Nominalization in Okinawan:
From a diachronic and comparative perspective[1]

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This paper demonstrates that the four functions originally tied to *rentaikei* in Old Japanese (OJ), and its sister-language, Old Okinawan (OOk) have been carried on into Modern Okinawan (MOk). In particular, the new *rentaikei* maintains adnominal, exclamative and cleft functions (*kakari musubi*), while the new nominalizer *si*, takes on a headless relative clause/complementizer function. It is argued here that the *rentai* and *shūshi* distinction was indeed vital for the preservation of *kakari musubi*. It is further argued thatt a complementary distribution between Japanese and Okinawan such that OJ loses its *kakari musubi* system, prompting Modern Japanese (ModJ) to develop *no desu*, while MOk renews its *kakari musubi* system, and consequently does not develop *no desu*. This paper supports an implicitly assumed claim that the *no desu* construction is the ModJ counterpart of the OJ *kakari musubi*. From the point of view of grammaticalization, the development of stance marking functions from *kakari musubi* (cleft) in Okinawan substantiated Yap et al.'s claim that a cleft construction serves as a crucial link between a nominalizer and a stance marker. In a cross-linguistic perspective, this paper claims that the OJ and Okinawan *rentaikei* shows versatility seen in various Tibeto-Burman languages such as Chantyal and Lahu.

1.   Introduction

This paper analyzes nominalized constructions in Okinawan from a diachronic and comparative perspective with its sister language, Japanese.[2] By Okinawan, this paper considers languages of *Omorosōshi* and *Kumiodori*, and its direct descendant, Modern Shuri dialect.[3] By nominalized constructions, this paper refers to adnominals, nominalizers, and sentence-final nominalized forms. Specifically, it delineates the change in the predicate paradigm (the loss of the adnominal/finite distinction and the renewal of

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[2] Okinawan and Japanese are sister languages (Chamberlain 1895), which are hypothesized to have split from their ancestor, Proto-Japanese around the 6th century (Hattori 1976; Hokama 1977).
[3] Dialects of Amami, Northern Okinawa (e.g., Nakijin), Miyako and Yayeyama are beyond the scope of this study. Hybrid languages of Japanese and Okinawan such as *Uchinā Yamatuguchi*, or *Yamatu Uchināguchi*, which emerged among younger generation Okinawans in recent years present language interference both at lexical and syntactic levels (see Nohara, 1996, Takaesu 2002), and thus are purposely avoided to maintain the same Okinawan lineage (from *Omorosōshi* to Modern Shuri dialect) vis-à-vis Japanese.

this distinction by the creation of new adnominal/finite forms), and its effects on the nominalized constructions as a whole in Okinawan syntax.

In this diachronic analysis of the nominalized constructions, this paper points out the continuity of the original functions of the *rentaikei* (adnominal form) and their redistribution throughout the new nominalized constructions such as new *rentaikei*, nominalizer *si*, and *kakari musubi*, a cleft-like construction in Okinawan. In addition, it provides an opportunity to reexamine the diachronic change which took place in Japanese history in a new comparative light with Okinawan. This, in turn, substantiates the often implied claim of the *no* (*desu*) (nominalizer + copula) construction as the successor of *kakari musubi* (=KM) in Japanese traditional linguistics (Onoe 1982, Yanagida 1985).

From the perspective of grammaticalization, the Okinawan history offers valuable data to be added to Yap et al.'s (2004) cross-linguistic diachronic study of genitives and adnominals/nominalizers. Furthermore, the elucidation of the distinct paths taken by Okinawan and Japanese, which are genetically related languages, will illuminate the intricate workings of nominalized constructions. In addition, Okinawan and Japanese data may enlighten issues concerning the syncretism between nominalization, relativization and genitivization seen widely in Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972; DeLancey 1986 and Noonan 1997). Subsequently, this paper vouches for the benefit of examining the nominalized constructions in a larger context.

2.   Historical background

2.1   *Old Japanese rentaikei and the rise of the Early Modern nominalizer no*

Old Japanese (=OJ, ~8th century) and Middle Japanese (=MJ, 9th~16th century) had an inflectional distinction between *rentaikei* (adnominal forms) and *shūshikei* (finite forms). For instance, the *rentaikei* appears in (1a), while the *shūshikei* form is used in (1b) at the end of the sentence.[4] But this distinction was lost in Modern Japanese (=ModJ, 17th century~).[5]

(1)   a. *mi-wataseba   yanagi sakura   wo   kokimazete miyako   zo   haru*
           look-across   willows cherry OBJ   blend   capital   KP   spring
           no   nishiki   nari-keru[6]
           GEN   brocade   be-PST (*rentaikei*)
           'I see willows and cherry trees blended, and (I realize) it is the capital that is the spring brocade.' (Kokinshū 2:90)

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[4] Those verbs which take quadri-grade conjugation have formally identical *rentaikei* and *shūshikei*. However, they can still be distinguished by the existence and non-existence of an accompanying *kakari* particle (see example 5 below), and by the subject marking (genitives *ga* and *no* vs. topic *wa/Ø*). The former choice is taken if the ending is *rentaikei*, while the latter is selected for *shūshikei*.
[5] To avoid confusion, I will use the Japanese words *rentaikei* and *shūshikei* when I strictly refer to forms, but will use English words such as adnominal, nominalizer/complementizer, etc. when I refer to functions. This is because *rentaikei* has multiple functions as seen in Table 1, and the adnominal function is only one of them. Thus, it is best not to have the English term 'adnominal' represent *rentaikei*.
[6] Since the focus of this paper is on the syntax and semantics of nominalized constructions, all of the examples are written logographically rather than phonetically, unless otherwise stated.

b. *furusato to nari-ni-shi Nara no miyako ni mo*
former.home COMP become-PERF-PST Nara GEN capital in even
*iro ha kahara-zu hana ha saki-**keri***
colors TOP change-not flowers TOP bloom-PST (*shūshikei*)
'Even in Nara, now my former home, why, the flowers still blossom in the colors of the yesteryear!' (Kokinshū 1:56)

As predicted from its name, 'end stop', *shūshikei* was used sentence-finally to *complete* a sentence. In contrast, *rentaikei* had four functions (cf. Quinn 2001; Nomura 2002), as shown in Table 1.[7]

Table 1. Functions of *rentaikei*

Functions	Syntactic environments
Adnominal	__N[8]
S-pronominal/complementizer	__ Particle
Exclamative	__ ##
Nominalization following focus	In *Kakari Musubi* (N + KP (focus) ….__ ##)

The following four examples illustrate the four functions mentioned above: adnominal (2); S-pronominal (headless relative clause)/complementizer (3); exclamative[9] (4) and *kakari musubi* (5). The corresponding *shūshikei* (finite form) is added in the parentheses for a reference.

(2) *furusato to nari-ni-**shi** (**ki**) Nara no miyako ni mo*
  former.home COMP become-PRF-PST Nara GEN capital in even
  'Even in Nara, which has become my former home…' (Kokinshū 2:90)

(3) *...kimi ga ie ni ike to ohi-**shi** (**ki**) ha itari-kemu ka m*o
   you GEN house to go.IMP QT send-PST TOP reach-INF Q SP
  'I wonder if (the cuckoo) that I sent to your house reached you…'
  (Manyōshū 1505)

(4) a. *wa ga koromode ha furu toki mo **nashi***
    I GEN sleeves TOP dry time even not.exist
    'There has been no time when my sleeves are dry.' (MYS 704)
  b. *wa ga koromode no furu toki mo **naki (nashi)***

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[7] These functions correspond to the conventional classification of clause types in traditional Japanese linguistics: adnominal :: *rentai-ku* (adnominal clause); S-Pronominal (headless relative clause)/complementizer :: *juntai-ku* (nominalized clause including headless relatives); exclamative :: *kantai-ku* (exclamatory clause), and nominalization following focus :: *kakari musubi* (cleft construction).
[8] There are cases where *no* may intervene between the *rentaikei* and a head noun like example (43).
[9] The *rentaikei* in *kantai-ku* (exclamatory clause), has traditionally been translated into Modern Japanese with the nominalizer *koto*, but Quinn (2001: 314) convincingly argues *no* instead of *koto* is closer to the truth.

> I GEN sleeves SUB dry time even not.exist
> '(Why) is there no time when my sleeves get dry!?' (MYS 1994)

(5) *minato no ashi no uraha wo tare ka tawori-shi (ki)*
estuary GEN rush GEN tip OBJ who KP cut- PST
*ware zo tawori-**shi (ki)***
I KP cut- PST
'Who is it that cut the tip of the rushes at the estuary? …It is I who cut them.'
(MYS 1288)

At this point, a word of clarification is in order with regard to the syntactic position of *rentaikei* in exclamative (see example (4b)). This is because it is normally the *shūshikei* which appears sentence-finally, but here *rentaikei* is used instead of the expected *shūshikei*. This off-norm use of *rentaikei* produces a special rhetorical effect, namely, exclamation, which *shūshikei* cannot (cf. English translation).[10] *Rentaikei* could also appear at the end of the sentence in the *kakari musubi* construction, as in example (5) above. As Quinn (1997) eloquently puts it, *kakari musubi* is so named for its two components, a focused phrase (the KAKARI 'one in charge') and a specially inflected predicate ending the sentence (the MUSUBI 'binding, closure').[11] This is a syntactic phenomenon functioning like a focus *it*-cleft (Whitman 1997, Quinn 1997, Shinzato 1998), in which the special *kakari* particles (KP) call for *rentaikei* (Ono 1993, Sakakura 1993).[12] Clefts are often assumed to have originated in equational sentences, in which two nominals, or nominalized clauses are connected by a copula (Heine and Reh 1984; Harris and Campbell 1995; and Harris 2001). Thus, Japanese *kakari musubi* (KM) conforms to this generalization (see Serafim and Shinzato 2005).

In its transition from Middle Japanese to Modern Japanese, a paradigm change occurred, with *rentaikei* ousting and replacing *shūshikei*, thereby abolishing the *rentai/shūshi* distinction (Kawabata 1982). It is generally assumed that this led to major syntactic changes in Japanese syntax, which divide OJ/MJ and ModJ. Among these, three changes relevant to the nominalized constructions are the establishment of the genitive particle *ga* as the subject marker (Yanagida 1985); the demise of the *kakari musubi* construction (Onoe 1982);[13] and the recruitment of the nominalizer *no*, which is traditionally connected to the genitive case marker (see Horie 1998, and also Yap et al. 2004 and Nishi 2006).[14] At a later stage, *no* developed into a sentence-final particle or

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[10] In addition to this primary function, it is also noted that *rentaishuūshi bun* (adnominal-ending sentence) gives an explanation in connection to the utterance or the context. See Onoe (1982), Sakakura (1993), Iwasaki (1993), and Shinzato (1998). This meaning will be taken up in section 4.

[11] This syntactic phenomenon is referred to as 'agreement' (Quinn 1997), 'concordance' (Hendriks 1998), and 'government' (Janick Wrona, p.c. 10/4/2005).

[12] This KM rule has one exception: the KP *koso* calls for *izenkei* (realis form) instead of *rentaikei*. But for a counterargument, see Serafim and Shinzato (2005). Also, for an alternative view that *rentaikei* triggers the KP, see Shinzato and Serafim (2003) and Serafim and Shinzato (2005).

[13] For a different perspective, see Hendriks (1998), which argues that there is no available evidence to back the inter-relatedness of the two, namely, the breakdown of the *rentai-shūshi* distinction and the demise of *kakari musubi*.

[14] In contrast to this genitive-complementizer link (see Horie's account following Figure 1), Jorden (1962: 99) traces *no* to a lexical meaning of 'matter, fact, case'. The fact that the other genitive *ga* cannot form an appositive construction, while *no* can, might be related to this etymology (Ono T 1978). Yet on another

combined formulaicly with the copula *da (desu)* to form the so-called *no (desu)* construction (Ujiie 1992), a Japanese structural analog of the English cleft (it is X that~; it is that ~) to express the speaker's stance, as below.

(6) *sā   odekake-naharu **nda***[15]
     IP   go.out-HOR   it's.that
     'You go out. (Lit. 'It's that you go out.')   (Shunshoku Haru Goyomi 1837)

(7) *kawaī deha nē.   kawaisohu da   to   itta   **nda***
     cute be   not   pitiful   be   QT   said   it's.that
     'It's not 'cute'. It's that I said 'pitiful'.'   (Shunshoku Haru Goyomi 1837)

Regarding the development of the Japanese nominalizer and stance marker *no,* Yap et al.'s formulation below is informative. On an important note, they also identified the cleft construction as a crucial link from a nominalizer to a stance marker (but see Wrona, this volume for an alternative analysis). See Figure 1.[16]
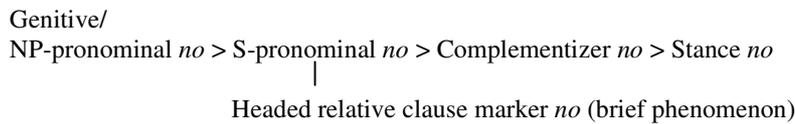
Genitive/
NP-pronominal *no* > S-pronominal *no* > Complementizer *no* > Stance *no*
                          |
            Headed relative clause marker *no* (brief phenomenon)

Figure 1. Grammaticalization Path of Japanese *no* (Yap et al. 2004: 148)

Horie (1998: 172 Yap et al. 2004: 144) sees "family resemblance" among different *no*'s as below:

> Genitive *no* and NP-pronominal *no* are both 'preceded by a dependent noun in dependent-head construction…[they] are, however, distinguishable in terms of the presence and absence of the lexical head noun.' NP-pronominal *no* and S-pronominal *no* 'both functions as pronouns' but the former is modified by a noun phrase, the latter by a sentential clause. S-pronominal *no* and complementizer *no* are both preceded by a clause, however, 'the former *no* serves as an external head to the preceding relative clause, while the latter *no* serves as a sentential nominalizer preceded by a complement clause.

2.2   **Okinawan *rentaikei*; Okinawan *si***

In this paper, three stages of the Okinawan language are considered as follows:

Table 2. Three stages of the Okinawan language

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account, Wrona (forthcoming), following Frellesvig (2001), hypothesizes that *no* originated in the adnominal form of the copula (also see Nakajima 1987).

[15] Onoe (2001 [1979]) points out that the three consecutive instances of *sit down* in a movie were subtitled in Japanese as: *Osuwari. Suware. Suwaru-**nda*** (the first two are imperative forms decreasing in the politeness levels, and the last one is the *no da* construction). This example clearly shows the stance-marking, and intersubjective nature of this construction.

[16] As noted in Yap et al. (2004: 161), positing the 'headed relative clause' usage is not without controversy.

Stage	Period	Contemporaneous with
Pre-Old Okinawan (**Pre-OOk**)	before Omorosōshi	Old Japanese (**OJ**)
Old Okinwan (**OOk**)	Omorosōshi (12th -17th century)	Middle Japanese (**MJ**)
Modern Okinawan (**MOk**)	after Omorosōshi	Modern Japanese (**ModJ**)

Omorosōshi is the oldest document in Okinawan, which was compiled during the 16th~17th century, but is said to represent the language from the 12th century to its completion (Hokama & Saigō 1972). This is a collection of poems and songs in praise of the gods and rulers sung at rituals and transmitted orally through generations. Parallel to Old Japanese (OJ), Old Okinawan (OOk) also had the *rentai/shuūshi* distinction and the same *rentai* functions, as listed in Table 1. The following examples illustrate all these functions: adnominal (8), S-Pronominal/complementizer (9), exclamative (10), and *kakari musubi* (11). *Shūshikei* counterparts are placed in parentheses.

(8) *Nakagusuku a-**tsuru (tsu)** uratoyomu tsudumi…*
     Nakagusuku exist-PRF   famous   drum
     'The famous drum which has been at Nakagusuku…'   (Omosōshi 52)

(9) *kamishimo no mimoro-**suru (su)** kiyora ya*
     everyone   SUB admire-do   beautiful SP
     '…the one which everyone admires is beautiful.'   (ibid 59)

(10) *ina   chahana   **sacharu (sachiari)**.*
      already big flowers bloom
      'Aren't the big flowers already in bloom!'   (ibid 981, 770)

(11) *Shiyori **furu** ame ya sudemidu   **do** furiyoru (furiyori)*
      Shuri   fall rain TOP purified.water KP fall
      'Speaking of the rain falling in Shuri, it is purified water that falls.' (ibid 370)

What is different about OOk from OJ is that it evinces the transition from the old predicate paradigm (OJ cognates) to a new one (cognates of the Modern Okinawan system) created by a suffixation of the existential verb *yoru* ('be') to a verb stem around this period. Apparently, the old paradigm was dying out, perhaps due to the same leveling effect which occurred in MJ, leading to the loss of the *rentai/shūshi* distinction. However, OOk took a separate path from OJ: it created new *rentai/shūshi* forms, and renewed the distinction (see Hattori 1959, Mamiya 1983, Uchima 1994). Example (11) shows the old and new *rentaikei* side by side. The first one *furu*, is the old *rentaikei* identical to the OJ cognate, while *furiyoru* is the new *rentai* form (*furi* 'stem' + *yoru* 'be').

Expectedly, this change triggered new developments in Modern Okinawan (MOk), which are distinct from MJ/ModJ in three respects. First, the new paradigm contributed to the survival of *kakari musubi* in Okinawan.[17] The *rentaikei*-ending, or a nominalized

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[17] For a detailed comparative account and reconstruction of Proto-Japonic progenitors of three *kakari musubi*, see Serafim and Shinzato (2000); Shinzato and Serafim (2003) and Serafim and Shinzato (2005).

clause, is a prerequisite for the *kakari musubi* construction because of its cleft structure. A generally held view is that *rentaikei* was felt to be the nominalized form *only* in opposition to *shūshikei* (Funaki 1987). Therefore, with the merger of *rentaikei* and *shūshikei* in ModJ*,* this uniqueness of *rentaikei* was also lost, which unavoidably led to the loss of the construction altogether. In contrast, Okinawan has preserved it to this day. Given the Japanese historical scenario, it is not difficult to imagine that the creation of the new *rentaikei/shūshikei* was the underlying force in the preservation of Okinawan *kakari musubi*. Second, the counterpart of the ModJ *no* (*desu*) did not emerge in Okinawan, perhaps due to the preservation of *kakari musubi*, which can express similar stance marking as Japanese *no desu* (more discussion in the next section). Third, the nominalizer *si*, was recruited in MOk, aruagably because the new *rentaikei* did not have the S-pronominal (i.e., headless relative clause) /complementizer functions, which the old *rentaikei* (OJ cognate) had. One may wonder why the new *rentaikei* was not equipped with this function. A clue to this puzzle may be found in the fact that the new *rentaikei* was mainly used in the sentence-final positions (ex. *furiyoru* in11) in *Omorosōshi*, while the old *rentaikei* was more frequently used in the sentence-medial adnominal positions (exx. *atsuru* in 8, and *furu* in 11). This distributional difference may suggest that the persistence of the adnominal/nominalizer function in the old *rentaikei* blocked the new *rentaikei* from making inroads into the sentence-medial positions, and thus a chance to develop into an S-pronominal (headless relative clause)/complementizer. In addition, it may be because the new *rentaikei* still retained the progressive aspectual meaning, and thus was not as light semantically as the old *rentaikei*.[18] When the old *rentaikei* disappeared from the system, the new *rentaikei* apparently failed to make inroads into the medial positions associated with the S-pronominal/complementizer, arguably because the new *rentaikei* was not perceived to have as strong nominal characteristics as the old *rentaikei*, and thus a need for a fresh nominalizer emerged in the new system. This new Okinawan nominalizer, as noted above, is *si*.

Summarizing the above, the nominalized constructions in MOk had the following division of function. Note that all these four functions were once monopolized by *rentaikei* in OJ and perhaps by its Okinawan counterpart, pre-OOk. Compare Tables 1 and 2.

Table 3. Division of Function in MOk Nominalized Forms

Functions	**Syntactic environment**	**MOk counterpart**
Adnominal	___N	new *rentaikei*
S-pronominal/Complementizer	___ Particle	*si*
Exclamative	___ ##	new *rentaikei*
Nominalization following focus	N + KP (focus)….___ ##	new *rentaikei*

Here are some examples of these four functions from 18th century theatrical scripts, called *kumiodori*.[19]

There were two other *kakari musubi*,in Old Japanese: *ya* and *namu*. The alleged Okinawan cognate for *ya* only appears as a sentence-final particle function; there is no Okinawan cognate for *namu*.

[18] I am grateful to Foong Ha Yap for calling my attention to this insight (p.c. 10/2/2008).

[19] Here I adopted Ifa's transcription of the original scripts written in hiragana (Hattori et al. 1974).

(12) *tsibudi **wuru** hana   nu   tsiyu chata   gutu*
      in.bud be   flower SUB dew met   like
      'It is like the flower that was in bud met the dew (to bloom)' (Iriko Wodori no
      Tokiuta)

(13) a. *tsibudi   tsiyu machu-**si**…*
          in.bud   dew wait-NMLZ
          '…the one in bud waiting for dew is…' (Iriko Wodori no Tokiuta)
      b. *waka-aji   nu   kuma nyi kakuriyayi ime-**si**   chichitsikiti…*
          young-lord SUB here   in   hide   be.HOR-NMLZ hear
          'Hearing that the young lord is hiding in here…'
          (Chūshin Migawari no Maki)

(14) *sati   sati gukafu   yi   kutu **d'ayabiru**.*
      well   well good.job   great thing be
      'Well, well, good job. It's a great thing!' (Ōkawa Adauchi)

(15) *nama nu   gutu   yari ba   fukurasha **du   ayuru***
      now   GEN circumstance be   COND happy   KP   COP
      'Given the present circumstance, I am HAPPY (not sad).' (Ōkawa Adauchi)

At this point, a question might arise as to the origin of the nominalizer /complementizer *si*: Was it derived from the genitive element like the ModJ nominalizer *no*,[20] or from some other source? According to *Okinawa Kogo Dai-jiten* [Dictionary of Old Okinawan Words] (Hokama eds. 1995), this new nominalizer/complementizer *si*, developed from a formal noun (*keishiki meishi*), more specifically *su* (phonetically, [si]), meaning 'people, thing', as shown in the OOk example (16). Note that the form appearing here is the old *rentaikei*. Compare this with (17=13) repeated below. What comes before *si* is the shortened form of the new *rentaikei*.

(16) *Ubudama ha   inoru   **su**   du   yokeru.*
      Ubudama TOP bless   person KP   govern
       'The person who blesses Ubudama (life-generating ball) will govern.'
                                          (Omorosōshi 102)

(17) a. *tsibudi   tsiyu machu-**si**…*
          in.bud   dew wait-NMLZ
          '…the one in bud waiting for dew is…' (Iriko Wodori no Tokiuta)

      b. *waka-aji   nu   kuma nyi kakuriyayi ime-**si**   chichitsikiti…*
          young-lord SUB here   in   hide   be.HOR-NMLZ hear
          'Hearing that the young lord is hiding in here…'
          (Chūshin Migawari no Maki)

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[20] Janick Wrona (p.c. 10/4/2005) pointed out to me that in Toyama dialect, it was the OJ genitive *ga* which developed into a nominalizer, and provided me with the following references: Hirayama et al. (1993) and Murasugi (1991).

Going one step further, Serafim and Shinzato (2005) claim that the new nominalizer/complementizer *si* is also related to the *kakari* particle *su* in *Omoro sōshi,* and offer a Proto-Japonic form as their progenitor. In addition, in their subsequent paper, (Serafim and Shinzato, forthcoming), they hypothesize the cognation of this nominalizer/complementizer *si* with the nominalizers *su* and *so* in Northern Kyushu and extreme western Honshu dialects, as well as the nominalizer *tsu/to* in Fukuoka.

Based on these accounts, it is rather obvious that MOk *si* has no genetic relation with the OOk genitive *nu,* unlike the Mod J nominalizer *no,* which is traceable to the genitive *no* (cf. Figure 1).

2.3   Okinawan *rentaikei* and Okinawan *si* in natural spoken discourse

In order to supplement the written data in Modern Okinawan in the previous section, this section offers an analysis of natural spoken discourse data on the usage of *rentaikei* and the nominalizer *si.* The data source is a 52-minute private conversation exclusively in Shuri dialect, recorded on June 1, 2007 at a private home in Shuri in which one of the conversants (male, 83 years of age) was born and raised. Topics of conversation include World War II, the pre-war legal systems, Okinawan language, history and culture, and people's life styles and food, etc.

What becomes evident from the spoken discourse data is that the same *rentaikei* and *si* usage seen in the *kumiodori* scripts as in examples (12)-(15) has continued into the present. Example (18) follows the speaker's recollection of his association with his elder brother, who was 7 years older, and drafted when the speaker was in grade school. Here, the *rentai* form*, (i)ru* is preceding the noun *maziwaē*.

(18) *sījā   ?uya   nu gutu   du   ?umu-taru. chōdē   ndi-(i)ru   maziwaē*
      big.bro.   parent   GEN like   KP   think-PST sibling QT-call   interaction
      zenzen nēn.
      at.all   not
      'It's that I only thought of my big brother like a parent. I never had associations as a sibling.'

In examples (19a) and (19b) *si* is used as an S-pronominal (headless relative clause). The *si+ya* is often contracted as *sē.* The *si* is preceded by a negated verb in (19a) and an adjective in (19b).

(19)   a. *nkashi-n-chu   nu   tabako sū-ran sē (<si   ya)   uimisōra-n.*
           old days-GEN-people SUB   tobacco smoke-not NMLZ TOP   exist.HOR.-not
           'In the old days, there weren't people who did not smoke.'
       b. *mata kuchijuke nchi, ari ga   yassa sē (<si   ya)   yō,   Akatsuki*
           also kuchijuke called that SUB cheap   NMLZ TOP   SP   Akatsuki
           ndi si   ga a-tan   yō.
           QT NMLZ   SUB exist-PST SP

        'Also, (as for) kuchizuke (type of tobacco with mouth piece), for a cheap one
        of that, there was tobacco called Akatsuki.'

In the examples in (20), *si* functions as a complementizer. In (20a), the speaker talks
about various forms of punishment in his childhood. He remarks that slapping a child's
face is not a traditional Okinawan punishment. In (20b), dwelling on a similar topic, he
talks about a stick made of bamboo called *waiguchi*, used to discipline students. Its loud
noise scared the kids more than its contact hurting them. Thus, it is different from hitting
students with a bamboo sword. In (20c), the speaker mentions seminars on the Okinawan
legal systems, held biweekly, to which every head of household was required to attend.
He explains that the purpose of these seminars was to prevent people from violating the
law inadvertently.

(20)   a. *chira sugui- sē (<**si**   ya) ?uchinā nēn   dō.*
            face   slap   NMLZ TOP Okinawa not.existent   SP
            ?urē yamatu-fū du yaru.
            this   Japan-style KP   is
            'There is no face-slapping in Okinawa. It's that it is a Japanese style
            (punishment).'
    b. *shinai   si   tatachu-**si** tō (< to   ya) zenzen chigain.*
            bamboo.sword with hit-NMLZ   from top totally different
            '(Hitting with a *waiguchi*) is totally different from hitting with a bamboo
            sword.'
    c. *hōritsu   wakara-n   tamini tuga su-**si**   fusiziru tamini*
            law   understand-not   due.to crime   commit-NMLZ prevent in.order.to
            sōmisēn.
            do.HOR
            '(They) do it in order to prevent people from committing a crime due to
            their ignorance of the law.'

In example (21), the speaker describes the post-War Okinawa as covered with
unexploded bombs. The *rentaikei* here exudes the exclamatory and emphatic tone.

(21)   *shinkwan-nujā n   sa   siga, nama kara kangēnē   nama n*
       bomb-diffuse   also did   but   now from think.cond now even
       futufutū-suru.
       Shiver-do
       'I did (a job) of diffusing unexploded bombs, but when I think about it now, even
       now, it gives me a chill!'

In example (22), the speaker explains that the true message of the inscription on the bell
called *Bankoku Shinshō no Kane* built in 1458 to be world peace, contrary to the
conventional interpretation of it as the praise of the Okinawans' expedition spirit. With
kakari musubi, the speaker emphatically explains it is Okinawans who proclaimed world
peace first in the world.

(22) *yakutu, sekai uti sekai heiwa iche-sē (<**si** ya) ?uchinānchu **du yaru**.*
therefore world in world peace say NMLZ TOP Okinawans KP COP
Lit. 'Therefore, as for those who advocate for peace, they are Okinawans.'
'Therefore, the ones who advocated for the world peace are Okinawans.'

2.4 *Developmental path of Okinawan nominalized constructions: Functional continuity and redistribution*

Without doubt, Okinawan history reveals the continuity of all four *rentaikei* functions, namely, adnominal, S-pronominal (headless relative clause)/complementizer, exclamative, and *kakari musubi* (cleft). At the same time, it also shows redistribution of these original functions, between the recruited nominalizer *si* (= S-pronominal/complementizer) and the new *rentaikei* (= the other three functions). Table 3 depicts this development.

**Table 4.** Continuity and redistribution of old *rentaikei* functions

Functions	Carried by	
	OOk	**MOk**
Adnominal (S-pronominal)	Old/new *rentaikei*	new *rentaikei*
S-pronominal/complementizer	Old/new *rentaikei*	*si*
Exclamative	Old/new *rentaikei*	new *rentaikei*
kakari musubi (cleft)	Old/new *rentaikei*	new *rentaikei*

Added to the above is the expansion of the *kakari musubi* function from its original focusing function to stance marking (to be discussed more in 3.4.).

3. From the perspective of grammaticalization

3.1 *Yap et al.'s cross-linguistic path*

Based on a cross-linguistic study on (pro)nominalizers in Japanese, Chinese and Malay, Yap et al. proposed the implicational map shown in Figure 2 below (2004:160). Note that the Japanese grammatical marker *no* is sufficiently versatile to fill all of the functions indicated by the symbol *x*.
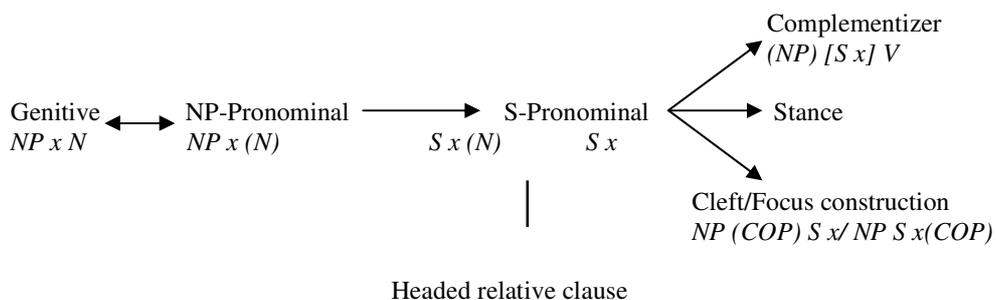
S x N

Figure 2. Grammatical functions on (pro) nominalizers adapted from Yap et al. (2004)

By filling in the grammatical marker 'x' in the above figure with the appropriate forms based on the foregoing Okinawan data, we can clearly highlight the redistribution of nominalization-related functions from Old Okinawan (Figure 3) to Modern Okinawan (Figure 4).
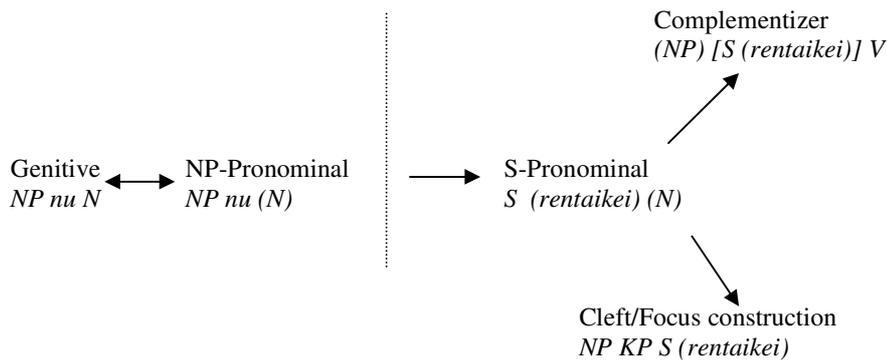

Complementizer
(NP) [S (rentaikei)] V

Genitive   NP-Pronominal   S-Pronominal
NP nu N   *NP nu (N)*   *S (rentaikei) (N)*

Cleft/Focus construction
NP KP S (rentaikei)

Figure 3. Old Okinawan nominalized constructions

Complementizer
(NP) [S si] V

Genitive   NP-Pronominal   S-Pronominal
NP nu N   *NP nu (N)*   *S si (N)*

Cleft/Focus construction   Stance
NP KP S   *NP KP S*
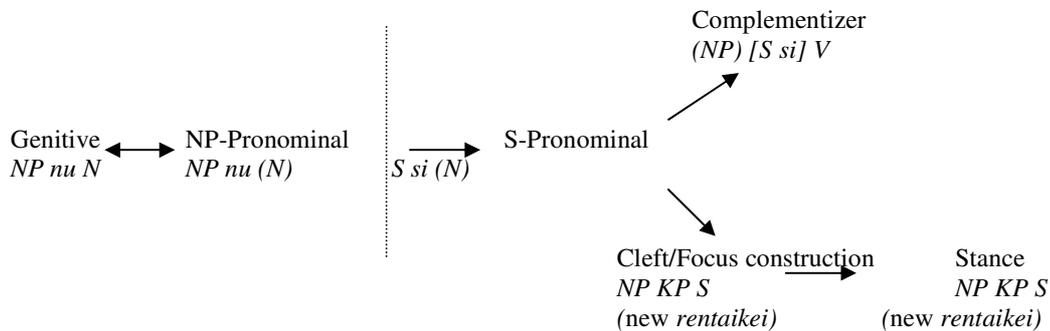(new *rentaikei*)   (new *rentaikei*)

Figure 4. Modern Okinawan nominalized constructions

What we see here is the dividing line between NP-pronominal and S-pronominal. In a comparative perspective with the Japanese path in Figure 2 where all the 'x' slots are filled by *no*, Figures 3 and 4 may raise the following four questions:

A. Does the above division have any bearing on the developmental path of Japanese *no*?
B. Why did Old Okinawan *nu* not evolve as an S-pronominalizer?
C. Why does Okinawan *si* not have stance marking functions?
D. What are cross-linguistic implications of the Okinawan data?

These queries will be further discussed in the next sections.

3.2   *On Japanese no*

I believe that the division in the Okinawan path does indeed have a bearing on its Japanese counterpart. As Nishi (2006) succinctly argued, the timing of the emergence of *no* as a complementizer (16th ~17th century) comes at odds with the attested time of the other two diachronically prior-functions of *no*, namely, genitive and NP-pronominal (8th century) as seen in Figure 5.
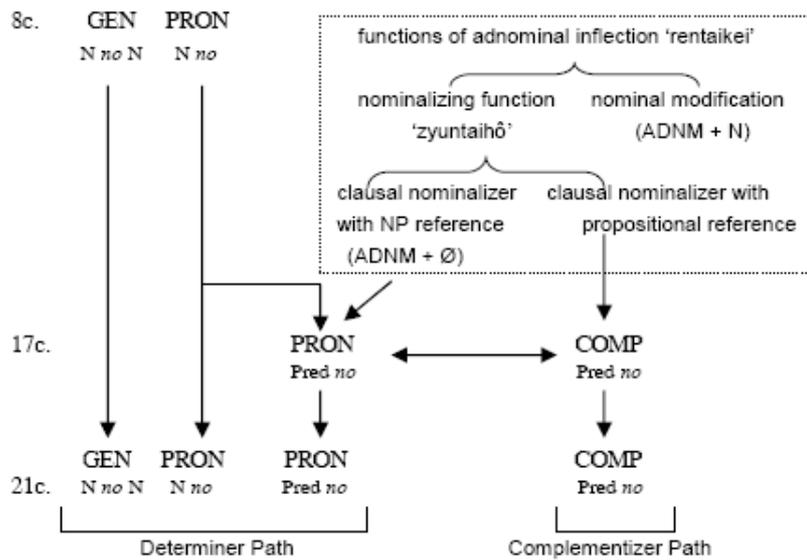

Figure 5. The dual path approach (Nishi 2006)

Nishi relates this lapse of time to the paradigm shift in Japanese (i.e., the demise of the *rentai/shūshi* distinction). As long as the *rentai/shūshi* distinction is preserved and the *rentai* retains its S-pronominal/complementizer function, there is no need for a nominalizer such as *no*. This may be because it is simply superfluous to nominalize an already nominalized clause, although admittedly, redundancies do exist in languages. Similarly in Okinawan, the S-pronominalizer/complementizer did not emerge in OOk when the *rentai-shūshi* distinction was preserved. The nominalizer was recruited when the old paradigm fell apart. I believe that the division between NP-type modification and S-type modification seen in the Okinawan paths (Figures 3 and 4) correspond to the time lapse seen in the history of Japanese *no*.

3.3   *Developmental paths of genitives*

The counterparts of the OJ *no* are *no* (in transliteration, and [nu] in pronunciation) in OOk and *nu* in MOk*,* which still functions as a genitive and a pronominal, but was not recruited as a nominalizer. This is surprising given the developmental path of the

Japanese genitive *no.* Why did OOk *no* not evolve as a nominalizer? I believe the key to this puzzle lies in the comparison of the developmental paths of all genitives *no* and *ga* in OJ and their OOk cognates *nu* and *ga*.[21] Below are some examples:

(23)   OJ *no* genitive: *minato **no** ashi* 'rushes in the estuary' (example 5)
(24)   OJ *ga* genitive: *wa **ga** koromode* 'my sleeves' (example 4)
(25)   OOK *no* genitive: *tomomoso **no** asubu* 'sacred dace of thousand people' (OS 360)
(26)   OOk *ga* genitive: *uhunushi **ga** omoigwa* 'Great Master's son' (OS 556)

It has generally been assumed that OJ nominalizer *no* was established in MJ~ModJ (Haraguchi 1980, Horie 1998; Yap, et. al. 2004; Nishi 2006) and *ga* extended its function as a subject marker in MJ~ModJ (Hashimoto 1969, Matsumura 1971, Yanagida 1985, Nomura 1996).[22]

As mentioned, OOk *nu* never emerged as a nominalizer, but acquired a subject marking function, together with the other genitive *ga* in OOk. Here are some examples.

(27)   *kamiteda*   ***no***   *sorote hokoriyowachiwe…* (OS 282)
        the sun goddess SUB   gather rejoice.HOR
        'The sun goddess (and the king) gather together and rejoice…

(28)   *teda*   ***ga***   *hokoriyowachiwe…* (OS 283)
        the.sun.goddess SUB   rejoice.HOR
        'The sun goddess rejoices…

The developmental paths of the two sets of the genitives of the two languages are summarized below:

OJ genitive ***no***   > ModJ nominalizer
OJ genitive ***ga***   > ModJ subject marker
Pre-Ok genitive ***no***   > OOk subject marker
Pre-OOk genitive ***ga***   > OOk subject marker

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[21] The semantic difference between these two is that OJ *no* and Okinawan *nu* are used when the possessor is distant, and thus deferential for the speaker, while the opposite is true with OJ *ga* and Okinawan *ga*. The former type relationship is often characterized by the Japanese term, *soto*, outside, as opposed to *uchi*, inside, for the latter type (cf. Matsumura 1971, Ono T 1978, Uchima 1990, Handa 1999). For a critical view of this distinction, see Ono T (1978). For a useful summary of the previous account, and a new perspective, see Takeuchi (1999: 158-162).

[22] Nomura (1996) proposes the following stages of development (ø means no subject marker). Here A is an independent sentence, while B is a *kantai-ku* (exclamative sentence, see Table 1).

A-1.   *rentaikei*+ø (=subject NP) *shūshikei* (Predicate)   B-1. *rentaikei*+ *ga* *rentaikei* (Pred.)
        (*rentaikei/shushikei* merger)   ↓   ↓
A-2   *rentaikei*+ø (=subject NP) *rentaikei* (Predicate)   B-2 *rentaikei*+ *ga* *rentaikei* (Pred.)
A-3   *rentaikei*+ga (=subject NP) *rentaikei* (Predicate)   B-3 *rentaikei*+ *ga* *rentaikei* (Pred.)

At the A-2 stage, it is hard to parse the sentence since the first clause, *rentaikei* + ø may be interpreted as an independent sentence instead of a nominative NP due to the new function *rentaikei* acquired as a sentence final predicate. That is, A-2 could be parsed as two independent sentences occurring side by side. In contrast, parsing the sentence like the one at B-2 is not difficult since *ga* designates the preceding *rentaikei* clause as a subject NP. Nomura attributes the rise of *ga* in A-3 as a subject marker to this parsing difficulty.

What the above developmental paths lead to is the observation that OJ *no* is the one recruited for the nominalizer, and oddly enough, is also the one which did not develop into a subject marker for a *main* clause predicate.[23] Given this comparative perspective, it may not be too unreasonable to assume that the emerging subject marking function somehow inhibited genitive case markers from being recruited as nominalizers. This view is also substantiated on syntactic and semantic/cognitive grounds. Okinawan example (29) is already ambiguous between the two readings since *nu/ga* can be either the genitive like (29a), or the subject marker as in (29b). If the genitive *nu* had been recruited for the nominalizer, we would have further complications as in (30) since Modern Okinawan does not have an accusative marker. That is, the nominalized phrase, *chikai-nu*, could be interpreted as the object as in (30a) and (30b), or the subject as in (30c). (Example (30) is a hypothetical sentence, and ungrammatical in reality, so the asterisk is added).

(29)	*Jirā*	*nu/ga*	*chikai-si*	*kōyun.*	
	a.	GEN	use-NMLZ	buy	'I will buy what Jirā uses (Jirā's using).'
	b.	SUB	use- NMLZ	buy	'Jirā will buy what someone else uses.'
(30)	**Jirā*	*nu/ga*	*chikai-nu*	*kōyun.*	
	a.	GEN	use- NMLZ	buy	'I will buy what Jirā uses (Jirā's using).'
	b	SUB	use- NMLZ	buy	'Jira will buy what someone else uses.'
	c.	GEN	use- SUB	buy	'Someone whom Jirā uses (as his employee) will buy it.'

To make the matter worse, in Okinawan there is yet another formally identical *nu*,[24] which is attached to the adjective stems to yield cause/reason subordinate clauses as in (31a), but not nominalization constructions as in (31b):

(31)	*takasa-nu*		*kōra-n*	
	a. expensive-because	buy-NEG	'I won't buy it since it's expensive.'
	b. expensive-NMLZ	buy-NEG	*'I won't buy the expensive one.'

If *nu* had been recruited as a nominalizer, then another ambiguity would result. These add an extra burden to the sentence-parsing. It may be due to this cognitive reason that subject marking and complementizer-marking are kept separate (cf. footnote 21). Interestingly, according to Kobayashi (2002), the subject marker *no* was used in the dialects of Western Honshū (in particular the area facing the Japan Sea), Kyushu and Okinawa. Coincidentally, these are the areas where the nominalizers *su, so* and *si*, but not *no*, are used (cf. sec. 2.2 above). This correlation may not be a pure accident, and may be in line with the discussion above (see Serafim and Shinzato forthcoming for further discussion).

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[23] All of them naturally served as a subject in a subordinate nominalized clause.

[24] According to Chamberlain (1895), this *nu* corresponds to OJ *mi*, which is attached to the adjective stems forming a causal clause just like (24a). He (ibid: 118) states: "Having regard, however, to the frequent correspondence of Luch. [i.e., Luchuan, or Okinawan] *n* to Jap. *m,* there can be little doubt that these Luch. *nu* forms are the surviving relatives of the long extinct *mi* forms known to us only through a limited number of examples of Classical Japanese poetry…".

3.4   *Stance marking*

The clausal nominalizer > stance marker pathway was manifested in ModJ with the sentence-final particle *no*, the final stage of the OJ genitive *no* chain (see examples (6) and (7)). However, OOk *si* never developed this sentence-final particle usage.[25] In the natural spoken discourse data (see sec. 2.3), there are 106 tokens of *si* with the following make-up: S-pronominalizer (headless relatives) (91) and complementizer (15). However, there is no instance of *si* used as a sentence-final particle, standing alone sentence-finally. The only instance which may appear to come close to the sentence-final particle usage is (32) where *si* is followed by the sentence-final particle *yō*. In this example, the speaker is explaining the difference between the Japanese word, *tenugui* and its commonly mistaken Shuri counterpart, *tīsāzi*. His conclusion is that the Okinawan *tīsāzi* is a *thing* to use as a headband. After (32), he cites the famous scholar Kunio Yanagida and mentions that the Japanese *tenugui* can be used to wipe feet, but *tīsāzi* can never be used for that purpose. This particular *si* in (32) is more properly characterized as a pronominal, than as a sentence-final particle.

(32)   *tīsāzi   tu   tenugui   ya   zenzen   chigain dō.   bichi.*
        'tīsāji' and 'tenugui' TOP totally different sp   different
        *tīsāzi   ndi   sē (< si   ya)   sāzisu-**si**   yō.*
        'tīsāzi'   QT   NMLZ TOP   put.on.a head-NMLZ SP
        '*Tīsāzi* and *tenugui* are totally different. Different. A thing called *tīsāzi* is something to put on a head (as a headband).'

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[25] One of the reviewers brought the following examples extracted from female college students' conversations as possible cases of the sentence-final *si* in Modern Okinawan: (The glosses and translations are the reviewer's.):

a. *tsumara   katta   ssi*!   b. *muri   ya   ssi!*
    boring   PST   SI.assertion   unacceptable be?/SP? SI.assertion
    '(It) was boring!'   '(I) dislike (skinny guys)!'

It has to be acknowledged that these are examples of *uchinā yamatuguchi* (see footnote 3) in which Japanese (e.g. *muri*) and Okinawan (e.g. *ya ssi*) syntax are mixed, and thus it is not uncontroversial to consider them to be the direct descendant of Old Okinawan in the fist place. Besides, this geminated *ssi* does not seem to be the cognate of the Shuri *si*. Just to mention a few arguments: (1) Shuri *si* is attached to a shortened *rentai* form without gemination. The gemination suggests a fusion with –*ru* of the original *rentai* form. The Japanese conjugational ending *katta* never occurs with *ru* as in *tumaran kattaru*. Also no gemination occurs with *ya* (e.g., no -*ya ssi ya*, nor –*ya ssiga*); and (2) Shuri *si*, if it ever occurs near sentence-finally with a sentence-final particle (see ex. 32), occurs with a present-tense verb. *Tsumaran katta* is not only an adjective, but also a past tense form. In this regard, Nohara's (1996) account seems more tenable. Analyzing the following hybrid examples similar to the reviewer's b, Nohara (ibid: 281) points out semantic and functional similarities of *ssā* and *sshī*, and concludes that *ya ssā* is an Okinawan-based form, and *ya ssī* is its new variant. According to my informants, the short *si* is also possible.

c. *omae tensai ya ssā*   d. *aitsu atama ī   ya sshī*
    you   genius be SP   he   brain good be SP
    'Aren't you genius!'   'Isn't he smart!'

The absence of a sentence-final usage in *si* is also corroborated by another recording (13 minutes 33 seconds) of a conversation between two Shuri speakers. The recording was done at a studio of a radio station, and broadcast on January 23, 1955. The topic of the conversation was their memories of New Year's Eve and New Year's Day (January 23 was a New Year's day according to the lunar calendar). The tape was first obtained by late Shiro Hattori at the time, and was recently transcribed and translated by Izuyama (2006). In the transcribed texts, there are 25 tokens of *si*, but they are either S-pronominal, or complementizer, with no single instance of *si* used as a sentence-final particle. Even an alleged sentence-final *si* like example (32) is absent.

I would like to attribute the absence of stance-marking *si* to the existence of *kakari musubi*, which is a nominalized focus construction itself, and already equipped with stance marking functions (Shinzato 1998). The ModJ *no* (*desu*) sentences (6) and (7) can be translated into Okinawan with *kakari musubi* as below, and the same stance of implied directive as in (6) and dismissive as in (7) are also transferred:

(33) *uri ?icha-bī **du** suru.*
      IP   go.out.HOR KP   do
      'You go out (request).'

(34) *chimuganasan ya   aran, chimugurisan ndi   **du** ?icharu*
      cute   be   not   pitiful   QT   KP said
      'I didn't say "cute", I said "pitiful".'

The complementary nature of the Japanese *no desu* and Okinawan *kakari musubi* (KM) constructions is also evident in the reverse translation: Japanese translation of Okinawan KM is often done by *no desu*. For instance, in speaker B's utterance in Shuri example (35), *kakari musurbi* is translated as *no* by Izuyama (2006: 33).

(35) A: Ok.: …*jahari   ?unu   cimu   **du**   jaibīru-i*
             as expected this.kind.of   meaning   KP   COP-Q
             'Is it this kind of meaning as expected?'

      B: Ok.:*?urē   ?an **du**   jaru.*
             that   so   KP   COP
        J: *sore wa   sōna **no***
            that   TOP   so   it's.that
            'That *is* so.'

The use of the *no desu* counterpart is also appropriate for example (36). An interesting thing about this utterance is it has a similar make up to example (34) in that the first part is the denial of the expected situation, and the second part is the emphatic confirmation and insistence of its complete opposite. Illuminating in this regard is that the original Japanese version of (34) is a *no desu* sentence as in (7).

(36) Ok :*nūn   ?ara-n. hun di   ?jā ni hwē ?īhōi **du**   saru.*
          anything be-not hun QT   say by fly   repel KP   did

J: *nan.de.mo ari-masen. hun to itte hae wo opparatta **ndesu***.
  anything   be-not   hun QT say fly obj repeled   it's.that
  'It's nothing. It's that I expelled a fly saying "hun"'
  (*Oka no Ue no Ipponmatsu*)

The following is an example from the natural spoken discourse data. Speaker A explains that in the old days, boys had to clean up ashtrays in the morning and lamp chimneys in the evening. Speaker B who was born after World War II and unfamiliar with life without electricity, asked if people were really using oil lamps. To this, speaker A responds emphatically (see the interjections) that electricity was not at all available, so people used oil lamps. The *kakari musubi* here shows a strong assertive stance of speaker A.

(37) A: *tabaku nu   sōji. yurō (<yuru   ya) rampu nu   sōji.*
        tabacco GEN clean-up   evening TOP lamp   GEN clean-up
        'Cleaning ashtrays. In the evening, it is the cleaning of lamp
        chimneys.'
    B: *rampu-n   ?aibī-tan?*
        lamp-even   exist.HOR-PST
        'You had lamps?'
    A: *?anshi?yā ya. senzenō rampu du yaru. senzen denki   nu   ?a*
        INT   you TOP pre-war lamp   KP COP pre-war electricity SUB exist
        *sē(<**si**   ya) nāfu sui bikān dō. ?urikā ya   muru rampu **du yaru***.
          NMLZ TOP Naha Shuri only SP   vicinity TOP all   lamp   KP cop
        'My! You! Sure we had lamps. Only Naha and Shuri had electricity before
        the war (lit. Electricity existed only in Naha and Shuri). In the vicinity, (of
        course) it's lamps (not electricity).'

Yap, et al. (2004: 159) note that the focusing construction serves as a crucial link between nominalizer and stance functions. This is also applicable to Okinawan KM. Normally, what is focused on is something worthy of focusing, or something unexpected. In contrast, those not focused on are unimportant and can be ignored. I believe the stance meanings of counterexpectation, strong assertion, dismissive of the expected, etc. is the result of such a metonymic and pragmatic inferencing (Traugott 1998, Traugott and Dasher 2002).

4. *Rentaikei* in a cross-linguistic context

As has been pointed out by many researchers working on Tibeto-Burman languages, there is a recurring pattern of syncretism as such that a single morpheme marks genitive, relative clause, nominalized predicate, and off-norm main verb constructions (Matisoff 1972; Noonan 1997; DeLancey 1986). The following are such examples of Lahu *ve* from

Matisoff (1972: 240-247) quoted in Noonan (1997)[26] and Chantyal **-wa** from Noonan (1997:381):

Lahu

(38) *ŋà* **ve** *mí-chɔ*
    I   shoulder-bag
    'my shoulder-bag'

(39) *và?* *qhe chu* **ve** *Pîchɔ̂-pā* *ô* *tê* *γâ*
    pig   as fat   Shan   that one person
    'that Shan over there who's fat as a pig'

(40) *ɔ̂-šɨ̌* *tɔ̂?* *la* **ve** *thà?* *nɔ̂* *mâ* *γa* *mɔ̂* *lâ*
    blood emerge come   ACC you NEG get   see Q
    'Didn't you see that blood was coming out?' (Matisoff cited in Noonan 1997)

(41) *yɔ̂* *là* *tù* **ve**
    he   come   future NOM
    'He will come./It is a case that he will come./It is a he-will-come case.'

Chantyal

(42) *bənnu-ye nal* *tato ta-si-***wa**.
    gun-GEN barrel hot   become-ANT-NOM
    'The barrel of the gun had become hot!' (R29) (Noonan 1997:381)

Of interest to this paper is Matisoff's comparative remark on ModJ *no*. He notes that Japanese *no* is strikingly similar to Lahu *ve*, basically covering three out of the four functions listed above, genitive (38), relativizer (39), nominalizer (40), and main verb functions as in (41) and (42). The only mismatch is the relative clause function as in (39). It should be added, however, that OJ *no* actually appeared in the same relative clause context in Old Japanese (cf. Ono T 1978; Wrona forthcoming).[27]

(43) [[...*tahe-mu]* **no** *kokoro*]
    …end-INF   GEN   feelings
    '...the feelings that it will end.' (MYS 3071, 3507)

Added to the above, the OJ and OOk *rentaikei* are worthy of exploring in this comparative context. Both of them have relativizer (exx. 2, 8, 12), nominalizer (exx. 3, 9, 13) and main verb functions (exx. 4 & 5, 10 & 11, 14 & 15). Of these three functions, the main verb usage highlighted below merits further discussion. Example (44) takes a bare *rentaikei* with the degree adverb. Example (45), also with a bare *rentaikei,* offers an

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[26] The Lahu sentences and translations are in Matisoff's (1972) original text, but word-by-word glosses are Noonan's (1997) additions: ANT (anterior); NOM (nominalizer).
[27] This is the case of the headed relative clause marker *no* in Figure 1. Some see this as transitory, influenced by the Sino-Japanese reading, or some see it as aberration. Yet, some give a due status to it.

explanation to a *wh*-question. In contrast, in example (46), a *kakari* particle (KP) is followed by a copula. Example (44) is an exclamation, while examples (45) and (46) are an explanation. The former is reminiscent of Chantyal *-wa* in (42), regarding which Noonan (1997 : 381) states "As a main verb suffix, *-wa* always has the sense of signaling that the situation described in the clause is either contrary to expectation or in some way exasperating." Effortlessly, the latter two are aligned with Lahu *ve* in (41), which is paraphrased by Matisoff (1972: 247) as 'It is the case he will come' or 'It is a he-will-come case'.

(44)   *?ufinānā   ?abīru*!
       loudly   talk
       'You talk so loudly !' (Okuyama no Botan)

(45)   A : *?ama nu   yā   nu   nushi   nu   chugara   ya   chā   ya   ga*?
           there GEN house GEN   master GEN   personality TOP how   COP   Q
           'How is the master of the house there ?'
       B : *shimi-san   suguriti   ?erai ?chu   deyabiru*.
           letter-math excel   great person COP
           'It's that he is a person who excels in math and letters.' (Tumai Akā)

(46)   *?ik-kin si   1000-en   yarā,   yassa   du   ?aru.*
       500g   per 1000-yen COP.COND   cheap   KP   COP
       'If it's 1000 yen for 500g, then it's that it's cheap.'

One might wonder how a single *rentaikei* form can express seemingly diverse meanings of exclamation and explanation. I believe Onoe's (2001 [1977]) account is illuminating in this respect. He argues that nominalized sentences are semantically and functionally equal to a one word sentence. They are more in a league with thetic judgement than with categorical judgement. They are illocutionless and highly context-dependent (Iwasaki 1993, Sakakura 1993, Shinzato and Serafim 2003, Frantisek Kratochvil this volume and Eric Potsdam this volume). Just like one word can convey various illocutionary meanings as illustrated in (47) below, so can nominalized sentences. Below, << >> provides a context in which the one word sentence is uttered. Note that the same word *snow* in (47) can express an exclamation (a), a question (b), an explanation (c), an answer (d), and an imperative (e).

(47)   a. <<Look !>> Snow!
       b. <<You are wearing a heavy coat.>> Snow ?
       c. <<I thought it was cold. I see why.>> Snow.
       d. <<So what is it ? Something white...>> Snow.
       e. <<Genie says it.>> Snow!

I contend that cleft structure and its focusing function (which highlights the normally 'unexpected'), stance marking function, and explanation function (see section3.4) can be all tied in this line of thought.

5.   Conclusion

This paper was a diachronic as well as a synchronic study of Okinawan nominalized constructions from a functional perspective. It demonstrated that the four functions originally tied to *rentaikei* in OJ, and its sister-language OOk have been carried on to present-day Okinawan, through the multiple nominalized constructions in a complementary manner: the new *rentaikei* maintains adnominal, exclamative and cleft functions, while the new nominalizer *si*, takes on a S-pronominal (headless relative clause)/complementizer function.

In a comparative perspective, Okinawan data offer new insight into the understanding of the intricate working of the Japanese nomininalized constructions from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. First, this perspective clearly shows that the *rentai* and *shūshi* distinction was indeed vital for the preservation of *kakari musubi*. Second, it also renders support to an implicitly assumed claim that the *no desu* construction is the ModJ counterpart of the OJ *kakari musubi* (Onoe 1982, Funaki 1987, Schaffer 2002). This is because there exists a complementary distribution such that OJ loses its *kakari musubi* system, prompting ModJ to develop *no desu*, while MOk renews its *kakari musubi* system, and as a result never develops *no desu*. Third, the fact that ModJ and MOk have taken different paths due to the demise (ModJ) and renewal (NOk) of the *rentai* and *shūshi* distinction speaks for the essential character of the *rentai* and *shūshi* distinction in Okinawan and Japanese syntax.

From the point of view of grammaticalization, the Okinawan case enriches cross-linguistically attested developmental pathways reported in Yap et al. (2004), and more recently elaborated in Yap and Matthews (in press), with added data. It demonstrates that Okinawan nominalized constructions exhibit all four functions often related to clausal type modifications: *si* for S-pronominal (headless relative clause) and complementizer; and *kakari musubi* for cleft/focus and stance marking. The development of stance marking functions from *kakari musubi* (cleft) substantiated Yap et al.'s claim that a cleft construction serves as a crucial link between a nominalizer and a stance marker. Their claim is especially noteworthy given the fact that as divergent as they are, both MOk clefts with the KP *du* and new *rentai* (nominalized verbal form) and ModJ clefts with nominalizer *no* have developed similar stance-marking functions.

In a cross-linguistic perspective, it was shown that the OJ and OOk *rentaikei* shows versatility seen in Chantyal (Noonan 1997) and Lahu (Matisoff 1972). This paper argued that such versatility stemmed from its being essentially a semantic and functional analog of one word sentence, which is illocutionless, highly context-dependent and thetic in judgement.

Abbreviations

COMP	complementizer	IMP	imperative
COND	conditional	INF	inference
COP	copula	IP	interjectional particle
OBJ	object	KP	kakari particle
GEN	genitive	NMLZ	nominalizer
HOR	honorific	PRF	perfect

PST	past		OS	Omorosōshi
Q	question particle			
QT	quotative particle		OJ	Old Japanese
SUB	subject		MJ	Middle Japanese
SP	sentence-final particle		ModJ	Modern Japanese
TOP	topic		OOk	Old Okinawan
			MOk	Modern Okinawan
MYS	Manyōshū			

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