A grammar of Yuwan

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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 *j˅*- ‘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 McGill (2009: 7–9, 43–52).

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 (cf. Lehman 2004: 11–12): (1) if we can abstract the polysemous meanings into one meaning, we use the abstract meaning as its gloss; (2) if we cannot do this, we gloss the relevant meaning in each example. In the second case, I sacrificed the consistency of the glossing and the form, because it is helpful for the reader to know the correspondence between the glossing and the free translation. Finally, in the free translation, '...' means there is a remaining portion of the sentence that has 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 (cf. Lehman 2004: 4–5).

(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, ɑ̟, 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 (Lass 1984: 46–49). Yuwan has /m/ and /n/, which are homorganic. For example, in /jum-an/ [ju.mɑɴ] (read- extscneg) 'do not read' and /jum-gadɨ/ (read -until) [juŋ.gɑ.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.gɑ.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 Nominal phrases

The nominal phrase (NP) has the following construction. The round brackets mean that the contents inside are optional, and the equal sign "=" indicates a clitic boundary.

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

An NP is made of a modifier slot and a head slot, to which a case particle may be attached to as an NP extender. I will call an NP that contains a case particle an "extended NP" following Shimoji (2008: 167). An NP can be followed by a sequence of two case particles. So far, the second case of the sequence is genitive or nominative (see §?? about genitive, and §?? about nominative), with the exception of infinitives followed by *n=kara* (DAT1=ABL) (see §??). An (extended) NP can function as an argument, predicate, or modifier of an NP. If an NP functions as a predicate, it does not take any case, although there are a few exceptions (see §??). In the following sections, we will consider Modifier (see §??), Head (see §??), and Case (see §??) respectively. In addition, the constituents that fill the slots in the NP in Yuwan are very sensitive to the animacy hierarchy, which will be addressed in §??

1.1 Modifier

The modifier slot of an NP is not obligatory, and it can be filled by an NP itself (i.e. genitive case), adnominal word, and adnominal clause. Let us see some examples in the following sections.

1.1.1 Modifier filled by an NP

If a nominal is to modify another nominal in an NP, first it fills the head slot of an NP taking a genitive case particle, and then it fills the modifier slot of the larger NP recursively.

(2) [Context: Talking about the days when US (the hearer) sold fish]

sima=nu *jˀu=nu* *naa.*
community=GEN fish=GEN name
'(I asked if you know) the name of the fish of (our) community.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

The above NP can be analyzed as follows.

(3) <{[$sima_{\text{Head}}$=nu_{Case}]$_{\text{NP: Modifier}}$ $jˀu_{\text{Head}}$=nu_{Case}}$_{\text{NP: Modifier}}$ naa_{Head}>$_{\text{NP}}$

If the NP modifier is address an noun (see §??) such as *anmaa* 'mother' or a nominal that contains *-taa* (PL) (see §??), it does not take the genitive case, and only juxtaposition shows the possessive meaning as in (??a-b).

(4) a. [Context: Remembering the day when a few students came to see TM's mother]
anmaa məəci kjuuta.
anmaa məə=kaci k-jur-tar
mother front=ALL come-UMRK-PST
'(They) used to come to (my) mother's place.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about US's grandchild, whom US had went to see]
uttaa məəci mata |oohuku| aicjɨ
u-rɨ-taa *məə=kaci* *mata* *oohuku* *aik-tɨ*
MES-NLZ-PL front=ALL again back.and.forth walk-SEQ
izjanwakejo.
ik-tar-n=wake=joo
go-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
'(I) went to their place [i.e. the family of US's grandchild] and came back again on foot.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: Asking a person to go to another place]
kˀwanu məəci cˀjɨ kurɨrancjɨ jˀicjattoojoo.
kˀwa=nu *məə=kaci* *k-tɨ* *kurɨr-an=ccjɨ* *jˀ-tar-too=joo*
child=GEN front=ALL come-SEQ BEN-NEG=QT say-PST-CND=CFM1
'I said (to him), "Would you please come to (my) son's place?"' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

A nominal that is not an address noun nor followed by *-taa* (PL) should take the genitive case to fill the modifier slot of an NP such as *kˀwa=nu* (child=GEN) in (??c). The constructions in (??a-b) are merely juxtaposition, and not compounding (see §?? for more details).

There are a few cases where a genitive case particle *nu* can follow another case particle. The sequences of case particles are underlined below.

(5) a. [Context: Hearing that US's son went somewhere]
amakacinu |sjokurjoo| muccjɨ ikidaroo.
a-ma=kaci=nu sjokurjoo mut-tɨ ik-i=daroo
DIST-place=ALL=GEN food have-SEQ go-INF=SUPP
'(He) would probably bring the food for that place.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking about a ditch there used to be]
huukubumizjuukaranu mɨzɨ natɨ,
huukubu+mizjuu=kara=nu mɨzɨ nar-tɨ
Hukubu+ditch=ABL=GEN water COP-SEQ
'(It) is a water from the ditch at Hukubu, so ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [Context: Seeing a photo taken in celebration of setting up the first outdoor lamps in the shopping street of the village]
un tukinnu juwəəja aran?
u-n tuki=n=nu juwəə=ja ar-an
MES-PTCP time=DAT1=GEN celebration=TOP COP-NEG
'Is (the photo about) the celebration at that time?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. kumannu tukinnja |kootookaninen|gadɨ
ku-ma=nan=nu tuki=n=ja kootooka+ni+nen=gadɨ
PROX-place=LOC1=GEN time=DAT1=TOP junior.high+two+year=LMT
jappa.
jar-ba
COP-CSL
'At the time when (we were) there [lit. at the time of at here], compulsory education was until the second grade of junior high school.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. |sugiuradenki|tu |sjuukaisjo|tunu əəda...
sugiura+denki=tu sjuukaisjo=tu=nu əəda
Sugiura+electricity=COM meeting.place=COM=GEN space
ganbəi acjutattu.
ga-n=bəi ak-tur-tar-tu
MES-ADVZ=only open-PROG-PST-CSL
'There was a space like that between the Sugiura electric appliance shop and the meeting place.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

nu (GEN) follows *kaci* (ALL) as in (??a), *kara* (ABL) as in (??b), *n* (DAT1) as in (??c)[1], *nan* (LOC1) as in (??d) (about the alternation from //nan// to /n/, see §??), and *tu* (COM) as in (??e).

1.1.2 Modifier filled by adnominal word or adnominal clause

The adnominal word fills only the modifier slot of an NP taking no genitive particle, and it obligatorily takes a specific inflectional affix, e.g. *-a* (ADNZ) and *-n* (ADNZ) (see Chapter ??).

(6) a. [Context: Taking about the present author]
waa məəci saki umoocjanwake.
waa-a *məə=kaci* *saki* *umoor-tar-n=wake*
1SG-ADNZ front=ALL first move/stay.HON-PST-PTCP=CFP
'(He) came to my place first.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking with MY]
ude, kun nɨkan kadɨn njɨ!
ude *ku-n* *nɨkan* *kam-tɨ=n* *nj-ɨ*
well PROX-ADNZ mikan eat-SEQ=ever EXP-IMP
'Well, try to eat this *mikan*!' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

/waa/ *waa-a* (1SG-ADNZ) 'my' in (??a) fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is *məə* 'front.' *ku-n* (PROX-ADNZ) 'this' in (??b) fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is *nɨkan* '*mikan*.'

Furthermore, a modifier slot of an NP can be filled by an adnominal clause, whose final constituent is a participle (see §??).

(7) [Context: Speaking of the time when US was selling fish]
simanantɨ tujun jˀudu
[*sima=nantɨ* *tur-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *jˀu=du*
community=LOC2 take-UMRK-PTCP fish=FOC
ujutarooga?
ur-jur-tar-oo=ga
sell-UMRK-PST-SUPP=FOC
'(You) used to sell fish which (people) caught in the community [i.e. not buying from outside the community]?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above example, *sima=nantɨ tur-jur-n* (community=LOC2 take-UMRK-PTCP) 'catching in the community' is an adnominal clause, which modifies its head *jˀu* 'fish'.

[1]When *nu* (GEN) follows *n* (DAT1), the head of an NP is always *tuki* 'time' in my texts.

1.2 Head

1.2.1 The structural property of head

The head slot of an NP is obligatory, and can be filled by a nominal.

(8) Head is filled by a nominal
[Context: Talking of kinds of snails]
ariga tanmjaa jappajaa.
a-ri=ga *tanmjaa* *jar-ba=jaa*
DIST-NLZ=NOM mud.snail COP-CSL=SOL
'That is a mud snail, you know.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (??), *tanmjaa* 'mud snail' fills the head slot of an NP, which is followed by a copula verb.

The head slot of an NP can be fiiled by the infinitive (see §??).

(9) Head is filled by an infinitive
[Context: Speaking with MY about the present author]
|benkjoo| sjun cˀjunkjaccjiboo, gan sji
benkjoo *sir-jur-n* *cˀju=nkja=ccjiboo* *ga-n* *sir-ti*
study do-UMRK-PTCP person=APPR=speaking.of MES-ADVZ do-SEQ
sjuti, |benkjoo| sii jappajaa.
sir-jur-ti *benkjoo* *sir-i* *jar-ba=jaa*
do-UMRK-SEQ study do-INF COP-CSL=SOL
'Speaking of a person who does studies, (he) does studying like that, you know.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (??), the infinitive /sii/ *sir-i* (do-INF) 'doing' fills the head slot of an NP, which is followed by a copula verb.

It should be noted that an NP can have recursive structure. A head nominal followed by a genitive particle can fill the modifier slot recursively as in (??), whose construction is as follows: "[Modifier Head]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ Head." In addition, a head modified by an adnominal clause can fill the head slot recursively, which is further modified by an adnominal as in (??b) in §??, whose construction is as follows: "Modifier [Modifier Head]$_{\text{Head}}$."

1.2.2 Bound head (formal nouns)

A head of an NP is usually a free form as in the previous section. There are, however, some morphemes that are bound, i.e. cannot start an utterance by

themselves, but can fill the head slot of an NP. Such morphemes are called "formal nouns" in this grammar associated with the same term used in the traditional Japanese linguistics. So far, I have found thirteen formal nouns in my texts: *sɨ* 'thing; person; fact', *kutu* 'event', *hudu* 'quantity', *bun* 'share', *tamәә* 'sake', *hazɨ* 'certainty', *nintәә* 'people', *nagatɨɨ* 'along', *hutәә/butәә/datәә* 'vicinity', *turoo* 'place', *mama* 'still', *tui* 'as,' and *hui* 'pretend.' They can be modified by at least one of adnominals, address nouns, or adnominal clauses.

1.2.2.1 *sɨ* 'thing; person; fact'

The formal noun *sɨ* behaves differently from other formal nouns. For example, the semantic content is so "light" that it can indicate almost all of the substances, i.e. humans, non-humans, or events. Furthermore, *sɨ* (FN) behaves like an affix when it follows the verbal stems, i.e., the verbal stem that precedes *sɨ* (FN) does not take the participial affix *-n* (PTCP). This phenomenon does not occur in the case of other formal nouns. I will present the details of *sɨ* (FN) in turn below.

Semantically, the formal noun *sɨ* can indicate either human or non-human referents. *sɨ* in (??a) indicates a person, but *sɨ* in (??b-c) indicates non-human referents.

(10) Human referent

a. [Context: Talking about how to cook in the old days]
nanzijucjɨnkjoo sjusәә waakjabәi arantakai?
nanziju=ccjɨ=nkja=ja sɨr-jur=sɨ=ja waakja=bәi ar-an-tar=kai
fireplace =QT=APPR=TOP do-UMRK=FN=TOP 1PL=only
'Perhaps, (it was) only us, who did (the cooking) at fireplaces, wasn't (it)?' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. Non-human referent
uraga j'usɨnan (hɨntooja sjun
ura=ga j'-jur=sɨ=nan hɨntoo=ja sɨr-jur-n
2.NHON.SG=NOM say-UMRK=FN=LOC1 reply=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP
..) hɨntooja sjussa.
hɨntoo=ja sɨr-jur-sa
reply=TOP do-UMRK-POL
'(I) will reply to what you say.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. [Context: Talking about the bulletins of Yuwan made by the speaker's son]

kurəə |mae|nusɨ zjajaa.
ku-rɨ=ja *mae=nu=sɨ* *zjar=jaa*
PROX-NLZ=TOP before=GEN=FN COP=SOL
'This is the thing (made) before.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Additionally, *sɨ* can indicate an event. In other words, it can function as a so-called "complementizer" (see also §??).

(11) a. [Context: Looking at a picture, where people older than TM got together.]
wakaran.... kan sjɨ juratasəə
wakar-an *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *juraw-tar=sɨ=ja*
understand-NEG PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ get.together-PST=FN=TOP
sijan.
sij-an
know-NEG
'(I) don't know.... (I) don't know that (they) got together like this.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: TM asked when US had come to her house.]
nanga kunəəda umoocjasəə kun
nan=ga *kunəəda* *umoor-tar=sɨ=ja* *ku-n*
2.HON.SG=NOM the.other.day come.HON-PST=FN=TOP PROX-ADNZ
cˀjunu cˀjəərai?
cˀju=nu *k-təəra=i*
person=NOM come-after=PLQ
'(Is it) after this person [i.e. the present author] came (to your house) that you [i.e. US] came (here) the other day?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a-b), *sɨ* indicates neither a human nor a non-human referent, but indicates an event as a whole.

Within a clause, an NP headed by *sɨ* can fill the argument slot as in (??b) or the nominal predicate slot as in (??c). Within an NP, *sɨ* cannot fill the head slot only by itself: */sɨnu ai/ *sɨ=nu ar-i* (FN=NOM exist-NPST) [Intended meaning] 'There is something.' In order to fill the head slot of an NP, *sɨ* has to be modified by adnominals, genitive NPs, or address nouns as in (??a-c). The modifiers and *sɨ* (FN) are underlined below.

(12) a. Modified by an adnominal word
[Context: Talking about laundry detergent]

uraasəə ooja iziran.jaa.
ura-a=sɨ=ja *oo=ja* *izir-an=jaa*
2.NHON.SG-ADNZ=FN=TOP bubble=TOP go.out-NEG=SOL
'Yours [i.e. your laundry detergent] does not make bubbles, does it?' [El: 120928]

b. Modified by a genitive NP
[Context: Talking about a photograph collection]
|taken|nusɨga mutu zja.
taken=nu=sɨ=ga *mutu* *zjar*
Taken=GEN=FN=NOM original COP
'The things from Taken [i.e. pictures gathered in Taken] are originals (of the collection).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. Modified by an address noun
anmaasəə dɨru?
anmaa=sɨ=ja *dɨ-ru*
mother=FN=TOP which-NLZ
'Which one (is) mother's?' [El: 140227]

There is a characteritic unique to the formal noun *sɨ*, which differentiates *sɨ* from other formal nouns. *sɨ* cannot be modified by an adnominal clause (with the exception of the case where *-an* (NEG) precedes *sɨ*). Rather, it behaves like a verbal affix directly following a bound verbal stem (cf. affix-like clitics in §??). Relevant examples were already shown in (6-10 a-b, 6-11 a-b). Thus, I will compare *sɨ* and another formal noun, e.g. *turoo* 'place,' in (??a-b).

(13) a. Head is *sɨ* (FN)
[Context: Talking about the present author]
an nɨsəə muccjɨ ikjusəə nun
a-n *nəɨsəə* *mut-tɨ* *ik-jur=sɨ=ja* *nuu=n*
DIST-ADNZ young.man have-SEQ go-UMRK=FN=TOP what=any
nənba, jakkəə.
nə-an-ba *jakkəə*
exist-NEG-CSL trouble
'There is not anything [i.e. any food] the young man can take (for meals), so it's a pity.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Head is *turoo* 'place'
[Context: Looking at a picture, where people gathered in front of a truck]

ikjun turookai?
ik-jur-n *turoo=kai*
go-UMRK-PTCP place=DUB
'Is (this) a scene where they go (somewhere)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

An adnominal clause should take a participle as its predicate in Yuwan (see §??). Thus, *turoo* 'place' in (??b) is modified by an adnominal clause whose predicate is a participle /ikjun/ *ik-jur-n* (go-UMRK-PTCP). However, in (??a), *sɨ* is not modified by an adnominal clause, but it follows directly a bound verbal stem /ikju/ *ik-jur* (go-UMRK), which does not take the participial affix *-n*. Therefore, in (??a), we may say that the formal noun *sɨ* has lost its ability to fill the head slot of an NP. Rather, it behaves as an affix, and the verbal form /ikjusɨ/ *ik-jur=sɨ* (go-UMRK=FN) as a whole has developed the ability to fill the head slot of an NP (see also §??). If *sɨ* is directly preceded by the negative participial affix *-an* (NEG), the preceding clause has the same form with the adnominal clause whose head is a common noun as in (??a-b).

(14) Directly preceded by *-an* (NEG)

a. Head is *sɨ* (FN)
kamansəə jiccjoo nən.
kam-an=sɨ=ja *jiccj-soo* *nə-an*
eat-NEG=FN=TOP good-ADJ STV-NEG
'The fact (you) do not eat (anything) is not good (for your health).' [El: 100222]

b. Head is *cˀju* 'person'
hanməəga kaman cˀju natɨ cˀjɨjoo.
hanməə=ga *kam-an* *cˀju* *nar-tɨ* *k-tɨ=joo*
meal=NOM eat-NEG person become-SEQ come-SEQ=CFM1
'(I)'ve become a person who cannot eat meal (very much).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??b), the predicate of the adnominal clause, i.e. *kam-an* (eat-NEG), precedes the common noun *cˀju* 'person.' Similarly, in (??a), *kam-an* (eat-NEG) does not undergo any reduction before *sɨ* (FN). In this case, we may say that the predicate *kam-an* (eat-NEG) in (??a) fills the predicate slot of the adnominal clause whose head is *sɨ* (FN).

1.2.2.2 *kutu* 'event'

I will present examples of *kutu* 'event.' In (??a), *kutu* 'event' is modified by a genitive NP *mukasi=nu* (past=GEN), and in (??b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /kadan/ *kam-tar-n* (eat-PST-PTCP).

(15) a. With a genitive NP [= (??a)]
tarun mukasinukutu siccjun cˀjoo
ta-ru=n mukasi=nu=kutu sij-tur-n cˀju=ja
who-NLZ=any past=GEN=event know-PROG-PTCP person=TOP
wuranbajaa.
wur-an-ba=jaa
exist-NEG-CSL=SOL
'There is not anyone who knows the events of the past.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
dookuniicikimunna urihudu cikijunban,
dookunii+cikimun=ja u-ri+hudu cikir-jur-n=ban
white.radish+pickles =TOP MES-NLZ+quantity
kadankutoo tˀin nən.
kam-tar-n=kutu=ja tˀii=n nə-an
pickle-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS eat-PST-PTCP=event=TOP one.CLF=even
'I pickle so many white radishes, but there is no time when I ate (them).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

1.2.2.3 *hudu* 'quantity'

I will present examples of *hudu* 'quantity.' *hudu* 'quantity' in (??) is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /tujun/ *tur-jur-n* (take-UMRK-PTCP).

(16) With an adnominal clause
[Context: Remembering a flood in the past]
naa, |ikkaime|nu mununkjoo sjasin
naa ikkai+me=nu mun=nkja=ja sjasin
FIL one.CLF+time=GEN thing=APPR=TOP picture
tujunhudugadəə arannən,
tur-jur-n=hudu=gadi=ja ar-annən
take-UMRK-PTCP=quantity=LMT=TOP COP-NEG.SEQ
'Well. The first one [i.e. flood] wasn't quite wothy of a photograph...' [Co:

120415_00.txt]

An example of compounding of *hudu* 'quantity' was also shown in (??b).

1.2.2.4 *bun* 'share'

I will present examples of *bun* 'share.' In (??a), *bun* 'share' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (??b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /kikjun/ *kik-jur-n* (hear-UMRK-PTCP).

(17) a. With an adnominal
[Context: Explaining that there are not so many plates in TM's house]
unbundu saran anmun.
u-n=bun=du *sara=n* *ar-n=mun*
MES-PTCP=share=FOC plate=also exist-PTCP=ADVRS
'There are so many plates as (there are).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
[Context: Talking about traditional songs; 'If (I) hear a music tape, ...'
samisjen kikjunbunsjɨ nuuutaccjəə sɨgu
samisjen kik-jur-n=bun=sjɨ *nuu+uta=ccjɨ=ja* *sɨgu*
samisen hear-UMRK-PTCP=share=INST what+song=QT=TOP soon
wakajuttoo.
wakar-jur=doo
understand-UMRK=ASS
'Soon (I) can understand what song (it is) only by hearing (the sound of) samisen.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

1.2.2.5 *taməə* 'sake'

I will present examples of *taməə* 'sake.' In (??a), *taməə* 'sake' is modified by an adnominal *urakja-a* (2.NHON.PL-ADNZ), and in (??b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /noosjun/ *noos-jur-n* (leave-UMRK-PTCP).

(18) a. With an adnominal
uraa baasanna jazin
ura-a *baasan=ja* *jazin*
2.NHON.SG-ADNZ grandmother=TOP necessarily
magankjanu urakjaataməəja |nacuwa|
maga=nkja=nu *urakja-a=taməə=ja* *nacu=wa*
grandchild=APPR=GEN 2.NHON.PL-ADNZ=sake=TOP summer=TOP

jazin kinukkwa jatattujaa.
jazin kin-kkwa jar-tar-tu=jaa
necessarily clothes-DIM COP-PST-CSL=SOL
'Your grandmother necessarily prepared clothes for (her) grandchild, (i.e.) you, in summer.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
[Context: Thanking MS for his kind cooperation to preserve the old tradition of Yuwan]
noosjuntaməə urakjaga |kjoorjoku| sjɨ
noos-jur-n=taməə urakja=ga kjoorjoku sɨr-tɨ
leave-UMRK-PTCP=sake 2.NHON.PL=NOM cooperation do-SEQ
kurɨjun mun natɨ,
kurɨr-jur-n mun nar-tɨ
BEN-UMRK-PTCP thing COP-SEQ
'To preserve (the old traditions) a person like you is so kind as to cooperate (with us), so ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

1.2.2.6 *hazɨ* 'certainty'

I will present examples of *hazɨ* 'certainty.' In (??a), *hazɨ* 'certainty' is modified by a genitive NP *u-ma=nu* (MES-place=GEN), and in (??b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /wun/ *wur-n* (exist-PTCP).

(19) a. With a genitive NP
[Context: Looking at a picture] umanuhazɨ zjaga.
u-ma=nu=hazɨ zjar=ga
MES-place=GEN=certatinty COP=CFM3
'(The place you are speaking of) must be there.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
[Context: Looking at a picture] josihironiitaa
josihiro+nii-taa
Yoshihiro+older.brother-PL
wunhazɨ zjassɨgajaa.
wur-n=hazɨ zjar-sɨga=jaa
exist-PTCP=certainty COP-POL=SOL
'Yoshihiro must be (there).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In both of the examples of (??a-b), the NPs headed by *hazɨ* 'certainty' fill the

predicate slots with the copular verb *zjar-*. In addition, the NP headed by *hazɨ* 'certainty' can fill the modifier slot of an NP as in (??).

(20) [Context: Talking about TM's son]
jˀaranhazɨnu mungadɨ jattɨ.
jˀ-ar-an=hazɨ=nu *mun=gadɨ* *jˀ-ar-tɨ*
say-PASS-NEG=certainty=GEN thing=LMT say-PASS-SEQ
'A thing that need not be said is said (about him).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above example, *hazɨ* 'certainty' is modified by an adnominal clause *jˀ-ar-an* (say-PASS-NEG) '(need) not be said,' and the NP headed by *hazɨ* 'certainty' recursively filled the modifier slot of an NP with genitive case, whose head is *mun* 'thing.'

1.2.2.7 *nintəə* 'people'

I will present examples of *nintəə* 'people.' In (??a), *nintəə* 'people' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (??b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /nacɨkasjan/ *nacɨkasj-sa+ar-n* (familiar-ADJ+STV-PTCP), and in (??c) it undergoes compounding with *juwan* 'Yuwan.'

(21) a. With an adnominal
[Context: TM said that she knew some old people went to see prefectural highway.]
un nintəənu hanacjattu.
u-n *nintəə=nu* *hanas-tar-tu*
MES-ADNZ people=NOM talk-PST-CSL
'They said (that they went there, so I know that).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
[Context: Looking at a picture]
minna nacɨkasjannintəəbəi.
minna *nacɨkasj-sa+ar-n=nintəə=bəi*
everybody familiar-ADJ+STV-PTCP=people=only
'(They are) all familiar people.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. Compounding
[Context: Looking at a picture where the women of Yuwan are dancing the traditional dance]

kurəə, juwannintəənu, dantɨkai?
ku-rɨ=ja *juwan+nintəə=nu* *daa=nantɨ=kai*
PROX-NLZ=TOP Yuwan+people=NOM where=LOC2=DUB
'(Where do) the people of Yuwan (dance?) Where is this?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

1.2.2.8 *nagatɨɨ* 'along'

I will present examples of *nagatɨɨ* 'along.' In (??a), *nagatɨɨ* 'along' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (??b) it goes through compounding with *koo* 'river'. So far, there is no example where *nagatɨɨ* 'along' is modified by an adnominal clause.

(22) a. With an adnominal
[Context: Talking about TM's house in the past]
jaaja unnagatɨɨ haija buubuu tubjakudɨ,
jaa=ja *u-n=nagatɨɨ* *hai=ja* *buu+buu* *tubjakum-tɨ*
house=TOP MES-ADNZ=along ash=TOP RED+floating scatter-SEQ
'(In my) house, around there, ashes scattered.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. Compounding
[Context: Remembering how to gather wood for business in the past]
jamanu kɨɨ urɨsjɨ koonagatɨɨ |hora| sɨccjɨ
jama=nu *kɨɨ* *u-rɨ=sjɨ* *koo+nagatɨɨ* *hora* *sɨkk-tɨ*
mountain=GEN tree MES-NLZ=INST river+along hey draw-SEQ
kjuuroogai?
k-jur-oo=ga=i
come-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'(Do you remember that people) harvest the trees on the mountain along the river by that (river boat)?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In addition, *nagatɨɨ* 'along' can be the head of a compound, and it means 'while.'

(23) hudəəsinagatɨɨ, nun kangəəgutoo
hudəəs-i+nagatɨɨ *nuu=n* *kangəər+kutu=ja*
bring.up-INF+along what=any think.INF+event=TOP
nən.jojaa.
nə-an=joo=jaa
exist-NEG=CFM1=SOL
'While (you) are bringing up (your child), there is nothing to think about

[i.e. you are in a trance].' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The compound *hudəəs-i+nagatɨɨ* (bring.up-INF+along) 'while (someone) is bringing up' is similar to the special-type compound in (??a) in §?? However, they are different from each other since the former heads an adverbial clause. Further research is required for this expression.

1.2.2.9 ***hutəə*/*butəə*/*datəə*** 'vicinity'

I will present the examples of *hutəə*, *butəə*, and *datəə*, meaning 'vicinity'. *hutəə* may be replaced by *butəə* freely. In (??a), *hutəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (??b) it goes through compounding with *kusi* 'Kushi.'

(24) a. With an adnominal
[Context: Talking about MY]
attaaja, un, unhutəənan
a-rɨ-taa=ja *u-n* *u-n=hutəə=nan*
DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP MES-ADNZ MES-ADNZ=vicinity=LOC1
wutancjɨjaa.
wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=jaa
exist-PST-PTCP=QT=SOL
'(I heard) that she and her family were around there.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Compounding
kusihutəənu c'ju zja.
kusi+hutəə=nu *c'ju* *zjar*
Kushi+vicinity=GEN person COP
'(The person in the picture) is a person from around Kushi.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

Similarly, *datəə* 'vicinity' can be modified by an adnominal or undergoes compounding. In (??a), *datəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (??b) it goes through compounding with *sutu* 'outside.'

(25) a. With an adnominal
undatəəja nuuga aru?
u-n=datəə=ja *nuu=ga* *ar-u*
MES-ADNZ=vicinity=TOP what=FOC exist-PFC
'What is around that place?' [El: 120919]

b. Compounding
kazɨ hikijassa atoo, gan sjɨ natɨ,
kazɨ hik-i+jass-sa *ar-too* *ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *nar-tɨ*
cold draw-INF+easy-ADJ STV-CSL MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-SEQ
sutudatəə aikjankarajaa
sutu+datəə *aik-an=kara=jaa*
outside+vicinity walk-NEG=after=SOL
'(I) am liable to catch a cold, so (I) do not walk around outside.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

So far, there is no example where *hutəə*/*butəə*/*datəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal clause.

1.2.2.10 *turoo* 'place'

I will present examples of *turoo* 'place.' In (??a), *turoo* 'place' is modified by an NP *sugoja-taa* (Sugoya-PL), which fills the modifier slot by juxtaposition, and in (??b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /asasan/ *asa-sa+ar-n* (shallow-ADJ+STV-PTCP).

(26) a. With an NP filling the modifier slot by juxtaposition
[Context: Remembering a scene around TM's house in the past]
sugojataaturoobəi jaanu atanwake.
sugoja-taa=turoo=bəi *jaa=nu* *ar-tar-n=wake*
Sugoya-PL=place=only house=NOM exist-PST-PTCP=CFP
'There was a house only at the Sugoya's place.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. With an adnominal clause
[Context: Talking about how to carry woods using ships along the river]
|sijo|nu asasanturoo jatɨn,
sijo=nu *asa-sa+ar-n=turoo* *jar-tɨ=n*
tide=NOM shallow-ADJ+STV-PTCP=place COP-SEQ=even
'Even if it was the place where the tide was shallow, ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

1.2.2.11 *mama* 'still'

I will present examples of *mama* 'still.' In (??a), *mama* 'still' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (??b) it goes through compounding with *zitensja* 'bicycle.'

(27) a. With an adnominal
[Context: Explaining how to make the pickles of white radish]
unnan unmama |bakecu|nan kan sjɨ
u-n=nan *u-n=mama* *bakecu=nan* *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ*
MES-ADNZ=LOC1 MES-ADNZ=still bucket=LOC1 PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ
tatɨtɨ ukuboo,
tatɨr-tɨ *uk-boo*
stand-SEQ put-CND
'If (you) stand (the white radishes with seasoning) there, in the bucket, as they are, ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Compounding
|zitensja|mama hankəətɨ,
zitensja+mama *hankəər-tɨ*
bicycle+still tumble-SEQ
'(The boy) tumbled while riding on the bicycle.' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

So far, there is no example in texts where *mama* 'still' is modified by an adnominal clause.

1.2.2.12 *tui* 'as'

I will present examples of *tui* 'as.' In (??), *tui* 'as' is modified by the adnominal clause whose head is the participle /jˀicjan/ *jˀ-tar-n* (say-PST-PTCP).

(28) With an adnominal clause
|zibunga| jˀicjantuidaroogaccjɨ un jingoo jˀicjɨ,
zibun=ga *jˀ-tar-n=tui=daroo=ccjɨ* *u-n* *jinga=ja* *jˀ-tɨ*
RFL=NOM say-PST-PTCP=as=SUPP=QT MES-ADNZ mam=TOP say-SEQ
'The man said that, "(It is) just as (I) myself said", and ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

So far, there is no example in texts where *tui* 'as' is modified by other than adnominal clauses.

1.2.2.13 *hui* 'pretend'

I will present examples of *hui* 'pretend.' In (??), *hui* 'pretend' is modified by the adnominal clause whose head is the participle *sij-an* (know-NEG).

(29) With an adnominal clause
sijanhuikkwa sjɨ,
sij-an=hui-kkwa sɨr-tɨ
know-NEG=pretend-DIM do-SEQ
'Pretending not to know (about the thrown snacks), ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

So far, there is no example in texts where *hui* 'pretend' is modified by other than adnominal clauses.

1.3 Case

Yuwan has fourteen case particles, which are clitics that follow an NP. They are classified into the argument case, which marks a dependent in a clause (nominative, accusative, dative 1, dative 2, allative, locative 1, locative 2, locative 3, instrumental, ablative, comitative, limitative, and comparative) and the genitive case, which marks a modifier in an NP. Yuwan has a nominative-accusative case marking system.

Table 1.1: . Case particles

Names	Forms	Prototypical functions
Nominative	*ga*/*nu*	S, A
Accusative	*ba*	P
Dative 1	*n*	beneficiary
Dative 2	*nkatɨ*	recipient of information
Allative	*kaci*	goal of locomotion
Locative 1	*nan*/*nən*	place of contact
Locative 2	*nantɨ*/*nəntɨ*	location
Locative 3	*zjɨ*	location distant from the speaker
Instrumental	*sjɨ*	instrument
Ablative	*kara*	source
Comitative	*tu*	participant of association
Limitative	*gadɨ*	limit
Comparative	*jukkuma* standard of comparison	
Genitive	*ga*/*nu*	NP modifier

I will discuss case particles in Yuwan in the following order. First, I will present the mophophonological alternation that are found in some case particles in §??

Some of the case particles undergo contraction with their preceding demonstrative nominals, i.e. *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ), *u-rɨ* (MES-NLZ), or *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ), which was already discussed in (??) and (??) in §?? Second, the morphosyntax and semantics of each case particle is shown in §?? Thirdly, case particles that have similar functions are compared with one another in §?? Finally, the grammaticalization found in a few case particles in Yuwan will be discussed in §??

1.3.1 Morphophonology of case particles

The following morphophonological alternations are found in the case particles in Yuwan

(30) Morphophonological alternations of case particles
   a. fusion: *kaci* (ALL) (see §??); *kara* (ABL) (see §??);
   b. epenthesis: *n* (DAT1) and *nan* (LOC1) (see §??);
   c. deletion: *nan* (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2) (see §??).

1.3.1.1 Fusion of *kaci* (ALL)

If the allative case *kaci* follows vowels, the following fusion frequently occurs. Please note that the fusion of //ci, si, zi// and *kaci* requires a little attention because it forms not /Cəəci/ but /Cjəəci/.

(31) a. High front vowel
   // C i // + *kaci* (ALL) > /Cjəəci/
   [C is //c, s, z//]
   // C i // > /Cəəci/
   [C is not //c, s, z//]
   b. High mid vowel[2]
   // C ɨ // > /Cəəci/
   c. High back vowel
   // C u // > /Cooci/
   d. Other short vowels
   // C V_i // > /C$V_i$$V_i$ ci/

[2] If the consonant before a mid-vowel is bilabial or velar, the fused form /əəci/ often sounds like [ɜːt͡ɕi] and [ɨːt͡ɕi], and the latter may be interpreted as /ɨici/. Audio-instrumental research is needed on this point in the future.

e. Long vowels and diphthongs
// V V // > /VVci/

f. Elsewhere
// C // > /Ckaci/

The fusion of //i, ɨ, u// and *kaci* (ALL) changes the original vowel positions, but the other short vowels retain their original positions. I will show examples below.

(32) a. High front vowel
kuci 'mouth' + *kaci* (ALL) > /kucjəəci/ (*/kucəəci/)
kusi '(name of place)' > /kusjəəci/ (*/kusəəci/)
tuzi 'wife' > /tuzjəəci/ (*/tuzəəci/)
kˀubi 'neck' > /kˀubəəci/

b. High mid vowel
umutɨ 'front' + *kaci* (ALL) > /umutəəci/

c. High back vowel
haku 'box' + *kaci* (ALL) > /hakooci/

d. Other short vowels
jama 'mountain' + *kaci* (ALL) > /jamaaci/
kumamoto '(place name)' > /kumamotooci/

e. Long vowels or diphthongs
naa 'inside' + *kaci* (ALL) > /naaci/
hizjai 'left' > /hizjaici/

f. Elsewhere
mun 'thing' + *kaci* (ALL) > /munkaci/

1.3.1.2 Fusion of *kara* (ABL)

The process of fusion in the ablative case *kara* is the same as that of the allative case *kaci* (see §??). The only difference between them is the phonemes in their final syllables, i.e., the former is /ra/ and the latter is /ci/.

(33) a. High front vowel
// C i // + *kara* (ABL) > /Cjəəra/
[C is //c, s, z//]
// C i // > /Cəəra/
[C is not //c, s, z//]

b. High mid vowel[3]
// C ɨ // > /Cəəra/

c. High back vowel
// C u // > /Coora/

d. Other short vowels
// C V_i // > /C$V_i$$V_i$ ra/

e. Long vowels and diphthongs
// V V // > /VVra/

f. Elsewhere
// C // > /Ckara/

The fusion of //i, ɨ, u// and *kara* (ABL) changes the original vowel positions, but the other short vowels retain their original positions. I will show examples below.

(34) a. High front vowel
kuci 'mouth' + *kara* (ABL) > /kucjəəra/ (*/kucəəra/)
kusi '(name of place)' > /kusjəəra/ (*/kusəəra/)
tuzi 'wife' > /tuzjəəra/ (*/tuzəəra/)
kʾubi 'neck' > /kʾubəəra/

b. High mid vowel
umutɨ 'front' + *kara* (ABL) > /umutəəra/

c. High back vowel
atu 'later' + *kara* (ABL) > /atoora/

d. Other short vowels
jama 'mountain' + *kara* (ABL) > /jamaara/
kumamoto '(place name)' > /kumamotoora/

e. Long vowels or diphthongs
naa 'inside' + *kara* (ABL) > /naara/
hizjai 'left' > /hizjaira/

f. Elsewhere
unin 'that time' + *kara* (ABL) > /uninkara/

[3]If the consonant before a mid-vowel is bilabial or velar, the fused form /əəra/ often sounds like both [ɜːra] and [ɨːra], and the latter may be interpreted as /ɨɨra/. Audio-instrumental research is needed on this point in the future.

1.3.1.3 Epenthesis of dative case 1 *n* and locative case *nan* (LOC1)

A syllable must have a nucleus filled by a vowel (see §??). Thus, if the dative case *n* or locative case *nan* (LOC1) happens to precede a syllable filled by a single consonant at a morpheme boundary, an epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted as a nucleus.

(35) Ø > /i/ / *n* (DAT1) _ //n#//
nan (LOC1)

a. Dative
jinga 'man' + *n* (DAT1) + *n* 'also'
> /jinga. ni n/

b. Locative 1

i. *kun* (PROX.ADNZ) + *nan* (LOC1) + *n* 'also'
> /kun na.ni n/

ii. *kun* (PROX.ADNZ) + *nən* (LOC1) + *n* 'also'
> /kun nə.ni n/

In cases where *n* (DAT1) follows a syllable-final //n// (instead of preceding //n// such as (??a)), an epenthetic vowel /u/ is inserted between them by the application of a phonological rule disucussed in §??, e.g. *bun* 'the Bon festival' + *n* (DAT1) > /bu.nun/. This raises the question of what happens in cases where *n* (DAT1) is surrounded by //n//s. In those cases, as mentioned before (at the beginning of §??), the morphophonemic rule (??) applies first, and that is sufficient in order to adjust the syllable structure.

(36) *wan* (1SG) + *n* (DAT1) + *n* 'also'
> /wan. ni n/
*/wa.nu. ni n/

1.3.1.4 Deletion in locative cases *nan* (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2)

The locative cases *nan* (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2) may become /n/ and /ntɨ/ respectively, i.e., //na// in their initial positoin may be deleted, when they follow a vowel.

(37) *nan* (LOC1) >
/n/ / //V// _
nantɨ (LOC2) > /ntɨ/

(38) a. Locative 1
kuma 'here' + *nan* (LOC1) + *nu* (GEN)
> /kuma n nu/

b. Locative 2
sja 'lower side' + nant*ɨ* (LOC2)
> /sja nt*ɨ*/

Additionally, if the locative case *nan* (LOC1) follows a vowel and also precedes a syllable filled by a single consonant, it becomes /ni/. In other words, //na// is deleted with *i*-insertion (see §??).

(39) *nan* (LOC1) > /ni/ / //V// _ //C#//

(40) Input form *ui* 'upper side' + *nan* (LOC1) + *n* 'also'
//na// deletion: ui n n
/i/ insertion: ui ni n
Output form /ui. ni n/

When it is not followed by a syllable filled by a single consonant, it is preferred to avoid the deletion of //na//. That is, *kuma* (PROX.place) + *nan* (LOC1) > /kuma=nan/ is prefferred. In fact, /kuma=n/ is judged as possible when I asked my consultants whether it can be used, but it is rarely uttered not only in the discourse, but also in elicitation. For this reason, the /ni/ is not regarded as the dative case *n*, but is regarded as the deleted (and *i*-inserted) form of *nan* (LOC1). Moreover, interpreting this /n/ as the deleted form of *nan* (LOC1) makes it easy to see the correspondence between *nan* (LOC1) and *nant*ɨ (LOC2).

1.3.2 Syntax and semantics of case particles

The fourteen case particles, i.e. the argument cases (nominative, accusative, dative 1, dative 2, allative, locative 1, locative 2, locative 3, instrumental, ablative, comitative, limitative, and comparative,) and the genitive case, are discussed in the following subsections in turn.

1.3.2.1 Nominative case *ga*/*nu*

The nominative case has two morphemes *ga* and *nu*, and they are chosen depending on the lexical meanings (or the animacy hierarchy) of their head nominals (see also §?? and §?? for more details). The nominative case is used in the following environments.

(41) Nominative case is used to mark,

a. Subject of predicates;
b. Object of transitive verb that expresses incapability;
c. Predicate NP of the subordinate clause in negative;
d. Lexical verb in the AVC that expresses incapability or includes /nə-n/ (RSL-NEG);
e. Infinitives in the complement slot of LVC that expresses incapability;
f. Object of *wakar-* 'understand.'

I will present examples of (??a-f) in turn below.
With regard to (??a), the nominative case is used to mark the subject of intransitive verb, transitive verb, or copula verb.

a. i. Subject of verbal predicates (intransitive verb)
[Context: Remembering TM's mother who knew traditional things very much]
anmataaga wuppoojaa.
anmaa-taa=ga wur-boo=jaa
mother-PL=NOM exist-CND=SOL
'If (my) mother were here, (it would be good).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. Subject of verbal predicates (transitive verb)
[Context: Rembering a scene from the Pear Film]
uziiga mutɨ, un kˀwanu muccjɨ izjɨ,
uzii=ga mur-tɨ u-n kˀwa=nu mut-tɨ ik-tɨ
old.man=NOM pick.up-SEQ MES-ADNZ child=NOM have-SEQ go-SEQ
'The old man picked up (the pears), and the child brought (them), and ...' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

iii. Subject of adjectival predicates
nama haanu awusan ucin,
nama haa=nu awu-sa+ar-n uci=n
still leaf=NOM green-ADJ+STV-PTCP during=DAT1
'While the leaves were still green, ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

iv. Subject of nominal predicates
[Context: Looking at a picture]
kumaga hasi jappa.
ku-ma=ga hasi jar-ba
PROX-place=NOM bridge COP-CSL
'Since here is a bridge.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (??a), /anmataa/ *anmaa-taa* (mother-PL) is the subject of the verbal predicate (whose head is the intransitive verb *wur-* 'exist'), and it takes the nominative case particle *ga*. In (??b), *uzii* 'old man' is also the subject of the verbal predicate (whose head is the transitive verb *mur-* 'pick up'), and it takes the nominative case particle *ga*. Similarly, *u-n kˀwa* (MES-ADNZ child) 'that child' is the subject of the verbal predicate (whose head is the transitive verb *mut-* 'have'), and it takes the nominative case particle *nu*. In (??c), *haa* 'leaf' is the subject of the adjectival predicate (whose head is *awu-sa* (blue-ADJ) 'blue'), and it takes the nominative case particle *nu*. In (??d), *ku-ma* (PROX-place) 'here' is the subject of the nominal predicate, and it takes the nominative case particle *ga*. It should be noted that there are some situations where the nominative case does not appear. For example, the subject of an imperative sentence usually does not appear, but sometimes it can appear. In that case, the subject does not take the nominative case.

a. Subjects of imperative

   i. [Context: TM tried to make MY pronounce the word for 'knee' in Yuwan.]
   ura jˀicjɨn njɨ!
   ura *jˀ-tɨ=n* *nj-ɨ*
   2.NHON.SG say-SEQ=also EXP-IMP
   'You try to say (it)!' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

   ii. [Context: TM asked MS to make the topic of their conversation for recording.]
   ura |wadai| cɨkɨtɨ kurɨppa.
   ura *wadai* *cɨkɨr-tɨ* *kurɨr-ba*
   2.NHON.SG topic make-SEQ BEN-CSL
   'Would you please make the topic (of our conversation)?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The subjects of the above examples, i.e. *ura* 'you', do not take any case in imperative sentences. Moreover, if the NP is followed by *ja* (TOP), *du* (FOC), *ga* (FOC), and *n* 'also; even; any', the nominative case cannot occur (see §??).

With regard to (??b), there are examples, where the nominative case does not mark the subject of the clause, but mark the object. In such a case, the clause expresses "incapability," and it should use *ga* (not *nu*) with a verb containing *-an* (NEG) (see §?? for more details).

a. Objects of the transitive verbs

i. Object taking *ga* (NOM)
wanna, joo, anmai hanməəja, hanməəga kaman cʾju
wan=ja joo anmai hanməə=ja hanməə=ga kam-an cʾju
1SG=TOP FIL so.much meal=TOP meal=NOM eat-NEG person
natɨ cʾjɨjoo.
nar-tɨ k-tɨ=joo
become-SEQ come-SEQ=CFM1
'I, (about) the meal, came to be a (kind of) person who cannot eat the meal so much.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

ii. Object taking *ba* (ACC)
hanməəba kamanboojaa
hanməə=ba kam-an-boo=jaa
meal=ACC eat-NEG-CND=SOL
'(We) have to eat the meal.' [Co: 101020_01.txt]

In (??b), the verb is *kam-* 'eat' and its object, i.e. *hanməə* 'meal', is followed by the accusative case *ba*, which is a regular case marking for the object (see §??). In (??a), however, the object of the same verb takes *ga* (NOM), with a meaning of incapability. Other examples are also shown below.

a. Objects of the transitive verbs

i. |wadai|ga sɨranba.
wadai=ga sɨr-an-ba
topic=NOM do-NEG-CSL
'(I) cannot initiate a topic, so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

ii. hanasimiciga sijanbajaa.
hanas-i+mici=ga sij-an-ba=jaa
talk-INF+way=NOM know-NEG-CSL=SOL
'(I) don't know the way to talk (well), so (I cannot communicate well with the present author).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The clauses in (??) and (??) express incapability in spite of there being no morphemes to express capability such as *-ar* (CAP) or *kij-* (CAP).
With regard to (??c), an NP in the predicate phrase [i.e. the nominal predicate] usually does not take any case particle, but if it is in negative and also in the adverbial (or adnominal) clause, it takes one of the nominative case particles (see §??).

a. [= (??b)]
uraga tumainu aran
ura=ga *tumai=nu* *ar-an*
2.NHON.SG=NOM night.duty=NOM COP-NEG
Subject [NP Copula
tukin,
tuki=n
time=DAT1
verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
'When you are not on night duty, ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

The above example shows that not only the subject, i.e. *ura=ga* (2.NHON.SG=NOM), but also the NP in the predicate, i.e. *tumai=nu* (night.duty=NOM), take the nominative case.
With regard to (??d), the nominative case can be used to mark the lexical verbs in the auxiliary verb construction (AVC) that express incapability or includes /nə-n/ *nə-an* (RSL-NEG).

a. Lexical verbs in AVC expressing incapability
   i. kumɨnkjanu nənboo, kadɨga ikjankara,
   kumɨ=nkja=nu *nə-an-boo* *kam-tɨ=ga* *ik-an=kara*
   rice=APPR=NOM exist-NEG-CND eat-SEQ=NOM go-NEG=CSL
   'If there is no food such as rice, (we) cannot live, so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
   Lexical verbs in AVC whose auxiliary verb is /nə-n/ *nə-an* (RSL-NEG)
   ii. [Context: Wondering whther the owner of the electric shop is there; MY: '(He) may be there.']
   naa, unmama hanməə kamgjaa izjɨnu FIL nənboo. ikjasjɨgajaaroo.
   naa *u-n=mama* *hanməə kam-Ø+gjaa ik-tɨ=nu*
   MES-ADNZ=still meal eat-INF+PURP go-SEQ=NOM exist-NEG-CND how-ADVZ=DUB
   'If (he) has not gone to eat the meal yet (and if he is not still out) that, (he may be there). (But actually I) wonder if (he is).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]
   iii. [Context: Talking about the beam in the ceiling; '(The beam) of your house is very white.'; MS: 'Yeah, (it) is not as black as yours.'; TM: '(Yours) is not black, I suppose. ...']

məəcjɨga nənba.
məəs-tɨ=ga *nə-an-ba*
fire-SEQ=NOM exist-NEG-CSL
'(Your family) has not burned (wood as we did in my place, where the kitchen was very close by), so (yours is white).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (??a), the lexical verb in the AVC, i.e. /kadɨ/ *kam-tɨ* (eat-SEQ), takes *ga* (NOM). The predicate means incapability, although there is no verbal morpheme to express capability such as *kij-* (CAP) or *ar-* (CAP), which is similar to the cases in (??) and (??). In (??b-c), the lexical verbs in the AVCS, i.e. /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) and /məəcjɨ/ *məəs-tɨ* (fire-SEQ), take *nu* (NOM) or *ga* (NOM) (see also §??).
With regard to (??e), the nominative case can be used to mark the infinitives in the complement slot of LVC that expresses incapability.

a. Infinitive in the complement slot of LVC
aikiga siikijanba.
aik-i=ga *sɨr-i+kij-an-ba*
walk-INF=NOM do-INF+CAP-NEG-CSL
Complement LV
'(I) cannot walk [lit. do walking], so (I cannot bring the pickles from my house).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??), the infinitive in the complement slot of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do,' i.e. *aik-i* (walk-INF), takes *ga* (NOM) (see also §??).
With regard to (??f), the nominative case can be used to mark the object of *wakar-* 'understand; know.'

a. To mark the object of *wakar-* 'understand.'
   i. un |zjookjoo|nu wakajui?
   u-n *zjookjoo=nu* *wakar-jur-i*
   MES-ADNZ situation=NOM understand-UMRK-NPST
   'Do (you) understand the situation (that I told)?' [PF: 090827_02.txt]
   ii. jakɨtəəranu atuga wakaran.
   jakɨr-təəra=nu *atu=ga* *wakar-an*
   burn-after=GEN after=NOM know-NEG
   '(I) don't know (what happened) after (the houses) burnt.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Before concluding this section, I will present the examples where the nominative can follow another case particle as in (??a-b).

a. Nominative following another case

   i. kumakaciga asikenkai?
   ku-ma=kaci=ga *asiken=kai*
   PROX-place=ALL=NOM Ashiken=DUB
   '(The area) from here is Ashiken?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

   ii. kun cʾjutu kun cʾjutuga
   ku-n *cʾju=tu* *ku-n* *cʾju=tu=ga*
   PROX-ADNZ person=COM PROX-ADNZ person=COM=NOM
   dɨkɨmun.jo.
   dɨkɨmun=joo
   genius=CFM1
   'This person and this person are genius.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

The above examples show that the nominative case can follow another case particle when they are the subjects of the nominal predicates.

1.3.2.2 Accusative case *ba*

The accusative case *ba* is normally used to mark the object of transitive verbs. In (??a), *ura* 'you' is an animate pronoun and the object of a transitive verb *abɨr-* 'call.' In (??b), *nasi* 'pear' is an inanimate common noun and also the object of a transitive verb *mur-* 'pick up.'

a. i. Object of transitive verb (animate pronoun)
   mattaku wakaranba, uraba abɨranboo.
   mattaku wakar-an-ba *ura=ba* *abɨr-an-boo*
   at.all understand-NEG-CSL 2.NHON.SG=ACC call-NEG-CND
   'I called you because if (I) don't call you, (I) won't understand (what I should do) at all.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

   ii. Object of transitive verb (inanimate common noun) [= (??a)]
   nasiba tʾiɨ tʾiɨ mutunwakejo.
   nasi=ba *tʾiɨ* *tʾiɨ* *mur-tur-n=wake=joo*
   pear=ACC one.CLF one.CLF pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
   '(The old man) is picking up pears one by one.' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

Both object NPs in (??a-b) take the accusative case particle *ba*. Additionally, the accusative case *ba* can be omitted as follows.

a. Patient of transitive verb (inanimate common noun)
uziiga daibangɨinantɨ nasi mutunwake.
uzii=ga daiban+kɨi=nantɨ nasi mur-tur-n=wake
old.man=NOM big+tree=LOC2 pear pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP
'An old man is picking pears off on a big tree.' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

In both (??b) and (??), the NP *nasi* 'pear' is the object argument of the verb *mur-* 'pick up.' On the one hand, the former takes *ba* (ACC); on the other hand, the latter does not take any case. So far, such an omission of *ba* (ACC) has rarely been found when the object is a personal pronoun, a human demonstrative, or an address noun (except for the causative construction discussed in (123b) in §??). (The example of commoun noun, however, was found in (26) in §??, which is taken from the elicitation.) In fact, these lexical groups appeared so many times in the text, but there are only a few instances where they are used as objects. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether it is impossible that *ba* (ACC) is really unable to be omitted after these lexical groups. Mitsukaido, which is a dialect of Japanese, has two accusative forms, one of which has a phonetic form, i.e. *godo*, but the other does not (zero form), and the choice of them depends on the animacy of their head NP (Sasaki: 2004: 129). In Yuwan, the choice of *ba* (ACC) is not restricted by the animacy of its head NP, but there is a possibility that the omissibility of the accusative case is influenced by the animacy of the head of an NP. The omissionability of accusative case particle after an inanimate referent NP seems to have a relation with one of the components of transitivity "INDIVIDUATION OF O" in Hopper and **Thompson1980**.
It should be noted that the accusative case *ba* can be used to mark the goal of (deictic) locomotion verbs.

a. Goal of a deictic locomotion verb
i. [Context: Speaking about an aquaintance] = (??c)
nasjeba izjɨ cˀjəəroo, akka tamәə naa
nasje=ba ik-tɨ k-təəra=ja a-rɨ=ga taməə naa
Naze=ACC go-SEQ come-after=TOP DIST-NLZ=GEN sake already
issai warusoo jantatto.
issai waru-soo jˀ-an-tar-too
all bad-ADJ say-NEG-PST-CSL
'After going to and returning from Naze, (she) did not say anything bad about him.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

ii. jama izjɨ,
jama ik-tɨ
mountain go-SEQ
'(The people) go to the mountain (to get wood to make a coffin), and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (??a), the locomotion verb *ik-* 'go' takes *ba* (ACC) to mark the goal NP, i.e. *nasje* 'Naze.' In (??b), the goal NP is not marked by any case particle. In fact, both of the accusative case *ba* (ACC) and the allative case *kaci* (ALL) can mark the goal of locomotion verbs (see §??). Thus, it is difficult to determine the omitted case particle in (??b). The verbs that can take *ba* (ACC) for the goal of locomotion are all deictic locomotion verbs, i.e. *ik-* 'go,' *k-* 'come,' and *umoor-* 'go; come (honorific).'
Before conclusion, it should be noted that the accusative particle *ba* is different from the topic particle *ja*. Therefore, they can make a sequence as in (??) in §??

1.3.2.3 Dative case 1 *n*

The dative case 1 *n* has a wide range of use: beneficiary, causee, agent of passive construction, agent of verbs to express capability, and time. It is also used to mark the benefactor (in a broad sense), whose examples will be shown (??b) in §??

a. i. Beneficiary
nuu jatɨn sɨgu cˀjun *kurɨcjasa sii*
nuu jar-tɨ=n sɨgu cˀju=n kurɨr-cja-sa sɨr-i
what COP-SEQ=even soon person=DAT1 give-want-ADJ do-INF
natɨjo.
nar-tɨ=joo
become-SEQ=CFM1
'Whatever it is, (I) feel like wanting to give (it) to a person without hesitation.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

ii. Causee
arɨn karasoojəə.
a-rɨ=n kar-as-oo=jəə
DIST-NLZ=DAT1 borrow-CAUS-INT=CFM2
'(I) will make that person borrow (it).' [El: 120921]

iii. Agent of passive construction

[Context: An old man found gold under the ground, but he did not bring it home, so his wife was surprised to hear that.]
gan jiccjan mun həəku tutɨ
ga-n jiccj-sa+ar-n mun həə-ku tur-tɨ
MES-ADVZ good-ADF+STV-PTCP thing early-ADVZ take-SEQ
konboo, cˀjun tɨmɨrarɨɨdoocjɨ
k-on-boo cˀju=n tɨmɨr-arɨr-Ø=doo
come-NEG-CND person=DAT1 find-PASS-INF=ASS
jˀicjanmun,
jˀ-tar-n=mun
say-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'(The wife) said that, "If (you) don't bring such a good thing, (it) will be found by another person," but ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

iv. Agent of verbs to express capability
wannin kakarɨssa.
wan=n=n kak-arɨr-sa
1SG=DAT1=also write-CAP-POL
'I also can write (it).' [El: 121001]

v. Time
ɨcɨnkuin attu hanasjun
ɨcɨɨ=n=kui=n a-rɨ=tu hanas-jur-n
when=any=INDF=any DIST-NLZ=COM talk-UMRK-PTCP
tukinnja,
tuki=n=ja
time=DAT1=TOP
'Whenever (I) talk with him, ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (??a), *cˀju* 'person' is the beneficiary of the verb *kurɨr-* 'give' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (??b), *a-rɨ* 'that person' is the causee of the verb *kar-as-* (borrow-CAUS) 'make (someone) borrow' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (??c), *cˀju* 'person' is the agent of the passive construction whose predicate includes the passive affix *-arɨr* and it takes *n* (DAT1). In (??d), *wan* (1SG) is the agent of the verb *kak-arɨr-* (write-CAP) 'can write' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (??e), *tuki* 'time' takes *n* (DAT1).
The dative 1 *n* can follow the verbal infinitives. This combination expresses the time of the event.

a. amanan wuinkara, naa naikwa kawatɨ,
a-ma=nan wur-i=n=kara naa naikwa kawar-tɨ
DIST-place=LOC1 exist-INF=DAT1=ABL already a.little strange-SEQ
'(The person) was already strange since (the person) was there, and ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above example, *n* (DAT1) follows the infinitve of the *wur-* 'exist', i.e. /wui/ *wur-i* (exist-INF), and is followed by *kara* (ABL) meaing 'from the time ...'. Such a phenomenon, i.e. the combination of an infinitive plus *n* (DAT1) meaing the time of the event, is said to be common in Ryukyuan languages (Prof. Shigehisa Karimata, 2013 p.c.). There are no examples in my texts where *n* (DAT1) is followed by *kara* (ABL) if the preceding word is a nominal, e.g. **tuki=n=kara* (time=DAT1=ABL). Thus, it seems that the *n* following a nominal would be different from *n* following a verb. However, I will regard them as the same morpheme *n* (DAT1) because of the following reasons: (a) both kinds of *n* behave in the same way on morphophonological alternation; (b) *n* (DAT1) following a nominal can also mean the time of the event.

a. i. Following a nominal
k'uusjuunnja wurantancjɨ?
k'uusjuu=n=ja wur-an-tar-n=ccjɨ
air.raid=DAT1=TOP exist-NEG-PST-PTCP=QT
'(Did you said) that (MY) was not living here at the time of the air raid (in the World War II)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. Following a verb
usato|obasan|ga wuinnja muru jiccja
usato+obasan=ga wur-i=n=ja muru jiccj-sa
Usato+aunt=NOM exist-INF=DAT1=TOP very good-ADJ
atanmuncjɨjo.
ar-tar-n=mun=ccjɨ=joo
STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=QT=CFM1
'The time when Usato lived (here) was very good.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a-b), both instances of *ja* (TOP), which follow *n* (DAT1), become /nja/. Furthermore, in (??a), the nominal *k'uusjuu* 'air raid' followed by *n* (DAT1) does not mean 'air raid' itself but means 'the time of air raid,' which is similar to the use of *n* (DAT1) that follows the verb /wuin/ *wur-i=n* (exist-INF=DAT1) meaning 'the time when (someone) exists.'

1.3.2.4 Dative case 2 *nkatɨ*

The dative case 2 *nkatɨ* is used to mark the recipient of information.

a. Recipient of information
[Context: TM advised her son about how to treat a certain aquaintance of them]
wanna mata sɨgu arɨnkatɨ j'icjancjɨjo.
wan=ja mata sɨgu a-rɨ=nkatɨ j'-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo
1SG=TOP again soon DIST-NLZ=DAT2 say-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'I said (it) to that person [i.e. my son] without hesitation.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) 'that person' is the addressee of the verb *j'-* 'say' and takes *nkatɨ* (DAT2). *nkatɨ* (DAT2) can co-occur with *j'-* 'say,' *hanas-* 'talk,' and *jusɨr-* 'teach.' The origin of *nkatɨ* (DAT2) is not clear so far. Although we cannot say the correct candidate for its origin, we can say a wrong candidate. The initial phoneme /n/ of *nkatɨ* (DAT2) is not made of the contraction of the genitive particle *nu* (see (??) in §?? for the contraction of the genitive *nu*), because the demonstrative nominal does not take the genitive particle *nu* if it indicates human (see Table ?? in §?? and (??) in §??). In (??), the demonstrative /arɨ/ *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) clearly indicates a human referent, so it cannot take *nu* (GEN). That is, the /n/ of *nkatɨ* (DAT2) is not made of *nu* (GEN), at least considering the modern synchronic data.

1.3.2.5 Allative case *kaci*

The allative case *kaci* is used to mark the goal of locomotion.

a. i. Goal of locomotion (*nagɨr-* 'throw')
[Context: A man got angry thinking that he had been cheated by the old couple.]
janməəkaci nagɨtɨ, un jingoo
janməə=kaci nagɨr-tɨ u-n jinga=ja
garden=ALL throw-SEQ MES-ADNZ man=TOP
hingitancjɨ.
hingir-tar-n=ccjɨ
run.away-PST-PTCP=QT
'(It was said) that the man threw (mud) in their garden and ran away.' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

ii. Goal of deictic locomotion (*ik-* 'go')
[Context: Looking at a picture, TM was guessing where the scene was.]
in, in. jaakaci ikjunturoo zja.
in in jaa=kaci ik-jur-n=turoo zjar
yes yes house=ALL go-UMRK-PTCP=place COP
'Oh, yeah. (It) is a scene of going to the house.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a), *janməə* 'garden' is the goal of the verb *nagɨr-* 'throw' and takes *kaci* (ALL). In (??b), *jaa* 'house' is the goal of the verb *ik-* 'go' and takes *kaci* (ALL) too.
Additionally, *kaci* (ALL) can be used to mark the result of change with *nar-* 'become.' However, such an example is very rare. Among 44 examples, where the predicates are *nar-* 'become,' there are only two such examples.

a. i. [Context: A bad man threw a pot filled with mud.]
un janməəkaci nagɨrattəətan cɨboga mata
u-n janməə=kaci nagɨr-ar-təər-tar-n cɨbo=ga mata
MES-ADNZ garden=ALL throw-PASS-RSL-PST-PTCP pot=NOM again
kundoo kinkakaci natɨ,
kundu=ja kinka=kaci nar-tɨ
this.time=TOP gold.coin=ALL become-SEQ
'The pot thrown in the garden became (filled with) golds coins again this time.' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

ii. [Context: Speaking about a teacher who taught at the elementary school of TM's childhood]
atoo cjuugakkookaci natɨ,
atu=ja cjuugakkoo=kaci nar-tɨ
after=TOP junior.high.school=ALL become-SEQ
'After (that), (he) became (a teacher at) a junior high school, and...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

iii. tacumianjootuzituuga nakawudo natɨ,
tacumi+anjoo+tuzituu=ga nakawudo nar-tɨ
Tatsumi+older.brother+couple=NOM matchmaker become-SEQ
'Mr. and Mrs. Tatsumi became matchmaker, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

iv. [Context: Taking about a tradition]

jurunkjoojoo, hajasa nɨbuppoo, kuuhuu
juru=nkja=ja=joo haja-sa nɨbur-boo kuuhuu
night=APPR=TOP=CFM1 early-ADJ sleep-CND owl
natɨ, urɨ sjuncjɨ j^{ʔ}icjɨ
nar-tɨ u-rɨ sɨr-jur-n=ccjɨ j^{ʔ}-tɨ
become-SEQ MES-NLZ do-UMRK-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'(Old people) said that if you go to sleep early at night, (you) become an owl, and do it, and ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

Both *kinka* 'gold coin' in (??a) and *cjuugakkoo* 'junior high school' in (??b) are the goals of change indicated by *nar-* 'become' and marked by *kaci* (ALL); however, such a goal is normally not marked by any case particle as in (??c-d). So far, the difference between them is not so clear, but there is a good example in another language of Ryukyuan. In Irabu (Southern Ryukyuan), there are two case particles *n* (DAT1) and *nkai* (ALL), both of which can be used with *nar-* 'become', and the allative case is used when the speaker feels that there is a long distance between the source and the goal of change (Shimoji 2013). Looking back to the examples of Yuwan in (??a-b), it is possible to assume a long distance between the source and goal of change. In (??a), the source 'mud' became the goal 'gold coin,' and in (??b), the source '(a teacher at the) elementary school' became '(a teacher at the) junior high school.' There is, however, an example which does not use *kaci* (ALL) in spite of there being a long distance between the source and the goal, e.g. the source 'a child' and the goal 'an owl' in (??d). Therefore, it may be said in Yuwan that if *kaci* (ALL) is used as the goal of change, the distance between the source and goal is relatively long, but not vice versa.

1.3.2.6 Locative case 1 *nan*/*nən*

The locative case 1 *nan* (or *nən*) is used to mark the place of contact; *nən* is used only after the demonstrative adnominal (see (??) in §??). At least, *nan* (LOC1) needs two referents, i.e. a place and something (or someone) that makes contact with the place. *nan* (LOC1) follows an NP that indicates the place, and the subject of an intransitive clause, or the object of a transitive clause indicates a referent that makes contact with the place. First, let us see intransitive (or less transitive) clauses.

a. i. un sjanan cɨbonu atɨ,
u-n sja=nan cɨbo=nu ar-tɨ
MES-ADNZ below=LOC1 pot=NOM exist-SEQ
'There was a pot under there, and ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

ii. [Context: Talking about MY]
= (??a)
attaaja (un) un hutəənan
a-rɨ-taa=ja u-n u-n hutəə=nan
DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP MES-ADNZ MES-ADNZ vicinity=LOC1
wutancjɨjaa.
wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=jaa
exist-PST-PTCP=QT=SOL
'(I heard) that she and her family were around there.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

iii. [Context: A boy who put a basket full of pears in front of his bicycle bumped into a stone.]
isinan atatɨ,
isi=nan atar-tɨ
stone=LOC1 bump-SEQ
'(The boy) bumped into a stone, and ...' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

In (??a), *un sja* 'the place under there,' which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place where the subject *cɨbo* 'pot' exists. In (??b), *un hutəə* 'around there [lit. that vicinity]', which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place where the subject /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) 'she and her family' stayed. In (??c), *isi* 'stone', which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place that the subject *inja+warabɨ* 'boy [lit. small child]', though it was omitted in the above sentence, made contact with. The period for the subject to be in contact with the place of *nan* (LOC1) differs from a relatively long instance as in (??a-b) to a short instance as in (??c). Such a difference results from the meaning of each verb and the context where it is used. In my texts, the following intransitive verbs co-occured with *nan* (LOC1): *ar-* 'exist,' *tamar-* 'accumulate,' *hamar-* 'get stuck,' *wur-* 'exist,' *umoor-* 'exist (honorific),' *tat-* 'stand,' *nɨhur-* 'sleep,' *tumar-* 'stay,' *cɨk-* 'stick to,' *kaar-* 'relate to,' *hənkj-* 'enter,' and *atar-* 'bump.'
Then, I will show the examples of transitive (especially three-participant) clauses.

a. i. kɨɨnu sjanannja kagonu tˀaacɨ
kɨɨ=nu sja=nan=ja kago=nu tˀaacɨ
tree=GEN below=LOC1=TOP basket=GEN two.CLF.thing
ucjutɨ,
uk-tur-tɨ
put-PROG-SEQ
'Under the tree, (the old man) put two baskets, and ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

ii. [Context: Describing how the village mayor answers the questions addressed to him by members of the village assembly]
attaaga jun munnan hɨntooja
a-rɨ-taa=ga jˀ-jur-n mun=nan hɨntoo=ja
DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM say-UMRK-PTCP thing=LOC1 reply=TOP
sjuppa.
sɨr-jur-ba
do-UMRK-CSL
'(He) makes a reply (smoothly) to what they say, so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a), *kɨɨ=nu sja* 'the place under the tree,' which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place where the object *kago=nu tˀaacɨ* 'two baskets' exists. In (??b), /attaaga jun mun/ *a-rɨ-taa=ga jˀ-jur-n mun* (DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM say-UMRK-PTCP thing) 'what they say,' which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place that the object *hɨntoo* 'a reply' makes contact with, although the meaning of 'contact' is very abstract here. At the beginning of this section, I said that in the transitive clause the place of *nan* (LOC1) is the one that the object (not the subject) makes contact with. However, among about twenty examples of transitive clauses that include *nan* (LOC1), there is only one example where it seems that the subject (but not the object) would be the referent contacting with the place of *nan* (LOC1).

a. [Context: Seeing a picture where a harvest festival is held and people were wandering and dancing around the community, while men only wore the cotton belts called 'mawashi' in order to do sumo wrestling, and women walked and danced, having the meal for festival, between the men]
wunagunintən əədanan kurɨ muccjɨ, woman+people=also
wunagu+nintəə=n əəda=nan ku-rɨ mut-tɨ
between=LOC1 PROX-NLZ have-SEQ

‘Also the women had this [i.e. the meal for festival] between (the men), and ...’
|hai, hai, hai, hai.|
hai hai hai hai
yes yes yes yes
‘Oh, yeah.’ [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In the above example, the object *ku-rɨ* ‘this [i.e. the meal for festival]’ is not the referent that made contact with the place *əəda* ‘the space between (the men).’ Rather, the subject *wunagu+nintəə* ‘women’ made contact with the place of *nan* (LOC1). Thus, it seems that this example would be a counterexample of the generalization at the beginning of this section. However, the above sentence uttered by TM was stopped with the converbal form /muccjɨ/ *mut-tɨ* (have-SEQ), which means that there is a possibility that TM could continue the utterance with a certain verb that can take *nan* (LOC1), say *wur-* ‘exist.’ In fact, TM’s utterance was interrupted by the nodding of MS (and TM did not continue the preceding sentence).
Before concluding this section, I want to remark the fact that *nan* (LOC1) can directly follow demonstrative adnominals, and then *nan* (LOC1) may alternate with *nən*.

a. i. Demonstrative adnominal + *nan* (LOC1)
[Context: Explaining how to make the pickles of white radish]
unnan un mama |bakecu|nan kan
u-n=nan *u-n* *mama bakecu=nan* *ka-n*
MES-ADNZ=LOC1 MES-ADNZ still bucket=LOC1 PROX-ADVZ
sjɨ tatɨtɨ ukuboo,
sɨr-tɨ *tatɨr-tɨ* *uk-boo*
do-SEQ stand-SEQ put-CND
‘If (you) stand (the white radishes with seasoning) there, in the bucket, as they are, ...’ [Co: 101023_01.txt]

ii. Demonstrative adnominal + *nən* (LOC1)
unnən nasinu natunwake.
u-n=nən *nasi=nu* *nar-tur-n=wake*
MES-ADNZ=LOC1 nasi=NOM bear-PROG-PTCP=CFP
‘There are pears there [i.e. on the big tree].’ [PF: 090827_02.txt]

In (??a), *nan* (LOC1) directly follows an adnominal *u-n* ‘that (one)’ and they express a place as a whole. In (??b), *nən* (LOC1) also directly follows

an adnominal *u-n* ‘that (one).’ *nan* (LOC1) can follow both nominals and demonstrative adnominals. On the other hand, *nən* (LOC1) can follow only demonstrative adnominals.

1.3.2.7 Locative case 2 *nantɨ*/*nəntɨ*

The locative case 2 *nantɨ* is used to mark the place of dynamic action. In (??a), /daibangɨɨ/ *daiban+kɨɨ* ‘big tree,’ which takes *nantɨ* (LOC2), is the place where the action *nasi mur-* (pear pick.up) ‘to pick up pears’ occurs. In (??b), *jaa* ‘house,’ which takes *nantɨ* (LOC2), is the place where the action *nusi=sjɨ hanməə sɨr-* (RFL=INST cooking do) ‘to do cooking by oneself’ occurs.

a. i. [= (??)]
uziiga daibangɨɨnantɨ nasi mutunwake.
uzii=ga daiban+kɨɨ=nantɨ nasi mur-tur-n=wake
old.man=NOM big+tree=LOC2 pear pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP
‘An old man is picking pears off on a big tree.’ [PF: 090305_01.txt]

ii. uroo jaanantɨ nusisjɨ hanməə sjɨ, kamii?
ura=ja jaa=nantɨ nusi=sjɨ hanməə sɨr-tɨ kam-i
2.NHON.SG=TOP house=LOC2 RFL=INST cooking do-SEQ eat-INF
‘You do cooking by yourself, and eat (the meal) at home?’ [Co: 120415_01.txt]

This is a mere conjecture, but *nantɨ* (LOC2) can be thought to be made of /nan wutɨ/ *nan wur-tɨ* (LOC1 exist-SEQ) ‘to exist at (somewhere), and ...,’ since normally the environment where *nantɨ* (LOC2) can be used shows complementary distribution with that of *nan* (LOC1). For example, *nantɨ* (LOC2) cannot be used with *wur-* ‘exist,’ but *nan* (LOC1) can (see also §??). Furthermore, *nantɨ* (LOC2), as well as *nan* (LOC1), can directly follow demonstrative adnominals with an optional alternation with *nəntɨ* as in (??). In (??a), *nantɨ* (LOC2) directly follows an adnominal *u-n* ‘that (one)’ and they express a place as a whole. In (??b), *nəntɨ* (LOC2) also directly follows an adnominal *u-n* ‘that (one)’ with its vowel centralization.

a. i. Demonstrative adnominal + *nantɨ* (LOC2)
kunugurugadɨ (kun ..)
kunuguru=gadɨ ku-n u-n=nantɨ
recently=LMT PROX-ADNZ MES-ADNZ=LOC2

unnantɨ cukututanmundoojaa.
cukur-tur-tar-n=mun=doo=jaa
make-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'(They) were making dyed goods until recently there.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

ii. Demonstrative adnominal + *nəntɨ* (LOC2)
daibangɨinu atɨ, unnəntɨ jinganu |hasigo|
daiban+kɨɨ=nu ar-tɨ u-n=nəntɨ jinga=nu hasigo
big+tree=NOM exist-SEQ MES-ADNZ=LOC2 man=NOM ladder
kɨɨtɨ,
kɨɨr-tɨ
put-SEQ
'There was a big tree, and there a man put a ladder (against it), and ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

Thus, it is reasonable to think that the initial syllable /nan/ of *nantɨ* (LOC2) has the same origin with *nan* (LOC1).

1.3.2.8 Locative case 3 *zjɨ*

The locative case 3 *zjɨ* is used to mark the location of an action, which is distant from the speaker. It is probable that *zjɨ* (LOC3) was grammaticalized from the converb /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) 'to go, and ...' (see §??). The head verb of *zjɨ* (LOC3) must have an animate subject (except for the metaphorical expression).

a. i. usjəə amanu ... kusabutuuzjɨ
usɨ=ja a-ma=nu kusabutuu=zjɨ cɨnag-tɨ
OX=TOP DIST-place=GEN thick.grass=LOC3 hitch-SEQ
cɨnazjɨ koojaccjɨ jˀicjɨ,
k-oo=jaa=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ
come-INT=SOL=QT say-SEQ
''Let's go to hitch the ox to the thick grass there', said (the man), and ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

ii. [= (??b)]
sabiisabi aikikippoo, cɨkɨmununkja
sabi+sabi aik-i+kij-boo cɨkɨr+mun=nkja
RED+smoothly walk-INF+CAP-CND pickle.INF+thing=APPR

jaazjɨ tɨkkoorɨnmun.
jaa=zjɨ tɨkk-oorɨ-n=mun
house=LOC3 bring-CAP-PTCP=ADVRS
'If (I) could walk smoothly, (I) could go home and bring the pickles, but (I cannot).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a), *a-ma=nu kusabutuu* 'thick grass there,' which takes *zjɨ* (LOC3), is the goal where the subject goes and takes the action *usi* (ox) + *cɨnag-tɨ k-* (hitch-SEQ come) 'to go to hitch the ox.' In this example, the subject is 'the man,' although it is not overtly expressed in the example. In (??b), *jaa* 'house,' which takes *zjɨ* (LOC3), is the goal where the subject goes and takes the action *cɨkɨr+mun=nkja* (pickle.INF+thing=APPR) + *tɨkk-* (bring) 'to bring the pickles.' In this example, the subject is 'I' [i.e. the speaker TM], although it is not overtly expressed in the example. In both of the examples, the places indicated by (NPs followed by) *zjɨ* (LOC3) are distant from the speaker, which is the main characteristic specific to *zjɨ* (LOC3) (see also §??).

1.3.2.9 Instrumental case *sjɨ*

The instrumental *sjɨ*, which is used to mark primarily an instrument, but in fact it can be used to mark a very broad meaning, e.g. material, reason, and membership of agent. First, let us see examples of instrumental *sjɨ*.

a. Instrument
[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 the above example, *kuci* 'mouth' is the instrument used to criticize someone, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). The next examples are used to mean material, where the NP marked by *sjɨ* (INST) becomes a part of the result of action.

a. Material

i. [Context: Hearing that US spoke to the present author in the standard Japanese]
|hoogen|sjɨ j'anboo.
hoogen=sjɨ j'-an-boo
dialect=INST say-NEG-CND
'(You) have to speak in the dialect [i.e. Yuwan].' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. c'jasuguu kusasjɨ mata usatɨ
c'jasuguu kusa=sjɨ mata usaw-tɨ
soon grass=INST again cover-SEQ
'Soon (the man) covered (the pot filled with gold coins) with grass again.' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (??a), *hoogen* 'dialect' is the material to make an uttrance, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (??b), *kusa* 'grass' is also the material to cover the pot, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST) too.
Next, let us look at examples of *sjɨ* used to give a reason.

a. Reason

i. [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]

ii. [Context: Remembering the days of the World War II]
k'uusjuusjɨ attakəə jakɨtattujaa.
k'uusjuu=sjɨ attakəə jakɨr-tar-tu=jaa
air.raid=INST everything be.burnt-PST-CSL=SOL
'Everything was burnt by the air raid, so (there are no houses from that time).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a), *gassjuku* 'training camp' is the reason that the runners come to the village, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (??b), *k'uusjuu* 'air raid' is also the reason that everything was burnt in the village, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST) as well.

Finally, I will show examples of an agent made up of multiple members, where the NP marked by *sjɨ* (INST) expresses how many people or what kind of people composed of the membership of a collective agent.

a. Membership of agent

i. [Context: There are three boys who saw another boy bumping against a stone by bicycle, and the pears fell off the front basket; 'The three (happened to) pass the way, and standed the bicycle of the boy who bumped (there), and ...']

micjaisjɨ	(ka)	kasjəə	sjɨ,	kagokaci
micjai=sjɨ		*kasjəə sɨr-tɨ*	*kago=kaci*	*ɨrɨr-jur-n=wake*
three.CLF=INST	help	do-SEQ	basket=ALL	put.in-UMRK-PTCP=CFP

ɨrɨjunwake.

'The three (of them), helped (the boy), and put (the pears) in the basket.' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

ii. [Context: Speaking to MS]

uroo	jaanantɨ	nusisjɨ	hanməə sjɨ,	kamii?
ura=ja	*jaa=nantɨ*	*nusi=sjɨ*	*hanməə sɨr-tɨ*	*kam-i*
2.NHON.SG=TOP	house=LOC2	RFL=INST	meal	do-SEQ eat-INF

'You cook by yourself and eat (the meal) at home?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

iii.

burakusjɨ	sjən	|suidoo|	jatɨkai?
buraku=sjɨ	*sɨr-təər-n*	*suidoo*	*jar-tɨ=kai*
community=INST	do-RSL-PTCP	water.conduit	COP-SEQ=DUB

'(It) was the water conduit that has been set up by the community?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a), *micjai* 'three people' is the membership of agent who helped the boy, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (??b), *nusi* (REL) 'oneself' is the membership of agent who makes the meal, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (??c), *buraku* 'community' is also the membership of agent who has set up the water conduit, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST) too. These NPs marked by *sjɨ* (INST) add some pieces of information about the membership of agents. In other words, there may be another NP that indicates the agent itself, e.g. *ura* 'you' in (??b), which is the subject of the sentence. The form of the instrumental case, i.e. *sjɨ*, is the same with a converbal form of *sɨr-* 'do', i.e. *sjɨ* (do.SEQ). It is probable that *sjɨ* (INST) originates from /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ*

(do-SEQ). However, the two forms are different from each other in modern Yuwan, since REFex:key:1 *sji* (INST) in the environments discussed above cannot take other inflection as the verb, e.g. one cannot say */nusi sjuttoo/ *nusi sir-jur=doo* (RFL do-UMRK=ASS) [Intended meaning] '(I) will do by myself'; (??) the NP before *sji* (INST) cannot take another case particle, e.g. one cannot say */nusinu sji/ *nusi=nu sir-ti* (RFL=NOM do-SEQ) instead of *nusi=sji* (RFL=INST) in (??b).

1.3.2.10 Ablative case *kara*

The ablative *kara* is used to mark a source, which is a starting point of an action (or event) in space or time as in (??a-b). There are also examples of semantic extension of these as in (??c-d).

a. Spatial source

i. [Context: Talking about the staff of the village office, who went to help the people after the earthquake disaster on 11 **March2011**]
kumakara kinju jakubakara, naa, an
ku-ma=kara kinju jakuba=kara naa a-n
PROX-place=ABL yesterday village.office=ABL FIL DIST-ADNZ
simiɨnu miziɨnkja nunkuin ciɨnkudiɨ,
simiɨ=nu miziɨ=nkja nu=n=kui=n ciɨnkum-tiɨ
Sumiyo=GEN water=APPR what=any=INDF=any load-SEQ
'From here, yesterday, from the village office, (they) loaded (a truck) with that water from Sumiyo and other things [lit. anything], and ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]
Temporal source

ii. waakjaa anmataa məəkacjəə mukasikara
waakja-a anmaa-taa məə=kaci=ja mukasi=kara
1PL-ADNZ mother-PL front=ALL=TOP past=ABL
kjuutattoo.
k-jur-tar=doo
come-UMRK-PST=ASS
'From the past, (people who want to learn the traditional songs) would come to my mother's place.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]
Semantic extension

iii. arəə attaa məəra muratən jaa
a-riɨ=ja a-riɨ-taa məə=kara muraw-təər-n jaa
DIST-NLZ=TOP DIST-NLZ-PL front=ABL receive-RSL-PTCP house

jappa.
jar-ba
COP-CSL
'Since that is the house (he) has received from them.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

iv. urakjaa (mm) ziisan
urakja-a *ziisan* *məə=kara=du*
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ grandfather front=ABL=FOC
məəradu narajutancjɨ.
naraw-jur-tar-n=ccjɨ
learn-UMRK-PST-PTCP=QT
'(My mother said) that (she) learned (the traditional songs) from your grandfather.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (??a), *ku-ma* 'here' and *jakuba* 'the village office' are spatial sources, from which the truck loaded with relief supplies would set off. In (??b), *mukasi* 'the past' is a temporal source, from which the people started to come to see TM's mother in order to learn the traditional songs. The next two examples are semantic extension from spatio-temporal uses. In (??c), /attaa məə/ *a-rɨ-taa məə* 'them [lit. thier front]' is the source from which the ownership of the house is transferred. In (??d), /urakjaa ziisan/ 'your grandfather' is the source from which the knowledge of the traditional songs is transmitted.

1.3.2.11 Comitative case *tu*

The comitative *tu* is used to mark a participant of association. The participant of association is an added member of situation indicated by verbal predicate, nominal predicate, or adjective predicate. In (??a), *nan* 'you (honorific)' is the participant associated with the speaker, and it takes *tu* (COM). In (??b), *u-n=nintəə* 'those people' are the participants associated with *muhaa+anjoo-taa* 'Muha and his friends' and takes *tu* (COM). Finally, in (??c), *urakja-a ziisan* 'your grandfather' is the participant associated with the speaker's mother, and also takes *tu* (COM).

a. i. With verbal predicate
injasainnja, nantoo
inja-sa+ar-i-n=ja *nan=tu=ja*
small-ADJ+STV-INF-time=TOP 2.HON=COM=TOP

asɨbantajaa.
asɨb-an-tar=jaa
play-NEG-PST=SOL
'(I) did not play with you when (we) were young.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

ii. With nominal predicate
muhaaanjootaa unnintəətu əəcɨrɨ
muhaa+anjoo-taa u-n=nintəə=tu əəcɨrɨ
Muha+older.brother-PL MES-ADNZ=people=COM classmate
natɨ, muru dusi jata.
nar-tɨ muru dusi jar-tar
COP-SEQ very friend COP-PST
'Muha and his friends were classmates with those people, and (they) were very friendly.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

iii. With adjectival predicate
[Context: Talking of TM's mother]
urakjaa ziisantu nissja ata.
urakja-a ziisan=tu nissj-sa ar-tar
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ grandfather=COM similar-ADJ STV-PST
'(My mother) was similar to your grandfather.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In the above examples, *tu* (COM) follows only one NP. On the other hand, *tu* (COM) can connect two (or more) NPs together, and there are twenty such examples in my texts. It can be said from the data of text that if the combined NPs are the subject (except for that of nominal predicate), only the first NP is followed by *tu* (COM), i.e. NP1=*tu* NP2.

a. i. Subject of an intransitive verb
an saeetu ujuribəidu kjun.
a-n saee=tu ujuri=bəi=du k-jur-n
[DIST-ADNZ Sae=tu Uyuri=only=FOC] [come-UMRK-PTCP]
[Subject] [Intransitive verb]
'Only Sae and Uyuri come (to the day-care center).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

ii. Subject of a transitive verb
[Context: Remembering the days when TM's son took her to sightseeing]

masajukitaatu ataankjaga xxx
masajuki-taa=tu *a-ri-taa=nkja=ga* *=nkja*
[Masayuki-PL=COM DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR=NOM] APPR
[Subject] [Transitive verb]
nkja simiti,
simir-ti
[do.CAUS-SEQ]

'Masayuki (and his family) and they had (me) do xxx, and ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a), *a-n saee* '(that) Sae,' which is the first NP of the subject, takes *tu* (COM). In (??b), *masajuki-taa* 'Masayuki (and his family),' which is the first NP of the subject, also takes *tu* (COM).
However, if the combined NPs are the subject of a nominal predicate or the object of a transitive clause, not only the first NP but also the second NP is followed by *tu* (COM), i.e. NP1=*tu* NP2=*tu*.

a. Subject of nominal predicates

i. hamaiciuziitu waakjaa
hamaici+uzii=tu *waakja-a*
[Hamaitsu+grandfather=COM 1PL-ADNZ
[Subject] [Nominal
toratarooouziitudu kjoodəə janmun.
toratarоo+uzii=tu=du *kjoodəə jar-n=mun*
Toratarо+grandfather=COM=FOC] [brother COP-PTCP=ADVRS]
predicate]
'Hamaitsu and my grandfather Toratarо are brothers.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

ii. kun cʾjutu kun cʾjutuga
ku-n *cʾju=tu* *ku-n* *cʾju=tu=ga*
[PROX-ADNZ person=COM PROX-ADNZ person=COM]
[Subject] [Nominal predicate]
dikimun.jo.
dikimun=joo
[genius]=CFM1

'This person$_i$ and this person$_j$ are genius.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]
Object of transitive verbs

iii. [Context: Remembering that the present author asked TM to pronounce 'head' and 'knee' in Yuwan]
cuburutu cɨbusitu jˀicjutɨga, warəəcjɨjo.
cuburu=tu cɨbusi=tu jˀ-tur-tɨ=ga waraw-i=ccjɨ=joo
[head=COM knee=COM] [say-PROG-SEQ]=FOC laugh-INF=QT=CFM1
[Object] [Transitive verb]
'(We) were saying 'head' and 'knee' (in Yuwan), and laughed.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

iv. ittannu kinsjɨ |haori|tu kintu
ittan=nu kin=sjɨ haori=tu kin=tu
one.CLF=GEN cloth=INST [haori=COM cloth=COM]
[Object] [Transitive verb]
nuuwarɨɨtattu.
nuuw-arɨɨr-tar-tu
[sew-CAP-PST-CSL]

'From a roll of cloth (about ten meters in length), (we) could sew a haori [i.e. a short Japanese overgarment] and a (light cotton) kimono.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a), each NP, i.e. /hamaicu+uzii/ 'Hamaitsu' and /waakjaa torataroouzii/ 'my grandfather Torataroo' being the subject of nominal predicate, is followed by *tu* (COM). Similarly, in (??b), each NP, i.e. /kun cˀju/ 'this person$_i$' and /kun cˀju/ 'this person$_j$' being the subject of nominal predicate, is followed by *tu* (COM). In (??c), each NP, i.e. *cuburu* 'head' and *cɨbusi* 'knee' being the object of transitive verb, is followed by *tu* (COM). Similarly, in (??d), each NP, i.e. *haori* 'haori' and *kin* 'cloth' being the object of transitive verb, is followed by *tu* (COM).

1.3.2.12 Limitative case *gadɨ*

The limitative *gadɨ* is used to mark limits, which is a limitation of action (or event) in space and time, and there are examples of semantic extension of them.

a. i. Spatial limits
[Context: Talking about the size in the past of TM's house]
amagadɨ, ude, naanai nagasa
a-ma=gadɨ ude naa+nai naga-sa
PROX-place well already+little long-ADJ

atanmundoo.
ar-tar-n=mun=doo
STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS
'(It) was a little longer even to reach that place.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

ii. Temporal limits
namagadɨ daanan wutattukai?
nama=gadɨ daa=nan wur-tar-tu=kai
now=LMT where=LOC1 exist-PST-CSL=DUB
'Where was (he) until recently?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

iii. Semantic extension
[Context: Talking about a song that used to be sung when a meeting of old people was held]
|tagaini| naa huccjunkjoo minna
tagai=ni naa huccju=nkja=ja minna
each.other=DAT already old.person=APPR=TOP everyone
urəə mjantɨn sicjutattoojaa,
u-rɨ=ja mj-an-tɨ=n sij-tur-tar=doo=jaa
MES-NLZ=TOP see-NEG-SEQ=even know-PROG-PST=ASS=SOL
|jonban|gadɨ.
jonban=gadɨ
fourth=LMT
'Each, all of the old people already knew (the song from the first verse) to the fourth, even if (they) did not see it [i.e. a card with the lyrics].' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a), *a-ma* 'that place' is the spatial limit, which constraints the size of TM's old house, and it takes *gadɨ* (LMT). In (??b), *nama* 'now' is the temporal limit, until which a man had been living there, and it also takes *gadɨ* (LMT). In (??c), *jonban* 'fourth' is the limit of the number of the song's verses, which is an example of the semantic extension of the spatio-temporal meaning of *gadɨ* (LMT).
gadɨ (LMT) is not only a case particle, but also a limiter particle. *gadɨ* (LMT) in the limiter-particle use can replace the nominative case. In addition, it may follow other case particles. The limiter particle *gadɨ* (LMT) can express some emphasis, e.g. the speaker's surprise (see §??). I will present an example here.

a. *gadɨ* (LMT) as a limiter particle
[Context: Talking about the present author]

tookjookaragadɨ umoocjun cˀjuboo kattəə
tookjoo=kara=gadɨ umoor-tur-n cˀju=ba=ja kattəə
Tokyo=ABL=LMT move.HON-PROG-PTCP person=ACC=TOP freely
warabɨnən sjɨ cɨkəədu sjunmun, wanna.
warabɨ=nən sɨr-tɨ cɨkaw-i=du sɨr-jur-n=mun wan=ja
child=like do-SEQ use-INF=FOC do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS 1SG=TOP
'I ordered even a person who came from Tokyo [i.e. the present author] freely like a child.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above example, *gadɨ* (LMT) follows an extended NP *tookjoo=kara* (Tokyo=ABL) 'from Tokyo.' That is, *gadɨ* (LMT) does not show the (spatial) limit of anything here, but expresses the speaker's surprise about the present author's coming from Tokyo.

1.3.2.13 Comparative case *jukkuma*

The comparative *jukkuma* is used to mark the standard of comparison. (The speaker TM also taught me another form *junma* (CMP), but she has never used the form in the free conversation.) An NP followed by *jukkuma* (CMP) can modify an adjective, an adverb, or a nominal.

a. Modifying an adjective
   i. [Context: Talking about the size of a traditional coffin; MS: '(It) is as large as a box to fill in the tea.']
   aran. urɨjukkumoo hɨɨsai.
   ar-an u-rɨ=jukkuma=ja [*hɨɨ-sa*]$_{\text{Adjective}}$*+ar-i*
   COP-NEG MES-NLZ=CMP=TOP big-ADJ+STV-NPST
   'No. (The coffin) is bigger than that [i.e. a box to fill in the tea].' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

   Modifying an adverb

b. arɨjukkumoo həəku hɨɨranba.
   a-rɨ=jukkuma=ja [*həə-ku*]$_{\text{Adverb}}$ *hɨɨr-an-ba*
   DIST-NLZ=COMP=TOP early-ADVZ wake.up-NEG-CSL
   '(You) have to wake up earlier than that person.' [El: 130816]

   Modifying a nominal

c. arəə waakjajukkuma sja jappajaa.
   a-rɨ=ja waakja=jukkuma [*sja*]$_{\text{Nominal}}$ *jar-ba=jaa*
   DIST-NLZ=TOP 1PL=CMP below COP-CSL=SOL
   'He is younger than me.' [lit: 'That person is below than me.'] [Co:

110328_00.txt]

d. wan.jukkuma sɨdoo wurandoo.
wan=jukkuma [*sɨda*]$_{\text{Nominal}}$*=ja* *wur-an=doo*
1SG=CMP over=TOP exist-NEG=ASS
'There is no one (who) is older than me.' [lit. '(The people whose ages are) over than me do not exist.'] [El: 130816]

In (??a), *u-rɨ* 'it' is the standard that is compared with the traditional coffin, modifying the adjective *hɨɨ-sa* 'big.' In (??b), *a-rɨ* 'that person' is the standard that is compared with the hearer, modifying the adverb *həə-ku* 'early.' In (??c), *waa-kja* 'we' is the standard that is compared with *a-rɨ* 'he,' modifying the nominal *sja* 'below.' In (??d), *wan* 'I' is the standard that is compared with the people in the community, modifying the nominal *sɨda* 'over.' In all examples in (??a-d), the standards take *jukkuma* (CMP).

1.3.2.14 Genitive case *ga*/*nu*

The genitive has two morphemes *ga* and *nu*, and they are chosen depending on the lexical meaning of their head nominals (see §??). Syntactically, the genitive case follows a head of an NP, which fills the modifier slot of another larger NP recursively, i.e {[NP=GEN]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ Head}$_{\text{NP}}$ (see also §??). The meaning of genitive case (or the semantic relation between the modifier and the head) is very wide. Here, I will present its prototypical use (i.e. the possesion) and marginal use (i.e. the apposition).

(42) a. Possession
an c'junu naaja sijan.
a-n *c'ju=nu* *naa=ja* *sij-an*
{[DIST-ADNZ person=GEN]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [name]$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{NP}}$=TOP know-NEG
'I don't know that person's name.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Apposition
waakjaa cɨrɨnkjanu kikukotankja,
waakja-a *cɨrɨ=nkja=nu* *kikuko-taa=nkja*
{[1PL-ADNZ classmate=APPR=GEN] $_{\text{Modifier}}$ [Kikuko-PL=APPR]$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{NP}}$
attankjaga wun ucibəi jappoo,
a-rɨ-taa=nkja=ga *wur-n* *uci=bəi* *jar-boo*
DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR=NOM exist-PTCP inside=only COP-CND
'If it is just while there are our friends, Kikuko and her friends, (and if it is just while there are) those people, ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a), *a-n cʾju* 'that person' is a possessor and is followed by *nu* (GEN), and it modifies the head nominal *naa* 'name,' which is a possessee. In (??b), *waakja-a ciri=nkja* 'our friends' and *kikuko-taa=nkja* 'Kikuko and her friends' are in apposition, i.e., they indicate the same referents.

The genitive has two morphemes, i.e. *ga* and *nu*, and they are formally same with those of the nominative case (see §??). Thus, one may regard them as the same single case, i.e. "the nominative-genitive case." I would not, however, regard them as the same case because of REFex:key:1 the differences of syntactic distribution and (??) the differences of correspondence to the animacy hierarchy.

First, an NP followed by the nominative case fills the argument slot of a clause, and its head is the predicate phrase as in (??a-b) (see §??). On the other hand, an NP followed by the genitive case fills the modifier slot of an NP, and its head is a nominal as in (??c-d) (see §??).

(43) Filling the argument slot of a clause

a. arɨga.., sizuobaaga wuppoo, jiccja
a-rɨ=ga sizu+obaa=ga wur-boo jiccj-sa
DIST-NLZ=NOM Shizu+grandmother=NOM exist-CND good-ADJ
atənmundoo.
ar-təər-n=mun=doo
STV-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS
'If Shizu were here, (it) would be good (now).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. umoo kan sjɨ kɨinu atɨ,
u-ma=ja ka-n sɨr-tɨ kɨi=nu ar-tɨ
MES-place=TOP PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ tree=NOM exist-SEQ
Argument Predicate
'There is a tree like this, and ...' [PF: 120415_01.txt]
Filliing the modifier slot of an NP

c. agga ututunan masuoccjɨ jʾicjɨ, wutɨ,
a-rɨ=ga ututu=nan masuo=ccjɨ jʾ-tɨ wur-tɨ
DIST-NLZ =GEN younger.sibling=LOC1 Masuo=QT say-SEQ
'That person has a younger sibling called Masuo, and ...' [lit. 'In that person's younger sibling is (a person) called Masuo, and ...'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. [= (??a)]

kɨ̵ɨ̵nu	sjanannja	kagonu	tˀaacɨ̵	ucjutɨ̵,
kɨ̵ɨ̵=nu	*sja=nan=ja*	*kago=nu*	*tˀaacɨ̵*	*uk-tur-tɨ̵*
tree=GEN	under=LOC1=TOP	basket=GEN	two.CLF	put-PROG-SEQ
Modifier	Head			

'Under the tree, (tha man) put two baskets, and ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

In the first two examples, both *a-rɨ̵* (DIST-NLZ) 'that person' in (??a) and *kɨ̵ɨ̵* 'tree' in (??b) fill the argument slots of the clauses. More specifically, they are subjects of the clasues. In the next two examples, however, the same NPs do not fill the arguments but fill the modifier slots of NPs. In (??c), *a-rɨ̵* (DIST-NLZ) 'that person' modifies the head nominal *ututu* 'younger sibling' (about the contranction from *a-rɨ̵=ga* > /agga/, see §??). In (??d), *kɨ̵ɨ̵* 'tree' modifies the head nominal *sja* '(th place) under (something)'. It is true that each case particle in (6-80 a, c), i.e. /ga/, and those in (6-80 b, d), i.e. /nu/, have the same form respectively. However, I will propose that they should be regarded as different case particles.

Secondly, the choice of *ga* and *nu* depends on the lexical meaning of the head nominals. However, the lexical group that takes the nominative case particle *ga* (NOM) is different from that of the genitive case particle *ga* (GEN) as in Table ?? (see Table ?? in §?? for more details).

Table 1.2: Differences between the nominative and the genitive (following singular NPs)

	Personal pronominals	Human demonstratives	Address nouns	The
Nominative case	*ga*	*ga*	*ga*	*nu*
NP modifiers	Adnominal	*ga*	Juxtaposition	*nu*

The above table shows that personal pronominals, human demonstratives, and address nouns take the nominative case particle *ga*, and the other nominals take *nu*. On the other hand, the genitive case *ga* is taken only by human demonstratives, because personal pronominals inflect as adnominals when they fill the modifier slot of an NP like [*waakja-a*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*anmaa*]$_{\text{Head}}$ (1PL-ADNZ mother) 'our mother,' and also address nouns do not take any case (in other words, use juxtaposition) when they fill the modifier slot of an NP like [*naohide+uzii*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*ututu*]$_{\text{Head}}$ (Naohide+grandfather younger.sibling) 'Naohide's younger sibling' (see §?? in detail). In fact, there is no difference when the two cases follow common nouns, e.g. *kɨ̵ɨ̵* 'tree' as in (6-80 b, d). Considering the distributional difference shown in Table ??, I will propose that they should be regarded as different

cases. This point of view owes to the idea of "distributional cases" in Comrie (1991).

The genitive particle *nu* often contracts to /n/ when the external head of the genitive NP, i.e. "NP_2" in "NP_1=GEN NP_2," indicates space.

(44) Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *sja* 'under'

a. [Context: Talking about the shore protection at the community]
jakuban sjanu, (ee) namanu |sinrjoosjo|nu
jakuba=nu sja=nu nama=nu sinrjoosjo=nu sja=nantɨ
village.office=GEN under=GEN now=GEN clinic=GEN under=LOC2
sjantɨ,

'Down from the village office [lit. at (the place) under the village office] (that existed before), down from the clinic (that exists) now (at the same place), ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. micin sjanan.
mici=nu sja=nan
road=GEN under=LOC1
'(The post office exists) down along the road [lit. at (the place) under the road].' [Co: 120415_00.txt]
Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *nɨzɨɨ* 'corner'

c. jaman nɨzɨɨ natɨ.
jama=nu nɨzɨɨ nar-tɨ
mountain=GEN corner COP-SEQ
'Since (our house) was (at) the foot of the mountain.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]
Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *məə* 'front'

d. un kɨn məəkaci muduɾɨ kii.
u-n kɨɨ=nu məə=kaci mudur-tɨ k-i
MES-ADNZ tree=GEN front=ALL return-SEQ come-INF
'(The boys) were back to the front of the tree.' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

e. urakjaa uman məənu an..
urakja-a u-ma=nu məə=nu a-n
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ MES-place=GEN front=GEN DIST-ADNZ

|obasan|ga |iciban|jo.
obasan=ga *iciban=joo*
old.woman=NOM number.one=CFM1
'That old woman who lived in front of your place [lit. of the front of your that place] is number one.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
Head nominal (modified by the genitve NP) is *buci* 'edge'

f. kon buci?
koo=nu *buci*
river=GEN edge
'Near the river?' [lit. '(At) the edge of the river?'] [Co: 110328_00.txt]

g. Context: Speaking about TM's mother; TM: 'Until (she) learn (how to tap a rhythm

zijun buci uccjuti̶,
ziju=nu *buci* *ut-tur-ti̶*
kitchen.stove=GEN edge hit-PROG-SEQ
'(My mother) was hitting the edge of the kitchen stove, and ...'

The contraction shown in (??a-g) does not occur in the case of a nominative case particle *nu* (NOM), which partly supports the appropriateness of distinguishing the genitive case particle from the nominative case particle in Yuwan.

Finally, the genitive case may follow another case particle, which was already shown in (??a-e) in §??

1.3.3 Comparison among similar case particles

In the following subsections, I will compare some case particles that have similar functions. In §??, dative 1, dative 2, and allative will be discussed. In §??, the locative 1, 2, and 3 will be disscussed.

1.3.3.1 Dative 1, dative 2, and allative

All of the cases *n* (DAT1), *nkati̶* (DAT2), and *kaci* (ALL) may co-occur with verbs that have a meaning related with direction. The details of their differences are not very clear, but there are restrictions on their co-occurence with their head verbs depending on the meanings of the verbs. The possibility of their co-occurence with several verbs (or verbal affixes) is shown in the following table and examples. In Table ??, "+" means that the case particle can co-occur with the verbs (or verbal affixes), and "-" means cannot.

In (??), "*" means that the form is not grammatical in the environments.

Table 1.3: *n* (DAT1), *kaci* (ALL), and *nkatɨ* (DAT2)

-arɨr (PASS)	*-as* (CAUS)	*kurɨr-* 'give'	*jˀ-* 'say'	*nagɨr-* 'throw'	*ik-* 'go'		
n	(DAT1)	+	+	+	+	-	-
kaci	(ALL)	-	+	+	+	+	+
nkatɨ	(DAT2)	-	-	-	+	-	-

(45) a. Co-occurence with *-arɨr* (PASS) to mark the agent
wanna zjun/*zjuukaci/*zjunkatɨ oosattɨdoo
wan=ja zjuu=n/zjuu=kaci/zjuu=nkatɨ oos-ar-tɨ=doo
1SG=TOP father=DAT1/father=ALL/father=DAT2 scold-PASS-SEQ=ASS
'I was scolded by (my) father.' [El: 130820]

b. Co-occurence with *-as* (CAUS) to mark the causee
arɨn/arɨkaci/*arɨnkatɨ kakasoojəə.
a-rɨ=n/a-rɨ=kaci/a-rɨ=nkatɨ kak-as-oo=jəə
DIST-NLZ=DAT1/DIST-NLZ=ALL/DIST-NLZ=DAT2 write-CAUS-INT=CFM2
'(I will make that person write (it).' [El: 130820]

c. Co-occurence with *kurɨr-* 'give' to mark the recepient
arɨn/arɨkaci/*arɨnkatɨ kurɨroojəə.
a-rɨ=n/a-rɨ=kaci/a-rɨ=nkatɨ kurɨr-oo=jəə
DIST-NLZ=DAT1/DIST-NLZ=ALL/DIST-NLZ=DAT2 give-INT=CFM2
'(I will give (it) to that person.' [El: 130820]

d. Co-occurence with *jˀ-* 'say' to mark the recepient of the information
uroo tarun/tarukaci/tarunkatɨ
ura=ja ta-ru=n/ta-ru=kaci/ta-ru=nkatɨ
2.NHON.SG=TOP who-NLZ=DAT1/who-NLZ=ALL/who-NLZ=DAT2
jˀicjɨ?
jˀ-tɨ
say-SEQ
'To whom did you talk to?' [El: 130820]

e. Co-occurence with *nagɨr-* 'throw' to mark the goal
*dan/daakaci/*dankatɨ nagɨtɨ?
daa=n/daa=kaci/daa=nkatɨ nagɨr-tɨ
where=DAT1/where=ALL/where=DAT2 throw-SEQ
'Where did (you) throw (it)?' [El: 130820]

f. Co-occurence with *ik-* 'go' to mark the goal

uroo	*dan/daaci/*dankatɨ	ikjui?
ura=ja	*daa=n/daa=kaci/daa=nkatɨ*	*ik-jur-i*

2.NHON.SG=TOP where=DAT1/where=ALL/where=DAT2 go-UMRK-NPST
'Where do (you) go?' [El: 130820]

As far as the verbs (and the verbal affixes) in Table **??** are concerned, we can say the following things. First, *n* (DAT1) can co-occur with several verbs or verbal affixes with the exception of *nagɨr-* 'throw' and *ik-* 'go.' Thus, *n* (DAT1) seems not to be used to mark the goal in a narrow sense. In other words, the "goal" marked by *n* (DAT1) is the recepient or causee. Secondly, *kaci* (ALL) can co-occur with almost all of the verbs or verbal affixes with the exception of *-arɨr* (PASS). In fact, *-arɨr* (PASS) has little meaning strongly related with direction. Thus, it may be possible to say that *kaci* (ALL) can be used with verbs that have a meaning related with direction. Finally, *nkatɨ* (DAT2) can be used only with *jˀ-* 'say.' As mentioned in §**??**, *nkatɨ* (DAT2) can be used only to mark the recepient of the information.

1.3.3.2 Locative 1, locative 2, and locative 3

All of the cases *nan* (LOC1), *nantɨ* (LOC2), and *zjɨ* (LOC3) can express the place where the action (or event) (indicated by the head verb) occurs. The details of their differences are not very clear, but there are restrictions on co-occurence with verbs or the context where they are used. The possibility of co-occurence with a few verbs and a nominal is shown in the following table and examples. In Table **??**, "+" means that the case particle can co-occur with the verbs (or the nominals), and "-" means cannot.

Table 1.4: *nan* (LOC1), *nantɨ* (LOC2), and *zjɨ* (LOC3)

Co-occurence with		Verbs	Nominal	
wur- 'exist (animate)'	*ar-* 'exist (inanimate)'	*udur-* 'dance'	*ku-ma* 'here'	
nan (LOC1)	+	+	-	+
nantɨ (LOC2)	-	-	+	+
zjɨ (LOC3)	+	-	+	-

In (**??**), "*" means that the form is not grammatical in the environment.

(46) a. Co-occurence with *wur-* 'exist (animate)'

wanna amananʲ/*amananantʲi/amazjʲi
wan=ja a-ma=nan/a-ma=nantʲi/a-ma=zjʲi
1SG=TOP DIST-place=LOC1/DIST-place=LOC2/DIST-place=LOC3
wuroojəə.
wur-oo=jəə
exist-INT=CFM2
'I will be there.' [El: 130817]

b. Co-occurence with *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)'
tʲiganna
tʲigan=ja
letter=TOP
amanandu/*amananantʲidu/*amazjʲidu
a-ma=nan=du/a-ma=nantʲi=du/a-ma=zjʲi=du
DIST-place=LOC1=FOC/DIST-place=LOC2=FOC/DIST-place=LOC3=FOC
attoo.
ar=doo
exist=ASS
'The letter is there.' [El: 130817]

c. Co-occurence with *udur-* 'dance'
*amananʲ/amananantʲi/amazjʲi wuduroojəə.
a-ma=nan/a-ma=nantʲi/a-ma=zjʲi wudur-oo=jəə
DIST-place=LOC1/DIST-place=LOC2/DIST-place=LOC3 dance-INT=CFM2
'(I) will dance there.' [El: 130817]

If the clause is used to mean that the subject of the intransitive verb (or the object of the transitive verb) stays (or contacts) somewhere, *nantʲi* (LOC2) cannot be used, but *nan* (LOC1) and *zjʲi* (LOC3) can as in (??a) (see also §??). Because of the same reason, *ar-* 'exist' can be used with *nan* (LOC1), but cannot be used with *nantʲi* (LOC2) as in (??b). Additionally, *ar-* 'exist' must have an inanimate subject (strictly speaking, an inanimate "core argument," see §?? for more details). On the contrary, *zjʲi* (LOC3) always has an animate subject (see §??). Therefore, *zjʲi* (LOC3) cannot be used with *ar-* 'exist' as in (??b). If the head verb expresses a dynamic action, the place of action cannot be marked by *nan* (LOC1), but can be marked by *nantʲi* (LOC2) and *zjʲi* (LOC3) as in (??c).

Furthermore, *zjʲi* (LOC3) has a restriction; it cannot follow an NP that indicates a place where the speaker exists at the time of utterance (see §?? for more details). Thus, *zjʲi* (LOC3) cannot follow *ku-ma* (PROX-place) 'here.'

(47) Co-occurence with *ku-ma* 'here'

a. *nan* (LOC1)
wanna kumanan wuroojəə.
wan=ja ku-ma=nan wur-oo=jəə
1SG=TOP PROX-place=LOC1 exist-INT=CFM2
'I will be here.' [El: 130817]

b. *nantɨ* (LOC2)
wanna kumanantɨ wuduroojəə
wan=ja ku-ma=nantɨ wudur-oo=jəə
1SG=TOP PROX-place=LOC2 dance-INT=CFM2
'I will dance here.' [El: 130817]

c. *zjɨ* (LOC3)
*wanna kumazjɨ wuroojəə. [El: 130817]
wan=ja ku-ma=zjɨ wur-oo=jəə
1SG=TOP PROX-place=LOC3 exist-INT=CFM2

nan (LOC1) and *nantɨ* (LOC2) can be used with *ku-ma* 'here' as in (??a-b), but *zjɨ* (LOC3) cannot as in (??c), which made a clear contrast with (??a), where a similar expression, i.e. *wan=ja a-ma=zjɨ wur-oo=jəə* (1SG=TOP DIST-place=LOC3 exist-INT=CFM2) 'I will be there' is grammatical.

1.3.4 Grammaticalization of case particles

In Ryukyuan languages, some case particles are said to have been created through grammaticalization of a certain verbal form (**NishiokaNakahara2000**: 87, Shimoji 2008: 207). Yuwan also has a few case particles which seem to have come from grammaticalization. For example, it is possible that the instrumental case *sjɨ* has come from /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ) (see §??). The locative case 2 *nantɨ* may have come from the combination of *nan* (LOC1) plus /wutɨ/ *wur-tɨ* (exist-SEQ) (see §??). Additionally, the locative case 3 *zjɨ* seems to have come from /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ). All of these case particles include, as their putative origin, the same converbal affix, i.e. *-tɨ* (SEQ), which makes an adverbial clause that precedes the main clause (see also §??). Thus, it is reasonable that such a clause becomes an argument of the predicate of the main clause considering the verb-final word order in Yuwan. In the remainder of this section, we will look at *zjɨ* (LOC3) in detail.

There are two reasons why we can say that *zjɨ* (LOC3) and /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) have the same origin; (a) resemblance between the two forms; (b) the same restriction on the reference point, or the "deictic center" (cf. **Fillmore1971** [1997]). With regard to (a), there is no problem since *zjɨ* (LOC3) and /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) has the same form excluding the existence of the initial vowel /i/. With respect to (b),

neither form allows their goals to be the place where the speaker exists at the time of utterance. Briefly speaking, neither can be used with *ku-ma* (PROX-place) 'here.' First, let us see the examples that have no problem because of the correct context.

(48) [Context: The speaker has not arrived at the goal yet.]

a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)
ama izjɨ, asɨboojaa.
ama ik-tɨ asɨb-oo=jaa
there go-SEQ play-INT=SOL
'Let's go there, and play (together)!' [El: 130816]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)
amazjɨ asɨboojaa.
ama=zjɨ asɨb-oo=jaa
there=LOC3 play-INT=SOL
'Let's go and play there (together)!' [El: 130816]

As mentioned in §**??**, the deictic locomotion verb *ik-* 'go' can take accusative case *ba* to mark its goal, and also can easily omit such *ba* (ACC) as in (**??**a). Both of the above examples are grammatical, but similar sentences cannot be acceptable as in (**??**). The sentence-initial "#" means that the context is not acceptable to produce the sentence.

(49) [Context: The speaker has already arrived at the goal.]

a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)
#kuma izjɨ, asɨboojaa. [Expressed meaning] 'Let's go here, and
kuma ik-tɨ asɨb-oo=jaa
here go-SEQ play-INT=SOL
play (together)!' [El: 130816]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)
#kumazjɨ asɨboojaa. [Expressed meaning] 'Let's go and play
kuma=zjɨ asɨb-oo=jaa
here=LOC3 play-INT=SOL
here (together)!' [El: 130816]

In (**??**a-b), the spearker has not arrived yet at the goal. Thus, both /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) and /zjɨ/ (LOC3) are grammatical. However, in (**??**a-b), the speaker has already arrived at the goal, so both /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) and /zjɨ/ (LOC3) become unacceptable.

In other words, /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) and /zjɨ/ (LOC3) cannot take the place where the speaker exists at the time of utterance as their deictic center.

I would not, however, like to regard the two forms are absolutely indentical. Rather, it is more appropriate to regard that there has been a grammaticalization from /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) to *zjɨ* (LOC3), since the latter has (c) the loss of initial vowel, (d) the impossibility of insertion of another case particle, and (e) the capability to take directly a human referent as the goal of (deictic) locomotion. With regard to (c), /zjɨ/ (LOC3) seems to have dropped the initial vowel /i/ of /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ). With regard to (d), *ik-* 'go' can take the accusative case to mark the goal of deictic locomotion as in (**??**a). On the contrary, /zjɨ/ (LOC3) cannot take (or be preceded by) it as in (**??**b).

(50) Capability of the accusative's insertion

a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)
wanna unba izjɨ, asɨdɨ koojəə.
wan=ja un=ba ik-tɨ asɨb-tɨ k-oo=jəə
1SG=TOP sea=ACC go-SEQ play-SEQ come-INT=CFM2
'(I) will go (to) the sea, and play (there) and come (back).' [El: 130817]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)
*wanna unbazjɨ asɨdɨ koojəə. [Intended
wan=ja un=ba=zjɨ asɨb-tɨ k-oo=jəə
1SG=TOP sea=ACC=LOC3 play-SEQ come-INT=CFM2
meaning] '(I) will go (to) the sea, and play (there) and come (back).'
[El: 130817]

With regard to (e), *zjɨ* (LOC3) can directly take a human referent as the goal, although *ik-* 'go' cannot.

(51) Capability of directly taking a human referent as the goal

a. /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ)
*akira izjɨ, abɨtɨ koo! [Intended meaning] 'Go to Akira's
akira ik-tɨ abɨr-tɨ k-oo
Akira go-SEQ call-SEQ EXP-IMP
place and call him and come (back)!' [El: 130817]

b. /zjɨ/ (LOC3)
akirazjɨ abɨtɨ koo!
akira=zjɨ abɨr-tɨ k-oo
Akira=LOC3 call-SEQ EXP-IMP
'Go to Akira's place and call him and come (back)!' [El: 130817]

The above three differences show almost all of the features of grammaticalization discussed in Heine and **Kuteva2002** as follows.

(52) Four features of grammaticalization in Heine and **Kuteva2002** A. desemanticization (or 'semantic bleaching') - loss in meaning content;
B. extension (or context generalization) - use in new contexts;
C. decategorialization - loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less gramaticalized forms;
D. erosion (or 'phonetic reduction') - loss in phonetic substance.

In the context of the above features, (6-89 B) corresponds to the above (e), i.e. the capability to take directly a human referent as the goal of (deictic) locomotion; (6-89 C) corresponds to the above (d), i.e. the impossibility of insertion of another case particle; and (6-89 D) corresponds to the above (c), i.e. the loss of initial vowel. Although Heine and **Kuteva2002** assume the (6-89 A) prcedes others (with a possible exception of (6-89 C)), the semantic bleaching (or loss in meaning content) does not seem to occur in the case of *zjɨ* (LOC3) in Yuwan since the restriction of goal of locomotion of *ik-* 'go' still applies to *zjɨ* (LOC3). A particle made of the grammaticalization of a verb meaning 'go' is found in the another language of Ryukyuans. In Shimoji (2008: 207), there is a clitic /nkii/, which is said to be made of *n ik-i-i* (DAT go-EP-SEQ), and it expresses 'going to' (glosses in Irabu are changed in order to correspond to those in Yuwan by the present author, and "EP" means an epenthetic vowel).

In addition, there is a particle that also has the form /zjɨ/, but it can follow a verbal predicate.

(53) [Context: The speaker will go to somewhere.]
wanun sɘɘba numoozjɨjɘɘ.
wan=n sɘɘ=ba num-oo=zjɨ=jɘɘ
1SG=also alcohol=ACC drink-INT=DIRC=CFM2
'I will also go to drink alcohol.' [El: 130817]

The above sentence, however, becomes unacceptable if the context is different.

(54) [Context: The speaker will not go to anywhere, but drinks at the place where she is.]
#wanun sɘɘba numoozjɨjɘɘ. [Expressed meaning] 'I will
wan=n sɘɘ=ba num-oo=zjɨ=jɘɘ
1SG=also alcohol=ACC drink-INT=DIRC=CFM2
go to drink alcohol.' [El: 130817]

The above example shows that if the speaker will not be apart from the place where she exists at the time of utterance, the particle *zjɨ*, which is glossed "DIRC" here meaning "directional," cannot be used. The restriction is the same with that of the case particle *zjɨ* (LOC3) (and *ik-* 'go'). Thus, it is probable that both of *zjɨ* (LOC3) and *zjɨ* (DIRC) have the same origin. They are, however, cannot be regarded as the same morpheme in the present Yuwan since their syntactic circumstances are different from each other. That is, *zjɨ* (DIRC) follows a verb in the predicate slot, but *zjɨ* (LOC3) follows an NP in an argument slot.

1.4 Animacy hierarchy

Yuwan has several phenomena which are concerned with the animacy hierarchy in linguistic typology (about the animacy hierarchy, see Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1989, Dixon 1994, Whaley 1997, Corbett 2000, and Croft 2003 [1990] [1990] among many others). For example, only personal pronouns have dual forms in Yuwan (see §??). Additionally, there are four other phenomena that are correlated with the animacy hierarchy: the choice of plural markers, the choice of tactics used in the modifier slot of an NP, the choice of the nominative case forms, and the choice of the existential verbs. See the following table (Table ??), where "address nouns" include mainly elder kinship terms and personal names, both of which can be used to address the hearer (see §??). "Human demonstratives" in the following table mean that the demonstrative nominals are used to indicate human referents (see §??). The rightmost column ("the other nominals") also includes non-human demonstratives (i.e. the demonstrative nominals used to indicate non-human referents).

Generally, human interrogatives, e.g. *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) 'who' in Yuwan, does not come up for discussion of animacy hierarchy (at least in the papers introduced above). The data of Yuwan shows that the distribution of human interrogatives is partly similar to personal pronominals with regard to the singular form as an NP modifier, e.g. /ta-a/ (who-ADNZ) 'whose' and /ura-a/ (2.NHON.SG-ADNZ) 'your.' It is also partly similar to human demonstratives and address nouns with regard to the plural marker (and the plural form as an NP modifier), e.g. /ta-t-taa/ (who-NLZ-PL) 'who (plural)' and /a-t-taa/ (DIST-NLZ-PL) 'those people.' A possible reason why the human interrogative behaves in the same way with the personal pronominals is as follows. Human interrogatives and personal pronominals are literally "pronominal," and also they obligatorily indicate human referents. On the other hand, the demonstrative nominals (and also the reflexive pronouns to be discussed in §??) may indicate non-human referents (see §??). Thus, the

Table 1.5: Animacy hierarchy in Yuwan

Personal pronominals				Human inte
1st/2nd	3rd Animate	Inanimate		
fix tabular				
Number				
Singular markers[a] *-n* / *-Ø*	N/A	*-ru -rɨ*	N/A	N/A
Dual marker *-ttəə*	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Plural markers[b] *-kja*	N/A	*-taa -taa -taa nkja*		
NP modifiers				
Singular Adnominal	N/A	Adnominal *ga*	Juxtaposition	*nu*
Dual *ga*	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Plural Adnominal	N/A	Juxtaposition	Juxtaposition	Juxtaposition *nu*
Case particles				
S/A *ga*	N/A[c]	*ga ga nu*		
P *ba*	(Not found)	*ba ba ba ba* / *Ø*		
Existential verbs *wur- wur- wur- wur- wur- ar-* / *nə-*				

[a] If a word ends with *-ru* (NLZ) or *-rɨ* (NLZ), it expresses the singularity, at least in natural discourse.

[b] This alignment depends on the text data. In the elicitation data, human demonstratives may take *nkja* (APPR), and non-human demonstratives may take *-taa* (PL) (see §?? for more details).

[c] If the subject of a clause is an interrogative word, it does not take the nominative case particle, but takes the focus particle *ga* (which is different from the nominative *ga*). See §?? and §?? for more details.

pronominal characteristic and the obligatoriness of indicating human referents may differentiate the personal pronominals and the human interrogatives from the others.

In the following subsections, we will see the details of the plural markers (see §??), the NP modifiers (see §??), and the nominative case (see §??). The accusative case was already discussed in §?? About existential verbs, see §??

1.4.1 Plural (or approximative) markers

1.4.1.1 Semantics of plural (or approximative) markers

Yuwan has three morphemes that can express a kind of plural meaning: *-kja*, *-taa*, and *nkja*. These morphemes can be used to indicate more than one referent,

which is a function of both of the ordinary plural and the "associative plural" in other languages (cf. Corbett 2000: 101-111). However, the "plural" markers in Yuwan can be used in another situation. They can indicate a virtually single referent. I will present the relevant examples of *-kja*, *-taa*, and *nkja* in turn below.

First, *-kja* (PL) can indicate not only plural specific referents, but also a single specific referent as in (??a-b). It can be translated into 'a person like me.'

(55) *-kja* (PL)

a. [Context: Speaking to MS about the tuna fishing in old days]
wanna sijan. waakjoo sijandoo.
waa-n=ja sij-an *waa-kja=ja sij-an=doo*
1-SG=TOP know-NEG 1-PL=TOP know-NEG=ASS
'I don't know. I don't know (the detail of the tuna fishing).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: US told TM and MY that TM knew everything, but TM said she knew nothing herself, but that her mother had known everything important.]
= (??)
waakjan sijanmun.
waa-kja=n sij-an=mun
1PL=also know-NEG=ADVRS
'I don't know anything either.' (or 'A person like me doesn't know anything either.') [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??a), TM and MS were talking alone about the tuna fishing in old days, and TM said she did not know about it in detail. Here, the *waa-kja* (1-PL) in this example indicates the speaker herself alone as an instance of people who are not familiar with the tuna fishing. The semantic "non-plurality" of the referent can be implied by the singular pronoun /wan/ *waa-n* (1-SG), which precedes and is paraphrased by the following *waa-kja* (1-PL). In (??b), there are only four participants in the scene, and TM told US that she (i.e. TM) did not know anything showing her modesty. In this case, the expression *waa-kja* (1-pL) did not indicate a referent other than TM (see also the discussion about (??) in §??). In order to specify the ability to indicate a single referent using the form *waa-kja* (1-PL), I did an elicitation as in (??), where the singularity of the agent is stressed by the extended NP *cˀjui=sjɨ* (one.person.CLF=INST) 'alone.' Both of *-kja* (PL) and *cˀjui=sjɨ* 'alone' are underlined below.

(56) [Context: There are only two people, and one talks to the other.]

urəə mucɨkasjanu, waakjoo cˀjuisjəə
u-rɨ=ja mucɨkasj-sa=nu waa-kja=ja cˀjui=sjɨ=ja
MES-NLZ=TOP difficult-ADJ=CSL 1-PL=TOP one.person.CLF=INST=TOP
siikijandoo.
sɨr-i+kij-an=doo
do-INF+CAP-NEG=ASS
'That is difficult, so I cannot do (it) alone.' [El: 130820]

In (??), the speaker uses *waa-kja* (1-PL) in order to pick up herself as an instance who cannot do the difficult thing.

These uses of *-kja* (PL) are very frequent in Yuwan. One may remember the so-called "associative plural" (or "group plural") in other languages (cf. Corbett 2000: 101-111). However, there is a crucial difference between the functoin of the "plural" in Yuwan and that of the associative plural in other languages. On the one hand, the common usage of the associative plural markers in other languages is to indicate a specific group. In other words, wherether or not there are a number of unspecific referents in the group, the group itself must be specific. For example, if you are a pupil of an elementary school and school lunches are provided, you can say something like: *We don't need to bring lunch by ourselves.* Here, the plural form *we* indicates a specific referent (i.e. the speaker), and the remaining referents may be specific or unspecific. Anyway, the group indicated by *we*, i.e. the pupils of the school as a whole, must be specific. On the other hand, the plural markers of Yuwan can indicate a certain group that is *not* specific in itself. For example, *waa-kja* (1-PL) in (??a) does not indicate any specific group. If we dare to identify the group in the context, it might be a group where the members are not familiar with the tuna fishing in those days. In the case of (??b), it seems more difficult (or impossible) to identify such a group indicated by *waa-kja* (1-PL). The "group" mentioned here is very different from that of *we* in English in terms of specificity. In fact, the unspecificity of the group indicated by *-kja* (PL) is not the sufficient condition to distinguish it from the plural forms in other languages. For example, the "*houses*" in *I suppose there are many houses in the city* in English can indicate an unspecific group. Thus, I have to mention another difference between *-kja* (PL) and the plural forms in other languages. On the one hand, *-kja* (PL) can be used to indicate a single referent as an example (to illustrate the proposition expressed by the clause where *-kja* (PL) is included). For example, *waa-kja* (1-PL) in (??a-b) indicates the speaker alone as an example (to illustrate the proposition expressed by the clause where *-kja* (PL) is included). On the other hand, *-s* in *houses* in English does not have a meaning like that.

The above argumentation is summarized as follows.

(57) The difference between *-kja* (PL) and the plural markers in other languages;

a. *-kja* (PL) can indicate an unspecific group (which is different from the associative plural);

b. *-kja* (PL) can indicate a singel referent as an example (to illustrate the proposition expressed by the clause where *-kja* (PL) is included).

The above characteristics also found in the other plural markers in Yuwan, i.e. *-taa* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR).

I will present examples of *-taa* (PL). (**??**a) is a conversation of TM with US. (**??**b) is a conversation of TM with MS.

(58) *-taa* (PL)

a. [Context: TM is speaking to US about the present author. (US's reply is omitted from the convesation for convenience.)]
jonesigetaa cˀjantu attaa ziisantugajoo
jonesige-taa cˀjan=tu a-rɨ-taa ziisan=tu=ga=joo
Yoneshige-PL father=COM DIST-NLZ-PL grandfather=COM=NOM=CFM1
|itoko|bəi najuncjɨ.
itoko=bəi nar-jur-n=ccjɨ
cousin=only become-UMRK-PTCP=QT
'Yoneshige's father and his [i.e. the present speaker's] grandfather are cousin, (I heard).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: There was a bell used to tell time, and it used to be rung by a subordinate who was working under the chief of the Yuwan district.]
kucjoo-san=nu sja=nan. mata, a-t-taa=ja,
kucjoo-san=nu sja=nan mata a-rɨ-taa=ja
chief.of.a.ward-HON=GEN below=LOC1 again DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP
cˀju=ja cɨ-cju-tat-tu.
cˀju=ja cɨk-tur-tar-tu
person=TOP accompany-PROG-PST-CSL
'A subordinate was working under the man, (who was) the chief of our ward, so ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (**??**a), TM and US had not seen the other members of the present author's family. Thus, it is natural to think that /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) in this example indicates specifically the present author alone. At least, it is difficult to translate TM's second utterance into 'their grandfather' in this context. One might

think that the plurality of the modifier is induced by the head nominal, i.e. *ziisan* 'grandfather,' because kin terms are always related with a broad kinship relation. However, it is not the case at least in the case of Yuwan. For example, a singular form (i.e. /akka/ *a-rɨ=ga* (DIST-NLZ=GEN)) can fill the modifier slot of an NP whose head is the same kinship term (i.e. *ziisan* 'grandfather') as in (??b) in §?? Next, in (??b), /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) indicates the chief of the Yuwan district. One district has one chief. Thus, /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) in this example should be interpreted as indicating only one referent.

In both of the examples above, *-taa* (PL) is preceded by the demonstrative stem *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ). *-taa* (PL) can also follow address nouns (see §??). An address noun followed by *-taa* (PL) can also indicate a single referent as in (??).

(59) [Context: TM said that she used to practice the traditional dance until someone visited her.]
minakotaa, akka k'uugadɨ,
minako-taa a-rɨ=ga k-gadɨ
Minako-PL DIST-NLZ=NOM come-until
'Minako$_i$, until she$_i$ come (here), ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??), *minako-taa* (Minako-PL) indicates only one referent, i.e. 'Minako.' The semantic "non-plurality" of the referent can be implied by the singular pronoun *a-rɨ* (DIST-NLZ) 'she,' which followed and paraphrased the preceding *minako-taa* (Minako-PL), which is very similar to the case in (??a). In order to specify the ability to indicate a single referent using *-taa* (PL), I did an elicitation research as in (??), where the singularity of the agent is stressed by the extended NP *c'jui=sjɨ* (one.person.CLF=INST) 'alone.' Both *-taa* (PL) and *c'jui=sjɨ* 'alone' are underlined below.

(60) *-taa* (PL)
[Context: TM is talking about a person, and the person is the only candidate who is assumed by the speaker.]
urəə mucɨkasjanu, attaa c'juisjəə
u-rɨ=ja mucɨkasj-sa=nu a-rɨ-taa c'jui=sjɨ=ja
MES-NLZ=TOP difficult-ADJ=CSL DIST-NLZ-PL one.person.CLF=INST=TOP
siikijandoo.
sɨr-i+kij-an=doo
do-INF+CAP-NEG=ASS
'That is difficult, so he cannot do (it) alone.' [El: 130820]

In (??), /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) is used to indicate a person as an example who cannot do the difficult thing mentioned, which can be translated into 'a person like him.'

Finally, I will present examples of *nkja* (APPR). In (??a), TM and MS were looking at a picture, and she said that she did not know such a scene on it. Here, *ku-rɨ=nkja* (PROX-NLZ=APPR) did not indicate plural pictures in the photographic collection, but indicated a single specific picture that they were looking at (perhaps with unspecific pictures that were also unfamiliar to TM). In (??b), there is only a house where the speaker lived, and *nkja* (APPR) is used to indicate the house as an example of the old houses where there is no papered sliding door.

(61) *nkja* (APPR)
[Context: TM and MS were looking at a picture (in a photographic collection), where was a scene TM had not seen before]

a. sijan, kurɨnkjoo.
sij-an *ku-rɨ=nkja=ja*
know-NEG PROX-NLZ=APPR=TOP
'(I) don't know this [i.e. the picture].' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. waakjaa jankjoo |husumasjoozi|n nənba,
waa-kja-a *jaa=nkja=ja* *husuma+sjoozi=n* *nə-an-ba*
1-PL-ADNZ house=APPR=TOP k.o.door+k.o.door=also exist-NEG-CSL
'Our house did not have *fusuma* [i.e. thick papered sliding door] and also *shōji* [i.e. thin papered sliding door], so ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

The characteristics of these examples correspond to those in (??a-b).

The above uses of the "plural" markers in Yuwan do not seem to be similar to the uses of the plural markers in other languages. At least, they are different from the so-called associative plural. It is probable that a use of the plural markers that is named "approximative" by Corbett (2000: 239-240) may be the candidate. For example, Corbett (2000: 239) cited the use of the plural markers in Dogon (spoken in Mari): *isu mbe nie mbe* (fish PL oil PL) 'fish, oil, and similar things' ['du poisson, de l'huile et cetera' in the original text in Plungian (1995: 11)]. According to Corbett (2000: 240), "(t)he approximative requires more research. There is evidence only for the use of the plural." Therefore, the more elaborated research of the plural markers in Yuwan will present the good examples for the approximative.

For the reader's convenience, I glossed both of *-kja* and *-taa* as "PL" (i.e. plural). On the other hand, I glossed *nkja* as "APPR" (i.e. approximative) considering its capability to follow not only nominals but also verbs (see §?? for more details).

1.4.1.2 Morphosyntax of plural (or approximative) markers

The three plural markers *-kja* (PL), *-taa* (PL), and *nkja* (APPR) are chosen in this order corresponding to the lexical meaning of their preceding nominals, which is subject to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table ??). A similar phenomenon, where more than one plural marker correspond to the animacy hierarchy, is found in other Ryukyuan languages, e.g. Ogami (Southern Ryukyuan) (Pellard 2010: 133), and also in other languages, e.g. Eastern Huasteca Nahuatl (Corbett 2000: 77-78). The verb in Yuwan do not show any number agreement with the arguments.

First, personal pronominals use *-kja* (PL) to express the plural (or approximative) meaning (see also §??). In (??a), the first person pronoun has its plural form *waa-kja* (1-PL). In (??b), the second person honorific pronoun has its plural form *naa-kja* (2.HON-PL). In (??c), the second person non-honorific pronoun has its plural form as *ura-kja* (2.NHON-PL).

(62) a. Personal pronominal (1st person)
[Context: Remembering her childfood after looking at a relatively new picture, where children wore clothes of Western style]
waakjaga warabɨ sjuininkjoo, ganba
waa-kja=ga warabɨ sɨr-tur-i-n=nkja=ja ganba
1-PL=NOM child do-PROG-INF-time=APPR=TOP therefore
hukunkjoo tʾɨn nənba.
huku=nkja=ja tʾɨɨ=n nə-an-ba
clothes.of.Western.style=APPR=TOP one.CLF=even exist-NEG-CSL
'When we were children, there were no Western style clothes.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person honorific)
[Context: Speaking to US, whose family used to deal in fish]
naakjaga sjɨ moojuinnja, simanu
naa-kja=ga sɨr-tɨ moor-jur-i-n=ja sima=nu
2.HON-PL=NOM do-SEQ HON-UMRK-INF=TOP island=GEN
jʾudarooga?
jʾu=daroo=ga
fish=SUPP=CFM3
'When you dealt in (fish), (they were) probably fish from the community [i.e. fish taken around the community].' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)
[Context: Talking about a riverboat of the MS's family]
urakjoo nusinkjanu atattudu, siccjuro.
ura-kja=ja *nusi=nkja=nu* *ar-tar-tu=du* *sij-tur-oo*
2.NHON.PL=TOP RFL=APPR=NOM exist-PST-CSL=FOC know-PROG-SUPP
'You probably know (it), because you have a riverboat of your own.'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

Second, human interrogatives, human demonstratives and address nouns (i.e. elder kinships and personal names) use *-taa* (PL) to express the plural (or approximative) meaning. In (??a), the human interrogative root *ta-* 'who' has its plural form /tattaa/ *ta-ru-taa* (who-NLZ-PL). In (??b), a human demonstrative root *u-* (MES) has its plural form /uttaa/ *u-ri-taa* (MES-NLZ-PL). In (??c), an address noun (elder kinship) *anmaa* 'mother' has its plural form /anmataa/ *anmaa-taa* (mother-PL). Finally, in (??d), an address noun (personal name) *nobuari* 'Nobuari' has its plural form *nobuari-taa* (Nobuari-PL).

(63) a. Human interrogtive
tattaaga umoojuru?
ta-ru-taa=ga *umoor-jur-u*
who-NLZ-PL=NOM exist.HON-UMRK-PFC
'Who would (still) be alive (over ninty years old)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Human demonstrative
[Context: Looking for a picture, where a rutual in marriage called 'Sansankudo' was held]
uttaaga |sansankudo| sjun turonkjanu
u-ri-taa=ga *sansankudo* *sir-tur-n* *turoo=nkja=nu*
MES-NLZ-PL=NOM k.o.ritual do-PROG-PTCP place=APPR=NOM
izituttɨjaa.
izir-tur-tɨ=jaa
go.out-PROG-SEQ=SOL
'There was a scene where they were doing Sansankudo.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Address noun (elder kinship)
[Context: TM and US said that it would be nice if there were TM's mother.]

anmataaga wuppoojaa.
anmaa-taa=ga wur-boo=jaa
mother-PL=NOM exist-CND=SOL
'If there were (a kind of person like my) mother.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Address noun (personal name)
[Context: Talking about a riverboat in old days]
naa nobuaritaakaroo siccjukkai?
naa nobuari-taa=kara=ja sij-tur=kai
already Nobuari-PL=ABL=TOP know-PROG=DUB
'I wonder if (the generation) after Nobuari already know (it).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

Finally, the other nominals use *nkja* (APPR) to express the plural (or approximative) meaning. If indefinite pronouns or demonstrative pronouns do not indicate human referents, they express the plurality using *nkja* (APPR) as in (??a-b). On the other hand, the reflexive pronoun *nusi* (RFL) also exploits *nkja* (APPR) to indicate the plurarity, although the referent is a human, i.e. the hearer, as in (??c). Common nouns always exploit *nkja* (APPR) despite the referents being humans or non-humans as in (??d-e).

(64) a. Non-human interrogative
[Context: TM was surprised that US brought a lot of foods to TM's house.]
nunkjabaga mata muccji moocjaru?
nuu=nkja=ba=ga mata mut-ti moor-tar-u
what=APPR=ACC=FOC again have-SEQ HON-PST-PFC
'What did (you) bring (here) again?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Non-human demonstrative
[Context: Looking at a picture]
kurinkjoo daakai?
ku-ri=nkja=ja daa=kai
PROX-NLZ=APPR=TOP where=DUB
'Where (is) this [i.e. the scene of the picture]?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Human reflexive pronoun [= (??c)]
[Context: Talking about a riverboat of the MS's family]
urakjoo, nusinkjanu atattudu, siccjuro.
urakja=ja nusi=nkja=nu ar-tar-tu=du sij-tur-oo
2.NHON.PL=TOP RFL=APPR=NOM exist-PST-CSL=FOC know-PROG-SUPP
'You probably know (it), because you have a riverboat of your own.'

[Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. Human common nouns
mata namanujoo warabɨnkjoojoo,
mata nama=nu=joo warabɨ=nkja=ja=joo
moreover now=GEN=CFM1 child=APPR=TOP=CFM1
huccjunkjaboo sɨkandoojaa.
huccju=nkja=ba=ja sɨk-an=doo=jaa
old.person=APPR=ACC=TOP like-NEG=ASS=SOL
'Moreover, the children in these days do not like the old people.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. Non-human commoun noun
[Context: Looking at a picture]
kuzɨnkjoo nənbajaa.
kuzɨ=nkja=ja nə-an-ba=jaa
shoe=APPR=TOP exist-NEG-CSL=SOL
'There were not any shoes (in those days).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

nkja (APPR) can follow other plural markers, i.e. *-kja=nkja* (PL=APPR) and *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR). In those cases, *nkja* (APPR) ignores the correspondence with the animacy hierarchy. First, let us see examples of *-kja=nkja* (PL=APPR).

(65) Double plural marking

a. Personal pronominal (1st person)
[Context: Looking at a pictue, where there were a few men]
waakjankjoo waasa asaa.[4]
waakja=nkja=ja waa-sa ar-sa
1PL=APPR=TOP young-ADJ STV-POL
'I am young(er than them).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)
[Context: Talking about riverboats]
urakjankja, josidanu ozisantankja
ura-kja=nkja josida=nu ozisan-ta=nkja=ga
2.NHON-PL=APPR Yoshida=GEN unlce-PL=APPR=NOM

[4]The regular process is *ar-sa* (STV-POL) > /assa/ (see §1.2.1.4), but it realizes as /asaa/ in this example.

(..tankja)ga mucjutakai?
mut-tur-tar=kai
have-PROG-PST=DUB
'(I) wonder if you all [i.e. your family] (and) Yoshida's uncle and his family had (riverboats).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In fact, the combinations of *-kja* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR) as in (**??**a-b) are very rare.

On the other hand, the combinations of *-taa* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR) are very common in Yuwan.

(66) Double plural marking

a. Human interrogtive
urakjaa t'ɨɨuicjɨboo, tattankja?
urakja-a t'ɨɨ+ui=ccjɨboo ta-ru-taa=nkja
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ one.CLF+above= speaking.of
'Speaking of (the people who are) one (year) older (than) you, who (were they)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Address noun (personal name) & Human demonstrative
[Context: Remembering the days when people practiced the traditional dances]
sugojaga arɨ sjuinnja, kijomitankja,
sugoja=ga a-rɨ sɨr-tur-i=n=ja kijomi-taa=nkja
Sugoya=NOM DIST-NLZ do-PROG-INF=DAT1=TOP Kiyomi-PL=APPR
attankja, muru... sjutanmun,
a-rɨ-taa=nkja muru sɨr-jur-tar-n=mun
DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR very do-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'When Sugoya was doing that [i.e. the practice of their traditional dances], Kiyomi and her friends, they used to do [i.e. participate in] (the practice) eagerly, but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. Address noun (elder kinship)
[Context: Looking at a picture where a formal opening of a prefectural road was held]
waakjaa anmatankjaga izjɨ c'jancjɨ j'icjɨ,
waakja-a anmaa-taa=nkja=ga ik-tɨ k-tar-n=ccjɨ j'-tɨ
1PL-ADNZ mother-PL=APPR=NOM go-SEQ come-PST-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'My mother and her friends said that (they) had been [i.e. participated in] (the formal opening), and ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In my texts, there are more than thirty examples that have the combination of *-taa=nkja* (APPR).

Finally, there is also an example of double marking of *nkja* (APPR). However, it seems unproductive, since there is only one such example in my texts.

(67) Double plural marking
Common noun
[Context: Remebering the old days when Amami Ōshima was occupied by the US military]
unininkjoo, ..
unin[5] *=nkja=ja* *gakkoo+sjeito=nkja=nkja=ga=jaa*
that.time=APPR=TOP school+pupil=APPR=APPR=NOM=SOL
|gakkoosjeito|nkjankjagajaa. ari nati,
a-ri *nar-ti*
DIST-NLZ COP-SEQ
'In those days, (the teachers felt that) the pupils were that [i.e. in danger], so ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

nkja (APPR) has a freer distribution than *-kja* (PL) and *-taa* (PL). Such a fact clearly correlates with the fact that it can follow not only nominals but also verbs, e.g. /mudutinkja/ *mudur-ti=nkja* (return-SEQ=APPR) (see§?? for more details). *nkja* (APPR) is a form usually taken by nominals in the lowest (or the rightmost) of the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan. Therefore, it may be possible to say that the above possibility of double plural marking, where the following plural morpheme must be *nkja* (APPR), indicates that the plurality itself decreses the "animacy" of NP, since the personal pronominals, human interrogatives, and human demonstratives in the singular do not take *nkja* (APPR) directly (at least in the texts), but those in the plural can take it. Such a characteristic of the plural forms to decrease the "animacy" of an NP is found also in Polish, although the converse phenomenon is found in Russian (Comrie 1989: 188).

Before concluding this section, I present the differences between *-kja* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR). It is probable that the two forms are cognate, and that /n/ of *nkja* (APPR) was **nu* (GEN) in the past. However, they have to be regarded as different morphemes in modern Yuwan because of the following three reasons. First, *nkja* (APPR) can follow the converbal affix *-ti* (SEQ), but *nu* (GEN) never follows *-ti* (SEQ). Second, /n/ of *nkja* (APPR) cannot be paraphrased as /nu/, which is different from the contracted genitive particle /n/ discussed in (??) in §?? Third, the plural

[5] *unin* 'that time' must take the allomorph /unini/ before a consonant that fills a coda slot of a syllable.

form of *ura* (2.NHON.SG) 'you' is /urakja/ (not /uraakja/), which means that the morpheme preceding *kja* is not the adnominal *ura-a* (2.NHON-ADNZ) 'your.'

1.4.2 NP modifiers

The words which can fill the modifier slot of an NP use different morphosyntacitc means to modifiy their head nominal depending on their lexical meanings, which are subject to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table **??**). The distribution of means in the singular is partly different from that in the plural, which is caused by a plural affix *-taa*, which can attach to human interrogatives, human demonstrative, and address nouns. If these three lexical groups take *-taa* (PL), they fill the modifier slot of an NP without any other morpheme, i.e. juxtaposition. As mentioned before, the description of the rightmost nominals ("the other nominals") in Table **??** is a little simplified. In fact, non-human demonstratives in the singular, e.g. *a-rɨ* 'that', can take not only *nu* (GEN) but also *ga* (GEN) in an environment, the detail of which is explained at the last of 6.4.2.1.

In the following subsections, we will see examples in the singular (see §**??**). Next, we will see the examples in the plural (see §**??**). Only the personal pronouns have the dual forms, e.g. /wa-ttəə/ (1-DU) 'the two of us,' and they take *ga* (GEN) when they fill the modifier slot of an NP, which is briefly discussed in §**??**

1.4.2.1 NP modifiers in the singular

An NP modifier in the singular chooses one of the following four means in this order, i.e. affixing of *-a* (ADNZ), taking *ga* (GEN), juxtaposition, and taking *nu* (GEN), corresponding to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table **??**).

First, personal pronominals and human interrogatives in the singular become adnominals using an adnominalizer *-a* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP (see also §**??** and §**??**). In (**??**a), the first-person pronominal takes its adnominal form /waa/ *waa-a* (1.SG-ADNZ) 'my.' In (**??**b), the second-person honorific pronominal takes its adnominal form /naa/ *naa-a* (2.HON.SG-ADNZ) 'your (honorific).' In (**??**c), the second-person non-honorific pronominal takes its adnominal form *ura-a* (2.NHON.SG-ADNZ) 'your (non-honorific).' Finally, in (**??**d), the human interrogative takes its adnominal form *ta-a* (who-ADNZ) 'whose.'

(68) Adnominals

a. Personal pronominal (1st person)
[Context: Talking about a man who used to dub tapes of songs voluntarily for villagers;

‘He said his recorder was not useful these days, and...’]
waa injasan |kasetto|kkwagadɨ muccjɨ
waa-a inja-sa+ar-n kasetto-kkwa=gadɨ mut-tɨ
1SG-ADNZ small-ADJ+STV-PTCP cassette.recorder-DIM=LMT have-SEQ
izjɨ,
ik-tɨ
go-SEQ
‘(He) took even my small cassette recorder, and...’ [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person honorific)
naa məəkaci cˀjəəradu,
naa-a məə=kaci k-təəra=du
2.HON.SG-ADNZ front=ALL come-after
‘After (the present author) came to your place, ...’ [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)
uraa |boosi|dooccjɨ jˀicjɨ,
ura-a boosi=doo=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ
2.NHON.SG-ADNZ hat=ASS=QT say-SEQ
‘(The boy) said, “(It’s) your hat.”’ [PF: 090827_02.txt]

d. Human interrogative
ude, umanu nɨkan taa nɨkan xxx
ude u-ma=nu nɨkan ta-a nɨkan
well MES-place=GEN mikan who-ADNZ orange
‘Well, whose *mikan* is (this) one [lit. *mikan*] there?’ [Co: 101023_01.txt]

Second, human demonstratives in the singular take the genitive case particle *ga* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP as in (??) (about the contraction *-rɨ=ga* > /kka/, see (??) in §??).

(69) Genitive case particle *ga*
Human demonstratives
akka naa nuucjɨ?
a-rɨ=ga naa nuu=ccjɨ
DIST-NLZ=GEN name what=QT
‘What is that person’s name?’ [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Third, address nouns (elder kinships or personal names) in the singular can fill the modifier slot of an NP by themselves; in other words, they use juxtaposition

to function as NP modifier. In (**??**a), the elder kinship term *anmaa* 'mother' fills directly the modifier slot of an NP. In (**??**b), the personal name *kacumi* 'Katsumi' fills directly the modifier slot of an NP too.

(70) Juxtapostion

a. Address noun (elder kinship)
[Context: Remembering the day when a few students came to see TM's mother]
anmaa məəci kjuuta.
anmaa məə=kaci k-jur-tar
mother front=ALL come-UMRK-PST
'(They) used to come to (my) mother's place.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Address noun (personal name)
kun sɨgu kaduja namanu kacumi jaa
ku-n sɨgu kadu=ja nama=nu kacumi jaa
PROX-ADNZ immediately corner=TOP now=GEN Katsumi house
jappa.
jar-ba
COP-CSL
'This one at this corner is Katsumi's house now.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

Fourth, most of the other nominals in the singular take the genitive case particle *nu* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP. In (**??**a), the non-human interrogative *nuu* 'what' takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (**??**b), the non-human demonstrative *a-rɨ* 'that' takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (**??**c), both common nouns *zii* 'ground' and *micja* 'soil' take genitive particle *nu*.

(71) Genitive case particle *nu*

a. Non-human interrogative
nuunu nangikaicjɨdu umujun.
nuu=nu nangi=kai=ccjɨ=du umuw-jur-n
what=GEN trouble=DUB=QT=FOC think-UMRK-PTCP
'(I) wonder what (kinds) of trouble (I took).' [i.e. 'I didn't want to take such a trouble.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Non-human demonstrative

|sjenkjo|nu, arɨnu tukin, naajoo,
sjenkjo=nu a-rɨ=nu tuki=n naa=joo
election=GEN DIST-NLZ=GEN time=DAT1 already=CFM1
'(At) the time of election, (at the time) of that [i.e. the election], you know, ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Common nouns
[Context: Remembering a lesson told by TM's aquaintance]
ziinu micjanu naanan dɨkɨjun munna
zii=nu micja=nu naa=nan dɨkɨr-jur-n mun=ja
ground=GEN soil=GEN inside=LOC1 be.born-UMRK-PTCP thing=TOP
gaija tˀɨn nəncjɨ.
gai=ja tˀɨɨ=n nə-an=ccjɨ
harm=TOP one.CLF=even exist-NEG=QT
'(He said) that the things that were made in the soil of the ground are not dangerous at all.' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

It should be noted here that the choice of genitive particles is decided by the lexical meaning of the head within the modifier NP, not by the modifier NP as a whole. This is shown by the following example.

(72) Common noun
[Context: TM and US had been talking about an acquaintance, whose nickname they knew, but they did not know his full name.]
an cˀjunu naaja sijan.
a-n cˀju=nu naa=ja sij-an
DIST-ADNZ person=GEN name=TOP know-NEG
'(I) don't know that person's name.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (??), the common noun *cˀju* 'person' indicates a human and is modified by a demonstrative *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ) 'that.' Thus, the whole NP *a-n cˀju=nu* (DIST-ADNZ person=GEN) 'that person's' seems to have the same definiteness and "humanness" with the human demonstrative *a-rɨ=ga* (DIST-NLZ=GEN) 'that person's' in (??). The former, i.e. *a-n cˀju=nu* 'that person's,' however, still takes *nu* (GEN), while the latter, i.e. *a-rɨ=ga* 'that person's' takes *ga* (GEN). These facts mean that the genitive case does not take care of the lexical meaning of the modifier NP as a whole, but only takes care of the head nominal within it. Interestingly, the nominative case behaves differently from the genitive case in this point (see §?? for more details).

Lastly, it should be mentioned that non-human demonstratives can take either *nu* (GEN) as in (**??**b) or *ga* (GEN) as in (**??**a-b), and the former is the usual choice. This fact makes the correspondence of non-human demonstratives within the animacy hierarchy a little complicated.

(73) Non-human demonstrative

a. [Context: Talking about a famous big banyan tree that used to be there]
naakjoo ukka sjanti asibanti?
naakja=ja u-ri=ga sja=nanti asib-an-ti
2.HON.PL=TOP MES-NLZ=GEN under=LOC2 play-NEG-SEQ
'Didn't you play at the place under that [i.e. the banyan tree]?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: TM heard that MY put an egg into the miso soup in the every morning.]
ugga naakaci iripoo, jiccjai.
u-ri=ga naa=kaci irir-boo jiccj-sa+ar-i
MES-NLZ=GEN inside=ALL put.in-CND good-ADJ+STV-NPST
'If (you) put (it) inside that [i.e. the soup], (it will) be good.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

The above demonstratives do not indicate humans, but they can take *ga* (GEN). The flexible correspondence with the animacy hierarchy found in the above examples was not found in the behavior of plural markers in the text corpus, where human demonstratives always take *-taa* (PL), and non-human demonstratives do not take it (see §**??** about the data from elicitation).

The behaviour of words in the singular to fill the modifier slot of an NP was shown above; then, we will see that in the plural in the following section.

1.4.2.2 NP modifiers in the plural

An NP modifier in the plural chooses one of the following three means in this order, i.e. affixing *-a* (ADNZ), juxtaposition, and taking *nu* (GEN), corresponding to the animacy hierarchy of Yuwan (see Table **??**).

First, personal pronominals in the plural, as well as in the singular, become adnominals using an adnominalizer *-a* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP. In (**??**a), the first-person pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *waakj-a* (1PL-ADNZ) 'our.' In (**??**b), the second-person honorific pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *naakja-a* (2.HON.PL-ADNZ) 'your (plural honorific).' In (**??**c), the

second-person non-honorific pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *urakj-a* (2.NHON.PL-ADNZ) 'your (plural non-honorific).'

(74) Adnominals

a. Personal pronominal (1st person)
waakjaa uziitaaga gan sjɨ jatassiga.
waakja-a uzii-taa=ga ga-n sɨr-tɨ jar-tar-siga
1PL-ADNZ grandfather-PL=NOM MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-PST-POL
'My husband [lit. our grandfather (in the perspective of TM's grandchildren)] did so.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Personal pronominal (2nd person honorific)
naakjaa jaakacinkjoo |nenzjuu|
naakja-a jaa=kaci=nkja=ja nenzjuu
2.HON.PL-ADNZ house=ALL=APPR=TOP always
ikjutanban,
ik-jur-tar-n=ban
go-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'(I) used to go to your house, but ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. Personal pronominal (2nd person non-honorific)
urakjaa jaaga, uinu jaaga mukasinu
urakja-a jaa=ga ui=nu jaa=ga mukasi=nu
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ house=NOM above=GEN house=NOM past=NOM
jaaja.
jaa=jaa
house=SOL
'Your house, the house above, (is) a traditional house, you know.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

Second, human interrogatives, human demonstratives, and address nouns in the plural can fill the modifier slot of an NP by themselves. In other words, they use juxtaposition to function as an NP modifier. In (??a), the human interrogative plural form /tattaa/ *ta-ru-taa* (who-NLZ-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (??b), the human demonstrative plural form /attaa/ *a-rɨ-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (??c), the address noun (elder kinship) plural form *baasan-taa* (grandmothr-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (??d), the address noun (personal name) plural form *minoe-taa* (Minoe-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP.

(75) Juxtaposition

a. Human interrogative
kurəə tattaa cɨrɨkai?
ku-rɨ=ja ta-ru-taa cɨrɨ=kai
PROX-NLZ=TOP who-NLZ-PL classmate=DUB
'Whose classmate is this person?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Human demonstrative
attaa jaaga nama (an) acjurooga.
a-rɨ-taa jaa=ga nama ak-tur-oo=ga
DIST-NLZ-PL house=NOM now open-PROG-SUPP=CFM3
'Their house is probably unoccupied now.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Address noun (elder kinship)
baasantaa məə kˀuranu atarooga. grandmother-PL front
baasan-taa məə kˀura=nu ar-tar-oo=ga
storehouse=NOM exist-PST-SUPP=CFM3
'There was probably a storehouse (in) front of (my) grandmother('s house).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Address noun (personal name)
arəə minoetaa cˀjantaaga cɨkɨtən
a-rɨ=ja minoe-taa cˀjan-taa=ga cɨkɨr-təər-n
DIST-NLZ=TOP Minoe-PL father-PL=NOM make-RSL-PTCP
|suidoo| jatɨkai?
suidoo jar-tɨ=kai
water.conduit COP-SEQ=DUB
'Was that the water conduit which was made by Minoe (and her family)'s father (and his friends)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

The means of human interrogative and human demonstratives in the plural is different from that in the singular (see §**??**). Such a difference is clearly caused by the plural affix *-taa* (PL), which forces the means to fill the modifier slot of an NP to become juxtaposition. It is possible to think that *-taa* (PL) decreases the "animacy" of the above NPs. For example, human interrogatives change the means from *-a* (ADNZ), which is exploited by the nominals in the higher (or left side) rank of the animacy hierarchy, to juxtaposition, which is used by the nominals in the relatively lower rank of the animacy hierarchy. Considering these facts, the plurality seems to decrease the animacy of the relevant NPs (see also the remark on the double plural marking in §**??**).

Third, the other nominals in the plural take the genitive case particle *nu* when they fill the modifier slot of an NP. So far, there is no use of non-human plural

interrogatives in the modifier slot of an NP. In (??a), the non-human demonstrative in the plural *a-rɨ=nkja* (DIST-NLZ=APPR) takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (??b), the common noun in the plural *dusi=nkja* (friend=APPR) also takes the genitive particle *nu*.

(76) Genitive case particle *nu*

a. Non-human demonstrative
[Context: Talking about a person who was in the picture of an inn of neighborhood]
arɨnkjanu huccjunu sjasinnan
a-rɨ=nkja=nu *huccju=nu* *sjasin=nan*
DIST-NLZ=APPR=GEN old.person=GEN photo=LOC1
nututtojaa.
nur-tur=doo=jaa
appear/ride-PROG=ASS=SOL
'(The person) appears in the photo of old people who lived in that [i.e. the inn].' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Common noun
[Context: After speaking about MS's father, TM began to speak about the cousin of the friend of MS's father.]
dusinkjanu zikinu |itoko|nu muhacianjootaa,
dusi=nkja=nu *ziki=nu* *itoko=nu* *muhaci+anjoo-taa*
friend=APPR=GEN direct=GEN cousin=GEN Muhachi+older.brother-PL
attankjoo, cunekoccjɨnkjoo j'icjan
a-rɨ-taa=nkja=ja *cuneko=ccjɨ=nkja=ja* *j'-tar-n*
DIST-NLZ-PL=APPR=TOP Tsuneko=QT=APPR=TOP say-PST-PTCP
kutoo nəntanmun.
kutu=ja *nə-an-tar-n=mun*
event=TOP exist-NEG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'The direct cousin [i.e. a cousin as a near relative (not by marriage)] of the friend (of your father), Muhachi, he never called (me) Tsuneko (without any honorific title).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In fact, there are few examples where nominals both in the plural and in the lowest side of animacy hierarchy in Table **??** fill the modifier slot of an NP. Therefore, I have not found any example where a non-human demonstrative in the plural takes *ga* (GEN), which is clearly different from the case of non-human demonstratives in the singular discussed in (??) in §??

In §??, we have seen the combination of plural morphemes *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR). However, there is only one example in my texts, where the combination occurs in the modifier slot of an NP. It uses juxtaposition to fill the modifier slot of an NP.

(77) Address noun (elder kinship) with *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR)
urakjaa ziisantaankja kjoodəə
{[*urakja-a* *ziisan-taa=nkja*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*kjoodəə*]$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{NP}}$
2.NHON.PL-ADNZ grandfather-PL=APPR brother
janban,
jar-n=ban
COP-PTCP=ADVRS
'(My grandfather) is a brother of your grandfather (and his siblings), but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The NP *urakja-a ziisan-taa=nkja* (2.NHON.PL-ADNZ grandfather-PL=APPR) 'your grandfather (and his siblings)' directly fills the modifier slot of the larger NP, whose head is *kjoodəə* 'brother.' It is probable that juxtaposition is chosen here because the head within the modifier NP is an address noun (elder kinship), i.e. *ziisan* 'grandfather,' and also it contains *-taa* (PL).

1.4.2.3 NP modifiers in the dual

Only the personal pronouns have the dual forms, i.e. *wattəə* (1DU) 'the two of us,' *nattəə* (2.HON.DU) 'the two of you (honorific), *urattəə* (2.NHON.DU) 'the two of you (non-honorific),' and *nattəə* (3DU) 'the two of them' (see also §??). These dual forms take *ga* (GEN) when they fill the modifier slot of an NP as in (??a-d).

(78) Genitive case particle *ga*

a. Personal pronoun (1st person)
kurəə wattəəga mundoo.
ku-ri=ja *wattəə=ga* *mun=doo*
PROX-NLZ=TOP 1DU=GEN thing=ASS
'These are ours.' [lit. 'These are the two of us's things.'] [El: 130812]

b. Personal pronoun (2nd person honorific)
urəə nattəəga mundoo.
u-ri=ja *nattəə=ga* *mun=doo*
MES-NLZ=TOP 2.HON.DU=GEN thing=ASS
'These are yours.' [lit. 'These are the two of you's things.'] [El: 130812]

c. Personal pronoun (2nd person non-honorific)
urəə urattəəga mundoo.
u-rɨ=ja *urattəə=ga* *mun=doo*
MES-NLZ=TOP 2.NHON.DU=GEN thing=ASS
'These are yours.' [lit. 'These are the two of you's things.'] [El: 130812]

d. Personal pronoun (3nd person)
nattəəga mun janban, muratɨ, kamɨ!
nattəə=ga mun jar-n=ban *muraw-tɨ* *kam-ɨ*
3DU=GEN thing COP-PTCP=ADVRS receive-SEQ eat-IMP
'(These sweets) are theirs, but receive and eat (them)!' [lit. '(These sweets) are the two of them's, but receive and eat (them)!'] [El: 130814]

In the above contexts, the dual genitive forms may be replaced by the plural adnominals. For example, *wattəə=ga* (1DU=GEN) 'the two of us's' in (??a) may be replaced by *waakja-a* (1PL-ADNZ) 'our.'

1.4.3 Nominative case

The nominative case has two morphemes *ga* and *nu* (see §?? about the grammatical function of the nominative case). We choose one of them depending on the lexical meaning of the preceding nominals, which subject to the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan (see Table ??). On the one hand, the nominals other than the lowest (or rightmost) position in the animacy hierarchy (except for human interrogatives), i.e. personal pronominals, human demonstratives, and address nouns must take *ga* (NOM). On the other hand, the nominals in the lowest basically take *nu* (NOM). We could not know the nominative form of interrogatives, since it should be replaced by the focus marker *ga* (FOC) (see §?? and §??).

The nominals in the lowest of the animacy hierarchy, e.g. common nouns, basically take *nu* (NOM). However, they also take *ga* (NOM) in the following environments.

(79) *ga* (NOM) prevails
Obligatorily if

a. Clause has a nominal predicate; or
b. Clause expresses incapability;
Frequently if
c. Clause has an adjectival predicate; or

d. Predicate expresses non-existence;
Sometimes if
e. Subject indicates a definite human.

In the above five environments, the first two environments, i.e. (??a-b), obligatorily cause the NP to take *ga* (NOM), but the others just tend to cause it. I will present examples in the following subsections, where only the relevant examples, i.e. examples of nominals belonging to the lowest (or rightmost) rank of the animacy hierarchy (Table ??), are shown.

First, we will look at the basic alignment of *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) (see §??). Then, I will present the conditions where *ga* (NOM) prevails over *nu* (NOM) (see §?? - §??).

1.4.3.1 Basic alignment

Basically, the nominals in the higher rank of the animacy hierarchy of Table ??, must take *ga* (NOM), and the nominals in the lowest take *nu* (NOM).

First, I will present examples of nominals that must take *ga* (NOM). There is no difference of choice of case particles between the nominals in the singular and those in the plural, so they are simply shown together below.

(80) Personal pronominals (1st person)

a. Singular
naokonnəəcjɨ wanga jˀicjaroogai?
naoko+nəə=ccjɨ *wan=ga* *jˀ-tar-oo=ga=i*
Naoko+older.sister=QT 1SG=NOM say-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Do (you remember that) I spoke of Naoko?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Plural
un hasinantɨ, ... waakjaga wutattoo.
u-n *hasi=nantɨ* *waakja=ga* *wur-tar=doo*
MES-ADNZ bridge=LOC2 1PL=NOM exist-PST=ASS
'We were [i.e. gathered] at the bridge.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Personal pronominals (2nd person honorific)

c. Singular
nanga jˀujaa sjutarooga?
nan=ga *jˀu+jaa* *sɨr-tur-tar-oo=ga*
2.HON.SG=NOM fish+house do-PROG-PST-SUPP=CFM3
'You were probably running [lit. doing] a fish shop, right?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Plural
naakjaga |socugjoo| sjəəraga waakjoo |gakkoo|kai?
naakja=ga socugjoo sɨr-təəra=ga waakja=ja gakkoo=kai
2.HON.PL=NOM graduation do-after=FOC 1PL=TOP school=DUB
'(Is it) after you had graduated (from the elementary school, when) I (began to go to) school?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]
Personal pronominals (2nd person non-honorific)

e. Singular
nobuari kunuguroo, uraga cjəəraga naa (mm)
nobuari kunuguru=ja ura=ga k-təəra=ga naa muru
Nobuari recently=TOP 2.NHON.SG=NOM come-after=FOC FIL very
muru (mm) urɨdoojaa.
u-rɨ=doo=jaa
MES-NLZ=ASS=SOL
'Nobuari (is) recently that [i.e. feels good] after you came (back to Yuwan).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

f. Plural
[Context: Talking about a freind of TM]
urakjaga konboo, tudɨnnasanuccjɨ juuboo,
urakja=ga k-on-boo tudɨnna-sa=nu=ccjɨ jˀ-boo
2.NHON.PL=NOM come-NEG-CND lonely-ADJ=CSL=QT say-CND
'(When the friend) said that, "(I) feel lonly if you do not come, so (come here)," ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
Human demonstratives

g. Singular [= (??)]
minakotaa, akka kˀuugadɨ,
minako-taa a-rɨ=ga k-gadɨ
Minako-PL DIST-NLZ=NOM come-until
'Minako, until she come (here), ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

h. Plural
attaaga sjɨ kəə sjunban,
a-rɨ-taa=ga sɨr-tɨ k-i=ja sɨr-jur-n=ban
DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM do-SEQ come-INF=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS
'They (actually would) do (make lunch there) and come (here with it), but ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]
Address nouns (elder kinship)

i. Singular [= (??)]

uziiga daibangɨɨnantɨ nasi mutunwake.
uzii=ga daiban+kɨɨ=nantɨ nasi mur-tur-n=wake
old.man=NOM big+tree=LOC2 pear pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP
'An old man is picking pears off on a big tree.' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

j. Plural
daidai sunaobikija nagaiki(ikii)bikiccjɨdu
daidai sunao-biki=ja nagaiki-biki=ccjɨ=du
for.generations Sunao-pedigree=TOP long.life-pedigree=QT=FOC
waakjaa anmataaga jutattu.
waakja-a anmaa-taa=ga j'-jur-tar-tu
1PL-ADNZ mother-PL=NOM say-UMRK-PST-CSL
'My mother used to say that (the members of) Sunao's pedigree (has had) long life for generations.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]
Address nouns (personal name)

k. Singular
atoora nobuariga jappai |kaacjan|ga j'icjan tui,
atu=kara nobuari=ga jappai kaacjan=ga j'-tar-n tui
after=ABL Nobuari=NOM after.all mother=NOM say-PST-PTCP as
gan sjɨ jatəəttoocjɨ.
ga-n sɨr-tɨ jar-təər=doo=ccjɨ
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-RSL=ASS=QT
'After (that), Nobuari (said) that, "After all, as mother said, (it) was like that."' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

l. Plural
nobuaritaaga, joo, naikwoo .. ujaja ujacjɨ
nobuari-taa=ga joo naikwa=ja uja=ja uja=ccjɨ joo
Nobuari-PL=NOM FIL a.little=TOP parent=TOP parent=QT FIL
joo .. ikjasjɨgacjɨnkja ido zjen .. zjen munna
ikja-sjɨ=ga=ccjɨ=nkja ido zjenzjen mun=ja j'-an

j'an. how-ADVZ=FOC=QT=APPR well at.all thing=TOP say-NEG

'Nobuari (said that) parents (are) parents [i.e. the ways of parents are different from his], (and) do not say anything (like) "How (do you do, mom?)" at all.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In all of the above examples, the nominals in the higher (or left side) ranks of

the animacy hierarchy (except for human interrogatives), i.e. personal pronominals, human demonstratives, and address nouns, take *ga* (NOM).

Next, we will see example of the other nominals.

(81) a. Non-human demonstrative (animate)
[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
cjoocjonu, (mmm) arɨnu wuncjɨjo. butterfly=NOM
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 actually, such) that [i.e. the moths] existed.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Non-human demonstrative (inanimate)
namanu (|taiku|) arɨnu an turoo.
nama=nu taiku a-rɨ=nu a-n turoo
NOW=GEN sport DIST-NLZ=NOM exist-ADNZ place
'(It is) the place, where that one [i.e. the sport gym] exists.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. Common nouns (innanimate; human)
daibangɨɨnu atɨ, unnəntɨ jinganu |hasigo| kɨɨtɨ,
daiban+kɨɨ=nu ar-tɨ u-n=nəntɨ jinga=nu hasigo kɨɨr-tɨ
big+tree=NOM exist-SEQ MES-ADNZ=LOC2 man=NOM ladder put-SEQ
'There was a big tree, and there a man put a ladder (against it), and ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

d. Common noun (human)
[Context: TM was surprised there was a boy with short hair on the picture, for boys in the past usullay have their heads shaven.]
naa, kurəə, kamacinkja muijacjun kʾwanu
naa ku-rɨ=ja kamaci=nkja muij-as-tur-n kʾwa=nu
FIL PROX-NLZ=TOP head=APPR grow-CASU-PROG-PTCP child=NOM

wuti.
wur-ti
exist-SEQ
'(Look at) this, (and) there is a child who grows (the hair of his) head.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (??a-d), the nominals in the lowest (or rightmost) rank of the animacy hierarchy take *nu* (NOM).

In the last of §??, it was mentioned that there can be a sequence of plural markers, i.e. *-taa=nkja* (PL=APPR), where the choice of nominative particle does not change as in (??b) or (??c).

1.4.3.2 *ga* (NOM) prevails obligatorily if the clause has a nominal predicate

As we have seen in the last of the previous section, usually the nominals in the lowest (or rightmost) rank of the animacy hierarchy take *nu* (NOM). There are, however, several cases where such a view is not the case. First of all, I will present the case where the predicate is filled by NPs, i.e. nominal predicates. In that case, the subject NP always takes *ga* (not *nu*).

(82) Non-human demonstratives

a. [Context: Talking about kinds of snails]
ariga tanmjaa jappajaa.
a-ri=ga [*tanmjaa jar-ba*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$*=jaa*
DIST-NLZ=NOM mud.snail COP-CSL=SOL
'That is a mud snail, you know.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. [Context: Wondering where the place in the picture is; '(It) may be Nogusuku.']
kuriga jadui jappa.
ku-ri=ga [*jadui jar-ba*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
PROX-NLZ=NOM cottage COP-CSL
'This is the cottage, so (it is probably Nogusuku).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
Common nouns

c. [Context: TM asked MY where the words *cuburu* and *cubusi* in Yuwan indicate.]
cuburuga kumadarooga?
cuburu=ga [*ku-ma*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$*=daroo=ga*
head=NOM PROX-place=SUPP=CFM3
'(The place indicated by the term) *cuburu* is here, right?' [Co:

110328_00.txt]

d. jaaga ari jatattu. bonsan. house=NOM DIST-NLZ
jaa=ga [*a-ri jar-tar-tu*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$ *bonsan*
COP-PST-CSL Buddhist.monk
'(Since the person's) house was that. (That is,) the Buddhist monk.'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

The subjects of nominal predicates, i.e. *a-ri* 'that' in (??a), *ku-ri* 'this' in (??b), *cuburu* 'head' in (??c), and *jaa* 'house' in (??d), take *ga* (NOM), inspite of their being non-human demonstratives or common nouns.

A nominal predicate can be filled by an infinitive (or verbal noun) as follows (see §?? for more details).

(83) Head of a nominal predicate being the infinitive

a. [Context: A couple tied an ox to the grass bound tightly, but the ox ran out.]
mingin oosiran. un ...
ming-i=n *oosir-an* *u-n* *kusabutuu=ga*
grab-REN=even have.time-NEG MES-ADNZ grass=NOM
kusabutuuga bukuccji hazири.
buku=ccji [*hazири-Ø*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
disconnected=QT be.free-INF
'(They) don't have time to grab (the ox). The bundled grass came out (of the ground).' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. kun |ike|karanu mizjuuga agan
ku-n *ike=kara=nu* *mizjuu=ga* *aga-n*
PROX-ADNZ pond=ABL=GEN ditch=NOM DIST-ADVZ
iki.
[*ik-i*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
go-INF
'The ditch from this pond goes [i.e. extends] there.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

These examples show that the subjects of the nominal predicates filled by the infinitive also take *ga* (NOM) inspite of their being common nouns, i.e. *kusabutuu* 'grass' in (??a) or *mizjuu* 'ditch' in (??b).

1.4.3.3 *ga* (NOM) prevails obligatorily if the the clause expresses incapability

If all of the following conditions are satisfied, the NP is necessarily marked by *ga* (NOM).

(84) Conditions to mark an NP with *ga* (NOM):

a. The clause, which includes the NP, expresses incapability as a whole;
b. The NP is a "core argument" (other than the subject);
c. There is a strong semantic relationship between the NP and its head VP.

The "core argument" here tends to be the object of a transitive verb, or the argument that has strong semantic relationship with the head verbs, e.g. *mɨɨ* 'eye' and *mj-* 'look at,' or *mimi* 'ear' and *kik-* 'hear.' It is difficult to call the "core arguments" subjects as in (**??**a-b), where the subjects are *a-n sinsjei* 'the teacher' or *a-n warabɨ* 'the child,' not *mɨɨ* 'eye.'

(85) a. an sinsjeija mɨɨga mjicjɨ moorancjɨdoo.
a-n sinsjei=ja mɨɨ=ga mj-tɨ moor-an=ccjɨ=doo
[DIST-ADNZ teacher]=TOP eye=NOM see-SEQ [HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
[Subject] [Honorific Aux. verb]
'(I heard) that the teacher cannot see (with his) eyes.' [El: 130816]

b. #an warabəə mɨɨga mjicjɨ moorancjɨdoo.
a-n warabɨ=ja mɨɨ=ga mj-tɨ moor-an=ccjɨ=doo
[DIST-ADNZ child]=TOP eye=NOM see-SEQ [HON-NEG]=QT=ASS
[Subject] [Honorific Aux. verb]
[Intended meaning] '(I heard) that the child cannot see (with his) eyes.' [El: 130816]

In (**??**a-b), *mɨɨ* 'eye' is not the subject of the clauses, since the acceptability of the use of the auxiliary honorific verb is determined by its preceding NPs, i.e. *a-n sinsjei* 'that teacher' in (122 a) or *a-n warabɨ* 'that child' in (**??**b), both of which are the subjects of the above sentences (see also Chapter **??**).

I will present other examples below.

(86) Expressing incapability

a. [= (**??**a)]

diru? naa mɨiga mjanba.
di-ru *naa mɨi=ga* *mj-an-ba*
which-NLZ yet eye=NOM see-NEG-CSL
'Which one? (I) cannot see (with my) eyes yet, so (it is difficult to see the picture).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. mɨiga mjan nata. eye=NOM see-NEG become-PST
mɨi=ga mj-an nar-tar
'(I) lost my sight.' [lit. '(My) eyes became unable to see (anything).'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. mimiga kikjanba.
mimi=ga kik-an-ba
ear=NOM hear-NEG-CSL
'(They) cannot hear (with their) ears, so (they are difficult to talk with).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (??a-b), *mɨi* 'eye' is a common noun, but takes *ga* (NOM) and the clauses as a whole mean the incapability of the experiencer. In (??c), *mimi* 'ear' is also a common noun, but takes *ga* (NOM) and the clause as a whole means the incapability of the experiencer. The verbal roots themselves in (123 a-c), i.e. *mj-* 'see' and *kik-* 'hear,' can express capability, even though they do not include any morpheme that especially means capability (see also (??) and (??) in §??). In fact, *kik-* 'hear' can express capability when it does not follow *mimi=ga* (ear=NOM) as in (104) in §??

The predicates may optionally take the morpheme that expresses capability. The following example is similar to the environment of (??a), but the predicate takes a morpheme that means capability, i.e. *-ar* (CAP). In (??), the common noun *mɨi* 'eye' also takes *ga* (NOM).

(87) Expressing incapability with *ar-* (CAP)
mɨiga mjaranba, naa taruccjəə
mɨi=ga *mj-ar-an-ba naa ta-ru=ccji=ja wakar-an*
eye=NOM see-CAP-NEG-CSL yet who-NLZ=QT=TOP
wakaran.

understand-NEG
'(I) cannot see (with my) eyes, so (I) can't recognize who (it is in the picture) yet.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

It should be noted that *ga* (NOM) occurs even after "verbs" if the clause expresses incapability as in (**??**a-b).

(88) a. Lexical verb in AVC expressing incapability [= (**??**a)]
kumɨnkjanu nənboo, kadɨga ikjankara, Lex. verb
kumɨ=nkja=nu nə-an-boo kam-tɨ=ga ik-an=kara
rice=APPR=NOM exist-NEG-CND eat-SEQ=NOM go-NEG=CSL
Aux. verb
'If there is no food such as rice, (we) cannot live, so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Infinitive in the complement slot of LVC expressing incapability [= (**??**)]
aikiga siikijanba. Complement LV
aik-i=ga sɨr-i+kij-an-ba
walk-INF=NOM do-INF+CAP-NEG-CSL
'(I) cannot walk [lit. do walking], so (I cannot bring the pickles from my house).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

These verbs are not "core arguments" since they are not nominals. However, the environements where *ga* (NOM) appears in (**??**a-b) are very similar to those of nominals as in (**??**). One may think that the *ga* (NOM) in this section is the focus particle *ga* in §**??** In fact, I cannot deny this possibility (see also §**??**).

1.4.3.4 *ga* (NOM) prevails frequently if the clause has an adjectival predicate

If a clause has an adjectival predicate, the core arguments tends to choose *ga* (NOM) rather than *nu* (NOM). The "core arguments" here tend to be the subject of the clause, but sometimes it is difficult to call them subject as in (**??**a-b), where the subjects are *naakjaa anmaa-taa* 'your mother' or *an warabɨ* 'that child,' not *kui* 'voice.'

(89) a. naakjaa anmataaja kuinu kjurasa atɨ
naakja-a anmaa-taa=ja kui=nu kjura-sa ar-tɨ
[2.HON.PL-ADNZ mother-PL]=TOP voice=NOM beautiful-ADJ STV-SEQ
[Subject] [HON-UMRK-SEQ] [Honorific Aux. verb]

moojutɨ?
moor-jur-tɨ

'Did your mother have a beautiful voice?' [El: 130816]

b. #an warabəə kuinu kjurasa atɨ moojutɨ? [DIST-ADNZ
a-n warabɨ=ja kui=nu kjura-sa ar-tɨ moor-jur-tɨ
child=TOP] voice=NOM beautiful-ADJ STV-SEQ [HON-UMRK-SEQ]
[Subject] [Honorific Aux. verb]
[Intended meaning] 'Did that child have a beautiful voice?' [El: 130816]

In (**??**a-b), *kui* 'voice' is not the subject of the clauses, since the acceptability of the use of the auxiliary honorific verb *moor-* is determined by its preceding NPs, i.e. *naakjaa anmaa-taa* 'your mother' or *an warabɨ* 'that child,' which are the subjects of the above sentences (see also Chapter **??**). If a clause has an adjectival predicate, the core arguments tends to choose *ga* (NOM) rather than *nu* (NOM) as in (**??**a-d). However, the adjectival predicate in the honorific AVC does not induce such preference, and the core argument takes *nu* (not *ga*) as in (**??**a), at least in elicitation.

Examples that take *ga* (not *nu*) are shown below.

(90) Non-human demonstratives

a. waakjaa cˀjantaaja kurɨga nagasa atɨ,
waakja-a cˀjan-taa=ja ku-rɨ=ga [*naga-sa ar-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$
1PL-ADNZ father-PL=TOP PROX-NLZ=NOM long-ADJ STV-SEQ

'My father was long in this [i.e. stature], so ...' [i.e. 'My father was tall, so ...'] [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about silkworms that were in the silk-reeling factory in the community, and the moths are similar to black butterflies that sometimes appear around TM's house]
arɨnu wuncjɨjo. arɨga
a-rɨ=nu wur-n=ccjɨ=joo a-rɨ=ga
DIST-NLZ=NOM exist-PTCP=QT=CFM1 DIST-NLZ=NOM
nissjagadɨ.
[*nissj-sa=gadɨ*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$
similar-ADJ=LMT
'There is that [i.e. black butterflies]. That is very similar (to the moths).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

Common nouns

c. haruotaanintəəja kjoodənkjaga zjanasa
haruo-taa=nintəə=ja *kjoodəə=nkja=ga* [*zjana-sa*
Haruo-PL=people=TOP brother=APPR=NOM many-ADJ
atɨ,
ar-tɨ]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$
STV-SEQ
'Haruo and his family have many brothers (and relatives).'[lit. 'About Haruo and his family, brothers (and relatives) are many.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. jaaga injasankara,
jaa=ga [*inja-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=kara*
house=NOM small-ADJ+STV-PTCP=CSL
'The house is small, so ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

The core arguments, i.e. *ku-rɨ* 'this [i.e. stature]' as in (??a), *a-rɨ* 'that (butterfly)' as in (??b), *kjoodəə=nkja* 'brothers (and relatives)' as in (??c), and *jaa* 'house' as in (??d), take *ga* (NOM) inspite of thier being non-human demonstratives or common nouns. I have not yet found any example in my text data where the non-human demonstrative takes *nu* (NOM) with adjectival predicates.

The prior uses of *ga* (NOM) as in (??a-d) are actually seen in Yuwan, but there are still a few examples where the arguments do not take *ga* (NOM), but take *nu* (NOM) even if their predicates are filled by adjectives.

(91) Common nouns

a. agaraa munna kisjoonu
aga-raa *mun=ja* *kisjoo=nu*
DIST-DRG.ADNZ thing=TOP temper=NOM
cjussanu.
[*cjuss-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=nu*
strong-ADJ=CSL
'That awful man has a strong [i.e hot] temper.'[lit. 'About the awful man, the temper is strong.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a man on the picture]
|iro|nu kˀurusajaa.
iro=nu [*kˀuru-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=jaa*
color=NOM black-ADJ=SOL
'(He) looks black.' [lit. '(About him), the color is black.'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

The core arguments in the above examples take *nu* (NOM), although they have adjectival predicates.

1.4.3.5 *ga* (NOM) prevails frequently if the predicate expresses non-existence

If the predicate expresses non-existence, the core arguments frequenly choose *ga* (NOM). In other words, if the predicate is filled by any one of these, i.e. *wur-an* (exist-NEG), *nə-n* (exist-NEG), *umoor-an* (exist.HON-NEG), or *ar-tɨ moor-an* (exist-SEQ HON-NEG), the core arguments tend to choose *ga* (NOM). The "core arguments" here tend to be the subjects of the clauses, but sometimes it is difficult to call them subjects as in (??a-b), where the subjects are *a-n sinsjei* 'that teacher' or *a-n warabɨ* 'that child,' and not *kanɨ* 'money'.

(92) a. an sinsjeija kaniga atɨ mooransjutɨ,
a-n sinsjei=ja kanɨ=ga ar-tɨ moor-an=sjutɨ
[DIST-ADNZ teacher]=TOP money=NOM exist-SEQ [HON-NEG]=SEQ
[Subject] [Honorific Aux. verb]
injasan jaanan sɨdɨ moojuncjɨ.
inja-sa+ar-n jaa=nan sɨm-tɨ moor-jur-n=ccjɨ
small-ADJ+STV-PTCP house=LOC live-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP=QT

'That teacher does not have money, so (he) lives in a small house.' [lit. 'About the teacher, there is no money, so (he) lives in a small house.'] [El: 130816]

b. #an warabəə kaniga atɨ mooransjutɨ,
a-n warabɨ=ja kanɨ=ga ar-tɨ moor-an=sjutɨ
[DIST-ADNZ child]=TOP money=NOM exist-SEQ [HON-NEG]=SEQ
injasan jaanan sɨdɨ moojuncjɨ.
inja-sa+ar-n jaa=nan sɨm-tɨ moor-jur-n=ccjɨ
small-ADJ+STV-PTCP house=LOC live-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP=QT
[Subject] [Honorific Aux. verb]
[Intended meaning] 'That child does not have money, so (he) lives in a small house.' [El:]

In (??a-b), *kanɨ* 'money' is not the subject of the clauses, since the acceptability of the use of the auxiliary honorific verb *moor-* is determined by its preceding NPs, i.e. *a-n sinsjei* 'that teacher' or *a-n warabɨ* 'that child,' which are the subjects of the above sentences (see also chpater 3).

Other examples are shown below.

(93) Non-human demonstrative and common noun (inanimate)

a. kumannja arɨga nəntattujaa.
ku-ma=nan=ja *a-rɨ=ga* *nə-an-tar-tu=jaa*
PROX-place=LOC1=TOP DIST-NLZ=NOM exist-NEG-PST-CSL=SOL
|zaisan|ga anmai nəntattu.
zaisan=ga *anmai* *nə-an-tar-tu*
fortune=NOM so.much exist-NEG-PST-CSL
'(The person) did not have that [i.e. fortune] here. (He) did not have so much money.' [lit. 'There was not that [i.e. fortune]. There was not so much money (for him).'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]
Common noun (inanimate)

b. un sɨcɨzɨbatɨga tˀɨn nən
u-n *sɨcɨzɨ+hatɨɨ=ga* *tˀɨɨ=n* *nə-an*
MES-ADNZ cycad+field=NOM one.CLF=even exist-NEG
natɨjaa.
nar-tɨ=jaa
become-SEQ=SOL
'(It) has become (that) there is no such cycad field.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]
Common nouns (human)

c. siccjun cˀjuga wuran.
sij-tur-n *cˀju=ga* *wur-an*
know-PROG-PTCP person=NOM exist-NEG
'There is not any person whom I know.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that the core arguments, i.e. *a-rɨ* 'that [i.e. the fortune]' and *zaisan* 'fortune' in (??a), *sɨcɨzi+hatɨɨ* 'cycas field' in (??b), and *cˀju* 'person' in (??c) take *ga* (NOM) inspite of thier being non-human demonstrative or common nouns. The prior use of *ga* (NOM) is actually seen in Yuwan, but there are still several examples where the arguments do not take *ga* (NOM), but take *nu* (NOM) even if their predicates express non-existence.

(94) Common nouns

a. ude, gan sjan munkja
ude ga-n *sɨr-tar-n* *mun=nkja*
well MES-ADNZ know-PST-PTCP thing=APPR
sicjun cˀjunu
sij-tur-n cˀju=nu wur-an-ba=ccjɨ jˀ-tur-tɨ=ga
know-PROG-PTCP person=NOM

wuranbaccjɨ jˀicjutɨga,

exist-NEG-CSL=QT say-PROG-SEQ=FOC

'Well, (I) said that there is not any person who knows such (a kind of) things, and ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. [= (??a)]
kumɨnkjanu nənboo, kadɨga ikjarankara,
kumɨ=nkja=nu nə-an-boo kam-tɨ=ga ik-ar-an=kara
rice=APPR=NOM exist-NEG-CSL eat-SEQ=FOC go-CAP-NEG=CSL
'If there is no food such as rice, (we) cannot live, so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The core arguments in the above examples take *nu* (NOM), although their predicates express non-existence.

1.4.3.6 *ga* (NOM) prevails sometimes if the subject indicates a definite human

If the subject NP indicates a referent that is both definite and human, it sometimes chooses *ga* (NOM).

(95) Common nouns (human)

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. an wunaguga siimiciga sijansjutɨ,
a-n wunagu=ga sɨr-i+mici=ga sij-an=sjutɨ
DIST-ADNZ woman=NOM do-INF+way=NOM know-NEGSEQ
'That woman don't know the way to do (it), and ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. un cˀjuga jukkadɨ humɨjutassɨga.
u-n cˀju=ga jukkadɨ humɨr-jur-tar-sɨga
MES-ADNZ person=NOM always praise-UMRK
'That person always praised (you).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The subject NPs in the above examples indicate definite humans, as *u-n kˀwa* (MES-ADNZ child) 'that child' in (??a), *a-n wunagu* (DIST-ADNZ woman) 'that woman' in (??b), and *u-n cˀju* (MES-ADNZ person) 'that person,' and all of them take *ga*

(NOM). The definiteness of these examples are clarified by the demonstrative adnominals, i.e. *u-n* (MES-ADNZ) or *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ). These examples show that the nominative case is very sensitive to the definiteness of the NP (not only the definiteness of its head), and such a sensitivity is a crucial difference between the nominative case and the genitive case (see (??) in §??).

Additionally, there are examples that do not take any overt form to express definiteness, but can be analyzed as definite referents. Those examples appear in the monologue of a folk tale.

(96) a. Reflexive pronoun
[Context: A man eavesdropped on the couple, and discovered that the husband found a pot filled with gold coins but did not bring it home.]
mookɨta. nusiga izjɨ, tɨkkonbaccjɨ jˀicjɨ,
mookɨr-tar nusi=ga ik-tɨ tɨkk-on-ba=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ
earn.money-PST RFL=NOM go-SEQ bring-NEG-CSL=QT say-SEQ
'(The man) said that, "(I) earned money. (I) myself have to go and bring (it)," and ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. Common noun (human)
[Context: The man who eavesdropped on the couple went to the place where the pot was, but found a pot filled with mud, so he brought it back and threw it to the couple's house. Then, the pot became filled with gold coins again.]
jingaga, jaaci nusarɨja nusisjɨ kan sjɨ
jinga=ga jaa=kaci nusarɨ=ja nusi=sjɨ ka-n sɨr-tɨ
man=NOM house=ALL happiness=TOP RFL=INST PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ
həncjɨ kjunmuncjɨ,
hənk-tɨ k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ
enter-SEQ come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT
'The man (said) that, "Happiness comes to the house by itself like this.", (and ...)' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (??a), the antecedent of the reflexive *nusi* has already introduced in the story, so it must be difinite. Additionally, the referent indicated by *jinga* 'man' in (??b) has already introduced in the story. There are only three persons that were introduced in the story, i.e. a couple of a man and a woman that are said to be honest, and a man who is sly. It is clear from the context that the nominal *jinga* 'man' in (??b) indicates the husband of the couple, so it must be definite too. Thus, these nominals in (??a-b) took *ga* (NOM).

The same phenomenon is also found in the case of the family name. The family name is actually a kind of personal name, but it cannot be used to address someone, which is different from address nouns. Thus, it must take a genitive particle *nu* if it fills in the modifier slot of an NP as in (??b). However, the family name can take *ga* (NOM) when it is the subject of a clause as in (??a), probably because the family name can also indicate definite humans.

(97) Common nouns (family name)

a. Taking *ga* (NOM) as the subject
|ittoki| motojamaga misje katuta.
ittoki *motojama=ga* *misje* *kar-tur-tar*
for.a.while Motoyama=NOM shop rent-PROG-PST
'For a while, Motoyama was renting the shop.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Taking *nu* (GEN) as the NP modifier
|hai, hai, hai|. cjoodo motojamanu misje.
hai hai hai *cjoodo* *motojama=nu* *misje*
yes yes yes just Motoyama=GEN shop
'Yes, yes, yes, (that's right). (It is) just (near) Motoyama's shop.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

All of the above examples show that the definite human NPs may take *ga* (NOM), but there are also examples where they can still take *nu* (NOM).

(98) Common nouns

a. [Context: TM asked when US had come to her house.]
= (??b)
nanga kunəəda umoocjasəə kun
nan=ga *kunəəda* *umoor-tar=sɨ=ja* *ku-n*
2.HON.SG=NOM the.other.day come.HON-PST=FN=TOP PROX-ADNZ
cˀjunu cˀjəərai?
cˀju=nu *k-təəra=i*
person=NOM come-after=PLQ
'(Is it) after this person [i.e. the present author] came (to your house) that you [i.e. US] came (here) the other day?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [Context: Three children were walking along the way.]

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
'That child, the child (who is) one (of them) whistled, and ...' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

c. [Context: The Motoyama family borrowd a shop that had been closed.]
|hora|, umanan motojamanu (ka ...)
hora u-ma=nan motojama=nu kar kˀuur-təər-tar-tu
hey MES-place=LOC1 Motoyama=NOM borrow close-RSL-PST-CSL
kˀuutəətattu, katɨ, unnən nunkuin.
kar-tɨ u-n=nən nuu-nkuin
borrow-SEQ MES-ADNZ=LOC1 what-INDF
'Hey, at the place, Motoyama, since (the shop) had been closed, rented (it), and (they sold) things [lit. anything] there.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

The relevant NPs in (**??**a-c) indicate definite humans, but still take *nu* (NOM). The difference of frequency between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) after definite human NPs is not very large. Therefore, it can be said that their alternation is merely optional one.

Before concluding this section, I will present a case where an indefinite person takes *ga* (NOM).

(99) [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, ...']
unnəntɨ uziiga cˀjui joonasi
u-n=nəntɨ 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]

As will be mentioned in §**??**, elder kinship terms can be used even if the referents are not actual relatives of the speaker. In (**??**), *uzii*, which can mean 'grandfather' as an address noun, indicates a man who appeared in the Pear Film. That is, it is not the real grandfather of the speaker TM. Additionally, it is the first time to indicate the man in the monologue. Thus, the *uzii* must be indefinite, but it

takes *ga* (NOM), not *nu* (NOM). The above fact means that a certain nominal that is higher in the animacy hierarchy (in Table **??**) obligatorily takes *ga* (NOM) even if it actually indicates an indefinite referent.

1.4.3.7 Concluding remarks on the environments where *ga* (NOM) prevails

The environments shown above, where *ga* (NOM) prevails over *nu* (NOM), can be separated into two large groups: on the one hand, the environments influenced by the characteristic of the predicates as in §?? - §??; on the other hand, the environment influenced by the characteristic of the argument NPs as in §??

The alignment of the plural markers and NP modifiers in the animacy hierarchy is less flexible than that of the nominative case. The plural markers are concerned with the plurality of the head of an NP. The NP modifiers are also concerned with the relation within the NPs. Thus, both the plural markers and NP modifiers are parameters whose value is determined only within the NP. However, the nominative case is different from them, since it is concerned with the relation between the NP and the predicate. Those differences are considered to result in the differences in flexibility among them. Interestingly, the characteristics discussed in §?? - §?? are all concerned with low transitivity. Both the nominal predicate (in §??) and the adjectival predicate (in §??) have less (prototypical) transitivity, because they do not cause any change on any opponent (cf. Tsunoda 1991: 72). Additionally, the negative pole, i.e. incapability as in §?? and non-existence as in §??, is thought to have less transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252).

However, it should be noted that all of the prior use of *ga* (NOM) in §?? - 6.4.3.6 may be regarded as the focus particle *ga* (FOC) (see §??). As mentioned in §??, I could not completely deny this possibility. We need to clarify the details of this problem in future research.

Comparing with plural markers and NP modifiers, the nominative case is very sensitive to the definiteness of the NP. The example (??) in §?? showed that NP modifiers are not sensitive to the definiteness of the whole NP, but that they are sensitive to the definiteness of the head nominal of the NP. Similarly, the plural markers are not sensitive to the definiteness of the whole NP, which is shown below.

(100) [Context: Talking about the Bon festival, and some people in Ashiken said that the way taken by the people in Yuwan on the Bon festival was the actually traditional way.]

un	cˀjunkjoo	jutattujaa.	{[Modifier]
u-n	*cˀju=nkja=ja*	*jˀ-jur-tar-tu=jaa*	
{[MES-ADNZ]	[person]}=APPR=TOP	say-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL	
[Head]}$_{NP}$			

'Those people used to say (so).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In the above example, the NP, i.e. *u-n cˀju* (MES-ADNZ person) 'that person,' is definite since it has the demonstrative *u-n* (MES-ADNZ) 'that (one)' in the modifier slot. However, the plural marker that follows the NP is *nkja* (APPR), which is on the lowest position on the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan. In other words, such forms as **u-n cˀju-kja* (MES-ADNZ person-PL) or **u-n cˀju-taa* (MES-ADNZ person-PL) are not grammatical. However, the nominative case is sensitive to the definiteness of the whole NP, as discussed in §?? (especially, see (??c)).

In conclusion, the form /ga/ comes to be used exclusively as the nominative case, which results in the form /nu/ to be used exclusively as the genitive case. A similar tendency is found in the nominative case and the genitive case in Irabu (southern Ryukyuan) (Michinori Shimoji 2013 p.c.). There are actually a few examples that do not fit with the environments shown in the above subsections, but still take *ga* (NOM). I merely show them without any explanation.

(101) a. [Context: A bad man threw a pot filled with mud.]
= (??a)

un	janməəkaci	nagɨrattəətan	cɨboga	mata
u-n	*janməə=kaci*	*nagɨr-ar-təər-tar-n*	*cɨbo=ga*	*mata*
MES-ADNZ	garden=ALL	throw-PASS-RSL-PST-PTCP	pot=NOM	again

kundoo	kinkakaci	natɨ,
kundu=ja	*kinka=kaci*	*nar-tɨ*
this.time=TOP	gold.coin=ALL	become-SEQ

'The pot thrown into the garden became (filled with) gold this time again.' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about an acquaintance; 'The village office did the procedure (needed for the person), so...']

kanɨga	|goso|cjɨ	həncjɨ.
kanɨ=ga	*goso=ccjɨ*	*hənk-tɨ*
money=NOM	a.lot=QT	enter-SEQ

'A lot of the money entered (his wallet).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [Context: Talking about an acquaintance]

un ziisanbəiga atanwake, kaniga. MES-ADNZ
u-n ziisan=bəi=ga ar-tar-n=wake kani=ga
old.man=only=NOM exist-PST-PTCP=CFP money=NOM
'Only the old man had the money.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

2 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).

2.1 Common nouns

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

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

2.1.1 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 gan sjɨ
jaa=nu *məə=nan=nkja=du* *ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ*
{[house=GEN] [front]}=LOC1=APPR=FOC MES-ADVZ do-SEQ
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
sagɨjutanwake zjajaa.
sagɨr-jur-tar-n=wake *zjar=jaa*
hang-UMRK-PST-PTCP=FN COP=SOL

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

d. In the plural 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.

2.1.2 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]
kˀwoo ippaidoojaa.
kˀwa=ja ippai=doo=jaa
child=TOP many=ASS=SOL
'(She has) many children, you know.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

(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-tɨ*	*u-n*
first go-PST-PTCP	three.CLF=TOP	again	whistle	blow-SEQ	MES-ADNZ

hucjɨ, un kˀwaba abɨtɨ,
kˀwa=ba abɨr-tɨ
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 kˀwa* '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 (??) is summarized in the follwing tables (see Table ?? and Table ??).

The meaning "b" in the right-most column in Table ?? is characteristic of the plural markers in Yuwan (see §?? for more details). Table ?? 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

Table 2.1: . 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 »>

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 2.2: 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 **??**, a line that existed in Table **??**, 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.

2.2 Address nouns

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

The elder kinship terms that can be used to address the opponent are as follows: *zjuu* 'father,' *cˀjan* '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 c'joo kisasianjoo zjuuja
ku-n *c'ju=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).

2.3 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 (**??**) 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]

2.4 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.

2.4.1 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 ??. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table ?? is shown in §??

For the numbers more than ten in Table ??, 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.

Table 2.3: Numerals made with *-cɨ* (CLF.thing) (surface forms)

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

(13) a. [Context: A man had put two baskets under a big pear tree.]
un kagonu tˀɨɨ cɨdɨ
u-n *kago=nu* *tˀɨɨ* *cɨm-tɨ*
{[MES-ADVZ basket=GEN] [one.CLF.thing]} load-SEQ
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
ikjunwake.
ik-jur-n=wake
go-UMRK-PTCP=CFP

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

b. [Context: There is a big pear tree, from which a man is picking up pears.] = (??a)
kɨɨnu sjanannja kagonu tˀaacɨ
kɨɨ=nu *sja=nan=ja* *kago=nu* *tˀaacɨ*
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 miiciɨ,
ga-n *sɨr-tar-n* *tuki* *mata* *joonasi=nu* *miiciɨ*
MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP time again {[pear=GEN] [three.CLF.thing]}
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$ hey receive-SEQ

|hora|, muratɨ cˀjaroo.
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 (??) are not the examples of quantifier-float. This was shown by the case particles which the NP modifiers take in (??), 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 ??. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table ?? is shown in §??

For the numbers above ten in Table ??, 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 ??. However, if *n* 'even' follows *-kəəi*

Table 2.4: . 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

(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 **??**. The morphological analysis of the numerals in Table **??** is shown in §**??**

Table 2.5: . 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 **??**, 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| hijat~~i~~ ir~~i~~t~~i~~,
u-n micjai=ga cjanto hijaw-t~~i~~ ir~~i~~r-t~~i~~ {[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	hucj~~i~~,
u-n	*kˀwa=nu*	*cˀjui=nu*	*kˀwa=nu*	*isjoobiki*	*huk-t~~i~~*
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 (??) 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, ...']

unnəntɨ	uziiga	cʾjui	joonasi
u-n=nəntɨ	*uzii=ga*	*cʾjui*	*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 *cʾjui* (one.CLF.person) modifies *uzii* 'old man' meaning that the man indicated by *uzii* 'old man' is alone. Syntactically, however, the numeral *cʾjui* (one.CLF.person) is separated from the NP where *uzii* 'old man' exists. This kind of phenomenon is called "quantifier float" in Japanese linguistics (Shibatani 1990: 286). The example in 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*	*warabɨ=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 (??), 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 sicjussiga,
maga=nu cˀjui=gadi=ja sij-tur-siga
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. cikimunukkwaja naatˀii
ciki+mun-kkwa=ja naa+tˀii
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, miicinaa, tˀaacinaa
aa+hata miici=naa tˀaaci=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 *-gina* '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.

2.4.2 Morphology of numerals

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

Table 2.6: . Morphological analyses of the numeral (surface forms)

Numbers *-cɨ* (CLF.thing)	Numbers *-kəəi* (CLF.time)	Numbers *-(ta)i* (CLF.person)
1		tˀɨɨ
2		tˀaa -cɨ
3		mii -cɨ
4		juu -cɨ
5		ɨcɨ -cɨ
6		muu -cɨ
7		nana -cɨ
8		jaa -cɨ
9		kˀuunu -cɨ
10		tuu

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 **??**, 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 **??**, 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 2.7: 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 **??**, 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.

Table 2.8: Morphophonological alternation with *-kəəi* (CLF.time)

Numbers Numeral roots	Underlying forms Classifiers	Surface forms Numerals
2	*tˀaa-* + *-kəəi* (CLF.time)	> tˀa-kəi
3	*mii-* +	> mi-kəi
4	*juu-* +	> ju-kəi
6	*muu-* +	> mu-kəi
8	*jaa-* +	> ja-kəi
10	*tuu* +	> tu-kəi

Table 2.9: Morphophonological alternation with *-(ta)i* (CLF.person)

Numbers Numeral roots	Underlying forms Classifiers	Surface forms Numerals
2	*tˀaa-* + *-i* (CLF.person)	> tˀa-i
3	*mii-* + *-tai* (CLF.person)	> mi-cjai
4	*juu-* + *-tai* (CLF.person)	> ju-tai

The above tables show that the root-final long vowels become short before *-kəəi* (CLF.time) or *-(ta)i* (CLF.person). In Table **??**, 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.

2.5 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 2.10: 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 ??. 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 abɨratti,
naa daa-nkuin=kaci abɨr-ar-tɨ
FIL where-INDFZ=ALL call-PASS-SEQ
'(My mother) was called (for the recording of the traditional songs) anywhere, and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *ɨcɨɨ* 'when' + *-nkuin* (INDFZ)

waakjoo ɨcɨnkuin waratuncjɨjo.
waakja=ja icɨɨ-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.

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

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

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

(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 oosarɨjaa naiccjɨdaroogai?
ura=ja *oos-arɨr-jaa* *nar-i=ccjɨ=daroo=ga=i*
2.NHON.SG=TOP scold-PASS-person become-INF=QT=SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Probably, you will undertake the role of a person who is scolded, right?' [lit. 'Probably, you intend to become the person who is scolded, right?'] [El: 121010]

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

2.7 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 jˀicjɨ,
usi-kkwa kawur-oo=jaa=ccjɨ jˀ-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.nu̲k.kwa/
b. *ɨn* 'dog' > /ɨ.nu̲k.kwa/
c. *gazjan* 'mosquito' > /ga.zja.nu̲k.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/ [jo̱ikkʷo̱] 'silently,' which is frequently pronounced as /joikwa/ [jo̱ik(ˀ)ʷo̱]. 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. kurɨkkwakaci 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'

a. kˀwamaganu acɨmatɨ,
kˀwa+maga=nu acɨmar-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]

[3] Niinaga (2010: 39) argued that the nominal *kˀwa* 'child' is always realized with glottalization, i.e. [ʔk͡ʷǫ]. However, it is merely a tendency, since there is an example like /ujakkwa/ *uja+kˀwa* (parent+child) as in (??b).

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]

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

[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/.

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 si̶r-ti̶
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.

3 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 §??).

3.1 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. Haas 1974: 49). Second, if we accept this analysis, there appears a case where we have to recognize a distinction between non-visible zero affixes, i.e. *-Ø* (ASS) and *-Ø* (PTCP) as in (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" (Haas 1974: 36), and it was said that "within a set of paradigmatic contrasts distinction of indiscernibles is inadmissible" (McGregor 2003: 83). In fact, we can avoid this "distinction of indiscernibles" by postulating *-n* (PTCP) in (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 3.1: Inflectional affixes and derivational affixes of verbs

	A
Inflectional affixes	
Group I	+ + + *-oo* (INT), *-ɨ* (IMP), *-na* (PROH), *-ɨba* (SUGS), *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), *-ba* (C
Group II	+ - + *-i* (NPST), *-oo* (SUPP), *-mɨ* (PLQ), *-sa* (POL), *-sɨga* (POL), *-u* (PFC), *-n*
(Group I)	- + + *-an* (NEG), *-tar* (PST), *-i*/*-Ø* (INF)
Derivational affixes	- - + *-arɨr* (PASS), *-arɨr* (CAP), *-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RSL), *-jawur* (POL), *-jur*

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 §??

3.2 Morphophonology of verbs

3.2.1 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.

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.

Table 3.2: Four types of verbal affixes (or clitics)

Types
A. vowel-initial *-an* (NEG), *-arɨr* (PASS), *-as* (CAUS), *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ), *-ɨ* (IMP), *-ɨiba* (SUGS), *-oo*(IN
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), *-ja*
D. assimilation; vowel insertion *-ba* (CSL), *-boo* (CND), *-gadɨ* 'until,' *-na* (PROH), *-sa* (POL), *-sɨg*

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

Table 3.3: 17 types of verbal stems

No.	Stem-final morphophonemes	Examples
1.	$V_{\text{non-back}}$r	*hingir-* 'escape,' *abɨr-* 'call,' *kəər-* 'exchange'
2.	V_{back}r, V_{back}w	*tur-* 'take,' *umuw-* 'think,' *nuuw-* 'sew,' *kˀuur-*/*kˀuuw-* 'cl
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.	$V_{\text{non-}i}$ k	*kak-* 'write,' *maruk-* 'bandle'
8.	$V_{\text{non-}i}$ 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.	$V_{\text{non-}i}$ 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) "$V_{\text{non-back}}$" indicates the non-back vowels //i, ɨ, ə//, "V_{back}" indicates the back vowels //u, o, a//, "$V_{\text{non-}i}$" 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 3.4: 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.	$V_{\text{non-back}}$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.	$V_{\text{non-}i}$ k -an Ø-cja -jur -una
8.	$V_{\text{non-}i}$ kk -an C_i Ø-cja -jur -una
9.	Vs -an Ø-cja -jur -ɨna
10.	ss -an C_i Ø-cja -jur -ɨna
11.	t -an C_i -cja c-jur c-ɨna
12.	$C(G) -an -icja (Ø)-jur -uuna
13.	ij -an -cja -jur C_i -na
14.	$V_{\text{non-}i}$ 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 3.5: . 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)

3.2.1.1 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 square brackets, which are attached by their morphological information at the

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

lower-right side. Supplemental information is also provided in square brackets under the rule schema.

(11) Ø > j / [iC]$_{stem}$ [_]$_{A\text{-}affix}$
[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 3.6: Verbal stems + *-an* (NEG)

Stem No. 1. $V_{non\text{-}back}$r
e.g. *hingir- abɨr- kəər- ʾkuur- nugoor- koow-* 'escape' 'call' 'exchange' 'close' 'don't do' 'buy'

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.

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

It should be noted that the above rules do not apply to the negative affix *-an* (NEG). All of the "*t*-initial affixes" can follow *-an* (NEG) without any morphophonological change, e.g., *-an-tɨ* (NEG-SEQ) becomes /-an-tɨ/ (not /-a-dɨ/) as in (105) in §??

3.2.1.3 Type C: rules for affixes (and clitics) deleting non-nasal resonants

There are affixes and clitics that delete the preceding non-nasal resonants: *-jawur* (POL), *-jaa* 'person,' *-jur* (UMRK), *-jagacinaa* (SIM), *-mɨ* (PLQ), *-n* (PTCP), *jaa* (SOL), and *sɨ* (FN), which are called "Type-C affixes (or clitics)." In the following schema, "C-affix/clitic" refers to these affixes and clitics.

Table 3.7: 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 ʾk
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
4.	Deletion tu-tɨ ap-tɨ nara-dɨ ju-d
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- jˀ- mj-*	

(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)]$_{\text{stem}}$ _

3.2.1.4 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.

(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

Table 3.8: 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- jʾ- mj-*
‘pull’ ‘push’ ‘kill’ ‘hit’ ‘say’ ‘see’
(Input) sukk-jur us-jur kuss-jur ut-jur jʾ-jur mj-jur
Deletion - - - - Ø-jur/jʾ-ur[a] m-jur
(Output) sukk-jur us-jur kuss-jur uc-jur Ø-jur/jʾ-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-*

Table 3.9: 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.

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//]

[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 3.10: . 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 n

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

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 - - - - - -
4b. Centralizing - - - - - -

3.2.1.5 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*, *-arɨɨr*, and *-ar*.

Both of the forms *-arɨr* and *-arɨɨr* conform to the (morpho)phonological rules already presented in the previous sections. However, the form *-ar* needs special attention, because the means taken to avoid syllable-final /r/ are different from the other rules. The final //r// of *-ar* is relatively "strong," as it were. The //r// is not deleted but retained in all cases, which is contrary to the rules in §?? 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 / _ [ ]$_{\text{B-affix}}$

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).

3.2.2 Some notes on the interpretation of the verbal paradigm

3.2.2.1 *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).

Table 3.11: 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 -ariɨr -ar Type A	*-arɨr -ariɨr -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 $_{C}$ *-ɨiba* (SUGS) ariɨ $_{P/C}$ *sɨ* (FN)	
ar $_{P}$ *-oo* (INT) ariɨ $_{P/C}$ *-mɨ* (PLQ)	Notes:
arɨr $_{C}$ ariɨr $_{C}$ *-oo* (SUPP) arɨ $_{P/C}$ *-n* (PTCP)	
ariɨr $_{C}$ *-u* (PFC) *-arɨr -ariɨr -ar* Type D	
arɨ $_{P/C}$ *-i* (NPST) arɨp $_{P/C}$ *-ba* (CSL)	
-arɨr -ariɨr -ar Type B arɨp $_{P/C}$ *-boo* (CND)	
arɨ $_{C}$ ariɨ $_{P/C}$ [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)	
ariɨ $_{C}$ at $_{P}$ *-təər* (RSL)	
at $_{P/C}$ *-tɨ* (SEQ)	
at $_{P/C}$ *-tai* (LST)	

(a) The lower right symbols on the surface (i.e. non-italic) forms express

Table 3.12: 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

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.

Table 3.13: . Combinations of verbal roots and Type-A affixes and Type-D affixes

Stem No.	1	2
Ex. *abɨr-* 'call' *tur-* 'take' *kak-* 'write'		
Followed by Type-A affixes abɨr an (NEG) tur an (NEG) kak an (NEG)		
	ɨ (IMP)	ɨ (
Followed by Type-D affixes abɨn na (PROH) tun na (PROH) kak u na (PROH)		
	abɨb ba (CSL)	tu

If we propose the final //r// of stem No. 1 (e.g. *abɨr-* 'call') does not belong to the root but to the following affix, we would then have to interpret the root-final /n/ or /b/ before Type-D affixes (e.g. *-na* (PROH) or *-ba* (CSL)) as affix-initial consonants, such as *-nna* (PROH) or *-bba* (CSL). This analysis, however, is not applicable since these forms could not appear after other verbal stems, such as *kak-* 'write' + *-na* (PROH) > /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.

3.2.2.2 Not setting up "base types"

Some of the previous research on Northern Ryukyuan languages proposed an analysis of the verbal stems, which is different from that adopted by the present author. They propose that the initial (morpho)phonemes of the verbal derivational affixes are treated as the final (morpho)phonemes of the verbal roots; for example, Uchima et al. (1976: 74ff.) for Yuwan (Amami), and Nishioka & Nakahara (2000: 37, 55) for Shuri (Okinawa). The example below is taken from Uchima et al. (1976)'s analysis, where the term "base" is used to refer to what I call a verbal root (the phonological representations and glosses are adjusted by the present author).

Table 3.14: Analysis of the verb in Uchima et al. (1976)

Base types E.g. 'write'	Stem-derivational affix	Ending
Basic	kak	oo (INT), ɨ (IMP), etc.
Renyou	kakj	-u$_1$ (UMRK) i (NPST), ru (PFC), etc.
Onbin ('euphony')	kacj	-ɨ/-i (SEQ), -eera, -əə, -a, -u$_2$ (PROG) i (NPST), n

Notes:
(a) Uchima et al. (1976: 78) propose that the "real base" is /kak/ and the other forms, i.e. /kakj/ and /kacj/, are its variants depending on the morphological environments;
(b) Uchima et al. (1976: 91-92) argue that the sequential converbal forms ("SEQ" in Table 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 above table shows that Uchima et al. (1976) distinguishes three "base types," although, I do not make such a distinction (see Chapter 8). I found three disadvantages in proposing the base types: (a) the redundancy in the explanation of the semantic differences between verbs; (b) the emergence of unnecessary homophonic affixes; (c) the inability to explain a sequence of *t*-initial affixes.

First, if we allow the above segmentation as in Table 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 3.15: Comparison of analyses by Uchima et al. (1976) and the present author (in surface forms)

Gloss	write-IMP	Gloss	write-SEQ	
Uchima et al. (1976)	e.g. kak-ɨ	e.g. kacj-ɨ		Note: In the
The present author	e.g. kak-ɨ	e.g. ka-cjɨ		

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 Uchima et al. (1976) creates unnecessary homophonic morphemes such as *-ɨ* (IMP) vs. *-ɨ* (SEQ), and *-u*$_1$ (UMRK) vs. *-u*$_2$ (PROG). On the other hand, our analysis does not fall into this trap, e.g. *-ɨ* (IMP) vs. *-tɨ* (SEQ), and *-jur* (UMRK) vs. *-tur* (PROG).

Finally, the "base type" analysis cannot explain a sequence of *t*-initial affixes (for more discussion on *t*-initial affixes, see §??). For example, a combination such as *nar-* 'become' + *-tur* (PROG) + *-tɨ* (SEQ) > /na-tu-tɨ/[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. /tɨ/ (SEQ), because Uchima et al. (1976: 91-92) considers the affix to be /ɨ/ (SEQ). In other words, their analysis would result in the ill-formed utterance */nat-u-ɨ/.

Table 3.16: Comparison of analyses by Uchima et al. (1976) and the present author (in surface forms)

Output forms expected by each analysis	Gloss	
Uchima et al. (1976)	*nat-u-ɨ	(become-PROG-SEQ)
The present author	na-tu-tɨ	(become-PROG-SEQ)

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

Uchima et al. (1976) cannot predict the correct form /-ti̱/ (SEQ) because they have misunderstood the initial phoneme of /-ti̱/ (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.

3.3 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.

Table 3.17: 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-ˊ*			

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 §??

3.3.1 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 (22a-b) and (23) 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 §??).

(21) Two types of honorific verbs

a. Lexical honorific verb
[Context: TM thanks to US, who is older than TM.]
nanga umoocjattu, |cjoodo| jiccja
nan=ga umoor-tar-tu cjoodo jiccj-sa ar-tar
2.HON.SG=NOM [come.HON-PST] just good-ADJ
[Lex. verb]$_{VP}$
ata.

STV-PST

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

b. Auxiliary honorific verb
[Context: TM explained to US that the present author had wanted to see her.]
nanga hanacji moojun mun
nan=ga hanas-ti moor-jur-n mun
2.HON.SG=NOM [speak-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP] thing
kikicjasancji j'icji,
kik-i-cja-sa+ar-n=ccji j'-ti
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 (21a), *umoor-* (come.HON) is a lexical honorific verb, and it expresses the speaker's respect for the subject *nan* (2.HON.SG) 'you.' In (21b), *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 §??).

3.3.1.1 Lexical honorific verb

Yuwan has the follwing four lexical honorific verbs.

Table 3.18: Lexical honorific verbs

Lexical honorific verbs	Relevant non-hono
umoor- (exist/go/come/say.HON)	*wur-* 'exist', *ik-* 'go', *k-* 'come', *jˀ-* '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 (21a). I will present other examples where *umoor-* means 'go,' 'exist,' or 'say.'

(22) Lexical honorific verb *umoor-*

a. Meaning 'go' [Context: US thought that the present author went to the house of TM, who is *cɨnəə* 'Tsune' in the following example.]
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]

b. 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]

c. Meaning 'say' [Context: Talking about an incantation old people chanted when they felt the earthquakes]
naakja[4] anmataa zisinnu tuki, zisinnu siboo,[5]
naakja-a anmaa-taa zisin=nu tuki zisin=nu sir-boo
2PL-ADNZ mother-PL earthquake=GEN time earthquake=NOM do-CND
kjon cɨkɨ kjon cɨkɨcjəə
kjoo=n cɨk-ɨ kjoo=n cɨk-ɨ=ccjɨ=ja
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 (22a), *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 (22b), *umoor-* expresses the speaker US's respect for the (not appearing) subject, i.e. the present author. In (22c), 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).

(23) 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]

[5]The regular process must be *sir-boo* (do-CND) > /sibboo/ (or /sippoo/), but it becomes /siboo/ in this example.

[5]The regular process must be *naakja-a* (2.HON.PL-ADNZ) > /naakjaa/, but it becomes /naakja/ in this example.

In (23), *misjoor-* (eat.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the (not appearing) subject, i.e. the present author.

Finally, I will present an example is of *moosɨr-* (die.HON).

(24) 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 (24), *moosɨr-* (die.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject, i.e. *tacuu* 'Tatsu,' who was older than the speaker. If you want to express a more respect than that expressed by *moosɨr-* (die.HON), you may use the light verb construction where the complement slot is filled by *umoor-an* (exist.HON-NEG) and the light verb is *nar-* 'become' as in (??a) in §??

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.

3.3.1.2 Auxiliary honorific verb

There are two auxiliary honorific verbs in Yuwan.

Table 3.19

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).

(25) Auxiliary honorific verb *moor-* (HON)

a. [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]

b. [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 (25a), *moor-* (HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. the hearer US. In (25b), *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.

(26) 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 (26), *taboor-* (BEN.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. *sinsjei* 'teacher.' Additionally, *taboor-* (BEN.HON) expresses that the action indicated by the preceding lexical verb *abɨr-* 'call' is beneficial to the speaker (see §?? for more details).

Finally, the auxiliary verb *umoor-* (come.HON) is shown below.

(27) Auxiliary honorific verb *umoor-* (come.HON)
[Context: Talking about the present author]
urɨn tazɨnɨtɨ 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 (27), *umoor-* (come.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate, i.e. the present author. The verbal form /umoor-/ can also be used as a lexical honorific verb as in Table 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 (27) in my texts.

3.3.2 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 3.20: 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-əzɨi/ (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 §??

3.3.2.1 *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 (28a-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.

(28) Core argument is animate

a. 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]

b. 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.

(29) 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 (29), the core argument, which is also the subject, indicates a non-human animate referent, i.e. a butterfly, and still *wur-* 'exist' is chosen. Similarly, the lexical honorific verb *umoor-* (exist.HON), which is a honorific counterpart of *wur-* 'exist,' can be used only when the core argument is animate as in (21a) in §??

3.3.2.2 *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).

(30) 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 (30), the core argument, which is also the subject, is an inanimate referent, i.e. *hana* 'flower,' and also the clause is in affirmative. Thus, *ar-* 'exist' is used. In principle, *ar-* 'exist' conforms to the deletion of the final //r// before *t*-initial affixes as in (31a) (see §?? for more details). However, it is sometimes not deleted, but assimilates to the following //t// as in (31b).

(31) a. dandannu atɨjaa.
dandan=nu *ar-tɨ=jaa*
step=NOM exist-SEQ=SOL
'There were steps (at the place in the picture).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. 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 (31a).

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.

(32) *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 (32), the existential verb is in negative taking *-an* (NEG), but the existentail verb is *ar-* 'exist' (not *nə-*).

Secondly, if the existential verb fills the lexical verb slot in the auxiliary verb construction (see §??), it is always *ar-* 'exist,' no matter which polarity the predicate is in.

(33) *ar-* 'exist' in AVC [= (35d)]

an	sinsjeija	kanɨja	atɨ	moorancjɨdoo.	[Lex.
a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	*kanɨ=ja*	*ar-tɨ*	*moor-an=ccjɨ=doo*	

DIST-ADNZ teacher=TOP money=TOP [exist-SEQ HON-NEG]=QT=ASS verb Aux. verb]$_{VP}$

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

In (33), the VP that contains an existential verb is in negative, but the existentail verb is *ar-* 'exist' (not *nə-*).

3.3.2.3 *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).

(34) Core argument is inanimate (negative polarity)
-an (NEG)

a. [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]

b. umanannja nənnən,
u-ma=nan=ja *nə-an-nən*
MES-place=LOC1=TOP exist-NEG-SEQ
'(The storehouse) did not exist there, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]
-azɨi (NEG.PLQ)

c. [Context: TM and MS were looking for a pounder.]
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 (32) and (33) in §**??**

3.3.2.4 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.

(35) a. *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]

b. #*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]

c. **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]

d. *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 (35a), the subject of the clause is *sinsjei* 'teacher,' which is clear from the unacceptability of (35b). The difference between (35a) and (35b) is only on the subjects of the clauses (see also Chapter 3). On the contrary, the difference between (35a) 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, (35c) is ungrammatical since the core argument, i.e. *kanɨ* 'money,' is inanimate. If we replace *umoor-* (exist.HON) in (35c) with *ar-tɨ moor-* (exist-SEQ HON), which is a honorific expression of *ar-* 'exist' (see §??), as in (35d), 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.

3.3.3 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.

Table 3.21: 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)	

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 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 §??

3.3.3.1 *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 §??

(36) a. *-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]

b. *-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]

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

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

e. *-boo* (CND)
[Context: TM remembered a story that her acquaintance told in the speech contest spoken in the dialects in Amami before.]
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 (37).

(37) *-təər* (RSL)

a. an gazimarunu appoo, naa, huntoo, naa,
a-n gazimaru=nu ar-boo naa huntoo naa
DIST-ADNZ banyan.tree=NOM exist-CND FIL real FIL
urɨkusa, naa, |nippon.ici| jatəijoo.
u-rɨ=kusa naa nippon+ici jar-təər-i=joo
MES-NLZ=just FIL Japan+one COP-RSL-NPST=CFM1
'If that banyan tree existed, it would be number one in Japan.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. 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 §??

3.3.3.2 *zjar-* (COP)

zjar- (COP) may appear when the nominal predicate is followed by nothing as in (38a). 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 (38b-c) (see §?? for more details).

(38) a. Followed by nothing
kurɨ jamatuhuui zja.
ku-rɨ jamatu+huu-i zjar
PROX-NLZ mainland.Japan+see.off-INF COP
'This is (the scene of) seeing off (the people who go to) mainland Japan.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Followed by *jaa* (SOL)
kurəə (eee) sjenzjen ucɨsjən mun zjajaa.
ku-rɨ=ja sjenzjen ucɨs-təər-n mun zjar=jaa
PROX-NLZ=TOP before.war take-RSL-PTCP thing COP=SOL
'This is the thing [i.e. the picture] taken before the war.' [Co:

111113_02.txt]

c. Followed by *ga* (CFM3) [= (??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 (45b) 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 (36b) in §?? or /aran/ *ar-an* (COP-NEG) as in (39a) 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).

3.3.3.3 *ar-* (COP)

ar- (COP) usually takes one of the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (39a-c), with the exception of the cases where *ar-* (COP) takes *-u=i* (PFC=PLQ) as in (39d) or *-tɨ* (SEQ) in AVC (see §??).

(39) *-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 arazɨi?
ku-rɨ=ja *haka=ja* *ar-azɨi*
PROX-NLZ=TOP tomb=TOP COP-NEG.PLQ
'Isn't this a tomb?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
-u=i (PFC=PLQ)

d. 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 (40).

(40) 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 (40), MY asked TM if TM was three years younger than US, and TM answered negatively. This example shows that *ar-an* (COP-NEG) can be used only by itself as a negative reply to a polar question.

Furthermore, *ar-an* (COP-NEG) can relativize its subject without any predicative NP as in (41).

(41) 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 (41), the head of the NP, i.e. *hanasi* 'tale,' is modified by the adnominal clause that is only filled by a copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG), which means 'unlikely' in this example. The literal translation of the NP is 'a tale not being,' where the so-called "copula complement" cannot be recovered. In other words, *ar-an* (COP-NEG) in this example means 'unlikely' only by itself. The preceding words, i.e. /gan sjan/ *ga-n sɨr-tar-n* (MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP) 'like that,' are not the copula complement of *ar-an* (COP-NEG); in fact, they form another adnominal clasue that modifies the following NP.

3.3.3.4 *-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]

(42) *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]

[6] This remark owes to the grammar sketch of Kamikatetsu (Nothern Ryukyuan) (Shirata et al. 2011: 146).

In (42a), *naaciɨbaa* '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 (42b), *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 §??).

(43) *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 (44a) 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 (44b-c) (see also §?? about insubordination).

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

a. |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, you can keep (them) no matter how long (the period of preservation) was.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]
Sentence-final position

b. tukunusimacˀju jatɨkai?
tukunusima+cˀju jar-tɨ=kai
Tokunoshima+person COP-SEQ=DUB
'Is (that person) from Tokunoshima island?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

3.3.3.5 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).

(45) *-sa* (POL)

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

b. an cˀjoo akira zjassa.
a-n cˀju=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.

(46) 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 (46a-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).

3.3.4 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.

3.3.4.1 *ar-* (STV)

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

(47) 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 (47a), the stative verb *ar-* makes an adjectival predicate together with the preceding adjective *zjana-sa* (many-ADJ). In (47b), 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-*).

(48) *ar-* (STV) in AVC
an c'joo dujasoo atɨ mooran.jaa. [Lex.
a-n *c'ju=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 (48).

3.3.4.2 *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-əzii/ *nə-azɨi* (STV-NEG.PLQ). The adjective that precedes *nə-* (STV) always inflects with *-soo* (ADJ).

(49) Negative polarity
a. *-an* (NEG)

[Context: Talking about the wooden beams of MS's house; MS: '(The wooden beams of my house) haven't become so black as those (of your house), you know.'] = (??b)
kˀurusoo nəndarooga.
kˀuru-soo nə-an=daroo=ga
black-ADJ STV-NEG=SUPP=CFM3
'(Those) are not black, right?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

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

3.3.5 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.

(50) 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 (50a), *wur-* 'exist' directly precedes *-i* (NPST). In (50b), *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.

(51) 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 (51a-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 (36b) in §?? An example where the stative verb takes *-oo* (SUPP) was shown in (47b) 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 3.22: 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 (33) in §?? The example of the copula verb in AVC was shown in (43) in §?? The example of the stative verb in AVC was shown in (48) in §??

3.4 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" (Haspelmath 1996), i.e. their behavior in a phrase or their behavior toward the main clause. If a verb form can behave like an adnominal in an NP, it is called participle. If a verb form can behave like an adverb (without any particle) toward the predicate of the main clause, it is called a converb (Haspelmath 1995). If a verb form can behave like a nominal toward the predicate of the main clause, it is called an infinitive. The remaining verbal forms are called "finite forms" in this grammar. These verbal forms can fill the predicate slot of a clause (see also §?? about the clause structure in Yuwan). In other words, they behave as the verb in their "internal syntax" (Haspelmath 1996) in respect of retaining, if partly, the original argument structures. That is the reason why they are categorized as verbs.

Table 3.23: 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.

Considering the difficulty to determine the "finiteness" by the subsidiary criteria in Table 1.24, we will give the priority to the criteria of the external syntax shown in Table 1.23.

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.

Table 3.24: Inflectional categories (with the subsidiary criteria)

Inflectional categories	Can include *-tar* (PST)	Can include *-an* (NEG)	Can only fill the p
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.

Table 3.25: . Inflectional categories and affixes

Inflectional categories	All examples
Finite-form affixes	*-oo* (INT), *-oo* (SUPP), *-ɨ* (IMP),
-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),
Infinitival affixes	*-i*/*-Ø* (INF)

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.

3.4.1 Finite form

The finite form is a verbal form that ends with the finite-form affixes in (52). The finite forms can fill only the predicate slot of a main clause. The finite-form affixes can be separated further by their functions.

(52) Finite-form affixes

a. Tense
-i (NPST) and *-tar* (PST)

b. Mood
-oo (INT) and *-oo* (SUPP)

c. Politeness
-sa (POL) and *-siga* (POL)

d. Speech act (Question)
-mi (PLQ) and *-azii* (NEG.PLQ)

e. Speech act (Command)
-i (IMP), *-na* (PROH), and *-iba* (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), *-mi* (PLQ), *-sa* (POL), *-siga* (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 (52) in turn.

3.4.1.1 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).

(53) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-i* (NPST) (Finite-form affix; Group II)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -i* (NPST)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

The finite-form affix *-i* (NPST) belongs to Group-II affixes (see §??). Thus, it cannot directly follow any verbal root and always takes one of the affixes in (53) to close the word. I will present an example in (54).

(54) *-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 (55). I will present the verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-tar* (PST) in (55).

(55) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-tar* (PST) (Finite-form affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar*
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

I will present an example of *-tar* (PST) in (56).

(56) *-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).

(57) a. *-tar* (PST) before *kai* (DUB)
cukutəə wutakai?
cukur-ti=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 kʾuwasisan 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, *-ti* (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 (57a), 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.

3.4.1.2 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.

(58) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-oo* (INT) (Finite-form affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arir -tuk -arir -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 (59a). It may also follow another verbal affix as in (59b-c).

(59) *-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 (59c) 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.

(60) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-oo* (SUPP) (Finite-form affix; Group II)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -oo* (SUPP)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

I will present examples of *-oo* (SUPP) in (61a-b).

(61) *-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* *sir-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 (62).

(62) 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).

3.4.1.3 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 (63a). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(63) a. Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-sa* (POL) (Finite-form affix; Group II)
Root *-as -arir -tuk -arir -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 -arir -tuk -arir -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 (64a-c).

(64) *-sa* (POL)

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

b. sjemenbukuruja, (ari,) sazikkiroccji jutassiga.
sjemen+hukuru=ja a-ri sazikkiro=ccji j'-jur-tar-siga
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 jansiga.
ura-a naa anmai j'-an-siga
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 *-siga* (POL) are functionally very similar to each other. However, there seems to be a difference that only *-siga* (POL) follows *-tar* (PST) such as (6b). There are 27 examples of *-siga* (POL) and eight examples of *-sa* (POL) in my texts, and there are eight examples where *-siga* (POL) follows *-tar* (PST) but no example where *-sa* (POL) follows *-tar* (PST) (although *-sa* (POL) can follow *-tar* (PST) in elicitation).

3.4.1.4 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.

(65) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-mɨ* (PLQ) (Finite-form affix; Group II)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -mɨ* (PLQ)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

(66) *-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 (66b), 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).

(67) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) (Finite-form affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -azɨi* (NEG.PLQ)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

I will present examples of *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) in (68).

(68) *-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 (68a-c) express the polar question in negative.

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

(69) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-ɨ* (IMP), *-na* (PROH), or *-ɨba* (SUGS)
(Finite-form affixes; Group I)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -ɨ* (IMP)
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST *-na* (PROH)
-jur -ɨba (SUGS)
UMRK

These three finite-form affixes cannot be preceded by the negative affix *-an*, which means that the polarity of them cannot be changed by *-an* (NEG). Thus, the finite-form affix that can express the affirmative command is only *-ɨ* (IMP), and the finite-form affix that can express the negative command (i.e. prohibition) is only *-na* (PROH).

The examples of *-ɨ* (IMP) are shown below.

(70) *-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* *jˀ-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 (71a-b).

(71) *-oo* (IMP)

a. arɨ .. koo, koocjɨ,
a-rɨ *k-oo* *k-oo=ccjɨ*
DIST-NLZ come-IMP come-IMP=QT
'That person (said) that, "Come, come!"' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. mukkoojocjɨ jˀicjanmun,
mukk-oo=joo=ccjɨ *jˀ-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 (71a-b) has the same form with *-oo* (INT) discussed in §??
The examples of *-na* (PROH) are shown below.

(72) *-na* (PROH)

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

b. urɨ tɨɨ kɨɨnnajoocjɨ.
u-rɨ *tɨɨ* *kɨɨr-na=joo=ccjɨ*
MES-NLZ hand put.on-PROH=CFM1=QT
'(My husband said), "Don't touch it!"' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

(73) *-ɨba* (SUGS)
kuci muzikijɨba.
kuci muzikij-ɨba
mouth twist-SUGS
'How about twisting (the child's) mouth (since he is a naughty boy).' [El: 120521]

In fact, there are a few examples where the same form /-ɨba/ is used adverbially (or converbally) as in (74).

(74) 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 (74a-b). It is probable that the meaning of suggestion as in (73) is derived (or grammaticalized) from the uses such as (74b), which is an example of the insubordination (see §??). In modern Yuwan, the conditional meaning as in (74a) is usually expressed by another affix, i.e. *-boo* (CND) as in (90c). The uses such as (74a-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 (73).

3.4.1.6 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).

(75) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-u* (PFC) (Finite-form affix; Group II)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -u* (PFC)

CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

The finite-form affix *-u* (PFC) is often used in information questions (so called "wh-questions") as in (76a-c) or polar questoins (so called "yes-no questions") as in (76d). *-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.

(76) *-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 (77a-b).

(77) Declarative

a. utuzjoobasanna un cʾjunu samisjentudu
utuzjo+obasan=ja *u-n* *cʾju=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, jʾarɨɨru.
tacuu=toka=ga *jʾ-ba=du* *jʾ-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 (78), although this example is from a proverb.

(78) 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 (77a-b) and (78) have the same characteristic. That

is, these sentences seem to express that the predicate can be valid only with the focused constituents, and that anything other than the focused constituents cannot make the predicate valid. For example, in (77a), the focused constituent *u-n cʾju=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 (77b) and (78).

In all of the above examples, there are foci in the sentences. The foci were on the interrogative words as in (76a-c), or marked by *ga* (FOC) as in (8-76 a, c) or *du* (FOC) as in (76d), (77a-b), and (78). Thus, *-u* (PFC) expresses that it forms a predicate of the focus construction (see §?? for more details about the focus construction).

3.4.2 Participle (verbal adnominal)

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

3.4.2.1 *-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 (79). The affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede *-n* (PTCP).

(79) 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 (80a-b), but it can fill that of a main clause as in (80c) or an adverbial clause as in (80d).

(80) *-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*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *tani=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 jumiɨnu naaja sijandoojaa.
naakja-a *jumi=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 (80a), the participle /succjun/ *sukk-tur-n* (pull-PROG-PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *cʾju* 'person.' Similarly, in (80b), the participle /hanasjun/ *hanas-jur-n* (talk-UMRK-PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *tani* 'topic.' In (80c), 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 (80d), 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 (81), where the function of the participle is not very clear.

(81) 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 (81), the participle /kamjun/ *kam-jur-n* (eat-UMRK-PTCP) functions like a converb meaning 'if (you) eat (much).' There is no other expression like (81) in Yuwan, so this saying seems to be a fossilized expression.

3.4.2.2 *-an* (NEG)

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

(82) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-an* (NEG) (Participial affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arir -tuk -arir -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 (83a), but it can fill that of an adnominal clause as in (83b) or an adverbial clause as in (83c-d).

(83) *-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
miicɨ,) |sanninzure| jatattu, nasinu miicɨ
miicɨ sanninzure jar-tar-tu nasi=nu miicɨ
three.thing three.people COP-PST-CSL pear=GEN three.thing
muratɨ,
muraw-tɨ
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 (83a), the participle *sij-an* (know-NEG) fills the predicate of the main clause, where the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) follows it. In (83b), the participle *dɨkɨr-an* (be.born-NEG) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, which modifies *cˀju* 'person.' In (83c), the participle /jˀiikijan/ *jˀ-i+kij-an* (say-INF+CAP-NEG) is followed by the conjunctive particle *sjutɨ* 'since,' and fills the predicate of the adverbial clause. Similarly in (83d), 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).

3.4.3 Converb (verbal adverb)

A converb is a verbal form that ends with a converbal affix in (84). Converbs cannot include the past tense affix *-tar* (with the exceptions of *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL)). Converbs can fill the verbal predicate slot of an adverbial clause and also a main clause. The converbal affixes can be separated by their functions.

(84) Converbal affixes

a. Causal
-ba (CSL), *-tu* (CSL), and *-too* (CSL)

b. Conditional
-boo (CND)

c. Listing
-tai (LST)

d. Temporal relation
-gadɨ 'until,' *-jagacinaa* (SIM), and *-təəra* 'after'

e. Sequential
-tɨ (SEQ)

As mentioned in §??, 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 (84) can take their own subject different from that of the main (or superordinate) clause, although the two convebs *-tai* (LST) and *-jagacinaa* (SIM) cannot. According to the criteria introduced by Nedjalkov (1995: 98-99), who did a typological overview of the converbs, almost all of the converbs in Yuwan can be grouped into "conjunctional converbs," which has "(t)he function of the predicate of a subordinate clause" and "can have its own subject (i.e. subject different from the subject of the superordinate verb)" (ibid: 99). However, *-tɨ* (SEQ) may be categorized as "coordinative converbs," which has "(t)he function of a secondary or coordinate predicate" and "is similar to the function of the English conjunction *and* (sometimes *but*) or to asyndetic coordination" (ibid: 98). Furtheremore, *-tai* (LST) may be categorized as "converbs proper," which has "(t)he function of an adverbial in a simple sentence" (ibid: 98) (see also §?? 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 (93a) 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 *-ti* (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 (84) in turn.

3.4.3.1 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 (85a). On the other hand, *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL) almost always follow *-tar* (PST), and rarely *-tu* (CSL) follows *-təər* (RSL) as in (85b-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 §??

(85) a. Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-ba* (CSL) (Converbal affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arir -tuk -arir -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 -arir -tuk -arir -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 -arir -tuk -arir -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 (85) show that *-ba* (CSL) is used only in the non-past tense, but that *-tu* (CSL) and *-too* (CSL) are used almost only in the past tense. In fact, the combination of *-təər* (RSL) and *-tu* (CSL) is very rare in my texts. This means that the contrast of *-ba* (CSL) vs. *-tu*/*-too* (CSL) is made by the tense opposition. In fact, *-too* (CSL) is always preceded by *-tar* (PST). Thus, one may think that *-tar* (PST) and *-too* (CSL) form a single portmanteau morpheme, i.e. *-tattoo* (PST.CSL). I do not propose this analysis simply because of the covenience of showing the complementary distributions among the affixes in (85a-c).

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

(86) *-ba* (CSL)

a. [Context: MY asked TM if TM had made the pickles; TM: '(I) don't know. How (was it)?']
nɨɨzinnu appa, arandaroo.
nɨɨzin=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 (87c).

(87) *-tu* (CSL)

a. boosi utucjəətattu, uriɨ 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 (88a-c).

(88) *-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
cʾjutattoo, (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 jʾicjɨ,
ku-rɨ=du utaw-jur-tar-tu=jaa=ccjɨ jʾ-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. kʾwan dɨkɨrantattoo, nusjəə jaakara izibatɨ
kʾwa=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 (88c).

3.4.3.2 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 (89).

(89) 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 (90c).

(90) *-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 arɨ 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. t'aija amanan taccjuppoo, un
t'ai=ja *a-ma=nan* *tat-tur-boo* *u-n*
two.person=TOP DIST-place=LOC stand-PROG-CND MES-ADNZ
c'juiga muccjattoo,
c'jui=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 (90a-c), *-boo* (CND) expresses the conditional meaning such as 'if' in English. However, in the last two examples (90d-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. *-tarabacji*, 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.

(91) *-tarabacji* 'even if'

a. gan sji sjarabacji, nugoorasandoo.
ga-n *sir-ti* *sir-tarabacji* *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 nacjarabacji, nugoorasandoo.
ura=ga *ikja-saa* *nak-tarabacji* *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 *-tarabacji* deprives the questional meaning of the interrogative word *ikja-saa* (how-ADVZ) 'how much.' *-tarabacji* 'even if' may be divided into *-tar* (PST) plus *-abacji* '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.

3.4.3.3 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).

(92) 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).

(93) *-tai* (LST)

a. nunkuin jusiti kuritai, uri sji 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, ~~ii~~) wasɨrɨrannən,
cˀju=nu kutu=ja umuw-i wasɨrɨr-annən u-rɨ
person=GEN event=TOP think-INF forget-NEG.SEQ MES-NLZ
uri 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]

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

In (93a), the VP /jusɨtɨ kurɨtai/ *jusɨr-tɨ kurɨr-tai* (teach-SEQ BEN-LST) ‘teaching (everything to me), and ...’ fills the the head of an adverbial clause, and the superordinate clause again functions as an adnominal clause, which modifies *cʔju* ‘person.’ In (93b), 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).

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

(94) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-gadɨ* ‘until’ (Converbal affix; Group I)
Root *-as -arɨr -tuk -arɨr -tur -jawur -an -təər -tar -gadɨ* ‘until’
CAUS PASS PRPR CAP PROG POL NEG RSL PST
-jur
UMRK

It is probable that *-gadɨ* ‘until’ is cognate with the limiter particle *gadɨ* (LMT). However, *-gadɨ* ‘until’ can directly attach to the verbal root. On the other hand, any particle cannot follow the verbal root directly (except for *kai* (DUB)). Thus, I propose that *-gadɨ* ‘until’ is a morpheme different from *gadɨ* (LMT) in modern Yuwan. Examples of *-gadɨ* ‘until’ are shown below.

(95) *-gadɨ* ‘until’

a. naakja kʔuugadɨ, 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.'

(96) *-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 (97).

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

Morphophonologically, the //ci// of *-jagacinaa* (SIM) may be omitted. For example, *ik-jagacinaa* (go-SIM) can be realized either as /ikjagacinaa/ or /ikjaganaa/. Additionally, there is another form that express the same meaning with *-jagacinaa* (SIM), i.e. *-ganaa* (SIM). *-ganaa* (SIM) always needs to be preceded by *-i*/*-Ø* (INF), e.g. *ik-i-ganaa* (go-INF-SIM). Among them, *-jagacinaa* (SIM) is most productive. Therefore, I will present only examples of *-jagacinaa* (SIM) below.

(98) *-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

sjoogaci nusjəə usikkwa kawuroojaacji j'icji
sjoogaci nusi=ja usi-kkwa kawur-oo=jaa=ccji j'-ti
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 *-arir* (PASS) as in (99).

(99) Verbal morphemes that can directly precede *-təəra* 'after'
Root *-as -arir -tuk -arir -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.'

(100) *-təəra* 'after'

a. [= (??d)]
naakjaga |socugjoo| sjəəraga waakjoo |gakkoo|kai?
naakja=ga socugjoo sir-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 hiitəəraga, uraa məəci |denwa|ba
unin=kara hiir-təəra=ga ura-a məə=kaci denwa=ba
that.time=ABL wake.up-after=FOC 2.NHON.SG front=ALL phone=ACC
sjəəraga, bocuubocu cira arati,
sir-təəra=ga bocu+bocu cira araw-ti
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 (100a-c), the clauses that include the verb forms composed of *-teera* 'after' adverbially modify the following clauses. In (100d-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 (100f), the clause that includes the verb form composed of *-təəra* 'after' fills the NP slot of the nominal predicate phrase with a copula verb.

3.4.3.5 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 (101a-b), the affixes deleted by double lines cannot directly precede the word-final affix.

(101) 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

(102) 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 (103a-b). On the contrary, *-nən* (SEQ) is always preceded by *-an* (NEG), i.e., always used in negative as in (103c-d).

(103) *-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

ciritijo,

‘(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, *-ti* (SEQ) links clauses sequentially, which can usually be translated into ‘and.’ However, the combination of *-ti* plus *n* ‘even’ can mean ‘even if ...’ as in (104) (see §?? for more details).

(104) abitin, kikjanba. j’icjin, kikjanba.
abir-ti=n *kik-an-ba* *j’-ti=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, *-ti* (SEQ) is used in the affirmative polality as in (103a-b) and (104). However, *-ti* (SEQ) can be used in negative in the following cases. (A) *-ti* (SEQ) is followed by *n* ‘even’ and means a conditional meaning such as ‘(there is no problem) even if not, ...’ (B) *-ti* (SEQ) is used in insubordination.

First, I will present examples of (A).

(105) *-an-ti=n* (NEG-SEQ=even) to mean ‘(there is no problem) even if not ...’

a. naa, mutunu kutunkjagadəə sijantin,
naa mutu=nu *kutu=nkja=gadi=ja* *sij-an-ti=n*
FIL origin=GEN event=APPR=LMT=TOP know-NEG-SEQ=even
jiccjaccjidu juuba.
jiccj-sa=ccji=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-ri=ja*
FIL old.people=APPR=TOP everybody MES-NLZ=TOP
mjantin, sicjutattujaa. |jonban|gadi.
mj-an-ti=n *sij-tur-tar-tu=jaa* *jonban=gadi*
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 (105a). 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 (106).

(106) *-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 §??

3.4.4 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 §??

3.4.4.1 Morphophonology of the infinitives

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

Table 3.26: . Infinitives (simple forms and lengthened forms)

Stem No.
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 ko

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-* ‘tak

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’

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’ ‘h

[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)

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 (107).

(107) 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);
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.

Table 3.27: Simple forms with *mai* (OBL)

Stem No.	1	5	12	13
Infinitival affix *-Ø -Ø -i -i -Ø -i*				
ex. *abɨr-* 'call' *jum-* 'read' *mj-* 'see' *kij-* 'cut' *sin-*'die' *kak-* 'write'				
(Input) abɨr-Ø+mai jum-Ø+mai mj-i+mai kij-i+mai sin-Ø+mai kak-i+mai				
Deletion of //r// or //j// abɨ-Ø+mai - m-i+mai ki-i+mai - -				
Lengthening - - m-ii+mai - - -				
(Output) abɨ-Ø+mai jum-Ø+mai m-ii+mai ki-i+mai sin-Ø+mai kak-i+mai				

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

Table 3.28: Simple forms with *n* 'also'

Stem No.
Infinitival affix *-Ø -i -i -i -i -i* ex. *abɨr-* 'call' *jum-* 'read' *mj-* 'see' *kij-* 'cut' *sin-*'die' *kak-* 'writ
(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 (108).

(108) 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 3.29: Lengthened forms

Stem No.	1	5	1
Infinitival affix *-Ø -i -i -i -i* ex. *abɨr-* 'call' *jum-* 'read' *mj-* 'see' *kij-* 'cut' *kak-* 'write'			
(Input) abɨr-Ø jum-i mj-i kij-i kak-i			
Deletion of //r// or //j// abɨ-Ø - m-i ki-i -			
Lengthening abɨi-Ø jum-ii m-ii - kak-ii			
(Output) abɨi-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 (109a-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 (109c).

(109) Lengthened form and simple form

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

b. Followed by nothing
namaara abɨi?
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 (109a-b), the infinitive *abɨ-Ø* (call-INF) is a clause-final free form. Thus, it takes the lengthened form /abɨɨ/. In (109c), 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 (109a-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 (115a) 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.

3.4.4.2 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 (110).

(110) 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.

(111) 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 (111c). The infinitives of (111a-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 (112c) and (116f). However, the copula verb cannot take the infinitival affix.

With regard to (111a), the infinitive can appear in the complement slot of the VP, where the lexical verb is always *sɨr-* 'do' as in (112a-c). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

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

  a. zjenzjen munun janbajoo, kikin
  zjenzjen *mun=n* *j'-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 (111b), the infinitive can become the core argument of the nominal predicate as in (113a-c) (see §**??** for more details on nominal predicate). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(113) 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 sɨki 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 (113b) retains its own argument *heisjei=kaci* (Heisei=ALL) 'to Heisei.' Similarly, the infinitive /hanasi/ *hanas-i* (talk-INF) 'talking' in (113c) retains its own argument *cˀju=nu sima+cˀju=tu* (person=GEN community+person=COM) 'with a person from another community.'

With regard to (111c), 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 (114a-c). That is, it forms a nominal predicate phrase.

(114) 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 atɨ, umantɨ cɨkɨ
u-ma=nan *sanbasi=nu* *ar-tɨ* *u-ma=nantɨ* *cɨkɨr-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 turarɨ jappoo,
heitai=kaci tur-arɨr-Ø jar-boo nusi=ja
[soldier=ALL take-PASS-INF COP-CND] RFL=TOP
nusjee |konoehei|ccjɨ jˀicjɨ,
konoe+hei=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ
imperial.guard+soldier say-SEQ
'(He said) that, "if (I) am called up to the military [lit. if (I) am taken to the military], (I) myself (will be) an imperal guard," and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. ukkaci makikum jatattujaa.
u-rɨ=kaci mak-i+kum-Ø jar-tar-tu=jaa
[MES-NLZ=ALL roll-INF+into-INF COP-PST-CSL=SOL]
[Nominal predicate]
'(The old-type audio recorder) rolled up (the tape of one side) into that [i.e. the other side] (during the recording).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. an junɨzooanjootaaga simautaba
a-n junɨzoo+anjoo-taa=ga sima+uta=ba
DIST-ADNZ Yonezo+older.brother-PL=NOM [community+song=ACC
|hozon| siicjɨ jˀicjɨ, [Subject] [Nominal predicate]
hozon sɨr-i=ccjɨ jˀ-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 (114a-d), the infinitives fill the predicate slot as nominals, which is clear from the copula verbs following them, although there is no copula in (114d). The infinitives in (114a-d) retain their "internal syntax" (Haspelmath 1996) such as *u-ma=nantɨ* (MES-place=LOC2) in (114a), *heitai=kaci* (soldier=ALL) in (114b), /ukkaci/ *u-rɨ=kaci* (MES-NLZ=ALL) in (114c), and *sima+uta=ba* (community+song=ACC) in (114d). However, infinitives in these environments cannot have its own subject, which is attested by the following examples.

(115) 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 (115b), 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 (115a) 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 (116b) below.

With regard to (111d), if the infinitive is followed by *n* (DAT1), it can indicate a certain temporal point as in (116a-f). The infinitives take simple forms in this environment.

(116) 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=ccji=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 cˀjunkjanu |koocjoosjensjei|
a-n cˀju=nkja=nu koocjoo+sjensjei
DIST-PTCP person=APPR=NOM principal+teacher
sjuinga, amuronti singa,
sir-tur-i=n=ga amuro=nanti sir-i=n=ga
do-PROG-INF=DAT1=NOM Amuro=LOC1 do-INF=DAT1=NOM
amuronu kˀwasainu sjan tukidarooga.
amuro=nu kˀwasai=nu sir-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 sji mooinnja, simanu
naa-kja=ga sir-ti 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 kawati,
a-ma=nan wur-i=n=kara naa naikwa kawar-ti
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 (116), the infinitival affix *-i* directly follows the verbal roots, e.g. *sɨr-* 'do' in (116b) or *ik-* 'go' in (116e). In addition, *-i* (INF) can follow the derivational affix *-tur* (PROG) as in (116b). 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 (117).

(117) 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-rɨ=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, hansɨ kamii, koosjaa kamii, unuu
zjagaimo *kam-i* *hansɨ* *kam-i* *koosjaa* *kam-i* *unuu*
potato eat-INF sweet.potato eat-INF yam eat-INF taro
kamiicjɨnkja umujuncjɨjo.
kam-i=cjɨ=nkja *umuw-jur-n=ccjɨ=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 (117) 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 (118a) (see §?? for more details), but the infinitival affix *-i* does not as in (118b).

(118) 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 (118a), *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 (118b) 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 (118b) is different from *-i* (NPST).

3.4.5 Affix that seems to be across word classes

The participial affix *-n* and the adnominalizer *-n* have the same form as in (119a-b).

(119) a. The participial affix *-n*
hinzjaa succjun ɲɨsəənu tuutai,
[*hinzjaa sukk-tur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ɲɨsəə=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. Haspelmath 1996).

3.5 Derivational morphology

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

3.5.1 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) < **-tɨ *wur-* (SEQ PROG); *-təər* (RSL) < **-tɨ *ar-* (SEQ RSL) (see §?? for more details). It is probable that *-tuk* (PRPR) originated from the AVC composed of **-tɨ* (SEQ) and **uk-* (PRPR) (< **uk-* 'put'). However, there is no use of the *uk-* 'put' as the auxiliary verb in modern Yuwan.

The derivational affixes can be classified into the following categories.

Table 3.30: Derivational affixes in Yuwan

Category	Form	Meaning
Valency-changing	*-as*	Causative
	-arɨr	Passive
	-arɨr	Capability
Aspect	*-jur*	Unmarked
	-tur	Progressive
	-təər	Resultative
Modality	*-tuk*	Preparative
	-jawur	Politeness

In the following subsections, I will present examples of the derivational affixes in Table 1.30 in turn.

3.5.1.1 *-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.'

(120) 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 k'woo nasi (un) baramacjattu, naa,
jinga=nu k'wa=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 (120a), 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 (120b).

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

(121) 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 (Dryer 2007: 79). Thus, the example in (121a) was taken in elicitation. In (121a), 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 (121b). Interestingly, the causee of the transitive verb may be marked by *kaci* (ALL) as in (122), where the transitive verb is *kak-* 'write.'

(122) [= (??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 (123a-b).

(123) 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 (123a), 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 (123b), 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 (123b), *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.

(124) *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 (124a), the causee (i.e. 'my son') is not expressed, and the causer (i.e. *sadae* 'Sadae') is marked by *ga* (NOM). In (124b), 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 (125), although it does not appear in the text data.

(125) *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 (126a-b).

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

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

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

In (126a), 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 cˀju=nkja* 'that person'). Similarly, in (126b), the event expressed by the predicate *sɨmɨr-as* (do.CAUS-CAUS) includes only two participants, i.e. the causee (i.e. *akira* 'Akira') and the causer (i.e. 'I'), although the causer is not overtly expressed in the clause. In other words, (126b) has the same meaning with (125). The examples in (126a-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).'

3.5.1.2 *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)

-ar(ɨr) (PASS) changes the syntactic valency of the transitive verb as in (127a-b). The morphophonological alternation of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) was discussed in §??

On the one hand, in (127a), the non-passive verbal stem, i.e. *sjug-i+agɨr-* (hit-INF+severely) 'to hit severely,' marks the agent with *ga* (NOM) and the patient with *ba* (ACC). On the other hand, in (127b), the passive verbal stem, i.e. *sjug-i+agɨr-ar* (hit-INF+ severely-PASS) 'to be hit severely,' marks the agent with *n* (DAT1) and the patient with *ga* (NOM). In fact, the agent in the passive clause can be marked only by *n* (DAT1) (see also (??a) in §??).

(127) a. Without *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS)
akiraba zjuuga sjugjagɨtuddoo. Patient Agent
akira=ba zjuu=ga sjug-i+agɨr-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 (128b).

(128) 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 (128a), the intransitive verb *ik-* 'go' has a single participant (i.e. 'I'). In (128b), the same "intranstive" verb *ik-* 'go' takes the "passive" affix *-ar(ɨr)*. Here, besides the agent of *ik-* 'go' (i.e. *ura* 'you'), another participant was introduced into the event, i.e. 'I,' although it is not expressed overtly in the clause. The participant introduced by *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) is always suffering from the action indicated by the verbal stem preceding it. This kind of use of the passive affix is called "malefactive" in Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji 2008: 493-498).

3.5.1.3 *-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 (129).

(129) 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 (129) with (128a-b). In (129), *-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 (130a), but the latter precedes it as in (130b), although the combination of *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS) and *-tuk* (PRPR) is only found in elicitation.

(130) a. *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP) follows *-tuk* (PRPR) [= (44a)]

|reitou|nansəəka	ucjukuboo,	ɨciɨgadɨ	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-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 (131a), the subject of /kacja/ *kak-tar* (write-PST) 'wrote' is marked by the nominative *ga*, which may be replaced by *n* 'also' as in (131b). If the verb takes *-ar(ɨr)* (CAP), the subject may be marked by the dative particle *n* (DAT1) as in (131c), where *n* (DAT1) is not replaced, but followed by *n* 'also.'

(131) 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).

3.5.1.4 *-jur* (UMRK)

-jur (UMRK) has multiple functions and it's prototypical function is difficult to determine. In principle, it has the characteristics as in (132); see also (1) and (2) in §??

(132) 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).

I will discuss each of these functions in turn.

With regard to (132a), *-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 (132b), *-jur* (UMRK) cannot co-occur with the negative affixes, i.e. *-an* (NEG) as in (1) in §?? or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (67) 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 (132c), *-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 (132d), *-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.

(133) *-jur* (UMRK)

[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).

a. With *-i* (NPST) [= (54)]
[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) [= (66a)]
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 (134a-g).

(134) *-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] cʾjunu
ga-n sɨr-tar-n mun=nkja sij-tur-n cʾju=nu
MES-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP thing=APPR know-PROG-PTCP person=NOM
wuranbaccjɨ jʾicjutɨga, |nenzjuu|
wur-an-ba=ccjɨ jʾ-tur-tɨ=ga nenzjuu
exist-NEG-CSL=QT say-PROG-SEQ=FOC always
jutanmun, ura tanmɨba,
jʾ-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

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

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 (134a) and /ɨcɨn/ *ɨcɨɨ=n* (when=any) 'always' as in (134e).

In fact, there are a few examples where the combination of *-jur-tar* (UMRK-PST) does not express habitual meaning as in (135a-b).

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

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 (135a), 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 (135b-d) (i.e. the Uncle America's crossing over to the US) took place only once. TM's utterance in (135b) is almost the same with that in (135d), where *-jur-tar* (UMRK-PST) in (135b) is replaced by *-tar* (PST). The details of the function of *-jur* (UMRK) in (135a-b) is not very clear for the present author for now, and a finer investigation is required in the future.

3.5.1.5 *-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 (136a), or keeping up the state caused by the action indicated by the verbal stem as in (136b-c).

(136) *-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. unnəntɨ uziiga cˀjui joonasi
u-n=nəntɨ *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)]
kɨɨnu sjanannja kagonu tʾaacɨ ucjutɨ,
kɨɨ=nu sja=nan=ja kago=nu tʾaacɨ uk-tur-tɨ
tree=GEN below=LOC1=TOP basket=GEN two.CLF.thing put-PROG-SEQ
'Under the tree, (the old man) put two baskets, and ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

In (136a), the old man continued to pick up the pears. In (136b), Motoyama rented a shop and kept the contract for a while. In (136c), 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 (137a-b).

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

a. [Context: TM is talking about the meeting for old people held once a month in Yuwan.]
taruka tʾaibəi wututɨ, kan
ta-ru=ka tʾai=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 kʾwa jatattu.
mun=ja jʾ-an kʾwa jar-tar-tu
pass-SEQ=even thing=TOP say-NEG child COP-PST-CSL
'(The child) was a child who did not say anything even if I was being there, even if (the child) passed right in front (of me).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above examples, the combination of *wur-* 'exist' and *-tur* (PROG) expresses the temporary state of being at these places. This phenomenon is similar to "the Progress" form of *live* or *stand* in English discussed in Comrie (1976), since it is said that *be living* (or *be standing*) "refers to a more temporary state" (ibid.: 37).

In fact, *-tur* (PROG) does not necessarily express habitual meaning. However, it can be used in the context where the clauses have habitual meaning as in (138a-b).

(138) *-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.

3.5.1.6 *-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" (Comrie 1976: 56). This aspect is called "resultative" in this grammar. *-təər* (RSL) can appear in any kind of predicate phrase as in (139a-d).

(139) *-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 (139a), a boy dropped a hat, and the hat remained there (until another boy picked it up). In (139b), Zenyuki injured his eyes, and the injury lasted thereafter. In (139c), *-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 (139d), 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 (140a-c).

(140) *-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]
juwancˀjoo gan sjan |sjumi|ga
juwan+cˀju=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]

[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."

In (140a-c), *-təər* (RSL) preceding *-ba* (CSL) expresses the past tense. Especially, it is clear from (140a), 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 (141).

(141) 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 mˀarɨtətəəppajaa.
a-rɨ-taa=ja *mˀarɨr-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 (141), 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 §??

Finally, I will present the examples where *-təər* (RSL) is used in the clauses that express counter-factual situation as in (142a-c).

(142) *-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 naacɨbaacjɨ umuwannən, jəito
unin-goro=kara *naacɨbaa=ccjɨ* *umuw-an-nən* *jəito*
that.time-around=ABL tone.deaf=QT think-NEG-SEQ well
hamɨcɨkɨtɨ narəəboo, (mmm)
hamɨcɨkɨr-tɨ *naraw-boo zjoozɨ*
do.one's.best-SEQ learn-CND good.at

zjoozɨ 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 (142a-b) and covertly in (142c), 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 (142b) provides a clear contrast to *-tar* (PST) as in (134d) in §?? In (142b), *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 (134d), *jˀ-jur-tar-n=mun* (say-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS) 'used to say (a phrase), but ...' expresses the real fact.

3.5.1.7 *-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.

(143) a. [= (44a)]
|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. [= (142a)]
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 tɨɨ kɨɨnnajoocjɨ, ...
u-rɨ *tɨɨ* *kɨɨr-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 (143a), to put the pickles in the freezer is required to preserve them. In (143b), 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 (143c), to put the pack untouched is required for the person (who threw it) to notice that the pack is still there. In (143a-b), the clasues express counter-factual (or imaginary) events. In (143c), the clause that includes *-tuk* (PRPR) expresses command. That is, in all of the above examples, *-tuk* (PRPR) is used in irrealis mood.

3.5.1.8 *-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.

(144) *-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 (145).

(145) *-(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]

3.5.1.9 *-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 (146), where *-an* (NEG) and *-tar* (PST) is neither a participial affix nor a finite-form affix any more.

(146) *-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]

3.5.2 Compounding

3.5.2.1 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.

Table 3.31: Verbal compounds (strong unity)

Initial stem	Non-initial stem	Compo
us- 'push' + *-i* (INF) + *jaas-* 'give' > /usijaas-/ 'push forward'		
nagɨr- 'throw' + *-Ø* (INF) + *cɨkɨr-* 'attach' > /nagɨcɨkɨr-/ 'throw at'		
izir- 'go out' + *-Ø* (INF) + *bar-* N/A > /izibar-/ 'go out'		

All of the verbal stems in Table 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 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 (147c). I will present examples of the compounds in Table 1.31 below.

(147) Verbal compounds (strong unity)

a. /usijaas-/ 'push forward'

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

b. /nagɨcikɨr-/ 'throw at' [=(86b)]
umanan mata nagɨcikɨtəəppa,
u-ma=nan mata nagɨr-Ø+cikɨr-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.

Table 3.32: 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

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

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

b. *ut-* (EMP)

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 (148a-b).

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

Table 3.33: Verbal stems that express grammatical meanings in the non-initial stems in

compounds

Form	Meaning only by itself	Meaning in the non-initial 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.

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.

(149) 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]

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-ɨ=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]

kˀuraw- (DRG)

g. kanicɨboja urakja tuikˀurawɨcjɨ jˀicjɨ,
kanɨ+cɨbo=ja urakja tur-i+kˀuraw-ɨ=ccjɨ jˀ-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 wuikˀuratɨ,
aga-raa mun=nu wur-i+kˀuraw-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. [= (114c)]
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 dɨkɨɨjukkjaija
ka-n sɨr-tɨ jaa=nkja=nu dɨkɨr-Ø+jukkjaar-i=ja
PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ house=APPR=NOM be.made-INF+INGR-INF=TOP
|nan+nengoro|karakai?
nan+nen-goro=kara=kai
what+year-about=ABL=DUB
'When did the houses begin to be made like this?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

It should be noted that the stem-boundary of the verbal compounds in (149c-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 3.34: Morphophonological difference of //i// + //a// in a nominal compound and a verbal compound

Preceding stem
Nominal compound *hidesi* 'Hideshi' + *anjoo* 'older brother' > /hi.de.si.a.njoo/ [çidẹ̥ɕiɳnʲo̞ː] V

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/.

3.5.2.2 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.

(150) *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 (150a) is a lexical verb, and it forms an AVC with the following auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON). Similarly, /hɨ̈ɨtɨ/ *hɨ̈ɨr-tɨ* (get.up-SEQ) in (150b) is a lexical verb, and it also forms an AVC with *moor-* (HON). In (150a-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 3.35: . 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.

Table 3.36: 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]$_{\text{word}}$ [Auxilia

The semantic scope of the verbal affixes that attach to the auxiliary verb always include both of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. In that meaning, *kij-* (CAP) has the same characteristic with the verbal affixes. For example, if *-an* (NEG) attaches to the auxiliary verb, its semantic scope necessarily includes the preceding lexical verb as in (??) in §??, where *-an* (NEG) negates *umuw-* 'think' as well as *kurir-* (BEN).

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

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 *-arir* (CAP) as in (151a-b).

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

a. *kij-* (CAP)

Table 3.37: The range of capability that *kij-* (CAP) and *-arɨr* (CAP) express

	kij- (CAP)	*-arɨr*
Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on one's ability	+	+
Capability construed (by the speaker) as depending on the surroundings	-	+

sijansjutɨ, cukuikijanta.
sij-an=sjutɨ *cukur-i+kij-an-tar*
know-NEG=SEQ make-INF+CAP-NEG-PST
'(I) don't know (how to make the dish), and could not make (it).' [El: 101119]

b. *-arɨr* (CAP)
sijansjutɨ, cukuraranta.
sij-an=sjutɨ *cukur-ar-an-tar*
know-NEG=SEQ make-CAP-NEG-PST
'(I) don't know (how to make the dish), and could not make (it).' [El: 101119]

In both of the examples in (151a-b), the speaker does not know how to make the dish. Thus, the capability in (151a-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 (152a-b).

(152) 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 nənsjuti, cukuraranta.
hima=nu nə-an=sjuti 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 (152a-b), the speaker does not have enough time to spare. Thus, the capability in (152a-b) is construed by the speaker as depending on the surroundings (not the speaker's ability), where *kij-* (CAP) cannot be used, and only *-arir* (CAP) can be used.

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