A grammar of Yuwan

Yuto Niinaga

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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 Nominals

The nominals are divided into the subsets, i.e. common nouns, address nouns, reflexive pronouns, numerals, and indefinite pronouns. They are all free forms and are distinguished primarily by semantic criteria. Additionally, there is the deverbal nominal, i.e. the nominal derived from the verbal stems. These nominals will be discussed in §?? to §?? The formal nouns are also nominals, but they are clitics, which was already discussed in §?? We discussed that personal pronominals, demonstratives and interrogatives may be categorized not only as nominals, but also as other word classes, so they are called "cross-over categories" (see Chapter 5 for more details). These various kinds of nominals in Yuwan have strong relationships with the animacy hierarchy, and the details were discussed in §??

The affixes that attach only to the nominal stems are called the nominal affixes. Yuwan has only two nomnal affixes: *-taa* (PL) and *-kkwa* (DIM). The plural affix *-taa* was discussed in §?? compared with other morphemes that can express plural meaning. The diminutive affix *-kkwa* will be discussed in the last section in this chapter (see §??). It should be noted that *-kja* (PL) in §?? is not categorized in the nominal affix, since it attaches to the personal pronominal stems (not nominal stems). In fact, *-kja* (PL) is a kind of nominalizer that can also express number, and the same point can be made about the other number affixes, i.e. *-n* (SG) and *-ttəə* (DU).

1.1 Common nouns

In §??, I will discuss the morphosyntax of common nouns.

In §??, I will discuss the semantic remarks on number of common nouns.

1.1.1 Morphosyntax of common nouns

A common noun can function as an NP of any kind (an argument, a predicate or an NP modifer). Nominals other than address nouns, reflexive pronouns, numerals, and indefinite pronouns are regarded as "common nouns."

(1) Common nouns (animate)

a. Argument
muccjɨ ikjoojəəcjɨ maganu j'icjun
mut-tɨ *ik-oo=jəə=ccjɨ* *maga=nu* *j'-tur-n*
have-SEQ go-INT=CFM2=QT [grandchild=NOM] say-PROG-PTCP
[Subject]
joosɨ.
joosɨ
atomosphere

'The grandchild seems to say that, "(I) will take (the pears)."' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. Predicate
kun c'joo, ido.., taa .. maga
ku-n *c'ju=ja* *ido* *ta-a* *maga* *jar-tar-u*
this-ADNZ person=TOP oh [who-ADNZ grandchild COP-PST-PFC]
[Nominal predicate]
jataru?

'Whose grandchild was this person?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. NP modifier
[Context: Complaining about the decline of her memory]
maganu c'juigadəə sicjussɨga,
maga=nu *c'jui=gadɨ=ja* *sij-tur-sɨga*
{[grandchild=GEN] [one.CLF]}=LMT=TOP know-PROG-POL
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
t'aimekaroo sijandoojaa.
t'ai-me=kara=ja *sij-an=doo=jaa*
two.CLF-time=ABL=TOP know-NEG=ASS=SOL

'(I) know (the name of) one grandchild, but don't know (that of) the second one (and more).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a), the animate common noun *maga* 'grandchild' fill the argument slot, which is the subject of the clause. In (??b), *maga* 'grandchild' fill the predicate slot of the clause, and it becomes nominal predicate with the copula verb *jar-* (COP). In (??c), *maga* 'grandchild' fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is a

numeral *cˀjui* 'one person.' The plurality of common nouns can be expressed by *nkja* (APPR).

(2) Common noun (animate) in the plural
[Context: Remembering that MS's grandmother used to make kimono for grandchildren]

uraa	baasanna	jazin	magankjanu
ura-a	*baasan=ja*	*jazin*	*maga=nkja=nu*
2.NHON.SG-ADNZ	grandmother=TOP	necessarily	grandchild=APPR=GEN
urakjaa	taməə,		
urakja-a	*taməə*		
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ	sake		

'Your grandmother necessarily for grandchildren, for you all, ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In REFex:7:2, *maga=nkja* (grandchild=APPR) 'grandchildren' has a plural meaning.

The above examples are all animate, but the same thing can be said to inanimate common nouns.

(3) Common nouns (inanimate)

a. Argument [Context: Old people chanted an incantation when they felt the earthquakes.]

jaanu	juriippoo,	kjon	ciki	kjon
jaa=nu	*jurir-boo*	*kjoo=n*	*cik-i*	*kjoo=n*
[house=NOM]	shake-CND	Kyoto=DAT1	attach-IMP	Kyoto=DAT1
[Subject]				
cikiccji	jutassigana.			
cik-i	*jˀ-jur-tar-siga=na*			
attach-IMP	say-UMRK-PST-POL=PLQ			

'If the house shakes, (old people said) that, "Send (it) to Kyoto! Send (it) to Kyoto!" [lit. "Attach to Kyoto! Attach to Kyoto!"]' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Predicate

arəə	attaa	məəra	muratən
a-ri=ja	*a-ri-taa*	*məə=kara*	*muraw-təər-n*
DIST-NLZ=TOP	[DIST-NLZ-PL	front=ABL	receive-RSL-PTCP
[Nominal	predicate]		

jaa jappa.
jaa *jar-ba*
house COP-CSL]

'Since that is the house (he) has received from them.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. NP modifier [Context: Seeing a picture, where bundles of rice were hung out in the sun] jaanu məəninkjadu
jaa=nu *məə=nan=nkja=du*
{[house=GEN] [front]}=LOC1=APPR=FOC
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
gan sjɨ sagɨjutanwake zjajaa.
ga-n *sɨr-tɨ* *sagɨr-jur-tar-n=wake* *zjar=jaa*
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ hang-UMRK-PST-PTCP=FN COP=SOL

'(They) would hang (bundles of rice) in front of (their) houses like this.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

d. In the plural kan sjɨ jankjanu
ka-n *sɨr-tɨ* *jaa=nkja=nu*
PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ house=APPR=NOM
dɨkɨɨjukkjaija |nan+nengoro|karakai?
dɨkɨr-Ø+jukkjaar-i=ja *nan+nen-goro=kara=kai*
be.made-INF+INGR-INF=TOP what+year-about=ABL=DUB
'When did the houses begin to be made like this?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a), the inanimate common noun *jaa* 'house' fill the argument slot, which is the subject of the clause. In (??b), *jaa* 'house' fill the predicate slot of the clause, and it becomes nominal predicate with the copula verb *jar-* (COP). In (??c), *jaa* 'house' fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is also a common noun *məə* 'front.' In (??d), *jaa=nkja* (house=APPR) 'houses' has a plural meaning.

1.1.2 Semantic remarks on number of common nouns

We have seen that the plurality of common nouns is expressed by *nkja* (APPR) in the previous section. There is, however, a case, where the bare form of common nouns can imply plurality in itself. In the following discussion, the "bare form" indicates the form which is not followed by the plural markers in Yuwan.

(4) Common noun (indefinite and unspecific)

[Context: Speaking of a woman] k'woo ippaidoojaa.
k'wa=ja *ippai=doo=jaa*
child=TOP many=ASS=SOL
'(She has) many children, you know.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In REFex:7:4, *k'wa* 'child' indicates plural referents in effect, since the predicate (i.e. *ippai* 'many') means plurality, but it does not need *nkja* (APPR). However, such an implication of plurality is only allowed for indefinite (and unspecific) referents as in (4). If the referent is definite, specific, and also human, the bare form must indicate only one referent. See (5).

(5) Common noun (definite, specific, and human)
[Context: Three boys noticed that another boy fell his hat, so they called the boy.]
saki izjan micjaija .. xxx mata isjoobiki
saki ik-tar-n *micjai=ja* *mata* *isjoobiki* *huk-ti* *u-n*
first go-PST-PTCP three.CLF=TOP again whistle blow-SEQ MES-ADNZ
hucji, un k'waba abiti,
k'wa=ba *abir-ti*
child=ACC call-SEQ
'The three (boys) who went first again whistled, and called the boy, and ...'
[PF: 090222_00.txt]

In the above context, the referent called by three boys is only one. In other words, the expression *u-n k'wa* 'the boy [lit. that child],' which is definite, specific, and human, must have only a singular meaning. As mentioned in §??, the plural markers in Yuwan, including *nkja* (APPR), can indicate a single specific referent alone. Such an ambiguous characteristic of plural markers make it a little complicated to code or decode the meaning of number in Yuwan. The above contrast between REFex:7:4 and (5) is summarized in the follwing tables (see Table 1.1 and Table 1.2).

The meaning "b" in the right-most column in Table 1.1 is characteristic of the plural markers in Yuwan (see §?? for more details). Table 1.1 shows that the common nouns that are indefinite and unspecific are ambiguous about their number in both encoding and decoding. The coding relation in REFex:7:4 corresponds to that of "bare form" and "more than one referent." In another context, the bare form, which indicates an indefinite and unspecific referent, can also be decoded into simply "one referent." However, if the common nouns indicate definite, specific, and human referents, the bare form cannot be used to indicate more than one referent, which is presented below.

Table 1.1: . Common nouns (indefinite and unspecific)

Form «< Encoding «< Meaning on number
Bare form a. One referent
Bare from + *nkja* (APPR) b. One referent as an example of the member of an unspecific group
c. More than one referent
»> Decoding »>

Table 1.2: Common nouns (definite, specific, and human)

Form «< Encoding «< Meaning on number

(6) Bare form
   a. One referent
      Bare from + *nkja* (APPR)
   b. One referent as an example of the member of an unspecific group
   c. More than one referent
      »> Decoding »>

no example numbers in tables

In Table 1.2, a line that existed in Table 1.1, i.e. the connection between "bare form" and "more than one referent," was omitted. Thus, the coding relation between "bare form" and "one referent" is straightforward. Therefore we can know that the bare form in REFex:7:5 indicates only one referent.

1.2 Address nouns

Address nouns can be used to call the opponent, which include a part of elder kinship terms and personal names. Additionally, certain profession, e.g. *soncjoosan* (village.mayor-HON) 'village mayor' or *sinsjei* 'teacher' can be used as address nouns.

The elder kinship terms that can be used to address the opponent are as follows: *zjuu* 'father,' *cʔjan* 'father,' *anmaa* 'mother,' *okkan* 'mother,' *kaacjan* 'mother,' *uzii* 'grandfather,' *hannjəə* 'grandmothr,' *ubaa* 'grandmother,' *nii* 'older brother,' *nəə* 'older sister,' which all appeared in my texts. In those kinship terms, *zjuu* 'father,' *anmaa* 'mother,' *hannjəə* 'grandmother,' and *anjoo* 'old brother' are relatively old expression, and the others are relatively new (borrowed) ones. These

elder kinship terms, especially the relatively new ones, can be used even if the speaker does not have an actual relative relation with the opponent, e.g., *uzii* 'grandfathr' in (??) in §??, where *uzii* is glossed and translated into 'old man' to fit in the context. The personal names that can be used to address people are all the first names, not the family names.

It should be mentioned that several kinship terms cannot be used to address the opponents, e.g., *uja* 'parents,' *jinga-nəə* (man-parent) 'father [lit. male parent],' *wunagu-nəə* (woman-parent) 'mother [lit. female parent],' *kjoodəə* 'brother,' *wunai* 'younger sister,' *jɨɨi* 'younger brother,' and *maga* 'grandchild.' These kinship terms that cannot be used to address the opponent are included in the common nouns in Yuwan (see §??).

The address nouns can function as an NP of any kind (an argument, a predicate or an NP modifer). In Yuwan, personal names are frequently compounded with elder kinship terms, e.g. *zjennjuki+anjoo* (Zenyuki+older.brother) 'Zenyuki,' where the elder kinship terms function like the honorific titles 'Mr.' or 'Ms.' in English, although they are used in a more friendly way. The honorific meaning is not translated in English in this grammar.

(7) Address nouns (elder kinship)

a. Argument
zjennjukianjooga |heitai|kaci izjɨ,
zjennjuki+anjoo=ga *heitai=kaci* *ik-tɨ*
[Zenyuki+older.brother=NOM] soldier=ALL go-SEQ
[Subject]
'Zenyuki went to (be) a soldier, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Predicate
kurɨ sigemasaanjoo jappa.
ku-rɨ *sigemasa+anjoo* *jar-ba*
PROX-NLZ [Shigemasa+older.brother COP-CSL]
[Nominal predicate]
'This (person on the picture) is Shigemasa.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. NP modifier
kun cˀjoo kisasianjoo zjuuja
ku-n *cˀju=ja* *kisasi+anjoo* *zjuu=ja*
PROX-ADNZ person=TOP {[Kisashi+older.brother] [father]}=TOP
arannən, {[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
ar-annən
COP-NEG.SEQ

‘This person is not Kisashi’s father, and ...’ [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. In the plural

an junɨzooanjootaaga simautaba
a-n junɨzoo+anjoo-taa=ga sima+uta=ba
DIST-ADNZ Yonezo+older.brother-PL=NOM community+song=ACC
hozonsiicjɨ j’icjɨ,
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 (??a), the (compounded) personal name *zjennjuki+anjoo* ‘Zenyuki’ fill the argument slot, which is the subject of the clause. In (??b), *sigemasa+anjoo* ‘Shigemasa’ fill the predicate slot of the clause, and it becomes nominal predicate with the copula verb *jar-* (COP). In (??c), *kisasi+anjoo* ‘Kisashi’ directly fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is also an address noun *zjuu* ‘father’. In (??d), *junɨzoo+anjoo-taa* (Yonezo+older.brother-PL) ‘Yonezo and his family’ has a plural meaning.

As mentioned in §??, the plural forms in Yuwan may indicate not only plural specific referents, but also a single specific referent. Therefore, the plural forms are ambiguous about the semantic plurality in a narrow sense. The bare forms (i.e. the forms without the plural affix *-taa*) of address nouns, however, are different, since the bare forms of address nouns must indicate only one specific referent (with no other referents). Therefore, it may be appropriate to admit that the bare forms of address nouns have a zero affix that only incicates the singular meaning, e.g., *zjennjuki+anjoo-Ø* (Zenyuki+older.brother-SG). Here, it should be remembered that a similar problem has happened in common nouns, where certain common nouns must have correspondence between bare forms and (genuine) singular meanings (see §??). Those common nouns must indicate definte, specific, and human referents, which are the usual characteristics of address nouns (with the exceptoin of elder kinship terms used to indicate non-relatives). Considering these facts, it is more appropriate to think that the obligatory “singularness” of the address nouns is not attributed to the alleged affix *-Ø* (SG), but on the meaning of the NP (with which the plural affixes co-occur). Thus, I propose that the address nouns in bare forms do not have any singular affix such as *-Ø* (SG).

1.3 Reflexive pronouns

Yuwan has two reflexive pronouns, *nusi* and *duu*, and the choice of them seems to depend on the difference among idiolects. For example, TM only uses *nusi*, MY basically uses *nusi* but sometimes uses *duu*, which is always compounded like *duu+duu*, and MS uses only *duu*; the other people have not used reflexive pronouns in my texts. In many cases, the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is the subject of the clause. In the following examples, the reflexive and its antecedent is marked by the small italic "*i*" in the underlying level. In addition, the reflexive pronouns in the underlying level and their correspondents in the free translation are underlined.

(8) a. [Context: Talking about a riverboat of the MS's family] = (??c)
urakjoo, nusinkjanu atattudu,
urakja$_i$=ja [*nusi=nkja$_i$=nu* *ar-tar-tu*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=du*
2.NHON.PL=TOP RFL=APPR=NOM exist-PST-CSL=FOC
siccjuro.
sij-tur-oo
know-PROG-SUPP
'You probably know (it), because you have a riverboat of your own.'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: Speking about an acquaintance] = (??)
wanga kucisjɨ nusiboo
[*wan=ga* *kuci=sjɨ* *nusi=ba=ja*
1SG=NOM mouth=INST RFL=ACC=TOP
jamacjuncjɨ,
jam-as-tur-n=ccjɨ]$_{\text{Complement clause}}$
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 (??a), the antecedent of *nusi* (RFL) is *urakja* 'you,' and it overtly appears in the sentence. On the contrary, in (??b), the antecedent of *nusi* (RFL), i.e. 'the person,' does not overtly appear in the sentence, but it can be traced by the context. In both of the above examples, *nusi* (RFL) is in the subordinate clauses, but it can correspond with the antecedents in the main clauses.

Additionally, there are examples where *nusi* (RFL) does not seem to correspond with any specific antecedent, but seems to correspond with unspecific referents.

(9) [Context: The husband of a couple did not bring back a pot filled with gold coins, since happiness comes naturally to honest people.]
nusarɨja nusinu jaakaci, nusarɨja sizinnidu
nusarɨ=ja *nusi=nu* *jaa=kaci* *nusarɨ=ja* *sizin=n=du*
happiness=TOP RFL=GEN house=ALL happiness=TOP nature=DAT1=FOC
həncjɨ kjuncjɨ.
hənk-tɨ *k-jur-n=ccjɨ*
enter-SEQ come-UMRK-PTCP=QT
'(He said to his wife) that the happiness comes into one's house, (i.e.) the happiness (comes home) naturally.' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In REFex:7:8, it may be possible to think that *nusi* (RFL) corresponds to the man, i.e. the husband of the couple, but it is more natural to think that it corresponds to unspecific people. In other words, it is more appropriate to think that the utterance said by the man in (9) is a kind of conventional wisdom.

The above examples show that *nusi* (RFL) behaves in the same way with common nouns, since it takes *nkja* (APPR) as in (**??**a), and takes *nu* (GEN) in the modifier slot of an NP as in REFex:7:8. Additionally, it usually takes *nu* (NOM) as the subject of the clause as follows.

(10) [Context: Asking TM if she made the pickles.]
kurəə nusinu cukutɨ?
ku-rɨ=ja *nusi=nu* *cukur-tɨ*
PROX-NLZ=TOP RFL=NOM make-SEQ
[lit.] 'Did yourself make this?' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In REFex:7:9, the antecedent of *nusi* (RFL), i.e. 'you,' is not overtly expressed, but it can be inferred from the context. Considering this example, it may be appropriate to say that the antecedents of *nusi* (RFL) is the agent (or possibly experiencer) of the event expressed by the clause, rather than the subject of the clause.

nusi (RFL) can be reduplicated as follows, where the following root is lengthened.

(11) [Context: Remembering the day the outdoor lamps were set in the shopping street of the village]
nusinusiinu jaanu kadukadunan tatɨtancjɨjo.
nusi+nusi=nu *jaa=nu* *kadu+kadu=nan* *tatɨr-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
RED+RFL=GEN house=GEN RED+corner=LOC1 stand-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'(They) stood (the outdoor lamps) at each corner of each one.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the examples discussed above, *nusi* (RFL) indicates only a human referent. Additionally, *nusi* (RFL) can indicate non-human referents, e.g., *mjaa* 'cat' as in REFex:7:11.

(12) mjaanu nusinu maiba kada sjuttoo.
mjaa$_i$=nu nusi$_i$=nu mai=ba kada sɨr-jur=doo
cat=NOM RFL=GEN buttock=ACC smell do-UMRK=ASS
'A cat smells the buttock of itself. [El: 130820]

1.4 Numerals

A numeral is constituted of a numeral root plus a classifier affix. So far, the following classifier affixes are found in Yuwan: *-cɨ* (CLF.thing), *-kəəi* (CLF.time), and *-(ta)i* (CLF.human). However, these numerals are not very productive, and people usually borrow numerals from Standard Japanese. The numeral in Yuwan usually fills the head slot of an NP and does not fill the modifier slot. If it should fill the modifier slot of an NP, it takes *nu* (GEN). Numerals, if they are the subjects of the clauses, take *ga* (NOM) or nothing except for the cases where they take limitter particles. There are no examples where numerals take any plural marker in my texts so far.

In §??, I will discuss the syntax of numerals. In §??, I will discuss the morphology of numerals.

1.4.1 Syntax of numerals

First, we will examine the examples of *-cɨ* (CLF.thing). The combinations of numeral roots and *-cɨ* (CLF.thing) are summarized in Table 1.3. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table 1.3 is shown in §??

For the numbers more than ten in Table 1.3, there are no native terms, so we have to use borrowings from standard Japanese. I wil present examples of *-cɨ* (CLF.thing), where the numerals head the NPs.

(13) a. [Context: A man had put two baskets under a big pear tree.]
un kagonu t'ɨɨ cidɨ
u-n kago=nu t'ɨɨ cɨm-tɨ
{[MES-ADVZ basket=GEN] [one.CLF.thing]} load-SEQ
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$

Table 1.3: . Numerals made with *-cɨ* (CLF.thing) (surface forms)

Numbers	Word forms	Meaning
1	tʾiɨ	a thing
2	tʾaacɨ	two things
3	miicɨ	three things
4	juucɨ	four things
5	ɨcɨcɨ	five things
6	muucɨ	six things
7	nanacɨ	seven things
8	jaacɨ	eight things
9	kʾuunucɨ	nine things
10	tuu	ten things

ikjunwake.
ik-jur-n=wake
go-UMRK-PTCP=CFP

'(The boy) puts the one of the baskets on (the front of his bicycle) and goes.' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. [Context: There is a big pear tree, from which a man is picking up pears.] = (**??**a)
kɨinu sjanannja kagonu tʾaacɨ
kɨi=nu sja=nan=ja kago=nu tʾaacɨ
tree=GEN under=LOC1=TOP {[basket=GEN] [two.CLF.thing]}
ucjutɨ, {[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
uk-tur-tɨ
put-PROG-SEQ
'Under the tree, (the man) put two baskets, and ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

c. [Context: A boy tumbled off his bicycle and the pears in the basket in front of the bicycle scattered. Three other boys helped him to gather the pears. After that, the one of the three boys found the boy's hat, so he called him and handed the hat to him.]
gan sjan tuki mata joonasinu miicɨ,
ga-n sɨr-tar-n tuki mata joonasi=nu miicɨ
MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP time again {[pear=GEN] [three.CLF.thing]}
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$ hey receive-SEQ
|hora|, muratɨ cʾjaroo.
hora muraw-tɨ k-tar-oo

come-PST-SUPP

'(At) that time, probably (the boys) received three pears again, and came (back).' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

The numerals tend to fill the head slot of an NP (except for the case of "quantifier-float" below). However, there is an example where the numeral fills the modifier slot of an NP as in REFex:7:15. After you have read the descritption about quantifier-float below, it should be noted that all of the numerals as in (13) are not the examples of quantifier-float. This was shown by the case particles which the NP modifiers take in (13), where the NP modifiers take a genitive case *nu*, not *ba* (ACC), despite the NP's being the objects of the clauses. This fact shows that the numerals are not apart from the preceding NPs, i.e, not floated quontifiers, but that they fills the head slots of the NPs with the preceding NP modifiers.

Second, the combinations of numeral roots and *-kəəi* (CLF.time) are summarized in Table 1.4. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table 1.4 is shown in §??

Table 1.4: . Numerals made with *-kəəi* (CLF.time) (surface forms)

Numbers	Word forms	Meaning
1	cˀjukəi	once
2	tˀakəi	twice
3	mikəi	three times
4	jukəi	four times
5	ɨcɨkəi	five times
6	mukəi	six times
7	nanakəi	seven times
8	jakəi	eight times
9	kunkəi	nine times
10	tukəi	ten times

For the numbers above ten in Table 1.4, there are no native terms, so we have to use borrowings from standard Japanese. I will present examples of *-kəəi* (CLF.time), where the numeral behaves as an adverb.

(14) a. an tacɨgəə cˀjukəəin tooritɨn njan.
a-n tacɨgɨ=ja cˀjukəəi=n toorɨr-tɨ=n nj-an
DIST-ADNZ prop=TOP one.CLF.time=even fall-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG
'That prop has never fallen even once.' [El: 130816]

b. mata.. uma tˀakəi izjai, cˀjai, sjattu.
mata u-ma tˀakəəi ik-tai k-tai sɨr-tar-tu
again MES-place two.CLF.time go-LST come-LST do-PST-CSL
'(The three boys) went there and came back two times.' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

-kəəi (CLF.time) goes through the phonological rule in §?? Therefore, one of the vowels is deleted as in (??b) or Table 1.4. However, if *n* 'even' follows *-kəəi* (CLF.time), the environment is out of the application of the rule, and the underlying form appears in the surface form without any modification as /cˀju-kəəi=n/ (one-CLF.time=even) 'even once' in (??a).

Third, the combinations of numeral roots and *-tai* (CLF.person) are summarized in Table 1.5. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table 1.5 is shown in §??

Table 1.5: . Numerals made with *-tai* (CLF.person) (surface forms)

Numbers	Word forms	Meanings
1	cˀjui	a person
2	tˀai	two people
3	micjai	thee people
4	jutai	four people

For the numbers above four in Table 1.5, there are no native terms, so we have to use borrowings from standard Japanese. The following examples show the numerals containing *-(ta)i* (CLF.person).

(15) a. hunto, an tˀaiga wuppoo, muru
hunto a-n tˀai=ga wur-boo muru
really {[DIST-ADNZ] [two.CLF.person=NOM]} exist-CND very
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
jiccja atanmundoo.
jiccj-sa ar-tar-n=mun=doo
good-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS

'Really, if there were the two [i.e. if the two were alive], it would be very good.' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

b. un micjaiga |cjanto| hijatɨ ɨrɨtɨ,
u-n micjai=ga cjanto hijaw-tɨ ɨrɨr-tɨ {[MES-ADNZ]
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$

[three.CLF.person]}=NOM correctly pick.up-SEQ put.in-SEQ

'The three correctly picked up (the pears) and put (them) in (the basket), and ...' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

As mentioned above, numerals in Yuwan rarely fill the modifier slot of an NP. However, there is an example of the case.

(16) Numeral filling the modifier slot of an NP
[Context: Three children were walking a way.] = (??b)

un	kˀwanu,	cˀjuinu	kˀwanu	isjoobiki	hucjɨ,
u-n	*kˀwa=nu*	*cˀjui=nu*	*kˀwa=nu*	*isjoobiki*	*huk-tɨ*
MES-ADNZ	child=NOM	{[one.CLF=GEN]	[child]}=NOM	whistle	blow-SEQ

{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
'That child, the child (who is) one (of them) whistled, and ...' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

So far, the reason for the above use of numerals in the modifier slot of an NP is not clear for me.

Furthermore, the numerals sometimes immediately follow the heads of the core arguments. In REFex:7:16, the address noun *uzii*, which usually means 'grandfather' but means 'an old man' here, takes the nominative case *ga*. The *ga* (NOM) must not be a genitive case, since address nouns do not take any case particle in the modifier slot of an NP (see §??). Thus, it is clear that the numeral *cˀjui* (one.CLF.person) in (17) is neither the modifier nor head of the NP.

(17) Quantifier-float (After subject NP) [= (??)]
[Context: The very beginning of the monologue. TM: '(I will) start from the scene (where a man) picks up the pears. There is a pear-tree, (i.e.) a big tree, ...']

unnənti	uziiga	cˀjui	joonasi
u-n=nənti	*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]

Semantically, the numeral *cˀjui* (one.CLF.person) modifies *uzii* 'old man' meaning that the man indicated by *uzii* 'old man' is alone. Syntactically, however, the numeral *cˀjui* (one.CLF.person) is separated from the NP where *uzii* 'old man' exists. This kind of phenomenon is called "quantifier float" in Japanese linguistics (**Shibatani1990**). The example in REFex:7:17 below may be an example of quantifier float, but it may also be analyzed as a single NP.

(18) [Context: A boy tumbled in riding bicycle, and was injured.]
gan jinganu micjai, warabɨnu
ga-n *jinga=nu* *micjai* *waraɨ=nu*
MES-ADVZ man=NOM/GEN three.CLF.person child=NOM/GEN
micjai, tuutɨ,
micjai *tuur-tɨ*
three.CLF.person pass-SEQ
'There three men, (i.e.) three child passed, and ...' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

In REFex:7:17, the expression *jinga=nu micjai* can be analyzed as either (man=NOM three.CLF.person), i.e. quantifier float, or (man=GEN three.CLF.person), i.e. a single NP, because the common noun *jinga* 'man' can take both *nu* (NOM) and *nu* (GEN) (see §**??**). In the former analysis, the numeral *micjai* (three.CLF.person) is a floated quantifier apart from the preceding NP. In the latter analysis, the numeral fills the head slot of the NP, where the preceding nominal *jinga* 'man' fills the modifier slot. The same argument can be applied to another NP in (18), i.e. *warabɨ=nu micjai*. There is no answer to determine which analysis is really correct.

All of the numerals in the above examples expressed cardinal numbers. If you want to express ordinary numbers, you may have the affix *-me* (ODN) follow the numerals introduced above. Considering the phoneme /e/, the affix *-me* (ODN) is thought to be borrowed from the standard Japanese relatively recently.

(19) [Context: Complaining about the decline of her memory]
maganu cˀjuigadəə sicjussɨga,
maga=nu *cˀjui=gadɨ=ja* *sij-tur-sɨga*
grandchild=GEN one.CLF.person=LMT=TOP know-PROG-POL
tˀaimekaroo sijandoojaa.
tˀai-me=kara=ja *sij-an=doo=jaa*
two.CLF-ODN=ABL=TOP know-NEG=ASS=SOL
'(I) know (the name of) one grandchild, but don't know (that of) the second one (and more).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Before concluding this section, I will present some combinations of the numerals with a few morphemes. First, the numerals can be compounded with the adverb *naa*. The combination means there are other referents whose number is indicated by the numerals. I will present examples in (**??**a-b).

(20) Numerals compounded with *naa* 'other'

a. [Context: Seeing some acquaintances of TM in a picture]
naacˀjuinu cˀjoo koogi jappa.
naa+cˀjui=nu *cˀju=ja* *koogi jar-ba*
other+one.CLF.person=GEN person=TOP Kogi COP-CSL
'Since another person is Kogi.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. cɨkɨmunukkwaja naatˀɨɨ
cɨkɨ+mun-kkwa=ja *naa+tˀɨɨ*
pickle.INF+thing-DIM=TOP other+one.CLF.thing
|itadak|oojəə
itadak-oo=jəə
eat.modesty-INT=CFM2
'(I) will eat another (piece of) pickles.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

Additionally, the numerals may be followed by a particle *naa* 'each.'

(21) [Context: Remembering the way of traditional funerals]
aahata, miicɨnaa, tˀaacɨnaa
aa+hata *miicɨ=naa* *tˀaacɨ=naa*
red+flag three.CLF.thing=each two.CLF.thing=each
'(They stood) red flags, three (of which in front of) each (line of the funeral), two (of which in front of) each (line of the funeral).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

Furtheremore, the numerals can be followed by *-gɨna* 'together.'

(22) [Context: Talking about two acquaintaces, who lived outside the community.]
tˀaigɨna kaaranba,
tˀai-gɨna *kaar-an-ba*
two.CLF.person-together relate-NEG-CSL
'Both of the two did not contact (with the people in our community), so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The combinations of numeral roots and classifier affixes are far from productive. Therefore, the morphological analyses of numerals in the underlying forms are not expressed in the above discussion. The tentative morphological analyses of numerals in Yuwan will be discussed in the following subsection.

1.4.2 Morphology of numerals

It is possible to divide the numerals in Yuwan into the following morphemes, shown in Table 1.6.

Table 1.6: . Morphological analyses of the numeral (surface forms)

Numbers *-cɨ* (CLF.thing)	Numbers *-kəəi* (CLF.time)	Numbers *-(ta)i* (CLF.person)
1 tˀɨɨ	1 cˀju -kəi	1 cˀju -i
2 tˀaa -cɨ	2 tˀa -kəi	2 tˀa -i
3 mii -cɨ	3 mi -kəi	3 mi -cjai
4 juu -cɨ	4 ju -kəi	4 ju -tai
5 ɨcɨ -cɨ	5 ɨcɨ -kəi	
6 muu -cɨ	6 mu -kəi	
7 nana -cɨ	7 nana -kəi	
8 jaa -cɨ	8 ja -kəi	
9 kˀuunu -cɨ	9 kun -kəi	
10 tuu	10 tu -kəi	

The above table shows that the numerals indicating 1, 9, and 10 behave irregularly.

The numeral that means 'one thing,' i.e, *tˀɨɨ* at the upper-most and left-most position in Table 1.6, appears that it is not followed by the classifier *-cɨ* (CLF.thing) and that it indicates the notion by itself. Additionally, the form *tˀɨɨ* (one.CLF.thing) is very different from the tentative root form *cˀju-* 'one,' which is used to indicate a single referent with *-kəəi* (CLF.time) and *-i* (CLF.person).

The numeral root that indicates nine referents is *kˀuunu-* 'nine' when it is followed by *-cɨ* (CLF.thing), but is *kun-* 'nine' when it is followed by *-kəəi* (CLF.time).

The numeral that means 'ten things,' i.e. *tuu* at the lower-most and left-most position in Table 1.6, appears that it is not followed by the classifier *-cɨ* (CLF.thing) and that it indicates the notion by itself. The same form appears to be followed by *-kəəi* (CLF.time) with vowel deletion, i.e. /tu-kəi/ (ten-CLF.time) 'ten times.'

The classifiers to count human is *-i* (CLF.person) if the preceding numeral roots indicate one or two person(s) such as /cˀju-i/ (one-CLF.person) 'a person' or /tˀa-i/ (two-CLF.person) 'two people,' and it is *-tai* (CLF.person) if the preceding numeral

roots indicate three or four people such as /mi-cjai/ (three-CLF.person) 'three people' (with the palatalization of //tai// to /cjai/) or /ju-tai/ (four-CLF.person) 'four people.'

It is difficult to determine the underlying forms of the numeral root. In surface forms, they have more than one mora before *-cɨ* (CLF.thing), but do not necessarily have more than one mora before *-kəəi* (CLF.time) or *-(ta)i* (CLF.person). While there may be some other analyses, I propose the following analysis as the best.

Table 1.7: . Numeral roots in Yuwan (underlying forms)

Numbers	Numeral roots
1	*tˀɨɨ / cˀju-*
2	*tˀaa-*
3	*mii-*
4	*juu-*
5	*ɨcɨ-*
6	*muu-*
7	*nana-*
8	*jaa-*
9	*kˀuunu- / kun-*
10	*tuu*

In Table 1.7, only *tˀɨɨ* and *tuu* are free morphemes, and the others are bound morphemes. If numeral roots that have the same-vowel sequences at their root-final positions are followed by *-kəəi* (CLF.time) or *-(ta)i* (CLF.person), the vowel sequences become a single vowel. For example, *jaa-* 'eight' plus *-kəəi* (CLF.time) becomes /ja-kəi/, where //jaa// 'eight' becomes /ja/ because of the root-final vowel deletion. This analysis can avoid assuming a putative underlying form *tˀɨ* 'one thing,' which does not appear in any surface form. In other words, I propose that all of the morphemes that have long vowel at their root-final position in the numerals to count things are originally long. Other examples that are relevant to vowel deletion are shown below.

The above tables show that the root-final long vowels become short before *-kəəi* (CLF.time) or *-(ta)i* (CLF.person). In Table 1.9, the initial morphophoneme //t// in *-tai* (CLF.person) undergoes palatalization (plus affrication) and becomes /cj/, which is thought to be caused by the preceding morphophoneme //i// in *mii-* 'three.'

In this grammar, the morphemic boundaries of numeral words are not expressed (even if they are present at the underlying level) unless they need to be clearly distinguished.

Table 1.8: Morphophonological alternation with *-kəəi* (CLF.time)

Numbers	Underlying forms	Surface forms
Numeral roots	Classifiers	Numerals
2	*t'aa-* + *-kəəi* (CLF.time)	> t'a-kəi
3	*mii-* +	> mi-kəi
4	*juu-* +	> ju-kəi
6	*muu-* +	> mu-kəi
8	*jaa-* +	> ja-kəi
10	*tuu* +	> tu-kəi

Table 1.9: Morphophonological alternation with *-(ta)i* (CLF.person)

Numbers	Underlying forms	Surface forms
Numeral roots	Classifiers	Numerals
2	*t'aa-* + *-i* (CLF.person)	> t'a-i
3	*mii-* + *-tai* (CLF.person)	> mi-cjai
4	*juu-* + *-tai* (CLF.person)	> ju-tai

1.5 Indefinite pronouns

Yuwan has affixes that turns interrogative nominal stems into indefinite pronouns: *-nkuin*, which is labeled as the "indefinitizer" (INDFZ) in this grammar. The combinations of the interrogative nominal stems and *-nkuin* (INDFZ) are shown in the following table.

Table 1.10: . Indefinite pronouns in Yuwan

Interrogative nominals	Indefinitizer	Indefinite pronouns
nuu 'what'	+ *-nkuin* (INDFZ)	> /nunkuin/ 'anything'
daa 'where'		> /dankuin/ 'anywhere'
ɨcɨɨ 'when'		> /ɨcɨnkuin/ 'always'
taru 'who'		> /tarunkuin/ 'anybody'
dɨru 'which'		> /dɨrunkuin/ 'anyone (of them)'

Interrogative nominals that have the same-vowel sequence at stem-final positions undergo the vowel deletion discussed in §**??**, e.g. //nuu// 'what' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ) > /nu-nkuin/.

I will present examples of Table 1.10. The indefinite pronouns in the underlying level and their correspondents in the free translation are underlined below.

(23) Interrogative nominals + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)

a. *nuu* 'what' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)
[Context: TM tells the present author that US always does not sit still, but that she always tries to serve something to eat for the guest.]
nunkuin izjasicjɨjo. hanasinkjoo
nuu-nkuin izjas-i=ccjɨ=joo hanasi=nkja=ja
what-INDFZ put.out-INF=QT=CFM1 conversation=APPR=TOP
sɨrancjɨjo.
sɨr-an=ccjɨ=joo
do-NEG=QT=CFM1
'(She) puts out [i.e. serves] anything. (She) does not (begin) the conversation.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *daa* 'where' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)
naa, dankuinkaci abɨrattɨ,
naa daa-nkuin=kaci abɨr-ar-tɨ
FIL where-INDFZ=ALL call-PASS-SEQ
'(My mother) was called (for the recording of the traditional songs) anywhere, and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *ɨcɨɨ* 'when' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)
waakjoo ɨcɨnkuin waratuncjɨjo.
waakja=ja ɨcɨɨ-nkuin waraw-tur-n=ccjɨ=joo
1PL=TOP when-INDFZ laugh-PROG-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'I am always laughing (remembering the old days).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. *taru* 'who' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)
tarunkuin, ta .. jiccjan munnu
ta-ru-nkuin ta jiccj-sa+ar-n mun=nu ar-boo
who-NLZ-INDFZ who good-ADJ+STV-PTCP thing=NOM exist-CND
appoo,

'If (my grandfather) had something good, he would give it to anybody.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. *dɨru* 'which' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)
dɨrunkuin kamɨjoo.
dɨ-ru-nkuin kam-ɨ=joo
which-NLZ-INDFZ eat-IMP=CFM1
'Eat anything (there).' [El: 130820]

The above examples show that *-nkuin* (INDFZ) changes the questional meanings of the interrogative stems to the indefinite ones. As mentioned in §??, there are other affixes that can also turn interrogative stems into indefinite words, i.e. *-ninkuinin* (INDFZ) and *-sjɨnkaasjɨn* (INDFZ). The difference among them is that *-nkuin* (INDFZ) forms a nominal, but that *-ninkuinin* (INDFZ) and *-sjɨnkaasjɨn* (INDFZ) form adverbs. In fact, *-nkuin* (INDFZ) is very similar to *-ninkuinin* (INDFZ). One might think that the former could be divided into several morphemes such as /nkuin/ *=n=kui=n* (any=INDFZ=any). However, we do not accept this analysis. The indefinite pronoun *-nkuin* can be followed by *kaci* as in (??b). If we analyzed it as /nkuinkaci/ *=n=kui=n=kaci* (any=INDFZ=any=ALL), we would have to admit the order of *=n=kaci* (any=ALL), but *kaci* (ALL) usually precedes (not follows) *n* 'any' when it follows interrogative nominals, e.g. *daa=kaci=n* (where=ALL=any) 'anywhere' in (??a) in §?? Thus, we do not divide *-nkuin* (INDFZ) into multiple morphemes.

1.6 Deverbal nominals

There is an affix that can change verbal stems to nominal stems, i.e. *-jaa* 'person.' Additionally, verbal stems can become nominal stems by compounding, which was discussed in §?? and §??

Semantically, *-jaa* means 'a person who does the action frequently and/or deliberately,' which is abbreviated to 'person' or simply "NLZ" (i.e. nominalizer) in the gloss. Morphologically, *-jaa* 'person' can directly follow the verbal root as in (??a-b). Morphophonologically, it belongs to Type C verbal affixes (see §??). For example, the final //r// of *tur-* 'take' is lost before *-jaa* 'person' as in (??b).

(24) a. *hasij-* 'run' + *-jaa* 'person' [Context: Talking about students who participate in the training camp held in the village]
hasijaankjanu |gassjuku|sjɨ
hasij-jaa=nkja=nu *gassjuku=sjɨ*
run-person=APPR=NOM training.camp=INST
kjuuroogai?
k-jur-oo=ga=i
come-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Runners would come for training camp, you know.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *tur-* 'take' + *-jaa* 'person' [Context: Talking about the relationship between a person and some people]

attaa sisitujaa.
a-ri-taa *sisi+tur-jaa*
DIST-NLZ-PL boar+take-person
'(He is) their boar-taker [i.e. a person who always takes boars, and he is their relative].' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

Interestingly, the nominalized verbal stem in (??b), i.e, *tur-jaa* (take-person), can form a compound with a preceding nominal, i.e. *sisi* 'boar.'

As mentioned above, the meaning of *-jaa* is not so simple that it is not very productive. However, if we restrict the context, it can follow a few derivational affixes, i.e. *-as* (CAUS) and *-arir* (PASS). The contexts of the following examples are suggested by the present author, and the speaker uttered the appropriate sentences according to the context.

(25) a. *-as* (CAUS) + *-jaa* 'person' [Context: Talking about a naughty boy who always makes other children cry]
agaraa munna nakasjaadoo.
aga-raa *mun=ja* *nak-as-jaa=doo*
DIST-DRG.ADNZ substance=TOP cry-CAUS-person=ASS
'That bad boy always makes someone cry.' [lit. 'That bad boy is a person who always makes (someone) cry.'] [El: 121010]

b. *-arir* (PASS) + *-jaa* 'person' [Context: Some children are talking about their mischief and trying to determine the person who apologize on their behalf.]
uroo oosarijaa naiccjidaroogai?
ura=ja *oos-arir-jaa* *nar-i=ccji=daroo=ga=i*
2.NHON.SG=TOP scold-PASS-person become-INF=QT=SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Probably, you will undertake the role of a person who is scolded, right?' [lit. 'Probably, you intend to become the person who is scolded, right?'] [El: 121010]

The above examples show that *-jaa* 'person' does not necessarily indicates the "agent" of the action that the verbal root indicates. In (??b), the referetnt indicated by *oos-arir-jaa* (scold-PASS-person) 'a person who is scolded (of the person's own free will)' is the patient of *oos-* 'scold' (not the agent).

1.7 Diminutive affix *-kkwa*

There is an affix *-kkwa*, which tends to attach to nominal stems that indicate small (or short) referents as in (??a-e), but it also attaches to the words that do

not necessarily indicate small (or short) referents by themselves as in (??f-j). It never attaches to the personal pronouns or address nouns.

(26) *-kkwa* (DIM)

a. waakjaga warabɨkkwa sjuin,
waakja=ga warabɨ-kkwa sɨr-tur-i=n
1PL=NOM child-DIM do-PROG-INF=DAT1
'When I was a child [lit. was doing a child], ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. |cjoodo mikan|nu (kun) kun huukkwanu
cjoodo mikan=nu ku-n ku-n huu-kkwa=nu
just mikan=GEN PROX-ADNZ PROX-ADNZ piece-DIM=GEN
tˀɨɨ kamboo, xxx jiccjai.
tˀɨɨ kam-boo jiccj-sa+ar-i
one.thing eat-CND good-ADJ+STV-NPST
'If (I) eat just a piece of this *mikan*, (it) is good [i.e. sufficient] (for me).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. injahunɨkkwakacigadɨ |bonbon bakudan utusi|tattu.
inja+hunɨ-kkwa=kaci=gadɨ bon+bon bakudan utus-tar-tu
small+ship-DIM=ALL=LMT RED+bong bomb fall-PST-CSL
'(The American soldiers) dropped bombs even on the small ships.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. magakkwanu cˀjɨ,
maga-kkwa=nu k-tɨ
grandchild-DIM=NOM come-SEQ
'The grandchild came, and ...' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

e. |ittoki|kkwa umanan ucjutɨ,
ittoki-kkwa u-ma=nan uk-tur-tɨ
for.a.while-DIM MES-place=LOC1 put-PROG-SEQ
'Putting (the pickles) there for a while, ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

f. haruesanga wuinnja dusikkwa
harue-san=ga wur-i=n=ja dusi-kkwa
Harue-HON=NOM exist-INF=DAT1=TOP friend-DIM
jatanmun,
jar-tar-n=mun
COP-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'When Ms. Harue was here, (she and I) were friends, but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

g. usikkwa kawuroojaacjɨ j'icjɨ,
usi-kkwa kawur-oo=jaa=ccjɨ j'-tɨ
cow-DIM raise-INT=SOL=QT say-SEQ
'(The couple) said that, "Let's raise a cow," and ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

h. utakkwadu utajutattu, waakjaa anmaaja.
uta-kkwa=du utaw-jur-tar-tu waakja-a anmaa=ja
song-DIM=FOC sing-UMRK-PST-CSL 1PL-ADNZ mother=TOP
'My mother used to sing a song.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

i. [= (??)]
sijan huikkwa sjɨ,
sij-an hui-kkwa sɨr-tɨ
know-NEG pretend-DIM do-SEQ
'Pretending not to know (about the thrown snacks), ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

j. kaman minzjɨn njanban, nukkwan,[1]
kama=n ming-tɨ=n nj-an=ban nuu-kkwa=n
sickle=even grasp-SEQ=even EXP-NEG=ADVRS what-DIM=even
'(The person said that) despite never having grasped a sickle (or) anything, ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt] [2]A nominal root composed of only a syllable with a long vowel usually retains its vowel length before *-kkwa* (DIM), but *nuu* 'what' in this example became /nu/, which conformed to the phonological rule in §??.

In (??a-e), the nominal stems preceding *-kkwa* (DIM) indicate small (or short) things, e.g., *warabɨ* 'child' in (??a). In (??f-j), the nominal stems preceding *-kkwa* (DIM) do not necessarily indicate small (or short) things. The nominal stems in (??f-h) seem to indicate referents that are familiar to the speaker, e.g., *dusi* 'friend' in (??f). The *-kkwa* (DIM) in (??i-j) seem to express some insulting meaning towards the referents of the nominal stems, e.g., *sij-an hui* (know-NEG pretend) 'pretending not to know' in (??i).

Morphophonologically, *-kkwa* (DIM) needs the insertion of /u/ after a nominal stem that ends with //n//.

(27) Vowel insertion between //n// and *-kkwa* (DIM)
a. *mun* 'thing' + *-kkwa* (DIM) > /mu.nuk.kwa/
b. *ɨn* 'dog' > /ɨ.nuk.kwa/
c. *gazjan* 'mosquito' > /ga.zja.nuk.kwa/

The vowel insertion in (??a-c) conforms to the phonological rule in §?? Additionally, *-kkwa* (DIM) sometimes deletes a vowel in the same vowel sequence, e.g., *mizjuu* 'ditch' + *-kkwa* (DIM) > /mizjukkwa/, which conforms to the phonological rule in §?? However, if the nominal stem is composed of only a syllable with a long vowel, the vowel deletion is not likely to occur, e.g., *koo* 'river' + *-kkwa* (DIM) > /kookkwa/. There is an adverb that seems to include *-kkwa* (DIM), i.e. /joikkwa/ [joikkʷo] 'silently,' which is frequently pronounced as /joikwa/ [joik(ˀ)ʷo]. However, /joi/ cannot form a free form by itself, which means /k(k)wa/ in this adverb is not the diminutive affix in modern Yuwan.

Morphologically, *-kkwa* (DIM) can attach not only to common nouns as in (??a-h), but also to formal nouns as in (??i), interrogative nominals as in (??j), and demonstrative nominals as in (??a-b).

(28) *-kkwa* (DIM) attaching to demonstrative nominals

a. kuɨkkwakaci simɨtɨ, (e, e,) naracjui.
ku-rɨ-kkwa=kaci simɨr-tɨ naras-tur-i
PROX-NLZ-DIM=ALL do.CAUS-SEQ make.sound-PROG-NPST
'(I) made (him dub the song) to this [i.e. cassette tape], and am (always) making (it) sound [i.e. listening to it].' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. |oiwai|nu umakkwanan motodacunekocjɨbəi
oiwai=nu u-ma-kkwa=nan motoda+cuneko=ccjɨ=bəi
monetary.gift=GEN MES-place-DIM=LOC1 Motoda+Tsuneko=QT=only
kacjɨ,
ka-tɨ
write-SEQ
'Writing (my name) Tsuneko Motoda on that place on (the envelope to put in a) monetary gift, ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a-b), the demonstrative nominals indicate small things, i.e. *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this' indicates a cassette tape, and *u-ma* (MES-place) 'there' indicates the small part on the envelop.

It is probable that the diminutive affix *-kkwa* disscussed above is a cognate with the common noun *kˀwa* 'child,' since *kˀwa* 'child' is sometimes realized as /kkwa/ as in (??b).[3]

(29) *kˀwa* 'child'

[3] **Niinaga2010** argued that the nominal *kˀwa* 'child' is always realized with glottalization, i.e. [ʔ͡kʷo]. However, it is merely a tendency, since there is an example like /ujakkwa/ *uja+kˀwa* (parent+child) as in (??b).

a. kˀwamaganu aciɱatɨ,
kˀwa+maga=nu aciɱar-tɨ
child+grandchild=NOM gather-SEQ
'Children and grandchildren gather, and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. ujakkwa jappoojoo,
uja+kˀwa jar-boo=joo
parent+child COP-CND=CFM1
'If (we) are parent and child, ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. daibankˀwadoo.
daiban+kˀwa=doo
big+child=ASS
'(He is) a big child.' [El: 110327]

d. kun mjan kˀwakkwanu sjugɨsajaa.
ku-n mjaa=nu kˀwa-kkwa=nu sjugɨ-sa=jaa
PROX-ADNZ cat=GEN child-DIM=NOM small-ADJ=SOL
'This kitten [lit. cat's child] (is) small.' [El: 110327]

The above examples show that *kˀwa* 'child' is realized as /kˀwa/ with the exception of (**??**b). I propose that *kˀwa* 'child' is different from *-kkwa* (DIM) in the modern Yuwan. First, *kˀwa* 'child' does not induce the vowel insertion when it attaches to //n// as in (**??**c).[4] On the contrary, *-kkwa* (DIM) always induce the vowel insertion when it attaches to //n// as in (**??**a-c). Secondly, *-kkwa* (DIM) can co-occur with *kˀwa* 'child,' and each morpheme expresses a meaning different from each other as in (**??**d). Thus, I propose that the affix *-kkwa* (DIM) is different from (the compounding of) *kˀwa* 'child' in the modern Yuwan.

Before concluding this section, it should be mentioned that *-kkwa* (DIM) can follow two kinds of adjectival roots, i.e. *inja-* 'small' and *sjugɨ-* 'small' as in (**??**a-b).

(30) Adjectival roots + *kˀwa* 'child'

a. kan sjan injakkwa muccjutɨ,
ka-n sɨr-tar-n inja-kkwa mukk-tur-tɨ
PROX-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP small-DIM bring-PROG-SEQ
'(The person) was bringing a small thing like this, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

[4] *daiban* 'big' can form a compound with another nominal root, e.g., *daiban* 'big' + *kɨɨ* 'tree' > /daibangɨɨ/ 'big tree,' where "rendaku" (or sequential voicing) (see §**??**) also happens, i.e. //k// > /g/.

b. sjugɨkkwabəi. glt '(There are) only small things.' [El: 110327]
sjugɨ-kkwa=bəi
small-DIM=only

The above examples show that *-kkwa* (DIM) can also follow adjectival roots (not only nominal roots). Therefore, one may think that *-kkwa* (DIM) is a clitic (not an affix) according to the criteria in §**??** However, we do not accept this analysis, since there are only two adjectival roots that can precede *-kkwa* (DIM). It is probable that this irregularity can be explicable considering the diminutive affix's preference for small referents as its preceding stems as in (**??**a-e). Additionally, there is another environment where the adjectival root behaves like the nominal root. For example, the adjectival root and the nominal root can fill the preceding slot in compounds without any affix; on the contrary, the verbal root needs an infinitival affix, which makes the verbal stem like nominal, in order to fill the preceding slot in compounds (see §**??** for more details). Thus, I propose that *-kkwa* (DIM) is still an affix (not a clitic).

Furtheremore, there is a case where *-kkwa* (DIM) seems to follow an adjectival "word" (not an adjectival "root"), i.e. /injaasakkwa/ 'small.'

(31) nobujataa amakkwakaci injaasakkwa kan sj ..
nobuja-taa a-ma-kkwa=kaci injaasakkwa ka-n sɨr-tɨ
Nobuja-PL DIST-place-DIM=ALL small PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ
'(The ditch extends) small like this to that place (that belongs to) Nobuja and his friends ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

At first sight, one may think the word /injaasakkwa/ can be divided into *inja-sa-kkwa* (small-ADJ-DIM). However, we do not accept this analysis because of the two reasons. First, the word /injaasakkwa/ is always used adverbially as in REFex:7:30. Secondly, the vowel in its middle position is always long, i.e. /injaasa/ (not /injasa/). Thus, I will propose that /injaasakkwa/ is an adverb composed of only one root (at least) in the modern Yuwan.

A grammar of Yuwan

This grammar provides a synchronic grammatical description of Yuwan, a regional variety of Amami, a Northern Ryukyuan language in the Japonic language family. Yuwan is spoken by about a hundred people in a small community of Amami-Oshima island in Japan. The study is based on four hours of recordings of monologues and conversations among Yuwan speakers, complemented by targeted elicitation. The grammar is written in a typological framework. After a general introduction to the language, the grammar discusses the following topics: phonology, nominal phrases, verbal morphology, predicate phrases, particles, and subordinate clauses. Of special interest to linguists, typologists, and Ryukyuan specialists are the following in-depth analyses and descriptions: animacy hierarchy in NPs, singular use of plural markers, grammaticalization of a non-finite verb to a case particle, rich morphophonological alternations in verbs and some particles, finite use of subordinate clauses (so-called "insubordination"), and a restriction on the co-occurrence of some focus particles and verbal inflections (so-called "Kakari-musubi" in Japanese linguistics). This study provides a starting point of comparison for further studies on other Ryukyuan varieties.