A grammar of Yuwan

Yuto Niinaga

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Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

A	agent-like argument of transitive verb; adjective
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	inflectional adjectival affix
ADNZ	adnominalizer
ADVRS	adversative
ADVZ	adverbializer
ALL	allative
APPR	approximative
ASS	assertive
Aux. V	auxiliary verb
AVC	auxiliary verb construction
BEN	benefactive
C	any consonant
CAP	capability
CAUS	causative
CFM	confirmation
CFP	clause-final particle
CLF	classifier
CMP	comparative
CND	conditional
Co	data from the conversation
COM	comitative
CSL	causal
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DIRC	directional
DIST	distal
DRG	derogative
DUB	dubitative
DU	dual
ECS	the existential, copula, and stative verb
El	elicitational data
FN	formal nouns
FOC	focus
Fo	data from the folktale
GEN	genitive
G	glide slot in a syllable
IMP	imperative
INDFZ	indefinitizer
INGR	ingressive
INST	instrumental
INT	intentional
k.o.	a kind of
Lex. V	lexical verb
LF	lengthened (infinitival) form
lit.	literally
LMT	limitative
LOC	locative
LST	listing
LVC	light verb construction
LV	light verb
MES	mesial
MMC	Mermaid construction
N/A	not applicable
NEG	negative
NHON	non-honorific
NLZ	nominalizer

NOM	nominative
NP	nominal phrase
NPST	non-past
OBL	obligative
ODN	ordinary number
PASS	passive
PFC	predicate of focus construction
PF	pear film
PL	plural
PLQ	polar question
POL	politeness
POS	possibility
P	patient-like argument of transitive verb
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PRPR	preparative
PST	past
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive
QT	quotation
RED	redupulicant
RFL	reflexive
RSL	resultative
S	an argument of intransitive verb
SF	simple (infinitival) form
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SOL	solidarity
STV	stative verb
SUGS	suggessive
SUPP	suppositional
TOP	topic
UMRK	unmarked verbal affix
V	any vowel; verb
VP	verbal phrase
V_{back}	back vowels
$V_{non\text{-}back}$	non-back vowels
$V_{non\text{-}i}$	vowels excluding //i//
X	an anonymous personal name

Symbols

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

Transcription methods

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

Interlinear examples

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

? after an interrogative sentence

! after an imperative sentence

.. short pause

... long pause

xxx unintelligible speech

( ) enclosing a defective utterance or a misstatement

| | enclosing standard Japanese

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

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

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

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

In-text example

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

Orthography

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

Furthermore, Yuwan has glottalized consonants such as [ʔj, ʔw, ʔm, ʔn, ʔt͡, ʔk͡, ʔt͡ɕ], which have been transcribed as 'ʔC' or 'C'' (C is any consonant), depending on the researcher's interpretation of those phones. The latest IPA diacritics[3] do not have '' even though this diacritic is very useful to describe these consonants. In this grammar, the glottalized consonants are regarded as single phonemes (see §??) and transcribed as 'jˀ, wˀ, mˀ, nˀ, tˀ, kˀ, and cˀ.'

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

Finally, Yuwan has homorganic nasals, and if we cannot infer their underlying form from the paradigmatic information, we recognize them as archiphonemes (Lass 1984: 46–49). Yuwan has /m/ and /n/, which are homorganic. For example, in /jum-an/ [ju.mn̥ɴ] (read-NEG) 'do not read' and /jum-gadɨ/ (read -until) [juŋ.gn̥.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.gn̥.dɨ] (dog=LMT) 'as well as dogs,' /n/ can be [n] or [ŋ] depending on the following phonemes. [ʔn̥m.mn̥ː] '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, [ʔn̥m.mn̥ː] 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 §2.2).

1 Introduction

1.1 Typological overview

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

1.2 Geography

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

Figure **??**. Japan in the Far East

Figure **??**. Japan

Figure **??**. Uken village

Yuwan

Figure **??**. Amami islands

Amami Ōshima

Figure ??. Ryukyu islands

The above maps in Figures 2-5 were made by the following free softwares:
a. "□□□ MapMap" (http://www5b.biglobe.ne.jp/t-kamada/CBuilder/mapmap.htm);
b. "□□□ KenMap" (http://www5b.biglobe.ne.jp/t-kamada/CBuilder/kenmap.htm).

1.3 Affiliation

According to Uemura (1992: 771–774, 779–783), Ryukyuan is in a sister relationship to Japanese, and Ryukyuan can be divided into two primary subgroups, Nothern group and Southern group. The Nothern group can be divided into Amami and Okinawa. According to Pellard (2009: 263), the accurate order of branching off of the three language groups, i.e. Amami, Okinawa, and Southern goup ("Sud" under "Ryukyu" in the following figure), is not clear. However, the subgrouping of Amami can be shown as in Figure 1.1. Yuwan belongs to "Ōshima" in this figure.

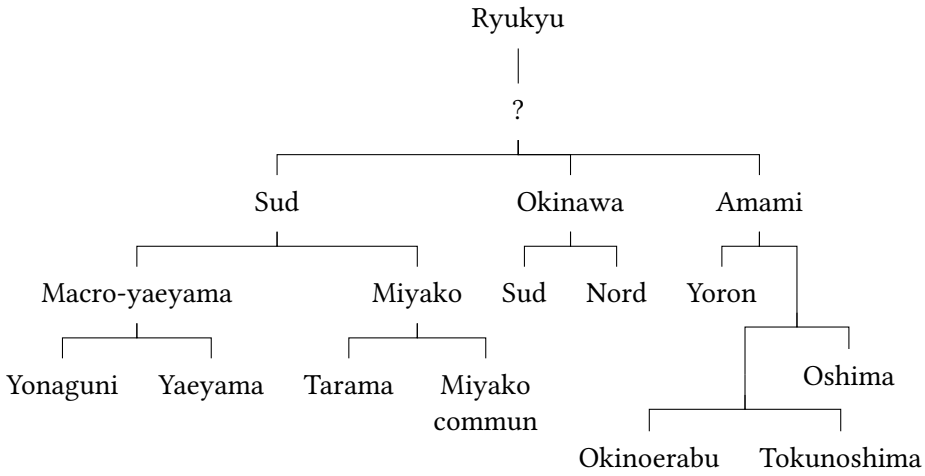

Figure 1.1: Affiliation of Ryukyuan (following Pellard 2009: 263)

1.4 Sociolinguistic overview

1.4.1 The number of speakers

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

1.4.2 Dialects

In Amami Ōshima, there are many dialcects including Yuwan. There are some researches of linguistic geography about the dialects in Amami Ōshima: especially, Hirayama et al. (1966) and Shibata (1984) among others. The detailed comparison among the lexemes in the dialects in Amami Ōshima is beyond the scope of this grammar. I present only one characteristic regarded as a major difference between Yuwan and the other dialects in Amami Ōshima. The phonetic sequence [ɾi] in the other dialects (and some [ɾ] in Koniya dialect) correspond to [i] in Yuwan (but not vice versa) (Hirayama et al. 1966: 71). Table 1.1 illustrates this point with data from Yuwan, Suko, spoken in a village located about 800 meters from Yuwan, Ura, a Northern Amami dialect spoken in a village located about 32 km from Yuwan (the Ura data are provided courtesy of Dr. Hiromi Shigeno (p.c., 2009)), and Koniya, a Southern Amami dialect spoken in a village located about 15km from Yuwan (the Koniya data is taken from Hirayama et al. 1966: 70, which uses a phonetic symbol [r], but this phone is explained as "tap" (ibid.: 33). Thus, I transcribed it as [ɾ] in this example).

Table 1.1: Dialectal variation in Amami

	Yuwan	Suko	Ura	Koniya
'bird'	[tui]	[tuɾi]	[tuɾi]	[tuɾ]

Yuwan is spoken in a small district, so there do not appear to be regional variations; however, there seems to be a generational variation concerning honorific (and polite) expressions. Yuwan has an auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON), which expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the clause (see Chapter 3). For example, in the case of /a-i/ *ar-i* (exist-NPST) 'exist' vs. /a-ti moo-ju-i/ *ar-ti moor-jur-i* (exist-SEQ HON-UMRK- NPST) 'would exist,' the former is formed with the

lexical verbal root *ar-* 'exist' and it does not show the speaker's respect to the subject, but the latter is created with both of the lexical verbal root *ar-* 'exist' and the auxiliary verbal root *moor-*, which expresses the speaker's respect to the subject (see also §??). This honorific strategy is frequently used by older people, but not by younger people. Instead, younger people use a verbal affix *-jawur* or *-joor* to express respect for the hearer (not for the subject of the clause), e.g., /a-jawu-i/ *ar-jawur-i* (exist-POL-NPST) 'exist.' Older speakers of Yuwan, however, are not likely to use this politeness affix.

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

(1) [Context: The following examples are taken from a conversation between MS and TM, who are talking about the old educational system in Japan.]
MS: |roku, roku, san|.ja arannən.
roku roku san=ja ar-an-nən
six six three=TOP COP-NEG-SEQ
'(It) is not (divided into) six, six, three (years like now).'
TM: |roku, roku, san|na arannən.
roku roku san=ja ar-an-nən
six six three=TOP COP-NEG-SEQ
'(It) is not (divided into) six, six, three (years like now).'
[Co: `120415_00.txt`]

1.4.3 Viability

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

1.4.4 Previous work

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

A broader review of the literature brings to light a number of articles about Amami, of which Yuwan is a dialect. Here, only books or special issues of journals are mentioned. A brief comparison of several dialects of Amami can be found in Hirayama et al. (1966). Lexical and phonological differences between some dialects in Amami Ōshima are discussed in Shibata (1984). Naze, which is spoken in the largest city in Amami Ōshima, is examined by Terashi (1985), and **UemuraSuyama1997** describe its phonology, verbal morphology, and case markers. Shigeno (2010) provides a sketch grammar of Ura, spoken in the northern part of Amami Ōshima. Yamatohama (or Yamatoma in the local pronunciation), spoken in the western part of Amami Ōshima, is the subject of study in Nagata et al. (1977–1980), which includes a detailed study of the lexicon but also some information on its grammar. Uchima et al. (1976) also describe the verbal morphology of Koniya, spoken in the southern part of Amami Ōshima. Nakamoto & Uchima (1978) provides a description of the lexicon and verbal morphology of Shitooke, spoken in the northern part of Kikai. Shirata et al. (2011) is a sketch grammar and a text of Kamikatetsu, spoken in the southern region of Kikai. Okamura et al. (2009) describe the verbal morphology and list two thousand sentences in Asama, spoken in the northern region of Tokunoshima. Kiku & Takahashi (2005) describe the lexicon of Yoron, and Yamada (1981) focuses on the use of nominals in Yoron.

1.5 Database for this study

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

of the texts are shown in Table 1.2, and brief information about the speakers is shown in Table 1.3.

Table 1.2: Data of texts

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

[a](or hearer)

The Pear Film is a silent six-minute film made at the University of California at Berkeley in 1975. It is helpful to collect the monologue data from the speaker.[1] About the data classified in Pear Film, the speaker told the story to the hearer remembering the film (as soon as the speaker had watched it). About the folktale, the speakr heared it from her acquaintance who had told the story in a speech contest of the Amami dialects.

The recordings were transcribed by the present author with the help of some Yuwan speakers. In particular, Masako Motoda (MM), Nobuari Motoda (NM), and Mioya Sunao (MS) generously donated their time in order to help the present author's transcription. During the recordings, I tried, when possible, to not be present in order to avoid promoting the speaker's use of Standard Japanese, which was a lingua franca I shared with the Yuwan speakers. As for the elicitation data, the expressions in Yuwan that were produced by the present author and not

[1]A brief explanation of the Pear Film can be seen at http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/chafe/pearfilm.htm.

Table 1.3: Information about the Yuwan speakers

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

by the speaker are not regarded as grammatical even if the speaker's judgment was "grammatical." In other words, I regard the elicitation data as grammatical only when the speaker pronounced the expression by herself.

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

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

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

1.6 Organization of this grammar

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

2 Phonology

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

2.1 Segmentation

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

(1) Grammatical words:

[Root]$_{GW}$	[Root-Affix]$_{GW}$
anmaa	anmataa
anmaa	*anmaa-taa*
mother	mother-PL
'mother'	'mother

[Root-Affix]$_{GW}$=[Clitic]$_{GW}$
anmatankja[1]
anmaa-taa=nkja
mother-PL=APPR
and

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

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

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

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

2.2 Phonemes

2.2.1 Vowels

2.2.1.1 Short vowels

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

Table 2.1: Inventory of vowels

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

Notes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) a. /i/ vs /ɨ/ vs /ə/ vs /u/
/mii/ vs /mɨɨ/ vs /məə/ vs /muu/
'fruit' 'eye' 'front' 'alga'

b. /i/ vs /o/
/kii/ vs /koo/
'yellow' 'skin'

c. /i/ vs /ɨ/ vs /a/
/jii/ vs /jɨɨ/ vs /jaa/
'rush' 'grip' 'house'

d. /ɨ/ vs /o/ vs /ə/
/sɨɨ/ vs /soo/ vs /səə/
'vinegar' 'stem' 'alcohol'

e. /u/ vs /o/ vs /ə/ vs /a/
/nuu/ vs /noo/ vs /nəə/ vs /naa/
'what' 'fishing line' 'elder sister' 'name'

2.2.1.2 Long vowels and diphthongs

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

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

There are few lexemes where the vowels /ə/ or /o/ is short (see the note "b.." of Table 2.5). There are reasons to believe that they are underlyingly /əə/ or /oo/ (see §2.4.5).

Yuwan has a few morphemes that contain sounds such as [ɻu] ([tɻu] 'plain,' [ɻu:] 'blue,' [jɻut͡ɕikkʷɜ:] 'naughty child,' and [jɻur] (POL)); however, the vowel

Table 2.2: Long vowels and diphthongs

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

Table 2.3: Examples of long vowels and diphthongs

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

Table 2.4: (Quasi-)minimal pairs of long and short vowels

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

sequence [ʂu] can be regarded as /awu/ (not /au/) because of the morphophonological rule in §??. It suffices to note that the topic marker *ja* retains its form after a long vowel or diphthong, but loses its form after a short vowel (by combining with the preceding short vowel).

(4) Rule for *ja* (TOP)

a. After a long vowel or diphthong

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

b. After a short vowel

wunagu 'woman' + ja (TOP) > wunagoo

(5) The case of [tʂu] 'plain'

Phonetically: [tʂu] + ja (TOP) > [tʂ.^{w}ʊ:] (*[tʂu.jʂ])
Phonologically: tawu + ja (TOP) > tawoo (*tauja)

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

2.2.2 Consonants

2.2.2.1 The inventory of consonant phonemes

Yuwan has 22 consonants, listed in Table 2.5.

Notes:

a. Stops and fricatives have voice opposition;

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

c. Alveolar affricates and fricatives behave similarly in terms of morphophonological rules (see §??, §??, §??, and §??);

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

Table 2.5: Inventory of consonants

please check 1st column

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

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

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

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

(6) Stops

a. /t/ vs /tˀ/ vs /d/
/tɨɨ/ vs /tˀɨɨ/ vs /dɨɨ/
‘hand’ ‘one (thing)’ /bamboo/

b. /k/ vs /kˀ/ vs /g/
/kuran/ vs /kˀura/ vs /gurusa/
‘Kuran’ ‘storehouse’ ‘fast’

c. /kj/ vs /kˀj/
/kjaaganaa/ vs /kˀjaa/
‘in coming’ ‘Kikai island’

d. /p/ vs /t/ vs /k/
/pɨɨ/ vs /tɨɨ/ vs /kɨɨ/
‘(ass)hole’ ‘hand’ ‘tree’

e. /b/ vs /d/ vs /g/
/baa/ vs /daa/ vs /gan/
‘No, thanks.’ ‘where’ ‘crab’

(7) Affricates and fricatives

a. /c/ vs /z/ vs /s/
/sɨcɨ/[sɨt͡sɨ] vs /sɨzɨ/[sɨ(d͡)zɨ] vs /sɨsɨ/[sɨsɨ]
‘coffin’ ‘tendon’ ‘soot’

b. /cj/ vs /cˀj/
/cjan/ [t͡ɕɻɴ] vs /cˀjan/[t͡ɕˀɻɴ]
‘coal tar’ ‘father’

c. /s/ vs /h/
/sɨɨsa/ vs /hɨɨsa/
‘sour’ ‘large’

(8) Nasals

a. /m/ vs /mˀ/
/mɨɨ/ vs /mˀɨɨ/
‘eye’ ‘k.o.fruit’

b. /n/ vs /nˀ/
/njɨɨ/ vs /nˀjɨ/
‘load’ ‘rice plant’

c. /m/ vs /n/
/mai/ vs /nai/
‘hip’ ‘seed of cyad’

(9) Approximants

a. /w/ vs /wˀ/
   /waa/ vs /wˀaa/
   ‘my’ ‘pig’
b. /j/ vs /jˀ/
   /juu/ vs /jˀu/
   ‘boiled water’ ‘fish’
c. /w/ vs /j/
   /wɨɨ/ vs /jɨɨ/
   ‘tub’ ‘handle’
d. /r/ vs /d/
   /nuru/[nuɾu] vs /nudu/[nudu]
   ‘moss’ ‘throat’

The minimal or quasi-minimal contrasts of geminates and single consonants are shown in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: (Quasi-)minimal contrasts of geminates and single consonants

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

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

2.2.2.2 Homorganic nasals

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

Table 2.7: Homorganic nasals

transpose table

	Isolation	Before bilabials	Before alveolars	Before velars	Before vowels
/n/	un [ʔuɴ] sea	un=ba [ʔum.bo̤] sea=ACC	un=doo [ʔun.do̤ː] sea=ASS	un=gadɨ [ʔuŋ.go̤.dɨ] sea=LMT	un=un [ʔu.nuɴ] sea=also
/m/	N/A read-CND	jum-boo [jum.bo̤ː] read-want	jum-cja [jun.t͡ɕo̤] read-until	jum-gadɨ [juŋ.go̤.dɨ] read-NEG	jum-an [ju.mo̤ɴ]

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

2.3 Syllable structure and phonotactics

2.3.1 The syllable structure and morae

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

(C_1	(G))	V_1	(V_2) or (C_2)
-	-	μ	μ

Figure 2.1:

Please provide a caption

Notes:

C_1: All consonants can fill this slot;

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

V_1: All vowels can fill this slot;

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

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

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

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

(10) a. Nouns:
/sja/ 'below,' /mja/[2] 'snail,' /cˀju/ 'person,' /mˀa/ 'horse,' /jˀu/ 'fish,' /nˀjɨ/ 'rice plant'

b. Verbs:

i. imperative forms: /mjɨ/ (see.IMP), /jˀɨ/ (say.IMP), /jˀɨ/ (sit.IMP), /njɨ/ (boil.IMP)

ii. past forms: /sja/ (do.PST), /cˀja/ (come.PST)

iii. sequential converbs: /sjɨ/ (do.SEQ), /cˀjɨ/ (come.SEQ)

It is probable that all of the examples had two syllables in the past considering their plausible counterparts in modern Japanese. Take, for example, the following nouns: /sita/ 'below,' /mina/ 'snail' (in old Japanese), /hito/ 'person,' /uma/ 'horse,' /iwo/ 'fish' (in old Japanese), and /ine/ 'rice plant.' Concerning verbs, it is difficult to do such a comparison. Nevertheless, all the plausible counterparts in Japanese have /i/ in the place of /j/ (or /jˀ/); for example, /sita/ (do.PST) and /kita/ (come.PST). Furthermore, there is a phenomenon which shows the bimoraic tendency applying to some verbal stems as if they were phonological words by themselves, i.e., the verbal stems preceding type D affixes (see the footnote Error: Reference source not found in §??).

2.3.2 Phonotactics

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

(11) Phonotactic constraints (or tendencies):

[2] This word is pronounced as /mjaa/ with two morae by the speaker MT.

a. Non-nasal resonants cannot be followed by approximants, i.e., /*rj/, /*jj/, and /*wj/ (see §??);
b. Glottalized consonants can appear only at stem-initial positions (see below);
c. A sequence of consonants is geminate or its first consonant is nasal;
d. A monomorphemic word does not have voiced geminates (with the exception of the three lexemes /cɨbb/ 'copulate,' /azzjəə/ 'grandfather,' and /hɨggɨ/ '(place name)'). In addition, a phonological word made of polymorphemes tends to avoid voiced geminates (see §2.4.4);
e. A monomorphemic word has a sequence with at most two vowels (with the exception of the three lexemes /jɨii/ 'brother,' /dooi/ 'reason' (sometimes pronounced as /doi/), and /tuui/ '(place name)'); a phonological word made of polymorphemes tends to restrict a sequence made of three vowels (see §2.4.5);
f. A monomorphemic word does not have the VVC_{coda} sequence (with the exception of /koonmja/ 'k.o. shellfish living in the river'[3] and /sjoogoin/ 'k.o. white radish,' the latter thought to be a loan word from Modern Japanese); a phonological word made of polymorphemes tends to restrict the $V_iV_i\,C_{coda}$ sequence (see §2.4.5);
g. A sequence of C_{coda}.V never appears (see §2.4.3);
h. A monomorphemic word does not have a sequence of a nasal coda followed by an onset /j/, i.e., */n.j/ and */m.j/; however, a phonological word consisting of more than one morpheme may have this sequence (see §2.3.2.2);
i. The consonants that can precede /w/ filled in G slot are only /kˀ/, /k/ and /h/ (Table ?? in §??);

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

First, glottalized consonants can appear in a word-initial position such as *jˀu* 'fish,' but cannot appear in a non-word-initial position in a simple word. For example, there is no word made of /VCˀV/; however, in the case of compounds, glottalized consonants can appear in a non-word-initial position, e.g., *aa+jˀu* (red+fish)

[3] It creates a minimal pair with /konmja/ 'a kind of shellfish living in the beach.'

'red fish.' In other words, glottalized consonants can appear in a stem-initial position. If we adopt the possibility of the occurence of glottalized consonants as a criterion of the phological word, there would be a mismatch among the criterion about glottalized consonants and that mentioned in §?? This type of mismatch between the criteria of phonological words, however, is not uncommon. In fact, Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002: 18) wrote that "(d)ifferent types of criteria are relevant to defining the phonological word in different languages. And the relative importance and weighting of criteria differ from language to language." In this grammar, the possibility of the occurence of glottalized consonants is not adopted as the criterion of the phonological word, and I only mention its mismatch with other criteria.

Second, there are two types of morphemes beginning with /j/: one type palatalizes the preceding phoneme, as in (12a–b), while another type does not, as in (12c–e).

(12) Palatalization

	Former	Latter	Latter
a.	*jum-* 'read' + *-jaa* 'person' > ju.mjaa [ju.mʲɻ:]		Affix
b.	*jum-* 'read' + *-jagacinaa* (SIM) > ju.mja.ga.ci.naa [ju.mʲɻ.gɻ.t͡ɕi.nɻ:]		Affix
	Non-palatalization		
c.	*mun* (ADVRS) + *jaa* (SOL) > mun.jaa [muɴ.jɻ:]		Clitic
d.	*jum-∅* (read-INF) + *jass-sa* (easy-ADJ) > jum.jas.sa [juɴ.jɻs.sɻ]		Root
e.	*nɨkan* 'orange' + *jama* 'mountain' > nɨ.kan.ja.ma [nɨ.kɳɴ.jɻ.mɻ]		Root

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

2.3.2.1 Monosyllabic words

Table 2.8: Monosyllabic (and monomorphemic) grammatical words

			C	G	V	V (or C)
/ai/	[ʔɻi]	'No'			a	i
/an/	[ʔɻɴ]	'that'			a	n
/jaa/	[jɻː]	'house'	j		a	a
/wan/	[wɻn]	'I'	w		a	n
/naa/	[nɻː]	'name'	n		a	a
/mja/	[mʲɻ]	'k.o.shellfish'	m	j	a	
/mjaa/	[mʲɻː]	'cat'	m	j	a	a
/nan/	[nɻɴ]	'you.HON'	n		a	n
/cjan/	[tɕɻɴ]	'coal tar'	c	j	a	n
/mˀa/	[ʔmɻ]	'horse'	mˀ		a	
/wˀaa/	[ʔwɻː]	'pig'	wˀ		a	a
/kˀjaa/	[kˀʲɻː]	'Kikai island'	kˀ	j	a	a
/cˀjan/	[t͡ɕˀɻɴ]	'father'	cˀ	j	a	n

2.3.2.2 Polysyllabic phonological words

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

There are no monomorphemic words with the sequences of /dd/, /hh/, or /rr/ in Yuwan. The data show that the number of monomorphemic lexemes that have $C_{coda}.C_{onset}$ sequences are very small; however, this sequence is not uncommon in the case of polymorphemic phonological words, such as *ar-* 'exist' + *doo* (ASS) > /at.too/ and *ar* 'exist' + *ba* (CSL) > /ap.pa/. These sequences are formed by the (morpho)phonological rules (see §2.4.4 and §??). In monomorphemic words,

Table 2.9: /C.C/ combination in polysyllabic phonological words (monomorphemic)

				C	G	V	C	.C		Number
/p.p/:	/sip.poo/	[ɕip.po̤ː]	‘blunt’	s		i	p	.p	oo	6
/b.b/:	/cɨb.bi.da.ci/	[t͡sɨb.bi.da̤.t͡ɕi]	‘rut (of animal)’	c		ɨ	b	.b	idaci	1
/t.t/:	/at.ta.kəə/	[ʔa̤tta̤kɜː]	‘everything’			a	t	.t	akəə	16
/k.k/:	/juk.ka.dɨ/	[jukka̤dɨ]	‘throughout’	j		u	k	.k	adɨ	14
/g.g/:	/hɨg.gɨ/	[xɨggɨ]	‘(place name)’	h		ɨ	g	.g	ɨ	1
/c.c/:	/gac.cɨn/	[ga̤t͡tsɨɴ]	‘saurel’	g		a	c	.c	ɨn	7
/s.s/:	/kas.sa/	[ka̤sa̤]	‘like this’	k		a	s	.s	a	9
/z.z/:	/az.zjəə/	[ʔa̤d͡ʑɜː]	‘grandfather’			a	z	.z	jəə	1
/N/ + /p/:	/an.pəə/	[ʔa̤m.pɜː]	‘appearance’			a	n	.p	əə	2
/N/ + /b/:	/gan.boo/	[ga̤m.bo̤ː]	‘naughty boy/girl’	g		a	n	.b	oo	1
/N/ + /t/:	/nin.təə/	[nin.tɜː]	‘group’	n		i	n	.t	əə	2
/N/ + /d/:	/cɨn.dai/	[t͡sɨn.da̤i]	‘snail’	c		ɨ	n	.d	ai	7
/N/ + /k/:	/in.ku.zjaa/	[ʔiŋ.ku.(d͡)ʑa̤ː]	‘(place name)’			i	n	.k	uzjaa	5
/N/ + /g/:	/jin.ga/	[iŋ.ga̤]	‘man’	j		i	n	.g	a	10
/N/ + /c/:	/kan.cɨmɨ/	[ka̤n.t͡sɨ.mɨ]	‘(name of person)’	k		a	n	.c	ɨmɨ	1
/N/ + /s/:	/han.sɨ/	[ha̤ɴ.sɨ]	‘sweet potato’	h		a	n	.s	ɨ	4
/N/ + /z/:	/hin.zjaa/	[çin.(d͡)ʑa̤ː]	‘goat’	h		i	n	.z	jaa	5
/N/ + /m/:	/an.maa/	[ʔa̤m.ma̤ː]	‘mother’			a	n	.m	aa	8
/N/ + /n/:	/han.njəə/	[ha̤n.njɜː]	‘grandmother’	h		a	n	.n	jəə	6

it is impossible to determine the (morpho)phoneme of the nasal that fills the C_{coda} slot in the C_{coda}.C sequence, but it is possible to do so in polymorphemic phonological words, as shown below.

Table 2.10: /Nasal + C/ combination in polysyllabic phonological words (polymorphemic)

				C	G	V	C	.C	
/m.b/:	/jum.ba/	[jum.bɑ]	(read.CSL)	j		u	m	.b	a
/m.d/:	/jum.doo/	[jun.dɔ:]	(read.INF.ASS)	j		u	m	.d	oo
/m.k/:	/kam.kai/	[kɑŋ.kɑi]	(eat.DUB)	k		a	m	.k	ai
/m.g/:	/jum.ga.di/	[juŋ.gɑ.di]	(read.until)	j		u	m	.g	adi
/m.c/:	/jum.cja.sa/	[jun.t͡ɕɑ.sɑ]	(read.INF.want.ADJ)	j		u	m	.c	jasa
/m.n/:	/jum.nja/	[jun^{j}.n^{j}ɑ]	(read.INF.TOP)	j		u	m	.n	ja
/m.j/:	/jum.jas.sa/	[juɴ.jɑs.sɑ]	(read.INF.easy.ADJ)	j		u	m	.j	assa
/n.b/:	/ni.kan.ba/	[ni.kɑm.bɑ]	(orange.ACC)	ni. k		a	n	.b	a
/n.t/:	/nan.tu/	[nɑn.tu]	(you.HON.COM)	n		a	n	.t	u
/n.d/:	/kin.du/	[kʾin.du]	(clothes.FOC)	k		i	n	.d	u
/n.k/:	/un.ka.ci/	[ʔuŋ.kɑ.t͡ɕi]	(sea.ALL)			u	n	.k	aci
/n.g/:	/wan.ga/	[wɑŋ.gɑ]	(1SG.NOM)	w		a	n	.g	a
/n.n/:	/wan.na/	[wɑn.nɑ]	(1SG.TOP)	w		a	n	.n	a
/n.j/:	/mun.jaa/	[muɴ.jɑ:]	(ADVRS.SOL)	m		u	n	.j	aa

As mentioned in (11h) in §2.3.2, a sequence of C_{coda}.C_{onset} (C_{coda} is nasal, C_{onset} is /j/) never appears in monomorphemic grammatical words; however, it can appear in polymorphemic phonological words (see the examples of /m.j/ and /n.j/ above). There are four morphemes able to make this sequence: *jass* 'easy,' *jaa* (SOL), *joo* (CFM1), and *jukkuma* (CMP).

2.3.2.3 Glottalized consonants

Phonologically, glottalized consonants are contrastive only at stem-initial positions. Phonetically, they require laryngeal intension and may be divided into two types: glottalized obstruents [tʾ, t͡ɕʾ, kʾ] and glottalized sonorants [ʔm, ʔn, ʔj, ʔw]. The former group sounds like unaspirated obstruents in Chinese or unaspirated tense obstruents in Korean, and a more detailed phonetic comparison should be done in the future. The latter group has the following two characteristics (compared with non-glottalized sonorants [m, n, j, w]): (1) relatively larger amplitude in the onset, (??) relatively shorter duration in the onset, which indicates their coarticulation with the glottal stop in the onset position (Yuto et al. 2011). Word initial /p/, /ci/, and /ki/ are basically phonetically glottalized, and they appear to

have developed from historical changes (cf. Hirayama et al. 1966: 22-23), but the details of their development are beyond the scope of this grammar.

Glottalized consonants are proposed to have developed from two phonological processes: (1) syllable omission and (**??**) retainment of a distinction affected by vowel merger (Hirayama et al. 1966: 22-23). An example of the former is */hutari/ > /tˀai/ 'human' (/ri/ > /i/ is also a synchronic phonological rule in §2.4.1). An example of the latter is */kome/ > /kumɨ/, and */kura/ > /kˀura/, where */o/ is merged with */u/ and both become /u/ (the change of */e/ > /ɨ/ is another historical change that is not addressed here). Previous research has shown that */ku/ became /kˀu/ in order to retain a difference from /ku/ (made of */ko/) (Hirayama et al. 1966: 23). Almost all of the current tokens of /kˀ/ in Yuwan have developed from */ku/. Additionally, /kˀjaa/ [kˀʲɋː] 'Kikai-zima,' which is the name of an island, appears to have developed from syllable omission. There are a number of lexicon that has /kˀ/ in modern Yuwan. The other glottalized phonemes seem to have developed as a result of syllable omission. This process does not seem to have been common, so there are only a few lexemes that have these glottalized phonemes. The following table shows the number of lexemes that have word-initial glottalized phonemes (and their examples) compared with that of non-glottalized initial phonemes.

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

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

Table 2.11: Lexemes that have word-initial glottalized phonemes (out of approximately 1,000 lexemes)

Phonemes	Allophones	Number	Examples	cf.	Number
/wˀ/	[ʔw]	2	[ʔwɑ̣ː] ‘pig’ [ʔwɑ̣bijɑ̣ː] ‘instep’	/w/	18
/tˀ/	[tˀ]	3	[tˀɑ̣i] ‘two persons’ [tˀɨɨ] ‘one thing’	/t/	59
/nˀj/	[ʔnʲ]	3	[ʔnʲut͡ɕi] ‘life’ [ʔnʲɨ] ‘rice plant’	/nj/	2
/kˀj/	[kˀʲ]	5	[kˀʲɑ̣ː] ‘Kikai-zima’ [kˀʲubiː] ‘band’	/kj/	7
/mˀ/	[ʔm]	4	[ʔmɑ̣] ‘horse’ [ʔmɑ̣t͡sɨ] ‘fire’	/m/	96
/cˀj/	[t͡ɕˀ]	5	[t͡ɕˀɑ̣ɴ] ‘father’ [t͡ɕˀu] ‘person’	/cj/	5
/jˀ/	[ʔj]	5	[ʔju] ‘fish’ [ʔjɑ̣] ‘arrow’	/j/	63
/kˀ/	[kˀ]	35	[kˀubi] ‘neck’ [kˀuru(ː)] ‘black’	/k/	81

Note:

a. The number of /C$_i$ / and /C$_i$ j/ is not redundant. For example, the number of /k/ excluded the number of /kj/;
b. The number of lexemes that have non-glottalized initial /k/ excludes that of /ki/ [kˀi].

2.3.2.4 Interpretation of /C/ + /j/ combination

Yuwan has a contrast between [ɕ] and [s]: [kɑ̣ɕɑ̣] ‘wrapping leaf’ vs. [kɑ̣sɑ̣] ‘bamboo hat.’ In this grammar, [ɕ] is interpreted as /sj/ (except for the case of [ɕi][4]). There are two reasons why we do not assign a new phoneme /ɕ/: (1) the overall number of phonemes, and (??) morphology.

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

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

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

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

2.3.2.5 Combination of consonants and vowels

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

Pre-notes:

a. It might be possible to find combinations for the blank cells, but they have not yet been found so far.

b. If a plausible phonetic combination in one cell (e.g., /t/ + /ja/ > [t͡ɕɑ̥]) is regarded as a combination in another cell (e.g., /cja/), it will be shown in this way "[t͡ɕɑ̥]=/cja/" (cf. §2.3.2.4).

c. N/A means such a combination is prohibited by either phonological rules (see §2.4) or the syllable structure (see §2.3.1).

d. Parenthesized phones mostly appear in stem-initial position (cf. §2.3.2.3).

e. Glottalization of the second phoneme of a geminate is not taken into consideration.

Table 2.12: Combinations of CV and CjV showing allophones

	a	i	u	ɨ	ə	o	ja	ji	ju	jɨ	jə	jo
–[a]	[(ʔ)ɑ]	[(ʔ)i]	[(ʔ)u]	[(ʔ)ɨ]	[(ʔ)ɜ]	[(ʔ)ɒ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
p	[p(ʾ)ɑ]	[pʲ(ʾ)i]	[p(ʾ)u]	[p(ʾ)ɨ]	[p(ʾ)ɜ]	[p(ʾ)ɒ]	[p(ʾ)ʲɑ]		[p(ʾ)ʲu]			
b	[bɑ]	[bʲi]	[bu]	[bɨ]	[bɜ]	[bɒ]	[bʲɑ]		[bʲu]			
t	[tɑ]	[t͡ɕi]=/ci/	[tu]	[tɨ]	[tɜ]	[tɒ]	[t͡ɕɑ]=/cja/		[t͡ɕu]=/cju/	[t͡ɕɨ]=/cjɨ/	[t͡ɕɜ]=/cjə/	[t͡ɕɒ]=/cjo/
tʾ	[tʾɑ]			[tʾɨ]		[tʾɒ]						
d	[dɑ]	[d͡ʑi]=/zi/	[du]	[dɨ]	[dɜ]	[dɒ]	[d͡ʑɑ]=/zja/		[d͡ʑu]=/zju/	[d͡ʑɨ]=/zjɨ/	[d͡ʑɜ]=/zjə/	[d͡ʑɒ]=/zjo/
k	[kɑ]	[kʲ(ʾ)i]	[ku]	[kɨ]	[kɜ]	[kɒ]	[kʲɑ]		[kʲu]	[kʲɨ]		[kʲɒ]
kʾ		[kʲʾi]=/ki/	[kʾu]				[kʾʲɑ]		[kʲu]			[kʾʲɒ]
g	[gɑ]	[gʲi]	[gu]	[gɨ]	[gɜ]	[gɒ]	[gʲɑ]		[gʲu]	[gʲɨ]		[gʲɒ]
c		[t͡ɕ(ʾ)i]	[t͡su]	[t͡s(ʾ)ɨ]	[t͡sɜ]		[t͡ɕɑ]		[t͡ɕu]	[t͡ɕɨ]	[t͡ɕɜ]	[t͡ɕɒ]
cʾ		[t͡ɕʾi]=/ci/		[t͡sʾɨ]=/cɨ/			[t͡ɕʾɑ]		[t͡ɕʾu]	[t͡ɕʾɨ]	[t͡ɕʾɜ]	[t͡ɕʾɒ]
s	[sɑ]	[ɕi]	[su]	[sɨ]	[sɜ]	[sɒ]	[ɕɑ]		[ɕu]	[ɕɨ]	[ɕɜ]	[ɕɒ]
z	[(d͡)zɑ]	[(d͡)ʑi]		[(d͡)zɨ]	[(d͡)zɜ]		[(d͡)ʑɑ]		[(d͡)ʑu]	[(d͡)ʑɨ]	[(d͡)zɜ]	[(d͡)zɒ]
h	[hɑ]	[çi]	[ɸu]	[xɨ]	[hɜ]	[hɒ]			[çu]			
m	[mɑ]	[mʲi]	[mu]	[mɨ]	[mɜ]	[mɒ]	[mʲɑ]	[mʲi]	[mʲu]	[mʲɨ]		[mʲɒ]
mʾ	[ʔmɑ]			[ʔmɨ]		[ʔmɒ]						
n	[nɑ]	[nʲi]	[nu]	[nɨ]	[nɜ]	[nɒ]	[nʲɑ]		[nʲu]	[nʲɨ]	[nʲɜ]	[nʲɒ]
nʾ									[ʔnʲu]	[ʔnʲɨ]	[ʔnʲɜ]	
w	[wɑ]	N/A	[wu]	[wɨ]	[wɜ]	[wɒ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
wʾ	[ʔwɑ]											
j	[jɑ]	[i]	[ju]	[jɨ]	[jɜ]	[jɒ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
jʾ	[ʔjɑ]	[ʔi]	[ʔju]	[ʔjɨ]		[ʔjɒ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
r	[ɾɑ]	N/A	[ɾu]	[ɾɨ]	[ɾɜ]	[ɾɒ]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

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

Table 2.13: Examples of CV

	a		i		u		ɨ		ə		o	
–	aasa	‘red’	isi	‘stone’	uma	‘there’	ɨn	‘dog’	əəciɾɨ	‘classmate’	oonazi	‘k.o.sneak’
p	gappaa	‘fist’	piri	‘tail end’	roppu	‘rope’	pɨɨ	‘(ass)hole’	anpəə	‘state’	ponwata	‘big belly’
b	naba	‘mushroom’	bija	‘leek’	habu	‘k.o. snake’	waɾabɨ	‘child’	ɨbəəsa	‘narrow’	ziboo	‘tail’
t	taniɨ	‘seed’			tui	‘bird’	tɨn	‘sky’	nɨntəə	‘members’	bottobotto	‘lazily’
tˀ	tˀai	‘two people’					tˀɨɨ	‘one’			tˀoomu.nii	‘Tsutomu’
d	kada	‘smell’			dusi	‘friend’	diɾu	‘which’	kjoodəə	‘brother’	dookuniɨ	‘white radish’
k	kabi	‘paper’	kin	‘clothes’	kuma	‘here’	kɨɨ	‘tree’	kəənja	‘arm’	koo	‘skin’
kˀ					kˀura	‘storehouse’						
g	gan	‘crab’	ginməə	‘contract’	wunagu	‘woman’	hagɨɾ	‘bald’	kugəəɾ	‘tumble’	kagoo	‘basket’
c			cikjaɾa	‘power’	cubusi	‘knee’	cɨmɨ	‘nail’	miicəə	(three.TOP)		
s	sataa	‘sugar’	siju	‘soup’	sura	‘treetop’	sɨba	‘tongue’	səə	‘alcohol’	soo	‘stem’
z	sijuzataa	‘white sugar’	ziju	‘cooking stove’			kaziɨ	‘wind’	kazəə	(wing.TOP)		
h	hana	‘nose’	hindjaa	‘goat’	huniɨ	‘ship’	hɨnma	‘day’	həəsa	‘quick’	hoorasja	‘happy’
m	mamɨ	‘bean’	min	‘ear’	muniɨ	‘breast’	mɨziɨ	‘water’	məə	‘front’	umoor	(move.HON)
mˀ	mˀa	‘horse’					mˀɨɨ	‘k.o. fruit’			mˀoo	(horse.TOP)
n	nama	‘now’	nissja	‘similar’	nudu	‘throat’	nɨzɨn	‘mouse’	junəə	‘evening’	noo	‘fishing line’
w	wan	‘I’			wutu	‘husband’	wɨɨ	‘tub’	juwəə	‘celebration’	tawoo	(plain.TOP)
wˀ	wˀaa	‘pig’										
j	jama	‘mountain’	jinga	‘man’	juru	‘night’	jɨɨ	‘grip’	kawajəə	‘substitute’	joikwa	‘silently’
jˀ	jˀa	‘arrow’	jˀii	(say.INF)	jˀu	‘fish’	jˀɨ	(say.IMP)			jˀoo	(say.INT)
r	waɾabɨ	‘child’			diɾu	‘which’	kuɾɨ	‘this’	kuɾəə	(this.TOP)	siɾoo	‘lie’

Table 2.14: Examples of CjV

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

Table 2.15: Combinations of CwV showing allophones

	wa	wo	wɨ	wə
kˀ	[kˀʷɑ̟]	[kˀʷo̟]		[kˀʷɜ]
k	[kʷɑ̟]			
h			[ɸɨ]	

Table 2.16: Examples of CwV

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

2.4 Phonological rules

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

There are phonological rules and morphophonological rules, both of which are applied within phonological words (see §2.1). The phonological rules are not

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

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

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

2.4.1 Tap and bilabial approximant deletion

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

(13) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{w} \\ \text{r} \end{matrix} \right\} > \emptyset \; / \; \_ \; \text{i}$

(14) a. *w*-deletion
koow[5] 'buy' + i (INF) > koi[6] (*koowi)

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

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

b. *r*-deletion
ar ‘exist’ + i (INF) > ai (*ari)

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

2.4.2 Alveolar stop affrication (or palatalization)

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

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

(16) a. Before //i//
ut ‘hit’ + i (INF) > uci

b. Before //j//
ut ‘hit’ + jaa ‘person’ > ucjaa

2.4.3 Epenthetic vowel /u/

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

(17) $\emptyset > u / \#^{7} \_ C\#$

(18) a. mun ‘thing’ + n ‘also’ > mu.nun (*mun.n or *mun.nu)

b. + nkja (APPR) > mu.nun.kja (*mun.nkja or *mun.nu.kja)

c. + kkwa (DIM) > mu.nuk.kwa (*mun.kkwa or *mun.ku.kwa)

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

[7] ‘#’ indicates a syllable boundary.

(19) ∅ > u / C# _ V

(20) tankan ‘k.o. orange’ + i (PLQ) > tan.ka.nui [tɋŋ.kɋ.nui] (*tan.kan.i (*tan.ka.ni [tɋŋ.kɋ.ni]) [tɋŋ.kɋɴ.i])

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

2.4.4 Geminate devoicing

Almost all of the geminates within monomorphemic words in Yuwan are voiceless (see 11d in §2.3.2). Moreover, if a voiced geminate occurs at a morpheme boundary, it tends to be voiceless.

(21) C_i C_i > C_i C_i[8]
[+v] [+v] [-v] [-v]

(22) a. bb > pp
ar ‘exist’ + ba (CSL) > appa[9]

b. dd > tt
ar ‘exist’ + doo (ASS) > attoo[10]

c. gg > kk
ar ‘exist’ + ga (CFM3) > akka[11]

2.4.5 Vowel deletion

A monomorphemic word has a sequence with at most two vowels (see 11e in §2.3.2) and it does not have a $V_iV_iC_{coda}$ sequence (see 11f in §2.3.2). If this sequence occurs around a morpheme boundary, one of the preceding vowels tends to be deleted.

[9]Morphophonological rule (see §??): ar +ba > abba (> appa)
[10]Morphophonological rule (see §??): ar +doo > addoo (> attoo)
[11]Morphophonological rule (see §??): ar +ga > agga (> akka)
[11]The small italic *i* means they have the same articulatory place and manner. Supplemental information is provided in square brackets under the rule schema.

(23) $V_i\ V_i > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V_i \\ C \end{array} \right\} / \_\ V\ \#$

(24) a. Before a vowel
koow 'buy' + i (INF) > koi[12]

b. Before a consonant
attaa 'they' + n 'also' > attan
+ nkja (APPR) > attankja

Interestingly, though three-vowel sequences tend to be avoided at morpheme boundaries, four-vowel sequences are not. (If we suppose that a syllable dislikes having three morae cosidering (22), the acceptability of /kooii/ may mean the existence of a syllable boundary, such as /koo.ii/.) See the example below; for convenience, the surface form is shown from the beginning in this example (see §?? for the lengthened form of the infinitive).

(25) koow 'buy' + ii (INF) > kooii[13]

Yuwan has few lexemes where the vowel /o/ is short (see the note "b." of Table ??), and when /o/ appears, its syllable is frequently heavy, i.e., it is /oi/, /oo/ or /oC_{coda}/. Otherwise, these lexemes are onomatopoeia such as *botto+botto* 'lazily,' interjections such as *ido* 'hey,' or seem to be relatively modern loan words from standard Japanese such as *itoko* 'cousin.' Those facts may indicate that the /o/ that is short in surface level is long, i.e. /oo/, in underlying level, and that the underlying /oo/ becomes /o/ by the vowel deletion rule in (22). The same argument can be applied to /ə/.

2.5 Prosody

2.5.1 Three pitch patterns

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

I. Falling after the penultimate mora of a phonological word

II. Falling after the syllable including the second mora of a phonological word

III. Rising at the final mora of a phonological word

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

(If the falling position is located word-finally, then falling is realized after the penultimate mora.)

In Tables 2.17–??, both "H" (high pitch) and "L" (low pitch) are counted as a mora respectively.

Table 2.17: Pitch patterns in Yuwan

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

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

Table 2.17 shows that in order to determine the type II pitch pattern, it is necessary to count both syllables and morae.

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

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

a. A mora is assigned not to a phoneme but to a slot;

b. A slot may have maximally one mora;

c. One phoneme can fill only one slot.

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

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

2.5.2 Some notes on initial glottalized consonants

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

Table 2.18: Pitch patterns of words beginning with a glottalized consonant (part 1)

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

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

Analysis 1: Glottalized phonemes have one mora by themselves.

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

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

Table 2.19: Pitch patterns of words beginning with a glottalized consonant (part 2)

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

Table 2.19 shows that glottalized /kˀ/ does not have a mora because the falling is realized not after /kˀu/ but after /ra/ (when it precedes clitics). In other words, it behaves regularly as the type II pitch pattern (see §2.5.1). Since we cannot regard the glottalized consonant /kˀ/ as having one mora, Analysis 1 cannot be accepted.

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

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

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

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

2.5.3 Further research

In the previous section, we discussed the prosody of nominals in Yuwan; however, the data set is very limited. In fact, we only dealt with 207 words. The breakdown of the pitch patterns of these words are shown in Table 2.20.

It is important to note that there are many cases where the falling or rising of the three accent patterns is not realized. In other words, there are many cases where a phonological word keeps a flat pitch throughout, and this makes it difficult to fully know the accurate pitch patterns of words in Yuwan. In the above

Table 2.20: Breakdown of pitch patterns of nominals

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

data, we excluded these data and only focused on words that have pitch movement; however, we need to clarify this omission for future research.

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

3 Grammatical relations

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

3.1 Subject

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

(1) Subjects with honorific verbs

a. TM: [El: 120924]

an	jaaja	sinsjeiga	umoojuncɟidoo.
a-n	*jaa=ja*	***sinsjei=ga***	*umoor-jur-n=ccɟi=doo*
DIST-ADNZ	house=TOP	[teacher]=NOM	[exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP]=QT=ASS
[Subject]			[Honorific verb]

'(I heard) that there was a teacher in that house.'

b. TM: [El: 120924]

#an	jaaja	warabɨnu	umoojuncɟidoo.
a-n	*jaa=ja*	***warabɨ=nu***	*umoor-jur-n=ccɟi=doo*
DIST-ADNZ	house=TOP	[child]=NOM	[exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP]=QT=ASS
[Subject]			[Honorific verb]

c. TM: [El: 120924]

an	jaaja	warabɨnu	wuncɟidoo.
a-n	*jaa=ja*	***warabɨ=nu***	*wur-n=ccɟi=doo*
DIST-ADNZ	house=TOP	[child]=NOM	[exist-PTCP]=QT=ASS
[Subject]			[Non-honorific verb]

'(I heard) that there was a child in that house.'

In (1a), the honorific verb *umoor-* (exist.HON) shows respect to *sjensjei* 'teacher,' which is the subject of the sentence. In (1b), the honorific verb *umoor-* (exist.HON) shows respect to *warabɨ* 'child,' but it is not natural for TM, who is eighty-nine

years old, to show respect to a child, so this sentence cannot be possible. However, if the verb is a non-honorific verb, i.e. *wur-* 'exist,' the sentence is problem-free as in (1c).

In the above examples, all of the subjects have the nominative case. Thus, one may think that we do not need the term "subject," but only "nominative NP" instead. We need the term "subject," however, since there is a case where the "subject" does not take the nominative case. The following examples show that case. In these examples, possessional meaning is expressed by the existential construction, where the expression that literally means 'About X, there is Y' actually means 'X has Y.'

(2) Existential construction expressing possessional meaning

a. TM: [El: 120924]

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

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

b. TM: [El: 120924]

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

c. TM: [El: 120924]

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

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

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

(2c), the verb is not an honorific verb: *wur-* 'exist.' Therefore, *warabɨ* 'child,' which is the sentence-initial NP and also the subject of the sentence, is acceptable.

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

3.2 Object

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

4 Descriptive preliminaries

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

4.1 Clause structure and phrase structure

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

4.1.1 Clause structure

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

(1) a. Intransitive clause
[Context: Remembering almost twenty years ago; TM: 'When I was seventy years old, ...']

hacukosanga	wuti,
[*hacuko-san=ga*]$_{\text{Argument}}$	[*wur-ti*]$_{\text{Predicate}}$
Hatsuko-HON=NOM	exist-SEQ

'There was Ms. Hatsuko, and ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Transitive clause

TM:	hirooga	kangiiba	kicji,
[*hiroo=ga*]$_{\text{Argument}}$	[*kangii=ba*]$_{\text{Argument}}$	[*kij-ti*]$_{\text{Predicate}}$	
Hiro=NOM	hedge=ACC	cut-SEQ	

'Hiro cut the hedge, and ...' [Co: 101020_01.txt]

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

It should be noted that the choice between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) depends on the lexical meaning (or "animacy hierarchy" in a broad sense) of the head nominal. In other words, the choice between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) is not influenced by the meaning of the verbs (e.g., whether the verb is volitional or not). For example, the subject (i.e., /waakjaa anmatankja/ 'my mother') of the volitional verb (i.e., /izjɨ cˀjan/ 'had been' [lit. 'go and come back']) takes *ga* (NOM) as in (6-103 c), as well as the subject (i.e., /tacuu/ 'Tatsu') of the non-volitional verb (i.e., /moosjaroo/ 'passed away') takes *ga* (NOM) as in (8-24). Similarly, the subject (i.e., /nɨsəə/ 'young man') of the volitional verb (i.e., /tuutai/ 'passed') takes *nu* (NOM) as in (8-118 a), as well as the subject (i.e., /ireba/ 'artificial tooth') of the non-volitional verb (i.e., /utɨjun/ 'fall') takes *nu* (NOM) as in (8-90 a). The details about the choice between *ga* (NOM) and *nu* (NOM) will be discussed in §??.

4.1.2 Nominal phrase (NP)

Yuwan has the following nominal phrase (NP) structure.

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

The head slot is obligatory, while the modifier slot is optional in principle (with the exception of the formal noun which will be discussed in §??). The head slot is filled by a nominal. A case particle follows the NP. However, there are many situations where case particles do not appear. The nominative case particle does not occur if the NP is followed by *ja* (TOP), *du* (FOC), or *n* 'also' (see also §7.1). Likewise, the genitive case particle does not occur if the head is filled by an address noun (see §??), and the accusative case may be omitted after an inanimate nominal (see §??). Thus, we propose the core of an NP is the head nominal and not the case particle. An NP that contains a case particle is called an "extended NP" (Shimoji 2008: 167). In this grammar, the label "NP" refers to either the NP (in a narrow sense) or the extended NP.

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

(2) a. Argument NP

jinganu	|hasigo|	kɨɨtɨ,
[*jinga=nu*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$	[*hasigo*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$	*kɨɨr-tɨ*
man=NOM	ladder	put-SEQ

nasiba t'ɨɨ t'ɨɨ
[*nasi=ba*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$ *t'ɨɨ* *t'ɨɨ*
pear=ACC one.CLF one.CLF
mutunwakejo.
mur-tur-n=wake=joo
pick.up-PROG-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
'A man put a ladder (against a tree) and was picking up pears one by one.' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. Nominal predicate
kun c'joo tarukai?
[*ku-n* *c'ju*]$_{\text{Argument NP}}$*=ja* [*ta-ru*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$*=kai*
PROX-ADNZ person=TOP who-NLZ=DUB
'Who is this person?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Phrasal modifier
naakjaa jumɨnu naaja
{[*naakjaa* *jumɨ=nu*]$_{\text{Phrasal modifier}}$ *naa*}$_{\text{Argument NP}}$*=ja*
2PL.HON.ADNZ daughter.in.law=GEN name=TOP
sijandoojaa.
sij-an=doo=jaa
know-NEG=ASS=SOL
'(I) don't know the name of your daughter in law.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

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

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

(3) a. Adnominals
[*naakjaa*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*jumɨ*]$_{\text{Head}}$
2PL.HON.ADNZ daughter.in.law
'your daughter in law' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Adnominal clauses

hinzjaa succjun jinga
[*hinzjaa sukk-tur-n*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*jinga*]$_{\text{Head}}$
goat pull-PROG-PTCP man
'the man who is pulling a goat' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

c. NP with genitive case
[*jumɨ=nu*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*naa*]$_{\text{Head}}$
daughter.in.law=GEN name
'daughter in law's name' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. Juxtaposition
[*tˀoomu+nii*]$_{\text{Modifier}}$ [*baasan*]$_{\text{Head}}$
Tsutomu+elder.brother grandmother
'Tsutomu's grandmother' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

4.1.3 Predicate phrase

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

(4) Three subtypes of predicate phrase

a. Verbal predicate phrase	(Complement)	VP[1]
b. Adjectival predicate phrase	A[2]	(STV[3])
c. Nominal predicate phrase	NP	(COP[4])

The verbal predicate is discussed in §4.1.3.1. The adjectival predicate is discussed in §4.1.3.2. The nominal predicate is discussed in §4.1.3.3. For more details, see Chapter 6.

4.1.3.1 Verbal predicate

A verbal predicate phrase is composed of a verbal phrase (VP) and optionally a complement as schematized in (5) (see §6.1 for more details).

(5) The structure of the verbal predicate phrase
[(Complement) VP]$_{\text{Verbal predicate phrase}}$

[1] "VP" indicates the verbal phrase.
[2] "A" indicates the adjective.
[3] "STV" indicates a stative verb.
[4] "COP" indicates a copular verb.

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

(6) Minimal VP
kam-ɨ!
eat-IMP
Lex.
'Eat (it)!' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The VP may be composed of a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb as in (7), which is called the auxiliary verb construction (AVC) (see §6.1.1).

(7) Auxiliary verb construction
cˀjɨ kuriran?
k-tɨ kurɨr-an
come-SEQ BEN-NEG
Lex. verb Aux. verb
'Will you come (to my son's place)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

The light verbs *sɨr-* 'do' and *nar-* 'become' obligatorily take complements. This structure is called the light verb construction (see §6.1.2).

(8) Light verb construction
a. *sɨr-* 'do'
jˀiija siranban, Complement LV
jˀ-i=ja sɨr-an=ban
say-INF=TOP do-NEG=ADVRS
'(They) wouldn't say (so), but ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]
b. *nar-* 'become'
joo, huccju nappoojoo, adoorɨtɨjo,
joo huccju nar-boo=joo adoorɨr-tɨ=joo
FIL old.person become-CND=CFM1 trip.over-SEQ=CFM1
Complement LV
'Well, if (people) become old, (they) trip over their own feet, and ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

4.1.3.2 Adjectival predicate

An adjectival predicate phrase is composed of an adjective and optionally a stative verb as schematized in (9) (see §6.2 for more details).

(9) Structure of the adjectival predicate phrase
[A (STV)]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$

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

(10) a. *-sa* (ADJ)
[Context: Looking at a fried vegetable]
TM: agɨ! hɨɨsa.
agɨ [*hɨɨ-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival Predicate}}$
oh big-ADJ
'Oh! (It is) big.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. *-soo* (ADJ)
TM: agɨɨ! kjurasoo.
agɨ [*kjura-soo*]$_{\text{Adjectival Predicate}}$
oh beautiful-ADJ
'Oh! (It is) beautiful.' [El: 130823]

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

(11) a. *-sa* (ADJ) with *ar-* (STV)
[Context: Remembering her childhood]
TM: asikencˀjuga huusa ata.
asiken+cˀju=ga [*huu-sa* *ar-tar*]$_{\text{Adjectival Predicate}}$
Ashiken+person=FOC many-ADJ STV-PST
'There were many people from Ashiken.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *-soo* (ADJ) with *nə-* (STV)
[Context: Talking about the wooden beams of MS's house; MS: '(The wooden beams of my house) haven't become as black as those (of your house), you know.']
TM: kˀurusoo nəndarooga.
kˀuru-soo *nə-an=daroo=ga*
black-ADJ STV-NEG=SUPP=CFM3
'(Those) are not black, right?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

4.1.3.3 Nominal predicate

A nominal predicate phrase is composed of a nomina phrase (NP) and optionally a copula verb (COP) as schematized in (12) (see §6.2 for more details).

(12) Structure of the nominal predicate phrase
[NP (COP)]$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$

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

Yuwan has four copula verbs: *jar-*, *zjar-*, *nar-* and *ar-* (see §?? for more details). The first three (*jar-*, *zjar-*, and *nar-*) are used in affirmative, and the last one (*ar-*) is used in negative with the exception of the AVC (see §??) and the focus construction (see §6.4.3). NPs are followed by the topic particle *ja* when the copula verb is *ar-* in negative (for other cases, see §6.3.2.1). I present the copula verbs, which are underlined in the following exmaples.

(13) a. *jar-*
[Context: Speaking of an acquaintance of both US and TM]
haccjanna ikɨgaci jatəi?
haccjan=ja *ikɨgaci* *jar-təər-i*
Hachan=TOP Ikegachi COP-RSL-NPST
[NP Copular verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
'Hachan was (from) Ikegachi?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *zjar-*
[Context: Seeing a photo of the Bon festival]
katakˀwasi zjajaa.
kata+kˀwasi *zjar=jaa*
model+snack COP=SOL
[NP Copular
'(That) is Katagasi, you know.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *nar-*
jusɨga sɨki natɨjoo,
jusɨr-Ø=ga *sɨki* *nar-tɨ=joo*
teach-INF=NOM fond COP-SEQ=CFM1
[NP Copular verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
'(My mother) was fond of teaching, so (everyone came to learn the traditional songs from my mother).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

d. *ar-*
[Context: Seeing a photo taken in celebration of setting up the first outdoor lamps on the shopping street in the village]
un tukinnu juwəəja aran?
un *tuki=n=nu* *juwəə=ja* *ar-an*
[that time=DAT1=GEN celebration]=TOP COP-NEG
{[NP] Copular verb}$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
'Is (the photo about) the celebration at that time?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

(14) Copular verb is free to appear
[Context: Seeing an album]
urəə denzirosan.
urɨ=ja *denziro-san*
that=TOP [Denziro-POL]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
'That is Denziro.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

(15) The copula verbs must occur unless the nominal predicate fulfills all of the following conditions:
a. In the non-past tense;
b. In affirmative;
c. Not taking verbal affixes or conjunctive particles;
d. Predicate not being focused by *du* (FOC).

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

(16) Copular verb may appear
[Context: Seeing an album]

doosje noogusuku zja.
doosje noogusuku zjar
maybe [Nogusuku COP]
[NP Copular verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
'(It) may be Nogusuku.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

(17) Followed by *jaa* (SOL)
an ikɨn məə zjajaa.
a-n ikɨ=n məə zjar=jaa
DIST-ADNZ pond=GEN front COP=SOL
'(This picture) is the front of that pond.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

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

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

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

(19) Copula verb cannot appear
a. [Context: Remembering the utterance of an acquaintance]
akiradoo
akira=doo
[Akira]=ASS
[NP]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
'(This is) Akira.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]
b. *akira jattoo/zjattoo.
akira jar/zjar=doo
Akira COP=ASS
[El: 111104]

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

4.2 Basic morphological units

4.2.1 Free form, clitic, and affix

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

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

Table 4.1: Criteria for distinguishing among free forms, clitics, and affixes

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

The meaning of a "minimal utterance" here is a minimal unit that can be uttered only by itself. In fact, a compound does not conforms to this criterion, since each component of a compound can be uttered only by itself. Considering the cohesion of the compound, however, it is reasonable to regard it as a free form (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002). Similarly, the honorific auxiliary verb construction, which will be discussed in §6.1.1, expresses a strong cohesion. Considering the other auxiliary verb constructions, however, it is appropriate to think that

the honorific auxiliary verb consruction is in the process of grammaticalization. Thus, I propose that it is composed of multiple free forms, i.e. verbs. A stronger feature that would distinguish free forms from clitics and affixes is prosody. It is likely true that free forms can have their own prosody but (most of) clitics and affixes cannot. However, the prosody of Yuwan is only partly clarified (see §??), and I use the criterion only partly in this grammar.

Most of morphological units comform to the criteria in Table 4.1. However, there are some instances that cannot be classified clearly into free forms, clitics, or affixes. Those instances are discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 Problematic cases

4.2.2.1 Clitic-like free forms

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

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

It should be mentioned that the stative verbs *ar-* and *nə-* cannot constitute a minimal utterance, and *ar-* (STV) does not seem to have its own pitch pattern. (On the contrary, *nə-* (STV) seems to have its own pitch pattern, i.e. the pitch pattern III.) In fact, *ar-* (STV) is in the process of grammaticalization, which is apparent from the fact that it undergoes contraction with the preceding adjective in some environments (see §6.2.2.2 for more details). I do not use the clitic-boundary marker "=" before *ar-* (STV) to maintain the structural parallelism between *ar-* (STV) and *nə-* (STV), but it may be appropriate to regard the stative verb composed of *ar-* as an enclitic in modern Yuwan.

4.2.2.2 Affix-like clitics

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

First, some clitics in Yuwan have similarity with affixes in terms of the formal boundedness of the host morpheme. In many cases, affixes can follow bound verbal stems, but clitics cannot. However, there are some clitics that can follow bound verbal stems, i.e. *sɨ* (FN), *doo* (ASS), *ka* (DUB), *kai* (DUB), *kamo* (POS), *ga* (CFM3), and *gajaaroo* (DUB) (see also chapter 10). For example, the verbal affix *-jur* (UMRK) cannot finish an utterance, and *jum-jur* (read-UMRK) is a bound verbal stem. An inflectional affix, e.g. *-i* (NPST), has to follow it to make it a free form, i.e. /jum-ju-i/ *jum-jur-i* (read-UMRK-NPST) '(Someone) reads.' According to the criteria shown in Table 4.1, the above seven clitics are not affixes, since they can follow more than one word class. However, those clitics are similar to the inflectional verbal affixes since they can follow bound verbal stems: /jum-ju=sɨ/[1] (read-UMRK=FN) 'something to read,' /jum-jut=too/[2] (read-UMRK=ASS) '(I) will read,' and /jum-juk=kai/[3] (read-UMRK=DUB) 'Will you read?', and so forth. Considering these facts, the above seven clitics are somewhere between clitics and affixes.

Second, a few clitics in Yuwan have similarity with affixes in terms of the constraint on the selection of the hosts' stem classes. Briefly speaking, there are morphemes that do not conform to the second criterion in Table 4.1, but that will be treated as clitics, i.e. *ban* (ADVRS) and *mun* (ADVRS). They always follow a verb (concretely speaking, a participle). A participle usually fills the predicate slot of an adnominal clause, as in (4-20 a). However, it can fill the predicate slot of an adverbial clause if it is followed by *ban* (ADVRS) as in (4-20 b).

(20) a. Participle in an adnominal clause
tarun mukasinukutu siccjun
ta-ru=n mukasi=nu=kutu sij-tur-n
who-NLZ=any [past=GEN=event know-PROG-PTCP]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
cʔjoo wuranbajaa.
cʔju=ja wur-an-ba=jaa
person=TOP exist-NEG-CSL=SOL
'There is not anyone who knows the events of the past.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Participle in an adverbial clause

[1]There is a morphophonological rule (see §??): jur + sɨ > jusɨ.
[2]There is a morphophonological rule and a phonological rule (see §?? and §2.4.4): jur + doo > juddoo > juttoo.
[3]There is a morphophonological rule (see §??): jur + kai > jukkai.

wanna honami-|cjan| naaja
wan=ja honami-cjan naa=ja
[1SG=TOP Honami-DIM name=TOP
siccjunban, naakjaa
sij-tur-n=ban naakjaa
know-PROG-PTCP=ADVRS]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ 2PL.HON.ADNZ
jumɨnu naaja sijandoojaa.
jumɨ=nu naa=ja sij-an=doo=jaa
daughter.in.law=GEN name=TOP know-NEG=ASS=SOL
'I know Honami's name, but don't know the name of your daughter in law.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Considering the second criterion in Table 4.1, *ban* (ADVRS) has to be classified into affixes since it cannot follow more than one word class. However, I propose *ban* (ADVRS) as an clitic (not an affix) because I do not assume there is an additional inflectional slot after the participial affix slot. In other words, there is no beneficial reason to interpret the participial affix *-n* as an ambivalent affix that is able to both close and not close a word, similar to the past affix *-tar* or the negative affix *-an* (see §?? for discussion about ambivalent affixes). The only possible candidates that can follow *-n* (PTCP) are the two morphemes mentioned above, which is different from *-tar* (PST) and *-an* (NEG), which can precede a number of verbal inflectional affixes. Thus, I do not regard *ban* (ADVRS) and *mun* (ADVRS) as affixes. Rather, I propose that they are conjunctive particles (see §7.2).

4.2.3 Stems and its morphological operations

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

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

Thus, the minimal stem is made of a single root.
The minimal word is made of a minimal stem, which is summarized as follows.

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

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

4.2.3.1 Compounding (ordinary type)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Each combination in Table 4.2 is illustrated below, with the exception of the combination V_{inf}+A, which will be discussed in §4.2.3.2. The first examples are compounds that have nominal stems at thier final positions. The resulting compounds always become nominal stems.

(24) a. N+N
[Context: Remembering the pear film]
simahinzjaaja aranba.
$\langle$*sima+hinzjaa*$\rangle_{\text{Compound}}$*=ja ar-an-ba*
island+goat=TOP COP-NEG-CSL
'Because (it) is not a goat of (our) island.' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

Table 4.2: Combinations of stem classes in the compounds

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

b. V+N
hingimadoo nənta.
<hingir-i+madu>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=ja nə-an=tar*
escape-INF+time=TOP exist-NEG=PST
'There was no time to escape.' [El: 120926]

c. A+N
[Context: Speaking about a referee of the sumo wrestling in a picture]
hakamankjagadɨ muccjutattu, sijukinnu.
hakama=nkja=gadɨ mut-tur-tar-tu <siju+kin>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=nu*
hakama=APPR=LMT have-PROG-PST-CSL white+clothes=GEN
'(He) had a hakama, (made) of white clothes.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. Adv+N
[Context: Seeing some acquaintances of TM in a picture]
naacʾjuinu cʾjoo koogi jappa.
<naa+cʾjui>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=nu cʾju=ja koogi jar-ba*
other+one.CLF.person=GEN person=TOP Kogi COP-CSL
'Since another person is Kogi.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. I + N
[Context: Talking about an acquaintance of TM and MS]
an cʾju daacʾju jatakai?
a-n cʾju daa+cʾju jar-tar=kai
DIST-ADNZ person where+person COP-PST=DUB
'Where did that person come from? [lit. That person was where's person?]' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

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

(25) a. N+V
relax [Context: Talking about thatched houses with US]
naakjoo gajaurusinkjoo sɨrantaroo.
naakja=ja <gaja+urus-i>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=nkja=ja sɨr-an-tar-oo*
2PL=TOP miscanthus+lower-INF=APPR=TOP do-NEG-PST-SUPP
'I suppose that you have never brought miscanthus (for thatched roofs).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. V+V
[Context: Talking about a man who came from mainland Japan to buy cycad leaves for business.]
kiihatɨppoo,
<kij-Ø+hatɨr>$_{\text{Compound}}$*-boo sirɨr-tur-ba=jaa*
cut-INF+thoroughly-CND
sirɨtuppajaa.

easy.to.understand-PROG-CSL=SOL
'If (he) cut all the cycad leaves, you may know (what would happen then).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. A+V
[Context: Speaking about a person whose role was to hit a big bell in emergency]
|hizjoo|nu tukinga gan+gan gan+gan
hizjoo=nu tuki=n=ga gan+gan gan+gan
emergency=GEN time=DAT1=FOC RED+clang RED+clang
zjanaucii.
<zjana+ut-i>$_{\text{Compound}}$
many+hit-INF
'In case of emergency, (he) clanged (the bell) many times.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

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

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

(26)

N+A

a. [Context: Talking about a female singer of traditional songs; TM: 'Actually, the recorded tape makes some noise, but ...']
kuigjurasa utəəja sjuijaa.
<kui+kjura>$_{\text{Compound}}$*-sa utaw-i=ja sɨr-jur-i=jaa*
voice+beautiful-ADJ sing-INF=TOP do-UMRK-NPST=SOL
'(She) sings beautifully, you know.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

A+A

b. an wunaguja injagjurasajaa.
a-n wunagu=ja inja+kjura-sa=jaa
DIST-ADNZ woman=TOP small+beautiful-ADJ=SOL
'That woman is small and beautiful.' [El: 130812]

D+A

c. [Context: Talking about a big banyan tree, which was lost in World War II]
jɨdaja ganbəi sjasɨnkjanu, |zuutto|,
jɨda=ja ga-n=bəi sɨr-tar=sɨ=nkja=nu zuutto
brach=TOP MES-ADVZ=only do-PST=FN=APPR=NOM throughout
agatuubəigadɨ cˀjɨ,
<aga+tuu>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=bəi=gadɨ k-tɨ*
DIST+distant=only=LMT come-SEQ
'A branch, which was around this size, came to such a distance, and...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

I+A

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

ikjanagəəbəi nakkai?
<*ikja+nagəə*>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=bəi nar=kai*
how+long=only become=DUB
'How long is (it)? [lit. How long does (it) become?]' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

e. [Context: Talking about the pension for the wounded soldiers]
TM: ikjanagən |sjooigunzin|nu
<*ikja+nagəə*>$_{\text{Compound}}$*=n sjooi+gunzin=nu tecuzuki=ga*
how+long=even wounded+soldier=GEN procedure=NOM
.. |tecuzuki|ga sɨran=sjutɨ,
sɨr-an=sjutɨ
do-NEGSEQ
'For a while, (he) could not carry out the procedure for (the pension for) the wounded soldiers, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

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

4.2.3.2 Compounding (special type)

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

(27) a. Nominal stems in the compounds "V+N"
i. *zjaa* 'place,' *bəə* 'role'
ii. *mai* (OBL), *madəə* 'fail to,' *gjaa* (PURP)

b. Adjectival stems in the compounds "V+A"
cja 'want,' *cjagɨ* 'seem,' *jass* 'easy,' *gussj* 'difficult'

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

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

(28) *zjaa* 'place'

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

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

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

d. [Context: Remembering a pond that was close to the community's watering place]
waakja |nenzjuu| mɨzɨkˀumbəə jatattu.
waakja nenzjuu *mɨzɨ+kˀum-Ø+bəə* *jar-tar-tu*
1PL always water+scoop-INF+role COP-PST-CSL
'I would always fill the role of scooping water.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

140227]

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

(29) Cannot be modified by adnominal clauses

a. *kumoo asɨbjun zjaadoo.
ku-ma=ja asɨb-jur-n zjaa=doo
PROX-place=TOP play-UMRK-PTCP place=ASS
(Intended meaning) 'Here is the place to play.' [El: 130816]

b. *arəə ucjun bəədoo.
a-rɨ=ja ut-jur-n bəə=doo
DIST-NLZ=TOP hit-UMRK-PTCP role=ASS
(Intended meaning) 'That person fills the role to hit (the bell).' [El: 130816]

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

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

(30) a. Can be modified by an adnominal clause
asɨbjun madunkjoo nən.
asɨb-jur-n madu=nkja=ja nə-an
{[play-UMRK-PTCP]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ time}$_{\text{NP}}$=APPR=TOP exist-NEG
'There is no time to play.' [El: 130816]

b. Can be used without any NP modifier
TM: uroo madoo nənna?
ura=ja madu=ja nə-an=na
2.NHON.SG=TOP {time}$_{\text{NP}}$=TOP exist-NEG=PLQ
'Don't you have the time?' [El: 130816]

The comparison between *zjaa* 'place' and *bəə* 'role' on one hand, *madu* 'time' on the other indicates that the former morphemes are bound nominal roots which

cannot head an NP by itself. Hence, they are "special types" of the root which occurs only in compounding.

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

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

a. [Context: Remembering the bankruptcy of a shop in the past]
|sjeiri| siimai jatancjɨ aran?
sjeiri *sɨr-i+mai* *jar-tar-n=ccjɨ* *ar-an*
[disposal do-INF+OBL COP-PST-PTCP]=QT COP-NEG
[Nominal predicate]
'(The people who had invested their money in the shop) had to dispose (the goods), hadn't they?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. kakimaija aranta.
kak-i+mai=ja *ar-an-tar*
[write-INF+OBL=TOP COP-NEG-PST]
[Nominal predicate]
'(It) is not necessary to write.' [El: 111105]

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

(32) *mai* (OBL) in the epistemic modality təəhunu
təəhu=nu
typhoon=NOM
[Subject]
kjuncjuuba, amɨn huimaidoojaa.
k-jur-n=ccjɨ+jˀ-ba *amɨ=n* *hur-i+mai=doo=jaa*
come-UMRK-PTCP=QT+say-CSL [rain]=also [fall-INF+OBL]=ASS=SOL
[Nominal predicate]
'Since (they said) that the typhoon will come, it must rain [lit. the rain must fall].' [El: 120929]

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

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

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

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

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

(34) a. *gjaa* (PURP) in the predicate
[Context: Explaining the difference between the Bon festival and the celebration of the New Year's day]
|sjoogacu|ja, naa, jˀuuboo, namanu
sjoogacu=ja *naa* *jˀ-boo* *nama=nu*
New.Year's.day=TOP FIL say-CND now=GEN
[Nominal predicate]
|nentoo| jˀiigjaa jappa.
nentoo *jˀ-i+gjaa* *jar-ba*
beginning.of.a.year [say-INF+PURP say-CSL]

'About the New Year's day, (the relatives gather just) in order to say (what), if we call (it in the terms) of these days, (we call) New year greetings.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

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

j'iigjaanu cɨmuisjɨ
j'-i+gjaa=nu *cɨmui=sjɨ*
[say-INF+PURP]=GEN intention=INST
[NP]=GEN
acɨmajunwakejo.
acɨmar-jur-n=wake=joo
gather-UMRK-PTCP=CFP=CFM1

'(The relatives) gather (as if) they intended to say (only New year greetings.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *gjaa* (PURP) in the complement slot of *ik-* 'go'
TM: usi tuigjaa izjattoo,
usi *tur-i+gjaa* *ik-tar-too*
cow [take-INF+PURP] [go-PST-CSL]
[Complement] [Lexical verb]
'(The man) went to take the cow, and then ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

d. *gjaa* (PURP) in the complement slot of *k-* 'come'
masakoga |asaban| kamgjaa k'uuboo,
masako=ga *asa+ban* *kam-Ø+gjaa* *k'-boo*
Masako=NOM morning+evening [eat-INF+PURP] [come-CND]
[Complement] [Lexical verb]
jazin |medamajaki|.
jazin medamajaki
necessarily sunny.side.up

'When Masako comes to eat the breakfast and the supper, (I) necessarily (bake the eggs) sunny side up.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

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

(35) a. Original argument structure wanna uriba
wan=ja *u-ri=ba*
1SG=TOP MES-NLZ=ACC
Object

kakjuttoo.
kak-jur=doo
write-UMRK=ASS

'I will write it.' [El: 130816]

b. *bəə* 'role'
TM: wanna uɨba kakibəə zjajaa.
wan=ja u-rɨ=ba kak-i+bəə zja=jaa
1SG=TOP MES-NLZ=ACC write-INF+role COP=SOL
Object
'I fill the role to write it.' [lit. 'I am the role to write it.'] [El: 130816]

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

'I have no time to write it.' [lit. 'For me, there is no time to write it.'] [El: 130816]

d. *mai* (OBL)
TM: wanna uɨba kakimaidoo.
wan=ja u-rɨ=ba kak-i+mai=doo
1SG=TOP MES-NLZ=ACC write-INF+OBL=ASS
Object
'I have to write it.' [El: 130816]

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

Strictly speaking, the alleged nominal stems in the above examples, i.e. *zjaa* 'place,' *bəə* 'role,' *mai* (OBL), *madəə* 'fail to,' and *gjaa* (PURP), cannot regarded as stems (or roots), since they cannot start an utterance by themselves (see §4.2.3). In fact, they are thought to be in the process of grammaticalization from roots to affixes (or nominalizers). However, I do not regard them as nominalizers in modern Yuwan, since their initial stems always become infinitives, which is the same as the ordinary type compounding (see §4.2.3.1). On the other hand, the genuine nominalizer in Yuwan, i.e. *-jaa* 'person,' can directly attach to verbal roots, e.g., /hikjaa/ *hik-jaa* (play-person) 'player' (see also §??). Therefore, I propose that the above forms are compounds (not nominalizer affixes). In order to distinguish these "nominal stems" from the ordinary nominal stems such as *hinzjaa* 'goat,' it may be appropriate to call the former the "nominal stems only for compounding."

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

(36) *cja* 'want'
[Context: TM is introducing the present author to the hearer US saying that the present author has been looking for a good language teacher in the community.]

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

'(He) said, '(I) want to learn the language of the community,' and ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

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

'beautiful,' it may be appropriate to call the former the "adjectival stems only for compounding."

4.2.3.3 Reduplication

Reduplication in Yuwan concerns full reduplication, not partial reduplication. A reduplicated form consists of the base and the reduplicant. The reduplicant precedes the base, e.g. /sabii+sabi/ 'smoothly,' where /sabii/ is the reduplicant and /sabi/ is the base. Syntactically, reduplicated forms made of adjectival roots or onomatopoeic roots function as adverbs (see §4.3.6 and §4.3.8.3). The reduplicated form made of the reflexive pronoun functions as a nominal (see §??). In some reduplicated forms, the base undergoes the sequential voicing (or "rendaku"), which is also founded in compounding (see 4.2.3.4 for more details). However, reduplication is different from compounding in other morphophonological characteristics. In paticular, reduplicated forms undergo vowel lengthening in some environments. Vowel lengthening occurs in reduplicants if neither the penultimate nor final syllable of the base is heavy as in (4-37 a-b) (see §4.3.6 for more details). On the contrary, if the reduplicated form in the same condition is followed by a morpheme that is composed of only a syllable with a mora, e.g. *-tu* (ADVZ) or *nu* (GEN), the final vowel of the base (not the reduplicant) is lengthened as in (4-37 c-d) (see also §4.3.8.3 and §??).

(37) Reduplication

A. Reduplicant is lengthened

a. *siju-* 'white' > /sijuu+ziju/ 'whitely'

b. *sabi* 'smoothly' > /sabii+sabi/ 'smoothly'

B. Base is lengthened

c. *siju-* 'white' > /siju+zijuu-tu/ 'whitely'

d. *nusi* (RFL) > /nusi+nusii=nu/ 'each of oneselves''

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

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

(38) a. umaga naikwanu
u-ma=ga *naikwa=nu*
MES-place=FOC department.of.internal.medicine=NOM
dɨkɨppoo, |kamera| numgja ikiiki.
dɨkɨr-boo *kamera* *num-Ø+gja* *ik-i+ik-i*
be.set.up-CND camera swallow-INF+PURP go-INF+go-INF
'After the department of internal medicine was set up there, (I) often went (there) in order to swallow the (stomach) camera.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. abɨnəə gan naroocjəə siisii.
abɨnəə gan *nar-oo=ccjɨ=ja* *sɨr-i+sɨr-i*
barely cancer become-INT=QT=TOP do-INF+do-INF
'(I) was about to get cancer many times.' [lit. '(I) did and did to become cancer'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. |poketto|nan ɨrɨti, mucjɨ cˀjəə, ukkaci
poketto=nan *ɨrɨr-tɨ* *mut-tɨ* *k-tɨ=ja* *u-rɨ=kaci*
pocket=LOC1 put.in-SEQ have-SEQ come-SEQ=TOP MES-NLZ=ALL
ɨriiri.
ɨrɨr-Ø+ɨrɨr-Ø
put.in-INF+put.in-INF
'(The old man) put (the oranges) in (his) pocket, brought (them), and put (them) into that [i.e. a large basket] again and again.' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

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

4.2.3.4 "Rendaku" (sequential voicing)

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

(39) Rule shema

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

(40) Examples

a. t > d
   taa ‘high’ + taatu (high.ADVZ) > taadaatu ‘highly’
b. s > z
   kˀuru ‘black’ + sataa ‘sugar’ > kˀuruzataa ‘black sugar’
c. k > g
   kui ‘voice’ + kjurasa (beautiful.ADJ) > kuigjurasa ‘of beautiful voice’
d. kˀ > g
   kˀuru ‘black’ + kˀuru ‘black’ > kˀuruuguru ‘blackly’
e. c > z
   sinitooraa ‘sluggard’ + ciki (pickle.INF) > sinitooraziki ‘lightly-pickled radis
f. h > b
   sicizi ‘cycad’ + haa ‘leaf’ > sicizibaa ‘cycad leaf’

Regarding (4-40 a-d), the stem-initial phonemes alternate with their voiced counterparts in §??. On the other hand, the stem-initial voiced phonemes in (4-40 e-f) are different from the original phonemes both in the articulatory place and manner. The synchronic idiosyncracy in (4-40 e-f) is due to the histrical sound change. As for (4-40 e), internal reconstruction tells us that there was a voiced alveolar affricate */dz/, but the difference between the voiced alveolar affricate and fricative disappeared over time, and they have merged to /z/. Similarly, for (4-40 f), internal reconstruction tells us that the contemporary /h/ was */p/, which yields the perfect correspondence between */p/ and */b/ (cf. Ueda 1898: 41-46).

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

(41)
   hu > hu
   nui (ride.INF) + huni ‘boat’ > nuihuni ‘coffin’
cf. hu > bu
   koo ‘river’ + huni ‘boat’ > koobuni ‘riverboat’

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

(42) a. /k/ > /k/: the following stem includes /b/
sima + kutuba > simakutuba (*simagutuba)
'community' 'language' 'language of community'

b. /k/ > /k/: the following stem includes /z/
nisi[4] + kazɨ > nisikazɨ (*nisigazɨ)
'north' 'wind' 'north wind'

c. /k/ > /g/: the following stem includes /n/
basja + kin > basjagin (*basjakin) 'banana plant' 'clothes' 'clothes made of fiber of banana plant'

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

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

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

In (43), the /si/ [ɕi][5] of *siju* 'white' becomes [(d͡)ʑi] in the non-initial position of compounds. Thus, we should interpret it as /zi/ not /di/. That is, if we interpret [(d͡)ʑi] as /di/, we would have to admit a certain discrepancy in the sequential voicing of //si// and //sa//. If we allow for this interpretation, //si// would become /di/ [(d͡)ʑi], e.g., /sijuudiju/ 'whitely' in (43), but //sa// would become /za/ [(d͡)ʑɥ], e.g., /kʾuruzataa/ 'black sugar' as in (4-40 b). This would mean that not only /z/ but also /d/ would be considered voiced phonemes formed from the sequential voicing of //s//, and we would have to assume that some voiced phonemes (in sequential voicing) would be chosen depending on the phonological environments,

[4] *nisi* is a fossil morpheme, and it only appears in compounds such as *mii+nisi* (new+north) 'an autumn wind.' If a speaker wants to indicate 'north' in a monomorphemic word, the word *kita* 'north' is used.

[5] For the reason for regarding [ɕi] as /si/, see the footnote Error: Reference source not found in §2.3.2.4.

i.e. /d/ occurs before /i/, and /z/ occurs elsewhere. On the other hand, if we admit [(d͡)ʑi] as /zi/, this mismatch does not occur, and the result of sequential voicing is transparent, i.e. //s// > /z/ in all cases. Given that we have now recognized [(d͡)ʑi] as /zi/ (instead of /di/), we must also recognize [t͡ɕi] as /ci/ (instead of /ti/), since /ci/ [t͡ɕi] becomes [(d͡)ʑi] as in (44) and /cɨ/ [t͡sɨ] becomes [(d͡)zɨ] as in (4-40 e).

(44) /ci/ [t͡ɕi] > /zi/ [(d͡)ʑi]
baka + /cikjara/ > /bakazikjara/
'fool' [t͡ɕikʲɻaɾɻa] [bɑkɑ(d͡)ʑikʲɻaɾɻa]
'power' 'enormous strength'

4.2.4 Compounding versus phrase

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

(45) a. Compound
kjuranɨsəə jatancjɨjo.
kjura+nɨsəə *jar-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
<beautiful+young.man>$_{\text{Compound}}$ COP-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'He was a beautiful young man.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. Modifier and head in a nominal phrase
waa uinannja micjai, jutaidu
{*waa*$_{\text{Modifier}}$ *ui*$_{\text{Head}}$}$_{\text{Phrase}}$*=nan=ja* *micjai* *jutai=du*
1SG.ADNZ upper.side=LOC1=TOP three.CLF.person
wuppa.
wur-ba

'There are three, four persons older than me [lit. on my upper side].'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

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

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

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

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

(46) a. Compound
*kjurainjasannɨsəə
<*kjura+*[*inja-sa+a-n*]$_{\text{Clause}}$+nɨsəə>$_{\text{Compound}}$
beautiful+
(Intended meaning) 'a beautiful small young man.' [El: 130812]

b. Modifier and head in a phrase
[Context: Talking about a man who used to dub tapes of songs voluntarily for villagers; TM: 'He said his recorder was not useful these days, and...']
waa injasan |kasetto|kkwagadɨ
{*waa* [*inja-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{Clause}}$ *kasetto-kkwa*}$_{\text{Phrase}}$=*gadɨ*
1SG.ADNZ small-ADJ+STV-PTCP cassette.recorder-DIM=LMT
muccjɨ izjɨ,
mut-tɨ *ik-tɨ*
have-SEQ go-SEQ
'(He) took even my small cassette recorder [lit. my cassette recorder that is small], and...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

NP has the modifier *waa* 'my.' By contrast, the components of the compound cannot be interrupted by the adnominal clause as in (4-46 a).

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

(47) Modifier and head in a phrase

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

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

4.3 Word classes

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

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

As is shown in Table 4.3, there are four criteria for the word class assignment.

Table 4.3: Word class assignment

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

4.3.1 Nominals

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

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

(48) [Context: Speaking about the present author; TM: 'Then, suddenly (he) came (here) yesterday.'] US: kinjuu umoocjɨ?
kinjuu umoor-tɨ
yesterday come.HON-SEQ
'Did (he) come (here) yesterday?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

4.3.2 Adnominals

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

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

4.3.3 Verbs

The verb is identified by the occurence of a specific set of inflectional affixes (see §??), e.g., *kam-ɨ* (eat-IMP) 'Eat!' The only exception is the copula verb *zjar-*, which may lack an inflectional affix entirely (see §??). The verbal phrase is composed minimally of a verb, but it may also be composed of a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb (see §6.1.1 for more details). Verbs involve complex morphophonological alternations (see §??). Verbal inflectional affixes can be grouped into four classes: finite-form affixes, participial affixes, converbal affixes, and an infinitival affix. These classes of affixes correspond to the following clause types: main clauses, adnominal clauses, adverbial clauses, and nominal clauses (see §?? for more detai).

4.3.4 Adjectives

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

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

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

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

a. After vowel-final stem

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

b. After consonant-final stem

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

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

Syntactically, a single adjectival word can costitute the predicate as in (4-50 a-b). Additionally, an adjective can be followed by the stative verb *ar-* (or *nə-*) in some environments as in (4-50 c-d) (see §6.2 for more details).

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

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

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

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

The text data indicates that an adjective takes the inflection *-sa* (ADJ) when it is not followed by the stative verb. However, it can take *-soo* (ADJ) in elicitation.

On the other hand, when it is followed by the stative verb, the adjective takes either *-sa* (ADJ) or *-soo* (ADJ) in the text data. Generally, *-sa* (ADJ) is used when the predicate is in affirmative, and *-soo* (ADJ) in negative. However, *-soo* (ADJ) can be used in affirmative when the adjective fills the complement slot of LVC or the lexical verb slot of AVC (see §6.2.2.3 for more details). It is probable that *-soo* (ADJ) is made of *-sa* (ADJ) + *ja* (TOP), considering the following two facts. First, there is a morphophonological rule of //a// + *ja* (TOP) > /oo/ (see §7.1.1.1). Second, *-soo* (ADJ) is used in negative of the adjectival predicate phrase as well as *ja* (TOP) is used in negative in the nominal predicate phrase (see §6.3.1). However, I do not propose the underlying forms *-sa=ja* (ADJ=TOP) for /-soo/, since there is no surface form realized as /-sa=ja/, and the form /-soo/ can finish a clause, which would not hold true if /-soo/ were composed of *-sa + ja* (TOP).

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

(51) Adverbial use of adjectives

a. [Context: Remembering an old scene in the neighborhood]
an |sutando|nu umaga... aa...
a-n *sutando=nu* *u-ma=ga* *ka-nsji*
DIST-ADNZ gas.station=GEN MES-place=FOC PROX-ADVZ
kansji... taasa isigaki natutattu.
taa-sa *isigaki* *nar-tur-tar-tu*
high-ADJ stone.fence become-PROG-PST-CSL
'That place, where a gas station is, was stone fence which (was) so high [lit. so highly].' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking of an acquaintance of TM and MS; MS: '(We) have not seen (him) these days.'] |un|, naa nagəəsa mjandoojaa.
un *naa* *nagəə-sa* *mj-an=doo=jaa*
yeah yet long-ADJ see-NEG=ASS=SOL
'Yeah, (we) have not seen (him) for a long time.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. [Context: Speaking about an aquaintance]
nasjeba izji cʾjəəroo, akka taməə naa
nasje=ba *ik-ti* *k-təəra=ja* *a-ri* *=ga* *taməə*
Naze=ACC go-SEQ come-after=TOP DIST-NLZ=GEN sake already
issai warusoo jʾantatto.
naa *issai* *waru-soo* *jʾ-an-tar-too*
all bad-ADJ say-NEG-PST-CSL
'After going to and returning from Naze, (she) did not say anything

bad [lit. badly] for him.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

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

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

4.3.5 Particles

All particles are clitics, but not vice versa (cf., formal nouns in §??). There are six subclasses of particles: case particles, limitter particles, conjunctive particles, clause-final particles, utterance-final particles A, and utterance-final particles B. See Chapter 7 for more details.

4.3.6 Adverbs

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

(52) a. With verbal predicate
[Context: Speaking about an acquaintance of TM and US]
masahiko tuzija muru sijan.
masahiko tuzi=ja *muru* [*sij-an*]$_{\text{Verbal predicate}}$
Masahiko wife=TOP very know-NEG
'(I) don't know Masahiko's wife at all.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. With adjectival predicate
[Context: Speaking about MS's grandfather and his friends, who traded market stocks]
muru dujasanu, ikiʑimai jatəəkkamojaa.
muru [*duja-sa*]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate}}$*=nu* *ikiʑimai jar-təər=kamo=jaa*
very rich-ADJ=SEQ extreme COP-RSL=maybe=SOL
'(Maybe, they) were very rich, and (their life was) extremely (good).'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. With nominal predicate
[Context: Speaking about acquaintances of TM and MS; TM: 'Muha is as old as those people, and...']
muru dusi jata.
muru [*dusi jar-tar*]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
very friend COP-PST
'(They) were very (good) friends.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

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

(53) [Context: Speaking about the present author; TM: 'Then, I thought (he) already went back (home).']
TM: sjatto, kinjuu atadan umoocjɨ.
sɨr-tar-too kinjuu atadan umoor-tɨ
do-PST-CND yesterday suddenly come.HON-SEQ
'Then, suddenly (he) came (here) yesterday.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

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

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

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

(54) a. [Context: Remembering the sight around the kitchen in the old days]
haija buubuu tubjakudɨ,
hai=ja buu+buu tubjakum-tɨ
ash=TOP RED+floating fly-SEQ
'Ashes floated, and ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. [Context: At the lunch time]

Table 4.4: Non-derived adverbs

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

sabiisabi aikikippoo, cɨkɨmununkja jaazjɨ
sabi+sabi *aik-i+kij-boo* *cɨkɨmun=nkja jaa=zjɨ*
RED+smoothly walk-INF+CAP-CND pickle=APPR house=LOC3
tɨkkoorɨnmun.
tɨkk-arɨr-n=mun
bring-CAP-PTCP=ADVRS
'If (I) could walk smoothly, (I) could go home and bring some pickles, but (couldn't).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

There are two points to make about the data shown in the above table: (a) syllable construction and (b) kinds of roots. First, some of the reduplicated adverbs lengthen their initial roots, e.g., //sabi// 'smoothly' > /sabii/. This lengthening occurs if neither penultimate nor final syllable of the original root is heavy. Second, reduplicated adverbs are made up of either onomatopoeic roots such as //gara// 'rattle,' which seems to represent the sound of metallic objects hitting each other, or adjectival roots such as //kjura// 'beautiful' and //siju// 'white' (which also go

Table 4.5: Fully reduplicated adverbs (lengthened root being underlined)

Original root	Syllable[a]			Reduplicated adverb	Meaning
	Penultimate	Final			
bocu	L	L	>	bocuu+bocu	'step by step'
botto	H	L	>	botto+botto	'lazily'
buu	–	H	>	buu+buu	'floating'
gara	L	L	>	garaa+gara	'rattle'
hui	–	H	>	hui+hui	'lightly'
joi	–	H	>	joi+joi	'slowly; late'
kjura	L	L	>	kjuraa+gjura	'beautifully'
kˀumja	L	L	>	kˀumjaa+kˀumja	'with steps'
muccjara	L	L	>	muccjaraa+muccjara	'chewing'
potton	H	H	>	potton+potton	'dripping'
sa	–	L	>	saa+sa	'without hesitation'
sai	–	H	>	sai+sai	'fast'
sabi	L	L	>	sabii+sabi	'smoothly'
siju	L	L	>	sijuu+ziju	'whitely'

[a](H: heavy; L: light; –: no syllable)

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

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

Before concluding this section, I want to mention two affixes that can turn the interrogative stems into indefinite adverbs: *-ninkuinin* and *-sɟɨnkaasɟɨn*. The former, *-ninkuinin,* follows only *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) 'who,' and the latter, *-sɟɨnkaasɟɨn,*

follows only *ikja-* 'how' (see §?? for more details about interrogative words). The examples of these affixes are presented below.

(55) a. *-ninkuinin*
[Context: Remembering the work of thatching a roof]
TM: waakjoo... naa, taruuninkuinin gajaurusi
waa-kja=ja naa ta-ru-ninkuinin gaja+urus-i
1-PL=TOP FIL who-NLZ-INDFZ miscanthus+lower-INF
tanmarɨccjɨ j'ii natɨ, ...
tanm-ar-ɨ=ccjɨ j'-i nar-tɨ
ask-PASS-IMP=QT say-INF COP-SEQ
'Everyone said that, "Please undertake the carrying of [lit. Be asked to carry] the miscanthus (from the mountains)" Thus, I ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *-sjɨnkaasjɨn*
[Context: Speaking about play in the old days; TM: 'Didn't you play hitting balls?']
US: cjaa, cjaa, naa, ikjaasjɨnkaasjɨn.jo.
cjaa cjaa naa ikja-sjɨnkaasjɨn=joo
I.think.so I.think.so FIL how-INDFZ=CFM1
'Yeah, yeah, (I played a game) no matter how (it is).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

These examples show that the second vowels of the interrogative stems should be lengthened before *-ninkuinin* or *-sjɨnkaasjɨn*: *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) > /taruu/ and *ikja-* 'how' > /ikjaa/. Perhaps, these affixes may be divided into several morphemes such as *-ninkuinin* > *=n=n kui=n=n* (DAT1=even ECHO=DAT1=even) and *-sjɨnkaasjɨn* > *-sjɨ=n kaa-sjɨ=n* (ADVZ=even ECHO=ADVZ=even) (ECHO means an echo morpheme). I do not, however, take these analyses, because these morphemes are always closely united and no other morphemes intervene or replace them. Therefore, I interpret these alleged combinations as affixes, at least in modern Yuwan (see also §?? for the indefinite pronoun).

4.3.7 Interjections

The interjection cannot directly modify a predicate.

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

agɨ. cjaa zjaga.
agɨ cjaa zjar=ga
oh that.is.right COP=CFM3
'Oh! That's right.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

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

Table 4.6: Interjections

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

[a] *ude* 'well' is frequently pronounced as [uɾe].
[b] *un* (BCH) is frequently pronounced as [ʔmː].

Almost all of the morphemes regarded as interjections by the criteria discussed in §4.3 are used in the following conditions: they are used only by themselves, or they are embedded into a clause in the direct speech, which is always followed by the quotative marker *ccjɨ* (see also §7.4.1.1).

(57) [Context: Distributing some of her lunch to the present author's plate; TM: 'Old peoples...'; MS: 'Yeah.'] ude, naa, ganboo, urakjoo ude,
ude naa ganboo urakja=ja ude
well FIL if.so 2.NHON.SG=TOP well

ude, kamanboo, udeccjɨdu xxx j'utattujaa.
ude kam-an-boo ude=ccjɨ=du j'-jur-tar-tu=jaa
well eat-NEG-CND well=QT=FOC say-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
'(The old people) would say, 'Well, now, then, you have to eat (more).''
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

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

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

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

(58) kurɨsjəə baadoo.
ku-rɨ=sjɨ=ja baa=doo
PROX-NLZ=INST=TOP not.want=ASS
'(If it is) so, (it) does not (work).' [El: 110827]

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

4.3.8 Class-changing derivation

We attach the same label to a free form and a stem only if the stem can become the word class by itself or with a minimal inflection (cf. Lehmann 2010: 8). For example, the stem *isi* 'stone' can be a nominal word by itself, and so we label *isi* 'stone' as a "nominal stem." The stem *kam-* 'eat' can be a verbal word with a minimal inflection *-ɨ* (IMP) as in *kam-ɨ* 'Eat!,' and so we regard *kam-* 'eat' as a "verbal stem."

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

4.3.8.1 Verbal stem to nominal stem

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

4.3.8.2 Verbal stem to adjectival stem

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

(59) a. *cja* 'want' [= (36)]
[Context: TM is introducing the present author to the hearer U saying that the present author has been looking for a good language teacher in the community.]

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

'(He) said, '(I) want to learn the language of the community,' and ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *cjagɨ* 'seem'
[Context: Speaking of a person who used to copy the music tapes for everyone]

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

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

'(Now) there are no people who are likely to do that (i.e. recording), you know.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. *-jass* 'easy'
[Context: Speaking of pickles that are easy to make]

uriga |iciban| siijassa appa.
u-ri=ga *iciban* *sir-i+jass-sa* *ar-ba*
MES-NLZ=FOC mostly do-INF+easy-ADJ STV-CSL
'Since it (i.e. the pickles) is mostly easy to do.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

d. *-gussj* 'difficult'
misikjarusanu miigussja.
misikjaru-sa=nu *mj-i+gussj-sa*
dazzling-ADJSEQ see-INF+difficult-ADJ
'(It) is dazzling and (it) is difficult (for me) to see.' [El: 120921]

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

4.3.8.3 Adjectival stem to adverbial stem

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

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

(60) sijuuziju natajaa.
siju+siju *nar-tar=jaa*
RED+white become-PST=SOL
'(It) became white.' [El: 111116]

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

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

(61) a. *-ku*

[Context: Talking about the lifestyle in the old days, TM tells the hearer MS how to carry the baskets.]
ubuku nappoo sɨgu cuburunan nusɨtɨ,
ubu-ku nar-boo sɨgu cuburu=nan nusɨr-tɨ
heavy-ADVZ become-CND immediately head=LOC1 put.on-SEQ
'As soon as (it) becomes heavy, (the people) put (baskets) on (their) heads, and ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. *-sanma*
[Context: Talking about how to make pickles out of white radishes]
dookuniiba koo mucjɨ. kjuraasanma aratɨ, koo
dookunii=ba koo muk-tɨ kjura-sanma araw-tɨ koo
white.radish=ACC skin peel-SEQ beautiful-ADVZ wash-SEQ skin
mucjɨ.
muk-tɨ
peel-SEQ
'(I) peeled the white radish. (I) washed (it) beautiful, and peeled (it).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

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

Finally, reduplication with affixation changes adjectival stems to adverbial stems. Morphophonologically, the following stem is lengthened with the adverbializer *-tu*. Additionally, the following stem goes through sequential voicing (§4.2.3.4). Syntactically, these dirived adverbs can fill the complement slot of the light verb construction (see §6.1.2 for more details).

(62) *-tu* sijuzijuutu natɨjaa.
siju+siju-tu nar-tɨ=jaa
RED+white-ADVZ become-SEQ=SOL
'(It) became white.' [El: 111116]

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

5 Cross-over categories

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

Table 5.1: Word classes and cross-over categories

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

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

5.1 Personal pronominals

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

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

Semantically, the root *waa-* is used for first-person reference, i.e. the speaker. The roots *naa-* and *ura* are used for second-person reference, i.e. the hearer; *naa-* is an honorific form, used to refer to addressees who are older or have a higher status than the speaker, and *ura* is used elsewhere. Deictic expression of third-person reference, i.e. non-speaker and non-hearer, is expressed in principle by demonstratives (see §??); however, there is a dual form to express third person, namely /nattəə/ 'that two people,' which is the same as the honorific dual form to express the second person (see §?? for more details).

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

Table 5.2: Personal pronouns (surface forms)

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

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

At first glance, the morpheme boundaries in the above personal pronominal words seem relatively easy to divide, but it is actually very difficult to do that. The

Table 5.3: Personal pronominal adnominals (surface forms)

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

challenges in determining morpheme boundaries are discussed in §?? in detail. In this grammar, the morpheme boundaries of personal pronominal words are not expressed (even if they are present at the underlying level) unless they need to be clearly distinguished.

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

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

(1) a. Personal pronouns
[Context: Looking at pictures considered to be taken a little after World War II]
waakjaga warabɨ sjuinkjoo,
[*waakja*$_{\text{Head}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$*=ga warabɨ sɨr-tur-i-n=kja=ja*
1PL=NOM child do-PROG-INF-time=APPR=TOP
ganba, hukunkjoo tˀɨn nənba.
ganba huku=nkja=ja tˀɨ̵ɨ̵=n ar-an-ba
therefore clothes=APPRT=TOP one=even exist-NEG-CSL
'When we were children, therefore, there are no clothes.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

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

waakjaa uziitaaga gansjɨ jatassɨga.
[*waakjaa*$_{\text{Modifier}}$ *uzii-taa*$_{\text{Head}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$*=ga ga-nsjɨ jar-tar-sɨga*
1PL.ADNZ old.man-PL=NOM MES-ADVZ COP-PST-POL
'Our old man (i.e. my husband) was like that.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

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

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

5.1.1 First person

First-person pronominals are shown below.

Table 5.4: First-person pronominals (surface forms)

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

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

(2) Singular
wanga agan ikjussaccjɨ.
wan=ga aga-n ik-jur-sa=ccjɨ
1SG=NOM DIST-ADVZ go-UMRK-POL=QT
'(I said to the present author), "I will go there."' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

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

(3) a. Inclusive dual
[Context: TM asks the hearer US of the difference in age between them.]
wattəə ikjasa cigajui?
wattəə ikja-sa cigaw-jur-i
1DU how-NLZ different-UMRK-NPST
'How many (years between the age of) us (i.e. you and me)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Exclusive dual
[Context: TM talks about her son with MS; TM: 'My son doesn't say anything to me, and I don't say anything to him either;' MS: 'Maybe, you are parent and child, I think.']
aran. sjoobunga nissjaatɨ, wattəəja.
jar-an sjoobun=ga nissj-sa+ar-tɨ wattəə=ja
COP-NEG character=FOC resemble-ADJ+STV-SEQ 1DU=TOP
'No. (It is because of) the character in which we (i.e. I and he) resemble (each other).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

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

(4) [Context: Speaking about the days when TM goes to the day-care center in the community]
kˀajoobin ujuritu wattəə ikjun tukinnja,
kˀwajoobi[1]*=n ujuri=tu wattəə ik-jur-n tuki=n=ja*
Tuesday=DAT1 Uyuri=COM 1DU go-UMRK-PTCP time=DAT1=TOP
'On Tuesday, when Uyuri and me go (there), ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Please note that *ujuri=tu wattəə* (Uyuri=COM 1DU) does not mean 'Uyuri and the two of us' (i.e. three referents), but instead means 'Uyuri and me' (i.e. two referents). Cross-linguistically, this kind of phenomenon is not uncommon (Jespersen 1924 [1992][1992]: 192 and Moravcsik 2003: 475), and it is called "inclusory constructions" in **Lichtenberk2000**. One may think that the example in (4) is a

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

case of "quantifier float," which will be discussed in §?? In fact, the dual affix *-ttəə* seems to have some diachronic relation with the numeral *tˀai* 'two people.' However, synchronically *-ttəə* (DU) and *tˀai* 'two people' are different morphemes, because they can co-occur in the same clause modifying the same referent as in (5).

(5) wattəə tˀai ikiidoo.
wattəə tˀai ik-i=doo
1DU two.person go-INF=ASS
'The two of us will go.' [El: 121112]

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

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

(6) waakjoo tˀai ikiidoo.
waakja=ja tˀai ik-i=doo
1PL=TOP two.person go-INF=ASS
'The two of us will go.' [El: 121112]

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

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

(7) a. Inclusive plural
[Context: There are only three people including TM, and TM asks one of them.]
waakjoo ikjantɨn, jiccja akkaijaa.
waakja=ja ik-an-tɨ=n jiccj-sa ar=kai=jaa
1PL=TOP go-NEG-SEQ=even no.problem-ADJ STV=DUB=SOL
'Is there no problem, even if we (all) do not go (there)?' [El: 130812]

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

kinjoo waakjoo jurawantɨdoo.
kinju=ja waakja=ja juraw-an-tɨ=doo
yesterday=TOP 1PL=TOP gather-NEG-SEQ=ASS
'We did not gather yesterday.' [El: 130812]

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

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

(8) [Context: there are only four people, i.e. US, TM, MY, and the present author. US praised TM for her knowledge, but TM was modest and said that she knew nothing at all.]
TM: waakjan sijanmun.
waakja=n sij-an=mun
1PL=also know-NEG=ADVRS
'I don't know anything either.' (or 'A person like me doesn't know anything either.')
MY: wanundoojaa.
wan=n=doo=jaa
1SG
'Niether do I.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

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

This use of *waakja* (1PL) is very common in Yuwan. The reason for this phenomenon might be related to the flexible meaning of *-kja* (PL), which can indicate not only a specific group, but also an unspecific group. The figure below

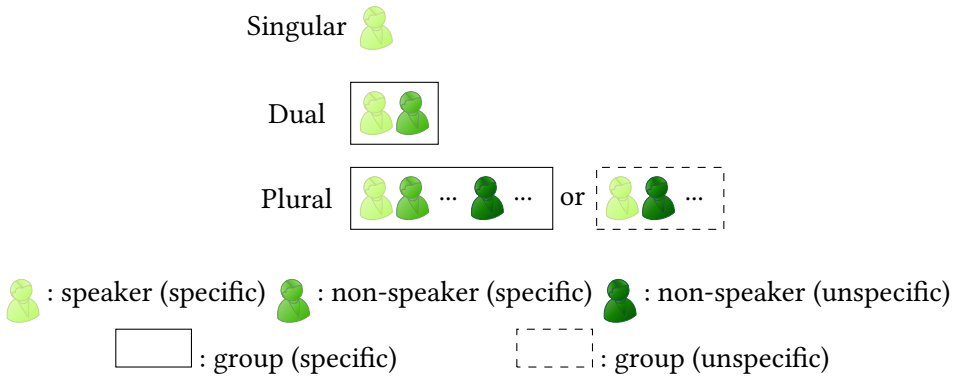

Figure 5.1: Three number distinctions in first-person reference

illustrates the potential ambiguities associated with the three possible number distinctions in first-person reference.

This figure shows that the right-most figure, i.e. the plural indicating the speaker associated with unspecific referents in an unspecific group, is very similar to the left-most figure, i.e. the singular. This similarity makes it possible to use the plural form (in the meaning of the right-most figure) like the singular form. In fact, the plural form *waakja* (1PL) in (8) indicates an unspecific group as in the right-most figure in Figure 5.1. In that group, the specific referent is only the speaker, and the unspecific group is thought to be composed of "people who do not know anything important." This kind of plural meaning is also expressed in the second-person pronominals discussed in the next section (see also the discussion in §??).

5.1.2 Second person

Second-person pronominals are shown below.

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

(9) a. *nan* (2.HON.SG)
[Context: TM told US that she thought the present author would not come to her place after visiting US's place.]

Table 5.5: Second-person pronominals (surface forms)

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

nanga umoocjan un hiija,
nan=ga umoor-tar-n u-n hii=ja
2.HON.SG =NOM say.HON-PST-PTCP MES-ADNZ
'About the day you said (about the visit from the present author), ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *ura* (2.NHON.SG)
[Context: TM asked MS, who sometimes has to do night duty at his place of work, to help the present author with the study.]
uraga tumainu aran tukin,
ura=ga tumar-i=nu ar-an tuki=n
2.NHON.SG=NOM stay-INF=NOM COP-NEG time=DAT1
'When you are not on night duty, ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

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

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

(10) a. *nattəə* (2.HON.DU)
[Context: TM said to US that they did not play together and wondered why they did not. Then, MY suggested a plausible reason.]
asiɓija siran.joo. nattəə tusiga
asiɓ-i=ja siɾ-an=joo nattəə tusi=ga
play-INF=TOP do-NEG=CFM1 2.HON.DU age=FOC

cigajunmun.
cigaw-jur-n=mun
different-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS
'(You) would not play. The two of you were not the same age.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *urattəə* (2.NHON.DU)
[Context: TM had MS and the present author for lunch.]
urattəə kadɨ kurɨppa.
urattəə kam-tɨ kurɨr-ba
2.NHON. DU eat-SEQ
'The two of you, eat (the lunches), please.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

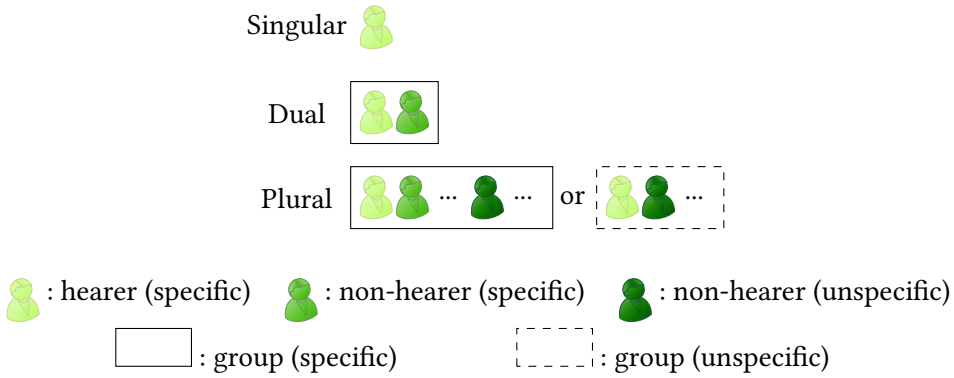

Figure 5.2: Three number distinctions in second-person reference

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

(11) a. *naakja* (2.HON.PL)
[Context: Talking to US about labor involved with carrying miscanthus from the mountain to thatch a roof in the old days.]

TM: naakjoo gajaurusinkjoo sɨrantaroo.
naakja=ja gaja+urus-i=nkja=ja sɨr-an-tar-oo
2.HON.PL=TOP miscanthus+take.down-INF=APPR=TOP do-NEG-PST-SUPP
'Probably (a person like) you would not carry the miscanthus.'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *urakja* (2.NHON.PL)
[Context: Seeing a picture with MS]
TM: urakjaga jamatoocinkja ikjun |koro|kai xxx jaa.
urakja=ga jamatu=kaci=nkja ik-jur-n koro=kai =jaa
2.NHON.PL=NOM main.island.of.Japan=ALL=APPR go-UMRK-PTCP time=DUB =SOL
'I wonder if (the time when the picture was taken) was the time (a person like) you went to the main island of Japan (to find a job).'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Here, *naakja* (2.HON.PL) in (5-11 a) indicates an unspecific group as in the right-most figure in Figure 5.2. In that group, the specific referent is only the hearer, and the unspecific group is thought to be composed of "people who would not carry the miscanthus." Likewise, *urakja* (2.NHON.PL) in (5-11 b) indicates an unspecific group as in the right-most figure in Figure 5.2. In that group, the specific referent is only the hearer, and the unspecific group is thought to be composed of "people who went to the main island of Japan (to find a job)."

5.1.3 Third person

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

(12) Third-person dual

a. Honorific referents
[Context: Speaking about two people who are older than TM]

TM: nattəə, |ittoki|ja, muru dusi sjɨ, gansjɨ jiccja atanmundoojaa.
nattəə ittoki=ja muru dusi sɨr-tɨ ga-nsjɨ jiccj-sa ar-tar-n=mun=doo=jaa
3.DU while=TOP very friend do-SEQ MES-ADVZ good-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'Those two people [i.e. TM's acquaintances older than TM], for a while, were friends, and that was very good.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Non-honorific referents
[Context: Talking about the speaker's daughter and son]
nattəəja |rjooribangumi| hanasija muru sɨkidoojaa.
nattəə=ja rjooribangumi hanas-i=ja muru sɨki=doo=jaa
3.DU=TOP cooking.show talk-INF=TOP very like=ASS=SOL
'Those two people [i.e. the speaker's daughter and son] like speaking of a cooking show very much.' [El: 130823]

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

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

(13) Analytic expression to indicate two referents

a. Honorific referents
[Context: Speaking with MS, who is younger than TM, about two people who are older than TM]
an tˀaija ittokəə, naa,
a-n tˀai=ja ittoki=ja naa
DIST-ADNZ two.person.CLF=TOP for.a.while=TOP FIL
|oi|cjɨboo, |oi|cjɨ |juujoonakanzi|sjɨ,
oi=ccjɨ=boo oi=ccjɨ juujoonakanzi=sjɨ
hey=QT=CND hey=QT likely.to.say=INST
'Those two people [i.e. TM's acquaintances older than TM] (were

such close that they) likely to say (roughly) “Hey” (to each other) for a while (in the past), and ...’ [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. Non-honorific referents
[Context: Talking to MS about two people, who are younger than TM, but who have already died.]
TM: un. .. hunto an tˀaiga wuppoo, muru jiccja atanmundoo.
un huntoo a-n tˀai=ga wur-boo muru jiccj-sa ar-tar-n=mun=doo
BCH really DIST-ADNZ two.person=NOM exist-CND very good-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS
‘Yeah. .. Really, if those two people [i.e. TM’s acquaintances younger than TM] were to exist [i.e. be alive], it would be very good.’
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

5.1.4 Analysis of the personal pronominal paradigm

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

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

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

Adopting the above analysis, I propose the following paradigm. (The following paradigm shows the underlying froms. About the surface form paradigm, see Tables 5.2–5.3 in §??.)

For nominals, the number distinctions are expressed by *-n*/*-∅* (SG) vs. *-ttəə* (DU) vs. *-kja* (PL). For adnominals, the number distinctions are expressed by *-∅*

Table 5.6: Phonological changes

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

Table 5.7: Paradigm of personal pronominals following analysis 1 (underlying forms)

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

(SG) vs. *-kja* (PL). In order to express the singular, the zero morpheme *-∅* (SG) appears when it follows *ura-* (2.NHON) or precedes *-a* (ADVZ). Although this analysis requires a non-visible zero morpheme, it does make it possible to explain the surface forms of personal pronominals by a regular phonological rule (see §??). Thus, I suggest that this is the best analysis.

5.2 Demonstrative words

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

Morphologically, a demonstrative is made up of a root plus an affix (or affixes). There are six demonstrative roots, and they can be divided into two groups: (1)

ku- (PROX), *u-* (MES), and *a-* (DIST), and (??) *ka-* (PROX), *ga-* (MES), and *aga-* (DIST). In both groups, the roots are all bound forms. Each group takes its own set of affixes (see Table 5.8).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tʾaija	amanan	taccjuppoo,
tʾai=ja	*a-ma=nan*	*tat-tur-boo*
two.person=TOP	DIST-place=LOC1	stand-PROG-CND

'when the two people were standing there [lit. on that place], ...' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

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

Table 5.8: Demonstratives

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

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

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

(16) Non-human referents

a. Singular
[Context: Talking about a banyan tree, which was very big but burnt down in an air raid during World War II]
arəə siccjuijojaa. gazimaruja.
a-rɨ=ja *sij-tur-i=joo=jaa* *gazimaru=ja*
DIST-NLZ=TOP know-PROG-NPST=CFM1=SOL banyan.tree=TOP
'(You) know that [i.e. the bayan tree], don't you? The banyan tree.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. Plural
[Context: Speaking about a meeting for old people]
kjuuja xxx arɨnkja harəə
kjuu=ja *a-rɨ=nkja* *haraw-i jar-n=mun*
today=TOP DIST-NLZ=APPR pay-INF COP-PTCP=ADVRS
janmun. |kaihi|.
kaihi
membership.fee
'Today, (I) have to pay (things like) that. A membership fee.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
Human referents

c. Singular
[Context: Talking about an acquaintance of TM and US]
arɨn moosjattujaa.
a-rɨ=n *moosɨr-tar-tu=jaa*
DIST-NLZ=also die.HON-PST-CSL=SOL
'Since that person also died.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

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

TM: attankatɨ jˀuuboo, attaaga sjɨ kəə sjunban.joo.
a-rɨ-taa=nkatɨ jˀ-boo a-rɨ-taa=ga sɨr-tɨ k-i=ja sɨr-jur-n=ban=joo
DIST-NLZ-PL=DAT2 say-SEQ DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM do-SEQ
come-INF=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=CFM1
'If (I) said to them [i.e. my daughters], they would do (it) for us, but (you don't want it, do you?)'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

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

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

(17) a. *-rɨ* (NLZ) indicates more than one (human) referent
[Context: TM played an imaginary scene where someone (abbreviated as "SO" here) asked TM of the event held at the precedent day.]
SO: jubəə kikjun cˀjunu ippai manduti?
jubɨ=ja kik-jur-n cˀju=nu ippai mandur-tɨ
last.night=TOP hear-UMRK-PTCP person=NOM many many-SEQ
'Is there a large audience last night?'
in, arɨnu manduta.
in a-rɨ=nu mandur-tar
yes DIST-NLZ=NOM many-PST
'Yeah, there are many of them.' [El: 130817]

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

attaa tutɨ, kamɨjoo.
a-rɨ-taa tur-tɨ kam-ɨ=joo
DIST-NLZ-PL take-SEQ eat-IMP=CFM1
'Take those (oranges) and eat.' [El: 130816]

c. *nkja* (APPR) (directly) follows human referents
[Context: Speaking about a person]
arɨnkjoo kondaroo.
a-rɨ=nkja=ja k-on=daroo
DIST-NLZ=APPR=TOP come-NEG=SUPP
'Probably, that person will not come.' [El: 130820]

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

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

(18) Contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and *-taa* (PL) in the demonstratives
-rɨ (NLZ) > t / Demonstrative root _ *-taa* (PL)

The instances are shown below.

(19) Examples of the contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and *-taa* (PL) in the demonstratives
ku-rɨ (PROX-NLZ) + *-taa* (PL) > ku-t-taa
u-rɨ (MES-NLZ) + > ut-t-aa
a-rɨ (DIST-NLZ) + > at-t-aa

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

(20) Contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and case particles
-rɨ (NLZ) > C_i / Demonstrative root _ $[C_i]_{\text{case particle}}$
[C_i: stop]

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

(21) Examples of the contraction of *-rɨ* (NLZ) and case particles
ku-rɨ (PROX-NLZ) + *ba* (ACC) > kuppa (or kubba)

+ *tu* (COM) > kuttu
+ *kaci* (ALL) > kukkaci
+ *kara* (ABL) > kukkara
+ *ga* (NOM) > kukka (or kugga)
+ *ga* (GEN) > kukka (or kugga)
+ *gaɨ* (LMT) > kukkaɨ (or kuggaɨ)

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

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

(22) [Context: Talking about an acquaintance of TM and MS] = (4-24 e)
an c'ju daac'ju jatakai?
a-n *c'ju* *daa+c'ju* *jar-tar=kai*
DIST-ADNZ person where+person COP-PST=DUB
'Where did that person come from? [lit. That person was where's person?]' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

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

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

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

The roots *ka-* (PROX), *ga-* (MES), and *aga-* (DIST) can become nominals, adnominals, and adverbs. There are two nominalizers *-ssa* and *-hɨdubə*i. The former

means the referent is of a specified amount as in (5-24 a); the latter expresses that the referent is of a small amount as in (5-24 b).

(24) a. [Context: After telling the story of the Pear Film to SM, TM asked her the extent to which SM understood it.]
cjoo gassa wakajui?
cjoo ga-ssa wakar-jur-i
just MES-NLZ understand-UMRK-NPST
'(Do you) understand just so much?' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. [Context: TM shows MS how small of an appetite she has with a gesture; TM: 'I (always) have half much of the side dish as other people have.']
gahɨbəikkwa.
ga-hɨdubəi-kkwa
MES-NLZ-DIM
'So little like that.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

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

(25) a. [Context: Speaking about an acquaintance]
agaraa munna kisjoonu cjussanu.
aga-raa mun=ja kisjoo=nu cjus-sa=nu
DIST-DRG.ADNZ substance=TOP temper=NOM strong-ADJSEQ
'That awful person has a temper.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking about the community next to where TM lives]
gahɨdon tankjanu atɨ,
ga-hɨdon taa=nkja=nu ar-tɨ
MES-ADNZ rice.field=APPR=NOM exist-SEQ
'There is a very big rice field, and ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

There is an adverbializer *-n* (ADVZ), and it can express direction, manner, or quantity. First, I will present the example where *-n* (ADVZ) indicates direction as in (26).

(26) [Context: TM told MS how she responded to the present author, when the present author had asked her to talk with US for a recording.]

|obasan|ga j'uuboo, wanga agan ikjussaccjɨ.
obasan=ga j'-boo wan=ga aga-n ik-jur-sa=ccjɨ
old.woman=NOM say-CND 1SG=NOM DIST-ADVZ go-UMRK-POL=QT
'(I said to the present author), "If the old woman [i.e. US] says (it's OK), I will go there [i.e. the house of US], so (please go there and ask her)."' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

The adverbializer *-n* (ADVZ) indicates direction with a verb that expresses locational movement as in *ik-* 'go' in (26); however, it indicates manner with other types of predicates, e.g., the light verb *sɨr-* 'do' as in (5-27 a-b) or adjectives as in (5-27 c).

(27) a. [Context: TM was wondering about the place in the picture.]
TM: gan sjuppoo, kurəə noogusu..kuja arannən, an, amakai?
ga-n sɨr-jur-boo ku-rɨ=ja noogusuku=ja jar-annən a-n a-ma=kai
MES-ADVZ do-UMRK-CND PROX-NLZ=TOP Nogusuku=TOP
COP-NEG.SEQ DIST-ADNZ DIST-place=DUB
'If (it is) so, this (i.e. the place in the picture) isn't Nogusuku, but (it) is that place?'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking about an incident that occurred in the past]
agan sjan hanasija
aga-n sɨr-tar-n hanasi=ja jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo=jaa
DIST-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP story=TOP
jiccjaijojaa.

good-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1=SOL
'(It) may be no problem (to tell) a story like that.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. [Context: Speaking about the neighborhood in the old days]
TM: agan hɨisan kɨnkjanu atanmun.jaa.
aga-n hɨi-sa+ar-n kɨi=nkja=nu ar-tar-n=mun=jaa
DIST-ADVZ big-ADJ+STV-PTCP tree=APPR=NOM
exist-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=SOL
'There used to be such a big tree like that.'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (5-27 a-b), the demonstrative adverbs containing *-n* (ADVZ) modify the light verb *sɨr-* 'do.'

Furthermore, there is a case where the particle *bəi* 'about' follows the demonstrative adverbs and also *sɨr-* 'do' follows them as in (5-28 a-b). In these examples, the adverbializer *-n* indicates the quantity (neither direction nor manner).

(28) a. [Context: Talking about a butterfly that is similar to the moth]
TM: arɨga nissjagadɨ. ganbəi sjɨ kucjəə tugaracjɨ,
a-rɨ=ga nissj-sa=gadɨ ga-n=bəi sɨr-tɨ kuci=ja tugaras-tɨ
DIST-NLZ=NOM similar-ADJ=LMT MES-ADVZ=about do-SEQ mouth=TOP pout-SEQ
'That one is very similar (to the moth). (The size is) about this, and it pouted, and ...'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. TM: unnən kanbəi sjan ... kanoonu atattu.
u-n=nən ka-n=bəi sɨr-tar-n kanoo=nu ar-tar-tu
MES-ADNZ=LOC1 PROX-ADVZ=about do-PST-PTCP tripod=NOM exist-PST-CSL
'There was a tripod (set up to support a kettle) that (has the size) about this there.'
[Co: 111113_02.txt]

Interestingly, the combination compoesd of the demonstrative adverbs and the light verb *sɨr-* 'do' can also redundantly modify another *sɨr-* 'do' as in (28).

(29) [Context: TM was changing the angle of a picture since it was hard to see because of the reflection of sunshine.] gan sjɨ sɨranboo.
ga-n sɨr-tɨ sɨr-an-boo
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ do-NEG-CND
'If (I) don't do like that, (I cannot see the picture).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, it appears that the form /gan sjɨ/ *ga-n sɨr-tɨ* (MES-ADVZ do-SEQ) functions as an adverb as if it was *gansjɨ*, and it modifies the entire predicate *sɨr-an-boo* (do-NEG-CND), and there are many examples like that in my text. The mono-clausality of the above example is also attested by the scope of negation. However, I do not regard them as a single adverb, since there is a case where *bəi* 'about' intervene between the combination as in (5-28 a-b), and also the demonstrative adverb (composed of *-n* (ADVZ)) can modify adjectives as in (5-27 c) only by itself. Therefore, I propose that the combination of a demonstrative adverb (composed of *-n* (ADVZ)) and a verb /sjɨ/ (< *sɨr-* 'do' + *-tɨ* (SEQ)) is on

the path towards grammaticalization. In this grammar, they are analyzed as two words, but I do not place a comma after the converb /sjɨ/ (do.SEQ).

Finally, it should be mentioned that demonstrative roots can make compounds, but that is allowed only for the second group, i.e. *ka-*/*ga-*/*aga-* (PROX/MES/DIST). In addition to the following example, see also (4-26 c) in §??

(30) [Context: After talking about a folk tale, TM remembered an utterance said by the person who originally told the folk tale.] nusjəə
nusi=ja
REF=TOP

(kan) kanagəə |genki|ccjɨ.
ka-n *ka+nagəə* *genki=ccjɨ*
PROX-ADVZ PROX+long vigorous=QT
'(He said), "(I) myself am very vigorous like this."' [Fo: 090307_00]

5.3 Interrogative words

An interrogative word is used to ask the hearer an information question (i.e. a "wh-question"). However, an interrogative word also functions as an indefinite word that does not mark a question when it is followed by certain particles. The interrogative use of these words is shown in §??, and the indefinite use is shown in §??

5.3.1 Interrogative use

Morphologically, some interrogative roots are free forms, i.e. *nuu* 'what,' *daa* 'where,' and *ɨcɨɨ* 'when,' and others are bound forms, i.e. *ta-* 'who,' *dɨ-* 'which,' and *ikja-* 'how.' Syntactically, the interrogatives can become nominals, adnominals, and adverbs. Moreover, interrogative nominals are frequently followed by the focus particle *ga* (see §7.1.2.2).

Table 5.9: Interrogatives (free form made of a single root)

Word classes	Forms	Meanings
Nominals	nuu	'what'
	daa	'where'
	ɨcɨɨ	'when'

The interrogative *ɨcɨɨ* 'when' tends to be shortened like /ɨcɨ/ in elicitation, which might be influenced by Standard Japanese form /icu/ [i͡tsu] 'when.'

Table 5.10: Interrogatives (bound root + affix)

Word classes	Surface forms, Meanings	Underlying forms	
		Roots	Affixes
Nominals	taru 'who' (singular)	< *ta-* 'who'	+ *-ru* (NLZ)
	tattaa 'who' (plural)	<	+ *-ru-taa* (NLZ-PL)
Adnominals	taa 'whose'	<	+ *-a* (ADNZ)
Nominals	dɨru 'which'	< *dɨ-* 'which'	+ *-ru* (NLZ)
Adnominals	dɨn 'which (one)'	<	+ *-n* (ADNZ)
Adnominals	ikjasjan 'what kind of'	< *ikja-* 'how'	+ *-sjan* (ADNZ)
Adverbs	ikjasjɨ 'how'	<	+ *-sjɨ* (ADVZ)
	ikjasaa 'how much; how old'	<	+ *-saa* (ADVZ)

In the above table, *-ru* (NLZ) + *-taa* (PL) is realized as /ttaa/ at the surface form level. It seems that *ta-ru* (who-NLZ) in present Yuwan was **ta-rɨ* (who-NLZ) in the past. The *-rɨ* (NLZ) form is used with demonstrative roots in present Yuwan, e.g., *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this.' There is a lot of correspondence between /ɨ/ in Amami and /e/ in Japanese, and also between /u/ in Amami and /o/ in Japanese (Hirayama et al. 1966: 11). Therefore, *tare* 'who' (and *kore* 'this') in old Japanese might have the forms corresponding to **tarɨ* 'who' (and **kurɨ* 'this') in the ancestor language of Yuwan. In the present Yuwan, however, the relevant form is *ta-ru* (not *ta-rɨ*). It may be possible that the singular marker *-ru* was attached as an analogy to *dɨ-ru* (which-NLZ), which, I suppose, was the result of metathesis of the vowels in **du-rɨ* in the ancestor language of Yuwan. The form corresponding to **du-rɨ* (which-NLZ) in old Japanese is *dore* 'which.'

I will present examples of these interrogatives. The first example contains the interrogative *nuu* 'what,' which is followed by *ga* (FOC). The *ga* (FOC) does not co-occur with a nominative particle as in (31) (see §7.1). Other case particles can co-occur with *ga* (FOC) (see an example of the accusative case in (8-76 c) in §??).

(31) [Context: Trying to remember a scene from the Pear Film]
ukkara nuuga izitakai?
u-rɨ=kara *nuu=ga* *izir-tar=kai*
MES-NLZ=ABL what=FOC go.out-PST=DUB
'What did appear then? [lit. What did go out from that?]' [PF:

090225_00.txt]

This example shows that the interrogative nominal *nuu* 'what' is immediately followed by *ga* (FOC). The focus marker *ga* can also be attached to an interrogative "clause." In that case, another word may intervene, such as the verb /sjuti/ *sir-jur-ti* (do-UMRK-SEQ) in (32).

(32) [Context: Talking with US about how they played in the past] nuu
nuu
what
sjutiga, asidutakai?
sir-jur-ti=ga *asib-tur-tar=kai*
do-UMRK-SEQ=FOC play-PROG-PST=DUB
'What did (we) do (when we) were playing (around here)?' [lit. 'Doing what, were (we) playing?'] [Co: 110328_00.txt]

nuu 'what' can be used to mean 'why' only when it is followed by the converb /sjattu/ *sir-tar-tu* (do-PST-CSL).

(33) [Context: TM remembered that she had asked her mother about an incantation that old people used to say when an earthquake happens.]
nuu sjattu |kjonciki|ccji j'uuboo?
nuu *sir-tar-tu* *kjonciki=ccji* *j'-boo*
what do-PST-CSL k.o.incantation=QT say-CND
'Why (do you) say *kjonciki*?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

It seems that /nuu sjattu/ (what do.PST.CSL) does not indicate the past, and no other morpheme can interveen between them. Thus, it appears to be in the process of grammaticalization to a single adverb *nuusjattu* 'why.' In this grammar, I will analyze it as two words, but I do not place a comma after the converb.

Next, I present examples of *daa* 'where' and *icii* 'when.'

(34) a. [Context: TM asked MS where the present author went.] nisəə
nisəə
young.man
mata daaciga izjaru?
mata *daa=kaci=ga* *ik-tar-u*
again where=ALL=FOC go-PST-PFC
'Where did the young man go again?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a picture]
ɨcɨɨ ucɨcjɨkai?
ɨcɨɨ ucɨs-tɨ=kai
when take-SEQ=DUB
'When did (someone) take (the picture)?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

I present examples of *ta-* 'who' followed by *-ru* (NLZ), *-ru-taa* (NLZ-PL), and *-a* (ADNZ) in (5-35 a-c).

(35) a. [Context: Talking about a picture]
taruga mucjɨ[2]cˀjaru?
ta-ru=ga mut-tɨ k-tar-u
who-NLZ=FOC have-SEQ come-PST-PFC
'Who did bring (the picture here)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about old people who are still healthy; US: 'About people who are older than ninety years old, ...']
tattaaga umoojuru?
ta-ru-taa=ga umoor-jur-u
who-NLZ-PL=FOC exist.HON-UMRK-PFC
'Who all would exist?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: There were oranges on the table]
umanu nɨkan taa nɨkan xxx?
u-ma=nu nɨkan ta-a nɨkan
MES-place=GEN orange who-ADNZ orange
'(About) the orange there, whose orange (is it)?' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

The plural marker *-taa* in (5-35 b) is the same morpheme used with demonstrative roots (see §??) and address nouns (see §??). Further, the adnominalizer *-a* in (5-35 c) is the same morpheme used with personal pronominal stems in §??

I present examples of *dɨ-* 'which' followed by *-ru* (NLZ) and *-n* (ADNZ) in (5-36 a-b).

(36) 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 (by my) eyes yet, so (it is difficult to see the picture).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

[2]Usually, *mut-* 'have' becomes /muc/ before *t*-initial affixes (see §??), but it happened to become /mu/ in this example.

b. dɨnnagatɨɨ izjɨ?
dɨ-n=nagatɨ ik-tɨ
which-ADNZ=neighborhood go-SEQ
'Where did (you) go? [lit. Which neighborhood did (you) go?]' [El: 120917]

The adnominalizer *-n* in (5-36 b) is the same morpheme used with demonstrative roots in §??

Finally, I present examples of *ikja-* 'how,' followed by *-sjan* (ADNZ), *-sjɨ* (ADVZ), and *-saa* (ADVZ) in (5-37 a-c).

(37) a. uroo ikjasjan sigutu sjɨ?
ura=ja ikja-sjan sigutu sɨr-tɨ?
2SG=TOP how-ADNZ job do-SEQ
'What kind of job did you do?' [El: 111105]

b. [Context: Speaking about a person, who had been to the USA]
|amerika|acjəə, ikjasjɨ sjɨ, watajutakai
amerika=kaci=ja ikja-sjɨ sɨr-tɨ watar-jur-tar=kai
America=ALL=TOP how-ADVZ do-SEQ cross-UMRK-PST=DUB
'How did (he) cross over to America?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. nannja ikjasaa natɨ moocjɨ?
nan=ja ikja-saa nar-tɨ moor-tɨ
2.HON.SG=TOP how-ADVZ become-SEQ HON-SEQ
'How old are you? [lit. How old would you become?]' [El: 111105]

In the above examples, *-sjan* (ADNZ) and *-sjɨ* (ADVZ) have the same forms as the verbs /sjan/ *sɨr-tar-n* (do-PST-PTCP) and /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ). However, we do not recognize these affixes as verbs for the following two reasons. First, the form /ikjasjɨ/ can modify another *sɨr-* 'do' as in (5-37 b), which shows the /sjɨ/ in /ikjasjɨ/ has lost its (supposedly original) meaning of *sɨr-* 'do.' Thus, it is in the process of grammaticalization. Second, there are no other words that can be modified only by /ikja/. Thus, /ikja/ should not be regarded as a free form (i.e. an adverb) by itself.

In the examples presented so far, we have only considered the cases of direct questions. However, interrogative words can also be used for indirect questions. In (5-38 a), the interrogative word *ikja-saa* (how-ADVZ) 'how much' does not express a direct question. Similarly, the interrogative word *daa* 'where' in (5-38 b) does not express a direct question.

(38) Indirect questions

a. wanna |bettarazukee|ja naa ikjasaa sjakka
wan=ja bettarazuke=ja naa ikja-saa sɨr-tar=ka
1SG=TOP k.o.pickle=TOP FIL how-ADVZ do-PST=DUB
wakarandoo.
wakar-an=doo
know-NEG=ASS
'I don't know how much (I) did [i.e. made] the *bettarazuke* [i.e. k.o. pickles].' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a picture, TM remembered a man.]
daanan wukkaroo, wakaija siranbajaa.
daa=nan wur=gajaaroo wakar-i=ja sɨr-an-ba=jaa
where=LOC1 exist=DUB understand-INF=TOP do-NEG-CSL=SOL
'(I) don't know where (he) is.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In these examples, *ka* (DUB) and *gajaaroo* (DUB) function as the marker of indirect questions, which will be discussed in §7.4.2 and §??

5.3.2 Indefinite use

An interrogative word can function as an indefinite word when it is followed by certain particles, namely *ka* (DUB), *gajaaroo* (DUB), and *n* 'any.' There are other words that express indefinite meaning, i.e. "indefinite pronouns," which will be shown in §??

First, I present examples of *ka* (DUB), which can make interrogative nominals have indefinite meaning. The interrogative words *nuu* 'what' in (5-39 a), *taru* 'who' in (5-39 b), and *daa* 'where' in (5-39 c) are all followed by *ka* (DUB) and do not mark an information question but instead indicate indefinite referents. In particular, the first example takes the nominative particle, as in *nuu=ka=nu* (what=DUB=NOM), which does not occur when *nuu* 'what' is used for questions since it takes the focus particle *ga* (FOC) in that case, omitting the nominative particle (see §??). The interrogatives, *ka* (DUB), and the corresponding expression in the free translation are underlined below.

(39) Intrrogative nominals + *ka* (DUB)

a. [Context: TM said to MS that her son was always busy.]

|dojoo|. |nicijoo|. jazin nuukanu ai.
dojoo nicijoo jazin nuu=ka=nu ar-i
Saturday Sunday necessarily what=DUB=NOM exist-NPST
'Saturday. Sunday. There is always something.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about old people who are still healthy; US: 'About people who are older than ninety years old, who all would exist?']
taruka umoojumɨ?
ta-ru=ka umoor-jur-mɨ
who-NLZ=DUB exist.HON-UMRK-PLQ
'Is there anyone (who is older than ninety years old)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. [Context: TM explained to MY why she had called her.]
uran daacika ikjarɨncjɨga, ...
ura=n daa=kaci=ka ik-arɨr-n=ccjɨ=ga
2.NHON.SG=DAT1 where=ALL=DUB go-PASS-PTCP=QT=FOC
'(I thought) that (I) would suffer from your going somewhere, (so I called you.)' [Co: 101020_01.txt]

It should be noted that *ka* (DUB) does not need to follow directly an interrogative word. For example, it can follow a case particle *kaci* (ALL) as in (5-39 c).

Secondly, I present examples of *gajaaroo* (DUB), which can also turn interrogatives into indefinite words. The interrogatives, *gajaaroo* (DUB), and the corresponding expression in the free translation are underlined below.

(40) a. [Context: Looking at pictures]
dɨnnangajaaroo xxx uttaaga
dɨ-n=nan=gajaaroo u-rɨ-taa=ga sansankudo
which-ADNZ=LOC1=DUB MES-NLZ-PL=NOM k.o.ceremony
|sansankudo| sjun turonkjanu
sɨr-tur-n turoo=nkja=nu izir-tur-tɨ=jaa
do-PROG-PTCP scene=APPR=NOM go.out-PROG-SEQ=SOL
izituttɨjaa.[3]

'Somewhere, there was a scene (in the picture) where they were doing Sansankudo.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

[3]The final //r// of *-tur* (PROG) drops before *-tɨ* (SEQ) in principle (see §??); however, it assimilates with the following //t// in this example.

b. [Context: Looking at pictures of the shopping street in the village]
nuucjɨgajaaroo kacjəəttujaa.
nuu=ccjɨ=gajaaroo kak-təər-tu=jaa
what=QT=DUB write-RSL-CSL=SOL
'Something has been drawn (on the sign board of the store).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

Both of the above examples include interrogative words, but they do not express questions when they are followed by *gajaaroo* (DUB).

Finally, I will show the examples of the limiter particle *n* 'any,' which can make interrogatives have indefinite meaning (see also §7.1.3). The interrogatives, *n* 'any,' and the corresponding expression in the free translation are underlined below.

(41) Interrogatives directly followed by *n* 'any'

a. [Context: Speaking about a person in a picture; TM: 'There are no classmates of her here.']
tarun wuran. dusi.
ta-ru=n *wur-an* *dusi*
who-NLZ=any exist-NEG friend
'There is not anyone (of her friends). (There is no) friend (of her). [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Remembering the flower arrangement class]
ɨcɨn waakjoo ikjutɨ, urɨ sjutassɨga.
ɨcɨɨ=n *waakja=ja* *ik-jur-tɨ* *u-rɨ* *sɨr-jur-tar-sɨga*
when=any 1PL=TOP go-UMRK-SEQ MES-NLZ do-UMRK-PST-POL
'Anytime I used to go (to the class) and do that.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. [Context: Remembering a custom in the old days, where adults made children stay awake on New Year's Eve.]
ikjanagən hɨɨracjuta.
ikja+nagəə=n *hɨɨr-as-tur-tar*
how+long=any awake-CAUS-PROG-PST
'However long (it is), (adults) were making (us) stay awake.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

Here, /ta-ru=n/ (who-NLZ=any) means 'anyone' as in (5-41 a), and /ɨcɨ=n/ (when=any) means 'anytime' as in (5-41 b). In addition, a compounded form such as *ikja+nagəə* (how+long) can be followed by *n* 'any,' which means 'however long

(it is)' as in (5-41 c). Furthermore, there are cases where *n* 'any' does not directly follow an interrogative word, but it still turns the interrogative word into an indefinite word. The following three examples illustrate those cases.

(42) Interrogatives indirectly followed by *n* 'any'

a. [Context: Talking about a man who owned a river boat.]
daacin ikjanba.
daa=kaci=n ik-an-ba
where=ALL=any go-NEG-CSL
'(The man) did not go anywhere, so (he should have been there).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: Remembering that flies used to swarm on the meal in the old days; MS: We didn't feel uncomfortable about that, did you?']
nuucjɨn umuwan
nuu=ccjɨ=n umuw-an
what=QT=any think-NEG
'(I) don't think [i.e. didn't feel] anything (uncomfortable about that).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. nuu jatɨn, sɨki jatattu,
nuu jar-tɨ=n sɨki jar-tar-tu
what COP-SEQ=any like COP-PST-CSL
'(My mother) likes anything, so ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (5-42 a), the allative case *kaci* (ALL) intervenes between *daa* 'where' and *n* 'any.' In (5-42 b), the particle *ccjɨ* (QT) intervenes between *nuu* 'what' and *n* 'any.' In (5-42 c), the verb /jatɨ/ *jar-tɨ* (COP-SEQ) intervenes between *nuu* 'what' and *n* 'any.'

6 Predicate phrases

The basic clause of Yuwan is made of an argument (or arguments) and a predicate phrase (see §4.1.1). Yuwan has three types of predicate phrases as in (9-1), where the contents enclosed within parentheses may not appear in some environments.

(1) Three types of predicate phrases

a. Verbal predicate phrase	(Complement)	VP[1]
b. Adjectival predicate phrase	A[2]	(STV[3])
c. Nominal predicate phrase	NP	(COP[4])

The verbal predicate phrase is composed of a verbal phrase (VP) and a complement. The VP is always necessary, and it is composed of an obligatory lexical verb and an optional auxiliary verb (see §6.1.1). The complement is required when the lexical verb is a light verb (see §6.1.2). The adjectival predicate phrase is composed of an obligatory adjectival word, which may be followed by a VP whose lexical verb is the stative verb (see §6.2). The nominal predicate phrase is composed of an obligatory NP, which may be followed by a VP whose lexical verb is the copular verb (see §6.3). For the people who are interested in the argumentation for the structural analyses presented in (9-1), it is recommended to see §6.4.

6.1 Verbal predicate phrase

The verbal predicate phrase has the following structure.

(2) Structure of the verbal predicate phrase
[(Complement) VP]$_{\text{Verbal predicate phrase}}$

The verbal phrase (VP) is composed of an obligatory lexical verb and an optional auxiliary verb, which will be discussed in §6.1.1. Furthermore, the complement is necessary when the lexical verb is a light verb. This will be discussed in

[1] "VP" indicates the verbal phrase.
[2] "A" indicates the adjective.
[3] "STV" indicates a stative verb.
[4] "COP" indicates a copular verb.

§6.1.2. The complement is required by the verb (in the VP), but it is not the argument of the verb. Thus, the component in the complement slot does not take any case particle (except for the case in (6-42 e) in §**??**). It should be mentioned that the "verbal predicate phrase" is different from the "verbal phrase (VP)," and that both of the descriptive ideas do not include any NP argument within them (cf. Andrews 2007: 135). Arguments in Yuwan frequently undergo ellipsis if they are inferable from the context. This non-obligatory characteristic of arguments is the reason why they are not included in the VP or the verbal predicate phrase.

6.1.1 Verbal phrase and the auxiliary verb construction

The verbal phrase (VP) is made of an obligatory lexical verb and an optional auxiliary verb. The VP structures are diagramed below. "(Lexical or Auxiliary verb $_{0...n}$)" means that a number of lexical verbs or auxiliary verbs may fill the slot.

(3) Structures of the VP

a. Minimal VP

Syntax:	[Lexical verb]$_{VP}$
Morphology:	Unrestricted

b. Non-minimal VP (= Auxiliary verb construction)

Syntax:	[Lexical verb	(Lexical or Auxiliary verb$_{0...n}$)	Auxiliary verb]$_{VP}$
Morphology:	SEQ	SEQ	Unrestricted

The minimal VP is only composed of a lexical verb. The lexical verb in the minimal VP can take all of the inflections, i.e., it is morphologically unrestricted as in (9-3 a). A VP may be composed of more than a verb. In that case, a lexical verb stands in the initial place, and an auxiliary verb stands in the final place. Between them, a number of lexical verbs or auxiliary verbs may intervene, though it is rare. This structure of non-minimal VP is called the auxiliary verb construction (AVC). Interestingly, the non-*final* verbs in the AVC can take only an inflection, i.e. *-ti* (SEQ), and only the final auxiliary verb can take all of the inflections as in (9-3 b). In other words, the coincidence of the lexical meaning and the morphological freedom (i.e. the "semantic head" and the "inflectional head" in Anderson 2006: 22-23) in the minimal VP is separated into two different verbs in AVC, which is not uncommon in the languages in the world (**Lehmann1995**: 33-34, Anderson 2006: 24). The examples of the minimal VP and the non-minimal VP (i.e. AVC) are shown below.

(4)

Minimal VP

a. nuukanu ai.
nuu=ka=nu *ar-i*
what=DUB=NOM [exist-NPST]
[Lex. V]$_{VP}$
'There is something.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Auxiliary verb construction (= Non-mimial VP)

b. nu-nkuin atɨ moojuijo.
nuu-nkuin *ar-tɨ* *moor-jur-i=joo*
what-INDFZ [exist-SEQ HON-UMRK-NPST]=CFM1
[Lex. V Aux.
'There is anything (at the place of the grandfather of MS).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. nannja kacjɨ moocjɨn njan?
nan=ja *kak-tɨ* *moor-tɨ=n* *nj-an*
2.HON.SG=TOP [write-SEQ HON-SEQ=even EXP-NEG]
[Lex. V Aux. V
'Have you never written (it before)?' [El: 120929]

In (9-4 a), the VP is only composed of a lexical verb /ai/ *ar-i* (exist-NPST). In (9-4 b), /atɨ/ *ar-tɨ* (exist-SEQ) and /moojui/ *moor-jur-i* (HON-UMRK-NPST) forms a single VP, where the auxilary verb adds some honorific meaning to the preceding lexical verb. In (9-4 c), the VP is composed of a sequence of three verbs. As mentioned above, the non-final verbs in AVC necessarily take the inflection *-tɨ* (SEQ) such as /atɨ/ *ar-tɨ* (exist-SEQ) in (9-4 b) and /kacjɨ/ *kak-tɨ* (write-SEQ) and /moocjɨ/ *moor-tɨ* (HON-SEQ) in (9-4 c).

The AVC is a mono-clausal structure that minimally consists of a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb, the latter expressing grammatical function (cf. Anderson 2006: 7). In fact, the verbal form of the non-final position in the AVC has the same form with the verbal form in the adverbial clause. That is, both of them take *-tɨ* (SEQ). However, the *-tɨ* (SEQ) in AVC does not form a clausal boundary, but it is included in a mono-clause. The mono-clausality of AVC is exemplified by the semantic scope of the negation. I will present the relevant examples below.

(5) Difference of the semantic scope of negation

a. Mono-clausal AVC
[Context: Akira wanted something of Yuto's, but Yuto did not want to give it to him. Therefore, Yuto asked Hayato to deny Akira's wish,

but Hayato did not do it for Yuto. In that case, TM thought that Yuto can utter the following sentence.]

kuriɨrancjəə	jˀicjɨ	kuriɨranta.
kuriɨr-an=ccjɨ=ja	*jˀ-tɨ*	*kuriɨr-an-tar*
[give-NEG=QT=TOP	say-SEQ	BEN-NEG-PST]
[Complement	Lex.	verb

'(Hayato) did not say for me that, "(Yuto) don't give (it to you)."' [El: 130821]

b. Clause chaining
[Context: Yuto asked Hayato to give Hayato's precious thing to him. However, Hayato denied the Yuto's wish. In that case, TM thought that Yuto can utter the following sentence.]

kuriɨrancjɨ	jˀicjɨ,	kuriɨrantattoo.
kuriɨr-an=ccjɨ	*jˀ-tɨ*	*kuriɨr-an-tar=doo*
[give-NEG=QT	say-SEQ]	[give-NEG-PST=ASS]
[Complement	Lex.	verb]$_{\text{VP (in a clause)}}$

'(He) said, "(I) don't give (it)," and didn't give (it to me).' [El: 130821]

In (9-5 a), the verbal form /jˀicjɨ/ *jˀ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) forms a mono-clausal VP with the following auxiliary verb, i.e. *kuriɨr-* (BEN), since the semantic scope of negation of the following verb includes the whole VP. In this example, *jˀ-* 'say' is also negated by the *-an* (NEG) of *kuriɨr-an-tar* (BEN-NEG-PST). In (9-5 b), however, the semantic scope of negation of the following verb does not include the preceding verb. That is, the *-an* (NEG) of *kuriɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) does not negate the preceding *jˀ-* 'say.' Thus, we can regard that the verbal forms /jˀicjɨ/ *jˀ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuriɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) in (9-5 b) are not in the same clause. In fact, the above syntactic difference is also reflected in the semantic difference of the verbal form /kuriɨr-/. In (9-5 a), it functions as an auxiliary verb *kuriɨr-* (BEN), but in (9-5 b) it functions as a lexical verb *kuriɨr-* 'give.' Additionally, the suprasegmental behavior in (9-5 a-b) is different. In (9-5 a), *jˀ-tɨ kuriɨr-an-tar* (say-SEQ BEN-NEG-PST) forms a single prosodical unit, but in (9-5 b), *jˀ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuriɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) does not. Moreover, there is a pause between *jˀ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuriɨr-an-tar* (give-NEG-PST) in (9-5 b), but there is no pause between *jˀ-tɨ* (say-SEQ) and *kuriɨr-an-tar* (BEN-NEG-PST) in (9-5 a).

Another difference between a mono-clausal AVC and a clause chaining is that the latter allows another word to intervene between the clauses.

(6) The possibility of the insertion of another word

a. Mono-clausal AVC
[Context: The same context with (9-5 a)]
*kurɨrancjəə jˀicjɨ akiran kurɨranta.
kurɨr-an=ccjɨ=ja jˀ-tɨ akira=n kurɨr-an-tar
give-NEG=QT=TOP say-SEQ Akira=DAT1 BEN-NEG-PST
(Intended meaning) '(Hayato) did not say to Akira for me that, "(Yuto) doesn't give (it)."' [El: 130821]

b. [Context: The same context with (9-5 b)]
kurɨrancjɨ jˀicjɨ, wannin kurɨranta.
kurɨr-an=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ wan=n=n kurɨr-an-tar
give-NEG=QT say-SEQ 1SG=DAT1=even give-NEG-PST
'(Hayato) said, "(I) don't give (it)," and didn't give (it) to me.' [El: 130821]

In (9-6 a), the NP *akira=n* (Akira=DAT1) 'to Akira' cannot be inserted between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. On the contrary, in (9-6 b), the NP *wan=n* (1SG=DAT1) 'to me' can be inserted between two clauses.

Yuwan has the following auxiliary verbs as in Table 6.1, many of which can also be used as lexical verbs. In other words, many of the verbs in the following table are in the diachronic change of grammaticalization (cf. **Lehmann1995**: 37).

Table 6.1 shows that the auxiliary verbs in Yuwan can be grouped into four categories, i.e. aspect, honorific, valency-changing, and spatial deixis. In principle, the aspectual auxiliaries can follow other types of auxiliary verbs as in (9-4 c). Additionally, the valency-changing auxiliaries can follow the spatial deictic auxliary verbs as in (9-21) in §6.1.1.4. The examples of the each auxiliary verb in Table 6.1 will be discussed in the following subsections.

6.1.1.1 Aspectual auxiliary verbs: *wur-* (PROG), *ar-/nə-* (RSL), *nj-* (EXP), and *mj-* 'try to'

Yuwan has four aspectual auxiliary verbs: *wur-* (PROG), *ar-/nə-* (RSL), *nj-* (EXP), and *mj-* 'try to.' First, we will discuss *wur-*, which expresses the aspect of progressive, and *ar-/nə-*, which express the aspect of resultative (see §?? - §?? for their aspectual meanings). The auxiliary verbs that express the resultative aspect, i.e. *ar-* and *nə-*, are in the complementary distribution. *nə-* (RSL) is always chosen immediately before the negative affixes, e.g. *-an* (NEG). Otherwise, *ar-* (RSL) is selected.

(7) *wur-* (PROG)

Table 6.1: Auxiliary verbs in Yuwan

Category	Forms	Meaning	
		as auxiliary verbs	as lexical verbs
1. Aspect	*wur-*	PROG	'exist (animate)'
	ar-/nə-	RSL	'exist (inanimate)'
	nj-[a]	EXP	N/A
	mj-	'try to'	'see'
2. Honorific	*moor-*[b]	HON	N/A
3. Valency-changing	*kurɨr-*	BEN	'give'
	muraw-	BEN	'receive'
Valency-changing + Honorific	*taboor-*	BEN.HON	N/A
4. Spatial deixis	*ik-*	'go'	'go'
	k-	'come'	'come'
Spatial deixis + Honorific	*umoor-*	go/come.HON	go/come/exist/ speak.HON

[a]The auxiliary verb *nj-* (EXP) has the same form with the verb of another dialect of Amami, i.e. *nj-* 'see,' in Ura (Nothern Amami) (Dr. Hiromi Shigeno, 2013, p.c.)

[b]One may think that the cognate of *moor-* (HON) is *umoor-* (exist/go/come/speak.HON). However, there is no initial glottalization on *moor-* (HON). On the contrary, the words that are supposed to have had the sequence of a vowel and a nasal in the word-initial positions are thought to have lost their initial vowels with glottalization of the following nasals, e.g. **uma* > *mˀa* 'horse' or **inoci* > *nˀjuci* 'life' (see also §??).

a. [= (8-57 a)]
cukutəə wutakai?
cukur-tɨ=ja *wur-tar=kai*
make-SEQ=TOP PROG-PST=DUB
Lex. verb
'Was (anyone) making (cocoons)?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. mˀarɨtəə wuijo.
mˀarɨr-tɨ=ja *wur-i=joo*
be.born-SEQ=TOP PROG-NPST=CFM1
Lex. verb
'(MY) was already born (at that time).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. *ar-* (RSL)

gan	sjan	mun	utəə	aroojaa.
ga-n	*sɨr-tar-n*	*mun*	*uw-tɨ=ja*	*ar-oo=jaa*
MES-ADVZ	do-PST-PTCP	thing	plant-SEQ=TOP	RSL-SUPP=SOL
Lex.	verb	Aux.	verb	

'Such a thing [i.e. a pear tree] has been planted (there), probably.' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

d. *nə-* (RSL)

|nendai|	kacjəə	nən?
nendai	*kak-tɨ=ja*	*nə-an*
date	write-SEQ=TOP	RSL-NEG
Lex.	verb	Aux.

'Wasn't the date (when the picture was taken) written (on it)?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (9-7 a-d), all of the lexical verbs are followed by the topic particle *ja*. Additionally, other limiter particles (see §7.1), e.g. *n* 'even,' *bəi* 'only,' or *du* (FOC), can appear between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb. Interestingly, the nominative case *ga/nu* can appear between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb only when the auxiliary verb is *nə-* (RSL) as in (9-8 a-c).

(8) Lexical verb + *ga*/*nu* (NOM) + *nə-* (RSL)

a.

kacjɨga	nənbajaa.
kak-tɨ=ga	*nə-an-ba=jaa*
write-SEQ=NOM	RSL-NEG-CSL=SOL
Lex.	verb

'(The date when the picture was taken) was not written, so (we don't know it).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b.

injasainkara		noogjoonkjaga
inja-as+ar-i=n=kara		*noogjoo=nkja=ga*
small-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1=ABL		agriculture=APPR=NOM
Lex.		verb
..	(ɨɨ)	sjɨga nənsjutɨga,
sɨr-tɨ=ga	*nə-an=sjutɨ=ga*	
do-SEQ=NOM	RSL-NEG=SEQ=FOC	
Aux.	verb	

'Since (she) was young, (she) has never worked in the fields, and ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. zjenzjen jinkjoodənkjanu cɨkiai
zjenzjen *jin+kjoodəə=nkja=nu* *cɨkiai*
very.much [same+brother=APPR=GEN acquaintance]
[Complement] Lex. verb
sjɨnu nənboo,
sɨr-tɨ=nu *nə-an-boo*
do-SEQ=NOM RSL-NEG-CND
Aux. verb
'If (people) have not made the acquaintance like brothers (of the) same (parents), ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The nominative case appears when *nə-* (RSL) takes *-ba* (CSL), *-n=sjutɨ* (PTCPSEQ), or *-boo* (CND) as in (9-8 a-c). This phenomenon seems to have some relationship with the occurence of the nominative case in the nominal predicate of the subordinate clause (see §6.3.3.1), since in both cases the occurence of *ja* (TOP) is avoided within the predicate phrases, and instead the nominative case appears in the place where *ja* (TOP) is expected. We have not yet found the reason for the choice between *ga* (NOM) as in (9-8 a-b) and *nu* (NOM) as in (9-8 c), but it seems that *ga* (NOM) is somewhat preferred over *nu* (NOM) in the texts. This fact seems to have some relationship with the preference of *ga* (NOM) to *nu* (NOM) before *nə-* 'exist' (see §**??**).

In the modern Yuwan, I have seldom found the AVC of *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-* (RSL) without any intervening particle.[1] Instead, I found the affixes with the similar meanings, i.e. *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL). Probably, *-tur* (PROG) was made of **-tɨ* (SEQ) plus **wur-* (PROG), and *-təər* (RSL) was made of **-tɨ* (SEQ) plus **ar-* (RSL), which is shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Grammaticalization of *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-* (**RSL**)

Supposed previous synchrony				Modern synchrony
Lexical verb		Auxiliary verb		Stem + Affix
Stem + *-tɨ* (SEQ)	+	*wur-* (PROG)	>	Stem + *-tur* (PROG)
Stem + *-tɨ* (SEQ)	+	*ar-* (RSL)	>	Stem + *-təər* (RSL)

[1]There is only an example where *ar-* (RSL) is not preceded by any particle, and is not fused with the preceding lexical verb. /sjemenunkjoo ucjɨ aijaa/ *sjemen=nkja=ja ut-tɨ ar-ɨ=jaa* (cement=APPR=TOP pour-SEQ RSL-NPST=SOL) 'Cement has been poured (there)' [Co: 120415_-00.txt].

In other words, *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-* (RSL) show much progress in the grammaticalization channels in the cases of *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) (cf. **Lehmann1995**: 37). Interestingly, *nə-* (RSL) is always preceded by some particle, and there is no example where *-tɨ* (SEQ) appears to be fused with *nə-* (RSL). This seems to have some relationship with the fact that there is always a particle, i.e. *ja* (TOP), before the negated copula verb (see (9-54) in §6.3.1). I will present examples of *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) below.

(9) Grammaticalized auxiliary verbs

-tur (PROG)

a. kunugurugadɨ (kun ..)
kunuguru=gadɨ ku-n u-n=nantɨ
recently=LMT PROX-ADNZ MES-ADNZ=LCO2
unnantɨ cukututanmundoojaa.
cukur-tur-tar-n=mun=doo=jaa
make-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'(They) used to do dyeing until recently there.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM is talking about the meeting for old people held once a month in Yuwan.] = (8-136 a)
taruka t'aibəi wututɨ,
ta-ru=ka t'ai=bəi wur-tur-tɨ
who-NLZ=DUB two.CLF.person=about exist-PROG-SEQ
kan sjan hanasinkja sɨrarɨppoo,
ka-n sɨr-tar-n hanasi=nkja sɨr-arɨr-boo
PROX-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP conversation=APPR do-CAP-CND
jiccjanban,
jiccj-sa+ar-n=ban
good-ADJ+STV-PTCP=ADVRS
'(It) will be good if some two (or three) people are being (there) and can make conversation like this, but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

-təər (RSL)

c. kurəə nuucjɨga kacjəəru?
ku-rɨ=ja nuu=ccjɨ=ga kak-təər-u
PROX-NLZ=TOP what=QT=FOC write-RSL-PFC
'What is written (on) this?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. umaga atəkkamojaa.
u-ma=ga *ar-təər=kamo=jaa*
MES-place=FOC exist-RSL=POS=SOL
'(The chamber of commerce) may have been there.' [lit. '(At) that place, (the chamber of commerce) may have existed.'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. ziisanna mata |iciban monosiri| jatəəppa,
ziisan=ja *mata* *iciban* *monosiri* *jar-təər-ba*
grandfather=TOP again most well.informed.person COP-RSL-CSL
waakjaa anmaaja utaja (mm) uraa
waakja-a *anmaa=ja* *uta=ja* *ura-a* *ziisan*
1PL-ADNZ mother=TOP song=TOP 2.NHON.SG-ADNZ grandfather
ziisan məəradu naratancjɨ jutattujaa.
məə=kara=du *naraw-tar-n=ccjɨ* *jˀ-tar-tu=jaa*
front=ABL=FOC learn-PST-PTCP=QT say-PST-CSL=SOL
'(Your) grandfather was the most well-informed person, so my mother said that (she) learned (the traditional) songs from your grandfather.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The details of the aspectual meanings of the above auxiliary verbs, i.e. *wur-* (RPOG) and *ar-*/*nə-* (RSL), and their grammaticalized affixes has been discussed in §?? - §??. Interestingly, the grammaticalized affixes *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) can follow their original lexical counterparts, i.e. *wur-* 'exist (animate)' and *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)' as in (9-9 b, d). On the contrary, combinations such as the lexical verb *wur-* 'exist (animate)' followed by the auxiliary verb *wur-* (PROG), or the lexical verb *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)' followed by the auxiliary verb *ar-* (RSL) in the AVCs have not yet been found in the text corpus, and it is difficult to make a question that will bring about forms such as these in elicitation. Thus, the existence of the combinatins as in (9-9 b, d) expresses that the affixes, i.e. *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL), have come to be used in new contexts, and it is a proof of grammaticalization (cf. Heine& **Kuteva2002**: 2). Furthermore, there is a combination of *jar-* (COP) and *-təər* (RSL) as in (9-9 e), which has never been realized in the form of the AVC, i.e, there is no combination such as *jar-tɨ* (COP-SEQ) plus *ar-* (RSL). This fact also supports the analysis that *-təər* (RSL) is an independent affix in the modern Yuwan, and that it is not derived from the "synchronic" fusion of *-tɨ* (SEQ) and *-ar* (RSL). Considering the behavior of *-təər* (RSL) as such, and the irregular reduction and assimilation of morphophonemes between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb as in Table 6.2, it is appropriate

to regard *-tur* (PROG) and *-təər* (RSL) as members of the verbal affixes in modern Yuwan (see Chapter **??**).

Secondly, we will discuss another auxiliary verb *nj-* (EXP), which expresses the aspect of the experiential perfect. If *nj-* (EXP) is followed by *-i* (NPST) or *-an* (NEG), it means that the event has occured at least once or has never occured in the past leading up to the present (cf. Comrie 1976: 58-59) as in (9-10 a-c). If *nj-* (EXP) is followed by *-ɨ* (IMP) or *-oo* (INT), it means that the event will be experienced by the agent at least once during the recent future. In that case, it is appropriate to translate *nj-* (EXP) into 'try to' as in (9-10 d-e). Interestingly, *nj-* (EXP) cannot be followed by *-na* (PROH), which is the negative counterpart of *-ɨ* (IMP).

(10) *nj-* (EXP)

a. asɨdɨn njan.jaa.
asɨb-tɨ=n *nj-an=jaa*
play-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG=SOL
Lex. verb
'(We) have never played (together), (have we?)' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. nudɨn njui?
num-tɨ=n *nj-jur-i*
drink-SEQ=ever EXP-UMRK-NPST
Lex. verb
'Have (you) ever drunk (it)?' [El: 120926]

c. an tacɨgəə cˀjukəəin toorɨtɨn njan.
a-n *tacɨgɨ=ja* *cˀjukəəi=n* *toorɨr-tɨ=n* *nj-an*
DIST-ADNZ prop=TOP one.CLF.time=even fall-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG
Lex. verb Aux. verb
'That prop has never fallen even once.' [El: 130816]

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

e. naa məəci cˀjɨn njoojəəcjɨ
naa-a *məə=kaci* *k-tɨ=n* *nj-oo=jəə=ccjɨ*
2.HON.SG=ADNZ front=ALL come-SEQ=ever EXP-INT=CFM2=QT
Lex. verb Aux. verb

j'icjattu,
j'-tar-tu
say-PST-CSL

'(The person) said, "(I) will try to come to your place," so ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-10 a-e), *nj-* (EXP) is necessarily preceded by *n* 'ever.' In fact, *nj-* (EXP) is always preceded by *n* 'ever' in my texts. In other words, there seems to be no morpheme boundary between *n* 'ever' and *nj-* (EXP). I do not, however, regard them as a single morpheme such as *nnj-* (EXP), since there is an example as in (9-11).

(11) a. kicjɨn mjicjɨn njanmun. ...
kik-tɨ=n *mj-tɨ=n* *nj-an=mun* *u-rɨ=ga*
hear-SEQ=ever see-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG=ADVRS MES-NLZ=NOM
Lex. verb Lex. verb Aux. verb
ukka ujankjanu, ude,
uja=nkja=nu *ude*
parent=APPR=NOM well

'(I) have never heard of or seen (him). That person's parent was, ...'

b. jaa.
jaa
FIL
'Yeah.'

c. kicjɨn mjicjɨn ...
kik-tɨ=n *mj-tɨ=n*
hear-SEQ=ever see-SEQ=ever
Lex. verb Lex. verb
'(I have never) heard of or seen ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above example is a sequence of a conversation. In (9-11 a, c), *n* 'ever' attaches to the initial lexical verb (not only to the lexical verb immediately before *nj-* (EXP)), i.e. *kik-tɨ=n mj-tɨ=n* (hear-SEQ=ever see-SEQ=ever). Additionally, the initial sentence of (9-11 a) is partially repeated in (9-11 c), where the utterance-final *n* 'ever' attaches to the lexical verb without *nj-* (EXP), i.e. *mj-tɨ=n* (see-SEQ=ever). Thus, I propose that *n* 'ever' can be divided from the auxiliary verb *nj-* (EXP), although their unity is very strong.

Finally, I will present examples of *mj-* 'try to.'

(12) *mj-* 'try to'

a. attaatun hanacjɨ mjicjɨn
a-rɨ-taa=tu=n *hanas-tɨ* *mj-tɨ=n*
DIST-NLZ-PL=COM=also talk-SEQ try.to-SEQ=ever
Lex. verb Aux. verb Aux. verb
njanban,
nj-an=ban
EXP-NEG=ADVRS

'(I) have never tried to talk with that person, but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. cˀjɨ mjoojəə.
k-tɨ *mj-oo=jəə*
come-SEQ try.to-INT=CFM2
Lex. verb Aux. verb
'(I) will try to come (here).' [El: 120929]

The meaning of *mj-* 'try to' is partially similar to *nj-* (EXP); compare (9-12 a-b) to (9-10 d-e). *mj-* 'try to' does not need to be preceded by *n* 'any,' which is different from *nj-* (EXP).

Many of the aspectual AVs are in a diachronic change of grammticalization. *wur-* (PROG) and *ar-/nə-* (RSL) have their lexical counterparts, i.e. *wur-* 'exist (animate)' and *ar-/nə-* 'exist (inanimate)' (see §?? for more details about these existential verbs). The lexical counterpart of *mj-* 'try to' is *mj-* 'see' as in (6-122 a-b) in §??. There is no lexical counterpart of *nj-* (EXP) (see note (a) of Table 6.1).

6.1.1.2 Honorific auxiliary verb: *moor-* (HON)

The auxiliary verb *moor-* expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the predicate (see also chapter 3 about the grammatical relations). Other honorific AVs, i.e. *taboor-* (BEN.HON) and *umoor-* (come.HON), are discussed in §6.1.1.3 and §6.1.1.4 respectively. I will present an example of *moor-* (HON).

(13) *moor-* (HON)
minna |gakkoo| izjacjɨ moocjəppajaa.
minna *gakkoo* *izj-as-tɨ* *moor-təər-ba=jaa*
everybody school go.out-CAUS-SEQ HON-RSL-CSL=SOL
Lex. verb Aux. verb
'(Your great-grandparents) had all of (their chidren) go out [i.e. graduate

from] the school.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (9-13), the lexical verb takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) before the auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON). The honorific AVC expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the clause, i.e. for the hearer's great-grandparents. For more details about the auxiliary honorific verbs, see §??.

6.1.1.3 Valency-changing auxiliary verbs: *kurɨr-* (BEN), *muraw-* (BEN), and *taboor-* (HON.BEN)

The auxiliary verbs *kurɨr-* (BEN), *muraw-* (BEN), and *taboor-* (HON.BEN) increase the semantic valency of the predicates. Additionally, only *muraw-* can change the syntactic valency. The semantic valency relates to the number of participant semantically required by the predicate of a clause. The syntactic valency relates to the morphosyntactic means (especially, case markers) to express the participants. I borrow those of Payne (1997: 169-173) regarding the terms of the semantic valency and syntactic valency.

Semantically, these valency-changing auxiliary verbs add a beneficiary as a participant of the event indicated by the clause. In many cases, the added beneficiary is the speaker, but it can be a referent to whom the speaker "empathize" with (cf. Kuno 1987: 206). The differences among these valency-changing auxiliary verbs are determined by the correspondence between the subject and the referent that causes or receives the benefaction. In other words, if the VP's subject is the benefactor, *kurɨr-* (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON) is used. If the VP's subject is the beneficiary, *muraw-* (BEN) is used. These are summarized below.

(14) Principle of the use of the valency-changing auxiliary verbs
   a. Subject = Benefactor
      kurɨr- (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON)
   b. Subject = Beneficiary
      muraw- (BEN)

First, I will present the example of *kurɨr-* (BEN).

(15) *kurɨr-* (BEN): the subject is the benefactor

uran	jazin	kjunmuncjɨ	dooka
ura=n	*jazin*	*k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ*	*dooka*
2.NHON.SG=also	necessarily	come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT	please
Subject/Benefactor	Lex.	verb	Aux.

umutɨ kurɨranboo.
umuw-tɨ *kurɨr-an-boo*
think-SEQ BEN-NEG-CND
verb
'If you don't think that (you) will necessarily come (here for me, I will run into a problem).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (9-15), the subject of the VP /umutɨ kurɨranboo/ *umuw-tɨ kurɨr-an-boo* (think-SEQ BEN-NEG-CND) 'if (you) don't think (of it for me)' is *ura* (2.NHON.SG) 'you,' who is the subject the clause and also the benefactor of the event. The beneficiary is the speaker TM.

Secondly, the auxiliary verb *taboor-* (BEN.HON) is the honorific counterpart of *kurɨr-* (BEN). Thus, it can also be used when the benefactor of the event is the subject of the clause.

(16) *taboor-* (BEN.HON): the subject is the benefactor [= (8-26)]
|sinsjei|, an kˀwa abɨtɨ taboorɨ.
sinsjei *a-n* *kˀwa* *abɨr-tɨ* *taboor-ɨ*
teacher DIST-ADNZ child call-SEQ BEN.HON-IMP
Subject/Benefactor Lex. verb Aux. verb
'Teacher, would (you) please call that child (for me)?' [El: 130820]

In (9-16), the subject of the VP /abɨtɨ taboorɨ/ *abɨr-tɨ taboor-ɨ* (call-SEQ BEN.HON-IMP) 'Would (you) please call (that child)?' is *sinsjei* 'teacher,' who is the subject the clause and also the benefactor of the event. The beneficiary is the speaker TM. Additionally, *taboor-* (BEN.HON) expresses the speaker's respect for the subject of the clause, i.e. *sinsjei* 'teacher.'

Finally, I will present examples of *muraw-* (BEN).

(17) *muraw-* (BEN): the subject is the beneficiary
US: umantɨ ɨrɨtɨ
u-ma=nantɨ *ɨrɨr-tɨ* *muraw-tar-n=ban=ga moo*
MES-place=LOC2 put.in-SEQ BEN-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=FOC
Lex. verb Aux.
muratanbanga, |moo zenzen| ooran.
zenzen *oor-an*
FIL much fit-NEG
verb
'(I) had (the dentist) put in (the artificial teeth), but (it) does not fit (me) very much.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (9-17), the subject of the VP /ɨriti muratan/ *ɨrɨr-tɨ muraw-tar-n* (put.in-SEQ BEN-PST-PTCP) 'having had (the dentist) put in (the artificial teeth)' is the speaker, and she is also the beneficiary of the event, although she is not overtly expressed in (9-17). An example that is more understandable is shown below, where two sentences are compared. The first example is a minimal VP that does not include *muraw-* (BEN). The second example is an AVC, where the lexical verb in the first example, i.e. *kak-* 'write,' is followed by *muraw-* (BEN).

(18) Valency changing of *muraw-* (BEN)

a. Non-derived sentence (Minimal VP)

an	cˀjuga	kakjui.
a-n	*cˀju=ga*	*kak-jur-i*
DIST-ADNZ	person=NOM	write-UMRK-NPST

'That person will write (it).' [El: 130822]

b. Derived sentence (AVC)

wanna	an	cˀjun	kacjɨ
wan=ja	*a-n*	*cˀju=n*	*kak-tɨ*
1SG=TOP	DIST-ADNZ	person=DAT1	write-SEQ
Subject/Beneficiary	Benefactor	Lex.	verb

murawoojəə.
muraw-oo=jəə
BEN-INT=CFM2
Aux.

'I will have that person write (it for me).' [El: 130822]

In (9-18 a), the participant of the event is only one, i.e. /an cˀju/ 'that person.' In (9-18 b), another participant, i.e. *wan* (1SG), is added to the event of (9-18 a). The added participant is the subject of the clause and also the beneficiary of the event. Furthermore, *muraw-* (BEN) changes the syntactic valency of the predicate. That is, it changes the coding of the case particle. In (9-18 a), the agent of *kak-* 'write' is marked by *ga* (NOM), but in (9-18 b), the agent of *kak-* 'write,' who is also the benefactor of the event, is marked by *n* (DAT1).

Before concluding this section, I will present the lexical counterparts of the above valency-changing auxiliary verbs.

(19) Lexical counterparts of the valency-changing AVs

a. *kurɨr-* 'give'

miici kuritattoo, un
miici *kurir-tattoo u-n micjai=ja jurukub-ti ka-n*
three.CLF give-PST.CSL MES-ADNZ
Lex. Verb
micjaija jurukudi, kan sji
sir-ti *huk-tur-ti* *kam-ti* *ik-i*
three.CLF=TOP be.pleased-SEQ PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ

hucjuti, kadi, ikii.

wipe-PROG-SEQ eat-SEQ go-INF

'When (the boy) gave three (pears to the three boys), the three (boys) were pleased, and were wiping (the pears) like this, and ate (them), and went (away).' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. *muraw-* 'receive'
nasinu miici murati,
nasi=nu *miici* *muraw-ti*
pear=GEN three.thing receive-SEQ
Lex. Verb
'(They) received three pears, and ...' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

In (9-19 a-b), both of the lexical verbs, i.e. *kurir-* 'give' and *muraw-* 'receive,' express the locomotion of concrete things, i.e. 'pears.' On the contrary, the examples of the valency-changing auxiliary verbs as in (9-15) or (9-17) do not express such locomotion of things. Thus, the so-called "semantic bleaching" (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 94) has happened in these auxiliary verbs. Interestingly, *taboor-* (BEN.HON) does not have its lexical counterpart. That is, it is not used to fill the lexical verb slot. If we want to mean 'give' with the honorific meaning, we may use an AVC where the lexical verb slot is filled by *kurir-* 'give' and the auxiliary verb slot is filled by *taboor-* (BEN.HON), e.g. /kuriti taboori/ *kurir-ti taboor-i* (give-SEQ BEN.HON-IMP) 'Would you please give (it for me)?'

6.1.1.4 Spatial deictic auxiliary verbs: *ik-* 'go,' *k-* 'come,' and *umoor-* (go/come.HON)

Yuwan has three spatial deictic auxiliary verbs: *ik-* 'go,' *k-* 'come,' and *umoor-* (go/come.HON). The example of *umoor-* (come.HON) was already shown in (8-27) in §**??**. I will present examples of *ik-* 'go' and *k-* 'come.'

(20)

ik- ‘go’

a. kun |nimocu| muccjɨ ikii.
ku-n nimocu mut-tɨ ik-i
PROX-ADNZ load have-SEQ go-INF
Lex. verb Aux. verb
‘(They) take this load.’ [lit. ‘(They) have this load and go.’] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. uroo |okazu|ja ... muccjɨ ikjan?
ura=ja okazu=ja mut-tɨ ik-an
2.NHON.SG=TOP side.dish=TOP have-SEQ go-NEG
Lex. verb Aux. verb
‘Don’t you take the side dish?’ [lit. ‘Don’t you have the side dish and go?’] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

k- ‘come’

c. TM: naa, cjuutokara mata wunagunu kˀwanu
naa cjuuto=kara mata wunagu=nu kˀwa=nu zitensja
FIL middle=ABL again woman=GEN child=NOM bicycle
Lex. verb Aux. verb
|zitensja| nutɨ cˀjattuu,
nur-tɨ k-tar-tu
ride-SEQ come-PST-CSL

‘(At) the middle (of the film), a girl came riding a bicycle, and then ...’ [PF: 090305_01.txt]

d. [Context: An old man found gold under the ground, but he did not bring it home, so his wife was surprised to hear that.] = (6-55 c)
gan jiccjan mun həəku tutɨ
ga-n jiccj-sa+ar-n mun həə-ku tur-tɨ
MES-ADVZ good-ADF+STV-PTCP thing early-ADVZ take-SEQ
Lex. verb Aux. verb
konboo, cˀjun
k-on-boo cˀju=n tɨmɨr-arɨr=doo jˀ-tar-n=mun
come-NEG-CND person=DAT1

tɨmɨrarɨɨdoocjɨ j'icjanmun,

find-PASS.INF=ASS say-PST-PTCP=ADVRS

'(The wife) said, "If you don't bring such a good thing, (it) will be found by another person," but ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (9-20 a-d), all of the *ik-* 'go' and *k-* 'come' fill the auxiliary verb slot. In fact, *ik-* 'go' and *k-* 'come' can fill the lexical verb slot, and their auxiliary uses do not show any morphophonemic reduction or semantic change. However, they can really fill the auxiliary verb slot. For example, in (9-20 b, d), the semantic scope of negation of *-an*/*-on* (NEG) includes the preceding lexical verbs (not only the auxiliary verbs), which means they are mono-clausal. In other words, *ik-* 'go' and *k-* 'come' are filling the auxiliary verb slots in the mono-clausal VPs.

Before concluding this section, I will present an example of the combination of two auxiliary verbs.

(21) *ik-* 'go' + *kurɨr-* (BEN)

muccjɨ	izjɨ	kurɨppa.
mut-tɨ	*ik-tɨ*	*kurɨr-ba*
have-SEQ	go-SEQ	BEN-CSL
Lex.	verb	Aux.

'Please take (the lunch boxes).' [lit. 'Please have (the lunch boxes) and go (for me).'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above example shows that the spatial deictic auxiliary verb can precede the valency-changing auxiliary verb.

6.1.2 Light verb construction

The light verb construction (LVC) is composed of the light verb and its complement (plus an optional auxiliary verb) as in the following model.

(22) Light verb construction (LVC)
{Complement [Light verb (Auxiliary verb)]$_{VP}$}$_{Verbal\ predicate\ phrase}$

The LVC minimally consists of the light verb and its complement. Additionally, since the light verb fills the lexical verb slot of an VP, it may be followed by an auxiliary verb forming an auxiliary verb construction within the VP.

Yuwan has two kinds of light verbs, which are all semantically "light" and need thier complements. First, there is the light verb *sɨr-* 'do,' whose complement slot may be filled by NPs, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (see §6.1.2.1 for more details). The second light verb is *nar-* 'become,' whose complement slot is filled by NPs, adverbs, the participle that ends with *-an* (NEG), or the converbs that end with *-an-ba* (NEG-CSL) or *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) (see §6.1.2.2 for more details).

6.1.2.1 *sɨr-* 'do'

The verb *sɨr-* 'do' is semantically so "light" that it usually needs its complement to fill the predicate slot of a clause, unless it takes its own argument as in /denwaba sjui/ *denwa=ba sɨr-jur-i* (telephone=ACC do-UMRK-NPST) 'call [lit. do the telephone].' In fact, there is an example of *sɨr-* 'do' without any component as in (9-37) in §6.1.2.2, although it occured in elicitation.

The complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the following components.

(23) Complements of *sɨr-* 'do' may be filled by,
  a. common nouns;
  b. infinitives;
  c. the finite form *-oo* (INT) followed by *ccjɨ* (QT);
  d. the converb *-tai* (LST);
  e. the compound including *madəə* 'fail to';
  f. demonstrative adverbs;
  g. adverbs derived from adjectival stems;
  h. adjectives;
  i. the units followed by *nən* 'such as.'

With regard to (9-23 a), I will present examples where commoun nouns fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do.'

(24) Complements filled by common nouns
  a. [Context: Speaking with MY about the present author]
  |benkjoo| sjun
  benkjoo *sɨr-jur-n cʾju=nkja=ccjɨboo ga-n*
  study do-UMRK-PTCP
  Complement LV

c'junkjaccjɨboo, gan sjɨ sjutɨ,
sɨr-tɨ *sɨr-jur-tɨ* *benkjoo* *sɨr-i jar-ba=jaa*
person=APPR=speaking.of MES-ADVZ do-SEQ do-UMRK-SEQ
Complement LV Complement LV
|benkjoo| sii jappajaa.

study do-INF COP-CSL=SOL

'Speaking of a person who does studies, (the one) does studying like that, you know.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. |kokkei| sjutɨ, waroocja.
kokkei *sɨr-tur-tɨ waraw-as-tar*
funny do-PROG-SEQ laugh-CAUS-PST
Complement LV
'(He) did funny things, and made (people) laugh.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. [= (8-61 a)]
namanu usi sjurooga?
nama=nu *usi* *sɨr-jur-oo=ga*
now=GEN cow do-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3
Complement LV
'Now (someone) raises cows, doesn't he?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. [= (6-65 b)]
uroo jaanantɨ nusisjɨ hanməə sjɨ,
ura=ja *jaa=nantɨ* *nusi=sjɨ* *hanməə sɨr-tɨ kam-i*
2.NHON.SG=TOP house=LOC2 RFL=INST cooking do-SEQ
Complement LV
kamii?

eat-INF

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

In (9-24 a-d), the common nouns *benkjoo* 'study,' *kokkei* 'funny (action),' *usi* 'cow,' and *hanməə* 'cooking' fill the complement slots of each example.

With regard to (9-23 b), the examples where the infinitive fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' are shown (see §?? for more details on the infinitive).

(25) Complements filled by the infinitive

a. hainu tubəə sjunban,
hai=nu tub-i=ja sɨr-jur-n=ban janakɨ-sa=ccjɨ=n
ash=NOM fly-INF=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS
Complement LV
janakɨsaccjɨn nuucjɨn umuwanbajaa.
nuu=ccjɨ=n umuw-an-ba=jaa mukasi=ja
dirty-ADJ=QT=even what=QT=even think-NEG-CSL=SOL

mukasjəə.

past=TOP

'In the old days, the ash (of the cooking stove) was flying, but (I) didn't think of it as dirty.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. nuuga? kurɨ kurɨ. kusarəə sɨranba,
nuu=ga ku-rɨ ku-rɨ kusarɨr-∅=ja sɨr-an-ba
what=FOC PROX-NLZ PROX-NLZ rot-INF=TOP do-NEG-CSL
Complement LV
jiccjaijo.
jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo
no.problem-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1

'What? This (one), this (one). (It) will not rot, so (it) is no problem (for you to bring it back).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. [= (6-49)]
aikiga siikijanba.
aik-i=ga sɨr-i+kij-an-ba
walk-INF=NOM do-INF+CAP-NEG-CSL
Complement LV
'(I) cannot walk [lit. do walking], so (I cannot bring the pickles from my house).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. waakjoo iziga sɨransjutɨ,
waakja=ja izir-i=ga sɨr-an=sjutɨ
1PL=TOP go.out-INF=NOM do-NEGSEQ
Complement LV
'(Since I was afraid of the American soldiers) I could not go out, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-25 a-b), the infinitives fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' In these LVCs, the lexical meanings of the verbs are topicalized by *ja* (TOP). In (9-25 c-d), the infinitives take the nominative case *ga*. Interestingly, both of the sentences in (9-25 c-d) mean (or imply) the incapability of the speaker, i.e. 'cannot walk' in (9-25 c) or 'could not go out' in (9-25 d), which is the same phenomenon discussed in §**??** about the nominative case.

With regard to (9-23 c), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the finite form including *-oo* (INT) followed by *ccjɨ* (QT). The combination means 'be about to' as in (9-26).

(26) Complements filled by *-oo=ccjɨ* (INT=QT) ikjoccjɨ

ik-oo=ccjɨ
go-INT=QT
Complement

sjun turooja aran?
sɨr-tur-n turoo=ja ar-an
do-PROG-PTCP scene=TOP COP-NEG
LV

'(It is) a scene where (they) were about to go (somewhere), isn't (it)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

With regard to (9-23 d), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the converb that includes *-tai* (LST).

(27) Complements filled by the converbs that include *-tai* (LST)

a. [= (8-93 b)]
uba (mm) uziija jukkadɨ nubutai
u-rɨ=ba *uzii=ja* *jukkadɨ* *nubur-tai* *urɨr-tai*
MES-NLZ=ACC old.man=TOP continuously climb-LST decend-LST
Complement Complement LV
uritai sjutɨ, nasi mutuii.
sɨr-tur-tɨ nasi mur-tur-i
do-PROG-SEQ pear pick.up-PROG-INF

'The old man kept climbing and decending it [i.e. the ladder], and was picking up the pears.' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. mata .. uma tʾakəi izjai cʾjai
mata *u-ma* *tʾakəi* *ik-tai* *k-tai* *sɨr-tar-tu*
again MES-place two.time go-LST come-LST do-PST-CSL
Complement Complement LV
sjattu,

'Again, (the boys) went there and came (back) twice, and then ...' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

In (9-27 a-b), the converbs composed of *-tai* (LST) fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' Interestingly, *-tai* (LST) is often used in a sequence as in (9-27 a-b), although there is a case where it is used only once as in §**??**. In these examples, the converb composed of *-tai* (LST) does not seem to head its own adverbial clause. Rather, the converb composed of *-tai* (LST) seems to function as a simple adverb (cf. "converbs proper" in Nedjalkov 1995: 98). There is another converb that fills the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' as in (9-28).

(28) Complements filled by the converbs that include *-ganaa* (SIM) waakjoo,
waakja=ja
1PL=TOP

naa, sɨtɨganaa sɨrattuppoo.
naa *sɨtɨr-Ø-ganaa* *sɨr-ar-tur-boo*
FIL throw.away-INF-SIM do-PASS-PROG-CND
'I was being thrown away [i.e. was left to myself] (in those days).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In fact, the use of the *-ganaa* (SIM) in the LVC is found only in the cases where *-ganaa* (SIM) takes *sɨtɨr-* 'throw away.' In other words, *-ganaa* (SIM) is not as productive as *-tai* (LST) when used as complements of *sɨr-* 'do.' I propose that the combination of *sɨtɨr-Ø-ganaa* (throw.away-INF-SIM) and *sɨr-* 'do' is a kind of collocation.

With regard to (9-23 e), the compound that includes *madəə* 'fail to' can fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do.'

(29) Complement filled by the compound that includes *madəə* 'fail to'
amakaci ikjoocjɨ umututanmun,
a-ma=kaci *ik-oo=cjɨ* *umuw-tur-tar-n=mun*
DIST-place=ALL go-INT=QT think-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
Complement LV

ikimadəə sja.
ik-i+madəə *sɨr-tar*
go-INF+fail.to do-PST

'(I) thought to go there, but couldn't go.' [El: 121001]

With regard to (9-23 f), the examples where demonstrative adverbs fill the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' are shown.

(30) Complements filled by demonstrative adverbs

a. kan sjɨ hɨisai?
ka-n *sɨr-tɨ hɨi-sa+ar-i*
PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ big-ADJ+STV-NPST
Complement LV
'Is (it) big like this?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. kan sjan munna
ka-n *sɨr-tar-n mun=ja juwan=bəi=du ar-tar-n=mun*
PROX-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP thing=TOP
juwanbəidu atanmun. Complement LV

Yuwan=only=FOC exist-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'Things like this were only in Yuwan.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (9-30 a-b), the demonstrative adverb *ka-n* (PROX-ADVZ) 'like this' fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' In fact, the LVC composed of the demonstrative adverb and *sɨr-* 'do' has come to function as a single adverb as in (9-30 a) or a single adnominal as in (9-30 b) (see §**??** for more details).

With regard to (9-23 g), I will show the examples where the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do' are filled by the adverbs derived from adjectival stems.

(31) Complements filled by the adverbs derived from adjectival stems

a. injainjaatu sjui.
inja+inja-tu *sɨr-jur-i*
RED+small-ADVZ do-UMRK-NPST
Complement LV
'(It) is small.' [lit. '(It) does small.'] [El: 111116]

b. waawaatu sjun tukin
waa+waa-tu *sɨr-tur-n tuki=n tur-an-ba*
RED+young-ADVZ do-PROG-PTCP time=DAT1
Complement LV
turanba.

take-NEG-CSL

'(You) should take (the vegetables) while (they) are green.' [lit. 'If (you) don't take (the vegetables) while (they) are doing young, (they will become bad soon).] [El: 111116]

With regard to (9-23 h), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the adjectives.

(32) Complements filled by the adjectives

a. cikjasa sjutənhazɨjaa
cikja-sa *sɨr-jur-təər-n=hazɨ=jaa*
close-ADJ do-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=certainty=SOL
Complement LV
'(They) must have been close [i.e. familiar] (to each other).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. nusinkjabəi dujasa (sɨ) sɨppoo, urɨ
nusi=nkja=bəi *duja-sa* *sɨr-* *sɨr-boo u-rɨ jar-n=ban*
RFL=APPR=only rich-ADJ do do-CND MES-NLZ
Complement LV
janban,

COP-PTCP=ADVRS

'If (people) are rich only themselves, (it) is that [i.e. not good], but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. wanga uigicjasa sjɨ?
wan=ga *uig-i+cja-sa* *sɨr-tɨ*
1SG=NOM swim-INF+want-ADJ do-SEQ
Complement LV
'Did I seem to want to swim?' [El: 110914]

In (9-32 a-b), the (non-derived) adjectives fill the complement slots of *sɨr-* 'do.' In (9-32 c), the complement slot is filled by the adjective derived from a verbal stem, i.e. *uig-i+cja-sa* (swim-INF+want-ADJ) 'want to swim' (see also §4.3.8.2). If the complement of *sɨr-* 'do' is filled by *cja-sa* (want-ADJ), the LVC means that the subject seems to want to do the action indicated by the verbal stem as in (9-32 c). These formes that take *-sa* (ADJ) are adjectives, but they are used adverbially in these examples (see also §4.3.4 on the adverbial use of adjectives).

With regard to (9-23 i), the complement slot of *sɨr-* 'do' can be filled by the units followed by *nən* 'such as' (see §7.4.4 for more details).

(33) muru kjoodəənən sjɨ, sjɨ
muru kjoodəə=nən sɨr-tɨ sɨr-tɨ moor-jur-tar-tu=jaa
very brother=such.as do-SEQ do-SEQ
moojutattujaa.

HON-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
'(They) used to keep company with each other like they were brothers.'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

It may be possible that the first /sjɨ/ is not the converb *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ) but the instrumental case *sjɨ*. In that case, /kjoodəə=nən=sjɨ/ (brother=such.as=INST) would be in the complement slot of the second /sjɨ/ (do.SEQ).

Before concluding this section, I will present the combinations of the LVC and the AVC.

(34) a. *sɨr-* 'do' fills the lexical verb slot of an AVC
kakəə sjɨ mooranta.
kak-i=ja sɨr-tɨ moor-an-tar
write-INF=TOP do-SEQ HON-NEG-PST
{Complement [LV/Lex. Verb
'(The person) did not write (it).' [El: 121010]

b. AVC fills the complement slot of LVC
kacjɨ mooija sɨranta.
kak-tɨ moor-i=ja sɨr-an-tar
write-SEQ HON-INF=TOP do-NEG-PST
{[Lex. Verb Aux.
'(The person) did not write (it).' [El: 121010]

In (9-34 a-b), they use the same set of the verbal roots, i.e. *kak-* 'write,' *sɨr-* 'do,' and *moor-* (HON). In (9-34 a), *kak-* 'write' becomes the infinitive filling the

complement slot, and the light verb *sɨr-* 'do' fills the lexical verb slot, which is followed by the auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON). In (9-34 b), *kak-* 'write' and *moor-* (HON) forms an AVC, and it fills the complement slot of the light verb *sɨr-* 'do.' There seems to be little semantic difference between them. In the texts, however, the latter combination, where AVC fills the complement slot of LVC, is preferred as in (9-35 a-b).

(35) AVCs fill the complement slots of LVCs

a. naa, hinzjaaba succjun c'joo hinzjaa
naa *hinzjaa=ba* *sukk-tur-n* *c'ju=ja* *hinzjaa*
FIL goat=ACC pull-PROG-PTCP person=TOP goat
[Lex. Verb Aux. Verb]$_{\text{AVC (=Complement)}}$ LV
succjɨ ikibəidu sjattoo.
sukk-tɨ *ik-i=bəi=du* *sɨr-tar=doo*
pull-SEQ go-INF=only=FOC do-PST=ASS

'The person who was pulling the goat (actually) pulled the goat and went (out).' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. kurəə |reizooko|nandu ɨrɨtəə
ku-rɨ=ja *reizooko=nan=du* *ɨrɨr-tɨ=ja*
PROX-NLZ=TOP fridge=LOC1=FOC put.in-SEQ=TOP
[Lex. Verb Aux.
aija sjutanban,
ar-i=ja *sɨr-tur-tar-n=ban*
RSL-INF=TOP do-PROG-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
Verb]$_{\text{AVC (=Complement)}}$ LV
'Although this has been put in the fridge, ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (9-35 a), the AVC composed of the lexical verb *sukk-* 'pull' and the auxiliary verb *ik-* 'go' fills the complement slot. The AVC is nominalized by *-i* (INF) and modifies *sɨr-* 'do.' In (9-35 b), the AVC composed of the lexical verb *ɨrɨr-* 'put in' and the auxiliary verb *ar-* (RSL) fills the complement slot. The AVC is also nominalized by *-i* (INF) and modifies *sɨr-* 'do.'

6.1.2.2 *nar-* 'become'

The light verb *nar-* 'become' usually means a change of state, and the result of change is expressed in the complement slot. The complement slot is filled by an

NP, an adverb, or a participle that ends with *-an* (NEG). First, I will present the exmaples where NPs fill the complement slots of *nar-* 'become.'

(36) Complements filled by NPs

a. naa huccju natəəroo,
naa *huccju* *nar-təəra=ja jiccj-sa+ar-n=ccjɨ*
FIL old.person become-after=TOP
Complement LV
jiccjancjɨ, xxx cjɨ
=ccjɨ *umuw-jur-i*
not.mind-ADJ+STV-PTCP=QT QT think-UMRK-NPST

umujui.

'(I) think that after (I) became old (I) didn't mind.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. ujankjatu akka ziisantaatuga
uja=nkja=tu *a-rɨ=ga* *ziisan-taa=tu=ga*
parent=APPR=COM DIST-NLZ=GEN grandfather-PL=COM=NOM
Complement LV
|itoko| najuncjɨ.
itoko *nar-jur-n=ccjɨ*
cousin correspond-UMRK-PTCP=QT

'(She said) that (her) parents and that person's grandfather are cousins.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. amankjo hamadu natutattujaa.
a-ma=nkja=ja *hama=du* *nar-tur-tar-tu=jaa*
DIST-place=APPR=TOP beach=FOC become-PROG-PST-CSL=SOL
Complement LV
'That place was a beach (in those days).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. |zjuunizi| natəəra, mukkoocjɨkai?
zjuunizi *nar-təəra* *mukk-oo=ccjɨ=kai*
twelve.o'clock become-after bring-INT=QT=DUB
Complement LV
'(Does she think) that (she will) bring (the lunch) after (it) becomes twelve o'clock?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In these examples, the complement slots of the light verb *nar-* 'become' are filled by NPs, i.e. *huccju* 'old person,' *itoko* 'cousin,' *hama* 'beach,' and *zjuunizi* 'twelve o'clock.' The complement NP is sometimes followed by *du* (FOC) as in (9-36 c). Sometimes, *nar-* has a meaning similar to the copula (or "proper inclusion") (Payne 1997: 114) if the complement is a term to express the relation of relatives, e.g. *itoko* 'cousin' as in (9-36 b). Additionally, there is a case where *nar-* can mean a temporary state when it takes *-tur* (PROG) as in (9-36 c) (see aslo (8-136) in §??). Thus, one may think that *nar-* 'become' in (9-36 a-d) fills the copula verb slot in the nominal predicate phrase. However, I do not accept this analysis, since there is a syntactic difference between *nar-* 'become' and the copula verb *ar-*.

(37) Difference between *nar-* 'become' and *ar-* (COP)

Verbal predicate phrase (LVC of *nar-* 'become')

a. *wanna sinsjeiga/nu naranba, sirandoo.
wan=ja sinsjei=ga/nu nar-an-ba sir-an=doo
1SG=TOP teacher=NOM become-NEG-CSL do-NEG=ASS
[Complement LV]$_{VP}$
[Intended meaning] 'I will not become a teacher, so (I) won't do (the hard studying).' [El: 130822]

b. wanna sinsjeija naranba, sirandoo.
wan=ja sinsjei=ja nar-an-ba sir-an=doo
1SG=TOP teacher=TOP become-NEG-CSL do-NEG=ASS
[Complement LV]$_{VP}$
'I will not become a teacher, so (I) won't do (the hard studying).' [El: 130822]

Nominal predicate phrase

c. wanna sinsjeiga aranba, sijandoo
wan=ja sinsjei=ga ar-an-ba sij-an=doo
1SG=TOP teacher=NOM COP-NEG-CSL know-NEG=ASS
[NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$
'I am not a teacher, so (I) don't know (it).' [El: 140227]

The NP in the predicate (not the subject NP) of the subordinate clause in negative takes the nominative case as in (9-37 c) (see §6.3.3.1 for more details). On the contrary, the NP that precedes *nar-* 'become' cannot take the nominative case in the same environment as in (9-37 a). In that case, the NP takes the topic marker *ja* as in (9-37 b). Thus, I propose that *nar-* 'become' is different from the copula verb in Yuwan.

Next, I will present the exmaples where adverbs fill the complement slots of *nar-* 'become.'

(38) Complements filled by adverbs

a. jiciku natancjɨjo.
jiciku *nar-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
well become-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
Complement LV
'(You) became well.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. kˀuruguruutu natajaa.
kˀuru+kˀuru-tu *nar-tar=jaa*
RED+black-ADVZ become-PST=SOL
Complement LV
'(You) became black [i.e. tanned].' [El: 111116]

In (9-38 a-b), the adverbs in the complement slots, i.e. *jiciku* 'well' and /kuruguruutu/ *kˀuru+kˀuru-tu* (RED+black-ADVZ), mean the result of changes.

Finally, the complement slot of *nar-* 'become' may be filled by the participle that ends with *-an* (NEG). These LVCs express that someone (or something) has come into a state not to do (or not to be) a certain thing as in (9-39 a-d).

(39) Complements filled by the participle that ends with *-an* (NEG)

a. [Context: Rembering a person who kindly copied music tapes for everyone]
ariɨ siicjagɨsan cˀjunkjaga
a-rɨ *sɨr-i-cjagɨ-sa+ar-n* *cˀju=nkja=ga*
DIST-NLZ do-INF-seem-ADJ+STV-PTCP person=APPR=NOM
Complement LV
cˀjuin umooran natattujaa.
cˀjui=n *umoor-an* *nar-tar-tu=jaa*
one.person=even exist.HON-NEG become-PST-CSL=SOL

'There are no people who are likely to do that [i.e. recording].' [lit. 'People who are likely to do that became not to exist.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at the scene of funeral]

|saikin|doojaa. |moo| (kuri,) kurinu
saikin=doo=jaa moo ku-ri ku-ri=nu
recent=ASS=SOL already PROX-NLZ PROX-NLZ=NOM

nən najun |koro|doojaa.
nə-an nar-jur-n koro=doo=jaa
exist-NEG become-UMRK-PTCP time=ASS=SOL
Complement LV

'(The scene) is the recent one. (It) is the time when this [i.e. a style of funeral] ceased to be done [lit. becomes not to exist].' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. ujahuzinkjanu wuran natəəroo,
ujahuzi=nkja=nu wur-an nar-təəra=ja uja=n
ancestor=APPR=NOM exist-NEG become-after=TOP
Complement LV Complement
(ujan) ... huccjunkjanu
huccju=nkja=nu wur-an nar-boo
parent=also old.person=APPR=NOM exist-NEG
LV
wuran nappoo,

become-CND

'When there are no longer ancestors, (and) if there are no old people, ...' [lit. 'After ancestors become not to exist, (and) if old people become not to exist, ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. naa, |cue| cikan natattu.
naa cue cik-an nar-tar-tu
FIL stick carry-NEG become-PST-CSL
Complement LV

'(You) walk without a stick (these days).' [lit. '(You) became not to carry a stick.'] [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (9-39 c), the subjects have the nominative case *nu* (not *ga*), which is another reason why I do not think that *nar-* 'become' is different from the copula verb in the nominal predicate. If it was a copula in the nominal predicate, the subject must take the nominative case *ga* (not *nu*) (see §?? for more details).

Before concluding this section, I will present examples where *nar-* 'become' seems to be used without its complement as in (9-40 a-b).

(40) a. *nar-* 'become' with the converb that ends with *-an-ba* (NEG-CSL)
jazin kuriʂjɨ kajuwanba,
jazin ku-riʂ=sjɨ kajuw-an-ba
necessarily PROX-NLZ=INST go.often-NEG-CSL
narandarooga.
nar-an=daroo=ga
become-NEG=SUPP=CFM3
'(We) had to go often (to the hospital) by this [i.e. a ship].' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. *nar-* 'become' with the converb that ends with *-an-boo* (NEG-CND)
waasan ucjəə, ganba, hatarakanboo,
waa-sa+ar-n uci=ja ganba hatarak-an-boo
young-ADJ+STV-PTCP during=TOP therefore work-NEG-CND
naranbajaa.
nar-an-ba=jaa
become-NEG-CSL=SOL
'While (one) is young, (one) has to work.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Different from the preceding examples, *nar-* in (9-40 a-b) do not seem to express the change of state. Rather it expresses the meaning of obligation with the preceding adverbial clause that is headed by converbs including *-an-ba* (NEG-CSL) or *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) (see also §8.2.4 for more details).

6.2 Adjectival predicate phrase

The adjectival predicate phrase has the following structure.

(41) Structure of the adjectival predicate phrase
[A (STV)]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$

An adjectival predicate phrase always include an adjective ("A"). An adjective always takes the adjectival inflectional affixes *-sa* or *-soo* (see also §4.3.4), and the adjective cannot take affixes that can express time or aspect. The information about tense or aspect may be expressed by the stative verbs *ar-* or *nə-* ("STV") that follow the adjective (see §??). Basically, *ar-* (STV) co-occurs with an adjective that ends with *-sa* (ADJ), and *nə-* (STV) co-occurs with an adjective that ends with *-soo* (ADJ). In AVC or LVC, *ar-* (STV) can also co-occur with *-soo* (ADJ) (see §6.2.2.3).

In the following sections, I will present examples where the adjectives alone (without the stative verbs) fill the predicate phrase (see §6.2.1). Next, I will present examples where the adjectives and the stative verbs *ar-* together fill the predicate phrase (see §6.2.2). Finally, I will present examples where the adjectives and the stative verbs *nə-* together fill the predicate phrase (see §6.2.3).

(42) Three possible combinations in the adjectival predicate phrase

a. Without stative verbs
[Adjectival root + *-sa*/*-soo* (ADJ)]$_{\text{Adjective}}$ (see §6.2.1)

b. With *ar-* (STV)
[Adjectival root + *-sa*/*-soo* (ADJ)]$_{\text{Adjective}}$ + *ar-* (STV) (see §6.2.2)

c. With *nə-* (STV)
[Adjectival root + *-soo* (ADJ)]$_{\text{Adjective}}$ + *nə-* (STV) (see §6.2.3)

The form in (9-42 a) is always used in affirmative, and the form in (9-42 b) is basically used in affirmative too (with the exception of AVC). The form in (9-42 c) is always used in negative.

6.2.1 Adjectives alone in the predicate phrase

An adjective that takes *-sa* (ADJ) or *-soo* (ADJ) can fill the predicate phrase without a stative verb, where the polarity is always affirmative. In this case, *-sa* (ADJ) is more productive than *-soo* (ADJ) as in the following examples.

(43)

Adjectives ending with *-sa* (ADJ)

a. kjuu sinbunnan nutuppaga utumarasja.
kjuu sinbun=nan nur-tur-ba=ga utumarasj-sa
today newspaper=LOC1 appear-PROG-CSL=FOC feel.strange-ADJ
'Since (the person) appeared in the newspaper today, (I) feel strange.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Looking at a picture taken in the old days]
nozomutaa namanu an wunagunu kʾwan
nozomu-taa nama=nu a-n wunagu=nu kʾwa=n
Nozomu-PL now=GEN DIST-ADNZ woman=GEN child=DAT1
nissja.
nissj-sa
similar-ADJ
'Nozomu is similar to the girl [i.e. Nozomu's daughter] (who lives) now.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

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

d. [= (8-104 a)]
naa, mutunu kutunkjagadəə sijantɨn,
naa *mutu=nu* *kutu=nkja=gadɨ=ja* *sij-an-tɨ=n*
FIL origin=GEN event=APPR=LMT=TOP know-NEG-SEQ=even
jiccjaccjɨdu juuba.
jiccj-sa=ccjɨ=du *jʾ* *-ba*
no.problem-ADJ=QT=FOC say-CSL
'(Younger people) say that, "(There) is no problem, even if (we) don't know about the old events."' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

e. [Context: Remembering a silk mill that was used to be in Yuwan]
urɨnu, warabɨ sjuinnja, mɨzɨrasjacjɨ
u-rɨ=nu *warabɨ* *sɨr-tur-i=n=ja* *mɨzɨrasj-sa=ccjɨ*
MES-NLZ=NOM child do-PROG-INF=DAT1=TOP rare-ADJ=QT
miigjaa ikuboo,
mj-i+gja *ik-boo*
see-INF+PURP go-CND
'When (I) was a child [lit. was doing a child], (I thought) that (it was) rare, and went to see (the way of silk reeling), and then ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

f. cɨkɨmununkjoo, gan utussja, naa, ippai, naa,
cɨkɨmun=nkja=ja *ga-n* *utussj-sa* *naa* *ippai* *naa*
pickle=APPR=TOP MES-ADVZ fearful-ADJ FIL much FIL
cɨkɨjutanban,
cɨkɨr-jur-tar-n=ban
pickle-UMRK-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'About pickles, oh my god, (I) used to pickle (them) very much, but ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

Adjectives ending with *-soo* (ADJ)

g. kʾwasinu hɨɨsoo.
kʾwasi=nu *hɨɨ-soo*
snack=NOM big-ADJ
'The snack (is) big.' [El: 120914]

h. [= (4-50 b)]
agɨɨ! wuganduusoo.
agɨ *wuganduu-soo*
oh not.see.for.a.long.time-ADJ
'Oh! (I) haven't seen (you) for a long time.' [El: 120912]

In (9-43 a-c), the adjectives terminate the sentences. In (9-43 d-e), the adjectives terminate the clauses that express the direct reported speech with the quotative marker *ccjɨ*. The example in (9-43 f) express an interesting use of the adjectival predicate phrase. The combination of *ga-n* (MES-ADVZ) and *utussj-sa* (fearful-ADJ) functions as a kind of interjection as a whole, which is tentatively translated into 'oh my god' in this example.

Furthermore, adjectives that end with *-sa* (ADJ) without a stative verb, may be followed by the stentence-final particle *jaa* (SOL), the conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL), or the limitter particle *gadɨ* (LMT) as in (9-44).

(44) With *jaa* (SOL)

a. takesitu nissjajaa.
takesi=tu *nissj-sa=jaa*
Takeshi=COM similar-ADJ=SOL
'(He) is similar to Takeshi, (don't you think ?)' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. |iro|nu kjurasajaa.
iro=nu *kjura-sa=jaa*
color=NOM beautiful-ADJ=SOL
'The color is beautiful, (don't you think?)' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

With *nu* (CSL)

c. waakjoo utussjanu, aicjɨn njanta.
waakja=ja *utussj-sa=nu* *aik-tɨ=n* *nj-an-tar*
1PL=TOP fearful-ADJ=CSL walk-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG-PST
'I was fearful (of the American soldiers), so I did not walk (around).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. |suiziba|nkjaga kjurasanu, (umoo)
suiziba=nkja=ga *kjura-sa=nu* *u-ma=ja*
kitchen=APPR=NOM beautiful-ADJ=CSL MES-place=TOP
umoo isigakinu cɨmattutattujaa.
u-ma=ja *isigaki=nu* *cɨm-ar-tur-tar-tu=jaa*
MES-place=TOP stone.fence=NOM pile-PASS-PROG-PST-CSL=SOL
'The kitchen is beautiful, and the stone (for the) fence had been piled there.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. [Context: Talking about the fireplace that was set in the speaker's old house]
hujunkjoo jiccjanu.
huju=nkja=ja *jiccj-sa=nu*
clothes=APPR=TOP good-ADJ=CSL
'(The fireplace was) good in winter.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

f. agaraa munna kisjoonu cjussanu.
aga-raa *mun=ja* *kisjoo=nu* *cjuss-sa=nu*
DIST-DRG person=TOP temper=NOM strong-ADJ=CSL
'That awful person (was) stubborn.' [lit. 'About that awful person the temper is strong.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]
With *gadɨ* (LMT)

g. [Context: Talking about a butterfly that is similar to the moth] = (5-28 a)
arɨga nissjagadɨ. ganbəi sjɨ
a-rɨ=ga *nissj-sa=gadɨ* *ga-n=bəi* *sɨr-tɨ*
DIST-NLZ=NOM similar-ADJ=LMT MES-ADVZ=about do-SEQ
kucjəə tugaracjɨ,
kuci=ja *tugaras-tɨ*
mouth=TOP pout-SEQ
'That one is very similar (to the moth). (The size is) about this, and it pouted, and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (9-44 a-b), *jaa* (SOL) is used to request the hearer's agreement about the speaker's assertion. The conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL) expresses causal meaning as in (9-44 c). It sometimes expresses a meaning such as 'and (then)' as in (9-44 d). In (9-44 g), *gadɨ* (LMT) seems to express a little emphasis on the adjective (see chapter 10 about the functions of each particle).

6.2.2 Adjective and the stative verb *ar-* in the predicate phrase

The stative verb *ar-* basically follows an adjective that ends with *-sa* (ADJ), where the polarity is always affirmative. However, if *ar-* (STV) fills the lexical verb slot of an AVC in negative, it can follow an adjective that ends with *-soo* (ADJ).

The stative verb *ar-* is required when the predicate wants to express one of the functions indicated by verbal inflectional affixes, e.g. *-tɨ* (SEQ), *-ba* (CSL), or *-i* (NPST), or some particles, e.g. *na* (PLQ) or *doo* (ASS) (see also §6.4.1). In some conditions, the stative verb *ar-* is contracted with the preceding adjectives,

where the combination of *-sa* (ADJ) and *ar-* (STV) becomes /sar/ (not /saar/). This contraction occurs when *ar-* (STV) takes *-i* (NPST) or *-n* (PTCP).

In the following subsections, I will present examples where the contraction between the adjectives and *ar-* (STV) does not occur in §6.2.2.1. Next, I will present examples where the contraction occurs in §6.2.2.2. Lastly, I will present examples where adjectival predicate phrases occur in AVC or LVC in §6.2.2.3.

6.2.2.1 Non-contracted forms

An adjective that ends with *-sa* (ADJ) is followed by *ar-* (STV) when the predicate wants to express the functions indicated by verbal inflectional affixes (with the exception where the stative verb takes the negative affixes, which will be discussed in §6.2.3).

(45) The combinations of the adjectives and *ar-* (STV)

ar- (STV) with *-ti* (SEQ)

a. waakjaa c'jantaaja kuriga nagasa ati,
waakja-a c'jan-taa=ja ku-ri=ga naga-sa ar-ti
1PL-ADNZ father-PL=TOP PROX-NLZ=NOM long-ADJ STV-SEQ
'My father was tall, and ...' [lit. 'About my father, this [i.e. height] was very tall, and ...'] [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. naa, kuriga taasa ati,
naa ku-ri=ga taa-sa ar-ti
FIL PROX-NLZ=NOM tall-ADJ STV-SEQ
'My father was tall, and ...' [lit. 'About my father, this [i.e. height] was very tall, and ...'] [Co: 111113_01.txt]

ar- (STV) with *-ba* (CSL)

c. arijojukkumoo hiisa appajaa.
arijo=jukkuma=ja hii-sa ar-ba=jaa
Ario=CMP=TOP big-ADJ STV-CSL=SOL
'(The wild boar) is bigger than Ario, so (it must be a big one).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. aran. |mou|, wanna jiccja appa.
ar-an mou wan=ja jiccj-sa ar-ba
COP-NEG FIL 1SG=TOP no.problem-ADJ STV-CSL
'No. I'm OK.' [lit. 'No. About me, (there is) no problem (about the quantity of the meal), so (I don't need more).'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

ar- (STV) with *-u* (PFC)

e. tattankjaa k'umittagamarasja aru?
ta-ru-taa=nkja *k'umitta+kamarasj-sa* *ar-u*
who-NLZ-PL=APPR attentive+fussy-ADJ STV-PFC
'Who is fussy?' [El: 120914]

ar- (STV) with *-tar* (PST)

f. nobuariga mm kiga sjun
nobuari=ga *kiga* *sir-tur-n* *tuki=n=nkja=ja*
Nobuari=NOM injury do-PROG-PTCP time=DAT1=APPR=TOP
tukininkjoo huntoo kuwasa ata.
huntoo *kuwa-sa* *ar-tar*
really hard-ADJ STV-PST
'When Nobuari was suffering injuries, (it) was really hard (for me).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

ar- (STV) with *-oo* (SUPP)

g. nacikasja aroga.[2]
nacikasj-sa *ar-oo=ga*
familiar-ADJ STV-SUPP=CFM3
'(The song) is familiar (to you, isn't it?)' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above examples, the adjectives that end with *-sa* (ADJ) are followed by the stative verb *ar-*, which takes several inflectional affixes.

6.2.2.2 Contracted forms

If *ar-* (STV) takes *-i* (NPST) or *-n* (PTCP), the *ar-* (STV) is contracted with the preceding adjectives, e.g. *-sa* (ADJ) + *ar-* (STV) > /sar/ (not /saar/).[3] I will present examples below, where the original word boundary between the adjective and the stative verb is expressed by "+" in the underlying level.

(46) *ar-* (STV) with *-i* (NPST)

a. [= (7-25 b)]

[2] It is rare but *-oo* (SUPP) becomes /o/ before *ga* (CFM3) in this example.

[3] Niinaga (2010: 71) described that *-oo* (SUPP) also makes the contraction. However, a further investigation proved that it is not correct as in (9-45 g) in §6.2.2.1.

|cjoodo mikan|nu (kun) kun huukkwanu
cjoodo mikan=nu ku-n ku-n huu-kkwa=nu
just mikan=GEN PROX-ADNZ PROX-ADNZ piece-DIM=GEN
t'ɨɨ kamboo, xxx jiccjai.
t'ɨɨ kam-boo jiccj-sa+ar-i
one.thing eat-CND good-ADJ+STV-NPST
'If (I) eat just a piece of this mikan, (it) is good [i.e. sufficient] (for me).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. kan sjɨnkja hanasinkja zjoozɨnu
ka-n sɨr-tɨ=nkja hanasi=nkja zjoozɨ=nu
PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ=APPR talking=APPR good=GEN
c'junkjoo jiccjaijoo.
c'ju=nkja=ja jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo
person=APPR=TOP good-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1
'The people who are good at talking like this are good.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. |cjotto| sɨppoo, (kazɨ hikija) ..
cjotto sɨr-boo kazɨ hik-i-jass kazɨ
a.little do-CND cold catch-INF-easy cold
kazɨ hikijassai.
hik-i-jass-sa+ar-i
catch-INF-easy-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(I) tend to catch a cold (with) a little (walking around).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. |iciban| dujasai.
iciban duja-sa+ar-i
most rich-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(He) is the richest.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

e. |dɨɨsaabisu|nkjoo jasumjun tukiga
dɨɨsaabisu=nkja=ja jasum-jur-n tuki=ga
day.care=APPR=TOP not.attend-UMRK-PTCP time=NOM
huusai.
huu-sa+ar-i
many-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(I) often don't go to the daycare center.' [lit. 'The time when (I) do not attend the daycare (center) is many.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]
ar- (STV) with *-n* (PTCP)

f. jaa, nacɨkasjan nɨntəəbəi zja.
jaa nacɨkasj-sa+ar-n nɨntəə=bəi zjar
FIL familiar-ADJ+STV-PTCP people=only COP
'(They) are all familiar (to me).' [lit. '(They) are people who are all familiar (to me).'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

g. waasan tuzituunu wutɨ,
waa-sa+ar-n tuzituu=nu wur-tɨ
young-ADJ+STV-PTCP couple=NOM exist-SEQ
'There is a young couple.' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

h. [Context: Talking about Wase-unshū, i.e. a kind of orange; TM: '(We usually) eat (the oranges) around September.']
nama haanu awusan ucin, tutɨ,
nama haa=nu awu-sa+ar-n uci=n tur-tɨ
still leaf=NOM green-ADJ+STV-PTCP during=DAT1 take-SEQ
kam jappa.
kam-∅ jar-ba
eat-INF COP-CSL
'(We) took (the oranges) while the leaves were still green, and eat (them).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

i. an, hɨɨsan noogin muccjɨ,
a-n hɨɨ-sa+ar-n noogi=n mukk-tɨ
DIST-ADNZ big-ADJ+STV-PTCP saw=also bring-SEQ
'Bringing that big saw, (they went to the mountain to cut a tree for the coffin).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In the above examples, the adjectives and the stative verb are contracted. This morphophonological phenomenon indicates that they are in the same phonological unit. Thus, I used the plus sign "+" to indicate their unity, although the sign is normally used to inidicate the boundary between the stems in the compounds in this grammar (cf. §4.2.3).

6.2.2.3 AVC or LVC with the adjectival predicate phrase

The stative verb *ar-* fills the initial slot of the VP. Therefore, it may be followed by the auxiliary verb as in (9-47 a-b). "APP" in the following examples indicate the "adjectival predicate phrase."

(47) AVC in the adjectival predicate phrase

a. [= (8-48)]
an c'joo dujasoo atɨ mooran.jaa.
a-n *c'ju=ja* *duja-soo* *ar-tɨ* *moor-an=jaa*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP {rich-ADJ [STV-SEQ HON-NEG]}=SOL
{A [Lex. verb Aux. verb]$_{AVC}$}$_{APP}$
'That person is not rich, you know.' [El: 130820]

b. urakjoo ziisantaaga dujasa atɨ
urakja=ja *ziisan-taa=ga* *duja-sa* *ar-tɨ*
2.NHON.PL=TOP grandfather-PL=NOM {rich-ADJ [STV-SEQ
{A [Lex. Verb/STV Aug.
moocjɨ,
moor-tɨ
HON-SEQ]}
Verb]$_{AVC}$}$_{APP}$
'You have a rich grandfather, and ...' [lit. 'About you, the grandfather was rich, and ...'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (9-47 a), the adjective takes *-soo* (ADJ) since the predicate is in negative. In (9-47 b), the adjective takes *-sa* (ADJ) since the predicate is in affirmative. In both of the examples, the stative verb is *ar-* (STV), which fills the lexical verb slot in AVC with the auxiliary verb *moor-* (HON).

There is also an example where the adjectival predicate phrase fills the complement slot of an LVC as in (9-48).

(48) Adjectival predicate phrase in the complement slot of an LVC [= (8-111 c)]
makanəicjasoo aija
makanaw-i+cja-soo *ar-i=ja*
{[give.a.feast-ING+want-ADJ STV-INF=TOP]
{[Complement] [LV]}$_{LVC}$
sjunban,
sɨr-jur-n=ban
[do-UMRK-PTCP]}=ADVRS

'(I) want to give a feast (to the present author), but ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

The adjective in the complement slot of LVC always takes *-soo* (ADJ).

6.2.3 Adjective and the stative verb *nə-* in the predicate phrase

The stative verb *nə-* (STV), which always takes a negative affix, always follows an adjective that ends with *-soo* (ADJ) as in (9-49 a-c).

(49) The combinations of the adjectives and *nə-* (STV)

a. [Context: Talking about the wooden beams of MS's house; MS: '(The wooden beams of my house) haven't become as black as those (of your house), you know.'] = (4-11 b) kˀurusoo
kˀuru-soo
black-ADJ
nəndarooga.
nə-an=daroo=ga
STV-NEG=SUPP=CFM3
'(Those) are not black, right?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. [= (4-50 d)] juwasoo nən?
juwa-soo *nə-an*
hungry-ADJ STV-NEG
'Aren't (you) hungry?' [El: 120926]

c. [= (8-49 b)] an kasoo kˀurusoo nəəzɨi?
a-n *kasa=ja* *kˀuru-soo* *nə-azɨi*
DIST-ADNZ hat=TOP black-ADJ STV-NEG.PLQ
'Isn't that hat black?' [El: 111118]

In the above examples, the adjectives that end with *-soo* (ADJ) are followed by the stative verb *nə-*, which takes negative affixes such as *-an* (NEG) as in (9-49 a-b) or *-azɨi* (NEG.PLQ) as in (9-49 c).

If an adjective is followed by *nə-* (STV), it can also take *-k(k)oo* (ADJ) as in (9-50 a-b), but such cases are very rare.

(50) *-k(k)oo* (ADJ) + *nə-* (STV)

a. naa ikicjakoo nən.
naa ik-i+cja-koo *nə-an*
yet go-INF+want-ADJ STV-NEG
'(I) don't want to go yet.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. hankəəcjakkoo nənmun,
hankəər-∅+cja-kkoo *nə-an=mun hankəə-∅+mai zjar=jaa*
tumble-INF+want-ADJ STV-NEG=ADVRS

hankəəmai zjajaa.

tumble-INF+OBL COP=SOL
'(I) don't want to tumble, but will have to tumble (for the play).' [El: 110917]

6.3 Nominal predicate phrase

The nominal predecate phrase has the following structure.

(51) Structure of the nominal predicate phrase [NP (COP)]$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$

A nominal predicate phrase is filled by an NP. The NP can be followed by a copular verb ("COP"), i.e. *jar-*, *ar-*, *nar-*, or *zjar-* (see §??). In addition, the head of the nominal predicate phrase may be filled by an adnominal clause, or an adverbial clause that takes *-ti* (SEQ). In the above structure, the head of the nominal predicate phrase is regarded as the NP (not as the copula verb), which will be discussed in §6.4.3 in detail. A copular verb fills the initial lexical verb slot in the VP. Therefore, it may be followed by an auxiliary verb (see (8-43) in §??). In principle, the copula verb always follows an NP in the predicate. However, the copula form *ar-an* (COP-NEG) 'No' can be uttered only by itself as a negative reply to a polar question (see (8-40) in §??).

In the following sections, I will present the ordinary examples of the nominal predicate phrases in §6.3.1. Next, in §6.3.2, I will present examples where the head of the nominal predicate phrase may be filled by two types of subordinate clauses, i.e. the adnominal clause or the adverbial clause whose head verb ends with *-ti* (SEQ). Finally, in §6.3.3, I will present examples where the predicate phrases are filled by the extended NPs, which are NPs that take case particles (see also chapter 6 for the NP).

6.3.1 Basic structure

The main points of the nominal predicate phrase were already shown in §4.1.3.3. I will pick up some of them again and add another piece of information in this section. First, the nominal predicate can be filled by only an NP (not followed by the copula verb) as in (9-52).

(52) Predicate filled by only an NP kurəə
ku-ri=ja
PROX-NLZ=TOP
Subject
jukimasa.
jukimasa
Yukimasa
[NP]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
'This one is Yukimasa.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-52), the nominal predicate phrase is filled only by the NP *jukimasa* 'Yukimasa.' Additionally, the nominal predicate phrase can be filled by an NP and a copula verb as in (9-53).

(53) Predicate filled by an NP and a copula verb zjenbuga asɨbizjaa
zjenbu=ga asɨb-i+zjaa
all=NOM play-INF+place
Subject [NP
jatattujaa.
jar-tar-tu=jaa
COP-PST-CSL=SOL
Copula
'All (of the places) were playgrounds [lit. place to play].' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (9-53), the nominal predicate phrase is filled by the NP *asɨb-i+zjaa* 'playground' and the copula verb *jar-*. In affirmative, the NPs in the predicate phrase do not take any particle in the main clauses. However, if the predicate in the main clause is in negative, the NP (in the predicate phrase) always takes the topic particle *ja*, and the following copula verb is always *ar-* (COP) as in (9-54) (except for the cases in §6.3.3.1). In (9-54), the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) is in negative, and the preceding NP (in the predicate phrase) *jasuu* 'Yasu (personal name)' takes the topic particle *ja*.

(54) Nominal predicate phrase in negative (in the main clause)

kurəə	jasuuja	aran?
ku-ri=ja	*jasuu=ja*	*ar-an*
PROX-NLZ=TOP	Yasu=TOP	COP-NEG
Subject	[NP	Copula

'Is this person Yasu?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

Furthermore, an NP (in the predicate phrase) always takes the focus particle *ga* when the NP is filled by an interrogative nominal as in (9-55 a-d) (see also §7.1.2.2).

(55) Interrogative nominals in the predicate phrase

a. urəə mata taruga jatakai?
u-ri=ja *mata* *ta-ru=ga* *jar-tar=kai*
MES-NLZ=TOP again who-NLZ=FOC COP-PST=DUB
Subject [NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
'(I wonder) who was that person (that had brought this pamphlet of songs)?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. US: gazimaruu .. daaga
gazimaru *daa=ga* *jar-tar-u*
banyan.tree where=FOC COP-PST-PFC
Subject [NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
jataru?
'Where was the banyan tree?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. arəə nuuga jataru?
a-ri=ja *nuu=ga* *jar-tar-u*
DIST-NLZ=TOP what=FOC COP-PST-PFC
Subject [NP Copula
'What was that box?' [El: 130822]

d. uraga jˀicjasəə dɨruga
ura=ga *jˀ-tar=sɨ=ja* *dɨ-ru=ga*
2.NHON.SG=NOM say-PST=FN=TOP which-NLZ=FOC
jataru? [NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
jar-tar-u
COP-PST-PFC
'Which is the one that you said.' [El: 130822]

In the above examples, the interrogative nominals, i.e. *ta-ru* 'who,' *daa* 'where,' *nuu* 'what,' and *dɨ-ru* 'which,' take *ga* (FOC) in the predicate phrases.

It was pointed out that the nominal predicates in the languages around the world is used to indicate equation, e.g., *He is my father*, and proper inclusion, e.g., *He is a teacher* (Payne 1997: 114). The nominal predicate in Yuwan also has

both of these functions. For example, (9-52) is an example of equation, and (9-53) is an example of proper inclusion. In any case, the referents indicated by the subjects are the same with those indicated by the predicate NPs in those examples. However, there is a case where the referent of the subject does not coincide with the referent of the NP in the nominal predicate as in (9-56), where the relation between the subject and the nominal predicate has to be supplemented pragmatically.

(56) Pragmatic relation

urakjoo	naa	gakkoo	jatarooga.
urakja=ja	*naa*	*gakkoo*	*jar-tar-oo=ga*
2.NHON.PL=TOP	already	school	COP-SPT-SUPP=CFM3
Subject	[NP	Copula	verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$

'Probably, you had already begun to go to school.' [lit. 'Probably, you were already school.'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-56), the subject *urakja* 'you' and the NP in the nominal predicate *gakkoo* 'school' do not indicate the same referent. In fact, there is a relation between them that can be supplemented by the pragmatic information. This kind of use of the nominal predicate is famous in Japanese linguistics as "*unagi-bun*" ('The "eel" construction') (cf. Okutsu 1978).

6.3.2 Subordinate clause in the nominal predicate phrase

There are examples where the head of the nominal predicate phrase is "directly" filled by a certain kind of subordinate clause. The subordinate clause is not filling in an NP, since it cannot be modified by an adnominal word nor become the argument of a clause. The reason why the subordinate clause is thought to fill the nominal predicate phrase (in spite of not filling in an NP) is that the subordinate clause can be followed by the copula verb. There are two kinds of subordinate clause that can fill in the nominal predicate phrase, i.e. adnominal clauses (see §6.3.2.1) and adverbial clauses (see §6.3.2.2).

6.3.2.1 Adnominal clause in the nominal predicate phrase

The adnominal clause can fill the head slot of the nominal predicate phrase by itself. In that case, the adnominal clause is always followed by the negative copula verb, i.e. *ar-an* (COP-NEG), as in (9-57 a-g) (see also §**??** about the copula verb).

(57)

Adnominal clause including *-n* (PTCP) in the nominal predicate phrase

a. urakjabəiga un xxx ..
[*urakja=bəi=ga* *u-n* *atu* *cɨg-tur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
2.NHON.PL=only=NOM MES-ADNZ after succeed-PROG-PTCP
atu cɨzjun aran?
ar-an
COP-NEG
'Only you have inherited [i.e. your grandfather's virtue], haven't you [lit. aren't you]?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Speaking of the outdoor lamps which was set in the past]
namanin an aran?
[*nama=n=n* *ar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
now=DAT1=also exist-PTCP COP-NEG
'There are (outdoor lamps) even now, aren't there?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. |teinenmade| wutan aran?
[*teinen=made* *wur-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
retirement.age=LMT exist-PST-PTCP COP-NEG
'(He) was (at work) until the retirement age, wasn't (he)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. |tosjogakari| jatan aran?
[*tasjogakari* *jar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
librarian COP-PST-PTCP COP-NEG
'(Your father) was a librarian, wasn't he?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

e. |iciban| dujasa atan aran?
[*iciban* *duja-sa* *ar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
most rich-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP COP-NEG
'(Your grandfather) was the most rich, isn't (he)?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Adnominal clause including *-an* (NEG) in the nominal predicate phrase

f. [Context: Speaking of people who were friends before]
jurawan aran?
[*juraw-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
get.together-NEG COP-NEG
'(They) don't get together (now), do (they) [lit. arn't (they)]?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

g. namanu cˀjunkjoo gan sjan
[*nama=nu cˀju=nkja=ja* *ga-n* *sɨr-tar-n*
now=GEN person=APPR=TOP MES-ADVZ do-PST-PTCP
|kansin|na mutan aran?
kansin=ja *mut-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
interest=TOP have-NEG COP-NEG
'The people in these days don't have such a kind of interest, do (they) [lit. aren't (they)]?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (9-57 a-e), the heads of the nominal predicates are filled by the adnominal clauses that include *-n* (PTCP), i.e. *cɨg-tur-n* (succeed-PROG-PTCP), *ar-n* (exist-PTCP), *wur-tar-n* (exist-PST-PTCP), *jar-tar-n* (COP-PST-PTCP) and *ar-tar-n* (STV-PST-PTCP). In (9-57 f-g), the heads of the nominal predicates are filled by the adnominal clauses that include *-an* (NEG), i.e. *juraw-an* (get.together-NEG) and *mut-an* (have-NEG). These adnominal clauses are followed by the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) with questional intonation, and have a kind of meaning similar to the tag question in English. In these examples, the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) does not seem to fill the predicate phrase of the main clause; rather, it seems to behave as a particle, and the preceding adnominal clause seems to become the main clause. In the ordinary construction, the NP that precedes the negative copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) takes either the topic marker *ja* (see (9-54) in §6.3.1) or the nominative case (see §6.3.3.1). In the examples in (9-57 a-g), however, the adnominal clauses in the predicate phrase do not take any particle, and they are directly followed by the copula verb. It is probable that these examples express the so-called "Mermaid construction (MMC)," which "is in the main confined to Asia, and that it is generally found in SOV languages" (**Tsunoda2013**). The prototype of MMC has the following construction "[Clause] Noun Copula" (**Tsunoda2013**). In short, the "Clause" seems to behave like the main clause, and the "Noun" and/or the "Copula" seems to behave a grammarical component, e.g. expressing a modal meaning (see **Tsunoda2013** for more details). The examples in (9-57 a-g) are similar to the MMC, since the adnominal clauses do not behave like the component of the nominal predicate phrase. Rather, they behave like the main clause by themselves, and the following copula verbs express a kind of supposition with the questional intonation. The "main-clausehood" of the adnoninal clause in the MMC in Yuwan is shown by the following examples.

(58) Honorific AVC in MMC
a. In affirmative

an	sinsjeija	kacjɨ	moojun
a-n	*sinsjei=ja*	[*kak-tɨ*	*moor-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
DIST-ADNZ	teacher=TOP	write-SEQ	HON-UMRK-PTCP
Lex.	verb	Aux.	verb
aran?			
ar-an			
COP-NEG			

'That teacher would write (the Chinese character), wouldn't (he) [lit. isn't (he)]?' [El: 130823]

b. In negative

an	sinsjeija	kacjɨ	mooran
[*a-n*	*sinsjei=ja*	*kak-tɨ*	*moor-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
DIST-ADNZ	teacher=TOP	write-SEQ	HON-NEG
Lex.	verb	Aux.	verb
aran?			
ar-an			
COP-NEG			

'That teacher would not write (the Chinese character), would (he) [lit. isn't (he)]?' [El: 130821]

The above examples show that the honorific AVCs appear in the predicates of the adnominal clauses (not those in the main clause, i.e. the copula verb). In fact, the speaker did not allow the copula verbs to take the honorific AVC in the above contexts. That is, the following sentence is not grammatical: */an sinsjei ja kakjun atɨ mooran?/ *a-n sinsjei=ja kak-jur-n ar-tɨ moor-an* (DIST-ADNZ teacher=TOP write-UMRK-PTCP COP-SEQ HON-NEG) [Intended meaning] 'That teacher would write (the Chinese character), wouldn't (he)?' It is probable that the copula verbs in the MMC in Yuwan have come to lose the qualification to fill the predicate slot of the main clause, and that the predicate in the adnominal clause have come to gain the qualification. It should be mentioned that the MMCs in Yuwan do not coincide with the prototype of MMC since they lack the slot of "Noun", and the adnominal clauses directly precede the copula verb. The examples which also lack the "Noun" are found in Early Middle Japanese (A.D. 800-1200) (Miyachi 2013: 203-205).

Yuwan has a structure where an infinitive fills the head of the nominal predicate phrase. In the structure, the subject does not belong to the infinitive, but

to the copula verb (see (8-114) in §??). On the contrary, the subjects of the constructions in (9-57 a-g) do not belong to the copula verb, but is included in the adnominal clause, which is attested by the following example.

(59) naa maganu kamjun aran?
[*naa* *maga=nu* *kam-jur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *ar-an*
2.HON.SG.ADNZ grandchild=NOM eat-UMRK-PTCP COP-NEG
'Your grandson will eat (it), won't [lit. isn't] he?' [El: 130816]

In (9-59), the subject, i.e. *naa maga* 'your grandchild,' is marked by the nominative case *nu*. If the subject is that of the copula verb, it cannot take *nu* (NOM), and it has to take *ga* (NOM) (see §?? for more details). Therefore, the subject NP is included in the adnominal clause, whose head is *kam-* 'eat.'

There is an example where the quotational particle *ccjɨ* intervene the adnominal clause and the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) as in (9-60).

(60) [Context: Remembering the bankruptcy of a shop in the past] = (4-31 a)
|sjeiri| siimai jatancjɨ aran?
[*sjeiri* *sɨr-i+mai* *jar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$*=ccjɨ* *ar-an*
disposal do-INF+OBL COP-PST-PTCP=QT COP-NEG
'(The people who had invested their money in the shop) had to dispose (of the goods), hadn't they [lit. aren't they]?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

All of the above examples expressed questions. There are examples where the same construction does not express questions. They did not occur frequently in my texts, though.

(61) In the declarative clauses

a. wurancjəə aranban,
[*wur-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$*=ccjɨ=ja* *ar-an=ban*
exist-NEG=QT=TOP COP-NEG=ADVRS
'(It) isn't that there isn't (any cousin of mine), but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Replying the question such as "You don't like the drink, do you?"]
numanna arandoo.
[*num-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$*=ja* *ar-an=doo*
drink-NEG =TOP
'(It) isn't (that I) don't drink (it).' [El: 120917]

In (9-61 a-b), the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) denies the proposition of the adnominal clauses as a whole. In the declarative clauses, I have not yet found examples where the head of the adnominal clause is filled by the participle that ends with *-n* (PTCP).

6.3.2.2 Adverbial clause whose head verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ) in the nominal predicate phrase

The adverbial clause whose head verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ) can fill the head slot of the nominal predicate phrase. In that case, we can use any variant of the copula verbs, i.e. *jar-*, *ar-*, *zjar-*, or *nar-* as in (9-62 a-f).

(62) Complements filled by the converb that ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)

C onverb followed by *jar-* (COP)

a. attu wattəə jatɨn, wutɨ
a-rɨ=tu *wattəə jar-tɨ=n* [*wur-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
DIST-NLZ=COM 1DU COP-SEQ=even exist-SEQ
jatɨn.joo ..
jar-tɨ=n=joo
COP-SEQ=even=CFM1
'Even if there were two of us, (even if we) were (together) ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. |kˀuusjuu|sjɨ jakɨtɨ jappajaa.
[*kˀuusjuu=sjɨ* *jakɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *jar-ba=jaa*
air.raid=INST burn-SEQ COP-CSL=SOL
'The air raid (in World War II) burned (the banyan tree), so (there isn't any tree).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. ɨɨ, ɨɨ, ɨɨ, gan sjɨ gan
ɨɨ ɨɨ ɨɨ [*ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ [*ga-n*
yes yes yes MES-ADVZ do-SEQ MES-ADVZ
sjɨ jata.
sɨr-tɨ]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *jar-tar*
do-SEQ COP-PST
'Yes, yes, yes. That (is right). That's (right).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Converb followed by *ar-* (COP)

d. namiotankja diruka xxx
[*namio-taa=nkja di-ru=ka wur-ti*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=ja*
Namio-PL=APPR which-NLZ=DUB exist-SEQ=TOP
wutəə arankai?
ar-an=kai
COP-NEG=DUB
'There were Namio and his friends somewhere (in the pictures), weren't (they)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]
Converb followed by *zjar-* (COP)

e. [= (8-123 a)]kurəə kunuguru (sadaega si)
[*ku-ri=ja kunuguru sadae=ga simir*
PROX-NLZ=TOP these.days Sadae=NOM do.CAUS
sadaega simitəəti zja.
sadae=ga simir-təər-ti]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *zjar*
Sadae=NOM do.CAUS-RSL-SEQ COP
'This one [i.e. a picture] is (what) Sadae has made (my son) do [i.e. enlarge] these days.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]
Converb followed by *nar-* (COP)

f. gan sji natɨ,
[*ga-n sir-ti*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *nar-ti*
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-SEQ
simabanasinkjoo siraran.
sima+hanasi=nkja=ja sir-ar-an
community+story=APPR=TOP do-CAP-NEG
'Therefore, (I) cannot do [i.e. tell] a story about (our) community.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that if the head of the nominal predicate pharase is filled by the adverbial clause that ends with *-ti* (SEQ), there is no constraint on the variants of the copula verbs, which is largely different from the case of the adnominal clause in §6.3.2.1, which can take only *ar-* (COP). In fact, the adverbial clause that precedes *nar-* (COP) is only /gan sji/ *ga-n sir-ti* (MES-ADVZ do-SEQ) 'like this' in almost all of the examples in my corpus, and the combination of *ga-n sir-ti* (MES-ADVZ do-SEQ) and *nar-ti* (COP-SEQ) functions like a conjunction meaninig 'therefore' as a whole as in (9-62 f). Interestingly, the function of the adverbial clause composed of *-ti* (SEQ) and the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG) is very similar to that of the adnomina clause *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) and the copula verb *ar-an* (COP-NEG). For example, the converb *wur-ti* (exist-SEQ) in (9-62 d) fills the

head slot of the adverbial clause, which fills in turn the nominal predicate phrase with *ar-an* (COP-NEG), where the converbal affix *-tɨ* (SEQ) expresses the past tense (see also §8.2.1). Therefore, the meaning of /wutəə aran/ *wur-tɨ=ja ar-an* (exist-SEQ=TOP COP-NEG) in (9-62 d) is very similar to /wutan aran/ *wur-tar-n ar-an* (exist-PST-PTCP COP-NEG) of (9-57 c) in §6.3.2.1, where the past tense affix *-tar* is used.

Yuwan has a structure where an infinitive fills the head of the nominal predicate phrase. In the structure, the subject does not belong to the infinitive, but to the copula verb (see (8-114) in §??). On the contrary, the subjects of the constructions as in (9-62 a-f) do not belong to the copula verb, but is included in the adverbial clause, which is attested by the following example.

(63) naa maganu kadəə
[*naa* *maga=nu* *kam-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=ja*
2.HON.SG.ADNZ grandchild=NOM eat-UMRK-PTCP
aranna?
ar-an=na
COP-NEG=PLQ
'Your grandson ate (it), didn't (he)? [lit. aren't (he)?]' [El: 130820]

In (9-63), the subject, i.e. *naa maga* 'your grandchild,' is marked by the nominative case *nu*. If the subject is that of the copula verb, it cannot take *nu* (NOM), and it has to take *ga* (NOM) (see §?? for more details). Therefore, the subject NP is included in the adverbial clause, whose head is *kam-* 'eat.' This is similar to (9-59) in §6.3.2.1.

Considering the above examples, the converb *-tɨ* (SEQ) seems to have some nominal property, since it can be followed by a copula verb as in (9-62 a-f). Additionally, there are other examples where the converb *-tɨ* (SEQ) behaves like the nominal. For example, the converb *-tɨ* (SEQ) can take the nominative case in a certain AVC (see (6-48) in §?? and (9-8) in §6.1.1.1). Moreover, the converbal affix *-əəra* 'after' can be thought to originate from **-tɨ=kara* (SEQ=ABL) considering the morphophonological rule in §??. In fact, the converbal affix *-əəra* 'after' can take the genitive case *nu* as in (8-100 d) in §??.

6.3.3 Extended NP in the predicate phrase

The extended NP is the NP that is followed by case particles (see chapter 6). A nominal predicate phrase is usually filled by an NP not followed by any case particle as in (9-52) - (9-54). However, there are two cases where the predicate

may be filled by an NP followed by a case particle (i.e. an extended NP). They are discussed in §6.3.3.1 and §6.3.3.2 respectively.

6.3.3.1 Nominative case in the subordinate clause in negative

The NP in the predicate takes *ja* (TOP) when the following copula is in negative in the main clause as in (9-54). However, if the predicate NP is in the subordinate clause and also in negative, it may take the nominative case *ga* or *nu* as in (9-64 a-e).

(64) Nominative case in the nominal predicate phrases

a. [= (5-9 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]

b. waakjaga (mm) arɨnu
waakja=ga *a-rɨ=nu* *ar-an-boo*
1PL=NOM DIST-NLZ=NOM COP-NEG-CND
Subject [NP Copula
aranboo, naacɨbanu aranboo,
naacɨba=nu *ar-an-boo*
tone.deaf=NOM COP-NEG-CND
verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$ [NP Copula
'If I am not that, (that is to say) if (I) am not tone deaf, ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. namanən sjɨ, (ee) .. uriga
nama=nən *sɨr-tɨ* *u-rɨ=ga* *ar-an-ba*
now=LOC1 do-SEQ MES-NLZ=NOM COP-NEG-CSL
[NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
aranba,

'(The compulsory education) wasn't [i.e. wasn't conducted for nine

years] like (it is) these days, so ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. mata |honnin|nu kjuranɨsəənu
mata *honnin=nu* *kjura+nɨsəə=nu*
moreover oneself=NOM beautiful+young.man=NOM
aranboo, ikjaran. Subject [NP Copula
ar-an-boo *ik-ar-an*
COP-NEG-CND go-CAP-NEG
verb]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
'Moreoever, if the (person) himself is not a beautiful young man, (he) cannot go (to) [i.e. become] (an Imperial Guard).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

e. haroozinkjaga aranbajaa.
haroozi=nkja=ga *ar-an-ba=jaa*
relative=APPR=NOM COP-NEG-CSL=SOL
[NP Copula
'(They) are not relatives, so (one of them did not attend the marriage ceremony).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In the above examples, the NPs in the predicate phrases take the nominative case *ga* or *nu*. All of the copula verbs in (9-64 a-e) take the negative affix *-an* (NEG), and all of the predicates are in the subordinate clauses. (9-64 a) is in the adnominal clause whose external head is *tuki* 'time,' and (9-64 b-e) are in the adverbial clauses. If the copula verbs do not take negative affixes, the NP in the predicate does not take the nominative cases as in (8-36 e) in §??. The selection of the nominative particles, i.e. *ga* or *nu*, depends on the relation between the head nominal in the NP and the animacy hierarchy (see §?? for more details). However, it is irregular that the predicate NPs in (9-64 c) and (9-64 e), i.e. *u-rɨ* 'that (educational system)' and *haroozi* 'relative,' take *ga* (not *nu*), since inanimate referents or the human common nouns cannot take *ga* in principle.

The same phenomenon may occur in the adjectival predicate, although it has not occurred in the text corpus (i.e., it occurred only in elicitation).

(65) Nominative case in the adjectival predicate phrase
utussjanu nənba, micjɨn
utussj-sa=nu *nə-an-ba* *mj-tɨ=n*
frightening-ADJ=NOM STV-NEG-CSL see-SEQ=ever
[Adjective Stative verb]$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$

nji!
nj-i
EXP-IMP

'(It) is not frightening, so try to see (it)!' [El: 130822]

In fact, the speaker utters naturally a sentence where /utussjanu/ *utusssj-sa=nu* (frightening-ADJ=NOM) in (9-65) is replaced by /utussjoo/ *utussj-soo* (frightening-ADJ).

6.3.3.2 Cleft-like (or pseudo-cleft-like) construction

Other than the examples discussed above, there are a few examples where extended NPs fill the predicate phrases as in (9-66 a-b).

(66) Extended NP in the predicate phrases

a. kuri kumanti zjajaa.
ku-ri *ku-ma=nanti* *zjar=jaa*
PROX-NLZ PROX-place=LOC1 COP=SOL
[Extended NP Copula
'(The place where) this [i.e. the sumo wrestling] (was held) is at this place.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. kan sji jaanu dikəə
ka-n *sir-ti* *jaa=nu* *dikir-∅=ja*
PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ house=GEN be.built-INF=TOP
|nannengoro|karakai? [Extended NP]$_{\text{Nomimal predicate phrase}}$
nannen-goro=kara=kai
what.year-about=ABL=DUB
'Since when did the houses like these (begin to) be built?' [lit. 'From about what year (was) the houses' being built like these.'] [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Probably, the extended NPs in (9-66 a-b) are arguments that are focused and derived from the "original" sentences where the extended NPs fill the ordinary slots, i.e. argument slots, in the clauses. These constructions seem to have some relationship with the "clefts" or "pseudo-clefts" in the languages around the world (cf. Payne 1997: 278-281), and more elaborate research remains to be done.

6.4 Argumentations for the suggested differences among the predicate phrases

The structural differences (or analyses) among the three types of predicate phrases have so far examined in the previous sections. However, one may think that a type of the predicate phrases may be analyzed as another type of them. For example, one may ask if the adjectival predicate, e.g. /arəə sijusa/ *a-rɨ=ja siju-sa* (DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ) 'That is white.' is really different from the nominal predicate, e.g. /arəə kasa/ *a-rɨ=ja kasa* (DIST-NLZ=TOP hat) 'That is a hat.'

In this section, I will present the arguments for the suggested analyses that the three types of the predicate phrases are different from one another. The differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate are discussed in §6.4.1. The differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate are discussed in §6.4.2. The differences between the nominal predicate and the verbal predicate are discussed in §6.4.3.

6.4.1 The differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate

There are four differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate as in the following table.

Table 6.3: Morphosyntactic differences between the adjectival predicate and the nominal predicate

	Adjectival predicate	Nominal predicate
Can appear in the adnominal clause in the non-past tense	+	–
Can be followed by *nu* (CSL)	+	–
The head can directly take *na* (PLQ), *kai* (DUB), or *doo* (ASS)	–	+
Take different verbal forms in the predicate phrase	*ar-*/*nə-*	*jar-*/*zjar-*/*nar-*/*ar-*

Firstly, the adjectival predicate can appear in the adnominal clause in the non-past tense as in (9-67 a), but the nominal predicate cannot as in (9-67 b).

(67)

Adnominal clause in the non-past tense

a. Adjectival predicate
kjurasan nɨsəə
[*kjura-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *nɨsəə*
beautiful-ADJ+STV-PTCP young.man
'a young man who is beautiful' [El: 130822]

b. Nominal predicate
*|sinsjei| jan/zjan nɨsəə
[*sinsjei jar-n/zjar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *nɨsəə*
teacher COP-PTCP/COP-PTCP young.man
[Intended meaning] 'a person who is a teacher' [El: 130822]

Adnominal clause in the past tense

c. Adjectival predicate
kjurasa atan nɨsəə
[*kjura-sa ar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *nɨsəə*
beautiful-ADJ STV-PST-PTCP young.man
'a young man who was beautiful' [El: 130822]

d. Nominal predicate
|sinsjei| jatan nɨsəə
[*sinsjei jar-tar-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *nɨsəə*
teacher COP-PST-PTCP young.man
'a young man who was a teacher' [El: 130822]

The above examples show that the stative verbal root *ar-* can take both *-n* (PTCP) as in (9-67 a) and *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) as in (9-67 c). On the contrary, the copula verbal root *jar-* (or *zjar-*) cannot (directly) take *-n* (PTCP) as in (9-67 b), although it can take *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) as in (9-67 d). In other words, the subject of the nominal predicate in the non-past tence in affirmative cannot be relativised.

Secondly, the adjectival predicate can take the conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL) as in (9-68 a), but the nominal predicate cannot as in (9-68 b).

(68) a. Adjectival predicate + *nu* (CSL) [= (9-44 c)]
waakjoo utussjanu, aicjɨn njanta.
waakja=ja utussj-sa=nu aik-tɨ=n nj-an-tar
1PL=TOP fearful-ADJ=CSL walk-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG-PST
'I was fearful (of the American soldiers), so I did not walk (around).'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Nominal predicate + *nu* (CSL)
*arəə warabɨnu, waarandaro.
a-rɨ=ja warabɨ=nu waar-an=daro
DIST-NLZ=TOP child=CSL understand-NEG=SUPP
[Intended meaning] 'That one is a child, so (he) maybe does not understand (it).' [El: 130822]

In fact, the conjunctive particle *nu* (CSL) has the same form with the nominative case particle *nu* (NOM). However, the nominative particle *nu* cannot express the causal meaning as in (9-68 b). Thus, *nu* (NOM) is different from *nu* (CSL), and the latter cannot attach to the nominal predicate.

Thirdly, the head NP in the nominal predicate can be directly followed by a few clause-final particles, i.e. *na* (PLQ), *kai* (DUB), or *doo* (ASS) as in (9-69 a). On the contrary, the head adjective in the adjectival predicate cannot as in (9-69 b).

(69)

Nominal predicate

a. arəə kasana?
a-rɨ=ja kasa=na
DIST-NLZ=TOP hat=PLQ
Subject Predicate
'Is that a hat?' [El: 130822]

Adjectival predicate

b. *arəə sijusana?
a-rɨ=ja siju-sa=na
DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ=PLQ
Subject Predicate
[Intended meaning] 'Is that white?' [El: 130822]

c. arəə sijusannja?
a-rɨ=ja siju-sa+ar-i=na
DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ+STV-NPST=PLQ
Subject Predicate
'Is that white?' [El: 130822]

In (9-69 a), the NP in the predicate, i.e. *kasa* 'hat,' can be directly followed by the question particle *na* (PLQ). In (9-69 b), however, the adjective in the predicate, i.e. *siju-sa* (white-ADJ), cannot directly take *na* (PLQ). If the adjective is followed by the stative verb *ar-*, the predicate can take *na* (PLQ) as in (9-69 c).

Finally, there is a morphological difference between the verbal forms that appear in the predicate phrase, i.e. the stative verb and the copula verb. The stative verbs *ar-*/*nə-* are used in the adjectival predicate (see §??), and the copula verbs *jar-*/*zjar-*/*nar-*/*ar-* are used in the nominal predicate (see §??).

6.4.2 The differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate

The stative verbs in the adjectival predicate and the existential verbs in the verbal predicate have the same forms, i.e. /ar-/ and /nə-/ (see §?? and §??). However, there are two differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate as in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Morphosyntactic differences between the adjectival predicate and the verbal predicate

	Adjectival predicate	Verba
Contraction between /ar-/ and the preceding morpheme occurs	+	
The word preceding /ar-/ or /nə-/ can take the nominative case	–	

First, the adjective that inflects with *-sa* (ADJ) is contracted with the following stative verb *ar-*, if the *ar-* (STV) takes *-i* (NPST) or *-n* (PTCP) (see §6.2.2.2 for more details). The example taking *-i* (NPST) is shown in (9-70 a), where the place of contraction is expressed by "+" in the underlying level.

(70) a. Adjectival predicate [= (9-46 d)]
|iciban| dujasa͡i.
iciban *duja-sa͡+a͡r-i*
most rich-ADJ+STV-NPST
'(He) is the richest.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. Verbal predicate
un |teepu|ja nama͡ a͡i?
u-n *teepu=ja* *nama͡ a͡r-i*
MES-ADNZ cassette.tape=TOP yet exist-NPST
'Is the cassette tape there [i.e. ready] yet?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

On the one hand, in (9-70 a), the adjective *duja-sa* (rich-ADJ) and *ar-i* (STV-NPST) induces contraction, and one of the vowel in *-sa+ar-* (ADJ+STV) is deleted.

On the other hand, in (9-70 b), the existential verb *ar-i* (exist-NPST) does not induce contraction with the preceding morpheme *nama* 'yet,' i.e., they do not become */namai/ *nama+ar-i* (yet+exist-NPST).

Secondly, the adjective that precedes a stative verb cannot take the nominative case as in (9-71 a), but the argument NP that precedes existential verbs can take the nominative case as in (9-71 b).

(71) a. Adjectival predicate
huntoo kuwasa ata.
huntoo *kuwa-sa* *ar-tar*
really hard-ADJ STV-PST
'(It) was really hard (for me).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. Verbal predicate
kˀuranu ata.
kˀura=nu *ar-tar*
storehouse=NOM exist-PST
'There was a storehouse.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (9-71 a), the adjective *kuwa-sa* (hard-ADJ) does not take any case particle, which means that we cannot analyze the stative verb *ar-* as the existential verb *ar-*, and that the adjective *kuwa-sa* (hard-ADJ) cannot be analyzed as the argument NP of *ar-* 'exist.' On the contrary, *kˀura* 'storehouse' in (9-71 b) is the argument NP of the existential verb *ar-*. Thus, it takes the nominative case.

6.4.3 The differences between the nominal predicate and the verbal predicate

The head of the nominal predicate is the NP in the predicate (not the following copula verb). On the contrary, the head of the verbal predicate is the VP in the predicate (not its argument NP). This difference is attested by the focus construction, where the focus marker *du* is used (see also §8.3.1). If we put the focus on the nominal predicate, it is the NP (not the copula verb) in the predicate which is focused as in (9-72 a). If we put the focus on the verbal predicate, it is the verb in the predicate (not the argument NP) which is focused as in (9-72 b).

(72) a. Nominal predicate [= (8-39 d)]

arəə akiradu arui?
a-rɨ=ja *akira=du* *ar-u=i*
DiST-NLZ=TOP Akira=FOC COP-PFC=PLQ
[NP Copula verb]$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$
'Is that person Akira?' [El: 130822]

b. Verbal predicate
an c'joo uran
a-n *c'ju=ja* *ura=n*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP 2.NHON.SG=DAT1
[Complement VP]$_{\text{Verbal predicate phrase}}$
tanmidu sjurui?
tanm-i=du *sɨr-jur-u=i*
ask-INF=FOC do-UMRK-PFC=PLQ

'Does that person ask you (about it)?' [El: 130822]

In (9-72 a), the NP (not the copula verb) in the predicate is focused by *du* (FOC). In (9-72 b), the verb *tanm-* 'ask' is focused by *du* (FOC), where the focused component fills the complement slot becoming an infinitive, and the head of VP is filled by the light verb *sɨr-* 'do.' The latter means cannot be taken by the nominal predicate. Thus, the copula verb *ar-* cannot be followed by *du* (FOC) such as **ar-i=du* (COP-INF=FOC).

Before concluding this section, I will also present the example where the adjectival predicate is focused by *du* (FOC).

(73) Adjectival predicate urəə kuwasadu
u-rɨ=ja *kuwa-sa=du*
MES-NLZ=TOP hard-ADJ=FOC
{[Adjective] [Stative
arui?
ar-u=i
STV-PFC=PLQ
verb]}$_{\text{Adjectival predicate phrase}}$
'Is that (rice cake) hard?' [El: 130822]

Similarly, the focus marker *du* follows the adjective in the predicate, which indicates that the head of the adjectival predicate phrase is the adjective (not the stative verb).

7 Particles

This chapter describes the particles in Yuwan. All of the particles are clitics, but not vice versa since the formal nouns also belong to clitics but they are nominals (see §??). Particles in Yuwan can be classified into the following groups: case particles, limiter particles, conjunctive particles, clause-final particles, utterance-final particles A, and utterance-final particles B. They are distinguished by the units that the particles attach to and by the functions of the units after the particles attached to them. Additionally, it is distinctive whether the units attached by the particles are necessarily embedded into the superordinate clause.

The above table shows that case particles and limiter particles are similar to each other. However, the case particles cannot follow the verb in the verbal predicate phrase (with the exception of the nominative case), but the limiter particle can. The unit composed of the conjunctive particle and the preceding clause functions as an adverbial clause. The clause followed by the clause-final particle functions as the main claue. Both of the utterance-final particles A and the utterance-final particles B follow an utterance, and the units followed by the utterance-final particles A function as the complement of the superordinate clause, but the units followed by the utterance-final particles B do not.

The case particles were examined in §??. Therefore, the remaining particles will be discussed in the following sections. The limiter particles are discussed in §7.1. The conjunctive particles are discussed in §7.2. The clause-final particles are discussed in §7.3. The utterance-final particles A are discussed in §7.4. Finally, the utterance-final particles B are discussed in §7.5.

7.1 Limiter particles

Yuwan has the limiter particles seen in Table 7.2. The limiter particles can be hosted by NPs, verbs in the verbal predicate phrases, or adverbial clauses.

The restriction on the co-occurence with the case particles should be mentioned. *ja* (TOP), *du* (FOC), *ga* (FOC), and *n* ‘also; evern; ever’ cannot co-occur with the nominative case. *nən* ‘such as’ cannot co-occur with any case particle. In the following sections, I will present examples of each limiter particle in turn.

Table 7.1: Particles in Yuwan. "VPP" indicates the verbal predicate phrase; "Adv." indicates the adverbial clause; "+/−" means that some particles or some clauses cannot satisfy the criteria.

	The units and functions of the particles' syntactic hosts						Embeddedness
Unit	NP		Non-final verb in VP	Clause		Utterance	
Functions	NP Modifier	Argument		Main	Adv.		
Case particles	+	+	−[a]	−	−	−	+
Limiter particles	+[b]	+	+	−	+/−	−	+
Conjunctive particles	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
Clause-final particles	−	−	−	+	+/−	−	−
Utterance-final particles A	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
Utterance-final particles B	−	−	−	−	−	+	−

[a] Only the nominative case can follow the lexical verb in AVC (see §??).

[b] A few limiter particles, e.g., *n* 'also' or *nən* 'such as,' cannot occur with the modifier NP.

Table 7.2: Limiter particles

Form	Meaning or translation
ja	Topic
du	Focus (not information question)
ga	Focus (including information question)
n	'also; even; ever'
bəi	'only; always; about'
gadɨ	Limitative
nkja	Approximative
kusa	'the very (one)'
səəka	'only'

7.1.1 Topic particle *ja*

The topic particle *ja* is frequently fused with the preceding short vowel, and always assimilates to the preceding nasal consonants. These morphophonological alternations are discussed in §7.1.1.1. The syntax and semantics of *ja* (TOP) will be discussed in §7.1.1.2.

7.1.1.1 Morphophonology of topic particle *ja*

The topic particle *ja* induces either fusion or nasalization depending on the morphophonological environment of the preceding stems.

First, if the topic particle *ja* follows a vowel (not a vowel sequence), frequently several types of vowel fusion occur. If not, i.e. after long vowels or diphthongs, *ja* retains its form. Please note that the fusion of //ci, si, zi// and *ja* requires a little attention because it forms /Cjəə/ (not */Cəə/).

(1) Rule shemata

Front vowel[1]

[1]There is no lexeme that ends with /ə/ (see §2.2.1.2). Additionally, there is only one lexeme (excluding *ude* 'hey' and *doosje* 'maybe') that ends with /e/ and is fused with *ja* (TOP), i.e. *nazje* (or *nasje*) 'Naze (name of place).,' However, it is difficult to decide whether the phone is [nɻ(d͡)ʑeː] or [nɻ(d͡)ʑɜː], and audio-instrumental research should be done in the future. The same point can be made about the fusion with the allative case (or ablative case) (see §?? and §??).

a. // C i // + *ja* (TOP) > /Cjəə/
   [C is //c, s, z//]
b. // C i // + *ja* (TOP) > /Cəə/
   [C is not //c, s, z//]
   Mid vowel
c. // C ɨ // + *ja* (TOP) > /Cəə/
   Back vowels
d. // C { u o a } // + *ja* (TOP) > /Coo/
   Long vowels or diphthongs
e. // V V // + *ja* (TOP) > /VVja/

(2) Examples

a. Front and mid vowels

kuci	'mouth'	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/kucjəə/	(*/kucəə/)
nusi	(RFL)		>	/nusjəə/	(*/nusəə/)
tuzi	'wife'		>	/tuzjəə/	(*/tuzəə/)
kˀubi	'neck'		>	/kˀubəə/	
kurɨ	'this'		>	/kurəə/	

b. Back vowels

wunagu	'woman'	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/wunagoo/	
juuto	'(personal name)'		>	/juutoo/	
ura	'you'		>	/uroo/	

c. Long vowels or diphthongs

jaa	'house'	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/jaaja/	(*/ja.oo/)
mai	'hip'		>	/maija/	(*/ma.əə/)

The above phenomenon can be paraphrased as follows: if the preceding syllable is a light syllable, it is frequently fused with *ja* (TOP); if the preceding syllable is a heavy syllable, it is not fused with *ja* (TOP).

Secondly, if *ja* (TOP) follows //m// or //n//, it is always realized as /na/ or /nja/, according to the morphosyntactic environments or the lexemes of the preceding words.

(3) Rule schemata

a. Special *n*-final morphemes

ja (TOP) > /nja/ / $\left\{\begin{matrix} nan & \text{(2.HON.SG)} \\ n & \text{(DAT1)} \\ nan & \text{(LOC1)} \\ -n & \text{(ADVZ)} \\ unin^{2} & \text{'that time'} \end{matrix}\right\}$ _

b. Infinitives (stem No. 6 & 17)

ja (TOP) > /nja/[3] / Infinitives [*m*-final or *n*-final stems] _

c. The other *n*-final morphemes

ja (TOP) > /na/ / //n// _

(4) Examples

a. Special *n*-final morphemes

nan	(2.HON.SG)	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/nannja/
maga=n	(grandchild=DAT1)		>	/magannja/
uma=nan	(there=LOC1)		>	/uma.nannja/
ka-n	(PROX-ADVZ)		>	/kannja/
unin	'that time'		>	/uninnja/

b. Infinitives

jum-∅	(read-INF)	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/jumnja/
sin-∅	(die-INF)		>	/sinnja/

c. The other n-final morphemes

wan	(1SG)	+ *ja* (TOP)	>	/wanna/
jum-an	(read-NEG)		>	/jumanna/

7.1.1.2 Syntax and semantics of topic particle *ja*

The term topic is here used in the following meaning: "the topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about" (Lambrecht

[3] **kunin* 'this time' or **anin* 'that time' do not exist in Yuwan

1994: 118). Yuwan uses *ja* (TOP) to mark the topic in a clause. I will present an example where two people are talking about a picture in front of them. In this conversation, the referent (in a picture) indicated by *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this person' in (10-5 b) was already mentioned by the previous utterance in (10-5 a) as *ku-n cʾju* (PROX-ADNZ person) 'this one.' In other words, *ku-rɨ* 'this one' in (10-5 b) is presupposed by the hearer and may be topicalized. Thus, it takes *ja* (TOP) as in (10-5 b).

(5) *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this (one)' being topicalized
[Context: Looking at a picture]

a. MS: kun cʾjuja utacuobasan.ja aran?
ku-n *cʾju=ja* *utacu+obasan=ja* *ar-an*
PROX-ADNZ person=TOP Utatsu+old.lady=TOP COP-NEG
ikjasjɨ?
ikja-sjɨ
how-ADVZ
'Isn't this person Utatsu? What (do you think)?'

b. TM: aran, aran. kurəə josidanu
ar-an *ar-an* *ku-rɨ=ja* *josida=nu*
COP-NEG COP-NEG PROX-NLZ=TOP Yoshida=GEN
hannjəə.
hannjəə
grandmother
'No, no. This one is the grandmother of the Yoshida [i.e. a name of a shop].' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-5 a), MS mistook a person in the picture for another person (i.e. 'Utatsu'). Then, TM corrected the misunderstanding, and told MS that it was 'the grandmother of the Yoshida.' In this example, the referent of *ku-rɨ* 'this one' in (10-5 b) is presupposed by the hearer. On the other hand, if the referent indicated by *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this one' is not presupposed by the hearer, *ku-rɨ* 'this one' does not take *ja* (TOP) as in (10-6 b).

(6) *ku-rɨ* (PROX-NLZ) 'this (one)' not being topicalized
[Context: Looking at a picture]

a. MS: |koocjoo sita|jaa. |hai|. hirosiccjun
koocjoo *sita=jaa* *hai* *hirosi=ccjɨ+jʾ-jur-n*
principal do.PST=SOL yes Hiroshi=QT+say-UMRK-PTCP

c'ju?
c'ju
person
'(He) was the principal. Yeah. (Is he) a person who (is called) Hiroshi?'

b. TM: kuɾiga hirosi.
ku-ɾi=ga *hirosi*
PROX-NLZ=NOM Hiroshi
'This one is Hiroshi.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-6 a), MS remembered a person who was the school principal, and asked TM if his name was Hiroshi or not. Then, in (10-6 b), TM pointed a person in the picture and told him that the person was Hiroshi. In this conversation, *ku-ɾi* 'this one' in (10-6 b) is not presupposed by the hearer. Thus, it cannot be marked by *ja* (TOP), and the nominative case, which is used to mark the subject of the nominal predicate, appears.

The referent (of the word) that is marked by *ja* (TOP) should be presupposed by the hearer. Therefore, interrogatives cannot be marked by *ja* (TOP). In fact, interrogatives are frequently marked by *ga* (FOC) (see §7.1.2.2).

The topic marker *ja* cannot co-occur with the nominative case as in (10-5 b); otherwise, the subject in (10-5 b) must take *ga* (NOM) (see §**??**). The other case particles, e.g., the accusative case *ba*, can co-occur with *ja* (TOP) as in (7).

(7) *ba* (ACC) + *ja* (TOP) [= (6-101 d)]
mata namanujoo warabɨnkjoojoo,
mata *nama=nu=joo* *warabɨ=nkja=ja=joo*
moreover now=GEN=CFM1 child=APPR=TOP=CFM1
huccjunkjaboo sɨkandoojaa.
huccju=nkja=ba=ja *sɨk-an=doo=jaa*
old.person=APPR=ACC=TOP like-NEG=ASS=SOL
'Moreover, the children in these days do not like the old people.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

ja (TOP) also appears in the nominal predicate in negative as in (8) (except for the case in §6.3.3.1).

(8) *ja* (TOP) in the nominal predicate (= [8-39 a])

kurəə	(an ..)	kazumataaja	aranna?
ku-rɨ=ja	*a-n*	*kazuma-taa=ja*	*ar-an=na*
[PROX-NLZ]=TOP	DIST-ADNZ	[Kazuma-PL=TOP	COP-NEG]=PLQ
[Subject]	[Nominal	predicate]	

'Isn't this [i.e. the scene in the picture] (about) Kazuma and his friends?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, the NP in the nominal predicate in negative takes *ja* (TOP).

7.1.2 Focus particles *du* and *ga*

The focus particle is used to mark the word where the speaker thinks that the hearer's attention should be paid. Thus, the focus particle and the topic particle cannot co-occur, since the latter is used to mark the word that is, the speaker thinks, pressuposed by the hearer. Yuwan has two focus particles: *du* and *ga*. *du* (FOC) is used in the assertion or the polar question (see §7.1.2.1). *ga* (FOC) is used in the information question in principle (see §7.1.2.2).

7.1.2.1 *du* (FOC)

du (FOC) is used either in the assertion or the polar question. First, I will show the examples of *du* (FOC) used in the assertion.

(9) *du* (FOC) in the assertion

a. takennan umoojutankara, |hotondo| takennu
taken=nan umoor-jur-tar-n=kara hotondo [*taken=nu*
Taken=LOC1 exist-UMRK-PST-PTCP=CSL almost Taken=GEN
munbəidu ucɨcjəija.
mun]$_{NP}$*=bəi=du ucɨs-təər-i=jaa*
thing=only=FOC take-RSL-NPST=SOL
'Since (he) used to be in Taken, (he) took only the (pictures) of Taken.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. miojakunga wutɨdu jiccjan.
[*miojakun=ga wur-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=du jiccj-sa+ar-n*
Mioya=NOM exist-SEQ=FOC good-ADJ+STV-PTCP
'There is Mioya, and (it) is good (for us).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. naa|nihon|bəidu appa,
[*naa+nihon=bəi=du* *ar-ba*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
another+two.CLF=about=FOC exist-CSL
|hacikiro|naadu kinmɨ sjɨ, haatɨ,
[*hacikiro+naa=du* *kinmɨ* *sɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *haar-tɨ*
eight.kilogram+each=FOC measure do-SEQ measure-SEQ
'There are the other two white radishes, so (one) measures eight kilograms (of the materials) for each, and ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

d. hada natɨbəidu wun
[*hada nar-tɨ=bəi=du* *wur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
naked become-SEQ=always=FOC PROG-PTCP
cˀjunu ..
cˀju=nu
person=NOM
'The person who was always naked ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-9 a), *du* (FOC) follows the NP *taken=nu mun* (Taken=GEN thing) 'the things of Taken.' In (10-9 b), *du* (FOC) follows the clause *miojakun=ga wur-tɨ* (Mioya=NOM exist-SEQ) 'There is Mioya.' In this example, the sentence-final predicate takes the participle, which is usually used to fill the predicate of the adnominal clause. The correlation of *du* (FOC) and the participle has been traditionally called *kakari-musubi* (i.e. 'government-predication'), which will be discussed in §8.3.1. In (10-9 c), *du* (FOC) appears in the adverbial clause. In (10-9 d), *du* (FOC) appears in the adnominal clause.

Secondly, I will show the examples of *du* (FOC) used in the polar question.

(10) *du* (FOC) in the polar question

a. [= (8-76 d)]
kurəə |maiku|du muccjurui?
ku-rɨ=ja *maiku=du* *mut-tur-u=i*
PROX-NLZ=TOP microphone=FOC hold-PROG-PFC=PLQ
'Is this person holding a microphone?' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. uroo kumaaradu izitarui?
ura=ja *ku-ma=kara=du* *izir-tar-u=i*
2.NHON.SG=TOP PROX-place=ABL=FOC go.out-PST-PFC=PLQ
'Did you go out from here?' [El: 121010]

If *du* (FOC) is used in the polar question, the verbal inflection takes *-u* (PFC) with the question particle *i* (PLQ) as in the above examples.

7.1.2.2 *ga* (FOC)

In principle, *ga* (FOC) is used in the information question as in (10-11 a-b).

(11) *ga* (FOC) in the information question

a. [= (5-34 a)]
nɨsəə mata daaciga izjaru?
nɨsəə mata daa=kaci=ga ik-tar-u
young.man again where=ALL=FOC go-PST-PFC
'Where did the young man go again?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: Talking with US about how they played in the past] = (5-31)
nuu sjutɨga, asɨdutakai?
nuu sɨr-jur-tɨ=ga asɨb-tur-tar=kai
what do-UMRK-SEQ=FOC play-PROG-PST=DUB
'What kind of play did (we) do? [lit. What did (we) use to do, and play?] [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (10-11 a), *ga* (FOC) follows the (extended) NP *daa=kaci* (where=ALL) 'to where.' In (10-11 b), *ga* (FOC) follows the clause *nuu sɨr-jur-tɨ* (what do-UMRK-SEQ) 'What did (we) use to do, and ...' Both of the examples include the intterogative words, i.e. *daa* 'where' and *nuu* 'what,' and express the information question (see also §??).

However, there are a few cases where *ga* (FOC) is used not in the information question; they are summarized below.

(12) *ga* (FOC) is used after,

a. *tuki=n* (time=DAT1);
b. temporal adverbs;
c. locational nominals;
d. adverbial clauses.

First, *ga* (FON) is used after *tuki=n* (time=DAT1), even if the clause does not express an information question.

(13) *ga* (FOC) is used after *tuki=n* (time=DAT1)

a. [= (4-25 c)]

|hizjoo|nu tukinga gan+gan gan+gan
hizjoo=nu *tuki=n=ga* *gan+gan* *gan+gan*
emergency=GEN time=DAT1=FOC RED+clang RED+clang
zjanaucii.
zjana+ut-i
many+hit-INF
'When there was an emergency, (the person in charge) clanged (the bell) many times.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. |cjoodo| un tukinga (anoo ..)
cjoodo *u-n* *tuki=n=ga* *nasje=nu* *cjuugakkoo*
just MES-ADNZ time=DAT1=FOC Naze=GEN junior.high.school
nasjenu cjuugakkoo |socugjoo| sjɨ.
socugjoo *sɨr-tɨ*
graduation do-SEQ
'Just at the time, (the teacher came, who) had graduated from the junior high school in Naze.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

Secondly, *ga* (FOC) is used after temporal adverbs, even if the clause does not express an information question.

(14) *ga* (FOC) is used after temporal adverbs

a. kinjuga, (kinjuga) cuburutu (cuburutu) cubusitu
kinju=ga *kinju=ga* [*cuburu=tu* *cuburu=tu* *cubusi=tu*
yesterday=FOC yesterday=FOC head=COM head=COM knee=COM
jˀicjutɨga, warəəcjɨjo.
jˀ-tur-tɨ=ga]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *waraw-i=ccjɨ=joo*
say-PROG-SEQ=FOC laugh-INF=QT=CFM1
'Yesterday (I) said *cuburu* [i.e. 'head'] and *cubusi* [i.e. 'knee'] (in Yuwan for the present author), and (we) laughed.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. kunəədaga waakja dusinu, asikendusinu,
kunəəda=ga *waakja-a* *dusi=nu* *asiken+dusi=nu*
the.other.day=FOC 1PL-ADNZ friend=NOM Ashiken+frend=NOM
wututɨ,
wur-tur-tɨ
exist-PROG-SEQ
'The other day, there is my friend, (i.e.) a friend in Ashiken, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

Thirdly, *ga* (FOC) is used after locational nominals, even if the clause does not express an information question. Interestingly, the locational nominals followed by *ga* (FOC) (in the non-information question) do not take the locative cases.

(15) *ga* (FOC) is used after locational nominals

a. umaga atəkkamojaa.
u-ma=ga *ar-təər=kamo=jaa*
MES-place=FOC exist-RSL=POS=SOL
'(The chamber of commerce) may have been there.' [lit. '(At) that place, (the chamber of commerce) may have existed.'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [= (4-38 a)]
umaga naikwanu
u-ma=ga *naikwa=nu*
MES-place=FOC department.of.internal.medicine=NOM
dɨkɨppoo, |kamera| numgja ikiiki.
dɨkɨr-boo *kamera* *num-∅+gja* *ik-i+ik-i*
be.set.up-CND camera swallow-INF+PURP go-INF+go-INF
'After the department of internal medicine was set up there, (I) often went (there) in order to swallow the (stomach) camera.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Finally, *ga* (FOC) is used after adverbial clauses, even if the clause does not express an information question. (10-14 a) is an example of that. Other examples are shown below.

(16) *ga* (FOC) is used after adverbial clauses

a. uninkara hɨɨtəəraga, uraa
[*unin=kara* *hɨɨr-təəra*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* [*ura-a*
that.time=ABL get.up-after=FOC 2.NHON.SG-ADNZ
məəci |denwa|ba sjəəraga, bocuubocu
məə=kaci *denwa=ba* *sɨr-təəra*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* *bocu+bocu*
place=ALL phone=ACC do-after=FOC RED+step.by.step
cɨra arati,
cɨra *araw-tɨ*
face wash-SEQ
'After (I) got up since that time, and after (I) called you, (I) washed my face, and ...' [Co: 101020_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM complains about the injury to her feet, since it made her unable to dance.]
gan sjɨ natɨga, uriɨ
[*ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ* *nar-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* [*u-rɨ*
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ become-SEQ=FOC MES-NLZ
natɨga, sɨrarancjɨjo.
nar-tɨ]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*ga* *sɨr-ar-an=ccjɨ=joo*
become-SEQ=FOC do-CAP-NEG=QT=CFM1
'Since (it) is like that, and since (it) is that [i.e. TM trips over her own feet], (I) cannot do (it) [i.e. dance].' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

7.1.3 *n* 'also; even; ever'

The limiter particle *n* has several meanings, i.e. 'also,' 'even,' and 'ever,' which will be exemplified below in turn.

First, the limiter particle *n* means 'also' after NPs. The NP followed by *n* 'also' presupposes another referent that has some relationship to the referent indicated by the NP.

(17) *n* meaning 'also'

a. sumii. uran acjoo xxx cʾjɨ
sumi *ura=n* *acja=ja* *k-tɨ* *kurɨr-an-boo*
Sumi 2.NHON.SG=also tomorrow=TOP come-SEQ BEN-NEG-CND
kurɨrbanboo. naa main kucin
naa *mai=n* *kuci=n* *wakar-an=mun*
already buttock=also mouth=also understand-NEG=ADVRS
wakaranmun.

'Sumi. If (not only the present author but) also you do not come tomorrow (for me), (I will be in trouble). (I) already cannot distinguish (not only complex things but) also the buttock and the mouth [i.e. cannot understand anything].' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. acjan dooka cʾjɨ kurɨppajoo.
acja=n *dooka* *k-tɨ* *kurɨr-ba=joo*
tomorrow=also please come-SEQ BEN-CSL=CFM1
'Please come (for me) also tomorrow.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In (10-17 a), *ura=n* 'also you' presupposes the existence of the present author, and *mai=n kuci=n* (buttock=also mouth=also) presupposes some complex things. See the free translation of (10-17 a). In (10-17 b), *n* 'also' follows directly a nominal that has temporal meaning such as *acja* 'tomorrow.' However, if *n* 'also' follows *nama* 'now,' it has to take *n* (DAT1) as in (18).

(18) [Context: Speaking of the outdoor lamps which was set in the past] = (9-57 b)
namanin an aran?
nama=n=n *ar-n* *ar-an*
now=DAT1=also exist-PTCP COP-NEG
'There are (outdoor lamps not only in the past but) aslo now, aren't there?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

Secondly, the limiter particle *n* and the preceding adverbial clause (whose head verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)) means 'even if' (excluding the case of *nj-* (EXP), which is discussed later).

(19) *-tɨ* (SEQ) + *n* 'even' meaning 'even if'

a. [= (8-103)]
abɨtɨn, kikjanba. j'icjɨn,
[*abɨr-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n* *kik-an-ba* [*j'-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n*
call-SEQ=even hear-NEG-CSL say-SEQ=even
kikjanba.
kik-an-ba
hear-NEG-CSL
'Even if (I) call (her), (she) doesn't hear. Even if (I) say (something to her), (she) doesn't hear, so (I don't visit her these days).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. daa izjɨn, (an ..) |dɨisaabisu| izjɨn,
daa *ik-tɨ=n* [*a-n* *dɨisaabisu* *ik-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$=*n*
where go-SEQ=any DIST-ADNZ day.care go-SEQ=even
'Wherever (I) go, and even if (I) go to day-care (center), ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Thirdly, the limiter particle *n* means 'ever' before *nj-* (EXP) (see §6.1.1.1 for more details).

(20) *n* 'ever' + *nj-* (EXP)

asɨdɨn njan.jaa.
asɨb-tɨ=n nj-an=jaa
play-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG=SOL
Lex. verb Aux. verb
'(We) have never played (together), (have we?)' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Finally, if the limiter particle *n* follows an indefinite word (or a clause that includes an indefinite word), the questional function of the interrogative word is deleted, and the interrogative word is used as an indefinite word. For example, *nuu* 'what' plus *n* means 'anything' (see also §??). Tentatively, *n* in this use is glossed as 'any.' The interrogatives and *n* 'any' in underlying level, and their correspondents in free translation are underlined below.

(21) Interrogatives + *n* 'any'

a. nun sɨran.joo.
nuu=n sɨr-an=joo
what=any do-NEG=CFM1
'(That person) did not do anything.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [= (8-44 a)]
|reitou|nansəəka ucjukuboo, ɨciɨgadɨ jatɨn,
reitou=nan=səəka uk-tuk-boo [*ɨcɨɨ=gadɨ jar-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial}}$
freezer=LOC1=just put-PFV-CND when=LMT COP-SEQ=any
ucjukarɨi.
$_{\text{clause}}$*=n uk-tuk-arɨr-i*
put-PFV-CAP-NPST
'If (you) put (the pickles) in the freezer, you can keep (them) no matter how long (the period of preservation) was.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. daakara mjicjɨn, cunekocjɨ
[*daa=kara mj-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$*=n cuneko=ccjɨ*
where=ABL see-SEQ=any Tsuneko=QT
urabjutattu.
urab-jur-tar-tu
call.loudly-UMRK-PST-CSL
'No matter where (he) found (me), (he) called loudly, "Tsuneko."' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

As mentioned in §??, another word may intervene between the interrogative words and *n* 'any' as in (10-21 b-c), where the adverbial clauses are similar to those in (10-20 a-b).

7.1.4 *bəi* 'only; always; about'

The limiter particle *bəi* means a restrictoin such as (10-22 a), constancy such as (10-9 d), or a rough estimation such as (10-22 b). Each of them is translated as 'only,' 'always,' and 'about' in their glosses and free translation.

(22) a. *bəi* meaning a restriction ('only')
|medama|bəidu jakjun.
medama=bəi=du jak-jur-n
sunny.side.up=only=FOC bake-UMRK-PTCP
'(I) bake only (the egg that is baked) sunny-side up.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. *bəi* meaning a rough estimation ('about')
|sanzjuunen|bəinu tukikamojaa.
sanzjuunen=bəi=nu tuki=kamo=jaa
the.year.30=about=GEN time=POS=SOL
'(The date when this picture was taken) may be about (Showa) 30.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

7.1.5 *gadɨ* (LMT)

gadɨ (LMT) can be used as the case particle (see §??). Moreover, it may be used as a limiter particle as in (10-23 a-b). *gadɨ* (LMT) is used to express the limit of the speaker's expectation (or the limit of the hearer's expectation that the speaker assumes).

(23) *gadɨ* (LMT) as the limiter particle

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

b. [Context: Remembering a flood in the past when people tried to pull a house that was being flushed away]
utɨgadəə sɨrantattu.
utɨr-∅=gadɨ=ja sɨr-an-tar-tu
fall-INF=LMT=TOP do-NEG-PST-CSL
[Complement LV]$_{VP}$
'(They) were unlikely to fall (in the river).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-23 a), *gadɨ* (LMT) follows another case particle, i.e. *kaci* (ALL). In (10-23 b), *gadɨ* (LMT) follows the infinitive *utɨr-∅* (fall-INF) in the complement slot in the LVC.

Before concluding this section, it is appropriate to mention that Yuwan has the clasue-final particle *gadɨ* (LMT) as in (56) in §7.3.10, where *gadɨ* (LMT) always follows the adjective. Additionally, there is the inflectional affix *-gadɨ* 'until,' which can directly follows a verbal root (see §?? for more details). It is probable that these morphemes have the same origin.

7.1.6 *nkja* (APPR)

nkja (APPR) can indicate an unspecific group, and also can indicate a referent as an example (see §?? for more details). *nkja* (APPR) can follow both nominals and verbs.

First, I will show the examples where *nkja* (APPR) follows nominals. In (10-24 a-d), *nkja* (APPR) precedes the case particles. In (10-24 e-g), *nkja* (APPR) follows the case particles.

(24) a. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *nu* (NOM)
kun |supiika|nkjanu appa.
ku-n supiikaa=nkja=nu ar-ba
PROX-ADNZ loudspeaker=APPR=NOM exist-CSL
'There are loudspeakers like this (in this picture), so (this picture must have been taken recently).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *ba* (ACC)
urɨnkjaba jˀicjutɨga, warəəcjɨjo.
u-rɨ=nkja=ba jˀ-tur-tɨ=ga waraw-i=ccjɨ=joo
MES-NLZ=APPR=ACC say-PROG-SEQ=FOC laugh-INF=QT=CFM1
'(We) were (always) saying a thing like that, and laughing.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *nu* (GEN)
umankjanu cjannui.
u-ma=nkja=nu cjan+nur-i
MES-place=APPR=GEN coal.tar+spread-INF
'(The person) gave that place a coat of coal tar.' [lit. '(The person was) to spread coal tar on that place.'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. *nkja* (APPR) precedes *n* (DAT1) [= (8-125 a)]

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

e. *nkja* (APPR) follows *n* (DAT1) [= (9-45 f)]
nobuariga mm kiga sjun
nobuari=ga kiga sir-tur-n tuki=n=nkja=ja
Nobuari=NOM injury do-PROG-PTCP time=DAT1=APPR=TOP
tukininkjoo huntoo kuwasa ata.
huntoo kuwa-sa ar-tar
really hard-ADJ STV-PST
'When Nobuari was suffering injuries, (it) was really hard (for me).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

f. *nkja* (APPR) follows *kaci* (ALL)
hatiikacinkja izjin, naa, kusa musijagacinan, jukkadi
hatii=kaci=nkja ik-ti=n naa kusa muij-jagacinaa=n jukkadi
field=ALL=APPR go-SEQ=even FIL weed pull-SIM=even always
uta.
uta
song
'Even if (my mother) goes to the field, and even while (she) pulls the weeds, (she) always (sings) a song.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

g. *nkja* (APPR) follows *nanti* (LOC2)
mukasija umantinkjoo, waakjaga
mukasi=ja u-ma=nanti=nkja=ja waakja=ga
the.past=TOP MES-place=LOC2=APPR=TOP 1PL=NOM
injasain,
inja-sa+ar-i=n
small-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1
'In the past, at that place, when we were small [i.e. children], ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that *nkja* (APPR) follows nominals that are at the lower level in the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan, e.g., *supiikaa* 'loudspeaker' as

in (10-24 a) (see also Table ?? in §??). However, if the preceding nominals have already taken a plural marker, i.e. *-kja* (PL) or *-taa* (PL), then *nkja* (APPR) can follow every kind of nominals even if the nominals are at the higer level in in the animacy hierarchy in Yuwan as in (10-25 a-b) (see (6-102) - (6-104) in §?? for more details).

(25) a. *-kja* (PL) + *nkja* (APPR)
[Context: Looking at a pictue, where there were a few men] = (6-102 a)
waakjankjoo waasa asaa.
waakja=nkja=ja waa-sa ar-sa
1PL=APPR=TOP young-ADJ STV-POL
'I am young(er than them).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. *-taa* (PL) + *nkja* (APPR)
nobuhito okkantankjan wutənban,
nobuhito okkan-taa=nkja=n wur-təər-n=ban
Nobuhito mother-PL=APPR=also exist-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS
'Nobuhito's mother and other people were also living (here), but ...'
[Co: 120415_00.txt]

Secondly, I will show the examples where *nkja* (APPR) follows verbs. In (10-26 a-d), *nkja* (APPR) follows *-tɨ* (SEQ). In (10-26 e), *nkja* (APPR) follows *-tai* (LST).

(26) *-tɨ=nkja* (SEQ=APPR)

a. mata un .. micjaija
mata u-n micjai=ja mudur-tɨ=nkja
again MES-ADNZ three.person.CLF=TOP return-SEQ=APPR
mudutɨnkja cˀjattu,
k-tar-tu
come-PST-CSL
'The three (boys) came back again, so ...' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. cˀjui jinganu hinzjaa succjɨnkjoo,
cˀjui jinga=nu hinzjaa sukk-tɨ=nkja=ja
one.person.CLF man=NOM goat pull-SEQ=APPR=TOP
uma tuutɨ cˀjancjɨjoo.
u-ma tuur-tɨ k-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo
MES-place pass-SEQ come-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'A man pulled a goat alone, and came and passed there.' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

c. mussjuuja hikjannənsjutɨ, maruu
mussjuu=ja *hik-an-nən=sjutɨ* *maruu*
straw.mat=TOP spread-NEG-SEQ=SEQ ball
uccjutɨnkjoo, asɨbantɨ?
ut-tur-tɨ=nkja=ja *asɨb-an-tɨ*
hit-PROG-SEQ=APPR=TOP play-NEG-SEQ
'Not spreading a straw mat, didn't (you) play (something) like hitting a ball?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. sɨgu cuburunan kan sjɨ
sɨgu *cuburu=nan* *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ*
as.soon.as head=LOC1 PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ
nusɨtɨnkjadu, aikjutattu.
nusɨr-tɨ=nkja=du *aik-jur-tar-tu*
put.on-SEQ=APPR=FOC walk-UMRK-PST-CSL
'(I) used to walk putting (the load) on the head immediately as soon as (I felt it heavy), so (our life style in the old days is similar to that of Vietnam).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]
-tai=nkja (LST=APPR)

e. minnan kˀubatainkjan sjanmun,
minna=n *kˀubar-tai=nkja=n* *sɨr-tar-n=mun*
everyone=DAT1 distribute-LST=APPR=also do-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'(People) distributed (the pamphlet of songs) to everyone, but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Before concluding this section, I will present a good example that exemplifies how many times *nkja* (APPR) can be used in a clause.

(27) [Context: TM talks to MS. (MS's reply is omitted from the convesation for convenience.)]
koobunɨjajoo urakjaa cˀjantankja,
koo+hunɨ=ja=joo *urakja-a* *cˀan-taa=nkja*
river+boat=TOP=CFM1 2.NHON.PL-ADNZ father-PL=APPR
josidankja, an noogusukuntɨnkja agan
josida=nkja *a-n* *noogusuku=nantɨ=nkja* *aga-n*
Yoshida=APPR DIST-ADNZ Nogusuku=LOC2=APPR DIST-ADVZ
sjɨ sjun cˀjunkjanu kumɨ |hakobi|.
sɨr-tɨ *sɨr-jur-n* *cˀju=nkja=nu* *kumɨ hakobi*
do-SEQ do-UMRK-PTCP person=APPR=GEN rice carrying
'The river boat (was used for) the people who do things like that (e.g.,)

your father (and) Yoshida (,) to carry the rice.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

7.1.7 *kusa* 'just'

I will show an example of *kusa* 'just' below.

(28) *kusa* 'just' [= (8-37 a)]
an gazimarunu appoo, naa, huntoo, naa,
a-n *gazimaru=nu* *ar-boo* *naa* *huntoo* *naa*
DIST-ADNZ banyan.tree=NOM exist-CND FIL real FIL
uriikusa, naa, |nippon.ici| jatəijoo.
u-ri=kusa *naa* *nippon+ici* *jar-təər-i=joo*
MES-NLZ=just FIL Japan+one COP-RSL-NPST=CFM1
'If that banyan tree existed, that would be just the (number) one in Japan.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In fact, there is only an example of (28) that uses *kusa* 'just' in the text data. The details of *kusa* 'just' should be investigated in future research.

7.1.8 *səəka* 'if only'

I will show an example of *səəka* 'if only' below.

(29) *səəka* 'if only'
attaaga, hinmaban siriccjisəəka juuboo,
a-ri-taa=ga *hinma-ban sir-i=ccji=səəka* *j'-boo*
DIST-NLZ-PL=NOM noon-meal do-IMP=QT=if.only say-CND
hinmabanunkjoo nunkuin sjoosjunban,
hinma-ban=nkja=ja *nuu-nkuin* *sjoos-jur-n=ban*
noon-meal=APPR=TOP what-INDFZ prepare-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS
'If (I) say that, "Make the lunch!" (to my daughters), they will prepare anything (for) the lunch, but (I don't say it).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In fact, there is only an example of (29) that uses *səəka* 'if only' in the text data. The details of *səəka* 'if only' should be investigated in future research.

7.2 Conjunctive particles

Yuwan has the conjuctive particles as in Table 7.3. The conjunctive particle and the clasue that precedes it function as the adverbial clause. The units connected

by the conjunctive particles in Yuwan are only clauses (not words nor phrases), which is different from *and* or *or* in English.

Table 7.3: Conjunctive particles

		Preceding morphemes			
		Verbal			Adjectival
Form	Meaning	*-n* (PTCP)	*-an* (NEG)	*-nən* (SEQ)	*-sa* (ADJ)
ban	Adversative	+	+	–	–
mun	Adversative	+	+	–	–
kara	Causal	+	+	–	–
sjutɨ	Sequential	–	+	+	–
nu	Causal	–	–	–	+

The above table shows the kinds of the morphemes that immediately precede the concjunctive particles (i.e. the phonological hosts of the conjunctive particles). In the following sections, I will present examples of each conjunctive particle in turn.

7.2.1 *ban* (ADVRS)

The conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS) always follows the participle, and the clause followed by *ban* (ADVRS) functions as an adverbial clause expressing the adversative meaning such as 'but.'

(30) a. After *-n* (PTCP) [= (4-20 b)]
wanna honami-|cjan| naaja siccjunban,
wan=ja honami-cjan naa=ja sij-tur-n=ban
1SG=TOP Honami-DIM name=TOP know-PROG-PTCP=ADVRS
naakjaa jumɨnu naaja
naakjaa jumɨ=nu naa=ja
2PL.HON.ADNZ daughter.in.law=GEN name=TOP
sijandoojaa.
sij-an=doo=jaa
know-NEG=ASS=SOL
'I know Honami's name, but don't know the name of your daughter in law.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. After *-an* (NEG)
gan sjəə j'iija siranban,
ga-n *sir-ti=ja* *j'-i=ja* *sir-an=ban*
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ=TOP say-INF=TOP do-NEG=ADVRS
jiccjaccjidu umujun.|joonakanzi| jappa.
jiccj-sa=ccji=du *umuw-jur-n=joonakanzi* *jar-ba*
good-ADJ=QT=FOC think-UMRK-PTCP=appearance COP-CSL
'(They) do not say like that, but (they) seems to think that (it is) not necessary [lit. good], so ...' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

7.2.2 *mun* (ADVRS)

The conjunctive particle *mun* (ADVRS) always follows the participle, and the clause followed by *mun* (ADVRS) functions as an adverbial clause expressing the adversative meaning such as 'but.'

(31) a.
After *-n* (PTCP)

b. mukkoojocji j'icjanmun, naa,
mukk-oo=joo=ccji *j'-tar-n=mun* *naa*
bring-IMP=CFM1=QT say-PST-PTCP=ADVRS FIL
nənsjutijaa, mukkonba.
nə-an=sjuti=jaa *mukk-on-ba*
exist-NEG=SEQ=SOL bring-NEG-CSL
'(I) said, "Bring (the tape)!" However, (probably she) lost (it), and (she) won't bring (it).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. waakjoo mata hanasiga zjoozi, uri jappoo
waakja=ja mata hanasi=ga *zjoozi* *u-ri* *jar-boo*
1PL=TOP well speaking=NOM good.at MES-NLZ COP-CND
jiccjanmun, wanna hanasiga |heta|
jiccj-sa+ar-n=mun *waakja=ja hanasi=ga* *heta*
good-ADJ+STV-PTCP=ADVRS 1PL=TOP speaking=NOM poor.at
jappa.
jar-ba
COP-CSL
'If I am so, (i.e.) good at speaking, (it) would be good, but I am poor at speaking, so (I'm sorry).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
After *-an* (NEG)

d. [= (9-50 b)]
hankəəcjakkoo nənmun, hankəəmai
hankəər-∅+cja-kkoo *nə-an=mun* *hankəə-∅+mai*
tumble-INF+want-ADJ STV-NEG=ADVRS tumble-INF+OBL
zjajaa.
zjar=jaa
COP=SOL
'(I) don't want to tumble, but will have to tumble (for the play).' [El: 110917]

The conjunctive particle *mun* (ADVRS) has the same form with the nominal *mun* 'substance.' It is probable that they have the same origin. However, they are different morphemes at least in the modern Yuwan, since *mun* (ADVRS) can be preceded by the copula participle /jan/ *jar-n* (COP-PTCP), which cannot occur when the head of the adnominal clause is an ordinary nominal; see (9-67 b) in §6.4.1 for more details.

(32) After *jar-n* (COP-PTCP)
sjoogacɨnu məə janmun, ikjasjɨga
sjoogacɨ=nu *məə* jar-n=mun *ikja-sjɨ=ga*
the.New.Year's.Day front COP-PTCP=ADVRS how-ADVZ=FOC
sjuruccjɨ, nattəənkja hanasjagacinaa,
sɨr-jur-u=ccjɨ *naa-ttəə=nkja* *hanas-jagacinaa*
do-UMRK-PFC=QT 2.HON-DU=APPR talk-SIM
'The couple was saying that, "(It) will be the New Year's Day soon [lit. (It) is in front of the New Year's Day], but how do (we) do?"' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

In (32), *mun* (ADVRS) is preceded by *jar-n* (COP-PTCP). That means *mun* (ADVRS) can appear in a syntactic position different from the nominal proper. Thus, I propose that *mun* (ADVRS) is a conjunctive particle in modern Yuwan.

There are many examples where the superordinate clauses of the adverbial clause of *mun* (ADVRS) are omitted. Usually, the superordinate clauses can be reconstructed by the contexts. However, there is a case where the reconstruction of the superordinate clause is difficult as in (33).

(33) *mun* (ADVRS) withouth the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level)

jazin kjunmuncjɨ umutɨ kurɨranboo.
jazin k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ umuw-tɨ kurɨr-an-boo
necessarily come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT think-SEQ BEN-NEG-CND
'(You) have to think that necessarily (you) will come.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

Both of *mun* (ADVRS) in this section and *ban* (ADVRS) in §7.2.1 can mean the adversative meaning. The semantic difference between them is not clear to me, and the more elaborated research is required in future.

7.2.3 *kara* (CSL)

The conjunctive particle *kara* (CSL) always follows the participle, and the clause followed by *kara* (CSL) functions as an adverbial clause expressing a causal meaning. I will present examples below.

(34) a. After *-n* (PTCP) [= (10-9 a)]
takennan umoojutankara, |hotondo| takennu
taken=nan umoor-jur-tar-n=kara hotondo taken=nu
Taken=LOC1 exist-UMRK-PST-PTCP=CSL almost Taken=GEN
munbəidu ucɨcjəija.
mun=bəi=du ucɨs-təər-i=jaa
thing=only=FOC take-RSL-NPST=SOL
'Since (he) used to be in Taken, (he) took only the (pictures) of Taken.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

b. After *-an* (NEG)
naa ukuppoo, .. wakarankara, (mmm) məəgadɨ
naa ukur-boo wakar-an=kara məə=gadɨ cjokusecu u-n
FIL send-CND know-NEG=CSL place=LMT directly MES-ADNZ
|cjokusecu| un kˀurumanan xxx
kˀuruma=nan
car=LOC1
'If (one) sends (the relief supplies there), (one) cannot know (whether they actually arrive there), so (the people in the village office decided to carry them) directly to the place (by loading them) on that car.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In fact, the conjunctive particle *kara* (CSL) has the same form with the case particle *kara* (ABL) in §**??**, and it is probable that they have the same origin. Moreover, it is probable that both of *kara* (CSL) and *kara* (ABL) have the same origin with (the original constituent of) *-təəra* 'after' (see §6.3.2.2 for more details).

7.2.4 *sjutɨ* (SEQ)

The conjunctive particle *sjutɨ* (SEQ) always follows *-an* (NEG) or *-nən* (SEQ), and the clause followed by *sjutɨ* (SEQ) functions as an adverbial clause expressing a sequential meaning. The example where *sjutɨ* (SEQ) follows *-nən* (SEQ) was already shown in (10-26 c) in §7.1.6. Thus, I will show an example of *-an* (NEG) followed by *sjutɨ* (SEQ).

(35) After *-an* (NEG)
waakjoo iziga sɨransjutɨ, sijan.
waakja=ja izir-∅=ga sɨr-an=sjutɨ sij-an
1PL=TOP go.out-INF=NOM do-NEG=SEQ know-NEG
'I was not able to go out (in those days), so (I) don't know (it).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

The clause followed by *sjutɨ* (SEQ) can be used without its superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level).

(36) Withouth the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level)
naa, cjankjoo waasannənsjutɨdoo
naa cja=nkja=ja waas-an-nən=sjutɨ=doo
FIL tea=APPR=TOP boil-NEG-SEQ=SEQ=ASS
'(I) have forgotten to brew up the tea (for you).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

sjutɨ (SEQ) has the same form with the converb /sjutɨ/ *sɨr-tur-tɨ* (do-PROG-SEQ), and it is probable that they have the same origin. However, I propose that they are different in modern Yuwan, since *sjutɨ* (SEQ) always keeps its form (i.e. does not take another inflection) when it follows *-an* (NEG) or *-nən* (SEQ). On the contrary, *sɨr-* 'do' can take any inflection (not only *-tur-tɨ* (PROG-SEQ)) if it is preceded by the morphemes other than *-an* (NEG) or *-nən* (SEQ) (see §6.1.2.1 for more details).

7.2.5 *nu* (CSL)

The conjunctive particle *nu* (SEQ) always follows an adjective (whose inflection is *-sa* (ADJ)), and the clause followed by *nu* (SEQ) functions as an adverbial clause expressing a causal meaning.

(37) a. [= (9-44 c)]

waakjoo utussjanu, aicjɨn njanta.
waakja=ja utussj-sa=nu aik-tɨ=n nj-an-tar
1PL=TOP fearful-ADJ=CSL walk-SEQ=ever EXP-NEG-PST
'I was fearful (of the American soldiers), so did not walk (around).'
[Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. dujasanu, ikizɨmai jatattujaa.
duja-sa=nu ikizɨmai jar-tar-tu=jaa
rich-ADJ=CSL comfortable COP-PST-CSL=SOL
'(He) was rich, so (he) was comfortable.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

nu (CSL) has the same form with *nu* (NOM) or *nu* (GEN), but it is difficult to regard the function of *nu* (CSL) as that of *nu* (NOM) or *nu* (GEN), since a nominal cannot be used to express a causal meaning as in (38).

(38) A nominal cannot precede *nu* (CSL) [= (9-68b)]
*arəə warabɨnu, waarandaro.
a-rɨ=ja warabɨ=nu waar-an=daroo
DIST-NLZ=TOP child=CSL understand-NEG=SUPP
(Intended meaning) 'That (boy) is a child, so probably (he) cannot understand (it).' [El: 130822]

There are examples where the clauses followed by *nu* (CSL) appear without their superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level) as in (39) (see also §6.2.1).

(39) Withouth the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level)
[Context: Talking about the old days when people in Yuwan carried their loads by putting them on their heads] kan sjɨ
ka-n sɨr-tɨ
PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ
muccjəə, ubusanu.
mut-tɨ=ja ubu-sa=nu
hold-SEQ=TOP heavy-ADJ=CSL
'If (you) hold (the loads) like this [i.e. holding them under your arm], (they are) heavy, so (it is better to put them on your head).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

7.3 Clause-final particles

Yuwan has the clause-final particles as in Table **??**. A clause-final particle can be hosted by a clause. The clause followed by a clause-final particle is not embedded

into any superordinate clause (except for the case when it is followed by *ccjɨ* (QT), which can embed any clause into the superordinate clause).

Table 7.4: Clause-final particles

Category	Form	Meaning
Speech act	*doo*	Assertion
	na	Polar question
	i	Polar question
	jəə	Confirmation
	ga	Confirmation
Modality	*kai*	Dubitative
	daroo	Supposition
	kamo	Possibility
Others	*zjɨ*	Direction
	gadɨ	Limitative
	wake	?

In principle, a clause-final particle is not followed by another clause-final particle. However, there are three exceptions: *zjɨ* (DIRC) may be followed by *jəə* (CFM2); *daroo* (SUPP) may be followed by *ga* (CFM3); and *ga* (CFM3) may be followed by *i* (PLQ). In the following sections, I will present examples of each clause-final particle in turn.

7.3.1 *doo* (ASS)

doo (ASS) expresses that the proposition of the clause is a new information for the hearer.

(40) *doo* (ASS)

a. After the verbal predicate phrase [= (6-17 b)]
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 the) samisen.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. After the adjectival predicate phrase
amanu mjoo mˀasa attoo.
a-ma=nu mja=ja mˀa-sa ar=doo
DIST-place=GEN k.o.shell.fish tasty-ADJ STV=ASS
'The shell fish of that place is tasty.' [El: 110327]

c. After the nominal predicate phrase
kuri minna katakˀwasidoo.
ku-ri minna kata+kˀwasi=doo
PROX-NLZ all model+sweet=ASS
'All (of) these things are *katakˀwasi* [i.e. a kind of sweets].' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

7.3.2 *na* (PLQ)

na (PLQ) expresses the polar question (i.e. the so-called "yes-no question"). Therefore, it cannot co-occur with an interrogative word.

First of all, I will show the morphophonological alternation of *na* (PLQ) below. If *na* (PLQ) follows the non-past affix *-i*, both morphemes go through assimilation. First, *na* (PLQ) becomes /nja/ being influenced by *-i* (NPST) (progressive palatalization). Then, *-i* (NPST) becomes /n/ being influenced by /nja/ (PLQ) (regressive nasalization).

(41) *-i* (NPST) + *na* (PLQ) > (palatalization) //i=nja// > (nasalization) > /n=nja/

(42) a. Assimilation occurs
wakar-jur-i (understand-UMRK-NPST) + *na* (PLQ) > /waka-ju-n=nja/ (*/waka-ju-i=na/)

b. Assimilation does not occur
wakar-an (understand-NEG) + *na* (PLQ) > /wakar-an=na/ (*/wakar-an=nja/)

In the surface-form level, the verb-final phoneme that precedes /nja/ (PLQ) is /n/ as in (10-42 a). Thus, one might think that this /n/ is not made of *-i* (NPST), but think that it is the participial affix *-n* from the beginning (see §??), and that there is another question particle such as *nja* (besides *na*). However, /nja/ that expresses the polar question appears only in affirmative (and also in the non-past tense). In negative, /na/ (not /nja/) appears as in (10-42 b). Thus, in order to explain this palatalization from //na// to /nja/, we have to postulate the existense of *-i* (NPST) in the underlying-form level. That is, the verb-final /n/ in (10-42 a) is not *-n* (PTCP).

I will present other examples of *na* (PLQ) below.

(43) *na* (PLQ)

a. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verb ends with *-i* (NPST)
ude, uraga wunnja?
ude ura=ga wur-i=na
hey 2.NHON.SG=NOM exist-NPST=PLQ
'Hey, are you (in this picture)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)
misjoocjɨna?
misjoor-tɨ=na
eat.HON-SEQ=PLQ
'Did (you) eat (it)?' [El: 121010]

c. After the adjectival predicate phrase whose final verb ends with *-i* (NPST) [= (9-69 c)]
arəə sijusannja?
a-rɨ=ja siju-sa+ar-i=na
DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ+STV-NPST=PLQ
'Is that white?' [El: 130822]

d. After the nominal predicate phrase
ututuuna?
ututu[4] *=na*
younger=PLQ
'(Is your uncle) younger (than your mother)?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

The above examples show that *na* (PLQ) can follow all kinds of the predicate phrases.

Furthermore, if *na* (PLQ) follows *-siga* (POL), it expresses that the speaker tries to get the hearer to remember (or notice) the proposition (expressed by the clause it attaches to). In that case, *na* (PLQ) does not function as a (polar) question in effect.

(44) *-siga=na* (POL=PLQ)

[4] *ututu* 'younger' is a nominal, and its word-final vowel is sometimes lengthened.

a. ukka məəga sanbasi jatassɨgana.
u-rɨ=ga *məə=ga* *sanbasi jar-tar-sɨga=na*
MES-NLZ=GEN front=NOM pier COP-PST-POL=PLQ
'(You should remember that there was) a pier in front of that.' [lit. 'The front of that was a pier.'] [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. uroo kunuguroo |cue| cukansɨgana.
ura=ja *kunuguru=ja* *cue* *cuk-an-sɨga=na*
2.NHON.SG=TOP these.days=TOP stick stick-NEG-POL=PLQ
'(You should notice that) you don't use the stick these days.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

These uses of *na* (PLQ) in (10-44 a-b) seem to have some commonality with the combination of *ga* (CFM3) and *i* (PLQ), which also does not function as a (polar) question (see §7.3.5 for more details).

7.3.3 *i* (PLQ)

i (PLQ) expresses the polar question (i.e. the so-called "yes-no question") as well as *na* (PLQ). However, the words that can precede *i* (PLQ) are partly different from *na* (PLQ). *i* (PLQ) can follow *-oo* (INT), *-u* (PFC), *-təəra* 'after,' and nominals (see aslo §**??**). It can also follow *ga* (CFM3), which is another clause-final particle (see §7.3.5).

(45) *i* (PLQ)

a. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-oo* (INT)
nun nənboo, kurɨroi?
nuu=n *nə-an-boo* *kurɨr-oo=i*
what=even exist-NEG-CND give-INT=PLQ
'If (you) don't have anything, (should I) give (something to you)?' [El: 110327]

b. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-u* (PFC) [= (8-76 d)]
kurəə |maiku|du muccjurui?
ku-rɨ=ja *maiku=du* *mut-tur-u=i*
PROX-NLZ=TOP microphone=FOC hold-PROG-PFC=PLQ
kun c'joo.
ku-n *c'ju=ja*
PROX-ADNZ person=TOP
'About this (picture), is this person holding a microphone?' [Co:

111113_02.txt]

c. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-təəra* 'after' [= (6-11 b)]
nanga kunəəda umoocjasəə
nan=ga *kunəəda* *umoor-tar=sɨ=ja*
2.HON.SG=NOM the.other.day come.HON-PST=FN=TOP
kun cˀjunu cˀjəərai?
ku-n *cˀju=nu* *k-təəra=i̲*
PROX-ADNZ person=NOM come-after=PLQ
'(Is it) after this person [i.e. the present author] came (to your house) that you [i.e. US] came (here) the other day?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. After the nominal predicate
[Context: TM called Umine who had just arrived in front of the TM's house.]
uminenəi?
umine+nəə=i̲
Umine+elder.sister=PLQ
'(Are you) Umine?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

e. After *ga* (CFM3)
naokonəəcjɨ wanga jˀicjaroogai?
naoko+nəə=ccjɨ *wan=ga* *jˀ-tar-oo=ga=i̲*
Naoko+elder.sister=QT 1SG=NOM say-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'(You remember that) I said Naoko (before), (don't you)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (10-45 a), *i* (PLQ) follows *-oo* (INT). *-oo* (INT) expresses the speaker's intention (see §**??**). It is unnatural to assume that the speaker asks the hearer whether the speaker herself has any attention to do the action indicated by the verbal stem. In fact, the combination of *-oo* (INT) and *i* (PLQ) asks the hearer whether the speaker's intention to do the action indicated by the verbal stem is appropriate in the hearer's view.

7.3.4 *jəə* (CFM2)

jəə (CFM2) always follows *-oo* (INT) as in (46). The speaker tries to make sure that the hearer agree with the speaker's action by *jəə* (CFM2). They may be intervened by *zjɨ* (DIRC), which is another clause-final particle (see §7.3.9).

(46) *-oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) [= (8-59 b)]

a. TM: |onigiri| sjɨ, mutasoojəə.
onigiri *sɨr-tɨ* *mut-as-oo=jəə*
rice.ball do-SEQ have-CAUS-INT=CFM2
'(I) will make a rice ball, and get (the present author) to have (it).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. US: wanna ikjoojəə.
wan=ja *ik-oo=jəə*
1SG=TOP go-INT=CFM2
'I will go (back home).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

The verb that includs *-oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) necessarily excludes the hearer from the action indicated by the verbal stem. On the contrary, *-oo=jaa* (INT=SOL) necessarily includes the hearer from the action indicated by the verbal stem (see §7.5.2.2 for more details).

7.3.5 *ga* (CFM3)

ga (CFM3) follows *-oo* (SUPP) or *daroo* (SUPP) as in (47) with the exception where it follows a verbal root as in (10-48 a-b). Additionally, *ga* (CFM3) may be followed by *i* (PLQ) as in (10-47 b, d). The combinations of *-oo=ga* (SUPP=CFM3) or *da-roo=ga* (SUPP=CFM3) express that the speaker wants the hearer to confrim the speaker's suppostion (or memory).

(47) *-oo* (SUPP) + *ga* (CFM3)

a. uraga (mm koo) naraduti,
ura=ga *koow-* *narab-tur-tɨ* *koow-tar-n=ccjɨ*
2.NHON.SG=NOM buy- line.up-PROG-SEQ buy-PST-PTCP=QT
kootancjɨ jurooga.
j'-jur-oo=ga
say-UMRK-SUPP=CFM3
'(I hope you remember that) you say that (you) lined up to buy (the lunch box).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. [= (8-41)]
wanga kicjuncjɨ umutɨdu, urattəə
wan=ga *kik-tur-n=ccjɨ* *umuw-tɨ=du* *urattəə*
1SG=NOM hear-PROG-PTCP=QT think-SEQ=FOC 2.NHON.DU
gan sjan aran hanasi
ga-n *sɨr-tar-n* *ar-an* *hanasi*
MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP COP-NEG tale

sjaroogai?
sɨr-tar-oo=ga=i
do-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Probably you told the unlikely tale like that since (you) thought that I was listening to (that), didn't you?' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]
daroo (SUPP) + *ga* (CFM3)

c. cuburuga kumadarooga.
cuburu=ga ku-ma=daroo=ga
head=NOM PROX-place=SUPP=CFM3
'(I hope you admit that the place indicated by the word) *cuburu* [i.e. head] is here.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. waakja jinganu k'wankjoo
waakja-a jinga=nu k'wa=nkja=ja
1PL-ADNZ male=GEN child=APPR=TOP
wurandaroogai?
wur-an=daroo=ga=i
exist-NEG=SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Probably there aren't my sons [lit. male children], are they?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

It is probable that *i* (PLQ) that follows *ga* (CFM3) as in (10-47 b, d) does not express the polar question. Rather, it seems that *i* (PLQ) strengthenes the function of *ga* (CFM3). This is exemplified more clearly in (73) in §7.4.1.6. In that example, the speaker told the hearer about the film that the hearer had not seen. In that case, it is natural to think that the hearer do not know the contents of the film. Furthermore, it is unnatural that the speaker, who watched the film, asks the hearer about that. Thus, *i* (PLQ) in that example does not express the polar question in effect. Rather, the speaker tried hard to get the speaker to understand the story by the expression, i.e. *-oo=ga=i* (SUPP=CFM3=PLQ).

In almost all of the examples in my texts, *ga* (CFM3) follows *-oo* (SUPP) or *daroo* (SUPP). However, there is an example where *ga* (CFM3) follows a verbal root as in (10-48 a). There is a similar example in elicitation as in (10-48 b).

(48) Verbal root + *ga* (CFM3)

a. namawui jappoo, wukka.
namawui jar-boo wur=ga
now COP-CND exist=CFM3
'(The shopkeeper) will be there now.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. kjurasa akka.
kjura-sa *ar=ga*
beautiful-ADJ STV=CFM3
'(It) is beautiful.' [El: 12921]

ga (CFM3) has the same form with *ga* (FOC). However, I have not yet found the diachronic relation or the synchronic commonality between these two morphemes.

7.3.6 *kai* (DUB)

kai (DUB) expresses the speaker's dubitation over the proposition expressed by the clause it attaches to. It may co-occur with the interrogative word as in (10-49 d), which is different from *na* (PLQ) and *i* (PLQ). Additionally, the verbal forms that can precede *kai* (DUB) are not so restricted as those of *na* (PLQ) and *i* (PLQ).

(49) *kai* (DUB)

a. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-tar* (PST)
cukujun cˀjunu wutakai?
cukur-jur-n *cˀju=nu* *wur-tar=kai*
make-UMRK-PTCP person=NOM exist-PST=DUB
'Was there a person who made (a silk from a cocoon)?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)
|hoka|nuturookara maju mucjɨ kii jatɨkai?
hoka=nu=turoo=kara *maju mut-tɨ* *k-i* *jar-tɨ=kai*
other=GEN=place=ABL silk have-SEQ come-INF COP-SEQ=DUB
'Did (people) bring the silk from another place?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. After the adjectival predicate whose final verb ends with the verbal root *ar-* (STV)
arəə sijusa akkai?
a-rɨ=ja *siju-sa* *ar=kai*
DIST-NLZ=TOP white-ADJ STV=DUB
'Is that white?' [El: 130822]

d. After the nominal predicate whose head is *daa* 'where' (the interrogative word)

kurəə daakai?
ku-rɨ=ja *daa=kai*
PROX-NLZ=TOP where=DUB
'Where is this (place on the picture)?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

e. After the nominal predicate whose head is *gakkoo* 'school' (a common noun) [= (6-117 d)]
naakjaga |socugjoo| sjəəraga waakjoo |gakkoo|kai?
naakja=ga *socugjoo* *sɨr-təəra=ga* *waakja=ja* *gakkoo=kai*
2.HON.PL=NOM graduation do-after=FOC 1PL=TOP school=DUB
'(Is it) after you had graduated (from the elementary school, when) I (began to go to) school?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

As mentioned before, the finite-form affix *-tar* (PST) cannot be used in the interrogative clause, and in that case, *-tɨ* (SEQ) is used instead to express the past tense (see also §**??** and §8.2.1 for more details). However, *kai* (DUB) can be used with *-tar* (PST) as in (10-49 a), since it expresses the speaker's wondering to herself. In other words, the clauses followed by *kai* (DUB) are not addressed to the hearer directly. In addition, *kai* (DUB) can co-occur *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (10-49 b) as well. The function of *kai* (DUB), which avoids direct question to the hearer, is more clearly shown in (50), where the interrogative word for the information question, i.e. *nuu* 'what,' can co-occur with *-tar* (PST) since the clause is followed by *kai* (DUB).

(50) *nuu* 'what' co-occuring with *-tar* (PST) because of *kai* (DUB)
[Context: MS asked TM whether the place in the picture used to be called "Yubinhana."]
nuucjɨga jutakaijaa?
nuu=ccjɨ=ga *j'-jur-tar=kai=jaa*
what=QT=FOC call-UMRK-PST=DUB=SOL
'(I) wonder what (people) used to call (the place).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

kai (DUB) may be followed by the utterance-final particle B *jaa* (SOL). In that case, *kai* (DUB) may retain its form as in (50) and (10-51 a), or may lose one of its word-final vowel, i.e., become /ka/, as in (10-51 b).

(51) *kai* (DUB) + *jaa* (SOL)

a. kunnagatɨinu |sjoobainin|na
ku-n=nagatɨi=nu *sjoobainin=ja*
PROX-ADNZ=along=GEN merchant=TOP

wurantɨkaijaa.
wur-an-tɨ=kai=jaa
exist-NEG-SEQ=DUB=SOL
'Wasn't there a merchant from this neighborhood?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. |sjuusjengo|ja arankajaa?
sjuusjengo=ja ar-an=kai=jaa
after.war=TOP COP-NEG=DUB=SOL
'Isn't (this picture taken) after the war [i.e. World War II]?' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

7.3.7 *daroo* (SUPP)

daroo (SUPP) expresses the speaker's supposition. It sometimes becomes /daro/ before *ccjɨ* (QT) or *jaa* (SOL). *daroo* (SUPP) follows *-an* (NEG) as in (10-52 a), *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (10-52 b), or the nominal predicate as in (10-52 c).

(52) *daroo* (SUPP)

a. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-an* (NEG)
sijandaroo.
sij-an=daroo
know-NEG=SUPP
'(He) maybe does not know (the river boat).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate whose final verb ends with *-tɨ* (SEQ)
gan sjɨ natɨ, (naa) naa
ga-n sɨr-tɨ nar-tɨ naa naa
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-SEQ already already
mudutɨdaroccjɨ umututanwakejo.
mudur-tɨ=daroo=ccjɨ umuw-tur-tar-n=wake=joo
return-SEQ=SUPP=QT think-PROG-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
'Then [lit. Since (it) does like that], (I)'ve been thinking that (the present author) had probably already returned (to Tokyo).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. After the nominal predicate
|sannin|na mata, naa, uma ..
sannin=ja mata naa u-ma tuur-jur-n
three.person.CLF=TOP again FIL MES-place pass-UMRK-PTCP

tuujun c'judaroo.
c'ju=daroo
person=SUPP
'Probably, the three people are people who pass there.' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

The verbal affix *-oo* (SUPP), which has the same function with *daroo* (SUPP), cannot directly follow *-an* (NEG) (see §??). Thus, *daroo* (SUPP), which can directly follow *-an* (NEG), fills the blank of the combination as in (10-52 a).

One might think that *daroo* (SUPP) is composed of a copula verbal root plus *-oo* (SUPP), i.e. *dar-oo* (COP-SUPP). In fact, there is an example where *dar-* (COP) takes another inflection, e.g., /dajoottoo/ *dar-joor=doo* (COP-POL=ASS) in elicitation. However, the copula does not use the morpheme *dar-* in principle (see §??). Furthermore, *daroo* (SUPP) can follow another copula as in (53).

(53) *daroo* (SUPP) following another copula verb [= (8-86 a)]
niizinnu appa, arandaroo.
niizin=nu ar-ba ar-an=daroo
carrot=NOM exist-CSL COP-NEG=SUPP
'There are (pieces of) a carrot, so maybe (the pickles) are not (mine).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

This example is not regarded as an example where an adnominal clause fills the head of the nominal predicate such as {[*ar-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *dar-oo*}$_{\text{Nominal predicate phrase}}$ (COP-NEG COP-SUPP), since the predicate-final copula verb in that case has to take the negative affix *-an* (see §6.3.2.1 for more details). Thus, I propose that *daroo* (SUPP) is different from the copula verb, and that it has to be regarded as a clause-final particle in modern Yuwan.

7.3.8 *kamo* (POS)

kamo (POS) expresses that the speaker thinks it is possible for the proposition (expressed by the clause followed by *kamo* (POS)) to be true. *kamo* (POS) sometimes becomes /kamu/ as in (10-54 b).

(54) *kamo* (POS)
After the verbal predicate
a. unnən akkamo.
u-n=nən ar=kamo
MES-ADNZ=LOC1 exist=POS
'(It is) possible (that it) is there.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. ziisanga utasjaa jatəkkamu.
ziisan=ga *uta+sɨr-jaa* *jar-təər=kamo*
grandfather=NOM song+do-person COP-RSL=POS
'(It may be true that your) grandfather was a singer.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]
After the nominal predicate

c. kuduu sjəəsɨkamo.
kudu *sɨr-təər=sɨ=kamo*
last.year do-RSL=FN=POS
'(It is) possible (that the pickles) are those that were made in the last year.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

The example where *kamo* (POS) follows the adjectival predicate phrase is shown in (10-62 d) in §**??**

7.3.9 *zjɨ* (DIRC)

zjɨ (DIRC) expresses that the action indicated by the clause (it attaches to) occurs in the place different from where the speaker exists at the utterance time. It is probable that *zjɨ* (DIRC) was grammaticalized from /izjɨ/ *ik-tɨ* (go-SEQ) as well as *zjɨ* (LOC3) (see §**??** for more details). *zjɨ* (DIRC) intervenes between *-oo* (INT) and *jəə* (CFM2) as in (10-55 a), or follows *-ɨba* (SUGS) as in (10-55 b).

(55) *zjɨ* (DIRC)

a. Between *-oo* (INT) and *jəə* (CFM2)
amazjɨ nudɨ koozjɨjəə.
a-ma=zjɨ *num-tɨ* *k-oo=zjɨ=jəə*
DIST-place=LOC3 drink-SEQ come-INT=DIRC=CFM2
'(I) will go to drink (alcohol) there.' [El: 110330]

b. After *-ɨba* (SUGS)
[Context: Talking to a child who wants to buy something he wants]
narabɨbazjɨ.
narab-ɨba=zjɨ
line.up-SUGS=DIRC
'How about lining up going there (to buy it)?' [El: 110914]

7.3.10 *gadɨ* (LMT)

The clause-final particle *gadɨ* (LMT) always follows the adjective (taking the inflection *-sa* (ADJ)).

(56) *gadɨ* (LMT)
[Context: Talking about a butterfly that is similar to the moth] = (5-28 a)
arɨga nissjagadɨ. ganbəi sjɨ
a-rɨ=ga *nissj-sa=gadɨ* *ga-n=bəi* *sɨr-tɨ*
DIST-NLZ=NOM similar-ADJ=LMT MES-ADVZ=about do-SEQ
kucjəə tugaracjɨ,
kuci=ja *tugaras-tɨ*
mouth=TOP pout-SEQ
'That one is very similar (to the moth). (The size is) about this, and it pouted, and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (56), *gadɨ* (LMT) seems to have some emphatic meaning, but the detail of the function is not clear to the present author for now. It is probable that the clause-fianl particle *gadɨ* (LMT) has the same origin with the case particle *gadɨ* (LMT), the limiter particle *gadɨ* (LMT), and the verbal affix *-gadɨ* 'until.'

7.3.11 *wake* (CFP)

It is probable that the clause-final particle *wake* (CFP) was borrowed from standard Japanese recently, since it includes //e//, which is rarely used in the traditional morphemes in Yuwan (see note "e" of Table ?? in §??). However, *wake* (CFP) is frequently used in the monologue or the conversation in Yuwan. Thus, I will include it in the present paper, although its function is not very clear for the present author. Therefore, it is abbreviated only as "CFP" (i.e. clause-final particle). *wake* (CFP) always follows the participle.

(57) *wake* (CFP)

a. After *-n* (PTCP) [= (7-12 a)]
un kagonu tˀɨɨ cɨdɨ
u-n *kago=nu* *tˀɨɨ* *cɨm-tɨ*
MES-ADVZ basket=GEN one.CLF.thing load-SEQ
ikjunwake.
ik-jur-n=wake
go-UMRK-PTCP=CFP
'(The boy) puts the one of the baskets on (the front of his bicycle) and goes.' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

b. After *-an* (NEG)
kootookˀwaja izituranwakejo.
kootoo+kˀwa=ja *izir-tur-an=wake=joo*
high.level+lesson=TOP go.out-PROG-NEG=CFP=CFM1
'(She) has not graduated from the junior high school.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In fact, there is only an example in the text data where *wake* is followed by the copula verb as in (58). It is probable that *wake* (CFP) is on the way from the formal noun to the clause-final particle, since it does not take any case particle and there is no example where it is modified by the adnominal word.

(58) *wake* followed by the copular verb [= (7-3 c)]
jaanu məəninkjadu gan sjɨ
jaa=nu *məə=nan=nkja=du* *ga-n* *sɨr-tɨ*
house=GEN front=LOC1=APPR=FOC MES-ADVZ do-SEQ
Modifier Head
sagɨjutanwake zjajaa.
sagɨr-jur-tar-n=wake *zjar=jaa*
hang-UMRK-PST-PTCP=FN COP=SOL

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

7.4 Utterance-final particles A

Yuwan has the utterance-final particles A as in Table 7.5. The utterance-final particles A can be hosted by the utterance, and the units followed by the utterance-final particles A are always embedded into the superordinate clauses (except for the case in §7.4.1.7). The term "utterance" here is used to indicate an abstract unit that can include both the phrase and the clause.

7.4.1 *ccjɨ* (QT)

The quotative particle *ccjɨ* (QT) can make an utterance embedded in the complement slot of the superordinate clause. First, I will show the morphophonological alternation of *ccjɨ* (QT) below. If *ccjɨ* (QT) follows //n// or a diphthong ("V_iV_j"), the initial morphophoneme //c// of *ccjɨ* is always deleted. If *ccjɨ* (QT) follows a long vowel ("V_iV_i"), the initial morphophoneme //c// of *ccjɨ* tends to be deleted,

Table 7.5: Utterance-final particles A

Form	Meaning
ccjɨ	Quotation
ka	Dubitation
gajaaroo	Dubitation
nən	'such as'

but sometimes the long vowel becomes short, and furthermore, there are a few cases where the long vowel becomes short and also //c// of *ccjɨ* is deleted. Otherwise, i.e. after a short vowel, *ccjɨ* retains its form (although it sometimes becomes /cjɨ/).

(59) Rule schemata

a. //n// + *ccjɨ* (QT) > /n=cjɨ/
b. //V_iV_j // > /V_iV_j =cjɨ/
c. //V_iV_i // > /V_iV_i =cjɨ/ or /V_i =ccjɨ/ (or /V_i =cjɨ/)
d. Elsewhere > /V=ccjɨ/ (or /V=cjɨ/)

The deletion of //c// in (10-59 a-c) and the vowel deletion in (10-59 c) conform to the phonological rule in §?? and §?? respectively. However, the deletion of //c// in (10-59 d) (and /V_i =cjɨ/ in (10-59 c)) is not explicable by these rules.

I will present a few examples below.

(60) Examples

a. //n// + *ccjɨ* (QT)

wur-tar-n	(exist-PST-PTCP)	+ *ccjɨ* (QT)	>	/wu-ta-n=cjɨ/
gaccɨn	'saurel'		>	/gaccɨn=cjɨ/

b. //V_iV_j // + *ccjɨ* (QT)

kai	(DUB)	+ *ccjɨ* (QT)	>	/kai=cjɨ/

c. //V_iV_j // + *ccjɨ* (QT)

nuu	'what'	+ *ccjɨ* (QT)	>	/nuu=cjɨ/
jaa	(SOL)		>	/jaa=cjɨ/ or /ja=ccjɨ/
-oo	(INT)		>	/oo=cjɨ/ or /o=ccjɨ/
daroo	(SUPP)		>	/daroo=cjɨ/, /daro=ccjɨ/ or /dar

d. Elsewhere

-sa	(ADJ)	+ *ccjɨ* (QT)	>	/-sa=ccjɨ/
itoko	'cousin'		>	/itoko=cjɨ/

Syntactically, *ccjɨ* (QT) is used in the following environments.

(61) *ccjɨ* (QT) is used,

a. To form the complement of *jˀ-* 'say';
b. To form the complement of the other language-oriented verbs;
c. To form the complement of *sɨr-* 'do';
d. To form a conditional adverbial clause;
e. To form a clause that has a few nominal properties;
f. To embed an onomatopoeia;
g. Without the superordinate clause.

In the following subsections, I will show examples of (10-61 a-g) in turn.

7.4.1.1 To form the complement of *jˀ-* 'say'

ccjɨ (QT) can embed any kind of utterance into the complement of *jˀ-* 'say.' The reported clause (i.e. the complement clause of *jˀ-* 'say') can be formally distinguished into two types: direct speech and indirect speech (cf. Aikhenvald 2004).

First, in the direct speech, the predicates in the complement clause can take any kind of inflection or clause-final particle as in (10-62 a-f).

(62) Direct speech

After verbal predicate phrases

a. [= (8-148 g)]
kanɨciboja urakja tuikurawɨcjɨ
kanɨ+cɨbo=ja urakja [*tur-i+kuraw-i*]$_{\text{verbal predicate phrase}}$*=ccjɨ*
gold+pot=TOP 2.NHON.PL take-INF+DRG-IMP=QT
jˀicjɨ,
jˀ-tɨ
say-SEQ
'(The man) said that, "You take (this) damn gold pot!" and ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

b. cɨbonu atanban,
cɨbo=nu ar-tar-n=ban
pot=NOM exist-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
mukkontɨdoocjɨ jˀicjatto,
[*mukk-on-tɨ*]$_{\text{verbal predicate phrase}}$*=doo=ccjɨ jˀ-tar-too*
bring-NEG-SEQ=ASS=QT say-PST-CSL
'(The husband) said, "There was a pot (filled with gold), but (I) didn't bring (it)." And then ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

After adjectival predicate phrases

c. simakutuba narəəcjasacjɨ
sima+kububa [*naraw-i+cja-sa*]$_{\text{adjectival predicate phrase}}$*=ccjɨ*
community+language learn-INF+want-ADJ=QT
jˀicjɨ,
jˀ-tɨ
say-SEQ
'(The present author) said, "(I) want to learn the language of the (Yuwan) community." And then ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

d. mˀasa akkamodoojaacjɨ jˀicjɨ,
[*mˀa-sa ar*]$_{\text{adjectival predicate phrase}}$*=kamo=doo=jaa=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ*
tasty-ADJ STV=POS=ASS=SOL=QT say-SEQ
'(My daughter) said, "(The orange) may be tasty." And then ...' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

After nominal predicate phrases

e. daanu Xcjɨ jˀicjattu,
daa=nu X=ccjɨ jˀ-tar-tu
where=GEN X=QT say-PST-CSL
'(I) said, "Who are you?" [lit. "X of where?"] And then ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

f. uraa |boosi|dooccjɨ jˀicjɨ,
[*ura-a boosi*]$_{\text{nominal predicate phrase}}$*=doo=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ*
2.NHON.SG-ADNZ hat=ASS=QT say-SEQ
'(The boy) said, "(This is) your hat." And then ...' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

In (10-62 a-f), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows all types of the predicate phrases, where there is no restriction on the kinds of inflection or clause-final particles.

On the other hand, the complement clause in the indirect speech cannot take the infection or clause-final particles freely. In this case, only the participle is allowed as the verbal form in the predicate as in (10-63 a-c).

(63) Indirect speech

After verbal predicate phrase

a. an cʾjo xxx (arəə
a-n *cʾju=ja* *a-rɨ=ja* *a-n*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP DIST-NLZ=TOP DIST-ADNZ
an ..) arɨnu ..
a-rɨ=nu *menkjo* [*mut-tur-n*]$_{\text{verbal predicate phrase}}$*=ccjɨ jʾ-tɨ*
DIST-NLZ=GEN license have-PROG-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
|menkjo| muccjuncjɨ jʾicjɨ,

'That person said that (he) had [lit. is having] the license of that [i.e. refereeing sumo wrestling], and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

After adjectival predicate phrase

b. [Context: TM told US that the present author had wanted to see US.]
nanga hanacjɨ moojun mun
nan=ga *hanas-tɨ* *moor-jur-n* *mun*
2.HON.SG=NOM speak-SEQ HON-UMRK-PTCP thing
kikicjasancjɨ jʾicjɨ,
[*kik-i+cja-sa+ar-n*]$_{\text{adjectival predicate phrase}}$*=ccjɨ jʾ-tɨ*
hear-INF+want-ADJ+STV-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'(The present author) said that (he) wanted to hear what you would say, and ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

After nominal predicate phrase

c. isaburootaa, tomokkotaaga atai
isaburoo-taa tomokko-taa=ga [*atai*
Isaburo-PL Tomohiko-PL=NOM 50.years.old
jatancjɨ jʾicjɨ,
jar-tar-n]$_{\text{nominal predicate phrase}}$*=ccjɨ jʾ-tɨ*
COP-PST-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'(People) said that Isaburo (and) Tomohiko were fifty years old, and ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In principle, the participle cannot finish a sentence (with the exception of the focus construction discussed in §8.3). Thus, the participle in the complement clause of indirect speech cannot be the one that was uttered in the real conversation. Thus, we can formally distinguish the direct speech from the indirect speech.

It should be noted that the modality that could be expressed in the direct speech by the verbal inflection or the clause-final particles are unable to be expressed in the indirect speech, since only the participle is allowed for the indirect speech.

Furthermore, the difference between the direct speech and the indirect speech can also be distinguished semantically by the deictic center of the pronouns. In the direct speech, the deictic center of the pronoun is the person who gave the utterance (not the speaker who reported the utterance). For example, the deictic center of *ura* 'you' in (10-62 f) is the character in the Pear Film (not the speaker TM). On the contrary, in the indirect speech, the deictic center of the pronoun is the speaker who reported the utterance (not the person who gave the utterance). For example, the deictic center of *nan* 'you (honorific)' in (10-63 b) is the speaker TM (not the original speaker, i.e. the present author).

The difference between the direct speech and the indirect speech can be formally expressed by the verbal form in the predicate, i.e., whether it is the participle or not. However, the difference cannot be expressed formally in the nominal predicate if it is in the non-past tense and also in the affirmative pole, since the copula does not take the participial form in the non-past tense and the affirmative pole, i.e. **jar-n* (COP-PTCP) is not available; see (9-67 b) in §6.4.1 with an exception of *jar-n=mun* (COP-PTCP=ADVRS) in (8-46 a) in §**??** Thus, in the non-past tense and the affirmative pole, the nominal predicate in the indirect speech as in (64) has the same form with that in the direct speech as in (10-62 e).

(64) Indirect speech
After nominal predicate phrase (non-past and affirmative pole)
usato|obasan| xxx nusinujoo
usato+obasan *nusi=nu=joo* *jinga-nəə=nkja=tu*
Usato+old.lady RFL=GEN=CFM1 man-parent=APPR=COM
jinganənkjatu kun ziisantuga
ku-n *ziisan=tu=ga* [*itoko*]$_{\text{nominal predicate phrase}}$*=ccjɨ*
this-ADNZ grandfather=COM=NOM cousin=QT
|itoko|cjɨ jˀuta.
jˀ-jur-tar
say-UMRK-PST
'Usato said that her [lit. herself's] father is cousin to this (person's) grandfather.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (64), the nominal predicate *itoko* 'cousin' does not take the copula participle **jar-n* (COP-PTCP). Formally, the feature of the indirect speech is not expressed, but semantically, it is expressed by the demonstrative *ku-n* 'this (one),' whose

deictic center is the speaker TM (not the original speaker Usato). Similar formal ambiguity occurs when the predicate in the complement ends with the negative participial affix *-an*, since it can also finish a clause in the non-reported utterance (see §??).

In fact, there is a case where there is a mixture of the strategy of the direct speech and the indirect speech as in (65), where the adjectival predicate before *ccjɨ* (QT) does not take the participle *ar-n* (STV-PTCP), but the deictic center of the complement clause is the speaker TM (not the original speaker, i.e. the present author).

(65) Mixture of the strategy of the direct speech and the indirect speech
After adjectival predicate phrase
[Context: TM said to US that the present author had wanted to see US for a long time.]

naa	məəci	ikicjasaccjɨ	jukkadɨ
naa	*məə=kaci*	*ik-i+cja-sa=ccjɨ*	*jukkadɨ*
2.HON.SG.ADNZ	place=ALL	go-INF+want-ADJ=QT	always
umoojutanmun,		|mae|gajo	|mae|ga
umoor-jur-tar-n=mun		*mae=ga=joo*	*mae=ga*
say.HON-UMRK-PST=ADVRS		before=FOC=CFM1	before=FOC
umoojutanmun,		kinju	atadan.
umoor-jur-tar-n=mun		*kinju*	*atadan*
say.HON-UMRK-PST=ADVRS		yesterday	suddenly

‘(The present author) always used to say that (he) wants to go to your place before, but yesterday (he) suddenly (visited me).’ [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (65), the predicate preceding *ccjɨ* (QT) does not take the participle *ar-n* (STV-PTCP). However, the deictic center of the pronominl *naa* (2.HON.SG.ADNZ) ‘your’ is the speaker TM (not the original speaker, since there was not US when the present author had spoke to TM about US). That is, the pronominal deixis expresses an indirect speech, but the verbal form in the complement slot expresses a direct speech in (65).

Furthermore, there are cases where *ccjɨ* (QT) does not follow any predicate phrase as in (10-66 a-b).

(66) After non-predicative NPs

a. US: kunəəda, ude, wattəə hanasija

kunəəda	*ude*	*wattəə*	*hanas-i=ja*
the.other.day	well	1DU	talk-INF=TOP

sjanbanga, naa, uɾicjɨ j'icjutɨ,
sɨr-tar-n=ban=ga naa [*u-rɨ*]$_{NP}$*=ccjɨ j'-tur-tɨ*
do-PST-PTCP=ADVRS=FOC FIL MES-NLZ=QT say-PROG-SEQ
'We [i.e. US and the present author] talked the other day, but (I) have said, "That" [i.e. US can't teach Yuwan for the present author]. And then ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. TM: waakjaga |gakkoo| sjuinnjajo
waakja=ga gakkoo sɨr-tur-i=n=ja=joo
1PL=NOM school do-PROG-INF=DAT1=TOP=CFM1
|sjeesikoozjoo|cjɨ j'icjɨ, |koozjoo|gadɨ
[*sjeesikoozjoo*]$_{NP}$*=ccjɨ j'-tɨ koozjoo=gadɨ tatɨr-tar-tu=jaa*
silk.mill=QT say-SEQ mill=LMT
tatɨtattujaa.

build-PST-CSL=SOL
'When we do [i.e. went to] school, (there was a building called) the silk mill, and (some people were so rich as to) build a (silk) mill.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (10-66 a), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the NP *u-rɨ* 'that,' which is diffcult to reconstruct the original clause structure where the NP would be set. Similarly, the NP followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) in (10-66 b), i.e. *sjeesikoozjoo* 'silk mill,' is diffcult to reconstruct the original clause structure where it would be set. In fact, the structure "NP=*ccjɨ j'-tɨ* (NP=QT say-SEQ)" is frequently used to express the meaning such as 'there is something (or someone) called NP,' which is used to introduce a referent that is thought (by the speaker) to be unfamiliar to the hearer.

Before concluding this section, I want to mention that there are cases where the contraction between the preceding *ccjɨ* (QT) and the following *j'-* 'say' occurs as in (10-67 a-b). Strictly speaking, the following *j'-* 'say' always takes the converbal affix *-ba* (CSL) in the contraction: *ccjɨ* (QT) + *j'-ba* (say-CSL) > /(c)cjuuba/.

(67) Contraction of *ccjɨ* (QT) and *j'-ba* (say-CSL)

a. naa |nisanci| sjəəroo, muduicjuuba.
naa nisanci sɨr-təəra=ja mudur-i=ccjɨ+j'-ba
FIL two.or.three.days do-after=TOP return-INF=QT+say-CSL
'(The present author) said that (he) would return (to Tokyo) in two or three days, so (I am glad I was able to have you see him).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. |sanzikkiro|ccjuuba |nangin|?
sanzikkiro=ccjɨ+j'-ba *nangin*
thirty.kilogram=QT+say-CSL what.kin
'How many *kin* [i.e. a kind of measure of weight] is thirty kilograms?' [lit. 'Speaking of thirty kilograms, how many *kin* (is it)?'] [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In (10-67 a), *-ba* (CSL) retains its causal meaning, but in (10-67 b), it lost the causal meaning, and the contracted expression /(c)cjuuba/ means 'speaking of' as a whole. Interestingly, there are examples, where the affix *-ba* (CSL) seems to directly attach to the preceding *ccjɨ* (QT), where the expression /(c)cjɨba/ means also 'speaking of' as in (10-68 a). Furthermore, there is an expression where *-boo* (CND) seems to directly attach to *ccjɨ* (QT) and the expression /(c)cjɨboo/ also means 'speaking of' as in (10-68 b).

(68) a. *ccjɨba* 'speaking of'
|wasjeunsjuu|ccjɨba nama|goro| huntoo mukasitoo
wasjeunsjuu=ccjɨba *nama-goro* *huntoo* *mukasi=tu=ja*
k.o.orange=speaking.of now-around really past=COM=TOP
cigəəbajaa.
cigjaw-ba=jaa
different-CSL=SOL
'Speaking of *wasjeunsjuu*, (those growing up) these days are really different from (those) in the past, so (I feel the time has passed away).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. *ccjɨboo* 'speaking of'
buncjɨboo |tada| jaanɨntəkkwa urɨ
bun=ccjɨboo *tada* *jaa+nintəə-kkwa* *u-rɨ*
bon.festival=speaking.of only house+people-DIM MES-NLZ
janmun.
jar-n=mun
COP-PTCP=ADVRS
'Speaking of the bon festival, only the family is that [i.e. only the family member gathered].' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In modern Yuwan, each of these expressions is analyzed as a single morpheme such as *ccjɨba* 'speaking of' and *ccjɨboo* 'speaking of.'

7.4.1.2 To form the complement of the other language-oriented verbs

The particle *ccjɨ* (QT) can also embed any kind of utterance into the complement of language-oriented verbs other than *j'-* 'say,' e.g., *umuw-* 'think' or *kak-* 'write.' The difference between the direct speech and the indirect speech discussed in §7.4.1.1 also applies to these language-oriented verbs. I will present examples of *umuw-* 'think' below.

(69) To form the complement of *umuw-* 'think'
After verbal predicate phrase

a. [= (10-52 b)]
gan sjɨ natɨ, (naa) naa
ga-n sɨr-tɨ nar-tɨ naa naa
MES-ADVZ do-SEQ COP-SEQ already already
mudutɨdaroccjɨ umututanwakejo.
mudur-tɨ=daroo=ccjɨ umuw-tur-tar-n=wake=joo
return-SEQ=SUPP=QT think-PROG-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
'Then [lit. Since (it) does like that], (I)'ve been thinking that (the present author) had probably already returned (to Tokyo).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [= (8-41)]
wanga kicjuncjɨ umutɨdu, urattəə
wan=ga kik-tur-n=ccjɨ umuw-tɨ=du urattəə ga-n
1SG=NOM hear-PROG-PTCP=QT think-SEQ=FOC 2.NHON.DU
gan sjan aran hanasi
sɨr-tar-n ar-an hanasi sɨr-tar-oo=ga=i
MES-ADNZ do-PST-PTCP COP-NEG tale
sjaroogai?

do-PST-SUPP=CFM3=PLQ
'Probably you told the unlikely tale like that since (you) thought that I was listening to (that), didn't you?' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

c. [= (8-141 b)]
unin|goro|kara naacɨbaacjɨ umuwannən,
unin-goro=kara naacɨbaa=ccjɨ umuw-an-nən jəito hamɨcɨkɨr-tɨ
that.time-around=ABL tone.deaf=QT think-NEG-SEQ
jəito hamɨcɨkɨtɨ narəəboo, (mmm)
naraw-boo zjoozɨ nar-jur-təər-n=mun=doo=jaa
well do.one's.best-SEQ learn-CND good.at

zjoozɨ najutənmundoojaa.

become-UMRK-RSL-PTCP=ADVRS=ASS=SOL
'If (I) didn't think that (I was) tone-deaf and did my best to learn (the traditional songs) since those days, (I) would have been good at (them), but (I didn't do that).' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

In (10-69 a), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the clause-final particle *daroo* (SUPP). That means the complement clause is reported in the direct-speech style. In (10-69 b), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the participle /kicjun/ *kik-tur-n* (hear-PROG-PTCP), which means the complement clause is reported in the indirect-speech style. In (10-69 c), *ccjɨ* (QT) follows the nominal predicate phrase *naacɨbaa* 'a tone-deaf person,' where we cannot formally distinguish the speech style, since the nominal predicate cannot take participle in the non-past tense and also in affirmative as discussed in§7.4.1.1.

7.4.1.3 To form the complement of *sɨr-* 'do'

ccjɨ (QT) can embed the verb that ends with *-oo* (INT) into the complement of *sɨr-* 'do.'

(70) To form the complement of *sɨr-* 'do' [= (9-26)]
ikjoccjɨ sjun turooja aran?
ik-oo=ccjɨ sɨr-tur-n turoo=ja ar-an
go-INT=QT do-PROG-PTCP scene=TOP COP-NEG
'(It is) a scene where (they) were about to go (somewhere), isn't (it)?' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

As mentioned in (9-23 c) in §6.1.2.1, the combination of *-oo=ccjɨ sɨr-* (INT=QT do) means 'be about to.'

7.4.1.4 To form a conditional adverbial clause

ccjɨ (QT) can make a conditional adverbial clause in the following combination: *-tar-n=ccjɨ=n* (PST-PTCP=QT=even) 'even if (someone) did ...' This expression may have some relation with *-tɨ=n* (SEQ=even) 'even if' in §7.1.3.

(71) *-tar-n=ccjɨ=n* (PST-PTCP=QT=even) 'even if'

a. naa, |mokujoobi|ninkja izjancjɨn,
naa mokujoobi=n=nkja ik-tar-n=ccjɨ=n
FIL Thursday=DAT1=APPR go-PST-PTCP=QT=even
.. siman cˀjuga wuranba.
sima=nu cˀju=ga wur-an-ba
community=GEN person=NOM exist-NEG-CSL
'Even if (I) went (to the day-care center), there are no people (from the same) community, so (I don't speak in Yuwan there).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. naa, gan sjɨ natəəroo, |nansai|gadɨ
naa ga-n sɨr-tɨ nar-təəra=ja nansai=gadɨ
FIL MES-ADVZ do-SEQ become-after=TOP how.old=LMT
wutancjɨn,
wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=n
exist-PST-PTCP=QT=even
'After becoming like that [i.e. bedridden], even if (the person) lived very long, ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

7.4.1.5 To form a clause that has a few nominal properties

The clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) slightly behaves like the nominal since it can take the genitive case as in (10-72 a), or it can precede the copula verb as in (10-72 b).

(72) a. *ccjɨ* (QT) followed by *nu* (GEN)
[Context: TM asked her daughter to bring the lunch at noon.]
nama |zjuunizi| narancjinu kutukai?
nama zjuunizi nar-an=ccjɨ=nu kutu=kai
yet noon become-NEG=QT=GEN thing=DUB
'Does (she) think that (it) is not noon yet?' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. *ccjɨ* (QT) followed by the copula verb
|itoko|cjɨ jˀicjɨn, wuran mun natɨ, |maa|
itoko=ccjɨ jˀ-tɨ=n wur-an mun nar-tɨ maa
cousin=QT say-SEQ=even exist-NEG thing become-SEQ FIL
wurancjəə aranban, tusinu
wur-an=ccjɨ=ja ar-an=ban tusi=nu sa=ga nə-an=kara
exist-NEG=QT=TOP COP-NEG=ADVRS age=GEN

|sa|ga nənkara,

difference=NOM exist-NEG=CSL

'Even if (they are) cousin (to me), (they) are not (in this community), well, (it) is too much (to say) that (they) are not (in this community), but there is (almost) no difference in age (between us), so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

7.4.1.6 To embed an onomatopoeia

ccjɨ (QT) can embed an onomatopoeia into the complement slot of the superordinate clause as in (73).

(73) *ccjɨ* (QT) to embed an onomatopoeia

tuisuzjɨ	izjan	micjaija	isjoobiki
tuur-i+sug-tɨ	*ik-tar-n*	*micjai=ja*	*isjoobiki*
pass-INF+pass-SEQ	go-PST-PTCP	three.person.CLF=TOP	whistle

hucjɨ, hjuucjɨ abɨjuroogai?
huk-tɨ *hjuu=ccjɨ* *abɨr-jur-oo=ga=i*
blow-SEQ [sound effect]=QT

'The three (boys) who passed by whistled and called (another boy with a whistling sound like) "phweee."' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

7.4.1.7 Without the superordinate clause

The clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) can be used without the superordinate clause (at least in the phonetic level) as in (10-74 a-b).

(74) *ccjɨ* (QT) without the superordinate clause

a. nama (umooju) umoojuncjɨdoo.
nama umoor-jur *umoor-jur-n=ccjɨ=doo*
still exist.HON-UMRK exist.HON-UMRK-PTCP=QT=ASS
'(Someone said) that (he) is still alive.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. [Context: Talking about MY] = (6-24 a)

attaaja	(un)	un	hutəənan
a-rɨ-taa=ja	*u-n*	*u-n*	*hutəə=nan*
DIST-NLZ-PL=TOP	MES-ADNZ	MES-ADNZ	vicinity=LOC1

wutancjɨjaa.
wur-tar-n=ccjɨ=jaa
exist-PST-PTCP=QT=SOL
'(I heard) that she and her family were around there.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (10-74 a-b), the clauses followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) are not embedded in any superordinate clause (in the phonetic level). In fact, the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) directly follows *ccjɨ* (QT) in (10-74 a). The superordinate clauses in these examples may be inferred from the context, and the heads of the superordinate clauses are thought to be *j'*- 'say,' which is expressed by '(someone said)' or '(I heard)' in the free translation. It is important to note that *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) and *ccjɨ=jaa* (QT=SOL) express that the speaker's uncertainty over the information from the hearsay evidence.

On the other hand, there is a case where the superordinate clause of (the clause followed by) *ccjɨ* (QT) cannot be inferred from the context. I will show the examples below, where *ccjɨ* (QT) is always followed by *joo* (CFM1).

(75) *ccjɨ* (QT) followed by *joo* (CFM1)

a. [Context: The speaker explains the story of the Pear Film to the hearer.]
tuutɨ izjancjɨjoo.
tuur-tɨ *ik-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
pass-SEQ go-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'(A young man who pulls a goat) passed away.' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM describs US's behavior to the present author in front of US.]
|ittoki|n joosjurancjɨjo. kan sjɨ
ittoki=n *joosjur-an=ccjɨ=joo* *ka-n* *sɨr-tɨ*
for.a.moment=even keep.still-NEG=QT=CFM1 PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ
sjutɨ, jukkadɨ nunkuin izjasiccjɨjo.
sɨr-tur-tɨ *jukkadɨ* *nuu-nkuin* *izjas-i=ccjɨ=joo*
do-PROG-SEQ continuously what-INDFZ serve-INF=QT=CFM1
hanasinkjoo sɨrancjɨjo.
hansi=nkja=ja *sɨr-an=ccjɨ=joo*
conversation=APPR=TOP do-NEG=QT=CFM1
'(US) cannot keep still. Like this, (US) is continuously serving things. (US) does not do [i.e. enjoy] the conversation.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the above examples, the clauses followed by *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1) do not report someone's utterance in the past. Therefore, the head of the superordinate clause, if any, cannot be *jˀ-* 'say.' Moreover, the head of the superordinate clasue, if any, cannot be *umuw-* 'think' either. For example, the speaker describes the image in the film as soon as she watched it as in (10-75 a), and also describes the behavior of her friend ("US") in front of her in (10-75 b). In these examples, the events described by the speaker are rather objective, and unlikely to be familiar with a verb that implies the speaker's subjectivity, i.e. *umuw-* 'think.' Thus, the clauses followed by *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1) in (10-75 a-b) are thought to be independent from any superordinate clause. In other words, they are examples of insubordination (see §8.2).

The difference between *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) marking the hearsay information and *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM) marking the objective (or non-hearsay) information is clarified in the following minimal pairs taken in the elicitaion.

(76) *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) vs. *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1)

First-person subject

a. wanna kamancjɨjoo.
wan=ja *kam-an=ccjɨ=joo*
1SG=TOP eat-NEG=QT=CFM1
'I won't eat (it).' [El: 101023]

b. #wanna kamancjɨdoo.
wan=ja *kam-an=ccjɨ=doo*
1SG=TOP eat-NEG=QT=ASS
[El: 101023]

Third-person subject

c. an cˀjoo kamancjɨjoo.
a-n *cˀju=ja* *kam-an=ccjɨ=joo*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP eat-NEG=QT=CFM1
'That person does not eat (it).' [El: 101023]

d. an cˀjoo kamancjɨdoo.
a-n *cˀju=ja* *kam-an=ccjɨ=doo*
DIST-ADNZ person=TOP eat-NEG=QT=ASS
'(Someone said) that that person does not eat (it).' [El: 101023]

In (10-76 a, c), the speaker presents the information as objective facts. On the other hand, in (10-76 d), the speaker presents the information on the hearsay

evindence. As mentioned before, *ccjɨ=doo* (QT=ASS) implies the speaker's uncertainty over the information. Thus, the example in (10-76 b) cannot be acceptable, since it is unnatural that the speaker herself is unsure of whether she is willing to eat something or not.

7.4.2 *ka* (DUB)

ka (DUB) has two functions as in (10-77 a-b), which also apply to *gajaaroo* (DUB) in §7.4.3.

(77) Functions of *ka* (DUB)
  a. Can embed a clause into the complement of *sij-* 'know' or *wa(k)ar-* 'understand; know';
  b. Can derive the indefinite NP from the interrogative NP.

If *ka* (DUB) attahces to the clause that includes the interrogative word, which expresses the information question, *ka* (DUB) functions as the marker of indirect question as in (10-78 a-b).

(78) As a maker of indirect information question (or "Wh-question")

  a. [= (5-38 a)]
  wanna |bettarazukee|ja naa ikjasaa sjakka
  wan=ja bettarazuke=ja naa ikja-saa sɨr-tar=ka
  1SG=TOP k.o.pickle=TOP FIL how-ADVZ do-PST=DUB
  wakarandoo.
  wakar-an=doo
  know-NEG=ASS
  'I don't know how much (I) did [i.e. made] the *bettarazuke* [i.e. k.o. pickles].' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

  b. nuucjɨ j^{ʔ}icjɨ c^{ʔ}jakka wakaranmun.
  nuu=ccjɨ j^{ʔ}-tɨ k-tar=ka wakar-an=mun
  what=QT say-SEQ come-PST=DUB know-NEG=ADVRS
  'Though, (I) don't know what (I) have said (about the contents of the Pear Film).' [PF: 090222_00.txt]

Additionally, *ka* (DUB) can be used as the marker of the indirect polar question, where there is no interrogative word.

(79) As a maker of indirect polar question (or "Yes-no question")

a. un kawajəəka sijanban,
u-n *kawajəə=ka* *sij-an=ban*
MES-ADNZ substitute=DUB know-NEG=ADVRS
'(I) don't know whether (it is) a substitute (for a hat), but ...' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

b. wanna ikjukka ikjanka waarandoo.
wan=ja *ik-jur=ka* *ik-an=ka* *waar-an=doo*
1SG=TOP go-UMRK=DUB go-NEG=DUB know-NEG=ASS
'I don't know whether (I) will go (there) or not.' [El: 130812]

The examples in (10-78 a-b) and (10-79 b) show that *ka* (DUB) directly attaches to the preceding verbal stem, which means it is an affix-like clitic (see §4.2.2.2).

Secondly, *ka* (DUB) can follow an interrogative NP (i.e. an NP headed by an interrogative word), and it derives an indefinite NP as in (10-80 a-d) (see also §??).

(80) As a maker to derive an indefinite NP from an interrogative NP

a. [Context: TM said to MS that her son was always busy.] = (5-39 a)
TM: |dojoo|. |nicijoo|. jazin nuukanu ai.
dojoo *nicijoo* *jazin* *nuu=ka=nu* *ar-i*
Saturday Sunday necessarily what=DUB=NOM exist-NPST
'Saturday. Sunday. There is always something.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. [Context: TM explained to MY why she had called her.] = (5-39 c)
TM: uran daacika ikjarɨncjɨga,
ura=n *daa=kaci=ka* *ik-arɨr-n=cjɨ=ga*
2.NHON.SG=DAT1 where=ALL=DUB go-PASS-PTCP=QT=FOC
...

'(I thought I) would suffer from your going somewhere, (so I called you.)' [Co: 101020_01.txt]

c. TM: daananka aroo.
daa=nan=ka *ar-oo.*
where=LOC1=DUB exist-SUPP
'Probably, (a mallet) is somewhere.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. US: taruutuka oojunwakecjɨjo.
ta-ru=tu=ka *oow-jur-n=wake=ccjɨ=joo*
who-NLZ=COM=DUB see-UMRK-PTCP=CFP=QT=CFM1
'(I) see someone (when I go shopping to the store in this

neighborhood).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

The above examples show that *ka* (DUB) can intervene between the nominal and *nu* (NOM) as in (10-80 a), but it cannot in the case of *kaci* (ALL), *nan* (LOC1) and *tu* (COM), and it follows them as in (10-80 b-d).

7.4.3 *gajaaroo* (DUB)

gajaaroo (DUB) has the same functions as *ka* (DUB) discussed in §7.4.2. *gajaaroo* (DUB) is frequentely realized as /garoo/ (or /karoo/) as in (10-81 a, c-d).

(81) As a maker of an indirect information question (or "Wh-question")

a. [Context: Looking at a picture, TM remembered a man.] = (5-38 b)
TM: daanan wukkaroo, wakaija
daa=nan wur=gajaaroo wakar-i=ja
where=LOC1 exist=DUB understand-INF=TOP
sɨranbajaa.
sɨr-an-ba=jaa
do-NEG-CSL=SOL
'(I) don't know where (he) is.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. US: un kacjən kabikkwaga daakaci
u-n kak-təər-n kabi-kkwa=ga daa=kaci
MES-ADNZ write-RSL-PTCP paper-DIM=NOM where=ALL
ucjɨgajaaroo,
uk-tɨ=gajaaroo
put-SEQ=DUB
'(I don't know) where (I) put the paper that (I) had written (my granddaughter's name on).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. TM: |josizoo|ga wuija sjunban,
josizoo=ga wur-i=ja sɨr-jur-n=ban
Yoshizo=NOM exist-INF=TOP do-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS
daanan wukkaroo wakaija sɨranbajaa.
daa=nan wur=gajaaroo wakar-i=ja sɨr-an-ba=jaa
where=LOC1 exist=DUB know-INF=TOP do-NEG-CSL=SOL
'There is Yoshizo [i.e. Yoshizo is still alive], but (I) don't know where (he) lives, so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. TM: ɨciɨ ciriti izjɨgaroo wakarancjɨdu.
icɨɨ cirɨr-tɨ ik-ti=gajaaroo wakar-an=ccjɨ=du
when go.with-SEQ go-SEQ=DUB know-NEG=QT=FOC
'(She said) that (she) doesn't know when (the person) went with (the other person).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

Additionally, *gajaaroo* (DUB) can be used as a marker of the indirect polar question, where there is no interrogative word.

(82) As a maker of indirect polar question (or "Yes-no question")
wanna ikjukkajaaroo ikjangajaaroo waarandoo.
wan=ja ik-jur=gajaaroo ik-an=gajaaroo waar-an=doo
1SG=TOP go-UMRK=DUB go-NEG=DUB know-NEG=ASS
'I don't know whether (I) will go (there) or not.' [El: 130812]

The above examples show that *gajaaroo* (DUB) has the same function as *ka* (DUB), i.e., they can be used to mark the indirect question. If the embedded clause indicates the non-past tense, both *gajaaroo* (DUB) and *ka* (DUB) can follow directly the bound verbal stem as in (10-81 a, c), (82), and (10-79 b) in §7.4.2. That is, *gajaaroo* (DUB) is an affix-like clitic as well as *ka* (DUB) (see §4.2.2.2). However, there is a difference between them. On the one hand, if the embedded clause indicates the past tense, the verb takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) before *gajaaroo* (DUB) as in (10-81 b, d). On the other hand, in the same environment, the verb takes *-tar* (PST) before *ka* (DUB) as in (10-78 a-b) in §7.4.2.

gajaaroo (DUB) can follow an interrogative NP, and can derive an indefinite NP as in (10-83 a-c) (see also §**??**).

(83) As the maker to derive an indefinite NP from an interrogative NP

a. [Context: Looking at pictures of the shopping street in the village] = (5-40 b)
nuucjɨgajaaroo kacjəəttujaa.
nuu=ccjɨ=gajaaroo kak-təər-tu=jaa
what=QT=DUB write-RSL-CSL=SOL
'Something has been drawn (on the sign board of the store).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. daanangaroo sjasinnan |nakaudo|nu, (an..)
daa=nan=gajaaroo sjasin=nan nakaudo=nu a-n
where=LOC1=DUB picture=LOC1 matchmaker=NOM DIST-ADNZ

ukɨnnantɨ sangun sjunturonkja,
ukɨn=nantɨ sangun sɨr-tur-n=turoo=nkja
Uken=LOC2 betrothal.present do-PROG-PTCP=scene=APPR
'The scene where the matchmaker was doing [i.e. was having the couple exchange] the betrothal presents at the Uken community (appeared) somewhere in the picture.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. naa ɨcɨn madungajaaroo naa un utankjan
naa ɨcɨ=n madu=n=gajaaroo naa u-n uta=nkja=n
FIL when=GEN time=DAT1=DUB yet MES-ADNZ song=APPR=also
|zjenzjen|,
zjenzjen
at.all
'At the time (when I don't know) when (it began), (old people in the community began) not to sing (the song) at all anymore.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

In (10-83 a), *nuu* 'what' and *gajaaroo* (DUB) means 'something,' where *ccjɨ* (QT) intervenes between them and embeds them into the complement of *kak-* 'write' (see also §7.4.1.2). In (10-83 b), *daa* 'where' and *gajaaroo* (DUB) means 'somewhere.' In (10-83 c), it is ambiguous whether it is an example of the indefinite NP or that of the indirect question. In the latter interpretation, it is thought that the predicate of the superordinate clause, e.g., *sij-an* (know-NEG) '(I) don't know,' was omitted.

Furthermore, *gajaaroo* (DUB) can be used neither to express an indirect question nor to derive an indifinite NP. In that case, *gajaaroo* (DUB) expresses the speaker's dubitation (or uncertainty) about (the referents of) the units they are attached to. This kind of function has not been found in *ka* (DUB) so far.

(84) To express the speaker's dubitation

a. kurəə burɨncjɨgajaaroo jutattujaa.
ku-rɨ=ja burɨn=ccjɨ=gajaaroo jˀ-tar-tu=jaa
PROX-NLZ=TOP Buren=QT=DUB say-PST-CSL=SOL
'(Someone) said that this (picture was) Buren, so (I think it is that of Buren).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. |ken|nantɨ abɨnəə |iciban|cjɨgajaaroodu jutattu,
ken=nantɨ abɨnəə iciban=ccjɨ=gajaaroo=du jˀ-tar-tu
prefecture=LOC2 nearly the.most=QT=DUB=FOC say-PST-CSL
'(Someone) said that (she was) nearly the (old)est in the (Kagoshima) Prefecture, so ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. kuɨibəi, ude, naikwa nootutɨgaroo, an
ku-rɨ=bəi ude naikwa noor-tur-tɨ=gajaaroo a-n
PROX-NLZ=only well a.few remain-PROG-SEQ=DUB DIST-ADNZ
... |sjuusjencjokugo|ja,
sjuusjencjokugo=ja
immediately.after.the.war=TOP
'Only this (building), a few (parts of it), remained, (I) suppose, immediately after that war, ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

7.4.4 *nən* 'such as'

nən 'such as' always embeds the preceding units into the complement of *sɨr-* 'do.' The complement's head, i.e. *sɨr-* 'do,' usually takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) when modifying a verb, or takes *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) when modifying a nominal.

First, I will show the examples where the units followed by *nən* 'such as' fill the complements of /sjɨ/ *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ), which in turn modify the verb in the superordinate clause.

(85) *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tɨ* (do-SEQ)

a. After a nominal [= (9-33)]
muru kjoodəənən sjɨ, sjɨ moojutattujaa.
muru kjoodəə=nən sɨr-tɨ sɨr-tɨ moor-jur-tar-tu=jaa
very brother=such.as do-SEQ do-SEQ HON-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
'(They) used to keep company with each other like brothers.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. After an infinitive + *n* (DAT1)
nobuaritaaga |kjooikuiin|nan
nobuari-taa=ga kjooikuiin=nan
Nobuari-PL=NOM Board.of.Education=LOC1
wuinnən sjɨ jappoo, hɨmanu
wur-i=n=nən sɨr-tɨ jar-boo hɨma=nu
exist-INF=DAT1=such.as do-SEQ COP-CND time=NOM
anban,
ar-n=ban
exist-PTCP=ADVRS
'If (it were) the time such as when Nobuari was in the Board of Education, (he) has (plenty of) time, but ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. After a participle
mukasinu huccjunu jun tuki
mukasi=nu huccju=nu j'-jur-n tuki
the.past=GEN old.people=NOM say-UMRK-PTCP time
.. jutannən sjɨ,
j'-jur-tar-n=nən sɨr-tɨ
say-UMRK-PST-PTCP=such.as do-SEQ
'When the old people in the past used to say, just as (they) used to say, ...' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. After a participle (interrupted by *ga*)
naa, cukutun c'junkjaga, naa, ura, ɨcɨɨ
naa cukur-tur-n c'ju=nkja=ga naa ura ɨcɨɨ
FIl make-PROG-PTCP person=APPR=NOM FIL 2.NHON.SG when
sizjɨn, naa, ɨrɨrarɨnganən sjɨ, (sɨcɨ)
sin-tɨ=n naa ɨrɨr-arɨr-n=ga=nən sɨr-tɨ sɨcɨ
die-SEQ=even FIL put.in-CAP-PTCP=GA=such.as do-SEQ coffin
sɨcɨcjɨ j'icjɨjo,
sɨcɨ=ccjɨ j'-tɨ=joo
coffin=QT say-SEQ=CFM1
'As the person who made (the coffin) can be put (there) whenever (the person) dies, (there is a thing) called *sɨcɨ* [i.e. coffin], and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

/nən sjɨ/ *nən sɨr-tɨ* (such.as do-SEQ) follows a nominal as in (10-85 a), and follows a verb as in (10-85 b-d). In (10-85 c), *nən* directly follows a participle, but in (10-85 d), it is interrupted by *ga*. This particle has the same form with the focus particle *ga*, but I am not sure whether it is *ga* (FOC) or not for now.

Secondly, I will present the examples where the units followed by *nən* 'such as' fill the complements of /sjan/ *sɨr-tar-n* (do-PST-PTCP), which in turn modify the nominal in the superordinate clause.

(86) *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tar-n* (do-PST-PTCP)

a. After a nominal
maganən sjan injawarabɨnu c'jɨ,
maga=nən sɨr-tar-n inja+warabɨ=nu k-tɨ
grandchild=such.as do-PST-PTCP small+child=NOM come-SEQ
'A small child such as a grandchild came, and ...' [PF: 090225_00.txt]

b. After a participle
noogusukuja naanai pˀaacjɨ aagai
noogusuku=ja naa+nai pˀaa=ccjɨ aagai
Nogusuku=TOP other+a.little shining=QT light
cɨkɨtutannən sjan |kanzi|.
cɨkɨr-tur-tar-n=nən sɨr-tar-n kanzi
turn.on-PROG-PST-PTCP=such.as do-PST-PTCP atmosphere
'Nogusuku [i.e. the name of a place] has an atmosphere just as (someone) was turning on a shining light a little.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. After a participle (interrupted by *ga*)
|kawa|bunɨccjɨ kan sjɨ an
kawa+hunɨ=ccjɨ ka-n sɨr-tɨ a-n
river+boat=QT PROX-ADVZ do-SEQ DIST-ADNZ
|hunakudari| sjunganən
hunakudari sɨr-jur-n=ga=nən
descending.by.the.boat do-UMRK-PTCP=GA=such.as
sjan |kanzi|sjɨ, |soko|ja mattawu
sɨr-tar-n kanzi=sjɨ soko=ja mattawu nar-tɨ
do-PST-PTCP atmosphere=INST bottom=TOP very.flat
natɨ,
COP-SEQ
'(Speaking of) *kawabunɨ* [i.e. a river boat], (it) is similar to (the boat) by which (people) descend (a river) like this [lit. with an atmosphere where (people) descend (a river) like this], and the bottom is very flat, and ...' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

/nən sjan/ *nən sɨr-tar-n* (such.as do-PST-PTCP) follows a nominal as in (10-86 a), and follows a verb as in (10-86 b-c). In (10-86 b), *nən* directly follows a participle, but in (10-86 c), it is interrupted by *ga* as well as in (10-85 d).

In the text data, *sɨr-* 'do' (as the head of the complement, following *nən* 'such as') always takes *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (85) or *-tar-n* (PST-PTCP) as in (86). However, it can take other inflections in elicitation as in (10-87 a-b).

(87) a. *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tur-i* (do-PROG-NPST)
tarun wuranga nən sjui.
ta-ru=n wur-an=ga nən sɨr-tur-i
who-NLZ=even exist-NEG=GA such.as do-PROG-NPST
'(It) seems (that) there isn't anyone.' [El: 120914]

b. *nən* 'such as' + *sɨr-tur-tar* (do-PROG-PST)
tarun wuranga nən sjutattoo.
ta-ru=n *wur-an=ga* *nən* *sɨr-tur-tar=doo*
who-NLZ=even exist-NEG=GA such.as do-PROG-PST=ASS
'(It) seemed (that) there wasn't anyone.' [El: 120914]

Before concluding this section, it should be mentioned that *nən* 'such as' has the same form with the existential verb in negative, i.e. /nən/ *nə-an* (exist-NEG) 'not exist' (see §??) and the sequential convebal affix *-nən* (SEQ) (see §??). For now, I could not say anything about the diachronic relation or the synchronic commonality among these morphemes.

7.5 Utterance-final particles B

Yuwan has the utterance-final particles B as in Table 7.6. The utterance-final particles B can be hosted by the utterance, but the units followed by the utterance-final particles B are not necessarily embedded into the superordinate clauses, which is different from the utterance-final particles A discussed in §7.4. The term "utterance" here is used to indicate an abstract unit that can include both of the phrase and the clause.

Table 7.6: Utterance-final particles B

Form	Meaning
joo	Confirmation
jaa	Solidality

joo (CFM1) and *jaa* (SOL) can follow many of the other particles discussed in the preceding sections. Additionally, *jaa* (SOL) can follow *joo* (CFM1).

jaa (SOL) and *joo* (CFM1) have the counterparts in the interjections (see §4.3.7). *jaa* (SOL) and *joo* (CFM1) as the interjections can start an utterance only by themselves, which is also disscussed in the following sections. This means that the particle-like uses of *jaa* (SOL) and *joo* (CFM1) are continuous with their interjection-like uses. The interjection *naa* (FIL) also often loses its own pitch (although it can start an utterance). Thus, it may be appropriate that such *naa* (FIL) be regarded as a particle. However, the unit followed by the clitic-like *naa* (FIL) is always embedded in another superordinate clause. Thus, it may be appropriate to categorize it as the sentence-final particle A, although it needs further investigation.

First, I will present examples of *joo* (CFM1) in §7.5.1. Then, I will present examples of *jaa* (SOL) in §7.5.2.

7.5.1 *joo* (CFM1)

joo (CFM1) is used to draw the hearer's attention. *joo* (CFM1) often becomes /jo/ as in (10-88 a-d, f). The units that can precede *joo* (CFM1) are full of variety.

(88) *joo* (CFM1)

After predicates

a. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verbal form is a finite form [= (9-4 b)]
nu-nkuin ati moojuijo.
nuu-nkuin ar-ti moor-jur-i=joo
what-INDFZ exist-SEQ HON-UMRK-NPST=CFM1
'(At MS's grandfather's place,) they had everything.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. After the verbal predicate phrase whose final verbal form is a converb
mukasinu sicizibatija, naa, kiinu
mukasi=nu sicizi+hatii=ja naa kii=nu
the.past=GEN cycad+field=TOP FIL tree=NOM
muituppoojo, un sicizija, naa, nən
muij-tur-boo=joo u-n sicizi=ja naa nə-an
grow-PROG-CND=CFM1 MES-ADNZ cycad=TOP FIL exist-NEG
najuttijaa.
nar-jur-ti=jaa
become-UMRK-SEQ=SOL
'About the cycad field in the past, if other trees grew (around the cycad trees), the cycad trees became extinct.' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

c. After the adjectival predicate phrase [= (9-25 b)]
nuuga? kuri kuri. kusarəə siranba,
nuu=ga ku-ri ku-ri kusarir-∅=ja sir-an-ba
what=FOC PROX-NLZ PROX-NLZ rot-INF=TOP do-NEG-CSL
jiccjaijo.
jiccj-sa+ar-i=joo
no.problem-ADJ+STV-NPST=CFM1
'What? This (one), this (one). (It) will not rot, so (it) is no problem (for you to bring it back).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

d. After the nominal predicate phrase
jonesige |neesan|.jo
jonesige neesan=joo
Yoneshige elder.sister=CFM1
'(She is) Yoneshige's elder sister.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

After argument NPs

e. After the nominative NP [= (6-95 a)]
jonesigetaa c'jantu attaa
jonesige-taa c'jan=tu a-rɨ-taa
Yoneshige-PL father=COM DIST-NLZ-PL
ziisantugajoo |itoko|bəi
ziisan=tu=ga=joo itoko=bəi
grandfather=COM=NOM=CFM1 cousin=only
najuncjɨ.
nar-jur-n=ccjɨ
become-UMRK-PTCP=QT
'Yoneshige's father and his [i.e the present speaker's] grandfather are cousin, (I heard).' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

After an adverb

f. asahuci, asajo izjɨ c'jin njɨcjɨ
asahuci asa=joo ik-tɨ k-tɨ=n nj-ɨ=ccjɨ
morning morning=CFM1 go-SEQ come-SEQ=ever EXP-IMP=QT
kinju j'icjanwakejo.
kinju j'-tar-n=wake=joo
yesterday say-PST-PTCP=CFP=CFM1
'Yesterday morning, (I) said, "Try to go (to your place)!"' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

Additionally, *joo* (CFM1) can follow the imperative, e.g., *mukk-oo=joo* (bring-IMP=CFM1) 'Bring (it)!' as in (10-31 a) in §7.2.2, the modifier NP, e.g., *nama=nu=joo warabɨ=nkja* (now=GEN=CFM1 child=APPR) 'the children in these days [lit. the children of now]' as in (7) in §7.1.1.2, or *nusi=nu=joo jinga-nəə=nkja* (now=GEN=CFM1 man-parent=APPR) 'her father [lit. herself's father]' as in (64) in §7.4.1.1.

If *joo* (CFM1) follows *ccjɨ* (QT), the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) can be used as the main clause expressing that it is of the objective (not hearsay) information (see §7.4.1.7 for more details).

Before concluding this section, I will present an example of an interjection that seems to have the same origin with *joo* (CFM1).

(89) *joo* (CFM1) as an interjection
[Context: TM describs US's behavior to the present author in front of US.]
joo. cˀjunu məəci cˀjəəran, naa, |ittoki|n
joo cˀju=nu məə=kaci k-təəra=n naa ittoki=n
CFM1 person=GEN front=ALL come-after=even FIL for.a.moment=even
joosjurancjɨjo.
joosjur-an=ccjɨ=joo
keep.still-NEG=QT=CFM1
'Hey. (US) cannot keep still, even after (she) came to a person's place [i.e. even when (she) visit a friend (like this)].' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In (89), the speaker started her utterance with *joo* (CFM1), which is used to attract the hearer's [i.e. the present author's] attention.

7.5.2 *jaa* (SOL)

First, the basic characteristics of *jaa* (SOL) are presented in §7.5.2.1. Then, *jaa* (SOL) is compared with *jəə* (CFM2) in §7.5.2.2, since they express a distinction that is similar to that of the first-person inclusive vs. exclusive found in the languages around the world (cf. Payne 1997: 45).

7.5.2.1 Basic characteristics of *jaa* (SOL)

jaa (SOL) is used to require the hearer's empathy or to express the speaker's empathy with the hearer. The units that can precede *jaa* (SOL) are full of variety. For example, *jaa* (SOL) can follow the verbal predicate as in (10-9 a) in §7.1.2.1 (the verb is a finite form) or (10-31 a) in §7.2.2 (the verb is a participle with the conjunctive particle *sjutɨ* (SEQ)), the adjectival predicate as in (9-44 a) in §6.2.1 (immediately after the adjective) or (10-62 d) in §7.4.1.1 (after the stative verb), the nominal predicate as in (10-90 a) (immediately after the predicate NP) or (4-13 b) in §4.1.3.3 (after the copula verb). Additionally, *jaa* (SOL) can follow another particles, such as the conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS) as in (10-90 b), the clause-final particle *doo* (ASS) as in (10-90 c) or *kai* (DUB) as in (50) in §7.3.6, the utterance-final particle A *ccjɨ* (QT) as in (10-74 b) in §7.4.1.7, or the utterance-final particle B *joo* (CFM1) as in (10-90 d). There are many examples that include *jaa* (SOL) in the text data, but I have not yet found the example where *jaa* (SOL) follows any case particle.

(90) *jaa* (SOL)

a. After the nominal predicate (immediately after the predicate NP)
[Context: Looking at a picture; MS: 'Hey, this is the public well, (isn't it?)']
tuinkoojaa.
tuinkoo=jaa
public.well=SOL
'(Actually, it is) the public well.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. After the conjunctive particle *ban* (ADVRS)
namanu munna naikwoo
nama=nu mun=ja naikwa=ja
now=GEN thing=TOP a.little=TOP
wakajunban.jaa.
wakar-jur-n=ban=jaa
know-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=SOL
'(I) know the things from these days a little, but (it is easier to remember the things from the old days).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

c. After the clause-final particle *doo* (ACC)
waa məənannja attojaa.
waa mə́ə=nan=ja ar=doo=jaa
1SG.ADNZ place=LOC1=TOP exist=ASS=SOL
'I have (the model plate to make *katakˀwasi* [a kind of sweets]).' [lit. '(It) exists at my place.'] [Co: 111113_01.txt]

d. After the utterance-final particle B *joo* (CFM1)
arəə siccjuijojaa? gazimaruja.
a-rɨ=ja sij-tur-i=joo=jaa gazimaru=ja
DIST-NLZ=TOP know-PROG-NPST=CFM1=SOL bayan.tree=TOP
'(You) know that, (i.e.) the banyan tree (don't you?)' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

The long vowel of *doo* (ASS) sometimes becomes short before *jaa* (SOL) as in (10-90 c). The long vowel of *joo* (CFM1) always becomes short before *jaa* (SOL) as in (10-90 d).

jaa (SOL) has its counterpart in the interjection as in (91).

(91) *jaa* (SOL) as an interjection
[Context: Taking of the old days; US: '(I) borrowed (the money to let my children go to high school) from many people.']

jaa. huntoo |kookoo| izjasijajaa.
jaa huntoo kookoo izjas-i=ja=jaa
SOL really high.shool let.go-INF=TOP=SOL
'Yeah. Really (it is hard) to let (one's children) go to high school.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

In the conversation described in (91), the speaker started her utterance with *jaa* (SOL), which is used to express the speaker's empathy to the hearer.

7.5.2.2 Comparison between *jaa* (SOL) and *jəə* (CFM2) following *-oo* (INT)

jaa (SOL) can co-occur with many of the particles, but cannot with *jəə* (CFM2). Both *jaa* (SOL) and *jəə* (CFM2) can follow the finite-form affix *-oo* (INT) as in (7-25 g) in §?? and (46) in §7.3.4, but their meanings are critically different from each other. Their difference can be summarized as in (92).

(92) Comparison between *jaa* (SOL) and *jəə* (CFM2) following *-oo* (INT)
  a. *-oo=jaa* (INT=SOL) necessarily includes the hearer into the action indicated by the verbal stem;
  b. *-oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) necessarily excludes the hearer from the action indicated by the verbasl stem.

The above distinction between *-oo=jaa* (INT=SOL) and *-oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2) is similar to the distinction between the first-person inclusive and the first-person exclusive found in the languages around the world (cf. Payne 1997: 45). I will show the minimal pairs that exemplify (10-92 a-b).

First, (10-92 a) is attested by (10-93 a-b).

(93) *-oo=jaa* (INT=SOL)

  a. [Context: Inviting the hearer]
  mazin ikjoojaa.
  mazin ik-oo=jaa
  together go-INT=SOL
  'Let's go together.' [El: 090830]

  b. *wan cʔjui ikjoojaa.
  wan cʔjui ik-oo=jaa
  1SG one.person.CLF go-INT=SOL
  [El: 090830]

In (10-93 a), /ikjoojaa/ *ik-oo=jaa* (go-INT=SOL) can be used to invite the hearer. However, it cannot be used with the numeral *cˀjui* (one.person.CLF) 'one person,' which implies 'alone,' as in (10-93 b). These examples show that the combination of *-oo* (INT) and *jaa* (SOL) necessarily includes the hearer.

Secondly, (10-92 b) is attested by (10-94 a-b).

(94) *-oo=jəə* (INT=CFM2)

a. [Context: Inviting the hearer]
*mazin ikjoojəə.
mazin ik-oo=jəə
together go-INT=CFM2
[El: 090830]

b. wan cˀjui ikjoojəə.
wan cˀjui ik-oo=jəə
1SG one.person.CLF go-INT=CFM2
[El: 090830]

In (10-94 a), /ikjoojəə/ *ik-oo=jəə* (go-INT=CFM2) cannot be used to invite the hearer. However, it can be used with the numeral *cˀjui* (one.person.CLF) 'one person,' which implies 'alone,' as in (10-94 b). These examples show that the combination of *-oo* (INT) and *jəə* (CFM2) necessarily excludes the hearer.

8 Inter-clausal phenomena

This chapter describes several inter-clausal phenomena. In §8.1, we will discuss the subordinate clauses, which can modify another clause. There are four types in the subordinate clauses: adverbial clause (where the subordinate clause functions as an adverb) (see §8.1.1); adnominal clause (where the subordinate clause functions as an adnominal) (see §8.1.2); nominal clause (where the subordinate clause functions as a nominal) (see §8.1.3); and complement clause (where the subordinate clause fills the complement slot of the verbal predicate phrase) (see §8.1.4). Some of the subordinate clauses can be used without their superordinate clauses. The conventionalized omission of the superordinate clause is called "insubordination" (Evans 2007), which will be discussed in §8.2. In §8.3, I will present the phenomena that are related with the focus markers, especially the phenomenon called "kakari-musubi" (i.e. 'government-predication') in Japanese and Ryukyuan linguistics.

8.1 Subordinate clauses

Yuwan has four types of subordinate clauses: adverbial clauses (see §8.1.1); adnominal clauses (see §8.1.2); nominal clauses (see §8.1.3); and complement clauses (see §8.1.4). The dependency of the subordinate clauses on the superordinate clause is different from one to another. Many of the subordinate clauses can take their own subjects different from those in the superordinate clauses. However, the adverbial clauses headed by the converbs *-tai* (LST) and *-jagacinaa* (SIM) and the nominal clauses headed by the infinitives (not accompanied with *n* (DAT1)) cannot take their own subjects (see §?? and §?? for more details).

8.1.1 Adverbial clause

The adverbial clause is the subordinate clause that functions as an adverb. The adverbial clause precedes its superordinate claue in principle. The adverbial clause can be expressed in two ways. First, the adverbial clause can be expressed by the converbal affixes. For example, *-ba* (CSL) following the verbal stem can express a causal meaning as in (11-1 a) (see §?? for more details). Secondly, the adverbial

clause can also be expressed by the conjunctive particles as in (11-1 b) (see §?? for more details).

(1) Adverbial clauses in Yuwan

a. Using a converb [= (8-86 a)] [Context: MY asked TM if TM had made the pickles; TM: '(I) don't know. How (was it)?']
niɨzinnu appa, arandaroo.
[*niɨzin=nu ar-ba*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *ar-an=daroo*
carrot=NOM exist-CSL COP-NEG=SUPP
'There are (pieces of) a carrot, so maybe (the pickles) are not (mine).' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

b. Using a conjunctive particle [= (4-20 b)]
wanna honami-|cjan| naaja siccjunban,
[*wan=ja honami-cjan naa=ja sij-tur-n=ban*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
1SG=TOP Honami-DIM name=TOP know-PROG-PTCP=ADVRS
naakjaa juminu naaja
naakjaa jumɨ=nu naa=ja
2PL.HON.ADNZ daughter.in.law=GEN name=TOP
sijandoojaa.
sij-an=doo=jaa
know-NEG=ASS=SOL
'I know Honami's name, but don't know the name of your daughter in law.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

All of the converbal affixes and some of the conjunctive particles are restricted in their choice of tense markers. However, a few conjunctive particles, i.e. *ban* (ADVRS), *kara* (CSL) and *mun* (ADVRS), are not restricted in their choice of tense markers.

It is common in Yuwan that the adverbial clauses (especially including *-tɨ* (SEQ)) are used sequentially, which is called clause-chaining (cf. Payne 1997: 321-325). In that case, the adverbial clauses do not seem to be embedded in the superordinate clauses as adverbs, and it is natural to translate the meanings of the relations among the clauses into 'and then' as in (2).

(2) Clause-chaining in Yuwan [= (8-102 b)]
idocjɨ j'icjɨ, (an) mata (an) agan
[*ido=ccjɨ j'-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ *a-n mata a-n* [*aga-n*
oh=QT say-SEQ DIST-ADNZ again DIST-ADNZ DIST-ADVZ

izjibatɨ izjɨ, amanan
izir-i+bar-tɨ *ik-tɨ*]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$ [*a-ma=nan sawako-taa=nkja*
go.out-INF+?-SEQ go-SEQ DIST-place=LOC1
sawakotankja minakotankjaga wutattu,
minako-taa=nkja=ga wur-tar-tu]$_{\text{Adverbial clause}}$
Sawako-PL=APPR Minako-PL=APPR=NOM exist-PST-CSL
'Saying that "Oh!" (I) went out there again, and there were Sawako, Minako and their friends, so ...' [Co: 101020_01.txt]

Interestingly, some clauses headed by converbs can be used without their superordinate clauses. The conventionalized omission of the superordinate clauses is called "insubordination" (see §8.2 for more details).

8.1.2 Adnominal clause

The adnominal clause is the subordinate clause that functions as an adnominal. The adnominal clause always precedes its head nominal. The predicate of the adnominal clause is always filled by the participles that end with *-n* (PTCP) as in (11-3 a) or *-an* (NEG) as in (11-3 b) (see §**??** for more details), but not vice versa since the participle followed by the conjunctive particles function as the adverbial clauses as in (11-1 b) in §8.1.1 (see also §**??**).

(3) Adnominal clauses in Yuwan

a. Using the participial affix *-n* (PTCP) [= (8-80 a)]
sakkiija (hinzjaa) xxx hinzjaaba
sakkii=ja *hinzjaa* [*hinzjaa=ba sukk-tur-n*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$
a.short.while.ago goat goat=ACC pull-PROG-PTCP
succjun cˀjunu atooradu cˀjanmun.
cˀju=nu *atu=kara=du* *k-tar-n=mun*
person=NOM after=ABL=FOC come-PST-PTCP=ADVRS
'A short while ago, the person who was pulling a goat came afterward, but (this time he came beforehand).' [PF: 090827_02.txt]

b. Using the participial affix *-an* (NEG) [= (8-83 b)]
kˀwaga dɨkɨran cˀju natɨ, 'Since (the
[*kˀwa=ga* *dɨkɨr-an*]$_{\text{Adnominal clause}}$ *cˀju* *nar-tɨ*
child=NOM be.born-NEG person COP-SEQ
woman) was a person who cannot have a baby, ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

If the constituent of a clause is focused by *du* (FOC), the predicate-final verb may take the participle without the following head NP, which is called the focus construction (or "kakari-musubi") (see §8.3 for more details).

8.1.3 Nominal clause

The nominal clause is the subordinate clause that functions as a nominal. The nominal clause can be expressed in three ways. First, the nominal clause can be expressed by the compound. For example, *mai* (OBL) is compounded with the preceding verbal stem: /ikimai/ *ik-i+mai* (go-INF+OBL) 'to have to go' (see §?? for more details) as in (11-4 a). Secondly, the nominal clause can be expressed by the infinitival affix *-i*/*-∅* as in (11-4 b) (see §?? for more details). Thirdly, the nominal clause can be expressed by the formal noun *sɨ*, which can directly follow the bound verbal stem and forms a nominal clause as in (11-4 c) (see §?? for more details).

(4) Nominal clauses in Yuwan

a. Using a nominal compound [= (4-35 d)]
wanna urɨba kakimaidoo.
wan=ja [*u-rɨ=ba* *kak-i+mai*]$_{\text{Nominal clause}}$*=doo*
1SG=TOP MES-NLZ=ACC write-INF+OBL=ASS
'I have to write it.' [El: 130816]

b. Using an infinitive [= (8-113 a)] [Context: Remembering the days when people send off the people who went to mainland Japan]
umanan sanbasinu atɨ, umantɨ
u-ma=nan *sanbasi=nu* *ar-tɨ* [*u-ma=nantɨ*
MES-place=LOC1 pier=NOM exist-SEQ MES-place=LOC2
cɨkɨ jatattu.
cɨkɨr-∅]$_{\text{Nominal clause}}$ *jar-tar-tu*
attach-INF COP-PST-CSL
'There is a pier there, and (the ship) came alongside there [lit. (the ship) was to dock there].' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

c. Using the formal noun *sɨ* [Context: Talking about the present author] = (6-13 a)
an nɨsəə muccjɨ ikjusəə nun
[*a-n* *nəɨsəə* *mut-tɨ* *ik-jur=sɨ*]$_{\text{Nominal clause}}$ *=ja*
DIST-ADNZ young.man have-SEQ go-UMRK=FN=TOP what=any

nənba, jakkəə.
nuu=n *nə-an-ba jakkəə*
exist-NEG-CSL trouble
'There is not anything [i.e. any food] the young man can take (for meals), so it's pity.' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

All of the above strategies can make the nominal clause, but the degree of the nominal characteristic and the verbal characteristic (or "clause-hood") is different from one another. Their differences are summrized in the following Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Comparison among the clauses headed by *mai* (OBL), *-i/-∅* (INF), or *sɨ* (FN). Note: (+) means that there are a few cases where *-i/-∅* (INF) can satisfy the nominal/verbal characteristics.

Nominal characteristics				
a.	May be follwed by the copula verbs	+	+	+
b.	May be followed by case particles	–	(+)	+
Verbal characteristics (or "clause-hood")				
c.	Retains the internal syntax	+	+	+
d.	May take the subject different from that of the superordinate clause	–	(+)	+

About the nominal characteristics in Table 8.1, all of the nominal clauses headed by (the compound including) *mai* (OBL), the infinitive, and *sɨ* (FN) may be followed by the copula verbs. In this respect, they behave like nominals. However, the compound including *mai* (OBL) cannot take any case particle. In other words, it cannot become an argument. Similarly, the infinitive cannot take any case particles with the exception of the nominative case *ga* and the dative case 1 *n* (see §?? for more details). On the contrary, *sɨ* (FN) has more freedom to take case particle than the others. Thus, the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) has more nominal characteristics than those headed by *mai* (OBL) or *-i/-∅* (INF). About the verbal characteristics in Table 8.1, all of the verbal stems that are followed by *mai* (OBL), *-i/-∅* (INF), and *sɨ* (FN) may retain their internal syntax. In this respect, these words behave like verbs. However, the clause headed by (the compound including) *mai* (OBL) cannot have its own subject different from the superordinate (i.e. modified) clause. The clause headed by the infinitive also cannot take its own subject with the exception of the case where the infitive takes *n* (DAT1) as in (8-114) - (8-115) in §??. On the contrary, the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) can take

its own subject different from the superordinate clause. Thus, the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) has more verbal characteristics (or "clause-hood") than those headed by *mai* (OBL) or *-i*/*-∅* (INF). From another point of view, it is probable that the clause headed by *sɨ* (FN) has the status sufficient to be called the nominal clause, but that the clauses headed by (the compound that includes) *mai* (OBL) or the infinitives are better analyzed as the components of the complex predicate (with the copula verb in a single clause).

8.1.4 Complement clause

The complement clause in Yuwan is the subordinate clause that functions as a complement of the verbal predicate phrase (see §?? about the complement slot). A complement clause ends with one of the utterance-final particles A, i.e. *ccjɨ* (QT), *ka* (DUB), *gajaaroo* (DUB), and *nən* 'such as.' I present an example of *ccjɨ* in (5) (see §?? for more details).

(5) Complement clause in Yuwan [= (10-63 c)]
isaburootaa, tomokkotaaga atai
[*isaburoo-taa tomokko-taa=ga atai*
Isaburo-PL Tomohiko-PL=NOM 50.years.old
jatancjɨ j'icjɨ,
jar-tar-n=ccjɨ]$_{\text{Complement clause}}$ *j'-tɨ*
COP-PST-PTCP=QT say-SEQ
'(People) said that Isaburo (and) Tomohiko were fifty years old, and ...'
[Co: 120415_01.txt]

Other examples of complement clauses were shown in (9-23 b-e) in §?? and (9-39) in §??.

In fact, the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) is similar to the nominal clause (in §8.1.3), since it may be followed by the copula verb, may take the genitive case *nu*, and can retain the internal syntax including its own subject (see §?? for more details). However, I propose that the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) is different from the nominal clause since it does not take any argument case (i.e. the cases other than the genitive). In fact, the clause headed by (the compound including) *mai* (OBL) does not take any argument case as well as the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT). However, the former, i.e. the clause headed by *mai* (OBL), only fills the predicate phrase of the superordinate clause, but the latter, i.e. the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT), can (and frequently) fill the slot other than the head of the predicate phrase of the superordinate clasue. In other words, the clause followed by *ccjɨ*

(QT) fills the complement slot of the verbal predicate phrase. The components in the complement slot do not take any argument case since they are not the arguments of the clause (see §??). Thus, it is more appropriate to call the clause followed by *ccjɨ* (QT) the "complement clause" (not the nominal clause).

8.2 Insubordination

Insubordination is defined by Evans (2007: 367) as follows: "I will apply the term "insubordination" to *the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses*" (italic in original). As Evans (2007: 367) said, the insubordination is a phenomenon strongly related with the diachronic linguistic change. Therefore, it is probable that there is a case where the subordinate use is very rare and also the main-clause use dominats in the modern language. In fact, the affix *-ɨba* (SUGS) in Yuwan is a good candidate for that (see §?? for more details). In Yuwan, the omission of the main clause is very common, where the (meaning of the) omitted clause can be often restored by the context. However, there are a few cases where the restoring is difficult. In those cases, the predicates have gained some grammatical functions different from the functions in the original subordinate clauses. In the following sections, I will present four examples: *-tɨ* (SEQ) in §8.2.1, *-ba* (CSL) in §8.2.2, *ccjɨ=joo* (QT=CFM1) in §8.2.3, and *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) in §8.2.4.

8.2.1 *-tɨ* (SEQ) as insubordination

Non-finite uses of the converbal affix *-tɨ* (SEQ) are found in the adverbial clause expressing sequential meaning as in §?? or in the auxiliary verb construction as in §??. However, there is a finite use of the converbal affix *-tɨ* (SEQ), which expresses the past tense as in (11-6 a-c).

(6) *-tɨ* (SEQ) expressing the past tense as the insubordination

a. naakjoo injasainnja dantɨ
naakja=ja *inja-sa+ar-i=n=ja* *daa=nantɨ*
2.HON.PL=TOP small-ADJ+STV-INF=DAT1=TOP where=LOC2
asɨbjutɨ?
asɨb-jur-tɨ
play-UMRK-SEQ
'Where did you used to play when (you) were in your childhood?'
[Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. gazimarugɨinu sjantɨ asɨbantɨ?
gazimaru+kɨɨ=nu sja=nantɨ asɨb-an-tɨ
bayan.tree+tree=GEN under=LOC2 play-NEG-SEQ
'Didn't you play under the banyan tree?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. jadunkjoo akɨtɨdoo.
jaduu=nkja=ja akɨr-tɨ=doo
door=APPR=TOP open-SEQ=ASS
'(We) opened the doors (on New Year's Eve in the old days).' [Co: 111113_02.txt]

In fact, the finite-form affix *-tar* (PST) cannot appear in the interrogative clause (see also §??). In that case, *-tɨ* (SEQ) is used to express the past tense as in (11-6 a-b). Therefore, the particle that expresses the polar question, e.g., *na* (PLQ), cannot co-occur with *-tar* (PST) as in (11-7 b), but can with *-tɨ* (SEQ) as in (11-7 a).

(7) *na* (PLQ) in the past tense

a. waatɨna?
waar-tɨ=na
understand-SEQ=PLQ
'(Did you) understand?' [El: 090830]

b. *waatana?
waar-tar=na
understand-PST=PLQ
(Intended meaning) '(Did you) understand?' [El: 090830]

It should be noted that *-tar* (PST) can appear in the interrogative clasue if it is followed by *-u* (PFC) as in (11-18 a-b) in §8.3.2, or if it is followed by *-mɨ* (PLQ), although the combination of *-tar-mɨ* (PST-PLQ) has not yet appeared in the text data (it only appears in elicitation). Additionally, if the alleged interrogative clause is used to express the speaker's wondering to herself, *-tar* (PST) can be used as in (8) (see also §??).

(8) *nuu* 'what' co-occuring with *-tar* (PST) because of *kai* (DUB) [= (10-50)]
[Context: MS asked TM whether the place in the picture used to be called "Yubinhana."]
nuucjɨga jutakaijaa?
nuu=ccjɨ=ga j'-jur-tar=kai=jaa
what=QT=FOC call-UMRK-PST=DUB=SOL
'(I) wonder what (people) used to call (the place).' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

8.2.2 *-ba* (CSL) as the insubordination

Non-finite uses of the converbal affix *-ba* (CSL) are found in the adverbial clause expressing causal meaning as in §??. However, there is a finite use of the converbal affix *-ba* (CSL), which expresses the speaker's request to the hearer as in (11-9 a-c). In that case, *-ba* (CSL) always appears in the AVC following the auxiliary verbs *kuri-* (BEN) or *taboor-* (BEN.HON).

(9) *kuri-* (BEN) *+-ba* (CSL)

a. hanacji kuripa. dooka.
hanas-ti kuri-ba dooka
talk-SEQ BEN-CSL please
[Lex. verb Aux.
'Please, talk (to me).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

b. naa hazimiti kuripajoo.
naa hazimi-ti kuri-ba=joo
FIL begin-SEQ BEN-CSL=CFM1
[Lex. verb Aux.
'(Please) begin (the training for the traditional dance for our community).' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
taboor- (BEN.HON) *+-ba* (CSL)

c. umoojaganaa, abiti tabooppajoo.
umoor-jaganaa abi-ti taboor-ba=joo
come.HON-SIM call-SEQ BEN.HON-CSL=CFM1
[Lex. verb Aux.
'Coming (here), call (the person for me please).' [El: 120930]

8.2.3 *ccji=joo* (QT=CFM1) as the insubordination

ccji (QT) embeds any utterance into the complement of the superordinate clause in principle. For example, an imperative clause is embedded into the complement of *j'-* 'say' as in (10).

(10) *ccji* (QT) in the complement clause [= (8-148 g)]
kanicuboja urakja tuikurawicji j'icji,
[*kani+cibo=ja urakja tur-i+kuraw-i=ccji*]$_{\text{Complement clause}}$ *j'-ti*
gold+pot=TOP 2.NHON.PL take-INF+DRG-IMP=QT say-SEQ
'(The man) said that, "You take (this) damn gold pot!" and ...' [Fo: 090307_00.txt]

However, if it is followed by *joo* (CFM1), it always expresses an objective (not hearsay) information without any superordinate clause as in (11).

(11) *ccjɨ* (QT) in the insubordination [= (10-75 a)] [Context: The speaker explains the story of the Pear Film to the hearer.]
tuutɨ izjancjɨjoo.
tuur-tɨ *ik-tar-n=ccjɨ=joo*
pass-SEQ go-PST-PTCP=QT=CFM1
'(A young man who pulls a goat) passed by.' [PF: 090305_01.txt]

The more detail discussion was done in §??.

8.2.4 *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) as the pre-insubordination

The converbal affix *-boo* (CND) expresses the conditional meaning. Interestingly, the combination of *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) in the adverbial clause and *nar-an* (become-NEG) in the main clause expresses the obligative meaning as in (12), where the obligative meaning is expressed in the adverbial clause.

(12) Obligation expressed by *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) plus *nar-an* (become-NEG) [=(9-40)]
waasan ucjəə, ganba hatarakanboo,
waa-sa+ar-n *uci=ja* *ganba* *hatarak-an-boo*
young-ADJ+STV-PTCP period=TOP therefore work-NEG-CND
naranbajaa.
nar-an-ba=jaa
become-NEG-CSL=SOL
'While (one) is young, (one) has to work.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above collocation has an idiomatic meaning (i.e. obligation), and it is difficult to construct the meaning from the literal meaning of each morpheme. The idiomatic meaning is frequently expressed without the main clause, which is the "conventionalization of ellipsis" (Evans 2007: 372-373) as in (11-13 a-d).

(13) Obligation expressed only by *-an-boo* (NEG-CND)

a. [= (8-122 b)]
nan umoorasanboocjɨ umutɨ,
nan *umoor-as-an-boo=ccjɨ* *umuw-tɨ*
2.HON.SG come.HON-CAUS-NEG-CND=QT think-SEQ
'(I) thought that (I) have to make you come, and ...' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. [= (10-33)]
jazin kjunmuncjɨ umutɨ
jazin k-jur-n=mun=ccjɨ umuw-tɨ
necessarily come-UMRK-PTCP=ADVRS=QT think-SEQ
kurɨranboo.
kurɨr-an-boo
BEN-NEG-CND
‘(You) have to think that necessarily (you) will come.’ [Co: 101023_01.txt]

c. [= (4-57)]
ude, naa, ganboo, urakjoo ude, ude, kamanboo,
ude naa ganboo urakja=ja ude ude kam-an-boo
well FIL if.so 2.NHON.SG=TOP well well eat-NEG-CND
udeccjɨdu xxx jutattujaa.
ude=ccjɨ=du N/A *jʔ-jur-tar-tu=jaa*
well=QT=FOC N/A say-UMRK-PST-CSL=SOL
‘(The old people) would say, ‘Well, now, then, you have to eat (more).’’ [Co: 120415_01.txt]

d. uraba həəku tɨmɨranbooccjɨga.
ura=ba həə-ku tɨmɨr-an-boo=ccjɨ=ga
2.NHON.SG=ACC quick-ADVZ find-NEG-CND=QT=FOC
‘(I think) that (I) have to find you quickly.’ [Co: 101023_01.txt]

In the above examples, *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) expresses obligation without *nar-an* (become-NEG). In other words, the subordiante clauses headed by (the verb that includes) *-an-boo* (NEG-CND) has obtained the grammatical meaning of obligation.

8.3 Focus construction (or “Kakari-musubi”)

It is famous that there are a kind of focus constructions (i.e. constructions that include focus particles) that are traditoinally called *kakari-musubi* (i.e. ‘government-predication’) in Japanese linguistics and Ryukyuan linguistics (cf. Shimoji 2008: 565-570). The characteristics of the focus constructions in Yuwan can be summarized as follows.

(14) Focus construction (or “Kakari-musubi”) in Yuwan

a. *-n* (PTCP) is in the predicate of the main clause
   > *du* (FOC) is in the clause, but not vice versa;
b. *-u* (PFC) is in the predicate
   > *du* (FOC) or an interrogative word is in the clause, but not vice versa.

The argumentation for (14) is shown in the following sections. First, I will present examples of the focus construction of *du* (FOC) in §8.3.1. Then, I will present examples of the focus construction of *ga* (FOC) in §8.3.2.

8.3.1 Focus construction of *du* (FOC)

In Yuwan, the participle that has *-n* (PTCP) fills the predicate of the adnominal clause, and it cannot fill the predicate of the main claue in principle (see also §8.1.2). However, if the focus particle *du* appears in the same clause, the participle can fill the predicate of the main claue as in (14a–d).

(15) *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-n* (PTCP) in the main clause

a. [= (6-108 a)]
   nuunu nangikaicjɨdu umujun.
   nuu=nu nangi=kai=ccjɨ=du umuw-jur-n
   what=GEN trouble=DUB=QT=FOC think-UMRK-PTCP
   '(I) wonder what (kinds) of trouble (I took).' [i.e. 'I didn't want to take such trouble.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]
b. kadɨdu, cikjaranu izijun.
   kam-tɨ=du cikjara=nu izir-jur-n
   eat-SEQ=FOC power=NOM go.out-UMRK-PTCP
   '(One) eat (food), and then the power goes out.' [i.e. 'One can become powerful after eating a meal.'] [Co: 120415_01.txt]
c. dujasankutubəidu siccjun.
   duja-sa+ar-n=kutu=bəi=du sij-tur-n
   rich-ADJ+STV-PTCP=fact=only=FOC know-PROG-PTCP
   '(I) know only the fact that (your grandparents) were rich.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]
d. [Context: TM has been taught to chew her food well, but her stomach was not good until two or three years before.]

naa, kunugurudu jiccjan.
naa kunuguru=du jiccj-sa+ar-n
FIL recently=FOC good-ADJ+STV-PTCP
'(My stomach) has been good recently.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that *-n* (PTCP) can fill the predicate of the main clause if there is *du* (FOC) in the same clause. However, its opposite is not necessarily true. For example, *-u* (PFC) can also fill the predicate of the main clause if there is *du* (FOC) in the same clause as in (11-16 a-b).

(16) *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-u* (PFC) [= (8-77 a)]

a. utuzjoobasanna un cʾjunu
utuzjo+obasan=ja u-n cʾju=nu
Utujo+old.woman=TOP MES-ADNZ person=GEN
samisjentudu utoo (sii..) sɨrarɨiru.
samisjen=tu=du uta=ja sɨr-i sɨr-arɨr-u
samisen=COM=FOC song=TOP do-INF do-CAP-PFC
'Utujo can sing a song [lit. do a song] just with that person's samisen. (Otherwise, she cannot sing a song.)' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

b. tacuu|toka|ga juubadu, jʾarɨiru.
tacuu=toka=ga jʾ-ba=du jʾ-arɨr-u
Tatsu=APPR=NOM say-CSL=FOC say-CAP-PFC
'(People) can say (a piece of advice to her), since (it is) Tatsu (who) says (it). (Otherwise, no one can give any advice to her.)' [Co: 101023_01.txt]

Furtheremore, other inflectional affixes (or affix-like clitics) can co-occur with *du* (FOC) in the same clause as in (11-17 a-g).

(17) a. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-i* (NPST)
[Context: Mutsu went away saying that she would stop in an electric appliance store.]
muccuuja jaakacidu izjəijaa.
muccuu=ja jaa=kaci=du ik-təər-i=jaa
Mutsu=TOP house=ALL=FOC go-RSL-NPST=SOL
'Mutsu has gone (back) home.' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *doo* (ASS) [Context: TM said that there were no people who were able to make a wooden boat in Yuwan.]

kusinandu wutattoo.
kusi=nan=du *wur-tar=doo*
Kushi=LOC1=FOC exist-PST=ASS
'(People who can make a wooden boat) were in Kushi.' [Co: 111113_01.txt]

c. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-tar* (PST) [= (8-134 a)]
kunuguru**du** kurəə mucjɨ[1] kjuuta.
kunuguru=du *ku-rɨ=ja* *mut-tɨ* *k-jur-ta*
recently=FOC PROX-NLZ=TOP have-SEQ come-UMRK-PST
'(Satsue's child) brought this (picture) recently.' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-ba* (CSL) or *-tɨ* (SEQ) [= (10-9 c)]
naa|nihon|bəidu appa, |hacikiro|naadu
naa+nihon=bəi=du *ar-ba* *hacikiro+naa=du*
another+two.CLF=about=FOC exist-CSL eight.kilogram+each=FOC
kinmɨ sjɨ, haatɨ, 'There are other two white radishes,
kinmɨ *sɨr-tɨ* *haar-tɨ*
measure do-SEQ measure-SEQ
so (one) measures eight kilograms (of the materials) for each, and ...'
[Co: 101023_01.txt]

e. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-tu* (CSL)
kamɨccjɨdu jutattu.
kam-ɨ=ccjɨ=du *jˀ-tar-tu*
eat-IMP=QT=FOC say-PST-CSL
'(The people in the past) said (roughly to children), "Eat!"' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

f. *du* (FOC) co-occuring with *-i* (INF)
iccjaijaacjɨdu umuii.
jiccj[2]*-sa+ar-i=jaa=ccjɨ=du umuw-i*
good-ADJ+STV-NPT=QT=FOC think-INF
'(I) think that (it) is good.' [Co: 120415_01.txt]

The above examples show that *du* (FOC) does not necessarily induce *-n* (PTCP) or *-u* (PFC) in the predicate in the same clause. *du* (FOC) can occur not only in

[1] *mut-tɨ* (have-SEQ) usually becomes /muccjɨ/ according to the rule in §??. However, it becomes /mucjɨ/ in this example.

[2] *jiccj-sa* (good-ADJ) usually becomes /jiccja/ [itt͡ɕɑ], but it becomes /iccja/ [ʔitt͡ɕɑ] in this example.

the main clause, but also in the adverbial clause as in (11-17 d). Furthermore, *du* (FOC) can occur in the adnominal clause in the literal meaning (i.e. the clasue that modifies an NP in effect) as in (10-9 d) in §??.

8.3.2 Focus construction of *ga* (FOC)

The finite-form affix *-u* (PFC) only appears in the clauses that include *du* (FOC) or in the interrogative clauses of information question (see also §??). The interrogative words are often followed by *ga* (FOC) (see also §??). I will present examples of *-u* (PFC) co-occuring with *ga* (FOC) as in (11-18 a-d). The examples of *-u* (PFC) co-occuring with *du* (FOC) were already shown in (16) in §8.3.1.

(18) *ga* (FOC) co-occuring with *-u* (PFC) and the interrogative word

a. [Context: TM was surprised that US brought a lot of foods to TM's house.] = (6-101 a)
nunkjabaga mata muccjɨ moocjaru?
nuu=nkja=ba=ga mata mut-tɨ moor-tar-u
what=APPR=ACC=FOC again have-SEQ HON-PST-PFC
'What did (you) bring (here) again?' [Co: 110328_00.txt]

b. nuu sjɨga, asɨbjutaru?
nuu sɨr-tɨ=ga asɨb-jur-tar-u
what do-SEQ=FOC play-UMRK-PST-PFC
'What did (you) do for play (in your childhood)?' [lit. 'Doing what, did (you) play?'] [Co: 110328_00.txt]

c. kurəə nuu|sjooten|cjɨga kacjəəru?
ku-rɨ=ja nuu+sjooten=ccjɨ=ga kak-təər-u
PROX-NLZ=TOP what+shop=QT=FOC write-RSL-PFC
'What was written on this shop('s signboard in the picture)?' [lit. 'What shop have (people) written on this?'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

d. nuucjɨga arɨboo juru?
nuu=ccjɨ=ga a-rɨ=ba=ja j'-jur-u
what=QT=FOC DIST-NLZ=ACC=TOP say-UMRK-PFC
'What is that person called?' [i.e. 'What is his name?'] [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In (11-18 a-d), *-u* (PFC) co-occurs with *ga* (FOC). However, the existense of *ga* (FOC) does not induce that of *-u* (PFC). For example, *ga* (FOC) in the (alleged) interrogative clause can appear without *-u* (PFC) if it is followed by *kai* (DUB) as

in (8) in §8.2.1. Moreover, *ga* (FOC) can be used in the non-interrogative clauses, where *ga* (FOC) does not take *-u* (FOC) as in (19) (see §**??** for more details).

(19) *ga* (FOC) not co-occuring with *-u* (PFC) [= (10-14 b)]

kunəədaga	waakja	dusinu,	asikendusinu,
kunəəda=ga	*waakja-a*	*dusi=nu*	*asiken+dusi=nu*
the.other.day=FOC	1PL-ADNZ	friend=NOM	Ashiken+frend=NOM

wutɨ,
wur-tɨ
exist-SEQ
'The other day, there is my friend, (i.e.) a friend in Ashiken, and ...' [Co: 120415_00.txt]

In the above example, *ga* (FOC) co-occurs with *-tɨ* (SEQ).

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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.