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Quasi-mermaid construction in Koryak

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') is as follows:

- (1) Protype of the MMC:
[Clause] Noun Copula

In addition, as Tsunoda (this volume-b) and other papers in the present volume show, there are instances in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic (which may have derived from a noun). There are also instances in which a noun or an enclitic has become a suffix and this suffix continues to occupy the 'Noun' slot. The noun, the enclitic or the suffix in the 'Noun' slot in (1) may be a nominalizer.

Koryak does not have the prototypical MMC. Nonetheless, it exhibits a structure similar to the MMC; the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a suffix, to be precise, a nominalizing suffix. I shall refer to this construction as the Koryak quasi-MMC (QMMC). Its structure can be schematized as follows. 'X' denotes an argument, 'V' a verb and 'Y' an adjunct.

- (2) Koryak Quasi-MMC (QMMC):
 (X) (Y) V + Nominalizing suffix + Person-plus-Number Suffix

Unlike the prototypical structure shown in (1), (2) lacks the ‘Copula’, for Koryak does not have a copula. Also, as word order in Koryak is free, the relative order of the verb, arguments and adjuncts is not fixed.

The QMMC involves the nominalizing suffix *-jolqəl* (hereafter JQ). The words that are formed by means of JQ (JQ-words) have three uses: (i) as an argument in sentences, (ii) as the predicate of adnominal clauses, and (iii) as the predicate of the QMMC.

These three uses of JQ-words exhibit a cline of degree of noun-hood, and conversely, a cline of degree of verb-hood, in the following order: (i) > (ii) > (iii). Among the three uses, JQ-words used in the QMMC show the highest degree of verb-hood. Semantically, the QMMC has a modal meaning, to be precise, a deontic meaning of obligation (‘should’).

The QMMC is similar to the Japanese MMC that employs the enclitic =*no* in the ‘Noun’ slot (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.4). This =*no* may be considered a nominalizer, although it may also be regarded as a non-content noun, the genitive case marker or a complementizer.

It is not known if the JQ suffix is derived from a noun. In this respect, the QMMC differs from those instances of the MMC in some other languages in which the etymology of the suffix in question is known to be a noun (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-a).

2. Initial illustration

As an initial illustration of the QMMC, consider the following examples. Note that in (3) and (4) (intransitive sentences) JQ agrees with the intransitive subject (S), while in (5) and (6) (transitive sentences) it agrees with the object (O). That is, the agreement in the QMMC operates in the ergative pattern (A vs. S/O). In (3), for instance, the gloss ‘2SG.S’ indicates that this JQ-word is in the second person singular and that it agrees with the S (‘2SG.ABS’). (The JQ-word in (4) is intransitive, not transitive, although its English gloss contains the transitive verb *eat*.) Similarly, in (5), for instance, the gloss ‘3SG.O’ indicates that this JQ-word is in the third person singular and that it agrees with the O (‘boy-E-ABS.SG’). Personal pronouns are bracketed off; they are non-obligatory due to the presence of a person-number marker on JQ words (see Section 3).

- (3) (ʏæcci) ecʏi va-jolqəl-eʏe ʏ-enʔici-te
 2SG.ABS today stay-JQ-2SG.S COM-father-COM
 jaja-k.
 house-LOC
 ‘You (SG) should stay home with your father today.’
- (4) (æccu) awje-jolqəl-o awje-ja-k.
 3PL.ABS eat-JQ-3PL.S eat-house-LOC
 ‘They should eat at the buffet’

- (5) *(γəmnan) inʁe ʁajŋaw-jolqəl-Ø qajəkmiŋ-ə-n.*
 1SG.ERG soon call-JQ-3SG.O boy-E-ABS.SG
 ‘I should call the boy soon.’
- (6) *Mitiw (γənan) ŋelvəlʁ-ə-ŋqo*
 tomorrow 2SG.ERG reindeer.herd-E-ABL
jəle-jolqəl-Ø təm-jo-n.
 bring-JQ-3SG.O kill-NMLZ-ABS.SG
 ‘You should bring the killed [reindeer] from the herd tomorrow.’

3. Profile of the language

The Koryak language is a member of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family. It is mainly spoken in the northern part of the Kamchatka Oblast and in the Magadan Oblast along the sea of Okhotsk in Russia. According to the official 2002 Russian census, 2,369 people (27.1% of the total Koryak population) regard Koryak as their native language (RAIPON 2012).

Koryak is characterized by marked dialectal diversity (Zhukova 1968). The present paper deals with the Chawchəvan dialect. All the data presented in the present paper were obtained in elicitation from the spoken language of a single speaker.

The phonemic inventory of the Chawchəvan dialect set up by Kurebito (2004) is as follows. Consonants: /p, t, t', k, q, v, ɣ, ʁ, c, m, n, n', ŋ, l, l', j, w/ and vowels: /i, e, a, o, u, ə/. There is no laryngeal contrast in obstruents. Stops are typically voiceless and fricatives voiced. The symbol [ʔ] denotes palatalization of the dentals. /c/ presents the affricate [tʃ]. Pitch and stress are not distinctive.

Koryak is a polysynthetic language which employs incorporation and a variety of affixes including suffixes, prefixes, and circumfixes. Therefore, Koryak can quite easily create a ‘word’ which would correspond to a ‘sentence’ in less synthetic languages, e.g.:

- (7) *T'-ə-ktep-nal ɣ-ə-t'-ic ʁ-ə-ŋ-ə-k-Ø.*
 1SG.S/A-E-wild.sheep-skin-E-make-coat-E-make-E-1SG.S-PF
 ‘I have made a coat with wild sheep skin.’
- (8) *T'-ə-n'ke-qoja-nomakav-ə-k-Ø.*
 1SG.S/A-E-midnight-reindeer-herd-E-1SG.S-PF
 ‘I have herded the reindeer at midnight.’
- (9) *K-ena-mal-ə-n-kemet ʁ-ə-jp-an-ə-ŋ-Ø.*
 IPF-1SG.O-well-E-CAUS-clothes-E-put.on-CAUS-E-IPF-3SG.S
 ‘He/She is dressing me with clothes.’

Koryak is also agglutinating, double-marking (both dependent-marking and head-marking), and non-configurational. Nouns are marked for both case and number. There are twelve cases: absolutive (-Ø, -n, -ŋa, and reduplication of the stem initial CVC), locative (-k/-kə), instrumental (-e/-a/-te/-ta), dative (-ŋ), allative (-etəŋ/-jtəŋ), prolativ (-epəŋ/-jpəŋ/-ɣəpəŋ), ablative (-ŋqo), contactive (-jite/-eta), causal

(-*kjit/-kjet*), essive (-*u/-o*), comitative (*ye-/ya...-e/-a/-te/-ta*, *yawən...-ma*), and associative (*yejq-/yajq...-e/-a/-te/-ta*). The absolutive case exhibits a three-number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. In other cases, human nouns and proper nouns in a higher position on the animacy hierarchy distinguish between singular and plural.

Case-marking of free NPs follows the ergative pattern (S/O vs. A). There is no special form for the ergative case except in the personal pronouns. Either the locative or the instrumental is employed for the ergative according to the animacy hierarchy (Kurebito 2002).

The relative order of arguments (A, O, S), adjuncts and V is not fixed. Similarly, the relative order of a noun and its modifier is not fixed.

Inflectional categories of intransitive and transitive verbs are shown in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively. Verbs basically inflect according to a combination of tense (future vs. non-future) and aspect (perfect vs. imperfect).

Table 1: Inflection of intransitive *tawjiŋ* ‘cough’ (1SG.S.IND)

Non-future		Future	
Perfect	Resultative	Aorist	
	<i>ya-tawjiŋ-i yəm</i>	<i>t-ə-tawjiŋ-ə-k</i>	<i>t-ə-ja-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ</i>
Imperfect	<i>t-ə-ku-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ</i>		<i>t-ə-ja-tawjiŋ-eke</i>

Table 2: Inflection of transitive *pŋəlo* ‘ask’ (1SG.S/A;3SG.O.IND)

Non-future		Future	
Perfect	Resultative	Aorist	
	<i>ya-pəŋlo-len-Ø</i>	<i>t-ə-pəŋlo-n-Ø</i>	<i>t-ə-ja-pŋəlo-ŋ-ə-n</i>
Imperfect	<i>t-ə-ko-pŋəlo-ŋ</i>		<i>t-ə-ja-pŋəlo-jk-ə-n</i>

Koryak has no traditional orthography of its own. Although a Cyrillic-based orthographic system was introduced in 1930s, it is currently not widespread.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Koryak clauses/sentences may be roughly classified into verb-predicate, noun-predicate, and adjective-predicate clauses/sentences. In each type, the predicate inflects, showing agreement in terms of person-plus-number.

(a) Verb-predicate clauses/sentences

Their predicate agrees with the S (when it is intransitive), e.g. (10), and with both the A and the O (when it is transitive), e.g. (11). For example, the prefix *t-* ‘1SG.S/A’ agrees with the S (‘1SG.ABS’) in (10) and with the A (‘1SG.ERG’) in (11). In addition, *-n* ‘3SG.O’ agrees with the O (‘book-ABS.SG’) in (11). That is, the agreement in verb-predicate sentences

operates in the accusative pattern.

- (10) (*Yəmmo*) *t-ə-ku-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ.*
 1SG.ABS 1SG.S/A-E-IPF-cough-E-IPF
 ‘I am coughing.’
- (11) (*Yəmnan*) *vitku kalikal-Ø t-ekmit-ə-n-Ø.*
 1SG.ERG just book-ABS.SG 1SG.S/A-buy-E-3SG.O-PF
 ‘I have just bought the book.’

(b) Noun-predicate clauses/sentences
 Their predicate (a noun) agrees with the S, e.g. (12).

- (12) (*Yəmmo*) *en’pici-jyəm.*
 1SG.ABS father-1SG.S
 ‘I am a father.’

(c) Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences
 They employ the same agreement markers used in noun-predicate clauses/sentences (and also in the QMMC). An example:

- (13) *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-jyəm.*
 PRP-E-big-E-1SG.TOP
 ‘I am big.’

Koryak does not have any copula, and both noun-predicate clauses/sentences and adjective clauses/sentences lack a copula.

As seen in Section 2, JQ-words can be used as the predicate of the QMMC. In this use, a JQ-word inflects for person-plus-number, as is the case with the predicate of the types of clauses/sentences discussed above. The agreement in the QMMC employs the same agreement markers used in noun-predicate clauses/sentences and adjective-predicate clauses/sentences. That is, it uses suffixes only, and no prefixes. A JQ-word agrees with the S, e.g. (3), (4), (14), or with the O, e.g. (5), (6).

- (14) (*Yəmmo*) *ecyi qəc-colqəl-e-yəm ŋelvəl’-etəŋ.*
 1SG.ABS today go-JQ-1SGS herd-ALL
 ‘I should go to the herd today.’

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

Koryak employs two main strategies to form adnominal clauses (‘ACs’): the participial strategy (4.2.2) and the finite subordinate strategy (4.2.3). A participial clause modifies the S and the O (both in the absolutive case). A finite subordinate clause modifies oblique NPs and possessor nouns, with the help of a relativizer, such as a relative adverb and a relative pronoun. The use of these two strategies exhibits a complementary distribution as per

Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy (AH). See Table 3. Specifically, NPs in a higher position of the hierarchy are modified by a less explicit strategy, namely a participle, and NPs in a lower position are modified by a more explicit strategy, namely a relativizer. (As it stands, the A (ERG) cannot be relativized on. It has to be turned into the S, by means of antipassivization, to be relativized on.)

Table3 Koryak relativization strategies and AH

AH	Explicitness		participle (LH/JQ)	finite: relative adverb	finite: relative pronoun
High ↑ ↓ Low	Less explicit ↑ ↓ More explicit	S	+	-	-
		A	-	-	-
		direct O	-	-	-
		indirect O	?		
		oblique noun	-	+	-
		possessive	-	-	+
		object of comparison	-	-	-

+ acceptable; ? marginally acceptable; - unacceptable.

Koryak has 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs'), but does not seem to have 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs'). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for details of internal and external ACs.) Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside of the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC.

4.2.2 Participial strategy

In this strategy, Koryak mainly employs two nominalizing suffixes to form ACs: *-lʃ* (LH hereafter) and the above mentioned *-jolqəl* ('JQ') (Kurebito 2008a, 2008b). LH is a single suffix, while JQ is a complex suffix which can be further divided into two components: *-jo* and *-lqəl*. *-jo* is a nominalizing suffix that is attached to verbal stems. When it is added to intransitive stems, the resultant nouns refer to the S, e.g. *jeŋa-jo-n* 'one that flies'. When it is suffixed to transitive stems, the resultant nouns refers to the O, e.g. *təm-jo-n* 'one that [someone] killed' (e.g. (6)) (the word-final *-n* is the marker of the absolutive singular). *-lqəl* is a derivational suffix that is added to nominal stems, yielding nouns that mean 'one for future ~', 'material for making ~', 'one that should become ~', e.g. *ja-lqəl-Ø* 'material for building a house', i.e. 'post', and *cawat-ə-lqəl-Ø* 'material for making rope' (the word-final *-Ø* is the marker of the absolutive singular).

Both LH and JQ produce stems that refer to the S or the O. That is, this word formation operates in the ergative pattern. They differ in terms of time reference. To simplify somewhat, LH refers to situations in the present or

the past, e.g. (15), (16), while JQ denotes those in the future, e.g. (17), (18). In the examples below, the head nouns are underlined and the ACs are in brackets. The interjection *ʃamin* is often inserted between the head noun and the AC as the sentence is expanded. It shows the beginning of the AC. It also reminds the hearer of a previously known statement.

- (15) qajəkmiŋ-ə-n, [ʃamin ec yi jaja-k
 boy-E-ABS.SG INTRJ today house-LOC
 ujicv-ə-lʃ-ə-n ya-caket-a]
 play-E-LH-E-3SG.S COM-sister-COM
 ‘the boy who is playing with his sister at home today’
- (16) kalikal, [ʃamin aj yəve qajəkmiŋ-a
 book (ABS.SG) INTRJ yesterday boy-INS(ERG)
 jəlŋ-ə-lʃ-ə-n]
 read-E-LH-E-3SG.O
 ‘the book that the boy read yesterday’
- (17) qajəkmiŋ-ə-n, [ʃamin mitiw
 boy-E-ABS.SG INTRJ tomorrow
 lajv-ə-jolqəl-Ø tənop-etəŋ]
 go-E-JQ-3SG.S hill-ALL
 ‘the boy who is supposed to walk to the hill tomorrow’
- (18) kalikal, [ʃamin mitiw yəmnan
 book(ABS.SG) INTRJ tomorrow 1SG.ERG
 akmec-colqəl-Ø]
 buy-JQ-3SG.O
 ‘the book which I am supposed to buy tomorrow’

(ABS.SG of *kalikal* in (18) is glossed in brackets unlike the glosses given in other nouns, because this is a reduplicated form and cannot morphologically be analyzed clearly. Also *akmec-co-lqəl-Ø* in (18) is the surface form realized from palatalization of the stop *t* by the following *j* at the morpheme boundary of the underlying *ekmit-jo-lqəl-Ø*.)

As noted above, it is something of a simplification to say that LH refers to situations in the past or the present, while JQ denotes those in the future. Consider for example (34) and (37), in which the predicate of the AC involves JQ. The predicate of the main clause is in the perfective in (34) and the resultative in (37). In both, the main clause refers to a situation in the past, and the AC describes a situation that precedes that of the main clause. These examples indicate that it is more accurate to say that JQ refers to (i) a situation that follows the situation described by the main clause and (ii) (where the main clause is absent) a situation in the future. Specifically, JQ may indicate obligation, schedule, expectation (‘be expected to’), or intention. This can be translated as ‘be supposed to’.

4.2.3 Finite subordinate strategy

The verb in ACs is in a finite form.

4.2.3.1 *Relative adverbs*. Relative adverbs are used when oblique nouns are modified, e.g. (19) (*miŋki* ‘where’), (20) (*meŋqo* ‘from where’), and (21) (*tite* ‘when’).

- (19) *wejem-Ø* [*miŋki* *ŋamin* *ajyæve* *yæcci*
 river-ABS.SG where INTRJ yesterday 2SG.ABS
k-eje *ŋo-ŋ-Ø*]
 IPF-fish-IPF-2SG.S
 ‘the river where you fished yesterday.’
- (20) *wejem-Ø* [*ŋamin* *meŋqo* *ano-k*
 river-ABS.SG INTRJ from.where spring-LOC
ŋellə-Ø *mət-ajtala-n-Ø*]
 reindeer.herd-ABS.SG 1PL.S/A-drive-3SG.O-PF
 ‘the river from where we drove the reindeer herd in spring’
- (21) *ŋanen* *yivi-k* [*tite* *Kol’a-Ø*
 that year-LOC when Kol’a-ABS.SG
ye-pl’ətko-lin *kalicit-ə-k*]
 RES-finish-RES+3SG.S learn-E-INF
 ‘in the year when Kol’a finished learning [at school]’

4.2.3.2 *Relative pronoun*. The possessive relative pronoun *mikən* ‘whose’ is used when the possessive is modified.

- (22) *el’ŋa* [*ŋamin* *qun* *mikən* *ŋavakək-Ø*
 woman-ABS.S INTRJ INTRJ whose daughter-ABS.SG
malaw-ja-k *ko-vetat-ə-ŋ-Ø* *doktor-o*]
 cure-house-LOC IPF-work-E-IPF-3SG.S doctor-ESS
 ‘the woman whose daughter works as a doctor at the hospital’

5. Nominalizing suffix JQ

5.1 *Introductory notes*

The nominalizing suffix JQ is attached to verb stems. Resultant words (i.e. JQ words) have three uses: (i) as an argument in sentences (5.2), (ii) as the predicate of adnominal clauses (‘ACs’) (4.2.2, 5.3), and (iii) as the predicate of the QMMC (5.4) (Kurebito 2011a, 2011b). It is useful and truly fascinating to consider all of these three uses of JQ.

5.2 *JQ-words for arguments*

JQ-words can be used as an argument in a sentence.

[1] Meaning and formation of JQ-words

JQ-words used as an argument may indicate obligation, schedule, expectation (‘be expected to’), or intention. This can be glossed as ‘be supposed to’. When attached to an intransitive verb, JQ produces words, specifically nouns, that mean ‘the S who/that is/was supposed to do (Vi)’.

e.g. (23). When attached to a transitive verb, it produces words that mean ‘the O to whom/which someone (the A) is/was supposed to do (Vt) something’, e.g. (24).

- (23) a. *va-jolqəl-Ø*
 stay-JQ-ABS.SG
 ‘a person who is/was supposed to stay’
 b. *va-jolqəl-te*
 stay-JQ-ABS.DU
 ‘two persons who are/were supposed to stay’
 c. *va-jolqəl-o*
 stay-JQ-ABS.PL
 ‘(more than two) persons who are/were supposed to stay’
- (24) a. *tejk-ə-jolqəl-Ø*
 make-E-JQ-ABS.SG
 ‘a thing which [someone] is/was supposed to make’
 b. *tejk-ə-jolqəl-te*
 make-E-JQ-ABS.DU
 ‘(two) things which [someone] is/was supposed to make’
 c. *tejk-ə-jolqəl-o*
 make-E-JQ-ABS.PL
 ‘(more than two) things which [someone] is/was supposed to make’

[2] Case of JQ-words

JQ-words used as an argument inflect for case-plus-number. To the best of my knowledge, their case marking is restricted to the absolutive and the locative cases. (25) is an example of the absolutive for the S. (26) is an example of the absolutive for the O. (27) is an example of the locative. The instrumental case, for example, is not allowed. (28), in which the instrumental case is used for the A (i.e. the ergative case), is not permitted.

- (25) *Taḡataw-jolqəl-Ø* *ecyi ku-jəlqet-ə-ŋ-Ø.*
 get.dressed-JQ-ABS.SG now IPF-sleep-E-IPF-3SG.S
 ‘The one who is supposed to dress himself is still sleeping.’
- (26) *Yəmnan təne-jolqəl-Ø* *t-ə-ntəmŋev-ə-n-Ø.*
 1SG.ERG sew-JQ-ABS.SG 1SG.S/A-E-lose-E-3SG.O-PF
 ‘I lost the one which I was supposed to sew.’
- (27) *Jeŋa-jolqəl-ə-k* *mitiw* *ye-minnine-te.*
 fly-JQ-E-LOC tomorrow IMPR-join-IMPR
 ‘Join the one who is supposed to fly tomorrow.’
- (28) **Jeŋa-jolqəl-a* *na-k-enajej-ye*
 fly-JQ-INS(ERG) INV-IPF-look.for-2SG.O
 ‘The one who is supposed to fly is looking for you.’

[3] The agent argument and adjuncts of JQ-words

Consider:

- (29) *γəm-nin-Ø/*γəmnan* *ʕajɲaw-jolqəl-Ø*
 1SG-GEN-ABS.SG/*1SG.ERG call-JQ-ABS.SG
miɲkəje amu *ye-lq-ə-lin.*
 where probably RES-leave-E-RES+3SG.S
 ‘The one whom I was supposed to call has probably gone
 somewhere.’

(*miɲkəje amu* ‘where probably’ means ‘somewhere’.)

As (29) shows, the A NP of a JQ-word must be in the genitive case, and cannot be in the ergative case. This is an instance of Givón’s (2001: 25) observation that subject and/or object acquire genitive case-marking through nominalization.

(29) exhibits an interesting phenomenon. First, the verb *ʕajɲaw* ‘call’ is transitive. It takes the following case frame: ‘agent-ERG patient-ABS’, e.g.:

- (30) *γəmnan* *ʕojacek-Ø*
 1SG.ERG young.guy-ABS.SG
t-ə ʕajɲav-ə-n-Ø.
 1SG.S/A-E-call-E-3SG.O-PF
 ‘I called a young guy.’

Now, like any other JQ-words, the JQ-word involving this verb can be an argument. Consider (31), in which the JQ-word functions as the subject of an intransitive verb.

- (31) *ʕajɲaw-jolqəl-Ø miɲkəje amu*
 call-JQ-ABS.SG where probably
ye-lq-ə-lin.
 RES-leave-E-RES+3SG.S
 ‘The one whom [someone] was supposed to call has probably
 gone somewhere.’

The NP that would correspond to the agent NP (ERG) can occur in (31). See (29). There are important points to note about (29).

First, the JQ-word functions as an argument.

Second, this argument (involving the verb *ʕajɲaw* ‘call’) in turn has an argument, i.e. the agent NP that refers to the person who is supposed to call.

Third, this verb is transitive, and has the ‘agent-ERG patient-ABS’ case frame in (30). However, in (29) the agent NP cannot occur in the ergative case. It must first take the genitive case suffix (*-nin*), and then a case-plus-number suffix (*-Ø*). The genitive marking is obligatory.

Fourth, the agent NP and the JQ word agree in terms of case-plus-number: ABS.SG.

As for adjuncts, JQ-words can take an oblique noun, e.g. (32) ('Magadan-ALL'). However, temporal adverbs are not permitted; see (33). The reason for this may be that the adverb *mitiw* 'tomorrow' has no overt case suffix.

- (32) *Magadan-etəŋ jeŋa-jolqəl-Ø jeppə ko-tva-ŋ-Ø*
 Magadan-ALL fly-JQ-ABS.SG yet IPF-be-IPF-3SG.S
ŋelvəlʃ-ə-k.
 reindeer.herd-E-LOC
 'The one who is supposed to fly to Magadan is still in the reindeer herd.'
- (33) **Mitiw va-jolqəl-Ø jaja-k ecyi*
 tomorrow be-JQ-ABS.SG house-LOC now
ʃeqev-i-Ø ŋelvəlʃ-ə-k.
 leave-PF-3SG.S reindeer.herd-E-LOC
 'The one who is supposed to stay home tomorrow has left for the reindeer herd.'

5.3 JQ-words for adnominal clauses

JQ-words can be used as the predicate of adnominal clauses ('ACs').

[1] Meaning of JQ-words

As noted in 4.2.2, when a JQ-word is used as the predicate of ACs, it refers to (i) a situation that follows the situation described by the main clause and (ii) — in the absence of a main clause — a situation in the future. Specifically, JQ may indicate obligation, schedule, expectation ('be expected to'), or intention. This can be glossed as 'be supposed to'.

[2] Case of JQ-words

JQ-words used in ACs inflect for case-plus-number. They refer to the S or the O (4.2.2). Here, JQ-words have only one case: the absolutive. In terms of case marking, JQ-words in ACs are more limited than JQ-words used as an argument (5.2); the latter occurs in two cases: absolutive and locative.

[3] The agent argument and adjuncts of JQ-words

Like JQ-words used as arguments, JQ-words used as the predicate of ACs can take an agent NP. Recall that, with the JQ-words used as arguments, the agent NP has to occur in the genitive, and cannot occur in the ergative case; see (29). In contrast, with JQ-words used as the predicate of ACs, the agent NP can be in the ergative case, e.g. (18) (1SG.ERG), (36) (1SG.ERG), (37) ('young.man-INS(ERG)'), although the genitive-plus-absolutive case also rarely occurs, e.g. (34) (1SG.GEN-ABS.SG).

- (34) [*ʃəm-nin-Ø tənə-jolqəl-Ø*]
 1SG-GEN-ABS.SG sew-JQ-ABS.SG
icʃ-ə-n t-ə-ntəmŋev-ə-n-Ø
 fur.coat-E-ABS.SG 1SG.S/A-E-lose-E-3SG.O-PF
 'I have lost the fur coat that I am supposed (or I should) to sew.'

Furthermore, ACs whose predicate is a JQ-word can contain oblique nouns and adverbs (with no overt case suffix). Examples involving an oblique noun include (17) ('hill-ALL'), (33) ('house-LOC'). Those involving an adverb include (17) ('tomorrow'), (18) ('tomorrow'), (35) ('today'), and (36) ('tomorrow'). Examples follow. (The verb in (35) is an intransitive verb, despite its English translation 'clean'. This JQ-word refers to the S ('aunt').

- (35) *æccaj-Ø*, [*ʃamin ecʏi jaja-k*
 aunt-ABS.SG INTRJ today house-LOC
ŋajqætva-jolqəl-Ø
 clean-JQ-ABS.SG
 'the aunt who is supposed to clean at home today'
- (36) *kalikal*, [*ʃamin ɣəmnan mitiw*
 book(ABS.SG) INTRJ 1SG.ERG tomorrow
akmec-colqəl-Ø
 buy-JQ-ABS.SG
 'the book that I should (or, intend to) buy tomorrow'
- (37) *wala-Ø*, [*ʃamin mitiw ʃojacek-a*
 knife-ABS.SG INTRJ tomorrow young.man-INS(ERG)
java-jolqəl-Ø qoja-nm-at-ə-k,
 use-JQ-ABS.SG reindeer-kill-AP-E-CONV
qiŋən ɣa-ntəmŋaw-len-Ø en'pici-te.
 likely RES-lose-RES+3SG.S/A-3SG.O father-INS(ERG)
 'Father is likely to have lost the knife which the man [i.e. herder]
 should use tomorrow when he kills reindeer'

5.4 JQ-words for the QMMC

As mentioned in Section 1, Koryak does not have a construction which exactly conforms to the prototype of the MMC. Nonetheless, it has a variant of the MMC, that is, the quasi-MMC (QMMC). In (38), the schema of Koryak QMMC is shown in more detail than in (2) above.

- (38) Koryak QMMC:
 [(Arguments) (Adjuncts) [V]] + *-jo-lqəl* +
 Person-plus-Number

Main characteristics of the QMMC in Koryak are the following.

- (a) The 'Noun' slot is occupied by the nominalizing suffix JQ, and not by an independent noun. (At this stage of investigation, it is not known if there is any other nominalizing suffix that can be used in the QMMC.)
- (b) The 'Copula' is absent.
- (c) The JQ suffix is followed by a person-plus-number marker, which agrees with the S or the O (Table 4).
- (d) JQ-words used as the predicate of the QMMC do not take any case marking. This is despite the fact that both *-jo* and *-lqəl* are

noun-stem-forming suffixes. In contrast, JQ-words used as an argument and those used as the predicate of ACs inflect for case-plus-number.

(e) With JQ-words used as the predicate of the QMMC, the arguments (A (ERG), S/O (ABS)) and adjuncts (both oblique nouns and adverbs with no overt case suffix) can occur, as is the case with full-fledged sentences. Examples involving an oblique noun include (3) ('young.man-DAT'), (4) ('eat-house-LOC'), (39) ('house-LOC'), and (40) ('herd-ALL'). Examples involving an adverb with no overt suffix include (3) ('today'), (5) ('soon'), (6) ('tomorrow'), and (40) ('today').

(f) The agent NP is consistently marked by the ergative case, e.g. (5) ('1SG.ERG'), as is the case with finite verbs. In contrast, the agent NP must have the GEN-ABS marking with JQ-words used as an argument, and it can be either in the ergative case or, though rarely, the GEN-ABS form with JQ-words used as the predicate of ACs.

A similar phenomenon is observed in Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.3.2.1). In ACs, the subject may be marked by the nominative case or the genitive case. In contrast, in the MMC, as in independent sentences, the subject may be marked by the nominative case, but not by the genitive case.

(g) The QMMC expresses obligation 'should', i.e. a modal meaning, to be precise, a deontic meaning.

As an example, the paradigm of JQ-words derived from the intransitive verb *va-* 'stay' is given in Table 4. Examples of the QMMC include (3) to (6), (39) and (40). Example (39) contains the verb *va-* 'stay'.

Table 4 Paradigm of JQ QMMC derived from the intransitive *va-* 'stay'.

1SG.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-i yəm</i>	'I should stay (should have stayed).'
1DU.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-muji</i>	'We (DU) should stay(should have stayed).'
1PL.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-muju</i>	'We should stay (should have stayed).'
2SG.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-i yi</i>	'You (SG) should stay (should have stayed).'
2DU.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-tuji</i>	'You (DU) should stay (should have stayed).'
2PL.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl -muju</i>	'You (PL) should stay (should have stayed).'
3SG.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-Ø</i>	'He should stay (should have stayed).'
3DU.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-te</i>	'They (DU) should stay (should have stayed).'
3PL.S	<i>va-jo-lqəl-o</i>	'They (PL) should stay (should have stayed).'

- (39) *Ekilu mitiw je-muqe-ju f-ə-ŋ-Ø to*
 if tomorrow FUT-rain-ICH-E-FUT-3SG.S and
ənno jaja-k va-jolqəl-Ø.
 3SG.ABS house-LOC stay-JQ-3SG.S
 'If it starts raining tomorrow, then he should stay home.'
- (40) *yəmmo ec yi qəc-colqəl-e yəm ŋelvəl f-etəŋ.*
 1SG.ABS today go-JQ-1SG.S herd-ALL
 'I should go to the herd today.'

5.5 Comparison of the three uses of JQ-words

We have seen the three uses of JQ: as arguments (5.2), as the predicate of ACs (5.3) and as the predicate of the QMMC (5.4). We shall compare JQ in these three uses with typical nouns and finite verbs. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 5. They constitute a cline in terms of the degree of noun-hood or conversely in terms of the degree of verb-hood.

(a) Typical nouns, JQ-words as arguments and JQ-words used in ACs inflect for case-plus-number. In contrast, JQ-words in the QMMC and finite verbs inflect for person-plus-number.

(b) Typical nouns have eleven cases. Argument JQ-words have two cases: absolutive and locative. JQ-words in ACs have only one case: absolutive. JQ-words used in the QMMC and finite verbs have no case.

(c) An agent NP takes the genitive case suffix with JQ-words as arguments, the ergative or rarely the genitive with JQ-words in ACs, and the ergative in the QMMC and with finite verbs. This criterion is not applicable to typical nouns.

(d) Oblique nouns can occur with JQ-words in ACs, JQ-words in the QMMC and finite verbs. This criterion is not applicable to typical nouns.

(e) Adverbs (with no overt suffix) can occur with JQ-words in ACs, JQ-words in the QMMC, and finite verbs, but not with JQ-words as arguments. This criterion is not applicable to typical nouns.

(f) Finite verbs inflect for modal categories: indicative, imperative, and optative. But JQ-words do not. This criterion is not applicable to typical nouns.

Table 5. Comparison of JQ-words with typical nouns and finite verbs

	noun-hood ←		→ verb-hood		
	typical noun	JQ: argument	JQ: AC	JQ: QMMC	finite verb
(a) agreement	case+ number	case+ number	case+ number	person+ number	person+ number
(b) case	11	2	1	n.a.	n.a.
(c) agent NP	n.a.	GEN-ABS	ERG GEN-ABS	ERG	ERG
(d) oblique noun	n.a.	n.a.	+	+	+
(e) adverb	n.a.	n.a.	+	+	+
(f) modal inflection	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	+
(g) meaning of JQ	n.a.	obligation, schedule, expectation, intention	obligation, schedule, expectation, intention	obligation	n.a.

In terms of the criteria (a) to (f) (though not (g)), Table 5 exhibits a cline of noun-hood, and conversely, a cline of verb-hood. Naturally, typical nouns have a full status as a noun, and finite verbs have a full status as a verb. Among the three uses of JQ-words, JQ-words used as arguments have the highest degree of noun-hood (and the lowest degree of verb-hood), followed by JQ-words used in ACs, which are in turn followed by JQ-words in the QMMC.

We have considered the three uses of JQ-words in terms of noun-hood and verb-hood. We can also look at their degree of sentence-hood. Among the three uses, sentences that contain a JQ-word used as an argument have the lowest degree of sentence-hood, and the QMMC has the highest degree of sentence-hood. In terms of the syntactic criteria, i.e. (a) to (e), the MMC possesses the properties of independent sentences, which contain a finite verb as the predicate.

6. Summary and concluding remarks

The nominalizing JQ suffix produces words that have three uses: (i) as arguments, (ii) as the predicate of ACs, and (iii) as the predicate of the QMMC. These three uses exhibit a decreasing cline of noun-hood, and conversely an increasing degree of verb-hood. Among these three uses, JQ-words in the QMMC have the lowest degree of noun-hood, and the highest degree of verb-hood.

Syntactically the QMMC possesses the properties of independent sentences. Semantically, the QMMC expresses deontic modality: obligation 'should'.

This QMMC is not a prototypical MMC. The 'Copula' is absent. The 'Noun' slot is occupied by a suffix (a nominalizer suffix), and not by a noun. This QMMC is similar to the Japanese MMC that has the enclitic *=no* in the 'Noun' slot. This *=no* may be considered a nominalizer, although it may be a non-content noun, the genitive case marker or a complementizer.

It is not known if the JQ suffix is derived from a noun.

As shown in other chapters of the present volume, there are languages that allow a large number of nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, while there are also languages that allow a very small number of nouns in this slot. The conditioning factor — if there is any — is unknown. I suggest that one possibility is the absence/presence of agreement. Namely, it is possible that languages with agreement allow a very small number of nouns, while those without agreement allow a large number of nouns. However, this is merely conjecture and requires further investigation.

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Abbreviations

A - transitive subject; ABL - ablative; ABS - absolutive; AC - adnominal clause; ALL - allative; ANM - animate; AP - antipassive; ASC - associative; CAUS - causative; COM - comitative ; CONV - converb; COP - copula; DAT - dative; DU - dual; E - epenthesis; ERG - ergative; ESS – essive; FUT - future; GEN - genitive; IMPR- imperative; INH - inchoative; INS - instrumental; INT - intensive; INTRJ - interjection; INV - inverse; IPF - imperfective; LOC - locative; NMLZ - nominalizer; O - object; PF - perfective; PL - plural; PRP – property predication; RECP - reciprocal; RES - resultative; S - intransitive subject; SG - singular; TOP - topic; Vi - intransitive verb; Vt - transitive verb; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

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