The nominalizer *su* and sentence-final *soo* in Kikaijima Ryukyuan:

Comparison with Japanese *no*(*da*) and (*no*)*dewanaika*
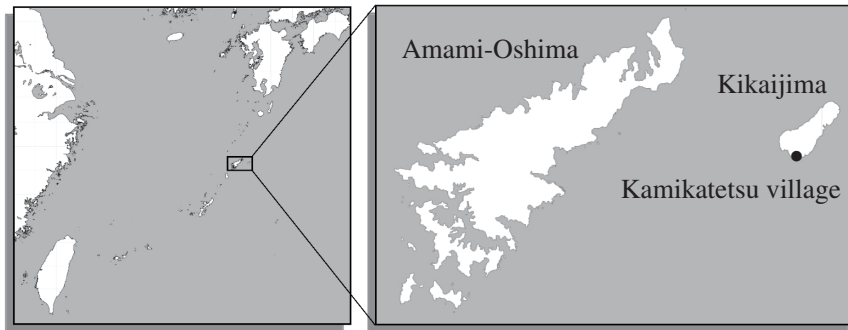
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1   Introduction

In this article, we compare Kikaijima Ryukyuan (henceforth KR) constructions with the nominalizer *su* and Japanese constructions with the nominalizer *no*. First, we discuss scope-adjusting and expressive nominalization in Japanese and KR, arguing that Japanese *no*(*da*)-constructions have counterparts with *su* in KR, with two distinct forms for expressive nominalization in KR due to distinct realizations of the copula and the assertion morpheme. We also show that recent analyses observing evidential properties of Japanese *no* also apply to *su* in positive polar questions and polar questions with outer negation. Next, we discuss syntactically outer negation in polar questions as an expression of speaker bias in both KR and Japanese, and sentence-final expressions derived from it. We argue that parallel to Japanese *jan*, *soo* is a reduced form of syntactically outer negation in polar questions. We show overlapping uses of *jan* and *soo* as well as uses unique to *soo*. Finally, we attempt to explain the selectional properties of *soo* by its morphological structure and its grammaticalization to a sentence-final particle, which has further progressed than that of its Japanese counterpart *jan*.

1.1   Kikaijima Ryukyuan

The examples presented here are elicited data or taken from transcribed texts, both obtained during fieldwork conducted by the second author RS from 2011 to 2014 with the help of six consultants from Kamikatetsu village (called *hatitu* in the local language), who are in their seventies or older.[1] KR is an endangered Ryukyuan language spoken on Kikaijima, Kagoshima Prefecture. The Ryukyuan languages are divided into two major groups: Northern and Southern Ryukyuan, KR belonging to the former. Fluent speakers of KR in Kamikatetsu village are mostly in their fifties or older; younger generations generally have only a passive knowledge or limited lexical knowledge of the language.

Figure 1: Kamikatetsu village, Kikaijima[2]

1.2 The predicate and sentence-final elements in KR

The structure of the indicative finite verb is given in (1) below. The polarity slot following the verb stem is occupied by the negative suffix *raa* (or allomorphs) in case of negation, and remains vacant when there is no negation. Either of nonpast *ii* or past *ti* (or allomorphs) occur in the tense slot.[3]

(1) STEM - (POLARITY) - TENSE

(2) Verb forms of Kikaijima Ryukyuan:

	"eat"	"hang"	"be"
NPST affirmative	*kam-ii*	*kee-ii*	*ur-i*
	kam-in	*kee-in*	*u-n*
NPST negative	*kam-aa-∅*	*kee-raa-∅*	*ur-aa-∅*
	kam-an-∅	*kee-ran-∅*	*ur-an-∅*
PST affirmative	*ka-di*	*kee-ti*	*u-ti*
	ka-dan	*kee-tan*	*u-tan*
PST negative	*kam-an-ti*	*kee-ran-ti*	*ur-an-ti*
	kam-an-tan	*kee-ran-tan*	*ur-an-tan*

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[2] We thank Thomas Pellard (CRLAO-CNRS) for offering us the maps shown here. We rearranged them and added the place names.

[3] In the following sections, we will refrain from showing the morpheme boundaries between stems and polarity/tense markers and omit NPST from the glosses for convenience.

Examples of KR verb forms are shown in (2). Tense morphemes have two allomorphs depending on the sentence-final elements following them. Two classes of sentence-final elements can be distinguished: those which can not, and those which can follow other sentence-final elements. We label the former Class 1, the latter Class 2 sentence-final elements. Those belonging to Class 1 select verbal elements in a form with final -*n*. The sentence-final elements of Class 1 occurring in the data presented in this article are the assertion marker *doo*, the yes-no question marker *na*[4] and the question marker *ka*;[5] the sentence-final elements of Class 2 in our data are the sentence-final particles *yo* and *yaa*.

Further bound allomorphs of the tense morphemes occur when they are followed by suffixes such as the nominalizer *su*,[6] which is central to our discussion.[7]

(3)   Tense morpheme allomorphs before the nominalizer *su*:

		"eat"-NMLZ	"hang"-NMLZ	"be"-NMLZ
NPST	affirmative	*kam-i-su*	*kee-i-su*	*u-∅-su*
	negative	*kam-an-∅-su*	*kee-ran-∅-su*	*ur-an-∅-su*
PST	affirmative	*ka-da-su*	*kee-ta-su*	*u-ta-su*
	negative	*kam-an-ta-su*	*kee-ran-ta-su*	*ur-an-ta-su*

Nominal predicates consist of a nominal element followed by the copula *ja*. In the case of affirmative nonpast indicatives, the copula cannot co-occur with Class 1 SFPs and the particles directly follow the NP. Among Class 2 SFPs, *yaa* can follow the affirmative nonpast indicative copula while *yo* cannot. The copula has a suppletive form *ar-* (from the existential verb) when it hosts the negation[8] or the past suffix. Both *yaa* and *yo* can follow the assertion marker *doo* and can be directly attached to finite verbs.

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[4] When the yes-no marker follows the nonpast form *in*, the cliticized form *nya* occurs instead of *na*.

[5] The question marker *ka* tends to be used for the case where the speaker is not quite sure whether the addressee has the answer to the question, as well as for self-questioning.

[6] The phoneme /s/ is optionally debuccalized to /h/ when it is adjacent to a morpheme boundary. Thus, *su* and *soo*, the elements we focus on in this article, have the allomorphs *fu* and *hoo*, respectively.

[7] Other suffixes that can attach to tense morphemes are the inference markers *roo* and *ra*, and the emphatic marker *ru*.

[8] When the copula is negated, the nominal predicate takes an apparently topicalized form. However, we will not use the gloss TOP in that case because it does not function as a topicalizer.

2 Sentence nominalization

We use the term "sentence nominalization" for constructions in which the nominalizers *su* (KR) and *no* (Japanese) are used not to make a verbal element nominal (*e.g.* transform a VP into an NP to use it as an argument of a predicate), but to adjust the scope of negation or assertion (scope-adjusting nominalization), or to enrich the expressive meaning of an utterance (expressive nominalization).[9] The term "nominalization" and the label "nominalizer" for *su* and *no* might be somewhat misleading, as they have functions beyond "plain" nominalization, and as *no* (and thus most likely *su*) is syntactically a complementizer rather than a nominalizer in the structures we discuss. We use the expression "sentence nominalization" in lack of another term to cover the uses of *su* and *no* described here.

2.1 Scope-adjusting nominalization

The function of scope-adjusting nominalization is to adjust the scope of negation or assertion. Since in the case of assertion scope-adjusting and expressive nominalization can be realized as a single instance and thus become indistinguishable on the surface, we focus on cases where the scope of negation is adjusted, but maintain that in principle our claims can be extended to cases without negation. We will show parallel KR and Japanese examples (in this order throughout the article) where sentence nominalization adjusts the scope of negation, and, for completeness, examples where a contrastive topic marker achieves the same effect. Next, we will show another use of scope-adjusting nominalization where no focused element is singled out for negation.

2.1.1 Focus constructions

One use of scope-adjusting nominalization are focus constructions of the structure shown in (4), where the nominalizer directly follows the tense morpheme[10] heading a TP so that only a focused element, here given as XP[11] following Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002), is asserted or negated. The symbols ASS and NEG are placeholders for assertion (the copula in Japanese, an assertion morpheme in KR) and negation (the negated copula in

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[9] We follow the distinction between "*no(da)* of scope" and "*no(da)* of mood" made in Noda (1997).

[10] In Japanese, nominal elements can also be targeted by sentence-final nominalization, in which case an additional copula is inserted between the nominal element and the nominalizer. Since this is not possible in KR, we exclude these cases from the discussion here.

[11] We are neutral as to whether the focused element actually has to be a maximal projection or a constituent.

both Japanese and KR), respectively,[12] and do not represent a specific morphological realization of these functions.

(4)   [$_{\text{TP}}$ ... XP$_{\text{FOC}}$ ... T] NMLZ ASS/NEG

Compare "plain" negation or assertion, which is realized as follows:

(5)   [$_{\text{TP}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ ... XP$_{\text{FOC}}$ ... V] (NEG) T] ASS

In order for (5) to get the reading (4) gets by default, the XP to be negated or asserted needs to be marked as a contrastive topic. Focus intonation is also necessary to mark this XP in (4). We will show a case without focus intonation ("scope expansion") at the end of this section.

The following examples of scope-adjusting nominalization are felicitous replies to the question "Is Takashi coming from Okinawa?", where the question under discussion is where Takashi is coming from, not whether or not he is coming.

(6)   *Takasee*   *Kagoshima-kara*   *shii-soo*   *araa.*
        PN.TOP   PN-from   come-NMLZ   COP.NEG

        Okinawa-kara   *shii-su*   *doo.*
        PN-from   come-NMLZ   ASS

(7)   *Takashi-wa*   *Kagoshima-kara*   *kuru-n-janai.*
        PN-TOP   PN-from   come-NMLZ-COP.NEG

        Okinawa-kara   *kuru-n-da.*
        PN-from   come-NMLZ-COP

"Takashi isn't coming from Kagoshima, he's coming from Okinawa."

In the first sentence in (6), the nominalizer *su*, parallel to Japanese *no* in (7), separates negation from the predicate "come" so that it targets the focused constituent "from Kagoshima" (rather than the entire clause). In the second sentence, "from Okinawa" is asserted, the rest of the clause backgrounded.

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[12] "Assertion" and "negation" are used in a contrastive sense here — *i.e.* "assertion" means that a proposition is asserted without negation and "negation" that a negated proposition is asserted. We gloss over the question of what happens to the rest of the clause when a (negated) focused phrase is asserted. We maintain that it is backgrounded, but may also be asserted depending on the definition of this term.

Utterances with negation attaching directly to the predicate without scope-adjusting nominalization are not felicitous in the same context:

(8)   # *Takasee   Kagoshima-kara   kuuraa.*
          PN.TOP   PN-from   come.NEG

(9)   # *Takashi-wa   Kagoshima-kara   konai.*
          PN-TOP   PN-from   come.NEG

In terms of truth conditions, (8) and (9) are the same as (6) and (7), respectively. The only difference is their felicity in regard to information structure in the sense of what the utterance is about or what the question under discussion is.[13] In order to get a reading compatible with the question "Is Takashi coming from Kagoshima?" without scope-adjusting nominalization, "from Kagoshima" needs to be marked as a contrastive topic in KR to be felicitous (similar observations can be made for Japanese), as in this version of (8):

(10)   *Takasee   Kagoshima-kara   #(-a)   kuuraa.*
          PN.TOP   PN-from   -CTOP come.NEG
          "Takashi isn't coming from Kagoshima"

We are not concerned with what differences in conveyed meaning there are between (10) and the version with scope-adjusting nominalization in (6). The observation we would like to make is that for the intended reading (8) is not possible, and that scope-adjusting nominalization and contrastive topic marking are two strategies to convey it. We also note that scope-adjusting nominalization can be used for focus constructions in KR and Japanese alike.

    A parallel example of scope-adjusting nominalization where the phrase targeted by negation is the main verb but not the entire clause is shown in (11).

(11)   [Noticing that the speaker has some new thing]
        A: "Did you buy that?"
        hoota-soo   araa.   hata-su   doo.
        buy.PST-NMLZ   COP.NEG   borrow.PST-NMLZ   ASS
        "I didn't buy it. I borrowed it."

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[13] Thus, what we dubbed scope-adjusting nominalization could also be considered expressive in the sense of not contributing to the truth-conditional meaning of the utterance. We argue that negation in the scope-adjusting examples is semantically active in that it targets part of the clause and negates it. This is not the case with what we call expressive nominalization.

In (11), the nominalizer adjusts the scope of negation, parallel to (6), so that it targets the focused verb stem "buy" rather than the entire clause. The utterance thus conveys that the denoted event was one of borrowing rather than buying. A version without scope-adjusting nominalization is degraded in the same utterance situation:

(12)   ? *hoowanti.*   *hata-su*   *doo.*
         buy.NEG.PST   borrow.PST-NMLZ   ASS
      "I didn't buy it. I borrowed it."

We assume that (12) is bad because the (buying / borrowing) event is negated, which is not the intended reading. The speaker wants to convey that an acquisition event took place, but it was one of borrowing, not of buying. Again, another felicitous option without using scope-adjusting nominalization is contrastive topic marking:

(13)   *hooenoo*   *nee.*   *hata-su*   *doo.*
       buy.SEQ.CTOP   NEG   borrow.PST-NMLZ   ASS
      "I didn't buy it. I borrowed it."

A different negation morpheme from (12) is used here, and the tense morphology is different. This is due to requirements of the contrastive topic marker, the details of which we are not concerned with.

2.1.2   Scope expansion

Scope-adjusting nominalization is not limited to focus constructions,[14] that is, to cases where there is a focused XP which is targeted by negation / assertion. More generally, it separates the predicate from negation, as in the following example. The utterance is a felicitous reply to the question "Are we going to collect firewood in the mountain?"

(14)   *suu-ya*   *yama-jen*   *tammu*   *turi-soo*   *aran-su*   *doo.*
       today-TOP   mountain-LOC   firewood   collect-NMLZ   COP.NEG-NMLZ   ASS

       hatee   *ijen*   *hansuu*   *wiii-su*   *doo.*
       field   go.SEQ   sweet_potato   plant-NMLZ   ASS
      "Today we're not going to collect firewood in the mountain.
      We're going to the field to plant sweet potatoes."

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[14] We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out and giving us the example (14) in Japanese.

In (14), scope-adjusting nominalization does not result in negation singling out one element of the clause. However, it serves the purpose of detaching the predicate from negation, as the same utterance with negation attaching directly to the verb "collect" is degraded in the same utterance situation.

There is a clear similarity between examples like (11) and (14) in that by using sentence nominalization, the speaker conveys that there is some event that is taking place (or has taken place), but that it is a different kind of event from that assumed by the addressee. Whether or not this can be unified under the label of "scope expansion" is a topic for further research.

2.1.3 Clefts

Parallels in meaning and structure between focus constructions with *no(da)* and (pseudo-) clefts have been pointed out in the literature on scope-adjusting nominalization in Japanese (*cf.* Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002); Noda (1997); Ono (2006)). In (pseudo-)clefts, the non-focused part of the clause followed by the nominalizer is topicalized and the focused constituent negated or asserted to yield the structure in (15).[15]

(15)   [$_{TP}$ ... T] NMLZ-TOP XP$_{FOC}$ ASS/NEG

This structure is found in both KR and Japanese clefts.[16]

(16)   *wannaa-nu   sansuu   narata-soo   Yamada-shinsee-kara doo.*
        1EXPL-NOM   arithmetic   learn.PST-NMLZ.TOP   PN-teacher-from   ASS

(17)   *watashitachi-ga sansuu-o   naratta   no-wa*
        1PL-NOM   arithmetic-ACC   learn.PST   NMLZ-TOP

        Yamada-sensei-kara   da.
        PN-teacher-from   COP

"It's Mr. Yamada we learned arithmetic from."

Note that in the KR example (16), the nominalizer *su* merges with the topic marker *a* to form *soo*. The same string appears in (6) and subsequent examples as part of the negated

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[15] Whether the structure shown here is the result of a derivation process from a focus construction as proposed in Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) is not relevant for our purposes. (15) is only intended to illustrate the surface string found in KR and Japanese (pseudo-)clefts.

[16] We judge the Japanese example shown here to be a cleft rather than a pseudo-cleft, as the nominalizer can not be substituted by a full NP and *no-ga*-conversion is not possible, two tests for clefts in Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002). We assume that the cleft status also holds for the KR example.

copula, but they serve different functions in the two examples — here, the topic marker serves to mark the non-focused phrase as a topic; as part of the negated copula it has no such function. While this distinction is not apparent from the phonological forms of the two instances of *soo* in KR, it is observable in the Japanese examples, as the topic marker *wa* merges with the morpheme *de* to form a string *ja* as part of the negated copula in (7), but not in (17), yielding the strings *n-ja* and *no-wa*, respectively. We conclude that KR *su* and Japanese *no* have parallel uses not only in scope-adjusting nominalization, but also in cleft constructions.

2.2 Expressive nominalization

We distinguish scope-adjusting nominalization from what we call "expressive" sentence nominalization, where negation following the nominalizer is not semantically active as it does not truth-conditionally negate (part of) the clause it selects.[17] Examples for expressive nominalization will be discussed in the following two sections. Next, we will show that recent analyses of Japanese *no* as having evidential properties also apply to KR *su* to some extent. Noda (1997) subdivides occurrences of "*no*(*da*) of mood" into "connective" *vs.* "non-connective", and "factual" *vs.* "personal" uses, all four possible combinations of which can be observed in Japanese. "Connective" uses are those in which there is a connection, such as causality, between the proposition of the *no*(*da*)-clause and the proposition of some antecedent. We focus on non-connective uses here as they are more economical to present (no antecedent is needed) and as only few of our informants accepted the connective use in KR.[18]

2.2.1 Personal expressive nominalization

"Personal" ("*taijinteki*") uses are those in which the speaker intends for the addressee to accept the truth of the proposition, which is presented as a "given fact".[19] In "factual" ("*taijiteki*") uses, the utterance is not (necessarily) directed at an addressee, but expresses that the state of affairs denoted in the proposition has just come to the speaker's attention,

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[17] It would be straightforward to assume that the same goes for assertion, although it is not clear to us what "non-truth conditional assertion" could be.

[18] Some of the uses analyzed as "connective" by Noda (1997) could be out because of the lack in KR of a counterpart to the Japanese causal expression *node*, which is related to *noda* and thus to expressive nominalization.

[19] This notion of "givenness" or "settledness" is the subject of an ongoing discussion in the literature. See Najima (2007, pp. 11–16) for a discussion of problems in previous analyses including "settledness" as well as Noda's classification.

also presenting it as a "given fact" (Noda, 1997, pp. 66–71). We are not concerned with the details of what the exact contribution of expressive nominalization to the utterance is, but maintain that both its personal and factual flavors are aviailable with KR *su*.

In (18) and (19), felicitous replies to: "So TAKASHI is coming today, right?", instances of scope-adjusting and expressive nominalization co-occur. Expressive nominalization attaches to a clause with scope-adjusting nominalization (the latter negating that the person coming is Takashi), demonstrating the distinctness of the two kinds of sentence nominalization.

["I told you before,..."]

(18) *suu-ya*   *Takashi-nu* *shii-soo*   *aran-su*   *doo* (*yo*).
      today-TOP   PN-NOM   come-NMLZ   COP.NEG-NMLZ   ASS   SFP

(19) *kyoo-wa*   *Takashi-ga* *kuru-n-janai-n-da*   (*yo*).
      today-TOP   PN-NOM   come-NMLZ-COP.NEG-NMLZ-COP   SFP

"It isn't Takashi who's coming today!"

The sentence-final occurrences of nominalization are instances of expressive nominalization in its personal use: the communicative intention of the speaker is for the addressee to accept the truth of the proposition ("It's not Takashi who's coming"), which is a "given fact" in the sense that the speaker has mentioned it before.[20] Since the minimal alternative to (18) (which does not convey that the proposition is presented as a "given fact") is the same utterance without the nominalizer *su* (the assertion morpheme *doo* can be directly adjacent to clauses headed by tense morphemes), we conclude that the expressive meaning conveyed by Japanese *no* in personal expressive nominalization is conveyed by *su* in KR.

There is a strong tendency to add the sentence-final particle *yo* (homophonous and close in meaning in KR and Japanese) to these utterances. Its contribution overlaps with personal expressive nominalization in that it prompts the speaker to accept the truth of the proposition.[21] Considering this, the core meaning of personal (as that of factual) ex-

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[20] An anonymous reviewer has pointed out that this is similar to the reminding use of *soo* and *jan* (see 3.3.1). Considerations about the distinction between those and personal expressive nominalization go beyond the scope of this paper. We speculate that the difference lies in whether the speaker reminds the addressee of a fact they have already accepted or wants them to accept a proposition (which the speaker may have asserted before).

[21] For more precise definitions and formal analyses of this property, see Takubo and Kinsui (1997);

pressive nominalization comes down to "givenness" — note, however, that the conveyed meanings of (18) and (19) do not significantly change when *yo* is left out, so it does not seem to be the case that *yo* alone contributes this aspect to the utterances' meanings.

2.2.2 Factual expressive nominalization

(20) and (21) show the factual use of expressive nominalization. Both convey that the state of affairs denoted in the proposition has just come to the speakers attention.

[Looking at an instructions manual]

(20) *un   suitchi* { *ushi-su   ja   / #ushii* } *(yaa).*
      this switch   push-NMLZ COP   push   SFP

(21) *kono suitchi-o   { osu-n-da   / #osu* } *(na).*
      this switch-ACC   push-NMLZ-COP   push   SFP

"So it's this switch you have to flip."

Note that in the KR utterance, *su* is not followed by the assertion morpheme *doo* (as in personal expressive nominalization), but by the non-negated copula *ja*. This contrast does not exists in Japanese, as the copula *da* doubles as the assertion morpheme. If *su* is completely parallel to Japanese *no* in these examples, this means that expressive nominalization is realized as *su-doo* (NMLZ-ASS) in its personal use and as *su-ja* (NMLZ-COP) in its factual use. However, we can conclude from the fact that *ja* is mandatory in such contexts that it marks the utterance as factual independently of *su*. We thus have to consider two possibilities: either *su* and *ja* mark factual expressive nominalization together (and *su* contributes the "givenness" part as in the personal flavor), or *ja* functions as a marker of "factual modality" in KR, nominalization being only necessary to satisfy its selectional restrictions when following a clause headed by a tense morpheme.

There is a strong tendency to add the sentence-final particles *yaa* (KR) and *na* (Japanese) to these utterances, much like *yo* in the case of personal expressive nominalization. However, (20) and (21) are infelicitous without the NMLZ-COP string — we thus conclude that expressive nominalization is necessary to convey the factual flavor of these utterances, and that the sentence-final particles may overlap with sentence nominalization in their contribution to the conveyed meaning of such factual utterances, but are not necessary to convey it.

McCready (2005); Oshima (2012) — we thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

2.2.3   The nominalizer and evidentiality in polar questions

There are some recent analyses of the Japanese nominalizer *no* in which evidential prop-
erties are observed. In this section we discuss its use in polar questions where it obli-
gatorily marks "compelling contextual evidence" (*cf.* Sudo (2013) for the analysis of
Japanese, Büring and Gunlogson (2000, p. 12) for the original definition of the evidence
conditions), and in the next section its use in *daroo*-utterances conveying assumptions
of the speaker, where *no* is obligatory when there is direct evidence for the truth of the
proposition. Comparing KR *su* with Japanese *no* in polar questions, we found parallels
in positive polar questions and those with outer negation. There are, however, cases in
which the evidence conditions differ.

The utterances in (22) and (23) are positive polar questions which are uttered in a
situation where the speaker has no evidence for or against the truth of the proposition.

[S and A are at a restaurant for the first time, looking at the menu.]

(22)   *karee   tamm-* {   *-in-nya*   /   # *-i-su*   *na*   }*?*
　　　 curry   order-   -NPST-YNQ   -NPST-NMLZ   YNQ

(23)   *karee   tanomu* {   ∅   /   #*no*   }*?*
　　　 curry   order   NMLZ

"[Are you] having curry?"

Both utterances are bad when *su* and *no* are added, respectively. In an utterance situation
where the speaker sees that the addressee is looking at the menu page which lists different
curries, the versions with *su* and *no* are good. This can be explained if we assume that
positive evidential bias is a felicity condition of *su* and *no*.

However, there is an important difference between the two nominalizers: when there
is contextual evidence for the truth of a proposition, *no* is mandatory in positive polar
questions, but *su* is not, as shown in (24) and (25).

The details of how to analyze contrast between (24) and (25) have to be left for
further research. Our observations can be explained if we assume that positive evidence
is a felicity condition for both *no* and *su*, but that the evidence conditions of positive polar
questions differ in KR and Japanese in that the "neutrality condition" (neither positive nor
negative evidence acceptable) on Japanese positive polar questions does not apply to KR
ones, which, parallel to English, are felicitous as long as there is no negative evidence.

[The addressee enters the windowless room with a dripping wet raincoat on.]

(24) *nama ami fur-* { *-on-nya*   / *-oo-su*   *na* }*?*
    now   rain fall-   -PROG-YNQ   -PROG-NMLZ YNQ

(25) *ima ame futteiru*   { ∅ / *#no*   }*?*
    now   rain fall.PROG   NMLZ

"Is it raining now?"

Next, KR polar questions with outer negation are felicitous in contexts with negative evidence, but degraded without a nominalizer.[22] Consider these examples of negative polar questions disambiguated towards their outer negation readings with the PPIs *taruka* (KR) and *dareka* (Japanese) ("somebody"):

[At a meeting, A knows who is supposed to attend.]
A: "We're all here now. Shall we start?"

(26) *taruka   fuka-en   kuran-#(fu)   na?*
    someone   other-DAT   come.NEG-NMLZ   YNQ

(27) *dareka   hoka-ni   ko-nai   #(no)?*
    someone   other-DAT   come.NEG   NMLZ

"Isn't someone else coming?"

When there is evidence against the truth of the proposition "There is somebody else coming" as in the situation above, both (26) and (27) are degraded without a nominalizer. In an alternative utterance situation where there is no evidential bias, both are fine without one. If we assume that the nominalizer marks evidence of the polarity of whatever it attaches to (like positive evidence as in (24) and (25) above), we have to assume that in polar questions with outer negation, it attaches to the negated proposition (although negation is "outer", *i.e.* not semantically active). We conclude here that the nominalizer in KR has evidential properties, just as Japanese *no* does. A complete survey of its effect on the evidence conditions of different kinds of polar questions is left for further research.

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[22] We have observed data pointing to different behaviors of polar questions with outer negation in Japanese and KR — the nominalizer *su* is needed in the latter to express epistemic bias; in Japanese, outer negation as such is sufficient for this. We only look at evidential bias here.

2.2.4　The nominalizer in *daroo*-utterances and KR

Regarding evidential properties of *no* in *daroo*-utterances, Hara (2006, pp. 123–126, 131) observes that they are infelicitous without *no* when the speaker has contextual evidence on which to base the conjecture which leads to the assumption expressed in the proposition. Alternatively, Takubo (2009, pp. 165–166) explains this contrast through scope expansion by *no*, letting *no-daroo* convey kinds of inference different from those conveyed by plain *daroo* (abduction can only be conveyed when *no* is added). Comparing (*no*)*daroo*-utterances with occurrences of *su* in *jaroo*- and *jara*-utterances (both sentence-final elements marking assumptions of the speaker in KR), we did not observe the same evidence conditions. We speculate that this is due to differing properties of *daroo* and *jaroo* / *jara* in regard to evidentiality rather than due to a difference in the properties of *no* and *su*.

The context in (28) is that the speaker hears an ambulance passing by and, based on this, guesses that somebody in another part of town has taken a fall. The basis of the speaker's conjecture is contextual evidence (and this evidence is the *result* of the event described in the proposition, thus the inference is abductive).

[Hearing an ambulance passing by.]

(28) *Sachama-en* *taruka-nu* *toori-* { *-tan* / *-ta-su* } *jara.*
　　 PN-LOC　　 someone-NOM　collapse-　　-PST　　-PST-NMLZ　　INFR

(29) *Sakiyama-de* *dareka-ga* *taoreta* #*(no)* *daroo.*
　　 PN-LOC　　 someone-NOM　collapse.PST　NMLZ　INFR

"Somebody in Sakiyama must have collapsed!"

Note that in (29) *no* is mandatory in this context, which is not the case for *su* in (28). The inference marker *ra* can directly attach to a tense morpheme, appear in combination with the copula *ja* (directly following a tense morpheme, however, which the copula in isolation can not), or appear with both the nominalizer *su* and the copula *ja*. The question of what the nominalizer *su* contributes to (28) aside, it does not behave parallel with Japanese *no* in (29). One possible explanation is that *jara* (and the similar *jaroo*) does not have any evidential properties whatsoever and/or does not express any specific kind of inference. If this is the case, they might actually be used like plain epistemic modals rather than expressions of inference in KR, the nominalizer serving a personal or factual expressive function.

3   Polar questions with syntactically outer negation

Sentence nominalization does not only occur in assertions, but also in polar questions with outer negation. We differentiate between polar questions with semantically outer negation which can be disambiguated towards by a PPI as in (26) and (27), and polar questions with what we label syntactically outer negation. We focus on the latter here. Their structure is given in (30).[23]

(30)   [$_\text{TP}$ ... T] NMLZ COP.NEG-Q

3.1   Expressions of speaker bias

In this section, we are concerned with polar questions with syntactically outer negation which are used as expressions of speaker bias. Nominalization in these questions is expressive rather than scope-adjusting as it is not semantically active, that is, not truth-conditional. Ito and Oshima (2014) observe that for polar questions with outer negation, an interpretation with positive speaker bias is preferred when there is no pitch accent on the negation morpheme, and that such a pitch accent is necessary for an interpretation with semantically active (*i.e.* inner in Ladd (1981)'s sense) negation. We are only concerned with examples where no pitch accent on the negated copula following the nominalizer is possible. These have been analyzed as expressions conveying speaker bias (*cf.* Miyazaki (2002b, pp. 137–142) who analyses them as expressions of inference), which is a parallel to English polar questions with preposed negation obligatorily expressing speaker bias (*cf.* Romero and Han (2004, pp. 609–611)).

(31) and (32) were elicited in a context in which speaker and addressee are wondering whether some task will be done in their absence. The speaker is expecting someone else (here: "Takashi") to complete the task in their stead, for example because that person knows that the tasks needs to be done and would usually help. (31) conveys the belief that the speaker, knowing Takashi, is pretty sure he will do the job, without requesting information from the addressee.

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[23] For ease of exposition, we are not looking at cases where the negated copula attaches to a nominal element here as they behave differently in Japanese and KR. We assume that similar observations can be made for them.

["I think it should be alright..."]

(31) *Takashi-nu   waa-kawari-en   sen*
      PN-NOM   1S.GEN-stead-DAT   do.SEQ

      { *kurii-soo   aran   / #kuriran   } ka?*
         BEN-NMLZ.TOP   COP.NEG   BEN.NEG   Q

(32) *Takashi-ga   watashi-no   kawari-ni   shite*
      PN-NOM   1SG-GEN   stead-DAT   do.SEQ

      { *kureru-n-janai   /   #kurenai   } ka?*
         BEN-NMLZ-COP.NEG   BEN.NEG   Q

"[I'm pretty sure that] Takashi will do it for us."

We observe that in both Japanese and KR, syntactically outer negation using the nominalizer is necessary to make a negative polar question licit when used as an expression of speaker bias (when there is a high degree of certainty).

3.2   Reduced forms of outer negation

In the remainder of this section, we will focus on reduced forms of outer negation, derived in Japanese from polar questions with outer negation which have lost interrogative force altogether. We will present data showing a parallel distribution between KR *soo* and Japanese *jan* supporting their status as sentence-final elements derived from syntactically outer negation in polar questions.

Japanese *jan* is a reduced form of syntactically outer negation in polar questions, that is, of a string NMLZ-COP.NEG-Q, evidenced by the availability of forms like (*n(o)*)-*dewanai-ka*, (*n(o)*)-*janai-ka*, (*n-*)*janai*, and (*n-*)*jan-ka* alongside (*n*)*jan*. We claim that *soo* is also a reduced form of outer negation, but that in KR grammaticalization has further progressed; that is, reduction to *soo* from *soo-aran-ka* (NMLZ-COP.NEG-Q) is obligatory in its sentence-final use and no intermediate forms are synchronically avaiable. The derivation of *soo* from outer negation is shown in (33); the parallel derivation of *jan* in (34). In Japanese, the nominalizer is optional in confirmation requests. The morpheme *de* and the topic marker *wa* optionally merge to *ja*. The minimally reduced form of *dewanaika* used in confirmation requests is *jan*, the merged form of the two morphemes with a residual form *n* of negation. In KR, there is no morpheme corresponding to Japanese *de*; therefore, the nominalizer *su* and the topic marker *a* are directly adjacent in the case

of a negated copula. Due to an obligatory phonological process, they merge to *soo*, that is, the short vowel of *su* is lengthened. In confirmation requests, outer negation is reduced to *soo* (there are no intermediate forms, such as Japanese *janai-ka*). Since the derivation of both *jan* and *soo* from outer negation is possible and they also have parallel uses as we will show in the next section, it is plausible to assume that *soo*, like *jan*, is a reduced form of outer negation.

(33) i [*su-a*]-*aran*-*ka* ⟶ *soo-aran-ka*   (reduction)

       NMLZ-TOP-NEG-Q   NMLZ.TOP-NEG-Q

    ii *soo~~aran-ka~~* ⟶ *soo*   (deletion)

(34) i *n(o)*-[*de-wa*]-*nai*-*ka* ⟶ *n(o)*-*ja-nai-ka*   (reduction)

       NMLZ-PRT-TOP-NEG-Q   NMLZ-PRT.TOP-NEG-Q

    ii (*n*)*ja-~~nai-ka~~* ⟶ (*n*)*jan*   (deletion)

There are two differences between *soo* and *jan* relevant to our analysis. First, *soo* is a reduced form of outer negation with the nominalizer *su*, while *jan* does not include the nominalizer *no*, which is optional in confirmation requests. Second, *soo* is the only reduced form of outer negation used in KR confirmation requests, while in Japanese the non-reduced form (*no*)*dewanaika* as well as less reduced forms such as *janaika* can also be used.

3.3 KR *soo* as a sentence-final element

When the speaker is convinced of the truth of the proposition and wants the addressee to accept this belief as well, the nominalizer *no* can be omitted in Japanese and outer negation with the full form *dewanai-ka* frequently appears in reduced forms, such as *janai-ka*, *janai*, or *jan*. We follow the general consensus in the literature that *jan*-utterances should not be considered questions but are not concerned with the details of their meaning,[24] limiting ourselves to the observation that KR *soo* as a sentence-final element[25] has a number of uses that are shared with *jan*, but can be used in a wider range of utterances.

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[24] For details on the meaning and function of *jan* and it's less reduced form see Miyazaki (2002a, 204–208) and Hasunuma (1995) for descriptive accounts of "*dewanaika*" and "*janaika*" as expressions used in "confirmation requests", or Wungpradit (2006) for an analysis of *janaika* based on Discourse Management Theory accounting for mirative and reminding uses, among others.

[25] In the sense that it can only be followed by sentence-final particles such as *yaa* or *yo*, and in contrast to its occurrence after the non-focused part of the clause in clefts.

3.3.1 Reminding use

(35) and the Japanese parallel example (36), show the reminding use of *soo* and *jan*, respectively.

[In reply to: "Why did you go there?".]

(35) *da-nu*   *iki-ten*   *icha-soo*   *(yo).*
      2S-NOM   go.IMP-QUOT   say.PST-*soo*   SFP

(36) *kimi-ga*   *ike-tte*   *itta*   *jan.*
      2S-NOM   go.IMP-QUOT   say.PST   *jan*

"[But] you told me to go there!"

The communicative intention of the speaker is not to convey the proposition "you told me to go there" as new information, but to remind the addressee of this fact, in reaction to the question "Why did you go there?" (as the addressee, having ordered the speaker to go, should be aware of the reason). Outer negation appears in its most reduced form *jan*.[26] In the parallel KR utterance in (35), the same communicative effect is achieved with *soo*. We label this the "reminding" use of *soo* and *jan*.

3.3.2 Mirative use

Another use that is parallel to Japanese *jan* is what we label the "mirative" use of *soo*. In this use, *soo* conveys that the speaker has just noticed the state of affairs denoted by the proposition, expressing some degree of surprise. (37) and (38) convey surprise over the degree to which the child has grown, and that this state of affairs has just come to the speaker's attention. This mirative use of *soo* and *jan* shares some similarities with factual expressive nominalization, as both convey that the speaker has just noticed the state of affairs denoted by the proposition.

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[26] We only give examples with *jan*, the most reduced form of outer negation, as we consider it the closest correspondent to *soo*. For space, we gloss over differences in acceptability between the various reduced forms of *dewanai-ka* in some cases.

[Meeting a relative's child after some time.]

(37) *ittuki   miran   madu oodoo naroo-soo.*
     a_while   see.NEG   while big   become.RES-*soo*

(38) *shibaraku minai   uchini ookiku natta   jan.*
     a_while   see.NEG while big   become.PST *jan*

"[How much you] have grown since last time!"

In other cases, *soo*/*jan* and factual expressive nominalization (a string NMLZ-COP, realized as *su-ja* in KR and *no-da* in Japanese) are in contrastive distribution:

[Hearing the weather report.]

(39) *achaa   ami furi- { -su   ja   yaa / -soo }.*
     tomorrow-TOP   rain fall-   -NMLZ COP SFP   -*soo*

(40) *ashita-wa   ame-ga   furu { -n-da   naa / ??(?-n-)jan }.*
     tomorrow-TOP   rain-NOM fall   -NMLZ-COP SFP   -NMLZ-*jan*

"[Seems like] it's going to rain tomorrow."

In the KR example (39), both *soo* and factual expressive nominalization (*su-ja-yaa*) are good, while in the Japanese version (40), *jan* is somewhat degraded, but better with the addition of the nominalizer *no*. As this example illustrates, KR *soo* is more widely used in factual utterances than Japanese *jan*, the reasons for which have to be left for further research.

We do not argue that there is any difference in meaning between the reminding and mirative uses of *soo* and *jan*. The difference between the two is entirely dependent on the context in which they are uttered, and we expect cases where it is not easily possible to distinguish between these uses. We assume that the evidential properties of *soo* lacking in *jan*, which also show in its use in *why*-questions, influence the speaker's choice between *soo* and expressive nominalization in KR.

3.3.3 Use in *why*-questions

A property of *soo* not shared with *jan* is that it can occur in *why*-questions (but not other *wh*-questions) as shown in (41). (42) shows that the same string is not licit in Japanese.

(41) *nuwa* { *kuran-u*   / *kuran-soo* }*?*
      why   come.NEG-EMPH   come-*soo*

(42) # *naze konai   jan?*
         why   come.NEG *jan*

"Why [aren't you/isn't he] coming?"

It is surprising that *soo* can be used in *wh*-questions at all, as it is a reduced form of outer negation in polar questions, which exclude *wh*-elements. This means that when *soo* occurs in *why*-questions, there is no corresponding question with the full form of outer negation. Thus, the properties of *soo* must have departed from those of outer negation in a way that made them compatible with *wh*-questions. Also, neither *soo* nor *jan* occur in canonical questions, but rather in utterances the proposition of which the speaker takes to be true. However, a *wh*-question does not have such a proposition; instead, there is a set of possible true propositions depending on which individual the *wh*-expression is resolved to. Recall that *soo* only occurs in *why*-questions. It has been argued that *why*-questions are fundamentally different from other *wh*-questions in terms of the strength of the presuppositions that arise from them. Tomioka (2009, pp. 263–264) shows that a "*wh*-independent presupposition" arises with *why*-, but not with other *wh*-questions. In (41), this presupposition is "You/he aren't/isn't coming" — we consider it a likely possibility that it is this proposition that *soo* selects.

An additional puzzle is the evidential component of *soo*-questions. In the example above, *soo* is not felicitous when uttered in reaction to "I am not coming"; that is, when the addressee herself has asserted that she is not coming. It is fine when asking about someone who is not a discourse participant. Also, *soo* is felicitous in *why*-questions when the addressee has not asserted the proposition in question (here: "[I am] not coming."). We can only speculate about the reasons for this; however, the fact that the kind of evidence makes a difference shows that there is some evidential meaning component to *soo*, most likely inherited from the nominalizer *su* contained in it.

3.3.4   Remembering use

Another distinct use of *soo* not available with *jan* is its remembering use, in which the speaker is remembering a state of affairs in the past.

(43)   *terebi-nu   nen   naren   ohon   asubee   nen-fu   ja-hoo.*
TV-NOM   not‿exist   because   such‿a   pastime.TOP   not‿exist-NMLZ   COP-*soo*
"Since there was no TV [back then], such a pastime didn't exist."

In (43), there is not only an instance of sentence-final *soo*, but also an instance of *su-ja* (NMLZ-COP) preceding it, which is a clear difference from Japanese, where such a string (*no-da-jan) is not possible. There is no contextual evidence in the sense of Büring and Gunlogson (2000) and Sudo (2013), as the speaker is remembering the past, but there is factual expressive nominalization (*su-ja*). The tense of the main clause predicate is nonpast rather than past, even though the state of affairs denoted by the proposition does not hold at utterance time.

If *su-ja* is an instance of factual expressive nominalization here, we have to explain its felicity without perceptual evidence. One possible explanation is that this is a conventionalized use, in which the speaker conveys that she is "reliving" the past, making the description more immediate by using expressive nominalization. This is compatible with the use of nonpast tense, conveying that utterance time and event time overlap. The use of *soo* in this utterance is also somewhat of a puzzle, as we have seen that *soo* and NMLZ-COP are usually in contrastive distribution in factual utterances. Whether *soo* here is actually an instance of its personal use remains a question for further research.

3.4   Selectional properties of *soo* and grammaticalization

In this section, we argue that *soo* has further grammaticalized to a particle than *jan*, which accounts for its wider distribution. The well-formedness of strings consisting of Japanese *jan* (the same distribution holds for its less- and non-reduced forms) and KR *soo* followed by a tense morpheme, a nominal element, and the copula is shown in (44).

		-jan	*-soo*	*-nodewanaika*
	T-	✓	✓	✓
(44)	T-NMLZ-	✓	*	*
	N-	✓	*	*
	(?N-)COP-	*	✓	✓

The assumption that the selectional properties of *soo* and *jan* are determined by their initial morphemes does not explain why:

- *Soo*, but not *su*, can follow the copula *ja*.
- *Jan* can follow tense morphemes.

We assume that *jan*, parallel to its non-reduced form *dewanaika*, has retained the property to be licit after clauses headed by a tense morpheme from outer negation in polar questions; that is, *no-dewanaika*.[27] The nominalizer is optional when jan directly follows tense morphemes, its addition not changing the utterance meaning significantly. An overt version of the nominalizer is only needed when it serves some semantic function, such as marking contextual evidence. In contrast to syntactically outer negation expressing speaker bias (*nodewanai-ka*), *jan* (as well as its non-reduced form *dewanai-ka*) can directly follow tense morphemes without addition of the nominalizer *no* (the nominalizer can be added to yield *n-jan* as for example in (40), but is not required for *jan* to select tense morphemes). As for *soo*, we need to explain why it can follow the copula *ja*, while the nominalizer *su* cannot, which is the extent of their selectional differences. We assume that the copula in such cases serves to let *soo* select nominal elements, which its first morpheme, the nominalizer *su*, cannot. We have observed well-formed strings of the copula *ja* followed by *soo* in these environments:

- Mirative use: *N-ja-soo*
- Remembering use: *T-su-ja-soo*

In the mirative use of *soo*, the copula *ja* only appears after nominal elements, while tense morphemes are directly followed by *soo*; that is, the copula is not contrastive in this case. We assume that *ja* here serves to satisfy the selectional requirements of *soo*, which is not licit after nominal elements. If *ja* were to mark "factual modality" in mirative *soo*-utterances, we would expect *su-ja* to appear between tense morphemes and *soo*. This prediction is borne out, as we were able to elicit utterances with *su-ja-soo*, two of which we show here.

First, in (45) an example of the mirative use of *soo* where *su-ja* can optionally be added (we were not yet able to determine how the meaning changes when *su-ja* is added):

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[27] Assuming the structure proposed in Ono (2006), this can be explained as *jan* sharing a syntactic position with *daroo*, which can also directly follow the copula, accounting for its selectional properties.

[Realizing that it's raining]

(45) *ami* { *furoo-soo*   / *furoo-su*   *ja-soo*   }.
        rain   fall.PROG-*soo*   fall.PROG-NMLZ   COP-*soo*

"Oh! It's raining!"

Second, *soo* can be felicitously added to our example of factual expressive nominalization in (20), repeated here as (46). We assume that *soo* is an instance of its mirative use.

[Looking at an instructions manual]

(46) *un*   *suitchi* *ushi-su*   *ja-soo*   *(yaa)*.
        this   switch   push-NMLZ   COP-*soo*   SFP

"So it's this switch you have to flip."

In such utterances, where the string *su-ja-soo* directly follows a tense morpheme, the string *su-ja* (NMLZ-COP) is not necessary for *soo* to select the clause headed by a tense morpheme, as *soo* selects verbal elements in the first place. This means that, in such utterances, an instance of factual modality is followed by *soo*.

We argue that *soo* can occur after the copula because of grammaticalization towards a sentence-final particle. Recall that KR *soo* is in contrastive distribution with (*su*)-*ja-yaa* in factual or mirative utterances. With clauses headed by a nominal element, *soo* would not be available, as its selectional restrictions prevent it from following nouns. We assume that in analogy to sentence-final particles such as *yaa*, the selectional restrictions of *soo* have changed towards it accepting the copula *ja*, while retaining the property of the nominalizer *su* of not selecting nominal elements. One difference from *jan* is that *soo* always appears in its minimally reduced form, which may have contributed to its grammaticalization towards a particle.

Two other possible directions for the grammticalization of *soo* would be towards an illocutionary morpheme like *doo* or to a mood morpheme like -*roo*. With *doo*, *soo* shares the property of being used in assertions (with some additional expressive meaning), in what appears to be contrastive distribution.[28] However, their selectional properties differ: while *soo* selects verbal morphemes, use of *doo* is possible after verbal and nominal

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[28] It is also used in *why*-questions in contrastive distribution with the question particle *u*, which, like *doo*, carries illocutionary force.

morphemes. When *doo* follows a tense morpheme, an additional element *n* obligatorily intervenes between the two, supporting the assumption that the selectional properties of *doo* and *soo* are not parallel. Crucially, *doo* can never follow the copula *ja*, thus we can not explain the well-formedness of *ja-soo* by grammaticalization of *soo* towards an assertion morpheme.

The mood morhpeme *-roo* can directly follow the copula *ja*, parallel to *soo*. However, although the first morpheme in *ja-roo* is the copula, it can directly follow a tense morpheme, which is neither possible for the copula in isolation nor for the string *ja-soo*. That is, *roo* is a mood morpheme that together with the copula *a* forms an expression that has different selectional properties from the copula, while *soo* remains an independent element which is preceded by the copula to meet its selectional restrictions when following nominal elements, and happens to be directly adjacent to the copula in some cases (like the reminding use, where the copula marks factual modality).

4   Conclusion

We have shown that sentence nominalization with KR *su* is parallel to that with Japanese *no* in scope-adjusting uses and clefts. Expressive setence nominalization with *su* and *no* are also similar in their contribution to utterance meaning, with the difference that in KR the assertion morpheme *doo* follows the nominalizer in personal uses, the copula *ja* in factual uses (while in Japanese, there is no assertion morpheme distinct from the copula). We have also shown that *su* and *no* both have evidential properties in that the presence of contextual evidence is a felicity condition for polar questions they occur in and speculated that observed differences in evidence conditions are due to properties of KR and Japanese polar questions.

Syntactically outer negation in polar questions using *su* and *no*, respectively, to separate negation from the predicate is parallel in KR and Japanese expressions of speaker bias. Also, reduced forms of syntactically outer negation have a number of parallel uses in KR and Japanese; in the former as *soo* only, in Japanse as *jan* and a number of less reduced forms. There are some differences in usage between *soo* and *jan*, however, *soo* being licit in more types of constructions. We described two of its uses which are not possible with *jan*: its use in *why*-questions and its remembering use.

Based on the selectional restrictions of *soo* we argued that it has further grammaticalized to a sentence-final particle than Japanese *jan*, thus accounting for its wider distribution. *Soo* can not select nominal elements, a property likely inherited from the nominal-

izer *su*, the first morpheme in *soo*. The selectional restrictions of *soo* have changed towards it selecting the copula *ja* when following nominal elements, and being licit after a string *su-ja* (NMLZ-COP), which is a position usually restricted to sentence-final particles. Also, *soo* can occur together with sentence-final particles (which are in principle combinable), while *jan* and its less- and non-reduced forms cannot. These observations can be explained by assuming grammaticalization towards a sentence-final particle to a higher degree than Japanese *jan*.

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Abbreviations

1EXPL	first person exclusive plural		NPI	negative polarity item
1PL	first person plural		NMLZ	nominalizer
1S	first person singular		NOM	nominative
2S	second person singular		PN	personal/place name
ASS	assertive		PPI	positive polarity item
BEN	benefactive		PROG	progressive
COP	copula		PST	past
CTOP	contrastive topic		PRT	particle
EMPH	emphatic		Q	question
DAT	dative		QUOT	quotation
GEN	genitive		RES	resultative
IMP	imperative		SEQ	sequential
INFR	inference		SFP	sentence-final particle
LOC	locative		TOP	topic
NEG	negation		YNQ	yes/no question

琉球語喜界島方言の名詞化接辞 *su* と文末要素 *soo*

―日本語の ノ（ダ）及び（ノ）デハナイカとの対照―

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要旨

　本稿は喜界島（鹿児島県大島郡喜界町）で話される琉球語喜界島方言（以下喜界島方言）の名詞化接辞 *su* 及び文末要素 *soo* の機能について、それぞれ日本語のノ（ダ）、（ノ）デハナイカとの対照に基づき記述する。主な観察・主張は以下である。

su とノ

　喜界島方言は、テンスをとった動詞に後接して名詞化する接辞 *su* を持つ。この *su* と日本語のノの対照から、以下の相違点が指摘できる。

- *su* とノはともに否定や焦点のスコープを調整する役割を担う。
- *su* とノはいわゆる「ムードのノダ」の用法を持つ点でも共通しているが、喜界島方言では対事的用法の場合 *su* に後続する要素がコピュラ *ja* ではなく断定の文末助詞 *doo* である点が日本語の場合と異なる。
- *su* とノは証拠性に関して共通点が見られる。
- *su* とノはともに、否定接辞から述語を切り離す外部否定疑問文（..*soo ar-an ka* ／〜ノデハナイカ）に用いられる。

soo と（ノ）デハナイカ

　日本語においてノデハナイカの縮約した形であるジャンなどの形式が用いられるのと並行的に、喜界島方言においても外部否定疑問文の末尾が縮約された *soo*（逐語的には *su* と主題助詞 *a* の融合形）が用いられる。この *soo* とジャンの差異として、以下が指摘できる。

- *soo* は以下の点で対事的な用法における使用の範囲がジャンより広い。
  - *nuwa*「なぜ」を用いて理由を問う疑問文に用いられる。
  - 回想的な用法などで *su ja-soo*（NMLZ COP-*soo*）という構文で現れる。
- 選択制限が異なり、*soo* の方がジャンより分布が広いことから、文末助詞としての文法化がより進んでいると言える。