An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

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Nambu (Aomori, Eastern Japanese)

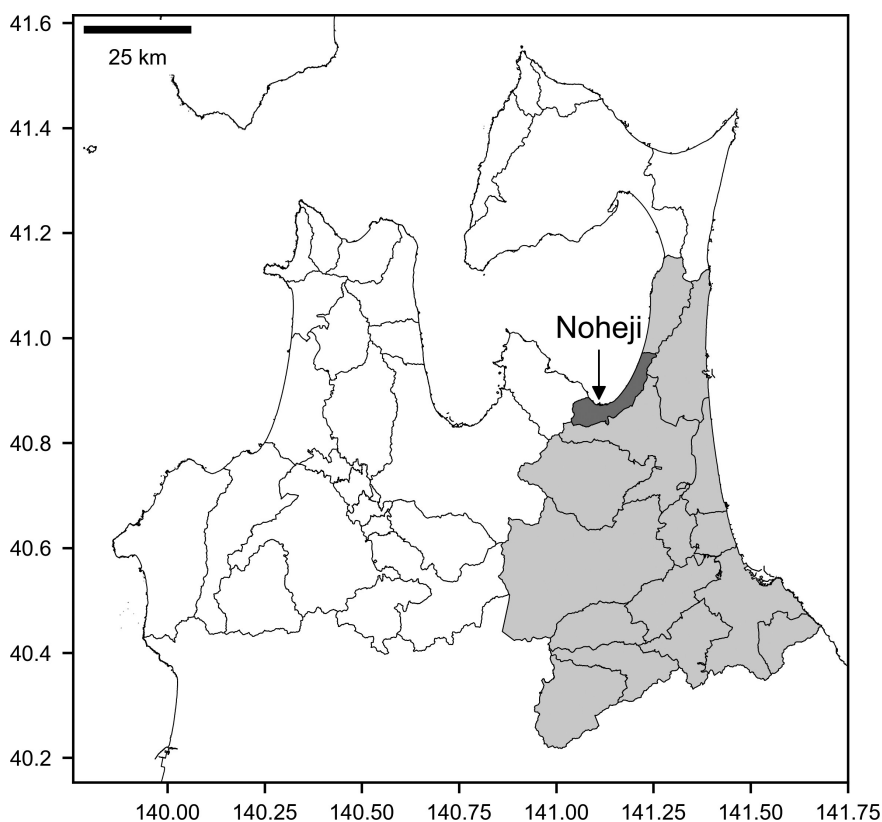*Natsuko Nakagawa*

1 Introduction

FIGURE 7.1   Map of Aomori prefecture and Noheji town (light gray part: Nambu region)

This chapter provides a grammatical sketch of the Nambu dialect spoken in Aomori Prefecture, in the Northern Tohoku Region of Japan's mainland. Aomori is divided into three dialectal areas, Nambu (the southeastern part), Shimokita (the northeastern part), and Tsugaru (the western part). The Nambu area straddles the prefectural border of Aomori and Iwate. See Figure 7.1, where the Nambu region is highlighted in light gray (the part in Iwate is omitted); Tsugaru is west of Nambu; and Shimokita is north of Nambu.

Of the varieties of the Nambu dialect, I mainly describe the Noheji dialect. I conducted fieldwork for four years from 2016 to 2019. My main consultant is a female speaker born in 1945, to be referred to as MT, who grew up with her grandparents as well as her parents, and who mainly speaks the Noheji dialect. She studied in Tokyo when she was 18–21 years old. Occasionally I also consulted two other female speakers born in 1944 and 1947. Unfortunately, the latter speaker did not permit me to record her voice and so the information from her is based only on my field notes.

1.1   *Typological Characteristics*

Tohoku dialects are known to have consonant-voicing (stops, affricates, and optionally fricatives) between vowels. For example, *oto* 'sound' in Tokyo Japanese corresponds to *odo* in Tohoku dialects. Northern Tohoku dialects distinguish voiced vs. prenasalized stops and affricates. For instance, *hidʒi* 'elbow' in Tokyo Japanese corresponds to *hiⁿdʒi* in Northern Tohoku dialects. Minimal pairs are also found; *wa-ⁿdo* means '1SG-PL (we)', whereas *waᵈdo* means '1SG-COM (with me)'. While in many Tohoku dialects, /zi/, /zu/, /di/, and /du/ are pronounced as homophones, the Nambu dialect distinguishes /zi/ from /zu/, but does not distinguish /zi/ from /di/ [(d)zɨ ~ (d)ʒi], and /zu/ from /du/ [(d)zɨ ~ (d)zuu] (making it a so-called *futatsugana* dialect). Eastern Japanese, including Tohoku dialects, widely uses *-nai* 'does not exist' to negate verbs (and often adjectives) instead of *-n*, which is widely used in Western Japanese. Tohoku dialects use *-ne* (from *-nai*) for negation.

Morphologically, the Nambu dialect is an agglutinative language which predominantly employs suffixes rather than prefixes, and totally lacks conclusive vs. adnominal distinctions like many other Japanese languages.

Syntactically, the Nambu dialect is a head-final language with basic SOV word order. It has bi-directional valency alternations, with both causative constructions which demote the agent of an action to the dative and anti-causative constructions which promote the patient to the subject. Case marking systems in Tohoku dialects are also note-worthy: both nominative and accusative nouns are frequently zero-coded, while accusative nouns of particular characteristics (e.g., animate objects) are overtly coded, which is a phenomenon known as differential object marking (DOM). Different Tohoku dialects have different accusative markers and some dialects have more than one marker. This indicates that DOM phenomenon in Tohoku dialects developed independently in different regions. See Otsuki (2018) for the DOM phenomenon in the Tsugaru dialect, which is the closest dialect to Nambu. See also Sasaki (2004) for the Mitsukaido dialect (Kanto region) and Sasaki (2006) for a review of case marking systems in Japonic languages.

1.2   *Previous Literature*

As far as I know, there are no grammar sketches on the Nambu dialect. As has been described above, however, Nambu dialects share some characteristics with Northern Tohoku dialects, some with Tohoku dialects more generally, some with Eastern Japanese, and some with all Japonic languages. There are descriptions of some phonological and grammatical aspects on the Nambu dialect in Iwate. In this section, I will give an overview of grammar sketches of Eastern Japanese.

Otsuki (2018) contains a grammar sketch and detailed description of the DOM in the Tsugaru dialect. Takeda (2020) describes the tense-aspect-mood systems of the Tohoku dialects including the Nambu dialect in Iwate. Matsumori and Onishi (2012) is a brief sketch of the Tsuruoka dialect. Sasaki (2004) describes case and grammatical relations in the Mitsukaido dialect. Konishi (2016) is a reference grammar of the Toyama dialect.

Occasionally, I refer to Nakaichi (1936), which is a glossary of the Noheji dialect with some examples. Since the expressions in this book were written in *hiragana* (Japanese characters), where one *hiragana* basically corresponds to one mora to express the pronunciation of Standard Japanese, I have romanized the *hiragana* using the *kunrei-shiki* system of romanization. Note that in this writing system, it is impossible to represent [ɨ], and that the *hiragana* might not represent the exact pronunciation of the Nambu dialect.

2   Phonology

This section first lists the phoneme inventories of the Nambu dialect. It then describes the syllable structure and phonotactics, mora, word-level prosody, and finally intonation.

2.1   *Phoneme Inventory*

This section is based on Nakagawa (2020), which can be consulted for more details, especially in phonetic variation.

2.1.1   Vowels

Table 7.1 shows the vowel inventory in the Nambu dialect. The assumed phonemes are in / /, and the actual pronunciations are given in [ ]. MT's vowel space is shown in Figures 7.2 and 7.3.

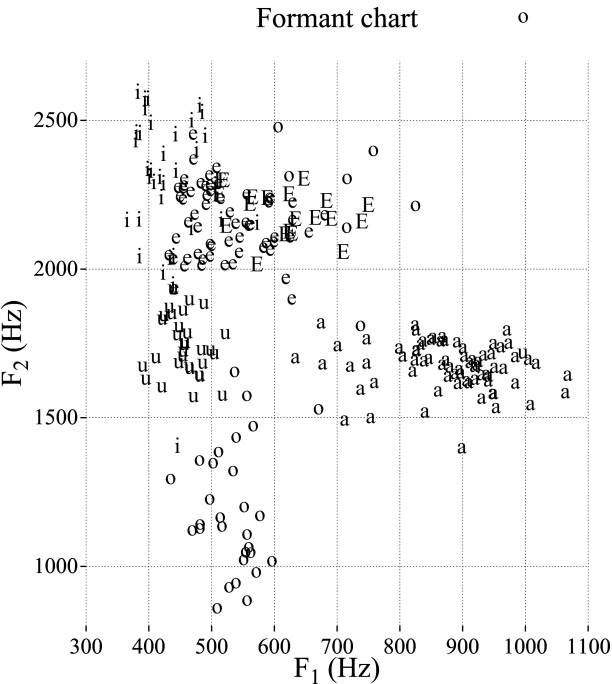FIGURE 7.2 Vowel space
(NAKAGAWA 2021: 43)

TABLE 7.1 Vowels

	Front	Center	Back
High	/i/ [i (~ɨ)]	/ɨ/ [ɨ]	/ɯ/ [ɯ (~ɨ)]
High-mid	/e/ [e (~ɪ, e̞)]		/o/ [o]
Low-mid	/ɛ/ [ɛ]		
Low		/a/ [a]	

Formant chart
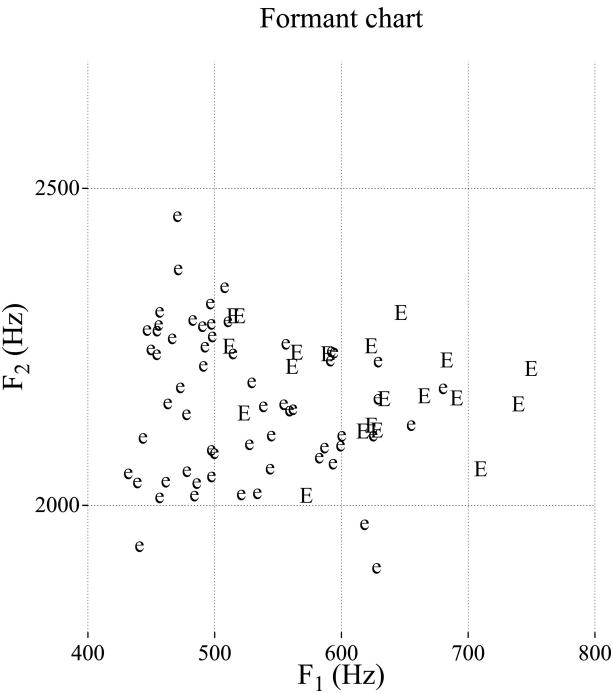
FIGURE 7.3   Vowel space of /e/ vs. /ɛ/, indicated as E
            OP. CIT.: 46

Examples of each vowel after /k/ are shown in (230).

(230)   Examples of vowels after /k/
        [kattʃa] /kattja/ 'married woman,   [kettsɨ] /kettu/ 'buttocks'
        mother'
        [kɛna] /kɛna/ 'arm'   [kobura] /kobura/ 'a road between
                                            houses'
        [kina] /kina/ 'yesterday'   [kudʒi] /kuzi/ 'mouth'

Minimal pairs of non-open vowels are shown below.

(231)   /o/ vs. /u/
        a. [motsɨ] /motu/ 'bowels' vs. [muutsɨ] /mutu/ 'Mutsu (place name)'

(232)   /i/ vs. /e/
        a. [miɾɯ] /miru/ 'look at'
        b. [meɾɯ] /meru/ 'be visible'

Both /i/ and /u/ can be pronounced as [ɨ]; however, I analyze /i/ and /u/ as separate phonemes because the range of variation differs. The phoneme /i/ can be pronounced as either [i] or [ɨ], whereas /u/ can be pronounced as either [ɯ] or [ɨ] as in (233).

(233)   /i/ vs. /u/
    a. [asɨ ~ aʃi] /asi/ 'foot/leg' vs. [sɨne] /su**ne**/ 'shin'
    b. [tsɨtsɨ ~ tʃitʃi] /**titi**/ 'breast' vs. [motsɨ] /mo**tu**/ 'bowels'
    c. [kɯtʃi] /kut**i**/ 'mouth' vs. [kɯtsɨ] /kut**u**/ 'shoes'[1]
    d. [motʃi] /mot**i**/ 'mochi (rice cake)' vs. [motsɨ] /mo**tu**/ 'bowels'

The phonological rule in (234) applies only when /i/ is pronounced as [i], although the pronunciation [i] and the rule itself are presumably influenced by Standard Japanese. The rule (234) explains the variation, for example, [asɨ ~ aʃi] in /asi/ (233a) and [tsɨtsɨ ~ tʃitʃi] in /titi/ (4b). Note that [ʃine] 'shin' (233a) and [motʃi] 'bowels' (233b) are not possible.

(234)   Alveolar-to-palatal rule
    a. [+alveolar, +stop] → [+palatal, +affricate] / __ [i]
    b. [+alveolar, +fricative] → [+palatal] / __ [i]

In (233), I assume /u/ for /sune/ 'shin' and /motu/ 'bowels' without attested examples of [ɯ] because there are corresponding words for them in Standard Japanese (/sune/ [sɯne] and /motu/ [motsɯ]).

However, there are words that do not appear to correspond to Standard Japanese and are only pronounced with [ɨ]. I analyze the vowel inventory as containing /ɨ/ in addition to /i/ and /u/. Some examples of /ɨ/ are shown in (235).[2]

(235)   Examples of /ɨ/
    a. [bottsɨ] /bottɨ/ 'head (of octopus or fish)'
    b. [entsɨko] /entɨko/ 'baby basket'
    c. [hondzɨnaʃi] /honzɨnasi/ 'person who does not know things'

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1   Regarding 'mouth', it can be pronounced as both [kɯtʃi] (as in (233c)) and [kɯdʒi] (as in 230), depending on whether the high vowel devoicing rule (237) is applied or not.

2   The reviewer pointed out that /ɨ/ could be analyzed as /u/ because [ɨ] and [ɯ] seem to show complementary distribution; [ɨ] appears after alveolar consonants and [ɯ] appears elsewhere. Since I do not have enough data to support or to reject this hypothesis, I shall retain /ɨ/ as a phoneme for now.

TABLE 7.2   Consonants

	Bilabial		(Post-)alveolar		Velar		Glottal
Stop	/^{m}p/ [^{m}p]						
	/p/ [p]	/b/ [b]	/t/ [t]	/d/ [d]	/k/ [k]	/g/ [g]	
		/^{m}b/ [^{m}b]		/^{n}d/ [^{n}d]		/ŋ/ [ŋ]	
Fricative			/s/ [s]	/z/ [z]			/h/ [h]
				/^{n}z/ [^{n}z (~ z)]			
Nasal	/m/ [m]		/n/ [n]				
Tap			/r/ [ɾ]				
Approx.			/j/ [j]		/w/ [w]		

Figure 7.3, reproduced from Nakagawa (2021), is a plot of /e/ and /ɛ/, indicated as E in the figure, as produced by MT. The F1 of /ɛ/ is significantly higher than that of /e/ ($t < 0.001$). Some examples of /e/ vs. /ɛ/ are shown in (236).

(236)   /e/ vs. /ɛ/
          a. [nekko] /ne-kko/ 'plant.root-DIM' vs. [nɛkko] /nɛ-kko/ 'sapling-DIM'
          b. [kettsɨ] /kettu/ 'buttocks' vs. [kɛna] /kɛna/ 'arm'

High vowels are devoiced between voiceless consonants and after a word-final voiceless consonant. This rule is formalized in (237).

(237):   [+high, + vowel] → [−voice] / [−voice] __ [−voice]
                         → [−voice] / [−voice] __ ##

2.1.2   Consonants
The consonant inventory of the Nambu dialect is in Table 7.2.

It is difficult to find minimal pairs in this dialect for a historical reason; voiceless consonants become voiced between vowels, and voiced stops and fricatives become prenasalized in the same environment. Here I do not list examples of each consonant because of limitations of space. See Nakagawa (2021) for more examples.

Historically, /^{m}p/ is considered to stem from /^{m}b/, and at some point became voiceless /^{m}p/ since it is never confused with other phonemes. However, not all /^{m}b/ changed to /^{m}p/, and I analyze /^{m}p/ as an independent phoneme here.

(238)   /ᵐp/
     a. [juᵐpu̥te] /juᵐpute/ 'smoky', [neᵐpu̥te] /neᵐpute/ 'sleepy',
       [kuᵐpi̥ta] /kuᵐpita/ 'neck'

As mentioned in (234), alveolar stops and fricatives become palatal affricates before [i]. This rule is repeated here as (239a–b). Alveolar stops also become alveolar affricates before [ɨ] as formulated in (239c).

(239)   The affrication and palatalization rules
     a. [+alveolar, +stop]   → [+palatal, +affricate] / __ [i]
     b. [+alveolar, +fricative] → [+palatal] / __ [i]
     c. [+alveolar, +stop]   → [+alveolar, +affricate] / __ [ɨ]

For now, I distinguish prenasalization (syllable-initial nasal) and coda (syllable-final) nasals. In some cases, the etymologies are clear and it is relatively obvious to regard the nasal as being in the coda position: [nanda] < *nani꞊da* 'what꞊COP', [dʒeŋko] < *zeni-kko* 'money-DIM', and [taɴ ~ taã] < *tan* 'phlegm'. Meanwhile, prenasalized consonants correspond to voiced consonants in Standard Japanese as in [hiⁿdʒi] < *hizi* 'elbow' and [oᵐberɯ] < *oboeru* 'remember'.

    Finally, I formulate the nasal assimilation rule in (240). It is cross-linguistically common for the place of articulation of nasals to assimilate to that of the following consonant.

(240)   Nasal assimilation rule
    /n/ → [m] / __ [+labial]
         → [ŋ] / __ [+velar]
         → [n] / __ [+alveolar]
         → [ɴ ~ ṽ$_i$] / elsewhere

2.2   *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

This dialect allows (C)(j)V(C) syllable structure where C stands for a consonant, V for a vowel, j for /j/. Phonemes in parentheses are optional. This is exemplified below.

(241)   (C)(j)V(C), e.g., /dak.kja/ (TOP), /bjon/ (FP)

Words cannot end with C other than N. Also, glides (j) always follows C. I did not find examples of /CwV/ which is found in the Shimokita dialect. This is one of the facts that indicate the Nambu dialect differs from the Shimokita dialect.

TABLE 7.3   Examples of words with different kernel positions

	o (no accent)	1	2	3
1	*ke* [H] 'hair'	*'he* [F] 'flatulence'	–	–
2	*tura* [LH] 'face'	*'titi* [HL] 'breast'	*a'se* [LF] 'sweat'	–
3	*nazugi* [LLH] 'forehead'	*'kobura* [HLL] 'calf (of leg)'	*ma'nagu* [LHL] 'eye'	*ken'do* [LLF] 'road'

2.3   *Mora*

Unlike many other Japanese varieties, this dialect has no distinction between short and long vowels. It does, however, have long consonants or geminates word-medially that may be realized as short. As shown in (242), for example, /tt/ and /kk/ can optionally be pronounced as [t] and [k], respectively.

(242)   a. [dʒeŋkko ~ dʒeŋko] /zjen-kko/ 'money-DIM'
         b. [otʃakko ~ otʃako] /otja-kko/ 'tea-DIM'
         c. [mittagunɛ ~ mitagunɛ] /mittagunɛ/ 'ugly'
         d. [okketta] /okketta/ 'fall'

Geminates can be distinguished from word-medial voiceless consonants by the fact that they never become voiced, and adjacent vowels are never devoiced.

2.4   *Word-Level Prosody*

The Nambu dialect is known to have an ascending kernel (*nobori-kaku*) accent system (Uwano 2017), where only the accented mora rises within a phrase. "In the unaccented type, the pitch of the last mora rises; In the word-final kernel type, the pitch of the last mora falls; In other types, the pitch of the mora with the kernel rises" (Uwano 2017: 2). Table 7.3 shows examples of one-, two-, and three-mora words with different kernel positions. The number "0" indicates that the word has no kernel, "1" indicates that the first mora has the kernel, and so on.

   The accent of words in Noheji from my field notes almost always corresponds to the accent of words reported in Uwano (2017).

2.5   *Intonation*

Declarative sentences and content questions (or wh-questions) end with falling intonation, while polar questions optionally end with rising intonation but can also end with falling intonation. Kibe et al. (2018) investigated corpora

TABLE 7.4   Morphological units

prefix-{0,1}	root	-suffix*	
word			⸗clitic*
clitic group			

across Japanese dialects and reported that all three types end with a falling pitch in the Hirosaki dialect (a variant of the Tsugaru dialect). However, they also report that the steepness of the falling pitch differs depending on the type of sentence: polar questions have a sudden drop, declaratives have the shallow and steady drop, and wh-questions have a rather steep but steady drop. In my impression, the Nambu dialect follows the patterns Kibe et al. report, although a quantitative characterization awaits further study.

3   Descriptive Units

3.1   *Morphological Units*
The morphological units described in this study are listed in Table 7.4. A phrase consists of a word and, optionally, one or more clitics; a word consists of a root optionally preceded by a prefix and followed by one or more suffixes.

As far as I know, only a single prefix can appear before the root, whereas multiple suffixes can appear after the root. The order of affixes is fixed and will be outlined in the relevant sections.

3.2   *Parts of Speech*
A noun typically refers to a thing or a person. A pronoun refers to somebody or something that the speaker and the addressee are both aware of and often replaces a noun that the speaker can use instead. A verb typically refers to an event. An adjective typically describes a property. Adjectives and nominal adjectives are distinguished by their morphology (§6). An adverb typically describes manner, attitude, time reference, and location. Particles denote a relation between a noun and a verb or between sentences. Interjections express the speaker's attitude towards the preceding utterance, the addressee, etc.

3.3   *Grammatical Relations*
As discussed in §9.3 and §11.2, the case alignment of subject and direct object in Noheji is a nominative-accusative type with differential object marking. A noun that is a subject can be followed by the particles ⸗∅, ⸗a, or ⸗ŋa. A noun

TABLE 7.5   Personal pronouns

	1	2	3
SG	*wa, ora*	*ome, na* (~ *ŋa*)	*kore/sore/are, sono {hito/huto}*
PL	*wa-ⁿdo, ora-ⁿdo*	*ome-ⁿdo*	*sore-ⁿdo, sono {hito/huto}-ⁿdo*
GR	*ora-ho*	*ome-ho*	–

that is an object can be followed by the particles ⸗∅ or ⸗*ba*. A noun that is an indirect object can be followed by the particle ⸗*ni*.

4   Nominals

The class of nominals includes pronouns (§ 4.1), nouns (§ 4.2), and numerals (§ 4.3).

4.1   *Pronouns*

The personal pronouns are listed in Table 7.5.

There are two types of first-person pronoun: *wa* and *ora*. According to MT, she uses both pronouns interchangeably with no gender or age constraints, although I observe that she prefers to use *wa*. An example is given in (243).

(243)   *ano kasi⸗dakkja **wa** tabe-ta⸗jo*
   that sweet⸗TOP 1SG eat-PST⸗FP
   'Regarding that sweet, I ate it.'

The plural affix *-ⁿdo* follows the pronoun to indicate plural. The form *ora-ⁿdo* can be used for both exclusive (244) and inclusive (245) first-person plurals.

(244)   *kore **ora-ⁿdo** hutari⸗de   taberu no   da-kara*
   this 1-PL   two.people⸗INST eat   NMLZ COP-because
   ome*-∅⸗sa *k-ahe-nε⸗jo
   2-SG⸗DAT eat-CAUS-NEG⸗FP
   '(I) won't let you eat this because we two (excluding you) are going to eat this.'

(245) *kore **ora-ⁿdo** minna≠de taberu besi*
       this 1-PL   all≠INST eat INFR
       'This one, we all are going to eat it.'

Another plural suffix *-ho* is used when the speaker thinks that the people being referred to belong to the same group: e.g., the same family, the same village, the same organization, etc. In (246), for example, the speaker describes how and what to arrange things in front of his/her Buddhist altar and asks how the interlocutor arranges their altar.

(246) a. ***ora-ho**≠daba mikan   mame≠no ue≠sa   aŋe-te*
          1-GR≠TOP   mandarin bean≠GEN top≠DAT offer.to.altar-SEQ
          *jat-ta≠n   da-kedomo **ome-ho**≠daba desu*
          give-PST≠NMLZ COP-though 2-GR≠TOP   how.do
          'We (our family) offer a mandarin orange on beans to the Buddhist altar. What do you (your family) do?'

       b. ***ora-ho**≠daba aŋe-nɛ*
          2-GR≠TOP   offer.to.altar-NEG
          'We (Our family) don't offer (in that way).'

The second person pronouns *ome* and *na* (~*ŋa*) can also be used interchangeably, and the speaker MT prefers *ome* over *na* or *ŋa*. There could be dialectal differences between *ome* and *na* (*ŋa*). The demonstratives *kore/sore/are* can refer to people and things, but it is rude to refer to people using *kore/sore/are*. Since the main function of *kore/sore/are* is to refer to things in the context of utterances, I will describe them in §8.1.

4.2   *Lexical Nouns*

Only lexical nouns can be followed by *-kko* (-DIM). Other post-nominal affixes are listed below. As far as I know, the plural and honorific suffixes can follow pronouns as well as to nouns.

(247) Time: *ban-**ŋe*** [bã̃ŋe] 'night-time', *asa-**ma*** 'morning-time' (Nakaichi 1936)

(248) Person: *jame-**tto*** 'sick-person', *rusu-**tto*** 'absent-person' (Nakaichi 1936)

(249) Plural: *warasi* 'child', *warasa-**ⁿdo*** 'chile-PL'

(250)   Honorific: *ome-**sama*** '2SG-HON' *o-ga-**sama*** 'HON-mother-HON' *o-ᵐba-**sama*** 'HON-grandmother-HON'

Another plural suffix *-ho* has been described in (246) in § 4.1. Animate entities tend to require plural marking when used of plural referents, whereas inanimate entities are only optionally marked for plural as shown by the distinction between (251) and (252). In (251), the speaker chose to use *-ⁿdo* to clarify that there was more than one person who ate the sweet, while, in (252), she chose not to use *-ⁿdo* for sweet potatoes.

(251)   *ano kasi*   {*are-**ⁿdo**/ano huto-**ⁿdo***}   *ku-te*   *mat-ta⨡no⨡ga*
        that sweet {that-PL/that person-PL} eat-SEQ finish-PST⨡NMLZ⨡Q-GR
        'That sweet, did they eat it?'

(252)   *soko⨡ni*   *aru* ***satumaimo*** *mina ku-ttɛ⨡na*
        there⨡DAT exist sweet.potato all   eat-want⨡FP
        'The sweet potatoes there, (I) want to eat them all.'

4.3   *Numerals*

Like other Japonic languages, the Nambu dialect has classifiers. Here I provide example (253) which is the number (one to ten) + classifier combinations (one to ten) used when counting small inanimate entities in general. This series uses the Sino-Japanese numerals.

(253)   *ikka* 'one', *ni-ka* 'two', *san-ka* 'three', *si-kka* 'four', *go-ka* 'five', *ro-kka* 'six',
        nana-{??ka/tu}/??siti-ka 'seven', *ha-kka* 'eight', *ku-kka* 'nine', *zi-kka* 'ten'

The Nambu dialect also has a series of native numerals (*hitottu, hutattu, mittu, jottu* ...), which I have not investigated thoroughly. Other numerals needs to be studied further.

5   Verbs

5.1   *Inflectional Morphology*

A summary of verbal inflection is shown in Table 7.6. The cells marked "?" have not been investigated yet. The two major categories of verbs are vowel-ending roots (e.g., *mi-* 'see') and consonant-ending roots (e.g., *nar-* 'become'). The non-past-tense suffix *-ru* follows the former, and *-u* follows the latter. Also, the vowels *-a-* and *-i-* are inserted in negation and medial forms only after the

TABLE 7.6   Verbal inflection

	mi- 'see'	*nar-* 'become'	*kak-* 'write'	*su-* 'do'	*ku-* 'come'	*k-* 'eat'	*omo-* 'think'
NPST	*mi-ru*	*nar-u*	*kak-u*	*su-ru*	*ku-ru*	*k-u*	*omo-ru*
NEG	*mi-nɛ*	*nar-a-nɛ*	*kak-a-nɛ*	*si-nɛ*	*ko-nɛ*	*k-a-nɛ*	*omo-nɛ*
SEQ	*mi-ttɛ*	*nar-i-ttɛ*	*kak-i-ttɛ*	*si-ttɛ*	*ki-ttɛ*	*k-u-ttɛ*	*omo-ttɛ*
SEQ2	*mi-te*	*nar-te*	*kai-te*	*si-te*	*ki-te*	*k-u-te*	*omo-te*
COND	*mi-reba*	*nar-eba*	*kak-eba*	*su-reba*	*ku-reba*	*k-eba*	*omo-eba*
IMP	?	?	?	?	?	*k-e*	*omo-re*

consonant-ending roots. The phonemes *k* and *g* in the *k-* and *g*-ending roots change into *i* in the sequential and past forms (known as the *i*-euphonic or *i-ombin* form). Also, /i/ is inserted after *s*-ending verb root in the same condition; for example, the sequential form of *hanas-* 'release' is *hanas-i-ta*. The verbs *su-* 'do' and *ku-* 'come' are irregular. The root-final vowels of irregular verbs change depending on which suffixes follow them. Note that the negative form of *su-* is *si-* instead of *sa-*, unlike many other Tohoku dialects.[3] The verb *k-* 'eat' is a regular consonant-ending root except that the vowel *-u* is inserted in the medial form.

The conditional form of *omo-* 'think' is slightly unpredictable possibly because of the influence of Tokyo Japanese. The traditional conditional form might be *omo-(reba)*, which is exactly the same as *mi-* 'see'. Table 7.6 is not a complete list of verbal classes. The inflection of the verb roots which historically ended with *-h-* or *-p-* (e.g., *kah-* or *kap-* 'buy' depending on the stage of phonetic change) is unpredictable. Whereas the forms of *omo-* 'think' (historically *omoh-* or *omop-*) are as listed in Table 7.6, the negative form of *kaw-* 'buy' is **kaw-a-nɛ** and the non-past form is **ka-ru**. Sasaki (2019: 221) argues that the root-final consonant of this type of verb in the Tsugaru dialect is /w/ instead of /r/; /r/ is inserted for the onset of non-past-tense suffix *-(r)u*, and the root-final /w/ is deleted after non-low vowels and consonants. This analysis predicts the verb forms correctly: *ka-ru*, *kaw-a-nɛ*, *kaw-ttɛ*, and *kaw-te*. Further investigation is needed to describe the traditional forms of these verbs including imperative forms, which I have not investigated thoroughly.

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3   In the Morioka dialect (Takeda 2020: 22, for example, both *su-* and *sa-* are reported as negative forms.

TABLE 7.7   Verbal derivation

Causation	Potential	Voice	Polarity	Aspect	Tense	
-(r)ahe- (CAUS)	-(r)e- (POSS)	-(r)are- (PASS)	-nɛ (NEG)	-tera (PROG)	-ta (PST)	-tta (EPST)
-(r)asar- (AC)					-(r)u (NPST)	
-(r)agas- (CAUS)						

5.2   *Derivational Morphology*

Derivational affixes that follow verb stems are summarized in Table 7.7. Not all combinations and orders are possible; a detailed description requires further investigation.

Examples of combinations of suffixes are shown below. The experienced-past suffix *-tta* always occurs immediately following the past-tense suffix *-ta*. This suffix *-tta* is found prevalently among Tohoku dialects. Examples are given in (254) and (255). The morpheme *-tera* can be analyzed as *-te-ra* (-PROG-PST) and has variations such as *-de-da, -dda,* and *-dera* (Takeda 2020: 28). Since *-ra* in *-te-ra* can be analyzed as the past morpheme, *-tta* can follow it.[4]

(254)   *k-ahe-rare-ta-tta*
         eat-CAUS-PASS-PST-EPST
         '(I) was forced to eat.'

(255)   *ano hito   ki-te-ta�assno   oᵐbe-tera-tta?*
         that person come-SEQ-PST�≠NMLZ remember-PROG-EPST?
         'Do you still remember that that person came?'

The phoneme /t/ in *-ta* (PST) and *-tera* (PROG) is voiced between voiced vowels; i.e., when it followes consonant-ending roots. For example, *mi-ta* is pronounced as [mida]. The rule is schematized as in (256).

(256)   *t*-voicing in verbal suffixes
         -t → /d/ / [+voice, +vowel] __ (e.g., *mi-ta* [mida], *ojoi-ta* [ojoida])
             → /d/ / [+nasal, –velar] __   (e.g., *jom-da* [jonda])
             → /tt/ / [–nasal] __   (e.g. *nar-ta* [natta])
             → /t/ / elsewhere   (e.g., *ki-ta* [ki̥ta], *hanasi-ta* [hanaʃi̥ta])

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4   However, the morpheme *-ra* appears to have lost the meaning of past tense, and I simply gloss *-tera* as -PROG.

When these morphemes follow verb roots such as *su-* 'do' and *ku-* 'come', the root vowels may be devoiced by the rule of devoicing high vowels between voiceless consonants (237). When this rule is applied, *si-ta* and *ki-ta* are pronounced as [ʃ̩ta] and [ki̥ta] respectively. On the other hand, if rule (256) applies first, they are predicted to be pronounced as [ʃida] and [kida], although [ʃida] is not attested and could be ill-formed for some unknown reason ([kida] is attested).

The usages of other suffixes *-(r)ahe-* (CAUS), *-(r)asar-* (AC), *-(r)agas-* (CAUS), and *-(r)are-* (PASS) will be discussed in §11.4, which deals with valency-changing morphology.

5.3   *Existential and Copula*

For nominal predicates and nominal adjective predicates, the copula *da* is used.

(257)   *ara ame⹀da*
         oh   rain⹀COP
         'Oh, it's raining.'

(258)   *asita   jasumi⹀da⹀kkja*
         tomorrow holiday⹀COP⹀FP
         'Tomorrow is holiday.'

(259)   *dɛ⹀ⁿda?*
         who⹀COP
         'Who?'

(260)   *kono   hana   kire-ⁿda⹀kkja*
         PROX.DEM flower beautiful-COP⹀FP
         'This flower is beautiful.'

The copula *-da* is sometimes prenasalized (*-ⁿda*) as in (259) and (260), and sometimes the prenasalization of the copula sounds longer than the usual prenasalization. I speculate that the prenasalization of the copula is used to preserve moraic structure. For example, since the older form of *kire-* 'beautiful' is considered to be *kirei* or *kireː*, the prenasalization could be inserted to preserve the length of the whole word *kirei-da* or *kireː-da*. In the same way, since the older form of *dɛ* could be *dare > *daɛ > dɛ*, the prenasalization could be inserted for the same motivation as the case of *kire-*. See also the discussion in Nakagawa (2021: §4.3).[5]

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5   W. Lawrence suggested that the free form [nda] 'yes, it is', which is pronounced with full /n/

While most languages in the Japonic family distinguish the existence of animate and inanimate entities (*iru* vs. *aru*), *iru* is extensively used in the Nambu dialect. Only sometimes is *aru* used. The conditions in which *aru* can be used need further investigation.

6   Adjectival Expressions

Adjectival expressions consist of inflected adjectives (§ 6.1) and nominal adjectives (§ 6.2). They are distinguished by the suffixes they take in negation, predication, and modification.

6.1   *Inflected Adjectives*
The basic forms of inflected adjectives are given in Table 7.8. The parenthesized (*i*) means that it is optional, whereas other parenthesized morphemes are examples that can follow the verb form. The parenthesized expression (*atu-ka-tta*) is a predicted but not yet attested form.

TABLE 7.8   Adjective

	i 'good'	*atu-* 'hot'
NPST	*i*	*atu-(i)*
NEG	*i-gu≠nɛ*	*atu-ku(≠nɛ)*
SEQ	*i-{gu/hu}-te*	*atu-{ku/hu}-te*
COND	*i-ba*	*atu-i-ba*
PST	*i-ga-tta*	(*atu-ka-tta*)

TABLE 7.9   Nominal adjective

	kire-ⁿda 'pretty'	*siⁿzuga-da* 'quiet'
NPST	*kire-ⁿda*	*siⁿzuga-da*
NEG	*kire-ⁿde(≠nɛ)*	*siⁿzuga-de(≠nɛ)*
SEQ	*kire-ⁿde*	*siⁿzuga-de*
COND	*kire-ⁿda(-ba)*	*siⁿzuga-da(-ba)*
PST	*kire-ⁿda(-tta)*	*siⁿzuga-da(-tta)*

Inflected adjectives end with *i* when modifying noun in the adnominal form. The suffix *-gu, -ku, -hu* is inserted before the negative *≠nɛ* and the continuative *-te* suffix for inflected adjectives. Before the past-tense morpheme *-tta*, the suffix *-ga* or *-ka* is added after the inflected adjective root. The consonant at the beginning of the inflected adjective suffix *-g{u/a}* or *-k{u/a}* varies depending on the environment. It is voiced between voiced vowels but voiceless when one of the vowels is devoiced (see the high vowel devoicing rule (237)). In this case,

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and stem from [so:da], can be evidence for my argument, although [nda] violates the syllable structure for Nambu.

either rule can be applied first, and the morpheme-initial consonant can be either *g* or *k*. Since the high-vowel devoicing rule (237) applies to *u* in *atu-*, it is highly likely that the suffix starts with the voiceless consonant *k*. Another variant of *-ku* is *-hu*, which is an older form of *-ku*.

The past-tense suffix is *-tta* and not *-ta* (the past-tense suffix of verbs). There is a historical reason for this form: *-{k/g}u ar-ta* '-ADJ exist-PST' became *-{k/g}a-tta*. However, I analyze *-tta* as an independent past morpheme for inflected (and nominal) adjectives.

6.2 *Nominal Adjectives*

Nominal Adjectives (*keiyōdōshi* in Japanese) do not inflect. To function as a predicate, they are followed by a copula, as summarized in Table 7.9.

Note that *-da* is the conclusive as well as adnominal form in this dialect unlike in Standard Japanese.

(261) *te⸗no   kire-ⁿda   hito*
       hand⸗GEN beautiful-COP person
       'A person who has beautiful hands.'

7 Class-Changing Derivations

7.1 *Nominalization*

The suffix *-sa* follows an adjective root to change it into a noun. For example, when *atu-* 'hot' (adjective) is followed by *-sa*, *atu-sa* means 'degree of hotness'.

The clitic *⸗no* follows the verb's non-past form to make a noun as in (262). The same morpheme behaves as a noun when another genitive noun precedes it as in (263).

(262) *hare-tera⸗no⸗sa   kju-ni   ame⸗{n/ni} nar-ta⸗kkja*
       clear-PROG⸗NMLZ⸗ALL sudden-ADV rain⸗DAT   become-PST⸗FP
       '(The sky which was) clear suddenly turned into rain.'

(263) *kore wa⸗no⸗no⸗da*
       this 1SG⸗GEN⸗NMLZ⸗NMLZ⸗COP
       'This is mine (my thing).'

The zero-suffix *-∅* combines with *⸗ni* to convert a verb into a noun to express a purpose.

(264) (*kono basjo*) *maturi mi-ru-∅⹀ni*   *i⹀jo*
       this   place   festival see-NPST-NMLZ⹀DAT good⹀FP
       'This place is good to see the festival.'

The suffix *-tto* attaches to verb and noun roots and forms nouns which refer to a person with the characteristic of the verb/noun (265).

(265) a. jame-**tto** 'sick person'
       b. rusu-**tto** 'absent person' (Nakaichi 1936)

Further investigation into this word-formation process is necessary.

7.2 *Verbalization*
The morpheme *-megu* (-VLZ) forms verbs. Some examples are shown in (266). The parts of speech of the roots are not clear yet. Some roots such as *jotja* appear to be onomatopoeia, some such as *sira* appear to be adjectival, and others are unclear.

(266) *sira-**megu*** 'be biting', *maja-**megu*** 'be halting', *jotja-**megu*** 'stagger', *gahu-**megu*** '(clothes) be too big' (Nakaichi 1936)

8   Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstratives and interrogative forms are summarized in Table 7.10.

8.1   *Demonstratives*
Demonstratives in this dialect have three-way distinctions as in many other Japanese dialects: proximal (*k-*), medial (*s-*), and distal (*a-*). Proximal refers to something near the speaker; medial to something near the addressee or a referent in the discourse; and the distal to something away from both the speaker and the addressee or a referent in the memory of the speaker. Examples of nominal and pronominal usages are shown in (267) and (268), respectively.

(267) ***sore-ⁿdo⹀no namɛ nan⹀tteru⹀no***
       3-PL⹀GEN   name what⹀QT.call⹀NMLZ
       'What are their names?'

(268) ***sono*** *hito⹀no   namɛ-kko oᵐbe-tera⹀ga*
       that   person-GEN name-DIM remember-PROG⹀Q
       'Do you remember that person's name?'

TABLE 7.10   Demonstratives

	Nominal	Prenominal	Locative, selectional	Kind	Verbal
PROX	*kore*	*kono*	*koko, kotti*	*kotta(ra)*	*kesu*
MED	*sore*	*sono*	*soko, sotti*	*sotta(ra)*	*sesu*
DIST	*are*	*ano*	*asoko, atti*	*atta(ra)*	*esu*
Wh	*dore*	*dono*	*doko, dotti, dono*	*dottara*	*desu*

In addition to nominal, adnominal, locative, and kind demonstratives, this dialect has demonstrative verbs, which refer to actions in the context of utterances. The paradigm is described in Table 7.11.

TABLE 7.11   Paradigm of demonstrative verbs

	kes-u 'do in this way'	*ses-u* 'do in that way'	*es-u* 'do in that way'	*des-u* 'do in what way'
NEG	*kes-i-nɛ*	*ses-i-nɛ*	*es-i-nɛ*	*des-i-nɛ*
SEQ	*kes-te/kes-i-te*	*ses-te/ses-i-te*	*es-te/es-i-te*	*des-te/des-i-te*
NPST	*kes-u*	*ses-u*	*es-u*	*des-u*
COND	*kes-e-ba*	*ses-e-ba, se-ba*	*es-e-ba*	*des-e-ba*

For example, the speaker can use *kesu* when s/he is showing the procedure of something (e.g., cooking) in front of the addressee as in (269); the addressee can respond this using *sesu* when s/he sees it.

(269)   **kes-un⸗no**
        PROX.do-NPST⸗NMLZ
        'You can do in this way.'

(270)   **ses-u⸗no⸗ga**
        MED.do⸗NMLZ⸗Q
        'Oh, you do in that way!'

When the procedure is demonstrated away from both the speaker and the addressee, the speaker uses *esu* to refer to the activity.[6] The interrogative verb

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6   Kohei Nakazawa (p.c.) points out that the demonstrative verbs *kesu, sesu,* and *esu* can be

desu can be used to ask about the procedure. In (272), the speaker is asking of the mental state of the addressee.

(271) **es-te**   *tukuru⸗no⸗ga*
       DIST.do.SEQ make⸗NMLZ⸗Q
       '(I see!) you do in that way!'

(272) **des**-*ta⸗no⸗i*
       how-PST⸗NMLZ⸗FP
       'How did you do? (What's wrong?)'

8.2   *Interrogatives and Indefinites*

Some examples of interrogatives are given below. First, there is a singular vs. plural distinction in wh-questions. A special marker *-ⁿdari* is used to express plurality of wh-words as shown in (273).

(273) **de-ⁿdari** *i-ru⸗no*
       who-PL? exist-NPST⸗NMLZ
       'Who (plural) are there?'

There are a number of variant forms of 'why' and 'how'; the expressions partially overlap with each other as can be seen in (274) and (275).

(274) {**nande/nasite/des-i-te**} *kono i*   *kar-ta⸗no*
       why   this house buy-PST⸗NMLZ
       'Why did you buy this house?'

(275) {**des-te/des-i-te**} *sono i*   *mekke-ta⸗no*
       how   that house find-PST⸗NMLZ
       'How did you find that house?'

Some expressions such as *nande* might be borrowed from Standard Japanese, which might be why the dialect has multiple expressions to express similar content.

Indefinite expressions can be formed by a content question expression followed by *-ga* (276, 277). The morpheme *-ga* is also used for polar questions

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reconstructed as *ko-joo*(*ni*) *su*, *sa-joo*(*ni*) *su*, and *a-joo*(*ni*) *su*, respectively. At some point in the history, *o-j* changed into *e* and the *-oo*(*ni*) part was elided.

when used at the end of a sentence. Here I use the gloss (INDEF) for -*ga* as used in indefinite expressions since the functions differ from those of the *ga* that forms polar questions.

(276)   *tukamar-i sonta-tta⸗ke^ndomo* **des-te-ga**
        catch-SEQ seem-PST⸗CONC   do.what-SEQ-INDEF
        ki-ta⸗n⸗da⸗ga   *niŋe-te*   *ki-ta*
        come-PST⸗NMLZ⸗COP⸗Q   run.away-and come-PST
        'Although I was almost caught, somehow I ran away.'

(277)   *zjen-kko*   **{nanbo/nanbora-en}-ga** *mot-te*   *ki-ta*
        money-DIM how.much-INDEF   bring-and come-PST
        'I brought some money.'

9   Argument Phrase

9.1   *The Head*

Nominals can be the head of a noun phrase (NP). For example, lexical nouns, modified by one or more adjectives, can be the head of NP.

Verbs can be the head of a verb phrase (VP). Elements such as NPs, adverbs, the adverbial form (SEQ) of adjectival expressions, etc. can modify a verb to form a verb phrase.

9.2   *The Modifier*

When another noun modifies the head noun, e.g., to express possession, to form a NP, the modifying noun is followed by genitive marker ⸗*no* (GEN). This is exemplified in (278). In the same way, the modifying noun followed by ⸗*no* modifies a formal noun ⸗*no* 'one' (279), unlike in other Japonic dialects such as Tokyo Japanese.

(278)   *sore⸗a*   **wa⸗no**   *okasi⸗da⸗be⸗i*
        that⸗NOM 1SG⸗GEN snack⸗COP⸗INFR⸗FP
        'That is my snack, isn't it?'

(279)   *kore* **wa⸗no⸗no⸗***da*
        this 1SG⸗GEN⸗NMLZ⸗COP
        'This is mine (my thing).'

TABLE 7.12   Case markers

NOM	ACC	DAT	ALL	LOC	INST	COM	GEN	ABL	LAT	CMPR
⸗∅/(⸗a)/(⸗ŋa)	⸗∅/⸗ba	⸗ni	⸗sa	⸗de	⸗de	⸗do	⸗no	⸗gara	⸗made	⸗jori

Also unlike in other dialects of Japonic languages such as Standard Japanese is the fact that *⸗no* (⸗GEN) cannot be used within a relative clause to indicate a subject. This contrast is shown in (280).

(280)   *kore*   *wa(*⸗no)*   *kɛ-ta*   *zi⸗da*
        PROX.DEM 1SG(⸗GEN) write-PST character⸗COP
        'These characters are the ones I wrote.'

See §5 and §6 for modification of nominals by verbs and adjectives.

9.3   *Case and Other Role Markings*
Case markers are listed in Table 7.12.

9.3.1   Nominative
Nominatives are most frequently zero-coded as exemplified in (281). It can also be zero-coded when the word order is changed as in (282).

(281)   ***ome*** *dottara*   *okasi* *tukur-i-ttɛ⸗no*
        2SG like.what sweet make-SEQ-want⸗NMLZ
        A   P
        'What kind of sweets do you want to make?'

(282)   ***sono siŋoto ome*** *su-be*
        that job   2SG do⸗INFR
        P   A
        'That job, you do it, right?'

Nominative nouns (but not pronouns) can be followed by ⸗*a* as in (283). Although the particle may be interpreted as a topic marker in other cases, I describe it as a nominative marker here (to be discussed in §11.7; see also Haga (2019)).

(283)   *taro⹀a   hikkurigɛr-e-ba musuko⹀a osɛ-de   ke-ru⹀zɨ*
        Taro⹀NOM fall-SEQ-COND son⹀NOM support-SEQ give-NPST⹀HRS
        'If Taro falls down, his son will support him.'

9.3.2   Accusative

This dialect has an accusative marker *⹀ba* which follows animate objects as shown in (284). Inanimate objects are typically zero-coded as shown in (285). This pattern may be described as differential object marking Comrie (1979, 1983).

(284)   *taro {wa/omɛ/hanako/tomodati/inu}⹀{ba/??∅} mi-tera*
        Taro {1SG/2SG/Hanako/friend/dog}⹀{ACC/∅}   see-PROG
        'Taro is looking at {me/you/Hanako/(his) friend/a dog}.'

(285)   *taro sodo⹀{ba/∅}   mi-tera*
        Taro outside⹀{ACC/∅} see-PROG
        'Taro is looking outside.'

According to my impression, however, *⹀ba* is less frequently used than zero-coding and some animate objects can also be zero-coded in natural conversation, whereas the examples above are from elicitation. Further investigation is necessary to reveal exactly under what conditions *⹀ba* can or cannot be used.

This differential object-marking phenomenon is widely observed in Eastern Japanese dialects, some of which are well-described. See Otsuki (2018) for the Tsugaru dialect (western Aomori) and Sasaki (2004: Chapter 3) for the Mitsukaido dialect (Ibaraki).

9.3.3   Dative

The particle *⹀ni* is used to express the agent in passive constructions (286) and the result of a change (287).

(286)   *taro⹀a   odotto⹀ni   putag-are-ta*
        Taro⹀NOM younger.brother⹀DAT beat-PASS-PST
        'Taro was beaten by his younger brother.'

(287)   *taro sense⹀ni   nar-ta⹀zɨ*
        Taro teacher⹀DAT become-PST⹀HRS
        '(I) heard that Taro became a teacher.'

Indirect objects take the particle ⸗*sa* (⸗ALL) instead of ⸗*ni*. Although I regard ⸗*ni* as dative and ⸗*sa* as allative in this chapter, the distinction between the two is subtle and both particles are acceptable in some contexts. I will explain what we currently know in the following section.

9.3.4   Allative

The distinction between ⸗*sa* and ⸗*ni* is subtle and differs depending on the specific Nambu dialect. Here I describe the Noheji dialect. Further study is needed to figure out the exact usages and regional differences of both particles. Fundamentally, ⸗*sa* is used to indicate direction: the indirect object (288), the location of existence (289), the goal of a motion (290), the object of meeting (291), etc.

(288)   *taro odotto⸗sa   zibun⸗no i   ke-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro younger.brother⸗ALL self⸗GEN house give-PST⸗HRS
        'Taro gave his house to (his) younger brother.'

(289)   *kabe⸗sa   toge kagat-teru*
        wall⸗ALL clock hang-PROG
        'A clock is hanging on the wall.'

(290)   *taro⸗a   ha   kina   tokyo⸗sa   ik-te   mar-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro⸗NOM already yesterday Tokyo⸗ALL go-SEQ finish-PST⸗HRS
        '(I) heard that Taro left for Tokyo yesterday.'

(291)   *taro⸗a   kendo⸗de ziko⸗sa   at-ta⸗zɨ*
        Taro⸗NOM road⸗LOC accident⸗ALL meet-PST⸗HRS
        '(I) heard that Taro encountered an accident on the road.'

The agent of causative constructions is expressed variously depending on whether s/he is forced to do the action. When the agent is forced to do something, ⸗*ba* is used as in (292); when s/he is not forced, ⸗*sa* is used as in (293). The particle ⸗*ni* is used irrespective of whether s/he is forced or not as in (294) and (295).

(292)   *taro⸗a   jar-ttagu-nɛ⸗noni   odotto⸗ba*
        Taro⸗NOM do-want-NEG⸗CONC younger.brother⸗ACC
        ojoŋ-ase-ta⸗zɨ
        swim-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
        'Taro forced his younger brother to swim though he does not want to.'

(293) *taro⸗a   warasi⸗sa sɨgidabuttsɨ   keki k-ahe-ta⸗zɨ*
       Taro⸗NOM child⸗ALL as.much.as/he.likes cake eat-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
       'Taro let the child eat cake as much as s/he likes.'

(294) *taro⸗a   odotto⸗ni   sɨgidabuttsɨ*
       Taro⸗NOM younger.brother⸗DAT as.much.as.s/he.likes
       ojoŋ-ase-ta⸗zɨ
       swim-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
       'Taro let the child swim as much as s/he likes.'

(295) *taro⸗a   odotto⸗ni   murijari jasai⸗ba*
       Taro⸗NOM younger.brother⸗DAT forcibly vegetable⸗ACC
       k-ahe-ta⸗zɨ
       eat-CAUS-PST⸗HRS
       'Taro forced his younger brother to eat vegetables.'

Further investigation is needed to describe the possibilities of usages of each particle.

9.3.5   Instrumental
In addition to locative, ⸗*de* is used to indicate instrument or manner. It is not clear to me whether the locative ⸗*de* and the instrumental ⸗*de* are polysemous or homonymic.[7]

(296) *taro kasɨgi tarai⸗de   arat-tera*
       Taro dishes basin⸗INST wash-PROG
       'Taro is washing dishes with basin.'

The location of event is indicated by ⸗*de* (⸗INST).

(297) *taro⸗dakkja i⸗de   ne-tera⸗jo*
       Taro⸗TOP   house⸗LOC sleep-PROG⸗FP
       'Regarding Taro, (he) is sleeping in the house.'

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7 W. Lawrence suggests that if the locative ⸗*de* and the instrumental ⸗*de* can be used in the same clause, they would be different morphemes. I leave this as open question because of the limition of my data.

9.3.6   Comparative

The marker ⹀*jori* is attached to elements to which another element is being compared.

(298)   *kotti⹀**jori**   sotti   mme⹀to   omo-ru*
       PROX.DEM⹀CMPR   MED.DEM delicious⹀QT think-NPST
       '(I) think that one is more delicious than this one.'

The marker ⹀*jori* is also used with the sense of 'other than'.

(299)   *zen ha   sore⹀**yori**   nɛ*
       tray already DEMMED⹀other.than not.exist
       'There are no trays other than that.'

10   Predicate Phrase

10.1   *Verbal Predication*

A verbal predicate minimally consists of a verb which at least one tense, aspect, or modality suffix.

10.2   *Non-verbal Predication*

The nominal predicate is formed by a noun and the copula ⹀*da*. The copula is almost always necessary regardless of tense. As shown in (300) and (301), ⹀*da* forms a nominal predicate whether or not the sentence is in the present or the past.

(300)   *ara ame⹀**da***
       oh   rain⹀COP
       'Oh, it's raining.'

(301)   *wa   sense⹀**da**-tta*
       1SG teacher⹀COP-PST
       'I was a teacher.'

The copula is necessary for wh-copula predicates as exemplified in (302), unless they are confirmation questions like (303).

(302)   *kore   dɛ⹀ⁿ**da***
       PROX.DEM who⹀COP
       'Who is this?'

(303) *dɛ⹀i*
　　　 who⹀FP
　　　 '(He passed away.)—Who?'

This follows the pattern reported by Shiraiwa et al. (2016), where dialects of the Kinki region and of the eastern regions more frequently have the copula in the non-past tense without following suffixes or particles.

11　The Simple Sentence

11.1　*Sentence Types*

There are three sentence types: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Interrogatives are further divided into polar and content questions. Polar questions typically end with the question morpheme *⹀ga* as exemplified in (304) and (305).

(304) *jama⹀sa　　ig-u⹀no⹀ga*
　　　 mountain⹀ALL go-NPST⹀NMLZ⹀Q
　　　 'Are you going to the mountain?'

(305) *sono hito⹀no　　name-kko oᵐbe-dera⹀ga*
　　　 that　person⹀GEN name-DIM remember-PROG⹀Q
　　　 'Do you remember the name of that person?'

Content questions on the other hand, do not have special sentence-final markers as exemplified below. Both polar and content questions end with falling intonation (§ 2.5).

(306) *kore　　　de⹀no⹀da*
　　　 PROX.DEM who⹀NMLZ⹀COP
　　　 'Whose is this?'

(307) *ano　　　warasi dogo⹀no　warasi⹀da*
　　　 DIST.DEM child　where⹀GEN child⹀COP
　　　 'Where is that child from?'

Content questions with verbal and adjectival predicate do not require special sentence-final markers either. (308) and (309) are examples of content questions with verbal and adjectival predicates respectively. As shown in (309), the sentence can be optionally end with *⹀no* (⹀NMLZ) and *⹀i* (⹀FP).

(308)   *ome asita   nani su-ru*
        2SG tomorrow what do-NPST
        'What are you going to do tomorrow?'

(309)   *kono-hen⸗daba   nani mmɛ(⸗no⸗i)*
        DEM.PROX-area⸗CNTR what delicious(⸗NMLZ⸗FP)
        'In this area, what is delicious?'

A command may be expressed using the imperative verb form *-(r)o, -te* form, or the *⸗no⸗da* form. In (310), *mi-te, mi-te ke*, and *mi-te ke⸗n⸗da* are possible ways to order somebody to look at something.

(310)   *kogo mi-te   ({ke/ke⸗n⸗da})*
        here look-and ({give.IMP/give⸗NMLZ⸗COP})
        '(Please) look at here.'

11.2   *Alignment*

The Nambu dialect has a nominative-accusative alignment system. While A (the agent in a transitive construction), S (the only argument in an intransitive construction), and P (the patient in a transitive construction) are zero-coded, special types of P (e.g., pronoun and words with animate referents) are sometimes overtly coded by *⸗ba*. See also § 9.3.2 and the references therein.

    When both A and P are zero-coded, A almost always precedes P as in (311). However, given clear contexts where A is animate and P is inanimate, P can precede A without any overt coding as shown in (312), although it is highly likely that animate P preceding A is overtly coded by *⸗ba*.

(311)   *ome dottara   okasi tukuri-ttɛ   no*
        2SG like.what sweet make-want NMLZ
        A   P
        'What kind of sweets do you want to make?'

(312)   *sono siŋoto ome su be*
        that job   2SG do INDEF
        P   A
        'That job, you do it, right?'

11.3   *Possession*

As described in § 9.2, possession is expressed using the genitive marker *=no*. As far as I can tell, there are no distinctions between alienable and inalienable possession.

11.4   *Valency Changing*

This section describes the verbal suffixes *-(r)ahe-* (CAUS), *-(r)agas-* (CAUS), *-(r)asar-* (AC), and *-(r)are-* (PASS). The full list of verbal suffixes is provided in Table 7.7.

The suffix *-(r)ahe-* (CAUS) is used to add an agent that lets or makes someone carry out an action as in (313). The agent is expressed using the dative (*=ni*) or locative (*=sa*) markers.

(313)   *taro=a   odotto={sa/ni}   jasai=ba*
       Taro=NOM younger.brother={ALL/DAT} vegetable=ACC
       *k-**ahe**-ta=zɨ*
       eat-CAUS-PST=HRS
       'Taro made/let his younger brother eat vegetables.'

Another causative suffix *-(r)agas-* is used to add the agent of an event in a sentence that acts as a cause of a naturally occurring event.

(314)   *hotate   ame-ru*
       scallop rot-NPST
       'Scallops become rotten.'

(315)   *wa hotate ame-**ragas**-i-ttemar-ta*
       1SG scallop rot-CAUS-CVB-PFV-PST
       'I let the scallops go rotten.'

The suffix *-(r)asar-* (AC) is used to make an anti-causative construction (316).

(316)   *arug-**asar**-u* 'walk-AC-NPST', *tabe-**sar**-u* 'eat-AC-NPST'

The first form, *arug-asar-u*, indicates that the agent can walk the road easily (contrary to the speaker's assumption); the second form, *tabe-sar-u*, indicates that the agent can eat food easily (e.g., because it is delicious). Although the exact usage of this morpheme in the Nambu dialect is still under investigation, a suffix with the same or a similar form in the Tohoku and Hokkaido dialects is well-described (see Sasaki and Yamazaki (2006) for a description and anal-

ysis of the Hokkaido dialect, where the construction is analyzed as a spontaneous construction). (316) shows some examples of anti-causative expression. Since I do not have examples in full sentence form, the examples below (317, 318) are from the Hokkaido dialect (Sasaki and Yamazaki 2006). I follow their morphophonological analysis and romanization, but have changed the gloss of *-asar-* from 'spontaneous' to 'AC (anti-causative)'. As shown in the contrast between (317) and (318), the plain predicate *hos-* 'dry' in (317) takes the agent (the mother) in the nominative and the patient (the laundry) in the accusative, while the anti-causative predicate *hos-asar-* in (318) takes the patient (the laundry) in the nominative.

(317)   *haha-**ga**   sentakumono-o sao-ni   **hos-u***
        mother-NOM laundry-ACC   bamboo.pole-DAT dry-PRES
        'Mother dries the laundry on the bamboo pole.'

(318)   *sentakumono-**ga** sao-ni   **hos-asar-u***
        laundry-NOM   bamboo.pole-DAT hang.to.dry-AC-PRES
        'The laundry dries on the bamboo pole.' (Sasaki and Yamazaki 2006:
        354)

The suffix *-(r)are-* (PASS) is used to promote the object to the subject and to demote the subject to the dative (coded by *=ni* (DAT)).

(319)   *odotto   taro bokkake-ta=zɨ*
        younger.brother Taro chase-PST=HRS
        'His younger brother chased Taro.'

(320)   *taro odotto=ni   bokkake-**rare**-ta=zɨ*
        Taro younger.brother chase-PASS-PST=HRS
        'Taro was chased by his younger brother.'

11.5   *Polarity*
Negation is expressed through the use of the negative morpheme *-nɛ* for verbs, *-gu/ku/hu=nɛ* for inflected adjectives, and *=de=nɛ* for nominal adjectives and nouns. Some examples are shown below.

(321)   *kono huta atu-ku-te   **mot-e-nɛ***
        this   lid   hot-ADJ-and have-POSS-NEG
        'This lid is so hot that (I) can't hold (it).'

TABLE 7.13 Tense, aspect, modality expressions

Aspect	Tense	Modality
-tera (PROG)	*-ta* (PST)	*jonta, gotta* (INFR)
-ttemaru (PFV)	*-ta-tta* (EPST)	*-ttɛ* (DES), *sonta* 'nearly'
	-u (NPST)	*be, besi, bja, bjon* (INFR)

(322) *kono inu hutarasi-ku-nɛ*
       this dog ??-ADJ-NEG
       'This dog doesn't behave well.'

(323) *wa sense⸗de⸗nɛ-ga-tta⸗jo*
       1SG teacher⸗COP⸗NEG-ADJ-PST⸗FP
       'I was not a teacher.'

11.6   *TAM*

Tense, aspect, and modality expressions are listed in Table 7.13. The basic order is aspect, followed by tense, followed by modality. Some of those are suffixes and clitics; others are verbs, adjectival expressions, and sentence-final particles.

Yakame et al. (2005) point out that *-ta* indicates simple past, and when *-tta* is added, it indicates that the event described was experienced by the speaker. This is shown by the contrast between (324) and (325). In (325), it is implied that the speaker actually saw the garbage.

(324) *kinona   kogo⸗sa gomi   ar-ta*
       yesterday here⸗ALL garbage exist-PST
       'Yesterday there was garbage here.' (Yakame et al. 2005: 54)

(325) *kinona   kogo⸗sa gomi   ar-ta-tta*
       yesterday here⸗ALL garbage exist-PST–EPST
       'Yesterday there was garbage here (and I saw it).' (Ibid.)

The marker *-tera* attaches to verbs to add a progressive meaning as in (255). Additionally, it can also follow adjectival expressions to indicate that the state is temporal. For example, compare (326) and (327). (326) expresses a temporary state and the morpheme *-tera* is felicitous, whereas (327) expresses a permanent state (relative to human life) and *-tera* is infelicitous.

(326) *ittsɨmo sizuka-na hito⸗a   kjo⸗a   zɨmbu niŋɨjaga-**tera***
       always quiet-ADJ person⸗NOM today⸗TOP really talkative-PROG
       'The person who is usually calm is talkative today.'

(327) *ano hito⸗dakkja ittsɨmo niŋɨjaga-{da⸗kkja/***tera**}*
       that person⸗TOP always talkative-{COP⸗FP/PROG}
       'That person is always talkative.'

The detailed usages for each expression need further study. See, for example, Takeda (2000) and Takata (2003) for tense, aspect, and modality systems of closely related dialects.

11.6.1   Discourse Marker

Common discourse markers are listed in (328). Details of the usage of each marker are not yet understood. The markers *⸗i* and *⸗sɛ* can attach to nouns in addition to sentences. As far as I aware, the other particles attach only to the end of sentences.

(328) *⸗i* (⸗FP), *⸗sɛ* (⸗FP), *⸗zɨ* (⸗HRS), *⸗kja* (⸗FP), *⸗nisi* (⸗PLT)

The marker *nisɨ* varies widely within the Nambu dialect. I encountered *nasɨ* and *naʃi* in areas outside Noheji, and there may be more variation.

11.7   *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings*

The particle *⸗a* may have originated from either *⸗wa* (⸗TOP) or *⸗ga* (⸗ŋa) (⸗NOM), either of which would be a natural but irregular sound change in this dialect. It could be from *⸗wa* (⸗TOP) because *⸗a* does not always follow nominatives in the closely related Shimokita, as shown in (329). The noun phrase *kono kaʃi* 'this sweet' is not nominative but accusative, and is topicalized in this case.

(329) *kono   kaʃi⸗**a** wa kat-te   kɨ-ta*
       DEM.PROX sweet⸗a 1SG buy-SEQ come-PST
       'Regarding this sweet, I bought (it).' (Nakagawa 2020: p. 54)

It is difficult to speculate that all examples of *⸗a* are topics; clear cases of focus, such as the answer to a question and Brand-New NPs (Prince 1981), can also be coded by *⸗a*.

(330) *dɛ   biriketu⸗da⸗no   – hanako⸗**a**/∅ biriketu⸗da⸗jo*
       who youngest⸗COP⸗NMLZ – Hanako⸗a/∅ youngest⸗COP⸗FP
       'Who is the youngest child (in your family)?'—'Hanako is the youngest.'

Moreover, it can code Brand-New NPs, which are not typically followed by a topic marker. In idioms like (331) and (332), for example, Brand-New NPs (which have not been mentioned in the discourse or shared between the speaker and the addressee) such as 'flavor' and 'liver' are coded by ⸗*a*.

(331) kibi⸗**a** wari 'flavor⸗*a* bad (creepy)'

(332) kɨmo⸗**a** jageru 'liver⸗*a* burn (exasparating)'

Therefore, I conclude that ⸗*a* in this dialect is a nominative marker, rather than ambiguous between topic and nominative markers. However, a single exception to this generalization has been found, (326), where two ⸗*a*-coded nouns appear in a row as in *hito⸗a kjo⸗**a***. In this case, *kjo⸗**a*** should be interpreted as 'today⸗TOP'.

The morphemes ⸗*dakkja* and ⸗*daba* are examples of topic particles. As shown in (333) and (334), ⸗*dakkja* can code both S and P; it can also code other elements but examples are omitted because of limitations on space.

(333) *taro⸗**dakkja** i⸗de   ne-tera⸗jo*
       Taro⸗TOP   house⸗LOC sleep-PROG⸗FP
       'Regarding Taro, (he) is sleeping at home.'

(334) *taro⸗**dakkja** sakita   egi-maɛ⸗de   mi-ta⸗jo*
       Taro⸗TOP   a.while.ago station-front⸗LOC see-PST⸗FP
       'Regarding Taro, (I) saw (him) in front of the station a while ago.'

It seems that the topic marker ⸗*dakkja* is formed from the copula ⸗*da* followed by the subordinate suffix ⸗*kkja* 'then' (see §12.1).

The morpheme ⸗*daba* is also a topic marker; in addition to the topicalization function, it also appears to have a contrastive function.[8] This is especially clear in example (335), where the usual state of the teacher and his/her state today are contrasted. (336) is less clear, but 'around here' could be considered to be contrasted with other areas.

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8   I became aware of this in an elicitation session with Michinori Shimoji and his students. I am grateful that they came up with wonderful questions.

(335)   *ittumo⹀**daba** jasasi⹀tatte   kjo⹀no   sense   okkane-ga-tta⹀kkja*
        usually⹀CNTR friendly⹀CONC today⹀GEN teacher scary-ADJ-PST⹀FP
        'The teacher who is usually friendly is scary today.'

(336)   *kono hen⹀**daba** nani mmɛ?*
        this   area⹀CNTR what tasty
        'Around here, what is tasty?'

I speculate that *⹀daba* consists of the copula *⹀da* followed by a conditional suffix *-ba*.

   Focus is not overtly coded by particles in this dialect; instead, it is expressed using a cleft construction. See Nakagawa (2020) for more about this in a related dialect.

12   The Complex Sentence

12.1   *Clause-Combining Strategies*

Below is a list of some clause-combining suffixes. Note that this is not an exhaustive list. All these suffixes follow a clause and indicate the relation between that clause and the following one. There are two kinds of concessive suffixes (*⹀(ke)ⁿdomo, ⹀tatte*) and two kinds of reason suffixes (*⹀mono, ⹀site*). The differences between the similar suffixes are still not clear.

(337)   *⹀(ke)ⁿdomo* (CONC), *⹀tatte* (CONC), *⹀mono* (RSN), *⹀site* (RSN), *⹀dogo⹀de*
        '?', *-(r)eba* (COND), *⹀si* (ADD), *-te* 'and', *⹀kkja* 'then'

12.2   *Quotatives*

Declarative and direct speech are coded using quotative *⹀tte* or *⹀tto*.

(338)   *her-eba   her-ta-**tte**   her-are-ru-si ...*
        speak-COND speak-PST-QT speak-PASS-NPST-and
        'If I speak, I would be said to have spoken I spoke, (if I don't speak, I would also be accused, so it's better to speak than not to speak. Either way I would be accused.)'

(339)   *i   ur-ttɛ⹀**tto**   omo-ru-kedo   ome do   omo-ru?*
        house sell-want⹀QT think-NPST-CONC 2SG how think-NPST
        'I am thinking I want to sell my house. What do you think?'

⸗*tte* and *her-u* 'speak' are conflated into ⸗*tte-ru*, which I call a quotative verb. An example is given in (340). However, it is not clear whether the verb has other forms such as the negative form, although I have found the past-tense form ⸗*tte-tta.*

(340)   *sore-ⁿdo⸗no   name {nan⸗tteru/nan⸗tte heru}⸗no*
        that-PL⸗GEN name {what⸗say.QT/what⸗QT speak}⸗NMLZ
        'What are their names?'

Content and polar questions are quoted using ⸗*ga*, as exemplified in (341).

(341)   *de-ga   de-ru⸗be⸗ga   oᵐbe-teru?*
        who-INDEF answer-NPST⸗INFR⸗Q remember-PROG
        '(If you make phone call,) do (you) remember who will answer (the phone)?'

12.3   *Insubordination*

All the clause-combining suffixes listed in (337) can also close a sentence, but such sentences imply that the speaker has not finished the sentence. Example (342) is relatively clear. When speaker A asks why B is angry, speaker B answers the question with a reason clause or leaves the sentence unfinished with 'and …'.

(342)   a. (Why are you so angry?)

        b. *odotto   sara   {kasi-ta-site/*
           younger.brother plate {break-PST-RSN/
           kasi-ta-n⸗da-mono/   kasi-te⸗i}
           break-PST-NMLZ⸗COP-RSN/ break-and-FP}
           'Because (my) younger brother broke a plate …'

A similar strategy can be applied without any explicit question like (342a).

12.4   *Clause-Chaining Structure*

With a rich array of suffixes indicating the relations between sentences and insubordination, the dialect also has clause-chaining especially in narratives and monologues. Examples of clause-chaining are to be found in the Appendix.

Acknowledgements

Appendix: Sample Text (Nosaka 2009)

(343)   *mugaʃi* *mugaʃi* *nohedʒisa* *otonosamaŋa*
       mugasi mugasi nohezi⸗sa o-tono-sama⸗ŋa
       long.ago long.ago Noheji⸗ALL HON-governor-HON⸗NOM
       merasi̧kkoba   *hede*   *ki̧tazi̧*
       merasi-kko⸗ba   he-te   ki-ta⸗zi̧
       girl.child-DIM⸗ACC accompany-and come-PST⸗HRS
       'A long time ago, a governor came to Noheji with a little girl.'

(344)   *osamuraisamano*   *hiŋekko* *nobide* *kimonokkomo*
       o-samurai-sama⸗no hiŋe-kko nobi-te kimono-kko⸗mo
       HON-samurai-HON⸗GEN beard-DIM grow-and clothing-DIM⸗ADD
       ki̧tanagu *natterattazi̧*
       kitana-gu nar-tera-tta⸗zi̧
       dirty-ADJ become-PROG-PST⸗HRS
       'The samurai grew an untidy beard and wore dirty clothes.'

(345)   *nugui* *nazi̧damono*   *naŋe* *tabide*
       nugu-i nazu⸗da-mono   naŋe tabi⸗de
       hot-ADJ summer⸗COP-RSN long travel⸗LOC
       asagenaikurai   *tsi̧karederattazi̧*
       asag-e-nai⸗kurai   tukare-tera-tta⸗zi̧
       walk-POSS-NEG⸗amount tired-PROG-PST⸗HRS
       'Because it was a hot summer, they were too tired to walk further after a long trip.'

(346)   *nodokko* *kawaide* *idadogode*
       nodo-kko kawai-te i-ta-dogode
       throat-DIM dry-and exist-PST-since
       'Since they were thirsty,'

(347) *ojakode*   *miwanoŋawano*   *kiʃisa*   *ʃaŋandakkja*
       oja-koꜜde   biwano-ŋawaꜜno   kisiꜜsa   sjaŋam-taꜜkkja
       parent-childꜜLOC Biwano-riverꜜGEN bankꜜALL   crouch-PSTꜜthen
       'the father and the child crouched down and'

(348) *gabugabutte*   *miziꞥkoba*   *nondazɨ*
       gabu~gabuꜜtte   mizu-kkoꜜba   nom-taꜜzɨ
       gulp~gulpꜜQT   water-DIMꜜACC   drink-PSTꜜHRS
       'gulped water.'

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