An Introduction to Ryukyuan Languages

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Ura (Amami Ryukyuan)

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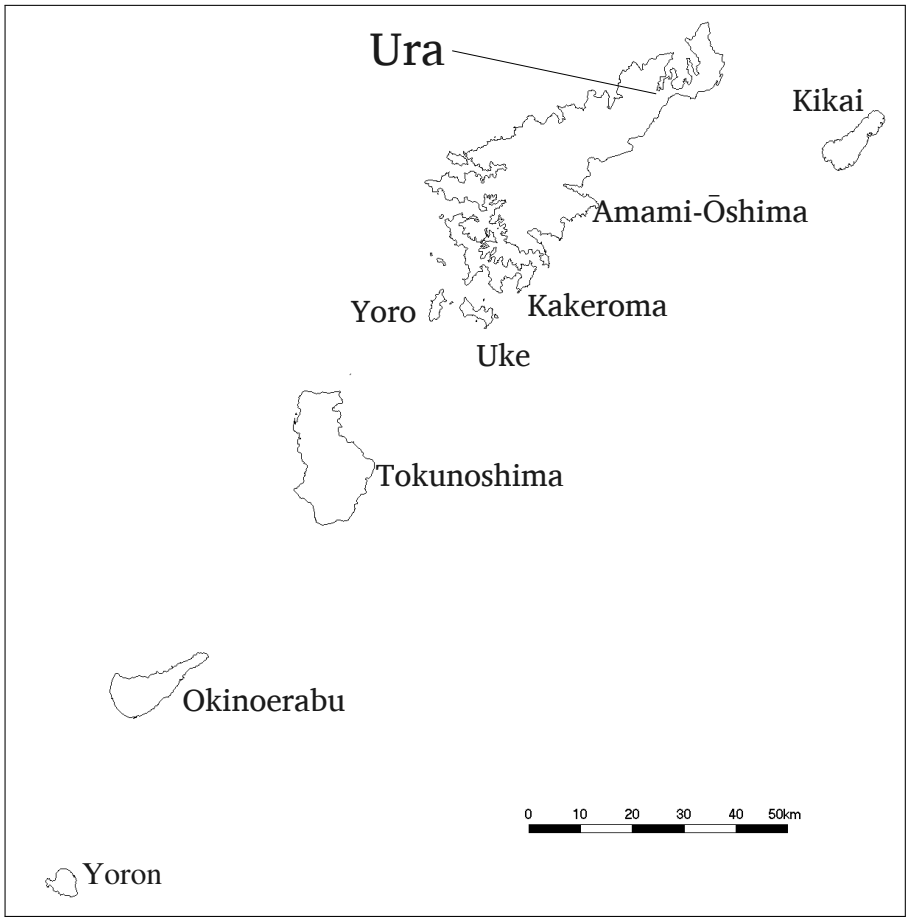

Figure 1: Amami Islands

Introduction

Ura has seven vowels of which three are central vowels, and fourteen consonants. In addition, there is a laryngeal phoneme (§ 2.3). The plural affix *-nta* shows concord with the predicate verb according to the degree of honorification (§ 5.2).

The topic marker *=ja* shows a peculiar morphophonological characteristic, where the sequence /n.ja/ [ɴ.ja] (which is ill-formed in most Ryukyuan varieties) is a well-formed sequence (§6.2).

There are two past tense forms, the "default" *-ta* and the marked *-ti*, the latter of which basically appears in a subordinate clause but may be used in a main clause (§7.2).

1 The language and its speakers

Amami Ryukyuan is spoken in the Amami Islands (Map 1), one of the island groups of the Ryukyu archipelago situated to the South-West of the Japanese islands. The number of inhabitants of the Amami Ōshima is 67,533, whereas that of the Ura village is 645 (November, 2009).

Amami Ryukyuan is a sub-branch of Northern Ryukyuan, and Amami Ryukyuan itself falls into North Ōshima dialects and South Ōshima dialects. These two major dialect groups have mutual intellegibility, and the differences are largely lexical and phonological. Ura is one of the North Ōshima dialects.

Fluent speakers of Ura are mostly over sixty years old, many are in their seventies. The younger generations normally choose to speak Japanese, and the generations under thirty only speak Japanese fluently.

2 Phonology

This section summarizes the phonological system of Ura. Long vowels are phonemically analyzed as vowel sequences.

2.1 Vowels

The inventory of vowel phonemes is shown in table 1.

Table 1: Vowels in Ura

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

2.2 Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes is as follows.

Table 2: Consonants in Ura

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	voiceless	p	t	k
	voiced	b	d	g
Affricates	voiceless		c	
	voiced		z	
Fricatives			s	
Sonorants	nasal	m	n	
	approximant	w	j	
	flap		r	

Several comments are necessary for consonant phonemes. First, obstruents have voice opposition. Second, the affricate /c/ is usually realized as [ts], and as [tɕ] when palatalized. The voiced phoneme /z/ is pronounced as [dz]. Third, the glottalized stops are not analyzed as unitary phonemes (e.g. /ˀk/) but as a sequence of a laryngeal and a consonant (e.g. /ʔk/, see §2.3).

Glottalized consonants are distinguished from geminates, e.g. /ʔkwa/ [ˀkwa] 'child' vs. /-kkwa/ [-kkwa] 'diminutive marker'.

(1) *maja=nu ʔkwa* [ˀkwa]
cat=GEN child
'kitten'

(2) *maja=nu ʔkwa-kkwa* [kkwa]
cat=GEN child-DIM
'kitten'

Root-initial /ʔk/ [ˀk] and /kk/ [kk] are thus differentiated.

2.3 Laryngeal

Laryngeal refers here to /ʔ/. It could be analyzed as just another consonant, but compared to other consonants it is unique in the following ways:

- it is the only stop with no voice opposition
- it can be moraic
- it can only appear in the root-initial position

Therefore, I consider /ʔ/ not as a consonant but as a different "laryngeal" class of phoneme. By contrast, the phonemes /j/ and /w/ are not considered

as a special class of "glides" distinct from consonants but as approximants, a sub-class of consonants.[1] The laryngeal can appear before voiceless consonants, nasals and approximants. There are some minimal pairs that are distinguished by the presence vs. absence of /ʔ/. However, the glottal stop appearing before vowels is interpreted not as a phoneme but as an empty onset, which contrasts with vowels preceded by an approximant onset.

(3)			
	Consonants:	/ʔkwa/ [ˀkwa] 'child'	vs /-kkwa/ [kkwa] (DIM)
	Nasals:	/ʔnama/ [ˀnama] 'now'	vs /nama/ [nama] 'raw'
	Approximants:	/ʔjuu/ [ˀjuː] 'fish'	vs /juu/ [juː] 'hot water'
		/utu/ [ˀutu] 'sound'	vs /wutu/ [utu] 'husband'

2.4 Syllable and mora

The syllable template is given as follows.

(4) $((\#L)C(G))V_1(V_2)(C_{coda})$

The mora is counted as follows, where the symbol μ indicates that the syllable slot so marked has one mora. Words in Ura are minimally bimoraic.

(5)	((#L)	C	(G))	V_1	(V_1)	(C_{coda})
	(μ)	-	-	μ	μ	μ

"#" indicates root-initial position. The L and G slots can only be filled if the C slot is filled. The relationship between the different slots and the phoneme classes that can fill them is given below.

(6)	Syllable slot	Phoneme class
	L	Laryngeal
	C, G, C_{coda}	Consonant
	V_1, V_2	Vowel

Both the C(coda) and G slots can be filled by consonants, but only /j,w/ can fill G and the same consonant cannot appear at the same time in both C and G (e.g. */ww/, */jj/). The table 3 lists examples of monosyllabic words.

2.5 Tone/accent

Ura does not have lexically distinctive pitch. The default pitch pattern is LH for bimoraic words, LHH for trimoraic words, and so on.

[1] /ʔ/ can appear in front of both the G and C slots in a syllable (ex: [ˀjaː] 'you', [kjuː] 'today', [ˀkwa] 'child', see §2.4), it seems thus better to analyze /j/ and /w/ as a sub-class of consonants.

Table 3: Monosyllabic words

			((#L)	C	(G))	V1	(V2)	(Ccoda)
/ii/	[iː]	'stomach'				i	i	
/in/	[iɴ]	'dog'				i		n
/juu/	[juː]	'hot water'		j		u	u	
/wan/	[waɴ]	'I'		w		a		n
/mɨɨ/	[mɨː]	'eyes'		m		ɨ	ɨ	
/sjaa/	[ɕaː]	'under'		s	j	a	a	
/gan/	[gaɴ]	'crab'		g		a		n
/gwan/	[gwaɴ]	'wish'		g	w	a		n
/ʔci/	[ʔtɕi]	'blood'	ʔ	c		i		
/ʔwaa/	[ʔwaː]	'pig'	ʔ	w		a	a	
/ʔkjuu/	[ʔkʲuː]	'today'	ʔ	k	j	u	u	
/ʔkin/	[ʔkiɴ]	'kimono'	ʔ	k		i		n

2.6 Sequential voicing

In compounds, the root-initial consonant of the second member undergoes *sequential voicing*.

(7) a. *kjora-* 'beautiful' + *ʔkin* 'kimono' → *kjora* + *gin* 'beautiful kimono'[2]
b. *mukoo* 'opposite' + *sɨnɨ* 'shank' → *mukoo* + *zɨnɨ* 'face of the shank'

3 Basic clause structure and phrase structure

3.1 Basic clause structure

The basic word order of transitive clauses is SOV. In declarative clauses, there is no special marking required as in (8) below. In interrogative clauses, a question marker is attached clause-finally, as in (9) below. In imperative clauses, the predicate verb must be inflected for the imperative mood, as in (10) below.

(8) *wan* = *ga* *kak-jur-i*
1SG = NOM write-IPFV-NPST
'I write.'

[2] I consider this to be due to a rule stating /ʔ/ drops before *distinctively* voiced consonants. This rule applies only to obstruents, for which there exists a voiced/voiceless opposition. This accounts for the fact that when /ʔkin/ [ʔkiɴ] appears as the second member of a compound the root-initial /k/ shifts to /g/ and not /ʔg/ (ex: /kjora + gin/ 'beautiful kimono). On the other hand, in the case of roots with an initial sonorant, like /ʔma/ [ʔma] 'horse', the laryngeal does not drop in compounds: /waasan + ʔma / 'young horse'.

(9) *wan=ga kak-ju-Ø-n=ja ?*
1SG=NOM write-IPFV-NPST-ADN=Q
'Should I write?'

(10) *ʔjaa=ga kak-i !*
2SG=NOM write-IMP
'Write!'

Subordinate clauses fall into three major types: adverbial clauses, as in (11), relative clauses, as in (12), and nominal (or complement) clauses, as in (13).

(11) *ʔcjaa num-igacina hon jum-i*
tea drink-CVB.SIM book read-NPST
'(I) am reading a book while drinking tea.'

(12) *boosi kahu-ti ʔmo-n ʔcju=ga ʔcjan=doo*
hat put.on-MED PROG.HON-ADN person=NOM father=EMP
'The person who is wearing a hat is my father.'

(13) *ʔwaa kam-icja-ka-n=cci=ja umuw-an=doo*
pig eat-OPT-VLZ-ADN=QT=TOP think-NEG=EMP
'(I) do not think that (I) want to eat the pig.'

3.2 Basic phrase structure

The noun phrase consists of a head and an optional modifier, with a modifier-head constituent order.

- Nominal-modifier + Nominal-head:

(14) *ʔkwaa=nu hon*
child=GEN book
'child's book'

- Adnominal + Nominal:

(15) a. *kun hon*
this book
'This book'

b. *wa=ga ka-sja-n hon*
1SG=NOM write-PST-ADN book
'The book that I wrote.'

As shown schematically below, the verb phrase consists of a lexical verb and optionally an auxiliary or a second lexical verb. In addition, the complement of VP is also required in certain cases.

(16) (VP complement +)[lexical verb1(+ auxiliary verb/lexical verb2)]$_{VP}$

Example (17) shows the minimal VP, where there is only a lexical verb.

(17) *hon = ba jum-jur-i*
book = ACC read-IPFV-NPST
'(I) am reading a book.'

Here is an example of a complex VP with an auxiliary verb:

(18) *anma = ja wan = zi hon = ba ju-di kurer-ju-n*
mother = TOP 1SG = ALL2 book = ACC read-MED give-IPFV-ADN
'Mother reads a book for me.'

The following example illustrates a complex VP with two lexical verbs.

(19) *njaa = daka ippai tu-ti k-ju-n*
shellfish = AMBG many take-MED come-IPFV-ADN
'(I) caught many shellfishes, etc.' VP complement

(20) *oi mə = du mir-i !*
hey front = FOC look-IMP
'Hey,look at the front!'

4 Word classes

Three major word classes can be identified by the following morphosyntactic criteria.
(A) They have the ability to head an NP
(B) They carry an NP-modifying function
(C) They can be inflected

Table 4: Word classes: distinctive criteria

	(A)	(B)	(C)
Nominal	+	-	-
Adnominal	-	+	-
Verb	-	-	+
Other word classes	-	-	-

The noun is a word that only fills the head slot of an NP. In the NP *warabɨ=nu mun* (child=GEN thing) 'a child's thing', for example, the word *warabɨ* constitutes an NP itself, as it carries the genitive case clitic. Thus, this word fills the head slot of an NP, which in turn fills the modifier of the larger NP *warabɨ=nu mun*.

By contrast, the adnominal is a word that only fills the modifier slot of an NP. In the NP *kun hon* (this book) 'this book', for example, the adnominal *kun* directly fills the modifier of the NP, as it does not carry a case clitic, which is attached per NP.

The verb is a word class that inflects. In the verb *jum-jur-i* (read-IPFV-NPST) 'read', for example, the final affix *-i* is the non-past tense affix.

As shown in table 4, Ura does not have the word class "adjective", as the word designating property concept infects just like a verb. That is, property concept words are a subclass of verb (see §5.3.3).

The category "other word classes" include various minor word classes such as interjections (e.g. *agee* 'oh dear', *oi* 'hey', *oo* 'Yes', *aai* 'No', *ugamisjooran* 'hello', *obokori* 'thank you', *dii* 'now', *ure* 'see; here it is').

5 Basic morphology

This section summarizes the basic word formation processes.

5.1 Morphological typology

Affixation morphology in Ura is mostly suffixal.

(21) *gina-sa-n*
small-VLZ-ADN
'small'

In addition to affixation, compounding and reduplication are also productive in Ura.

(22) a. *kjora* + *mun* → *kjora+mun*
beautiful (nominal root) thing
'beautiful woman' [compounding (root+root)]

b. *amu=nu fur-oo+fur-oo=cci s-jur-i*
rain=NOM fall-INT+fall-INT=QT do-IPFV-NPST
'It starts raining.'

5.2 Basic nominal morphology

The internal structure of nouns is schematized as Root(-DIM)(=APPR), where DIM is diminutive and APPR is approximative plural.

- DIM: *-kkwa*, e.g. *maga-kkwa*'grandchild', *maja-kkwa*'cat'
- APPR: *=nkja* or *-nta*[3]

The /n/ is deleted when attaching to a stem ending in a consonant, e.g. *wan=kja* 'we', *an ʔcju-nta*'those people', *at-ta*'they'.

An interesting fact about Ura plurals is that the selection of the plural affix depends both on the animacy hierarchy and honorification. With regard to the animacy hierarchy, the *=nkja* form is used for first and second person pronouns and common nouns. The *-nta* form is restricted to third person pronouns (i.e. pronominal demonstratives), proper names, and kinship terms that can be used as terms of address (e.g. *nee* 'elder sister'). With regard to honorification, the *-nta* form is restricted to occurring with the honorific verb form.[4]

(23) a. *an ʔcju=nkja=ja icu=raga kuma=nan ur-i=joo ?*
that person=APPR=TOP when=ABL here=LOC1 exist-NPST=Q
'What time did those people get here?'

b. *an ʔcju-nta=ja icu=raga kuma=nan imor-i=joo ?*
that person-APPR=TOP when=ABL here=LOC1 exist.HON-NPST=Q
'What time will those people come here?'

c. *ʔkwan=kja/*-nta=ga ason-dɨ ur-i*
child=APPR/*-APPR=NOM play-MED PROG-NPST
'The children are playing.'

d. *sense*=nkja/-nta=ga aso-n-dɨ ʔmor-i*
teacher*=APPR/-APPR=NOM play-ADN-MED PROG.HON-NPST
'The teachers are playing.'

5.3 Basic verbal morphology

The internal structure of verbs is schematically shown as: Stem-Inflection (see § 5.3.4 for the internal structure of the stem). Finite inflection and non-finite inflection are distinguished depending on the inflectional categories.

5.3.1 Finite inflection

Finite inflection consists of tense, aspect, and mood. Table 5 lists the regular conjugational pattern, and table 6 lists the irregular conjugational pattern.

[3] Both forms may designate 'et al' approximative; see also below

[4] *=kja* is a clitic and can also attach to verbs: *num-i=nkja s-jur-i* drink-NPST=APPR do-IPFV-NPST 'drink or do something else'.

Table 5: Finite inflection (regular)

		Affirmative	Negative	Root: *jum-* 'read'
Indicative	NPST	*-jur-i/-ju-n*	*-an-Ø*	*jum-jur-i* 'read', *jum-an-Ø* 'not read'
	PST	*-ta*	*-an-ta*	*ju-da* 'read', *jum-an-ta* 'did not read'
INT		*-oo*		*jum-oo* 'will read'
IMP		*-i̵*	*=na*	*jum-i̵* 'read!', *jum-i̵=na* 'don't read!'

Table 6: Finite inflection (irregular)

		Affirmative	Negative	Root: k-'come'
Indicative	NPST	*-jur-i/-ju-n*	*-u-n-Ø*	*k-jur-i* 'come', *k-u-n* 'not come'
	PST	*-ja*	*-n-ta*	*cja-* 'came', *k-un-ta* 'did not came'
INT		*-o*		*k-o* 'let's come'
IMP		*-oo*	*-u=na*	*k-oo* 'come!', *k-u=na* 'don't come!'

5.3.2 Non-finite-inflection

Non-finite inflection consists of conjunctive relation marking only. Non-finite verb forms are labeled *converbs*, verb forms that serve as the predicate of an adverbial subordinate clause.

Table 7: Non-finite inflection

	Affirmative	Root: *jum-* 'read'
sequential	*-ti̵*	*ju-di̵* 'reading/read!'
anterior	*-untomaazin*	*jum-untomaazin* 'at once when reading'
simultaneous	*-igacina*	*jum-igacina* 'while reading'
conditional/causal	*-ba*	*jum-u-ba* 'if you read'
conditional	*-i-batitin-kara*	*jum-i-batitin-kara* 'if you read'

5.3.3 Property concept verb (PC verb)

A root designating a property concept (PC root) is verbalized by the suffix *-sa*, and the derived verbal stem carries the same set of inflectional affixes as ordinary verbs. Thus compare:

- plain verb: *jum-jur-i* *ju-da*
  read-IPFV-NPST read-PST

- PC verb: *ʔma-sar-i* *ʔma-sa-ta*
  sweet-VLZ-NPST sweet-VLZ-PST

Table 8: Negative forms of PC verbs

	Negative	
NPST	*-sa nen*	*ʔma-sa nen* 'not sweet'
	-sja nen	*fu-sja nen* 'not want'
PST	*-sa nen-ta*	*ʔma-sa nen-ta* 'was not sweet'
	-sja nen-ta	*fu-sja nen-ta* 'did not want'

5.3.4 Derivational morphology of verbs

The stem has the structure Root(-CAUS)(-PASS/POT)(-POL)(-NEG), where the parenthesized components are optional.

- CAUS (causative): *-as- jum-as-jur-i* 'make (sb) read' read-CAUS-IPFV-NPST
- PASS (passive)/POT (potential): *-ar- jum-ar-i* 'be read' read-PASS-NPST
- POL (polite): *-jo- jum-jor-i* 'read' (polite form) read-POL-NPST
- NEG (negative): *-an- jum-an-Ø* 'doesn't read' read-NEG-NPST

6 Argument marking

6.1 Case marking

The case alignment system of Ura is nominative-accusative, where S/A and O are differentiated by different case marking. As is common in other Ryukyuan varieties, however, S/A marking and NP modifier marking are formally syncretized.

6.2 Information structure marking

In Ura, as in other Ryukyuan varieties, focus and topic are formally marked by focus clitics and topic clitics.

(24) *ʔjaa=ga=du* *num-icja-sa-n=na ?*
2SG=NOM=FOC drink-OPT-VLZ-ADN=Q
'You want to drink?'

Table 9: Case forms and their functions

Name	Form	Function (case)	Function (limiter)
Nominative	*nu/ga*	S/A	
Genitive	*nu/ga*	NP modifier	
Accusative	*ba*	O	
Dative	*nzi*	benefactive,etc	
Allative 1	*ci*	goal of locomotion	
Allative 2	*zi*	goal of action	
Locative 1	*nan*	place of static action	
Locative 2	*nti*	place of active action	
Instrumental	*si*	instrument	
Associative	*tu*	associated motion	
Comparative	*kuma*	standard of comparative ('than')	
Ablative	*raga*	source	
Limitative	*gadi*	limit('as far as')	Emphasis

(25) *wan=ja ta=cci ik-ju-n*
1SG=TOP field=ALL1 go-IPFV-ADN
'I go to the field.'

7 Predicate categories (finiteness; tense, aspect, and mood)

7.1 Negation

The negative form of the existential verb is formed by stem alternation, i.e. the negative stem form, as in (26), whereas other verbs are regularly negated by the negative affix *-an*, as in (27).

(26) *wan=nu hon=ga ne-n*
1SG=GEN book=NOM not.exist-NEG.NPST
'My book is lost.'

(27) *wan=ja assja jaa=zi ur-an=doo*
1SG=TOP tomorrow house=ALL2 exist-NEG=EMP
'I will not be at home tomorrow.'

7.2 Tense, aspect and mood

7.2.1 Tense and aspect

The tense system of Ura is a binary system of past vs. non-past, and this system interacts with the aspect system where perfect, progressive, and resultative are distinguished.

Table 10: Tense

		Non-past	Past
Declarative	Perfect	*num-i*	*num-ju-ta / nud-a*
	Progressive	*nu-dur-i*	*nu-du-ta*
	Resultative	*nu-dɨ*	*nu-dɨ*

The expression *nudɨ* may encode past meaning. The suffix *-tɨ* is a subordinator, but may be used as a past marker in a main clause predicate.

7.2.2 Mood

The clitics *=na* and *=nja* mark interrogation. These may be absent in conversations where the interrogation may be marked by rising intonation. The two markers *=nja* and *=na* are in complementary distribution, they are thus analyzed as allomorphs of the same morpheme. This difference is interpreted as the result of assimilation: *-i=na* (NPST=Q) is palatalized to *-i=nja*, and the non-past suffix then undergoes nasalization to *-n=nja* [N.nja].

(28) *kuri=ja hon=na ?*
this=TOP book=Q
'Is this a book?'

(29) *jaa=zi u-n=nja ?*
house=ALL2 exist-ADN=Q
'Are you at home (now)?'

Prohibition is encoded by *=na*.

(30) *uma=nan=zi u-n=na !*
this=LOC1=ALL2 exist-ADN=PRH
'Don't be here!'

Self-question is encoded by *=kai*.

(31) *an ʔcju=ja taru=kai ?*
that person=TOP who=Q
'Who is that person?'

Persuasion is encoded by *=ja*.

(32) *wan=tu maazin ik-oo=ja !*
1SG=ASC together go-INT=SOL
'Let's go with me!'

Speaker's desired future is encoded by *=ba*.

(33) *hikku ik-i=ba*
early go-IMP=MOD
'It's better if (you) go early.'

Hearsay evidentials are encoded by *=ci=ba*.

(34) *ʔjaa=nu hon=ja gakkoo=nzi a-n=ci=ba*
2SG=GEN book=TOP school=DAT exist-ADN=QT=MOD
'There is your book in the school.'

7.3 Voice

The active, passive and causative voices are exemplified below.

(35) a. *habu=ba kuccj-u-n*
habu=ACC kill-IPFV-ADN
'(I) killed a snake.' [active]
b. *wan=ja habu=nzi kam-ar-ti=doo*
1SG=TOP habu=DAT bite-PASS-MED=EMP
'I was bitten by the snake.' [passive]

(36) a. *ʔkwa=nkja=nu habu=ba kuccj-a-ttoo*
child=APPR=GEN habu=ACC kill-PST-MOD
'The children killed the snake.' [active]
b. *wan=ga ʔkwa=nkja=nzi habu=ba kuccj-as-i=doo*
1SG=GEN child=APPR=DAT habu=ACC kill-CAUS-NPST=EMP
'I asked the children to kill the snake.' [causative]

Sample text: the Pear story

(T.1) *jinga=nu ʔcjuu=nu uri=ba hamucuki-ti tu-ti*
man=GEN person=NOM that=ACC seriously-MED take-MED
ʔmo-n
PROG.HON-ADN
'A man is busy picking that (pear),'

(T.2) *hamucuki-ti tur-i s-jor-ikata=jaa. tur-i s-jor-ikata*
seriously-MED take-NPST do-POL-DVLZ(?)=SOL take-NPST do-POL-DVLZ(?)
'(He is) busy picking (that pear).'

(T.3) *niban=jaa tur-i s-jor-ikata s-ii ʔmo-n*
second=TOP take-NPST do-POL-DVLZ(?) do-NPST PROG.HON-ADN
doroo=cci
moment=QT
'And now the second one (he's) picking.'

(T.4) *nde jagi=ba curi-ta-n ozisan=ga too-ti ʔmo-jo-n*
and goat=ACC take-PST-ADN man=NOM pass-MED PROG.HON-POL-ADN
wake=jaa
DSC=SOL
'And there came a person and a goat.'

(T.5) *un.un. mo too-ti ʔmo-jo-n wake*
umm FIL pass-MED PROG.HON-POL-ADN DSC
'Yeah, (they) are walking along.'

(T.6) *ugasi=si too-te ʔmos-ja-n atu=ga=du kun*
then=INST pass-MED PROG.HON-PST-ADN after=NOM=FOC this
jingwa=nu ʔkwa-kkwa=nu
man=GEN child-DIM=NOM
'Then, after (they) passed through, a boy'

(T.7) *si-cci tu mu-cci sa-ttu ik-ju-tto=jaa. uuun*
come-MED FIL have-MED leave-MED go-IPFV-MOD=SOL umm
'came and got it (the pear), and left.'

(T.8) *issjookenmee tu-ti ʔmo-n ozisan=no ijana*
seriously take-MED PROG.HOM-ADN man=GEN FIL(?)
nan=cjuu=no nankwai=mo
what=QT.say=GEN often=FOC
'The man (is) busy picking that (pear);'

(T.9) *wəə mir-u=no nan=cjuu=kai*
up look-NPST=GEN what=QT.say=Q
'(I) wonder how to express the action of looking up again and again.'

(T.10) *nis-jaar-i ni=si sjuucjuntuntunu joori-kkwa to-ti jaa*
look-PST-(?) look=INST FIL(?) slowly-DIM take-MED FIL
'Yes,(he) looked carefully and picked (it) quietly.'

(T.11) *hasir-ju-n=zja=ga=na=cjo=jaa. issjookenmee*
run-IPFV-ADN=COP=FOC(?)=MOD=QT.EMP=SOL seriously
ozisan=wa tor-ikata
man=TOP take-DVLZ(?)
'(Then he) ran away.' 'The man is busy picking (it).'

(T.12) *uu=ba nis-jaar-i s-jaa=ba nis-jaar-i s-ju-ti ozisan=ga*
this=ACC look-PST-(?) do-PST=ACC look-PST-(?) do-IPFV-MED man=NOM
tut-u-n=ba
take-PROG-ADN=ACC
'This man is picking (the pear) while looking (down the ground) slowly;'

(T.13) *ni-igaci=na nis-ju-n=ba joori-kkwa moo*
look-CVB=MOD look-IPFV-ADN=ACC slowly-DIM FIL
nan=cjuu=no=kana ?
what=QT.say=GEN=Q
'hey, how should (I) express this?'

(T.14) *dandori-kkwa=nu ic-cja-n kutu=cci=baa*
procedure-DIM=GEN good-OPT-ADN thing=QT=MOD
'(He) knows the correct procedure.'

(T.15) *na un ʔcju=ga sjuucjuu s-ju-n-kana un*
FIL this person=NOM concentration do-IPFV-ADN-ABL this
mado=zja=gaa=cci
between=COP=FOC(?)=QT
'(The boy stole pears) as the man was concentrating (on picking pears),'

(T.16) *omo-ta-n kamo=jaa*
think-PST-ADN may=SOL
'(I) guess.'

(T.17) *uri=ba kondo uri un kago=no mu-cci mu-cci mo-cci*
that=ACC next that um basket=GEN have-MED have-MED have-MED
sar-u
leave-NPST
'This time he's trying to carry the whole basket, right?'

(T.18) *mu-cci ik-ju-n wake=jo=jaa ?*
have-MED go-IPFV-ADN DSC=EMP=SOL.Q

(T.19) *kagora=sii kago mu-cci iz-i*
basket.ABL=INST basket have-MED went-NPST
'(The boy) took the basket.'

(T.20) *gasi nakahodo=dee wunagu=nu ʔkwa-kkwa=nzi e een*
next in.the.middle=CONJ woman=GEN child-DIM=ALL2 FIL
mii+buri-ti
look+fascinate-MED
'But then while (he's) doing it he fascinated by a girl,'

(T.21) *mii+buri-tii un nasi=ba uffu nusu=de=zjaa nasi=ba*
look+fascinate-MED um pear=ACC uffu steal=CONJ=COP pear=ACC
kobos-ju-n wake=jo=jaa
spill-IPFV-ADN DSC=EMP=SOL
'(But while carrying the basket away he) was distracted by a fascinating girl, and scattered the pears.'

(T.22) *ugasi s-ja-ttuu sakki izja-n jingwa=nu ʔkwa-kkwa=nu*
next do-PST-MOD just.now went-ADN man=GEN child-DIM=GEN
mis-jar-i=si uun
look-PST-(?)=INST umm
'Then the boys who had passed the boy just now picked up the pears for him;'

(T.23) *nasi=ba hira-ti kuri-tii soko muuru hohoemasii sugata=to*
pear=ACC pick.up-MED give-MED there very heartwarming figure=QT
cci omo-ju-tto
QT think-IPFV-MOD
'(I) thought it was heartwarming.'

(T.24) *onna onna=no ko=ni mitore-te kobos-ja-n nasi fu*
woman woman=GEN child=DAT fascinate-MED spill-PST-ADN pear fu
sa=tto jingwa=nu
OMTP=QT man=GEN
'Fascinated by a girl, (the boy) scattered the pears,'

(T.25) *ʔkwa-kkwa=nkja=nu mis-jar-i=si cci uri=ba hira-ti*
child-DIM=APPR=GEN look-PST-(?)=INST QT that=ACC pick.up-MED
kur-u-n tokoro=wa
come-NPST-ADN part=TOP
'and the boys helped him gather the pears.'

(T.26) *hontoo=ni hohoemasii=cci omo-u=jo*
really=DAT heartwarming=QT think-NPST=EMP
'(I) thought it was really heart warming.'

(T.27) *mata sono ko=no kokoro=mo ii=to omo-tta=jo*
another that child=GEN heart=FOC(?) good=QT think-PST=EMP
'And then (I) thought that the boy was really tender of heart.'

(T.28) *sosite tara hon uun hatesate uun sonotoki=ni ozisan unin=ga*
next then FIL umm now umm then=DAT man man=NOM
kizuk-i=zja
notice-NPST=COP
'Now the man realized (that the basket is gone).'

(T.29) *uri-t̶i̶ ʔmo=si hatesate ozisan=wa k̶i̶i̶-kara ori-te*
descend-MED come.HON=INST now man=TOP tree-ABL descend-MED
ki-te nama=nu
come-MED now=GEN
'(He) came down, came down from the tree,'

(T.30) *muu mu-cci izja-n uun kago=ba ni-ja=si*
muu take-MED went-ADN umm basket=ACC look-PST=INST
s-jo-n=ba s-jo-n=ba
do-POL-ADN=ACC do-POL-ADN=ACC
'and found that the basket was gone,'

(T.31) *tar-an=cjun koto=wa waka-t̶i̶ ʔmo-n=ba*
sufficent-NEG=QT.say thing=TOP understand-MED PROG.HON-ADN=ACC
sabakur-oo=cci sis-jor-an wake=jo=jaa
do(?)-INT=QT do-POL-NEG DSC=EMP=SOL
'and realized that (the basket was stolen), but he did nothing with that.'

(T.32) *ugasi=si mata wəə=cci noo-t̶i̶ ʔmos-ja-gana=ccjo*
then=INST again up=QT climb-MED go.HON-PST-CVB(?)=QT.EMP
'And then he climbed (the tree) again.'

(T.33) *uun nasi=ga sukuna-ku na nar-ju-n=cci kizuk-i*
umm pear=NOM little-VLZ FIL become-IPFV-ADN=QT notice-NPST
s-jo-n=ban
do-POL-ADN=ACC
'(He) doesn't seem to care about the fact that there are less pears now.'

(T.34) *sagas-oo-tomo sis-jor-an ʔcju*
search-INT-at.least do-POL-NEG person
'But (he) didn't try to look for (it).'

(T.35) *ozisan=no kokoro=wa totte=mo ii hito=da=to omo-u*
man=GEN heart=TOP very=FOC good person=COP=QT think-NPST
'(I) think that the man is a very good person.'

(T.36) *waru-ku ie=ba=wa sonna=ni hannin=wo sono sonomama*
wrong-VLZ say=ACC=FOC that=DAT criminal=ACC2 that at.that
oitok-u=ccju
put-NPST=QT.say
'When you come right down to it,'

(T.37) *koto=wa ika-n koto=de=wa ar-u=jo=nee*
thing=TOP wrong-NPST thing=COP(?)=FOC exist-NPST=EMP=SOL
'it's bad of him to leave a criminal unaccused, though.'

(T.38) *mata sore mi+baer-u=ga=ne. auun. ngee*
because that sprout+grow-NPST=FOC(?)=SOL aumm ngee
'That (kind of bad idea of stealing things) could grow (in the boy's mind).'

(T.39) *hannin=wa wakar-a-zu zima-i*
criminal=TOP understand-THM(?)-NEG end-NPST
'It will be left unclear (who stole the pears).'

(T.40) *sore=wo nan=to=mo iw-ana-i. hangee*
that=ALL2 what=QT=FOC say-NEG-NPST hangee
'(The man) doesn't care about this… (that's) weird.'

(T.41) *sore=wa ika-n=ccjo omo-u*
that=TOP wrong-NPST=QT.EMP think-NPST
'(I) think that is not a right thing.'

(T.42) *jappasi i-tta hoo=ga ii=to omo-u*
also say-PST than=NOM good=QT think-NPST
'(I) believe that he's better say something about this (to the boy).'

(T.43) *okkake-te*
chase-MED
'by chasing (him) up.'

(T.44) *sabaku-tta hoo=ga ii=to omo-u*
do(?)-PST than=NOM good=QT think-NPST
'(He) had better do this.'

(T.45) *cugi=no hannin=wo cukur-an tame=ni*
next=GEN criminal=ALL2 make-NEG sake=DAT
'so that (this kind of) crime will never happen (again).'

(T.46) *ci watasi=ga omo-u=ni=wa*
QT 1SG=NOM think-NPST=DAT=FOC
'That's what I thought.'

Abbreviations

-	affix boundary	DVLZ	deverbalizer	OPT	optative
+	clitic boundary	EMP	emphatic	PASS	passive
=	stem boundary	FIL	filler	PL	plural
ABL	ablative	FOC	focus	POL	polite
ACC	accusative	GEN	genitive	POT	potential
ADN	adnominal form	HON	honorific	PRH	prohibitive
ALL1	allative	IMP	imperative	PST	past
ALL2	second allative	INT	intentional	PROG	progressive
AMBG	ambiguity	INST	instrumental	Q	question
APPR	approximative	IPFV	imperfective	QT	quotative
ASC	associative	LOC1	locative	RLZ	relativizer
CAUS	causative	LOC2	second locative	SG	singular
CONJ	conjunction	NEG	negative	SIM	simultaneous
COP	copula	MED	medial verb	SOL	solidarity
CVB	converb	MOD	modal	THM	thematic vowel
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative	TOP	topic
DIM	diminutive	NPST	non-past	VLZ	verbalizer
DSC	discourse marker	OMPT	onomatopeia		