A grammar of Yuwan

Yuto Niinaga

Studies in Diversity Linguistics

language science press

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ISSN: 2363-5568

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language
science
press

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

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

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

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

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

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Contents

Acknowledgments

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

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

Finally, I am particulary thankful to my family.

Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

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

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

Symbols

#	syllable boundary
#	context is unnatural
$	word boundary
*	ungrammatical expression ancestoral form (see also ‘Pre-note (b)’ in appendix)
+	boundary of a compound boundary of reduplication boundary of a contracted adjectival predicate, boudary of the fusion of *ccjɨ* (extscqt) and *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 **McGill2009**.

Interlinear examples

Each example is composed of four tiers: the surface tier (the phonemic representation), the underlying tier (the morphophonemic representation), the tier for morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, which conforms to the convention of the Leipzig Glossing Rules[1] and the tier for free translation provided by the present author. The surface tier does not have morpheme boundaries. This way, it is possible to handle fusions and morphophonological alternations with interlinear morphemic glosses.

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

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

, after an interjection or an adverbial clause; before the hearer's nod assent; enclosing an inserted expression

. after a sentence (not within a word); between syllable boundaries (within a word)[2]

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

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

? after an interrogative sentence

! after an imperative sentence

.. short pause

... long pause

xxx unintelligible speech

( ) enclosing a defective utterance or a misstatement

| | enclosing standard Japanese

Additionally, the underlying tier is provided in *italics*, the free translation is enclosed within single quotation marks, and information inferable from the context may be added with round brackets in the free translation. Some morphemes can be translated into more than one meaning (or function) in English, i.e. polysemy. In that case, we gloss it in the following order (**Lehmann2004**): (1) if we can abstract the polysemous meanings into one meaning, we use the abstract meaning as its gloss; (2) if we cannot do this, we gloss the relevant meaning in each example. In the second case, I sacrificed the consistency of the glossing and the form, because it is helpful for the reader to know the correspondence between the glossing and the free translation. Finally, in the free translation, '...' means there is a remaining portion of the sentence that has been left out.

In many cases, context is supplied for an example, and it is enclosed in square brackets on the upper side of examples. Paraphrases in English (with speaker extscid) in quotation marks may follow the description of the context. In addition, if other kinds of information, e.g., syntactic constructions, are needed, another line may be added below the glossing line (**Lehmann2004**).

(2) [Context: extsctm and extscms were looking at the beams of TM's house; MS: 'There are few houses (that have the beams) like these.']
extsctm: mukasinu janagɨjaaccjəə nən.jaa.
mukasi=nu janagɨ+jaa=ccjɨ=ja nə-an=jaa
{[old.days= extscgen] [dirty+house]}=
{[Modifier] [Head]}$_{NP}$
'There is not (a house) like a dirty [i.e. outdated] house of the old days.' [Co: `111113_01.txt`]

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

In-text example

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

Orthography

Yuwan has mainly six vowels [i, u, o̞, 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 (**Lass1984**). Yuwan has /m/ and /n/, which are homorganic. For example, in /jum-an/ [ju.mɑ̣ɴ] (read- extscneg) 'do not read' and /jum-gadɨ/ (read -until) [juŋ.gɑ̣.dɨ] 'until (someone) reads,' /m/ can be [m] or [ŋ] depending on the following phonemes. Similarly, in /ɨn=un/ [ʔɨ.nu.ɴ] (dog=also) 'also a dog' and /ɨn=gadɨ/ [ʔɨŋ.gɑ̣.dɨ] (dog= extsclmt) 'as well as dogs,' /n/ can be [n] or [ŋ] depending on the following phonemes. [ʔɑ̣m.mɑ̣ː] 'mother,' however, is made up of a single root, so we cannot know whether its first [m] would be /m/ or /n/. In this case, we recognize the existence of archiphoneme /N/ and avoid choosing the unique underlying phoneme. In this grammar, the archiphoneme is transcribed as 'n,' since the use of /N/ implies the exsistence of a phoneme other than /m/ and /n/. Thus, [ʔɑ̣m.mɑ̣ː] is *anmaa* (see §?? for more details). The other symbols used in this grammar coincide with their phonetic representations (or commonly accepted phonemic representations) (see also §??).

1 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 **Shimoji2008**. 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 (4a-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 (4c). The constructions in (4a-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 (5a), *kara* (ABL) as in (5b), *n* (DAT1) as in (5c)[1], *nan* (LOC1) as in (5d) (about the alternation from //nan// to /n/, see §??), and *tu* (COM) as in (5e).

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 (6a) fills the modifier slot of an NP, whose head is *məə* 'front.' *ku-n* (PROX-ADNZ) 'this' in (6b) 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 j'udu
[*sima=nantɨ* *tur-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *j'u=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 *j'u* '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 (8), *tanmjaa* 'mud snail' fills the head slot of an NP, which is followed by a copula verb.

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

(9) Head is filled by an infinitive
[Context: Speaking with MY about the present author]
|benkjoo| sjun c'junkjaccjiboo, gan sji
benkjoo *sir-jur-n* *c'ju=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 (9), 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 (2), whose construction is as follows: "[Modifier Head]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ Head." In addition, a head modified by an adnominal clause can fill the head slot recursively, which is further modified by an adnominal as in (??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', *taməə* 'sake', *hazɨ* 'certainty', *nintəə* 'people', *nagatɨɨ* 'along', *hutəə/butəə/datəə* 'vicinity', *turoo* 'place', *mama* 'still', *tui* 'as,' and *hui* 'pretend.' They can be modified by at least one of adnominals, address nouns, or adnominal clauses.

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 (10a) indicates a person, but *sɨ* in (10b-c) indicates non-human referents.

(10) Human referent

a. [Context: Talking about how to cook in the old days]
nanzijucjɨnkjoo sjusəə waakjabəi arantakai?
nanziju=ccjɨ=nkja=ja sɨr-jur=sɨ=ja waakja=bəi 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 (11a-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 (10b) or the nominal predicate slot as in (10c). 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 (12a-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 (13a-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 (13b) is modified by an adnominal clause whose predicate is a participle /ikjun/ *ik-jur-n* (go-UMRK-PTCP). However, in (13a), *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 (13a), 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 (14a-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 (14b), the predicate of the adnominal clause, i.e. *kam-an* (eat-NEG), precedes the common noun *cˀju* 'person.' Similarly, in (14a), *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 (14a) 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 (15a), *kutu* 'event' is modified by a genitive NP *mukasi=nu* (past=GEN), and in (15b) 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 cʾjoo
ta-ru=n mukasi=nu=kutu sij-tur-n cʾju=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 tʾin nən.
kam-tar-n=kutu=ja tʾii=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 (16) 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 (15b).

1.2.2.4 *bun* 'share'

I will present examples of *bun* 'share.' In (17a), *bun* 'share' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (17b) 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 (18a), *taməə* 'sake' is modified by an adnominal *urakja-a* (2.NHON.PL-ADNZ), and in (18b) 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 (19a), *hazɨ* 'certainty' is modified by a genitive NP *u-ma=nu* (MES-place=GEN), and in (19b) 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 (19a-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).

(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 (21a), *nintəə* 'people' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (21b) it is modified by an adnominal clause whose head is the participle /nacɨkasjan/ *nacɨkasj-sa+ar-n* (familiar-ADJ+STV-PTCP), and in (21c) 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 (21a), *nagatɨɨ* 'along' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (22b) 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 (24a), *hutəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (24b) 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 (25a), *datəə* 'vicinity' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (25b) 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 (26a), *turoo* 'place' is modified by an NP *sugoja-taa* (Sugoya-PL), which fills the modifier slot by juxtaposition, and in (26b) 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 (27a), *mama* 'still' is modified by an adnominal *u-n* (MES-ADNZ), and in (27b) 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 (28), *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 (29), *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/

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

[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.

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]

[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 /ɨira/. Audio-instrumental research is needed on this point in the future.

// C ɨ // > /Cəəra/

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

d. Other short vowels
// C V_i // > /cv$_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/)
kˀubi 'neck' > /kˀubəəra/

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/

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 (35aa)), 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 (35) 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' + nantɨ (LOC2)
> /sja ntɨ/

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

(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 *nanɨ* (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 (41a-f) in turn below.
With regard to (41a), 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 (41aa), /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 (41ab), *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 (41ac), *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 (41ad), *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| cikɨtɨ kurɨppa.
   ura *wadai* *cikɨr-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 (41b), 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 cˀju
   wan=ja *joo* *anmai* *hanməə=ja* *hanməə=ga* *kam-an* *cˀju*
   1SG=TOP FIL so.much meal=TOP meal=NOM eat-NEG person

natɨ cˀjɨjoo.
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 (41ab), 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 (41aa), 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 (41a) and (41a) express incapability in spite of there being no morphemes to express capability such as *-ar* (CAP) or *kij-* (CAP). With regard to (41c), 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 (41d), 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 (41aa), 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 (41a) and (41a). In (41ab-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 (41e), 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 (41a), 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 (41f), 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 (41aa-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 cʔjutu kun cʔjutuga
ku-n *cʔju=tu* *ku-n* *cʔju=tu=ga*
PROX-ADNZ person=COM PROX-ADNZ person=COM=NOM
dɨkɨmun.jo.
dɨkɨmun=joo
genius=CFM1
'This person and this person are genius.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

1.3.2.2 Accusative case *ba*

The accusative case *ba* is normally used to mark the object of transitive verbs. In (41aa), *ura* 'you' is an animate pronoun and the object of a transitive verb *abɨr-* 'call.' In (41ab), *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 tʔɨɨ tʔɨɨ mutunwakejo.
nasi=ba *tʔɨɨ* *tʔɨɨ* *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 (41aa-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 (41ab) and (41a), 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 (??b) in §??). (The example of commoun noun, however, was found in (??) 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 tamәə 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 (41aa), the locomotion verb *ik-* 'go' takes *ba* (ACC) to mark the goal NP, i.e. *nasje* 'Naze.' In (41ab), 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 (41ab). 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 (41aa), *cˀju* 'person' is the beneficiary of the verb *kurɨr-* 'give' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (41ab), *a-rɨ* 'that person' is the causee of the verb *kar-as-* (borrow-CAUS) 'make (someone) borrow' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (41ac), *cˀju* 'person' is the agent of the passive construction whose predicate includes the passive affix *-arɨr* and it takes *n* (DAT1). In (41ad), *wan* (1SG) is the agent of the verb *kak-arɨr-* (write-CAP) 'can write' and takes *n* (DAT1). In (41ae), *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 (41aa-b), both instances of *ja* (TOP), which follow *n* (DAT1), become /nja/. Furthermore, in (41aa), 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 arinkatɨ 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 (44) 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 1.5 in §**??** and (69) in §**??**). In (41a), 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 (41aa), *janməə* 'garden' is the goal of the verb *nagɨr-* 'throw' and takes *kaci* (ALL). In (41ab), *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 jˀicjɨ
nar-tɨ u-rɨ sɨr-jur-n=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ
become-SEQ MES-NLZ do-UMRK-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'(Old people) said that if you go to sleep early at night, (you) become an owl, and do it, and ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

Both *kinka* 'gold coin' in (41aa) and *cjuugakkoo* 'junior high school' in (41ab) 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 (41ac-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 (**Shimoji2013**). Looking back to the examples of Yuwan in (41aa-b), it is possible to assume a long distance between the source and goal of change. In (41aa), the source 'mud' became the goal 'gold coin,' and in (41ab), 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 (41ad). 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]
= (24a)
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 (41aa), *un sja* 'the place under there,' which takes *nan* (LOC1), is the place where the subject *cɨbo* 'pot' exists. In (41ab), *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 (41ac), *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 (41aa-b) to a short instance as in (41ac). 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 (41aa), *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 (41ab), /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 (41aa), *nan* (LOC1) directly follows an adnominal *u-n* ‘that (one)’ and they express a place as a whole. In (41ab), *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 (41aa), /daibangiɨ/ *daiban+kiɨ* ‘big tree,’ which takes *nantɨ* (LOC2), is the place where the action *nasi mur-* (pear pick.up) ‘to pick up pears’ occurs. In (41ab), *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. [= (41a)]
uziiga daibangiɨnantɨ nasi mutunwake.
uzii=ga daiban+kiɨ=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 (41a). In (41aa), *nantɨ* (LOC2) directly follows an adnominal *u-n* ‘that (one)’ and they express a place as a whole. In (41ab), *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

unnant**ɨ** 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 + *nənt**ɨ*** (LOC2)
daibang**ɨɨ**nu at**ɨ**, unnənt**ɨ** jinganu |hasigo|
*daiban+k**ɨɨ**=nu ar-t**ɨ*** *u-n=nənt**ɨ*** *jinga=nu* *hasigo*
big+tree=NOM exist-SEQ MES-ADNZ=LOC2 man=NOM ladder
k**ɨɨ**t**ɨ**,
*k**ɨɨ**r-t**ɨ***
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 *nant**ɨ*** (LOC2) has the same origin with *nan* (LOC1).

1.3.2.8 Locative case 3 *zj**ɨ***

The locative case 3 *zj**ɨ*** is used to mark the location of an action, which is distant from the speaker. It is probable that *zj**ɨ*** (LOC3) was grammaticalized from the converb /izj**ɨ**/ *ik-t**ɨ*** (go-SEQ) 'to go, and ...' (see §??). The head verb of *zj**ɨ*** (LOC3) must have an animate subject (except for the metaphorical expression).

a. i. usjəə amanu ... kusabutuuzj**ɨ**
*us**ɨ**=ja* *a-ma=nu* *kusabutuu=zj**ɨ*** *c**ɨ**nag-t**ɨ***
OX=TOP DIST-place=GEN thick.grass=LOC3 hitch-SEQ
c**ɨ**nazj**ɨ** koojaccj**ɨ** j'icj**ɨ**,
*k-oo=jaa=ccj**ɨ*** *j'-t**ɨ***
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, c**ɨ**k**ɨ**mununkja
sabi+sabi *aik-i+kij-boo* *c**ɨ**k**ɨ**r+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 (41aa), *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 (41ab), *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 (41aa), *hoogen* 'dialect' is the material to make an uttrance, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (41ab), *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 (41aa), *gassjuku* 'training camp' is the reason that the runners come to the village, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (41ab), *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 (41aa), *micjai* 'three people' is the membership of agent who helped the boy, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (41ab), *nusi* (REL) 'oneself' is the membership of agent who makes the meal, and it takes *sjɨ* (INST). In (41ac), *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 (41ab), 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 (41ab).

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 (41aa-b). There are also examples of semantic extension of these as in (41ac-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 miʑinkja nunkuin cinkudi,
simi=nu miʑi=nkja nu=n=kui=n cinkum-ti
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-ri=ja a-ri-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 narajutancji.
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 (41aa), *ku-ma* 'here' and *jakuba* 'the village office' are spatial sources, from which the truck loaded with relief supplies would set off. In (41ab), *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 (41ac), /attaa məə/ *a-rɨ-taa məə* 'them [lit. thier front]' is the source from which the ownership of the house is transferred. In (41ad), /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 (41aa), *nan* 'you (honorific)' is the participant associated with the speaker, and it takes *tu* (COM). In (41ab), *u-n=nintəə* 'those people' are the participants associated with *muhaa+anjoo-taa* 'Muha and his friends' and takes *tu* (COM). Finally, in (41ac), *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 (41aa), *a-n saee* '(that) Sae,' which is the first NP of the subject, takes *tu* (COM). In (41ab), *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 c'jutu kun c'jutuga
ku-n *c'ju=tu* *ku-n* *c'ju=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 (41aa), 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 (41ab), 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 (41ac), each NP, i.e. *cuburu* 'head' and *cɨbusi* 'knee' being the object of transitive verb, is followed by *tu* (COM). Similarly, in (41ad), 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 (41aa), *a-ma* 'that place' is the spatial limit, which constraints the size of TM's old house, and it takes *gadɨ* (LMT). In (41ab), *nama* 'now' is the temporal limit, until which a man had been living there, and it also takes *gadɨ* (LMT). In (41ac), *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 (41aa), *u-rɨ* 'it' is the standard that is compared with the traditional coffin, modifying the adjective *hɨɨ-sa* 'big.' In (41ab), *a-rɨ* 'that person' is the standard that is compared with the hearer, modifying the adverb *həə-ku* 'early.' In (41ac), *waa-kja* 'we' is the standard that is compared with *a-rɨ* 'he,' modifying the nominal *sja* 'below.' In (41ad), *wan* 'I' is the standard that is compared with the people in the community, modifying the nominal *sɨda* 'over.' In all examples in (41aa-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 (42a), *a-n cˀju* 'that person' is a possessor and is followed by *nu* (GEN), and it modifies the head nominal *naa* 'name,' which is a possessee. In (42b), *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 (43a-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 (43c-d) (see §??).

(43) Filling the argument slot of a clause

a. ariga.., sizuobaaga wuppoo, jiccja
a-ri=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 sji kiinu ati,
u-ma=ja *ka-n* *sir-ti* *kii=nu* *ar-ti*
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 masuoccji jˀicji, wuti,
a-ri=ga *ututu=nan* *masuo=ccji* *jˀ-ti* *wur-ti*
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. [= (41aa)]

kɨ̵inu	sjanannja	kagonu	tˀaacɨ̵	ucjutɨ̵,
kɨ̵i=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 (43a) and *kɨ̵i* 'tree' in (43b) 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 (43c), *a-rɨ̵* (DIST-NLZ) 'that person' modifies the head nominal *ututu* 'younger sibling' (about the contranction from *a-rɨ̵=ga* > /agga/, see §??). In (43d), *kɨ̵i* '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 1.2 (see Table 1.5 in §?? for more details).

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

Personal pronominals	Human demonstratives	Address nouns	The others	Nominative case	g

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. *kɨ̵i* 'tree' as in (6-80 b, d). Considering the distributional difference shown in Table 1.2, I will propose that they should be regarded as different cases. This point of view owes to the idea of "distributional cases" in **Comrie1991**.

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=nanꟷ
village.office=GEN under=GEN now=GEN clinic=GEN under=LOC2
sjanꟷ,

'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 *nizii* 'corner'

c. jaman niziꟷiꟷ natꟷ.
jama=nu nizii nar-tꟷ
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 kꟷin məəkaci mudutꟷ kii.
u-n kꟷii=nu məə=kaci mudur-tꟷ 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 (44a-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 (5a-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 1.3, "+" means that the case particle can co-occur with the verbs (or verbal affixes), and "-" means cannot.

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

-ari̶r (PASS)	*-as* (CAUS)	*kuri̶r-* 'give'	*jˀ-* 'say'	*nagi̶r-* 'throw'	*ik-* 'go'		
n	(DAT1)	+	+	+	+	-	-
kaci	(ALL)	-	+	+	+	+	+
nkati̶	(DAT2)	-	-	-	+	-	-

In (45), "*" means that the form is not grammatical in the environments.

(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 1.3 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 1.4, "+" 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 (46), "*" means that the form is not grammatical in the environment.

(46) a. Co-occurence with *wur-* 'exist (animate)'
wanna amanan/*amanantɨ/amazjɨ
wan=ja a-ma=nan/a-ma=nantɨ/a-ma=zjɨ
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)'

tɨganna
tɨgan=ja
letter=TOP
amanandu/*amanantɨdu/*amazjɨdu
a-ma=nan=du/a-ma=nantɨ=du/a-ma=zjɨ=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'
*amanan/amananantɨ/amazjɨ wuduroojəə.
a-ma=nan/a-ma=nantɨ/a-ma=zjɨ 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, *nantɨ* (LOC2) cannot be used, but *nan* (LOC1) and *zjɨ* (LOC3) can as in (46a) (see also §??). Because of the same reason, *ar-* 'exist' can be used with *nan* (LOC1), but cannot be used with *nantɨ* (LOC2) as in (46b). Additionally, *ar-* 'exist' must have an inanimate subject (strictly speaking, an inanimate "core argument," see §?? for more details). On the contrary, *zjɨ* (LOC3) always has an animate subject (see §??). Therefore, *zjɨ* (LOC3) cannot be used with *ar-* 'exist' as in (46b). If the head verb expresses a dynamic action, the place of action cannot be marked by *nan* (LOC1), but can be marked by *nantɨ* (LOC2) and *zjɨ* (LOC3) as in (46c).

Furthermore, *zjɨ* (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, *zjɨ* (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 (47a-b), but *zjɨ* (LOC3) cannot as in (47c), which made a clear contrast with (46a), 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, **Shimoji2008**: 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 (48a). Both of the above examples are grammatical, but similar sentences cannot be acceptable as in (49). 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 (48a-b), the spearker has not arrived yet at the goal. Thus, both /izjɨ/ (go.SEQ) and /zjɨ/ (LOC3) are grammatical. However, in (49a-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 (50a). On the contrary, /zjɨ/ (LOC3) cannot take (or be preceded by) it as in (50b).

(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 **Shimoji2008**, 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 səəba numoozjɨjəə.
wan=n səə=ba num-oo=zjɨ=jəə
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 səəba numoozjɨjəə. [Expressed meaning] 'I will
wan=n səə=ba num-oo=zjɨ=jəə
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 **Silverstein1976**, **Comrie1989**, **Dixon1994**, **Whaley1997**, **Corbett2000**, and **Croft2003** [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 1.5), 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 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

Table 1.5: Animacy hierarchy in Yuwan

Personal pronominals		Human interrogatives	Human demonstratives	Address nouns	The other
1st/2nd	3rd Animate	Inanimate			
Number					
Singular markers[a]	*-n* / *-Ø* N/A	*-ru*	*-ɾɨ* 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 *-ɾɨ* (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.

§??), 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. **Corbett2000**: 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 (55a-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 (55a), 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 (55b), 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 (56), 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 (56), 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. **Corbett2000**: 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 (55a) 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 (55b), 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 (55a-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). (58a) is a conversation of TM with US. (58b) 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 c'jantu attaa ziisantugajoo
jonesige-taa c'jan=tu a-ri-taa ziisan=tu=ga=joo
Yoneshige-PL father=COM DIST-NLZ-PL grandfather=COM=NOM=CFM1
|itoko|bəi najuncji.
itoko=bəi nar-jur-n=ccji
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-ri-taa=ja
chief.of.a.ward-HON=GEN below=LOC1 again DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP
c'ju=ja ci-cju-tat-tu.
c'ju=ja cik-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 (58a), TM and US had not seen the other members of the present author's family. Thus, it is natural to think that /attaa/ *a-ri-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-ri=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 (58b), /attaa/ *a-ri-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) indicates the chief of the Yuwan district.

One district has one chief. Thus, /attaa/ *a-ri-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-ri* (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).

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

In (59), *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-ri* (DIST-NLZ) 'she,' which followed and paraphrased the preceding *minako-taa* (Minako-PL), which is very similar to the case in (55a). In order to specify the ability to indicate a single referent using *-taa* (PL), I did an elicitation research as in (60), where the singularity of the agent is stressed by the extended NP *c'jui=sji* (one.person.CLF=INST) 'alone.' Both *-taa* (PL) and *c'jui=sji* '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 mucikasjanu, attaa c'juisjəə
u-ri=ja mucikasj-sa=nu a-ri-taa c'jui=sji=ja
MES-NLZ=TOP difficult-ADJ=CSL DIST-NLZ-PL one.person.CLF=INST=TOP
siikijandoo.
sir-i+kij-an=doo
do-INF+CAP-NEG=ASS
'That is difficult, so he cannot do (it) alone.' [El: 130820]

In (60), /attaa/ *a-ri-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 (61a), TM and MS were looking at a picture, and she said that she did not know such a scene on it. Here, *ku-ri=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 (61b), 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, kuɾinkjoo.
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 (57a-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 **Corbett2000** may be the candidate. For example, **Corbett2000** 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 **Plungian1995**]. According to **Corbett2000**, "(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 1.5). 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) (**Pellard2010**), and also in other languages, e.g. Eastern Huasteca Nahuatl (**Corbett2000**). 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 (62a), the first person pronoun has its plural form *waa-kja* (1-PL). In (62b), the second person honorific pronoun has its plural form *naa-kja* (2.HON-PL). In (62c), 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 sɨj-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 (63a), the human interrogative root *ta-* 'who' has its plural form /tattaa/ *ta-ru-taa* (who-NLZ-PL). In (63b), a human demonstrative root *u-* (MES) has its plural form /uttaa/ *u-ri-taa* (MES-NLZ-PL). In (63c), an address noun (elder kinship) *anmaa* 'mother' has its plural form /anmataa/ *anmaa-taa* (mother-PL). Finally, in (63d), 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
izituttijaa.
izir-tur-ti=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 (64a-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 (64c). Common nouns always exploit *nkja* (APPR) despite the referents being humans or non-humans as in (64d-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 [= (62c)]
[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 warabinkjoojoo,
mata nama=nu=joo warabi=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
(..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 (65a-b) are very rare. On the other hand, the combinations of *-taa* (PL) and *nkja* (APPR) are very common in Yuwan.

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

(66) Double plural marking

a. Human interrogtive
urakjaa t'ɨiuicjɨboo, tattankja?
urakja-a t'ɨi+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.	ari̵ nati̵,
a-ri̵	*nar-ti̵*
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-ti̵=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 (**Comrie1989**).

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 *-ti̵* (SEQ), but *nu* (GEN) never follows *-ti̵* (SEQ). Second, /n/ of *nkja* (APPR) cannot be paraphrased as /nu/, which is different from the contracted genitive particle /n/ discussed in (44) in §?? Third, the plural form of *ura* (2.NHON.SG) 'you' is /urakja/ (not /uraakja/), which means that the morpheme preceding *kja* is not the adnominal *ura-a* (2.NHON-ADNZ) 'your.'

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 1.5). The distribution of means in the singular is partly different from that in the plural, which is

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

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 1.5 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 1.5).

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 (68a), the first-person pronominal takes its adnominal form /waa/ *waa-a* (1.SG-ADNZ) 'my.' In (68b), the second-person honorific pronominal takes its adnominal form /naa/ *naa-a* (2.HON.SG-ADNZ) 'your (honorific).' In (68c), the second-person non-honorific pronominal takes its adnominal form *ura-a* (2.NHON.SG-ADNZ) 'your (non-honorific).' Finally, in (68d), 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 (69) (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 (70a), the elder kinship term *anmaa* 'mother' fills directly the modifier slot of an NP. In (70b), 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 mə́ə=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 sɨ́gu 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 (71a), the non-human interrogative *nuu* 'what' takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (71b), the non-human demonstrative *a-rɨ* 'that' takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (71c), 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 t'ɨn nəncjɨ.
gai=ja t'ɨɨ=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 c'junu naaja sijan.
a-n c'ju=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 (72), the common noun *c'ju* 'person' indicates a human and is modified by a demonstrative *a-n* (DIST-ADNZ) 'that.' Thus, the whole NP *a-n c'ju=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 (69). The former, i.e. *a-n c'ju=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 (71b) or *ga* (GEN) as in (73a-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 sjantɨ asɨbantɨ?
naakja=ja u-rɨ=ga sja=nantɨ asɨb-an-tɨ
2.HON.PL=TOP MES-NLZ=GEN under=LOC2 play-NEG-SEQ
'Didn't you play at the place under that [i.e. the banyan tree]?' [Co:

110328_00.txt]

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

The above demonstratives do not indicate humans, but they can take *ga* (GEN). The flexible correspondence with the animacy hierarchy found in the above examples was not found in the behavior of plural markers in the text corpus, where human demonstratives always take *-taa* (PL), and non-human demonstratives do not take it (see §?? 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 1.5).

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 (74a), the first-person pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *waakj-a* (1PL-ADNZ) 'our.' In (74b), the second-person honorific pronominal takes its plural adnominal form *naakja-a* (2.HON.PL-ADNZ) 'your (plural honorific).' In (74c), 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 jatassɨga.
waakja-a uzii-taa=ga ga-n sɨr-tɨ jar-tar-sɨga
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 (75a), the human interrogative plural form /tattaa/ *ta-ru-taa* (who-NLZ-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (75b), the human demonstrative plural form /attaa/ *a-ɾi-taa* (DIST-NLZ-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (75c), the address noun (elder kinship) plural form *baasan-taa* (grandmothr-PL) directly fills the modifier slot of an NP. In (75d), 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 cɨɾɨkai?
ku-ɾɨ=ja *ta-ru-taa* *cɨɾɨ=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-ɾɨ-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 (76a), the non-human demonstrative in the plural *a-rɨ=nkja* (DIST-NLZ=APPR) takes a genitive particle *nu*. In (76b), 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 1.5 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 (73) 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 (78a-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-ri=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 (78a) 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 1.5). 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. (79a-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 1.5), 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 1.5, 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 jʾicjaroogai?
naoko+nəə=ccjɨ *wan=ga* *jʾ-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 jʾujaa sjutarooga?
nan=ga *jʾu+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 [= (59)]
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 [= (41a)]
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 ... kʔurusan
nama=nu cjoodo a-n kʔuru-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 kʔwanu
naa ku-rɨ=ja kamaci=nkja muij-as-tur-n kʔwa=nu
FIL PROX-NLZ=TOP head=APPR grow-CASU-PROG-PTCP child=NOM
wutɨ.
wur-tɨ
exist-SEQ
'(Look at) this, (and) there is a child who grows (the hair of his) head.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (81a-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 (41ab) or (66c).

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-rɨ* 'that' in (82a), *ku-rɨ* 'this' in (82b), *cuburu* 'head' in (82c), and *jaa* 'house' in (82d), 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 bukuccjɨ hazirɨ.
buku=ccjɨ [*hazirɨr-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 (83a) or *mizjuu* 'ditch' in (83b).

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 (85a-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 (85a-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 (85b), both of which are the subjects of the above sentences (see also Chapter **??**).

I will present other examples below.

(86) Expressing incapability

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

b. mɨɨga mjan nata. eye=NOM see-NEG become-PST
mɨɨ=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 (86a-b), *mɨɨ* 'eye' is a common noun, but takes *ga* (NOM) and the clauses as a whole mean the incapability of the experiencer. In (86c), *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 (41a) and (41a) in §??). In fact, *kik-* 'hear' can express capability when it does not follow *mimi=ga* (ear=NOM) as in (??) in §??

The predicates may optionally take the morpheme that expresses capability. The following example is similar to the environment of (86a), but the predicate takes a morpheme that means capability, i.e. *-ar* (CAP). In (87), the common noun *mɨɨ* 'eye' also takes *ga* (NOM).

(87) Expressing incapability with *ar-* (CAP)
mɨiga mjaranba, naa taruccjəə
mɨɨ=ga mj-ar-an-ba naa ta-ru=ccjɨ=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 (88a-b).

(88) a. Lexical verb in AVC expressing incapability [= (41a)]
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 [= (41a)]
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 (88a-b) are very similar to those of nominals as in (86). 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 (89a-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 (89a-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 (90a-d). However, the adjectival predicate in the honorific AVC does not induce such preference, and the core argument takes *nu* (not *ga*) as in (89a), at least in elicitation.

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

(90) Non-human demonstratives

a. waakjaa c'jantaaja kurɨga nagasa atɨ,
waakja-a c'jan-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 (90a), *a-rɨ* 'that (butterfly)' as in (90b), *kjoodəə=nkja* 'brothers (and relatives)' as in (90c), and *jaa* 'house' as in (90d), 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 (90a-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 (92a-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 (92a-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 ariga nəntattujaa.
ku-ma=nan=ja a-rɨ=ga nə-an-tar-tu=jaa
PROX-place=LOC1=TOP DIST-NLZ=NOM exist-NEG-PST-CSL=SOL
|zaisan|ga anmai nəntattu.
zaisan=ga anmai nə-an-tar-tu
fortune=NOM so.much exist-NEG-PST-CSL
'(The person) did not have that [i.e. fortune] here. (He) did not have

so 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 sicizibatiga t'in nən
u-n sicizi+hatii=ga t'ii=n nə-an
MES-ADNZ cycad+field=NOM one.CLF=even exist-NEG
natijaa.
nar-ti=jaa
become-SEQ=SOL
'(It) has become (that) there is no such cycad field.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]
Common nouns (human)

c. siccjun c'juga wuran.
sij-tur-n c'ju=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-ri* 'that [i.e. the fortune]' and *zaisan* 'fortune' in (93a), *sicizi+hatii* 'cycas field' in (93b), and *c'ju* 'person' in (93c) 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 mununkja
ude ga-n sir-tar-n mun=nkja
well MES-ADNZ know-PST-PTCP thing=APPR
sicjun c'junu
sij-tur-n c'ju=nu wur-an-ba=ccji j'-tur-ti=ga
know-PROG-PTCP person=NOM
wuranbaccji j'icjutiga,

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. [= (41aa)]

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 (95a), *a-n wunagu* (DIST-ADNZ woman) 'that woman' in (95b), 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 (72) 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 j'icjɨ,
mookɨr-tar nusi=ga ik-tɨ tɨkk-on-ba=ccjɨ j'-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,
həŋk-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 (96a), 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 (96b) 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 (96b) indicates the husband of the couple, so it must be definite too. Thus, these nominals in (96a-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 (97b). However, the family name can take *ga* (NOM) when it is the subject of a clause as in (97a), 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.]
= (11b)
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

k'uutəətattu, 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 (98a-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 c'jui joonasi
u-n=nəntɨ *uzii=ga* *c'jui* *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 (99), *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 1.5) 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. **Tsunoda1991**: 72). Additionally, the negative pole, i.e. incapability as in §?? and non-existence as in §??, is thought to have less transitivity (**HopperThompson1980**: 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 (72) 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 (95c)).

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 **Shimoji2013** 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.]
= (41aa)
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, kanɨga. MES-ADNZ
u-n ziisan=bəi=ga ar-tar-n=wake kanɨ=ga
old.man=only=NOM exist-PST-PTCP=CFP money=NOM
'Only the old man had the money.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

A grammar of Yuwan

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