

## Appendix

In what follows I list two narrative texts produced by two native speakers of Irabu, and transcribed by the present author with the help of one native speaker of Irabu.

- (1) *Junaitama, a mermaid of Tooriike*, a folktale explaining how Tooriike on Shimoji Island (MAP 2 in §1.1) was created. This text was narrated by a female speaker living in Nagahama (age: 92 in 2007).
- (2) *Vernacular plate*, a narrative describing the speaker's schooldays, when pupils would be punished when they used Irabu instead of Japanese, the standard language of Japan. The pupils who used Irabu had to wear a plate from their neck, and the plate was called a vernacular plate. This text was narrated by a female speaker living in Nagahama (age: 67 in 2007).

To keep confidentiality secured, these texts sometimes contain XX, which substitutes person names, place names, etc. When a text contains sentences of Japanese, I indicate it by square brackets. Loan words from Japanese and other languages are not particularly indicated, and phonemically represented with Irabu orthography (§2.2). Each Irabu sentence is numbered, but when a sentence is so long that it is reasonable to break it down into two parts for translation purposes, I did so and numbered accordingly.

### (1) *Junaitama, a mermaid of Tooriike*

01. *tooriike=tii=du=i,                      ssibara,                      maibara,*  
Tooriike=QT=FOC=CNF                      back                      front  
*satu+bʒtu=nu                                  a-tar=ca.                      fita-kiv.*  
neighbour+person=NOM                      exist-PST=HS                      two-CLF.HOUSE  
'In (what is now called) Tooriike,<sup>1</sup> there were two neighbouring houses, back (north) and front (south).'

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<sup>1</sup> *Tooriike* is literally "trans-pond", which consists of two neighbouring ponds. These ponds developed from underground caverns. *Tooriike* is situated on Shimoji, and there are numerous legends and folktales about it.

02. *fīta-kiv* *ar-i-utui=du*,  
two-CLF.HOUSE exist-THM-CRCM=FOC  
*pžtu-kiv=ga* *im=nu* *acca* *ja-i-ba*,  
one-CLF.HOUSE=NOM sea=GEN side COP-THM-CSL  
*unukja=a*,  
3PL=TOP  
'Of the two houses, one was beside the sea, so...'
03. *pžtu-kiv=nu* *pžtu=nu*  
one-CLF.HOUSE=GEN man=NOM  
*ssibara=ru* *a-tar=ru* *maibara=ru* *a-tar=ru*  
back=FOC COP-PST=Q front=FOC COP-PST=Q  
*mmja* *ss-a-n-Ø=suga*,  
INTJ know-THM-NEG-NPST=but  
'The man from one of the houses — I'm not sure whether (the house)  
was of the backside or of the frontside — ...'
04. *pžtu-kiv=nu...* *fīta-kiv=kara*  
one-CLF.HOUSE=NOM two-CLF.HOUSE=ABL  
*pžtu-kiv=nu* *pžtu=nu* *junai* *ningjo*,  
one-CLF.HOUSE man=NOM junai mermaid  
*junaitama=u* *tu-i+cc-i-i*,  
Junaitama=ACC catch-THM+come-THM-NRT  
'(The man from) one house of the two houses caught and brought *junai*, I mean, a mermaid, *Junaitama*...'
05. *kurus-i-i*, *mmja* *uri=a* *žžu* *ja-i-ba*,  
kill-THM-NRT INTJ 3SG=TOP fish COP-THM-CSL  
*kurus-i-i*, *kata+bata=u=baa* *jak-i-i*  
kill-THM-NRT half+body=ACC=TOP burn-THM-NRT  
*fa-i-Ø*, *kata+bata=u=baa* *jaa=nu* *pana=n*  
eat-THM-NRT half+body=ACC=TOP house=GEN lift-NRT  
*nuusi-i*, *pus-i+a-tar=ca*.  
roof=DAT dry-THM+RSL-PST=HS  
'and killed it, as it is a fish; (he) killed and burned and ate half of the  
body (of *Junaitama*), and laid the other half on the roof of his house.'
06. *aidu*, *rjuukjuu...* *rjuuguu=nu* *kam=nu*  
then Ryukyu sea.world=GEN god=NOM  
*junaitama*, *junaitama=tii* *ass-i-ba=du*,

- Junaitama Junaitama=QT say-THM-CSL=FOC  
 ‘Then, the god of Ryukyu, no, Ryugu (sea world) said calling “Junaitama! Junaimata!”, so...’
07. *nara=a* *mmja* *kurus-ai-Ø=du,* *kata+bata*  
 RFL=TOP INTJ kill-PASS-NRT=FOC half+body  
*fa-ai-i,* *kata+bata=a* *jaa=nu* *pana=n*  
 eat-PASS-NRT half+body=TOP house=GEN roof=DAT  
*nuusi-rai+u-i-ba,* *nara=n=na*  
 lift-PASS+PROG-THM-CSL RFL=DAT=TOP  
*kuu-rai-n-Ø=tii* *až-tar=ca.*  
 come-POT-NEG-NPST=QT say-PST=HS  
 ‘(Junaitama) said, “I have been killed, and half of my body was eaten, and the other half has been laid on the roof, so I cannot come back (to the sea world).”’
08. *unu* *rjuukjuu...* *rjuuguu=nu* *kam=nu=du* *mmja,*  
 that Ryukyu sea.world=GEN god=NOM=FOC INTJ  
*ui+saar-Ø=tii* *cc-i-i,* *jurab-i-ba,*  
 3SG+take-NPST=QT come-THM-NRT call-THM-CSL  
 ‘The god of Ryukyu, no, Ryugu, called (Junaitama) to take her back home, so...’
09. *nara=a* *kata+bata* *fa-ai-i,*  
 RFL=TOP half+body eat-PASS-NRT  
*kata+bata=a* *jaa=nu* *pana=n* *nuus-i-i=du,*  
 half+body=TOP house=GEN roof=DAT lift-THM-NRT=FOC  
*nara=u=baa* *pus-i-i* *nci+ar-Ø=tii*  
 RFL=ACC=TOP dry-THM-NRT put+RSL-NPST=QT  
*až-tarjaa,*  
 say-PST.ANT  
 ‘(Junaitama) said, “I have had my half eaten; as for the other half, (the man) has laid it on the roof of his house and dried”, so...’
10. *ttigaa,* *uku+nam=mu* *jar-ah-a-di=ssiba,*  
 then big+wave=ACC create-CAUS-THM-INT=so  
*uri-i* *kuu-Ø=juu=tii* *až-tarjaa,*  
 come.down-NRT come-IMP=EMP=QT say-PST.ANT  
 ‘(The god) said, “Then I will let there be a big wave, so come down riding on it”, so...’