A grammar of Yuwan

Yuto Niinaga

Studies in Diversity Linguistics

language science press

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ISSN: 2363-5568

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language
science
press

Niinaga, Yuto. 2020. *A grammar of Yuwan* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:
http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/272

Indexed in EBSCO
ISBN: no digital ISBN
no print ISBNs!
ISSN: 2363-5568
no DOI
Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/272
Collaborative reading: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=272

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort
Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono
Typesetting software: XeLaTeX

Language Science Press
xHain
Grünberger Str. 16
10243 Berlin, Germany
langsci-press.org

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Contents

Acknowledgments

During the seven years that I have been working on this grammar, many people have offered data, ideas, comments and other help. It is a pleasure to record my thanks to them: Hayato Aoi, Reiko Aso, Miyoko Fuji, Toru Hayashi, Yuka Hayashi, Hisako Ishihara, Shigehisa Karimata, Shinjiro Kazama, Nobuko Kibe, Masato Kobayashi, Shigezo Mae, Rosa Mark, Fumio Matsumoto, Tama Mizobe, Masako Motoda, Nobuari Motoda, Sawako Motoda, Etsue Murano, Kento Nagatsugu, Humizu Naka, Yoshiki Nishimura, Shinji Ogawa, Mika Sakai, Matt Shibatani, Hiromi Shigeno, Umine Shinozaki, Rihito Shirata, Satoko Taira, Pellard Thomas, Mitsuko Toshioka, Nana Toyama, Tasaku Tsunoda, Zendo Uwano, John Whitman, Sumie (Mutsu) Yamaki. I am also very grateful to the people in Suko district and the members of the Board of Education in Uken village. Special thanks are due to the following people who had a substantial influence on this grammar: Sachi (Tsuneko) Motoda, Michinori Shimoji, and Mioya Sunao.

At different times the research reported here has been supported by Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa during April 2008 – May 2009, and by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science during April 2010 – May 2011. These supports are gratefully acknowledged.

Finally, I am particulary thankful to my family.

Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

A	agent-like argument of transitive verb; adjective
extscabl	ablative
extscacc	accusative
extscadj	inflectional adjectival affix
extscadnZ	adnominalizer
extscadvrs	adversative
extscadvz	adverbializer
extscall	allative
extscappr	approximative
extscass	assertive
Aux. V	auxiliary verb
extscavC	auxiliary verb construction
extscben	benefactive
C	any consonant
extsccap	capability
extsccaus	causative
extsccfm	confirmation
extsccfp	clause-final particle
extscclf	classifier
extsccmp	comparative
extsccnd	conditional
Co	data from the conversation
extsccom	comitative
extsccsl	causal
extscdat	dative
extscdim	diminutive
extscdirc	directional
extscdist	distal
extscdrg	derogative
extscduB	dubitative
extscdu	dual
extscecs	the existential, copula, and stative verb
El	elicitational data
extscfn	formal nouns
extscfoc	focus
Fo	data from the folktale
extscgen	genitive
G	glide slot in a syllable
extscimp	imperative
extscindfz	indefinitizer
extscingr	ingressive
extscinst	instrumental
extscint	intentional
k.o.	a kind of
Lex. V	lexical verb
LF	lengthened (infinitival) form
lit.	literally
extsclmt	limitative
extscloc	locative
extsclst	listing
extsclvc	light verb construction
extsclv	light verb
extscmes	mesial
extscmmC	Mermaid construction
N/A	not applicable
extscneg	negative
N extschon	non-honorific
extscnlz	nominalizer

extscnom	nominative	extscred	redupulicant
NP	nominal phrase	extscrfl	reflexive
extscnpst	non-past	extscrsl	resultative
extscobl	obligative	S	an argument of intransitive verb
extscodn	ordinary number		
P extscass	passive	extscsf	simple (infinitival) form
extscpfc	predicate of focus construction	extscsg	singular
		extscsim	simultaneous
extscpf	pear film	extscsol	solidarity
extscpl	plural	extscstV	stative verb
extscplq	polar question	extscsugs	suggessive
extscpol	politeness	extscsupp	suppositional
extscpos	possibility	extsctop	topic
P	patient-like argument of transitive verb	extscumrk	unmarked verbal affix
		V	any vowel; verb
extscprog	progressive	VP	verbal phrase
extscprox	proximal	V_{back}	back vowels
extscprpr	preparative	$V_{non\text{-}back}$	non-back vowels
extscpst	past	$V_{non\text{-}i}$	vowels excluding //i//
extscptcp	participle	X	an anonymous personal name
extscpurp	purposive		
extscqt	quotation		

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* (extscqt) and *jˀ-* ‘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)

Transcription methods

These transcription methods are inspired by those of Stuart **McGill2009**.

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[1] 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
mukasi=nu janagɨ+jaa=ccjɨ=ja
old.days= extscgen
nən.jaa. surface tier
nə-an=jaa underlying tier
dirty+house=
'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]

[1] These are available at https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf.

[2] As mentioned in §??, there is no sequence [ɴ.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/ [Vɴ.V].

? 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 (**Lehmann2004**): (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 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 extscid) 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 (**Lehmann2004**).

(2) [Context: extsctm and extscms were looking at the beams of TM's house; MS: 'There are few houses (that have the beams) like these.']
extsctm: mukasinu janagɨjaaccjəə nən.jaa.
mukasi=nu janagɨ+jaa=ccjɨ=ja nə-an=jaa
{[old.days= extscgen] [dirty+house]}=
{[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 §??).

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= extscqt= extsctop) '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., [jɳɳɻɨjɻ̟ːtt͡ɕɜː]. 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* (extscimp), a hyphen is attached to mark the place of morpheme boundaries.

Orthography

Yuwan has mainly six vowels [i, u, o̞, a̞, ɨ, ɜ] (see §??). 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[3] 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 §??) and transcribed as 'jˀ, wˀ, mˀ, nˀ, tˀ, kˀ, and cˀ.'

[3] Available at http://www.langsci.ucl.ac.uk/ipa/IPA_chart_(C)2005.pdf.

Finally, Yuwan has homorganic nasals, and if we cannot infer their underlying form from the paradigmatic information, we recognize them as archiphonemes (**Lass1984**). Yuwan has /m/ and /n/, which are homorganic. For example, in /jum-an/ [ju.mɑ̣ɴ] (read- extscneg) '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= extsclmt) '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 §?? for more details). The other symbols used in this grammar coincide with their phonetic representations (or commonly accepted phonemic representations) (see also §??).

1 Verbal morphology

The verbal morphology of Yuwan is agglutinative; it begins with a root, which is followed by an affix (or affixes) (see §??). 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 §??). The verbal morphology of Yuwan is rich in morphophonological alternation (see §??). 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 *-i̇* (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 §??). 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 §?? - §??). 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 §??).

1.1 The structure of the verb

The verb has the structure as in (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.

(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.

(2) Impossible combinations
   a. *-*arɨr* (PASS) + -*arɨr* (CAP)
   b. *-*arɨr* (PASS) + -*jur* (UMRK)
   c. *-*tuk* (PRPR) + -*tur* (PROG)
   d. *-*tuk* (PRPR) + -*tar* (PST)
   e. *-*jaɯur* (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 (3b) to precede.

(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.

(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.

(5) Affixes needed by Group-II affixes
   Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jɑwur -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 (3b), one of the following affixes must precede them: *-arɨr* (PASS), *-arɨr* (CAP), *-tur* (PROG), *-jɑwur* (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 §??). It should be noted that there are some restrictions on the combinations between these affixes in (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 §??

There are two special affixes: *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST). In (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 (3), which is shown in (6). They are underlined below.

(6) a. Ending with *-an* (NEG)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an*
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG

b. Ending with *-tar* (PST)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar*
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-an-ba* (take-NEG-CSL) 'because (someone) does not take' and /tutaroo/ *tur-tar-oo* (take-PST-SUPP) 'may have taken.' In fact, the above analysis in (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 (7), where "..." means that there are several more candidates of inflectional affixes.

(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. **Haas1974**: 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 (8a-b).

(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 (8a-b) are the same /jumaran/, and their differences are expressed only by the underlying two different zero morphemes, i.e. *-Ø* (ASS) in (8a) and *-Ø* (PTCP) in (8b). Such a nonvisible opposition is called "distinction of indiscernibles" (**Haas1974**), and it was said that "within a set of paradigmatic contrasts distinction of indiscernibles is inadmissible" (**McGregor2003**). In fact, we can avoid this "distinction of indiscernibles" by postulating *-n* (PTCP) in (8b). 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 §??). Therefore, we do not take the zero-morpheme analysis as in (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 §?? The word-final use of *-an* (NEG) will be discussed in §?? The non-word-final use of these affixes will be discussed in §??

All of the above verbal affixes are summarized as in Table 1.1 using the inflectional criteria as in (9).

(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 (9), A and C have some relations with the features of inflection recognized in the languages of the world (**Haspelmath2010**).

Table 1.1: 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 §??). Therefore, they cannot fulfill the criterion A in (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 1.1, 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 (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 *-i̵* (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 §??): *si̵* (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 (1), and the clitics cannot follow a verbal root directly (except for *kai* (DUB)), and need one of the affixes in (5) in order for them to follow a verbal stem.

In the following sections, the morphophonology of verbs will be discussed in §?? The special types of verbal stems that have some morphological, syntactical, and semantical characteristics will be discussed in §?? The verbal inflectional morphology will be discussed in §?? The verbal derivational morphology will be discussed in §??

1.2 Morphophonology of verbs

1.2.1 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 §??). Additionally, the morphophonological rule of *-tar* (PST) and *-mi̵* (PLQ) will be discussed in each section (see §?? and §??).

Verbal affixes can be grouped into four (morphophonological) types, chiefly distinguished by their initial morphophonemes. In Table 1.2, 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).

Each type of affix needs a different set of (morpho)phonological rules to output the correct surface forms (see §?? - §??).

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 1.2: 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 verbal stem undergoes a different application of morphophonological rules according to the four types of verbal affixes (or clitics) in Table 1.2. The examples in Table 1.4 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.

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).

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 §??). 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 (§??-§??) discuss the relevant morphophonological rules needed for each type of verbal affixes (with the relevant phonologi-

Table 1.3: 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,' *kˀuur-*/*kˀuuw-* '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,' *kˀjoos-* 'break'
10.	ss	*kuss-* 'kill'
11.	t	*ut-* 'hit,' *mat-* 'wait,' *kat-* 'win'
12.	$C(G)	*jˀ-* 'say,'[a] *mj-* 'see'
13.	ij	*kij-* 'cut,' *kij-* 'put on (clothes),' *kˀubij-* '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 §??, 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) *kˀuur-* 'close' may alternate with *kˀuuw-*, 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.

[a] The word-initial glottalization of *jˀ-* 'say' is frequently weakened to become /j/.

Table 1.4: 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 -ina
10.	ss	-an	C_i Ø-cja	-jur -ina
11.	t	-an	C_i -cja	c-jur c-ina
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/.

Table 1.5: . Irregular type verbal stems

	Affix types			
Irregular stems	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)

cal rules). Additionally, a special attention should be paid to the passive affix and the capable affix, which will be discussed in §??

1.2.1.1 Type A: rule for vowel-initial verbal affixes

Verbal affixes that begin with a vowel need a rule to explain the following difference.

(10) a. *kak-* 'write' + *-an* (NEG) > /kak-an/
b. *kik-* 'hear' > /kik-jan/

The example in (10a) presents a simple combination of *kak-* 'write' + *-an* (NEG) > /kakan/, but the example in (10b) 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 §?? 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[1]// or //r// (for the explanation of the restriction of //r//, see note (b) of the Table 1.3). These conditions can be schematized as in (11), where "A-affix" means the Type-A (i.e. vowel-initial) affixes. In the following schemata, morphological units are surrounded by

[1]Stem-final //j// prohibits the *j*-insertion because it would make the /jj/ sequence, which never appears in Yuwan.

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.

(11) Ø > j / [iC]$_{\text{stem}}$ [_]$_{\text{A-affix}}$
[C is not //j, r//]

The rule application and the output forms are shown in Table 1.6. In the following tables, the hyphen "-" in the cells means non-application of the rules.

Table 1.6: Verbal stems +

-an (NEG)
Stem No. 1. $V_{\text{non-back}}$r 2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w
e.g. *hingir- abɨr- kəər- ʾkuur- nugoor- koow-*
'escape' 'call' 'exchange' 'close' 'don't do' 'buy'
(Input) hingir-an abɨr-an kəər-an ʾkuur-an nugoor-an koow-an
Insertion - - - - - -
(Output) hingir-an abɨr-an kəər-an ʾkuur-an nugoor-an koow-an
Stem No. 2. V_{back}r 3. pp 4. b 5. Vm 6. nm 7. $V_{\text{non-}i}$ 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. $V_{\text{non-}i}$ kk 9. Vs 10. ss 11. t 12. $C(G)
e.g. *sukk- us- kuss- ut- jˀ- mj-*
'pull' 'push' 'kill' 'hit' 'say' 'see'
(Input) sukk-an us-an kuss-an ut-an jˀ-an mj-an
Insertion - - - - - -
(Output) sukk-an us-an kuss-an ut-an jˀ-an mj-an
Stem No. 13. ij 14. $V_{\text{non-}i}$ 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 1.6 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.

1.2.1.2 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.

(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 §?? If there is a combination of a verbal stem and a *t*-initial affix, the five rules below are applied in the following order: REFex:key:1 if the stem only contains consonants, //i// is inserted after the stem; (??) 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//; (??) if the stem ends with //b, g, m, n//, the initial consonant of the *t*-initial verbal affix is voiced; (??) the final consonant (except for //t//) of the stem is deleted; (??) 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.

(13) 1. Insertion
Ø > i / $[C(G)]_{stem}$ _ $[\ ]_{B\text{-}affix}$
2. Affrication (palatalization)

t > cj / [VC]$_{\text{stem}}$ [_]$_{\text{B-affix}}$
[V is //i// and C is not /r/]
or [C is //t, s, k, g//]
3. Voicing
C(G) > C(G) / [C(G)]$_{\text{stem}}$ [_]$_{\text{B-affix}}$
[-v] [+v] [C is //b, g, m, n//]
4. Deletion
C > Ø / [_]$_{\text{stem}}$ [ ]$_{\text{B-affix}}$
[C is not //t//]
5. Assimilation
C > C$_i$ / [_]$_{\text{stem}}$ [C$_i$]$_{\text{B-affix}}$
[C is not nasal]

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-ti̵* (NEG-SEQ) becomes /-an-ti̵/ (not /-a-di̵/) as in (87) in §**??**

1.2.1.3 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), *-mi̵* (PLQ), *-n* (PTCP), *jaa* (SOL), and *si̵* (FN), which are called "Type-C affixes (or clitics)." In the following schema, "C-affix/clitic" refers to these affixes and clitics.

(14) Deletion
C (or G) > Ø / [_]$_{\text{stem}}$ [ ]$_{\text{C-affix/clitic}}$
[C is non-nasal resonant]

Only the affix *-jagacinaa* (SIM) requires an additional rule, i.e., it becomes /jaagacinaa/ after a verbal root containing only consonant(s).

(15) Lengthening
-jagacinaa (SIM) > -jaagacinaa / [C(G)]$_{\text{stem}}$ _

1.2.1.4 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.

Table 1.7: . Verbal stems +

-*tɨ* (SEQ)
Stem No. 1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r 2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w
e.g. *hingir- abɨr- kəər- ʾkuur- nugoor- koow-*
'escape' 'call' 'exchange' 'close' 'don't do' 'buy'
(Input) hingir-tɨ abɨr-tɨ kəər-tɨ ʾkuur-tɨ nugoor-tɨ koow-tɨ
1. Insertion - - - - - -
2. Affrication - - - - - -
3. Voicing - - - - - -
4. Deletion hingi-tɨ abɨ-tɨ kəə-tɨ ʾkuu-tɨ nugoo-tɨ koo-tɨ
5. Assimilation - - - - - -
(Output) hingi-tɨ abɨ-tɨ kəə-tɨ ʾkuu-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- jʾ- mj-*
'pull' 'push' 'kill' 'hit' 'say' 'see'
(Input) sukk-tɨ us-tɨ kuss-tɨ ut-tɨ jʾ-tɨ mj-tɨ
1. Insertion - - - - jʾi-tɨ mji-tɨ
2. Affrication sukk-cjɨ us-cjɨ kuss-cjɨ ut-cjɨ jʾi-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 jʾi-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

Table 1.8: . Verbal stems +

-jur (UMRK)
Stem No. 1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r 2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w
e.g. *hingir- abɨr- kəər- ʾkuur- nugoor- koow-*
'escape' 'call' 'exchange' 'close' 'don't do' 'buy'
(Input) hingir-jur abɨr-jur kəər-jur ʾkuur-jur nugoor-jur koow-jur
Deletion hingi-jur abɨ-jur kəə-jur ʾkuu-jur nugoo-jur koo-jur
(Output) hingi-jur abɨ-jur kəə-jur ʾkuu-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- jˀ- mj-*
'pull' 'push' 'kill' 'hit' 'say' 'see'
(Input) sukk-jur us-jur kuss-jur ut-jur jˀ-jur mj-jur
Deletion - - - - Ø-jur/jˀ-ur[a] m-jur
(Output) sukk-jur us-jur kuss-jur uc-jur Ø-jur/jˀ-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 §??

[a] As an exception, there is a rare case where the stem-final //jˀ// is not deleted in order to retain the original root form, and the affix-initial //j// is deleted instead.

Table 1.9: . Verbal stems +

-jagacinaa (SIM)
Stem No. 12. Only C(G) cf. 5. Vm
e.g. *jˀ- mj- jum-*
'say' 'see'
'read'
(Input) jˀ-jagacinaa mj-jagacinaa jum-jagacinaa
Deletion jˀ-agacinaa[a] m-jagacinaa -
Lengthening jˀ-aagacinaa m-jaagacinaa -
(Output) jˀ-aagacinaa m-jaagacinaa jum-jagacinaa

[a]Stem-final //jˀ// is not deleted in order to retain the original root form; instead, the affix-initial //j// is deleted.

(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 §**??**) 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 REFex:key:3a and (**??**), their order is free. The rules are: (**??**) if the final morphophoneme of the verbal stem is //t//, it becomes //c//; (**??**) if the final morphophoneme of the verbal stem is a consonant after a syllable boundary, //u// is inserted before the affix; (**??**) if the final morphophoneme of the verbal stem is //w, j, r// (non-nasal resonants), it is assimilated to the following consonant; (**??**) 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; (**??**) if the stem originally contains only consonants, the inserted vowel of following syllable is lengthened; (**??**) 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 §??).

(17) 1. Affrication
t > c / [_]$_{\text{stem}}$ [ ]$_{\text{D-affix (or clitic)}}$
2 Insertion
Ø > u / #C]$_{\text{stem}}$ [_C]$_{\text{D-affix (or clitic)}}$
3a. Assimilation
C > C_i / [_]$_{\text{stem}}$ [C_i]$_{\text{D-affix (or clitic)}}$
[C is //w, j, r//]
3b. Insertion
Ø > u / [C]$_{\text{stem}}$ [_C]$_{\text{D-affix (or clitic)}}$
[C is not //m, n, w, j, r//]
4a. Lengthening[2]
Ø > V_i / [C(G)]$_{\text{stem}}$ [V_i _]$_{\text{D-affix (or clitic)}}$
4b. Centralizing
u > ɨ / [C]$_{\text{stem}}$ [_]$_{\text{D-affix (or clitic)}}$
[C is //c, s//]

1.2.1.5 Passive and capable affixes alternation

The passive affix (see §??) and the capable affix (see §??) 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*, *-arɨ̈r*, and *-ar*.

Both of the forms *-arɨr* and *-arɨ̈r* 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 §?? and §??, where //r// before Type-B affixes or Type-C affixes must be deleted.

(18) Rule for *-ar* (PASS/CAP)

a. Assimilation: *-ar* (PASS/CAP) > -at / _ [ ]$_{\text{B-affix}}$

[2]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. §??).

Table 1.10: . Verbal stems +

-na (PROH)

Stem No. 1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r 2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w

e.g. *hingir- abɨr- kəər- ʾkuur- nugoor- koow-*

'escape' 'call' 'exchange' 'close' 'don't do' 'buy'

(Input) hingir-na abɨr-na kəər-na ʾkuur-na nugoor-na koow-na

1. Affrication - - - - - -

2. Insertion - - - - - -

3a. Assimilation hingin-na abɨn-na kəən-na ʾkuun-na nugoon-na koon-na

3b. Insertion - - - - - -

4a. Lengthening - - - - - -

4b. Centralizing - - - - - -

(Output) hingin-na abɨn-na kəən-na ʾkuun-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- jˀ- mj-*

'pull' 'push' 'kill' 'hit' 'say' 'see'

(Input) sukk-na us-na kuss-na ut-na jˀ-na mj-na

1. Affrication - - - uc-na - -

2. Insertion sukk-una - kuss-una - jˀ-una mj-una

3a. Assimilation - - - - - -

3b. Insertion - us-una - uc-una - -

4a. Lengthening - - - - jˀ-uuna mj-uuna

4b. Centralizing - us-ɨna kuss-ɨna uc-ɨna - -

(Output) sukk-una us-ɨna kuss-ɨna uc-ɨna jˀ-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 - - - - - -

b. Deletion: *-jagacinaa* (SIM) > -agacinaa / *-ar* (PASS) _

(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 (19a). In addition, the //r// of *-ar* (PASS) does not drop but instead deletes the following //j// of *-jagacinaa* (SIM) as in (19b).

1.2.2 Some notes on the interpretation of the verbal paradigm

1.2.2.1 *r*-final stems

There are two kinds of *r*-final stems in Yuwan (stem No. 1-2 in Table 1.3 in §??). 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 §?? for more details).

Considering Table 1.12, 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 (20).

(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 1.12 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.
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,

Table 1.11: . Combinations of the passive and capable affixes and other affixes showing their surface forms

Preceding passive/capable affixes Following affixes (or clitics)	Preceding passive/capable affixes Following affixes (or clitics)
-arɨr -arɨɨr -ar Type A	*-arɨr -arɨɨr -ar* Type C
ar $_{P/C}$ *-an* (NEG)	arɨ $_{P}$ [a] *-jaa* 'person'
ar $_{C}$ *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)	arɨ $_{P/C}$ *-joor* (POL)
ar $_{P}$ *-ɨ* (IMP)	ar $_{P}$ *-jagacinaa* (SIM)
arɨr $_{C}$ *-ɨba* (SUGS)	arɨɨ $_{P/C}$ *sɨ* (FN)
ar $_{P}$ *-oo* (INT)	arɨɨ $_{P/C}$ *-mɨ* (PLQ)
arɨr $_{C}$ arɨɨr $_{C}$ *-oo* (SUPP)	arɨ $_{P/C}$ *-n* (PTCP)
arɨɨr $_{C}$ *-u* (PFC)	*-arɨr -arɨɨr -ar* Type D
arɨ $_{P/C}$ *-i* (NPST)	arɨp $_{P/C}$ *-ba* (CSL)
-arɨr -arɨɨr -ar Type B	arɨp $_{P/C}$ *-boo* (CND)
arɨ $_{C}$ arɨɨ $_{P/C}$ [b]	at $_{P/C}$ *-tar* (PST)
arɨt $_{P/C}$ *doo* (ASS)	at $_{P}$ *-tuk* (PRPR)
arɨk $_{P/C}$ *kai* (DUB)	at $_{P/C}$ *-tur* (PROG)
arɨs $_{P/C}$ *-sa/-sɨga* (POL)	arɨɨ $_{C}$ at $_{P}$ *-təər* (RSL)
at $_{P/C}$ *-tɨ* (SEQ)	at $_{P/C}$ *-tai* (LST)

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).'

[a] **Niinaga2010** 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.

[b] In the text data, *-arɨɨr* (PASS/CAP) is used only in the combination of /-arɨɨ-tat-tu/ *-arɨɨr-tar-tu* (PASS/CAP-PST-CSL).

Table 1.12: 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[a]	kaki
Infinitives (in underlying forms)	*abɨr-Ø* (call-INF)	*tur-i* (take-INF)	*kak-i* (write-INF)

[a]Phonological rule (see §??): tur + i > tui

Table 1.13: . 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)

however, is not applicable since these forms could not appear after other verbal stems, such as *kak-* 'write' + *-na* (PROH) > /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.

1.2.2.2 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 **UchimaEtAl1976**'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).

The above table shows that **UchimaEtAl1976** 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

Table 1.14: Analysis of the verb in **UchimaEtAl1976**

Base types Stem-derivational affix Ending
E.g. 'write'
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) **UchimaEtAl1976** 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) **UchimaEtAl1976** argue that the sequential converbal forms ("SEQ" in Table 1.14), 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 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 1.14, 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 1.15: . Comparison of analyses by **UchimaEtAl1976** and the present author (in surface forms)

Gloss write-IMP Gloss write-SEQ
UchimaEtAl1976 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 §??).

Furthermore, the analysis proposed by **UchimaEtAl1976** 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. *-i̇* (IMP) vs. *-ti̇* (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 §??). For example, a combination such as *nar-* 'become' + *-tur* (PROG) + *-ti̇* (SEQ) > /na-tu-ti̇/[3] (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. /ti̇/ (SEQ), because **UchimaEtAl1976** considers the affix to be /i̇/ (SEQ). In other words, their analysis would result in the ill-formed utterance */nat-u-i̇/.

Table 1.16: . Comparison of analyses by **UchimaEtAl1976** and the present author (in surface forms)

Output forms expected by each analysis	Gloss
UchimaEtAl1976 *nat-u-i̇	(become-PROG-SEQ)
The present author na-tu-ti̇	(become-PROG-SEQ)

UchimaEtAl1976 cannot predict the correct form /-ti̇/ (SEQ) because they have misunderstood the initial phoneme of /-ti̇/ (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.

1.3 Stem types

The stem types classified by morphophonological criteria were all shown in Table 1.3 in §?? 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 §??
Second, we will look at the differences between three kinds of verbal stems: the existential verbs, the 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.

[3] Morphophonological rules (see §1.2.1.2): nar + tur + ti̇ > natuti̇.

Table 1.17: 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 1.17 will be shown in the follwoing subsections: the existential verbs (see §??), the copula verbs (see §??), and the stative verbs (see §??). The morphosyntactic similarities among these three verbs will be discussed in §??

1.3.1 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 (20aa-b) and (20a) in §??
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 §??).

a. Two types of honorific verbs
   i. Lexical honorific verb
      [Context: TM thanks to US, who is older than TM.]

nanga	umoocjattu,	|cjoodo|
nan=ga	*umoor-tar-tu cjoodo jiccj-sa ar-tar*	
2.HON.SG=NOM	[come.HON-PST]	just
[Lex.	verb]$_{VP}$	

jiccja ata.

good-ADJ STV-PST

'You came, so (it) was very good.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. Auxiliary honorific verb
[Context: TM explained to US that the present author had wanted to see her.]
nanga hanacjɨ moojun
nan=ga *hanas-tɨ* *moor-jur-n mun*
2.HON.SG=NOM [speak-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP]
mun kikicjasancjɨ j'icjɨ,
kik-i-cja-sa+ar-n=ccjɨ *j'-tɨ*
thing 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 (20aa), *umoor-* (come.HON) is a lexical honorific verb, and it expresses the speaker's respect for the subject *nan* (2.HON.SG) 'you.' In (20ab), *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 §??) and the auxiliary honorific verb (see §??).

1.3.1.1 Lexical honorific verb

Yuwan has the follwing four lexical honorific verbs.

Table 1.18: Lexical honorific verbs

Lexical honorific verbs	Relevant non-honorific verbs
umoor- (exist/go/come/say.HON)	*wur-* 'exist', *ik-* 'go', *k-* 'come', *j'-* '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 (20aa). I will present other examples where *umoor-* means 'go,' 'exist,' or 'say.'

a. Lexical honorific verb *umoor-*

i. Meaning 'go' [Context: US thought that the present author went to the house of TM, who is *cɨnəə* 'Tsune' in the following example.]
cɨnəə məə xxx saki umoocjɨdarocjɨ
cɨnəə məə saki umoor-tɨ=daroo=ccjɨ umuw-tɨ=ga
Tsune front first go.HON-CSN=SUPP=QT think-SEQ=FOC
umutɨga,

'(I) thought that (he) probably went to Tsune's place, and ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. Meaning 'exist' [Context: Talking about the present author]
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]

iii. Meaning 'say' [Context: Talking about an incantation old people chanted when they felt the earthquakes]
naakja[4] anmataa zisinnu tuki, zisinnu
naakja-a anmaa-taa zisin=nu tuki zisin=nu
2PL-ADNZ mother-PL earthquake=GEN time earthquake=NOM
sɨboo,[5] kjon cɨkɨ kjon cɨkɨcjəə
sɨr-boo kjoo=n cɨk-ɨ kjoo=n cɨk-ɨ=ccjɨ=ja
do-CND Kyoto=DAT1 attach-IMP Kyoto=DAT1 attach-IMP=TOP
umooranti?
umoor-an-tɨ
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]

check numbering

In (20aa), *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 (20ab), *umoor-* expresses the speaker US's respect for the (not appearing) subject, i.e. the present author. In (20ac), 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).

a. Lexical honorific verb *misjoor-* (eat.HON)
[Context: Talking about the present author]
misjoorankai?
misjoor-an=kai
eat.HON-NEG=DUB
'Does (he) eat (the snacks US brought)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (20a), *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).

a. Lexical honorific verb *moosɨr-* (die.HON)
[Context: Talking about TM's friend who is older than her]
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 (20a), *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 (??a) in §??

[5]The regular process must be *sɨr-boo* (do-CND) > /sɨbboo/ (or /sɨppoo/), but it becomes /sɨboo/ in this example.
[5]The regular process must be *naakja-a* (2.HON.PL-ADNZ) > /naakjaa/, but it becomes /naakja/ in this example.

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.

1.3.1.2 Auxiliary honorific verb

There are two auxiliary honorific verbs in Yuwan.

Table 1.19

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 1.19 need to be preceded by a lexical verb, and the lexical verb always takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) (see §?? 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).

a. Auxiliary honorific verb *moor-* (HON)

   i. [Context: Speaking to US]
   gazjumaru sicjɨ moojuijojaa.
   gazjumaru sij-tɨ moor-jur-i=joo=jaa
   banyan.tree [know-SEQ HON-UMRK]=CFM1=SOL
   [Lex. verb Aux.
   '(You) would know the banyan tree, wouldn't you?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

   ii. [Context: Speaking to US, whose family used to deal in fish] = (??b)
   naakjaga sjɨ moojuinnja, simanu
   naa-kja=ga sɨr-tɨ moor-jur-i=n=ja sima=nu j'u=daroo=ga
   2.HON-PL=NOM [do-SEQ HON-UMRK-INF]=DAT1=TOP island=GEN

j'udarooga?

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 (20aa), *moor-* (HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. the hearer US. In (20ab), *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.

a. Auxiliary honorific verb *taboor-* (BEN.HON)
|sinsjei|, an k'wa abɨtɨ taboorɨ.
sinsjei a-n k'wa abɨr-tɨ taboor-ɨ
teacher DIST-ADNZ child [call-SEQ BEN.HON-IMP] [Lex.
'Teacher, would (you) please call that child (for me)?' [El: 130820]

In (20a), *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 §**??** for more details).
Finally, the auxiliary verb *umoor-* (come.HON) is shown below.

a. Auxiliary honorific verb *umoor-* (come.HON)
[Context: Talking about the present author]
urɨn taziniti umoocjattu, [Lex. verb Aux. verb]$_{VP}$
u-rɨ=n tazɨnɨr-tɨ umoor-tar-tu
MES-NLZ=also [ask-SEQ come.HON-PST-CSL]
'(He) came and ask (me) of that, so ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (20a), *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 1.18, 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 (20a) in my texts.

1.3.2 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 §??
Syntactically, the existential verbs fill the predecate phrase of a clause, and makes a verbal predicate phrase (see §?? 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 §??

Table 1.20: 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-əzii/ (exist-NEG.PLQ). I present examples of Table 1.20 in turn below: *wur-* 'exist' in §??, *ar-* 'exist' in 8.3.2.2, and *nə-* 'exist' in §??

1.3.2.1 *wur-* 'exist'

If the core argument of the clause indicates an animate referent, *wur-* 'exist' is chosen as the existential verb (see §?? about the core arguments of existential verbs). In (20aa-b), the core arguments are animate, i.e. *anma-taa* '(such a person like my) mother' and *mukasi=nu cʾju* 'old people.' Thus, *wur-* 'exist' is used.

a. Core argument is animate
   i. Affirmative polarity
      anmataaga wuppoojaa.
      anmaa-taa=ga *wur-boo=jaa*
      mother-PL=NOM exist-CND=SOL
      'If there were (my) mother.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. Negative polarity
mukasinu cʾjunkjoo wuranbajaa.
mukasi=nu cʾju=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 §??). 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.

a. Non-human animate subject
[Context: Talking about silkworms that were in the silk-reeling factory in the community]
namanu cjoodo an ... kʾurusan
nama=nu cjoodo a-n kʾuru-sa+ar-n cjoocjo=nu
now=GEN just DIST-ADNZ black-ADJ+STV-PTCP butterfly=NOM
cjoocjonu, (mmm) arɨnu wuncjɨjo.
a-rɨ=nu wur-n=ccjɨ=joo
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 (20a), 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 (20aa) in §??

1.3.2.2 *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 §?? about the core arguments of existential verbs).

a. Core argument is inanimate (affirmative polarity)
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 (20a), 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 (20aa) (see §?? for more details). However, it is sometimes not deleted, but assimilates to the following //t// as in (20ab).

a. i. 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]

ii. 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 (20aa).
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.

a. *ar-* 'exist' + *-jawur* (POL)
nun ajawurandoo.
nuu=n ar-jawur-an=doo
what=any exist-POL-NEG=ASS
'There is not anything.' [El: 1201xx]

In (20a), 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 §??), it is always *ar-* 'exist,' no matter which polarity the predicate is in.

a. *ar-* 'exist' in AVC [= (20ad)]
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 (20a), the VP that contains an existential verb is in negative, but the existentail verb is *ar-* ‘exist’ (not *nə-*).

1.3.2.3 *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 §??) (see §?? about the core arguments of existential verbs).

a. Core argument is inanimate (negative polarity)
-an (NEG)

i. [Context: TM told that she cannot move her tongue very well.]
han nənba.
haa=n *nə-an-ba*
teeth=also exist-NEG-CSL
‘Also, I don’t have any teeth.’ [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. 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)

iii. [Context: TM and MS were looking for a pounder.]
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 (20a) and (20a) in §??

1.3.2.4 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.

a. i. *umoor-* (core argument is animate)

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]

ii. #*umoor-* (core argument is animate)

#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]

iii. **umoor-* (core argument is inanimate)

*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]

iv. *ar-* (core argument is inanimate)

an sinsjeija kanɨja atɨ
a-n sinsjei=ja kanɨ=ja ar-tɨ moor-an=ccjɨ=doo
[DIST-ADNZ teacher]=TOP money=TOP exist-SEQ
[Subject] [Honorific verb]
moorancjɨdoo.

[HON-NEG]=QT=ASS

'That teacher does not have any money.' [El: 120924]

In (20aa), the subject of the clause is *sinsjei* 'teacher,' which is clear from the unacceptability of (20ab). The difference between (20aa) and (20ab) is only on the subjects of the clauses (see also Chapter 3). On the contrary, the difference between (20aa) 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, (20ac) is ungrammatical since the core argument, i.e. *kanɨ* 'money,' is inanimate. If we replace *umoor-* (exist.HON) in (20ac) with *ar-tɨ moor-* (exist-SEQ HON), which is a honorific expression of *ar-* 'exist' (see §??), as in (20ad), 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.

1.3.3 Copula verbs

Syntactically, the copula verb in Yuwan fills the predecate phrase together with an NP, and makes a nominal predicate (see §?? 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 §?? 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 §?? 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 §?? is neutralized here. I will present the verbal affixes that can directly follow the copula roots in Table 1.21. "+" indicates the copula roots can be followed by the right-most verbal affixes.
The above table shows the following facts: (a) *jar-* (COP) can precede every verbal affix in Table 1.21, 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 1.21, the environments

Table 1.21: 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)

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 §??). The following subsections will discuss each copula verbal root: *jar-* (COP) in §??, *zjar-* (COP) in §??, and *ar-* (COP) in §?? The three copula verbal roots *nar-* (COP), *jar-* (COP), and *ar-* (COP) can take *-tɨ* (SEQ), and the differences among them are discussed in §?? Additionally, *zjar-* (COP) can take the same affixes as *jar-* (COP), the detail of which will be discussed in §??

1.3.3.1 *jar-* (COP)

All of the combinations of *jar-* (COP) and verbal inflectional affixes are shown below, with the exception of the cases discussed in §?? and §??

a. i. *-tar* (PST)

[Context: Speaking about acquaintances of TM and MS; TM: 'Muha is as old as those people,and...']
muru dusi jata.
muru dusi jar-tar
very friend COP-PST
'(They) were very (good) friends.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

ii. *-oo* (SUPP)
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]

iii. *-tai* (LST)
gan sjɨ jatai,
ga-n sɨr-tɨ jar-tai
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-LST
'(It) is like that, and ...' [El: 120921]

iv. *-ba* (CSL)
tawuja tawu jappa.
tawu=ja tawu jar-ba
plain=TOP plain COP-CSL
'The plain is (actually) plain, so ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

v. *-boo* (CND)
[Context: TM remembered a story that her acquaintance told in the speech contest spoken in the dialects in Amami before.]
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 (20a).

a. *-təər* (RSL)

i. 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
uriɨkusa, naa, |nippon.ici| jatəijoo.
u-riɨ=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]

ii. uziitu waakjaa anmaatu, ...
uzii=tu waakja-a anmaa=tu mukasi+uta=nkja
grandfather=COM 1PL-ADNZ mother=COM past+song=APPR
mukasiutankja 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 §?? and §??

1.3.3.2 *zjar-* (COP)

zjar- (COP) may appear when the nominal predicate is followed by nothing as in (20aa). 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 (20ab-c) (see §?? for more details).

a. i. Followed by nothing
kurɨ jamatuhuui zja.
ku-riɨ 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]

ii. Followed by *jaa* (SOL)
kurəə (eee) sjenzjen ucɨsjən mun zjajaa.
ku-riɨ=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]

b. Followed by *ga* (CFM3) [= (??a)]
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 (27b) in §??, where the assimilation from //r// to /s/ occurs. The stem-final //r// had been deduced from the following two facts: REFex:key: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 (20ab) in §?? or /aran/ *ar-an* (COP-NEG) as in (21a) in §??; (??) 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).

1.3.3.3 *ar-* (COP)

ar- (COP) usually takes one of the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (21a-c), with the exception of the cases where *ar-* (COP) takes *-u=i* (PFC=PLQ) as in (21d) or *-tɨ* (SEQ) in AVC (see §??).

(21) *-an* (NEG)

a. 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. jakubaja arannən, xxx
jakuba=ja *ar-an-nən kendoo=daroo*
village.office=TOP COP-NEG-SEQ prefectural.road=SUPP
|kendoo|daroo.

'(It) is not the village office, but (it is) the prefectural road.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

-azɨi (NEG.PLQ)

c. kurəə hakaja araziɨi?
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. 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 §??). However, the copula form *ar-an* (COP-NEG) can be uttered only by itself as in (22).

(22) Independent use of *ar-an* (COP-NEG)
[Context: Conversation between MY and TM]
miicɨdu cigajurooga?
miicɨ=du *cigaw-jur-oo=ga*
three.thing=FOC different-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3
'Probably, (you) are three years younger (than she)?'
aran.
ar-an
COP-NEG
'No.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (22), 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 (23).

(23) wanga kicjuncjɨ umutɨdu, urattəə gan
wan=ga *kik-tur-n=ccjɨ* *umuw-tɨ=du* *urattəə* *ga-n*
1SG=NOM hear-PROG-PTCP=QT think-SEQ=FOC 2.NHON.DU MES-ADNZ
sjan aran hanasi sjaroogai?
sɨr-tar-n {[*ar-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *hanasi*}$_{\text{NP}}$ *sɨr-tar-oo=ga=i*
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 (23), 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.

1.3.3.4 *-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.[6]

(24) *nar-* (COP) + *-tɨ* (SEQ)

a. naacɨbaa natɨ, 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. [= (??c)]
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 (24a), *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 (24b), *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 §??), there is a case where *ar-* (COP) appears in another environment, i.e. the auxiliary verb constructoin (see also §??).

[6] This remark owes to the grammar sketch of Kamikatetsu (Nothern Ryukyuan) (**ShirataEtAl2011**: 146).

(25) *ar-* (COP) + *-tɨ* (SEQ) in AVC

a. |niizimasanto otoosan|taaga |kjoodai| atɨ
niizima-san=to otoosan-taa=ga kjoodai ar-tɨ
Niijima-HON=COM father-PL=NOM brother [COP-SEQ
[Lex. verb Aux. verb]$_{VP}$
moojukkai?
moor-jur=kai
HON-UMRK]=DUB

'Are Mr. Niijima and (the author's) father brothers?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. an c'joo sinsjei atɨ moojunnja?
a-n c'ju=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 (26a) showing the meaning such as 'even if' (see also §??). In the sentence-final position, *jar-* (COP) plus *-tɨ* (SEQ) expresses both of the past tense and the lack of perceived certainty as in (26b-c) (see also §?? about insubordination).

(26) *jar-* (COP) + *-tɨ* (SEQ)
Non-sentence-final position

a. |reitou|nansəəka ucjukuboo, ɨcɨigadɨ jatɨn,
reitou=nan=səəka uk-tuk-boo ɨcɨi=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. tukunusimacʾju jatɨkai?
tukunusima+cʾju *jar-tɨ=kai*
Tokunoshima+person COP-SEQ=DUB
'Is (that person) from Tokunoshima island?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. an cʾjoo taru jatɨga?
a-n *cʾju=ja* *ta-ru* *jar-tɨ=ga*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP who-NLZ COP-SEQ=FOC
'Who was that person?' [El: 110327]

1.3.3.5 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).

(27) *-sa* (POL)

a. an cʾjoo akira jassa.
a-n *cʾju=ja* *akira* *jar-sa*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP Akira COP-POL
'That person is Akira.' [El: 120921]

b. an cʾjoo akira zjassa.
a-n *cʾju=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.

(28) a. 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. 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 §**??** The copular participles are restricted in the cases where conjunctive particles follow them as in (28a-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 §**??** for more details).

1.3.4 Stative verbs

Syntactically, the stative verb in Yuwan fills the predecate phrase together with an adjective, and makes an adjectival predicate phrase (see §**??** 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.

1.3.4.1 *ar-* (STV)

If the polarity of the predicate is affirmative, *ar-* (STV) may appear after the adjective inflected with *-sa* (ADJ).

(29) Affirmative polarity

a. 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. 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 (29a), the stative verb *ar-* makes an adjectival predicate together with the preceding adjective *zjana-sa* (many-ADJ). In (29b), 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 §?? 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 §??), the stative verb is always *ar-* (STV) (not *nə-*).

(30) *ar-* (STV) in AVC

an	cʾjoo	dujasoo	atɨ	mooran.jaa.	[Lex.
a-n	*cʾju=ja*	*duja-soo*	*ar-tɨ*	*moor-an=jaa*	
DIST-ADNZ	person=TOP	rich-ADJ	[STV-SEQ	HON-NEG]=SOL	
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 (30).

1.3.4.2 *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).

(31) 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.'] = (??b)
kʾurusoo nəndarooga.
kʾuru-soo nə-an=daroo=ga
black-ADJ STV-NEG=SUPP=CFM3
'(Those) are not black, right?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. *nə-* (STV) + *-azɨɨ* (NEG.PLQ)
an kasoo kˀurusoo nəəzɨɨ?
a-n *kasa=ja* *kˀuru-soo* *nə-azɨɨ*
DIST-ADNZ hat=TOP black-ADJ STV-NEG.PLQ
'Isn't that hat black?' [El: 111118]

1.3.5 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 1.17).

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 (3b) in §**??**, 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.

(32) Existential verbs + Group-II affixes

a. *wur-* 'exist (animate)' + *-i* (NPST)
[Context: Talking about an acquaintance; 'Has she passed away?']
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)
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 (32a), *wur-* 'exist' directly precedes *-i* (NPST). In (32b), *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.

(33) a. *wur-* 'exist' + *-oo* (SUPP)
[Context: Talking about TM's daughter in law]
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)
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 (33a-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 §??). The example where the copula verb takes the Group II affix *-oo* (SUPP) was shown in (20ab) in §?? An example where the stative verb takes *-oo* (SUPP) was shown in (29b) in §??

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 1.22.

Table 1.22: 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 1.22 with Table 1.17. We can notice that the form /ar-/ dominates over the other forms. The example of the existentail verb in AVC was shown

in (20a) in §?? The example of the copula verb in AVC was shown in (25) in §?? The example of the stative verb in AVC was shown in (30) in §??

1.4 Inflectional morphology

We have discussed the criteria of verbal inflectional affixes in (9) in §?? 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 1.2 in §?? By the morphological criteria, the verbal inflectional affixes can be separated into two groups (Group-I and Group-II affixes) as in (3) in §?? 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" (**Haspelmath1996**), 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 (**Haspelmath1995**). 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 §?? about the clause structure in Yuwan). In other words, they behave as the verb in their "internal syntax" (**Haspelmath1996**) in respect of retaining, if partly, the original argument structures. That is the reason why they are categorized as verbs.

Table 1.23: 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 §??). 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. **Nikolaeva2007**: 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 §??). 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 §??), and can head an adverbial clause with some conjunctive particles (see §??). 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 1.24: 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 cri-

teria in Table 1.24, we will give the priority to the criteria of the external syntax shown in Table 1.23.

Table 1.25: . 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 §??, *-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 §??) 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 1.24. 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 §??), the participle (see §??), the converb (see §??), and the infinitive (see §??). 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 §??) and the inflectional affixes (excluding the Group-II affixes) are shown in appendix.

1.4.1 Finite form

The finite form is a verbal form that ends with the finite-form affixes in (34). The finite forms can fill only the predicate slot of a main clause. The finite-form

affixes can be separated further by their functions.

(34) 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 §??, 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 §??). A complete lists of the possible combinations of 17 types of verbal stems (see §??) and the finite-form affixes will be shown in appendix.

In the following subsections, I will present the contrasts shown in (34) in turn.

1.4.1.1 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).

(35) 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 §??). Thus, it cannot directly follow any verbal root and always takes one of the affixes in (35) to close the word. I will present an example in (36).

(36) *-i* (NPST)
[Context: TM and US were talking about the present author.]
|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 (37). I will present the verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-tar* (PST) in (37).

(37) 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 (38).

(38) *-tar* (PST)
nobuarija mjicjɨ cˀjancjɨ jˀicja.
nobuari=ja mj-tɨ k-tar-n=ccjɨ jˀ-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 *jˀ-* 'say.'

In principle, the affix-final //r// or *-tar* (PST) assimilates to the initial consonant of the Type-D affixes (or clitics) (see §??). However, *-tar* (PST) becomes /ta/ (not /tak/) only before *kai* (DUB) or *kamo* (POS).

(39) a. *-tar* (PST) before *kai* (DUB)
cukutəə wutakai?
cukur-tɨ=ja wur-tar=kai
make-SEQ=TOP PROG-PST=DUB
'Was (anyone) making (cocoons)?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. *-tar* (PST) before *kamo* (POS)
takencʾjunkjoo k'uwasisan cʾjoo
taken+cʾju=nkja=ja *kʾuwasi-sa+ar-n* *cʾju=ja*
Taken+person=APPR=TOP know.very.well-ADJ+STV-PTCP person=TOP
wurantakamodoojaa.
wur-an-tar=kamo=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 §?? for more details). It should be noted that a clause that includes *-tar* (PST) and *kai* (DUB) is permitted as in (39a), since *kai* (DUB) expresses wondering to oneself, which is a peripheral type of the question (i.e. question to oneself) (see also §??). In other words, *-tar* (PST) expresses the speaker's confidence in the factuality of the event, no matter how weak it is.

1.4.1.2 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.

(40) Verbal morphemes that can directly 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 (41a). It may also follow another verbal affix as in (41b-c).

(41) *-oo* (INT)

a. wanna ikjoojəə.
wan=ja *ik-oo=jəə*
1SG=TOP go-INT=CFM2
'I will go.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. |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. 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 (41c) 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.

(42) 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 (43a-b).

(43) *-oo* (SUPP)

a. 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. nanga j'ujaa sjutarooga?
nan=ga j'u+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 §??) or after the derivational affix *-tur* (PROG) as in (44).

(44) After *-tur* (PROG)

a. *-oo* (INT)
wanna amananti juduroo.
wan=ja a-ma=nanti jum-tur-oo
1SG=TOP DIST-place=LOC2 read-PROG-INT
'I will be reading (the book) there.' [El: 130820]

b. *-oo* (SUPP)
akiroo amananti juduroo.
akira=ja a-ma=nanti 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).

1.4.1.3 Politeness: *-sa* (POL) and *-siga* (POL)

The finite-form affixes *-sa* (POL) and *-siga* (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 *-siga* (POL) are almost the same, but only *-an* (NEG) cannot precede *-sa* (POL) as in (45a). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(45) a. Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-sa* (POL) (Finite-form affix; Group II)
Root *-as -ari -tuk -ari -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 *-siga* (POL) (Finite-form affix; Group II)
Root *-as -ari -tuk -ari -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -siga* (POL)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

As mentioned in §??, the old people rarely use the derivational politeness affix *-jawur*. On the contrary, they use the inflectional politeness affix *-sa* or *-siga* as in (46a-c).

(46) *-sa* (POL)

a. [Context: TM asks MS to make a topic of conversation; TM: 'Please make a topic.']
həntooja sjussa.
həntoo=ja sɨr-jur-sa
reply=TOP do-UMRK-POL
'(I) will reply (to you).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
-sɨga (POL)

b. sjemenbukuruja, (arɨ,) sazikkiroccjɨ jutassɨga.
sjemen+hukuru=ja a-rɨ sazikkiro=ccjɨ j'-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. uraa naa anmai jansɨga.
ura-a naa anmai j'-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 (6b). 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).

1.4.1.4 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.

(47) 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

(48) *-mɨ* (PLQ)

a. Affirmative polarity
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
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 (48b), 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).

(49) 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 (50).

(50) *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)

a. nəəzɨi?
nə-azɨi
exist-NEG.PLQ
'Aren't (they [i.e. the lamps]) there?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. cɨcjurazɨi?
cɨk-tur-azɨi
attach-PROG-NEG.PLQ
'Isn't (the outdoor lamp) set (there yet)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. turazɨi?
tur-azɨi
take-NEG.PLQ
'Don't (you) take (it)?' [El: 110917]

-azɨi (NEG.PLQ) in (50a-c) express the polar question in negative.

1.4.1.5 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 (51). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(51) 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.

(52) *-ɨ* (IMP)

a. kucjəəci ɨrɨrɨ!
kuci=kaci ɨrɨr-ɨ
mouth=ALL put.in-IMP
'Put (it) in (your) mouth!' [El: 121010]

b. jəito kamɨjoocjɨdu jutattujaa.
jəito kam-ɨ=joo=ccjɨ=du j'-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 (53a-b).

(53) *-oo* (IMP)

a. ari .. koo, koocji,
a-ri *k-oo* *k-oo=ccji*
DIST-NLZ come-IMP come-IMP=QT
'That person (said) that, "Come, come!"' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. mukkoojocji j'icjanmun,
mukk-oo=joo=ccji *j'-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 (53a-b) has the same form with *-oo* (INT) discussed in §??
The examples of *-na* (PROH) are shown below.

(54) *-na* (PROH)

a. umannja j'uunajoo.
u-ma=nan=ja *j'-na=joo*
MES-place=LOC1=TOP sit-PROH=CFM1
'Don't sit there!' [El: 120921]

b. uri tii kiinnajoocji.
u-ri *tii* *kiir-na=joo=ccji*
MES-NLZ hand put.on-PROH=CFM1=QT
'(My husband said), "Don't touch it!"' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The finite-form *-iba* (SUGS) expresses suggestion, which is a kind of command in a broad sense, but the imperativeness of *-iba* (SUGS) is much weaker than that of *-i* (IMP).

(55) *-iba* (SUGS)
kuci muzikiji ba.
kuci *muzikij-iba*
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 /-iba/ is used adverbially (or converbally) as in (56).

(56) Converbal use of /-ɨba/

a. 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. 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 (56a-b). It is probable that the meaning of suggestion as in (55) is derived (or grammaticalized) from the uses such as (56b), which is an example of the insubordination (see §??). In modern Yuwan, the conditional meaning as in (56a) is usually expressed by another affix, i.e. *-boo* (CND) as in (72c). The uses such as (56a-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 (55).

1.4.1.6 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).

(57) 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 (58a-c) or polar questoins (so called "yes-no questions") as in (58d). *-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.

(58) *-u* (PFC)
Information question

a. [Context: TM asked MS where the present author went.] (=5-34 a)
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. (kun,) kun cˀjoo (ido..) taa. maga
ku-n ku-n cˀju=ja ido ta-a maga
PROX-ADNZ PROX-ADNZ person=TOP oh who-ADNZ grandchild
jataru?
jar-tar-u
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.] = (??a)
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. kurəə |maiku|du muccjurui? kun
ku-rɨ=ja maiku=du mut-tur-u=i ku-n
PROX-NLZ=TOP microphone=FOC hold-PROG-PFC=PLQ PROX-ADNZ
cˀjoo.
cˀju=ja
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 (59a-b).

(59) Declarative

a. utuzjoobasanna un cˀjunu samisjentudu
utuzjo+obasan=ja u-n cˀju=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. tacuu|toka|ga juubadu, j'arɨɨru.
tacuu=toka=ga *j'-ba=du* *j'-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 (60), although this example is from a proverb.

(60) Declarative (in a proverb)
tuunu ujubəə məəkacidu magajuru. usijoocjəə
tuu=nu *ujubɨ=ja* *məə=kaci=du* *magar-jur-u* *usiju=kaci=ja*
ten=GEN finger=TOP front=ALL=FOC bend-UMRK-PFC back=ALL=TOP
magarandoo.
magar-an=doo
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 (59a-b) and (60) 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 (59a), the focused constituent *u-n c'ju=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 (59b) and (60).

In all of the above examples, there are foci in the sentences. The foci were on the interrogative words as in (58a-c), or marked by *ga* (FOC) as in (8-76 a, c)

or *du* (FOC) as in (58d), (59a-b), and (60). Thus, *-u* (PFC) expresses that it forms a predicate of the focus construction (see §?? for more details about the focus construction).

1.4.2 Participle (verbal adnominal)

The participle is a verbal form that ends with the participial affixes, i.e. *-n* (PTCP) or *-an* (NEG).

1.4.2.1 *-n* (PTCP)

The participial affix *-n* (PTCP) belongs to Group-II affixes (see §??), i.e., cannot directly follow the verbal roots, and takes one of the affixes in (61). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede *-n* (PTCP).

(61) Verbal morphemes that can directly 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 (62a-b), but it can fill that of a main clause as in (62c) or an adverbial clause as in (62d).

(62) *-n* (PTCP)
Adnominal clause

a. sakkiija (hinzjaa) xxx hinzjaaba
sakkii=ja *hinzjaa* [*hinzjaa=ba sukk-tur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
a_short_while_ago goat goat=ACC pull-PROG-PTCP
succjun cʾjunu atooradu cʾjanmun.
cʾju=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. naa hanasjun taniga 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. 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. 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 (62a), the participle /succjun/ *sukk-tur-n* (pull-PROG-PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *cʔju* 'person.' Similarly, in (62b), the participle /hanasjun/ *hanas-jur-n* (talk-UMRK-PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *tanɨ* 'topic.' In (62c), 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 §??). 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 §?? These phenomena are called *kakari-musubi* (i.e. 'government-predication') in Japanese linguistics, and their details will be discussed in §?? In (62d), 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 (63), where the function of the participle is not very clear.

(63) Saying
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 (63), the participle /kamjun/ *kam-jur-n* (eat-UMRK-PTCP) functions like a converb meaning 'if (you) eat (much).' There is no other expression like (63) in Yuwan, so this saying seems to be a fossilized expression.

1.4.2.2 *-an* (NEG)

The participial affix *-an* (NEG) can directly follow the verbal roots (see §?? for more details).

(64) 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 (65a), but it can fill that of an adnominal clause as in (65b) or an adverbial clause as in (65c-d).

(65) *-an* (NEG)
Main clause

a. 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. kˀwaga dɨkɨran cˀju natɨ,
[*kˀwa=ga dɨkɨr-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *cˀju 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. urɨnkjaba jˀicjutɨga, 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| jˀiikijansjutɨ.
nankai=n [*hakkiri jˀ-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. un kawajəəka sijanban, (nasinu
[*u-n* *kawajəə=ka* *sij-an=ban*]$_{\text{Adverbila clause}}$ *nasi=nu*
MES-ADNZ instead=DUB know-NEG=ADVRS pear=GEN
miici̵,) |sanninzure| jatattu, nasinu miici̵
miici̵ *sanninzure* *jar-tar-tu* *nasi=nu* *miici̵*
three.thing three.people COP-PST-CSL pear=GEN three.thing
murati̵,
muraw-ti̵
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 (65a), the participle *sij-an* (know-NEG) fills the predicate of the main clause, where the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) follows it. In (65b), the participle *di̵ki̵r-an* (be.born-NEG) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *cʾju* 'person.' In (65c), the participle /jʾiikijan/ *jʾ-i+kij-an* (say-INF+CAP-NEG) is followed by the conjunctive particle *sjuti̵* 'since,' and fills the predicate of the adverbial clause. Similarly in (65d), 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 §??). In that case, the *-an* (NEG) does not paradigmatically contrast with *-n* (PTCP); in fact, they can co-occur (see §?? for more details).

1.4.3 Converb (verbal adverb)

A converb is a verbal form that ends with a converbal affix in (66). 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.

(66) 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 §??, 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 §??) and the converbal affixes will be shown in appendix. Many of the converbs in (66) 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 **Nedjalkov1995**, 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 §?? 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 (75a) in §?? *-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 §??). However, *-təəra* 'after' and *-tɨ* (SEQ) sometimes behave like the nominal (see §?? and §??). 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 (66) in turn.

1.4.3.1 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 (67a). On the other hand, *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL) almost always follow *-tar* (PST), and rarely *-tu* (CSL) follows *-təər* (RSL) as in (67b-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 §?? Rather, they conform to the rules for Type-D affixesin §??

(67) a. Verbal morphemes that can directly 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 directly 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 directly 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 (67) 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 (67a-c).

First, I will present examples of *-ba* (CSL).

(68) *-ba* (CSL)

a. [Context: MY asked TM if TM had made the pickles; TM: '(I) don't know. How (was it)?']
niɨzinnu appa, arandaroo.
niɨzin=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]

b. umanan mata nagɨcɨkɨtəəppa, urɨ tɨɨ
u-ma=nan mata nagɨr-Ø+cɨkɨr-təər-ba u-rɨ tɨɨ
MES-place=LOC1 again throw-INF+attach-RSL-CSL MES-NLZ hand
kɨɨnnajoocjɨ.
kɨɨr-na=joo=ccjɨ
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 *kurɨr-* (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON) without the superordinate clauses, it means the "request" for the hearer (see §?? 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 (69c).

(69) *-tu* (CSL)

a. boosi utucjəətattu, urɨ jaraccjɨ,
boosi utus-təər-tar-tu u-rɨ jaras-tɨ
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. [= (??b)]
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]

c. uci(ga)zjasiga siikijantattu, waakjaa
ut-i+izjas-i=ga *sɨr-i+kij-an-tar-tu* *waakja-a*
hit-INF+put.out-INF=NOM do-INF+CAP-NEG-PST-CSL 1PL-ADNZ
anmaaja gan sjɨ uta jusɨrooccjɨ,
anmaa=ja *ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *uta* *jusɨr-oo=ccjɨ*
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 sometimes realized as /tuu/ as in (??c) in §??

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 (70a-c).

(70) *-too* (CSL)

a. 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. 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
cˀjutattoo, (urɨ,) mukasinu |zjuukunu haru|ja
k-tur-tar-too *u-rɨ* *mukasi=nu* *zjuuku=nu* *haru=ja*
come-PROG-PST-CSL MES-NLZ past=GEN ten.nine=GEN spring=TOP
kurɨdu utajutattujaacjɨ jˀicjɨ,
ku-rɨ=du *utaw-jur-tar-tu=jaa=ccjɨ* *jˀ-tɨ*
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. kˀwan dɨkɨrantattoo, nusjəə jaakara izibatɨ
kˀwa=n dɨkɨr-an-tar-too nusi=ja jaa=kara izibar-tɨ
child=even be.born-NEG-PST-CSL RFL=TOP house=ABL go.out-SEQ
izjanwake.
ik-tar-n=wake
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 (70c).

1.4.3.2 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 (71).

(71) Verbal morphemes that can directly 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 (72c).

(72) *-boo* (CND)

a. kuci hɨɨsanma akɨppoo, |ireba|nu
kuci hɨɨ-sanma akɨr-boo 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.]
wanna ari usanboo, aikikijanba.
wan=ja a-rɨ us-an-boo 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. |kjonen|bəikara mioja|kun| siccjuppoo, jiccja
kjonen=bəi=kara mioja-kun sij-tur-boo 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. 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. tˀaija amanan taccjuppoo, un
tˀai=ja a-ma=nan tat-tur-boo u-n
two.person=TOP DIST-place=LOC stand-PROG-CND MES-ADNZ
cˀjuiga muccjattoo,
cˀjui=ga mukk-tar-too
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 (72a-c), *-boo* (CND) expresses the conditional meaning such as 'if' in English. However, in the last two examples (72d-e), *-boo* (CND) expresses the meaning such as 'and then' in English, which is similar to the meaning expressed by *-too* (CSL) in §?? 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 §?? 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.

(73) *-tarabacjɨ* 'even if'

a. 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. uraga ikjasaa nacjarabacjɨ, nugoorasandoo.
ura=ga ikja-saa nak-tarabacjɨ 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.

1.4.3.3 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).

(74) Verbal morphemes that can directly 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).

(75) *-tai* (LST)

a. nunkuin jusɨtɨ kurɨtai, urɨ sjɨ kurɨtan
nuu-nkuin jusɨr-tɨ kurɨr-tai u-rɨ sɨr-tɨ kurɨr-tar-n
what-INDFZ teach-SEQ BEN-LST MES-NLZ do-SEQ BEN-PST-PTCP
cˀjunu kutoo (umui, ɨɨ) wasɨrɨrannən,
cˀju=nu kutu=ja umuw-i wasɨrɨr-annən u-rɨ
person=GEN event=TOP think-INF forget-NEG.SEQ MES-NLZ
urɨ 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. uba[7] (mm) uziija jukkadɨ nubutai
u-rɨ=ba uzii=ja jukkadɨ nubur-tai urɨr-tai
MES-NLZ=ACC old.man=TOP continuously climb-LST descend-LST
urɨtai sjutɨ, nasi mutuii.
sɨr-tur-tɨ nasi mur-tur-i
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 (75a), 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 *cˀju* 'person.' In (75b), the converbs /nubutai/ *nubur-tai* (climb-LST) 'climbming, and ...' and /urɨtai/ *urɨr-tai* (decend-LST) 'descending, and ...' fill the complement slot of the light verb construction (see also §?? for the light verb construction).

1.4.3.4 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 (76). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

[7] The regular morphophonological alternation is *u-rɨ=ba* (MES-NLZ=ACC) > /uppa/, but it sounds like /uba/ here.

(76) 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.

(77) *-gadɨ* 'until'

a. naakja k'uugadɨ, wutarooga?
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. 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.'

(78) *-gadɨ* 'until' + *n* 'even'
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 (79).

(79) 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.

(80) *-jagacinaa* (SIM)

a. 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. 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 sjoogacɨja 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 (81).

(81) 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.’

(82) *-təəra* ‘after’

a. [= (??d)]
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. uninkara hɨɨtəəraga, uraa məəci |denwa|ba
unin=kara hɨɨr-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 aratɨ,
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. juwannintəə (xxx) nkjoo |zjuusannici|n
juwan+nintəə =nkja=ja zjuusannici=n hii
Yuwan+people =APPR=TOP ten.three.day=GEN day
hii hakaba izjɨ cˀjəəra,
haka=ba ik-tɨ k-təəra ujahuzi+macɨr-i=ccjɨ
tomb=ACC go-SEQ come-after ancestor+celebrate-INF=QT
ujahuzimacɨiccjɨ jˀicjɨ, ujahuzinu (mm)
jˀ-tɨ ujahuzi=nu sɨnsoomutu=kaci minna
say-SEQ ancestor=GEN head.family=ALL everybody
sɨnsoomutukaci miinna acɨmɨtɨ,
acɨmɨr-tɨ
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. 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.]
naa, mutoo cˀjəəranu 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]

check completeness of glossing

f. kurɨ josidanu |nikai|nkjanu dɨkɨtəəra
ku-rɨ josida=nu nikai=nkja=nu dɨkɨr-təəra
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 (82a-c), the clauses that include the verb forms composed of *-teera* 'after' adverbially modify the following clauses. In (82d-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 (82f), the clause that includes the verb form composed of *-təəra* 'after' fills the NP slot of the nominal predicate phrase with a copula verb.

1.4.3.5 Sequential: *-tɨ* (SEQ) and *-nən* (SEQ)

The converbal affix *-tɨ* (SEQ) and *-nən* (SEQ) can express the sequential relationship between the events. In addition, the verbal form composed of *-tɨ* (SEQ) is obligatorily used to fill the non-final verbal slot in AVC (see §**??** for more details). In (83a-b), the affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(83) a. Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-tɨ* (SEQ) (Converbal affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -tɨ* (SEQ)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

(84) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-nən* (SEQ) (Converbal affix; Group II)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -nən* (SEQ)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

-tɨ (SEQ) can directly follow the verbal root. Basically, it is used in affirmative as in (85a-b). On the contrary, *-nən* (SEQ) is always preceded by *-an* (NEG), i.e., always used in negative as in (85c-d).

(85) *-tɨ* (SEQ)

a. cjuuto ikinnja |zitensja| hankəəracjɨ,
cjuuto ik-i=n=ja zitensja hankəər-as-tɨ
middle go-INF=DAT1=TOP bicycle tumble-CAUS-SEQ
kˀugəəracjɨ, baramukasjanwake.
kˀugəər-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. idocjɨ jˀicjɨ, (an) mata (an) agan
ido=ccjɨ jˀ-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. jazin |hucuugo|ja cɨkawannən,
jazin *hucuugo=ja* *cɨkaw-an-nən*
necessarily standard.Japanese=TOP use-NEG-SEQ
|hoogen|bəidujaa nunkuin wakappa.
hoogen=bəi=du=jaa *nuu-nkuin* *wakar-ba*
dialect=only=FOC=SOL 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. |sjoogakusjei|nu |sjeito| cɨrɨtɨ, |hito
sjoogakusjei=nu *sjeito* *cɨrɨr-tɨ* *hito+*
primary.schoolchild=GEN pupil accompany-SEQ one
... kurabu|gadəə arannən, minna
kurabu=gadɨ=ja *ar-an-nən* *minna* *cɨrɨr-tɨ=joo*
club=LMT=TOP COP-NEG-SEQ everybody accompany-SEQ=CFM1
cɨrɨtɨjo,

'(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 (86) (see §?? for more details).

(86) abɨtɨn, kikjanba. jˀicjɨn, kikjanba.
abɨr-tɨ=n *kik-an-ba* *jˀ-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 (85a-b) and (86). 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).

(87) *-an-tɨ=n* (NEG-SEQ=even) to mean '(there is no problem) even if not ...'

a. 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 j˝ -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. 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 (87a). In fact, there is a case where *jiccj-* can be translated as 'no problem' without following *-an-tɨ=n* (NEG-SEQ=even) as in (??d) in §??

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 §??). 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 (88).

(88) *-an-tɨ* (NEG-SEQ) in the insubordination

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 §??

1.4.4 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 §??). The morphophonology and the morhposyntax of the infinitives are fairly complicated. The morphophonology of the infinitives will be discussed in §?? The morphosyntax of the infinitives will be discussed in §??

1.4.4.1 Morphophonology of the infinitives

First of all, the two types of forms of infinitives, i.e. simple forms and lengthened forms, are shown below.

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 (89).

(89) 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);

Table 1.26: . Infinitives (simple forms and lengthened forms)

Stem No. 1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r 2. V_{back}r, V_{back}w[a]
ex. *hingir- abɨr- kəər- ʾkuur- nugoor- koow-*[b]
‘escape’ ‘call’ ‘exchange’ ‘close’ ‘don’t do’ ‘buy’
Simple hingi abɨ kəə ʾkuu-i nugoo-i koo-i / ko-i
Lengthened hingii abɨɨ kəə ʾkuu-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-*[c] *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- jʾ- mj-*
‘pull’ ‘push’ ‘kill’ ‘hit’ ‘say’ ‘see’
Simple sukk-i us-i kuss-i uc-i[d] jʾ-ii m-ii
Lengthened sukk-ii us-ii kuss-ii uc-ii jʾ-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

[a] Phonological rule (see §??): w/r + i > i
[b] Phonological rule (see §??): kooi > koi
[c] Phonological rule (see §??): tur + i(i) > tui(i)
[d] Phonological rule (see §??): 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 §??).

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.

mai (OBL) in Table 1.27 does not have a possibility to form a /C.C./ (not /C.C/) syllable structure. However, *n* ‘also’ in Table 1.28 has the possibility to form a /C.C./ syllable structure with *jum-* (the verbal stem No. 5) and *sin-* ‘die’ (the verbal

Table 1.27: 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

stem No. 17). Therefore, these verbal stems take *-i* (INF) as in Table 1.28 (not *-Ø* (INF) as in Table 1.27).

Table 1.28: 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[a] k-i=n[b] sin-i=n kak-i=n

[a]Phonological rule (§??): ii + n > in
[b]Phonological rule (§??): ii + n > in

Table 1.28 is different from Table 1.27 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 (90).

(90) 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 1.29.

Table 1.29: Lengthened forms

Stem No. 1	5	12	13	The others
Infinitival affix	*-Ø*	*-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 1.29 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 (91a-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 (91c).

(91) Lengthened form and simple form

a. Followed by *doo* (ASS)
   minnasjɨ abɨɨdoo.
   minna=sjɨ *abɨ-Ø=doo*
   everybody=INST call-INF=ASS
   ‘(We) call (him) together.’ [El: 130814]

b. Followed by nothing
   namaara abɨɨ?
   nama=kara *abɨ-Ø*
   now=ABL call-INF
   ‘Do (you) call (her) now?’ [El: 110917]

c. Followed by *jar-* (COP)
   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 (91a-b), the infinitive *abɨ-Ø* (call-INF) is a clause-final free form. Thus, it takes the lengthened form /abɨɨ/. In (91c), 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 (91a-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 (97a) in §??

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.

1.4.4.2 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 (92).

(92) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-i*/*-Ø* (INF) (Infinitival affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -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 *-ɨ*/*-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 §??).

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 §?? The examples of compounding were already presented in §?? and §?? 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.

(93) 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 (93c). The infinitives of (93a-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 (94c) and (98f). However, the copula verb cannot take the infinitival affix.

With regard to (93a), the infinitive can appear in the complement slot of the VP, where the lexical verb is always *sɨr-* 'do' as in (94a-c). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(94) In the complement slot of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do'

  a. zjenzjen munun janbajoo, kikin
  zjenzjen *mun=n* *jˀ-an-ba=joo* *kik-i=n*
  at.all thing=also say-NEG-CSL=CFM1 [ask-INF=even]
  {[Complement] [LV]}$_{VP}$
  sɨran.
  sɨr-an
  [do-NEG]

  '(He) does not say anything, so (I) do not ask him (either).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

  b. wanun tanmidu sjan.
  wan=n *tanm-i=du* *sɨr-tar-n oiwai-kkwa*
  1SG=also [ask-INF=FOC] [do-PST-PTCP]
  {[Complement] [LV]}$_{VP}$
  |oiwai|kkwa

  monetary.gift-DIM

  'I also asked (them). (To prepare) the monetary gift (on behalf of TM).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. 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 §??

With regard to (93b), the infinitive can become the core argument of the nominal predicate as in (95a-c) (see §?? for more details on nominal predicate). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(95) As the core argument of the nominal predicate

a. 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
[Core argument] [Nominal predicate]
jusɨga siki jatanmundoo.
jusɨr-Ø=ga *sɨki* *jar-tar-n=mun=doo*
[teach-INF]=NOM [favorite COP-PST-PTCP]=ADVRS=ASS

'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. heisjeikaci kawaija |sjoowanannen|gadɨ? [Core
heisjei=kaci *kawar-i=ja* *sjoowa+nan+nen=gadɨ*
[Heisei=ALL change-INF]=TOP [Showa+what+year]=LMT
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. cˀjun simacˀjutu hanasiga
cˀju=nu *sima+cˀju=tu* *hanas-i=ga*
[person=GEN community+person=COM talk-INF]=NOM
sɨkiccjɨjo. [Core argument] [Nominal predicate]
sɨki=ccjɨ=joo
[favorite]=QT=CFM1

‘(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 (95b) retains its own argument *heisjei=kaci* (Heisei=ALL) ‘to Heisei.’ Similarly, the infinitive /hanasi/ *hanas-i* (talk-INF) ‘talking’ in (95c) retains its own argument *cʾju=nu sima+cʾju=tu* (person=GEN community+person=COM) ‘with a person from another community.’

With regard to (93c), 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 §?? for more details). The infinitive in the predicate slot may be followed by a copula verb as in (96a-c). That is, it forms a nominal predicate phrase.

(96) In the predicate slot in the main clause

a. [Context: Remembering the days when people sent off the people who went to mainland Japan]
umanan sanbasinu ati, umanti ciki
u-ma=nan sanbasi=nu ar-ti u-ma=nanti cikir-Ø
MES-place=LOC1 pier=NOM exist-SEQ [MES-place=LOC2 attach-INF
jatattu. [Nominal predicate]
jar-tar-tu
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]

b. |heitai|kaci xxx turari jappoo,
heitai=kaci tur-arir-Ø jar-boo nusi=ja
[soldier=ALL take-PASS-INF COP-CND] RFL=TOP
nusjee |konoehei|ccji jʾicji,
konoe+hei=ccji jʾ-ti
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. ukkaci makikum jatattujaa.
u-ri=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. an junɨzooanjootaaga simautaba
a-n junɨzoo+anjoo-taa=ga sima+uta=ba
DIST-ADNZ Yonezo+older.brother-PL=NOM [community+song=ACC
|hozon| siicjɨ j’icjɨ, [Subject] [Nominal predicate]
hozon sɨr-i=ccjɨ j’-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 (96a-d), the infinitives fill the predicate slot as nominals, which is clear from the copula verbs following them, although there is no copula in (96d). The infinitives in (96a-d) retain their “internal syntax” (**Haspelmath1996**) such as *u-ma=nantɨ* (MES-place=LOC2) in (96a), *heitai=kaci* (soldier=ALL) in (96b), /ukkaci/ *u-rɨ=kaci* (MES-NLZ=ALL) in (96c), and *sima+uta=ba* (community+song=ACC) in (96d). However, infinitives in these environments cannot have its own subject, which is attested by the following examples.

(97) a. *mizjuu* ‘ditch’ being the subject of the nominal predicate [= (??b)]
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
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 §?? for more details). Therefore, *mizjuu* ‘ditch’ normally takes *nu* (NOM) as in (97b), 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 §?? for more details). Thus, *mizjuu* 'ditch' in (97a) 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 cʾju=nkja=nu* (DIST-ADNZ person=APPR=NOM) in (98b) below.

With regard to (93d), if the infinitive is followed by *n* (DAT1), it can indicate a certain temporal point as in (98a-f). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(98) Before *n* (DAT1) indicating a temporal point

a. usatoobasanga wuinnja muru iccja
usato+obasan=ga *wur-i=n= atanmuncjɨjo.ja* *muru* *iccj-a*
Usato+old.woman=NOM exist-INF=DAT1=TOP very good-ADJ

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. an cʾjunkjanu |koocjoosjensjei|
a-n *cʾju=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 kʾwasainu sjan tukidarooga.
amuro=nu *kʾwasai=nu* *sɨr-tar-n* *tuki=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] = (??b)
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
jˀudarooga?
jˀu=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. [= (??)]
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. uraga amaaci ikinnja, wanna
ura=ga *a-ma=kaci* *ik-i=n=ja* *wan=ja*
2.NHON.SG=NOM DIST-place=ALL go-INF=DAT1=TOP 1SG=TOP
kumaaci ikjoojəə.
ku-ma=kaci *ik-oo=jəə*
PROX-place=ALL go-INT=CFM2
'When you go to that way, I will go to this way.' [El: 130814]

f. 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 (98), the infinitival affix *-i* directly follows the verbal roots, e.g. *sɨr-* 'do' in (98b) or *ik-* 'go' in (98e). In addition, *-i* (INF) can follow the derivational affix *-tur* (PROG) as in (98b). 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 (99).

(99) Infinitives in a clause chaining
[Context: After telling a short story, TM remembered the secret of good health told by the original story teller.]
naa, uriga, j'iigajo, hiru kamii, gakkjuu kamii,
naa u-ri=ga j'-i=ga=joo hiru kam-i gakkjuu kam-i
FIL MES-NLZ=NOM say-INF=NOM=CFM1 garlic eat-INF shallot eat-INF
|zjagaimo| kamii, hansi kamii, koosjaa kamii, unuu
zjagaimo kam-i hansi kam-i koosjaa kam-i unuu
potato eat-INF sweet.potato eat-INF yam eat-INF taro
kamiicjinkja umujuncjijo.
kam-i=cji=nkja umuw-jur-n=ccji=joo
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 (99) 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 §**??**, 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 (100a) (see §**??** for more details), but the infinitival affix *-i* does not as in (100b).

(100) a. *-i* (NPST)
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)

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 (100a), *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 (100b) 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 §??). However, *-i* (INF) is lengthened before *na* (PLQ) forming /iina/ (see §?? for more details about the lengthened infinitive). Thus, we assume that *-i* (INF) in (100b) is different from *-i* (NPST).

1.4.5 Affix that seems to be across word classes

The participial affix *-n* and the adnominalizer *-n* have the same form as in (101a-b).

(101) a. The participial affix *-n*
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.]
kjuuja an nɨsəənu mjanba,
kjuu=ja [*a-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal (word)}}$ *nɨsəə=nu* *mj-an-ba*
today=TOP DSIT-ADNZ young.man=NOM see-NEG-CSL
jakkəə.
jakkəə
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 §??). In this grammar, the root class such as *sukk-* 'pull' is called the verbal root (see §??), and the root class such as *a-* (DIST) is called the demonstrative root (see §??). 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. **Haspelmath1996**).

1.5 Derivational morphology

In this section, I will present the derivational affixes (see §??) and the verbal compounding (see §??).

1.5.1 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 (1) and (2) in §?? It is worth noting

that *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) originated from the auxiliary verb construction ("AVC"): *-tur* (PROG) < **-ṫi *wur-* (SEQ PROG); *-təər* (RSL) < **-ṫi *ar-* (SEQ RSL) (see §?? for more details). It is probable that *-tuk* (PRPR) originated from the AVC composed of **-ṫi* (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 1.30: Derivational affixes in Yuwan

Category	Form	Meaning
Valency-changing	*-as*	Causative
	-arṫr	Passive
	-arṫr	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 1.30 in turn.

1.5.1.1 *-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.'

(102) 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 .]

jinganu	kˀwoo	nasi (un)	baramacjattu,	naa,
jinga=nu	*kˀwa=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 j'icjutɨ,
jam-jur-n=ccjɨ j'-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) [= (**??**)]
[Context: Complaining about an acquaintance's slander]
wanga kucisjɨ nusiboo
wan=ga kuci=sjɨ nusi=ba=ja
1SG=NOM mouth=INST RFL=ACC=TOP
jamacjuncjɨ.
jam-as-tur-n=ccjɨ
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 (102a), the experiencer (i.e. *jinga=nu k'wa* '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 (102b).

Secondly, I will present examples of the transitive verb *koow-* 'buy.'

(103) Transitive verbal root: *koow-* 'buy'

a. Without *-as* (CAUS)
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)
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 (**Dryer2007**). Thus, the example in (103a) was taken in elicitation. In (103a), 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 (103b). Interestingly, the causee of the transitive verb may be marked by *kaci* (ALL) as in (104), where the transitive verb is *kak-* 'write.'

(104) [= (**??**b)]
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 §**??**, *ba* (ACC) may be omitted. Thus, the causee of the transitive verbs may be marked by nothing as in (105a-b).

(105) Causee of the transitive verbs being not marked

a. Causee is an inanimate referent
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
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 (105a), 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 (105b), 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

§??). However, in the causative-clause as in (105b), *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.

(106) *sɨmɨr-* (do.CAUS)

a. kurəə kunuguru (sadaega sɨ) sadaega
ku-rɨ=ja kunuguru sadae=ga sɨmɨr sadae=ga
PROX-NLZ=TOP these.days Sadae=NOM do.CAUS Sadae=NOM
sɨmɨtəətɨ zja.
sɨmɨr-təər-tɨ zjar
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. 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 (106a), the causee (i.e. 'my son') is not expressed, and the causer (i.e. *sadae* 'Sadae') is marked by *ga* (NOM). In (106b), 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 (107), although it does not appear in the text data.

(107) *sɨr-* 'do' + *-as* (CAUS)
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 (108a-b).

(108) *sɨmɨr-* (do.CAUS) + *-as* (CAUS)

a. |daibu| an cʾjunkjannja |daibu kuroo|
daibu a-n cʾju=nkja=n=ja daibu kuroo
many DIST-ADNZ person=APPR=DAT1=TOP many hardship
simirasatta.
simir-as-ar-ta
do.CAUS-CAUS-PASS-PST
'(I) was made to undergo many hardships by that person.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. atoora akiran simirasoojəə.
atu=kara akira=n simir-as-oo=jəə
after=ABL Akira=DAT1 do.CAUS-CAUS-INT=CFM2
'(I) will make Akira do (it) later.' [El: 111116]

In (108a), 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 cʾju=nkja* 'that person'). Similarly, in (108b), the event expressed by the predicate *simir-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, (108b) has the same meaning with (107). The examples in (108a-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).'

1.5.1.2 *-ar(ir)* (PASS)

-ar(ir) (PASS) changes the syntactic valency of the transitive verb as in (109a-b). The morphophonological alternation of *-ar(ir)* (PASS) was discussed in §?? On the one hand, in (109a), the non-passive verbal stem, i.e. *sjug-i+agir-* (hit-INF+severely) 'to hit severely,' marks the agent with *ga* (NOM) and the patient with *ba* (ACC). On the other hand, in (109b), the passive verbal stem, i.e. *sjug-i+agir-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 (??a) in §??).

(109) a. Without *-ar(ir)* (PASS)
akiraba zjuuga sjugjagituddoo. Patient Agent
akira=ba zjuu=ga sjug-i+agir-tur=doo
Akira=ACC father=NOM hit-INF+severely-PROG=ASS
'(His) father is hitting Akira severely.' [El: 111116]

b. With *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)
akiraga zjun sjugjagɨrattuddoo.
akira=ga zjuu=n sjug-i+agɨr-ar-tur=doo
Akira=NOM father=DAT1 hit-INF+severely-PASS-PROG=ASS
'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 (110b).

(110) Malefactive use of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) with the intransitive verb

a. Without *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)
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.] = (??c)
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 (110a), the intransitive verb *ik-* 'go' has a single participant (i.e. 'I'). In (110b), 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 (**Shimoji2008**).

1.5.1.3 *-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 §?? for more details). *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) can attach to the intransitive verb as well as the malfactive use of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) as in (111).

(111) With *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)

waasan	cʾjunu	məəci	ikjaranbajaa.
waa-sa+ar-n	*cʾju=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 (111) with (110a-b). In (111), *-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 §??).

Moreover, there is another difference between *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) and *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS). The former follows *-tuk* (PRPR) as in (112a), but the latter precedes it as in (112b), although the combination of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) and *-tuk* (PRPR) is only found in elicitation.

(112) a. *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) follows *-tuk* (PRPR) [= (26a)]

|reitou|nansəəka ucjukuboo, ɨcɨɨgadɨ jatɨn,
reitou=nan=səəka uk-tuk-boo ɨcɨɨ=gadɨ jar-tɨ=n
freezer=LOC1=just put-PFV-CND when=LMT COP-SEQ=even
ucjukarɨɨ.
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)

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 (113a), the subject of /kacja/ *kak-tar* (write-PST) ‘wrote’ is marked by the nominative *ga*, which may be replaced by *n* ‘also’ as in (113b). If the verb takes *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP), the subject may be marked by the dative particle *n* (DAT1) as in (113c), where *n* (DAT1) is not replaced, but followed by *n* ‘also.’

(113) Without *-ar* (CAP)

a. wanga kacjattoo.
wan=ga kak-tar=doo
1SG=NOM write-PST=ASS
'I wrote (it).' [El: 140227]

b. wanun kacjattoo.
wan=n kak-tar=doo
1SG=also write-PST=ASS
'I also wrote (it).' [El: 140227]
With *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP)

c. 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).

1.5.1.4 *-jur* (UMRK)

-jur (UMRK) has multiple functions and it's prototypical function is difficult to determine. In principle, it has the characteristics as in (114); see also (1) and (2) in §??

(114) Morphologically, *-jur* (UMRK)

a. Cannot co-occur with *-arɨr* (PASS)[8] or *-arɨr* (CAP);
b. Cannot co-occur with *-an* (NEG);
c. Cannot co-occur with *-tur* (PROG);
d. Cannot co-occur with *-jawur* (POL).

[8]From the description in §1.1, 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 §1.5.1.3), and the combination more than two derivational affixes is also rare (see §1.1). Thus, we may postulate that *-jur* (UMRK) cannot co-occur with (or at least rarely co-occurs with) *-arɨr* (PASS).

I will discuss each of these functions in turn.

With regard to (114a), *-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 (114b), *-jur* (UMRK) cannot co-occur with the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) as in (1) in §?? or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (49) in §?? 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 (114c), *-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 §?? 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 (114d), *-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 §?? 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 (3b) in §?? 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.

(115) *-jur* (UMRK)

a. With *-i* (NPST) [= (36)]
[Context: TM and US were talking about the present author.]
|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]

b. With *-mɨ* (PLQ) [= (48a)]
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 (116a-g).

(116) *-jur* (UMRK) expressing habitual aspect
With *-tar* (PST)

a. naakjaa jaakacjəə |nenzjuu|
naakja-a jaa=kaci=ja nenzjuu
2.HON.SG-ADNZ house=ALL=TOP always
ikjutanban,
ik-jur-tar-n=ban
go-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'(I) always used to go to your house, but ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. 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. |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. gan sjan mununkja sicjun[9] cʔjunu
ga-n sɨr-tar-n mun=nkja sij-tur-n cʔju=nu
MES-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP thing=APPR know-PROG-PTCP person=NOM
wuranbaccjɨ jʔicjutɨga, |nenzjuu|
wur-an-ba=ccjɨ jʔ-tur-tɨ=ga nenzjuu
exist-NEG-CSL=QT say-PROG-SEQ=FOC always
jutanmun, ura tanmɨba,
jʔ-jur-tar-n=mun ura tanm-ɨba jiccj-sa ar-tar
say-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS 2.NHON.SG ask-CND
jiccja ata.

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. 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-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)]
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. urɨn sjɨ, .. nunkuin
u-rɨ=n sɨr-tɨ, nuu-nkuin sɨr-tɨ
MES-NLZ=also do-SEQ what-INDFZ do-SEQ
sjɨ 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 (116a) and /ɨcɨn/ *ɨcɨɨ=n* (when=any) 'always' as in (116e).

In fact, there are a few examples where the combination of *-jur-tar* (UMRK-PST) does not express habitual meaning as in (117a-b).

(117) *-jur-tar* not expressing habitual aspect

[9] *sij-* 'know' and *-tur* (PROG) usually becomes /siccju(r)/ (see appendix), but it becomes /sicju(r)/ in this example.

a. 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.]
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. nuujo?
nuu=joo
what=CFM1
'What?'

d. amerikaacinkjoo ikjasjɨ sjɨ izjakai, un
amerika=kaci=nkja=ja ikja-sjɨ sɨr-tɨ ik-tar=kai u-n
America=ALL=APPR=TOP how-ADVZ do-SEQ go-PST=DUB MES-ADNZ
ameeziija?
ameezii=ja
Uncle.America
'How did the Uncle America [i.e. a nickname] go to America?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (117a), 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 (117b-d) (i.e. the Uncle America's crossing over to the US) took place only once. TM's utterance in (117b) is almost the same with that in (117d), where *-jur-tar* (UMRK-PST) in (117b) is replaced by *-tar* (PST). The details of the function of *-jur* (UMRK) in (117a-b) is not very clear for the present author for now, and a finer investigation is required in the future.

1.5.1.5 *-tur* (PROG)

-tur (PROG) is originated from the AVC *-tɨ* (SEQ) plusl *wur-* (PROG) (see Table ?? in §?? 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 (118a), or keeping up the state caused by the action indicated by the verbal stem as in (118b-c).

(118) *-tur* (PROG) expressing progressive aspect
[Context: The very beginning of the monologue. '(I will) start from the scene (where a man) picks up the pears. There is a pear-tree, (i.e.) a big tree, ...'] = (??)

a. unnənti̶ uziiga cˀjui joonasi
u-n=nənti̶ *uzii=ga* *cˀjui* *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. [= (??a)]
|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. [= (??a)]
ki̶inu sjanannja kagonu tˀaaci̶ ucjuti̶,
ki̶=nu *sja=nan=ja* *kago=nu* *tˀaaci̶* *uk-tur-ti̶*
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 (118a), the old man continued to pick up the pears. In (118b), Motoyama rented a shop and kept the contract for a while. In (118c), 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 (119a-b).

(119) *-tur* (PROG) following *wur-* 'exist'

a. [Context: TM is talking about the meeting for old people held once a month in Yuwan.]

taruka tˀaibəi wututɨ, kan
ta-ru=ka *tˀai=bəi* *wur-tur-tɨ ka-n sɨr-tar-n*
who-NLZ=DUB two.CLF.person=about exist-PROG-SEQ PROX-ADVZ
sjan hanasinkja sɨrarɨppoo,
hanasi=nkja sɨr-arɨr-boo *jiccj-sa+ar-n=ban*
do-PST-PTCP conversation=APPR do-CAP-CND
jiccjanban,

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. waakja umanan wututɨn, məə
waakja u-ma=nan *wur-tur-tɨ=n məə* *tuur-tɨ=n*
1PL MES-place=LOC1 exist-PROG-SEQ=even front
tuutɨn, munna jan kˀwa jatattu.
mun=ja *jˀ-an* *kˀwa* *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 **Comrie1976**, 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 (120a-b).

(120) *-tur* (PROG) used in the contexts that have the habitual meaning

a. In the non-past tense [= (??c)]
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 [= (??)]
[Context: Talking with US about how they played in the past]
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.

1.5.1.6 *-təər* (RSL)

-təər (RSL) is originated from the AVC *-tɨ* (SEQ) plusl *ar-* (RSL) (see Table **??** in §**??** 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" (**Comrie1976**). This aspect is called "resultative" in this grammar. *-təər* (RSL) can appear in any kind of predicate phrase as in (121a-d).

(121) *-təər* (RSL) expressing resultative
In the verbal predicates

a. [= (??a)]
un kˀwaga umanan |boosi| utucjəətattu,
u-n kˀwa=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. zjennjukianjooga |heitai|kaci izjɨ, (mm ..)
zjennjuki+anjoo=ga heitai=kaci ik-tɨ mɨɨ sɨr-ar-təər-tɨ
Zenyuki+brother=NOM soldier=ALL go-SEQ eye do-PASS-RSL-SEQ
mɨɨ sɨrattəətɨ,

'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 /kˀumɨtta/, TM said to MY.]

urakjaga, mukasi jappoo, kˀumɨtta atəətɨjaa.
urakja=ga mukasi jar-boo kˀumɨtt-sa ar-təər-tɨ=jaa
2.NHON.SG=NOM the.past COP-CND scrupulous-ADJ STV-RSL-SEQ=SOL
'If (it) is in the past, you (must have been regarded as) /kˀumɨtta/ [i.e. scrupulous].' [El: 120914]

In the nominal predicates

d. haccjanna ikɨgaci jatəi?
haccjan=ja ikɨgaci jar-təər-i
Hachan=TOP Ikegachi COP-RSL-NPST
'Was Hachan (from) Ikegachi?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (121a), a boy dropped a hat, and the hat remained there (until another boy picked it up). In (121b), Zenyuki injured his eyes, and the injury lasted thereafter. In (121c), *-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 (121d), 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 §**??**, 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 (122a-c).

(122) *-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.']
jingankjan kindu kicjutəəppajaa.
jinga=nkja=n kin=du kij-tur-təər-ba=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. daaciga[10] 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
juwancˀjoo cukujun cˀjoo
juwan+cˀju=ja cukur-jur-n cˀju=ja
Yuwan+person=TOP make-UMRK-PTCP person=TOP

wurantəəppa.
wur-an-təər-ba
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]
juwancʔjoo gan sjan |sjumi|ga
juwan+cʔju=ja *ga-n* *sɨr-tar-n* *sjumi=ga*
Yuwan+person=TOP MES-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP hobby=NOM
nəntəəppajaa.
nə-an-təər-ba=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 (122a-c), *-təər* (RSL) preceding *-ba* (CSL) expresses the past tense. Especially, it is clear from (122a), 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 (123).

(123) 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.]
attaaja mʔarɨtətəəppajaa.
a-rɨ-taa=ja *mʔarɨr-təər-təər-ba=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 (123), 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 (1) in §**??**

[10] 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."

Finally, I will present the examples where *-təər* (RSL) is used in the clauses that express counter-factual situation as in (124a-c).

(124) *-təər* (RSL) used in the contexts that express counter-factual situation

a. 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, (it) would be good (for us), but (there is no date).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. unin|goro|kara naaciɨbaacjɨ umuwannən, jəito
unin-goro=kara naaciɨbaa=ccjɨ umuw-an-nən jəito
that.time-around=ABL tone.deaf=QT think-NEG-SEQ well
hamiciɨkiɨtiɨ narəəboo, (mmm)
hamiciɨkɨr-tiɨ naraw-boo zjoziɨ
do.one's.best-SEQ learn-CND good.at
zjoziɨ najutənmundoojaa.
nar-jur-təər-n=mun=doo=jaa
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.]
|benkjoo| najutənmundoo.
benkjoo nar-jur-təər-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 (124a-b) and covertly in (124c), 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 (124b) provides a clear contrast to *-tar* (PST)

as in (116d) in §?? In (124b), *nar-jur-təər-n=mun* (become-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS) 'would have become (good at singing), but ...' expresses a counter-factural situation. On the contrary, in (116d), *jˀ-jur-tar-n=mun* (say-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS) 'used to say (a phrase), but ...' expresses the real fact.

1.5.1.7 *-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.

(125) a. [= (26a)]
|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. [= (124a)]
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]

c. [Context: There was a person who threw a pack of sweets against the door of TM's house.]
urɨ tɨi kɨinnajoocjɨ, ...
u-rɨ tɨi kɨir-na=joo=ccjɨ uk-tuk-ɨ=joo=ccjɨ
MES-NLZ hand hang-PROH=CFM1=QT put-PRPR-IMP=CFM1=QT

ucjukɨjoocjɨ 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 (125a), to put the pickles in the freezer is required to preserve them. In (125b), 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 (125c), to put the pack untouched is required for the person (who threw it) to notice that the pack is still there. In (125a-b), the clasues express counter-factual (or imaginary) events. In (125c), the clause that includes *-tuk* (PRPR) expresses command. That is, in all of the above examples, *-tuk* (PRPR) is used in irrealis mood.

1.5.1.8 *-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 §??). 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.

(126) *-jawur* (POL)

a. wanga jumjawuroojəə.
wan=ga jum-jawur-oo=jəə
1SG=NOM read-POL-INT=CFM2
'I will read (it).' [El: 110827]

b. 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 (127).

(127) *-(i)nsjoor* (POL)

|sjooju, sjekiju| konsjoorɨccjɨ.
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]

1.5.1.9 *-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 §??), and *-tar* (PST) as a finite-form affix (see §??). However, they can also fill the non-word-final position in the verb as in (128), where *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) is neither a participial affix nor a finite-form affix any more.

(128) *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) in the non-word-final position
uihutəənu (mm) |jaker|antan
ui+hutəə=nu *jaker-an-tar-n turoo=du ar-n*
upper.place+around=GEN burn-NEG-PST-PTCP place=FOC
turoodu an.
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]

1.5.2 Compounding

1.5.2.1 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 §?? 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.

All of the verbal stems in Table 1.31, 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

Table 1.31: 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'

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 construction as in (129c). I will present examples of the compounds in Table 1.31 below.

(129) Verbal compounds (strong unity)

a. /usijaas-/ 'push forward'
usijaasɨ!
us-i+jaas-ɨ
push-INF+give-IMP
'Push (it) forward!' [El: 110330]

b. /nagɨcɨkɨr-/ 'throw at' [=(68b)]
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'
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.

(130) Verbal compounds (weak unity; initial stem expresses a grammatical meaning)

Table 1.32: . 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

a. *ut-* (EMP)
ucitoocja, |amerikazin|gad**ɨ**.
*ut-i+toos-tar amerikazin=gad**ɨ***
EMP-INF+lay.down-PST Amerika.person=LMT
'(They) knocked out the American (soldiers stationed in Yuwan).'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *ut-* (EMP)
saisai ucikˀurawɨ!
sai+sai *ut-i+kˀuraw-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 (130a-b).

Secondly, I will present verbal stems that can express grammatical meanings when they fill in the non-initial slot in the compound.

Among the verbal stems in Table 1.33, *kij-* (CAP) is the most productive one (see also §??). *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 1.33 follow other verbal stems.

(131) Verbal compounds (weak unity; non-initial stems express grammatical meanings)
kij- (CAP)

a. 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]

Table 1.33: 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'
kˀuraw-	(eat.DRG)	Derogative
kum-	N/A	'into'
jukkjaar-[a]	N/A	Ingressive

[a]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.

b. wˀaacjɨnkjoo jˀiikijantanmun.
wˀaa=ccjɨ=nkja=ja jˀ-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 *wˀaa* [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]
attakəə tugjagɨrɨjoo!
attakəə tug-i+agɨr-i=joo
everything whet-INF+elaborately-IMP=CFM1
'Scour out all (of the metal goods) completely!' [El: 121006]

d. un mamɨnkjoo kjuraasanma
u-n mamɨ=nkja=ja kjura-sanma
MES-ADNZ bean=APPR=TOP beautiful-ADVZ

sjugjagɨrɨjoo!
sjug-i+agɨr-ɨ=joo
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.] = (??b)
kiihatɨppoo, sirɨtuppajaa.
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. attakəə jumhatɨrɨjoo.
attakəə jum-Ø+hatɨr-ɨ=joo
everything read-INF+thoroughly-IMP=CFM1
'Read thoroughly all of (the pages)!' [El: 121006]
kʾuraw- (DRG)

g. kanɨcɨboja urakja tuikʾurawɨcjɨ jʾicjɨ,
kanɨ+cɨbo=ja urakja tur-i+kʾuraw-ɨ=ccjɨ jʾ-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. agaraa munnu wuikʾuratɨ,
aga-raa mun=nu wur-i+kʾuraw-tɨ sɨr-arɨr-an-tar=jaa
DIST-DRG person=NOM exist-INF+DRG-SEQ
sɨrarantajaa.

do-CAP-NEG-PST=SOL
'That awful person was (there), and (we) could not do (any conversation).' [El: 111104]
kum- 'into'

i. [= (96c)]
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. wuduikumɨ!
wudur-i+kum-ɨ
jump-INF+into-IMP
'Jump into (there)!' [El: 110914]
jukkjaar- (INGR)

k. [= (??d)]
kan sjɨ jankjanu dikɨjukkjaija
ka-n sɨr-tɨ jaa=nkja=nu dikɨr-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 (131c-d) behaves differently from that of the nominal compounds, e.g. /hidesianjoo/ *hidesi+anjoo* (Hideshi+older.brother) 'Hideshi.' Their difference is presented in Table 1.34, where the syllable boundaries in the surface forms of the compounds are indicated by periods.

Table 1.34: 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/ [ɕidɐ̟ɕiɑ̟nʲo̞ː]
Verbal comopund	*kakjoos-i* (mix-INF)	+ *agɨr-* 'elaborately'	> /ka.kjoo.sja.gɨr/ [kɑ̟kʲo̞ːɕɑ̟gɨɾɨr]

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/.

1.5.2.2 Remarks on *kij-* (CAP)

kij- (CAP) introduced in §?? 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.

(132) *kij-* (CAP) with AVC

a. kacjɨ moikijunnja?
kak-tɨ *moor-i+kij-jur-i=na*
{[write-SEQ] [HON-INF]}+CAP-UMRK-NPST=PLQ
{[Lexical verb]
'Would (you) be able to write (it)?' [El: 120924]

b. hɨ̈ɨtɨ moikijanna?
hɨ̈ɨr-tɨ *moor-i+kij-an=na*
{[get.up-SEQ HON-INF]}+CAP-NEG=PLQ
{[Lexical verb]
'Wouldn't (you) be able to get up?' [El: 120929]

It will be discussed in §**??** 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 (132a) is a lexical verb, and it forms an AVC with the following auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON). Similarly, /hɨ̈ɨtɨ/ *hɨ̈ɨr-tɨ* (get.up-SEQ) in (132b) is a lexical verb, and it also forms an AVC with *moor-* (HON). In (132a-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 1.35: . 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.

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

Table 1.36: . The difference of morphological unity and semantic scope of

kij- (CAP) (part 2)
E.g. *kak-ti* (write-SEQ) *moor-i+kij-* (HON-INF+CAP)
Morphologically [Lexical verb]$_{word}$ [Auxiliary verb+*kij-*]$_{Compound}$
Semantically {Lexical verb Auxiliary verb}$_{VP}$+ *kij-*

preceding lexical verb as in (??) in §??, where *-an* (NEG) negates *umuw-* 'think' as well as *kuri-* (BEN).

Secondly, both of the verbal root *kij-* (CAP) and the verbal affix *-ari* (CAP) (see §??) can express capability. However, the range of capablity they can express is different as in Table 1.37.

Table 1.37: The range of capability that *kij-* (CAP) and *-ari* (CAP) express

	kij- (CAP)	*-ari* (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 *-ari* (CAP) as in (133a-b).

(133) Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on one's ability

a. *kij-* (CAP)
sijansjuti, cukuikijanta.
sij-an=sjuti *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. *-ari* (CAP)
sijansjuti, cukuraranta.
sij-an=sjuti *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 (133a-b), the speaker does not know how to make the dish. Thus, the capability in (133a-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 (**??**a-b).

(134) Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on the surroundings

a. *kij-* (CAP)
   *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)
   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 (**??**a-b), the speaker does not have enough time to spare. Thus, the capability in (**??**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.