

# Verb Inflection in Classical Gokayama Dialect

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**Abstract :** In this paper I describe verb inflection in classical Gokayama dialect. I extract the following verb constituents from Gokayaman verbs by analyzing the structure of them reasonably and economically :

[1] Primary verb stem

- a. Consonant-final verb stems : //tob-// ‘fly ; jump’, //jom-// ‘read’, //utaw-// ‘sing’, //manaw-// ‘be enough’, //moT-// ‘hold’, //os-// ‘push’, //sin-// ‘die’, //or-// ‘be.ANM’, //kak-// ‘write ; scratch’ etc.
- b. Vowel-final verb stems : //kure-// ‘give’, //age-// ‘raise ; lift’, //simi-// ‘get cold’, //ori-// ‘go down ; get down’, //mi-// ‘look ; watch’, //ki-// ‘put on’ etc.
- c. Irregular verb stems : //kO-// ‘come’, //sI-// ‘do’

[2] Inflectional verb suffix

- a. Conclusive verb suffixes : //e~j// ‘imperative’, //(j)-o// ‘irrealis’, //(-a)-mai// ‘irrealis + negative’
- b. Adnominal verb suffixes : //(-r)-u// ‘declarative’, //(-a)-<sup>N</sup>nan// ‘obligative’
- c. Nominal verb suffixes : //(-i)-Ø// ‘suspensional’, //-!tari// ‘illustrative’
- d. Adverbial verb suffixes : //(-i)-nagara, (-i)-sina, (-i)-moQte// ‘simultaneous’, //(-r)-ja, -!tara// ‘conditional’, //-!te// ‘medial’, //(-a)-<sup>i</sup>de, (-a)-Nto// ‘medial + negative’, //(-r)-edo// ‘concessive’

## 1 Introduction

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

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

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

Two native speakers recorded over ten thousands Gokayaman words (F. Sanada 1973–83 ; F. Sanada & S. Sanada 1987:94). Furthermore, 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 up until now. Currently only fragmentary descriptions, such those found in F. Sanada (1973–83), F. Sanada & S. Sanada (1987–94), and Kuroki (2012), are available.

Gokayaman is in danger of extinction, as are many other classical Japanese dialects, because of Japanese monolingualization and speakers’ aging. The time to record and analyze Gokayaman grammar is now or never. Hence, in this paper, I will describe Gokayaman verb inflection.

## 2 Data

Gokayama consists of the former villages of Taira (旧平村), Kamitaira (旧上平村), and Toga (旧利賀村)(cf. Figure 1 ; they are now all integrated into Nanto City (南砺市) since November, 2004). The population in July, 2012 was 2,502 (1,065 in Taira, 740 in Kamitaira, and 697 in Toga) despite having been 10,060 in 1950 (respectively 3,996, 2502, and

3,562).

I estimate that Gokayaman slightly varies across each area. Therefore, in this paper, I limit my survey to the dialect of former Kamitaira Village, which has been studied thoroughly in the past. I will analyze Gokayaman grammar based on the following data :

- (1) a. Data obtained through surveys conducted in Kôzu (楮) and Nishiakao (西赤尾) (cf. Figure 1)<sup>1)</sup>, two small villages in former Kamitaira Village, during 2007–12. The data is divided into conversations and the answers to questionnaires.
- b. Data cited in previous studies.

The attributes of my consultants are as follows :

(2)	ID	Sex	Born	Dwelling history	Interviewed in
	[A]	Male	1920's	Living in Kôzu all his life	2011–12
	[B]	Male	1920's	Living in Kôzu all his life	2009–2012
	[C]	Male	1930's	Living in Kôzu all his life	2007 and 2009–10
	[D]	Male	1940's	Living in Kôzu all his life	2012
	[E]	Female	1930's	Living in Nishiakao all her life	2007
	[F]	Male	1930's	Living in Nishiakao all his life	2009 and 2012

I obtained most of the data (1 a) from Consultants [B, C, F] (especially from the [A]). I did not ask all of the consultants the exact same questions, but instead focused on individual differences. Hence, I note a difference in age, gender, and so on in times of need.

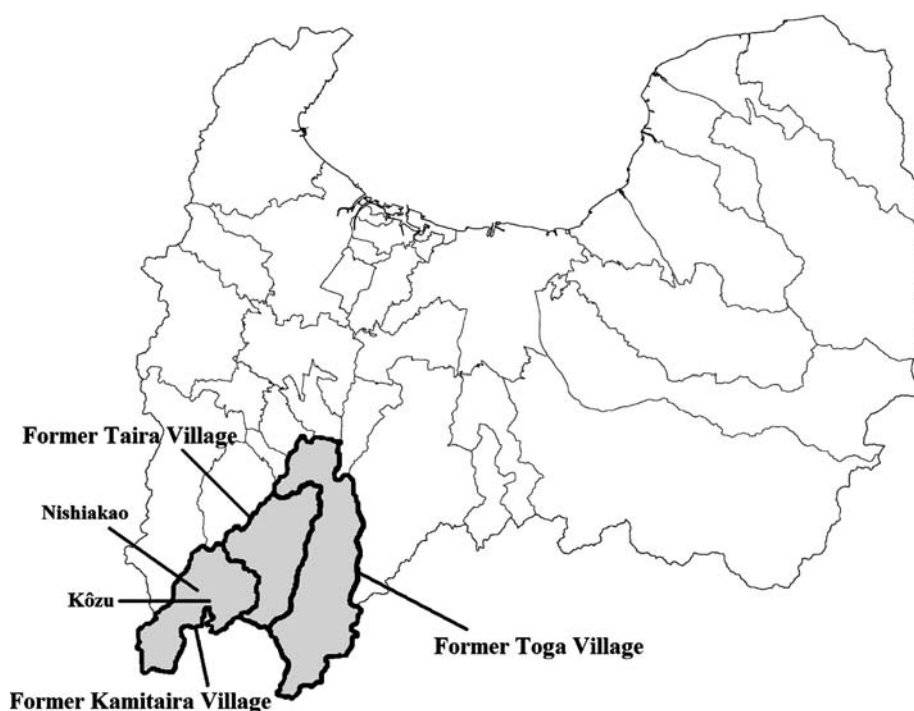


Figure 1 The Gokayama region in Toyama Prefecture

1) The former's population in July, 2012 was 70, and the latter's 110.

### 3 Phonemes

First I will describe Gokayaman phonemes before describing the morphology.

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

- (3) a. Vowel phonemes (V) : ● /i/ [i/i̥]<sup>2)</sup> ● /u/ [ü] ● /e/ [e] ● /o/ [o] ● /a/ [a]  
 b. Glide phoneme (G) : ● /j/ [j]  
 c. Consonant phonemes (C) : ● /p/ [p] ● /b/ [b] ● /m/ [m] ● /w/ [w] ● /t/ [t] ● /d/ [d] ● /c/ [ts]  
 ● /s/ [s] ● /z/ [dz~z] ● /n/ [n] ● /r/ [ɾ] ● /k/ [k] ● /g/ [g] ● /h/ [h] ● /Q/ [+obstruent, ○ PA]  
 ● /N/ [+nasal, ○ PA]<sup>3)</sup>

(Note) ○ PA : the point of articulation not specified

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

- (4) /z/ → [dz] / #\_\_  
 → [z] / elsewhere

(Note) #\_\_ : the beginning of a phrase

Many consonant phonemes are realized in the following variations when they occur before /i/. This is caused by palatalization, a well-known phonetic phenomena in Japanese :

- (5) ● /p/ [pʲ] ● /b/ [bʲ] ● /m/ [mʲ] ● /c/ [tɕ] ● /s/ [ɕ] ● /z/ [dɕ~zʲ] ● /n/ [ɲ] ● /k/ [kʲ] ● /g/ [gʲ]  
 ● /h/ [ç]

Furthermore, there are the following morpho-phonemes which are realized irregularly :

- (6) //T// : Realized as /t/ or /c/ according to the vowel that follows :

- |   |                          |                           |          |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| a. //ta <b>T</b> (-i)-Ø//                 | → /taci/                 | b. //ta <b>T</b> (-r)-u// | → /tacu/ |
| stand_up(-v)-NMLZ                         |                          | stand_up(-c)-NMLZ         |          |
| c. //ta <b>T</b> -e//                     | → /tate/                 | d. //ta <b>T</b> (-j)-o// | → /tato/ |
| stand_up-CCL.IMP                          |                          | stand_up(-g)-CCL.IRR      |          |
| e. //ta <b>T</b> (-a)-i <sup>i</sup> de// | → /tata <sup>i</sup> de/ |                           |          |
| stand_up(-v)-ADV.MED.NEG                  |                          |                           |          |

- (7) //N// : Realized as /n/ or /N/ according to the vowel that follows :

- |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. //(a)- <b>N</b> (-r)-edo// | → /(a) <b>n</b> edo/ |
| (-v)-NEG(-C)-ADV.CCSV         |                      |
| b. //(a)- <b>N</b> (-r)-u//   | → /(a) <b>N</b> /    |
| (-v)-NEG(-C)-ADN.DECL         |                      |

- (8) //R// : Realized as /r/ or not omitted according to the vowel that follows (I mark the suffixes which produce a sandhi form with “!”) :

2) Consultants [B, C] tend to pronounce /i/ in the irregular verb /sin, sirja, siru, . . . / as [i̥].

3) The articulation point of /Q, N/ assimilates with the next consonant.

- a. //!ta $\mathbf{R}$ (-r)-edo// → /taredo/      b. //!ta $\mathbf{R}$ (-j)-o// → /taro/  
     PST(-C)-ADV.CCSV                              PST(-G)-CCL.IRR
- c. //!ta $\mathbf{R}$ (-r)-u// → /ta/  
     PST(-C)-ADN.DECL

## 4 Verb constituents

### 4.1 Verb structure

Verbs in Gokayaman conjugate similar to the paradigm of Standard Japanese. A typical Gokayaman verb is constructed as follows :

- (9) [<sub>v</sub> primary stem{-derivational suffix<sup>n</sup>}-inflectional suffix]

(Note) • X<sup>n</sup> : 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 in (9). The former two are obligatory and the latter one is optional.

The boundary between stem and suffix in a verb is clear for the most part in Gokayaman. Hence, we can easily summarize the various conjugated forms as in Table 1 :

**Table 1** Gokayaman verbs

	‘read’	‘write’	‘raise’	‘go down’	‘look’
⟨ADV.MED.NEG⟩	joma'de	kaka'de	age'de	ori'de	m'i'de
⟨NMNL.SSP⟩	jomi	kaki	age	ori	mi
⟨CCL.IRR⟩	jomo	kako	agejo	or'jo	m'jo
⟨ADV.COND⟩	jomja	kakja	agerja	orirja	mirja
⟨ASPR.NMNL.SSP⟩	jomaQsari	kakaQsari	agejaQsari	orijaQsari	mijaQsari
⟨ASPR.ADV.COND⟩	jomaQsarja	kakaQsarja	agejaQsarja	orijaQsarja	mijaQsarja
⟨CAUS.NMNL.SSP⟩	jomasi	kakasi	agesasi	orisasi	misasi
⟨CAUS.ADV.COND⟩	jomasja	kakasja	agesasja	orisasja	misasja

(Note) • X<sup>Y</sup> : X and XY are free variants

### 4.2 Primary verb stems

A primary stem is an obligatory constituent of a verb. It expresses an action, a change, a state, or feeling in a situation expressed by a clause. Gokayaman speakers use verb stems as a base for forming various words other than verbs as well.

I divide primary verb stems into regular and irregular forms 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 stems

Most primary verb stems are regular. I divided them into vowel-final forms and consonant-final forms according to the final phoneme as follows (Morphemes are underlying representation) :

- (11) a. Consonant-final verb stems : //tob-// ‘fly ; jump’, //job-// ‘call’, //um-// ‘bear’, //jom-// ‘read’, //hum-// ‘step on ; tread on’, //iw-// ‘say’, //bow-// ‘go after’, //kaw-// ‘buy’, //utaw-// ‘sing’, //manaw-// ‘be enough’, //taT-, tater-// ‘stand up’, //moT-// ‘hold’, //os-// ‘push’, //das-// ‘take out’, //kas-// ‘lend ; rent’, //moos-// ‘administer (a ritual)’, //sin-// ‘die’, //or-// ‘be.ANM’, //ar-// ‘be.INANM ; have’, //tor-// ‘take ; get’, //dar-// ‘hang down’, //nar-// ‘become ; grow’, //nemar-// ‘sit down’, //kajar-// ‘go back’, //hokar-// ‘throw away’, //jar-//

- ‘be.ADLT’, //gozar-// ‘be.ASPR ; come.ASPR’, //kudasar-// ‘give.ASPR’, //ok-// ‘put’, //kik-// ‘listen’, //kak-// ‘write ; scratch’, //kazuk-// ‘carry’, //kog-// ‘row ; pedal’, //hag-// ‘tear off ; skin’
- b. Vowel-final verb stems : //ire-// ‘put in’, //kure-// ‘give’, //kutabure-// ‘get tired’, //tate-// ‘stand (INTR)’, //age-// ‘raise ; lift’, //simi-// ‘get cold’, //oci-// ‘fall’, //ori-// ‘go down ; get down’, //mi-// ‘look ; watch’, //ni-// ‘become similar’, //ki-// ‘put on’
- (“consonant-final” and “vowel-final” are abbreviated as “C-final” and “V-final” hereinafter)

C-final verb stems take a medial vowel when followed by a C-initial suffix. On the other hand, V-final verb stems take a medial consonant (including glides) when followed by a V-initial suffix as in Table 2 (cf. Kiyose 1971 ; Yanaike 1986 ; 1987 ; see also §4.3 below) :

Table 2 Verb construction

	//jom-//	//kak-//	//age-//	//ori-//	//mi-//
//(-a)-i-de//	jom-a-i-de	kak-a-i-de	age-i-de	ori-i-de	mi-i-de
//(-i)-Ø//	jom-i-Ø	kak-i-Ø	age-Ø	ori-Ø	mi-Ø
//(-j)-o//	jom-o	kak-o	age-j-o	ori-j-o	mi-j-o
//(-j)-aQsar-//	jom-aQsar-	kak-aQsar-	age-j-aQsar-	ori-j-aQsar-	mi-j-aQsar-
//(-r)-ja//	jom-ja	kak-ja	age-r-ja	ori-r-ja	mi-r-ja
//(-s)-as-//	jom-as-	kak-as-	age-s-as-	ori-s-as-	mi-s-as-

#### 4. 2. 2 Irregular verb stems

##### 4. 2. 2. 1 The alternation of stem according to a 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-       | s-aQsar-                       |         |
| do-CAUS-       | do-ASPR-                       |         |
| b. si-te       | si-jar-                        | si-tor- |
| do-ADV.MED     | do-ADLT-                       | do-CNT  |
| c. si-r-are-   |                                |         |
| s-are-         |                                |         |
| do(-C)-PASS    |                                |         |
| d. si-i-de     | si-jo                          |         |
| se-i-de        | //se-j// → /see/ <sup>4)</sup> |         |
| 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-i-de       | ko-i                  | ko-s-ase-    |
| come-ADV.MED.NEG | come-CCL.IMP          | come-C-CAUS- |
| b. ki-te         | ki-jar- <sup>5)</sup> | ki-tor-      |
| come-ADV.MED     | come-ADLT-            | come-CNT     |
| c. ku-r-u        | ku-r-edo              |              |
| ccome-C-ADN.DECL | come-C-ADV.CCSV       |              |

4) //e-j// is realized as /ee/, but not /ei/ (see also §4.3.1.1 below).

5) It is pronounced as /kjar-/.

- d. **ko-r-ja**  
**ku-r-ja**  
 come-C-ADV.COND

Consultants [B, C] commented that //se-// in (12 d) and //su-// in (12 e) are recent developments in Gokayaman. //sI-, kO-//’s allomorphs alternate when taking on a verb suffix as in Table 3 :

**Table 3** The alternation of //sI-, kO-//’s allomorphs

sI-	s-	si-	si/e-	si-		si/u-	
kO-			ko-		ki-	ko/u-	ku-
I			(-a)-ziN (-a)-Nto -j°	(-j)-o	(-i)- $\emptyset$ (-i)-nagara (-i)-moQte	-!tari (-i)-sina -!tara	(-r)-u (-r)-edo
D	(-s)-as- (-s)-ase- (-j)-aQsar-	(-r)-are-	(-a)-N- (-a)-naNdaR-		-jar- -!taR- (-i)-ta <sub>A</sub> -	-!tor-	

(Note) • I : inflectional suffix • D : derivational suffix • -X<sub>A</sub>- : verb-to-adjective suffix

//sI-, kO-// behave irregularly as confirmed above. However, in a sense, they can be categorized as V-final verb stems since most of their allomorphs take on a medial consonant. Only the C-final //s-//, allomorph of //sI-//, does not take on a medial consonant.

#### 4. 2. 2. 2 The Irregular imperative form of //kO-//

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

- (14) ko-o (\*ko-j-o)  
 come-CCL.IRR

### 4. 3 Verb Inflectional suffixes

An inflectional suffix is also an obligatory 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 behind attaching a verb inflectional suffix to a verb stem in Gokayaman roughly corresponds to that of mood in Indo-European languages.

I divide Gokayaman clauses into the following three types according to their syntactic functions :

- (15) a. Conclusive clause : It is placed at the end of the sentence and concludes it.  
 b. Adnominal clause : It is not generally placed at the end of the sentence and acts as adnominal.  
 c. Nominal clause : It is not generally placed at the end of the sentence and acts as noun.  
 d. Adverbial clause : It is not generally placed at the end of the sentence and acts an adverb.

#### 4. 3. 1 Conclusive verb suffixes

I will refer to inflectional suffixes which form a conclusive clause as “conclusive suffixes”.

## 4. 3. 1. 1 Imperative

## 4. 3. 1. 1. 1 Regular forms

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

- (16) a. [cc wari = mo            mot-**e**].  
           2.SG.IFRR = too    hold-CCL.IMP  
           ‘Hold (it) too’  
           ‘お前も持て’<sup>6)</sup>
- b. [cc korja        ue = i                    { age-**jo** / age° }].  
   //age-**j**//  
           this.TOP    upper\_part = ALL    lift-CCL.IMP  
           ‘Lift this up’  
           ‘これは上へ上げろ’
- c. [cc sita = i                    { ori-**jo** / ori° }].  
   //ori-**j**//  
           under\_part = ALL    get\_down-CCL.IMP  
           ‘Go down’  
           ‘下へ降りろ’
- d. [cc hajo                    { si-**jo** / see }].  
   //se-**j**//  
           quick.ADV.MED    do-CCL.IMP  
           ‘Do (it) hastily’  
           ‘早くしろ’
- e. [cc doo = de = mo            ko-**i**].  
           how-be.ADV.MED = even    come-CCL.IMP  
           ‘Come no matter what’  
           ‘何があっても来い’

Here, I will lay down the following morpho-phonological rules to analyze /agee, orii, and see/ and the like :

- (17) a. //ij// → /ii/ / \_\_#                    b. //ej// → /ee/ / \_\_#

(Note) \_\_# : the end of a phrase

The fulfillment of the condition “\_\_#” is indispensable for the formation of (17). For example, //age-jo, oki-jo, si-jo// are realized as /ageeo, okiio, siiio/ without this condition.

## 4. 3. 1. 1. 2 Irregular forms

//kO-// does not take on //j°// although ending in a vowel as in (16 d).

The subject-honorific<sup>7)</sup> verb stem takes the following //i-// instead of //e-// although ending in a consonant :

6) I will give the English and Standard Japanese translation of each sentence for reference.

7) The honorific form showing respect to 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).

- (18) a. [cc toto = wa ie = ni<sup>8)</sup> jar-i].  
 patriarch = TOP house = ALL be.ADLT-CCL.IMP  
 ‘Father, please stay at home’  
 ‘親父は家にいなさい’
- b. [cc omai-sama = wa ie = ni gozar-i].  
 2.SG.ASPR-BEAU = TOP house = ALL be.ASPR-CCL.IMP  
 ‘Would you please stay 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 = ALL = too give.ASPR-CCL.IMP  
 ‘Would (you) give (it) to me too’  
 ‘私にも下さいませ’
- (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°// verbs always conclude a sentence and furthermore take only the following enclitics (I shall talk about clitics some other time) :

- (20) a. Conclusive enclitic : // = ja, = ma// <emphatic>, // = jo// <greeting>  
 b. Interjectional enclitic : // = ka// <greeting>

#### 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 the rain’  
 ‘雨なので、家で本を読もう’
- b. [cc iqsjo = ni ag<sup>e</sup>-j-o].  
 together = ALL lift-G-CCL.IRR  
 ‘Let’s lift (it) together’  
 ‘一緒に上げよう’
- c. [cc hajo or<sup>i</sup>-j-o].  
 quick.NMNL.SSP go\_down-G-CCL.IRR  
 ‘You’d better go down quickly’

8) Gokayaman speakers tend to pronounce the <allative-dative-locative-essive> enclitic as /N/, except after /-N/ nouns (e.g. /otoqcan/ ‘patriarch’, /sitorimon/ ‘bachelor; spinster’). They have previously been reported to pronounce the <allative-dative-locative-essive> enclitic as /ne/ (F. Sanada and S. Sanada 1994 : 31).



‘早く下りて’

- d. [<sub>CC</sub> oozei ko-o].

many\_people come-CCL.IRR

‘Many people will come’

‘大勢来るだろう’

Gokayaman does not have modal enclitics like // = daroo// in Standard Japanese. Hence, Gokayaman speakers use //(j)-o// when expressing their inference as in (21 d).

//(-j)-o// verbs can take on the adverbial enclitics // = de, = sakai// <rational>.

#### 4. 3. 1. 3 Irrealis + negative

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

- (22) a. [<sub>CC</sub> ame = zja = de ik-a-mai].

rain = be.CCL.DECL = RAT go-V-CCL.IRR.NEG

‘(I) won’t go because of the rain’

‘雨なので、行くまい’

- b. [<sub>CC</sub> an sito-raci = wa koorjaku si-mai].

that man-PL = TOP help do-CCL.IRR.NEG

‘They won’t help (us)’

‘あの人たちは手伝わないだろう’

//(-a)-mai// verbs can also take on the adverbial enclitics // = de, = sakai// <rational>. //(j)-o, (-a)-mai// differ from //-e~j°// in this point.

#### 4. 3. 2 Conclusive-adnominal verb suffixes

I will refer to inflectional suffixes which form a conclusive-adnominal clause as “conclusive-adnominal suffixes”.

##### 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 :

- (24) a. [<sub>CC</sub> ojaQ-sama = wa sujasaQte gozar-u].

patriarch-BEAU-TOP tomorrow come.ASPR-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. [<sub>CC</sub> ora-ci = mo asita ku-r-u].

1.S.M-PL-too tomorrow come-ADN.DECL

‘We’ll come tomorrow’

‘俺たちも明日来る’

- (23) a. [<sub>ADNC</sub> wari = N kas-u] zenNa na-i.

2.SG.IFRR = ALL lend-ADN.DECL many.TOP not\_be.INANM-ADN.DECL

‘(I) have no many to lend to you’

‘お前に貸す金はないよ’

- b. [ADNC ku-r-u] toki denwa si-jar-i.  
 come-C-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’

//(-r)-u// indicates <declarative>, not <non-past> like in many modern Japanese dialects which distinguish between <past> and <non-past> by the use of conclusive-adnominal suffixes<sup>9)</sup>. Gokayaman only marks <past>, and not <non-past> with the verb derivational suffix //-!taR-//.

//(-r)-u// verbs can take on various enclitics as follows :

- (25) a. Conclusive enclitic : // = mai// <irrealis + negative>, // = wa, = zo, = no, = na// <reminder>, // = ja// <greeting>, // = cja// <reminder + greeting>, // = ko// <interrogative>,  
 b. Nominal enclitic : // = ga// ‘thing ; matter’, // = ka// <interrogative>  
 c. Adverbial enclitic : // = to// <sequential>, // = nara// <conditional>, // = kate// <anti-conditional>, // = de, = sakai, = monde// <rational>, // = gani// <dissatisfactive>  
 d. Interjectional enclitic : // = i// <polite>, // = ka// <greeting>

#### 4. 3. 2. 2 Obligative

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(a)-<sup>N</sup>nan// <obligative> to a verb stem when expressing an obligation to do something :

- (26) a. [CC imaa mero = mo hatarak-a-<sup>N</sup>naN].  
 now.TOP woman = even work-ADN.OBLG  
 ‘Even women must work nowadays’  
 ‘今は女も働かないといけない’  
 b. [CC asita = mo ko-<sup>N</sup>naN].  
 tomorrow = too come-ADN.DECL  
 ‘(I) must be gonna come tomorrow too’  
 ‘明日も来ないといけない’  
 (27) a. [ADNC aNnja = ni iw-a-<sup>N</sup>naN] koto = ga ar-u.  
 2.s = ALL say-V-ADN.OBLGb matter = GEN.I be.INANM-ADN.DECL  
 ‘(I) tell you what’  
 ‘あんたに言わないといけないことがある’  
 b. [ADNC kjoo si/e-<sup>N</sup>naN] sigotaa na-i = ka = no = i?  
 today do-ADN.OBLG work.TOP not\_be.INANM-ADN.DECL = Q = RMND = POL  
 ‘Don’t (you) have today’s work?’  
 ‘今日しないとといけない仕事はないかね?’

//(-a)-<sup>N</sup>nan// verbs can take on all enclitics (25) except for // = mai, = to// :

Furthermore, //(a)-<sup>N</sup>nan// also forms an adnominal clause as follow. Therefore, it should rather be called as “non-nominal suffix” (or “conclusive-adnominal-adverbial suffix”) :

9) Standard Japanese marks <past> with //(i)-!ta// and <non-past> with //(r)-u// as follows :

(I)	‘push’	‘lift’	‘come’	‘do’
<past>	os-i-ta	age-ta	ki-ta	si-ta
<non-past>	os-u	age-r-u	ku-r-u	su-r-u

- (28) a. [<sub>ADVC</sub> hajo                      se-<sup>N</sup>naN]                      owar-a-N = cja.  
                     quick.NMNL.SSP   do-ADN.OBLG   finish-v-NEG.ADN.DECL = RMND.CALL  
                     ‘If (you) won’t do (it) quickly, (you) won’t finish it’  
                     ‘早くしないと、終わらないよ’
- b. [<sub>ADVC</sub> hikooki = ni                      nor-a-<sup>N</sup>naN]                      ik-e-N = zo.  
                     airplane = ALL   ride-v-ADN.OBLG   go-POSS-NEG.ADN.DECL = RMND  
                     ‘If (you) won’t ride an airplane, (you) won’t go (there)’  
                     ‘飛行機に乗らないと、行けないぞ’

#### 4. 3. 3 Nominal verb suffixes

I will refer to inflectional suffixes which form a nominal clause as “nominal suffixes”.

Gokayaman speakers use *//(-i)-Ø//* clauses and *//-!tari//* clauses as follows :

(29)	<i>//(-i)-Ø//</i> clause	<i>//-!tari//</i> clause
Predicate base	✓	✓
Adjunct base	✓	✓
Complement base		
Adnominal base		

In Gokayaman, only nouns can function as the base of both predicates and adjunct. Therefore, *//(-i)-Ø//* clauses and *//-!tari//* clauses are syntactically defined as noun clauses, even though they are unable to function as the base of a complement like typical nouns.

##### 4. 3. 3. 1 Suspensional

Gokayaman speakers attach the following *//(-i)-Ø//* ‘suspensional’ to a verb stem when topicalizing a situation as a noun :

- (30) a. [<sub>NC</sub> eego = N                      hon = o                      jom-i-Ø] = mo                      si-ta = na.  
                     English = GEN   book = ACC   read-v-NMNL.SSP = even   do-PST.ADN.DECL = RMND  
                     ‘(I) read *even* an English book’  
                     ‘英語の本を読みもした’
- b. [<sub>NC</sub> hadate-Ø] = wa                      si-tar-edo.  
                     start\_to\_do-NMNL.SSP = TOP   do-PST-ADV.CCSV  
                     ‘However, (I) *did* started to do (it)’  
                     ‘し始めはしたけど’

Gokayaman speakers attach the case enclitic *// = ni//* ‘allative-dative-locative-essive’ to *//(-i)-Ø//* verb when expressing a purpose of the action expressed by a matrix clause as follows :

- (31) a. [<sub>NC</sub> eego = N                      hoN                      jom-i-Ø] = ni                      iQ-ta = zo = i = ka.  
                     English = GEN   book   read-v-NMNL.SSP = ALL   go-PST.ADN.DECL = RMND = POL = CALL  
                     ‘(He) went to read an English book, right?’  
                     ‘英語の本を読みに行ったよね’
- b. [<sub>NC</sub> benkjo° si-Ø] = ni                      ku-r-u = soo = na.  
                     study   do-NMNL.SSP = ALL   come-C-ADN.DECL = HS = be.ADN.DECL

‘(I) heard (he)’ll come to study (here)’

‘勉強しに来るそうだ’

#### 4. 3. 3. 2 Illustrative

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //!-tari// ‘illustrative’ to a verb stem when giving an illustrative description :

- (32) a. [<sub>NC</sub> naitari] [<sub>NC</sub> waro<sup>o</sup>tari] nigiwasi-i jacu = zja.  
 //nak-!tari// //waraw-!tari//  
 cry-NMNL.ILL laugh-NMNL.ILL noisy-ADN.DECL one = be.CCL.DECL  
 ‘All (his) laughing and crying makes (him) a noisy one’  
 ‘泣いたり笑ったり，騒がしい奴だ’
- b. [<sub>NC</sub> hon joodari] [<sub>NC</sub> ee kaitari].  
 //jom-!tari// //kak-!tari//  
 book read-NMNL.ILL picture write-NMNL.ILL  
 ‘For example, reading a book, painting a picture, and so on’  
 ‘本を読んだり，絵を描いたり’
- c. [<sub>NC</sub> uto<sup>o</sup>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 (ourselves) through singing and so on’  
 ‘歌ったりして，楽しむんだ’

#### 4. 3. 3. 3 The morpho-phonological rule for producing sandhi verbs

Gokayaman has a number of sandhi verbs in which the boundary between stem and suffix is not clear. The following sandhi verbs are produced when a C-final verb stem takes a //!-t—// suffix like //!-tari// :

**Table 4** Sandhi verbs

	//jom-//	//kak-//	//age-//	//ori-//	//mi-//
//(-a)-!de//	jom-a-!de	kak-a-!de	age-!de	ori-!de	mi-!de
//(-r)-ja//	jom-ja	kak-ja	age-r-ja	ori-r-ja	mi-r-ja
//!-tari//	<b>joo-dari</b>	<b>kai-tari</b>	age-tari	ori-tari	mi-tari
//!-te//	<b>joo-de</b>	<b>kai-te</b>	age-te	ori-te	mi-te
//!-tor-//	<b>joo-dor-u</b>	<b>kai-tor-u</b>	age-tor-u	ori-tor-u	mi-tor-u
//!-taR-//	<b>joo-dar-edo</b>	<b>kai-tar-edo</b>	age-tar-edo	ori-tar-edo	mi-tar-edo

I will lay down the following morpho-phonological rules for producing sandhi verbs :

- (33) //!t/ → //!d/ / \_\_b/m/n/g (= [+nas or +Dakuon (濁音)])

- a. //tob-!tari// → //tou-!daru// → /toodari/  
 fly-NMNL.ILL
- b. //jom-!te// → //jou-!de// → /joode/  
 read-ADV.MED
- c. //sin-!tara// → //sin-!daru// → /sindaru/  
 die-ADV.COND
- d. //kog-!tor-u// → //koi-!dor-u// → /koidoru/  
 row-CNT-ADN.DECL

- (34) a. //b, m, w (= [+lab])// → //u// / \_\_-!

- 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<sup>o</sup>taredo/  
buy-PST-ADV.CCSV
- b. //n// → //N// / \_\_-!  
//sin-!tari// → //sIN-!dari// → /sIndari/  
die-NMNL.ILL
- c. //T, r// → //Q// / \_\_-!  
i. //taT-!tari// → //taQ-!tari// → /taQtari/  
stand\_up-NMNL.ILL
- ii. //or-!taR-o// → //oQ-!taR-o// → /oQtaro/  
be.ANM-PST-CCL.IRR
- d. //s, k, g// → //i// / \_\_-!  
i. //das-!te// → //dai-!te// → /daite/  
take\_out-ADV.MED
- ii. //kak-!taR-u// → //kai-!taR-u// → /kaita/  
write-PST-ADN.DECL
- iii. //kog-!tor-!te// → //koi-!doQ-!te// → /koidoQte/  
row-CNT-ADV.MED
- (35) a. //iu// → /juu/ / [vBL \_\_ ]  
i. //cizim-!tari// → //ciziu-!dari// → /cizjuudari/  
fly-NMNL.ILL
- ii. //iw-!taR-edo// → //iu-!taR-e do// → /juutaredo/  
say-PST-ADV.CCSV
- b. //ou, au// → /oo/ / [vBL \_\_ ]  
i. //tob-!tari// → //tou-!dari// → /toodari/  
fly-NMNL.ILL
- ii. //kaw-!tor-u// → //kau-!tor-u// → /kootoru/  
buy-CNT-ADN.DECL

Sandhi verbs are produced when the rules (33, 34) simultaneously apply to an under-layering form, and then the rule (35) also applies to it.

#### 4. 3. 4 Adverbial verb suffixes

I will refer to inflectional suffixes which make a clause become adverbial as “adverbial suffixes”.

##### 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 a matrix clause simultaneously :

- (36) a. [ADVC aruk-i-{nagara / sina / moQte}] ku-u = na.  
walk-V-ADV.SIM eat-ADN-DECL = IMP.NEG  
‘Don’t eat while walking’

‘歩きながら、食べるな’

- b. [<sub>ADV</sub> koko = ni ki-**{nagara / sina / moQte}**]

here = ALL come-ADV.SIM

kaŋgae-toQ-ta = ga = {zjar / nar}-edo

consider-CNT-PST.ADN.DECL = NMNL = be-ADV.CCSV

‘(I) was considering (it) while coming here, but. . .’

‘ここに来ながら、考えてただけど’

- c. [<sub>ADV</sub> sin-i-**{#nagara / #sina / #moQte}**] tatakaQ-ta = ga = ko?

die-V-ADV.SIM

fight-PST.ADN.DECL = NMNL = Q.IFRR

‘Did (the soldier) put up a fight while dying?’

‘死にながら、戦ったのか?’

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

- (37) [+telic, -active]    [+telic, +active]    [-telic]

✓

✓

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

- (38) a. [+telic, -active] : //sin-// ‘die’, //dar-// ‘hang down’, //kutabure-// ‘get tired’, //simi-// ‘get cold’, //oci-// ‘fall’, //ni-// ‘become similar’  
 b. [+telic, +active] : //um-// ‘bear’, //iw-// ‘say’, //taT-, tater-// ‘stand up’, //moT-// ‘hold’, //das-// ‘take out’, //kas-// ‘lend ; rent’, //tor-// ‘take ; get’, //nemar-// ‘sit down’, //kajar-// ‘go back’, //hokar-// ‘throw away’, //ok-// ‘put’, //hag-// ‘tear off ; skin’, //fire-// ‘put in’, //kure-// ‘give’, //tate-// ‘stand.TR’, //age-// ‘raise ; lift’, //ori-// ‘go down ; get down’, //ki-// ‘put on’  
 c. [-telic] : //jom-// ‘read’, //iw-// ‘say’, //utaw-// ‘sing’, //os-// ‘push’, //or-// ‘be.ANM’, //kak-// ‘write ; scratch’, //kog-// ‘row ; pedal’, //job-// ‘call’, //mi-// ‘look ; watch’

I have classified them as above, based on the criteria presented by Vendlar (1957), Okuda (1977), and Kudo (1983 ; 1995). I classify [±active] as only existing in [+telic] since there are no verb stems consisting of [-telic, -active] other than //ar-// ‘be.INANM ; 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 a matrix clause :

- (39) a. [<sub>ADV</sub> haru = N { nar-**ja** / naQ-**tara**}] mi = ga nar-u = zo.  
 spring = ALL become-ADV.COND fruit = GEN.I become-ADN.DECL = RMND  
 ‘When spring comes, fruit ripens’  
 ‘春になれば、実が成るぞ’  
 b. [<sub>ADV</sub> iQ-peN { kik-**ja** / kii-**tara**}] wakar-u = cja.  
 one-time listen-ADV.COND comprehend-ADN.DECL = RMND.GREE  
 ‘If (I) hear (it) once, (I)’ll understand (it)’  
 ‘一遍聞けば、分かるよ’  
 c. [<sub>ADV</sub> {kak-jar-**ja** / kak-jaQ-**tara**}] das-jar-i.

- write-ADLT-ADV.COND      take\_out-ADLT-CCL.IMP  
 ‘Please hand (it) in after (you) write (it)’  
 ‘書いたら, 出さない’
- d. [ADVC {tatak-**ja** / tatai-**tara**}]    naoQ-ta = no.  
      hit-ADLT-ADV.COND      recover-PST.ADN.DECL = RMND  
 ‘(It) started working again when (we) hit (it)’  
 ‘叩けば, 直ったなあ’
- e. [ADVC koko = i    {ko/u-r-**ja** / ki-**tara**}]    icu = mo      oQ-ta.  
      here = ALL    look(-C)-ADV.COND      when = even    be.ANM-PST.ADN.DECL  
 ‘(He) was always (here) when (I) came here’  
 ‘ここへ来れば, いつもいた’

Gokayaman speakers use //(-r)-ja// as well as //-!tara// when expressing ‘Y after X’ (hereinafter X indicates a subordinate clause, and Y a matrix one) as (39 c). The former is not used to express this meaning in many modern Japanese dialects (especially 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 clause simultaneously or sequentially :

- (40) a. [ADVC tako + age- $\emptyset$       si-**te**]      ason-dor-u = wa.  
      kite + lift-NMLZ    do-ADV.MED    play-CONT-ADN.DECL = RMND  
 ‘(He) is enjoying (himself) by flying a kite’  
 ‘凧揚げして, 遊んでるわ’
- b. [ADVC ora = ga      zjori    hai-**te**]      iQ-ta = zo = i = ka.  
      1.S.M = GEN.I    sandal    put\_on-ADV.MED    go-PST.ADN.DECL = RMND = POL = GREE  
 ‘(He) put on my sandals and went out, right?’  
 ‘俺の草履を履いて, 行ったよね’
- c. [ADVC ee = ga      ore-toQ-**te**]      cuka-e-N = zo.  
      handle = GEN.I    snap-CONT-ADV.MED    use-POSS-NEG.ADN.DECL = RMND  
 ‘(We) can’t use (it) because (the) handle is bent’  
 ‘柄が折れてて, 使えないぞ’
- d. [ADVC koo = wa      tookjo<sup>o</sup> = ni      oQ-**te**]      mago = wa  
      child = TOP      Tôkyô = ALL    be.ANM-ADV.MED    grandchild = TOP  
      oosaka = ni      or-u = joo = na.  
      Ôsaka = ALL    be.ANM-ADN.DECL = HS = be.ADN.DECL  
 ‘I heard (the) child lives in Tôkyô, and (the) grandchild in Ôsaka’  
 ‘子は東京にいて, 孫は大阪にいるようだ’
- e. [ADVC naka    mi-**te**]      i-i = ko?  
      inside    look-ADV.MED    good-ADN.DECL = Q.IFRR  
 ‘May (I) look inside?’  
 ‘中を見て良いか’

We can variously translate the semantic relation between //-!te// clauses (X) and the matrix clauses (Y) into English as follows :

- (41) a. Y {with / by} X.                      b. Y when X.                      c. X and then Y.  
           d. X, so Y.                                e. X and Y.

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

- (42) a. [ADVC haru = N                      naQ-**te** = **mo**]                      mi = wa                      nar-a-N = zo.  
           spring = ALL                      become-ADV.MED = even                      fruit = TOP                      become-V-NEG.ADN.DECL = RMND  
           ‘The fruit doesn’t ripe even if spring comes’  
           ‘春になっても、実は成らんぞ’
- b. [ADVC ora = ga                      kii-**te** = **mo**]                      wakar-u = cja.  
           1.S.M = GEN.I                      listen-ADV.MED = even                      comprehend-ADN.DECL = RMND  
           ‘Even (I) can comprehend (that) if I hear (it)’  
           ‘俺が聞いても、分かるよ’
- c. [ADVC kak-jaQ-**te** = **mo**]                      das-jar-u = na.  
           write-ADLT-ADV.MED = even                      take\_out-ADLT-ADN.DECL = CCL.IMP  
           ‘Don’t bother submitting (it) even if (you) write (it)’  
           ‘書いても、出さなざるな’
- d. [ADVC uQ-**te** = **mo**]                      zeN = nja                      nar-a-naNda = no.  
           sell-ADV.MED = even                      money = ALL.TOP                      become-V-NEG.PST.ADN.DECL = RMND  
           ‘(We) didn’t make any money even though (we) sold (it)’  
           ‘売っても、金にはならなかったなあ’
- e. [ADVC mee {cubui-toQ-**te** = **mo**}                      cjoQko = mo                      nebuto                      nar-a-N = monde.  
           eye                      shut-CONT-ADV.MED = even                      a\_little = even                      sleepy.NMNL.SSP                      become-V-NEG.ADN.DECL = RAT  
           ‘(I) haven’t gotten sleepy at all while closing (my) eyes’  
           ‘目を瞑ってても、ちっとも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 a negative clause to a matrix clause simultaneously or sequentially :

- (43) a. [ADVC 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 adding salt?’  
           ‘塩を使わずに作ったか?’
- b. [ADVC too = ga                      ak-a-**{ 'de / #Nto }**]                      hair-e-nanda.  
           door = GEN.I                      open-V-ADV.MED.NEG                      enter-POSS-NEG.PST.ADN.DECL  
           ‘(The) door wouldn’t open, so (I) couldn’t enter’  
           ‘戸が開かず、入れなかった’
- c. [ADVC ojaQ-sama = wa                      nasu                      kuw-aQsar-e-**{ 'de / #Nto }**]  
           patriarch-BEAU = TOP                      egg\_plant                      eat-ASPR-ADV.MED.NEG  
           kaka-sama = wa                      sasimi                      kuw-aQsar-e-N.  
           patriarch’s\_wife-BEAU = TOP                      sashimi                      eat-ASPR-POSS-NEG.ADN.DECL  
           ‘(The) patriarch cannot eat egg-plant, and his wife sashimi’  
           ‘家長さまは茄子が食べられず、おふくろさまは刺身が食べられない’



- d. [ADV<sub>C</sub> soko = made si/e- { **de** / #**nto** } ] i-i = zo.  
 there = TERM do-ADV.MED.NEG good-ADN.DECL = RMND  
 ‘(You) don’t have to go out of your way and do that’  
 ‘そこまでしなくて良いぞ’

The meaning of //(a)-<sup>i</sup>de// is wider than //(a)-nto//. We can translate the semantic relation between a //(a)-nto// clause (X) and a matrix clause (Y) only as ‘Y without X’. On the other hand, we can variously translate the semantic relation between a //(a)-<sup>i</sup>de// clause (X) and a matrix clause (Y) into English as follows :

- (44) a. Y without X.                      b. X, so Y.                      c. X and Y.

They have less of a variety than that seen in the semantic relation between a //-!te// clause and a matrix clause. This is because negative verbs are aspectually classified as stative (vs. dynamic) in Gokayaman (and in Japanese in general).

#### 4. 3. 4. 5 Concessive

Gokayaman speakers attach the following //(r)-edo// <concessive> to a verb stem when (i) making a concession (ii) or expressing their dissatisfaction or astonishment :

- (45) a. [ADV<sub>C</sub> dai + zi = N                      si-tor-**edo**                      kur<sup>2</sup>-j-o.  
 big + matter = ALL do-CNT-ADV.CCSV give-G-CCL.IRR  
 ‘(I)’ll give (this to you) eventhough (I) cherish (it)’  
 ‘大事にしてるけど、あげよう’
- b. [ADV<sub>C</sub> juki = ga                      huQ-tor-**edo**                      ik-a-<sup>N</sup>naN.  
 snow = GEN.I come\_down-CNT-ADV.CCSV go-V-ADN.OBLG  
 ‘It’s snowing, but (I) still must go’  
 ‘雪が降ってるけど、行かないといけない’
- c. [ADV<sub>C</sub> ugok-a-n-**edo**                      atar-a-N = ga = i = cja.  
 move-V-NEG-ADV.CCSV hit.INTR-V-NEG.ADN.DECL = NMNL = POL = RMND.GREE  
 ‘(It)’s not moving, but (I) still can’t seem to hit (it)’  
 ‘動かないけど、当たらないのよ’

They also use the concessive when expressing a precondition for the situation of a matrix clause as follows :

- (46) a. ora = wa moo kaer-**edo**                      annja = wa doo si-r-u = ka = i?  
 1.S.M = TOP soon go\_back-ADV.CCSV 2.S = TOP how do-C-ADN.DECL = Q = POL?  
 ‘I’ll be going back soon. And you?’  
 ‘俺はもう帰るけど、お前は どうする?’
- b. gobo-sama = wa gozar-a-n-**edo**                      i-i = ka = i?  
 priest-BEAU = TOP come.ASPR-V-NEG-ADV.CCSV good-ADN.DECL = Q = POL?  
 ‘(The) priest won’t be coming. Is (that) OK?’  
 ‘お坊さまはいらっしゃらないけど、良いかい?’

## 5 Summary

In this paper, I described verb inflection in classical Gokayama dialect. I extracted the following verb constituents from

Gokayaman verbs by analyzing the structure of them reasonably and economically :

(47) Primary verb stem

- a. Consonant-final verb stems : //tob-// ‘fly ; jump’, //jom-// ‘read’, //utaw-// ‘sing’, //manaw-// ‘be enough’, //moT-// ‘hold’, //os-// ‘push’, //sin-// ‘die’, //or-// ‘be.ANM’, //kak-// ‘write ; scratch’ etc. (see the list (11 a))
- b. Vowel-final verb stems : //kure-// ‘give’, //age-// ‘raise ; lift’, //simi-// ‘get cold’, //ori-// ‘go down ; get down’, //mi-// ‘look ; watch’, //ki-// ‘put on’ etc. (see the list (11 b))
- c. Irregular verb stems : //kO-// ‘come’, //sI-// ‘do’

(48) Inflectional verb suffix

- a. Conclusive verb suffixes : //e~j°// <imperative>, //(j)-o// <irrealis>, //(a)-mai// <irrealis + negative>
- b. Conclusive-Adnominal verb suffixes : //(r)-u// <declarative>, //(a)-<sup>N</sup>naN// <obligative>
- c. Nominal verb suffixes : //(i)-Ø// <suspensional>, //-!tari// <illustrative>
- d. Adverbial verb suffixes : //(i)-nagara, (-i)-sina, (-i)-moqte// <simultaneous>, //(r)-ja, -!tara// <conditional>, //-!te// <medial>, //(a)-<sup>i</sup>de, (-a)-Nto// <medial + negative>, //(r)-edo// <concessive>

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The responsibility for the final formulation, and any errors that it may concern, are entirely mine.

### Symbols

- - : affix boundary or bound stem boundary    • = : clitic boundary    • + : stem boundary    • # : phrase boundary    • ! : a suffix which produces a sandhi form
- /X/ : phonological representation    • //X// : underlying representation    • X~Y : X and Y are complementary allophones or allomorphs
- X or Y : X and Y are free variants    • XY/Z : XY and XZ are free variants
- X<sup>Y</sup> : X and XY are free variants

### Abbreviations

- 1 : first person    • 2 : second person    • ACC : accusative    • ADLT : adult    • ADN : adnominal
- ADN : conclusive-adnominal    • ADV : adverbial    • ALL : allative    • ALL : allative-dative-locative-essive    • ANM : animate
- ASPR : absolute superior    • BEAU : beautifier    • CAUS : causative    • CCL : conclusive    • CCSV : concessive    • CNT : continuous
- COND : conditional    • DECL : declarative    • GEN : genitive-nominative    • GEN.I : genitive.inferior-nominative    • GREE : greeting
- HS : hearsay    • INANM : inanimate    • IFRR : inferior    • ILL : illustrative    • IMP : imperative    • INTR : intransitive
- IRR : irrealis    • LOC : locative    • MED : medial    • NEG : negative    • NMNL : nominal function    • NMLZ : nominalizer    • OBLG : obligative
- PL : plural    • POL : polite    • POSS : possible    • PST : past    • Q : question    • RAT : rational    • RMND : reminder
- SG : singular    • SIML : simultaneous    • SSP : suspensional    • TERM : terminative    • TOP : topic    • TR : transitive    • VBLZ : verbalizer

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