An Introduction to the Japonic Languages

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CHAPTER 9

Yanagawa (Fukuoka, Kyūshū Japanese)

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1 The Language and Its Speakers

The Yanagawa dialect (Yanagawa, hereafter) is spoken in Yanagawa City, Fukuoka Prefecture, Kyūshū (Figure 9.1).

The Kyūshū dialects are divided into three main groups depending on their syntactic, lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features: the Honichi dialects spoken in the east, the Hichiku dialects spoken in the northwest, and the Satsugu dialects spoken in the south (Kamimura 1983: 7–8). Yanagawa belongs to the Hichiku dialect group (Okano 1983: 85). Yanagawa is similar to other Hichiku dialects in that it has two series of nominative markers *=ga* and *=no* in both main and subordinate clauses, and in the use of the sentence-final particles *=bai* and *=tai*. On the other hand, it is distinguished from the neighboring dialects by its use of the honorific affix *-mes-* and the interjection *nomo* (Okano 1983: 65). There are few previous studies about Yanagawa and they (Fujiwara 1952, Takano and Tanaka 1972, Matsunaga 1973) have focused only on some sentence-final particles and vocabulary items. The author has written a sketch grammar of Yanagawa in Japanese as her master thesis (Matsuoka 2021). This chapter is a heavily revised version based on newly collected data as well.

At the end of July 2020, the population of Yanagawa City was about 65,000, of which about 15,000 were in their 70s or older and likely to speak the traditional Yanagawa dialect fluently. The younger generations usually speak Standard Japanese or a version of the Yanagawa dialect which is strongly influenced by Standard Japanese. There are differences between the Yanagawa dialect spoken by the older generations and that spoken by the younger generations. For example, the older generations use the suffix *-ka* as a non-past suffix for verbal adjectives (§ 6), while the younger generations use *-i*, which is the same form as Standard Japanese. In the present chapter, the author focuses on Yanagawa spoken by the older generations. The data presented in this chapter are the author's field data. The data were collected from two consultants, HK and YM. HK is female and YM is male, and both of them are in their 80s.

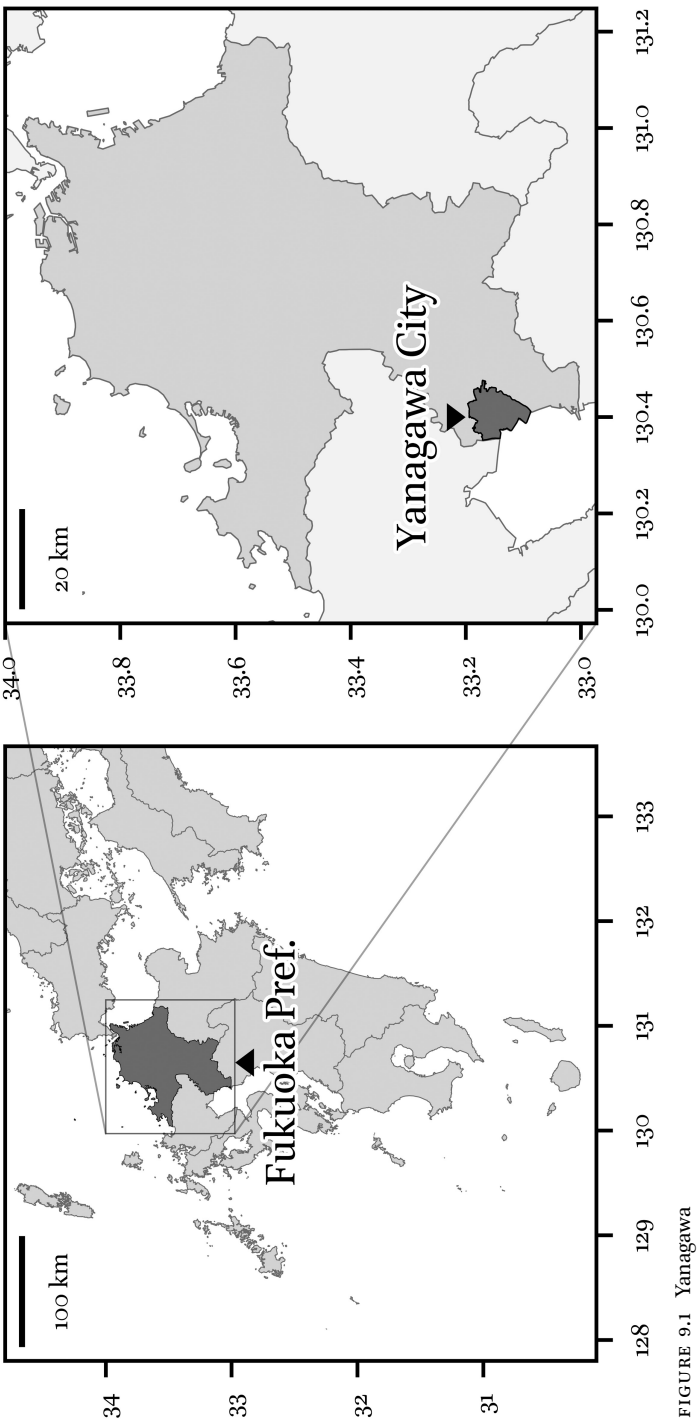

FIGURE 9.1 Yanagawa

TABLE 9.1 Relationships among *s*, *t*, *c*, *z*, and *d*

	s	t	c	z	d
before /i, y/	s [ɕ]	t [tɕ]		z [dʑ, ʑ]	
before /u/	s [s]	t [ts]		z [dz, z]	
before /o/	s [s]	t [t]	c [ts]	z [dz, z]	d [d]
before /e/	s [s, ɕ]	t [t]		z [dz, z]	d [d]
before /a/	s [s]	t [t]	c [ts]	z [dz, z]	d [d]

2 Phonology

2.1 *Inventory of Phonemes*

2.1.1 Vowels

Yanagawa has five vowels: /i/ [i]; /e/ [e]; /u/ [ụ]; /o/ [o]; /a/ [a]. /a/ is low, /e/ and /o/ are mid, /i/ and /u/ are high. A long vowel is regarded as a sequence of two identical vowels. Diphthongs are all closing (e.g. /hai/ 'fly', /tukau/ 'use', /aeta/ 'fell', /oi/ 'nephew', /kusui/ 'medicine'). Underlying vowel sequences can be realized as long vowels (e.g. /kakoo/ //kak-a-u// 'will write'), as shown in § 2.4.

2.1.2 Consonants

Yanagawa has 15 consonants: /p/ [p]; /b/ [b, β]; /m/ [m]; /w/ [w]; /t/ [t, ts, tɕ]; /d/ [d, ɾ]; /s/ [s, ɕ]; /z/ [z, dz, ɾ]; /c/ [ts]; /n/ [n, m, ŋ, ɴ]; /r/ [ɾ]; /y/ [j]; /k/ [k]; /g/ [g, ɣ]; /h/ [h, ç, ɸ]. /b/ and /g/ can be phonetically realized as fricatives between vowels. As for /n/, it is realized as [n] in onset position (see § 2.2). When it fills the coda position, it is a homorganic nasal (e.g. /sin.yuu/ [ɕiĩjuː] 'best friend',[1] /anmari/ [amːaɾi] 'not much', /anta/ [anta] 'you', /senka/ [seŋka] 'that'). When /n/ appears word-final position, it is realized as [ɴ] as in /agotan/ [agotaɴ] 'jaw'. The relationship among /s/, /t/, /c/, /z/,[2] and /d/ is complex as shown in Table 9.1. These phonemes contrast only before /a/ and /o/.

1 From the perspective of phonotactics, the syllable boundary is clear in most cases in this phonemicization. However, it is unclear between /n/ and vowels; /n/ and /y/. Therefore, I show the syllable boundary when /n/ is followed by vowels and /y/, as in /o.no/ 'Ono (family name)' and /on.on/ 'onomatopoeia to indicate crying'.

2 In other Kyūshū dialects, both /s/ and /z/ can palatalize before /e/ (e.g. the Nogata dialect of Nagasaki Prefecture (Nakamura 2019: 9)). As for Yanagawa, it is unknown whether /z/ palatalize before /e/ or not, and further study is needed.

/c/ appears only as a geminate, i.e. /cc/, and only before the vowel /a/ (/anaccan/ 'you (respectful)') and /o/ (/ogoccoosan/ 'Thank you for the nice meal'). In almost all cases /c/ emerges as a result of a morphophonological process (e.g. /miccan/ //miti≠san// (road≠ALL) 'to the road'). The voiced counterpart of /t/, /d/, does not occur before /i/, /y/, or /u/. In environments where the voiced counterpart of /t/ is expected, as in sequential voicing (see § 2.4), /z/ appears instead (e.g. /amido/ //ami+to// (net+door) 'screen door', /hanazi/ //hana+ti// (nose+blood) 'epistaxis').

2.2 *Syllable Structure and Phonotactics*

Yanagawa has two types of syllables, pre-syllables and ordinary syllables. The syllable structure of ordinary syllables is $(C_1)(G)V_1(V_2)(C_2)$. All consonants except /y/ and /w/ can fill the C_1 position. /y/ and /w/ can fill the G position, although /y/ cannot appear when C_1 is /d/ or /c/, and /w/ can appear only when C_1 is left empty. All vowels can fill the V_1 position. V_1 and V_2 may be identical (i.e. as a long vowel) or different (i.e. in the case of the diphthongs /ai/, /au/, /ui/, /ae/, and /oi/). In word non-final syllables, all consonants except /h/ and /r/ can fill the C_2 position. C_2 consonants except /n/ of a non-word-final syllable form a geminate with the C_1 consonant of the next syllable (e.g. /oddon/ [od:ON] '1.PL'). C_2 /n/ may make a partial geminate with the C_1 consonant of the next syllable (e.g. /benpu/ [bempu] 'cheek'). In word-final syllables, only /n/ can fill the C_2 position. The pre-syllable is a syllabic consonant which may occur only word-initially and is filled by /n/ alone. In this case, only nasals can occur at the onset of the next syllable, as in /nma/ 'horse'.

2.3 *Mora*

The relationship between syllable structure and morae is shown in (408). N represents the pre-syllable.

(408)

(N).	(C_1)	(G)	V_1	(V_2)	(C_2)
μ			μ	μ	μ

Yanagawa has a minimal word constraint (MWC). There are underlyingly monomoraic nouns in Yanagawa, such as *me* 'eye', *si* 'city', *ko* 'child', etc. If a monomoraic noun is pronounced in isolation (i.e. followed by no clitics), the word-final vowel is lengthened. When clitics follow a monomoraic noun, some clitics count towards the MWC, and others do not. When a monomoraic noun is followed by a sentence-final particle or a copula, vowel lengthening (VL) occurs regardless of the number of morae in the following clitic as in /zii≠ka/ (//zi≠ka//, character≠Q) and /koo≠yatta/ (//ko≠yar-ta//, child≠COP-PST) '(She) was a child';

consequently it is considered that only the noun counts toward MWC. If the following clitic is a case particle or limiter particle and has two or more morae, VL occurs as in /sii=kara/ (//si=kara//, city=ABL) 'from the city'; therefore only the noun counts towards MWC. If the following clitic is a monomoraic case particle or limiter particle, VL rarely occurs as in /meni/ (//me=ni//, eye=DAT) 'to the eye'. Therefore, it is considered that monomoraic nouns plus a monomoraic case or limiter particle count toward the MWC.

2.4 *Phonological Rules*

Yanagawa has general phonological rules, which apply to all morphemes, and morpheme-specific phonological rules. Here I focus on the former.

The initial voiceless consonant of the non-initial root of a compound may be voiced if its initial consonant is underlyingly voiceless. This phenomenon is widely distributed in the Japonic-Ryukyuan family and is known by its traditional name '*rendaku*' or sequential voicing (Shibatani 1990, p. 173). Although almost all consonants become their voiced counterpart phonemes by sequential voicing, underlying /h/ is realized as /b/ (because /h/ was historically *p), and underlying /t/ is realized as /z/ before /i, y, u/ (see § 2.1.2).

Vowel fusion rules apply to vowel sequences. All vowel sequences and long vowels derived from them are shown below: //au// → /oo/, //iu// → /yuu/, //ou// → /oo/, //eu// → /uu/ or /yuu/, //ai// → /ee/, //ui// → /ii/, and //oi// → /ee/.

2.5 *Word Level Prosody and Intonation*

Yanagawa does not have a lexical accent according to Hirayama (1951, p. 240) and Okano (1983, p. 64). In the survey conducted by the author, neither lexically specified accent nor fixed accent was identified.[3] An intonational unit, the unit that has a rising contour and falling contour in itself, usually corresponds to an extended word, which is the unit formed from a word plus a series of clitics, although its pitch peak is not fixed. Sometimes it corresponds to an auxiliary verb construction (see § 10.1) and a noun phrase that has a modifier (e.g. verb, verbal adjective, etc.) and a head noun.

As for the relationship between prosody and sentence type, declarative sentences have a falling intonation. Polar-question sentences have a rising intonation. Content-question sentences take a falling pattern. Imperative sentences with an imperative marker (*-re, -ro, -i*) have a falling pattern, though the rhetorical imperative with the conditional marker *=nara* has a rising pattern.

3 However, only monomoraic and bimoraic nouns were examined. The pronunciation of the target word in isolation and in the frame *xx=ga*(*no*) *oru*(*aru*) 'There is _' were considered.

TABLE 9.2 Word classes in Yanagawa

	Argument Function	Predicate Function	Inflection	Modifier of NP only	Phrase-final only	Sentence-initial only	Utterance
Nominal	+	+	−(+)	−	−	−	−
Nominal adjective	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
Verbal	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
Adnominal	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
Particle	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Conjunction	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Interjection	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Adverb	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

3 Word Classes

In this section, I describe the word classes, not the root classes (Lehmann 2008). The case where word classes differ from root classes is discussed in § 7.

Yanagawa has eight word classes: nominals, nominal adjectives, verbs, adnominal, particles, conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs. The nominal class contains pronouns, nouns, and numerals. They can be the head of an NP and a predicate with a copular verb. In nominals, only pronouns inflect for number. Nominal adjectives are similar to nominals in that they can be a predicate with a copular verb, but they cannot serve as an argument. Verbals include verbs and verbal adjectives. They can inflect for tense, mood, etc. Adnominals can only occur in the modifier position of an NP. Particles always stand in phrase-final position. Particles include case particles (Table 9.10), information particles, limiter particles (Table 9.11), conjunctive particles, and sentence-final particles. Conjunctions stand at the beginning of a sentence and indicate the logical relationship between that sentence and the preceding sentence. Interjections behave as a clause by themselves and can only be embedded in another clause using the quotative marker *=ti*. Adverbs are positioned as a 'catch-all' class that does not fall into any of the above categories.

4 Nominals

Nominals divide into four types: pronouns, lexical nouns, formal nouns, and numerals. Here I focus on pronouns, lexical nouns, and numerals.

TABLE 9.3 Personal pronouns (? indicates that the corresponding form is not attested)

First person		Second person	
SG	**PL**	**SG**	**PL**
ori-∅	ori-don, ori-don-tati	anaccan-∅	anaccan-don, anaccan-tati
watasi-∅	watasi-don, watasi-tati	anta-∅	anta-don
		omae-∅	omae-don
		nusi-∅	?
		waga-∅	waga-don

4.1 *Pronouns*

Pronouns include personal pronouns, the reflexive pronoun, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. In this section, I focus on the personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun, while demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are described in § 8, comparing them with other demonstrative and interrogative words.

4.1.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns inflect[4] for number. Personal pronouns take -∅ as a singular suffix and *-don* or *-tati* as a plural suffix. Since there are no third-person pronouns in Yanagawa, the system of personal pronouns is of the 'two-person type' (Bhat 2004: 134). Demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *ari*) or nouns derived from demonstrative roots (e.g. *ayatu*) are used to indicate a person who is neither the speaker nor the addressee. Table 9.3 lists the personal pronouns.[5]

Personal pronouns take *-don* or *-tati* to express plural. However, at least the first-person pronoun *ori-* can take both the plural affixes *-don* and *-tati*, in this

4 In this chapter, I call what indicates grammatical categories which are essential for words 'inflection', while what indicates grammatical categories which are not essential for words is called 'derivation'. Personal pronouns take a plural marker obligatorily when their referents are plural. Therefore, number marking on personal pronouns is considered to be inflection. As for lexical nouns, they take plural markers optionally, even if their referents are plural. Therefore, number marking on lexical nouns is considered to be derivation.

5 The personal pronouns listed in Table 9.3 were extracted from discourse data. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether the logically possible combinations not included in Table 9.3 (e.g. *ori-tati* (1-PL)) are ungrammatical or simply did not occur in the discourse. Further investigation is needed.

order. It is not clear at present whether or not there is any semantic difference between the cases where either *-don* or *-tati* is attached and those where both *-don* and *-tati* are attached.

The second-person pronoun *waga-* differs from other personal pronouns and lexical nouns in that it cannot co-occur with the nominative particle *=ga* and the genitive particle *=ga*. This is because *waga* is historically **wa* (1.SG) and **=ga* (GEN). *waga* might also be restricted from co-occurring with other particles, but this has not been tested.

4.1.2 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is *waga-*. Like the second-person pronoun *waga-*, it cannot take the nominative particle *=ga* and the genitive particle *=ga* and might also be restricted from co-occurring with other particles (although it has not been tested). There are no examples of the reflexive pronoun with a plural suffix in my field data and I need to test whether it exists or not.

(409) *oriwa* *komaka* *tokkara* *wagade* *sikitta.*
ori-∅=wa koma-ka toki=kara waga=de si-kir-ta
1-SG=TOP small-NPST time=ABL REFL=INS do-ABP-PST
'I could do it (= take care of myself) from a very young age.'

4.2 *Lexical Nouns*

Lexical nouns may take the polite prefix *o-* (e.g. *o-kusui* 'medicine') and the plural suffixes *-don* and *-tati*. Like personal pronouns, lexical nouns can take both *-don* and *-tati* in this order, as in *kodomo-don-tati* 'kids'. Unlike pronouns, number-marking of lexical nouns is not obligatory. With regard to plural marking, there are many languages where animacy influences plural marking (Corbett 2000: 56–57). In Yanagawa, it has been confirmed that pronouns and nouns denoting humans and animals can take *-don* and pronouns and human nouns can take *-tati*, but it is not clear where on the hierarchy these two markers are distributed, or whether they can be explained in terms of this hierarchy in the first place.

4.3 *Numerals*

A numeral is made up of a numeral root plus a classifier suffix. There are two series of numeral roots in Yanagawa: a native series and a Chinese (Sino-Japanese) loanword series. Classifier suffixes relate to features or qualities (e.g. animacy, shape, usage, etc.) that are natural or inherent to the referent(s) counted. Some classifiers have forms from both series, as in *-ri* and *-nin* and which one is used depends on the numeral roots. If the numeral root is *hito-*

TABLE 9.4 Numerals

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Human	hito-ri	hute-ri	san-nin	yo-nin	go-nin	roku-nin	siti-nin	hati-nin	kyuu-nin
General	hito-tu	huta-tu	mit-tu	yot-tu	itu-tu	mut-tu	nana-tu	yat-tu	kokono-tu

'one' or *hute-* 'two', *-ri* is used; otherwise *-nin* is used.[6] In information questions, the numeral root is replaced by *nan-* or *iku-* as in *nan-nin* 'how many persons' and *iku-tu* 'how many things'. Table 9.4 shows examples of numerals.

4.4 *Adnominals*

Almost all adnominals are formed from demonstrative roots or interrogative roots (see §8) like *ko-n* (PROX-ADN) 'this', *ko-genka* (PROX-ADN) 'like this', *do-n* (what-ADN) 'which', and *do-genka* (what-ADN) 'what kind of'. An exception is *honna* 'real' as seen in *honna sin.yuu* 'true best friend'.

5 Verbs

This section describes the internal structure of verbs, focusing on both their inflectional and derivational morphology. Verbal stems divide into three classes according to the kind of the stem-final segment: consonant-final stems, vowel-final stems, and irregular stems. The consonant-final stems end in one of the following: b; m; w; s; t; r; n; k; g. They take a thematic vowel (Bickel and Nichols 2007: 203) to form an extended stem. They take *-a* when followed by the indicative negative suffix, obligative suffix, inferential/intentional suffix, or negative sequential suffix. They take *-i* when followed by the purpose suffix or become the non-final element of compound verbs (§10.1).[7] The vowel-final stems have two subcategories, *i*-final (e.g. *mi-* 'look') stem and *e/u*-final stem (e.g. *tabe-/tabu-* 'eat'). As for *e/u*-final stems, the stem-final vowel shows fluidity between /e/ and /u/ depending on the kind of suffix that follows (e.g. //tabe-ta// (eat-

6 Although not confirmed by the author's research, Matsuishi (1989: 207), which is a vocabulary of Yanagawa, describes the forms *mit-teri* 'three people' and *yot-teri* 'four people'. Many Japanese dialects lack the form cognate with *mit-teri* (e.g. Shiiba, see Shimoji and Hirosawa, this volume) and Yanagawa is rare in having this form.

7 Consonant-final stems also take *-i* when followed by some derivational suffixes (e.g. the potential suffix *-kir-*, the honorific suffix *-nahar-*), which derived from compound verbs.

TABLE 9.5 Inflection of verbs

Finiteness	Mood	Tense	Polarity	
			Affirmative	**Negative**
Finite	Indicative	Non-past	-ru	-n
		Past	-ta	-n(≠yar-ta)
	Obligative	Non-past	-yan	
		Past	-yan(≠yar-ta)	
	Inferential/Intentional	Non-past	-u/-yoo	-n(≠yar-a-u)
		Past	-taroo	-n(≠yar-ta≠yar-a-u)
	Imperative		-ro/-re/-i	-runa
Non-finite		Sequential	-te	-nna/-dena/-zi
		Conditional	-tara	
		Parallel	-tai	
		Purpose	-ge	

PST) and //tabu-ru// (eat-NPST)). Note that *i*-final stems and monomoraic *e/u*-final stems have *r*-final stem alternatives for some suffixes (e.g. //mir-a-n// (see-THM-NEG)).[8] Irregular stems are the *s*-irregular verb 'do' and the *k*-irregular verb 'come'.

5.1 *Inflectional Morphology*

Verbs are either finite or non-finite. In finite environments, verbs inflect for mood and may or may not inflect for tense and polarity. In non-finite environments, verbs inflect for conjunctional relationships and may or may not inflect for polarity. Table 9.5 shows the paradigm of verbs. Elements which are not part of the inflectional form, but which mark grammatical categories such as tense (e.g. *≠yar-ta*), are given in brackets.

The imperative suffix has three allomorphs: *-ro*, *-re*, and *-i*. Consonant-final stems (including the *r*-final stem derived from a vowel-final stem) and the *s*-irregular stem take *-re* (e.g. //kak-re// 'Write it!', //mir-re// 'Look!', and //se-re// 'Do it!'). Vowel-final stems and the *s*-irregular stem take *-ro* (e.g. //mi-ro// 'Look!', //se-ro// 'Do it!'). The *k*-irregular stem takes *-i* (e.g. //ko-i// 'Come!').

8 This phenomenon where vowel-final stem verbs act as *r*-final stem verbs is widely distributed in the Japonic family (Kobayashi 1996, Miyaoka 2021).

A number of morphophonological rules apply to the stem and the suffix when a consonant-final stem takes any one of the following suffixes: the sequential suffix *-te*, the past suffix *-ta*, the conditional suffix *-tara*, the parallel suffix *-tai*, the perfect suffix *-tor-*, and the prospective suffix *-tok-*.[9] The rules are: (a) if the stem-final consonant is one of /b, m, n, g/, the /t/ becomes /d/ (e.g. //sikom-ta// (sharpen-PST) → sikom-da); (b) if the stem-final consonant is one of /b, m, w/, it becomes the vowel /u/ (e.g. sikom-da → sikou-da), and if the stem-final consonant is one of /s, k, g/, it becomes the vowel /i/ (e.g. //hanas-ta// (speak-PST) → hanai-ta); (c) if the stem-final consonant is /r/, it assimilates to the following /t/ (e.g. //nar-ta// (become-PST) → /natta/); (d) vowel fusion occurs, with /ai/ becoming /ee/, /ui/ becoming /ii/, and /au/ and /ou/ becoming /oo/ (e.g. sikou-da → sikoo-da, hanai-ta → hanee-ta); and (e) when a foot is formed at the left edge of the stem and the foot boundary would split a long vowel, the long vowel is shortened (e.g. sikoo-da → /sikoda/, hanee-ta → /haneta/).[10] Examples are shown in Table 9.6.

5.2 *Derivational Morphology*

Verbal derivation includes formation of the causative (*-sase-/-sasu-*), passive (*-rare-/-raru-*), potential (*-kir-, -rare-/-raru-*), aspect (*-tor-, -tok-*), and honorific (*-rass-, -nahar-*). The causative suffix *-sase-/sasu-* and the passive suffix *-rare-/-raru-* form *e/u*-final stems, while the other derivational suffixes form consonant-final stems.

5.3 *Existential and Copular Verbs*

Yanagawa has two existential verbs, *or-*, and *ar-*. The former is used when the subject is animate, and the latter is used when the subject is inanimate.[11] As *r*-final stems, they inflect according to the inflectional pattern for *r*-final verbs, with the only exception that *ar-* cannot take the negative suffix *-n*. Instead, a suppletive stem is used (i.e. *ar-* (affirmative) > *na-* (negative)).

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9 *-ta*, *-tara*, and *-tai* diachronically derive from the sequential suffix *-te* and the existential verb *ar-*. *-tor-* and *-tok-* derive from *-te* plus the existential verb *or-* and *-te* plus *ok-* 'put' respectively.

10 The same morphophonological rules are found in a neighboring dialect (Kato and Ideguchi 2018). In Yanagawa, for compound verbs, only the second element of the compound verb is subject to the foot count, as in //tukur-i+naos-ta// → /tukunnaeta/ 'remade'.

11 It is possible that *or-* can be used when the subject is an inanimate object assumed to be able to control its motion (e.g. vehicles, typhoons, etc.) like *i-* 'exist' of Standard Japanese. Whether it can be or not has not been checked, so further study is needed.

TABLE 9.6 Examples of consonant-final stems connected to *-ta* (PST)

Underlying	**(a)**	**(b)**	**(c)**	**(d)**	**(e)**	**Surface**
tob-ta	tob-da	tou-da	N/A	too-da	N/A	tooda 'flew'
sikom-ta	sikom-da	sikou-da	N/A	sikoo-da	siko-da	sikoda 'sharpened (rice)'
yuw-ta	N/A	yuu-ta	N/A	N/A	N/A	yuuta 'said'
omow-ta	N/A	omou-ta	N/A	omoo-ta	omo-ta	omota 'thought'
matigaw-ta	N/A	matigau-ta	N/A	matigoo-ta	N/A	matigoota 'mistook'
kas-ta	N/A	kai-ta	N/A	kee-ta	N/A	keeta 'lent'
hanas-ta	N/A	hanai-ta	N/A	hanee-ta	hane-ta	haneta 'spoke'
gamadas-ta	N/A	gamadai-ta	N/A	gamadee-ta	N/A	gamadeeta 'worked hard'
mot-ta	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	motta 'had'
nar-ta	N/A	N/A	nat-ta	N/A	N/A	natta 'became'
sin-ta	sin-da	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	sinda 'died'
tuk-ta	N/A	tui-ta	N/A	tii-ta	N/A	tiita 'reached'
kag-ta	kag-da	kai-da	N/A	kee-da	N/A	keeda 'smelled'

(410) *oziityanga* *otta.*
oziityan=ga or-ta
grandfather=NOM exist-PST
'My grandfather was there.'

(411) *hatino* *suno* *atta.*
hati=no su=no ar-ta
bee=GEN hive=NOM exist-PST
'There was a beehive.'

Yanagawa has two copular verbs, *=yar-* and *=zyar-*. It is unclear whether there is any difference between these two other than the pronunciation. The *=yar-* form is mainly used by HK (female) and the *=zyar-* form is mainly used by YM (male); therefore the gender of the speakers may affect usage. Copular verbs follow verbs, verbal adjectives, nominal adjectives, and nouns. In this section, I describe the paradigm of copular verbs, which is shown in Table 9.7.

Note that the indicative non-past form *=zyar-u* (*=yar-u*) can appear only in some circumstances, such as before the clitics *=ken* or *=mon* as shown in (412), and does not appear when a clitic does not follow.

TABLE 9.7 The paradigm of the copular verb

Finiteness		**Tense**	**Polarity**	
			Affirmative	**Negative**
Finite	Indicative	Non-past	=yar-ru	=ya (na-ka)
		Past	=yar-ta	=ya (na-katta)
	Inferential	Non-past	=yar-a-u	=ya (na-karoo)
		Past	=yar-ta(=yar-a-u)	=ya (na-kattaroo)
Non-finite	Noun modifier		=na	
	Sequential		=ni	

(412) *mukasino* *kotobayakken*
mukasi=no kotoba=yar-ru=ken
old.time=GEN word=COP-NPST=CSL
'Because the words (I use) are old'

6 Verbal Adjectives and Nominal Adjectives

In this section, I describe the structure of verbal adjectives and nominal adjectives. Verbal adjectives are a subclass of verbals and inflect like verbs. Nominal adjectives do not inflect like nouns, but differ from nouns in that nouns can be arguments while nominal adjectives cannot.

6.1 *Verbal Adjective*

This section describes the internal structure of verbal adjectives, focusing on inflectional morphology. Table 9.8 shows the paradigm of verbal adjectives. In negation, the sequential form (e.g. /hayo/ (fast-SEQ)) is followed by the verbal adjective *na-* which is inflected for tense and mood (e.g. /hayo naka/ 'isn't fast', /hayo nakatta/ 'wasn't fast'). In Table 9.8, the negative verbal adjective is shown in brackets.

Almost all inflectional suffixes contain the element *ka*. This is because these inflectional suffixes diachronically derive from the adverbial suffix **-ku*, which becomes *-u* in modern Yanagawa, and the verb **ar-* 'to be' (Yoshimachi 1931: 58). Although verbal adjectives are a subclass of verbals, verbal adjectives and verbs are distinguished by two points. First, verbal adjectives take inflectional

TABLE 9.8 The paradigms of verbal adjectives

Finiteness		**Tense**	**Polarity**	
			Affirmative	**Negative**
Finite	Indicative	Non-past	-ka	-u (na-ka)
		Past	-katta	-u (na-katta)
	Exclamative		-sa	
	Inferential	Non-past	-karoo	-u (na-karoo)
		Past	-kattaroo	-u (na-kattaroo)
	Habitual		-kariyotta	
Non-finite	Conditional		-kattara	
	Parallel		-kattai	
	Sequential		-u	

suffixes (e.g. the indicative non-past suffix *-ka*, the past suffix *-katta*, etc.) which differ from those that verbs take (e.g. the indicative non-past suffix *-ru*, the past suffix *-ta*, etc.). Second, verbal adjectives have an exclamative mood that verbs do not have.

6.2 *Nominal Adjectives*

Nominal adjectives themselves do not inflect, but the copula that follows the nominal adjectives inflects instead. The roots of nominal adjectives are almost all loanwords from Chinese (*kiree* 'beautiful') or English (*sumaato* 'slender'). The paradigm of the copula after nominal adjectives is the same as the paradigm shown in Table 9.7.

6.3 *Roots Which May Be Realized Both as Verbal Adjectives and Nominal Adjectives*

Yanagawa has two kinds of roots that can be realized as a verbal adjective without derivational operation applying. One can be realized only as a verbal adjective (e.g. *hiku-* 'low', *oso-* 'slow', *waka-* 'young', etc.) with no derivational operation applying, while the other can be realized both as a verbal adjective (e.g. *kiree-katta* (beautiful-PST)) and nominal adjective (e.g. *kiree=yatta* (beautiful=COP-PST)) without a derivational operation applying. This phenomenon is shared with neighboring dialects and Kambe (1980) points out that roots that were once realized only as nominal adjectives are now taking the

same affixes as verbal adjectives. It is unclear whether there are any semantic differences between forms such as *kiree-katta* and *kiree=yat-ta*.

Yanagawa also has roots that can only be realized as nominal adjectives and they cannot be realized as verbal adjectives (e.g. *iya=yat-ta* (unpleasant=COP-PST), **iya-katta* (unpleasant-PST)).

7 Class-Changing Derivations

The nominalizer *-sa*[12] converts a verbal-adjective stem into a noun. *-sa* does not attach to stems which can only become nominal adjectives without a derivational operation applying (e.g. *iya* 'unpleasant').

(413) *tumegureeno hutosano aru.*
tume=guree=no huto-sa=no ar-ru
nail=DEG=GEN big-NMLZ=NOM exist-NPST
'It (= a bee) is as big as my thumbnail.'

Non-expanded stems of vowel-final verbs (e.g. *tuke* 'pickle') and *i*-expanded stems of consonant final stem verbs (e.g. *kak-i* 'write') can behave as nouns by conversion. They are often the internal elements of compound nouns as in *gane+zuke* 'pickled crabs'.

The verbalizers *-gar-*, *-me-*, and *-mar-* form verbs from adjectival roots.

(414) *kawaigariyotta.*
kawai-gar-i+or-ta
pretty-VLZ-THM+HAB-PST
'(My grandson) loved (his dog).'

The verbal adjectivalizer *-ta-* forms a verbal adjective from a verbal root and expresses desiderative meaning.

(415) *doramaba mitaka.*
dorama=ba mi-ta-ka
TV.drama=ACC look-ADJZ-NPST
'I want to watch the TV drama.'

12 The nominalizer suffix *-sa* is cognate with the exclamative suffix *-sa* (see § 6.1). From the synchronic perspective, they are regarded as different morphemes because they have differing functions.

TABLE 9.9 Demonstratives and interrogatives

	Form	Proximate	Medial	Distal	Interrogative
Pronoun (person)	-ri	ko-ri	so-ri	a-ri	da-ri
Pronoun (thing)					do-ri
Locative	-ko/ -suko	ko-ko	so-ko	a-suko	do-ko
Adnominal (kind)	-genka	ko-genka (kenka)	so-genka (senka)	a-genka	do-genka (denka)
Adnominal (entity)	-n/-no	ko-n/ko-no	so-n/so-no	a-n/a-no	do-n/do-no
Manner adverb	-gen	ko-gen (ken)	so-gen (sen)	a-gen	do-gen (den)

8 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstratives and interrogatives are functional categories, not word classes. Demonstratives and interrogatives are realized across the noun, adnominal, and adverb classes. Demonstratives consist of a demonstrative root, which is a bound form, and a suffix or a formal noun (e.g. *siko* 'amount', *yatu* 'person'). Demonstrative roots distinguish between proximate *ko-*, medial *so-*, and distal *a-*. Interrogatives consist of an interrogative root and a suffix which a demonstrative root also takes. Demonstratives and interrogatives are shown in Table 9.9. Contracted forms are parenthesized.

9 Argument Phrase

9.1 *The Head*

Nominals can stand in the head position of an argument phrase. Formal nouns which have no lexical meaning (*=tu/=to* 'thing, person', *=gotu/=goto* 'like', *kotu/koto* 'thing', *toki* 'time', *niki* 'vicinity') always need a modifier (e.g. *atu-ka=tu* 'hot thing'), and the same applies when filling the head position of an argument phrase.

9.2 *The Modifier*

Adnominals, noun phrases composed of a noun and a genitive particle, and adnominal clauses whose head is a verb or an adjective can stand in the modifier position.

TABLE 9.10 Case marking

Name	Form	Function
Nominative	⁼ga, ⁼no/⁼n	S/A marking, P marking (in transitive adjective sentences)
Genitive	⁼ga, ⁼no/⁼n	NP modifier
Accusative	⁼ba	P marking
Dative	⁼ni/⁼n/⁼i	indirect object, goal, place of static action, passive agent
Allative	⁼san	goal
Ablative	⁼kara	source, passive agent
Instrumental	⁼de	instrument, place of active action
Comitative	⁼to	associate
Comparative	⁼yori	standard of comparison
Limitative	⁼made	limit

9.3 *Case and Other Role Markings*

Case in Yanagawa is indicated by case particles following an NP. The form and function of the case particles are given in Table 9.10. Yanagawa has two nominative markers, which are discussed in more detail in § 11.2.

Nominative and genitive markers have the same forms (*⁼ga* and *⁼no/⁼n*) and these two markers diachronically derive from the genitive markers *ga and *no. They, however, are distinguished for the following reasons. Firstly, nominative markers and genitive markers have different functions. The former marks a S/A argument (and a P argument in transitive adjective sentences) (see § 11.2), while the latter marks the modifier of an NP, as in *ori⁼ga oya* 'my parent'. Secondly, the default choice of *⁼ga* and *⁼no/⁼n* differs for nominative markers and genitive markers. If an NP is a S/A argument, *⁼ga* can be used regardless of the animacy of the NP, while *⁼no/⁼n* can be used only when the NP is low in the animacy hierarchy (§ 11.2). When an NP modifies another NP, *⁼no/⁼n* can be used regardless of the animacy of the modifying NP (e.g. *ori⁼no ko* 'my child' and *bikitan⁼no ko* 'tadpole (lit. child of a frog)'), while *⁼ga* can be used only when the animacy of the modifying NP is high (e.g. *ori⁼ga ko* 'my child' and **bikitan⁼ga ko* 'tadpole').

An information-structure particle, which indicates the information-structure status of the noun, and limiter particles, which indicate quantifier or qualifier meaning, attach to an NP. When the topic marker *⁼wa*, additive marker *⁼mo*, or exemplative markers *⁼den* and *⁼don* attach to S/A argument or P arguments, they replace the nominative or accusative marker (e.g. *tarooga* (Taro⁼NOM) becomes *taroowa* (Taro⁼TOP)).

TABLE 9.11 Information-structure marking and limiter marking particles

Type	Form	Function	Type	Form	Function
Information structure	=wa	topic	Limiter	=ten/=teron	parallel
Limiter	=mo	additive	Limiter	=dake	exclusive
Limiter	=den	exemplative	Limiter	=guree	degree
Limiter	=don	exemplative			

10 Predicate Phrase

A predicate phrase falls into two types, verbal predication and non-verbal predication, as shown in § 10.1 and § 10.2 below.

10.1 *Verbal Predication*

Verbal predicates are classified into simple predicates, which contain one root, and complex predicates, which contain more than one root. This section focuses on the complex predicate. Complex predicates fall into two types: compound verbs and auxiliary constructions.

Compound verbs can be roughly divided into syntactic compound verbs (e.g. *tabe+hazimu-ru* (eat-start-NPST) 'start eating') and lexical compound verbs (e.g. *ot-i+ayu-ru* (fall-THM+fall-NPST) 'fall') (Kageyama 1993). When the first element of a compound verb is a consonant-final stem, the thematic vowel *-i-* is needed. In the case of syntactic compound verbs, the first element of the verb can take the causative affix *-sasu-/-sase-* or the passive affix *-raru-/-rare-* (*tabe+hazimu-ru* 'start eating', *tabe-sase+hazimu-ru* 'start feeding'), whereas lexical compound verbs cannot take these affixes (*ot-i+ayu-ru* 'fall', **oti-sase+ayu-ru* 'letting something fall'). Of the second elements of syntactic compound verbs, only *hazimu-/hazime-* 'start', *owar-* 'finish', *naos-* 'repair, put away', and *or-* 'exist' have been identified so far. *hazimu-/hazime-* and *oyu-/oe-* indicate the beginning and the end of an action respectively. *naos-* indicates that the action is to be performed again. *or-* expresses imperfective aspect (see § 11.5.2). For *or-*, when it follows the first element of compound verbs, a morpheme-specific phonological rule applies which inserts *y* before *o*, as in *kak-i+yor-u* (write-THM+PROG-NPST) 'be writing' (cf. *kak-i+owar-u* (write-THM+finish-NPST) 'finish writing').

An auxiliary construction is composed of a main verb, which takes the sequential suffix *-te*, and an auxiliary verb/adjective, which takes an inflectional suffix. The main verb is a lexical verb and functions as the main semantic

TABLE 9.12 Auxiliary verbs and an auxiliary verbal adjective

Form	Function	Lexical source	Form	Function	Lexical source
kure-/kuru-	benefactive	kure-/kuru- 'to give' (non-speaker subject)	simaw-	perfect, regret	simaw- 'to put away'
			saruk-	go around doing	saruk- 'to walk'
yar-	benefactive	yar- 'to give' (speaker subject)	deke-n	prohibit	deke-/deku- 'to occur'
			mi-	experiential	mi- 'to look at'
ku-	directional	ku- 'to come'	yo-	permission	yo- 'good'
ik-	directional	ik- 'to go'			

component. The auxiliary verbs/adjectives that we have found so far are given in Table 9.12.

10.2 *Non-verbal Predication*

Non-verbal predication is classified into three types: verbal adjectival predication, nominal adjectival predication, and nominal predication. These predicates divide into simple predicates and complex predicates. This section focuses on the latter.

In non-verbal complex predicates, light verbs and a light verbal adjective are used.

A light verb construction is composed of a main part and a light verb or verbal adjective. The light verbs are *nar-* 'to become' and *si-* 'to do', and the light verbal adjective is *na-* 'not exist'. As a main part of a light verb construction, a verbal adjective takes the sequential suffix *-u* as in *hayo nar-u* (//haya-u naru//, fast-SEQ become-NPST) 'It becomes fast'. A nominal adjective or a noun takes the sequential copula form *=ni* as in *kiree=ni nar-u* (beautiful=COP.SEQ become-NPST) 'It becomes beautiful'.

11 The Simple Sentence

11.1 *Sentence Types*

Yanagawa has three major sentence types: declaratives (statements), interrogatives (requests for the addressee to speak), and commands (requests for the addressee to act). Examples of each sentence type are shown below.

(416) *amadowa yosari kuru.*
amado=wa yosari kur-ru
shutter=TOP night close-NPST
'(I) close the shutter at night.' (declarative)

(417) a. *dariga miyoba kurasitatukai.*
dari=ga miyo=ba kuras-i-ta=tu=kai
who=NOM Miyo=ACC hit-THM-PST=FMN=Q
'Who hit Miyo?' (content question)

b. *koryaa mikanka.*
kori=wa mikan=ka
this=TOP orange=Q
'Is this an orange?' (polar question)

(418) a. *hayo hasire.*
haya-u hasir-re
fast-SEQ run-IMP
'Run fast!' (brusque command)

b. *sotosan dete minnara.*
soto=san de-te mi-ru=nara
outside=ALL get.out-SEQ CNT-NPST=COND
'Why don't you go out?' (polite command)

Interrogative sentences fall into two subclasses: polar questions and content questions. For each type of interrogative, question markers (e.g. *=ka*, *=ya*, *=to*, etc.) are used. In terms of intonation, polar questions take a rising contour, while content questions take a falling contour (§ 2.5).

For commands, imperative suffixes are used as in (418a), but euphemisms using the conditional particle *=nara* are also used as in (418b) and are more frequent. Commands using *=nara* are polite, while commands using imperative suffixes are brusque.

11.2 *Alignment*

The alignment of Yanagawa is nominative-accusative, with obligatory S and A argument marking and optional P argument marking. For a one-place predicate sentence, the S argument is marked with nominative *=ga* or *=no*, as in (419).

TABLE 9.13 Animacy and differential subject marking

	1	2	Demonstrative	Address noun	Human noun	Animal	Inanimate
Intransitive	ga	ga	ga	ga/no	no/ga	no/ga	no/ga
Transitive	ga	ga	ga	ga/no	ga/no	ga/no	

(419) *taroo{ga/no}* *sarukiyoru.*
taroo=ga/no saruk-i+or-ru
Taro=NOM/NOM walk-THM+PROG-NPST
'Taro is walking.'

For a two-place predicate sentence, the A argument is marked with *=ga* or *=no* and the P argument is marked with *=ba* as in (420) or is non-marked. It is unclear when the P argument occurs without *=ba*, but in discourse, it occurs more often when the P argument is inanimate and in the position immediately preceding the verb, as in (421).

(420) *mamiga* *miyoba* *kurasita.*
mami=ga miyo=ba kuras-i-ta
Mami=NOM Miyo=ACC hit-THM-PST
'Mami hit Miyo.'

(421) *piisu* *tigitte* *okura* *tigitte* *mame* *tigitte*
piisu tigir-te okura tigir-te mame tigir-te
green.peas pick-SEQ okra pick-SEQ beans pick-SEQ
'(I) picked the green peas, the okra, and the beans …'

The animacy of the S and A arguments and the valency of the clause affects the choice of nominative markers. Table 9.13 shows the distribution of nominative markings in discourse data. Those shown before the slash have a higher frequency in discourse. Blank spaces indicate that there were no relevant examples in discourse.

For a three-place predicate sentence, the A argument is marked with *=ga* or *=no*, the P argument is marked with *=ba*, and the E argument is marked with *=ni*, as in (422).

(422) *origa* *tarooni* *honba* *yatta.*
ori-∅=ga taroo=ni hon=ba yar-ta
1-SG=NOM Taro=DAT book=ACC give-PST
'I gave Taro a book.'

11.3 *Valency Changing*

11.3.1 Causative

The causative increases a verb's valency through the addition of the causative suffix *-sase-/-sasu-*. In a causative clause, the causee is marked with *=ni*, the causer is marked with *=ga*, and the patient is marked with *=ba*.

(423) *tarooga* *zirooni* *komeba* *motaseta.*
taroo=ga ziroo=ni kome=ba mot-sase-ta
Taro=NOM Ziro=DAT rice=ACC have-CAUS-PST
'Taro made Ziro carry some rice.'

11.3.2 Direct and Indirect Passive

The direct passive decreases the verb's syntactic valence through the addition of the passive suffix *-rare-/-raru-*, although it does not change its semantic valence, i.e. the presence of the agent is always implied. In a direct passive clause, the patient is marked nominative, and the passive agent, if it appears, is marked dative or ablative.

(424) *origa* *hatikara* *sasareta.*
ori-∅=ga hati=kara sas-rare-ta
1-SG=NOM bee=ABL sting-PASS-PST
'I was stung by a bee.'

The suffix *-rare-/-raru-* is also used as an indirect passive marker. In this case, *-rare-/-raru-* increases the syntactic valence with the introduction of a new subject as in *ori* in (425b). Unlike Standard Japanese, the indirect passive is restricted to cases where the new subject and the original subject are in a possessor-possessum relationship. The subject of the original clause is marked dative. It is possible that it may be marked ablative, but this has not been confirmed.

(425) a. *imootoga* *kasiba* *tabeta.*
imooto=ga kasi=ba tabe-ta
young.sister=NOM snack=ACC eat-PST
'My young sister ate snacks.'

b. *oryaa* *kasiba* *imootoni* *taberareta.*
ori-∅=wa kasi=ba imooto=ni tabe-rare-ta
1-SG=TOP snack=ACC young.sister=DAT eat-PASS-PST
'I was troubled (by the fact that) my young sister ate my snacks.'

11.4 *Polarity*

For verbal clauses, polarity is an inflectional category and polarity is expressed using an inflectional suffix (as in Table 9.5). For non-verbal clauses, polarity is not an inflectional category, and negation is expressed using the auxiliary verbal adjective *na-* 'not exist', as in (426).

(426) *taroowa* *asino* {*hayaka/* *hayo* *naka*}
taroo=wa asi=no {haya-ka/ haya-u na-ka}
Taro=TOP leg=NOM {fast-NPST/ fast-SEQ not.exist-NPST}
'Taro {is/ isn't} quick on his feet.'

11.5 *TAM*

11.5.1 Tense

The tense system of Yanagawa is binary, distinguishing past and non-past. In affirmative verbal and verbal adjectival predicates, tense is marked with inflectional suffixes, e.g. past *-ta* vs. non-past *-ru* (see Table 9.5 and 9.8). In other predicates, tense is marked on the copula (Table 9.7) following the head of the predicate (e.g. past *=yar-ta* vs. non-past *=yar-ru*).

11.5.2 Aspect

The major aspectual opposition is between the perfective and the imperfective. The perfective, which construes the situation as an independent whole, is expressed in one of the past suffix *-ta* and the sequential suffix *-te*. The imperfective, which construes the situation as having an internal structure, is expressed in one of four ways: suffixes, syntactic compounds, auxiliary constructions, and full reduplication of verbal roots. The aspectual suffixes *-tor-* and *-tok-*, and *or-*, which occurs as the second element of compound verbs, are used to indicate various imperfective meanings. *-tor-* expresses perfect aspect, which indicates the situation relates some state to a preceding situation. *-tok-* expresses prospective aspect, and *or-* expresses progressive, iterative, and habitual aspects. An example of each is shown below.

(427) *toba* *aketoru.*
to≠ba ake-tor-ru
door≠ACC open-PRF-NPST
'(I) have opened the door.'

(428) *watasiga* *asukode* *otyadon* *waketokuto*
watasi-∅≠ga asuko≠de o-tya≠don wakas-tok-ru≠to
1-SG≠NOM there≠INS POL-tea≠EXM boil-PROS-NPST≠COND
'When I made tea there (for the coming guests) …,'

(429) *ameno* *huriyoru.*
ame≠no hur-i+or-ru
rain≠NOM rain-THM+PROG-NPST
'It's raining.'

Aspect is also marked using an auxiliary construction (see Table 9.12) and full reduplication of a verbal root (e.g. *tabeetabe* '(repeatedly) eat').

Verbal adjectives have the aspectual suffix *-kariyotta* as in *isogasi-kariyotta* '(was/were) always busy', which is related to the *or-* element of compound verbs. Although the *yor* of *-kariyotta* is related to *or-*, there are some differences between the two. First, *or-* can be followed by a series of inflectional suffixes *-ru*, *-ta*, etc., while *-kariyotta* is fixed, and *-kariyoru* or *-kariyotte* are unacceptable. Second, *or-* can express progressive, iterative, or habitual meanings, while *-kariyotta* can express only the past habitual meaning.

11.5.3 Modality

Modality is expressed by suffixes, complex predicates, and sentence-final particles. Verbal predicates have four moods: indicative, obligative, inferential/intentional, and imperative (see Table 9.5). Verbal adjectival predicates have three moods: indicative, inferential, and exclamative. The other predicates have two moods: indicative and inferential. Inferential meaning is also expressed by a copula in its inferential form following a verb in its indicative form as in *mi-ru≠yar-a-u* 'will see'. Complex predicates also express modality. For example, the construction *≠goto* {*ar-/na-*} expresses inferential or volitional meaning, as in (430).

(430) a. *ameno* *huriyorugotaru.*
ame≠no hur-i+or-ru≠goto≠ar-ru
rain≠NOM rain-THM+PROG-NPST≠SEEM≠exist-NPST
'It seems to be raining.'

b. *doramaba* {*myuugotaru/* *myuugon*
dorama=ba {mi-u=goto=ar-ru/ mi-u=goto
TV.drama=ACC {see-INT=SEEM=exist-NPST/ see-INT=SEEM
naka}.
na-ka}
not.exist-NPST
'I want to watch a TV drama./ I don't want to watch a TV drama.'

Some sentence-final particles (e.g. *=dai*, *=mee*, etc.) express modal meaning. *=dai* occurs with inferential forms of verbs (e.g. *kakoo* 'will write') and expresses addressive meaning. *=mee* occurs with negative and obligative forms of verbs and expresses inferential meaning. Examples of each are shown below.

(431) *namaeba* *yuutoga* *honnakotuyaroodai.*
namae=ba yuw-ru=to=ga honnakotu=yar-a-u=dai
name=ACC say-NPST=FMN=NOM truth=COP-THM-INFR=ADRS
'Isn't it right that you should tell people your name (before asking them to tell you their name)?'

(432) *tooka* *tokosan* *dete* *simoteno* *moo*
too-ka toko=san de-te simaw-te=no moo
far-NPST place=ALL go.out-SEQ PRF-SEQ=SFP already
oranmeega.
or-a-n=mee=ga
exist-THM-NEG=INFR=SFP
'(Young people) have gone far away and are no longer here, right?'

Other sentence-final particles may also have a modal meaning, but they have not been examined and further research is needed.

11.6 *Potential*

There are two potential suffixes in Yanagawa: *-kir-* and *-rare-/-raru-*. The differences between these two morphemes are unclear, but in discourse data, *-kir-* expresses that the agent does or does not have the ability to do something, and *-rare-/-raru-* expresses that the agent can or cannot do something due to the environment. This distinction is widely distributed in the dialects of northern Kyūshū (Kambe 1992).

(433) *asino* *hayakaken* *ariba* *oikiru.*
asi=no haya-ka=ken ari=ba ow-i-kir-ru
leg=NOM fast-NPST=CSL that=ACC overtake-THM-ABP-NPST
'I'm fast on my legs, so I can overtake him.'

(434) *okaneno* *aruken* *keanimo* *ikaruru.*
o-kane=no ar-ru=ken kea=ni=mo ik-raru-ru
POL-money=NOM exist-NPST=CSL rest.home=DAT=ADD go-CRP-NPST
'I have money, so I can go to the rest home.'

11.7 *Information Structure and Its Formal Encodings*

In Yanagawa, topic is indicated with the topic marker *=wa*.

(435) *ano* *occanna* *keebanibakkai* *itatte*
ano occan=wa keeba=ni=bakkai itar-te
that man=TOP horse.race=DAT=RPT go-SEQ
'That man only goes to horse races, …'

The choice of nominative particles *=ga* and *=no* depends on the animacy of the subject (see § 11.2), but focus types (information focus vs. contrastive focus) also affect the choice, as in (436), (437).

(436) *in{ga/no}* *sarukiyoru.*
in={ga/no} saruk-i+or-ru
dog={NOM/NOM} walk-THM+PROG-NPST
'A dog is walking. (In response to the question 'what is walking?')'

(437) *in{ga/*no}* *sarukiyoru.*
in={ga/no} saruk-i+or-ru.
dog={NOM/NOM} walk-THM+PROG-NPST
'(It is not a cat,) it is a dog that is walking.'

12 The Complex Sentence

12.1 *Clause-Combining Strategies*

Yanagawa has two clause-combining strategies: coordination and subordination.

12.1.1 Coordination

Coordinated clauses have two or more independent clauses joined with conjunctive particles, such as the causal particle *=ken/kengara* and the adversative particle *=batten/battengara* 'but'.

(438) *terebino nedokattoruken kawayan.*
terebi=no nedokar-tor-ru=ken kaw-a-yan
TV=NOM break-PRF-NPST=CSL buy-THM-OBLG
'My TV is broken, so I need to buy a new one.'

(439) *hutoka ziwa mekkarubatten komaka ziwa mekkakaran.*
huto-ka zi=wa mekkar-ru=batten koma-ka zi=wa mekkakar-a-n
big-NPST character=TOP see-NPST=ADVRS small-NPST character=TOP see-THM-NEG
'I can see big characters, but cannot see small ones.'

12.1.2 Subordination

Subordinated clauses divide into three types: adverbial subordinates, adnominal subordinates, and complements. An adverbial subordinate clause is expressed by a converb inflection as in (440) and (441), or the conditional particles *=nara, =getto* attached as in (442).

(440) *amadoba aketottara kurawareta.*
ama+to=ba ake-tor-tara kuraw-rare-ta
rain+door=ACC open-PRF-COND eat-PASS-PST
'When I opened the sliding shutter, I was bitten (by a mosquito).'

(441) *sakanaba turige itta.*
sakana=ba tur-i-ge ik-ta
fish=ACC fish-THM-PURP go-PST
'I went fishing.'

(442) *rensyuu sunnara motto asino hayo naroo.*
rensyuu su-ru=nara motto asi=no haya-u nar-a-u
training LV-NPST=COND more leg=NOM fast-SEQ become-THM-INFR
'If I practice, I will get faster.'

In adnominal subordination, an adnominal clause modifies an NP. In an adnominal clause, a verbal (including verbal adjective) predicate is finite.

(443) *tannaka site umi siyotta hitotati*
tannaka si-te umi si+or-ta hito-tati
rice.field LV-SEQ sea LV+HAB-PST person-PL
'People who worked in rice farming and fishing'

12.2 *Quotative*

A quotative clause is a complement of speech-act verbs such as *yuw-* 'say', *hanas-* 'speak'; writing-act verbs such as *kak-* 'write'; cognitive verbs such as *omow-* 'think', *wakar-* 'understand'; and the existential verbs *or-* 'exist (animate)' and *ar-* 'exist (inanimate)'. The quotative particle *=ti* attaches to a complement clause.

(444) *basarakawa iretaga yokarooti omoubai.*
basaraka=wa ire-ta=ga yo-karoo=ti omow-ru=bai
very=TOP add-PST=NOM good-NPST.INFR=QUOT think-NPST=SFP
'I think it would be better to include the word 'very' (in the sentence). (In response to an example of Yanagawa presented by the author)'

(445) *sandenti arooga.*
sanden=ti ar-a-u=ga
Sanden(Place)=QUOT exist-THM-INFR=SFP
'Don't you know Sanden?'

12.3 *Insubordination*

Clauses to which the conditional particle *=nara* attaches can be insubordinated and used to express commands, as in (418b).

12.4 *Clause-Chaining Structure*

Clause-chaining structures usually express temporal relations such as overlap and succession (Payne 1997: 321). A clause chain consists of a series of converbs, which do not exhibit non-past/past tense opposition.

(446) *kokoni hukinba irete mesiba koo irete*
koko=ni hukin=ba ire-te mesi=ba koo ire-te
here=DAT cloth=ACC put-SEQ rice=ACC this.way put-SEQ
'I put a cloth (in a rice tub), and put rice (in the rice tub), …'

Appendix: Sample Text

In this section, I present a monologue narrated by HK. This monologue was recorded on 9 February 2020 and lasted about ten minutes. Here, I give the first minute.

(447) *moo syoku tiitaken atotugino*
moo syoku tuk-ta≠ken ato+tug-i≠no
already job get-PST≠CSL heir+succeed-NMLZ≠NOM
nakakennomo.
na-ka≠ken≠nomo
not.exist-NPST≠CSL≠SFP
'(My son) has got a job and there is no successor.'

(448) *kondowa yoka kikaino zidooba*
kondo≠wa yo-ka kikai≠no zidoo≠ba
now≠TOP good-NPST machine≠GEN automatic≠ACC
kawayangon zidaini nattarooga.
kaw-a-yan≠gon zidai≠ni nar-taroo≠ga
buy-THM-OBLG≠FMN era≠DAT become-PST.INFR≠SFP
'Now we have to buy good automatic machines to do farming.'

(449) *soriken moo uuzyakuzya nanzenmanti*
sori≠ken moo ? nan+sen+man≠ti
that≠CSL FIL what+thousand+ten.thousand≠QUOT
surunomo.
su-ru≠nomo
LV-NPST≠SFP
'That's why it's hard to continue farming; it costs tens of millions of yen to buy the machines.'

(450) me:
sogen suttodesuka.
sogen su-ru≠to≠desu≠ka
that.way LV-NPST≠FMN≠POL≠Q
'Oh, it's so expensive! (lit. Does it cost that much?)'

(451) *ee iccyogatto yuwangoto zaisanno*
ee iccyo=gatu=to yuw-a-n=goto zaisan=no
FIL a.little=FMN=QUOT say-THM-NEG=FMN asset=NOM
ittobanmo.
ir-ru=to=banmo
need-NPST=FMN=SFP
'Yes, I needed ⟨a lot of (lit. I don't say it is a little)⟩ money (to continue farming).'

(452) *soriwa modosi … modosikiranyan.*
sori=wa modosi … modos-i-kir-a-n=yan
that=TOP … return-THM-ABP-THM-NEG=SFP
'(If I borrowed that amount,) I wouldn't be able to pay it back, would I?'

(453) *sosiken moo sogen yuute yameta.*
sosi=ken moo sogen yuw-te yame-ta
that.do=CSL already that.way say-SEQ stop-PST
'So I stopped farming.'

(454) *umi sitai tannaka sitai sitenomo*
umi si-tai tannaka si-tai si-te=nomo
sea LV-PARA rice.field LV-PARA LV-SEQ=SFP
'I did fishing and rice farming,'

(455) *kome tukuttenomo kome tukurantoki hatake site*
kome tukur-te=nomo kome tukur-a-n=toki hatake si-te
rice make-SEQ=SFP rice make-THM-NEG=FMN field LV-SEQ
'I grew rice, and when I wasn't growing rice, I worked in the fields,'

(456) *huyubunna kome tukutte ano hatakeba titto iroiro*
huyubun=wa kome tukur-te ano hatake=ba titto iroiro
winter=TOP rice make-SEQ FIL field=ACC a.little various
tukuriyotta.
tukur-i+or-ta
make-THM+HAB-PST
'In the wintertime, I used to grow rice and work in the fields … I made various things.'

(457) *tukkara tugi nookyoodasi surugoto.*
tugi=kara tugi nookyoo+das-i su-ru=goto
next=ABL next farmers'cooperative+forward-NMLZ LV-NPST=FMN
'I made various things so that I can send them to the agricultural cooperatives.'

(458) *yokattayo.*
yo-katta=yo
good-PST=SFP
'It was good.'

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