An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

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CHAPTER 10

Shiiba (Miyazaki, Kyūshū Japanese)

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1 The Shiiba Dialect and Its Speakers

The Shiiba dialect is spoken in Miyazaki Prefecture, Kyūshū (Figure 10.1). Geolinguistically, Kyūshū is classified into three dialectal areas, Hichiku, Hōnichi and Satsugū, based on various lexical, phonological and grammatical features (Tojo 1966, Kamimura 1983, Kyūshū Hōgen Gakkai 1991).

Shiiba has traditionally been classified as a Hōnichi dialect, although it exhibits both Hichiku and Hōnichi features as Shiiba village lies at the border of both areas and the Shiiba people are in regular contact with the Hichiku region which results in a large amount of language contact.

Shiiba village is located in a mountainous area and the Shiiba people have traditionally engaged in hunting, slash-and-burn agriculture and forestry. Their daily life centers on various Shintō rituals, ceremonies and festivals (see the sample text attached to the present chapter for an illustration of their religious culture), which are also major tourism resources. The village comprises four regions which are distant from each other and constitute distinct dialectal areas, Fudono, Shimofukura, Matsuo and Ōkawauchi. Our focus in this chapter is on the Omae dialect of Fudono, one of the most endangered dialects of Shiiba with a local population of approximately 170 (as of 2015). No detailed grammar is available, although there is a grammatical overview with a list of basic vocabulary written in Japanese (Shimoji et al. 2016).

2 Phonology

2.1 *Phoneme Inventory*

2.1.1 Vowels

Shiiba has five vowels (/i, e, a, o, u/). The vowel /u/ is a less rounded [ụ], but it is transcribed as [u] throughout this chapter. The vowel /e/ is realized as [je] syllable-initially (/mo.to.e/ [motoje] 'main family', /e.no.ha/ [jenoha] 'trout'). The vowel /o/ tends to be realized as [wo] after a vowel, especially after a high vowel (/kao/ [ka.wo]~[ka.o] 'face', /io/ [iwo] 'fish', /suo/ [su.wo] 'nest:ACC', etc.). A long vowel is phonemically interpreted as a sequence of two identical vow-

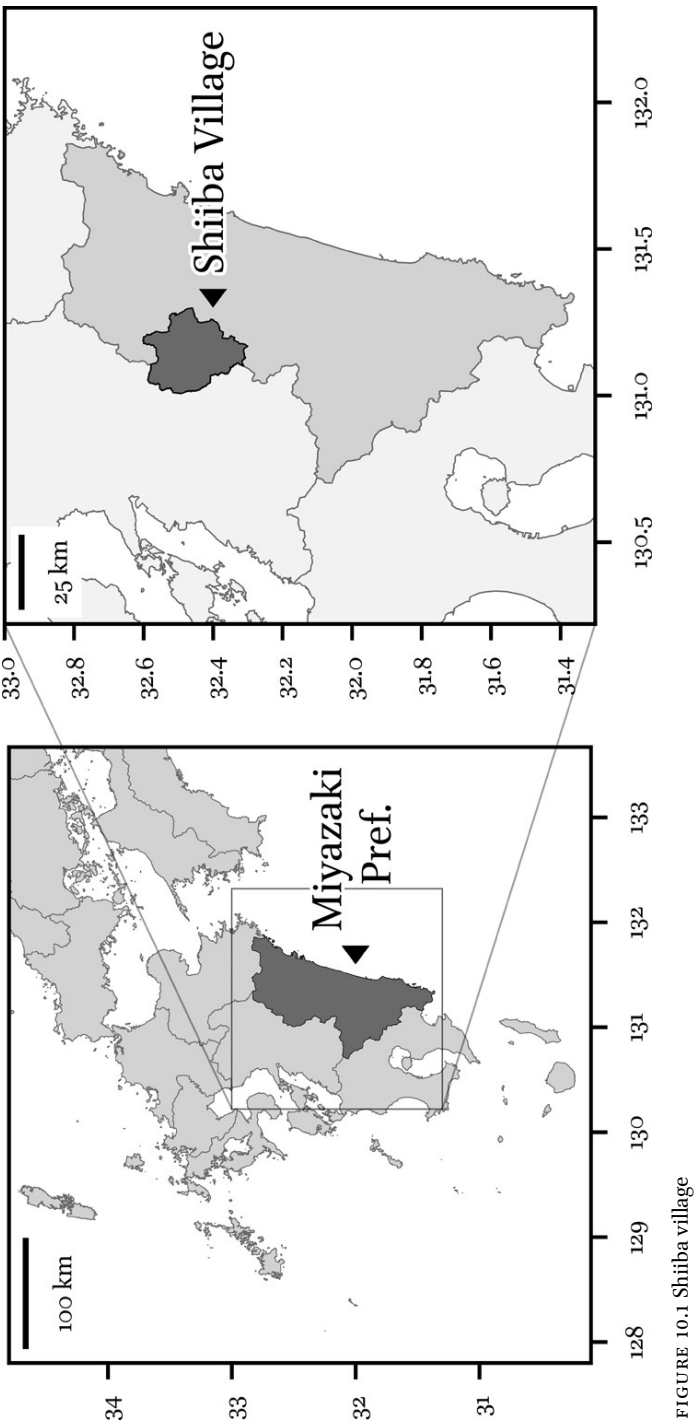

FIGURE 10.1 Shiiba village

els. Diphthongs are scarce in roots (e.g. /kaiko/ 'silkworm', /kauya/ 'river', /oiko/ 'nephew', etc.). Diphthongs arising from morpheme combinations regularly change to long vowels by a vowel fusion rule (see § 2.4).

2.1.2 Consonants and Glides

Shiiba has twelve consonants (/(p), t, k, b, d, g, s, h, z, m, n, r/) and two glides (/w, y/). The labial stop /p/ never occurs in native roots except in geminates (e.g. /happa/ 'leaf'). /r/ is a tap [ɾ], and does not occur initially in native roots. The nasal /n/ is a homorganic nasal whose place and manner features are determined by the segment that follows it (e.g. /hon/ [hoɴ] 'book', /zunbyaa/ [d͡zumbʲaː] 'plenty', /binta/ [binta] 'head', /senso/ [sẽ̞ʒso] 'ancestor', /bebenko/ [bebeŋko] 'calf').

Systematic allophonic variations are observed in alveolar obstruents (Table 10.1).

TABLE 10.1 Alveolar obstruents and their allophonic realizations

	Stops		**Fricatives**	
	/t/	**/d/**	**/s/**	**/z/**
Before /i, y/	t͡ɕ	d͡ʑ/ʑ	ɕ	d͡ʑ/ʑ
Before /u/	t͡s	d͡z/z	s	d͡z/z
Elsewhere	t	d	s	d͡z/z

2.2 *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

The syllable template for Shiiba is (C1(G))V1(V2)(C2). C1 may be filled by any consonant (including /w/ and /y/), though /h/ does not occur word-medially. C2 must be /n/ word-finally. A word-medial C2.C1 cluster is either a geminate of voiceless/voiced stops (e.g. /ga.kip.pa.ra/ [gakipːaɾa] 'cliff', /wad.do.mo/ [wadːomo] '1PL') or voiceless fricatives (e.g. /as.sa.ge/ [asːage] 'paper wasp') or a partial geminate with the homorganic /n/ (e.g. /zun.byaa/ [d͡zumbʲaː] 'plenty').

The glide slot G is filled only by the glide phoneme /w/ or /y/. G must be accompanied by the onset C (hence CGV, CV, but *GV). Thus, /wa/ and /ya/ are analyzed as CV while /kwa/ and /kya/ are analyzed as CGV. The onset /Cw/ is limited to /kw/ (e.g. /kwasi/ [k̟̫asi] 'snack'), /gw/ (/amatigwii/ [amat͡ɕig̟̫iː] 'not satisfactorily sweet (i.e. too sweet or not sweet enough)') and /hw/ (e.g.

/hweeta/ [ɸeeta] 'dried'). For C1G where G is /y/, C1 may be any consonant except /y/.

Shiiba is characterized by the existence of the 'double glide' sequence /wy/, which is phonetically realized as a non-syllabic (i.e. glide) version of the rounded front vowel [ʏ], as in /wyaata/ [ʏaːta] 'boiled' or /hwyaa/ [ɣ̟aː] 'fly'. The double glide /wy/ is analyzed as CG. The complex onset /hwy/ is problematic in the synchronic phonology of Shiiba, as it cannot be analyzed as CGV but appears to be an exceptional *CCG or *CGG. This synchronic exceptionality is explainable from a diachronic perspective. That is, /h/ reflects proto-Japonic *p, and the labial feature is arguably still pervasive in /h/ in a few domains of the synchronic system where /h/ behaves as if it were a single labial phoneme /ɸ/.[1] In this view, the problematic triple cluster /hwy/ is seen as a remnant of the older /ɸ/ followed by /y/. Note that the labial feature of */ɸ/ is deemed to have been lost in most aspects of the Shiiba phonology and grammar, and we find a contrast between non-labial /h/ vs. labialized /hw/ (e.g. /hiita/ 'pulled' vs. /hwiita/ 'blew', from //hik-ta// and //huk-ta// respectively).

2.3 *The Mora*

The rhyme slots (V1, V2 and C2) are one mora each. A word in isolation must have at least two morae. Thus, while //te// 'hand' must be lengthened if it is pronounced in isolation, as in /tee/ [teː], it may remain monomoraic if a case particle follows it, as in /te=o/ (hand=ACC).[2]

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1 It is impossible to analyze the glottal phoneme /h/ as a labial phoneme /ɸ/ whereby /ɸ/ remains [ɸ] before /w/ and /u/. This analysis, which was also proposed (for different reasons) for SJ by McCawley (1968), does not solve the exceptional phonotactics we noted here. There is a contrast between /hy/[ç] vs. /hwy/ [ɣ]. With /ɸ/, we would expect that [ç] should be analyzed as /ɸy/ (with delabialization and palatalization), and in this case [ɣ] must be analyzed as /ɸwy/ where /w/ blocks the delabialization. This phonemic interpretation would thus end up with an exceptional onset cluster /ɸwy/, where the problem with /hwy/ only shifts to /ɸwy/. The reason for taking /h/ analysis over /ɸ/ analysis is that /h/ analysis is more suitable for explaining (diachronically) the synchronic exceptional behavior of the vowel fusion rule involving //ai// (§ 2.4.3). The vowel fusion rule //ai// → /(w)yaa/ gives rise to an exceptional CCGV /hwyaa/, without the expected deletion of /w/. Diachronically speaking, this exceptionality is explainable by recognizing that the cluster /h/ + /w/ used to be a single labial phoneme /ɸ/, to which /yaa/ is connected to give rise to */ɸyaa/, with the deletion of /w/ as in the case of other C + /(w)yaa/ sequences (e.g. //k// + //(w)yaa// → /kyaa/).

2 Matsuoka (2021) states that, in Shiiba, the domain of the bimoraic minimality constraint (BMC) varies depending on the type of element which attaches to the word in question: noun + case particle tends to be treated as a domain to which the BMC applies (as in [*te=o*] above, where [ ] indicates the domain of the BMC), while noun + copula tends to be treated as two separate domains for the BMC, requiring the noun to be lengthened, as in [*tee*] *zyatta* (hand COP.PST).

2.4 *Phonological Rules*

2.4.1 Sequential Voicing

Sequential voicing applies to compounding, changing the initial voiceless onset C of the medial base to its voiced counterpart, as in *tyaagwasi* 'tea snack' (//tya// 'tea' + //kwasi// 'snack'), where the underlined segment undergoes this process. Examples such as *kusobyaa* 'fly of some kind' (//kuso// 'feces' + //hwyaa// 'fly') suggest that /h/ and /b/ form a natural class, which is due to the fact that /h/ corresponds to proto-Japonic *p (see § 2.2).

2.4.2 T-suffixation

The past-tense suffix *-ta*, the sequential converbal suffix *-te* and the completive suffix *-tor-* share exactly the same morphophonological feature. They will be called 'T-suffixes' henceforth.[3] Table 10.2 illustrates the morphophonological pattern of T-suffixation with a T-suffix *-ta* (past).

A voicing rule converts the /t/ of T-suffixes to its voiced counterpart. A C-to-V alternation rule turns the stem-final C /s, k, g/ to /i/ and /b, m, w/ to /u/.

TABLE 10.2 T-suffixation and related ordered morphophonological rules

Root	Underlying	Regressive assimilation	Voicing	C-to-V alternation	Vowel fusion	Surface output
kak- 'write'	kak-ta			kaita	k(w)yaata	*kyaata*
kag- 'smell'	kag-ta		kagda	kaida	k(w)yaada	*kyaada*
tor- 'take'	tor-ta	totta				*totta*
kat- 'win'	kat-ta					*katta*

2.4.3 Vowel Fusion Rule

A vowel fusion rule (VFR) applies in three major morphological contexts, T-suffixation (§ 2.4.2), dative case cliticization and verbal-adjectival inflection.[4] In dative case cliticization, the dative case particle *=ni* may yield a diphthong

3 T-suffixes are historically related: *-ta* and *-tor-* come from *-te + *ar- (inanimate existential) and from *-te and *wor- (animate existential) respectively. Two other suffixes, *-tara* (conditional converb, as in *nuudara* //nom-tara// 'if (someone) drinks') and *-tari* (exemplificational converb, as in *kutari nuudari* (//kuw-tari nom-tari//) 'eating, drinking, etc.') must also be considered T suffixes, but the present authors have not confirmed yet that they follow the same morphophonological patterns of the other T-suffixes.

4 This rule also applies in some other environments which include some specific verbal inflections like the imperative, as in //hutE-// 'throw away' + //-i// (imperative) → hutei → /hutyee/,

in the middle of its derivation, with deletion of its initial /n/ depending on the stem-final segment (e.g. //koko=ni// (this.place=DAT) → kokoi). Verbal-adjectival inflection (§ 6.1) also yields a diphthong in non-past tense, as in //aka-i// (red-NPST).

The derived diphthongs then undergo VFR. (459) illustrates VFR which derives (w)yaa from /ai/. The bracketed /w/ is deleted if the resulting form would lead to an impermissible CG cluster. Whereas (459a) surfaces as /wyaata/ (CGVV.CV) with no deletion of /w/, (459b) surfaces as /kyaata/ (CGVVCV) instead of */kwyaata/ (CGGVVCV). In (459c), /hwyaata/ does not undergo deletion despite the impermissible CCG cluster (see § 2.2 and footnote 1 for a historical account).

(459) a. //ak-ta// (open-PST) → aita → VFR (ai → wyaa) → wyaata 'opened'
b. //kak-ta// (write-PST) → kaita → VFR (ai → wyaa) → *kwyaata → kyaata 'wrote'
c. //hak-ta// (vomit-PST) → haita → VFR (ai → wyaa) → hwyaata 'vomited'

Another VFR derives /Gee/ from //oi// (460), where G is an unspecified glide slot which is filled by /w/ if possible, and otherwise by /y/ to derive a permissible phonotactic structure. If neither is permissible, then G is deleted altogether by a general strategy of cluster reduction.

(460) a. //too-i// (distant-NPST) → tooi → VFR (//oi// → Gee) → *towee* 'be distant'
b. //siro-i// (white-NPST) → siroi → VFR → *siryee* 'white'
c. //igok-ta// (move-PST) → igoita → VFR → *igeeta* (*igweeta, *igyeeta) 'moved'

Other VFRs derive /yee/ from //ei// (e.g. //kes-ta// (erase-PST) → keita → kyeeta 'erased'), /yuu/ from //eu// (e.g. //hute-u// (throw.away-INT)→ huteu → hutyuu 'will throw away'; see Table 10.7), /yuu/ from //iu// (//iw-ta// (say-PST) → iuta → yuuta 'said'), /(w)ii/ from //ui// (e.g. /zuru-i// (cunning-NPST) → *zurwii → zurii 'be cunning'), /oo/ from //au// (e.g. //kaw-ta// (buy-PST) → kauta → koota 'bought') and /uu/ from //ou// (e.g. //ow-ta// (chase-PST) → outa → uuta 'chased').

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where the underlying diphthong //ei// becomes /yee/ by rule. See Table 10.7 for imperative and other inflections of //hutE-//.

2.5 *Prosody*

Shiiba lacks a lexically determined accent system. Observed pitch contours at word level are considered to be a direct manifestation of phrasal or clausal intonation. As a result, the same word can be pronounced with different pitch contours depending on its position within a phrase or clause, and on the grammatical context which it is in (focus, interrogative, etc.).

3 Word Class

Shiiba has seven major word classes. **The nominal** is the only word class that can head a referential phrase, or a noun phrase (NP), functioning as an argument or as a predicate nominal. It comprises nouns, pronouns and numerals. **The nominal adjective** lacks the referential (argument) function but may serve as a predicate optionally with a copula just like nominals. **The verbal** inflects and only functions as the predicate of a clause. It divides into **the verb** (§ 5) and **the verbal adjective** (§ 6.1), based on finer-grained behavioral differences they exhibit (§ 6.1). **Particles** occur phrase- or clause-finally, marking various grammatical categories associated with their structural host, e.g. case for argument phrases, modality for predicate phrases, conjunctive relations in dependent clause, etc. **Interjections** exclusively function as utterances on their own, but they may be embedded in another clause with the quotative particle *=te*. Exclamatives (e.g. *aa* 'Oh'), addressives (e.g. *oi* 'Hey') and onomatopoeia (e.g. *sikusiku* 'describing the sound/state of someone crying') belong to this class. **Adnominals** function as the modifier of an NP with no particular dependency marking. **The adverb** is negatively defined as a word which does not exhibit any of the features noted above. It may function as an adjunct which modifies any element other than the head noun of an NP (a predicate, a whole sentence, an adverb itself, etc.).

4 Nominals

4.1 *Pronouns*

The class of pronouns consists of personal pronouns, reflective pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. The last two will be taken up with other demonstrative and interrogative words in § 11.3.

Personal pronouns (Table 10.3) and reflexive pronouns (sg. *menme-∅* vs. pl. *menme-domo*) obligatorily indicate number (singular vs. plural). There is no dedicated pronoun for third-person reference, for which demonstrative pro-

TABLE 10.3 Personal pronouns

	1st person	2nd person		
		Neutral	**Honorific**	**Pejorative**
SG	ore-∅	ware-∅	wasama-∅/kon(a)ta-∅	waga-∅/unu-∅
PL	ore-domo	ware-domo	wasama-domo/kon(a)ta-domo	waga-domo/unu-domo

nouns are used instead (see §11.3). The second-person pronouns have various forms depending on the speaker's stance/relative social rank toward the addressee.

4.2 *Lexical Nouns*

There is a subset of lexical nouns which can be used as terms of address, e.g. proper names (e.g. *Hanako* 'Hanako'), kinship terms for elders (e.g. *tontyan* 'father', etc.) and social role names (e.g. *sensee* 'teacher'). They constitute a special subclass, the address noun, which is the only class of lexical nouns for which number marking is obligatory like pronouns.

The same plural suffix *-domo* is used for lexical nouns as well as for pronouns, as in *taroo-domo* (Taro-PL), *togi-domo* (friend-PL), etc. No morphological distinction is made between additive and associative plurals. Plural marking is restricted to humans and a limited set of animals which are socio-culturally salient in Shiiba (e.g. pets like *inu* 'dog', hunting targets like *kantyoo* 'deer', etc.). The suffix *-domo* may also indicate exemplification, as in *on-domo* (1-EXM) 'Someone like me', *tontyan-domo* (father-EXM) 'Someone like dad', *sumoo-domo* (Sumo-EXM 'Sumo wrestling and suchlike'), and so on (Niinaga 2020), in which case the suffix may attach to inanimate nouns as illustrated here. A noun root may be prefixed by the softener *o-*, as in *o-mizu* (SFN-water) 'water', *o-maturi* (SFN-festival) 'festival', etc., which functions to soften the tone of speech.

4.3 *Numerals*

A numeral word comprises the numeral root and the classifier suffix. The classifier suffix varies depending on the kind (animacy, shape, usage, etc.) of referent(s) for which numeral quantification is applied (e.g. *-tari* vs. *-tu* in Table 10.4). The classifier for counting humans comprises two sets, *-tari* (native; conservative) and *-nin* (Sino-Japanese), though numbers above 4 are counted with the *-nin* set.[5]

5 The classifier *-tari* crucially lacks '3', and this irregular pattern is found across Japanese

TABLE 10.4 Numeral roots and classifier suffixes: some examples

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Human 1	hi-tori	hu-tari		yot-tari					
Human 2			san-nin	yo-nin	go-nin	roku-nin	nana-nin	hati-nin	kyuu-nin
General	ittyoo	hutatu	mit-tu	yot-tu	itu-tu	mut-tu	nana-tu	yat-tu	kokono-tu

5 Verb Morphology

5.1 *Stem Class*

Inflectional details differ depending on the class of the verb-stem to which inflection applies. Three major classes are identified, C-final stem, V-final stem and R-final stem (Table 10.5).[6]

TABLE 10.5 Stem class

	C-final	**R-final**	**V-final**
Example	**tor- 'take'**	**miR- 'look.at'**	**hutE- 'throw.away'**
Non-past	toru (tor-[ru])	miru (mi-[ru])	huturu (hutE-[ru])
Past	totta (tor-[ta])	mita (mi-[ta])	huteta (hutE-[ta])
Negative non-past	toran (tor-a-[n])	min (mi-[n]) miran (mir-a-[n])	huten (hutE-[n])
Imperative	tore (tor-[e])	mire (mir-[e])	hutyee (hutE-[i])

A C-final stem carries an inflectional suffix either directly or via a thematic vowel (e.g. /-a/ in the negative non-past inflection of *tor-*). Thus, there is a distinction between **thematic** and **athematic** stems for C-final stems. In contrast, V-final stems are always athematic. The stem-final vowel /E/ of a V-final stem

dialects, except for a very few dialects such as Yanagawa, where *mit-teri* 'three persons' is found (see Matsuoka, this volume).

6 Besides the three major inflectional classes, there are two special classes, the stem that designates the action of coming (COME stem) and the stem that designates the action of doing (DO stem), which exhibit irregular inflectional patterns in most Japonic varieties. The present chapter omits the inflectional patterns of these irregular stems due to limitations of space.

is either /e/ or /u/ depending on the kind of inflectional affix that follows. C-final and V-final stems carry different inflectional suffixes for the imperative inflection.

R-final stems exhibit a hybrid nature combining aspects of both C- and V-final stems. On the one hand, it aligns with V-final stems as it may appear without stem-final R in specific inflections such as the past inflection and the negative non-past inflection. In Table 10.5, the past form /mita/ would be */mitta/ if the R-final stem /miR/ ended with /r/ underlyingly (cf. the C-final stem /totta/). On the other hand, R-final stems are like C-final stems since there is the thematic and athematic distinction and it carries the same inflectional affix as C-final stems for the imperative. Note that in the negative non-past, /miR/ has two inflectional patterns, one aligning with V-final stems (*min*) and the other with C-final stems (*miran*).[7]

5.2 *Inflectional Morphology*

5.2.1 Finite Inflection

The finite-inflectional paradigms of C-final and V-final stems are illustrated in Tables 10.6 and 10.7 respectively. The underlying structure of each form is indicated to the right of the italicized surface form, and the inflectional affix is indicated by [ ].

TABLE 10.6 C-final *tor-* 'take'

		Affirmative	**Negative**
Indicative	**Non-past**	*toru* (tor-[ru])	*toran* (tor-a-[n])
	Past	*totta* (tor-[ta])	*toradatta* (tor-a-[datta])
Intentional		*toroo* (tor-a-[u])	*torumyaa* (tor-[rumyaa])
Imperative		*tore* (tor-[e])	*toruna* (tor-[runa])

7 From a diachronic perspective, R-final stems are undergoing a shift from a V-final stem to a C-final stem, a phenomenon known in Japanese linguistics as '/r/-stem shift' (Miyaoka 2021), whereby formerly V-final stems like /mi-/ 'look.at', /oki-/ 'wake.up', /ne-/ 'sleep', etc., are reanalyzed as C-final stems ending in /r/ (e.g. /mir-/, /okir-/ and /ner-/). The process is not yet complete, giving rise to the situation where R-final stems align with V-final stems in some inflections while they align with C-final stems in others. For some specific word forms of R-final stem verbs, it is impossible to determine whether it instantiates a C-final or V-final inflection. The non-past form of /miR-/ in Table 10.5 is tentatively analyzed as a combination of /mi/ + /ru/, i.e. a pattern which aligns with V-final stems, even though it could also be analyzed as /mir/ + /ru/ with the deletion of /r/ as in C-final stems. The only reason for treating the non-past as /mi + ru/ is that it minimizes morphophonological alternations.

TABLE 10.7 V-final *hutE-* 'throw away'

		Affirmative	Negative
Indicative	**Non-past**	*huturu* (hutE-[ru])	*huten* (hutE-[n])
	Past	*huteta* (hutE-[ta])	*hutedatta* (hutE-[datta])
Intentional		*hutyuu* (hutE-[u])	*huturumyaa* (hutE-[rumyaa])
Imperative		*hutyee* (hutE-[i])	*huturuna* (hutE-[runa])

An R-final stem such as *miR-* 'look at' inflects as a C-final stem in some environments, specifically in the imperative (e.g. *mir-e* //miR-re//) and in cases where the C-final stem takes the /a/ thematic form, as in *mir-oo* //miR-a-u// (intentional). It inflects as a V-final stem elsewhere, as in *mi-ta* //miR-ta// (past).

5.2.2 Non-finite Inflection

Non-finite inflection is found with converbal forms, which inflect to express various adverbial or adsentential clause relations.

TABLE 10.8 C-final *tor-* 'take'

	Affirmative	Negative
Sequential	totte (tor-[te])	torazi (tor-a-[zi]) torande (tor-a-[nde])
Conditional	toryaa (tor-[ryaa])	toranyaa (tor-a-[nyaa])
Simultaneous	torikatugoo (tor-i-[katugoo])	
Purposive	torini (tor-i-[ni])	

TABLE 10.9 V-final *hutE-* 'throw away'

	Affirmative	Negative
Sequential	hutete (hutE-[te])	hutezi (hutE-[zi]) hutende (hutE-[nde])
Conditional	huturyaa (hutE-[ryaa])	hutenyaa (hutE-[nyaa])
Simultaneous	hutekatugoo (hutE-[katugoo])	
Purposive	huteni (hutE-[ni])	

The sequential converb heads a chained clause (of the clause chaining structure; §12) or the dependent component of a complex predicate (§9.1.1). The conditional converb heads an adverbial subordinate clause which designates the 'if/when' relation, or may end a sentence to function with imperative force (§11.1). The simultaneous converb heads an adverbial subordinate clause which designates the 'while/during' relation. The purposive converb heads an adverbial subordinate clause which designates the 'in order to' relation, always co-occurring with a directional verb such as *iku* 'go' or *kuru* 'come', etc.

The negative sequential forms *-zi* and *-nde* both head adsentential clauses (461a). They differ with respect to whether they can serve as the lexical verb component of a complex predicate (461b).[8]

(461) a. *nan=mo* {*kw-a-zi/kw-a-nde*}
what=ADD {eat-THM-NEG.SEQ/eat-THM-NEG.SEQ}
katar-i-ot-ta=ga
talk-THM-HBT-PST=SFP
'They would talk without eating anything' (lit. Eating nothing, they would talk.)

b. *nan=mo* {*kw-a-zi/*kw-a-nde*}
what=ADD {eat-THM-NEG.SEQ/eat-THM-NEG.SEQ}
or-u=ga
PROG-NPST=SFP
'They are eating nothing.'

5.3 *Derivation* (*Stem Extension*)

The structure of a verb stem is schematized as **Nucleus-(Causative)-(Passive/Potential)**, where the parenthesized elements are optional. See §11.4.1 for causativization, §11.4.2 for passivization and §11.5 for potential expressions. The stem nucleus minimally consists of a single verb root, as in ***nak-u*** (**cry-**NPST) 'cry', but may also be a compound stem, as in ***nak-i-orab-u*** (**cry-THM-scream-**NPST) 'cry out', a derived verb stem, as in ***muzoo-gar-u*** (**adorable-VLZ-**NPST) 'adore', etc.

8 Most example sentences in the present chapter will be presented in a trilinear glossing format, as in (461a) and (461b), but quadrilinear glossing will be employed where necessary, especially if underlying and surface correspondences are opaque due to morphophonological fusions, as in (462).

5.4 *Existential, Stative and Copula*

There are two existential verb roots, *or-* (for animate S) and *ar-* (for inanimate S). They inflect like other C-final stems, but the inanimate existential *ar-* lacks the imperative mood form (**are*) and the entire negative series. The negative *ar-* is expressed using a suppletive form with the special negative root *na-*, hence *aru* //ar-ru// (exist-NPST) vs. *nyaa* //na-i// (not.exist-NPST). Note here that *na-* is a verbal-adjectival root. The two existential verb roots do not take derivational affixes except that the inanimate existential *ar-* may carry the progressive aspect *-or-* to designate the past habitual 'used to exist'.

The copular verb root *ꜜzyar-* inflects like other C-final verb roots, but it also has peculiarities not found in ordinary verbs (Table 10.10, where the underlying structure is parenthesized).

TABLE 10.10 The inflection of the copula

	Non-past	Past
Adnominal	*ꜜna* (ꜜna-[∅])	*ꜜnakatta*(ꜜna-[katta])
Indicative	*ꜜzya* (zyar-[∅])	*ꜜzyatta* (zyar-[ta])
Conjunctive	*ꜜzyaru* (zyar-[ru])	
Conjectural	*ꜜzyaroo* (zyar-a-[u])	

First, it occurs in a non-verbal predicate phrase which is headed by a nominal or a nominal-adjective. The adnominal inflection, which makes a verbal head an adnominal clause, is found when the copula is attached to a nominal adjective (e.g. *kiryee*{*ꜜna/*ꜜzya*} *hito* 'beautiful.ADN person'; see § 6.2).[9] Second, the copula has two non-past forms, one for ending a sentence (indicative) and the other for further carrying conjunctive elements such as *ꜜkyee* 'because' (conjunctive). This distinction is neutralized in the past tense.

6 Adjectival Expressions

Shiiba has a 'split' adjectival system (Wetzer 1996), in which there are two distinct classes of adjectival roots which are coded either nominally or verbally. Verbal adjectival roots (e.g. *taka* 'high') inflect for tense and mood like verb

9 The adnominal form can also appear in sentence-final position when it attaches to a nominal adjective such as *kireenawaano* 'beautiful' ('*ꜜwaano*' is sentence-final particle).

roots (e.g. *taka-katta* 'was high') and the inflected word forms are subsumed together with verbs under the major word class of verbals (§ 3). Nominal adjectival roots (e.g. *zyaazi* 'troublesome', *zaazi=zyat-ta* 'was troublesome') are coded nominally in that they do not inflect and may require a copula verb when serving as a predicate, even though nominal adjectives never head a referential phrase and are distinct from nominals in this regard.

6.1 *Verbal Adjectives*

Table 10.11 gives the inflectional paradigm of the verbal adjective.

TABLE 10.11 Inflection of the verbal adjective *ama-* 'sweet'

			Surface	Underlying	Meaning
Finite	**Indicative**	**Non-past**	*amyaa*	ama-i	'be sweet'
		Past	*amakatta*	ama-katta	'was/were sweet'
	Conjectural		*amakaroo*	ama-karoo	'be probably sweet'
	Exclamative		*amasa*	ama-sa	'how sweet!'
Non-finite	**Sequential**		*amoo*	ama-ku	'sweetly'
	Conditional		*amakeryaa*	ama-keryaa	'if (it is) sweet'

Whereas verbal adjectives and verbs constitute a single word class (i.e. the verbal) based on their conspicuous feature of inflection, the following three differences have led us to distinguish them within the verbal class. First, the exclamative is a special mood not found in the verbal inflection. Second, even though verbs and verbal adjectives inflect for tense, the endings for both classes differ (e.g. indicative *-ru/-ta* for verbs and *-i/-katta* for verbal adjectives). Third, while verbs inflect for polarity (e.g. *kaku* 'write' vs. *kakan* 'not write', see § 5.2.1), verbal adjectives do not. Instead, a verbal adjective is negated analytically rather than inflectionally. As illustrated in (462), in negation the sequential form of a verbal adjective is followed by the negative existential form *na-*, which is also a verbal adjective. The tense-mood distinction of the whole negative adjectival construction is indicated on the negative existential form.

(462) *kono kwasyaa amoo {nyaa/nakatta}.*
kono kwasi=wa ama-ku {na-i/na-katta}
this snack=TOP sweet-SEQ {NEG-NPST/NEG-PST}
'This snack {is/was} not sweet.'

6.2 *Nominal Adjectives*

Like nominals, nominal adjectives do not inflect, requiring a copula to indicate tense, mood and conjunctive relations (see § 5.4). Unlike nominals, however, nominal adjectives never serve as arguments, in which regard they are like verbs and verbal adjectives. Another feature that distinguishes nominal adjectives from nominals is the inflectional pattern that the copula exhibits when attached to a nominal adjective. That is, the copula obligatorily takes the special adnominal form *=na* when a nominal adjective functions as the predicate of an adnominal clause (463).

(463) *muzoo*{*=na*/**=zya*/**=zyaru*} *akago*
lovely{=COP.ADN}/*=COP.IND/*=COP.CNJ} baby
'lovely baby'

The adnominal form may additionally end a sentence, though the difference between the adnominal-final sentence and the indicative-final sentence is still unclear.

(464) *kono akago=wa*
this baby=TOP
{*muzoo=na=nee/muzoo=zya=nee*}.
{lovely=COP.ADN.NPST=SFP/lovely=COP.IND-NPST=SFP}
'This baby is lovely, eh?'

A small set of nominal adjective roots like *muzoo* 'cute', *tyaahen* 'hard', etc., may be coded as verbal adjectives as well, as in *muzoo-katta* (cute-PST) 'was cute' (cf. *muzoo=zyat-ta*).[10]

7 Class-Changing Derivations

A nominal stem may be derived from a verbal adjectival root with the suffix *-sa*, which designates the standard against which the degree of something is measured, as in *taka-sa* (high-NLZ 'height'), *kitu-sa* (painful-NLZ 'painfulness'), etc. Note that the same suffix *-sa* is integrated into the verbal-adjectival inflec-

10 These are analyzed as nominal adjective roots underlyingly given that they occur as nominal adjectives much more frequently than as verbal adjectives and their inflectional possibilities as verbal adjectives are somewhat restricted (e.g. they do not have non-past inflection).

tion as the Exclamative mood (e.g. *takasa* 'how high (it is)!'; see § 6.1), and this mood suffix has developed from the nominalization in question. A clause is nominalized not by suffixation but through the use of formal nouns, which occur as heads of NPs that contain an adnominal clause, making the adnominal clause function as a nominalized clause (§ 8.1). A verb stem may be derived from a verbal adjective root with various suffixes such as *-gar-*, as in *tuyo-gat-ta* //tuyo-gar-ta// ([strong-VLZ]-PST 'pretended to be strong'), *-mE-*, as in *nuku-me-ta* (warm-VLZ-PST 'warmed (something)'), etc.[11] A verbal-adjective stem may be derived from a verb root with the desiderative suffix *-ta-* 'want to', as in [*mi-ta*]*-katta* ([look.at-DES]-PST 'wanted to see'). This suffix is productive and may attach to almost any kind of verb root, except for a very few stative verb roots like *tigaw-* 'differ', etc.

8 Argument Phrase

8.1 *Basic Structure*

The structure of an argument phrase is schematized as **NP** + **case**, and the NP consists of the head noun and an optional modifier which precedes it.[12] The modifier may be filled by a genitive-marked NP, an adnominal word or an adnominal clause as illustrated in the examples below, where the brackets indicate the argument phrase and the underline indicates its modifier.

(465) a. [***uti=no*** *metago=ga*] *nyaa-ta.*
our.house=GEN2 daughter=NOM1 cry-PST
'Our daughter cried.' (modifier: genitive-marked NP)

b. [***kono*** *metago=ga*] *nyaa-ta.*
this daughter=NOM1 cry-PST
'This daughter cried.' (modifier: adnominal)

c. [***sokee*** ***suwat-tor-u*** *metago=ga*] *nyaata.*
that.place.DAT sit-CPL-NPST daughter=NOM1 cry-PST
'The daughter who was sitting there cried.' (modifier: adnominal clause)

11 The root *nuku-* is a verbal-adjective root rather than a verb root.

12 See § 9.2 for the structure of predicate nominals where an NP is followed by the copula verb.

The head noun may be any nominal (§4). There is a special de-lexicalized nominal, or a formal noun, which always requires a modifier, either phrasal or clausal. The following examples illustrate two major formal nouns in Shiiba, *koto* 'fact' and *=to* 'fact, thing; person'. The modifier of the formal noun in each example is indicated by square brackets. Note that *=to* may function like a referential noun (467a, 467b) or like a complementizer (467c) depending on its meaning.

(466) The formal noun *koto* 'person; thing; fact'

a. [*otooto=no*] *koto=oba ojaa kii-ta.*
[younger.brother=GEN2] fact=ACC parent.DAT hear-PST
'(I) heard the news [about his younger brother] from his parent.'

b. [*otooto=ga bjooki=i nat-ta*] *koto=oba*
[younger.brother=NOM1 disease=DAT become-PST] fact=ACC
ojaa kii-ta.
parent.DAT hear-PST
'(I) heard from his parent that [his younger brother came down with illness].'

(467) The formal noun *=to* 'person; thing; fact'

a. [*agyan*]*=to=ga taore-tara dare=ga*
like.that.ADN=FMN=NOM1 collapse-COND who=NOM1
mi-ru=tyuu=ga.
care.for-NPST=HS=SFP
'If a person [like that] collapses, who would care?'

b. [*kusa kosag-u*]*=to=ba mot-te ki-te kure-i.*
grass mow-NPST=FMN=ACC carry-SEQ ENDO-SEQ BEN-IMP
'Why not bring something [with which (one can) mow grass]?'

c. [*mesi tukut-ta*]*=to=no gotar-u.*
meal make-PST=FMN=NOM2 seem-NPST
'It seems that (he) made meal.'

The adnominal clause structure consisting of an adnominal clause + formal noun as we noted above is a typical source structure for a predicate particle to develop. Compare (467b, 467c), which demonstrate an argument usage of the formal noun *=to*, with (468) below, where the same morpheme now functions as a particle attaching to a main clause, expressing an information-structural function of assertion.

(468) *mago=ni hon=ba yuu-de yat-ta=to=wai.*
grandchild=DAT book=ACC read-SEQ BEN-PST=FMN=SFP
'(I) read a book for my grandchild.'

8.2 *Case*

The full list of cases in Shiiba is given in Table 10.12. The nominative case is marked using *=ga* (for referents higher in animacy) and *=no* (for referents lower in animacy; § 11.2.2). The nominative marks both the sole argument of an intransitive clause (S) and the agent-like argument of a transitive clause (A), but it may also be used for the stimulus argument of an experiencer construction as well (§ 11.2.5). The accusative case marks the patient-like argument (P) of a transitive clause. It has three forms, *=ba*, *=oba* and *=o*. See § 11.2.3 for differential P marking. See § 11.2.1 for the alignment system of Shiiba. If A/S/P are topic-marked, the nominative/accusative case is replaced by the topic marker *=wa* (§ 11.7).

The genitive is also marked using *=ga* and *=no*. However, unlike the nominative, the genitive strongly opts for *=no* whatever the animacy of the possessor is, and it is thus considered as a default choice. The use of *=ga* is limited to nominals at the highest end of the Animacy Hierarchy, especially the first person singular pronoun *ore*. The use of *=ga* is also restricted with regard to the semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessum: *=ga* is used when the possessive relation is not simple ownership but a body-part relation, as in *ore=ga agi* (1SG=GEN1 chin) 'my chin', or affiliation, as in *ore=ga=e* (1SG=GEN1=home) 'my house/my family', *ore=ga mago* (1SG=GEN1 grandchild) 'my grandchild', *ore=ga togi* (1SG=GEN1 friend) 'my friend', etc. Thus, the genitive *=ga* is restricted to inalienable possession.

The dative case marks various core-like arguments, or what we call extended core arguments (E), which are not considered syntactic core arguments (A/S/P) but are still essential in the argument structure of the verb, contributing to its semantic valence. In a ditransitive clause, the recipient/goal is E, and in valency-changing operations (causative and passive) the original A/S becomes E (see § 11.4.1 and § 11.4.2 for valency-changing).

The locative case marks the location of an event as opposed to the location of existence, the latter of which is marked by the dative. The comitative case marks both an associate 'with' and a coordinant within an NP 'and'. The ablative case marks source 'from' and the passive agent, the latter of which is alternatively marked with dative case (see § 11.4.2 for passivization). The limitative case marks spatio-temporal or psychological limit. It may be attached to a clause as a limiter particle (§ 10), in which case it designates excess 'even'. The comparative case marks the object of comparison 'than'.

TABLE 10.12 Cases in Shiiba

Case	Function	Example	Translation
Nominative: ≠ga/no	S/A	{kodomo}≠ga nakioru.	{A child} is crying.
Genitive: ≠ga/no	NP modifier	araa {ore≠ga} dosi≠tai.	That's {my} friend.
Accusative: ≠o/oba/ba	P	{yoki≠o} toge.	Sharpen {the axe}.
Dative: ≠ni	Recipient	{magee} kwasi yatta.	(I) gave snacks {to my grandchild}
	Passive agent	{otootyee} utareta.	(I) got hit {by my younger brother}.
	Goal	{byooin≠ni} ita.	(I) went {to hospital}.
	Existential location	{byooin≠ni} oru.	(I) am {at hospital}.
	Stimulus	{kaminarii} ozyee.	(I) am scared {of the thunder}.
Locative: ≠de	Event location	{yakuba≠de} mattoru.	(He) is waiting {at the village hall}.
	Means	{tobase≠de} io turu.	(We) catch fish {with lures}.
Comitative: ≠to	Associate	{syuuto'oya≠to} kenka≠sita.	(I) argued {with my father-in-law}.
	Coordinant	{musuko≠to} metago.	{my son and} my daughter
Ablative: ≠kara	Source	{honkawa≠kara} wakare-toru.	(The stream) splits {from the main river}.
	Passive agent	{mugiyara≠kara} sasyaata.	(I) got stung {by Mugiyara bees}.
Limitative: ≠made	Limit	{yama≠no toppen≠made} ikoo.	Let's go {to the top of the mountain}.
Comparative: ≠yori(ka)	Object of comparison	{kinyuu≠yorika} samii.	It's colder {than yesterday}, huh?

9 Predicate Phrase

9.1 *Verbal Predicate*

9.1.1 Coverb Construction

A verbal predicate may contain a single verb root or may consist of two verb roots, forming a coverb construction (Table 10.13). From the perspective of wordhood, a coverb construction may be a one-word construction or phrasal. From the perspective of function, a coverb construction may be symmetrical (with two lexical roots) or asymmetrical (with a lexical root and a grammatical root).

TABLE 10.13 Coverb constructions

	Symmetrical	Asymmetrical
One-word	Lexical compound	Syntactic compound
Phrasal	Serial Verb Construction	Auxiliary Verb Construction

(469) a. *akago=no* [*nak-i-orab-u*] *koe.*
baby=NOM2 cry-THM-scream-NPST voice
'the sound of a baby [crying out]' (Lexical compound)

b. *akago=no* [*nak-i-tuduku-ru*] *koe.*
baby=NOM2 cry-THM-keep-NPST voice
'(I) the sound of a baby [keeping crying]' (Syntactic compound)

c. *io=oba* [*yaa-te* *kuta*]=*wai.*
fish=ACC [grill-SEQ eat-PST]=SFP
'(I) [grilled and ate] fish.' (Serial Verb Construction)

d. *io=oba* [*yaa-te* *kure-n*]=*no?*
fish=ACC [grill-SEQ BEN-NEG.NPST]=Q
'Why not [grill fish for me]?' (Auxiliary Verb Construction)

In both lexical and syntactic compounds, the first stem is /i/ thematic if it is C-final (e.g. /naki/ in *nakiorabu* in (469a)). A lexical compound differs from a syntactic compound in the functional asymmetry of the two stems in the compound structure: in a lexical compound, both stems are lexical, while in the syntactic compounds the second stem functions as a grammatical marker and is thus called a grammatical as opposed to lexical stem (e.g. /tudukE/ as a durative aspectual marker in (469b)). The two stems in a lexical compound form a single lexical item and thus a single stem nucleus, to which derivational affixes may attach (e.g. *nak-i-orab-ase-ta* (cry-scream-CAUS-PST) 'made (someone) cry out').[13] Syntactic compound structure and root-affix structure may often be ambiguous due to grammaticalization processes where the syntactic compound structure is a typical source structure for an affix to develop. See § 11.6.2 for grammaticalization of aspect marking and § 11.5 for grammaticalization of potential marking.

Like the distinction between lexical and syntactic compounds, the difference between the Serial Verb Construction (SVC) and the Auxiliary Verb Construction (AVC) is that the two words in a SVC are lexical verbs while the second word in an AVC is an auxiliary. A SVC is a lexicalized pair of verbs like *yaate*

13 The two stems in the syntactic compound each constitute a single stem nucleus, so it is possible to attach a derivational affix to the first (*ayum-ase-tuduke-ta*: walk-CAUS-keep-PST 'kept making (someone) walk'), the second (*ayumi-tuduke-sase-ta*: walk-keep-CAUS-PST 'made (someone) keep walking'), or both (ayum-ase-tuduke-sase-ta (walk-CAUS-keep-CAUS-PST) 'made (someone1) keep making (someone2) walk').

kuu 'grill and eat', *sariite kaeru* 'return by foot', etc., in which the two verbs share their arguments. The AVC is used for aspectual (see § 11.6.2), directional (e.g. (472)), modal (e.g. *yaate simoota* 'grilled against my intention'), benefactive (e.g. (469d)), and many more constructions which are not covered in this chapter.

9.1.2 Infinitival Phrase Construction

The /i/ thematic stem form of a C-final verb (§ 5.1) and the bare form (athematic form) of a V-final verb may function like a word, occurring as the complement of a number of complex predicate structures, even though they are uninflected. This exceptional, uninflected verb form is called the infinitive form, and the complex predicates in which the infinitive form occurs as a complement are called infinitival phrase constructions, illustrated in (470).

(470) a. *oyano* *yuu* *kotaa* [*kikyaa* *sen*].
oya=no iw-ru koto=wa [kik-i=wa se-n]
parent=GEN2 say-NPST thing=TOP [hear-THM=TOP LV-NEG.NPST]
'(Children) [never listen to] what their parents say.' (Light Verb Construction)

b. *utino* *konyaa* *sono* *honwa* [*yomyaa*
uti=no ko=ni=wa sono hon=wa [yom-i=wa
our.home=GEN2 child=DAT=TOP that book=TOP [read-THM=TOP
en].
yE-n]
POT-NEG.NPST]
'Our child [cannot read] that book.' (Potential; see § 11.5)

9.2 *Non-verbal Predicate*

Nominal and nominal-adjectival predicates require a copular verb to indicate polarity, tense, mood, etc., except in the affirmative non-past indicative, in which case the copula may be absent even though a sentence-final particle is still present, as in *taroo=wa* [*ore=ga togi*]=*wai* (Taro=TOP 1SG=GEN1 friend=SFP) 'Taro is [my friend]', where the bracketed nominal predicate is directly followed by the sentence-final particle =*wai* (assertive). As mentioned in § 6.2, the copula takes the adnominal form if a nominal-adjectival predicate modifies a noun.

10 Particles

Particles are enclitics which attach to an argument phrase, a predicate phrase, or an entire clause as their syntactic hosts. Their phonological hosts vary depending on which kind of word comes phrase- or clause-finally.

Limiter particles have quantifier-like functions, designating exemplification *=toka* 'and so on', addition *=mo* 'also', excess *=made* 'even', exclusion *=nozyoo* 'only', etc. Conjunctive particles (§12) designate various clause-combining relations, such as *=naryaa* (conditional), *=kedo* (adversative: 'though'), *=kyee* (causal; 'because'), etc. Modal-evidential particles designate evidential and epistemic modalities (§11.6.3), such as *=huu* (inferential; Kato 2017), *=tyuu* (hearsay), *=dooka* (dubitative; 'I wonder'), *=gotaru* (similative; 'seems like'), etc. Sentence-final particles designate various discourse-oriented meanings such as *=wai* (assertion), *=bai/bao* (polite assertion), *=kai/kao* (question), *=ka* (self-question), etc.

11 The Simple Sentence

11.1 *Question and Command*

Questions are encoded by intonation and/or a question particle, with no word-order alternation. Yes–No questions tend to carry a rising intonation contour whereas WH questions tend to carry a level or falling intonation contour. There are two major question particles, *=ka* and *=ja*, which are used for both WH questions and Yes–No questions. The particle *=ka* may also designate self-question. The sequences of particles *=ka=i* and *=ka=o* unambiguously designate a question as opposed to a self-question. *=ka=o* is more polite than *=ka=i*. In WH questions, the interrogative word (§11.3) simply replaces the phrase to be questioned.

Commands are encoded by the imperative inflection (e.g. *kee* //ko-i// (come-IMP) 'You come') or de-subordinated conditional expressions, as in *ko-nyaa* (come-NEG.COND) and *ki-ta=naryaa* (come-PST=COND) 'If you could come, please'.

11.2 *Alignment and Non-canonical Case-Marking*

11.2.1 Alignment

Shiiba has a nominative-accusative alignment system where S/A is marked by the nominative case marker *=ga/=no* and P is marked by the accusative case marker *=ba*, *=oba* or *=o*. The differential marking of A/S and P is discussed in the following sections. In a ditransitive sentence, E (goal/recipient as an extended core argument) is marked with the dative case *=ni*, and this holds true for a ditranstive sentence derived by causativization (see §11.4.1 for causativization).

(471) a. *tontyan=ga modot-te ki-ta.*
father=NOM1 return-SEQ ENDO-PST
'My father came back.' (Intransitive)

b. *tontyan=ga kantyoo=oba utikoryeeta.*
father=NOM1 deer=ACC shoot.to.death-PST
'My father shot the deer to death.' (Transitive)

c. *tontyan=ga ore=ni hon=ba kure-ta.*
father=NOM1 1SG=DAT book=ACC give-PST
'My father gave me a book.' (Ditransitive)

11.2.2 Differential Subject Marking

The choice of the two nominative markers is determined by two factors: animacy and transitivity. With respect to animacy, A/S at the higher end of the Animacy Hierarchy opts for *=ga* (472a), while A/S at the lower end opts for *=no* (472b). A/S at the middle of the hierarchy, especially human and domesticated animal nouns, may be marked either way (472c).

(472) a. *tontyan=ga modot-te ki-ta.*
father=NOM1 return-SEQ ENDO-PST
'My father came back.' (Animate human)

b. *basu=no modot-te ki-ta.*
bus=NOM2 return-SEQ ENDO-PST
'The bus came back.' (Inanimate)

c. *inu{=ga/=no}* *modot-te ki-ta.*
dog{=NOM1/=NOM2} return-SEQ ENDO-PST
'The dog came back.' (Animate non-human)

With respect to transitivity, A is more prone to take *=ga* than S when the animacy of the NP in question is identical. Compare (472c) and (473), both of which have an animate non-human noun.

(473) *inu=ga tyoo=o uu-te tob-i-agat-ta.*
dog=NOM1 butterfly=ACC chase-SEQ jump-THM-rise-PST
'The dog chased the butterfly and jumped.' (A: animate non-human)

11.2.3 Differential Object Marking

While non-topic S/A are almost obligatorily case-marked, non-topic P may often be left unmarked. It is still unclear what determines the choice of the three accusative markers (*=ba*, *=oba* and *=o*). With regard to the choice between overt marking vs. zero marking of P, two factors play a crucial role: animacy and adjacency of P and V.

With respect to animacy, it is not the *absolute* animacy of P (i.e. the animacy of P itself), but the *relative* animacy of A and P, which affects overt vs. zero marking of P. As illustrated in (474a), zero marking is most common when the animacy of A is higher than that of P (A > P), which is a prototypical transitive situation with A having more control over P. The double parentheses in (474a) indicate that zero marking is more common than overt marking. By contrast, overt marking is obligatory if the animacy of P outranks that of A (A < P) (474b), a less likely transitive situation. Overt marking of P is varied among speakers when the animacy of A and P is equal (A = P) (474c).

(474) a. *kodomo=ga kantyoo((=oba)) mi-tor-u.*
child=NOM1 deer((=ACC)) look.at-CPL-NPST
'The child is looking at a deer.' (A: animate human > P: animate non-human)

b. *kantyoo=ga kodomo=oba mi-tor-u.*
deer=NOM1 child=ACC look.at-CPL-NPST
'The deer is looking at a child.' (A: animate non-human < P: animate human)

c. *sensee=ga kodomo(=oba) mi-tor-u.*
teacher=NOM1 child(=ACC) look.at-CPL-NPST
'The teacher is looking at a child.' (A: animate human = P: animate human)

The adjacency of P to the verb is another important factor involved in determining overt vs. zero P marking. That is, whereas overt P marking is optional if P is adjacent to the verb with which it occurs, it is almost obligatory if P is removed from the verb-adjacent position. Thus, if the A argument and the P argument in (474a) is transposed to get a PAV order, then overt P marking becomes obligatory (i.e. *kodomo=ga* ***kantyoo((=oba))*** *mitoru* → ***kantyoo=oba*** *kodomo=ga mitoru*).

11.2.4 Double Subject Construction

In the Double Subject Construction (DSC), the predicate being either adjectival (verbal-adjectival or nominal-adjectival) or nominal, takes two nominative arguments, what we call the outer subject and inner subject, with the outer subject being topic-marked.

(475) a. *oraa zu=no ityaa.*
1SG.TOP head=NOM2 hurt.NPST
'I have a headache.' (lit. 'As for me, (my) head aches.') (verbal adjective)

b. *araa otooto=ga oodoo=zyat-ta.*
3SG.TOP younger.brother=NOM1 cheeky=COP-PST
'As for him, (his) younger brother was cheeky.' (nominal adjective)

c. *oraa oya=ga byooki=zyat-ta.*
1SEQ.TOP parent=NOM1 disease=COP-PST
'My parents were ill.' (lit. 'As for me, (my) parents had disease.') (nominal)

The two arguments of the DSC are in a possessive-possessum relationship. DSC is thus a kind of possessor-raising construction whereby the possessor of an NP is raised to the sentential topic.

11.2.5 Transitive Adjectival Construction

Shiiba has a transitive adjectival construction where the adjectival predicate (either a verbal or nominal adjective) takes the experiencer and stimulus (476a, 476b). The two arguments are canonically nominative-marked as in the DSC (§11.2.4), but the two arguments in transitive adjectival constructions are not in a possessive-possessum relationship but are independently required by the predicate. A few predicates like *ozyee* 'be scared', *sukan* 'dislike', *kitii* 'be distressed', which commonly depict a stimulus causing a negative feeling in the experiencer, may trigger non-canonical dative marking on the part of the stimulus (see Matsuoka et al. 2019 for details).

(476) a. *oraa hanako=ga suki=wai.*
1SG.TOP Hanako=NOM1 like=SFP
'I like Hanako.'

b. *oraa* *hanako{=ga/=ni}* *ozyee=wai.*
1SG.TOP Hanako{=NOM1/=DAT} fear.NPST=SFP
'I fear Hanako.'

11.3 *Demonstrative and Interrogative Words*

Demonstratives and interrogatives crosscut several word classes. As is shown in Table 10.14, substantive demonstratives (e.g. ***kore=ga umyaa*** '**this** is tasty'), directional demonstratives (***atti=i ike*** 'go in **that direction**') and locational demonstratives (***koko=kara yuudanaryaa*** 'Why not call from **here**') belong to the nominal (§ 4), while referential demonstratives (e.g. ***kono hito*** '**this** person') belong to the adnominal, and exemplificational demonstratives (e.g. *oya=ga* ***sogyaa*** *yuutotta* 'my parents said **like that**') are adverbs. A demonstrative word is made up of a demonstrative root and a specifier suffix. The demonstrative root indicates the deictic distinction, which is a three-way distinction (proximate, mesial, and distal) and the specifier suffix specifies what type of deictic reference the word designates (e.g. *-re* for referring to a thing or person (substantive), *-ko* for referring to a place (locational), etc.).[14]

Interrogative words constitute a functional as well as morphological system with demonstrative words, sharing the specifier suffix and word class affiliations. Besides the interrogative words listed in Table 10.14, there are four other interrogative words which are not morphologically associated with demonstratives, *nani* 'what', *ikutu* 'how many', *itu* 'when', *nansite* 'why' (< *nani* 'what' + *site* 'do:SEQ').

TABLE 10.14 Demonstrative and interrogative words

	Nominal			**Adnominal**	**Adverbial**
	Substantive	**Directional**	**Locational**	**Referential**	**Exemplificational**
Proximate	*ko-re*	*ko-tti*	*ko-ko*	*ko-no*	*ko-gyaa*
Mesial	*so-re*	*so-tti*	*so-ko*	*so-no*	*so-gyaa*
Distal	*a-re*	*a-tti*	*a-kko*	*a-no*	*a-gyaa*
Interrogative	*do-re* (*which*) *da-re* (*who*)	*do-tti*	*do-ko*	*do-no*	*do-gyaa*

14 The mesial and distal forms are also employed in the anaphoric reference whereby the distal forms seem to refer to what the locutors commonly know and the mesial forms seem to refer to what either of the locutors know. However, the present authors have not conducted detailed research on this topic and much remains for future research.

11.4 *Valency Changing*

11.4.1 Causative

The causative suffix *-sase-* introduces a new participant, the causer, which is coded as A, making the whole sentence transitive (477a) or ditransitive (477b). The original S/A, which is now the causee, is marked with dative case *=ni* as an E argument (§ 8.2).

(477) a. *ziroo=ga* *taroo=ni* *oyog-ase-ta.*
Jiro=NOM1(Causer) Taro=DAT(Causee) swim-CAUS-PST
'Jiro made Taro swim.' (Causative: transitive)

b. *ziroo=ga* *taroo=ni* *tubo=oba* *waraseta.*
Jiro=NOM1(Causer) Taro=DAT(Causee) pot=ACC break-CAUS-PST
'Jiro made Taro break the pot.' (Causative: ditransitive)

The same construction is used for both what is called the 'make' causative and the 'let' causative. In (477a), for example, one can add an adverb like *muriyari* 'against his will' (make-causative) or *sukinasiko* 'as much as he wants' (let-causative) without any morphosyntactic change.

11.4.2 Passive

The passive-potential suffix *-rarE-* is used for passivization and for encoding potential expressions (see § 11.5 for potentials). The suffix derives a V-final stem, with the underspecified /E/ being /e/ or /u/. In passivization, the suffix backgrounds the agent, demoting it to an E argument (§ 8.2) marked with dative case *=ni* or ablative case *=kara*, while it promotes the original P to S. The demoted agent may often be left unstated.

(478) *ziroo=no* *tubo=no* *taroo{=ni/=kara}* *war-are-ta.*
Jiro=GEN2 pot=NOM2 Taro{=DAT/=ABL} break-PASS-PST
'Jiro's pot was broken by Taro.'

Shiiba has another passive construction where the possessor of the original P is raised to S (479) (cf. (478)). (479) is intransitive in the sense that the nominative argument (*ziroo*) is not the agent of the action denoted by the verb *war-* 'break', but the possessor of the patient (*tubo* 'pot'), who is affected by the event of Taro breaking his pot. The agent is now demoted and dative-marked. It is unclear whether it can also be marked by ablative *=kara* as in the case of the direct passive (478).

(479) *ziroo=ga taroo=ni tubo=oba war-are-ta.*
Jiro=NOM1 Taro=DAT pot=ACC break-PASS-PST
'Jiro had his pot broken by Taro.' (Possessor passive)

11.5 *Potential*

Potentiality is encoded with the passive-potential suffix *-rarE-* (see § 11.4.2 for passivization) or with the morpheme *yE-* (where E is either /e/ or /u/ as in the case of a V-final stem; see § 5.1) which is undergoing a grammaticalization process, exhibiting both root-like and suffix-like features in the synchronic system.

The suffix *-rarE-* designates 'situation-driven' potentiality, construing the event as possible (in the affirmative) or impossible (in the negative) with the possibility being ascribed to external conditions as opposed to individuals' capability. (480a) states that the book in question is unreadable not because of a lack of literacy on the part of a certain individual but because, for example, it has been torn into pieces. Situation-driven potentiality contrasts with 'ability-driven potentiality' (480b), where another potential morpheme *yE-* 'be able to/be capable of' is used instead.

(480) a. *kono hon=wa* {*yom-aru-ru/yom-are-n*}.
this=GEN2 book=TOP {read-POT-NPST/read-POT-NEG.NPST}
'This book {is/is not} readable.' (Situation-driven potentiality)

b. *taroonyaa kono honwa yomyaa en.*
taroo=ni=wa kono hon=wa yom-i=wa yE-n
Taro=DAT=TOP this book=TOP read-THM=TOP POT-NEG.NPST
'Taro is incapable of reading this book.' (Ability-driven potentiality)

A situation-driven potential sentence with *-rarE* is intransitive with a theme S (e.g. 'this book' in (480a)), and with no agency of individuals being involved. By contrast, an ability-driven potential sentence with *yE* is transitive with a dative experiencer (*taroo* in (480b)) and a nominative theme (*hon* in (480b), which is topic-marked).

The potential morpheme *yE* 'be able to/be capable of' occurs in three constructions which instantiate three different stages of the grammaticalization pathway from a root to an affix. First, it occurs as an independent word in the infinitival-phrase construction (480b; see § 9.1.2), where the infinitival word and the potential word constitute a phrase. Second, it may also occur in a syntactic compound (481a), where the potential morpheme serves as a grammatical stem of a single verb. Third, it may occur as a suffix (481b). The suffixal form is always *-yu*, requiring the inflection to be the affirmative non-past. Note

that the first two constructions are used for negative forms while the last one is used for the affirmative. That is, two different structures are used for the negative (infinitival phrase construction or syntactic compound) and the affirmative (suffixal).

(481) a. *taroonyaa* *kono* *honwa* *yomien.*
taroo=ni=wa kono hon=wa yom-i-yE-n
Taro=DAT=TOP this book=TOP read-THM-POT-NEG.NPST
'Taro is incapable of reading this book.' (Syntactic compounding)

b. *taroonyaa* *kono* *honwa* *yomyuru.*
taroo=ni=wa kono hon=wa yom-yE-ru
Taro=DAT=TOP this book=TOP read-POT-NPST
'Taro is capable of reading this book.' (Suffixal)

11.6 *Tense, Aspect and Modality*

11.6.1 Tense

Tense opposition is between past and non-past. The non-past tense covers present reference (e.g. *tigau* (tigaw-[ru]) 'be different'), atemporal statements (e.g. *higemusi=ni sasareta=naryaa te=no* ***tadaruru*** (tadar{e/u-[ru]) 'If you get bitten by a caterpillar, your hand **gets inflamed**.'), and future reference (e.g. *tegami=wa ato=de* ***yomu*** (yom-[ru]) '(I) **will read** the letter later.').

11.6.2 Aspect

The major aspectual opposition is between the perfective and the imperfective. The perfective aspect, which construes the situation as an independent whole, is coded simply using a tense-marked finite verb or by the sequential converbal form (482). The imperfective aspects construe the situation as having its internal structure, focusing on its inceptive, durative and completive phases with the former two coded with a syntactic compound with the progressive root *or-* and the last one with the completive suffix *-tor-*.[15]

15 The morphological asymmetry between the completive (suffix) and the progressive (root) is understood in terms of the differing degrees of grammaticalization they have undergone. The completive *-tor-* comes from AVC *-te* (sequential converb) + *or-* (existential root) while the progressive *or-* comes from the grammatical root of a syntactic compound. The completive has lost its phrasal character with the fusion of the former *-te* and *or-*, while the progressive still retains an important root-like feature whereby it occurs after a thematic stem (*nak-i-**or**-u* in (483c)). From a functional point of view, however, the completive and the progressive constitute a pair of aspectual markers.

(482) *imooto=ga* *kimono=oba* ***aroo-te*** ***hwee-ta.***
younger.sister=NOM1 clothes=ACC wash-SEQ dry-PST
'My younger sister **washed** the clothes and **dried** them.' (Perfective)

The progressive *or-* construes the situation as being in a durative phase, i.e. a phase in which the event is ongoing (483a). In the cases of change-of-state verbs (achievement and accomplishment verbs), the durative phase means the event has not yet exceeded the point of change-of-state, gradually or abruptly approaching the end point (483b). In the past tense, the progressive may designate habituality, which can be analyzed as an unbounded (ongoing) repetition of a certain event (483c).

(483) a. *musi=no* *nak-i-or-u.*
insect=NOM2 make.noise-PROG-NPST
'There's an insect making noise.'

b. *musi=no* *sin-i-or-u.*
insect=NOM2 die-THM-PROG-NPST
'There's an insect dying.'

c. *mukasyaa* *koko-hen=wa* *musi=no*
in.old.days.TOP this.place-around=TOP insect-NOM2
nak-i-ot-ta.
make.noise-PROG-PST
'In the past, insects used to make noise around here.'

The completive *-tor-* construes the situation as having exceeded the point of change of state described by the verb and having entered a stable, resulting phase (i.e. a perfect phase). If applied to achievement verbs, it always designates a phase after the end point of the change-of-state (484a), giving rise to a clear aspectual contrast between the progressive and the completive (compare (483a) and (484a)). If applied to accomplishment verbs, it may designate either perfect or durative, as illustrated in (484b). This is due to the fact that accomplishment verbs refer to both a beginning point and an end point, and the completive may construe the situation as having exceeded either the beginning point (in which case the situation is construed as having entered the durative phase) or the end point (in which case the situation is construed as having entered the perfect phase). In the case of activity verbs (484c), which refer to only a beginning point but lack an end point, the completive designates the durative phase of the event.

(484) a. *musi=no sin-dor-u.*
insect=NOM2 die-CPL-NPST
'There's an insect dead.'

b. {*mada/moo*} *mi-tor-u*
{still/already} watch-CPL-NPST
'(someone) is still watching (durative phase)/has already watched (perfect phase).'

c. *musi=no nyaa-tor-u.*
insect=NOM2 make.noise-CPL-NPST
'There's an insect making noise.'

11.6.3 Modality

Modalities are expressed by inflection (mood), modal particles or by complex predicates. The moods are the indicative, intentional and imperative. The intentional mood covers both speaker's intention (e.g. *ore=ga toroo* 'I'll take') and locutors' intention (e.g. (*tyende*) *toroo=ya* 'let's take (together)'). Conditional converbal inflection designates a deontic-modal meaning, as in *tor-a-nyaa* (take-THM-NEG.COND) '(you) need to take' (lit. 'if (you) don't take').

As mentioned in §10, the present authors have identified the following modal particles: *=huu* (inferential; Kato 2017), *=tyuu* (hearsay), *=gotaru* (similative; 'seems like'), *=doo* (conjectural). We have not collected enough data to describe the function of each morpheme, though it is possible to state at this stage that all of these forms pertain to epistemic as opposed to deontic modality. The bulk of deontic modalities are expressed through mood inflection (intentional, imperative) and various kinds of complex predication (485b).

(485) a. *hito=no nak-i-or-u{=huu/=tyuu}=wai.*
person=NOM2 cry-THM-PROG-NPST{=INFR/=HS}=SFP
'(I heard that) there's a man crying.' (=tyuu: hearsay)
'(I have certain evidence (e.g. sound) that) there's a man crying.' (=huu: inferential)

b. *kore* [*kat-ta=ga ee*]*=ga.*
this buy-PST=NOM1 good.NPST=SFP
'It's better for you to buy this.' (Deontic: suggestion)

11.7 *Information Structure Marking*

There is no dedicated morphological focus marker in Shiiba. A major way of marking a focus is a cleft construction (as in (486)), where the nominalized clause with a formal noun *=to* serves as the information-structural background and the rest serves as the focus (which is underlined).

(486) *nakyee* *iruttowa* *kayakuzyaroo.*
naka=ni irE-ru=to=wa **kayaku**=zyar-a-u
inside=DAT put-NPST=FMN:COMP=TOP gunpowder=COP-THM-CJC
'What (they) put inside is **gunpowder**, I guess.'

A topic is marked with the topic particle *=wa*. Topic marking with *=wa* in Shiiba and in most known dialects of Japanese typically occurs on a referent which is both (a) activated in discourse and (b) described in a topic-comment structure, as in (487a). However, in Shiiba *=wa* may also mark a referent which only satisfies (a), as in (487b) where the referent *takusii* 'taxi' has already been introduced in discourse and activated but occurs in a presentational sentence which newly introduces a referent with no topic-comment division (Mitsui 2020). (487c) is a typical presentational sentence where neither of (a) or (b) is satisfied.

(487) a. *takusii=wa* *sakki=made* *kokyee* *ot-ta=ga.*
taxi=TOP a.while.ago=LMT this.place.DAT exist-PST=SFP
'The taxi was here a while ago, wasn't it?'

b. *takusii{=no/=wa}* *ki-ta.*
taxi{=NOM2/=TOP} come-PST
'There's the taxi coming.' (The speaker and the addressee have been waiting for a taxi, and the speaker sees the taxi coming.)

c. *takusii{=no/*=wa}* *ki-ta.*
taxi{=NOM2/*=TOP} come-PST
'There's a taxi coming.' (The speaker and the addressee did not expect to see a taxi coming.)

12 The Complex Sentence

Three major clause-combining strategies are distinguished: coordination, subordination and clause-chaining. In coordination, two finite clauses are con-

nected by the conjunctive particle attached to the first clause, with no embedding relationship between the two clauses (488a). In subordination, a finite or non-finite clause is embedded within a main, finite clause (488b).

(488) a. [*kyuu=ni* *ki-i-ta=kyee*] *hit-tamagat-ta=wai.*
[sudden=DAT hear-THM-PST=CSL] ITS-get.surprised-PST
'[(I) heard (it) suddenly, so] (I) was astonished.' (Causal coordination)

b. [*nak-i-katugoo*] *kotowake yuu-ta.*
[cry-THM-SIM] excuse say-PST
'(He) said excuses [while crying].' (Adverbial subordination)

Subordination may be adverbial subordination which is headed by a converb (488b), adnominal subordination which is headed by the indicative form of a verb (see (466b) in § 8.1) or the adnominal form of a copula in the case of a nominal-adjectival clause ((463) in § 6.2), and quotative subordination where the quotative particle *=tte* embeds any utterance as the complement of speech verbs like *yuu* 'say' (see (489) of the sample text). Complementation takes the form of the adnominal clause structure where the head is a formal noun (see § 8.1).

A third clause-combining strategy, which does not involve embedding (like coordination) but connects non-finite clauses (like subordination), is called clause-chaining, which is the bulk of Shiiba discourse. A clause-chain consists of a series of converbal clauses which terminate with a finite clause. For example, in the sample text, (489)–(491) constitutes a single clause chain. The sample text consists of this and other clause chains.

Appendix: Sample Text

The following text is an excerpt from a long interview with a male speaker born in 1960. Recorded on May 17, 2015, the text is about an important local ritual called '*zigatame*'. It is a kind of narrative (as opposed to conversation) in that it is a series of explanations and comments to questions raised by the researcher (see (492) of the text).

(489) *omatsurino* *nakagorone* *zigatamette*
o-matsuri≠no naka-koro≠ne zi-katame≠tte
SFN-festival≠GEN2 middle-time≠SFP ground-harden.nmlz≠QUOT
yuutekara
iw-te≠kara
say-SEQ≠ABL
'So, in the middle of the festival there is an event we call 'ground-hardening','

(490) *sono guuzito* *wakini* *yottarigurai*
sono guuzi≠to waki≠ni yot-tari-kurai
FIL chief.priest≠COM side≠DAT four-CLF:humanı-around.that
otte
or-te
exist-SEQ
'where about four chief (Shinto) priests gather;'

(491) *sosite gosyoogondorute* *yuute* *ano omikio*
sosite gosyoogondono≠tte iw-te ano omiki≠o
then local.deity≠QUOT say-SEQ FIL sacred.sake≠ACC
sorewa ano amazakenandesuyo
sore≠wa ano ama-sake≠na≠no≠des-ru≠yo
it≠TOP FIL sweet-sake≠COP≠FMN:NMLZ≠COP.POL-NPST≠SFP
soreo konna *taruni* *tukutte* *sosite*
sore≠o konna taru≠ni tukur-te sosite
it≠ACC like.this.ADN barrel≠DAT make-SEQ then
agetaarunoo
age-te≠ar-ru≠no≠o
offer-SEQ≠RSL-NPST≠FMN:NMLZ≠ACC
mannakani suete *yarundesuyo*
mannaka≠ni sue-te yar-ru≠no≠des-ru≠yo
center≠DAT set-SEQ BEN-NPST≠FMN:NMLZ≠COP.POL-NPST≠SFP
'(They) make sacred *sake* to Goshoogondono (a local deity), which is sweet *sake* put in a barrel in front of the god, and would set it in the middle for the ceremony.'

(492) (Researcher): Do you all drink the sweet *sake* together?

(493) *iya sosite sono moraitega dete kuru*
iya sosite sono moraw-i-te≠ga de-te ku-ru
no then FIL get-THM-NMLZ≠NOM1 appear-SEQ ENDO-NPST
wakenandesu
wake≠na≠no≠des-ru
reason≠COP≠NMLZ≠COP.POL-NPST
'No. There's a specific recipient coming forward (to get the *sake*).'

(494) *daredemo iddesuyo kono*
dare≠demo i-i≠to≠des-ru≠yo kono
who≠even good-NPST≠FMN:NMLZ≠COP.POL-NPST≠SFP this
kotoba tukoteyo
kotoba tukaw-te≠yo
expression use-SEQ≠SFP
'Anybody is OK, as long as they recite the words I mentioned (i.e. *go-syoogondoru*).'

(495) *aa kono murawa itinen hoosakude*
aa kono mura≠wa iti-nen hoosaku≠de
INTJ this village≠TOP one-CLF:year good.harvest≠COP.SEQ
yokattanaatoka
yo-katta≠na≠toka
good-PST≠SFP≠EXM
'(And they) would go like "It was great our village had good harvest this year",'

(496) *byookimo sende yokattanaatoka*
byooki≠mo se-nde yo-katta≠na≠toka
illness≠ADD LV-NEG.SEQ good-PST≠SFP≠EXM
'or "It was great we didn't suffer disease",'

(497) *rainenmo mata kotosiyora yoka tosini*
rainen≠mo mata kotosi≠yori≠wa yo-ka tosi≠ni
next.year≠ADD again this.year≠CMPR≠TOP good-NPST year≠DAT
naruyoonitoka yuu
nar-ru≠yoo≠ni≠toka iw-ru
become-NPST≠FMN:PUR≠DAT≠EXM say-NPST
'or "Let us have a better year than this year";'

(498) *soo* *yuu* *onegaio* *kamisamani*
soo iw-ru o-negai=o kamisama=ni
like.that say-NPST SFN-prayer=ACC god=DAT
suruto
su-ru=to
LV-NPST=FMN:NMLZ
'They would pray like that to God.'

(499) *sosite* *itiban* *zyoozuna* *hitoni*
sosite itiban zyoozu=na hito=ni
then most excellent=COP.ADN person=DAT
daihyoode *koo* *kurottoyo.*
daihyoo=de koo kuru-ru=to=yo
representative=COP.SEQ FIL give-NPST=FMN:NMLZ=SFP
'and the *sake* will be given to the most excellent person on behalf of the people.'

(500) *sorega* *attozya,* *gyooziga,* *ano,*
sore=ga ar-ru=to=zyar-∅, gyoozi=ga, ano,
it=NOM1 exist-NPST=FMN:NMLZ=COP-NPST ceremony=NOM1 FIL
omaturin *nakani.*
o-maturi=no naka=ni
SFN-festival=GEN2 middle=DAT
'We have this ceremony in the middle of the festival.'

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