On the Anaphoric Use of Demonstratives in Miyakoan*

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1 Introduction

The Shinzato dialect of Miyakoan has three series of demonstratives, *ku-*, *u-*, and *ka-*, which compose the demonstrative system suffixed by *-ri*, *-nu*, and *-ma* as shown in Table 1. In its deictic use, the *ku*-series refers to objects near the speaker, the *u*-series near the addressee and the *ka*-series distal from the interlocutors, which is very similar to the deictic uses of *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-* in Standard Japanese.[1]

	ku-series	*u*-series	*ka*-series
thing/person	*ku-ri*	*u-ri*	*ka-ri*
genitive	*ku-nu*	*u-nu*	*ka-nu*
place	*ku-ma*	*u-ma*	*ka-ma*

TABLE 1 Demonstratives of Shinzato

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[1] This resemblance is not always observed in Ryukyuan dialects. See Shibata (1980) and Ogino (2009) for dialects which have three series of demonstratives but differ from Standard Japanese

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There are, however, many dialects in Ryukyuan which only have two series of demonstratives (Uchima 1984). One of those examples is the Karimata dialect of Miyakoan, in which the *u*-series is used when the object is near the speaker or the interlocutors deictically, and the *ka*-series is used when the object is distant from the speaker or the interlocutors: The difference in the deictic center, i.e. the speaker or the interlocutors, is subject to intra-dialectal variation (Kinuhata 2017).

	u-series	*ka*-series
thing/person	*u-ri*	*ka-ri*
genitive	*u-nu*	*ka-nu*
place	*u-ma*	*ka-ma*

TABLE 2 Demonstratives of Karimata

Extensive research on the relation between two-series and three-series demonstrative systems has not been conducted. Uchima (1984) argues that in many dialects of Ryukyuan the use of the *u*-series overlaps either with that of the *ku*-series or that of the *ka*-series.[2] But, as we will discuss in Section 5, simply identifying the function of the *u*-series with that of the *ku*- or *ka*-series cannot explain the historical process assumed to have occurred between those types of demonstrative systems. We will show in this paper that a proper account of the change of demonstratives presupposes an understanding of the anaphoric use[3] of demonstratives, which has also not been studied extensively in the literature. To this purpose, it is obligatory to investigate the anaphoric use of demonstratives, which will be discussed in Section 4 with a note on the method of our experiment in Section 3. Before going into our research, we take a brief note on previous studies in Section 2.

2 Previous Remark on Anaphoric Use

In Ryukyuan linguistics' literature, the main focus has been placed on the deictic use of demonstratives and little attention has been paid to their anaphoric use, yet important remarks has been made.

Shibata (1980), discussing the deictic use of demonstratives in Nishizato Miyakoan, notes that the anaphoric uses of *ku*-, *u*-, and *ka* can be understood analogously to their deictic uses: *Ku*- refers to an object which the speaker considers to be in his space, *u*- just outside his space and *ka*- far from his space. Although it is not uncomplicated how to interpret 'the speaker's space'

in their deictic uses.

[2] In North Ryukyuan, the distal demonstrative appears not as *ka*- but as *a*-: *a-ri*, *a-nu* etc. But we refer to both forms as *ka*- so long as it causes no confusion.

[3] Throughout this paper, we use the term 'anaphoric' to mean that demonstratives refer to an object introduced in the preceding text. In our survey of anaphoric use, we collected data referring to invisible objects, which behave differently from the deictic use of demonstratives. While some researchers use the term 'non-deictic' instead of 'anaphoric' (e.g. Hoji et al. 2003), we adopted the latter because some 'non-deictic' uses of demonstratives such as recollective reference and cataphora will not be discussed in this paper.

in the anaphoric use, it is at least clear from this statement that Shibata (1980) assumes some differences in the use of anaphoric *ku*-, *u*-, and *ka*-. Contrary to this, Ogino (2009) reports that in Yaeyaman *u*- is always used to refer to an object in the preceding text as well as in the speaker's memory.

This difference in observations seems to imply that there is dialectal variation in the anaphoric use of demonstratives. This is what we tried to make explicit in our experiment spelled out in the following sections.

3 Research Method

In order to investigate the anaphoric use of demonstratives, we conducted elicitation-based experiments: We requested informants to translate Japanese sentences into their dialects and particularly asked the naturalness of using *u*- and *ka*-.[4]

In constructing test sentences, we took two parameters into consideration: One is whether the object referred to by demonstratives is distant from the speaker, and the other is whether the object is known by the interlocutors. The first parameter might be related to the Shibata's (1980) observation that the *ku*-, *u*-, and *ka*-series in the Nishizato dialect are properly used based on the distance from 'the speaker's space'. We divided this parameter into three situations: The first is that the object is distant from the speaker (abbreviated as dst in Table 3), the second is that the object is proximal to the speaker (prx), and the third is that the referent is nonexistent in reality (nex). The second parameter is also differentiated between the following three patterns: The first is the case where the object is known to both the speaker and the addressee ($K_{s\&a}$), in the second the object is known only to the speaker (K_s), and in the third the object is known only to the addressee (K_a). These three patterns coincide with Kuno's (1973) classification of the usage of Japanese demonstratives *a*- and *so*-:

	$K_{s\&a}$	K_s	K_a
dst	(1-a)	(1-b)	(1-c)
prx	(1-d)	(1-e)	(1-f)
nex	——	(1-g)	(1-h)

TABLE 3 Table for example (1)

> The *a*-series is used only when the speaker knows that the hearer, as well as the speaker himself, knows the referent of the anaphoric demonstrative. The *so*-series, on the other hand, is used either when the speaker knows the referent but thinks that the hearer does not or when the speaker does not know the referent. (p. 283)

Therefore, it is predicted that *a*- would be used in the situation $K_{s\&a}$ and *so*-

[4] We carefully pronounced *so*- and *a*- alternatively in one stimulus sentence and asked the informants about the naturalness using dialectal form, which we believe relieves informants from interference from Standard Japanese. In confirming the naturalness, the *ku*-series was disfavored in most sentences, so we ignore the use of the *ku*-series in the result given in the next section.

would be used in K_s and K_a if our experiment were tested against Standard Japanese speakers.

The above three-times-three pattern amounts to nine pattens of examples as in Table 3. However, we excluded one pattern , i.e. $K_{s\&a}$ & nex, since it is not easily imagined that an object is nonexistent but mutually known by the interlocutors. For each of the remaining eight patterns, we constructed four sentences, which gives a total of thirty-two sentences. We interviewed one informant twice, dividing the thirty-two sentences into sixteen with all patterns.

We give the examples of all patterns in (1) (see Kinuhata 2017 for all test sentences).

(1) a. We ate a dish in Kyoto, didn't we? Let's go eat **it** again. $K_{s\&a}, dst$

b. There is a cafe named Uesuya in Nishizato. I'll wait for you at **that** cafe. K_s, dst

c. 'I met a person named Shimoji yesterday.' 'What was **that** person like?' K_a, dst

d. As you know, the store in front of this house sells tempura. **It** is delicious. $K_{s\&a}, prx$

e. I got a testimonial a long ago. **It** is now set at the entrance. K_s, prx

f. 'I made a doll in this house yesterday.' 'Where do you keep **it**?' K_a, prx

g. I saw an old woman in my dream yesterday. **That** person was a cripple. K_s, nex

h. 'A boy in my dream gave me a dumpling.' 'Did you eat **it**?' K_a, nex

While the referent is (supposed to be) in a place far from where the conversation is taking place in (1-a), (1-b), and (1-c), the interlocutors are talking about an object around the house where they are in (1-d), (1-e), and (1-f). So the former examples are classified as *distal*, whereas the latter are *proximal*. On the other hand, the speaker refers to an object in a dream in (1-g) and (1-h), which is thus *nonexistent*. The sentences preceding the underlined ones present the contexts. The speaker confirms that the addressee knows the referent in (1-a) and (1-d), which means that the referent is shared, i.e. $K_{s\&a}$. In (1-b), (1-e), and (1-g), the speaker provides the hearer with new information to the hearer, thus K_s. The quotations in (1-c), (1-f), and (1-h) indicate that the speakers of the first and the second sentences are different. Since new information is given in the first sentence, the speaker of the second sentence does not know the object, i.e. K_a. These considerations lead us to classify

the examples in (1) as in Table 3, which constitutes the foundation for showing our results, together with examples of the underlined parts, in the next section.

4 Results

4.1 Study Area

We have examined nine village communities in the Miyako Islands. We report the results of four of those areas in this article. The reason for not informing the results of other areas is that 1) we have interviewed only one person per one area in those communities and 2) their distributions of demonstrative pronouns are complex so that we found some difficulties in interpreting them, i.e. we have not decided whether the differences are the consequence of area, age, or individuals.[5]

The locations of the four communities are given in Figure 1. We will first give the results of the Karimata dialect, in which we consulted with four informants. The data presented in the next section are those of two informants, whose judgments we consider to be a typical of the two-series demonstrative system. See Kinuhata (2017) for the individual differences observed in this dialect. In Section 4.3, we turn to the data of the Shinzato dialect to show a dialectal difference mentioned in Section 2. There is, however, only one informant we have conducted our experiment with so far. We will therefore refer to a result of the Aragusuku dialect, which is also located in the south part of Miyako Island. As for the Oura dialect, we will not present the data here but will utilize it in the discussion of historical change in Section 5.

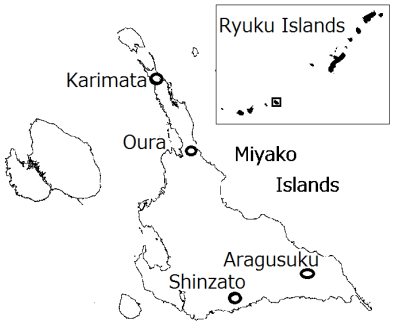

FIGURE 1 Miyako Islands

[5] Let us note some characteristics of the use of demonstratives in the areas we will not mention in the following. In the Nishihara (born in 1943, male) and Yonaha (1935, male) dialects, both *u*- and *ka*-series are broadly used so that it is not straightforward to find the difference between them in their anaphoric use. In the Nikadori dialect (1944, male), the use of *ka*- is preferred to that of *u*- in most cases. In the Matsubara dialect (1943, male), *ka*- is preferred particularly for $K_{s\&a}$, which is similar to Standard Japanese, but this dialect differs from other dialects in allowing the use of *ku*- in a broad range of patterns. The most interesting pattern for the subsequent discussion is the result of the Irabu dialect (1930, male), in which *u*- is strongly preferred in every example, a similar pattern to the Shinzato dialect. But since Irabu and Shinzato are genealogically and geographically different, we leave it for future research to explain why these two dialects resemble each other.

4.2 Karimata

As shown in Table 2, the Karimata dialect has only two series of demonstratives: *u-* and *ka-*. The former refers to a proximal object and the latter a distal object in the deictic system. The distance from the deictic center still affects the choice of demonstratives in the anaphoric use in this dialect.

Table 4 (born in 1933, female) and 5 (1934, female) are the results of our elicition with two informants. We recorded the preference for each cell in the tables, with 'preference' meaning various cases such as: the other is impossible (marked as # in the following examples); one is more natural than the other (marked as ??); the speaker did not utter the other form despite our request to do so (marked as ?). These marked cases were eliminated from the tables and only when the informants uttered both sentences with *u-* or *ka-* and accepted them as natural, did we represent it as '*u-/ka-*'. (The order of *u-/ka-* is irrelevant.)

	$K_{s\&a}$	K_s	K_a
dst	*u-*	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
prx	*ka-*	*u-/ka-*	*u-*
	ka-	*u-*	*u-/ka-*
	u-	*u-*	*ka-*
	u-	*u-*	*u-*
nex		*ka-*	*ka-*
		ka-	*ka-*
		ka-	*ka-*
		ka-	*ka-*

TABLE 4 KF_{33}

	$K_{s\&a}$	K_s	K_a
dst	*ka-*	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
prx	*ka-*	*u-/ka-*	*u-*
	ka-	*u-*	*u-*
	u-/ka-	*u-*	—
	u-/ka-	*u-*	*u-/ka-*
nex		*ka-*	*ka-*
		u-	*u-/ka-*
		u-	*u-/ka-*
		ka-	*u-*

TABLE 5 KF_{34}

From the tables, it is clear that the informants use *ka-* when the object is in a distant place. The only exception to this generalization is the top left cell of KF_{33}, the reason for which is unclear to us; the other informants always preferred *ka-* in this example. We can learn from this instance that it is difficult to draw rigorous judgments about the use of demonstratives from the nature of them[6] and it is imperative for the study of demonstratives to observe distribution patterns in controlled contexts as illustrated here.

While there are few exceptions in the dst row, it is not the case that *u-* is dominant in the prx row, in which an object is relatively close to the conver-

[6] One important factor which prevents us from drawing decisive judgments is that the use of demonstratives is affected not only by the objective but also by the subjective, or psychological, distance of an object. Imagine that English *this* and *that* can alternate even if the speaker is in the same location. A Karimata speaker reported that she uses *u-* for an object intimate to her.

sation place. The reason why *ka-* is used in this context is that we were asking about invisible objects in the experiment on anaphoric use: If the speaker wants to designate those objects deictically, she has no alternative than to use *ka-*. This also implies that it is not necessarily denied that *ka-* in the dst row is used to refer to invisible objects deictically, but we consider it significant that the speaker always prefers to use *ka* in the context of dst, when compared with the result of the Shinzato dialect given in the next subsection. It is also notable in this connection that the use of *u-* in the above tables indicates the existence of the anaphoric use of *u-* in this dialect since the deictic use of *u-* refers to objects right in front of the speaker.[7]

The last remark we should make about the tables is the difference in the nex row between the informants. While it is clear from the exclusive use of *ka-* that KF_{33} regards nonexistent objects as remote, more complicated pragmatic factors seem to be involved in the identification of nonexistent objects by KF_{34}.[8]

The following examples are the translations of (1) with judgments of the use of demonstratives by KF_{33}.

(2) a. mmi putun {#uri/ kari}=u fai mii busi̇-kan ra.
more once {*u-/ ka-*}=ACC *eat try* OPT-ACOP DM

b. {#uma/ kama}=n ura-di=siba.
{*u-/ ka-*}=LOC *exist*-VOL=CSL

c. {#uri/ kari}=a nooci=nu putu=du a-tai̇?
{*u-/ ka-*}=TOP *how*=GEN *person*=FOC COP-PST

d. {uma/ #kama}=nu tempura=a ati mma-an ra.
{*u-/ ka-*}=GEN *tempura*=TOP *very delicious*-ACOP DM

e. {unu/ #kanu} sjoodzjoo=ju uma=n kadzari ui̇.
{*u-/ ka-*} *testimonial*=ACC *there*=LOC *set* CONT

f. {unu/ #kanu} ningjoo=ja ndza=n=du a=riba?
{*u-/ ka-*} *doll*=TOP *where*=LOC=FOC *exist*=Q

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[7] Another piece of evidence for the anaphoric use of *u-* is its bound variable use as in (i) (see Hoji et al. 2003 for bound variable anaphora resulting in 'covariant interpretation' in Japanese),

(i) ndza=ara=n maccja=nu a-tigaa, {∅/ uma/ *kama}=ai paddzigi munu=u
where=INDET=LOC *store*=NOM *exist*-COND {∅/ *u-/ ka-*}=ALL *enter* *stuff*=ACC kaa.
*by.*VOL
'If we find a store somewhere (along this road), let's enter it and buy something.'

though the informants would rather have used a sentence without any demontratives in this context, and some informants dispreferred the sentences with them.

[8] Although it is outside the scope of this paper to make the relevant factors fully explicit, some subjective distance seemed to be involved. For example, while the informant used *u-* for a ball which she was holding in her dream, she didn't for a person showing up in her dream: She can be close to a ball by holding it, whereas it is impossible to hold a person in her arms.

g. {#uri/ kari}=a pagɨ=nu=du jami u-taɨ=djaa.
{*u-*/ *ka-*}=TOP *leg*=NOM=FOC *be.injured* CONT-PST=EVID

h. vva=a {#uri/ kari}=u=du fai?
2SG=TOP {*u-*/ *ka-*}=ACC=FOC *eat*.PST

4.3 Shinzato

The results of our survey with a speaker of the Shinzato dialect (1927, male) is given in Table 6 and that of an Aragusuku speaker (1949, male) in Table 7. The data are represented in the same way as those of the Karimata dialect.

	$K_{s\&a}$	K_s	K_a
dst	*u-*/*ka-*	*ka-*	*u-*
	u-	*u-*	*u-*
	u-/*ka-*	*u-*	*u-*
	u-/*ka-*	*u-*	*u-*/*ka-*
prx	*u-*	*u-*	*u-*
	u-	*u-*	*u-*
	u-	*u-*	*u-*
	u-	*u-*	*u-*
nex		*u-*	*u-*
		u-	*u-*
		u-	*u-*
		u-	*u-*

TABLE 6 SM_{27}

	$K_{s\&a}$	K_s	K_a
dst	*ka-*	*u-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*u-*	*u-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*u-*
	u-/*ka-*	*u-*	*u-*
prx	*u-*	*u-*	*u-*
	u-	*u-*	*u-*
	u-	*u-*	*u-*
	u-/*ka-*	*ka-*	*u-*
nex		*u-*	*u-*
		u-	*u-*
		u-	*u-*
		u-	*u-*

TABLE 7 AM_{49}

Although there are some irregularities, particularly in the use of *ka-*, the difference between Table 6 and the result from Karimata is obvious: Even when an object is in a remote place, *u-* is used or preferred; a strong preference for the use of *u-* is observed when an object is not distant or is nonexistent. Since the objects referred to in our experiment are not interpreted as occupying a position close to the addressee, Table 6 indicates the development of the non-deictic use of the *u*-series compared with the Karimata dialect. The result of the Aragusuku speaker shows a similar tendency to that of the Shinzato dialect. A conspicuous difference of Table 7 from Table 6 is that *ka-* is favored to refer to mutually known distant objects in the former whereas *u-* and *ka-* are evenly used in the latter. Whether this difference is caused by a difference of community, generation, or individual preference is an unsettled question in this paper.

We give the translations and judgments of (1) by the informant of the Shinzato dialect in (3).

(3) a. {uri/ kari}=u nkjagi=ga mmjaa-di=na?
{*u-*/ *ka-*}=ACC *eat*.HON=PURP *go*.HON-VOL=Q

b. {unu/ #kanu} sjokudoo=n maci uri.
{*u-/ ka-*} *restaurant*=LOC *wait* CONT.IMP

c. {unu/ #kanu} pɨtu=a naubasi=nu pɨtu=ga
{*u-/ ka-*} *person*=TOP *how*=GEN *person*=FOC.Q
ya-ta=ryaa?
COP-PST=Q

d. {#uma/ kama}=nu tempura=a aggai mma-munu=doo.
{*u-/ ka-*}=GEN *tempura*=TOP ITJ *delicious*-NMLZ=SFP

e. {unu/ #kanu} turufii=ju=du genkan kadzari ukɨ.
{*u-/ ka-*} *trophy*=ACC=FOC *entrance*.LOC *set* PERF

f. {unu/ #kanu} ningjoo=ja ndza=n=du ucɨki ukɨ?
{*u-/ ka-*} *doll*=TOP *where*=LOC=FOC *put* PERF

g. {unu/ #kanu} pɨtu=a pagɨ=nu=du yamii=nu
{*u-/ ka-*} *person*=TOP *leg*=NOM=FOC *be.injured*=GEN
pɨtu ya-tam=doori.
person COP-PST=EVID

h. anti vva=a {uri/ #kari}=uba fai?
then 2SG=TOP {*u-/ ka-*}=ACC.TOP *eat*.PST

4.4 Interim Conclusion

We have seen a dialectal difference between the Karimata dialect and the Shinzato(/Aragusuku) dialect in the use of demonstratives. It is characteristic of Karimata that *ka-* is exclusively used to refer to distant objects, which entails that *u-* only refers to relatively proximate objects. This distinction can be construed parallel to their deictic use, in which *u-* and *ka-* respectively refer to objects close to or far from the interlocutors in visible environments, though we have to admit particularly the growth of the anaphoric *u-* in that it can denote objects not near the interlocutors.

On the other hand, the anaphoric use of *u-* is prevalent in the Shinzato dialect: It can refer to contextually induced elements irrespective of their locations in deictic space. This prevalence of the anaphoric use of *u-* is not unrelated to the fact that this dialect has three series of demonstrative pronouns *ku-*, *u-*, and *ka-* as was summarized in Table 1: Since *u-* is used as medial in the deictic use, the proximal and distal distinction in the anaphoric use cannot be expressed by using *u-* and *ka-* as in the Karimata dialect.

5 Discussion on Historical Change

In our survey of the anaphoric use, the *u-* and *ka-*series are differentiated in the Karimata dialect according to the distance from the locus of the dialogue. We represent this usage of demonstratives as in the left diagram of Figure 2, in which dct and aph stand for the $deictic$ and $anaphoric$ uses respectively.

The strong preference for the *u-* series in the Shinzato dialect, on the other, can be depicted as in the right diagram of Figure 2, which implies that in the anaphoric use *u-* is used irrespective of distance. Given the above diagrams and genealogically close relations, what historical changes caused the two dialects to diverge from each other?

A simple answer would assume that the change took place from one to the other. We argue, however, that it is problematic to assume a direct derivational relationship between the two systems.

Let us first consider the possibility of a change from the Karimata type to the Shinzato type. This change involves at least the following two steps to achieve its goal: One is the appearance of the *ku*-series and the other is the development of the anaphoric *u*-series, which is schematized in Figure 2.

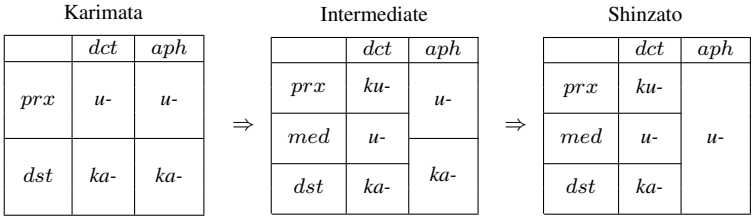

FIGURE 2 Possible change from Karimata to Shinzato

While it is plausible for the anaphoric use to be integrated into the *u*-series during the change, it is highly unlikely that the *ku*-series would appear in the local change of Miyakoan because the *ku*-series is attested all over the Ryukyuan dialect area: According to Uchima (1984), forty-eight out of fifty three dialects have *ku*-series demonstratives. Moreover, since *ku-* phonologically corresponds the Japanese demonstrative *ko-*, it must trace back to the Proto-Japonic *ko.

We now turn to assess the possibility of a change from the Shinzato to the Karimata type. Two steps to be presupposed are the reverse of the above change: The disappearance of the *ku*-series and the divergence of the anaphoric use.

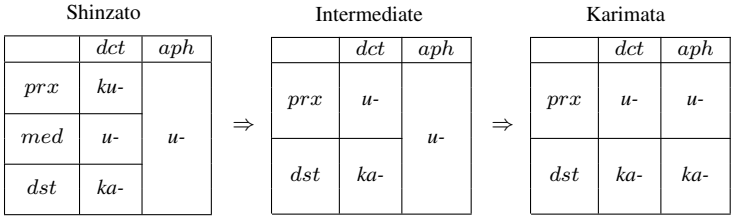

FIGURE 3 Possible change from Shinzato to Karimata

The latter process is reasonable since it can be viewed as being triggered by analogy to the distinction in the deictic use of *u-* and *ka-*, an instance of 'analogical extension' in the sense of Bybee (2015: ch. 5). The former process, on the other, needs some justification. It seems difficult to explain the change based on the meanings of *ku-* and *u-* (and *ka-*), because in Ryukyuan dialects any combination of *ku-*, *u-*, and *ka-* can constitute a two-series demonstrative system (Uchima 1984), e.g. *ku-* vs. *u-* system in the Sonai (Iriomote) dialect of Yaeyaman, *ku-* vs. *a-* system in the Torishima dialect of Okinawan etc. Rather, the wide distribution of two-series systems, thirteen dialects out of fifty-three samples according to Uchima (1984), with arbitrary choices of forms implies the existence of a semantic basis in Ryukyuan languages to prefer two-series demonstrative systems.

The above consideration leads us to posit a system which has only two series of demonstratives to be opposed semantically, but still needs three series morphologically. Thus, we hypothesize a proto-type as in Figure 4 which derives the Shinzato type on the one hand and the Karimata type on the other.

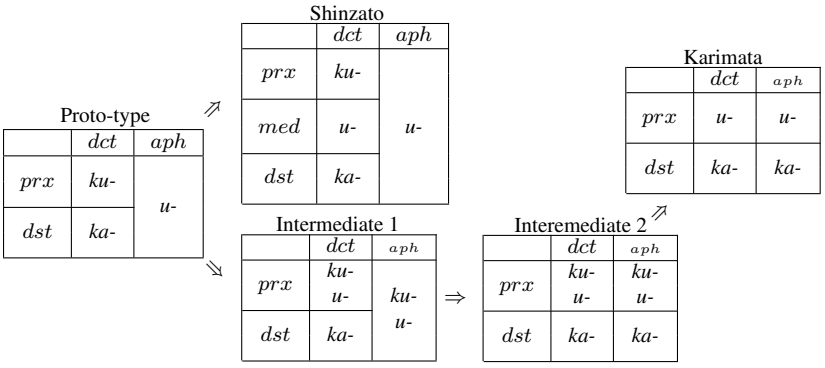

FIGURE 4 Change from Proto-type to Shinzato and Karimata

The change from the proto-type to the Shinzato type is achieved by the *u*-series acquiring a deictic use as a medial. Since the medial demonstrative *so-* in Japanese also originates in the anaphoric use (Hashimoto 1986) and first took on its deictic use in Medieval Japanese (Fujimoto 2008), it is not surprising that the *u-* series underwent the same process as *so-*.

Reconstructing the above proto-type is also attractive in having a semantic basis to prefer two-series demonstrative systems. The change from it to the Karimata type is explained based on the binary opposition of *ku-* and *ka-* in the deictic use: First, the integration of *ku-* and *u-*, second, analogical extension, and third, the loss of the *ku-* series due to redundancy. Among these changes, readers might wonder whether the integration of demonstrative forms is really actualized.

By looking at the data of the Oura dialect, located to the south of Karimata, we can conclude that the relevant integration certainly occurred. In this dialect (female, 1928), *ku-* and *u-* have precisely the same function as referring to objects close to the speaker. In the anaphoric use, as shown in Table 8, the distal demonstrative *ka-* is exclusively used to denote distant objects, whereas the use of *ku-* and *u-* becomes possible for closer objects. Therefore, the usage of demonstratives in the Oura dialect is at the stage of 'intermediate 2' in the above diagram, a stage where the analogical extension had already been completed as in the Karimata dialect. The existence of dialects such as Oura demonstrates that the integration of demonstrative pronouns is necessary in explaining the historical change of Miyakoan.

	$K_{s\&a}$	K_s	K_a
dst	*ka-*	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
prx	*ku,u-/ka-*	*ka-*	*ka-*
	ka-	*ka-*	*ka-*
	—	*ku,u-*	*ku,u-*
	ku,u-	*ku,u-*	*ku,u-*
NE		*ka-*	*ka-*
		ka-	*ka-*
		ka-	*ka-*
		ka-	*ka-*

TABLE 8 OF_{28}

6 Concluding Remark

This paper demonstrats that there is a dialectal difference in anaphoric uses in Miyakoan. While in the Karimata dialect, with a two-series demonstrative system, *u-* and *ka-* series are differentiated according to the distance from the interlocutors even in the anaphoric use, a noticeable tendency to use *u-* for the anaphoric was witnessed in the Shinzato dialect, which has three series of demonstratives. Further, we argued that in order to account for this difference it is necessary to hypothesize a system which is distinguished from both of the above types. Our proposal was that *ku-* and *ka-* were used for the deictic and *u-* was for the anaphoric use.

A remaining question is how far this hypothetical state can trace back. We think it is probable to reconstruct it not only to Proto-Miyakoan but also to Proto-Ryukyuan, because, as noted before, there are two-series demonstrative systems alongside three-series systems in Ryukyuan languages. Moreover, it is not totally impossible to reconstruct the same system in Proto-Japonic, because some researchers of Old Japanese assume *ko-* and *ka-* to be deictic and *so-* to be anaphoric (Kinsui et al. 2002) though the distal *ka-* is sometimes considered to be underdeveloped (Hashimoto 1986, Okazaki 2010). Although it falls beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the Old Japanese demonstrative system, our research undoubtedly implies that a close scrutiny of Ryukyuan demonstrative systems may throw light on the history of the Japonic family.

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Abbreviations

2SG: second person singular, ACC: accusative, ACOP: adjectival copula, CONT: continuous, COP: copula, CSL: causal, DM: discourse marker, EVID: evidential, FOC: focus, GEN: genitive, HON: honorific, INDET: Indeterminate, ITJ: interjection, LOC: locative, NOM: nominative, NMLZ: nominalizer, OPT: optative, PERF: perfect, PST: past, PURT: purposive, Q: question, SFP: sentence final particle, TOP: topic, VOL: volitive.