Verb Inflection in Classical Gokayama Dialect

KUROKI Kunihiko

1 Introduction

I describe the verb inflection in classical Gokayama dialect in this paper.

Gokayama (五箇山) is a region in southwestern Toyama Prefecture (富山県). That is surrounded by big mountains and isolated from urban areas.

Gokayama dialect (hereinafter referred to as “Gokayaman”) is one of Japanese dialects and placed in Toyama dialect family. It variously differs from Standard Japanese in vocabulary and grammar.

Two Gokayaman speakers recorded over ten thousands of Gokayaman words (F. Sanada 1973–83; F. Sanada & S. Sanada 1987–94), and many researchers studied the honorifics synchronically and/or diachronically (S. Sanada 1971; 1983; Hidaka 1994; S. Sanada (ed.) 1997; Tsuji & Kim 2009; Kuroki 2012). However, most researchers have not been interested in Gokayaman grammar until now. I know only the fragmentary description in F. Sanada (1973–83), F. Sanada & S. Sanada (1987–94), and Kuroki (2012).

Gokayaman is in danger of closing down as other classical Japanese dialects because of Japanese monolingualization and speakers’ aging. It is now or never that we describe Gokayaman grammar. Hence, I describe Gokayaman verb inflection here.

2 Data

Gokayama corresponds to former Taira Village (旧平村), former Kamitaira Village (旧上平村), and former Toga Village (旧利賀村) (cf. Figure 1; they are integrated into present Nanto City (南砺市) in November, 2004). The population in July, 2012 was 2,502 (respectively 1065, 740, and 697) despite having been 10,060 in 1950 (respectively 3,996, 2502, and 3,562).

I estimate that Gokayaman slightly varies according to an area. Therefore, in this paper, I limit Gokayaman to the dialect in the area of former Kamitaira Village which has been studied well. I describe Gokayaman grammar depending on the following data:

(1) a. The data which I obtained in my field work conducted in Kôzu (楮) and Nishiakao (西赤尾) (cf. Figure 1)i, small villages in former Kamitaira Village, during 2007–12. It is divided into their talks and the answers to my questionnaires.

b. The data cited on previous works.

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i The former’s population in July, 2012 was 70, and the latter’s 110.
Here are the attributes of my consultants:

(2)  

I obtained most of the data (1a) from Mr. [A], Mr. [B], and Mr. [E] (especially from the former one). It is not that I asked all consultants the same quantity of questions and sought individual differences. Hence, I note a difference in age, gender, and so on only in times of need.

3 Phonemes

I determine Gokayaman phonemes before I describe the morphology.

Gokayaman phonology is not far from Standard Japanese’s nowadays. Phonetic values of phonemes almost correspond to Standard Japanese one as follows:

\[\text{Figure 1: Gokayama region in Toyama Prefecture}\]
b. Glide phoneme (G): ●/j/ [j]

(Note) □PA: point of articulation has not been specified

/z/ is realized as [ʣ] or [z] according to the following difference of morphological position:

(4) /z/ → [ʣ] / #_ → [z] / elsewhere

(Note) #_: the beginning of phrase

Many consonant phonemes are realized as the following phonetic sounds just before /i/. It is caused by palatalization, the famous phonetic phenomena in Japanese:


Furthermore, I also determine the following morpho-phonemes which are realized irregularly in order to analyze the structure of certain verbs (I shall talk about this matter some other time):

(6) //T//: It is realized as /t/ or /c/ according to the vowel just after it as follows:

a. //taT(-i)-Ø// → /tacin/  b. //taT(-r)-u// → /tacu/
   stand_up(-V)-NMLZ       stand_up(-C)-NMLZ

c. //taT-E// → /tate/  d. //taT(-j)-o// → /tato/
   stand_up-CCL.IMP       stand_up-CCL.IRR

e. //taT(-a)-de// → /taطا-de/
   stand_up(-V)-ADV.MED.NEG

(7) //N//: It is realized as /n/ or /N/ according to the vowel just after it as follows:

a. //(-a)-N(-r)-edo// → /a недо/  
   (-V)-NEG(-C)-ADV.CCSV
b. //(-a)-N(-r)-u// → /aN/
   (-V)-NEG(-C)-ADN.DECL

2 Mr. [A] and Mr. [B] tend to pronounce /i/ of irregular verb /siN, sirja, siru, ... / as [i].
3 The articulation point of /Q, N/ assimilates the next consonant.
It is realized as /t/ or not realized according to the vowel just after it as follows:

(a) //taR(-r)-edo// → /taredo/  
PST(-C)-ADV.CCSV

(b) //taR(-j)-o// → /taRo/  
PST(-C)-CCL.IRR

(c) //taR(-r)-u// → /ta/

PST(-C)-ADN.DECL

4 Verb constituents

4.1 Verb structure

Gokayaman has the word class called as “verb”. It variously conjugates in Gokayaman as Standard Japanese. A typical Gokayaman verb is constructed as follows:

\[
\text{[\text{v} \text{primary stem} \{- \text{derivational suffix}\} \text{-inflectional suffix}]}
\]

(Note) ●X^n: Arbitrary number of X. ●[X]: X is optional.

A Gokayaman verb is composed of a primary stem, an inflectional suffix, and a derivational suffix as (9). The former two are obligate and the latter one is optional.

The boundary between a stem and a suffix in a verb is basically clear in Gokayaman as Table 1. Hence, we can easily extract its constituents from here:

Table 1: Gokayaman verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘read’</th>
<th>‘write’</th>
<th>‘raise’</th>
<th>‘go down’</th>
<th>‘look’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ADV.MED.NEG&gt;</td>
<td>joma'de</td>
<td>kaka'de</td>
<td>age'de</td>
<td>ori'de</td>
<td>mi'de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;NMNL.SSP&gt;</td>
<td>jomi</td>
<td>kaki</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>ori</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;CCL.IRR&gt;</td>
<td>jomo</td>
<td>kako</td>
<td>agsjo</td>
<td>orisjo</td>
<td>misi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ADV.COND&gt;</td>
<td>jomja</td>
<td>kakja</td>
<td>agerja</td>
<td>orirja</td>
<td>mirja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ASPR.NMNL.SSP&gt;</td>
<td>jomaQsari</td>
<td>kakaQsari</td>
<td>agejaQsari</td>
<td>orijaQsari</td>
<td>mijaQsari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ASPR.ADV.COND&gt;</td>
<td>jomaQsarja</td>
<td>kakaQsarja</td>
<td>agejaQsarja</td>
<td>orijaQsarja</td>
<td>mijaQsarja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;CAUS.NMNL.SSP&gt;</td>
<td>jomasi</td>
<td>kakasi</td>
<td>agesasi</td>
<td>orisasi</td>
<td>misasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;CAUS.ADV.COND&gt;</td>
<td>jomasja</td>
<td>kaksja</td>
<td>agesasja</td>
<td>orisasja</td>
<td>misasja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note) ●X^n: X and XY are free variants

4.2 Primary verb stem

A primary stem is an obligate constituent of a verb. It expresses an action, a change, a state, or feeling in a situation expressed by a clause. Gokayaman speakers use it as base of various words, not only a verb.

I divide primary verb stems into regular one or irregular one based on the following points:
(10) a. Whether the primary verb stem in question alters its own form in order to adjust to a verb suffix?
   b. Whether it takes an irregular allomorph of a verb suffix?

4.2.1 Regular verb stem

Most of primary verb stems are regular one. I divided them into vowel-final one or consonant-final one according to their final phoneme as follows (I cite a morpheme by underlying representation):


(I abbreviate “Consonant-final, Vowel final” as “C-final, V-final” hereinafter)

A C-final verb stem basically takes a medial vowel when it takes consonant-initial suffix. On the other hand, A V-final verb stem basically takes a medial consonant (including glide) when it takes vowel-initial suffix as Table 2 (cf. Kiyose 1971; Yanaike 1986; 1987; see also §4.3 below)⁴:

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⁴ Gokayaman speakers do not use a verb stem singly because it is a bound form. Accordingly, I cannot determine a surface form of a derivational verb stem composed of a primary verb stem and arbitrary number of verb-to-verb suffixes. Therefore, I show the form extracted from one of surface forms of the derivational verb which includes a suffix in question, when showing a surface form of a derivational stem.
### Table 2: Verb construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>//jom-//</th>
<th>//kak-//</th>
<th>//age-//</th>
<th>//ori-//</th>
<th>//mi-//</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>//(-a)-ide//</td>
<td>jom-a-ide</td>
<td>kak-a-ide</td>
<td>age-ide</td>
<td>ori-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//(-i)-Ø//</td>
<td>jom-i-Ø</td>
<td>kak-i-Ø</td>
<td>age-Ø</td>
<td>ori-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//(-j)-o//</td>
<td>jom-o</td>
<td>kak-o</td>
<td>age=j-o</td>
<td>or'-j-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//(-r)-ja//</td>
<td>jom-ja</td>
<td>kak-ja</td>
<td>age-ja</td>
<td>or-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//(-j)-Ø//</td>
<td>jom-aQsar-i-Ø</td>
<td>kak-aQsar-i-Ø</td>
<td>age-jQsar-i-Ø</td>
<td>or-jQsar-i-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//(-j)-ja//</td>
<td>jom-as-i-Ø</td>
<td>kak-as-i-Ø</td>
<td>age-s-as-i-Ø</td>
<td>or-s-as-i-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//(-s)-as(-i)-Ø//</td>
<td>jom-as-i-Ø</td>
<td>kak-as-i-Ø</td>
<td>age-s-as-i-Ø</td>
<td>or-s-as-i-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.2.2 Irregular verb stem

4.2.2.1 The alternation of stem according to the next verb suffix

Gokayaman has only two irregular verb stems. They alter their own forms in order to adjust to a suffix as follows:

(12) //s- - si- - se- - su-// (hereinafter referred to as “//si-//”) ‘do’

a. **s-as-**
   - do-CAUS-

b. **si-te**
   - si-jar-
   - do-ADV.MED
   - do-ADLT
   - do-CNT

c. **si-r-are-**
   - s-are-
   - do-PASS

d. **si'-de**
   - si'-jo
   - se'-de
   - //se-ji// → /see/\(^5\)
   - do-ADV.MED.NEG
   - do-CCL.IMP

e. **si-r-u**
   - si-r-ja
   - su-r-u
   - su-r-ja
   - do-C-ADN.DECL
   - do-C-ADV.COND

(13) //ko- - ki- - ku-// (hereinafter referred to as “//ko-//”) ‘come’

a. **ko'-de**
   - ko-i
   - ko-s-ase-
   - come-ADV.MED.NEG
   - come-CCL.IMP
   - come-C-CAUS-

\(^5\) //e-j// is realized as /ee/, but not /ci/ (see also §4.3.1.1 below).
b. \textbf{ki-te} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ki-jar-}^{6} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ki-tor-}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
    & come-ADV.MED & come-ADLT- & come-CNT \\
\end{tabular}

c. \textbf{ku-r-ja} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ku-r-u} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ku-r-edo}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
    & come-C-ADV.COND & come-C-ADN.DECL & come-C-ADV.CCSV \\
\end{tabular}

d. \textbf{ko-r-ja} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ku-r-ja}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
    & come-C-ADV.COND \\
\end{tabular}

Mr. [A] and Mr. [B] commented that //se-// in (12d) and //su-// in (12d) would come into Gokayaman newly.

//si’-, ko’-//’s allomorphs alternate in taking a verb suffix as Table 3:

\textbf{Table 3: The alternation of //si’-, KO-//’s allomorphs}

\begin{tabular}{c|cccc|c|c}
\hline
  & si’- & s- & s’- & si/-e- & si- & si/-u- \\
\hline
ko’- & ko- & & & & & \\
I & (-a)-ziN & (-j)-o & -!tari & & & \\
& (-a)-Nto & (-i)-nagara & (-i)-sina & & & \\
& -j & (-i)-moQte & -!tara & & & \\
D & (-s)-as- & (-r)-are- & (-a)-N- & -jar- & -!tor- & \\
& (-s)-ase- & (-a)-nNdRaR & & -!taR- & & \\
& (-j)-aqsar- & (-a)-naNdRaR & & & (-i)-taN- & (-i)-ØN \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

(Note) \ \bullet I: inflectional suffix \ \bullet D: derivational suffix \ \bullet \textbf{X}_A: verb-to-adjective suffix \ \bullet \textbf{X}_N: verb-to-noun suffix

//si’-, KO-// behave irregularly as confirmed above. However, they are a kind of V-final verb stem because most allomorphs of them take a medial consonant as with V-final verb stem. Only C-final //s-//, allomorph of //si’-//, does not take it.

4.2.2.2 The Irregular form which attaches to //ko’-//

Medial consonant //j/ is not realized irregularly when V-initial //(-j)-o// <conclusive + irrealis> attaches to V-final //ko’-// as follows:

\footnote{It is pronounced as /kjar-/ fusionally.}
4.3 Verb Inflectional suffix

An inflectional suffix is also an obligate constituent of a verb. It denotes various meanings, for examples, a polarity, a temporality, and/or a modality. Furthermore it makes a clause type conclusive, adnominal, or adverbial.

The principle for attaching a verb inflectional suffix to a verb stem in Gokayaman roughly corresponds to a mood in Indo-European language and so on.

I divide Gokayaman clauses integrated by a verb into the following three types according to their syntactic functions:

(15) a. Conclusive clause: It is placed at the end of a sentence and concludes it.
    b. Adnominal clause: It is variously placed at a sentence. It does not only modify a noun phrase just before it, but also concludes a sentence at the end of it.
    c. Nominal clause: It is not basically placed at the end of a sentence and acts as noun.
    d. Adverbial clause: It is not basically placed at the end of a sentence and modifies a matrix clause as adverb.

4.3.1 Conclusive verb suffix

I call the inflectional suffix to make a clause type conclusive as “conclusive suffix”.

4.3.1.1 Imperative

4.3.1.1.1 Regular form

Gokayaman speakers attach the following /-e ~ -j/ <imperative> to a verb stem when ordering a hearer to do something:

(16) a.  

\[ \text{[cc wari=mo mot-e]} \]

2.SG.IFR=even hold-CCL.IMP

‘Hold (it) too’

‘お前も持て’\(^7\)

b.  

\[ \text{[cc korja ue=i [ age-jo / age^e ]]} \]

\[ //age-j// \]

this.TOP upper_part=ALL lift-CCL.IMP

‘Lift this up’

‘これは上へ上げろ’

\(^7\) I show the sentence translated into English and Standard Japanese for mere reference.
c. \[ cc\ sita=i \quad \{\ ori\-jo /\ ori^1\}\].  
//ori-j// 
\underpart=ALL  get\_down-CCL\_IMP

‘Go down’  
‘下へ降りろ’

c. \[ cc\ hajo \quad \{\ si\-jo / see\}\].  
//se-j// 
quick\_ADV.MED  do-CCL\_IMP

‘Do (it) hastily’  
‘早くしろ’

d. \[ cc\ doo=demo\ ko-i\].  
how\_be\_ADV.ACOND  come-CCL\_IMP

‘Do (it) hastily’  
‘何があっても来い’

I lay down the following morpho-phonological rules and then analyze /age\^e, orii, see/ and the like into a verb stem and //j// as (16b–d):

(17)  
(17a) \[//ij// \rightarrow /ii//\]  
(17b) \[//ej// \rightarrow /ee//\]  
(Note) \##: the end of phrase

The specification of the condition “\#” is indispensable to the rules (17). For example, //age-jo, oki-jo, si-jo// are realized as /ageeo, okiio, siio/ without it.

4.3.1.1.2 Irregular form  
//ko\^1//- does not take //j^0// although ending in a vowel as (16d).

The subject honorific\^8 verb stem takes the following //i// instead of //e// although ending in a consonant:

(18)  
(18a) \[ cc\ toto=wa\ ie=n\^9\ jar-i\].  
patriarch=TOP  house\_L:D:E  be\_ADLT-CCL\_IMP

‘Patriarch, please be at home’  
‘親父は家にいなさい’

\^8 The honorific to respect the subject, i.e. the argument which receives a nominative (e.g. the agent or causer of an active verb stem, the theme or experiencer of an inactive verb stem, and so on; cf. Grimshaw 1990; Kageyama 1993; 1996).

\^9 Gokayaman speakers carelessly pronounce <locative-dative-essive> enclitic as /N/, except it just after /—N/ noun (e.g. /oto\q\ca\si/ ‘patriarch’, /sitorimo\N/ ‘bachelor; spinster’). They had been pronouncing <locative-dative-essive> enclitic as /ne/ before (F. Sanada and S. Sanada 1994: 31).
b. [cc omai-sama=wa ie=ni gozar-i].
   2.SG.ASPR-BEAU=TOP house-L:D:E be.ASPR-CCL.IMP
   ‘Would you be at home’
   ‘あなたさまは家におられませ’

c. [cc watasi=ni=mo kudasar-i].
   1.SG.POL=L:D:E=even give.ASPR-CCL.IMP
   ‘Would (you) give (it) to me’
   ‘私にも下さいます’

(19) a. [cc aQci=i ik-jar-i].
   over_there=ALL go.ADLT-CCL.IMP
   ‘Please go over there’
   ‘あっちへ行きなさい’

b. [cc aQci=i ik-aQsar-i].
   over_there=ALL go.ASPR-CCL.IMP
   ‘Would (you) go over there’
   ‘あっちへ行きなさいませ’

//--e ~ -j"// always concludes a sentence and furthermore takes only the following enclitics (I shall talk about this matter some other time):

(20) a. Conclusive enclitic: //=-ja, =ma// <emphatic>, //=-jo// <calling>

b. Interjectional enclitic: //=-ka// <calling>

4.3.1.2 Irrealis

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-j)-o// <irrealis> to a verb stem when (i) expressing their volition, (ii) asking a hearer to do something (this use would be derived from volitional use), (iii) or inferring something, affirmatively:

(21) a. [cc ame=no/a=moNde ie=de hon jom-o].
   rain=be.ADN.DECL=RAT house=LOC book read-CCL.IRR
   ‘(I)’ll read a book because of a rain’
   ‘雨なので，家で本を読もう’

b. [cc iQsjo=ni ag=e-j-o].
   together=L:D:E lift-C-CCL.IRR
   ‘Let’s lift (it) together’
   ‘一緒に上げよう’
4.3.1.3 Irrealis + negative

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-a)-mail// <irrealis + negative> to a verb stem when expressing their volition, asking a hearer to do something, or inferring something, negatively:

(22) a. [cc ame=zja=de ik-a-mai].
    rain=be.CCL.DECL=RAT go-V-CCL.IRR.NEG
    ‘(I) won’t go because of a rain’
    ‘雨なので、行くまい’

   b. [cc aN sito-raci=wa koorjaku si-mai].
    that man-PL=TOP help do-CCL.IRR.NEG
    ‘They won’t help (it)’
    ‘あのたちは手伝わないだろう’

   //(-a)-mail// verb can also take adverbial enclitics //de, =sakai// <rational>. //(-j)-o, (-a)-mai// differ from //e ~ j”// in this point (I shall talk about this matter some other time).

4.3.2 Adnominal verb suffix

I call the inflectional suffix to make a clause type adnominal as “adnominal suffix”. However, an adnominal suffix also makes it conclusive in Gokayaman despite its name.

4.3.2.1 Declarative

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-r)-u// <declarative> to a verb stem when concluding a sentence and describing a situation simply:
(23) a. \[\text{ADNC wari=}N \text{ kas-u] zeNna na-i.}\]
2.SG.IFRR=L:D:E lend-ADN.DECL many.TOP not.be.INANM-ADN.DECL
‘(I) have no money to lend to you’
‘お前に貸す金はないよ’

b. \[\text{ADNC ku-r-u] toki deNwa si-jar-i.}\]
come-ADN.DECL time telephone do-ADLT-CCL.IMP
‘Please call (me) when (you)’ll come’
‘来る時、電話して下さい’

(24) a. \[\text{I(SG) IFR}=L:D:E lend-ADN.DECL many.TOP not.be.INANM-ADN.DECL’\]
‘The patriarch will come two days after tomorrow’
‘親父さまは明々後日いらっしゃる’

b. \[\text{I(SM) PL-even tomorrow come-ADN.DECL’}\]
‘We’ll come tomorrow’
‘俺たちも明日来る’

//(-r)-u// indicates <declarative>, not <non-past>. //(-r)-u// or a similar adnominal suffix indicates <non-past> in the modern Japanese dialects which distinguish between <past> and <non-past> by adnominal suffixes\(^{10}\). Still, Gokayaman marks only the former with verb derivational suffix //(-taR-// (I mark the suffix which makes a sandhi form with “!”).

//(-r)-u// verb can take various enclitics as follows (I shall talk about this matter some other time):

(25) a. Conclusive enclitic: //=maï// <irrealis + negative>, //=wa, =zo, =no, =na // <remainder>, //=ja// <calling>, //=cjaz// <remainder + calling>, //=ko// <questional>,


d. Interjectional enclitic: //=i// <polite>, //=ka// <calling>

4.3.2.2 Obligative

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-a)-nan// <obligative> to a verb stem when expressing someone’s obligation:

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\(^{10}\) Standard Japanese marks <past> with //(-i)-ta// and <non-past> with //(-r)-u// as follows:

\(\text{(I)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past</th>
<th>nonpast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'push'</td>
<td>'lift'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>'do'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\text{<past>}\)

os-\text{i-ta} age-\text{ta} ki-\text{ta} si-\text{ta}

\(\text{<non-past>}\)

os-\text{u} age-\text{r-u} ki-\text{r-u} si-\text{r-u}
4.3.3 Nominal verb suffix

I call the inflectional suffix to make a clause type nominal as “nominal suffix”.

4.3.3.1 Suspensional

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-i)-Ø// <suspensional> to a verb stem when topicalizing a clause as noun:

(28) a. [NC eeGo=N hon=o jom-i-Ø]=mo si-ta=na.

English=G:N book=ACC read-V-SSP=even do-PST.ADN-DECL=RMND
‘I read even an English book’
‘英語の本を読みもした’

b. [NC hadate-Ø]=wa si-tar-edom.

start_to_do-SSP=TOP do-PST-ADV.CCSV
‘However, (I) started to do (it)’
‘し始めはしたけど’

Gokayaman speakers attach topical enclitic //=ni// ‘loca tive; dative; essive’ to //(-i)-Ø// verb when expressing a purpose of the action expressed by the matrix clause as follows:
a. [NC eego=N hon jom-i-Ø]=ni iQ-ta=zo=i=ka.

   English=GN book read-V-SSP=L:D:E go-PST.ADN-DECL=RMND=POL=CALL
   ‘I went to read an English book’
   ‘英語の本を読みに行ったよね’

(30) a. [NC naitari][NC waro’tari] nigiwasi-i jacu=zja.
       //nak-’tari// //waraw-’tari//
       cry-NMNL.ILL laugh-NMNL.ILL noisy-ADN.DECL one=be.CCL.DECL
   ‘(He) is noisy because of laughing and crying by turns’
   ‘泣いたり笑ったり,騒がしい奴だ’

b. [NC hon joodari][NC ee kaitari].
       //jom-’tari// //kak-’tari//
       book read-NMNL.ILL picture write-NMNL.ILL
   ‘For examples, reading a book, painting a picture, and so on’
   ‘本を読んだり,絵を描いたり’

c. [NC uto’tari] si-te tanosi-m-u=ga=zja.
       //utaw-’tari//
       sing-NMNL.ILL do-ADV.MED pleasant-VBLZ-ADN.DECL=NMNL=be.CCL.DECL
   ‘(We) enjoy (it) by singing (a song) and so on’
   ‘歌ったりして,楽しむんだ’

4.3.3.3 The morpho-phonological rule to produce a sandhi verb

Gokayaman has some sandhi verbs whose boundary between a stem and a suffix is not clear. The following sandhi verbs are realized when a C-final verb stem takes a /-!t—are// suffix like /-!tari//:
Table 4: Sandhi verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>//jom-//</th>
<th>//kak-//</th>
<th>//age-//</th>
<th>//ori-//</th>
<th>//mi-//</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>//(-a)-de//</td>
<td>jom-a'-de</td>
<td>kak-a'-de</td>
<td>age'-de</td>
<td>ori'-de</td>
<td>mi'-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//(-r)-ja//</td>
<td>jom-ja</td>
<td>kak-ja</td>
<td>age-r-ja</td>
<td>ori-r-ja</td>
<td>mi-r-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//!-tari//</td>
<td>joodari</td>
<td>kaitari</td>
<td>age-tari</td>
<td>ori-tari</td>
<td>mi-tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//!-te//</td>
<td>joode</td>
<td>kaiete</td>
<td>age-te</td>
<td>ori-te</td>
<td>mi-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//!-tor-//</td>
<td>joodor-u</td>
<td>kaitor-u</td>
<td>age-tor-u</td>
<td>ori-tor-u</td>
<td>mi-tor-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//!-taR-//</td>
<td>joodar-edo</td>
<td>kaitar-edo</td>
<td>age-tar-edo</td>
<td>ori-tar-edo</td>
<td>mi-tar-edo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I lay down the following morpho-phonological rules to produce sandhi verbs:

(31) //t// → //d// / _\[b/m/n/g (= [+nas or +daku]) //
a. //tob-!tari// → //tou-!dari// → /toodari/
   fly-NMNL.ILL
b. //jom-!te// → //jou-!de// → /joode/
   read-ADV.MED
c. //sin-!tara// → //sin-!dara// → /siNdara/
   die-ADV.COND
d. //kog-!tor-u// → //koi-!dor-u// → /koidoru/
   row-CNT-ADN.DECL

(32) a. //b, m, w (= [+lab])/ // → //a// / __\[-! //
   i. //tob-!tari// → //tou-!dari// → /toodari/
      fly-NMNL.ILL
   ii. //jom-!te// → //jou-!de// → /joode/
       read-ADV.MED
   iii. //kaW-!taR-edo// → //kau-!tar-edo// → /ko\'taredo/
        buy-PST-ADV.CCSV
b. //n// → //n// / __\[-!
   //siN-!tari// → //siN-!dari// → /siNdari/
   die-NMNL.ILL
c. //T, r// → //Q// / __\[-!
   i. //tQ-!tari// → //tQ-tari// → /tQtari/
      stand_up-NMNL.ILL
   ii. //oQ-!taR-o// → //oQ-!taR-o// → /oQtaro/
      be.ANM-PST-CCL.IRR

[15]
d. //s, k, g// → //i// / __-!
   i. //das-!te// → //daï-!te// → //daite//
      take_out-ADV.MED
   ii. //kaê-!taR-u// → //kaï-!taR-u// → //kaita//
      write-PST-ADN.DECL
   iii. //kog-!tor-!te// → //koï-!doQ-!te// → //koïdoQte//
      row-CNT-ADV.MED

(33)  a. //iiu// → //juu// / [VBL __ ]
      take_out-ADV.MED
   i. //cizim-!tari// → //ciziu-!dari// → //cizjuu-dari//
      fly-NMN.L.ILL
   ii. //iw-!taR-edo// → //iu-!taR-edo// → //juu!taredo//
      say-PST-ADV.CCSV

b. //ou, au// → //oo// / [VBL __ ]
   i. //tob-!tari// → //tou-!dari// → //tOODari//
      fly-NMN.L.ILL
   ii. //kaw-!tor-u// → //kau-!tor-u// → //kootoru//
      buy-CNT-ADN.DECL

Fusional verbs are realized after when The rules (31, 32) simultaneously apply to an under-layering form, and then the rule (33) applies to them.

4.3.4  Adverbial verb suffix

I call the inflectional suffix to make a clause type adverbial as “adverbial suffix”.

4.3.4.1  Simultaneous

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(i)-nagara, (-i)-sina, (-i)-moQte// <simultaneous> to a verb stem when linking an affirmative clause to the matrix one simultaneously:

(34)  a. [ADVC aruk-i-{ nagara / sina / moQte }] ku-una.
      walk-V-SIM eat-ADN.DECL=IMP.NEG
      ‘Don’t eat while walking’
      ‘歩きながら、食べるな’
   b. [ADVC koko=ni    ki-i- { nagara / sina / moQte }]
      here=L:DE: come-ADV.SIM
      kangae-toQ-ta=ga={ zjaar / nar }-edo
      consider-CNT-PST-ADN.DECL=NMNL=be-ADV.CCSV
      ‘(I) was considering (it) while coming here’
      ‘ここに来ながら、考えてたんだけど’
c. $[\text{ADV} \, \text{sin-i-} \{ \#nagara / \#sina / \#moQte \}]$ tatakA-ta=ga=ko?
   <animate> die-V-ADV.SIM fight-PST.ADN.DECL=NMNL=Q.IFRR
   ‘Did (the soldier) fight (against enemies) while being dying’
   ‘死にながら，戦ったのか?’

Simultaneous verb suffixes attach to the following kinds of verb stem:

(35) [+telic, −active] [+telic, +active] [−telic]

*   

Here is the classification of verb stems with [+telic] and [+active]:


I have classified them as (36) depending on Vendlar (1957), Okuda (1977), and Kudo (1983; 1995). I value [+active] only in [+telic] because there are no other verb stems valued as [−telic, −active] than //ar-/ ‘be + <inanimate>; have’.

4.3.4.2  Conditional

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-r)-eba, -tara// <conditional> to a verb stem when expressing a condition for the situation of the matrix clause:

(37) a. $[\text{ADV} \, \text{haru=}\text{N} \{ \text{nar-ja / naq-tara} \}]$ mi=ga nar-u=zo.
   spring=L:D:E become-ADV.COND fruit=G.I:N become-ADN.DECL=RMND
   ‘The fruit is borne when spring comes’
   ‘春になれば，実が成るぞ’
   b. $[\text{ADV} \, \text{iq-pen} \{ \text{kik-ja / kii-tara} \}]$ wakar-u=caja.
   one-time listen-ADV.COND comprehend-ADN.DECL=RMND.CALL
   ‘(I) comprehend (it) when learning (it) once’
   ‘一遍聞けば，分かるよ’
Gokayaman speakers use \((/-r)-ja//\) as well as \(/-!tara//\) when expressing ‘Y after when X’ (hereinafter X indicates a subordinate clause, and Y the matrix one) as (37c). The former is not used to express it in many of modern Japanese dialects (especially in western ones).

### 4.3.4.3 Medial

Gokayaman speakers attach the following \(/-!te// <medial>\) to a verb stem when linking an affirmative clause to the matrix one simultaneously or sequentially:

(38) a. \([\text{ADV} \text{tako+age-Ø si-te} \text{ asoN-dor-u=wa}]\)

   kite+lift-NMLZ do-ADV.MED play-CONT-ADV.DECL=RMND

   ‘(He) is playing with flying a kite’

   ‘凧揚げして、遊んでるわ’

b. \([\text{ADV} \text{ora=ga zjori hai-te}] \text{iQ-ta=zo=i=ka}]\)

   1.S.M=G.I:N  sandal put_on-ADV.MED go-PST.DECL=RMND=POL=CALL

   ‘(He) put on your sandal and then went out’

   ‘俺の草履を履いて、行ったよね’

c. \([\text{ADV} \text{ee=ga ore-toq-te} \text{ cuka-e-N=zo}]\)

   handle=G.I:N  snap-CONT-ADV.MED  use-POSS-NEG.DECL=RMND

   ‘(It) isn’t available because (the) handle is broken’

   ‘柄が折れてて、使えないぞ’

d. \([\text{ADV} \text{koo=wa tookyo=ni oq-te} \text{ mago=wa}]\)

   child=TOP  Tokyô=L:D:E be.ANM-ADV.MED  grandchild=TOP

   oosaka=ni or-u=joo=na.

   Ōsaka=L:D:E be.ANM-ADV.DECL=HS=be.ADM.DECL

   ‘I heard (the) child lives in Tokyo, and (the) grandchild in Ōsaka’

   ‘子は東京にいて、孫は大阪にいるようだ’

[18]
e. [ADV] naka mi-te i-i=zo=ko?
   inside look-ADV.MED good-ADN.DECL=Q.1FRR
   ‘May I look inside?’
   ‘中を見て良いか’

We can variously translate the semantic relation between //!te// clause and the matrix one into English as follows:

(39) a. Y { with / by } X. b. Y when X. c. X and then Y.
d. Y because X. e. X and Y.

Gokayaman speakers attach topical enclitic //=mo// ‘even’ to //!te// verb when expressing an anti-condition for the situation of the matrix clause as follows:

(40) a. [ADV] haru=N naq-te=mo] mi=wa
    spring=L:D:E become-ADV.ACOND fruit=TOP
    nar-a-N=zo.
    become-V-NEG.ADN.DECL=RMND
    ‘The fruit isn’t borne even if spring comes’
    ‘春になっても，実は成らんぞ’
    1.S.M=G.I:N listen-ADV.ACOND comprehend-ADN.DECL=RMND
    ‘I comprehend (it) even if I learn (it)’
    ‘俺が聞いても，分かるよ’
    write-ADLT-ADV.ACOND take_out-ADLT-ADN.DECL=CCL.IMP
    ‘Please don’t post (it) even if (you)’ll finish writing (it)’
    ‘書いても，出しなさるな’
d. [ADV] uq-te=mo] zeN=nja nar-a-naNd=na=no.
    sell-ADV.ACOND money=L:D:E.TOP become-V-NEG.PST.ADN.DECL=RCOL
    ‘(We) got no money even if (we) sold (it)’
    ‘売っても，金にはならなかったなあ’
e. [ADV] me { tubui-toq-te=mo } cjoQko=mo nebuto 
    eye shut-CONT-ADV.ACOND a_little=even sleepy.ADV.MED
    nar-a-N=monde.
    become-NEG.ADN.DECL=RAT
    ‘(I) haven’t gotten sleepy at all while closing (my) eyes’
    ‘目を瞑ってても，ちょっと眠たくならないもんだから’
4.3.4.4 Medial + negative

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-a)-ide, (-a)-Nto\// <medial + negative> to a verb stem when linking an negative clause to the matrix one simultaneously or sequentially:

(41) a. [\text{ADV} sio-o cukaw-a-\{de / Nto \}] kosirae-ta=ka?
    salt=ACC use-V-ADV.MED.NEG make=PST.ADN.DECL=Q
    ‘Did (you) make (it) without salt?’
    ‘塩を使わずに作ったか?’

b. [\text{ADV} too=ga ak-a-\{de / #Nto \}] hair-e-naDa.
    door=G.I:N open-V-ADV.MED.NEG enter-POSS-NEG.PST.ADN.DECL
    ‘I didn’t enter it because the door didn’t open’
    ‘戸が開かず，入れなかった’

c. [\text{ADV} ojaQ-sama=wa nasu kwu-aQsar-e-\{de / #Nto \}]
    patriarch-BEAU=TOP egg_plant eat-ASPR-ADV.MED.NEG
d. [\text{ADV} soko=made si/e-\{de / #Nto \}] i-i=zo.
    there=TERM do-ADV.MED.NEG good=ADN.DECL=RMND
    ‘(It) isn’t available because (the) handle is broken’
    ‘そこまでしなくて良いぞ’

The meaning of //(-a)-ide/ is wide than //(-a)-Nto\//’s. We can translate the semantic relation between //(-a)-Nto\// clause (X) and the matrix one (Y) as ‘Y without X’. On the other hand, we can variously translate the semantic relation between //(-a)-ide/ clause (X) and the matrix one (Y) into English as follows:

(42) a. Y without X.       b. Y because X.       c. X and Y.

They have less variety than the semantic relation between //!te// clause and the matrix one. It is based on that negative verb are classified stative (vs. dynamic) aspectually in Gokayaman (furthermore Japanese).

4.3.4.5 Concessive

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(-r)-edo// <concessive> to a verb stem when (i) conceding speaker’s mind, (ii) being not satisfied with the situation of the matrix clause, (iii) or feeling it strange:
They also use it when expressing a precondition for the situation of the matrix clause as follows:

(44) a. ora=wa moo kaer-edo aNna=wa siri-u=ka=i?
    1.S.M=TOP soon go_back-ADV.CCSV 2.S=TOP how do-C-ADL.DECL=Q=POL?
    ‘I’ll soon go back (there). And you?’
    ‘俺は帰るけど、お前はどうする?’

b. gobo-sama=wa gozar-a-n-edo i-i=ka=i?
    priest-BEAU=TOP come.ASPR-NEG-ADV.CCSV good-ADL.DECL=Q=POL?
    ‘(The) priest won’t come. Is (it) OK?’
    ‘お坊さまはいらっしゃらないけど、良いかい?’

5 Summary

I described verb inflection in classical Gokayama dialect in this paper. I extracted the following verb constituents from Gokayaman verbs by analyzing the structure of them reasonably and economically:

(45) Primary verb stem


b. Vowel-final verb stem: //kure-// ‘give’, //age-// ‘raise; lift’, //simi-// ‘get cold’, //ori-// ‘go down; get down’, //mi-// ‘look; watch’, //ki-// ‘put on’ etc. (see the members list (11b))
c. Irregular verb stem: /ko-/ ‘come’, /si-/ ‘do’

(46) Inflectional verb suffix

a. Conclusive verb suffix: //e ~ j̅// <imperative>, //(-j)-o// <irrealis>, //(-a)-mail// <irrealis + negative>

b. Adnominal verb suffix: //(-r)-u// <declarative>, //(-a)-na// <obligative>

c. Nominal verb suffix: //(-i)-Ø// <suspensival>, //(-tari)// <illuminative>

d. Adverbial verb suffix: //(-i)-nagara, (-i)-sina, (-i)-moQte// <synchronous>, //(-r)-ja, -!tara// <conditional>, //!tell// <medial>, //(-a)-de, (-a)-nto// <medial + negative>, //(-r)-edo// <concessive>

Symbols

• - : affix boundary or bound stem boundary • #: clitic boundary • + : stem boundary • ! : phrase boundary • ! : the suffix which produces a sandhi form • /X/ : phonological representation • //X// : underlying representation • X ~ Y: X and Y are complementary allomorphs or allomorphs • X or YZ: X and YZ are free variants • XY/Z: XY and XZ are free variants • X^2: X and XY are free variants

Abbreviations

• 1: first person • 2: second person • ACC: accusative • ACOND: anti-conditional • ADLT: adult • ADN: adnominal • ADV: adverbial • ASPR: absolutive superior • ALL: allative • ANM: animate • BEAU: beautifier • CAUS: causative • CCL: conclusive • CSV: concessive • CNT: continuous • COND: conditional • DECL: declarative • DSAT: dissatisfactive • HS: hearsay • INANM: inanimate • IERR: inferior • ILL: illustrative • IMP: imperative • INTR: intransitive • IRR: irrealis • LOC: locative; dative; essive • LOC: locative • MED: medial • NEG: negative • NMNL: nominal function • NMLZ: nominalizer • G:N: genitive + inferior; nominative • G:N: genitive; nominative • OBLG: obligative • PL: plural • POL: polite • POSS: possible • PST: past • Q: question • RAT: rational • RMND: reminder • SSP: suspensional • SIML: simultaneous • TOP: topic • VBLZ: verbalizer

References


