An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

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CHAPTER 8

Izumo (Shimane, Western Japanese)

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1 The Language and Its Speakers

1.1 *Geography and Affiliation*

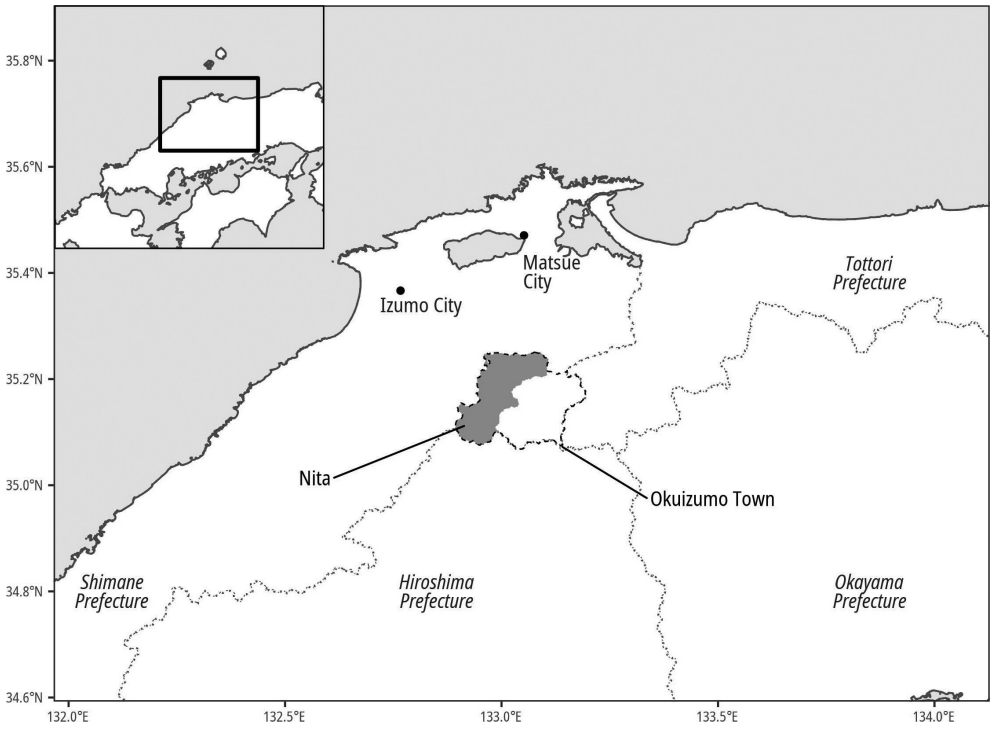

FIGURE 8.1 Nita area

The Izumo dialect is spoken in the Izumo area, the east part of Shimane Prefecture, including Izumo City, Unnan City, Matsue City, Yasugi City, and Okuizumo Town. Shimane Prefecture is situated in the western part of the main island of Japan, so the Izumo dialect has been classified as a Western Japanese dialect since Tōjō (1953). However, it shares several features with Eastern Japanese dialects, such as the existence of the copula *-da*, leading to a long-standing controversy among linguists with regard to how Izumo is situated in the history of Japanese.

TABLE 8.1 Differences within Izumo dialects

	go-INT	**'sit down'**
Northwest	*ek-a*	*nemar-*
Northeast	*ek-a*	*siwar-*
South	*ek-aa*	*nemar-*

According to Hiroto (1950), the Izumo dialect can be classified into three subdivisions: the Northeastern dialects, the Northwestern dialects, and the Southern dialects. These differences are based on their phonological, lexical, and grammatical features (Table 8.1). The present chapter focuses on the Nita dialect, one of the Southern dialects (Figure 8.1). The Nita dialect is spoken in the former Nita Town area of the present Okuizumo Town, located on the prefectural border of Shimane and Hiroshima prefectures.

1.2 *Sociolinguistic Overview*

The population of the former Nita area of Okuizumo Town is about 6,500 (as of 2020), but the number of people who can speak the traditional Nita dialect is much fewer. Fluent speakers of Nita are mostly over seventy years old, and many are in their eighties or nineties.

While able to understand the traditional dialect, the younger generations normally choose to speak Standard Japanese or use dialectal forms familiar to the whole region of Izumo, which is similar to the dialect spoken in Izumo City and distant from the traditional Nita dialect.

1.3 *Previous Works*

One of the earliest descriptive studies on the Izumo dialects is Katō (1935), a short description of the morpho-syntax of one dialect in Northeastern Izumo. Hiroto (1950) is the landmark study on Izumo, and it contains some descriptions of the phonology and morphology of the dialects spoken in Shimane and Tottori prefectures. Since then, no work has produced a comprehensive synchronic description of this dialect, although there have been some studies on individual phenomena, such as Hirako (2016) on case marking and Hirako and Tomosada (2018) on the morphology.

2 Phonology

The first thing to mention on the phonology of Nita is that there are some variants such as *oroko* ~ *uroko* 'fish scale' both among and within individual speakers. These variations must be due to sound changes and standardization. For example, *oroko* is considered to be 'traditional', as it was derived from the proto-form *uroko through the historical sound change *u > o, while the form *uroko* may be a loanword from Standard Japanese. This section will describe the Nita phonology based on its 'traditional' forms.

2.1 *Phoneme Inventory*

Nita has five vowels (/i[i̞ ~ i ~ ɨ], e[e ~ e̞], a, o[o ~ o̞], u[ɯ]/), thirteen consonants (/p, b; t, d; k, g; c[ts ~ tɕ], z[dz ~ dʑ]; s[s ~ ɕ], h[h ~ ɸ], m, n[n ~ m ~ ŋ ~ ɴ], r[ɾ ~ ɭ]/) and two glides (/w, y[j]/). Phonetic long vowels are analyzed as a sequence of vowel phonemes: [aː] is /aa/, [oː] is /oo/, and so on. Closed vowels can be devoiced after a voiceless consonant, and non-closed vowels can also be devoiced between voiceless consonants (e.g. /sine/[s̥i̞ne] 'shin', /kata/[k̥a̞ta] 'shoulder').

The contrast between the closed vowels /i/ and /u/ is neutralized after /s, c, z/, and they appear as /i/[ɨ]. For example, when the verbal suffix //(r)u//(NPST) attaches to an *s*-stem verb such as *das-* 'put out', it is realized as /das-i/[dasɨ] (put out-NPST).

/i/ has three allophonic variants: the front vowels [i] and [i̞] appear after a vowel, while the central vowel [ɨ] appears in other environments (e.g. /sjooi/ [ɕoːi] 'soy sauce', /ki/ [kˢɨ̥] 'tree'). /u/ does not appear in word-initial position.

/t/ and /d/ appear only before /a, e, o/.[1] /k, g/ have allophones with contain a fricative off-glide [s, z], which often appear before /i/ (e.g. /ki/[kˢɨ̥] 'tree'). /c, z/ are affricates. /c/ is palatalized before /y/ (e.g. /cya/[tɕa] 'Japanese tea'), while /z/ is always palatalized before /y/ and /e/ (e.g. /mesizyakusi/[mesɨdʑaku̥sɨ] 'rice scoop', /zene/[dʑene] 'money'). The fricative /s/ is also palatalized before /y/ and /e/ (e.g. /ase/[aɕe] 'sweat', /bosya/[boɕa] 'bath'). Note that the palatalization of consonants before /i/ is optional in Nita, while the consonant before /i/ is almost obligatorily palatalized in most of the other Japanese-Ryukyuan dialects (e.g. /ci/[tsɨ̥ ~ tɕi̥] 'blood'). This may be due to the phonetic nature of /i/ in Nita, which is a central vowel [ɨ] after a consonant.

1 /t/ in verb stem-final position alternates with /c/ when followed by the suffixes -(*r*)*u*(NPST) and -(*r*)*una*(IMP) and the thematic vowel -*i*-, e.g. //tat-ru// (stand-NPST) → //tac-u// → /tac-i/ (neutralization of closed vowels). For more information on verbal morphology, see §5.

/h/ is realized as [ɸ] before /u/ and /i/. /n/ is realized as the dental nasal [n] in onset position, but in coda position it is a homorganic nasal, which is realized as [ɴ] in word-final position, [ŋ] before velars, [m] before bilabials, and as a nasalized vowel before vowels, fricatives, and approximants. /r/ is realized as [l] before /i/ (e.g. /kiiri/[kiːl̪i] 'cucumber').

Glide phonemes may combine with other consonants to form complex onsets, as in /hwaa/ [ɸaː] 'day', /kwaama/ [kʷaːma] 'car', /kyaa/ [kʲaː] 'fog'.

2.2 *Syllable Structure and Mora*

The syllable template in the Nita dialect is schematized as (O)(G)Nu_1(Nu_2)(Cd). The syllable contains an obligatory nucleus (Nu), which can be filled by vowels. The onset position (O) can be occupied by any consonant, while the coda position (Cd) cannot be occupied by the voiced obstruents /b, d, g, z/, the glides /w, y/, /m/, and the liquid /r/ in the data at hand. The glides /w, y/ can fill the G slot. /w/ precedes /k, g/ and /h/ only (e.g. /kwasi/[kʷasi̥ ~ kʷaɕi̥] 'sweets'; /hwaa/[ɸaː] 'daytime'). /y/ can follow any consonant but /y/ itself, and precede /a/ or /o/ (e.g. /syooi/[ɕoːi] 'soy sauce'; /kaw-ya/[kawʲa] (buy-COND)).

The mora, as opposed to the syllable, plays a significant role in the description of the accentuation (§ 2.3). The nucleus and coda each constitute one mora, while the onset and glide are not moraic.

2.3 *Word-Level Prosody*

The prosodic system of Nita is a 'pitch accent' system (Uwano 2012). This dialect has *n+1* distinctive pitch patterns for *n* morae words, which are distinguished by whether a fall in pitch exists or not and, if there is a fall in pitch, where it is located. Some basic data are given in Table 8.2. The acute accent mark indicates the locus of the 'accent'; the pitch falls after an accented mora.

TABLE 8.2 Examples of pitch pattern

Mora count	**Form**	**Gloss**	**Pitch pattern**	
			Isolation	***=ga***
1	*ci*	'blood'	H	LH
	té	'hand'	H	HL
2	*eka*	'squid'	LH	LHH
	kusá	'grass'	LH	LHL
	áka	'red'	HL	HLL

TABLE 8.2 Examples of pitch pattern (*cont.*)

Mora count	Form	Gloss	Pitch pattern	
			Isolation	*=ga*
3	*sakana*	'fish'	LHH	LHHH
	kokoró	'hear'	LHH	LHHL
	awábi	'abalone'	LHL	LHLL
	kábito	'helmet'	HLL	HLLL

H = High pitch, L = Low pitch

2.4 *Intonation*

For Japanese, Igarashi (2018: 189) defines an Accentual Phrase (AP) as "having a delimitative rise to high around the second mora and a subsequent gradual fall to low at the end of the phrase and as having at most one lexical pitch accent", and further defines the Intonation Phrase (IP) as "the prosodic phrase immediately above the AP in the hierarchy within which pitch range is specified" (Igarashi 2018: 193). These definitions can also be applied to describe the intonational phrasing of Nita, and the intonational phrasing may mark a focus domain, though further research is needed.

Pitch movements at the end of the prosodic phrase contribute to the pragmatic or modal interpretation of the utterance. For instance, a rise in pitch on the final syllable of the utterance indicates a question (§ 11.2). Interaction between modal markers, discourse markers, and intonation may create various modal or pragmatic indexes, but these details have yet to be researched.

2.5 *Alternations Concerning the Liquid /r/*

In Nita, some (morpho)phonological processes are observed: the neutralization of closed vowels after /s, c, z/ (§ 2.1), segmental alternations in the verb morphology (§ 5), and vowel coalescence across the boundary between an adjective stem and a suffix (§ 6.1). In this section, one of the notable phonological processes, the alternations concerning the liquid /r/ as shown in (349), are described. Other phonological processes will be detailed in the following sections.

(349) a. *arigo* ~ *aago* 'ant'
b. *tori* ~ *too* 'bird'
c. *kwaama* ~ *kuruma* 'car'

d. *kiri ~ kyaa* 'fog'
e. *eri ~ yai*[jae] 'collar'

Two pieces of evidence lead us to believe that each of the paired forms in the alternations in (349) is considered to be derived from a single underlying form, and that the form containing /r/, such as *kuruma*, must be the underlying form. Strong evidence of this view is found in the morphophonemic alternations in the verbal inflections as shown in (350).[2]

(350) a. //ar-u// → /aa/ (exist-NPST)
b. //tor-u// → /too/ (take-NPST)
c. //cikur-u// → /cikwaa/ (make-NPST)
d. //kir-u// → /kyaa/ (cut-NPST)
e. //ker-u// → /kyai/ (kick-NPST)

Based on the non-past forms of the other C-verbs such as *kak-u* (write-NPST), an allomorph of the non-past suffix must be //-u//, and the conditional forms such as /ar-ja/ (exist-COND) or the negative non-past forms such as /cikur-a-n/ (make-THM-NEG.NPST) show that all the stems of the verbs in (350) must end in /r/. See § 5 for more details on verb morphology.

Supporting evidence for this view is found in the relationship between the segment and the prosody. In this dialect, while the locus of fall in pitch is distinctive, the locus of the rise in pitch is predictable from the segmental conditions of the word. For example, if the first syllable of the word contains a long vowel or diphthong or it ends in /n/, the word begins with high pitch (e.g. *kiiri* HHH 'cucumber'). On the other hand, if the second mora of the word contains a closed vowel (i, u) and the third mora contains a non-closed vowel (a, e, o), the rise in pitch occurs after the second mora (e.g. *kobira* LLH 'calf'). The fact that *kwaama* appears as LLH suggests that the underlying form of this word is /kuruma/, and the second mora contains a closed vowel /u/. Note that the form *kuruma* is used in somewhat formal situations.[3]

2 Contrary to the prediction from (350d), //sir-u// (know-NPST), //cir-u// (fall(leaves)-NPST) and //tozi-ru// (close-NPST) are realized as *saa*, *caa* and *tozaa*, not **syaa*, **cyaa* and **tozyaa*. Historical speaking, the merger of the closed vowels after /s, c, z/ must have preceded the changes of (i) and (ii) in footnote 3. After /s, c, z/, the vowel /i/ appeared as the central vowel [ɨ] that did not trigger the palatalization of the consonants.

3 Based on comparisons with other dialects, the sound changes shown in (i) and (ii) must have occurred in Nita.
(i) a. *(C)ar{i/u} > (C)aa
b. *(C)or{i/u} > (C)oo

3 Word Classes

There are two major word classes in Nita, nominals and verbals, and these can be identified on the basis of their morpho-syntactic properties. In addition to these two major word classes, a word class called here 'particles', as well as three minor and closed categories, adverbs, adnominals, and interjections, are recognized.

Nominals are defined as words which can head an NP and constitute an argument of a predicate. There are five subcategories of nominals: nouns (§ 4.2), pronouns (§ 4.1), numerals (§ 4.3), formal nouns (§ 4.4) and nominal adjectives (§ 6.2). Nominal adjectives differ from other subcategories in that they take special forms of the copula *=na*. See § 6.2 for details.

Verbals are words that inflect, and they divide into **verbs** (including copular verbs) and **adjectives**. They occur in verbal predicate phrases, while the copular verb *=da* occurs in nominal predicate phrases. Both verbs and adjectives inflect word-finally, and inflectional categories of verbals vary depending on whether they are finite (inflecting for tense and mood) or non-finite (inflecting for neither). The morphology of verbs is described in § 5, and the morphology of adjectives in § 6.1.

Nita has a set of grammatical morphemes that can be considered clitics. They occur phrase- or clause-finally, and are phonologically dependent on their hosts, i.e. they cannot constitute a single accentual phrase by themselves. The label **particle** is used here to group together role markers, conjunctive markers, modal markers, and discourse markers. Role markers will be discussed in § 9.2 (case markers) and § 9.3 (other role markers). **Conjunctive markers** mark clause combinations, such as *and*-relation (juxtaposition; *=si*), *but*-relation (adversative; *=damo*, *=ne*), and *for*-relation (causal; *=ken*). They can appear after any kind of predicate, and trigger insertion of the copula in the case of a nominal predicate. See § 12 for the clause combinations.

Modal markers and **discourse markers** can appear after any kind of predicate as conjunction markers. Modal makers such as *=ka* (Q), *=koi* (HOR), *=zo*, *=wa*(*a*), and *=ga* express various kinds of modal value, and they cannot follow

(ii) a *Cur{i/u} > C(w)aa
b. *Cir{i/u} > Cyaa
c. *(C)er{i/u} > (C)yai
In other Izumo dialects, the changes in (i) occurred regardless of what vowel appears before the /r/. Therefore, in other Izumo dialects, only forms like *kuuma* are observed, and forms like *kwaama* are not observed. Also in Nita, forms such as *kuuma* may be used, and such forms must have been borrowed from other nearby dialects.

other modal or discourse markers. Discourse markers such as *=ne(e)*, *=yo*, and *=na(a)* may follow modal markers and other discourse markers and express emphasis, though further research will be needed to investigate their functions.

Adnominals are used for adnominal modification only. In addition to the adnominal forms of demonstratives and interrogatives, there are a few adnominals such as *taisita* 'great' as in the first sentence of the sample text. **Adverbs** are non-inflecting words whose function is to modify verbs, adjectives, adverbs, nominal predicates or sentences (e.g. *moo* 'already' as in (355), *yoo* 'often'). Note that some adverbs such as *kaisiki* require the negative forms of the predicates as in *kaisiki ne-rare-datta* (not.at.all sleep-POT-NEG.PST) '(I) couldn't sleep at all'. **Interjections** are non-inflecting words that can be used in isolation to mark an exclamation, like *maa* in the fifth sentence of the sample text.

4 Nominals

4.1 *Pronouns*

Nita has personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns. Non-speech-act participant reference, i.e. third person, location, and direction, is intertwined with the demonstrative system (see § 8). Here, an overview of the personal pronouns is given.

Table 8.3 shows the personal pronoun system of Nita. Pronouns of the Nita dialect are considered to inflect for number, i.e. they distinguish different word forms for different numbers (e.g. *ora-∅* (1-SG) vs. *ora-nci, ora-raci*, and *ora-yaci* (1-PL)).

TABLE 8.3 Personal pronouns of Nita

	Singular	**Plural**
First	*ora-∅, oranci-∅* *adan-∅*	*ora-nci, ora-raci, ora-yaci* *adan-ci, adan-raci, adan-yaci* *waawa-ci, waawa-raci, waawa-yaci*
Second	*waa-∅, waaci-∅* *omai-∅*	*waa-raci, waa-yaci* *omai-ci, omai-raci, omai-yaci*
Reflexive	*waawa-∅*	*waawa-raci, waawa-yaci*

The first-person pronoun *adan* tends to be used by female speakers, while *ora*(*-nci*) is a general form, which is used by both male and female speakers.

Different forms for second-person referents are used depending on the hierarchical social relationship between the speaker and the addressee; the forms *waa, waaci* are used to indicate that the speaker finds themself to be of higher social status, while *omai* is used to indicate that the speaker considers themself to be of equal social standing with the addressee. To show the recognition that the addressee is superior on the social hierarchy, the honorific suffix *-san* is attached to the pronoun (e.g. *omai-san* (2-HON)), and it cannot be attached to *waa* or *waaci*.

The differences between the plural suffixes *-nci, -ci, -raci* and *-jaci* are not known in detail, but they have different distributions. For example, *-ci* attaches only to first-person *adan* and second-person *waawa* or *omai*. *-nci* attaches only to *ora*, and the form *ora-nci* may not only refer to more than two persons, but also to one person. *waaci* contains the plural suffix *-ci*, but it refers to one person only, and it cannot refer to two or more persons. Both *-raci* and *-yaci* can be attached to nouns denoting humans and animate beings. In other words, nouns denoting inanimate entities do not distinguish number. For example, in (351a), the distal demonstrative pronoun *aa* refers to something to eat, meaning that the plural suffix cannot be used, thus rendering the number of things to eat ambiguous. On the other hand, in (351b), the plural suffix is obligatorily attached to the demonstrative *aa*, which refers to someone who is not participating in the speech act, therefore, expressing plurality.

(351) a. {*aa/*aa-raci/*aa-yaci*}=*ga* *kuu-ta-i*
{that/that-PL/that-PL}=NOM eat.THM-DES-NPST
'(I) want to eat that/those.'

b. {**aa/aa-raci/aa-yaci*}=*ga* *kuu-ta*
{that/that-PL/that-PL}=NOM eat-PST
'Those people ate (it).'

The plural suffixes may follow the honorific suffix. For example, *omai-san-ci, omai-san-raci* is used to express the second person, but **omai-san-yaci* is not acceptable.

4.2 *Nouns*

Nouns do not inflect. Cross-linguistically common inflectional categories for nouns such as number, gender, and case are either absent (in the case of gen-

der) or present in systems other than inflection; case is marked by a clitic attaching to an NP, and plural marking is derivational, i.e. it is not obligatory for nouns.

The plural suffixes *-yaci* and *-raci* attach to nouns referring to humans and animate beings: *taroo-raci* (Taroo-PL), *sensee-yaci* (teacher-PL), *hebi-raci* (snake-PL).

4.3 *Numerals*

A numeral may be composed of a numeral root and a classifier suffix. Two usual numeral sets are as follows. In some numerals, as in (353) below, numbers greater than three or five may be expressed by numerals of Sino-Japanese origin.

(352) For general non-animate objects: *huto-ci* '1', *hutaa-ci* '2', *mec-ci* '3', *yoc-ci* '4', *eci-ci* '5', *moc-ci* '6', *nana-ci* '7', *jac-ci* '8', *kokono-ci* '9', *too* '10'.

(353) For humans: *hutoo* '1', *hutaa-ri* '2', *san-nin* '3', *yottaa* '4', *go-nin* '5', *roku-nin* '6', *sici-nin* '7', *haci-nin* '8', *ku-nin* '9', *zii-nin* '10'.

Numerals behave like other nominals and can head an NP, but they can also float (e.g. *ringo hutoci kuu-ta* (apple one eat-PST) 'I ate one apple').

4.4 *Formal Nouns*

Nita has some formal nouns, which have undergone some grammaticalization. Formal nouns cannot be used alone, and the modifier always precedes them. Some of them have entirely lost their lexical meaning and are now pure grammatical markers, while others still retain lexical meaning. For example, *eci ~ yaci*, which may have originated from *yaci* 'guy', can be used not only for humans and animate beings but also for inanimate things or events as in (354). On the other hand, *sii*, which may be derived from *sii* (< **syuu* 'people', from Chinese *zhòng*), can be used only for persons (355).

(354) *kaee=ga negee yaci mi-ta*
frog=NOM run.away.NPST YACI see-PST
'(I) saw a frog run away.'

(355) *moo ano sii ene+kake-cyot-te=da=yo*
already that SII.TOP leave.INF+begin-CONT-SEQ=COP.NPST=DSC
'That person is about to leave.'[4]

4 One of the reviewers pointed out that the form *ene* in (355) may result from perseverative

4.5 *Compound Nouns*

In Nita, like other Japanese-Ryukyuan dialects, compounding is very common in nominal (and verbal) morphology, and *rendaku* (sequential voicing) is also common. For example, the second element of each compound noun of (356a–c) is subject to *rendaku*: *hara* 'stomach' → *bara*, *syakusi* 'ladle' → *zyakusi*, *kwaa* 'chestnut' → *gwaa*. The plus sign "+" here indicates the boundary between elements of a compound.

(356) a. *waki+bara*
side+stomac
'flank'

b. *mesi+zyakusi*
rice+ladle
'rice scoop'

c. *ega+gwaa*
burr+chestnut
'chestnut in its burr'

5 Verbs

All regular verbs are of one of two subtypes according to the shape of their stem, and this determines which allomorphic suffix they take for certain inflectional categories. There are vowel-stem verbs (V-verbs) and consonant-stem verbs (C-verbs). Examples of each types of C-verb stem are given in Table 8.4. The V-verb ends in /i/ or /e/, and the C-verb ends in /b, m, t, s, k, g, r, w/ or /n/. Note that the *n*-verbs, of which there are only *en-* 'leave' and *sin-* 'die', have irregular non-past forms like *enoo* //en-oru// (leave-NPST). In addition to the two subtypes, there are two completely irregular verbs, the *come*-verb and the *do*-verb.

The structure of the verb is schematized as stem (+ thematic vowel) + inflection. The thematic vowel *-a-* is inserted when negative-polarity suffixes follow C-verbs (e.g. *kak-a-sikoni* write-THM-NEG.SEQ '(I) did not write and …'). The thematic vowel *-i-* is inserted when the C-verbs are followed by the imperative

(left-to-right) assimilation (i.e. //en-i-∅// (leave-THM-INF) → /ene/). This point may be correct, since the infinitive form of *sin-* "die" is not *sine* but *sini* or *sin*. I would like to thank the reviewer for the suggestion.

TABLE 8.4 Examples of each type of C-verb stem

Stem-final consonant	Stem	*-n* (NEG.NPST)	*-ru* (NPST)	*-ta* (PST)	*-rya* (COND)
b	*yob-* 'call'	*yob-a-n*	*yob-u*	*yon-da*	*yob-ya*
m	*yom-* 'read'	*yom-a-n*	*yom-u*	*yon-da*	*yom-ya*
t	*tat-* 'stand'	*tat-a-n*	*tac-i*	*tat-ta*	*tac-ya*
s	*sas-* 'point'	*sas-a-n*	*sas-i*	*sai-ta*	*sas-ya*
k	*kak-* 'stand'	*kak-a-n*	*kak-u*	*kai-ta*	*kak-ya*
g	*kag-* 'smell'	*kag-a-n*	*kag-u*	*kai-da*	*kag-ya*
r	*tor-* 'take'	*tor-a-n*	*too*	*tot-ta*	*tor-ya*
w	*kaw-* 'buy'	*kaw-a-n*	*ka-u*	*kaa-ta*	*kaw-ya*
n	*en-* 'leave'	*en-a-n*	*en-oo*	*en-da*	*en-ya*

suffix *-tae*, the infinitive suffix *-∅*, the purposive suffix *-ni* ~ *-i*, the desiderative suffix *-ta-*, and the polite suffix *-mas-*.

When followed by *-ta* (PST), *-te* (SEQ), *-tara* (COND), *-cyor-* (CONT) and *-cyar-* (RES / HON), the stem-final consonants of the C-verbs alternate with other segments and the suffix-initial consonant /t/ or /c/ may alternate with /d/ or /z/ respectively. To describe such alternations, the following morphophonological rules are identified: (a) the alternation of the suffix-initial consonant—/t/(or /c/) alternates with /d/ (or /z/), if the stem ends in /b, m, g, n/ (e.g. //yom-ta// (read-PST) → yom-da); (b) the stem-final consonant alternation—(b-1) /b, m/ alternate with /n/ (e.g. //yom-da// → *yon-da*), (b-2) /s, k, g/ alternate with /i/ (e.g. //kak-ta// (write-PST) → *kai-ta*),[5] (b-3) /r/ alternates with /t/ (e.g. //tor-ta// (take-PST) → *tot-ta*); (c) /Vw/ contraction—the vowel-glide sequence in *w*-verbs may change to long vowel, i.e. /Vw/ → /VV/ (e.g. //kaw-ta// (buy-PST) → *kaa-ta*). Note that /w/ also alternates with /t/ or /c/, so that *morat-ta* //moraw-ta// (receive-PST), *utac-cyor-aee* //utaw-cyor-ae-ru// (sing-CONT-HON-NPST) are observed, as shown in the appendix.

5.1 *Inflectional Morphology*

Inflection covers the categories of tense, mood and polarity,[6] but also encodes differences in the morpho-syntactic status of forms, i.e. finite or non-finite (see Table 8.5).

5 The verb *ek-* 'go' is an exception to rule (b-2), i.e. the stem form followed by suffixes such as *-ta* is *eki-*, and the past-tense form of this verb is *eki-ta* 'went'.

6 The optional *n*-elements contained in -(*n*)*datta*, -(*n*)*zyatta*, and -(*n*)*dattara* may be identical

TABLE 8.5 Inflectional paradigms of verbs

Finite	**Polarity**		***kak-* 'write'**	***mi-* 'look'**	**'come'**	**'do'**
Unmarked	Affirmative	*-ru*	*kak-u* //kak-ru//	*myaa* //mi-ru//	*kwaa* //ku-ru//	*saa* //si-ru//
/Non-past	Negative	*-n*	*kak-a-n*	*mi-n*	*ko-n*	*se-n*
Unmarked	Affirmative	*-ta*	*kai-ta*	*mi-ta*	*ki-ta*	*si-ta*
/Past	Negative	*-(n)datta* ~ *-(n)zyatta*	*kak-a-(n)datta* ~ *kak-a-(n)zyatta*	*mi-(n)datta* ~*mi-(n)zyatta*	*ko-(n)datta* ~ *ko-(n)zyatta*	*se-(n)datta* ~ *se-(n)zyatta*
Inferential	Affirmative	*-oo*/*-aa*	*kak-aa*	*myoo* //mi-yoo//	*k-oo*	*syoo* //si-oo//
/Non-past	Negative	*-mai*	*kak-a-mai*	*mi-mai*	*ki-mai*	*se-mai*
Inferential/Past	Affirmative	*-taraa*	*kai-taraa*	*mi-taraa*	*ki-taraa*	*si-taraa*
Imperative		*-re*/*-i*	*kak-e* //kak-re//	*mi-re*	*ko-i*	*se-e* //se-i//
		-tae	*kak-i-tae*	*mi-tae*	*ki-tae*	*si-tae*
Prohibitive		*-runa*	*kak-una* //kak-runa//	*myaana* //mi-runa//	*kwaana* //ku-runa//	*saana* //si-runa//
Non-finite	**Polarity**		***kak-* 'write'**	***mi-* 'look'**	**'come'**	**'do'**
Infinitive		*-∅*	*kak-i-∅*	*mi-∅*	*ki-∅*	*si-∅*
Sequential	Affirmative	*-te*	*kai-te*	*mi-te*	*ki-te*	*si-te*
	Negative 1	*-sikoni*	*kak-a-sikoni*	*mi-sikoni*	*ko-sikoni*	*se-sikoni*
	Negative 2	*-nko(o)ni*	*kak-a-nko(o)ni*	*mi-nko(o)ni*	*ko-nko(o)ni*	*se-nko(o)ni*
Conditional 1	Affirmative	*-rya(a)*	*kak-ya* //kak-rya//	*mi-rya*	*ku-rya(a)*	*s-ya(a)*
	Negative	*-nya*	*kak-a-nya*	*mi-nya*	*ko-nya*	*se-nya*
Conditional 2	Affirmative	*-tara*	*kai-tara*	*mi-tara*	*ki-tara*	*si-tara*
	Negative	*-(n)dattara*	*kak-a-(n)dattara*	*mi-(n)dattara*	*ko-(n)dattara*	*se-(n)dattara*
Purposive		*-ni* ~ *-i*	*kak-i-(n)i*	*mi-(n)i*	*ki-(n)i*	*si-(n)i*

The suffix-initial /r/ in *-ru* (NPST), *-re* (IMP), *-runa* (PROH) and *-rya(a)* (COND) is omitted when these suffixes are attached to the C-verb stem (i.e. //kak-re// → /kak-e/ write-IMP).

-oo, one of the allomorphs of the inferential suffix, follows the V-verbs and *come* and *do* verbs. In this case, the stem-final vowels /i/ and /e/, if present, alternate with /y/ (i.e. //ake-oo// → /aky-oo/ 'will open'; cf. /k-oo/ 'will come'). On the other hand, the allomorph *-aa* follows C-verbs (i.e. *kak-aa* '(Someone) will write (something)').

to the negative suffix *-n*, and they may have been inserted secondarily to express negation analytically. Furthermore, according to Ōnishi (2019: 13), the negative sequential form *-sikoni* may be derived from *-zi ok-u≠ni (-NEG put-NPST≠CNC).

The infinitive forms participate in compounding as in (357a,b).

(357) a. *nahayasi*
na+hayas-i-∅
greens+cut-THM-INF
'knife for cutting greens'

b. *enesagare!*
en-i-∅+sagar-re
leave-THM-INF+step.back-IMP
'Go away!'

Note that there are negative forms such as *kaka-sen* 'do not write', which are derived from *kak-i-∅=wa se-n* (write-THM-INF=TOP/CNTR do-NEG.NPST).

5.2 *Derivational Morphology*

Non-class changing verbal derivation includes the causative (*-sase-*), passive (*-ra(r)e-*), potential (*-e-*, *-ra(r)e-*), aspectual (*-cyor-*), honorific (*-ra(r)e-*, *-nahar-*, *-syar-*, *-cyar-*). The different honorification suffixes may be used depending on the hierarchical social relationship between the speaker and the subject. The speaker uses the suffix *-cyar-* to show a moderate degree of respect to the subject, while, to show a higher degree of respect, the speaker must use the other suffixes.[7]

The polite marker *-mas-* can often be observed in formal speech, and its inflection may be restricted; only the non-past indicative form *-mas-i* as in *kak-i-mas-i* (write-THM-POL-NPST) '(I) will write it' and the past habitual form *-mas-yot-ta* as in *ii-mas-yot-ta* (say.THM-POL-HAB-PST) '(I) used to say it' have been observed.

5.3 *Existential and Copular Verbs*

In Nita, there are two existential verbs: *or-* and *ar-*. The former is used for animate subjects, while the latter is for inanimate subjects. Their inflectional patterns are almost identical to that of *r*-verbs, except that the negative adjective *na-* is used to express the non-existence of an inanimate subject instead of **ar-an*. Table 8.6 shows the paradigm of the copular verb *=dar-*. In addition to the forms in Table 8.6, the copula has a special polite form *=des-*.

7 In addition to honorification via the above suffixes, the sequential *-te* forms can be used to show respect to the subject as in (355) above.

TABLE 8.6 The paradigm of the copular verb in Nita

Finiteness		Tense	*d*-series	*n*-series (special form)
Finite	Indicative	non-past	*=da* //dar-∅//	*=na* //nar-∅//
		past	*=datta* //dar-ta//	*=natta* //nar-ta//
	Inferential	non-past	*=daraa* //dar-aa//	*=naraa* //nar-aa//
		past	*=dattaraa* //dar-taraa//	*=dattaraa* //dar-taraa//
Non-finite	Conditional 1		*=nara*	*=nara*
	Conditional 2		*=dattara* //dar-tara//	*=nattara* //nar-tara//
	Sequential		*=de*	*=de*
	Adverbial		*=ni*	*=ni*
	Noun modifier		(*=no/ga*)	*=na*

The *n*-series forms are used only for nominal adjectives (see § 6.2), while the *d*-series forms are used for all the types of nominals.

In negation, the analytical forms *=da na-* ~ *=zya na-* (//de=wa na// (COP.SEQ=TOP NEG)), *=nya na-* (//ni=wa na// (COP.ADV=TOP NEG)) and *=n na-* (//ni na// (COP.ADV=TOP.NEG)) are used.

=da, the non-past indicative form of the *d*-series, does not precede a noun (i.e. **otoko=da huto* (male=COP.NPST person) 'male person'). Instead, the genitive particle *=no/ga* is used when an NP modifies another NP (e.g. *otoko=no huto* (male=GEN person) 'male person').

6 Adjectival Expressions

There are two classes of adjectival roots in Nita: verbal adjectives and nominal adjectives. Like verbs, verbal adjectives inflect for tense and mood, while nominal adjectives do not inflect, and they take the *d-* or *n*-series copular verb (see § 5.3).

6.1 *Verbal Adjectives*

Tables 8.7 and 8.8 give the paradigm of the verbal adjective *haya-* 'fast/early'.[8]

Vowel coalescence optionally takes place across a boundary between an adjective stem and the indicative non-past suffix *-i*. As shown in (358), /ai/ and

8 The negative verbal adjective *na-* has the special conditional form *na-keranya*.

TABLE 8.7 Verbal adjective paradigm 1

Finite	**Tense**	
Indicative	non-past	*haya-i ~ haye(e)*
	past	*haya-katta*
Inferential	non-past	*haya-karaa*
	past	*haya-kattaraa*

TABLE 8.8 Verbal adjective paradigm 2

Non-finite	
Infinitive	*haya-∅*
Conditional 1	*haya-kerya*
Conditional 2	*haya-kattara*
Adverbial	*haya(-a)* //haya-u//
Sequential	*haya-(a)te*

/oi/ alternate with /e(e)/, and /ui/ alternates with /i(i)/ via vowel coalescence, which is optional.

(358) a. //taka-i// (high-NPST) → *takai ~ take(e)*
b. //too-i// (far-NPST) → *tooi ~ toe(e)*
c. //hiku-i// (low-NPST) → *hikui ~ hiki(i)*

Infinitive forms participate in adverbial expressions such as *haya-∅ koto* and *haya-∅=n(i)*, and such adverbial expressions are used to form so-called *light-verb* constructions such as *haya-∅ koto saa* 'hurry up (lit. do something in haste)' or *haya-∅=n(i) naa* 'become fast(er)'.

The complex verbal phrase is used to negate the verbal adjective. The adjective inflects as an infinitive form and the auxiliary verb is the negative verbal adjective *na-* (e.g. *haya-∅ na-i* (fast/early-INF NEG-NPST) 'not fast/early').

6.2 *Nominal Adjectives*

Nominal adjectives do not inflect and may take a copula to indicate tense, mood, polarity and finiteness. Moreover, as shown in § 5.3, nominal adjectives may take special *n*-series copular forms as in (359). Note that some nominal adjective roots may occur in a special construction *X=ga aa*, where *X* may be a noun or a nominal adjective as shown in (360).

(359) {*genki=na/genki=da*}*=ka*
fine=COP.NPST=Q
'(Are you) fine?'

(360) *genki=ga aa*
fine=NOM exist.NPST
'(S/he) is fine.'

7 Class-Changing Derivations

7.1 *Nominalization and Nominalizers*

In Nita, three nominalizers, *=∅*, *=ga* and *=no*, have been identified. In (361), the phrase *yai-ta=∅* serves as an object. The slot filled by ∅ can be filled by the nominalizer *=no* or formal nouns such as *bun* or *yaci*. Younger speakers tend to fill the slot with such overt forms.

(361) {*yai-ta=∅* / *yai-ta=no* / *yai-ta yaci* /
{bake-PST=NMLZ / bake-PST=NMLZ / bake-PST YACI /
yai-ta bun}*=o* *kuu-ta*
bake-PST BUN}=ACC eat-PST
'I ate the baked one.'

The nominalizer *=∅* is often used in an event nominalization as observed in (362a). *=∅* cannot be used for a referential nominalization which refers to a person as in (362b). In contrast, it can be used in referential nominalizations which refers to a non-human referent as in (363a,b).

(362) a. *kyonen* *aa-ta=∅=o* *oboe-cyoo*
last.year meet-PST=NMLZ=ACC remember-CONT.NPST
'Do you remember that we met last year?'

b. *kyonen* {**aa-ta=∅* / *aa-ta sii*} *oboe-cyoo*
last.year {meet-PST=NMLZ / meet-PST SII} remember-CONT.NPST
'Do you remember the person you met last year?'

(363) a. *sara=ne* *at-ta=∅=ga* *naanat-ta*
plate=DAT exist-PST=NMLZ=NOM disappear-PST
'What was on the plate was gone.'

b. *sara=ne* *at-ta=∅=o* *ora=ga* *kuu-ta*
plate=DAT exist-PST=NMLZ=ACC 1ST=NOM eat-PST
'I ate what was on the plate.'

7.2 *Other Class-Changing Derivations*

Verbal adjective stems are derived from verb roots with the desiderative suffix *-ta-* (e.g. *kuu-ta-karaa=zi* (eat.THM-DES-INFR=MOD) '(You) will want to eat'). Several verb stems which are derived from nouns have been identified (e.g. *kyaa-gom-* (fog-VLZ) 'become foggy').

8 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

The demonstrative system in Nita is the three-way contrast system of *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-*. Table 8.9 shows the demonstratives and interrogatives in Nita.

TABLE 8.9 Demonstratives and interrogatives in Nita

	Pronoun 1 (individual)	**Pronoun 2 (location)**	**Pronoun 3 (direction)**	**Adverbial (manner)**	**Adnominal 1**	**Adnominal 2 (state / quality)**
Proximate	*koo ~ kore*	*koko*	*kocci*	*koge*	*kono*	*kogyan*
Medial	*soo ~ sore*	*soko*	*socci*	*soge*	*sono*	*sogyan*
Distal	*aa ~ are*	*asiko*	*acci*	*age*	*ano*	*agyan*
Interrogative	*doo ~ dore*	*doko*	*docci*	*doge*	*dono*	*dogyan*

In deictic use, three types of demonstratives are used differently depending on the relative distance between the speaker, the addressee and the referent, while, in anaphoric use, only two types, the *so-* and *a-* types, are used, though it is unclear how they differ.

Other than the forms in Table 8.9, there are nominal adjectives such as *koge=na*, *soge=na*, and *age=na*. In (364a), the nominal adjective *age* 'like that' anaphorically refers to 'impatient' in the preceding comment. On the other hand, when *age* anaphorically refers to the whole comment before that, *age* cannot take the special copular form *=nar-* as in (364b). In (364b), *age* should be analyzed as an adverbial form of the *a*-type demonstrative in Table 8.9.

(364) a. (In response to the comment 'He is impatient')
arya honne age=nat-ta mukasi=kara
that.TOP really like.that=COP-PST the.past=ABL
'He has been impatient for a long time.'

b. (In response to the comment 'Was he impatient?')
*age=dat-ta=yo/*age=nat-ta=yo*
like.that=COP-PST=DSC
'That is right.'

There are interrogatives other than those listed in Table 8.9 (e.g. *nan*(*i*) 'what', *daa* ~ *dare* 'who', *nanbo* 'how many/how much', *dogesite* 'why',[9] *ecu* 'when').

As in (365), indefinites are composed of interrogatives plus the particles *=zi*, *=dai* and *=ka*.

(365) *asiko=ne daa=dai oo=wa*
there=DAT who=Q exist.NPST=MOD
'There's someone out there.'

9 Argument Phrase

9.1 *Basic Structure*

A nominal phrase (NP) consists of the head and (optionally) a modifier, which may be filled by a noun plus a genitive particle *=no/=ga*, an adjective, an adnominal, or an adnominal clause. An argument NP is followed by case and other role markers.

9.2 *Case Marking*

In Nita, the case particles listed in Table 8.10 have been identified.

TABLE 8.10 The Case particles in Nita

Case	Form	Function
Nominative	*=ga/=no*	Subject
Genitive	*=no/=ga*	Noun modifying
Accusative	*=o*	Direct object
Dative	*=ni~=ne*	Recipient, Passive agent, Goal, Existential location
Limitative	*=made*	Limit
Allative	*=e*	Goal
Ablative	*=kara*	Source
Instrumental	*=de*	Means, Event location
Comitative	*=to*	Associate
Comparative	*=yoo*	Object of comparison

9 This form is considered to be a grammaticalized form of *doge si-te* (how do-SEQ) 'in what way/for what reason'.

As shown in Table 8.10, the same case forms are used as nominative and genitive markers. For convenience, I use the term 'nominative' (NOM) when the marker is attached to an NP that serves as an argument of the predicate, and 'genitive' (GEN) when the marker is attached to an NP that serves as a modifier of a larger NP. As in (366a), when the relative social rank of the NP to which the marker is attached is high, *=no* is used.[10] In the case of the nominative, only *=ga* is used in the main clause, while *=no* can be used in adnominal clauses. On the other hand, when the relative social rank of the NP is not higher than the speaker's, the choice between the two markers is based on the animacy-definiteness of the NP. In the case of the genitive, when the NP to which the marker is attached refers to human beings, both *=ga* and *=no* can be used (366b), while only *=no* can be used when the NP refers to animals or inanimate things (366c).

(366) a. *sense=*{*no*/**ga*} *tenugui*
teacher=GEN towel
'a towel of our teacher'

b. *taroo=*{*no/ga*} *tenugui*
Taro=GEN towel
'Taro's towel'

c. *cikue=*{*no*/**ga*} *nezi*
desk=GEN screw
'desk screw'

As suggested by (367a–c), the relative rank in the animacy hierarchy of the subject and object may affect the choice to use or not use the overt accusative marker *=o*, though further investigation is needed.[11]

(367) a. *ziroo=ga* {**omae* / *omae=o*} *mi-cyoo*
ziroo=NOM {2 / 2=ACC} look.at-CONT.NPST
'Ziroo is looking at you.'

b. *ziroo=ga* {*inu* / *inu=o*} *mi-cyoo*
ziroo=NOM {dog / dog=ACC} look.at-CONT.NPST
'Ziroo is looking at a dog.'

10 See the first and final sentences of the sample text for examples of nominative *=no*.

11 Direct objects may appear with final-vowel lengthening, but the details are not yet clear (cf. Fujiwara 1981: 197–198).

c. *ora=wa* {*omae* / *omae=o*} *mi-cyoo*
1=TOP {2 / 2=ACC} look.at-CONT.NPST
'I am looking at you.'

9.3 *Other Role Markers*

So far, the following role markers have been identified: *=mo* (ADD 'also, even'), *=dari* (ADD 'even'), *=kurai* (EXM), *=demo* (EXM), *=nato* (EXM), *=doma(a)* (EXM), *=sika* (LMTD 'only'), *=dake* (LMTD 'only'), *=hodo* (LMTD 'only, at least'), *=bakka(a)* (LMTD 'just'), *=wate* (DIST 'at a time, each'), and *=wa* (CNTR). See the sample text for concrete examples of *=kurai*, *=sika* (398), and *=dake* (400).

In the data at hand, there are some cases where a role marker follows the case particle as in (368), while there are no examples where it precedes the case particle.

(368) *tanzyoobi=ni=doma kaet-tara*
birthday=DAT=EXM return-COND
'Come home at least on your birthday.'

The same form as the contrastive *=wa* is also used as a topic marker (see § 11.7). Note that the topic (and contrastive) marker *=wa* and the additive markers always replace the nominative and accusative markers (e.g. *ora=wa* not **ora=ga=wa*). Further research will be needed to clarify the co-occurrence restrictions of case and other role markers.

10 Predicate Phrase

10.1 *Verbal Predicate*

A verbal predicate consists of a lexical verbal root (either a verb or a verbal adjective) and optionally an auxiliary verb, which dilutes or changes the lexical meaning and expresses a grammatical meaning. In a complex verbal predicate, a lexical verb inflects as the sequential converb *-te*, and the auxiliary verb inflects for tense, mood, and polarity. The auxiliary verb constructions in (369) have been identified. Benefactive auxiliary verbs derive from verbs of giving (*yar-, age-* 'give others', *gos-* 'give us') or receiving (*moraw-, maw-*). Aspectual auxiliary verbs will be described in § 11.5.1. In addition to (369), *-te mi-* is used to designate the speaker's intention to try (deontic modality).

(369) a. Benefactive: *-te yar-, -te age-, -te gos-* (giving of a favor), *-te moraw-, -te maw-* (receiving of a favor)

b. Aspectual: *-te ar-* ~ *-cyar-* (resultative), *-te ok-* ~ *-cyok-* (preparatory), *-te maw-* ~ *-cyaw-* (completive)

10.2 *Nominal Predicate*

A nominal predicate consists of an NP as the head of the predicate and a copular verb, which inflects for tense and mood as would a general verb (see § 5.3 for the morphology of copular verbs).

A nominalized phrase (or clause) with the nominalizer *=∅* can be followed by a copular verb as in (370), which is presented as new information for the addressee (see also § 11.2 and § 11.7).

(370) *taroo=wa sara=o wat-ta=∅=da=yo*
taroo=TOP plate=ACC break-PST=NMLZ=COP.NPST=DSC
'Taro broke a plate.'

11 The Simple Sentence

11.1 *Alignment System and Non-canonical Case-Marking*

The alignment system of Nita is a nominative-accusative system, in which S/A are obligatorily marked with a nominative case marker *=ga*/*=no* and P is optionally marked with accusative *=o*.[12] In a clause whose predicate is a ditransitive verb (e.g. *yar-* 'give others', *okur-* 'send'), the recipient or goal is marked with dative case as in (371), and the causee agent is also marked with the dative case in a ditransitive clause derived by the causativization (see § 11.4).

(371) *taroo=wa otooto=ne waawa=no ie=o yat-ta*
Taroo=TOP brother=DAT REFL=GEN house=ACC give-PST
'Taro gave his house to his younger brother.'

Nita has a double nominative construction in which the predicate takes two nominative arguments (372). In this construction, the first NP is marked with *=wa* (TOP), and the second NP with *=ga* (NOM).

(372) *kome=wa nita=ga ma-i*
rice=TOP Nita=NOM good.taste-NPST
'(For) rice, Nita is (a) good (place).'

12 Here, S is defined as the nominal argument of a single-argument clause, A as the most AGENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause and P as the most PATIENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause, following Payne (1997: 133–134).

Nita also has a transitive adjectival construction in which the predicate takes an experiencer and stimulus (373). In this construction, the two NPs are canonically nominative-marked as in the double nominative construction, while the second NP can be marked with *=ni* (DAT). Such constructions can be formed with predicates such as *suki=dar-* (love=COP) or *suk-* (like).

(373) *adan=wa ni-i-∅+mono={ga/ni}* *sik-a-n*
1=TOP sew-THM-INF+MONO={NOM/DAT} like-THM-NEG.NPST
'I do not like sewing.'

11.2 *Sentence Type*

Based on morpho-syntactic and prosodic properties, three distinct sentence types are identified: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. This section provides an overview of interrogatives and imperatives.

Interrogative sentences divide into two subtypes: polar and content interrogatives. In Nita, both polar and content questions are marked with question particles such as *=ka*. Furthermore, rising intonation in sentence-final position indicates that a question is being asked (374, 375). The final rising intonation is also observed when the question marker *=ka* is used. Further research is needed to clarify the relationship between question markers and intonation.

(374) *zisin=ga* *ar-ta(=no)* *{sit-cyor-u=ka=ne(↘)* /
earthquake=NOM exist-PST(=NMLZ) {know-ASP-NPST=Q=DSC /
sit-cyor-u(↗)}
know-ASP-NPST}
'Did you know that there was an earthquake?'

(375) *korya daa=no* *{tenogui=ka=ne(↘)* / *tenugui=da(↗)}*
this.TOP who=GEN {towel=Q=DSC / towel=COP}
'Whose towel is this?'

Imperatives are commands addressed to a second person. Nita has the following three forms dedicated to expressing commands: (a) the imperative inflection (*oki-re* or *oki-tae(=yo)*), (b) the imperative forms of the honorific suffixes, as in *kak-i-naha-i* (write-THM-HON-IMP) 'Please write it', and (c) the imperative forms of the benefactive auxiliary verbs, as in *noo-te gos-e* (sew-SEQ BEN-IMP) 'Please sew it'. In addition, there are some conventionalized ways of expressing commands pragmatically, and these are declarative in morphological terms: (d) the sequential form, as in *kak-a-sikoni oi-te* (write-THM-NEG.SEQ put-SEQ) 'Don't write it down, just let it be', (e) the non-past form plus copula construc-

tion, as in *kak-u=∅=da* (write-NPST=NMLZ=COP) 'Write it!', (f) the past form, as in *sore goi-ta* (it give-PST) 'Please give it (to me)'.

Prohibitives (negative commands) are marked with the inflectional suffix *-runa*.

11.3 *Possession*

In the possessive construction, the possessor is marked with dative case *=ni* and the possessed with nominative case *=ga*. In this construction, the existential verbs *ar-* and *or-* are used (376).

(376) *oci=nyaa* *eno-ga* *oo=yo*
(My) family=DAT.TOP dog=NOM exist.NPST=DSC
'We have a dog.'

When the possessed is inanimate and alienable, *mot-* 'have, hold' may be used, and in this case, the possessor is marked with the nominative case and the possessed with the accusative case.

11.4 *Valency Changing*

11.4.1 Causative

The causative is productively built upon an intransitive or transitive verb with the suffix *-sase-*. In both types, the causer is introduced and is coded as A. The causee object is marked with either the dative or accusative case in intransitive-based causativization (377a), while it is marked with the dative case in transitive-based causativization (377b).

(377) a. *taroo=wa* *otooto=*{*ni/o*} *sii-ta=∅=hodo*
taroo=TOP young.brother={DAT/ACC} like-PST=NMLZ=LMTD
oyog-ase-ta
swim-CAUS-PST
'Taro let his brother swim as long as he wanted. (intransitive-based causative)'

b. *taroo=wa* *otooto=ni* *yamekucya* *yasai=o*
taroo=TOP young.brother=DAT against.his.will vegetable=ACC
kw-ase-ta
eat-CAUS-PST
'Taro forced his brother to eat vegetables. (transitive-based causative)'

11.4.2 Passive

Passive sentences are built upon both intransitive and transitive verbs with the suffix *-ra(r)e-*. The patient is coded as the subject, while the agent is coded as a dative *=ni* phrase (378a). The agent is often not explicitly stated as in (378b). Note that the benefactive construction *-te moraw-* as in (378b) is used in place of the suffix *-ra(r)e-*.

(378) a. *taroo=wa otooto=ni hanas-i-∅+kaker-are-ta*
taroo=TOP young.brother=DAT talk-THM-INF+set-PASS-PST
'Taro was spoken to by his younger brother.'

b. *katte=ni {ko-raee / ki-te moraa}=to*
selfish=COP.ADV {come-PASS.NPST / come-SEQ BEN.NPST}=COND
komaa
be.troubled.NPST
'I don't want (him) coming here on his own.'

The availability of passivization may depend on the animacy of the object NP and the transitivity of the verb as suggested by (379a,b). Further research will be needed to clarify this point.

(379) a. *kono ie=wa oziicyan=ga tate-ta*
this house=TOP grandfather=NOM build-PST
'(My) grandfather build this house.'

b. **kono ie=wa oziicyan=ne tate-rae-ta*
this house=TOP grandfather=DAT build-PASS-PST
'[intended meaning] This house was built by (my) grandfather.'

11.4.3 Potential

The potential suffixes *-e-* and *-ra(r)e* are used to express ability (380a), circumstantial possibility (380b) and middle voice (380c).

(380) a. *yorokuso=de toe toko=wa ek-are-n*
weak=COP.SEQ far.NPST place=TOP go-POT-NEG
'(I am) too weak to travel far.'

b. *asikaa toe=ken arii-te=mazya ek-are-n*
there.TOP far.NPST=CSL walk-SEQ=LMT.CONT go-POT-NEG
'It is too far to go there on foot.'

c. *kono pen=wa yoo kakyae=wa*
this pen=TOP well write.POT.NPST=MOD
'This pen writes well.'

11.5 *Aspect and Tense*

11.5.1 Aspect

For the perfective aspect, simple verb forms such as *ku-u* 'eat' and *kuu-ta* 'ate' are used, while for the imperfective aspect (progressive (381a) and resultative (381b)) *-cyor-*.[13]

(381) a. *neko=ga esa kuu-cyoo*
cat=NOM feed eat-CONT.NPST
'A cat is eating food.'

b. *neko=n ke=ga oci-cyoo*
cat=GEN hair=NOM fall-CONT.NPST
'Cat hair is on the floor.'

While in many other western Japanese dialects there is a morphological opposition between completive *-tor-*/*-cyor-* and progressive *-(y)or-* (see Chapters 9 and 10 on Kyūshū dialects), Nita has no such opposition. For the past habitual aspect, however, *-yot-ta* //yor-ta// is used, while, for the present habitual aspect, the non-past forms are used.

For the resultative aspect, the auxiliary verb construction *-te ar-* ~ *-cyar-* is also used, and here S is interpreted as the object of the lexical verb (382).

(382) *kono hon=wa eego=de kai-cyaa=wa*
this book=TOP English=INS write-RES.NPST=MOD
'This book is written in English.'

For the perfect aspect, past-tense forms are used, and the perfect interpretation is compatible with certain adverbs such as *moo* 'already' as in (383).

(383) *moo hai yasai kit-ta=yo*
already early vegetable cut-PST=DSC
'I have already cut the vegetables.'

13 The *-cyor-* form could be an auxiliary verb construction //-te or-// as in other Japanese dialects, but there is no evidence to assume so and it is treated here as a suffix.

Nita has other marked aspectual expressions such as inceptive (INF+*kake-* 'just begin to' (356)), preparatory (*-te ok- ~ -cyok-*), which indicates an action in preparation for the future, and completive (*-te maw- ~ -cyaw-*) (384).

(384) *kodomo=ga omocya=o mee-zyat-ta=ge=na=ne*
child=NOM toy=ACC brake-COMPL-PST=LCTN=COP=DSC
'I think my child has broken a toy.'

11.5.2 Tense

Tense is expressed by two opposing inflectional suffixes, non-past suffixes (e.g. *-ru* and *-i*) vs. past suffixes (e.g. *-ta* and *-katta*). Non-past forms are used to refer to present states or properties (e.g. *kuutai* 'want to eat' in (351a)), future events (385), as well as atemporal or generic events.

(385) *kooni siicyooken kaatenzyaawa*
koo=ni sik-cyor-u=ken kaw-te en-te yar-u=wa
this=DAT like-CONT-NPST=CSL buy-SEQ
'He likes this one, so I'll buy it for him.'

11.6 *Mood and Modality*

In Nita, two opposing types of mood have been identified, and they are marked with mood inflectional suffixes: declarative and imperative. See § 5.1 and § 11.2 for each inflection and the relationship with sentence type.

Intentional modality is expressed by the non-past form plus the modal marker *=ka*, or the discourse marker *=wa* or *=jo*. The intentional form is not used in isolation to express volition. It is always followed by *=to* (*o*)*mow-* (=QUOT think) as in the second sentence of the sample text.

The intentional form of a verb may be followed by the modal marker *=koi*, which comes from the imperative form of the 'come'-verb, or *=ya*, and it expresses hortativity as in (386).

(386) *asita=mo koko=e k-oo=koi*
tomorrow=ADD here=ALL come-INT=HOR
'Let's come back here together tomorrow.'

Inferential (epistemic) modality is expressed by intentional forms plus the modal markers *=zo*/*=zi* (387a). Note that the formal noun *sikoo*(*=da*) is used to express inferential modality as in (387b) and that the inferential form of the copula *=dar-aa* is also used for the inferential as in (387a,b). Additionally, there are nominal adjective constructions such as *ge*(*=na*), *ya*(*a*)(*=na*), *saa*(*=na*),

which express evidential modalities, although the difference between these constructions is still unclear.

(387) a. *sorosoro* {*k-oo=zo=naa* / *kwaa=dar-aa*}
soon {come-INT=MOD=DSC / come.NPST=COP-INFR}
'(He) will be here soon.'

b. *asita=wa* {*huu sikoo=da* /
tomorrow=TOP {rain.NPST SIKOO=COP.NPST /
huu=dar-aa}
rain.NPST=COP-INFR}
'It will rain tomorrow.'

Some kinds of complex predications which express deontic modalities have been found (388), but the details are not yet clear.

(388) *haya benkyo+suu=ga ee=ga=na*
soon study+do.NPST=NOM good.NPST=MOD=DSC
'The sooner you study, the better.'

11.7 *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings: Topic and Focus*

In principle, a topicalized argument is marked with *=wa*, and it appears in sentence-initial position (e.g. the subject *taroo* is topicalized in (378a), while the object *kono ie* is topicalized in (379a)). However, as in (355), the topicalized argument may appear without any particle.

In Nita, there is no dedicated morphological focus marker. A focus is marked with a cleft construction '*X=wa Y=da*', in which *Y* is the focus (389).

(389) *akamboo=ga nai-cyoo=wa o-naka=ga*
baby=NOM cry-CONT=TOP POL-stomach=NOM
hec-cyoo=ken=da=wa.
decrease-CONT=CSL=COP.NPST=MOD
'(I think that) It is because s/he is hungry that the baby is crying.'

The intonation must also have something to do with information structure, but this has not been investigated in detail.

12 The Complex Sentence

In Nita, one of the main strategies employed to build complex sentences is the combining of clauses headed by converbs. However, based on semantic-syntactic criteria, many clauses headed by converbs cannot be described as strictly subordinate, but they rather encode coordinate events. The distinction between coordination and subordination in Nita is thus blurred.

12.1 *Coordination*

In Nita, syntactic clausal coordination is not prominent, and clause-chaining constructions are used instead as a coordination strategy (§ 12.3). Only constructions with the conjunctive markers *=si*, *=damo* and *=ne* (390a,b) are identified as coordination constructions.

(390) a. *eno=mo oo=si neko=mo oo(=si)*
dog=ADD exist.NPST=and cat=ADD exist.NPST(=and)
'There are dogs, and (there are) cats.'

b. *eno=wa oo={damo/ne} neko=wa or-an*
dog=CONT exist.NPST=but cat=CONT exist-NEG.NPST
'There are dogs, but there are cats.'

12.2 *Subordination*

There are three types of subordinate clause: complement clauses, adnominal clauses, and adverbial clauses.

Complement clauses divide into two subtypes: noun clauses and quotative clauses. Noun clauses are formed by attaching a nominalizer, and they serve as arguments (see § 7). Quotative clauses are formed by being directly followed by verbs of saying or thinking, or by attaching the quotative markers *=to* and *=tte*. See the sample text for concrete examples of quotative clauses with *=to* (394) and *=tte* (402) and without any marker (394 and 402).

An adnominal clause precedes a head noun without a relativizer such as a relative pronoun (391). Verbals in adnominal clauses inflect as the unmarked forms (*-ru, -n, -ta, -i*, etc.).

(391) [*oci=ne at-ta*] *sara zyanzyane mee-da*
[my house=DAT exist-PST] plates many break-PST
'(I) broke many plates in my house.'

Adverbial clauses are most usually headed by converbs (392).

(392) *cyonbo ake-ryaa sizisi=n naa=yo*
a.little open-COND cool=COP.ADV become.NPST=DSC
'If you open (the windows) a little, it'll be cooler.'

The other adverbial subordination strategy available is the use of a finite form followed by the formal noun *nakai* 'interval', and the nominalizer *=∅* followed by a conditional form of copular verb such as *saa=∅=nara* (do.NPST=NMLZ=COP.COND).

12.3 *Clause-Chaining*

In the clause-chaining construction, a series of non-finite (converbal) clauses follow each other and only the final verb is finite carrying the TAM markers. Clause-chaining constructions are close to adverbial subordinate structures in that they connect non-finite clauses, and they are also close to coordinated structures in that they are used as a coordination strategy. Chain-medial clauses are headed by a sequential converb. See the first sentence in the appendix for a concrete example.

12.4 *Insubordination*

Nita exhibits an insubordination process whereby a non-finite clause is used as a main clause. For example, in the third sentence in the appendix, the causal marker *=ken* behaves as a discourse marker, and it may express 'I envy her because I never return to my parents' home for *hange domari*.'

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Appendix: Sample Text

The following discourse is about *hange domari* (lit. 'mid-summer stay'), for which a woman who has married returns to her parents' home for a few days after her first rice planting.

(393) A: *tonarino* *oyomesanno* *kyoowa* *taisita*
tonari=no o-yome-san=no kyoo=wa taisita
neighbor=GEN POL-bride-HON=NOM today=TOP great(ly)
hanauta *utaate* *newano* *hoo* *batabata* *site*
hana+uta utaw-te newa=no hoo bata+bata si-te
nose+song sing-SEQ garden=GEN direction bata+RED do-SEQ
hanauta *utaccyoraee.*
hana+uta utaw-cyor-ae-ru
nose+song sing-CONT-HON-NPST
‘ ‘My neighbor’s wife is humming in a good mood today, flapping around in the garden, and humming,’ I thought.’

(394) A: *asitawa* *hangede* *osatoe*
asita=wa hange=de o-sato=e
tomorrow=TOP mid.summer=COP.SEQ POL-home=ALL
ekaakato *omoote* *yorokonzyoraeewa*
ek-aa=ka=to omow-te yorokob-cyor-ae-ru=wa
go-INT=Q=QUOT think-SEQ rejoice-CONT-HON-NPST=MOD
iitenee.
iw-te=nee
say-SEQ=DSC
‘ ‘She is happy that tomorrow is *hange* and that she will be able to go back home,’ I thought.’

(395) A: *watasira* *eku* *tokoga* *naiken.*
watasi-ra ek-ru toko=ga na-i=ken
1-PL.TOP go-NPST place=NOM NEG-NPST=CSL
‘We had nowhere to go.’[14]

(396) A: *cikakudaken.*
cika-ku=dar-∅=ken
near-ADV=COP-NPST=CSL
‘Because my parents’ house was nearby.’

(397) A: *soode* *honne* *tonaano* *obasanno* *hanauta* *utaate*
soode honne tonari=no obasan=no hana+uta utaw-te
then really neighbor=GEN lady=NOM nouse+song sing-SEQ

14 The form *watasira* may come from Standard Japanese.

maa asitawa ekakato motte maa
maa asita=wa ek-a=ka=to omow-te maa
INTJ tomorrow=TOP go-INT=Q=QUOT think-SEQ INTJ
ii mondanaato mootene
i-i mon=dar-∅=naa=to omow-te=ne
good-NPST thing=COP-NPST=DSC=QUOT think-SEQ=DSC
omootanowa.
omow-ta=no=wa
think-PST=NMLZ=TOP
'Then, I heard her humming, and I envied her, thinking that tomorrow she would be going to *hange*. That is what I thought.'

(398) B: *sonoguraisika tanosimiga naiwanee.*
sono=kurai=sika tanosim-i-∅=ga na-i=wa=nee.
its=EXM=LMTD enjoy-THM-INF=NOM NEG-NPST=MOD=DSC
'It was the only thing she could look forward to, was not it?'

(399) B: *zikkae ekuguraisika.*
zikka-e ek-ru=kurai=sika
parents' home=ALL
'The only thing she could look forward to was going home to her parents.'

(400) A: *soo soo zikka ekunoga tatta*
soo soo zikka ek-ru=no=ga tatta
yes yes parents' home.ALL go-NPST=NMLZ=NOM just
soredakegane tanosimidattano.
sore=dake=ga=ne tanosim-i-∅=dar-ta=no
it=LMTD=NOM=DSC enjoy-THM-INF=COP-PST=DSC
'Yes, the only thing she was looking forward to was going home to her parents.'

(401) A: *nna ryokoone ekuzya naisinee.*
(so)nna ryokoo=ne ek-ru=de=wa na-i=si=nee
INTJ travel=DAT go-NPST=COP.ADV=TOP NEG-NPST=JUX=DSC
'Well, she was not going to travel.'

(402) A: *soresorene obaasanne okaasannette omiyage*
soresore=ne obaasan=ne okaasan=ne=tte o-miyage
each one=DAT grandmother=DAT mother=DAT=QUOT POL-gift

yooisite *moratte* *ittekimasi* *iite.*
yooi+si-te moraw-te ittekimasi iw-te
preparation+do-SEQ BEN-SEQ *ittekimasi* say-SEQ
'She had gifts prepared for each of her family members; in other words, for her grandmother, mother and so on, and said *ittekimasi*.'[15]

(403) Researcher: Was the gift *sasamaki* (a Japanese rice cake wrapped in bamboo leaves)?

(404) A: *sasamakinee.*
sasa+mak-i-∅≠nee
bamboo.leaves+roll-THM-INF≠DSC
'Yes, it was *sasamaki*.'

(405) Researcher: Did she take the *sasamaki* as a gift?

(406) B: *omiyageninee.*
o-miyage≠ni≠nee
POL-gift≠DAT≠DSC
'Yes, as a gift.'

(407) A: *uun* *omiyageni* *kanarazi* *sasamaki* *motasete*
uun o-miyage≠ni kanarazi sasamaki mot-ase-te
INTJ POL-gift≠DAT always SASAMAKI have-CAUS-SEQ
moratte *ette* *modottawaneette* *XXsanno.*
moraw-te ek-te modor-ta≠wa≠nee≠tte XX-san≠no
BEN-SEQ go-SEQ return-PST≠MOD≠DSC≠QUOT XX-HON≠NOM
'Well, 'I used to go and come back, always with *sasamaki* as a gift,' XX said.'

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