the Araki dialect. For example, in the sentence uttered by another speaker in response to the same Standard Japanese model sentence as that of 1691, too, the part corresponding to *futon-ga* ‘bedding-NOMINATIVE’ was observed with the -Ø-case (see 1692 in the *Kikaijima Dialect Survey Data* chapter). Moreover, 0292 exemplifies the usage known as ‘exhaustive listing’.

1492 ʔun mitei ɕirukamuja:. ‘The road is wide (what a wide road)!’

1691 ʔitukunu ʔudu jaŋɕira:nʝi ɸutei ʔai. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on the roof.’

0292 da: hate:kanʝi ʔiki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)

(2) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate.

6892 ʔieaŋa kuritan kusuri numiba: no:rundaro:. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’

3791 ʔazi:ja kʔamakara ʔumikanʝi jʔu turinʝa {ʔizi/ʔizando:}. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’

3692 maŋa:ja manzu: kawadaki kamin do:. ‘My grandchild eats only the skin (of) manju.’

5892 uto: de:zi kaqu tsukutan do:. ‘My husband made a basket out of bamboo.’

7293 kazukonu muntu titsu munnu ʔassa hanakonʝimu ho:ti kuriro:. ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko’s for Hanako, as well.’

7192 nu: ho:o:ka. ‘What shall I buy?’

Its use to express the object of emotions and abilities was observed, as well.

3491 maŋo:ja {kʔwaeiŋa suki/kʔwaei suteun} do:. ‘My grandchild likes sweets.’

5492 ʔituko: jeigonu hon juminsun do:. ‘My cousin can read English books.’

(3) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). As is the case with the direct object usage of (2), the same usage is observed for the *-jo:ba*-case discussed in 2.5.4, but the -Ø-case is the main exponent of both functions.

1291 ku:ko: nariba {ʔun/ɸun} mitei ʔikijo:. ‘Go along this road for the airport.’

1392 miteinu manna: ʔakkiba ʔikan do:. ‘You must not walk in the middle of the road.’

1891 {eirusan tʔuriŋa/eiruduriŋa} tinto: tudui. ‘A pure white bird is flying in the sky.’

(4) Among personal pronouns, first and second person singular³⁰ pronouns take the $-\emptyset$ -case to form adnominal modifiers. As is the case with adnominal modifiers formed with the $-nu$ -case, a usage corresponding to the formal noun-like $-no$ has not been observed for the $-\emptyset$ -case (0792, 0892; a literal translation is provided in parentheses).

0491 wa: k²we:ja dza:nji {a_N/ai}. ‘Where is my hoe?’

0792 ʔUN kasa: wa: mundo:. ‘That bamboo hat is mine (my thing; my one).’

0691 diruŋa da: {kasa/hasa}. ‘Which is your bamboo hat?’

0892 ʔUN ʔutsukki:ja da: munna. ‘Is that *furoshiki* yours (your thing; your one)?’

An example was observed in which a human proper noun (a personal name) takes the $-\emptyset$ -case to form an adnominal modifier, as well. Again, we have no examples with third person pronouns, so further investigation is required.

0592 ʔUN hama: taro: munna. ‘Is that sickle Taro’s (Taro’s thing; Taro’s one)?’

2.5.4 The $-jo:ba$ -case³¹

(1) It is used to express the direct object of the action referred to by the predicate.

5893 ʔuto: de:zi kaqujo:ba tsukut(?)i. ‘My husband made a basket out of bamboo.’

5793 tuzinji ji: {jo:ba/wo:ba} {tsukuraci/tsukurasui}. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’

As noted in 2.5.3, the $-\emptyset$ -case is the main case used for expressing the direct object in the Araki dialect; regarding the two examples above, too, sentences uttered in response to the same Standard Japanese model sentence were observed in which the parts corresponding to *kago-o* ‘basket-ACCUSATIVE’ and *yūhan-o* ‘dinner-ACCUSATIVE’ were $-\emptyset$ -case forms. In other words, it can be said that the $-jo:ba$ -case in its direct object usage is, so to speak, a secondary form. This is also borne out by the fact that as shown below, a significant number of examples without the form $-jo:ba$ were observed.

Cf. 4191 da: ʔUN j²unu namaeba eitteunja. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’

3091 dziro:, ʔUN nimutsuo ja:madi hatamiti {ʔizi kuriri/mutei ʔizi kuriri}. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage to the house.’

6893 ʔisaŋa kuritan kusurio numiba {no:ʔUN dza:ro:/no:ru:so: aranka (ja:)}. ‘You should get well if you take the medicine the doctor gave you.’

6292 wano: teinju:ja einbunno: jumantan do:. ‘I did not read the newspaper yesterday.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action (locative nouns). This usage, too, is observed mainly with the $-\emptyset$ -case.

1391 miteinu manna:(oba) ?attee: ?ikan. ‘You must not walk in the middle of the road.’

2.5.5 The *-ni*-case

(1) It is used to express the indirect object, such as the recipient of an action or a reference point.

7093 miteizi gakko:nu einse:nji ?o:ti. ‘I ran into my teacher from school (my school teacher) on the street.’

5692 ?un hanaee: tuzin'idaki {teikatean/hanatean} do:. ‘I only told that story to my wife.’

3893 ?uma:ja ?uminji teikasankaranji juŋa {masai/masari}. ‘This place is close to the sea, so the fish tastes good.’

7492 hanako: suraŋa ?anmanji ju niitsun do:. ‘Hanako looks a lot like her mother.’

The *-ni*-case is also used to express the agent in passive and causative sentences.

5792 tuzinji ji:ja tsukurusun do:. ‘I will have my wife cook dinner.’

6093 saburo:ja dziro:nji butto:zi ?utatti. ‘Saburo was hit by Jiro with a stick.’

(2) It is used to express a location involved in an action or state or the time at which an action or state arises.

1691 ?itukunu ?udu jançira:nji ?utei ?ai. ‘My cousin’s bedding is airing on top of (on) the roof.’

2391 maŋo:ŋa ?uzukara to:kjo:nji ui. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’

3591 hakunu {naka/na:}n_{ji} mandzu:ŋa ?ikutsu ?antei ?umuinja. ‘How many *manju* do you think there are on the inside of (in) the box?’

1192 çiko:kija çittei:nji ?ikkaieika {ne:ran/tuban}do:. ‘There is only one flight on a day (per day).’

2591 hateiqatsunje muduti sunti:do:. ‘It appears he will come back in August.’

(3) It is used to express the result of a change of state.

5392 huzu ?itukuŋa teu:ŋakko:nu einnee:nji natan do:. ‘Last year, my cousin became a junior high school teacher.’

Incidentally, in the Araki dialect, too, *-ni* is not used to express the purpose of a motion event.

Cf. 3792 ?azi:ja k(?)anmakara ?umizi ju {tunnja/turi:nja} ?izan do:. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to catch fish (to fish) in the morning.’

6993 ?okkanno: {?iteiba/mieija}n_{ji} mun ho:innja ?izi. ‘Mother went to the market to buy some groceries.’

2.5.6 The *-zi*-case

(1) It is used to express tools and means.

- 1092 ʔokina: kanʔe: hunizi ʔizAN jurimu ciko:kizi ʔizAN ho:ŋa jutasAN do:. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’
- 3191 nʔi:ŋa ʔubussatANKANNʔi tʔarizi {muttei/mutteando:}. ‘The luggage was heavy, so we carried it as a pair (the two of us carried it together).’
- 3292 ʔUN ʔuwaŋe: nʔANma ʔokina:zi nʔicENENzi {ho:tan/ho:tasu} do:. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day with (for) 2000 yen.’

(2) It is used to express constituent elements such as materials and ingredients.

- 5892 uto: de:zi kagu tsukutan do:. ‘My husband made a basket with (out of) bamboo.’

(3) It is used to express the location at which an action or state arises (locative nouns).

- 2891 jozimadi jekizi matteuri(jo):. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’
- 7092 miteizi gakkO:nu eInce:nʔi ʔo:tando:. ‘I ran into my school teacher on the street.’
- 3291 ʔUN ʔuwaŋe: ʔune:da ʔokinawazi nʔicENENzi {ho:tasudo:/ho:tando:}. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day for 2000 yen.’

In the following example, the *-zi*-case is used to express the location at which an action takes place by modifying not ‘went’, but ‘to catch fish’.

- 3792 ʔazi:ja kʔamakara ʔumizi ju {tunnʔa/turi:nʔa} ʔizAN do:. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish (went to catch fish at sea) in the morning.’

(4) It is used to express a cause. Only an example with the *-zi*-case form of the noun *bjo:ki* ‘illness’ was identified in this survey; the continuative form of the verb *jamjui* ‘to be ill’ was not observed.

- 6692 hanako: teinʔu:kara bjo:kizi nittUN do:. ‘Hanako has been in bed since yesterday due to illness (has been ill in bed since yesterday).’

2.5.7 The *-kanʔi*-case³²

It is used to express the goal of a motion event. In addition, an example was observed in which it is used to express the purpose of a motion event (6992).

- 3791 ʔazi:ja kʔamakara ʔumikanʔi jʔu turinʔa {ʔizi/ʔizando:}. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish in the morning.’
- 0292 da: hate:kanʔi ʔiki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)
- 0392 ʔUN, hate:kanʔe: waŋa ʔitsundo:. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’

6992 ʔanmaja ʔiteibakanji {kaimunkanji/ho:imun ei:nja} ʔizan do:. ‘Mother went to the market {for groceries/to buy some groceries}.’

2.5.8 The *-tu*-case

(1) It is used to express the comitative participant in a reciprocal action.

5992 ziro:ja ʔuttunu saburo:tu eitteitendo:. ‘Jiro quarreled with his brother Saburo.’

(2) It is used to express an object with which a reciprocal relationship holds.

5192 kadi ninbindaki nariba ʔinŋ^waja guru:tu ʔonnazi do:. ‘If you only eat and sleep, you will be the same as dogs and cats (no different from dogs and cats).’

7292 kazukonu muntu ʔonnazi ʔassa hanakonjimu ho:ti kuriro:. ‘Let me buy the same geta as Kazuko’s (as Kazuko’s things; as Kazuko’s ones) for Hanako, as well.’

2.5.9 The *-kara*-case

(1) It is used to express the starting point of an eventuality, such as the departure point of a motion event or the inception time of an action or state.

2491 maŋo:ja ʔitsu to:kjo:kara mudujusujo:. ‘When will our grandchild come back from Tokyo?’

2391 maŋo:ŋa ɸuzukara to:kjo:nji ui. ‘My grandchild has been in Tokyo since last year.’

3793 ʔazi:ja k^ʔamakara ʔumi:katei ju tunnja ʔizi. ‘Grandfather went to the sea to fish from (in) the morning.’

(2) It is used to express materials. Further investigation is required regarding whether there is a distinction between this usage and the use of the *-zi*-case to express materials and the like.

4492 ɛe:ja humikara tsukurusudo:. ‘Sake is made from rice.’

2.5.10 The *-madi*-case

It is used to express the limit to which an action or state extends. Incidentally, 2791 is an example of a compound adnominal case form.

3092 ziro:, ʔun n̄imotsuo ja:madi hatamiti ʔizi kuri. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage (up) to the house.’

2891 jozimadi jekizi matteuri(jo):. ‘Wait at the station until four o’clock.’

2791 ʔo:sakakara to:kjo:madinu kieateinno: sansa bakkai {kai/ka:rukkai}. ‘How much might the train fare from Osaka to Tokyo be?’

2.5.11 The *-madinji*-case

It is used to express the time by which an action will take or has taken place.

2991 gozimadinji muduranba narando: ‘I have to be home by five o’clock.’

2.5.12 The case periphery (or: peripheral cases)

Here, I list the forms corresponding to Modern Standard Japanese *-yori* ‘than’ and its quotative marker *-to*.

2.5.12.1 *-kamu/-juri(mu)*

It is used to express a standard of comparison. It appears that two different forms are used alongside one another.

1792 teinu:ja {su:kamu/su:jurimu} hazija tsu:satan do:. ‘Yesterday, it was windier than today.’

3991 j’ukamu n’ikunu ho:ŋa {ta:sai/ta:sando:}. ‘Meat is more expensive than fish.’

1092 ?okina: kan’ε: hunizi ?izan jurimu ?iko:kizi ?izan ho:ŋa jutasan do:. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’

2.5.12.2 *-tei*

It is used to express the content of speech or thought.

3592 h^wakun nakan’i manzu:ŋa ?ikutsu ?antei ?uma:innja. ‘How many *manju* do you think that there are (think there are) in the box?’

3 The case systems of the Kikaijima dialects

In the above, I have given a descriptive account of the case forms of the five dialects of Kikaijima. Their case systems are given in the table on the next page. The observations in this paper regarding each of the case forms can be summarized as follows:

1. As regards the *-ŋa-* and *-nu-*cases, the process of their functional differentiation into the nominative and the genitive case, respectively, is in an advanced stage in each of the four dialects other than that of Kamikatetsu. In the Kamikatetsu dialect the nominative and genitive cases have been merging into the *-nu-*case, while the *-ŋa-*case has been falling into disuse.
2. As regards the *-∅-*case, its main usage in the four dialects other than that of Araki is that of expressing the direct object, but differences between dialects are observed in regard to whether it or the *-jo:ba-*case (including *-o:ba* and *-ba*), which is also used to express the direct object, is used more often. In the Araki dialect the *-∅-*case covers a wide range of

grammatical meanings; apart from the direct object, its unprompted use to express the subject of an action is observed.

3. As regards the cases from *-ni* to *-kai* (including *-katei*, *-gatei*, and *-kan'i*), the usages of each of these case forms are nearly the same in the four dialects of Onotsu, Shitooke, Nakasato, and Araki. As for the Kamikatetsu dialect, the usages of the *-ni*- and *-katei*-cases are the same as those in the other four dialects. There are two aspects, however, in which the Kamikatetsu dialect case system is observed to differ greatly from the others. Firstly, while the *-zi*-case is used to express tools and means as well as the location at which an action takes place in the other four dialects, these usages have differentiated into the *-sen*-case and the *-zen*-case, respectively; secondly, it has the *-en*-case, which has a semantic range covering all the usages of the cases from *-ni* to *-katei*. People from the other areas often say about Kamikatetsu that ‘the *yumita* (language) there is different from that of elsewhere’ (Matsumoto 2011); these two features of its case system could be said to be a factor bolstering this view.

		Onotsu	Shitooke	Kamikatetsu	Nakasato	Araki	
Nominative		-ŋa	-ŋa	(-ŋa)	-ŋa	-ŋa	
Genitive/(nominative)		-nu	-nu	-nu	-nu	-nu	
Accusative (/genitive/nominative)		-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	
Accusative		-jo:ba	-ba	-o:ba	-jo:ba	-jo:ba	
Dative/locative		-n'i	-n'i	-en	-n'i	-n'i	
Instrumental		-zi	-zi		-sen	-zi	-zi
Locative					-zen		
Allative		-kai	-kai	-katei	-gatei	-kan'i	
Comitative		-tu	-tu	-tu	-tu	-tu	
Ablative		-kara	-kara	-kara	-kara	-kara	
Terminative		-gari/-madi	-madi	-madi	-madi	-madi	
Limitative		-garin'i/ -madin'i	-madin'i	-madin'i:	-madin'i	-madin'i	
Peripheral cases/case periphery	Standard of comparison	-jukka	-jukka(mu)	-jurimu/ -jukkamu	-jukkamu	-kamu/ - juri(mu)	
	Quotative	-tei	-tei	-ten	-tei	-tei	

Table: case systems of the Kikaijima dialects.

4. As regards the *-kara*-case, in addition to its use to express the starting point of an eventuality, its use to express a location that is passed through was observed, albeit in only one example (Kamikatetsu; example 1351 in 2.3.11). This usage of *-kara* is widely observed throughout the Ryukyuan languages; it remains to be confirmed whether this usage also exists in the other dialects.
5. As regards the terminative and limitative cases, the forms *-gari* and *-gariⁿⁱ* were observed only in the Onotsu dialect. No usage distinction was observed between them on the one hand and *-madi* and *-madiⁿⁱ* on the other; *-gari* and *-gariⁿⁱ* seem to be the older forms. They are nonetheless used often, irrespective of the speaker, and show no sign of falling into disuse.
6. As regards the peripheral cases (standard of comparison, quotative), a certain degree of difference is observed in the forms that are used, but their grammatical functions proved to be completely identical. It is striking, though, that only the Kamikatetsu dialect has a quotative form that differs from those of the other dialects; namely, *-ten*.

There are many aspects that could not be elucidated in this survey. Further field research on the Kikaijima dialects, including those of areas not covered in this survey, is therefore required.

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¹ The grammar survey was conducted using the ‘*General Research for the Study and Conservation of*

Endangered Dialects in Japan' Ryukyu Dialect Survey Sheet (prepared by the office of Prof. Shigehisa Karimata at the University of the Ryukyus), a revised version of the '*Contrastive Study of Dialect Grammars' Survey IV Survey Sheet* (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, 1968). This survey sheet focuses mainly on the investigation of case forms.

² It has also been observed as [ga], with a velar plosive; I use [ŋa] to represent both pronunciations. The same applies to the areas discussed hereafter.

³ It appears that depending on the speaker, the *-jo:ba*-case (the accusative case) is used, as well.

Cf. 5413 ʔituko: jeigonu hONjo:ba jumi dikʔui. 'My cousin can read English books.'

⁴ A number of examples of the formal noun-like usage of *-nu* were observed. In example 6314 below, it appears that the NP2-noun (*mun*) can be omitted.

Cf. 6314 ɸUN einbuno kʲu:nu (mun) {do:/dza}. {kinʲu:no:/kinʲu:nu munu:} ɸuri do:. 'That newspaper is today's (today's (thing); today's (one)). This is yesterday's.'

7213 kazukonutu tʲitsu munnu getajo:ba hanakonʲimu ho:ti huriro:ka. 'Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko's for Hanako, as well.'

7214 kazukonutu tʲitsu ʔassa:jo:ba hanakonʲimu ho:ti {kuriro:/kuriranba ja:. 'Let me buy the same *geta* as Kazuko's for Hanako, as well.'

⁵ The treatment of these first and second person pronouns as stems with *-Ø*-case particles follows that of those of the Shitooke dialect, in which the same word forms are used. See note 14.

⁶ It has also been observed as [joba], [juba], and the like; I use [jo:ba] to represent all pronunciations. In addition, [oba] and [o:ba], with elision of the [j], have been observed.

⁷ It has also been observed as [ni], without palatalization; I use [nʲi] to represent both pronunciations. I will do likewise with the *-madi*-case below, as well as with the same forms in the other dialects.

⁸ When the particle *-ja* is added to *-ni* for focus, they are pronounced with a diphthong or merge into [nʲe:].

Cf. 3313 ʔokina:nʲe: mittasanu kʷaeinu ʔai. 'There are unique sweets in Okinawa (Okinawa has unique sweets).'

⁹ It has also been observed as [dʒi], with an affricate; I use [zi] to represent both pronunciations.

¹⁰ In what are known as focus constructions, too, both *-gari* and *-madi* forms have been observed.

Cf. 6511 juwe:N dukinʲe: ʔANma:gari ʔudutando:. 'During the celebration, even grandmother danced.'

6512 ju:wē:nu {tukini/tuke:} ʔANmamadi {udutan/ʔudutan} do:. 'During the celebration, even grandmother danced.'

¹¹ It appears that depending on the speaker, the *-ba*-case (the accusative case) is used, as well. Incidentally, in the Onotsu dialect, too, sentences uttered in response to this Standard Japanese model sentence with accusative case forms were observed (see note 3).

Cf. 5433 ?ituko: jeigonu honba jum'u: suN. ‘My cousin can read English books.’

¹² Although one example of the formal noun-like usage was identified, it can be surmised to have slipped in from the Standard Japanese model sentence, as *-no* is used instead of *-nu*.

Cf. 0932 ?ure: ?uttu:no kamu {eirera:/eirira:}. (C) ‘That may be my brother’s.’

¹³ Uchima (1978: 113) also makes this observation.

¹⁴ It can be surmised from examples such as 0331 in (1) that the stem of the first person singular pronoun is *wa*. Likewise, Uchima (1978) reports the form *wanna* for the plural. It is therefore also possible to interpret *wa:* and *wanna:* forming adnominal modifiers as forms in which some kind of particle has merged with these stems and vowel lengthening has taken place. In this paper, however, I interpret *wa:*, *wanna:*, and *da:* as variant stems of *wa*, *wanna*, and *da*, respectively, and treat them in this section on the $-\emptyset$ -case for the sake of convenience, considering, among other things, the fact that fluctuation is observed between *da:*—this form has been reported as the second person singular pronoun stem—and the form *da* (see examples 0232, 4133, etc. above; in addition, Uchima (1978) gives both *da:ja* and *daja* as forms corresponding to Standard Japanese *anata-wa* ‘you-TOPIC’), as well as the fact that unlike in the Ishigaki dialect, the elision of the [ŋ] in *-ŋa* cannot be said to be regular in the Shitooke dialect.

¹⁵ Suffixation with the particle *-ja* instead of the *-ba*-case has been observed often, as well.

Cf. 4133 daja ?uN ?ijunu na:ja eitteunniA. ‘Do you know the name of this fish?’

5833 uto: de:zi kaqo: {tutta/tuttean}. ‘My husband made a basket out of bamboo.’ (*kagu* + *-ja*)

3031 dziro:, ?uN n'imutsuo: ja:madi hatamiti ?izi kuri. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage to the house.’ (*n'imutsu* + *-ja*)

¹⁶ When the particle *-ja* is added to *-ni* for focus, they are pronounced with a diphthong or merge into [n'e:] or [ne:].

Cf. 3332 ?okinawanie: mittasan k^waeiŋa ?ai. ‘There are unique sweets in Okinawa (Okinawa has unique sweets).’

6531 ju:we:nu tukine: ?anma:madi {udut[?]ando:/udut[?]i}. ‘At the time of (during) the celebration, even grandmother danced.’

¹⁷ Note 9 applies here, as well.

¹⁸ A second person singular example was observed, as well. As in the Shitooke dialect (see note 14), this example, given below, becomes an example of the $-\emptyset$ -case if we treat *da:* as a variant stem of *da*.

Cf. 0253 da: hate:katei {?iki/?iki}. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)

¹⁹ Examples in which the $-\emptyset$ -case was used were observed, as well.

Cf. 5452 ?ituko: e:gonu sumutu jumi: {çin/ein}do:. ‘My cousin can read English books.’

²⁰ *-du* is a particle that corresponds to Classical Japanese *-zo*.

²¹ It has also been observed as [jo:ba] and [oba]; I use [o:ba] to represent all three pronunciations.

²² As in the Shitooke dialect (see note 15), suffixation with the particle *-ja* instead of the *-jo:ba*-case

was observed, as well.

Cf. 3051 dʒi:ro: ɸUN nʲimutu:ɔ: ja:madi hatamiɕe: {ʔize: kuri/mutee:dʒEN kuri}. ‘Jiro, please carry this luggage to the house.’ (*nʲimutsu* + *-ja*)

5853 ʔu(t)to: de:sEN kago: {tʰukkateAN/tʰukutan}. ‘My husband made a basket out of bamboo.’ (*kagu* + *-ja*)

²³ It has also been observed as [e:], [jEN], and the like; I use [eN] to represent all pronunciations.

²⁴ In the following example, it is probably not a case marking an indirect object, such as the *-ni*-case, that is used, but rather a combination with a formal noun equivalent to Modern Standard Japanese *tokoro*.

Cf. 2651 ʔANma:ja ʔatea to:kjo:katei jINŋANKʰANNARI ʔo:ija ʔi{tɕ/k}INDO:. ‘The mother will go to Tokyo to see her son tomorrow.’ (with *jINŋANKʰANNARI* being the equivalent of Standard Japanese *musuko-no tokoro-ni* ‘to her son(’s place)’; the same holds for 2653 in the *Kikaijima Dialect Survey Data* chapter)

²⁵ At first glance, the following sentence looks like an example of *-ni* being used to express the purpose of a motion event, but the stem noun is a borrowing from Modern Standard Japanese, so it can be considered an instance of simple analogy.

Cf. 6953 ka:teano: miejyakatei kaimononʲi ʔizan. ‘Mother went to the market to buy some groceries.’

²⁶ It has also been observed as [æ:], [heN], [he:], and the like; I use [sEN] to represent all pronunciations.

²⁷ In fact, examples in which tools or means are expressed using cases other than the *-sEN*-case were observed as well, but I consider them incidental uses due to analogy: with the Standard Japanese model sentence in the case of the first of the following examples and with similar usages in the other dialects in the case of the second.

Cf. 3253 ʔUN ʔuwage: nanma:ta ʔokinawazEN nʲISENENZEN ko:tan. ‘I bought this jacket in Okinawa the other day with (for) 2000 yen.’

1053 ʔokinawakatee: hunʲizi ʔiteukkamu ciko:kizi ʔizan ho:nu jutasari. ‘Rather than going by ship, you should go to Okinawa by plane.’

²⁸ [o:ba] has also been observed; I use [jo:ba] to represent both pronunciations.

²⁹ Note 9 applies here, as well.

³⁰ In the sentences uttered in response to Standard Japanese model sentence 46, *Uchi-no jiisan-wa sake-mo tabako-mo nomanai*. ‘My family’s (my) grandfather neither drinks nor smokes,’ only the first person singular and a form corresponding to Standard Japanese *ie-no* ‘house/home-GENITIVE’ were observed, so no first person plural could be identified in this usage (see 4692 and 4693 in the *Kikaijima Dialect Survey Data* chapter).

³¹ Note 28 applies here, as well.

³² Aside from *-kanʲi*, forms like those in the following examples were observed. Perhaps this is due to influence from neighboring dialects such as that of Araki.

- Cf. 0291 daŋa hate:katei iki. ‘You go to the field.’ (imperative)
0391 ?in, hate:teie: waŋa ?iteui. ‘Yes, I will go to the field.’