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Mermaid construction in the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes (1) as the prototype for the mermaid construction ('MMC').

(1) Clause + Noun + Copula

Like Standard Japanese (on whose MMC this prototype is based; see Tsunoda (this volume-b)), the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese, spoken about 50 km north of Tokyo, has the MMC. The present paper focuses on those features which are absent in the MMC in Standard Japanese.

First, in the Mitsukaido dialect MMC, the following three nouns can occupy the 'Noun' slot specified in (1). One is *eNŋi* 'origin': the MMC involving it describes a custom, e.g. (2). Another is *warie:* 'ratio' and the MMC involving it means that something is not ordinary, e.g. (3). The third is *segi* 'seat': the MMC involving it denotes a right to do something. (The cognates of these three nouns cannot occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC in Standard Japanese.)

Second, when the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the adjectival noun *jo:*, which may be translated as 'state, situation', the subject may be in the experiencer case, and not in the nominative case, when the verb is in the non-past form, e.g. (4). (Standard Japanese may have *=jo:* in its MMC, but it does not have the experiencer case, and the subject can in no way occur in the experiencer case.)

2. Initial illustration

Examples of the MMC in Mitsukaido include (2) (*eNŋi* 'origin'), (3) (*warie:* 'ratio'), and (4) (adjectival noun *jo:*, which may be translated as 'state, situation'; the subject in the experiencer case).

(2) *oraNte=Ø=wa*   *ganzizu=dage*
     my.family=NOM=TOP   New.Year's.Day=only
     udoN=Ø   *ku:*   *eNŋi=da.*
     udon=ACC   eat.NPST   origin=COP.NPST
     LT: 'My family is the origin to eat *udon* on New Year's Day only.'
     FT: 'It is my family's custom to eat *udon* on New Year's Day only.'

(*Udon* is a type of noodle dish.)

(3) *kino:=no*   *mame=Ø=wa*   *soNdemo*   *taNto*
     yesterday=GEN   bean=NOM=TOP   nonetheless   a.lot
     tore-da   *warie:=daQ-ke=ŋa.* (Tsuchi, p.306)
     be.harvested-PST   ratio=COP-PST=CONCP
     LT: 'Nonetheless, yesterday's beans were the ratio to be harvested a
         lot, but.'
     FT: 'In comparison with usual harvests, a large amount of beans
         were harvested yesterday, though.'

(In (23), the concessive particle *=ŋa* 'but' is used as a conjunction, joining two clauses. The second clause has been deleted for the purpose of exposition. In (3), it is used as a sentence-final particle.[1])

(4) *ore=ŋani*   *se:ta:=Ø*   *ki-ru*
     1SG=EXP   sweater=ACC   put.on-NPST
     jo:=da.
     state=COP.NPST

LT: 'I am the state to put on a sweater.'
FT: 'It seems that I will put on a sweater (because it is so cold).'

3. Profile of the language

The Mitsukaido dialect (referred to as Mitsukaido below) is spoken in and around the former Mitsukaido city (now incorporated into Jōsō city), about 50 km north of Tokyo.

The population of Joso city is 64,880 (August 16, 2011). Due to the low inflow of population into the city, most of the population can be regarded as speakers of Mitsukaido. The older generation preserves the traditional type of grammatical traits, while the speech of the younger generation has been influenced by Standard Japanese. (See Sasaki 2011.)

This dialect has no written tradition, but some sentences reflecting the grammatical traits of the dialect can be found in modern Japanese literature. The best-known case is the dialogue part of the novel *Tsuchi*[2] 'The Earth' written by Takashi Nagatsuka and published in 1910.

The data used in this article were obtained from speakers aged over 80 and thus reflect traditional features.

The phonemic inventory of this dialect is the same as that of Standard Japanese. This dialect has five vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/ and 11 consonant phonemes /p, t, k, b, d, g, n, m, r, w, j/. In addition, I use the following three symbols: <ŋ>, <Q> and <N>. <ŋ> is used for the velar nasal consonant, an allophone of /g/ in the non word-initial position. I use this symbol to distinguish it from [g] derived from /k/ by the intervocalic voicing. <Q> is used for the non-nasal moraic consonant. The place of articulation of <Q> is the same as that of the consonant that follows. <N> is used for the nasal moraic consonant. The segmental realization of <N> depends on the phonological environment: when it stands before a consonant, its place feature is homorganic to the following consonant; otherwise, it is realized as a nasal vowel homorganic to the preceding vowel. I use these archi-segment symbols only for notational convenience, with no implication regarding the theoretical adequacy of the archi-phonemes. Mitsukaido lacks lexical accent, unlike Standard Japanese.

Mitsukaido is entirely agglutinating, largely suffixing and partly prefixing. It is entirely dependent-marking. It employs postpositions, but not prepositions. The postpositions are enclitics. Case is indicated by postpositions, and the case system is a nominative-accusative system (A/S vs. O), as in Standard Japanese.

The difference between Mitsukaido and Standard Japanese is most prominent with respect to the case system. Table 1 illustrates the case system of this dialect and that of Standard Japanese.

Table 1. Case system in Mitsukaido and in Standard Japanese

	Mitsukaido dialect		Standard Japanese	
	Animate NP	Inanimate NP		
Nominative	NP=Ø		NP=*ga*	Nominative
Accusative	NP=*godo*	NP-Ø	NP=*o*	Accusative
Experiencer case	NP=*ŋani*		NP=*ni*	Dative
Dative	NP=*ŋe*	NP=*sa, =e*		
Locative	NP=*ni*			
Ablative	NP=*gara*		NP=*kara*	Ablative
Instrumental	NP=*de*		NP=*de*	Instrumental
Comitative	NP=*do*		NP=*to*	Comitative
Genitive	NP=*no*		NP=*no*	Genitive
Possessive	NP=*ŋa*			
Adnominal locative		NP=*na*		

There are two main differences between Mitsukaido and Standard Japanese in terms of case systems.

First, as noted above, Mitsukaido has a nominative-accusative system, like Standard Japanese. However, the morphological shapes of the nominative and the accusative are different from those of Standard Japanese. The nominative is expressed by zero-marking, e.g. (5), (6). (In Standard Japanese, the nominative case is marked by =*ga*.) The accusative case form varies depending on the animacy of the host nominal: zero (=*Ø*) if the referent is inanimate, e.g. (5), and =*godo* if the referent is animate, e.g. (6). (In Standard Japanese, the accusative case is indicated by =*o*.)

Accusative case, inanimate:
(5) *maŋo=Ø*　　　　*hagama=Ø*　　*hae-da.*
　　grandchild=NOM hakama=ACC　　put.on-PST
　　'[My] grandchild put on a *hakama*.'

(*Hakama* is a type of traditional Japanese clothing for men.)

Accusative case, animate:
(6) *sense:=Ø*　　*ano kodomo=godo* *igiN-da.*
　　teacher=NOM　that child=ACC　　scold-PST
　　'The teacher scolded that child.'

Second, regarding oblique cases, the Mitsukaido dialect is more elaborate than Standard Japanese. The semantic sphere of the Standard Japanese dative/locative =*ni* is divided among four cases in the Mitsukaido dialect: the locative case =*ni*, e.g. (7), the dative =*ŋe*/=*sa* (=*ŋe* for animate goals, e.g. (8), and =*sa* for inanimate goals, e.g. (9)), and the experiencer case =*ŋani*, e.g. (10). The main usage of the experiencer case =*ŋani* is as a

marker for experiencer oblique subjects. The existence of an oblique case specific to the experiencer appears to be typologically rare. See Sasaki (2004) and Sasaki (2008) for details. Examples follow.

Locative case (NP=*ni*):
(7) *ora*　　　　　　*uzi=ni*　　*e-ru.*
　　　1SG.NOM.TOP　home=LOC　be-NPST
　　　'I am at home.'

(*Ora* is a contracted form of *ore=Ø* '1SG=NOM' and the topic enclitic *=wa*.)

Dative case, animate (NP=*ŋe*):
(8) *teŋami=Ø*　*ozitsjaN=ŋe*　　　*naatede*　　*kj-ta.*
　　　letter=NOM　grandfather=DAT　name.specified　come-PST
　　　'The letter was addressed to grandfather.'
Dative case, inanimate (NP=*sa*):
(9) *are=Ø*　　　　　*dogo=sa*　　*eQ-ta?*
　　　3SG=NOM　　　where=DAT　go-PST
　　　'Where did s/he go?'
Experiencer case (NP=*ŋani*):
(10) *ore=ŋani=mo*　　*komaQ=pe=na.*
　　　1SG=EXP=also　　be.annoyed.NPST=may=FP
　　　'I, too, will be annoyed.'

Experiencer case can also be used as a case-marker for the point of reference in stative constructions.

(11) *ore=ŋani*　*kono*　*hku=Ø*　　*ega-e.*
　　　1SG=EXP　this　outfit=NOM　big-NPST
　　　'This outfit is big for me.'
(12) *ome=ŋanja*　　*kono hku=Ø*　　*nia:-ne.*
　　　2SG=EXP.TOP　this　outfit.NOM　suit.IRR-NEG.NPST
　　　'This outfit does not suit you.'

(*=ŋanja* is a contracted form of the experiencer case enclitic *=ŋani* and the topic enclitic *=wa*.)

An account of the voice system is important for adequately understanding the MMC involving the adjectival noun *jo:* 'state, situation'. In terms of the voice system, Mitsukaido and Standard Japanese are almost the same. Both have productive passive, causative and potential formations, though the phonological shapes of the morphemes are not completely the same: the passive and the potential suffixes of Mitsukaido are identical to those of Standard Japanese, namely passive C-*are-*/V-*rare-* and potential C-*e*/V-*rare-*, while the causative suffix is C-*ase*/V-*sase-* in Standard Japanese but C-*ase-*/V-*rase-* in Mitsukaido.

Among the three types of voice mentioned above, the potential voice is

highly relevant to the issue of the MMC. The subject of an active sentence corresponds to a constituent marked by experiencer case in the potential construction, as illustrated in (13) (active) and (14) (potential).

Active:
(13) *are=Ø*   *hadarae-de-ru.*
      3SG=NOM   work-GER.be-NPST
      'S/he is working.'
Potential:
(14) *are=ŋanja*   *hadarag-e-ru.*
      3SG=EXP.TOP   work-POT-NPST
      'S/he can work.'

The constituent marked in the experiencer case in potential constructions maintains subject properties except for the behavior of floating quantifiers. Thus, the experiencer case marked oblique element can be regarded as an oblique subject. For details of the syntactic behavior of the experiencer case marked oblique element, see Sasaki (2004, 2008).

The present paper often uses the term 'subject'. Indeed, the concept of subject is very useful for an account of the MMC and related constructions in the Mitsukaido dialect. However, it is difficult to characterize precisely the subject in this dialect in a limited space, and consequently I use the term 'subject' in a loose way, following the practice of, for example, Palmer (1994). Roughly speaking, the unmarked subject is in the nominative case, e.g. (5), (6). In addition, there are oblique subjects: in locative, e.g. (57), (58), and experiencer case, e.g. (10), (14) and (58).

Noun modifiers, such as demonstratives, adjectives, 'noun=GEN', and adnominal clauses, precede the head noun. Examples include (3) (noun=GEN) and (6) ('that'), (11), (12) ('this'). AOV and SV are preferred orders.

Mitsukaido is mildly configurational.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate, adjectival noun-predicate and noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Clauses/sentences in Mitsukaido can be classified into four types (as is the case in Standard Japanese; cf. Tsunoda (this volume-b)).
    [1] Verb-predicate clauses/sentences
Examples include (5)-(10).
    [2] Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences
Examples include (11).
    [3] Adjectival noun-predicate clauses/sentences
Examples include:

(15) are=Ø=wa   tosijori=ŋe   siNsezu=da.
3SG=NOM=TOP   old.person=DAT   kind=COP.NPST
'S/he is kind to old people.' (Sasaki 2004: 85)

[4] Noun-predicate clauses/sentences
These clauses/sentences involve the copular verb. Examples include:

(16) are=Ø=wa   dereske=da.
3SG=NOM=TOP   fool=COP.NPST
'S/he is a fool.'

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

The formation of adnominal clauses and adverbial clauses is the same as that in Standard Japanese (cf. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2)).

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses
Adnominal clauses ('ACs') precede the head noun. Examples include (17). An "*e*" stands for a gap in the clause.

(17) [e$_i$ ore=ŋa   seŋare=godo home-da]   sense:$_i$=wa
1SG=POSS son=ACC   praise-PST teacher=TOP
ano   hjto=da.
that   person=COP.NPST
'The teacher who praised my son is that person.'

Like Standard Japanese, Mitsukaido has both 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs') and 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs'). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.)

Very roughly speaking, internal ACs are formed by the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. Examples include (17). All the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized, except for the object of comparison.

In contrast, the formation of external ACs does not involve the gap strategy. The head noun is, so to speak, added from 'outside the underlying clause'. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. There is no 'gap' in the AC. Examples include (18).

(18) [saNma=Ø/=no   jage-ru]   nioe
saury=NOM/=GEN   be.grilled-NPST smell
LT: 'the smell with which a saury (fish sp.) is grilled'
FT: 'the smell of saury being grilled'

In (18), the subject of the AC may be marked either by the nominative case or the genitive case (as is the case in Standard Japanese). The

nominative-genitive conversion of the subject is also possible in internal ACs, as shown in example (19).

(19) *[teŋami={Ø/no}*   *e_i*   *todoe-da]*   *hjto_i*
letter={NOM/GEN}   arrive-PST   person
'The person who received the letter.'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

There are at least three types of clause-linkage markers used to form adverbial clauses.

(a) A nonfinite form of the verb, etc., such as *nom-i-naŋara* 'drink-ADV-CONCUR'), e.g. (20).
(b) *Setuzokuzyosi* 'conjunction', such as *=gara* 'causal', e.g. (21).
(c) A noun followed by a case postposition (the postposition may be omitted under certain circumstances), such as the locative *=ni*, e.g. (22).

(20) *ora_i*   *[e_i*   *arug-i-naŋara]*   *paN=Ø*
1SG=NOM.TOP   walk-ADV-CONCUR   bread=ACC
kuQ-ta.
eat-PST
'I ate bread while walking.'

(21) *ame=Ø*   *huQ-ta=gara*   *niwa=Ø*   *bisjobisjoni*
rain=NOM   fall-PST=CAUS   garden=NOM   thoroughly.wet
naQ-ta.
become-PST
'Because the rain fell, the ground became thoroughly wet.'

(22) *ame=Ø*   *huN-ne:*   *me:=ni*   *eQ-tsjaQ-ta.*
rain=NOM   fall-NEG   before=LOC   go-PERF-PST
'(S/he) had gone before it started to rain.'

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is shown in (1). As noted in Section 1, our discussion of the MMC in Mitsukaido will focus on those features which are absent in the Standard Japanese MMC. We shall examine the following two types.

(a) The Noun type (5.2), which involve the following three nouns: *eNŋi* 'origin', *warie:* 'ratio' and *segi* 'seat' (5.2). Their cognates in Standard Japanese do not occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Furthermore, I shall cite one instance of the MMC that contains the noun *zigan* 'time' in the 'Noun' slot, i.e. (53). Its cognate in Standard Japanese, i.e. *zikan* 'time', can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.2-[11]).

(b) The MMC with the adjectival noun *jo:* 'state, situation' (5.3). When the 'Noun' slot is occupied by *jo:*, three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, locative and experiencer. Standard Japanese may have =*jo:* in its MMC, but it does not have a distinct experiencer case, nor may the subject appear with the oblique case particle used to mark experiencers (=*ni*).

5.2 Noun-type MMC

We shall consider the above-mentioned three nouns in 5.2.1. We shall then compare this MMC with independent sentences and ACs in 5.2.2.

5.2.1 Three nouns
[1] *eNŋi* 'origin'
The MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin' in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC describes a custom. Examples include (2) and (23).

(23) *eroribada=de*   *emo=Ø* *jae=de*
   sunken.hearth=INS potato=ACC roast=GER
   ku:
   eat.NPST
   eNŋi=na=N=da=ŋa ... (Tsuchi, p.352)
   origin=COP.ADN=NMLZ=COP.NPST=CONCP
   LT: '[We] are the origin to roast [sweet] potatoes in the sunken
     hearth and eat [them], but ....'
   FT: 'It is [our] custom to roast sweet potatoes in the sunken
     hearth and eat them, but ...'

[2] *warie:* 'ratio'
The MMC with *warie:* 'ratio' in the 'Noun' slot indicates that the degree of something is not ordinary. Examples include (3) (cited from the novel *Tsuchi* by Takashi Nagatsuka), and:

(24) *ezumo=jori* *kuǪ-ta* *warie:=da=na.*
   everyday=than eat-PST ratio=COP.NPST=FP
   'I ate a lot more than usual.'

[3] *segi* 'seat'
The noun *segi* means 'seat'. The MMC involving this noun indicates that the referent of the subject has the right to do something. (25) is an instance of an existential construction, and not an instance of the MMC. My subsequent inquiry elicited (26) and (27). These are instances of the MMC.

(25) *ora*   *nanimo* *huhugu=Ø* *i:*
   1SG.NOM.TOP any complaint=ACC say.NPST
   segi=Ø=wa *ne:=na.* (Tsuchi, p.287)
   seat=NOM=TOP not.exist=FP

LT: 'As for me, the seat to say any complaint does not exist.'
FT: 'I have no right to complain about anything.'

(26) *ora*　　　　　*tema=Ø*　　*mora:*
1SG.NOM.TOP　wage=ACC　receive.NPST
segi=da.
seat=COP.NPST
LT: 'I am the seat to receive the wage.'
FT: 'I have right to receive the wage.'

(27) *ore=Ø*　　　*i:*　　　　*segi=zja*　　*ne.*
1SG=NOM　say.NPST　seat=COP.IRR　NEG.NPST
LT: 'I am not the seat to say.'
FT: 'I have no right to say (it).'

5.2.2 Comparison of the noun-type MMC with independent sentences and ACs

5.2.2.1 Introductory notes. We saw in 4.2.1 that in the case of external ACs the head noun does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. Also, there is no 'gap' in ACs of this type. In these respects, it may look as if the MMC ('Clause + Noun + Copula') is made up of an external AC and its head noun. The 'Noun' does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the 'Clause', and there is no gap in the 'Clause'. The same applies to the MMC in Standard Japanese. Indeed, many previous studies have regarded the 'Clause' of the MMC as an adnominal clause. However, as in the case in Standard Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.3 and 6.4), syntactically the 'Clause' in the MMC differs from ACs and behaves like independent sentences. This will be discussed below. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 2. The MMC with *jo:* 'state, situation' (discussed in 5.3 below) is included in Table 2. The plus sign means 'acceptable' and the minus sign 'unacceptable'. 'n.a.' indicates 'not attested'.

Table 2. Comparison of the noun-type MMC with

	case of subject					clefting
	NOM	EXP	LOC	GEN	POSS	
independent sentence noun-type MMC	+	+	+	n.a.	n.a.	+
eNŋi 'origin', *warie:* 'ratio'	+	n.a.	n.a.	-	+ (borrowing?)	+
segi 'seat'	+	n.a.	n.a.	+	+ (borrowing?)	+
jo:-type MMC	+	+	+	-	+ (borrowing?)	+
internal AC	+	+	n.a.	+	n.a.	-
external AC	+	+	n.a.	+	n.a.	-

5.2.2.1 Case of the subject. The subject is case-marked as follows.

[1] Independent sentences

As noted in Section 3, three cases are attested for the subject: (i) nominative, e.g. (5), (6), (ii) experiencer, e.g. (10), (14), (29), (58), and (iii) locative, e.g. (57), (58). The genitive and the possessive are not attested.

[2] ACs

The subject may occur in the nominative or the genitive, e.g. (18). The subject optionally occurs in the experiencer case when the subject of the corresponding independent sentence occurs in the experiencer s case, i.e. in the potential voice. Compare (28), which contains an AC, and (29), which is the corresponding independent sentence for (28).

(28) *rogu-zi=wa*   *dare=ŋani=mo*   *ogi-rare-ru*
     6 o'clock=TOP   who=EXP=also   wake.up-POT-NPST
     zigaN=da
     time=COP.NPST
     '6 o'clock is a time when anyone can wake up.'

(29) *rogu-zi=dara*   *dare= ŋani=mo*   *ogi-rare-Q=pe*
     6 o'clock=COND who=EXP=also   wake.up-POT-NPST=may
     'Anyone can wake up at 6 o'clock.'

In ACs, the locative and the possessive are not attested.

[3] MMC

We need to treat (a) *eNŋi* 'origin' and *warie:* 'ratio' and (b) *segi* 'seat' separately.

(a) *eNŋi* 'origin' and *warie:* 'ratio'

The subject of the 'Clause' of the MMC is marked by the nominative case, e.g. (2), (3), (30), (31). The experiencer and the locative are not attested. The subject cannot occur in the genitive, as shown in (30), (31) and (32).

Furthermore, my consultant accepts the possessive case. See (30) and (31). However, this possessive marking is not always possible; see (32).

(30) *siŋazu jo:ga=ni*   *oraNte={wa/Ø/ŋa/*no}*
     8th April=LOC   my family={TOP/NOM/POSS/*GEN}
     ome:ri su-ru   *eNŋi=da*
     visit-NPST   origin=COP.NPST
     'It is my family's custom to visit a temple on 8th April.'

(31) *kino:=no*   *mame={wa/Ø/ŋa/*no}*   *taNto*
     yesterday=GEN bean={TOP/NOM/POSS/*GEN} a.lot
     tore-da   *warie:=da*
     be.harvested-PST   ratio=COP.NPST
     'In comparison with usual harvests, a large amount of beans were harvested yesterday.'

(32) *oraNte= Ø={wa/*ŋa/*no}*   *ganzizu=dage*
     my.family=NOM={TOP/*POSS/*GEN} New.Year's.Day=only
     udoN= Ø   *ku:*   *eNŋi=da.*
     udon=ACC eat.NPST origin=COP.NPST

'It is my family's custom to eat *udon* only on New Year's Day.'

If this use of the possessive case is a bona fide Mitsukaido expression, it will be possible to say that Mitsukaido exhibits the nominative-possessive conversion. However, this use may not a traditional expression. There are two reasons for this. First, the phonetic shape of the possessive case particle =ŋa is the same as that of the Standard Japanese nominative case particle. The speakers of the Mitsukaido dialect are under heavy influence of Standard Japanese. The possessive case-marked subject in (30) and (31) may have been borrowed from Standard Japanese. My consultant added a comment that X=ŋa means 'only X' in (30). This interpretation is parallel to the exhaustive reading of =ga in Standard Japanese (Kuno 1973). The exhaustive interpretation suggests that morpho-syntactic borrowing is involved. Second, as seen above, this possessive marking of the subject is not acceptable in every instance. This suggests that this possessive marking has been borrowed recently and it has not been stalilized yet.

(b) *segi* 'seat'

The subject can be marked not only in the nominative but also in the possessive and the genitive:

(33)　*are={wa/Ø/ŋa/no}*　　*uresiŋar-u*
　　　3SG={TOP/NOM/GEN}　be.pleased=NPST
　　　segi=zja　　　*ne:*
　　　seat=COP.IRR　　NEG.NPST
　　　'S/he has no right to be pleased (with that).'

As noted above, the possessive marking of the subject may have been borrowed from Standard Japanese. The experiencer and the locative are not attested.

In terms of the case of the subject, the MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin' or *warie:* 'ratio' resembles independent sentences in that the genitive case is not allowed. In contrast, the MMC with *segi* 'seat' resembles ACs in that the genitive is permitted.

5.2.2.2 Clefting. Clefting is possible in independent sentences and MMCs but it is impossible in ACs. The situation is the same as in Standard Japanese. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.3.2.4). We shall be concerned with the clefting that puts the subject in focus.

[1] Independent sentences

Clefting is possible. The pre-copular noun in the cleft sentences corresponds to the subject of the independent sentences. Example (35) is a cleft sentence corresponding to the verb-predicate sentence (34). Example (37) is a cleft sentence corresponding to the adjective-predicate sentence (36). Example (39) is a cleft sentence corresponding to the adjectival-noun predicate sentence (38). Example (41) is a cleft sentence corresponding to the noun-predicate sentence (40).

(34) are=Ø   seNdae=sa   eQ-ta.
     3SG=NOM   Sendai=DAT   go-PST
     'S/he went to Sendai.'

(35) sendae=sa   eQ-ta=no=wa   are=da.
     Sendai=DAT   go-PST=NMLZ=TOP   3SG=COP.NPST
     'It is her/him that went to Sendai.'

(36) kono   hku=Ø   ore=ŋanja   ega-e.
     this   outfit=NOM   1SG=EXP.TOP   big-NPST
     'This cloth is (too) big for me.'

(37) ore=ŋani   ega-e=no=wa
     1SG=EXP   big-NPST=NMLZ=TOP   .
     kono   hku=da.
     this   outfit=COP.NPST
     'It is this cloth that is (too) big for me.'

(38) are=Ø=wa   tosjori=ŋe   siNsezu=da.
     3SG=NOM=TOP   old.man=DAT   kind=COP.NPST
     'S/he is kind to old people.

(39) tosjori=ŋe   siNsezu-na=no=wa
     old.man=DAT   kind=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
     are=da.
     3SG=COP.NPST
     'It is her/him that is kind to old people.'

(40) are=wa   dereske=da.
     3SG=TOP   fool=COP.NPST
     'S/he is a fool.'

(41) dereske=na=no=wa   are=da.
     fool=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP   3SG=COP.NPST
     'It is her/him that is a fool.'

[2] MMC
Clefting is possible. The examples (42), (43) and (44) are cleft sentences corresponding to the MMCs (2), (3) and (26), respectively. As shown in the example (32) above, the MMC with *segi* differs from other MMCs in that it permits a genitive subject.

(42) gaNzizu=ni   udoN=Ø   ku:
     New.Year's.Day=LOC   udon=ACC   eat.NPST
     eNŋi=na=no=wa
     origin=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
     oraNte=dage=da.
     my.family=only=COP.NPST
     'It is only my family that eats *udon* only on New Year's Day.'

(43) kino: tanto   tore-da
     yesterday a.lot   be.harvested
     warie:=na=no=wa   mame=da
     ratio=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP   bean=COP.NPST
     'It is the beans that were harvested in large quantity yesterday.'

(44) *tema=Ø   mora:*
      wage=ACC   receive.NPST
      segi=na=no=wa   *ore=da*
      seat=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP 1SG=COP.NPST
      'It is me who has the right to receive the wage.'

[3] ACs
In contrast with the subject of MMCs and that of independent sentences, the subject of ACs — both internal and external — cannot be clefted.

(a) Internal ACs. The ungrammatical example (45) is structurally parallel to the cleft sentences with MMCs in (42)-(44) in that it involves clefting of a subject out of the AC in the predicate noun. The corresponding non-clefting structure is presented in (46).

(45) *[[e_i e_j kae-da]   teŋami_j]=na=no=wa*
                write-PST letter=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
      are_i=da
      3SG=COP.NPST
      (Untranslatable)
(46) *[are=Ø   e_i   kae-da]   teŋami_i*
      3SG=NOM   write-PST letter
      'The letter that s/he wrote.'

(b) External ACs. The ungrammatical example (47) is structurally parallel to the cleft sentences with MMCs in (42)-(44) and that with an internal AC in (45) in that it involves clefting of a subject out of the AC in the predicate noun. The corresponding non-clefting structure is presented in (48).
(47) *[e_i   to:r-u]   odo]=na=no=wa*
              pass-NPST sound=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
      kuruma_i=da
      car=COP.NPST
      (Untranslatable)
(48) *[[kuruma=Ø to:r-u]   odo]*
      car=NOM   pass-NPST   sound
      'The sound of car passing.'

Both the MMC and ACs have the sequence [Clause + Noun]. However, they differ in terms of grammaticality. The cleft sentences (42)-(44), based on the MMC, are grammatical, while the cleft sentences (45) and (46), where pre-copular nouns correspond to the subject of ACs, are ungrammatical. In this respect, the MMC behaves like an independent sentence.

Syntactically, specifically in terms of the case marking of the subject and clefting, the noun-type MMC is more similar to independent sentences than to ACs. Therefore, it should probably be regarded as mono-clausal, rather than bi-clausal.

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Ross (1986: 78) argues that the Japanese Relative Clause (our 'AC') Formation Rule is subject to the Complex NP Constraint, a constraint banning a transformation moving an element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun out of that noun phrase. The ungrammaticality of the cleft sentences involving an AC is considered to be due to the violation of the Complex NP Constraint. The applicability of the Complex NP Constraint to Japanese has been questioned since Kuno (1973: 239) pointed out the grammaticality of sentence (49) where the modified noun *kodomo* corresponds to the gap inside the complex NP.

(49) Standard Japanese (Kuno 1973: 239)
  *[[e*ᵢ   *kawaigat-te*   *i-ta]*   *inu=ga*
         be.fond.of-GER   be-PST   dog=NOM
  sin-de   *simaQ-ta]* *kodomo*ᵢ
  die-GER   finish-PST child
  'The child who lost the dog that (he) was fond of.'

The violability of the Complex NP Constraint in Standard Japanese depends on the syntactic structure where the extraction occurs. Inoue (1976: 178-180) argues that the environment where the Complex NP Constraint is violable is restricted: the extraction of a subject out of the complex NP seems to be possible only when the complex NP is in the subject position and marginally in the fronted object position or in the locative constituent.

The ungrammaticality of (45) and (47) indicates that the sequence [Clause + Noun] in ACs in Mitsukaido functions as an Island at least when the complex NPs are in the predicate noun of the matrix clause and the Complex NP Constraint is applicable in this structure. On the other hand, the sequence [Clause + Noun] in the MMC does not function as an Island. In this respect, the MMC behaves like an independent sentence.

There is a correlation between the case of subject and clefting: MMCs prohibit genitive-subjects and allow clefting of a subject out of the predicate nouns, while internal and external ACs allow genitive-subjects and prohibit clefting of a subject out of the predicate nouns. The MMC with *segi* apparently does not fit in this correlation. See Table 2. However, there is a possible analysis where the genitive-subject in (33) does not contradict the correlation mentioned above.

My consultant accepted *are=wa* '3SG=TOP', *are=Ø* '3SG=NOM', *are=ŋa* '3SG=POSS', *are=no* '3SG=GEN' as subject forms in (33). If the example (33) can be analyzed in two ways, illustrated in (50) and (51) below, and the cleft sentence (45) corresponds not to the AC structure (50) but to the MMC structure (51), the correlation between the case of the subject and clefting is also compatible with the MMC with *segi*. The 'pro' in parenthesis stands for an unexpressed subject in the matrix clause.

(50) External AC
    (pro) *[are={Ø/ŋa/no}*   *uresiŋar-u*
          3SG={/NOM/POSS/GEN}   be.pleased-NPST
    segi]=zja   *ne:*
    seat=COP.IRR   NEG.NPST
    'It is not something s/he has the right to be pleased about.'

(51) MMC
    are={wa/Ø/ŋa/}   *uresiŋar-u*
    3SG={TOP/NOM/POSS}   be.pleased-NPST
    segi=zja   *ne:* (MMC)
    seat=COP.IRR   NEG.NPST
    'S/he has not the right to be pleased (with that).'

The same type of dual interpretation is possible for the sequence [Clause + *zigan* 'time'] as shown in (52) and (53). The cleft sentence (54) corresponds to the MMC structure in (53).

(52) External AC
    zi:-zi=wa   *[ezumo* *ore={Ø/ŋa/no}*
    10-hour=TOP always 1SG={NOM/POSS/GEN}
    ner-u]   *zigaN=da* (external AC)
    sleep-NPST   time=COP.NPST
    '10 o'clock is the time when I always sleep.'

(53) MMC
    ore={wa/Ø/ŋa/*no}   *mo:*   *ner-u*
    1SG=TOP/NOM/POSS/*GEN already sleep-NPST
    zigN=da
    time=COP.NPST
    'It is already time for me to sleep.'

(54) *mo:*   *ner-u*   *zigaN=na=no=wa*
    already sleep-NPST time=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
    ore=da
    1SG=COP.NPST
    'It is me who has to go to sleep.'

(Standard Japanese has the cognate of *zigan* 'time', i.e. *zikan* 'time'. This noun, too, can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, and this MMC means 'It is time to do' (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.2-[11]), as is the case with (53).)

5.3 MMC with the adjectival noun jo: 'state, situation'

5.3.1 Introductory notes

Like Standard Japanese, Mitsukaido has a variety of the MMC in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the adjectival noun *jo:*. The adjectival noun *jo:* may be translated as 'state, situation'. This MMC is used to express inference about events. (For Standard Japanese, Tsunoda (this volume-b,

7.9) describes the enclitic *=jo:*, and states that the MMC involving it indicates inference based on what the speaker observed or what he/she heard from someone else: 'It looks/appears/seems'. Tsunoda (this volume-b) uses the letter *y*, rather than *j*, for the semivowel in question.)

The MMC with *jo:* is special in that the subject may be marked with the experiencer case *=ŋani*. An example is (4). We shall examine the semantic and morphosyntactic aspects of the MMC with *jo:*.

5.3.2 Lexical aspect

In terms of the lexical aspect (Vendler 1967; Dowty 1979) of the verb, there appears to be no restriction on the type of verb employed. Thus, consider the following pairs of a non-MMC and an instance of the MMC.

(a) Activity: (55) and (56).
(b) State: (57), (58), (59) and (60).
(c) Achievement: (61) and (62).
(d) Accomplishment: (63) and (64) (same as (4)).

Activity:
(55)   *ore=Ø*   *kimono=Ø*   *hjkizuQ-ta.*
     1SG=NOM   kimono=ACC   trail-PST
     'I trailed [my] kimono.'

(56)   *ore=ŋanja*   *kimono=Ø*   *hjkizur-u*   *jo:=da.*
     1SG=EXP.TOP kimono=ACC trail-NPST   state=COP.NPST
     LT: 'I am the state to trail [my] kimono.'
     FT: 'It seems that I will trail [my] kimono (because the kimono is too long for me).'

(A literal translation will not be given for the following examples of the MMC.)

State:

In the existential/possessive construction, when the sentence refers to alienable possession, the subject is case-marked only in the locative, e.g. (57). On the other hand, when the sentence refers to a kinship relation, the subject can be case-marked either by the locative or the experiencer case, e.g. (58). The examples (59) and (60) are the corresponding MMCs with *jo:*. Both the locative and the experiencer are possible when the sentence describes a kinship relation, e.g. (60).

(57)   *are={ni/*ŋani}=wa*   *kane=Ø*   *ar-u.*
     3SG={LOC/*EXP=TOP   money=NOM   be-NPST
     'To her/him money exists', i.e. 'S/he has money'.

(58)   *are={ni/ŋani}=wa*   *seŋare=Ø*   *e-ru.*
     3SG={LOC/EXP}=TOP   son=NOM   be-NPST
     'To her/him a son exists', i.e. 'S/he has a son.

(59)   *are={ni/ŋani}=wa*   *kane=Ø*   *ar-u*
     3SG={LOC/EXP}=TOP   money=NOM   be-NPST

jo:=da.
state=COP.NPST
'It seems that s/he has money.'

(60) *are={ni/ŋani}=wa   seŋare=Ø e-ru   jo:=da.*
3SG={LOC/EXP}=TOP son=NOM be-NPST state=COP.NPST
'It seems that s/he has a son.'

Achievement:
(61) *ore=Ø (*ore=ŋani)   mune=Ø   warug-u*
1SG=NOM (*1SG=EXP) chest=NOM bad-ADV
naQ-ta.
become-PST
'I got sick.'

(62) *ore=ŋani   mune=Ø   warug-u   nar-u*
1SG=EXP   chest =NOM   bad-ADV   become-NPST
jo:=da.
state=COP.NPST
'It seems that I will get sick.'

(Semantically, 'I' in (61) may be considered an experiencer. However, the experiencer case is not allowed.)

Accomplishment:
(63) *ore=Ø   se:ta:=Ø   ki-ru.*
1SG=NOM   sweater=ACC put.on-NPST
'I will put on a sweater.'

(64) *ore=ŋani   se:ta:=Ø   ki-ru   jo:=da.*
1sg=EXP   sweater=ACC put.on-NPST   state=COP.NPST
'It seems that I will put on a sweater [because it is so cold].'

5.3.3 Case of the subject

Three cases are attested for the subject in independent sentences and the MMC with *jo* 'state': nominative, experiencer and locative. This is shown in Table 2. The correspondence between independent sentences and the MMC with *jo:* is somewhat complicated. This is shown in Table 3.

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Table 3. Case-marking of the subject

	independent sentence	MMC with *jo:*
(a)	NOM, e.g. (65)	NOM, e.g. (66), (67) (past, non-past, progressive, etc.)
(b)	NOM, e.g. (55), (61), (63)	EXP, e.g. (56), (62), (64) (non-past only)
(c)	LOC, e.g. (57), (58)	LOC, e.g. (59),(60), (70), (71) (past, non-past)
(d)	LOC, e.g. (57)	EXP, e.g. (59) (non-past only)
(e)	EXP, e.g. (58)	EXP, e.g. (60), (71) (past, non-past)

The following two factors that concern the verb of the 'Clause' of this MMC are relevant: (i) semantics and (ii) tense and aspect.

Pattern (a) is the unmarked one. The subject is in the nominative case both in independent sentences, e.g. (65), and in the corresponding MMC, e.g. (66), (67). In this MMC, there is no restriction on the tense and aspect of the verb of the 'Clause'. Past (e.g. (66)), non-past (e.g. (67)), progressive, etc. are acceptable.

(65) *ore=Ø*   *mune=Ø*   *warug-u*   *naQ-ta.*
     1SG=NOM   chest=NOM bad-ADV   become-PST.
     'I got sick.'

(66) *ore=Ø (*ore=ŋani)*   *mune*   *warug-u*   *naQ-ta*
     1SG=NOM (*1SG=EXP) chest.NOM bad-ADV   become-PST
     jo:=da.
     state=COP.NPST
     'It seems that I got sick.'

(67) *ore=Ø*   mune= *Ø*   *warug-u*   *nar-u*
     1SG=NOM   chest=ACC   bad-ADV   become-NPST
     jo:=da.
     state=COP.NPST
     'It seems that I will get sick.'

Pattern (b). The subject is in the nominative case in independent sentences, e.g. (55), (61), (63). But in the corresponding MMC it is in the experiencer case, e.g. (56), (62), (64). The verb of the 'Clause' has to be in the non-past; see   (56), (62), (64). The subject cannot occur in the experiencer case when the verb of the 'Clasue' *jo:* is, for example, in the past form (see (68)) or the progressive form (see (69)). (The progressive aspect is expressed with a combination of the gerundive form of verb (V-*te* and the existential verb (*e-ru* 'be'), as in most mainland Japanese dialects.

The gerundive suffix (-te) and the existential verb root (e-) are usually contracted as V-te-ru (←V-te e-ru).)

(68) *ore=ŋanja   kimono=Ø   hjkizuQ-ta
1SG=EXP.TOP   kimono=ACC   trail-PST
jo:=da.
state=COP.NPST
Intended meaning: It seems that I trailed the kimono.

(69) *ore=ŋanja   kimono=Ø   hjkizuQ-te-ru
1SG=EXP.TOP   kimono=ACC   trail-GER.be-NPST
jo:=da.
state=COP.NPST
Intended meaning: It seems that I am trailing the kimono.

Pattern (c). The locative case can mark the subject of the existential/possessive construction, e.g. (57), (58), and the locative marking of the subject may remain in the corresponding MMC, e.g. (59), (60), (70), (71). There appears to be no restriction on the tense or aspect of the predicate of this MMC. At least, past (e.g. (70), (71)) and non-past (e.g. (59), (60) are attested.

Pattern (d). The subject is in the locative in independent sentences, e.g. (57), but it is in the experiencer in the corresponding MMC, e.g. (59). The predicate of the 'Clause' has to be in the non-past; see (59). If the predicate is in the past, for example, the subject cannot be in the experiencer case:

(70) are={*ŋani/ni}=wa   mugasi kane=Ø   aQ-ta
3SG={*EXP/LOC}=TOP   once   money=NOM be-PST
jo:=da.
state=COP.NPST
'It seems that s/he had money before.'

Pattern (e). In independent sentences, the experiencer case can mark the subject with certain stative predicates, e.g. (10) ('I, too, will be annoyed'), potential predicates, e.g. (14) ('They may not be able to swim'), and the existential/possessive construction that concerns a kinship relationship, e.g. (58). The experiencer marking of the subject can remain in the corresponding MMC, (60), (71). There appears to be no restriction on the tense or aspect of the predicate of this MMC. At least, past (e.g. (71)) and non-past (e.g. (60)) are attested.

(71) are={ŋani/ni}=wa   seŋare=Ø e-da   jo:=da.
3SG={EXP/LOC}=TOP   son=NOM be-PST   state=COP.NPST
'It seems that s/he had a son.'

We have seen the nominative, the experiencer and the locative may mark the subject in this MMC. The genitive is not acceptable; see (72). Also, the possessive is attested; again see (72). However, this use of the

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possessive may have been borrowed from Standard Japanese (cf. 5.2.2.1-[3]). (These facts are shown in Table 2.)

(72) ano   odome={ŋani/wa/Ø/ŋa/*no}
     that   baby={EXP/TOP/NOM/POSS/*GEN}
     arug-e-ru   jo:=da
     walk-POT-NPST   state=COP.NPST
     'That baby seems to be able to walk.'

To sum up, in the MMC with *jo:* 'state, situation', there may be a change in the case marking of the subject. When the case of the subject in independent sentences is retained in this MMC (i.e. (a) NOM → NOM, (c) LOC → LOC, (e) EXP → EXP), there appears to be no restriction on the tense or aspect of the verb of the 'Clause'. At least, past and non-past are attested for all of the nominative, the locative and the experiencer. However, when the case of the subject in independent sentences is changed in this MMC (i.e. (b) NOM → EXP, (d) LOC → EXP), the verb of the 'Clause' can only occur in the non-past. It cannot occur in any other form, such as the past or the progressive form. In contrast, there is no change in the case marking of the subject in the noun-type MMC.

As noted in 5.1, Standard Japanese does not have experiencer case. Also, the MMC does not exhibit any change in the case of the subject. Consider the following examples from Standard Japanese.

Standard Japanese
(73) *kare=ni=wa*   *musuko=ga*   *i-ru.*
     3SG.M=DAT=TOP   son=NOM   be-NPST
     'To him [there] is a son', i.e. 'He has a son.'
(74) *kare=ni=wa*   *musuko=ga*   *i-ru*
     3SG.M=DAT=TOP   son=NOM   be-NPST
     jo:=da.
     state=COP.NPST
     'It seems that he has a son.'
(75) *Hanako=ga*   *hon=o*   *ka-u.*
     (name)=NOM   book=ACC   buy-NPST
     'Hanako buys/will buy a book.'
(76) *Hanako=ga*   *hon=o*   *ka-u*   *jo:=da.*
     (name)=NOM   book=ACC   buy-PRES   state=COP.NPST
     'It seems that Hanako buys/will buy a book.'

The example (73) has the DAT-NOM case frame, and this case frame is retained in (74). The subject is consistently in the dative case. The example (75) has the NOM-ACC case frame, and this case frame is retained in (76). The subject is consistently in the nominative case.

In both the Mitsukaido dialect and Standard Japanese, the subject in the MMC may occur in an oblique case: the experiencer case in the Mitsukaido dialect and the dative case in Standard Japanese. However, the Mitsukaido

dialect differs from Standard Japanese in that it exhibits a change in the case of the subject, i.e. the nominative case or the locative case to the experiencer case.

5.3.4 Modality and voice

We saw in 5.3.3 that there may be a change in the case marking of the subject in the MMC with *jo:* 'state, situation' (although there is no such change in the noun-type MMC). This difference is important for considering the relation between modality and voice.

In Mitsukaido, the subject is/may be marked by the experiencer case (one of the oblique cases) in two derived constructions: the potential construction, e.g. (14), and the MMC with *jo:*, e.g. (71). In Sasaki (2004), I regard the experiencer case-marking of the subject in the potential construction as a manifestation of voice. It is important to enquire whether these two subjects in the experiencer case should be treated under the rubric of two separate grammatical categories or one and the same category.

The potential construction in the Mitsukaido dialect expresses ability and the MMC with *jo:* expresses inference. According to Kiefer (1994: 2515), '[t]he essence of "modality" consists in the relativization of the validity of sentence meanings to a set of possible worlds'. For example, modality may concern ability (Ziegeler 2006: 262) and inference (Kiefer 1994: 2518). That is, from the semantic point of view, both the potential construction and the MMC with *jo:* are expressions of modality.[3]

According to Klaiman (1991: 1), 'Grammatical voice is manifested in systems in which alternations in the shapes of verbs signal alternations in the configurations of nominal statuses with which verbs are in particular relationships'. That is, very roughly speaking, voice involves an alternation in the verb morphology and in the arrangement of NPs. According to this definition of voice, both the potential construction and the MMC with *jo:* are expressions of voice.

We shall look at the potential construction first. The verb in the potential construction contains the potential suffix: V-*e*-/C-*rare*-, e.g. *ojoŋ-e*-'swim-POT' in (14). Furthermore, the case of the subject changes: NOM → EXP; compare (13) and (14). These two facts show that the potential construction is an expression of voice.

The same applies to the MMC with *jo:*. It contains *jo:*, while the corresponding sentence lacks *jo:*. Furthermore, when the verb is in the non-past tense form, the case of the subject may change: (i) LOC → EXP and (ii) NOM → EXP. See Table 2. These two facts show that the MMC with *jo:*, too, is an expression of voice.

To sum up, both the potential construction and the MMC with *jo:* are modal expressions and at the same time voice expressions. This indicates that these two subjects in the experiencer case should be treated under the rubric of one and the same category.

Sasaki (2004: 139-140) did not treat the MMC with *jo:* as a voice expression. However, the facts presented above indicate that this analysis should be reconsidered.

Constructions that straddle two grammatical categories, like the potential construction of the Mitsukaido dialect and the MMC with *jo:*, are not uncommon. Thus many instances of the antipassive construction, which is a voice phenomenon, have aspectual meanings such as imperfective, progressive or durative (Tsunoda 1981: 422).

Palmer (1994: 41) discusses the 'modal subject'. He does not characterize it clearly, but by 'modal subject', he seems to refer to an oblique subject that appears in a certain mood/modality. The subject in the experiencer case of the potential construction of the Mitsukaido dialect and the MMC with *jo:* is clearly a modal subject.

We shall provide additional notes on the comparison of the Mitsukaido dialect and Standard Japanese. In the Mitsukaido dialect, the verb in the potential construction employs the suffix C-*e*-/V-*rare*-, and the case of the subject changes from the nominative case to the experiencer case. See (13) and (14). The MMC with *jo:* expresses inference, and the subject may change from the locative case or the nominative case to the experiencer case when the verb is in the non-past form. See Table 3.

In Standard Japanese, the verb in the potential construction employs the suffix C-*e*-/V-*rare*-, and the case of the subject changes from the nominative case to the dative case, and (if the verb is a transitive verb) the case of the object changes from the accusative case to the nominative case. Compare (77) and (78). The potential construction is clearly a voice expression. Examples follow.

(77) *Hanako=ga*   *kono*   *hon=o*   *jom-u.*
     (name)=NOM   this   book=ACC   read-NPST
     'Hanako reads/will read this book.'

(78) *Hanako=ni*   *kono* *hon=ga*   *jom-e-ru.*
     (name)=DAT   this   book=NOM   read-POT-NPST
     'Hanako can read this book.'

Now, in Standard Japanese, the MMC with *jo:* expresses inference (as in Mitsukaido). This is a modal expression. (Recall, though, that Aikhenvald (2006) regards evidentiality, including inference, as distinct from modality.) However, the case of the subject does not change. The subject remains in the dative case, e.g. (74), or the nominative case, e.g. (76). There is no alternation in the configuration of the nominal status. That is, according to Klaiman's definition of voice, the MMC with *jo:* does not qualify as a voice phenomenon.

What has been stated above is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Modality and voice in Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect

	Standard Japanese			Mitsukaido dialect	
	potential construction	MMC with =jo:		potential construction	MMC with =jo:
Morphology	verb root-e/-rare	verb=jo:		verb root-e/-rare	verb-NPST =jo:
Semantics	modality (ability)	modality (inference)		modality (ability)	modality (inference)
Voice?	Voice	not voice		Voice	Voice
Case of subject	NOM→DAT	NOM→NOM, DAT→DAT		NOM→EXP	NOM→EXP, LOC→EXP

5.3.5 Person of the subject

In terms of person, there is no restriction on the subject of the MMC with *jo:*. Consider:

(79) *ore/ome/are=ŋanja* *kimono=Ø* *hjkizur-u*
1SG/2SG/3SG=EXP.TOP kimono=ACC trail-NPST
jo:=da.
state=COP.NPST
'It seems that I/you/s/he trail(s) the kimono.'

5.3.6 'Copula'

The 'Copula' of the MMC with *=jo:* 'state' is generally in the non-past form, e.g. (76). It can also be in the past form, e.g.:

(80) *ore=ŋani* *kimono=Ø* *hikizur-u* *jo:=daQ-ta.*
1SG=EXP kimono=ACC trail-NONST state=COP-PST
'It seemed that I was going to trail [my] kimono.'

5.3.6 Clefting

As is the case with the noun-type MMC (5.2.2.3), clefting is possible in MMC with *=jo:* 'state'. (This is shown in Table 2.) That is, it does not obey the Complex NP Constraint. Compare (62) with (81). The predicate noun of the matrix clause in (81), i.e. *ore* '1SG', corresponds to the subject of the 'Clause' in (62).

(81) *mune=Ø* *warug-u* *nar-u*
chest=NOM bad-ADV become-NPST
jo:=na=no=wa *ore=da*
state=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP 1SG=COP.NPST
'It is me who seems to get sick.'

Consider Table 2. Syntactically, specifically regarding the case marking of the subject and clefting, the *jo:*-type MMC is more similar to independent sentences than to ACs. Therefore, it should probably be regarded as mono-clausal, rather than bi-clausal. The same situation is observed in the

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noun-type MMC (5.2.2.3).

5.4 Semantics of the two types of the MMC

We have seen three nouns in 5.2, one adjectival noun in 5.3, and one noun in (53) that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Their semantic aspects are summarized in Table 5. As can be seen, in terms of semantics, they are highly grammaticalized in the MMC.

Table 5. Semantics of the MMC

	Outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
noun *eNŋi*	'origin'	custom
noun *warie:*	'ratio'	'not ordinary'
noun *segi*	'seat'	right to do something
adjectival noun =*jo:*	'state, situation'	inference
noun *zigan*	'time'	'It is time to do'

6. Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC in Mitsukaido differs from that of Standard Japanese in two respects.

First, three nouns, whose cognates do not occupy the 'Noun' slot in the MMC in Standard Japanese, are attested in the 'Noun'. The MMC with the noun *eNŋi* 'origin' indicates custom, while the one with the noun *warie:* 'ratio' means that something is not ordinary. The one with *segi* 'seat' denotes the right to do something.

Second, the MMC with the adjectival noun *jo:* 'state' is both a modal expression and a voice expression. It is a modal expression in that it expresses inference. At the same time it is a voice expression in that, at least when the verb is in the nonpast form, the case of the subject may change: NOM → EXP, and LOC → EXP. In contrast, its Standard Japanese counterpart is a modal expression only. It does not involve any change in the nominal configuration. This shows that these two MMCs with *jo:* differ in their grammatical status, although they both involve the same form: *jo:*.

However, these two types of the MMC are similar to the MMC in Standard Japanese in the following respect. Syntactically, specifically concerning the case marking of the subject and clefting, these two types of the MMC in Mitsukaido are more similar to independent sentences than to ACs, and they should probably considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.4, 6.5) furnishes clear evidence that its MMC is syntactically mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Abbreviations

AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; ADN - adnominal; ADV - adverbial; C - consonant; CONCP - concessive particle; CONCUR - concurrent; DAT - dative; EXP - experiencer case; FP - final particle; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; GER - gerund; INS - instrumental; IRR - irrealis; LT - literal translation; LOC - locative; M - masculine; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negation; NMLZ - nominalizer; NOM - nominative; NPST - non-past; POSS - possessive; POT - potential; PST - past; TOP - topic; V - vowel.

Acknowledgements

Notes
1) Tasaku Tsunoda (p.c.) points out that English *though*, also has two uses: as a conjunction and as a sentence-final particle.
2) I use the data from the Syunyōdō edition of *Tsuchi* published in 1971.
3) Our view on inference and ability is in line with Lyons (1977), who classifies ability under deontic modality and inference under epistemic modality. However, Aikhenvald (2006) regards inference as a type of evidentiality, and evidentiality as a category distinct from modality.

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