

## Case in Japanese dialects

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### 1. Introduction

Japanese dialects have developed several case forms not found in Classical Japanese literature, through the grammaticalization of other grammatical categories such as noun and verb. Thanks to this diachronic development, some traditional dialects exhibit richer case distinctions than Standard Japanese. However, case is a fragile element in the recent history of Japanese dialects, compared to the other grammatical categories. All the Japanese dialects have been undergoing massive influence from Standard Japanese and many grammatical forms characteristic to the regional varieties are in the process of being replaced by the Standard Japanese forms. Verbal categories such as aspect and negation tend to survive standardization, preserving the traditional forms or developing neo-dialectal forms, but case does not exhibit such surviving strategies, as far as I know.

The aim of this presentation is two-fold:

- To provide an overview of the variation of case in Japanese dialects.
  - (i) variation of items (case forms specific to certain regions),
  - (ii) variation of usage (usage of case specific to certain regions) and
  - (iii) variation of case systems
- After providing an overview,
  - To discuss about the controversy of the syntactic status of the NP case-marked with the experiencer-specific case enclitic =*ηani* in Kanto region.
    - Is NP=*ηani* ergative or oblique element?

### 2. Dialectal variation of case expressions

#### 2.1. Variation of case forms

- Variety of expressions for the same grammatical elements
- (1) Rodriguez (1604-08)  
*Kyoo=e      Cikusi=ni      Badoo=sa*  
Kyoto=ALL   Chikushi=DAT   Bando=ALL  
'To Kyoto, to Chikushi, to Bando.'
  - Phonologically identical expression for different grammatical status
- (2) Standard Japanese transitive sentence
    - a. *ozi-san=ga      are=o      yasinat-te      i-ru.*  
Uncle-HON=NOM   that.person=ACC   raise-GER   be-NPST  
'Uncle is raising that person.'
    - b. *sensee=ga      gakusee=o      sikat-ta*  
teacher=NOM   student=ACC   scold.PST  
'The teacher scolded the student.'
  - (3) Tokashiki (Ryukyuan) transitive sentence (zero for accusative, Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 208)  
*?are:      wuntfu:ga      tfikanato:N      [glossing by K.S.]*  
that.person   uncle.NOM   raise.CONT.PST.IND  
'Uncle is raising that person.'

- (4) Mitsukaido dialect (eastern Japanese) transitive sentence (zero for nominative)  
*seNsee gaksee=godo igiN-da* (animate P)  
 teacher student=ACC scold-PST  
 ‘The teacher scolded the student.’

\*) The data from the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese are mainly cited from Sasaki (2004) or supplied from the presenter’s field notes.

## 2.2. Grammaticalization of case enclitics from nouns and verbs

### ● Case enclitics from nouns

- (5) Allative case enclitic =*saN* or =*sa* (Kyushu, Tohoku)  
 According to Kobayashi (2004), this case enclitic was derived from the sequence composed of the nominal suffix denoting direction *-sama* and the dative/locative case enclitic =*ni*, i.e., *-sama=ni*. See the example from *Tales of Genji*.

*nisi-sama=ni owas-uru=wo* (Kagerohu, Tales of Genji)  
 west-direction=LOC go.HON-PTCP=because  
 ‘... because (Kaoru) goes to the western building.’

- (6) Accusative case enclitic =*koto/toko* (Kanto, Tohoku)  
 According to Hidaka (2006) and the literature cited therein, the accusative case particle =*koto/toko* (and its phonetic variants) is derived through grammaticalization of the noun *koto* ‘matter’.

### ● Case enclitics from verbs

- (7) Instrumental case enclitic =*saani* or =*si* in some dialects of Ryukyuan  
 According to Nakamoto (1990), these case enclitics were derived from *s*-irregular verb (SJ, *su-ru* ‘do-NPST’).
- (8) Case enclitic for passive agent =*nika(t)te* (Akita and Aomori)  
 This case particle was derived from the combination of the locative case enclitic =*ni* and the gerundive form of the verb *kakar-* ‘be.caught’.

## 2.3. Combination of two case enclitics: =*gani* and =*ge*

### ● Experiencer case enclitic =*gani* or =*ηani* in Ibaraki, Saitama and Chiba

- (9) =*gani* < =*ga* (possessive) + =*ni* (locative)

### ● Dative case enclitic =*ge* (*lgea*) or =*ηe* in Ibaraki, Saitama and Chiba

- (10) a. =*ge* < (-)*gari* (location suffix or nominal) (Morishita 1971)

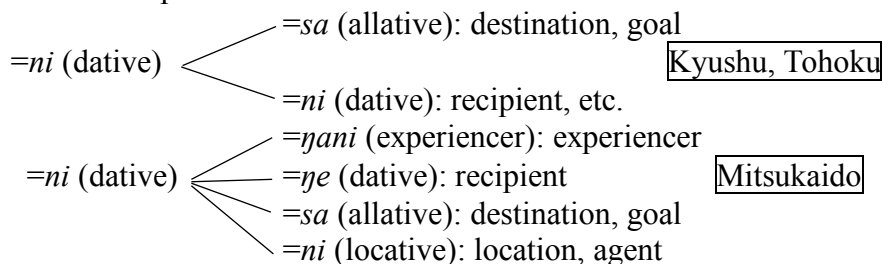
b. =*ge* < =*ga* (possessive) + =*e* (allative) (Inoue 1984)

c. =*ge* < =*ga* (possessive) + (*i*)*e* (home) (Sasaki 2015)

### ● Semantic motivation for the development of new case enclitics

➤ Distinct expression for distinct semantic (thematic) roles

Classical Japanese    Modern traditional dialects



- Clarification of grammatical relation
  - ✧ “Since subjects are typically animate and definite, one kind of direct object that is particularly likely to get a special marker will be animate and/or definite direct object.” (Comrie 1979: 19)

### 3. Variation of usage

#### 3.1. =*kara* for vehicle (Kyushu, Ryukyuan)

The data below are cited from Fujimoto (2002: 191-192), alphabetized by K.S.)

- (11) *kumamoto=karu zjookjoo su-ru* (Kikuchi, Kumamoto)  
*kumamoto=kara zjookjoo su-ru* (SJ)  
 Kumamoto=ABL going.up.to.Tokyo do-NPST  
 ‘(Someone) goes up to Tokyo from Kumamoto.’
- (12) *kuruma=karu kaisja=ni cuukiN su-ru* (Kikuchi, Kumamoto)  
 \**kuruma=kara kaisja=ni cuukiN su-ru* (SJ)  
 car=ABL company=DAT going.to.work do-NPST  
 ‘(Someone) goes to work by car.’
- (13) \**hasi=karu gohaN=ba ku-u* (Kikuchi, Kumamoto)  
 chopsticks=ABL rice=ACC eat-NPST  
 Intended meaning: ‘(Someone) eats rice with chopsticks.’
- Semantic motivation for ablative marking of vehicle: chimeratic role
    - Instrument because it is a means of transfer.
    - Location because it is a location for the loaded and transferred entity.

#### 3.2. =*kara* for passive agent (nationwide)

- (14) *mado jaroko=gara war-addja* (Sagae, Yamagata, from field notes)  
 window boy=ABL break-PASS.PST  
 ‘The window was broken by the boy.’
- Semantic motivation for the ablative case NP as a passive agent marker
    - In localist case theory (Hjelmslev 1935), both ergative (case for agent) and ablative (case for source) bear the feature *éloignement* (“from” or “taking away”).

#### 3.3. =*ga* for nominative and possessive (nationwide)

- (15) *nezumi=ga kore=o yat-ta* (SJ)  
 rat=NOM this=ACC do-PST  
 ‘A rat did this.’
- (16) *nezumi=no siwaza* (SJ)  
 rat=GEN handiwork  
 ‘The rat’s handiwork.’
- (17) *nezumi=ga siwaza* (Mitsukaido, Ibaraki)  
 rat=POSS handiwork (more faithful structure to Classical Japanese than SJ)  
 ‘The rat’s handiwork.’

#### 3.4. Variation of case frames

SJ *oikake-ru* ‘chase’ (NOM, ACC) vs. Nakaniida *oekake-ru* ‘chase’ (NOM, DAT)

- (18) Nakaniida (Miyagi prefecture, Kobayashi 2004, alphabetized by K.S.)  
*usaji=sa oekake-ta*  
 rabbit=ALL chase-PST  
 ‘(Someone) chased a rabbit.’  
 Cf. (SJ) *usagi=o oikake-ta*  
 rabbit=ACC chase-PST  
 SJ *komar-u* ‘be annoyed’ (NOM) vs. Mitsukaido *komar-u* ‘be annoyed’ (EXP)
- (19) Mitsukaido (Ibaraki prefecture)  
*ore=ηani=mo komaN-be=na*  
 1sg=EXP=ADD be.annoyed-INFR=SFP  
 ‘I will be annoyed.’  
 Cf. (SJ) *watasi=mo komar-u=daroo=na*  
 1sg=ADD be.annoyed-NPST=may=SFP
- (20) Surface Case Canon (Shibatani 1977: 807)  
 NOM<sup>n</sup><sub>1</sub> ACC<sup>1</sup><sub>0</sub> DAT<sup>n</sup><sub>0</sub>  
 ✧ Surface Case Canon is valid for SJ.  
 ✧ However, for Mitsukaido (and south-eastern Saitama, see Section 5 below), it is not tenable at least in the original form, because the sentence without nominative NP is not ruled out.  
 ✧ For Mitsukaido, “NOM<sup>n</sup><sub>1</sub>” should be modified as “Subjective Case<sup>n</sup><sub>1</sub>”.  
 ✧ “Subjective Case” includes nominative (NP.Ø) and experiencer (NP=ηani), see Section 4.

#### 4. Variation of case systems

##### 4.1. Accusative (including DOM), marked nominative and active

- Accusative (Both A/S and P are marked)
- (21) SJ and other central Japanese dialects’ transitive sentence  
*neko=ga nezumi=o oikake-ta*  
 Cat=NOM rat=ACC chase-PST  
 ‘A cat chased a rat.’
- (22) SJ and other central Japanese dialects’ intransitive sentence  
*nezumi=ga nige-ta*  
 rat=NOM escape-PST  
 ‘A rat escaped.’
- (23) SJ and other central Japanese dialects’ intransitive sentence  
*neko=ga i-ru*  
 cat=NOM be-NPST  
 ‘A cat stays.’
- Accusative (A, S, inanimate P is unmarked, animate P is morphologically marked.)
- (24) Mitsukaido (south-western Ibaraki) transitive sentence  
*mano garasu waQ-ta* (inanimate P)  
 grandchild glass break-PST  
 ‘(My) grandchild broke the glass.’
- (25) Mitsukaido (south-western Ibaraki) transitive sentence  
*seNsee gaksee=godo igiN-da* (animate P)  
 teacher student=ACC scold-PST  
 ‘The teacher scolded the student.’

- (26) Mitsukaido (south-western Ibaraki) intransitive sentence  
*are hadarae-de-ru*  
 3sg work-GER.be-NPST  
 ‘S/he is working.’
- (27) Mitsukaido (south-western Ibaraki) intransitive sentence  
*oja haja-gu siN-da*  
 parent early-INFdie-PST  
 ‘The parents died early.’

Table 1. Conditions for Differential Object Marking

|                 |           |                        |           |              |
|-----------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Mitsukaido      |           | Sendai (Tamagake 2002) |           |              |
| Animate         | Inanimate | Animate                | Inanimate |              |
| NP= <i>godo</i> | NP.Ø      | NP.Ø                   | NP.Ø      | Non-specific |
|                 |           | NP= <i>dogo</i>        | NP.Ø      | Specific     |

- Marked nominative: A=S (NP.*ga/nu*), P (NP.Ø)
- (28) Tokashiki (Ryukyuan) transitive sentence (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 282)  
*ʔare: wuntʃu:ga ʃfikanato:N* [glossing by K.S.]  
 that.person uncle.NOM raise.CONT.PST.IND  
 ‘Uncle is raising that person.’
- (29) Tokashiki (Ryukyuan) intransitive sentence (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 282)  
*dʒiru:ga ʃfo:sa* [glossing by K.S.]  
 Ziro.NOM come.CONT.SFP  
 ‘Ziro has come.’
- (30) Tokashiki (Ryukyuan) transitive sentence (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 283)  
*ja:ja dʒinannu ndʒuN* [glossing by K.S.]  
 house.TOP second.son.NOM look.at.NPST  
 ‘The second son looks at the house.’
- (31) Tokashiki (Ryukyuan) intransitive sentence (Uchima and Arakaki 2000: 283)  
*ʔuttunu ʃataratʃo:N* [glossing by K.S.]  
 younger.brother.NOM work.CONT.NPST.IND  
 ‘The young brother is working.’
- Active: A=S<sub>A</sub> (NP=*ga*), S<sub>P</sub> (NP=*no*), P (NP=*ba*)
- (32) Kumamoto transitive sentence (Sakai 2013)  
*doroboo={ga/\*no} mado=ba wat-ta*  
 thief=NOM window=ACC break-PST  
 ‘A thief broke the window.’
- (33) Kumamoto intransitive (unergative) sentence (Sakai 2013)  
*doroboo={ga/\*no} ie=saN hait-ta*  
 thief=NOM house=ALL enter-PST  
 ‘A thief entered the house.’
- (34) Kumamoto intransitive (unaccusative) sentence (Sakai 2013)  
*doroboo={\*ga/no} or-u*  
 thief=NOM exist-NPST  
 ‘There’s a thief.’

#### 4.2. Formal distinction of subject and object in oblique elements

- (35) Mitsukaido (south-western Ibaraki) case system (partial)  
 Nominative: NP.Ø, Accusative: NP=*godo* (animate) ~ NP.Ø (inanimate), Dative: NP=*ηe*, Experiencer: NP=*ηani*, Locative: NP=*ni*, Allative: NP=*sa*
- (36) Recipient marked with =*ηe*  
*maηo=ηe kotskee jar-u.*  
 grandchild=DAT pocket.money give-NPST  
 ‘(S/he) gives pocket money to her/his grandchild.’
- (37) Experiencer marked with =*ηani*  
*ore=ηani eeηo wagaN-nee*  
 1sg=EXP English understand-NEG  
 ‘I cannot understand English.’
- Syntactic properties of subject and object (transitive subject as subject prototype)
    - [*e*] stands for a missing subject of the subordinate clause, denoting both anaphorically controlled and functionally controlled subjects in the sense of Bresnan (1982).
- (38) Subject as an antecedent of reflexive pronoun  
*are<sub>i</sub> zibuN<sub>i</sub>=no seηare=godo buQkurasi-ta*  
 3sg self=GEN son=ACC beat-PST  
 ‘S/he beat her/his own son.’
- (39) Subject as a controller for the missing subject of the adverbial clause  
*ora<sub>i</sub> [[e]<sub>i</sub> arug-i-naηara] paN kuQ-ta*  
 1sg.TOP walk-INF-while bread eat-PST  
 ‘I ate bread while walking.’
- (40) Subject as a controlled element in bi-clausal (benefactive) construction
- a. *maηo siNbuN joN-da*  
 grandchild newspaper read-PST  
 ‘The grandchild read a newspaper.’
  - b. *ora maηo<sub>i</sub>=ni [[e]<sub>i</sub> siNbuN joN-de] moraQ-ta*  
 1sg.TOP grandchild=LOC newspaper read-GER receive-PST  
 ‘I was benefitted from my grandchild’s reading of a newspaper.’
- (41) Subject as a controlled element in bi-clausal (causative) construction
- a. *seηare eeηo naraa.*  
 son English learn.NPST  
 ‘(My) son studies English.’
  - b. *seηare<sub>i</sub>=ηe [[e]<sub>i</sub> eeηo nara]-ase-da*  
 son=DAT English learn-CAUS-PST  
 ‘(I) made my son study English.’
- (42) Direct object as an element promoting to subject in direct passive
- a. *seNsee gaksee=godo igiN-da*  
 teacher student=ACC scold-PST  
 ‘The teacher scolded the student.’
  - b. *gaksee seNsee=ni igim-are-da*  
 student teacher=LOC scold-PASS-PST  
 ‘The student was scolded by the teacher.’

Subject properties of NP=*ηani*

- (43) NP=*ηani* as an antecedent of reflexive pronoun  
*are<sub>i</sub>=ηanja zibuN<sub>i</sub>=no megada wagaN-me.*  
 3sg=EXP.TOP self=GEN weight understand-NEG.INFR  
 ‘S/he may not know her/his own weight.’
- (44) NP=*ηani* as a controller for the missing subject of the adverbial clause  
*are<sub>i</sub>=ηanja [[e]<sub>i</sub> ame name-nanara] ojog-e-ru.*  
 3sg=EXP.TOP candy lick.INF-while swim-POT-NPST  
 ‘S/he can swim while licking a candy.’
- (45) NP=*ηani* as a controlled element in bi-clausal (benefactive) construction  
*ome<sub>i</sub>=ni [[e]<sub>i</sub> wagaQ-te] moraa=no muri=ge?*  
 2sg=LOC understand-GER receive.NPST=NMLZ impossible=Q  
 ‘Is it impossible for you to understand me.’
- (46) NP=*ηani* as a controlled element in bi-clausal (causative) construction  
*are<sub>i</sub>={ηe/\*ηani} [[e]<sub>i</sub> moNdae wagar]-ase-N=no*  
 3sg=DAT/\*EXP problem understand-CAUS-NPST=NMLZ  
*teeheN=da*  
 hard=COP.NPST  
 ‘It is hard to make her/him understand the problem.’

Object property of NP=*ηe*

- (47) Element promoting to direct passive subject
- a. *maηo ore=ηe neNgazjoo oguQ-ta*  
 grandchild 1sg=DAT new.year.card send-PST  
 ‘(My) grandchild sent me a New Year card.’
- b. *ora maηo=ni neNgazjoo ogur-are-da*  
 1sg.TOP grandchild=LOC new.year.card send-PASS-PST  
 ‘I was sent a New Year card by (my) grandchild.’
- (48) Element promoting to direct passive subject
- a. *seηare ore=ηe soodaN sj-ta*  
 son 1sg=DAT consultation do-PST  
 ‘(My) son consulted me.’
- b. *ora seηare=ni soodaN s-are-da*  
 1sg.TOP son=LOC consultation do-PASS-PST  
 ‘I was consulted by (my) son.’

● Syntactic property shared with other oblique elements: Quantifier float

Table 2. Quantifier float in the Mitsukaido dialect

|                  | NOM | ACC | EXP | DAT | LOC |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Quantifier Float | yes | yes | no  | no  | no  |

- (49) Subject can launch floating quantifiers, Locative NP cannot.  
*kodomo-ra<sub>i</sub> seNsee-dazi<sub>j</sub>=ni saN-niN<sub>i/\*j</sub> kagezaN osaQ-ta*  
 child-PL teacher-PL=LOC 3-person multiplication learn-PST  
 ‘3 children are learning multiplication from the teacher.’
- (50) Direct object can launch floating quantifier.  
*nego nezumi<sub>i</sub>=godo saN-pjki<sub>i</sub> kuQ-ta*  
 cat rat=ACC 3-animal eat-PST  
 ‘The cat ate 3 rats.’

- (51) NP=*ηani* cannot launch floating quantifier.  
 \**kinoo kj-ta h̄jto-ra<sub>i</sub>=ηani saN-niN wagaN-ne-gaQta*  
 yesterday come-PST person-PL=EXP 3-person understand-NEG-PST  
 Cf. *kinoo kj-ta h̄jto-ra saN-niN=ηani wagaN-ne-gaQta*  
 yesterday come-PST person-PL 3-person=EXP understand-NEG-PST  
 ‘The three persons who came yesterday didn’t understand (that).’
- (52) NP=*ηe* cannot launch floating quantifier.  
 \**mano<sub>i</sub>=ηe saN-niN<sub>i</sub> ame jaQ-ta*  
 Grandchild=DAT 3-person candy give-PST  
 Intended meaning: ‘I gave candies to three grandchildren.’

Table 3. Formal distinction of subject and object in oblique elements

|         | Mitsukaido      |                           | Standard Japanese |              |
|---------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
|         | Subject         | Object                    | Subject           | Object       |
| Direct  | NP.∅            | NP= <i>godo</i> (animate) | NP= <i>ga</i>     | NP= <i>o</i> |
| Oblique | NP= <i>ηani</i> | NP= <i>ηe</i>             | NP= <i>ni</i>     |              |

### 5. Ergative or oblique experiencer?: =*gani* in Kanto region

- Ergative analysis advocated by Harada (2016)
- (53) South-eastern Saitama case system (partial)  
 Nominative: NP.∅~NP=*ηa*, Accusative: NP=*koto* (animate) ~ NP.∅ (inanimate),  
 Dative: NP=*ηe*, “Ergative”: NP=*ηani*, Locative: NP=*ni*
- Sentences with “ergative” NP (stative)
- (54) *ore=ηani o-kane=ηa ar-u* (Possession)  
 1sg=ERG HON-money=NOM exist-NPST  
 ‘I have (a lot of) money.’
- (55) *jacu=ηani=wa o-kane=ηa ir-u.* (Necessity)  
 3sg=ERG=TOP HON-money=NOM be.necessary-NPST  
 ‘S/he needs money.’
- (56) *ore=ηani=wa omae=ηa wakar-ana-i.* (Potential, lexical)  
 1sg=ERG=TOP 2sg=NOM understand-NEG=NPST  
 ‘I cannot understand you.’
- (57) *ore=ηani ik-e-reba ii=no=dakeredo...* (Potential, derived)  
 1sg=ERG go-POT-COND good.NPST=NMLZ=although  
 ‘... if I can go.’
- (58) *ore=ηani eeηo=ηa muzukasii* (Difficulty)  
 1sg=ERG English=NOM be.difficult.NPST  
 ‘English is difficult for me.’
- (59) *taroo=ηani=wa neko=ηa kai-ta-kaQta=mita-i=da* (Desiderative)  
 Taro=ERG=TOP cat=NOM have-DES-PST=look.as.if-NPST=COP.NPST  
 ‘Taro looks as if he would like to have a cat.’
- Subject properties of NP=*ηani* in south-eastern Saitama
- (60) Antecedent of reflexive pronoun  
*jacu<sub>i</sub>=ηani=wa zibuN<sub>i</sub>=ηa wakara-na-ku naQ-te=i-ru*  
 3sg=ERG=TOP self=NOM understand-NEG-INF become-GER=be-NPST  
 ‘S/he didn’t come to understand herself/himself.’



- (61) Target of subject-oriented anti-honorific expression  
*jacu=ηani=wa ore=ηa wakaQ-te=ijagaQ-ta*  
 3sg=ERG=TOP 1sg=NOM understand-GER=ANTI.HON-PST  
 ‘S/he turned out not to understand himself/herself.’

Harada (2016: 199) argues that

In the 2-place stative sentences, the object is case-marked with *=ηa* as the subject of intransitive verbs and 1-place stative verbs. Linguistically, this is an ergative phenomenon. Prototypical transitive sentences exhibit the accusative pattern, taking the case alignment “NP=*ηa* NP=*koto* Vt”. Thus, concerning 2-place predicates [sentences, K.S.], the south-eastern Saitama dialect can be regarded as a language exhibiting “split case marking”. (Translation by K.S.)

Cf. The subject of 2-place stative sentences is case-marked with *=ηani*.

However, ...

- Semantic tendency of crosslinguistically attested ergative (Dixon 1994: 70-110)

- Verb meaning: Ergative is used for the subject of verbs denoting action.

Table 4. Tsunoda’s (1981) (2-place) verb type hierarchy rearranged by K.S.

|                  | 1<br>effect | 2<br>perception | 3<br>pursuit | 4<br>knowledge | 5<br>feeling | 6<br>possession |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Georgian         | ERG-ABS     | ERG-ABS         |              |                |              |                 |
| Avar             | ERG-ABS     | ERG-ABS         | ERG-ABS      |                |              |                 |
| Tongan           | ERG-ABS     | ERG-ABS         | ERG-ABS      | ERG-ABS        | ERG-ABS      |                 |
| Djaru,<br>Basque | ERG-ABS     | ERG-ABS         | ERG-ABS      | ERG-ABS        | ERG-ABS      | ERG-ABS         |

- ◇ NP=*gani* co-occurs with stative predicates.

- NP hierarchy: The distribution of ergative case extends from right to left on the NP hierarchy (Silverstein 1976) when the split case-marking is conditioned by the semantic nature of NPs.

NP hierarchy (simplified version)

2<sup>nd</sup> person 1<sup>st</sup> person 3<sup>rd</sup> person human animate inanimate  
 ACC ----->

<-----ERG

- ◇ The distribution of NP=*ηani* is limited to the leftside, from pronouns to animate nouns, of the NP hierarchy.

- Tense/aspect/mood: In the tense/aspect/mood based split ergative systems, ergative case appears in the past tense rather than present tense, and in perfective aspect rather than non-perfect aspect.

- ◇ There is no tense/aspect restriction on the appearance of NP=*ηani*.

- Subordination: In some languages, the ergative case is used not in the matrix clause but in subordinate clauses, especially relative clauses.

- ◇ There is no clausal restriction on the appearance of NP=*ηani*

- Semantic properties of NP=*ηani* contradict the crosslinguistic semantic tendency of ergative NP.
- Ergative is not the sole case for morphologically marked subjects.
- Oblique experiencer is also a morphologically marked subject.
  - In most languages with oblique experiencer constructions, the case used for

oblique experiencer, such as dative, genitive and locative, has a usage other than oblique experiencer, such as indirect object (dative), possessor (genitive) and location (locative).

- Semantic affinity of oblique experiencer and NP=*ɣani*
  - ✧ Oblique experiencers tend to appear in stative constructions.
  - ✧ Semantic role of oblique experiencer is experiencer in most cases. Experiencer is an animate noun by definition.
- Godoberi (Kibrik 1996), an ergative language, has a case specific for oblique experiencer, affected case.

(62) Grammatical cases in Godoberi (Kibrik 1996: 16)

Nominative (absolutive):  $\emptyset$ , Ergative: *-di*,

Genitive: *-Li*, Dative: *-li*, Affected: *-ra*

- ✧ Transitive subject is case-marked in ergative, indirect object in dative and oblique experiencer in affected case.
- ✧ In Godoberi, ergative (transitive subject) and oblique experiencer are case-marked differently.

(63) *den b=aXi waš-u-li quča* (p.79)

I.ERG N=buy.PST son-OBL-DAT book

‘I bought my son a book.’

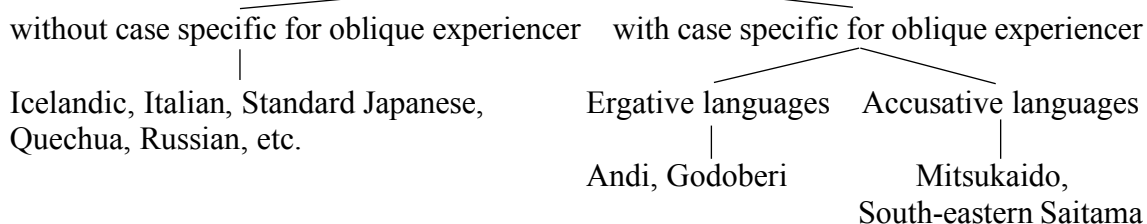
(64) *ʒali di-ra w=oʒuč-a-da* (p.80)

Ali I.OBL-AFF M=forget.PST-CONV-COP

‘I forgot Ali.’

- Both ergative subject and oblique experiencer are morphologically marked subjects.
- Ergative subject and oblique experiencer are different entities not only syntactically but also morphologically.
- NP=*ɣani* is not an ergative NP but an oblique experiencer comparable to the affected case NP in Godoberi.

(65) Languages with oblique experiencer constructions



- Theoretical implication: there are languages where Inversion analysis for oblique experiencer, advocated by Perlmutter (1979), is not applicable.
  - Inversion analysis: oblique experiencer is analyzed as “initial” subject and “final” indirect object.
  - In languages like Godoberi and Mitsukaido Japanese, Inversion analysis is not applicable because oblique experiencers are not indirect object in any sense.

## 6. Concluding remarks

- Fragileness of dialectal case marking
  - Questionnaire research conducted to Joso city junior high school students in 2009.
  - Joso city was formed through merger of Mitsukaido city and Ishige town.

- Proportion of use of traditional case enclitics is almost half of that of traditional verb morphology.
- Traditional dialect case enclitics are replaced with SJ case enclitics more rapidly than traditional verb morphology.

Table 5. Traditional verb morphology

| Traditional dialectal forms                         | Use   | Knowledge |
|---|-------|-----------|
| <i>home-rase-ru</i> ‘praise-CAUS-NPST’              | 7.8%  | 25.4%     |
| <i>age-rase-ru</i> ‘lift-CAUS-NPST’                 | 8.7%  | 35.9%     |
| <i>ki-na-i</i> ‘come.INF-NEG-NPST’                  | 8.3%  | 51.8%     |
| ( <i>ame</i> ) <i>huQ-pe</i> ‘fall-INFR’            | 25.9% | 85.2%     |
| ( <i>ame</i> ) <i>huN-be</i> ‘fall-INFR’            | 10.1% | 69.7%     |
| ( <i>ame</i> ) <i>hur-u-be</i> ‘fall-NPST-INFR’     | 25.1% | 85.1%     |
| ( <i>ame</i> ) <i>hura-me</i> ‘fall.IRR-NEG.INFR’   | 13.8% | 73.0%     |
| ( <i>ame</i> ) <i>hur-u-me</i> ‘fall-NPST-NEG.INFR’ | 2.5%  | 37.2%     |
| Average   | 12.8% | 57.9%     |

Table 6. Case enclitics of the traditional Mitsukaido dialect

| Traditional dialectal forms                                    | Use   | Knowledge |
|--|-------|-----------|
| <i>zii=godo okos-u-be=ka</i> ‘Should I wake up grandfather?’   | 9.5%  | 50.8%     |
| <i>ome=ne jaQ-te og-u-be</i> ‘I will give you all my money.’   | 1.6%  | 31.6%     |
| <i>toQca-ra=nanja wakar-u=moNka</i> ‘Father cannot understand’ | 0.9%  | 28.2%     |
| <i>kinu-nawa=sa ig-u</i> ‘(S/he) goes to Kinu river.’          | 12.9% | 77.9%     |
| <i>zii=na sado</i> ‘grandfather’s sugar’                       | 6.6%  | 37.9%     |
| <i>kono soba=na koja</i> ‘cabin nearby’                        | 4.4%  | 29.6%     |
| Average  | 6.0%  | 42.7%     |

- “Neo-dialectal” forms (Sanada 1987)
  - Verb morphology of negation in Kinki region
    - ✧ *koo-heN* ‘doesn’t come’ < {*hii-hiN*, *kee-heN*} + *ko-na-i* (SJ)
  - No “neo-dialectal” forms for case morphology
- Description of forms and usages of dialectal case morphology is urgent requirement.

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