An Investigation of Direct Object Markers in the Ikema Dialect of Miyako

by

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Abstract

Miyako is a language spoken on remote southern Japanese islands near Taiwan. Although it is often considered a dialect of Japanese, Miyako is recognized as a separate language by UNESCO, with a status of "definitely endangered". Some research has been done on this slowly disappearing language especially since this recognition. Nonetheless, it still lacks in much description.

The focus of this thesis is on one of the Miyako dialects, Ikema. By using actual discourse as a primary source, this study examines the direct object marking system of the Ikema dialect. It argues the number of direct object markers that exist in this dialect and suggests the frequencies and distributions of these markers. Further, it explores the functions of some of these markers.

The results show that there are six direct object markers, namely *=a, =u, =u=gya(a), zero marking, =u=du,* and *=u=ba(a)*. The secondary accusative marker *=a* appears the most and seems to suggest a converb structure. The primary accusative marker *=u* appears second most and seems to be used as a default direct object marker. The next two markers *=u=gya(a)* and *zero marking* appear equally often and are seen commonly in the discourse data. The marker *=u=gya(a)* seems to carry old (given) information in terms of information structure and it also appears to be able to mark contrastive object. *Zero marking* seems to appear when the direct object is non-referential. The appearance of the last two direct object markers *=u=du* and *=u=ba(a)* is scarce. The functions of these are discussed yet limited within the speculation.

The present thesis hopes to contribute to the process of accumulating in-depth descriptions of Ikema, as well as the endangered language Miyako.

Dedication

To my loving family;

without your love, support, and especially laughter, I would not be the person I am today.

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to thank Professor Tsuyoshi Ono for his substantial support and guidance throughout my student life. His humor helped me through the toughest of times and his encouragement taught me how important it is to keep challenging myself. I would also like to thank Professor Xiaoting Li and Professor Yvonne Lam for their insightful comments and valuable suggestions during the examination. I am also grateful for the Department of East Asian Studies to give me the opportunity to pursue my passion of an endangered language –Miyako– in an academic setting. I would also like to thank my family who helped me through the stressful time with jokes and laughter, and my friends, especially Catherine and A.J. for their generous support. Last but not least, I would also like to show my gratitude to the members of the Ikema and Nishihara communities, especially my main consultant Mr. Motoi Gushiken. Without his support, I would not be able to complete this thesis.

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person	IMP	Imperative
3	third person	INFR	Inferential
∅	zero marking	INST	Instrumental
=	clitic marker	LOC	Locative
?	unknown	NEG	Negation
ACC	accusative marker	NFOC	non-focus
ACC1	primary accusative marker	NFOC2	non-focus2
ACC2	secondary accusative marker	NOM	Nominative
ASP	aspect	NPST	non-past
ASP3	aspect 3	PASS	Passive
CAUS	causative	PL	Plural
COND	conditional	PRES	Present
COP	copula	PST	Past
CRCM	circumstantial	QUOT	Quotative
CSL	causal	SG	Singular
CVB	converb	TOP	Topic
CVSIM	simultaneous	VLZ	Verbalizer
DAT	dative marker	VOL	Volitional
DIM	diminutive	WP	witnessed past
DSC	discourse marker		
FOC	focus		
FP	final particle		
GEN	genitive		

Chapter 1 Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

Miyako is one of the Ryukyuan languages spoken on remote southern Japanese islands near Taiwan. Partially due to its political system, this language has been considered a dialect of Japanese even though it is incomprehensible to Japanese speakers. It only gained recognition in its own right by UNESCO in 2009, unfortunately as a "definitely endangered" language. It is important to note that Miyako in itself has several distinctive dialects - one being Ikema, the focus of the present thesis. This dialect is spoken in three different areas, Nishihara, Sarahama, and Ikema, located on Miyako islands in the current Okinawa Prefecture in Japan. The first two communities were established due to migration and still speak the same dialect, possibly with slight areal differences.

Few studies focus on this gradually disappearing language, let alone dialects, and much of the research lacks in overall description. The most recent research done on the Ikema dialect, Hayashi's Ph.D. dissertation (2013b), provides a descriptive grammar of Ikema. Her work greatly contributes to the documentation aspect of this language, however, it only focuses on selective topics. This dialect therefore still needs to be further investigated in order to adequately provide a greater depth of knowledge. The present thesis thus hopes to take part in this investigation by focusing on the direct object marking system in Ikema.

Similar to Japanese, Ikema shows a nominative-accusative case marking system. The subject of both transitive and intransitive verbs takes a nominative case and the direct object takes an accusative case. Ikema, however, seems to have a more complex marking system than Japanese. According to Hayashi (2009, 2010, 2013b), Ikema has four different types of direct

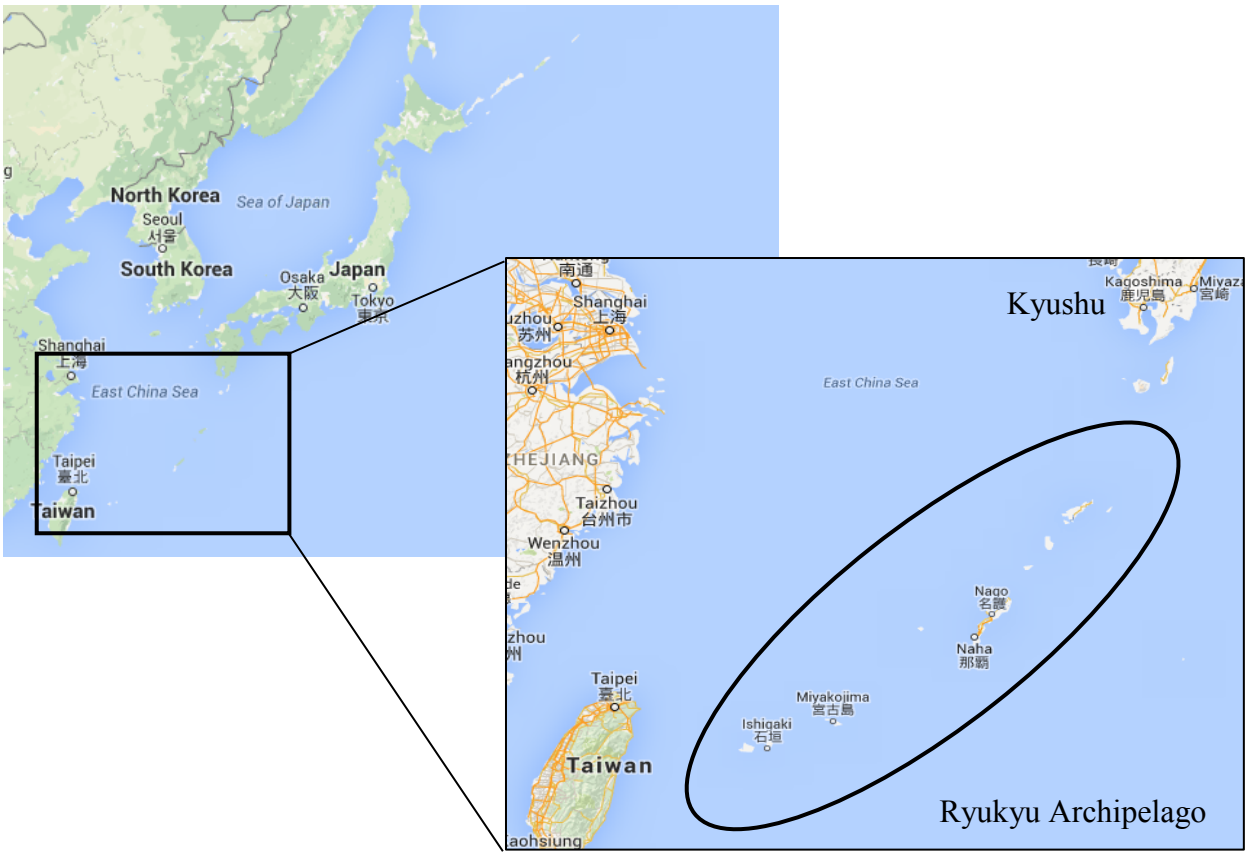
object markers (see Chapter 2 for details). In my own studies of recordings and transcripts, I noticed that there are more markers than she suggests. This initial discovery made me wonder if her findings are area specific since I realized that her work is mainly based on a variety of Ikema spoken in the Nishihara community. I also noticed that her data is primarily from elicitation, which may be the reason why she suggests only four direct object markers. A further goal of this thesis is, therefore, to determine whether her discovery is area specific, and if so, find out how many direct object markers exist in Ikema overall. This process will determine the functions of each direct object marker by looking at the actual production of speech by native Ikema speakers.

This investigation of the direct object marking system in Ikema contains four chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction of over all thesis and presents the general background of Miyako, with emphasis on one of its dialects Ikema. This chapter is comprised of eight sections. Section 1.1 is an introduction to the present thesis suggesting what this thesis is about and the organization of this thesis. Section 1.2 gives geographical background of the language. It introduces a brief yet overall idea of where it is spoken, and provides the current geographical situation which this language is facing. Section 1.3 outlines the genealogical background, explaining Miyako (and Ikema) in relation to other related languages in the surrounding area. Section 1.4 gives a historical background, illustrating briefly how Miyako became endangered, including one of the large factors contributing to the endangerment of the language. The following section 1.5 estimates how endangered this language is in terms of the number of speakers. Section 1.6 introduces the difficulties of researching Ikema. Section 1.7 gives insight into prior studies that have been done on this language. Last but not least, section 1.8 provides a summary of Chapter 1 including the research goals for this thesis. Chapter 2 provides a description of the methodology for this thesis as well as the data collected for investigating the

direct object marking system in Ikema. Section 2.1 shows each step of the process, from gathering the recordings to analysing data. This section also includes the details of the recordings I used for example collection. Section 2.2 mainly introduces the direct object markers found in my discourse data collected from the Nishihara and Ikema areas. This section also provides a list of conditions I used when extracting examples to include in the analysis. Section 2.3 provides a summary of Chapter 2. The next chapter, Chapter 3, provides the quantitative results and the analyses of each direct object marker based on the examples collected. Section 3.1 is the general discussion of the quantitative result. Section 3.2 provides the analyses of the major direct object markers found in my discourse data. In this section, the most frequently appearing markers such as the primary accusative marker *=u* and the secondary accusative marker *=a* are first discussed and analyzed. Then, the commonly appearing direct object markers such as *=u=gya(a)* and zero marking are discussed and analyzed. Finally, in section 3.3, the minor direct object markers found in my discourse data such as *=u=du* and *=u=ba(a)* are discussed. Chapter 4 provides summary of the whole thesis, pointing out the weaknesses of the present research while providing the overall conclusion of this thesis.

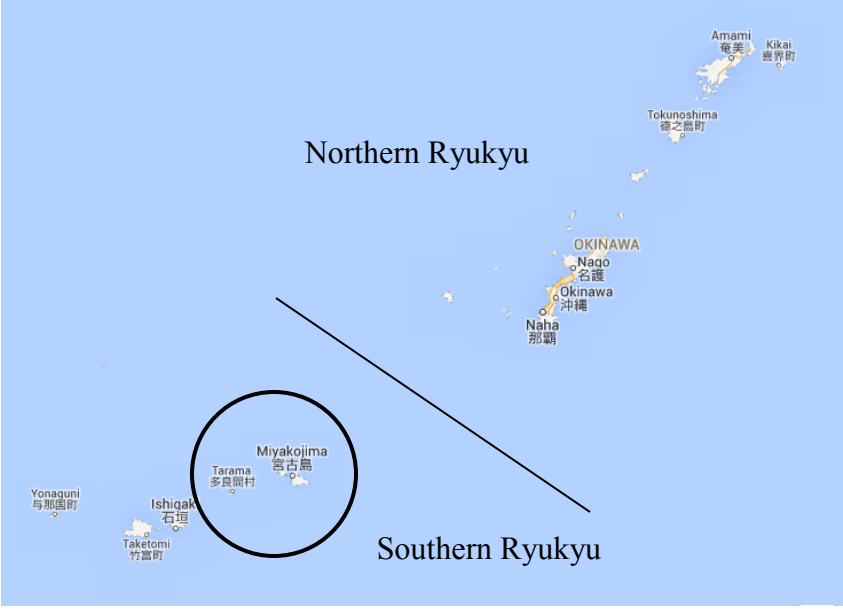
1.2 Geographical background

Ryukyuan is a group of languages spoken on southern Japanese islands, called the Ryukyu archipelago. These islands are located between Kyushu, Japan and Taiwan (Map 1).



Map 1: Ryukyu archipelago between Kyushu, Japan and Taiwan

The archipelago can be further separated into Northern Ryukyu and Southern Ryukyu (Map 2). Northern Ryukyu consists of the Amami islands within Kagoshima prefecture and some islands within Okinawa prefecture including Okinawa mainland. Southern Ryukyu, located southwest of mainland Okinawa, consists of the Miyako islands and Yaeyama islands. These islands are also referred to as Sakishima islands (meaning Outer Islands).



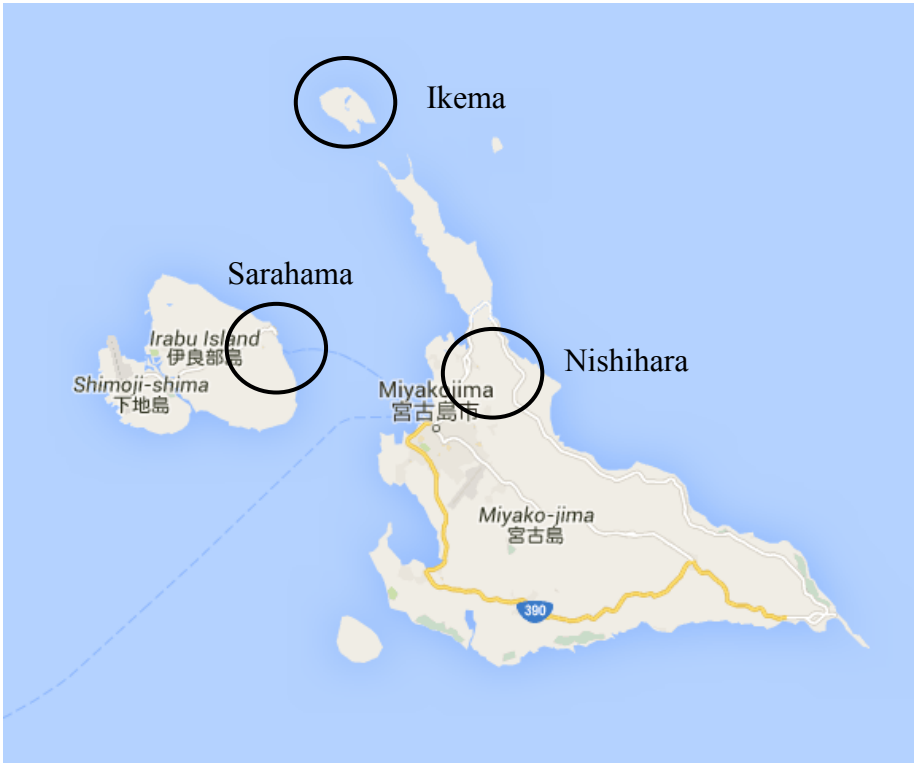
Map 2: Northern and Southern Ryukyu archipelago

The language focused on in this thesis, Miyako, is spoken on the Miyako islands which are about 300km away from Taiwan and 2000km away from Tokyo. The cluster of small islands consists of Miyako, Ikema, Kurima, Irabu, Shimoji, Oogami, Tarama, and Minna (Map 3). Miyako, the mainland of 158.87 km^2, is the biggest island among them. Miyako Island is connected to the surrounding islands of Ikema, Kurima, and Irabu by bridge, built in 1992, 1995, and 2015 respectively. These bridges made it possible for people to commute easily by car from their community to the city. The last two islands, Tarama and Minna, are located approximately 67km away from the mainland of Miyako. Regularly operated ferries and planes go to Tarama island but there is no transportation to the island of Minna other than a charter boat operated by locals (Due to the distance from the mainland of Miyako, they are excluded on Map 3).

The dialect of Miyako called Ikema, the main focus of this thesis, is spoken in three different communities in this region; Ikema, Sarahama, and Nishihara (Map 3). Ikema is the name of the island north of Miyako Island as well as a community on Ikema Island. Sarahama

community is located on the east side of Irabu Island, which itself is west of Miyako Island. This area flourished as a port where ferries from Miyako Island used to arrive before the bridge was built. Nishihara community is the only community located on the Miyako Island.

People in these communities were originally from Ikema. However, two major migrations occurred. In 1720, a group moved willingly to Sarahama in search of better farm land. A forced move due to overpopulation started a community in Nishihara in 1874 (Hayashi, 2013a, p. 161). Even to this day, each community holds similar religious, social, and/or cultural events. Although these new settlements seem to have influence from surrounding groups, they have a strong sense of belonging as *Ikema minzoku* (literally Ikema tribe). In fact, these community members still speak the same dialect. Note here that those people who live not in but around these communities speak dialects of Miyako that are related to but are distinct from Ikema.



Map 3: Miyako Islands and the areas where Ikema is spoken

1.3 Genealogical background

Ryukyuan and Japanese are believed to share a common proto language: Japonic (Chamberlain 1895, Hattori 1932, as cited in Matsumori, 1995, p. 20). Although the estimated year of separation is still unknown, it is generally understood to be around 5~6th century AD (Matsumori, 1995, p. 23).

Closely related but separate languages on their own, Ryukyuan languages form two linguistic subgroups; Northern and Southern (Uemura 1997, as cited in Shimoji, 2008, p. 21). Amami and Okinawa belong to the Northern group and Miyako, Yaeyama, and Yonaguni belong to the Southern group (Figure 1). Each major island around this area overlaps more or less with a language[1]. These languages also have their own dialects[2]. As for the Miyako language, there are five known distinct dialects, namely Miyako mainland, Irabu, Oogami, Ikema, and Tarama dialects. Each dialect has its own features and is relatively different from one another. The focus of the present thesis, Ikema, is not an exception.

The linguistic distance between these languages, as well as Japanese and Ryukyuan, can also be understood by looking at a map. Each group of islands is located relatively far from one another and the distance makes it difficult for people to travel even to this day. In fact, the ocean that separates north and south Ryukyu is the largest gap between any two adjacent islands on the Western Pacific Rim (Uemura 1997, as cited in Shimoji, 2008, p. 20). This natural barrier creates a case where linguistic contact would be limited, leading to the belief that these languages may have evolved on its own.

[1] Here I employ the term language based on mutual intelligibility; speakers of these languages (Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, Yaeyama, and Yonaguni) do not understand one another even though they are closely related.

[2] Here the term dialect is used for the varieties of these languages, whose speakers, on the contrary of languages, do understand one another if not fully.

Interestingly enough, some scholars compare the distance between Japanese and Ryukyuan with other sets of related languages. According to Hattori's lexicostatistics, only 59-68 % of Ryukyuan languages share cognates with Tokyo Japanese (as cited in Fija, 2009) and this percentage is lower than that of between German and English. Hokama also suggests the distance between Japanese and Ryukyuan is similar to that of French and Italian (Hokama 1977, as cited in Matsumori, 1995, p. 20).

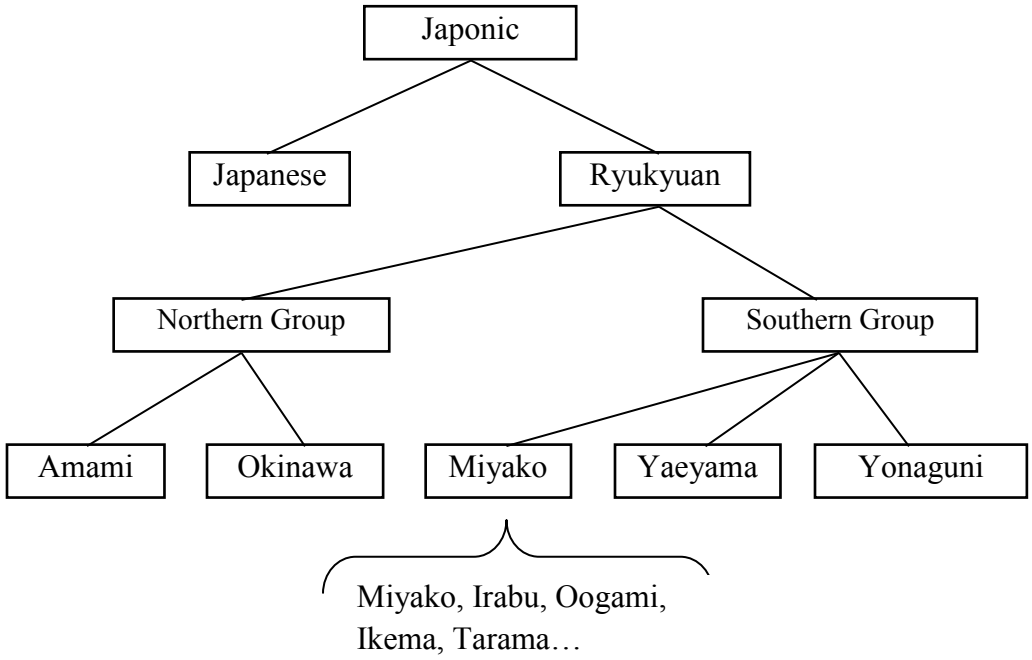


Figure 1: Language Family Tree

1.4 Historical background

1.4.1 General history

The islands in Ryukyu archipelago were previously the Ryukyu Kingdom, a politically independent maritime nation which no longer exists. Due to its location, the Kingdom initially established a strong bond with China through trading. Largely influenced by China, Ryukyu developed its original culture, including art, music and religion during the Kingdom era. Despite

the successes in trading, its location allured invasive nations over the centuries. It survived without any major conflict, but under the Japanese government's reformation in 1872, the Kingdom was forced to become a part of Japan and eventually changed its name to Okinawa. Ever since the Japanese government took over the land's sovereignty, the Ryukyu people have been marginalized and exploited as a minority group. In other words, the Japanese government forced them to become Japanese without acknowledging their individual culture and language. For example, while given education under the policy of a mono-ethnic nation, mainland Okinawan people only gained their right to vote in the national election in 1912 and those living in Miyako received the same right in 1919 (Kondo, 2008, p. 45)[3]. Partially due to this marginalization, Ryukyuan languages have been treated as dialects of Japanese, even though they are completely incomprehensible to Japanese speakers (Matsumori, 1995, p. 20). It was only when UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* listed several of Ryukyuan languages as endangered in 2009 that these languages gained recognition as languages in their own right. Miyako was, unfortunately, one of the languages categorized as "definitely endangered" (Fija et al. 2009) [4]. This transition towards the endangerment was partially due to the nationalistic movement in Japan at the time and an inevitable negative self-image which came about from the local society.

1.4.2 Assimilation process and negative self-image

Largely, it was believed that the current state of endangerment was the result of inherent nationalism imposed by Japan on language. According to Hokama (1971, as cited in Kondo,

[3] Specifically, Member of the House of Representatives election.

[4] Under the degree of endangerment suggested by UNESCO, if "children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home", the language is categorized as definitely endangered. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/access-to-knowledge/linguistic-diversity-and-multilingualism-on-internet/atlas-of-languages-in-danger/

2008, p. 20), Japan became even more eager to develop a sense of nationalism after their victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). With this heightened nationalistic movement lasting until the end of World War II, Ryukyu people were socially pressured to assimilate to a Japanese way of life. One of the important aspects of assimilation was language. With the external social pressure, teachers at local schools in Okinawa were encouraged to educate students to become fluent Japanese speakers. The movement of prioritizing standard Japanese usage over their *local dialects* naturally was one of the factors that contributed to the language endangerment. However, it seems that the assimilation policy in itself was not the only factor. An inferiority complex brought by internal pressure within the local community seemed to play a big role as well. People felt the need to assimilate in order to gain recognition as Japanese citizens. For example, the experiences of being questioned and accused for espionage due to their language during World War II (Saruta, 2007, p. 164) brought them the idea that speaking a different language from Japanese would bring about disadvantages. Having such experiences collectively, they started to create a negative self-image and felt inferior because of their language. Concerned for their future, they started to think that passing such an inferior language to the next generation would perpetuate their poor social position. One specific tactic of language imposition found in this area was the utilization of *hoogenfuda* (a dialect placard). *Hoogenfuda* is a wooden placard used to punish children who speak their dialect[5] in public. The placard often says "dialect user" on it and children have to hang it around their neck whenever they speak their dialect. Interestingly, there seems to be no official regulation that encouraged the usage of *hoogenfuda*. Rather, internal pressure by locals restricted the usage of their own *dialects*. This phenomenon of language placard thus seems to have emerged among the community members who believed that

[5] Dialect here means Ryukyuan languages. For some people, these languages were considered as dialects of Japanese even to this day.

standard Japanese was more important for the future of their community (Saruta, 2007, p. 163). In fact, the level of strictness on the restriction of dialect usage seems to differ depending of the community and/or the educators. The placard was thus used both as a symbol of shame as well as hopeful symbol for the next generation to thrive in Japanese society.

1.5 Speakers

According to the census in 2014, there are total of 4417 people living in the areas where Ikema is spoken[6]. Although individual differences in fluency must be considered, relatively fluent speakers are commonly above the age of 65[7] (Nakayama & Ono, 2013, Shimoji 2008, Iwasaki & Ono 2012, Fija et al. 2009) The census of the Miyako islands as a whole indicates that 23.2%[8] of the population is above the age of 65. If this percentage holds true for every community, there should be at least 1000 (1024-calculated) Ikema speakers in 2014. Based on my observation, as well as the observations made by Iwasaki & Ono (2012), however, the percentage of people who are above the age of 65 in the areas of focus seems to be slightly higher than calculated, thus the figure presented here could be an underestimation of the actual number of speakers.

It also needs to be mentioned that these speakers are generally bilingual in Japanese and Ikema. They grew up speaking both languages simultaneously although the choice of language seemed to be related to the social context. For example, they tend to choose Japanese in public space such as at schools, and choose Ikema in private space such as at home and at private gathering. Their version of Japanese including the communication style, however, is slightly

[6] Ikema 657, Sarahama 2860, and Nishihara 900

[7] The year of publication (or the year mentioned in the literature) is added to calculate the age of speakers in 2014.

[8] Number of people who are above the age of 65 in the whole Miyako islands is 12073 and total population of Miyako islands is 52039 in December 2014.

different from the version spoken in mainland Japan. The specific features which make these slight differences is still unknown.

1.6 Preparatory research

It is worth mentioning here that researching Ikema poses several difficulties. First, recording Ikema discourse in the presence of non-Ikema speakers is difficult. This is due to the fact that many Ikema speakers are fluent in both Japanese and Ikema. Intentionally or unintentionally, they tend to speak only in Japanese in the presence of non-Ikema speakers. Knowing that Ikema is completely unintelligible to Japanese speakers, they perhaps feel unnecessary to speak in Ikema in front of non-Ikema speakers. It may be also true that they still feel uncomfortable speaking Ikema in public since this was a punishable act in the past. Nonetheless, when asking native speakers to speak specifically in Ikema while in the presence of a Japanese speaker, the researchers are involuntarily creating an unrealistic situation for the native speakers. Having said that, I realized that the speakers begin to converse in Ikema even in the presence of a non-native speaker when the researchers establish a friendly relationship with the native speakers. To reach to the point where Ikema speakers feel comfortable enough to speak Ikema in front of non-Ikema speaker takes time and it is only obtained by establishing a good relationship with the speakers. For the reasons mentioned, being able to obtain spoken Ikema data is time-consuming and challenging task for a non-Ikema speaking researcher. Second, finding speakers who are willing to help you study their language is difficult. Since these speakers collectively created a negative self-image towards themselves (see section 1.4.2), their *dialect* is something inferior and not worth knowing according to their understanding. In other words, they do not see why researchers want to study their language. This makes it very difficult to find speakers who are willing to cooperate purely for research purposes. Third, the accessibility of the language poses another

problem. A documentation project requires a long-term stay in the local area. However, being a graduate student in Canada, it was not feasible to stay in the area for a long time. Thus, several trips to the islands was inevitable in order to conduct research on this language. This process causes time lag effects between my consultant and me, which significantly slowed the research progress.

Even if we overcome all the non-linguistic obstacles mentioned above, we face the academic problem of scarce materials on this language. Ikema is yet to receive in depth investigation in most of its grammar and use, all research requires initial preparatory studies. Since I am not a native speaker of this language, transcribing and translating, let alone glossing a single sentence takes me weeks to complete. Having said that, I have come to a point where I can finally start analyzing the data, which is unbelievably rewarding.

1.7 Prior research on Ikema and other Miyako dialects

Yuka Hayashi's works, including her PhD dissertation (2009, 2010, 2013b), are probably the only literatures directly related to the topic of my research; the direct object marking system in Ikema. Although her work is not specifically about direct object marking system, rather giving an overall grammatical sketch of Ikema, she points out that the system is quite different from Japanese.

In her work, she suggests that there are 4 types of direct object markers in Ikema; an accusative marker *=u* (example 1), a non-focus marker *=a* (example 2), an accusative marker with a second non-focus marker *=u=gyaa* (example 3), and an accusative marker with an

external focus marker *=u=du* (example 4) (see Chapter 2 for details). Examples below are from Hayashi's dissertation[9][10].

(1) banu**=u** saarii ikii fiiru
1.SG=ACC1 take.CVB go.CVB give.IMP
'please take me (with you)'

(2) sauzIgama**=a** hii ui
cleaning.DIM=ACC2 do.CVB ASP.NPST
'(I) am cleaning a little bit (lit. (I) am doing the cleaning a little bit)'

(3) ba a uru**=u=gyaa** faan
1.SG TOP that=ACC1=NFOC2 eat.NEG
'I (will) not eat that'

(4) uru=u=gyaa arada karu**=u=du**
that=ACC1=NFOC2 COP.NEG.CVB that.over.there=ACC1=FOC

tui kuu
get.CVB come.IMP
'Bring (me) not that one but that one over there'

As I started going over the recordings and transcripts for my thesis, I soon discovered that there are actually more direct object markers than Hayashi discussed. Initially, this simple discovery caught my eye because Hayashi mainly consulted with speakers in the Nishihara area. It was still unknown whether these four markers are specific to the Nishihara area, or if it applies to Ikema in general. Thus one of the goals for the present thesis is to determine the number of direct object markers in Ikema, not only in the variety spoken in the Nishihara area but in other areas as well.

It is also important to know that prior research does not focus on the actual usage of the language. For example, Mitsunari Nakama, a linguist who studied Miyako, reflects on his own

[9] Since her dissertation is in Japanese, these examples are translated by the author of this thesis. Also, the glossing is slightly modified from the original for making it consistent with other examples throughout the thesis.

[10] The writing convention for the transcript in this thesis is explained in Chapter 2.

knowledge of the language as a native speaker referring to it as his primary source of data. He published several grammar articles including verb conjugations of Miyako dialects between 1981-1984, however, he fails to examine the actual usage of the language. When a researcher is a native speaker of the language, s/he might have a good intuition on the usage of language. However, this type of analysis can easily be biased by their own knowledge and preferences of language use. In fact, Hayashi, commenting on Nakama's article published in 1992, mentions that some of the forms he uses are considered incorrect by other native speakers. Moreover, the forms may have been from other areas of Miyako (Hayashi, 2013b, p. 26). Using this kind of data makes it difficult to understand the current state of the language.

The most relevant and recent research by Hayashi (2013b) also does not provide actual usage of the language. Although she indicates that she based her study on observation and transcripts of natural discourse along with elicitation, she does not describe the type or amount of her discourse data. The purpose of her dissertation is to provide a grammar sketch of Ikema and it seems that she does not feel the necessity of using discourse as a primarily source of data to determine permissible structures in the language. As we can imagine, elicitation is the quickest way to collect a certain amount and kind of data that a researcher needs. This is especially true when the researcher does not speak the language of study natively and needs to communicate with native speakers in a language that both the researcher and the speakers understand. However, data collected mainly by this method can be insufficient to study the actual state of the language. Interviewing native speakers can put them under much pressure, influencing a speaker's intuition on their language and forcing them to acknowledge normally unacceptable structures as acceptable. Nakayama & Ono (2013) mention such external influences in their article. Their main claim is that certain contexts can trigger speakers to choose Japanese over

Ikema. In the case of Ono and Nakayama's research, having a researcher who sits higher within the hierarchical ladder in the community can create a social context for speakers to choose Japanese unconsciously over their native language Ikema. Moreover, their understanding of Ikema changes due to the presence of the researcher. If this claim is true, relying primarily on elicited data can be problematic. What then can a researcher do to minimize the influence of external factors? First, the researcher needs to establish a friendly relationship with native speakers to ease the pressure. The researcher can also use those who are in a lower hierarchical social status in the community such as students to conduct elicitation. Avoiding their presence in the conversation and letting native speakers converse freely is another tactic that may minimize these social effects. This thesis acknowledges such effects, making the primary data based on spoken discourse among native speakers in relatively naturalistic situations. Although they are informed that their conversations will be recorded, they are not pressured to speak in any way. This point becomes very important as another goal of the present thesis is to determine the actual usage of direct object markers naturally produced by native speakers. I am hoping to change the trend of using less naturalistic data by focusing more on spoken discourse data along with the elicitation based on the actual speech data to analyze direct object marker in Ikema.

It is also important to mention here that Shimoji's Ph.D. dissertation (2008) and his article on Asian converbs (2009) deals with direct object marking system in one of Miyako dialects Irabu. Irabu itself is a separate and distinctive dialect from Ikema, therefore I cannot directly compare the two. However, I will use his work as a reference and see if his analysis of Irabu in terms of direct object marker is applicable to my discourse data.

1.8 Summary

The Ikema dialect of Miyako, spoken in three different areas on Miyako Islands, is now on the verge of extinction. Although this dialect has been passed from generation to generation for centuries, it is threatened due to historical, social, and political pressures. Considering the scholarly efforts to study and document this gradually fading dialect, research still lacks depth in overall description. My hope is to contribute to the process of describing this dialect and deepen its knowledge base. By reflecting upon prior studies, which are not methodologically adequate to describe the current state of the language, the present thesis examines discourse data as a primary source, along with occasional elicitation as reference, to investigate the actual usage of the Ikema dialect. The ultimate goal of this thesis is to determine the number and frequency of direct object markers in Ikema and to elucidate the functionality of each marker.

Chapter 2 Methodology and Data

This chapter starts by introducing the methodology used for this thesis. In the first section, the background of the four recordings are introduced in detail. The writing convention for this thesis is also explained. The next section introduces the direct object markers outlined by Hayashi (2013b) along with other direct object markers found in my discourse data. This is followed by a section detailing the conditions which I placed upon the data during the extraction of examples for the purpose of this thesis. Let me first begin with the steps I have taken to investigate the direct object coding system in Ikema.

2.1 Methodology

2.1.1 Step one: Recording discourse

Professor Tsuyoshi Ono at the University of Alberta has been documenting Ikema for his documentation project since 2006. The recordings I use in this thesis are from his collection recorded in 2009-2012. Professor Ono has a minimal participating role in all of the conversations to reduce the impact that is created by his presence. At the recording session of "Life as a Fisherman" (see below), he even leaves the scene trying to minimize the effect of social context. His presence may trigger native speakers to speak Japanese instead of Ikema because of their discomfort speaking Ikema in front of foreign language speaker.

Before we move on to the next step, I would like to introduce the recordings I used for this thesis. These recordings were obtained in the communities of Nishihara and Ikema. It is important to note here that the term Ikema is often used to refer to the varieties of Ikema spoken in three different communities in Miyako area. It is thus important to include different varieties of Ikema instead of focusing on one variety like previous studies. In other words, having

recordings from different areas helps broaden the representation of Ikema as a whole. The speakers in each recording are generally talking about their past, telling their version of a story to the people who were present at the time of recording. The discourse is spontaneous, meaning it is not prepared prior to the recording session. These four recordings and their transcripts are used to examine direct object markers in Ikema. Here is the detailed background information on each recording.

Recording 1: Lighthouse

In this recording, there are two main native speakers, Mr. T and Mr. N, who mostly converse with each other in Ikema. A researcher was present at the time of the recording session but had minimal participation. This conversation is recorded at Mr. T's house so participants feel less pressured to speak Japanese, as opposed to a public space where they are expected to speak Japanese in the presence of an outsider. The recording starts with Mr. T telling a story about the time when a new lighthouse was built on Ikema island. Looking at the lighthouse from the Nishihara community where Mr. T is from, a boy with bad eye sight mistakes the lighthouse for a military ship. The conversation goes on and they talk about how Mr. T used to fish with friends using dynamite.

Recording 2: Rowing Boat

The segment of this recording is mainly Mrs. H's story-telling. Her son, Mr. M asks his mother to begin the story-telling in Ikema. Once she starts talking, Mr. M does not participate but rather listens to his mother's story. A researcher was present at the time of the recording session, however, he did not participate at all. The story is about learning how to row a boat from older sisters in the community. Mrs. H also talks about her first time going out to the reef with other

girls while learning traditional songs on the row boat. Customarily, younger girls in this area go to the coral reef to catch fish and shells with other girls who are slightly older. They learn how to row, fish, and sing by watching these older girls and doing such activities together. Through this experience of working in a group, girls learn life lessons and bond together.

Recording 3: Hoogenfuda

Two elderly native speakers, Mr. Y and Mr. R are talking about their experience in elementary school. Mr. R's two daughters, Mrs. H and Mrs. A are also present at the time of recording and participate briefly in the conversation. A researcher was also present at the time of the recording session but had limited participation. In the transcribed section, Mr. Y is telling a story about *hoogenfuda* and how children who used the dialect were punished in the past. Occasionally, Mrs. H gives comments and asks questions in Ikema/Japanese combined. Mr. Y also tells how he used his wit to take revenge on the teachers who bullied him for using the dialect outside of the classroom.

Recording 4: Life as a Fisherman

In this recording, there are two native speakers of Ikema and a researcher who leaves in the middle of the recording session. An older speaker Mr. NN and a younger speaker Mr. G are talking about Mr. NN's life as a fisherman. They are both from Ikema island but Mr. G does not have experience as fisherman so Mr. NN is telling Mr. G what it was like. They often refer to the current disputes among sovereignties over the islands around the Miyako area and compare the current situation with that of the past, when things were friendlier.

Table 1 below gives a summary of each recording. Please note that the time in the length column is the overall length of the recording and the time in the bracket is the segment

transcribed for the purpose of this thesis. Also, the age suggested in this table is the age at the time of the recording.

Recording (Archive #)[11]	Length (section)	Place of Recording	Main Speakers (Age)	Content
Lighthouse (I0178)	15' 48" (15' 48")	Nishihara	An older speaker: Mr. T (83) A younger speaker: Mr. N (66)	Mr. N is visiting Mr. T to ask about Mr. T's old life story. A newly built lighthouse on Ikema island is mistakenly seen as a military ship by a boy with poor eyesight in the Nishihara community. The story is about this boy and fishing with friends using dynamite.
Rowing Boat (I0197)	25' 36" (8' 18")	Ikema	Mother: Mrs. H (87) Son: Mr. M (69)	Mrs. H is telling a story about how she first learns how to row a boat and how to sing traditional songs from elderly sisters in the Ikema community.
Hoogenfuda (I0336)	2:50' 55" (9' 13")	Nishihara	An older speaker: Mr. Y (86) Another older speaker: Mr. R (85) Mr. R's daughter: Mrs. H (64) Mr. R's daughter: Mrs. A (55)	Mr. Y's *hoogenfuda* experience in elementary school. A story is about how he, who speaks dialect often outside of classroom, gets punished and how he paybacks the teachers who bully him.
Life as a Fisherman (I0334)	31' 43" (31' 43")	Ikema	An older speaker: Mr. NN (77) An younger speaker: Mr. G (57)	Mr. NN is telling a story of his life as a fisherman to Mr. G, who has no experience being a fisherman.

Table 1: Summary of Recordings

2.1.2 Step two: Transcribing and translating the recording

Once a recording had been completed, Professor Ono roughly transcribed and translated the discourse into Japanese with the help of native speakers of Ikema. I then reviewed the recordings

[11] Archive number is the number given to each recording for Professor Ono's documentation project started in 2006.

and the transcripts once again to see if there were any discrepancies between what is said in the recording and what is written in the transcripts. While doing this work, I also noted parts that are unclear. After this, I went over the recordings and the transcripts with native speakers asking to re-transcribe the inconsistent parts and re-produce the unclear pronunciations. By including these initial steps, the accuracy of transcripts has significantly improved. I then reviewed the transcripts once again to understand the overall story of the discourse and what speakers want to convey to listeners. English translations are then added to the examples which I used in this thesis.

On the topic of transcribing, it may be worth mentioning about the writing convention for this thesis. For the convenience of representing Ikema sounds, the Hepburn Romanization system ("Hepburn Romanization," 2015) is employed in this thesis. Although the majority of sounds are represented following this system, some sounds are specific to Ikema and thus unconventional to write in the Hepburn Romanization system so I will introduce them here.

The high central vowel /ɨ/ is presented as "I" (example 5) and the voiceless nasal sound /n̥/ is expressed as "hn" or "hm" depending on the nasal sound (example 6 and 7).

(5) 'snack'
/kaasɨ/ → kaasI

(6) 'yesterday'
/n̥nu/ → hnu

(7) 'cloud'
/n̥mu/ → hmu

Also "fu" in the Hepburn Romanization system represents /ɸu/ in this thesis (example 8). In a similar fashion, "hu" represents the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ (example 9). Double consonants

found in the beginning of an NP is also unique to Ikema and is expressed with two consonants (example 10). Similarly, a long vowel is written with one vowel in the Hepburn system, however, in my thesis it will be represented by a sequence of two vowels. (example 11).

(8) 'grass'
/ɸusa/ → fusa

(9) 'star'
husI

(10) 'you'
vva

(11) 'Oogami (name of an islands around this area)'
ogami→ oogami

2.1.3 Step three: Extracting examples of direct objects from discourse

Based on the recordings and their transcripts, every predicate with a direct object is extracted from the text. Ikema is similar to Japanese in terms of language structure (S/A vs O) thus it is an inevitable tendency for Japanese speakers to overlook the possibilities of slight differences between Ikema and Japanese. For example, it is easy to assume a particular transitive verb in Japanese is also the equivalent transitive verb in Ikema. However, it is possible that these verbs can be intransitive in Ikema so it may not require a direct object. Therefore, I pay extra attention to make sure that the parts extracted from the text are direct objects by conducting some elicitations with native speakers. The main consultant for this thesis is a male speaker who was born and raised on Ikema island. He has lived in mainland Japan for a quite few years but moved back to Ikema Island a couple of decades ago. Although he is relatively young as a speaker (62 years old in 2015), he has spent many hours with elderly people on the island after moving back to Ikema island, having him speak Ikema once again. It is worth mentioning here that he is completely bilingual, and has the ability to communicate fluently in Ikema with native speakers

and in Japanese with non-native speakers like myself. One thing I noticed while researching is that the native speakers who do not have experience living outside of the communities speak a version of Japanese that is different from ours. So, it is important for a non-native researcher to have a mediator like him in order to fully understand the language itself.

2.1.4 Step four: Analyzing the data

Based on the examples extracted by the steps above, I analyze each direct object marker.

2.2 Direct object markers examined

Examples collected for the purpose of investigating direct object marking system in Ikema are from spoken discourse recorded both in the Nishihara and Ikema areas. As was briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, here I will introduce the direct object markers outlined by Hayashi, along with the other markers found in my discourse data. This section also discusses the conditions which I placed upon my data during the process of extracting examples.

2.2.1 Direct object marking system in Ikema

Ikema shows a nominative-accusative marking system. Let us look at examples of Ikema sentence structures.

(12) in nu zzu=u fai ui
dog NOM fish=ACC eat.CVB ASP.NPST
'Dog is eating fish.'

(13) in nu nyuvvii ui
dog NOM sleep.CVB ASP.NPST
'Dog is sleeping.'

As you can see from example 12 and 13, the subject of transitive verb *fai* 'eat' and intransitive verb *nyuvvii* 'sleep' are followed by *nu,* a nominative marker. The direct object *zzu* 'fish' (in example 12) on the other hand is followed by =*u*, an accusative marker (representing S/A vs. O).

The above shown accusative marker is one way to mark direct objects in Ikema. In Hayashi's dissertation (2013b), she suggests that there are four ways, including that above, to encode direct object. I will introduce the four markers of direct object in Ikema suggested by Hayashi in the following section, with additional information from Shimoji's dissertation (2008) on Irabu, another dialect of Miyako

2.2.1.1 Primary accusative marker =*u* (ACC1)

One of the direct object markers found in Ikema is =*u*. Hayashi simply calls this an accusative marker. Shimoji, on the other hand, calls the counterpart of =*u* in Irabu a primary accusative marker (ACC1), suggesting that there is another type of accusative marker (see section 2.2.1.2 for details). I will call this marker the primary accusative marker (ACC1) as well in this thesis.

The primary accusative marker =*u* can appear in different forms depending on the ending of the preceding NP. The table below is based on Hayashi's dissertation. The alternations of =*u* shown in the table are found in my data.

NP Ending	=u	Example	
-C	-C=Cu	*jan* 'manatee'	jan=nu
-CI	-C=Cu / -CI-I	*hanasI* 'story'	hanas=su / hanasI=I[12]
-Ca	-Ca=u	*daidama* 'dynamite'	daidama=u
-Ci	-Cyu=u	*funi* 'boat'	funyu=u
-Cu	-Cu=u	*yadu* 'door'	yadu=u
-VV	-VV=yu	*basanai* 'banana'	basanai=yu

[12] This is not mentioned in Hayashi's dissertation; however, this form is seen relatively often. Speakers do have an awareness of these forms (-C=Cu / -CI-I) to be equal.

Table 2: Alternations of Accusative marker =*u* (AAC1)

The sentence below is from the recording "Life as a Fisherman", illustrating that the direct object *kii* 'hair' takes the primary accusative marker =*u* (-VV ending NP takes -VV=*yu* in this case).

```
(14) tui  nu    kii=yu    tui       utai      hazI  ii
     bird GEN   hair=ACC  take.CVB  ASP.PST   INFR  FP
     '(someone) must be taking bird's feather'
```

2.2.1.2 Secondary accusative marker =*a* (ACC2)

Another direct object marker found in Ikema is =*a*. Hayashi calls this marker the first non-focus marker. Morpheme =*a* is also used as a topic marker in Ikema thus morphologically this direct object marker =*a* and a topic marker =*a* are homophonous in Ikema. Hayashi treats these two morphemes together and calls it a non-focus marker. This thesis, however, follows Shimoji's view, which treats =*a* attached to a direct object as secondary accusative marker while separating it from another morpheme =*a* a topic marker. Reflecting his view, I will call this direct object marker a secondary accusative marker (ACC2).

Similar to the primary accusative marker (ACC1), this marker can appear in different forms depending on the ending of the preceding NP. Table 3 below shows the alternations of =*a* based on Hayashi's dissertation with examples of NPs that appeared in my discourse data.

NP Ending	=a	Example	
-C	-C=Ca	*ban* 'keepter, guard'	ban=na
-CI	-C=Ca	*mizI* 'water'	mij=ja
-Ca	-Ca=a	*daidama* 'dynamite'	daidama=a
-Ci	-Cya=a	*funi* 'boat'	funya=a
-Cu	-Cu=u	*yadu* 'door'	yadu=u
-VV	-VV=ya	*huu* 'sail'	huu=ya

Table 3: Alternations of Accusative Marker =*a* (ACC2)

Although it is elicited data, I would like to introduce this example below because it illustrates the difference between the topic marker =*a* and the secondary accusative marker =*a* very well.

(15) **kyuu=ya** sshikaiba
today=TOP cold.VLZ.CSL

tsIn=na haasa ttii ikii kuu
clothes=ACC2 many wear.CVB go.CVB come.IMP
'As for today, it is cold so wear many clothes and go'

In the first line, we can see the topic of this sentence *kyuu* 'today' taking the marker =a (-VV ending NP takes -VV=ya in this case). This marker seems to suggest that the sentence revolves around *kyuu* 'today', establishing the topic of the sentence. In the second line, we can see the direct object *tsIn* 'clothes' taking the same marker =*a* (-C ending NP takes -C=Ca in this case). Unlike the first =*a*, it seems this marker simply suggests that the verb *ttii* 'wear' is taking the direct object *tsIn* 'clothes'. In other words, the second marker =*a* seems to have a different function from that of the first =*a*. Taking this brief observation into consideration, I separated these two morphemes and extracted only what I call the secondary accusative marker =*a*. Since one of the objectives for this thesis is to investigate the number of direct object markers existing in Ikema, separating these two morphemes seemed more logical although these two forms are homophonous.

Before we move on to the next direct object marker, let me briefly explain information structure since it helps us understand what Hayashi (2013b) suggests about direct object marking system in Ikema. The study of information structure suggests that in order to satisfy the speaker's immediate communicative needs, the information in a sentence needs to be packaged (Féry & Krifka, 2008). A sentence is usually divided into two types of information; focus and ground (Vallduví & Engdahl, 1996). According to Vallduví and Engdahl, focus is "an informative part

that makes some contribution to the discourse or the hearer's 'mental world'" (p.461), and ground "anchors the sentence to the previous discourse or the hearer's 'mental world'" (p.461). It is worth noting that the focus-ground distinction is also known by other names such as new-given (Halliday, 1967, 1985, as cited in Vallduví & Engdahl, 1996, p. 465), rheme-theme (Steedman 1991, as cited in Vallduví & Engdahl, 1996, p. 465), and topic-comment (Hockett, 1958, as cited in Vallduví & Engdahl, 1996, p. 465). Hayashi uses the terms focus and non-focus in her dissertation for expressing these concepts of information structure, specifically mentioning that focus and non-focus refers to new and old respectively (p. 161).

Here is the summary of Hayashi's analysis of information structure extracted from her dissertation (2013b, pp.161) in connection with sentence structure, which indirectly suggests the direct object marking in Ikema.

Information structure

(i) Focused element[13] is basically only allowed once in one clause.
(ii) Each element in a sentence is focused by default. When unfocused, it must take a non-focus marker *(=a, =gyaa*). The conditions below apply to this statement.
  A) When the subject is marked with a focus marker, other elements (such as compliments) do not need to take a non-focus marker even if the elements are unfocused.
  B) When the subject is marked with a focus marker, it is always the focused element.
(iii) The importance of a predicate in terms of information structure differs depending on the verb (more so on its inflections) thus whether or not the arguments before[14] a predicate take a focus marker or non-focus marker is determined by the predicate itself.

[13] Focus element here includes an element that is marked with an external focus marker *=du*.

[14] This dialect normally places a predicate at the end of the sentence. Therefore, other arguments come before the predicate.

As you can see above (iii), Hayashi suggests that certain sentence structures in Ikema require non-focus markers on every element in order to make the sentence logical. Taking notion (ii) into consideration, she specifically mentions in her Ph.D. dissertation that verb inflections such as special form[15], negative form, and volitional form, as well as verbalizer form of adjectival base[16] (*–kai* seen in example 15) tend to be the focus element of the sentence thus other elements, including direct object, need to be unfocused by marking them with non-focus markers (*=a* or *=u=gya(a)* as seen below). From the set of information above, we can see that Hayashi suggests that the marking of direct object is heavily related to the information structure.

2.2.1.3 Primary accusative marker with non-focus marker (*=u=gya(a)*[17])

The next direct object marker found in Ikema is *=u=gya(a)*. Hayashi (2013b) suggests that this marking is a combination of the primary accusative marker *=u* and a second non-focus marker *=gya(a).* Please note that the marker *=u=gya(a*) as a whole works as a non-focus marker. As briefly mentioned in the previous section (2.2.1.2.), the non-focus markers *=a* and *=u=gya(a*) are required for certain sentence structures, however, the specific differences between these non-focus markers (*=a* and *=u=gya(a)*) are still unknown according to Hayashi.

The sentence below is from the recording "Hoogenfuda". In this sentence, the non-focus marker *=gya(a)* is attached to the primary accusative case *=u* (-C ending NP takes –C=Cu in this case) to mark the direct object *hoogen* 'dialect'.

---

[15] There is a set of verb inflections in Ikema which Hayashi calls *tokushu-kei* 'special form'. This inflection is only seen in verbs such as *ui* 'exist (animate)', ai 'exist (inanimate)', and sII 'know' according to Hayashi (p. 98).

[16] This dialect seems to have a concept of adjectival base. This element is semantically adjective but cannot stand on its own as a word. It takes nominal form or verbal form and behave accordingly (Hayashi, 2013b, p. 117)

[17] Hayashi only mentions *=gyaa* form in her dissertation. However, it seems that this segment can appear as *=gya* as well. Therefore, I choose to write this segment as *=gya(a)* with *-a* in bracket being optional.

(16) banchi ga dookyuusei ya
1.PL GEN classmate TOP

->hoogen=nu=gya jenjen tsIkaan ti
dialect=ACC=NFOC at.all use.NEG QUOT

shinshiinkai ya uso ajjuu saa i
teacher.LOC TOP lie say.ASP.PRES FP FP
'Our (male) classmates lie to the teacher saying(they)do not use dialect at all'

2.2.1.4 Primary accusative marker with external focus marker (*=u=du*)

As opposed to non-focus markers (*=a* or *=u=gya(a)*), the fourth marker *=u=du* is introduced as a combination of the primary accusative marker *=u* and an external focus marker *=du* in Hayashi's dissertation. The marker *=du* can occur with the accusative marker, as well as other elements (Hayashi, 2013b, pp. 156-157). According to Hayashi, this marker brings the element to which it is attached in focus. The example below is from the recording "Hoogenfuda", showing *=u=du* appearing on the direct object *hoogenfuda* 'dialect placard' of the transitive verb *azIkarii* 'receive'.

(17) **hoogenfuda=u=du** ba ga ichioo
dialect.placard=ACC1=FOC 1.SG NOM temporary

shiishii kara azIkarii ii
teacher from receive FP
'I receive the dialect placard from teacher temporally'

Note here that the subject NP of this sentence *ba* '1st singular' is followed by a nominative marker in Ikema *ga*, which is supposed to be a focused element by default according to Hayashi's analysis on information structure (point (ii), conditions A and B). However, Hayashi specifically mentions in her dissertation that when a direct object takes the external focus marker *=du*, the subject of the sentence needs to be unfocused by purposefully attaching non-focus

marker such as *=a* (p.160). The details will be discussed in Chapter 3 but this example extracted from discourse data does not seem to support Hayashi's suggestion.

2.2.1.5 Other direct object markers

The four patterns above are the ways to encode a direct object in Ikema according to Hayashi. However, there seems to be more markers than Hayashi suggests. For example, I noticed that there can be zero marking for direct object. Below is an example extracted from the recording "Lighthouse".

(18) hukabijinkai naugara **in** huddii
hukabiji(Place).LOC well **ocean=∅** do.VOL.CVB
'when (I) went to Hukabiji and try to fish…'

We can see that the direct object *in* 'fishing (lit. ocean)' of the volitional form of a transitive verb *huddii* 'do' does not take any overt marking.

Also, another marker of direct object *=u=ba(a)*, which is supposed to be used only in other dialects, appears in Ikema discourse. Hayashi mentions that *=ba(a)* in other dialects such as Irabu is equivalent to *=gya(a)* in Ikema (p. 154). In Shimoji's dissertation on Irabu (2008, p. 426), he calls *=ba(a)* an object topic marker, only appearing after the accusative case and marks direct object. Let us take a look at an example. The example below is from the recording "Rowing Boat"

(19) assuga zzaku=u muchan **hitu=u=ba** nuuhan doo
but oar=ACC1 own.NEG **person=ACC1=TOP** board.CAUS.NEG FP
'but (I) won't let a person who doesn't own an oar ride'

In addition to four direct object markers suggested by Hayashi, namely *=u*, *=a*, *=ugya(a)*, and *=u=du*, zero marking and foreign direct object marker *=u=ba(a)* are also found in my discourse data. These are the markers that are examined in this thesis.

2.2.2 Conditions of extracting examples

The following are the conditions which I used during the extraction of examples. Under these conditions, examples are separated by those which were included and those which were excluded from the data.

2.2.2.1 Unclear segments of recording

Although transcribing and translating the discourse are done with help from native speakers, some parts are still difficult to hear clearly due to background noises or unconventional pronunciation which appears in actual speech. Even if the utterances include the direct object as assumed from the context, these unclear segments of discourse are excluded from the data.

2.2.2.2 –Cu ending NPs

As you can see from the tables of the primary accusative marker (Table 2) and secondary accusative marker (Table 3), NPs that end with –Cu take the same form for both primary accusative marker and secondary accusative marker. This makes it impossible to decide which form the speakers intended to use. The example below shows such vagueness with ACC1 and ACC2.

(20) **yadu=u** ffii nyaan niba ffadukununkai
door=ACC1?2? close.CVB ASP3.NPST because dark.place.LOC
'since (he) closed the door, (I stayed in) the dark place…'

Although there are 27 examples of –Cu ending NPs in the discourse data which comprise 23.7 % of all the examples of primary and secondary accusative markers, I excluded these direct objects ending with –Cu from the data set due to this ambiguity.

2.2.2.3 Topic marker =*a*

Topic marker =*a* and secondary accusative marker =*a* are homophonous in Ikema as mentioned earlier in this chapter. I made sure that the topic marker =*a* was excluded and the second accusative marker =*a* was included in the data set. To do so, a preliminarily check was done on every verb to see if it required a direct object. If it did, NPs with =*a* marker were considered as direct objects and thus were included. If it did not, NPs with =*a* marker were considered to be the topic, and thus were excluded from the data set.

2.2.2.4 Integration of borrowing NPs

Some NPs that appear in my data are borrowed from Japanese. Although this phenomenon needs to be further studied, a –Co ending borrowed NP seems to take =*o* as a direct object marker. This phenomenon seems to be explained by the pattern of –Cu ending NPs in Ikema. Typically, there is no –Co ending NP in this language[18]. However, the cognate of a –Co ending NP in Japanese often appears to be a –Cu ending NP in Ikema. For example, *mato* 'target' in Japanese is *matu* 'target' in Ikema. When a –Cu ending NP in Ikema takes the primary accusative marker =*u*, it becomes *matu*=*u* (see Table 2). Applying the same logic of the –Cu ending NP in Ikema to a -Co ending borrowed NP, a –Co NP would take a direct object marker with the same sound as the last vowel of the -Co NP, which is =*o*. The example below is from the recording "Rowing Boat" showing such phenomenon.

[18] The sound –o only appears in interjections, final particles, or borrowed words (Hayashi, 2013b, p. 31).

(21) **booto=o** kugii
boat=ACC1 row.CVB
'Rowing a boat and…'

In this example, the direct object *booto* 'boat' takes =*o*, seemingly the primary accusative marker. Here it seems that speakers apply the same rule to –Co ending borrowed NP by lengthening the last vowel. This suggests that it is a direct object since there are cognates that appear to correspond with –Co in Japanese and –Cu in Ikema. Based on this understanding, when these =*o* marked NP appear in my data, they are considered as =*u* marking in this thesis.

In a similar manner, some borrowed NPs are fully integrated into Ikema NP entities, while some are not. When following the same direct object coding patterns suggested by Hayashi (see Table 2 and 3), I considered these NPs as one of Ikema's. The word *nakayoshi* 'being.friend' in the example below is an NP that is considered to be fully integrated. As you can see it follows the patterns of –Ci ending NPs as if it is a word in Ikema.

(22) **nakayoshya=a** hii
being.friend=ACC2 do.ASP.PRES
'we are being friends (lit. (We are) doing being friends)'

These NPs are thus added to the data set according to its direct object marker. There are, however, some direct object NPs whose grammatical status is unclear as shown in example 23.

(23) ainu **kajiki=i** tui yaa[19]
that **marlin=?** take.CVB COND
'if catching marlin…'

As briefly touched upon in this chapter under the section on ACC1 and ACC2, -Ci ending NPs require palatal approximant insertion between the NP and the direct object coding so *kajiki*

[19] *yaa* here is not a typical condition marker of Ikema. This utterance thus seems to be a slip of tongue by the speaker. I went over with native speakers but this form of condition marker did not appear in the elicitation. Forms like *tui-tigaa* 'take.CVB-COND' or *tui-ttaa* 'take.CVB-COND' seem like what speakers normally say. The translation is thus mainly based on the intuition of the consultant and the content of conversation surrounding this utterance.

'marlin' here should be *kajikyu=u* for ACC1 or *kajikya=a* for ACC2. However, example 23 does not follow the same pattern. Instead, the last sound of the NP is lengthened similarly to the NPs ending in –Co (see example 21). Since the status of these examples are not clear at this point, I excluded these examples from the data set.

2.2.2.5 False Starts

Segments where speakers realize they have made a mistake in their utterance and start over are considered as false starts. Examples examined in this thesis are extracted from actual spontaneous speech thus speakers make mistakes as they converse. When speakers make mistakes and start over, the revised utterance is considered to be what speakers actually wanted to say. So even if the segment with mistakes includes a direct object, they are excluded from the data set.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I introduced the methodology which I employed for the purpose of investigating the direct object marking system in Ikema. The four steps which I took were 1) recording spontaneous discourses of Ikema in the Nishihara and Ikema areas, 2) transcribing and translating the recordings, 3) extracting the direct object markers from the discourses while consulting with native speakers, and finally 4) analyzing the data. Along with these steps, the detailed background of each recording, as well as the writing convention for the sounds that are unique to Ikema are introduced. I also presented each direct object marker I found in my discourse data, along with an analysis of Hayashi (2013b) and Shimoji (2008) as reference. Finally, I provided the list of conditions that were applied to the data while extracting examples.

Chapter 3 Results and Analyses

The direct object markers, namely *=u, =a, =u=gya(a), =u=du, =u=ba(a), zero marking*, are extracted under conditions introduced in Chapter 2. In this chapter, these examples are examined and analyzed in order to 1) determine how frequently they appear in discourse data, and 2) provide a functional description of these direct object markers. The analysis is made partly based on the suggestions made by prior studies.

3.1 Overview

Overall, there are a total of 134 examples of direct object with its marker in approximately 65 minutes of recorded discourse data. The table below shows the number and frequency of examples for each marker found in my discourse data.

Direct Object Marker	Number of examples	%
=a	47	35.1%
=u	40	29.9%
=u=gya(a)	19	14.2%
zero	19	14.2%
=u=du	5	3.7%
=u=ba(a)	4	3.0%
Total	134	100%

Table 4: Frequency of Direct Object Markers

As you can see from the table above, the markers *=u* and *=a* make up the majority of the examples and *=u=gya(a)* and *zero marking* are also commonly used. The markers *=u=du* and *=u=ba(a)* are also found, although their use is rather scarce. Based on these figures, I separated the rest of this chapter into two parts; section 3.2 and 3.3. In section 3.2, I will discuss the major direct object markers found in my discourse data. First, I will talk about the most frequently appearing markers such as the primary accusative marker *=u* and the secondary accusative

marker *=a*. I will then discuss other commonly appearing direct object markers such as *=u=gya(a)* and zero marking. In section 3.3, I will discuss the minor direct object markers found in my discourse data such as *=u=du* and *=u=ba(a)*. Now, let us now take a look at the analysis of each marker.

3.2 Major direct object markers

This section deals with four major direct object markers found in my discourse data. First, I will discuss the secondary accusative marker *=a*. Building on to that discussion, I will then talk about the primary accusative marker *=u*. After discussing these two markers, I will move onto the other commonly used direct object markers *=u=gya(a)* and zero marking.

3.2.1 *=a*

In this section, I will examine the secondary accusative marker *=a* in Ikema using recent studies done by Hayashi (2013b) and Shimoji (2009). Hayashi looks at direct object marking in relation to information structure. Shimoji, on the other hands, looks at direct object marking in terms of converb. First, I will discuss Hayashi's idea on direct object marking.

3.2.1.1 Analysis based on Hayashi's studies

One of the major direct object markers found in spoken discourse data of Ikema is *=a*, the secondary accusative marker. There are 47 examples of direct objects marked with *=a* (approximately 35.1%) as is seen in Table 4. This marker *=a* is the one of two non-focus markers mentioned by Hayashi.

It is perhaps worth mentioning again here the analysis of information structure which Hayashi suggests since the coding of direct object may be related to the information structure.

Although it is translated by the author, the set of information below is extracted from Hayashi's dissertation (2013b, pp.161).

Information structure

(i) Focused element[20] is basically only allowed once in one clause.
(ii) Each element in a sentence is focused by default. When unfocused, it must take a non-focus marker *(=a, =gyaa*). The conditions below apply to this statement.
  A) When the subject is marked with a focus marker, other elements (such as compliments) do not need to take a non-focus marker even if the elements are unfocused.
  B) When the subject is marked with a focus marker, it is always the focused element.
(iii) The importance of a predicate in terms of information structure differs depending on the verb (more so on its inflections) thus whether or not the arguments before[21] a predicate take a focus marker or non-focus marker is determined by the predicate itself.

This proposal is somewhat complex especially since it applies not only to the direct object but also to other elements in this language. The explanation here will focus on Hayashi's analysis of the direct object. Point (iii) states that the predicate inflection decides whether an element takes a focus or non-focus marker. According to her dissertation, special form, negative form, and volitional form[22] inflections themselves are considered to be the focus point in the sentence, and all the other elements in the sentence need to take a non-focus marker. In terms of direct object marking, this means that a direct object in these predicate inflections needs to take either *=a* or *=u=gya(a)*.

Point (ii) says, "each element in a sentence is focused by default. When needed to be unfocused, it must take non-focus marker *(=a* or *=gyaa*)". It also gives the conditions (A and B)

[20] Again, focus element here includes an element that is marked with the focus marker *=du*.

[21] This dialect normally places a predicate at the end of the sentence. Therefore, other arguments come before the predicate.

[22] Hayashi mentions verbalizer of adjectival base as well but it does not take direct object so I excluded from the list.

under which this statement applies. When the subject is marked with a focus marker (again, it is focused by default unless it takes *=a* or *=gya(a)*[23]), it is always the focused element and if this is the case, other elements do not need to be unfocused by purposefully attaching *=a* or *=gya(a)*. To explain this, let's take a look at the example below from Chapter 2.

```
(24) in  nu    zzu=u     fai      ui
     dog NOM   fish=ACC  eat.CVB  ASP.NPST
     'Dog is eating fish.'
```

The subject of this sentence *in* 'dog' takes *nu* a nominative marker and the direct object *zzu* 'fish' takes *=u,* a primary accusative marker. In this sentence, the subject is focused because it is marked by *nu* thus the direct object *zzu* 'fish' does not need to take a non-focus marker even though it is not a focused element. However, when the subject *in* 'dog' here is marked with *=a*[24] (a non-focus marker), the direct object will have two choices:1) to stay as it is being focused by default, or 2) to add an external focus marker *=du*.

The above proposal (point (iii)) prompted me to investigate if the direct object marker *=a* is found in sentences where the predicate inflection is in special form, negative form, and volitional form. As I began this investigation, I soon realized that there is no example of predicate inflection in special form in my discourse data, so I will only focus on negative form and volitional form for this thesis.

First let's focus on the negative form. The table below shows the distribution of the direct object markers found in a sentence where the predicate is in negative form.

[23] Hayashi suggests that *=gya(a)* only appears with an accusative marker *=u*. Although this subject needs to be further investigated, it seems to appear on other elements as well.

[24] Hayashi calls both *=a* and *=gyaa* non- focus markers. However, she specifically suggests that *=gyaa* can only appear with an accusative marker *=u* to create *=u=gyaa*. Thus when a subject needs to be defocused, it can only take *=a* (Hayashi 2013 p.109)

Direct Object Marker	Number of examples
=u	1
=a	2
=u=gya(a)	3
Zero	0
=u=du	0
=u=ba(a)	2
Total	8

Table 5: Direct Object Markers in Negative Predicate

As for the direct object marker *=a*, two examples appear in my discourse data. The example below is one of them, found in the recording "Life as a Fisherman".

(25) kajiki nu hnnunagiigya=a[25] vvaddan
marlin GEN horn.etcetera=ACC2 sell.VOL.NEG
'(you) did not (want to) sell the horn of marlin'

In this sentence above, the direct object *hnnunagii* 'horn etcetera' takes *=a,* the secondary accusative marker which appears in a negative predicate sentence. It thus seems that the secondary accusative marker *=a* can appear in a negative predicate sentence. However, interestingly there are also examples of *=u=gya(a)*, other non-focus marker in Ikema mentioned by Hayashi (2013b), and *=u=ba(a)*, the counterpart of *=u=gya(a)* in different dialects according to Hayashi (2013b), showing up in negative predicate sentence. It is noteworthy here that despite its limited appearance, there is also one example of a primary accusative marker *=u*, which according to Hayashi is a default focus marker. Hayashi's claim, stating that a negative predicate sentence requires non-focus markers on a direct object, is thus violated by this particular example.

[25] *nagii* 'etcetera' here seems like it takes *=gya* but this word is originally *nagi*. In native speakers' mind, *nagii* is a –Ci ending NP so when it takes ACC2, it becomes *nagya=a* (-Cya=a) which follows the pattern. In fact, they accept both forms (*nagiigya=a* and *nagya=a*) as the same form.

Let's now turn our attention to volitional form predicate structure. In addition to negative predicate form, Hayashi suggests that the volitional inflection also requires each element to be marked with a non-focus marker. Here is the table which shows the distribution of each direct object marker found in volitional predicate sentences.

Direct Object Marker	Number of examples
=u	3
=a	0
=u=gya(a)	0
Zero	4
=u=du	0
=u=ba(a)	0
Total	7

Table 6: Direct Object Markers in Volitional Predicate

There are a total of 7 examples where a direct object appears in a sentence with a volitional form predicate. However, none of them appear with what Hayashi calls non-focus markers, namely *=a* and *=u=gya(a)*. To investigate further, I conducted an elicitation based on my discourse data. The structure seen below was initially found in my data set. Using the same structure, the subject NP was altered in order to simplify the sentence. As seen below, the elicited data based on discourse data further supports the result mentioned above: none of the volitional form predicate appears with a non-focus marker. Here is a set of examples which I elicited. These examples show the preferences of a native speaker.

(26) sauj**=ju** hudi
cleaning=ACC1 do.VOL
'(I) do cleaning'

(27) *sauj**=ja** hudi
cleaning=ACC2 do.VOL
'(I) do cleaning'

In the first sentence, *sauzI* ‘cleaning’ takes the primary accusative marker *=u* (–CI ending NP takes -C=Cu in this case). In the second sentence, the same direct object takes the secondary accusative marker *=a*. However, as you can see, the primary accusative marker *=u* is preferred in a volitional predicate sentence. From the distribution table (Table 6) and the elicited examples shown above, non-focus marker *=a* does not seem to be required in a volitional predicate, despite Hayashi’s description.

So far, we have investigated the secondary accusative marker appearing in my data set in relation to Hayashi’s analysis on information structure. Again, Hayashi suggests that when certain predicate inflections including negative form and volitional form appear in a sentence, that particular predicate becomes the focus point. This requires all the other elements in the same sentence to take a non-focus marker. We found that the negative form takes *=a, =u=gya(a)* (both of which are non-focus markers according to Hayashi), and what Hayashi calls a foreign direct object marker *=u=ba(a)*. However, the results suggest that the default focus marker on direct object in Ikema such as the primary accusative marker *=u* can also appear in a negative predicate form. Since the primary accusative marker *=u* appears in a negative predicate sentence, her suggestion, which states that a negative predicate sentence requires a non-focus marker on a direct object, is thus sometimes not supported by my data.

In terms of volitional predicate sentence, it does not require the secondary accusative marker *=a* (a non-focus marker) for its direct object unlike Hayashi suggested. Interestingly enough, we did not find any non-focus markers in this predicate form, but the primary accusative marker *=u* and zero marking are found in this sentence structure.

3.2.1.2 Analysis based on Shimoji's study

Now, let us take a look at the secondary accusative marker from a different angle. Besides Hayashi's study based on information structure, Shimoji also discusses the usage of the secondary accusative marker in his article on Asian converb (2009) although he is specifically dealing with one of the other dialects of Miyako called Irabu. According to Shimoji, the secondary accusative marker in Irabu appears frequently in converb structures, especially when it is used as adverbial/modifying converb. Since Irabu is a separate dialect, I might not be able to apply his analysis directly to Ikema. However, it is worth comparing and investigating whether or not his suggestion on the secondary accusative marker is applicable to Ikema.

Before considering this in depth, the non-finite verb called converb should be discussed. According to Haspelmath (1995), a type of non-finite verb inflection which mainly function as an adverb is called converb (Haspelmath p.3). In recent years, a new type of converb has emerged from the original understanding of converb, called the Asian converb. This new type of converb is slightly different from the original; it not only creates an adverbial subordinate clause ("adverbial/modifying" usage (Bickel, 1998 p.395)), but also creates narrative chaining clause ("chaining/non-modifying" usage (Bickel, 1998 p.395)). The examples below represent these converb functions in the Chechen language. They are originally from Good (2003), but were cited in Shimoji's article.

(28) Adverbial/modifying usage
Kinchka uecush, cunna aghcha dai'ira.
book buy:CVSIM 3SG:DAT money D:lost:WP
'She lost money when she was buying a book'

(29) Chaining/non-modifying usage
Gazet 'a uecush, c'a je'ara.
Newspaper & buy:CVSIM house J:come:WP
'(I)bought a newspaper then (I) went home'

The first example is the adverbial/modifying usage of a converb. The word *uecush* 'buy' is used as an adverb, describing a situation in which the event in the main clause took place. The second example shows the chaining/non-modifying usage. In this example, the same converb *uechsh* 'buy' is used to carry on a story. In Chechen language, a morpheme *'a* appears in front of the converb *uechsh* 'buy' to suggest that this converb is used as a chaining/non-modifying converb. Shimoji mentions that there is a similar non-finite verb inflection in Irabu to this converb *uechsh* 'buy' in Chechen. Moreover, the direct object appearing in a converb structure is encoded differently depending on the usage of the converb, similar to the morpheme *'a* in Chechen.

In order to demonstrate his claim, he first investigates the distribution of the primary accusative marker, and then the secondary accusative marker, appearing in different types of verb. Note here that these verb types are finite verbs such as past inflections and non-finite verbs such as converbs[26] (Shimoji 2009, p.96). Overall, Shimoji finds that the primary accusative marker in Irabu appears relatively equally in both finite and non-finite verbs and the secondary accusative marker appears predominantly in non-finite verb structures. Shimoji then focuses on non-finite verbs and separates them into converbs and other non-finite verbs including simultaneous form[27]. He finds both the primary accusative marker and the secondary accusative marker in converb structures but he suggests that the secondary accusative marker in particular appears more in converb structures as opposed to the other non-finite verb structures. As for the primary accusative marker, Shimoji suggests that it appears equally in converb structures and other non-finite verb structures. He then further focuses on the converbs and investigates the relationships between each accusative marker and the usage of converbs. In order to do so, he

[26] Converb from here on refers to Asian converb.

[27] This verb inflection does not carry grammatical tense.

separates these converb structures into two usages; adverbial/modifying converbs and chaining/non-modifying converbs (p.96). Again, Shimoji's discussion suggests that converb in Irabu appears as one form but has two usages, adverbial/modifying usage and chaining/non-modifying usage, and he find that the primary accusative marker appears more in chaining/non-modifying usage while the secondary accusative marker appears more in adverbial/modifying usage (p.96). In other words, Shimoji claims that the secondary accusative marker in Irabu is there to differentiate the usage of the converb, specifically it suggests the adverbial/modifying usage of a converb.

Following Shimoji's steps, I first investigated the distributions of the primary accusative marker =*u,* and then the secondary accusative marker =*a,* appearing in Ikema discourse data and tried to determine in which types of verb inflection these direct object markers appear. As an initial attempt, the verbs are separated into two groups: finite and non-finite[28]. Table 7 shows the distributions of the primary accusative marker =*u* co-occurring with non-finite and finite verbs and Table 8 shows the distribution of the secondary accusative marker =*a* co-occurring with non-finite and finite verbs.

	ACC1	%
Non-finite	18	45.0%
Finite	22	55.0%
Total	40	100%

Table 7: Distributions of ACC1 Co-occurring with Non-finite and Finite Verbs

[28] Although Shimoji's categorization of verb inflection is more detailed one, I simplified the procedure to focus more on the core difference which Shimoji suggests.

	ACC2	%
Non-finite	37	78.7%
Finite	10	21.3%
Total	47	100%

Table 8: Distributions of ACC2 Co-occurring with Non-finite and Finite Verbs

Table 8 show a noticeable difference between the primary and secondary accusative markers. While 45.0% of the primary accusative marker =*u* co-occurs with non-finite verbs and 55.0% with finite verbs, the secondary accusative marker =*a* predominantly co-occurs with non-finite verb (78.7%). The results of Ikema discourse data thus seem to stay in line with Shimoji's suggestion about Irabu – primary accusative marker appears in both finite and non-finite verbs relatively equally while secondary accusative marker appears predominantly with non-finite verbs.

Now, to investigate further and see if secondary accusative marker appears predominantly in converb structure as Shimoji suggests, I separated these non-finite verbs into two groups; converbs and others such as simultaneous form[29]. Table 9 shows the distribution of primary accusative markers =*u* co-occurring with converbs and other non-finite verbs and Table 10 shows the distribution of secondary accusative markers =*a* co-occurring with converbs and other non-finite verbs.

	ACC1	%
Converb	14	77.8%
Others	4	22.2%
Total	18	100%

[29] See footnote 27.

Table 9: Distributions of ACC1 Co-occurring with Converb and Other Non-finite Verb

	ACC2	%
Converb	32	86.5%
Others	5	13.5%
Total	37	100%

Table 10: Distributions of ACC2 Co-occurring with Converb and Other Non-finite Verb

From the tables above, we can see that both primary accusative marker and secondary accusative marker in Ikema can appear in a converb structure like Shimoji suggests. However, we can also see that both the primary accusative marker and the secondary accusative marker show a stronger preference to appear in converb structures. The results shown in Table 9 (the distributions of ACC1) thus do not line up with what Shimoji says about the primary accusative marker in Irabu since he suggests that the primary accusative marker in Irabu appears relatively equally in both converb structure and other non-finite verb structures. On the contrary, the results shown in Table 10 (the distributions of ACC2) seem to support Shimoji's suggestion on the secondary accusative marker in Irabu strongly since he suggests that it appears predominantly in converb structure as opposed to the other non-finite verb structure. From these results, we can say that the primary accusative marker in Ikema does not follow what Shimoji found in Irabu but the secondary accusative marker in Ikema does.

As mentioned earlier, Shimoji further investigated and found out that the usage of converb also has something to do with the appearance of the secondary accusative marker in Irabu. The figures he provides suggest that when a primary accusative marker appears in a converb structure, the converb is more likely to be used as a chaining/non-modifying converb while a secondary accusative marker seems to appear more in a converb structure when it is used as an

adverbial/modifying converb. To see whether the distinction Shimoji found in Irabu would be found in Ikema, I separated the converb structures into two usages; adverbial/modifying converbs and chaining/non-modifying converbs. However, I soon realized that it is very difficult to decide which function these converbs serve. To illustrate this difficulty, let's take a look at some examples. Example 30 is from the recording "Life as a Fisherman".

(30) Chaining/Non-modifying Converb

kajiki nu tchaituu[30]
marlin NOM catch.PASS.COND

ura=a **handii** tugii
this=ACC2 **cut.CVB** sharpen.CVB

u… unu supaikyu=u chuffiiui dara
u… this NAME=ACC1 make.ASP.PRES FP
'If (you) catch a marlin, (you) cut this and sharpen it, then make supaiki(a connector)'

In the example 30, the non-finite converb *handii* 'cut' takes the direct object *ura* 'this' which is marked with the secondary accusative marker *=a*. This example illustrates a chaining/non-modifying converb. The verb *handii* 'cut' takes a part of sequential activities where it contributes to the progress of a story line. So far, it seems simple to determine whether or not a converb is used as a chaining/non-modifying converb. In the example 31, however, things seem to be more complicated.

(31) Adverbial/Modifying usage

umoo=ya **tuii**
feather=ACC2 **take.CVB**

yamatonkai anshi ukuruutai
mainland.Japan.LOC that.way send.ASP.PST
'Taking feather, (he) sent (it) to mainland Japan that way'

[30] One consultant also provided another form *tchaittaa* as an alternative form of *tchaituu.*

Similar to example 30, the non-finite converb *tuii* ‘take’ takes the direct object *umoo* ‘feather’ which is marked with the secondary accusative marker =*a*. This example seems to represent converb which involves the adverbial/modifying usage. However, it is not clear enough to determine if this converb really serves the adverbial/modifying function. From the context of the discourse where the speaker talks about this man who used to make a living by collecting feathers, I presume that the converb is used as a condition rather than a sequence of activities. So I categorized this example as adverbial/modifying converb. However, you can also suggest that this converb *tuii* ‘take’ is part of sequential activities where he plucks feathers then sends them to mainland Japan.

Having this ambiguity in mind, I did my best separating the converbs found in discourse data into two groups. The distributions of the primary accusative marker, and then the secondary accusative markers were investigated. Please note here that unclear examples that could not be categorized in either were categorized under “unclear”. The following two tables show the distributions of primary and secondary accusative markers (=*u* and =*a* respectively) co-occurring with adverbial/modifying converb usage and chaining/non-modifying converb usage.

Usage of converb	ACC1	%
Adverbial/modifying	4	28.6%
Chaining/non-modifying	8	57.6%
Unclear	2	14.3%
Total	14	100%

Table 11: Distributions of ACC1 Co-occurring with Two Usages of Converb

Usage of converb	ACC2	%
Adverbial/modifying	13	40.6%
Chaining/non-modifying	16	50.0%
Unclear	3	9.4%
Total	32	100%

Table 12: Distributions of ACC2 Co-occurring with Two Usages of Converb

In Table 11, we can see that the primary accusative marker =*u* appears more in chaining/non-modifying converb structure. Similarly, we can see from Table 12 that the secondary accusative marker =*a* also appears more often in chaining/non-modifying converb structure. The results of primary accusative marker in Ikema support Shimoji's claims of Irabu concerning the primary accusative marker, where the primary accusative marker appears more in a chaining/non-modifying converb structure. However, the results of secondary accusative marker =*a* of Ikema do not support his analysis as the secondary accusative marker =*a* does not appear more in an adverbial/modifying converb structure in my discourse data. Because of this, I suggest that unlike Irabu, the type of converb does not have an effect on deciding which direct object marker is chosen in Ikema.

In this section, we have seen that Shimoji's claims on the primary accusative marker and the secondary accusative marker in Irabu only partially hold true when they are applied to their counterparts of Ikema. Like Shimoji said, the primary accusative marker in Ikema shows up relatively equally in both finite and non-finite verbs while the secondary accusative marker appears more in non-finite verbs. However, when the converb structures and other non-finite verbs are compared, the data collected in Ikema discourse do not support Shimoji's claim. Although he claims that only the secondary accusative marker shows up more in converb

structure in Irabu, the results of my data set show that both the primary and the secondary accusative markers in Ikema show up more in converb structures. Moreover, when the usage of the converbs (adverbial/modifying usage and chaining/non-modifying usage) are investigated, both accusative markers in Ikema appear more in chaining/non-modifying converbs. This result again does not fully support Shimoji's claim on Irabu since he suggests that the primary accusative marker appears more in chaining/non-modifying converb while the secondary accusative marker appears more in adverbial/modifying converb. These results are important since Shimoji claims that the difference appeared in the usage of converb give us hint of why the secondary accusative marker exist in Irabu. He suggests that a converb, which appears to be one form, has in fact two usages, and the secondary accusative marker helps differentiate the usage of such converb. By obtaining the results that do not support Shimoji's claim, we can say that the secondary accusative marker in Ikema does not have the function Shimoji found.

3.2.1.3 Additional investigation

Since we have learned the results of the primary and secondary accusative marker in Ikema following Shimoji's steps does not quite show Shimoji's idea on their counterparts in Irabu, I looked at these accusative markers from another angle. I attempted another set of investigations to see whether or not a different verb type has preference towards one direct object marker over another. I will take steps that are similar to those in the previous section. The tables below show the distributions of non-finite and finite verbs co-occurring with the primary and the secondary accusative markers in Ikema.

	Non-finite	%
ACC1	18	32.7%
ACC2	37	67.3%
Total	55	100%

Table 13: Distributions of Non-finite Verbs Co-occurring with ACC1 and ACC2

	Finite	%
ACC1	22	68.8%
ACC2	10	31.2%
Total	32	100%

Table 14: Distributions of Finite Verbs Co-occurring with ACC1 and ACC2

Table 13 shows that non-finite verb inflections prefer taking secondary accusative marker (67.3%) more than the primary accusative marker (32.7%). On the contrary, table 14 shows that finite verb inflections prefer taking primary accusative marker (68.8%) more than the secondary accusative marker (31.2%). The results show that the difference between the primary and secondary accusative markers in Ikema can be seen in finite and non-finite verb constructions. The primary accusative marker is preferred to appear in finite verb structure while the secondary accusative marker is preferred to appear in non-finite verb structure.

I also ran another analysis to see if specific non-finite verbs, in this case a converb structure, has a preference towards one direct object marker over another. The table below shows the distributions of converbs co-occurring with primary and secondary accusative markers in Ikema.

	Converb	%
ACC1	14	30.4%
ACC2	32	69.6%
Total	46	100%

Table 15: Distributions of Converb Co-occurring with ACC1 and ACC2

	Others	%
ACC1	4	44.4%
ACC2	5	55.6%
Total	9	100%

Table 16: Distributions of Other Non-finite Verbs Co-occurring with ACC1 and ACC2

We can see from table 15 that the converb structure prefers taking the secondary accusative marker (69.6%) over the primary accusative marker (30.4%). Table 16, on the other hand, shows that other non-finite verbs do not show a strong preference for either of the accusative markers (ACC1 being 44.4 % and ACC2 being 55.6%). These results suggest that the difference between primary and secondary accusative markers in Ikema starts to appear in this converb structure. The converb structure prefers taking the secondary accusative marker =*a* much more than the primary accusative marker =*u* while other non-finite verbs do not show a strong preference for either of the accusative markers.

After running the above mentioned analyses, I investigated whether or not the different usages of converbs show preference for taking either of the accusative markers. The tables below show the distributions of adverbial/modifying converb and chaining/non-modifying converb co-occurring with primary and secondary accusative markers in Ikema. Please note here that those

examples which were categorized as “unclear” in the previous analysis are excluded here for the purpose of purely looking at the difference determined by the usage of converbs.

	Adverbial/modifying	%
ACC1	4	23.5%
ACC2	13	76.5%
Total	17	100%

Table 17: Distributions of Adverbial/modifying converb Co-occurring with ACC1 and ACC2

	Chaining/non-modifying	%
ACC1	8	33.3%
ACC2	16	66.7%
Total	24	100%

Table 18: Distributions of Chaining/non-modifying converb Co-occurring with ACC1 and ACC2

We can see from the tables above that both adverbial/modifying converb and chaining/non-modifying converbs prefer taking the secondary accusative marker (76.5% and 66.7 % respectively) over the primary accusative marker (23.5% and 33.3% respectively). Since both usages of converb show a preference towards the secondary accusative marker =*a*, we can perhaps say that the difference between primary and secondary accusative markers cannot be determined by the usage of converb. These results, in addition to the previous results (Table 15 and 16), suggest that the difference between primary and secondary accusative markers in Ikema can be determined by the converb structure itself rather than the particular usage type of converbs.

3.2.1.4 Summary of =*a*

We have seen in this section that the secondary accusative marker =*a* is 1) one of several non-focus markers which appears in a negative predicate structure and 2) not required in a volitional predicate which was stated otherwise in previous studies (Hayashi, 2013b). Also, following a previous study by Shimoji (2009), we saw that primary accusative marker =*u* in Ikema is distributed relatively equally in both verb structures while secondary accusative marker =*a* seems to appear more in non-finite verbs rather than finite verbs just like Shimoji suggested in his study. In terms of non-finite verbs, the discourse data of Ikema shows both primary and secondary accusative markers appear more in converb structures than other non-finite verb structures unlike Shimoji's claim. Further to these analyses, I also investigated the usage of converb structures following Shimoji's study. Contrary to his results, discourse data of Ikema suggests that both primary and secondary accusative markers appear more in chaining/non-modifying converb usage than in adverbial/modifying converb usage.

In addition to the analyses following the previous studies, I ran a set of analyses to see whether these verb structures have preference for one accusative marker over another. First, I found out that finite verbs show a preference for the primary accusative marker over the secondary accusative marker while non-finite verbs suggest the opposite, preferring the secondary accusative marker. Second, converb structures prefers taking the secondary accusative marker over the primary accusative markers while other non-finite verbs do not show a strong preference for either accusative markers. Third, both adverbial/modifying converb usage and chaining/non-modifying converb usage show stronger preference towards the secondary accusative marker over the primary accusative marker. Therefore, the secondary accusative marker =*a* in Ikema seems to have stronger connection with non-finite verbs especially converb

structures since these structures show stronger preference for the secondary accusative marker over the primary accusative markers. Obtaining above mentioned results, I can at least say that the secondary accusative marker in Ikema does not indicate adverbial/modifying usage of converbs like Shimoji suggested but perhaps simply indicates converb structure in general.

3.2.2. *=u*

Another major direct object marker found in spoken discourse data of Ikema is *=u*, the primary accusative marker, as it has been already briefly introduced in connection with the secondary accusative marker in the previous section. There are initially 67 examples of direct objects marked with *=u* but 27 of them are NPs which end in *–u* (*matu* 'target' for example). As mentioned in Chapter 2, *-Cu* ending NPs take *=u* as both a primary accusative marker and a secondary accusative marker so it is impossible to know which of these markers speakers intend to use for these NPs. Table 19 below shows the distribution of such –Cu ending NPs, taking the ambiguous *=u* as an accusative marker.

	Number of examples	%
ACC1 (*=u*)	40	35.1%
ACC2 (*=a*)	47	41.2%
-Cu ending NPs (taking =u as an accusative marker)	27	23.7%
Total	114	100%

Table 19: Distribution of –Cu ending NPs

As shown in the table, -Cu ending NPs appear quite often (23.7%). However, because of the ambiguity explained above, these examples needed to be excluded in the analysis. Therefore, 40 examples of direct objects taking *=u* as their marker will be considered.

According to Hayashi (2013b), the primary accusative marker =*u* is a default focus marker for a direct object, which means that this marker can appear anywhere unless some conditions apply. If her understanding is correct, =*u* and =*a* should not co-exist in the same environment. In the previous section (3.2.1), however, we saw both the primary and secondary accusative marker appearing in the same environment. Nonetheless, we found the secondary accusative marker to be a preferred choice in a converb structure over the primary accusative marker. With this in mind and for the purpose of our investigation, let us hypothesize that the secondary accusative marker =*a* in Ikema has a function of suggesting converb structure. If this hypothesis is true, what does the primary accusative marker =*u* do in a converb structure?

To examine the difference in detail, I conducted elicitation sessions with native speakers based on what I found in my discourse data. Example 32 shows a converb structure taking a direct object marked with the primary accusative marker =*u.* Example 33 shows a converb structure taking a direct object marked with the secondary accusative marker =*a.*

(32) akancha**=u** tumii ugin hii tsIkadi
NAME=ACC1 look.for.CVB spear INST stab.VOL
'(I) look for akancha (fish's name) and (I) stab (it) with spear'

(33) akancha**=a** tumii ugin hii tsIkadi
NAME=ACC2 look.for.CVB spear INST stab.VOL
'(I) look for akancha (fish's name) and (I) stab (it) with spear'

According to my primary consultant, both sentences are equally acceptable. The result of the elicitation is in accordance with what I found in my discourse data; a direct object found in a converb structure can take either the primary accusative marker =*u* or the secondary accusative marker =*a*. However, I encountered an interesting comment on the difference between the primary accusative marker =*u* and the secondary accusative marker =*a*; the secondary accusative

marker =*a* sounds older than the primary accusative marker =*u*. Consulting with my speaker (62 years old in 2015), the only difference he can point out is that example 33 (=*a* coding) would be preferred more by elderly people. What does this speaker's intuition suggest?

While it is simply my speculation, this may be explained as an influence of Japanese. Unlike Ikema, Japanese only has one accusative marker, =*o*. This is a cognate of the primary accusative marker =*u* in Ikema. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, Ikema speakers are largely bilingual in Japanese and Ikema. So, the languages they speak likely mutually influence one another. This perhaps is why their version of Japanese is slightly different from ours. In addition to this difference, there seems to be a slight difference between Ikema spoken by older generations and younger generations. My consultant often gives me a few Ikema expressions for Japanese examples but suggests that one sounds more like Ikema while others sound less like it. Both expressions usually sound like Ikema to a non-native speaker like myself but there seems to be an awareness of new and old forms among native speakers. Going back to the question raised earlier, *what does this intuition by this native speaker suggest,* I assume that the secondary accusative marker =*a* used to be the main marker in the converb structure. As discussed in section 3.2.1, the secondary accusative marker =*a* is in fact still predominantly used with the converb structure in my discourse data. However, when the Japanese language became more prominent and started to influence speakers' knowledge of Ikema, the distinction between the primary and secondary accusative marker began to fade away. In other words, the primary accusative marker =*u* is replacing the secondary accusative marker =*a* in the converb structure. The intuition of my primary consultant on new forms and old forms also seems to suggest such diachronic distinctions.

To summarize, the primary accusative marker *=u* may be the default marker for encoding the direct object in Ikema like Hayashi suggests (2013b). This means that the primary accusative marker *=u* appears unless some conditions apply and override its position. To address the difference between the primary and secondary accusative marker, I suggest the following hypothesis. Originally, when a converb structure appeared in a sentence, the secondary accusative marker *=a* would come into play. However, there has been an inevitable influence from Japanese in that this distinction has slightly changed and now the primary accusative marker *=u* is also allowed to appear in converb constructions.

3.2.3 *=u=gya(a)*[31]

Although the frequency is smaller than the primary and secondary accusative (*=u* and *=a*), one of the commonly used direct object markers in my discourse data is *=u=gya(a*). According to Hayashi, this direct object marker is a combination of an accusative marker *=u* and second non-focus marker *=gya(a)* (2013b). In her dissertation, she suggests that the accusative marker *=u* by itself is a focused form by default. Adding *=gya(a)* to the marker, however, causes this marker become a separate non-focus marker. As mentioned in Chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter, Hayashi uses the terms focus and non-focus in terms of information structure. Again, the study of information structure suggests that information in a sentence needs to be packaged in order to satisfy the speakers' immediate communicative needs (Féry & Krifka, 2008, p.123). The packaging is often labeled as focus-ground, new-given, rheme-theme, and topic-comment. This theory states that a sentence is comprised of "an informative part that makes some contribution

[31] Hayashi only mentions *=gyaa* form in her dissertation. However, it seems that this segment can appear as *=gya* as well. Therefore, I choose to write this segment as *=gya(a)* with *-a* in bracket being optional.

to the discourse or the hearer's 'mental world'" (Vallduví & Engdahl 1996 p.461) and another part that "anchors the sentence to the previous discourse or the hearer's 'mental world'" (p.461).

Based on the understanding of these distinction, I first investigated whether or not direct objects found in discourse data that takes the non-focus marker *=u=gya(a)* carries old information like Hayashi suggests. Below is an example extracted from the recording, "Hoogenfuda".

(34)

1.	ichinen	nu	shinshii	nii[32]
	first.grade	GEN	teacher	FP
2. ->bamikii	bakaa	uiba	**uru=u=gya**	
be.loud.CVB	always	exist.CLS	**this=ACC1=NFOC**	
3.	aranaa	hii=du	ffyaduragama	ti	huutai
	nickname	INST=FOC	sparrow.DIM	QUOT	say.ASP.PAST

'The teacher for the first graders, you know. (He) was always being loud so (we) were calling this person "sparrow" by (his) nickname'

In line 2, the direct object marker *=u=gya(a)* is attached to a direct object *uru* 'this'. The speaker here has been talking about this loud 1st grade teacher who used to be called sparrow by his students. This NP refers to *shiishii* 'teacher' which appears in line 1. When you take a close look at line 1, you notice that the speaker is trying to make sure that the listener(s) have the same information as he does. The attempt by the speaker can be seen in the final particle *–nii*, an agreement marker. This final particle is usually used by an interlocutor for assuring that the information s/he has just delivered is shared knowledge with listeners. Having made sure that the listener has the shared information, the speaker says *uru=u=gya(a)* which, again, refers to the

[32] This element seems to be a modified form of an agreement marker *ii*. I speculate that this form may be a hybrid of *ne* and *ii,* agreement markers in Japanese and Ikema respectively.

teacher who he just talked about. This information attached to *=u=gya(a)* is thus considered old information since the listener already knows what this direct object refers to. We can also say that this direct object is old information because the word *uru* here is a demonstrative used to refer to an anaphoric referent. This usage of demonstrative can only be meaningful when the NP is referential otherwise the listener cannot make a connection between the demonstrative and what it refers to. In other words, it can only deliver its meaning when it is old information.

Now let's take a look at other examples which is categorized as new information for this thesis. This segment of discourse is extracted from the recording "Life as a Fisherman".

(35)

1. G: umankai ya
   here.LOC TOP

2. tcha ainu koori nagii mai… gya
   well that ice and.so.on also… TOP

3. mutiikaddan
   bring.go.NEG.PST
   'well, then (you guys) did not bring ice and so on there?'

4. NN:naa
   What
   'what?'

5. G: koori… koori nagii gya
   ice… ice and.so.on TOP
   '(I am talking about) Ice and so on'

6. NN:maasu saami
   salt FP
   'Salt, (it was)'

7. G: aa maasu taan
   ah salt only
   'Ah (I see). (you brought) only salt'

8. NN:mukasha a mm… koorya a nyaan munu mmE
long.ago TOP mm… ice TOP NEG thing well

9. maasu dara
salt FP
'Back in the days, (there is) no ice so (it was) salt'

10.G: ura a tchaa kanuu mizInkai
this TOP then well water.LOC

11. unu mijj=u tamiiutui
this water=ACC1 hold.CVB.CRCM

12. uinkai=du maasu=u maddii tii
this.LOC=FOC salt=ACC1 mix.CVB QUOT
'It is then, well, in the water, while (you are) keeping this water, (you) mix salt in it'

13. NN:maasumijj=a chuffiiutui uinkai
salt.water=ACC2 make.CVB.CRCM this.LOC

14. ->**zzu=u=gyaa** i… irii ui dara
fish=ACC1=NFOC pu… put.in.CVB ASP.PRES FP
'(you) make salt water and in this (you are) putting fish'

The direct object *zzu* 'fish' appears in line 14 with the direct object marker *=u=gya(a)*. This direct object is considered as carrying new information since these participants have not used the term *zzu* 'fish' for quite a while in the conversation. Before this segment of conversation, Mr. NN tells Mr. G that if there was no food left on the island where he used to visit, he had to go home to Ikema Island even when a strong wind blew against his intended path of travel, putting himself in danger. After a brief pause, this section of conversation starts with Mr. G suddenly asking Mr. NN if he brought ice to the island (Line 1-3). Here, it is unclear whether or not Mr. G meant to ask if Mr. NN brought ice for preserving the fish knowing the fact that Mr. NN was a fisherman and he visited the island for the purpose of fishing, or asking him if he brought ice for keeping the food they brought cool. Nonetheless, Mr. G does not use the term zzu 'fish'. After hearing this question, Mr. NN answers Mr. G, saying there was no such thing called ice back in

the old days so he brought salt instead (Line 6-9). From line 10 to line 14, both participants continue talking about how to preserve food back when there was no ice. Mr. NN then uses the term *zzu* 'fish' in line 14 to tell Mr. G that he used salted water to preserve fish (line 14). The conversation has been revolving around the topic of food perhaps more so in the topic of fish in both participants' mind, but line 14 is the first time in a while when the term *zzu* 'fish' comes into the conversation. Therefore, the direct object *zzu* 'fish' here is considered new[33].

From examples such as that mentioned above, it is likely that direct objects with *=u=gya(a)* can be categorized into two groups: new and old. As you can see from the table below, out of 19 examples, 16 examples (approx. 84%) carry old information and only 3 examples (approx. 16%) carry new information. It seems then *=u=gya(a)* is used predominantly for direct objects which carry old information.

	Number of examples	%
Old	16	84.2
New	3	15.8
Total	19	100.0

Table 20: Distributions of *=u=gya(a)* Carrying Old/New Information

There is another proposed analysis for the function of *=u=gya(a)* which should be considered here. Shimoji's dissertation (2008) on Irabu suggests that the direct object marker *=u=ba(a),* the equivalent form of *=u=gya(a)* in other dialects according to Hayashi, can encode both a contrastive object topic or a general object topic (p426). I checked to see if this applies to my discourse data in Ikema, and if so, find out the distribution of each function.

[33] The information carried by *zzu* 'fish' would be considered "accessible" by Chafe (1976) because fish was mentioned earlier in the discourse.

Below is an example where *=u=gya(a)* is considered to be used for a contrastive object. It is taken from the recording "Hoogenfuda".

(36)

1. banchi ga dookyuusei ya
   1st.PL GEN classmate TOP

2. ->**hoogen=nu=gya** jenjen tsIkaan ti
   dialect=ACC=NFOC at.all use.NEG QUOT

3. shinshiinkai ya uso ajjuu saa i
   teacher.LOC TOP lie say.ASP.PRES FP SFP
   'Our (male) classmates lie to the teacher saying (they) do not use dialect at all'

In line 2, the direct object *hoogen* 'dialect' appears with the direct object marker *=u=gya(a)*. On the surface, this sentence is simply stating that the speaker's classmates lied and said that they did not use the dialect at all. But when you take a close look, you notice that something else is implied. The classmates must have spoken some form of a language to their teacher. So if the usage of dialect is negated (line 2), listeners automatically interpret and understand their other language must have been used, in this case Japanese. Having a direct object marked with *=u=gya(a)* in a negative sentence thus seems to bring something unstated to the listener's mind. It is also interesting to note here that *=u=gya(a)* and *=u=ba(a)* (an equivalent form of *=u=gya(a)* in other dialects of Miyako according to Hayashi) seem to be preferred in a negative construction (see Table 5 on page 40). This result perhaps indicates that these markers can suggest something that is unstated.

This observation, however, does not explain where the contrastive meaning comes from. Is it the use of *=u=gya(a)* itself or the negation structure in combination with *=u=gya(a)*? To answer these questions, I examined further to see whether or not the direct object marker itself

has the same function in an affirmative structure. An example from the recording "Hoogenfuda" below is to show *=u=gya(a)* appearing in an affirmative structure.

(37)

1. unna yaan mai basa a
   that.time house.LOC also banana TOP

2. itsImai narii duu suga du
   always grow.CVB FOC.ASP.NPST but FOC

3. ->basa=u=gyaa... **gabaamunu=u=gya**
   banana=ACC=NFOC big.thing=ACC=NFOC

4. gyooshoonintan vvii
   vendor.PL.DAT sell.CVB
   'that time, (we) always have bananas growing at (my) house but (we) sell bananas…the big ones to the vendors'

In the affirmative construction sentence above, the direct object *gabaamunu* 'big things' is marked with *=u=gya(a)*. According to a native speaker of Ikema, this sentence implies that the person did not sell "small things". In other words, unstated information is triggered in the listener's mind just like in the negative sentence shown above. From examples (36) and (37), it is perhaps safe to say that the direct object marker *=u=gya(a)* is used as a contrastive object to imply unstated facts and ideas.

Based on the understanding above, each example is examined and categorized into contrastive object and general object. Table 21 below shows the distribution of each category.

	# of examples	%
Contrastive Object	9	47.4
Non-contrastive Object	10	52.6
Total	19	100

Table 21: Distributions of *=u=gya(a)* on Contrastive Object

Out of 19 examples, nine show *=u=gya(a)* appearing with a contrastive object and ten appearing with a general object. The figures suggest that *=u=gya(a)* can be used to encode both a contrastive object and a non-contrastive object[34].

From the observations above, the direct object marker *=u=gya(a)* that appears in my discourse data not only seems to have a strong tendency of carrying old information like Hayashi suggests but can also mark contrastiveness in connection with the direct object NP similarly to the object topic marker which appears in the Irabu dialect.

3.2.4 Zero marking

Zero marking is another way to mark a direct object in Ikema. When the direct object is followed by no specific marker, it is considered to be zero marking. In addition to the direct object markers suggested by Hayashi (2013b), namely *=u*, *=a*, *=u=gya(a)*, and *=u=du*, this way of marking direct object appears quite often in discourse data. What does this zero marking do? Although Fujii and Ono's study (2000) strictly focuses on Japanese object making, it illustrates that one of the factors deciding the occurrence or non-occurrence of object marking device is the referentiality of the object. The authors state that non-referential NPs predominantly take zero

[34] It should be noted that Japanese topical negation resembles both Hayashi and Shimoji's analysis on the direct object marker *=u=gya(a)*. McGloin, an author of a book called *Negation in Japanese*, suggests that the topic marker in Japanese has two functions; thematic and contrastive. According to her, a theme in Japanese sentence structure is "the element of the sentence which represents given information" (McGloin, 1986, p.31) and a contrastive topic suggests the context *other than* what is stated. Let's look at the example from McGloin's book, which suggests the contrastive topic.

```
seishitsu   wa  ii   desu   ga...
personality TOP good copula but
'Her personality is good, but...'
```

In the example above, a topic marker *wa* is used on the term *seishitsu* 'personality'. According to McGloin, this sentence is not only stating about the person's personality but "implies that something other than this person's [personality] is not too satisfactory" (p.32). In other words, the topic marker has a function which suggests something unstated. In terms of the new-old distinction, this sentence would be a felicitous answer to a question "How about her personality?". *Seishitsu* 'personality' here does not carry new information anymore but old information since *seishitsu* 'personality' is already in the listener's mind.

marking and referential NPs take an accusative marker, which is expressed by postpositional particle =*o* (Fujii & Ono, 2000, p. 16). Non-referential means the NP does not suggest a specific object. Based on this understanding, I examine the examples to see whether this difference applies to Ikema.

First, let us see the example which are considered to have zero marking for non-referential object and referential object. The sentence below (38) is extracted from the recording "Lighthouse" and demonstrates zero marking for the non-referential direct object.

(38)

1. hukabijinkai naugara
   hukabiji(Place).LOC well

2. ->**in** huddii
   ocean=∅ do.VOL.CVB

3. ikii miiba
   go.CVB look.CVB.CSL

4. ugan nu kiifuku ga mmya
   ugan(place) GEN kiifuku(name) NOM DSC

5. agaitauti yagumi gabaa gunkan nu du
   oh.my.goodness very large military.ship NOM FOC

6. uruui ti mmya huuba…
   exist.ASP.PRES QUOT DSC say.CSL
   'When (I) went to Hukabiji to try to fish, Kiifuku from Ugan said "Oh my goodness there is a very large military ship" so…'

In line two, the transitive verb *huddii* 'do' takes a direct object *in* 'fishing (lit. ocean)'. However, the direct object in this sentence does not take any overt marking. By conducting an elicitation with a native speaker later, it is confirmed that this noun *in* 'fishing (lit.ocean)' can take an

accusative marker as shown below without changing its meaning (example 39). In other words, these two are interchangeable.

(39) in**=nu** huddii
ocean**=ACC1** do.VOL.CVB
'do fishing (lit. do ocean)'

The word *in* 'fishing (lit. ocean)' in the example 38 is thus taking zero marking. When you look at the context of the utterance (example 38), it is clear that this direct object does not refer to a specific object but rather a non-referential object. The speaker is telling the listener what happened when they tried to go fishing that day, so 'fishing (lit. ocean)' does not refer to any specific object but rather the condition of the event.

On the other hand, the example below shows the zero marking for a referential direct object which appears in the recording "Life as a Fisherman".

(40)

1. sujuu dukunu yaiba unu
strong.current place COP.CSL that

2. banti ga zza atai hitu nu
1st.PL GEN father COP.PST person GEN

3. hachibanmarugama ti anshi
SHIP.NAME.DIM QUOT that.way

4. ->niton...han bakaai nu **funi...gama**
two.ton...half approximately GEN **ship...DIM=∅**

5. hagaha atai yo ii
build.CAUS ASP.PST FP SFP
'since it was a strong current place, the ship of our father, Hachibanmaru, well, (the father asked someone to) built the ship approximately two and half tons[35]'

[35] When a verb takes causal form and the word that follows the verb starts with /-a/ or /-i/, causal morpheme /as/ becomes /ah/ (Hayashi p.103).

We can see that the direct object *funigama* 'ship' in line 4 takes zero marking. Unlike example (38), this direct object is considered to be a referential object since it has already appeared in the previous segment of the utterance. The name of this ship, *hachibanmarugama* in line 3 is the same ship which the speaker is referring to as *funigama* 'ship' in line 4. In other words, the speaker is referring to a specific ship but simply calling it by a different term.

We can also look at this example from a different angle. The final particle *–ii* in line 5 is typically used by a speaker to confirm that the speaker and the listener share the same understanding (Hayashi, 2013b, p.114). This final particle *–ii* here thus indicates mutual understanding of the ship which both participants are familiar with. By having this ending in the utterance, it becomes clear that both participants understand *funigama* 'ship' here refers to a specific ship.

Based on the above distinction of referential and non-referential direct object, the frequency of zero marking for each object type was examined. In my discourse data, zero marking appears 19 times out of 134 examples, which consists 14.2% of the whole data set (see Table 4). Of these 19 examples, 17 appear with a non-referential direct object and only 2 appear with a referential direct object as shown below.

Direct object	# of examples	%
referential	2	10.5
non-referential	17	89.5
total	19	100

Table 22: Referentiality of Direct Objects

Despite a few occurrences of zero marking on referential direct object, it seems that zero marking in Ikema is similar to Japanese one. When direct object is marked with a zero marking, it is predominantly non-referential.

3.3 Minor direct object markers

This section deals with the minor direct object markers, namely *=u=du* and *=u=ba(a)* found in my discourse data. Since the number of these markers' examples is rather scares, I am only speculating about the following outcomes.

3.3.1 *=u=du*[36]

Although this direct object marker is presented as one of the major direct object markers in Ikema in Hayashi's dissertation, *=u=du* only appears 5 times out of 134 examples. Since it is very limited in numbers, it is difficult to generalize and discuss its function. This, however, did not make me hesitate to look into the example to see if Hayashi's suggestion on this marker holds true in discourse data. As I started investigation, I soon realized that the analysis presented by Hayashi is problematic since it is based on the unit 'clause' which is not explicitly defined. In her dissertation, Hayashi suggests that the focus marker, *=du*, is there to bring an element in focus and is only allowed to appear once in a clause under the knowledge of information structure (see details in section 2.2.1.2, and section 3.2.1.1). The element which takes this focus marker does not necessarily need to be a direct object. But when a direct object is focused, the accusative marker *=u* takes *=du* (an external focus marker) and appears as *=u=du*.
Unfortunately, I am not able to determine what Hayashi meant by 'clause', thus it is uncertain

[36] Hayashi suggests that *=du* is optional, which means that its appearance in sentences does not change the meaning of the sentence (p.159).

how she reached this final analysis. Let us see the example below extracted from my discourse data.

(41) [shokuinshitsu no uragawa=n***=du***
teacher's.office GEN back.side=LOC=FOC

nariiutai] munu***=u=du***
grow.CBV.ASP.PST thing=ACC1=FOC

umankai mutii ttii
here.LOC bring.CBV come.CBV
'bring the ones (bananas) that were growing in the backside of teacher's office here and…'

As you can see, this segment above includes a relative clause which is embedded in a larger clause. The square brackets indicate the modifying clause for the direct object *munu* 'thing' of the larger clause. If Hayashi uses the term 'clause' counting those embedded clauses separately, the example above supports Hayashi's analysis because *=du* appears in the first line for the relative clause and appears in the second line for the larger clause. However, if she uses the term 'clause' as a broader term, the example above does not support her claim because *=du* appears more than once in a single clause. Her description, which states the focus marker *=du* can only appear once in a clause, is thus not useful since the definition of clause is not clearly stated.

Hayashi also suggests that in order to have this focus marker on a direct object, other parts of speech need to be unfocused by adding a non-focus marker such as *=a* (p.160). This analysis again is problematic since her data is not primarily based on discourse. In spontaneous speech, the distinction between focus and non-focus seems to be less concrete, unlike Hayashi seems to suggest. Let us look at one of the usages of *=u=du* found in my discourse data.

(42) hoogenfuda**=u=du** ba **ga** ichioo
dialect.placard=ACC1=FOC 1st.SG NOM temporary

```
shiishii kara azIkarii    ii
teacher  from receive.CVB FP
'I receive the dialect placard from teacher temporally'
```

If Hayashi's analysis on focus/non-focus marking system is true, the subject of this utterance *ba* '1st singular' should take a non-focus marker *=a* because the direct object *hoogenfuda* 'dialect placard' takes the focus marker *=du*. However, as you can see *ba* '1st singular' takes *ga*, a nominative marker which according to Hayashi is a focus form by default.

Again, my observations here cannot be generalized due to the limited number of examples, but Hayashi's analysis also seems to be problematic when looking at discourse data.

3.3.2 *=u=ba(a)*

Another minor direct object marker found in discourse data is *=u=ba(a)*. According to Hayashi, this form is only seen in other dialects of Miyako and the equivalent form in Ikema is *=u=gya(a)* (p.154). In my data set, there are, however, 4 examples of *=u=ba(a)*. Here is one of the examples extracted from the recording "Rowing Boat".

```
(43) assuga  zzaku=u     muchan   hitu=u=ba
     but     paddle=ACC1 own.NEG  person=ACC1=NFOC

     nuuhan     doo
     board.NEG  FP
     'but (I) won't board a person who does not have a paddle'
```

In this sentence, the verb *nuuhan* 'not board' takes a direct object *hitu* 'person' which is marked with *=u=ba(a)*. One aspect I would like to clarify, however, is that three of the four examples are from elderly woman in the Ikema community and one is from a man in the Nishihara community. In other words, none of the male speakers in the Ikema community used this form. This phenomenon may be explained by minor language shift. Women's speech is known to associate with "standards" of their language rather than men's (Trudgill, 1972). This woman in

the Ikema community is perhaps more sensitive to different forms existing in different dialects and chose to use this object marker in front of a microphone. The male speaker in the Nishihara community perhaps has more influence from other dialects since the Nishihara community is the only community among the three located close to the downtown area of Miyakojima-city. Again, there are not enough examples to generalize so I cannot discuss further, but it may be possible to consider that this form is starting to appear in regular discourse of Ikema as a result of minor language shift.

Chapter 4 Summary and Conclusion

Ikema, a dialect of Miyako spoken in the small southern Japanese islands of Okinawa is the focus of the present thesis. Although this distinctive dialect has been studied from time to time, it still lacks in overall description and depth. Thus, this thesis hopes to take part in the process of uncovering the Ikema dialect by focusing on the direct object marking system. To be specific, my aim is to determine how many direct object markers exist in Ikema and how frequent they appear, as well as to investigate the function(s) of each marker.

Previous studies suggest that there are four direct object markers in Ikema, namely *=u, =a, =u=gya(a), and =u=du* (Hayashi, 2009, 2010, 2013b). However, the present thesis identifies two additional markers suggesting that there are, in fact, six ways to mark a direct object in Ikema. I would like to note that this result reflects the current state of Ikema more accurately when compared to previous studies. This is simply because the methodology of the present thesis is different from previous studies with the following points. First, recordings are collected from two different communities while the previous study focuses on one. This difference is perhaps important because the term Ikema is often used as an inclusive term: it refers to all varieties spoken within three different communities. Unfortunately, I was not able to collect spontaneous discourse from all the areas where Ikema is spoken. Nonetheless, adding another variety of Ikema to the data helps us understand this dialect slightly better. Second, this thesis employs discourse data as a primary source and tries to observe the actual language use. The benefit of using a spontaneous discourse data is great since it (a) gives actual frequencies and distributions of each direct object marker, (b) provides conversation context as a cue, and (c) not only captures the current state of the dialect, but also filters the "prescriptive" knowledge of native speakers. In regard to (a), elicited data can only suggest what might be acceptable in the language while

discourse data not only suggests that these direct object markers appear in this language but also provides frequencies and distributions of each marker. The present thesis thus provides an additional, in-depth information regarding direct object markers because it uses discourse data as a main source. Point (b) is equally important since the analyses suggested by this thesis is from a broader perspective than previous studies due to employing a different method of collecting data. Since data collected by elicitation are usually shorter sentences, the analyses restrict themselves to sentence level. By using discourse data, which enable for researcher to look at context and use it as a cue, the analyses are no longer restricted to sentence level; it broadens the perspective thus can provide more holistic analyses. In regard to (c), discourse data can provide the actual usage of the language rather than what is considered to be "correct". When speakers are given some time to ponder on the usage of their languages, which often happens in elicitation process, the awareness of what is supposed to be "correct" and "incorrect" in their language hinders speakers from using the "incorrect form". In other words, elicited data might not reflect how language is used in actual discourse. In fact, I discover that there are few additional direct object markers in the discourse data that are not found in data collected by elicitation. Since the present thesis investigates the actual usage of the dialect of Ikema, using spontaneous discourse data as a primary source of data is necessary. Having said that, I would like to mention again that the data I elicit in this thesis is only used as supplemental purposes, not as a primary source.

Now let us review what I found through the investigations of direct object marking system in Ikema. Again, there are six different ways to mark a direct object in my discourse data. The most frequently appearing marker is the secondary accusative marker *=a* (Table 4). By conducting investigations based on Hayashi′s analysis on information structure, I find that the secondary accusative marker in Ikema seems to be one of the few markers for the direct object in

negative predicate construction (Table 5). However, in volitional predicate construction, this direct object marker is not required (Table 6). Following another previous study done by Shimoji on Irabu dialect, I find that the secondary accusative marker appears more in non-finite verbs (Table 8) and is sensitive to the presence of a converb (Table 10), similarly to what Shimoji suggested in his article on the Asian converb regarding Irabu dialect (2009). It must be pointed out, however, that the secondary accusative marker =*a* in Ikema does not seem to differentiate the usage of converbs (adverbial/modifying usage and chaining/non-modifying usage) unlike Shimoji suggested in his article on the Asian converb (2009). From my own investigation, I find that non-finite verb structures, especially converb structures, prefer the secondary accusative marker =*a* in Ikema over the primary accusative marker =*u* (Table 13 and 15). Equally interestingly, it seems that the intuition of native speakers tells us the secondary accusative marker =*a* sounds somewhat older and is preferred by elderly people. Younger speakers, on the other hands, seem to be more influenced by Japanese, which has only one accusative marker =*o*, a cognate of the primary accusative marker =*u* in Ikema. For these reasons, I speculate that the distinction between =*a* and =*u* is not as clear as it was in the past. Taking this intuition into consideration, the secondary accusative marker =*a* is starting to be taken over by the primary accusative marker =*u*. Nonetheless, the secondary accusative marker =*a* is still apparent at this point of research.

The next apparent direct object marker I find in Ikema discourse data is the primary accusative marker =*u* (Table 4). I argue, in relation to the secondary accusative marker, that this direct object marker =*u* is a default accusative marker. It means that the primary accusative marker would always appear to a direct object unless some conditions apply and override its position. From the investigations, I find that the primary accusative marker in Ikema appears in

various types of verb constructions, including finite verbs and non-finite verbs (Table 7). However, when converb structure appears, the secondary accusative marker is preferred on the direct object more commonly (Table 15). From these results, it is perhaps safe to say that the secondary accusative marker is used to suggest a converb structure; otherwise the primary accusative marker is the default marker. It is also important to note here that the appearance of the primary or the secondary accusative markers does not seem to relate to the usages of a converb (adverbial/modifying or chaining/non-modifying) unlike Shimoji's suggestion in his study. Since both usages prefer taking the secondary accusative marker over the primary accusative marker (Table 17 and 18), the secondary accusative marker is there to simply suggest a converb structure in general. Those primary accusative markers appearing in converb structures are perhaps the results of Japanese influence.

Although not as frequent as the primary and secondary accusative markers, *=u=gya(a)* and zero marking are found in my discourse data quite commonly. The direct object marker *=u=gya(a)* seems to carry old information in terms of information structure. Old information here means that the part that "anchors the sentence to the previous discourse or the hearer's 'mental world'" (Vallduví & Engdahl, 1996, p. 461). This marker can also appear in a place where the direct object is used as a contrast; it is found with about a half of the *=u=gya(a)* examples in my data. The contrastive usage of the object stimulates the recipient's knowledge and creates the context which suggests something other than what it is stated in a sentence. This observation provides the explanation as to why *=u=gya(a)* appears more often in a negative predicate structure. By having a negative structure, it is easy for the recipient to imagine the unstated positive counterpart.

Zero marking is another commonly used direct object marker found in discourse data. To review what zero marking is, I clarify it as follows: Zero marking is one type of direct object marking where a marker does not overtly appear in the position where it is usually expected. Similar to the occurrence and non-occurrence of Japanese accusative marker *=o* suggested by Fujii and Ono (2000), zero marking in Ikema seems to refer to a non-referential object. I, therefor, conclude that the function of zero marking is to suggest a non-referential object.

Compared to other direct object markers, *=u=du* and *=u=ba(a)* appears rather scarce in discourse data. Since Hayashi mentions this direct object marker *=u=du* as if it is one of the prominent direct object markers, having less examples in discourse data is a respectable discovery. We can now say that *=u=du* is not as prominent as it was previously thought to be. Besides this discovery, however, I draw an attention to the unit "clause", used by Hayashi (2013b). According to her, *=u=du* is only allowed to appear once in a clause. But this word *clause* is problematic because she does not define what clause means in her analysis. Thus, the examples I find in my discourse data, unfortunately, can not provide an additional support to her analysis.

Finally, I provide insight for the direct object marker *=u=ba(a)*. According to Hayashi (2013b), this form of direct object marker is only seen in other dialects of Miyako. However, having a few examples of this marker challenges her suggestion. It indicates that this marker is not unique to other dialects of Miyako but is also present in current Ikema dialect spoken in the Nishihara and Ikema areas. Although I can only speculate at this point, this may be a result of minor language shift. These examples are from a female speaker in the Ikema community and a male speaker who live in the Nishihara community. These two are perhaps the most susceptible individuals to the external influence; the woman being more sensitive to the *standard* form, and a

person in Nishihara area having the most contact to other dialects due to its location. Again, the appearance of this marker is so low that I could not investigate thoroughly.

Having summarized my main findings, let me discuss some of the shortcomings of this investigation. Although I tried my best for executing the investigation of direct object marking system in Ikema, there are some weaknesses in this study. First, the present thesis is still neglecting a variety of Ikema spoken in the Sarahama community, although the data collected for this thesis covers broader varieties of Ikema than previous study. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Sarahama community used to be relatively isolated in terms of mobility of people (the Nishihara community being on the mainland, and the Ikema community being attached to the mainland Miyako by bridge since 1992). The present results in this thesis may change slightly, if and when the variety spoken in the Sarahama community is added to the data set. Second, the number of examples for each marker is still relatively low. I came up with the frequencies for each direct object marker and made some observations based on the examples I collected. However, it is necessary to gather more examples, especially for those minor direct object markers such as *=u=du* and *=u=ba(a)*, for a thorough investigation of the direct object marking system in Ikema. Third, the demography of the main speakers is rather unbalanced. Although I had speakers for both genders, there is only one main female speaker. The purpose of the investigation for this thesis is to see how many direct object markers exist in Ikema and to find the function of each marker, which do not necessary relate to gender differences. So, I naively assumed that the gender did not matter. However, I realize during the investigation that having less female speakers may lead to a different conclusion. If the frequency or even simply appearance of certain direct object markers in the data may be related to gender difference (for example, *=u=ba(a)* as mentioned above), having the same amount of speech from both genders may be

necessary. In this research I have only one female speaker so I could not analyze the results with certainty. Last but not least, recording sessions are always not as natural as they converse without a microphone. It is impossible to remove all the pressure that the speakers would feel no matter how naturalistic situation you create under which the recording is done. In other words, regardless of how naturally their speech sounds, there is always an invisible pressure when they are recorded. I additionally notice that the content of the recordings is mostly about the speakers' past. It is probably an easy topic to converse for the speakers in front of a microphone, however, the content makes it difficult to obtain some forms such as special form[37].

Due to the limited time and the limited recourses, the above mentioned weaknesses are not fully corrected. Nevertheless, this thesis addresses six direct object markers in Ikema and suggest the functions of at least some major direct object markers found in the discourse data. By focusing on the actual usage of these direct object markers in Ikema, I hope this research serves as another step towards researching this dialect in depth.

[37] As mentioned in footnote 15, there is a set of verb inflections in Ikema, which Hayashi calls *tokushu-kei* 'special form'. This inflection is only seen in verbs such as *ui* 'exist (animate)', ai 'exist (inanimate)', and sII 'know' according to Hayashi (p. 98).

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