博士論文

A Grammar of Yuwan, a Northern Ryukyuan Language

（北琉球奄美湯湾方言の総合的記述文法）

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Symbols

#	: syllable boundary;
#	: context is unnatural;
$	: word boundary;
*	: ungrammatical expression; ancestoral form; (see also ‘Pre-note (b)’ in appendix);
+	: boundary of a compound; boundary of reduplication; boundary of a contracted adjectival predicate, boudary of the fusion of *ccjɨ* (QT) and *jʔ*- ‘say’;
-	: affix boundary;
=	: clitic boundary;
A/B	: A or B;
//A//	: “A” is a morphophoneme (or underlying form);
/A/	: “A” is a phoneme (or surface form).

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Abbreviations

A: agent-like argument of transitive verb; adjective
ABL: ablative
ACC: accusative
ADJ: inflectional adjectival affix
ADNZ: adnominalizer
ADVRS: adversative
ADVZ: adverbializer
ALL: allative
APPR: approximative
ASS: assertive
Aux. V: auxiliary verb
AVC: auxiliary verb construction
BEN: benefactive
C: any consonant
CAP: capability
CAUS: causative
CFM: confirmation
CFP: clause-final particle
CLF: classifier
CMP: comparative
CND: conditional
Co: data from the conversation
COM: comitative
CSL: causal
DAT: dative
DIM: diminutive
DIRC: directional
DIST: distal
DRG: derogative
DU: dual
DUB: dubitative
ECS verbs: the existential verb, the copula verb, and the stative verb
El: elicitational data
FN: formal nouns
Fo: data from the folktale
FOC: focus
G: glide slot in a syllable
GEN: genitive
IMP: imperative
INDFZ: indefinitizer
INGR: ingressive
INST: instrumental
INT: intentional
k.o.: a kind of
Lex. V: lexical verb
LF: lengthened (infinitival) form
lit.: literally
LMT: limitative
LOC: locative
LST: listing
LV: light verb
LVC: light verb construction
MES: mesial
MMC: Mermaid construction
N/A: not applicable
NEG: negative
NHON: non-honorific
NLZ: nominalizer
NOM: nominative
NP: nominal phrase
NPST: non-past
OBL: obligative
ODN: ordinary number
P: patient-like argument of transitive verb
PASS: passive
PF: pear film
PFC: predicate of focus construction
PL: plural
PLQ: polar question
POL: politeness
POS: possibility
PROG: progressive
PROX: proximal
PRPR: preparative
PST: past
PTCP: participle
PURP: purposive
QT: quotation
RED: redupulicant
RFL: reflexive
RSL: resultative
S: an argument of intransitive verb
SF: simple (infinitival) form
SG: singular
SIM: simultaneous
SOL: solidarity
STV: stative verb
SUGS: suggessive
SUPP: suppositional
TOP: topic
UMRK: unmarked verbal affix
V: any vowel; verb
V_{back}: back vowels
$V_{non\text{-}back}$: non-back vowels
$V_{non\text{-}i}$: vowels excluding //i//
VP: verbal phrase
X: an anonymous personal name

Transcription[1]

Interlinear examples

Each example is composed of four tiers: the surface tier (the phonemic representation), the underlying tier (the morphophonemic representation), the tier for morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, which conforms to the convention of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (available at "http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08.02.05.pdf") and the tier for free translation provided by the present author. The surface tier does not have morpheme boundaries. This way, it is possible to handle fusions and morphophonological alternations with interlinear morphemic glosses.

(1)	mukasinu	janagɨjaaccjəə	nən.jaa.	-	surface tier
	mukasi=nu	*janagɨ+jaa=ccjɨ=ja*	*nə-an=jaa*	-	underlying tier
	old.days=GEN	dirty+house=QT=TOP	exist-NEG=SOL	-	gloss tier
	'There is not (a house) like a dirty [i.e. outdated] house of the old days.'			-	free translation tier

The following markers are used in a surface (if it is deleted, in an underlying) tier.

- , after an interjection or an adverbial clause; before the hearer's nod assent; enclosing an inserted expression
- . after a sentence (not within a word); between syllable boundaries (within a word)[2]
- ? after an interrogative sentence
- ! after an imperative sentence
- .. short pause
- ... long pause
- xxx unintelligible speech
- ( ) enclosing a defective utterance or a misstatement
- | | enclosing standard Japanese

Additionally, the underlying tier is provided in *italics*, the free translation is enclosed within single quotation marks, and information inferable from the context may be added with round brackets in the free translation. Some morphemes can be translated into more than one meaning (or function) in English, i.e. polysemy. In that case, we gloss it in the following order (cf. Lehmann 2004: 11-12): (1) if we can abstract the polysemous meanings into one meaning, we use the abstract meaning as its gloss; (2) if we cannot do this, we gloss the relevant meaning in each example. In the second case, I sacrificed the consistency of the glossing and the form, because it is helpful for the reader to know the correspondence between the glossing and the free translation. Finally, in the free translation, '...' means there is a remaining portion of the sentence that has

[1] These transcription methods are inspired by those of Stuart McGill (2009: 7-9, 43-52).

[2] As mentioned in §2.4.3, there is no sequence [N.V] (V: vowel) within a phonological word in Yuwan, so any sequence of /VnV/ within a phonological word in the surface form would be /V.nV/ [V.nV], not /Vn.V/ [VN.V].

been left out.

In many cases, context is supplied for an example, and it is enclosed in square brackets on the upper side of examples. Paraphrases in English (with speaker ID) in quotation marks may follow the description of the context. In addition, if other kinds of information, e.g., syntactic constructions, are needed, another line may be added below the glossing line (cf. Lehmann 2004: 4-5).

(2) [Context: TM and MS were looking at the beams of TM's house; MS: 'There are few houses (that have the beams) like these.']

TM:	mukasinu	janagɨjaaccjəə	nən.jaa.
	mukasi=nu	*janagɨ+jaa=ccjɨ=ja*	*nə-an=jaa*
	{[old.days=GEN]	[dirty+house]}=QT=TOP	exist-NEG=SOL
	{[Modifier]	[Head]}$_{NP}$	

'There is not (a house) like a dirty [i.e. outdated] house of the old days.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Further, each example will be shown with the data of its source, i.e. genre of data and the file name of source, in the square brackets on the lower right side of examples (for more details on the abbreviations used to indicate the source data, see §1.5).

In-text example

An in-text example is placed in the following order: surface forms in slash marks, underlying forms in *italics*, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and free translation in single quotation marks, as in /janagɨjaaccjəə/ *janagɨ+jaa=ccjɨ=ja* (dirty+house=QT=TOP) 'like a dirty house.' If we do not need to show a morpheme boundary, we will use a period in glosses to imply there are a few morphemes, such as /janagɨjaaccjəə/ (dirty.house.QT.TOP). Contrary to interlinear examples, the surface forms of in-text examples may show their morpheme boundaries if the need arises, such as /janagɨ+jaa=ccjə=ə/ (dirty+house=QT=TOP). Sometimes, IPA symbols are used to access the concrete sounds in square brackets, e.g., [jn̩n̩gɨjn̩ːt͡ɕɜː]. The underlying forms (i.e. morphophonemic) may be expressed not only with italics but also double slash marks, such as //ja//. Forms in the middle stage of morphophonemic processes are also shown in double slash marks. If the relevant form is not a grammatical word, i.e. bound roots or affixes like *kam-* 'eat' or *-ɨ* (IMP), a hyphen is attached to mark the place of morpheme boundaries.

Orthography

Yuwan has mainly six vowels [i, u, o̩, a̩, ɨ, ɜ] (see §2.2.1). In many of the previous studies of Amami dialects (including that of Yuwan), the first four vowels have been transcribed into 'i, u, o, a (*a* in italic)' but the last two vowels have been transcribed as 'ï' [ɨ] and 'ë' [ɜ]. In this grammar, [ɨ] and [ɜ] are transcribed as 'ɨ' and 'ə' since (1) they do not need diacritics, and (2) [ə] is closer to [ɜ] than [ë] (but we do not use 'ɜ' because it is not as familiar as 'ə').

Furthermore, Yuwan has glottalized consonants such as [ʔj, ʔw, ʔm, ʔn, ʔ͡t, ʔ͡k, ʔ͡tɕ], which have been transcribed as ‘ʔC’ or ‘Cˀ’ (C is any consonant), depending on the researcher’s interpretation of those phones. The latest IPA diacritics (available at “http://www.langsci.ucl.ac.uk/ipa/IPA_chart_(C)2005.pdf”) do not have ‘ˀ’ even though this diacritic is very useful to describe these consonants. In this grammar, the glottalized consonants are regarded as single phonemes (see §2.2.2) and transcribed as ‘jˀ, wˀ, mˀ, nˀ, tˀ, kˀ, and cˀ.’

Finally, Yuwan has homorganic nasals, and if we cannot infer their underlying form from the paradigmatic information, we recognize them as archiphonemes (Lass 1984: 46-49). Yuwan has /m/ and /n/, which are homorganic. For example, in /jum-an/ [ju.mɑ̣ɴ] (read-NEG) ‘do not read’ and /jum-gadɨ/ (read -until) [juŋ.gɑ̣.dɨ] ‘until (someone) reads,’ /m/ can be [m] or [ŋ] depending on the following phonemes. Similarly, in /ɨn=un/ [ʔɨ.nu.ɴ] (dog=also) ‘also a dog’ and /ɨn=gadɨ/ [ʔɨŋ.gɑ̣.dɨ] (dog=LMT) ‘as well as dogs,’ /n/ can be [n] or [ŋ] depending on the following phonemes. [ʔɑ̣m.mɑ̣ː] ‘mother,’ however, is made up of a single root, so we cannot know whether its first [m] would be /m/ or /n/. In this case, we recognize the existence of archiphoneme /N/ and avoid choosing the unique underlying phoneme. In this grammar, the archiphoneme is transcribed as ‘n,’ since the use of /N/ implies the exsistence of a phoneme other than /m/ and /n/. Thus, [ʔɑ̣m.mɑ̣ː] is *anmaa* (see §2.2.2.2 for more details). The other symbols used in this grammar coincide with their phonetic representations (or commonly accepted phonemic representations) (see also §2.2).

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Typological overview

Yuwan has six vowels /i, ɨ, u, ə, o, a/ and twenty-two consonants /p, t, k, tˀ, kˀ, b, d, g, c, cˀ, s, h, z, m, n, mˀ, nˀ, w, j, wˀ, jˀ, r/, and its syllable structure is CGVV or CGVC (G: glide slot). Additionally, it has an agglutinative morphology, and its basic word order is SV or AOV. S and O are marked by the nominative case *ga* (or *nu*), and O is marked by the accusative case *ba*, although there are some examples where O does not take any case.

1.2. Geography

Yuwan is spoken in the Yuwan district, in the western district of Amami Ōshima, an island situated just south of mainland Japan. The size of Amami Ōshima is about 710 km^2, and it is the biggest island of the Amami Islands, which includes seven other major islands. Amami Ōshima is situated in the northern part of the Ryūkyū archipelago but belongs to the Kagoshima prefecture, while most of the other Ryūkyū islands belong to the Okinawa prefecture. Amami Ryukyuan is a Northern Ryukyuan language. (The map in Figure 1 was made in the following web site: http://www.craftmap.box-i.net/japan/line.php).

Figure 1. Japan in the Far East

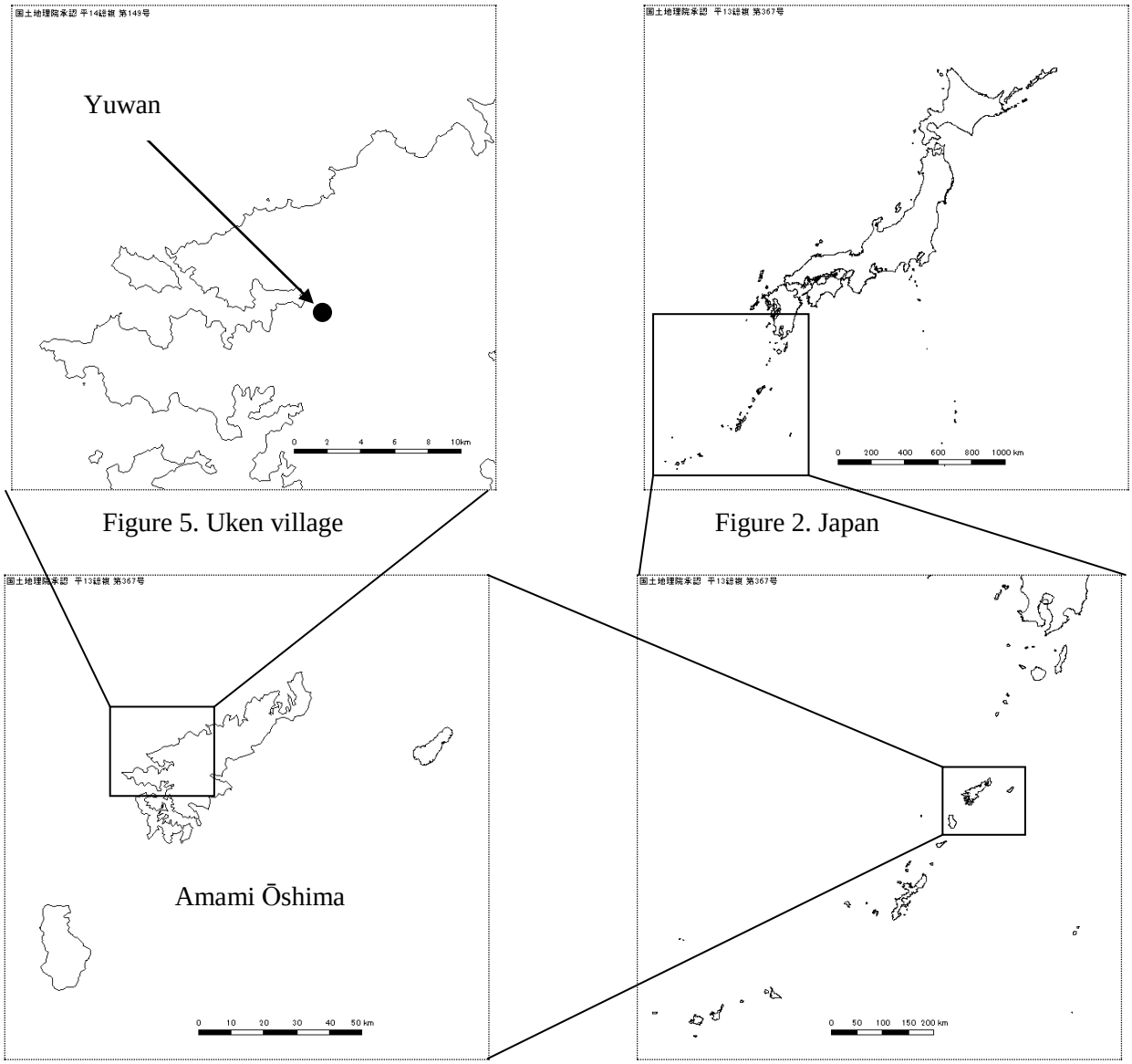

Figure 5. Uken village

Figure 2. Japan

Figure 4. Amami islands

Figure 3. Ryukyu islands

The above maps in Figures 2-5 were made by the following free softwares:

a. “白地図 MapMap” (http://www5b.biglobe.ne.jp/t-kamada/CBuilder/mapmap.htm);

b. “白地図 KenMap” (http://www5b.biglobe.ne.jp/t-kamada/CBuilder/kenmap.htm).

1.3. Affiliation

According to Uemura (1992: 771-774; 779-783), Ryukyuan is in a sister relationship to Japanese, and Ryukyuan can be divided into two primary subgroups, Nothern group and Southern group. The Nothern group can be divided into Amami and Okinawa. According to Pellard (2009: 263), the accurate order of branching off of the three language groups, i.e. Amami, Okinawa, and Southern goup ("Sud" under "Ryukyu" in the following figure), is not clear. However, the subgrouping of Amami can be shown as in Figure 6. Yuwan belongs to "Ōshima" in this figure.

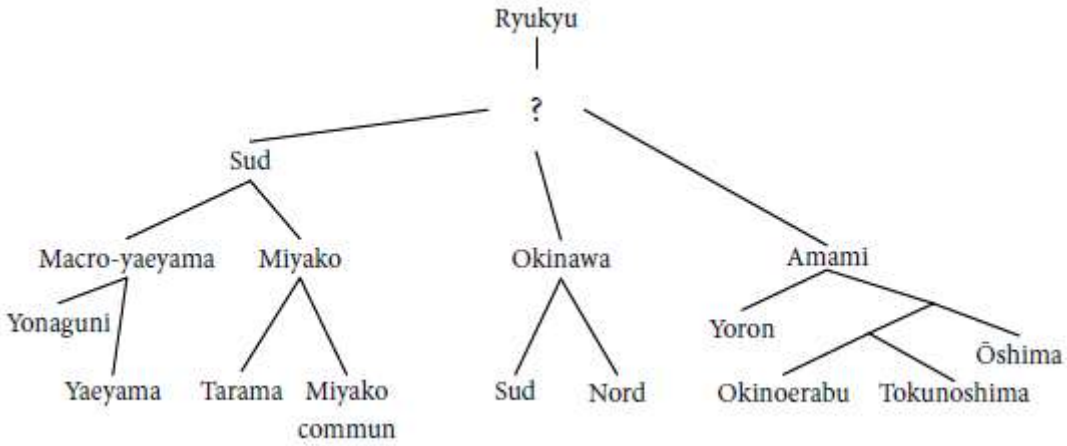

Figure 6. Affiliation of Ryukyuan (Pellard 2009: 263)

1.4. Sociolinguistic overview

1.4.1. The number of speakers

The population of Yuwan is 521 (valid as of January 1, 2010); however, a fewer number of people can speak the traditional dialect. The inhabitants are typically monolingual Japanese speakers or speak Japanese as a second language. In fact, the varieties of Japanese spoken here have been influenced by the traditional dialects of each location, especially in terms of the intonation and lexicon.

1.4.2. Dialects

In Amami Ōshima, there are many dialcects including Yuwan. There are some researches of linguistic geography about the dialects in Amami Ōshima: especially, Hirayama et al. (1966) and Shibata (1984) among others. The detailed comparison among the lexemes in the dialects in Amami Ōshima is beyond the scope of this grammar. I present only one characteristic regarded as a major difference between Yuwan and the other dialects in Amami Ōshima. The phonetic sequence [ɾi] in the other dialects (and some [ɾ] in Koniya dialect) correspond to [i] in Yuwan (but not vice versa) (Hirayama et al. 1966: 71). Table 1 illustrates this point with data from Yuwan, Suko, spoken in a village located about 800 meters from Yuwan, Ura, a Northern Amami dialect spoken in a village located about 32 km from Yuwan (the Ura data are provided courtesy of Dr. Hiromi Shigeno 2009 p.c.), and Koniya, a Southern Amami dialect spoken in a village located about 15km

from Yuwan (the Koniya data is taken from Hirayama et al. 1966: 70, which uses a phonetic symbol [r], but this phone is explained as “tap” (ibid.: 33). Thus, I transcribed it as [ɾ] in this example).

Table 1. Dialectal variation in Amami

	Yuwan	Suko	Ura	Koniya
‘bird’	[tui]	[tuɾi]	[turi]	[tuɾ]

Yuwan is spoken in a small district, so there do not appear to be regional variations; however, there seems to be a generational variation concerning honorific (and polite) expressions. Yuwan has an auxiliary verb *moor*- (HON), which expresses the speaker’s respect for the subject of the clause (see Chapter 3). For example, in the case of /a-i/ *ar-i* (exist-NPST) ‘exist’ vs. /a-tɨ moo-ju-i/ *ar-tɨ moor-jur-i* (exist-SEQ HON-UMRK- NPST) ‘would exist,’ the former is formed with the lexical verbal root *ar*- ‘exist’ and it does not show the speaker’s respect to the subject, but the latter is created with both of the lexical verbal root *ar*- ‘exist’ and the auxiliary verbal root *moor*-, which expresses the speaker’s respect to the subject (see aslo §9.1.1.2). This honorific strategy is frequently used by older people, but not by younger people. Instead, younger people use a verbal affix *-jawur* or *-joor* to express respect for the hearer (not for the subject of the clause), e.g., /a-jawu-i/ *ar-jawur-i* (exist-POL-NPST) ‘exist.’ Older speakers of Yuwan, however, are not likely to use this politeness affix.

Furthermore, there is another generational variation concerning morphophonological alternation. Yuwan has a topic marker *ja*, and older speakers use the alternative form /na/ if its preceding word ends with a nasal consonant such as *san* ‘three.’ However, younger speakers use /ja/ as the topic marker in any morphophonological environment. This variation is illustrated in the following example. Example (1-1) shows that the older speaker uses /na/ (TOP) after *san* ‘three’ but the younger speaker does not.

(1-1) [Context: The following examples are taken from a conversation between MS and TM, who are talking about the old educational system in Japan.]

MS:	|roku,	roku,	san|.ja	arannən.
	roku	*roku*	*san=ja*	*ar-an-nən*
	six	six	three=TOP	COP-NEG-SEQ
	‘(It) is not (divided into) six, six, three (years like now).’			
TM:	|roku,	roku,	san|na	arannən.
	roku	*roku*	*san=ja*	*ar-an-nən*
	six	six	three=TOP	COP-NEG-SEQ
	‘(It) is not (divided into) six, six, three (years like now).’			

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

1.4.3. Viability

The number of speakers of traditional Yuwan is decreasing. Typically, people over seventy years old can speak traditional Yuwan, and people who are fifty to sixty years old can speak a more or less traditional Yuwan, but people under fifty years old are only passively bilingual. The younger generations cannot speak or understand the traditional dialect; however, some of them use a few traditional expressions such as *wan* 'I' or *ccjɨ* (QT).

1.4.4. Previous work

In addition to the present study, there are two previous works on Yuwan: Hirayama et al. (1966) and Uchima et al. (1976). The former compared the accent patterns and the lexicons among a number of Ryukyuan dialects, and only a small amount of information was presented about Yuwan. In fact, this study contained only thirty or so nominal lexical entries with their prosodic information. The latter, Uchima et al. (1976), included a list of several hundred lexical items and several verb paradigms. However, the phonology of Yuwan has not yet been fully investigated, and its morphology has been only partially researched. The syntax of Yuwan has not been investigated at all, with the exception of Niinaga (2008), which describes the case system of Yuwan, and Niinaga (2010), which sketches a grammar of Yuwan.

A broader review of the literature brings to light a number of articles about Amami, of which Yuwan is a dialect. Here, only books or special issues of journals are mentioned. A brief comparison of several dialects of Amami can be found in Hirayama et al. (1966). Lexical and phonological differences between some dialects in Amami Ōshima are discussed in Shibata (1984). Naze, which is spoken in the largest city in Amami Ōshima, is examined by Terashi (1985), and Uemura and Suyama (1997) describe its phonology, verbal morphology, and case markers. Shigeno (2010) provides a sketch grammar of Ura, spoken in the northern part of Amami Ōshima. Yamatohama (or Yamatoma in the local pronunciation), spoken in the western part of Amami Ōshima, is the subject of study in Nagata et al. (1977–1980), which includes a detailed study of the lexicon but also some information on its grammar. Uchima et al. (1976) also describe the verbal morphology of Koniya, spoken in the southern part of Amami Ōshima. Nakamoto and Uchima (1978) provides a description of the lexicon and verbal morphology of Shitooke, spoken in the northern part of Kikai. Shirata et al. (2011) is a sketch grammar and a text of Kamikatetsu, spoken in the southern region of Kikai. Okamura et al. (2009) describe the verbal morphology and list two thousand sentences in Asama, spoken in the northern region of Tokunoshima. Kiku and Takahashi (2005) describe the lexicon of Yoron, and Yamada (1981) focuses on the use of nominals in Yoron.

1.5. Database for this study

This grammar is based on a corpus of twelve texts (total duration is 4 hours) in addition to other elicited information that complements these texts. The data set was collected during the author's field work in the region, which began in October 2006. The total length of time for the field work was 595 days. The details of the texts are shown in Table 2, and brief information about the speakers is shown in Table 3.

Table 2. Data of texts

Genre	File ID	Duration in minutes	Main speaker	Sub-speaker (or hearer)
P(ear) F(ilm)	090222_00.txt	3.5	TM	(MM)
	090225_00.txt	2.5	TM	(MM)
	090305_01.txt	3	TM	(SM)
	090827_02.txt	4	TM	(MY)
Fo(lktale)	090307_00.txt	4	TM	(MM)
Co(nversations)	101020_01.txt	1	TM	MY
	101023_01.txt	15	TM	MY
	110328_00.txt	28	TM	US, MY, (MM)
	111113_01.txt	28	TM	MS
	111113_02.txt	22	TM	MS
	120415_00.txt	63	TM	MS
	120415_01.wav	66	TM	MS
El(icited)	N/A	N/A	TM, MT	(the present author)

The Pear Film is a silent six-minute film made at the University of California at Berkeley in 1975. It is helpful to collect the monologue data from the speaker. A breif explanation of the Pear Film can be seen in the following URL (http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/chafe/pearfilm.htm). About the data classified in Pear Film, the speaker told the story to the hearer remembering the film (as soon as the speaker had watched it). About the folktale, the speakr heared it from her acquaintance who had told the story in a speech contest of the Amami dialects.

Table 3. Information about the Yuwan speakers

Speaker ID	First name (Second name)	Family name	age in 2012	period of absence from Yuwan
TM	Sachi (Tsuneko)	Motoda	89	14 years old - 21 years old
US	Mine (Umine)	Shinozaki	95	15-52
MY	Sumie (Mutsu)	Yamaki	88	28-49
MT	Mitsuko	Toshioka	78	24-26
MM	Masako	Motoda	73	15-38
NM	Nobuari	Motoda	62	20-29
SM	Sawako	Motoda	61	15-26
MS	Mioya	Sunao	59	16-53

The recordings were transcribed by the present author with the help of some Yuwan speakers. In particular, Masako Motoda (MM), Nobuari Motoda (NM), and Mioya Sunao (MS) generously donated their time in

order to help the present author's transcription. During the recordings, I tried, when possible, to not be present in order to avoid promoting the speaker's use of Standard Japanese, which was a lingua franca I shared with the Yuwan speakers. As for the elicitation data, the expressions in Yuwan that were produced by the present author and not by the speaker are not regarded as grammatical even if the speaker's judgment was "grammatical." In other words, I regard the elicitation data as grammatical only when the speaker pronounced the expression by herself.

Many of the examples in this grammar do not end at sentence-final positions—i.e., they end with commas, not with periods. The verbs in Yuwan are rich with affixes that can mark subordinate clauses (see "the converb" in §8.4.3). This language is a "broadly characterizable as 'chaining'" (Longacre 2007: 399) as well as Japanese. Just as the languages regarded as 'chaining' type in Longacre (2007), the finite verb occurs after 'a sizeable strech of discourse which can on occasion be as long as two or three pages' (ibid.: 400). Therefore, I have to omit the irrelevant parts from the clausal sequences.

Most of the data on the grammar of Yuwan comes from Sachi Motoda (TM), and the subsidiary information is taken from the other participants. All of these participants and their parents were born in Yuwan.

All of the examples in this grammar represent actual utterances of Yuwan speakers, and the sources of these utterances are clarified as much as possible. For example, the code "Co: 120415_00.txt" means the example was transcribed in the text file "120415_00.txt" (the first six numbers indicate the recoding date, i.e. April 15, 2012), and its genre is "Co(nversation)." In the case of the elicited data, only the date of research is indicated after the abbreviation, e.g., "El: 120415." In addition, the speaker ID is shown at the beginning of each transcription to represent who produced the utterance. For example, "TM: cjaa." means the speaker TM said /cjaa/ (see also "Transcription" in the beginning of this thesis).

1.6. Organization of this grammar

In chapter 2, the phonology of Yuwan is explained in detail. A brief explanation about the grammatical relations in Yuwan is given in chapter 3. The descriptive preliminaries are presented in chapter 4 through a discussion of the basic construction and constituents of sentences of Yuwan. In chapter 5, categories that can cross over several word classes, e.g., demonstratives or personal pronominals, are discussed. Chapter 6 deals with nominal phrases, and chapter 7 investigates the detail of nominals. Verbal morphology is explained in detail in chapter 8. Chapter 9 explains three types of predicate phrases, i.e. verbal predicate, adjectival predicate, and nominal predicate. The details of particles are examined in chapter 10. Finally, the inter-clausal phenomena is presented in chapter 11. The appendix shows the detailed lists of morphophonological alternations of verbs.

Chapter 2
Phonology

In this chapter, I will present the phonology in Yuwan. The composition of grammatical words and phonological words will be shown in §2.1. The inventories of vowels and consonants will be shown in §2.2. The syllable structures and phonotactics will be discussed in §2.3. The phonological rules will be presented in §2.4. Finally, the nominal prosody will be discussed in §2.5.

2.1. Segmentation

A grammatical word (GW, henceforth simply "word" unless an explicit distinction between a grammatical word and a phonological word is necessary) is a morphosyntactic unit minimally consisting of a root, or it can consist of a root (or roots) plus an affix (or affixes) (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002)). In other cases, a grammatical word may consist of a single clitic. The above description is briefly summarized as follows.

Grammatical words:	$[\text{Root}]_{GW}$	$[\text{Root-Affix}]_{GW}$	$[\text{Root-Affix}]_{GW}=[\text{Clitic}]_{GW}$
	anmaa	anmataa	anmatankja[3]
	anmaa	*anmaa-taa*	*anmaa-taa=nkja*
	mother	mother-PL	mother-PL=APPR
	'mother'	'mother and her fellow(s)'	'mother and her fellow(s)'

Taking the above distinction into consideration, we can recognize another unit, i.e., a phonological word.

Phonological word: $[\text{Root (-Affix(es))}]_{GW}$ ($[\text{=Clitic(s)}]_{GW}$)

A phonological word consists of a grammatical word optionally followed by a clitc (or clitics). A phonological word is the domain in which the following three rules apply: (A) phonological rule (see §2.4); (B) morphophonological rule (see §8.2 and other relevant sections); and (C) prosodic rule (see §2.5), although the third criterion is in need of further research (see §2.5.3).

[3] A sequence with the same vowel becomes a single vowel before a consonant that does not have a nucleus (see §2.4.5 in detail). *anmaa* 'mother' frequnetly becomes /anma/ when it is follwed by *-taa* (PL).

2.2. Phonemes

2.2.1. Vowels

2.2.1.1. Short vowels

Vowels are phonologically distinguished as below. Long vowels are treated as vowel sequences (see §2.5.1).

Table 4. Inventory of vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	(e)	ə [ɜ]	o [o̞]
Low			a [ɑ̟]

Notes:

a. High vowels: only /i/, /ɨ/, and /u/ are used as epenthetic vowels (see §2.4.3, §8.2.1.2, and §8.2.1.4). These vowels become voiceless between voiceless consonants or after a voiceless consonant at word-final positions;

b. Mid vowels: /e/, /ə/, and /o/ rarely appear as a single short vowel except for the case of vowel deletion (see §2.4.5). Within the total number of 1014 lexemes, the single short vowel /a/ appears in 468 lexemes, /u/ in 400, /ɨ/ in 260, /i/ in 200, /o/ in 16, and /ə/ in 4 (see the note "e" about /e/);

c. Front and central vowels: /i/ and /ɨ/ are contracted with *ja* (TOP) into /əə/ (see §10.1.1.1); verbal stems that end with front or central vowels form a single stem class (see §8.2);

d. Back vowels: /u/, /o/, and /a/ are contracted with *ja* (TOP) into /oo/ (see §10.1.1.1); verbal stems that end with /ur/, /or/, and /ar/ form a single stem class (see §8.2);

e. /e/ is used for a small number of loanwords from Standard Japanese (e.g., /sinsjei/ 'teacher') or interjections (e.g., /ude/ 'hey').

The minimal contrasts of vowels are shown below. (The majority of the examples in this chapter are from elicited data, so the source information (see §1.5) is omitted.)

(2-1) a. /i/ vs /ɨ/ vs /ə/ vs /u/

/mii/	vs	/miɨ/	vs	/məə/	vs /muu/
'fruit'		'eye'		'front'	'alga'

b. /i/ vs /o/

/kii/	vs	/koo/
'yellow'		'skin'

c. /i/ vs /ɨ/ vs /a/

/jii/	vs	/jiɨ/	vs	/jaa/
'rush'		'grip'		'house'

d. /ɨ/ vs /o/ vs /ə/

	/sɨɨ/	vs	/soo/	vs	/səə/		
	‘vinegar’		‘stem’		‘alcohol’		
e.	/u/ vs /o/ vs /ə/ vs /a/						
	/nuu/	vs	/noo/	vs	/nəə/	vs	/naa/
	‘what’		‘fishing line’		‘elder sister’		‘name’

2.2.1.2. Long vowels and diphthongs

Every vowel in Yuwan can be lengthened, and this is treated as a vowel sequence (see also §2.5.1). All diphthongs in Yuwan are combinations of a particular vowel plus /i/.

Table 5. Long vowels and diphthongs

V_1	V_2 /a/	/u/	/i/	/ɨ/	/ə/	/o/
/a/	aa		ai			
/u/		uu	ui			
/i/			ii			
/ɨ/			ɨi	ɨɨ		
/ə/			əi		əə	
/o/			oi			oo

Table 6. Examples of long vowels and diphthongs

	Long vowels		Diphthongs	
/a/	jaa	‘house’	mai	‘hip’
/u/	juu	‘boiled water’	jui	‘lily’
/i/	jii	‘rush’	(= long vowel)	
/ɨ/	jumarɨɨ	(read.PASS.INF)	jumarɨi	(read.PASS.NPST)
/ə/	jəəci	‘Yakeuchi’	jəito	‘well’
/o/	joosɨ	‘atmosphere’	joikwa	‘silently’

In diphthongs, /ɨi/ is very rare and it occurs only in the combination of *-arɨr* (PASS) and *-i* (NPST), i.e. *-arɨr-i* (PASS-NPST) > /-arɨi/, and the lexeme *jɨɨi* ‘brother.’

Table 7. (Quasi-)minimal pairs of long and short vowels

	Long vowels		Short vowels	
/a/	mjaa	‘cat’	mja	‘k.o. shellfish’
/u/	tuuta	(pass.PST)	tuta	(take.PST)
/i/	jˀiicjasa	(say.want.ADJ)	jˀicja	(say.PST)
/ɨ/	cɨmɨɨ	‘k.o. shellfish’	cɨmɨ	‘nail’
/ə/	məərabɨ	‘young lady’	məngaa	‘good boy/girl’
/o/	goroogoro	‘growling’	gooruu	‘circle’

There are few lexemes where the vowels /ə/ or /o/ is short (see the note “b” of Table 4). There are reasons to believe that they are underlyingly /əə/ or /oo/ (see §2.4.5).

Yuwan has a few morphemes that contain sounds such as [ạu] ([tạu] ‘plain,’ [ạuː] ‘blue,’ [jạut͡ɕikkʷɜː] ‘naughty child,’ and [jạur] (POL)); however, the vowel sequence [ạu] can be regarded as /awu/ (not /au/) because of the morphophonological rule in §10.1.1.1. It suffices to note that the topic marker *ja* retains its form after a long vowel or diphthong, but loses its form after a short vowel (by combining with the preceding short vowel).

(2-2) Rule for *ja* (TOP)

a. After a long vowel or diphthong

juu	‘boiled water’	+	ja	(TOP)	>	juuja
mai	‘hip’	+	ja	(TOP)	>	maija

b. After a short vowel

wunagu	‘woman’	+	ja	(TOP)	>	wunagoo

(2-3) The case of [tạu] ‘plain’

Phonetically:	[tạu]	+	ja (TOP)	>	[tạ.ʷọː]	(*[tạu.jạ])
Phonologically:	tawu	+	ja (TOP)	>	tawoo	(*tauja)

In terms of the other morphemes with [ạu], such as [ạuː] ‘blue,’ we could not fully determine whether it is /auu/ or /awuu/. However, we do not assume there is a combination of a vowel plus /u/ (besides a vowel plus /i/) for diphthongs since there is no positive indication (considering the case of *tawu* ‘plain’). Thus, we regard [ạu] in other morphemes as /awu/; that is, /awuu/ ‘blue,’ /jawucikkwəə/ ‘naughty boy,’ and /jawur/ (POL).

2.2.2. Consonants

2.2.2.1. The inventory of consonant phonemes

Yuwan has the following 22 consonants.

Table 8. Inventory of consonants

			Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	voiceless	non-glottalized	p	t		k	
		glottalized		tˀ		kˀ	
	voiced		b	d		g	
Affricates	voiceless	non-glottalized		c			
		glottalized		cˀ			
Fricatives	voiceless			s			h
	voiced			z			
Nasals		non-glottalized	m	n			
		glottalized	mˀ	nˀ			
Approximants		non-glottalized	w		j		
		glottalized	wˀ		jˀ		
Tap				r			

Notes:

a. Stops and fricatives have voice opposition;

b. Stops (except for /p/), affricates, nasals, and approximants have glottalization opposition;

c. Alveolar affricates and fricatives behave similarly in terms of morphophonological rules (see §6.3.1.1, §6.3.1.2, §8.2.1.4, and §10.1.1.1);

d. Approximants and the tap behave similarly in terms of (morpho)phonological rules (§2.4.1 and §8.2.1.4).

The phoneme /p/ often appears as a geminate in the combination of a stem and affixes (or clitics). Yuwan has a very restricted number of lexical items that have /p/ (12 lexemes so far), where non-geminated lexemes are *pon+wata* ‘big belly,’ *anpəə* ‘appearance,’ *piri* ‘tail end,’ and *mai=nu pɨɨ* (hip=GEN hole) ‘anus,’ excluding onomatopoeia and alleged modern loan words. Additionally, /z/ can be realized as [(d͡)z] (or [(d͡)ʑ]) in Yuwan. However, we regard it as a voiced counterpart of the fricative /s/ since /s/ can precede all the vowels that /z/ can precede, but the affricate /c/ cannot precede all of these vowels. For example, there are phoneme sequences such as /za/ or /sa/, but not /ca/ (see the table in §2.3.2.5).

The glottalized phonemes could be analyzed as /ʔC/, reducing the total number of phonemes. This analysis would assume double onset slots for the word-initial syllable. However, it is difficult to propose that there is a slot for /ʔ/, since /ʔ/ cannot precede all the consonants. For example, it cannot precede fricatives or /r/. In addition, this analysis destroys the commonality of syllable structures within a word (see §2.3.1). Thus, I propose the analysis of /Cˀ/. Furtheremore, I do not assume [ʔ] that precedes word-initial vowel as a phoneme, i.e., [ʔa̰mɨ] ‘rain’ is /amɨ/ (not /ʔamɨ/), since the occurence of [ʔ] can be predicted by the phonological environments, i.e. a word-initial position preceding a vowel.

The minimal or quasi-minimal contrasts of consonants are shown below.

(2-4) Stops

a. /t/ vs /tˀ/ vs /d/

/tɨɨ/	vs	/tˀɨɨ/	vs	/dɨɨ/
‘hand’		‘one (thing)’		/bamboo/

b. /k/ vs /kˀ/ vs /g/

/kuran/	vs	/kˀura/	vs	/gurusa/
‘Kuran’		‘storehouse’		‘fast’

c. /kj/ vs /kˀj/

/kjaaganaa/	vs	/kˀjaa/
‘in coming’		‘Kikai island’

d. /p/ vs /t/ vs /k/

/pɨɨ/	vs	/tɨɨ/	vs	/kɨɨ/
‘(ass)hole’		‘hand’		‘tree’

e. /b/ vs /d/ vs /g/

/baa/	vs	/daa/	vs	/gan/
‘No, thanks.’		‘where’		‘crab’

(2-5) Affricates and fricatives

a. /c/ vs /z/ vs /s/

/sɨcɨ/[sɨt͡sɨ]	vs	/sɨzɨ/[sɨ(d͡)zɨ]	vs	/sɨsɨ/[sɨsɨ]
‘coffin’		‘tendon’		‘soot’

b. /cj/ vs /cˀj/

/cjan/ [t͡ɕɑ̟ɴ]	vs	/cˀjan/[t͡ɕˀɑ̟ɴ]
‘coal tar’		‘father’

c. /s/ vs /h/

/sɨɨsa/	vs	/hɨɨsa/
‘sour’		‘large’

(2-6) Nasals

a. /m/ vs /mˀ/

/mɨɨ/	vs	/mˀɨɨ/
‘eye’		‘k.o.fruit’

b. /n/ vs /nˀ/

/njɨɨ/	vs	/nˀjɨ/
‘load’		‘rice plant’

c. /m/ vs /n/

/mai/	vs	/nai/
‘hip’		‘seed of cyad’

(2-7) Approximants

a. /w/ vs /wˀ/

/waa/	vs	/wˀaa/
‘my’		‘pig’

b. /j/ vs /jˀ/

/juu/	vs	/jˀu/
‘boiled water’		‘fish’

c. /w/ vs /j/

/wɨɨ/	vs	/jɨɨ/
‘tub’		‘handle’

d. /r/ vs /d/

/nuru/[nuɾu]	vs	/nudu/[nudu]
‘moss’		‘throat’

The minimal or quasi-minimal contrasts of geminates and single consonants are shown below.

Table 9. (Quasi-)minimal contrasts of geminates and single consonants

	Single		Geminate	
/p/	pocjoopocjo	‘dripping’	sippoo	‘dull (sword)’
/b/	cɨba	‘saliva’	cɨbban	(copulate.NEG)
/t/	utu	‘sound’	uttui	‘the day before yesterday’
/k/	sikjan	(spread.NEG)	sikkjan	(sink.NEG)
/g/	hɨgu	‘k.o. tree’	hɨggɨ	‘(place name)’
/c/	ucja	(put.PST)	uccja	(hit.PST)
/s/	kusan	‘k.o. bamboo’	kussan	(kill.NEG)
/z/	azjəə	(taste.TOP)	azzjəə	‘grandfather’
/m/	hɨma	‘spare time’	hɨnma	‘daytime’
/n/	sɨna	‘sand’	sɨnna	(do.PROH)

Geminate in the right-side column includes the case of archiphoneme /N/ plus /n/ (or /m/) (see §2.3.2.2).

2.2.2.2. Homorganic nasals

/n/ and /m/ are homorganic nasals; that is, they assimilate with the place of the following consonants.

Table 10. Homorganic nasals

	Isolation	Before bilabials	Before alveolars	Before velars	Before vowels
/n/	un [ʔuɴ]	un=ba [ʔum.bɑ̣]	un=doo [ʔun.dɔ̣ː]	un=gadɨ [ʔuŋ.gɑ̣.dɨ]	un=un [ʔu.nuɴ]
	sea	sea=ACC	sea=ASS	sea=LMT	sea=also
/m/	N/A	jum-boo [jum.bɔ̣ː]	jum-cja [jun.t͡ɕɑ̣]	jum-gadɨ [juŋ.gɑ̣.dɨ]	jum-an [ju.mɑ̣ɴ]
		read-CND	read-want	read-until	read-NEG

In these cases, the underlying forms of the root-final homorganic nasals, i.e., *un* ‘sea’ or *jum-* ‘read,’ can be hypothesized by making use of the phones preceding vowels, such as /un=un/ [ʔu.nuɴ] ‘sea=also’ and /jum-an/ [ju.mɑ̣ɴ] ‘read-NEG.’ However, we could not determine the underlying form of nasals that do not occur in morpheme boundaries, such as [ʔɑ̣m.mɑ̣ː] ‘mother,’ [tɨn.nɔ̣ː.gi] ‘rainbow,’ and [iŋ.gɑ̣] ‘man.’ In these cases, we think these ostensible homorganic nasals are “archiphonemes” (Lass 1984: 46-49, Dixon 2010: 272). In this grammar, we use the letter *n* for the orthographic representation of the archiphonemes, i.e., *anmaa* ‘mother,’ *tɨnnoogi* ‘rainbow,’ and *jinga* ‘man’ (see also “Orthography” in the “Transcrption” in the beginning of this grammar).

2.3. Syllable structure and phonotactics

2.3.1. The syllable structure and morae

Yuwan has the following syllable structures, and the corresponding morae are also shown. Parentheses indicate the slots are optional. In the syllables in Yuwan, the slot obligatorily filled by a phoneme is only V_1.

			(V_2)
(C_1	(G))	V_1	or
			(C_2)
-	-	μ	μ

Notes:

C_1: All consonants can fill this slot;

G: Only /w/ and /j/ can fill this slot;

V_1: All vowels can fill this slot;

V_2: The same vowel as V_1 can fill this slot; /i/ can also fill this slot (see §2.2.1.2);

C_2: Only /n/ can fill this slot at the final position of a phonological word; consonants, except for /h, r/, can fill this slot elsewhere.

Prosody tells us that V_1 and V_2 cannot be analyzed as /V_1.V_2/ (see §2.5). In addition, morphophonological behavior may also support this analysis (see §10.1.1.1). Both the syllable and mora are indispensable units in Yuwan.

There is a strong tendency for a phonological word to have two (or more) morae. The following words do not follow this tendency.

a. Nouns: /sja/ 'below,' /mja/[4] 'snail,' /cʔju/ 'person,' /mʔa/ 'horse,' /jʔu/ 'fish,' /nʔjɨ/ 'rice plant'

b. Verbs:

imperative forms:	/mjɨ/ (see.IMP), /jʔɨ/ (say.IMP), /jʔɨ/ (sit.IMP), /njɨ/ (boil.IMP)
past forms:	/sja/ (do.PST), /cʔja/ (come.PST)
sequential converbs:	/sjɨ/ (do.SEQ), /cʔjɨ/ (come.SEQ)

It is probable that all of the examples had two syllables in the past considering their plausible counterparts in modern Japanese. Take, for example, the following nouns: /sita/ 'below,' /mina/ 'snail' (in old Japanese), /hito/ 'person,' /uma/ 'horse,' /iwo/ 'fish' (in old Japanese), and /ine/ 'rice plant.' Concerning verbs, it is difficult to do such a comparison. Nevertheless, all the plausible counterparts in Japanese have /i/ in the place of /j/ (or /jʔ/); for example, /sita/ (do.PST) and /kita/ (come.PST). Furthermore, there is a phenomenon which shows the bimoraic tendency applying to some verbal stems as if they were phonological words by themselves, i.e., the verbal stems preceding type D affixes (see the footnote 44 in §8.2.1.4).

2.3.2. Phonotactics

The following constraints (or tendencies) are determined from the behavior of monomorphemic and polymorphemic phonological words.

(2-8) Phonotactic constraints (or tendencies):

a. Non-nasal resonants cannot be followed by approximants, i.e., /*rj/, /*jj/, and /*wj/ (see §8.2.1.3);
b. Glottalized consonants can appear only at stem-initial positions (see below);
c. A sequence of consonants is geminate or its first consonant is nasal;
d. A monomorphemic word does not have voiced geminates (with the exception of the three lexemes /cɨbb/ 'copulate,' /azzjəə/ 'grandfather,' and /hɨggɨ/ '(place name)'). In addition, a phonological word made of polymorphemes tends to avoid voiced geminates (see §2.4.4);
e. A monomorphemic word has a sequence with at most two vowels (with the exception of the three lexemes /jɨɨi/ 'brother,' /dooi/ 'reason' (sometimes pronounced as /doi/), and /tuuii/ '(place name)'); a phonological word made of polymorphemes tends to restrict a sequence made of three vowels (see §2.4.5);
f. A monomorphemic word does not have the VVC_{coda} sequence (with the exception of /koonmja/ 'k.o. shellfish living in the river'[5] and /sjoogoin/ 'k.o. white radish,' the latter thought to be a loan word from

[4] This word is pronounced as /mjaa/ with two morae by the speaker MT.
[5] It creates a minimal pair with /konmja/ 'a kind of shellfish living in the beach.'

Modern Japanese); a phonological word made of polymorphemes tends to restrict the $V_iV_i C_{coda}$ sequence (see §2.4.5);

g. A sequence of C_{coda}.V never appears (see §2.4.3);

h. A monomorphemic word does not have a sequence of a nasal coda followed by an onset /j/, i.e., */n.j/ and */m.j/; however, a phonological word consisting of more than one morpheme may have this sequence (see §2.3.2.2);

i. The consonants that can precede /w/ filled in G slot are only /kˀ/, /k/ and /h/ (Table 18 in §2.3.2.5);

Phonotactics determine the possible combinations of phonemes in a phonological word (see §2.1), and we have to pay attention to the following two types of sounds: (A) glottalized consonants, i.e., /Cˀ/ and (B) non-glottalized palatal approximant, i.e., /j/.

First, glottalized consonants can appear in a word-initial position such as *jˀu* 'fish,' but cannot appear in a non-word-initial position in a simple word. For example, there is no word made of /VCˀV/; however, in the case of compounds, glottalized consonants can appear in a non-word-initial position, e.g., *aa+jˀu* (red+fish) 'red fish.' In other words, glottalized consonants can appear in a stem-initial position. If we adopt the possibility of the occurence of glottalized consonants as a criterion of the phological word, there would be a mismatch among the criterion about glottalized consonants and that mentioned in §2.1. This type of mismatch between the criteria of phonological words, however, is not uncommon. In fact, Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002: 18) wrote that "(d)ifferent types of criteria are relevant to defining the phonological word in different languages. And the relative importance and weighting of criteria differ from language to language." In this grammar, the possibility of the occurence of glottalized consonants is not adopted as the criterion of the phonological word, and I only mention its mismatch with other criteria.

Second, there are two types of morphemes beginning with /j/: one type palatalizes the preceding phoneme, as in (2-9 a-b), while another type does not, as in (2-9 c-e).

(2-9) Palatalization

	Former			Latter				Latter
a.	*jum-*	'read'	+	*-jaa*	'person'	>	ju.mjaa [ju.mʲɑ̣ː]	Affix
b.	*jum-*	'read'	+	*-jagacinaa*	(SIM)	>	ju.mja.ga.ci.naa [ju.mʲɑ̣.gɑ̣.t͡ɕi.nɑ̣ː]	Affix
	Non-palatalization							
c.	*mun*	(ADVRS)	+	*jaa*	(SOL)	>	mun.jaa [muɴ.jɑ̣ː]	Clitic
d.	*jum-Ø*	(read-INF)	+	*jass-sa*	(easy-ADJ)	>	jum.jas.sa [juɴ.jɑ̣s.sɑ̣]	Root
e.	*nikan*	'orange'	+	*jama*	'mountain'	>	nɨ.kan.ja.ma [nɨ.kɑ̣ɴ.jɑ̣.mɑ̣]	Root

These examples show that if the following morpheme (the morphological status of the following morphemes is shown in the right-most column labeled "Latter") is a clitic or a root, palatalization does not occur. However, if it is an affix, palatalization necessarily occurs. In this grammar, the syllable boundary between /m/ and /j/ in *jum-Ø+jass-sa* (read-INF+easy-ADJ) 'easy to read' is expressed by a period mark such as

/jum.jassa/ in the surface form level.

2.3.2.1. Monosyllabic words

Table 11. Monosyllabic (and monomorphemic) grammatical words

	C	G	V	V (or C)
/ai/ [ʔɑ̣i] ‘No’			a	i
/an/ [ʔɑ̣ɴ] ‘that’			a	n
/jaa/ [jɑ̣ː] ‘house’	j		a	a
/wan/ [wɑ̣n] ‘I’	w		a	n
/naa/ [nɑ̣ː] ‘name’	n		a	a
/mja/ [mʲɑ̣] ‘k.o.shellfish’	m	j	a	
/mjaa/ [mʲɑ̣ː] ‘cat’	m	j	a	a
/nan/ [nɑ̣ɴ] ‘you.HON’	n		a	n
/cjan/ [tɕɑ̣ɴ] ‘coal tar’	c	j	a	n
/mˀa/ [ʔmɑ̣] ‘horse’	mˀ		a	
/wˀaa/ [ʔwɑ̣ː] ‘pig’	wˀ		a	a
/kˀjaa/ [kˀʲɑ̣ː] ‘Kikai island’	kˀ	j	a	a
/cˀjan/ [t͡ɕˀɑ̣ɴ] ‘father’	cˀ	j	a	n

2.3.2.2. Polysyllabic phonological words

In principle, the phonotactics of polysyllabic phonological words are the same as those of monomorphemic ones, but there is an important difference in terms of the phonemes that can fill coda slots. In monosyllabic words, the coda slots in word-final position can only be filled by /n/. However, in polysyllabic words, the coda slots in word-internal position can be filled by many kinds of consonants. The possible combinations of consonants around a syllable boundary are shown below, including the total number of monomorphemic lexemes that have such a sequence (out of approximately 1,000 lexemes). In the following table, /N/ indicates the archiphoneme (see also “Transcription” in the beginning of this grammar and §2.2.2.2 for more details).

Table 12. /C.C/ combination in polysyllabic phonological words (monomorphemic)

				C	G	V	C	.C		Number
/p.p/:	/sip.poo/	[ɕip.pọː]	‘blunt’	s		i	p	.p	oo	6
/b.b/:	/cɨb.bi.da.ci/	[t͡sɨb.bi.dạ.t͡ɕi]	‘rut (of animal)’	c		ɨ	b	.b	idaci	1
/t.t/:	/at.ta.kəə/	[ʔạttạkɜː]	‘everything’			a	t	.t	akəə	16
/k.k/:	/juk.ka.dɨ/	[jukkạdɨ]	‘throughout’	j		u	k	.k	adɨ	14
/g.g/:	/hɨg.gɨ/	[xɨggɨ]	‘(place name)’	h		ɨ	g	.g	ɨ	1
/c.c/:	/gac.cɨn/	[gạt͡tsɨɴ]	‘saurel’	g		a	c	.c	ɨn	7
/s.s/:	/kas.sa/	[kạssạ]	‘like this’	k		a	s	.s	a	9
/z.z/:	/az.zjəə/	[ʔạdd͡ʑɜː]	‘grandfather’			a	z	.z	jəə	1
/N/ + /p/:	/an.pəə/	[ʔạm.pɜː]	‘appearance’			a	n	.p	əə	2
/N/ + /b/:	/gan.boo/	[gạm.bọː]	‘naughty boy/girl’	g		a	n	.b	oo	1
/N/ + /t/:	/nin.təə/	[nin.tɜː]	‘group’	n		i	n	.t	əə	2
/N/ + /d/:	/cɨn.dai/	[t͡sɨn.dại]	‘snail’	c		ɨ	n	.d	ai	7
/N/ + /k/:	/in.ku.zjaa/	[ʔiŋ.ku.(d͡)ʑạː]	‘(place name)’			i	n	.k	uzjaa	5
/N/ + /g/:	/jin.ga/	[iŋ.gạ]	‘man’	j		i	n	.g	a	10
/N/ + /c/:	/kan.cɨmɨ/	[kạn.t͡sɨ.mɨ]	‘(name of person)’	k		a	n	.c	ɨmɨ	1
/N/ + /s/:	/han.sɨ/	[hạɴ.sɨ]	‘sweet potato’	h		a	n	.s	ɨ	4
/N/ + /z/:	/hin.zjaa/	[çin.(d͡)ʑạː]	‘goat’	h		i	n	.z	jaa	5
/N/ + /m/:	/an.maa/	[ʔạm.mạː]	‘mother’			a	n	.m	aa	8
/N/ + /n/:	/han.njəə/	[hạn.njɜː]	‘grandmother’	h		a	n	.n	jəə	6

There are no monomorphemic words with the sequences of /dd/, /hh/, or /rr/ in Yuwan. The data show that the number of monomorphemic lexemes that have $C_{coda}.C_{onset}$ sequences are very small; however, this sequence is not uncommon in the case of polymorphemic phonological words, such as *ar-* ‘exist’ + *doo* (ASS) > /at.too/ and *ar* ‘exist’ + *ba* (CSL) > /ap.pa/. These sequences are formed by the (morpho)phonological rules (see §2.4.4 and §8.2.1.4). In monomorphemic words, it is impossible to determine the (morpho)phoneme of the nasal that fills the C_{coda} slot in the C_{coda}.C sequence, but it is possible to do so in polymorphemic phonological words, as shown below.

Table 13. /Nasal + C/ combination in polysyllabic phonological words (polymorphemic)

					C	G	V	C	.C	
/m.b/:	/jum.ba/	[jum.bɑ̣]	(read.CSL)		j		u	m	.b	a
/m.d/:	/jum.doo/	[jun.dɔ̣:]	(read.INF.ASS)		j		u	m	.d	oo
/m.k/:	/kam.kai/	[kɑ̣ŋ.kɑ̣i]	(eat.DUB)		k		a	m	.k	ai
/m.g/:	/jum.ga.dɨ/	[juŋ.gɑ̣.dɨ]	(read.until)		j		u	m	.g	adɨ
/m.c/:	/jum.cja.sa/	[jun.t͡ɕɑ̣.sɑ̣]	(read.INF.want.ADJ)		j		u	m	.c	jasa
/m.n/:	/jum.nja/	[junʲ.nʲɑ̣]	(read.INF.TOP)		j		u	m	.n	ja
/m.j/:	/jum.jas.sa/	[juɴ.jɑ̣s.sɑ̣]	(read.INF.easy.ADJ)		j		u	m	.j	assa
/n.b/:	/nɨ.kan.ba/	[nɨ.kɑ̣m.bɑ̣]	(orange.ACC)	nɨ.	k		a	n	.b	a
/n.t/:	/nan.tu/	[nɑ̣n.tu]	(you.HON.COM)		n		a	n	.t	u
/n.d/:	/kin.du/	[kʔin.du]	(clothes.FOC)		k		i	n	.d	u
/n.k/:	/un.ka.ci/	[ʔuŋ.kɑ̣.t͡ɕi]	(sea.ALL)				u	n	.k	aci
/n.g/:	/wan.ga/	[wɑ̣ŋ.gɑ̣]	(1SG.NOM)		w		a	n	.g	a
/n.n/:	/wan.na/	[wɑ̣n.nɑ̣]	(1SG.TOP)		w		a	n	.n	a
/n.j/:	/mun.jaa/	[muɴ.jɑ̣:]	(ADVRS.SOL)		m		u	n	.j	aa

As mentioned in (2-8 h) in §2.3.2, a sequence of $C_{coda}.C_{onset}$ (C_{coda} is nasal, C_{onset} is /j/) never appears in monomorphemic grammatical words; however, it can appear in polymorphemic phonological words (see the examples of /m.j/ and /n.j/ above). There are four morphemes able to make this sequence: *jass* ‘easy,’ *jaa* (SOL), *joo* (CFM1), and *jukkuma* (CMP).

2.3.2.3. Glottalized consonants

Phonologically, glottalized consonants are contrastive only at stem-initial positions. Phonetically, they require laryngeal intension and may be divided into two types: glottalized obstruents [tʔ, t͡ɕʔ, kʔ] and glottalized sonorants [ʔm, ʔn, ʔj, ʔw]. The former group sounds like unaspirated obstruents in Chinese or unaspirated tense obstruents in Korean, and a more detailed phonetic comparison should be done in the future. The latter group has the following two characteristics (compared with non-glottalized sonorants [m, n, j, w]): (1) relatively larger amplitude in the onset, (2) relatively shorter duration in the onset, which indicates their coarticulation with the glottal stop in the onset position (Niinaga et al. 2011). Word initial /p/, /cɨ/, and /ki/ are basically phonetically glottalized, and they appear to have developed from historical changes (cf. Hirayama et al. 1966: 22-23), but the details of their development are beyond the scope of this grammar.

Glottalized consonants are proposed to have developed from two phonological processes: (1) syllable omission and (2) retainment of a distinction affected by vowel merger (Hirayama et al. 1966: 22-23). An example of the former is */hutari/ > /tʔai/ ‘human’ (/ri/ > /i/ is also a synchronic phonological rule in §2.4.1). An example of the latter is */kome/ > /kumɨ/, and */kura/ > /kʔura/, where */o/ is merged with */u/ and both become /u/ (the change of */e/ > /ɨ/ is another historical change that is not addressed here). Previous research

has shown that */ku/ became /kʔu/ in order to retain a difference from /ku/ (made of */ko/) (Hirayama et al. 1966: 23). Almost all of the current tokens of /kʔ/ in Yuwan have developed from */ku/. Additionally, /kʔjaa/ [kʔʲa̰:] 'Kikai-zima,' which is the name of an island, appears to have developed from syllable omission. There are a number of lexicon that has /kʔ/ in modern Yuwan. The other glottalized phonemes seem to have developed as a result of syllable omission. This process does not seem to have been common, so there are only a few lexemes that have these glottalized phonemes. The following table shows the number of lexemes that have word-initial glottalized phonemes (and their examples) compared with that of non-glottalized initial phonemes.

Table 14. Lexemes that have word-initial glottalized phonemes (out of approximately 1,000 lexemes)

Phonemes	Allophones	Number	Examples				cf.	Number
/wʔ/	[ʔw]	2	[ʔwa̰:]	'pig'	[ʔwa̰bija̰:]	'instep'	/w/	18
/tʔ/	[tˀ]	3	[tˀa̰i]	'two persons'	[tˀɨɨ]	'one thing'	/t/	59
/nʔj/	[ʔnʲ]	3	[ʔnʲut͡ɕi]	'life'	[ʔnʲɨ]	'rice plant'	/nj/	2
/kʔj/	[kˀʲ]	5	[kˀʲa̰:]	'Kikai-zima'	[kˀʲubi:]	'band'	/kj/	7
/mʔ/	[ʔm]	4	[ʔma̰]	'horse'	[ʔma̰t͡sɨ]	'fire'	/m/	96
/cʔj/	[t͡ɕˀ]	5	[t͡ɕˀa̰ɴ]	'father'	[t͡ɕˀu]	'person'	/cj/	5
/jʔ/	[ʔj]	5	[ʔju]	'fish'	[ʔja̰]	'arrow'	/j/	63
/kʔ/	[kˀ]	35	[kˀubi]	'neck'	[kˀuru(:)]	'black'	/k/	81

Note:

(a) The number of /C_i/ and /C_ij/ is not redundant. For example, the number of /k/ excluded the number of /kj/;

(b) The number of lexemes that have non-glottalized initial /k/ excludes that of /ki/ [kˀi].

The data show there are fewer lexemes that have word-initial glottalized phonemes than non-glottalized ones; however, the number of lexemes with /Cʔj/ and /Cj/ does not follow this pattern. In fact, the number of combinations where a consonant is followed by /j/ in these examples is relatively small, so it is not meaningful to compare these particular consonants.

Since there are fewer lexemes that have word-initial glottalized phonemes than non-glottalized ones, we propose that the former are "marked" phonemes. Therefore, if a "phonetically" word-initial glottalized consonant does not have a "phonemic" contrast with a non-glottalized one, we regard it as a "phonemically non-glottalized" phoneme. For example, Yuwan has only [pˀ], but this phoneme is interpreted as /p/ in this grammar. Moreover, there are no word-internal contrasts with glottalization in Yuwan, so word-internal phonemes are always phonemically non-glottalized even if they might be phonetically glottalized (with the exception of the case of compounds, see §2.3.2). The combination of velar stop and /w/ is always realized as [kˀʷ], but we will interpret it as /kʔw/ with the exception of the case of *-kkwa* (DIM) and /joikwa/ 'silently' (see §7.7) against the markedness principle because the interpretation as /kʔw/ makes it easier to explain a prosodic phenomenon discussed in §2.5.2.

2.3.2.4. Interpretation of /C/ + /j/ combination

Yuwan has a contrast between [ɕ] and [s]: [kɑ̣ɕɑ̣] ‘wrapping leaf’ vs. [kɑ̣sɑ̣] ‘bamboo hat.’ In this grammar, [ɕ] is interpreted as /sj/ (except for the case of [ɕi][6]). There are two reasons why we do not assign a new phoneme /ɕ/: (1) the overall number of phonemes, and (2) morphology.

First, we do not need another new phoneme if we interpret [ɕ] as /sj/, so this interpretation is more economical than the other.

Second, Yuwan has an affix *-jaa* ‘person,’ which can nominalize verbal roots (see §7.6). For example, if the affix follows *hɨmɨkas-* ‘get drunk,’ it becomes [xɨmɨkɑ̣ɕɑ̣ː] ‘drunken person.’ In this case, there would be two interpretations: (1) /hɨmɨkasjaa/, or (2) /hɨmɨkaɕaa/. The first interpretation is transparent, but the second is not because it needs an alternation rule, i.e., //s// + //j// > /ɕ/. The affix *-jaa* is fairly productive, such as *tug-* ‘whet’ + *-jaa* ‘person’ > /tugjaa/ [tugʲɑ̣ː] ‘a person who whet cutlery professionally’ and *kik-* ‘hear’ + *-jaa* ‘person’ > /kikjaa/ [kikʲɑ̣ː] ‘audience.’ Thus, it is (paradigmatically) natural to regard [ɸumukɑ̣ɕɑ̣ː] as /humukasjaa/. Therefore, we adopt the interpretation of [ɕ] as /sj/ in Yuwan (cf., Shimoji (2008: 79-81) for a similar argument in Irabu Ryukyuan).

The same argument can be applied to /cj/ [t͡ɕ]: *ut-* ‘hit’ + *-jaa* ‘person’ > /ucjaa/ [ʔut͡ɕɑ̣ː] ‘a person who plays a role to hit someone,’ where an alternation rule from //t// to /c/ is applied (see §2.4.2 for more details). In this case, the merit of regarding [t͡ɕ] not as a new phoneme but as a combination of two existing phonemes remains to be valid. Yuwan has no verbal roots that end with /z/, but there is no reason to treat /zj/ differently from /cj/, so we interpret [d͡ʑ] as /zj/.

2.3.2.5. Combination of consonants and vowels

The combinations of consonants and vowels, followed by examples, are shown in the following tables.

Pre-notes:

a. It might be possible to find combinations for the blank cells, but they have not yet been found so far.
b. If a plausible phonetic combination in one cell (e.g., /t/ + /ja/ > [t͡ɕɑ̣]) is regarded as a combination in another cell (e.g., /cja/), it will be shown in this way “[t͡ɕɑ̣]=/cja/” (cf. §2.3.2.4).
c. N/A means such a combination is prohibited by either phonological rules (see §2.4) or the syllable structure (see §2.3.1).
d. Parenthesized phones mostly appear in stem-initial position (cf. §2.3.2.3).
e. Glottalization of the second phoneme of a geminate is not taken into consideration.

[6] [ɕi] is regarded as /si/ (not */sji/) to keep the full set of combinations with /s/ and vowels, since /CV/ is a more productive combination than /CjV/. For example, /b/ can precede any vowel, but /bj/ can only precede /a/ and /u/ (see §2.3.2.5).

Table 15. Combinations of CV and CjV showing allophones

	a	i	u	ɨ	ə	o	ja	ji	ju	jɨ	jə	jo
-[7]	[(ʔ)ɑ̣]	[(ʔ)i]	[(ʔ)u]	[(ʔ)ɨ]	[(ʔ)ɜ]	[(ʔ)ọ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
p	[p(ʔ)ɑ̣]	[pʲ(ʔ)i]	[p(ʔ)u]	[p(ʔ)ɨ]	[p(ʔ)ɜ]	[p(ʔ)ọ]	[p(ʔ)ʲɑ̣]		[p(ʔ)ʲu]			
b	[bɑ̣]	[bʲi]	[bu]	[bɨ]	[bɜ]	[bọ]	[bʲɑ̣]		[bʲu]			
t	[tɑ̣]	[t͡ɕi]=/ci/	[tu]	[tɨ]	[tɜ]	[tọ]	[t͡ɕɑ̣]=/cja/		[t͡ɕu]=/cju/	[t͡ɕɨ]=/cjɨ/	[t͡ɕɜ]=/cjə/	[t͡ɕọ]=/cjo/
tʔ	[tʔɑ̣]			[tʔɨ]		[tʔọ]						
d	[dɑ̣]	[d͡ʑi]=/zi/	[du]	[dɨ]	[dɜ]	[dọ]	[d͡ʑɑ̣]=/zja/		[d͡ʑu]=/zju/	[d͡ʑɨ]=/zjɨ/	[d͡ʑɜ]=/zjə/	[d͡ʑọ]=/zjo/
k	[kɑ̣]	[kʲ(ʔ)i]	[ku]	[kɨ]	[kɜ]	[kọ]	[kʲɑ̣]		[kʲu]	[kʲɨ]		[kʲọ]
kʔ		[kʲʔi]=/ki/	[kʔu]				[kʲʔɑ̣]		[kʲu]			[kʲʔọ]
g	[gɑ̣]	[gʲi]	[gu]	[gɨ]	[gɜ]	[gọ]	[gʲɑ̣]		[gʲu]	[gʲɨ]		[gʲọ]
c		[t͡ɕ(ʔ)i]	[t͡su]	[t͡s(ʔ)ɨ]	[t͡sɜ]		[t͡ɕɑ̣]		[t͡ɕu]	[t͡ɕɨ]	[t͡ɕɜ]	[t͡ɕọ]
cʔ		[t͡ɕʔi]=/ci/		[t͡sʔɨ]=/cɨ/			[t͡ɕʔɑ̣]		[t͡ɕʔu]	[t͡ɕʔɨ]	[t͡ɕʔɜ]	[t͡ɕʔọ]
s	[sɑ̣]	[ɕi]	[su]	[sɨ]	[sɜ]	[sọ]	[ɕɑ̣]		[ɕu]	[ɕɨ]	[ɕɜ]	[ɕọ]
z	[(d͡)zɑ̣]	[(d͡)ʑi]		[(d͡)zɨ]	[(d͡)zɜ]		[(d͡)ʑɑ̣]		[(d͡)ʑu]	[(d͡)ʑɨ]	[(d͡)ʑɜ]	[(d͡)ʑọ]
h	[hɑ̣]	[çi]	[ɸu]	[xɨ]	[hɜ]	[họ]			[çu]			
m	[mɑ̣]	[mʲi]	[mu]	[mɨ]	[mɜ]	[mọ]	[mʲɑ̣]	[mʲi]	[mʲu]	[mʲɨ]		[mʲọ]
mʔ	[ʔmɑ̣]			[ʔmɨ]		[ʔmọ]						
n	[nɑ̣]	[nʲi]	[nu]	[nɨ]	[nɜ]	[nọ]	[nʲɑ̣]		[nʲu]	[nʲɨ]	[nʲɜ]	[nʲọ]
nʔ									[ʔnʲu]	[ʔnʲɨ]	[ʔnʲɜ]	
w	[wɑ̣]	N/A	[wu]	[wɨ]	[wɜ]	[wọ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
wʔ	[ʔwɑ̣]											
j	[jɑ̣]	[i]	[ju]	[jɨ]	[jɜ]	[jọ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
jʔ	[ʔjɑ̣]	[ʔi]	[ʔju]	[ʔjɨ]		[ʔjọ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

[7] This means there is no consonant in the onset C slot.

r	[ɾɑ̣]	N/A	[ɾu]	[ɾɨ]	[ɾɜ]	[ɾo̞]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 16. Examples of CV

	a		i		u		ɨ		ə		o	
-	aasa	‘red’	isi	‘stone’	uma	‘there’	ɨn	‘dog’	əəciri	‘classmate’	oonazi	‘k.o.sneak’
p	gappaa	‘fist’	piri	‘tail end’	roppu	‘rope’	pɨɨ	‘(ass)hole’	anpəə	‘state’	ponwata	‘big belly’
b	naba	‘mushroom’	bija	‘leek’	habu	‘k.o. snake’	warabɨ	‘child’	ɨbəəsa	‘narrow’	zɨboo	‘tail’
t	tanɨ	‘seed’			tui	‘bird’	tɨn	‘sky’	nɨntəə	‘members’	bottobotto	‘lazily’
tˀ	tˀai	‘two people’					tˀɨɨ	‘one’			tˀoomu.nii	‘Tsutomu’
d	kada	‘smell’			dusi	‘friend’	dɨru	‘which’	kjoodəə	‘brother’	dookunɨɨ	‘white radish’
k	kabi	‘paper’	kin	‘clothes’	kuma	‘here’	kɨɨ	‘tree’	kəənja	‘arm’	koo	‘skin’
kˀ					kˀura	‘storehouse’						
g	gan	‘crab’	ginməə	‘contract’	wunagu	‘woman’	hagɨr	‘bald’	kugəər	‘tumble’	kagoo	‘basket’
c			cikjara	‘power’	cubusi	‘knee’	cɨmɨ	‘nail’	miicəə	(three.TOP)		
s	sataa	‘sugar’	siju	‘soup’	sura	‘treetop’	sɨba	‘tongue’	səə	‘alcohol’	soo	‘stem’
z	sijuzataa	‘white sugar’	ziju	‘cooking stove’			kazɨ	‘wind’	kazəə	(wing.TOP)		
h	hana	‘nose’	hindjaa	‘goat’	hunɨ	‘ship’	hɨnma	‘day’	həəsa	‘quick’	hoorasja	‘happy’
m	mamɨ	‘bean’	min	‘ear’	munɨ	‘breast’	mɨzɨ	‘water’	məə	‘front’	umoor	(move.HON)
mˀ	mˀa	‘horse’					mˀɨɨ	‘k.o. fruit’			mˀoo	(horse.TOP)
n	nama	‘now’	nissja	‘similar’	nudu	‘throat’	nɨzɨn	‘mouse’	junəə	‘evening’	noo	‘fishing line’
w	wan	‘I’			wutu	‘husband’	wɨɨ	‘tub’	juwəə	‘celebration’	tawoo	(plain.TOP)
wˀ	wˀaa	‘pig’										

j	jama	‘mountain’	jinga	‘man’	juru	‘night’	jɨɨ	‘grip’	kawajəə	‘substitute’	joikwa	‘silently’
jˀ	jˀa	‘arrow’	jˀii	(say.INF)	jˀu	‘fish’	jˀɨ	(say.IMP)			jˀoo	(say.INT)
r	warabɨ	‘child’			dɨru	‘which’	kurɨ	‘this’	kurəə	(this.TOP)	sɨroo	‘lie’

Table 17. Examples of CjV

	ja		ji		ju		jɨ		jə		jo	
p	appjaganaa	(play.SIM)			appjur	(play.UMRK)						
b	jurukubjaganaa (glad.SIM)				asɨbjur	(play.UMRK)						
k	kjaaganaa	(come.SIM)			kjuu	‘today’	ikjɨ	(go.IMP)			kjoodəə	‘brother’
kˀ	kˀjaa	‘Kikai-zima’			kˀjubii	‘band’					kˀjoos	‘break’
g	asigja	‘k.o. sandal’			higjussa	‘cold’	uigjɨ	(swim.IMP)			uigjoo	(swim.INT)
c	cjaa	‘tea’			cjukaa	‘kettle’	kacjɨ	(write.SEQ)	məəhucjəə	‘forehead’	cjoo	‘just’
cˀ	cˀjan	‘father’			cˀju	‘person’	cˀjɨ	(come.SEQ)	cˀjəəra (come.SEQ.after)		cˀjoo	(person.TOP)
s	sja	‘below’			sjuukɨɨ	‘feast’	sjɨ	(do.SEQ)	kasjəə	‘help’	isjoobiki	‘whistle’
z	zjaraa	‘piggyback’			zjuu	‘father’	izjɨ	(go.SEQ)	azzjəə	‘grandfather’	zjootoo	‘good’
h					hjuusɨ	‘bulbul’						
m	mjaa	‘cat’	mjicja (see.PST)		mjuuna	(see.PROH)	mjɨ	(see.IMP)			mjoo	(see.INT)
n	kəənja	‘arm’			kinju	‘yesterday’	njɨɨ	‘load’	hannjəə	‘grandmother’	anjoo ‘elder brother’	
nˀ					nˀjuci	‘life’	nˀjɨ	‘rice plant’	nˀjəə	(rice.plant.TOP)		

Table 18. Combinations of CwV showing allophones

	wa	wo	wɨ	wə
kˀ	[kˀʷɑ̤]	[kˀʷo̤]		[kˀʷɜ]
k	[kʷɑ̤]			
h			[ɸɨ]	

Table 19. Examples of CwV

	wa		wo		wɨ		wə	
kˀ	kˀwa	‘child’	kˀwoo	(child.TOP)			kˀwəər	‘get fat’
k	joikwa	‘silently’						
h					hwɨɨ	‘fart’		

2.4. Phonological rules

Every phonological rule is applied at the morpheme boundaries within phonological words (see §2.1). In this grammar, the following dimensions are distinguished: phonetic, phonological (surface level), and morphophonemic (underlying level). Possible phonetic realization was shown in §2.3.2.5, the details of which are beyond the scope of this grammar. Thus, what is called the 'surface' level in this grammar represents the phonological level, and the 'underlying' level represents the morphophonemic level, against the Bloomfieldians' convention of merging phonetic and phonological levels (cf. Lass 1984: 59-62). The morphophonemic level is abstracted from the information about the morphosyntactic (i.e. paradigmatic and syntagmatic) variation of lexemes. In other words, surface variations of phonemes (i.e. allomorphs) are synthesized into abstract morphophonemes, which are determined by the following criteria: (1) phonemes that are not affected by assimilation, (2) phonemes that are relatively unrestricted by the phonological environments (e.g., the environment before vowels is regarded as "relatively unrestricted" in this grammar), or (3) phonemes that are unmarked cross-linguistically (e.g., oral is more unmarked than nasal, etc.). Needless to say, phonemes at the surface level are considered to contrast with one another, which is different from the variation at the phonetic level.

There are phonological rules and morphophonological rules, both of which are applied within phonological words (see §2.1). The phonological rules are not affected by the surrounding morphosyntactic or lexical information; however, this information is necessary for morphophonological rules; cf., the terms "morphophonological" (Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 214) or "morphophonemic" (Payne 1997: 23-24) are used for the alternations that require lexical (and morphosyntactic) information in order to apply the alternation rules. Please note that morphophonological rules precede phonological rules in situations where both rules can apply since morphophonological rules are more specific than phonological rules by definition. Thus, if I encountered a phenomenon which could not be explained by general rules (i.e. phonological rules) already established by other linguistic phenomena, I postulated a special rule (i.e. a morphophonological rule) that would explain the phenomenon and would be applied before the general rule.

Both of the phonological and morphophonological rules are described as processes, but this does not mean that these processes actually occur in the speaker's mind. Rather, this style is used because it is easily understandable (cf., Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 211-212).

In the following subsections, I will present the phonological rules. The first three sections (see §2.4.1-§2.4.3) deal with obligatory rules, while the latter two (see §2.4.4-§2.4.5) deal with rules that are not obligatory but are merely tendencies. The morphophonological rules will be presented in the sections where the relevant morphemes are discussed, e.g., the fusion of the preceding nominal and the topic marker *ja* will be discussed in §10.1.1.1.

2.4.1. Tap and bilabial approximant deletion

There are no sequences such as /wi/ or /ri/ in Yuwan (except for the three cases discussed later). If this type of sequence occurs at a morpheme boundary, a bilabial approximant //w// or a tap //r// are deleted.

(2-10) $\left\{\begin{matrix} w \\ r \end{matrix}\right\}$ > Ø / _ i

(2-11) a. *w*-deletion

koow[8] 'buy' + i (INF) > koi[9] (*koowi)

b. *r*-deletion

ar 'exist' + i (INF) > ai (*ari)

There are, however, three items in the lexicon that have the sequence of /ri/: *piri* 'tail end,' *rikkoo* '(by) foot,' and *kiri* 'fog.' The first word is regarded as Standard Japanese by the speaker TM, although the plausible equivalent in Standard Japanese is /biri/. The second word *rikkoo* is considered a recent loan word from modern Japanese because there are no other words with word-initial /r/ in Yuwan. It is not clear whether the last word, *kiri* 'fog,' existed originally in Yuwan, or was borrowed from Standard Japanese.

2.4.2. Alveolar stop affrication (or palatalization)

The alveolar stop //t// becomes /c/ if it precedes //i// or //j//, which may be called "palatalization" in the broader sense. The reason why we do not assume the combination of /ti/ [t͡ɕi] is argued in §4.2.3.4.

(2-12) t > c / _ $\left\{\begin{matrix} i \\ j \end{matrix}\right\}$

(2-13) a. Before //i//

ut 'hit' + i (INF) > uci

b. Before //j//

ut 'hit' + jaa 'person' > ucjaa

2.4.3. Epenthetic vowel /u/

A syllable should have a nucleus filled by a vowel (see §2.3.1), so if a syllable does not satisfy this condition at morpheme boundaries, an epenthetic vowel /u/ is inserted at the morpheme boundaries and serves as a nucleus.

[8] Strictly speaking, some *w*-final verbal roots have *r*-final variants (see §8.3), which constitutes free alternation. For example, *koow*- 'buy' may be realized as /koor/. If we propose that only the latter could appear before /i/, it is the deletion of //r// (not //w//); however, there is no beneficial reason to propose such a restriction, so we also assume *w*-deletion.

[9] Phonological rule (see §2.4.5): (koow + i >) kooi > koi.

(2-14) [10] Ø > u / # _ C#

(2-15)	a.	mun	'thing'	+	n	'also'	>	mu.nun	(*mun.n or *mun.nu)
	b.			+	nkja	(APPR)	>	mu.nun.kja	(*mun.nkja or *mun.nu.kja)
	c.			+	kkwa	(DIM)	>	mu.nuk.kwa	(*mun.kkwa or *mun.ku.kwa)

Further, there are no sequences of C_{coda}.V in Yuwan. If such a sequence occurs around a morpheme boundary, an epenthetic vowel /u/ is inserted at the morpheme boundary.

(2-16) Ø > u / C# _ V

(2-17) tankan 'k.o. orange' + i (PLQ) > tan.ka.nui [tạŋ.kạ.nui] (*tan.kan.i [tạŋ.kạɴ.i])
(*tan.ka.ni [tạŋ.kạ.ni])

These examples show that the forbidden sequence /n.i/ [ɴ.i] is not realized and /nui/ appears instead. Interestingly, a simple combination of /ni/ [ni] does not appear, which may imply that the epenthetic vowel /u/ is inserted not only to stabilize the syllable construction but also to leave a trace of the previous morpheme boundary.

2.4.4. Geminate devoicing

Almost all of the geminates within monomorphemic words in Yuwan are voiceless (see (2-8 d) in §2.3.2). Moreover, if a voiced geminate occurs at a morpheme boundary, it tends to be voiceless.

(2-18) [11] C_i C_i > C_i C_i
[+v] [+v] [-v] [-v]

(2-19) a. bb > pp
ar 'exist' + ba (CSL) > appa[12]
b. dd > tt
ar 'exist' + doo (ASS) > attoo[13]
c. gg > kk
ar 'exist' + ga (CFM3) > akka[14]

[10] '#' indicates a syllable boundary.
[11] The small italic *i* means they have the same articulatory place and manner. Supplemental information is provided in square brackets under the rule schema.
[12] Morphophonological rule (see §8.3.1.4): ar +ba > abba (> appa)
[13] Morphophonological rule (see §8.3.1.4): ar +doo > addoo (> attoo)
[14] Morphophonological rule (see §8.3.1.4): ar +ga > agga (> akka)

2.4.5. Vowel deletion

A monomorphemic word has a sequence with at most two vowels (see (2-8 e) in §2.3.2) and it does not have a $V_iV_iC_{coda}$ sequence (see (2-8 f) in §2.3.2). If this sequence occurs around a morpheme boundary, one of the preceding vowels tends to be deleted.

(2-20) $V_i\ V_i \ > \ V_i \ / \ \_ \ \begin{Bmatrix} V \\ C \end{Bmatrix} \ \#$

(2-21) a. Before a vowel

koow 'buy' + i (INF) > koi[15]

b. Before a consonant

attaa 'they' + n 'also' > attan

+ nkja (APPR) > attankja

Interestingly, though three-vowel sequences tend to be avoided at morpheme boundaries, four-vowel sequences are not. (If we suppose that a syllable dislikes having three morae cosidering (2-20), the acceptability of /kooii/ may mean the existence of a syllable boundary, such as /koo.ii/.) See the example below; for convenience, the surface form is shown from the beginning in this example (see §8.4.4.1 for the lengthened form of the infinitive).

(2-22) koow 'buy' + ii (INF) > kooii[16]

Yuwan has few lexemes where the vowel /o/ is short (see the note "b" of Table 4), and when /o/ appears, its syllable is frequently heavy, i.e., it is /oi/, /oo/ or /oC_{coda}/. Otherwise, these lexemes are onomatopoeia such as *botto+botto* 'lazily,' interjections such as *ido* 'hey,' or seem to be relatively modern loan words from standard Japanese such as *itoko* 'cousin.' Those facts may indicate that the /o/ that is short in surface level is long, i.e. /oo/, in underlying level, and that the underlying /oo/ becomes /o/ by the vowel deletion rule in (2-20). The same argument can be applied to /ə/.

2.5. Prosody

2.5.1. Three pitch patterns

There is lexical prosody in Yuwan. That is, each root has its own prosodic pattern, and these patterns fall into three types.

[15] Phonological rule (see §2.4.1): koow + i > kooi (> koi)
[16] Phonological rule (see §2.4.1): koow + ii > kooii

I. Falling after the penultimate mora of a phonological word
II. Falling after the syllable including the second mora of a phonological word
III. Rising at the final mora of a phonological word
(If the falling position is located word-finally, then falling is realized after the penultimate mora.)

In the following tables, both “H” (high pitch) and “L” (low pitch) are counted as a mora respectively.

Table 20. Pitch patterns in Yuwan

	Form	Gloss	Pitch pattern			
			Isolation	x=*nu* (NOM)	x=*n* ‘also’	x=*gadɨ* (LMT)
I	*haa*	‘leaf’	HL	HHL	HL[17]	HHHL
	judai	‘saliva’	HHL	HHHL	HHHL	HHHHL
II	*haa*	‘teeth’	HL	HHL	HL	HHLL
	sɨkama	‘morning’	HHL	HHLL	HHLL	HHLLL
	məərabɨ	‘lady’	HHLL	HHLLL	HHLLL	HHLLLL
	hizjai	‘left’	HHL	HHHL	HHLL	HHHLL
III	*naa*	‘inside’	LH	LLH	LLH	LLLH
	nabɨ	‘pan’	LH	LLH	LLH	LLLH
	usagi	‘rabbit’	LLH	LLLH	LLLH	LLLLH

This table shows that in order to determine the type II pitch pattern, it is necessary to count both syllables and morae.

Most of the lexicon belonging to type II is realized with falling after the second mora, such as /sɨ.ka.ma.nu/ *sɨkama=nu* (morning=NOM) produced as HHLL and /məə.ra.bɨ.nu/ *məərabɨ=nu* (lady=NOM) produced as HHLLL. However, if the second syllable contains a vowel sequence, the falling occurs after the third mora, such as /hi.zjai.nu/ *hizjai=nu* (left=NOM) produced as HHHL, which means type II represents falling not after the second mora, but after the second syllable including the second mora. Furthermore, if you only allow that “type II represents falling after the second syllable,” you cannot explain why /məə.ra.bɨ.nu/ *məərabɨ=nu* (lady=NOM) is produced as HHLLL.

The prosodic behavior discussed above helps us think about the long vowels and dipthongs in Yuwan. In short, we cannot assume a long vowel phoneme, such as /aː/, or a diphthong phoneme, such as /a^{i}/, because we presuppose the following three points:

a. A mora is assigned not to a phoneme but to a slot;
b. A slot may have maximally one mora;
c. One phoneme can fill only one slot.

(Note: ‘slot’ in the above means C, G, or V in a syllable. See §2.3.1 for more details.)

[17] (Optional) phonological rule (see §2.4.5): haa + n > han

That is, we do not propose that one slot has two morae, that one phoneme has two morae, or that one phoneme can fill two moraic slots in a syllable. From the point of view of prosody, long vowels and diphthongs in Yuwan have two morae, so we do not assume a long vowel phoneme, such as /aː/, or a diphthong phoneme, such as /a^{i}/. A similar problem was discussed in Dixon (2010: 196-199) where "in Fijian - a mora-counting language - a long vowel can be usefully regarded as a sequence of two short vowels."

2.5.2. Some notes on initial glottalized consonants

In Yuwan, there seems to be irregular pitch patterns if the initial consonant of words is glottalized.

Table 21. Pitch patterns of words beginning with a glottalized consonant (part 1)

Form	Gloss	Pitch pattern			
		Isolation	x=*nu* (NOM)	x=*n* 'also'	x=*gadɨ* (LMT)
nˀjɨ	'rice plant'	H	HL	HL	HLL
mˀa	'horse'	H	HL	HL	HLL
nˀjuti	'life'	HL	HLL	HLL	HLLL
mˀacɨ	'fire'	HL	HLL	HLL	HLLL
kˀwagɨ	'mulberry'	HL	HLL	HLL	HLLL
kˀjubii	'belt'	HLL	HLLL	HLLL	HLLLL

In these words, falling seems to occur after the first mora, and such a pitch pattern is not found elsewhere (see §2.5.1). There are two possible analyses to explain this finding:

Analysis 1: Glottalized phonemes have one mora by themselves.

Analysis 2: Glottalized resonants or glottalized stops with approximants create a subcategory of pitch patterns.

Analysis 1, however, immediately turns out to be false, because there is a case where a glottalized phoneme does not seem to have one mora.

Table 22. Pitch patterns of words beginning with a glottalized consonant (part 2)

Form	Gloss	Pitch pattern			
		Isolation	x=*nu* (NOM)	x=*n* 'also'	x=*gadɨ* (LMT)
kˀura	'storehouse'	HL	HHL	HHL	HHLL

Table 22 shows that glottalized /kˀ/ does not have a mora because the falling is realized not after /kˀu/ but after

/ra/ (when it precedes clitics). In other words, it behaves regularly as the type II pitch pattern (see §2.5.1). Since we cannot regard the glottalized consonant /kˀ/ as having one mora, Analysis 1 cannot be accepted.

Analysis 2 assumes that the type II pitch pattern has two subcategories:

Subcategory I: If initial consonants are glottalized resonants such as /nˀ/, or the glottalized velar stop /kˀ/ plus an approximant such as /kˀw/ or /kˀj/, then the falling occurs after the initial mora.

Subcategory II: Otherwise, the falling occurs after the syllable including the second mora.

These subcategories can be explained by phonotactics, which means their differences need not be assigned to the lexicon. Following these points, we will take up Analysis 2. Additionally, many of the glottalized consonants were the result of syllable omission (see §2.3.2.3). Therefore, the retaining of a mora by a glottal phoneme can also be explained from a historical perspective.

2.5.3. Further research

In the previous section, we discussed the prosody of nominals in Yuwan; however, the data set is very limited. In fact, we only dealt with 207 words. The breakdown of the pitch patterns of these words are shown below.

Table 23. Breakdown of pitch patterns of nominals

Pitch patterns	Number of words	Percentage
I	99	48%
II	56	27%
III	52	25%
Total	207	100%

It is important to note that there are many cases where the falling or rising of the three accent patterns is not realized. In other words, there are many cases where a phonological word keeps a flat pitch throughout, and this makes it difficult to fully know the accurate pitch patterns of words in Yuwan. In the above data, we excluded these data and only focused on words that have pitch movement; however, we need to clarify this omission for future research.

Although research into the prosody of Yuwan is not yet sufficient, our current data and analysis make it possible to propose the following points. First, we propose that verbs and adjectives seem to have the same pitch patterns as nominals, although the details of their proportions are different. Second, compounds seem to retain the pitch patterns of the preceding stem. Third, the most recent loan words (from English loan words in Standard Japanese) tend to have the type I pitch pattern.

Chapter 3
Grammatical relations

In Yuwan, grammatical relations, i.e. subject and object, cannot be clearly defined, but there are a few phenomena that are easily explained if we assume grammatical relations. We will examine the phenomena related to subjects in §3.1, and objects in §3.2.

3.1. Subject

The subject in Yuwan is defined as the referent that receives respect indicated by honorific verbs.

(3-1) Subjects with honorific verbs

a.	TM:	an	jaaja	sinsjeiga	umoojuncjɨdoo.
		a-n	*jaa=ja*	*sinsjei=ga*	*umoor-jur-n=ccjɨ=doo*
		DIST-ADNZ	house=TOP	[teacher]=NOM	[exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP]=QT=ASS
				[Subject]	[Honorific verb]
		‘(I heard) that there was a teacher in that house.’			
					[El: 120924]
b.	TM:	#an	jaaja	warabɨnu	umoojuncjɨdoo.
		a-n	*jaa=ja*	*warabɨ=nu*	*umoor-jur-n=ccjɨ=doo*
		DIST-ADNZ	house=TOP	[child]=NOM	[exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP]=QT=ASS
				[Subject]	[Honorific verb]
					[El: 120924]
c.	TM:	an	jaaja	warabɨnu	wuncjɨdoo.
		a-n	*jaa=ja*	*warabɨ=nu*	*wur-n=ccjɨ=doo*
		DIST-ADNZ	house=TOP	[child]=NOM	[exist-PTCP]=QT=ASS
				[Subject]	[Non-honorific verb]
		‘(I heard) that there was a child in that house.’			
					[El: 120924]

In (3-1 a), the honorific verb *umoor-* (exist.HON) shows respect to *sjensjei* ‘teacher,’ which is the subject of the sentence. In (3-1 b), the honorific verb *umoor-* (exist.HON) shows respect to *warabɨ* ‘child,’ but it is not natural for TM, who is eighty-nine years old, to show respect to a child, so this sentence cannot be possible. However, if the verb is a non-honorific verb, i.e. *wur-* ‘exist,’ the sentence is problem-free as in (3-1 c).

In the above examples, all of the subjects have the nominative case. Thus, one may think that we do not need the term “subject,” but only “nominative NP” instead. We need the term “subject,” however, since there is a case where the “subject” does not take the nominative case. The following examples show that case.

In these examples, possessional meaning is expressed by the existential construction, where the expression that literally means ‘About X, there is Y’ actually means ‘X has Y.’

(3-2) Existential construction expressing possessional meaning

a. TM:

an	sinsjeija	jɨɨinu	umoojuncjɨdoo.
a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	*jɨɨi=nu*	*umoor-jur-n=ccjɨ=doo*
[DIST-ADNZ	teacher]=TOP	brother=NOM	[exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP]=QT=ASS
[Subject]			[Honorific verb]

‘(I heard) that the teacher has a brother.’

[lit. ‘(I heard) that about the teacher, there is a brother.’]

[El: 120924]

b. TM:

#an	warabɨja	jɨɨinu	umoojuncjɨdoo.
a-n	*warabɨ=ja*	*jɨɨi=nu*	*umoor-jur-n=ccjɨ=doo*
[DIST-ADNZ	child]=TOP	brother=NOM	[exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP]=QT=ASS
[Subject]			[Honorific verb]

[El: 120924]

c. TM:

an	warabɨja	jɨɨinu	wuncjɨdoo.
a-n	*warabɨ=ja*	*jɨɨi=nu*	*wur-n=ccjɨ=doo*
[DIST-ADNZ	child]=TOP	brother=NOM	[exist-PTCP]=QT=ASS
[Subject]			[Non-honorific verb]

‘(I heard) that the child has a brother.’

[lit. ‘(I heard) that about the child, there is a brother.’]

[El: 120924]

In the above examples, the NPs that take the nominative case have the same composition, i.e. *jɨɨi=nu* (brother=NOM). However, the acceptability of those examples is different. In fact, the initial NPs that take the topic particle *ja* determine the acceptability of those sentences. In (3-2 a), the honorific verb *umoor-* (exist.HON) shows respect to *a-n sinsjei* ‘the teacher,’ which is the sentence-initial NP and also the subject of the sentence. In (3-2 b), the sentence-initial NP, which is also the subject of the sentence, is *a-n warabɨ* ‘the child,’ and it is not natural for TM to show respect to a child with honorific verbs. Thus, (3-2 b) is not acceptable. However, in (3-2 c), the verb is not an honorific verb: *wur-* ‘exist.’ Therefore, *warabɨ* ‘child,’ which is the sentence-initial NP and also the subject of the sentence, is acceptable.

In conclusion, it is possible to recognize the existence of the grammatical category “subject” in Yuwan. Here, the term “subject” is selected because of its likelihood to become the agent of a sentence (cf. Andrews 2007: 136). We cannot, however, identify the subject in every sentence, because sentences in Yuwan do not necessarily include honorific verbs. In other words, the criterion of the subject established by the honorific verb is not an ironclad criterion.

3.2. Object

In Yuwan, the recognition of the grammatical relation “object” is much more difficult than that of the subject. However, it is very useful to use this term in order to understand the grammar of Yuwan. For example, the locative case *nan* (LOC1) can mark the place where the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb exists (or contacts) (see §6.3.2.6 for more details). In this case, we should recognize the grammatical relation “object,” or at least “P,” which is a patient-like argument of a transitive clause. Another example that shows the usefulness of the term “object” is shown in (6-75 c-d) in §6.3.2.11.

Chapter 4
Descriptive preliminaries

In this chapter, the basic components in morphosyntax will be addressed. The clause structure and the phrase structure, especially the nominal phrase (NP) and the differences among three types of predicate phrases, will be discussed in §4.1. In §4.2, basic morphological units, i.e. free forms, clitics, and affixes, and combinations of stems, i.e. compounding and reduplication, will be addressed. Finally, the word classes and the criteria to distinguish them will be discussed in §4.3.

4.1. Clause structure and phrase structure

Clause structure is discussed in §4.1.1, and phrase structures are discussed in §4.1.2 and §4.1.3.

4.1.1. Clause structure

The canonical word order is SV and APV. Yuwan has a nominative-accusative case marking system. Canonically, S/A arguments are marked by *ga/nu* (NOM), and P argument is marked by *ba* (ACC). Argument NPs that are inferable from the context can be left unstated.

(4-1) a. Intransitive clause

[Context: Remembering almost twenty years ago; TM: ‘When I was seventy years old, ...’]

TM:	hacukosanga	wut**ɨ**,
	[*hacuko-san=ga*]$_{\text{Argument}}$	[*wur-t**ɨ***]$_{\text{Predicate}}$
	Hatsuko-HON=NOM	exist-SEQ

‘There was Ms. Hatsuko, and ...’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Transitive clause

TM:	hirooga	kang**ɨɨ**ba	kicj**ɨ**,
	[*hiroo=ga*]$_{\text{Argument}}$	[*kang**ɨɨ**=ba*]$_{\text{Argument}}$	[*kij-t**ɨ***]$_{\text{Predicate}}$
	Hiro=NOM	hedge=ACC	cut-SEQ

‘Hiro cut the hedge, and ...’

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

Each argument slot is filled by a nominal phrase (see §4.1.2). The predicate slot is filled by a verbal, nominal, or adjectival predicate phrase (see §4.1.3).

It should be noted that the choice between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) depends on the lexical meaning (or “animacy hierarchy” in a broad sense) of the head nominal. In other words, the choice between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) is not influenced by the meaning of the verbs (e.g., whether the verb is volitional or not). For

example, the subject (i.e., /waakjaa anmatankja/ ‘my mother’) of the volitional verb (i.e., /izjɨ cʔjan/ ‘had been’ [lit. ‘go and come back’]) takes *ga* (NOM) as in (6-103 c), as well as the subject (i.e., /tacuu/ ‘Tatsu’) of the non-volitional verb (i.e., /moosjaroo/ ‘passed away’) takes *ga* (NOM) as in (8-24). Similarly, the subject (i.e., /nɨsəə/ ‘young man’) of the volitional verb (i.e., /tuutai/ ‘passed’) takes *nu* (NOM) as in (8-118 a), as well as the subject (i.e., /ireba/ ‘artificial tooth’) of the non-volitional verb (i.e., /utɨjun/ ‘fall’) takes *nu* (NOM) as in (8-90 a). The details about the choice between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) will be discussed in §6.4.

4.1.2. Nominal phrase (NP)

Yuwan has the following nominal phrase (NP) structure.

[(Modifier) Head]$_{\text{NP}}$ (=Case)

The head slot is obligatory, while the modifier slot is optional in principle (with the exception of the formal noun which will be discussed in §6.2.2). The head slot is filled by a nominal. A case particle follows the NP. However, there are many situations where case particles do not appear. The nominative case particle does not occur if the NP is followed by *ja* (TOP), *du* (FOC), or *n* ‘also’ (see also §10.1). Likewise, the genitive case particle does not occur if the head is filled by an address noun (see §7.2), and the accusative case may be omitted after an inanimate nominal (see §6.3.2.2). Thus, we propose the core of an NP is the head nominal and not the case particle. An NP that contains a case particle is called an “extended NP” (Shimoji 2008: 167). In this grammar, the label “NP” refers to either the NP (in a narrow sense) or the extended NP.

Syntactically, an NP can function either as a clausal dependent (argument), a clausal head (nominal predicate), or a phrasal modifier (NP in genitive function).

(4-2) a. Argument NP

TM:	jinganu	|hasigo|	kɨɨtɨ,	nasiba
	[*jinga=nu*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$	[*hasigo*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$	*kɨɨr-tɨ*	[*nasi=ba*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$
	man=NOM	ladder	put-SEQ	pear=ACC

tʔɨɨ	tʔɨɨ	mutunwakejo.
tʔɨɨ	*tʔɨɨ*	*mur-tur-n=wake=joo*
one.CLF	one.CLF	pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP=CFM1

‘A man put a ladder (against a tree) and was picking up pears one by one.’

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. Nominal predicate

TM:	kun	cʔjoo	tarukai?
	[*ku-n*	*cʔju*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$*=ja*	[*ta-ru*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$*=kai*
	PROX-ADNZ	person=TOP	who-NLZ=DUB

‘Who is this person?’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Phrasal modifier

TM:	naakjaa	jumɨnu	naaja	sijandoojaa.
	{[*naakjaa*	*jumɨ=nu*]$_{\text{Phrasal modifier}}$	*naa*}$_{\text{Argument NP}}$*=ja*	*sij-an=doo=jaa*
	2PL.HON.ADNZ	daughter.in.law=GEN	name=TOP	know-NEG=ASS=SOL

‘(I) don’t know the name of your daughter in law.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (4-2 c), the NP *naakjaa jumɨ* ‘your daughter in law’ is composed of the modifier *naakjaa* (2PL.HON.ADNZ) and the head *jumɨ* ‘daughter in law.’ It functions as a phrasal modifier of the superordinate NP, which is indicated by curly brackets.

The modifier slot of an NP can be filled by an adnominal, adnominal clause, and NP with the genitive case, although address nouns do not take the genitive case. Address nouns are juxtaposed to fill the modifier slot of an NP (see §6.1 for more details).

(4-3) a. Adnominals

TM:	[*naakjaa*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$	[*jumɨ*]$_{\text{Head}}$
	2PL.HON.ADNZ	daughter.in.law

‘your daughter in law’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Adnominal clauses

TM:	hinzjaa	succjun	jinga
	[*hinzjaa*	*sukk-tur-n*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$	[*jinga*]$_{\text{Head}}$
	goat	pull-PROG-PTCP	man

‘the man who is pulling a goat’

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

c. NP with genitive case

TM:	[*jumɨ=nu*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$	[*naa*]$_{\text{Head}}$
	daughter.in.law=GEN	name

‘daughter in law’s name’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Juxtaposition

TM:	[*tˀoomu+nii*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$	[*baasan*]$_{\text{Head}}$
	Tsutomu+elder.brother	grandmother

‘Tsutomu’s grandmother’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

4.1.3. Predicate phrase

A predicate phrase appears clause-finally, and there are three subtypes of predicate phrase in Yuwan: verbal predicates, adjectival predicates, and nominal predicates.

(4-4) Three subtypes of predicate phrase

a. Verbal predicate phrase	(Complement)	VP
b. Adjectival predicate phrase	A	(STV)
c. Nominal predicate phrase	NP	(COP)

Notes:
"VP" indicates the verbal phrase;
"A" indicates the adjective;
"STV" indicates a stative verb;
"COP" indicates a copular verb.

The verbal predicate is discussed in §4.1.3.1. The adjectival predicate is discussed in §4.1.3.2. The nominal predicate is discussed in §4.1.3.3. For more details, see Chapter 9.

4.1.3.1. Verbal predicate

A verbal predicate phrase is composed of a verbal phrase (VP) and optionally a complement as schematized in (4-5) (see §9.1 for more details).

(4-5) The structure of the verbal predicate phrase

[(Complement) VP]$_{\text{Verbal predicate phrase}}$

A VP is composed minimally of a lexical verb as in (4-6).

(4-6) Minimal VP

TM: *kam-ɨ!*
eat-IMP
Lex. verb
'Eat (it)!'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The VP may be composed of a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb as in (4-7), which is called the auxiliary verb construction (AVC) (see §9.1.1).

(4-7) Auxiliary verb construction

TM:	cʔjɨ	kurɨran?
	k-tɨ	*kurɨr-an*
	come-SEQ	BEN-NEG
	Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'Will you come (to my son's place)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The light verbs *sɨr-* 'do' and *nar-* 'become' obligatorily take complements. This structure is called the light verb construction (see §9.1.2).

(4-8) Light verb construction

a. *sɨr-* 'do'

TM:	jʔiija	sɨranban,
	jʔ-i=ja	*sɨr-an=ban*
	say-INF=TOP	do-NEG=ADVRS
	Complement	LV

'(They) wouldn't say (so), but ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. *nar-* 'become'

TM:	joo,	huccju	nappoojoo,	adoorɨtɨjo,
	joo	*huccju*	*nar-boo=joo*	*adoorɨr-tɨ=joo*
	FIL	old.person	become-CND=CFM1	trip.over-SEQ=CFM1
		Complement	LV	

'Well, if (people) become old, (they) trip over their own feet, and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

4.1.3.2. Adjectival predicate

An adjectival predicate phrase is composed of an adjective and optionally a stative verb as schematized in (4-9) (see §9.2 for more details).

(4-9) Structure of the adjectival predicate phrase

[A (STV)]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$

The minimal adjectival predicate phrase is illustrated in (4-10 a), where the head slot is filled by the adjectival word (see §4.3.4 for more details).

(4-10) a. *-sa* (ADJ)

[Context: Looking at a fried vegetable]

TM: agɨ! hɨɨsa.

agɨ [*hɨɨ-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival Predicate}}$

oh big-ADJ

'Oh! (It is) big.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. *-soo* (ADJ)

TM: agɨɨ! kjurasoo.

agɨ [*kjura-soo*]$_{\text{Adjectival Predicate}}$

oh beautiful-ADJ

'Oh! (It is) beautiful.'

[El: 130823]

There are two stative verbs *ar-* and *nə-*. In many cases, *ar-* (STV) co-occurs with the adjective whose inflection is *-sa* (ADJ) as in (4-11 a) (see §8.3.4.1 for more details). *nə-* (STV) co-occurs with the adjective whose inflection is *-soo* (ADJ) as in (4-11 b) (see §8.3.4.2 for more details).

(4-11) a. *-sa* (ADJ) with *ar-* (STV)

[Context: Remembering her childhood]

TM: asikencʔjuga huusa ata.

asiken+cʔju=ga [*huu-sa* *ar-tar*]$_{\text{Adjectival Predicate}}$

Ashiken+person=FOC many-ADJ STV-PST

'There were many people from Ashiken.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *-soo* (ADJ) with *nə-* (STV)

[Context: Talking about the wooden beams of MS's house; MS: '(The wooden beams of my house) haven't become as black as those (of your house), you know.']

TM: kʔurusoo nəndarooga.

kʔuru-soo *nə-an=daroo=ga*

black-ADJ STV-NEG=SUPP=CFM3

'(Those) are not black, right?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

4.1.3.3. Nominal predicate

A nominal predicate phrase is composed of a nomina phrase (NP) and optionally a copula verb (COP) as schematized in (4-12) (see §9.2 for more details).

(4-12) Structure of the nominal predicate phrase

[NP (COP)]$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$

The fact that the copula verb is optional indicates that the head of the nominal predicate is the NP (not the copula) as will be discussed below.

Yuwan has four copula verbs: *jar-*, *zjar-*, *nar-* and *ar-* (see §8.4.3 for more details). The first three (*jar-*, *zjar-*, and *nar-*) are used in affirmative, and the last one (*ar-*) is used in negative with the exception of the AVC (see §8.3.3.3) and the focus construction (see §9.4.3). NPs are followed by the topic particle *ja* when the copula verb is *ar-* in negative (for other cases, see §9.3.2.1). I present the copula verbs, which are underlined in the following exmaples.

(4-13) a. *jar-*

[Context: Speaking of an acquaintance of both US and TM]

US:	haccjanna	ikɨgaci	jatəi?
	haccjan=ja	*ikɨgaci*	*jar-təər-i*
	Hachan=TOP	Ikegachi	COP-RSL-NPST
		[NP	Copular verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$

'Hachan was (from) Ikegachi?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *zjar-*

[Context: Seeing a photo of the Bon festival]

TM:	katakʔwasi	zjajaa.
	kata+kʔwasi	*zjar=jaa*
	model+snack	COP=SOL
	[NP	Copular verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$

'(That) is Katagasi, you know.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *nar-*

TM:	jusɨga	sɨki	natɨjoo,
	jusɨr-Ø=ga	*sɨki*	*nar-tɨ=joo*
	teach-INF=NOM	fond	COP-SEQ=CFM1
		[NP	Copular verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$

'(My mother) was fond of teaching, so (everyone came to learn the traditional songs from my mother).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

d. *ar-*

[Context: Seeing a photo taken in celebration of setting up the first outdoor lamps on the shopping street in the village]

TM:	un	tukinnu	juwəəja	aran?
	un	*tuki=n=nu*	*juwəə=ja*	*ar-an*
	[that	time=DAT1=GEN	celebration]=TOP	COP-NEG
	{[NP]			Copular verb}$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$

'Is (the photo about) the celebration at that time?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

There are some cases where the copula verbs are free to occur in the nominal predicates as in (4-14).

(4-14) Copular verb is free to appear

[Context: Seeing an album]

TM:	urəə	denzirosan.
	urɨ=ja	*denziro-san*
	that=TOP	[Denziro-POL]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$

'That is Denziro.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

However, the copula verbs must occur unless the nominal predicate fulfills all of the following conditions.

(4-15) The copula verbs must occur unless the nominal predicate fulfills all of the following conditions:

a. In the non-past tense;
b. In affirmative;
c. Not taking verbal affixes or conjunctive particles;
d. Predicate not being focused by *du* (FOC).

For example, the nominal predicate takes the aspectual affix *-təər* (RSL) in (4-13 a). Thus, it takes the copula verb *jar-*. On the other hand, the nominal predicate in (4-14) fulfills all of the conditions in (4-15). Thus, it is free to take a copula verb. It should be noted that the nominal predicate that fulfills all of the conditions in (4-15) "is free" to take copula verbs. In other words, such a nominal predicate "may" take a copula verb as in (4-16).

(4-16) Copular verb may appear

[Context: Seeing an album]

TM:	doosje	noogusuku	zja.
	doosje	*noogusuku*	*zjar*
	maybe	[Nogusuku	COP]
		[NP	Copular verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$

‘(It) may be Nogusuku.’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In addition, *zjar-* (COP) always appears when the nominal predicate fulfills the conditions in (4-15), and also is followed by *jaa* (SOL) or *ga* (CFM3).

(4-17) Followed by *jaa* (SOL)

TM:	an	ikɨn	məə	zjajaa.
	a-n	*ikɨ=n*	*məə*	*zjar=jaa*
	DIST-ADNZ	pond=GEN	front	COP=SOL

‘(This picture) is the front of that pond.’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

On the contrary, if a nominal predicate fulfills all of the conditions in (4-15) and (4-18), the copula verbs never appear as in (4-19 a-b).

(4-18) Additional condition:
Nominal predicate is followed by *doo* (ASS), *daroo* (SUPP), *ga* (CFM3), *kai* (DUB), *joo* (CFM1), *jaa* (SOL), or *na* (PLQ).

The following example shows that the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) directly attaches to the NP in the predicate.

(4-19) Copula verb cannot appear

a. [Context: Remembering the utterance of an acquaintance]

TM: akiradoo
akira=doo
[Akira]=ASS
$[NP]_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
‘(This is) Akira.’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: *akira jattoo/zjattoo.
akira jar/zjar=doo
Akira COP=ASS

[El: 111104]

The example of *kai* (DUB) was shown in (4-2 b).

4.2. Basic morphological units

4.2.1. Free form, clitic, and affix

As mentioned in §2.1, grammatical words comprise free forms and clitics. There are no prefixes or proclitics in Yuwan, although some personal names in Yuwan seem to have a prefix-like morpheme, e.g. *u-mine* (PREFIX?-Mine) 'Mine (personal name).' The alleged formative *u-*, however, is not productive in modern Yuwan, and only appears in the beginning of some personal names. Therefore, I treat it as a part of the root. The formative *u-* seems to have originated from **o-*. This must have expressed politeness considering the cognate form *o-* in standard Japanese, e.g. *o-kasi* (POL-snack) and *o-mise* (POL-shop). In fact, the speaker TM regards this /u/ as a part of the name, i.e., she thinks /mine/ is an official name and /umine/ is a private name. A similar argumentation can be made against the existence of the proclitic in Yuwan. For example, the formative *naa* 'more,' as in *naa+cʔjui* (more+one.NUM.HUM) 'one more person,' looks like a proclitc in the sense that it is a bound grammatical formative that attaches to a free form. However, *naa* may also be analyzed as a free form, which can function as an adverb (see aslo §4.3.6). In this case, *naa+cʔjui* should be analyzed as a compound. That is, *naa* is not categorized as a clitic (i.e. particle) but instead as a word (i.e. adverb) (see also §4.2.3.1).

There are two main criteria for distinguishing among free forms, clitics, and affixes.

Table 24. Criteria for distinguishing among free forms, clitics, and affixes

	Grammatical word		
	Free form	Clitic	Affix
(a) Can constitute a minimal utterance	+	-	-
(b) Can follow more than one word class	+	+	-

The meaning of a "minimal utterance" here is a minimal unit that can be uttered only by itself. In fact, a compound does not conforms to this criterion, since each component of a compound can be uttered only by itself. Considering the cohesion of the compound, however, it is reasonable to regard it as a free form (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002). Similarly, the honorific auxiliary verb construction, which will be discussed in §9.1.1, expresses a strong cohesion. Considering the other auxiliary verb constructions, however, it is appropriate to think that the honorific auxiliary verb consruction is in the process of grammaticalization. Thus, I propose that it is composed of multiple free forms, i.e. verbs. A stronger feature that would distinguish free forms from clitics and affixes is prosody. It is likely true that free forms can have their own prosody but (most of) clitics and affixes cannot. However, the prosody of Yuwan is only partly clarified (see §2.5.3), and I use the criterion only partly in this grammar.

Most of morphological units comform to the criteria in Table 24. However, there are some instances that cannot be classified clearly into free forms, clitics, or affixes. Those instances are discussed in the next section.

4.2.2. Problematic cases

4.2.2.1. Clitic-like free forms

The previous section mentioned that there is no proclitic in Yuwan, but there are proclitic-like morphemes, namely adnominals (e.g. /a-n/ 'that (one)' or /wa-a/ 'my'). However, I do not regard these units as proclitics, since adnominals have their own pitch patterns. In fact, the details are not very clear and should be investigated in future research.

Copula verbs cannot occur only by themselves (except for the case discussed in (8-40) in §8.4.3.3), and they do not seem to have their own pitch pattern. However, I do not regard them as (en)clitics, since copula verbs behave differently from clitics when they occur after infinitives in the sentence-final position. Infinitives before clitics in the sentence-final position become the lengthened forms, but infinitives before copula verbs in the sentence-final position become the simple forms (see (8-108) in §8.4.4.1 for more details).

It should be mentioned that the stative verbs *ar-* and *nə-* cannot constitute a minimal utterance, and *ar-* (STV) does not seem to have its own pitch pattern. (On the contrary, *nə-* (STV) seems to have its own pitch pattern, i.e. the pitch pattern III.) In fact, *ar-* (STV) is in the process of grammaticalization, which is apparent from the fact that it undergoes contraction with the preceding adjective in some environments (see §9.2.2.2 for more details). I do not use the clitic-boundary marker "=" before *ar-* (STV) to maintain the structural parallelism between *ar-* (STV) and *nə-* (STV), but it may be appropriate to regard the stative verb composed of *ar-* as an enclitic in modern Yuwan.

4.2.2.2. Affix-like clitics

Yuwan has two types of clitics that have similarity with affixes.

First, some clitics in Yuwan have similarity with affixes in terms of the formal boundedness of the host morpheme. In many cases, affixes can follow bound verbal stems, but clitics cannot. However, there are some clitics that can follow bound verbal stems, i.e. *sɨ* (FN), *doo* (ASS), *ka* (DUB), *kai* (DUB), *kamo* (POS), *ga* (CFM3), and *gajaaroo* (DUB) (see also chapter 10). For example, the verbal affix *-jur* (UMRK) cannot finish an utterance, and *jum-jur* (read-UMRK) is a bound verbal stem. An inflectional affix, e.g. *-i* (NPST), has to follow it to make it a free form, i.e. /jum-ju-i/ *jum-jur-i* (read-UMRK-NPST) '(Someone) reads.' According to the criteria shown in Table 24, the above seven clitics are not affixes, since they can follow more than one word class. However, those clitics are similar to the inflectional verbal affixes since they can follow bound verbal stems: /jum-ju=sɨ/[18] (read-UMRK=FN) 'something to read,' /jum-jut=too/[19] (read-UMRK=ASS) '(I) will read,' and /jum-juk=kai/[20] (read-UMRK=DUB) 'Will you read?', and so forth. Considering these facts, the above seven clitics are somewhere between clitics and affixes.

Second, a few clitics in Yuwan have similarity with affixes in terms of the constraint on the selection of the hosts' stem classes. Briefly speaking, there are morphemes that do not conform to the second criterion in Table 24, but that will be treated as clitics, i.e. *ban* (ADVRS) and *mun* (ADVRS). They always follow a verb

[18] There is a morphophonological rule (see §8.3.1.3): jur + sɨ > jusɨ.
[19] There is a morphophonological rule and a phonological rule (see §8.3.1.4 and §2.4.4): jur + doo > juddoo > juttoo.
[20] There is a morphophonological rule (see §8.3.1.4): jur + kai > jukkai.

(concretely speaking, a participle). A participle usually fills the predicate slot of an adnominal clause, as in (4-20 a). However, it can fill the predicate slot of an adverbial clause if it is followed by *ban* (ADVRS) as in (4-20 b).

(4-20) a. Participle in an adnominal clause

TM:	tarun	mukasinukutu	siccjun
	ta-ru=n	*mukasi=nu=kutu*	*sij-tur-n*
	who-NLZ=any	[past=GEN=event	know-PROG-PTCP]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
	cʔjoo	wuranbajaa.	
	cʔju=ja	*wur-an-ba=jaa*	
	person=TOP	exist-NEG-CSL=SOL	

'There is not anyone who knows the events of the past.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Participle in an adverbial clause

TM:	wanna	honami-|cjan|	naaja	siccjunban,
	wan=ja	*honami-cjan*	*naa=ja*	*sij-tur-n=ban*
	[1SG=TOP	Honami-DIM	name=TOP	know-PROG-PTCP=ADVRS]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$

naakjaa	juminu	naaja	sijandoojaa.
naakjaa	*jumɨ=nu*	*naa=ja*	*sij-an=doo=jaa*
2PL.HON.ADNZ	daughter.in.law=GEN	name=TOP	know-NEG=ASS=SOL

'I know Honami's name, but don't know the name of your daughter in law.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Considering the second criterion in Table 24, *ban* (ADVRS) has to be classified into affixes since it cannot follow more than one word class. However, I propose *ban* (ADVRS) as an clitic (not an affix) because I do not assume there is an additional inflectional slot after the participial affix slot. In other words, there is no beneficial reason to interpret the participial affix *-n* as an ambivalent affix that is able to both close and not close a word, similar to the past affix *-tar* or the negative affix *-an* (see §8.1 for discussion about ambivalent affixes). The only possible candidates that can follow *-n* (PTCP) are the two morphemes mentioned above, which is different from *-tar* (PST) and *-an* (NEG), which can precede a number of verbal inflectional affixes. Thus, I do not regard *ban* (ADVRS) and *mun* (ADVRS) as affixes. Rather, I propose that they are conjunctive particles (see §10.2).

4.2.3. Stems and its morphological operations

The term stem is used to describe the combination of a root and a derivational affix (or affixes) (see §8.1 for the distinction between derivational affixes and an inflectional affix).

(4-21) Stem: {Root(-Derivational affix(es))}$_{\text{stem}}$

Thus, the minimal stem is made of a single root.

The minimal word is made of a minimal stem, which is summarized as follows.

(4-22) Minimal word: $[\{\text{Root}\}_{\text{stem}}]_{\text{word}}$

In the following subsections, we will discuss two types of complex stems, i.e. compounding (see §4.2.3.1 and §4.2.3.2) and reduplication (see §4.2.3.3). In §4.2.3.4, I will present the morphophonological rule for compounding, i.e. "rendaku" (sequential voicing).

4.2.3.1. Compounding (ordinary type)

A compound is a complex stem that usually constitutes a grammatical word as in (4-23 a). However, there is a case where the complex stem itself does not constitute a grammatical word, and such a stem needs an inflection to become a free form as in (4-23 b).

(4-23) a. Compounded nominal stem
sataa+jadui
sugar+hut
$[\{\text{Stem}_1+\text{Stem}_2\}_{\text{compound}}]_{\text{word}}$
'hut (in order to make) sugar (from sugarcane)'

b. Compounded verbal stem
izjas-i+kij-an
let.out-INF+CAP-NEG
$[\{\text{Stem}_1+\text{Stem}_2\}_{\text{compound}}\text{-Affix}]_{\text{word}}$
'cannot let (them) go'

The first example shows a nominal compound made up of two stems, i.e. *sataa* 'sugar' and *jadui* 'hut.' The second example shows a verbal compound made up of two stems, where Stem_1 is composed of the infinitive *izjas-i* (let.out-INF) and Stem_2 is composed of the verbal root *kij-* (CAP). The compound becomes a verbal stem and it takes the verbal affix *-an* (NEG). In many cases, the head of a compound is put at the final position in the compound as in (4-23 a-b), although there are a few exceptions.

The possible combinations of different classes of stems in the two-stem compounds are shown below.

Table 25. Combinations of stem classes in the compounds

	Following stem class		
	N	V	A
Preceding stem class			
N(ominal)	N+N	N+V	N+A
V(erb)	V_{inf}+N	V_{inf}+V	V_{inf}+A
A(djective)	A+N	A+V	A+A
Adv(erb)	Adv+N	-	-
D(emonstrative)	-	-	D+A
I(nterrogative)	I+N	-	I+A

In a compound, the verbal stem at non-stem-final position is in infinitive (V_{inf} in the above table; see §8.4.4).

Each combination in Table 25 is illustrated below, with the exception of the combination V_{inf}+A, which will be discussed in §4.2.3.2. The first examples are compounds that have nominal stems at thier final positions. The resulting compounds always become nominal stems.

(4-24) a. N+N

[Context: Remembering the pear film]

TM: simahinzjaaja aranba.

<sima+hinzjaa>$_{Compound}$*=ja* *ar-an-ba*

island+goat=TOP COP-NEG-CSL

'Because (it) is not a goat of (our) island.'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. V+N

TM: hingimadoo nənta.

<hingir-i+madu>$_{Compound}$*=ja* *nə-an=tar*

escape-INF+time=TOP exist-NEG=PST

'There was no time to escape.'

[El: 120926]

c. A+N

[Context: Speaking about a referee of the sumo wrestling in a picture]

TM: hakamankjagadɨ muccjutattu, sijukinnu.

hakama=nkja=gadɨ *mut-tur-tar-tu* *<siju+kin>*$_{Compound}$*=nu*

hakama=APPR=LMT have-PROG-PST-CSL white+clothes=GEN

'(He) had a hakama, (made) of white clothes.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. Adv+N

[Context: Seeing some acquaintances of TM in a picture]

TM:	naacʔjuinu	cʔjoo	koogi	jappa.
	<naa+cʔjui>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=nu*	*cʔju=ja*	*koogi*	*jar-ba*
	other+one.CLF.person=GEN	person=TOP	Kogi	COP-CSL

'Since another person is Kogi.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. I + N

[Context: Talking about an acquaintance of TM and MS]

TM:	an	cʔju	daacʔju	jatakai?
	a-n	*cʔju*	*daa+cʔju*	*jar-tar=kai*
	DIST-ADNZ	person	where+person	COP-PST=DUB

'Where did that person come from? [lit. That person was where's person?]'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The verbal root preceding the nominal stem always takes the infinitival affix as in (4-24 b) (see §8.4.4 for infinitives). If the adverbial root *naa* 'other; already' makes up a compound as in (4-24 d), the following nominal is always a numeral (see §7.4 for discussion of numerals). I found only one example of the combination of I + N, i.e. *daa+cʔju* (where+person) as in (4-24 e).

The next examples are compounds that have verbal stems at thier final positions.

(4-25) a. N+V

[Context: Talking about thatched houses with US]

TM:	naakjoo	gajaurusinkjoo	sɨrantaroo.
	naakja=ja	*<gaja+urus-i>*$_{\text{Compound}}$*=nkja=ja*	*sɨr-an-tar-oo*
	2PL=TOP	miscanthus+lower-INF=APPR=TOP	do-NEG-PST-SUPP

'I suppose that you have never brought miscanthus (for thatched roofs).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. V+V

[Context: Talking about a man who came from mainland Japan to buy cycad leaves for business.]

TM:	kiihatɨppoo,	sirɨtuppajaa.
	<kij-Ø+hatɨr>$_{\text{Compound}}$*-boo*	*sirɨr-tur-ba=jaa*
	cut-INF+thoroughly-CND	easy.to.understand-PROG-CSL=SOL

'If (he) cut all the cycad leaves, you may know (what would happen then).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. A+V

[Context: Speaking about a person whose role was to hit a big bell in emergency]

TM:	|hizjoo|nu	tukinga	gan+gan	gan+gan
	hizjoo=nu	*tuki=n=ga*	*gan+gan*	*gan+gan*
	emergency=GEN	time=DAT1=FOC	RED+clang	RED+clang
	zjanaucii.			
	<zjana+ut-i>$_{\text{Compound}}$			
	many+hit-INF			

'In case of emergency, (he) clanged (the bell) many times.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

If a stem that precedes a verbal stem is a nominal one as in (4-25 a) or an adjectival one as in (4-25 c), the verbal stem always become an infinitive. However, if the initial stem is a verbal one, the final verbal stem can take any verbal inflection as in (4-25 b) (see also §8.5.2).

Finally, the following examples are compounds that have adjectival stems at thier final positions. The examples of "V+A" will be discussed in the next section. The resulting compounds become adjectival stems as in (4-26 a-b) or adverbial stems as in (4-26 c-e).

(4-26) N+A

a. [Context: Talking about a female singer of traditional songs; TM: 'Actually, the recorde d tape makes some noise, but ...']

TM:	kuigjurasa	utəəja	sjuijaa.
	<kui+kjura>$_{\text{Compound}}$*-sa*	*utaw-i=ja*	*sɨr-jur-i=jaa*
	voice+beautiful-ADJ	sing-INF=TOP	do-UMRK-NPST=SOL

'(She) sings beautifully, you know.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

A+A

b.

TM:	an	wunaguja	injagjurasajaa.
	a-n	*wunagu=ja*	*inja+kjura-sa=jaa*
	DIST-ADNZ	woman=TOP	small+beautiful-ADJ=SOL

'That woman is small and beautiful.'

[El: 130812]

D+A

c. [Context: Talking about a big banyan tree, which was lost in World War II]

TM:	jɨdaja	ganbəi	sjasɨnkjanu,	|zuutto|,
	jɨda=ja	*ga-n=bəi*	*sɨr-tar=sɨ=nkja=nu*	*zuutto*
	brach=TOP	MES-ADVZ=only	do-PST=FN=APPR=NOM	throughout
	agatuubəigadɨ	c^{ʔ}jɨ,		
	<aga+tuu>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=bəi=gadɨ*	*k-tɨ*		

DIST+distant=only=LMT come-SEQ

'A branch, which was around this size, came to such a distance, and...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

I+A

d. [Context: TM wondered when winnows in the picture disappeared from their life.]

TM: ikjanagəəbəi nakkai?

<ikja+nagəə>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=bəi* *nar=kai*

how+long=only become=DUB

'How long is (it)? [lit. How long does (it) become?]'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

e. [Context: Talking about the pension for the wounded soldiers]

TM: ikjanagən |sjooigunzin|nu .. |tecuzuki|ga

<ikja+nagəə>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=n* *sjooi+gunzin=nu* *tecuzuki=ga*

how+long=even wounded+soldier=GEN procedure=NOM

sɨran=sjutɨ,

sɨr-an=sjutɨ

do-NEGSEQ

'For a while, (he) could not carry out the procedure for (the pension for) the wounded soldiers, and ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

If the initial stem is a nominal one as in (4-26 a) or an adjectival one as in (4-26 b), the final adjectival stem can take any adjectival inflection. However, if the initial stem is a demonstrative one as in (4-26 c) or interrogative one as in (4-26 d-e), the final adjectival stem does not take any adjectival inflection, and the resulting compounds always behave like adverbs. Especially, the compounds of D+A are frequently followed by *gadɨ* (LMT). This type of combination is not very productive in Yuwan since there is a limited set of adjectival stems that can form compounds with demonstrative stems, namely *taa-* 'high,' *tuu-* 'distant,' and *nagəə-* 'long.' Similarly, the combination of I+A is rare, and I have found only the combination of *ikja-* 'how' and *nagəə-* 'long' so far. This combination, i.e. *ikja+nagəə* 'how long,' is always followed by one of the following limiter particles, i.e. *gadɨ* (LMT), *n* 'even; ever; also,' or *bəi* 'only; about.'

Among the above compounds, N+N and N+V are very productive. Compounds made of three roots, such as /kʔwa+dak-i+kʔjubii/ (child+hold-INF+cord) 'a cord to hold a baby' and /tuzi+kaməə-Ø+juwəə/ (wife+put.over.head-INF+celebration) 'wedding,' are likely to be N+V+N. I have not yet found a compound composed of more than three roots.

4.2.3.2. Compounding (special type)

There are compounds whose final stems can appear only in compounding.

(4-27) a. Nominal stems in the compounds "V+N"

a-1. *zjaa* 'place,' *bəə* 'role'

a-2. *mai* (OBL), *madəə* 'fail to,' *gjaa* (PURP)

b. Adjectival stems in the compounds "V+A"

cja 'want,' *cjagɨ* 'seem,' *jass* 'easy,' *gussj* 'difficult'

The compounds whose final stems are those in (4-27 a) become nominal stems, and the compounds whose final stems are those in (4-27 b) become adjectival stems. Semantically, the morpheme in (4-27 a-1) have more concrete meaning than those in (4-27 a-2). In fact, the former can be an argument NP, but the latter cannot. Compounds composed of the morphemes in (4-27 a-2) can fill the predicate slot, complement slot, or NP modifier slot.

I will present examples of *zjaa* 'place' and *bəə* 'role' in the following examples, in which the compounds are argument NPs as in (4-28 b, e) and predicate NPs as in (4-28 a, c, d). The compounds are underlined in the following examples.

(4-28) *zjaa* 'place'

a. TM: umaga asɨbizjaa jatattujaa.
u-ma=ga *asɨb-i+zjaa* *jar-tar-tu=jaa*
MES-place=NOM play-INF+place COP-PST-CSL=SOL
'That place was the place to play, you know.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: ukizjaa katəətattu.
uk-i+zjaa *kar-təər-tar-tu*
put-INF+place borrow-RSL-PST-CSL
'(They) had borrowed a place to put (something).'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

bəə 'role'

c. TM: un cʔjuga ucibəə.
u-n *cʔju=ga* *ut-i+bəə*
MES-ADNZ person=NOM hit-INF+role
'That person (fills) the role of hitting (a big bell in emergency).'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

d. [Context: Remembering a pond that was close to the community's watering place]
TM: waakja |nenzjuu| mizɨkʔumbəə jatattu.
waakja *nenzjuu* *mizɨ+kʔum-Ø+bəə* *jar-tar-tu*
1PL always water+scoop-INF+role COP-PST-CSL

‘I would always fill the role of scooping water.’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. TM: ucibəənu wutattoo.
ut-i+bəə=nu *wur-tar=doo*
hit-INF+role=NOM exist-PST=ASS
‘There was person (who filled) the role of hitting (a hand drum).’

[El: 140227]

These compounds are very similar in structure to the V+N compound in (4-24 b) in §4.2.3.1, e.g. *hing-i+madu* (escape-INF+time). However, *zjaa* ‘place’ and *bəə* ‘role’ are crucially different from *madu* ‘time’ in that they cannot be analyzed as filling the head slot of an NP. As is shown in (4-29 a-b), they cannot be modified by NP modifiers such as adnominal clasues.

(4-29) Cannot be modified by adnominal clauses

a. TM: *kumoo asɨbjun zjaadoo.
ku-ma=ja *asɨb-jur-n* *zjaa=doo*
PROX-place=TOP play-UMRK-PTCP place=ASS
(Intended meaning) ‘Here is the place to play.’

[El: 130816]

b. TM: *arəə ucjun bəədoo.
a-rɨ=ja *ut-jur-n* *bəə=doo*
DIST-NLZ=TOP hit-UMRK-PTCP role=ASS
(Intended meaning) ‘That person fills the role to hit (the bell).’

[El: 130816]

The above examples show that *zjaa* ‘place’ and *bəə* ‘role’ cannot head an NP. In this regard, they are distinct from formal nouns (see §6.2.2).

By contrast, the noun *madu* ‘time’ can be modified by an adnominal clause just as in the case of ordinary nouns as in (4-30 a). Additionally, *madu* ‘time’ can be used without any NP modifier as in (4-30 b). On the contrary, *zjaa* ‘place’ and *bəə* ‘role’ cannot be used in either case.

(4-30) a. Can be modified by an adnominal clause

TM: asɨbjun madunkjoo nən.
asɨb-jur-n *madu=nkja=ja* *nə-an*
{[play-UMRK-PTCP]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ time}$_{\text{NP}}$=APPR=TOP exist-NEG
‘There is no time to play.’

[El: 130816]

b. Can be used without any NP modifier

TM:	uroo	madoo	nənna?
	ura=ja	*madu=ja*	*nə-an=na*
	2.NHON.SG=TOP	{time}$_{NP}$=TOP	exist-NEG=PLQ
	'Don't you have the time?'		

[El: 130816]

The comparison between *zjaa* 'place' and *bəə* 'role' on one hand, *madu* 'time' on the other indicates that the former morphemes are bound nominal roots which cannot head an NP by itself. Hence, they are "special types" of the root which occurs only in compounding.

The second type of special componds involve *mai* (OBL), *madəə* 'fail to,' and *gjaa* (PURP). These nominal stems are similar to *zjaa* 'place' and *bəə* 'role' in that they are always preceded by verbal infinitives and cannot head an NP. In (4-31), *mai* (OBL) serves as the nominal predicate.

(4-31) *mai* (OBL) in the deontic modality

a. [Context: Remembering the bankruptcy of a shop in the past]

TM:	|sjeiri|	siimai	jatancjɨ	aran?
	sjeiri	*sɨr-i+mai*	*jar-tar-n=ccjɨ*	*ar-an*
	[disposal	do-INF+OBL	COP-PST-PTCP]=QT	COP-NEG

[Nominal predicate]

'(The people who had invested their money in the shop) had to dispose (the goods), hadn't they?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	kakimaija	aranta.
	kak-i+mai=ja	*ar-an-tar*
	[write-INF+OBL=TOP	COP-NEG-PST]

[Nominal predicate]

'(It) is not necessary to write.'

[El: 111105]

As is illustrated in the above examples, *mai* (OBL) designates "deontic modality" (Lyons 1977: 823). When *mai* (OBL) occurs in negative, the sentence means that there is no obligation to do the action indicated by the verbal stem as in (4-31 b). In addtion, *mai* (OBL) designates "epistemic modality" (Lyons 1977: 793-809) as well, as in (4-32).

(4-32) *mai* (OBL) in the epistemic modality

TM:	təəhunu	kjuncjuuba,	amɨn
	təəhu=nu	*k-jur-n=ccjɨ+jˀ-ba*	*amɨ=n*

typhoon=NOM come-UMRK-PTCP=QT+say-CSL [rain]=also
[Subject]
huimaidoojaa.
hur-i+mai=doo=jaa
[fall-INF+OBL]=ASS=SOL
[Nominal predicate]
'Since (they said) that the typhoon will come, it must rain [lit. the rain must fall].'
[El: 120929]

This epistemic use of *mai* (OBL) is only attested in elicitation.

In (4-33), *madəə* depicts that the action denoted by the stem failed to complete. Syntactically, the compound fills the predicate slot as in (4-33 a) or fills the complement slot of the light verb construction (LVC) as in (4-33 b).

(4-33) a. *madəə* 'fail to' in the predicate
TM: kakimadəə jata.
kak-i+madəə *jar-tar*
[write-INF+fail.to COP-PST]
[Nominal predicate]
'(I wanted to write, but I) failed to write.'
[El: 111105]

b. *madəə* 'fail to' in the complement slot of LVC
TM: kakimadəə sja.
kak-i+madəə *sɨr-tar*
[write-INF+fail.to] do-PST
[Complement]
'(I wanted to write, but I) failed to write.'
[El: 111105]

The final example is *gjaa* (PURP), which means that the subject has a purpose to do the action indicated by the verbal stem. Syntactically, it fills the predicate as in (4-34 a) or is followed by the genitive case as in (4-34 b). Additionally, it can fill the complement slot of the deictic motion verbs *ik*- 'go' and *k*- 'come' as in (4-34 c-d).

(4-34) a. *gjaa* (PURP) in the predicate
[Context: Explaining the difference between the Bon festival and the celebration of the New Year's day]
TM: |sjoogacu|ja, naa, jʔuuboo, namanu |nentoo|

sjoogacu=ja *naa* *jʔ-boo* *nama=nu* *nentoo*
New.Year's.day=TOP FIL say-CND now=GEN beginning.of.a.year
jʔiigjaa jappa.
jʔ-i+gjaa *jar-ba*
[say-INF+PURP say-CSL]
[Nominal predicate]
'About the New Year's day, (the relatives gather just) in order to say (what), if we call (it in the terms) of these days, (we call) New year greetings.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. *gjaa* (PURP) followed by *nu* (GEN)

TM: jʔiigjaanu cɨmuisjɨ acɨmajunwakejo.
jʔ-i+gjaa=nu *cɨmui=sjɨ* *acɨmar-jur-n=wake=joo*
[say-INF+PURP]=GEN intention=INST gather-UMRK-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
[NP]=GEN
'(The relatives) gather (as if) they intended to say (only New year greetings.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *gjaa* (PURP) in the complement slot of *ik-* 'go'

TM: usi tuigjaa izjattoo,
usi *tur-i+gjaa* *ik-tar-too*
cow [take-INF+PURP] [go-PST-CSL]
[Complement] [Lexical verb]
'(The man) went to take the cow, and then ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

d. *gjaa* (PURP) in the complement slot of *k-* 'come'

TM: masakoga |asaban| kamgjaa kʔuuboo, jazin
masako=ga *asa+ban* *kam-Ø+gjaa* *kʔ-boo* *jazin*
Masako=NOM morning+evening [eat-INF+PURP] [come-CND] necessarily
[Complement] [Lexical verb]
|medamajaki|.
medamajaki
sunny.side.up
'When Masako comes to eat the breakfast and the supper, (I) necessarily (bake the eggs) sunny side up.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

It should be mentioned that some preceding verbal stems in the compounds of V+N can retain their original argument structure (or "internal syntax" in Haspelmath 1996: 52) as in (4-35 b-d).

(4-35) a. Original argument structure

TM:	wanna	uriba	kakjuttoo.
	wan=ja	*u-ri=ba*	*kak-jur=doo*
	1SG=TOP	MES-NLZ=ACC	write-UMRK=ASS
		Object	

'I will write it.'

[El: 130816]

b. *bəə* 'role'

TM:	wanna	uriba	kakibəə	zjajaa.
	wan=ja	*u-ri=ba*	*kak-i+bəə*	*zja=jaa*
	1SG=TOP	MES-NLZ=ACC	write-INF+role	COP=SOL
		Object		

'I fill the role to write it.' [lit. 'I am the role to write it.']

[El: 130816]

c. *madu* 'time'

TM:	wanna	urinkjoo	kakimadoo	nəndoo.
	wan=ja	*u-ri=nkja=ja*	*kak-i+madu=ja*	*nə-an=doo*
	1SG=TOP	MES-NLZ=APPR=TOP	write-INF+time=TOP	exist-NEG=ASS
		Object		

'I have no time to write it.' [lit. 'For me, there is no time to write it.']

[El: 130816]

d. *mai* (OBL)

TM:	wanna	uriba	kakimaidoo.
	wan=ja	*u-ri=ba*	*kak-i+mai=doo*
	1SG=TOP	MES-NLZ=ACC	write-INF+OBL=ASS
		Object	

'I have to write it.'

[El: 130816]

The example in (4-35 a) shows the original argument structure of *kak-* 'write,' whose object *u-ri* 'that' is marked by *ba* (ACC). The examples in (4-35 b-d) show that the compounded *kak-* 'write' still retains its object, although I could not elicitate the speaker to say an example where the object of *kak-i+madu* (write-INF+time) was marked by *ba* (ACC). Furtheremore, *zjaa* 'place' cannot retain its original argument structure, e.g., */kumoo mizіba numzjaadoo/ *ku-ma=ja mizi=ba num-Ø+zjaa=doo* (PROX-place=TOP water=ACC drink-INF+place=ASS) [Intended meaning] 'Here is the place to drink water.'

Strictly speaking, the alleged nominal stems in the above examples, i.e. *zjaa* 'place,' *bəə* 'role,' *mai* (OBL), *madəə* 'fail to,' and *gjaa* (PURP), cannot regarded as stems (or roots), since they cannot start an utterance by themselves (see §4.2.3). In fact, they are thought to be in the process of grammaticalization from

roots to affixes (or nominalizers). However, I do not regard them as nominalizers in modern Yuwan, since their initial stems always become infinitives, which is the same as the ordinary type compounding (see §4.2.3.1). On the other hand, the genuine nominalizer in Yuwan, i.e. *-jaa* 'person,' can directly attach to verbal roots, e.g., /hikjaa/ *hik-jaa* (play-person) 'player' (see also §7.6). Therefore, I propose that the above forms are compounds (not nominalizer affixes). In order to distinguish these "nominal stems" from the ordinary nominal stems such as *hinzjaa* 'goat,' it may be appropriate to call the former the "nominal stems only for compounding."

Finally, I will present examples of *cja* 'want,' *cjagɨ* 'seem,' *jass* 'easy,' and *gussj* 'difficult.' In principle, these adjectival stems always follow the verbal infinitives, and the resulting compound is always an adjectival stem. The example of *cja* 'want' is shown below, and other examples are shown in §4.3.8.2.

(4-36) *cja* 'want'

[Context: TM is introducing the present author to the hearer US saying that the present author has been looking for a good language teacher in the community.]

TM:	simakutuba	narəəcjasaccjɨ	jˀicjɨ,
	sima+kutuba	*naraw-i+cja-sa=ccjɨ*	*jˀ-tɨ*
	community+language	learn-INF+want-ADJ=QT	say-SEQ

'(He) said, '(I) want to learn the language of the community,' and ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Strictly speaking, the adjectival root *cja-* 'want' in (4-36) cannot be analyzed as a stem (or a root) since it cannot start an utterance by itself (see §4.2.3). The same point can be made about *cjagɨ-* 'seem,' *jass-* 'easy,' and *gussj-* 'difficult.' In fact, they are in the process of grammaticalization from roots to affixes as well as the "nominal stems only for compounding" discussed above. However, the phonotactic behavior of *jass-* 'easy' discussed in (2-9) of §2.3.2 slightly shows that it retains non-affixal property; in short, *jass-* 'easy' does not induce palatalization of the preceding consonant on the contrary to the nominalizer *-jaa* (NLZ), which induce palatalization. The above adjectival stems can also retain the original argument structures of the verbal stems. For example, *sima+kutuba* 'the language of the community' is the argument of *naraw-* 'learn' in (4-36). In order to distinguish these "adjectival stems" from the ordinary adjectival stems such as *kjura-* 'beautiful,' it may be appropriate to call the former the "adjectival stems only for compounding."

4.2.3.3. Reduplication

Reduplication in Yuwan concerns full reduplication, not partial reduplication. A reduplicated form consists of the base and the reduplicant. The reduplicant precedes the base, e.g. /sabii+sabi/ 'smoothly,' where /sabii/ is the reduplicant and /sabi/ is the base. Syntactically, reduplicated forms made of adjectival roots or onomatopoeic roots function as adverbs (see §4.3.6 and §4.3.8.3). The reduplicated form made of the reflexive pronoun functions as a nominal (see §7.3). In some reduplicated forms, the base undergoes the sequential voicing (or "rendaku"), which is also founded in compounding (see 4.2.3.4 for more details). However,

reduplication is different from compounding in other morphophonological characteristics. In paticular, reduplicated forms undergo vowel lengthening in some environments. Vowel lengthening occurs in reduplicants if neither the penultimate nor final syllable of the base is heavy as in (4-37 a-b) (see §4.3.6 for more details). On the contrary, if the reduplicated form in the same condition is followed by a morpheme that is composed of only a syllable with a mora, e.g. *-tu* (ADVZ) or *nu* (GEN), the final vowel of the base (not the reduplicant) is lengthened as in (4-37 c-d) (see also §4.3.8.3 and §7.3).

(4-37) Reduplication

A. Reduplicant is lengthened

a.	*siju-*	'white'	>	/sijuu+ziju/	'whitely'
b.	*sabi*	'smoothly'	>	/sabii+sabi/	'smoothly'

B. Base is lengthened

c.	*siju-*	'white'	>	/siju+zijuu-tu/	'whitely'
d.	*nusi*	(RFL)	>	/nusi+nusii=nu/	'each of oneselves''

The reduplicated forms that function as adverbs as in (4-37 a-c) express emphasis, but the reduplicated nominal as in (4-37 d) is roughly translated as 'each' in English (see §7.3).

Additionally, the verbal infinitive in Yuwan may be reduplicated, although it does not go through the lengthening of the vowel discussed above.

(4-38) a. TM:

umaga	naikwanu		dɨkɨppoo,
u-ma=ga	*naikwa=nu*		*dɨkɨr-boo*
MES-place=FOC	department.of.internal.medicine=NOM		be.set.up-CND
|kamera|	numgja	ikiiki.	
kamera	*num-Ø+gja*	*ik-i+ik-i*	
camera	swallow-INF+PURP	go-INF+go-INF	

'After the department of internal medicine was set up there, (I) often went (there) in order to swallow the (stomach) camera.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM:

abɨnəə	gan	naroocjəə	siisii.
abɨnəə	*gan*	*nar-oo=ccjɨ=ja*	*sɨr-i+sɨr-i*
barely	cancer	become-INT=QT=TOP	do-INF+do-INF

'(I) was about to get cancer many times.' [lit. '(I) did and did to become cancer']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM:

|poketto|nan	ɨrɨtɨ,	mucjɨ	cʔjəə,	ukkaci
poketto=nan	*ɨrɨr-tɨ*	*mut-tɨ*	*k-tɨ=ja*	*u-rɨ=kaci*
pocket=LOC1	put.in-SEQ	have-SEQ	come-SEQ=TOP	MES-NLZ=ALL
ɨrɨɨrɨ.				

ɨrɨr-Ø+ɨrɨr-Ø
put.in-INF+put.in-INF
'(The old man) put (the oranges) in (his) pocket, brought (them), and put (them) into that [i.e. a large basket] again and again.'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

The above examples show that the reduplication of the infinitive designates the iteration of the action.

4.2.3.4. "Rendaku" (sequential voicing)

The initial consonant of the non-initial stem of a certain kinds of compounds may be voiced if it is originally voiceless. In the following rule schemata, morphosyntactic information is supplied with its label (e.g., "Stem") or with square brackets and labels at the lower right (e.g., "[$]_{stem}$").

(4-39) Rule shema

C	>	C	/	Stem	+	[_ $]_{stem}$
[-v]		[+v]				

(4-40) Examples

a.	t > d							
	taa	'high'	+	taatu	(high.ADVZ)	>	taadaatu	'highly'
b.	s > z							
	kʔuru	'black'	+	sataa	'sugar'	>	kʔuruzataa	'black sugar'
c.	k > g							
	kui	'voice'	+	kjurasa	(beautiful.ADJ)	>	kuigjurasa	'of beautiful voice'
d.	kʔ > g							
	kʔuru	'black'	+	kʔuru	'black'	>	kʔuruuguru	'blackly'
e.	c > z							
	sɨnɨtooraa	'sluggard'	+	cɨkɨ	(pickle.INF)	>	sɨnɨtoorazɨkɨ	'lightly-pickled radish'
f.	h > b							
	sɨcɨzɨ	'cycad'	+	haa	'leaf'	>	sɨcɨzɨbaa	'cycad leaf'

Regarding (4-40 a-d), the stem-initial phonemes alternate with their voiced counterparts in §2.2.2.1. On the other hand, the stem-initial voiced phonemes in (4-40 e-f) are different from the original phonemes both in the articulatory place and manner. The synchronic idiosyncracy in (4-40 e-f) is due to the histrical sound change. As for (4-40 e), internal reconstruction tells us that there was a voiced alveolar affricate */ʣ/, but the difference between the voiced alveolar affricate and fricative disappeared over time, and they have merged to /z/. Similarly, for (4-40 f), internal reconstruction tells us that the contemporary /h/ was */p/, which yields the

perfect correspondence between */p/ and */b/ (cf. Ueda 1898: 41-46).

Sequential voicing is very common, but not obligatory in every compound, as the following examples show.

(4-41) hu > hu
nui (ride.INF) + hunɨ 'boat' > nuihunɨ 'coffin'
cf. hu > bu
koo 'river' + hunɨ 'boat' > koobunɨ 'riverboat'

We can, however, specify the environment, where sequential voicing does not occur. If the non-initial stem contains at least one phonologically-voiced phoneme (see §2.2.2.1), the compound cannot undergo sequential voicing. This process is known as "Lyman's law" in Japanese linguistics (Lyman 1894).

(4-42) a. /k/ > /k/: the following stem includes /b/
sima 'community' + kutuba 'language' > simakutuba (*simagutuba)
'language of community'
b. /k/ > /k/: the following stem includes /z/
nisi[21] 'north' + kazɨ 'wind' > nisikazɨ (*nisigazɨ)
'north wind'
c. /k/ > /g/: the following stem includes /n/
basja 'banana plant' + kin 'clothes' > basjagin (*basjakin)
'clothes made of fiber of banana plant'

There should be distinction between phonological voicing and phonetical voincing in understanding this rule. For example, /b/ and /z/ in (4-42 a-b), which are voiced both in terms of phonological voincing and phonetic voicing, are subject to this constraint, whereas /n/ in (4-42 c), which is only phonetically voiced, escapes from this constraint.

Before concluding this section, attention should be paid to a case in which sequential voicing helps us determine the phonological analysis of certain phonemes. For example, [(d͡)ʑi] is analyzed as /zi/ (not /di/), and [t͡ɕi] is analyzed as /ci/ (not /ti/). An example about [(d͡)ʑi] is shown below.

(4-43) si > zi
siju 'white' + siju 'white' > [ɕiju:(d͡)ʑiju] 'whitely'

In (4-43), the /si/ [ɕi][22] of *siju* 'white' becomes [(d͡)ʑi] in the non-initial position of compounds. Thus, we

[21] *nisi* is a fossil morpheme, and it only appears in compounds such as *mii+nisi* (new+north) 'an autumn wind.' If a speaker wants to indicate 'north' in a monomorphemic word, the word *kita* 'north' is used.
[22] For the reason for regarding [ɕi] as /si/, see the footnote 6 in §2.3.2.4.

should interpret it as /zi/ not /di/. That is, if we interpret [(d͡)ʑi] as /di/, we would have to admit a certain discrepancy in the sequential voicing of //si// and //sa//. If we allow for this interpretation, //si// would become /di/ [(d͡)ʑi], e.g., /sijuudiju/ 'whitely' in (4-43), but //sa// would become /za/ [(d͡)ʑɑ̣], e.g., /kʔuruzataa/ 'black sugar' as in (4-40 b). This would mean that not only /z/ but also /d/ would be considered voiced phonemes formed from the sequential voicing of //s//, and we would have to assume that some voiced phonemes (in sequential voicing) would be chosen depending on the phonological environments, i.e. /d/ occurs before /i/, and /z/ occurs elsewhere. On the other hand, if we admit [(d͡)ʑi] as /zi/, this mismatch does not occur, and the result of sequential voicing is transparent, i.e. //s// > /z/ in all cases. Given that we have now recognized [(d͡)ʑi] as /zi/ (instead of /di/), we must also recognize [t͡ɕi] as /ci/ (instead of /ti/), since /ci/ [t͡ɕi] becomes [(d͡)ʑi] as in (4-44) and /cɨ/ [t͡sɨ] becomes [(d͡)zɨ] as in (4-40 e).

(4-44) /ci/ [t͡ɕi] > /zi/ [(d͡)ʑi]

baka	'fool'	+	/cikjara/	'power'	>	/bakazikjara/	'enormous strength'
			[t͡ɕikʲɑ̣rɑ̣]			[bɑ̣kɑ̣(d͡)ʑikʲɑ̣rɑ̣]	

4.2.4. Compounding versus phrase

There are two ways of modifying a noun: (a) compounding, which is morphological, and (b) phrasal modification, which is syntactic. In compounding, several adjectival roots in Yuwan (e.g. *kjura-* 'beautiful' and *inja-* 'small') are productive in forming compounds with transparent meanings, e.g. *kjura+nɨsəə* (beautiful+young.man) 'beautiful young man' or *kjura+jaa* (beautiful+house) 'beautiful house.' In phrasal modification, there are various ways of modifying a noun; modification by the genitive case particle, adnominals, and adnominal clauses.

(4-45) a. Compound

TM:	kjuranɨsəə	jatancjɨjo.
	kjura+nɨsəə	*jar-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
	<beautiful+young.man>$_{\text{Compound}}$	COP-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
	'He was a beautiful young man.'	

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Modifier and head in a nominal phrase

TM:	waa	uinannja	micjai,
	{*waa*$_{\text{Modifier}}$	*ui*$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{Phrase}}$*=nan=ja*	*micjai*
	1SG.ADNZ	upper.side=LOC1=TOP	three.CLF.person
	jutaidu	wuppa.	
	jutai=du	*wur-ba*	
	four.CLF.person=FOC	exist-CSL	
	'There are three, four persons older than me [lit. on my upper side].'		

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

As is illustrated in above examples, both types of modification (compounding and phrasal modification) exhibit a strong tendency for the head to be a common noun.

However, these two types of modification should be distinguished based on the following two characteristics: (a) occurrence of sequential voicing and (b) possibility of insertion of a clause.

With regard to (a), compounding may induce sequential voicing (i.e. "rendaku," see §4.2.3.4 for more details), but phrasal modification does not. That is, if sequential voicing applies, the whole composition must be a compound. For example, *kumui* 'hole' has a voiceless consonant //k// in its initial position, but it becomes /g/ if it fills the second slot of a compound, as in /hansɨ+gumui/ *hansɨ+kumui* (sweet.potato+hole) 'a hole in the ground to store sweet potatoes.' In fact, there is a case where the following stem does not go through sequential voicing, e.g., (4-45 a), and in this case, we could not distinguish it from the phrasal components such as (4-45 b).

With regard to (b), a compound cannot be interrupted by a clause because it is a word, whereas a phrase can.

(4-46) a. Compound

TM: *kjurainjasannisəə

<*kjura*+[*inja-sa*+*a-n*]$_{\text{Clause}}$+nisəə>$_{\text{Compound}}$

beautiful+ small-ADJ+STV-PTCP+young.man

(Intended meaning) 'a beautiful small young man.'

[El: 130812]

b. Modifier and head in a phrase

[Context: Talking about a man who used to dub tapes of songs voluntarily for villagers; TM: 'He said his recorder was not useful these days, and...']

TM: waa	injasan	|kasetto|kkwagadɨ
{*waa*	[*inja-sa*+*ar-n*]$_{\text{Clause}}$	*kasetto-kkwa*}$_{\text{Phrase}}$=*gadɨ*
1SG.ADNZ	small-ADJ+STV-PTCP	cassette.recorder-DIM=LMT
muccjɨ	izjɨ,	
mut-tɨ	*ik-tɨ*	
have-SEQ	go-SEQ	

'(He) took even my small cassette recorder [lit. my cassette recorder that is small], and...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

These examples show that the components of the NP in (4-46 b), i.e. /waa/ 'my' and /kasetto/ 'cassette recorder,' can be interrupted by the adnominal clause /injasan/ '(something) that is small.' This example can be analyzed as follows. First, the modifier *injasan* and the head *kasetto* 'cassette recorder' consititute an NP,

which recursively fills the head slot of a superordinate NP. This superordinate NP has the modifier *waa* ‘my.’ By contrast, the components of the compound cannot be interrupted by the adnominal clause as in (4-46 a).

The same argumentation can apply to the nominal juxtaposed in the modifier slot of an NP. Address nouns, e.g. *anmaa* ‘mother,’ can fill the modifier slot of an NP only by themselves as in (4-47 a) (see also 6.1.1). The modifier *anmaa* ‘mother’ and the head *tɨɨ* ‘hand,’ which means ‘(my) mother’s hand,’ can be interrupted by the adnominal clause /hɨɨsan/ ‘(something) that is big’ as in (4-47 b), which means the combination *anmaa tɨɨ* ‘(my) mother’s hand’ is not a compound.

(4-47) Modifier and head in a phrase

a. TM: anmaa tɨɨ
{*anmaa* *tɨɨ*}$_{\text{Phrase}}$
mother hand
‘(my) mother’s hand’
[El: 140227]

b. TM: anmaa hɨɨsan tɨɨnu mjarɨttoo.
{*anmaa* [*hɨɨ-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{Clause}}$ *tɨɨ*}$_{\text{Phrase}}$=nu *mj-arɨr=doo*
mother big-ADJ+STV-PTCP hand=NOM see-CAP=ASS
‘(I) can see (my) mother’s big hand (in the picture).’
[El: 140227]

4.3. Word classes

Yuwan has seven word classes: nominals, adnominals, verbs, adjectives, particles, adverbs, and interjections. The word classes are defined morphosyntactically. The criteria for the “word classes” are applied to “grammatical words” (see §2.1). Most of the word classes are free forms, but some nominals (i.e. formal nouns) and all particles are classified as clitics.

Out of approximately 1100 lexemes, the approximation of the number of each word class is as follows: nominals (700), verbs (250), adjectives (80), adverbs (50), particles (40), interjections (10), and adnominals (9). Some notes on the word count. Word classes other than adnominals and particles have their own roots, e.g., nominal roots or verbal roots. Adnominals do not have “adnominal roots,” and the adnominal words are composed of the root of a cross-over category, e.g., the demonstratives root, and an adnominalizer affix (see Chapter 5). Here, the number of roots that can take adnominalizers are counted here as adnominals.

As is shown in Table 26, there are four criteria for the word class assignment.

Table 26. Word class assignment

	Nominals	Adnominals	Verbs	Adjectives	The others
Heads an NP	+	-	-	-	-
Only appears in the modifier slot of an NP	-	+	-	-	-
Takes a verbal inflectional affix	-	-	+	-	-
Takes an adjectival inflectional affix	-	-	-	+	-

4.3.1. Nominals

The nominal is a word that heads an NP, e.g., *hinzjaa* 'goat' (see Chapter 6 for more details about NPs). Nominals can be further divided into categories such as common nouns (e.g., *hinzjaa* 'goat'), address nouns (e.g., *anmaa* 'mother'), reflexives (e.g., *nusi* 'oneself'), numerals (e.g., *tʔɨɨ* 'one'), indefinites (e.g., *taru-ka* 'someone') and formal nouns (e.g., *sɨ* 'thing; person; fact'). The first five subclasses are free forms (see Chapter 7), but the last one (i.e. formal nouns) is a clitic (see §6.2.2 for more details). Personal pronouns such as *wan* 'I,' demonstrative pronouns such as *kurɨ* 'this,' and interrogative pronouns such as *taru* 'who' are categorized as nominals. However, personal pronominals, demonstratives, and interrogatives are not always categorized into nominals since they can also become other word classes. I call them "cross-over categories," which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

A nominal may be derived from a verbal stem (see §4.3.8.1). A few nominals that have temporal meanings, e.g., *kjuu* 'today,' *acja* 'tomorrow,' and *kinju* 'yesterday,' can be used adverbially (put another way, they can convert to adverbs with no formal change) as in (4-48).

(4-48) [Context: Speaking about the present author; TM: 'Then, suddenly (he) came (here) yesterday.']

US: kinjuu umoocjɨ?
kinjuu umoor-tɨ
yesterday come.HON-SEQ
'Did (he) come (here) yesterday?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

4.3.2. Adnominals

There are three kinds of adnominals: personal pronominal adnominals like *waa* 'my,' demonstrative adnominals like *kun* 'this,' and interrogative adnominals like *taa* 'whose.' The adnominal, e.g., *kun* 'this (one)' and *waa* 'my,' only occurs in the modifier slot of an NP. Even though an adnominal cannot stand alone, this feature comes from the fact that it always requires the head. That is, it is syntactically dependent. However, they exhibit much less selective restriction than clitics.

Whereas nominals take genitive case in the modifier slot of an NP, adnominals do not. See the relevant descriptions in Chapter 5 for more details.

4.3.3. Verbs

The verb is identified by the occurence of a specific set of inflectional affixes (see §8.4), e.g., *kam-ɨ* (eat-IMP) 'Eat!' The only exception is the copula verb *zjar-*, which may lack an inflectional affix entirely (see §8.3.3.2). The verbal phrase is composed minimally of a verb, but it may also be composed of a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb (see §9.1.1 for more details). Verbs involve complex morphophonological alternations (see §8.2). Verbal inflectional affixes can be grouped into four classes: finite-form affixes, participial affixes, converbal affixes, and an infinitival affix. These classes of affixes correspond to the following clause types: main clauses, adnominal clauses, adverbial clauses, and nominal clauses (see §8.4 for more detai).

4.3.4. Adjectives

The adjective is identified by the occurence of the following set of inflectional affixes: *-sa*/*-soo,* e.g., *kjura-sa* or *kjura-soo* (beautiful-ADJ) 'beautiful.' Adjectives and verbs are thus distinguished by the kind of inflectional affixes they carry.

Semantically, adjectival stems express various property concepts (the semantic categories conform to those of Dixon 2004: 3-4): DIMENSION (e.g., *taa-* 'high; tall,' *tuu-* 'distant,' *inja-* 'small'), AGE (e.g., *waa-* 'young,' *miisj-* 'new'), VALUE (e.g., *jiccj-* 'good,' *waru-* 'bad'), COLOR (e.g., *aa-* 'red,' *siju-* 'white,' *kˀuru-* 'black'), PHYSICAL PROPERTY (e.g., *ubu-* 'heavy'), HUMAN PROPENSITY (e.g., *hoorasj-* 'happy'), and SPEED (e.g., *həə* 'fast').

Morphologically, the adjective is composed of an adjectival stem plus the adjectival inflectional affixes *-sa*/*-soo*. If they follow consonant-final stems, the initial morphophoneme //s// drops.

(4-49) Morphophonological alternation of *-sa* (ADJ)

a. After vowel-final stem

usɨ-	'ugly'	+	*-sa*	(ADJ)	>	usɨ-sa
siju-	'white'				>	siju-sa
hagoo-	'mortified'				>	hagoo-sa
judəə-	'slow'				>	judəə-sa
kjura-	'beautiful'				>	kjura-sa

b. After consonant-final stem

cjuss-	'strong'	+	*-sa*	(ADJ)	>	cjuss-a
kjuugutt-	'tight'				>	kjuugutt-a
jiccj-	'good'				>	jiccj-a
hoorasj-	'happy'				>	hoorasj-a

The above examples show that *-sa* (ADJ) has two allomorphs /-sa/ as in (4-49 a) and /-a/ as in (4-49 b). The same thing can apply to *-soo* (ADJ), which has two allomorphs /-soo/ and /-oo/.

Syntactically, a single adjectival word can costitute the predicate as in (4-50 a-b). Additionally, an adjective can be followed by the stative verb *ar-* (or *nə-*) in some environments as in (4-50 c-d) (see §9.2 for

more details).

(4-50) a. TM: agɨɨ, nacɨkasja.
agɨ *nacɨkasj-sa*
oh familiar-ADJ
'(I) miss them (on the picture).'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: agɨɨ! wuganduusoo.
agɨ *wuganduu-soo*
oh not.see.for.a.long.time-ADJ
'Oh! (I) haven't seen (you) for a long time.'
[El: 120912]

c. TM: nanga umoocjattu, jiccja ata.
nan=ga *umoor-tar-tu* *jiccj-sa* *ar-tar*
2.HON.SG=NOM come.HON-PST-CSL good-ADJ STV-PST
'Since you has come, (I'm) pleased.' [lit. 'Since you came, (it) was good.']
[Co: 110328_00.tx]

d. TM: juwasoo nən?
juwa-soo *nə-an*
hungry-ADJ STV-NEG
'Aren't (you) hungry?'
[El: 120926]

The text data indicates that an adjective takes the inflection -*sa* (ADJ) when it is not followed by the stative verb. However, it can take -*soo* (ADJ) in elicitation. On the other hand, when it is followed by the stative verb, the adjective takes either -*sa* (ADJ) or -*soo* (ADJ) in the text data. Generally, -*sa* (ADJ) is used when the predicate is in affirmative, and -*soo* (ADJ) in negative. However, -*soo* (ADJ) can be used in affirmative when the adjective fills the complement slot of LVC or the lexical verb slot of AVC (see §9.2.2.3 for more details). It is probable that -*soo* (ADJ) is made of -*sa* (ADJ) + *ja* (TOP), considering the following two facts. First, there is a morphophonological rule of //a// + *ja* (TOP) > /oo/ (see §10.1.1.1). Second, -*soo* (ADJ) is used in negative of the adjectival predicate phrase as well as *ja* (TOP) is used in negative in the nominal predicate phrase (see §9.3.1). However, I do not propose the underlying forms -*sa=ja* (ADJ=TOP) for /-soo/, since there is no surface form realized as /-sa=ja/, and the form /-soo/ can finish a clause, which would not hold true if /-soo/ were composed of -*sa* + *ja* (TOP).

Adjectives may also be used adverbially (put in another way, they can convert to adverbs with no formal change).

(4-51) Adverbial use of adjectives

a. [Context: Remembering an old scene in the neighborhood]

TM:	an	|sutando|nu	umaga...	aa...	kansjɨ...
	a-n	*sutando=nu*	*u-ma=ga*		*ka-nsjɨ*
	DIST-ADNZ	gas.station=GEN	MES-place=FOC		PROX-ADVZ

taasa	isigaki	natutattu.
taa-sa	*isigaki*	*nar-tur-tar-tu*
high-ADJ	stone.fence	become-PROG-PST-CSL

'That place, where a gas station is, was stone fence which (was) so high [lit. so highly].'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking of an acquaintance of TM and MS; MS: '(We) have not seen (him) these days.']

TM:	|un|,	naa	nagəəsa	mjandoojaa.
	un	*naa*	*nagəə-sa*	*mj-an=doo=jaa*
	yeah	yet	long-ADJ	see-NEG=ASS=SOL

'Yeah, (we) have not seen (him) for a long time.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: [Context: Speaking about an aquaintance]

nasjeba	izjɨ	cʔjəəroo,	akka	taməə
nasje=ba	*ik-tɨ*	*k-təəra=ja*	*a-rɨ =ga*	*taməə*
Naze=ACC	go-SEQ	come-after=TOP	DIST-NLZ=GEN	sake

naa	issai	warusoo	jʔantatto.
naa	*issai*	*waru-soo*	*jʔ-an-tar-too*
already	all	bad-ADJ	say-NEG-PST-CSL

'After going to and returning from Naze, (she) did not say anything bad [lit. badly] for him.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (4-51 a), the predicate and its complement /isigaki natutattu/ 'was stone fence' are modified by *taa-sa* (high-ADJ) 'highly.' In (4-51 b), the predicate /mjan/ 'not see' is modified by *nagəə-sa* (long-ADJ) 'for a long time.' In (4-51 c), the predicate /jʔantatto/ 'did not say' is modified by /waru-soo/ (bad-ADJ) 'badly.'

There are very limited set of adjectives that take the adverbializer *-sanma* or *-ku*. And another limited set of adjectives undergo reduplication (sometimes with the affix *-tu*), in order to make them adverbs (see §4.3.6 and §4.3.8.3). Thus, we interpret them as derivational affixes and call them adverbializers.

4.3.5. Particles

All particles are clitics, but not vice versa (cf., formal nouns in §6.2.2). There are six subclasses of particles:

case particles, limitter particles, conjunctive particles, clause-final particles, utterance-final particles A, and utterance-final particles B. See Chapter 10 for more details.

4.3.6. Adverbs

It is difficult to difine the formal categories with which adverbs establish the modificational relationships. They scope over entire propostion, predicate, or even a part of compound. Let us illustrate the adverbial modification with *muru* 'very,' which is underlined below.

(4-52) a. With verbal predicate

[Context: Speaking about an acquaintance of TM and US]

TM:	masahiko	tuzija	muru	sijan.
	masahiko	*tuzi=ja*	*muru*	[*sij-an*]$_{\text{Verbal predicate}}$
	Masahiko	wife=TOP	very	know-NEG

'(I) don't know Masahiko's wife at all.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With adjectival predicate

[Context: Speaking about MS's grandfather and his friends, who traded market stocks]

TM:	muru	dujasanu,	ikizɨmai	jatəəkkamojaa.
	muru	[*duja-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=nu*	*ikizɨmai*	*jar-təər=kamo=jaa*
	very	rich-ADJ=SEQ	extreme	COP-RSL=maybe=SOL

'(Maybe, they) were very rich, and (their life was) extremely (good).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. With nominal predicate

[Context: Speaking about acquaintances of TM and MS; TM: 'Muha is as old as those people, and...']

TM:	muru	dusi	jata.
	muru	[*dusi*	*jar-tar*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
	very	friend	COP-PST

'(They) were very (good) friends.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above examples, the adverb *muru* 'very' occurs with the verbal predicate *sij-an* (know-NEG) 'don't know' in (4-52 a), the adjectival predicate *duja-sa* (rich-ADJ) '(be) rich' in (4-52 b), and the nominal predicate *dusi jar-tar* (friend COP-PST) 'were friends' in (4-52 c).

Adverbs can be grouped into two groups: non-derived adverbs and derived ones. First, non-derived adverbs are all monomorphemic, e.g., *atadan* 'suddenly' in (4-53).

(4-53) [Context: Speaking about the present author; TM: 'Then, I thought (he) already went back (home).']

TM:	sjatto,	kinjuu	atadan	umoocjɨ.
	sɨr-tar-too	*kinjuu*	*atadan*	*umoor-tɨ*
	do-PST-CND	yesterday	suddenly	come.HON-SEQ

'Then, suddenly (he) came (here) yesterday.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Other non-derived adverbs are shown in the table below.

Table 27. Non-derived adverbs

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
abɨnəə	'barely'	*jiikunma*	'throughout'
anmai	'not very much'	*joikwa*	'silently'
atadan	'suddenly'	*jukkadɨ*	'continuously; always'
cʔja	'without rest'	*kattəə/kattənnən*	'freely'
cʔjakɨɨ	'soon'	*kundoo*	'next time'
cʔjasuguu	'soon'	*kunuguru*	'recently'
cjoo	'just'	*mata*	'again'
dooka	'please'	*minna*	'everyone'
doosje	'maybe'	*muru/muruttu*	'very'
ganba	'therefore'	*naa*	'already; yet'
ganboo	'if so'	*naakɨssa*	'so early'
jappai	'after all'	*nama*	'now; still'
jəito	'well; much'	*saki*	'first (of all)'
jiccjan	'well'	*sjəəroo*	'then'
jɨɨ	'often, well'	*wadaatunma*	'deliberately'
jiicjan	'throughout'	*zjenzjen*	'(not) at all'

This table shows that *ganba* 'therefore' and *ganboo* 'if so' appear to be divided into demonstrative roots and affixes, i.e. *ga-nba* and *ga-nboo* (cf. §5.2); however, the demonstrative roots other than *ga-* (MES) do not precede /nba/ or /nboo/, i.e. **ka-nba* or **aga-nba*, where *ka-* (PROX) and *aga-* (DIST) are demonstrative roots. Thus, we regard *ganba* 'therefore' and *ganboo* 'if so' as monomorphemic adverbs.

Second, some adverbs can be derived from reduplication such as *buu+buu* 'floating' in (4-54 a) or /sabiisabi/ *sabi+sabi* 'smoothly' in (4-54 b).

(4-54) a. [Context: Remembering the sight around the kitchen in the old days]

TM: haija buubuu tubjakudɨ,
hai=ja *buu+buu* *tubjakum-tɨ*
ash=TOP RED+floating fly-SEQ
'Ashes floated, and ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. [Context: At the lunch time]
TM: sabiisabi aikikippoo, cɨkɨmununkja
sabi+sabi *aik-i+kij-boo* *cɨkɨmun=nkja*
RED+smoothly walk-INF+CAP-CND pickle=APPR
jaazjɨ tɨkkoorɨnmun.
jaa=zjɨ *tɨkk-arɨr-n=mun*
house=LOC3 bring-CAP-PTCP=ADVRS
'If (I) could walk smoothly, (I) could go home and bring some pickles, but (couldn't).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Other examples of reduplicated adverbs are shown in the table below.

Table 28. Fully reduplicated adverbs (lengthened root being underlined)

Original root	Penultimate syllable (H: heavy; L: light; -: no syllable)	Final syllable		Reduplicated adverb	Meaning
bocu	L	L	>	bocuu+bocu	'step by step'
botto	H	L	>	botto+botto	'lazily'
buu	-	H	>	buu+buu	'floating'
gara	L	L	>	garaa+gara	'rattle'
hui	-	H	>	hui+hui	'lightly'
joi	-	H	>	joi+joi	'slowly; late'
kjura	L	L	>	kjuraa+gjura	'beautifully'
kˀumja	L	L	>	kˀumjaa+kˀumja	'with steps'
muccjara	L	L	>	muccjaraa+muccjara	'chewing'
potton	H	H	>	potton+potton	'dripping'
sa	-	L	>	saa+sa	'without hesitation'
sai	-	H	>	sai+sai	'fast'
sabi	L	L	>	sabii+sabi	'smoothly'
siju	L	L	>	sijuu+ziju	'whitely'

There are two points to make about the data shown in the above table: (a) syllable construction and (b) kinds of roots. First, some of the reduplicated adverbs lengthen their initial roots, e.g., //sabi// 'smoothly' > /sabii/. This lengthening occurs if neither penultimate nor final syllable of the original root is heavy. Second,

reduplicated adverbs are made up of either onomatopoeic roots such as //gara// 'rattle,' which seems to represent the sound of metallic objects hitting each other, or adjectival roots such as //kjura// 'beautiful' and //siju// 'white' (which also go through sequential voicing, as discussed in §4.2.3.4). Logically, it would be difficult to characterize whether the initial root undergoes lengthening or omitting (of a vowel) seeing only cases of onomatopoeic roots. Although, the adjectival roots provide additional clues because their original forms are clearly not lengthened when compared to the other morphological processes of adjectival roots, e.g., /kjura-sa/ (white-ADJ) 'white.' Therefore, we can assume that all the initial roots of reduplicated adverbs originally did not undergo lengthening. In other words, the original root of /sabii+sabi/ 'smoothly' is //sabi// (not //sabii//).

Furthermore, adjectival stems, demonstrative stems and interrogative stems can become adverbs by affixation, e.g., *ubu-ku* (heavy-ADVZ) 'heavily,' *ka-n* (PROX-ADVZ) 'here' and *ikja-sjɨ* (how-ADVZ) 'how' (see §4.3.8.3 and chapter 5).

Before concluding this section, I want to mention two affixes that can turn the interrogative stems into indefinite adverbs: *-ninkuinin* and *-sjɨnkaasjɨn*. The former, *-ninkuinin,* follows only *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) 'who,' and the latter, *-sjɨnkaasjɨn,* follows only *ikja-* 'how' (see §5.3 for more details about interrogative words). The examples of these affixes are presented below.

(4-55) a. *-ninkuinin*

[Context: Remembering the work of thatching a roof]

TM:	waakjoo...	naa,	taruuninkuinin	gajaurusi
	waa-kja=ja	*naa*	*ta-ru-ninkuinin*	*gaja+urus-i*
	1-PL=TOP	FIL	who-NLZ-INDFZ	miscanthus+lower-INF

tanmarɨccjɨ	jˀii	natɨ, ...
tanm-ar-ɨ=ccjɨ	*jˀ-i*	*nar-tɨ*
ask-PASS-IMP=QT	say-INF	COP-SEQ

'Everyone said that, "Please undertake the carrying of [lit. Be asked to carry] the miscanthus (from the mountains)" Thus, I ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *-sjɨnkaasjɨn*

[Context: Speaking about play in the old days; TM: 'Didn't you play hitting balls?']

US:	cjaa,	cjaa,	naa,	ikjaasjɨnkaasjɨn.jo.
	cjaa	*cjaa*	*naa*	*ikja-sjɨnkaasjɨn=joo*
	I.think.so	I.think.so	FIL	how-INDFZ=CFM1

'Yeah, yeah, (I played a game) no matter how (it is).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

These examples show that the second vowels of the interrogative stems should be lengthened before *-ninkuinin* or *-sjɨnkaasjɨn*: *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) > /taruu/ and *ikja-* 'how' > /ikjaa/. Perhaps, these affixes may be

divided into several morphemes such as *-ninkuinin* > *=n=n kui=n=n* (DAT1=even ECHO=DAT1=even) and *-sjɨnkaasjɨn* > *-sjɨ=n kaa-sjɨ=n* (ADVZ=even ECHO=ADVZ=even) (ECHO means an echo morpheme). I do not, however, take these analyses, because these morphemes are always closely united and no other morphemes intervene or replace them. Therefore, I interpret these alleged combinations as affixes, at least in modern Yuwan (see also §7.5 for the indefinite pronoun).

4.3.7. Interjections

The interjection cannot directly modify a predicate.

(4-56) [Context: Both TM and the hearer MS were trying to remember a person's name, and MS said the name of a candidate to TM.]

TM:	agɨ.	cjaa	zjaga.
	agɨ	*cjaa*	*zjar=ga*
	oh	that.is.right	COP=CFM3

'Oh! That's right.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, the interjection *agɨ* expresses the speaker's surprise, and it does not directly modify the predicate. Other examples are shown below.

Table 29. Interjections

Form	Gloss	Context
agɨ	oh	Being surprised
ai	no	Giving a negative response
baa	not.want	Expressing reluctance
cjaa	that.is.right	Agreeing with the hearer
dɨɨ	hey	Calling the hearer
hagɨɨ	oh	Being impressed
ido	oh	Drawing the hearer's attention
in	yes	Giving an affirmative response
ɨɨ	yes	Giving an affirmative response
jaa	SOL	Requiring empathy (or expressing the speaker's empathy)
joo	CFM1	Drawing hearer's attention
mattai	wait.IMP.POL	Asking the hearer to wait
naa	FIL	Filling the interval of utterance
ude[23]	well	Trying to do something
un[24]	BCH	Backchannel

[23] *ude* 'well' is frequently pronounced as [uɾe].

Almost all of the morphemes regarded as interjections by the criteria discussed in §4.3 are used in the following conditions: they are used only by themselves, or they are embedded into a clause in the direct speech, which is always followed by the quotative marker *ccjɨ* (see also §10.4.1.1).

(4-57) [Context: Distributing some of her lunch to the present author's plate; TM: 'Old peoples...'; MS: 'Yeah.']

TM:	ude,	naa,	ganboo,	urakjoo	ude,	ude,	kamanboo,
	ude	*naa*	*ganboo*	*urakja=ja*	*ude*	*ude*	*kam-an-boo*
	well	FIL	if.so	2.NHON.SG=TOP	well	well	eat-NEG-CND

udeccjɨdu xxx jʔutattujaa.
ude=ccjɨ=du *jʔ-jur-tar-tu=jaa*
well=QT=FOC say-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
'(The old people) would say, 'Well, now, then, you have to eat (more).''

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

All of the occurrences of *ude* 'well' in (4-57) are integrated in the main clause as direct speech, which is followed by *ccjɨ* (QT).

There are, however, morphemes that can be integrated into a clause without *ccjɨ* (QT) despite being classified into interjections according to the criteria presented in §4.3, e.g., *cjaa* 'I think so!' and *baa* 'No!'

First, *cjaa* 'I think so!' is a free form and can be uttered only by itself. However, it can also fill the predicate slot followed by the copula verb as in (4-56). *cjaa* behaves similarly to the nominal in this case. However, it cannot take any case particle. Thus, we assume it as a special kind of interjection.

Second, I will show an example of *baa* 'No!'

(4-58) TM: kurɨsjəə baadoo.
ku-rɨ=sjɨ=ja *baa=doo*
PROX-NLZ=INST=TOP not.want=ASS
'(If it is) so, (it) does not (work).'

[El: 110827]

In this example, *baa* fills the predicate slot followed by *doo* (ASS); however, *baa* cannot fall into nominals (since it cannot take any case or copula verb) or verbs (since it cannot take any verbal affix). Thus, we interpret *baa* as a special kind of interjection.

4.3.8. Class-changing derivation

We attach the same label to a free form and a stem only if the stem can become the word class by itself or

[24] *un* (BCH) is frequently pronounced as [ʔmː].

with a minimal inflection (cf., Lehman 2008: 8). For example, the stem *isi* 'stone' can be a nominal word by itself, and so we label *isi* 'stone' as a "nominal stem." The stem *kam-* 'eat' can be a verbal word with a minimal inflection *-ɨ* (IMP) as in *kam-ɨ* 'Eat!,' and so we regard *kam-* 'eat' as a "verbal stem."

In the following sections, we examine a few cases where a particular stem class becomes another stem class. For example, a verbal stem becomes a nominal stem (see §4.3.8.1), a verbal stem becomes an adjectival stem (see §4.3.8.2), and an adjectival stem becomes an adverbial stem (see §4.3.8.3).

4.3.8.1. Verbal stem to nominal stem

There are several morphemes that can change verbal stems to nominal stems: *-jaa* 'person,' *zjaa* 'place,' *bəə* 'role,' *mai* (OBL), *madəə* 'fail to,' and *gjaa* (PURP). The first one may be called nominalizer (see §7.6). The others are a kind of nominal roots that are compounded with verbal infinitives (see §4.2.3.2 for more details). The affix-like clitic *sɨ* (FN) can also form a nominal stem from a verbal stem (see §6.2.2.1).

4.3.8.2. Verbal stem to adjectival stem

There are four adjectival roots that can change verbal stems to adjectival stems: *cja* 'want,' *cjagɨ* 'seem,' *jass* 'easy,' and *gussj* 'difficult.' In principle, they are compouned with verbal infinitives.

(4-59) a. *cja* 'want' [= (4-36)]

[Context: TM is introducing the present author to the hearer U saying that the present author has been looking for a good language teacher in the community.]

TM:	simakutuba	narəəcjasaccjɨ	jˀicjɨ,
	sima+kutuba	*naraw-i+cja-sa=ccjɨ*	*jˀ-tɨ*
	community+language	learn-INF+want-ADJ=QT	say-SEQ

'(He) said, '(I) want to learn the language of the community,' and ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *cjagɨ* 'seem'

[Context: Speaking of a person who used to copy the music tapes for everyone]

TM:	arɨ	siicjagɨsan	cˀjunkjaga
	a-rɨ	*sɨr-i+cjagɨ-sa+ar-n*	*cˀju=nkja=ga*
	DIST-NLZ	do-INF+seem-ADJ+STV-ADN	person=APPR=FOC

	cˀjuin	umooran	natattujaa.
	cˀjui=n	*umoor-an*	*nar-tar-tu=jaa*
	one.NUM.person=also	exist.HON-NEG	become-PST-CSL=SOL

'(Now) there are no people who are likely to do that (i.e. recording), you know.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. *-jass* 'easy'

[Context: Speaking of pickles that are easy to make]

TM:	urɨga	|iciban|	siijassa	appa.

u-rɨ=ga	*iciban*	*sɨr-i+jass-sa*	*ar-ba*
MES-NLZ=FOC	mostly	do-INF+easy-ADJ	STV-CSL

'Since it (i.e. the pickles) is mostly easy to do.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

d. *-gussj* 'difficult'

TM:	misikjarusanu	miigussja.
	mɨsikjaru-sa=nu	*mj-i+gussj-sa*
	dazzling-ADJSEQ	see-INF+difficult-ADJ

'(It) is dazzling and (it) is difficult (for me) to see.'

[El: 120921]

All of the above examples are followed by *-sa* (ADJ) and become adjectives to fill the predicate slots. The above adjectival stems almost always follow the verbal infinitives. However, there is an example, where *cjagɨ* 'seem' is compounded with the adjectival stem *mʔa* 'tasty' as in *mʔa+cjagɨ-sa* (tasty+seem-ADJ) '(It) seems tasty.'

4.3.8.3. Adjectival stem to adverbial stem

There are three ways to change adjectival stems to adverbial stems: (a) reduplication, (b) affixation, and (c) reduplication with affixation.

First, reduplication of adjectival stems makes adverbs. As mentioned in §4.3.6, if the adjectival stem does not have a heavy syllable at the final or penultimate positions, the final mora of the preceding reduplicated stem is lengthened.

(4-60) TM:

sijuuziju	natajaa.
siju+siju	*nar-tar=jaa*
RED+white	become-PST=SOL

'(It) became white.'

[El: 111116]

Additionally, the following stem also goes through sequential voicing (cf. §4.2.3.4).

Second, there are two affixes that can change adjectival stems to adverbial stems: *-ku* and *-sanma*. We label these affixes as adverbializers. We categorize the adverbializers as derivational affixes and not types of converbal (inflectional) affixes since (a) they are not so productive and (b) there are no instances in texts where adverbs derived from adjectival stems take their own arguments. On the other hand, converbal affixes such as *-tɨ* (SEQ) are very productive and can take their own arguments, i.e., they can make clauses.

(4-61) a. *-ku*

[Context: Talking about the lifestyle in the old days, TM tells the hearer MS how to carry the baskets.]

TM:	ubuku	nappoo	sɨgu	cuburunan	nusɨtɨ,
	ubu-ku	*nar-boo*	*sɨgu*	*cuburu=nan*	*nusɨr-tɨ*
	heavy-ADVZ	become-CND	immediately	head=LOC1	put.on-SEQ

'As soon as (it) becomes heavy, (the people) put (baskets) on (their) heads, and ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. *-sanma*

[Context: Talking about how to make pickles out of white radishes]

TM:	dookunɨiba	koo	mucjɨ.	kjuraasanma	aratɨ,
	dookunɨi=ba	*koo*	*muk-tɨ*	*kjura-sanma*	*araw-tɨ*
	white.radish=ACC	skin	peel-SEQ	beautiful-ADVZ	wash-SEQ
	koo	mucjɨ.			
	koo	*muk-tɨ*			
	skin	peel-SEQ			

'(I) peeled the white radish. (I) washed (it) beautiful, and peeled (it).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

The above example shows that *-sanma* (ADVZ) requires that the preceding stem is lengthened, i.e. //kjura// > /kjuraa/, if the adjectival stem has a light syllable in the final position. Otherwise, lengthening does not occur: *hɨi-* 'large' + *-sanma* (ADVZ) > /hɨisanma/ 'largely.'

Finally, reduplication with affixation changes adjectival stems to adverbial stems. Morphophonologically, the following stem is lengthened with the adverbializer *-tu*. Additionally, the following stem goes through sequential voicing (§4.2.3.4). Syntactically, these dirived adverbs can fill the complement slot of the light verb construction (see §9.1.2 for more details).

(4-62) *-tu*

TM:	sijuzijuutu	natɨjaa.
	siju+siju-tu	*nar-tɨ=jaa*
	RED+white-ADVZ	become-SEQ=SOL

'(It) became white.'

[El: 111116]

We do not interpret *-tu* (ADVZ) as *tu* (COM) discussed in §6.3.2.11 since the preceding form, e.g., /sijuzijuu/ in (4-62) cannot take other case particles or cannot be followed by the copula verb. These facts mean that the form cannot be a nominal. Furthermore, this type of adverbialization cannot apply to adjectival stems that express a kind of emotion, e.g., **utumara+utumara-tu* (RED+feel.strange-ADVZ).

Chapter 5
Cross-over categories

Every word in Yuwan can be categorized into a word class (i.e. nominals, adnominals, verbs, adjectives, particles, adverbs, and interjections), as determined by some morphosyntactic criteria (see §4.3). The class of demonstratives, however, can crosscut several word classes, including nominal *kuri* 'this' and adnominal *kun* 'this (one).' Here, we introduce another category of words called "cross-over categories." There are three cross-over categories: personal pronominals, demonstratives, and interrogatives. Semantically, each cross-over category has a common functional property. The personal pronominals express "person deixis" (Fillmore 1997 [1971]: 61-62) (i.e. the speaker, the hearer, or the other), the demonstratives express spatial deixis, and the interrogatives can be used in questions. Morphologically, all of the personal pronominals and demonstratives, and some of the interrogatives, can be divided into a root and an affix (or affixes). The relations between word classes and cross-over categories are summarized as follows.

Table 30. Word classes and cross-over categories

	Word classes		
	Nominals	Adnominals	Adverbs
Cross-over categories			
Personal pronominals	+	+	-
Demonstratives	+	+	+
Interrogatives	+	+	+

The personal pronominals cannot become adverbs. There are no cross-over categories that become verbs, adjectives, particles, or interjections. The difference between cross-over categories and verbs will be discussed in the §8.4.5.

5.1. Personal pronominals

A personal pronominal in Yuwan is a deictic word that indicates chiefly the speaker or the hearer.

Morphologically, a personal pronominal word is composed of a root plus an affix (or affixes). There are three personal pronominal roots: *waa-* (1), *naa-* (2.HON), and *ura-* (2.NHON). All personal pronominal roots are bound forms. They can take four affixes, i.e. *-n*/*-Ø* (SG), *-ttəə* (DU), *-kja* (PL), and *-a* (ADNZ).

Semantically, the root *waa-* is used for first-person reference, i.e. the speaker. The roots *naa-* and *ura* are used for second-person reference, i.e. the hearer; *naa-* is an honorific form, used to refer to addressees who are older or have a higher status than the speaker, and *ura* is used elsewhere. Deictic expression of third-person reference, i.e. non-speaker and non-hearer, is expressed in principle by demonstratives (see §5.2); however,

there is a dual form to express third person, namely /nattəə/ 'that two people,' which is the same as the honorific dual form to express the second person (see §5.1.3 for more details).

Syntactically, personal pronominal words can become two word classes: nominals such as /waakja/ 'we' or adnominals such as /waakjaa/ 'our.' In personal pronominal words, both nominals (henceforth, "personal pronouns") and adnominals exhibit number distinctions, but there are no dual forms of adnominals. If the dual forms of the personal pronouns fill the modifier slot of an NP, they take *ga* (GEN). Note that in the following examples, *waa-* becomes /wa/, and *naa-* becomes /na/, when they precede *-n*, *-ttəə*, or *–a*. This vowel reduction is explained by the phonological rule in §2.4.5.

Table 31. Personal pronouns (surface forms)

Person	Honorific	Number		
		Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person		wan	wattəə	waakja
2nd person	Non-honorific	ura	urattəə	urakja
	Honorific	nan	nattəə	naakja
3rd person		N/A	nattəə	N/A

Dual forms are relatively rare in Yuwan. The total numbers of tokens of personal pronominals (uttered by US, TM, and MY) in my texts are as follows: singular forms totaled 148 (*wan/waa*: 76, *ura/uraa*: 36, *nan/naa*: 36); dual forms totaled 17 (*wattəə*: 9, *urattəə*: 3, *nattəə* (2nd): 1, *nattəə* (3rd): 4); and plural forms totaled 189 (*waakja/waakjaa*: 117, *urakja/urakjaa*: 57, *naakja/naakjaa*: 15).

Table 32. Personal pronominal adnominals (surface forms)

Person	Honorific	Number	
		Singular	Plural
1st person		waa	waakjaa
2nd person	Non-honorific	uraa	urakjaa
	Honorific	naa	naakjaa

At first glance, the morpheme boundaries in the above personal pronominal words seem relatively easy to divide, but it is actually very difficult to do that. The challenges in determining morpheme boundaries are discussed in §5.1.4 in detail. In this grammar, the morpheme boundaries of personal pronominal words are not expressed (even if they are present at the underlying level) unless they need to be clearly distinguished.

Personal pronominal adnominals in the plural, i.e. /waakjaa/, /urakjaa/, and /naakjaa/, sometimes reduce their word-final long vowels to short vowels such as /waakja/, /urakja/, and /naakja/. In these cases, it may be possible to interpret them as nominals juxtaposed in the modifier slot of an NP such as address nouns (see §7.2).

The following examples illustrate the difference between personal pronouns and personal pronominal

adnominals.

(5-1) a. Personal pronouns

[Context: Looking at pictures considered to be taken a little after World War II]

TM:	waakjaga	warabɨ	sjuinkjoo,	ganba,
	[*waakja*$_{\text{Head}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$=*ga*	*warabɨ*	*sɨr-tur-i-n=kja=ja*	*ganba*
	1PL=NOM	child	do-PROG-INF-time=APPR=TOP	therefore

hukunkjoo	tˀɨn	nənba.
huku=nkja=ja	*tˀɨɨ=n*	*ar-an-ba*
clothes=APPRT=TOP	one=even	exist-NEG-CSL

'When we were children, therefore, there are no clothes.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Personal pronominal adnominals

[Context: TM talks about usual meals with the hearer MY; MY: 'I always eat pickles after the meals.']

TM:	waakjaa	uziitaaga	gansjɨ	jatassɨga.
	[*waakjaa*$_{\text{Modifier}}$	*uzii-taa*$_{\text{Head}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$=*ga*	*ga-nsjɨ*	*jar-tar-sɨga*
	1PL.ADNZ	old.man-PL=NOM	MES-ADVZ	COP-PST-POL

'Our old man (i.e. my husband) was like that.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (5-1 a), the nominal *waakja* 'we' fills the head slot of an NP taking the nominative particle *ga*, and in (5-1 b), the adnominal *waakjaa* 'our' directly fills the modifier slot of an NP not taking the genitive particle. In other words, the forms behave differently in light of the syntactic criteria of word classes (see §4.3).

In the following subsections, we examine each type of person reference in detail; the first person (see §5.1.1.), the second person (see §5.1.2), and the third person (see §5.1.3). In particular, we will focus on their nominal forms. For their adnominal forms, see §6.4.2. In §5.1.4, I will show an analysis of the personal pronominal paradigm.

5.1.1. First person

First-person pronominals are shown below.

Table 33. First-person pronominals (surface forms)

Word classes	Number		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominals	wan	wattəə	waakja
Adnominals	waa	waakjaa	

I present an example of the singular form of first-person pronouns, i.e. *wan* (1SG).

(5-2) Singular

TM:	wanga	agan	ikjussaccjɨ.
	wan=ga	*aga-n*	*ik-jur-sa=ccjɨ*
	1SG=NOM	DIST-ADVZ	go-UMRK-POL=QT

'(I said to the present author), "I will go there."'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Yuwan does not have inclusive vs. exclusive distinctions for the first-person dual forms or plural forms. In (5-3), *wattəə* (1DU) is used for both inclusive and exclusive meanings.

(5-3) a. Inclusive dual

[Context: TM asks the hearer US of the difference in age between them.]

TM:	wattəə	ikjasa	cigajui?
	wattəə	*ikja-sa*	*cigaw-jur-i*
	1DU	how-NLZ	different-UMRK-NPST

'How many (years between the age of) us (i.e. you and me)?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Exclusive dual

[Context: TM talks about her son with MS; TM: 'My son doesn't say anything to me, and I don't say anything to him either;' MS: 'Maybe, you are parent and child, I think.']

TM:	aran.	sjoobunga	nissjaatɨ,	wattəəja.
	jar-an	*sjoobun=ga*	*nissj-sa+ar-tɨ*	*wattəə=ja*
	COP-NEG	character=FOC	resemble-ADJ+STV-SEQ	1DU=TOP

'No. (It is because of) the character in which we (i.e. I and he) resemble (each other).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (5-2 a) TM uses *wattəə* (1DU) 'the two of us' to include the hearer US, and in (5-2 b) she uses the same form to exclude the hearer MS.

If a speaker wants to specify a referent other than the speaker of the first-person dual form, the nominal (that indicates the associate) occurs with the case particle *tu* (COM) before *wattəə* (1DU).

(5-4) [Context: Speaking about the days when TM goes to the day-care center in the community]

TM:	kˀajoobin	ujuritu	wattəə	ikjun	tukinnja,

kʔwajoobi[25]*=n*	*ujuri=tu*	*wattəə*	*ik-jur-n*	*tuki=n=ja*
Tuesday=DAT1	Uyuri=COM	1DU	go-UMRK-PTCP	time=DAT1=TOP

'On Tuesday, when Uyuri and me go (there), ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Please note that *ujuri=tu wattəə* (Uyuri=COM 1DU) does not mean 'Uyuri and the two of us' (i.e. three referents), but instead means 'Uyuri and me' (i.e. two referents). Cross-linguistically, this kind of phenomenon is not uncommon (Jespersen 1924[1992]: 192 and Moravcsik 2003: 475), and it is called "inclusory constructions" in Lichtenberk (2000). One may think that the example in (5-4) is a case of "quantifier float," which will be discussed in §7.4.1. In fact, the dual affix *-ttəə* seems to have some diachronic relation with the numeral *tʔai* 'two people.' However, synchronically *-ttəə* (DU) and *tʔai* 'two people' are different morphemes, because they can co-occur in the same clause modifying the same referent as in (5-5).

(5-5) TM:

wattəə	tʔai	ikiidoo.
wattəə	*tʔai*	*ik-i=doo*
1DU	two.person	go-INF=ASS

'The two of us will go.'

[El: 121112]

Therefore, we have to recognize that the comitative nominal, i.e. *ujuri=tu* 'Uyuri and' in (5-4), does not "add" a person to *wattəə* (1DU), but instead "fills" the non-speaker slot of the dual form.

The plural form *waakja* (1PL) can also be used with the numeral *tʔai* 'two people,' which means the 'plural' form *waakja* (1PL) does not exclude dual meaning.

(5-6) TM:

waakjoo	tʔai	ikiidoo.
waakja=ja	*tʔai*	*ik-i=doo*
1PL=TOP	two.person	go-INF=ASS

'The two of us will go.'

[El: 121112]

The above example is uttered by elicitation. In the natural discourse, the two referents in the first or second person are necessarily indicated by the dual forms. That is, the dual in Yuwan is not the "facultative number" in Corbett (2000), since the forms for the facultative number usually tend to be replaced by the plural form (ibid.: 45).

As mentioned above, the plural form *waakja* (1PL) can express both inclusive meaning and exclusive

[25] The speaker TM explained to the present author that 'Tuesday' was /kʔwajoobi/ in Yuwan during elicitation, but she said /kʔajoobi/ in this text.

meaning.

(5-7) a. Inclusive plural

[Context: There are only three people including TM, and TM asks one of them.]

TM:	waakjoo	ikjantɨn,	jiccja	akkaijaa.
	waakja=ja	*ik-an-tɨ=n*	*jiccj-sa*	*ar=kai=jaa*
	1PL=TOP	go-NEG-SEQ=even	no.problem-ADJ	STV=DUB=SOL

'Is there no problem, even if we (all) do not go (there)?'

[El: 130812]

b. Exclusive plural

[Context: Someone asked TM whether she and other people gathered in TM's house yesterday.]

TM:	kinjoo	waakjoo	jurawantɨdoo.
	kinju=ja	*waakja=ja*	*juraw-an-tɨ=doo*
	yesterday=TOP	1PL=TOP	gather-NEG-SEQ=ASS

'We did not gather yesterday.'

[El: 130812]

In (5-7 a), TM uses *waakja* (1PL) 'we (all)' including the hearer, and in (5-7 b) she uses the same form excluding the hearer.

The plural form *waakja* (1PL) is not only used to indicate genuine plurality. That is, while it may be used to indicate multiple referents including the speaker, it may also be used to virtually indicate only the speaker. The latter use of *waakja* (1PL) may be paraphrased in English as "a person like me." I will present an example below.

(5-8) [Context: there are only four people, i.e. US, TM, MY, and the present author. US praised TM for her knowledge, but TM was modest and said that she knew nothing at all.]

TM:	waakjan	sijanmun.
	waakja=n	*sij-an=mun*
	1PL=also	know-NEG=ADVRS

'I don't know anything either.' (or 'A person like me doesn't know anything either.')

MY:	wanundoojaa.
	wan=n=doo=jaa
	1SG =also=ASS=SOL

'Niether do I.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In this scene, there are only four people, i.e. US, TM, MY, and the present author. US praised TM's

knowledge in order for the present author to recognize TM's authority as a teacher of the Yuwan language. However, TM replied that she did not know anything showing her modesty. In this case, it is difficult to interpret the *waakja* (1PL) in TM's utterance as including US, MY, or the present author. The MY's utterance (immediately following the TM's) also shows that the *waakja* (1PL) in TM's utterance does not include another participant, since MY said 'Niether do I.' In other words, MY said so because she did not think the *waakja* (PL) does not include MY herself.

This use of *waakja* (1PL) is very common in Yuwan. The reason for this phenomenon might be related to the flexible meaning of *-kja* (PL), which can indicate not only a specific group, but also an unspecific group. The figure below illustrates the potential ambiguities associated with the three possible number distinctions in first-person reference.

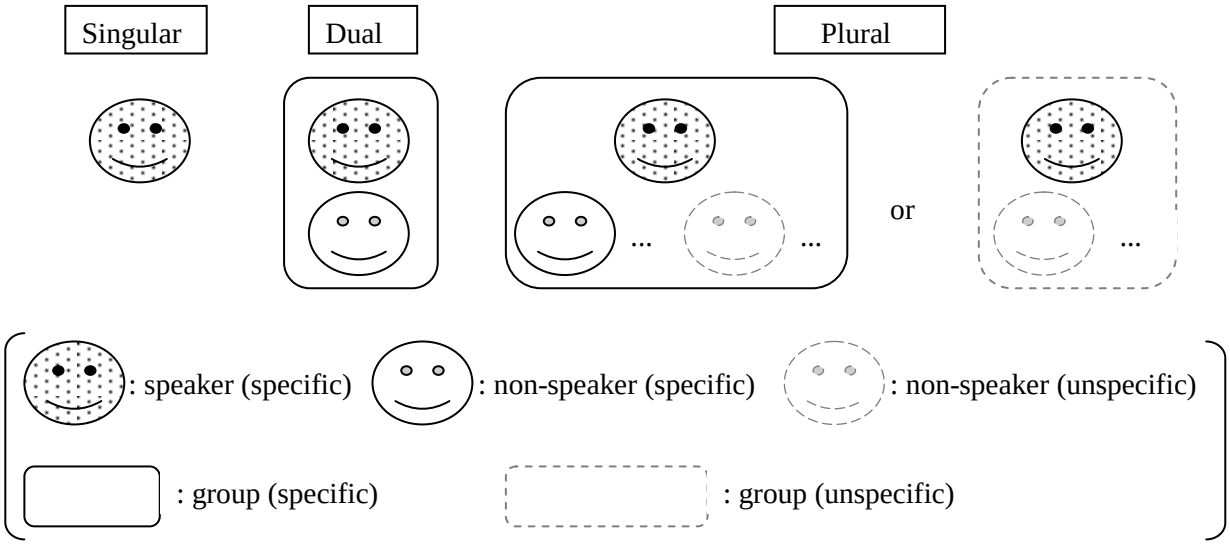

Figure 7. Three number distinctions in first-person reference

This figure shows that the right-most figure, i.e. the plural indicating the speaker associated with unspecific referents in an unspecific group, is very similar to the left-most figure, i.e. the singular. This similarity makes it possible to use the plural form (in the meaning of the right-most figure) like the singular form. In fact, the plural form *waakja* (1PL) in (5-8) indicates an unspecific group as in the right-most figure in Figure 7. In that group, the specific referent is only the speaker, and the unspecific group is thought to be composed of "people who do not know anything important." This kind of plural meaning is also expressed in the second-person pronominals discussed in the next section (see also the discussion in §6.4.1.1).

5.1.2. Second person

Second-person pronominals are shown below.

Table 34. Second-person pronominals (surface forms)

Word classes	Honorific	Number		
		Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominals	Honorific	nan	nattəə	naakja
	Non-honorific	ura	urattəə	urakja
Adnominals	Honorific	naa	naakjaa	
	Non-honorific	uraa	urakjaa	

For second-person pronominals in Yuwan, there is a distinction between honorific and non-honorific forms; the honorific forms are used for addressees who are older (or have a higher status) than the speaker and the non-honorific forms are used elsewhere.

(5-9) a. *nan* (2.HON.SG)

[Context: TM told US that she thought the present author would not come to her place after visiting US's place.]

TM:	nanga	umoocjan	un	hiija,
	nan=ga	*umoor-tar-n*	*u-n*	*hii=ja*
	2.HON.SG =NOM	say.HON-PST-PTCP	MES-ADNZ	day=TOP

'About the day you said (about the visit from the present author), ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *ura* (2.NHON.SG)

[Context: TM asked MS, who sometimes has to do night duty at his place of work, to help the present author with the study.]

TM:	uraga	tumainu	aran	tukin,
	ura=ga	*tumar-i=nu*	*ar-an*	*tuki=n*
	2.NHON.SG=NOM	stay-INF=NOM	COP-NEG	time=DAT1

'When you are not on night duty, ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (5-9 a), TM is speaking to US, who is older than TM, so TM has to use the honorific form of the second-person pronoun. On the other hand, in (5-9 b), TM is speaking to MS, who is younger than TM, so TM uses the non-honorific form of the second-person pronoun.

Both the honorific and non-honorific forms have dual nominal forms.

(5-10) a. *nattəə* (2.HON.DU)

[Context: TM said to US that they did not play together and wondered why they did not. Then, MY suggested a plausible reason.]

MY:	asıbija	sıran.joo.	nattəə	tusiga

asɨb-i=ja	*sɨr-an=joo*	*nattəə*	*tusi=ga*
play-INF=TOP	do-NEG=CFM1	2.HON.DU	age=FOC

cigajunmun.
cigaw-jur-n=mun
different-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS
'(You) would not play. The two of you were not the same age.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *urattəə* (2.NHON.DU)
[Context: TM had MS and the present author for lunch.]

TM:	urattəə	kadɨ	kurɨppa.
	urattəə	*kam-tɨ*	*kurɨr-ba*
	2.NHON. DU	eat-SEQ	BEN-CSL

'The two of you, eat (the lunches), please.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

As mentioned in §5.1.1, the plural affix for personal pronominals, i.e. *-kja* (PL), can indicate not only a specific group, but also an unspecific group. These meanings are illustrated below.

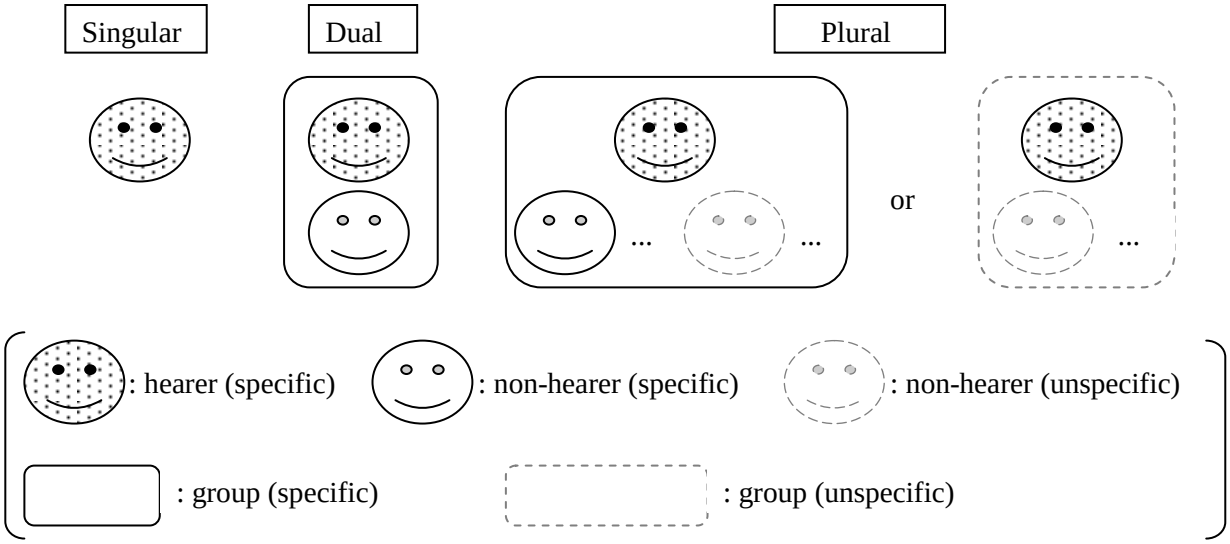

Figure 8. Three number distinctions in second-person reference

This illustration shows that the right-most figure, i.e. the plural indicating the hearer associated with unspecific referents in an unspecific group, is very similar to the left-most figure, i.e. the singular. This similarity makes it possible to use the plural form (in the meaning of the right-most figure) like the singular form. The plural form in that use may be paraphrased in English as "a person like you." The following two examples illustrate that use of plural forms.

(5-11) a. *naakja* (2.HON.PL)

[Context: Talking to US about labor involved with carrying miscanthus from the mountain to thatch a roof in the old days.]

TM: naakjoo gajaurusinkjoo

naakja=ja *gaja+urus-i=nkja=ja*

2.HON.PL=TOP miscanthus+take.down-INF=APPR=TOP

sɨrantaroo.

sɨr-an-tar-oo

do-NEG-PST-SUPP

'Probably (a person like) you would not carry the miscanthus.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *urakja* (2.NHON.PL)

[Context: Seeing a picture with MS]

TM: urakjaga jamatoocinkja

urakja=ga *jamatu=kaci=nkja*

2.NHON.PL=NOM main.island.of.Japan=ALL=APPR

ikjun |koro|kai xxx jaa.

ik-jur-n *koro=kai* *=jaa*

go-UMRK-PTCP time=DUB =SOL

'I wonder if (the time when the picture was taken) was the time (a person like) you went to the main island of Japan (to find a job).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Here, *naakja* (2.HON.PL) in (5-11 a) indicates an unspecific group as in the right-most figure in Figure 8. In that group, the specific referent is only the hearer, and the unspecific group is thought to be composed of "people who would not carry the miscanthus." Likewise, *urakja* (2.NHON.PL) in (5-11 b) indicates an unspecific group as in the right-most figure in Figure 8. In that group, the specific referent is only the hearer, and the unspecific group is thought to be composed of "people who went to the main island of Japan (to find a job)."

5.1.3. Third person

In principle, deictic expression of third-person reference is expressed by demonstratives in Yuwan (see §5.2). However, the demonstratives in Yuwan lack the dual number, and in the case of the third person dual, the form /nattəə/ is used. In other words, the third person pronoun and the demonstratives in Yuwan are in the complementary distribution in the grammatical number. *nattəə* (3.DU) has the same form as the second-person honorific dual form (see §5.1.2), but it can indicate both of honorific referents as in (5-12 a) and non-honorific referents as in (5-12 b).

(5-12) Third-person dual

a. Honorific referents

[Context: Speaking about two people who are older than TM]

TM:	nattəə,	|ittoki|ja,	muru	dusi	sjɨ,	gansjɨ	jiccja
	nattəə	*ittoki=ja*	*muru*	*dusi*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*ga-nsjɨ*	*jiccj-sa*
	3.DU	while=TOP	very	friend	do-SEQ	MES-ADVZ	good-ADJ

atanmundoojaa.

ar-tar-n=mun=doo=jaa

STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL

'Those two people [i.e. TM's acquaintances older than TM], for a while, were friends, and that was very good.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Non-honorific referents

[Context: Talking about the speaker's daughter and son]

TM:	nattəəja	|rjooribangumi|	hanasija	muru	sɨkidoojaa.
	nattəə=ja	*rjooribangumi*	*hanas-i=ja*	*muru*	*sɨki=doo=jaa*
	3.DU=TOP	cooking.show	talk-INF=TOP	very	like=ASS=SOL

'Those two people [i.e. the speaker's daughter and son] like speaking of a cooking show very much.'

[El: 130823]

In (5-12 a-b), /nattəə/ indicates two people not including the speaker or hearer. In (5-12 a), the referents are older than the speaker. In (5-12 b), the referents are younger than the speaker. Thus, /natəə/ in these examples is not sensitive to the social relationship between the speaker and the referent when it indicates the third-person referents. As mentioned in §5.1.2, *nattəə* (2.HON.DU) and *urattəə* (2.NHON.DU) can be used to indicate the second-person referents. However, /urattəə/ cannot be used to indicate the third-person referents, which is crucially different from /nattəə/.

Additionally, *nattəə* (3.DU) may be repleced by another analytic expression, i.e. *a-n tˀai* (DIST-ADNZ two.CLF.person) 'those two people,' which is composed of a demonstrative adnominal plus a numeral as in (5-13 a-b).

(5-13) Analytic expression to indicate two referents

a. Honorific referents

[Context: Speaking with MS, who is younger than TM, about two people who are older than TM]

TM:	an	tˀaija	ittokəə,	naa,	|oi|cjɨboo,
	a-n	*tˀai=ja*	*ittoki=ja*	*naa*	*oi=ccjɨ=boo*
	DIST-ADNZ	two.person.CLF=TOP	for.a.while=TOP	FIL	hey=QT=CND

|oi|cjɨ |juujoonakanzi|sjɨ,
oi=ccjɨ *juujoonakanzi=sjɨ*
hey=QT likely.to.say=INST
'Those two people [i.e. TM's acquaintances older than TM] (were such close that they) likely to say (roughly) "Hey" (to each other) for a while (in the past), and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Non-honorific referents

[Context: Talking to MS about two people, who are younger than TM, but who have already died.]

TM: un. .. hunto an tˀaiga wuppoo, muru
un *huntoo* *a-n* *tˀai=ga* *wur-boo* *muru*
BCH really DIST-ADNZ two.person=NOM exist-CND very
jiccja atanmundoo.
jiccj-sa *ar-tar-n=mun=doo*
good-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS
'Yeah. .. Really, if those two people [i.e. TM's acquaintances younger than TM] were to exist [i.e. be alive], it would be very good.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above examples, *a-n tˀai* (DIST-ADNZ two.CLF.person) 'those two people' indicates the referents both of older than the speaker and younger than the speaker as well as *nattəə* (3.DU).

5.1.4. Analysis of the personal pronominal paradigm

As mentioned in §5.1, personal pronominals seem to contain morpheme boundaries; however, it is difficult to determine the best way to analyze them. This kind of problem is common in the languages around the world and there is likely to be more than one analysis (cf. Comrie 1989: 49 about Hungarian). However, I propose the following analysis as the best.

(5-14) Personal pronominal morphemes

Roots: *waa-* (1), *naa-* (2.HON), *ura-* (2.NHON);
Number affixes: *-n*/*-Ø* (SG), *-ttəə* (DU), *-kja* (PL);
Adnominalizer: *-a* (ADNZ).

Strictly speaking, the number affixes in (5-14) also function as nominalizers. In the above morphemes, *waa-* (1) and *naa-* (2.HON) must conform to the phonological rule discussed in §2.4.5, which deletes a vowel in a vowel sequence. The zero morpheme *-Ø* is ignored in the rule.

Table 35. Phonological changes

	Underlying forms								Surface forms	
a.	*waa-*	(1)	+	*-n*	(SG)			>	wa-n	(*waa-n)
			+	*-ttəə*	(DU)			>	wa-ttəə	(*waa-ttəə)
			+	*-Ø*	(SG)	+	*-a* (ADNZ)	>	wa-Ø-a	(*waa-Ø-a)
b.	*naa-*	(2.HON)	+	*-n*	(SG)			>	na-n	(*naa-n)
			+	*-ttəə*	(DU)			>	na-ttəə	(*naa-ttəə)
			+	*-Ø*	(SG)	+	*-a* (ADNZ)	>	na-Ø-a	(*naa-Ø-a)

Adopting the above analysis, I propose the following paradigm. (The following paradigm shows the underlying froms. About the surface form paradigm, see Table 31-32 in §5.1.)

Table 36 Paradigm of personal pronominals following analysis 1 (underlying forms)

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Nominals	*waa-n*	(1-SG)	*waa-ttəə*	(1-DU)	*waa-kja*	(1-PL)
	naa-n	(2.HON-SG)	*naa-ttəə*	(2-DU)	*naa-kja*	(2-PL)
	ura-Ø	(2.NHON-SG)	*ura-ttəə*	(2.NHON-DU)	*ura-kja*	(2.NHON-PL)
Adnominals	*waa-Ø-a*	(1-SG-ADNZ)		*waa-kja-a*	(1-PL-ADNZ)	
	naa-Ø-a	(2.HON-SG-ADNZ)		*naa-kja-a*	(2-PL-ADNZ)	
	ura-Ø-a	(2.NHON-SG-ADNZ)		*ura-kja-a*	(2.NHON-PL-ADNZ)	

For nominals, the number distinctions are expressed by *-n*/*-Ø* (SG) vs. *-ttəə* (DU) vs. *-kja* (PL). For adnominals, the number distinctions are expressed by *-Ø* (SG) vs. *-kja* (PL). In order to express the singular, the zero morpheme *-Ø* (SG) appears when it follows *ura-* (2.NHON) or precedes *-a* (ADVZ). Although this analysis requires a non-visible zero morpheme, it does make it possible to explain the surface forms of personal pronominals by a regular phonological rule (see §2.4.5). Thus, I suggest that this is the best analysis.

5.2. Demonstrative words

A demonstrative word in Yuwan is a deictic word that can indicate a referent that is neither the speaker nor the hearer.

Morphologically, a demonstrative is made up of a root plus an affix (or affixes). There are six demonstrative roots, and they can be divided into two groups: (1) *ku-* (PROX), *u-* (MES), and *a-* (DIST), and (2) *ka-* (PROX), *ga-* (MES), and *aga-* (DIST). In both groups, the roots are all bound forms. Each group takes its own set of affixes (see Table 37).

Semantically, demonstratives can distinguish three degrees of distance, i.e. proximal (PROX), mesial (MES), and distal (DIST). These differences correspond to whether the speaker thinks a certain referent is

spatially (in a broad sense) related to the speaker (proximal), the hearer (mesial), or others (distal). In addition, the mesial forms, especially *u-rɨ* (MES-NLZ) 'it,' have an anaphoric use as in (8-87 a), where *u-rɨ* (MES-NLZ) 'it' indicates *boosi* 'hat' in the preceding utterance. *u-rɨ* (MES-NLZ) can also indicate an idea that the speaker thinks s/he shares with the hearer as in (9-32 b), where the idea that the occupation of wealth is not good is shared by both of the speaker and the hearer.

Syntactically, demonstrative words can become nominals, adnominals, or adverbs.

Table 37. Demonstratives

Word classes	Underlying forms		Meanings	Surface forms		
	Root	Affix		Proximal	Mesial	Distal
Nominals	*ku-/u-/a-*	*-rɨ*	Substance (SG)	ku-rɨ	u-rɨ	a-rɨ
		-rɨ-taa	Substance (PL)	ku-t-taa	u-t-taa	a-t-taa
		-ma	Place	ku-ma	u-ma	a-ma
Adnominals		*-n*	Neutral	ku-n	u-n	a-n
Nominals	*ka-/ga-/aga-*	*-ssa*	Amount	ka-ssa	ga-ssa	aga-ssa
		-hɨdubəi[26]	Small amount	ka-hɨdubəi	ga-hɨdubəi	aga-hɨdubəi
Adnominals		*-raa*	Derogative	ka-raa	ga-raa	aga-raa
		-hɨdon	Large size	ka-hɨdon	ga-hɨdon	aga-hɨdon
Adverbs		*-n*	Way	ka-n	ga-n	aga-n

Both /rɨ/ (NLZ) and /ttaa/ (NLZ.PL) provide the possibility of expressing a somewhat rude meaning when they are used to indicate human. Thus, they are not likely to be used to refer to people older than the speaker. In that case, a personal pronominal adnominal plus the common noun *cʔju* 'person' can be used, e.g. *a-n cʔju* (DIST-ADNZ person) 'that person' or *a-n cʔju=nkja* (DIST-ADNZ person=APPR) 'those people.'

In the following subsections, I will present examples of *ku-* (PROX), *u-* (MES), and *a-* (DIST) in §5.2.1. Next, I will present examples of *ka-* (PROX), *ga-* (MES), and *aga-* (DIST) in §5.2.2.

5.2.1. *ku-* (PROX), *u-* (MES), and *a-* (DIST)

For the first group, the roots *ku-* (PROX), *u-* (MES), and *a-* (DIST) can indicate places with *-ma*.

(5-15) [Context: Remembering a scene from the Pear Film]

TM:	tʔaija	amanan	taccjuppoo,
	tʔai=ja	*a-ma=nan*	*tat-tur-boo*
	two.person=TOP	DIST-place=LOC1	stand-PROG-CND

'when the two people were standing there [lit. on that place], ...'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

[26] *-hɨdubəi* has alternate forms: *-hɨbəi* and *-hɨnbəi*.

In the above example, the demonstrative nominal *a-ma* (DIST-place) 'that place' indicates a place distant from both of the speaker and the hearer.

Secondly, these demonstrative roots can also be nominals with *-rɨ*, which can indicate both humans and non-humans. In principle, *-rɨ* indicates a single referent as in (5-16 a, c). The plurality is expressed either morphologically by *-taa* (PL) or syntactically by *nkja* (APPR). The former is used for human referents as in (5-16 d), and the latter is used for non-human referents as in (5-16 b) in my texts.

(5-16) Non-human referents

a. Singular

[Context: Talking about a banyan tree, which was very big but burnt down in an air raid during World War II]

TM:	arəə	siccjuijojaa.	gazimaruja.
	a-rɨ=ja	*sij-tur-i=joo=jaa*	*gazimaru=ja*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	know-PROG-NPST=CFM1=SOL	banyan.tree=TOP

'(You) know that [i.e. the bayan tree], don't you? The banyan tree.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Plural

[Context: Speaking about a meeting for old people]

TM:	kjuuja	xxx	arɨnkja	harəə	janmun.
	kjuu=ja		*a-rɨ=nkja*	*haraw-i*	*jar-n=mun*
	today=TOP		DIST-NLZ=APPR	pay-INF	COP-PTCP=ADVRS
	|kaihi|.				
	kaihi				
	membership.fee				

'Today, (I) have to pay (things like) that. A membership fee.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Human referents

c. Singular

[Context: Talking about an acquaintance of TM and US]

TM:	arɨn	moosjattujaa.
	a-rɨ=n	*moosɨr-tar-tu=jaa*
	DIST-NLZ=also	die.HON-PST-CSL=SOL

'Since that person also died.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Plural

[Context: TM had thought to make her daughters prepare some meal for MY and the present author, but she gave it up since she thought the present author would feel too thankful for that.]

TM: attankatɨ j̊uuboo, attaaga sjɨ
a-rɨ-taa=nkatɨ j̊-boo a-rɨ-taa=ga sɨr-tɨ
DIST-NLZ-PL=DAT2 say-SEQ DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM do-SEQ
kəə sjunban.joo.
k-i=ja sɨr-jur-n=ban=joo
come-INF=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=CFM1
'If (I) said to them [i.e. my daughters], they would do (it) for us, but (you don't want it, do you?)'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (5-16 a-b), the demonstrative nominals indicate non-humans, i.e. 'the banyan tree' in (5-16 a), and 'a membership fee' in (5-16 b). The "plurality" of *nkja* in (5-16 b) is similar to that of *-kja* as in (5-7) in §5.1.1. That is, *nkja* does not necessarily mean genuin plurality. Thus, *a-rɨ=nkja* (DIST-NLZ=APPR) indicates *kaihi* 'a membership fee' (see §6.4.1.1 for more details). In (5-16 c-d), the demonstrative nominals indicate humans, i.e. 'that person' in (5-16 c), and 'my daughters' in (5-16 d). *-rɨ* (NLZ) not followed by any affix indicates a single referent as in (5-16 c) and *-taa* (PL) indicates more than a single referents as in (5-16 d).

In the text data as in (5-16 a-d), *-rɨ* (NLZ) not followed by any affix indicates a single (human and non-human) referent; *-taa* (PL) follows only human referents, and *nkja* (APPR) (directly) follows only non-human referents. In elicitation, however, there are cases where *-rɨ* not followed by any affix indicates more than one referent as in (5-17 a); *-taa* (PL) follows non-human referents as in (5-17 b); and *nkja* (APPR) (directly) follows human referents as in (5-17 c).

(5-17) a. *-rɨ* (NLZ) indicates more than one (human) referent
[Context: TM played an imaginary scene where someone (abbreviated as "SO" here) asked TM of the event held at the precedent day.]
SO: jubəə kikjun c̊junu ippai manduti?
jubɨ=ja kik-jur-n c̊ju=nu ippai mandur-tɨ
last.night=TOP hear-UMRK-PTCP person=NOM many many-SEQ
'Is there a large audience last night?'
TM: in, arɨnu manduta.
in a-rɨ=nu mandur-tar
yes DIST-NLZ=NOM many-PST
'Yeah, there are many of them.'

[El: 130817]

b. *-taa* (PL) follows non-human referents
[Context: Speaking about some oranges]
TM: attaa tutɨ, kamɨjoo.

a-rɨ-taa	*tur-tɨ*	*kam-ɨ=joo*
DIST-NLZ-PL	take-SEQ	eat-IMP=CFM1

'Take those (oranges) and eat.'

[El: 130816]

c. *nkja* (APPR) (directly) follows human referents

[Context: Speaking about a person]

TM:	arɨnkjoo	kondaroo.
	a-rɨ=nkja=ja	*k-on=daroo*
	DIST-NLZ=APPR=TOP	come-NEG=SUPP

'Probably, that person will not come.'

[El: 130820]

However, these combinations have never appeared in the text corpus so far.

It should be noted that the plural marker *-taa* always induces the following contraction with *-rɨ* (NLZ).

(5-18) Contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and *-taa* (PL) in the demonstratives

-rɨ (NLZ) > t / Demonstrative root _ *-taa* (PL)

The instances are shown below.

(5-19) Examples of the contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and *-taa* (PL) in the demonstratives

ku-rɨ	(PROX-NLZ)	+	*-taa*	(PL)	>	ku-t-taa
u-rɨ	(MES-NLZ)	+			>	ut-t-aa
a-rɨ	(DIST-NLZ)	+			>	at-t-aa

Similarly, the case particles (except for locative case, instrumental case, and comparative case) may induce the contraction with *-rɨ* (NLZ).

(5-20) Contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and case particles

-rɨ (NLZ) > C_i / Demonstrative root _ $[C_i \quad]_{\text{case particle}}$

$[C_i$: stop]

The above rule shows that if the case particle has a stop consonant in its initial position and also follows *-rɨ* (NLZ), the //rɨ// assimilates to the following stop of the case particles. I will present the examples where the demonstrative root is *ku-* (PROX).

(5-21) Examples of the contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and case particles

ku-rɨ	(PROX-NLZ)	+	*ba*	(ACC)	>	kuppa	(or kubba)
		+	*tu*	(COM)	>	kuttu	
		+	*kaci*	(ALL)	>	kukkaci	
		+	*kara*	(ABL)	>	kukkara	
		+	*ga*	(NOM)	>	kukka	(or kugga)
		+	*ga*	(GEN)	>	kukka	(or kugga)
		+	*gadɨ*	(LMT)	>	kukkadɨ	(or kuggadɨ)

The contraction before the nominative *ga* (NOM) or the accusative *ba* (ACC) never appeared in the text data. However, it was easily produced in elicitation. On the other hand, the contraction before the genitive *ga* (GEN) is obligatory in the text data.

Next, the same demonstrative roots (*ku-*/*u-*/*a-*) can be attached by *-n* (ADNZ) and become adnominals.

(5-22) [Context: Talking about an acquaintance of TM and MS] = (4-24 e)

TM:	an	cʔju	daacʔju	jatakai?
	a-n	*cʔju*	*daa+cʔju*	*jar-tar=kai*
	DIST-ADNZ	person	where+person	COP-PST=DUB

'Where did that person come from? [lit. That person was where's person?]'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (5-21), *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ) 'that (one)' fills the modifier slot of an NP whose head is *cʔju* 'person.' These types of demonstrative adnominals can be directly followed by locative cases (except for *zjɨ*).

(5-23)	*ku-n*	(PROX-ADNZ)	+	*nən*/*nan*	(LOC1)	>	kunnən/ kunnan
			+	*nəntɨ*/*nantɨ*	(LOC2)	>	kunnəntɨ/ kunnantɨ

The above phenomena may be regarded as headless NPs. The same phenomenon occurs in the case of the interrogative adnominal *dɨ-n* (which-ADNZ) 'which (one)' (see (5-40 a) in §5.3.2). Semantically, these forms express location, whose meaning is similar to that of *-ma* 'place.' That is, the meaning of /kunnən/ *ku-n=nən* (PROX-ADNZ=LOC1) 'here' (or /kunnan/ *ku-n=nan* (PROX-ADNZ=LOC1) 'here') is almost the same as that of *ku-ma=nan* (PROX-place=LOC1) 'here' (see also §6.3.2.6).

5.2.2. *ka-* (PROX), *ga-* (MES), and *aga-* (DIST)

The roots *ka-* (PROX), *ga-* (MES), and *aga-* (DIST) can become nominals, adnominals, and adverbs. There are two nominalizers *-ssa* and *-hɨdubə*i. The former means the referent is of a specified amount as in (5-24 a); the latter expresses that the referent is of a small amount as in (5-24 b).

(5-24) a. [Context: After telling the story of the Pear Film to SM, TM asked her the extent to which SM understood it.]

TM:	cjoo	gassa	wakajui?
	cjoo	*ga-ssa*	*wakar-jur-i*
	just	MES-NLZ	understand-UMRK-NPST

'(Do you) understand just so much?'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. [Context: TM shows MS how small of an appetite she has with a gesture; TM: 'I (always) have half much of the side dish as other people have.']

TM:	gahɨbəikkwa.
	ga-hɨdubəi-kkwa
	MES-NLZ-DIM

'So little like that.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Moreover, there are two adnominalizers: *-raa*, and *-hɨdon*. The first one expresses derogative meaning and its head in an NP is always *mun* 'substance' as in (5-25 a). The second one expresses the large size of the referents as in (5-25 b).

(5-25) a. [Context: Speaking about an acquaintance]

TM:	agaraa	munna	kisjoonu	cjussanu.
	aga-raa	*mun=ja*	*kisjoo=nu*	*cjus-sa=nu*
	DIST-DRG.ADNZ	substance=TOP	temper=NOM	strong-ADJSEQ

'That awful person has a temper.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking about the community next to where TM lives]

TM:	gahɨdon	tankjanu	atɨ,
	ga-hɨdon	*taa=nkja=nu*	*ar-tɨ*
	MES-ADNZ	rice.field=APPR=NOM	exist-SEQ

'There is a very big rice field, and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

There is an adverbializer *-n* (ADVZ), and it can express direction, manner, or quantity. First, I will present the example where *-n* (ADVZ) indicates direction as in (5-26).

(5-26) [Context: TM told MS how she responded to the present author, when the present author had asked her to talk with US for a recording.]

TM:	|obasan|ga	jʔuuboo,	wanga	agan	ikjussaccjɨ.
	obasan=ga	*jʔ-boo*	*wan=ga*	*aga-n*	*ik-jur-sa=ccjɨ*
	old.woman=NOM	say-CND	1SG=NOM	DIST-ADVZ	go-UMRK-POL=QT

'(I said to the present author), "If the old woman [i.e. US] says (it's OK), I will go there [i.e. the house of US], so (please go there and ask her)."'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The adverbializer *-n* (ADVZ) indicates direction with a verb that expresses locational movement as in *ik-* 'go' in (5-26); however, it indicates manner with other types of predicates, e.g., the light verb *sɨr-* 'do' as in (5-27 a-b) or adjectives as in (5-27 c).

(5-27) a. [Context: TM was wondering about the place in the picture.]

TM:	gan	sjuppoo,	kurəə	noogusu..kuja
	ga-n	*sɨr-jur-boo*	*ku-rɨ=ja*	*noogusuku=ja*
	MES-ADVZ	do-UMRK-CND	PROX-NLZ=TOP	Nogusuku=TOP
	arannən,	an,	amakai?	
	jar-annən	*a-n*	*a-ma=kai*	
	COP-NEG.SEQ	DIST-ADNZ	DIST-place=DUB	

'If (it is) so, this (i.e. the place in the picture) isn't Nogusuku, but (it) is that place?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking about an incident that occurred in the past]

TM:	agan	sjan	hanasija	jiccjaijojaa.
	aga-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*hanasi=ja*	*jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo=jaa*
	DIST-ADVZ	do-PST-PTCP	story=TOP	good-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1=SOL

'(It) may be no problem (to tell) a story like that.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. [Context: Speaking about the neighborhood in the old days]

TM:	agan	hɨisan	kɨnkjanu
	aga-n	*hɨi-sa+ar-n*	*kɨi=nkja=nu*
	DIST-ADVZ	big-ADJ+STV-PTCP	tree=APPR=NOM
	atanmun.jaa.		
	ar-tar-n=mun=jaa		
	exist-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=SOL		

'There used to be such a big tree like that.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (5-27 a-b), the demonstrative adverbs containing *-n* (ADVZ) modify the light verb *sɨr-* 'do.'

Furthermore, there is a case where the particle *bəi* 'about' follows the demonstrative adverbs and also *sɨr-*

‘do’ follows them as in (5-28 a-b). In these examples, the adverbializer *-n* indicates the quantity (neither direction nor manner).

(5-28) a. [Context: Talking about a butterfly that is similar to the moth]

TM:	ariga	nissjagadɨ.	ganbəi	sjɨ
	a-rɨ=ga	*nissj-sa=gadɨ*	*ga-n=bəi*	*sɨr-tɨ*
	DIST-NLZ=NOM	similar-ADJ=LMT	MES-ADVZ=about	do-SEQ

kucjəə	tugaracjɨ,
kuci=ja	*tugaras-tɨ*
mouth=TOP	pout-SEQ

‘That one is very similar (to the moth). (The size is) about this, and it pouted, and ...’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b.

TM:	unnən	kanbəi	sjan	...
	u-n=nən	*ka-n=bəi*	*sɨr-tar-n*	
	MES-ADNZ=LOC1	PROX-ADVZ=about	do-PST-PTCP	

kanoonu	atattu.
kanoo=nu	*ar-tar-tu*
tripod=NOM	exist-PST-CSL

‘There was a tripod (set up to support a kettle) that (has the size) about this there.’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Interestingly, the combination compoesd of the demonstrative adverbs and the light verb *sɨr-* ‘do’ can also redundantly modify another *sɨr-* ‘do’ as in (5-28).

(5-29) [Context: TM was changing the angle of a picture since it was hard to see because of the reflection of sunshine.]

TM:	gan	sjɨ	sɨranboo.
	ga-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*sɨr-an-boo*
	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ	do-NEG-CND

‘If (I) don’t do like that, (I cannot see the picture).’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, it appears that the form /gan sjɨ/ *ga-n sɨr-tɨ* (MES-ADVZ do-SEQ) functions as an adverb as if it was *gansjɨ*, and it modifies the entire predicate *sɨr-an-boo* (do-NEG-CND), and there are many examples like that in my text. The mono-clausality of the above example is also attested by the scope of negation. However, I do not regard them as a single adverb, since there is a case where *bəi* ‘about’ intervene between the combination as in (5-28 a-b), and also the demonstrative adverb (composed of *-n* (ADVZ)) can modify adjectives as in (5-27 c) only by itself. Therefore, I propose that the combination of a demonstrative

adverb (composed of *-n* (ADVZ)) and a verb /sjɨ/ (< *sɨr-* 'do' + *-tɨ* (SEQ)) is on the path towards grammaticalization. In this grammar, they are analyzed as two words, but I do not place a comma after the converb /sjɨ/ (do.SEQ).

Finally, it should be mentioned that demonstrative roots can make compounds, but that is allowed only for the second group, i.e. *ka-/ga-/aga-* (PROX/MES/DIST). In addition to the following example, see also (4-26 c) in §4.2.3.1.

(5-30) [Context: After talking about a folk tale, TM remembered an utterance said by the person who originally told the folk tale.]

TM:	nusjəə	(kan)	kanagəə	|genki|ccjɨ.
	nusi=ja	*ka-n*	*ka+nagəə*	*genki=ccjɨ*
	REF=TOP	PROX-ADVZ	PROX+long	vigorous=QT

'(He said), "(I) myself am very vigorous like this."'

[Fo: 090307_00]

5.3. Interrogative words

An interrogative word is used to ask the hearer an information question (i.e. a "wh-question"). However, an interrogative word also functions as an indefinite word that does not mark a question when it is followed by certain particles. The interrogative use of these words is shown in §5.3.1, and the indefinite use is shown in §5.3.2.

5.3.1. Interrogative use

Morphologically, some interrogative roots are free forms, i.e. *nuu* 'what,' *daa* 'where,' and *ɨcɨɨ* 'when,' and others are bound forms, i.e. *ta-* 'who,' *dɨ-* 'which,' and *ikja-* 'how.' Syntactically, the interrogatives can become nominals, adnominals, and adverbs. Moreover, interrogative nominals are frequently followed by the focus particle *ga* (see §10.1.2.2).

Table 38. Interrogatives (free form made of a single root)

Word classes	Forms	Meanings
Nominals	nuu	'what'
	daa	'where'
	ɨcɨɨ	'when'

The interrogative *ɨcɨɨ* 'when' tends to be shortened like /ɨcɨ/ in elicitation, which might be influenced by Standard Japanese form /icu/ [i͡tsu] 'when.'

Table 39. Interrogatives (bound root + affix)

Word classes	Surface forms	Meanings		Underlying forms				
				Roots			Affixes	
Nominals	taru	‘who’ (singular)	<	*ta-*	‘who’	+	*-ru*	(NLZ)
	tattaa	‘who’ (plural)	<			+	*-ru-taa*	(NLZ-PL)
Adnominals	taa	‘whose’	<			+	*-a*	(ADNZ)
Nominals	dɨru	‘which’	<	*dɨ-*	‘which’	+	*-ru*	(NLZ)
Adnominals	dɨn	‘which (one)’	<			+	*-n*	(ADNZ)
Adnominals	ikjasjan	‘what kind of’	<	*ikja-*	‘how’	+	*-sjan*	(ADNZ)
Adverbs	ikjasjɨ	‘how’	<			+	*-sjɨ*	(ADVZ)
	ikjasaa	‘how much; how old’	<			+	*-saa*	(ADVZ)

In the above table, *-ru* (NLZ) + *-taa* (PL) is realized as /ttaa/ at the surface form level. It seems that *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) in present Yuwan was **ta-rɨ* (who-NLZ) in the past. The *-rɨ* (NLZ) form is used with demonstrative roots in present Yuwan, e.g., *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) ‘this.’ There is a lot of correspondence between /ɨ/ in Amami and /e/ in Japanese, and also between /u/ in Amami and /o/ in Japanese (Hirayama et al. 1966: 11). Therefore, *tare* ‘who’ (and *kore* ‘this’) in old Japanese might have the forms corresponding to **tarɨ* ‘who’ (and **kurɨ* ‘this’) in the ancestor language of Yuwan. In the present Yuwan, however, the relevant form is *ta-ru* (not *ta-rɨ*). It may be possible that the singular marker *-ru* was attached as an analogy to *dɨ-ru* (which-NLZ), which, I suppose, was the result of metathesis of the vowels in **du-rɨ* in the ancestor language of Yuwan. The form corresponding to **du-rɨ* (which-NLZ) in old Japanese is *dore* ‘which.’

I will present examples of these interrogatives. The first example contains the interrogative *nuu* ‘what,’ which is followed by *ga* (FOC). The *ga* (FOC) does not co-occur with a nominative particle as in (5-31) (see §10.1). Other case particles can co-occur with *ga* (FOC) (see an example of the accusative case in (8-76 c) in §8.4.1.6).

(5-31) [Context: Trying to remember a scene from the Pear Film]

TM:	ukkara	nuuga	izitakai?
	u-rɨ=kara	*nuu=ga*	*izir-tar=kai*
	MES-NLZ=ABL	what=FOC	go.out-PST=DUB

‘What did appear then? [lit. What did go out from that?]’

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

This example shows that the interrogative nominal *nuu* ‘what’ is immediately followed by *ga* (FOC). The focus marker *ga* can also be attached to an interrogative “clause.” In that case, another word may intervene, such as the verb /sjutɨ/ sɨr-jur-tɨ (do-UMRK-SEQ) in (5-32).

(5-32) [Context: Talking with US about how they played in the past]

TM:	nuu	sjutɨga,	asɨdutakai?
	nuu	*sɨr-jur-tɨ=ga*	*asɨb-tur-tar=kai*
	what	do-UMRK-SEQ=FOC	play-PROG-PST=DUB

'What did (we) do (when we) were playing (around here)?'
[lit. 'Doing what, were (we) playing?']
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

nuu 'what' can be used to mean 'why' only when it is followed by the converb /sjattu/ *sɨr-tar-tu* (do-PST-CSL).

(5-33) [Context: TM remembered that she had asked her mother about an incantation that old people used to say when an earthquake happens.]

TM:	nuu	sjattu	|kjoncɨkɨ|ccjɨ	jˀuuboo?
	nuu	*sɨr-tar-tu*	*kjoncɨkɨ=ccjɨ*	*jˀ-boo*
	what	do-PST-CSL	k.o.incantation=QT	say-CND

'Why (do you) say *kjoncɨkɨ*?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

It seems that /nuu sjattu/ (what do.PST.CSL) does not indicate the past, and no other morpheme can interveen between them. Thus, it appears to be in the process of grammaticalization to a single adverb *nuusjattu* 'why.' In this grammar, I will analyze it as two words, but I do not place a comma after the converb.

Next, I present examples of *daa* 'where' and *ɨcɨɨ* 'when.'

(5-34) a. [Context: TM asked MS where the present author went.]

TM:	nɨsəə	mata	daaciga	izjaru?
	nɨsəə	*mata*	*daa=kaci=ga*	*ik-tar-u*
	young.man	again	where=ALL=FOC	go-PST-PFC

'Where did the young man go again?'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a picture]

TM:	ɨcɨɨ	ucɨcjɨkai?
	ɨcɨɨ	*ucɨs-tɨ=kai*
	when	take-SEQ=DUB

'When did (someone) take (the picture)?'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

I present examples of *ta-* 'who' followed by *-ru* (NLZ), *-ru-taa* (NLZ-PL), and *-a* (ADNZ) in (5-35 a-c).

(5-35) a. [Context: Talking about a picture]

TM:	taruga	mucjɨ[27]	cʔjaru?
	ta-ru=ga	*mut-tɨ*	*k-tar-u*
	who-NLZ=FOC	have-SEQ	come-PST-PFC

'Who did bring (the picture here)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about old people who are still healthy; US: 'About people who are older than ninety years old, ...']

US:	tattaaga	umoojuru?
	ta-ru-taa=ga	*umoor-jur-u*
	who-NLZ-PL=FOC	exist.HON-UMRK-PFC

'Who all would exist?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: There were oranges on the table]

TM:	umanu	nɨkan	taa	nɨkan	xxx?
	u-ma=nu	*nɨkan*	*ta-a*	*nɨkan*	
	MES-place=GEN	orange	who-ADNZ	orange	

'(About) the orange there, whose orange (is it)?'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

The plural marker *-taa* in (5-35 b) is the same morpheme used with demonstrative roots (see §5.2) and address nouns (see §7.2). Further, the adnominalizer *-a* in (5-35 c) is the same morpheme used with personal pronominal stems in §5.1.

I present examples of *dɨ-* 'which' followed by *-ru* (NLZ) and *-n* (ADNZ) in (5-36 a-b).

(5-36) a.

TM:	dɨru?	naa,	mɨɨga	mjanba.
	dɨ-ru	*naa*	*mɨɨ=ga*	*mj-an-ba*
	which-NLZ	yet	eye=NOM	see-NEG-CSL

'Which one? (I) cannot see (by my) eyes yet, so (it is difficult to see the picture).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b.

TM:	dɨnnagatɨɨ	izjɨ?
	dɨ-n=nagatɨ	*ik-tɨ*
	which-ADNZ=neighborhood	go-SEQ

[27] Usually, *mut-* 'have' becomes /muc/ before *t*-initial affixes (see §8.2.1.2), but it happened to become /mu/ in this example.

‘Where did (you) go? [lit. Which neighborhood did (you) go?]’

[El: 120917]

The adnominalizer *-n* in (5-36 b) is the same morpheme used with demonstrative roots in §5.2.

Finally, I present examples of *ikja-* ‘how,’ followed by *-sjan* (ADNZ), *-sjɨ* (ADVZ), and *-saa* (ADVZ) in (5-37 a-c).

(5-37) a. TM:

uroo	ikjasjan	sigutu	sjɨ?
ura=ja	*ikja-sjan*	*sigutu*	*sɨr-tɨ?*
2SG=TOP	how-ADNZ	job	do-SEQ

‘What kind of job did you do?’

[El: 111105]

b. [Context: Speaking about a person, who had been to the USA]

TM:

|amerika|acjəə,	ikjasjɨ	sjɨ,	watajutakai
amerika=kaci=ja	*ikja-sjɨ*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*watar-jur-tar=kai*
America=ALL=TOP	how-ADVZ	do-SEQ	cross-UMRK-PST=DUB

‘How did (he) cross over to America?’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM:

nannja	ikjasaa	natɨ	moocjɨ?
nan=ja	*ikja-saa*	*nar-tɨ*	*moor-tɨ*
2.HON.SG=TOP	how-ADVZ	become-SEQ	HON-SEQ

‘How old are you? [lit. How old would you become?]’

[El: 111105]

In the above examples, *-sjan* (ADNZ) and *-sjɨ* (ADVZ) have the same forms as the verbs /sjan/ *sɨr-tar-n* (do-PST-PTCP) and /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ). However, we do not recognize these affixes as verbs for the following two reasons. First, the form /ikjasjɨ/ can modify another *sɨr-* ‘do’ as in (5-37 b), which shows the /sjɨ/ in /ikjasjɨ/ has lost its (supposedly original) meaning of *sɨr-* ‘do.’ Thus, it is in the process of grammaticalization. Second, there are no other words that can be modified only by /ikja/. Thus, /ikja/ should not be regarded as a free form (i.e. an adverb) by itself.

In the examples presented so far, we have only considered the cases of direct questions. However, interrogative words can also be used for indirect questions. In (5-38 a), the interrogative word *ikja-saa* (how-ADVZ) ‘how much’ does not express a direct question. Similarly, the interrogative word *daa* ‘where’ in (5-38 b) does not express a direct question.

(5-38) Indirect questions

a. TM:

wanna	|bettarazukee|ja	naa	ikjasaa	sjakka	wakarandoo.
wan=ja	*bettarazuke=ja*	*naa*	*ikja-saa*	*sɨr-tar=ka*	*wakar-an=doo*

1SG=TOP k.o.pickle=TOP FIL how-ADVZ do-PST=DUB know-NEG=ASS
'I don't know how much (I) did [i.e. made] the *bettarazuke* [i.e. k.o. pickles].'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a picture, TM remembered a man.]

TM:	daanan	wukkaroo,	wakaija	sɨranbajaa.
	daa=nan	*wur=gajaaroo*	*wakar-i=ja*	*sɨr-an-ba=jaa*
	where=LOC1	exist=DUB	understand-INF=TOP	do-NEG-CSL=SOL

'(I) don't know where (he) is.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In these examples, *ka* (DUB) and *gajaaroo* (DUB) function as the marker of indirect questions, which will be discussed in §10.4.2 and §10.4.3.

5.3.2. Indefinite use

An interrogative word can function as an indefinite word when it is followed by certain particles, namely *ka* (DUB), *gajaaroo* (DUB), and *n* 'any.' There are other words that express indefinite meaning, i.e. "indefinite pronouns," which will be shown in §7.5.

First, I present examples of *ka* (DUB), which can make interrogative nominals have indefinite meaning. The interrogative words *nuu* 'what' in (5-39 a), *taru* 'who' in (5-39 b), and *daa* 'where' in (5-39 c) are all followed by *ka* (DUB) and do not mark an information question but instead indicate indefinite referents. In particular, the first example takes the nominative particle, as in *nuu=ka=nu* (what=DUB=NOM), which does not occur when *nuu* 'what' is used for questions since it takes the focus particle *ga* (FOC) in that case, omitting the nominative particle (see §5.3.1). The interrogatives, *ka* (DUB), and the corresponding expression in the free translation are underlined below.

(5-39) Intrrogative nominals + *ka* (DUB)

a. [Context: TM said to MS that her son was always busy.]

TM:	|dojoo|.	|nicijoo|.	jazin	nuukanu	ai.
	dojoo	*nicijoo*	*jazin*	*nuu=ka=nu*	*ar-i*
	Saturday	Sunday	necessarily	what=DUB=NOM	exist-NPST

'Saturday. Sunday. There is always something.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about old people who are still healthy; US: 'About people who are older than ninety years old, who all would exist?']

US:	taruka	umoojumɨ?
	ta-ru=ka	*umoor-jur-mɨ*
	who-NLZ=DUB	exist.HON-UMRK-PLQ

'Is there anyone (who is older than ninety years old)?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: TM explained to MY why she had called her.]

TM:	uran	daacika	ikjarincjɨga, ...
	ura=n	*daa=kaci=ka*	*ik-arɨr-n=ccjɨ=ga*
	2.NHON.SG=DAT1	where=ALL=DUB	go-PASS-PTCP=QT=FOC

'(I thought) that (I) would suffer from your going somewhere, (so I called you.)'

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

It should be noted that *ka* (DUB) does not need to follow directly an interrogative word. For example, it can follow a case particle *kaci* (ALL) as in (5-39 c).

Secondly, I present examples of *gajaaroo* (DUB), which can also turn interrogatives into indefinite words. The interrogatives, *gajaaroo* (DUB), and the corresponding expression in the free translation are underlined below.

(5-40) a. [Context: Looking at pictures]

TM:	dɨnnangajaaroo	xxx	uttaaga	|sansankudo|
	dɨ-n=nan=gajaaroo		*u-rɨ-taa=ga*	*sansankudo*
	which-ADNZ=LOC1=DUB		MES-NLZ-PL=NOM	k.o.ceremony

sjun	turonkjanu	izituttɨjaa.[28]
sɨr-tur-n	*turoo=nkja=nu*	*izir-tur-tɨ=jaa*
do-PROG-PTCP	scene=APPR=NOM	go.out-PROG-SEQ=SOL

'Somewhere, there was a scene (in the picture) where they were doing Sansankudo.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at pictures of the shopping street in the village]

TM:	nuucjɨgajaaroo	kacjəəttujaa.
	nuu=ccjɨ=gajaaroo	*kak-təər-tu=jaa*
	what=QT=DUB	write-RSL-CSL=SOL

'Something has been drawn (on the sign board of the store).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Both of the above examples include interrogative words, but they do not express questions when they are followed by *gajaaroo* (DUB).

Finally, I will show the examples of the limiter particle *n* 'any,' which can make interrogatives have indefinite meaning (see also §10.1.3). The interrogatives, *n* 'any,' and the corresponding expression in the free translation are underlined below.

[28] The final //r// of *-tur* (PROG) drops before *-tɨ* (SEQ) in principle (see §8.3.1.2); however, it assimilates with the following //t// in this example.

(5-41) Interrogatives directly followed by *n* 'any'

a. [Context: Speaking about a person in a picture; TM: 'There are no classmates of her here.']

TM:	tarun	wuran.	dusi.
	ta-ru=n	*wur-an*	*dusi*
	who-NLZ=any	exist-NEG	friend

'There is not anyone (of her friends). (There is no) friend (of her).

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Remembering the flower arrangement class]

TM:	ɨcɨn	waakjoo	ikjutɨ,	urɨ	sjutassɨga.
	ɨcɨɨ=n	*waakja=ja*	*ik-jur-tɨ*	*u-rɨ*	*sɨr-jur-tar-sɨga*
	when=any	1PL=TOP	go-UMRK-SEQ	MES-NLZ	do-UMRK-PST-POL

'Anytime I used to go (to the class) and do that.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. [Context: Remembering a custom in the old days, where adults made children stay awake on New Year's Eve.]

TM:	ikjanagən	hɨɨracjuta.
	ikja+nagəə=n	*hɨɨr-as-tur-tar*
	how+long=any	awake-CAUS-PROG-PST

'However long (it is), (adults) were making (us) stay awake.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Here, /ta-ru=n/ (who-NLZ=any) means 'anyone' as in (5-41 a), and /ɨcɨ=n/ (when=any) means 'anytime' as in (5-41 b). In addition, a compounded form such as *ikja+nagəə* (how+long) can be followed by *n* 'any,' which means 'however long (it is)' as in (5-41 c). Furthermore, there are cases where *n* 'any' does not directly follow an interrogative word, but it still turns the interrogative word into an indefinite word. The following three examples illustrate those cases.

(5-42) Interrogatives indirectly followed by *n* 'any'

a. [Context: Talking about a man who owned a river boat.]

TM:	daacin	ikjanba.
	daa=kaci=n	*ik-an-ba*
	where=ALL=any	go-NEG-CSL

'(The man) did not go anywhere, so (he should have been there).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: Remembering that flies used to swarm on the meal in the old days; MS: We didn't feel uncomfortable about that, did you?']

TM: nuucjɨn umuwan
nuu=ccjɨ=n *umuw-an*
what=QT=any think-NEG
'(I) don't think [i.e. didn't feel] anything (uncomfortable about that).'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. TM: nuu jatɨn, sɨki jatattu,
nuu *jar-tɨ=n* *sɨki* *jar-tar-tu*
what COP-SEQ=any like COP-PST-CSL
'(My mother) likes anything, so ...'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (5-42 a), the allative case *kaci* (ALL) intervenes between *daa* 'where' and *n* 'any.' In (5-42 b), the particle *ccjɨ* (QT) intervenes between *nuu* 'what' and *n* 'any.' In (5-42 c), the verb /jatɨ/ *jar-tɨ* (COP-SEQ) intervenes between *nuu* 'what' and *n* 'any.'

Chapter 6
Nominal phrases

The nominal phrase (NP) has the following construction. The round brackets mean that the contents inside are optional, and the equal sign "=" indicates a clitic boundary.

(6-1) [(Modifier) Head]$_{NP}$ (=Case)

An NP is made of a modifier slot and a head slot, to which a case particle may be attached to as an NP extender. I will call an NP that contains a case particle an "extended NP" following Shimoji (2008: 167). An NP can be followed by a sequence of two case particles. So far, the second case of the sequence is genitive or nominative (see §6.1.1. about genitive, and §6.3.2.1 about nominative), with the exception of infinitives followed by *n=kara* (DAT1=ABL) (see §6.3.2.3). An (extended) NP can function as an argument, predicate, or modifier of an NP. If an NP functions as a predicate, it does not take any case, although there are a few exceptions (see §9.3.3). In the following sections, we will consider Modifier (see §6.1), Head (see §6.2), and Case (see §6.3) respectively. In addition, the constituents that fill the slots in the NP in Yuwan are very sensitive to the animacy hierarchy, which will be addressed in §6.4.

6.1. Modifier

The modifier slot of an NP is not obligatory, and it can be filled by an NP itself (i.e. genitive case), adnominal word, and adnominal clause. Let us see some examples in the following sections.

6.1.1. Modifier filled by an NP

If a nominal is to modify another nominal in an NP, first it fills the head slot of an NP taking a genitive case particle, and then it fills the modifier slot of the larger NP recursively.

(6-2) [Context: Talking about the days when US (the hearer) sold fish]

TM:	*sima=<u>nu</u>*	*jʔu=nu*	*naa.*
	community=GEN	fish=GEN	name

'(I asked if you know) the name of the fish of (our) community.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The above NP can be analyzed as follows.

(6-3) <{[*sima*$_{Head}$=*nu*$_{Case}$]$_{NP:\ Modifier}$ *jʔu*$_{Head}$=*nu*$_{Case}$}$_{NP:\ Modifier}$ *naa*$_{Head}$>$_{NP}$

If the NP modifier is address an noun (see §7.2) such as *anmaa* ‘mother’ or a nominal that contains *-taa* (PL) (see §6.4.1), it does not take the genitive case, and only juxtaposition shows the possessive meaning as in (6-4 a-b).

(6-4) a. [Context: Remembering the day when a few students came to see TM’s mother]

TM:	anmaa	məəci	kjuuta.
	anmaa	*məə=kaci*	*k-jur-tar*
	mother	front=ALL	come-UMRK-PST

‘(They) used to come to (my) mother’s place.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about US’s grandchild, whom US had went to see]

US:	uttaa	məəci	mata	|oohuku|	aicjɨ
	u-rɨ-taa	*məə=kaci*	*mata*	*oohuku*	*aik-tɨ*
	MES-NLZ-PL	front=ALL	again	back.and.forth	walk-SEQ

izjanwakejo.

ik-tar-n=wake=joo

go-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1

‘(I) went to their place [i.e. the family of US’s grandchild] and came back again on foot.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: Asking a person to go to another place]

TM:	kʔwanu	məəci	cʔjɨ	kurɨrancjɨ	jʔicjattoojoo.
	kʔwa=nu	*məə=kaci*	*k-tɨ*	*kurɨr-an=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tar-too=joo*
	child=GEN	front=ALL	come-SEQ	BEN-NEG=QT	say-PST-CND=CFM1

‘I said (to him), “Would you please come to (my) son’s place?”’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

A nominal that is not an address noun nor followed by *-taa* (PL) should take the genitive case to fill the modifier slot of an NP such as *kʔwa=nu* (child=GEN) in (6-4 c). The constructions in (6-4 a-b) are merely juxtaposition, and not compounding (see §4.2.4 for more details).

There are a few cases where a genitive case particle *nu* can follow another case particle. The sequences of case particles are underlined below.

(6-5) a. [Context: Hearing that US’s son went somewhere]

TM:	amakacinu	|sjokurjoo|	muccjɨ	ikidaroo.
	a-ma=kaci=nu	*sjokurjoo*	*mut-tɨ*	*ik-i=daroo*
	DIST-place=ALL=GEN	food	have-SEQ	go-INF=SUPP

‘(He) would probably bring the food for that place.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking about a ditch there used to be]

TM: huukubumizjuukaranu mɨzɨ natɨ,

huukubu+mizjuu=kara=nu *mɨzɨ* *nar-tɨ*

Hukubu+ditch=ABL=GEN water COP-SEQ

'(It) is a water from the ditch at Hukubu, so ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [Context: Seeing a photo taken in celebration of setting up the first outdoor lamps in t he shopping street of the village]

TM: un tukinnu juwəəja aran?

u-n *tuki=n=nu* *juwəə=ja* *ar-an*

MES-PTCP time=DAT1=GEN celebration=TOP COP-NEG

'Is (the photo about) the celebration at that time?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. TM: kumannu tukinnja |kootookaninen|gadɨ

ku-ma=nan=nu *tuki=n=ja* *kootooka+ni+nen=gadɨ*

PROX-place=LOC1=GEN time=DAT1=TOP junior.high+two+year=LMT

jappa.

jar-ba

COP-CSL

'At the time when (we were) there [lit. at the time of at here], compulsory education was until the second grade of junior high school.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. TM: |sugiuradenki|tu |sjuukaisjo|tunu əəda... ganbəi

sugiura+denki=tu *sjuukaisjo=tu=nu* *əəda* *ga-n=bəi*

Sugiura+electricity=COM meeting.place=COM=GEN space MES-ADVZ=only

acjutattu.

ak-tur-tar-tu

open-PROG-PST-CSL

'There was a space like that between the Sugiura electric appliance shop and the meeting place.'

[Co: 111113_02.tx]

nu (GEN) follows *kaci* (ALL) as in (6-5 a), *kara* (ABL) as in (6-5 b), *n* (DAT1) as in (6-5 c)[29], *nan* (LOC1) as in (6-5 d) (about the alternation from //nan// to /n/, see §6.3.1.4), and *tu* (COM) as in (6-5 e).

[29] When *nu* (GEN) follows *n* (DAT1), the head of an NP is always *tuki* 'time' in my texts.

6.1.2. Modifier filled by adnominal word or adnominal clause

The adnominal word fills only the modifier slot of an NP taking no genitive particle, and it obligatorily takes a specific inflectional affix, e.g. *-a* (ADNZ) and *-n* (ADNZ) (see Chapter 5).

(6-6) a. [Context: Taking about the present author]

US:	waa	məəci	saki	umoocjanwake.
	waa-a	*məə=kaci*	*saki*	*umoor-tar-n=wake*
	1SG-ADNZ	front=ALL	first	move/stay.HON-PST-PTCP=CFP

'(He) came to my place first.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking with MY]

TM:	ude,	kun	nɨkan	kadɨn	njɨ!
	ude	*ku-n*	*nɨkan*	*kam-tɨ=n*	*nj-ɨ*
	well	PROX-ADNZ	mikan	eat-SEQ=ever	EXP-IMP

'Well, try to eat this *mikan*!'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

/waa/ *waa-a* (1SG-ADNZ) 'my' in (6-6 a) fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is *məə* 'front.' *ku-n* (PROX-ADNZ) 'this' in (6-6 b) fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is *nɨkan* '*mikan*.'

Furthermore, a modifier slot of an NP can be filled by an adnominal clause, whose final constituent is a participle (see §8.4.2).

(6-7) [Context: Speaking of the time when US was selling fish]

TM:	simanantɨ	tujun	jˀudu	ujutarooga?
	[*sima=nantɨ*	*tur-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*jˀu=du*	*ur-jur-tar-oo=ga*
	community=LOC2	take-UMRK-PTCP	fish=FOC	sell-UMRK-PST-SUPP=FOC

'(You) used to sell fish which (people) caught in the community [i.e. not buying from outside the community]?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above example, *sima=nantɨ tur-jur-n* (community=LOC2 take-UMRK-PTCP) 'catching in the community' is an adnominal clause, which modifies its head *jˀu* 'fish'.

6.2. Head

6.2.1. The structural property of head

The head slot of an NP is obligatory, and can be filled by a nominal.

(6-8) Head is filled by a nominal

[Context: Talking of kinds of snails]

TM:	ariga	tanmjaa	jappajaa.
	a-rɨ=ga	*tanmjaa*	*jar-ba=jaa*
	DIST-NLZ=NOM	mud.snail	COP-CSL=SOL

'That is a mud snail, you know.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (6-8), *tanmjaa* 'mud snail' fills the head slot of an NP, which is followed by a copula verb.

The head slot of an NP can be fiiled by the infinitive (see §8.5.4).

(6-9) Head is filled by an infinitive

[Context: Speaking with MY about the present author]

TM:	|benkjoo|	sjun	cʔjunkjaccjɨboo,	gan	sjɨ
	benkjoo	*sɨr-jur-n*	*cʔju=nkja=ccjɨboo*	*ga-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*
	study	do-UMRK-PTCP	person=APPR=speaking.of	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ

sjutɨ,	|benkjoo|	sii	jappajaa.
sɨr-jur-tɨ	*benkjoo*	*sɨr-i*	*jar-ba=jaa*
do-UMRK-SEQ	study	do-INF	COP-CSL=SOL

'Speaking of a person who does studies, (he) does studying like that, you know.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (6-9), the infinitive /sii/ *sɨr-i* (do-INF) 'doing' fills the head slot of an NP, which is followed by a copula verb.

It should be noted that an NP can have recursive structure. A head nominal followed by a genitive particle can fill the modifier slot recursively as in (6-2), whose construction is as follows: "[Modifier Head]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ Head." In addition, a head modified by an adnominal clause can fill the head slot recursively, which is further modified by an adnominal as in (4-46 b) in §4.2.4, whose construction is as follows: "Modifier [Modifier Head]$_{\text{Head}}$."

6.2.2. Bound head (formal nouns)

A head of an NP is usually a free form as in the previous section. There are, however, some morphemes that are bound, i.e. cannot start an utterance by themselves, but can fill the head slot of an NP. Such morphemes are called "formal nouns" in this grammar associated with the same term used in the traditional Japanese linguistics. So far, I have found thirteen formal nouns in my texts: *sɨ* 'thing; person; fact', *kutu* 'event', *hudu* 'quantity', *bun* 'share', *taməə* 'sake', *hazɨ* 'certainty', *nintəə* 'people', *nagatɨɨ* 'along', *hutəə/butəə/datəə* 'vicinity', *turoo* 'place', *mama* 'still', *tui* 'as,' and *hui* 'pretend.' They can be modified by at least one of adnominals, address nouns, or adnominal clauses.

6.2.2.1. *sɨ* 'thing; person; fact'

The formal noun *sɨ* behaves differently from other formal nouns. For example, the semantic content is so "light" that it can indicate almost all of the substances, i.e. humans, non-humans, or events. Furthermore, *sɨ* (FN) behaves like an affix when it follows the verbal stems, i.e., the verbal stem that precedes *sɨ* (FN) does not take the participial affix *-n* (PTCP). This phenomenon does not occur in the case of other formal nouns. I will present the details of *sɨ* (FN) in turn below.

Semantically, the formal noun *sɨ* can indicate either human or non-human referents. *sɨ* in (6-10 a) indicates a person, but *sɨ* in (6-10 b-c) indicates non-human referents.

(6-10) Human referent

a. [Context: Talking about how to cook in the old days]

TM: nanzijucjɨnkjoo sjusəə waakjabəi
nanziju=ccjɨ=nkja=ja *sɨr-jur=sɨ=ja* *waakja=bəi*
fireplace =QT=APPR=TOP do-UMRK=FN=TOP 1PL=only
arantakai?
ar-an-tar=kai
COP-NEG-PST=DUB
'Perhaps, (it was) only us, who did (the cooking) at fireplaces, wasn't (it)?'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Non-human referent

b. TM: uraga jˀusɨnan (hɨntooja sjun ..)
ura=ga *jˀ-jur=sɨ=nan* *hɨntoo=ja* *sɨr-jur-n*
2.NHON.SG=NOM say-UMRK=FN=LOC1 reply=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP
hɨntooja sjussa.
hɨntoo=ja *sɨr-jur-sa*
reply=TOP do-UMRK-POL
'(I) will reply to what you say.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. [Context: Talking about the bulletins of Yuwan made by the speaker's son]

TM: kurəə |mae|nusɨ zjajaa.
ku-rɨ=ja *mae=nu=sɨ* *zjar=jaa*
PROX-NLZ=TOP before=GEN=FN COP=SOL
'This is the thing (made) before.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Additionally, *sɨ* can indicate an event. In other words, it can function as a so-called "complementizer" (see also §11.1.3).

(6-11) a. [Context: Looking at a picture, where people older than TM got together.]

TM: wakaran.... kan sjɨ juratasəə

wakar-an *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *juraw-tar=<u>sɨ</u>=ja*

understand-NEG PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ get.together-PST=FN=TOP

sijan.

sij-an

know-NEG

'(I) don't know.... (I) don't know that (they) got together like this.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: TM asked when US had come to her house.]

TM: nanga kunəəda umoocjasəə kun

nan=ga *kunəəda* *umoor-tar=<u>sɨ</u>=ja* *ku-n*

2.HON.SG=NOM the.other.day come.HON-PST=FN=TOP PROX-ADNZ

cʔjunu cʔjəərai?

cʔju=nu *k-təəra=i*

person=NOM come-after=PLQ

'(Is it) after this person [i.e. the present author] came (to your house) that you [i.e. US] came (here) the other day?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (6-11 a-b), *sɨ* indicates neither a human nor a non-human referent, but indicates an event as a whole.

Within a clause, an NP headed by *sɨ* can fill the argument slot as in (6-10 b) or the nominal predicate slot as in (6-10 c). Within an NP, *sɨ* cannot fill the head slot only by itself: */sɨnu ai/ *sɨ=nu ar-i* (FN=NOM exist-NPST) [Intended meaning] 'There is something.' In order to fill the head slot of an NP, *sɨ* has to be modified by adnominals, genitive NPs, or address nouns as in (6-12 a-c). The modifiers and *sɨ* (FN) are underlined below.

(6-12) a. Modified by an adnominal word

[Context: Talking about laundry detergent]

TM: uraasəə ooja iziran.jaa.

<u>ura-a=sɨ</u>=ja *oo=ja* *izir-an=jaa*

2.NHON.SG-ADNZ=FN=TOP bubble=TOP go.out-NEG=SOL

'Yours [i.e. your laundry detergent] does not make bubbles, does it?'

[El: 120928]

b. Modified by a genitive NP

[Context: Talking about a photograph collection]

TM: |taken|nusɨga mutu zja.

taken=nu=sɨ=ga	*mutu*	*zjar*
Taken=GEN=FN=NOM	original	COP

'The things from Taken [i.e. pictures gathered in Taken] are originals (of the collection).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. Modified by an address noun

TM:	anmaasəə	dɨru?
	anmaa=sɨ=ja	*dɨ-ru*
	mother=FN=TOP	which-NLZ

'Which one (is) mother's?'

[El: 140227]

There is a characteritic unique to the formal noun *sɨ*, which differentiates *sɨ* from other formal nouns. *sɨ* cannot be modified by an adnominal clause (with the exception of the case where *-an* (NEG) precedes *sɨ*). Rather, it behaves like a verbal affix directly following a bound verbal stem (cf. affix-like clitics in §4.2.2.2). Relevant examples were already shown in (6-10 a-b, 6-11 a-b). Thus, I will compare *sɨ* and another formal noun, e.g. *turoo* 'place,' in (6-13 a-b).

(6-13) a. Head is *sɨ* (FN)

[Context: Talking about the present author]

TM:	an	nɨsəə	muccjɨ	ikjusəə	nun
	a-n	*nəɨsəə*	*mut-tɨ*	*ik-jur=sɨ=ja*	*nuu=n*
	DIST-ADNZ	young.man	have-SEQ	go-UMRK=FN=TOP	what=any

nənba,	jakkəə.
nə-an-ba	*jakkəə*
exist-NEG-CSL	trouble

'There is not anything [i.e. any food] the young man can take (for meals), so it's a pity.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Head is *turoo* 'place'

[Context: Looking at a picture, where people gathered in front of a truck]

TM:	ikjun	turookai?
	ik-jur-n	*turoo=kai*
	go-UMRK-PTCP	place=DUB

'Is (this) a scene where they go (somewhere)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

An adnominal clause should take a participle as its predicate in Yuwan (see §11.1.2). Thus, *turoo* 'place' in (6-13 b) is modified by an adnominal clause whose predicate is a participle /ikjun/ *ik-jur-n* (go-UMRK-PTCP).

However, in (6-13 a), *sɨ* is not modified by an adnominal clause, but it follows directly a bound verbal stem /ikju/ *ik-jur* (go-UMRK), which does not take the participial affix *-n*. Therefore, in (6-13 a), we may say that the formal noun *sɨ* has lost its ability to fill the head slot of an NP. Rather, it behaves as an affix, and the verbal form /ikjusɨ/ *ik-jur=sɨ* (go-UMRK=FN) as a whole has developed the ability to fill the head slot of an NP (see also §11.1.3). If *sɨ* is directly preceded by the negative participial affix *-an* (NEG), the preceding clause has the same form with the adnominal clause whose head is a common noun as in (6-14 a-b).

(6-14) Directly preceded by *-an* (NEG)

a. Head is *sɨ* (FN)

TM:	kamansəə	jiccjoo	nən.
	kam-an=sɨ=ja	*jiccj-soo*	*nə-an*
	eat-NEG=FN=TOP	good-ADJ	STV-NEG

'The fact (you) do not eat (anything) is not good (for your health).'

[El: 100222]

b. Head is *cʔju* 'person'

TM:	hanməəga	kaman	cʔju	natɨ	cʔjɨjoo.
	hanməə=ga	*kam-an*	*cʔju*	*nar-tɨ*	*k-tɨ=joo*
	meal=NOM	eat-NEG	person	become-SEQ	come-SEQ=CFM1

'(I)'ve become a person who cannot eat meal (very much).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-14 b), the predicate of the adnominal clause, i.e. *kam-an* (eat-NEG), precedes the common noun *cʔju* 'person.' Similarly, in (6-14 a), *kam-an* (eat-NEG) does not undergo any reduction before *sɨ* (FN). In this case, we may say that the predicate *kam-an* (eat-NEG) in (6-14 a) fills the predicate slot of the adnominal clause whose head is *sɨ* (FN).

6.2.2.2. *kutu* 'event'

I will present examples of *kutu* 'event.' In (6-15 a), *kutu* 'event' is modified by a genitive NP *mukasi=nu* (past=GEN), and in (6-15 b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /kadan/ *kam-tar-n* (eat-PST-PTCP).

(6-15) a. With a genitive NP [= (4-20 a)]

TM:	tarun	mukasinukutu	siccjun
	ta-ru=n	*mukasi=nu=kutu*	*sij-tur-n*
	who-NLZ=any	past=GEN=event	know-PROG-PTCP

cʔjoo wuranbajaa.

cʔju=ja *wur-an-ba=jaa*
person=TOP exist-NEG-CSL=SOL
'There is not anyone who knows the events of the past.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause

TM: dookunɨicɨkɨmunna urɨhudu
dookunɨɨ+cɨkɨmun=ja *u-rɨ+hudu*
white.radish+pickles =TOP MES-NLZ+quantity
cɨkɨjunban, kadankutoo tʔɨn
cɨkɨr-jur-n=ban *kam-tar-n=kutu=ja* *tʔɨɨ=n*
pickle-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS eat-PST-PTCP=event=TOP one.CLF=even
nən.
nə-an
exist-NEG
'I pickle so many white radishes, but there is no time when I ate (them).'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

6.2.2.3. *hudu* 'quantity'

I will present examples of *hudu* 'quantity.' *hudu* 'quantity' in (6-16) is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /tujun/ *tur-jur-n* (take-UMRK-PTCP).

(6-16) With an adnominal clause
[Context: Remembering a flood in the past]

TM: naa, |ikkaime|nu mununkjoo sjasin
naa *ikkai+me=nu* *mun=nkja=ja* *sjasin*
FIL one.CLF+time=GEN thing=APPR=TOP picture
tujunhudugadəə arannən,
tur-jur-n=hudu=gadɨ=ja *ar-annən*
take-UMRK-PTCP=quantity=LMT=TOP COP-NEG.SEQ
'Well. The first one [i.e. flood] wasn't quite wothy of a photograph...'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

An example of compounding of *hudu* 'quantity' was also shown in (6-15 b).

6.2.2.4. *bun* 'share'

I will present examples of *bun* 'share.' In (6-17 a), *bun* 'share' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (6-17 b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /kikjun/ *kik-jur-n* (hear-UMRK-PTCP).

(6-17) a. With an adnominal

[Context: Explaining that there are not so many plates in TM's house]

TM: unbundu saran anmun.

u-n=bun=du *sara=n* *ar-n=mun*

MES-PTCP=share=FOC plate=also exist-PTCP=ADVRS

'There are so many plates as (there are).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause

[Context: Talking about traditional songs; TM: 'If (I) hear a music tape, ...'

TM: samisjen kikjunbunsjɨ nuuutaccjəə

samisjen *kik-jur-n=bun=sjɨ* *nuu+uta=ccjɨ=ja*

samisen hear-UMRK-PTCP=share=INST what+song=QT=TOP

sɨgu wakajuttoo.

sɨgu *wakar-jur=doo*

soon understand-UMRK=ASS

'Soon (I) can understand what song (it is) only by hearing (the sound of) samisen.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

6.2.2.5. *tamməə* 'sake'

I will present examples of *tamməə* 'sake.' In (6-18 a), *tamməə* 'sake' is modified by an adnominal *urakja-a* (2.NHON.PL-ADNZ), and in (6-18 b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /noosjun/ *noos-jur-n* (leave-UMRK-PTCP).

(6-18) a. With an adnominal

TM: uraa baasanna jazin magankjanu

ura-a *baasan=ja* *jazin* *maga=nkja=nu*

2.NHON.SG-ADNZ grandmother=TOP necessarily grandchild=APPR=GEN

urakjaatamməəja |nacuwa| jazin

urakja-a=tamməə=ja *nacu=wa* *jazin*

2.NHON.PL-ADNZ=sake=TOP summer=TOP necessarily

kinukkwa jatattujaa.

kin-kkwa *jar-tar-tu=jaa*

clothes-DIM COP-PST-CSL=SOL

'Your grandmother necessarily prepared clothes for (her) grandchild, (i.e.) you, in summer.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause

[Context: Thanking MS for his kind cooperation to preserve the old tradition of Yuwan]

TM:	noosjuntaməə	urakjaga	|kjoorjoku|
	noos-jur-n=tamənə	*urakja=ga*	*kjoorjoku*
	leave-UMRK-PTCP=sake	2.NHON.PL=NOM	cooperation

sjɨ	kurɨjun	mun	natɨ,
sɨr-tɨ	*kurɨr-jur-n*	*mun*	*nar-tɨ*
do-SEQ	BEN-UMRK-PTCP	thing	COP-SEQ

'To preserve (the old traditions) a person like you is so kind as to cooperate (with us), so ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

6.2.2.6. *hazɨ* 'certainty'

I will present examples of *hazɨ* 'certainty.' In (6-19 a), *hazɨ* 'certainty' is modified by a genitive NP *u-ma=nu* (MES-place=GEN), and in (6-19 b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /wun/ *wur-n* (exist-PTCP).

(6-19) a. With a genitive NP

[Context: Looking at a picture]

TM:	umanuhazɨ	zjaga.
	u-ma=nu=hazɨ	*zjar=ga*
	MES-place=GEN=certatinty	COP=CFM3

'(The place you are speaking of) must be there.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause

[Context: Looking at a picture]

TM:	josihironiitaa	wunhazɨ	zjassɨgajaa.
	josihiro+nii-taa	*wur-n=hazɨ*	*zjar-sɨga=jaa*
	Yoshihiro+older.brother-PL	exist-PTCP=certainty	COP-POL=SOL

'Yoshihiro must be (there).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In both of the examples of (6-19 a-b), the NPs headed by *hazɨ* 'certainty' fill the predicate slots with the copular verb *zjar-*. In addition, the NP headed by *hazɨ* 'certainty' can fill the modifier slot of an NP as in (6-20).

(6-20) [Context: Talking about TM's son]

TM:	jʔaranhazɨnu	mungadɨ	jattɨ.

jʔ-ar-an=<u>hazɨ</u>=nu *mun=gadɨ* *jʔ-ar-tɨ*
say-PASS-NEG=certainty=GEN thing=LMT say-PASS-SEQ
'A thing that need not be said is said (about him).'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above example, *hazɨ* 'certainty' is modified by an adnominal clause *jʔ-ar-an* (say-PASS-NEG) '(need) not be said,' and the NP headed by *hazɨ* 'certainty' recursively filled the modifier slot of an NP with genitive case, whose head is *mun* 'thing.'

6.2.2.7. *nintəə* 'people'

I will present examples of *nintəə* 'people.' In (6-21 a), *nintəə* 'people' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (6-21 b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /nacɨkasjan/ *nacɨkasj-sa+ar-n* (familiar-ADJ+STV-PTCP), and in (6-21 c) it undergoes compounding with *juwan* 'Yuwan.'

(6-21) a. With an adnominal
[Context: TM said that she knew some old people went to see prefectural highway.]
TM: un nintəənu hanacjattu.
u-n *<u>nintəə</u>=nu* *hanas-tar-tu*
MES-ADNZ people=NOM talk-PST-CSL
'They said (that they went there, so I know that).'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
[Context: Looking at a picture]
TM: minna nacɨkasjannintəəbəi.
minna *nacɨkasj-sa+ar-n=<u>nintəə</u>=bəi*
everybody familiar-ADJ+STV-PTCP=people=only
'(They are) all familiar people.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. Compounding
[Context: Looking at a picture where the women of Yuwan are dancing the traditional dance]
TM: kurəə, juwannintəənu, dantɨkai?
ku-rɨ=ja *juwan+<u>nintəə</u>=nu* *daa=nantɨ=kai*
PROX-NLZ=TOP Yuwan+people=NOM where=LOC2=DUB
'(Where do) the people of Yuwan (dance?) Where is this?'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

6.2.2.8. *nagatɨɨ* ‘along’

I will present examples of *nagatɨɨ* ‘along.’ In (6-21 a), *nagatɨɨ* ‘along’ is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (6-22 b) it goes through compounding with *koo* ‘river’. So far, there is no example where *nagatɨɨ* ‘along’ is modified by an adnominal clause.

(6-22) a. With an adnominal

[Context: Talking about TM’s house in the past]

TM:	jaaja	unnagatɨɨ	haija	buubuu	tubjakudɨ,
	jaa=ja	*u-n=nagatɨɨ*	*hai=ja*	*buu+buu*	*tubjakum-tɨ*
	house=TOP	MES-ADNZ=along	ash=TOP	RED+floating	scatter-SEQ

‘(In my) house, around there, ashes scattered.’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. Compounding

[Context: Remembering how to gather wood for business in the past]

TM:	jamanu	kɨɨ	urɨsjɨ	koonagatɨɨ	|hora|
	jama=nu	*kɨɨ*	*u-rɨ=sjɨ*	*koo+nagatɨɨ*	*hora*
	mountain=GEN	tree	MES-NLZ=INST	river+along	hey

sɨccjɨ	kjuuroogai?
sɨkk-tɨ	*k-jur-oo=ga=i*
draw-SEQ	come-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

‘(Do you remember that people) harvest the trees on the mountain along the river by that (river boat)?’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In addition, *nagatɨɨ* ‘along’ can be the head of a compound, and it means ‘while.’

(6-23)

TM:	hudəəsinagatɨɨ,	nun	kangəəgutoo	nən.jojaa.
	hudəəs-i+nagatɨɨ	*nuu=n*	*kangəər+kutu=ja*	*nə-an=joo=jaa*
	bring.up-INF+along	what=any	think.INF+event=TOP	exist-NEG=CFM1=SOL

‘While (you) are bringing up (your child), there is nothing to think about [i.e. you are in a trance].’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The compound *hudəəs-i+nagatɨɨ* (bring.up-INF+along) ‘while (someone) is bringing up’ is similar to the special-type compound in (4-27 a) in §4.2.3.2. However, they are different from each other since the former heads an adverbial clause. Further research is required for this expression.

6.2.2.9. *hutəə*/*butəə*/*datəə* 'vicinity'

I will present the examples of *hutəə*, *butəə*, and *datəə*, meaning 'vicinity'. *hutəə* may be replaced by *butəə* freely. In (6-24 a), *hutəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (6-24 b) it goes through compounding with *kusi* 'Kushi.'

(6-24) a. With an adnominal

[Context: Talking about MY]

TM:	attaaja,	un,	unhutəənan
	a-rɨ-taa=ja	*u-n*	*u-n=hutəə=nan*
	DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP	MES-ADNZ	MES-ADNZ=vicinity=LOC1
	wutancjɨjaa.		
	wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=jaa		
	exist-PST-PTCP=QT=SOL		

'(I heard) that she and her family were around there.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Compounding

TM:	kusihutəənu	cʔju	zja.
	kusi+hutəə=nu	*cʔju*	*zjar*
	Kushi+vicinity=GEN	person	COP

'(The person in the picture) is a person from around Kushi.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Similarly, *datəə* 'vicinity' can be modified by an adnominal or undergoes compounding. In (6-25 a), *datəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (6-25 b) it goes through compounding with *sutu* 'outside.'

(6-25) a. With an adnominal

TM:	undatəəja	nuuga	aru?
	u-n=datəə=ja	*nuu=ga*	*ar-u*
	MES-ADNZ=vicinity=TOP	what=FOC	exist-PFC

'What is around that place?'

[El: 120919]

b. Compounding

TM:	kazɨ	hikijassa	atoo,	gan	sjɨ	natɨ,
	kazɨ	*hik-i+jass-sa*	*ar-too*	*ga-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*nar-tɨ*
	cold	draw-INF+easy-ADJ	STV-CSL	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ	COP-SEQ

sutudatəə	aikjankarajaa	

sutu+datəə *aik-an=kara=jaa*
outside+vicinity walk-NEG=after=SOL
'(I) am liable to catch a cold, so (I) do not walk around outside.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

So far, there is no example where *hutəə*/*butəə*/*datəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal clause.

6.2.2.10. *turoo* 'place'

I will present examples of *turoo* 'place.' In (6-26 a), *turoo* 'place' is modified by an NP *sugoja-taa* (Sugoya-PL), which fills the modifier slot by juxtaposition, and in (6-26 b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /asasan/ *asa-sa+ar-n* (shallow-ADJ+STV-PTCP).

(6-26) a. With an NP filling the modifier slot by juxtaposition
[Context: Remembering a scene around TM's house in the past]
TM: sugojataaturoobəi jaanu atanwake.
sugoja-taa=turoo=bəi *jaa=nu* *ar-tar-n=wake*
Sugoya-PL=place=only house=NOM exist-PST-PTCP=CFP
'There was a house only at the Sugoya's place.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
[Context: Talking about how to carry woods using ships along the river]
TM: |sijo|nu asasanturoo jatɨn,
sijo=nu *asa-sa+ar-n=turoo* *jar-tɨ=n*
tide=NOM shallow-ADJ+STV-PTCP=place COP-SEQ=even
'Even if it was the place where the tide was shallow, ...'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

6.2.2.11. *mama* 'still'

I will present examples of *mama* 'still.' In (6-27 a), *mama* 'still' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (6-27 b) it goes through compounding with *zitensja* 'bicycle.'

(6-27) a. With an adnominal
[Context: Explaining how to make the pickles of white radish]
TM: unnan unmama |bakecu|nan kan
u-n=nan *u-n=mama* *bakecu=nan* *ka-n*
MES-ADNZ=LOC1 MES-ADNZ=still bucket=LOC1 PROX-ADVZ
sjɨ tatitɨ ukuboo,

sɨr-tɨ *tatɨr-tɨ* *uk-boo*
do-SEQ stand-SEQ put-CND
'If (you) stand (the white radishes with seasoning) there, in the bucket, as they are, ...'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Compounding
TM: |zitensja|mama hankəətɨ,
zitensja+mama *hankəər-tɨ*
bicycle+still tumble-SEQ
'(The boy) tumbled while riding on the bicycle.'
[PF: 090225_00.txt]

So far, there is no example in texts where *mama* 'still' is modified by an adnominal clause.

6.2.2.12. *tui* 'as'

I will present examples of *tui* 'as.' In (6-28), *tui* 'as' is modified by the adnominal clause whose head is the participle /jˀicjan/ *jˀ-tar-n* (say-PST-PTCP).

(6-28) With an adnominal clause

TM:	|zibunga|	jˀicjantuidaroogaccjɨ	un	jingoo	jˀicjɨ,
	zibun=ga	*jˀ-tar-n=tui=daroo=ccjɨ*	*u-n*	*jinga=ja*	*jˀ-tɨ*
	RFL=NOM	say-PST-PTCP=as=SUPP=QT	MES-ADNZ	mam=TOP	say-SEQ

'The man said that, "(It is) just as (I) myself said", and ...'
[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

So far, there is no example in texts where *tui* 'as' is modified by other than adnominal clauses.

6.2.2.13. *hui* 'pretend'

I will present examples of *hui* 'pretend.' In (6-29), *hui* 'pretend' is modified by the adnominal clause whose head is the participle *sij-an* (know-NEG).

(6-29) With an adnominal clause

TM:	sijanhuikkwa	sjɨ,
	sij-an=hui-kkwa	*sɨr-tɨ*
	know-NEG=pretend-DIM	do-SEQ

'Pretending not to know (about the thrown snacks), ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

So far, there is no example in texts where *hui* 'pretend' is modified by other than adnominal clauses.

6.3. Case

Yuwan has fourteen case particles, which are clitics that follow an NP. They are classified into the argument case, which marks a dependent in a clause (nominative, accusative, dative 1, dative 2, allative, locative 1, locative 2, locative 3, instrumental, ablative, comitative, limitative, and comparative) and the genitive case, which marks a modifier in an NP. Yuwan has a nominative-accusative case marking system.

Table 40. Case particles

Names	Forms	Prototypical functions
Nominative	*ga*/*nu*	S, A
Accusative	*ba*	P
Dative 1	*n*	beneficiary
Dative 2	*nkatɨ*	recipient of information
Allative	*kaci*	goal of locomotion
Locative 1	*nan*/*nən*	place of contact
Locative 2	*nantɨ*/*nəntɨ*	location
Locative 3	*zjɨ*	location distant from the speaker
Instrumental	*sjɨ*	instrument
Ablative	*kara*	source
Comitative	*tu*	participant of association
Limitative	*gadɨ*	limit
Comparative	*jukkuma*	standard of comparison
Genitive	*ga*/*nu*	NP modifier

I will discuss case particles in Yuwan in the following order. First, I will present the mophophonological alternation that are found in some case particles in §6.3.1. Some of the case particles undergo contraction with their preceding demonstrative nominals, i.e. *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ), *u-rɨ* (MES-NLZ), or *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ), which was already discussed in (5-19) and (5-20) in §5.2.1. Second, the morphosyntax and semantics of each case particle is shown in §6.3.2. Thirdly, case particles that have similar functions are compared with one another in §6.3.3. Finally, the grammaticalization found in a few case particles in Yuwan will be discussed in §6.3.4.

6.3.1. Morphophonology of case particles

The following morphophonological alternations are found in the case particles in Yuwan

(6-30) Morphophonological alternations of case particles

a. fusion: *kaci* (ALL) (see §6.3.1.1); *kara* (ABL) (see §6.3.1.2);

b. epenthesis: *n* (DAT1) and *nan* (LOC1) (see §6.3.1.3);

c. deletion: *nan* (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2) (see §6.3.1.4).

6.3.1.1. Fusion of *kaci* (ALL)

If the allative case *kaci* follows vowels, the following fusion frequently occurs. Please note that the fusion of //ci, si, zi// and *kaci* requires a little attention because it forms not /Cəəci/ but /Cjəəci/.

(6-31) a. High front vowel

// C i // + *kaci* (ALL) > /Cjəəci/

[C is //c, s, z//]

// C i // > /Cəəci/

[C is not //c, s, z//]

b. High mid vowel[30]

// C ɨ // > /Cəəci/

c. High back vowel

// C u // > /Cooci/

d. Other short vowels

// C V_i // > /C$V_i$$V_i$ ci/

e. Long vowels and diphthongs

// V V // > /VVci/

f. Elsewhere

// C // > /Ckaci/

The fusion of //i, ɨ, u// and *kaci* (ALL) changes the original vowel positions, but the other short vowels retain their original positions. I will show examples below.

(6-32) a. High front vowel

kuci	'mouth'	+	*kaci* (ALL)	>	/kucjəəci/	(*/kucəəci/)
kusi	'(name of place)'			>	/kusjəəci/	(*/kusəəci/)
tuzi	'wife'			>	/tuzjəəci/	(*/tuzəəci/)
kˀubi	'neck'			>	/kˀubəəci/	

b. High mid vowel

umutɨ	'front'	+	*kaci* (ALL)	>	/umutəəci/

c. High back vowel

haku	'box'	+	*kaci* (ALL)	>	/hakooci/

d. Other short vowels

jama	'mountain'	+	*kaci* (ALL)	>	/jamaaci/
kumamoto	'(place name)'			>	/kumamotooci/

[30] If the consonant before a mid-vowel is bilabial or velar, the fused form /əəci/ often sounds like [ɜːt͡ɕi] and [ɨːt͡ɕi], and the latter may be interpreted as /ɨɨci/. Audio-instrumental research is needed on this point in the future.

e. Long vowels or diphthongs

naa	'inside'	+	*kaci* (ALL)	>	/naaci/
hizjai	'left'			>	/hizjaici/

f. Elsewhere

mun	'thing'	+	*kaci* (ALL)	>	/munkaci/

6.3.1.2. Fusion of *kara* (ABL)

The process of fusion in the ablative case *kara* is the same as that of the allative case *kaci* (see §6.3.1.1). The only difference between them is the phonemes in their final syllables, i.e., the former is /ra/ and the latter is /ci/.

(6-33) a. High front vowel

// C i // + *kara* (ABL) > /Cjəəra/

[C is //c, s, z//]

// C i // > /Cəəra/

[C is not //c, s, z//]

b. High mid vowel[31]

// C ɨ // > /Cəəra/

c. High back vowel

// C u // > /Coora/

d. Other short vowels

// C V_i // > /C$V_i$$V_i$ra/

e. Long vowels and diphthongs

// V V // > /VVra/

f. Elsewhere

// C // > /Ckara/

The fusion of //i, ɨ, u// and *kara* (ABL) changes the original vowel positions, but the other short vowels retain their original positions. I will show examples below.

(6-34) a. High front vowel

kuci	'mouth'	+	*kara* (ABL)	>	/kucjəəra/	(*/kucəəra/)
kusi	'(name of place)'			>	/kusjəəra/	(*/kusəəra/)
tuzi	'wife'			>	/tuzjəəra/	(*/tuzəəra/)
kˀubi	'neck'			>	/kˀubəəra/	

[31] If the consonant before a mid-vowel is bilabial or velar, the fused form /əəra/ often sounds like both [ɜːra] and [ɨːra], and the latter may be interpreted as /ɨɨra/. Audio-instrumental research is needed on this point in the future.

b. High mid vowel

umutɨ	‘front’	+	*kara* (ABL)	>	/umutəəra/

c. High back vowel

atu	‘later’	+	*kara* (ABL)	>	/atoora/

d. Other short vowels

jama	‘mountain’	+	*kara* (ABL)	>	/jamaara/
kumamoto	‘(place name)’			>	/kumamotoora/

e. Long vowels or diphthongs

naa	‘inside’	+	*kara* (ABL)	>	/naara/
hizjai	‘left’			>	/hizjaira/

f. Elsewhere

unin	‘that time’	+	*kara* (ABL)	>	/uninkara/

6.3.1.3. Epenthesis of dative case 1 *n* and locative case *nan* (LOC1)

A syllable must have a nucleus filled by a vowel (see §2.3.1). Thus, if the dative case *n* or locative case *nan* (LOC1) happens to precede a syllable filled by a single consonant at a morpheme boundary, an epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted as a nucleus.

(6-35) $$\text{Ø} > \text{/i/} \;/\; \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} n & \text{(DAT1)} \\ nan & \text{(LOC1)} \end{array} \right\} \;\_\; \text{//n\#//}$$

(6-36)

a.	Dative							
	jinga	‘man’	+	*n*	(DAT1)	+	*n*	‘also’
>	/jinga.			ni			n/	
b.	Locative 1							
b-1.	*kun*	(PROX.ADNZ)	+	*nan*	(LOC1)	+	*n*	‘also’
>	/kun			na.ni			n/	
b-2.	*kun*	(PROX.ADNZ)	+	*nən*	(LOC1)	+	*n*	‘also’
>	/kun			nə.ni			n/	

In cases where *n* (DAT1) follows a syllable-final //n// (instead of preceding //n// such as (6-36 a)), an epenthetic vowel /u/ is inserted between them by the application of a phonological rule disucussed in §2.4.3, e.g. *bun* ‘the Bon festival’ + *n* (DAT1) > /bu.nun/. This raises the question of what happens in cases where *n* (DAT1) is surrounded by //n//s. In those cases, as mentioned before (at the beginning of §2.4), the morphophonemic rule (6-35) applies first, and that is sufficient in order to adjust the syllable structure.

(6-37)		*wan*	(1SG)	+	*n*	(DAT1)	+	*n*	'also'
	>	/wan.			ni			n/	
		*/wa.nu.			ni			n/	

6.3.1.4. Deletion in locative cases *nan* (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2)

The locative cases *nan* (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2) may become /n/ and /ntɨ/ respectively, i.e., //na// in their initial positoin may be deleted, when they follow a vowel.

(6-38) { *nan* (LOC1) > /n/ ; *nantɨ* (LOC2) > /ntɨ/ } / //V// _

(6-39) a. Locative 1

	kuma	'here'	+	*nan*	(LOC1)	+	*nu*	(GEN)
>	/kuma			n			nu/	

b. Locative 2

	sja	'lower side'	+	nantɨ	(LOC2)
>	/sja			ntɨ/	

Additionally, if the locative case *nan* (LOC1) follows a vowel and also precedes a syllable filled by a single consonant, it becomes /ni/. In other words, //na// is deleted with *i*-insertion (see §6.3.1.3).

(6-40) *nan* (LOC1) > /ni/ / //V// _ //C#//

(6-41)	Input form	*ui*	'upper side'	+	*nan*	(LOC1)	+	*n*	'also'
	//na// deletion:	ui			n			n	
	/i/ insertion:	ui			ni			n	
	Output form	/ui.			ni			n/	

When it is not followed by a syllable filled by a single consonant, it is preferred to avoid the deletion of //na//. That is, *kuma* (PROX.place) + *nan* (LOC1) > /kuma=nan/ is prefferred. In fact, /kuma=n/ is judged as possible when I asked my consultants whether it can be used, but it is rarely uttered not only in the discourse, but also in elicitation. For this reason, the /ni/ is not regarded as the dative case *n*, but is regarded as the deleted (and *i*-inserted) form of *nan* (LOC1). Moreover, interpreting this /n/ as the deleted form of *nan* (LOC1) makes it easy to see the correspondence between *nan* (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2).

6.3.2. Syntax and semantics of case particles

The fourteen case particles, i.e. the argument cases (nominative, accusative, dative 1, dative 2, allative, locative 1, locative 2, locative 3, instrumental, ablative, comitative, limitative, and comparative,) and the

genitive case, are discussed in the following subsections in turn.

6.3.2.1. Nominative case *ga*/*nu*

The nominative case has two morphemes *ga* and *nu*, and they are chosen depending on the lexical meanings (or the animacy hierarchy) of their head nominals (see also §4.1.1 and §6.4.3 for more details). The nominative case is used in the following environments.

(6-42) Nominative case is used to mark,

a. Subject of predicates;

b. Object of transitive verb that expresses incapability;

c. Predicate NP of the subordinate clause in negative;

d. Lexical verb in the AVC that expresses incapability or includes /nə-n/ (RSL-NEG);

e. Infinitives in the complement slot of LVC that expresses incapability;

f. Object of *wakar*- 'understand.'

I will present examples of (6-42 a-f) in turn below.

With regard to (6-42 a), the nominative case is used to mark the subject of intransitive verb, transitive verb, or copula verb.

(6-43) a. Subject of verbal predicates (intransitive verb)

[Context: Remembering TM's mother who knew traditional things very much]

TM:	anmataaga	wuppoojaa.
	anmaa-taa=ga	*wur-boo=jaa*
	mother-PL=NOM	exist-CND=SOL

'If (my) mother were here, (it would be good).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Subject of verbal predicates (transitive verb)

[Context: Rembering a scene from the Pear Film]

TM:	uziiga	mutɨ,	un	kʔwanu
	uzii=ga	*mur-tɨ*	*u-n*	*kʔwa=nu*
	old.man=NOM	pick.up-SEQ	MES-ADNZ	child=NOM

muccjɨ	izjɨ,
mut-tɨ	*ik-tɨ*
have-SEQ	go-SEQ

'The old man picked up (the pears), and the child brought (them), and ...'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

c. Subject of adjectival predicates

TM:	nama	haanu	awusan	ucin,
	nama	*haa=nu*	*awu-sa+ar-n*	*uci=n*
	still	leaf=NOM	green-ADJ+STV-PTCP	during=DAT1

'While the leaves were still green, ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

d. Subject of nominal predicates

[Context: Looking at a picture]

TM:	kumaga	hasi	jappa.
	ku-ma=ga	*hasi*	*jar-ba*
	PROX-place=NOM	bridge	COP-CSL

'Since here is a bridge.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (6-43 a), /anmataa/ *anmaa-taa* (mother-PL) is the subject of the verbal predicate (whose head is the intransitive verb *wur-* 'exist'), and it takes the nominative case particle *ga*. In (6-43 b), *uzii* 'old man' is also the subject of the verbal predicate (whose head is the transitive verb *mur-* 'pick up'), and it takes the nominative case particle *ga*. Similarly, *u-n kʔwa* (MES-ADNZ child) 'that child' is the subject of the verbal predicate (whose head is the transitive verb *mut-* 'have'), and it takes the nominative case particle *nu*. In (6-43 c), *haa* 'leaf' is the subject of the adjectival predicate (whose head is *awu-sa* (blue-ADJ) 'blue'), and it takes the nominative case particle *nu*. In (6-43 d), *ku-ma* (PROX-place) 'here' is the subject of the nominal predicate, and it takes the nominative case particle *ga*. It should be noted that there are some situations where the nominative case does not appear. For example, the subject of an imperative sentence usually does not appear, but sometimes it can appear. In that case, the subject does not take the nominative case.

(6-44) Subjects of imperative

a. [Context: TM tried to make MY pronounce the word for 'knee' in Yuwan.]

TM:	ura	jʔicjɨn	njɨ!
	ura	*jʔ-tɨ=n*	*nj-ɨ*
	2.NHON.SG	say-SEQ=also	EXP-IMP

'You try to say (it)!'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: TM asked MS to make the topic of their conversation for recording.]

TM:	ura	|wadai|	cɨkɨtɨ	kurɨppa.
	ura	*wadai*	*cɨkɨr-tɨ*	*kurɨr-ba*
	2.NHON.SG	topic	make-SEQ	BEN-CSL

'Would you please make the topic (of our conversation)?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The subjects of the above examples, i.e. *ura* ‘you’, do not take any case in imperative sentences. Moreover, if the NP is followed by *ja* (TOP), *du* (FOC), *ga* (FOC), and *n* ‘also; even; any’, the nominative case cannot occur (see §10.1).

With regard to (6-42 b), there are examples, where the nominative case does not mark the subject of the clause, but mark the object. In such a case, the clause expresses “incapability,” and it should use *ga* (not *nu*) with a verb containing *-an* (NEG) (see §6.4.3.3 for more details).

(6-45) Objects of the transitive verbs

a. Object taking *ga* (NOM)

TM:	wanna,	joo,	anmai	hanmәәja,	
	wan=ja	*joo*	*anmai*	*hanmәә=ja*	
	1SG=TOP	FIL	so.much	meal=TOP	
	hanmәәga	kaman	cʔju	natɨ	cʔjɨjoo.
	hanmәә=ga	*kam-an*	*cʔju*	*nar-tɨ*	*k-tɨ=joo*
	meal=NOM	eat-NEG	person	become-SEQ	come-SEQ=CFM1

‘I, (about) the meal, came to be a (kind of) person who cannot eat the meal so much.’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Object taking *ba* (ACC)

TM:	hanmәәba	kamanboojaa
	hanmәә=ba	*kam-an-boo=jaa*
	meal=ACC	eat-NEG-CND=SOL

‘(We) have to eat the meal.’

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

In (6-45 b), the verb is *kam-* ‘eat’ and its object, i.e. *hanmәә* ‘meal’, is followed by the accusative case *ba*, which is a regular case marking for the object (see §6.3.2.2). In (6-45 a), however, the object of the same verb takes *ga* (NOM), with a meaning of incapability. Other examples are also shown below.

(6-46) Objects of the transitive verbs

a.

TM:	|wadai|ga	sɨranba.
	wadai=ga	*sɨr-an-ba*
	topic=NOM	do-NEG-CSL

‘(I) cannot initiate a topic, so ...’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	hanasimiciga	sijanbajaa.
	hanas-i+mici=ga	*sij-an-ba=jaa*
	talk-INF+way=NOM	know-NEG-CSL=SOL

‘(I) don’t know the way to talk (well), so (I cannot communicate well with the present author).’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The clauses in (6-45) and (6-46) express incapability in spite of there being no morphemes to express capability such as *-ar* (CAP) or *kij-* (CAP).

With regard to (6-42 c), an NP in the predicate phrase [i.e. the nominal predicate] usually does not take any case particle, but if it is in negative and also in the adverbial (or adnominal) clause, it takes one of the nominative case particles (see §9.3.3.1).

(6-47) [= (5-9 b)]

TM:	uraga	tumainu	aran	tukin,
	ura=ga	*tumai=nu*	*ar-an*	*tuki=n*
	2.NHON.SG=NOM	night.duty=NOM	COP-NEG	time=DAT1
	Subject	[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$	

‘When you are not on night duty, ...’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

The above example shows that not only the subject, i.e. *ura=ga* (2.NHON.SG=NOM), but also the NP in the predicate, i.e. *tumai=nu* (night.duty=NOM), take the nominative case.

With regard to (6-42 d), the nominative case can be used to mark the lexical verbs in the auxiliary verb construction (AVC) that express incapability or includes /nə-n/ *nə-an* (RSL-NEG).

(6-48) Lexical verbs in AVC expressing incapability

a.

TM:	kumɨnkjanu	nənboo,	kadɨga	ikjankara,
	kumɨ=nkja=nu	*nə-an-boo*	*kam-tɨ=ga*	*ik-an=kara*
	rice=APPR=NOM	exist-NEG-CND	eat-SEQ=NOM	go-NEG=CSL

‘If there is no food such as rice, (we) cannot live, so ...’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Lexical verbs in AVC whose auxiliary verb is /nə-n/ *nə-an* (RSL-NEG)

b. [Context: Wondering whther the owner of the electric shop is there; MY: ‘(He) may be there.’]

TM:	naa,	unmama	hanməə	kamgjaa	izjɨnu
	naa	*u-n=mama*	*hanməə*	*kam-Ø+gjaa*	*ik-tɨ=nu*
	FIL	MES-ADNZ=still	meal	eat-INF+PURP	go-SEQ=NOM

nənboo.	ikjasjɨgajaaroo.
nə-an-boo	*ikja-sjɨ=gajaaroo*
exist-NEG-CND	how-ADVZ=DUB

'If (he) has not gone to eat the meal yet (and if he is not still out) that, (he may be there). (But actually I) wonder if (he is).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: Talking about the beam in the ceiling; TM: '(The beam) of your house is very white.'; MS: 'Yeah, (it) is not as black as yours.'; TM: '(Yours) is not black, I suppose. ...']

TM:	məəcjɨga	nənba.
	<u>məəs-tɨ=ga</u>	*<u>nə-an</u>-ba*
	fire-SEQ=NOM	exist-NEG-CSL

'(Your family) has not burned (wood as we did in my place, where the kitchen was very close by), so (yours is white).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (6-48 a), the lexical verb in the AVC, i.e. /kadɨ/ *kam-tɨ* (eat-SEQ), takes *ga* (NOM). The predicate means incapability, although there is no verbal morpheme to express capability such as *kij-* (CAP) or *ar-* (CAP), which is similar to the cases in (6-45) and (6-46). In (6-48 b-c), the lexical verbs in the AVCs, i.e. /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) and /məəcjɨ/ *məəs-tɨ* (fire-SEQ), take *nu* (NOM) or *ga* (NOM) (see also §9.1.1.1).

With regard to (6-42 e), the nominative case can be used to mark the infinitives in the complement slot of LVC that expresses incapability.

(6-49) Infinitive in the complement slot of LVC

TM:	aikiga	siikijanba.
	<u>aik-i=ga</u>	*sɨr-i+kij-an-ba*
	walk-INF=NOM	do-INF+CAP-NEG-CSL
	Complement	LV

'(I) cannot walk [lit. do walking], so (I cannot bring the pickles from my house).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-49), the infinitive in the complement slot of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do,' i.e. *aik-i* (walk-INF), takes *ga* (NOM) (see also §9.1.2.1).

With regard to (6-42 f), the nominative case can be used to mark the object of *wakar-* 'understand; know.'

(6-50) To mark the object of *wakar-* 'understand.'

a.

TM:	un	|zjookjoo|nu	wakajui?
	u-n	*zjookjoo=nu*	*wakar-jur-i*
	MES-ADNZ	situation=NOM	understand-UMRK-NPST

'Do (you) understand the situation (that I told)?'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. TM: jakɨtəəranu atuga wakaran.
jakɨr-təəra=nu *atu=ga* *wakar-an*
burn-after=GEN after=NOM know-NEG
'(I) don't know (what happened) after (the houses) burnt.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Before concluding this section, I will present the examples where the nominative can follow another case particle as in (6-51 a-b).

(6-51) Nominative following another case

a. TM: kumakaciga asikenkai?
ku-ma=kaci=ga *asiken=kai*
PROX-place=ALL=NOM Ashiken=DUB
'(The area) from here is Ashiken?'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: kun cʔjutu kun cʔjutuga
ku-n *cʔju=tu* *ku-n* *cʔju=tu=ga*
PROX-ADNZ person=COM PROX-ADNZ person=COM=NOM
dɨkɨmun.jo.
dɨkɨmun=joo
genius=CFM1
'This person and this person are genius.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The above examples show that the nominative case can follow another case particle when they are the subjects of the nominal predicates.

6.3.2.2. Accusative case *ba*

The accusative case *ba* is normally used to mark the object of transitive verbs. In (6-52 a), *ura* 'you' is an animate pronoun and the object of a transitive verb *abɨr-* 'call.' In (6-52 b), *nasi* 'pear' is an inanimate common noun and also the object of a transitive verb *mur-* 'pick up.'

(6-52) a. Object of transitive verb (animate pronoun)

TM: mattaku wakaranba, uraba abɨranboo.
mattaku *wakar-an-ba* *ura=ba* *abɨr-an-boo*
at.all understand-NEG-CSL 2.NHON.SG=ACC call-NEG-CND
'I called you because if (I) don't call you, (I) won't understand (what I should do) at

all.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Object of transitive verb (inanimate common noun) [= (4-2 a)]

TM:	nasiba	tʔ~~ii~~	tʔ~~ii~~	mutunwakejo.
	nasi=ba	*tʔ~~ii~~*	*tʔ~~ii~~*	*mur-tur-n=wake=joo*
	pear=ACC	one.CLF	one.CLF	pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP=CFM1

'(The old man) is picking up pears one by one.'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

Both object NPs in (6-52 a-b) take the accusative case particle *ba*. Additionally, the accusative case *ba* can be omitted as follows.

(6-53) Patient of transitive verb (inanimate common noun)

TM:	uziiga	daibang~~ii~~nant~~i~~	nasi	mutunwake.
	uzii=ga	*daiban+k~~ii~~=nant~~i~~*	*nasi*	*mur-tur-n=wake*
	old.man=NOM	big+tree=LOC2	pear	pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP

'An old man is picking pears off on a big tree.'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

In both (6-52 b) and (6-53), the NP *nasi* 'pear' is the object argument of the verb *mur-* 'pick up.' On the one hand, the former takes *ba* (ACC); on the other hand, the latter does not take any case. So far, such an omission of *ba* (ACC) has rarely been found when the object is a personal pronoun, a human demonstrative, or an address noun (except for the causative construction discussed in (8-122 b) in §8.5.1.1). (The example of commoun noun, however, was found in (8-26) in §8.3.1.2, which is taken from the elicitation.) In fact, these lexical groups appeared so many times in the text, but there are only a few instances where they are used as objects. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether it is impossible that *ba* (ACC) is really unable to be omitted after these lexical groups. Mitsukaido, which is a dialect of Japanese, has two accusative forms, one of which has a phonetic form, i.e. *godo*, but the other does not (zero form), and the choice of them depends on the animacy of their head NP (Sasaki: 2004: 129). In Yuwan, the choice of *ba* (ACC) is not restricted by the animacy of its head NP, but there is a possibility that the omissibility of the accusative case is influenced by the animacy of the head of an NP. The omissionability of accusative case particle after an inanimate referent NP seems to have a relation with one of the components of transitivity "INDIVIDUATION OF O" in Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252).

It should be noted that the accusative case *ba* can be used to mark the goal of (deictic) locomotion verbs.

(6-54) Goal of a deictic locomotion verb

a. TM: [Context: Speaking about an aquaintance] = (4-51 c)

nasjeba	izjɨ	cʔjəəroo,	akka	taməə
nasje=ba	*ik-tɨ*	*k-təəra=ja*	*a-rɨ=ga*	*taməə*
Naze=ACC	go-SEQ	come-after=TOP	DIST-NLZ=GEN	sake

naa	issai	warusoo	jantatto.
naa	*issai*	*waru-soo*	*jʔ-an-tar-too*
already	all	bad-ADJ	say-NEG-PST-CSL

'After going to and returning from Naze, (she) did not say anything bad about him.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. TM:

jama	izjɨ,
jama	*ik-tɨ*
mountain	go-SEQ

'(The people) go to the mountain (to get wood to make a coffin), and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (6-54 a), the locomotion verb *ik-* 'go' takes *ba* (ACC) to mark the goal NP, i.e. *nasje* 'Naze.' In (6-54 b), the goal NP is not marked by any case particle. In fact, both of the accusative case *ba* (ACC) and the allative case *kaci* (ALL) can mark the goal of locomotion verbs (see §6.3.2.5). Thus, it is difficult to determine the omitted case particle in (6-54 b). The verbs that can take *ba* (ACC) for the goal of locomotion are all deictic locomotion verbs, i.e. *ik-* 'go,' *k-* 'come,' and *umoor-* 'go; come (honorific).'

Before conclusion, it should be noted that the accusative particle *ba* is different from the topic particle *ja*. Therefore, they can make a sequence as in (10-7) in §10.1.1.2.

6.3.2.3. Dative case 1 *n*

The dative case 1 *n* has a wide range of use: beneficiary, causee, agent of passive construction, agent of verbs to express capability, and time. It is also used to mark the benefactor (in a broad sense), whose examples will be shown (9-18 b) in §9.1.1.3.

(6-55) a. Beneficiary

TM:

nuu	jatɨn	sɨgu	cʔjun	kurɨcjasa
nuu	*jar-tɨ=n*	*sɨgu*	*cʔju=n*	*kurɨr-cja-sa*
what	COP-SEQ=even	soon	person=DAT1	give-want-ADJ

sii	natɨjo.
sɨr-i	*nar-tɨ=joo*
do-INF	become-SEQ=CFM1

'Whatever it is, (I) feel like wanting to give (it) to a person without hesitation.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Causee

TM: arɨn karasoojəə.

a-rɨ=n	*kar-as-oo=jəə*
DIST-NLZ=DAT1	borrow-CAUS-INT=CFM2

'(I) will make that person borrow (it).'

[El: 120921]

c. Agent of passive construction

[Context: An old man found gold under the ground, but he did not bring it home, so his wife was surprised to hear that.]

TM:	gan	jiccjan	mun	həəku	tutɨ
	ga-n	*jiccj-sa+ar-n*	*mun*	*həə-ku*	*tur-tɨ*
	MES-ADVZ	good-ADF+STV-PTCP	thing	early-ADVZ	take-SEQ

konboo,	cʔjun	tɨmɨrarɨɨdoocjɨ	jʔicjanmun,
k-on-boo	*cʔju=n*	*tɨmɨr-arɨr-Ø=doo*	*jʔ-tar-n=mun*
come-NEG-CND	person=DAT1	find-PASS-INF=ASS	say-PST-PTCP=ADVRS

'(The wife) said that, "If (you) don't bring such a good thing, (it) will be found by another person," but ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

d. Agent of verbs to express capability

TM:	wannin	kakarɨssa.
	wan=n=n	*kak-arɨr-sa*
	1SG=DAT1=also	write-CAP-POL

'I also can write (it).'

[El: 121001]

e. Time

TM:	ɨcinkuin	attu	hanasjun
	ɨcɨɨ=n=kui=n	*a-rɨ=tu*	*hanas-jur-n*
	when=any=INDF=any	DIST-NLZ=COM	talk-UMRK-PTCP

tukinnja,	
tuki=n=ja	
time=DAT1=TOP	

'Whenever (I) talk with him, ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (6-55 a), *cʔju* 'person' is the beneficiary of the verb *kurɨr-* 'give' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (6-55 b), *a-rɨ* 'that person' is the causee of the verb *kar-as-* (borrow-CAUS) 'make (someone) borrow' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (6-55 c), *cʔju* 'person' is the agent of the passive construction whose predicate includes the passive affix *-arɨr* and it takes *n* (DAT1). In (6-55 d), *wan* (1SG) is the agent of the verb *kak-arɨr-* (write-CAP) 'can write' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (6-55 e), *tuki* 'time' takes *n* (DAT1).

The dative 1 *n* can follow the verbal infinitives. This combination expresses the time of the event.

(6-56) TM: amanan wuinkara, naa naikwa kawatɨ,
a-ma=nan *wur-i=n=kara* *naa* *naikwa* *kawar-tɨ*
DIST-place=LOC1 exist-INF=DAT1=ABL already a.little strange-SEQ
'(The person) was already strange since (the person) was there, and ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above example, *n* (DAT1) follows the infinitve of the *wur-* 'exist', i.e. /wui/ *wur-i* (exist-INF), and is followed by *kara* (ABL) meaing 'from the time ...'. Such a phenomenon, i.e. the combination of an infinitive plus *n* (DAT1) meaing the time of the event, is said to be common in Ryukyuan languages (Prof. Shigehisa Karimata, 2013 p.c.). There are no examples in my texts where *n* (DAT1) is followed by *kara* (ABL) if the preceding word is a nominal, e.g. **tukɨ=n=kara* (time=DAT1=ABL). Thus, it seems that the *n* following a nominal would be different from *n* following a verb. However, I will regard them as the same morpheme *n* (DAT1) because of the following reasons: (a) both kinds of *n* behave in the same way on morphophonological alternation; (b) *n* (DAT1) following a nominal can also mean the time of the event.

(6-57) a. Following a nominal
US: kˀuusjuunnja wurantancjɨ?
kˀuusjuu=n=ja *wur-an-tar-n=ccjɨ*
air.raid=DAT1=TOP exist-NEG-PST-PTCP=QT
'(Did you said) that (MY) was not living here at the time of the air raid (in the World War II)?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Following a verb
TM: usato|obasan|ga wuinnja muru jiccja
usato+obasan=ga *wur-i=n=ja* *muru* *jiccj-sa*
Usato+aunt=NOM exist-INF=DAT1=TOP very good-ADJ
atanmuncjɨjo.
ar-tar-n=mun=ccjɨ=joo
STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=QT=CFM1
'The time when Usato lived (here) was very good.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (6-57 a-b), both instances of *ja* (TOP), which follow *n* (DAT1), become /nja/. Furthermore, in (6-57 a), the nominal *kˀuusjuu* 'air raid' followed by *n* (DAT1) does not mean 'air raid' itself but means 'the time of air raid,' which is similar to the use of *n* (DAT1) that follows the verb /wuin/ *wur-i=n* (exist-INF=DAT1) meaning 'the time when (someone) exists.'

6.3.2.4. Dative case 2 *nkatɨ*

The dative case 2 *nkatɨ* is used to mark the recipient of information.

(6-58) Recipient of information

[Context: TM advised her son about how to treat a certain aquaintance of them]

TM:	wanna	mata	sɨgu	arɨnkatɨ	jʔicjancjɨjo.
	wan=ja	*mata*	*sɨgu*	*a-rɨ=nkatɨ*	*jʔ-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
	1SG=TOP	again	soon	DIST-NLZ=DAT2	say-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1

'I said (it) to that person [i.e. my son] without hesitation.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) 'that person' is the addressee of the verb *jʔ-* 'say' and takes *nkatɨ* (DAT2). *nkatɨ* (DAT2) can co-occur with *jʔ-* 'say,' *hanas-* 'talk,' and *jusɨr-* 'teach.' The origin of *nkatɨ* (DAT2) is not clear so far. Although we cannot say the correct candidate for its origin, we can say a wrong candidate. The initial phoneme /n/ of *nkatɨ* (DAT2) is not made of the contraction of the genitive particle *nu* (see (6-81) in §6.3.2.14 for the contraction of the genitive *nu*), because the demonstrative nominal does not take the genitive particle *nu* if it indicates human (see Table 44 in §6.4 and (6-106) in §6.4.2.1). In (6-58), the demonstrative /arɨ/ *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) clearly indicates a human referent, so it cannot take *nu* (GEN). That is, the /n/ of *nkatɨ* (DAT2) is not made of *nu* (GEN), at least considering the modern synchronic data.

6.3.2.5. Allative case *kaci*

The allative case *kaci* is used to mark the goal of locomotion.

(6-59) a. Goal of locomotion (*nagɨr-* 'throw')

[Context: A man got angry thinking that he had been cheated by the old couple.]

TM:	janməəkaci	nagɨtɨ,	un	jingoo	hingitancjɨ.
	janməə=kaci	*nagɨr-tɨ*	*u-n*	*jinga=ja*	*hingir-tar-n=ccjɨ*
	garden=ALL	throw-SEQ	MES-ADNZ	man=TOP	run.away-PST-PTCP=QT

'(It was said) that the man threw (mud) in their garden and ran away.'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. Goal of deictic locomotion (*ik-* 'go')

[Context: Looking at a picture, TM was guessing where the scene was.]

TM:	in,	in.	jaakaci	ikjunturoo	zja.
	in	*in*	*jaa=kaci*	*ik-jur-n=turoo*	*zjar*
	yes	yes	house=ALL	go-UMRK-PTCP=place	COP

'Oh, yeah. (It) is a scene of going to the house.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-59 a), *janməə* ‘garden’ is the goal of the verb *nagɨr-* ‘throw’ and takes *kaci* (ALL). In (6-59 b), *jaa* ‘house’ is the goal of the verb *ik-* ‘go’ and takes *kaci* (ALL) too.

Additionally, *kaci* (ALL) can be used to mark the result of change with *nar-* ‘become.’ However, such an example is very rare. Among 44 examples, where the predicates are *nar-* ‘become,’ there are only two such examples.

(6-60) a. [Context: A bad man threw a pot filled with mud.]

TM:	un	janməəkaci	nagɨrattəətan	ciboga
	u-n	*janməə=kaci*	*nagɨr-ar-təər-tar-n*	*cɨbo=ga*
	MES-ADNZ	garden=ALL	throw-PASS-RSL-PST-PTCP	pot=NOM

mata	kundoo	kinkakaci	natɨ,
mata	*kundu=ja*	*kinka=<u>kaci</u>*	*<u>nar</u>-tɨ*
again	this.time=TOP	gold.coin=ALL	become-SEQ

‘The pot thrown in the garden became (filled with) golds coins again this time.’

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking about a teacher who taught at the elementary school of TM’s childhood]

TM:	atoo	cjuugakkookaci	natɨ,
	atu=ja	*cjuugakkoo=<u>kaci</u>*	*<u>nar</u>-tɨ*
	after=TOP	junior.high.school=ALL	become-SEQ

‘After (that), (he) became (a teacher at) a junior high school, and...’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c.

TM:	tacumianjootuzituuga	nakawudo	natɨ,
	tacumi+anjoo+tuzituu=ga	*nakawudo*	*<u>nar</u>-tɨ*
	Tatsumi+older.brother+couple=NOM	matchmaker	become-SEQ

‘Mr. and Mrs. Tatsumi became matchmaker, and ...’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. [Context: Taking about a tradition]

TM:	jurunkjoojoo,	hajasa	nɨbuppoo,	kuuhuu
	juru=nkja=ja=joo	*haja-sa*	*nɨbur-boo*	*kuuhuu*
	night=APPR=TOP=CFM1	early-ADJ	sleep-CND	owl

natɨ,	urɨ	sjuncjɨ	jˀicjɨ
<u>nar</u>-tɨ	*u-rɨ*	*sɨr-jur-n=ccjɨ*	*jˀ-tɨ*
become-SEQ	MES-NLZ	do-UMRK-PTCP=QT	say-SEQ

‘(Old people) said that if you go to sleep early at night, (you) become an owl, and do it, and ...’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Both *kinka* ‘gold coin’ in (6-60 a) and *cjuugakkoo* ‘junior high school’ in (6-60 b) are the goals of change

indicated by *nar-* 'become' and marked by *kaci* (ALL); however, such a goal is normally not marked by any case particle as in (6-60 c-d). So far, the difference between them is not so clear, but there is a good example in another language of Ryukyuan. In Irabu (Southern Ryukyuan), there are two case particles *n* (DAT1) and *nkai* (ALL), both of which can be used with *nar-* 'become', and the allative case is used when the speaker feels that there is a long distance between the source and the goal of change (Shimoji 2013). Looking back to the examples of Yuwan in (6-60 a-b), it is possible to assume a long distance between the source and goal of change. In (6-60 a), the source 'mud' became the goal 'gold coin,' and in (6-60 b), the source '(a teacher at the) elementary school' became '(a teacher at the) junior high school.' There is, however, an example which does not use *kaci* (ALL) in spite of there being a long distance between the source and the goal, e.g. the source 'a child' and the goal 'an owl' in (6-60 d). Therefore, it may be said in Yuwan that if *kaci* (ALL) is used as the goal of change, the distance between the source and goal is relatively long, but not vice versa.

6.3.2.6. Locative case 1 *nan*/*nən*

The locative case 1 *nan* (or *nən*) is used to mark the place of contact; *nən* is used only after the demonstrative adnominal (see (5-23) in §5.2.1). At least, *nan* (LOC1) needs two referents, i.e. a place and something (or someone) that makes contact with the place. *nan* (LOC1) follows an NP that indicates the place, and the subject of an intransitive clause, or the object of a transitive clause indicates a referent that makes contact with the place. First, let us see intransitive (or less transitive) clauses.

(6-61) a. TM:

un	sjanan	cɨbonu	atɨ,
u-n	*sja=nan*	*cɨbo=nu*	*ar-tɨ*
MES-ADNZ	below=LOC1	pot=NOM	exist-SEQ

'There was a pot under there, and ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about MY] = (6-24 a)

TM:

attaaja	(un)	un	hutəənan
a-rɨ-taa=ja	*u-n*	*u-n*	*hutəə=nan*
DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP	MES-ADNZ	MES-ADNZ	vicinity=LOC1

wutancjɨjaa.
wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=jaa
exist-PST-PTCP=QT=SOL
'(I heard) that she and her family were around there.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: A boy who put a basket full of pears in front of his bicycle bumped into a stone.]

TM:

isinan	atatɨ,
isi=nan	*atar-tɨ*
stone=LOC1	bump-SEQ

‘(The boy) bumped into a stone, and ...’

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

In (6-61 a), *un sja* ‘the place under there,’ which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place where the subject *cɨbo* ‘pot’ exists. In (6-61 b), *un hutəə* ‘around there [lit. that vicinity]’, which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place where the subject /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) ‘she and her family’ stayed. In (6-61 c), *isi* ‘stone’, which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place that the subject *inja+warabɨ* ‘boy [lit. small child]’, though it was omitted in the above sentence, made contact with. The period for the subject to be in contact with the place of *nan* (LOC1) differs from a relatively long instance as in (6-61 a-b) to a short instance as in (6-61 c). Such a difference results from the meaning of each verb and the context where it is used. In my texts, the following intransitive verbs co-occured with *nan* (LOC1): *ar*- ‘exist,’ *tamar*- ‘accumulate,’ *hamar*- ‘get stuck,’ *wur*- ‘exist,’ *umoor*- ‘exist (honorific),’ *tat*- ‘stand,’ *nɨhur*- ‘sleep,’ *tumar*- ‘stay,’ *cɨk*- ‘stick to,’ *kaar*- ‘relate to,’ *hənkj*- ‘enter,’ and *atar*- ‘bump.’

Then, I will show the examples of transitive (especially three-participant) clauses.

(6-62) a. TM:

kɨɨnu	sjanannja	kagonu	tˀaacɨ	ucjutɨ,
kɨɨ=nu	*sja=nan=ja*	*kago=nu*	*tˀaacɨ*	*uk-tur-tɨ*
tree=GEN	below=LOC1=TOP	basket=GEN	two.CLF.thing	put-PROG-SEQ

‘Under the tree, (the old man) put two baskets, and ...’

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. [Context: Describing how the village mayor answers the questions addressed to him by members of the village assembly]

TM:

attaaga	jun	munnan	hɨntooja
a-rɨ-taa=ga	*jˀ-jur-n*	*mun=nan*	*hɨntoo=ja*
DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM	say-UMRK-PTCP	thing=LOC1	reply=TOP

sjuppa.
sɨr-jur-ba
do-UMRK-CSL

‘(He) makes a reply (smoothly) to what they say, so ...’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-62 a), *kɨɨ=nu sja* ‘the place under the tree,’ which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place where the object *kago=nu tˀaacɨ* ‘two baskets’ exists. In (6-62 b), /attaaga jun mun/ *a-rɨ-taa=ga jˀ-jur-n mun* (DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM say-UMRK-PTCP thing) ‘what they say,’ which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place that the object *hɨntoo* ‘a reply’ makes contact with, although the meaning of ‘contact’ is very abstract here. At the beginning of this section, I said that in the transitive clause the place of *nan* (LOC1) is the one that the object (not the subject) makes contact with. However, among about twenty examples of transitive clauses that include *nan* (LOC1), there is only one example where it seems that the subject (but not the object) would be

the referent contacting with the place of *nan* (LOC1).

(6-63) [Context: Seeing a picture where a harvest festival is held and people were wandering and dancing around the community, while men only wore the cotton belts called 'mawashi' in order to do sumo wrestling, and women walked and danced, having the meal for festival, between the men]

TM:	wunagunintən	əədanan	kuri	muccji,
	wunagu+nintəə=n	*əəda=nan*	*ku-ri*	*mut-ti*
	woman+people=also	between=LOC1	PROX-NLZ	have-SEQ

'Also the women had this [i.e. the meal for festival] between (the men), and ...'

MS:	|hai,	hai,	hai,	hai.|
	hai	*hai*	*hai*	*hai*
	yes	yes	yes	yes

'Oh, yeah.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In the above example, the object *ku-ri* 'this [i.e. the meal for festival]' is not the referent that made contact with the place *əəda* 'the space between (the men).' Rather, the subject *wunagu+nintəə* 'women' made contact with the place of *nan* (LOC1). Thus, it seems that this example would be a counterexample of the generalization at the beginning of this section. However, the above sentence uttered by TM was stopped with the converbal form /muccji/ *mut-ti* (have-SEQ), which means that there is a possibility that TM could continue the utterance with a certain verb that can take *nan* (LOC1), say *wur-* 'exist.' In fact, TM's utterance was interrupted by the nodding of MS (and TM did not continue the preceding sentence).

Before concluding this section, I want to remark the fact that *nan* (LOC1) can directly follow demonstrative adnominals, and then *nan* (LOC1) may alternate with *nən*.

(6-64) a. Demonstrative adnominal + *nan* (LOC1)

[Context: Explaining how to make the pickles of white radish]

TM:	unnan	un	mama	|bakecu|nan	kan
	u-n=nan	*u-n*	*mama*	*bakecu=nan*	*ka-n*
	MES-ADNZ=LOC1	MES-ADNZ	still	bucket=LOC1	PROX-ADVZ

sji	tatiti	ukuboo,
sir-ti	*tatir-ti*	*uk-boo*
do-SEQ	stand-SEQ	put-CND

'If (you) stand (the white radishes with seasoning) there, in the bucket, as they are, ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Demonstrative adnominal + *nən* (LOC1)

TM:	unnən	nasinu	natunwake.
	u-n=nən	*nasi=nu*	*nar-tur-n=wake*
	MES-ADNZ=LOC1	nasi=NOM	bear-PROG-PTCP=CFP

'There are pears there [i.e. on the big tree].'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

In (6-64 a), *nan* (LOC1) directly follows an adnominal *u-n* 'that (one)' and they express a place as a whole. In (6-64 b), *nən* (LOC1) also directly follows an adnominal *u-n* 'that (one).' *nan* (LOC1) can follow both nominals and demonstrative adnominals. On the other hand, *nən* (LOC1) can follow only demonstrative adnominals.

6.3.2.7. Locative case 2 *nantɨ*/*nəntɨ*

The locative case 2 *nantɨ* is used to mark the place of dynamic action. In (6-65 a), /daibangiɨ/ *daiban+kɨi* 'big tree,' which takes *nantɨ* (LOC2), is the place where the action *nasi mur-* (pear pick.up) 'to pick up pears' occurs. In (6-65 b), *jaa* 'house,' which takes *nantɨ* (LOC2), is the place where the action *nusi=sjɨ hanməə sɨr-* (RFL=INST cooking do) 'to do cooking by oneself' occurs.

(6-65) a. [= (6-53)]

TM:	uziiga	daibangiɨnantɨ	nasi	mutunwake.
	uzii=ga	*daiban+kɨi=nantɨ*	*nasi*	*mur-tur-n=wake*
	old.man=NOM	big+tree=LOC2	pear	pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP

'An old man is picking pears off on a big tree.'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

b.

TM:	uroo	jaanantɨ	nusisjɨ	hanməə	sjɨ,	kamii?
	ura=ja	*jaa=nantɨ*	*nusi=sjɨ*	*hanməə*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*kam-i*
	2.NHON.SG=TOP	house=LOC2	RFL=INST	cooking	do-SEQ	eat-INF

'You do cooking by yourself, and eat (the meal) at home?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

This is a mere conjecture, but *nantɨ* (LOC2) can be thought to be made of /nan wutɨ/ *nan wur-tɨ* (LOC1 exist-SEQ) 'to exist at (somewhere), and ...,' since normally the environment where *nantɨ* (LOC2) can be used shows complementary distribution with that of *nan* (LOC1). For example, *nantɨ* (LOC2) cannot be used with *wur-* 'exist,' but *nan* (LOC1) can (see also §6.3.3.2). Furthermore, *nantɨ* (LOC2), as well as *nan* (LOC1), can directly follow demonstrative adnominals with an optional alternation with *nəntɨ* as in (6-66). In (6-66 a), *nantɨ* (LOC2) directly follows an adnominal *u-n* 'that (one)' and they express a place as a whole. In (6-66 b), *nəntɨ* (LOC2) also directly follows an adnominal *u-n* 'that (one)' with its vowel centralization.

(6-66) a. Demonstrative adnominal + *nantɨ* (LOC2)

TM: kunugurugadɨ (kun ..) unnantɨ
kunuguru=gadɨ *ku-n* *u-n=nantɨ*
recently=LMT PROX-ADNZ MES-ADNZ=LCO2
cukututanmundoojaa.
cukur-tur-tar-n=mun=doo=jaa
make-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'(They) were making dyed goods until recently there.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Demonstrative adnominal + *nəntɨ* (LOC2)

TM: daibangɨinu atɨ, unnəntɨ jinganu |hasigo|
daiban+kɨi=nu *ar-tɨ* *u-n=nəntɨ* *jinga=nu* *hasigo*
big+tree=NOM exist-SEQ MES-ADNZ=LOC2 man=NOM ladder
kɨitɨ,
kɨir-tɨ
put-SEQ
'There was a big tree, and there a man put a ladder (against it), and ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

Thus, it is reasonable to think that the initial syllable /nan/ of *nantɨ* (LOC2) has the same origin with *nan* (LOC1).

6.3.2.8. Locative case 3 *zjɨ*

The locative case 3 *zjɨ* is used to mark the location of an action, which is distant from the speaker. It is probable that *zjɨ* (LOC3) was grammaticalized from the converb /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) 'to go, and ...' (see §6.3.4). The head verb of *zjɨ* (LOC3) must have an animate subject (except for the metaphorical expression).

(6-67) a. TM: usjəə amanu ... kusabutuuzjɨ cɨnazjɨ
usi=ja *a-ma=nu* *kusabutuu=zjɨ* *cɨnag-tɨ*
ox=TOP DIST-place=GEN thick.grass=LOC3 hitch-SEQ
koojaccjɨ jʔicjɨ,
k-oo=jaa=ccjɨ *jʔ-tɨ*
come-INT=SOL=QT say-SEQ
''Let's go to hitch the ox to the thick grass there', said (the man), and ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. [= (4-54 b)]

TM: sabiisabi aikikippoo, cɨkɨmununkja jaazjɨ

sabi+sabi	*aik-i+kij-boo*	*cɨkɨr+mun=nkja*	*jaa=zjɨ*
RED+smoothly	walk-INF+CAP-CND	pickle.INF+thing=APPR	house=LOC3

tɨkkoorɨnmun.
tɨkk-oorɨ-n=mun
bring-CAP-PTCP=ADVRS
'If (I) could walk smoothly, (I) could go home and bring the pickles, but (I cannot).'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-67 a), *a-ma=nu kusabutuu* 'thick grass there,' which takes *zjɨ* (LOC3), is the goal where the subject goes and takes the action *usi* (ox) + *cɨnag-tɨ k-* (hitch-SEQ come) 'to go to hitch the ox.' In this example, the subject is 'the man,' although it is not overtly expressed in the example. In (6-67 b), *jaa* 'house,' which takes *zjɨ* (LOC3), is the goal where the subject goes and takes the action *cɨkɨr+mun=nkja* (pickle.INF+thing=APPR) + *tɨkk-* (bring) 'to bring the pickles.' In this example, the subject is 'I' [i.e. the speaker TM], although it is not overtly expressed in the example. In both of the examples, the places indicated by (NPs followed by) *zjɨ* (LOC3) are distant from the speaker, which is the main characteristic specific to *zjɨ* (LOC3) (see also §6.3.4).

6.3.2.9. Instrumental case *sjɨ*

The instrumental *sjɨ*, which is used to mark primarily an instrument, but in fact it can be used to mark a very broad meaning, e.g. material, reason, and membership of agent. First, let us see examples of instrumental *sjɨ*.

(6-68) Instrument
[Context: Complaining about an acquaintance's slander]

TM:	wanga	kucisjɨ	nusiboo	jamacjuncjɨ,
	wan=ga	*kuci=sjɨ*	*nusi=ba=ja*	*jam-as-tur-n=ccjɨ*
	1SG=NOM	mouth=INST	RFL=ACC=TOP	have.a.pain-CAUS-PROG-PTCP=QT

'(The person said) that I was making the person ill using (my) mouth, and ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above example, *kuci* 'mouth' is the instrument used to criticize someone, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). The next examples are used to mean material, where the NP marked by *sjɨ* (INST) becomes a part of the result of action.

(6-69) Material
a. [Context: Hearing that US spoke to the present author in the standard Japanese]

TM:	|hoogen|sjɨ	jˀanboo.
	hoogen=sjɨ	*jˀ-an-boo*
	dialect=INST	say-NEG-CND

'(You) have to speak in the dialect [i.e. Yuwan].'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: cʔjasuguu kusasjɨ mata usatɨ
cʔjasuguu kusa=sjɨ mata usaw-tɨ
soon grass=INST again cover-SEQ
'Soon (the man) covered (the pot filled with gold coins) with grass again.'
[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (6-69 a), *hoogen* 'dialect' is the material to make an uttrance, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (6-69 b), *kusa* 'grass' is also the material to cover the pot, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST) too.

Next, let us look at examples of *sjɨ* used to give a reason.

(6-70) Reason

a. [Context: Talking about students who participate in the training camp held in the village]
TM: hasijaankjanu |gassjuku|sjɨ kjuuroogai?
hasij-jaa=nkja=nu gassjuku=sjɨ k-jur-oo=ga=i
run-person=APPR=NOM training.camp=INST come-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Runners would come for training camp, you know.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Remembering the days of the World War II]
TM: kʔuusjuusjɨ attakəə jakɨtattujaa.
kʔuusjuu=sjɨ attakəə jakɨr-tar-tu=jaa
air.raid=INST everything be.burnt-PST-CSL=SOL
'Everything was burnt by the air raid, so (there are no houses from that time).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (6-70 a), *gassjuku* 'training camp' is the reason that the runners come to the village, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (6-70 b), *kʔuusjuu* 'air raid' is also the reason that everything was burnt in the village, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST) as well.

Finally, I will show examples of an agent made up of multiple members, where the NP marked by *sjɨ* (INST) expresses how many people or what kind of people composed of the membership of a collective agent.

(6-71) Membership of agent

a. [Context: There are three boys who saw another boy bumping against a stone by bicycle, and the pears fell off the front basket; TM: 'The three (happened to) pass the way, and standed the bicycle of the boy who bumped (there), and ...']
TM: micjaisjɨ (ka) kasjəə sjɨ, kagokaci

micjai=sjɨ	*kasjəə*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*kago=kaci*
three.CLF=INST	help	do-SEQ	basket=ALL

ɨrɨjunwake.
ɨrɨr-jur-n=wake
put.in-UMRK-PTCP=CFP
'The three (of them), helped (the boy), and put (the pears) in the basket.'
[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking to MS]

TM: uroo	jaanantɨ	nusisjɨ	hanməə	sjɨ,	kamii?
ura=ja	*jaa=nantɨ*	*nusi=sjɨ*	*hanməə*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*kam-i*
2.NHON.SG=TOP	house=LOC2	RFL=INST	meal	do-SEQ	eat-INF

'You cook by yourself and eat (the meal) at home?'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c.

TM: burakusjɨ	sjən	|suidoo|	jatɨkai?
buraku=sjɨ	*sɨr-təər-n*	*suidoo*	*jar-tɨ=kai*
community=INST	do-RSL-PTCP	water.conduit	COP-SEQ=DUB

'(It) was the water conduit that has been set up by the community?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (6-71 a), *micjai* 'three people' is the membership of agent who helped the boy, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (6-71 b), *nusi* (REL) 'oneself' is the membership of agent who makes the meal, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (6-71 c), *buraku* 'community' is also the membership of agent who has set up the water conduit, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST) too. These NPs marked by *sjɨ* (INST) add some pieces of information about the membership of agents. In other words, there may be another NP that indicates the agent itself, e.g. *ura* 'you' in (6-71 b), which is the subject of the sentence. The form of the instrumental case, i.e. *sjɨ*, is the same with a converbal form of *sɨr-* 'do', i.e. *sjɨ* (do.SEQ). It is probable that *sjɨ* (INST) originates from /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ). However, the two forms are different from each other in modern Yuwan, since (1) *sjɨ* (INST) in the environments discussed above cannot take other inflection as the verb, e.g. one cannot say */nusi sjuttoo/ *nusi sɨr-jur=doo* (RFL do-UMRK=ASS) [Intended meaning] '(I) will do by myself'; (2) the NP before *sjɨ* (INST) cannot take another case particle, e.g. one cannot say */nusinu sjɨ/ *nusi=nu sɨr-tɨ* (RFL=NOM do-SEQ) instead of *nusi=sjɨ* (RFL=INST) in (6-71 b).

6.3.2.10. Ablative case *kara*

The ablative *kara* is used to mark a source, which is a starting point of an action (or event) in space or time as in (6-72 a-b). There are also examples of semantic extension of these as in (6-72 c-d).

(6-72) Spatial source

a. [Context: Talking about the staff of the village office, who went to help the people after the earthquake disaster on 11 March 2011]

TM: kumakara kinju jakubakara, naa, an
ku-ma=kara *kinju* *jakuba=kara* *naa* *a-n*
PROX-place=ABL yesterday village.office=ABL FIL DIST-ADNZ
sɨmɨnu mizɨnkja nunkuin cɨnkudɨ,
sɨmɨ=nu *mizɨ=nkja* *nu=n=kui=n* *cɨnkum-tɨ*
Sumiyo=GEN water=APPR what=any=INDF=any load-SEQ
'From here, yesterday, from the village office, (they) loaded (a truck) with that water from Sumiyo and other things [lit. anything], and ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Temporal source

b. TM: waakjaa anmataa məəkacjəə mukasikara
waakja-a *anmaa-taa* *məə=kaci=ja* *mukasi=kara*
1PL-ADNZ mother-PL front=ALL=TOP past=ABL
kjuutattoo.
k-jur-tar=doo
come-UMRK-PST=ASS
'From the past, (people who want to learn the traditional songs) would come to my mother's place.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Semantic extension

c. TM: arəə attaa məəra muratən jaa
a-rɨ=ja *a-rɨ-taa* *məə=kara* *muraw-təər-n* *jaa*
DIST-NLZ=TOP DIST-NLZ-PL front=ABL receive-RSL-PTCP house
jappa.
jar-ba
COP-CSL
'Since that is the house (he) has received from them.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. TM: urakjaa (mm) ziisan məəradu
urakja-a *ziisan* *məə=kara=du*
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ grandfather front=ABL=FOC
narajutancjɨ.
naraw-jur-tar-n=ccjɨ
learn-UMRK-PST-PTCP=QT
'(My mother said) that (she) learned (the traditional songs) from your grandfather.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (6-72 a), *ku-ma* 'here' and *jakuba* 'the village office' are spatial sources, from which the truck loaded with

relief supplies would set off. In (6-72 b), *mukasi* ‘the past’ is a temporal source, from which the people started to come to see TM’s mother in order to learn the traditional songs. The next two examples are semantic extension from spatio-temporal uses. In (6-72 c), /attaa məə/ *a-rɨ-taa məə* ‘them [lit. thier front]’ is the source from which the ownership of the house is transferred. In (6-72 d), /urakjaa ziisan/ ‘your grandfather’ is the source from which the knowledge of the traditional songs is transmitted.

6.3.2.11. Comitative case *tu*

The comitative *tu* is used to mark a participant of association. The participant of association is an added member of situation indicated by verbal predicate, nominal predicate, or adjective predicate. In (6-73 a), *nan* ‘you (honorific)’ is the participant associated with the speaker, and it takes *tu* (COM). In (6-73 b), *u-n=nintəə* ‘those people’ are the participants associated with *muhaa+anjoo-taa* ‘Muha and his friends’ and takes *tu* (COM). Finally, in (6-73 c), *urakja-a ziisan* ‘your grandfather’ is the participant associated with the speaker’s mother, and also takes *tu* (COM).

(6-73) a. With verbal predicate

TM: injasainnja,	nantoo	asɨbantajaa.
inja-sa+ar-i-n=ja	*nan=tu=ja*	*asɨb-an-tar=jaa*
small-ADJ+STV-INF-time=TOP	2.HON=COM=TOP	play-NEG-PST=SOL

‘(I) did not play with you when (we) were young.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With nominal predicate

TM: muhaaanjootaa	unnintəətu	əəcɨrɨ	natɨ,
muhaa+anjoo-taa	*u-n=nintəə=tu*	*əəcɨrɨ*	*nar-tɨ*
Muha+older.brother-PL	MES-ADNZ=people=COM	classmate	COP-SEQ

muru	dusi	jata.
muru	*dusi*	*jar-tar*
very	friend	COP-PST

‘Muha and his friends were classmates with those people, and (they) were very friendly.’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. With adjectival predicate

[Context: Talking of TM’s mother]

TM: urakjaa	ziisantu	nissja	ata.
urakja-a	*ziisan=tu*	*nissj-sa*	*ar-tar*
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ	grandfather=COM	similar-ADJ	STV-PST

‘(My mother) was similar to your grandfather.’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In the above examples, *tu* (COM) follows only one NP. On the other hand, *tu* (COM) can connect two (or more) NPs together, and there are twenty such examples in my texts. It can be said from the data of text that if the combined NPs are the subject (except for that of nominal predicate), only the first NP is followed by *tu* (COM), i.e. NP1=*tu* NP2.

(6-74) a. Subject of an intransitive verb

TM:	an	saeetu	ujuribəidu	kjun.
	a-n	*saee=tu*	*ujuri=bəi=du*	*k-jur-n*
	[DIST-ADNZ	Sae=tu	Uyuri=only=FOC]	[come-UMRK-PTCP]
	[Subject]			[Intransitive verb]

'Only Sae and Uyuri come (to the day-care center).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Subject of a transitive verb

[Context: Remembering the days when TM's son took her to sightseeing]

TM:	masajukitaatu	ataankjaga	xxx	nkja
	masajuki-taa=tu	*a-ri-taa=nkja=ga*		*=nkja*
	[Masayuki-PL=COM	DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR=NOM]		APPR
	[Subject]			
	simiti,			
	simir-ti			
	[do.CAUS-SEQ]			
	[Transitive verb]			

'Masayuki (and his family) and they had (me) do xxx, and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-74 a), *a-n saee* '(that) Sae,' which is the first NP of the subject, takes *tu* (COM). In (6-74 b), *masajuki-taa* 'Masayuki (and his family),' which is the first NP of the subject, also takes *tu* (COM).

However, if the combined NPs are the subject of a nominal predicate or the object of a transitive clause, not only the first NP but also the second NP is followed by *tu* (COM), i.e. NP1=*tu* NP2=*tu*.

(6-75) Subject of nominal predicates

a.

TM:	hamaicɨuziitu	waakjaa	torataroouziitudu
	hamaicɨ+uzii=tu	*waakja-a*	*torataroo+uzii=tu=du*
	[Hamaitsu+grandfather=COM	1PL-ADNZ	Torataro+grandfather=COM=FOC]
	[Subject]		

kjoodəə janmun.

kjoodəə jar-n=mun
[brother COP-PTCP=ADVRS]
[Nominal predicate]
'Hamaitsu and my grandfather Torataro are brothers.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: kun cʔjutu kun cʔjutuga
ku-n cʔju=tu ku-n cʔju=tu=ga
[PROX-ADNZ person=COM PROX-ADNZ person=COM]
[Subject]
dɨkɨmun.jo.
dɨkɨmun=joo
[genius]=CFM1
[Nominal predicate]
'This person$_i$ and this person$_j$are genius.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Object of transitive verbs

c. [Context: Remembering that the present author asked TM to pronounce 'head' and 'knee' in Yuwan]
TM: cuburutu cɨbusitu jʔicjutɨga, warəəcjɨjo.
cuburu=tu cɨbusi=tu jʔ-tur-tɨ=ga waraw-i=ccjɨ=joo
[head=COM knee=COM] [say-PROG-SEQ]=FOC laugh-INF=QT=CFM1
[Object] [Transitive verb]
'(We) were saying 'head' and 'knee' (in Yuwan), and laughed.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: ittannu kinsjɨ |haori|tu kintu nuuwarɨitattu.
ittan=nu kin=sjɨ haori=tu kin=tu nuuw-arɨir-tar-tu
one.CLF=GEN cloth=INST [haori=COM cloth=COM] [sew-CAP-PST-CSL]
[Object] [Transitive verb]
'From a roll of cloth (about ten meters in length), (we) could sew a haori [i.e. a short Japanese overgarment] and a (light cotton) kimono.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-75 a), each NP, i.e. /hamaicu+uzii/ 'Hamaitsu' and /waakjaa torataroouzii/ 'my grandfather Torataroo' being the subject of nominal predicate, is followed by *tu* (COM). Similarly, in (6-75 b), each NP, i.e. /kun cʔju/ 'this person$_i$' and /kun cʔju/ 'this person$_j$' being the subject of nominal predicate, is followed by *tu* (COM). In (6-75 c), each NP, i.e. *cuburu* 'head' and *cɨbusi* 'knee' being the object of transitive verb, is followed by *tu* (COM). Similarly, in (6-75 d), each NP, i.e. *haori* 'haori' and *kin* 'cloth' being the object of transitive verb, is followed by *tu* (COM).

6.3.2.12. Limitative case *gadɨ*

The limitative *gadɨ* is used to mark limits, which is a limitation of action (or event) in space and time, and there are examples of semantic extension of them.

(6-76) a. Spatial limits

[Context: Talking about the size in the past of TM's house]

TM:	amagadɨ,	ude,	naanai	nagasa	atanmundoo.
	a-ma=gadɨ	*ude*	*naa+nai*	*naga-sa*	*ar-tar-n=mun=doo*
	PROX-place	well	already+little	long-ADJ	STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS

'(It) was a little longer even to reach that place.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Temporal limits

TM:	namagadɨ	daanan	wutattukai?
	nama=gadɨ	*daa=nan*	*wur-tar-tu=kai*
	now=LMT	where=LOC1	exist-PST-CSL=DUB

'Where was (he) until recently?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. Semantic extension

[Context: Talking about a song that used to be sung when a meeting of old people was held]

TM:	|tagaini|	naa	huccjunkjoo	minna
	tagai=ni	*naa*	*huccju=nkja=ja*	*minna*
	each.other=DAT	already	old.person=APPR=TOP	everyone
	urəə	mjantɨn	sicjutattoojaa,	
	u-rɨ=ja	*mj-an-tɨ=n*	*sij-tur-tar=doo=jaa*	
	MES-NLZ=TOP	see-NEG-SEQ=even	know-PROG-PST=ASS=SOL	
	|jonban|gadɨ.			
	jonban=gadɨ			
	fourth=LMT			

'Each, all of the old people already knew (the song from the first verse) to the fourth, even if (they) did not see it [i.e. a card with the lyrics].'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-76 a), *a-ma* 'that place' is the spatial limit, which constraints the size of TM's old house, and it takes *gadɨ* (LMT). In (6-76 b), *nama* 'now' is the temporal limit, until which a man had been living there, and it also takes *gadɨ* (LMT). In (6-76 c), *jonban* 'fourth' is the limit of the number of the song's verses, which is an example of the semantic extension of the spatio-temporal meaning of *gadɨ* (LMT).

gadɨ (LMT) is not only a case particle, but also a limiter particle. *gadɨ* (LMT) in the limiter-particle use can replace the nominative case. In addition, it may follow other case particles. The limiter particle *gadɨ*

(LMT) can express some emphasis, e.g. the speaker's surprise (see §10.1.5). I will present an example here.

(6-77) *gadɨ* (LMT) as a limiter particle

[Context: Talking about the present author]

TM:	tookjookaragadɨ	umoocjun	cʔjuboo	kattəə
	tookjoo=kara=gadɨ	*umoor-tur-n*	*cʔju=ba=ja*	*kattəə*
	Tokyo=ABL=LMT	move.HON-PROG-PTCP	person=ACC=TOP	freely

warabɨnən	sjɨ	cɨkəədu	sjunmun,	wanna.
warabɨ=nən	*sɨr-tɨ*	*cɨkaw-i=du*	*sɨr-jur-n=mun*	*wan=ja*
child=like	do-SEQ	use-INF=FOC	do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS	1SG=TOP

'I ordered even a person who came from Tokyo [i.e. the present author] freely like a child.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above example, *gadɨ* (LMT) follows an extended NP *tookjoo=kara* (Tokyo=ABL) 'from Tokyo.' That is, *gadɨ* (LMT) does not show the (spatial) limit of anything here, but expresses the speaker's surprise about the present author's coming from Tokyo.

6.3.2.13. Comparative case *jukkuma*

The comparative *jukkuma* is used to mark the standard of comparison. (The speaker TM also taught me another form *junma* (CMP), but she has never used the form in the free conversation.) An NP followed by *jukkuma* (CMP) can modify an adjective, an adverb, or a nominal.

(6-78) Modifying an adjective

a. [Context: Talking about the size of a traditional coffin; MS: '(It) is as large as a box to fill in the tea.']

TM:	aran.	urɨjukkumoo	hɨisai.
	ar-an	*u-rɨ=jukkuma=ja*	[*hɨi-sa*]$_{\text{Adjective}}$+*ar-i*
	COP-NEG	MES-NLZ=CMP=TOP	big-ADJ+STV-NPST

'No. (The coffin) is bigger than that [i.e. a box to fill in the tea].'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Modifying an adverb

b.

TM:	arɨjukkumoo	həəku	hɨiranba.
	a-rɨ=jukkuma=ja	[*həə-ku*]$_{\text{Adverb}}$	*hɨir-an-ba*
	DIST-NLZ=COMP=TOP	early-ADVZ	wake.up-NEG-CSL

'(You) have to wake up earlier than that person.'

[El: 130816]

Modifying a nominal

c.

TM:	arəə	waakjajukkuma	sja	jappajaa.

a-rɨ=ja	*waakja=jukkuma*	[*sja*]$_{\text{Nominal}}$	*jar-ba=jaa*
DIST-NLZ=TOP	1PL=CMP	below	COP-CSL=SOL

'He is younger than me.' [lit: 'That person is below than me.']

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: wan.jukkuma sɨdoo wurandoo.

wan=jukkuma	[*sɨda*]$_{\text{Nominal}}$*=ja*	*wur-an=doo*
1SG=CMP	over=TOP	exist-NEG=ASS

'There is no one (who) is older than me.'

[lit. '(The people whose ages are) over than me do not exist.']

[El: 130816]

In (6-78 a), *u-rɨ* 'it' is the standard that is compared with the traditional coffin, modifying the adjective *hɨɨ-sa* 'big.' In (6-78 b), *a-rɨ* 'that person' is the standard that is compared with the hearer, modifying the adverb *həə-ku* 'early.' In (6-78 c), *waa-kja* 'we' is the standard that is compared with *a-rɨ* 'he,' modifying the nominal *sja* 'below.' In (6-78 d), *wan* 'I' is the standard that is compared with the people in the community, modifying the nominal *sɨda* 'over.' In all examples in (6-78 a-d), the standards take *jukkuma* (CMP).

6.3.2.14. Genitive case *ga*/*nu*

The genitive has two morphemes *ga* and *nu*, and they are chosen depending on the lexical meaning of their head nominals (see §6.4). Syntactically, the genitive case follows a head of an NP, which fills the modifier slot of another larger NP recursively, i.e {[NP=GEN]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ Head}$_{\text{NP}}$ (see also §6.1.1). The meaning of genitive case (or the semantic relation between the modifier and the head) is very wide. Here, I will present its prototypical use (i.e. the possesion) and marginal use (i.e. the apposition).

(6-79) a. Possession

TM: an c^{ʔ}junu naaja sijan.

a-n	*c^{ʔ}ju=nu*	*naa=ja*	*sij-an*
{[DIST-ADNZ	person=GEN]$_{\text{Modifier}}$	[name]$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{NP}}$=TOP	know-NEG

'I don't know that person's name.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Apposition

TM: waakjaa cɨrɨnkjanu kikukotankja,

waakja-a	*cɨrɨ=nkja=nu*	*kikuko-taa=nkja*
{[1PL-ADNZ	classmate=APPR=GEN]$_{\text{Modifier}}$	[Kikuko-PL=APPR]$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{NP}}$

attankjaga	wun	ucibəi	jappoo,
a-rɨ-taa=nkja=ga	*wur-n*	*uci=bəi*	*jar-boo*
DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR=NOM	exist-PTCP	inside=only	COP-CND

‘If it is just while there are our friends, Kikuko and her friends, (and if it is just while there are) those people, ...’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-79 a), *a-n cʔju* ‘that person’ is a possessor and is followed by *nu* (GEN), and it modifies the head nominal *naa* ‘name,’ which is a possessee. In (6-79 b), *waakja-a cɨrɨ=nkja* ‘our friends’ and *kikuko-taa=nkja* ‘Kikuko and her friends’ are in apposition, i.e., they indicate the same referents.

The genitive has two morphemes, i.e. *ga* and *nu*, and they are formally same with those of the nominative case (see §6.3.2.1). Thus, one may regard them as the same single case, i.e. “the nominative-genitive case.” I would not, however, regard them as the same case because of (1) the differences of syntactic distribution and (2) the differences of correspondence to the animacy hierarchy.

First, an NP followed by the nominative case fills the argument slot of a clause, and its head is the predicate phrase as in (6-80 a-b) (see §4.1.1). On the other hand, an NP followed by the genitive case fills the modifier slot of an NP, and its head is a nominal as in (6-80 c-d) (see §6.1).

(6-80) Filling the argument slot of a clause

a.	TM:	arɨga..,	sizuobaaga	wuppoo,	jiccja
		a-rɨ=ga	*sizu+obaa=ga*	*wur-boo*	*jiccj-sa*
		DIST-NLZ=NOM	Shizu+grandmother=NOM	exist-CND	good-ADJ
		Argument	Argument	Predicate	
		atənmundoo.			
		ar-təər-n=mun=doo			
		STV-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS			
		‘If Shizu were here, (it) would be good (now).’			
					[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.	TM:	umoo	kan	sjɨ	kɨinu	atɨ,
		u-ma=ja	*ka-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*kɨi=nu*	*ar-tɨ*
		MES-place=TOP	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	tree=NOM	exist-SEQ
					Argument	Predicate
		‘There is a tree like this, and ...’				
						[PF: 120415_01.txt]

Filliing the modifier slot of an NP

c.	TM:	agga	ututunan	masuoccjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
		a-rɨ=ga	*ututu=nan*	*masuo=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tɨ*
		DIST-NLZ =GEN	younger.sibling=LOC1	Masuo=QT	say-SEQ
		Modifier	Head		
		wutɨ,			

wur-tɨ
exist-SEQ
'That person has a younger sibling called Masuo, and ...'
[lit. 'In that person's younger sibling is (a person) called Masuo, and ...']
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. [= (6-62 a)]

TM:	kɨinu	sjanannja	kagonu	tʔaacɨ	ucjutɨ,
	kɨi=nu	*sja=nan=ja*	*kago=nu*	*tʔaacɨ*	*uk-tur-tɨ*
	tree=GEN	under=LOC1=TOP	basket=GEN	two.CLF	put-PROG-SEQ
	Modifier	Head			

'Under the tree, (tha man) put two baskets, and ...'
[PF: 090222_00.txt]

In the first two examples, both *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) 'that person' in (6-80 a) and *kɨi* 'tree' in (6-80 b) fill the argument slots of the clauses. More specifically, they are subjects of the clasues. In the next two examples, however, the same NPs do not fill the arguments but fill the modifier slots of NPs. In (6-80 c), *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) 'that person' modifies the head nominal *ututu* 'younger sibling' (about the contranction from *a-rɨ=ga* > /agga/, see §5.2.1). In (6-80 d), *kɨi* 'tree' modifies the head nominal *sja* '(th place) under (something)'. It is true that each case particle in (6-80 a, c), i.e. /ga/, and those in (6-80 b, d), i.e. /nu/, have the same form respectively. However, I will propose that they should be regarded as different case particles.

Secondly, the choice of *ga* and *nu* depends on the lexical meaning of the head nominals. However, the lexical group that takes the nominative case particle *ga* (NOM) is different from that of the genitive case particle *ga* (GEN) as in Table 41 (see Table 44 in §6.4 for more details).

Table 41. Differences between the nominative and the genitive (following singular NPs)

	Personal pronominals	Human demonstratives	Address nouns	The others
Nominative case	*ga*	*ga*	*ga*	*nu*
NP modifiers	Adnominal	*ga*	Juxtaposition	*nu*

The above table shows that personal pronominals, human demonstratives, and address nouns take the nominative case particle *ga*, and the other nominals take *nu*. On the other hand, the genitive case *ga* is taken only by human demonstratives, because personal pronominals inflect as adnominals when they fill the modifier slot of an NP like [*waakja-a*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*anmaa*]$_{\text{Head}}$ (1PL-ADNZ mother) 'our mother,' and also address nouns do not take any case (in other words, use juxtaposition) when they fill the modifier slot of an NP like [*naohide+uzii*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*ututu*]$_{\text{Head}}$ (Naohide+grandfather younger.sibling) 'Naohide's younger sibling' (see §7.2 in detail). In fact, there is no difference when the two cases follow common nouns, e.g. *kɨi* 'tree' as in (6-80 b, d). Considering the distributional difference shown in Table 41, I will propose that they should be regarded as different cases. This point of view owes to the idea of "distributional cases" in Comrie (1991).

The genitive particle *nu* often contracts to /n/ when the external head of the genitive NP, i.e. "NP_2" in "NP_1=GEN NP_2," indicates space.

(6-81) Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *sja* 'under'

a. [Context: Talking about the shore protection at the community]

TM:	jakuban	sjanu,	(ee) namanu	|sinrjoosjo|nu
	jakuba=nu	*sja=nu*	*nama=nu*	*sinrjoosjo=nu*
	village.office=GEN	under=GEN	now=GEN	clinic=GEN
	sjantɨ,			
	sja=nantɨ			
	under=LOC2			

'Down from the village office [lit. at (the place) under the village office] (that existed before), down from the clinic (that exists) now (at the same place), ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b.

TM:	micin	sjanan.
	mici=nu	*sja=nan*
	road=GEN	under=LOC1

'(The post office exists) down along the road [lit. at (the place) under the road].'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *nɨzɨɨ* 'corner'

c.

TM:	jaman	nɨzɨɨ	natɨ.
	jama=nu	*nɨzɨɨ*	*nar-tɨ*
	mountain=GEN	corner	COP-SEQ

'Since (our house) was (at) the foot of the mountain.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *məə* 'front'

d.

TM:	un	kɨn	məəkaci	mudutɨ	kii.
	u-n	*kɨɨ=nu*	*məə=kaci*	*mudur-tɨ*	*k-i*
	MES-ADNZ	tree=GEN	front=ALL	return-SEQ	come-INF

'(The boys) were back to the front of the tree.'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

e.

TM:	urakjaa	uman	məənu	an..
	urakja-a	*u-ma=nu*	*məə=nu*	*a-n*
	2.NHON.PL-ADNZ	MES-place=GEN	front=GEN	DIST-ADNZ

|obasan|ga	|iciban|jo.
obasan=ga	*iciban=joo*
old.woman=NOM	number.one=CFM1

'That old woman who lived in front of your place [lit. of the front of your that place] is

number one.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *buci* 'edge'

f. TM: kon buci?

koo=nu *buci*

river=GEN edge

'Near the river?' [lit. '(At) the edge of the river?']

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

g. [Context: Speaking about TM's mother; TM: 'Until (she) learn (how to tap a rhythm of the traditional songs), ...']

TM: zijun buci uccjutɨ,

ziju=nu *buci* *ut-tur-tɨ*

kitchen.stove=GEN edge hit-PROG-SEQ

'(My mother) was hitting the edge of the kitchen stove, and ...'

The contraction shown in (6-81 a-g) does not occur in the case of a nominative case particle *nu* (NOM), which partly supports the appropriateness of distinguishing the genitive case particle from the nominative case particle in Yuwan.

Finally, the genitive case may follow another case particle, which was already shown in (6-5 a-e) in §6.1.1.

6.3.3. Comparison among similar case particles

In the following subsections, I will compare some case particles that have similar functions. In §6.3.3.1, dative 1, dative 2, and allative will be discussed. In §6.3.3.2, the locative 1, 2, and 3 will be disscussed.

6.3.3.1. Dative 1, dative 2, and allative

All of the cases *n* (DAT1), *nkatɨ* (DAT2), and *kaci* (ALL) may co-occur with verbs that have a meaning related with direction. The details of their differences are not very clear, but there are restrictions on their co-occurence with their head verbs depending on the meanings of the verbs. The possibility of their co-occurence with several verbs (or verbal affixes) is shown in the following table and examples. In Table 42, "+" means that the case particle can co-occur with the verbs (or verbal affixes), and "-" means cannot.

Table 42. *n* (DAT1), *kaci* (ALL), and *nkatɨ* (DAT2)

		-arɨr (PASS)	*-as* (CAUS)	*kurɨr-* 'give'	*jˀ-* 'say'	*nagɨr-* 'throw'	*ik-* 'go'
n	(DAT1)	+	+	+	+	-	-
kaci	(ALL)	-	+	+	+	+	+
nkatɨ	(DAT2)	-	-	-	+	-	-

In (6-82), "*" means that the form is not grammatical in the environments.

(6-82) a. Co-occurence with *-arɨr* (PASS) to mark the agent

TM: wanna zjun/*zjuukaci/*zjunkatɨ oosattɨdoo
wan=ja zjuu=n/zjuu=kaci/zjuu=nkatɨ oos-ar-tɨ=doo
1SG=TOP father=DAT1/father=ALL/father=DAT2 scold-PASS-SEQ=ASS
'I was scolded by (my) father.'

[El: 130820]

b. Co-occurence with *-as* (CAUS) to mark the causee

TM: arɨn/arɨkaci/*arɨnkatɨ kakasoojəə.
a-rɨ=n/a-rɨ=kaci/a-rɨ=nkatɨ kak-as-oo=jəə
DIST-NLZ=DAT1/DIST-NLZ=ALL/DIST-NLZ=DAT2 write-CAUS-INT=CFM2
'(I) will make that person write (it).'

[El: 130820]

c. Co-occurence with *kurɨr-* 'give' to mark the recepient

TM: arɨn/arɨkaci/*arɨnkatɨ kurɨroojəə.
a-rɨ=n/a-rɨ=kaci/a-rɨ=nkatɨ kurɨr-oo=jəə
DIST-NLZ=DAT1/DIST-NLZ=ALL/DIST-NLZ=DAT2 give-INT=CFM2
'(I) will give (it) to that person.'

[El: 130820]

d. Co-occurence with *jˀ-* 'say' to mark the recepient of the information

TM: uroo tarun/tarukaci/tarunkatɨ jˀicjɨ?
ura=ja ta-ru=n/ta-ru=kaci/ta-ru=nkatɨ jˀ-tɨ
2.NHON.SG=TOP who-NLZ=DAT1/who-NLZ=ALL/who-NLZ=DAT2 say-SEQ
'To whom did you talk to?'

[El: 130820]

e. Co-occurence with *nagɨr-* 'throw' to mark the goal

TM: *dan/daakaci/*dankatɨ nagɨtɨ?
daa=n/daa=kaci/daa=nkatɨ nagɨr-tɨ
where=DAT1/where=ALL/where=DAT2 throw-SEQ
'Where did (you) throw (it)?'

[El: 130820]

f. Co-occurence with *ik*- ‘go’ to mark the goal

TM:	uroo	*dan/daaci/*dankatɨ	ikjui?
	ura=ja	*daa=n/daa=kaci/daa=nkatɨ*	*ik-jur-i*
	2.NHON.SG=TOP	where=DAT1/where=ALL/where=DAT2	go-UMRK-NPST

‘Where do (you) go?’

[El: 130820]

As far as the verbs (and the verbal affixes) in Table 42 are concerned, we can say the following things. First, *n* (DAT1) can co-occur with several verbs or verbal affixes with the exception of *nagɨr*- ‘throw’ and *ik*- ‘go.’ Thus, *n* (DAT1) seems not to be used to mark the goal in a narrow sense. In other words, the “goal” marked by *n* (DAT1) is the recepient or causee. Secondly, *kaci* (ALL) can co-occur with almost all of the verbs or verbal affixes with the exception of *-arɨr* (PASS). In fact, *-arɨr* (PASS) has little meaning strongly related with direction. Thus, it may be possible to say that *kaci* (ALL) can be used with verbs that have a meaning related with direction. Finally, *nkatɨ* (DAT2) can be used only with *jˀ*- ‘say.’ As mentioned in §6.3.2.4, *nkatɨ* (DAT2) can be used only to mark the recepient of the information.

6.3.3.2. Locative 1, locative 2, and locative 3

All of the cases *nan* (LOC1), *nantɨ* (LOC2), and *zjɨ* (LOC3) can express the place where the action (or event) (indicated by the head verb) occurs. The details of their differences are not very clear, but there are restrictions on co-occurence with verbs or the context where they are used. The possibility of co-occurence with a few verbs and a nominal is shown in the following table and examples. In Table 43, “+” means that the case particle can co-occur with the verbs (or the nominals), and “-” means cannot.

Table 43. *nan* (LOC1), *nantɨ* (LOC2), and *zjɨ* (LOC3)

Co-occurence with		Verbs			Nominal
		wur- ‘exist (animate)’	*ar*- ‘exist (inanimate)’	*udur*- ‘dance’	*ku-ma* ‘here’
nan	(LOC1)	+	+	-	+
nantɨ	(LOC2)	-	-	+	+
zjɨ	(LOC3)	+	-	+	-

In (6-83), “*” means that the form is not grammatical in the environment.

(6-83) a. Co-occurence with *wur*- ‘exist (animate)’

TM:	wanna	amanan/*amananti/amazjɨ	wuroojəə.
	wan=ja	*a-ma=nan/a-ma=nantɨ/a-ma=zjɨ*	*wur-oo=jəə*
	1SG=TOP	DIST-place=LOC1/DIST-place=LOC2/DIST-place=LOC3	exist-INT=CFM2

‘I will be there.’

[El: 130817]

b. Co-occurence with *ar-* ‘exist (inanimate)’

TM: tiganna amanandu/*amanantidu/*amazjidu
tigan=ja *a-ma=nan=du/a-ma=nanti=du/a-ma=zji=du*
letter=TOP DIST-place=LOC1=FOC/DIST-place=LOC2=FOC/DIST-place=LOC3=FOC
attoo.
ar=doo
exist=ASS
‘The letter is there.’

[El: 130817]

c. Co-occurence with *udur-* ‘dance’

TM: *amanan/amanantii/amazjii wudurooj**ə**ə.
a-ma=nan/a-ma=nanti/a-ma=zji *wudur-oo=jəə*
DIST-place=LOC1/DIST-place=LOC2/DIST-place=LOC3 dance-INT=CFM2
‘(I) will dance there.’

[El: 130817]

If the clause is used to mean that the subject of the intransitive verb (or the object of the transitive verb) stays (or contacts) somewhere, *nanti* (LOC2) cannot be used, but *nan* (LOC1) and *zji* (LOC3) can as in (6-83 a) (see also §6.3.2.6). Because of the same reason, *ar-* ‘exist’ can be used with *nan* (LOC1), but cannot be used with *nanti* (LOC2) as in (6-83 b). Additionally, *ar-* ‘exist’ must have an inanimate subject (strictly speaking, an inanimate “core argument,” see §8.3.2.2 for more details). On the contrary, *zji* (LOC3) always has an animate subject (see §6.3.2.8). Therefore, *zji* (LOC3) cannot be used with *ar-* ‘exist’ as in (6-83 b). If the head verb expresses a dynamic action, the place of action cannot be marked by *nan* (LOC1), but can be marked by *nanti* (LOC2) and *zji* (LOC3) as in (6-83 c).

Furthermore, *zji* (LOC3) has a restriction; it cannot follow an NP that indicates a place where the speaker exists at the time of utterance (see §6.3.4 for more details). Thus, *zji* (LOC3) cannot follow *ku-ma* (PROX-place) ‘here.’

(6-84) Co-occurence with *ku-ma* ‘here’

a. *nan* (LOC1)

TM: wanna kumanan wurooj**ə**ə.
wan=ja *ku-ma=nan* *wur-oo=jəə*
1SG=TOP PROX-place=LOC1 exist-INT=CFM2
‘I will be here.’

[El: 130817]

b. *nanti* (LOC2)

TM: wanna kumanantii wudurooj**ə**ə

wan=ja	*ku-ma=nantɨ*	*wudur-oo=jəə*
1SG=TOP	PROX-place=LOC2	dance-INT=CFM2

'I will dance here.'

[El: 130817]

c. *zjɨ* (LOC3)

TM: *wanna	kumazjɨ	wuroojəə.
wan=ja	*ku-ma=zjɨ*	*wur-oo=jəə*
1SG=TOP	PROX-place=LOC3	exist-INT=CFM2

[El: 130817]

nan (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2) can be used with *ku-ma* 'here' as in (6-84 a-b), but *zjɨ* (LOC3) cannot as in (6-84 c), which made a clear contrast with (6-83 a), where a similar expression, i.e. *wan=ja a-ma=zjɨ wur-oo=jəə* (1SG=TOP DIST-place=LOC3 exist-INT=CFM2) 'I will be there' is grammatical.

6.3.4. Grammaticalization of case particles

In Ryukyuan languages, some case particles are said to have been created through grammaticalization of a certain verbal form (Nishioka and Nakahara 2000: 87, Shimoji 2008: 207). Yuwan also has a few case particles which seem to have come from grammaticalization. For example, it is possible that the instrumental case *sjɨ* has come from /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ) (see §6.3.2.9). The locative case 2 *nantɨ* may have come from the combination of *nan* (LOC1) plus /wutɨ/ *wur-tɨ* (exist-SEQ) (see §6.3.2.7). Additionally, the locative case 3 *zjɨ* seems to have come from /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ). All of these case particles include, as their putative origin, the same converbal affix, i.e. *-tɨ* (SEQ), which makes an adverbial clause that precedes the main clause (see also §11.1.1). Thus, it is reasonable that such a clause becomes an argument of the predicate of the main clause considering the verb-final word order in Yuwan. In the remainder of this section, we will look at *zjɨ* (LOC3) in detail.

There are two reasons why we can say that *zjɨ* (LOC3) and /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) have the same origin; (a) resemblance between the two forms; (b) the same restriction on the reference point, or the "deictic center" (cf. Fillmore 1971 [1997]). With regard to (a), there is no problem since *zjɨ* (LOC3) and /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) has the same form excluding the existence of the initial vowel /i/. With respect to (b), neither form allows their goals to be the place where the speaker exists at the time of utterance. Briefly speaking, neither can be used with *ku-ma* (PROX-place) 'here.' First, let us see the examples that have no problem because of the correct context.

(6-85) [Context: The speaker has not arrived at the goal yet.]

a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)

TM: ama	izjɨ,	asɨboojaa.
ama	*ik-tɨ*	*asɨb-oo=jaa*

there go-SEQ play-INT=SOL
'Let's go there, and play (together)!'
[El: 130816]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)
TM: amazjɨ asɨboojaa.
ama=zjɨ *asɨb-oo=jaa*
there=LOC3 play-INT=SOL
'Let's go and play there (together)!'
[El: 130816]

As mentioned in §6.3.2.2, the deictic locomotion verb *ik-* 'go' can take accusative case *ba* to mark its goal, and also can easily omit such *ba* (ACC) as in (6-85 a). Both of the above examples are grammatical, but similar sentences cannot be acceptable as in (6-86). The sentence-initial "#" means that the context is not acceptable to produce the sentence.

(6-86) [Context: The speaker has already arrived at the goal.]
a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)
TM: #kuma izjɨ, asɨboojaa.
kuma *ik-tɨ* *asɨb-oo=jaa*
here go-SEQ play-INT=SOL
[Expressed meaning] 'Let's go here, and play (together)!'
[El: 130816]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)
TM: #kumazjɨ asɨboojaa.
kuma=zjɨ *asɨb-oo=jaa*
here=LOC3 play-INT=SOL
[Expressed meaning] 'Let's go and play here (together)!'
[El: 130816]

In (6-85 a-b), the spearker has not arrived yet at the goal. Thus, both /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) and /zjɨ/ (LOC3) are grammatical. However, in (6-86 a-b), the speaker has already arrived at the goal, so both /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) and /zjɨ/ (LOC3) become unacceptable. In other words, /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) and /zjɨ/ (LOC3) cannot take the place where the speaker exists at the time of utterance as their deictic center.

I would not, however, like to regard the two forms are absolutely indentical. Rather, it is more appropriate to regard that there has been a grammaticalization from /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) to *zjɨ* (LOC3), since the latter has (c) the loss of initial vowel, (d) the impossibility of insertion of another case particle, and (e) the capability to take directly a human referent as the goal of (deictic) locomotion. With regard to (c), /zjɨ/ (LOC3) seems to have dropped the initial vowel /i/ of /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ). With regard to (d), *ik-* 'go' can

take the accusative case to mark the goal of deictic locomotion as in (6-87 a). On the contrary, /zjɨ/ (LOC3) cannot take (or be preceded by) it as in (6-87 b).

(6-87) Capability of the accusative's insertion

a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)

TM:	wanna	unba	izjɨ,	asɨdɨ	koojəə.
	wan=ja	*un=ba*	*ik-tɨ*	*asɨb-tɨ*	*k-oo=jəə*
	1SG=TOP	sea=ACC	go-SEQ	play-SEQ	come-INT=CFM2

'(I) will go (to) the sea, and play (there) and come (back).'

[El: 130817]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)

TM:	*wanna	unbazjɨ	asɨdɨ	koojəə.
	wan=ja	*un=ba=zjɨ*	*asɨb-tɨ*	*k-oo=jəə*
	1SG=TOP	sea=ACC=LOC3	play-SEQ	come-INT=CFM2

[Intended meaning] '(I) will go (to) the sea, and play (there) and come (back).'

[El: 130817]

With regard to (e), *zjɨ* (LOC3) can directly take a human referent as the goal, although *ik-* 'go' cannot.

(6-88) Capability of directly taking a human referent as the goal

a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)

TM:	*akira	izjɨ,	abɨtɨ	koo!
	akira	*ik-tɨ*	*abɨr-tɨ*	*k-oo*
	Akira	go-SEQ	call-SEQ	EXP-IMP

[Intended meaning] 'Go to Akira's place and call him and come (back)!'

[El: 130817]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)

TM:	akirazjɨ	abɨtɨ	koo!
	akira=zjɨ	*abɨr-tɨ*	*k-oo*
	Akira=LOC3	call-SEQ	EXP-IMP

'Go to Akira's place and call him and come (back)!'

[El: 130817]

The above three differences show almost all of the features of grammaticalization discussed in Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2) as follows.

(6-89) Four features of grammaticalization in Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2)

A. desemanticization (or 'semantic bleaching') - loss in meaning content;

B. extension (or context generalization) - use in new contexts;
C. decategorialization - loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms;
D. erosion (or 'phonetic reduction') - loss in phonetic substance.

In the context of the above features, (6-89 B) corresponds to the above (e), i.e. the capability to take directly a human referent as the goal of (deictic) locomotion; (6-89 C) corresponds to the above (d), i.e. the impossibility of insertion of another case particle; and (6-89 D) corresponds to the above (c), i.e. the loss of initial vowel. Although Heine and Kuteva (2002: 3) assume the (6-89 A) prcedes others (with a possible exception of (6-89 C)), the semantic bleaching (or loss in meaning content) does not seem to occur in the case of *zjɨ* (LOC3) in Yuwan since the restriction of goal of locomotion of *ik-* 'go' still applies to *zjɨ* (LOC3). A particle made of the grammaticalization of a verb meaning 'go' is found in the another language of Ryukyuans. In Shimoji (2008: 207), there is a clitic /nkii/, which is said to be made of *n ik-i-i* (DAT go-EP-SEQ), and it expresses 'going to' (glosses in Irabu are changed in order to correspond to those in Yuwan by the present author, and "EP" means an epenthetic vowel).

In addition, there is a particle that also has the form /zjɨ/, but it can follow a verbal predicate.

(6-90) [Context: The speaker will go to somewhere.]

TM:	wanun	sééba	numoozjɨjéé.
	wan=n	*s�=ba*	*num-oo=zjɨ=jéé*
	1SG=also	alcohol=ACC	drink-INT=DIRC=CFM2

'I will also go to drink alcohol.'

[El: 130817]

The above sentence, however, becomes unacceptable if the context is different.

(6-91) [Context: The speaker will not go to anywhere, but drinks at the place where she is.]

TM:	#wanun	sééba	numoozjɨjéé.
	wan=n	*sإ=ba*	*num-oo=zjɨ=jéé*
	1SG=also	alcohol=ACC	drink-INT=DIRC=CFM2

[Expressed meaning] 'I will go to drink alcohol.'

[El: 130817]

The above example shows that if the speaker will not be apart from the place where she exists at the time of utterance, the particle *zjɨ*, which is glossed "DIRC" here meaning "directional," cannot be used. The restriction is the same with that of the case particle *zjɨ* (LOC3) (and *ik-* 'go'). Thus, it is probable that both of *zjɨ* (LOC3) and *zjɨ* (DIRC) have the same origin. They are, however, cannot be regarded as the same morpheme in the present Yuwan since their syntactic circumstances are different from each other. That is, *zjɨ*

(DIRC) follows a verb in the predicate slot, but *zjɨ* (LOC3) follows an NP in an argument slot.

6.4. Animacy hierarchy

Yuwan has several phenomena which are concerned with the animacy hierarchy in linguistic typology (about the animacy hierarchy, see Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1989, Dixon 1994, Whaley 1997, Corbett 2000, and Croft 2003 [1990] among many others). For example, only personal pronouns have dual forms in Yuwan (see §5.1). Additionally, there are four other phenomena that are correlated with the animacy hierarchy: the choice of plural markers, the choice of tactics used in the modifier slot of an NP, the choice of the nominative case forms, and the choice of the existential verbs. See the following table (Table 44), where "address nouns" include mainly elder kinship terms and personal names, both of which can be used to address the hearer (see §7.2). "Human demonstratives" in the following table mean that the demonstrative nominals are used to indicate human referents (see §5.2). The rightmost column ("the other nominals") also includes non-human demonstratives (i.e. the demonstrative nominals used to indicate non-human referents).

Table 44. Animacy hierarchy in Yuwan

	Personal pronominals		Human interrogatives	Human demonstratives	Address nouns	The other nominals	
	1st/2nd	3rd				Animate	Inanimate
Number							
Singular markers[32]	*-n* / *-Ø*	N/A	*-ru*	*-rɨ*	N/A	N/A	
Dual marker	*-ttəə*		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Plural markers[33]	*-kja*	N/A	*-taa*	*-taa*	*-taa*	*nkja*	
NP modifiers							
Singular	Adnominal	N/A	Adnominal	*ga*	Juxtaposition	*nu*	
Dual	*ga*		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Plural	Adnominal	N/A	Juxtaposition	Juxtaposition	Juxtaposition	*nu*	
Case particles							
S/A	*ga*		N/A[34]	*ga*	*ga*	*nu*	
P	*ba*		(Not found)	*ba*	*ba*	*ba*	*ba* / *Ø*
Existential verbs	*wur-*		*wur-*	*wur-*	*wur-*	*wur-*	*ar-* / *nə-*

Generally, human interrogatives, e.g. *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) 'who' in Yuwan, does not come up for discussion of animacy hierarchy (at least in the papers introduced above). The data of Yuwan shows that the distribution

[32] If a word ends with *-ru* (NLZ) or *-rɨ* (NLZ), it expresses the singularity, at least in natural discourse.
[33] This alignment depends on the text data. In the elicitation data, human demonstratives may take *nkja* (APPR), and non-human demonstratives may take *-taa* (PL) (see §5.2.1 for more details).
[34] If the subject of a clause is an interrogative word, it does not take the nominative case particle, but takes the focus particle *ga* (which is different from the nominative *ga*). See §5.3 and §10.1 for more details.

of human interrogatives is partly similar to personal pronominals with regard to the singular form as an NP modifier, e.g. /ta-a/ (who-ADNZ) 'whose' and /ura-a/ (2.NHON.SG-ADNZ) 'your.' It is also partly similar to human demonstratives and address nouns with regard to the plural marker (and the plural form as an NP modifier), e.g. /ta-t-taa/ (who-NLZ-PL) 'who (plural)' and /a-t-taa/ (DIST-NLZ-PL) 'those people.' A possible reason why the human interrogative behaves in the same way with the personal pronominals is as follows. Human interrogatives and personal pronominals are literally "pronominal," and also they obligatorily indicate human referents. On the other hand, the demonstrative nominals (and also the reflexive pronouns to be discussed in §7.3) may indicate non-human referents (see §5.2). Thus, the pronominal characteristic and the obligatoriness of indicating human referents may differentiate the personal pronominals and the human interrogatives from the others.

In the following subsections, we will see the details of the plural markers (see §6.4.1), the NP modifiers (see §6.4.2), and the nominative case (see §6.4.3). The accusative case was already discussed in §6.3.2.2. About existential verbs, see §8.3.2.

6.4.1. Plural (or approximative) markers

6.4.1.1. Semantics of plural (or approximative) markers

Yuwan has three morphemes that can express a kind of plural meaning: *-kja*, *-taa*, and *nkja*. These morphemes can be used to indicate more than one referent, which is a function of both of the ordinary plural and the "associative plural" in other languages (cf. Corbett 2000: 101-111). However, the "plural" markers in Yuwan can be used in another situation. They can indicate a virtually single referent. I will present the relevant examples of *-kja*, *-taa*, and *nkja* in turn below.

First, *-kja* (PL) can indicate not only plural specific referents, but also a single specific referent as in (6-92 a-b). It can be translated into 'a person like me.'

(6-92) *-kja* (PL)

a. [Context: Speaking to MS about the tuna fishing in old days]

TM:	wanna	sijan.	waakjoo	sijandoo.
	waa-n=ja	*sij-an*	*waa-kja=ja*	*sij-an=doo*
	1-SG=TOP	know-NEG	1-PL=TOP	know-NEG=ASS

'I don't know. I don't know (the detail of the tuna fishing).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: US told TM and MY that TM knew everything, but TM said she knew nothing herself, but that her mother had known everything important.] = (5-8)

TM:	waakjan	sijanmun.
	waa-kja=n	*sij-an=mun*
	1PL=also	know-NEG=ADVRS

'I don't know anything either.' (or 'A person like me doesn't know anything either.')

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (6-92 a), TM and MS were talking alone about the tuna fishing in old days, and TM said she did not know about it in detail. Here, the *waa-kja* (1-PL) in this example indicates the speaker herself alone as an instance of people who are not familiar with the tuna fishing. The semantic "non-plurality" of the referent can be implied by the singular pronoun /wan/ *waa-n* (1-SG), which precedes and is paraphrased by the following *waa-kja* (1-PL). In (6-92 b), there are only four participants in the scene, and TM told US that she (i.e. TM) did not know anything showing her modesty. In this case, the expression *waa-kja* (1-pL) did not indicate a referent other than TM (see also the discussion about (5-8) in §5.1.1). In order to specify the ability to indicate a single referent using the form *waa-kja* (1-PL), I did an elicitation as in (6-93), where the singularity of the agent is stressed by the extended NP *cʔjui=sjɨ* (one.person.CLF=INST) 'alone.' Both of *-kja* (PL) and *cʔjui=sjɨ* 'alone' are underlined below.

(6-93) [Context: There are only two people, and one talks to the other.]

TM:	urəə	mucɨkasjanu,	waakjoo	cʔjuisjəə
	u-rɨ=ja	*mucɨkasj-sa=nu*	*waa-kja=ja*	*cʔjui=sjɨ=ja*
	MES-NLZ=TOP	difficult-ADJ=CSL	1-PL=TOP	one.person.CLF=INST=TOP
	siikijandoo.			
	sɨr-i+kij-an=doo			
	do-INF+CAP-NEG=ASS			
	'That is difficult, so I cannot do (it) alone.'			

[El: 130820]

In (6-93), the speaker uses *waa-kja* (1-PL) in order to pick up herself as an instance who cannot do the difficult thing.

These uses of *-kja* (PL) are very frequent in Yuwan. One may remember the so-called "associative plural" (or "group plural") in other languages (cf. Corbett 2000: 101-111). However, there is a crucial difference between the functoin of the "plural" in Yuwan and that of the associative plural in other languages. On the one hand, the common usage of the associative plural markers in other languages is to indicate a specific group. In other words, wherether or not there are a number of unspecific referents in the group, the group itself must be specific. For example, if you are a pupil of an elementary school and school lunches are provided, you can say something like: *We don't need to bring lunch by ourselves*. Here, the plural form *we* indicates a specific referent (i.e. the speaker), and the remaining referents may be specific or unspecific. Anyway, the group indicated by *we*, i.e. the pupils of the school as a whole, must be specific. On the other hand, the plural markers of Yuwan can indicate a certain group that is *not* specific in itself. For example, *waa-kja* (1-PL) in (6-92 a) does not indicate any specific group. If we dare to identify the group in the context, it might be a group where the members are not familiar with the tuna fishing in those days. In the case of (6-92 b), it seems more difficult (or impossible) to identify such a group indicated by *waa-kja* (1-PL). The "group" mentioned here is very different from that of *we* in English in terms of specificity. In fact, the unspecificity of the group indicated by *-kja* (PL) is not the sufficient condition to distinguish it from the plural

forms in other languages. For example, the "*houses*" in *I suppose there are many houses in the city* in English can indicate an unspecific group. Thus, I have to mention another difference between -*kja* (PL) and the plural forms in other languages. On the one hand, -*kja* (PL) can be used to indicate a single referent as an example (to illustrate the proposition expressed by the clause where -*kja* (PL) is included). For example, *waa-kja* (1-PL) in (6-92 a-b) indicates the speaker alone as an example (to illustrate the proposition expressed by the clause where -*kja* (PL) is included). On the other hand, -*s* in *houses* in English does not have a meaning like that.

The above argumentation is summarized as follows.

(6-94) The difference between -*kja* (PL) and the plural markers in other languages;

a. -*kja* (PL) can indicate an unspecific group (which is different from the associative plural);

b. -*kja* (PL) can indicate a singel referent as an example (to illustrate the proposition expressed by the clause where -*kja* (PL) is included).

The above characteristics also found in the other plural markers in Yuwan, i.e. -*taa* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR).

I will present examples of -*taa* (PL). (6-95 a) is a conversation of TM with US. (6-95 b) is a conversation of TM with MS.

(6-95) -*taa* (PL)

a. [Context: TM is speaking to US about the present author. (US's reply is omitted from the convesation for convenience.)]

TM: jonesigetaa c^{ʔ}jantu attaa ziisantugajoo
jonesige-taa *c^{ʔ}jan=tu* *a-rɨ-taa* *ziisan=tu=ga=joo*
Yoneshige-PL father=COM DIST-NLZ-PL grandfather=COM=NOM=CFM1
|itoko|bəi najuncjɨ.
itoko=bəi *nar-jur-n=ccjɨ*
cousin=only become-UMRK-PTCP=QT
'Yoneshige's father and his [i.e. the present speaker's] grandfather are cousin, (I heard).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: There was a bell used to tell time, and it used to be rung by a subordinate who was working under the chief of the Yuwan district.]

TM: kucjoo-san=nu sja=nan. mata, a-t-taa=ja,
kucjoo-san=nu *sja=nan* *mata* *a-rɨ-taa=ja*
chief.of.a.ward-HON=GEN below=LOC1 again DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP
c^{ʔ}ju=ja cɨ-cju-tat-tu.
c^{ʔ}ju=ja *cɨk-tur-tar-tu*
person=TOP accompany-PROG-PST-CSL
'A subordinate was working under the man, (who was) the chief of our ward, so ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (6-95 a), TM and US had not seen the other members of the present author's family. Thus, it is natural to think that /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) in this example indicates specifically the present author alone. At least, it is difficult to translate TM's second utterance into 'their grandfather' in this context. One might think that the plurality of the modifier is induced by the head nominal, i.e. *ziisan* 'grandfather,' because kin terms are always related with a broad kinship relation. However, it is not the case at least in the case of Yuwan. For example, a singular form (i.e. /akka/ *a-rɨ=ga* (DIST-NLZ=GEN)) can fill the modifier slot of an NP whose head is the same kinship term (i.e. *ziisan* 'grandfather') as in (9-36 b) in §9.1.2.2. Next, in (6-95 b), /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) indicates the chief of the Yuwan district. One district has one chief. Thus, /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) in this example should be interpreted as indicating only one referent.

In both of the examples above, *-taa* (PL) is preceded by the demonstrative stem *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ). *-taa* (PL) can also follow address nouns (see §7.2). An address noun followed by *-taa* (PL) can also indicate a single referent as in (6-96).

(6-96) [Context: TM said that she used to practice the traditional dance until someone visited her.]

TM: minakotaa,	akka	kˀuugadɨ,
minako-taa	*a-rɨ=ga*	*k-gadɨ*
Minako-PL	DIST-NLZ=NOM	come-until

'Minako$_i$, until she$_i$ come (here), ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-96), *minako-taa* (Minako-PL) indicates only one referent, i.e. 'Minako.' The semantic "non-plurality" of the referent can be implied by the singular pronoun *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) 'she,' which followed and paraphrased the preceding *minako-taa* (Minako-PL), which is very similar to the case in (6-92 a). In order to specify the ability to indicate a single referent using *-taa* (PL), I did an elicitation research as in (6-97), where the singularity of the agent is stressed by the extended NP *cˀjui=sjɨ* (one.person.CLF=INST) 'alone.' Both *-taa* (PL) and *cˀjui=sjɨ* 'alone' are underlined below.

(6-97) *-taa* (PL)

[Context: TM is talking about a person, and the person is the only candidate who is assumed by the speaker.]

TM: urəə	mucɨkasjanu,	attaa
u-rɨ=ja	*mucɨkasj-sa=nu*	*a-rɨ-taa*
MES-NLZ=TOP	difficult-ADJ=CSL	DIST-NLZ-PL

cˀjuisjəə siikijandoo.

c'jui=sji=ja	*sɨr-i+kij-an=doo*
one.person.CLF=INST=TOP	do-INF+CAP-NEG=ASS

'That is difficult, so he cannot do (it) alone.'

[El: 130820]

In (6-97), /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) is used to indicate a person as an example who cannot do the difficult thing mentioned, which can be translated into 'a person like him.'

Finally, I will present examples of *nkja* (APPR). In (6-98 a), TM and MS were looking at a picture, and she said that she did not know such a scene on it. Here, *ku-rɨ=nkja* (PROX-NLZ=APPR) did not indicate plural pictures in the photographic collection, but indicated a single specific picture that they were looking at (perhaps with unspecific pictures that were also unfamiliar to TM). In (6-98 b), there is only a house where the speaker lived, and *nkja* (APPR) is used to indicate the house as an example of the old houses where there is no papered sliding door.

(6-98) *nkja* (APPR)

[Context: TM and MS were looking at a picture (in a photographic collection), where was a scene TM had not seen before]

a. TM:

sijan,	kurɨnkjoo.
sij-an	*ku-rɨ=nkja=ja*
know-NEG	PROX-NLZ=APPR=TOP

'(I) don't know this [i.e. the picture].'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM:

waakjaa	jankjoo	|husumasjoozi|n	nənba,
waa-kja-a	*jaa=nkja=ja*	*husuma+sjoozi=n*	*nə-an-ba*
1-PL-ADNZ	house=APPR=TOP	k.o.door+k.o.door=also	exist-NEG-CSL

'Our house did not have *fusuma* [i.e. thick papered sliding door] and also *shōji* [i.e. thin papered sliding door], so ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

The characteristics of these examples correspond to those in (6-94 a-b).

The above uses of the "plural" markers in Yuwan do not seem to be similar to the uses of the plural markers in other languages. At least, they are different from the so-called associative plural. It is probable that a use of the plural markers that is named "approximative" by Corbett (2000: 239-240) may be the candidate. For example, Corbett (2000: 239) cited the use of the plural markers in Dogon (spoken in Mari): *isu mbe nie mbe* (fish PL oil PL) 'fish, oil, and similar things' ['du poisson, de l'huile et cetera' in the original text in Plungian (1995: 11)]. According to Corbett (2000: 240), "(t)he approximative requires more research. There is evidence only for the use of the plural." Therefore, the more elaborated research of the plural markers in Yuwan will present the good examples for the approximative.

For the reader's convenience, I glossed both of *-kja* and *-taa* as "PL" (i.e. plural). On the other hand, I glossed *nkja* as "APPR" (i.e. approximative) considering its capability to follow not only nominals but also verbs (see §10.1.6 for more details).

6.4.1.2. Morphosyntax of plural (or approximative) markers

The three plural markers *-kja* (PL), *-taa* (PL), and *nkja* (APPR) are chosen in this order corresponding to the lexical meaning of their preceding nominals, which is subject to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table 44). A similar phenomenon, where more than one plural marker correspond to the animacy hierarchy, is found in other Ryukyuan languages, e.g. Ogami (Southern Ryukyuan) (Pellard 2010: 133), and also in other languages, e.g. Eastern Huasteca Nahuatl (Corbett 2000: 77-78). The verb in Yuwan do not show any number agreement with the arguments.

First, personal pronominals use *-kja* (PL) to express the plural (or approximative) meaning (see also §5.1). In (6-99 a), the first person pronoun has its plural form *waa-kja* (1-PL). In (6-99 b), the second person honorific pronoun has its plural form *naa-kja* (2.HON-PL). In (6-99 c), the second person non-honorific pronoun has its plural form as *ura-kja* (2.NHON-PL).

(6-99) a. Personal pronominal (1st person)

[Context: Remembering her childfood after looking at a relatively new picture, where children wore clothes of Western style]

TM:	waakjaga	warabɨ	sjuininkjoo,	ganba
	waa-kja=ga	*warabɨ*	*sɨr-tur-i-n=nkja=ja*	*ganba*
	1-PL=NOM	child	do-PROG-INF-time=APPR=TOP	therefore

hukunkjoo	tʔɨn	nənba.
huku=nkja=ja	*tʔɨɨ=n*	*nə-an-ba*
clothes.of.Western.style=APPR=TOP	one.CLF=even	exist-NEG-CSL

'When we were children, there were no Western style clothes.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person honorific)

[Context: Speaking to US, whose family used to deal in fish]

TM:	naakjaga	sjɨ	moojuinnja,	simanu
	naa-kja=ga	*sɨr-tɨ*	*moor-jur-i-n=ja*	*sima=nu*
	2.HON-PL=NOM	do-SEQ	HON-UMRK-INF=TOP	island=GEN

jʔudarooga?

jʔu=daroo=ga

fish=SUPP=CFM3

'When you dealt in (fish), (they were) probably fish from the community [i.e. fish taken around the community].'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)

[Context: Talking about a riverboat of the MS's family]

TM:	urakjoo	nusinkjanu	atattudu,
	ura-kja=ja	*nusi=nkja=nu*	*ar-tar-tu=du*
	2.NHON.PL=TOP	RFL=APPR=NOM	exist-PST-CSL=FOC
	siccjuro.		
	sij-tur-oo		
	know-PROG-SUPP		

'You probably know (it), because you have a riverboat of your own.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Second, human interrogatives, human demonstratives and address nouns (i.e. elder kinships and personal names) use *-taa* (PL) to express the plural (or approximative) meaning. In (6-100 a), the human interrogative root *ta-* 'who' has its plural form /tattaa/ *ta-ru-taa* (who-NLZ-PL). In (6-100 b), a human demonstrative root *u-* (MES) has its plural form /uttaa/ *u-rɨ-taa* (MES-NLZ-PL). In (6-100 c), an address noun (elder kinship) *anmaa* 'mother' has its plural form /anmataa/ *anmaa-taa* (mother-PL). Finally, in (6-100 d), an address noun (personal name) *nobuari* 'Nobuari' has its plural form *nobuari-taa* (Nobuari-PL).

(6-100) a. Human interrogtive

US:	tattaaga	umoojuru?
	ta-ru-taa=ga	*umoor-jur-u*
	who-NLZ-PL=NOM	exist.HON-UMRK-PFC

'Who would (still) be alive (over ninty years old)?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Human demonstrative

[Context: Looking for a picture, where a rutual in marriage called 'Sansankudo' was held]

TM:	uttaaga	|sansankudo|	sjun	turonkjanu
	u-rɨ-taa=ga	*sansankudo*	*sɨr-tur-n*	*turoo=nkja=nu*
	MES-NLZ-PL=NOM	k.o.ritual	do-PROG-PTCP	place=APPR=NOM
	izituttɨjaa.			
	izir-tur-tɨ=jaa			
	go.out-PROG-SEQ=SOL			

'There was a scene where they were doing Sansankudo.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Address noun (elder kinship)

[Context: TM and US said that it would be nice if there were TM's mother.]

TM:	anmataaga	wuppoojaa.

anmaa-taa=ga *wur-boo=jaa*
mother-PL=NOM exist-CND=SOL
'If there were (a kind of person like my) mother.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Address noun (personal name)
[Context: Talking about a riverboat in old days]
TM: naa nobuaritaakaroo siccjukkai?
naa *nobuari-taa=kara=ja* *sij-tur=kai*
already Nobuari-PL=ABL=TOP know-PROG=DUB
'I wonder if (the generation) after Nobuari already know (it).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Finally, the other nominals use *nkja* (APPR) to express the plural (or approximative) meaning. If indefinite pronouns or demonstrative pronouns do not indicate human referents, they express the plurality using *nkja* (APPR) as in (6-101 a-b). On the other hand, the reflexive pronoun *nusi* (RFL) also exploits *nkja* (APPR) to indicate the plurarity, although the referent is a human, i.e. the hearer, as in (6-101 c). Common nouns always exploit *nkja* (APPR) despite the referents being humans or non-humans as in (6-101 d-e).

(6-101) a. Non-human interrogative
[Context: TM was surprised that US brought a lot of foods to TM's house.]
TM: nunkjabaga mata muccjɨ moocjaru?
nuu=nkja=ba=ga *mata* *mut-tɨ* *moor-tar-u*
what=APPR=ACC=FOC again have-SEQ HON-PST-PFC
'What did (you) bring (here) again?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Non-human demonstrative
[Context: Looking at a picture]
TM: kurɨnkjoo daakai?
ku-rɨ=nkja=ja *daa=kai*
PROX-NLZ=APPR=TOP where=DUB
'Where (is) this [i.e. the scene of the picture]?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Human reflexive pronoun [= (6-99 c)]
[Context: Talking about a riverboat of the MS's family]
TM: urakjoo, nusinkjanu atattudu,
urakja=ja *nusi=nkja=nu* *ar-tar-tu=du*
2.NHON.PL=TOP RFL=APPR=NOM exist-PST-CSL=FOC

siccjuro.
sij-tur-oo
know-PROG-SUPP
'You probably know (it), because you have a riverboat of your own.'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. Human common nouns

TM: mata namanujoo warabɨnkjoojoo,
mata *nama=nu=joo* *warabɨ=nkja=ja=joo*
moreover now=GEN=CFM1 child=APPR=TOP=CFM1
huccjunkjaboo sɨkandoojaa.
huccju=nkja=ba=ja *sɨk-an=doo=jaa*
old.person=APPR=ACC=TOP like-NEG=ASS=SOL
'Moreover, the children in these days do not like the old people.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. Non-human commoun noun
[Context: Looking at a picture]

TM: kuzɨnkjoo nənbajaa.
kuzɨ=nkja=ja *nə-an-ba=jaa*
shoe=APPR=TOP exist-NEG-CSL=SOL
'There were not any shoes (in those days).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

nkja (APPR) can follow other plural markers, i.e. *-kja=nkja* (PL=APPR) and *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR). In those cases, *nkja* (APPR) ignores the correspondence with the animacy hierarchy. First, let us see examples of *-kja=nkja* (PL=APPR).

(6-102) Double plural marking

a. Personal pronominal (1st person)
[Context: Looking at a pictue, where there were a few men]

TM: waakjankjoo waasa asaa.[35]
waakja=nkja=ja *waa-sa* *ar-sa*
1PL=APPR=TOP young-ADJ STV-POL
'I am young(er than them).'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)
[Context: Talking about riverboats]

TM: urakjankja, josidanu ozisantankja (..tankja)ga

[35] The regular process is *ar-sa* (STV-POL) > /assa/ (see §8.3.1.4), but it realizes as /asaa/ in this example.

ura-kja=nkja	*josida=nu*	*ozisan-ta=nkja=ga*
2.NHON-PL=APPR	Yoshida=GEN	unlce-PL=APPR=NOM

mucjutakai?
mut-tur-tar=kai
have-PROG-PST=DUB
'(I) wonder if you all [i.e. your family] (and) Yoshida's uncle and his family had (riverboats).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In fact, the combinations of *-kja* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR) as in (6-102 a-b) are very rare.

On the other hand, the combinations of *-taa* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR) are very common in Yuwan.

(6-103) Double plural marking

a. Human interrogtive

TM: urakjaa tʔɨɨuicjɨboo, tattankja?

urakja-a	*tʔɨɨ+ui=ccjɨboo*	*ta-ru-taa=nkja*
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ	one.CLF+above= speaking.of	who-NLZ-PL=APPR

'Speaking of (the people who are) one (year) older (than) you, who (were they)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Address noun (personal name) & Human demonstrative

[Context: Remembering the days when people practiced the traditional dances]

TM: sugojaga arɨ sjuinnja, kijomitankja,

sugoja=ga	*a-rɨ*	*sɨr-tur-i=n=ja*	*kijomi-taa=nkja*
Sugoya=NOM	DIST-NLZ	do-PROG-INF=DAT1=TOP	Kiyomi-PL=APPR

attankja, muru... sjutanmun,

a-rɨ-taa=nkja	*muru*	*sɨr-jur-tar-n=mun*
DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR	very	do-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS

'When Sugoya was doing that [i.e. the practice of their traditional dances], Kiyomi and her friends, they used to do [i.e. participate in] (the practice) eagerly, but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. Address noun (elder kinship)

[Context: Looking at a picture where a formal opening of a prefectural road was held]

TM: waakjaa anmatankjaga izjɨ cʔjancjɨ

waakja-a	*anmaa-taa=nkja=ga*	*ik-tɨ*	*k-tar-n=ccjɨ*
1PL-ADNZ	mother-PL=APPR=NOM	go-SEQ	come-PST-PTCP=QT

jʔicjɨ,
jʔ-tɨ

say-SEQ

'My mother and her friends said that (they) had been [i.e. participated in] (the formal opening), and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In my texts, there are more than thirty examples that have the combination of *-taa=nkja* (APPR).

Finally, there is also an example of double marking of *nkja* (APPR). However, it seems unproductive, since there is only one such example in my texts.

(6-104) Double plural marking

Common noun

[Context: Remebering the old days when Amami Ōshima was occupied by the US military]

TM:	unininkjoo, ..	|gakkoosjeito|nkjankjagajaa.
	unin[36]*=nkja=ja*	*gakkoo+sjeito=nkja=nkja=ga=jaa*
	that.time=APPR=TOP	school+pupil=APPR=APPR=NOM=SOL
	ar~~ɨ~~	nat~~ɨ~~,
	a-r~~ɨ~~	*nar-t~~ɨ~~*
	DIST-NLZ	COP-SEQ

'In those days, (the teachers felt that) the pupils were that [i.e. in danger], so ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

nkja (APPR) has a freer distribution than *-kja* (PL) and *-taa* (PL). Such a fact clearly correlates with the fact that it can follow not only nominals but also verbs, e.g. /mudut~~ɨ~~nkja/ *mudur-t~~ɨ~~=nkja* (return-SEQ=APPR) (see§10.1.6 for more details). *nkja* (APPR) is a form usually taken by nominals in the lowest (or the rightmost) of the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan. Therefore, it may be possible to say that the above possibility of double plural marking, where the following plural morpheme must be *nkja* (APPR), indicates that the plurality itself decreses the "animacy" of NP, since the personal pronominals, human interrogatives, and human demonstratives in the singular do not take *nkja* (APPR) directly (at least in the texts), but those in the plural can take it. Such a characteristic of the plural forms to decrease the "animacy" of an NP is found also in Polish, although the converse phenomenon is found in Russian (Comrie 1989: 188).

Before concluding this section, I present the differences between *-kja* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR). It is probable that the two forms are cognate, and that /n/ of *nkja* (APPR) was **nu* (GEN) in the past. However, they have to be regarded as different morphemes in modern Yuwan because of the following three reasons. First, *nkja* (APPR) can follow the converbal affix *-t~~ɨ~~* (SEQ), but *nu* (GEN) never follows *-t~~ɨ~~* (SEQ). Second, /n/ of *nkja* (APPR) cannot be paraphrased as /nu/, which is different from the contracted genitive particle /n/ discussed in (6-81) in §6.3.2.14. Third, the plural form of *ura* (2.NHON.SG) 'you' is /urakja/ (not /uraakja/), which means that the morpheme preceding *kja* is not the adnominal *ura-a* (2.NHON-ADNZ) 'your.'

[36] *unin* 'that time' must take the allomorph /unini/ before a consonant that fills a coda slot of a syllable.

6.4.2. NP modifiers

The words which can fill the modifier slot of an NP use different morphosyntacitc means to modifiy their head nominal depending on their lexical meanings, which are subject to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table 44). The distribution of means in the singular is partly different from that in the plural, which is caused by a plural affix *-taa*, which can attach to human interrogatives, human demonstrative, and address nouns. If these three lexical groups take *-taa* (PL), they fill the modifier slot of an NP without any other morpheme, i.e. juxtaposition. As mentioned before, the description of the rightmost nominals ("the other nominals") in Table 44 is a little simplified. In fact, non-human demonstratives in the singular, e.g. *a-rɨ* 'that', can take not only *nu* (GEN) but also *ga* (GEN) in an environment, the detail of which is explained at the last of 6.4.2.1.

In the following subsections, we will see examples in the singular (see §6.4.2.1). Next, we will see the examples in the plural (see §6.4.2.2). Only the personal pronouns have the dual forms, e.g. /wa-ttəə/ (1-DU) 'the two of us,' and they take *ga* (GEN) when they fill the modifier slot of an NP, which is briefly discussed in §6.4.2.3.

6.4.2.1. NP modifiers in the singular

An NP modifier in the singular chooses one of the following four means in this order, i.e. affixing of *-a* (ADNZ), taking *ga* (GEN), juxtaposition, and taking *nu* (GEN), corresponding to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table 44).

First, personal pronominals and human interrogatives in the singular become adnominals using an adnominalizer *-a* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP (see also §5.1 and §5.3). In (6-105 a), the first-person pronominal takes its adnominal form /waa/ *waa-a* (1.SG-ADNZ) 'my.' In (6-105 b), the second-person honorific pronominal takes its adnominal form /naa/ *naa-a* (2.HON.SG-ADNZ) 'your (honorific).' In (6-105 c), the second-person non-honorific pronominal takes its adnominal form *ura-a* (2.NHON.SG-ADNZ) 'your (non-honorific).' Finally, in (6-105 d), the human interrogative takes its adnominal form *ta-a* (who-ADNZ) 'whose.'

(6-105) Adnominals

a. Personal pronominal (1st person)

[Context: Talking about a man who used to dub tapes of songs voluntarily for villagers; TM: 'He said his recorder was not useful these days, and...']

TM:	waa	injasan	|kasetto|kkwagadɨ
	waa-a	*inja-sa+ar-n*	*kasetto-kkwa=gadɨ*
	1SG-ADNZ	small-ADJ+STV-PTCP	cassette.recorder-DIM=LMT
	muccjɨ	izjɨ,	
	mut-tɨ	*ik-tɨ*	
	have-SEQ	go-SEQ	

'(He) took even my small cassette recorder, and...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person honorific)

TM:	naa	məəkaci	cʔjəəradu,
	naa-a	*məə=kaci*	*k-təəra=du*
	2.HON.SG-ADNZ	front=ALL	come-after =FOC

'After (the present author) came to your place, ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)

TM:	uraa	|boosi|dooccjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
	ura-a	*boosi=doo=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tɨ*
	2.NHON.SG-ADNZ	hat=ASS=QT	say-SEQ

'(The boy) said, "(It's) your hat."'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

d Human interrogative

TM:	ude,	umanu	nɨkan	taa	nɨkan	xxx
	ude	*u-ma=nu*	*nɨkan*	*ta-a*	*nɨkan*	
	well	MES-place=GEN	mikan	who-ADNZ	orange	

'Well, whose *mikan* is (this) one [lit. *mikan*] there?'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Second, human demonstratives in the singular take the genitive case particle *ga* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP as in (6-106) (about the contraction *-rɨ=ga* > /kka/, see (5-20) in §5.2.1).

(6-106) Genitive case particle *ga*

Human demonstratives

TM:	akka	naa	nuucjɨ?
	a-rɨ=ga	*naa*	*nuu=ccjɨ*
	DIST-NLZ=GEN	name	what=QT

'What is that person's name?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Third, address nouns (elder kinships or personal names) in the singular can fill the modifier slot of an NP by themselves; in other words, they use juxtaposition to function as NP modifier. In (6-107 a), the elder kinship term *anmaa* 'mother' fills directly the modifier slot of an NP. In (6-107 b), the personal name *kacumi* 'Katsumi' fills directly the modifier slot of an NP too.

(6-107) Juxtapostion

a. Address noun (elder kinship)

[Context: Remembering the day when a few students came to see TM's mother]

TM:	anmaa	məəci	kjuuta.
	anmaa	*məə=kaci*	*k-jur-tar*
	mother	front=ALL	come-UMRK-PST

'(They) used to come to (my) mother's place.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Address noun (personal name)

TM:	kun	sɨgu	kaduja	namanu
	ku-n	*sɨgu*	*kadu=ja*	*nama=nu*
	PROX-ADNZ	immediately	corner=TOP	now=GEN

	kacumi	jaa	jappa.
	kacumi	*jaa*	*jar-ba*
	Katsumi	house	COP-CSL

'This one at this corner is Katsumi's house now.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Fourth, most of the other nominals in the singular take the genitive case particle *nu* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP. In (6-108 a), the non-human interrogative *nuu* 'what' takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (6-108 b), the non-human demonstrative *a-rɨ* 'that' takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (6-108 c), both common nouns *zii* 'ground' and *micja* 'soil' take genitive particle *nu*.

(6-108) Genitive case particle *nu*

a. Non-human interrogative

TM:	nuunu	nangikaicjɨdu	umujun.
	nuu=nu	*nangi=kai=ccjɨ=du*	*umuw-jur-n*
	what=GEN	trouble=DUB=QT=FOC	think-UMRK-PTCP

'(I) wonder what (kinds) of trouble (I took).'

[i.e. 'I didn't want to take such a trouble.']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Non-human demonstrative

TM:	|sjenkjo|nu,	arɨnu	tukin,	naajoo,
	sjenkjo=nu	*a-rɨ=nu*	*tuki=n*	*naa=joo*
	election=GEN	DIST-NLZ=GEN	time=DAT1	already=CFM1

'(At) the time of election, (at the time) of that [i.e. the election], you know, ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Common nouns

[Context: Remembering a lesson told by TM's aquaintance]

TM:	ziinu	micjanu	naanan	dɨkɨjun	munna
	zii=nu	*micja=nu*	*naa=nan*	*dɨkɨr-jur-n*	*mun=ja*
	ground=GEN	soil=GEN	inside=LOC1	be.born-UMRK-PTCP	thing=TOP

gaija	tʔɨn	nəncjɨ.
gai=ja	*tʔɨɨ=n*	*nə-an=ccjɨ*
harm=TOP	one.CLF=even	exist-NEG=QT

'(He said) that the things that were made in the soil of the ground are not dangerous at all.'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

It should be noted here that the choice of genitive particles is decided by the lexical meaning of the head within the modifier NP, not by the modifier NP as a whole. This is shown by the following example.

(6-109) Common noun

[Context: TM and US had been talking about an acquaintance, whose nickname they knew, but they did not know his full name.]

TM:	an	cʔjunu	naaja	sijan.
	a-n	*cʔju=nu*	*naa=ja*	*sij-an*
	DIST-ADNZ	person=GEN	name=TOP	know-NEG

'(I) don't know that person's name.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (6-109), the common noun *cʔju* 'person' indicates a human and is modified by a demonstrative *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ) 'that.' Thus, the whole NP *a-n cʔju=nu* (DIST-ADNZ person=GEN) 'that person's' seems to have the same definiteness and "humanness" with the human demonstrative *a-rɨ=ga* (DIST-NLZ=GEN) 'that person's' in (6-106). The former, i.e. *a-n cʔju=nu* 'that person's,' however, still takes *nu* (GEN), while the latter, i.e. *a-rɨ=ga* 'that person's' takes *ga* (GEN). These facts mean that the genitive case does not take care of the lexical meaning of the modifier NP as a whole, but only takes care of the head nominal within it. Interestingly, the nominative case behaves differently from the genitive case in this point (see §6.4.3.6 for more details).

Lastly, it should be mentioned that non-human demonstratives can take either *nu* (GEN) as in (6-108 b) or *ga* (GEN) as in (6-110 a-b), and the former is the usual choice. This fact makes the correspondence of non-human demonstratives within the animacy hierarchy a little complicated.

(6-110) Non-human demonstrative

a. [Context: Talking about a famous big banyan tree that used to be there]

TM: naakjoo ukka sjantɨ asɨbantɨ?
naakja=ja *u-rɨ=ga* *sja=nantɨ* *asɨb-an-tɨ*
2.HON.PL=TOP MES-NLZ=GEN under=LOC2 play-NEG-SEQ
'Didn't you play at the place under that [i.e. the banyan tree]?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: TM heard that MY put an egg into the miso soup in the every morning.]
TM: ugga naakaci ɨrɨppoo, jiccjai.
u-rɨ=ga *naa=kaci* *ɨrɨr-boo* *jiccj-sa+ar-i*
MES-NLZ=GEN inside=ALL put.in-CND good-ADJ+STV-NPST
'If (you) put (it) inside that [i.e. the soup], (it will) be good.'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

The above demonstratives do not indicate humans, but they can take *ga* (GEN). The flexible correspondence with the animacy hierarchy found in the above examples was not found in the behavior of plural markers in the text corpus, where human demonstratives always take *-taa* (PL), and non-human demonstratives do not take it (see §5.2.1 about the data from elicitation).

The behaviour of words in the singular to fill the modifier slot of an NP was shown above; then, we will see that in the plural in the following section.

6.4.2.2. NP modifiers in the plural

An NP modifier in the plural chooses one of the following three means in this order, i.e. affixing *-a* (ADNZ), juxtaposition, and taking *nu* (GEN), corresponding to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table 44).

First, personal pronominals in the plural, as well as in the singular, become adnominals using an adnominalizer *-a* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP. In (6-111 a), the first-person pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *waakj-a* (1PL-ADNZ) 'our.' In (6-111 b), the second-person honorific pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *naakja-a* (2.HON.PL-ADNZ) 'your (plural honorific).' In (6-111 c), the second-person non-honorific pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *urakj-a* (2.NHON.PL-ADNZ) 'your (plural non-honorific).'

(6-111) Adnominals

a. Personal pronominal (1st person)
TM: waakjaa uziitaaga gan sjɨ
waakja-a *uzii-taa=ga* *ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ*
1PL-ADNZ grandfather-PL=NOM MES-ADVZ do-SEQ
jatassɨga.
jar-tar-sɨga
COP-PST-POL

‘My husband [lit. our grandfather (in the perspective of TM’s grandchildren)] did so.’

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person honorific)

TM:	naakjaa	jaakacinkjoo	|nenzjuu|
	naakja-a	*jaa=kaci=nkja=ja*	*nenzjuu*
	2.HON.PL-ADNZ	house=ALL=APPR=TOP	always

ikjutanban,
ik-jur-tar-n=ban
go-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
‘(I) used to go to your house, but ...’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)

TM:	urakjaa	jaaga,	uinu	jaaga
	urakja-a	*jaa=ga*	*ui=nu*	*jaa=ga*
	2.NHON.PL-ADNZ	house=NOM	above=GEN	house=NOM

mukasinu jaaja.
mukasi=nu jaa=jaa
past=NOM house=SOL
‘Your house, the house above, (is) a traditional house, you know.’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Second, human interrogatives, human demonstratives, and address nouns in the plural can fill the modifier slot of an NP by themselves. In other words, they use juxtaposition to function as an NP modifier. In (6-112 a), the human interrogative plural form /tattaa/ *ta-ru-taa* (who-NLZ-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (6-112 b), the human demonstrative plural form /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (6-112 c), the address noun (elder kinship) plural form *baasan-taa* (grandmothr-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (6-112 d), the address noun (personal name) plural form *minoe-taa* (Minoe-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP.

(6-112) Juxtaposition

a. Human interrogative

TM:	kurəə	tattaa	cirɨkai?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*ta-ru-taa*	*cirɨ=kai*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	who-NLZ-PL	classmate=DUB

‘Whose classmate is this person?’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Human demonstrative

TM:	attaa	jaaga	nama	(an)	acjurooga.

a-rɨ-taa	*jaa=ga*	*nama*	*ak-tur-oo=ga*
DIST-NLZ-PL	house=NOM	now	open-PROG-SUPP=CFM3

'Their house is probably unoccupied now.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Address noun (elder kinship)

US:	baasantaa	məə	kʔuranu	atarooga.
	baasan-taa	*məə*	*kʔura=nu*	*ar-tar-oo=ga*
	grandmother-PL	front	storehouse=NOM	exist-PST-SUPP=CFM3

'There was probably a storehouse (in) front of (my) grandmother('s house).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Address noun (personal name)

TM:	arəə	minoetaa	cʔjantaaga	cɨkɨtən
	a-rɨ=ja	*minoe-taa*	*cʔjan-taa=ga*	*cɨkɨr-təər-n*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	Minoe-PL	father-PL=NOM	make-RSL-PTCP

|suidoo|	jatɨkai?
suidoo	*jar-tɨ=kai*
water.conduit	COP-SEQ=DUB

'Was that the water conduit which was made by Minoe (and her family)'s father (and his friends)?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The means of human interrogative and human demonstratives in the plural is different from that in the singular (see §6.4.2.1). Such a difference is clearly caused by the plural affix *-taa* (PL), which forces the means to fill the modifier slot of an NP to become juxtaposition. It is possible to think that *-taa* (PL) decreases the "animacy" of the above NPs. For example, human interrogatives change the means from *-a* (ADNZ), which is exploited by the nominals in the higher (or left side) rank of the animacy hierarchy, to juxtaposition, which is used by the nominals in the relatively lower rank of the animacy hierarchy. Considering these facts, the plurality seems to decrease the animacy of the relevant NPs (see also the remark on the double plural marking in §6.4.1.2).

Third, the other nominals in the plural take the genitive case particle *nu* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP. So far, there is no use of non-human plural interrogatives in the modifier slot of an NP. In (6-113 a), the non-human demonstrative in the plural *a-rɨ=nkja* (DIST-NLZ=APPR) takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (6-113 b), the common noun in the plural *dusi=nkja* (friend=APPR) also takes the genitive particle *nu*.

(6-113) Genitive case particle *nu*

a. Non-human demonstrative

[Context: Talking about a person who was in the picture of an inn of neighborhood]

TM: arɨnkjanu huccjunu sjasinnan
a-rɨ=nkja=nu *huccju=nu* *sjasin=nan*
DIST-NLZ=APPR=GEN old.person=GEN photo=LOC1
nututtojaa.
nur-tur=doo=jaa
appear/ride-PROG=ASS=SOL
'(The person) appears in the photo of old people who lived in that [i.e. the inn].'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Common noun
[Context: After speaking about MS's father, TM began to speak about the cousin of the friend of MS's father.]

TM: dusinkjanu zikinu |itoko|nu muhacianjootaa,
dusi=nkja=nu *ziki=nu* *itoko=nu* *muhaci+anjoo-taa*
friend=APPR=GEN direct=GEN cousin=GEN Muhachi+older.brother-PL
attankjoo, cunekoccjɨnkjoo jˀicjan
a-rɨ-taa=nkja=ja *cuneko=ccjɨ=nkja=ja* *jˀ-tar-n*
DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR=TOP Tsuneko=QT=APPR=TOP say-PST-PTCP
kutoo nəntanmun.
kutu=ja *nə-an-tar-n=mun*
event=TOP exist-NEG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'The direct cousin [i.e. a cousin as a near relative (not by marriage)] of the friend (of your father), Muhachi, he never called (me) Tsuneko (without any honorific title).'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In fact, there are few examples where nominals both in the plural and in the lowest side of animacy hierarchy in Table 44 fill the modifier slot of an NP. Therefore, I have not found any example where a non-human demonstrative in the plural takes *ga* (GEN), which is clearly different from the case of non-human demonstratives in the singular discussed in (6-110) in §6.4.2.1.

In §6.4.1.2, we have seen the combination of plural morphemes *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR). However, there is only one example in my texts, where the combination occurs in the modifier slot of an NP. It uses juxtaposition to fill the modifier slot of an NP.

(6-114) Address noun (elder kinship) with *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR)

TM: urakjaa ziisantaankja kjoodəə janban,
{[*urakja-a* *ziisan-taa=nkja*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*kjoodəə*]$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{NP}}$ *jar-n=ban*
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ grandfather-PL=APPR brother COP-PTCP=ADVRS
'(My grandfather) is a brother of your grandfather (and his siblings), but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The NP *urakja-a ziisan-taa=nkja* (2.NHON.PL-ADNZ grandfather-PL=APPR) 'your grandfather (and his siblings)' directly fills the modifier slot of the larger NP, whose head is *kjoodəə* 'brother.' It is probable that juxtaposition is chosen here because the head within the modifier NP is an address noun (elder kinship), i.e. *ziisan* 'grandfather,' and also it contains *-taa* (PL).

6.4.2.3. NP modifiers in the dual

Only the personal pronouns have the dual forms, i.e. *wattəə* (1DU) 'the two of us,' *nattəə* (2.HON.DU) 'the two of you (honorific), *urattəə* (2.NHON.DU) 'the two of you (non-honorific),' and *nattəə* (3DU) 'the two of them' (see also §5.1). These dual forms take *ga* (GEN) when they fill the modifier slot of an NP as in (6-115 a-d).

(6-115) Genitive case particle *ga*

a. Personal pronoun (1st person)

TM:	kurəə	wattəəga	mundoo.
	ku-rɨ=ja	*wattəə=ga*	*mun=doo*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	1DU=GEN	thing=ASS

'These are ours.' [lit. 'These are the two of us's things.']

[El: 130812]

b. Personal pronoun (2nd person honorific)

TM:	urəə	nattəəga	mundoo.
	u-rɨ=ja	*nattəə=ga*	*mun=doo*
	MES-NLZ=TOP	2.HON.DU=GEN	thing=ASS

'These are yours.' [lit. 'These are the two of you's things.']

[El: 130812]

c. Personal pronoun (2nd person non-honorific)

TM:	urəə	urattəəga	mundoo.
	u-rɨ=ja	*urattəə=ga*	*mun=doo*
	MES-NLZ=TOP	2.NHON.DU=GEN	thing=ASS

'These are yours.' [lit. 'These are the two of you's things.']

[El: 130812]

d. Personal pronoun (3nd person)

TM:	nattəəga	mun	janban,	muratɨ,	kamɨ!
	nattəə=ga	*mun*	*jar-n=ban*	*muraw-tɨ*	*kam-ɨ*
	3DU=GEN	thing	COP-PTCP=ADVRS	receive-SEQ	eat-IMP

'(These sweets) are theirs, but receive and eat (them)!'

[lit. ‘(These sweets) are the two of them’s, but receive and eat (them)!’]

[El: 130814]

In the above contexts, the dual genitive forms may be replaced by the plural adnominals. For example, *wattəə=ga* (1DU=GEN) ‘the two of us’s’ in (6-115 a) may be replaced by *waakja-a* (1PL-ADNZ) ‘our.’

6.4.3. Nominative case

The nominative case has two morphemes *ga* and *nu* (see §6.3.2.1 about the grammatical function of the nominative case). We choose one of them depending on the lexical meaning of the preceding nominals, which subject to the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan (see Table 44). On the one hand, the nominals other than the lowest (or rightmost) position in the animacy hierarchy (except for human interrogatives), i.e. personal pronominals, human demonstratives, and address nouns must take *ga* (NOM). On the other hand, the nominals in the lowest basically take *nu* (NOM). We could not know the nominative form of interrogatives, since it should be replaced by the focus marker *ga* (FOC) (see §5.3.1 and §10.1).

The nominals in the lowest of the animacy hierarchy, e.g. common nouns, basically take *nu* (NOM). However, they also take *ga* (NOM) in the following environments.

(6-116) *ga* (NOM) prevails
Obligatorily if
a. Clause has a nominal predicate; or
b. Clause expresses incapability;
Frequently if
c. Clause has an adjectival predicate; or
d. Predicate expresses non-existence;
Sometimes if
e. Subject indicates a definite human.

In the above five environments, the first two environments, i.e. (6-116 a-b), obligatorily cause the NP to take *ga* (NOM), but the others just tend to cause it. I will present examples in the following subsections, where only the relevant examples, i.e. examples of nominals belonging to the lowest (or rightmost) rank of the animacy hierarchy (Table 44), are shown.

First, we will look at the basic alignment of *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) (see §6.4.3.1). Then, I will present the conditions where *ga* (NOM) prevails over *nu* (NOM) (see §6.4.3.2 - §6.4.3.6).

6.4.3.1. Basic alignment

Basically, the nominals in the higher rank of the animacy hierarchy of Table 44, must take *ga* (NOM), and the nominals in the lowest take *nu* (NOM).

First, I will present examples of nominals that must take *ga* (NOM). There is no difference of choice of

case particles between the nominals in the singular and those in the plural, so they are simply shown together below.

(6-117) Personal pronominals (1st person)

a. Singular

TM:	naokonnəəcjɨ	wanga	jʔicjaroogai?
	naoko+nəə=ccjɨ	*wan=ga*	*jʔ-tar-oo=ga=i*
	Naoko+older.sister=QT	1SG=NOM	say-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

'Do (you remember that) I spoke of Naoko?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Plural

TM:	un	hasinantɨ, ...	waakjaga	wutattoo.
	u-n	*hasi=nantɨ*	*waakja=ga*	*wur-tar=doo*
	MES-ADNZ	bridge=LOC2	1PL=NOM	exist-PST=ASS

'We were [i.e. gathered] at the bridge.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Personal pronominals (2nd person honorific)

c. Singular

TM:	nanga	jʔujaa	sjutarooga?
	nan=ga	*jʔu+jaa*	*sɨr-tur-tar-oo=ga*
	2.HON.SG=NOM	fish+house	do-PROG-PST-SUPP=CFM3

'You were probably running [lit. doing] a fish shop, right?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Plural

TM:	naakjaga	|socugjoo|	sjəəraga	waakjoo	|gakkoo|kai?
	naakja=ga	*socugjoo*	*sɨr-təəra=ga*	*waakja=ja*	*gakkoo=kai*
	2.HON.PL=NOM	graduation	do-after=FOC	1PL=TOP	school=DUB

'(Is it) after you had graduated (from the elementary school, when) I (began to go to) school?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Personal pronominals (2nd person non-honorific)

e. Singular

TM:	nobuari	kunuguroo,	uraga	cjəəraga
	nobuari	*kunuguru=ja*	*ura=ga*	*k-təəra=ga*
	Nobuari	recently=TOP	2.NHON.SG=NOM	come-after=FOC

naa (mm) muru (mm) urɨdoojaa.

naa	*muru*	*u-rɨ=doo=jaa*
FIL	very	MES-NLZ=ASS=SOL

'Nobuari (is) recently that [i.e. feels good] after you came (back to Yuwan).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

f. Plural

[Context: Talking about a freind of TM]

TM:	urakjaga	konboo,	tudɨnnasanuccjɨ	juuboo,
	urakja=ga	*k-on-boo*	*tudɨnna-sa=nu=ccjɨ*	*jˀ-boo*
	2.NHON.PL=NOM	come-NEG-CND	lonely-ADJ=CSL=QT	say-CND

'(When the friend) said that, "(I) feel lonly if you do not come, so (come here)," ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Human demonstratives

g. Singular [= (6-96)]

TM:	minakotaa,	akka	kˀuugadɨ,
	minako-taa	*a-rɨ=ga*	*k-gadɨ*
	Minako-PL	DIST-NLZ=NOM	come-until

'Minako, until she come (here), ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

h. Plural

TM:	attaaga	sjɨ	kəə	sjunban,
	a-rɨ-taa=ga	*sɨr-tɨ*	*k-i=ja*	*sɨr-jur-n=ban*
	DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM	do-SEQ	come-INF=TOP	do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS

'They (actually would) do (make lunch there) and come (here with it), but ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Address nouns (elder kinship)

i. Singular [= (6-53)]

TM:	uziiga	daibangɨinantɨ	nasi	mutunwake.
	uzii=ga	*daiban+kɨɨ=nantɨ*	*nasi*	*mur-tur-n=wake*
	old.man=NOM	big+tree=LOC2	pear	pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP

'An old man is picking pears off on a big tree.'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

j. Plural

TM:	daidai	sunaobikija	nagaiki(ikii)bikiccjɨdu
	daidai	*sunao-biki=ja*	*nagaiki-biki=ccjɨ=du*
	for.generations	Sunao-pedigree=TOP	long.life-pedigree=QT=FOC

	waakjaa	anmataaga	jutattu.
	waakja-a	*anmaa-taa=ga*	*jˀ-jur-tar-tu*
	1PL-ADNZ	mother-PL=NOM	say-UMRK-PST-CSL

‘My mother used to say that (the members of) Sunao’s pedigree (has had) long life for generations.’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Address nouns (personal name)

k. Singular

TM:	atoora	nobuariga	jappai	|kaacjan|ga	jˀicjan
	atu=kara	*nobuari=ga*	*jappai*	*kaacjan=ga*	*jˀ-tar-n*
	after=ABL	Nobuari=NOM	after.all	mother=NOM	say-PST-PTCP

tui,	gan	sjɨ	jatəəttoocjɨ.
tui	*ga-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*jar-təər=doo=ccjɨ*
as	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ	COP-RSL=ASS=QT

‘After (that), Nobuari (said) that, “After all, as mother said, (it) was like that.”’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

l. Plural

TM:	nobuaritaaga,	joo,	naikwoo ..	ujaja	ujacjɨ	joo ..
	nobuari-taa=ga	*joo*	*naikwa=ja*	*uja=ja*	*uja=ccjɨ*	*joo*
	Nobuari-PL=NOM	FIL	a.little=TOP	parent=TOP	parent=QT	FIL

ikjasjɨgacjɨnkja	ido	zjen .. zjen	munna	jˀan.
ikja-sjɨ=ga=ccjɨ=nkja	*ido*	*zjenzjen*	*mun=ja*	*jˀ-an*
how-ADVZ=FOC=QT=APPR	well	at.all	thing=TOP	say-NEG

‘Nobuari (said that) parents (are) parents [i.e. the ways of parents are different from his], (and) do not say anything (like) “How (do you do, mom?)” at all.’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In all of the above examples, the nominals in the higher (or left side) ranks of the animacy hierarchy (except for human interrogatives), i.e. personal pronominals, human demonstratives, and address nouns, take *ga* (NOM).

Next, we will see example of the other nominals.

(6-118) a. Non-human demonstrative (animate)

[Context: Talking about silkworms that were in the silk-reeling factory in the community]

TM:	namanu	cjoodo	an ...	kˀurusan
	nama=nu	*cjoodo*	*a-n*	*kˀuru-sa+ar-n*
	now=GEN	just	DIST-ADNZ	black-ADJ+STV-PTCP

cjoocjonu,	(mmm)	arɨnu	wuncjɨjo.
cjoocjo=nu		*a-rɨ=nu*	*wur-n=ccjɨ=joo*
butterfly=NOM		DIST-NLZ=NOM	exist-PTCP=QT=CFM1

‘(In those days) there were (moths of silkworms) just (like) that black butterfly (in these days), (and actually, such) that [i.e. the moths] existed.’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Non-human demonstrative (inanimate)

TM: namanu	(|taiku|)	arɨnu	an	turoo.
nama=nu	*taiku*	*a-rɨ=nu*	*a-n*	*turoo*
now=GEN	sport	DIST-NLZ=NOM	exist-ADNZ	place

‘(It is) the place, where that one [i.e. the sport gym] exists.’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. Common nouns (innanimate; human)

TM: daibangɨinu	atɨ,	unnəntɨ	jinganu	|hasigo|
daiban+kɨɨ=nu	*ar-tɨ*	*u-n=nəntɨ*	*jinga=nu*	*hasigo*
big+tree=NOM	exist-SEQ	MES-ADNZ=LOC2	man=NOM	ladder

kɨɨtɨ,
kɨɨr-tɨ
put-SEQ

‘There was a big tree, and there a man put a ladder (against it), and ...’

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

d. Common noun (human)

[Context: TM was surprised there was a boy with short hair on the picture, for boys in the past usullay have their heads shaven.]

TM: naa,	kurəə,	kamacinkja	muijacjun
naa	*ku-rɨ=ja*	*kamaci=nkja*	*muij-as-tur-n*
FIL	PROX-NLZ=TOP	head=APPR	grow-CASU-PROG-PTCP

kʔwanu	wutɨ.
kʔwa=nu	*wur-tɨ*
child=NOM	exist-SEQ

‘(Look at) this, (and) there is a child who grows (the hair of his) head.’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (6-118 a-d), the nominals in the lowest (or rightmost) rank of the animacy hierarchy take *nu* (NOM).

In the last of §6.4.1.2, it was mentioned that there can be a sequence of plural markers, i.e. *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR), where the choice of nominative particle does not change as in (6-74 b) or (6-103 c).

6.4.3.2. *ga* (NOM) prevails obligatorily if the clause has a nominal predicate

As we have seen in the last of the previous section, usually the nominals in the lowest (or rightmost) rank of the animacy hierarchy take *nu* (NOM). There are, however, several cases where such a view is not the case. First of all, I will present the case where the predicate is filled by NPs, i.e. nominal predicates. In that case, the

subject NP always takes *ga* (not *nu*).

(6-119) Non-human demonstratives

a. [Context: Talking about kinds of snails]

TM:	ariga	tanmjaa	jappajaa.
	a-rɨ=ga	[*tanmjaa*	*jar-ba*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$*=jaa*
	DIST-NLZ=NOM	mud.snail	COP-CSL=SOL

'That is a mud snail, you know.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. [Context: Wondering where the place in the picture is; TM: '(It) may be Nogusuku.']

TM:	kuriga	jadui	jappa.
	ku-rɨ=ga	[*jadui*	*jar-ba*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
	PROX-NLZ=NOM	cottage	COP-CSL

'This is the cottage, so (it is probably Nogusuku).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Common nouns

c. [Context: TM asked MY where the words *cuburu* and *cubusi* in Yuwan indicate.]

TM:	cuburuga	kumadarooga?
	cuburu=ga	[*ku-ma*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$*=daroo=ga*
	head=NOM	PROX-place=SUPP=CFM3

'(The place indicated by the term) *cuburu* is here, right?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d

TM:	jaaga	arɨ	jatattu.	bonsan.
	jaa=ga	[*a-rɨ*	*jar-tar-tu*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$	*bonsan*
	house=NOM	DIST-NLZ	COP-PST-CSL	Buddhist.monk

'(Since the person's) house was that. (That is,) the Buddhist monk.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The subjects of nominal predicates, i.e. *a-rɨ* 'that' in (6-119 a), *ku-rɨ* 'this' in (6-119 b), *cuburu* 'head' in (6-119 c), and *jaa* 'house' in (6-119 d), take *ga* (NOM), inspite of their being non-human demonstratives or common nouns.

A nominal predicate can be filled by an infinitive (or verbal noun) as follows (see §8.4.4.2 for more details).

(6-120) Head of a nominal predicate being the infinitive

a. [Context: A couple tied an ox to the grass bound tightly, but the ox ran out.]

TM:	mingin	oosiran.	un ...	kusabutuuga

ming-i=n	*oosir-an*	*u-n*	*kusabutuu=ga*
grab-REN=even	have.time-NEG	MES-ADNZ	grass=NOM

bukuccjɨ haziri.
buku=ccjɨ [*haziri-Ø*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
disconnected=QT be.free-INF
'(They) don't have time to grab (the ox). The bundled grass came out (of the ground).'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. TM:

kun	|ike|karanu	mizjuuga	agan	iki.
ku-n	*ike=kara=nu*	*mizjuu=ga*	*aga-n*	[*ik-i*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
PROX-ADNZ	pond=ABL=GEN	ditch=NOM	DIST-ADVZ	go-INF

'The ditch from this pond goes [i.e. extends] there.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

These examples show that the subjects of the nominal predicates filled by the infinitive also take *ga* (NOM) inspite of their being common nouns, i.e. *kusabutuu* 'grass' in (6-120 a) or *mizjuu* 'ditch' in (6-120 b).

6.4.3.3. *ga* (NOM) prevails obligatorily if the the clause expresses incapability

If all of the following conditions are satisfied, the NP is necessarily marked by *ga* (NOM).

(6-121) Conditions to mark an NP with *ga* (NOM):

a. The clause, which includes the NP, expresses incapability as a whole;
b. The NP is a "core argument" (other than the subject);
c. There is a strong semantic relationship between the NP and its head VP.

The "core argument" here tends to be the object of a transitive verb, or the argument that has strong semantic relationship with the head verbs, e.g. *mɨɨ* 'eye' and *mj-* 'look at,' or *mimi* 'ear' and *kik-* 'hear.' It is difficult to call the "core arguments" subjects as in (6-122 a-b), where the subjects are *a-n sinsjei* 'the teacher' or *a-n warabɨ* 'the child,' not *mɨɨ* 'eye.'

(6-122) a. TM:

an	sinsjeija	mɨɨga	mjicjɨ	moorancjɨdoo.
a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	*mɨɨ=ga*	*mj-tɨ*	*moor-an=ccjɨ=doo*
[DIST-ADNZ	teacher]=TOP	eye=NOM	see-SEQ	[HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
[Subject]				[Honorific Aux. verb]

'(I heard) that the teacher cannot see (with his) eyes.'

[El: 130816]

b. TM: #an warabəə mɨɨga mjicjɨ moorancjɨdoo.

a-n	*warabɨ=ja*	*mɨɨ=ga*	*mj-tɨ*	*moor-an=ccjɨ=doo*
[DIST-ADNZ	child]=TOP	eye=NOM	see-SEQ	[HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
[Subject]				[Honorific Aux. verb]

[Intended meaning] '(I heard) that the child cannot see (with his) eyes.'

[El: 130816]

In (6-122 a-b), *mɨɨ* 'eye' is not the subject of the clauses, since the acceptability of the use of the auxiliary honorific verb is determined by its preceding NPs, i.e. *a-n sinsjei* 'that teacher' in (122 a) or *a-n warabɨ* 'that child' in (122 b), both of which are the subjects of the above sentences (see also Chapter 3).

I will present other examples below.

(6-123) Expressing incapability

a. [= (5-36 a)]

TM:	dɨru?	naa	mɨɨga	mjanba.
	dɨ-ru	*naa*	*mɨɨ=ga*	*mj-an-ba*
	which-NLZ	yet	eye=NOM	see-NEG-CSL

'Which one? (I) cannot see (with my) eyes yet, so (it is difficult to see the picture).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b.

TM:	mɨɨga	mjan	nata.
	mɨɨ=ga	*mj-an*	*nar-tar*
	eye=NOM	see-NEG	become-PST

'(I) lost my sight.' [lit. '(My) eyes became unable to see (anything).']

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c.

TM:	mimiga	kikjanba.
	mimi=ga	*kik-an-ba*
	ear=NOM	hear-NEG-CSL

'(They) cannot hear (with their) ears, so (they are difficult to talk with).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (6-123 a-b), *mɨɨ* 'eye' is a common noun, but takes *ga* (NOM) and the clauses as a whole mean the incapability of the experiencer. In (6-123 c), *mimi* 'ear' is also a common noun, but takes *ga* (NOM) and the clause as a whole means the incapability of the experiencer. The verbal roots themselves in (123 a-c), i.e. *mj-* 'see' and *kik-* 'hear,' can express capability, even though they do not include any morpheme that especially means capability (see also (6-45) and (6-46) in §6.3.2.1). In fact, *kik-* 'hear' can express capability when it does not follow *mimi=ga* (ear=NOM) as in (8-103) in §8.4.3.5.

The predicates may optionally take the morpheme that expresses capability. The following example is similar to the environment of (6-123 a), but the predicate takes a morpheme that means capability, i.e. *-ar* (CAP). In (6-124), the common noun *mɨɨ* 'eye' also takes *ga* (NOM).

(6-124) Expressing incapability with *ar-* (CAP)

TM:	miiga	mjaranba,	naa	taruccjəə	wakaran.
	mii=ga	*mj-ar-an-ba*	*naa*	*ta-ru=ccji=ja*	*wakar-an*
	eye=NOM	see-CAP-NEG-CSL	yet	who-NLZ=QT=TOP	understand-NEG

'(I) cannot see (with my) eyes, so (I) can't recognize who (it is in the picture) yet.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

It should be noted that *ga* (NOM) occurs even after "verbs" if the clause expresses incapability as in (6-125 a-b).

(6-125) a. Lexical verb in AVC expressing incapability [= (6-48 a)]

TM:	kuminkjanu	nənboo,	kadiga	ikjankara,
	kumi=nkja=nu	*nə-an-boo*	*kam-ti=ga*	*ik-an=kara*
	rice=APPR=NOM	exist-NEG-CND	eat-SEQ=NOM	go-NEG=CSL
			Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'If there is no food such as rice, (we) cannot live, so ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Infinitive in the complement slot of LVC expressing incapability [= (6-49)]

TM:	aikiga	siikijanba.
	aik-i=ga	*sir-i+kij-an-ba*
	walk-INF=NOM	do-INF+CAP-NEG-CSL
	Complement	LV

'(I) cannot walk [lit. do walking], so (I cannot bring the pickles from my house).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

These verbs are not "core arguments" since they are not nominals. However, the environements where *ga* (NOM) appears in (6-125 a-b) are very similar to those of nominals as in (6-123). One may think that the *ga* (NOM) in this section is the focus particle *ga* in §10.1.2.2. In fact, I cannot deny this possibility (see also §6.4.3.7).

6.4.3.4. *ga* (NOM) prevails frequently if the clause has an adjectival predicate

If a clause has an adjectival predicate, the core arguments tends to choose *ga* (NOM) rather than *nu* (NOM). The "core arguments" here tend to be the subject of the clause, but sometimes it is difficult to call them subject as in (6-126 a-b), where the subjects are *naakjaa anmaa-taa* 'your mother' or *an warabi* 'that child,' not *kui* 'voice.'

(6-126) a. TM: naakjaa anmataaja kuinu kjurasa ati

naakja-a	*anmaa-taa=ja*	*kui=nu*	*kjura-sa*	*ar-tɨ*
[2.HON.PL-ADNZ	mother-PL]=TOP	voice=NOM	beautiful-ADJ	STV-SEQ

[Subject]
moojutɨ?
moor-jur-tɨ
[HON-UMRK-SEQ]
[Honorific Aux. verb]
'Did your mother have a beautiful voice?'

[El: 130816]

b. TM:

#an	warabəə	kuinu	kjurasa	atɨ
a-n	*warabɨ=ja*	*kui=nu*	*kjura-sa*	*ar-tɨ*
[DIST-ADNZ	child=TOP]	voice=NOM	beautiful-ADJ	STV-SEQ

[Subject]
moojutɨ?
moor-jur-tɨ
[HON-UMRK-SEQ]
[Honorific Aux. verb]
[Intended meaning] 'Did that child have a beautiful voice?'

[El: 130816]

In (6-126 a-b), *kui* 'voice' is not the subject of the clauses, since the acceptability of the use of the auxiliary honorific verb *moor-* is determined by its preceding NPs, i.e. *naakjaa anmaa-taa* 'your mother' or *an warabɨ* 'that child,' which are the subjects of the above sentences (see also Chapter 3). If a clause has an adjectival predicate, the core arguments tends to choose *ga* (NOM) rather than *nu* (NOM) as in (6-127 a-d). However, the adjectival predicate in the honorific AVC does not induce such preference, and the core argument takes *nu* (not *ga*) as in (6-126 a), at least in elicitation.

Examples that take *ga* (not *nu*) are shown below.

(6-127) Non-human demonstratives

a. TM:

waakjaa	cʔjantaaja	kurɨga	nagasa	atɨ,
waakja-a	*cʔjan-taa=ja*	*ku-rɨ=ga*	[*naga-sa*	*ar-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$
1PL-ADNZ	father-PL=TOP	PROX-NLZ=NOM	long-ADJ	STV-SEQ

'My father was long in this [i.e. stature], so ...' [i.e. 'My father was tall, so ...']

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about silkworms that were in the silk-reeling factory in the community, and the moths are similar to black butterflies that sometimes appear around TM's house]

TM: arɨnu wuncjɨjo. arɨga

a-rɨ=nu *wur-n=ccjɨ=joo* *a-rɨ=ga*
DIST-NLZ=NOM exist-PTCP=QT=CFM1 DIST-NLZ=NOM
nissjagadɨ.
[*nissj-sa=gadɨ*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$
similar-ADJ=LMT
'There is that [i.e. black butterflies]. That is very similar (to the moths).'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Common nouns

c. TM: haruotaanintəəja kjoodənkjaga zjanasa atɨ,
haruo-taa=nintəə=ja *kjoodəə=nkja=ga* [*zjana-sa* *ar-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$
Haruo-PL=people=TOP brother=APPR=NOM many-ADJ STV-SEQ
'Haruo and his family have many brothers (and relatives).'
[lit. 'About Haruo and his family, brothers (and relatives) are many.']
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. TM: jaaga injasankara,
jaa=ga [*inja-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=kara*
house=NOM small-ADJ+STV-PTCP=CSL
'The house is small, so ...'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The core arguments, i.e. *ku-rɨ* 'this [i.e. stature]' as in (6-127 a), *a-rɨ* 'that (butterfly)' as in (6-127 b), *kjoodəə=nkja* 'brothers (and relatives)' as in (6-127 c), and *jaa* 'house' as in (6-127 d), take *ga* (NOM) inspite of thier being non-human demonstratives or common nouns. I have not yet found any example in my text data where the non-human demonstrative takes *nu* (NOM) with adjectival predicates.

The prior uses of *ga* (NOM) as in (6-127 a-d) are actually seen in Yuwan, but there are still a few examples where the arguments do not take *ga* (NOM), but take *nu* (NOM) even if their predicates are filled by adjectives.

(6-128) Common nouns

a. TM: agaraa munna kisjoonu cjussanu.
aga-raa *mun=ja* *kisjoo=nu* [*cjuss-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=nu*
DIST-DRG.ADNZ thing=TOP temper=NOM strong-ADJ=CSL
'That awful man has a strong [i.e hot] temper.'
[lit. 'About the awful man, the temper is strong.']
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a man on the picture]
TM: |iro|nu kʔurusajaa.

iro=nu [*kʔuru-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=jaa*
color=NOM black-ADJ=SOL
'(He) looks black.' [lit. '(About him), the color is black.']
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The core arguments in the above examples take *nu* (NOM), although they have adjectival predicates.

6.4.3.5. *ga* (NOM) prevails frequently if the predicate expresses non-existence

If the predicate expresses non-existence, the core arguments frequenly choose *ga* (NOM). In other words, if the predicate is filled by any one of these, i.e. *wur-an* (exist-NEG), *nə-n* (exist-NEG), *umoor-an* (exist.HON-NEG), or *ar-tɨ moor-an* (exist-SEQ HON-NEG), the core arguments tend to choose *ga* (NOM). The "core arguments" here tend to be the subjects of the clauses, but sometimes it is difficult to call them subjects as in (6-129 a-b), where the subjects are *a-n sinsjei* 'that teacher' or *a-n warabɨ* 'that child,' and not *kanɨ* 'money'.

(6-129) a. TM: an sinsjeija kanɨga atɨ mooransjutɨ,
a-n *sinsjei=ja* *kanɨ=ga* *ar-tɨ* *moor-an=sjutɨ*
[DIST-ADNZ teacher]=TOP money=NOM exist-SEQ [HON-NEG]=SEQ
[Subject] [Honorific Aux. verb]
injasan jaanan sɨdɨ moojuncjɨ.
inja-sa+ar-n *jaa=nan* *sɨm-tɨ* *moor-jur-n=ccjɨ*
small-ADJ+STV-PTCP house=LOC live-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP=QT
'That teacher does not have money, so (he) lives in a small house.'
[lit. 'About the teacher, there is no money, so (he) lives in a small house.']
[El: 130816]

b. TM: #an warabəə kanɨga atɨ mooransjutɨ,
a-n *warabɨ=ja* *kanɨ=ga* *ar-tɨ* *moor-an=sjutɨ*
[DIST-ADNZ child]=TOP money=NOM exist-SEQ [HON-NEG]=SEQ
[Subject] [Honorific Aux. verb]
injasan jaanan sɨdɨ moojuncjɨ.
inja-sa+ar-n *jaa=nan* *sɨm-tɨ* *moor-jur-n=ccjɨ*
small-ADJ+STV-PTCP house=LOC live-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP=QT
[Intended meaning] 'That child does not have money, so (he) lives in a small house.'
[El:]

In (6-129 a-b), *kanɨ* 'money' is not the subject of the clauses, since the acceptability of the use of the auxiliary honorific verb *moor-* is determined by its preceding NPs, i.e. *a-n sinsjei* 'that teacher' or *a-n warabɨ* 'that child,' which are the subjects of the above sentences (see also chpater 3).

Other examples are shown below.

(6-130) Non-human demonstrative and common noun (inanimate)

a. TM: kumannja ariga nəntattujaa.
ku-ma=nan=ja *a-rɨ=ga* *nə-an-tar-tu=jaa*
PROX-place=LOC1=TOP DIST-NLZ=NOM exist-NEG-PST-CSL=SOL
|zaisan|ga anmai nəntattu.
zaisan=ga *anmai* *nə-an-tar-tu*
fortune=NOM so.much exist-NEG-PST-CSL
'(The person) did not have that [i.e. fortune] here. (He) did not have so mcuh money.'
[lit. 'There was not that [i.e. fortune]. There was not so much money (for him).']
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Common noun (inanimate)

b. TM: un sicizibatiga tʔin nən
u-n *sicizi+hatii=ga* *tʔii=n* *nə-an*
MES-ADNZ cycad+field=NOM one.CLF=even exist-NEG
natijaa.
nar-ti=jaa
become-SEQ=SOL
'(It) has become (that) there is no such cycad field.'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Common nouns (human)

c. TM: siccjun cʔjuga wuran.
sij-tur-n *cʔju=ga* *wur-an*
know-PROG-PTCP person=NOM exist-NEG
'There is not any person whom I know.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that the core arguments, i.e. *a-rɨ* 'that [i.e. the fortune]' and *zaisan* 'fortune' in (6-130 a), *sicizi+hatii* 'cycas field' in (6-130 b), and *cʔju* 'person' in (6-130 c) take *ga* (NOM) inspite of thier being non-human demonstrative or common nouns. The prior use of *ga* (NOM) is actually seen in Yuwan, but there are still several examples where the arguments do not take *ga* (NOM), but take *nu* (NOM) even if their predicates express non-existence.

(6-131) Common nouns

a. TM: ude, gan sjan mununkja sicjun
ude *ga-n* *sir-tar-n* *mun=nkja* *sij-tur-n*
well MES-ADNZ know-PST-PTCP thing=APPR know-PROG-PTCP

cʔjunu	wuranbaccjɨ	jʔicjutɨga,
cʔju=nu	*wur-an-ba=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tur-tɨ=ga*
person=NOM	exist-NEG-CSL=QT	say-PROG-SEQ=FOC

'Well, (I) said that there is not any person who knows such (a kind of) things, and ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. [= (6-48 a)]

TM:	kumɨnkjanu	nənboo,	kadɨga	ikjarankara,
	kumɨ=nkja=nu	*nə-an-boo*	*kam-tɨ=ga*	*ik-ar-an=kara*
	rice=APPR=NOM	exist-NEG-CSL	eat-SEQ=FOC	go-CAP-NEG=CSL

'If there is no food such as rice, (we) cannot live, so ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The core arguments in the above examples take *nu* (NOM), although their predicates express non-existence.

6.4.3.6. *ga* (NOM) prevails sometimes if the subject indicates a definite human

If the subject NP indicates a referent that is both definite and human, it sometimes chooses *ga* (NOM).

(6-132) Common nouns (human)

a.

TM:	un	kʔwaga	umanan	|boosi|	utucjəətattu,
	u-n	*kʔwa=ga*	*u-ma=nan*	*boosi*	*utus-təər-tar-tu*
	MES-ADNZ	child=NOM	MES-place=LOC1	hat	drop-RSL-PST-CSL

'That boy had left [lit. dropped] (his) hat there, so ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b.

TM:	an	wunaguga	siimiciga	sijansjutɨ,
	a-n	*wunagu=ga*	*sɨr-i+mici=ga*	*sij-an=sjutɨ*
	DIST-ADNZ	woman=NOM	do-INF+way=NOM	know-NEGSEQ

'That woman don't know the way to do (it), and ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

c.

TM:	un	cʔjuga	jukkadɨ	humɨjutassɨga.
	u-n	*cʔju=ga*	*jukkadɨ*	*humɨr-jur-tar-sɨga*
	MES-ADNZ	person=NOM	always	praise-UMRK

'That person always praised (you).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The subject NPs in the above examples indicate definite humans, as *u-n kʔwa* (MES-ADNZ child) 'that child' in (6-132 a), *a-n wunagu* (DIST-ADNZ woman) 'that woman' in (6-132 b), and *u-n cʔju* (MES-ADNZ person) 'that person,' and all of them take *ga* (NOM). The definiteness of these examples are clarified by the demonstrative adnominals, i.e. *u-n* (MES-ADNZ) or *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ). These examples show that the

nominative case is very sensitive to the definiteness of the NP (not only the definiteness of its head), and such a sensitivity is a crucial difference between the nominative case and the genitive case (see (6-109) in §6.4.2.1).

Additionally, there are examples that do not take any overt form to express definiteness, but can be analyzed as definite referents. Those examples appear in the monologue of a folk tale.

(6-133) a. Reflexive pronoun

[Context: A man eavesdropped on the couple, and discovered that the husband found a pot filled with gold coins but did not bring it home.]

TM:	mookɨta.	nusiga	izjɨ,	tɨkkonbaccjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
	mookɨr-tar	*nusi=ga*	*ik-tɨ*	*tɨkk-on-ba=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tɨ*
	earn.money-PST	RFL=NOM	go-SEQ	bring-NEG-CSL=QT	say-SEQ

'(The man) said that, "(I) earned money. (I) myself have to go and bring (it)," and ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. Common noun (human)

[Context: The man who eavesdropped on the couple went to the place where the pot was, but found a pot filled with mud, so he brought it back and threw it to the couple's house. Then, the pot became filled with gold coins again.]

TM:	jingaga,	jaaci	nusarɨja	nusisjɨ	kan	sjɨ	həncjɨ	kjunmuncjɨ,
	jinga=ga	*jaa=kaci*	*nusarɨ=ja*	*nusi=sjɨ*	*ka-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*hənk-tɨ*	*k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ*
	man=NOM	house=ALL	happiness=TOP	RFL=INST	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	enter-SEQ	come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT

'The man (said) that, "Happiness comes to the house by itself like this.", (and ...)'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (6-133 a), the antecedent of the reflexive *nusi* has already introduced in the story, so it must be difinite. Additionally, the referent indicated by *jinga* 'man' in (6-133 b) has already introduced in the story. There are only three persons that were introduced in the story, i.e. a couple of a man and a woman that are said to be honest, and a man who is sly. It is clear from the context that the nominal *jinga* 'man' in (6-133 b) indicates the husband of the couple, so it must be definite too. Thus, these nominals in (6-133 a-b) took *ga* (NOM).

The same phenomenon is also found in the case of the family name. The family name is actually a kind of personal name, but it cannot be used to address someone, which is different from address nouns. Thus, it must take a genitive particle *nu* if it fills in the modifier slot of an NP as in (6-134 b). However, the family name can take *ga* (NOM) when it is the subject of a clause as in (6-134 a), probably because the family name can also indicate definite humans.

(6-134) Common nouns (family name)

a. Taking *ga* (NOM) as the subject

TM:	|ittoki|	motojamaga	misje	katuta.
	ittoki	*motojama=ga*	*misje*	*kar-tur-tar*
	for.a.while	Motoyama=NOM	shop	rent-PROG-PST

'For a while, Motoyama was renting the shop.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Taking *nu* (GEN) as the NP modifier

TM:	|hai,	hai,	hai|.	cjoodo	motojamanu	misje.
	hai	*hai*	*hai*	*cjoodo*	*motojama=nu*	*misje*
	yes	yes	yes	just	Motoyama=GEN	shop

'Yes, yes, yes, (that's right). (It is) just (near) Motoyama's shop.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

All of the above examples show that the definite human NPs may take *ga* (NOM), but there are also examples where they can still take *nu* (NOM).

(6-135) Common nouns

a. [Context: TM asked when US had come to her house.] = (6-11 b)

TM:	nanga	kunəəda	umoocjasəə	kun
	nan=ga	*kunəəda*	*umoor-tar=sɨ=ja*	*ku-n*
	2.HON.SG=NOM	the.other.day	come.HON-PST=FN=TOP	PROX-ADNZ

cˀjunu	cˀjəərai?
cˀju=nu	*k-təəra=i*
person=NOM	come-after=PLQ

'(Is it) after this person [i.e. the present author] came (to your house) that you [i.e. US] came (here) the other day?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Three children were walking along the way.]

TM:	un	kˀwanu,	cˀjuinu	kˀwanu	isjoobiki
	u-n	*kˀwa=nu*	*cˀjui=nu*	*kˀwa=nu*	*isjoobiki*
	MES-ADNZ	child=NOM	one.CLF=GEN	child=NOM	whistle

hucjɨ,	
huk-tɨ	
blow-SEQ	

'That child, the child (who is) one (of them) whistled, and ...'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

c. [Context: The Motoyama family borrowd a shop that had been closed.]

TM:	|hora|,	umanan	motojamanu	(ka ...)	kʔuutəətattu,
	hora	*u-ma=nan*	*motojama=nu*	*kar*	*kʔuur-təər-tar-tu*
	hey	MES-place=LOC1	Motoyama=NOM	borrow	close-RSL-PST-CSL

katɨ,	unnən	nunkuin.
kar-tɨ	*u-n=nən*	*nuu-nkuin*
borrow-SEQ	MES-ADNZ=LOC1	what-INDF

'Hey, at the place, Motoyama, since (the shop) had been closed, rented (it), and (they sold) things [lit. anything] there.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The relevant NPs in (6-135 a-c) indicate definite humans, but still take *nu* (NOM). The difference of frequency between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) after definite human NPs is not very large. Therefore, it can be said that their alternation is merely optional one.

Before concluding this section, I will present a case where an indefinite person takes *ga* (NOM).

(6-136) [Context: The very beginning of the monologue. TM: '(I will) start from the scene (where a man) picks up the pears. There is a pear tree, (i.e.) a big tree, ...']

TM:	unnəntɨ	uziiga	cʔjui	joonasi
	u-n=nəntɨ	*uzii=ga*	*cʔjui*	*joonasi*
	MES-ADNZ=LOC2	old.man=NOM	one.CLF.person	pear

mutunwake.	
mur-tur-n=wake	
pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP	

'There, an old man is picking up pears.'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

As will be mentioned in §7.2, elder kinship terms can be used even if the referents are not actual relatives of the speaker. In (6-136), *uzii*, which can mean 'grandfather' as an address noun, indicates a man who appeared in the Pear Film. That is, it is not the real grandfather of the speaker TM. Additionally, it is the first time to indicate the man in the monologue. Thus, the *uzii* must be indefinite, but it takes *ga* (NOM), not *nu* (NOM). The above fact means that a certain nominal that is higher in the animacy hierarchy (in Table 44) obligatorily takes *ga* (NOM) even if it actually indicates an indefinite referent.

6.4.3.7. Concluding remarks on the environments where *ga* (NOM) prevails

The environments shown above, where *ga* (NOM) prevails over *nu* (NOM), can be separated into two large groups: on the one hand, the environments influenced by the characteristic of the predicates as in §6.4.3.2 - §6.4.3.5; on the other hand, the environment influenced by the characteristic of the argument NPs as in

§6.4.3.6.

The alignment of the plural markers and NP modifiers in the animacy hierarchy is less flexible than that of the nominative case. The plural markers are concerned with the plurality of the head of an NP. The NP modifiers are also concerned with the relation within the NPs. Thus, both the plural markers and NP modifiers are parameters whose value is determined only within the NP. However, the nominative case is different from them, since it is concerned with the relation between the NP and the predicate. Those differences are considered to result in the differences in flexibility among them. Interestingly, the characteristics discussed in §6.4.3.2 - §6.4.3.5 are all concerned with low transitivity. Both the nominal predicate (in §6.4.3.2) and the adjectival predicate (in §6.4.3.4) have less (prototypical) transitivity, because they do not cause any change on any opponent (cf. Tsunoda 1991: 72). Additionally, the negative pole, i.e. incapability as in §6.4.3.3 and non-existence as in §6.4.3.5, is thought to have less transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252).

However, it should be noted that all of the prior use of *ga* (NOM) in §6.4.3.2 - 6.4.3.6 may be regarded as the focus particle *ga* (FOC) (see §10.1.2.2). As mentioned in §6.4.3.3, I could not completely deny this possibility. We need to clarify the details of this problem in future research.

Comparing with plural markers and NP modifiers, the nominative case is very sensitive to the definiteness of the NP. The example (6-109) in §6.4.2.1 showed that NP modifiers are not sensitive to the definiteness of the whole NP, but that they are sensitive to the definiteness of the head nominal of the NP. Similarly, the plural markers are not sensitive to the definiteness of the whole NP, which is shown below.

(6-137) [Context: Talking about the Bon festival, and some people in Ashiken said that the way taken by the people in Yuwan on the Bon festival was the actually traditional way.]

TM:	un	cʔjunkjoo	jutattujaa.
	u-n	*cʔju=nkja=ja*	*jʔ-jur-tar-tu=jaa*
	{[MES-ADNZ]	[person]}=APPR=TOP	say-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
	{[Modifier]	[Head]}$_{NP}$	

‘Those people used to say (so).’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In the above example, the NP, i.e. *u-n cʔju* (MES-ADNZ person) ‘that person,’ is definite since it has the demonstrative *u-n* (MES-ADNZ) ‘that (one)’ in the modifier slot. However, the plural marker that follows the NP is *nkja* (APPR), which is on the lowest position on the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan. In other words, such forms as **u-n cʔju-kja* (MES-ADNZ person-PL) or **u-n cʔju-taa* (MES-ADNZ person-PL) are not grammatical. However, the nominative case is sensitive to the definiteness of the whole NP, as discussed in §6.4.3.6 (especially, see (6-132 c)).

In conclusion, the form /ga/ comes to be used exclusively as the nominative case, which results in the form /nu/ to be used exclusively as the genitive case. A similar tendency is found in the nominative case and the genitive case in Irabu (southern Ryukyuan) (Michinori Shimoji 2013 p.c.). There are actually a few examples that do not fit with the environments shown in the above subsections, but still take *ga* (NOM). I

merely show them without any explanation.

(6-138) a. [Context: A bad man threw a pot filled with mud.] = (6-60 a)

TM:	un	janməəkaci	nagɨrattəətan	cɨboga
	u-n	*janməə=kaci*	*nagɨr-ar-təər-tar-n*	*cɨbo=ga*
	MES-ADNZ	garden=ALL	throw-PASS-RSL-PST-PTCP	pot=NOM

mata	kundoo	kinkakaci	natɨ,
mata	*kundu=ja*	*kinka=kaci*	*nar-tɨ*
again	this.time=TOP	gold.coin=ALL	become-SEQ

'The pot thrown into the garden became (filled with) gold this time again.'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about an acquaintance; TM: 'The village office did the procedure (needed for the person), so...']

TM:	kanɨga	|goso|cjɨ	həncjɨ.
	kanɨ=ga	*goso=ccjɨ*	*hənk-tɨ*
	money=NOM	a.lot=QT	enter-SEQ

'A lot of the money entered (his wallet).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [Context: Talking about an acquaintance]

US:	un	ziisanbəiga	atanwake,
	u-n	*ziisan=bəi=ga*	*ar-tar-n=wake*
	MES-ADNZ	old.man=only=NOM	exist-PST-PTCP=CFP

kanɨga.
kanɨ=ga
money=NOM

'Only the old man had the money.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Chapter 7
Nominals

The nominals are divided into the subsets, i.e. common nouns, address nouns, reflexive pronouns, numerals, and indefinite pronouns. They are all free forms and are distinguished primarily by semantic criteria. Additionally, there is the deverbal nominal, i.e. the nominal derived from the verbal stems. These nominals will be discussed in §7.1 to §7.6. The formal nouns are also nominals, but they are clitics, which was already discussed in §6.2.2. We discussed that personal pronominals, demonstratives and interrogatives may be categorized not only as nominals, but also as other word classes, so they are called "cross-over categories" (see Chapter 5 for more details). These various kinds of nominals in Yuwan have strong relationships with the animacy hierarchy, and the details were discussed in §6.4.

The affixes that attach only to the nominal stems are called the nominal affixes. Yuwan has only two nomnal affixes: *-taa* (PL) and *-kkwa* (DIM). The plural affix *-taa* was discussed in §6.4.1 compared with other morphemes that can express plural meaning. The diminutive affix *-kkwa* will be discussed in the last section in this chapter (see §7.7). It should be noted that *-kja* (PL) in §5.1 is not categorized in the nominal affix, since it attaches to the personal pronominal stems (not nominal stems). In fact, *-kja* (PL) is a kind of nominalizer that can also express number, and the same point can be made about the other number affixes, i.e. *-n* (SG) and *-ttəə* (DU).

7.1. Common nouns

In §7.1.1, I will discuss the morphosyntax of common nouns.
In §7.1.2, I will discuss the semantic remarks on number of common nouns.

7.1.1. Morphosyntax of common nouns

A common noun can function as an NP of any kind (an argument, a predicate or an NP modifer). Nominals other than address nouns, reflexive pronouns, numerals, and indefinite pronouns are regarded as "common nouns."

(7-1) Common nouns (animate)

a. Argument

TM:	muccjɨ	ikjoojəəcjɨ	maganu	jʔicjun
	mut-tɨ	*ik-oo=jəə=ccjɨ*	*<u>maga=nu</u>*	*jʔ-tur-n*
	have-SEQ	go-INT=CFM2=QT	[grandchild=NOM]	say-PROG-PTCP
			[Subject]	
	joosɨ.			

joosɨ
atomosphere
'The grandchild seems to say that, "(I) will take (the pears)."'
[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. Predicate

TM:	kun	cʔjoo,	ido..,	taa ..	maga
	ku-n	*cʔju=ja*	*ido*	*ta-a*	*maga*
	this-ADNZ	person=TOP	oh	[who-ADNZ	grandchild
				[Nominal predicate]	

jataru?
jar-tar-u
COP-PST-PFC]
'Whose grandchild was this person?'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. NP modifier
[Context: Complaining about the decline of her memory]

TM:	maganu	cʔjuigadəə	sicjussɨga,
	maga=nu	*cʔjui=gadɨ=ja*	*sij-tur-sɨga*
	{[grandchild=GEN]	[one.CLF]}=LMT=TOP	know-PROG-POL
	{[Modifier]	[Head]}$_{NP}$	

tʔaimekaroo	sijandoojaa.
tʔai-me=kara=ja	*sij-an=doo=jaa*
two.CLF-time=ABL=TOP	know-NEG=ASS=SOL

'(I) know (the name of) one grandchild, but don't know (that of) the second one (and more).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (7-1 a), the animate common noun *maga* 'grandchild' fill the argument slot, which is the subject of the clause. In (7-1 b), *maga* 'grandchild' fill the predicate slot of the clause, and it becomes nominal predicate with the copula verb *jar-* (COP). In (7-1 c), *maga* 'grandchild' fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is a numeral *cʔjui* 'one person.' The plurality of common nouns can be expressed by *nkja* (APPR).

(7-2) Common noun (animate) in the plural
[Context: Remembering that MS's grandmother used to make kimono for grandchildren]

TM:	uraa	baasanna	jazin	magankjanu
	ura-a	*baasan=ja*	*jazin*	*maga=nkja=nu*
	2.NHON.SG-ADNZ	grandmother=TOP	necessarily	grandchild=APPR=GEN
	urakjaa	taməə,		

urakja-a *taməə*
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ sake
'Your grandmother necessarily for grandchildren, for you all, ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (7-2), *maga=nkja* (grandchild=APPR) 'grandchildren' has a plural meaning.

The above examples are all animate, but the same thing can be said to inanimate common nouns.

(7-3) Common nouns (inanimate)

a. Argument

[Context: Old people chanted an incantation when they felt the earthquakes.]

TM:	jaanu	jurɨppoo,	kjon	cɨkɨ	kjon
	jaa=nu	*jurɨr-boo*	*kjoo=n*	*cɨk-ɨ*	*kjoo=n*
	[house=NOM]	shake-CND	Kyoto=DAT1	attach-IMP	Kyoto=DAT1
	[Subject]				

cɨkɨccjɨ jutassɨgana.
cɨk-ɨ *jˀ-jur-tar-sɨga=na*
attach-IMP say-UMRK-PST-POL=PLQ
'If the house shakes, (old people said) that, "Send (it) to Kyoto! Send (it) to Kyoto!" [lit. "Attach to Kyoto! Attach to Kyoto!"]'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Predicate

TM:	arəə	attaa	məəra	muratən	jaa
	a-rɨ=ja	*a-rɨ-taa*	*məə=kara*	*muraw-təər-n*	*jaa*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	[DIST-NLZ-PL	front=ABL	receive-RSL-PTCP	house
		[Nominal predicate]			

jappa.
jar-ba
COP-CSL]
'Since that is the house (he) has received from them.'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. NP modifier

[Context: Seeing a picture, where bundles of rice were hung out in the sun]

TM:	jaanu	məəninkjadu	gan	sjɨ
	jaa=nu	*məə=nan=nkja=du*	*ga-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*
	{[house=GEN]	[front]}=LOC1=APPR=FOC	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ

{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
sagɨjutanwake zjajaa.
sagɨr-jur-tar-n=wake *zjar=jaa*
hang-UMRK-PST-PTCP=FN COP=SOL
'(They) would hang (bundles of rice) in front of (their) houses like this.'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

d. In the plural

TM: kan	sjɨ	jankjanu	dɨkɨijukkjaija
ka-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*jaa=nkja=nu*	*dɨkɨr-Ø+jukkjaar-i=ja*
PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	house=APPR=NOM	be.made-INF+INGR-INF=TOP

|nan+nengoro|karakai?
nan+nen-goro=kara=kai
what+year-about=ABL=DUB
'When did the houses begin to be made like this?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (7-3 a), the inanimate common noun *jaa* 'house' fill the argument slot, which is the subject of the clause. In (7-3 b), *jaa* 'house' fill the predicate slot of the clause, and it becomes nominal predicate with the copula verb *jar-* (COP). In (7-3 c), *jaa* 'house' fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is also a common noun *məə* 'front.' In (7-3 d), *jaa=nkja* (house=APPR) 'houses' has a plural meaning.

7.1.2. Semantic remarks on number of common nouns

We have seen that the plurality of common nouns is expressed by *nkja* (APPR) in the previous section. There is, however, a case, where the bare form of common nouns can imply plurality in itself. In the following discussion, the "bare form" indicates the form which is not followed by the plural markers in Yuwan.

(7-4) Common noun (indefinite and unspecific)
[Context: Speaking of a woman]
TM: kˀwoo ippaidoojaa.
kˀwa=ja *ippai=doo=jaa*
child=TOP many=ASS=SOL
'(She has) many children, you know.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (7-4), *kˀwa* 'child' indicates plural referents in effect, since the predicate (i.e. *ippai* 'many') means plurality, but it does not need *nkja* (APPR). However, such an implication of plurality is only allowed for indefinite (and unspecific) referents as in (7-4). If the referent is definite, specific, and also human, the bare form must indicate only one referent. See (7-5).

(7-5) Common noun (definite, specific, and human)

[Context: Three boys noticed that another boy fell his hat, so they called the boy.]

TM:	saki	izjan	micjaija ..	xxx	mata	isjoobiki	hucjɨ,
	saki	*ik-tar-n*	*micjai=ja*		*mata*	*isjoobiki*	*huk-tɨ*
	first	go-PST-PTCP	three.CLF=TOP		again	whistle	blow-SEQ

un	kʔwaba	abɨtɨ,
u-n	*kʔwa=ba*	*abɨr-tɨ*
MES-ADNZ	child=ACC	call-SEQ

'The three (boys) who went first again whistled, and called the boy, and ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

In the above context, the referent called by three boys is only one. In other words, the expression *u-n kʔwa* 'the boy [lit. that child],' which is definite, specific, and human, must have only a singular meaning. As mentioned in §6.4.1.1, the plural markers in Yuwan, including *nkja* (APPR), can indicate a single specific referent alone. Such an ambiguous characteristic of plural markers make it a little complicated to code or decode the meaning of number in Yuwan. The above contrast between (7-4) and (7-5) is summarized in the follwing tables (see Table 45 and Table 46).

Table 45. Common nouns (indefinite and unspecific)

Form	<<< Encoding <<<	Meaning on number
Bare form		a. One referent
Bare from + *nkja* (APPR)		b. One referent as an example of the member of an unspecific group
		c. More than one referent
	>>> Decoding >>>	

The meaning "b" in the right-most column in Table 45 is characteristic of the plural markers in Yuwan (see §6.4.1.1 for more details). Table 45 shows that the common nouns that are indefinite and unspecific are ambiguous about their number in both encoding and decoding. The coding relation in (7-4) corresponds to that of "bare form" and "more than one referent." In another context, the bare form, which indicates an indefinite and unspecific referent, can also be decoded into simply "one referent." However, if the common nouns indicate definite, specific, and human referents, the bare form cannot be used to indicate more than one referent, which is presented below.

Table 46 Common nouns (definite, specific, and human)

Form	<<< Encoding <<<	Meaning on number
Bare form	———	a. One referent
Bare from + *nkja* (APPR)	———	b. One referent as an example of the member of an unspecific group
	———	c. More than one referent
	>>> Decoding >>>	

In Table 46, a line that existed in Table 45, i.e. the connection between “bare form” and “more than one referent,” was omitted. Thus, the coding relation between “bare form” and “one referent” is straightforward. Therefore we can know that the bare form in (7-5) indicates only one referent.

7.2. Address nouns

Address nouns can be used to call the opponent, which include a part of elder kinship terms and personal names. Additionally, certain profession, e.g. *soncjoo-san* (village.mayor-HON) ‘village mayor’ or *sinsjei* ‘teacher’ can be used as address nouns.

The elder kinship terms that can be used to address the opponent are as follows: *zjuu* ‘father,’ *cʔjan* ‘father,’ *anmaa* ‘mother,’ *okkan* ‘mother,’ *kaacjan* ‘mother,’ *uzii* ‘grandfather,’ *hannjəə* ‘grandmothr,’ *ubaa* ‘grandmother,’ *nii* ‘older brother,’ *nəə* ‘older sister,’ which all appeared in my texts. In those kinship terms, *zjuu* ‘father,’ *anmaa* ‘mother,’ *hannjəə* ‘grandmother,’ and *anjoo* ‘old brother’ are relatively old expression, and the others are relatively new (borrowed) ones. These elder kinship terms, especially the relatively new ones, can be used even if the speaker does not have an actual relative relation with the opponent, e.g., *uzii* ‘grandfathr’ in (6-136) in §6.4.3.6, where *uzii* is glossed and translated into ‘old man’ to fit in the context. The personal names that can be used to address people are all the first names, not the family names.

It should be mentioned that several kinship terms cannot be used to address the opponents, e.g., *uja* ‘parents,’ *jinga-nəə* (man-parent) ‘father [lit. male parent],’ *wunagu-nəə* (woman-parent) ‘mother [lit. female parent],’ *kjoodəə* ‘brother,’ *wunai* ‘younger sister,’ *jɨɨi* ‘younger brother,’ and *maga* ‘grandchild.’ These kinship terms that cannot be used to address the opponent are included in the common nouns in Yuwan (see §7.1).

The address nouns can function as an NP of any kind (an argument, a predicate or an NP modifer). In Yuwan, personal names are frequently compounded with elder kinship terms, e.g. *zjennjuki+anjoo* (Zenyuki+older.brother) ‘Zenyuki,’ where the elder kinship terms function like the honorific titles ‘Mr.’ or ‘Ms.’ in English, although they are used in a more friendly way. The honorific meaning is not translated in English in this grammar.

(7-6) Address nouns (elder kinship)

a. Argument

TM: zjennjukianjooga |heitai|kaci izjɨ,
zjennjuki+anjoo=ga *heitai=kaci* *ik-tɨ*
[Zenyuki+older.brother=NOM] soldier=ALL go-SEQ
[Subject]
'Zenyuki went to (be) a soldier, and ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Predicate

TM: kurɨ sigemasaanjoo jappa.
ku-rɨ *sigemasa+anjoo* *jar-ba*
PROX-NLZ [Shigemasa+older.brother COP-CSL]
[Nominal predicate]
'This (person on the picture) is Shigemasa.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. NP modifier

TM: kun cʔjoo kisasianjoo zjuuja
ku-n *cʔju=ja* *kisasi+anjoo* *zjuu=ja*
PROX-ADNZ person=TOP {[Kisashi+older.brother] [father]}=TOP
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
arannən,
ar-annən
COP-NEG.SEQ
'This person is not Kisashi's father, and ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. In the plural

TM: an junɨzooanjootaaga simautaba
a-n *junɨzoo+anjoo-taa=ga* *sima+uta=ba*
DIST-ADNZ Yonezo+older.brother-PL=NOM community+song=ACC
hozonsiicjɨ jʔicjɨ,
hozon+sɨr-i=ccjɨ *jʔ-tɨ*
preservation+do-INF=QT say-SEQ
'Those (people,) Yonezo and his family said that (they would) do the preservation of the (traditional) songs (of) the community.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (7-6 a), the (compounded) personal name *zjennjuki+anjoo* 'Zenyuki' fill the argument slot, which is the subject of the clause. In (7-6 b), *sigemasa+anjoo* 'Shigemasa' fill the predicate slot of the clause, and it becomes nominal predicate with the copula verb *jar-* (COP). In (7-6 c), *kisasi+anjoo* 'Kisashi' directly fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is also an address noun *zjuu* 'father'. In (7-6 d), *junɨzoo+anjoo-taa*

(Yonezo+older.brother-PL) ‘Yonezo and his family’ has a plural meaning.

As mentioned in §6.4.1.1, the plural forms in Yuwan may indicate not only plural specific referents, but also a single specific referent. Therefore, the plural forms are ambiguous about the semantic plurality in a narrow sense. The bare forms (i.e. the forms without the plural affix *-taa*) of address nouns, however, are different, since the bare forms of address nouns must indicate only one specific referent (with no other referents). Therefore, it may be appropriate to admit that the bare forms of address nouns have a zero affix that only incicates the singular meaning, e.g., *zjennjuki+anjoo-Ø* (Zenyuki+older.brother-SG). Here, it should be remembered that a similar problem has happened in common nouns, where certain common nouns must have correspondence between bare forms and (genuine) singular meanings (see §7.1.2). Those common nouns must indicate definte, specific, and human referents, which are the usual characteristics of address nouns (with the exceptoin of elder kinship terms used to indicate non-relatives). Considering these facts, it is more appropriate to think that the obligatory “singularness” of the address nouns is not attributed to the alleged affix *-Ø* (SG), but on the meaning of the NP (with which the plural affixes co-occur). Thus, I propose that the address nouns in bare forms do not have any singular affix such as *-Ø* (SG).

7.3. Reflexive pronouns

Yuwan has two reflexive pronouns, *nusi* and *duu*, and the choice of them seems to depend on the difference among idiolects. For example, TM only uses *nusi*, MY basically uses *nusi* but sometimes uses *duu*, which is always compounded like *duu+duu*, and MS uses only *duu*; the other people have not used reflexive pronouns in my texts. In many cases, the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is the subject of the clause. In the following examples, the reflexive and its antecedent is marked by the small italic “*i*” in the underlying level. In addition, the reflexive pronouns in the underlying level and their correspondents in the free translation are underlined.

(7-7) a. [Context: Talking about a riverboat of the MS’s family] = (6-99 c)

TM:	urakjoo,	nusinkjanu	atattudu,
	urakja$_i$=ja	[*nusi=nkja$_i$=nu*	*ar-tar-tu*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=du*
	2.NHON.PL=TOP	RFL=APPR=NOM	exist-PST-CSL=FOC
	siccjuro.		
	sij-tur-oo		
	know-PROG-SUPP		

‘You probably know (it), because you have a riverboat of your own.’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: Speking about an acquaintance] = (6-68)

TM:	wanga	kucisjɨ	nusiboo	jamacjuncjɨ,
	[*wan=ga*	*kuci=sjɨ*	*nusi=ba=ja*	*jam-as-tur-n=ccjɨ*]$_{\text{Complement clause}}$
	1SG=NOM	mouth=INST	RFL=ACC=TOP	have.a.pain-CAUS-PROG-PTCP=QT

'(The person said) that I was making the person ill using (my) mouth, and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (7-7 a), the antecedent of *nusi* (RFL) is *urakja* 'you,' and it overtly appears in the sentence. On the contrary, in (7-7 b), the antecedent of *nusi* (RFL), i.e. 'the person,' does not overtly appear in the sentence, but it can be traced by the context. In both of the above examples, *nusi* (RFL) is in the subordinate clauses, but it can correspond with the antecedents in the main clauses.

Additionally, there are examples where *nusi* (RFL) does not seem to correspond with any specific antecedent, but seems to correspond with unspecific referents.

(7-8) [Context: The husband of a couple did not bring back a pot filled with gold coins, since happiness comes naturally to honest people.]

TM:	nusarɨja	nusinu	jaakaci,	nusarɨja	sizinnidu
	nusarɨ=ja	*nusi=nu*	*jaa=kaci*	*nusarɨ=ja*	*sizin=n=du*
	happiness=TOP	RFL=GEN	house=ALL	happiness=TOP	nature=DAT1=FOC

həncjɨ	kjuncjɨ.
həɲk-tɨ	*k-jur-n=ccjɨ*
enter-SEQ	come-UMRK-PTCP=QT

'(He said to his wife) that the happiness comes into one's house, (i.e.) the happiness (comes home) naturally.'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (7-8), it may be possible to think that *nusi* (RFL) corresponds to the man, i.e. the husband of the couple, but it is more natural to think that it corresponds to unspecific people. In other words, it is more appropriate to think that the utterance said by the man in (7-8) is a kind of conventional wisdom.

The above examples show that *nusi* (RFL) behaves in the same way with common nouns, since it takes *nkja* (APPR) as in (7-7 a), and takes *nu* (GEN) in the modifier slot of an NP as in (7-8). Additionally, it usually takes *nu* (NOM) as the subject of the clause as follows.

(7-9) [Context: Asking TM if she made the pickles.]

MY:	kurəə	nusinu	cukutɨ?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*nusi=nu*	*cukur-tɨ*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	RFL=NOM	make-SEQ

[lit.] 'Did yourself make this?'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (7-9), the antecedent of *nusi* (RFL), i.e. 'you,' is not overtly expressed, but it can be inferred from the context. Considering this example, it may be appropriate to say that the antecedents of *nusi* (RFL) is the agent

(or possibly experiencer) of the event expressed by the clause, rather than the subject of the clause.

nusi (RFL) can be reduplicated as follows, where the following root is lengthened.

(7-10) [Context: Remembering the day the outdoor lamps were set in the shopping street of the village]

TM:	nusinusiinu	jaanu	kadukadunan	tatɨtancjɨjo.
	nusi+nusi=nu	*jaa=nu*	*kadu+kadu=nan*	*tatɨr-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
	RED+RFL=GEN	house=GEN	RED+corner=LOC1	stand-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1

'(They) stood (the outdoor lamps) at each corner of each one.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the examples discussed above, *nusi* (RFL) indicates only a human referent. Additionally, *nusi* (RFL) can indicate non-human referents, e.g., *mjaa* 'cat' as in (7-11).

(7-11)

TM:	mjaanu	nusinu	maiba	kada	sjuttoo.
	mjaa$_i$=nu	*nusi$_i$=nu*	*mai=ba*	*kada*	*sɨr-jur=doo*
	cat=NOM	RFL=GEN	buttock=ACC	smell	do-UMRK=ASS

'A cat smells the buttock of itself.

[El: 130820]

7.4. Numerals

A numeral is constituted of a numeral root plus a classifier affix. So far, the following classifier affixes are found in Yuwan: *-cɨ* (CLF.thing), *-kəəi* (CLF.time), and -(*ta*)*i* (CLF.human). However, these numerals are not very productive, and people usually borrow numerals from Standard Japanese. The numeral in Yuwan usually fills the head slot of an NP and does not fill the modifier slot. If it should fill the modifier slot of an NP, it takes *nu* (GEN). Numerals, if they are the subjects of the clauses, take *ga* (NOM) or nothing except for the cases where they take limitter particles. There are no examples where numerals take any plural marker in my texts so far.

In §7.4.1, I will discuss the syntax of numerals. In §7.4.2, I will discuss the morphology of numerals.

7.4.1. Syntax of numerals

First, we will examine the examples of *-cɨ* (CLF.thing). The combinations of numeral roots and *-cɨ* (CLF.thing) are summarized in Table 47. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table 47 is shown in §7.4.2.

Table 47. Numerals made with *-cɨ* (CLF.thing) (surface forms)

Numbers	Word forms	Meaning
1	tˀɨɨ	a thing
2	tˀaacɨ	two things
3	miicɨ	three things
4	juucɨ	four things
5	ɨcɨcɨ	five things
6	muucɨ	six things
7	nanacɨ	seven things
8	jaacɨ	eight things
9	kˀuunucɨ	nine things
10	tuu	ten things

For the numbers more than ten in Table 47, there are no native terms, so we have to use borrowings from standard Japanese. I wil present examples of *-cɨ* (CLF.thing), where the numerals head the NPs.

(7-12) a. [Context: A man had put two baskets under a big pear tree.]

TM:	un	kagonu	tˀɨɨ	cɨdɨ
	u-n	*kago=nu*	*tˀɨɨ*	*cɨm-tɨ*
	{[MES-ADVZ	basket=GEN]	[one.CLF.thing]}	load-SEQ
	{[Modifier]		[Head]}$_{NP}$	

ikjunwake.
ik-jur-n=wake
go-UMRK-PTCP=CFP
'(The boy) puts the one of the baskets on (the front of his bicycle) and goes.'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. [Context: There is a big pear tree, from which a man is picking up pears.] = (6-62 a)

TM:	kɨinu	sjanannja	kagonu	tˀaacɨ
	kɨi=nu	*sja=nan=ja*	*kago=nu*	*tˀaacɨ*
	tree=GEN	under=LOC1=TOP	{[basket=GEN]	[two.CLF.thing]}
			{[Modifier]	[Head]}$_{NP}$

ucjutɨ,
uk-tur-tɨ
put-PROG-SEQ
'Under the tree, (the man) put two baskets, and ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

c. [Context: A boy tumbled off his bicycle and the pears in the basket in front of the bicycle

scattered. Three other boys helped him to gather the pears. After that, the one of the three boys found the boy's hat, so he called him and handed the hat to him.]

TM:	gan	sjan	tuki	mata	joonasinu	miicɨ,
	ga-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*tuki*	*mata*	*joonasi=nu*	*miicɨ*
	MES-ADNZ	do-PST-PTCP	time	again	{[pear=GEN]	[three.CLF.thing]}
					{[Modifier]	[Head]}$_{NP}$

|hora|,	muratɨ	cʔjaroo.
hora	*muraw-tɨ*	*k-tar-oo*
hey	receive-SEQ	come-PST-SUPP

'(At) that time, probably (the boys) received three pears again, and came (back).'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

The numerals tend to fill the head slot of an NP (except for the case of "quantifier-float" below). However, there is an example where the numeral fills the modifier slot of an NP as in (7-15). After you have read the descritption about quantifier-float below, it should be noted that all of the numerals as in (7-12) are not the examples of quantifier-float. This was shown by the case particles which the NP modifiers take in (7-12), where the NP modifiers take a genitive case *nu*, not *ba* (ACC), despite the NP's being the objects of the clauses. This fact shows that the numerals are not apart from the preceding NPs, i.e, not floated quontifiers, but that they fills the head slots of the NPs with the preceding NP modifiers.

Second, the combinations of numeral roots and *-kəəi* (CLF.time) are summarized in Table 48. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table 48 is shown in §7.4.2.

Table 48. Numerals made with *-kəəi* (CLF.time) (surface forms)

Numbers	Word forms	Meaning
1	cʔjukəi	once
2	tʔakəi	twice
3	mikəi	three times
4	jukəi	four times
5	ɨcɨkəi	five times
6	mukəi	six times
7	nanakəi	seven times
8	jakəi	eight times
9	kunkəi	nine times
10	tukəi	ten times

For the numbers above ten in Table 48, there are no native terms, so we have to use borrowings from standard Japanese. I will present examples of *-kəəi* (CLF.time), where the numeral behaves as an adverb.

(7-13) a. TM: an tacɨgəə cʔjukəəin tooritɨn njan.
a-n *tacɨgɨ=ja* *cʔjukəəi=n* *toorɨr-tɨ=n* *nj-an*
DIST-ADNZ prop=TOP one.CLF.time=even fall-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG
'That prop has never fallen even once.'
[El: 130816]

b. TM: mata.. uma tʔakəi izjai, cʔjai, sjattu.
mata *u-ma* *tʔakəəi* *ik-tai* *k-tai* *sɨr-tar-tu*
again MES-place two.CLF.time go-LST come-LST do-PST-CSL
'(The three boys) went there and came back two times.'
[PF: 090225_00.txt]

-kəəi (CLF.time) goes through the phonological rule in §2.4.5. Therefore, one of the vowels is deleted as in (7-13 b) or Table 48. However, if *n* 'even' follows *-kəəi* (CLF.time), the environment is out of the application of the rule, and the underlying form appears in the surface form without any modification as /cʔju-kəəi=n/ (one-CLF.time=even) 'even once' in (7-13 a).

Third, the combinations of numeral roots and *-tai* (CLF.person) are summarized in Table 49. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table 49 is shown in §7.4.2.

Table 49. Numerals made with *-tai* (CLF.person) (surface forms)

Numbers	Word forms	Meanings
1	cʔjui	a person
2	tʔai	two people
3	micjai	thee people
4	jutai	four people

For the numbers above four in Table 49, there are no native terms, so we have to use borrowings from standard Japanese. The following examples show the numerals containing *-(ta)i* (CLF.person).

(7-14) a. TM: hunto, an tʔaiga wuppoo, muru
hunto *a-n* *tʔai=ga* *wur-boo* *muru*
really {[DIST-ADNZ] [two.CLF.person=NOM]} exist-CND very
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
jiccja atanmundoo.
jiccj-sa *ar-tar-n=mun=doo*
good-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS
'Really, if there were the two [i.e. if the two were alive], it would be very good.'
[PF: 090305_01.txt]

b. TM: un micjaiga |cjanto| hijatɨ
u-n *micjai=ga* *cjanto* *hijaw-tɨ*
{[MES-ADNZ] [three.CLF.person]}=NOM correctly pick.up-SEQ
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
ɨrɨtɨ,
ɨrɨr-tɨ
put.in-SEQ
'The three correctly picked up (the pears) and put (them) in (the basket), and ...'
[PF: 090827_02.txt]

As mentioned above, numerals in Yuwan rarely fill the modifier slot of an NP. However, there is an example of the case.

(7-15) Numeral filling the modifier slot of an NP
[Context: Three children were walking a way.] = (6-135 b)

TM:	un	kʔwanu,	cʔjuinu	kʔwanu	isjoobiki
	u-n	*kʔwa=nu*	*cʔjui=nu*	*kʔwa=nu*	*isjoobiki*
	MES-ADNZ	child=NOM	{[one.CLF=GEN]	[child]}=NOM	whistle
			{[Modifier]	[Head]}$_{NP}$	

hucjɨ,
huk-tɨ
blow-SEQ
'That child, the child (who is) one (of them) whistled, and ...'
[PF: 090305_01.txt]

So far, the reason for the above use of numerals in the modifier slot of an NP is not clear for me.

Furthermore, the numerals sometimes immediately follow the heads of the core arguments. In (7-16), the address noun *uzii*, which usually means 'grandfather' but means 'an old man' here, takes the nominative case *ga*. The *ga* (NOM) must not be a genitive case, since address nouns do not take any case particle in the modifier slot of an NP (see §7.2). Thus, it is clear that the numeral *cʔjui* (one.CLF.person) in (7-16) is neither the modifier nor head of the NP.

(7-16) Quantifier-float (After subject NP) [= (6-136)]
[Context: The very beginning of the monologue. TM: '(I will) start from the scene (where a man) picks up the pears. There is a pear-tree, (i.e.) a big tree, ...']

TM:	unnəntɨ	uziiga	cʔjui	joonasi
	u-n=nəntɨ	*uzii=ga*	*cʔjui*	*joonasi*
	MES-ADNZ=LOC2	old.man=NOM	one.CLF.person	pear

mutunwake.
mur-tur-n=wake
pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP
'There, an old man is picking up pears.'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

Semantically, the numeral *cʔjui* (one.CLF.person) modifies *uzii* 'old man' meaning that the man indicated by *uzii* 'old man' is alone. Syntactically, however, the numeral *cʔjui* (one.CLF.person) is separated from the NP where *uzii* 'old man' exists. This kind of phenomenon is called "quantifier float" in Japanese linguistics (Shibatani 1990: 286). The example in (7-17) below may be an example of quantifier float, but it may also be analyzed as a single NP.

(7-17) [Context: A boy tumbled in riding bicycle, and was injured.]

TM:	gan	jinganu	micjai,	warabɨnu
	ga-n	*jinga=nu*	*micjai*	*waraɨ=nu*
	MES-ADVZ	man=NOM/GEN	three.CLF.person	child=NOM/GEN
	micjai,	tuutɨ,		
	micjai	*tuur-tɨ*		
	three.CLF.person	pass-SEQ		

'There three men, (i.e.) three child passed, and ...'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

In (7-17), the expression *jinga=nu micjai* can be analyzed as either (man=NOM three.CLF.person), i.e. quantifier float, or (man=GEN three.CLF.person), i.e. a single NP, because the common noun *jinga* 'man' can take both *nu* (NOM) and *nu* (GEN) (see §7.1.1). In the former analysis, the numeral *micjai* (three.CLF.person) is a floated quantifier apart from the preceding NP. In the latter analysis, the numeral fills the head slot of the NP, where the preceding nominal *jinga* 'man' fills the modifier slot. The same argument can be applied to another NP in (7-17), i.e. *warabɨ=nu micjai*. There is no answer to determine which analysis is really correct.

All of the numerals in the above examples expressed cardinal numbers. If you want to express ordinary numbers, you may have the affix *-me* (ODN) follow the numerals introduced above. Considering the phoneme /e/, the affix *-me* (ODN) is thought to be borrowed from the standard Japanese relatively recently.

(7-18) [Context: Complaining about the decline of her memory]

TM:	maganu	cʔjuigadəə	sicjussɨga,
	maga=nu	*cʔjui=gadɨ=ja*	*sij-tur-sɨga*
	grandchild=GEN	one.CLF.person=LMT=TOP	know-PROG-POL
	tʔaimekaroo	sijandoojaa.	

t'ai-me=kara=ja *sij-an=doo=jaa*
two.CLF-ODN=ABL=TOP know-NEG=ASS=SOL
'(I) know (the name of) one grandchild, but don't know (that of) the second one (and more).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Before concluding this section, I will present some combinations of the numerals with a few morphemes. First, the numerals can be compounded with the adverb *naa*. The combination means there are other referents whose number is indicated by the numerals. I will present examples in (7-19 a-b).

(7-19) Numerals compounded with *naa* 'other'

a. [Context: Seeing some acquaintances of TM in a picture]

TM: naac'juinu c'joo koogi jappa.
naa+c'jui=nu *c'ju=ja* *koogi* *jar-ba*
other+one.CLF.person=GEN person=TOP Kogi COP-CSL
'Since another person is Kogi.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. MY: cɨkɨmunukkwaja naat'ɨɨ |itadak|oojəə
cɨkɨ+mun-kkwa=ja *naa+t'ɨɨ* *itadak-oo=jəə*
pickle.INF+thing-DIM=TOP other+one.CLF.thing eat.modesty-INT=CFM2
'(I) will eat another (piece of) pickles.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Additionally, the numerals may be followed by a particle *naa* 'each.'

(7-20) [Context: Remembering the way of traditional funerals]

TM: aahata, miicɨnaa, t'aacɨnaa
aa+hata *miicɨ=naa* *t'aacɨ=naa*
red+flag three.CLF.thing=each two.CLF.thing=each
'(They stood) red flags, three (of which in front of) each (line of the funeral), two (of which in front of) each (line of the funeral).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Furtheremore, the numerals can be followed by *-gɨna* 'together.'

(7-21) [Context: Talking about two acquaintaces, who lived outside the community.]

TM: t'aigɨna kaaranba,

tˀai-gɨna *kaar-an-ba*
two.CLF.person-together relate-NEG-CSL
'Both of the two did not contact (with the people in our community), so ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The combinations of numeral roots and classifier affixes are far from productive. Therefore, the morphological analyses of numerals in the underlying forms are not expressed in the above discussion. The tentative morphological analyses of numerals in Yuwan will be discussed in the following subsection.

7.4.2. Morphology of numerals

It is possible to divide the numerals in Yuwan into the following morphemes, shown in Table 50.

Table 50. Morphological analyses of the numeral (surface forms)

Numbers	-*cɨ* (CLF.thing)		Numbers	-*kəəi* (CLF.time)		Numbers	-(*ta*)*i* (CLF.person)	
1	tˀɨɨ		1	cˀju	-kəi	1	cˀju	-i
2	tˀaa	-cɨ	2	tˀa	-kəi	2	tˀa	-i
3	mii	-cɨ	3	mi	-kəi	3	mi	-cjai
4	juu	-cɨ	4	ju	-kəi	4	ju	-tai
5	ɨcɨ	-cɨ	5	ɨcɨ	-kəi			
6	muu	-cɨ	6	mu	-kəi			
7	nana	-cɨ	7	nana	-kəi			
8	jaa	-cɨ	8	ja	-kəi			
9	kˀuunu	-cɨ	9	kun	-kəi			
10	tuu		10	tu	-kəi			

The above table shows that the numerals indicating 1, 9, and 10 behave irregularly.

The numeral that means 'one thing,' i.e, *tˀɨɨ* at the upper-most and left-most position in Table 50, appears that it is not followed by the classifier -*cɨ* (CLF.thing) and that it indicates the notion by itself. Additionally, the form *tˀɨɨ* (one.CLF.thing) is very different from the tentative root form *cˀju*- 'one,' which is used to indicate a single referent with -*kəəi* (CLF.time) and -*i* (CLF.person).

The numeral root that indicates nine referents is *kˀuunu*- 'nine' when it is followed by -*cɨ* (CLF.thing), but is *kun*- 'nine' when it is followed by -*kəəi* (CLF.time).

The numeral that means 'ten things,' i.e. *tuu* at the lower-most and left-most position in Table 50, appears that it is not followed by the classifier -*cɨ* (CLF.thing) and that it indicates the notion by itself. The same form appears to be followed by -*kəəi* (CLF.time) with vowel deletion, i.e. /tu-kəi/ (ten-CLF.time) 'ten times.'

The classifiers to count human is -*i* (CLF.person) if the preceding numeral roots indicate one or two

person(s) such as /cʔju-i/ (one-CLF.person) ‘a person’ or /tʔa-i/ (two-CLF.person) ‘two people,’ and it is *-tai* (CLF.person) if the preceding numeral roots indicate three or four people such as /mi-cjai/ (three-CLF.person) ‘three people’ (with the palatalization of //tai// to /cjai/) or /ju-tai/ (four-CLF.person) ‘four people.’

It is difficult to determine the underlying forms of the numeral root. In surface forms, they have more than one mora before *-cɨ* (CLF.thing), but do not necessarily have more than one mora before *-kəəi* (CLF.time) or -(*ta*)*i* (CLF.person). While there may be some other analyses, I propose the following analysis as the best.

Table 51. Numeral roots in Yuwan (underlying forms)

Numbers	Numeral roots
1	*tʔɨɨ* / *cʔju-*
2	*tʔaa-*
3	*mii-*
4	*juu-*
5	*ɨcɨ-*
6	*muu-*
7	*nana-*
8	*jaa-*
9	*kʔuunu-* / *kun-*
10	*tuu*

In Table 51, only *tʔɨɨ* and *tuu* are free morphemes, and the others are bound morphemes. If numeral roots that have the same-vowel sequences at their root-final positions are followed by *-kəəi* (CLF.time) or -(*ta*)*i* (CLF.person), the vowel sequences become a single vowel. For example, *jaa-* ‘eight’ plus *-kəəi* (CLF.time) becomes /ja-kəi/, where //jaa// ‘eight’ becomes /ja/ because of the root-final vowel deletion. This analysis can avoid assuming a putative underlying form *tʔɨ* ‘one thing,’ which does not appear in any surface form. In other words, I propose that all of the morphemes that have long vowel at their root-final position in the numerals to count things are originally long. Other examples that are relevant to vowel deletion are shown below.

Table 52. Morphophonological alternation with *-kəəi* (CLF.time)

Numbers	Underlying forms				Surface forms
	Numeral roots		Classifiers		Numerals
2	*tʔaa-*	+	*-kəəi* (CLF.time)	>	tʔa-kəi
3	*mii-*	+		>	mi-kəi
4	*juu-*	+		>	ju-kəi
6	*muu-*	+		>	mu-kəi
8	*jaa-*	+		>	ja-kəi
10	*tuu*	+		>	tu-kəi

Table 53. Morphophonological alternation with -(*ta*)*i* (CLF.person)

Numbers	Underlying forms				Surface forms
	Numeral roots		Classifiers		Numerals
2	*tˀaa-*	+	-*i* (CLF.person)	>	tˀa-i
3	*mii-*	+	-*tai* (CLF.person)	>	mi-cjai
4	*juu-*	+	-*tai* (CLF.person)	>	ju-tai

The above tables show that the root-final long vowels become short before -*kəəi* (CLF.time) or -(*ta*)*i* (CLF.person). In Table 53, the initial morphophoneme //t// in -*tai* (CLF.person) undergoes palatalization (plus affrication) and becomes /cj/, which is thought to be caused by the preceding morphophoneme //i// in *mii-* 'three.'

In this grammar, the morphemic boundaries of numeral words are not expressed (even if they are present at the underlying level) unless they need to be clearly distinguished.

7.5. Indefinite pronouns

Yuwan has affixes that turns interrogative nominal stems into indefinite pronouns: -*nkuin*, which is labeled as the "indefinitizer" (INDFZ) in this grammar. The combinations of the interrogative nominal stems and -*nkuin* (INDFZ) are shown in the following table.

Table 54. Indefinite pronouns in Yuwan

Interrogative nominals			Indefinitizer		Indefinite pronouns	
nuu	'what'	+	-*nkuin* (INDFZ)	>	/nunkuin/	'anything'
daa	'where'			>	/dankuin/	'anywhere'
ɨcɨɨ	'when'			>	/ɨcinkuin/	'always'
taru	'who'			>	/tarunkuin/	'anybody'
dɨru	'which'			>	/dɨrunkuin/	'anyone (of them)'

Interrogative nominals that have the same-vowel sequence at stem-final positions undergo the vowel deletion discussed in §2.4.5, e.g. //nuu// 'what' + -*nkuin* (INDFZ) > /nu-nkuin/.

I will present examples of Table 54. The indefinite pronouns in the underlying level and their correspondents in the free translation are underlined below.

(7-22) Interrogative nominals + -*nkuin* (INDFZ)

a. *nuu* 'what' + -*nkuin* (INDFZ)

[Context: TM tells the present author that US always does not sit still, but that she always tries

to serve something to eat for the guest.]

TM:	nunkuin	izjasicjɨjo.	hanasinkjoo
	nuu-nkuin	*izjas-i=ccjɨ=joo*	*hanasi=nkja=ja*
	what-INDFZ	put.out-INF=QT=CFM1	conversation=APPR=TOP
	sɨrancjɨjo.		
	sɨr-an=ccjɨ=joo		
	do-NEG=QT=CFM1		

'(She) puts out [i.e. serves] anything. (She) does not (begin) the conversation.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *daa* 'where' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)

TM:	naa,	dankuinkaci	abɨratti,
	naa	*daa-nkuin=kaci*	*abɨr-ar-tɨ*
	FIL	where-INDFZ=ALL	call-PASS-SEQ

'(My mother) was called (for the recording of the traditional songs) anywhere, and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *ɨcɨɨ* 'when' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)

TM:	waakjoo	ɨcɨnkuin	waratuncjɨjo.
	waakja=ja	*ɨcɨɨ-nkuin*	*waraw-tur-n=ccjɨ=joo*
	1PL=TOP	when-INDFZ	laugh-PROG-PTCP=QT=CFM1

'I am always laughing (remembering the old days).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. *taru* 'who' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)

TM:	tarunkuin,	ta ..	jiccjan	munnu	appoo,
	ta-ru-nkuin	*ta*	*jiccj-sa+ar-n*	*mun=nu*	*ar-boo*
	who-NLZ-INDFZ	who	good-ADJ+STV-PTCP	thing=NOM	exist-CND

'If (my grandfather) had something good, he would give it to anybody.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

e *dɨru* 'which' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)

TM:	dɨrunkuin	kamɨjoo.
	dɨ-ru-nkuin	*kam-ɨ=joo*
	which-NLZ-INDFZ	eat-IMP=CFM1

'Eat anything (there).'

[El: 130820]

The above examples show that *-nkuin* (INDFZ) changes the questional meanings of the interrogative stems to the indefinite ones. As mentioned in §4.3.6, there are other affixes that can also turn interrogative stems into indefinite words, i.e. *-ninkuinin* (INDFZ) and *-sjɨnkaasjɨn* (INDFZ). The difference among them is that *-nkuin* (INDFZ) forms a nominal, but that *-ninkuinin* (INDFZ) and *-sjɨnkaasjɨn* (INDFZ) form adverbs. In fact,

-nkuin (INDFZ) is very similar to *-ninkuinin* (INDFZ). One might think that the former could be divided into several morphemes such as /nkuin/ *=n=kui=n* (any=INDFZ=any). However, we do not accept this analysis. The indefinite pronoun *-nkuin* can be followed by *kaci* as in (7-22 b). If we analyzed it as /nkuinkaci/ *=n=kui=n=kaci* (any=INDFZ=any=ALL), we would have to admit the order of *=n=kaci* (any=ALL), but *kaci* (ALL) usually precedes (not follows) *n* 'any' when it follows interrogative nominals, e.g. *daa=kaci=n* (where=ALL=any) 'anywhere' in (5-42 a) in §5.3.2. Thus, we do not divide *-nkuin* (INDFZ) into multiple morphemes.

7.6. Deverbal nominals

There is an affix that can change verbal stems to nominal stems, i.e. *-jaa* 'person.' Additionally, verbal stems can become nominal stems by compounding, which was discussed in §4.2.3.1 and §4.2.3.2.

Semantically, *-jaa* means 'a person who does the action frequently and/or deliberately,' which is abbreviated to 'person' or simply "NLZ" (i.e. nominalizer) in the gloss. Morphologically, *-jaa* 'person' can directly follow the verbal root as in (7-23 a-b). Morphophonologically, it belongs to Type C verbal affixes (see §8.2.1.3). For example, the final //r// of *tur-* 'take' is lost before *-jaa* 'person' as in (7-23 b).

(7-23) a. *hasij-* 'run' + *-jaa* 'person'

[Context: Talking about students who participate in the training camp held in the village]

TM:	hasijaankjanu	|gassjuku|sjɨ	kjuuroogai?
	hasij-jaa=nkja=nu	*gassjuku=sjɨ*	*k-jur-oo=ga=i*
	run-person=APPR=NOM	training.camp=INST	come-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

'Runners would come for training camp, you know.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *tur-* 'take' + *-jaa* 'person'

[Context: Talking about the relationship between a person and some people]

TM:	attaa	sisitujaa.
	a-rɨ-taa	*sisi+tur-jaa*
	DIST-NLZ-PL	boar+take-person

'(He is) their boar-taker [i.e. a person who always takes boars, and he is their relative].'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Interestingly, the nominalized verbal stem in (7-23 b), i.e, *tur-jaa* (take-person), can form a compound with a preceding nominal, i.e. *sisi* 'boar.'

As mentioned above, the meaning of *-jaa* is not so simple that it is not very productive. However, if we restrict the context, it can follow a few derivational affixes, i.e. *-as* (CAUS) and *-arɨr* (PASS). The contexts of the following examples are suggested by the present author, and the speaker uttered the appropriate sentences

according to the context.

(7-24) a. *-as* (CAUS) + *-jaa* 'person'

[Context: Talking about a naughty boy who always makes other children cry]

TM:	agaraa	munna	nakasjaadoo.
	aga-raa	*mun=ja*	*nak-as-jaa=doo*
	DIST-DRG.ADNZ	substance=TOP	cry-CAUS-person=ASS

'That bad boy always makes someone cry.'

[lit. 'That bad boy is a person who always makes (someone) cry.']

[El: 121010]

b. *-arɨr* (PASS) + *-jaa* 'person'

[Context: Some children are talking about their mischief and trying to determine the person who apologize on their behalf.]

TM:	uroo	oosarɨjaa	naiccjɨdaroogai?
	ura=ja	*oos-arɨr-jaa*	*nar-i=ccjɨ=daroo=ga=i*
	2.NHON.SG=TOP	scold-PASS-person	become-INF=QT=SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

'Probably, you will undertake the role of a person who is scolded, right?'

[lit. 'Probably, you intend to become the person who is scolded, right?']

[El: 121010]

The above examples show that *-jaa* 'person' does not necessarily indicates the "agent" of the action that the verbal root indicates. In (7-24 b), the referetnt indicated by *oos-arɨr-jaa* (scold-PASS-person) 'a person who is scolded (of the person's own free will)' is the patient of *oos-* 'scold' (not the agent).

7.7. Diminutive affix *-kkwa*

There is an affix *-kkwa*, which tends to attach to nominal stems that indicate small (or short) referents as in (7-25 a-e), but it also attaches to the words that do not necessarily indicate small (or short) referents by themselves as in (7-25 f-j). It never attaches to the personal pronouns or address nouns.

(7-25) *-kkwa* (DIM)

a.

TM:	waakjaga	warabɨkkwa	sjuin,
	waakja=ga	*warabɨ-kkwa*	*sɨr-tur-i=n*
	1PL=NOM	child-DIM	do-PROG-INF=DAT1

'When I was a child [lit. was doing a child], ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b.

TM:	|cjoodo	mikan|nu	(kun)	kun	huukkwanu
	cjoodo	*mikan=nu*	*ku-n*	*ku-n*	*huu-kkwa=nu*

just mikan=GEN PROX-ADNZ PROX-ADNZ piece-DIM=GEN
tʔɨɨ kamboo, xxx jiccjai.
tʔɨɨ kam-boo jiccj-sa+ar-i
one.thing eat-CND good-ADJ+STV-NPST
'If (I) eat just a piece of this *mikan*, (it) is good [i.e. sufficient] (for me).'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. TM: injahunɨkkwakacigadɨ |bonbon bakudan utusi|tattu.
inja+hunɨ-kkwa=kaci=gadɨ bon+bon bakudan utus-tar-tu
small+ship-DIM=ALL=LMT RED+bong bomb fall-PST-CSL
'(The American soldiers) dropped bombs even on the small ships.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: magakkwanu cʔjɨ,
maga-kkwa=nu k-tɨ
grandchild-DIM=NOM come-SEQ
'The grandchild came, and ...'
[PF: 090305_01.txt]

e. TM: |ittoki|kkwa umanan ucjutɨ,
ittoki-kkwa u-ma=nan uk-tur-tɨ
for.a.while-DIM MES-place=LOC1 put-PROG-SEQ
'Putting (the pickles) there for a while, ...'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

f. TM: haruesanga wuinnja dusikkwa jatanmun,
harue-san=ga wur-i=n=ja dusi-kkwa jar-tar-n=mun
Harue-HON=NOM exist-INF=DAT1=TOP friend-DIM COP-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'When Ms. Harue was here, (she and I) were friends, but ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

g. TM: usikkwa kawuroojaacjɨ jʔicjɨ,
usi-kkwa kawur-oo=jaa=ccjɨ jʔ-tɨ
cow-DIM raise-INT=SOL=QT say-SEQ
'(The couple) said that, "Let's raise a cow," and ...'
[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

h. TM: utakkwadu utajutattu, waakjaa anmaaja.
uta-kkwa=du utaw-jur-tar-tu waakja-a anmaa=ja
song-DIM=FOC sing-UMRK-PST-CSL 1PL-ADNZ mother=TOP
'My mother used to sing a song.'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

i. [= (6-29)]

TM:	sijan	huikkwa	sjɨ,
	sij-an	*hui-kkwa*	*sɨr-tɨ*
	know-NEG	pretend-DIM	do-SEQ

'Pretending not to know (about the thrown snacks), ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

j.

TM:	kaman	minzjɨn	njanban,	nukkwan,[37]
	kama=n	*ming-tɨ=n*	*nj-an=ban*	*nuu-kkwa=n*
	sickle=even	grasp-SEQ=even	EXP-NEG=ADVRS	what-DIM=even

'(The person said that) despite never having grasped a sickle (or) anything, ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (7-25 a-e), the nominal stems preceding -*kkwa* (DIM) indicate small (or short) things, e.g., *warabɨ* 'child' in (7-25 a). In (7-25 f-j), the nominal stems preceding -*kkwa* (DIM) do not necessarily indicate small (or short) things. The nominal stems in (7-25 f-h) seem to indicate referents that are familiar to the speaker, e.g., *dusi* 'friend' in (7-25 f). The -*kkwa* (DIM) in (7-25 i-j) seem to express some insulting meaning towards the referents of the nominal stems, e.g., *sij-an hui* (know-NEG pretend) 'pretending not to know' in (7-25 i).

Morphophonologically, -*kkwa* (DIM) needs the insertion of /u/ after a nominal stem that ends with //n//.

(7-26) Vowel insertion between //n// and -*kkwa* (DIM)

a.	*mun*	'thing'	+	-*kkwa* (DIM)	>	/mu.nuk.kwa/
b.	*ɨn*	'dog'			>	/ɨ.nuk.kwa/
c.	*gazjan*	'mosquito'			>	/ga.zja.nuk.kwa/

The vowel insertion in (7-26 a-c) conforms to the phonological rule in §2.4.3. Additionally, -*kkwa* (DIM) sometimes deletes a vowel in the same vowel sequence, e.g., *mizjuu* 'ditch' + -*kkwa* (DIM) > /mizjukkwa/, which conforms to the phonological rule in §2.4.5. However, if the nominal stem is composed of only a syllable with a long vowel, the vowel deletion is not likely to occur, e.g., *koo* 'river' + -*kkwa* (DIM) > /kookkwa/. There is an adverb that seems to include -*kkwa* (DIM), i.e. /joikkwa/ [jọikkʷạ] 'silently,' which is frequently pronounced as /joikwa/ [jọik(ʔ)ʷạ]. However, /joi/ cannot form a free form by itself, which means /k(k)wa/ in this adverb is not the diminutive affix in modern Yuwan.

Morphologically, -*kkwa* (DIM) can attach not only to common nouns as in (7-25 a-h), but also to formal nouns as in (7-25 i), interrogative nominals as in (7-25 j), and demonstrative nominals as in (7-27 a-b).

(7-27) -*kkwa* (DIM) attaching to demonstrative nominals

a. TM:	kurɨkkwakaci	sɨmɨtɨ,	(e, e,)	naracjui.

[37] A nominal root composed of only a syllable with a long vowel usually retains its vowel length before -*kkwa* (DIM), but *nuu* 'what' in this example became /nu/, which conformed to the phonological rule in §2.4.5.

ku-rɨ-kkwa=kaci *sɨmɨr-tɨ* *naras-tur-i*
PROX-NLZ-DIM=ALL do.CAUS-SEQ make.sound-PROG-NPST
'(I) made (him dub the song) to this [i.e. cassette tape], and am (always) making (it) sound [i.e. listening to it].'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: |oiwai|nu umakkwanan motodacunekocjɨbəi
oiwai=nu *u-ma-kkwa=nan* *motoda+cuneko=ccjɨ=bəi*
monetary.gift=GEN MES-place-DIM=LOC1 Motoda+Tsuneko=QT=only
kacjɨ,
ka-tɨ
write-SEQ
'Writing (my name) Tsuneko Motoda on that place on (the envelope to put in a) monetary gift, ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (7-27 a-b), the demonstrative nominals indicate small things, i.e. *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this' indicates a cassette tape, and *u-ma* (MES-place) 'there' indicates the small part on the envelop.

It is probable that the diminutive affix *-kkwa* disscussed above is a cognate with the common noun *kʔwa* 'child,' since *kʔwa* 'child' is sometimes realized as /kkwa/ as in (7-28 b).[38]

(7-28) *kʔwa* 'child'

a. TM: kʔwamaganu acɨmatɨ,
kʔwa+maga=nu *acɨmar-tɨ*
child+grandchild=NOM gather-SEQ
'Children and grandchildren gather, and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: ujakkwa jappoojoo,
uja+kʔwa *jar-boo=joo*
parent+child COP-CND=CFM1
'If (we) are parent and child, ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: daibankʔwadoo.
daiban+kʔwa=doo
big+child=ASS
'(He is) a big child.'

[38] Niinaga (2010: 39) argued that the nominal *kʔwa* 'child' is always realized with glottalization, i.e. [ʔ͡kʷq̣]. However, it is merely a tendency, since there is an example like /ujakkwa/ *uja+kʔwa* (parent+child) as in (7-28 b).

[El: 110327]

d.	TM:	kun	mjan	kʔwakkwanu	sjugɨsajaa.
		ku-n	*mjaa=nu*	*kʔwa-kkwa=nu*	*sjugɨ-sa=jaa*
		PROX-ADNZ	cat=GEN	child-DIM=NOM	small-ADJ=SOL
		'This kitten [lit. cat's child] (is) small.'			

[El: 110327]

The above examples show that *kʔwa* 'child' is realized as /kʔwa/ with the exception of (7-28 b). I propose that *kʔwa* 'child' is different from *-kkwa* (DIM) in the modern Yuwan. First, *kʔwa* 'child' does not induce the vowel insertion when it attaches to //n// as in (7-28 c).[39] On the contrary, *-kkwa* (DIM) always induce the vowel insertion when it attaches to //n// as in (7-26 a-c). Secondly, *-kkwa* (DIM) can co-occur with *kʔwa* 'child,' and each morpheme expresses a meaning different from each other as in (7-28 d). Thus, I propose that the affix *-kkwa* (DIM) is different from (the compounding of) *kʔwa* 'child' in the modern Yuwan.

Before concluding this section, it should be mentioned that *-kkwa* (DIM) can follow two kinds of adjectival roots, i.e. *inja-* 'small' and *sjugɨ-* 'small' as in (7-29 a-b).

(7-29) Adjectival roots + *kʔwa* 'child'

a.	TM:	kan	sjan	injakkwa	muccjutɨ,
		ka-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*inja-kkwa*	*mukk-tur-tɨ*
		PROX-ADNZ	do-PST-PTCP	small-DIM	bring-PROG-SEQ
		'(The person) was bringing a small thing like this, and ...'			

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b.	TM:	sjugɨkkwabəi.
		sjugɨ-kkwa=bəi
		small-DIM=only
		'(There are) only small things.'

[El: 110327]

The above examples show that *-kkwa* (DIM) can also follow adjectival roots (not only nominal roots). Therefore, one may think that *-kkwa* (DIM) is a clitic (not an affix) according to the criteria in §4.2.1. However, we do not accept this analysis, since there are only two adjectival roots that can precede *-kkwa* (DIM). It is probable that this irregularity can be explicable considering the diminutive affix's preference for small referents as its preceding stems as in (7-25 a-e). Additionally, there is another environment where the adjectival root behaves like the nominal root. For example, the adjectival root and the nominal root can fill the preceding slot in compounds without any affix; on the contrary, the verbal root needs an infinitival affix, which makes the verbal stem like nominal, in order to fill the preceding slot in compounds (see §4.2.3.1 for

[39] *daiban* 'big' can form a compound with another nominal root, e.g., *daiban* 'big' + *kɨi* 'tree' > /daibangɨi/ 'big tree,' where "rendaku" (or sequential voicing) (see §4.2.3.4) also happens, i.e. //k// > /g/.

more details). Thus, I propose that *-kkwa* (DIM) is still an affix (not a clitic).

Furtheremore, there is a case where *-kkwa* (DIM) seems to follow an adjectival "word" (not an adjectival "root"), i.e. /injaasakkwa/ 'small.'

(7-30)	TM:	nobujataa	amakkwakaci	injaasakkwa	kan	sj ..
		nobuja-taa	*a-ma-kkwa=kaci*	*injaasakkwa*	*ka-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*
		Nobuja-PL	DIST-place-DIM=ALL	small	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ

'(The ditch extends) small like this to that place (that belongs to) Nobuja and his friends ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

At first sight, one may think the word /injaasakkwa/ can be divided into *inja-sa-kkwa* (small-ADJ-DIM). However, we do not accept this analysis because of the two reasons. First, the word /injaasakkwa/ is always used adverbially as in (7-30). Secondly, the vowel in its middle position is always long, i.e. /injaasa/ (not /injasa/). Thus, I will propose that /injaasakkwa/ is an adverb composed of only one root (at least) in the modern Yuwan.

Chapter 8
Verbal morphology

The verbal morphology of Yuwan is agglutinative; it begins with a root, which is followed by an affix (or affixes) (see §8.1). There is no number (or gender) agreement between arguments and verbs in Yuwan. Inflectional morphology of Yuwan is not straightforward; a certain gruop of inflectional affixes cannot directly follow the verbal root, but always take a group of derivational affixes (see §8.1). The verbal morphology of Yuwan is rich in morphophonological alternation (see §8.2). The clausal types, i.e. main clause, adnominal (or relative) clause, nominal clause, and adverbilal clause, can be expressed by the word-final inflectional affix. For example, a clause ending with *-ɨ* (IMP) is a main clause, but a clause ending with *-n* (PTCP) (and without any focus on another constituent in the same clause) is an adnominal clause (see §8.4). Regarding tense, aspect, and modality, each of them can be expressed by verbal affixes, although they can be expressed by other morphosyntactic means. Tense affixes have the opposition of non-past vs past. Aspectual affixes express progressive, resulative, non-progressive, or habitual (see §8.5.1.4 - §8.5.1.6). Modality is grammaticalized as a restricted set of mood affixes, e.g. the suppositional affix *-oo*. However, it typically surfaces in the tense affixes; the tense marker *-tar* (PST) (in the finite-form use) expresses the speaker's confidence in the factuality of the event (see §8.4.1.1).

8.1. The structure of the verb

The verb has the structure as in (8-1), which begins with a root and ends with an inflectional affix. Roughly speaking, the initial root and the final inflectional affix are obligatory, and the medial affixes are all optional; more details are explained later. In the following displays, the braces mean that the affixes in the same vertical column cannot appear simultaneously; for example, *-tur* (PROG) and *-jur* (UMRK) cannot appear simultaneously.

(8-1) Structure of the verb

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*	*-tar*	- Inflectional affix
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	PST	
					-jur					
					UMRK					

There are some restrictions concerning their combinations. The impossible combinations are summarized below, where "impossible combinations" means that the combinations have not appeared in my texts, or that the present author cannot find proper contexts for the questions in elicitation.

(8-2) Impossible combinations

a. *-*arɨr* (PASS) + -*arɨr* (CAP)

b. *-*arɨr* (PASS) + -*jur* (UMRK)

c. *-*tuk* (PRPR) + -*tur* (PROG)

d. *-*tuk* (PRPR) + -*tar* (PST)

e. *-*jawur* (POL) + -*təər* (RSL)

The possibility of combinations described above is about the one composed of two derivational affixes. The combination composed of more than two derivational affixes is not so common in the text corpus, and to find proper contexts to investigate such a combination is so difficult that their possibility is not clear so far.

In the top of this section, I said the word-final inflectional affix in a verb is obligatory but that the preceding affixes are optional; however, the morphology of Yuwan is a little more complicated. The word-final inflectional affixes in Yuwan can be categorized into two distinct groups, one of which cannot directly follow the verbal root, and also cannot follow -*as* (CAUS) or -*tuk* (PRPR), and obligatorily needs a certain affix as in (8-3 b) to precede.

(8-3) Inflectional affixes

a. Group I: Can directly follow the verbal root

Finite-form affixes : -*oo* (INT), -*ɨ* (IMP), -*na* (PROH), -*ɨba* (SUGS), -*azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), -*tar* (PST)

Participial affix : -*an* (NEG)

Converbal affixes : -*ba* (CSL), -*boo* (CND), -*tɨ* (SEQ), -*təəra* 'after', -*tai* (LST), -*jagacinaa* (SIM), -*gadɨ* 'until'

Infinitival affix : -*i*/-*Ø* (INF)

b. Group II: Cannot directly follow the verbal root

Finite-form affixes : -*i* (NPST), -*oo* (SUPP), -*mɨ* (PLQ), -*sa* (POL), -*sɨga* (POL), -*u* (PFC)

Participial affix : -*n* (PTCP)

Converbal affixes : -*tu* (CSL), -*too* (CSL), -*nən* (SEQ)

On the one hand, Group-I affixes can directly follow the verbal root; on the other hand, Group-II affixes cannot, but need another affix to precede. The minimal combinations with the above two types of inflectional affixes are shown below.

(8-4) Minimal combinations

a. Group I

Root	-	Affix	e.g.	/turoo/	*tur-oo*	(take-INT)	'will take'

b. Group II

Root	-	Affix	-	Affix	e.g.	/tujui/	*tu-jur-i*	(take-UMRK-NPST)	'take'

The non-past affixe -*i* in Group-II affixes cannot follow the verbal root directly: */tui/ *tur-i* (take-NPST) is not permitted. The affixes required by Group-II affixes are shown below, where non-relevant affixes are deleted by double lines.

(8-5) Affixes needed by Group-II affixes

Root	~~-as~~	-arɨr	~~-tuk~~	-arɨr	-tur	-jawur	-an	-təər	-tar	- Inflectional affixes
	~~CAUS~~	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	PST	(Group II)
					-jur					
					UMRK					

The above arrangement shows that if the word-final affix belongs to the Group-II affixes in (8-3 b), one of the following affixes must precede them: -*arɨr* (PASS), -*arɨr* (CAP), -*tur* (PROG), -*jawur* (POL), -*jur* (UMRK), -*an* (NEG), -*təər* (RSL), or -*tar* (PST). However, three kinds of verbal roots, i.e. the existential verbal root, the copula verbal root, and the stative verbal root, can take Group-II affixes directly (see §8.3.5). It should be noted that there are some restrictions on the combinations between these affixes in (8-5) and Group II inflectional affixes. For example, there is no combination made of -*an* (NEG) plus -*i* (NPST). The possible combinations between derivational affixes and inflectional affixes will be shown in §8.4.

There are two special affixes: -*an* (NEG) and -*tar* (PST). In (8-1), they are in non-word-final positions. They can, however, stand in a word-final position without any inflectional affix. For example, /turan/ *tur-an* (take-NEG) 'don't take,' and /tuta/ *tur-tar* (take-PST) 'took.' In other words, I propose that -*an* (NEG) and -*tar* (PST) can behave similarly with the inflectional affixes in (8-3), which is shown in (8-6). They are underlined below.

(8-6) a. Ending with -*an* (NEG)

Root	-as	-arɨr	-tuk	-arɨr	-tur	-jawur	<u>-an</u>
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG

b. Ending with -*tar* (PST)

Root	-as	-arɨr	-tuk	-arɨr	-tur	-jawur	-an	-təər	<u>-tar</u>
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	PST
					-jur				
					UMRK				

-*an* (NEG) and -*tar* (PST) in word-final positions can be regarded as Group-I affixes since they can directly follow verbal roots. It should be noted that these affixes "can" finish a verb. Therefore, they are free to finish the verbal string, and can continue it. For example, -*an* (NEG) can be followed by -*ba* (CSL), or -*tar* (PST) can be followed by -*oo* (SUPP): /turanba/ *tur-<u>an-ba</u>* (take-<u>NEG-CSL</u>) 'because (someone) does not take' and /tutaroo/ *tur-<u>tar-oo</u>* (take-<u>PST-SUPP</u>) 'may have taken.' In fact, the above analysis in (8-6) suggests that there are no zero inflectional affixes that follow -*an* (NEG) or -*tar* (PST). In other words, we do not accept the

analysis that presupposes zero inflectional affixes as in (8-7), where "..." means that there are several more candidates of inflectional affixes.

(8-7) Analysis not to be accepted

	Derivational affixes									Inflectional affixes	
Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*		*-tar*	*-Ø* (ASS)
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL		PST	*-oo* (SUPP)
					-jur					*-i*/*-Ø*	*-n*/*-Ø* (PTCP)
					UMRK					NPST	*-sɨga* (POL)
											...

The above table shows that the tense contrast is expressed in the penultimate slot of the verb: *-tar* (PST) vs. *-i*/*-Ø* (NPST). Additionally, new zero affixes are postulated in the final slot of the verb, i.e. *-Ø* (ASS) and *-Ø* (PTCP). In this analysis, the final and penultimate slots would be inflectional. We do not take this zero-affix analysis, because of the following two reasons. First, the analysis postulates the zero affix *-Ø* (ASS), which does not have any non-zero form. This kind of zero morpheme is less convincing than another zero morpheme that has a non-zero form, e.g, *-i*/*-Ø* (NPST) or *-n*/*-Ø* (PTCP) (cf. Haas 1974: 49). Second, if we accept this analysis, there appears a case where we have to recognize a distinction between non-visible zero affixes, i.e. *-Ø* (ASS) and *-Ø* (PTCP) as in (8-8 a-b).

(8-8) Negative polarity

a. Main clause

wanna	amanu	ziija	jumarandoo.
wan=ja	*a-ma=nu*	*zii=ja*	*jum-ar-an-Ø-Ø=doo*
1SG-TOP	DIST-place=GEN	character=TOP	read-CAP-NEG-NPST-ASS=ASS

'I cannot read the Chinese character there.'

[El: 130821]

b. Adnominal clause

uraga	jumaran	ziija	dɨruu?
ura=ga	*jum-ar-an-Ø-Ø*	*zii=ja*	*dɨ-ru*
2.NHON.SG	read-CAP-NEG-NPST-PTCP	character=TOP	which-NLZ

'Which is the Chinese character that you cannot read?'

[El: 130821]

Affirmative polarity

c. Main clause

wanna	amanu	ziigadəə	jumarɨttoo.

wan=ja	*a-ma=nu*	*zii=gadɨ=ja*	*jum-arɨr-Ø-Ø=doo*
1SG-TOP	DIST-place=GEN	character=LMT=TOP	read-CAP-NPST-ASS=ASS

'I can read the Chinese character there.'

[El: 130821]

d. Adnominal clause

uraga	jumarɨn	ziija	dɨruu?
ura=ga	*jum-arɨr-Ø-n*	*zii=ja*	*dɨ-ru*
2.NHON.SG	read-CAP-NPST-PTCP	character=TOP	which-NLZ

'Which is the Chinese character that you can read?'

[El: 130821]

The examples (8-8 a, c) express the verbal forms in the predicates of the main clauses (in negative and affirmative polarity). The examples (8-8 b, d) express the verbal forms in the predicates of the adnominal clauses (in negative and affirmative polarity). The verbal forms in (8-8 a-b) are the same /jumaran/, and their differences are expressed only by the underlying two different zero morphemes, i.e. *-Ø* (ASS) in (8-8 a) and *-Ø* (PTCP) in (8-8 b). Such a nonvisible opposition is called "distinction of indiscernibles" (Haas 1974: 36), and it was said that "within a set of paradigmatic contrasts distinction of indiscernibles is inadmissible" (McGregor 2003: 83). In fact, we can avoid this "distinction of indiscernibles" by postulating *-n* (PTCP) in (8-8 b). In that case, the verb form /jumaran/ is analyzed as *jum-ar-an-Ø-n* (read-CAP-NEG -NPST-PTCP). However, this analysis needs another morphophonological rule, where *-an* (NEG) becomes /-a/ before *-n* (PTCP). This rule is irregular, since the ordinary measure to avoid /n.n/ sequence in Yuwan is a vowel insertion (see §2.4.3). Therefore, we do not take the zero-morpheme analysis as in (8-7), and admit special kinds of affixes that can both close and continue the verbal stems, i.e. *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST). The word-final use of *-tar* (PST) will be discussed in §8.4.1.1. The word-final use of *-an* (NEG) will be discussed in §8.4.2.2. The non-word-final use of these affixes will be discussed in §8.5.1.9.

All of the above verbal affixes are summarized as in Table 55 using the inflectional criteria as in (8-9).

(8-9) Inflectional criteria

A. Appears only in the word-final position;

B. Can finish a word without another preceding affix;

C. Relevant to syntactic finiteness.

In (8-9), A and C have some relations with the features of inflection recognized in the languages of the world (Haspelmath 2010: 90).

Table 55. Inflectional affixes and derivational affixes of verbs

	A	B	C	Examples
Inflectional affixes				
Group I	+	+	+	*-oo* (INT), *-ɨ* (IMP), *-na* (PROH), *-ɨba* (SUGS), *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), *-ba* (CSL), *-boo* (CND), *-tɨ* (SEQ), *-təəra* 'after', *-tai* (LST), *-jagacinaa* (SIM), *-gadɨ* 'until'
Group II	+	-	+	*-i* (NPST), *-oo* (SUPP), *-mɨ* (PLQ), *-sa* (POL), *-sɨga* (POL), *-u* (PFC), *-n* (PTCP), *-tu* (CSL), *-too* (CSL), *-nən* (SEQ)
(Group I)	-	+	+	*-an* (NEG), *-tar* (PST), *-i*/*-Ø* (INF)
Derivational affixes	-	-	+	*-arɨr* (PASS), *-arɨr* (CAP), *-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RSL), *-jawur* (POL), *-jur* (UMRK)
	-	-	-	*-as* (CAUS), *-tuk* (PRPR)

Note: The infinitival affixes *-i*/*-Ø* can appear in the word-internal position of compounds (see §4.2.3.1). Therefore, they cannot fulfill the criterion A in (8-9).

Group-I & Group-II affixes appear only in the word-final position (8-9 A) with the exception of *-an* (NEG), *-tar* (PST), and *-i*/*-Ø* (INF). Only Group-I affixes and *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) can finish a verb without another preceding affix (8-9 B). As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the verbal form in the predicate determines the clausal type. In other words, all of the Group-I affixes, Group-II affixes, *-an* (NEG), and *-tar* (PST) are relevant to syntactic finiteness. Additionally, the affixes in the fourth row of Table 55, i.e. *-arɨr* (PASS), *-arɨr* (CAP), *-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RSL), *-jawur* (POL), and *-jur* (UMRK) (also with *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST)) are necessarily required by Group-II affixes. Thus, those affixes are also relevant to syntactic finiteness. We will call the affixes which satisfy two or more criteria of (8-9) "inflectional affixes," and the other remained affixes "derivational affixes" in the verbal morphology. It should be noted that the productivity among the above verbal affixes is not so much different from one another. For example, the derivational affix *-jur* (UMRK) can follow no less verbal roots than the inflectional affix *-ɨ* (IMP) can. Therefore, the term "derivational" does not imply less productivity, at least for verbal affixes, in this grammar.

Additionally, it should be mentioned that certain clitics are very similar to Group II inflectional affixes, i.e. the affix-like clitics (see §4.2.2.2): *sɨ* (FN), *doo* (ASS), *ka* (DUB), *kai* (DUB), *kamo* (POS), *ga* (CFM3), and *gajaaroo* (DUB). These clitics fill the final slot of the verb, which is usually filled by inflectional affixes as in (8-1), and the clitics cannot follow a verbal root directly (except for *kai* (DUB)), and need one of the affixes in (8-5) in order for them to follow a verbal stem.

In the following sections, the morphophonology of verbs will be discussed in §8.2. The special types of verbal stems that have some morphological, syntactical, and semantical characteristics will be discussed in §8.3. The verbal inflectional morphology will be discussed in §8.4 The verbal derivational morphology will be discussed in §8.5.

8.2. Morphophonology of verbs

8.2.1. Rules for verbal roots and affixes

In this section, we examine the morphophonological rules needed in order to correctly produce the output verbal forms. A complete list of the possible combinations of roots, derivational affixes, and inflectional affixes are shown in appendix. Morphophonology of infinitives will be discussed in another section (see §8.4.4.1). Additionally, the morphophonological rule of *-tar* (PST) and *-mɨ* (PLQ) will be discussed in each section (see §8.4.1.1 and §8.4.1.4).

Verbal affixes can be grouped into four (morphophonological) types, chiefly distinguished by their initial morphophonemes. In Table 56, the four types disregard the differences between derivational affixes and inflectinal affixes, or the syntax-related differences among inflectional affixes (i.e. finite-form affixes or converbal affixes).

Table 56. Four types of verbal affixes (or clitics)

Types	Main characteristics	All examples
A.	vowel-initial	*-an* (NEG), *-arɨr* (PASS), *-as* (CAUS), *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), *-ɨ* (IMP), *-ɨba* (SUGS), *-oo*(INT), *-oo* (SUPP)
B.	*t*-initial	*-tar* (PST), *-tuk* (PRPR), *-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RSL), *-tɨ* (SEQ), *-tai* (LST), *-təəra* ‘after’
C.	deletion of the prededing non-nasal resonants	*-jawur* (POL), *-jaa* ‘person,’ *-jur* (UMRK), *-jagacinaa* (SIM), *-mɨ* (PLQ), *-n* (PTCP), *sɨ* (FN)
D.	assimilation; vowel insertion	*-ba* (CSL), *-boo* (CND), *-gadɨ* ‘until,’ *-na* (PROH), *-sa* (POL), *-sɨga* (POL), *-too* (CSL), *-tu* (CSL), *doo* (ASS) , *ka* (DUB), *kai* (DUB), *kamo* (POS), *ga* (CFM3), *gajaaroo* (DUB)

Each type of affix needs a different set of (morpho)phonological rules to output the correct surface forms (see §8.2.1.1 - §8.2.1.4).

The verbal stems are distinguished into 17 types, determined by their final morphophonemes (except for the irregular types). The types of verbal stems are shown below with a few examples.

Table 57. 17 types of verbal stems

No.	Stem-final morphophonemes	Examples
1.	$V_{non\text{-}back}$r	*hingir*- ‘escape,’ *abɨr*- ‘call,’ *kəər*- ‘exchange’
2.	V_{back}r, V_{back}w	*tur*- ‘take,’ *umuw*- ‘think,’ *nuuw*- ‘sew,’ *kʔuur*-/*kʔuuw*- ‘close,’ *nugoor*- ‘don’t do,’ *koor*-/*koow*-/*kawur*- ‘buy,’ *wa*(*k*)*ar*- ‘understand’
3.	pp	*app*- ‘play’
4.	b	*narab*- ‘line up,’ *asɨb*- ‘paly’
5.	Vm	*jum*- ‘read,’ *kam*- ‘eat,’ *num*- ‘drink’
6.	nm	*tanm*- ‘ask,’ *cɨnm*- ‘wrap’
7.	$V_{non\text{-}i}$ k	*kak*- ‘write,’ *maruk*- ‘bandle’
8.	$V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk	*sukk*- ‘draw,’ *mukk*- ‘bring’
9.	Vs	*us*- ‘push,’ *kʔjoos*- ‘break’
10.	ss	*kuss*- ‘kill’
11.	t	*ut*- ‘hit,’ *mat*- ‘wait,’ *kat*- ‘win’
12.	$C(G)	*jʔ*- ‘say,’[40] *mj*- ‘see’
13.	ij	*kij*- ‘cut,’ *kij*- ‘put on (clothes),’ *kʔubij*- ‘tie,’ *hasij*- ‘run’
14.	$V_{non\text{-}i}$ g	*tug*- ‘whet,’ *hag*- ‘peel’
15.	ik	*kik*- ‘hear,’ *sik*- ‘spread’
16.	i(n)g	*uig*- ‘swim,’ *ming*- ‘grasp’
17.	in	*sin*- ‘die,’ *ikin*- ‘live’

Notes:

(a) “$V_{non\text{-}back}$” indicates the non-back vowels //i, ɨ, ə//, “V_{back}” indicates the back vowels //u, o, a//, “$V_{non\text{-}i}$” indicates vowels excluding //i//, and “$” represents a word boundary;

(b) The verbal roots ending with //ir// are *hingir*- ‘escape,’ *izir*- ‘go out,’ and *ubuir*- ‘memorize.’ *izir*- ‘go out’ may be pronounced as *izjɨr*, although the former is preferred over the latter. These roots do not go through the *j*-insertion rule that is described in §8.2.1.1, which may imply that historically the final //i// of these verbal stems is different from that of the other verbal stems (e.g. *kik*- ‘hear’ or *sin*- ‘die’);

(c) *kʔuur*- ‘close’ may alternate with *kʔuuw*-, and *koor*- ‘buy’ may alternate with *koow*- or *kawur*-. In addition, *oor*- ‘meet’ may alternate with *oow*-. However, *nugoor*- ‘don’t do’ does not have any other underlying form.

Each type of verbal stem undergoes a different application of morphophonological rules according to the four types of verbal affixes (or clitics) in Table 56. The examples in Table 58 illustrate the different results caused by the applications of different morphophonological rules. The morpheme boundaries at the surface form level are shown in some of the following examples.

[40] The word-initial glottalization of *jʔ*- ‘say’ is frequently weakened to become /j/.

Table 58. Different applications of rules to verbal stems and affixes showing their surface forms

			Affix types			
			A. vowel-initial	B. *t*-initial	C. deletion	D. others
No.	Stems' final	e. g.	-an	-ta	-jur	-na
1.	$V_{non\text{-}back}$r		-an	Ø-ta	Ø-jur	C_i -na
2.	V_{back}r, V_{back}w		-an	Ø-ta	Ø-jur	C_i -na
3.	pp		-an	C_i Ø-ta	-jur	-una
4.	b		-an	Ø-da	-jur	-una
5.	Vm		-an	Ø-da	-jur	-na
6.	nm		-an	Ø-da	-jur	-una
7.	$V_{non\text{-}i}$ k		-an	Ø-cja	-jur	-una
8.	$V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk		-an	C_i Ø-cja	-jur	-una
9.	Vs		-an	Ø-cja	-jur	-ɨna
10.	ss		-an	C_i Ø-cja	-jur	-ɨna
11.	t		-an	C_i -cja	c-jur	c-ɨna
12.	$C(G)		-an	-icja	(Ø)-jur	-uuna
13.	ij		-an	-cja	-jur	C_i -na
14.	$V_{non\text{-}i}$ g		-an	Ø-zja	-jur	-una
15.	ik		-jan	Ø-cja	-jur	-una
16.	i(n)g		-jan	Ø-zja	-jur	-una
17.	in		-jan	Ø-zja	-jur	-na

Note:

(a) "Ø" indicates the deletion of a morphophoneme before the morpheme boundary;

(b) "C_i" indicates the consonant before the morpheme boundary is assimilated to the following consonant;

(c) /c/ before the morpheme boundary means the original //t// alternates with /c/.

The above table shows that each stem has a different set of outputs. Thus, I propose that there are 17 types of verbal stems (from the morphophonological perspective).

There are, however, some verbal stems that do not conform to the regular (morpho)phonological rules. For example, these stems include the light verb *sɨr*- 'do,' the deictic motion verbs *ik*- 'go,' *k*- 'come,' and *tɨkk*- 'bring,' the honorific verbs *umoor*- (move.HON), *misjoor*- (eat.HON), *moor*- (HON), *taboor*- (give.HON), and *moosɨr*- (die.HON), the verbal roots ending with //aw// (such as *hijaw*- 'pick up,' *waraw*- 'laugh,' and *juraw*- 'gather'), and others such as *sij*- 'know,' *jurukub*- 'happy,' and *hənk*- 'enter.' The subdivision of these verbal stems is shown below (for their actual surface forms, see appendix).

Table 59. Irregular type verbal stems

Irregular stems	Affix types A. vowel-initial	B. t-initial	C. deletion	D. others
a. *sɨr*- 'do'	-	IR	IR	-
b. *k*- 'come'	IR	IR	-	IR
c. *ik*- 'go'	-	IR	-	-
d. *umoor*- (move.HON)	-	IR	-	-
e. *hijaw*- 'pick up'	IR	-	IR	IR
f. *sij*- 'know'	-	IR	-	-
g. *jurukub*- 'happy'	-	-	-	IR
h. *hənk*- 'enter'	IR	IR	-	-

(IR: irregular process, "-": regular process)

The deictic motion verb *tɨkk*- 'bring' behaves in the same way as *k*- 'come.' One may think that *tɨkk*- 'bring' is a compound composed of *tur*- 'take' + *k*- 'come.' However, the first vowel is not /u/ but /ɨ/, and *tur*- 'take' should become /tui/ *tur+i* (take-INF) when it fills the preceding stem of a compound (see §4.2.3.1). Thus, we do not regard *tɨkk*- 'bring' as a compound. All the honorific verbs behave in the same way as *umoor*- (move.HON); however, only *moosɨr*- (die.HON) behaves in the same way as *sɨr*- 'do.'

The following four subsections (§8.2.1.1-§8.2.1.4) discuss the relevant morphophonological rules needed for each type of verbal affixes (with the relevant phonological rules). Additionally, a special attention should be paid to the passive affix and the capable affix, which will be discussed in §8.2.1.5.

8.2.1.1. Type A: rule for vowel-initial verbal affixes

Verbal affixes that begin with a vowel need a rule to explain the following difference.

(8-10) a. *kak*- 'write' + *-an* (NEG) > /kak-an/
b. *kik*- 'hear' > /kik-jan/

The example in (8-10 a) presents a simple combination of *kak*- 'write' + *-an* (NEG) > /kakan/, but the example in (8-10 b) needs *j*-insertion between the morphemes such as *kik*- 'hear' + *-an* (NEG) > /kikjan/.

There are nine verbal affixes that cause *j*-insertion: *-an* (NEG), *-arɨr* (PASS), *-arɨr* (CAP), *-as* (CAUS), *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), *-ɨ* (IMP), *-ɨba* (SUGS), *-oo*(INT), and *-oo* (SUPP). These affixes will be called "vowel-initial affixes" (or "Type-A affixes"). It should be mentioned, however, that there is an affix that begins with a vowel, but does not cause *j*-insertion, i.e. *-i* (INF) discussed in §8.4.4.1. If the following conditions are met, /j/ is inserted before vowel-initial affixes: (a) the verbal stem has //i// in the word-final syllable, and (b) the verbal stem does not end with //j[41]// or //r// (for the explanation of the restriction of //r//,

[41] Stem-final //j// prohibits the *j*-insertion because it would make the /jj/ sequence, which never appears in

see note (b) of the Table 57). These conditions can be schematized as in (8-11), where “A-affix” means the Type-A (i.e. vowel-initial) affixes. In the following schemata, morphological units are surrounded by square brackets, which are attached by their morphological information at the lower-right side. Supplemental information is also provided in square brackets under the rule schema.

(8-11) Ø > j / [iC]$_{stem}$ [_]$_{A\text{-}affix}$
[C is not //j, r//]

The rule application and the output forms are shown in Table 60. In the following tables, the hyphen “-” in the cells means non-application of the rules.

Table 60. Verbal stems + *-an* (NEG)

Stem No.	1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r			2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w		
e.g.	*hingir-*	*abɨr-*	*kəər-*	*ʔkuur-*	*nugoor-*	*koow-*
	‘escape’	‘call’	‘exchange’	‘close’	‘don’t do’	‘buy’
(Input)	hingir-an	abɨr-an	kəər-an	ʔkuur-an	nugoor-an	koow-an
Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
(Output)	hingir-an	abɨr-an	kəər-an	ʔkuur-an	nugoor-an	koow-an
Stem No.	2. V_{back}r	3. pp	4. b	5. Vm	6. nm	7. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ k
e.g.	*tur-*	*app-*	*narab-*	*jum-*	*tanm-*	*kak-*
	‘take’	‘play’	‘line up’	‘read’	‘ask’	‘write’
(Input)	tur-an	app-an	narab-an	jum-an	tanm-an	kak-an
Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
(Output)	tur-an	app-an	narab-an	jum-an	tanm-an	kak-an
Stem No.	8. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk	9. Vs	10. ss	11. t	12. $C(G)	
e.g.	*sukk-*	*us-*	*kuss-*	*ut-*	*jʔ-*	*mj-*
	‘pull’	‘push’	‘kill’	‘hit’	‘say’	‘see’
(Input)	sukk-an	us-an	kuss-an	ut-an	jʔ-an	mj-an
Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
(Output)	sukk-an	us-an	kuss-an	ut-an	jʔ-an	mj-an
Stem No.	13. ij	14. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ g	15. ik	16. i(n)g		17. in
e.g.	*kij-*	*tug-*	*kik-*	*uig-*	*ming-*	*sin-*
	‘cut’	‘whet’	‘hear’	‘swim’	‘grab’	‘die’
(Input)	kij-an	tug-an	kik-an	uig-an	ming-an	sin-an
Insertion	-	-	kik-jan	uig-jan	ming-jan	sin-jan
(Output)	kij-an	tug-an	kik-jan	uig-jan	ming-jan	sin-jan

The affix *-ɨba* (SUGS) tends to become /ba/ after the verbal stems No. 5 and 17, e.g. *jum-* 'read' + *-ɨba* (SUGS) > /jumba/ (rather than /jumjɨba/) and *sin-* 'die' + *-ɨba* (SUGS) > /sinba/ (rather than /sinjɨba/). In addition, the combination of *uig-* 'swim' and *-ɨba* (SUGS) always becomes /uig-iba/ (not /uig-jɨba/).

Table 60 shows that the verbal stems No. 15-17, which satisfy the conditions of the rule application discussed above, induce *j*-insertion. In order to achieve simplicity with the above combination, we choose these output phonemes of the verbal stems as their underlying morphophonemes.

8.2.1.2. Type B: rules for *t*-initial verbal affixes

The rules for affixes that begin with //t// are required in order to explain the differences as follows.

(8-12)	a.	*abɨr-*	'call'	+	*-tɨ*	(SEQ)	>	/abɨ-tɨ/
	b.	*jum-*	'read'				>	/ju-dɨ/
	c.	*kak-*	'write'				>	/ka-cjɨ/
	d.	*sin-*	'die'				>	/si-zjɨ/

The first example shows a relatively simple combination of *abɨr-* 'call' + *-tɨ* (SEQ) > /abɨtɨ/, but the other three examples need voicing *-tɨ* > /dɨ/, affrication *-tɨ* > /cjɨ/, or both *-tɨ* > /zjɨ/.

There are seven verbal affixes that cause the above alternations: *-tar* (PST), *-tuk* (PRPR), *-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RSL), *-tɨ* (SEQ), *-tai* (LST), and *-təəra* 'after.' These affixes are called "*t*-initial affixes" (or "Type-B affixes") because they all begin with //t//. It should be mentioned, however, that there are two affixes that begin with //t// but do not conform to the following rules, i.e. *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL) discussed in §8.4.3.1. If there is a combination of a verbal stem and a *t*-initial affix, the five rules below are applied in the following order: (1) if the stem only contains consonants, //i// is inserted after the stem; (2) if the stem has the vowel //i// in its final syllable (and the final consonant is not //r//) or if the stem-final morphophoneme is //t, s, k, g//, the initial //t// of the *t*-initial verbal affix becomes //cj//; (3) if the stem ends with //b, g, m, n//, the initial consonant of the *t*-initial verbal affix is voiced; (4) the final consonant (except for //t//) of the stem is deleted; (5) if the stem ends with a non-nasal consonant, it is assimilated with the following consonant. In the following schema, "B-affix" refers to the above Type-B (i.e. *t*-initial) verbal affixes.

(8-13) 1. Insertion

Ø > i / $[C(G)]_{stem}$ _ $[\quad]_{B\text{-}affix}$

2. Affrication (palatalization)

t > cj / $[\quad VC]_{stem}$ $[\ \_\ ]_{B\text{-}affix}$

[V is //i// and C is not /r/]

or [C is //t, s, k, g//]

3. Voicing

C(G) > C(G) / [C(G)]$_{stem}$ [_]$_{B\text{-}affix}$

[-v] [+v] [C is //b, g, m, n//]

4. Deletion

C > Ø / [_]$_{stem}$ [ ]$_{B\text{-}affix}$

[C is not //t//]

5. Assimilation

C > C_i / [_]$_{stem}$ [C_i]$_{B\text{-}affix}$

[C is not nasal]

Table 61. Verbal stems + *-tɨ* (SEQ)

	Stem No.	1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r			2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w		
	e.g.	*hingir-*	*abɨr-*	*kəər-*	*ʔkuur-*	*nugoor-*	*koow-*
		‘escape’	‘call’	‘exchange’	‘close’	‘don’t do’	‘buy’
	(Input)	hingir-tɨ	abɨr-tɨ	kəər-tɨ	ʔkuur-tɨ	nugoor-tɨ	koow-tɨ
1.	Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Affrication	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Voicing	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Deletion	hingi-tɨ	abɨ-tɨ	kəə-tɨ	ʔkuu-tɨ	nugoo-tɨ	koo-tɨ
5.	Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(Output)	hingi-tɨ	abɨ-tɨ	kəə-tɨ	ʔkuu-tɨ	nugoo-tɨ	koo-tɨ

	Stem No.	2. V_{back}r	3. pp	4. b	5. Vm	6. nm	7. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ k
	e.g.	*tur-*	*app-*	*narab-*	*jum-*	*tanm-*	*kak-*
		‘take’	‘play’	‘line up’	‘read’	‘ask’	‘write’
	(Input)	tur-tɨ	app-tɨ	naab-tɨ	jum-tɨ	tanm-tɨ	kak-tɨ
1.	Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Affrication	-	-	-	-	-	kak-cjɨ
3.	Voicing	-	-	narab-dɨ	jum-dɨ	tanm-dɨ	-
4.	Deletion	tu-tɨ	ap-tɨ	nara-dɨ	ju-dɨ	tan-dɨ	ka-cjɨ
5.	Assimilation	-	at-tɨ	-	-	-	-
	(Output)	tu-tɨ	at-tɨ	nara-dɨ	ju-dɨ	tan-dɨ	ka-cjɨ

	Stem No.	8. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk	9. Vs	10. ss	11. t	12. $C(G)	
	e.g.	*sukk-*	*us-*	*kuss-*	*ut-*	*jʔ-*	*mj-*
		‘pull’	‘push’	‘kill’	‘hit’	‘say’	‘see’
	(Input)	sukk-tɨ	us-tɨ	kuss-tɨ	ut-tɨ	jʔ-tɨ	mj-tɨ
1.	Insertion	-	-	-	-	jʔi-tɨ	mji-tɨ
2.	Affrication	sukk-cjɨ	us-cjɨ	kuss-cjɨ	ut-cjɨ	jʔi-cjɨ	mji-cjɨ
3.	Voicing	-	-	-	-	-	-

4.	Deletion	suk-cjɨ	u-cjɨ	kus-cjɨ	-	-	-
5.	Assimilation	suc-cjɨ	-	kuc-cjɨ	uc-cjɨ	-	-
	(Output)	suc-cjɨ	u-cjɨ	kuc-cjɨ	uc-cjɨ	jˀi-cjɨ	mji-cjɨ
	Stem No.	13. ij	14. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ g	15. ik	16. i(n)g		17. in
	e.g.	*kij-*	*tug-*	*kik-*	*uig-*	*ming-*	*sin-*
		'cut'	'whet'	'hear'	'swim'	'grab'	'die'
	(Input)	kij-tɨ	tug-tɨ	kik-tɨ	uig-tɨ	ming-tɨ	sin-tɨ
1.	Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Affrication	kij-cjɨ	tug-cjɨ	kik-cjɨ	uig-cjɨ	ming-cjɨ	sin-cjɨ
3.	Voicing	-	tug-zjɨ	-	uig-zjɨ	ming-zjɨ	sin-zjɨ
4.	Deletion	ki-cjɨ	tu-zjɨ	ki-cjɨ	ui-zjɨ	min-zjɨ	si-zjɨ
5.	Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(Output)	ki-cjɨ	tu-zjɨ	ki-cjɨ	ui-zjɨ	min-zjɨ	si-zjɨ

It should be noted that the above rules do not apply to the negative affix *-an* (NEG). All of the "*t*-initial affixes" can follow *-an* (NEG) without any morphophonological change, e.g., *-an-tɨ* (NEG-SEQ) becomes /-an-tɨ/ (not /-a-dɨ/) as in (8-104) in §8.4.3.5.

8.2.1.3. Type C: rules for affixes (and clitics) deleting non-nasal resonants

There are affixes and clitics that delete the preceding non-nasal resonants: *-jawur* (POL), *-jaa* 'person,' *-jur* (UMRK), *-jagacinaa* (SIM), *-mɨ* (PLQ), *-n* (PTCP), *jaa* (SOL), and *sɨ* (FN), which are called "Type-C affixes (or clitics)." In the following schema, "C-affix/clitic" refers to these affixes and clitics.

(8-14) Deletion

C (or G) > Ø / [_]$_{stem}$ [ ]$_{C\text{-affix/clitic}}$

[C is non-nasal resonant]

Table 62. Verbal stems + *-jur* (UMRK)

Stem No.	1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r			2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w		
e.g.	*hingir-*	*abɨr-*	*kəər-*	*ˀkuur-*	*nugoor-*	*koow-*
	'escape'	'call'	'exchange'	'close'	'don't do'	'buy'
(Input)	hingir-jur	abɨr-jur	kəər-jur	ˀkuur-jur	nugoor-jur	koow-jur
Deletion	hingi-jur	abɨ-jur	kəə-jur	ˀkuu-jur	nugoo-jur	koo-jur
(Output)	hingi-jur	abɨ-jur	kəə-jur	ˀkuu-jur	nugoo-jur	koo-jur
Stem No.	2. V_{back}r	3. pp	4. b	5. Vm	6. nm	7. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ k
e.g.	*tur-*	*app-*	*narab-*	*jum-*	*tanm-*	*kak-*
	'take'	'play'	'line up'	'read'	'ask'	'write'

(Input)	tur-jur	app-jur	narab-jur	jum-jur	tanm-jur	kak-jur
Deletion	tu-jur	-	-	-	-	-
(Output)	tu-jur	app-jur	narab-jur	jum-jur	tanm-jur	kak-jur
Stem No.	8. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk	9. Vs	10. ss	11. t	12. $C(G)	
e.g.	*sukk-*	*us-*	*kuss-*	*ut-*	*jʔ-*	*mj-*
	'pull'	'push'	'kill'	'hit'	'say'	'see'
(Input)	sukk-jur	us-jur	kuss-jur	ut-jur	jʔ-jur	mj-jur
Deletion	-	-	-	-	Ø-jur/jʔ-ur[42]	m-jur
(Output)	sukk-jur	us-jur	kuss-jur	uc-jur	Ø-jur/jʔ-ur	m-jur
Stem No.	13. ij	14. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ g	15. ik	16. i(n)g		17. in
e.g.	*kij-*	*tug-*	*kik-*	*uig-*	*ming-*	*sin-*
	'cut'	'whet'	'hear'	'swim'	'grab'	'die'
(Input)	kij-jur	tug-jur	kik-jur	uig-jur	ming-jur	sin-jur
Deletion	ki-jur	-	-	-	-	-
(Output)	ki-jur	tug-jur	kik-jur	uig-jur	ming-jur	sin-jur

Note: In the example of the stem No. 11, //t// becomes /c/ before //j// because of the phonological rule in §2.4.2.

Only the affix *-jagacinaa* (SIM) requires an additional rule, i.e., it becomes /jaagacinaa/ after a verbal root containing only consonant(s).

(8-15) Lengthening

-jagacinaa (SIM) > -jaagacinaa / $[C(G)]_{stem}$ _

Table 63. Verbal stems + *-jagacinaa* (SIM)

Stem No.	12. Only C(G)		cf.	5. Vm
e.g.	*jʔ-*	*mj-*		*jum-*
	'say'	'see'		'read'
(Input)	jʔ-jagacinaa	mj-jagacinaa		jum-jagacinaa
Deletion	jʔ-agacinaa[43]	m-jagacinaa		-
Lengthening	jʔ-aagacinaa	m-jaagacinaa		-
(Output)	jʔ-aagacinaa	m-jaagacinaa		jum-jagacinaa

[42] As an exception, there is a rare case where the stem-final //jʔ// is not deleted in order to retain the original root form, and the affix-initial //j// is deleted instead.

[43] Stem-final //jʔ// is not deleted in order to retain the original root form; instead, the affix-initial //j// is deleted.

8.2.1.4. Type D: rules for the other verbal affixes (or clitics)

It is necessary to derive rules for the other verbal affixes in order to explain the differences as follows.

(8-16)	a.	*jum-*	'read'	+	*-na*	(PROH)	>	/jum-na/
	b.	*abɨr-*	'call'				>	/abɨn-na/
	c.	*kak-*	'write'				>	/kak-una/
	d.	*us-*	'push'				>	/us-ɨna/

The first example shows a simple combination of *jum-* 'read' + *-na* (PROH) > /jumna/, but the next three require either nasal assimilation or vowel-insertion at the morpheme boundary. The verbal affixes that require these rules include *-na* (PROH), *-ba* (CSL), *-boo* (CND), *-gadɨ* 'until,' *-sa* (POL), *-sɨga* (POL), *-tu* (CSL), and *-too* (CSL). In addition, some "affix-like clitics" (see §4.2.2.2) are subject to the same rules, i.e. *doo* (ASS), *ka* (DUB), *kai* (DUB), *kamo* (POS), *ga* (CFM3), and *gajaaroo* (DUB). They are called "Type-D affixes (or clitics)." If a verbal stem is combined with these affixes (or clitics), six rules should be applied in the following order. Please note that if two rules have the same number, such as (3a) and (3b), their order is free. The rules are: (1) if the final morphophoneme of the verbal stem is //t//, it becomes //c//; (2) if the final morphophoneme of the verbal stem is a consonant after a syllable boundary, //u// is inserted before the affix; (3a) if the final morphophoneme of the verbal stem is //w, j, r// (non-nasal resonants), it is assimilated to the following consonant; (3b) if the final morphophoneme of the verbal stem is not resonant and the following affix begins with consonant (i.e. there is no inserted vowel), //u// is inserted before the affix; (4a) if the stem originally contains only consonants, the inserted vowel of following syllable is lengthened; (4b) if the final morphophoneme of the stem is //c, s//, the following //u// becomes /ɨ/. In the following schema, "D-affix (or clitic)" refers to the verbal affixes and clitics discussed above. It should be noted that if *kai* (DUB) or *kamo* (POS) follows *-tar* (PST), these rules do not apply and they simply delete the //r// of *-tar* (PST) (see §8.4.1.1).

(8-17) 1. Affrication

$t > c \;/\; [\;\_\;]_{stem} \quad [\;\;]_{D\text{-affix (or clitic)}}$

2 Insertion

$Ø > u \;/\; \#C]_{stem} \quad [\;\_C\;]_{D\text{-affix (or clitic)}}$

3a. Assimilation

$C > C_i \;/\; [\;\_\;]_{stem} \quad [C_i\;]_{D\text{-affix (or clitic)}}$

[C is //w, j, r//]

3b. Insertion

$Ø > u \;/\; [\;C]_{stem} \quad [\;\_C\;]_{D\text{-affix (or clitic)}}$

[C is not //m, n, w, j, r//]

4a. Lengthening[44]

$\emptyset > V_i$ / $[C(G)]_{stem}$ $[V_i$ _ $]_{D\text{-affix (or clitic)}}$

4b. Centralizing

u > ɨ / [C]$_{stem}$ [_]$_{D\text{-affix (or clitic)}}$

[C is //c, s//]

Table 64. Verbal stems + *-na* (PROH)

	Stem No.	1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r			2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w		
	e.g.	*hingir-*	*abɨr-*	*kəər-*	*ʔkuur-*	*nugoor-*	*koow-*
		'escape'	'call'	'exchange'	'close'	'don't do'	'buy'
	(Input)	hingir-na	abɨr-na	kəər-na	ʔkuur-na	nugoor-na	koow-na
1.	Affrication	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
3a.	Assimilation	hingin-na	abɨn-na	kəən-na	ʔkuun-na	nugoon-na	koon-na
3b.	Insertion	-	-	-	-	-	-
4a.	Lengthening	-	-	-	-	-	-
4b.	Centralizing	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(Output)	hingin-na	abɨn-na	kəən-na	ʔkuun-na	nugoon-na	koon-na

	Stem No.	2. V_{back}r	3. pp	4. b	5. Vm	6. nm	7. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ k
	e.g.	*tur-*	*app-*	*narab-*	*jum-*	*tanm-*	*kak-*
		'take'	'play'	'line up'	'read'	'ask'	'write'
	(Input)	tur-na	app-na	narab-na	jum-na	tanm-na	kak-na
1.	Affrication	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Insertion	-	app-una	-	-	tanm-una	-
3a.	Assimilation	tun-na	-	-	-	-	-
3b.	Insertion	-	-	narab-una	-	-	kak-una
4a.	Lengthening	-	-	-	-	-	-
4b.	Centralizing	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(Output)	tun-na	app-una	narab-una	jum-na	tanm-una	kak-una

	Stem No.	8. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk	9. Vs	10. ss	11. t	12. $C(G)	
	e.g.	*sukk-*	*us-*	*kuss-*	*ut-*	*jʔ-*	*mj-*
		'pull'	'push'	'kill'	'hit'	'say'	'see'
	(Input)	sukk-na	us-na	kuss-na	ut-na	jʔ-na	mj-na
1.	Affrication	-	-	-	uc-na	-	-
2.	Insertion	sukk-una	-	kuss-una	-	jʔ-una	mj-una
3a.	Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-

[44] The stems preceding type D affixes seem to behave as if they were phonological words since they become bimoraic like many of the phonological words in Yuwan (cf. §2.3.1).

3b.	Insertion	-	us-una	-	uc-una	-	-
4a.	Lengthening	-	-	-	-	jʔ-uuna	mj-uuna
4b.	Centralizing	-	us-ɨna	kuss-ɨna	uc-ɨna	-	-
	(Output)	sukk-una	us-ɨna	kuss-ɨna	uc-ɨna	jʔ-uuna	mj-uuna
	Stem No.	13. ij	14. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ g	15. ik	16. i(n)g		17. in
	e.g.	*kij-*	*tug-*	*kik-*	*uig-*	*ming-*	*sin-*
		'cut'	'whet'	'hear'	'swim'	'grab'	'die'
	(Input)	kij-na	tug-na	kik-na	uig-na	ming-na	sin-na
1.	Affrication	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Insertion	-	-	-	-	ming-una	-
3a.	Assimilation	kin-na	-	-	-	-	-
3b.	Insertion	-	tug-una	kik-una	uig-una	-	-
4a.	Lengthening	-	-	-	-	-	-
4b.	Centralizing	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(Output)	kin-na	tug-una	kik-una	uig-una	ming-una	sin-na

8.2.1.5. Passive and capable affixes alternation

The passive affix (see §8.5.1.2) and the capable affix (see §8.5.1.3) have many similar allomorphs. Their output forms are determined by the following affixes. For a more economical analysis, I postulate three underlying forms for the passive and capable affixes respectively: *-arɨr*, *-arɨɨr*, and *-ar*.

Both of the forms *-arɨr* and *-arɨɨr* conform to the (morpho)phonological rules already presented in the previous sections. However, the form *-ar* needs special attention, because the means taken to avoid syllable-final /r/ are different from the other rules. The final //r// of *-ar* is relatively "strong," as it were. The //r// is not deleted but retained in all cases, which is contrary to the rules in §8.2.1.2 and §8.2.1.3, where //r// before Type-B affixes or Type-C affixes must be deleted.

(8-18) Rule for *-ar* (PASS/CAP)

a. Assimilation: *-ar* (PASS/CAP) > -at / _ [ ]$_{\text{B-affix}}$

b. Deletion: *-jagacinaa* (SIM) > -agacinaa / *-ar* (PASS) _

(8-19) Examples

a. Assimilation (to the following morphophoneme)

tur- 'take' + *-ar* (PASS) + *-tar* (PST)

> tur- -at -ta

b. Deletion (of the following morphophoneme)

oos- 'scold' + *-ar* (PASS) + *-jagacinaa* (SIM)

> oos- -ar -agacinaa

These rules show that the //r// of *-ar* (PASS) does not drop but rather assimilates with the following //t// as in (8-19 a). In addition, the //r// of *-ar* (PASS) does not drop but instead deletes the following //j// of *-jagacinaa* (SIM) as in (8-19 b).

Table 65. Combinations of the passive and capable affixes and other affixes showing their surface forms

Preceding passive/capable affixes			Following affixes (or clitics)	
-arɨr	*-arɨɨr*	*-ar*	Type A	
		ar $_{P/C}$	*-an*	(NEG)
		ar $_{C}$	*-azɨi*	(NEG.PLQ)
		ar $_{P}$	*-ɨ*	(IMP)
arɨr $_{C}$			*-ɨba*	(SUGS)
		ar $_{P}$	*-oo*	(INT)
arɨr $_{C}$	arɨɨr $_{C}$		*-oo*	(SUPP)
	arɨɨr $_{C}$		*-u*	(PFC)
arɨ $_{P/C}$			*-i*	(NPST)
-arɨr	*-arɨɨr*	*-ar*	Type B	
arɨ $_{C}$	arɨɨ $_{P/C}$[46]	at $_{P/C}$	*-tar*	(PST)
		at $_{P}$	*-tuk*	(PRPR)
		at $_{P/C}$	*-tur*	(PROG)
	arɨɨ $_{C}$	at $_{P}$	*-təər*	(RSL)
		at $_{P/C}$	*-tɨ*	(SEQ)
		at $_{P/C}$	*-tai*	(LST)

Preceding passive/capable affixes			Following affixes (or clitics)	
-arɨr	*-arɨɨr*	*-ar*	Type C	
arɨ $_{P}$ [45]			*-jaa*	'person'
arɨ $_{P/C}$			*-joor*	(POL)
		ar $_{P}$	*-jagacinaa*	(SIM)
	arɨɨ $_{P/C}$		*sɨ*	(FN)
	arɨɨ $_{P/C}$		*-mɨ*	(PLQ)
arɨ $_{P/C}$			*-n*	(PTCP)
-arɨr	*-arɨɨr*	*-ar*	Type D	
arɨp $_{P/C}$			*-ba*	(CSL)
arɨp $_{P/C}$			*-boo*	(CND)
arɨt $_{P/C}$			*doo*	(ASS)
arɨk $_{P/C}$			*kai*	(DUB)
arɨs $_{P/C}$			*-sa/-sɨga*	(POL)

Notes:

(a) The lower right symbols on the surface (i.e. non-italic) forms express whether the form is the passive affix ("$_{P}$"), the capable affix ("$_{C}$"), or both ("$_{P/C}$");

(b) The passive affix cannot precede *-oo* (SUPP). The assumed meaning is expressed by the combination of *-arɨr* (PASS) + *-Ø* (INF) + *daroo* (SUPP), e.g. /acjaa wanga utarɨdaro/ *acja wan=ga ut-arɨr-Ø=daroo* (tomorrow 1SG=NOM hit-PASS-INF=SUPP) 'Probably, I will be hit tomorrow';

(c) The politeness affix has two forms *-jawur* and *-joor*, and the passive and capable affixes prefer the latter form, e.g. *ut-* 'hit' + *-arɨr* (PASS) + *-joor* (POL) + *doo* (ASS) > /ut-arɨ-joot=too/ '(I) will be hit (by you).'

[45] Niinaga (2010: 70) stated that *-jaa* 'person' chooses the form *-ar* as in /utaraa/ *ut-ar-jaa* (hit-PASS-person). However, a later research shows that the form is not permitted, and instead the form /utarɨjaa/ *ut-arɨr-jaa* (hit-PASS-person), which chooses *-arɨr*, was permitted by the same speaker TM.

[46] In the text data, *-arɨɨr* (PASS/CAP) is used only in the combination of /-arɨɨ-tat-tu/ *-arɨɨr-tar-tu* (PASS/CAP-PST-CSL).

8.2.2. Some notes on the interpretation of the verbal paradigm

8.2.2.1. *r*-final stems

There are two kinds of *r*-final stems in Yuwan (stem No. 1-2 in Table 57 in §8.2.1). It is worth noting that stem No. 1 (whose final morphophonemes are a non-back vowel plus //r//) does not require /i/ insertion to produce infinitives, but stem No. 2 (whose final morphophonemes are a back vowel plus //r// or //w//) do require this insertion, similar to other consonant-final stems. The combination of a verbal stem plus the infinitival affix is called infinitive (see §8.4.4 for more details).

Table 66. Infinitives of the verbal stems No. 1, 2, and 7

Stem No.	1	2	7
Ex.	*abɨr*- 'call'	*tur*- 'take'	*kak*- 'write'
Infinitives (in surface forms)	abɨ	tui[47]	kaki
Infinitives (in underlying forms)	*abɨr-Ø* (call-INF)	*tur-i* (take-INF)	*kak-i* (write-INF)

Considering Table 66, one might think that the stem-final //r// of stem No. 1 (e.g. *abɨr*- 'call') is not part of the preceding stem but rather part of the following affix as in (8-20).

(8-20) Current analysis: *abir*- 'call' + *-an* (NEG)
Possible analysis: *abɨ*- 'call' + *-ran* (NEG)

In that case, we would be able to explain the phenemenon in Table 66 more simply. The consonant-final verbal stems, e.g. *tur*- 'take' and *kak*- 'write,' would require *-i* (INF), but the vowel-final verbal stems, e.g. *abɨ*- 'call,' would require *-Ø* (INF). However, we will not adopt this analysis for the reasons discussed below.

Table 67. Combinations of verbal roots and Type-A affixes and Type-D affixes

Stem No.	1		2		7	
Ex.	*abɨr*- 'call'		*tur*- 'take'		*kak*- 'write'	
Followed by Type-A affixes	abɨr	an (NEG)	tur	an (NEG)	kak	an (NEG)
		ɨ (IMP)		ɨ (IMP)		ɨ (IMP)
Followed by Type-D affixes	abɨn	na (PROH)	tun	na (PROH)	kak u	na (PROH)
	abɨb	ba (CSL)	tub	ba (CSL)	kak u	ba (CSL)

If we propose the final //r// of stem No. 1 (e.g. *abɨr*- 'call') does not belong to the root but to the following affix, we would then have to interpret the root-final /n/ or /b/ before Type-D affixes (e.g. *-na* (PROH) or *-ba* (CSL)) as affix-initial consonants, such as *-nna* (PROH) or *-bba* (CSL). This analysis, however, is not applicable since these forms could not appear after other verbal stems, such as *kak*- 'write' + *-na* (PROH) >

[47] Phonological rule (see §2.4.1): tur + i > tui

/kak-una/ (*/kak-unna/), or *kak*- 'write' + -*ba* (CSL) > /kak-uba/ (*/kak-ubba/ nor */kak-uppa/). Thus, it is more appropriate to propose that the //r// belongs not to the following affixes but to the preceding stems.

8.2.2.2. Not setting up "base types"

Some of the previous research on Northern Ryukyuan languages proposed an analysis of the verbal stems, which is different from that adopted by the present author. They propose that the initial (morpho)phonemes of the verbal derivational affixes are treated as the final (morpho)phonemes of the verbal roots; for example, Uchima et al. (1976: 74ff.) for Yuwan (Amami), and Nishioka & Nakahara (2000: 37, 55) for Shuri (Okinawa). The example below is taken from Uchima et al. (1976)'s analysis, where the term "base" is used to refer to what I call a verbal root (the phonological representations and glosses are adjusted by the present author).

Table 68. Analysis of the verb in Uchima et al. (1976)

Base types	E.g. 'write'	Stem-derivational affix	Ending
Basic	kak		oo (INT), ɨ (IMP), etc.
Renyou	kakj	-u_1 (UMRK)	i (NPST), ru (PFC), etc.
Onbin ('euphony')	kacj	-ɨ/-i (SEQ), -eera, -əə, -a, -u_2 (PROG)	i (NPST), n (PTCP), etc.

Notes:

(a) Uchima et al. (1976: 78) propose that the "real base" is /kak/ and the other forms, i.e. /kakj/ and /kacj/, are its variants depending on the morphological environments;

(b) Uchima et al. (1976: 91-92) argue that the sequential converbal forms ("SEQ" in Table 68), which are labeled *Setsuzoku-kei* 'conjunctive form' in their terms, can be /ɨ/ or /i/. However, the speaker TM, who is the main consultant for the present research, says it should be /ɨ/ in all cases. Although, it sometimes sounds like /i/ after alveolar affricates or fricatives.

The above table shows that Uchima et al. (1976) distinguishes three "base types," although, I do not make such a distinction (see Chapter 8). I found three disadvantages in proposing the base types: (a) the redundancy in the explanation of the semantic differences between verbs; (b) the emergence of unnecessary homophonic affixes; (c) the inability to explain a sequence of *t*-initial affixes.

First, if we allow the above segmentation as in Table 68, the difference between /kak-ɨ/ (write-IMP) and /kacj-ɨ/ (write-SEQ) would be explained by the difference in base (i.e. Basic vs. Onbin) and also by the difference in affix (i.e. /ɨ/ (IMP) vs. /ɨ/ (SEQ)). On the other hand, if we assume only one base (i.e. root) *kak*- 'write,' and regard the alleged base-final (morpho)phonemes /cj/ as the initial (morpho)phonemes of the following affix such as /cjɨ/ (SEQ), then the above difference can be more succinctly explained by the difference in affix, i.e. /ɨ/ (IMP) vs. /cjɨ/ (SEQ).

Table 69. Comparison of analyses by Uchima et al. (1976) and the present author (in surface forms)

	Gloss	write-IMP	Gloss	write-SEQ
Uchima et al. (1976)	e.g.	kak-ɨ	e.g.	kacj-ɨ
The present author	e.g.	kak-ɨ	e.g.	ka-cjɨ

Note: In the present author's analysis, the deletion of the root-final morphophoneme //k// in *kak-* 'write' is explained by a morphophonological rule (see §8.2.1.2).

Furthermore, the analysis proposed by Uchima et al. (1976) creates unnecessary homophonic morphemes such as *-ɨ* (IMP) vs. *-ɨ* (SEQ), and *-u*$_1$ (UMRK) vs. *-u*$_2$ (PROG). On the other hand, our analysis does not fall into this trap, e.g. *-ɨ* (IMP) vs. *-tɨ* (SEQ), and *-jur* (UMRK) vs. *-tur* (PROG).

Finally, the "base type" analysis cannot explain a sequence of *t*-initial affixes (for more discussion on *t*-initial affixes, see §8.2.1.2). For example, a combination such as *nar-* 'become' + *-tur* (PROG) + *-tɨ* (SEQ) > /na-tu-tɨ/[48] (become-PROG-SEQ) exists in Yuwan. If we adopt the "base type" analysis, the first two morphemes would be analyzed as /nat-u/ (become-PROG), but we are unable to explain the final morpheme, i.e. /tɨ/ (SEQ), because Uchima et al. (1976: 91-92) considers the affix to be /ɨ/ (SEQ). In other words, their analysis would result in the ill-formed utterance */nat-u-ɨ/.

Table 70. Comparison of analyses by Uchima et al. (1976) and the present author (in surface forms)

	Output forms expected by each analysis	Gloss
Uchima et al. (1976)	*nat-u-ɨ	(become-PROG-SEQ)
The present author	na-tu-tɨ	(become-PROG-SEQ)

Uchima et al. (1976) cannot predict the correct form /-tɨ/ (SEQ) because they have misunderstood the initial phoneme of /-tɨ/ (SEQ) (and also other *t*-initial affixes) as a part of a root (not of an affix). Therefore, the affix cannot begin with //t// in their analysis.

In conclusion, in order to achieve an economical, clear, and exhaustive analysis, we avoid setting up "base types" as previous researchers have done.

8.3. Stem types

The stem types classified by morphophonological criteria were all shown in Table 57 in §8.2.1. In this section, we will consider some stems which have unique semantic-syntactical and/or morphosyntctic characteristics.

First, Yuwan has semantically and syntactically interesting stems, i.e. honorific verbal stems. The honorific verbal stems can express the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate (see Chapter 3). The details of the honorific verbs will be discussed in §8.3.1.

Second, we will look at the differences between three kinds of verbal stems: the existential verbs, the

[48] Morphophonological rules (see §8.2.1.2): nar + tur + tɨ > natutɨ.

copula verbs, and the stative verbs. These verbal stems have a few alternate morphemes. Let us see the following table, where the variation of affirmative copula forms is a little simplified.

Table 71. Existential verb vs. copula verb vs. stative verb (simplified)

Polarity	Affirmative		Negative	
Core NPs	Animate	Inanimate	Animate	Inanimate
Existential verbs	*wur-*	*ar-*	*wur-*	*nə-*
Copula verbs	*jar-*		*ar-*	
Stative verbs	*ar-*		*nə-*	

wur- is always an existential verb, and *jar-* is always a copula verb. The form /ar-/, however, can be a morpheme of all of the three verbal stems. Similarly, the form /nə-/ may be a morpheme of either the existential verb or the stative verb. The details of Table 71 will be shown in the follwoing subsections: the existential verbs (see §8.3.2), the copula verbs (see §8.3.3), and the stative verbs (see §8.3.4). The morphosyntactic similarities among these three verbs will be discussed in §8.3.5.

8.3.1. Honorific verbs

As mentioned in Chapter 3, honorific verbs express the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate. Generally, the respect is dedicated to the people older than the speaker. There are, however, some cases where the people younger than the speaker receive the speaker's respect; in that case, there is another factor that induces such respect, e.g. the academic prestige as in (8-22 a-b) and (8-23) in §8.3.1.1.

There are two types of honorific verbs. One of them can fill the predicate slot of a clause by itself, i.e. lexical honorific verbs. The other cannot fill the predicate slot only by itself, i.e. auxiliary honorific verbs, and it needs a lexical verb to precede it, which is called the auxiliary verb construction (see §9.1.1).

(8-21) Two types of honorific verbs

a. Lexical honorific verb

[Context: TM thanks to US, who is older than TM.]

TM:	nanga	umoocjattu,	|cjoodo|	jiccja	ata.
	nan=ga	*umoor-tar-tu*	*cjoodo*	*jiccj-sa*	*ar-tar*
	2.HON.SG=NOM	[come.HON-PST]	just	good-ADJ	STV-PST
		[Lex. verb]$_{VP}$			

'You came, so (it) was very good.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Auxiliary honorific verb

[Context: TM explained to US that the present author had wanted to see her.]

TM:	nanga	hanacjɨ	moojun	mun

nan=ga	*hanas-tɨ*	*moor-jur-n*	*mun*
2.HON.SG=NOM	[speak-SEQ	HON-UMRK-PTCP]	thing
	[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$	

kikicjasancjɨ j^{ʔ}icjɨ,
kik-i-cja-sa+ar-n=ccjɨ *j^{ʔ}-tɨ*
hear-INF+want-ADJ+STV-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'(The present author) said that (he) wanted to hear what you said.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-21 a), *umoor-* (come.HON) is a lexical honorific verb, and it expresses the speaker's respect for the subject *nan* (2.HON.SG) 'you.' In (8-21 b), *moor-* (HON) is an auxiliary honorific verb, that follows the lexical verb *hanas-* 'speak,' and *moor-* (HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject *nan* (2.HON.SG) 'you.'

In the following subsections, I will discuss the lexical honorific verb (see §8.3.1.1) and the auxiliary honorific verb (see §8.3.1.2).

8.3.1.1. Lexical honorific verb

Yuwan has the follwing four lexical honorific verbs.

Table 72. Lexical honorific verbs

Lexical honorific verbs	Relevant non-honorific verbs
umoor- (exist/go/come/say.HON)	*wur-* 'exist', *ik-* 'go', *k-* 'come', *j^{ʔ}-* 'say'
imoor- (exist/go/come.HON)	*wur-* 'exist', *ik-* 'go', *k-* 'come'
misjoor- (eat.HON)	*kam-* 'eat'
moosɨr- (die.HON)	*sin-* 'die'

The speaker TM said that *umoor-* is more traditonal than *imoor-*. Actually, *umoor-* is used more often than *-imoor* in my texts. The example of *umoor-* meaning 'come' was already shown in (8-21 a). I will present other examples where *umoor-* means 'go,' 'exist,' or 'say.'

(8-22) Lexical honorific verb *umoor-*

a. Meaning 'go'

[Context: US thought that the present author went to the house of TM, who is *cɨnəə* 'Tsune' in the following example.]

US:	cɨnəə	məə	xxx	saki	umoocjɨdarocjɨ	umutɨga,
	cɨnəə	*məə*		*saki*	*umoor-tɨ=daroo=ccjɨ*	*umuw-tɨ=ga*
	Tsune	front		first	go.HON-CSN=SUPP=QT	think-SEQ=FOC

‘(I) thought that (he) probably went to Tsune’s place, and ...’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Meaning ‘exist’

[Context: Talking about the present author]

US:	jonesigetaaga	wutan	jaanan
	jonesige-taa=ga	*wur-tar-n*	*jaa=nan*
	Yoneshige-PL=NOM	exist-PST-PTCP	house=LOC1

umoojunwake?

umoor-jur-n=wake

exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP=CFP

‘Is (he) in the house where Yoneshige and his family lived?’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. Meaning ‘say’

[Context: Talking about an incantation old people chanted when they felt the earthquakes]

TM:	naakja[49]	anmataa	zisinnu	tuki,	zisinnu	sɨboo[50],
	naakja-a	*anmaa-taa*	*zisin=nu*	*tuki*	*zisin=nu*	*sɨr-boo*
	2PL-ADNZ	mother-PL	earthquake=GEN	time	earthquake=NOM	do-CND

kjon	cɨkɨ	kjon	cɨkɨcjəə	umooranti?
kjoo=n	*cɨk-ɨ*	*kjoo=n*	*cɨk-ɨ=ccjɨ=ja*	*umoor-an-tɨ*
Kyoto=DAT1	attach-IMP	Kyoto=DAT1	attach-IMP=TOP	say.HON-NEG-SEQ

‘Did your mother say, “Send (it) to Kyoto! Send (it) to Kyoto!” [lit. “Attach to Kyoto! Attach to Kyoto!”], when (they) feel earthquakes, (at) the time of earthquakes?’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-22 a), *umoor-* expresses the speaker US’s respect for the subject, although it did not overtly appear in the clause. The subject indicates the present author, who was younger than US, but the academic prestige of the university seems to have made her use honorific verbs. In (8-22 b), *umoor-* expresses the speaker US’s respect for the (not appearing) subject, i.e. the present author. In (8-22 c), the speaker TM expresses the respect for /naakja anmataa/ ‘your mother,’ i.e. US’s mother.

Next, I will present an example of *misjoor-* (eat.HON).

(8-23) Lexical honorific verb *misjoor-* (eat.HON)

[Context: Talking about the present author]

US: misjoorankai?

[49] The regular process must be *naakja-a* (2.HON.PL-ADNZ) > /naakjaa/, but it becomes /naakja/ in this example.

[50] The regular process must be *sɨr-boo* (do-CND) > /sɨbboo/ (or /sɨppoo/), but it becomes /sɨboo/ in this example.

misjoor-an=kai
eat.HON-NEG=DUB
'Does (he) eat (the snacks US brought)?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-23), *misjoor-* (eat.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the (not appearing) subject, i.e. the present author.

Finally, I will present an example is of *moosɨr-* (die.HON).

(8-24) Lexical honorific verb *moosɨr-* (die.HON)
[Context: Talking about TM's friend who is older than her]

TM:	kunəəda	tacuuga	moosjarooga.
	kunəəda	*tacuu=ga*	*moosɨr-tar-oo=ga*
	the.other.day	Tatsu=NOM	die.HON-PST-SUPP=CFM3

'(You) probably (know that) the other day, Tatsu passed away.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (8-24), *moosɨr-* (die.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject, i.e. *tacuu* 'Tatsu,' who was older than the speaker. If you want to express a more respect than that expressed by *moosɨr-* (die.HON), you may use the light verb construction where the complement slot is filled by *umoor-an* (exist.HON-NEG) and the light verb is *nar-* 'become' as in (9-39 a) in §9.1.2.2.

The speaker TM said that there is a lexical honorific verb that shows the speaker's respect for the recepient (not the subject): *huur-* (give.back.HON) 'give (something) back.' However, this honorific verb has never appeared in my texts. The same form can be used in my texts to mean 'send (somebody) off,' but it does not express the speaker's respect to anyone. In other words, it is not a honorific verb.

8.3.1.2. Auxiliary honorific verb

There are two auxiliary honorific verbs in Yuwan.

Table 73 Auxiliary honorific verbs

Auxiliary honorific verbs	Relevant non-honorific verbs
moor- (HON)	N/A
taboor- (BEN.HON)	*kurɨr-* (BEN)
umoor- (come.HON)	*k-* 'come'

The auxiliary honorific verbs in Table 73 need to be preceded by a lexical verb, and the lexical verb always takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) (see §9.1.1 for more details). *moor-* (HON) is used just to add an honorific meaning to the

preceding verb. In other words, *moor-* (HON) is an auxiliary honorific verb that is semantically unmarked. On the contrary, *taboor-* (BEN.HON) and *umoor-* (come.HON) add other meanings besides the honorific meaning. First, I will present examples of *moor-* (HOM).

(8-25) Auxiliary honorific verb *moor-* (HON)

a. [Context: Speaking to US]

TM:	gazjumaru	sicjɨ	moojuijojaa.
	gazjumaru	*sij-tɨ*	*moor-jur-i=joo=jaa*
	banyan.tree	[know-SEQ	HON-UMRK]=CFM1=SOL
		[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

'(You) would know the banyan tree, wouldn't you?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking to US, whose family used to deal in fish] = (6-99 b)

TM:	naakjaga	sjɨ	moojuinnja,	simanu
	naa-kja=ga	*sɨr-tɨ*	*moor-jur-i=n=ja*	*sima=nu*
	2.HON-PL=NOM	[do-SEQ	HON-UMRK-INF]=DAT1=TOP	island=GEN
		[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$	

jˀudarooga?

jˀu=daroo=ga

fish=SUPP=CFM3

'When you dealt in (fishes), (I) suppose (they are) fishes from the community [i.e. fish caught around the community].'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-25 a), *moor-* (HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. the hearer US. In (8-25 b), *moor-* (HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. US's family.

The next example is *taboor-* (BEN.HON). *taboor-* (BEN.HON) adds not only a honorific meaning to the preceding verb, but also expresses that the event expressed by the preceding verb is to the speaker's benefit.

(8-26) Auxiliary honorific verb *taboor-* (BEN.HON)

TM:	|sinsjei|,	an	kˀwa	abɨtɨ	taboorɨ.
	sinsjei	*a-n*	*kˀwa*	*abɨr-tɨ*	*taboor-ɨ*
	teacher	DIST-ADNZ	child	[call-SEQ	BEN.HON-IMP]
				[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

'Teacher, would (you) please call that child (for me)?'

[El: 130820]

In (8-26), *taboor-* (BEN.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. *sinsjei*

‘teacher.’ Additionally, *taboor*- (BEN.HON) expresses that the action indicated by the preceding lexical verb *abɨr*- ‘call’ is beneficial to the speaker (see §9.1.1.3 for more details).

Finally, the auxiliary verb *umoor*- (come.HON) is shown below.

(8-27) Auxiliary honorific verb *umoor*- (come.HON)
[Context: Talking about the present author]

US:	urɨn	tazɨnɨtɨ	umoocjattu,
	u-rɨ=n	*tazɨnɨr-tɨ*	*umoor-tar-tu*
	MES-NLZ=also	[ask-SEQ	come.HON-PST-CSL]
		[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

‘(He) came and ask (me) of that, so ...’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-27), *umoor*- (come.HON) expresses the speaker’s respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. the present author. The verbal form /umoor-/ can also be used as a lexical honorific verb as in Table 72, and the lexical verb *umoor*- can mean several meanings such as ‘exist (honorific),’ or ‘go (honorific).’ Therefore, the honorific auxiliary verb *umoor*- may also mean those meanings. So far, however, I have found only the meaning of ‘come (honorific)’ as in (8-27) in my texts.

8.3.2. Existential verb

Semantically, the existential verbs in Yuwan express the existence of a core argument. The “core argument” here usually indicates the subject of a clause, but sometimes it does not, which is discussed in §8.3.2.4. Syntactically, the existential verbs fill the predecate phrase of a clause, and makes a verbal predicate phrase (see §9.1 about the verbal predicate phrase). Yuwan has three existential verbs *wur*-, *ar*-, and *nə*-, which correlate with the animacy (in a narrow sense) of the core arguments, which is summarized in the following table. A kind of possession can be expressed by the existential verbs, which will be discussed in §8.3.2.4.

Table 74. Existential verbs (not in AVC)

Core NPs	Animate	Inanimate	
Polarity	Affirmative / Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Existential verbs	*wur*-	*ar*-	*nə*-

If the core argument is animate, *wur*- ‘exist’ is used. If the core argument is inanimate, *ar*- ‘exist’ or *nə*- ‘exist’ is used. *wur*- ‘exist’ can take negative affixes, but *ar*- ‘exsit’ cannot. *nə*- ‘exist’ always takes one of the negative affixes directly. The negative affixes are *-an* (NEG) or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), which go through reduction or assimilation with *nə*- ‘exist’ such as /nə-n/ (exist-NEG) or /nə-əzɨi/ (exist-NEG.PLQ). I present examples of Table 74 in turn below: *wur*- ‘exist’ in §8.3.2.1, *ar*- ‘exist’ in 8.3.2.2, and *nə*- ‘exist’ in §8.3.2.3.

8.3.2.1. *wur-* 'exist'

If the core argument of the clause indicates an animate referent, *wur-* 'exist' is chosen as the existential verb (see §8.3.2.4 about the core arguments of existential verbs). In (8-28 a-b), the core arguments are animate, i.e. *anma-taa* '(such a person like my) mother' and *mukasi=nu cʔju* 'old people.' Thus, *wur-* 'exist' is used.

(8-28) Core argument is animate

a. Affirmative polarity

TM:	anmataaga	wuppoojaa.
	anmaa-taa=ga	*wur-boo=jaa*
	mother-PL=NOM	exist-CND=SOL

'If there were (my) mother.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Negative polarity

TM:	mukasinu	cʔjunkjoo	wuranbajaa.
	mukasi=nu	*cʔju=nkja=ja*	*wur-an-ba=jaa*
	past=GEN	person=APPR=TOP	exist-NEG-CSL=SOL

'There are no old people.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Yuwan has several phenomena which is concerned with the animacy in a broad sense (see §6.4). The existential verbs, however, are chosen by the animacy in a narrow sense. Therefore, even if the referent is not a human but still is an animate referent, *wur-* 'exist' (not *ar-*) is chosen.

(8-29) Non-human animate subject

[Context: Talking about silkworms that were in the silk-reeling factory in the community]

TM:	namanu	cjoodo	an ...	kʔurusan	
	nama=nu	*cjoodo*	*a-n*	*kʔuru-sa+ar-n*	
	now=GEN	just	DIST-ADNZ	black-ADJ+STV-PTCP	
	cjoocjonu,	(mmm)	arɨnu		wuncjɨjo.
	cjoocjo=nu		*a-rɨ=nu*		*wur-n=ccjɨ=joo*
	butterfly=NOM		DIST-NLZ=NOM		exist-PTCP=QT=CFM1

'(In those days) there were (moths of silkworms) just (like) that black butterfly (in these days), and that [i.e. the moths] actually existed.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (8-29), the core argument, which is also the subject, indicates a non-human animate referent, i.e. a butterfly, and still *wur-* 'exist' is chosen. Similarly, the lexical honorific verb *umoor-* (exist.HON), which is a honorific counterpart of *wur-* 'exist,' can be used only when the core argument is animate as in (8-21 a) in §8.3.1.

8.3.2.2. *ar-* 'exist'

If the core argument of the clause indicates an inanimate referent and the predicate is in affirmative, *ar-* 'exist' is chosen as the existential verb (see §8.3.2.4 about the core arguments of existential verbs).

(8-30) Core argument is inanimate (affirmative polarity)

TM:	hanankjanu	aijaa.
	hana=nkja=nu	*ar-i=jaa*
	flower=APPR=NOM	exist-NPST=SOL

'There are flowers (in this picture).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (8-30), the core argument, which is also the subject, is an inanimate referent, i.e. *hana* 'flower,' and also the clause is in affirmative. Thus, *ar-* 'exist' is used. In principle, *ar-* 'exist' conforms to the deletion of the final //r// before *t*-initial affixes as in (8-31 a) (see §8.2.1.2 for more details). However, it is sometimes not deleted, but assimilates to the following //t// as in (8-31 b).

(8-31) a.

TM:	dandannu	atɨjaa.
	dandan=nu	*ar-tɨ=jaa*
	step=NOM	exist-SEQ=SOL

'There were steps (at the place in the picture).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b.

TM:	un	kabəə	nama	attɨjaa,	wanna.
	u-n	*kabi=ja*	*nama*	*ar-tɨ=jaa*	*wan=ja*
	MES-ADNZ	paper=TOP	still	exist-SEQ=SOL	1SG=TOP

'I still have the paper.' [lit. 'As for me, there were still papers.']

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

So far, the assimilation of the root final //r// of *ar-* 'exist' occurs only in the combination of *ar-tɨ=jaa* (exist-SEQ=SOL), although it is not obligatory as in (8-31 a).

Basically, *ar-* 'exist' is used only in affirmative. However, there are two cases where *ar-* 'exist' is used in negative. First, if the existential verb takes the politeness affix *-jawur*, *ar-* 'exist' is always used, no matter which polarity the predicate is in.

(8-32) *ar-* 'exist' + *-jawur* (POL)

TM:	nun	ajawurandoo.
	nuu=n	*ar-jawur-an=doo*
	what=any	exist-POL-NEG=ASS

‘There is not anything.’

[El: 1201xx]

In (8-32), the existential verb is in negative taking *-an* (NEG), but the existentail verb is *ar-* ‘exist’ (not *nə-*).

Secondly, if the existential verb fills the lexical verb slot in the auxiliary verb construction (see §9.1.1), it is always *ar-* ‘exist,’ no matter which polarity the predicate is in.

(8-33) *ar-* ‘exist’ in AVC [= (8-35 d)]

TM:	an	sinsjeija	kanɨja	atɨ	moorancjɨdoo.
	a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	*kanɨ=ja*	*ar-tɨ*	*moor-an=ccjɨ=doo*
	DIST-ADNZ	teacher=TOP	money=TOP	[exist-SEQ	HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
				[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

‘That teacher does not have any money.’

[El: 120924]

In (8-33), the VP that contains an existential verb is in negative, but the existentail verb is *ar-* ‘exist’ (not *nə-*).

8.3.2.3. *nə-* ‘exist’

If the core argument of the clause indicates an inanimate referent and the predicate is in negative, *nə-* ‘exist’ is chosen as the existential verb (with the exception of a few cases discussed in §8.3.2.2) (see §8.3.2.4 about the core arguments of existential verbs).

(8-34) Core argument is inanimate (negative polarity)

-an (NEG)

a. [Context: TM told that she cannot move her tongue very well.]

TM:	han	nənba.
	haa=n	*nə-an-ba*
	teeth=also	exist-NEG-CSL

‘Also, I don’t have any teeth.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b.

TM:	umanannja	nənnən,
	u-ma=nan=ja	*nə-an-nən*
	MES-place=LOC1=TOP	exist-NEG-SEQ

‘(The storehouse) did not exist there, and ...’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

-azɨi (NEG.PLQ)

c. [Context: TM and MS were looking for a pounder.]

TM:	nəəzɨi?	umanannja?

nə-azɨi	*u-ma=nan=ja*
exist-NEG.PLQ	MES-place=LOC1=TOP

'Isn't (it there)? At the place?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Strictly speaking, *nə-* 'exist' is obligatorily chosen when it is directly followed by the negative affixes. Therefore, if the negative affixes cannot directly follow the existential verbal stems, *nə-* 'exist' cannot be chosen, and instead *ar-* 'exist' is chosen as in (8-32) and (8-33) in §8.3.2.2.

8.3.2.4. Core argument of the existential verbs

The choice of existential verbs is determined by the core arguments in the clauses, and the core arguments do not necessarily indicate the subjects of the clauses. I present examples below, where the existential verbs are used to mean possessional meaning. Roughly speaking, the construction literally meaning 'About X, there is Y' means 'X has Y.' Besides, *umoor-* (exist.HON) in the following examples is a honorific lexical verb, whose non-honorific counterpart is *wur-* 'exist.' Therefore, the core argument of *umoor-* (exist.HON) must indicate an animate referent. In the following examples, the core arguments and existential verbs are underlined.

(8-35) a. *umoor-* (core argument is animate)

TM:	an	sinsjeija	jɨɨija	umoorancjɨdoo.
	a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	*jɨɨi=ja*	*umoor-an=ccjɨ=doo*
	[DIST-ADNZ	teacher]=TOP	brother=TOP	[exist.HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
	[Subject]			[Honorific verb]

'That teacher does not have a brother.'

[El: 120924]

b. #*umoor-* (core argument is animate)

TM:	#an	warabɨja	jɨɨija	umoorancjɨdoo
	a-n	*warabɨ=ja*	*jɨɨi=ja*	*umoor-an=ccjɨ=doo*
	[DIST-ADNZ	child]=TOP	brother=TOP	[exist.HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
	[Subject]			[Honorific verb]

(Intended meaning) 'That child does not have any money.'

[El: 140227]

c. **umoor-* (core argument is inanimate)

TM:	*an	sinsjeija	kanɨja	umoorancjɨdoo
	a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	*kanɨ=ja*	*umoor-an=ccjɨ=doo*
	[DIST-ADNZ	teacher]=TOP	money=TOP	[exist.HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
	[Subject]			[Honorific verb]

(Intended meaning) ‘That teacher does not have any money.’

[El: 120924]

d. *ar-* (core argument is inanimate)

TM:	an	sinsjeija	kanɨja	atɨ	moorancjɨdoo.
	a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	*kanɨ=ja*	*ar-tɨ*	*moor-an=ccjɨ=doo*
	[DIST-ADNZ	teacher]=TOP	money=TOP	exist-SEQ	[HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
	[Subject]				[Honorific verb]

‘That teacher does not have any money.’

[El: 120924]

In (8-35 a), the subject of the clause is *sinsjei* ‘teacher,’ which is clear from the unacceptability of (8-35 b). The difference between (8-35 a) and (8-35 b) is only on the subjects of the clauses (see also Chapter 3). On the contrary, the difference between (8-35 a) and (8-35c) is only on the core arguments immediately preceding the predicates, i.e. *jɨɨi* ‘brother’ and *kanɨ* ‘money.’ As mentioned before, the core argument of *umoor-* (exist.HON) must indicate an animate referent. Thus, (8-35 c) is ungrammatical since the core argument, i.e. *kanɨ* ‘money,’ is inanimate. If we replace *umoor-* (exist.HON) in (8-35 c) with *ar-tɨ moor-* (exist-SEQ HON), which is a honorific expression of *ar-* ‘exist’ (see §8.3.2.2), as in (8-35 d), the sentence can be grammatical, since *ar-* ‘exist’ may take an inanimate core argument. These examples show that the core argument of the existential verbs is sometimes different from the subject.

8.3.3. Copula verbs

Syntactically, the copula verb in Yuwan fills the predecate phrase together with an NP, and makes a nominal predicate (see §9.3 for more details). Yuwan has four copula verbs, i.e. *jar-*, *zjar-*, *nar-* and *ar-*, and they correlate with the polarity of the predicates in principle.

jar-, *zjar-*, and *nar-* appear only in affirmative, and *ar-* appears basically in negative. Syntactically, the copula verbs always follow an NP, but there is a case where *ar-* (COP) can appear only by itslef (see §8.3.3.3 for more details). Basically, the NP followed by *ar-* (COP) in the predicate phrase takes *ja* (TOP) in the main clause. However, there are some cases where the NP preceding *ar-* (COP) takes the nominative case in a subordinate clause (see §9.3.3.1 for more details).

If the copula does not take any negative affix, one of the copula verbs, i.e. *jar-*, *zjar-*, or *nar-* is chosen. Among them, *jar-* (COP) is most productive, i.e., it can be followed by many kinds of verbal affixes. Interestingly, the copula verbs can take particular inflectional affixes directly, and the distinction between Group-I affixes and Group-II affixes in §8.1 is neutralized here. I will present the verbal affixes that can directly follow the copula roots in Table 75. “+” indicates the copula roots can be followed by the right-most verbal affixes.

Table 75. The possible combinations of the copula roots and verbal affixes

Copula roots				Verbal affixes
jar-	*ar-*	*nar-*	*zjar-*	Finite-form affixes
+				*-tar* (PST)
+				*-oo* (SUPP)
	+			*-u* (PFC)
	+			*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)
jar-	*ar-*	*nar-*	*zjar-*	Participial affixes
+			+	*-n* (PTCP)
	+			*-an* (NEG)
jar-	*ar-*	*nar-*	*zjar-*	Converbal affixes
+	+	+		*-tɨ* (SEQ)
+				*-tai* (LST)
+				*-ba* (CSL)
+				*-boo* (CND)
+			+	*-sa* (POL)
+			+	*-sɨga* (POL)
jar-	*ar-*	*nar-*	*zjar-*	Derivational affix
+				*-təər* (RSL)

The above table shows the following facts: (a) *jar-* (COP) can precede every verbal affix in Table 75, with the exception of the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) and *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), and *-u* (PFC); (b) the negative affixes always take *ar-* (COP); (c) *nar-* takes only *-tɨ* (SEQ). In Table 75, the environments where *zjar-* (COP) appears are very restricted. However, it does not mean that *zjar-* (CIP) is hardly used in Yuwan. In fact, *zjar-* (COP) often appears in other environments, where the nominal predicate is followed by the particles *jaa* (SOL) or *ga* (CFM3), or without any affix nor particle (see §8.3.3.2).

The following subsections will discuss each copula verbal root: *jar-* (COP) in §8.3.3.1, *zjar-* (COP) in §8.3.3.2, and *ar-* (COP) in §8.3.3.3. The three copula verbal roots *nar-* (COP), *jar-* (COP), and *ar-* (COP) can take *-tɨ* (SEQ), and the differences among them are discussed in §8.3.3.4. Additionally, *zjar-* (COP) can take the same affixes as *jar-* (COP), the detail of which will be discussed in §8.3.3.5.

8.3.3.1. *jar-* (COP)

All of the combinations of *jar-* (COP) and verbal inflectional affixes are shown below, with the exception of the cases discussed in §8.3.3.4 and §8.3.3.5.

(8-36) a. *-tar* (PST)

[Context: Speaking about acquaintances of TM and MS; TM: 'Muha is as old as those people,and...']

TM:	muru	dusi	jata.
	muru	*dusi*	*jar-tar*
	very	friend	COP-PST

'(They) were very (good) friends.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *-oo* (SUPP)

TM:	ukka	cugəə,	mata,	(maga,)	maga	jaroo.
	u-rɨ=ga	*cugi=ja*	*mata*	*maga*	*maga*	*jar-oo*
	MES-NLZ=GEN	next=TOP	again	grandchild	grandchild	COP-SUPP

'About the next (scene) after that, again, probably (it is) a grandchild.'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

c. *-tai* (LST)

TM:	gan	sjɨ	jatai,
	ga-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*jar-tai*
	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ	COP-LST

'(It) is like that, and ...'

[El: 120921]

d. *-ba* (CSL)

TM:	tawuja	tawu	jappa.
	tawu=ja	*tawu*	*jar-ba*
	plain=TOP	plain	COP-CSL

'The plain is (actually) plain, so ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

e. *-boo* (CND)

[Context: TM remembered a story that her acquaintance told in the speech contest spoken in the dialects in Amami before.]

TM:	urɨ	jappoo,	cjoo	ukkarajo.
	u-rɨ	*jar-boo*	*cjoo*	*u-rɨ=kara=joo*
	MES-NLZ	COP-CND	just	MES-NLZ=ABL=CFM1

'If (it) is that [i.e. If I tell the story remembering his talk], (it begins) just from that (scene).'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

Additionally, *jar-* (COP) can take the derivational affix *-təər* (RSL). The combination *jar-* (COP) and *-təər* (RSL) can take either *-i* (NPST) or *-tu* (CSL) as in (8-37).

(8-37) *-təər* (RSL)

a. TM:

an	gazimarunu	appoo,	naa,	huntoo,	naa,
a-n	*gazimaru=nu*	*ar-boo*	*naa*	*huntoo*	*naa*
DIST-ADNZ	banyan.tree=NOM	exist-CND	FIL	real	FIL

urɨkusa,	naa,	|nippon.ici|	jatəijoo.
u-rɨ=kusa	*naa*	*nippon+ici*	*jar-təər-i=joo*
MES-NLZ=just	FIL	Japan+one	COP-RSL-NPST=CFM1

'If that banyan tree existed, it would be number one in Japan.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. TM:

uziitu	waakjaa	anmaatu, ...	mukasiutankja
uzii=tu	*waakja-a*	*anmaa=tu*	*mukasi+uta=nkja*
grandfather=COM	1PL-ADNZ	mother=COM	past+song=APPR

nunkuin	zjoozɨ	jatəttujaa.
nuu=n=kui=n	*zjoozɨ*	*jar-təər-tu=jaa*
what=any=INDF=any	good.at	COP-RSL-CSL=SOL

'(MS's) grandfather and my mother were good at everything.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

The other combinations made from *jar-* (COP) with other affixes are shown in §8.3.3.4 and §8.3.3.5.

8.3.3.2. *zjar-* (COP)

zjar- (COP) may appear when the nominal predicate is followed by nothing as in (8-38 a). On the other hand, *zjar-* (COP) always appears when the nominal predicate is followed by *jaa* (SOL) or *ga* (CFM3) in the non-past tense and in affirmative as in (8-38 b-c) (see §4.1.3.3 for more details).

(8-38) a. Followed by nothing

TM:

kurɨ	jamatuhuui	zja.
ku-rɨ	*jamatu+huu-i*	*zjar*
PROX-NLZ	mainland.Japan+see.off-INF	COP

'This is (the scene of) seeing off (the people who go to) mainland Japan.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Followed by *jaa* (SOL)

TM:

kurəə	(eee)	sjenzjen	ucɨsjən	mun	zjajaa.
ku-rɨ=ja		*sjenzjen*	*ucɨs-təər-n*	*mun*	*zjar=jaa*
PROX-NLZ=TOP		before.war	take-RSL-PTCP	thing	COP=SOL

'This is the thing [i.e. the picture] taken before the war.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. Followed by *ga* (CFM3) [= (6-19 a)]

TM:	umanuhazɨ	zjaga.
	u-ma=nu=hazɨ	*zjar=ga*
	MES-place=GEN=certatinty	COP=CFM3

'(The place you are speaking of) must be there.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

These examples show that if *zjar-* (COP) is followed by particles, it does not take any affix. In other words, *zjar-* (COP) behaves like a particle by itsef (not like a verb taking an inflectional affix). Actually, the stem-final //r// of *zjar-* (COP) appears only when it is followed by *-sa* (POL) (or *-sɨga* (POL)) as in (8-45 b) in §8.3.3.5, where the assimilation from //r// to /s/ occurs. The stem-final //r// had been deduced from the following two facts: (1) other copula verbs, especially, *jar-* (COP) and *ar-* (COP), have the stem-final //r//, which appears even in the surface forms, e.g. /jaroo/ *jar-oo* (COP-SUPP) as in (8-36 b) in §8.3.3.1 or /aran/ *ar-an* (COP-NEG) as in (8-39 a) in §8.3.3.3; (2) the most productive verbal stem-final morphophoneme is //r// in Yuwan. In fact, *zjar-* (COP) seems to be in the process of grammaticalization to become a particle. Interestingly, the younger generation (in their sixties in 2013) use the same copula form *zjar-* in any case in the non-past tense, e.g. /zjappoo/ *zjab-boo* (COP-CND) (not /jappoo/ as in the older generation).

8.3.3.3. *ar-* (COP)

ar- (COP) usually takes one of the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (8-39 a-c), with the exception of the cases where *ar-* (COP) takes *-u=i* (PFC=PLQ) as in (8-39 d) or *-tɨ* (SEQ) in AVC (see §8.3.3.4).

(8-39) *-an* (NEG)

a.

TM:	kurəə	(an ..)	kazumataaja	aranna?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*a-n*	*kazuma-taa=ja*	*ar-an=na*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	DIST-ADNZ	Kazuma-PL=TOP	COP-NEG=PLQ

'Isn't this [i.e. the scene in the picture] (about) Kazuma and his friends?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b.

TM:	jakubaja	arannən,	xxx	|kendoo|daroo.
	jakuba=ja	*ar-an-nən*		*kendoo=daroo*
	village.office=TOP	COP-NEG-SEQ		prefectural.road=SUPP

'(It) is not the village office, but (it is) the prefectural road.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

-azɨi (NEG.PLQ)

c.

TM:	kurəə	hakaja	arazɨi?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*haka=ja*	*ar-azɨi*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	tomb=TOP	COP-NEG.PLQ

‘Isn’t this a tomb?’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

-u=i (PFC=PLQ)

d. TM: arəə akiradu arui?
a-rɨ=ja *akira=du* *ar-u=i*
DiST-NLZ=TOP Akira=FOC COP-PFC=PLQ
‘Is that person Akira?’

[El: 130822]

In principle, the copula verbs need a preceding NP in order to fill in the nominal predicate phrases (see §9.3). However, the copula form *ar-an* (COP-NEG) can be uttered only by itself as in (8-40).

(8-40) Independent use of *ar-an* (COP-NEG)
[Context: Conversation between MY and TM]
MY: miicɨdu cigajurooga?
miicɨ=du *cigaw-jur-oo=ga*
three.thing=FOC different-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3
‘Probably, (you) are three years younger (than she)?’
TM: aran.
ar-an
COP-NEG
‘No.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-40), MY asked TM if TM was three years younger than US, and TM answered negatively. This example shows that *ar-an* (COP-NEG) can be used only by itself as a negative reply to a polar question.

Furthermore, *ar-an* (COP-NEG) can relativize its subject without any predicative NP as in (8-41).

(8-41) TM: wanga kicjuncjɨ umutɨdu, urattəə
wan=ga *kik-tur-n=ccjɨ* *umuw-tɨ=du* *urattəə*
1SG=NOM hear-PROG-PTCP=QT think-SEQ=FOC 2.NHON.DU
gan sjan aran hanasi sjaroogai?
ga-n *sɨr-tar-n* {[*ar-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *hanasi*}$_{\text{NP}}$ *sɨr-tar-oo=ga=i*
MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP COP-NEG tale do-PST-SUPP=CFM4=PLQ
‘Probably you told the unlikely tale like that since (you) thought that I was listening to (that), didn’t you?’

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (8-41), the head of the NP, i.e. *hanasi* ‘tale,’ is modified by the adnominal clause that is only filled by a copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG), which means ‘unlikely’ in this example. The literal translation of the NP is ‘a tale not being,’ where the so-called “copula complement” cannot be recovered. In other words, *ar-an* (COP-NEG) in this example means ‘unlikely’ only by itself. The preceding words, i.e. /gan sjan/ *ga-n sɨr-tar-n* (MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP) ‘like that,’ are not the copula complement of *ar-an* (COP-NEG); in fact, they form another adnominal clasue that modifies the following NP.

8.3.3.4. *-tɨ* (SEQ) with *nar-* (COP), *ar-* (COP), and *jar-* (COP)

It should be noted that *-tɨ* (SEQ) can be preceded by three types of copula roots, i.e. *nar-* (COP), *ar-* (COP), and *jar-* (COP).

First, *nar-* (COP) plus *-tɨ* (SEQ) expresses the reason.[51]

(8-42) *nar-* (COP) + *-tɨ* (SEQ)

a. TM: naacɨbaa nati, ucizjasiga dɨkɨranba.
naacɨbaa *nar-tɨ* *ut-i+izjas-i=ga* *dɨkɨr-an-ba*
tone.deafness COP-SEQ hit-INF+put.out-INF=NOM able.to.do-NEG-CSL
‘(I) am tone deaf, so (I) am not able to start hitting (the hand drums in singing and dancing with the traditonal songs).’
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [= (4-13 c)]
TM: jusɨga sɨki natɨjoo,
jusɨr-Ø=ga *sɨki* *nar-tɨ=joo*
teach-INF=NOM fond COP-SEQ=CFM1
‘(My mother) was fond of teaching, so (everyone came to learn the traditional songs from my mother).’
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (8-42 a), *naacɨbaa* ‘a tone deaf’ and *nar-* (COP) express that the speaker is a member of the people who are tone deaf, and with *-tɨ* (SEQ) they express the reason for the speaker’s incapability of hitting drums in singing. In (8-42 b), *sɨkɨ* ‘fond’ and *nar-* (COP) express that the speaker’s mother was fond of teaching, and with *-tɨ* (SEQ) they express the reason why everyone came to her place.

Second, although *ar-* (COP) is used with negative affixes in principle (see §8.3.3.2), there is a case where *ar-* (COP) appears in another environment, i.e. the auxiliary verb constructoin (see also §9.1.1).

(8-43) *ar-* (COP) + *-tɨ* (SEQ) in AVC

a. US: |niizimasanto otoosan|taaga |kjoodai| atɨ moojukkai?
niizima-san=to *otoosan-taa=ga* *kjoodai* *ar-tɨ* *moor-jur=kai*

[51] This remark owes to the grammar sketch of Kamikatetsu (Nothern Ryukyuan) (Shirata et al. 2011: 146).

Niijima-HON=COM	father-PL=NOM	brother	[COP-SEQ	HON-UMRK]=DUB
			[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

'Are Mr. Niijima and (the author's) father brothers?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM:

an	cʔjoo	sinsjei	atɨ	moojunnja?
a-n	*cʔju=ja*	*sinsjei*	*ar-tɨ*	*moor-jur-i=na*
DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	teacher	[COP-SEQ	HON-UMRK-NPST]=PLQ
			[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

'Is that person a teacher?'

[El: 130820]

The above examples show that the copula *ar-* (COP) is always followed by *-tɨ* (SEQ) when it fills the lexical verb slot in the AVC.

Finally, *jar-* (SEQ) is also followed by *-tɨ* (SEQ). In the non-sentence-final position, *jar-* (COP) plus *-tɨ* (SEQ) is always followed by *n* 'even' as in (8-44 a) showing the meaning such as 'even if' (see also §10.1.3). In the sentence-final position, *jar-* (COP) plus *-tɨ* (SEQ) expresses both of the past tense and the lack of perceived certainty as in (8-44 b-c) (see also §11.2.1 about insubordination).

(8-44) *jar-* (COP) + *-tɨ* (SEQ)

Non-sentence-final position

a. TM:

|reitou|nansəəka	ucjukuboo,	ɨciɨgadɨ	jatɨn,
reitou=nan=səəka	*uk-tuk-boo*	*ɨcɨɨ=gadɨ*	*jar-tɨ=n*
freezer=LOC1=just	put-PFV-CND	when=LMT	COP-SEQ=even
ucjukarɨi.			
uk-tuk-arɨr-i			
put-PRPR-CAP-NPST			

'If (you) put (the pickles) in the freezer, you can keep (them) no matter how long (the period of preservation) was.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Sentence-final position

b. TM:

tukunusimacʔju	jatɨkai?
tukunusima+cʔju	*jar-tɨ=kai*
Tokunoshima+person	COP-SEQ=DUB

'Is (that person) from Tokunoshima island?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM:

an	cʔjoo	taru	jatɨga?

a-n	*cʔju=ja*	*ta-ru*	*jar-tɨ=ga*
DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	who-NLZ	COP-SEQ=FOC

'Who was that person?'

[El: 110327]

8.3.3.5. Environments where both of *zjar-* (COP) and *jar-* (COP) are used

Both of *zjar-* (COP) and *jar-* (COP) may take *-sa* (POL) and *-sɨga* (POL). So far, I have not found any difference between them. I present examples of *-sa* (POL).

(8-45) *-sa* (POL)

a. TM:

an	cʔjoo	akira	jassa.
a-n	*cʔju=ja*	*akira*	*jar-sa*
DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	Akira	COP-POL

'That person is Akira.'

[El: 120921]

b. TM:

an	cʔjoo	akira	zjassa.
a-n	*cʔju=ja*	*akira*	*zjar-sa*
DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	Akira	COP-POL

'That person is Akira.'

[El: 120921]

Both of *jar-* (COP) and *zjar-* (COP) can take the participial affix *-n* (PTCP), but the environments where they appear are different from each other. Before *mun* (ADVRS), *jar-n* (COP-PTCP) is chosen, and before *kara* (CSL), *zja-n* (COP-PTCP) is chosen as in the following examples.

(8-46) a. TM:

takenna	cjoo	tabukuruccjɨ	an	bun	janmun.
taken=ja	*cjoo*	*tabukuru=ccjɨ*	*a-n*	*bun*	*jar-n=mun*
Taken=TOP	just	rice.field=QT	DIST-ADNZ	share	COP-PTCP=ADVRS

'(Speaking of) rice fields, Taken has [lit. is] just such a share.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. TM:

ujankjaga	izjasi	zjankara,	nusinkjoo
uja=nkja=ga	*izjas-i*	*zjar-n=kara*	*nusi=nkja=ja*
parent=APPR=NOM	put.out-INF	COP-PTCP=CSL	RFL=APPR=TOP

sijanbajaa.
sij-an-ba=jaa
know-NEG-CSL=SOL

'Parents pay (the tuition fee), so (pupils) themselves do not know (the amount).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The speaker TM said that the expression of the latter, i.e. /zjankara/ *zjar-n=kara* (COP-PTCP=CSL) can be replaced by /natɨ/ *nar-tɨ* (COP-SEQ) in §8.3.3.4. The copular participles are restricted in the cases where conjunctive particles follow them as in (8-46 a-b). There is no case where nominal predicates fill the modifier slot of an NP in the non-past tense and the affirmative polarity (see §9.4.1 for more details).

8.3.4. Stative verbs

Syntactically, the stative verb in Yuwan fills the predecate phrase together with an adjective, and makes an adjectival predicate phrase (see §9.2 for more details). Yuwan has two stative verbs, i.e. *ar-* and *nə-*. The former, i.e. *ar-* (STV), appears in affirmative with the exception of the cases of AVC. The latter, i.e. *nə-* (STV), appears only in negative.

8.3.4.1. *ar-* (STV)

If the polarity of the predicate is affirmative, *ar-* (STV) may appear after the adjective inflected with *-sa* (ADJ).

(8-47) Affirmative polarity

a. US: cjaa. uninna zjanasa atattujaa.
cjaa *unin=ja* *zjana-sa* *ar-tar-tu=jaa*
that.is.right that.time=TOP many-ADJ STV-PST-CSL=SOL
'That's right. At that time there were many (students) [lit. (the students) were many].'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: urəə jiccja aroogai?
u-rɨ=ja *jiccj-sa* *ar-oo=ga=i*
MES-NLZ=TOP good-ADJ STV-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'That is good (, isn't it)?'
[El: 130820]

In (8-47 a), the stative verb *ar-* makes an adjectival predicate together with the preceding adjective *zjana-sa* (many-ADJ). In (8-47 b), the stative verb *ar-* makes an adjectival predicate together with the preceding adjective /jiccja/ *jiccj-sa* (good-ADJ).

The stative verb *ar-* undergoes contraction with the preceding adjectival inflectional affix *-sa* when the stative verb takes *-i* (NPST) or *-n* (PTCP). For example, *jiccj-sa* (good-ADJ) + *ar-i* (STV-NPST) > /jiccjai/ (not */jiccjaai/) 'good' (see §9.2.2.2 for more details).

As menitoned above, *ar-* (STV) basically appears in affirmative. However, there is a case where *ar-* (STV) can appear in negative. If the stative verb fills the lexical verb slot in the auxiliary verb construction (see §9.1.1), the stative verb is always *ar-* (STV) (not *nə-*).

(8-48) *ar-* (STV) in AVC

TM:	an	cʔjoo	dujasoo	atɨ	mooran.jaa.
	a-n	*cʔju=ja*	*duja-soo*	*ar-tɨ*	*moor-an=jaa*
	DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	rich-ADJ	[STV-SEQ	HON-NEG]=SOL
				[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

'That person is not rich, you know.'

[El: 130820]

In the auxiliary verb constructin where the auxiliary verb is the honorific verb *moor-* (HON), the stative verb is always *ar-*, even though the predicate is in negative as in (8-48).

8.3.4.2. *nə-* (STV)

If the stative verb is followed by one of the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), the stative verb is always *nə-*. They go through reduction or assimilation like /nə-n/ *nə-an* (STV-NEG) or /nə-əzɨi/ *nə-azɨi* (STV-NEG.PLQ). The adjective that precedes *nə-* (STV) always inflects with *-soo* (ADJ).

(8-49) Negative polarity

a. *-an* (NEG)

[Context: Talking about the wooden beams of MS's house; MS: '(The wooden beams of my house) haven't become so black as those (of your house), you know.'] = (4-11 b)

TM:	kʔurusoo	nəndarooga.
	kʔuru-soo	*nə-an=daroo=ga*
	black-ADJ	STV-NEG=SUPP=CFM3

'(Those) are not black, right?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. *nə-* (STV) + *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)

TM:	an	kasoo	kʔurusoo	nəəzɨi?
	a-n	*kasa=ja*	*kʔuru-soo*	*nə-azɨi*
	DIST-ADNZ	hat=TOP	black-ADJ	STV-NEG.PLQ

'Isn't that hat black?'

[El: 111118]

8.3.5. Comparison among the existential verbs, copula verbs, and stative verbs ("ECS verbs")

In the above sections, we have discussed the differences among the thee verbal stems, i.e. the existential verb, the copula verb, and the stative verb (henceforth, "ECS verbs"). The existential verb is sensitive to the animacy of the core argument, but the others are not. Moreover, the copula verb is likely to use *ar-* in negative. In contrast, the stative verb is likely to use *ar-* in affirmative (see also Table 71).

Moreover, they fill different kinds of predicate phrases. The existential verb fills the verbal predicate

phrase, the copula verb fills the nominal predicate phrase, and the stative verb fills the adjectival predicate phrase (see Chapter 9 for more details). Thus, these ECS verbs are different from one another. There are, however, a few similarities among them: (A) they can directly precede Group-II affixes; (B) they choose the form /ar-/ in AVC.

First, in (8-3 b) in §8.1, we have discussed a certain group of inflectional affixes, i.e. Group-II affixes, which cannot directly follow any verbal root. However, ECS verbs can directly precede Group-II affixes. For example, *-i* (NPST) and *-oo* (SUPP) are members of Group-II affixes, but they can follow the existential verbs directly.

(8-50) Existential verbs + Group-II affixes

a. *wur-* 'exist (animate)' + *-i* (NPST)

[Context: Talking about an acquaintance; US: 'Has she passed away?']

TM:	aran.	namoo	umanan	wui.
	ar-an	*nama=ja*	*u-ma=nan*	*wur-i*
	COP-NEG	now=TOP	MES-place=LOC1	exist-NPST

'No. (She) is there now.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)' + *-oo* (SUPP)

TM:	an,	namanu	|jakkjoku|nu	aroogai?
	a-n	*nama=nu*	*jakkjoku=nu*	*ar-oo=ga=i*
	DIST-ADNZ	now=GEN	pharmacy=NOM	exist-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

'That (pharmacy), (i.e.) the pharmacy (that exists there) now probably (still) exists, right?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (8-50 a), *wur-* 'exist' directly precedes *-i* (NPST). In (8-50 b), *ar-* 'exist' directly precedes *-oo* (SUPP). It should be noted that *-oo* (SUPP) has the same form with *-oo* (INT). They can usually be distinguished by their morphological environments, since the former belongs to Group-II affixes, and the latter belongs to Group-I affixes, and Group-I affixes can follow verbal roots directly. However, the existential verb *wur-* 'exist' can take Group-II affixes directly. Thus, we cannot distinguish them by their morphological environments. The following examples show this case.

(8-51) a. *wur-* 'exist' + *-oo* (SUPP)

[Context: Talking about TM's daughter in law]

TM:	jaanan	wuroojo.
	jaa=nan	*wur-oo=joo*
	house=LOC1	exist-SUPP=CFM1

‘(She) may be in the house.’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. *wur-* ‘exist’ + *-oo* (INT)

TM:	wanna	kumanan	|ittoki|	wuroojəə.
	wan=ja	*ku-ma=nan*	*ittoki*	*wur-oo=jəə*
	1SG=TOP	PROX-place=LOC1	for.a.while	exist-INT=CFM2

‘I will be here for a while.’

[El: 120919]

In (8-51 a-b), we can distinguish *-oo* (SUPP) from *-oo* (INT) only by the contexts. In contrast with *wur-* ‘exist,’ another existential verb *ar-* ‘exist’ cannot take animate subjets. Thus, it is difficult for *ar-* ‘exist’ to take *-oo* (INT), since *-oo* (INT) expresses the subject’s intention (see §8.4.1.2). The example where the copula verb takes the Group II affix *-oo* (SUPP) was shown in (8-36 b) in §8.3.3.1. An example where the stative verb takes *-oo* (SUPP) was shown in (8-47 b) in §8.3.4.1.

Secondly, ECS verbs choose the form /ar-/ among their variant morphemes when they fill the lexical verb slot in the auxiliary verb construction (“AVC”), although there is the exception *wur-* ‘exist.’ This behavior can be summarized as in Table 76.

Table 76. ECS verbs in the lexical verb slot in AVC

Core NPs	Animate	Inanimate
Existential verbs	*wur-*	*ar-*
Copula verbs	*ar-*	
Stative verbs	*ar-*	

Compare Table 76 with Table 71. We can notice that the form /ar-/ dominates over the other forms. The example of the existentail verb in AVC was shown in (8-33) in §8.3.2.2. The example of the copula verb in AVC was shown in (8-43) in §8.3.3.4. The example of the stative verb in AVC was shown in (8-48) in §8.3.4.1.

8.4. Inflectional morphology

We have discussed the criteria of verbal inflectional affixes in (8-9) in §8.1. Verbal inflectional affixes can be classified in three ways. By the morphophonological criteria, the verbal affixes can be separated into four groups (Type-A to Type-D affixes) as in Table 56 in §8.2.1. By the morphological criteria, the verbal inflectional affixes can be separated into two groups (Group-I and Group-II affixes) as in (8-3) in §8.1. In this section, the verbal inflectional affixes will be separated into four groups: the finite-form affix, the participial affix, the converbal affix, and the infinitival affix. The verb forms that take these affixes will be called finite forms, participles, converbs, and infinitives respectively. These groups will be called “inflectional categories”

in this grammar.

The inflectional categories are determined by two types of criteria. The main criterion is syntactic, and the secondary criterion is morphosyntactic. First, we can divide the inflectional categories according to their "external syntax" (Haspelmath 1996), i.e. their behavior in a phrase or their behavior toward the main clause. If a verb form can behave like an adnominal in an NP, it is called participle. If a verb form can behave like an adverb (without any particle) toward the predicate of the main clause, it is called a converb (Haspelmath 1995). If a verb form can behave like a nominal toward the predicate of the main clause, it is called an infinitive. The remaining verbal forms are called "finite forms" in this grammar. These verbal forms can fill the predicate slot of a clause (see also §4.1.1 about the clause structure in Yuwan). In other words, they behave as the verb in their "internal syntax" (Haspelmath 1996) in respect of retaining, if partly, the original argument structures. That is the reason why they are categorized as verbs.

Table 77. Inflectional categories (with the main criteria)

Inflectional categories	External syntax
Finite form	N/A
Participle	Adnominal
Converb	Adverb
Infinitive	Nominal

The degree of retention of the internal syntax, or "clausehood," is not the same among the above inflectional categories. All of the finite forms and participles can have their own subjects. Many of the converbs can have their own subjects, but *-tai* (LST) and *-jagacinaa* (SIM) cannot, and their subjects always coincide with those of the main clauses. Similarly, the infinitives cannot take their own subjects when they fill the predicate slot of the main clause, or fill the complement slot of the light verb construction (see §8.4.4.2). Regarding arguments other than subjects, all of the verbs in the above inflectional categories can take their own ones.

Secondly, the subsidiary criteria for the inflectional categories are morphosyntactic ones, which are composed of the morphological defectiveness and syntactic autonomy of the verbal form. These criteria have something to do with the term "finiteness" (cf. Nikolaeva 2007: 1). However, there is not a clear-cut boundary between "finite" and "non-finite" in Yuwan. For example, converbs, which would be "non-finite forms," can terminate a sentence (i.e. "insubordination" in §11.2). Furthermore, the participle usually modifies the head nominal in an NP, but it can also terminate a sentence in a focus construction (see "Kakari-musubi" in §11.3), and can head an adverbial clause with some conjunctive particles (see §10.2). Therefore, we do not propose "finite" vs. "non-finite" distinction in this grammar, and we will use the following criteria only for the distinction of the four inflectional categories. The selective criteria are as follows: (A) the word form can include the past affix *-tar*; (B) the word form can include the negative affix *-an*; (C) the verbal form can only fill the predicate of a main clause.

Table 78. Inflectional categories (with the subsidiary criteria)

Inflectional categories	Can include *-tar* (PST)	Can include *-an* (NEG)	Can only fill the predicate of a main clause
Finite form	+ / -	+ / -	+
Participle	+ / -	+ / -	-
Converb	- / (+)	+ / (-)	-
Infinitive	-	-	-

Note:

"+" means that all of the affixes satisfy the criterion;

"+ / (-)" means that almost all of the affixes satisfy the criterion, but that a few affixes do not;

"+ / -" means that some affixes safisfy the criterion, but that the other affixes do not;

"- / (+)" means that almost all of the affixes do not satisfy the criterion, but that a few affixes do;

"-" means that no affixes satisfy the criterion.

Considering the difficulty to determine the "finiteness" by the subsidiary criteria in Table 78, we will give the priority to the criteria of the external syntax shown in Table 77.

Table 79. Inflectional categories and affixes

Inflectional categories	All examples
Finite-form affixes	*-oo* (INT), *-oo* (SUPP), *-ɨ* (IMP), *-na* (PROH), *-ɨba* (SUGS), *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), *-i* (NPST), *-mɨ* (PLQ), *-u* (PFC), *-sa* (POL), *-sɨga* (POL), *-tar* (PST)
Participial affixes	*-n* (PTCP), *-an* (NEG)
Converbal affixes	*-ba* (CSL), *-tu* (CSL), *-too* (CSL), *-boo* (CND), *-tai* (LST), *-gadɨ* 'until', *-jagacinaa* (SIM), *-təəra* 'after', *-tɨ* (SEQ), *-nən* (SEQ)
Infinitival affixes	*-i*/*-Ø* (INF)

As mentioned in §8.1, *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) do not necessarily close a word; in other words, they can be in either word-final position or non-word-final position. If they fill the non-word-final position, they are not concerned with the discussion here. However, if they fill the word-final position, the verb forms need to be classified into one of the above inflectional categories.

First, the verb form ending with *-an* (NEG) cannot include *-tar* (PST) within itself (but the verb form ending with *-tar* can include *-an*, see §8.1) and can fill not only the predicate of a main clause but also that of an adnominal clause. Thus, *-an* (NEG) cannot be classified into the finite forms by the subsidiary criteria in Table 78. I will propose that the verb form ending with *-an* (NEG) is a participle, and that the *-an* (NEG) itself is a participial affix in the word-final environment.

Secondly, the verb form ending with *-tar* (PST) can include itself. It can also include *-an* (NEG), and can only fill the predicate of a main clause. Thus, we can regard the verb form ending with *-tar* (PST) as a finite form, and also can regard *-tar* (PST) as a finite-form affix in the word-final environment.

In the following sections, I will present examples of each inflectional category: the finite form (see

§8.4.1), the participle (see §8.4.2), the converb (see §8.4.3), and the infinitive (see §8.4.4). Additionally, the possible combination of the inflectional affixes and the derivational (and non-word-final inflectional) affixes will be shown together in those sections. The lists composed of 17 types of verbal stems (see §8.2.1) and the inflectional affixes (excluding the Group-II affixes) are shown in appendix.

8.4.1. Finite form

The finite form is a verbal form that ends with the finite-form affixes in (8-52). The finite forms can fill only the predicate slot of a main clause. The finite-form affixes can be separated further by their functions.

(8-52) Finite-form affixes

a. Tense
   -*i* (NPST) and -*tar* (PST)
b. Mood
   -*oo* (INT) and -*oo* (SUPP)
c. Politeness
   -*sa* (POL) and -*sɨga* (POL)
d. Speech act (Question)
   -*mɨ* (PLQ) and -*azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)
e. Speech act (Command)
   -*ɨ* (IMP), -*na* (PROH), and -*ɨba* (SUGS)
f. Information structure
   -*u* (PFC)

As mentioned in §8.1, the finite-form affixes can be separated into two groups, i.e. Group-I affixes or Group-II affixes. Therefore, the finite-form affixes that belong to Group-II affixes, i.e. -*i* (NPST), -*oo* (SUPP), -*mɨ* (PLQ), -*sa* (POL), -*sɨga* (POL), and -*u* (PFC), cannot directly follow the verbal roots (with the exception of ECS verbs discussed in §8.3.5). A complete lists of the possible combinations of 17 types of verbal stems (see §8.2.1) and the finite-form affixes will be shown in appendix.

In the following subsections, I will present the contrasts shown in (8-52) in turn.

8.4.1.1. Tense: -*i* (NPST) and -*tar* (PST)

The finite-form affixes -*i* (NPST) and -*tar* (PST) can express the tense opposition: non-past vs. past. First, I will present the verbal morphemes that can directly precede -*i* (NPST). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede -*i* (NPST).

(8-53) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-i* (NPST) (Finite-form affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	*-təər*	~~*-tar*~~	*-i* (NPST)
	~~CAUS~~	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	RSL	~~PST~~	
					-jur					
					UMRK					

The finite-form affix *-i* (NPST) belongs to Group-II affixes (see §8.1). Thus, it cannot directly follow any verbal root and always takes one of the affixes in (8-53) to close the word. I will present an example in (8-54).

(8-54) *-i* (NPST)

[Context: TM and US were talking about the present author.]

TM:	|hoogen|nu	attakəə	wakajui.
	hoogen=nu	*attakəə*	*wakar-jur-i*
	dialect=NOM	everything	understand-UMRK-NPST

'(He) understands everything (about our) dialect.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

On the contrary, *-tar* (PST) can directly follow any verbal root as in (8-55). I will present the verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-tar* (PST) in (8-55).

(8-55) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-tar* (PST) (Finite-form affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*	*-tar*
	CAUS	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	PST
					-jur				
					UMRK				

I will present an example of *-tar* (PST) in (8-56).

(8-56) *-tar* (PST)

TM:	nobuarija	mjicjɨ	cʔjancjɨ	jʔicja.
	nobuari=ja	*mj-tɨ*	*k-tar-n=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tar*
	Nobuari=TOP	see-SEQ	come-PST-PTCP=QT	say-PST

'Nobuari said that (he) visited (the person).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above example shows that *-tar* (PST) directly follows the verbal root *jʔ-* 'say.'

In principle, the affix-final //r// or *-tar* (PST) assimilates to the initial consonant of the Type-D affixes (or clitics) (see §8.2.1.4). However, *-tar* (PST) becomes /ta/ (not /tak/) only before *kai* (DUB) or *kamo* (POS).

(8-57) a. *-tar* (PST) before *kai* (DUB)

TM: cukutəə wu<u>takai</u>?

cukur-tɨ=ja *wur-<u>tar=kai</u>*

make-SEQ=TOP PROG-PST=DUB

'Was (anyone) making (cocoons)?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. *-tar* (PST) before *kamo* (POS)

TM: takencʔjunkjoo kʔuwasisan cʔjoo

taken+cʔju=nkja=ja *kʔuwasi-sa+ar-n* *cʔju=ja*

Taken+person=APPR=TOP know.very.well-ADJ+STV-PTCP person=TOP

wuran<u>takamo</u>doojaa.

wur-an-<u>tar=kamo</u>=doo=jaa

exist-NEG-PST=POS=ASS=SOL

'(It is) possible (that) there is no person who knows (about that) very well among the people in Taken.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

It should be mentioned that *-tar* (PST) in the finite-form use cannot appear in the interrogative clause. In that case, *-tɨ* (SEQ) is used to express the past tense (see §11.2.1 for more details). It should be noted that a clause that includes *-tar* (PST) and *kai* (DUB) is permitted as in (8-57 a), since *kai* (DUB) expresses wondering to oneself, which is a peripheral type of the question (i.e. question to oneself) (see also §10.3.6). In other words, *-tar* (PST) expresses the speaker's confidence in the factuality of the event, no matter how weak it is.

8.4.1.2. Mood: *-oo* (INT) and *-oo* (SUPP)

The finite-form affixes *-oo* (INT) and *-oo* (SUPP) express the mood. First, I will present the verbal morphemes that can directly predede *-oo* (INT). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(8-58) Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede *-oo* (INT) (Finite-form affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	~~*-arɨr*~~	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	~~*-təər*~~	~~*-tar*~~	*-oo* (INT)
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	~~CAP~~	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	~~PST~~	
					~~*-jur*~~					
					~~UMRK~~					

As mentioned before, *-oo* (INT) belongs to Group-I affixes, and it can directly follow the verbal roots as in (8-59 a). It may also follow another verbal affix as in (8-59 b-c).

(8-59) *-oo* (INT)

a. US: wanna ikjoojəə.
wan=ja *ik-oo=jəə*
1SG=TOP go-INT=CFM2
'I will go.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: |onigiri| sjɨ, mutasoojəə.
onigiri *sɨr-tɨ* *mut-as-oo=jəə*
rice.ball do-SEQ have-CAUS-INT=CFM2
'(I) will make a rice ball, and get (the present author) to have (it).'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. TM: kimucjagɨsanu, wanga kawajəə utaroo.
kimucjagɨ-sa=nu *wan=ga* *kawajəə* *ut-ar-oo*
feel.pity-ADJ=CSL 1SG=NOM substitute hit-PASS-INT
'Since (I) feel pity (for you), I will be hit in place (of you).'
[El: 130820]

The example (8-59 c) contains the passive affix *-ar*, and the verb as a whole expresses the intention of the subject (not the agent). In other words, *-oo* (INT) expresses the subject's (not the agent's) intention. The subject of the finite-form verb composed of *-oo* (INT) is always the speaker.

Secondly, *-oo* (SUPP) belongs to Group-II affixes. Thus, it cannot follow any verbal root directly.

(8-60) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-oo* (SUPP) (Finite-form affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	*-təər*	*-tar*	*-oo* (SUPP)
	~~CAUS~~	~~PASS~~	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	RSL	PST	
					-jur					
					UMRK					

I will present examples of *-oo* (SUPP) in (8-61 a-b).

(8-61) *-oo* (SUPP)

a. TM: namanu, usi sjurooga?
nama=nu *usi* *sɨr-jur-oo=ga*
now=GEN cow do-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3
'Now (someone) raises cows, doesn't he?'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: nanga jˀujaa sjutarooga?

nan=ga	*jʔu+jaa*	*sɨr-jur-tar-oo=ga*
2.HON.SG=NOM	fish+house	do-UMRK-PST-SUPP=CFM3

'You used to run a fish shop, didn't you?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Apparently, *-oo* (INT) and *-oo* (SUPP) have the same form. Therefore, there are a few cases, where it is difficult to draw a distinction between the two affixes by their morphological environments, e.g. after "ECS verbs" (see §8.3.5) or after the derivational affix *-tur* (PROG) as in (8-62).

(8-62) After *-tur* (PROG)

a. *-oo* (INT)

TM:	wanna	amananti	juduroo.
	wan=ja	*a-ma=nantɨ*	*jum-tur-oo*
	1SG=TOP	DIST-place=LOC2	read-PROG-INT

'I will be reading (the book) there.'

[El: 130820]

b. *-oo* (SUPP)

TM:	akiroo	amananti	juduroo.
	akira=ja	*a-ma=nantɨ*	*jum-tur-oo*
	Akira=TOP	DIST-place=LOC2	read-PROG-SUPP

'Probably, Akira is reading (the book) there.'

[El: 130820]

In these examples, we can distinguish *-oo* (INT) from *-oo* (SUPP) only by the contexts (e.g. the subjects of the clauses).

8.4.1.3. Politeness: *-sa* (POL) and *-sɨga* (POL)

The finite-form affixes *-sa* (POL) and *-sɨga* (POL) are used to express politeness to the hearer. They belong to Group-II affixes, so they cannot directly follow any verbal root. The verbal affixes that can directly precede *-sa* (POL) and *-sɨga* (POL) are almost the same, but only *-an* (NEG) cannot precede *-sa* (POL) as in (8-63 a). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(8-63) a. Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-sa* (POL) (Finite-form affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	*-təər*	*-tar*	*-sa* (POL)
	~~CAUS~~	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	RSL	PST	
					-jur					
					UMRK					

b. Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-sɨga* (POL) (Finite-form affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*	*-tar*	*-sɨga* (POL)
	~~CAUS~~	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	PST	
						-jur				
						UMRK				

As mentioned in §1.4.2, the old people rarely use the derivational politeness affix *-jawur*. On the contrary, they use the inflectional politeness affix *-sa* or *-sɨga* as in (8-64 a-c).

(8-64) *-sa* (POL)

a. [Context: TM asks MS to make a topic of conversation; TM: 'Please make a topic.']

TM: həntooja sjussa.
həntoo=ja *sɨr-jur-sa*
reply=TOP do-UMRK-POL
'(I) will reply (to you).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

-sɨga (POL)

b. TM: sjemenbukuruja, (arɨ,) sazikkiroccjɨ jutassɨga.
sjemen+hukuru=ja *a-rɨ* *sazikkiro=ccjɨ* *jʔ-jur-tar-sɨga*
cement+bag=TOP DIST-NLZ thirty.kilogram=QT say-UMRK-PST-POL
'(People) used to say that a cement bag (weighs) thirty kilograms.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. TM: uraa naa anmai jansɨga.
ura-a *naa* *anmai* *jʔ-an-sɨga*
2.NHON.SG-ADNZ name very.much say-NEG-POL
'(The person) does not say your name (as) many times (as before).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

-sa (POL) and *-sɨga* (POL) are functionally very similar to each other. However, there seems to be a difference that only *-sɨga* (POL) follows *-tar* (PST) such as (8-6 b). There are 27 examples of *-sɨga* (POL) and eight examples of *-sa* (POL) in my texts, and there are eight examples where *-sɨga* (POL) follows *-tar* (PST) but no example where *-sa* (POL) follows *-tar* (PST) (although *-sa* (POL) can follow *-tar* (PST) in elicitation).

8.4.1.4. Speech act (Question): *-mɨ* (PLQ) and *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)

The finite-form affixes *-mɨ* (PLQ) and *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) express the polar question (i.e. "yes-no question").

First, *-mɨ* (PLQ) belongs to the Group-II affixes, so it cannot directly follow any verbal root. The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(8-65) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-mɨ* (PLQ) (Finite-form affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*	*-tar*	*-mɨ* (PLQ)
	~~CAUS~~	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	PST	
						-jur				
						UMRK				

(8-66) *-mɨ* (PLQ)

a. Affirmative polarity

TM: waakjaa jantɨ .. kamjumɨ?

waakja-a *jaa=nantɨ* *kam-jur-mɨ*

1PL-ADNZ house=LOC1 eat-UMRK-PLQ

'Do (you) eat in my house?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Negative polarity

TM: uroo kakamɨ?

ura=ja *kak-an-mɨ*

2.NHON.SG=TOP write-NEG-PLQ

'Don't you write (it)?'

[El: 121012]

-mɨ (PLQ) can be used both in affirmative and negative. It should be noted that *-an* (NEG) necessarily becomes /a/ when it precedes *-mɨ* (PLQ) as in (8-66 b), i.e. *-an-mɨ* (NEG-PLQ) > /a-mɨ/.

Secondly, the other quesition finite-form affix *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) cannot be used in affirmative. In other words, *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) always expresses the negative polarity, and it cannot be preceded by *-an* (NEG).

(8-67) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) (Finite-form affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	~~*-arɨr*~~	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	~~*-təər*~~	~~*-tar*~~	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)
	CAUS	~~PASS~~	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	~~PST~~	
						~~*-jur*~~				
						~~UMRK~~				

I will present examples of *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) in (8-68).

(8-68) *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)

a. TM: nəəzɨi?

nə-azɨi

exist-NEG.PLQ

‘Aren’t (they [i.e. the lamps]) there?’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: cɨcjurazɨi?

cɨk-tur-azɨi

attach-PROG-NEG.PLQ

‘Isn’t (the outdoor lamp) set (there yet)?’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. TM: turazɨi?

tur-azɨi

take-NEG.PLQ

‘Don’t (you) take (it)?’

[El: 110917]

-azɨi (NEG.PLQ) in (8-68 a-c) express the polar question in negative.

8.4.1.5. Speech act (Command): *-ɨ* (IMP), *-na* (PROH), and *-ɨba* (SUGS)

The finite-form affixes *-ɨ* (IMP) and *-na* (PROH) express command in a narrow sense, and *-ɨba* (SUGS) expresses suggestion. The same affixes can precede these finite-form affixes as in (8-69). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(8-69) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-ɨ* (IMP), *-na* (PROH), or *-ɨba* (SUGS)
(Finite-form affixes; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	~~*-arɨr*~~	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	~~*-təər*~~	~~*-tar*~~	*-ɨ* (IMP)
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	~~CAP~~	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	~~PST~~	*-na* (PROH)
					~~*-jur*~~					*-ɨba* (SUGS)
					~~UMRK~~					

These three finite-form affixes cannot be preceded by the negative affix *-an*, which means that the polarity of them cannot be changed by *-an* (NEG). Thus, the finite-form affix that can express the affirmative command is only *-ɨ* (IMP), and the finite-form affix that can express the negative command (i.e. prohibition) is only *-na* (PROH).

The examples of *-ɨ* (IMP) are shown below.

(8-70) *-ɨ* (IMP)

a. TM: kucjəəci ɨrɨrɨ!

kuci=kaci ɨrɨr-ɨ

mouth=ALL put.in-IMP

‘Put (it) in (your) mouth!’

[El: 121010]

b. TM: jəito kamɨjoocjɨdu jutattujaa.
jəito kam-i=joo=ccjɨ=du jʔ-jur-tar-tu=jaa
much eat-IMP=CFM1=QT=FOC say-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
'(Old people) used to say that, "Eat very much!"'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

It should be noted that the verbal roots *k-* 'come' and *mukk-* 'bring' take another morpheme, i.e. *-oo* (IMP), to express command as in (8-71 a-b).

(8-71) *-oo* (IMP)

a. TM: arɨ .. koo, koocjɨ,
a-rɨ k-oo k-oo=ccjɨ
DIST-NLZ come-IMP come-IMP=QT
'That person (said) that, "Come, come!"'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: mukkoojocjɨ jʔicjanmun,
mukk-oo=joo=ccjɨ jʔ-tar-n=mun
bring-IMP=CFM1=QT say-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'(I) said that, "Bring (the tape)!" However, ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

-oo (IMP) in (8-71 a-b) has the same form with *-oo* (INT) discussed in §8.4.1.2.

The examples of *-na* (PROH) are shown below.

(8-72) *-na* (PROH)

a. TM: umannja jʔuunajoo.
u-ma=nan=ja jʔ-na=joo
MES-place=LOC1=TOP sit-PROH=CFM1
'Don't sit there!'
[El: 120921]

b. TM: urɨ tɨɨ kɨinnajoocjɨ.
u-rɨ tɨɨ kɨir-na=joo=ccjɨ
MES-NLZ hand put.on-PROH=CFM1=QT
'(My husband said), "Don't touch it!"'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The finite-form *-ɨba* (SUGS) expresses suggestion, which is a kind of command in a broad sense, but the

imperativeness of -*ɨba* (SUGS) is much weaker than that of -*i* (IMP).

(8-73) -*ɨba* (SUGS)

TM:	kuci	muzikijɨba.
	kuci	*muzikij-ɨba*
	mouth	twist-SUGS

'How about twisting (the child's) mouth (since he is a naughty boy).'

[El: 120521]

In fact, there are a few examples where the same form /-ɨba/ is used adverbially (or converbally) as in (8-74).

(8-74) Converbal use of /-ɨba/

a.

TM:	ura	tanmɨba,	jiccja	ata.
	ura	*tanm-ɨba*	*jiccj-sa*	*ar-tar*
	2.NHON.SG	ask-CND	good-ADJ	STV-PST

'If only (I) had asked you (to help teaching the dialect to the present author).'

[lit. 'If (I) asked you, (it) was good.']

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b.

TM:	tubɨba,	jiccja	asɨgana.
	tub-ɨba	*jiccj-sa*	*ar-sɨga=na*
	jump.into-CND	good-ADJ	STV-POL=CFM3

'How about jumping into (the sea)?' [lit. 'If you jump into (the sea), (it) is good.']

[El: 110914]

If /-ɨba/ is used converbally, it always expresses a conditional meaning and is followed by the adjective *jiccj-* 'good' as in (8-74 a-b). It is probable that the meaning of suggestion as in (8-73) is derived (or grammaticalized) from the uses such as (8-74 b), which is an example of the insubordination (see §11.2). In modern Yuwan, the conditional meaning as in (8-74 a) is usually expressed by another affix, i.e. -*boo* (CND) as in (8-90 c). The uses such as (8-74 a-b) are rare in Yuwan. Thus, I propose that the affix /-ɨba/ is mainly used as suppositional finite-form affix in modern Yuwan as in (8-73).

8.4.1.6. Information sturcture: -*u* (PFC)

The finite-form affix -*u* (PFC) is always preceded by an affix that ends with //r//. The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede -*u* (PFC).

(8-75) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-u* (PFC) (Finite-form affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	*-təər*	*-tar*	*-u* (PFC)
	~~CAUS~~	~~PASS~~	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	RSL	PST	
					-jur					
					UMRK					

The finite-form affix *-u* (PFC) is often used in information questions (so called "wh-questions") as in (8-76 a-c) or polar questoins (so called "yes-no questions") as in (8-76 d). *-u* (PFC) in the polar question is always followed by the clause-final particle *i* (PLQ), and also there is always *du* (FOC) in the same clause.

(8-76) *-u* (PFC)

Information question

a. [Context: TM asked MS where the present author went.] (=5-34 a)

TM:	nɨsəə	mata	daaciga	izjaru?
	nɨsəə	*mata*	*daa=kaci=ga*	*ik-tar-u*
	young.man	again	where=ALL=FOC	go-PST-PFC

'Where did the young man go again?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	(kun,)	kun	cʔjoo	(ido..)	taa..
	ku-n	*ku-n*	*cʔju=ja*	*ido*	*ta-a*
	PROX-ADNZ	PROX-ADNZ	person=TOP	oh	who-ADNZ

maga	jataru?
maga	*jar-tar-u*
grandchild	COP-PST-PFC

'Whose grandchild is this person?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [Context: TM was surprised that US brought a lot of foods to TM's house.] = (6-101 a)

TM:	nunkjabaga	mata	muccjɨ	moocjaru?
	nuu=nkja=ba=ga	*mata*	*mut-tɨ*	*moor-tar-u*
	what=APPR=ACC=FOC	again	have-SEQ	HON-PST-PFC

'What did (you) bring (here) again?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Polar question

d.

TM:	kurəə	|maiku|du	muccjurui?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*maiku=du*	*mut-tur-u=i*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	microphone=FOC	hold-PROG-PFC=PLQ

kun	cʔjoo.

ku-n *cʔju=ja*
PROX-ADNZ person=TOP
'About this (picture), is this person holding a microphone?'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In elicitation, it is easy to have the speaker utter the verbal form ending with *-u* (PFC) in the question sentence, but it is difficult in the declarative sentence. However, I have found two examples in my texts so far, where the speaker uses the finite form ending with *-u* (PFC) in the declarative sentence as in (8-77 a-b).

(8-77) Declarative

a. TM: utuzjoobasanna un cʔjunu samisjentudu
utuzjo+obasan=ja *u-n* *cʔju=nu* *samisjen=tu=du*
Utujo+old.woman=TOP MES-ADNZ person=GEN samisen=COM=FOC
utoo (sii..) sɨrarɨɨru.
uta=ja *sɨr-i* *sɨr-arɨr-u*
song=TOP do-INF do-CAP-PFC
'Utujo can sing a song [lit. do a song] just with that person's samisen. (Otherwise, she cannot sing a song.)'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: tacuu|toka|ga juubadu, jʔarɨɨru.
tacuu=toka=ga *jʔ-ba=du* *jʔ-arɨr-u*
Tatsu=APPR=NOM say-CSL=FOC say-CAP-PFC
'(People) can say (a piece of advice to her), since (it is) Tatsu (who) says (it). (Otherwise, no one cannot say a piece of advice to her.)'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In the above examples of the declarative sentence, *-u* (PFC) is preceded by *-arɨr* (CAP). Additionally, there is an example, where *-u* (PFC) is not preceded by *-arɨr* (CAP) in spite of being in the declarative sentence as in (8-78), although this example is from a proverb.

(8-78) Declarative (in a proverb)

TM: tuunu ujubəə məəkacidu magajuru.
tuu=nu *ujubɨ=ja* *məə=kaci=du* *magar-jur-u*
ten=GEN finger=TOP front=ALL=FOC bend-UMRK-PFC
usijoocjəə magarandoo.
usiju=kaci=ja *magar-an=doo*
back=ALL=TOP bend-NEG=ASS
'Ten fingers (on hands) bend just forward. (They) do not bend backward.' [i.e. 'The

members of a family should be close to each other like fingers.’]

[El: 110328]

There is a possibility that the uses of the finite-verb ending with *-u* (PFC) in the declarative sentences in (8-77 a-b) and (8-78) have the same characteristic. That is, these sentences seem to express that the predicate can be valid only with the focused constituents, and that anything other than the focused constituents cannot make the predicate valid. For example, in (8-77 a), the focused constituent *u-n cʔju=nu samisjen=tu=du* (MES-ADNZ person=GEN samisen=COM=FOC) ‘just with that person’s samisen’ make the predicate ‘can sing a song’ valid, and it implies that if the woman was not ‘with that person’s samisen,’ she cannot sing a song. Similar arguments may be applied in (8-77 b) and (8-78).

In all of the above examples, there are foci in the sentences. The foci were on the interrogative words as in (8-76 a-c), or marked by *ga* (FOC) as in (8-76 a, c) or *du* (FOC) as in (8-76 d), (8-77 a-b), and (8-78). Thus, *-u* (PFC) expresses that it forms a predicate of the focus construction (see §11.3 for more details about the focus construction).

8.4.2. Participle (verbal adnominal)

The participle is a verbal form that ends with the participial affixes, i.e. *-n* (PTCP) or *-an* (NEG).

8.4.2.1. *-n* (PTCP)

The participial affix *-n* (PTCP) belongs to Group-II affixes (see §8.1), i.e., cannot directly follow the verbal roots, and takes one of the affixes in (8-79). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede *-n* (PTCP).

(8-79) Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede *-n* (PTCP) (Participial affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	~~*-an*~~	*-təər*	*-tar*	*-n* (PTCP)
	~~CAUS~~	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	~~NEG~~	RSL	PST	
					-jur					
					UMRK					

The verbal form ending with *-n* (PTCP) usually fills the predicate slot of an adnominal clause as in (8-80 a-b), but it can fill that of a main clause as in (8-80 c) or an adverbial clause as in (8-80 d).

(8-80) *-n* (PTCP)

Adnominal clause

a.	TM:	sakkiija	(hinzjaa)	xxx	hinzjaaba	succjun
		sakkii=ja	*hinzjaa*		[*hinzjaa=ba*	*sukk-tur-<u>n</u>*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
		a.short.while.ago	goat		goat=ACC	pull-PROG-PTCP

	cʔjunu	atooradu	cʔjanmun.
	cʔju=nu	*atu=kara=du*	*k-tar-n=mun*
	person=NOM	after=ABL=FOC	come-PST-PTCP=ADVRS

'A short while ago, the person who was pulling a goat came afterward, but (this time he came beforehand).'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. TM:

naa	hanasjun	tanɨga	nənbajaa.
naa	[*hanas-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*tanɨ=ga*	*nə-an-ba=jaa*
any.more	talk-UMRK-PTCP	seed=NOM	exist-NEG-CSL=SOL

'There is no seed to talk (about).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Main clause

c. TM:

an	saeetu	ujuribəidu	kjun.
a-n	*saee=tu*	*ujuri=bəi=du*	*k-jur-n*
DIST-ADNZ	Sae=COM	Uyuri=only=FOC	come-UMRK-PTCP

'Those (people, i.e.) Sae and Uyuri come (to the meeting for old people).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Adverbial clause

d. TM:

wanna	honami|cjan|	naaja	siccjunban,
[*wan=ja*	*honami-cjan*	*naa=ja*	*sij-tur-n=ban*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
1SG=TOP	Honami-DIM	name=TOP	know-PROG-PTCP=ADVRS

naakjaa	jumɨnu	naaja	sijandoojaa.
naakja-a	*jumɨ=nu*	*naa=ja*	*sij-an=doo=jaa*
2.HON.PL-ADNZ	daughter.in.law=GEN	name=TOP	know-NEG=ASS=SOL

'I know the name of Honami, but do not know your daughter in law's name.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-80 a), the participle /succjun/ *sukk-tur-n* (pull-PROG-PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *cʔju* 'person.' Similarly, in (8-80 b), the participle /hanasjun/ *hanas-jur-n* (talk-UMRK-PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *tanɨ* 'topic.' In (8-80 c), the participle /kjun/ *k-jur-n* (come-UMRK-PTCP) fills the predicate of the main clause. When the participle terminates a sentence, there is always the focus marker *du* in the sentence (see aslo §11.3). In fact, the sentence terminated by the participle that ends with *-n* (PTCP) is not permitted by the speaker in elicitation. However, it appears in the texts several times. This interrelationship between *du* (FOC) and *-n* (PTCP) is similar to that of the focused constituents and *-u* (PFC) in §8.4.1.6. These phenomena are called *kakari-musubi* (i.e. 'government-predication') in Japanese linguistics, and their details will be discussed in §11.3. In (8-80 d), the participle /siccjun/ *sij-tur-n* (know-PROG-PTCP) is followed by the conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS), and fills the predicate of the adverbial clause. It should be noted that there is a saying as in (8-81), where the function of the participle is

not very clear.

(8-81) Saying

TM:	kamjun	cikjaradu	attoo.
	kam-jur-n	*cikjara=du*	*ar=doo*
	eat-UMRK-PTCP	power=FOC	exist=ASS

'If (you) eat (much), (you will have) power.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (8-81), the participle /kamjun/ *kam-jur-n* (eat-UMRK-PTCP) functions like a converb meaning 'if (you) eat (much).' There is no other expression like (8-81) in Yuwan, so this saying seems to be a fossilized expression.

8.4.2.2. *-an* (NEG)

The participial affix *-an* (NEG) can directly follow the verbal roots (see §8.1 for more details).

(8-82) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-an* (NEG) (Participial affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG

In contrast with *-n* (PTCP), the participle composed of *-an* (NEG) usually fills the predicate slot of a main clause as in (8-83 a), but it can fill that of an adnominal clause as in (8-83 b) or an adverbial clause as in (8-83 c-d).

(8-83) *-an* (NEG)

Main clause

a.	TM:	kun	|sjensjee|ja	sijandoo.
		ku-n	*sjensjee=ja*	*sij-an=doo*
		PROX-ADNZ	teacher=TOP	know-NEG=ASS

'(I) don't know this teacher (in the picture).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Adnominal clause

b.	TM:	kʔwaga	dɨkɨran	cʔju	natɨ,
		[*kʔwa=ga*	*dɨkɨr-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*cʔju*	*nar-tɨ*
		child=NOM	be.born-NEG	person	COP-SEQ

'Since (the woman) was a person who cannot have a baby, ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Adverbial clauses

c. TM: urɨnkjaba jʔicjutɨga, warəəcjɨjo,
u-rɨ=nkja=ba *j-tur-tɨ=ga* *waraw-ɨ=ccjɨ=joo*
MES-NLZ=APPR=ACC say-PROG-SEQ=FOC laugh-INF=QT=CFM1
|nankai|n, ... |hakkiri| jʔiikijansjutɨ.
nankai=n [*hakkiri* *jʔ-i+kij-an=sjutɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
what.time=even clearly say-INF+CAP-NEG=since
'(I) laughed saying those things many times, ... since (I) couldn't pronounce (them) clearly.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: un kawajəəka sijanban, (nasinu miicɨ,)
[*u-n* *kawajəə=ka* *sij-an=ban*]$_{\text{Adverbila clause}}$ *nasi=nu* *miicɨ*
MES-ADNZ instead=DUB know-NEG=ADVRS pear=GEN three.thing
|sanninzure| jatattu, nasinu miicɨ muratɨ,
sanninzure *jar-tar-tu* *nasi=nu* *miicɨ* *muraw-tɨ*
three.people COP-PST-CSL pear=GEN three.thing receive-SEQ
'(I) don't know whether (the boys gave the pears) in return (for) the (help), but (the boys) received three pears, since there were three, and ...'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

In (8-83 a), the participle *sij-an* (know-NEG) fills the predicate of the main clause, where the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) follows it. In (8-83 b), the participle *dɨkɨr-an* (be.born-NEG) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *cʔju* 'person.' In (8-83 c), the participle /jʔiikijan/ *jʔ-i+kij-an* (say-INF+CAP-NEG) is followed by the conjunctive particle *sjutɨ* 'since,' and fills the predicate of the adverbial clause. Similarly in (8-83 d), the participle *sij-an* (know-NEG) is followed by the conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS), and fills the predicate of the adverbial clause. It should be noted that *-an* (NEG) can also fill the non-word-final position (see §8.1). In that case, the *-an* (NEG) does not paradigmatically contrast with *-n* (PTCP); in fact, they can co-occur (see §8.5.1.9 for more details).

8.4.3. Converb (verbal adverb)

A converb is a verbal form that ends with a converbal affix in (8-84). Converbs cannot include the past tense affix *-tar* (with the exceptions of *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL)). Converbs can fill the verbal predicate slot of an adverbial clause and also a main clause. The converbal affixes can be separated by their functions.

(8-84) Converbal affixes

a. Causal

-ba (CSL), *-tu* (CSL), and *-too* (CSL)

b. Conditional
   -*boo* (CND)
c. Listing
   -*tai* (LST)
d. Temporal relation
   -*gadɨ* 'until,' -*jagacinaa* (SIM), and -*təəra* 'after'
e. Sequential
   -*tɨ* (SEQ)

As mentioned in §8.1, the converbal affixes can be separated into two groups, i.e. Group-I affixes or Group-II affixes. The converbal affixes -*tu* (CSL) and -*too* (CSL) belong to Group-II affixes, and cannot directly follow any verbal root. It should be mentioned that -*tu* (CSL) and -*too* (CSL) always follow the past tense affix -*tar*, although -*tu* (CSL) can also follow -*təər* (RSL). A complete list of the possible combinations of 17 types of verbal stems (see §8.2.1) and the converbal affixes will be shown in appendix. Many of the converbs in (8-84) can take their own subject different from that of the main (or superordinate) clause, although the two convebs -*tai* (LST) and -*jagacinaa* (SIM) cannot. According to the criteria introduced by Nedjalkov (1995: 98-99), who did a typological overview of the converbs, almost all of the converbs in Yuwan can be grouped into "conjunctional converbs," which has "(t)he function of the predicate of a subordinate clause" and "can have its own subject (i.e. subject different from the subject of the superordinate verb)" (ibid: 99). However, -*tɨ* (SEQ) may be categorized as "coordinative converbs," which has "(t)he function of a secondary or coordinate predicate" and "is similar to the function of the English conjunction *and* (sometimes *but*) or to asyndetic coordination" (ibid: 98). Furtheremore, -*tai* (LST) may be categorized as "converbs proper," which has "(t)he function of an adverbial in a simple sentence" (ibid: 98) (see also §9.1.2.1 on the LVC composed of -*tai* (LST) and *sir*- 'do'), although there is a case where -*tai* (LST) seems to head a clause as in (8-93 a) in §8.4.3.3. -*jagacinaa* (SIM) does not seem to fit any one of the criteria perfectly.

In principle, the converbs behave like the adverb in their "external syntax" (see §8.4). However, -*təəra* 'after' and -*tɨ* (SEQ) sometimes behave like the nominal (see §8.4.3.4 and §9.3.2.2). It is probable that these affixes will be classified into another new inflectional category in an alternative analysis.

In the following subsections, I will present the contrasts shown in (8-84) in turn.

8.4.3.1. Causal: -*ba* (CSL), -*tu* (CSL), and -*too* (CSL)

The converbal affixes -*ba* (CSL), -*tu* (CSL), and -*too* (CSL) fill the predicate of adverbial clauses, which express the cause for the event of the superordinate clause. They are very similar in function to each other, but morphologically the former, i.e. -*ba* (CSL), and the latters, i.e. -*tu* (CSL) and -*too* (CSL), are nearly in complemantary distribution. On the one hand, -*ba* (CSL) belongs to Group-I affixes. Thus, it can directly follow a verbal root. Additionally, it can follow all of the derivational affixes and the inflectional affix -*an* (NEG), but cannot follow -*tar* (PST) as in (8-85 a). On the other hand, -*tu* (CSL) and -*too* (CSL) almost always follow -*tar* (PST), and rarely -*tu* (CSL) follows -*təər* (RSL) as in (8-85 b-c). Both -*tu* (CSL) and -*too*

(CSL) begin with //t//, but they do not conform to the morphophonological rules for Type-B affixes discussed in §8.2.1.2. Rather, they conform to the rules for Type-D affixesin §8.2.1.4.

(8-85) a. Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede *-ba* (CSL) (Converbal affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*	~~*-tar*~~	*-ba* (CSL)
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	~~PST~~	
						-jur				
						UMRK				

b. Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede *-tu* (CSL) (Converbal affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tuk*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tur*~~	~~*-jawur*~~	~~*-an*~~	*-təər*	*-tar*	*-tu* (CSL)
	~~CAUS~~	~~PASS~~	~~PRPR~~	~~CAP~~	~~PROG~~	~~POL~~	~~NEG~~	RSL	PST	
						~~*-jur*~~				
						~~UMRK~~				

c. Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede *-too* (CSL) (Converbal affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~*-as*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tuk*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tur*~~	~~*-jawur*~~	~~*-an*~~	~~*-təər*~~	*-tar*	*-too* (CSL)
	~~CAUS~~	~~PASS~~	~~PRPR~~	~~CAP~~	~~PROG~~	~~POL~~	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	PST	
						~~*-jur*~~				
						~~UMRK~~				

The affixes deleted by double lines indicate that they cannot directly precede the word-final affix. The combinations in (8-85) show that *-ba* (CSL) is used only in the non-past tense, but that *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL) are used almost only in the past tense. In fact, the combination of *-təər* (RSL) and *-tu* (CSL) is very rare in my texts. This means that the contrast of *-ba* (CSL) vs. *-tu*/*-too* (CSL) is made by the tense opposition. In fact, *-too* (CSL) is always preceded by *-tar* (PST). Thus, one may think that *-tar* (PST) and *-too* (CSL) form a single portmanteau morpheme, i.e. *-tattoo* (PST.CSL). I do not propose this analysis simply because of the covenience of showing the complementary distributions among the affixes in (8-85 a-c).

First, I will present examples of *-ba* (CSL).

(8-86) *-ba* (CSL)

a. [Context: MY asked TM if TM had made the pickles; TM: ‘(I) don’t know. How (was it)?’]

TM:	niizinnu	appa,	arandaroo.
	niizin=nu	*ar-<u>ba</u>*	*ar-an=daroo*
	carrot=NOM	exist-CSL	COP-NEG=SUPP

‘There are (pieces of) a carrot, so maybe (the pickles) are not (mine).’

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b.

TM:	umanan	mata	nagicikitəəppa,
	u-ma=nan	*mata*	*nagɨr-Ø+cɨkɨr-təər-<u>ba</u>*
	MES-place=LOC1	again	throw-INF+attach-RSL-CSL

uri	tii	kiinnajoocji.
u-ri	*tii*	*kiir-na=joo=ccji*
MES-NLZ	hand	hang-PROH=CFM1=QT

'(My husband said) that, "(The person) have thrown (some sweets) again (at our house), so don't touch it."'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that *-ba* (CSL) has causal meaning. Interestingly, if *-ba* (CSL) follows the auxiliary verbs *kurir-* (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON) without the superordinate clauses, it means the "request" for the hearer (see §11.2.2 for more details).

Secondly, I will present examples of *-tu* (CSL). It should be noted that *-an* (NEG) cannot "directly" precede *-tu* (CSL), but it can "indirectly" precede it with *-tar* (PST) as in (8-87 c).

(8-87) *-tu* (CSL)

a. TM:

boosi	utucjəətattu,	uri	jaraccji,
boosi	*utus-təər-tar-tu*	*u-ri*	*jaras-ti*
hat	drop-RSL-PST-CSL	MES-NLZ	give-SEQ

'(The boy) have dropped (his) hat, so (the three boys picked it up and) handed it (to him), and ...'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

b. [= (5-39 b)]

TM:

nuucjigajaaroo	kacjəəttujaa.
nuu=ccji=gajaaroo	*kak-təər-tu=jaa*
what=QT=DUB	write-RSL-CSL=SOL

'Something has been drawn (on the sign board of the store).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. TM:

uci(ga)zjasiga	siikijantattu,	waakjaa
ut-i+izjas-i=ga	*sir-i+kij-an-tar-tu*	*waakja-a*
hit-INF+put.out-INF=NOM	do-INF+CAP-NEG-PST-CSL	1PL-ADNZ

anmaaja	gan	sji	uta	jusirooccji,
anmaa=ja	*ga-n*	*sir-ti*	*uta*	*jusir-oo=ccji*
mother=TOP	MED-ADVZ	do-SEQ	song	teach-INT=QT

'(I) couldn't start hitting (the hand drums in singing), so my mother (tried) to teach (me) the (traditional) songs like this, and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

-tu (CSL) is sometims realized as /tuu/ as in (9-20 c) in §9.1.1.4.

Not only the morphological environmetns, but also the meanings of *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL) are very

similar to each other. However, there seems to be the tendency that the causal relationships between the adverbial clause and the superordinate clause bound by *-too* (CSL) are more arbitrary than those by *-tu* (CSL). In other words, the causal relationships bound by *-too* (CSL) seem to be naturally translated into 'and then' in English as in (8-88 a-c).

(8-88) *-too* (CSL)

a. TM:

miicɨ	nasi	kurɨtattoo,	un	micjaija
miicɨ	*nasi*	*kurɨr-tar-too*	*u-n*	*micjai=ja*
three.things	pear	give-PST-CND	MES-ADNZ	three.person=TOP

jurukudɨ,	kan	sjɨ	hucjutɨ,
jurukub-tɨ	*ka-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*huk-tur-tɨ*
be.pleased-SEQ	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	wipe-PROG-SEQ

'(The boy) gave (them) pears, and then those three (boys) were pleased, and were wiping (the pears) like this, and ...'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. TM:

urəə	mata	taruga	jatakai?
u-rɨ=ja	*mata*	*ta-ru-Ø=ga*	*jar-tar=kai*
MES-NLZ=TOP	again	who-NLZ-SG=NOM	COP-PST=DUB

cʔjutattoo,	(urɨ,)	mukasinu	|zjuukunu
k-tur-tar-too	*u-rɨ*	*mukasi=nu*	*zjuuku=nu*
come-PROG-PST-CSL	MES-NLZ	past=GEN	ten.nine=GEN

haru|ja	kurɨdu	utajutattujaacjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
haru=ja	*ku-rɨ=du*	*utaw-jur-tar-tu=jaa=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tɨ*
spring=TOP	PROX-NLZ=FOC	sing-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL=QT	say-SEQ

'And who was that person (who had brought the pamphlet of songs)? (Anyway, a person) was coming (here), and then (the person) said that, "(We) sang the old song *The spring in nineteen years old* with this (pamphlet), so (it is very familiar to us)."'

c. TM:

kʔwan	dɨkɨrantattoo,	nusjəə	jaakara
kʔwa=n	*dɨkɨr-an-tar-too*	*nusi=ja*	*jaa=kara*
child=even	be.born-NEG-PST-CSL	RFL=TOP	house=ABL

izibatɨ	izjanwake.
izibar-tɨ	*ik-tar-n=wake*
go.out-SEQ	go-PST-PTCP=CFP

'(The person) cannot have a baby, and then (the person) went out the house.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

It should be noted again that *-an* (NEG) cannot "directly" precede *-too* (CSL), but it can "indirectly" precede

it with *-tar* (PST) as in (8-88 c).

8.4.3.2. Conditional: *-boo* (CND)

The converbal affix *-boo* (CND) fills the predicates of adverbial clauses that express the condition that can realize the event of the superordinate clause. *-boo* (CND) belongs to Group-I affixes. Thus, it can directly follow a verbal root. Additionally, it can follow all of the derivational affixes and the inflectional affix *-an* (NEG), but cannot follow *-tar* (PST) as in (8-89).

(8-89) Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede *-boo* (CND) (Converbal affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*	~~*-tar*~~	*-boo* (CND)
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	~~PST~~	
						-jur				
						UMRK				

-boo (CND) cannot follow *-tar* (PST). However, *-boo* (CND) can be used to express the situation that occured in the past as in (8-90 c).

(8-90) *-boo* (CND)

a. TM: kuci hɨisanma akɨppoo, |ireba|nu
kuci hɨi-sanma akɨr-<u>boo</u> ireba=nu
mouth wide-ADVZ open-CND artificial.tooth=NOM
utɨjunkara,
utɨr-jur-n=kara
drop-UMRK-PTCP=CSL
'If (I) open the mouth wide, the artificial teeth will fall out, so ...'
[Co: 110328_00.tx]

b. [Context: TM said that the hearer MY was better than her, since MY could walk around only with a stick.]
TM: wanna arɨ usanboo, aikikijanba.
wan=ja a-rɨ us-an-<u>boo</u> aik-i+kij-an-ba
1SG=TOP PROX-NLZ push-NEG-CND walk-INF+CAP-NEG-CSL
'If I don't push that [i.e. handcart], (I) cannot walk (around) (so I think you are better than me).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM: |kjonen|bəikara mioja|kun| siccjuppoo, jiccja
kjonen=bəi=kara mioja-kun sij-tur-<u>boo</u> jiccj-sa
last.year=around=ABL Mioya-N/A do-PROG-CND good-ADJ

atənmundoojaa.
ar-təər-n=mun=doo=jaa
STV-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'If (I) had known Mioya since around the last year, (it) would have been good (but unfortunately I haven't known him that long).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

d. TM: naa naratuppoo, |gomennasai|cjɨnkjoo
naa naraw-tur-boo gomennasai=ccjɨ=nkja=ja
already get.accustomed-PROG-CND I.am.sorry=QT=APPR=TOP
jˀiimicjəə sijan.
jˀ-i+mici=ja sij-an
say-INF+way=TOP know-NEG
'(I) have already got accustomed to (the present author), and then (I) didn't remember to say, "I'm sorry" (when I forgot to serve the tea when he visited here).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

e. TM: tˀaija amanan taccjuppoo,
tˀai=ja a-ma=nan tat-tur-boo
two.person=TOP DIST-place=LOC stand-PROG-CND
un cˀjuiga muccjattoo,
u-n cˀjui=ga mukk-tar-too
MES-ADNZ one.person=NOM bring-PST-CSL
'Two (of the three boys) were standing there, and then the one (of them who remained) brought (pears), and then ...'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

In the first three examples (8-90 a-c), *-boo* (CND) expresses the conditional meaning such as 'if' in English. However, in the last two examples (8-90 d-e), *-boo* (CND) expresses the meaning such as 'and then' in English, which is similar to the meaning expressed by *-too* (CSL) in §8.4.3.1. Interestingly, the combination of *-an* (NEG) plus *-boo* (CND) has come to be used without a main clause, where the combination means an obligatory meaning such as 'has to' (see §11.2.4 for more details).

Before concluding this section, I want to present an affix, i.e. *-tarabacjɨ*, which expresses a concessive meaning such as 'even if' in English. This affix has not appeared in my texts, but it was found in elicitation.

(8-91) *-tarabacjɨ* 'even if'

a. TM: gan sjɨ sjarabacjɨ, nugoorasandoo.
ga-n sɨr-tɨ sɨr-tarabacjɨ nugoor-as-an=doo
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ do-even.if escape-CAUS-NEG=ASS
'Even if (you) do that, (I) won't let you escape.'

[El: 120924]

b.	TM:	uraga	ikjasaa	nacjarabacjɨ,	nugoorasandoo.
		ura=ga	*ikja-saa*	*nak-<u>tarabacjɨ</u>*	*nugoor-as-an=doo*
		2.NHON.SG=NOM	how-ADVZ	cry-even.if	escape-CAUS-NEG=ASS

'No matter how much you cry, (I) won't let you escape.'

[El: 120924]

Interestingly, the verb form ending with *-tarabacjɨ* deprives the questional meaning of the interrogative word *ikja-saa* (how-ADVZ) 'how much.' *-tarabacjɨ* 'even if' may be divided into *-tar* (PST) plus *-abacjɨ* 'even if,' since it is common for the past-tense morpheme to be used in the counterfactual proposition such as the subjunctive mood in English. We need to clarify the details of this affix in future research.

8.4.3.3. Listing: *-tai* (LST)

The converbal affix *-tai* (LST) means that there are several events, and that the speaker indicates one (or a few) of the events using it. The following affixes can precede *-tai* (LST). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede *-tai* (LST).

(8-92) Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede *-tai* (LST) (Converbal affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	*-arɨr*	~~*-tur*~~	*-jawur*	*-an*	*-təər*	~~*-tar*~~	*-tai* (LST)
	CAUS	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	~~PROG~~	POL	NEG	RSL	~~PST~~	
					~~*-jur*~~					
					~~UMRK~~					

I will present examples of *-tai* (LST).

(8-93) *-tai* (LST)

a.	TM:	nunkuin	jusɨtɨ	kurɨtai,	urɨ	sjɨ	kurɨtan
		nuu-nkuin	*jusɨr-tɨ*	*kurɨr-<u>tai</u>*	*u-rɨ*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*kurɨr-tar-n*
		what-INDFZ	teach-SEQ	BEN-LST	MES-NLZ	do-SEQ	BEN-PST-PTCP

	cʔjunu	kutoo	(umui, | ɨi)	wasɨrɨrannən,	urɨ
	cʔju=nu	*kutu=ja*	*umuw-i*		*wasɨrɨr-annən*	*u-rɨ*
	person=GEN	event=TOP	think-INF		forget-NEG.SEQ	MES-NLZ

	sjunban,
	sɨr-jur-n=ban
	do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS

'About a person who taught (me) everything and did it [i.e. the help] (for me), (I) don't forget (the person), and do it [i.e. remember], but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: uba[52] (mm) uziija jukkadɨ nubutai
u-rɨ=ba *uzii=ja* *jukkadɨ* *nubur-tai*
MES-NLZ=ACC old.man=TOP continuously climb-LST
urɨtai sjutɨ, nasi mutuii.
urɨr-tai *sɨr-tur-tɨ* *nasi* *mur-tur-i*
decend-LST do-PROG-SEQ pear pick.up-PROG-INF
'The old man kept climbing and descending it [i.e. the ladder], and was picking up the pears.'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

In (8-93 a), the VP /jusɨtɨ kurɨtai/ *jusɨr-tɨ kurɨr-tai* (teach-SEQ BEN-LST) 'teaching (everything to me), and ...' fills the the head of an adverbial clause, and the superordinate clause again functions as an adnominal clause, which modifies *cʔju* 'person.' In (8-93 b), the converbs /nubutai/ *nubur-tai* (climb-LST) 'climbming, and ...' and /uritai/ *urɨr-tai* (decend-LST) 'descending, and ...' fill the complement slot of the light verb construction (see also §9.1.2 for the light verb construction).

8.4.3.4. Temporal relation: *-gadɨ* 'until,' *-jagacinaa* (SIM), and *-təəra* 'after'

The converbal affixes *-gadɨ* 'until,' *-jagacinaa* (SIM), and *-təəra* 'after' can express temporal relationships between the events expressed by the adverbial clauses and those of the superordinate clauses. First, *-gadɨ* 'until' indicates the time until which the event of the modified clause continues. It can directly follow these verbal morphemes in (8-94). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(8-94) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-gadɨ* 'until' (Converbal affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	~~*-jawur*~~	~~*-an*~~	~~*-təər*~~	*-tar*	*-gadɨ* 'until'
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	~~POL~~	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	PST	
					-jur UMRK					

It is probable that *-gadɨ* 'until' is cognate with the limiter particle *gadɨ* (LMT). However, *-gadɨ* 'until' can directly attach to the verbal root. On the other hand, any particle cannot follow the verbal root directly (except for *kai* (DUB)). Thus, I propose that *-gadɨ* 'until' is a morpheme different from *gadɨ* (LMT) in modern Yuwan. Examples of *-gadɨ* 'until' are shown below.

(8-95) *-gadɨ* 'until'

a. TM: naakja kʔuugadɨ, wutarooga?

[52] The regular morphophonological alternation is *u-rɨ=ba* (MES-NLZ=ACC) > /uppa/, but it sounds like /uba/ here.

naakja	*k-gadɨ*	*wur-tar-oo=ga*	
2.HON.PL	come-until	exist-PST-SUPP=CFM3	

'(I) suppose (that) until you came (here), (the person) had been (there, hadn't he)?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM:

waakjoo	|socugjoo|	sɨkkadɨ	kuzɨɨ	hakandoojaa.
waakja=ja	*socugjoo*	*sɨr-gadɨ*	*kuzɨ*	*hak-an=doo=jaa*
1PL=TOP	graduation	do-until	shoe	put.on-NEG=ASS=SOL

'I hadn't put on shoes until (I) graduated (from elementary school).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Interestingly, *-gadɨ* expresses a meaning different from 'until' if it is followed by the particle *n* 'even,' i.e. *-gadɨ=n* 'by the time.'

(8-96) *-gadɨ* 'until' + *n* 'even'

MS:

ikugadɨnnja	kinunkja	kəətukɨjoo.
ik-gadɨ=n=ja	*kin=nkja*	*kəər-tuk-ɨ=joo*
go-until=even=TOP	clothes=APPR	change-PRPR-IMP=CFM1

'By the time (you) go (out), change (your) clothes (to the formal ones), right?'

[El: 120926]

Secondly, *-jagacinaa* (SIM) indicates the time during which the event of the modified clause occurs. It can directly follow only the verbal root, or two derivational affixes *-as* (CAUS) and *-arɨr* (PASS) as in (8-97).

(8-97) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-jagacinaa* (SIM) (Converbal affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tur*~~	~~*-jawur*~~	~~*-an*~~	~~*-təər*~~	~~*-tar*~~	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
	CAUS	PASS	~~PRPR~~	~~CAP~~	~~PROG~~	~~POL~~	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	~~PST~~	
					~~*-jur*~~					
					~~UMRK~~					

Morphophonologically, the //ci// of *-jagacinaa* (SIM) may be omitted. For example, *ik-jagacinaa* (go-SIM) can be realized either as /ikjagacinaa/ or /ikjaganaa/. Additionally, there is another form that express the same meaning with *-jagacinaa* (SIM), i.e. *-ganaa* (SIM). *-ganaa* (SIM) always needs to be preceded by *-i*/*-Ø* (INF), e.g. *ik-i-ganaa* (go-INF-SIM). Among them, *-jagacinaa* (SIM) is most productive. Therefore, I will present only examples of *-jagacinaa* (SIM) below.

(8-98) *-jagacinaa* (SIM)

a. TM: kusa musijagacinan, jukkadɨ uta.

kusa	*musij-jagacinaa=n*	*jukkadɨ*	*uta*
grass	pull-SIM=even	always	song

'Even while (my mother) was pulling weeds, (she was) always (singing) a song.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM:

ikjasjɨga	sjuruccjɨ,	nattəənkja	hanasjagacinaa,
ikja-sjɨ=ga	*sɨr-jur-u=ccjɨ*	*naa-ttəə=nkja*	*hanas-jagacinaa*
how-ADVZ=FOC	do-UMRK-PFC=QT	2.HON-DU=APPR	talk-SIM

kutusjəə	sjoogacija	urɨ	jappa,	un
kutusi=ja	*sjoogacɨ=ja*	*u-rɨ*	*jar-ba*	*u-n*
this.year=TOP	New.Year's.Day=TOP	MES-NLZ	COP-CSL	MES-ADNZ

sjoogacɨ	nusjəə	usikkwa	kawuroojaacjɨ	jˀicjɨ
sjoogacɨ	*nusi=ja*	*usi-kkwa*	*kawur-oo=jaa=ccjɨ*	*jˀ-tɨ*
New.Year's.Day	REF=TOP	cow-DIM	buy-INT=SOL=QT	say-SEQ

'The couple was saying, "What should (we) do?" and (said) that, "About the New Year's Day in the next year [lit. this year], (the fact) is that [i.e. they don't have a child]. Thus, let's buy a cow by ourselves (on) the New Year's Day."'

[Fo: 090307_00.tx]

Thirdly, *-təəra* 'after' indicates the time after which the event of the modified clause occurs. It can directly follow only the verbal root, or two derivational affixes *-as* (CAUS) and *-arɨr* (PASS) as in (8-99).

(8-99) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-təəra* 'after'

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	~~*-tuk*~~	~~*-arɨr*~~	~~*-tur*~~	~~*-jawur*~~	~~*-an*~~	~~*-təər*~~	~~*-tar*~~	*-təəra* 'after'
	CAUS	PASS	~~PRPR~~	~~CAP~~	~~PROG~~	~~POL~~	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	~~PST~~	
					~~*-jur*~~ ~~UMRK~~					

I will present examples of *-təəra* 'after.'

(8-100) *-təəra* 'after'

a. [= (6-117 d)]

TM:

naakjaga	|socugjoo|	sjəəraga	waakjoo	|gakkoo|kai?
naakja=ga	*socugjoo*	*sɨr-təəra=ga*	*waakja=ja*	*gakkoo=kai*
2.HON.PL=NOM	graduation	do-after=FOC	1PL=TOP	school=DUB

'(Is it) after you had graduated (from the elementary school, when) I (began to go to) school?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM:

uninkara	hɨitəəraga,	uraa	məəci	|denwa|ba

unin=kara *hɨir-təəra=ga* *ura-a* *məə=kaci* *denwa=ba*
that.time=ABL wake.up-after=FOC 2.NHON.SG front=ALL phone=ACC
sjəəraga, bocuubocu cɨra arati,
sɨr-təəra=ga *bocu+bocu* *cɨra* *araw-tɨ*
do-after=FOC RED+slowly face wash-SEQ
'After waking up at that time, (and) after calling you, (I) washed my face, and ...'

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

c. TM: juwannintəə (xxx) nkjoo |zjuusannici|n hii
juwan+nintəə *=nkja=ja* *zjuusannici=n* *hii*
Yuwan+people =APPR=TOP ten.three.day=GEN day
hakaba izjɨ cʔjəəra, ujahuzimacɨiccjɨ jʔicjɨ,
haka=ba *ik-tɨ* *k-təəra* *ujahuzi+macɨr-i=ccjɨ* *jʔ-tɨ*
tomb=ACC go-SEQ come-after ancestor+celebrate-INF=QT say-SEQ
ujahuzinu (mm) sɨnsoomutukaci miinna acɨmɨtɨ,
ujahuzi=nu *sɨnsoomutu=kaci* *minna* *acɨmɨr-tɨ*
ancestor=GEN head.family=ALL everybody gather-SEQ
'After going to and coming back from the tomb at the thirteenth day (of every month), the people of Yuwan, (who) called (the event) "the celebration of the ancestors," gathered all of the relatives at the head family's house.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. TM: jakɨtəəranu atuga wakaran.
jakɨr-təəra=nu *atu=ga* *wakar-an*
burn-after=GEN after=NOM understand-NEG
'(I) don't know (what happened) after (the houses) burned (because of the air raid in the World War II).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. [Context: TM was remembering the days when the present author came for the first time.]
TM: naa, mutoo cʔjəəranu sɨgoo koo zja, un zja,
naa *mutu=ja* *k-təəra=nu* *sɨgu=ja* *koo* *zjar* *un* *zjar*
FIL first=TOP come-after=GEN soon=TOP river COP sea COP
jama zjaccjɨ gan sjan munbəidu
jama *zjar=ccjɨ* *ga-n* *sɨr-tar-n* *mun=bəi=du*
mountain COP=QT MES-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP thing=only=FOC
tazɨnɨjutattujaa.
tazɨnɨr-jur-tar-tu=jaa
'At first, immediately after (the present author) came (to TM's place), (he) used to ask only these kinds of things (like) the river, the sea, and the mountain.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

f.	TM:	kuri	josidanu	|nikai|nkjanu	dikitəəra
		ku-ri	*josida=nu*	*nikai=nkja=nu*	*dikir-<u>təəra</u>*
		PROX-NLZ	Yoshida=GEN	second.floor=APPR=NOM	be.built-after
		jappa.			
		jar-ba			
		COP-CSL			

'This [i.e. the date when the outdoor lamp was set] is after Yoshida's second floor was built.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (8-100 a-c), the clauses that include the verb forms composed of -*teera* 'after' adverbially modify the following clauses. In (8-100 d-e), however, the clauses that include the verb forms composed of -*teera* 'after' fill the modifier slot of an NP. In fact, they are followed by *nu* (GEN). In (8-100 f), the clause that includes the verb form composed of -*təəra* 'after' fills the NP slot of the nominal predicate phrase with a copula verb.

8.4.3.5. Sequential: -*ti* (SEQ) and -*nən* (SEQ)

The converbal affix -*ti* (SEQ) and -*nən* (SEQ) can express the sequential relationship between the events. In addition, the verbal form composed of -*ti* (SEQ) is obligatorily used to fill the non-final verbal slot in AVC (see §9.1.1 for more details). In (8-101 a-b), the affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(8-101) a. Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede -*ti* (SEQ) (Converbal affix; Group I)

Root	-*as*	-*arir*	~~-*tuk*~~	-*arir*	-*tur*	-*jawur*	-*an*	-*təər*	~~-*tar*~~	-*ti* (SEQ)
	CAUS	PASS	~~PRPR~~	CAP	PROG	POL	NEG	RSL	~~PST~~	
					-*jur*					
					UMRK					

b. Verbal morphemes that can <u>directly</u> precede -*nən* (SEQ) (Converbal affix; Group II)

~~Root~~	~~-*as*~~	~~-*arir*~~	~~-*tuk*~~	~~-*arir*~~	~~-*tur*~~	~~-*jawur*~~	-*an*	~~-*təər*~~	~~-*tar*~~	-*nən* (SEQ)
	~~CAUS~~	~~PASS~~	~~PRPR~~	~~CAP~~	~~PROG~~	~~POL~~	NEG	~~RSL~~	~~PST~~	
					~~-*jur*~~					
					~~UMRK~~					

-*ti* (SEQ) can directly follow the verbal root. Basically, it is used in affirmative as in (8-102 a-b). On the contrary, -*nən* (SEQ) is always preceded by -*an* (NEG), i.e., always used in negative as in (8-102 c-d).

(8-102) -*ti* (SEQ)

a.	TM:	cjuuto	ikinnja	|zitensja|	hankəəracji,

cjuuto *ik-i=n=ja* *zitensja* *hankəər-as-tɨ*
middle go-INF=DAT1=TOP bicycle tumble-CAUS-SEQ
kʔugəəracjɨ, baramukasjanwake.
kʔugəər-as-tɨ *baramukasɨr-tar-n=wake*
tumble-CAUS-SEQ scatter-PST-PTCP=CFP
'When (the boy) went halfway, (he) tumbled off the bicycle (that he was riding on), and scattered (the pears).'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. TM: idocjɨ jʔicjɨ, (an) mata (an) agan
ido=ccjɨ *jʔ-tɨ* *a-n* *mata* *a-n* *aga-n*
oh=QT say-SEQ DIST-ADNZ again DIST-ADNZ DIST-ADVZ
izjibatɨ izjɨ, amanan sawakotankja
izir-i+bar-tɨ *ik-tɨ* *a-ma=nan* *sawako-taa=nkja*
go.out-INF+?-SEQ go-SEQ DIST-place=LOC1 Sawako-PL=APPR
minakotankjaga wutattu,
minako-taa=nkja=ga *wur-tar-tu*
Minako-PL=APPR=NOM exist-PST-CSL
'Saying that "Oh!" (I went out there again, and there were Sawako, Minako and their friends, so ...'

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

-nən (SEQ)

c. TM: jazin |hucuugo|ja cɨkawannən, |hoogen|bəidujaa.
jazin *hucuugo=ja* *cɨkaw-an-nən* *hoogen=bəi=du=jaa*
necessarily standard.Japanese=TOP use-NEG-SEQ dialect=only=FOC=SOL
nunkuin wakappa.
nuu-nkuin *wakar-ba*
what-INDFZ understand-CSL
'Necessarily not using the standard Japanese, (it is OK) only with (our) dialect. Since (the present author) can understand anything.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: |sjoogakusjei|nu |sjeito| cɨrɨtɨ, |hito ... kurabu|gadəə
sjoogakusjei=nu *sjeito* *cɨrɨr-tɨ* *hito+* *kurabu=gadɨ=ja*
primary.schoolchild=GEN pupil accompany-SEQ one club=LMT=TOP
arannən, minna cɨrɨtɨjo,
ar-an-nən *minna* *cɨrɨr-tɨ=joo*
COP-NEG-SEQ everybody accompany-SEQ=CFM1

'(A teacher) came with the primary school children, and (they) are not enough (to be able to form) a club, and (the teacher) came (to my mother's house) with all (these children), and ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In principle, *-tɨ* (SEQ) links clauses sequentially, which can usually be translated into 'and.' However, the combination of *-tɨ* plus *n* 'even' can mean 'even if ...' as in (8-103) (see §10.1.3 for more details).

(8-103) TM: abɨtɨn, kikjanba. jʔicjɨn, kikjanba.
abɨr-tɨ=n *kik-an-ba* *jʔ-tɨ=n* *kik-an-ba*
call-SEQ=even hear-NEG-CSL say-SEQ=even hear-NEG-CSL
'Even if (I) call (her), (she) doesn't hear. Even if (I) says (something to her), (she) doesn't hear, so (I don't visit her these days).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In principle, *-tɨ* (SEQ) is used in the affirmative polality as in (8-102 a-b) and (8-103). However, *-tɨ* (SEQ) can be used in negative in the following cases. (A) *-tɨ* (SEQ) is followed by *n* 'even' and means a conditional meaning such as '(there is no problem) even if not, ...' (B) *-tɨ* (SEQ) is used in insubordination.

First, I will present examples of (A).

(8-104) *-an-tɨ=n* (NEG-SEQ=even) to mean '(there is no problem) even if not ...'

a. TM: naa, mutunu kutunkjagadəə sijantɨn,
naa *mutu=nu* *kutu=nkja=gadɨ=ja* *sij-an-tɨ=n*
FIL origin=GEN event=APPR=LMT=TOP know-NEG-SEQ=even
jiccjaccjɨdu juuba.
jiccj-sa=ccjɨ=du *jʔ-ba*
no.problem-ADJ=QT=FOC say-CSL
'(Younger people) say that, "(There) is no problem, even if (we) don't know about the old events."'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. TM: naa, huccjunkjoo minna urəə
naa *huccju=nkja=ja* *minna* *u-rɨ=ja*
FIL old.people=APPR=TOP everybody MES-NLZ=TOP
mjantɨn, sicjutattujaa. |jonban|gadɨ.
mj-an-tɨ=n *sij-tur-tar-tu=jaa* *jonban=gadɨ*
see-NEG-SEQ=even know-PROG-PST-CSL=SOL number.four=LMT
'Even if (they) didn't see that [i.e. a pamphlet of songs], all of the old people knew [i.e. had memorized] (the songs from No. 1) to No. 4.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Generally, the adjectival root *jiccj-* can be translated as ‘good’ in English. After the combinations *-an-tɨ=n* (NEG-SEQ=even), however, it is more appropriate to translate *jiccj-* as ‘no problem’ as in (8-104 a). In fact, there is a case where *jiccj-* can be translated as ‘no problem’ without following *-an-tɨ=n* (NEG-SEQ=even) as in (9-45 d) in §9.2.2.1.

Secondly, the verbal form *-an-tɨ* (NEG-SEQ) can be used in the case of insubordination, i.e. the use of non-finite form in the main clause (see §11.2). In the interrogative clause, the finite-form affix *-tar* (PST) cannot be used, and instead *-tɨ* (SEQ) can be used to indicate the past tense, where *-an* (NEG) can precede *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (8-105).

(8-105) *-an-tɨ* (NEG-SEQ) in the insubordination

TM:	naakjoo	ukka	sjantɨ	asɨbantɨ?
	naakja=ja	*u-rɨ=ga*	*sja=nantɨ*	*asɨb-an-tɨ*
	2.HON.SG=TOP	MES-NLZ=GEN	under=LOC1	play-NEG-SEQ

‘Didn’t you play under that [i.e. a big bayan tree]?’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The above example expresses the negative question in the past tense using *-an-tɨ* (NEG-SEQ).

There are examples where the converb *-tɨ* (SEQ) behaves similarly with the nominal, which will be discussed in §9.3.2.2.

8.4.4. Infinitive (verbal noun)

An infinitive is a verbal form that ends with the infinitival affixes, i.e. *-i* (INF) or *-Ø* (INF). Infinitive cannot include the past tense affix *-tar* and the negative affix *-an* (NEG). The clause headed by an infinitive functions as a nominal, i.e. a nominal clause (see also §11.1.3). The morphophonology and the morhposyntax of the infinitives are fairly complicated. The morphophonology of the infinitives will be discussed in §8.4.4.1. The morphosyntax of the infinitives will be discussed in §8.4.4.2.

8.4.4.1. Morphophonology of the infinitives

First of all, the two types of forms of infinitives, i.e. simple forms and lengthened forms, are shown below.

Table 80. Infinitives (simple forms and lengthened forms)

Stem No.	1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r			2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w[53]		
ex.	*hingir-*	*abɨr-*	*kəər-*	*ʔkuur-*	*nugoor-*	*koow-*[54]
	'escape'	'call'	'exchange'	'close'	'don't do'	'buy'
Simple	hingi	abɨ	kəə	ʔkuu-i	nugoo-i	koo-i / ko-i
Lengthened	hingii	abɨi	kəə	ʔkuu-ii	nugoo-ii	koo-ii
Stem No.	2. V_{back}r	3. pp	4. b	5. Vm	6. nm	7. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ k
ex.	*tur-*[55]	*app-*	*narab-*	*jum-*	*tanm-*	*kak-*
	'take'	'play'	'line up'	'read'	'ask'	'write'
Simple	tu-i	app-i	narab-i	jum / jum-i	tanm-i	kak-i
Lengthened	tu-ii	app-ii	narab-ii	jum / jum-ii	tanm-ii	kak-ii
Stem No.	8. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk	9. Vs	10. ss	11. t	12. Only C(G)	
ex.	*sukk-*	*us-*	*kuss-*	*ut-*	*jʔ-*	*mj-*
	'pull'	'push'	'kill'	'hit'	'say'	'see'
Simple	sukk-i	us-i	kuss-i	uc-i[56]	jʔ-ii	m-ii
Lengthened	sukk-ii	us-ii	kuss-ii	uc-ii	jʔ-ii	m-ii
Stem No.	13. ij	14. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ g	15. ik	16. i(n)g		17. in
ex.	*kij-*	*tug-*	*kik-*	*uig-*	*ming-*	*sin-*
	'cut'	'whet'	'hear'	'swim'	'grab'	'die'
Simple	ki-i	tug-i	kik-i	uig-i	ming-i	sin / sin-i
Lengthened	ki-i	tug-ii	kik-ii	uig-ii	ming-ii	N/A

The above table shows that the infinitives in Yuwan have two types of surface forms, i.e. the simple forms and the lengthened forms. Many of the simple forms have the single vowel /i/ at their final position, and many of the lengthened forms have the vowel sequence /ii/ at their final position. The lengthened forms can be used if the infinitive is a clause-final free form (not a clitic). Otherwise, the simple forms are used.

First, we will discuss the simple forms. The morphophonological rules for the simple infinitival forms are summarized as in (8-106).

(8-106) The rules for the simple infinitival form;

1. The verbal stem No. 1 always takes -*Ø* (INF);
2. If both (A) the verbal stem belongs to 5, or 17, and (B) there is no possibility to form /C.C./, then the verbal stem takes -*Ø* (INF);
3. Otherwise, the verbal stems take -*i* (INF);

[53] Phonological rule (see §2.4.1): w/r + i > i
[54] Phonological rule (see §2.4.5): kooi > koi
[55] Phonological rule (see §2.4.1): tur + i(i) > tui(i)
[56] Phonological rule (see §2.4.2): ut + i(i) > uci(i)

4. //r// before *-Ø* (INF) and //j// before *-i* (INF) are deleted;
5. If the infinitive has only one mora in itself, its final vowel is lengthened.

This rule in (8-106 "4") is required to explain the following behavior: *kij-i* (cut-INF) + *ja* (TOP) > /ki-i=ja/ (not */ki-jəə/), where the topic marker is never fused with the preceding morphophoneme (see also §10.1.1.1).

I will present examples of simple infinitival forms below. In the following tables, *-Ø* (INF) is expressed even in the surface forms, and the infinitives are underlined.

Table 81. Simple forms with *mai* (OBL)

Stem No.	1	5	12	13	17	The others
Infinitival affix	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-i*	*-i*	*-Ø*	*-i*
ex.	*abɨr-* 'call'	*jum-* 'read'	*mj-* 'see'	*kij-* 'cut'	*sin-*'die'	*kak-* 'write'
(Input)	abɨr-Ø+mai	jum-Ø+mai	mj-i+mai	kij-i+mai	sin-Ø+mai	kak-i+mai
Deletion of //r// or //j//	abɨ-Ø+mai	-	m-i+mai	ki-i+mai	-	-
Lengthening	-	-	m-ii+mai	-	-	-
(Output)	abɨ-Ø+mai	jum-Ø+mai	m-ii+mai	ki-i+mai	sin-Ø+mai	kak-i+mai

mai (OBL) in Table 81 does not have a possibility to form a /C.C./ (not /C.C/) syllable structure. However, *n* 'also' in Table 82 has the possibility to form a /C.C./ syllable structure with *jum-* (the verbal stem No. 5) and *sin-* 'die' (the verbal stem No. 17). Therefore, these verbal stems take *-i* (INF) as in Table 82 (not *-Ø* (INF) as in Table 81).

Table 82. Simple forms with *n* 'also'

Stem No.	1	5	12	13	17	The others
Infinitival affix	*-Ø*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*
ex.	*abɨr-* 'call'	*jum-* 'read'	*mj-* 'see'	*kij-* 'cut'	*sin-*'die'	*kak-* 'write'
(Input)	abɨr-Ø=n	jum-i=n	mj-i=n	kij-i=n	sin-i=n	kak-i=n
Deletion of //r// or //j//	abɨ-Ø=n	-	m-i=n	ki-i=n	-	-
Lengthening	-	-	m-ii=n	-	-	-
(Output)	abɨ-Ø=n	jum-i=n	m-i=n[57]	k-i=n[58]	sin-i=n	kak-i=n

Table 82 is different from Table 81 in that the verbal stems No. 5 and 17 take *-i* (INF) in order to avoid */jum.n./ *jum=n* (read=also) or */sin.n./ *sin=n* (die=also).

Next, we will discuss the lengthened forms. The rules for the lengthened infinitival forms are summarized as in (8-107).

[57] Phonological rule (§2.4.5): ii + n > in
[58] Phonological rule (§2.4.5): ii + n > in

(8-107) The rules for the lengthened infinitival form;

1. The verbal stem No. 1 takes -*Ø* (INF) and the other stems take -*i* (INF);
2. //r// before -*Ø* (INF) and //j// before -*i* (INF) are deleted;
3. If the infinitive has only one vowel at its final syllable, the vowel is lengthened.

I will present the lengthened infinitival forms in Table 83.

Table 83. Lengthened forms

Stem No.	1	5	12	13	The others
Infinitival affix	-*Ø*	-*i*	-*i*	-*i*	-*i*
ex.	*abɨr*- 'call'	*jum*- 'read'	*mj*- 'see'	*kij*- 'cut'	*kak*- 'write'
(Input)	abɨr-Ø	jum-i	mj-i	kij-i	kak-i
Deletion of //r// or //j//	abɨ-Ø	-	m-i	ki-i	-
Lengthening	abɨɨ-Ø	jum-ii	m-ii	-	kak-ii
(Output)	abɨɨ-Ø	jum-ii	m-ii	ki-i	kak-ii

It was difficult to find the appropriate questions to let the speaker say the lengthened form of the verbal stem No. 17. Thus, Table 83 excludes the example of No. 17.

As mentioned before, the lengthened forms are frequently used if the infinitive is a free form (not a clitic) that fills the clause-final position as in (8-108 a-b). If the infinitive is followed by another free form, the infinitive does not become a lengthened form, but it becomes a simple form as in (8-108 c).

(8-108) Lengthened form and simple form

a. Followed by *doo* (ASS)

TM: minnasjɨ abɨɨdoo.
minna=sjɨ *abɨ-Ø=doo*
everybody=INST call-INF=ASS
'(We) call (him) together.'

[El: 130814]

b. Followed by nothing

TM: namaara abɨɨ?
nama=kara *abɨ-Ø*
now=ABL call-INF
'Do (you) call (her) now?'

[El: 110917]

c. Followed by *jar*- (COP)

TM: minnasjɨ abɨ jataroo.

minna=sjɨ	*abɨ-Ø*	*jar-tar-oo*
everybody=INST	call-INF	COP-PST-SUPP

'Probably (they) called (him) together.'

[El: 130814]

In (8-108 a-b), the infinitive *abɨ-Ø* (call-INF) is a clause-final free form. Thus, it takes the lengthened form /abɨɨ/. In (8-108 c), the infinitive *abɨ-Ø* (call-INF) is not the clause-final free form, but the copular verb /jataroo/ *jar-tar-oo* (COP-PST-SUPP) is the clause-final free form. Therefore, the infinitive takes the simple form (not the lengthened form), i.e. /abɨ/. Usually, the infinitive takes the lengthened form if it is a clause-final free form as in (8-108 a-b). In fact, there is a case where the infinitive that is a clause-final free form does not take the lengthened form as in (8-114 a) in §8.4.4.2.

In addition, *doo* (ASS) permits the verbal stem No. 5 (ending with //Vm//) to become not only the lengthened form, e.g. /jum-ii=doo/ (read-INF=ASS), but also the simple form, e.g. /jum-Ø=doo/ (read-INF=ASS), even in the clause-final position. This alternation is not permitted before *na* (PLQ), e.g. */jum-Ø=na/ (read-INF=PLQ), where the verbal stem No. 5 always takes the lengthened form, e.g. /jum-ii=na/ (read-INF=PLQ) 'Does (someone) read?' It is probable that this restriction avoids the confusion between *na* (PLQ) and *-na* (PROH), since the latter can form /jum-na/ (read-PROH) 'Don't read!'

Before concluding this section, it should be mentioned that the difference between the simple form and the lengthened form of infinitives may indicates an intonational unit. In other words, an infinitive would be lengthened if it is in the final position of the intonational unit. In that case, the clause-final particles, e.g. *doo* (ASS), seem to attach to the intonational unit. This analysis is in need of further resarch.

8.4.4.2. Morphosyntax of the infinitives

In this section, we will discuss the morphology and syntax of the infinitives. We will begin with the morphology. The verbal morphemes that can directly precede the infinitival affix *-i*/*-Ø* are shown in (8-109).

(8-109) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-i*/*-Ø* (INF) (Infinitival affix; Group I)

Root	*-as*	*-arɨr*	*-tuk*	*-arɨr*	*-tur*	~~*-jawur*~~	~~*-an*~~	~~*-taar*~~	~~*-tar*~~	*-i*/*-Ø* (INF)
	CAUS	PASS	PRPR	CAP	PROG	~~POL~~	~~NEG~~	~~RSL~~	~~PST~~	

The above example shows that the verbal root can also directly precede *-i*/*-Ø* (INF). The affixes that can directly precede the infinitival affix, i.e. *-as* (CAUS), *-arɨr* (PASS), *-tuk* (PRPR), *-arɨr* (CAP), and *-tur* (PROG), belong to derivational affixes (see §8.1).

The infinitives can appear only by themselves, or appear in the compounding. The infinitive that appears in th non-final position in the comopound takes the simple form discussd in §8.4.4.1. The examples of compounding were already presented in §4.2.3.1 and §4.2.3.2. We will discuss the infinitives that fill the word-final position below.

Syntactically, the infinitives in the word-final position can appear in the following syntactic

environments in the clause.

(8-110) The infinitives in the word-final postion can appear
a. In the complement slot of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do';
b. As the core argument of the nominal predicate;
c. In the predicate slot in the main clause;
d. Before *n* (DAT1) meaning 'when.'

The lengthened form may appear only in the case of (8-110 c). The infinitives of (8-110 a-c) cannot take their own subjects. In other words, in those cases, the subjects of infinitives always coincide with those of the main clauses. The stative verb *ar-* can be followed by *-i* (INF) in the conditions of (8-110 a, d) as in the examples (8-111 c) and (8-115 f). However, the copula verb cannot take the infinitival affix.

With regard to (8-110 a), the infinitive can appear in the complement slot of the VP, where the lexical verb is always *sɨr-* 'do' as in (8-111 a-c). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(8-111) In the complement slot of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do'

a. TM:	zjenzjen	munun	janbajoo,	kikin	sɨran.
	zjenzjen	*mun=n*	*jʔ-an-ba=joo*	*kik-i=n*	*sɨr-an*
	at.all	thing=also	say-NEG-CSL=CFM1	[ask-INF=even]	[do-NEG]
				{[Complement]	[LV]}$_{VP}$

'(He) does not say anything, so (I) do not ask him (either).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM:	wanun	tanmidu	sjan.	|oiwai|kkwa
	wan=n	*tanm-i=du*	*sɨr-tar-n*	*oiwai-kkwa*
	1SG=also	[ask-INF=FOC]	[do-PST-PTCP]	monetary.gift-DIM
		{[Complement]	[LV]}$_{VP}$	

'I also asked (them). (To prepare) the monetary gift (on behalf of TM).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM:	makanəicjasoo	aija	sjunban,
	makanaw-i+cja-soo	*ar-i=ja*	*sɨr-jur-n=ban*
	[give.a.feast-ING+want-ADJ	STV-INF=TOP]	[do-UMRK-PTCP]=ADVRS
	{[Complement]		[LV]}$_{VP}$

'(I) want to give a feast (to the present author), but ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

The above examples show that the infinitives fill the complement slots of the VPs composed of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do.' These structures are called the light verb construction, and details will be disscussed in §9.1.2.

With regard to (8-110 b), the infinitive can become the core argument of the nominal predicate as in

(8-112 a-c) (see §9.3 for more details on nominal predicate). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(8-112) As the core argument of the nominal predicate

a. TM: waakjaa anmaaja gan sjɨ uta jusɨrooccjɨ,
waakja-a *anmaa=ja* *ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *uta* *jusɨr-oo=ccjɨ*
1PL-ADNZ mother=TOP MES-ADVZ do-SEQ song teach-INT=QT
jusɨga sɨki jatanmundoo.
jusɨr-Ø=ga *sɨki* *jar-tar-n=mun=doo*
[teach-INF]=NOM [favorite COP-PST-PTCP]=ADVRS=ASS
[Core argument] [Nominal predicate]
'My mother (thought) that (she) tried to teach (me) the (traditional) songs in this way, and (she) liked teaching [lit. About her, teaching was a favorite (thing)].'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: heisjeikaci kawaija |sjoowanannen|gadɨ?
heisjei=kaci *kawar-i=ja* *sjoowa+nan+nen=gadɨ*
[Heisei=ALL change-INF]=TOP [Showa+what+year]=LMT
[Core argument] [Nominal predicate]
'When did Showa [Japanese era, 1926-1989] change to Heisei [Japanese era, 1989 to present]?' [lit. 'The change into Heisei is until what year of Showa?']
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM: cʔjun simacʔjutu hanasiga
cʔju=nu *sima+cʔju=tu* *hanas-i=ga*
[person=GEN community+person=COM talk-INF]=NOM
[Core argument]
sɨkiccjɨjo.
sɨki=ccjɨ=joo
[favorite]=QT=CFM1
[Nominal predicate]
'(The person) likes talking with a person from another community.' [lit. '(About the person) talking with a person of (another) person's community is favorite.']
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

It should be noted that the infinitive /kawai/ *kawar-i* (change-INF) 'changing' in (8-112 b) retains its own argument *heisjei=kaci* (Heisei=ALL) 'to Heisei.' Similarly, the infinitive /hanasi/ *hanas-i* (talk-INF) 'talking' in (8-112 c) retains its own argument *cʔju=nu sima+cʔju=tu* (person=GEN community+person=COM) 'with a person from another community.'

With regard to (8-110 c), the infinitive can be used in the predicate slot in the main clause. The infinitives

take either simple forms or lengthened forms in this environment (see §8.4.4.1 for more details). The infinitive in the predicate slot may be followed by a copula verb as in (8-113 a-c). That is, it forms a nominal predicate phrase.

(8-113) In the predicate slot in the main clause

a. [Context: Remembering the days when people sent off the people who went to mainland Japan]

TM:	umanan	sanbasinu	atɨ,
	u-ma=nan	*sanbasi=nu*	*ar-tɨ*
	MES-place=LOC1	pier=NOM	exist-SEQ
	umantɨ	cɨkɨ	jatattu.
	u-ma=nantɨ	*cɨkɨr-Ø*	*jar-tar-tu*
	[MES-place=LOC2	attach-INF	COP-PST-CSL]
	[Nominal predicate]		

'There is a pier there, and (the ship) came alongside there [lit. (the ship) was to dock there].'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b.

TM:	|heitai|kaci xxx	turarɨ	jappoo,	nusjee
	heitai=kaci	*tur-arɨr-Ø*	*jar-boo*	*nusi=ja*
	[soldier=ALL	take-PASS-INF	COP-CND]	RFL=TOP
	[Nominal predicate]			
	|konoehei|ccjɨ	jʔicjɨ,		
	konoe+hei=ccjɨ	*jʔ-tɨ*		
	imperial.guard+soldier	say-SEQ		

'(He said) that, "if (I) am called up to the military [lit. if (I) am taken to the military], (I) myself (will be) an imperal guard," and ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c.

TM:	ukkaci	makikum	jatattujaa.
	u-rɨ=kaci	*mak-i+kum-Ø*	*jar-tar-tu=jaa*
	[MES-NLZ=ALL	roll-INF+into-INF	COP-PST-CSL=SOL]
	[Nominal predicate]		

'(The old-type audio recorder) rolled up (the tape of one side) into that [i.e. the other side] (during the recording).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d.

TM:	an	junɨzooanjootaaga	simautaba
	a-n	*junɨzoo+anjoo-taa=ga*	*sima+uta=ba*
	DIST-ADNZ	Yonezo+older.brother-PL=NOM	[community+song=ACC
	[Subject]		[Nominal predicate]
	|hozon|	siicjɨ	jʔicjɨ,

hozon *sɨr-i=ccjɨ* *jʔ-tɨ*
preservation do-INF]=QT say-SEQ
'Those (people,) Yonezo and his family said that (they would) do the preservation of the (traditional) songs (of) the community.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (8-113 a-d), the infinitives fill the predicate slot as nominals, which is clear from the copula verbs following them, although there is no copula in (8-113 d). The infinitives in (8-113 a-d) retain their "internal syntax" (Haspelmath 1996) such as *u-ma=nantɨ* (MES-place=LOC2) in (8-113 a), *heitai=kaci* (soldier=ALL) in (8-113 b), /ukkaci/ *u-rɨ=kaci* (MES-NLZ=ALL) in (8-113 c), and *sima+uta=ba* (community+song=ACC) in (8-113 d). However, infinitives in these environments cannot have its own subject, which is attested by the following examples.

(8-114) a. *mizjuu* 'ditch' being the subject of the nominal predicate [= (6-120 b)]

TM:	kun	|ike|karanu	mizjuuga	agan	iki.
	ku-n	*ike=kara=nu*	*mizjuu=ga*	*aga-n*	*ik-i*
	[PROX-ADNZ	pond=ABL=GEN	ditch]=NOM	DIST-ADVZ	[go-INF]
	[Subject]				[Nominal predicate]

'The ditch from this pond extends there.' [lit. 'The ditch from this ponds (is) to go there.']

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *mizjuu* 'ditch' being the subject of the verbal predicate

TM:	mizjuunu	atattoo.
	mizjuu=nu	*ar-tar=doo*
	ditch=NOM	exist-PST=ASS

'There was a ditch.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The nominative particle has two forms *ga* and *nu*. The former *ga* (NOM) is used when the preceding nominal belongs to the higher position in the animacy hierarchy, and the latter *nu* (NOM) is used when the preceding nominal belongs to the lower position in the animacy hierarchy (see §6.4 for more details). Therefore, *mizjuu* 'ditch' normally takes *nu* (NOM) as in (8-114 b), since it indicates an inanimate referent, which is in the lowest position in the animacy hierarchy. However, if the predicate is a filled by an NP, i.e. a nominal predicate, the subject always takes *ga* (NOM) irrespective the animacy of the preceding nominal (see §6.4.3.2 for more details). Thus, *mizjuu* 'ditch' in (8-114 a) takes the nominative particle *ga* (not *nu*). This means the infinitive *ik-i* (go-INF) 'going' fills the predicate slot of the main clause, and the subject is *mizjuu* 'ditch.' In other words, *mizjuu* 'ditch' and *ik-i* (go-INF) does not form a single (nominal) clause. Otherwise, the alleged nominal clause as a whole would fill the predicate of the main clause, where the subject of the *ik-* 'go' has to take the nominative particle *nu*, since the internal syntax of the alleged nominal clause does not require *mizjuu*

‘ditch’ to take *ga* (NOM). Considering the above examples, we can conclude that the infinitive as the nominal predicate in the main clause (or complement clause) is a verbal form that can retain its arguments with the exception of the subject. The infinitive followed by *n* (DAT1), however, is not the case since it can retain the subject’s nominative *nu* as in *a-n cʔju=nkja=nu* (DIST-ADNZ person=APPR=NOM) in (8-115 b) below.

With regard to (8-110 d), if the infinitive is followed by *n* (DAT1), it can indicate a certain temporal point as in (8-115 a-f). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(8-115) Before *n* (DAT1) indicating a temporal point

a. TM: usatoobasanga wuinnja muru iccja
usato+obasan=ga *wur-i=n=ja* *muru* *iccj-a*
Usato+old.woman=NOM exist-INF=DAT1=TOP very good-ADJ
atanmuncjɨjo.
ar-tar-n=mun=ccjɨ=joo
STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=QT=CFM1
‘When Usato was (with us) [i.e. was alive and healthy] it was very good.’
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: an cʔjunkjanu |koocjoosjensjei|
a-n *cʔju=nkja=nu* *koocjoo+sjensjei*
DIST-PTCP person=APPR=NOM principal+teacher
sjuinga, amurontɨ singa,
sɨr-tur-i=n=ga *amuro=nantɨ* *sɨr-i=n=ga*
do-PROG-INF=DAT1=NOM Amuro=LOC1 do-INF=DAT1=NOM
amuronu kʔwasainu sjan tukidarooga.
amuro=nu *kʔwasai=nu* *sɨr-tar-n* *tukɨ=daroo=ga*
Amuro=NOM fire=NOM do-PST-PTCP time=SUPP=CFM3
‘Probably, the time (when) that person was doing the principal (of the elementry school), the time (when he) did (it) at Amuro, is the time when Amuro caught fire.’
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: Speaking to US, whose family used to deal in fish] = (6-99 b)
TM: naakjaga sjɨ mooinnja, simanu
naa-kja=ga *sɨr-tɨ* *moor-i=n=ja* *sima=nu*
2.HON-PL=NOM do-SEQ HON-INF=DAT1=TOP island=GEN
jʔudarooga?
jʔu=daroo=ga
fish=SUPP=CFM3
‘When you dealt in (fish), (they were) probably fish from the community [i.e. fish taken around the community].’
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. [= (6-56)]

TM: amanan wuinkara, naa naikwa kawatɨ,
a-ma=nan *wur-i=n=kara* *naa* *naikwa* *kawar-tɨ*
DIST-place=LOC1 exist-INF=DAT1=ABL already a.little strange-SEQ
'(The person) was already strange since [lit. from when] (the person) was there, and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. TM: uraga amaaci ikinnja,
ura=ga *a-ma=kaci* *ik-i=n=ja*
2.NHON.SG=NOM DIST-place=ALL go-INF=DAT1=TOP
wanna kumaaci ikjoojəə.
wan=ja *ku-ma=kaci* *ik-oo=jəə*
1SG=TOP PROX-place=ALL go-INT=CFM2
'When you go to that way, I will go to this way.'

[El: 130814]

f. TM: waasainkara |sjoku|ja nəncjɨjo.
waa-sa+ar-i=n=kara *sjoku=ja* *nə-an=ccjɨ=joo*
young-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1=ABL appetite=TOP exist-NEG=QT=CFM1
'(I) do not eat much since (I) am young.'
[lit. 'There is not appetite from when (I) am young.']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (8-115), the infinitival affix *-i* directly follows the verbal roots, e.g. *sɨr-* 'do' in (8-115 b) or *ik-* 'go' in (8-115 e). In addition, *-i* (INF) can follow the derivational affix *-tur* (PROG) as in (8-115 b). On the one hand, an infinitive may be followed by *n=kara* (DAT1=ABL) as in (8-115 d, f). On the one hand, a common noun cannot be followed by *n=kara* (DAT1=ABL), e.g. **tuki=n=kara* (time=DAT1=ABL). These facts may imply that the *n* (DAT1) after infinitives has been reanalyzed as a temporal marker with the infinitival affixes such as -(*i*)*n* 'when.'

In all of the above examples, the predicate filled by the infinitive did not appear sequentially. However, there is an example where the clause-final infinitives are used sequentially (or in a clause chaining) as in (8-116).

(8-116) Infinitives in a clause chaining
[Context: After telling a short story, TM remembered the secret of good health told by the original story teller.]

TM: naa, urɨga, jʔiigajo, hɨru kamii, gakkjuu

naa *u-rɨ=ga* *jʔ-i=ga=joo* *hɨru* *kam-i* *gakkjuu*
FIL MES-NLZ=NOM say-INF=NOM=CFM1 garlic eat-INF shallot
kamii, |zjagaimo| kamii, hansɨ kamii, koosjaa kamii,
kam-i *zjagaimo* *kam-i* *hansɨ* *kam-i* *koosjaa* *kam-i*
eat-INF potato eat-INF sweet.potato eat-INF yam eat-INF
unuu kamiicjɨnkja umujuncjɨjo.
unuu *kam-i=cjɨ=nkja* *umuw-jur-n=ccjɨ=joo*
taro eat-INF=QT=APPR think-UMRK-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'That (person) said that (he) thought that eating garlic, shallot, potato, sweet potato, yam, and taro (is good for his health).'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

The above example shows that clause-final infinitives may be used in clause chaining. However, this kind of sequential use of infinitives has been found only in (8-116) in my texts.

Before concluding this section, I want to mention two affixes that have the same form and can appear in the predicate slot of the main clause, i.e. *-i* (INF) and *-i* (NPST). As discussed in §8.1, the non-past affix *-i* (Group-II affix) cannot directly follow any verbal root, e.g. **jum-i* (read-NPST). However, the same form *jum-i* (read-INF) can appear in the sentence-final position. So far, we have regarded this as the infinitival affix *-i* (not the non-past affix *-i*). This analysis is supported by the following facts that the non-past affx *-i* assimilates to the questional particle *na* as in (8-117 a) (see §10.3.2 for more details), but the infinitival affix *-i* does not as in (8-117 b).

(8-117) a. *-i* (NPST)
TM: namaara hon jumjunnja?
nama=kara *hon* *jum-jur-i=na*
now=ABL book read-UMRK-NPST=PLQ
'Do you read a book from now?'

[El: 130814]

b. *-i* (INF)
TM: namaara hon jumiina?
nama=kara *hon* *jum-i=na*
now=ABL book read-INF=PLQ
'Do you read a book from now?'

[El: 110914]

In (8-117 a), *na* (PLQ) is palatalized by *-i* (NPST) and also *-i* (NPST) is nasalized by *na* (PLQ): //-i=na// > (palatalization) > /-i=nja/ > (nasalization) > /-n=nja/. If the *-i* in (8-117 b) is the non-past affix *-i*, the same rules have to be applied, and the results would be a form like /jumunnja/: //jum-i=na// > (palatalization) >

/jum-i=nja/ > (nasalization) > /jum-n=nja/ > (vowel insertion) > /jum-un=nja/ (about the alleged vowel insertion, see §2.4.3). However, *-i* (INF) is lengthened before *na* (PLQ) forming /iina/ (see §8.4.4.1 for more details about the lengthened infinitive). Thus, we assume that *-i* (INF) in (8-117 b) is different from *-i* (NPST).

8.4.5. Affix that seems to be across word classes

The participial affix *-n* and the adnominalizer *-n* have the same form as in (8-118 a-b).

(8-118) a. The participial affix *-n*

TM:	hinzjaa	succjun	nɨsəənu	tuutai,
	[*hinzjaa*	*sukk-tur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*nɨsəə=nu*	*tuur-tai*
	goat	pull-PROG-PTCP	young.man=NOM	pass-LST

'A young man who was pulling a goat passed (there), and ...'

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

b. The adnominalizer *-n*

[Context: TM and MY were asked to talk alone, so they felt difficulty to find a topic to talk of.]

TM:	kjuuja	an	nɨsəənu	mjanba,	jakkəə.
	kjuu=ja	[*a-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal (word)}}$	*nɨsəə=nu*	*mj-an-ba*	*jakkəə*
	today=TOP	DSIT-ADNZ	young.man=NOM	see-NEG-CSL	trouble

'Today that young man [i.e. the present author] does not see (us), so (we are in) trouble.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Both of the affixes have the adnominal function. In (8-118a), /succjun/ *sukk-tur-n* (pull-PROG-PTCP) 'pulling' (and its object *hinzjaa* 'goat' in the same clause) modifies the following nominal *nɨsəə* 'young man.' In (8-118b), *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ) 'that (one)' also modifies the following nominal *nɨsəə* 'young man.' Thus, one might think these two affixes are the same single affix. However, I do not take the analysis, because of the difference of the root classes that precede *-n* (PTCP) and *-n* (ADNZ).

The root *sukk-* 'pull' can take an aspectual affix *-tur* (PROG) as in (8-118a) and a temporal affix *-tar* (PST) such as /succja/ *sukk-tar* (pull-PST). On the contrary, *a-* (DIST) cannot take those affixes such as */atun/ *a-tur-n* (DIST-PROG-PTCP) or */ata/ *a-tar* (DIST-PST). Thus, the former root *sukk-* 'pull' is morphologically different from tha latter root *a-* (DIST). Furthermore, *a-* (DIST) contrasts with *ku-* (PROX) and *u-* (MES) in deictic function (see §5.2.1). In this grammar, the root class such as *sukk-* 'pull' is called the verbal root (see §8.1), and the root class such as *a-* (DIST) is called the demonstrative root (see §5.2). Moreover, the root such as *sukk-* 'pull' can take its own core (or peripheral) argument, e.g. *hinzjaa* 'goat' as in (8-118a). On the contrary, *a-* (DIST) cannot take any argument. Thus, *sukk-* 'pull' is also syntactically different from *a-* (DIST). A word that includes a verbal root and that can take its own argument may be called the verb. A word that includes a demonstrative root may be called the demonstrative. Therefore, /succjun/ *sukk-tur-n* (pull-PROG-PTCP) 'pulling' as in (8-118 a) is a verb, and *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ) 'that (one)' as in (8-118 b) is a demonstrative.

In conclusion, *-n* (PTCP) in (8-118 a) appears in the verb, but *-n* (ADNZ) in (8-118 b) does not appear in the verb. Thus, the former may be called the verbal affix, but the latter may not. That is, we do not regard them as the same affix (at least synchronically). The verbal affixes such as *-n* (PTCP) are kinds of "word-class-changing" inflections (cf. Haspelmath 1996).

8.5. Derivational morphology

In this section, I will present the derivational affixes (see §8.5.1) and the verbal compounding (see §8.5.2).

8.5.1. Derivational affixes

There are eight verbal derivational affixes in Yuwan: *-as* (CAUS), *-arɨr* (PASS), *-tuk* (PRPR), *-arɨr* (CAP), *-tur* (PROG), *-jawur* (POL), *-jur* (UMRK) and *-təər* (RSL). Additionally, two inflectional affixes can appear in the non-word-final position like derivational affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST). The possible (and impossible) combinations of them were already shown in (8-1) and (8-2) in §8.1. It is worth noting that *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) originated from the auxiliary verb construction ("AVC"): *-tur* (PROG) < **-tɨ *wur-* (SEQ PROG); *-təər* (RSL) < **-tɨ *ar-* (SEQ RSL) (see §9.1.1.1 for more details). It is probable that *-tuk* (PRPR) originated from the AVC composed of **-tɨ* (SEQ) and **uk-* (PRPR) (< **uk-* 'put'). However, there is no use of the *uk-* 'put' as the auxiliary verb in modern Yuwan.

The derivational affixes can be classified into the following categories.

Table 84. Derivational affixes in Yuwan

Category	Form	Meaning
Valency-changing	*-as*	Causative
	-arɨr	Passive
	-arɨr	Capability
Aspect	*-jur*	Unmarked
	-tur	Progressive
	-təər	Resultative
Modality	*-tuk*	Preparative
	-jawur	Politeness

In the following subsections, I will present examples of the derivational affixes in Table 84 in turn.

8.5.1.1. *-as* (CAUS)

-as (CAUS) makes the agent (or experiencer) of the action indicated by the verbal root become the causee, which is marked by *ba* (ACC) or *n* (DAT1) in principle. The causee of the intransitive verb is likely to be marked by *ba* (ACC), and that of the transitive verb is usually marked by *n* (DAT1), but the latter may also be marked by *kaci* (ALL). Additionally, *-as* (CAUS) can introduce the causer, which is marked by the

nominative case *ga* (or *nu*).

First, I will present the example of the intransitive verb *jam*- 'have a pain.'

(8-119) Intransitive verbal root: *jam*- 'have a pain'

a. Without -*as* (CAUS)

[Context: A boy fell off a bicycle on which a basketful of pears had been loaded .]

TM:	jinganu	kʔwoo	nasi	(un)	baramacjattu,	naa,
	jinga=nu	*kʔwa=ja*	*nasi*	*u-n*	*baramak-tar-tu*	*naa*
	male=GEN	child=TOP	pear	MES-ADNZ	scatter-PST-CSL	FIL

jukkadɨ	kan	sjɨ	sjutɨ,
jukkadɨ	*ka-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*sɨr-jur-tɨ*
continuously	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	do-UMRK-SEQ

jamjuncjɨ	jʔicjutɨ,
jam-jur-n=ccjɨ	*jʔ-tur-tɨ*
have.a.pain-UMRK-PTCP=QT	say-PROG-SEQ

'The boy scattered the pears, and was saying (he) was continuously in pain doing like this, and ...'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. With -*as* (CAUS) [= (6-68)]

[Context: Complaining about an acquaintance's slander]

TM:	wanga	kucisjɨ	nusiboo	jamacjuncjɨ.
	wan=ga	*kuci=sjɨ*	*nusi=ba=ja*	*jam-as-tur-n=ccjɨ*
	1SG=NOM	mouth=INST	RFL=ACC=TOP	have.a.pain-CAUS-PROG-PTCP=QT

'(The person said) that I was making the person ill using (my) mouth, and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (8-119 a), the experiencer (i.e. *jinga=nu kʔwa* 'boy') of the intransitive verb *jam*- 'have a pain' is the subject of the clause. Thus, it does not take *ba* (ACC). However, if *jam*- 'have a pain' takes the causative affix -*as*, the experiencer (i.e. *nusi* (RFL), which is a participant different from the speaker TM) takes *ba* (ACC) as a causee, and the causer (i.e. *wan* 'I,' which is the speaker TM) takes *ga* (NOM) as in (8-119 b).

Secondly, I will present examples of the transitive verb *koow*- 'buy.'

(8-120) Transitive verbal root: *koow*- 'buy'

a. Without -*as* (CAUS)

TM:	akiraga	|hon|	koojui
	akira=ga	*hon*	*koow-jur-i*
	Akira=NOM	book	buy-UMRK-NPST

'Akira buys a book.'

[El: 111118]

b. With *-as* (CAUS)

TM:	wanga	akiran	|hon|	koowasoojəə.
	wan=ga	*akira=n*	*hon*	*koow-as-oo=jəə*
	1SG=NOM	Akira=DAT1	book	buy-CAUS-INT=CFM2

'I will have Akira buy a book.'

[El: 111118]

In fact, there is no example where all of the causee, causer, and object of a transitive verb appear in the text data. That is not uncommon cross-linguistically (Dryer 2007: 79). Thus, the example in (8-120 a) was taken in elicitation. In (8-120 a), the agent (i.e. *akira* 'Akira') of the transitive verb *koow-* 'buy' is the subject of the clause, and marked by *ga* (NOM). However, if *koow-* 'buy' takes the causative affix *-as*, the agent (i.e. *akira* 'Akira') takes *ba* (ACC) as a causee, and the causer (i.e. *wan* 'I') takes *ga* (NOM) as in (8-120 b). Interestingly, the causee of the transitive verb may be marked by *kaci* (ALL) as in (8-121), where the transitive verb is *kak-* 'write.'

(8-121) [= (6-82 b)]

TM:	arɨn/arɨkaci/*arɨnkatɨ	kakasoojəə.
	a-rɨ=n/a-rɨ=kaci/a-rɨ=nkatɨ	*kak-as-oo=jəə*
	DIST-NLZ=DAT1/DIST-NLZ=ALL/DIST-NLZ=DAT2	write-CAUS-INT=CFM2

'(I will make that person write (it).'

[El: 130820]

As mentioned in §6.3.2.2, *ba* (ACC) may be omitted. Thus, the causee of the transitive verbs may be marked by nothing as in (8-122 a-b).

(8-122) Causee of the transitive verbs being not marked

a. Causee is an inanimate referent

TM:	cjuuto	ikinnja	|zitensja|	hankəəracjɨ,
	cjuuto	*ik-i=n=ja*	*zitensja*	*hankəər-as-tɨ*
	middle	go-INF=DAT1=TOP	bicycle	tumble-CAUS-SEQ

'When (the boy) went halfway, (he) tumbled off the bicycle (that he was riding on), and ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. Causee is a personal pronoun

TM:	nan	umoorasanboocjɨ	umutɨ,

nan	*umoor-as-an-boo=ccjɨ*	*umuw-tɨ*
2.HON.SG	come.HON-CAUS-NEG-CND=QT	think-SEQ

'(I) thought that (I) have to make you come, and ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-122 a), the causee (i.e. *zitensja* 'bicycle') of the verbal stem *hankəər-as* (tumble-CAUS) 'to have (something or someone) tumble' does not take any case particle. Similarly, in (8-122 b), the causee (i.e. *nan* 'you') of the verbal stem *umoor-as* (come.HON-CAUS) 'to have (someone) come' does not take any case particle. Interestingly, when the head nominal is the personal pronoun, the alternation between *ba* (ACC) and nothing is rarely found in the non-causative clauses (see §6.3.2.2). However, in the causative-clause as in (8-122 b), *ba* (ACC) may alternate with nothing.

The light verb *sɨr-* 'do' has a causative counterpart, i.e. *sɨmɨr-* (do.CAUS), which is composed of a single root, and it cannot be divided into more than one morpheme such as **sɨr-mɨr-* (do-CAUS), since one cannot say, e.g. */jummɨroo/ *jum-mɨr-oo* (read-CAUS-INT) in any context.

(8-123) *sɨmɨr-* (do.CAUS)

a. TM:

kurəə	kunuguru	(sadaega	sɨ)
ku-rɨ=ja	*kunuguru*	*sadae=ga*	*sɨmɨr*
PROX-NLZ=TOP	these.days	Sadae=NOM	do.CAUS

sadaega	sɨmɨtəətɨ	zja.
sadae=ga	*sɨmɨr-təər-tɨ*	*zjar*
Sadae=NOM	do.CAUS-RSL-SEQ	COP

'This one [i.e. a picture] is (what) Sadae has made (my son) do [i.e. enlarge the picture] these dasys.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM:

kurəə	akiran	sɨmɨroojəə.
ku-rɨ=ja	*akira=n*	*sɨmɨr-oo=jəə*
PROX-NLZ=TOP	Akira=DAT1	do.CAUS-INT=CFM2

'(I) will make Akira do this.'

[El: 111116]

In (8-123 a), the causee (i.e. 'my son') is not expressed, and the causer (i.e. *sadae* 'Sadae') is marked by *ga* (NOM). In (8-123 b), the causee (i.e. *akira* 'Akira') is marked by *n* (DAT1), and the causer (i.e. 'I') is not expressed. It should be mentioned that *sɨr-* 'do' can take *-as* (CAUS) as in (8-124), although it does not appear in the text data.

(8-124) *sɨr-* 'do' + *-as* (CAUS)

TM:	atoora	akiran	sɨrasoojəə.
	atu=kara	*akira=n*	*sɨr-as-oo=jəə*
	after=ABL	Akira=DAT1	do-CAUS-INT=CFM2

'(I) will make Akira do (it) later.'

[El: 111116]

Furthermore, the lexical causative verb *sɨmɨr-* (do.CAUS) can take the causative affix *-as* (CAUS) redundantly. However, the combination of *sɨmɨr-* (do.CAUS) and *-as* (CAUS) introduces only one participant (not two participants) in the event of the causal chain as in (8-125 a-b).

(8-125) *sɨmɨr-* (do.CAUS) + *-as* (CAUS)

a.

TM:	|daibu|	an	cʔjunkjannja	|daibu	kuroo|
	daibu	*a-n*	*cʔju=nkja=n=ja*	*daibu*	*kuroo*
	many	DIST-ADNZ	person=APPR=DAT1=TOP	many	hardship

sɨmɨrasatta.
sɨmɨr-as-ar-ta
do.CAUS-CAUS-PASS-PST
'(I) was made to undergo many hardships by that person.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	atoora	akiran	sɨmɨrasoojəə.
	atu=kara	*akira=n*	*sɨmɨr-as-oo=jəə*
	after=ABL	Akira=DAT1	do.CAUS-CAUS-INT=CFM2

'(I) will make Akira do (it) later.'

[El: 111116]

In (8-125 a), the event expressed by the predicate includes only two participants, i.e. the causee (i.e. 'I'), which is not expressed in the clause, and the causer (i.e. *a-n cʔju=nkja* 'that person'). Similarly, in (8-125 b), the event expressed by the predicate *sɨmɨr-as* (do.CAUS-CAUS) includes only two participants, i.e. the causee (i.e. *akira* 'Akira') and the causer (i.e. 'I'), although the causer is not overtly expressed in the clause. In other words, (8-125 b) has the same meaning with (8-124). The examples in (8-125 a-b) show that the double causative markings (both lexically and affixally) do not double the causal event itself. In other words, they do not mean 'A causes B to make C do (something),' but only mean 'A causes B to do (something).'

8.5.1.2. *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)

-ar(ɨr) (PASS) changes the syntactic valency of the transitive verb as in (8-126 a-b). The morphophonological alternation of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) was discussed in §8.2.1.5. On the one hand, in (8-126 a), the non-passive verbal stem, i.e. *sjug-i+agɨr-* (hit-INF+severely) 'to hit severely,' marks the agent with *ga* (NOM) and the patient

with *ba* (ACC). On the other hand, in (8-126 b), the passive verbal stem, i.e. *sjug-i+agɨr-ar* (hit-INF+severely-PASS) 'to be hit severely,' marks the agent with *n* (DAT1) and the patient with *ga* (NOM). In fact, the agent in the passive clause can be marked only by *n* (DAT1) (see also (6-82 a) in §6.3.3.1).

(8-126) a. Without *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)

TM:	akiraba	zjuuga	sjugjagɨtuddoo.
	akira=ba	*zjuu=ga*	*sjug-i+agɨr-tur=doo*
	Akira=ACC	father=NOM	hit-INF+severely-PROG=ASS
	Patient	Agent	

'(His) father is hitting Akira severely.'

[El: 111116]

b. With *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)

TM:	akiraga	zjun	sjugjagɨrattuddoo.
	akira=ga	*zjuu=n*	*sjug-i+agɨr-ar-tur=doo*
	Akira=NOM	father=DAT1	hit-INF+severely-PASS-PROG=ASS
	Patient	Agent	

'Akira is being hit severely by (his) father.'

[El: 111116]

The above example changes the case alignment of the arguments, but do not introduce another participant in the event expressed by the verbal root. However, there are examples that use *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) to introduce another participant as in (8-127 b).

(8-127) Malefactive use of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) with the intransitive verb

a. Without *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)

TM:	wanga	agan	ikjussaccjɨ
	wan=ga	*aga-n*	*ik-jur-sa=ccjɨ*
	1SG=NOM	DIST-ADVZ	go-UMRK-POL=QT

'(I said to the present author) that, "I will go there."'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)

[Context: TM explained to MY why she had called her.] = (5-38 c)

TM:	uran	daacika	ikjarɨncjɨga, ...
	ura=n	*daa=kaci=ka*	*ik-ar(ɨr)-n=ccjɨ=ga*
	2.NHON.SG=DAT1	where=ALL=DUB	go-PASS-PTCP=QT=FOC

'(I thought) that (I) would suffer from your going somewhere, (so I called you.)'

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

In (8-127 a), the intransitive verb *ik-* 'go' has a single participant (i.e. 'I'). In (8-127 b), the same "intranstive" verb *ik-* 'go' takes the "passive" affix *-ar(ɨr)*. Here, besides the agent of *ik-* 'go' (i.e. *ura* 'you'), another participant was introduced into the event, i.e. 'I,' although it is not expressed overtly in the clause. The participant introduced by *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) is always suffering from the action indicated by the verbal stem preceding it. This kind of use of the passive affix is called "malefactive" in Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji 2008: 493-498).

8.5.1.3. *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)

-ar(ɨr) (CAP) expresses that the subject of the clause is capable to do the action indicated by the preceding verbal stem. The morphophonological behavior of *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) is similar to *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS), but there are a few differences between them (see §8.2.1.5 for more details). *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) can attach to the intransitive verb as well as the malfactive use of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) as in (8-128).

(8-128) With *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)

TM:	waasan	cʔjunu	məəci	ikjaranbajaa.
	waa-sa+ar-n	*cʔju=nu*	*məə=kaci*	*ik-ar-an-ba=jaa*
	young-ADJ+STV-PTCP	person=GEN	place=ALL	go-CAP-NEG-CSL=SOL

'(I) cannot go to the young people's place.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Compare (8-128) with (8-127 a-b). In (8-128), *-ar* (CAP) attaches to *ik-* 'go,' but it does not introduce another participant, which is different form the malfactive use of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) (see §8.5.1.2).

Moreover, there is another difference between *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) and *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS). The former follows *-tuk* (PRPR) as in (8-129 a), but the latter precedes it as in (8-129 b), although the combination of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) and *-tuk* (PRPR) is only found in elicitation.

(8-129) a. *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) follows *-tuk* (PRPR) [= (8-44 a)]

TM:	|reitou|nansəəka	ucjukuboo,	ɨciɨgadɨ	jatɨn,
	reitou=nan=səəka	*uk-tuk-boo*	*ɨciɨ=gadɨ*	*jar-tɨ=n*
	freezer=LOC1=just	put-PFV-CND	when=LMT	COP-SEQ=even

ucjukarɨi.

uk-tuk-ar(ɨr)-i

put-PRPR-CAP-NPST

'If (you) put (the pickles) in the freezer, you can keep (them) no matter how long (the period of preservation) was.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) precedes *-tuk* (PRPR)

TM: oosattukɨ!

oos-ar-tuk-ɨ
scold-PASS-PRPR-IMP
'Be scolded (to be mature)!'
[El: 100221]

-ar(ɨr) (CAP) can change the syntactic valency. In (8-130 a), the subject of /kacja/ *kak-tar* (write-PST) 'wrote' is marked by the nominative *ga*, which may be replaced by *n* 'also' as in (8-130 b). If the verb takes *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP), the subject may be marked by the dative particle *n* (DAT1) as in (8-130 c), where *n* (DAT1) is not replaced, but followed by *n* 'also.'

(8-130) Without *-ar* (CAP)

a. TM: wanga kacjattoo.
wan=ga *kak-tar=doo*
1SG=NOM write-PST=ASS
'I wrote (it).'
[El: 140227]

b. TM: wanun kacjattoo.
wan=n *kak-tar=doo*
1SG=also write-PST=ASS
'I also wrote (it).'
[El: 140227]

With *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)

c. TM: wannin kakattattoo.
wan=n=n *kak-ar-tar=doo*
1SG=DAT1=also write-CAP-PST=ASS
'I was also able to write (it).'
[El: 140227]

Before concluding this subsection, it should be mentioned that there are few rare cases where the double marking of *-ar* (CAP) occurs. The affix *-ar* (CAP) is always reduplicated when the verbal root ends with //aw// and is in the non-past tense with *-an* (NEG): /hijoo-r-ar-an/ *hijaw-ar-ar-an* (pick.up-CAP-CAP-NEG) 'cannot pick up,' /waroo-r-ar-an/ *waraw-ar-ar-an* (laugh-CAP- CAP-NEG) 'cannot laugh,' and /juroo-r-ar-an/ *juraw-ar-ar-an* (gather-CAP-CAP-NEG) 'cannot gather' (see also the appendix).

8.5.1.4. *-jur* (UMRK)

-jur (UMRK) has multiple functions and it's prototypical function is difficult to determine. In principle, it has the characteristics as in (8-131); see also (8-1) and (8-2) in §8.1.

(8-131) Morphologically, *-jur* (UMRK)

a. Cannot co-occur with *-arɨr* (PASS)[59] or *-arɨr* (CAP);

b. Cannot co-occur with *-an* (NEG);

c. Cannot co-occur with *-tur* (PROG);

d. Cannot co-occur with *-jawur* (POL).

I will discuss each of these functions in turn.

With regard to (8-131 a), *-jur* (UMRK) necessarily indicates the active voice. In Yuwan, there are three affixes that have the valency-changing function: *-as* (CAUS), *-arɨr* (PASS), and *-arɨr* (CAP). Thus, its incapability of co-occurence with *-arɨr* (PASS) and *-arɨr* (CAP) greatly reduces the possibility of the change of valency.

With regard to (8-131 b), *-jur* (UMRK) cannot co-occur with the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) as in (8-1) in §8.1 or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (8-67) in §8.4.1.4. Yuwan does not have another method to express the negative polarity. Thus, the existence of *-jur* (UMRK) necessarily indicates the affirmative polarity.

With regard to (8-131 c), *-jur* (UMRK) necessarily indicates non-progressive aspect. In Yuwan, there are three affixes (except for *-jur*) that have aspectual meaning: *-tuk* (PRPR), *-tur* (PROG), and *-təər* (RSL). Among them, *-tuk* (PRPR) and *-təər* (RSL) can co-occur with *-jur* (UMRK). The combination of *-jur* (UMRK) and *-tuk* (PRPR) will be discussed in §8.5.1.7. The combination of *-jur* (UMRK) and *-təər* (RSL) requires a special attention and it will be discussed in later in this section.

With regard to (8-131 d), *-jur* (UMRK) necessarily indicates the non-polite style, although it does not necessarily mean the rudeness in a general sense, since *-jur* (UMRK) can co-occur with the honorific expression (see §8.3.1 for more details).

Additionally, *-jur* (UMRK) belongs to the Group-II affixes, which are required by some inflectional affixes such as *-i* (NPST) or *-mɨ* (PLQ), since those inflectional affixes cannot directly follow the verbal root (see (8-3 b) in §8.1 for more details).

Considering the above facts, i.e. the active voice, the affirmative polarity, the non-progressive aspect, the non-politeness, and the necessity to some inflections, I propose that *-jur* has some "unmarked" characteristics and abbreviate them as "UMRK" in this grammar. I will show the examples of *-jur* (UMRK) below.

(8-132) *-jur* (UMRK)

a. With *-i* (NPST) [= (8-54)]

[Context: TM and US were talking about the present author.]

TM:	|hoogen|nu	attakəə	wakajui.
	hoogen=nu	*attakəə*	*wakar-jur-i*
	dialect=NOM	everything	understand-UMRK-NPST

[59] From the description in §8.1, one may think of the combination of *-arɨr-tuk-jur* (PASS-PRPR-UMRK). However, the combination of *-arɨr* (PASS) and *-tuk* (PRPR) is rare (see §8.5.1.3), and the combination more than two derivational affixes is also rare (see §8.1). Thus, we may postulate that *-jur* (UMRK) cannot co-occur with (or at least rarely co-occurs with) *-arɨr* (PASS).

'(He) understands everything (about our) dialect.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With *-mɨ* (PLQ) [= (8-66 a)]

TM:	waakjaa	jantɨ ..	kamjumɨ?
	waakja-a	*jaa=nantɨ*	*kam-jur-mɨ*
	1PL-ADNZ	house=LOC1	eat-UMRK-PLQ

'Do (you) eat in my house?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In addition, *-jur* (UMRK) can express habitual aspect if it precedes *-tar* (PST), *-tɨ* (SEQ), or *-təər* (RSL) as shown in (8-133 a-g).

(8-133) *-jur* (UMRK) expressing habitual aspect

With *-tar* (PST)

a.

TM:	naakjaa	jaakacjəə	|nenzjuu|	ikjutanban,
	naakja-a	*jaa=kaci=ja*	*nenzjuu*	*ik-jur-tar-n=ban*
	2.HON.SG-ADNZ	house=ALL=TOP	always	go-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS

'(I) always used to go to your house, but ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b.

TM:	injasainnja,	minoetankjatu
	inja-sa+ar-i=n=ja	*minoe-taa=nkja=tu*
	young-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1=TOP	Minoe-PL=APPR=COM

asɨbjutancjɨ.

asɨb-jur-tar-n=ccjɨ

play-UMRK-PST-PTCP=QT

'(I heard MY said) that (MY) used to play with Minoe in her childhood.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c.

TM:	|kanarazu|	amantɨ	utoosjutattoo.
	kanarazu	*a-ma=nantɨ*	*utaw-as-jur-tar=doo*
	necessarily	DIST-place=LOC1	sing-CAUS-UMRK-PST=ASS

'(Peopole) used to necessarily have (the participants) sing (the song) there.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d.

TM:	gan	sjan	mununkja	sicjun[60]
	ga-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*mun=nkja*	*sij-tur-n*
	MES-ADVZ	do-PST-PTCP	thing=APPR	know-PROG-PTCP

[60] *sij-* 'know' and *-tur* (PROG) usually becomes /siccju(r)/ (see appendix), but it becomes /sicju(r)/ in this example.

cʔjunu	wuranbaccjɨ	jʔicjutɨga,	|nenzjuu|
cʔju=nu	*wur-an-ba=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tur-tɨ=ga*	*nenzjuu*
person=NOM	exist-NEG-CSL=QT	say-PROG-SEQ=FOC	always

jutanmun,	ura	tanmiba,	jiccja	ata.
jʔ-jur-tar-n=mun	*ura*	*tanm-ɨba*	*jiccj-sa*	*ar-tar*
say-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS	2.NHON.SG	ask-CND	good-ADJ	STV-PST

'(I) always used to say that, "There is no one who knows things like that [i.e. the dialect]" but if (I) asked you, (it) would have been good.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

With *-tɨ* (SEQ)

e. TM:

icɨn	waakjoo	ikjutɨ,	urɨ	sjutassɨga.
icɨɨ=n	*waakja=ja*	*ik-jur-tɨ*	*u-rɨ*	*sɨr-jur-tar-sɨga*
when=any	1PL=TOP	go-UMRK-SEQ	MES-NLS	do-UMRK-PST-POL

'I always used to go (to the class of kimono-making), and used to do it.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

f. [Context: Looking at a picture taken in the old days, where some people wore European clothes (not Japanese clothes)]

TM:

kan	sjan	urɨnkjoo	|nannengoro|kara
ka-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*u-rɨ=nkja=ja*	*nannengoro=kara*
PROX-ADVZ	do-PST-PTCP	MES-NLZ=APPR=TOP	when=ABL

kijutɨ?
kij-jur-tɨ
wear-UMRK-SEQ

'Since when (people) got accustomed to wear that like this [i.e. European clothes]?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

With *-təər* (RSL)

g. TM:

urɨn	sjɨ, ..	nunkuin	sjɨ
u-rɨ=n	*sɨr-tɨ,*	*nuu-nkuin*	*sɨr-tɨ*
MES-NLZ=also	do-SEQ	what-INDFZ	do-SEQ

moojutənwakejoo.
moor-jur-təər-n=wake=joo
HON-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=CFP=CFM1

'(The person) did it too, and used to do (everything, and we can still see the results).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that the combinations of *-jur* (UMRK) with *-tar* (PST), *-tɨ* (SEQ), or *-təər* (RSL) can express habitual meaning. The habitual meaning of the clauses are also expressed by the co-occuring temporal words, i.e. *nenzjuu* 'always' as in (8-133 a) and /ɨcɨn/ *icɨɨ=n* (when=any) 'always' as in (8-133 e).

In fact, there are a few examples where the combination of *-jur-tar* (UMRK-PST) does not express habitual meaning as in (8-134 a-b).

(8-134) *-jur-tar* not expressing habitual aspect

a. TM: kunugurudu kurəə mucjɨ kjuuta.
kunuguru=du *ku-rɨ=ja* *mut-tɨ* *k-jur-ta*
recently=FOC PROX-NLZ=TOP have-SEQ come-UMRK-PST
'(Satsue's child) brought this (picture) recently.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: The following three examples are from the conversation between TM and US.]
TM: ikjasjɨ sjɨ ikjutakai, amerikaacinkjoo?
ikja-sjɨ *sɨr-tɨ* *ik-jur-tar=kai* *amerika=kaci=nkja=ja*
how-ADVZ do-SEQ go-UMRK-PST=DUB America=ALL=APPR=TOP
amerikaacjəə, ikjasjɨ sjɨ watajutakai?
amerika=kaci=ja *ikja-sjɨ* *sɨr-tɨ* *watar-jur-tar=kai*
America=ALL=TOP how-ADVZ do-SEQ cross.over-UMRK-PST=DUB
'How did (the Uncle America) go to America? How did (he) cross over to America?'

c. US: nuujo?
nuu=joo
what=CFM1
'What?'

d. TM: amerikaacinkjoo ikjasjɨ sjɨ izjakai,
amerika=kaci=nkja=ja *ikja-sjɨ* *sɨr-tɨ* *ik-tar=kai*
America=ALL=APPR=TOP how-ADVZ do-SEQ go-PST=DUB
un ameeziija?
u-n *ameezii=ja*
MES-ADNZ Uncle.America
'How did the Uncle America [i.e. a nickname] go to America?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-134 a), the event expressed by the clause (i.e. Satsue's child's bringing the picture) took place only once. Thus, *-jur* (UMRK) in this example cannot express habitual aspect. Similarly, the event in (8-134 b-d) (i.e. the Uncle America's crossing over to the US) took place only once. TM's utterance in (8-134 b) is almost the same with that in (8-134 d), where *-jur-tar* (UMRK-PST) in (8-134 b) is replaced by *-tar* (PST). The details of the function of *-jur* (UMRK) in (8-134 a-b) is not very clear for the present author for now, and a finer investigation is required in the future.

8.5.1.5. *-tur* (PROG)

-tur (PROG) is originated from the AVC *-tɨ* (SEQ) plusl *wur-* (PROG) (see Table 93 in §9.1.1.1 for more details). *-tur* (PROG) can express progressive aspect. That is, *-tur* (PROG) expresses continuing to do the action indicated by the verbal stem as in (8-135 a), or keeping up the state caused by the action indicated by the verbal stem as in (8-135 b-c).

(8-135) *-tur* (PROG) expressing progressive aspect

[Context: The very beginning of the monologue. TM: '(I will) start from the scene (where a man) picks up the pears. There is a pear-tree, (i.e.) a big tree, ...'] = (6-136)

a. TM:

unnəntɨ	uziiga	cʔjui	joonasi
u-n=nəntɨ	*uzii=ga*	*cʔjui*	*joonasi*
MES-ADNZ=LOC2	old.man=NOM	one.CLF.person	pear

mutunwake.

mur-tur-n=wake

pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP

'There, an old man is picking up pears.'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

b. [= (6-134 a)]

TM:

|ittoki|	motojamaga	misje	katuta.
ittoki	*motojama=ga*	*misje*	*kar-tur-tar*
for.a.while	Motoyama=NOM	shop	borrow-PROG-PST

'For a while, Motoyama was renting the shop.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [= (6-62 a)]

TM:

kɨinu	sjanannja	kagonu	tʔaacɨ	ucjutɨ,
kɨi=nu	*sja=nan=ja*	*kago=nu*	*tʔaacɨ*	*uk-tur-tɨ*
tree=GEN	below=LOC1=TOP	basket=GEN	two.CLF.thing	put-PROG-SEQ

'Under the tree, (the old man) put two baskets, and ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

In (8-135 a), the old man continued to pick up the pears. In (8-135 b), Motoyama rented a shop and kept the contract for a while. In (8-135 c), the old man put baskets down and left them there.

Interestingly, *-tur* (PROG) can follow the existential verb *wur-* 'exist (animate).' In that case, the verbal stem expresses a punctual state of being there as in (8-136 a-b).

(8-136) *-tur* (PROG) following *wur-* 'exist'

a. [Context: TM is talking about the meeting for old people held once a month in Yuwan.]

TM: taruka tʔaibəi wututɨ, kan

ta-ru=ka *tʔai=bəi* *wur-tur-tɨ* *ka-n*
who-NLZ=DUB two.CLF.person=about exist-PROG-SEQ PROX-ADVZ
sjan hanasinkja sɨrarɨppoo, jiccjanban,
sɨr-tar-n *hanasi=nkja* *sɨr-arɨr-boo* *jiccj-sa+ar-n=ban*
do-PST-PTCP conversation=APPR do-CAP-CND good-ADJ+STV-PTCP=ADVRS
'(It) will be good if some two (or three) people (including me) are being (there) and can make conversation like this, but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: waakja umanan wututɨn, məə
waakja *u-ma=nan* *wur-tur-tɨ=n* *məə*
1PL MES-place=LOC1 exist-PROG-SEQ=even front
tuutɨn, munna jan kʔwa jatattu.
tuur-tɨ=n *mun=ja* *jʔ-an* *kʔwa* *jar-tar-tu*
pass-SEQ=even thing=TOP say-NEG child COP-PST-CSL
'(The child) was a child who did not say anything even if I was being there, even if (the child) passed right in front (of me).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above examples, the combination of *wur-* 'exist' and *-tur* (PROG) expresses the temporary state of being at these places. This phenomenon is similar to "the Progress" form of *live* or *stand* in English discussed in Comrie (1976), since it is said that *be living* (or *be standing*) "refers to a more temporary state" (ibid.: 37).

In fact, *-tur* (PROG) does not necessarily express habitual meaning. However, it can be used in the context where the clauses have habitual meaning as in (8-137 a-b).

(8-137) *-tur* (PROG) used in the contexts that have the habitual meaning

a. In the non-past tense [= (7-22 c)]

TM: waakjoo ɨcɨnkuin waratuncjɨjo.
waakja=ja *ɨcɨɨ-nkuin* *waraw-tur-n=ccjɨ=joo*
1PL=TOP when-INDFZ laugh-PROG-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'I am always laughing (remembering the old days).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. In the past tense [= (5-31)]

[Context: Talking with US about how they played in the past]

TM: nuu sjutɨga, asɨdutakai?
nuu *sɨr-jur-tɨ=ga* *asɨb-tur-tar=kai*
what do-UMRK-SEQ=FOC play-PROG-PST=DUB
'What did (we) do (when we) were playing (around here)?'

[lit. ‘Doing what, were (we) playing?’]

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above examples, the acts indicated by the verbal stems are (or were) being carried out habitually.

8.5.1.6. *-təər* (RSL)

-təər (RSL) is originated from the AVC *-tɨ* (SEQ) plusl *ar-* (RSL) (see Table 93 in §9.1.1.1 for more details). *-təər* (RSL) has a function that is similar to the “perfect of result” that means that “a present state is reffered to as being the result of some past situation” (Comrie 1976: 56). This aspect is called “resultative” in this grammar. *-təər* (RSL) can appear in any kind of predicate phrase as in (8-138 a-d).

(8-138) *-təər* (RSL) expressing resultative

In the verbal predicates

a. [= (6-132 a)]

TM:	un	kʔwaga	umanan	|boosi|	utucjəətattu,
	u-n	*kʔwa=ga*	*u-ma=nan*	*boosi*	*utus-<u>təər</u>-tar-tu*
	MES-ADNZ	child=NOM	MES-place=LOC1	hat	drop-RSL-PST-CSL

‘That boy had left [lit. dropped] (his) hat there, so ...’

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b.

TM:	zjennjukianjooga	|heitai|kaci	izjɨ,	(mm ..)	mɨɨ
	zjennjuki+anjoo=ga	*heitai=kaci*	*ik-tɨ*		*mɨɨ*
	Zenyuki+brother=NOM	soldier=ALL	go-SEQ		eye

sɨrattəətɨ,

sɨr-ar-<u>təər</u>-tɨ

do-PASS-RSL-SEQ

‘Zenyuki went to the military, and injured [lit. had been done] (his) eyes, and ...’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the adjectival predicates

c. [Context: When the present author asked TM of the meaning of /kʔumɨtta/, TM said to MY.]

TM:	urakjaga,	mukasi	jappoo,	kʔumɨtta
	urakja=ga	*mukasi*	*jar-boo*	*kʔumɨtt-sa*
	2.NHON.SG=NOM	the.past	COP-CND	scrupulous-ADJ

atəətɨjaa.

ar-təər-tɨ=jaa

STV-RSL-SEQ=SOL

‘If (it) is in the past, you (must have been regarded as) /kʔumɨtta/ [i.e. scrupulous].’

[El: 120914]

In the nominal predicates

d. US: haccjanna ikɨgaci jatəi?
haccjan=ja *ikɨgaci* *jar-<u>təər</u>-i*
Hachan=TOP Ikegachi COP-RSL-NPST
'Was Hachan (from) Ikegachi?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (8-138 a), a boy dropped a hat, and the hat remained there (until another boy picked it up). In (8-138 b), Zenyuki injured his eyes, and the injury lasted thereafter. In (8-138 c), *-təər* (RSL) shows that the situation expressed by the clause is assumed in a possible world (other than the present real world). This kind of function of *-təər* (RSL) will be discussed later. In (8-138 d), the place where Hachan was born [i.e. Ikegachi] cannot be changed from the past to the present. Therefore, *-təər* (RSL) is used in these examples.

As mentioned in §8.4.3, most of the converbal affixes, e.g. *-ba* (CSL), cannot co-occur with *-tar* (PST). In that case, *-təər* (RSL) expresses the past tense on behalf of *-tar* (PST) as in (8-139 a-c).

(8-139) *-təər* (RSL) expressing the past tense before *-ba* (CSL)

a. [Context: TM was wondering when the picture had been taken. In the picture, the men wore European clothes and the women wore Japanese clothes; TM: 'When I was a child, there were no European clothes.']

TM: jingankjan kindu kicjutəəppajaa.
jinga=nkja=n *kin=du* *kij-tur-<u>təər-ba</u>=jaa*
man=APPR=also kimono=FOC put.on-PROG-RSL-CSL=SOL
'Men (in my childhood) were also wearing kimono [i.e. Japanese clothes], so (probably this picture was taken around the end of World War II).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: daaciga[61] cukuracjɨ kii jataroojaa.
daa=kaci=gajaaroo *cukur-as-tɨ* *k-i* *jar-tar-oo=jaa*
where=ALL=DUB make-CAUS-SEQ come-INF COP-PST-SUPP=SOL
juwancʔjoo cukujun cʔjoo wurantəəppa.
juwan+cʔju=ja *cukur-jur-n* *cʔju=ja* *wur-an-<u>təər-ba</u>*
Yuwan+person=TOP make-UMRK-PTCP person=TOP exist-NEG-RSL-CSL
'Probably (they) had (someone) make (the riverboats) somewhere. Since there were no people in Yuwan who make (the riverboats).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. [Context: Remembering a bayan tree that was famous since it was very big]

TM: juwancʔjoo gan sjan |sjumi|ga

[61] It is probable that this /ga/ is not *gajaaroo* (DUB), but *ga* (FOC). In that case, this example would express question; that is, *daa* 'where' is not "indefinitised."

juwan+cʔju=ja *ga-n* *sɨr-tar-n* *sjumi=ga*
Yuwan+person=TOP MES-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP hobby=NOM
nəntəəppajaa.
nə-an-<u>təər-ba</u>=jaa
exist-NEG-RSL-CSL=SOL
'The people in Yuwan did not have a hobby like that [i.e. taking pictures], so (there is no picture of the famous banyan tree).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (8-139 a-c), *-təər* (RSL) preceding *-ba* (CSL) expresses the past tense. Especially, it is clear from (8-139 a), where the speaker compared the European clothes in the picture with the Japanese clothes in the past [i.e. in her childhood]. If one wants to express the resultative meaning in the same environment, one can reduplicate *-təər* (RSL) as in (8-140).

(8-140) Double marking of *-təər* (RSL) expressing the resultative and the past tense before *-ba* (CSL)
[Context: TM tried to remember the day when MS's grandfather died.]
TM: attaaja mʔarɨtətəəppajaa.
a-rɨ-taa=ja *mʔarɨr-<u>təər-təər-ba</u>=jaa*
DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP be.born-RSL-RSL-CSL=SOL
'Those people had already been born (at the time when MS's grandfather died), so ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (8-140), the first *-təər* (RSL) expresses the resultative aspect, and the second *-təər* (RSL) expresses the past tense preceding *-ba* (CSL). The double marking of *-təər* (RSL) is the only exception for the generalization in (8-1) in §8.1.

Finally, I will present the examples where *-təər* (RSL) is used in the clauses that express counter-factual situation as in (8-141 a-c).

(8-141) *-təər* (RSL) used in the contexts that express counter-factual situation
a. TM: kan sjanturoonan |nannen|cjɨ kacjukuboo,
ka-n *sɨr-tar-n=turoo=nan* *nannen=ccjɨ* *kak-tuk-boo*
PROX-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP=place=LOC1 what.year=QT write-PRPR-CND
jiccja atənban.jaa.
jiccj-sa *ar-<u>təər</u>-n=ban=jaa*
good-ADJ STV-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=SOL
'If (someone) put the date (when the picture was taken) around here, (it) would be good (for us), but (there is no date).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: unin|goro|kara naacɨbaacjɨ umuwannən, jəito hamɨcɨkɨtɨ
unin-goro=kara naacɨbaa=ccjɨ umuw-an-nən jəito hamɨcɨkɨr-tɨ
that.time-around=ABL tone.deaf=QT think-NEG-SEQ well do.one's.best-SEQ
narəəboo, (mmm) zjoozɨ najutənmundoojaa.
naraw-boo zjoozɨ nar-jur-<u>təər</u>-n=mun=doo=jaa
learn-CND good.at become-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'If (I) didn't think that (I was) tone-deaf and did my best to learn (the traditional songs) since those days, (I) would have been good at (them), but (I didn't do that).'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. [Context: TM regretted that she couldn't think of MS as a supporter to teach the dialect to the present author. Then, TM said the following utterance to the present author.]
TM: |benkjoo| najutənmundoo.
benkjoo nar-jur-<u>təər</u>-n=mun=doo
study become-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS
'(If you had asked him, it) must have become good study (for you), but (it did not become so).'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

All of the above examples have the conditional adverbial clauses (i.e. protasis), overtly in (8-141 a-b) and covertly in (8-141 c), and these adverbial clauses express counter-factual situations. Thus, the superordinate clauses that express their conclusions (i.e. apodosis) also express counter-factual situations, where *-təər* (RSL) is used. The use of *-təər* (RSL) as in (8-141 b) provides a clear contrast to *-tar* (PST) as in (8-133 d) in §8.5.1.4. In (8-141 b), *nar-<u>jur-təər-n=mun</u>* (become-<u>UMRK-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS</u>) 'would have become (good at singing), but ...' expresses a counter-factural situation. On the contrary, in (8-133 d), *jʔ-<u>jur-tar-n=mun</u>* (say-<u>UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS</u>) 'used to say (a phrase), but ...' expresses the real fact.

8.5.1.7. *-tuk* (PRPR)

-tuk (PRPR) expresses that one does the act (indicated by the verbal stem) in preparation for the future. I will tentatively call this function as "preparative (PRPR)" in this grammar. Interestingly, *-tuk* (PRPR) cannot co-occur with *-tar* (PST). Thus, it is probable that this affix belongs to the irrealis modality. I will present examples of *-tuk* (PRPR) below.

(8-142) a. [= (8-44 a)]
TM: |reitou|nansəəka ucjukuboo, ɨciɨgadɨ jatɨn,
reitou=nan=səəka uk-tuk-boo ɨciɨ=gadɨ jar-tɨ=n
freezer=LOC1=just put-PFV-CND when=LMT COP-SEQ=even
ucjukarɨi.

uk-tuk-arɨr-i
put-PRPR-CAP-NPST
'If (you) put (the pickles) in the freezer (in preparation for future), you can keep (them) no matter how long (the period of preservation) was.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. [= (8-141 a)]

TM:	kan	sjanturoonan	|nannen|cjɨ	kacjukuboo,
	ka-n	*sɨr-tar-n=turoo=nan*	*nannen=ccjɨ*	*kak-tuk-boo*
	PROX-ADVZ	do-PST-PTCP=place=LOC1	what.year=QT	write-PRPR-CND
	jiccja	atənban.jaa.		
	jiccj-sa	*ar-təər-n=ban=jaa*		
	good-ADJ	STV-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=SOL		

'If (someone) put the date (when the picture was taken) around here (in preparation for future), (it would be good (for us), but (there is no date).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

[Context: There was a person who threw a pack of sweets against the door of TM's house.]

TM:	urɨ	tɨɨ	kɨɨnnajoocjɨ, ...	ucjukɨjoocjɨ
	u-rɨ	*tɨɨ*	*kɨɨr-na=joo=ccjɨ*	*uk-tuk-ɨ=joo=ccjɨ*
	MES-NLZ	hand	hang-PROH=CFM1=QT	put-PRPR-IMP=CFM1=QT
	jˀicjɨ,			
	jˀ-tɨ			
	say-SEQ			

'(My husband) said that, "Don't touch (it). Put (it still there in preparation for future)." And then ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (8-142 a), to put the pickles in the freezer is required to preserve them. In (8-142 b), to write the date in the picture is required to prepar for someone to know in future the correct date when the picture was taken. In (8-142 c), to put the pack untouched is required for the person (who threw it) to notice that the pack is still there. In (8-142 a-b), the clasues express counter-factual (or imaginary) events. In (8-142 c), the clause that includes *-tuk* (PRPR) expresses command. That is, in all of the above examples, *-tuk* (PRPR) is used in irrealis mood.

8.5.1.8. *-jawur* (POL)

-jawur (POL) expresses the hearer-oriented politeness. *-jawur* (POL) sometimes alternates with *-joor*. In fact, TM and MY seldom use this politeness affix even if they speak with person who is older than them. In that case, they are likely to use the honorific verbs (see §8.3.1). However, MS, who is quite younger than other

consultants, frequently uses the politeness affix. I will present examples of *-jawur* (POL) below, although they were used only in elicitation.

(8-143) *-jawur* (POL)

a. TM: wanga jumjawuroojəə.
wan=ga *jum-jawur-oo=jəə*
1SG=NOM read-POL-INT=CFM2
'I will read (it).'
[El: 110827]

b. TM: wanga dooka utarɨjawussa.
wan=ga *dooka* *ut-arɨr-jawur-sa*
1SG=NOM please hit-PASS-POL-POL
'I will be hit (to play a role in the comedy), please.'
[El: 121010]

Additionally, there is another politeness affix, i.e. -(*i*)*nsjoor*. However, it is not used productively in modern Yuwan, and it appeared only twice in the text corpus where the speaker imitated the phrase which she had heard when she was young as in (8-144).

(8-144) -(*i*)*nsjoor* (POL)

TM: |sjooju, sjekiju| konsjooriccjɨ.
sjooju *sjekiju* *koow-nsjoor-ɨ=ccjɨ*
soy.sauce oil buy-POL-IMP=QT
'(I heared that people say), "Buy the soy sauce or the oil!"'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

8.5.1.9. *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) in the non-word-final position

-an (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) can fill the word-final position: *-an* (NEG) as a participial affix (see §8.4.2), and *-tar* (PST) as a finite-form affix (see §8.4.1.1). However, they can also fill the non-word-final position in the verb as in (8-145), where *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) is neither a participial affix nor a finite-form affix any more.

(8-145) *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) in the non-word-final position

TM: uihutəənu (mm) |jaker|antan turoodu an.
ui+hutəə=nu *jaker-an-tar-n* *turoo=du* *ar-n*
upper.place+around=GEN burn-NEG-PST-PTCP place=FOC exist-PTCP
'(Old houses) exist just (in) the places which did not burn (by the air raid in the World

War II) around the upper place (of the mountain).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

8.5.2. Compounding

8.5.2.1. Basic structure

There are several verbs composed of more than one verbal stem. The sequential verbal stems is called the verbal compound. Usually, the verbal compound is composed of only two verbal stems. The final stem in the compounds can take any kind of verbal affixes, but the non-final stem can take only *-i*/*-Ø* (INF), which is a kind of "nominalizer" affix (see §8.4.4 for more details). The verbal compounds can be divided into two types depending on the strength of the unity of the stems. One type of the verbal compounds has a relatively strong unity between the stems. I have found the following three verbal compounds of this type.

Table 85. Verbal compounds (strong unity)

Initial stem						Non-initial stem			Compound	
us-	'push'	+	*-i*	(INF)	+	*jaas-*	'give'	>	/usijaas-/	'push forward'
nagɨr-	'throw'	+	*-Ø*	(INF)	+	*cɨkɨr-*	'attach'	>	/nagɨcɨkɨr-/	'throw at'
izir-	'go out'	+	*-Ø*	(INF)	+	*bar-*	N/A	>	/izibar-/	'go out'

All of the verbal stems in Table 85, i.e. *us-* 'push,' *jaas-* 'give,' *nagɨr-* 'throw,' *cɨkɨr-* 'make,' and *izir-* 'go out,' can be used even by themselves, although *bar-* of /izibar-/ 'go out' cannot appear only by itself. In other words, the *bar-* is a so-called cranberry morpheme. *izir-* 'go out' and *izir-Ø+bar-* 'go out' seem to have the same meaning. In my texts, however, the former *izir-* 'go' is almost always used only by itself, and the latter *izir-Ø+bar-* 'go out' is used only to fill the lexical verb slot in the auxiliary verb construnction as in (8-146 c). I will present examples of the compounds in Table 85 below.

(8-146) Verbal compounds (strong unity)

a. /usijaas-/ 'push forward'

TM: usijaasɨ!

us-i+jaas-ɨ

push-INF+give-IMP

'Push (it) forward!'

[El: 110330]

b. /nagɨcɨkɨr-/ 'throw at' [=(8-86 b)]

TM: umanan mata nagɨcɨkɨtəəppa,

u-ma=nan mata nagɨr-Ø+cɨkɨr-təər-ba

MED-place=LOC1 again throw-INF+attach-RSL-CSL

'(The person) have thrown (some sweets) again (at our house), so ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. /izibar-/ ‘go out’

TM: agan	izibatɨ	izjɨ,
aga-n	*izi-Ø+bar-tɨ*	*ik-tɨ*
DIST-ADVZ	go.out-INF+?-SEQ	go-SEQ

‘(I) went out (of my house into) there, and ...’

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

Next, the other type of the verbal compounds has a relatively weak unity between the stems, where either the initial stem or the non-initial stem expresses a grammatical (rather than lexical) meaning. First, I will present an example where the initial stem expresses a grammatical meaning.

Table 86. Verbal stem that expresses a grammatical meaning in the initial stem of a compound

Form	Meaning only by itself	Meaning in the initial stem in a compound
ut-	‘hit’	Emphasis

(8-147) Verbal compounds (weak unity; initial stem expresses a grammatical meaning)

a. *ut-* (EMP)

TM: ucitoocja,	|amerikazin|gadɨ.
ut-i+toos-tar	*amerikazin=gadɨ*
EMP-INF+lay.down-PST	Amerika.person=LMT

‘(They) knocked out the American (soldiers stationed in Yuwan).’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *ut-* (EMP)

TM: saisai	ucikʔurawɨ!
sai+sai	*ut-i+kʔuraw-ɨ*
RED+quickly	EMP-INF+eat.DRG-IMP

‘Eat (the meal) quickly!’

[El: 130821]

A morpheme that can express a grammatical meaning in filling in the initial slot in the compound is only *ut-*. It lexically means ‘hit,’ but it means some emphatic meaning when it precedes another verbal stem in the compound as in (8-147 a-b).

Secondly, I will present verbal stems that can express grammatical meanings when they fill in the non-initial slot in the compound.

Table 87. Verbal stems that express grammatical meanings in the non-initial stems in compounds

Form	Meaning only by itself	Meaning in the non-initail stem in a compound
kij-	'cut'	Capability
agɨr-	'raise'	'elaborately'
hatɨr-	N/A	'thoroughly'
kʔuraw-	(eat.DRG)	Derogative
kum-	N/A	'into'
jukkjaar-[62]	N/A	Ingressive

Among the verbal stems in Table 87, *kij-* (CAP) is the most productive one (see also §8.5.2.2). *hatɨr-*, *kum-*, and *jukkjaar-* cannot be used only by themselves, i.e., they always follow another verbal stem as in (8-148 e-f, i-k). I will present below examples of compounds where the verbal stems in Table 87 follow other verbal stems.

(8-148) Verbal compounds (weak unity; non-initial stems express grammatical meanings)

kij- (CAP)

a. TM: naa|ittoki|du siikijuijo.
naa+ittoki=du *sɨr-i+kir-jur-i=joo*
other+moment=FOC do-INF+CAP-UMRK-NPST=CFM1
'(She) can do [i.e. can sing and dance the traditoinal music] for a while.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: wʔaacjɨnkjoo jʔiikijantanmun.
wʔaa=ccjɨ=nkja=ja *jʔ-i+kij-an-tar-n=mun*
pig=QT=APPR=TOP say-INF+CAP-NEG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'(A teacher who came to Yuwan before) was not able to say *wʔaa* [i.e. 'pig'] (in the correct pronuciation in Yuwan).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

agɨr- 'elaborately'

c. [Context: Telling a person to scour all the metal goods in the kitchen]
TM: attakəə tugjagɨrijoo!
attakəə *tug-i+agɨr-ɨ=joo*
everything whet-INF+elaborately-IMP=CFM1
'Scour out all (of the metal goods) completely!'
[El: 121006]

[62] The final consonant //r// of the underlying form *jukkaar-* 'begin' is only included based on the supposition of the present author, since I could not elicit the speaker to utter the example where it is followed by a vowel-initial affix. There is another form /jukkjaajui/ *jukkjaa*(*r*)-*jur-i* (begin-UMRK-NPST) 'begins to do.' Thus, I attach //r// to the stem, which is the most productive morphophoneme in the verbal stem-final positions.

d. TM: un mamɨnkjoo kjuraasanma sjugjagɨrɨjoo!
u-n *mamɨ=nkja=ja* *kjura-sanma* *sjug-i+agɨr-ɨ=joo*
MES-ADNZ bean=APPR=TOP beautiful-ADVZ hit-INF+elabolately-IMP=CFM1
'Smash the beans beautifully [i.e. elaborately]!'

[El: 130821]

hatɨr- 'thoroughly'

e. [Context: Talking about a man who came from mainland Japan to buy cycad leaves for business.] = (4-25 b)
TM: kiihatɨppoo, sirituppajaa.
kij-Ø+hatɨr-boo *sirɨr-tur-ba=jaa*
cut-INF+thoroughly-CND easy.to.understand-PROG-CSL=SOL
'If (he) cut all the cycad leaves, you may know (what would happen then).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

f. TM: attakəə jumhatɨrɨjoo.
attakəə *jum-Ø+hatɨr-ɨ=joo*
everything read-INF+thoroughly-IMP=CFM1
'Read thoroughly all of (the pages)!'

[El: 121006]

kʔuraw- (DRG)

g. TM: kanɨciboja urakja tuikʔurawɨcjɨ jʔicjɨ,
kanɨ+cɨbo=ja *urakja* *tur-i+kʔuraw-ɨ=ccjɨ* *jʔ-tɨ*
gold+pot=TOP 2.NHON.PL take-INF+DRG-IMP=QT say-SEQ
'(The man) said that, "You take (this) damn gold pot!" and ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

h. TM: agaraa munnu wuikʔuratɨ, sɨrarantajaa.
aga-raa *mun=nu* *wur-i+kʔuraw-tɨ* *sɨr-arɨr-an-tar=jaa*
DIST-DRG person=NOM exist-INF+DRG-SEQ do-CAP-NEG-PST=SOL
'That awful person was (there), and (we) could not do (any conversation).'

[El: 111104]

kum- 'into'

i. [= (8-113 c)]
TM: ukkaci makikum jatattujaa.
u-rɨ=kaci *mak-i+kum-Ø* *jar-tar-tu=jaa*
MES-NLZ=ALL roll-INF+into-INF COP-PST-CSL=SOL
'(The old-type audio recorder) rolled up (the tape of a side) into that [i.e. the other side] (during the recoding).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

j. TM: wuduikumɨ!
wudur-i+kum-ɨ
jump-INF+into-IMP
'Jump into (there)!'

[El: 110914]

jukkjaar- (INGR)

k. [= (7-3 d)]

TM:	kan	sjɨ	jankjanu	dɨkɨɨjukkjaija
	ka-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*jaa=nkja=nu*	*dɨkɨr-Ø+jukkjaar-i=ja*
	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	house=APPR=NOM	be.made-INF+INGR-INF=TOP

|nan+nengoro|karakai?
nan+nen-goro=kara=kai
what+year-about=ABL=DUB
'When did the houses begin to be made like this?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

It should be noted that the stem-boundary of the verbal compounds in (8-148 c-d) behaves differently from that of the nominal compounds, e.g. /hidesianjoo/ *hidesi+anjoo* (Hideshi+older.brother) 'Hideshi.' Their difference is presented in Table 88, where the syllable boundaries in the surface forms of the compounds are indicated by periods.

Table 88. Morphophonological difference of //i// + //a// in a nominal compound and a verbal compound

	Preceding stem			Following stem			Compound
Nominal compound	*hidesi*	'Hideshi'	+	*anjoo*	'older brother'	>	/hi.de.si.a.njoo/ [çidɛ̨ɛiɑ̨nʲo̞ː]
Verbal comopund	*kakjoos-i*	(mix-INF)	+	*agɨr-*	'elaborately'	>	/ka.kjoo.sja.gɨr/ [kɑ̨kʲo̞ːɛɑ̨gɨɾɨɾ]

The above table shows that in the nominal compound the stem-final //i// and the stem-initial //a// retain their forms such as /i.a/. In the verbal compound, however, they are fused into /ja/.

8.5.2.2. Remarks on *kij-* (CAP)

kij- (CAP) introduced in §8.5.2.1 needs two more explanations. First, there is a case where the semantic scope of *kij-* (CAP) goes beyond the compound. I will present examples below, where the compounds are underlined.

(8-149) *kij-* (CAP) with AVC

a. TM: kacjɨ moikijunnja?

kak-tɨ *moor-i+kij-jur-i=na*
{[write-SEQ] [HON-INF]}+CAP-UMRK-NPST=PLQ
{[Lexical verb] [Auxiliary verb]}$_{VP}$
'Would (you) be able to write (it)?'

[El: 120924]

b. TM: hɨitɨ moikijanna?
hɨir-tɨ *moor-i+kij-an=na*
{[get.up-SEQ HON-INF]}+CAP-NEG=PLQ
{[Lexical verb] [Auxiliary verb]}$_{VP}$
'Wouldn't (you) be able to get up?'

[El: 120929]

It will be discussed in §9.1.1 that Yuwan has the auxiliary verb construction (AVC) in the verbal phrase (VP), and the AVC is composed of a preceding lexical verb and a following auxiliary verb. For example, /kacjɨ/ *kak-tɨ* (write-SEQ) in (8-149 a) is a lexical verb, and it forms an AVC with the following auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON). Similarly, /hɨitɨ/ *hɨir-tɨ* (get.up-SEQ) in (8-149 b) is a lexical verb, and it also forms an AVC with *moor-* (HON). In (8-149 a-b), *kij-* (CAP) forms a compound. Morphologically, the compound only includes the auxiliary verbal stem, because there is a word boundary between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. Semantically, however, the scope of *kij-* (CAP) includes the whole AVC, i.e. both of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. This can be diagrammed as in the following table.

Table 89. The difference of morphological unity and semantic scope of *kij-* (CAP) (part 1)

	Lexical verb	Auxiliary verb+*kij-*
Morphological unity		<<<<<<<<<<<<
Semantic scope	<<<<<<<<<	<<<<<<<<<<<<

The above table shows that *kij-* (CAP) morphologically forms a compound only with the auxiliary verbal stem. However, its semantic scope also includes the preceding lexical verb. In other words, *kij-* (CAP) seems to attach to the preceding VP as a whole, which may be diagrammed as follows.

Table 90. The difference of morphological unity and semantic scope of *kij-* (CAP) (part 2)

E.g.	*kak-tɨ* (write-SEQ)	*moor-i+kij-* (HON-INF+CAP)
Morphologically	[Lexical verb]$_{word}$	[Auxiliary verb+*kij-*]$_{Compound}$
Semantically	{Lexical verb	Auxiliary verb}$_{VP}$+ *kij-*

The semantic scope of the verbal affixes that attach to the auxiliary verb always include both of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. In that meaning, *kij-* (CAP) has the same characteristic with the verbal affixes. For

example, if *-an* (NEG) attaches to the auxiliary verb, its semantic scope necessarily includes the preceding lexical verb as in (9-15) in §9.1.1.3, where *-an* (NEG) negates *umuw-* 'think' as well as *kurɨr-* (BEN).

Secondly, both of the verbal root *kij-* (CAP) and the verbal affix *-arɨr* (CAP) (see §8.5.1.3) can express capability. However, the range of capablity they can express is different as in Table 91.

Table 91. The range of capability that *kij-* (CAP) and *-arɨr* (CAP) express

	kij- (CAP)	*-arɨr* (CAP)
Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on one's ability	+	+
Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on the surroundings	-	+

First, if the speaker construes that the capability of the action indicated by the verbal stem depends on the agent's ability, one can use both *kij-* (CAP) and *-arɨr* (CAP) as in (8-150 a-b).

(8-150) Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on one's ability

a. *kij-* (CAP)

TM: sijansjutɨ, cukuikijanta.

sij-an=sjutɨ *cukur-i+kij-an-tar*

know-NEG=SEQ make-INF+CAP-NEG-PST

'(I) don't know (how to make the dish), and could not make (it).'

[El: 101119]

b. *-arɨr* (CAP)

TM: sijansjutɨ, cukuraranta.

sij-an=sjutɨ *cukur-ar-an-tar*

know-NEG=SEQ make-CAP-NEG-PST

'(I) don't know (how to make the dish), and could not make (it).'

[El: 101119]

In both of the examples in (8-150 a-b), the speaker does not know how to make the dish. Thus, the capability in (8-150 a-b) is construed by the speaker as depending on the speaker's ability, where both of *kij-* (CAP) and *-arɨr* (CAP) can be used.

Secondly, if the speaker construes the capability of the action indicated by the verbal stem depends on the surroundings (not the agent's ability), one cannot use *kij-* (CAP), and can only use *-arɨr* (CAP) as in (8-151 a-b).

(8-151) Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on the surroundings

a. *kij-* (CAP)

TM: *himanu nənsjutɨ, cukuikijanta.

hima=nu *nə-an=sjutɨ* *cukur-i+kij-an-tar*
time=NOM exist-NEG=SEQ make-INF+CAP-NEG-PST
[Intended meaning]‘(I) have no time (to spare), and could not make (it).’
[El: 101119]

b. *-arɨr* (CAP)
TM: himanu nənsjutɨ, cukuraranta.
hima=nu *nə-an=sjutɨ* *cukur-ar-an-tar*
time=NOM exist-NEG=SEQ make-CAP-NEG-PST
‘(I) have no time (to spare), and could not make (it).’
[El: 101119]

In both of the examples in (8-151 a-b), the speaker does not have enough time to spare. Thus, the capability in (8-151 a-b) is construed by the speaker as depending on the surroundings (not the speaker’s ability), where *kij-* (CAP) cannot be used, and only *-arɨr* (CAP) can be used.

Chapter 9
Predicate phrases

The basic clause of Yuwan is made of an argument (or arguments) and a predicate phrase (see §4.1.1). Yuwan has three types of predicate phrases as in (9-1), where the contents enclosed within parentheses may not appear in some environments.

(9-1) Three types of predicate phrases

a. Verbal predicate phrase	(Complement)	VP
b. Adjectival predicate phrase	A	(STV)
c. Nominal predicate phrase	NP	(COP)

Notes:
"VP" indicates the verbal phrase;
"A" indicates the adjective;
"STV" indicates a stative verb;
"COP" indicates a copular verb.

The verbal predicate phrase is composed of a verbal phrase (VP) and a complement. The VP is always necessary, and it is composed of an obligatory lexical verb and an optional auxiliary verb (see §9.1.1). The complement is required when the lexical verb is a light verb (see §9.1.2). The adjectival predicate phrase is composed of an obligatory adjectival word, which may be followed by a VP whose lexical verb is the stative verb (see §9.2). The nominal predicate phrase is composed of an obligatory NP, which may be followed by a VP whose lexical verb is the copular verb (see §9.3). For the people who are interested in the argumentation for the structural analyses presented in (9-1), it is recommended to see §9.4.

9.1. Verbal predicate phrase

The verbal predicate phrase has the following structure.

(9-2) Structure of the verbal predicate phrase

[(Complement) VP]$_{\text{Verbal predicate phrase}}$

The verbal phrase (VP) is composed of an obligatory lexical verb and an optional auxiliary verb, which will be discussed in §9.1.1. Furthermore, the complement is necessary when the lexical verb is a light verb. This will be discussed in §9.1.2. The complement is required by the verb (in the VP), but it is not the argument of the verb. Thus, the component in the complement slot does not take any case particle (except for the case in

(6-42 e) in §6.3.2.1). It should be mentioned that the "verbal predicate phrase" is different from the "verbal phrase (VP)," and that both of the descriptive ideas do not include any NP argument within them (cf. Andrews 2007: 135). Arguments in Yuwan frequently undergo ellipsis if they are inferable from the context. This non-obligatory characteristic of arguments is the reason why they are not included in the VP or the verbal predicate phrase.

9.1.1. Verbal phrase and the auxiliary verb construction

The verbal phrase (VP) is made of an obligatory lexical verb and an optional auxiliary verb. The VP structures are diagramed below. "(Lexical or Auxiliary verb $_{0...n}$)" means that a number of lexical verbs or auxiliary verbs may fill the slot.

(9-3) Structures of the VP

a. Minimal VP

Syntax:	[Lexical verb]$_{VP}$
Morphology:	Unrestricted

b. Non-minimal VP (= Auxiliary verb construction)

Syntax:	[Lexical verb	(Lexical or Auxiliary verb$_{0...n}$)	Auxiliary verb]$_{VP}$
Morphology:	SEQ	SEQ	Unrestricted

The minimal VP is only composed of a lexical verb. The lexical verb in the minimal VP can take all of the inflections, i.e., it is morphologically unrestricted as in (9-3 a). A VP may be composed of more than a verb. In that case, a lexical verb stands in the initial place, and an auxiliary verb stands in the final place. Between them, a number of lexical verbs or auxiliary verbs may intervene, though it is rare. This structure of non-minimal VP is called the auxiliary verb construction (AVC). Interestingly, the non-*final* verbs in the AVC can take only an inflection, i.e. *-tɨ* (SEQ), and only the final auxiliary verb can take all of the inflections as in (9-3 b). In other words, the coincidence of the lexical meaning and the morphological freedom (i.e. the "semantic head" and the "inflectional head" in Anderson 2006: 22-23) in the minimal VP is separated into two different verbs in AVC, which is not uncommon in the languages in the world (Lehmann 1995: 33-34, Anderson 2006: 24). The examples of the minimal VP and the non-minimal VP (i.e. AVC) are shown below.

(9-4) Minimal VP

a. TM:

nuukanu	ai.
nuu=ka=nu	*<u>ar-i</u>*
what=DUB=NOM	[exist-NPST]
	[Lex. V]$_{VP}$

'There is something.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Auxiliary verb construction (= Non-mimial VP)

b. TM: nu-nkuin atɨ moojuijo.
nuu-nkuin *ar-tɨ* *moor-jur-i=joo*
what-INDFZ [exist-SEQ HON-UMRK-NPST]=CFM1
[Lex. V Aux. V]$_{VP}$
'There is anything (at the place of the grandfather of MS).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: nannja kacjɨ moocjɨn njan?
nan=ja *kak-tɨ* *moor-tɨ=n* *nj-an*
2.HON.SG=TOP [write-SEQ HON-SEQ=even EXP-NEG]
[Lex. V Aux. V Aux. V]$_{VP}$
'Have you never written (it before)?'

[El: 120929]

In (9-4 a), the VP is only composed of a lexical verb /ai/ *ar-i* (exist-NPST). In (9-4 b), /atɨ/ *ar-tɨ* (exist-SEQ) and /moojui/ *moor-jur-i* (HON-UMRK-NPST) forms a single VP, where the auxilary verb adds some honorific meaning to the preceding lexical verb. In (9-4 c), the VP is composed of a sequence of three verbs. As mentioned above, the non-final verbs in AVC necessarily take the inflection *-tɨ* (SEQ) such as /atɨ/ *ar-tɨ* (exist-SEQ) in (9-4 b) and /kacjɨ/ *kak-tɨ* (write-SEQ) and /moocjɨ/ *moor-tɨ* (HON-SEQ) in (9-4 c).

The AVC is a mono-clausal structure that minimally consists of a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb, the latter expressing grammatical function (cf. Anderson 2006: 7). In fact, the verbal form of the non-final position in the AVC has the same form with the verbal form in the adverbial clause. That is, both of them take *-tɨ* (SEQ). However, the *-tɨ* (SEQ) in AVC does not form a clausal boundary, but it is included in a mono-clause. The mono-clausality of AVC is exemplified by the semantic scope of the negation. I will present the relevant examples below.

(9-5) Difference of the semantic scope of negation

a. Mono-clausal AVC

[Context: Akira wanted something of Yuto's, but Yuto did not want to give it to him. Therefore, Yuto asked Hayato to deny Akira's wish, but Hayato did not do it for Yuto. In that case, TM thought that Yuto can utter the following sentence.]

TM: kurɨrancjəə jʔicjɨ kurɨranta.
kurɨr-an=ccjɨ=ja *jʔ-tɨ* *kurɨr-an-tar*
[give-NEG=QT=TOP say-SEQ BEN-NEG-PST]
[Complement Lex. verb Aux. verb]$_{VP\ (in\ a\ clause)}$
'(Hayato) did not say for me that, "(Yuto) don't give (it to you)."'

[El: 130821]

b. Clause chaining

[Context: Yuto asked Hayato to give Hayato's precious thing to him. However, Hayato denied the Yuto's wish. In that case, TM thought that Yuto can utter the following sentence.]

TM:	kuɨrancjɨ	jʔicjɨ,	kuɨrantattoo.
	kuɨr-an=ccjɨ	*jʔ-tɨ*	*kuɨr-an-tar=doo*
	[give-NEG=QT	say-SEQ]	[give-NEG-PST=ASS]
	[Complement	Lex. verb]$_{\text{VP (in a clause)}}$	[Lex. verb]$_{\text{VP (in a clause)}}$

'(He) said, "(I) don't give (it)," and didn't give (it to me).'

[El: 130821]

In (9-5 a), the verbal form /jʔicjɨ/ *jʔ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) forms a mono-clausal VP with the following auxiliary verb, i.e. *kuɨr-* (BEN), since the semantic scope of negation of the following verb includes the whole VP. In this example, *jʔ-* 'say' is also negated by the *-an* (NEG) of *kuɨr-an-tar* (BEN-NEG-PST). In (9-5 b), however, the semantic scope of negation of the following verb does not include the preceding verb. That is, the *-an* (NEG) of *kuɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) does not negate the preceding *jʔ-* 'say.' Thus, we can regard that the verbal forms /jʔicjɨ/ *jʔ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) in (9-5 b) are not in the same clause. In fact, the above syntactic difference is also reflected in the semantic difference of the verbal form /kuɨr-/. In (9-5 a), it functions as an auxiliary verb *kuɨr-* (BEN), but in (9-5 b) it functions as a lexical verb *kuɨr-* 'give.' Additionally, the suprasegmental behavior in (9-5 a-b) is different. In (9-5 a), *jʔ-tɨ kuɨr-an-tar* (say-SEQ BEN-NEG-PST) forms a single prosodical unit, but in (9-5 b), *jʔ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) does not. Moreover, there is a pause between *jʔ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) in (9-5 b), but there is no pause between *jʔ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuɨr-an-tar* (BEN-NEG-PST) in (9-5 a).

Another difference between a mono-clausal AVC and a clause chaining is that the latter allows another word to intervene between the clauses.

(9-6) The possibility of the insertion of another word

a. Mono-clausal AVC

[Context: The same context with (9-5 a)]

TM:	*kuɨrancjəə	jʔicjɨ	akiran	kuɨranta.
	kuɨr-an=ccjɨ=ja	*jʔ-tɨ*	*akira=n*	*kuɨr-an-tar*
	give-NEG=QT=TOP	say-SEQ	Akira=DAT1	BEN-NEG-PST

(Intended meaning) '(Hayato) did not say to Akira for me that, "(Yuto) doesn't give (it)."'

[El: 130821]

b. Clause chaining

[Context: The same context with (9-5 b)]

TM:	kuɨrancjɨ	jʔicjɨ,	wannin	kuɨranta.

kurɨr-an=ccjɨ	*jʔ-tɨ*	*wan=n=n*	*kurɨr-an-tar*
give-NEG=QT	say-SEQ	1SG=DAT1=even	give-NEG-PST

'(Hayato) said, "(I) don't give (it)," and didn't give (it) to me.'

[El: 130821]

In (9-6 a), the NP *akira=n* (Akira=DAT1) 'to Akira' cannot be inserted between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. On the contrary, in (9-6 b), the NP *wan=n* (1SG=DAT1) 'to me' can be inserted between two clauses.

Yuwan has the following auxiliary verbs as in Table 92, many of which can also be used as lexical verbs. In other words, many of the verbs in the following table are in the diachronic change of grammaticalization (cf. Lehmann 1995: 37).

Table 92. Auxiliary verbs in Yuwan

Category	Forms	Meaning as auxiliary verbs	Meaning as lexical verbs
1. Aspect	*wur-*	PROG	'exist (animate)'
	ar-/nə-	RSL	'exist (inanimate)'
	nj-	EXP	N/A
	mj-	'try to'	'see'
2. Honorific	*moor-*	HON	N/A
3. Valency-changing	*kurɨr-*	BEN	'give'
	muraw-	BEN	'receive'
Valency-changing + Honorific	*taboor-*	BEN.HON	N/A
4. Spatial deixis	*ik-*	'go'	'go'
	k-	'come'	'come'
Spatial deixis + Honorific	*umoor-*	go/come.HON	go/come/exist/speak.HON

Notes:

(a) The auxiliary verb *nj-* (EXP) has the same form with the verb of another dialect of Amami, i.e. *nj-* 'see,' in Ura (Nothern Amami) (Dr. Hiromi Shigeno, 2013, p.c.);

(b) One may think that the cognate of *moor-* (HON) is *umoor-* (exist/go/come/speak.HON). However, there is no initial glottalization on *moor-* (HON). On the contrary, the words that are supposed to have had the sequence of a vowel and a nasal in the word-initial positions are thought to have lost their initial vowels with glottalization of the following nasals, e.g. **uma* > *mʔa* 'horse' or **inoci* > *nʔjuci* 'life' (see also §2.3.2.3).

The above table shows that the auxiliary verbs in Yuwan can be grouped into four categories, i.e. aspect, honorific, valency-changing, and spatial deixis. In principle, the aspectual auxiliaries can follow other types of auxiliary verbs as in (9-4 c). Additionally, the valency-changing auxiliaries can follow the spatial deictic auxliary verbs as in (9-21) in §9.1.1.4. The examples of the each auxiliary verb in Table 92 will be discussed

in the following subsections.

9.1.1.1. Aspectual auxiliary verbs: *wur-* (PROG), *ar-*/*nə-* (RSL), *nj-* (EXP), and *mj-* 'try to'

Yuwan has four aspectual auxiliary verbs: *wur-* (PROG), *ar-*/*nə-* (RSL), *nj-* (EXP), and *mj-* 'try to.' First, we will discuss *wur-*, which expresses the aspect of progressive, and *ar-*/*nə-*, which express the aspect of resultative (see §8.5.1.5 - §8.5.1.6 for their aspectual meanings). The auxiliary verbs that express the resultative aspect, i.e. *ar-* and *nə-*, are in the complementary distribution. *nə-* (RSL) is always chosen immediately before the negative affixes, e.g. *-an* (NEG). Otherwise, *ar-* (RSL) is selected.

(9-7) *wur-* (PROG)

a. [= (8-57 a)]

TM:	cukutəə	wutakai?
	cukur-tɨ=ja	*wur-tar=kai*
	make-SEQ=TOP	PROG-PST=DUB
	Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'Was (anyone) making (cocoons)?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b.

TM:	mˀarɨtəə	wuijo.
	mˀarɨr-tɨ=ja	*wur-i=joo*
	be.born-SEQ=TOP	PROG-NPST=CFM1
	Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'(MY) was already born (at that time).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

ar- (RSL)

c.

TM:	gan	sjan	mun	utəə	aroojaa.
	ga-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*mun*	*uw-tɨ=ja*	*ar-oo=jaa*
	MES-ADVZ	do-PST-PTCP	thing	plant-SEQ=TOP	RSL-SUPP=SOL
				Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'Such a thing [i.e. a pear tree] has been planted (there), probably.'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

nə- (RSL)

d.

TM:	|nendai|	kacjəə	nən?
	nendai	*kak-tɨ=ja*	*nə-an*
	date	write-SEQ=TOP	RSL-NEG
		Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'Wasn't the date (when the picture was taken) written (on it)?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (9-7 a-d), all of the lexical verbs are followed by the topic particle *ja*. Additionally, other limiter particles (see §10.1), e.g. *n* ‘even,’ *bəi* ‘only,’ or *du* (FOC), can appear between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. Interestingly, the nominative case *ga/nu* can appear between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb only when the auxiliary verb is *nə-* (RSL) as in (9-8 a-c).

(9-8) Lexical verb + *ga*/*nu* (NOM) + *nə-* (RSL)

a. TM: kacjɨga nənbajaa.
kak-tɨ=ga *nə-an-ba=jaa*
write-SEQ=NOM RSL-NEG-CSL=SOL
Lex. verb Aux. verb
‘(The date when the picture was taken) was not written, so (we don’t know it).’
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: injasainkara noogjoonkjaga .. (ɨɨ)
inja-as+ar-i=n=kara *noogjoo=nkja=ga*
small-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1=ABL agriculture=APPR=NOM
sjɨga nənsjutɨga,
sɨr-tɨ=ga *nə-an=sjutɨ=ga*
do-SEQ=NOM RSL-NEG=SEQ=FOC
Lex. verb Aux. verb
‘Since (she) was young, (she) has never worked in the fields, and ...’
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: zjenzjen jinkjoodənkjanu cɨkiai sjɨnu
zjenzjen *jin+kjoodəə=nkja=nu* *cɨkiai* *sɨr-tɨ=nu*
very.much [same+brother=APPR=GEN acquaintance] do-SEQ=NOM
[Complement] Lex. verb
nənboo,
nə-an-boo
RSL-NEG-CND
Aux. verb
‘If (people) have not made the acquaintance like brothers (of the) same (parents), ...’
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The nominative case appears when *nə-* (RSL) takes *-ba* (CSL), *-n=sjutɨ* (PTCPSEQ), or *-boo* (CND) as in (9-8 a-c). This phenomenon seems to have some relationship with the occurence of the nominative case in the nominal predicate of the subordinate clause (see §9.3.3.1), since in both cases the occurence of *ja* (TOP) is avoided within the predicate phrases, and instead the nominative case appears in the place where *ja* (TOP) is expected. We have not yet found the reason for the choice between *ga* (NOM) as in (9-8 a-b) and *nu* (NOM) as in (9-8 c), but it seems that *ga* (NOM) is somewhat preferred over *nu* (NOM) in the texts. This fact seems

to have some relationship with the preference of *ga* (NOM) to *nu* (NOM) before *nə-* 'exist' (see §6.4.3.5).

In the modern Yuwan, I have seldom found the AVC of *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-* (RSL) without any intervening particle.[63] Instead, I found the affixes with the similar meanings, i.e. *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL). Probably, *-tur* (PROG) was made of *-*tɨ* (SEQ) plus **wur-* (PROG), and *-təər* (RSL) was made of *-*tɨ* (SEQ) plus **ar-* (RSL), which is shown in the following table.

Table 93. Grammaticalization of *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-* (RSL)

Supposed previous synchrony				Modern synchrony
Lexical verb		Auxiliary verb		Stem + Affix
Stem + -*tɨ* (SEQ)	+	*wur-* (PROG)	>	Stem + -*tur* (PROG)
Stem + -*tɨ* (SEQ)	+	*ar-* (RSL)	>	Stem + -*təər* (RSL)

In other words, *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-* (RSL) show much progress in the grammaticalization channels in the cases of *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) (cf. Lehmann 1995: 37). Interestingly, *nə-* (RSL) is always preceded by some particle, and there is no example where *-tɨ* (SEQ) appears to be fused with *nə-* (RSL). This seems to have some relationship with the fact that there is always a particle, i.e. *ja* (TOP), before the negated copula verb (see (9-54) in §9.3.1). I will present examples of *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) below.

(9-9) Grammaticalized auxiliary verbs

-tur (PROG)

a. TM: kunugurugadɨ (kun ..) unnantɨ
kunuguru=gadɨ *ku-n* *u-n=nantɨ*
recently=LMT PROX-ADNZ MES-ADNZ=LCO2
cukututanmundoojaa.
cukur-tur-tar-n=mun=doo=jaa
make-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'(They) used to do dyeing until recently there.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM is talking about the meeting for old people held once a month in Yuwan.] = (8-136 a)

TM: taruka tʔaibəi wututɨ, kan
ta-ru=ka *tʔai=bəi* *wur-tur-tɨ* *ka-n*
who-NLZ=DUB two.CLF.person=about exist-PROG-SEQ PROX-ADVZ
sjan hanasinkja sɨrarɨppoo, jiccjanban,

[63] There is only an example where *ar-* (RSL) is not preceded by any particle, and is not fused with the preceding lexical verb. /sjemenunkjoo ucjɨ aijaa/ *sjemen=nkja=ja ut-tɨ ar-i=jaa* (cement=APPR=TOP pour-SEQ RSL-NPST=SOL) 'Cement has been poured (there)' [Co: 120415_00.txt].

sɨr-tar-n *hanasi=nkja* *sɨr-arɨr-boo* *jiccj-sa+ar-n=ban*
do-PST-PTCP conversation=APPR do-CAP-CND good-ADJ+STV-PTCP=ADVRS
'(It) will be good if some two (or three) people are being (there) and can make conversation like this, but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

-*təər* (RSL)

c. TM: kurəə nuucjɨga kacjəəru?
ku-rɨ=ja *nuu=ccjɨ=ga* *kak-<u>təər</u>-u*
PROX-NLZ=TOP what=QT=FOC write-RSL-PFC
'What is written (on) this?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. TM: umaga atəkkamojaa.
u-ma=ga *<u>ar-təər</u>=kamo=jaa*
MES-place=FOC exist-RSL=POS=SOL
'(The chamber of commerce) may have been there.'
[lit. '(At) that place, (the chamber of commerce) may have existed.']

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. TM ziisanna mata |iciban monosiri| jatəəppa,
ziisan=ja *mata* *iciban* *monosiri* *<u>jar-təər</u>-ba*
grandfather=TOP again most well.informed.person COP-RSL-CSL
waakjaa anmaaja utaja (mm) uraa
waakja-a *anmaa=ja* *uta=ja* *ura-a*
1PL-ADNZ mother=TOP song=TOP 2.NHON.SG-ADNZ
ziisan məəradu naratancjɨ jutattujaa.
ziisan *məə=kara=du* *naraw-tar-n=ccjɨ* *jˀ-tar-tu=jaa*
grandfather front=ABL=FOC learn-PST-PTCP=QT say-PST-CSL=SOL
'(Your) grandfather was the most well-informed person, so my mother said that (she) learned (the traditional) songs from your grandfather.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The details of the aspectual meanings of the above auxiliary verbs, i.e. *wur-* (RPOG) and *ar-*/*nə-* (RSL), and their grammaticalized affixes has been discussed in §8.5.1.5 - §8.5.1.6. Interestingly, the grammaticalized affixes -*tur* (PROG) and -*təər* (RSL) can follow their original lexical counterparts, i.e. *wur-* 'exist (animate)' and *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)' as in (9-9 b, d). On the contrary, combinations such as the lexical verb *wur-* 'exist (animate)' followed by the auxiliary verb *wur-* (PROG), or the lexical verb *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)' followed by the auxiliary verb *ar-* (RSL) in the AVCs have not yet been found in the text corpus, and it is difficult to make a question that will bring about forms such as these in elicitation. Thus, the existence of the combinatins as in (9-9 b, d) expresses that the affixes, i.e. -*tur* (PROG) and -*təər* (RSL), have come to be used in new contexts,

and it is a proof of grammaticalization (cf. Heine&Kuteva 2002: 2). Furthermore, there is a combination of *jar-* (COP) and *-təər* (RSL) as in (9-9 e), which has never been realized in the form of the AVC, i.e, there is no combination such as *jar-tɨ* (COP-SEQ) plus *ar-* (RSL). This fact also supports the analysis that *-təər* (RSL) is an independent affix in the modern Yuwan, and that it is not derived from the "synchronic" fusion of *-tɨ* (SEQ) and *-ar* (RSL). Considering the behavior of *-təər* (RSL) as such, and the irregular reduction and assimilation of morphophonemes between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb as in Table 93, it is appropriate to regard *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) as members of the verbal affixes in modern Yuwan (see Chapter 8).

Secondly, we will discuss another auxiliary verb *nj-* (EXP), which expresses the aspect of the experiential perfect. If *nj-* (EXP) is followed by *-i* (NPST) or *-an* (NEG), it means that the event has occured at least once or has never occured in the past leading up to the present (cf. Comrie 1976: 58-59) as in (9-10 a-c). If *nj-* (EXP) is followed by *-ɨ* (IMP) or *-oo* (INT), it means that the event will be experienced by the agent at least once during the recent future. In that case, it is appropriate to translate *nj-* (EXP) into 'try to' as in (9-10 d-e). Interestingly, *nj-* (EXP) cannot be followed by *-na* (PROH), which is the negative counterpart of *-ɨ* (IMP).

(9-10) *nj-* (EXP)

a. TM:

asɨdɨn	njan.jaa.
asɨb-tɨ=n	*nj-an=jaa*
play-SEQ=ever	EXP-NEG=SOL
Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'(We) have never played (together), (have we?)'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM:

nudɨn	njui?
num-tɨ=n	*nj-jur-i*
drink-SEQ=ever	EXP-UMRK-NPST
Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'Have (you) ever drunk (it)?'

[El: 120926]

c. TM:

an	tacɨgəə	cʔjukəəin	tooritɨn	njan.
a-n	*tacɨgɨ=ja*	*cʔjukəəi=n*	*toorɨr-tɨ=n*	*nj-an*
DIST-ADNZ	prop=TOP	one.CLF.time=even	fall-SEQ=ever	EXP-NEG
			Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'That prop has never fallen even once.'

[El: 130816]

d. TM: ude, kun nɨkan kadɨn njɨ!

ude	*ku-n*	*nɨkan*	*kam-tɨ=n*	*nj-ɨ*
well	PROX-ADNZ	mikan	eat-SEQ=ever	EXP-IMP
			Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'Well, try to eat this *mikan*!'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

e. TM:

naa	məəci	cʔjɨn	njoojəəcjɨ
naa-a	*məə=kaci*	*k-tɨ=n*	*nj-oo=jəə=ccjɨ*
2.HON.SG=ADNZ	front=ALL	come-SEQ=ever	EXP-INT=CFM2=QT
		Lex. verb	Aux. verb

jʔicjattu,
jʔ-tar-tu
say-PST-CSL
'(The person) said, "(I) will try to come to your place," so ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-10 a-e), *nj-* (EXP) is necessarily preceded by *n* 'ever.' In fact, *nj-* (EXP) is always preceded by *n* 'ever' in my texts. In other words, there seems to be no morpheme boundary between *n* 'ever' and *nj-* (EXP). I do not, however, regard them as a single morpheme such as *nnj-* (EXP), since there is an example as in (9-11).

(9-11) a. TM:

kicjɨn	mjicjɨn	njanmun.	...	ukka
kik-tɨ=n	*mj-tɨ=n*	*nj-an=mun*		*u-rɨ=ga*
hear-SEQ=ever	see-SEQ=ever	EXP-NEG=ADVRS		MES-NLZ=NOM
Lex. verb	Lex. verb	Aux. verb		

ujankjanu,	ude,
uja=nkja=nu	*ude*
parent=APPR=NOM	well

'(I) have never heard of or seen (him). That person's parent was, ...'

b. MS:
jaa.
jaa
FIL
'Yeah.'

c. TM:

kicjɨn	mjicjɨn	...
kik-tɨ=n	*mj-tɨ=n*	
hear-SEQ=ever	see-SEQ=ever	
Lex. verb	Lex. verb	

'(I have never) heard of or seen ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above example is a sequence of a conversation. In (9-11 a, c), *n* ‘ever’ attaches to the initial lexical verb (not only to the lexical verb immediately before *nj-* (EXP)), i.e. *kik-tɨ=n mj-tɨ=n* (hear-SEQ=ever see-SEQ=ever). Additionally, the initial sentence of (9-11 a) is partially repeated in (9-11 c), where the utterance-final *n* ‘ever’ attaches to the lexical verb without *nj-* (EXP), i.e. *mj-tɨ=n* (see-SEQ=ever). Thus, I propose that *n* ‘ever’ can be divided from the auxiliary verb *nj-* (EXP), although their unity is very strong.

Finally, I will present examples of *mj-* ‘try to.’

(9-12) *mj-* ‘try to’

a. TM: attaatun hanacjɨ mjicjɨn njanban,

a-rɨ-taa=tu=n *hanas-tɨ* *mj-tɨ=n* *nj-an=ban*

DIST-NLZ-PL=COM=also talk-SEQ try.to-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG=ADVRS

Lex. verb Aux. verb Aux. verb

‘(I) have never tried to talk with that person, but ...’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: cʔjɨ mjoojəə.

k-tɨ *mj-oo=jəə*

come-SEQ try.to-INT=CFM2

Lex. verb Aux. verb

‘(I) will try to come (here).’

[El: 120929]

The meaning of *mj-* ‘try to’ is partially similar to *nj-* (EXP); compare (9-12 a-b) to (9-10 d-e). *mj-* ‘try to’ does not need to be preceded by *n* ‘any,’ which is different from *nj-* (EXP).

Many of the aspectual AVs are in a diachronic change of grammticalization. *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-*/*nə-* (RSL) have their lexical counterparts, i.e. *wur-* ‘exist (animate)’ and *ar-*/*nə-* ‘exist (inanimate)’ (see §8.3.2 for more details about these existential verbs). The lexical counterpart of *mj-* ‘try to’ is *mj-* ‘see’ as in (6-122 a-b) in §6.4.3.3. There is no lexical counterpart of *nj-* (EXP) (see note (a) of Table 92).

9.1.1.2. Honorific auxiliary verb: *moor-* (HON)

The auxiliary verb *moor-* expresses the speaker’s respect for the subject of the predicate (see also chapter 3 about the grammatical relations). Other honorific AVs, i.e. *taboor-* (BEN.HON) and *umoor-* (come.HON), are discussed in §9.1.1.3 and §9.1.1.4 respectively. I will present an example of *moor-* (HON).

(9-13) *moor-* (HON)

TM:	minna	|gakkoo|	izjacjɨ	moocjəppajaa.
	minna	*gakkoo*	*izj-as-tɨ*	*moor-təər-ba=jaa*
	everybody	school	go.out-CAUS-SEQ	HON-RSL-CSL=SOL
			Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'(Your great-grandparents) had all of (their chidren) go out [i.e. graduate from] the school.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (9-13), the lexical verb takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) before the auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON). The honorific AVC expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the clause, i.e. for the hearer's great-grandparents. For more details about the auxiliary honorific verbs, see §8.3.1.2.

9.1.1.3. Valency-changing auxiliary verbs: *kurɨr-* (BEN), *muraw-* (BEN), and *taboor-* (HON.BEN)

The auxiliary verbs *kurɨr-* (BEN), *muraw-* (BEN), and *taboor-* (HON.BEN) increase the semantic valency of the predicates. Additionally, only *muraw-* can change the syntactic valency. The semantic valency relates to the number of participant semantically required by the predicate of a clause. The syntactic valency relates to the morphosyntactic means (especially, case markers) to express the participants. I borrow those of Payne (1997: 169-173) regarding the terms of the semantic valency and syntactic valency.

Semantically, these valency-changing auxiliary verbs add a beneficiary as a participant of the event indicated by the clause. In many cases, the added beneficiary is the speaker, but it can be a referent to whom the speaker "empathize" with (cf. Kuno 1987: 206). The differences among these valency-changing auxiliary verbs are determined by the correspondence between the subject and the referent that causes or receives the benefaction. In other words, if the VP's subject is the benefactor, *kurɨr-* (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON) is used. If the VP's subject is the beneficiary, *muraw-* (BEN) is used. These are summarized below.

(9-14) Principle of the use of the valency-changing auxiliary verbs

a. Subject = Benefactor

kurɨr- (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON)

b. Subject = Beneficiary

muraw- (BEN)

First, I will present the example of *kurɨr-* (BEN).

(9-15) *kurɨr-* (BEN): the subject is the benefactor

TM:	uran	jazin	kjunmuncjɨ	dooka
	ura=n	*jazin*	*k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ*	*dooka*
	2.NHON.SG=also	necessarily	come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT	please
	Subject/Benefactor			

umutɨ kurɨranboo.
umuw-tɨ *kurɨr-an-boo*
think-SEQ BEN-NEG-CND
Lex. verb Aux. verb
'If you don't think that (you) will necessarily come (here for me, I will run into a problem).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (9-15), the subject of the VP /umutɨ kurɨranboo/ *umuw-tɨ kurɨr-an-boo* (think-SEQ BEN-NEG-CND) 'if (you) don't think (of it for me)' is *ura* (2.NHON.SG) 'you,' who is the subject the clause and also the benefactor of the event. The beneficiary is the speaker TM.

Secondly, the auxiliary verb *taboor-* (BEN.HON) is the honorific counterpart of *kurɨr-* (BEN). Thus, it can also be used when the benefactor of the event is the subject of the clause.

(9-16) *taboor-* (BEN.HON): the subject is the benefactor [= (8-26)]

TM:	|sinsjei|,	an	kʔwa	abɨtɨ	taboorɨ.
	sinsjei	*a-n*	*kʔwa*	*abɨr-tɨ*	*taboor-ɨ*
	teacher	DIST-ADNZ	child	call-SEQ	BEN.HON-IMP
	Subject/Benefactor			Lex. verb	Aux. verb

'Teacher, would (you) please call that child (for me)?'

[El: 130820]

In (9-16), the subject of the VP /abɨtɨ taboorɨ/ *abɨr-tɨ taboor-ɨ* (call-SEQ BEN.HON-IMP) 'Would (you) please call (that child)?' is *sinsjei* 'teacher,' who is the subject the clause and also the benefactor of the event. The beneficiary is the speaker TM. Additionally, *taboor-* (BEN.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the clause, i.e. *sinsjei* 'teacher.'

Finally, I will present examples of *muraw-* (BEN).

(9-17) *muraw-* (BEN): the subject is the beneficiary

US:	umantɨ	ɨrɨtɨ	muratanbanga,	|moo
	u-ma=nantɨ	*ɨrɨr-tɨ*	*muraw-tar-n=ban=ga*	*moo*
	MES-place=LOC2	put.in-SEQ	BEN-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=FOC	FIL
		Lex. verb	Aux. verb	

zenzen|	ooran.
zenzen	*oor-an*
much	fit-NEG

'(I) had (the dentist) put in (the artificial teeth), but (it) does not fit (me) very much.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (9-17), the subject of the VP /ɨriti muratan/ *ɨrɨr-tɨ muraw-tar-n* (put.in-SEQ BEN-PST-PTCP) 'having had (the dentist) put in (the artificial teeth)' is the speaker, and she is also the beneficiary of the event, although she is not overtly expressed in (9-17). An example that is more understandable is shown below, where two sentences are compared. The first example is a minimal VP that does not include *muraw-* (BEN). The second example is an AVC, where the lexical verb in the first example, i.e. *kak-* 'write,' is followed by *muraw-* (BEN).

(9-18) Valency changing of *muraw-* (BEN)

a. Non-derived sentence (Minimal VP)

TM:	an	cʔjuga	kakjui.
	a-n	*cʔju=ga*	*kak-jur-i*
	DIST-ADNZ	person=NOM	write-UMRK-NPST

'That person will write (it).'

[El: 130822]

b. Derived sentence (AVC)

TM:	wanna	an	cʔjun	kacjɨ
	wan=ja	*a-n*	*cʔju=n*	*kak-tɨ*
	1SG=TOP	DIST-ADNZ	person=DAT1	write-SEQ
	Subject/Beneficiary	└Benefactor	────────┘	Lex. verb
	murawoojəə.			
	muraw-oo=jəə			
	BEN-INT=CFM2			
	Aux. verb			

'I will have that person write (it for me).'

[El: 130822]

In (9-18 a), the participant of the event is only one, i.e. /an cʔju/ 'that person.' In (9-18 b), another participant, i.e. *wan* (1SG), is added to the event of (9-18 a). The added participant is the subject of the clause and also the beneficiary of the event. Furthermore, *muraw-* (BEN) changes the syntactic valency of the predicate. That is, it changes the coding of the case particle. In (9-18 a), the agent of *kak-* 'write' is marked by *ga* (NOM), but in (9-18 b), the agent of *kak-* 'write,' who is also the benefactor of the event, is marked by *n* (DAT1).

Before concluding this section, I will present the lexical counterparts of the above valency-changing auxiliary verbs.

(9-19) Lexical counterparts of the valency-changing AVs

a. *kurɨr-* 'give'

TM:	miicɨ	kurɨtattoo,	un	micjaija	jurukudɨ,
	miicɨ	*kurɨr-tattoo*	*u-n*	*micjai=ja*	*jurukub-tɨ*
	three.CLF	give-PST.CSL	MES-ADNZ	three.CLF=TOP	be.pleased-SEQ
		Lex. Verb			

kan	sjɨ	hucjutɨ,	kadɨ,	ikii.
ka-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*huk-tur-tɨ*	*kam-tɨ*	*ik-i*
PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	wipe-PROG-SEQ	eat-SEQ	go-INF

'When (the boy) gave three (pears to the three boys), the three (boys) were pleased, and were wiping (the pears) like this, and ate (them), and went (away).'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. *muraw-* 'receive'

TM:	nasinu	miicɨ	muratɨ,
	nasi=nu	*miicɨ*	*muraw-tɨ*
	pear=GEN	three.thing	receive-SEQ
			Lex. Verb

'(They) received three pears, and ...'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

In (9-19 a-b), both of the lexical verbs, i.e. *kurɨr-* 'give' and *muraw-* 'receive,' express the locomotion of concrete things, i.e. 'pears.' On the contrary, the examples of the valency-changing auxiliary verbs as in (9-15) or (9-17) do not express such locomotion of things. Thus, the so-called "semantic bleaching" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 94) has happened in these auxiliary verbs. Interestingly, *taboor-* (BEN.HON) does not have its lexical counterpart. That is, it is not used to fill the lexical verb slot. If we want to mean 'give' with the honorific meaning, we may use an AVC where the lexical verb slot is filled by *kurɨr-* 'give' and the auxiliary verb slot is filled by *taboor-* (BEN.HON), e.g. /kuritɨ taboorɨ/ *kurɨr-tɨ taboor-ɨ* (give-SEQ BEN.HON-IMP) 'Would you please give (it for me)?'

9.1.1.4. Spatial deictic auxiliary verbs: *ik-* 'go,' *k-* 'come,' and *umoor-* (go/come.HON)

Yuwan has three spatial deictic auxiliary verbs: *ik-* 'go,' *k-* 'come,' and *umoor-* (go/come.HON). The example of *umoor-* (come.HON) was already shown in (8-27) in §8.3.1.2. I will present examples of *ik-* 'go' and *k-* 'come.'

(9-20) *ik-* 'go'

a.

TM:	kun	|nimocu|	muccjɨ	ikii.
	ku-n	*nimocu*	*mut-tɨ*	*ik-i*
	PROX-ADNZ	load	have-SEQ	go-INF
			Lex. verb	Aux. verb

‘(They) take this load.’ [lit. ‘(They) have this load and go.’]

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM:

uroo	|okazu|ja	...	muccjɨ	ikjan?
ura=ja	*okazu=ja*		*mut-tɨ*	*ik-an*
2.NHON.SG=TOP	side.dish=TOP		have-SEQ	go-NEG
			Lex. verb	Aux. verb

‘Don’t you take the side dish?’ [lit. ‘Don’t you have the side dish and go?’]

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

k- ‘come’

c. TM:

naa,	cjuutokara	mata	wunagunu	kʔwanu	|zitensja|
naa	*cjuuto=kara*	*mata*	*wunagu=nu*	*kʔwa=nu*	*zitensja*
FIL	middle=ABL	again	woman=GEN	child=NOM	bicycle

nutɨ	cʔjattuu,
nur-tɨ	*k-tar-tu*
ride-SEQ	come-PST-CSL
Lex. verb	Aux. verb

‘(At) the middle (of the film), a girl came riding a bicycle, and then ...’

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

d. [Context: An old man found gold under the ground, but he did not bring it home, so his wife was surprised to hear that.] = (6-55 c)

TM:

gan	jiccjan	mun	həəku	tutɨ
ga-n	*jiccj-sa+ar-n*	*mun*	*həə-ku*	*tur-tɨ*
MES-ADVZ	good-ADF+STV-PTCP	thing	early-ADVZ	take-SEQ
				Lex. verb

konboo,	cʔjun	tɨmɨrarɨɨdoocjɨ	jʔicjanmun,
k-on-boo	*cʔju=n*	*tɨmɨr-arɨr=doo*	*jʔ-tar-n=mun*
come-NEG-CND	person=DAT1	find-PASS.INF=ASS	say-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
Aux. verb			

‘(The wife) said, “If you don’t bring such a good thing, (it) will be found by another person,” but ...’

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (9-20 a-d), all of the *ik*- ‘go’ and *k*- ‘come’ fill the auxiliary verb slot. In fact, *ik*- ‘go’ and *k*- ‘come’ can fill the lexical verb slot, and their auxiliary uses do not show any morphophonemic reduction or semantic change. However, they can really fill the auxiliary verb slot. For example, in (9-20 b, d), the semantic scope of negation of *-an*/*-on* (NEG) includes the preceding lexical verbs (not only the auxiliary verbs), which means they are mono-clausal. In other words, *ik*- ‘go’ and *k*- ‘come’ are filling the auxiliary verb slots in the mono-clausal VPs.

Before concluding this section, I will present an example of the combination of two auxiliary verbs.

(9-21) *ik*- 'go' + *kurɨr*- (BEN)

TM:	muccjɨ	izjɨ	kurɨppa.
	mut-tɨ	*ik-tɨ*	*kurɨr-ba*
	have-SEQ	go-SEQ	BEN-CSL
	Lex. verb	Aux. verb	Aux. verb

'Please take (the lunch boxes).' [lit. 'Please have (the lunch boxes) and go (for me).']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above example shows that the spatial deictic auxiliary verb can precede the valency-changing auxiliary verb.

9.1.2. Light verb construction

The light verb construction (LVC) is composed of the light verb and its complement (plus an optional auxiliary verb) as in the following model.

(9-22) Light verb construction (LVC)

{Complement [Light verb (Auxiliary verb)]$_{VP}$}$_{\text{Verbal predicate phrase}}$

The LVC minimally consists of the light verb and its complement. Additionally, since the light verb fills the lexical verb slot of an VP, it may be followed by an auxiliary verb forming an auxiliary verb construction within the VP.

Yuwan has two kinds of light verbs, which are all semantically "light" and need thier complements. First, there is the light verb *sɨr*- 'do,' whose complement slot may be filled by NPs, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (see §9.1.2.1 for more details). The second light verb is *nar*- 'become,' whose complement slot is filled by NPs, adverbs, the participle that ends with *-an* (NEG), or the converbs that end with *-an-ba* (NEG-CSL) or *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) (see §9.1.2.2 for more details).

9.1.2.1. *sɨr*- 'do'

The verb *sɨr*- 'do' is semantically so "light" that it usually needs its complement to fill the predicate slot of a clause, unless it takes its own argument as in /denwaba sjui/ *denwa=ba sɨr-jur-i* (telephone=ACC do-UMRK-NPST) 'call [lit. do the telephone].' In fact, there is an example of *sɨr*- 'do' without any component as in (9-37) in §9.1.2.2, although it occured in elicitation.

The complement slot of *sɨr*- 'do' can be filled by the following components.

(9-23) Complements of *sɨr-* 'do' may be filled by,

a. common nouns;
b. infinitives;
c. the finite form *-oo* (INT) followed by *ccjɨ* (QT);
d. the converb *-tai* (LST);
e. the compound including *madəə* 'fail to';
f. demonstrative adverbs;
g. adverbs derived from adjectival stems;
h. adjectives;
i. the units followed by *nən* 'such as.'

With regard to (9-23 a), I will present examples where commoun nouns fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do.'

(9-24) Complements filled by common nouns

a. [Context: Speaking with MY about the present author]

TM:	|benkjoo|	sjun	cʔjunkjaccjɨboo,	gan
	benkjoo	*sɨr-jur-n*	*cʔju=nkja=ccjɨboo*	*ga-n*
	study	do-UMRK-PTCP	person=APPR=speaking.of	MES-ADVZ
	Complement	LV		Complement

sjɨ	sjutɨ,	|benkjoo|	sii	jappajaa.
sɨr-tɨ	*sɨr-jur-tɨ*	*benkjoo*	*sɨr-i*	*jar-ba=jaa*
do-SEQ	do-UMRK-SEQ	study	do-INF	COP-CSL=SOL
LV		Complement	LV	

'Speaking of a person who does studies, (the one) does studying like that, you know.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b.

TM:	|kokkei|	sjutɨ,	waroocja.
	kokkei	*sɨr-tur-tɨ*	*waraw-as-tar*
	funny	do-PROG-SEQ	laugh-CAUS-PST
	Complement	LV	

'(He) did funny things, and made (people) laugh.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [= (8-61 a)]

TM:	namanu	usi	sjurooga?
	nama=nu	*usi*	*sɨr-jur-oo=ga*
	now=GEN	cow	do-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3
		Complement	LV

'Now (someone) raises cows, doesn't he?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. [= (6-65 b)]

TM:	uroo	jaanantɨ	nusisjɨ	hanməə	sjɨ,	kamii?
	ura=ja	*jaa=nantɨ*	*nusi=sjɨ*	*hanməə*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*kam-i*
	2.NHON.SG=TOP	house=LOC2	RFL=INST	cooking	do-SEQ	eat-INF
				Complement	LV	

'You do cooking by yourself, and eat (the meal) at home?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (9-24 a-d), the common nouns *benkjoo* 'study,' *kokkei* 'funny (action),' *usi* 'cow,' and *hanməə* 'cooking' fill the complement slots of each example.

With regard to (9-23 b), the examples where the infinitive fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' are shown (see §8.4.4 for more details on the infinitive).

(9-25) Complements filled by the infinitive

a.

TM:	hainu	tubəə	sjunban,	janakɨsaccjɨn
	hai=nu	*tub-i=ja*	*sɨr-jur-n=ban*	*janakɨ-sa=ccjɨ=n*
	ash=NOM	fly-INF=TOP	do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS	dirty-ADJ=QT=even
		Complement	LV	

nuucjɨn	umuwanbajaa.	mukasjəə.
nuu=ccjɨ=n	*umuw-an-ba=jaa*	*mukasi=ja*
what=QT=even	think-NEG-CSL=SOL	past=TOP

'In the old days, the ash (of the cooking stove) was flying, but (I) didn't think of it as dirty.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b.

TM:	nuuga?	kurɨ	kurɨ.	kusarəə	sɨranba,
	nuu=ga	*ku-rɨ*	*ku-rɨ*	*kusarɨr-Ø=ja*	*sɨr-an-ba*
	what=FOC	PROX-NLZ	PROX-NLZ	rot-INF=TOP	do-NEG-CSL
				Complement	LV

jiccjaijo.
jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo
no.problem-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1

'What? This (one), this (one). (It) will not rot, so (it) is no problem (for you to bring it back).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. [= (6-49)]

TM: aikiga siikijanba.

aik-i=ga	*sɨr-i+kij-an-ba*
walk-INF=NOM	do-INF+CAP-NEG-CSL
Complement	LV

'(I) cannot walk [lit. do walking], so (I cannot bring the pickles from my house).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. TM:

waakjoo	iziga	sɨransjutɨ,
waakja=ja	*izir-i=ga*	*sɨr-an=sjutɨ*
1PL=TOP	go.out-INF=NOM	do-NEGSEQ
	Complement	LV

'(Since I was afraid of the American soldiers) I could not go out, and ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-25 a-b), the infinitives fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' In these LVCs, the lexical meanings of the verbs are topicalized by *ja* (TOP). In (9-25 c-d), the infinitives take the nominative case *ga*. Interestingly, both of the sentences in (9-25 c-d) mean (or imply) the incapability of the speaker, i.e. 'cannot walk' in (9-25 c) or 'could not go out' in (9-25 d), which is the same phenomenon discussed in §6.4.3.3 about the nominative case.

With regard to (9-23 c), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the finite form including *-oo* (INT) followed by *ccjɨ* (QT). The combination means 'be about to' as in (9-26).

(9-26) Complements filled by *-oo=ccjɨ* (INT=QT)

TM:

ikjoccjɨ	sjun	turooja	aran?
ik-oo=ccjɨ	*sɨr-tur-n*	*turoo=ja*	*ar-an*
go-INT=QT	do-PROG-PTCP	scene=TOP	COP-NEG
Complement	LV		

'(It is) a scene where (they) were about to go (somewhere), isn't (it)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

With regard to (9-23 d), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the converb that includes *-tai* (LST).

(9-27) Complements filled by the converbs that include *-tai* (LST)

a. [= (8-93 b)]

TM:

uba	(mm)	uziija	jukkadɨ	nubutai
u-rɨ=ba		*uzii=ja*	*jukkadɨ*	*nubur-tai*
MES-NLZ=ACC		old.man=TOP	continuously	climb-LST
				Complement

urɨtai	sjutɨ,	nasi	mutuii.

urɨr-tai	*sɨr-tur-tɨ*	*nasi*	*mur-tur-i*
decend-LST	do-PROG-SEQ	pear	pick.up-PROG-INF
Complement	LV		

'The old man kept climbing and decending it [i.e. the ladder], and was picking up the pears.'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. TM:

mata	..	uma	tʔakəi	izjai	cʔjai	sjattu,
mata		*u-ma*	*tʔakəi*	*ik-tai*	*k-tai*	*sɨr-tar-tu*
again		MES-place	two.time	go-LST	come-LST	do-PST-CSL
				Complement	Complement	LV

'Again, (the boys) went there and came (back) twice, and then ...'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

In (9-27 a-b), the converbs composed of *-tai* (LST) fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' Interestingly, *-tai* (LST) is often used in a sequence as in (9-27 a-b), although there is a case where it is used only once as in §8.4.3.3. In these examples, the converb composed of *-tai* (LST) does not seem to head its own adverbial clause. Rather, the converb composed of *-tai* (LST) seems to function as a simple adverb (cf. "converbs proper" in Nedjalkov 1995: 98). There is another converb that fills the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' as in (9-28).

(9-28) Complements filled by the converbs that include *-ganaa* (SIM)

TM: waakjoo,	naa,	sɨtɨganaa	sɨrattuppoo.
waakja=ja	*naa*	*sɨtɨr-Ø-ganaa*	*sɨr-ar-tur-boo*
1PL=TOP	FIL	throw.away-INF-SIM	do-PASS-PROG-CND

'I was being thrown away [i.e. was left to myself] (in those days).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In fact, the use of the *-ganaa* (SIM) in the LVC is found only in the cases where *-ganaa* (SIM) takes *sɨtɨr-* 'throw away.' In other words, *-ganaa* (SIM) is not as productive as *-tai* (LST) when used as complements of *sɨr-* 'do.' I propose that the combination of *sɨtɨr-Ø-ganaa* (throw.away-INF-SIM) and *sɨr-* 'do' is a kind of collocation.

With regard to (9-23 e), the compound that includes *madəə* 'fail to' can fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do.'

(9-29) Complement filled by the compound that includes *madəə* 'fail to'

TM: amakaci	ikjoocjɨ	umututanmun,
a-ma=kaci	*ik-oo=cjɨ*	*umuw-tur-tar-n=mun*

DIST-place=ALL	go-INT=QT	think-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
ikimadəə	sja.	
ik-i+madəə	*sɨr-tar*	
go-INF+fail.to	do-PST	
Complement	LV	

'(I) thought to go there, but couldn't go.'

[El: 121001]

With regard to (9-23 f), the examples where demonstrative adverbs fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' are shown.

(9-30) Complements filled by demonstrative adverbs

a. TM:

kan	sjɨ	hɨisai?
ka-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*hɨɨ-sa+ar-i*
PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	big-ADJ+STV-NPST
Complement	LV	

'Is (it) big like this?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM:

kan	sjan	munna	juwanbəidu
ka-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*mun=ja*	*juwan=bəi=du*
PROX-ADVZ	do-PST-PTCP	thing=TOP	Yuwan=only=FOC
Complement	LV		

atanmun.
ar-tar-n=mun
exist-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'Things like this were only in Yuwan.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (9-30 a-b), the demonstrative adverb *ka-n* (PROX-ADVZ) 'like this' fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' In fact, the LVC composed of the demonstrative adverb and *sɨr-* 'do' has come to function as a single adverb as in (9-30 a) or a single adnominal as in (9-30 b) (see §5.2.2 for more details).

With regard to (9-23 g), I will show the examples where the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do' are filled by the adverbs derived from adjectival stems.

(9-31) Complements filled by the adverbs derived from adjectival stems

a. TM: injainjaatu sjui.

inja+inja-tu	*sɨr-jur-i*
RED+small-ADVZ	do-UMRK-NPST
Complement	LV

'(It) is small.' [lit. '(It) does small.']

[El: 111116]

b. TM:

waawaatu	sjun	tukin	turanba.
waa+waa-tu	*sɨr-tur-n*	*tuki=n*	*tur-an-ba*
RED+young-ADVZ	do-PROG-PTCP	time=DAT1	take-NEG-CSL
Complement	LV		

'(You) should take (the vegetables) while (they) are green.'

[lit. 'If (you) don't take (the vegetables) while (they) are doing young, (they will become bad soon).]

[El: 111116]

With regard to (9-23 h), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the adjectives.

(9-32) Complements filled by the adjectives

a. TM:

cikjasa	sjutənhazɨjaa
cikja-sa	*sɨr-jur-təər-n=hazɨ=jaa*
close-ADJ	do-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=certainty=SOL
Complement	LV

'(They) must have been close [i.e. familiar] (to each other).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM:

nusinkjabəi	dujasa	(sɨ)	sɨppoo,	urɨ	janban,
nusi=nkja=bəi	*duja-sa*	*sɨr-*	*sɨr-boo*	*u-rɨ*	*jar-n=ban*
RFL=APPR=only	rich-ADJ	do	do-CND	MES-NLZ	COP-PTCP=ADVRS
	Complement		LV		

'If (people) are rich only themselves, (it) is that [i.e. not good], but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM:

wanga	uigicjasa	sjɨ?
wan=ga	*uig-i+cja-sa*	*sɨr-tɨ*
1SG=NOM	swim-INF+want-ADJ	do-SEQ
	Complement	LV

'Did I seem to want to swim?'

[El: 110914]

In (9-32 a-b), the (non-derived) adjectives fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' In (9-32 c), the complement slot is filled by the adjective derived from a verbal stem, i.e. *uig-i+cja-sa* (swim-INF+want-ADJ) 'want to

swim' (see also §4.3.8.2). If the complement of *sɨr-* 'do' is filled by *cja-sa* (want-ADJ), the LVC means that the subject seems to want to do the action indicated by the verbal stem as in (9-32 c). These formes that take *-sa* (ADJ) are adjectives, but they are used adverbially in these examples (see also §4.3.4 on the adverbial use of adjectives).

With regard to (9-23 i), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the units followed by *nən* 'such as' (see §10.4.4 for more details).

(9-33) TM: muru kjoodəənən sjɨ, sjɨ moojutattujaa.
muru kjoodəə=nən sɨr-tɨ sɨr-tɨ moor-jur-tar-tu=jaa
very brother=such.as do-SEQ do-SEQ HON-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
'(They) used to keep company with each other like they were brothers.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

It may be possible that the first /sjɨ/ is not the converb *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ) but the instrumental case *sjɨ*. In that case, /kjoodəə=nən=sjɨ/ (brother=such.as=INST) would be in the complement slot of the second /sjɨ/ (do.SEQ).

Before concluding this section, I will present the combinations of the LVC and the AVC.

(9-34) a. *sɨr-* 'do' fills the lexical verb slot of an AVC
TM: kakəə sjɨ mooranta.
kak-i=ja sɨr-tɨ moor-an-tar
write-INF=TOP do-SEQ HON-NEG-PST
{Complement [LV/Lex. Verb Aux. Verb]$_{AVC}$}$_{LVC}$
'(The person) did not write (it).'
[El: 121010]

b. AVC fills the complement slot of LVC
TM: kacjɨ mooija sɨranta.
kak-tɨ moor-i=ja sɨr-an-tar
write-SEQ HON-INF=TOP do-NEG-PST
{[Lex. Verb Aux. Verb]$_{Complement}$ LV}$_{LVC}$
'(The person) did not write (it).'
[El: 121010]

In (9-34 a-b), they use the same set of the verbal roots, i.e. *kak-* 'write,' *sɨr-* 'do,' and *moor-* (HON). In (9-34 a), *kak-* 'write' becomes the infinitive filling the complement slot, and the light verb *sɨr-* 'do' fills the lexical verb slot, which is followed by the auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON). In (9-34 b), *kak-* 'write' and *moor-* (HON) forms an AVC, and it fills the complement slot of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do.' There seems to be little semantic difference between them. In the texts, however, the latter combination, where AVC fills the complement slot

of LVC, is preferred as in (9-35 a-b).

(9-35) AVCs fill the complement slots of LVCs

a. TM: naa, hinzjaaba succjun cʔjoo hinzjaa
naa hinzjaa=ba sukk-tur-n cʔju=ja hinzjaa
FIL goat=ACC pull-PROG-PTCP person=TOP goat
succjɨ ikibəidu sjattoo.
sukk-tɨ ik-i=bəi=du sɨr-tar=doo
pull-SEQ go-INF=only=FOC do-PST=ASS
[Lex. Verb Aux. Verb]$_{\text{AVC (=Complement)}}$ LV
'The person who was pulling the goat (actually) pulled the goat and went (out).'
[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. TM: kurəə |reizooko|nandu ɨrɨtəə aija
ku-rɨ=ja reizooko=nan=du ɨrɨr-tɨ=ja ar-i=ja
PROX-NLZ=TOP fridge=LOC1=FOC put.in-SEQ=TOP RSL-INF=TOP
[Lex. Verb Aux. Verb]$_{\text{AVC (=Complement)}}$
sjutanban,
sɨr-tur-tar-n=ban
do-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
LV
'Although this has been put in the fridge, ...'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (9-35 a), the AVC composed of the lexical verb *sukk-* 'pull' and the auxiliary verb *ik-* 'go' fills the complement slot. The AVC is nominalized by *-i* (INF) and modifies *sɨr-* 'do.' In (9-35 b), the AVC composed of the lexical verb *ɨrɨr-* 'put in' and the auxiliary verb *ar-* (RSL) fills the complement slot. The AVC is also nominalized by *-i* (INF) and modifies *sɨr-* 'do.'

9.1.2.2. *nar-* 'become'

The light verb *nar-* 'become' usually means a change of state, and the result of change is expressed in the complement slot. The complement slot is filled by an NP, an adverb, or a participle that ends with *-an* (NEG). First, I will present the exmaples where NPs fill the complement slots of *nar-* 'become.'

(9-36) Complements filled by NPs

a. TM: naa huccju natəəroo, jiccjancjɨ,

naa	*huccju*	*nar-təəra=ja*	*jiccj-sa+ar-n=ccjɨ*
FIL	old.person	become-after=TOP	not.mind-ADJ+STV-PTCP=QT
	Complement	LV	

xxx	cjɨ	umujui.
	=ccjɨ	*umuw-jur-i*
	QT	think-UMRK-NPST

'(I) think that after (I) became old (I) didn't mind.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM:

ujankjatu	akka	ziisantaatuga
uja=nkja=tu	*a-rɨ=ga*	*ziisan-taa=tu=ga*
parent=APPR=COM	DIST-NLZ=GEN	grandfather-PL=COM=NOM

|itoko|	najuncjɨ.
itoko	*nar-jur-n=ccjɨ*
cousin	correspond-UMRK-PTCP=QT
Complement	LV

'(She said) that (her) parents and that person's grandfather are cousins.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM:

amankjo	hamadu	natutattujaa.
a-ma=nkja=ja	*hama=du*	*nar-tur-tar-tu=jaa*
DIST-place=APPR=TOP	beach=FOC	become-PROG-PST-CSL=SOL
	Complement	LV

'That place was a beach (in those days).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. TM:

|zjuunizi|	natəəra,	mukkoocjɨkai?
zjuunizi	*nar-təəra*	*mukk-oo=ccjɨ=kai*
twelve.o'clock	become-after	bring-INT=QT=DUB
Complement	LV	

'(Does she think) that (she will) bring (the lunch) after (it) becomes twelve o'clock?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In these examples, the complement slots of the light verb *nar-* 'become' are filled by NPs, i.e. *huccju* 'old person,' *itoko* 'cousin,' *hama* 'beach,' and *zjuunizi* 'twelve o'clock.' The complement NP is sometimes followed by *du* (FOC) as in (9-36 c). Sometimes, *nar-* has a meaning similar to the copula (or "proper inclusion") (Payne 1997: 114) if the complement is a term to express the relation of relatives, e.g. *itoko* 'cousin' as in (9-36 b). Additionally, there is a case where *nar-* can mean a temporary state when it takes *-tur* (PROG) as in (9-36 c) (see aslo (8-136) in §8.6.1.5). Thus, one may think that *nar-* 'become' in (9-36 a-d) fills the copula verb slot in the nominal predicate phrase. However, I do not accept this analysis, since there is a syntactic difference between *nar-* 'become' and the copula verb *ar-*.

(9-37) Difference between *nar-* 'become' and *ar-* (COP)

Verbal predicate phrase (LVC of *nar-* 'become')

a. TM: *wanna sinsjeiga/nu naranba, sɨrandoo.

wan=ja sinsjei=ga/nu nar-an-ba sɨr-an=doo

1SG=TOP teacher=NOM become-NEG-CSL do-NEG=ASS

[Complement LV]$_{VP}$

[Intended meaning] 'I will not become a teacher, so (I) won't do (the hard studying).'

[El: 130822]

b. TM: wanna sinsjeija naranba, sɨrandoo.

wan=ja sinsjei=ja nar-an-ba sɨr-an=doo

1SG=TOP teacher=TOP become-NEG-CSL do-NEG=ASS

[Complement LV]$_{VP}$

'I will not become a teacher, so (I) won't do (the hard studying).'

[El: 130822]

Nominal predicate phrase

c. TM: wanna sinsjeiga aranba, sijandoo

wan=ja sinsjei=ga ar-an-ba sij-an=doo

1SG=TOP teacher=NOM COP-NEG-CSL know-NEG=ASS

[NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$

'I am not a teacher, so (I) don't know (it).'

[El: 140227]

The NP in the predicate (not the subject NP) of the subordinate clause in negative takes the nominative case as in (9-37 c) (see §9.3.3.1 for more details). On the contrary, the NP that precedes *nar-* 'become' cannot take the nominative case in the same environment as in (9-37 a). In that case, the NP takes the topic marker *ja* as in (9-37 b). Thus, I propose that *nar-* 'become' is different from the copula verb in Yuwan.

Next, I will present the exmaples where adverbs fill the complement slots of *nar-* 'become.'

(9-38) Complements filled by adverbs

a. TM: jiciku natancjɨjo.

jiciku nar-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo

well become-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1

Complement LV

'(You) became well.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: kʔuruguruutu natajaa.

k'uru+k'uru-tu	*nar-tar=jaa*
RED+black-ADVZ	become-PST=SOL
Complement	LV

'(You) became black [i.e. tanned].'

[El: 111116]

In (9-38 a-b), the adverbs in the complement slots, i.e. *jiciku* 'well' and /kuruguruutu/ *k'uru+k'uru-tu* (RED+black-ADVZ), mean the result of changes.

Finally, the complement slot of *nar-* 'become' may be filled by the participiple that ends with *-an* (NEG). These LVCs experss that someone (or something) has come into a state not to do (or not to be) a certain thing as in (9-39 a-d).

(9-39) Complements filled by the participiple that ends with *-an* (NEG)

a. [Context: Rembering a person who kindly copied music tapes for everyone]

TM:	arɨ	siicjagɨsan	c'junkjaga
	a-rɨ	*sɨr-i-cjagɨ-sa+ar-n*	*c'ju=nkja=ga*
	DIST-NLZ	do-INF-seem-ADJ+STV-PTCP	person=APPR=NOM

c'juin	umooran	natattujaa.
c'jui=n	*umoor-an*	*nar-tar-tu=jaa*
one.person=even	exist.HON-NEG	become-PST-CSL=SOL
	Complement	LV

'There are no people who are likely to do that [i.e. recording].'

[lit. 'People who are likely to do that became not to exist.']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at the scene of funeral]

TM:	|saikin|doojaa.	|moo|	(kurɨ,)	kurɨnu
	saikin=doo=jaa	*moo*	*ku-rɨ*	*ku-rɨ=nu*
	recent=ASS=SOL	already	PROX-NLZ	PROX-NLZ=NOM

nən	najun	|koro|doojaa.
nə-an	*nar-jur-n*	*koro=doo=jaa*
exist-NEG	become-UMRK-PTCP	time=ASS=SOL
Complement	LV	

'(The scene) is the recent one. (It) is the time when this [i.e. a style of funeral] ceased to be done [lit. becomes not to exist].'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. TM: ujahuzinkjanu wuran natəəroo, (ujan) ...

ujahuzi=nkja=nu	*wur-an*	*nar-təəra=ja*	*uja=n*
ancestor=APPR=NOM	exist-NEG	become-after=TOP	parent=also
	Complement	LV	

huccjunkjanu	wuran	nappoo,
huccju=nkja=nu	*wur-an*	*nar-boo*
old.person=APPR=NOM	exist-NEG	become-CND
	Complement	LV

'When there are no longer ancestors, (and) if there are no old people, ...'

[lit. 'After ancestors become not to exist, (and) if old people become not to exist, ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. TM:

naa,	|cue|	cɨkan	natattu.
naa	*cue*	*cɨk-an*	*nar-tar-tu*
FIL	stick	carry-NEG	become-PST-CSL
		Complement	LV

'(You) walk without a stick (these days).' [lit. '(You) became not to carry a stick.']

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (9-39 c), the subjects have the nominative case *nu* (not *ga*), which is another reason why I do not think that *nar-* 'become' is different from the copula verb in the nominal predicate. If it was a copula in the nominal predicate, the subject must take the nominative case *ga* (not *nu*) (see §6.4.3.2 for more details).

Before concluding this section, I will present examples where *nar-* 'become' seems to be used without its complement as in (9-40 a-b).

(9-40) a. *nar-* 'become' with the converb that ends with *-an-ba* (NEG-CSL)

TM:

jazin	kurɨsjɨ	kajuwanba,	narandarooga.
jazin	*ku-rɨ=sjɨ*	*kajuw-an-ba*	*nar-an=daroo=ga*
necessarily	PROX-NLZ=INST	go.often-NEG-CSL	become-NEG=SUPP=CFM3

'(We) had to go often (to the hospital) by this [i.e. a ship].'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. *nar-* 'become' with the converb that ends with *-an-boo* (NEG-CND)

TM:

waasan	ucjəə,	ganba,	hatarakanboo,
waa-sa+ar-n	*uci=ja*	*ganba*	*hatarak-an-boo*
young-ADJ+STV-PTCP	during=TOP	therefore	work-NEG-CND

naranbajaa.
nar-an-ba=jaa
become-NEG-CSL=SOL

'While (one) is young, (one) has to work.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Different from the preceding examples, *nar-* in (9-40 a-b) do not seem to express the change of state. Rather it expresses the meaning of obligation with the preceding adverbial clause that is headed by converbs including *-an-ba* (NEG-CSL) or *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) (see also §11.2.4 for more details).

9.2. Adjectival predicate phrase

The adjectival predicate phrase has the following structure.

(9-41) Structure of the adjectival predicate phrase

[A (STV)]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$

An adjectival predicate phrase always include an adjective ("A"). An adjective always takes the adjectival inflectional affixes *-sa* or *-soo* (see also §4.3.4), and the adjective cannot take affixes that can express time or aspect. The information about tense or aspect may be expressed by the stative verbs *ar-* or *nə-* ("STV") that follow the adjective (see §8.3.4). Basically, *ar-* (STV) co-occurs with an adjective that ends with *-sa* (ADJ), and *nə-* (STV) co-occurs with an adjective that ends with *-soo* (ADJ). In AVC or LVC, *ar-* (STV) can also co-occur with *-soo* (ADJ) (see §9.2.2.3).

In the following sections, I will present examples where the adjectives alone (without the stative verbs) fill the predicate phrase (see §9.2.1). Next, I will present examples where the adjectives and the stative verbs *ar-* together fill the predicate phrase (see §9.2.2). Finally, I will present examples where the adjectives and the stative verbs *nə-* together fill the predicate phrase (see §9.2.3).

(9-42) Three possible combinations in the adjectival predicate phrase

a. Without stative verbs

[Adjectival root + *-sa*/*-soo* (ADJ)]$_{\text{Adjective}}$ (see §9.2.1)

b. With *ar-* (STV)

[Adjectival root + *-sa*/*-soo* (ADJ)]$_{\text{Adjective}}$ + *ar-* (STV) (see §9.2.2)

c. With *nə-* (STV)

[Adjectival root + *-soo* (ADJ)]$_{\text{Adjective}}$ + *nə-* (STV) (see §9.2.3)

The form in (9-42 a) is always used in affirmative, and the form in (9-42 b) is basically used in affirmative too (with the exception of AVC). The form in (9-42 c) is always used in negative.

9.2.1. Adjectives alone in the predicate phrase

An adjective that takes *-sa* (ADJ) or *-soo* (ADJ) can fill the predicate phrase without a stative verb, where the polarity is always affirmative. In this case, *-sa* (ADJ) is more productive than *-soo* (ADJ) as in the following examples.

(9-43) Adjectives ending with *-sa* (ADJ)

a. TM: kjuu sinbunnan nutuppaga utumarasja.
kjuu sinbun=nan nur-tur-ba=ga utumarasj-sa
today newspaper=LOC1 appear-PROG-CSL=FOC feel.strange-ADJ
'Since (the person) appeared in the newspaper today, (I) feel strange.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a picture taken in the old days]
TM: nozomutaa namanu an wunagunu kʔwan
nozomu-taa nama=nu a-n wunagu=nu kʔwa=n
Nozomu-PL now=GEN DIST-ADNZ woman=GEN child=DAT1
nissja.
nissj-sa
similar-ADJ
'Nozomu is similar to the girl [i.e. Nozomu's daughter] (who lives) now.'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. [= (4-50 a)]
TM: agɨɨ, nacɨkasja.
agɨ nacɨkasj-sa
oh familiar-ADJ
'(I) miss them (on the picture).'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. [= (8-104 a)]
TM: naa, mutunu kutunkjagadəə sijantɨn,
naa mutu=nu kutu=nkja=gadɨ=ja sij-an-tɨ=n
FIL origin=GEN event=APPR=LMT=TOP know-NEG-SEQ=even
jiccjaccjɨdu juuba.
jiccj-sa=ccjɨ=du jʔ-ba
no.problem-ADJ=QT=FOC say-CSL
'(Younger people) say that, "(There) is no problem, even if (we) don't know about the old events."'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

e. [Context: Remembering a silk mill that was used to be in Yuwan]
TM: urɨnu, warabɨ sjuinnja, mɨzɨrasjacjɨ
u-rɨ=nu warabɨ sɨr-tur-i=n=ja mɨzɨrasj-sa=ccjɨ
MES-NLZ=NOM child do-PROG-INF=DAT1=TOP rare-ADJ=QT
miigjaa ikuboo,

mj-i+gja *ik-boo*
see-INF+PURP go-CND
'When (I) was a child [lit. was doing a child], (I thought) that (it was) rare, and went to see (the way of silk reeling), and then ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

f. TM: cikɨmununkjoo, gan utussja, naa, ippai, naa,
cikɨmun=nkja=ja *ga-n* *utussj-sa* *naa* *ippai* *naa*
pickle=APPR=TOP MES-ADVZ fearful-ADJ FIL much FIL
cikɨjutanban,
cikɨr-jur-tar-n=ban
pickle-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'About pickles, oh my god, (I) used to pickle (them) very much, but ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Adjectives ending with *-soo* (ADJ)

g. TM: kʔwasinu hɨisoo.
kʔwasi=nu *hɨi-soo*
snack=NOM big-ADJ
'The snack (is) big.'

[El: 120914]

h. [= (4-50 b)]
TM: agɨi! wuganduusoo.
agɨ *wuganduu-soo*
oh not.see.for.a.long.time-ADJ
'Oh! (I) haven't seen (you) for a long time.'

[El: 120912]

In (9-43 a-c), the adjectives terminate the sentences. In (9-43 d-e), the adjectives terminate the clauses that express the direct reported speech with the quotative marker *ccjɨ*. The example in (9-43 f) express an interesting use of the adjectival predicate phrase. The combination of *ga-n* (MES-ADVZ) and *utussj-sa* (fearful-ADJ) functions as a kind of interjection as a whole, which is tentatively translated into 'oh my god' in this example.

Furthermore, adjectives that end with *-sa* (ADJ) without a stative verb, may be followed by the stentence-final particle *jaa* (SOL), the conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL), or the limitter particle *gadɨ* (LMT) as in (9-44).

(9-44) With *jaa* (SOL)

a. TM: takesitu nissjajaa.

takesi=tu *nissj-sa=jaa*
Takeshi=COM similar-ADJ=SOL
'(He) is similar to Takeshi, (don't you think ?)'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: |iro|nu kjurasajaa.
iro=nu *kjura-sa=jaa*
color=NOM beautiful-ADJ=SOL
'The color is beautiful, (don't you think?)'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

With *nu* (CSL)

c. TM: waakjoo utussjanu, aicjɨn njanta.
waakja=ja *utussj-sa=nu* *aik-tɨ=n* *nj-an-tar*
1PL=TOP fearful-ADJ=CSL walk-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG-PST
'I was fearful (of the American soldiers), so I did not walk (around).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. TM: |suiziba|nkjaga kjurasanu, (umoo)
suiziba=nkja=ga *kjura-sa=nu* *u-ma=ja*
kitchen=APPR=NOM beautiful-ADJ=CSL MES-place=TOP
umoo isigakinu cɨmattutattujaa.
u-ma=ja *isigaki=nu* *cɨm-ar-tur-tar-tu=jaa*
MES-place=TOP stone.fence=NOM pile-PASS-PROG-PST-CSL=SOL
'The kitchen is beautiful, and the stone (for the) fence had been piled there.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. [Context: Talking about the fireplace that was set in the speaker's old house]
TM: hujunkjoo jiccjanu.
huju=nkja=ja *jiccj-sa=nu*
clothes=APPR=TOP good-ADJ=CSL
'(The fireplace was) good in winter.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

f. TM: agaraa munna kisjoonu cjussanu.
aga-raa *mun=ja* *kisjoo=nu* *cjuss-sa=nu*
DIST-DRG person=TOP temper=NOM strong-ADJ=CSL
'That awful person (was) stubborn.' [lit. 'About that awful person the temper is strong.']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

With *gadɨ* (LMT)

g. [Context: Talking about a butterfly that is similar to the moth] = (5-28 a)

TM:	ariga	nissjagadɨ.	ganbəi	sjɨ
	a-rɨ=ga	*nissj-sa=gadɨ*	*ga-n=bəi*	*sɨr-tɨ*
	DIST-NLZ=NOM	similar-ADJ=LMT	MES-ADVZ=about	do-SEQ
	kucjəə	tugaracjɨ,		
	kuci=ja	*tugaras-tɨ*		
	mouth=TOP	pout-SEQ		

'That one is very similar (to the moth). (The size is) about this, and it pouted, and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (9-44 a-b), *jaa* (SOL) is used to request the hearer's agreement about the speaker's assertion. The conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL) expresses causal meaning as in (9-44 c). It sometimes expresses a meaning such as 'and (then)' as in (9-44 d). In (9-44 g), *gadɨ* (LMT) seems to express a little emphasis on the adjective (see chapter 10 about the functions of each particle).

9.2.2. Adjective and the stative verb *ar-* in the predicate phrase

The stative verb *ar-* basically follows an adjective that ends with *-sa* (ADJ), where the polarity is always affirmative. However, if *ar-* (STV) fills the lexical verb slot of an AVC in negative, it can follow an adjective that ends with *-soo* (ADJ).

The stative verb *ar-* is required when the predicate wants to express one of the functions indicated by verbal inflectional affixes, e.g. *-tɨ* (SEQ), *-ba* (CSL), or *-i* (NPST), or some particles, e.g. *na* (PLQ) or *doo* (ASS) (see also §9.4.1). In some conditions, the stative verb *ar-* is contracted with the preceding adjectives, where the combination of *-sa* (ADJ) and *ar-* (STV) becomes /sar/ (not /saar/). This contraction occurs when *ar-* (STV) takes *-i* (NPST) or *-n* (PTCP).

In the following subsections, I will present examples where the contraction between the adjectives and *ar-* (STV) does not occur in §9.2.2.1. Next, I will present examples where the contraction occurs in §9.2.2.2. Lastly, I will present examples where adjectival predicate phrases occur in AVC or LVC in §9.2.2.3.

9.2.2.1. Non-contracted forms

An adjective that ends with *-sa* (ADJ) is followed by *ar-* (STV) when the predicate wants to express the functions indicated by verbal inflectional affixes (with the exception where the stative verb takes the negative affixes, which will be discussed in §9.2.3).

(9-45) The combinations of the adjectives and *ar-* (STV)

ar- (STV) with *-tɨ* (SEQ)

a.	TM:	waakjaa	cʔjantaaja	kuriga	nagasa	atɨ,
		waakja-a	*cʔjan-taa=ja*	*ku-rɨ=ga*	*naga-sa*	*ar-tɨ*
		1PL-ADNZ	father-PL=TOP	PROX-NLZ=NOM	long-ADJ	STV-SEQ

'My father was tall, and ...'

[lit. 'About my father, this [i.e. height] was very tall, and ...']

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: naa, kuriga taasa ati,

naa ku-ri=ga taa-sa ar-ti

FIL PROX-NLZ=NOM tall-ADJ STV-SEQ

'My father was tall, and ...'

[lit. 'About my father, this [i.e. height] was very tall, and ...']

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

ar- (STV) with *-ba* (CSL)

c. TM: arijojukkumoo hiisa appajaa.

arijo=jukkuma=ja hii-sa ar-ba=jaa

Ario=CMP=TOP big-ADJ STV-CSL=SOL

'(The wild boar) is bigger than Ario, so (it must be a big one).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. TM: aran. |mou|, wanna jiccja appa.

ar-an mou wan=ja jiccj-sa ar-ba

COP-NEG FIL 1SG=TOP no.problem-ADJ STV-CSL

'No. I'm OK.'

[lit. 'No. About me, (there is) no problem (about the quantity of the meal), so (I don't need more).']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

ar- (STV) with *-u* (PFC)

e. TM: tattankjaa kʔumittagamarasja aru?

ta-ru-taa=nkja kʔumitta+kamarasj-sa ar-u

who-NLZ-PL=APPR attentive+fussy-ADJ STV-PFC

'Who is fussy?'

[El: 120914]

ar- (STV) with *-tar* (PST)

f. TM: nobuariga mm kiga sjun tukininkjoo

nobuari=ga kiga sir-tur-n tuki=n=nkja=ja

Nobuari=NOM injury do-PROG-PTCP time=DAT1=APPR=TOP

huntoo kuwasa ata.

huntoo kuwa-sa ar-tar

really hard-ADJ STV-PST

'When Nobuari was suffering injuries, (it) was really hard (for me).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

ar- (STV) with *-oo* (SUPP)

g. TM: naciɨkasja aroga.[64]

naciɨkasj-sa *ar-oo=ga*

familiar-ADJ STV-SUPP=CFM3

'(The song) is familiar (to you, isn't it?)'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above examples, the adjectives that end with *-sa* (ADJ) are followed by the stative verb *ar-*, which takes several inflectional affixes.

9.2.2.2. Contracted forms

If *ar-* (STV) takes *-i* (NPST) or *-n* (PTCP), the *ar-* (STV) is contracted with the preceding adjectives, e.g. *-sa* (ADJ) + *ar-* (STV) > /sar/ (not /saar/).[65] I will present examples below, where the original word boundary between the adjective and the stative verb is expressed by "+" in the underlying level.

(9-46) *ar-* (STV) with *-i* (NPST)

a. [= (7-25 b)]

TM: |cjoodo mikan|nu (kun) kun huukkwanu

cjoodo *mikan=nu* *ku-n* *ku-n* *huu-kkwa=nu*

just mikan=GEN PROX-ADNZ PROX-ADNZ piece-DIM=GEN

tʔɨɨ kamboo, xxx jiccjai.

tʔɨɨ *kam-boo* *jiccj-sa+ar-i*

one.thing eat-CND good-ADJ+STV-NPST

'If (I) eat just a piece of this mikan, (it) is good [i.e. sufficient] (for me).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. TM: kan sjɨnkja hanasinkja zjoozɨnu

ka-n *sɨr-tɨ=nkja* *hanasi=nkja* *zjoozɨ=nu*

PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ=APPR talking=APPR good=GEN

cʔjunkjoo jiccjaijoo.

cʔju=nkja=ja *jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo*

person=APPR=TOP good-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1

'The people who are good at talking like this are good.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: |cjotto| sɨppoo, (kazɨ hikija) .. kazɨ

[64] It is rare but *-oo* (SUPP) becomes /o/ before *ga* (CFM3) in this example.

[65] Niinaga (2010: 71) described that *-oo* (SUPP) also makes the contraction. However, a further investigation proved that it is not correct as in (9-45 g) in §9.2.2.1.

cjotto *sɨr-boo* *kazɨ* *hik-i-jass* *kazɨ*
a.little do-CND cold catch-INF-easy cold
hikijassai.
hik-i-jass-sa+ar-i
catch-INF-easy-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(I) tend to catch a cold (with) a little (walking around).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. TM: |iciban| dujasai.
iciban *duja-sa+ar-i*
most rich-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(He) is the richest.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

e. TM: |dɨisaabisu|nkjoo jasumjun tukiga
dɨisaabisu=nkja=ja *jasum-jur-n* *tuki=ga*
day.care=APPR=TOP not.attend-UMRK-PTCP time=NOM
huusai.
huu-sa+ar-i
many-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(I) often don't go to the daycare center.'
[lit. 'The time when (I) do not attend the daycare (center) is many.']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

ar- (STV) with *-n* (PTCP)

f. TM: jaa, nacɨkasjan nɨntəəbəi zja.
jaa *nacɨkasj-sa+ar-n* *nɨntəə=bəi* *zjar*
FIL familiar-ADJ+STV-PTCP people=only COP
'(They) are all familiar (to me).' [lit. '(They) are people who are all familiar (to me).']

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

g. TM: waasan tuzituunu wutɨ,
waa-sa+ar-n *tuzituu=nu* *wur-tɨ*
young-ADJ+STV-PTCP couple=NOM exist-SEQ
'There is a young couple.'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

h. [Context: Talking about Wase-unshū, i.e. a kind of orange; TM: '(We usually) eat (the oranges) around September.']
TM: nama haanu awusan ucin, tutɨ,
nama *haa=nu* *awu-sa+ar-n* *uci=n* *tur-tɨ*
still leaf=NOM green-ADJ+STV-PTCP during=DAT1 take-SEQ

	kam	jappa.
	kam-Ø	*jar-ba*
	eat-INF	COP-CSL

'(We) took (the oranges) while the leaves were still green, and eat (them).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

i. TM:

an,	hɨisan	noogin	muccjɨ,
a-n	*hɨi-sa+ar-n*	*noogi=n*	*mukk-tɨ*
DIST-ADNZ	big-ADJ+STV-PTCP	saw=also	bring-SEQ

'Bringing that big saw, (they went to the mountain to cut a tree for the coffin).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In the above examples, the adjectives and the stative verb are contracted. This morphophonological phenomenon indicates that they are in the same phonological unit. Thus, I used the plus sign "+" to indicate their unity, although the sign is normally used to inidicate the boundary between the stems in the compounds in this grammar (cf. §4.2.3).

9.2.2.3. AVC or LVC with the adjectival predicate phrase

The stative verb *ar-* fills the initial slot of the VP. Therefore, it may be followed by the auxiliary verb as in (9-47 a-b). "APP" in the following examples indicate the "adjectival predicate phrase."

(9-47) AVC in the adjectival predicate phrase

a. [= (8-48)]

TM:

an	cʔjoo	dujasoo	atɨ	mooran.jaa.
a-n	*cʔju=ja*	*duja-soo*	*ar-tɨ*	*moor-an=jaa*
DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	{rich-ADJ	[STV-SEQ	HON-NEG]}=SOL
		{A	[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{AVC}$}$_{APP}$

'That person is not rich, you know.'

[El: 130820]

b. TM:

urakjoo	ziisantaaga	dujasa	atɨ
urakja=ja	*ziisan-taa=ga*	*duja-sa*	*ar-tɨ*
2.NHON.PL=TOP	grandfather-PL=NOM	{rich-ADJ	[STV-SEQ
		{A	[Lex. Verb/STV

moocjɨ,
moor-tɨ
HON-SEQ]}
Aug. Verb]$_{AVC}$}$_{APP}$

'You have a rich grandfather, and ...' [lit. 'About you, the grandfather was rich, and ...']

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (9-47 a), the adjective takes *-soo* (ADJ) since the predicate is in negative. In (9-47 b), the adjective takes *-sa* (ADJ) since the predicate is in affirmative. In both of the examples, the stative verb is *ar-* (STV), which fills the lexical verb slot in AVC with the auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON).

There is also an example where the adjectival predicate phrase fills the complement slot of an LVC as in (9-48).

(9-48) Adjectival predicate phrase in the complement slot of an LVC [= (8-111 c)]

TM:	makanəicjasoo	aija	sjunban,
	makanaw-i+cja-soo	*ar-i=ja*	*sɨr-jur-n=ban*
	{[give.a.feast-ING+want-ADJ	STV-INF=TOP]	[do-UMRK-PTCP]}=ADVRS
	{[Complement]		[LV]}$_{\text{LVC}}$

'(I) want to give a feast (to the present author), but ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

The adjective in the complement slot of LVC always takes *-soo* (ADJ).

9.2.3. Adjective and the stative verb *nə-* in the predicate phrase

The stative verb *nə-* (STV), which always takes a negative affix, always follows an adjective that ends with *-soo* (ADJ) as in (9-49 a-c).

(9-49) The combinations of the adjectives and *nə-* (STV)

a. [Context: Talking about the wooden beams of MS's house; MS: '(The wooden beams of my house) haven't become as black as those (of your house), you know.'] = (4-11 b)

TM:	kˀurusoo	nəndarooga.
	kˀuru-soo	*nə-an=daroo=ga*
	black-ADJ	STV-NEG=SUPP=CFM3

'(Those) are not black, right?'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [= (4-50 d)]

TM:	juwasoo	nən?
	juwa-soo	*nə-an*
	hungry-ADJ	STV-NEG

'Aren't (you) hungry?'

[El: 120926]

c. [= (8-49 b)]

TM:	an	kasoo	kʔurusoo	nəəzɨi?
	a-n	*kasa=ja*	*kʔuru-soo*	*nə-azɨi*
	DIST-ADNZ	hat=TOP	black-ADJ	STV-NEG.PLQ

'Isn't that hat black?'

[El: 111118]

In the above examples, the adjectives that end with *-soo* (ADJ) are followed by the stative verb *nə-*, which takes negative affixes such as *-an* (NEG) as in (9-49 a-b) or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (9-49 c).

If an adjective is followed by *nə-* (STV), it can also take *-k*(*k*)*oo* (ADJ) as in (9-50 a-b), but such cases are very rare.

(9-50) *-k*(*k*)*oo* (ADJ) + *nə-* (STV)

a.

TM:	naa	ikicjakoo	nən.
	naa	*ik-i+cja-koo*	*nə-an*
	yet	go-INF+want-ADJ	STV-NEG

'(I) don't want to go yet.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	hankəəcjakkoo	nənmun,	hankəəmai	zjajaa.
	hankəər-Ø+cja-kkoo	*nə-an=mun*	*hankəə-Ø+mai*	*zjar=jaa*
	tumble-INF+want-ADJ	STV-NEG=ADVRS	tumble-INF+OBL	COP=SOL

'(I) don't want to tumble, but will have to tumble (for the play).'

[El: 110917]

9.3. Nominal predicate phrase

The nominal predecate phrase has the following structure.

(9-51) Structure of the nominal predicate phrase

[NP (COP)]$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$

A nominal predicate phrase is filled by an NP. The NP can be followed by a copular verb ("COP"), i.e. *jar-*, *ar-*, *nar-*, or *zjar-* (see §8.3.3). In addition, the head of the nominal predicate phrase may be filled by an adnominal clause, or an adverbial clause that takes *-tɨ* (SEQ). In the above structure, the head of the nominal predicate phrase is regarded as the NP (not as the copula verb), which will be discussed in §9.4.3 in detail. A copular verb fills the initial lexical verb slot in the VP. Therefore, it may be followed by an auxiliary verb (see (8-43) in §8.3.3.4). In principle, the copula verb always follows an NP in the predicate. However, the copula form *ar-an* (COP-NEG) 'No' can be uttered only by itself as a negative reply to a polar question (see (8-40) in

§8.3.3.3).

In the following sections, I will present the ordinary examples of the nominal predicate phrases in §9.3.1. Next, in §9.3.2, I will present examples where the head of the nominal predicate phrase may be filled by two types of subordinate clauses, i.e. the adnominal clause or the adverbial clause whose head verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ). Finally, in §9.3.3, I will present examples where the predicate phrases are filled by the extended NPs, which are NPs that take case particles (see also chapter 6 for the NP).

9.3.1. Basic structure

The main points of the nominal predicate phrase were already shown in §4.1.3.3. I will pick up some of them again and add another piece of information in this section. First, the nominal predicate can be filled by only an NP (not followed by the copula verb) as in (9-52).

(9-52) Predicate filled by only an NP

TM:	kurəə	jukimasa.
	ku-rɨ=ja	*jukimasa*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	Yukimasa
	Subject	[NP]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'This one is Yukimasa.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-52), the nominal predicate phrase is filled only by the NP *jukimasa* 'Yukimasa.' Additionally, the nominal predicate phrase can be filled by an NP and a copula verb as in (9-53).

(9-53) Predicate filled by an NP and a copula verb

TM:	zjenbuga	asɨbizjaa	jatattujaa.
	zjenbu=ga	*asɨb-i+zjaa*	*jar-tar-tu=jaa*
	all=NOM	play-INF+place	COP-PST-CSL=SOL
	Subject	[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'All (of the places) were playgrounds [lit. place to play].'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (9-53), the nominal predicate phrase is filled by the NP *asɨb-i+zjaa* 'playground' and the copula verb *jar-*. In affirmative, the NPs in the predicate phrase do not take any particle in the main clauses. However, if the predicate in the main clause is in negative, the NP (in the predicate phrase) always takes the topic particle *ja*, and the following copula verb is always *ar-* (COP) as in (9-54) (except for the cases in §9.3.3.1). In (9-54), the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) is in negative, and the preceding NP (in the predicate phrase) *jasuu* 'Yasu (personal name)' takes the topic particle *ja*.

(9-54) Nominal predicate phrase in negative (in the main clause)

TM:	kurəə	jasuuja	aran?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*jasuu=ja*	*ar-an*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	Yasu=TOP	COP-NEG
	Subject	[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'Is this person Yasu?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Furthermore, an NP (in the predicate phrase) always takes the focus particle *ga* when the NP is filled by an interrogative nominal as in (9-55 a-d) (see also §10.1.2.2).

(9-55) Interrogative nominals in the predicate phrase

a.

TM:	urəə	mata	taruga	jatakai?
	u-rɨ=ja	*mata*	*ta-ru=ga*	*jar-tar=kai*
	MES-NLZ=TOP	again	who-NLZ=FOC	COP-PST=DUB
	Subject		[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'(I wonder) who was that person (that had brought this pamphlet of songs)?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

US:	gazimaruu ..	daaga	jataru?	
	gazimaru	*daa=ga*	*jar-tar-u*	
	banyan.tree	where=FOC	COP-PST-PFC	
	Subject	[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$	

'Where was the banyan tree?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c.

TM:	arəə	nuuga	jataru?
	a-rɨ=ja	*nuu=ga*	*jar-tar-u*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	what=FOC	COP-PST-PFC
	Subject	[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'What was that box?'

[El: 130822]

d.

TM:	uraga	jʔicjasəə	dɨruga	jataru?
	ura=ga	*jʔ-tar=sɨ=ja*	*dɨ-ru=ga*	*jar-tar-u*
	2.NHON.SG=NOM	say-PST=FN=TOP	which-NLZ=FOC	COP-PST-PFC
			[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'Which is the one that you said.'

[El: 130822]

In the above examples, the interrogative nominals, i.e. *ta-ru* 'who,' *daa* 'where,' *nuu* 'what,' and *di-ru* 'which,' take *ga* (FOC) in the predicate phrases.

It was pointed out that the nominal predicates in the languages around the world is used to indicate equation, e.g., *He is my father*, and proper inclusion, e.g., *He is a teacher* (Payne 1997: 114). The nominal predicate in Yuwan also has both of these functions. For example, (9-52) is an example of equation, and (9-53) is an example of proper inclusion. In any case, the referents indicated by the subjects are the same with those indicated by the predicate NPs in those examples. However, there is a case where the referent of the subject does not coincide with the referent of the NP in the nominal predicate as in (9-56), where the relation between the subject and the nominal predicate has to be supplemented pragmatically.

(9-56) Pragmatic relation

TM:	urakjoo	naa	gakkoo	jatarooga.
	urakja=ja	*naa*	*gakkoo*	*jar-tar-oo=ga*
	2.NHON.PL=TOP	already	school	COP-SPT-SUPP=CFM3
	Subject		[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'Probably, you had already begun to go to school.'

[lit. 'Probably, you were already school.']

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-56), the subject *urakja* 'you' and the NP in the nominal predicate *gakkoo* 'school' do not indicate the same referent. In fact, there is a relation between them that can be supplemented by the pragmatic information. This kind of use of the nominal predicate is famous in Japanese linguistics as "*unagi-bun*" ('The "eel" construction') (cf. Okutsu 1978).

9.3.2. Subordinate clause in the nominal predicate phrase

There are examples where the head of the nominal predicate phrase is "directly" filled by a certain kind of subordinate clause. The subordinate clause is not filling in an NP, since it cannot be modified by an adnominal word nor become the argument of a clause. The reason why the subordinate clause is thought to fill the nominal predicate phrase (in spite of not filling in an NP) is that the subordinate clause can be followed by the copula verb. There are two kinds of subordinate clause that can fill in the nominal predicate phrase, i.e. adnominal clauses (see §9.3.2.1) and adverbial clauses (see §9.3.2.2).

9.3.2.1. Adnominal clause in the nominal predicate phrase

The adnominal clause can fill the head slot of the nominal predicate phrase by itself. In that case, the adnominal clause is always followed by the negative copula verb, i.e. *ar-an* (COP-NEG), as in (9-57 a-g) (see

also §8.3.3 about the copula verb).

(9-57) Adnominal clause including *-n* (PTCP) in the nominal predicate phrase

a. TM: urakjabəiga un xxx .. atu
[*urakja=bəi=ga* *u-n* *atu*
2.NHON.PL=only=NOM MES-ADNZ after
cɨzjun aran?
cɨg-tur-n]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
succeed-PROG-PTCP COP-NEG
'Only you have inherited [i.e. your grandfather's virtue], haven't you [lit. aren't you]?'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking of the outdoor lamps which was set in the past]
TM: namanin an aran?
[*nama=n=n* *ar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
now=DAT1=also exist-PTCP COP-NEG
'There are (outdoor lamps) even now, aren't there?'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. TM: |teinenmade| wutan aran?
[*teinen=made* *wur-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
retirement.age=LMT exist-PST-PTCP COP-NEG
'(He) was (at work) until the retirement age, wasn't (he)?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: |tosjogakari| jatan aran?
[*tasjogakari* *jar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
librarian COP-PST-PTCP COP-NEG
'(Your father) was a librarian, wasn't he?'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. TM: |iciban| dujasa atan aran?
[*iciban* *duja-sa* *ar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
most rich-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP COP-NEG
'(Your grandfather) was the most rich, isn't (he)?'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Adnominal clause including *-an* (NEG) in the nominal predicate phrase

f. [Context: Speaking of people who were friends before]
TM: jurawan aran?
[*juraw-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
get.together-NEG COP-NEG
'(They) don't get together (now), do (they) [lit. arn't (they)]?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

g. TM: namanu c'junkjoo gan sjan
[*nama=nu* *c'ju=nkja=ja* *ga-n* *sɨr-tar-n*
now=GEN person=APPR=TOP MES-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP
|kansin|na mutan aran?
kansin=ja *mut-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
interest=TOP have-NEG COP-NEG
'The people in these days don't have such a kind of interest, do (they) [lit. aren't (they)]?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (9-57 a-e), the heads of the nominal predicates are filled by the adnominal clauses that include *-n* (PTCP), i.e. *cɨg-tur-n* (succeed-PROG-PTCP), *ar-n* (exist-PTCP), *wur-tar-n* (exist-PST-PTCP), *jar-tar-n* (COP-PST-PTCP) and *ar-tar-n* (STV-PST-PTCP). In (9-57 f-g), the heads of the nominal predicates are filled by the adnominal clauses that include *-an* (NEG), i.e. *juraw-an* (get.together-NEG) and *mut-an* (have-NEG). These adnominal clauses are followed by the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) with questional intonation, and have a kind of meaning similar to the tag question in English. In these examples, the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) does not seem to fill the predicate phrase of the main clause; rather, it seems to behave as a particle, and the preceding adnominal clause seems to become the main clause. In the ordinary construction, the NP that precedes the negative copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) takes either the topic marker *ja* (see (9-54) in §9.3.1) or the nominative case (see §9.3.3.1). In the examples in (9-57 a-g), however, the adnominal clauses in the predicate phrase do not take any particle, and they are directly followed by the copula verb. It is probable that these examples express the so-called "Mermaid construction (MMC)," which "is in the main confined to Asia, and that it is generally found in SOV languages" (Tsunoda 2013: 25). The prototype of MMC has the following construction "[Clause] Noun Copula" (Tsunoda 2013: 16). In short, the "Clause" seems to behave like the main clause, and the "Noun" and/or the "Copula" seems to behave a grammarical component, e.g. expressing a modal meaning (see Tsunoda 2013 for more details). The examples in (9-57 a-g) are similar to the MMC, since the adnominal clauses do not behave like the component of the nominal predicate phrase. Rather, they behave like the main clause by themselves, and the following copula verbs express a kind of supposition with the questional intonation. The "main-clausehood" of the adnoninal clause in the MMC in Yuwan is shown by the following examples.

(9-58) Honorific AVC in MMC

a. In affirmative

TM: an sinsjeija kacjɨ moojun aran?

a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	[*kak-tɨ*	*moor-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*ar-an*
DIST-ADNZ	teacher=TOP	write-SEQ	HON-UMRK-PTCP	COP-NEG
		Lex. verb	Aux. verb	

'That teacher would write (the Chinese character), wouldn't (he) [lit. isn't (he)]?'

[El: 130823]

b. In negative

TM:	an	sinsjeija	kacjɨ	mooran	aran?
	[*a-n*	*sinsjei=ja*	*kak-tɨ*	*moor-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*ar-an*
	DIST-ADNZ	teacher=TOP	write-SEQ	HON-NEG	COP-NEG
			Lex. verb	Aux. verb	

'That teacher would not write (the Chinese character), would (he) [lit. isn't (he)]?'

[El: 130821]

The above examples show that the honorific AVCs appear in the predicates of the adnominal clauses (not those in the main clause, i.e. the copula verb). In fact, the speaker did not allow the copula verbs to take the honorific AVC in the above contexts. That is, the following sentence is not grammatical: */an sinsjei ja kakjun atɨ mooran?/ *a-n sinsjei=ja kak-jur-n* <u>*ar-tɨ moor*</u>*-an* (DIST-ADNZ teacher=TOP write-UMRK-PTCP <u>COP-SEQ HON</u>-NEG) [Intended meaning] 'That teacher would write (the Chinese character), wouldn't (he)?' It is probable that the copula verbs in the MMC in Yuwan have come to lose the qualification to fill the predicate slot of the main clause, and that the predicate in the adnominal clause have come to gain the qualification. It should be mentioned that the MMCs in Yuwan do not coincide with the prototype of MMC since they lack the slot of "Noun", and the adnominal clauses directly precede the copula verb. The examples which also lack the "Noun" are found in Early Middle Japanese (A.D. 800-1200) (Miyachi 2013: 203-205).

Yuwan has a structure where an infinitive fills the head of the nominal predicate phrase. In the structure, the subject does not belong to the infinitive, but to the copula verb (see (8-114) in §8.4.4.2). On the contrary, the subjects of the constructions in (9-57 a-g) do not belong to the copula verb, but is included in the adnominal clause, which is attested by the following example.

(9-59)

TM:	naa	maganu	kamjun	aran?
	[*naa*	*maga=<u>nu</u>*	*kam-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*ar-an*
	2.HON.SG.ADNZ	grandchild=NOM	eat-UMRK-PTCP	COP-NEG

'Your grandson will eat (it), won't [lit. isn't] he?'

[El: 130816]

In (9-59), the subject, i.e. *naa maga* 'your grandchild,' is marked by the nominative case *nu*. If the subject is that of the copula verb, it cannot take *nu* (NOM), and it has to take *ga* (NOM) (see §6.4.3.2 for more details). Therefore, the subject NP is included in the adnominal clause, whose head is *kam-* 'eat.'

There is an example where the quotational particle *ccjɨ* intervene the adnominal clause and the copula

verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) as in (9-60).

(9-60) [Context: Remembering the bankruptcy of a shop in the past] = (4-31 a)

TM:	|sjeiri|	siimai	jatancjɨ	aran?
	[*sjeiri*	*sɨr-i+mai*	*jar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$=*ccjɨ*	*ar-an*
	disposal	do-INF+OBL	COP-PST-PTCP=QT	COP-NEG

'(The people who had invested their money in the shop) had to dispose (of the goods), hadn't they [lit. aren't they]?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

All of the above examples expressed questions. There are examples where the same construction does not express questions. They did not occur frequently in my texts, though.

(9-61) In the declarative clauses

a. TM: wurancjəə aranban,
[*wur-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$=*ccjɨ=ja* *ar-an=ban*
exist-NEG=QT=TOP COP-NEG=ADVRS
'(It) isn't that there isn't (any cousin of mine), but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Replying the question such as "You don't like the drink, do you?"]
TM: numanna arandoo.
[*num-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$=*ja* *ar-an=doo*
drink-NEG =TOP COP-NEG=ASS
'(It) isn't (that I) don't drink (it).'

[El: 120917]

In (9-61 a-b), the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) denies the proposition of the adnominal clauses as a whole. In the declarative clauses, I have not yet found examples where the head of the adnominal clause is filled by the participle that ends with *-n* (PTCP).

9.3.2.2. Adverbial clause whose head verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ) in the nominal predicate phrase

The adverbial clause whose head verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ) can fill the head slot of the nominal predicate phrase. In that case, we can use any variant of the copula verbs, i.e. *jar-*, *ar-*, *zjar-*, or *nar-* as in (9-62 a-f).

(9-62) Complements filled by the converb that ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)
Converb followed by *jar-* (COP)

a. TM: attu wattəə jatɨn, wutɨ

a-rɨ=tu *wattəə* *jar-tɨ=n* [*wur-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
DIST-NLZ=COM 1DU COP-SEQ=even exist-SEQ
jatɨn.joo ..
jar-tɨ=n=joo
COP-SEQ=even=CFM1
'Even if there were two of us, (even if we) were (together) ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: |kˀuusjuu|sjɨ jakɨtɨ jappajaa.
[*kˀuusjuu=sjɨ* *jakɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *jar-ba=jaa*
air.raid=INST burn-SEQ COP-CSL=SOL
'The air raid (in World War II) burned (the banyan tree), so (there isn't any tree).'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. US: ɨɨ, ɨɨ, ɨɨ, gan sjɨ gan
ɨɨ *ɨɨ* *ɨɨ* [*ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ [*ga-n*
yes yes yes MES-ADVZ do-SEQ MES-ADVZ
sjɨ jata.
sɨr-tɨ]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *jar-tar*
do-SEQ COP-PST
'Yes, yes, yes. That (is right). That's (right).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Converb followed by *ar-* (COP)

d. TM: namiotankja dɨruka xxx wutəə
[*namio-taa=nkja* *dɨ-ru=ka* *wur-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=ja*
Namio-PL=APPR which-NLZ=DUB exist-SEQ=TOP
arankai?
ar-an=kai
COP-NEG=DUB
'There were Namio and his friends somewhere (in the pictures), weren't (they)?'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Converb followed by *zjar-* (COP)

e. [= (8-123 a)]
TM: kurəə kunuguru (sadaega sɨ)
[*ku-rɨ=ja* *kunuguru* *sadae=ga* *sɨmɨr*
PROX-NLZ=TOP these.days Sadae=NOM do.CAUS
sadaega sɨmɨtəətɨ zja.
sadae=ga *sɨmɨr-təər-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *zjar*
Sadae=NOM do.CAUS-RSL-SEQ COP
'This one [i.e. a picture] is (what) Sadae has made (my son) do [i.e. enlarge] these

days.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Converb followed by *nar*- (COP)

f.	TM:	gan	sjɨ	natɨ,	simabanasinkjoo
		[*ga-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$	*nar-tɨ*	*sima+hanasi=nkja=ja*
		MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ	COP-SEQ	community+story=APPR=TOP
		sɨraran.			
		sɨr-ar-an			
		do-CAP-NEG			

'Therefore, (I) cannot do [i.e. tell] a story about (our) community.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that if the head of the nominal predicate pharase is filled by the adverbial clause that ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ), there is no constraint on the variants of the copula verbs, which is largely different from the case of the adnominal clause in §9.3.2.1, which can take only *ar*- (COP). In fact, the adverbial clause that precedes *nar*- (COP) is only /gan sjɨ/ *ga-n sɨr-tɨ* (MES-ADVZ do-SEQ) 'like this' in almost all of the examples in my corpus, and the combination of *ga-n sɨr-tɨ* (MES-ADVZ do-SEQ) and *nar-tɨ* (COP-SEQ) functions like a conjunction meaninig 'therefore' as a whole as in (9-62 f). Interestingly, the function of the adverbial clause composed of *-tɨ* (SEQ) and the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) is very similar to that of the adnomina clause *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) and the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG). For example, the converb *wur-tɨ* (exist-SEQ) in (9-62 d) fills the head slot of the adverbial clause, which fills in turn the nominal predicate phrase with *ar-an* (COP-NEG), where the converbal affix *-tɨ* (SEQ) expresses the past tense (see also §11.2.1). Therefore, the meaning of /wutəə aran/ *wur-tɨ=ja ar-an* (exist-SEQ=TOP COP-NEG) in (9-62 d) is very similar to /wutan aran/ *wur-tar-n ar-an* (exist-PST-PTCP COP-NEG) of (9-57 c) in §9.3.2.1, where the past tense affix *-tar* is used.

Yuwan has a structure where an infinitive fills the head of the nominal predicate phrase. In the structure, the subject does not belong to the infinitive, but to the copula verb (see (8-114) in §8.4.4.2). On the contrary, the subjects of the constructions as in (9-62 a-f) do not belong to the copula verb, but is included in the adverbial clause, which is attested by the following example.

(9-63)	TM:	naa	maganu	kadəə	aranna?
		[*naa*	*maga=<u>nu</u>*	*kam-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=ja*	*ar-an=na*
		2.HON.SG.ADNZ	grandchild=NOM	eat-UMRK-PTCP	COP-NEG=PLQ

'Your grandson ate (it), didn't (he)? [lit. aren't (he)?]'

[El: 130820]

In (9-63), the subject, i.e. *naa maga* 'your grandchild,' is marked by the nominative case *nu*. If the subject is that of the copula verb, it cannot take *nu* (NOM), and it has to take *ga* (NOM) (see §6.4.3.2 for more details).

Therefore, the subject NP is included in the adverbial clause, whose head is *kam-* 'eat.' This is similar to (9-59) in §9.3.2.1.

Considering the above examples, the converb *-tɨ* (SEQ) seems to have some nominal property, since it can be followed by a copula verb as in (9-62 a-f). Additionally, there are other examples where the converb *-tɨ* (SEQ) behaves like the nominal. For example, the converb *-tɨ* (SEQ) can take the nominative case in a certain AVC (see (6-48) in §6.3.2.1 and (9-8) in §9.1.1.1). Moreover, the converbal affix *-əəra* 'after' can be thought to originate from **-tɨ=kara* (SEQ=ABL) considering the morphophonological rule in §6.3.1.2. In fact, the converbal affix *-əəra* 'after' can take the genitive case *nu* as in (8-100 d) in §8.4.3.4.

9.3.3. Extended NP in the predicate phrase

The extended NP is the NP that is followed by case particles (see chapter 6). A nominal predicate phrase is usually filled by an NP not followed by any case particle as in (9-52) - (9-54). However, there are two cases where the predicate may be filled by an NP followed by a case particle (i.e. an extended NP). They are discussed in §9.3.3.1 and §9.3.3.2 respectively.

9.3.3.1. Nominative case in the subordinate clause in negative

The NP in the predicate takes *ja* (TOP) when the following copula is in negative in the main clause as in (9-54). However, if the predicate NP is in the subordinate clause and also in negative, it may take the nominative case *ga* or *nu* as in (9-64 a-e).

(9-64) Nominative case in the nominal predicate phrases

a. [= (5-9 b)]

TM:	uraga	tumainu	aran	tukin,
	ura=ga	*tumai=nu*	*ar-an*	*tuki=n*
	2.NHON.SG=NOM	night.duty=NOM	COP-NEG	time=DAT1
	Subject	[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$	

'When you are not on night duty, ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b.

TM:	waakjaga	(mm)	arɨnu	aranboo,
	waakja=ga		*a-rɨ=nu*	*ar-an-boo*
	1PL=NOM		DIST-NLZ=NOM	COP-NEG-CND
	Subject		[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

naacɨbanu	aranboo,
naacɨba=nu	*ar-an-boo*
tone.deaf=NOM	COP-NEG-CND
[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'If I am not that, (that is to say) if (I) am not tone deaf, ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. TM: namanən sjɨ, (ee) .. uriga aranba,
nama=nən *sɨr-tɨ* *u-rɨ=ga* *ar-an-ba*
now=LOC1 do-SEQ MES-NLZ=NOM COP-NEG-CSL
[NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
'(The compulsory education) wasn't [i.e. wasn't conducted for nine years] like (it is) these days, so ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. TM: mata |honnin|nu kjuranɨsəənu
mata *honnin=nu* *kjura+nɨsəə=nu*
moreover oneself=NOM beautiful+young.man=NOM
Subject [NP
aranboo, ikjaran.
ar-an-boo *ik-ar-an*
COP-NEG-CND go-CAP-NEG
Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
'Moreoever, if the (person) himself is not a beautiful young man, (he) cannot go (to) [i.e. become] (an Imperial Guard).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. TM: haroozinkjaga aranbajaa.
haroozi=nkja=ga *ar-an-ba=jaa*
relative=APPR=NOM COP-NEG-CSL=SOL
[NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
'(They) are not relatives, so (one of them did not attend the marriage ceremony).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above examples, the NPs in the predicate phrases take the nominative case *ga* or *nu*. All of the copula verbs in (9-64 a-e) take the negative affix *-an* (NEG), and all of the predicates are in the subordinate clauses. (9-64 a) is in the adnominal clause whose external head is *tuki* 'time,' and (9-64 b-e) are in the adverbial clauses. If the copula verbs do not take negative affixes, the NP in the predicate does not take the nominative cases as in (8-36 e) in §8.3.3.1. The selection of the nominative particles, i.e. *ga* or *nu*, depends on the relation between the head nominal in the NP and the animacy hierarchy (see §6.4 for more details). However, it is irregular that the predicate NPs in (9-64 c) and (9-64 e), i.e. *u-rɨ* 'that (educational system)' and *haroozi* 'relative,' take *ga* (not *nu*), since inanimate referents or the human common nouns cannot take *ga* in principle.

The same phenomenon may occur in the adjectival predicate, although it has not occurred in the text corpus (i.e., it occurred only in elicitation).

(9-65) Nominative case in the adjectival predicate phrase

TM:	utussjanu	nənba,	micjɨn	njɨ!
	utussj-sa=nu	*nə-an-ba*	*mj-tɨ=n*	*nj-ɨ*
	frightening-ADJ=NOM	STV-NEG-CSL	see-SEQ=ever	EXP-IMP
	[Adjective	Stative verb]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$		

'(It) is not frightening, so try to see (it)!'

[El: 130822]

In fact, the speaker utters naturally a sentence where /utussjanu/ *utusssj-sa=nu* (frightening-ADJ=NOM) in (9-65) is replaced by /utussjoo/ *utussj-soo* (frightening-ADJ).

9.3.3.2. Cleft-like (or pseudo-cleft-like) construction

Other than the examples discussed above, there are a few examples where extended NPs fill the predicate phrases as in (9-66 a-b).

(9-66) Extended NP in the predicate phrases

a.

TM:	kurɨ	kumantɨ	zjajaa.
	ku-rɨ	*ku-ma=nantɨ*	*zjar=jaa*
	PROX-NLZ	PROX-place=LOC1	COP=SOL
		[Extended NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'(The place where) this [i.e. the sumo wrestling] (was held) is at this place.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b.

TM:	kan	sjɨ	jaanu	dɨkəə
	ka-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*jaa=nu*	*dɨkɨr-Ø=ja*
	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	house=GEN	be.built-INF=TOP

|nannengoro|karakai?

nannen-goro=kara=kai

what.year-about=ABL=DUB

[Extended NP]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'Since when did the houses like these (begin to) be built?'

[lit. 'From about what year (was) the houses' being built like these.']

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Probably, the extended NPs in (9-66 a-b) are arguments that are focused and derived from the "original" sentences where the extended NPs fill the ordinary slots, i.e. argument slots, in the clauses. These constructions seem to have some relationship with the "clefts" or "pseudo-clefts" in the languages around the world (cf. Payne 1997: 278-281), and more elaborate research remains to be done.

9.4. Argumentations for the suggested differences among the predicate phrases

The structural differences (or analyses) among the three types of predicate phrases have so far examined in the previous sections. However, one may think that a type of the predicate phrases may be analyzed as another type of them. For example, one may ask if the adjectival predicate, e.g. /arəə sijusa/ *a-rɨ=ja siju-sa* (DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ) 'That is white.' is really different from the nominal predicate, e.g. /arəə kasa/ *a-rɨ=ja kasa* (DIST-NLZ=TOP hat) 'That is a hat.'

In this section, I will present the arguments for the suggested analyses that the three types of the predicate phrases are different from one another. The differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate are discussed in §9.4.1. The differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate are discussed in §9.4.2. The differences between the nominal predicate and the verbal predicate are discussed in §9.4.3.

9.4.1. The differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate

There are four differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate as in the following table.

Table 94. Morphosyntactic differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate

	Adjectival predicate	Nominal predicate
Can appear in the adnominal clause in the non-past tense	+	-
Can be followed by *nu* (CSL)	+	-
The head can directly take *na* (PLQ), *kai* (DUB), or *doo* (ASS)	-	+
Take different verbal forms in the predicate phrase	*ar-/nə-*	*jar-/zjar-/nar-/ar-*

Firstly, the adjectival predicate can appear in the adnominal clause in the non-past tense as in (9-67 a), but the nominal predicate cannot as in (9-67 b).

(9-67) Adnominal clause in the non-past tense

a. Adjectival predicate

TM: kjurasan nɨsəə

[*kjura-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *nɨsəə*

beautiful-ADJ+STV-PTCP young.man

'a young man who is beautiful'

[El: 130822]

b. Nominal predicate

TM: *|sinsjei| jan/zjan nɨsəə

[*sinsjei jar-n/zjar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *nɨsəə*

teacher COP-PTCP/COP-PTCP young.man

[Intended meaning] ‘a person who is a teacher’

[El: 130822]

Adnominal clause in the past tense

c. Adjectival predicate

TM:	kjurasa	atan	nɨsəə
	[*kjura-sa*	*ar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*nɨsəə*
	beautiful-ADJ	STV-PST-PTCP	young.man

‘a young man who was beautiful’

[El: 130822]

d. Nominal predicate

TM:	|sinsjei|	jatan	nɨsəə
	[*sinsjei*	*jar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*nɨsəə*
	teacher	COP-PST-PTCP	young.man

‘a young man who was a teacher’

[El: 130822]

The above examples show that the stative verbal root *ar-* can take both *-n* (PTCP) as in (9-67 a) and *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) as in (9-67 c). On the contrary, the copula verbal root *jar-* (or *zjar-*) cannot (directly) take *-n* (PTCP) as in (9-67 b), although it can take *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) as in (9-67 d). In other words, the subject of the nominal predicate in the non-past tence in affirmative cannot be relativised.

Secondly, the adjectival predicate can take the conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL) as in (9-68 a), but the nominal predicate cannot as in (9-68 b).

(9-68) a. Adjectival predicate + *nu* (CSL) [= (9-44 c)]

TM:	waakjoo	utussjanu,	aicjɨn	njanta.
	waakja=ja	*utussj-sa=nu*	*aik-tɨ=n*	*nj-an-tar*
	1PL=TOP	fearful-ADJ=CSL	walk-SEQ=ever	EXP-NEG-PST

‘I was fearful (of the American soldiers), so I did not walk (around).’

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Nominal predicate + *nu* (CSL)

TM:	*arəə	warabɨnu,	waarandaro.
	a-rɨ=ja	*warabɨ=nu*	*waar-an=daro*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	child=CSL	understand-NEG=SUPP

[Intended meaning] ‘That one is a child, so (he) maybe does not understand (it).’

[El: 130822]

In fact, the conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL) has the same form with the nominative case particle *nu* (NOM). However, the nominative particle *nu* cannot express the causal meaning as in (9-68 b). Thus, *nu* (NOM) is

different from *nu* (CSL), and the latter cannot attach to the nominal predicate.

Thirdly, the head NP in the nominal predicate can be directly followed by a few clause-final particles, i.e. *na* (PLQ), *kai* (DUB), or *doo* (ASS) as in (9-69 a). On the contrary, the head adjective in the adjectival predicate cannot as in (9-69 b).

(9-69) Nominal predicate

a. TM: arəə kasana?
a-rɨ=ja *kasa=na*
DIST-NLZ=TOP hat=PLQ
Subject Predicate
'Is that a hat?'
[El: 130822]

Adjectival predicate

b. TM: *arəə sijusana?
a-rɨ=ja *siju-sa=na*
DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ=PLQ
Subject Predicate
[Intended meaning] 'Is that white?'
[El: 130822]

c. TM: arəə sijusannja?
a-rɨ=ja *siju-sa+ar-i=na*
DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ+STV-NPST=PLQ
Subject Predicate
'Is that white?'
[El: 130822]

In (9-69 a), the NP in the predicate, i.e. *kasa* 'hat,' can be directly followed by the question particle *na* (PLQ). In (9-69 b), however, the adjective in the predicate, i.e. *siju-sa* (white-ADJ), cannot directly take *na* (PLQ). If the adjective is followed by the stative verb *ar-*, the predicate can take *na* (PLQ) as in (9-69 c).

Finally, there is a morphological difference between the verbal forms that appear in the predicate phrase, i.e. the stative verb and the copula verb. The stative verbs *ar-*/*nə-* are used in the adjectival predicate (see §8.3.4), and the copula verbs *jar-*/*zjar-*/*nar-*/*ar-* are used in the nominal predicate (see §8.3.3).

9.4.2. The differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate

The stative verbs in the adjectival predicate and the existential verbs in the verbal predicate have the same forms, i.e. /ar-/ and /nə-/ (see §8.3.2 and §8.3.4). However, there are two differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate as in Table 95.

Table 95. Morphosyntactic differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate

	Adjectival predicate	Verbal predicate
Contraction between /ar-/ and the preceding morpheme occurs	+	-
The word preceding /ar-/ or /nə-/ can take the nominative case	-	+

First, the adjective that inflects with *-sa* (ADJ) is contracted with the following stative verb *ar-*, if the *ar-* (STV) takes *-i* (NPST) or *-n* (PTCP) (see §9.2.2.2 for more details). The example taking *-i* (NPST) is shown in (9-70 a), where the place of contraction is expressed by "+" in the underlying level.

(9-70) a. Adjectival predicate [= (9-46 d)]

TM: |iciban| dujasai.
iciban *duja-sa+ar-i*
most rich-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(He) is the richest.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Verbal predicate

TM: un |teepu|ja nama ai?
u-n *teepu=ja* *nama* *ar-i*
MES-ADNZ cassette.tape=TOP yet exist-NPST
'Is the cassette tape there [i.e. ready] yet?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

On the one hand, in (9-70 a), the adjective *duja-sa* (rich-ADJ) and *ar-i* (STV-NPST) induces contraction, and one of the vowel in *-sa+ar-* (ADJ+STV) is deleted. On the other hand, in (9-70 b), the existential verb *ar-i* (exist-NPST) does not induce contraction with the preceding morpheme *nama* 'yet,' i.e., they do not become */namai/ *nama+ar-i* (yet+exist-NPST).

Secondly, the adjective that precedes a stative verb cannot take the nominative case as in (9-71 a), but the argument NP that precedes existential verbs can take the nominative case as in (9-71 b).

(9-71) a. Adjectival predicate

TM: huntoo kuwasa ata.
huntoo *kuwa-sa* *ar-tar*
really hard-ADJ STV-PST
'(It) was really hard (for me).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. Verbal predicate

TM: kʔuranu ata.

k^{ʔ}ura=nu	*ar-tar*
storehouse=NOM	exist-PST

'There was a storehouse.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-71 a), the adjective *kuwa-sa* (hard-ADJ) does not take any case particle, which means that we cannot analyze the stative verb *ar-* as the existential verb *ar-*, and that the adjective *kuwa-sa* (hard-ADJ) cannot be analyzed as the argument NP of *ar-* 'exist.' On the contrary, *k^{ʔ}ura* 'storehouse' in (9-71 b) is the argument NP of the existential verb *ar-*. Thus, it takes the nominative case.

9.4.3. The differences between the nominal predicate and the verbal predicate

The head of the nominal predicate is the NP in the predicate (not the following copula verb). On the contrary, the head of the verbal predicate is the VP in the predicate (not its argument NP). This difference is attested by the focus construction, where the focus marker *du* is used (see also §11.3.1). If we put the focus on the nominal predicate, it is the NP (not the copula verb) in the predicate which is focused as in (9-72 a). If we put the focus on the verbal predicate, it is the verb in the predicate (not the argument NP) which is focused as in (9-72 b).

(9-72) a. Nominal predicate [= (8-39 d)]

TM:	arəə	akiradu	arui?
	a-rɨ=ja	*akira=du*	*ar-u=i*
	DiST-NLZ=TOP	Akira=FOC	COP-PFC=PLQ
		[NP	Copula verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$

'Is that person Akira?'

[El: 130822]

b. Verbal predicate

TM:	an	c^{ʔ}joo	uran	tanmidu	sjurui?
	a-n	*c^{ʔ}ju=ja*	*ura=n*	*tanm-i=du*	*sɨr-jur-u=i*
	DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	2.NHON.SG=DAT1	ask-INF=FOC	do-UMRK-PFC=PLQ
				[Complement	VP]$_{\text{Verbal predicate phrase}}$

'Does that person ask you (about it)?'

[El: 130822]

In (9-72 a), the NP (not the copula verb) in the predicate is focused by *du* (FOC). In (9-72 b), the verb *tanm-* 'ask' is focused by *du* (FOC), where the focused component fills the complement slot becoming an infinitive, and the head of VP is filled by the light verb *sɨr-* 'do.' The latter means cannot be taken by the nominal predicate. Thus, the copula verb *ar-* cannot be followed by *du* (FOC) such as **ar-i=du* (COP-INF=FOC).

Before concluding this section, I will also present the example where the adjectival predicate is focused

by *du* (FOC).

(9-73) Adjectival predicate

TM:	urəə	kuwasadu	arui?
	u-rɨ=ja	*kuwa-sa=du*	*ar-u=i*
	MES-NLZ=TOP	hard-ADJ=FOC	STV-PFC=PLQ
		{[Adjective]	[Stative verb]}$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$

'Is that (rice cake) hard?'

[El: 130822]

Similarly, the focus marker *du* follows the adjective in the predicate, which indicates that the head of the adjectival predicate phrase is the adjective (not the stative verb).

Chapter 10
Particles

This chapter describes the particles in Yuwan. All of the particles are clitics, but not vice versa since the formal nouns also belong to clitics but they are nominals (see §6.2.2). Particles in Yuwan can be classified into the following groups: case particles, limiter particles, conjunctive particles, clause-final particles, utterance-final particles A, and utterance-final particles B. They are distinguished by the units that the particles attach to and by the functions of the units after the particles attached to them. Additionally, it is distinctive whether the units attached by the particles are necessarily embedded into the superordinate clause.

Table 96. Particles in Yuwan

	The units and functions of the particles' syntactic hosts						Embeddedness
Unit	NP		Non-final verb in VP	Clause		Utterance	
Funcitons	NP Modifier	Argument		Main	Adv.		
Case particles	+	+	-[66]	-	-	-	+
Limiter particles	+[67]	+	+	-	+/-	-	+
Conjunctive particles	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
Clause-final particles	-	-	-	+	+/-	-	-
Utterance-final particles A	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Utterance-final particles B	-	-	-	-	-	+	-

Notes:

a. "VPP" indicates the verbal predicate phrase; "Adv." indicates the adverbial clause;

b. "+/-" means that some particles or some clauses cannot satisfy the criteria.

The above table shows that case particles and limiter particles are similar to each other. However, the case particles cannot follow the verb in the verbal predicate phrase (with the exception of the nominative case), but the limiter particle can. The unit composed of the conjunctive particle and the preceding clause functions as an adverbial clause. The clause followed by the clause-final particle functions as the main claue. Both of the utterance-final particles A and the utterance-final particles B follow an utterance, and the units followed by the utterance-final particles A function as the complement of the superordinate clause, but the units followed by the utterance-final particles B do not.

The case particles were examined in §6.3. Therefore, the remaining particles will be discussed in the following sections. The limiter particles are discussed in §10.1. The conjunctive particles are discussed in

[66] Only the nominative case can follow the lexical verb in AVC (see §6.3.2.1).

[67] A few limiter particles, e.g., *n* 'also' or *nən* 'such as,' cannot occur with the modifier NP.

§10.2. The clause-final particles are discussed in §10.3. The utterance-final particles A are discussed in §10.4. Finally, the utterance-final particles B are discussed in §10.5.

10.1.Limiter particles

Yuwan has the limiter particles seen in Table 97. The limiter particles can be hosted by NPs, verbs in the verbal predicate phrases, or adverbial clauses.

Table 97. Limiter particles

Form	Meaning or translation
ja	Topic
du	Focus (not information question)
ga	Focus (including information question)
n	‘also; even; ever’
bəi	‘only; always; about’
gadɨ	Limitative
nkja	Approximative
kusa	‘the very (one)’
səəka	‘only’

The restriction on the co-occurence with the case particles should be mentioned. *ja* (TOP), *du* (FOC), *ga* (FOC), and *n* ‘also; evern; ever’ cannot co-occur with the nominative case. *nən* ‘such as’ cannot co-occur with any case particle. In the following sections, I will present examples of each limiter particle in turn.

10.1.1. Topic particle *ja*

The topic particle *ja* is frequently fused with the preceding short vowel, and always assimilates to the preceding nasal consonants. These morphophonological alternations are discussed in §10.1.1.1. The syntax and semantics of *ja* (TOP) will be discussed in §10.1.1.2.

10.1.1.1.Morphophonology of topic particle *ja*

The topic particle *ja* induces either fusion or nasalization depending on the morphophonological environment of the preceding stems.

First, if the topic particle *ja* follows a vowel (not a vowel sequence), frequently several types of vowel fusion occur. If not, i.e. after long vowels or diphthongs, *ja* retains its form. Please note that the fusion of //ci, si, zi// and *ja* requires a little attention because it forms /Cjəə/ (not */Cəə/).

(10-1) Rule shemata

Front vowel[68]

a. // C i // + *ja* (TOP) > /Cjəə/

[C is //c, s, z//]

b. // C i // + *ja* (TOP) > /Cəə/

[C is not //c, s, z//]

Mid vowel

c. // C ɨ // + *ja* (TOP) > /Cəə/

Back vowels

d. // C {u, o, a} // + *ja* (TOP) > /Coo/

Long vowels or diphthongs

e. // V V // + *ja* (TOP) > /VVja/

(10-2) Examples

a. Front and mid vowels

kuci	'mouth'	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/kucjəə/	(*/kucəə/)
nusi	(RFL)		>	/nusjəə/	(*/nusəə/)
tuzi	'wife'		>	/tuzjəə/	(*/tuzəə/)
kˀubi	'neck'		>	/kˀubəə/	
kurɨ	'this'		>	/kurəə/	

b. Back vowels

wunagu	'woman'	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/wunagoo/	
juuto	'(personal name)'		>	/juutoo/	
ura	'you'		>	/uroo/	

c. Long vowels or diphthongs

jaa	'house'	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/jaaja/	(*/ja.oo/)
mai	'hip'		>	/maija/	(*/ma.əə/)

The above phenomenon can be paraphrased as follows: if the preceding syllable is a light syllable, it is frequently fused with *ja* (TOP); if the preceding syllable is a heavy syllable, it is not fused with *ja* (TOP).

Secondly, if *ja* (TOP) follows //m// or //n//, it is always realized as /na/ or /nja/, according to the

[68] There is no lexeme that ends with /ə/ (see §2.2.1.2). Additionally, there is only one lexeme (excluding *ude* 'hey' and *doosje* 'maybe') that ends with /e/ and is fused with *ja* (TOP), i.e. *nazje* (or *nasje*) 'Naze (name of place).,' However, it is difficult to decide whether the phone is [nạ(d͡)ʑeː] or [nạ(d͡)ʑɜː], and audio-instrumental research should be done in the future. The same point can be made about the fusion with the allative case (or ablative case) (see §6.3.1.1 and §6.3.1.2).

morphosyntactic environments or the lexemes of the preceding words.

(10-3) Rule schemata

a. Special *n*-final morphemes

ja (TOP) > /nja/ / { *nan* (2.HON.SG), *n* (DAT1), *nan* (LOC1), *-n* (ADVZ), *unin*[69] 'that time' } _

b. Infinitives (stem No. 6 & 17)

ja (TOP) > /nja/[70] / Infinitives _
[*m*-final or *n*-final stems]

c. The other *n*-final morphemes

ja (TOP) > /na/ / //n// _

(10-4) Examples

a. Special *n*-final morphemes

nan	(2.HON.SG)	+	*ja* (TOP)	>	/nannja/
maga=n	(grandchild=DAT1)			>	/magannja/
uma=nan	(there=LOC1)			>	/uma.nannja/
ka-n	(PROX-ADVZ)			>	/kannja/
unin	'that time'			>	/uninnja/

b. Infinitives

jum-Ø	(read-INF)	+	*ja* (TOP)	>	/jumnja/
sin-Ø	(die-INF)			>	/sinnja/

c. The other n-final morphemes

wan	(1SG)	+	*ja* (TOP)	>	/wanna/
jum-an	(read-NEG)			>	/jumanna/

10.1.1.2. Syntax and semantics of topic particle *ja*

The term topic is here used in the following meaning: "the topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about" (Lambrecht 1994: 118). Yuwan uses *ja* (TOP) to mark the topic in a clause. I will present an example where two people are talking about a picture in front of them. In this conversation, the referent (in a picture) indicated by *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this person' in (10-5 b) was already mentioned by the previous utterance in (10-5 a) as *ku-n cʔju* (PROX-ADNZ person) 'this one.' In other words, *ku-rɨ* 'this one' in (10-5 b) is presupposed by the hearer and may be topicalized. Thus, it takes *ja*

[69] **kunin* 'this time' or **anin* 'that time' do not exist in Yuwan
[70] The allomorph /nja/ sometimes alternates with /na/.

(TOP) as in (10-5 b).

(10-5) *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this (one)' being topicalized
[Context: Looking at a picture]

a.	MS:	kun	cʔjuja	utacuobasan.ja	aran?	ikjasjɨ?
		ku-n	*cʔju=ja*	*utacu+obasan=ja*	*ar-an*	*ikja-sjɨ*
		PROX-ADNZ	person=TOP	Utatsu+old.lady=TOP	COP-NEG	how-ADVZ
		'Isn't this person Utatsu? What (do you think)?'				
b.	TM:	aran,	aran.	kurəə	josidanu	hannjəə.
		ar-an	*ar-an*	*ku-rɨ=ja*	*josida=nu*	*hannjəə*
		COP-NEG	COP-NEG	PROX-NLZ=TOP	Yoshida=GEN	grandmother
		'No, no. This one is the grandmother of the Yoshida [i.e. a name of a shop].'				

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-5 a), MS mistook a person in the picture for another person (i.e. 'Utatsu'). Then, TM corrected the misunderstanding, and told MS that it was 'the grandmother of the Yoshida.' In this example, the referent of *ku-rɨ* 'this one' in (10-5 b) is presupposed by the hearer. On the other hand, if the referent indicated by *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this one' is not presupposed by the hearer, *ku-rɨ* 'this one' does not take *ja* (TOP) as in (10-6 b).

(10-6) *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this (one)' not being topicalized
[Context: Looking at a picture]

a.	MS:	|koocjoo	sita|jaa.	|hai|.	hirosiccjun	cʔju?
		koocjoo	*sita=jaa*	*hai*	*hirosi=ccjɨ+jʔ-jur-n*	*cʔju*
		principal	do.PST=SOL	yes	Hiroshi=QT+say-UMRK-PTCP	person
		'(He) was the principal. Yeah. (Is he) a person who (is called) Hiroshi?'				
b.	TM:	kurɨga	hirosi.			
		ku-rɨ=ga	*hirosi*			
		PROX-NLZ=NOM	Hiroshi			
		'This one is Hiroshi.'				

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-6 a), MS remembered a person who was the school principal, and asked TM if his name was Hiroshi or not. Then, in (10-6 b), TM pointed a person in the picture and told him that the person was Hiroshi. In this conversation, *ku-rɨ* 'this one' in (10-6 b) is not presupposed by the hearer. Thus, it cannot be marked by *ja* (TOP), and the nominative case, which is used to mark the subject of the nominal predicate, appears.

The referent (of the word) that is marked by *ja* (TOP) should be presupposed by the hearer. Therefore, interrogatives cannot be marked by *ja* (TOP). In fact, interrogatives are frequently marked by *ga* (FOC) (see

§10.1.2.2).

The topic marker *ja* cannot co-occur with the nominative case as in (10-5 b); otherwise, the subject in (10-5 b) must take *ga* (NOM) (see §6.4.3.2). The other case particles, e.g., the accusative case *ba*, can co-occur with *ja* (TOP) as in (10-7).

(10-7) *ba* (ACC) + *ja* (TOP) [= (6-101 d)]

TM:	mata	namanujoo	warabɨnkjoojoo,
	mata	*nama=nu=joo*	*warabɨ=nkja=ja=joo*
	moreover	now=GEN=CFM1	child=APPR=TOP=CFM1
	huccjunkjaboo		sɨkandoojaa.
	huccju=nkja=ba=ja		*sɨk-an=doo=jaa*
	old.person=APPR=ACC=TOP		like-NEG=ASS=SOL

'Moreover, the children in these days do not like the old people.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

ja (TOP) also appears in the nominal predicate in negative as in (10-8) (except for the case in §9.3.3.1).

(10-8) *ja* (TOP) in the nominal predicate (= [8-39 a])

TM:	kurəə	(an ..)	kazumataaja	aranna?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*a-n*	*kazuma-taa=ja*	*ar-an=na*
	[PROX-NLZ]=TOP	DIST-ADNZ	[Kazuma-PL=TOP	COP-NEG]=PLQ
	[Subject]		[Nominal predicate]	

'Isn't this [i.e. the scene in the picture] (about) Kazuma and his friends?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, the NP in the nominal predicate in negative takes *ja* (TOP).

10.1.2. Focus particles *du* and *ga*

The focus particle is used to mark the word where the speaker thinks that the hearer's attention should be paid. Thus, the focus particle and the topic particle cannot co-occur, since the latter is used to mark the word that is, the speaker thinks, pressuposed by the hearer. Yuwan has two focus particles: *du* and *ga*. *du* (FOC) is used in the assertion or the polar question (see §10.1.2.1). *ga* (FOC) is used in the information question in principle (see §10.1.2.2).

10.1.2.1. *du* (FOC)

du (FOC) is used either in the assertion or the polar question. First, I will show the examples of *du* (FOC) used in the assertion.

(10-9) *du* (FOC) in the assertion

a. TM: takennan umoojutankara, |hotondo| takennu
taken=nan *umoor-jur-tar-n=kara* *hotondo* [*taken=nu*
Taken=LOC1 exist-UMRK-PST-PTCP=CSL almost Taken=GEN
munbəidu ucɨcjəija.
mun]$_{NP}$*=bəi=du* *ucɨs-təər-i=jaa*
thing=only=FOC take-RSL-NPST=SOL
'Since (he) used to be in Taken, (he) took only the (pictures) of Taken.'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. TM: miojakunga wutɨdu jiccjan.
[*miojakun=ga* *wur-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=du* *jiccj-sa+ar-n*
Mioya=NOM exist-SEQ=FOC good-ADJ+STV-PTCP
'There is Mioya, and (it) is good (for us).'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: naa|nihon|bəidu appa, |hacikiro|naadu
[*naa+nihon=bəi=du* *ar-ba*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ [*hacikiro+naa=du*
another+two.CLF=about=FOC exist-CSL eight.kilogram+each=FOC
kinmɨ sjɨ, haatɨ,
kinmɨ *sɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *haar-tɨ*
measure do-SEQ measure-SEQ
'There are the other two white radishes, so (one) measures eight kilograms (of the materials) for each, and ...'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

d. TM: hada natɨbəidu wun cʔjunu ..
[*hada* *nar-tɨ=bəi=du* *wur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *cʔju=nu*
naked become-SEQ=always=FOC PROG-PTCP person=NOM
'The person who was always naked ...'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-9 a), *du* (FOC) follows the NP *taken=nu mun* (Taken=GEN thing) 'the things of Taken.' In (10-9 b), *du* (FOC) follows the clause *miojakun=ga wur-tɨ* (Mioya=NOM exist-SEQ) 'There is Mioya.' In this example, the sentence-final predicate takes the participle, which is usually used to fill the predicate of the adnominal clause. The correlation of *du* (FOC) and the participle has been traditionally called *kakari-musubi* (i.e. 'government-predication'), which will be discussed in §11.3.1. In (10-9 c), *du* (FOC) appears in the adverbial clause. In (10-9 d), *du* (FOC) appears in the adnominal clause.

Secondly, I will show the examples of *du* (FOC) used in the polar question.

(10-10) *du* (FOC) in the polar question

a. [= (8-76 d)]

TM:	kurəə	|maiku|du	muccjurui?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*maiku=du*	*mut-tur-u=i*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	microphone=FOC	hold-PROG-PFC=PLQ

'Is this person holding a microphone?'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b.

TM:	uroo	kumaaradu	izitarui?
	ura=ja	*ku-ma=kara=du*	*izir-tar-u=i*
	2.NHON.SG=TOP	PROX-place=ABL=FOC	go.out-PST-PFC=PLQ

'Did you go out from here?'

[El: 121010]

If *du* (FOC) is used in the polar question, the verbal inflection takes *-u* (PFC) with the question particle *i* (PLQ) as in the above examples.

10.1.2.2. *ga* (FOC)

In principle, *ga* (FOC) is used in the information question as in (10-11 a-b).

(10-11) *ga* (FOC) in the information question

a. [= (5-34 a)]

TM:	nɨsəə	mata	daaciga	izjaru?
	nɨsəə	*mata*	*daa=kaci=ga*	*ik-tar-u*
	young.man	again	where=ALL=FOC	go-PST-PFC

'Where did the young man go again?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Talking with US about how they played in the past] = (5-31)

TM:	nuu	sjutɨga,	asɨdutakai?
	nuu	*sɨr-jur-tɨ=ga*	*asɨb-tur-tar=kai*
	what	do-UMRK-SEQ=FOC	play-PROG-PST=DUB

'What kind of play did (we) do? [lit. What did (we) use to do, and play?]

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (10-11 a), *ga* (FOC) follows the (extended) NP *daa=kaci* (where=ALL) 'to where.' In (10-11 b), *ga* (FOC) follows the clause *nuu sɨr-jur-tɨ* (what do-UMRK-SEQ) 'What did (we) use to do, and ...' Both of the examples include the intterogative words, i.e. *daa* 'where' and *nuu* 'what,' and express the information question (see also §5.3.1).

However, there are a few cases where *ga* (FOC) is used not in the information question; they are

summarized below.

(10-12) *ga* (FOC) is used after,

a. *tuki=n* (time=DAT1);
b. temporal adverbs;
c. locational nominals;
d. adverbial clauses.

First, *ga* (FON) is used after *tuki=n* (time=DAT1), even if the clause does not express an information question.

(10-13) *ga* (FOC) is used after *tuki=n* (time=DAT1)

a. [= (4-25 c)]

TM:	|hizjoo|nu	tukinga	gan+gan	gan+gan
	hizjoo=nu	*tuki=n=ga*	*gan+gan*	*gan+gan*
	emergency=GEN	time=DAT1=FOC	RED+clang	RED+clang

zjanaucii.
zjana+ut-i
many+hit-INF
'When there was an emergency, (the person in charge) clanged (the bell) many times.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b.

TM:	|cjoodo|	un	tukinga	(anoo ..)	nasjenu
	cjoodo	*u-n*	*tuki=n=ga*		*nasje=nu*
	just	MES-ADNZ	time=DAT1=FOC		Naze=GEN

cjuugakkoo	|socugjoo|	sjɨ.
cjuugakkoo	*socugjoo*	*sɨr-tɨ*
junior.high.school	graduation	do-SEQ

'Just at the time, (the teacher came, who) had graduated from the junior high school in Naze.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Secondly, *ga* (FOC) is used after temporal adverbs, even if the clause does not express an information question.

(10-14) *ga* (FOC) is used after temporal adverbs

a. TM: kinjuga, (kinjuga) cuburutu (cuburutu) cubusitu

kinju=ga *kinju=ga* [*cuburu=tu* *cuburu=tu* *cubusi=tu*
yesterday=FOC yesterday=FOC head=COM head=COM knee=COM
jʔicjutɨga, warəəcjɨjo.
jʔ-tur-tɨ=ga]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *waraw-i=ccjɨ=joo*
say-PROG-SEQ=FOC laugh-INF=QT=CFM1
'Yesterday (I) said *cuburu* [i.e. 'head'] and *cubusi* [i.e. 'knee'] (in Yuwan for the present author), and (we) laughed.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: kunəədaga waakja dusinu, asikendusinu,
kunəəda=ga *waakja-a* *dusi=nu* *asiken+dusi=nu*
the.other.day=FOC 1PL-ADNZ friend=NOM Ashiken+frend=NOM
wututɨ,
wur-tur-tɨ
exist-PROG-SEQ
'The other day, there is my friend, (i.e.) a friend in Ashiken, and ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Thirdly, *ga* (FOC) is used after locational nominals, even if the clause does not express an information question. Interestingly, the locational nominals followed by *ga* (FOC) (in the non-information question) do not take the locative cases.

(10-15) *ga* (FOC) is used after locational nominals

a. TM: umaga atəkkamojaa.
u-ma=ga *ar-təər=kamo=jaa*
MES-place=FOC exist-RSL=POS=SOL
'(The chamber of commerce) may have been there.'
[lit. '(At) that place, (the chamber of commerce) may have existed.']

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [= (4-38 a)]
TM: umaga naikwanu dikɨppoo,
u-ma=ga *naikwa=nu* *dikɨr-boo*
MES-place=FOC department.of.internal.medicine=NOM be.set.up-CND
|kamera| numgja ikiiki.
kamera *num-Ø+gja* *ik-i+ik-i*
camera swallow-INF+PURP go-INF+go-INF
'After the department of internal medicine was set up there, (I) often went (there) in order to swallow the (stomach) camera.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Finally, *ga* (FOC) is used after adverbial clauses, even if the clause does not express an information question. (10-14 a) is an example of that. Other examples are shown below.

(10-16) *ga* (FOC) is used after adverbial clauses

a. TM: uninkara hɨɨtəəraga, uraa məəci
[*unin=kara* *hɨɨr-təəra*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* [*ura-a* *məə=kaci*
that.time=ABL get.up-after=FOC 2.NHON.SG-ADNZ place=ALL
|denwa|ba sjəəraga, bocuubocu cɨra arati,
denwa=ba *sɨr-təəra*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* *bocu+bocu* *cɨra* *araw-tɨ*
phone=ACC do-after=FOC RED+step.by.step face wash-SEQ
'After (I) got up since that time, and after (I) called you, (I) washed my face, and ...'
[Co: 101020_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM complains about the injury to her feet, since it made her unable to dance.]
TM: gan sjɨ natiga, urɨ
[*ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *nar-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* [*u-rɨ*
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ become-SEQ=FOC MES-NLZ
natiga, sɨrarancjɨjo.
nar-tɨ]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* *sɨr-ar-an=ccjɨ=joo*
become-SEQ=FOC do-CAP-NEG=QT=CFM1
'Since (it) is like that, and since (it) is that [i.e. TM trips over her own feet], (I) cannot do (it) [i.e. dance].'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

10.1.3. *n* 'also; even; ever'

The limiter particle *n* has several meanings, i.e. 'also,' 'even,' and 'ever,' which will be exemplified below in turn.

First, the limiter particle *n* means 'also' after NPs. The NP followed by *n* 'also' presupposes another referent that has some relationship to the referent indicated by the NP.

(10-17) *n* meaning 'also'

a. TM: sumii. uran acjoo xxx cʔjɨ kurɨrbanboo.
sumi *ura=n* *acja=ja* *k-tɨ* *kurɨr-an-boo*
Sumi 2.NHON.SG=also tomorrow=TOP come-SEQ BEN-NEG-CND
naa main kucin wakaranmun.
naa *mai=n* *kuci=n* *wakar-an=mun*
already buttock=also mouth=also understand-NEG=ADVRS

‘Sumi. If (not only the present author but) also you do not come tomorrow (for me), (I will be in trouble). (I) already cannot distinguish (not only complex things but) also the buttock and the mouth [i.e. cannot understand anything].’

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. TM: acjan dooka cʔjɨ kurɨppajoo.
acja=n *dooka* *k-tɨ* *kurɨr-ba=joo*
tomorrow=also please come-SEQ BEN-CSL=CFM1
‘Please come (for me) also tomorrow.’

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (10-17 a), *ura=n* ‘also you’ presupposes the existence of the present author, and *mai=n kuci=n* (buttock=also mouth=also) presupposes some complex things. See the free translation of (10-17 a). In (10-17 b), *n* ‘also’ follows directly a nominal that has temporal meaning such as *acja* ‘tomorrow.’ However, if *n* ‘also’ follows *nama* ‘now,’ it has to take *n* (DAT1) as in (10-18).

(10-18) [Context: Speaking of the outdoor lamps which was set in the past] = (9-57 b)
TM: namanin an aran?
nama=n=n *ar-n* *ar-an*
now=DAT1=also exist-PTCP COP-NEG
‘There are (outdoor lamps not only in the past but) aslo now, aren’t there?’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Secondly, the limiter particle *n* and the preceding adverbial clause (whose head verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)) means ‘even if’ (excluding the case of *nj-* (EXP), which is discussed later).

(10-19) *-tɨ* (SEQ) + *n* ‘even’ meaning ‘even if’
a. [= (8-103)]
TM: abɨtɨn, kikjanba. jʔicjɨn, kikjanba.
[*abɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n* *kik-an-ba* [*jʔ-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n* *kik-an-ba*
call-SEQ=even hear-NEG-CSL say-SEQ=even hear-NEG-CSL
‘Even if (I) call (her), (she) doesn’t hear. Even if (I) say (something to her), (she) doesn’t hear, so (I don’t visit her these days).’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: daa izjɨn, (an ..) |dɨisaabisu| izjɨn,
daa *ik-tɨ=n* [*a-n* *dɨisaabisu* *ik-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n*
where go-SEQ=any DIST-ADNZ day.care go-SEQ=even
‘Wherever (I) go, and even if (I) go to day-care (center), ...’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Thirdly, the limiter particle *n* means ‘ever’ before *nj-* (EXP) (see §9.1.1.1 for more details).

(10-20) *n* ‘ever’ + *nj-* (EXP)

TM:	asɨdɨn	njan.jaa.
	asɨb-tɨ=n	*nj-an=jaa*
	play-SEQ=ever	EXP-NEG=SOL
	Lex. verb	Aux. verb

‘(We) have never played (together), (have we?)’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Finally, if the limiter particle *n* follows an indefinite word (or a clause that includes an indefinite word), the questional function of the interrogative word is deleted, and the interrogative word is used as an indefinite word. For example, *nuu* ‘what’ plus *n* means ‘anything’ (see also §5.3.2). Tentatively, *n* in this use is glossed as ‘any.’ The interrogatives and *n* ‘any’ in underlying level, and their correspondents in free translation are underlined below.

(10-21) Interrogatives + *n* ‘any’

a.

TM:	nun	sɨran.joo.
	nuu=n	*sɨr-an=joo*
	what=any	do-NEG=CFM1

‘(That person) did not do anything.’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [= (8-44 a)]

TM:	|reitou|nansəəka	ucjukuboo,	ɨcɨɨgadɨ	jatɨn,
	reitou=nan=səəka	*uk-tuk-boo*	[*ɨcɨɨ=gadɨ*	*jar-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n*
	freezer=LOC1=just	put-PFV-CND	when=LMT	COP-SEQ=any

ucjukarɨi.	
uk-tuk-arɨr-i	
put-PFV-CAP-NPST	

‘If (you) put (the pickles) in the freezer, you can keep (them) no matter how long (the period of preservation) was.’

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

c.

TM:	daakara	mjicjɨn,	cunekocjɨ	urabjutattu.
	[*daa=kara*	*mj-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n*	*cuneko=ccjɨ*	*urab-jur-tar-tu*
	where=ABL	see-SEQ=any	Tsuneko=QT	call.loudly-UMRK-PST-CSL

‘No matter where (he) found (me), (he) called loudly, “Tsuneko.”’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

As mentioned in §5.3.2, another word may intervene between the interrogative words and *n* ‘any’ as in (10-21 b-c), where the adverbial clauses are similar to those in (10-20 a-b).

10.1.4. *bəi* ‘only; always; about’

The limiter particle *bəi* means a restrictoin such as (10-22 a), constancy such as (10-9 d), or a rough estimation such as (10-22 b). Each of them is translated as ‘only,’ ‘always,’ and ‘about’ in their glosses and free translation.

(10-22) a. *bəi* meaning a restriction (‘only’)

TM: |medama|bəidu jakjun.
medama=bəi=du *jak-jur-n*
sunny.side.up=only=FOC bake-UMRK-PTCP
‘(I) bake only (the egg that is baked) sunny-side up.’
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. *bəi* meaning a rough estimation (‘about’)

TM: |sanzjuunen|bəinu tukikamojaa.
sanzjuunen=bəi=nu *tuki=kamo=jaa*
the.year.30=about=GEN time=POS=SOL
‘(The date when this picture was taken) may be about (Showa) 30.’
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

10.1.5. *gadɨ* (LMT)

gadɨ (LMT) can be used as the case particle (see §6.3.2.12). Moreover, it may be used as a limiter particle as in (10-23 a-b). *gadɨ* (LMT) is used to express the limit of the speaker’s expectation (or the limit of the hearer’s expectation that the speaker assumes).

(10-23) *gadɨ* (LMT) as the limiter particle

a. TM: injahunɨkkwakacigadɨ |bonbon bakudan utusi|tattu.
inja+hunɨ-kkwa=kaci=gadɨ *bonbon* *bakudan* *utusi-tar-tu*
small+ship-DIM=ALL=LMT bong bomb drop-PST-CSL
‘(The American soldiers) dropped the bombs even on small ships.’
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Remembering a flood in the past when people tried to pull a house that was being flushed away]

TM: utɨgadəə sɨrantattu.
utɨr-Ø=gadɨ=ja *sɨr-an-tar-tu*
fall-INF=LMT=TOP do-NEG-PST-CSL
[Complement LV]$_{VP}$

‘(They) were unlikely to fall (in the river).’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-23 a), *gadɨ* (LMT) follows another case particle, i.e. *kaci* (ALL). In (10-23 b), *gadɨ* (LMT) follows the infinitive *utɨr-Ø* (fall-INF) in the complement slot in the LVC.

Before concluding this section, it is appropriate to mention that Yuwan has the clasue-final particle *gadɨ* (LMT) as in (10-56) in §10.3.10, where *gadɨ* (LMT) always follows the adjective. Additionally, there is the inflectional affix *-gadɨ* ‘until,’ which can directly follows a verbal root (see §8.4.3.4 for more details). It is probable that these morphemes have the same origin.

10.1.6. *nkja* (APPR)

nkja (APPR) can indicate an unspecific group, and also can indicate a referent as an example (see §6.4.1.1 for more details). *nkja* (APPR) can follow both nominals and verbs.

First, I will show the examples where *nkja* (APPR) follows nominals. In (10-24 a-d), *nkja* (APPR) precedes the case particles. In (10-24 e-g), *nkja* (APPR) follows the case particles.

(10-24) a. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *nu* (NOM)

TM: kun	|supiika|nkjanu	appa.
ku-n	*supiikaa=nkja=nu*	*ar-ba*
PROX-ADNZ	loudspeaker=APPR=NOM	exist-CSL

‘There are loudspeakers like this (in this picture), so (this picture must have been taken recently).’

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *ba* (ACC)

TM: urɨnkjaba	jˀicjutɨga,	warəəcjɨjo.
u-rɨ=nkja=ba	*jˀ-tur-tɨ=ga*	*waraw-i=ccjɨ=joo*
MES-NLZ=APPR=ACC	say-PROG-SEQ=FOC	laugh-INF=QT=CFM1

‘(We) were (always) saying a thing like that, and laughing.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *nu* (GEN)

TM: umankjanu	cjannui.
u-ma=nkja=nu	*cjan+nur-i*
MES-place=APPR=GEN	coal.tar+spread-INF

‘(The person) gave that place a coat of coal tar.’

[lit. ‘(The person was) to spread coal tar on that place.’]

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *n* (DAT1) [= (8-125 a)]

TM: |daibu| an c'junkjannja |daibu kuroo|
daibu a-n c'ju=nkja=n=ja daibu kuroo
many DIST-ADNZ person=APPR=DAT1=TOP many hardship
sɨmɨrasatta.
sɨmɨr-as-ar-ta
do.CAUS-CAUS-PASS-PST
'(I) was made go through many hardships by that person.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. *nkja* (APPR) follows *n* (DAT1) [= (9-45 f)]

TM: nobuariga mm kɨga sjun tukininkjoo
nobuari=ga kɨga sɨr-tur-n tukɨ=n=nkja=ja
Nobuari=NOM injury do-PROG-PTCP time=DAT1=APPR=TOP
huntoo kuwasa ata.
huntoo kuwa-sa ar-tar
really hard-ADJ STV-PST
'When Nobuari was suffering injuries, (it) was really hard (for me).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

f. *nkja* (APPR) follows *kaci* (ALL)

TM: hatɨikacinkja izjɨn, naa, kusa musijagacinan,
hatɨi=kaci=nkja ik-tɨ=n naa kusa muij-jagacinaa=n
field=ALL=APPR go-SEQ=even FIL weed pull-SIM=even
jukkadɨ uta.
jukkadɨ uta
always song
'Even if (my mother) goes to the field, and even while (she) pulls the weeds, (she) always (sings) a song.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

g. *nkja* (APPR) follows *nantɨ* (LOC2)

TM: mukasija umantɨnkjoo, waakjaga
mukasi=ja u-ma=nantɨ=nkja=ja waakja=ga
the.past=TOP MES-place=LOC2=APPR=TOP 1PL=NOM
injasain,
inja-sa+ar-i=n
small-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1
'In the past, at that place, when we were small [i.e. children], ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that *nkja* (APPR) follows nominals that are at the lower level in the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan, e.g., *supiikaa* 'loudspeaker' as in (10-24 a) (see also Table 44 in §6.4). However, if the preceding nominals have already taken a plural marker, i.e. -*kja* (PL) or -*taa* (PL), then *nkja* (APPR) can follow every kind of nominals even if the nominals are at the higer level in in the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan as in (10-25 a-b) (see (6-102) - (6-104) in §6.4.1.2 for more details).

(10-25) a. -*kja* (PL) + *nkja* (APPR)

[Context: Looking at a pictue, where there were a few men] = (6-102 a)

TM:	waakjankjoo	waasa	asaa.
	waakja=nkja=ja	*waa-sa*	*ar-sa*
	1PL=APPR=TOP	young-ADJ	STV-POL

'I am young(er than them).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. -*taa* (PL) + *nkja* (APPR)

TM:	nobuhito	okkantankjan	wutənban,
	nobuhito	*okkan-taa=nkja=n*	*wur-təər-n=ban*
	Nobuhito	mother-PL=APPR=also	exist-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS

'Nobuhito's mother and other people were also living (here), but ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Secondly, I will show the examples where *nkja* (APPR) follows verbs. In (10-26 a-d), *nkja* (APPR) follows -*tɨ* (SEQ). In (10-26 e), *nkja* (APPR) follows -*tai* (LST).

(10-26) -*tɨ=nkja* (SEQ=APPR)

a.

TM:	mata	un ..	micjaija	mudutɨnkja	cʔjattu,
	mata	*u-n*	*micjai=ja*	*mudur-tɨ=nkja*	*k-tar-tu*
	again	MES-ADNZ	three.person.CLF=TOP	return-SEQ=APPR	come-PST-CSL

'The three (boys) came back again, so ...'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b.

TM:	cʔjui	jinganu	hinzjaa	succjɨnkjoo,	uma
	cʔjui	*jinga=nu*	*hinzjaa*	*sukk-tɨ=nkja=ja*	*u-ma*
	one.person.CLF	man=NOM	goat	pull-SEQ=APPR=TOP	MES-place

tuutɨ	cʔjancjɨjoo.
tuur-tɨ	*k-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
pass-SEQ	come-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1

'A man pulled a goat alone, and came and passed there.'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

c. TM: mussjuuja hikjannənsjutɨ, maruu uccjutɨnkjoo,
mussjuu=ja *hik-an-nən=sjutɨ* *maruu* *ut-tur-tɨ=nkja=ja*
straw.mat=TOP spread-NEG-SEQ=SEQ ball hit-PROG-SEQ=APPR=TOP
asɨbantɨ?
asɨb-an-tɨ
play-NEG-SEQ
'Not spreading a straw mat, didn't (you) play (something) like hitting a ball?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: sɨgu cuburunan kan sjɨ nusɨtɨnkjadu,
sɨgu *cuburu=nan* *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *nusɨr-tɨ=nkja=du*
as.soon.as head=LOC1 PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ put.on-SEQ=APPR=FOC
aikjutattu.
aik-jur-tar-tu
walk-UMRK-PST-CSL
'(I) used to walk putting (the load) on the head immediately as soon as (I felt it heavy), so (our life style in the old days is similar to that of Vietnam).'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

-tai=nkja (LST=APPR)

e. TM: minnan kʔubatainkjan sjanmun,
minna=n *kʔubar-tai=nkja=n* *sɨr-tar-n=mun*
everyone=DAT1 distribute-LST=APPR=also do-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'(People) distributed (the pamphlet of songs) to everyone, but ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Before concluding this section, I will present a good example that exemplifies how many times *nkja* (APPR) can be used in a clause.

(10-27) [Context: TM talks to MS. (MS's reply is omitted from the convesation for convenience.)]
TM: koobunɨjajoo urakjaa cʔjantankja, josidankja,
koo+hunɨ=ja=joo *urakja-a* *cʔan-taa=nkja* *josida=nkja*
river+boat=TOP=CFM1 2.NHON.PL-ADNZ father-PL=APPR Yoshida=APPR
an noogusukuntɨnkja agan sjɨ sjun
a-n *noogusuku=nantɨ=nkja* *aga-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *sɨr-jur-n*
DIST-ADNZ Nogusuku=LOC2=APPR DIST-ADVZ do-SEQ do-UMRK-PTCP
cʔjunkjanu kumɨ |hakobi|.
cʔju=nkja=nu *kumɨ* *hakobi*
person=APPR=GEN rice carrying
'The river boat (was used for) the people who do things like that (e.g.,) your father (and)

Yoshida (,) to carry the rice.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

10.1.7. *kusa* 'just'

I will show an example of *kusa* 'just' below.

(10-28) *kusa* 'just' [= (8-37 a)]

TM: an	gazimarunu	appoo,	naa,	huntoo,	naa,
a-n	*gazimaru=nu*	*ar-boo*	*naa*	*huntoo*	*naa*
DIST-ADNZ	banyan.tree=NOM	exist-CND	FIL	real	FIL

urɨkusa,	naa,	|nippon.ici|	jatəijoo.
u-rɨ=kusa	*naa*	*nippon+ici*	*jar-təər-i=joo*
MES-NLZ=just	FIL	Japan+one	COP-RSL-NPST=CFM1

'If that banyan tree existed, that would be just the (number) one in Japan.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In fact, there is only an example of (10-28) that uses *kusa* 'just' in the text data. The details of *kusa* 'just' should be investigated in future research.

10.1.8. *səəka* 'if only'

I will show an example of *səəka* 'if only' below.

(10-29) *səəka* 'if only'

TM: attaaga,	hɨnmaban	sɨrɨccjɨsəəka	juuboo,
a-rɨ-taa=ga	*hɨnma-ban*	*sɨr-ɨ=ccjɨ=səəka*	*jʔ-boo*
DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM	noon-meal	do-IMP=QT=if.only	say-CND

hɨnmabanunkjoo	nunkuin	sjoosjunban,
hɨnma-ban=nkja=ja	*nuu-nkuin*	*sjoos-jur-n=ban*
noon-meal=APPR=TOP	what-INDFZ	prepare-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS

'If (I) say that, "Make the lunch!" (to my daughters), they will prepare anything (for) the lunch, but (I don't say it).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In fact, there is only an example of (10-29) that uses *səəka* 'if only' in the text data. The details of *səəka* 'if only' should be investigated in future research.

10.2. Conjunctive particles

Yuwan has the conjuctive particles as in Table 98. The conjunctive particle and the clasue that precedes it function as the adverbial clause. The units connected by the conjunctive particles in Yuwan are only clauses (not words nor phrases), which is different from *and* or *or* in English.

Table 98. Conjunctive particles

		Prededing morphemes			
		Verbal			Adjectival
Form	Meaning	*-n* (PTCP)	*-an* (NEG)	*-nən* (SEQ)	*-sa* (ADJ)
ban	Adversative	+	+	-	-
mun	Adversative	+	+	-	-
kara	Causal	+	+	-	-
sjutɨ	Sequential	-	+	+	-
nu	Causal	-	-	-	+

The above table shows the kinds of the morphemes that immediately precede the concjunctive particles (i.e. the phonological hosts of the conjunctive particles). In the following sections, I will present examples of each conjunctive particle in turn.

10.2.1. *ban* (ADVRS)

The conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS) always follows the participle, and the clause followed by *ban* (ADVRS) functions as an adverbial clause expressing the adversative meaning such as 'but.'

(10-30) a. After *-n* (PTCP) [= (4-20 b)]

TM: wanna honami-|cjan| naaja siccjunban,
wan=ja honami-cjan naa=ja sij-tur-n=ban
1SG=TOP Honami-DIM name=TOP know-PROG-PTCP=ADVRS
naakjaa juminu naaja sijandoojaa.
naakjaa jumɨ=nu naa=ja sij-an=doo=jaa
2PL.HON.ADNZ daughter.in.law=GEN name=TOP know-NEG=ASS=SOL
'I know Honami's name, but don't know the name of your daughter in law.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. After *-an* (NEG)

TM: gan sjəə j^{ʔ}iija siranban,
ga-n sɨr-tɨ=ja j^{ʔ}-i=ja sɨr-an=ban
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ=TOP say-INF=TOP do-NEG=ADVRS
jiccjaccjɨdu umujun.|joonakanzi| jappa.

jiccj-sa=ccjɨ=du *umuw-jur-n=joonakanzi* *jar-ba*
good-ADJ=QT=FOC think-UMRK-PTCP=appearance COP-CSL
'(They) do not say like that, but (they) seems to think that (it is) not necessary [lit. good], so ...'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

10.2.2. *mun* (ADVRS)

The conjunctive particle *mun* (ADVRS) always follows the participle, and the clause followed by *mun* (ADVRS) functions as an adverbial clause expressing the adversative meaning such as 'but.'

(10-31) After -*n* (PTCP)

a. TM: mukkoojocjɨ jˀicjanmun, naa, nənsjutɨjaa,
mukk-oo=joo=ccjɨ *jˀ-tar-n=mun* *naa* *nə-an=sjutɨ=jaa*
bring-IMP=CFM1=QT say-PST-PTCP=ADVRS FIL exist-NEG=SEQ=SOL
mukkonba.
mukk-on-ba
bring-NEG-CSL
'(I) said, "Bring (the tape)!" However, (probably she) lost (it), and (she) won't bring (it).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM: waakjoo mata hanasiga zjoozɨ, urɨ jappoo
waakja=ja *mata* *hanasi=ga* *zjoozɨ* *u-rɨ* *jar-boo*
1PL=TOP well speaking=NOM good.at MES-NLZ COP-CND
jiccjanmun, wanna hanasiga |heta|
jiccj-sa+ar-n=mun *waakja=ja* *hanasi=ga* *heta*
good-ADJ+STV-PTCP=ADVRS 1PL=TOP speaking=NOM poor.at
jappa.
jar-ba
COP-CSL
'If I am so, (i.e.) good at speaking, (it) would be good, but I am poor at speaking, so (I'm sorry).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

After -*an* (NEG)

c. [= (9-50 b)]
TM: hankəəcjakkoo nənmun, hankəəmai zjajaa.
hankəər-Ø+cja-kkoo *nə-an=mun* *hankəə-Ø+mai* *zjar=jaa*
tumble-INF+want-ADJ STV-NEG=ADVRS tumble-INF+OBL COP=SOL

‘(I) don’t want to tumble, but will have to tumble (for the play).’

[El: 110917]

The conjunctive particle *mun* (ADVRS) has the same form with the nominal *mun* ‘substance.’ It is probable that they have the same origin. However, they are different morphemes at least in the modern Yuwan, since *mun* (ADVRS) can be preceded by the copula participle /jan/ *jar-n* (COP-PTCP), which cannot occur when the head of the adnominal clause is an ordinary nominal; see (9-67 b) in §9.4.1 for more details.

(10-32) After *jar-n* (COP-PTCP)

TM:	sjoogacɨnu	məə	janmun,	ikjasjɨga
	sjoogacɨ=nu	*məə*	*jar-n=mun*	*ikja-sjɨ=ga*
	the.New.Year’s.Day	front	COP-PTCP=ADVRS	how-ADVZ=FOC

sjuruccjɨ,	nattəənkja	hanasjagacinaa,
sɨr-jur-u=ccjɨ	*naa-ttəə=nkja*	*hanas-jagacinaa*
do-UMRK-PFC=QT	2.HON-DU=APPR	talk-SIM

‘The couple was saying that, “(It) will be the New Year’s Day soon [lit. (It) is in front of the New Year’s Day], but how do (we) do?”’

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (10-32), *mun* (ADVRS) is preceded by *jar-n* (COP-PTCP). That means *mun* (ADVRS) can appear in a syntactic position different from the nominal proper. Thus, I propose that *mun* (ADVRS) is a conjunctive particle in modern Yuwan.

There are many examples where the superordinate clauses of the adverbial clause of *mun* (ADVRS) are omitted. Usually, the superordinate clauses can be reconstructed by the contexts. However, there is a case where the reconstruction of the superordinate clause is difficult as in (10-33).

(10-33) *mun* (ADVRS) withouth the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level)

TM:	jazin	kjunmuncjɨ	umutɨ	kurɨranboo.
	jazin	*k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ*	*umuw-tɨ*	*kurɨr-an-boo*
	necessarily	come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT	think-SEQ	BEN-NEG-CND

‘(You) have to think that necessarily (you) will come.’

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Both of *mun* (ADVRS) in this section and *ban* (ADVRS) in §10.2.1 can mean the adversative meaning. The semantic difference between them is not clear to me, and the more elaborated research is required in future.

10.2.3. *kara* (CSL)

The conjunctive particle *kara* (CSL) always follows the participle, and the clause followed by *kara* (CSL)

functions as an adverbial clause expressing a causal meaning. I will present examples below.

(10-34) a. After *-n* (PTCP) [= (10-9 a)]

TM: takennan umoojutankara, |hotondo| takennu
taken=nan *umoor-jur-tar-n=kara* *hotondo* *taken=nu*
Taken=LOC1 exist-UMRK-PST-PTCP=CSL almost Taken=GEN
munbəidu ucɨcjəija.
mun=bəi=du *ucɨs-təər-i=jaa*
thing=only=FOC take-RSL-NPST=SOL
'Since (he) used to be in Taken, (he) took only the (pictures) of Taken.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. After *-an* (NEG)

TM: naa ukuppoo, .. wakarankara, (mmm) məəgadɨ |cjokusecu|
naa *ukur-boo* *wakar-an=kara* *məə=gadɨ* *cjokusecu*
FIL send-CND know-NEG=CSL place=LMT directly
un kʔurumanan xxx
u-n *kʔuruma=nan*
MES-ADNZ car=LOC1
'If (one) sends (the relief supplies there), (one) cannot know (whether they actually arrive there), so (the people in the village office decided to carry them) directly to the place (by loading them) on that car.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In fact, the conjunctive particle *kara* (CSL) has the same form with the case particle *kara* (ABL) in §6.3.2.10, and it is probable that they have the same origin. Moreover, it is probable that both of *kara* (CSL) and *kara* (ABL) have the same origin with (the original constituent of) *-təəra* 'after' (see §9.3.2.2 for more details).

10.2.4. *sjutɨ* (SEQ)

The conjunctive particle *sjutɨ* (SEQ) always follows *-an* (NEG) or *-nən* (SEQ), and the clause followed by *sjutɨ* (SEQ) functions as an adverbial clause expressing a sequential meaning. The example where *sjutɨ* (SEQ) follows *-nən* (SEQ) was already shown in (10-26 c) in §10.1.6. Thus, I will show an example of *-an* (NEG) followed by *sjutɨ* (SEQ).

(10-35) After *-an* (NEG)

TM: waakjoo iziga sɨransjutɨ, sijan.

waakja=ja	*izir-Ø=ga*	*sɨr-an=sjutɨ*	*sij-an*
1PL=TOP	go.out-INF=NOM	do-NEG=SEQ	know-NEG

'I was not able to go out (in those days), so (I) don't know (it).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The clause followed by *sjutɨ* (SEQ) can be used without its superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level).

(10-36) Withouth the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level)

TM:	naa,	cjankjoo	waasannənsjutɨdoo
	naa	*cja=nkja=ja*	*waas-an-nən=sjutɨ=doo*
	FIL	tea=APPR=TOP	boil-NEG-SEQ=SEQ=ASS

'(I) have forgotten to brew up the tea (for you).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

sjutɨ (SEQ) has the same form with the converb /sjutɨ/ *sɨr-tur-tɨ* (do-PROG-SEQ), and it is probable that they have the same origin. However, I propose that they are different in modern Yuwan, since *sjutɨ* (SEQ) always keeps its form (i.e. does not take another inflection) when it follows *-an* (NEG) or *-nən* (SEQ). On the contrary, *sɨr-* 'do' can take any inflection (not only *-tur-tɨ* (PROG-SEQ)) if it is preceded by the morphemes other than *-an* (NEG) or *-nən* (SEQ) (see §9.1.2.1 for more details).

10.2.5. *nu* (CSL)

The conjunctive particle *nu* (SEQ) always follows an adjective (whose inflection is *-sa* (ADJ)), and the clause followed by *nu* (SEQ) functions as an adverbial clause expressing a causal meaning.

(10-37) a. [= (9-44 c)]

TM:	waakjoo	utussjanu,	aicjɨn	njanta.
	waakja=ja	*utussj-sa=nu*	*aik-tɨ=n*	*nj-an-tar*
	1PL=TOP	fearful-ADJ=CSL	walk-SEQ=ever	EXP-NEG-PST

'I was fearful (of the American soldiers), so did not walk (around).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b.

TM:	dujasanu,	ikizɨmai	jatattujaa.
	duja-sa=nu	*ikizɨmai*	*jar-tar-tu=jaa*
	rich-ADJ=CSL	comfortable	COP-PST-CSL=SOL

'(He) was rich, so (he) was comfortable.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

nu (CSL) has the same form with *nu* (NOM) or *nu* (GEN), but it is difficult to regard the function of *nu*

(CSL) as that of *nu* (NOM) or *nu* (GEN), since a nominal cannot be used to express a causal meaning as in (10-38).

(10-38) A nominal cannot precede *nu* (CSL) [= (9-68b)]

TM:	*arəə	warabɨnu,	waarandaro.
	a-rɨ=ja	*warabɨ=nu*	*waar-an=daroo*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	child=CSL	understand-NEG=SUPP

(Intended meaning) 'That (boy) is a child, so probably (he) cannot understand (it).'

[El: 130822]

There are examples where the clauses followed by *nu* (CSL) appear without their superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level) as in (10-39) (see also §9.2.1).

(10-39) Withouth the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level)

[Context: Talking about the old days when people in Yuwan carried their loads by putting them on their heads]

TM:	kan	sjɨ	muccjəə,	ubusanu.
	ka-n	*sɨr-tɨ*	*mut-tɨ=ja*	*ubu-sa=nu*
	PROX-ADVZ	do-SEQ	hold-SEQ=TOP	heavy-ADJ=CSL

'If (you) hold (the loads) like this [i.e. holding them under your arm], (they are) heavy, so (it is better to put them on your head).'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

10.3.Clause-final particles

Yuwan has the clause-final particles as in Table 84. A clause-final particle can be hosted by a clause. The clause followed by a clause-final particle is not embedded into any superordinate clause (except for the case when it is followed by *ccjɨ* (QT), which can embed any clause into the superordinate clause).

Table 99. Clause-final particles

Category	Form	Meaning
Speech act	*doo*	Assertion
	na	Polar question
	i	Polar question
	jəə	Confirmation
	ga	Confirmation
Modality	*kai*	Dubitative

	daroo	Supposition
	kamo	Possibility
Others	*zjɨ*	Direction
	gadɨ	Limitative
	wake	?

In principle, a clause-final particle is not followed by another clause-final particle. However, there are three exceptions: *zjɨ* (DIRC) may be followed by *jəə* (CFM2); *daroo* (SUPP) may be followed by *ga* (CFM3); and *ga* (CFM3) may be followed by *i* (PLQ). In the following sections, I will present examples of each clause-final particle in turn.

10.3.1. *doo* (ASS)

doo (ASS) expresses that the proposition of the clause is a new information for the hearer.

(10-40) *doo* (ASS)

a. After the verbal predicate phrase [= (6-17 b)]

TM: samisjen kikjunbunsjɨ nuuutaccjəə
samisjen *kik-jur-n=bun=sjɨ* *nuu+uta=ccjɨ=ja*
samisen hear-UMRK-PTCP=share=INST what+song=QT=TOP
sɨgu wakajuttoo.
sɨgu *wakar-jur=doo*
soon understand-UMRK=ASS
'Soon (I) can understand what song (it is) only by hearing (the sound of the) samisen.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. After the adjectival predicate phrase

TM: amanu mjoo mʔasa attoo.
a-ma=nu *mja=ja* *mʔa-sa* *ar=doo*
DIST-place=GEN k.o.shell.fish tasty-ADJ STV=ASS
'The shell fish of that place is tasty.'

[El: 110327]

c. After the nominal predicate phrase

TM: kurɨ minna katakʔwasidoo.
ku-rɨ *minna* *kata+kʔwasi=doo*
PROX-NLZ all model+sweet=ASS
'All (of) these things are *katakʔwasi* [i.e. a kind of sweets].'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

10.3.2. *na* (PLQ)

na (PLQ) expresses the polar question (i.e. the so-called "yes-no question"). Therefore, it cannot co-occur with an interrogative word.

First of all, I will show the morphophonological alternation of *na* (PLQ) below. If *na* (PLQ) follows the non-past affix -*i*, both morphemes go through assimilation. First, *na* (PLQ) becomes /nja/ being influenced by -*i* (NPST) (progressive palatalization). Then, -*i* (NPST) becomes /n/ being influenced by /nja/ (PLQ) (regressive nasalization).

(10-41) -*i* (NPST) + *na* (PLQ) > (palatalization) //i=nja// > (nasalization) > /n=nja/

(10-42) a. Assimilation occurs
wakar-jur-i (understand-UMRK-NPST) + *na* (PLQ) > /waka-ju-n=nja/ (*/waka-ju-i=na/)
b. Assimilation does not occur
wakar-an (understand-NEG) + *na* (PLQ) > /wakar-an=na/ (*/wakar-an=nja/)

In the surface-form level, the verb-final phoneme that precedes /nja/ (PLQ) is /n/ as in (10-42 a). Thus, one might think that this /n/ is not made of -*i* (NPST), but think that it is the participial affix -*n* from the beginning (see §8.4.2.1), and that there is another question particle such as *nja* (besides *na*). However, /nja/ that expresses the polar question appears only in affirmative (and also in the non-past tense). In negative, /na/ (not /nja/) appears as in (10-42 b). Thus, in order to explain this palatalization from //na// to /nja/, we have to postulate the existense of -*i* (NPST) in the underlying-form level. That is, the verb-final /n/ in (10-42 a) is not -*n* (PTCP).

I will present other examples of *na* (PLQ) below.

(10-43) *na* (PLQ)
a. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verb ends with -*i* (NPST)

TM:	ude,	uraga	wunnja?
	ude	*ura=ga*	*wur-i=<u>na</u>*
	hey	2.NHON.SG=NOM	exist-NPST=PLQ

'Hey, are you (in this picture)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verb ends with -*tɨ* (SEQ)

TM:	misjoocjɨna?
	misjoor-tɨ=<u>na</u>
	eat.HON-SEQ=PLQ

'Did (you) eat (it)?'

[El: 121010]

c. After the adjectival predicate phrase whose final verb ends with *-i* (NPST) [= (9-69 c)]

TM:	arəə	sijusannja?
	a-rɨ=ja	*siju-sa+ar-i=na*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	white-ADJ+STV-NPST=PLQ
	'Is that white?'	

[El: 130822]

d. After the nominal predicate phrase

TM: ututuuna?
ututu[71]*=na*
younger=PLQ
'(Is your uncle) younger (than your mother)?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The above examples show that *na* (PLQ) can follow all kinds of the predicate phrases.

Furthermore, if *na* (PLQ) follows *-sɨga* (POL), it expresses that the speaker tries to get the hearer to remember (or notice) the proposition (expressed by the clause it attaches to). In that case, *na* (PLQ) does not function as a (polar) question in effect.

(10-44) *-sɨga=na* (POL=PLQ)

a. TM:

ukka	məəga	sanbasi	jatassɨgana.
u-rɨ=ga	*məə=ga*	*sanbasi*	*jar-tar-sɨga=na*
MES-NLZ=GEN	front=NOM	pier	COP-PST-POL=PLQ

'(You should remember that there was) a pier in front of that.' [lit. 'The front of that was a pier.']

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM:

uroo	kunuguroo	|cue|	cukansɨgana.
ura=ja	*kunuguru=ja*	*cue*	*cuk-an-sɨga=na*
2.NHON.SG=TOP	these.days=TOP	stick	stick-NEG-POL=PLQ

'(You should notice that) you don't use the stick these days.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

These uses of *na* (PLQ) in (10-44 a-b) seem to have some commonality with the combination of *ga* (CFM3) and *i* (PLQ), which also does not function as a (polar) question (see §10.3.5 for more details).

10.3.3. *i* (PLQ)

i (PLQ) expresses the polar question (i.e. the so-called "yes-no question") as well as *na* (PLQ). However, the words that can precede *i* (PLQ) are partly different from *na* (PLQ). *i* (PLQ) can follow *-oo* (INT), *-u* (PFC),

[71] *ututu* 'younger' is a nominal, and its word-final vowel is sometimes lengthened.

-təəra ‘after,’ and nominals (see aslo §2.4.3). It can also follow *ga* (CFM3), which is another clause-final particle (see §10.3.5).

(10-45) *i* (PLQ)

a. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-oo* (INT)

TM:	nun	nənboo,	kurɨroi?
	nuu=n	*nə-an-boo*	*kurɨr-oo=i*
	what=even	exist-NEG-CND	give-INT=PLQ

‘If (you) don’t have anything, (should I) give (something to you)?’

[El: 110327]

b. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-u* (PFC) [= (8-76 d)]

TM:	kurəə	|maiku|du	muccjurui?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*maiku=du*	*mut-tur-u=i*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	microphone=FOC	hold-PROG-PFC=PLQ
	kun	cʔjoo.	
	ku-n	*cʔju=ja*	
	PROX-ADNZ	person=TOP	

‘About this (picture), is this person holding a microphone?’

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-təəra* ‘after’ [= (6-11 b)]

TM:	nanga	kunəəda	umoocjasəə	kun
	nan=ga	*kunəəda*	*umoor-tar=sɨ=ja*	*ku-n*
	2.HON.SG=NOM	the.other.day	come.HON-PST=FN=TOP	PROX-ADNZ
	cʔjunu	cʔjəərai?		
	cʔju=nu	*k-təəra=i*		
	person=NOM	come-after=PLQ		

‘(Is it) after this person [i.e. the present author] came (to your house) that you [i.e. US] came (here) the other day?’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. After the nominal predicate

[Context: TM called Umine who had just arrived in front of the TM’s house.]

TM:	uminenəi?
	umine+nəə=i
	Umine+elder.sister=PLQ

‘(Are you) Umine?’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

e. After *ga* (CFM3)

TM: naokonəəcjɨ wanga jʔicjaroogai?

naoko+nəə=ccjɨ *wan=ga* *jʔ-tar-oo=ga=i*

Naoko+elder.sister=QT 1SG=NOM say-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

'(You remember that) I said Naoko (before), (don't you)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-45 a), *i* (PLQ) follows *-oo* (INT). *-oo* (INT) expresses the speaker's intention (see §8.5.1.2). It is unnatural to assume that the speaker asks the hearer whether the speaker herself has any attention to do the action indicated by the verbal stem. In fact, the combination of *-oo* (INT) and *i* (PLQ) asks the hearer whether the speaker's intention to do the action indicated by the verbal stem is appropriate in the hearer's view.

10.3.4. *jəə* (CFM2)

jəə (CFM2) always follows *-oo* (INT) as in (10-46). The speaker tries to make sure that the hearer agree with the speaker's action by *jəə* (CFM2). They may be intervened by *zjɨ* (DIRC), which is another clause-final particle (see §10.3.9).

(10-46) *-oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) [= (8-59 b)]

a. TM: |onigiri| sjɨ, mutasoojəə.

onigiri *sɨr-tɨ* *mut-as-oo=jəə*

rice.ball do-SEQ have-CAUS-INT=CFM2

'(I) will make a rice ball, and get (the present author) to have (it).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. US: wanna ikjoojəə.

wan=ja *ik-oo=jəə*

1SG=TOP go-INT=CFM2

'I will go (back home).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The verb that includs *-oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) necessarily excludes the hearer from the action indicated by the verbal stem. On the contrary, *-oo=jaa* (INT=SOL) necessarily includes the hearer from the action indicated by the verbal stem (see §10.5.2.2 for more details).

10.3.5. *ga* (CFM3)

ga (CFM3) follows *-oo* (SUPP) or *daroo* (SUPP) as in (10-47) with the exception where it follows a verbal root as in (10-48 a-b). Additionally, *ga* (CFM3) may be followed by *i* (PLQ) as in (10-47 b, d). The combinations of *-oo=ga* (SUPP=CFM3) or *daroo=ga* (SUPP=CFM3) express that the speaker wants the hearer to confrim the speaker's suppostion (or memory).

(10-47) *-oo* (SUPP) + *ga* (CFM3)

a. TM: uraga (mm koo) naradutɨ, kootancjɨ
ura=ga *koow-* *narab-tur-tɨ* *koow-tar-n=ccjɨ*
2.NHON.SG=NOM buy- line.up-PROG-SEQ buy-PST-PTCP=QT
jurooga.
jʔ-jur-oo=ga
say-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3
'(I hope you remember that) you say that (you) lined up to buy (the lunch box).'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. [= (8-41)]
TM: wanga kicjuncjɨ umutɨdu, urattəə
wan=ga *kik-tur-n=ccjɨ* *umuw-tɨ=du* *urattəə*
1SG=NOM hear-PROG-PTCP=QT think-SEQ=FOC 2.NHON.DU
gan sjan aran hanasi sjaroogai?
ga-n *sɨr-tar-n* *ar-an* *hanasi* *sɨr-tar-oo=ga=i*
MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP COP-NEG tale do-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Probably you told the unlikely tale like that since (you) thought that I was listening to (that), didn't you?'
[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

daroo (SUPP) + *ga* (CFM3)

c. TM: cuburuga kumadarooga.
cuburu=ga *ku-ma=daroo=ga*
head=NOM PROX-place=SUPP=CFM3
'(I hope you admit that the place indicated by the word) *cuburu* [i.e. head] is here.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. TM: waakja jinganu kʔwankjoo wurandaroogai?
waakja-a *jinga=nu* *kʔwa=nkja=ja* *wur-an=daroo=ga=i*
1PL-ADNZ male=GEN child=APPR=TOP exist-NEG=SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Probably there aren't my sons [lit. male children], are they?'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

It is probable that *i* (PLQ) that follows *ga* (CFM3) as in (10-47 b, d) does not express the polar question. Rather, it seems that *i* (PLQ) strengthenes the function of *ga* (CFM3). This is exemplified more clearly in (10-73) in §10.4.1.6. In that example, the speaker told the hearer about the film that the hearer had not seen. In that case, it is natural to think that the hearer do not know the contents of the film. Furthermore, it is unnatural that the speaker, who watched the film, asks the hearer about that. Thus, *i* (PLQ) in that example does not express the polar question in effect. Rather, the speaker tried hard to get the speaker to understand the story by the expression, i.e. *-oo=ga=i* (SUPP=CFM3=PLQ).

In almost all of the examples in my texts, *ga* (CFM3) follows *-oo* (SUPP) or *daroo* (SUPP). However, there is an example where *ga* (CFM3) follows a verbal root as in (10-48 a). There is a similar example in elicitation as in (10-48 b).

(10-48) Verbal root + *ga* (CFM3)

a. TM: namawui jappoo, wukka.
namawui *jar-boo* *wur=ga*
now COP-CND exist=CFM3
'(The shopkeeper) will be there now.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: kjurasa akka.
kjura-sa *ar=ga*
beautiful-ADJ STV=CFM3
'(It) is beautiful.'
[El: 12921]

ga (CFM3) has the same form with *ga* (FOC). However, I have not yet found the diachronic relation or the synchronic commonality between these two morphemes.

10.3.6. *kai* (DUB)

kai (DUB) expresses the speaker's dubitation over the proposition expressed by the clause it attaches to. It may co-occur with the interrogative word as in (10-49 d), which is different from *na* (PLQ) and *i* (PLQ). Additionally, the verbal forms that can precede *kai* (DUB) are not so restricted as those of *na* (PLQ) and *i* (PLQ).

(10-49) *kai* (DUB)

a. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-tar* (PST)

TM: cukujun c$^{?}$junu wutakai?
cukur-jur-n *c$^{?}$ju=nu* *wur-tar=kai*
make-UMRK-PTCP person=NOM exist-PST=DUB
'Was there a person who made (a silk from a cocoon)?'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)

TM: |hoka|nuturookara maju mucjɨ kii jatɨkai?
hoka=nu=turoo=kara *maju* *mut-tɨ* *k-i* *jar-tɨ=kai*
other=GEN=place=ABL silk have-SEQ come-INF COP-SEQ=DUB
'Did (people) bring the silk from another place?'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. After the adjectival predicate whose final verb ends with the verbal root *ar-* (STV)

TM:	arəə	sijusa	akkai?
	a-rɨ=ja	*siju-sa*	*ar=kai*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	white-ADJ	STV=DUB
	'Is that white?'		

[El: 130822]

d. After the nominal predicate whose head is *daa* 'where' (the interrogative word)

TM:	kurəə	daakai?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*daa=kai*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	where=DUB
	'Where is this (place on the picture)?'	

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

e. After the nominal predicate whose head is *gakkoo* 'school' (a common noun) [= (6-117 d)]

TM:	naakjaga	|socugjoo|	sjəəraga	waakjoo	|gakkoo|kai?
	naakja=ga	*socugjoo*	*sɨr-təəra=ga*	*waakja=ja*	*gakkoo=kai*
	2.HON.PL=NOM	graduation	do-after=FOC	1PL=TOP	school=DUB
	'(Is it) after you had graduated (from the elementary school, when) I (began to go to) school?'				

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

As mentioned before, the finite-form affix *-tar* (PST) cannot be used in the interrogative clause, and in that case, *-tɨ* (SEQ) is used instead to express the past tense (see also §8.4.1.1 and §11.2.1 for more details). However, *kai* (DUB) can be used with *-tar* (PST) as in (10-49 a), since it expresses the speaker's wondering to herself. In other words, the clauses followed by *kai* (DUB) are not addressed to the hearer directly. In addition, *kai* (DUB) can co-occur *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (10-49 b) as well. The function of *kai* (DUB), which avoids direct question to the hearer, is more clearly shown in (10-50), where the interrogative word for the information question, i.e. *nuu* 'what,' can co-occur with *-tar* (PST) since the clause is followed by *kai* (DUB).

(10-50) *nuu* 'what' co-occuring with *-tar* (PST) because of *kai* (DUB)

[Context: MS asked TM whether the place in the picture used to be called "Yubinhana."]

TM:	nuucjɨga	jutakaijaa?
	nuu=ccjɨ=ga	*jʔ-jur-tar=kai=jaa*
	what=QT=FOC	call-UMRK-PST=DUB=SOL
	'(I) wonder what (people) used to call (the place).'	

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

kai (DUB) may be followed by the utterance-final particle B *jaa* (SOL). In that case, *kai* (DUB) may retain its form as in (10-50) and (10-51 a), or may lose one of its word-final vowel, i.e., become /ka/, as in (10-51 b).

(10-51) *kai* (DUB) + *jaa* (SOL)

a. TM: kunnagatɨinu |sjoobainin|na wurantɨkaijaa.
ku-n=nagatɨi=nu *sjoobainin=ja* *wur-an-tɨ=kai=jaa*
PROX-ADNZ=along=GEN merchant=TOP exist-NEG-SEQ=DUB=SOL
'Wasn't there a merchant from this neighborhood?'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: |sjuusjengo|ja arankajaa?
sjuusjengo=ja *ar-an=kai=jaa*
after.war=TOP COP-NEG=DUB=SOL
'Isn't (this picture taken) after the war [i.e. World War II]?'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

10.3.7. *daroo* (SUPP)

daroo (SUPP) expresses the speaker's supposition. It sometimes becomes /daro/ before *ccjɨ* (QT) or *jaa* (SOL). *daroo* (SUPP) follows *-an* (NEG) as in (10-52 a), *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (10-52 b), or the nominal predicate as in (10-52 c).

(10-52) *daroo* (SUPP)

a. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-an* (NEG)

TM: sijandaroo.
sij-an=daroo
know-NEG=SUPP
'(He) maybe does not know (the river boat).'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)

TM: gan sjɨ natɨ, (naa) naa mudutɨdaroccjɨ
ga-n *sɨr-tɨ* *nar-tɨ* *naa* *naa* *mudur-tɨ=daroo=ccjɨ*
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-SEQ already already return-SEQ=SUPP=QT
umututanwakejo.
umuw-tur-tar-n=wake=joo
think-PROG-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
'Then [lit. Since (it) does like that], (I)'ve been thinking that (the present author) had probably already returned (to Tokyo).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. After the nominal predicate

TM: |sannin|na mata, naa, uma .. tuujun

sannin=ja	*mata*	*naa*	*u-ma*	*tuur-jur-n*
three.person.CLF=TOP	again	FIL	MES-place	pass-UMRK-PTCP

c$^{?}$judaroo.
c$^{?}$ju=daroo
person=SUPP
'Probably, the three people are people who pass there.'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

The verbal affix *-oo* (SUPP), which has the same function with *daroo* (SUPP), cannot directly follow *-an* (NEG) (see §8.4.1.2). Thus, *daroo* (SUPP), which can directly follow *-an* (NEG), fills the blank of the combination as in (10-52 a).

One might think that *daroo* (SUPP) is composed of a copula verbal root plus *-oo* (SUPP), i.e. *dar-oo* (COP-SUPP). In fact, there is an example where *dar-* (COP) takes another inflection, e.g., /dajoottoo/ *dar-joor=doo* (COP-POL=ASS) in elicitation. However, the copula does not use the morpheme *dar-* in principle (see §8.3.3). Furthermore, *daroo* (SUPP) can follow another copula as in (10-53).

(10-53) *daroo* (SUPP) following another copula verb [= (8-86 a)]

TM:	niizinnu	appa,	arandaroo.
	niizin=nu	*ar-ba*	*ar-an=daroo*
	carrot=NOM	exist-CSL	COP-NEG=SUPP

'There are (pieces of) a carrot, so maybe (the pickles) are not (mine).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

This example is not regarded as an example where an adnominal clause fills the head of the nominal predicate such as {[*ar-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *dar-oo*}$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$ (COP-NEG COP-SUPP), since the predicate-final copula verb in that case has to take the negative affix *-an* (see §9.3.2.1 for more details). Thus, I propose that *daroo* (SUPP) is different from the copula verb, and that it has to be regarded as a clause-final particle in modern Yuwan.

10.3.8. *kamo* (POS)

kamo (POS) expresses that the speaker thinks it is possible for the proposition (expressed by the clause followed by *kamo* (POS)) to be true. *kamo* (POS) sometimes becomes /kamu/ as in (10-54 b).

(10-54) *kamo* (POS)

After the verbal predicate

a. TM: unnən akkamo.

u-n=nən *ar=kamo*
MES-ADNZ=LOC1 exist=POS
'(It is) possible (that it) is there.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: ziisanga utasjaa jatəkkamu.
ziisan=ga *uta+sɨr-jaa* *jar-təər=kamo*
grandfather=NOM song+do-person COP-RSL=POS
'(It may be true that your) grandfather was a singer.'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

After the nominal predicate

c. TM: kuduu sjəəsɨkamo.
kudu *sɨr-təər=sɨ=kamo*
last.year do-RSL=FN=POS
'(It is) possible (that the pickles) are those that were made in the last year.'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

The example where *kamo* (POS) follows the adjectival predicate phrase is shown in (10-62 d) in §10.4.1.1.

10.3.9. *zjɨ* (DIRC)

zjɨ (DIRC) expresses that the action indicated by the clause (it attaches to) occurs in the place different from where the speaker exists at the utterance time. It is probable that *zjɨ* (DIRC) was grammaticalized from /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) as well as *zjɨ* (LOC3) (see §6.3.4 for more details). *zjɨ* (DIRC) intervenes between *-oo* (INT) and *jəə* (CFM2) as in (10-55 a), or follows *-ɨba* (SUGS) as in (10-55 b).

(10-55) *zjɨ* (DIRC)

a. Between *-oo* (INT) and *jəə* (CFM2)

TM: amazjɨ nudɨ koozjɨjəə.
a-ma=zjɨ *num-tɨ* *k-oo=zjɨ=jəə*
DIST-place=LOC3 drink-SEQ come-INT=DIRC=CFM2
'(I) will go to drink (alcohol) there.'
[El: 110330]

b. After *-ɨba* (SUGS)

[Context: Talking to a child who wants to buy something he wants]

TM: narabɨbazjɨ.
narab-ɨba=zjɨ
line.up-SUGS=DIRC
'How about lining up going there (to buy it)?'
[El: 110914]

10.3.10. *gadɨ* (LMT)

The clause-final particle *gadɨ* (LMT) always follows the adjective (taking the inflection *-sa* (ADJ)).

(10-56) *gadɨ* (LMT)

[Context: Talking about a butterfly that is similar to the moth] = (5-28 a)

TM:	arɨga	nissjagadɨ.	ganbəi	sjɨ
	a-rɨ=ga	*nissj-sa=gadɨ*	*ga-n=bəi*	*sɨr-tɨ*
	DIST-NLZ=NOM	similar-ADJ=LMT	MES-ADVZ=about	do-SEQ

kucjəə	tugaracjɨ,
kuci=ja	*tugaras-tɨ*
mouth=TOP	pout-SEQ

'That one is very similar (to the moth). (The size is) about this, and it pouted, and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (10-56), *gadɨ* (LMT) seems to have some emphatic meaning, but the detail of the function is not clear to the present author for now. It is probable that the clause-fianl particle *gadɨ* (LMT) has the same origin with the case particle *gadɨ* (LMT), the limiter particle *gadɨ* (LMT), and the verbal affix *-gadɨ* 'until.'

10.3.11. *wake* (CFP)

It is probable that the clause-final particle *wake* (CFP) was borrowed from standard Japanese recently, since it includes //e//, which is rarely used in the traditional morphemes in Yuwan (see note "e" of Table 4 in §2.2.1.1). However, *wake* (CFP) is frequently used in the monologue or the conversation in Yuwan. Thus, I will include it in the present paper, although its function is not very clear for the present author. Therefore, it is abbreviated only as "CFP" (i.e. clause-final particle). *wake* (CFP) always follows the participle.

(10-57) *wake* (CFP)

a. After *-n* (PTCP) [= (7-12 a)]

TM:	un	kagonu	tˀɨɨ	cɨdɨ	ikjunwake.
	u-n	*kago=nu*	*tˀɨɨ*	*cɨm-tɨ*	*ik-jur-n=wake*
	MES-ADVZ	basket=GEN	one.CLF.thing	load-SEQ	go-UMRK-PTCP=CFP

'(The boy) puts the one of the baskets on (the front of his bicycle) and goes.'

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. After *-an* (NEG)

TM:	kootookˀwaja	izituranwakejo.
	kootoo+kˀwa=ja	*izir-tur-an=wake=joo*
	high.level+lesson=TOP	go.out-PROG-NEG=CFP=CFM1

'(She) has not graduated from the junior high school.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In fact, there is only an example in the text data where *wake* is followed by the copula verb as in (10-58). It is probable that *wake* (CFP) is on the way from the formal noun to the clause-final particle, since it does not take any case particle and there is no example where it is modified by the adnominal word.

(10-58) *wake* followed by the copular verb [= (7-3 c)]

TM:	jaanu	məənınkjadu	gan	sjɨ
	jaa=nu	*məə=nan=nkja=du*	*ga-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*
	house=GEN	front=LOC1=APPR=FOC	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ
	Modifier	Head		

sagɨjutanwake	zjajaa.
sagɨr-jur-tar-n=wake	*zjar=jaa*
hang-UMRK-PST-PTCP=FN	COP=SOL

'(They) would hang (bundles of rice) in front of (their) houses like this.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

10.4.Utterance-final particles A

Yuwan has the utterance-final particles A as in Table 100. The utterance-final particles A can be hosted by the utterance, and the units followed by the utterance-final particles A are always embedded into the superordinate clauses (except for the case in §10.4.1.7). The term "utterance" here is used to indicate an abstract unit that can include both the phrase and the clause.

Table 100. Utterance-final particles A

Form	Meaning
ccjɨ	Quotation
ka	Dubitation
gajaaroo	Dubitation
nən	'such as'

10.4.1. *ccjɨ* (QT)

The quotative particle *ccjɨ* (QT) can make an utterance embedded in the complement slot of the superordinate clause. First, I will show the morphophonological alternation of *ccjɨ* (QT) below. If *ccjɨ* (QT) follows //n// or a diphthong ("V_iV_j"), the initial morphophoneme //c// of *ccjɨ* is always deleted. If *ccjɨ* (QT) follows a long vowel ("V_iV_i"), the initial morphophoneme //c// of *ccjɨ* tends to be deleted, but sometimes the long vowel becomes short, and furthermore, there are a few cases where the long vowel becomes short and also //c// of *ccjɨ* is deleted. Otherwise, i.e. after a short vowel, *ccjɨ* retains its form (although it sometimes becomes /cjɨ/).

(10-59) Rule schemata

a.	//n//	+	*ccjɨ* (QT)	>	/n=cjɨ/
b.	//V_iV_j//			>	/V_iV_j=cjɨ/
c.	//V_iV_i//			>	/V_iV_i=cjɨ/ or /V_i=ccjɨ/ (or /V_i=cjɨ/)
d.	Elsewhere			>	/V=ccjɨ/ (or /V=cjɨ/)

The deletion of //c// in (10-59 a-c) and the vowel deletion in (10-59 c) conform to the phonological rule in §2.4.4 and §2.4.5 respectively. However, the deletion of //c// in (10-59 d) (and /V_i=cjɨ/ in (10-59 c)) is not explicable by these rules.

I will present a few examples below.

(10-60) Examples

a. //n// + *ccjɨ* (QT)						
wur-tar-n	(exist-PST-PTCP)	+	*ccjɨ*	(QT)	>	/wu-ta-n=cjɨ/
gaccɨn	'saurel'				>	/gaccɨn=cjɨ/
b. //V_iV_j// + *ccjɨ* (QT)						
kai	(DUB)	+	*ccjɨ*	(QT)	>	/kai=cjɨ/
c. //V_iV_j// + *ccjɨ* (QT)						
nuu	'what'	+	*ccjɨ*	(QT)	>	/nuu=cjɨ/
jaa	(SOL)				>	/jaa=cjɨ/ or /ja=ccjɨ/
-oo	(INT)				>	/oo=cjɨ/ or /o=ccjɨ/
daroo	(SUPP)				>	/daroo=cjɨ/, /daro=ccjɨ/ or /daro=cjɨ/
d. Elsewhere						
-sa	(ADJ)	+	*ccjɨ*	(QT)	>	/-sa=ccjɨ/
itoko	'cousin'				>	/itoko=cjɨ/

Syntactically, *ccjɨ* (QT) is used in the following environments.

(10-61) *ccjɨ* (QT) is used,

a. To form the complement of *jʔ*- 'say';
b. To form the complement of the other language-oriented verbs;
c. To form the complement of *sɨr*- 'do';
d. To form a conditional adverbial clause;
e. To form a clause that has a few nominal properties;
f. To embed an onomatopoeia;
g. Without the superordinate clause.

In the following subsections, I will show examples of (10-61 a-g) in turn.

10.4.1.1. To form the complement of *jʔ-* 'say'

ccjɨ (QT) can embed any kind of utterance into the complement of *jʔ-* 'say.' The reported clause (i.e. the complement clause of *jʔ-* 'say') can be formally distinguished into two types: direct speech and indirect speech (cf. Aikhenvald 2004).

First, in the direct speech, the predicates in the complement clause can take any kind of inflection or clause-final particle as in (10-62 a-f).

(10-62) Direct speech

After verbal predicate phrases

a. [= (8-148 g)]

TM:	kanɨciboja	urakja	tuikurawɨcjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
	kanɨ+cɨbo=ja	*urakja*	[*tur-i+kuraw-ɨ*]$_{\text{verbal predicate phrase}}$=*ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tɨ*
	gold+pot=TOP	2.NHON.PL	take-INF+DRG-IMP=QT	say-SEQ

'(The man) said that, "You take (this) damn gold pot!" and ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b.

TM:	cɨbonu	atanban,	mukkontɨdoocjɨ
	cɨbo=nu	*ar-tar-n=ban*	[*mukk-on-tɨ*]$_{\text{verbal predicate phrase}}$=*doo=ccjɨ*
	pot=NOM	exist-PST-PTCP=ADVRS	bring-NEG-SEQ=ASS=QT
	jʔicjatto,		
	jʔ-tar-too		
	say-PST-CSL		

'(The husband) said, "There was a pot (filled with gold), but (I) didn't bring (it)." And then ...'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

After adjectival predicate phrases

c.

TM:	simakutuba	narəəcjasacjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
	sima+kububa	[*naraw-i+cja-sa*]$_{\text{adjectival predicate phrase}}$=*ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tɨ*
	community+language	learn-INF+want-ADJ=QT	say-SEQ

'(The present author) said, "(I) want to learn the language of the (Yuwan) community." And then ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

d.

TM:	mʔasa	akkamodoojaacjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
	[*mʔa-sa*	*ar*]$_{\text{adjectival predicate phrase}}$=*kamo=doo=jaa=ccjɨ*	*jʔ-tɨ*
	tasty-ADJ	STV=POS=ASS=SOL=QT	say-SEQ

'(My daughter) said, "(The orange) may be tasty." And then ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

After nominal predicate phrases

e. TM: daanu Xcjɨ jʔicjattu,
daa=nu X=*ccjɨ* *jʔ-tar-tu*
where=GEN X=QT say-PST-CSL
'(I) said, "Who are you?" [lit. "X of where?"] And then ...'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

f. TM: uraa |boosi|dooccjɨ jʔicjɨ,
[*ura-a* *boosi*]$_{\text{nominal predicate phrase}}$=*doo*=*ccjɨ* *jʔ-tɨ*
2.NHON.SG-ADNZ hat=ASS=QT say-SEQ
'(The boy) said, "(This is) your hat." And then ...'
[PF: 090827_02.txt]

In (10-62 a-f), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows all types of the predicate phrases, where there is no restriction on the kinds of inflection or clause-final particles.

On the other hand, the complement clause in the indirect speech cannot take the infection or clause-final particles freely. In this case, only the participle is allowed as the verbal form in the predicate as in (10-63 a-c).

(10-63) Indirect speech

After verbal predicate phrase

a. TM: an cʔjo xxx (arəə an ..)
a-n *cʔju=ja* *a-rɨ=ja* *a-n*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP DIST-NLZ=TOP DIST-ADNZ
arɨnu .. |menkjo| muccjuncjɨ jʔicjɨ,
a-rɨ=nu *menkjo* [*mut-tur-n*]$_{\text{verbal predicate phrase}}$=*ccjɨ* *jʔ-tɨ*
DIST-NLZ=GEN license have-PROG-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'That person said that (he) had [lit. is having] the license of that [i.e. refereeing sumo wrestling], and ...'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

After adjectival predicate phrase

b. [Context: TM told US that the present author had wanted to see US.]
TM: nanga hanacjɨ moojun mun
nan=ga *hanas-tɨ* *moor-jur-n* *mun*
2.HON.SG=NOM speak-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP thing
kikicjasancjɨ jʔicjɨ,
[*kik-i+cja-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{adjectival predicate phrase}}$=*ccjɨ* *jʔ-tɨ*
hear-INF+want-ADJ+STV-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'(The present author) said that (he) wanted to hear what you would say, and ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

After nominal predicate phrase

c. TM: isaburootaa, tomokkotaaga atai jatancjɨ
isaburoo-taa *tomokko-taa=ga* [*atai* *jar-tar-n*]$_{\text{nominal predicate phrase}}$*=ccjɨ*
Isaburo-PL Tomohiko-PL=NOM 50.years.old COP-PST-PTCP=QT
jʔicjɨ,
jʔ-tɨ
say-SEQ
'(People) said that Isaburo (and) Tomohiko were fifty years old, and ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In principle, the participle cannot finish a sentence (with the exception of the focus construction discussed in §11.3). Thus, the participle in the complement clause of indirect speech cannot be the one that was uttered in the real conversation. Thus, we can formally distinguish the direct speech from the indirect speech. It should be noted that the modality that could be expressed in the direct speech by the verbal inflection or the clause-final particles are unable to be expressed in the indirect speech, since only the participle is allowed for the indirect speech.

Furthermore, the difference between the direct speech and the indirect speech can also be distinguished semantically by the deictic center of the pronouns. In the direct speech, the deictic center of the pronoun is the person who gave the utterance (not the speaker who reported the utterance). For example, the deictic center of *ura* 'you' in (10-62 f) is the character in the Pear Film (not the speaker TM). On the contrary, in the indirect speech, the deictic center of the pronoun is the speaker who reported the utterance (not the person who gave the utterance). For example, the deictic center of *nan* 'you (honorific)' in (10-63 b) is the speaker TM (not the original speaker, i.e. the present author).

The difference between the direct speech and the indirect speech can be formally expressed by the verbal form in the predicate, i.e., whether it is the participle or not. However, the difference cannot be expressed formally in the nominal predicate if it is in the non-past tense and also in the affirmative pole, since the copula does not take the participial form in the non-past tense and the affirmative pole, i.e. **jar-n* (COP-PTCP) is not available; see (9-67 b) in §9.4.1 with an exception of *jar-n=mun* (COP-PTCP=ADVRS) in (8-46 a) in §8.3.3.5. Thus, in the non-past tense and the affirmative pole, the nominal predicate in the indirect speech as in (10-64) has the same form with that in the direct speech as in (10-62 e).

(10-64) Indirect speech

After nominal predicate phrase (non-past and affirmative pole)

TM: usato|obasan| xxx nusinujoo jinganənkjatu
usato+obasan *nusi=nu=joo* *jinga-nəə=nkja=tu*
Usato+old.lady RFL=GEN=CFM1 man-parent=APPR=COM
kun ziisantuga |itoko|cjɨ

ku-n *ziisan=tu=ga* [*itoko*]$_{\text{nominal predicate phrase}}$=*ccjɨ*
this-ADNZ grandfather=COM=NOM cousin=QT
jʔuta.
jʔ-jur-tar
say-UMRK-PST
'Usato said that her [lit. herself's] father is cousin to this (person's) grandfather.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (10-64), the nominal predicate *itoko* 'cousin' does not take the copula participle **jar-n* (COP-PTCP). Formally, the feature of the indirect speech is not expressed, but semantically, it is expressed by the demonstrative *ku-n* 'this (one),' whose deictic center is the speaker TM (not the original speaker Usato). Similar formal ambiguity occurs when the predicate in the complement ends with the negative participial affix *-an*, since it can also finish a clause in the non-reported utterance (see §8.4.2.2).

In fact, there is a case where there is a mixture of the strategy of the direct speech and the indirect speech as in (10-65), where the adjectival predicate before *ccjɨ* (QT) does not take the participle *ar-n* (STV-PTCP), but the deictic center of the complement clause is the speaker TM (not the original speaker, i.e. the present author).

(10-65) Mixture of the strategy of the direct speech and the indirect speech
After adjectival predicate phrase
[Context: TM said to US that the present author had wanted to see US for a long time.]

TM: naa məəci ikicjasaccjɨ jukkadɨ
naa *məə=kaci* *ik-i+cja-sa=ccjɨ* *jukkadɨ*
2.HON.SG.ADNZ place=ALL go-INF+want-ADJ=QT always
umoojutanmun, |mae|gajo |mae|ga
umoor-jur-tar-n=mun *mae=ga=joo* *mae=ga*
say.HON-UMRK-PST=ADVRS before=FOC=CFM1 before=FOC
umoojutanmun, kinju atadan.
umoor-jur-tar-n=mun *kinju* *atadan*
say.HON-UMRK-PST=ADVRS yesterday suddenly
'(The present author) always used to say that (he) wants to go to your place before, but yesterday (he) suddenly (visited me).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (10-65), the predicate preceding *ccjɨ* (QT) does not take the participle *ar-n* (STV-PTCP). However, the deictic center of the pronominl *naa* (2.HON.SG.ADNZ) 'your' is the speaker TM (not the original speaker, since there was not US when the present author had spoke to TM about US). That is, the pronominal deixis expresses an indirect speech, but the verbal form in the complement slot expresses a direct speech in (10-65).

Furthermore, there are cases where *ccjɨ* (QT) does not follow any predicate phrase as in (10-66 a-b).

(10-66) After non-predicative NPs

a. US: kunəəda, ude, wattəə hanasija sjanbanga,
kunəəda *ude* *wattəə* *hanas-i=ja* *sɨr-tar-n=ban=ga*
the.other.day well 1DU talk-INF=TOP do-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=FOC
naa, uriɨcjɨ jʔicjutɨ,
naa [*u-rɨ*]$_{NP}$=*ccjɨ* *jʔ-tur-tɨ*
FIL MES-NLZ=QT say-PROG-SEQ
'We [i.e. US and the present author] talked the other day, but (I) have said, "That" [i.e. US can't teach Yuwan for the present author]. And then ...'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: waakjaga |gakkoo| sjuinnjajo |sjeesikoozjoo|cjɨ
waakja=ga *gakkoo* *sɨr-tur-i=n=ja=joo* [*sjeesikoozjoo*]$_{NP}$=*ccjɨ*
1PL=NOM school do-PROG-INF=DAT1=TOP=CFM1 silk.mill=QT
jʔicjɨ, |koozjoo|gadɨ tatɨtattujaa.
jʔ-tɨ *koozjoo=gadɨ* *tatɨr-tar-tu=jaa*
say-SEQ mill=LMT build-PST-CSL=SOL
'When we do [i.e. went to] school, (there was a building called) the silk mill, and (some people were so rich as to) build a (silk) mill.'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (10-66 a), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the NP *u-rɨ* 'that,' which is diffcult to reconstruct the original clause structure where the NP would be set. Similarly, the NP followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) in (10-66 b), i.e. *sjeesikoozjoo* 'silk mill,' is diffcult to reconstruct the original clause structure where it would be set. In fact, the structure "NP=*ccjɨ jʔ-tɨ* (NP=QT say-SEQ)" is frequently used to express the meaning such as 'there is something (or someone) called NP,' which is used to introduce a referent that is thought (by the speaker) to be unfamiliar to the hearer.

Before concluding this section, I want to mention that there are cases where the contraction between the preceding *ccjɨ* (QT) and the following *jʔ-* 'say' occurs as in (10-67 a-b). Strictly speaking, the following *jʔ-* 'say' always takes the converbal affix *-ba* (CSL) in the contraction: *ccjɨ* (QT) + *jʔ-ba* (say-CSL) > /(c)cjuuba/.

(10-67) Contraction of *ccjɨ* (QT) and *jʔ-ba* (say-CSL)

a. TM naa |nisanci| sjəəroo, muduicjuuba.
naa *nisanci* *sɨr-təəra=ja* *mudur-i=ccjɨ+jʔ-ba*
FIL two.or.three.days do-after=TOP return-INF=QT+say-CSL
'(The present author) said that (he) would return (to Tokyo) in two or three days, so (I am glad I was able to have you see him).'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: |sanzikkiro|ccjuuba |nangin|?
sanzikkiro=ccjɨ+jʔ-ba *nangin*
thirty.kilogram=QT+say-CSL what.kin
'How many *kin* [i.e. a kind of measure of weight] is thirty kilograms?'
[lit. 'Speaking of thirty kilograms, how many *kin* (is it)?']
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (10-67 a), *-ba* (CSL) retains its causal meaning, but in (10-67 b), it lost the causal meaning, and the contracted expression /(c)cjuuba/ means 'speaking of' as a whole. Interestingly, there are examples, where the affix *-ba* (CSL) seems to directly attach to the preceding *ccjɨ* (QT), where the expression /(c)cjɨba/ means also 'speaking of' as in (10-68 a). Furthermore, there is an expression where *-boo* (CND) seems to directly attach to *ccjɨ* (QT) and the expression /(c)cjɨboo/ also means 'speaking of' as in (10-68 b).

(10-68) a. *ccjɨba* 'speaking of'

TM	|wasjeunsjuu|ccjɨba	nama|goro|	huntoo	mukasitoo	cigəəbajaa.
	wasjeunsjuu=ccjɨba	*nama-goro*	*huntoo*	*mukasi=tu=ja*	*cigjaw-ba=jaa*
	k.o.orange=speaking.of	now-around	really	past=COM=TOP	different-CSL=SOL

'Speaking of *wasjeunsjuu*, (those growing up) these days are really different from (those) in the past, so (I feel the time has passed away).'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. *ccjɨboo* 'speaking of'

TM:	buncjɨboo	|tada|	jaanɨntəkkwa	urɨ	janmun.
	bun=ccjɨboo	*tada*	*jaa+nintəə-kkwa*	*u-rɨ*	*jar-n=mun*
	bon.festival=speaking.of	only	house+people-DIM	MES-NLZ	COP-PTCP=ADVRS

'Speaking of the bon festival, only the family is that [i.e. only the family member gathered].'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In modern Yuwan, each of these expressions is analyzed as a single morpheme such as *ccjɨba* 'speaking of' and *ccjɨboo* 'speaking of.'

10.4.1.2. To form the complement of the other language-oriented verbs

The particle *ccjɨ* (QT) can also embed any kind of utterance into the complement of language-oriented verbs other than *jʔ-* 'say,' e.g., *umuw-* 'think' or *kak-* 'write.' The difference between the direct speech and the indirect speech discussed in §10.4.1.1 also applies to these language-oriented verbs. I will present examples of *umuw-* 'think' below.

(10-69) To form the complement of *umuw-* 'think'

After verbal predicate phrase

a. [= (10-52 b)]

TM: gan sjɨ nati, (naa) naa mudutɨdaroccjɨ

ga-n sɨr-tɨ nar-tɨ naa naa mudur-tɨ=daroo=ccjɨ

MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-SEQ already already return-SEQ=SUPP=QT

umututanwakejo.

umuw-tur-tar-n=wake=joo

think-PROG-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1

'Then [lit. Since (it) does like that], (I)'ve been thinking that (the present author) had probably already returned (to Tokyo).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [= (8-41)]

TM: wanga kicjuncjɨ umutɨdu, urattəə

wan=ga kik-tur-n=ccjɨ umuw-tɨ=du urattəə

1SG=NOM hear-PROG-PTCP=QT think-SEQ=FOC 2.NHON.DU

gan sjan aran hanasi sjaroogai?

ga-n sɨr-tar-n ar-an hanasi sɨr-tar-oo=ga=i

MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP COP-NEG tale do-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

'Probably you told the unlikely tale like that since (you) thought that I was listening to (that), didn't you?'

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

c. [= (8-141 b)]

TM: unin|goro|kara naacɨbaacjɨ umuwannən, jəito hamɨcɨkɨtɨ

unin-goro=kara naacɨbaa=ccjɨ umuw-an-nən jəito hamɨcɨkɨr-tɨ

that.time-around=ABL tone.deaf=QT think-NEG-SEQ well do.one's.best-SEQ

narəəboo, (mmm) zjoozɨ najutənmundoojaa.

naraw-boo zjoozɨ nar-jur-təər-n=mun=doo=jaa

learn-CND good.at become-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL

'If (I) didn't think that (I was) tone-deaf and did my best to learn (the traditional songs) since those days, (I) would have been good at (them), but (I didn't do that).'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (10-69 a), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the clause-final particle *daroo* (SUPP). That means the complement clause is reported in the direct-speech style. In (10-69 b), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the participle /kicjun/ *kik-tur-n* (hear-PROG-PTCP), which means the complement clause is reported in the indirect-speech style. In (10-69 c), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the nominal predicate phrase *naacɨbaa* 'a tone-deaf person,' where we cannot formally distinguish the speech style, since the nominal predicate cannot take participle in the non-past tense and also

in affirmative as discussed in§10.4.1.1.

10.4.1.3. To form the complement of *sɨr-* 'do'

ccjɨ (QT) can embed the verb that ends with *-oo* (INT) into the complement of *sɨr-* 'do.'

(10-70) To form the complement of *sɨr-* 'do' [= (9-26)]

TM:	ikjoccjɨ	sjun	turooja	aran?
	ik-oo=ccjɨ	*sɨr-tur-n*	*turoo=ja*	*ar-an*
	go-INT=QT	do-PROG-PTCP	scene=TOP	COP-NEG

'(It is) a scene where (they) were about to go (somewhere), isn't (it)?'

[Co: 120415_00.txt

As mentioned in (9-23 c) in §9.1.2.1, the combination of *-oo=ccjɨ sɨr-* (INT=QT do) means 'be about to.'

10.4.1.4. To form a conditional adverbial clause

ccjɨ (QT) can make a conditional adverbial clause in the following combination: *-tar-n=ccjɨ=n* (PST-PTCP=QT=even) 'even if (someone) did ...' This expression may have some relation with *-tɨ=n* (SEQ=even) 'even if' in §10.1.3.

(10-71) *-tar-n=ccjɨ=n* (PST-PTCP=QT=even) 'even if'

a.

TM:	naa,	|mokujoobi|ninkja	izjancjɨn, ..	siman
	naa	*mokujoobi=n=nkja*	*ik-tar-n=ccjɨ=n*	*sima=nu*
	FIL	Thursday=DAT1=APPR	go-PST-PTCP=QT=even	community=GEN

cʔjuga	wuranba.
cʔju=ga	*wur-an-ba*
person=NOM	exist-NEG-CSL

'Even if (I) went (to the day-care center), there are no people (from the same) community, so (I don't speak in Yuwan there).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	naa,	gan	sjɨ	natəəroo,	|nansai|gadɨ
	naa	*ga-n*	*sɨr-tɨ*	*nar-təəra=ja*	*nansai=gadɨ*
	FIL	MES-ADVZ	do-SEQ	become-after=TOP	how.old=LMT

wutancjɨn,
wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=n
exist-PST-PTCP=QT=even

'After becoming like that [i.e. bedridden], even if (the person) lived very long, ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

10.4.1.5. To form a clause that has a few nominal properties

The clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) slightly behaves like the nominal since it can take the genitive case as in (10-72 a), or it can precede the copula verb as in (10-72 b).

(10-72) a. *ccjɨ* (QT) followed by *nu* (GEN)

[Context: TM asked her daughter to bring the lunch at noon.]

TM:	nama	|zjuunizi|	narancjɨnu	kutukai?
	nama	*zjuunizi*	*nar-an=ccjɨ=nu*	*kutu=kai*
	yet	noon	become-NEG=QT=GEN	thing=DUB

'Does (she) think that (it) is not noon yet?'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. *ccjɨ* (QT) followed by the copula verb

TM:	|itoko|cjɨ	jˀicjɨn,	wuran	mun	natɨ,	|maa|
	itoko=ccjɨ	*jˀ-tɨ=n*	*wur-an*	*mun*	*nar-tɨ*	*maa*
	cousin=QT	say-SEQ=even	exist-NEG	thing	become-SEQ	FIL

wurancjəə	aranban,	tusinu	|sa|ga	nənkara,
wur-an=ccjɨ=ja	*ar-an=ban*	*tusi=nu*	*sa=ga*	*nə-an=kara*
exist-NEG=QT=TOP	COP-NEG=ADVRS	age=GEN	difference=NOM	exist-NEG=CSL

'Even if (they are) cousin (to me), (they) are not (in this community), well, (it) is too much (to say) that (they) are not (in this community), but there is (almost) no difference in age (between us), so ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

10.4.1.6. To embed an onomatopoeia

ccjɨ (QT) can embed an onomatopoeia into the complement slot of the superordinate clause as in (10-73).

(10-73) *ccjɨ* (QT) to embed an onomatopoeia

TM:	tuisuzjɨ	izjan	micjaija	isjoobiki
	tuur-i+sug-tɨ	*ik-tar-n*	*micjai=ja*	*isjoobiki*
	pass-INF+pass-SEQ	go-PST-PTCP	three.person.CLF=TOP	whistle

hucjɨ,	hjuucjɨ	abɨjuroogai?
huk-tɨ	*hjuu=ccjɨ*	*abɨr-jur-oo=ga=i*
blow-SEQ	[sound effect]=QT	call-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ

'The three (boys) who passed by whistled and called (another boy with a whistling sound like) "phweee."'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

10.4.1.7. Without the superordinate clause

The clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) can be used without the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level) as in (10-74 a-b).

(10-74) *ccjɨ* (QT) without the superordinate clause

a. TM: nama (umooju) umoojuncjɨdoo.
nama umoor-jur umoor-jur-n=ccjɨ=doo
still exist.HON-UMRK exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP=QT=ASS
'(Someone said) that (he) is still alive.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about MY] = (6-24 a)
TM: attaaja (un) un hutəənan
a-rɨ-taa=ja u-n u-n hutəə=nan
DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP MES-ADNZ MES-ADNZ vicinity=LOC1
wutancjɨjaa.
wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=jaa
exist-PST-PTCP=QT=SOL
'(I heard) that she and her family were around there.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (10-74 a-b), the clauses followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) are not embedded in any superordinate clause (in the phonetic level). In fact, the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) directly follows *ccjɨ* (QT) in (10-74 a). The superordinate clauses in these examples may be inferred from the context, and the heads of the superordinate clauses are thought to be *jˀ-* 'say,' which is expressed by '(someone said)' or '(I heard)' in the free translation. It is important to note that *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) and *ccjɨ=jaa* (QT=SOL) express that the speaker's uncertainty over the information from the hearsay evidence.

On the other hand, there is a case where the superordinate clause of (the clause followed by) *ccjɨ* (QT) cannot be inferred from the context. I will show the examples below, where *ccjɨ* (QT) is always followed by *joo* (CFM1).

(10-75) *ccjɨ* (QT) followed by *joo* (CFM1)

a. [Context: The speaker explains the story of the Pear Film to the hearer.]
TM: tuutɨ izjancjɨjoo.
tuur-tɨ ik-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo
pass-SEQ go-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'(A young man who pulls a goat) passed away.'
[PF: 090305_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM describs US's behavior to the present author in front of US.]

TM: |ittoki|n joosjurancjɨjo. kan sjɨ
ittoki=n *joosjur-an=ccjɨ=joo* *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ*
for.a.moment=even keep.still-NEG=QT=CFM1 PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ
sjutɨ, jukkadɨ nunkuin izjasiccjɨjo.
sɨr-tur-tɨ *jukkadɨ* *nuu-nkuin* *izjas-i=ccjɨ=joo*
do-PROG-SEQ continuously what-INDFZ serve-INF=QT=CFM1
hanasinkjoo sɨrancjɨjo.
hansi=nkja=ja *sɨr-an=ccjɨ=joo*
conversation=APPR=TOP do-NEG=QT=CFM1
'(US) cannot keep still. Like this, (US) is continuously serving things. (US) does not do [i.e. enjoy] the conversation.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above examples, the clauses followed by *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1) do not report someone's utterance in the past. Therefore, the head of the superordinate clause, if any, cannot be *jʔ-* 'say.' Moreover, the head of the superordinate clasue, if any, cannot be *umuw-* 'think' either. For example, the speaker describes the image in the film as soon as she watched it as in (10-75 a), and also describes the behavior of her friend ("US") in front of her in (10-75 b). In these examples, the events described by the speaker are rather objective, and unlikely to be familiar with a verb that implies the speaker's subjectivity, i.e. *umuw-* 'think.' Thus, the clauses followed by *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1) in (10-75 a-b) are thought to be independent from any superordinate clause. In other words, they are examples of insubordination (see §11.2).

The difference between *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) marking the hearsay information and *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM) marking the objective (or non-hearsay) information is clarified in the following minimal pairs taken in the elicitaion.

(10-76) *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) vs. *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1)
First-person subject

a. TM: wanna kamancjɨjoo.
wan=ja *kam-an=ccjɨ=joo*
1SG=TOP eat-NEG=QT=CFM1
'I won't eat (it).'

[El: 101023]

b. TM: #wanna kamancjɨdoo.
wan=ja *kam-an=ccjɨ=doo*
1SG=TOP eat-NEG=QT=ASS

[El: 101023]

Thrird-person subject

c. TM: an cʔjoo kamancjɨjoo.
a-n *cʔju=ja* *kam-an=ccjɨ=joo*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP eat-NEG=QT=CFM1
'That person does not eat (it).'
[El: 101023]

d. TM: an cʔjoo kamancjɨdoo.
a-n *cʔju=ja* *kam-an=ccjɨ=doo*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP eat-NEG=QT=ASS
'(Someone said) that that person does not eat (it).'
[El: 101023]

In (10-76 a, c), the speaker presents the information as objective facts. On the other hand, in (10-76 d), the speaker presents the information on the hearsay evindence. As mentioned before, *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) implies the speaker's uncertainty over the information. Thus, the example in (10-76 b) cannot be acceptable, since it is unnatural that the speaker herself is unsure of whether she is willing to eat something or not.

10.4.2. *ka* (DUB)

ka (DUB) has two functions as in (10-77 a-b), which also apply to *gajaaroo* (DUB) in §10.4.3.

(10-77) Functions of *ka* (DUB)

a. Can embed a clause into the complement of *sij-* 'know' or *wa(k)ar-* 'understand; know';
b. Can derive the indefinite NP from the interrogative NP.

If *ka* (DUB) attahces to the clause that includes the interrogative word, which expresses the information question, *ka* (DUB) functions as the marker of indirect question as in (10-78 a-b).

(10-78) As a maker of indirect information question (or "Wh-question")

a. [= (5-38 a)]
TM: wanna |bettarazukee|ja naa ikjasaa sjakka wakarandoo.
wan=ja *bettarazuke=ja* *naa* *ikja-saa* *sɨr-tar=ka* *wakar-an=doo*
1SG=TOP k.o.pickle=TOP FIL how-ADVZ do-PST=DUB know-NEG=ASS
'I don't know how much (I) did [i.e. made] the *bettarazuke* [i.e. k.o. pickles].'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. TM: nuucjɨ jʔicjɨ cʔjakka wakaranmun.
nuu=ccjɨ *jʔ-tɨ* *k-tar=ka* *wakar-an=mun*
what=QT say-SEQ come-PST=DUB know-NEG=ADVRS

‘Though, (I) don’t know what (I) have said (about the contents of the Pear Film).’

[PF: 090222_00.txt]

Additionally, *ka* (DUB) can be used as the marker of the indirect polar question, where there is no interrogative word.

(10-79) As a maker of indirect polar question (or “Yes-no question”)

a. TM: un kawajəəka sijanban,
u-n *kawajəə=ka* *sij-an=ban*
MES-ADNZ substitute=DUB know-NEG=ADVRS
‘(I) don’t know whether (it is) a substitute (for a hat), but ...’

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

b. TM: wanna ikjukka ikjanka waarandoo.
wan=ja *ik-jur=ka* *ik-an=ka* *waar-an=doo*
1SG=TOP go-UMRK=DUB go-NEG=DUB know-NEG=ASS
‘I don’t know whether (I) will go (there) or not.’

[El: 130812]

The examples in (10-78 a-b) and (10-79 b) show that *ka* (DUB) directly attaches to the preceding verbal stem, which means it is an affix-like clitic (see §4.2.2.2).

Secondly, *ka* (DUB) can follow an interrogative NP (i.e. an NP headed by an interrogative word), and it derives an indefinite NP as in (10-80 a-d) (see also §5.3.2).

(10-80) As a maker to derive an indefinite NP from an interrogative NP

a. [Context: TM said to MS that her son was always busy.] = (5-39 a)
TM: |dojoo|. |nicijoo|. jazin nuukanu ai.
dojoo *nicijoo* *jazin* *nuu=ka=nu* *ar-i*
Saturday Sunday necessarily what=DUB=NOM exist-NPST
‘Saturday. Sunday. There is always something.’

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM explained to MY why she had called her.] = (5-39 c)
TM: uran daacika ikjarɨncjɨga, ...
ura=n *daa=kaci=ka* *ik-arɨr-n=cjɨ=ga*
2.NHON.SG=DAT1 where=ALL=DUB go-PASS-PTCP=QT=FOC
‘(I thought I) would suffer from your going somewhere, (so I called you.)’

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

c. TM: daananka aroo.

daa=nan=ka *ar-oo.*
where=LOC1=DUB exist-SUPP
'Probably, (a mallet) is somewhere.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. US: taruutuka oojunwakecjɨjo.
ta-ru=tu=ka *oow-jur-n=wake=ccjɨ=joo*
who-NLZ=COM=DUB see-UMRK-PTCP=CFP=QT=CFM1
'(I) see someone (when I go shopping to the store in this neighborhood).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The above examples show that *ka* (DUB) can intervene between the nominal and *nu* (NOM) as in (10-80 a), but it cannot in the case of *kaci* (ALL), *nan* (LOC1) and *tu* (COM), and it follows them as in (10-80 b-d).

10.4.3. *gajaaroo* (DUB)

gajaaroo (DUB) has the same functions as *ka* (DUB) discussed in §10.4.2. *gajaaroo* (DUB) is frequentely realized as /garoo/ (or /karoo/) as in (10-81 a, c-d).

(10-81) As a maker of an indirect information question (or "Wh-question")

a. [Context: Looking at a picture, TM remembered a man.] = (5-38 b)
TM: daanan wukkaroo, wakaija siranbajaa.
daa=nan *wur=gajaaroo* *wakar-i=ja* *sɨr-an-ba=jaa*
where=LOC1 exist=DUB understand-INF=TOP do-NEG-CSL=SOL
'(I) don't know where (he) is.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. US: un kacjən kabikkwaga daakaci ucjɨgajaaroo,
u-n *kak-təər-n* *kabi-kkwa=ga* *daa=kaci* *uk-tɨ=gajaaroo*
MES-ADNZ write-RSL-PTCP paper-DIM=NOM where=ALL put-SEQ=DUB
'(I don't know) where (I) put the paper that (I) had written (my granddaughter's name on).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM: |josizoo|ga wuija sjunban, daanan
josizoo=ga *wur-i=ja* *sɨr-jur-n=ban* *daa=nan*
Yoshizo=NOM exist-INF=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS where=LOC1
wukkaroo wakaija siranbajaa.
wur=gajaaroo *wakar-i=ja* *sɨr-an-ba=jaa*
exist=DUB know-INF=TOP do-NEG-CSL=SOL
'There is Yoshizo [i.e. Yoshizo is still alive], but (I) don't know where (he) lives,

so ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. TM: ɨcii ciritɨ izjɨgaroo wakarancjɨdu.
ɨcii cirɨr-tɨ ik-tɨ=gajaaroo wakar-an=ccjɨ=du
when go.with-SEQ go-SEQ=DUB know-NEG=QT=FOC
'(She said) that (she) doesn't know when (the person) went with (the other person).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Additionally, *gajaaroo* (DUB) can be used as a marker of the indirect polar question, where there is no interrogative word.

(10-82) As a maker of indirect polar question (or "Yes-no question")
TM: wanna ikjukkajaaroo ikjangajaaroo waarandoo.
wan=ja ik-jur=gajaaroo ik-an=gajaaroo waar-an=doo
1SG=TOP go-UMRK=DUB go-NEG=DUB know-NEG=ASS
'I don't know whether (I) will go (there) or not.'

[El: 130812]

The above examples show that *gajaaroo* (DUB) has the same function as *ka* (DUB), i.e., they can be used to mark the indirect question. If the embedded clause indicates the non-past tense, both *gajaaroo* (DUB) and *ka* (DUB) can follow directly the bound verbal stem as in (10-81 a, c), (10-82), and (10-79 b) in §10.4.2. That is, *gajaaroo* (DUB) is an affix-like clitic as well as *ka* (DUB) (see §4.2.2.2). However, there is a difference between them. On the one hand, if the embedded clause indicates the past tense, the verb takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) before *gajaaroo* (DUB) as in (10-81 b, d). On the other hand, in the same environment, the verb takes *-tar* (PST) before *ka* (DUB) as in (10-78 a-b) in §10.4.2.

gajaaroo (DUB) can follow an interrogative NP, and can derive an indefinite NP as in (10-83 a-c) (see also §5.3.2).

(10-83) As the maker to derive an indefinite NP from an interrogative NP

a. [Context: Looking at pictures of the shopping street in the village] = (5-40 b)
TM: nuucjɨgajaaroo kacjəəttujaa.
nuu=ccjɨ=gajaaroo kak-təər-tu=jaa
what=QT=DUB write-RSL-CSL=SOL
'Something has been drawn (on the sign board of the store).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: daanangaroo sjasinnan |nakaudo|nu, (an..)
daa=nan=gajaaroo sjasin=nan nakaudo=nu a-n
where=LOC1=DUB picture=LOC1 matchmaker=NOM DIST-ADNZ

ukɨnnantɨ	sangun	sjunturonkja,
ukɨn=nantɨ	*sangun*	*sɨr-tur-n=turoo=nkja*
Uken=LOC2	betrothal.present	do-PROG-PTCP=scene=APPR

'The scene where the matchmaker was doing [i.e. was having the couple exchange] the betrothal presents at the Uken community (appeared) somewhere in the picture.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM:

naa	ɨcɨn	madungajaaroo	naa	un	utankjan
naa	*ɨcɨ=n*	*madu=n=gajaaroo*	*naa*	*u-n*	*uta=nkja=n*
FIL	when=GEN	time=DAT1=DUB	yet	MES-ADNZ	song=APPR=also

|zjenzjen|,

zjenzjen

at.all

'At the time (when I don't know) when (it began), (old people in the community began) not to sing (the song) at all anymore.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (10-83 a), *nuu* 'what' and *gajaaroo* (DUB) means 'something,' where *ccjɨ* (QT) intervenes between them and embeds them into the complement of *kak-* 'write' (see also §10.4.1.2). In (10-83 b), *daa* 'where' and *gajaaroo* (DUB) means 'somewhere.' In (10-83 c), it is ambiguous whether it is an example of the indefinite NP or that of the indirect question. In the latter interpretation, it is thought that the predicate of the superordinate clause, e.g., *sij-an* (know-NEG) '(I) don't know,' was omitted.

Furthermore, *gajaaroo* (DUB) can be used neither to express an indirect question nor to derive an indifinite NP. In that case, *gajaaroo* (DUB) expresses the speaker's dubitation (or uncertainty) about (the referents of) the units they are attached to. This kind of function has not been found in *ka* (DUB) so far.

(10-84) To express the speaker's dubitation

a. TM:

kurəə	burɨncjɨgajaaroo	jutattujaa.
ku-rɨ=ja	*burɨn=ccjɨ=gajaaroo*	*jʔ-tar-tu=jaa*
PROX-NLZ=TOP	Buren=QT=DUB	say-PST-CSL=SOL

'(Someone) said that this (picture was) Buren, so (I think it is that of Buren).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. TM:

|ken|nantɨ	abɨnəə	|iciban|cjɨgajaaroodu	jutattu,
ken=nantɨ	*abɨnəə*	*iciban=ccjɨ=gajaaroo=du*	*jʔ-tar-tu*
prefecture=LOC2	nearly	the.most=QT=DUB=FOC	say-PST-CSL

'(Someone) said that (she was) nearly the (old)est in the (Kagoshima) Prefecture, so ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: kuribəi, ude, naikwa nootutɨgaroo, an ...
ku-rɨ=bəi *ude* *naikwa* *noor-tur-tɨ=gajaaroo* *a-n*
PROX-NLZ=only well a.few remain-PROG-SEQ=DUB DIST-ADNZ
|sjuusjencjokugo|ja,
sjuusjencjokugo=ja
immediately.after.the.war=TOP
'Only this (building), a few (parts of it), remained, (I) suppose, immediately after that war, ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

10.4.4. *nən* 'such as'

nən 'such as' always embeds the preceding units into the complement of *sɨr-* 'do.' The complement's head, i.e. *sɨr-* 'do,' usually takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) when modifying a verb, or takes *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) when modifying a nominal.

First, I will show the examples where the units followed by *nən* 'such as' fill the complements of /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ), which in turn modify the verb in the superordinate clause.

(10-85) *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ)

a. After a nominal [= (9-33)]

TM: muru kjoodəənən sjɨ, sjɨ moojutattujaa.
muru *kjoodəə=nən* *sɨr-tɨ* *sɨr-tɨ* *moor-jur-tar-tu=jaa*
very brother=such.as do-SEQ do-SEQ HON-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
'(They) used to keep company with each other like brothers.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. After an infinitive + *n* (DAT1)

TM: nobuaritaaga |kjooikuiin|nan wuinnən
nobuari-taa=ga *kjooikuiin=nan* *wur-i=n=nən*
Nobuari-PL=NOM Board.of.Education=LOC1 exist-INF=DAT1=such.as
sjɨ jappoo, hɨmanu anban,
sɨr-tɨ *jar-boo* *hɨma=nu* *ar-n=ban*
do-SEQ COP-CND time=NOM exist-PTCP=ADVRS
'If (it were) the time such as when Nobuari was in the Board of Education, (he) has (plenty of) time, but ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. After a participle

TM: mukasinu huccjunu jun tuki ..
mukasi=nu *huccju=nu* *jʔ-jur-n* *tuki*
the.past=GEN old.people=NOM say-UMRK-PTCP time

jutannən sjɨ,
jʔ-jur-tar-n=nən *sɨr-tɨ*
say-UMRK-PST-PTCP=such.as do-SEQ
'When the old people in the past used to say, just as (they) used to say, ...'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. After a participle (interrupted by *ga*)

TM: naa, cukutun cʔjunkjaga, naa, ura, ɨciɨ
naa *cukur-tur-n* *cʔju=nkja=ga* *naa* *ura* *ɨciɨ*
FIl make-PROG-PTCP person=APPR=NOM FIL 2.NHON.SG when
sizjɨn, naa, ɨrɨrarɨnganən sjɨ, (sɨcɨ)
sin-tɨ=n *naa* *ɨrɨr-arɨr-n=ga=nən* *sɨr-tɨ* *sɨcɨ*
die-SEQ=even FIL put.in-CAP-PTCP=GA=such.as do-SEQ coffin
sɨcɨcjɨ jʔicjɨjo,
sɨcɨ=ccjɨ *jʔ-tɨ=joo*
coffin=QT say-SEQ=CFM1
'As the person who made (the coffin) can be put (there) whenever (the person) dies, (there is a thing) called *sɨcɨ* [i.e. coffin], and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

/nən sjɨ/ *nən sɨr-tɨ* (such.as do-SEQ) follows a nominal as in (10-85 a), and follows a verb as in (10-85 b-d). In (10-85 c), *nən* directly follows a participle, but in (10-85 d), it is interrupted by *ga*. This particle has the same form with the focus particle *ga*, but I am not sure whether it is *ga* (FOC) or not for now.

Secondly, I will present the examples where the units followed by *nən* 'such as' fill the complements of /sjan/ *sɨr-tar-n* (do-PST-PTCP), which in turn modify the nominal in the superordinate clause.

(10-86) *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tar-n* (do-PST-PTCP)

a. After a nominal

TM: maganən sjan injawarabɨnu cʔjɨ,
maga=nən *sɨr-tar-n* *inja+warabɨ=nu* *k-tɨ*
grandchild=such.as do-PST-PTCP small+child=NOM come-SEQ
'A small child such as a grandchild came, and ...'

[PF: 090225_00.txt]

b. After a participle

TM: noogusukuja naanai pʔaacjɨ aagai
noogusuku=ja *naa+nai* *pʔaa=ccjɨ* *aagai*
Nogusuku=TOP other+a.little shining=QT light
cɨkɨtutannən sjan |kanzi|.

cɨkɨr-tur-tar-n=nən *sɨr-tar-n* *kanzi*
turn.on-PROG-PST-PTCP=such.as do-PST-PTCP atmosphere
'Nogusuku [i.e. the name of a place] has an atmosphere just as (someone) was turning on a shining light a little.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. After a participle (interrupted by *ga*)

TM: |kawa|bunɨccjɨ kan sjɨ an |hunakudari|
kawa+hunɨ=ccjɨ *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *a-n* *hunakudari*
river+boat=QT PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ DIST-ADNZ descending.by.the.boat
sjunganən sjan |kanzi|sjɨ, |soko|ja
sɨr-jur-n=ga=nən *sɨr-tar-n* *kanzi=sjɨ* *soko=ja*
do-UMRK-PTCP=GA=such.as do-PST-PTCP atmosphere=INST bottom=TOP
mattawu natɨ,
mattawu *nar-tɨ*
very.flat COP-SEQ
'(Speaking of) *kawabunɨ* [i.e. a river boat], (it) is similar to (the boat) by which (people) descend (a river) like this [lit. with an atmosphere where (people) descend (a river) like this], and the bottom is very flat, and ...'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

/nən sjan/ *nən sɨr-tar-n* (such.as do-PST-PTCP) follows a nominal as in (10-86 a), and follows a verb as in (10-86 b-c). In (10-86 b), *nən* directly follows a participle, but in (10-86 c), it is interrupted by *ga* as well as in (10-85 d).

In the text data, *sɨr-* 'do' (as the head of the complement, following *nən* 'such as') always takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (10-85) or *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) as in (10-86). However, it can take other inflections in elicitation as in (10-87 a-b).

(10-87) a. *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tur-i* (do-PROG-NPST)

TM: tarun wuranga nən sjui.
ta-ru=n *wur-an=ga* *nən* *sɨr-tur-i*
who-NLZ=even exist-NEG=GA such.as do-PROG-NPST
'(It) seems (that) there isn't anyone.'

[El: 120914]

b. *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tur-tar* (do-PROG-PST)

TM: tarun wuranga nən sjutattoo.
ta-ru=n *wur-an=ga* *nən* *sɨr-tur-tar=doo*
who-NLZ=even exist-NEG=GA such.as do-PROG-PST=ASS
'(It) seemed (that) there wasn't anyone.'

[El: 120914]

Before concluding this section, it should be mentioned that *nən* 'such as' has the same form with the existential verb in negative, i.e. /nən/ *nə-an* (exist-NEG) 'not exist' (see §8.3.2.3) and the sequential convebal affix *-nən* (SEQ) (see §8.4.3.5). For now, I could not say anything about the diachronic relation or the synchronic commonality among these morphemes.

10.5. Utterance-final particles B

Yuwan has the utterance-final particles B as in Table 101. The utterance-final particles B can be hosted by the utterance, but the units followed by the utterance-final particles B are not necessarily embedded into the superordinate clauses, which is different from the utterance-final particles A discussed in §10.4. The term "utterance" here is used to indicate an abstract unit that can include both of the phrase and the clause.

Table 101. Utterance-final particles B

Form	Meaning
joo	Confirmation
jaa	Solidality

joo (CFM1) and *jaa* (SOL) can follow many of the other particles discussed in the preceding sections. Additionally, *jaa* (SOL) can follow *joo* (CFM1).

jaa (SOL) and *joo* (CFM1) have the counterparts in the interjections (see §4.3.7). *jaa* (SOL) and *joo* (CFM1) as the interjections can start an utterance only by themselves, which is also disscussed in the following sections. This means that the particle-like uses of *jaa* (SOL) and *joo* (CFM1) are continuous with their interjection-like uses. The interjection *naa* (FIL) also often loses its own pitch (although it can start an utterance). Thus, it may be appropriate that such *naa* (FIL) be regarded as a particle. However, the unit followed by the clitic-like *naa* (FIL) is always embedded in another superordinate clause. Thus, it may be appropriate to categorize it as the sentence-final particle A, although it needs further investigation.

First, I will present examples of *joo* (CFM1) in §10.5.1. Then, I will present examples of *jaa* (SOL) in §10.5.2.

10.5.1. *joo* (CFM1)

joo (CFM1) is used to draw the hearer's attention. *joo* (CFM1) often becomes /jo/ as in (10-88 a-d, f). The units that can precede *joo* (CFM1) are full of variety.

(10-88) *joo* (CFM1)

After predicates

a. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verbal form is a finite form [= (9-4 b)]

TM: nu-nkuin atɨ moojuijo.
nuu-nkuin ar-tɨ moor-jur-i=joo
what-INDFZ exist-SEQ HON-UMRK-NPST=CFM1
'(At MS's grandfather's place,) they had everything.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verbal form is a converb

TM: mukasinu sicizibatija, naa, kiinu muituppoojo,
mukasi=nu sicizi+hatii=ja naa kii=nu muij-tur-boo=joo
the.past=GEN cycad+field=TOP FIL tree=NOM grow-PROG-CND=CFM1
un sicizija, naa, nən najuttijaa.
u-n sicizi=ja naa nə-an nar-jur-ti=jaa
MES-ADNZ cycad=TOP FIL exist-NEG become-UMRK-SEQ=SOL
'About the cycad field in the past, if other trees grew (around the cycad trees), the cycad trees became extinct.'

[Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. After the adjectival predicate phrase [= (9-25 b)]

TM: nuuga? kuri kuri. kusarəə siranba,
nuu=ga ku-ri ku-ri kusarir-Ø=ja sir-an-ba
what=FOC PROX-NLZ PROX-NLZ rot-INF=TOP do-NEG-CSL
jiccjaijo.
jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo
no.problem-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1
'What? This (one), this (one). (It) will not rot, so (it) is no problem (for you to bring it back).'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

d. After the nominal predicate phrase

TM: jonesige |neesan|.jo
jonesige neesan=joo
Yoneshige elder.sister=CFM1
'(She is) Yoneshige's elder sister.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

After argument NPs

e. After the nominative NP [= (6-95 a)]

TM: jonesigetaa c'jantu attaa ziisantugajoo

jonesige-taa *cʔjan=tu* *a-rɨ-taa* *ziisan=tu=ga=joo*
Yoneshige-PL father=COM DIST-NLZ-PL grandfather=COM=NOM=CFM1
|itoko|bəi najuncjɨ.
itoko=bəi *nar-jur-n=ccjɨ*
cousin=only become-UMRK-PTCP=QT
'Yoneshige's father and his [i.e the present speaker's] grandfather are cousin, (I heard).'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

After an adverb

f. TM: asahuci, asajo izjɨ cʔjɨn njɨcjɨ
asahuci *asa=joo* *ik-tɨ* *k-tɨ=n* *nj-ɨ=ccjɨ*
morning morning=CFM1 go-SEQ come-SEQ=ever EXP-IMP=QT
kinju jʔicjanwakejo.
kinju *jʔ-tar-n=wake=joo*
yesterday say-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
'Yesterday morning, (I) said, "Try to go (to your place)!"'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

Additionally, *joo* (CFM1) can follow the imperative, e.g., *mukk-oo=joo* (bring-IMP=CFM1) 'Bring (it)!' as in (10-31 a) in §10.2.2, the modifier NP, e.g., *nama=nu=joo warabɨ=nkja* (now=GEN=CFM1 child=APPR) 'the children in these days [lit. the children of now]' as in (10-7) in §10.1.1.2, or *nusi=nu=joo jinga-nəə=nkja* (now=GEN=CFM1 man-parent=APPR) 'her father [lit. herself's father]' as in (10-64) in §10.4.1.1.

If *joo* (CFM1) follows *ccjɨ* (QT), the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) can be used as the main clause expressing that it is of the objective (not hearsay) information (see §10.4.1.7 for more details).

Before concluding this section, I will present an example of an interjection that seems to have the same origin with *joo* (CFM1).

(10-89) *joo* (CFM1) as an interjection
[Context: TM describs US's behavior to the present author in front of US.]
TM: joo. cʔjunu məəci cʔjəəran, naa, |ittoki|n
joo *cʔju=nu* *məə=kaci* *k-təəra=n* *naa* *ittoki=n*
CFM1 person=GEN front=ALL come-after=even FIL for.a.moment=even
joosjurancjɨjo.
joosjur-an=ccjɨ=joo
keep.still-NEG=QT=CFM1
'Hey. (US) cannot keep still, even after (she) came to a person's place [i.e. even when (she) visit a friend (like this)].'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (10-89), the speaker started her utterance with *joo* (CFM1), which is used to attract the hearer's [i.e. the present author's] attention.

10.5.2. *jaa* (SOL)

First, the basic characteristics of *jaa* (SOL) are presented in §10.5.2.1. Then, *jaa* (SOL) is compared with *jəə* (CFM2) in §10.5.2.2, since they express a distinction that is similar to that of the first-person inclusive vs. exclusive found in the languages around the world (cf. Payne 1997: 45).

10.5.2.1. Basic characteristics of *jaa* (SOL)

jaa (SOL) is used to require the hearer's empathy or to express the speaker's empathy with the hearer. The units that can precede *jaa* (SOL) are full of variety. For example, *jaa* (SOL) can follow the verbal predicate as in (10-9 a) in §10.1.2.1 (the verb is a finite form) or (10-31 a) in §10.2.2 (the verb is a participle with the conjunctive particle *sjuti* (SEQ)), the adjectival predicate as in (9-44 a) in §9.2.1 (immediately after the adjective) or (10-62 d) in §10.4.1.1 (after the stative verb), the nominal predicate as in (10-90 a) (immediately after the predicate NP) or (4-13 b) in §4.1.3.3 (after the copula verb). Additionally, *jaa* (SOL) can follow another particles, such as the conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS) as in (10-90 b), the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) as in (10-90 c) or *kai* (DUB) as in (10-50) in §10.3.6, the utterance-final particle A *ccji* (QT) as in (10-74 b) in §10.4.1.7, or the utterance-final particle B *joo* (CFM1) as in (10-90 d). There are many examples that include *jaa* (SOL) in the text data, but I have not yet found the example where *jaa* (SOL) follows any case particle.

(10-90) *jaa* (SOL)

a. After the nominal predicate (immediately after the predicate NP)

[Context: Looking at a picture; MS: 'Hey, this is the public well, (isn't it?)']

TM: tuinkoojaa.
tuinkoo=jaa
public.well=SOL
'(Actually, it is) the public well.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. After the conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS)

TM:	namanu	munna	naikwoo	wakajunban.jaa.
	nama=nu	*mun=ja*	*naikwa=ja*	*wakar-jur-n=ban=jaa*
	now=GEN	thing=TOP	a.little=TOP	know-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=SOL

'(I) know the things from these days a little, but (it is easier to remember the things from the old days).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. After the clause-final particle *doo* (ACC)

TM:	waa	məənannja	attojaa.
	waa	*məə=nan=ja*	*ar=doo=jaa*
	1SG.ADNZ	place=LOC1=TOP	exist=ASS=SOL

'I have (the model plate to make *katakʔwasi* [a kind of sweets]).'
[lit. '(It) exists at my place.']

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. After the utterance-final particle B *joo* (CFM1)

TM:	arəə	siccjuijojaa?	gazimaruja.
	a-rɨ=ja	*sij-tur-i=joo=jaa*	*gazimaru=ja*
	DIST-NLZ=TOP	know-PROG-NPST=CFM1=SOL	bayan.tree=TOP

'(You) know that, (i.e.) the banyan tree (don't you?)'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

The long vowel of *doo* (ASS) sometimes becomes short before *jaa* (SOL) as in (10-90 c). The long vowel of *joo* (CFM1) always becomes short before *jaa* (SOL) as in (10-90 d).

jaa (SOL) has its counterpart in the interjection as in (10-91).

(10-91) *jaa* (SOL) as an interjection

[Context: Taking of the old days; US: '(I) borrowed (the money to let my children go to high school) from many people.']

TM:	jaa.	huntoo	|kookoo|	izjasijajaa.
	jaa	*huntoo*	*kookoo*	*izjas-i=ja=jaa*
	SOL	really	high.shool	let.go-INF=TOP=SOL

'Yeah. Really (it is hard) to let (one's children) go to high school.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the conversation described in (10-91), the speaker started her utterance with *jaa* (SOL), which is used to express the speaker's empathy to the hearer.

10.5.2.2. Comparison between *jaa* (SOL) and *jəə* (CFM2) following *-oo* (INT)

jaa (SOL) can co-occur with many of the particles, but cannot with *jəə* (CFM2). Both *jaa* (SOL) and *jəə* (CFM2) can follow the finite-form affix *-oo* (INT) as in (7-25 g) in §7.7 and (10-46) in §10.3.4, but their meanings are critically different from each other. Their difference can be summarized as in (10-92).

(10-92) Comparison between *jaa* (SOL) and *jəə* (CFM2) following -*oo* (INT)

a. -*oo=jaa* (INT=SOL) necessarily includes the hearer into the action indicated by the verbal stem;

b. -*oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) necessarily excludes the hearer from the action indicated by the verbasl stem.

The above distinction between -*oo=jaa* (INT=SOL) and -*oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) is similar to the distinction between the first-person inclusive and the first-person exclusive found in the languages around the world (cf. Payne 1997: 45). I will show the minimal pairs that exemplify (10-92 a-b).

First, (10-92 a) is attested by (10-93 a-b).

(10-93) -*oo=jaa* (INT=SOL)

a. [Context: Inviting the hearer]

TM:	mazin	ikjoojaa.
	mazin	*ik-<u>oo=jaa</u>*
	together	go-INT=SOL
	'Let's go together.'	
		[El: 090830]

b.

TM:	*wan	cʔjui	ikjoojaa.
	wan	*cʔjui*	*ik-<u>oo=jaa</u>*
	1SG	one.person.CLF	go-INT=SOL
			[El: 090830]

In (10-93 a), /ikjoojaa/ *ik-oo=jaa* (go-INT=SOL) can be used to invite the hearer. However, it cannot be used with the numeral *cʔjui* (one.person.CLF) 'one person,' which implies 'alone,' as in (10-93 b). These examples show that the combination of -*oo* (INT) and *jaa* (SOL) necessarily includes the hearer.

Secondly, (10-92 b) is attested by (10-94 a-b).

(10-94) -*oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2)

a. [Context: Inviting the hearer]

TM:	*mazin	ikjoojəə.
	mazin	*ik-<u>oo=jəə</u>*
	together	go-INT=CFM2
		[El: 090830]

b.

TM:	wan	cʔjui	ikjoojəə.
	wan	*cʔjui*	*ik-<u>oo=jəə</u>*
	1SG	one.person.CLF	go-INT=CFM2
			[El: 090830]

In (10-94 a), /ikjoojəə/ *ik-oo=jəə* (go-INT=CFM2) cannot be used to invite the hearer. However, it can be used with the numeral *cʔjui* (one.person.CLF) ‘one person,’ which implies ‘alone,’ as in (10-94 b). These examples show that the combination of *-oo* (INT) and *jəə* (CFM2) necessarily excludes the hearer.

Chapter 11
Inter-clausal phenomena

This chapter describes several inter-clausal phenomena. In §11.1, we will discuss the subordinate clauses, which can modify another clause. There are four types in the subordinate clauses: adverbial clause (where the subordinate clause functions as an adverb) (see §11.1.1); adnominal clause (where the subordinate clause functions as an adnominal) (see §11.1.2); nominal clause (where the subordinate clause functions as a nominal) (see §11.1.3); and complement clause (where the subordinate clause fills the complement slot of the verbal predicate phrase) (see §11.1.4). Some of the subordinate clauses can be used without their superordinate clauses. The conventionalized omission of the superordinate clause is called "insubordination" (Evans 2007), which will be discussed in §11.2. In §11.3, I will present the phenomena that are related with the focus markers, especially the phenomenon called "kakari-musubi" (i.e. 'government-predication') in Japanese and Ryukyuan linguistics.

11.1.Subordinate clauses

Yuwan has four types of subordinate clauses: adverbial clauses (see §11.1.1); adnominal clauses (see §11.1.2); nominal clauses (see §11.1.3); and complement clauses (see §11.1.4). The dependency of the subordinate clauses on the superordinate clause is different from one to another. Many of the subordinate clauses can take their own subjects different from those in the superordinate clauses. However, the adverbial clauses headed by the converbs *-tai* (LST) and *-jagacinaa* (SIM) and the nominal clauses headed by the infinitives (not accompanied with *n* (DAT1)) cannot take their own subjects (see §8.4.3 and §8.4.4.2 for more details).

11.1.1. Adverbial clause

The adverbial clause is the subordinate clause that functions as an adverb. The adverbial clause precedes its superordinate claue in principle. The adverbial clause can be expressed in two ways. First, the adverbial clause can be expressed by the converbal affixes. For example, *-ba* (CSL) following the verbal stem can express a causal meaning as in (11-1 a) (see §8.4.3 for more details). Secondly, the adverbial clause can also be expressed by the conjunctive particles as in (11-1 b) (see §10.2 for more details).

(11-1) Adverbial clauses in Yuwan

a. Using a converb [= (8-86 a)]

[Context: MY asked TM if TM had made the pickles; TM: '(I) don't know. How (was it)?']

TM:	niizinnu	appa,	arandaroo.
	[*niizin=nu*	*ar-ba*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$	*ar-an=daroo*
	carrot=NOM	exist-CSL	COP-NEG=SUPP

‘There are (pieces of) a carrot, so maybe (the pickles) are not (mine).’

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Using a conjunctive particle [= (4-20 b)]

TM:	wanna	honami-|cjan|	naaja	siccjunban,
	[*wan=ja*	*honami-cjan*	*naa=ja*	*sij-tur-n=ban*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
	1SG=TOP	Honami-DIM	name=TOP	know-PROG-PTCP=ADVRS

naakjaa	jumɨnu	naaja	sijandoojaa.
naakjaa	*jumɨ=nu*	*naa=ja*	*sij-an=doo=jaa*
2PL.HON.ADNZ	daughter.in.law=GEN	name=TOP	know-NEG=ASS=SOL

‘I know Honami’s name, but don’t know the name of your daughter in law.’

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

All of the converbal affixes and some of the conjunctive particles are restricted in their choice of tense markers. However, a few conjunctive particles, i.e. *ban* (ADVRS), *kara* (CSL) and *mun* (ADVRS), are not restricted in their choice of tense markers.

It is common in Yuwan that the adverbial clauses (especially including *-tɨ* (SEQ)) are used sequentially, which is called clause-chaining (cf. Payne 1997: 321-325). In that case, the adverbial clauses do not seem to be embedded in the superordinate clauses as adverbs, and it is natural to translate the meanings of the relations among the clauses into ‘and then’ as in (11-2).

(11-2) Clause-chaining in Yuwan [= (8-102 b)]

TM:	idocjɨ	jˀicjɨ,	(an)	mata	(an)	agan
	[*ido=ccjɨ*	*jˀ-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$	*a-n*	*mata*	*a-n*	[*aga-n*
	oh=QT	say-SEQ	DIST-ADNZ	again	DIST-ADNZ	DIST-ADVZ

izjibatɨ	izjɨ,	amanan	sawakotankja
izir-i+bar-tɨ	*ik-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$	[*a-ma=nan*	*sawako-taa=nkja*
go.out-INF+?-SEQ	go-SEQ	DIST-place=LOC1	Sawako-PL=APPR

minakotankjaga	wutattu,
minako-taa=nkja=ga	*wur-tar-tu*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
Minako-PL=APPR=NOM	exist-PST-CSL

‘Saying that “Oh!” (I) went out there again, and there were Sawako, Minako and their friends, so ...’

[Co: 101020_01.txt]

Interestingly, some clauses headed by converbs can be used without their superordinate clauses. The conventionalized omission of the superordinate clauses is called “insubordination” (see §11.2 for more details).

11.1.2. Adnominal clause

The adnominal clause is the subordinate clause that functions as an adnominal. The adnominal clause always precedes its head nominal. The predicate of the adnominal clause is always filled by the participles that end with *-n* (PTCP) as in (11-3 a) or *-an* (NEG) as in (11-3 b) (see §8.4.2 for more details), but not vice versa since the participle followed by the conjunctive particles function as the adverbial clauses as in (11-1 b) in §11.1.1 (see also §10.2).

(11-3) Adnominal clauses in Yuwan

a. Using the participial affix *-n* (PTCP) [= (8-80 a)]

TM:	sakkiija	(hinzjaa)	xxx	hinzjaaba	succjun
	sakkii=ja	*hinzjaa*		[*hinzjaa=ba*	*sukk-tur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
	a.short.while.ago	goat		goat=ACC	pull-PROG-PTCP

cʔjunu	atooradu	cʔjanmun.
cʔju=nu	*atu=kara=du*	*k-tar-n=mun*
person=NOM	after=ABL=FOC	come-PST-PTCP=ADVRS

'A short while ago, the person who was pulling a goat came afterward, but (this time he came beforehand).'

[PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. Using the participial affix *-an* (NEG) [= (8-83 b)]

TM:	kʔwaga	dɨkɨran	cʔju	natɨ,
	[*kʔwa=ga*	*dɨkɨr-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$	*cʔju*	*nar-tɨ*
	child=NOM	be.born-NEG	person	COP-SEQ

'Since (the woman) was a person who cannot have a baby, ...'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

If the constituent of a clause is focused by *du* (FOC), the predicate-final verb may take the participle without the following head NP, which is called the focus construction (or "kakari-musubi") (see §11.3 for more details).

11.1.3. Nominal clause

The nominal clause is the subordinate clause that functions as a nominal. The nominal clause can be expressed in three ways. First, the nominal clause can be expressed by the compound. For example, *mai* (OBL) is compounded with the preceding verbal stem: /ikimai/ *ik-i+mai* (go-INF+OBL) 'to have to go' (see §4.2.3.2 for more details) as in (11-4 a). Secondly, the nominal clause can be expressed by the infinitival affix *-i*/*-Ø* as in (11-4 b) (see §8.4.4.2 for more details). Thirdly, the nominal clause can be expressed by the formal noun *sɨ*, which can directly follow the bound verbal stem and forms a nominal clause as in (11-4 c) (see §6.2.2.1 for more details).

(11-4) Nominal clauses in Yuwan

a. Using a nominal compound [= (4-35 d)]

TM: wanna urɨba kakimaidoo.
wan=ja [*u-rɨ=ba* *kak-i+mai*]$_{\text{Nominal clause}}$*=doo*
1SG=TOP MES-NLZ=ACC write-INF+OBL=ASS
'I have to write it.'

[El: 130816]

b. Using an infinitive [= (8-113 a)]

[Context: Remembering the days when people send off the people who went to mainland Japan]

TM: umanan sanbasinu atɨ,
u-ma=nan *sanbasi=nu* *ar-tɨ*
MES-place=LOC1 pier=NOM exist-SEQ
umantɨ cɨkɨ jatattu.
[*u-ma=nantɨ* *cɨkɨr-Ø*]$_{\text{Nominal clause}}$ *jar-tar-tu*
MES-place=LOC2 attach-INF COP-PST-CSL
'There is a pier there, and (the ship) came alongside there [lit. (the ship) was to dock there].'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Using the formal noun *sɨ*

[Context: Talking about the present author] = (6-13 a)

TM: an nɨsəə muccjɨ ikjusəə nun
[*a-n* *nəɨsəə* *mut-tɨ* *ik-jur=sɨ*]$_{\text{Nominal clause}}$ *=ja* *nuu=n*
DIST-ADNZ young.man have-SEQ go-UMRK=FN=TOP what=any
nənba, jakkəə.
nə-an-ba *jakkəə*
exist-NEG-CSL trouble
'There is not anything [i.e. any food] the young man can take (for meals), so it's pity.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

All of the above strategies can make the nominal clause, but the degree of the nominal characteristic and the verbal characteristic (or "clause-hood") is different from one another. Their differences are summrized in the following Table 102.

Table 102. Comparison among the clauses headed by *mai* (OBL), *-i/-Ø* (INF), or *sɨ* (FN)

	mai (OBL)	*-i/-Ø* (INF)	*sɨ* (FN)
Nominal characteristics			
a. May be follwed by the copula verbs	+	+	+
b. May be followed by case particles	-	(+)	+
Verbal characteristics (or "clause-hood")			
c. Retains the internal syntax	+	+	+
d May take the subject different from that of the superordinate clause	-	(+)	+

Notes: (+) means that there are a few cases where *-i/-Ø* (INF) can satisfy the nominal/verbal characteristics.

About the nominal characteristics in Table 102, all of the nominal clauses headed by (the compound including) *mai* (OBL), the infinitive, and *sɨ* (FN) may be followed by the copula verbs. In this respect, they behave like nominals. However, the compound including *mai* (OBL) cannot take any case particle. In other words, it cannot become an argument. Similarly, the infinitive cannot take any case particles with the exception of the nominative case *ga* and the dative case 1 *n* (see §8.4.4.2 for more details). On the contrary, *sɨ* (FN) has more freedom to take case particle than the others. Thus, the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) has more nominal characteristics than those headed by *mai* (OBL) or *-i/-Ø* (INF). About the verbal characteristics in Table 102, all of the verbal stems that are followed by *mai* (OBL), *-i/-Ø* (INF), and *sɨ* (FN) may retain their internal syntax. In this respect, these words behave like verbs. However, the clause headed by (the compound including) *mai* (OBL) cannot have its own subject different from the superordinate (i.e. modified) clause. The clause headed by the infinitive also cannot take its own subject with the exception of the case where the infitive takes *n* (DAT1) as in (8-114) - (8-115) in §8.4.4.2. On the contrary, the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) can take its own subject different from the superordinate clause. Thus, the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) has more verbal characteristics (or "clause-hood") than those headed by *mai* (OBL) or *-i/-Ø* (INF). From another point of view, it is probable that the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) has the status sufficient to be called the nominal clause, but that the clauses headed by (the compound that includes) *mai* (OBL) or the infinitives are better analyzed as the components of the complex predicate (with the copula verb in a single clause).

11.1.4. Complement clause

The complement clause in Yuwan is the subordinate clause that functions as a complement of the verbal predicate phrase (see §9.1 about the complement slot). A complement clause ends with one of the utterance-final particles A, i.e. *ccjɨ* (QT), *ka* (DUB), *gajaaroo* (DUB), and *nən* 'such as.' I present an example of *ccjɨ* in (11-5) (see §10.4 for more details).

(11-5) Complement clause in Yuwan [= (10-63 c)]

TM:	isaburootaa,	tomokkotaaga	atai	jatancjɨ
	[*isaburoo-taa*	*tomokko-taa=ga*	*atai*	*jar-tar-n=ccjɨ*]$_{\text{Complement clause}}$
	Isaburo-PL	Tomohiko-PL=NOM	50.years.old	COP-PST-PTCP=QT

j^{ʔ}icjɨ,
j^{ʔ}-tɨ
say-SEQ
'(People) said that Isaburo (and) Tomohiko were fifty years old, and ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Other examples of complement clauses were shown in (9-23 b-e) in §9.1.2.1 and (9-39) in §9.1.2.2.

In fact, the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) is similar to the nominal clause (in §11.1.3), since it may be followed by the copula verb, may take the genitive case *nu*, and can retain the internal syntax including its own subject (see §10.4.1.5 for more details). However, I propose that the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) is different from the nominal clause since it does not take any argument case (i.e. the cases other than the genitive). In fact, the clause headed by (the compound including) *mai* (OBL) does not take any argument case as well as the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT). However, the former, i.e. the clause headed by *mai* (OBL), only fills the predicate phrase of the superordinate clause, but the latter, i.e. the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT), can (and frequently) fill the slot other than the head of the predicate phrase of the superordinate clasue. In other words, the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) fills the complement slot of the verbal predicate phrase. The components in the complement slot do not take any argument case since they are not the arguments of the clause (see §9.1). Thus, it is more appropriate to call the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) the "complement clause" (not the nominal clause).

11.2.Insubordination

Insubordination is defined by Evans (2007: 367) as follows: "I will apply the term "insubordination" to *the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses*" (italic in original). As Evans (2007: 367) said, the insubordination is a phenomenon strongly related with the diachronic linguistic change. Therefore, it is probable that there is a case where the subordinate use is very rare and also the main-clause use dominats in the modern language. In fact, the affix *-ɨba* (SUGS) in Yuwan is a good candidate for that (see §8.4.1.5 for more details). In Yuwan, the omission of the main clause is very common, where the (meaning of the) omitted clause can be often restored by the context. However, there are a few cases where the restoring is difficult. In those cases, the predicates have gained some grammatical functions different from the functions in the original subordinate clauses. In the following sections, I will present four examples: *-tɨ* (SEQ) in §11.2.1, *-ba* (CSL) in §11.2.2, *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1) in §11.2.3, and *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) in §11.2.4.

11.2.1. *-tɨ* (SEQ) as insubordination

Non-finite uses of the converbal affix *-tɨ* (SEQ) are found in the adverbial clause expressing sequential meaning as in §8.4.3.5 or in the auxiliary verb construction as in §9.1.1. However, there is a finite use of the converbal affix *-tɨ* (SEQ), which expresses the past tense as in (11-6 a-c).

(11-6) *-tɨ* (SEQ) expressing the past tense as the insubordination

a. TM: naakjoo injasainnja dantɨ
naakja=ja *inja-sa+ar-i=n=ja* *daa=nantɨ*
2.HON.PL=TOP small-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1=TOP where=LOC2
asɨbjutɨ?
asɨb-jur-tɨ
play-UMRK-SEQ
'Where did you used to play when (you) were in your childhood?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: gazimarugɨinu sjantɨ asɨbantɨ?
gazimaru+kɨi=nu *sja=nantɨ* *asɨb-an-tɨ*
bayan.tree+tree=GEN under=LOC2 play-NEG-SEQ
'Didn't you play under the banyan tree?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM: jadunkjoo akɨtɨdoo.
jaduu=nkja=ja *akɨr-tɨ=doo*
door=APPR=TOP open-SEQ=ASS
'(We) opened the doors (on New Year's Eve in the old days).'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In fact, the finite-form affix *-tar* (PST) cannot appear in the interrogative clause (see also §8.4.1.1). In that case, *-tɨ* (SEQ) is used to express the past tense as in (11-6 a-b). Therefore, the particle that expresses the polar question, e.g., *na* (PLQ), cannot co-occur with *-tar* (PST) as in (11-7 b), but can with *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (11-7 a).

(11-7) *na* (PLQ) in the past tense

a. TM: waatɨna?
waar-tɨ=na
understand-SEQ=PLQ
'(Did you) understand?'
[El: 090830]

b. TM: *waatana?
waar-tar=na
understand-PST=PLQ
(Intended meaning) '(Did you) understand?'
[El: 090830]

It should be noted that *-tar* (PST) can appear in the interrogative clasue if it is followed by *-u* (PFC) as in

(11-18 a-b) in §11.3.2, or if it is followed by *-mɨ* (PLQ), although the combination of *-tar-mɨ* (PST-PLQ) has not yet appeared in the text data (it only appears in elicitation). Additionally, if the alleged interrogative clause is used to express the speaker's wondering to herself, *-tar* (PST) can be used as in (11-8) (see also §10.3.6).

(11-8) *nuu* 'what' co-occuring with *-tar* (PST) because of *kai* (DUB) [= (10-50)]
[Context: MS asked TM whether the place in the picture used to be called "Yubinhana."]

TM:	nuucjɨga	jutakaijaa?
	nuu=ccjɨ=ga	*jʔ-jur-tar=kai=jaa*
	what=QT=FOC	call-UMRK-PST=DUB=SOL

'(I) wonder what (people) used to call (the place).'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

11.2.2. *-ba* (CSL) as the insubordination

Non-finite uses of the converbal affix *-ba* (CSL) are found in the adverbial clause expressing causal meaning as in §8.4.3.1. However, there is a finite use of the converbal affix *-ba* (CSL), which expresses the speaker's request to the hearer as in (11-9 a-c). In that case, *-ba* (CSL) always appears in the AVC following the auxiliary verbs *kurɨr-* (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON).

(11-9) *kurɨr-* (BEN) +*-ba* (CSL)

a.

TM:	hanacjɨ	kurɨppa.	dooka.
	hanas-tɨ	*kurɨr-ba*	*dooka*
	talk-SEQ	BEN-CSL	please
	[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{AVC}$	

'Please, talk (to me).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	naa	hazimɨtɨ	kurɨppajoo.
	naa	*hazimɨr-tɨ*	*kurɨr-ba=joo*
	FIL	begin-SEQ	BEN-CSL=CFM1
		[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{AVC}$

'(Please) begin (the training for the traditional dance for our community).'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

taboor- (BEN.HON) +*-ba* (CSL)

c.

TM:	umoojaganaa,	abɨtɨ	tabooppajoo.
	umoor-jaganaa	*abɨr-tɨ*	*taboor-ba=joo*
	come.HON-SIM	call-SEQ	BEN.HON-CSL=CFM1
		[Lex. verb	Aux. verb]$_{AVC}$

‘Coming (here), call (the person for me please).’

[El: 120930]

11.2.3. *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1) as the insubordination

ccjɨ (QT) embeds any utterance into the complement of the superordinate clause in principle. For example, an imperative clause is embedded into the complement of *jʔ-* ‘say’ as in (11-10).

(11-10) *ccjɨ* (QT) in the complement clause [= (8-148 g)]

TM:	kanɨciboja	urakja	tuikurawɨcjɨ	jʔicjɨ,
	[*kanɨ+cɨbo=ja*	*urakja*	*tur-i+kuraw-ɨ=ccjɨ*]$_{\text{Complement clause}}$	*jʔ-tɨ*
	gold+pot=TOP	2.NHON.PL	take-INF+DRG-IMP=QT	say-SEQ

‘(The man) said that, “You take (this) damn gold pot!” and ...’

[Fo: 090307_00.txt]

However, if it is followed by *joo* (CFM1), it always expresses an objective (not hearsay) information without any superordinate clause as in (11-11).

(11-11) *ccjɨ* (QT) in the insubordination [= (10-75 a)]

[Context: The speaker explains the story of the Pear Film to the hearer.]

TM:	tuutɨ	izjancjɨjoo.
	tuur-tɨ	*ik-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
	pass-SEQ	go-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1

‘(A young man who pulls a goat) passed by.’

[PF: 090305_01.txt]

The more detail discussion was done in §10.4.1.7.

11.2.4. *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) as the pre-insubordination

The converbal affix *-boo* (CND) expresses the conditional meaning. Interestingly, the combination of *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) in the adverbial clause and *nar-an* (become-NEG) in the main clause expresses the obligative meaning as in (11-12), where the obligative meaning is expressed in the adverbial clause.

(11-12) Obligation expressed by *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) plus *nar-an* (become-NEG) [=(9-40)]

TM:	waasan	ucjəə,	ganba	hatarakanboo,
	waa-sa+ar-n	*uci=ja*	*ganba*	*hatarak-an-boo*
	young-ADJ+STV-PTCP	period=TOP	therefore	work-NEG-CND
	naranbajaa.			
	nar-an-ba=jaa			

become-NEG-CSL=SOL
'While (one) is young, (one) has to work.'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above collocation has an idiomatic meaning (i.e. obligation), and it is difficult to construct the meaning from the literal meaning of each morpheme. The idiomatic meaning is frequently expressed without the main clause, which is the "conventionalization of ellipsis" (Evans 2007: 372-373) as in (11-13 a-d).

(11-13) Obligation expressed only by *-an-boo* (NEG-CND)

a. [= (8-122 b)]

TM:	nan	umoorasanboocjɨ	umutɨ,
	nan	*umoor-as-an-boo=ccjɨ*	*umuw-tɨ*
	2.HON.SG	come.HON-CAUS-NEG-CND=QT	think-SEQ

'(I) thought that (I) have to make you come, and ...'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [= (10-33)]

TM:	jazin	kjunmuncjɨ	umutɨ	kurɨranboo.
	jazin	*k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ*	*umuw-tɨ*	*kurɨr-an-boo*
	necessarily	come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT	think-SEQ	BEN-NEG-CND

'(You) have to think that necessarily (you) will come.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. [= (4-57)]

TM:	ude,	naa,	ganboo,	urakjoo	ude,	ude,	kamanboo,
	ude	*naa*	*ganboo*	*urakja=ja*	*ude*	*ude*	*kam-an-boo*
	well	FIL	if.so	2.NHON.SG=TOP	well	well	eat-NEG-CND

udeccjɨdu	xxx	jutattujaa.
ude=ccjɨ=du	N/A	*jʔ-jur-tar-tu=jaa*
well=QT=FOC	N/A	say-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL

'(The old people) would say, 'Well, now, then, you have to eat (more).''

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d.

TM:	uraba	həəku	timɨranbooccjɨga.
	ura=ba	*həə-ku*	*tɨmɨr-an-boo=ccjɨ=ga*
	2.NHON.SG=ACC	quick-ADVZ	find-NEG-CND=QT=FOC

'(I think) that (I) have to find you quickly.'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

In the above examples, *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) expresses obligation without *nar-an* (become-NEG). In other words, the subordiante clauses headed by (the verb that includes) *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) has obtained the

grammatical meaning of obligation.

11.3.Focus construction (or “Kakari-musubi”)

It is famous that there are a kind of focus constructions (i.e. constructions that include focus particles) that are traditoinally called *kakari-musubi* (i.e. ‘government-predication’) in Japanese linguistics and Ryukyuan linguistics (cf. Shimoji 2008: 565-570). The characteristics of the focus constructions in Yuwan can be summarized as follows.

(11-14) Focus construction (or “Kakari-musubi”) in Yuwan

a. *-n* (PTCP) is in the predicate of the main clause
> *du* (FOC) is in the clause, but not vice versa;

b. *-u* (PFC) is in the predicate
> *du* (FOC) or an interrogative word is in the clause, but not vice versa.

The argumentation for (11-14) is shown in the following sections. First, I will present examples of the focus construction of *du* (FOC) in §11.3.1. Then, I will present examples of the focus construction of *ga* (FOC) in §11.3.2.

11.3.1. Focus construction of *du* (FOC)

In Yuwan, the participle that has *-n* (PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, and it cannot fill the predicate of the main claue in principle (see also §11.1.2). However, if the focus particle *du* appears in the same clause, the participle can fill the predicate of the main claue as in (11-15 a-d).

(11-15) *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-n* (PTCP) in the main clause

a. [= (6-108 a)]

TM:	nuunu	nangikaicjɨdu	umujun.
	nuu=nu	*nangi=kai=ccjɨ=du*	*umuw-jur-n*
	what=GEN	trouble=DUB=QT=FOC	think-UMRK-PTCP

‘(I) wonder what (kinds) of trouble (I took).’
[i.e. ‘I didn’t want to take such trouble.’]

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b.

TM:	kadɨdu,	cikjaranu	izijun.
	kam-tɨ=du	*cikjara=nu*	*izir-jur-n*
	eat-SEQ=FOC	power=NOM	go.out-UMRK-PTCP

‘(One) eat (food), and then the power goes out.’
[i.e. ‘One can become powerful after eating a meal.’]

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. TM: dujasankutubəidu siccjun.
duja-sa+ar-n=kutu=bəi=du *sij-tur-n*
rich-ADJ+STV-PTCP=fact=only=FOC know-PROG-PTCP
'(I) know only the fact that (your grandparents) were rich.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. [Context: TM has been taught to chew her food well, but her stomach was not good until two or three years before.]
TM: naa, kunugurudu jiccjan.
naa *kunuguru=du* *jiccj-sa+ar-n*
FIL recently=FOC good-ADJ+STV-PTCP
'(My stomach) has been good recently.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that *-n* (PTCP) can fill the predicate of the main clause if there is *du* (FOC) in the same clause. However, its opposite is not necessarily true. For example, *-u* (PFC) can also fill the predicate of the main clause if there is *du* (FOC) in the same clause as in (11-16 a-b).

(11-16) *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-u* (PFC) [= (8-77 a)]

a. TM: utuzjoobasanna un cʔjunu samisjentudu
utuzjo+obasan=ja *u-n* *cʔju=nu* *samisjen=tu=du*
Utujo+old.woman=TOP MES-ADNZ person=GEN samisen=COM=FOC
utoo (sii..) sɨrarɨiru.
uta=ja *sɨr-i* *sɨr-arɨr-u*
song=TOP do-INF do-CAP-PFC
'Utujo can sing a song [lit. do a song] just with that person's samisen. (Otherwise, she cannot sing a song.)'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. TM: tacuu|toka|ga juubadu, jʔarɨiru.
tacuu=toka=ga *jʔ-ba=du* *jʔ-arɨr-u*
Tatsu=APPR=NOM say-CSL=FOC say-CAP-PFC
'(People) can say (a piece of advice to her), since (it is) Tatsu (who) says (it). (Otherwise, no one can give any advice to her.)'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

Furtheremore, other inflectional affixes (or affix-like clitics) can co-occur with *du* (FOC) in the same clause as in (11-17 a-g).

(11-17) a. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-i* (NPST)

[Context: Mutsu went away saying that she would stop in an electric appliance store.]

TM:	muccuuja	jaakacidu	izjəijaa.
	muccuu=ja	*jaa=kaci=du*	*ik-təər-i=jaa*
	Mutsu=TOP	house=ALL=FOC	go-RSL-NPST=SOL

'Mutsu has gone (back) home.'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *doo* (ASS)

[Context: TM said that there were no people who were able to make a wooden boat in Yuwan.]

TM:	kusinandu	wutattoo.
	kusi=nan=du	*wur-tar=doo*
	Kushi=LOC1=FOC	exist-PST=ASS

'(People who can make a wooden boat) were in Kushi.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-tar* (PST) [= (8-134 a)]

TM:	kunuguru**du**	kurəə	mucjɨ[72]	kjuu**ta**.
	kunuguru=du	*ku-rɨ=ja*	*mut-tɨ*	*k-jur-ta*
	recently=FOC	PROX-NLZ=TOP	have-SEQ	come-UMRK-PST

'(Satsue's child) brought this (picture) recently.'

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-ba* (CSL) or *-tɨ* (SEQ) [= (10-9 c)]

TM:	naa|nihon|bəidu	appa,	|hacikiro|naadu
	naa+nihon=bəi=du	*ar-ba*	*hacikiro+naa=du*
	another+two.CLF=about=FOC	exist-CSL	eight.kilogram+each=FOC

kinmɨ	sjɨ,	haatɨ,
kinmɨ	*sɨr-tɨ*	*haar-tɨ*
measure	do-SEQ	measure-SEQ

'There are other two white radishes, so (one) measures eight kilograms (of the materials) for each, and ...'

[Co: 101023_01.txt]

e. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-tu* (CSL)

TM:	kamɨccjɨdu	jutattu.
	kam-ɨ=ccjɨ=du	*jʔ-tar-tu*
	eat-IMP=QT=FOC	say-PST-CSL

'(The people in the past) said (roughly to children), "Eat!"'

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

[72] *mut-tɨ* (have-SEQ) usually becomes /muccjɨ/ according to the rule in §8.3.1.2. However, it becomes /mucjɨ/ in this example.

f. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-i* (INF)

TM:	iccjaijaacjɨdu	umuii.
	jiccj[73]*-sa+ar-i=jaa=ccjɨ=du*	*umuw-i*
	good-ADJ+STV-NPT=QT=FOC	think-INF
	'(I) think that (it) is good.'	

[Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that *du* (FOC) does not necessarily induce *-n* (PTCP) or *-u* (PFC) in the predicate in the same clause. *du* (FOC) can occur not only in the main clause, but also in the adverbial clause as in (11-17 d). Furthermore, *du* (FOC) can occur in the adnominal clause in the literal meaning (i.e. the clasue that modifies an NP in effect) as in (10-9 d) in §10.1.2.1.

11.3.2. Focus construction of *ga* (FOC)

The finite-form affix *-u* (PFC) only appears in the clauses that include *du* (FOC) or in the interrogative clauses of information question (see also §8.4.1.6). The interrogative words are often followed by *ga* (FOC) (see also §5.3.1). I will present examples of *-u* (PFC) co-occuring with *ga* (FOC) as in (11-18 a-d). The examples of *-u* (PFC) co-occuring with *du* (FOC) were already shown in (11-16) in §11.3.1.

(11-18) *ga* (FOC) co-occuring with *-u* (PFC) and the interrogative word

a. [Context: TM was surprised that US brought a lot of foods to TM's house.] = (6-101 a)

TM:	nunkjabaga	mata	muccjɨ	moocjaru?
	nuu=nkja=ba=ga	*mata*	*mut-tɨ*	*moor-tar-u*
	what=APPR=ACC=FOC	again	have-SEQ	HON-PST-PFC

'What did (you) bring (here) again?'

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b.

TM:	nuu	sjɨga,	asɨbjutaru?
	nuu	*sɨr-tɨ=ga*	*asɨb-jur-tar-u*
	what	do-SEQ=FOC	play-UMRK-PST-PFC

'What did (you) do for play (in your childhood)?' [lit. 'Doing what, did (you) play?']

[Co: 110328_00.txt]

c.

TM:	kurəə	nuu|sjooten|cjɨga	kacjəəru?
	ku-rɨ=ja	*nuu+sjooten=ccjɨ=ga*	*kak-təər-u*
	PROX-NLZ=TOP	what+shop=QT=FOC	write-RSL-PFC

'What was written on this shop('s signboard in the picture)?'

[lit. 'What shop have (people) written on this?']

[Co: 120415_00.txt]

[73] *jiccj-sa* (good-ADJ) usually becomes /jiccja/ [itt͡ɕɻ], but it becomes /iccja/ [ʔitt͡ɕɻ] in this example.

d. TM: nuucjɨga ariɨboo juru?
nuu=ccjɨ=ga *a-rɨ=ba=ja* *jʔ-jur-u*
what=QT=FOC DIST-NLZ=ACC=TOP say-UMRK-PFC
'What is that person called?' [i.e. 'What is his name?']
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (11-18 a-d), -*u* (PFC) co-occurs with *ga* (FOC). However, the existense of *ga* (FOC) does not induce that of -*u* (PFC). For example, *ga* (FOC) in the (alleged) interrogative clause can appear without -*u* (PFC) if it is followed by *kai* (DUB) as in (11-8) in §11.2.1. Moreover, *ga* (FOC) can be used in the non-interrogative clauses, where *ga* (FOC) does not take -*u* (FOC) as in (11-19) (see §10.1.2.2 for more details).

(11-19) *ga* (FOC) not co-occuring with -*u* (PFC) [= (10-14 b)]
TM: kunəədaga waakja dusinu, asikendusinu, wutɨ,
kunəəda=ga *waakja-a* *dusi=nu* *asiken+dusi=nu* *wur-tɨ*
the.other.day=FOC 1PL-ADNZ friend=NOM Ashiken+frend=NOM exist-SEQ
'The other day, there is my friend, (i.e.) a friend in Ashiken, and ...'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, *ga* (FOC) co-occurs with -*tɨ* (SEQ).

Appendix:

Morphophonological alternations of verbs

Pre-notes:

(a) The following lists correspond to the stem classes (Stems No. 1-17 and irregular verbal stems) and affix classes (Types A-D) discussed in §8.2;

(b) The affixes shown below exclude the Group II inflectional affixes discussed in Table 55 in §8.1 since they do not directly follow verbal roots and the morphophonological alternation caused by them are very transparent;

(c) All of the non-italic verbal forms express the surface forms;

(d) Examples other than those marked by the asterisk (*) were actually pronounced (in the elicitation or the natural discourse) by the speaker TM;

(e) The examples marked by the asterisk (*) are created by the present author using synchronic (morpho)phonological rules in Yuwan;

(f) The question mark (?) means that the speaker TM never uttered the form and that the present author could not find the natural context where the form can be used in elicitation;

(g) Infinitives (simple forms and lengthened forms) are shown in the final page.

Appendix

Stem No. 1 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}back}$r//): *hingir-* 'escape'

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
hingir-an	hingir-at-ta	hingir-arɨk=kai	N/A[74]	hingir-azɨi	hingir-ɨ	hingir-ɨba	hingir-oo
escape-NEG	escape-PASS-PST	escape-CAP=DUB		escape-NEG.PLQ	escape-IMP	escape-SUGS	escape-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* 'after'
hingi-tat=too	hingi-tuk-ɨ	hingi-tu-i	hingi-təəp-pa	*hingi-tɨ	*hingi-tai	*hingi-təəra
escape-PST=ASS	escape-PRPR-IMP	escape-PROG-NPST	escape-RSL-CSL	escape-SEQ	escape-LST	escape-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* 'person'	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*hingi-jawu-i	hingi-jaa	hingi-jus-sa	hingi-jagacinaa
escape-POL-NPST	escape-person	escape-UMRK-POL	escape-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* 'until'	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
hingip-pa	*hingip-poo	*hingik-kadɨ	hingin-na	*hingik=kai
escape-CSL	escape-CND	escape-until	escape-PROH	escape=DUB

[74] A different root is used with *-as* (CAUS), i.e. /hing-jas-ju-i/ *hing-as-jur-i* (escape-CAUS-UMRK-NPST).

Stem No. 1 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}back}$r//): *abɨr-* ‘call’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
abɨr-an	abɨr-at-tɨ	abɨr-arɨ-n=nja	abɨr-as-ɨ	abɨr-azɨi	abɨr-ɨ	abɨr-ɨba	abɨr-oo
call-NEG	call-PASS-SEQ	call-CAP-NPST=PLQ	call-CAUS-IMP	call-NEG.PLQ	call-IMP	call-SUGS	call-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
abɨ-ta	abɨ-tuk-ɨ	abɨ-tu-i	abɨ-təət=too	*abɨ-tɨ	*abɨ-tai	*abɨ-təəra
call-PST	call-PRPR-IMP	call-PROG-NPST	call-RSL=ASS	call-SEQ	call-LST	call-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*abɨ-jawu-i	abɨ-jaa	abɨ-ju-i	abɨ-jagacinaa
call-POL-NPST	call-person	call-UMRK-NPST	call-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
abɨp-pa	abɨp-poo	*abɨk-kadɨ	abɨn-na	*abɨk=kai
call-CSL	call-CND	call-until	call-PROH	call=DUB

Appendix

Stem No. 1 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}back}$r//): *kəər-* ‘exchange’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
kəər-an	kəər-at-tup-pa	kəər-ar-an	kəər-as-oo	kəər-azɨi	kəər-ɨ	kəər-ɨba	kəər-oo
exchange-NEG	exchange-PASS -PROG-CSL	exchange-CAP-NEG	exchange-CAUS-INT	exchange-NEG.PLQ	exchange-IMP	exchange-SUGS	exchange-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
kəə-tat=too	kəə-tuk-ɨ	kəə-tu-i	kəə-təəp-pa	*kəə-tɨ	*kəə-tai	*kəə-təəra
exchange-PST=ASS	exchange-PRPR-IMP	exchange-PROG-NPST	exchange-RSL-CSL	exchange-SEQ	exchange-LST	exchange-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*kəə-jawu-i	kəə-jaa	kəə-ju-i	kəə-jagacinaa
exchange-POL-NPST	exchange-person	exchange-UMRK-NPST	exchange-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
kəəp-pa	kəəp-poo	*kəək-kadɨ	kəən-na	*kəək=kai
exchange-CSL	exchange-CND	exchange-until	exchange-PROH	exchange=DUB

Stem No. 2 (ending with //V_{back}r//): *kʔuur-* ‘close’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
kʔuur-an	kʔuur-at-tat-tu	kʔuur-arɨ-n=nja	kʔuur-as-oo	kʔuur-azɨi	kʔuur-ɨ	kʔuur-ɨba	kʔuur-oo
close-NEG	close-PASS-PST-CSL	close-CAP-NPST=PLQ	close-CAUS-INT	close-NEG.PLQ	close-IMP	close-SUGS	close-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
kʔuu-tat=too	kʔuu-tuk-ɨ	kʔuu-tut=too	kʔuu-təə-tat-tu	kʔuu-tɨ	*kʔuu-tai	*kʔuu-təəra
close-PST=ASS	close-PRPR-IMP	close-PROG=ASS	close-RSL-PST-CSL	close-SEQ	close-LST	close-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*kʔuu-jawu-i	?	kʔuu-ju-i	kʔuu-jagacinaa
close-POL-NPST		close-UMRK-NPST	close-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
kʔuup-pa	*kʔuup-poo	*kʔuuk-kadɨ	kʔuun-na	*kʔuuk=kai
close-CSL	close-CND	close-until	close-PROH	close=DUB

Appendix

Stem No. 2 (ending with //V_{back}r//): *koor-* ‘buy’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
koor-an-ta	koor-at-ta	koor-arɨk=kai	koor-as-oo	koor-azɨi	koor-ɨ	koor-ɨba	koor-oo
buy-NEG-PST	buy-PASS-PST	buy-CAP=DUB	buy-CAUS-INT	buy-NEG.PLQ	buy-IMP	buy-SUGS	buy-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
koo-ta-n	koo-tuk-an-boo	koo-tut=too	koo-tə-n	koo-tɨ	*koo-tai	*koo-təəra
buy-PST-PTCP	buy-PRPR-NEG-CND	buy-PROG=ASS	buy-RSL-PTCP	buy-SEQ	buy-LST	buy-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*koo-jawu-i	koo-jaa	koo-ju-n	koo-jagacinaa
buy-POL-NPST	buy-person	buy-UMRK-PTCP	buy-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
koop-pa	*koop-poo	*kook-kadɨ	koon-na	*kook=kai
buy-CSL	buy-CND	buy-until	buy-PROH	buy=DUB

Stem No. 2 (ending with //V_{back}r//): *tur-* ‘take’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
tur-an	tur-arɨ-Ø	tur-ar-an	tur-as-an-tat-tu	tur-azɨi	tur-ɨ	tur-ɨba	tur-oo
take-NEG	take-PASS-INF	take-CAP-NEG	take-CAUS-PST-CSL	take-NEG.PLQ	take-IMP	take-SUGS	take-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
tu-ta	tu-tuk-ii	tu-tu-ta	tu-təəp-pa	tu-tɨ	*tu-tai	*tu-təəra
take-PST	take-PRPR-INF	take-PROG-PST	take-RSL-CSL	take-SEQ	take-LST	take-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*tu-jawu-i	tu-jaa	tu-ju-n	tu-jagacinaa
take-POL-NPST	take-person	take-UMRK-PTCP	take-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
tup-pa	tup-poo	*tuk-kadɨ	tun-na	*tuk=kai
take-CSL	take-CND	take-until	take-PROH	take=DUB

Appendix

Stem No. 3 (ending with //pp//): *app*- ‘play’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
app-an	app-at-tat-tu	app-arɨ-n=nja	app-as-an	app-azɨi	app-ɨ	app-ɨba	app-oo
play-NEG	play-PASS-PST-CSL	play-CAP-NPST=PLQ	play-CAUS-NEG	play-NEG.PLQ	play-IMP	play-SUGS	play-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-app* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
at-ta	?	at-tur-ɨ	at-tə-i	at-tɨ	*at-tai	*at-təəra
play-PST		play-PROG-IMP	play-RSL-NPST	play-SEQ	play-LST	play-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*app-jawu-i	?	app-jur-u	app-jagacinaa
play-POL-NPST		play-UMRK-PFC	play-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
app-uba	app-uboo	*app-ugadɨ	app-una	*app=ukai
play-CSL	play-CND	play-until	play-PROH	play=DUB

Stem No. 4 (ending with //b//): *narab-* ‘line up’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
narab-an	narab-at-ta	narab-arɨk=kai	narab-as-oo	narab-azɨi	narab-ɨ	narab-ɨba	narab-oo
line.up-NEG	line.up-PASS-PST	line.up-CAP=DUB	line.up-CAUS-INT	line.up-NEG.PLQ	line.up-IMP	line.up-SUGS	line.up-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
nara-da	nara-duk-ɨ	nara-du-i	nara-dəəp-pa	*nara-dɨ	*nara-dai	*nara-dəəra
line.up-PST	line.up-PRPR-IMP	line.up-PROG-NPST	line.up-RSL-CSL	line.up-SEQ	line.up-LST	line.up-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*narab-jawu-i	narab-jaa	narab-ju-i	narab-jagacinaa
line.up-POL-NPST	line.up-person	line.up-UMRK-NPST	line.up-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
narab-uba	narab-uboo	*narab-ugadɨ	narab-una	*narab=ukai
line.up-CSL	line.up-CND	line.up-until	line.up-PROH	line.up=DUB

Appendix

Stem No. 5 (ending with //Vm//): *jum-* ‘read’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
jum-an	jum-at-ta	jum-arɨ-i	jum-as-oo	jum-azɨi	jum-ɨ	jum-ba	jum-oo
read-NEG	read-PASS-PST	read-CAP-NPST	read-CAUS-INT	read-NEG.PLQ	read-IMP	read-SUGS	read-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
ju-da	ju-duk-ɨba	ju-dur-ɨba	ju-dəəp-pa	*ju-dɨ	*ju-dai	*ju-dəəra
read-PST	read-PRPR-SUGS	read-PROG-SUGS	read-RSL-CSL	read-SEQ	read-LST	read-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*jum-jawu-i	jum-jaa	jum-ju-n	jum-jagacinaa
read-POL-NPST	read-person	read-UMRK-PTCP	read-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
jum-ba	jum-boo	jum-gadɨ	jum-na	*jum=kai
read-CSL	read-CND	read-until	read-PROH	read=DUB

Stem No. 6 (ending with //nm//): *tanm-* ‘ask’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
tanm-an	tanm-ar-ɨ	tanm-ar-an	tanm-as-oo	tanm-azɨi	tanm-ɨ	tanm-ɨba	tanm-oo
ask-NEG	ask-PASS-IMP	ask-CAP-NEG	ask-CAUS-INT	ask-NEG.PLQ	ask-IMP	ask-SUGS	ask-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
tan-da	tan-duk-ɨ	tan-du-tɨ	tan-də-i	*tan-dɨ	*tan-dai	*tan-dəəra
ask-PST	ask-PRPR-IMP	ask-PROG-SEQ	ask-RSL-NPST	ask-SEQ	ask-LST	ask-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*tanm-jawu-i	?	tanm-jut=too	tanm-jagacinaa
ask-POL-NPST		ask-UMRK=ASS	ask-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
tanm-uba	*tanm-uboo	*tanm-ugadɨ	tanm-una	*tanm=ukai
ask-CSL	ask-CND	ask-until	ask-PROH	ask=DUB

Stem No. 7 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}i}$k//): *kak*- ‘write’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
kak-an-ta	kak-at-ta	kak-arɨk=kai	kak-as-i+gjaa	kak-azɨi	kak-ɨ	kak-ɨba	kak-oo
write-NEG-PST	write-PASS-PST	write-CAP=DUB	write-CAUS-INF+PURP	write-NEG.PLQ	write-IMP	write-SUGS	write-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
ka-cja	ka-cjuk-ɨ	ka-cjur-an-ta	ka-cjə-i	ka-cjɨ	*ka-cjai	*ka-cjəəra
write-PST	write-PRPR-IMP	write-PROG-NEG-PST	write-RSL-NPST	write-SEQ	write-LST	write-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*kak-jawu-i	kak-jaa	kak-ju-mɨ	kak-jagacinaa
write-POL-NPST	write-person	write-UMRK-PLQ	write-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
kak-uba	kak-uboo	kak-ugadɨ	kak-una	kak=ukai
write-CSL	write-CND	write-until	write-PROH	write=DUB

Stem No. 8 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}i}$kk//): *sukk-* ‘pull’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
sukk-an	*sukk-arɨ-i	*sukk-arɨ-i	*sukk-as-oo	*sukk-azɨi	*sukk-ɨ	*sukk-ɨba	*sukk-oo
pull-NEG	pull-PASS-NPST	pull-CAP-NPST	pull-CAUS-INT	pull-NEG.PLQ	pull-IMP	pull-SUGS	pull-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-sukk* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
*suc-cja	*suc-cjuk-ɨ	*suc-cju-i	*suc-cjə-i	suc-cjɨ	*suc-cjai	*suc-cjəəra
pull-PST	pull-PRPR-IMP	pull-PROG-NPST	pull-RSL-NPST	pull-SEQ	pull-LST	pull-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*sukk-jawu-i	*sukk-jaa	sukk-ju-i	*sukk-jagacinaa
pull-POL-NPST	pull-person	pull-UMRK-NPST	pull-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
*sukk-uba	*sukk-uboo	*sukk-ugadɨ	sukk-una	*sukk=ukai
pull-CSL	pull-CND	pull-until	pull-PROH	pull=DUB

Appendix

Stem No. 9 (ending with //Vs//): *us-* ‘push’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
us-an-boo	us-at-ta	us-arɨk=kai	us-as-oo	us-azɨi	us-ɨ	us-ɨba	us-oo
push-NEG-CND	push-PASS-PST	push-CAP=DUB	push-CAUS-INT	push-NEG.PLQ	push-IMP	push-SUGS	push-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
u-cja	u-cjuk-ɨ	u-cjut=too	u-cjəəp-pa	*u-cjɨ	*u-cjai	*u-cjəəra
push-PST	push-PRPR-IMP	push-PROG=ASS	push-RSL-CSL	push-SEQ	push-LST	push-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*us-jawu-i	us-jaa	us-jut=too	us-jagacinaa
push-POL-NPST	push-person	push-UMRK=ASS	push-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
us-ɨba	us-ɨboo	*us-ɨgadɨ	us-ɨna	*us=ɨkai
push-CSL	push-CND	push-until	push-PROH	push=DUB

Stem No. 10 (ending with //ss//): *kuss-* ‘kill’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
kuss-an	kuss-at-ta	kuss-ar-an	kuss-as-oo	kuss-azɨi	kuss-ɨ	kuss-ɨba	kuss-oo
kill-NEG	kill-PASS-PST	kill-CAP-NEG	kill-CAUS-INT	kill-NEG.PLQ	kill-IMP	kill-SUGS	kill-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
kuc-cja	kuc-cjuk-ɨ	kuc-cju-i	kuc-cjə-i	*kuc-cjɨ	*kuc-cjai	*kuc-cjəəra
kill-PST	kill-PRPR-IMP	kill-PROG-NPST	kill-RSL-NPST	kill-SEQ	kill-LST	kill-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*kuss-jawu-i	kuss-jaa	kuss-jur-oo	kuss-jagacinaa
kill-POL-NPST	kill-person	kill-UMRK-SUPP	kill-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
kuss-ɨba	*kuss-ɨboo	*kuss-ɨgadɨ	kuss-ɨna	*kuss=ɨkai
kill-CSL	kill-CND	kill-until	kill-PROH	kill=DUB

Stem No. 11 (ending with //t//): *ut-* ‘hit’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
ut-an	ut-at-tɨ	ut-arɨk=kai	ut-as-oo	ut-azɨi	ut-ɨ	ut-ɨba	ut-oo
hit-NEG	hit-PASS-SEQ	hit-CAP=DUB	hit-CAUS-INT	hit-NEG.PLQ	hit-IMP	hit-SUGS	hit-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
uc-cja	uc-cjuk-ɨ	uc-cju-tɨ	uc-cjəəp-pa	uc-cjɨ	*uc-cjai	*uc-cjəəra
hit-PST	hit-PRPR-IMP	hit-PROG-SEQ	hit-RSL-CSL	hit-SEQ	hit-LST	hit-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*uc-jawu-i	uc-jaa	uc-ju-i	uc-jagacinaa
hit-POL-NPST	hit-person	hit-UMRK-NPST	hit-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
uc-ɨba	uc-ɨboo	*uc-ɨgadɨ	uc-ɨna	*uc=ɨkai
hit-CSL	hit-CND	hit-until	hit-PROH	hit=DUB

Stem No. 12 (ending with //$C(G)//): *jˀ-* ‘say’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
jˀ-an-tɨ	jˀ-at-tɨ	jˀ-arɨir-u	jˀ-as-oo	jˀ-azɨi	jˀ-ɨ	jˀ-ɨba	jˀ-oo
say-NEG-SEQ	say-PASS-SEQ	say-CAP-PFC	say-CAUS-INT	say-NEG.PLQ	say-IMP	say-SUGS	say-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
jˀi-cja	jˀi-cjuk-ɨ	jˀi-cju-tɨ	jˀi-cjə-n	jˀi-cjɨ	*jˀi-cjai	*jˀi-cjəəra
say-PST	say-PRPR-IMP	say-PROG-SEQ	say-RSL-PTCP	say-SEQ	say-LST	say-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*jˀ-awu-i	jˀ-aa	jˀ-ur-u	jˀ-aagacinaa
say-POL-NPST	say-person	say-UMRK-PFC	say-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
jˀ-uuba	jˀ-uuboo	*jˀ-uugadɨ	jˀ-uuna	*jˀ=uukai
say-CSL	say-CND	say-until	say-PROH	say=DUB

Stem No. 12 (ending with //$C(G)//): *mj-* ‘see’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
mj-an	mj-at-ta	mj-ar-an-ba	mj-as-oo	mj-azɨi	mj-ɨ	mj-ɨba	mj-oo
see-NEG	see-PASS-PST	see-CAP-NEG-CSL	see-CAUS-INT	see-NEG.PLQ	see-IMP	see-SUGS	see-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
mji-cja	mji-cjuk-ɨ	mji-cju-tɨ	mji-cjəəp-pa	mji-cjɨ	*mji-cjai	*mji-cjəəra
see-PST	see-PRPR-IMP	see-PROG-SEQ	see-RSL-CSL	see-SEQ	see-LST	see-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*mj-awu-i	?	mj-u-i	mj-aagacinaa
see-POL-NPST		see-UMRK-NPST	see-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
mj-uuba	mj-uuboo	mj-uugadɨ / mjik-kadɨ	mj-uuna	mj=uukai / mjik=kai
see-CSL	see-CND	see-until	see-PROH	see=DUB

Stem No. 13 (ending with //ij//): *kij-* ‘cut’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
kij-an	kij-at-tɨ	kij-ar-an	kij-as-oo	kij-azɨi	kij-ɨ	kij-ɨba	kij-oo
cut-NEG	cut-PASS-SEQ	cut-CAP-NEG	cut-CAUS-INT	cut-NEG.PLQ	cut-IMP	cut-SUGS	cut-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
ki-cja	ki-cjuk-ɨ	ki-cjut=too	ki-cjəəp-pa	ki-cjɨ	*ki-cjai	*ki-cjəəra
cut-PST	cut-PRPR-IMP	cut-PROG=ASS	cut-RSL-CSL	cut-SEQ	cut-LST	cut-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*ki-jawu-i	ki-jaa	ki-ju-mɨ	ki-jagacinaa
cut-POL-NPST	cut-person	cut-UMRK-PLQ	cut-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
kip-pa	kip-poo	kig-gadɨ	kin-na	*kik=kai
cut-CSL	cut-CND	cut-until	cut-PROH	cut=DUB

Appendix

Stem No. 14 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}i}$ g//): *tug-* 'whet'

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
tug-an	tug-at-ta	tug-arɨk=kai	tug-as-oo	tug-azɨi	tug-ɨ	tug-ɨba	tug-oo
whet-NEG	whet-PASS-PST	whet-CAP=DUB	whet-CAUS-INT	whet-NEG.PLQ	whet-IMP	whet-SUGS	whet-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* 'after'
tu-zja	tu-zjuk-ɨ	tu-zjut=too	tu-zjəəp-pa	*tu-zjɨ	*tu-zjai	*tu-zjəəra
whet-PST	whet-PRPR-IMP	whet-PROG=ASS	whet-RSL-CSL	whet-SEQ	whet-LST	whet-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* 'person'	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*tug-jawu-i	tug-jaa	tug-ju-mɨ	tug-jagacinaa
whet-POL-NPST	whet-person	whet-UMRK-PLQ	whet-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* 'until'	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
tug-uba	tug-uboo	*tug-ugadɨ	tug-una	*tug=ukai
whet-CSL	whet-CND	whet-until	whet-PROH	whet=DUB

Stem No. 15 (ending with //ik//): *kik-* ‘hear’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
kik-jan	kik-jar-an	kik-jarɨ-i	kik-jas-i	kik-jazɨi	kik-jɨ	kik-jɨba	kik-joo
hear-NEG	hear-PASS-NEG	hear-CAP-NPST	hear-CAUS-INF	hear-NEG.PLQ	hear-IMP	hear-SUGS	hear-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
ki-cja	ki-cjuk-ɨ	ki-cju-tɨ	ki-cjəəp-pa	*ki-cjɨ	*ki-cjai	*ki-cjəəra
hear-PST	hear-PRPR-IMP	hear-PROG-SEQ	hear-RSL-CSL	hear-SEQ	hear-LST	hear-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*kik-jawu-i	kik-jaa	kik-ju-n	kik-jagacinaa
hear-POL-NPST	hear-person	hear-UMRK-PTCP	hear-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
kik-uba	*kik-uboo	*kik-ugadɨ	kik-una	*kik=ukai
hear-CSL	hear-CND	hear-until	hear-PROH	hear=DUB

Appendix

Stem No. 16 (ending with //i(n)g//): *uig-* ‘swim’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
uig-jan	uig-jat-ta	uig-jarɨk=kai	uig-jas-oo	uig-jazɨi	uig-jɨ	uig-iba	uig-joo
swim-NEG	swim-PASS-PST	swim-CAP=DUB	swim-CAUS-INT	swim-NEG.PLQ	swim-IMP	swim-SUGS	swim-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
ui-zja	ui-zjuk-ɨ	ui-zju-i	ui-zjəəp-pa	*ui-zjɨ	*ui-zjai	*ui-zjəəra
swim-PST	swim-PRPR-IMP	swim-PROG-NPST	swim-RSL-CSL	swim-SEQ	swim-LST	swim-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*uig-jawu-i	uig-jaa	uig-ju-n	uig-jagacinaa
swim-POL-NPST	swim-person	swim-UMRK-PTCP	swim-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
uig-uba	uig-uboo	uig-ugadɨ	uig-una	*uig=ukai
swim-CSL	swim-CND	swim-until	swim-PROH	swim=DUB

Stem No. 16 (ending with //i(n)g//): *ming-* ‘grab’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
ming-jan	ming-jat-ta	ming-jar-an	ming-jas-oo	ming-jazɨi	ming-jɨ	ming-jɨba / ming-iba	ming-joo
grab-NEG	grab-PASS-PST	grab-CAP-NEG	grab-CAUS-INT	grab-NEG.PLQ	grab-IMP	grab-SUGS	grab-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
min-zjat=too	min-zjuk-ɨ	min-zjur-ɨ	min-zjəəp-pa	*min-zjɨ	*min-zjai	*min-zjəəra
grab-PST=ASS	grab-PRPR-IMP	grab-PROG-IMP	grab-RSL-CSL	grab-SEQ	grab-LST	grab-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*ming-jawu-i	?	ming-ju-i	ming-jagacinaa
grab-POL-NPST		grab-UMRK-NPST	grab-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
ming-uba	*ming-uboo	*ming-ugadɨ	ming-una	*ming=ukai
grab-CSL	grab-CND	grab-until	grab-PROH	grab=DUB

Stem No. 17 (ending with //in//): *sin-* ‘die’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
sin-jan	sin-jat-tɨ	sin-jarɨp-poo	sin-ja-cja-n	sin-jazɨi	sin-jɨ	sin-ba	sin-joo
dile-NEG	dile-PASS-SEQ	dile-CAP-CND	dile-CAUS-PST-PTCP	dile-NEG.PLQ	dile-IMP	dile-SUGS	dile-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
si-zja	?	si-zjup-pa	si-zjəəp-pa	si-zjɨ	*si-zjai	*si-zjəəra
dile-PST		dile-PROG-CSL	dile-RSL-CSL	dile-SEQ	dile-LST	dile-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*sin-jawu-i	?	sin-juk=kai	?
dile-POL-NPST		dile-UMRK=DUB	

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
sin-ba	*sin-boo	*sin-gadɨ	sin-na	sin=kai
dile-CSL	dile-CND	dile-until	dile-PROH	dile=DUB

Irregular type verbal stems (a): *sɨr*- ‘do’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
sɨr-an	sɨr-at-ta	sɨr-arɨ-i	sɨr-as-oo	sɨr-azɨi	sɨr-ɨ	sɨr-ɨba	sɨr-oo
do-NEG	do-PASS-PST	do-CAP-NPST	do-CAUS-INT	do-NEG.PLQ	do-IMP	do-SUGS	do-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
sjat=too	sjuk-uba	sju-i	sjəə=sɨ	sjɨ	sjai	*sjəəra
do.PST=ASS	do.PRPR-CSL	do.PROG-NPST	do.RSL=FN	do.SEQ	do.LST	do.after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*s-jawu-i	s-jaa	s-ju-i	s-jaagacinaa
do-POL-NPST	do-person	do-UMRK-NPST	do-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
sɨp-pa	sɨp-poo	sɨk-kadɨ	sɨn-na	sɨk=kai
do-CSL	do-CND	do-until	do-PROH	do=DUB

Notes: *sɨr*- ‘do’ and *moosɨr*- (die.HON) behave like the verbal stem No. 1 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}back}$r//) except for the following cases.

(i) Type-B affixes are fused with the preceding verbal root, e.g. *sɨr-tar* (do-PST) > /sja/ (not /sɨ-ta/);

(ii) Before the type-C affixes, *sɨr*- ‘do’ becomes /s/, and *moosɨr*- (die.HON) becomes /moos/;

(iii) Before the infinitival affix, *sɨr*- ‘do’ becomes /s/, and *moosɨr*- (die.HON) becomes /moos/ (see also the final page of the appendix).

Appendix

Irregular type verbal stems (b): *k-* ‘come’

Type-A affixes

-on (NEG)	*-oor(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-oor(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-oos* (CAUS)	*-oozɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-oo* (IMP)	*-ooba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
k-on	k-oorɨp-poo	k-oorɨ-n=nja	k-oos-an	k-oozɨi	k-oo	k-ooba	k-oo
come-NEG	come-PASS-CND	come-CAP-NPST=PLQ	come-CAUS-NEG	come-NEG.PLQ	come-IMP	come-SUGS	come-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
cʔja	?	cʔjup-pa	cʔjən	cʔjɨ	cʔjai	*cʔjəəra
come.PST		come.PROG-CSL	come.RSL-PTCP	come.SEQ	come.LST	come.after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*k-jawu-i	?	k-ju-i	k-jaagacinaa
come-POL-NPST		come-UMRK-NPST	come-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
kʔ-uuba	kʔ-uuboo	kʔ-uugadɨ	kʔ-uuna	*kʔ=uukai
come-CSL	come-CND	come-until	come-PROH	come=DUB

Notes: *k-* ‘come’ and *tɨkk-* ‘bring’ behave like the verbal stem No. 7 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}i}$ k//) except for the following cases.

(i) The initial vowel of the type-A affixes is //oo// (or //o//);

(ii) Type-B affixes are fused with the preceding verbal root *k-* ‘come,’ e.g. *k-tar* (do-PST) > /cʔja/;

(iii) Before the type-D affixes, *k-* ‘come’ becomes /kʔ/.

Irregular type verbal stems (c): *ik*- ‘go’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
ik-jan	ik-jat-tɨ	ik-jarɨ-n=nja	ik-jas-ju-i	ik-jazɨi	ik-jɨ	ik-jɨba	ik-joo
go-NEG	go-PASS-SEQ	go-CAP-NPST=PLQ	go-CAUS-UMRK-NPST	go-NEG.PLQ	go-IMP	go-SUGS	go-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
i-zja	?	i-zjur-ɨ	i-zjəəp-pa	i-zjɨ	i-zjai	*i-zjəəra
go-PST		go-PROG-IMP	go-RSL-CSL	go-SEQ	go-LST	go-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*ik-jawu-i	*ik-jaa	ik-ju-i	ik-jagacinaa
go-POL-NPST	go-person	go-UMRK-NPST	go-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
ik-uba	ik-uboo	ik-ugadɨ	ik-una	*ik=ukai
go-CSL	go-CND	go-until	go-PROH	go=DUB

Note: *ik*- ‘go’ behaves like the verbal stem No. 15 (ending with //ik//) except for the following case.

(i) The initial consonant of the type-B affixes becomes /zj/ (not /cj/) after *ik*- ‘go.’

Appendix

Irregular type verbal stems (d): *umoor*- (move.HON)

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
umoor-an	umoor-at-tat-tu	umoor-arɨ-n=nja	umoor-as-an-boo	umoor-azɨi	umoor-ɨ	umoor-ɨba	umoor-oo
move.HON-NEG	move.HON-PASS-PST-CSL	move.HON-CAP-NPST=PLQ	move.HON-CAUS-NEG-CND	move.HON-NEG.PLQ	move.HON-IMP	move.HON-SUGS	move.HON-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* 'after'
umoo-cja	?	umoo-cjuk=ka	umoo-cjə-i	umoo-cjɨ	*umoo-cjai	*umoo-cjəəra
move.HON-PST		move.HON-PROG=DUB	move.HON-RSL-NPST	move.HON-SEQ	move.HON-LST	move.HON-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* 'person'	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
?	?	umoo-ju-i	umoo-jagacinaa
		move.HON-UMRK-NPST	move.HON-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* 'until'	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
umoop-pa	*umoop-poo	*umook-kadɨ	umoon-na	*umook=kai
move.HON-CSL	move.HON-CND	move.HON-until	move.HON-PROH	move.HON=DUB

Note: The honorific verbs such as *umoor*- (move.HON) behaves like the verbal stem No. 2 (ending with //V_{back}r//) except for the following case.

(i) The initial consonant of the type-B affixes become /cj/ (not /t/) after honorific verbs (although *moosɨr*- (die.HON) behaves like *sɨr*- 'do').

Irregular type verbal stems (e): *hijaw-* ‘pick up’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
hijaw-an	hijoo-t-tat-tu	hijoo-r-an-ta	hijoo-s-oo	hijaw-azɨi	hijaw-ɨ	hijaw-ɨba	hijaw-oo
pick.up-NEG	pick.up-PASS-PST-CSL	pick.up-CAP-NEG-PST	pick.up-CAUS-INT	pick.up-NEG.PLQ	pick.up-IMP	pick.up-SUGS	pick.up-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
hija-ta	hija-tuk-ɨ	hija-tut=too	hija-təəp-pa	hija-tɨ	*hija-tai	*hija-təəra
pick.up-PST	pick.up-PRPR-IMP	pick.up-PROG=ASS	pick.up-RSL-CSL	pick.up-SEQ	pick.up-LST	pick.up-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*hija-jawu-i	hija-jaa	hija-ju=sə=ə	hijəə-jagacinaa
pick.up-POL-NPST	pick.up-person	pick.up-UMRK=FN=TOP	pick.up-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
hijəə-ba	*hijəə-boo	hijəə-gadɨ	hijəə-na	*hijəə=kai
pick.up-CSL	pick.up-CND	pick.up-until	pick.up-PROH	pick.up=DUB

Notes: The verbal stems that end with //aw// behave like the verbal stem No. 2 (ending with //V_{back}w//) except for the following cases.

(i) The stem-final //aw// becomes /oo/ before *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS), *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) or *-as* (CAUS), and also these affixes delete their initial vowels;

(ii) The stem-final //aw// becomes /əə/ before *-jagacinaa* (SIM), the type-D affixes and clitic, or the infinitival affix (see aslo the final page of the appendix).

Appendix

Irregular type verbal stems (f): *sij-* ‘know’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
sij-an	sij-at-təəp-pa	?	sij-as-oo	sij-azɨi	?	?	sij-oo
know-NEG	know-PASS-RSL-CSL		know-CAUS-INT	know-NEG.PLQ			know-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
sic-cjat=too	?	sic-cju-i	sic-cjə-n	*sic-cjɨ	*sic-cjai	*sic-cjəəra
know-PST=ASS		know-PROG-NPST	know-RSL-PTCP	know-SEQ	know-LST	know-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
?	?	?	?

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
?	?	?	?	?

Notes: *sij-* ‘know’ behaves like the verbal stem No. 13 (ending with //ij//) except for the following case.

(i) The stem-final consonant //j// of *sij-* ‘know’ becomes /c/ before the type-B affixes, e.g. *sij-tar* (know-PST) > /sic-cja/ (not /si-cja/).

Irregular type verbal stems (g): *jurukub-* 'happy'

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
jurukub-an	jurukub-at-ta	jurukub-ar-an	jurukub-as-oo	jurukub-azɨi	jurukub-ɨ	?	jurukub-oo
happy-NEG	happy-PASS-PST	happy-CAP-NEG	happy-CAUS-INT	happy-NEG.PLQ	happy-IMP		happy-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* 'after'
juruku-da	?	juruku-dup-pa	juruku-də-i	juruku-dɨ	*juruku-dai	*juruku-dəəra
happy-PST		happy-PROG-CSL	happy-RSL-NPST	happy-SEQ	happy-LST	happy-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* 'person'	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*jurukub-jawu-i	?	?	jurukub-jagacinaa
happy-POL-NPST			happy-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* 'until'	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
jurukun-ba	jurukun-boo	*jurukun-gadɨ	jurukun-na	*jurukun=kai
happy-CSL	happy-CND	happy-until	happy-PROH	happy=DUB

Notes: *jurukub-* 'happy' behaves like the verbal stem No. 4 (ending with //b//) except for the following case.

(i) The stem-final consonant //b// of *jurukub-* 'happy' becomes /n/ (strictly speaking, the archiphoneme /N/) before the type-D affixes and clitic, e.g. *jurukub-ba* (happy-CSL) > /jurukun-ba/ (not /jurukub-uba/).

Appendix

Irregular type verbal stems (h): *hənk*- ‘enter’

Type-A affixes

-an (NEG)	*-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)	*-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)	*-as* (CAUS)	*-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	*-ɨ* (IMP)	*-ɨba* (SUGS)	*-oo*(INT)
hənk-jan	hənk-jat-ta	hənk-jarɨk=kai	hənk-jas-oo	hənk-jazɨi	hənk-jɨ	hənk-jɨba	hənk-joo
enter-NEG	enter-PASS-PST	enter-CAP=DUB	enter-CAUS-INT	enter-NEG.PLQ	enter-IMP	enter-SUGS	enter-INT

Type-B affixes

-tar (PST)	*-tuk* (PRPR)	*-tur* (PROG)	*-təər* (RSL)	*-tɨ* (SEQ)	*-tai* (LST)	*-təəra* ‘after’
hən-cja	hən-cjuk-ɨ	hən-cjut=too	hən-cjəəp-pa	*hən-cjɨ	*hən-cjai	*hən-cjəəra
enter-PST	enter-PRPR-IMP	enter-PROG=ASS	enter-RSL-CSL	enter-SEQ	enter-LST	enter-after

Type-C affixes

-jawur (POL)	*-jaa* ‘person’	*-jur* (UMRK)	*-jagacinaa* (SIM)
*hənk-jawu-i	?	hənk-ju-n	hənk-jagacinaa
enter-POL-NPST		enter-UMRK-PTCP	enter-SIM

Type-D affixes and clitic

-ba (CSL)	*-boo* (CND)	*-gadɨ* ‘until’	*-na* (PROH)	*kai* (DUB)
hənk-uba	*hənk-uboo	hənk-ugadɨ	hənk-una	*hənk=ukai
enter-CSL	enter-CND	enter-until	enter-PROH	enter=DUB

Notes: *hənk*- ‘enter’ behaves like the verbal stem No. 7 (ending with //$V_{non\text{-}i}$ k//) except for the following case.

(i) /j/ is inserted between *hənk*- ‘enter’ and the type-A affixes, e.g. *hənk-an* (enter-NEG) > /hənk-jan/. In other words, *hənk*- ‘enter’ behaves like the verbal stem No. 15 (ending with //ik//) although it does not include //i// in the stem-final syllable.

Infinitives (simple forms and lengthened forms)

Stem No.	1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r			2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w		
ex.	*hingir-*	*abɨr-*	*kəər-*	*ʔkuur-*	*nugoor-*	*koow-*
	‘escape’	‘call’	‘exchange’	‘close’	‘don’t do’	‘buy’
Simple	hingi	abɨ	kəə	ʔkuu-i	nugoo-i	koo-i / ko-i
Lengthened	hingii	abɨɨ	kəə	ʔkuu-ii	nugoo-ii	koo-ii
Stem No.	2. V_{back}r	3. pp	4. b	5. Vm	6. nm	7. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ k
ex.	*tur-*	*app-*	*narab-*	*jum-*	*tanm-*	*kak-*
	‘take’	‘play’	‘line up’	‘read’	‘ask’	‘write’
Simple	tu-i	app-i	narab-i	jum / jum-i	tanm-i	kak-i
Lengthened	tu-ii	app-ii	narab-ii	jum / jum-ii	tanm-ii	kak-ii
Stem No.	8. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ kk	9. Vs	10. ss	11. t	12. Only C(G)	
ex.	*sukk-*	*us-*	*kuss-*	*ut-*	*jʔ-*	*mj-*
	‘pull’	‘push’	‘kill’	‘hit’	‘say’	‘see’
Simple	sukk-i	us-i	kuss-i	uc-i	jʔ-ii	m-ii
Lengthened	sukk-ii	us-ii	kuss-ii	uc-ii	jʔ-ii	m-ii
Stem No.	13. ij	14. $V_{non\text{-}i}$ g	15. ik	16. i(n)g		17. in
ex.	*kij-*	*tug-*	*kik-*	*uig-*	*ming-*	*sin-*
	‘cut’	‘whet’	‘hear’	‘swim’	‘grab’	‘die’
Simple	ki-i	tug-i	kik-i	uig-i	ming-i	sin / sin-i
Lengthened	ki-i	tug-ii	kik-ii	uig-ii	ming-ii	N/A
Irregular stems	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
ex.	*sɨr-*	*k-*	*ik-*	*umoor-*	*hijaw-*	*sij-*
	‘do’	‘come’	‘go’	(move.HON)	‘pick up’	‘know’
Simple	s-ii	k-ii	ik-i	umoo-i	hijəə-Ø	si-i
Lengthened	s-ii	k-ii	ik-ii	umoo-ii	hijəə-Ø	?
Irregular stems	g.	h.				
ex.	*jurkub-*	*hənk-*				
	‘happy’	‘enter’				
Simple	jurukub-i	hənk-i				
Lengthened	jurukub-ii	hənk-ii				

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