An Introduction to Ryukyuan Languages

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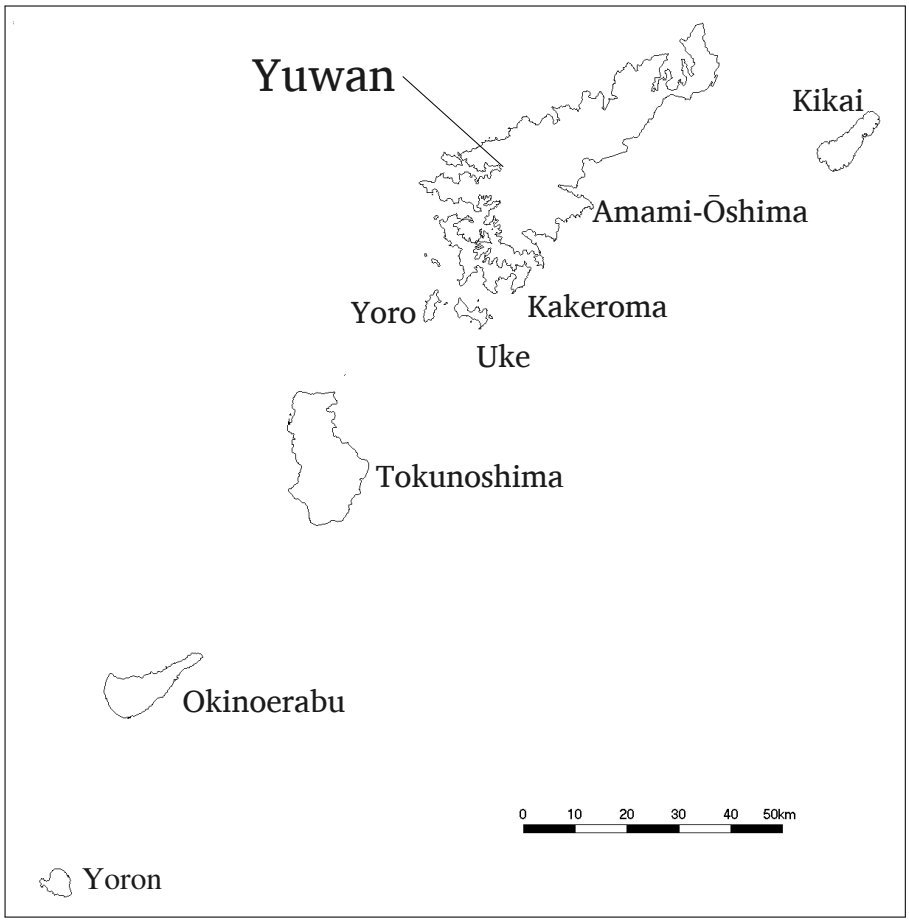

Figure 1: Amami Islands

Introduction

Yuwan is a verb-final language with modifier-head constituent order and a nominative-accusative case system. There are many features unique to Yuwan (and some other Amami dialects). First, Yuwan has a laryngeal phoneme /ʔ/, which bears a mora in the syllable onset position (§2.3.2). Second, Yuwan has dual number in human pronouns (§3.4.1). Third, Yuwan has two phenomena

sensitive to the animacy hierarchy: the distribution of plural and approximative forms (§ 4.2.2.1), and the distribution of nominative case markers and possessive forms (§ 4.3.2). Fourth, Yuwan has special verbal suffixes that correlate with focused constituents in sentences, making a clear distinction between two types of questions; *-ui* (NPST) / *-tarui* (PST) for yes-no questions, and *-u* (NPST) / *-taru* (PST) for wh-questions (§ 5.2.1).

1 The language and its speakers

1.1 Geography

Yuwan is spoken in the Yuwan village, 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 in 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.

1.2 Affiliation

According to Shimoji (2008a: 21), 'Ryukyuan is a group of languages that forms a branch of the Japonic family, coordinate with Japanese. Ryukyuan falls into two primary subgroups, Northern Ryukyuan and Southern Ryukyuan. These two groups in turn have a number of subdivisions'. Yuwan is a dialect of Amami, which belongs to Northern Ryukyuan (see also Uemura 1997: 431).

1.3 Sociolinguistic overview

1.3.1 The number of speakers

The population of Yuwan is 521 (valid as of January 1st, 2010), but the people who can speak the traditional dialect are much less than this number. All inhabitants are monolingual Japanese speakers or speak Japanese as a second language.

1.3.2 Dialects

According to Uemura (1997), dialects of Amami fall into two major subgroups, Northern Amami and Southern Amami, and Yuwan (as well as some neighboring dialects) have some characteristics in common with both subgroups. A major difference between Yuwan and the other dialects is that the phonetic sequence [ɾi] in other dialects corresponds to [i] in Yuwan. Table 1 illustrates this

point with data from Yuwan, Suko, spoken in a village located about 800 meters apart from Yuwan, and Ura, a Northern Amami dialect spoken in a village located about 32 km apart from Yuwan.

Table 1: Dialectal variation in Amami

	Yuwan	Suko	Ura[1]
'bird'	[tui]	[tuɾi]	[tuɾi]
'lily'	[jui]	[juɾi]	[juɾi]

1.3.3 Viability, education and documentation

The number of speakers who can speak 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, but they use some traditional expressions, e.g. *wan* 'I', *ama* 'that place', *hagi* 'foot', etc.

1.4 Previous work

There are two previous works on Yuwan: Hirayama et al. (1966) and Uchima et al. (1976). The former compares the accent patterns and the lexicon between a number of Ryukyuan dialects, and the information about Yuwan is very restricted; actually, it contains only thirty or so nominal lexical entries with their prosodic information. The latter, Uchima et al. (1976), includes a list of several hundred lexical items and several verb paradigms. The phonology of Yuwan has thus hardly been investigated, and its morphology was only partly researched. The syntax of Yuwan has not been investigated at all, save for Niinaga (2008), which describes the case system of Yuwan.

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmentation

2.1.1 Grammatical word

The grammatical word is a morphosyntactic unit minimally consisting of a root (e.g. simple nominals, adverbs, and interrogatives), or it can consist of a root (or roots) plus an affix (or affixes) (e.g. nominals and verbs). Clitics can attach to grammatical words.

[1] This data is provided by courtesy of H. Shigeno (2009 p.c.)

(1)

a. Word (root)	b. Word (with affix)	c. Word (with affix) and clitic
warabɨ	*warabɨ-kkwa*	*warabɨ-kkwa=nkja*
child	child-DIM	child-DIM=APPR
'child'	'little child'	'little children'

The term 'word' will usually refer to the grammatical word in this chapter, unless otherwise specified.

2.1.2 Phonological word

The phonological word is a phonological unit consisting of a grammatical word and a number of clitics. This phonological integration of clitics into the host is shown by the fact that the unit consisting of a grammatical word plus clitics is a prosodic domain to which accent is assigned (see §2.5).

2.2 Phonemic inventory

The phonemes in Yuwan can be divided into three phonological classes depending on their behaviour in larger phonological structure: vowels, consonants, and the laryngeal.

2.2.1 Vowels

Yuwan has seven vowel phonemes. Round brackets around the vowel /e/ indicate this phoneme rarely occurs.

Table 2: Vowels

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

Phonetic long vowels are analyzed as sequences of vowel phonemes: [aː] is /aa/, [oː] is /oo/, and so forth (see (10) in §2.4.1 about this analysis).

2.2.2 Consonants

Yuwan has fifteen consonant phonemes.

The following four points must be noted: (A) Stops and affricates have phonological voice opposition; (B) /c/ is usually realized as [ts], and /z/ as [dz]; (C) /c/ and /z/ are palatalized before /i/ or /j/ and realized as [tɕ] and [dʑ] respectively; (D) /n/ is realized as [ɴ] before a word boundary, a root boundary or a clitic boundary.

Table 3: Consonants

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

2.2.3 Laryngeal

The laryngeal /ʔ/ is a phoneme that cannot appear independently but has to precede a voiceless, nasal or approximant consonant. The laryngeal /ʔ/ can appear only in the root-initial position, and it makes the consonant that follows glottalized. Glottalized consonants phonetically undergo a *laryngealization* process, 'a process where the primary supralaryngeal articulation is accompanied by a secondary stricture at the glottal level' (Laver 1994: 330). Glottalized consonants are phonetically and phonologically distinct from geminates. See the examples in table 4.

Table 4: Glottalized consonants versus geminates

Glottalized consonants	Geminates
/aa/ 'red' + /ʔkwa/ 'child'	/warabɨ/ 'child' + /-kkwa/ (DIM)
→ /aaʔkwa/ 'baby' [aːˀkʷa]	→ /warabɨkkwa/ 'child' [warabɨkkʷa]

The most salient difference between [ˀk] and [kk] is their phonetic duration; a glottalized consonant has roughly the same duration as a non-glottalized consonant, while a geminate is almost twice as long.

2.3 Syllable structure and phonotactics

2.3.1 The syllable structure

Yuwan has the following syllable structure:

(2) ((#L)C(G))V_1(V_2)(C_{coda})

The L and G slots are not independent and always depend on the existence of a consonant within the C slot. The L slot can only be filled by the laryngeal

phoneme /ʔ/, which appears root-initially (indicated by the sharp symbol '#'). The C and G slots can be filled by consonant phonemes, but the G slot can only host the approximants /w, j/;[2] and the coda slot of consonant (C_{coda}) can be only filled by /n/ in word-final position. The first vowel slot (V_1) can be filled by any vowel phoneme, but the second one (V_2) must be filled by the same vowel as V_1 or by /i/.

Examples of monosyllabic root words are given in table 5, and examples of polysyllabic phonological words in table 6. The only difference from the pattern described in the previous table is that the coda slot can be filled by any consonant except /h, z, r/. It is worth noting that the coda slot can be filled by a voiced stop only if the word is followed by a clitic.[3] I will show some examples focusing on the difference from the above case.

There is a phonotactic constraint whereby /$C_{coda}C_{coda}$/ sequences are avoided. The following constraint has to do with the phonological rule in (9) of §2.4.1.

(3) BAN ON /$C_{coda}C_{coda}$/ SEQUENCES:
a coda consonant cannot follow another coda consonant.

2.3.2 Mora

Morae are counted as follows:

(4) Morae in a syllable

L	C	G	V1	V2	C_{coda}
μ			μ	μ	μ

As can be seen from table 5, a monosyllabic root word cannot stand alone if it consists of a single mora; in other words, a phonological word is minimally bimoraic. In the following examples, parentheses indicate the phoneme does not contribute to weight.

(5) BIMORAIC CONSTRAINT

a.	(C)(G)VV	/mjaa/ [mʲaa] 'cat'
		cf. *(C)(G)V *mja 'cat'
b.	(C)(G)VC	/mjan/ [mʲan] 'will not look'
c.	L(C)(G)V	/ʔmja/ [ʔmʲa] 'k.o. shell fish'
d.	(C)(G)VVC > (C)(G)VC	/mjaa/ 'cat' + /=n/ 'also' > /mjan/

The above examples show that every well-formed phonological word must have two morae and that the laryngeal phoneme contributes to weight. In (5d),

[2]The first C slot and the G slot cannot take the same consonant, and there is no sequence like /ww/ or /jj/; furthermore, /w/ in G slot can only follow /k/.

[3]However, there is a strong tendency for voiced labial and voiced dental geminates to become voiceless, i.e. /bb/ → /pp/, /dd/ → /tt/.

Table 5: Examples of monosyllabic root words

			((#L)	C	(G))	V1	(V2)	(C_{coda})
/i̵i̵/	[iː]	‘yes’				i̵	i̵	
/an/	[aɴ]	‘ant’				a		n
/jaa/	[jaː]	‘house’		j		a	a	
/mai/	[mai]	‘hip’		m		a	i	
/mjaa/	[mʲaː]	‘cat’		m	j	a	a	
/nan/	[naɴ]	‘you.HON’		n		a		n
/ʔma/	[ʔma]	‘horse’	ʔ	m		a		
/ʔcjan/	[ʔtɕaɴ]	‘father’	ʔ	c	j	a		n

Table 6: Examples of polysyllabic phonological words

word		((#L)	C	(G))	V1	(V2)	(C_{coda})	
/ap.pan/	[appaɴ]				a		p	.pan
app-an (play-NEG)								
/at.ta.kəə/	[attakəː]				a		t	.ta.kəə
‘as many as possible’								
/juk.ka.di̵/	[jukkadi̵]		j		u		k	.kadi̵
‘throughout’								
word plus a clitic		((#L)	C	(G))	V1	(V2)	(C_{coda})	
/ab.ba/	[ab.ba]				a		b	.ba
abba (that.ACC)								
/ad.doo/	[addoː]				a		d	.doo
a-d=doo (exist-NPST=EMP)								
/ag.ga/	[agga]				a		g	.ga
agga (that.NOM)								

the output bimoraic form is a contracted version of the input sequence which has three morae (see (10) in §2.4.1). The output form (word plus a clitic) is a phonological word, which satisfies the bimoraic constraint.

2.4 (Morpho)phonological rules

2.4.1 Phonological rules

Yuwan has the following five phonological rules. The first rule is a flap deletion rule, whereby the flap /r/ is deleted before /i/ or /j/.[4] In other words, Yuwan does not have sequences such as /ri/ or /rj/ in any linguistic form, which is a major difference with other Amami Ōshima dialects.

(6) FLAP DELETION RULE: /r/ is deleted before /i/ or /j/
/jum-jur/ 'read-IPFV' + /-i/ (NPST) → /jum-ju-i/ (*/jum-jur-i/)
/tur-/ 'take' + /-jaa/ (NLZ) → /tu-jaa/ (*/tur-jaa/)

The second rule is the deletion of the laryngeal before a phonological voiced consonant (i.e. voiced stops and affricates, see table 3 in §2.2.2).

(7) LARYNGEAL DELETION RULE: /ʔ/ is deleted before a phonological voiced consonant (see (11))

The third rule changes the alveolar stop /t/ into the affricate /c/.

(8) AFFRICATION RULE: /t/ becomes /c/ before /i/ or /j/.
/ut-/ 'hit' + /-i/ (NLZ) → /uc-i/ 'hitting' (*/ut-i/)
/ut-/ 'hit' + /-jaa/ (NLZ) → /uc-jaa/ 'hiter' (*/ut-jaa/)

The fourth rule is an epenthesis (cluster breaking) rule that avoids consonant sequences of the /$C_{coda}C_{coda}$/ type (see (3) of §2.3.1 above); the first coda consonant is then changed into the onset of a new syllable.

(9) EPENTHESIS (CLUSTER BREAKING): if the consonant /n/ is followed by another consonant that is not accompanied by a vowel, an epenthetic vowel /u/ is inserted between them.
/ɨn/ 'dog' + /=n/ (DAT) → /ɨ.nun/

The fifth rule involves the nasal consonant /n/ after a vowel sequence.

(10) VOWEL DELETION RULE: if the consonant /n/ is not accompanied by a vowel and follows a vowel-vowel sequence, one of the vowels is deleted.
/səə/ 'alcohol' + /=n/ 'also' → /sən/

Because of this phonological phenomenon, the phonetic long vowel is not analyzed as a single long vowel like /əː/, but analyzed as a vowel-vowel sequence like /əə/.

[4] A morphophonological rule must precede this flap deletion rule; if an affix *-ar* (PASS) is followed by /j/, the /j/ has to be deleted:*ut-* 'hit' + *-ar* (PASS) + *-jaa* (NLZ) → *ut-ar-aa*.

2.4.2 Morphophonological rules

Yuwan has many morphophonological rules. Only three of them will be presented here. The first one is well-known within Japanese linguistics under the name of *rendaku*, "sequential voicing" (Shibatani 1990: 173).

(11) RENDAKU (SEQUENTIAL VOICING): the non-initial root of a compound may be voiced if its initial consonant is originally voiceless.
/kjura-/ 'beautiful' + /ʔkin/ 'kimono'
→ /kjura-/ + /ʔgin/
→ /kjura-/ + /gin/ → /kjura + gin/ 'beautiful kimono'

The following two rules concern the topic marker clitic *=ja*, which can undergo nasalization or contraction.

(12) TOPIC MARKER NASALIZATION RULE: if a topic marker *=ja* follows a word-final consonant /n/, it is realized as *=na*; on the other hand, if it follows a clitic whose final consonant is /n/, it is realized as *=nja*.
in 'dog' + *=ja* (TOP) → *in=na* (**in=ja*)
in 'dog' + *=n* (DAT) + *=ja* (TOP) → *in-u=n=nja*[5] (**in-u=n=na/ja*)

(13) TOPIC MARKER CONTRACTION: if a topic marker follows a single vowel, contraction occurs.[6]
/ɨ/, /i/ or /e/ + =ja → /əə/ : /uri/ 'that' → /urəə/
/a/, /u/ or /o/ + =ja → /oo/ : /ura/ 'you' → /uroo/

2.5 Prosody

There are three distinctive lexical pitch patterns in Yuwan: final mora high, final mora low, and a fall at the word boundary.[7] The tone-bearing unit is the mora and the domain of the pitch-accent is the phonological word (§ 2.1.2), which can contain a grammatical word followed by several clitic markers.

As shown in table 7, the tone-bearing unit is not the syllable but the mora; for example, *səə=gadɨ=n* (drink=LMT=also) can be divided into syllables as /səə.ga.dɨn/, and high pitch does not occur on the final syllable /dɨn/ but on the final mora /n/ (*səə=gadɨ=n* LLLLH).

[5] About the vowel /u/ insertion between *in* 'dog' and *=n* (DAT), see the phonological rule of epenthesis in (9).

[6] There are no words that end with a single vowel /ə/.

[7] However, if a clitic does not follow the word, the pitch falls between the ultimate mora and the penultimate mora of the word.

Table 7: Examples of pitch patterns

	Form	Gloss	Pitch pattern			
			isolation	x = *nu* (NOM)	x = *gadi* (LMT)	x = *gadi* = *n* (LMT = also)
1	*səə*	'drink'	LH	LLH	LLLH	LLLLH
	isi	'stone'	LH	LLH	LLLH	LLLLH
	kuuru	'heart'	LLH	LLLH	LLLLH	LLLLLH
2	*haa*	'leaf'	HL	HHL	HHHL	HHHHL
	kazi	'wind'	HL	HHL	HHHL	HHHHL
	judai	'saliva'	HHL	HHHL	HHHHL	HHHHHL
3	*haa*	'teeth'	HL	HHL	HHLL	HHLLL
	in	'dog'	HL	HHL	HHLL	HHLLL
	hikjai	'light'	HHL	HHHL	HHHLL	HHHLLL

3 Descriptive preliminaries

3.1 Basic clause structure and phrase structure

3.1.1 Basic clause structure

The constituent order in Yuwan is SOV for all types of clauses, whether finite or non-finite (see §5.2). S and O are always nominal phrases (see §3.1.2), and V is a predicate phrase (see §3.1.3). S and O are not obligatory, and they frequently undergo ellipsis if they are inferable from the context.[8]

3.1.2 Nominal phrase

Yuwan has the following nominal phrase (NP) structure.

(14) Modifier Head = Case

Syntactically, an NP can function either as a clausal modifier (argument; (15a)), as a clausal head (nominal predicate; (15b)), or as a phrasal modifier (NP in genitive function; (15c)).

(15) a. *wan* = *ga* *habu* = *ba* *kuc-cja*
1SG = NOM habu = ACC kill-PST
'I killed a *habu* (k.o. snake).' (argument NP)

b. *wan* = *ga* *soncjoo* = *doo*
1SG = NOM village.mayor = EMP
'I am a village mayor.' (nominal predicate)

[8] See Shimoji (2008a) for a similar characterization of the basic clause structure of Irabu Ryukyuan.

c. *warabi=nu tii=ba mi-cja*
child=GEN hand=ACC look-PST
'(I) looked at a child's hand.' (phrasal modifier NP)

The head is obligatory, while the modifier is optional. A case clitic attaches to the right edge of an NP; in other words, the core of an NP is not the case clitic, but the head (and modifier). There are reasons for this analysis, like the fact that some case clitics undergo ellipsis when the NP is a core argument (see §7.3).

3.1.3 Predicate phrase

Yuwan has the following two types of predicate phrases.

(16) Verbal predicate
lexical verb 1 (+ auxiliary verb/lexical verb 2)

(17) Nominal predicate
NP (+ copula verb)

3.1.3.1 Verbal predicate

Only the first lexical verb is obligatory in the verbal phrase (VP). The minimal VP is exemplified below, where a single lexical verb *wu-i* (exist-NPST) fills the first lexical verb slot.

(18) *in=nu wu-i*
dog=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a dog.'

As for the second verb slot, it can be filled by two types of verbs, an auxiliary verb or another lexical verb.

(19) a. *tigan=ba jud-i moor-an*
letter=ACC read-MED HON-NEG.NPST
'(He) will not read the letter.' (honorific auxiliary)
b. *tigan=ba jud-i kurir-an*
letter=ACC read-MED BEN-NEG.NPST
'(He) will not read the letter for me.' (benefactive auxiliary)
c. *tigan=ba jud-i k-on*
letter=ACC read-MED come-NEG.NPST
'(He) will not go to read the letter and come back.' (lexical verb 2)

The dependency of the second verb decreases from (19a) to (19c). The second verb in (19a) *moor-* (HON) cannot be used in the first (lexical) verb slot.

On the other hand, *kurir-* (BEN) in (19b) can be used in the first (lexical) verb slot with the meaning 'have the kindness to give'. We can see some *semantic bleaching* (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 94) has happened in the case of the auxiliaries.[9] The second verb in (19c) can also be used in the first (lexical) verb slot, e.g. *tari-nkuin k-on* (who-INDFZ come-NEG.NPST) 'No one comes', and there seems to be no semantic bleaching in (19c).

Table 8: Auxiliary verbs

Form	Gloss	Related form (if any)
nnj-	'try to'	
uk-	PRF	
kurir-	BEN	
moor-	HON	*imoor-* (go/come/exist.HON)
taboor-	BEN.HON	

3.1.3.2 Nominal predicate

A nominal predicate consists of an obligatory nominal phrase (NP) and an optional copula verb. The non-obligatory status of the copula is one of the reasons to consider the head of the nominal predicate is not the copula verb but the nominal phrase itself. A copula verb is obligatory in the following cases: (a) in past tense, (b) when negated, (c) when taking non-finite inflections.

(20) a. *arəə in ja-ta*
that.TOP dog COP-PST
'That was a dog.' (past tense)

b. *arəə in=na ar-an*
that.TOP dog=TOP COP-NEG.NPST
'That is not a dog.' (negation)

c. *in jap-poo, baa=doo*
dog COP-CVB.CND uncomfortable=EMP
'If (it) is a dog, I feel uncomfortable (with it).' (non-finite)

In other cases the copula verb is not necessary.

(21) *arəə in*
that.TOP dog
'That is a dog.' (non-past affirmative in a main clause)

[9] Another piece of evidence that *kurir-* should be considered an auxiliary verb is that it can be used in the first verb slot and in the second verb slot simultaneously: *kusui naikwa kuri-ti kurir-i* (medicine a.little give-MED BEN-IMP) 'Please give me some medicine!'.

3.2 Word, clitic and affix

3.2.1 Word

A word is a free form made of at least one root. Yuwan does not have any prefixes or proclitics, and every word thus begins with a root. A word is made of a root (or several compounded roots) plus a suffix (or suffixes), and enclitics can attach to it. The following section lists three criteria to determine whether a bound morpheme is a suffix or an enclitic.

3.2.2 Affix versus clitic

There are three criteria that determine the status of a bound morpheme: (A) whether it attaches to a bound stem, (B) whether it attaches to more than two word classes, (C) whether it can be preceded by another clitic (which satisfies criterion (B)). If a bound morpheme satisfies criterion (A), it is an affix; if a bound morpheme satisfies the criteria (B) or (C), it is a clitic.

3.2.3 Compound versus phrase

A compound is made of roots; on the other hand, a phrase is made of a word (or words).

(22) a. [*kjura* + *dii*] = *ba* *mi-cja*
beautiful + hand = NOM look-PST
'(I) looked at a beautiful hand.' (compound)

b. [*naa* *tii*] = *ba* *mi-cja*
your.HON hand = ACC look-PST
'(I) looked at your hand.' (phrase)

One important difference between a compound and phrase is whether another word can intervene within it. A compound cannot be interrupted by another word, as in (23a), but a phrase can, as in (23b).

(23) a. *[*kjura* *siju-sa-n* *tii*] = *ba* *mi-cja*
Beautiful white-VLZ-NPST.ADN hand = ACC look-PST
'(I) looked at a beautiful white hand.' (compound intervened)

b. [*naa* *siju-sa-n* *tii*] = *ba* *mi-cja*
your.HON white-VLZ-NPST.ADN hand = ACC look-PST
'(I) looked at your white hand.' (phrase intervened)

3.3 Word classes

Yuwan has three major word classes, nominals, adnominals, and verbs. Nominals and verbs are more numerous than adnominals. The criteria for word class assignment are listed in (24).[10]

(24) Criteria for word class assignment
(A) Heads an NP
(B) Directly fills the dependent slot of an NP
(C) Inflects

Table 9: Word classes: distinctive criteria

	(A)	(B)	(C)
Nominal	+	-	-
Adnominal	-	+	-
Verb	-	-	+
Minor word class	-	-	-

3.3.1 Nominals

A nominal is a word that can only head a nominal phrase (§ 3.1.2). There are four subclasses of nominals: nouns, reflexives, numerals, and indefinites (see § 4.2.1). Human pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives are partly included in nominals (see § 3.4).

3.3.2 Adnominals

An adnominal is a word that only serves as the modifier of an NP and thus cannot function as an argument or as the head of a nominal predicate. Since it does not head an NP, it never carries case when functioning as a modifier of an NP.[11]

(25) *kun hon=ba tu-ta*
this book=ACC take-PST
'(I) took this book.'

[10] See Shimoji (2008a: 134) for similar criteria in Irabu Ryukyuan.
[11] See Shimoji (2008a: 135–136) for a similar characterization of adnominals in Irabu Ryukyuan.

3.3.3 Verbs

A verb is a word that inflects. Thus the verb stem *tur-* 'take' inflects as *tu-ta* (take-PST), *tur-oo* (take-INT), etc. Inflectional categories differ according to the clause type (main clause, relative clause, adverbial clause). See §5.2 for more details about Yuwan verb morphology.

3.3.4 Minor word class

The minor word class is a set of words which do not satisfy any of the criteria (A) to (C) in (24) above. The minor word class can be divided into two subcategories depending on its syntactic function; if it can directly modify a verbal predicate, it is an adverb (e.g. *mazin ikj-oo!* (together go-INT) '(Let's) go together!'); if not, it is an interjection (e.g. *agɨ!* 'Oh!').

3.4 Functional categories of words

The three categories *human pronouns*, *demonstratives* and *interrogatives* have their own specific roots, i.e. human pronominal roots, demonstrative roots, and interrogative roots. These can turn into several different word classes (with some derivational affixes). For example, demonstrative roots can be used as nominals, adnominals, or adverbs (§3.4.2). This means this category is not a word class, but a functional category that can cover several word classes.

3.4.1 Human pronouns

Human pronouns formally extend over nominals and adnominals. Semantically, they indicate the speaker (first person) or the hearer (second person).[12] Third person in anaphoric or deictic function is expressed by demonstratives (see §3.4.2).

Pronouns exhibit number distinctions, but adnominal forms have no dual forms.[13] Yuwan has three human pronominal roots: *waa* (1SG), *naa* (2SG.HON), and *ura* (2SG.NHON).

The pronouns *waa* (1SG) and *naa* (2SG.HON) are adnominals, and they need to attach a nominalizer suffix to become nominals: *-n* (NLZ.SG), *-ttəə* (NLZ.DU), or *-kja* (NLZ.PL). On the other hand, *ura* (2SG.NHON) is a nominal, and it thus needs the adnominalizer suffix *-a* to become an adnominal. The nominalized plural forms *waa-kja*, *naa-kja* and *ura-kja*, also need the same adnominalizer suffix to become adnominals.

[12]Yuwan has two second person pronouns. The pronoun *naa* is used for honorific referents, i.e. referents older than the speaker, and *ura* is used for non-honorific referents, i.e. referents as old as (or younger than) the speaker.

[13]When a dual human pronoun fills the modifier slot of an NP, it attaches a genitive case clitic, e.g. *wa-ttəə=ga hon* (1SG-DU=GEN book) 'a book belonging to the two of us'.

(26) a. *wan=ga ik-ju-i*
1SG=NOM go-IPFV-NPST
'I will go.' (nominal)

b. *waa zjuu*[14] *=ga ik-ju-i*
my father=NOM go-IPFV-NPST
'My father will go.' (adnominal)

Table 10: Human pronouns

			Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominals	1*st* person		*wa-n*	*wa-ttəə*	*waa-kja*
	2*nd* person	HON	*na-n*	*na-ttəə*	*naa-kja*
		non-HON	*ura*	*ura-ttəə*	*ura-kja*
Adnominals	1*st* person		*waa*	-	*waa-kja-a*
	2*nd* person	HON	*naa*	-	*naa-kja-a*
		non-HON	*ura-a*	-	*ura-kja-a*

3.4.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives extend over nominals, adnominals, and adverbs. They are constituted of a demonstrative root, which is a bound form, and a derivational suffix. Three degrees of distance are distinguished, i.e. proximal, mesial, and distal.

Table 11: Demonstrative roots and derived forms

Class	Meaning	Root	Suffix	Proximal	Mesial	Distal
N	Pronominal	*ku/u/a*	*-ɾɨ* (SG)	*ku-ɾɨ*	*u-ɾɨ*	*a-ɾɨ*
			-ttaa (APPR)	*ku-ttaa*	*u-ttaa*	*a-ttaa*
	Locative		*-ma*	*ku-ma*	*u-ma*	*a-ma*
Adn	Plain		*-n*	*ku-n*	*u-n*	*a-n*
N	Approximation	*ka/ga/aga*	*-ssa*	*ka-ssa*	*ga-ssa*	*aga-ssa*
Adn	Derogatory		*-raa*	*ka-raa*	*ga-raa*	*aga-raa*
Adv	Direction		*-n*	*ka-n*	*ga-n*	*aga-n*

[14] *waa zjuu* 'my father' is not a compound but a (nominal) phrase; in other words, *waa* 'my' is not the component of a word, but an adnominal word (see §3.2.3 for details).

3.4.3 Interrogatives

Interrogatives formally extend over nominals, adnominals, and adverbs, and semantically express wh-questions.

(27) a. *nuu=nu uti-ti ?*
what=NOM fall-MED
'What fell?' (nominal)

b. *urəə taa ʔkin ?*
that.TOP whose kimono
'Whose kimono is that?' (adnominal)

c. *nuusjattu ikj-an ?*
why go-NEG.NPST
'Why don't (you) go?' (adverb)

Table 12: Basic forms of interrogatives

	Form	Gloss
Nominals	*nuu*	what
	tari / taru (SG), *tat-taa* (PL)	who
	daa	where
	diru	which
	ici	when
	ikjassa	how much
Adnominals	*taa*	whose
	din	which
Adverbs	*nuusjattu*	why

3.5 Property concept stems (PC stems)

Yuwan has a special stem category, which is called here *property concept stem* (PC stem), following the term used in Shimoji (2008a).[15] Semantically, PC stems can express the following semantic types, which are expressed by adjectives in many languages:[16] DIMENSION (e.g. *taa* 'tall', *tuu* 'distant', *inja/sjugi* 'small'), AGE (e.g. *mii* 'new'), VALUE (e.g. *ic* 'good', *waru* 'bad'), COLOUR (e.g. *aa* 'red', *siju* 'white', *kuru* 'black'), PHYSICAL PROPERTY (e.g. *ubu* 'heavy'), HUMAN PROPENSITY (e.g. *hoora* 'happy'), and SPEED (e.g. *həə* 'fast').

Morphologically, a PC stem is made of a single root (PC root) or a derived stem (see § 6.3). A PC stem is a bound form, thus it needs to undergo some

[15] The term "property concept" itself also appears in Thompson (1988).
[16] See Dixon (2004: 3–4)

derivational and/or inflectional operation in order to be a free form. There are three means to turn a PC stem into a free form: nominalization, verbalization, and adverbialization.

A PC stem can become a nominal word if it is followed by a nominalizer *-sa/-sja*.[17]

(28) a. *taa-sa=nu tar-an*
tall-NLZ=NOM be.sufficient-NEG.NPST
'(It) is not tall enough.' (argument PC nominal)

b. *an kɨɨ=nu taa-sa*
that tree=NOM tall-NLZ
'That tree is tall.' (PC nominal predicate)

A PC stem can become a verb if it is followed by a verbalizer *-sar/-sjar*.

(29) *an kɨɨ=ja taa-sar-oo*
that tree=TOP tall-VLZ-SUPP
'That tree is supposed to be tall.' (PC verb)

In the following example, a PC stem becomes an adverb by taking the adverbializer *-ku*.

(30) *həə-ku ikj-oo !*
fast-AVLZ go-INT
'Let's go fast!'

4 Nominals and nominal phrases

A brief explanation about nominals and nominal phrases (NPs) has already been given in § 3.3.1 and § 3.1.2 respectively. The following sections give a more detailed presentation of the *Modifier Head*(=*Case*) construction of NPs.

4.1 Modifier

4.1.1 Modifier filled by an NP

If a nominal is to modify another nominal in an NP, first it fills the head slot of an NP taking a genitive case clitic, and then it fills the modifier slot of a larger NP recursively. In the following example, the larger NP is analyzed as following: *warabɨ=nu* (Modifier), *hon* (Head), and *=ba* (Case).

[17] The choice of the two morphemes *-sa* or *-sja* is lexically determined: *taa-sa* (high-NLZ), *hoora-sja* (happy-NLZ), etc.

(31) *warabi=nu hon=ba mi-cja*
child=GEN book=ACC look-PST
'(I) looked at the child's book.'

4.1.2 Modifier filled by adnominal word or relative clause

The modifier slot of an NP can be filled by an adnominal word, which does not take any case clitics (see §3.3.2). In the following example, the NP is analyzed as following: *an* (Modifier), *hon* (Head), and *=ba* (Case).

(32) *an hon=ba mi-cja*
that book=ACC look-PST
'(I) looked at that book.'

Furthermore, the modifier slot of an NP can be filled by a relative clause, whose final constituent is a verb taking an inflectional suffix that marks relativization (see §5.2.2.1). In the following example, the NP is analyzed as following: *akira=ga ju-da-n* (Modifier), *hon* (Head), and *=ba* (Case).

(33) *an ʔcjoo akira=ga ju-dan hon=ba mi-cja*
that person.TOP Akira=NOM read-PST.ADN book=ACC look-PST
'That person looked at the book that Akira read.'

4.2 Head

The head slot is obligatory in an NP, and it is filled by a minimal NP, i.e. a nominal word.

4.2.1 Subclass of nominals

There are four subclasses of nominals: nouns, reflexives, numerals, and indefinites. As stated in §3.4, human pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives are categorized not only as nominals, but also as other word classes. Therefore they are treated as functional categories of words, not as a subclass of nominals.

4.2.1.1 Nouns

A noun can function as an NP of any kind (argument, predicate or modifier of a larger NP). Some nouns that have a temporal meaning, e.g. *ʔkinjuu* 'yesterday', *acja* 'tomorrow', or *kjuu* 'today', can undergo conversion into adverbs.

(34) *acja k-juu-d=doo*
tomorrow come-IPFV-NPST=EMP
'I'll come tomorrow!'

4.2.1.2 Reflexives

Yuwan has two reflexives, *nusi* and *duu*, and I have so far found no difference between them. They can function as an NP of any kind. A reflexive can be coreferential with not only a previous subject argument, as in (35), but also with an (indirect) object, as in (36).

(35) *akira=ga jumiko=n nusi/duu=nu ʔkin=ba*
Akira=NOM Yumiko=DAT RFL=GEN kimono=ACC
ʔcɨmm-a-cjɨ=doo
wrap-CAUS-MED=EMP
'Akira$_i$ made Yumiko wrap his$_i$ kimono.'

(36) *akira=ja jumiko=n nusi/duu=nu ʔkin=boo nusi/duu=sjɨ*
Akira=TOP Yumiko=DAT RFL=GEN kimono=ACC.TOP RFL=INST
ʔcɨmm-a-cjɨ=doo
wrap-CAUS-MED=EMP
'Akira made Yumiko$_i$ wrap her$_i$ kimono by herself$_i$.'

4.2.1.3 Numerals

A numeral is constituted of a numeral root plus a classifier suffix, e.g. *-cɨ* (CLF.GENERAL), *-tai* (CLF.HUMAN), and *-kəi* (CLF.TIMES). A numeral can function as an NP of any kind; however, a numeral often fills the head slot of an NP.

(37) *nasi=nu mii-cɨ mura-tɨ (*mii-cɨ=nu nasi)*
pear=GEN three-CLF receive-MED three-CLF=GEN pear
'(I) received three pears.'

'Three pears' is expressed as *nasi=nu mii-cɨ* (pear=GEN three-CLF), where the referent noun fills the modifier slot and the numeral fills the head slot, not vice versa. The classifier for inanimate nouns is generally *-cɨ*, and the numbers above ten are all non-native words. The classifier *-tai* is used to count humans, but loanwords are used for numbers above four.

4.2.1.4 Indefinites

There are two types of indefinites: non-specific and specific. Both types are formed by an interrogative root plus an indefinitizer (INDFZ) suffix.

Indefinites of the first type have a non-specific meaning and are formed by an interrogative root plus the indefinite suffix *-nkuin*.

(38) *tarɨ-nkuin k-juu-d=doo*
who-INDFZ come-IPFV-NPST=EMP
'Someone will come.'

Table 13: Numerals for counting inanimates

Number	Word form	Morphological structure
1	*ʔtɨɨ*	NUM.CLF
2	*ʔtaa-cɨ*	NUM-CLF
3	*mii-cɨ*	
4	*juu-cɨ*	
5	*ici-cɨ*	
6	*muu-cɨ*	
7	*nana-cɨ*	
8	*jaa-cɨ*	
9	*ʔkuunu-cɨ*	
10	*tuu*	NUM
11 (or more)	*ʒjuu ici*	loanword from Japanese
how many	*iku-cɨ*	NUM.ITR-CLF

Table 14: Numerals for counting humans

Number	Word form	Morphological structure
1	*ʔcjui*	NUM.CLF
2	*ʔtai*	
3	*mi-cjai*	NUM-CLF
4	*ju-tai*	
5 (or more)	*go-nin*	loanword from Japanese
how many	*iku-tai*	NUM.ITR-CLF

Indefinites of the second type have a specific meaning and are formed by an interrogative root followed by one of the two indefinite suffixes *-gajaaroo* and *-ka*. Here the term *specific* is used in the meaning of Payne (1997: 264): "an entity is objectively referential if it exists as a bounded, individuated entity in the message world. Sometimes referentiality in this sense is referred to as specificity".

(39) *tarɨ-gajaaroo=ga ʔcja*
who-INDFZ=NOM come.PST
'Someone came.'

Table 15: Indefinites (non-specific) made of *-nkuin*

Form	Meaning
nu-nkuin	'anything'
tari-nkuin	'anyone'
da-nkuin	'anytime'
diru-nkuin	'any one'
ici-nkuin	'anywhere'

Table 16: Indefinites (specific) made of *-gajaaroo/-ka*

Form	Meaning
nuu-gajaaroo/nuu-ka	'something'
tari-gajaaroo/tarii-ka	'someone'
daa-gajaaroo/daa-ka	'somewhere'
diru-gajaaroo/diruu-ka	'something in these things'
ici-gajaaroo/icii-ka	'sometime'

4.2.2 Derivational morphology of nominals

4.2.2.1 Nominal derivation

The structure of the nominal word is schematically shown in (40).

(40) Structure of the nominal word:
Root (-DIM)(=APPR)
or Root (-PL)(-APPR)(=APPR)

There are three nominal derivational suffixes: *-kkwa* (DIM), *-kja* (PL), and *-taa* (APPR). For convenience, we will also present together the approximative clitic *=nkja*, although it is not a nominal derivational suffix.

The diminutive suffix *-kkwa* adds some overtones of endearment to the root it attaches to.

(41) *warabi-kkwa=nu wu-i*
child-DIM=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a little child.'

The plural suffix *-kja* can attach to human pronouns only (I ignore the nominalizing function of *-kja* here, see §3.4.1).

(42) *waa-kja=ga ik-ju-i*
1-PL=NOM go-IPFV-NPST
'We will go.'

On the other hand, the approximative suffix *-taa* ('and so on' or 'a kind of') can attach to demonstratives, human names, elder kinship terms, and profession names.

(43) *zjuu-taa=ga* *ik-ju-i*
father-APPR=NOM go-IPFV-NPST
'(My) father and some people will go.'

When expressing plurality of other nominals, the approximative clitic *=nkja*[18] is used.

(44) *maga=nkja=nu* *ik-ju-i*
grandchild=APPR=NOM go-IPFV-NPST
'(My) grandchild and some people will go.'

As can be seen above, kinship terms which refer to younger people do not take the approximative suffix *-taa*, but take the approximative clitic *=nkja*.

The selection of the plural and approximative markers is summarized in figure 2.

1st & 2nd pronouns		demonstratives	human names	elder kins	professions		others
-kja	≫		*-taa*			≫	*=nkja*

Figure 2: Selection of the plural and approximative markers

This nominal division seems to correspond to the *nominal hierarchy* or the *animacy hierarchy* of linguistic typology (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1994, Whaley 1997).

4.2.2.2 Nominal compounding

A nominal compound is a nominal word made of two roots (Root1 + Root2). The first root may be any nominal root, verbal root, or PC root (see §3.5), and the second one is always a nominal root.

(45) a. nominal root + nominal root
mumin 'cotton' + *ʔkin* 'kimono' → *mumin+gin*[19] 'kimono made of cotton'

[18]This morpheme can be regarded as a clitic since it can attach not only to nominals but also to verbs (see §3.2.2 about the criterion of clitic), e.g. *abi-ti=nkja ik-ju-mi?* (call-MED=APPR go-IPFV-YNQ) 'Do (we) go (there) and call (him or her)?'. In Yuwan and Ura (Amami Ryukyuan), the approximative marker is a clitic (H. Shigeno 2010 p.c.), while in Tsuken (Okinawan), Ōgami and Irabu (Miyako Ryukyuan) it is a suffix (S. Matayoshi, M. Shimoji and T. Pellard 2010 p.c.).

[19]See §2.4.2 for more details about sequential voicing.

b. verbal root + nominal root
jusɨr- 'teach' + *kaci* 'worth' → *jusɨ* + *gaci* 'worth teaching'

c. PC root + nominal root
kjura 'beautiful' + *ʔkin* 'kimono' → *kjura* + *gin* 'beautiful kimono'

4.3 Case

4.3.1 Case markers

Yuwan has thirteen case markers, which are clitics following a nominal phrase. Most of them mark arguments (nominative, accusative, dative, allative, locative, instrumental, associative, comparative, ablative, limitative), while the genitive case marks the modifier of an NP (§ 3.1.2). Yuwan has a nominative-accusative case marking system; the single argument of an intransitive verb (S) and the agent-like argument of a transitive verb (A) both take nominative case, while the patient-like argument of a transitive verb (O) takes accusative case.

Table 17: Case forms and their functions

Name	Form	Function (case)	Function (limiter)
Nominative	=*ga*/=*nu*	S/A	
Genitive	=*ga*/=*Ø*/=*nu*	NP modifier	
Accusative	=*ba*	O	
Dative	=*n*	beneficiary	
Allative 1	=*kaci*	goal of locomotion	
Allative 2	=*zjɨ*	goal of action	
Locative 1	=*nən*/*nan*	place of static action	
Locative 2	=*(nə)ntɨ*/*(nə)ntɨ*	place of dynamic action	
Instrumental	=*sjɨ*	instrument	
Associative	=*tu*	associated motion	
Comparative	=*jumma*/=*jukkuma*	standard of comparison	
Ablative	=*kara*	source	
Limitative	=*gadɨ*	limit ('as far as')	emphasis

4.3.2 Animacy hierarchy with case markers

Two case markers, the nominative and the genitive, depend on the nominal hierarchy.[20] First, the nominative case marker has two forms, =*ga* and =*nu*.

[20] A similar phenomenon is found in many other Ryukyuan languages (Nohara 1986, Shimoji 2008a, and others).

There is a tendency that a nominal located higher in the animacy hierarchy takes *=ga*, while a nominal located lower takes *=nu*.

(46) *wan=ga aik-ju-i*
1SG=NOM walk-IPFV-NPST
'I will walk.' (1*st* person singular human pronoun)

(47) *in=nu aik-ju-i*
dog=NOM walk-IPFV-NPST
'The dog will walk.' (animal noun)

As can be seen above, the form of the nominative case varies according to position on the animacy hierarchy of the nominal heading the NP. The assignment of the nominative is summarized in figure 3.

human pronouns	demonstratives	elder kinship terms	others nouns
=ga		≫	*=nu*

Figure 3: Nominative hierarchy

Second, the genitive case marker has three allomorphs *=ga*, *=Ø* (zero) and *=nu*. The genitive case marker can express possessive relation between the modifier and the head in an NP, but there is another means to express possessive relation,[21] i.e. with an adnominal. Possessive relation is marked as follows according to the animacy hierarchy, from higher to lower: adnominal, genitive case *=ga*, *=Ø* (zero), and *=nu*.

(48) a. *waa hon=ba jum-i !*
my book=ACC read-IMP
'Read my book!' (1*st* person singular human pronoun)

b. *agga hon=ba jum-i !*
that.person.GEN book=ACC read-IMP
'Read that person's book!' (demonstrative)

c. *akira=Ø hon=ba jum-i !*
Akira=GEN book=ACC read-IMP
'Read Akira's book!' (noun (human name))[22]

d. *warabi=nu hon=ba jum-i !*
child=GEN book=ACC read-IMP
'Read the child's book!' (noun)

The assignment of the forms is summarized in figure 4.

[21] Here the terms *possession* or *possessive* are used in a rather arbitrary meaning.

[22] This form cannot be analyzed as an adnominal since it can fill the head slot of an NP (see §3.3): *akira=ga ik-ju-i* (Akira=NOM go-IPFV-NPST) 'Akira goes'.

human pronouns		demonstratives		human names	elder kinship terms		others nouns
adnominal	≫	=*ga*	≫		=Ø	≫	=*nu*

Figure 4: Adnominal and genitive hierarchy

4.4 Formal nouns

A formal noun can fill the head slot of an NP only if it is preceded by a modifier word or clause. It can thus be called a "bound word". In the following examples, *sɨ* 'thing' is a formal noun, but *mun* 'thing' is not.

(49) *waa sɨ=nu a-i* *(cf. *sɨ=nu a-i)*
my thing=NOM exist-NPST thing=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a thing of mine.' 'There is a thing.'

(50) *waa mun=nu a-i* *(cf. mun=nu a-i)*
my thing=NOM exist-NPST thing=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a thing of mine.' 'There is a thing.'

As can be seen above, the formal noun *sɨ* 'thing' can fill the head slot with an adnominal (*waa* 'my') filling the modifier slot of the NP; however, if there is no modifier, the formal noun cannot head an NP. Interestingly, a formal noun behaves like a nominalizer suffix, when it co-occurs with a verbal stem.

(51) *koo-ju-sɨ=nu a-i*
buy-IPFV-NLZ=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a thing (that I) will buy.'

This kind of phenomenon about formal nouns is also found in Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji 2009d: 16).

5 Verb morphology

The verb class is the only word class that shows inflection. The copula is a verb, but its syntactic function is to serve as an extension to nominal predicates rather than the head of a verbal predicate.

5.1 The structure of the verbal complex

The verbal complex is made of a stem plus one or several inflectional suffixes. A stem can be made of a single root (a minimal stem), several roots (a compound), or root(s) plus derivational suffix(es).

(52) Structure of the verbal complex (D: derivation, I: inflection)
[[Root (+ Root)-D suffix(-D suffix…$_n$)]$_{stem}$ -I suffix(-I suffix)]$_{word}$

5.1.1 Stem

Yuwan has two different types of verb-making stems: plain verbal stems and property concept stems (PC stems); plain verbal stems can be sub-divided into two subtypes, the ordinary type and the special type.

Formally, both plain verbal stems and PC stems are bound forms, but they can be clearly divided by the following criteria: the former cannot be followed by a verbalizer *-sar/-sjar* or a nominalizer *-sa/-sja*, but the latter can. Semantically, plain verbal stems can express relatively higher transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980) than PC stems, e.g. *kuss-* 'kill', *ut-* 'hit', *mur-* 'pick (some fruits)', and so on. On the other hand, PC stems basically express relatively lower transitivity, and they often correspond to adjectives in other languages, e.g. *taa-* 'tall', *aa-* 'red', *hoora-* 'happy', etc.

5.1.1.1 Plain verbal stems (ordinary type)

Plain verbal stems can be divided into two subtypes, ordinary types, and special types, which are distinguished by the following criteria. If a plain verbal stem can be followed by an imperfective suffix *-jur*, it is an ordinary type stem; if not, it is a special type stem.

(53) *warabi=nu un=nanti app-ju-i*
child=NOM sea=LOC2 play-IPFV-NPST
'A child plays in the sea.' (plain verbal stem (ordinary type))

Table 18: Examples of plain verbal stems (ordinary type)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
app-	'play'	*izjas-*	'take out'
tub-	'fly'	*ut-*	'hit'
asib-	'play'	*tat-*	'stand'
kak-	'write'	*mur-*	'pick (fruits)'
uk-	'put'	*izibar-*	'come out'
kam-	'eat'	*ʔkij-*	'cut'
tanm-	'ask'	*hənkj-*	'come in'
waas-	'boil'	*koow-*	'buy'

5.1.1.2 Plain verbal stems (special type)

Yuwan has four plain verbal stems that are of a different, special type. These stems cannot take the imperfective suffix *-jur*.

Table 19: Plain verbal stems (special type)

Form	Gloss	Note
wur-	'exist'	used with animate subjects
ar-	'exist'	used with inanimate subjects
nə-	'not exist'	used with inanimate subjects; necessarily takes negative suffix
jar-/ar-	COP	the former used for affirmative, the latter for negative

The existential verbs *wur-* and *ar-* correlate with the animacy[23] of a subject. If the subject has an animate referent, *wur-* is used, as in (54), and if the subject has an inanimate referent, *ar-* is used, as in (55). In both cases, the aspect marker *-jur* cannot be used.

(54) *ama=nan* *warabɨ=nu* *wu-i* *(*wu-ju-i)*
that.place=LOC1 child=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a child.' (existential verb (animate subject))

(55) *ama=nan* *kɨɨ=nu* *a-i* *(*a-ju-i)*
that.place=LOC1 tree=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a tree.' (existential verb (inanimate subject))

It is worth noting that the animate existential verb *wur-* can take a negative suffix *-an*, e.g. *warabɨ=nu wur-an* (child=NOM exist-NEG.NPST) 'There is no child'; however, the inanimate existential verb *ar-* cannot, e.g. **kɨɨ=nu ar-an* (tree=NOM exist-NEG.NPST) 'There is no tree'. Instead, the negative existential verb *nə-* 'not exist' is used.

(56) *ama=nan=nja* *kɨɨ=nu* *nə-n*
that.place=LOC1=TOP tree=NOM not.exist-NEG.NPST
'There is no tree.' (negative existential verb)

A negative existential verb does not have affirmative inflection. As can be seen in (56) above, the negative existential verb *nə-* takes a negative suffix, but the verb *nə-n* (not.exist-NEG.NPST) means 'not exist', and not '(not not) exist'. This kind of phenomena is also found in other languages (see, for example, Jespersen 1924: 334).

The copula verb has two variants: *jar-* for affirmative inflection and *ar-* for negative inflection.

[23] In Yuwan, an animate referent is a living creature, and animates do not include plants like *kɨɨ* 'tree'.

(57) *an ʔcjoo sjensjee ja-ta*
that person.TOP teacher COP-PST
'That person was a teacher.' (copula verb (affirmative inflection))

(58) *an ʔcjoo sjensjee=ja ar-an-ta*
that person.TOP teacher=TOP COP-NEG-PST
'That person was not a teacher.' (copula verb (negative inflection))[24]

5.1.1.3 Property concept stem

As mentioned in §3.5, a property concept stem (PC stem) is not a verbal stem, since it needs a verbalizer suffix *-sar/-sjar* to be a verbal stem and carry inflection (on the other hand, a plain verbal stem is a verbal stem by itself since it can stand as a verb just by carrying verbal inflection). A verbal stem derived from a PC stem has some restrictions concerning its inflection and derivation (see §6.2 for details).

5.2 Inflectional morphology

Verbal inflectional categories in Yuwan can be divided into two categories: finite inflection and non-finite inflection. Finite inflection occurs on verb forms that head a main clause, while non-finite inflection mostly[25] occurs on verb forms that head dependent clauses. Non-finite inflection can be further divided into three subtypes, each of which corresponds to the forms in relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and clause chains.

5.2.1 Finite inflection

Generally, finite inflected verbs function as verbal predicates. However, the verbs inflected by *-mai* (OBL) has to fill the head slot of a nominal predicate, as in (59).

(59) *arəə mu-i-mai ja-ta*
that.TOP pick.up-SE-OBL COP-PST
'(I) should have picked that up.'

Table 20 presents the finite inflectional paradigm, which is further exemplified in table 21.

[24]The negative form of the copula verb has the same stem as the inanimate existential verb *-ar*, but they differ in that the former can have animate subject, as in (58), while the latter cannot.

[25]See §5.2.2.3 about insubordination.

Table 20: Finite inflection

		affirmative	negative
past	declarative	*-tar*[26]	*-an-tar*
	suppositional	*-taroo*	*-an-taroo*
	yes-no question	*-tamɨ*	*-an-tamɨ*
	focused yes-no question	*-tarui*	*-an-tarui*
	focused wh-question	*-taru*	*-an-taru*
non-past	declarative	*-i*	*-an*
	suppositional/intentional[27]	*-oo*	N/A
	intentional question	*-oi*	N/A
	yes-no question	*-mɨ*	*-amɨ*
	focused yes-no question	*-ui*	N/A
	focused wh-question	*-u*	N/A
	obligative	*-mai*	N/A
	imperative	*-ɨ*	*-na*

Table 21: Finite inflection of *mur-* 'pick up (some fruits)'

		affirmative	negative
past	declarative	*mu-tar*	*mur-an-tar*
	suppositional	*mu-taroo*	*mur-an-taroo*
	yes-no question	*mu-tamɨ*	*mur-an-tamɨ*
	focused yes-no question	*mu-tarui*	*mur-an-tarui*
	focused wh-question	*mu-taru*	*mur-an-taru*
non-past[28]	declarative	*mu-ju-i*	*mur-an*
	suppositional/intentional	*mur-oo*	N/A
	intentional question	*mur-oi*	N/A
	yes-no question	*mu-ju-mɨ*	*mur-amɨ*
	focused yes-no question	*mu-jur-ui*	N/A
	focused wh-question	*mu-jur-u*	N/A
	obligative	*mu-i-mai*[29]	N/A
	imperative	*mur-ɨ*	*mun-na*

[26]The /r/ of *-tar* is always deleted in the syllable-final position, but it undergoes assimilation if it is followed by the clitic *=doo* (EMP): *mu-tat=too* (pick.up-PST=EMP) '(I) picked (it) up'.

[27]If this inflection follows one of the four derivational suffixes *-ar/-arɨr* (PASS), *-jur* (IPFV), *-tur* (PROG), or *-təər* (RES), it has a suppositional meaning as well as the past inflection *-taroo* (PST.SUPP); however, *-tur* (PROG) + *-oo* with a 1st person subject has an intentional meaning, e.g. *wan=ga ju-dur-oo* (1SG=NOM read-PROG-INT) 'I intend to be reading'.

[28]About the aspectual affix *-jur* (IPFV) between a verbal root and some inflections, see §5.3.1.

[29]*-mai* needs the stem extender *-i* in order to follow a verbal root that does not end with a nasal, cf. *jum-mai=doo* (read-OBL=EMP) '(I) have to read (it)'.

5.2.2 Non-finite inflection

Non-finite inflections express relativization, adverbial subordination (with converbs), or clause-chaining (with medial verbs). Some of converbs do not have negative forms, and only adnominal forms exhibit a tense opposition.

5.2.2.1 Relativization

Yuwan has a special inflected form for predicates of relative clauses. This verbal form basically does not appear in other types of clauses,[30] and it is called the *adnominal form* here.

(60) [*wan*=*ga* *ʔkinjuu* *mu-tan*]$_{Rel\text{-}clause}$ *nɨkan*=*ba* *tur-ɨ !*
1SG=NOM yesterday pick.up-PST.ADN orange=ACC take-IMP
'Take the orange I picked up yesterday!'

Table 22: Relative inflection

	affirmative	negative
non-past	*-n*	(*-an*)
past	*-tan*	*-an-tan*

Table 23: Relative inflection of *mur-* 'pick up (some fruits)' with *nɨkan* 'orange'

	affirmative	negative
non-past[31]	*mu-ju-n nɨkan* 'an orange (I) will pick up'	(*mur-an nɨkan*) 'an orange (I) won't pick up'
past	*mu-tan nɨkan* 'an orange (I) picked up'	*mur-an-tan nɨkan* 'an orange (I) didn't pick up'

The parentheses in tables 22 and 23 indicate there is no morphologically overt inflectional suffix expressing relativization in negative non-past tense. In other words, Yuwan uses a *gap strategy* (Payne 1997: 330) for the negative non-past, and the verbal form is identical with the finite form used for negative non-past declarative.

[30] However, there are cases where this form appears in an adverbial clause with a clitic (see §7.1 and §7.2).

[31] About the aspectual affix *-jur* (IPFV) between a verbal root and the inflection *-n* (NPST.ADN), see §5.3.1.

5.2.2.2 Converb

Yuwan has a converb, constituted of a verbal stem and an inflectional suffix. The converb is used to head an adverbial clause.

(61) *kjuu=ja nɨkan=ba mur-an-ba, app-igja*
today=TOP orange=ACC pick.up-NEG-because play-CVB.PUR
koo=joo
come.IMP=CNF1
'(We) will not pick up oranges today, so come and play.'

Table 24: Converb inflection

		affirmative	negative
non-past	conditional ('if')	*-boo*	*-an-boo*
	causal 1 ('because')	*-ba*	*-an-ba*
	causal 2 ('because')	*-sa*	N/A
	simultaneous ('while')	*-jagacinaa*	N/A
	purposive ('in order that')	*-igja*	N/A
past	causal 3 ('because (x) did…')	*-tattu*	*-an-tattu*

Table 25: Converb inflection of *mur-* 'pick up (some fruits)'

		affirmative	negative
non-past	conditional ('if')	*mup-poo*[32]	*mur-an-boo*
	causal 1('because')	*mup-pa*	*mur-an-ba*
	causal 2 ('because')	*mu-jus-sa*[33]	N/A
	simultaneous ('while')	*mu-jagacinaa*	N/A
	purposive ('in order that')	*mu-igja*	N/A
past	causal 3 ('because (x) did…')	*mu-tattu*	*mur-an-tattu*

5.2.2.3 Medial verb

Yuwan has a medial verb, which encodes clause-chaining (see §9.3).

[32]As mentioned in footnote 3 of §2.3.1, the sequence of voiced stop /bb/ often becomes voiceless /pp/.

[33]Regarding the aspectual affix *-jur* (IPFV) between a verbal root and the inflection *-sa* 'because (causal 2)', see §5.3.1.

Table 26: Medial inflection

	affirmative	negative
medial 'do (something), and…'	*-ti*	*-an-nən* (*/ -an-ti*)

(62) *ju-di, ka-cji, wara-ta*
read-MED write-MED laugh-PST
'(I) read (something), and wrote (something), and laughed.' (affirmative)

(63) *hon-u=nkja=gadi jum-an-nən, asi-di koo !*
book-SE=APPR=LMT read-NEG-MED play-MED come.INT
'Without reading books, let's (go) play and come back!' (negative)

The negative medial form *-an-ti* is used only when the predicate of the main clause includes a PC stem *ic-* 'good' (or in insubordinated clauses); on the other hand, the other negative medial form *-an-nən* can be used for any case.

(64) *hon=ba jum-an-nən(/jum-an-ti), ic-cja a-mi ?*
book=ACC read-NEG-MED good-NLZ exist-YNQ
'(You) do not read the book, and that is okay?'

Interestingly, a medial verb can be used independently, without a main clause.

(65) *uroo kun hon=ba ju-di=na ?*
2SG.NHON.TOP this book=ACC read-MED=YNQ
'Did you read this book?'

The medial verb *ju-di* in (65) expresses past tense, like the finite inflectional form *ju-da* (read-PST).[34] Typologically, this kind of phenomenon is known as *insubordination*, which is defined as "the conventionalized main-clause use of formally subordinate clauses" (Evans 2007).

5.3 Derivational morphology

In this section, the internal structure of the verbal stem is described. As shown in (52) in § 5.1, a verbal stem can consist of a single root or of compounded roots plus derivational affixes.

[34] However, the past finite form cannot be used with the question marker *=na*, i.e. **ju-da=na*.

5.3.1 Derivational affix

Yuwan has seven derivational suffixes: the voice suffixes *-as* (CAUS) and *-ar(ir)*[35] (PASS), the aspect suffixes *-tuk* (PRF), *-jur* (IPFV), *-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RES), and the politeness suffix *-joor* (POL). All derivational suffixes can attach to a verbal root (or compounded roots), and they are basically optional. The derivational suffixes can appear in the following order:

(66)

-CAUS	-PASS	-PRF	-IPFV	-PROG	-RES	-POL
-as	*-ar(ir)*	*-tuk*	*-jur*	*-tur*	*-təər*[36]	*-joor*

However, there are some restrictions concerning their combinations; the impossible combinations are summarized below.

(67)

-ar(ir) (PASS)	+	*-jur* (IPFV)
-tuk (PRF)	+	*-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RES)
-jur (IPFV)	+	*-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RES), *-joor* (POL)

Yuwan has an interesting phenomenon where some optionally-expressed affixes become obligatorily-expressed when they precede certain inflections.[37]

Table 27: Obligatory suffixes

Set of obligatory suffixes			Context		
-ar(ir)	(PASS)	+	finite inflections	*-i*	(NPST)
-jur	(IPFV)			*-mi*	(YNQ)
-tur	(PROG)			*-ui*	(FOC.YNQ)
-təər	(RES)			*-u*	(FOC.WHQ)
-joor	(POL)		non-finite inflections	*-n*	(ADN)
				-sa	'because'

For example, the finite inflectional suffix *-i* (NPST) and the non-finite inflectional suffix *-n* (NPST) cannot directly follow a verbal root, and one of the suffixes in table 27 has to appear on the verb.

(68) a. *wan=ga mu-ju-i (*mu-i)*
1SG=NOM pick.up-IPFV-NPST
'I will pick up (the fruits).'

[35] In addition, *-ar(ir)* can be used as a malefactive (§8.4.3) or a potential. The potential use is as follows: *uroo an cizin=nu kikj-ari-n=nja?* (2SG.NOHN.TOP that hand.drum=NOM hear-POT-NPST=YNQ) 'Can you hear that (sound of) hand drum?'

[36] Although an affix generally cannot occur twice, the resultative suffix *-təər* can be repeated: *ama=nan zii=nu ka-cjəə-tə-i* (there=LOC1 character=NOM write-RES-RES-NPST) 'There is a written character.' (The resultative *-təər* loses one of its vowel when it precedes the non-past inflection *-i*.).

[37] However, *-ui* (FOC.YNQ) and *-u* (FOC.WHQ) cannot follow *-ar(ir)* (PASS).

b. *wan=ga mu-ju-n (*mu-n) mun=na dɨru ?*
1SG=NOM pick.up-IPFV-NPST.ADN thing=TOP which
'Which is the thing that I pick up?'

However, these affixes, i.e. *-ar(ɨr)* (PASS), *-jur* (IPFV), *-tur* (PROG), *-təər* (RES), and *-joor* (POL), are not obligatory when they precede the other inflections; for example, the past tense inflection may not take *-jur* (IPFV) as in (69a), or may take it as in (69b).

(69) a. *wan=ga mu-ta*
1SG=NOM pick.up-PST
'I picked up (the fruits).'
b. *wan=ga mu-ju-tan mun=doo*
1SG=NOM pick.up.ADN-IPFV-PST thing=EMP
'I used to pick up (the fruits).'[38]

Furthermore, basically every derivation can directly attach to the inflections listed in §5.2, but some derivations cannot, like **jum-as-i* (read-CAUS-NPST) 'to make (someone) read'.[39] The possible combinations between derivations and inflections are too complex to be detailed here.

5.3.2 Compounding

A verbal compound combines two plain verbal roots into a stem.

(70) a. *jum-* 'read' + *agɨr-* 'raise' → *jum-j*[40] + *agɨr-* 'read (something) all'
b. *jum-* 'read' + *hatɨr-* 'end' → *jum* + *hatɨr-* 'finish reading'

(71) *uroo an hon=ba jum-j+agɨr-ɨ=joo*
2SG.NHON.TOP that book=ACC read-SE+raise-IMP=CNF1
'You read that whole book, right?'

6 Class-changing derivations

Yuwan has several kinds of class-changing derivations: nominalization (§6.1), verbalization (§6.2), and PC stem-making derivation (§6.3).

[38]The form *-ju-tan mun=doo* (-IPFV-PST.ADN thing=EMP) expresses a habitual/continuous aspect in past tense.

[39]The causative affix *-as* can be used when it precedes the other derivational suffixes, e.g. *jum-as-ju-i* (read-CAUS-IPFV-NPST) 'to make (someone) read'.

[40]If a root-final /m/ is followed by a verbal root whose initial is a vowel, a stem extender /j/ is inserted after the initial root.

6.1 Nominalization

Yuwan has four nominalizers, *-sa/-sja*, *-jaa*, *-i*, and *-madəə*. First, as mentioned in §3.5, *-sa/-sja* can derive a nominal from a PC stem.

(72) *taa-sa=nu tar-an*
tall-NLZ=NOM be.sufficient-NEG.NPST
'(It) is not tall enough.'

Second, the nominalizer *-jaa* can attach to a plain verbal stem to form a nominal refering to "a person who (deliberately) does the activity expressed by the stem".

(73) a. *tur- + -jaa → tu-jaa*
take NLZ
'a person who takes'

b. *tur- + -as + -jaa → tur-as-jaa*
take CAUS NLZ
'a person who makes someone take'

c. *ut- + -ar + -jaa → ut-ar-aa*
hit PASS NLZ
'a person who lets himself be hit (by someone) deliberately'

Interestingly, not only a verbal root, but also a derivational suffix can be followed by the nominalizer *-jaa* (although derivational suffixes other than *-as* (CAUS), *-ar* (PASS) cannot precede *-jaa*).

Third, a nominalizer *-i* can attach to a verbal stem expressing continuous aspect when it is used as a nominal predicate as in (74a). It can also be used as an argument of the verb *sir-* 'do' as in (74b).[41]

(74) a. *wan=na zii kak-i jap-pa, ikj-an=doo*
1SG=TOP characters write-NLZ COP-because go-NEG.NPST=EMP
'Because I am writing characters, (I) won't go.' (nominal predicate)

b. *wan=na zii kak-i=du sja*
1SG=TOP characters write-NLZ=FOC do.PST
'I wrote characters.' (argument of a verb)

The last nominalizer is *-madəə* ('fail to'), which can precede a copula verb as a nominal predicate, and also can be an argument of the verb *-sir* 'do' (although it cannot take any case clitics).

[41] However, this nominalized form cannot take any case clitics but necessarily takes limiter clitics or focus/topic clitics (see §7.3 and §7.4).

(75) a. *an hon=ba jum-madəə ja-ta*
that book=ACC read-fail.to COP-PST
'(I) failed to read that book.' (nominal predicate)

b. *an hon=ba jum-madəə sja*
that book=ACC read-fail.to do.PST
'(I) failed to read that book.' (argument of a verb)

6.2 Verbalization

As mentioned in § 3.5 and § 5.1.1.3, the verbalizer *-sar/-sjar* can attach to a PC stem, but it has some restrictions about its inflection and derivation; only three inflectional suffixes *-i* (NPST), *-oo* (SUPP), and *-n* (NPST.ADN) can follow a verbalizer directly, and only a derivational suffix *-joor* (POL) can follow it.

(76) a. *an kɨ̵=nu taa-sa-i*
that tree=NOM tall-VLZ-NPST
'That tree is tall.'

b. *an kɨ̵=ja taa-sar-oo*
that tree=TOP tall-VLZ-SUPP
'That tree is supposed to be tall.'

c. *taa-sa-n kɨ̵=nu a-i*
tall-VLZ-NPST.ADN tree=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a tree that is tall.'

d. *an kɨ̵=ja taa-sa-joo-i*
that tree=TOP tall-VLZ-POL-NPST
'That tree is tall.'

6.3 PC stem-making derivation

Yuwan has a special type of affix, the PC affix, which can derive a PC stem from a plain verbal stem. Yuwan has two PC affixes, *-cja* 'want' and *-cjagɨ* 'seem'.[42] A derived PC stem can take the same affixes as a non-derived PC stem, i.e. PC root (e.g. *taa-* 'tall').

(77) a. *wan=na an hon=ba jum-cja-sa-i*
1SG=TOP that book=ACC read-want-VLZ-NPST
'I want to read that book.'

b. *an kɨ̵=ja toorɨ-cjagɨ-sa-i*
that tree=TOP fall-seem-VLZ-NPST
'That tree seems to fall.'

[42] The semantic types the PC affixes express seem to be peripheral (e.g. *-cja* 'want' (HUMAN PROPENSITY)), or 'not existing' (e.g. *-cjagɨ* 'seem') in the semantic types adopted in Dixon (2004) (see also § 3.5).

7 Clitics

Syntactically, a clitic attaches to a phrase or a clause, its grammatical host, but phonologically, it attaches to a word, its phonological host.

7.1 Conjunction clitics

Yuwan has two conjunction clitics =*sjuti* 'and' and =*ban* 'although'. First, =*sjuti* expresses coordination and can attach to a negative finite inflection, a negative medial inflection, or a PC nominal.

(78) *hon=ba jum-an(-nən)=sjuti, asi-di=bəi*
book=ACC read-NEG-MED=and play-MED=only
'(He) does not read any books, and is always playing.'

Next, =*ban* expresses concessive meaning and can attach only to adnominal forms.

(79) *ʔmoo həə-sa-n=ban, kamәə judəə-sa=nu*
horse.TOP fast-VLZ-NPST.ADN=although turtle.TOP slow-NLZ=NOM
'While a horse is fast, a turtle is slow.'

7.2 Modal clitics

In this section, nine modal clitics are examined: =*joo* (CNF1), =*jəə* (CNF2), =*jaa* (SLD), =*doo* (EMP), =*daroo* (SUPP), =*ga(i)* (CNF.Q), =*na* (YNQ), =*ci* (QT), and =*ba/=boo* (PSU).[43]

First, the clitic =*joo* (CNF1) is used only with imperative inflection to confirm that the hearer will obey the directive given by the speaker.

(80) *uroo kuri=ba kam-na=joo*
2SG.NHON.TOP this=ACC eat-PROH=CNF1
'You do not eat this, right?'

The clitic =*jəə* (CNF2) is used only with intentional inflection to confirm the hearer acknowledges the intention of the speaker, as in (81). The clitic =*jaa* (SLD) can follow verbs of intentional inflection and a nominalizer *-sa/-sja*, and it expresses the speaker's feeling of solidarity with the hearer, as in (82).

[43] Among these clitics, =*joo* (CFM1) and =*jəə* (CFM2) are used only with intentional or imperative verb forms, and other clitics do not intervene between them. These forms may thus be regarded as affixes according to the criteria in § 3.2.2; however, they are rather to be classified as affixes since if we consider them to be inflectional suffixes, they should be obligatory, and if they do not appear we have to posit a zero-inflectional suffix *-Ø* indicating unmarked modality, but this seems rather unnatural.

(81) *amaaci wan ʔcjui ikj-oo=jəə (*ikj-oo=jaa)*
that.place.ALL1 1SG one.CLF go-INT=CNF2 go-INT=SLD
'I will go there alone, right?'

(82) *amaaci mazin ikj-oo=jaa. (*ikj-oo=jəə)*
that.place.ALL1 together go-INT=SLD go-INT=CNF2
'(Let's) go there together.'

As can be seen above, *-oo* (INT) can express not only the intention to do something, as in (81), but also an invitation, as in (82). Furthermore, there is a restriction on co-occurrence of *=jaa* (SLD) and *-oo*: the two cannot co-occur if the sentence expresses an intention. On the other hand, *=jəə* (CNF2) cannot be used with *-oo* if the sentence expresses an invitation.

This phenomenon is akin to an inclusive/exclusive distinction. According to Payne (1997: 45), "first person inclusive includes speaker and hearer" and "first person exclusive includes the speaker and a non-speech act participant, but excludes the hearer". Concerning the intentional suffix in Yuwan, *-oo=jəə* (INT=CNF2) can be used only as "exclusive", but *-oo=jaa* (INT=SOL) can be used only as "inclusive" (table 28).

Table 28: Uses of *=jəə* and *=jaa* with the intentional suffix *-oo*

Meaning of *-oo* (INT)	*=jəə*	*=jaa*
"exclusive" meaning	+	-
inclusive" meaning	-	+

The clitic *=doo* (EMP) can follow nominals and verbs and marks emphasis.

(83) *an ʔcju=ga waa zjuu=doo*
that person=NOM my father=EMP
'That person is my father.'

The clitic *=daroo* (SUPP) can follow nominals and verbs expressing a suppositional meaning, as in (84a). The clitic *=ga(i)* (Q) is only used with the clitic *=daroo* (SUPP) and marks a question about the sentence, as in (84b).

(84) a. *an ʔcjoo akira=daroo*
that person.TOP Akira=SUPP
'(I) suppose that person is Akira.'

b. *an ʔcjoo sjensjee=ja ar-an=daroo=ga(i) ?*
that person.TOP teacher=TOP COP-NEG.NPST=SUPP=Q
'(I) suppose that that person is not a teacher, is that right?'

The clitic *=na* (YNQ) can follow nominals and verbs and expresses a question about the proposition of the sentence.

(85) *urakjoo* *sima+jumɨta=nu* *waka-ju-n*[44]*=nja ?*
2PL.NHON.TOP village+language=NOM understand-IPFV-NPST=YNQ
'Do you understand the language of (our) village?'

The clitic *=ci* (QT) can follow any kind of word and functions as a quotation marker. It also sometimes function as a complementizer that makes a complement out of a linguistic expression. Noonan (1985: 42) defines complementation as "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate". As can be seen in the following example, the clitic *=ci* attaches to adnominal forms of verbs.

(86) *akira=ga* *un=kaci* *ik-ju-n=ci=doo*
Akira=NOM sea=ALL1 go-IPFV-NPST.ADN=QT=EMP
'Akira (said) that (he) goes to the sea.'[45]

Last, the clitic *=ba/=boo* (PSU) can follow the clitic *=ci* (QT) to express the speaker's intention to persuade the hearer.

(87) *wan=ga* *ik-ju-n=ci=ba(/=boo) !*
1SG=NOM go-IPFV-NPST.ADN=QT=PSU
'(I said) that I would go (so please don't mind)!'

7.3 Limiter clitics

Yuwan has three limiter clitics,[46] *=n* 'also', *=gadɨ* (EMP) and *=bəi* 'only'. They can attach to both nominals and verbs and can follow any case maker clitic, except the nominative and accusative. The nominative and accusative case markers are omitted when they would co-occur with a limiter clitic, e.g. *ɨn* 'dog' + *=nu* (NOM) + *=bəi* 'only' → *ɨn=bəi* (**ɨn=nu=bəi*).

(88) a. *ɨn=bəi* *wu-i*
dog=only exist-NPST
'There is only a dog.' (with nominal)

b. *hon=ba* *ka-cjɨ=bəi* *wu-i*
book=ACC write-MED=only PROG-NPST
'(He) is only writing a book.' (with medial verb)

[44] If *=na* follows a non-past inflection *-i*, a mutual assimilation happens: *-i* (NPST) + *=na* (YNQ) → *-i=nja* → *n=nja*.

[45] In (86) a supposed predicate *ju-ta* 'said' was omitted, which is a kind of insubordination (Evans 2007; see also §5.2.2.3 about insubordination).

[46] Shimoji (2008a).

7.4 Focus/topic clitics

Yuwan has two focus markers, *=du* and *=ga*, and a topic marker, *=ja*. They can attach to nominals and verbs as well as limiter clitics. These clitics can follow any case marker, except the nominative one. In the case they would follow a nominative case marker, the latter is omitted, e.g. *wan* (1SG) + *=ga* (NOM) + *=du* (FOC) → *wan=du* (**wan=ga=du*).

The focus marker *=du* is used in declarative clauses, as in (89), or in yes-no interrogative clauses, as in (90). On the other hand, *=ga* is used in wh-question interrogative clauses, as in (91).

(89) *kuri=ba=du(*=ga) jum-ju-i*
this=ACC=FOC read-IPFV-NPST
'(I) read this.'

(90) *uroo kun hon=ba=du(*=ga) jum-jur-ui ?*
2SG.NHON this book=ACC=FOC read-IPFV-FOC.YNQ
'Will you read this book?' (yes-no question)

(91) *uroo nuu=ba=ga(*=du) jum-jur-u ?*
2SG.NHON.TOP what=ACC=FOC read-IPFV-FOC.WHQ
'What will you read?' (wh-question)

As can be seen above, *=du* and *=ga* are used in interrogative clauses, and the verbal predicate takes a different inflection, *-ui* or *-u*, in each case (see also §5.2.1). The clitic *=du* cannot appear with *-u*, while *=ga* cannot appear with *-ui*. This kind of phenomenon, where the presence of a focus clitic correlates with the type of verbal inflection, is known as *kakari-musubi* in Japanese linguistics (Shibatani 1990). According to Shibatani (1990), regarding classical Japanese, and Shimoji (in press), about Irabu Ryukyuan, the verbal inflection correlated with a focus marker is (or can be) identical with the form appearing in relative (adnominal) clauses. In Yuwan, however, the form appearing in such focus constructions differs from that of relative clauses; the relative inflection *-n/-tan* (see §5.2.2.1) is completely different from the forms above, a situation uncommon among the Japonic languages.

The clitic *=ja* marks the topic of a sentence.

(92) *səə=ja sɨk-an*
alcohol=TOP like-NEG.NPST
'[lit.] About alcohol, (I) do not like (it).'

8 The simple sentence

8.1 Speech acts

There are three types of clauses that correspond to the three major speech acts (Lyons 1977) (statement, question, and command): declarative clause, interrogative clause, and imperative clause.

8.1.1 Declarative clause

A declarative clause takes the following inflections: *-i* (NPST) or *-tar* (PST).

(93) *wan=ga an hon=ba tu-ju-i/tu-ta*
1SG=NOM that book=ACC take-IPFV-NPST/take-PST
'I take/took that book.'

8.1.2 Interrogative clause

Yuwan has three inflections, *-mi̵*, *-ui*, *-u*, and one clitic, *=na*, that appear in interrogative clauses. The markers *-mi̵*, *-ui*, and *=na* are used for yes/no questions, while *-u* is used for wh-questions.

8.1.2.1 Yes/no question

A yes/no question is marked by an inflectional suffix or by a clitic. The suffix *-ui* requires the presence of a focused argument, as in (94b), contrary to *-mi̵* in (94a). The clitic *=na* may take a focused argument, as in (94a) (see also §7.4 for focus clitics and §7.2 for question clitics).

(94) a. *kuri̵=ba(*=du) tu-ju-mi̵ ?*
this=ACC(=FOC) take-IPFV-YNQ
'Will (you) take this?'

b. *kuri̵=ba=du tu-jur-ui ?*
this=ACC=FOC take-IPFV-FOC.YNQ
'Will (you) take this?'

c. *kuri̵=ba(=du) tu-ju-n=nja ?*
this=ACC(=FOC) take-IPFV-NPST-YNQ
'Will (you) take this?'

8.1.2.2 Wh-question

Basically, a wh-question includes the focus marker *=ga* attached to an interrogative word and a verbal predicate carrying the suffix *-u* (see §7.4 for details).

(95) *nuu=ba=ga tu-jur-u ?*
what=ACC=FOC take-IPFV-FOC.WHQ
'What will (you) take?'

8.1.3 Imperative clause

An imperative clause takes either *-i* (IMP) or *-na* (PROH).

(96) a. *kuri=ba tur-i !*
this=ACC take-IMP
'Take this!' (imperative)

b. *kuri=ba tun-na !*
this=ACC take-PROH
'Don't take this!' (prohibitive)

8.2 Equation, proper inclusion, location and possession

8.2.1 Equation and proper inclusion

An equative clause expresses that the subject of the clause is equal to the entity indicated by the nominal predicate, e.g., *He is my father*. Proper inclusion indicates the subject of the clause is a member of the referent of a nominal predicate, e.g. *he is a teacher* (see also Payne 1997). Yuwan has no grammatical distinction between the two notions. In both cases, the subjects have the same case marker, i.e. nominative case.

(97) a. *agga waa ʔcjan*
that.person.NOM my father
'That person is my father.' (equation)

b. *agga sjensjee*
that.person.NOM teacher
'That person is a teacher.' (proper inclusion)

8.2.2 Location and possession

Location (98a) and possession (98b) are expressed by the same construction in Yuwan, with a locative case marker and an existential verb.

(98) a. *jammәә=nan=nja wututu=nu wu-i*
garden=LOC1=TOP younger.sibling=NOM exist-NPST
'There is a younger sibling in the garden.'

b. *wan=nan=nja wututu=nu wu-i*
1SG=LOC1=TOP younger.sibling=NOM exist-NPST
'I have a younger sibling.' (lit. 'There is a younger sibling at me.')

8.3 Negation

Negation is expressed morphologically and/or analytically. The negation of a verb is expressed by a negative inflection as in (99a); on the other hand, the negation of the existence of an inanimate referent is expressed by a negative existential verb with a negative inflection as in (99b).

(99) a. *wan=na ikj-an=doo*
1SG=TOP go-NEG.NPST=EMP
'I won't go.'

b. *səə=ja nə-n*
alcohol=TOP not.exist-NEG.NPST
'There is not any alcohol.'

8.4 Valency-changing operations

Yuwan has three valency-changing operations: causative, passive and malefactive.

8.4.1 Causative

Causative voice is expressed by the suffix *-as*, which introduces a causer with a nominative case marker, and a causee with a dative case marker. As can be seen below, the original subject marked by *=ga* (NOM) in the sentence of a non-derivational verbal predicate becomes an indirect object marked by *=n* (DAT), and a new subject marked by *=ga* (NOM) is introduced.

(100) a. *akira=ga hon=ba ju-da*
Akira=NOM book=ACC read-PST
'Akira read a book.'

b. *wan=ga akira=n hon=ba jum-a-cja*
1SG=NOM Akira=DAT book=ACC read-CAUS-PST
'I made Akira read a book.'

8.4.2 Passive

Passive voice is expressed by the suffix *-ar(ir)*, which introduces an actor with a dative case marker, and an undergoer with a nominative case marker. As can be seen below, the original subject marked by *=ga* (NOM) in the sentence of

a non-derivational verbal predicate becomes an indirect object marked by *=n* (DAT), and the original direct object marked by *=ba* (ACC) becomes a subject marked by *=ga* (NOM).

(101) a. *zjuu=ga akira=ba uc-cja*
father=NOM Akira=ACC hit-PST
'The father hit Akira.'

b. *akira=ga zju=n ut-at-ta*
Akira=NOM father=DAT hit-PASS-PST
'Akira was hit by the father.'

8.4.3 Malefactive

The malefactive (Shimoji 2008a) is marked by the suffix *-ar(ir)* (which is formally identical with the passive). It introduces *a malefactee* with a nominative case marker (although it is replaced by a topic marker in the following example), and a *malefactor* with a dative case marker. As explained by Shimoji (2008a: 256), the verb's valency increases in the malefactive (with introduction of a malefactee), which is the major difference with the passive.

(102) a. *amɨ=nu hu-ta*
rain=NOM fall-PST
'It rained.' (lit. 'rain fell')

b. *wan=na amɨ=n hur-at-ta*
1SG=TOP rain=DAT fall-MAL-PST
'I was bothered by the rain (that) fell.'

8.5 Tense, aspect and mood

8.5.1 Tense

Yuwan has a non-past/past opposition in tense, which is marked by verbal inflections.

(103) a. *wan=ga kak-ju-i*
1SG=NOM write-IPFV-NPST
'I will write (it).'

b. *wan=ga ka-cja*
1SG=NOM write-PST
'I wrote (it).'

8.5.2 Aspect

Aspect in Yuwan is expressed morphologically or analytically.

(104) a. *akira=ga zii=ba kak-ju-i*
Akira=NOM character=ACC write-IPFV-NPST
'Akira writes/is writing characters.'

b. *akira=ga zii=ba ka-cju-i*
Akira=NOM character=ACC write-PROG-NPST
'Akira is writing characters.'

c. *ama=nan zii=nu ka-cjə-i*
that.place=LOC1 character=NOM write-RES-NPST
'Characters are written there.'

It is worth noting that in the resultative aspect (104c), the actor role is not expressed. Only the undergoer is expressed and takes a nominative case marker.

An analytic means to express aspect is to use auxiliary verbs as in (105a), or compounding as in (105b), or by an adverb derived from a reduplication of a verbal root as in (105c).

(105) a. *ama=nan zii=ba ka-cji nnj-i !*
that.place=LOC1 character=ACC write-MED try.to-IMP
'(Why don't you) try to write characters there!'

b. *uroo zii=ba kak-j+agir-i=joo*
2SG.NHON.TOP characters=ACC write-SE+raise-IMP=CNF1
'You write all the characters, right?'

c. *nasi=ba ukkaci iri+iri sju-i*
pear=ACC that.ALL1 RED+put.in do.PROG -NPST
'(He) is putting the pears into that again and again.'

8.5.3 Mood and modality

In Yuwan, modality is expressed by an inflectional suffix, a modal clitic, or an adverb. The first example includes the modal affix *-mai*, which expresses obligation, the second example the modal clitic *=daroo*, which expresses supposition, and the third example the modal adverb *abinəə*, which can express an irrealis mood. This adverb has to co-occur with a verb taking the affix *-jur* (IPFV).

(106) a. *wan=na kun hon=ba jum-mai=doo*
1SG=TOP this book=ACC read-OBL=EMP
'I have to read this book.' (obligation)

b. *akiroo an hon=na jum-an=daroo*
Akira.TOP that book=TOP read-NEG=SUPP
'(I) suppose that Akira will not read that book.' (supposition)

c. *abɨnəə an hon=ba jum-ju-tan mun=doo*
IRLS that book=ACC read-IPFV-PST.ADN thing=EMP
'(I) was about to read that book (but I did not read it).' (irrealis)

8.6 Information structure

In this section,two types of constructions relevant to information structure are described: topicalization and focus construction.

8.6.1 Topicalization

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 1994: 118). Yuwan has a clitic that marks an information as topical. The following example is taken from a conversation between two persons.

(107) a. *A: uroo taruu ?*
2SG.NHON.TOP who
'Who (are) you?' (lit. 'About you, who (is it)?')

b. *B: wan=na akira=doo*
1SG=TOP Akira=EMP
'I am Akira.' (lit. 'About me, (it is) Akira')

8.6.2 Focus construction

The term *focus* here refers to the point of emphasis. Focus is marked by the clitic *=du* in declarative clauses.

(108) *mura-təə ar-an=doo. ko-i=du sjɨ=doo*
receive-MED.TOP COP-NEG.NPST=EMP buy-NLZ=FOC do.MED=EMP
'(I) have not received (it). (But I) did buy (it).' (declarative)

Moreover, *=du* can mark a focused argument in a yes-no interrogative clause, as in (109); on the other hand, *=ga* marks a focused interrogative word in a wh-question interrogative clause, as in (110) (see §7.4 for details).

(109) *uroo kun hon=ba=du jum-jur-ui ?*
2SG.NHON.TOP this book=ACC=FOC read-IPFV-FOC.YNQ
'Will you read this book?' (yes-no question)

(110) *uroo* *dɨru=ba=ga* *jum-jur-u ?*
2SG.NHON.TOP which=ACC=FOC read-IPFV-NPST.WHQ
'Which one will you read?' (wh-question)

The other inflections do not take any focus clitics, although *-mai* (OBL) can appear with *=du*, e.g. *kun hon=ba=du jum-mai=doo* (this book=ACC=FOC read-OBL=EMP) '(I) have to read this book'.

9 The complex sentence

This chapter describes complex clause structures, noting three major clause linkage types: (1) coordination, (2) clause chaining, and (3) subordination.

9.1 Overview of complex clause structure

In Yuwan, coordination is marked by a conjunction clitic or by a simple juxtaposition. Clause-chaining consists of a series of non-finite, medial clauses followed by a finite clause. Subordination falls into adverbial subordination (where the subordinate clause functions as a predicate adjunct), adnominal subordination (where the subordinate clause functions as an adnominal), and complementation (where the subordinate clause functions as an argument).

9.2 Coordination

Coordination links two main clauses. Yuwan has a conjunction clitic which is used in verbal predicate in negative clauses, as in (111). A simple juxtaposition is used to link two clauses that include PC nominals as predicates, as in (112).

(111) *hon=ba* *jum-an=sjuti,* *asi-du-ta*
book=ACC read-NEG-MED=and play-PROG-PST
'(He) did not read any books, and was playing.'

(112) *tɨn=na* *taa-sa,* *un=na* *huka-sa*
sky=TOP high-NLZ sea=TOP deep-NLZ
'The sky is high, and the sea is deep.'

9.3 Clause-chaining

Clause chaining consists of a series of non-finite, medial clauses followed by a finite clause. The verb in medial clauses, called a *medial verb*, does not exhibit the non-past/past tense opposition.

(113) *daiban + gii = nu a-ti, jinga = nu hasigo kii-ti, nasi = ba*
big + tree = NOM exist-MED man = NOM ladder prop-MED pear = ACC
ʔtii ʔtii mu-tu-n wake
one.CLF one.CLF pick.up-PROG-NPST.ADN DSC
'There is a big tree, and a man props a ladder on (the tree), and (he) is picking up pears one by one.'

9.4 Subordination

9.4.1 Adverbial subordination

Yuwan expresses adverbial subordination (where the subordinate clause functions as a predicate adjunct) by an inflection (i.e. converb inflection), as in (114), or by a clitic, as in (115).

(114) *kjuu = ja nɨkan = ba mur-an-ba, app-igja*
today = TOP orange = ACC pick.up-NEG.NPST-because play-CVB.PUR
koo = joo
come.IMP = CNF1
'(We) will not pick up oranges today, so come and play.'

(115) *wan = na ik-ju-n = ban, uroo ik-ju-n = nja ?*
1SG = TOP go-IPFV-NPST.ADN = although 2SG.TOP go-IPFV-NPST = YNQ
'I will go but will you?'

9.4.2 Adnominal subordination

Yuwan expresses adnominal subordination (where the subordinate clause functions as an adnominal) by inflection (see §5.2.2.1).

(116) *kurəə akira = ga ju-dan hon*
this.TOP Akira = NOM read-PST.ADN book
'This is a book that Akira read.'

9.4.3 Complementation

Yuwan expresses complementation (where the subordinate clause functions as an argument) through clitics (see §7.2).

(117) *uc-ju-n = ci ju-ta = jaa*
hit-IPFV-NPST.ADN = QT say-PST = SLD
'(He) said that (he was going to) hit (something).'

Sample text: the Pear story

(T.1) *daiban + gii = nu a-ti, jinga = nu hasigo kii-ti, nasi = ba*
big + tree = NOM exist-MED man = NOM ladder prop-MED pear = ACC
?tii ?tii mu-tu-n wake
one.CLF one.CLF pick.up-PROG-NPST.ADN DSC
'There is a big tree, and a man props a ladder on (the tree), and (he) is picking up pears one by one.'

(T.2) *kii = nu sja = nan = nja kago = nu ?taa-ci u-cju-ti,*
tree = GEN under.part = LOC1 = TOP basket = GEN two-CLF put-PROG-MED
'(He) is putting two baskets under the tree, and'

(T.3) *mu-ti (cjəəoo) un kago = kaci ziisan = na*
pick.up-MED ? that basket = ALL1 old.man = TOP
iri-tu-n wake
put.in-PROG-NPST.ADN DSC
'The old man picked (the pears) up, and put (them) into that basket.'

(T.4) *hasigo = kara sji (un kun kun mak-i, naa,) ma-cju-n*
ladder = ABL do.MED that this this roll-NLZ FIL roll-PROG-NPST.ADN
sankake = nkja = sji huk-jagacinaa, (ukkaci = du = bo)
triangle = APPR = INST wipe-CVB.SIM that.ALL1 = FOC = ?
'(He) did (it) from the ladder, and (he) is wiping (the pears) with the triangular (scarf) that (he) is wearing.'

(T.5) *gan, (maga = n maga = mitai = na)*
there grandchild = GEN grandchild = look.like = GEN
(maga = micjai = na) maga = minsjan ?kwa = nu mi-cjai,
grandchild = look.like = GEN grandchild = look.like child = NOM three-CLF
e, ?cjui ?cji,
FIL one.CLF come.MED
'There are three children looking like grandchildren, ah (no!) a child came, and'

(T.6) *kago = nu ?tii ci-di ik-ju-n wake, zitensja = nan*
basket = GEN one.CLF lift-MED go-IPFV-NPST.ADN DSC bicycle = LOC1
'(the child) lifted a basket onto the bicycle, and goes.'

(T.7) *de cjuuto ik-i = njan zitensja hankəər-a-ci, kugər-a-ci,*
and on.the.way go-NLZ = ? bicycle fall-CAUS-MED fall-CARS-MED
baramuk-a-sjan wake
scatter-CAUS-PST.ADN DSC
'And on the way (the child) made the bicycle fall, and made (the pears in the basket) scatter.'

(T.8) *un toor-igakari=no san-nin=ga,*
that pass-NLZ=GEN three-CLF=NOM
'There are three passing people' (spoken in Standard Japanese)

(T.9) *toor-igakari=ci=nkjoo i-cja ik-an=jaa*
pass-NLZ=QT=APPR.TOP say-PST correct-NEG=SOL
'(It) is not correct to say something like 'toorigakari' (in Standard Japanese).'

(T.10) *tuisina=ci=du. tuu-ju-n ʔcju=nu wu-ti,*
passing=QT=FOC pass-IPFV-NPST.ADN person=NOM exist-MED
'(I have to say) 'tuisina'. There was a person who is passing, and'

(T.11) *un (mi-cjai tu) mi-cjai tuu-ti, (mi-cjai tuu-ti, …)*
that three-CLF ? three-CLF pass-MED three-CLF pass-MED
'those three people passed.'

(T.12) *hankəə-tə-n ʔkwa=nu zitensja=ba huu-cji, mi-cjaa=sji*
fall-RES-NPST.ADN child=GEN bicycle=ACC raise-MED three-CLF=INST
(kaz) kasjəə sji, kago=kaci iri-ju-n wake
? help do.PST basket=ALL1 put.in-IPFV-NPST.ADN DSC
'(They) picked up the bicycle of the child who had fallen, and the three helped (the child), and (they) put (the pears) into the basket.'

(T.13) *iri-tu-n mi-cjai=ja wakari-ti, (seton)*
put.in-PROG-NPST.ADN three-CLF=TOP part-MED ?
'The three people who were putting (pears) in (the basket) parted, and'

(T.14) *atoora hurikaep-poo,*
after.ABL look.buck-CVB.CND
'when (they) look back later,'

(T.15) *un ʔkwa=ga mada boosi utu-cjəə-tattu*
that child=NOM still hat drop-RES-PST.because
'because that child still had left (his) hat,'

(T.16) *saki izjan mi-cjai=ja kondo mata isjoobiki hu-cji, un*
ahead go.PST.ADN three-CLF=TOP this.time again whistle blow-MED that
ʔkwa=ba abi-ti
child=ACC call-MED
'This time again, the three people who went ahead whistled, and called that child.'

(T.17) *zitensja=n nur-u-n ʔkwa=ba abi-təəra, boosi*
bicycle=DAT ride-SE-NPST.ADN child=ACC call-MED.after hat
wata-cji
hand.in-MED
'After (they) called the child who rides on the bicycle, (they) handed him the hat.'

(T.18) *(un cuide=ni ija)*
that opportunity=DAT no
'(At) that opportunity, no' (spoken in Standard Japanese)

(T.19) *gansjan tuki mata, joonasi=nu mii-ci (hora) mura-ti*
that time again pear=GEN three-CLF FIL receive-MED
ccjaroo
come.PST.SUPP
'At that time, again, (I) suppose (that they) received three pears.'

(T.20) *un mi-cjai mata (ka-ti) ka-ti ik-ju-n wake=jo*
that three-CLF again eat-MED eat-MED go-IPFV-NPST.ADN DSC=EMP
'Again, those three people go, eating (the pears).'

(T.21) *sinni mata un mi-cjai=ja mudu-tu-i=nkja ?cja*
then again that three-CLF=TOP return-PROG-NLZ=APPR come.PST
'Then those three people are returning again.'

(T.22) *(tta) ari tada uma (aik-ju-n) sanpo=sji*
? that.person still that.place walk-IPFV-NPST.ADN walking=INST
aik-ju-n ?cju=nkja na-ti=daroo
walk-IPFV-NPST.ADN person=APPR COP-MED=SUPP
'(I) suppose (that) that person is a kind of person who still walks there.'

(T.23) *ziisan=nu jukkadi mu-ti, sjaaci*
old.man=NOM throughout pick.up-MED below.ALL1
urus-i+urus-i=du sup-pa
unload-NLZ+unload-NLZ=FOC do-because
'Because the old man picked up (the pears) throughout, and unloaded (them) to the ground again and again,'

(T.24) *gan sini uma=kaci mata, hinzjaa suc-cju-n*
there then that.place=ALL1 again goat pull-PROG-NPST.ADN
jinga=nu
man=NOM
'Then a man who is pulling a goat, is there again,'

(T.25) *hinzjaa=nu ?tii suc-cju-n ?cju=nu gan*
goat=GEN one.CLF pull-PROG-NPST.ADN person=NOM there
?cjan=ci=joo
come.PST.ADN=QT=EMP
'A person who is pulling a goat came there.'

(T.26) *hinzja=i sima+hinzja=i ar-an=ban*
goat=TOP(?) village+goat=TOP(?) COP-NEG=although
'Although the goat is not a goat of (our) village.'

(T.27) *hinzjaa (cuuci naa) tuisuzi=du izjattu, mata ato=no*
goat ? FIL passing=FOC go.PST.because again after=GEN
san-nin=ga mata mudu-ti ccjan=tu
three-CLF=NOM again return-MED come.PST.ADN=?
'Because the goat went and passed, the tree people behind returned and came (back) again.'

(T.28) *un ʔcju=nkjoo uma ai-cju-n*
that person=APPR.TOP that.place walk-PROG-NPST.ADN
ʔcju=nkja=daroo
person=APPR=SUPP
'Those people (are supposed to be) the people who are walking there.'

(T.29) *ni-du mata zitensja=nu ʔkwoo, ni-du mata ʔcji=kai ?*
two-time again bicycle=GEN child.TOP two-time again come.MED=Q
ni-du ʔcji=kai ?
two-time come.MED=Q
'Did the child of the bicycle come again, two times?'

Abbreviations

1	first person	GEN	genitive	POL	politeness
2	second person	HON	honorific	POT	potential
ABL	ablative	IMP	imperative	PRF	perfect
ACC	accusative	INDFZ	indefinitizer	PROG	progressive
ADN	adnominal form	INST	instrumental	PROH	prohibitive
ALL	allative	INT	intentional	PST	past
APPR	approximative	IPFV	imperfective	PSU	persuasive
ASC	associative	IRLS	irrealis	PUR	purposive
AVLZ	adverbializer	ITR	interrogative	Q	question
BEN	benefactive	LMT	limitative	QT	quotative
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative	RED	reduplication
CLF	classifier	MAL	malefactive	RES	resultative
CMP	comparative	MED	medial verb	RFL	reflexive
CND	conditional	N/A	not applicable	SE	stem extender
CNF	confirmative	NEG	negative	SG	singular
COP	copula	NHON	non-honorific	SIM	simultaneous
CVB	converb	NLZ	nominalizer	SLD	solidarity
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative	SUPP	suppositional
DIM	diminutive	NPST	non-past	TOP	topic
DSC	discourse marker	NUM	numeral	VLZ	verbalizer
DU	dual	OBL	obligative	WHQ	wh-question
EMP	emphatic	PASS	passive	YNQ	yes-no question
FIL	filler	PC	property concept		
FOC	focus	PL	plural		