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Mermaid construction in Modern Japanese

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Mermaid construction in Modern Japanese

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1. Introduction

Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction (‘MMC’) has the following three properties.

- (a) It has the structure shown in (1).
- (b) The subject of the ‘Clause’ and the ‘Noun’ are not coreferential.
- (c) The ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself.

- (1) Prototype of the mermaid construction (‘MMC’):
[Clause] Noun Copula.

In (1) and also in the examples that follow, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC is shown by means of square brackets.

The MMC abounds in Japanese. It is used frequently, and at least 106 nouns are attested in the ‘Noun’ slot. (In fact, the prototype proposed above is based on the Japanese MMC.) Despite this, it was not until Tasaku Tsunoda (1996) was published that the MMC was recognized as a distinct construction.

The ‘Copula’ slot is generally occupied by the copula. Alternatively, it may be occupied by a variant of the copula.

The ‘Clause’ can be a verb-predicate clause, an adjective-predicate clause, or a noun-predicate clause (accompanied by the copula).

The ‘Noun’ slot is generally occupied by a noun; this is a prototypical MMC. It may also be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix; this is not a prototypical MMC.

The ‘Clause’ can be used by itself as an independent sentence, except when the predicate of the ‘Clause’ is a *na*-adjective (also called ‘adjectival noun’).

In terms of syntax, the ‘Clause’ exhibits the same behaviour as that of independent sentences. The MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot have undergone grammaticalization, to varying degrees. Syntactically, they do not have the full status of a noun. Morphologically, there is evidence for the following diachronic changes:

word -> enclitic -> suffix -> merger

Semantically, nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot often have a meaning different from that which they have when used outside the MMC. They may have a meaning such as modal, evidential, aspectual, and temporal. They may also have a stylistic effect or a discourse-related function. Some nouns have acquired the use as ‘a final postposition’, ‘a modal postposition’, or a conjunction.

2. Initial illustration

Three examples of the MMC are given below.

- (2) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
LT: ‘Hanako is a plan [such that she] goes/will go to Nagoya.’
FT: ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (3) [*Hanako=wa hon=o yon-de i-ru*]
Hanako=TOP book=ACC read-GER be-NPST
tokoro=da.
place=COP.NPST

LT: 'Hanako is a place [such that she] is reading a book.'

FT: 'Hanako is reading a book.'

- (4) [Soto=*de*=*wa* *ame*=*ga* *hutu*-*te* *i-ru*]
outside=LOC/INS=TOP rain=NOM fall-GER be-NPST
moyoo=*da*.
appearance=COP.NPST

LT: 'As for the outside, the rain is an appearance [such that it] is falling.'

FT: 'It appears/seems to be raining outside.'

3. Profile of the language

Japanese is mainly spoken on the Japanese archipelago. It has more than 100 million speakers. Its genetic affiliation is not known.

The following typological profile of Japanese concerns the so-called Standard Japanese, which is largely based on the Tokyo dialect.

The following phonemes can be set up, depending on the analysis adopted: /p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, s, z, h, r, y, w, a, i, u, e, o/. (Examples and Japanese technical terms will be written in the Romanization system called *Kunree-siki*. In glosses and the main text, however, place names and personal names will be written in the Romanization system called *Hebon-siki* 'Hepburn style'. *Kunree-siki* is largely phonemic, while *Hebon-siki* is less so. It is a common practice to use *Hebon-siki* for names.) Pitch accent is phonologically significant.

Japanese is agglutinating. It employs both suffixes and prefixes. It is largely dependent-marking. In my view at least, it is mildly configurational.

It is clear that Japanese has enclitics, which are intermediate between (free) words and (bound) suffixes. Nonetheless, it is not a straightforward matter to identify them. In the present work, I regard a fair number of forms as enclitics, but this assignment is highly tentative. (What I tentatively consider enclitics are shown by means of a preceding equal symbol.)

Some of the forms that have been traditionally regarded as words in studies of Japanese may be analyzed as enclitics. This applies to the forms that are traditionally called *zyosi*. They are tentatively classified as follows (tentative English translations by me are added).

- (a) Postposition: *kakuzyosi* ('case postposition'), *hukuzyosi* ('modal postposition'), *syuuzyosi* ('final postposition').
(b) Conjunction: *setuzokuzyosi*.

Case-marking employs case postpositions. The case system is of the nominative-accusative type: =*ga* 'NOM' marks the A and the S, while =*o* 'ACC' indicates the O.

The verb-final order is preferred: AOV and SV. A demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective, and an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) precede the noun they modify.

There is no article, such as the English *the* and *a*. In the present paper, English translations of Japanese examples will select the article that seems appropriate in the context.

Table 1. Conjugation of verbs, adjectives and the copula

	verb		<i>i</i> -adjective	
	‘lend’		‘high’	
finite forms				
past	<i>kas-i-ta</i>		<i>taka-k-at-ta</i>	
nonpast	<i>kas-u</i>		<i>taka-i</i>	
imperative	<i>kas-e</i>		(none)	
intentional	<i>kas-oo</i>		(none)	
nonfinite forms				
infinitive	<i>kas-i</i>		<i>taka-k-u</i>	
gerund	<i>kas-i-te</i>		<i>taka-k-u-te</i>	
concurrent	<i>kas-i-nagara</i>		(none)	
adnominal	<i>kas-u</i>		<i>taka-i</i>	
	<i>na</i> -adjective		copula	
	‘healthy, well’			
finite forms				
past	<i>genki=da-t-ta</i>		<i>=da-t-ta</i>	
nonpast	<i>genki=da</i>	(neutral)	<i>=da</i>	(neutral)
	<i>genki=de ar-u</i>	(formal)	<i>=de ar-u</i>	(formal)
imperative	(none)		(none)	
intentional	(none)		(none)	
nonfinite forms				
infinitive	<i>genki=ni</i>		<i>=ni</i>	
gerund	<i>genki=de</i>		<i>=de</i>	
concurrent	(none)		(none)	
adnominal	<i>genki=na</i> (nonpast only)		<i>(=na)</i>	

Table 1 shows portions of the conjugation of verbs, adjectives and the copula *=da*. (The terms ‘infinitive’ and ‘gerund’ are adopted from Frellesvig (2010).) Adjectives are of two types: *i*-adjective and *na*-adjective (also known as adjectival noun). *I*-adjectives end in *-i* in the nonpast, while *na*-adjectives end in *-na* in their adnominal form. Morphological analysis of the conjugation in Japanese is highly problematic, and the analysis shown in Table 1 is tentative. The following account is somewhat simplified. Also,

excessive details of the morphology are not necessary for the purpose of the present chapter. Therefore, in some of the examples, segmentation of inflectional suffixes is simplified.

Na-adjectives and the copula have a distinct adnominal form (both involving =*na*). (This is important in the discussion of the characteristics of the MMC (5.3.2.2-[4], 6.2.3, 6.4).) (However, the use of the adnominal form of the copula is severely limited, hence parenthesized in Table 1. An exceptional example is (272).) For *i*-adjectives and verbs, the adnominal form is identical with the nonpast form. The use of the nonpast and the adnominal forms will be discussed in 4.2.1.1.

Japanese has a number of styles, e.g. neutral (or plain), formal, and polite. The forms in Table 1 are used in the neutral style, except for the two instances of the formal style: one of the nonpast forms of *na*-adjectives and the copula. They involve =*de ar-u* ‘=GER be-NPST’. Examples of the polite style (not listed in Table 1) include *ik-i-mas-u* ‘go-LINK-POL-NPST’ in (60).

Japanese has a long history of literary tradition. There is some difference between the spoken language and the written language. The examples cited below are largely taken from the written language, e.g. newspaper articles, but a few examples are taken from the spoken language.

The present paper considers the MMC in the so-called Standard Japanese of Modern Japanese. Sasaki (this volume) examines the MMC in Mitsukaido dialect (about 50 km north of Tokyo), and Miyachi (this volume) the MMC in Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

The following three types of clauses/sentences can be recognized.

- (a) Verb-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (5).
- (b) Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (6) (involving an *i*-adjective), (7) (involving a *na*-adjective).
- (c) Noun-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (8).

- (5) *Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u.*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
‘Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya.’
- (6) *Sora=ga kura-i.*
sky=NOM dark-NPST
‘The sky is dark.’
- (7) *Hanako=wa genki=da.*
Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST
‘Hanako is well.’

- (8) *Hanako=wa isya=da.*
 Hanako=TOP medical.doctor=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako is a medical doctor.’

The predicate in noun-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (8), involves the copula. I tentatively consider the copula an enclitic (indicated by a preceding equal symbol).

In addition to (a), (b), and (c), Minami (1993: 53, 60-61) sets up the following type.

- (d) *Gizi-meesi-zyutugo-bun* (‘quasi-noun-predicate clauses/sentences’).
 (d-1), e.g. (9), (10).
 (d-2) *Unagi-bun* (‘eel clauses/sentences’), e.g. (11), (12).

The subtype (d-1) typically involves a noun of Chinese origin that describes an action or the like. Examples:

- (9) *Hanako=wa asita syuppatu=da.*
 Hanako=TOP tomorrow departure=COP.NPST
 LT: ‘Hanako is a departure tomorrow.’
 FT: ‘Hanako will depart tomorrow.’
- (10) *Densya=wa go-zi=ni tootyaku=da.*
 train=TOP five-hour=DAT/LOC arrival=COP.NPST
 LT: ‘The train is an arrival at five o’clock.’
 FT: ‘The train will arrive at five o’clock.’

(See (177) and (178) for the formation of sentences such as (9) and (10).)

The label *unagi-bun* ‘eel sentence’ is due to Okutsu (1978). A typical example is (11). An additional example is (12).

- (11) (At a restaurant, a waiter/waitress asks a group of guests, ‘What would you like to have?’ One of the guests replies as follows.)
Watasi=wa unagi=da.
 1SG=TOP eel=COP.NPST
 LT: ‘I am an eel.’
 FT: ‘I will have/order an eel dish.’
- (12) (Person A says ‘I am going to Nagoya’, and Person B says:)
Watasi=wa Sendai=da.
 1SG=TOP Sendai=COP.NPST
 LT: ‘I am Sendai.’
 FT: ‘I am going to Sendai.’

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 *Introductory notes.* Adnominal clauses (hereafter often abbreviated as ‘ACs’) (or relative clauses) in Japanese do not involve any relative

pronoun. They precede the noun they modify. The formation of ACs generally employs the gap strategy, with a few exceptions. (In the examples below, the AC is indicated by means of an underline.)

In ACs, only the past form, the nonpast form, and the adnominal form can be used. The use/non-use of these forms is as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Past, nonpast and adnominal forms in adnominal clauses

	past form	nonpast form	adnominal form
verb	+ e.g. (20), (21)	+* e.g. (29), (31)	+* e.g. (29), (31)
<i>i</i> -adjective	+	+* e.g. (112)	+* e.g. (112)
<i>na</i> -adjective	+	- (=da) (neutral) cf. (13) + (=de ar-u)** (formal) e.g. (14)	+ (=na) e.g. (15) + (=de ar-u)** (formal) e.g. (14)
copula	+	- (=da) cf. (16) + (=de ar-u)**** (formal) e.g. (17)	- (=na)*** cf. (18) + (=de ar-u)**** (formal) e.g. (17)

Notes on Table 2 follow.

The plus sign means ‘can be used’, and the minus sign indicates ‘cannot be used’.

*: In the case of verbs and *i*-adjectives, the adnominal form is identical with the nonpast form. Therefore, it is possible to say that the nonpast form is used in ACs. (The nonpast form will be consistently glossed ‘NPST’, even when it is used in ACs.)

** : =*de ar-u* is a formal expression. It consists of the gerund form =*de* of a *na*-adjective and the verb *ar-* ‘be’ (used as an auxiliary verb). The form *ar-u* is the nonpast form. Therefore, here again it is possible to say that the nonpast form is used in ACs.

***: As noted in Section 3, the use of the adnominal form of the copula is severely limited, and for the purpose of Table 2, it is best presented by a minus symbol.

****: What was stated regarding ‘***’ above applies here, except that here =*de* is the gerund form of the copula.

The use of the past form, the nonpast form, and the adnominal form in ACs is as follows.

- (a) The past form can be used.
 (b) The nonpast form:
 (b-1) can be used in the case of verbs and *i*-adjectives.
 (The nonpast form is identical with the adnominal form.)
 (b-2) can not be used in the case of *na*-adjectives and the copula.
 (c) The adnominal form:
 (c-1) can be used in the case of verbs and *i*-adjectives.
 (The adnominal form is identical with the nonpast form.)
 (c-2) can be used in the case of *na*-adjectives.
 (c-3) cannot be used in the case of the copula.

There is a difference between (c-2) and (c-3), although both involve =*na*. Compare the following set of examples, which involve a *na*-adjective (*zyoobu* ‘strong’).

- (13) **karada=ga zyoobu=da* *otoko*
 body=NOM strong=NPST man
 Intended meaning: ‘a man whose body is strong’
 (14) *karada=ga zyoobu=de ar-u* *otoko*
 body=NOM strong=GER be-NPST man
 ‘a man whose body is strong’
 (15) *karada=ga zyoobu=na* *otoko*
 body=NOM strong=ADN man
 ‘(As above)’

Compare the following set of examples, which involve a noun (*isya* ‘doctor’).

- (16) **hahaoya=ga isya=da* *otoko*
 mother=NOM doctor=COP.NPST man
 Intended meaning: ‘a man whose mother is a doctor’
 (17) *hahaoya=ga isya=de ar-u* *otoko*
 mother=NOM doctor=GER be-NPST man
 ‘a man whose mother is a doctor’
 (18) **hahaoya=ga isya=na* *otoko*
 mother=NOM doctor=ADN man
 Intended meaning: ‘a man whose mother is a doctor’

Regarding (c-2) and (c-3) above, (15) (a *na*-adjective) is acceptable, but (18) (a noun) is not.

In passing, the nonpast form is not acceptable in either case; see (13) and (16). The periphrastic form (=de *ar-*) (formal) is acceptable in both cases; see (14) and (17).

Now, as shown in Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume, 7.2), Teramura (1969, 1992) divides the adnominal clauses (‘ACs’) of Japanese into two types. My translations of their names are ‘internal ACs’ (see 4.2.1.2 below) and ‘external ACs’ (see 4.2.1.3).

Roughly speaking, with internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, with external ACs, 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.

4.2.1.2 *Internal ACs*. All of the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for 'object of comparison'. As a set of examples, compare (19) with (20) (subject), (21) (direct object), and (22) (indirect object).

- (19) *Gakusee=ga sensee=ni syukudai=o*
 student=NOM professor=DAT/LOC homework=ACC
okut-ta.
 send-PST
 'A student sent [his/her] homework to a professor.'
- (20) *sensee=ni syukudai=o okut-ta*
 professor=DAT/LOC homework=ACC send-PST
gakusee
 student
 'the student who sent [his/her] homework to a professor'
- (21) *gakusee=ga sensee=ni okut-ta*
 student=NOM professor=DAT/LOC send-PST
syukudai
 homework
 'the homework that a student sent to [his/her] professor'
- (22) *gakusee=ga syukudai=o okut-ta*
 student=NOM homework=ACC send-PST
sensee
 professor
 'the professor to whom a student sent [his/her] homework'

Other examples include the following. (i) The oblique object: (23). (ii) The genitive or possessor: (14), (17).

- (23) *gakusee=ga tegami=o kai-ta pen*
 student=NOM letter=ACC write-PST pen
 'the pen with which a student wrote a letter'

As seen above, the formation of ACs in Japanese generally employs the gap strategy. There are, however, exceptions; they involve the oblique object. Japanese has just a few demonstratives that can be used like a mirror image of resumptive pronouns, e.g. *sore* 'that' (not the attributive use), e.g. (25), and *sono* 'that' (the attributive use only), *soko* 'there', e.g. (27) (Okutsu 1974, Shibatani et al. 1982, Teramura 1992). They do not follow the head noun, but they precede it (though not immediately). Teramura (1992: 232, 242) refers to these words as *sakibure-kotoba* and *sakibure-go*; my translation is 'herald word'. Compare (24) with (25), and (26) with (27).

((25) and (27) are cited from Shibatani et al. (1982: 371). (27) is slightly modified.)

- (24) *Taroo=ga nokogiri=de issyokenmee ki=o*
 Taro=NOM saw=LOC/INS very.hard tree=ACC
kit-ta.
 cut-PST
 ‘Taro cut a tree with a saw very hard.’
- (25) *Taroo=ga sore=de issyokenmee ki=o*
 Akio=NOM that=LOC/INS hard tree=ACC
kit-ta nokogiri
 cut-PST saw
 ‘the saw with which Taro cut a tree very hard’
- (26) *Taroo=ga apaato=ni naga-nen sun-de*
 Taro=NOM apartment-DAT/LOC long-year live-GER
i-ta.
 be-PST
 ‘Taro was living in an apartment for many years.’
- (27) *Taroo=ga soko=ni naga-nen sun-de*
 Taro=NOM there=DAT/LOC long-year live-GER
i-ta apaato
 be-PST apartment
 ‘the apartment where Taro was living for many years’

The use of a ‘herald word’ is acceptable (though not obligatory) with ‘Oblique object’ only — a position low on Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) hierarchy. It is impossible with any other position.

4.2.1.3 *External ACs.* In the formation of external ACs, 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. Also, external ACs do not involve the gap strategy. Compare (28) with (29), and (30) with (31).

- (28) *Hanako=ga sakana=o yak-u.*
 Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-NPST
 ‘Hanako grills a fish.’
- (29) *Hanako=ga sakana=o yak-u nioi*
 Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-NPST smell
 LT: ‘the smell with which Hanako grills a fish’
- (30) *Doroboo=ga aruk-u.*
 burglar=NOM walk-NPST
 ‘A burglar walks.’
- (31) *Doroboo=ga aruk-u oto*
 burglar=NOM walk-NPST noise
 LT: ‘the noise with which a burglar walks’

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

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

- (a) A nonfinite form of verbs and adjectives, e.g. (155), (156)
(*nom-i-nagara* ‘drink-LINK-CONCUR’).
- (b) *Setuzokuzyosi* ‘conjunction’, e.g. =*node* ‘causal’.
- (c) A noun followed by a case postposition (the postposition may be omitted under certain circumstances).

The clause-linkage markers that are relevant to a discussion of the MMC are those in (c). Examples include (32) and (33). The relevant nouns are in bold face. Many of these nouns indicate a temporal relationship between two situations.

- (32) *Akio=ga* *tuk-u* *mae=ni*,
Akio=NOM arrive-NPST before=DAT/LOC
Hanako=ga *tu-i-ta*.
Hanako=NOM arrive-LINK-PST
‘Before Akio arrived, Hanako arrived.’
- (33) *Akio=ga* *tu-i-ta* *toki=ni*, *Hanako=mo*
Akio=NOM arrive-LINK-PST time=DAT/LOC Hanako=too
tu-i-ta.
arrive-LINK-PST
‘When Akio arrived, Hanako, too, arrived.’

A literal translation for (32) is something like the following: ‘Before the time at which Akio arrived, Hanako arrived’. Similarly for (33): ‘At the time at which Akio arrived, Hanako, too, arrived’. That is, it may look as if such an adverbial clause consists of an AC and a noun (generally followed by a postposition). (Indeed, previous studies such as Okutsu (1974), Takahashi (1959, 1979, 1994) and Teramura (1992) regard these adverbial clauses as involving an AC.)

The case postposition =*ni* ‘DAT/LOC’ in (33) can be omitted. Its deletion in (32) would make the sentence unacceptable.

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Prototype of MMC

The three properties of the prototype of the mermaid construction (‘MMC’), listed in Section 1, are repeated below.

- (a) The sentence has the structure shown in (1).
- (b) The subject of the ‘Clause’ and the ‘Noun’ are not coreferential.
- (c) The ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself.

- (1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):
[Clause] Noun Copula.

As examples of (c), the 'Clause' of (34) (MMC) (same as (2)) can be used as a sentence by itself; see (35). The same applies to (36) (MMC) (same as (3)) and (37), and to (38) (MMC) (same as (4)) and (39).

- (34) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.'
- (35) *Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u.*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
'Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya.'
- (36) [*Hanako=wa hon=o yon-de i-ru*]
Hanako=TOP book=ACC read-GER be-NPST
tokoro=da.
place=COP.NPST
'Hanako is reading a book.'
- (37) *Hanako=wa hon=o yon-de i-ru.*
Hanako=TOP book=ACC read-GER be-NPST
'Hanako is reading a book.'
- (38) [*Soto=de=wa ame=ga hut-te i-ru*]
outside=LOC/INS=TOP rain=NOM fall-GER be-NPST
moyoo=da.
appearance=COP.NPST
'It appears/seems to be raining outside.'
- (39) *Soto=de=wa ame=ga hut-te i-ru.*
outside=LOC/INS=TOP rain=NOM fall-GR be-NPST
'It is raining outside.'

However, there are also deviations from the prototype. For example, (i) the copula cannot occur (see 5.6.1-[1]) — a deviation from (a) and (1). (ii) The subject of the 'Clause' cannot occur (see 5.6.3.1) — a deviation from (b). (iii) The 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself (see 5.3.2.2-[4]) — a deviation from (c).

5.2 'Copula'

The 'Copula' used in the MMC is generally =*da*, e.g. (34), (36), (38), but it may be replaced by one of its variants, e.g. (a) and (b) below. It may even be replaced by an expression that involves the case postposition =*ni* 'DAT/LOC' and the intransitive verb *nar-* 'become': (c). The patterns (a) and (b) are included in the prototype of the MMC. However, this is not the case with (c); the copula verb is not employed.

Compare (34) with (40) and (41).

- (a) =*des-* ‘COP.POL’ (form), e.g. (40).
 (b) =*de ar-* ‘COP.GER be’ (formal), e.g. (41).
 (c) =*ni nar-* ‘DAT/LOC become’, e.g. (44), (45).

- (40) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Hanako-TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=des-u.
 plan=COP.POL.NPST
 ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (41) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Hanako-TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=de ar-u.
 plan=COP.GER be-NPST
 ‘(As above.)’

Also, the copula (or its variant) conjugates (just like any other verb).

- (a) =*da* ‘copula’:
 (a-1) past form (= *dat-ta*), e.g. (42).
 (a-2) gerund form, e.g. (42).
 (a-3) negative form, e.g. (43). (This involves a periphrastic expression, which employs the negation word *na-*.)
- (b) =*ni nar-* ‘DAT/LOC become’:
 (b-1) polite form, e.g. (44).
 (b-2) past form, e.g. (44).
 (b-3) gerund form plus the auxiliary verb *i-* ‘be’ (progressive or perfect), e.g. (45).

- (42) [*Taroo=ga Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Taroo=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=de, [*Hanako=ga Sendai=ni*]
 plan=COP.GER Hanako=NOM Sendai=DAT/LOC
ik-u] *yotee=dat-ta.*
 go-NPST plan=COP-PST
 ‘Taro planned to go to Nagoya, and Hanako planned to go to Sendai.’
- (43) [*Taroo=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Taroo=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=de=wa na-i.
 plan=GER=TOP NEG-NPST
 ‘Taro does not plan to go to Nagoya.’
- (44) [*Seehu=wa kome=no yunyuu=o*]
 government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
mitome-ru] *mitoosi=ni*
 approve-NPST expectation=DAT/LOC
nar-i-mas-i-ta.
 become-LINK-POL-LINK-PST

LT: 'The government has become an expectation [such that it] permits/will approve the import of rice.'

Somewhat free translation: 'It has become known that the government is expected to approve the import of rice.'

- (45) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
Hanako-TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=ni nat-te i-ru.
plan=DAT/LOC become-GER be-NPST

LT: 'Hanako has become a plan [such that she] goes/will go to Nagoya.'

FT: 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.'

5.3 Types of 'Clause' and the predicate of 'Clause'

5.3.1 Types of 'Clause'

The 'Clause' of the MMC is generally a verb-predicate clause, e.g. (34), (36), (38). It may also be an adjective-predicate clause, e.g. (46) (*i*-adjective), (48) (*na*-adjective) or a noun-predicate clause (involving the copula), e.g. (51).

- (46) [*Hanako=wa itumo akaru-i*]
Hanako=TOP always cheerful-NPST
hyoozyoo=da.
expression=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is an expression [such that she] is always cheerful.'
FT: 'Hanako always has a bright expression on her face', or 'Hanako always looks cheerful.'

5.3.2 Predicate of 'Clause'

5.3.2.1 *Introductory notes.* As seen in 5.1, in the prototype of the MMC, the 'Clause' by itself, without 'Noun Copula', can be used as a sentence. We shall now look at this issue in some detail. There are three points to note.

[1] The same morphological restrictions imposed on the predicate of ACs (mentioned in 4.2.1.1; cf. Table 2) apply to the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC.

[2] *Na*-adjectives and the copula have a distinct adnominal form. However, with verbs and *i*-adjectives the nonpast form and the adnominal form are identical (cf. Table 1) (and it is possible to say that the nonpast form, rather than the adnominal form, is used in ACs and in the 'Clause' of the MMC).

[3] In comparison with the predicate of independent sentences, that of the 'Clause' of the MMC (and also that of ACs) is limited regarding its morphological and illocutionary possibilities. Consequently, the degree of sentencehood of the 'Clause' is lower than that of independent sentences.

5.3.2.2 *Morphological possibilities.* We shall look at inflectional categories first, in [1], followed by derivational categories, in [2].

[1] Inflectional categories

Recall that Table 1 shows portions of the conjugation of verbs, *i*-adjectives, *na*-adjectives and the copula. As stated in 4.2.1.1, in ACs, only the past form, the nonpast form and the adnominal form can be used. See Table 2. Their use is repeated below. It applies to the predicate of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC.

- (a) The past form can be used.
- (b) The nonpast form:
 - (b-1) can be used in the case of verbs and *i*-adjectives.
(The nonpast form is identical with the adnominal form.)
 - (b-2) can not be used in the case of *na*-adjectives and the copula.
- (c) The adnominal form:
 - (c-1) can be used in the case of verbs and *i*-adjectives.
(The adnominal form is identical with the nonpast form.)
 - (c-2) can be used in the case of *na*-adjectives.
 - (c-3) cannot be used in the case of the copula.

There is a difference between (c-2) and (c-3), although both involve =*na*. Compare the following set of examples, which involve a *na*-adjective (*genki* ‘healthy’).

- (47) *[*Hanako=wa genki=da*] *moyoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST appearance=COP.PST
Intended meaning: ‘Hanako appears to be well.’
- (48) [*Hanako=wa genki=de ar-u*]
Hanako=TOP healthy=GER be-NPST
moyoo=da.
appearance=COP.NPST
‘Hanako appears to be well.’
- (49) [*Hanako=wa genki=na*] *moyoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP healthy=ADN appearance=COP.NPST
‘Hanako appears to be well.’

Compare the following set of examples, which involve a noun (*tensai* ‘genius’).

- (50) *[*Hanako=wa tensai=da*]
Hanako=TOP genius=COP.NPST
tumori=da.
evaluation=COP.NPST
LT: ‘Hanako is an evaluation [such that she] is a genius.’
Intended meaning: ‘Hanako considers herself to be a genius.’
- (51) [*Hanako=wa tensai=de ar-u*]
Hanako=TOP genius=COP.GER be-NPST
tumori=da.
evaluation=COP.NPST

LT: 'Hanako is an evaluation [such that she] is a genius.'

FT: 'Hanako considers herself to be a genius.'

- (52) **[Hanako=wa tensai=na]*
Hanako=TOP genius=COP.NPST
tumori=da.
evaluation=COP.NPST
Intended meaning: '(As above)'

Regarding (c-2) and (c-3) above, (49) (a *na*-adjective) is acceptable, but (52) (a noun) is not.

In passing, the nonpast form is not acceptable in either case; see (47) and (50). The periphrastic form (=de ar-) (formal) is acceptable in both cases; see (48) and (51).

We have seen that only the past, the nonpast and the adnominal can be used in the 'Clause' of the MMC (and also in ACs). Other categories cannot be used. See (53) (imperative) and (54) (intentional).

- (53) **[Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-e]*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-IMP
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
(Untranslatable)
- (54) **[Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-oo]*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-INT
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
(Untranslatable)

[2] Derivational categories

All the derivational categories are acceptable in the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC — and also in that of ACs — except for the polite suffix *-mas*. (Harada (1976: 502, 544, 559) notes that polite suffixes, such as *-mas*, are unacceptable in embedded clauses, except for (i) direct discourse complement, (ii) factive complement, (iii) nonrestrictive relative clause, (iv) conjunct clause, and (v) adverbial subordinate clause.) (This unacceptability of the polite suffix *-mas* in a wide range of syntactic environments is intriguing in terms of acquisition of Japanese, for Clancy (1985: 442) states that 'acquisition of *-mas* forms, ..., is precocious'.)

(a) Non-periphrastic realizations, e.g.:

(a-1) Voice:

(a-1-1) Causative (-*(s)ase*): yes, e.g. (55).

(a-1-2) Passive (-*(r)are*): yes, e.g. (55).

(a-2) Respect: subject respect (-*(r)are*): yes, e.g. (56).

(a-3) Polarity: negation (-*na*): yes, e.g. (57).

(a-4) Modality:

(a-4-1) Desiderative (-*ta*): yes, e.g. (58).

- (a-4-2) Polite (-mas): no, see (62), (63).
- (b) Periphrastic realizations, e.g.:
- (b-1) Aspect, e.g. gerund *i-* ‘progressive or perfect’ (*i-* ‘be’), e.g. (37).
- (b-2) Respect:
- (b-2-1) Subject respect (e.g. *o*-infinitive=*ni nar-*) (*nar-* ‘become’), e.g. (64).
- (b-2-1) Non-subject respect (e.g. *o*=infinitive=*su*) (*su-* ‘do’), e.g. (65).

Examples of non-periphrastic realizations follow.

- (55) [*Hanako=wa hon=o yom-ase-rare-ta*]
 Hanako=TOP book=ACC read-CAUS-PASS-PST
moyoo=da.
 appearance=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako appears to have been made/caused to read a book.’
- (56) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa hon=o kak-are-ru*]
 Tanaka-professor=TOP book=ACC write-SUBJ.RESP-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Professor Tanaka plans to write a book.’
- (57) [*Hanako=wa hon=o kak-a-na-i*]
 Hanako=TOP book=ACC write-LINK-NEG-NPST
tumori=da.
 intention=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako intends not to write a book.’
- (58) [*Seehu=wa kome=no yunyuu=o*
 government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
mitome-ta-i kangae=da.
 approve-DESID-NPST thought=COP.NPST
 ‘The government wants to approve the import of rice.’

Regarding the polite suffix *-mas*, compare the following.

Verb-predicate sentences:

- (59) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u.*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
 ‘Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya.’
- (60) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-i-mas-u.*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-LINK-POL-NPST
 ‘(As above)’

MMC:

- (61) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=des-u.
 plan=COP.POL-NPST

- ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (62) **[Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-i-mas-u]*
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-LINK-POL-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (63) **[Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-i-mas-u]*
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-LINK-POL-NPST
yotee=des-u.
 plan=COP.POL-NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘(As above)’

Examples (59) and (60) are verb-predicate sentences. The predicate can be in the polite form, e.g. (60). Example (61) is an instance of the MMC. Examples (62) and (63) are intended to be instances of the MMC. The predicate of the ‘Clause’ cannot be in the polite form, cf. (62) (*ik-i-mas-u* ‘go-LINK-POL-NPST’). This is true even when the ‘Copula’, too, is in the polite form; see (63) (*yotee=des-u* ‘plan=COP.POL-NPST’) — although the polite form might be expected to be acceptable if the ‘Copula’, too, is in the polite form.

Examples of periphrastic realizations follow.

- (64) *[Tanaka-sensee=wa hon=o*
 Tanaka-professor=TOP book=ACC
o-kak-i=ni
 SUBJ.RES-write-INF=DAT/LOC
nar-u] *yotee=da.*
 become-NPST plan=COP.NPST
 LT: ‘Professor Tanaka is a plan [such that he] becomes writing a book.’
 FT: ‘Professor Tanaka plans to write a book.’

(In this sentence, respect is directed at the subject: Professor Tanaka. Roughly speaking, the expression ‘become writing a book’ indicates respect directed at the subject.)

- (65) *[Watasi-wa Tanaka-sensee=o*
 1SG=TOP Tanaka-professor=ACC
o-yob-i-su-ru]
 NONSUBJ.RESP-invite-INF-do-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 ‘I plan to invite Professor Tanaka.’

(In this sentence, respect is directed at the direct object: Professor Tanaka.)

[3] Sentencehood of the ‘Clause’

As seen in Section 1 and again in 5.1, one of the properties of the

prototypical MMC is the following: (c) The ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself. We shall now examine whether the ‘Clause’ of the MMC in Japanese can be used as a sentence by itself.

As noted in 5.3.2.2, only the past, the nonpast and the adnominal forms can occur in the ‘Clause’ of the MMC (and also in ACs). (Recall that with verbs and *i*-adjectives, the nonpast form and the adnominal form are identical.) Table 2 shows specific forms that can occur in the ‘Clause’ and in ACs and those that cannot.

Where a given form is acceptable as the predicate of the ‘Clause’, generally the ‘Clause’ can be used by itself as a sentence. However, it cannot when the predicate is a *na*-adjective.

First, we shall look at verbs and *i*-adjectives. Both the past and the nonpast can occur in the ‘Clause’ (Table 2), and in every case the ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself.

(a) Verbs:

(a-1) Past: compare (66) and (67).

(a-2) Nonpast(/adnominal): compare (34) and (35); (36) and (37); and (38) and (39).

(b) *I*-adjectives:

(b-1) Past: compare (68) and (69).

(b-2) Nonpast(/adnominal): compare (46) and (70).

- (66) [*Ame=ga hut-ta*] *moyoo=da*.
rain=NOM fall-PST appearance=COP.NPST
‘It seems that it rained.’
- (67) *Ame=ga hut-ta*.
rain=NOM fall-PST
‘It rained.’
- (68) [*Hanako=wa akaru-k-atta*]
Hanako=TOP cheerful-LINK-PST
moyoo=da.
appearance=COP.NPST
‘It seems that Hanako was cheerful.’
- (69) *Hanako=wa akaru-k-atta*.
Hanako=TOP cheerful-LINK-PST
‘Hanako was cheerful.’
- (70) *Hanako=wa itumo akaru-i*.
Hanako=TOP always cheerful-NPST
‘Hanako is always cheerful.’

We turn now to *na*-adjectives. The past form and the adnominal form can occur in the ‘Clause’. The ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself when it contains the past form. However, it cannot when it contains the adnominal form.

- (71) [*Hanako=wa genki=datta*] *moyoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP healthy=PST appearance=COP.NPST

- ‘Hanako appears to have been well.’
- (72) *Hanako=wa genki=datta.*
Hanako=TOP healthy=PST
‘Hanako was well.’
- (73) [*Hanako=wa genki=na*] *moyoo=da.*
Hanako=TOP healthy=ADN appearance=COP.NPST
‘Hanako appears to be well.’
- (74) **Hanako=wa genki=na.*
Hanako=TOP healthy=ADN
Intended meaning: ‘Hanako is well.’

In passing, the nonpast form (involving =*da*) can be used in independent sentences, e.g. (7).

We shall look at the copula (Table 2). Only the past can occur in the ‘Clause’, e.g. (75). The ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself, e.g. (76). The nonpast and the adnominal cannot occur in the ‘Clause’. See (50) (nonpast) and (52) (adnominal).

- (75) [*Hanako=wa tensai=dat-ta*] *tumori=da.*
Hanako=TOP genius=COP-PST evaluation=COP.NPST
LT: ‘Hanako is an evaluation [such that she] was a genius.’
FT: ‘Hanako considers herself to have been a genius.’
- (76) *Hanako=wa tensai=dat-ta.*
Hanako=TOP genius=COP-PST
‘Hanako was a genius.’

In passing, the periphrastic =*de ar-u* ‘=GER be-NPST’ (formal) can occur in the ‘Clause’, e.g. (51). The ‘Clause’ by itself can be used as a sentence, e.g.:

- (77) *Hanako=wa tensai=de ar-u.*
Hanako=TOP genius=COP.GER be-NPST
‘Hanako is a genius.’

We have seen that the predicate of the ‘Clause’ exhibits a narrower range of morphological possibilities than does that of independent sentences. First, only the past, nonpast and the adnominal forms can occur, and other forms, such as the imperative and intentional, cannot. Second, concerning the derivational categories, the polite *-mas* cannot occur in the predicate of the MMC. The ‘Clause’ shows a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences in two respects.

It is worth noting that all of the imperative, the intentional, and the polite can be grouped together under the rubric of modality. It may be that the predicate of the MMC lacks a modal nature.

5.3.2.3 Illocutionary possibilities. The predicate of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC lacks certain illocutionary possibilities. In this respect, too, the ‘Clause’

exhibits a lower degree of sentencehood than do independent sentences. Selected examples follow.

[1] Conjugational categories

As has just been seen, the predicate of the ‘Clause’ disallows the imperative form.

[2] *Syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’

A *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ generally occurs sentence-finally and provides a modal meaning or the like, e.g. =*ka* ‘question’, e.g. (190), =*ne* ‘request for confirmation’, and =*yo* ‘strong assertion’. However, no final postposition can occur in the predicate of the ‘Clause’.

- (78) **[Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u=ka]*
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=Q
yotee=da?
 plan=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘Does Hanako plan to go to Nagoya?’
- (79) **[Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u=ne]*
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=*ne*
yotee=da?
 plan=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya, doesn’t she?’
- (80) **[Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u=yo]*
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=*yo*
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘I tell you Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’

5.4 Types of ‘Noun’

5.4.1 Introductory notes

At least 106 nouns are attested in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. They can be classified very roughly as follows. The distinction between (a) and (b) is not clear-cut, but is a matter of degree. Also, it is not a straightforward matter to analyze the enclitic =*no* as a noun.

- (a) Content nouns (5.4.2).
- (b) Non-content nouns (5.4.3).
- (c) The enclitic =*no* (5.4.3).

5.4.2 Content nouns

Roughly speaking, all of the nouns that belong to this group can be used outside the MMC, with a lexical meaning, like other nouns. However, when used in the MMC, some of them may have a meaning that is somewhat — though not drastically — different from that which they have when used outside the MMC. They may be considered grammaticalized in this respect. Specifically, they may provide various meanings/effects, e.g. modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, stylistic, and discourse-related, among

others. (The classification of various evidential meanings is largely based on Aikhenvald (2011).)

Content nouns can be classified as follows. This classification is highly tentative. Also, it is not clear-cut. The following list is intended to be near-exhaustive, although there may be nouns that I have overlooked.

Sentential examples will often be accompanied by a free translation only, without a literal translation.

As noted in Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume, 5.5.3.3), whether a given noun used in the ‘Noun’ slot is a native word or a loan word may be an important issue. Modern Japanese on the whole abounds with loans from Chinese and those from English. At least 106 nouns are attested in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. About seventy out of the 106 nouns are native Japanese words, about forty are loans from Chinese, and three are loans from English. That is, about 40% are loans. In the following lists, loans from Chinese are indicated with ‘(C)’, those from English with ‘(E)’, and native Japanese words with ‘(J)’. This classification is only tentative. For certain entries, even an authoritative dictionary like *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* [Large Japanese Dictionary] (Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009) cannot decide whether they are native Japanese words or loans from Chinese.

[1] Nouns that indicate plan, intention or the like, e.g.:

- (a) *yotee, keekaku, hoosin, kontan* (C), *takurami* (J) ‘plan’, e.g. (34).
- (b) *ikoo, syozon* (C) ‘intention’, e.g. (81).
- (c) *nerai* (J) ‘aim’.
- (d) *kamae* (J), *sisee* (C) ‘attitude, posture’.
- (e) *ki, kimoti, kangae* (J) ‘mind, thought’, e.g. (58), (82).
- (f) *kessin, ketui* ‘decision’, *kakugo* ‘determination’ (C).
- (g) *senzyutu* ‘tactics’, *senryaku* ‘strategy’ (C).

(In (a), ‘(C)’ indicates that all the words that precede it are loans from Chinese. Similarly for the lists that follow.)

- (81) [*Seehu=wa kome=no yunyuu=o*
government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
mitome-ru ikoo=da.
approve-NPST intention=COP.NPST
‘The government intends to approve the import of rice.’
- (82) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=e ik-u ki=da.*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=ALL go-NPST thought=COP.NPST
‘Hanako intends to go to Nagoya by any means.’

These nouns provide a modal meaning.

[2] Nouns that indicate schedule, expectation or the like
They are similar to the nouns of [1], and they include the following. They, too, supply a modal meaning.

- (a) *dandori* (C), *hakobi* (J) ‘schedule’, e.g. (83).
 (b) *mitoosi*, *mikomi* (J) ‘expectation’, e.g. (44), (84).
 (c) *yosoo* (C) ‘forecast’, e.g. (85).
 (c) *hookoo* (C) ‘direction’.
 (d) *nagare* ‘flow’, *ikioi* ‘strength’ (J).

- (83) [*Seehu=wa* *yatoo=to*
 government=TOP opposition.party=COM
hanas-i-a-u] *dandori=da.*
 talk-LINK-RECP-NPST schedule=COP.NPST
 ‘The government is scheduled to have a talk with the opposition party.’
- (84) [*Seehu=wa* *kome=no* *yunyuu=o*
 government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
mitome-ru] *mikomi=da.*
 approve-NPST expectation=COP.NPST
 ‘The government is expected to approve the import of rice.’
- (85) [*Yuki=wa* *yuugata=made* *tuzuk-u*]
 snow=TOP evening=until continue-NPST
yosoo=des-u.
 forecast(noun)=COP.POL-NPST
 ‘The snow is forecasted to continue until evening.’

The nouns of [1] and [2] are frequently used in newspaper articles and TV news that describe the political scene; see (81), (83), and (84).

[3] Nouns that indicate feeling or the like

Nouns such as *kanzi*, *ki*, *kimoti*, *kibun*, *omoi* (J), and *sinkyoo* (C) may be translated as ‘feeling’, ‘thought’ or the like. These nouns, too, add a modal meaning. Some of them are difficult to distinguish from the nouns of [1]. The following nouns are tentatively assigned to both [1] and [3]: *ki* and *kimoti*.

- (86) [*Watasi-wa* *yatto* *mokuhyoo=o* *tassee-si-ta*]
 1SG=TOP at.long.last goal=ACC achievement-do-PST
kanzi=des-u
 feeling=COP.POL-NPST
 ‘I feel that I have achieved my goal at long last.’
- (87) [*Watasi-wa* *hitori* *torinokos-are-ta*]
 1SG=TOP alone leave.behind-PASS-PST
omoi=da.
 feeling=COP.NPST
 ‘I feel that I have been left behind alone.’

[4] Nouns that indicate situation, appearance, result or the like, e.g.:

- (a) *moyoo*, *yoosu*, *huu* (semi-archaic) (C), *kehai* (J) ‘appearance’, e.g. (38), (48), (49), (55), (66), (68), (71), (73), (88).

- (b) *zyootai*, *zyookyoo*, *zyoosee*, *zitai* (C), *arisama* (J) ‘situation’.
 (c) *katati* (J), *kakkoo* (C) ‘form’, e.g. (89).
 (d) *simatu* (C) ‘unpleasant result’.

- (88) [*Koozyoo=de* *ooki-na* *bakuhatu=ga*
 factory=LOC/INS big-ADN explosion=NOM
tuzu-i-te *i-ru*]
 continue-LINK-GER be-NPST
yoosu=da.
 appearance=COP.NPST
 ‘It appears that big explosions are continuing in the factory.’
- (89) [*Seehu=wa* *sippai-o* *mitome-ta*]
 government=TOP mistake-ACC acknowledge-PST
katati=da.
 form=COP.NPST
 LT: ‘The government is a shape/form [such that they]
 acknowledged [their] error.’
 FT: ‘The government in effect acknowledged their error.’

Some of these nouns may be said to furnish an evidential meaning, e.g. (38) (inference), (88) (inference).

[5] Nouns that indicate atmosphere, impression or the like, e.g.:

- (a) *insyoo*, *kansyoku* (C), *kanzi* (J) ‘impression’, e.g. (90).
 (b) *omomuki* (J), *hun’iki* (C), *muudo* (E: *mood*) ‘atmosphere’.

- (90) [*Kono mati=wa* *bessekai=ni* *ar-u*]
 this town=TOP another.world=DAT/LOC exist-NPST
insyoo=des-u.
 impression=COP.POL-NPST
 ‘This town gives the impression that it exists in another world.’

The nouns in [5] are similar to those in [4] ‘Nouns that indicate situation, appearance, result or the like’, and are even more similar to those in [3] ‘Nouns that indicate feeling or the like’. For example, *kanzi* ‘impression’ is assigned to both [3] and [5]. The difference between [3] and [5] is as follows. *Kanzi*, for example, in [3] indicates that someone (e.g. the speaker) feels in a certain way. In contrast, *kanzi* in [5] indicates that someone or something gives someone else (e.g. the speaker) a certain impression. The nouns in [3] provide a modal meaning. In contrast, those in [5] may be said to furnish something like an evidential meaning.

[6] Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like, e.g.:

- (a) *keekoo* (C) ‘tendency’.
 (b) *huutyoo* (C) ‘fashion, trend’.
 (c) *narawasi* (J), *huusyuu* (C) ‘practice’, e.g. (91).
 (d) *syuukan* (C), *kuse* (J) ‘habit’.

(e) *seekatu* (C) ‘life, life style’.

- (91) [*Nihonzin=wa syoogatu=o iwa-u*]
Japanese=TOP New.Year=ACC celebrate-NPST
narawasi=des-u.
practice=COP.POL-NPST
‘Japanese people have the practice of celebrating the New Year.’

These nouns add something similar to an aspectual meaning: habitual.

[7] Nouns that indicate the nature, propensity or the like of humans
These nouns include *seekaku*, e.g. (92), *seesitu*, *syoobun*, *kisitu* (C), *tati* (J),
taipu (E: *type*). All of them can be translated as ‘nature’ or ‘propensity’.

- (92) [*Hanako=wa itumo minna=o tasuke-ru*]
Hanako=TOP always everyone=ACC help-NPST
seekaku=da.
nature=COP.NPST
‘Hanako has the nature to always help everyone.’

Needless to say, the meaning of these nouns is similar to that of the nouns in
[6] ‘Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like’. They, too,
may be said to supply something similar to an aspectual meaning.

[8] Nouns that indicate role, rule, duty, destiny or the like, e.g.:

- (a) *yakume*, *yakuwari* (J) ‘role’, e.g. (93).
(b) *sekinin* (C) ‘duty, responsibility’.
(c) *kimari* (J) ‘rule, regulation’, e.g. (94).
(d) *okite* (J) ‘law, rule’, e.g. (95).
(e) *tatiba* (J) ‘position’.
(f) *sikaku* (C) ‘qualification’.
(g) *unmee*, *syukumee* (C), *sadame*, *minoue* (J) ‘destiny’, e.g. (96).

- (93) [*Hanako=wa minna=o tasuke-ru*]
Hanako=TOP everyone=ACC help-NPST
yakume=da.
role=COP.NPST
‘Hanako has a role to help everyone.’
- (94) [*Gakusee=wa maisyuu repooto=o*
student=TOP every.week essay=ACC
teesyutu-su-ru] *kimari=da.*
submission-do-NPST regulation=COP.NPST
‘By regulation, the students must submit an essay every week.’
- (95) [*Uragirimono=wa koros-are-ru*] *okite=da.*
traitor=TOP kill-PASS-NPST law=COP.NPST
‘By the law [of the group] traitors are killed.’
- (96) [*Hanako=wa kekkyoku sippai-su-ru*]
Hanako=TOP after.all failure-do-NPST

unmee=dat-ta.
 destiny=COP-PST
 ‘Hanako was destined to fail after all.’

The meaning of these nouns is close to modal: deontic modality.

[9] Nouns that indicate features or characteristics of someone’s body or the like, e.g.:

- (a) *karada* ‘body’, *karada-tuki* (J) ‘physique, build of the body’, *taikaku* ‘physique, build of the body’, *taisitu* (C) ‘nature (of the body)’, e.g. (106).
- (b) *hyoozyoo* (C) ‘expression on the face’, e.g. (46).
- (c) *kutiburi* (J) ‘way of talking’.
- (d) *sisee* (C) ‘posture’. (It is also assigned to [1] ‘Nouns that indicate plan, intention or the like’.)

- (97) [*Ano rikisi=wa rippa-na*]
 that sumo.wrestler=TOP splendid-ADN
taikaku=da.
 build(noun)=COP.NPST
 ‘That sumo wrestler has a splendid physique.’

The meaning that these nouns provide is difficult to characterize.

[10] Nouns that indicate the structure, mechanism or the like of inanimate objects, such as cars, e.g.:

tukuri ‘make’, *sikumi* ‘design’ (J), *koozoo* ‘structure’, e.g. (98),
naiyoo ‘content’, *sekkee* ‘design’ (C), *sisutemu* ‘system’ (E: *system*),
sutairu ‘style’ (E: *style*).

These nouns are similar to the nouns in [9] ‘Nouns that indicate features or characteristics of someone’s body or the like’.

- (98) [*Kono kuruma=wa zi-soku-300-kiro=de*]
 this car=TOP hour-speed-300-km=LOC/INS
hasir-u] koozoo=da.
 run-NPST structure=COP.NPST
 ‘This car has the structure that enables it to run 300 km per hour.’

[11] Nouns that indicate temporal relations, progress, or the like, e.g.:

zikan ‘time’, e.g. (99), *tyokuzen* ‘immediately before’, *tyokugo*
 ‘immediately after’, *totyuu* ‘in the process/middle of’, e.g. (100),
saityuu ‘right in the middle of’ (C), *mae* ‘before’, e.g. (101), *ato*
 ‘after’ (J), e.g. (102)

These nouns add a temporal or an aspectual meaning. They each have the

same meaning both outside the MMC and in the MMC. Some of these nouns can be used for adverbial clauses; see 4.2.2.

- (99) [*Watasi=wa moo gakkoo=e ik-u*]
 1SG=TOP already school=ALL go-NPST
zikan=da.
 time=COP.NPST
 LT: 'I am already a time to go to school.'
 FT: 'It is already time for me to go to school.'
- (100) [*Hanako=wa ima gakkoo=e ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP now school=ALL go-NPST
totyuu=da.
 middle=COP.NPST
 'Hanako is on the way to school now.'
- (101) [*Hanako=wa tyoodo dekake-ru*]
 Hanako=TOP just go.out-NPST
mae=dat-ta.
 before=COP-PST
 'Hanako was just about to go out.'
- (102) [*Hanako=wa tyoodo dekake-ta ato=dat-ta.*]
 Hanako=TOP just go.out-PST after=COP-PST
 'Hanako had just gone out.'

[12] *Utagai* (J) 'suspicion'

This noun constitutes a group by itself. It provides an evidential meaning. In the example below, it is shown in bold face, for the reader's convenience.

- (103) *Ken-kee=wa zen-tizi=o*
 prefecture-police=TOP previous-governor=ACC
taiho-si-ta.
 arresting-do-PST
 'The prefecture police arrested the previous governor.'
 [*Sirabe=de=wa zen-tizi=wa*
 investigation=LOC/INS=TOP previous-governor=TOP
kensetu-gyookai=kara 1000-man-en=o
 construction-industry=ABL 1000-ten.thousand-yen=ACC
morat-ta] utagai.
 receive-PST suspicion
 'According to the investigation, the previous governor is suspected to have received 10 million yen from the construction industry.'

The noun *utagai* 'suspicion' is often used in newspaper articles that report someone's arrest. The sentence generally starts with an expression such as *sirabe=de=wa* 'according to the investigation'. The copula is always absent, as in (103). (According to Hiroaki Kitano (p.c.), it may be not the copula but the verb *ar-u* 'exist', together with the nominative case postposition =*ga*

following the noun *utagai*, that is absent. In this case, the second sentence will mean ‘The suspicion exists that ...’. This is an instance of the existential construction, and not an instance of the MMC (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-a, 1.3-[2].)

5.4.3 Non-content nouns

Some of the non-content nouns are difficult to gloss. In the relevant examples, the word in question itself will be given in place of a gloss. However, where this is possible, an etymological note will be provided, cited from *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* ‘Large Japanese Dictionary’ (abbreviated as ‘NKD’) (second edition, second printing; Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009), a very comprehensive dictionary of Japanese, consisting of 13 volumes. Unfortunately, however, it is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss the semantic changes that these nouns underwent.

The following list of non-content nouns is intended to be near-exhaustive, although there may be non-content nouns that I have overlooked.

[1] *Tumori* (J) ‘intention’ and ‘evaluation’

According to NKD Vol. 9: 454, etymologically *tumori* is the nominalized form (with the suffix *-i*) of the verb *tumor-* ‘to be accumulated’, and later it acquired the meaning ‘calculation in advance’. In Modern Japanese, *tumori* may be used outside the MMC, with the meaning ‘intention’, but it is generally used in the MMC, and it has two uses. Both are modal.

- (a) Intention, decision or the like to do (or not to do) something (in the future), e.g. (57), (104).
- (b) Evaluation or the like about oneself, regarding his/her action/situation in the past/present (but not in the future), e.g. (51), (57), (105), (106).

(104) [*Hanako=wa asita Nagoya=e ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP tomorrow Nagoya=ALL go-NPST
tumori=da.
 intention=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako intends to go to Nagoya tomorrow.’

(105) (Context: Hanako thinks that she was a fast runner in her younger days.)
 [*Hanako=wa hayak-atta tumori=da.*]
 Hanako=TOP fast-PST *tumori=COP.NPST*
 ‘Hanako thinks [of herself] that she was fast’, or ‘In Hanako’s evaluation [of herself] she was fast.’

(106) [*Hanako=wa issyokenmee doryoku-si-te i-ru*]
 Hanako=TOP very.hard effort-do-GER be-NONNPST
tumori=da.
tumori=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako thinks [of herself] that she is trying very hard’, or ‘In Hanako’s evaluation [of herself] she is trying very hard.’

There are nouns based on *tumori*, such as *kokoro-zumori* ‘heart-*tumori*’ and *hara-zumori* ‘stomach-*tumori*’ (J). They, too, can be used in the MMC. They seem to have the use of (a) ‘intention, decision’ only and to lack the use of (b) ‘evaluation’.

[2] *Hazu* (J) ‘expectation, schedule’ and ‘realization’

According to NKD Vol. 10: 1123, *hazu* refers to an arrowhead. It fits in the bowstring nicely. Consequently the word *hazu* acquired the meaning ‘It is naturally the case that ...’, ‘X stands to reason’, ‘reason (not in the sense of cause), logic’, and subsequently ‘plan, promise’. In Modern Japanese, *hazu* may be used outside the MMC (under very limited syntactic environments, with the meaning ‘expectation’ or ‘schedule, realization’). However, it is generally used in the MMC, and, according to Takahashi (1975), it has two uses here: (i) ‘expectation, schedule’, e.g. (107), and (ii) realization, e.g. (108).

- (107) [*Hanako=wa asita Nagoya=e ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP tomorrow Nagoya=ALL go-NPST
hazu=da.
hazu=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako is expected to go to Nagoya tomorrow.’
- (108) (‘I did not know that Hanako will have an examination tomorrow.’)
 [*Doori=de Hanako=wa issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te*
 no.wonder Hanako=TOP very.hard study-do-GER
i-ru] *hazu=da.*
 be-NPST *hazu=COP.NPST*
 ‘No wonder (or, It is natural that) Hanako is studying very hard.’

The use of *hazu* in (107) is modal, and that in (108) is discourse-related.

[3] *Wake* (J) ‘cause, reason’

In Modern Japanese, *wake* may be used outside the MMC, often with the meaning ‘cause, reason’, e.g. (194), (196), (197). Also it is often used in the MMC, largely with discourse-related functions, such as (i) cause, reason, explanation, e.g. (109), (ii) conclusion, (iii) realization, and (iv) something like ‘in other words’, e.g. (110). Sometimes it does not seem to have any clear meaning and it is very difficult to translate into English. Teramura (1984: 272-290) provides its details, and Mie Tsunoda (2004: 129-153) a recent discussion. In (109) and (110), *wake* is shown in bold face, for the reader’s convenience.

- (109) *Hanako=wa issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru.*
 Hanako=TOP very.hard study-do-TE be-NPST
 ‘Hanako is studying very hard.’
 [*Gookaku-si-ta-i*] **wake=da.**
 passing-do-DESID-NPST **wake=COP.NPST**
 ‘[This is] because [she] wants to pass [the examination].’

- (110) *Hanako=wa gookaku-si-ta.*
 Hanako=TOP passing-do-PST
 ‘Hanako passed [the examination].’
 [*Mokuhyoo=o tasse-si-ta* **wake=da.**
 goal=ACC achievement-do-PST *wake=COP.NPST*
 ‘In other words (or, That is) [she] achieved [her] goal.’

[4] *Mono* (J) ‘thing’

Mono is often used outside the MMC, with the meaning ‘thing’. According to Teramura (1984: 297-305), when used in what I term the MMC, *mono* has various meanings, such as (i) obligation, advice, e.g. (111), (ii) surprise, strong emotion, wish, hope, e.g. (112), (iii) past habitual or recalling a past experience, e.g. (113), and (iv) explanation, e.g. (114). The uses (i) and (ii) are modal, (iii) probably aspectual, and (iv) discourse-related. In (114), *mono* is shown in bold face, for the reader’s convenience.

- (111) [*Otokonoko=wa nak-ana-i* *mono=da.*
 [boy=TOP] cry-NEG-NPST *mono=COP.NPST*
 ‘Boys should not cry.’
- (112) [*Uma-i sake=o nom-i-ta-i*]
 nice-NPST rice.wine=ACC drink-LINK-DESID-NPST
mono=da.
mono=COP.NPST
 ‘[I] would love to drink nice *sake*.’
- (113) [*Hanako=wa yoku Nagoya=e it-ta*]
 Hanako=TOP often Nagoya=ALL go-PST
mono=da.
mono=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako used to go to Nagoya often.’

(Teramura refers to this use as ‘recalling a past experience’. However, I would prefer to term it ‘past habitual’.)

- (114) *Seehu=wa kome=no yunyuu=o*
 government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
kinsi-si-ta.
 prohibition-do-PST
 ‘The government banned the import of rice.’
 [*Noomin=no yookyuu=ni kotae-ta* ***mono.***
 farmer=GEN demand=DAT/LOC answer-PST *mono*
 ‘That is, [the government] responded to the farmers’ demand.’

(The use of *mono* for explanation is often used in newspaper articles. In this use, the copula is almost always deleted, as in (114).)

There is another use of *mono*, which Teramura did not list.

- (115) [*Koko=ni wareware=wa seehu=no*
 here=DAT/LOC 1PL=TOP government=GEN
kettee=ni koogi-su-ru] mono=de
 decision=DAT/LOC protesting-do-NPST *mono=COP.GER*
ar-u.
 be-NPST
 ‘We hereby protest against the government’s decision.’

In this use, *mono* makes the sentence sound formal, and does not seem to have any other meaning. That is, it has a stylistic effect. The copula always (?) has the periphrastic nonpast form: =*de ar-u* (formal) (Table 1).

[5] *Sidai* (C) ‘circumstance, procedure, program, process’

In Modern Japanese, *sidai* can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning ‘circumstance, procedure, programme, process’, etc. When used in the MMC, it has a stylistic effect: it makes the sentence sound formal, e.g. (116). Unlike *mono* in (115), the copula does *not* have to be in the formal form =*de ar-u*.

- (116) [*Wareware=wa kokoro=kara owabi-su-ru*
 1PL=TOP heart=ABL apology-do-NPST
sidai=des-u.
sidai=COP.POL-NPST
 ‘We apologize from the [bottom of our] heart.’

[6] *Hoo* (C) ‘direction’ and *muki* (J) ‘direction’

Both of these can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning ‘direction’. When used in the MMC, they describe human propensity/tendency or the like. Therefore, they are similar to the nouns discussed in 5.4.2-[6] ‘Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like’ and 5.4.2-[7] ‘Nature, propensity or the like’. They have an aspectual meaning: habitual.

- (117) [*Hanako=wa yoku benkyoo-su-ru*
 Hanako=TOP well study-do-NPST
hoo=da.
hoo=COP.NPST
 ‘[Compared with other students] Hanako tends to study hard.’
- (118) [*Yamada-si=wa koo kangae-te or-are-ru*
 Yamada-Mr.=TOP thus think-GER be-POL-NPST
muki=de ar-u.
muki=COP.GER be-NPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka tends to think this way.’

[7] *Ippoo* (C) ‘one direction, one way’

When used outside the MMC, *ippoo* means ‘one direction, one way’. When used in the MMC, it means ‘more and more’ or ‘increasingly, progressively’. It adds something like an aspectual meaning.

- (119) [*Soto=de=wa* *ame=ga* *tuyo-ku*
 outside=LOC/INS=TOP rain=NOM strong-INF
nar-u *ippoo=da.*
 become-NPST *ippoo=COP.NPST*
 ‘The rain is becoming heavier and heavier outside.’

[8] *Tokoro* (J) ‘place’

Tokoro can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning ‘place’. When used in the MMC, it has various meanings, which are predominantly aspectual, e.g. (36) (‘Hanako is reading a book’: progressive), (120), (121). (There is a large literature on this use of *tokoro*, e.g. Teramura 1984: 290-293.)

- (120) [*Hanako=wa* *ima* *dekake-ru*] *tokoro=da.*
 Hanako=TOP now go.out-NPST *tokoro=COP.NPST*
 ‘Hanako is just about to go out now.’
- (121) [*Hanako=wa* *ima* *dekake-ta*] *tokoro=da.*
 Hanako=TOP now go.out-PST *tokoro=COP.NPST*
 ‘Hanako has just gone out now.’

Although this is not mentioned in the works cited above, *tokoro* has another use: stylistic effect, to make the sentence formal (like *mono* in (115) and *sidai* in (116)).

- (122) (A certain professor made the following remark about someone else’s research.)
 [*Minna* *sigeki=o* *uke-ta*]
 all stimulus=ACC receive-PST
tokoro=des-u.
tokoro=COP.POL-NPST
 Less free translation: ‘[We] all received stimulus [from his research].’
 Freer translation: ‘[His research] is stimulating to [us] all.’

[9] *Koto* (J) ‘fact’

Koto can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning ‘fact’, e.g. (263). When used in the MMC, it expresses advice, instruction, or obligation, e.g. (123), among others. It supplies a modal meaning: deontic modality. (Teramura (1984: 293-297) provides a detailed discussion.)

- (123) [*Gakusee=wa* *issyokenmee* *benkyoo-su-ru*]
 student=TOP very.hard study-do-NPST
koto=da.
koto=COP.NPST
 ‘Students should study very hard.’

[10] *Yosi* (J) ‘reported evidence’

According to NKD Vol. 13: 605, 622, etymologically the noun *yosi* means

‘relating a fact/thing to another’. It seems to be the nominalized form (with the suffix *-i*) of the archaic verb *yos-* ‘to make something go/come near something else’. In Modern Japanese, *yosi* can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning ‘means, clue’. However, it is almost always used in the MMC. It furnishes an evidential meaning: reported evidence. It is often used in letters, and the copula is always deleted.

- (124) [*Hanako=ga gookaku-si-ta*] *yosi*.
 Hanako=NOM passing-do-PST *yosi*
 ‘I heard that Hanako had passed [an examination].’

5.4.4 Enclitic =no

The enclitic =no has various uses, which include the following. The classification and the labels employed are only tentative.

- (a) Genitive case, e.g. (125).
 (b) Nominalizer or non-content noun, e.g. (126).
 (c) Complementizer or non-content noun, e.g. (127).
 (d) In the MMC, e.g. (128).

- (125) *Hanako=no ie*
 Hanako=GEN house
 ‘Hanako’s house’
- (126) *Watasi=wa yasu-i=no=o kat-ta*.
 1SG=TOP cheap-NPST=NMLZ=ACC buy-PST
 ‘I bought a cheap one.’
- (127) *Watasi=wa Hanako=ga hon=o yon-de*
 1SG=TOP Hanako=NOM book=ACC read-GER
i-ru=no=o mi-ta.
 be-NPST=COMP=ACC see-PST
 LT: ‘I saw Hanako is reading a book.’
 FT: ‘I saw Hanako reading a book.’
- (128) *Gakusee=ga issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru*.
 student=NOM very.hard study-do-GER be-NPST
 ‘The students are studying very hard.’
 [*Siken=ga ar-u=no=da*.
 examination=NOM be-NPST=no=COP.NPST
 ‘This is because there will be an examination.’

When used in the MMC, =no may be considered a non-content noun, a nominalizer, or a complementizer. There is a huge literature on =no as used in what I term the MMC (e.g. (128)), such as Teramura (1984: 305-311) and Mie Tsunoda (2004: 69-128). Relevant works written in English include Kuno (1973: 223-233). The MMC with =no abounds in Japanese, expressing cause, reason or the like, although its precise meaning is sometimes difficult to pinpoint. The use of this MMC is discourse-related.

5.5 Morphology of 'Noun' in MMC

Japanese nouns do not involve any inflectional affix, and we shall be concerned with derivational affixes.

There are at least two derivational prefixes that can be added to the 'Noun' of the MMC, e.g. *go-* 'polite' and *o-* 'polite'. First, they can be added to nouns outside the MMC. Examples (129) and (130) are answers to the question 'Will Professor Tanaka go to Nagoya?'

- (129) *Sono go-yotee=wa ar-i-mas-en.*
 that POL-plan(noun)=TOP exist-LINK-POL-NEG
 LT: 'That plan does not exist.'
 FT: '[Professor Tanaka] does not have such a plan.'
- (130) *Sono o-tumori=wa ar-i-mas-en.*
 that POL-intention=TOP exist-LINK-POL-NEG
 LT: 'That intention does not exist.'
 FT: '[Professor Tanaka] does not have such an intention.'

Now, these prefixes can be added to the 'Noun' of the MMC.

- (131) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa Nagoya=ni*
 Tanaka-professor=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC
irassyar-u *go-yotee=da.*
 go.SUBJ.RESP-NPST POL-plan=COP.NPST
 'Professor Tanaka plans to go to Nagoya.'
- (132) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa Nagoya=ni*
 Tanaka-professor=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC
irassyar-u *o-tumori=da.*
 go.SUBJ.RESP-NPST POL-intention=COP.NPST
 'Professor Tanaka intends to go to Nagoya.'

(There is a suppletive alternation between *ik-* 'go' (neutral) and *irassyar-* 'go' (subject respect).) Both (131) and (132) are correct, but stylistically they sound better if the 'Copula' is in the polite form. For example, (133) sounds better than (131).

- (133) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa Nagoya=ni*
 Tanaka-professor=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC
irassyar-u *go-yotee=des-u.*
 go.SUBJ.RESP-NPST POL-plan=COP.POL-NPST
 'Professor Tanaka plans to go to Nagoya.'

Note that *yotee* 'plan' is a content noun (cf. 5.4.2-[1]), while *tumori* 'intention' is a non-content noun (cf. 5.4.3-[1]). That is, the polite prefixes in question may be added to (at least some of) both content nouns and non-content nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

5.6 Syntax of MMC

5.6.1 'Copula'

The 'Copula' of the MMC may be absent. (When the copula is absent, that particular instance of the MMC deviates from the prototype, shown in (1).) It is always absent or often absent depending on the noun that occurs in the 'Noun' slot. A detailed discussion, dealing with each noun separately, is beyond the scope of the present paper. Selected examples follow.

[1] The 'Copula' is always absent in the following cases.

(a) When the noun is the content-noun *utagai* 'suspicion', the copula is always absent, e.g. (103). This MMC is often used in newspaper articles, but I have never seen the copula included. The copula may possibly be included, but the sentence does not sound natural (in my judgment, as least). Compare (103) with:

- (134) ?[*Sirabe=de=wa* *zen-tizi=wa*
investigation=LOC/INS=TOP previous-governor=TOP
kensetu-gyookai=kara *1000-man-en=o*
construction-industry=ABL 1000-ten.thousand-yen=ACC
morat-ta] *utagai=da.*
receive-PST suspicion=COP.NPST
Intended meaning: 'According to the investigation, the previous
governor is suspected to have received 10 million yen from the
construction industry.'

(However, there are speakers of Japanese who judge (134) as acceptable.)

(b) When the 'Noun' is the non-content noun *yosi* 'reported evidence', the copula is always absent, e.g. (124). If the copula is present, the sentence is not acceptable (in my judgment, as least).

- (135) *[*Hanako=ga* *gookaku-si-ta*] *yosi=da.*
Hanako=NOM passing-do-PST *yosi=COP.NPST*
Intended meaning: 'I heard that Hanako had passed [an
examination].'

(However, one speaker of Japanese considered (135) acceptable. Another speaker stated that (135) is acceptable if the copula is replaced with the polite form *=des-u* 'COP.POL-NPST'.)

[2] The 'Copula' is often absent in the following cases.

(a) When the 'Noun' is the non-content noun *koto* 'fact' and furthermore when it expresses advice, obligation, or instruction, the copula is often deleted. (I owe this observation to Kaoru Horie (p.c.).) Compare (123) with:

- (136) [*Gakusee=wa* *issyokenmee* *benkyoo-su-ru*] *koto.*
student=TOP very.hard study-do-NPST *koto*
'Students should study very hard.'

(b) When the ‘Noun’ is the non-content noun *mono* and furthermore when it expresses strong emotion, wish, or hope, the copula is often absent. Compare (112) with:

- (137) [*Uma-i sake=o nom-i-ta-i*]
 nice-NPST rice.wine-ACC drink-LINK-DESID-NPST
mono.
mono
 ‘[I] would love to drink nice *sake*.’

(c) The MMC in which the ‘Noun’ is one that indicates plan, intention or the like (5.4.2-[1]) or one that indicates schedule, expectation or the like (5.4.2-[2]), is often used in newspapers, in particular, in articles about the political scene. The copula is often omitted, in particular, in articles on the political scene. Compare (81) with (138), and (84) with (139).

- (138) [*Seehu=wa kome=no yunyuu=o*]
 government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
mitome-ru] ikoo.
 approve-NPST intention
 ‘The government intends to approve the import of rice.’
- (139) [*Seehu=wa kome=no yunyuu=o*]
 government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
mitome-ru] mikomi.
 approve-NPST expectation
 ‘The government is expected to approve the import of rice.’

5.6.2 Negation

When the ‘Copula’ is present, it can be negated, e.g. (140). The predicate of the ‘Clause’ may be negated, e.g. (141). The scope of negation differs. Both can be negated, e.g. (142).

- (140) [*Hanako=wa ik-u] yotee=de=wa*
 Hanako=TOP go-NPST plan=COP.GER=TOP
na-i.
 NEG-NPST
 ‘Hanako does not plan to go.’
- (141) [*Hanako=wa ik-ana-i] yotee=da.*
 Hanako=TOP go-NEG-NPST plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako plans not to go.’
- (142) [*Hanako=wa ik-ana-i] yotee=de=wa*
 Hanako=TOP go-NEG-NPST plan=COP.GER=TOP
na-i.
 NEG-NPST
 ‘It is not the case that Hanako plans not to go.’

Another example of the negation of the ‘Copula’ is (43). Another example

of the negation of the predicate of the ‘Clause’ is (57).

When the ‘Copula’ is absent, naturally only the predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be negated. The copula can be in no way negated. Compare (139) (*mitome-ru* ‘approve-NPST’; affirmative) and (143) (negative).

- (143) [*Seehu=wa kome=no yunyuu=o*
 government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC
mitome-na-i *mikomi.*
 approve-NEG-NPST expectation
 ‘The government is expected not to approve the import of rice.’

As noted in 5.6.1-[1], the ‘Copula’ is always absent when the ‘Noun’ is, e.g., (a) *utagai* ‘suspicion’ or (b) *yosi* ‘reported evidence’. In such cases, naturally only the predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be negated. The copula can be in no way negated. Compare, for example, (124) (*gookaku-si-ta* ‘passing-do-PST’; affirmative) and (144) (negative).

- (144) [*Hanako=ga gookaku-si-nak-atta*] *yosi.*
 Hanako=NOM passing-do-NEG-PST *yosi*
 ‘I heard that Hanako had not passed [an examination].’

Also, as noted in 5.6.1-[2], the ‘Copula’ is often absent when the ‘Noun’ is, e.g., (a) *koto* ‘fact’ expressing advice, obligation, instruction, (b) *mono* ‘thing’ indicating strong emotion, wish, hope, or (c) one that indicates plan, intention or the like or one that indicates schedule, expectation or the like. In such cases, naturally only the predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be negated. Compare (136) (affirmative) and (145) (negative).

- (145) [*Kyoositu=de sawag-ana-i*] *koto.*
 classroom=LOC/INS be.noisy-NEG-NPST *koto*
 ‘Don’t be noisy in the classroom.’

5.6.3 Subject of ‘Clause’

5.6.3.1 *Presence/absence of the subject.* The subject of the ‘Clause’ cannot occur or is often absent depending on the ‘Noun’. Selected examples follow.

(a) The non-content noun *mono* ‘thing’ (5.4.3-[4]) can express strong emotion, wish, or hope. The emotion or the like is always (?) that of the speaker. The subject cannot occur. Compare (112), (137), and (146).

- (146) * [*Watasi=wa uma-i sake=o*
 1SG=TOP nice-NPST rice.wine-ACC
nom-i-ta-i *mono=da.*
 drink-LINK-DESID-NPST *mono=COP.NPST*
 Intended meaning: ‘I would love to drink nice *sake*.’

In contrast, when *mono* ‘thing’ is used for (i) obligation, advice, e.g. (111), (ii) past habitual or past experience, e.g. (113), (iii) explanation, e.g. (114),

or (iv) stylistic effect, e.g. (115), the subject can be present.

(b) The non-content noun *koto* ‘fact’ (5.4.3-[8]) can indicate advice, instruction or obligation. In such cases, the subject can be present, e.g. (123), but it is often absent. Compare (123) and (147).

- (147) [*Issyokenmee benkyoo-su-ru*] *koto=da.*
very.hard study-do-NPST *koto=COP.NPST*
‘[You] should study very hard.’

Furthermore, this particular type of the MMC is used rather like an imperative sentence, and in such instances the copula is always absent, and the subject, too, is generally absent, e.g. (145), (148). The subject understood is the second person.

- (148) [*Syukudai=o su-ru*] *koto.*
homework=ACC do-NPST *koto*
‘Do [your] homework.’

5.6.3.2 *Subject properties.* The subject of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC in Japanese has the usual kind of subject properties of the language. Tasaku Tsunoda (2009: 214-215) proposes four criteria for identifying the subject in Japanese. What I have been calling the subject of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC fulfills all of these four criteria. We shall look at each of them.

[1] Subject respect

According to this criterion, the subject can agree with the predicate in terms of subject respect. Compare (149) (a verb-predicate sentence) and (150) (MMC).

- (149) *Tanaka-sensee=wa hon=o*
Tanaka-professor=TOP book=ACC
kak-are-ru.
write-SUBJ.RESP-NPST
‘Professor Tanaka writes/will write a book.’
- (150) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa hon=o*
Tanaka-professor=TOP book=ACC
kak-are-ru] *yotee=da.*
write-SUBJ.RESP-NPST plan=COP.NPST
‘Professor Tanaka plans to write a book.’

In (149), the subject (*Tanaka-sensee*) agrees with the predicate (*kak-are-ru*) in terms of ‘subject respect’. The same agreement exists in the ‘Clause’ of the MMC in (150). Additional examples of subject agreement in the MMC are (56) and (64).

[2] Reflexivization

According to this criterion, the subject can be the antecedent of a reflexive expression such as *zibun* or *zibunzisin* ‘self’. Compare:

- (151) *Hanako=wa zibunzisin=o home-ta.*
 Hanako=TOP self praise-PST
 ‘Hanako praised herself.’
- (152) [*Hanako=wa zibunzisin=o home-ta*]
 Hanako=TOP self praise-PST
moyoo=da.
 appearance=COP.NPST
 ‘It appears that Hanako praised herself.’

In (151) (a verb-predicate sentence) the subject (*Hanako*) is the antecedent of the reflexive *zibunzisin* ‘self’. The same applies to the ‘Clause’ of (152) (MMC).

[3] Adverbial clause with *-nagara* ‘concurrent’

According to this criterion, when the predicate of a subordinate clause is in the concurrent form *-nagara* (Table 1), the subject of the subordinate clause and that of the main clause cannot have different referents, cf. (153). They must be coreferential, and furthermore, the subject of the subordinate clause cannot be present, cf. (154). It has to be absent, e.g. (155).

- (153) **Akio=wa Hanako=ga biiru=o*
 Akio=TOP Hanako=NOM beer=ACC
nom-i-nagara yakyuu=o mi-ta.
 drink-LINK-CONCUR baseball=ACC watch-PST
 Intended meaning: ‘Akio watched baseball while Hanako drank beer.’
- (154) **Akio=wa Akio=ga biiru=o*
 Akio=TOP Akio=NOM beer=ACC
nom-i-nagara yakyuu=o mi-ta.
 drink-LINK-CONCUR baseball=ACC watch-PST
 Intended meaning: ‘Akio watched baseball while he drank beer.’
- (155) *Akio=wa biiru=o*
 Akio=TOP beer=ACC
nom-i-nagara yakyuu=o mi-ta.
 drink-LINK-CONCUR baseball=ACC watch-PST
 ‘Akio watched baseball while drinking beer.’

Exactly the same restrictions apply to the ‘Clause’ of the MMC. For example, compare (155) with (156).

- (156) [*Akio=wa biiru=o*
 Akio=TOP beer=ACC
nom-i-nagara yakyuu=o mi-ta]
 drink-LINK-CONCUR baseball=ACC watch-PST
moyoo=da.
 appearance=COP.NPST
 ‘It appears that Akio watched baseball while drinking beer.’

[4] Quantifier float

According to this criterion, the subject can trigger quantifier float. Compare the following verb-predicate sentences.

- (157) *San-nin=no* *gakusee=ga* *ki-ta.*
 three-person=GEN student=NOM come-PST
 ‘Three students came.’
- (158) *Gakusee=ga* *san-nin* *ki-ta.*
 student=NOM three-person come-PST
 ‘(As above)’

Likewise, the subject of the ‘Clause’ can trigger quantifier float.

- (159) [*San-nin=no* *gakusee=ga* *ki-ta*]
 three-person=GEN student=NOM come-PST
moyoo=da.
 appearance=COP.NPST
 ‘It appears that three students came.’
- (160) [*Gakusee=ga* *san-nin* *ki-ta*]
 student=NOM three-person come-PST
moyoo=da.
 appearance=COP.NPST
 ‘(As above)’

5.6.4 Modification of ‘Noun’

All of the content nouns (5.4.2) and some of the non-content nouns (5.4.3) can be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or the like when they are used outside the MMC. Examples include (129), (130), and (161). However, when a noun is used in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC, it cannot be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or the like. Compare (162) (MMC) and (163) (in which the ‘Noun’ is modified.)

- (161) *Kyuuna* *yotee=ga* *deki-ta.*
 urgent plan=NOM emerge-PST
 ‘An urgent schedule has come up.’
- (162) [*Hanako=wa* *Nagoya=ni* *ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (163) * [*Hanako=wa* *Nagoya=ni* *ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
kyuuna yotee=da.
 urgent plan=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya urgently.’

5.6.5 Modification by means of 'Clause Noun'

The 'Clause Noun' of the MMC may modify a noun. Consider the following set of examples.

- (164) [*Hanako=wa ik-u*] *yotee=da.*
 Hanako=TOP go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
 'Hanako plans to go.'
- (165) *ik-u* *yotee=de* *ar-u* *hito*
 go-NPST plan=COP.GER be-NPST person
 'the/a person who plans to go'
- (166) *ik-u* *yotee=dat-ta* *hito*
 go-NPST plan=COP-PST person
 'the/a person who planned to go'
- (167) *ik-u* *yotee=no* *hito*
 go-NPST plan=GEN person
 'the/a person who plans to go'

That is, there are at least two ways for the 'Clause Noun' to modify a noun:

- (a) Clause Noun Copula, e.g. (165), (166).
 (b) Clause Noun Genitive, e.g. (167).

In (165) and (166) (and maybe in (167), too), the underlined part functions rather like an adnominal clause ('AC').

When the 'Copula' is in the nonpast, it must have the periphrastic form *-de ar-* (formal) (Table 1), e.g. (165). It cannot be in the non-periphrastic form *=da*; see (168). (The same restriction is observed in ACs. See (16) and (17).)

- (168) **ik-u* *yotee=da* *hito*
 go-NPST plan=COP.NPST person
 Intended meaning: 'the/a person who plans to go'

The noun *yotee* 'plan' is a content noun. These two methods, i.e. (a) and (b), are probably available for all of the content nouns. They are also available for at least some of the non-content nouns, e.g. *tumori* 'intention'. Compare:

- (169) [*Hanako=wa ik-u*] *tumori=da.*
 Hanako=TOP go-NPST *tumori=COP.NPST*
 'Hanako intends to go.'
- (170) *ik-u* *tumori=de* *ar-u* *hito*
 go-NPST *tumori=COP.GER* be-NPST person
 'the/a person who intends to go'
- (171) *ik-u* *tumori=dat-ta* *hito*
 go-NPST *tumori=COP-PST* person
 'the/a person who intended to go'

- (172) *ik-u tumori =no hito*
 go-NPST tumori =GEN person
 ‘the/a person who intends to go’

However, with some other non-content nouns, neither (a) nor (b) is available. These nouns include *mono* (5.4.3-[4]) indicating (i) obligation, advice, (ii) explanation, (iii) past experience, or (iv) strong emotion, wish, hope, and *koto* (5.4.3-[9]) expressing advice, obligation, instruction. Compare (173) (same as (123)) with (174) to (176).

- (173) [*Gakusee=wa issyokenmee benkyoo-su-ru*]
 student=TOP very.hard study-do-NPST
koto=da.
koto=COP.NPST
 ‘Students should study very hard.’
- (174) **issyokenmee benkyoo-su-ru*
 very.hard study-do-NPST
koto=de ar-u hito
koto=COP.GER be-NPST person
 Intended meaning: ‘the/a person who should study very hard’
- (175) **issyokenmee benkyoo-su-ru*
 very.hard study-do-NPST
koto=dat-ta hito
koto=COP-PST be-NPST person
 Intended meaning: ‘the/a person who had to study very hard’
- (176) **issyokenmee benkyoo-su-ru koto=no hito*
 very.hard study-do-NPST *koto=GEN person*
 Intended meaning: ‘the/a person who should study very hard’

5.6.6 MMC in subordinate clauses

In 5.6.5, we saw that certain instances of the MMC can occur in ACs, e.g. (165) to (167), and (170) to (172), but that others cannot, cf. (174) to (176). The difference has to do with the noun involved. The same applies to the use of the MMC in other kinds of subordinate clauses. For example, consider the gerund — one of the nonfinite forms (Table 1).

With some nouns, the MMC ending in the gerund form can occur in a subordinate clause. One example is (42) (*yotee=de* ‘plan=COP.GER’); it involves the content noun *yotee* ‘plan’.

However, no such subordination is possible with, for example, *koto* ‘fact’ for advice, instruction, or obligation. See (145) and (148); they are used rather like imperative sentences, and they will not be used in a subordinate clause.

5.6.7 ‘Clause’ without a verb

Compare the following set of examples.

- (177) *Densya=wa go-ji=ni tootyaku-su-ru.*
train=TOP five-hour=DAT/LOC arrival-do-NPST
‘The train arrives/will arrive at five o’clock.’
- (178) *Densya=wa go-ji=ni tootyaku=da.*
train=TOP five-hour=DAT/LOC arrival=COP.NPST
LT: ‘The train is an arrival at five o’clock.’
FT: ‘The train will arrive at five o’clock.’
- (179) [*Densya=wa go-ji=ni tootyaku-su-ru*]
train=TOP five-hour=DAT/LOC arrival-do-NPST
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
‘The train is scheduled to arrive at five o’clock.’
- (180) [*Densya=wa go-ji=ni tootyaku]=no*
train=TOP five-hour=DAT/LOC arrival=GEN
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
‘(As above)’
- (181) [*Densya=wa go-ji=ni tootyaku]=no*
train=TOP five-hour=DAT/LOC arrival=GEN
yotee.
plan
‘(As above)’

In (177), the predicate is a compound verb that consists of a noun of Chinese origin (*tootyaku* ‘arrival’) and the native Japanese verb *su-* ‘do’. This type of compound verb will be abbreviated as ‘Chinese-*su-*’.

Example (177) is a verb-predicate sentence. Example (178) (same as (10)) is an instance of ‘quasi-noun-predicate sentence’. It is possible to say that (178) is formed by replacing the verb *su-* ‘do’ of (177) with the copula. This ‘replacement’ is possible when the predicate is a compound verb of ‘Chinese-*su-*’.

Example (179) is a prototypical MMC. When the predicate of its ‘Clause’ is a compound verb of ‘Chinese-*su-*’, *su-* can be replaced with the enclitic =*no* (genitive case, nominalizer, or complementizer), resulting in (180). Furthermore, the ‘Copula’ can be absent, as in (181).

In instances such as (180) and (181), the ‘Clause’ lacks a verb. (They are not instances of the prototypical MMC.)

It is not known if sentences such as (180) and (181) are possible with all the compound verbs of ‘Chinese-*su-*’.

6. Comparison of MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We shall compare the following constructions, including the MMC, regarding morphological and other aspects of their predicate in 6.2, and

syntax in 6.3.

- (a) Internal adnominal clause ('Internal AC') (4.2.1.2).
- (b) External adnominal clause ('External AC') (4.2.1.3).
- (c) Adverbial clause of time.
- (d) 'Clause' of the MMC.
- (e) Verb-predicate sentence.
- (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence.
- (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence.
- (h) Noun-predicate sentence (which involves the copula).

This list does not exhaust the construction types in Japanese. Nonetheless, this comparison will help to locate the MMC in a broader context of Japanese morphosyntax.

6.2 Morphological and other aspects of the predicate

We shall look at the verbal categories that have a modal and/or illocutionary force (6.2.1), *syuuzyosi* 'final postposition' (6.2.2), and tense and related categories (6.2.3), and then provide a discussion (6.2.4). The results of this comparison are shown in Table 3.

6.2.1 Verbal categories that have a modal and/or illocutionary force

[1] Imperative

The imperative is possible in (e) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (182), but not in (d) 'Clause' of the MMC. See (53) (*ik-e* 'go-IMP'). Nor is it possible in (a), (b), or (c). The imperative is absent with (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, (g) *Na*-adjective predicate sentence, and (h) Noun-predicate sentence (although it may be possible to make up a periphrastic expression). It does not seem worthwhile to give unacceptable sentences.

(e) Verb-predicate sentence

- (182) *Hayaku hon=o yom-e!*
quickly book=ACC read-IMP
'Read the book quickly!'

[2] Intentional

Exactly the same comment given on the imperative applies to the intentional. An example of (e) Verb-predicate sentence is (183). An unacceptable example of (d) the 'Clause' of the MMC is (54) (*ik-oo* 'go-INT').

- (183) (Context: Hanako is going to Nagoya.)
Watasi=mo Nagoya=ni ik-oo.
1SG=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-INT
'I, too, will go to Nagoya.'

[3] Polite

The polite suffix *-mas* has a wider distribution than do the imperative and the intentional.

(a) Internal AC

The polite form is not highly acceptable (cf. Takahashi 1974: 42, 48, Okutsu 1974: 41, Teramura 1992: 249). Hence the question mark in Table 3.

- (184) ?*Kore=wa Tanaka-sensee=ga*
 this=TOP Tanaka-professor=NOM
kak-i-mas-i-ta *hon=des-u.*
 write-LINK-POL-LINK-PST COP-POL-NPST
 ‘This is the/a book that Professor Tanaka wrote.’

Hiroshi Kudo (p.c.) and Setsuko Ando (p.c.) suggest that the polite form becomes acceptable if the predicate of the main clause is in the polite form, as in (184) (= *des-u* ‘POL-NONPST’), or if the predicate of the AC is in one of the respect forms. (See 5.3.2.2-[2] for respect forms.) Harada (1976: 557) states in effect that polite suffixes, such as *-mas*, may occur in ACs, ‘though apparently only in the hyperpolite style’.

(b) External AC

The comment given on internal ACs applies to external ACs.

- (185) ?*Kore=wa Hanako=ga sakana=o yaki-mas-u*
 this=TOP Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-POL-NPST
nioi=des-u.
 smell=COP.POL-NPST
 LT: ‘This is the/a smell with which Hanako grills a fish.’
 FT: ‘This is the smell of Hanako grilling a fish.’

(c) Adverbial clause of time

As seen in 4.2.2, one of the three ways to form adverbial clauses involves ‘Noun=postposition’ (the postposition may be absent under certain circumstances). Many of these nouns indicate a temporal relationship between two situations. It may look as if such an adverbial clause consists of an AC and a noun (generally followed by a postposition). Indeed, previous studies such as Okutsu (1974), Takahashi (1959, 1979, 1994) and Teramura (1992) regard these adverbial clauses as involving an AC. It is in view of this that (c) is included in this comparison. Also it is in view of this that most of the chapters on individual languages in the present volume contain an account of the formation of adverbial clauses.

Regarding the acceptability of the polite form in these adverbial clauses of time, the comment given on internal ACs applies.

- (186) ?*Tanaka-sensee=ga syuppatu-s-i-mas-i-ta*
 Tanaka-professor=NOM departure-do-LINK-POL-LINK-PST
toki=ni, Yamada-sensee=ga
 time=DAT/LOC Yamada-professor=NOM

tootyaku-s-i-mas-i-ta.

arrival-do-LINK-POL-LINK-PST

LT: 'At the time [when] Professor Tanaka left, Professor Yamada arrived.'

FT: When Professor Tanaka left, Professor Yamada arrived.'

(d) 'Clause' of the MMC

The polite form cannot be used, cf. (64), even when the 'Copula' is in the polite form, cf. (65).

(e) Verb-predicate sentence

The polite form can be used, e.g. (62).

(f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence

The polite form can be used, e.g.:

- (187) *Kono biiru=wa oisi-i=des-u.*
this beer=TOP tasty-NPST=COP.POL-NPST
'This beer is tasty.'

(g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence

The polite form can be used, e.g.:

- (188) *Hanako=wa genki=des-u.*
Hanako=TOP healthy=COP.POL-NPST
'Hanako is well.'

(h) Noun-predicate sentence (which involves the copula)

The polite form can be used, e.g.:

- (189) *Hanako=wa isya=des-u.*
Hanako=TOP doctor-COP.POL-NPST
'Hanako is a (medical) doctor.'

6.2.2 *Syuuzyosi* 'final postposition'

A *syuuzyosi* 'final postposition' generally occurs sentence-finally and provides a modal meaning or the like, e.g. =*ka* 'question', =*ne* 'request for confirmation', and =*yo* 'strong assertion'. That is, a *syuuzyosi* 'final postposition' has a modal or illocutionary effect.

Syuuzyosi cannot occur after the predicate in any of the following.

- (a) Internal AC.
- (b) External AC.
- (c) Adverbial clause of time.
- (d) 'Clause' of the MMC.

Note that a *syuuzyosi* cannot occur after the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC. See (78) to (80).

In contrast, a *syuuzyosi* can occur after the predicate in the following.

(e) Verb-predicate sentence.

- (190) *Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC
ik-i-mas-u=ka?
go-LINK-POL-NPST=Q
'Does/Will Hanako go to Nagoya?'

(f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (191).

(g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (192).

(h) Noun-predicate sentence (which involves the copula), e.g. (193).

- (191) *Kono biiru=wa oisi-i=des-u=ka?*
this beer=TOP tasty-NPST=COP.POL-NPST=Q
'Is this beer tasty?'
- (192) *Hanako=wa genki=des-u=ka?*
Hanako=TOP healthy=COP.POL-NPST=Q
'Is Hanako well?'
- (193) *Hanako=wa isya=des-u=ka?*
Hanako=TOP doctor-COP.POL-NPST
'Is Hanako a (medical) doctor?'

6.2.3 Tense and related categories

We shall look at the past, and then the nonpast. As was the case in 4.2.1.1 and 5.3.2.2-[2], we need to distinguish the following two groups.

(i) Verbs and *i*-adjectives.

(ii) *Na*-adjectives and the copula.

These two groups exhibit different behaviours in the nonpast, although there is no such difference in the past. (Portions of the paradigms of verbs, *i*-adjectives, *na*-adjectives, and the copula are shown in Table 1.)

[1] Past

The past can be used in all of the constructions listed in Table 3. There is no behavioural difference between the two groups. Examples follow.

(a) Internal AC, e.g. (20) to (22) (*okut-ta* 'send-PST').

(b) External AC, e.g. *it-ta* 'go-PST' in:

- (194) *Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni it-ta wake*
Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-PST reason
'the reason why Hanako went to Nagoya'

(c) Adverbial clause of time, e.g. (33) (the first occurrence of *tu-i-ta* 'arrive-LINK-PST').

(d) 'Clause' of the MMC, e.g. (66) (*hut-ta* 'fall-PST') (verb), (68) (*akaruk-atta* 'cheerful-PST') (*i*-adjective), (71) (*genki=datta* 'healthy=PST') (*na*-adjective), (75) (*tensai=dat-ta* 'genius=COP-PST') (copula), (86)

(*tassee-si-ta* ‘achievement-do-PST’) (verb).

(e) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (33) (the second occurrence of *tu-i-ta* ‘arrive-LINK-PST’).

(f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (69).

(g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (72).

(h) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (76).

[2] Nonpast

As seen in Section 3, *na*-adjectives and the copula have a distinct adnominal form, which has the meaning of the nonpast. With *i*-adjectives and verbs, the adnominal form is identical with the nonpast form.

[2-1] Nonpast: verbs and *i*-adjectives

The nonpast form can be used in all of the relevant constructions listed in Table 3. (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence and (h) Noun-predicate sentence are irrelevant; their predicate is neither a verb nor an *i*-adjective.

Examples follow.

(a) Internal AC, e.g.:

(195) *mainiti* *hon=o* *yom-u* *gakusee*
everyday book=ACC read-NPST student
‘a student who reads books everyday’

(b) External AC, e.g. (29) (*yak-u* ‘grill-NPST’) and (31) (*aruk-u* ‘walk-NPST’).

(c) Adverbial clauses of time, e.g. (32) (*tuk-u* ‘arrive-NPST’).

(d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC, e.g. (164) (*ik-u* ‘go-NPST’) (verb) and (46) (*akaru-i* ‘cheerful-NPST’) (*i*-adjective).

(e) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (35) (*ik-u* ‘go-NPST’).

(f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (6) (*kura-i* ‘dark-NPST’).

(g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

(h) Noun-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

[2-2] Nonpast: *na*-adjectives and the copula

These have a distinct adnominal form (involving =*na*), separately from the nonpast form (involving =*da*).

[2-2-1] *Na*-adjectives

The nonpast can occur in (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (7) (*genki=da* ‘healthy=NPST’). Elsewhere, it cannot occur, and the adnominal form or the periphrastic form =*de ar-* ‘COP.GER be’ (formal) must occur in place of the nonpast form. The following types of constructions are irrelevant; their predicate can be in no way a *na*-adjective: (e) Verb-predicate sentence, (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, and (h) Noun-predicate sentence (which involves the copula).

Examples follow.

(a) Internal AC. Compare *(13), (14) and (15).

(b) External AC. Compare *(195), (196) and (197).

- (195) **Hanako=ga genki=da wake*
 Hanako=NOM healthy=NPST reason
 Intended meaning: 'the reason why Hanako is well'
- (196) *Hanako=ga genki=na wake*
 Hanako=NOM healthy=ADN reason
 'the reason why Hanako is well'
- (197) *Hanako=ga genki=de ar-u wake*
 Hanako=NOM healthy=GER be-NPST reason
 '(As above)'

(c) Adverbial clauses of time. Compare *(198), (199) and (200).

- (198) **Watasi=wa Hanako=ga genki=da*
 1SG=TOP Hanako=NOM healthy=ADN
toki=ni a-i-ta-i.
 time=DAT/LOC meet-LINK-DESID-NPST
 Intended meaning: 'I want to see Hanako when she is well.'
- (199) *Watasi=wa Hanako=ga genki=na*
 1SG=TOP Hanako=NOM healthy=ADN
toki=ni a-i-ta-i.
 time=DAT/LOC meet-LINK-DESID-NPST
 'I want to see Hanako when she is well.'
- (200) *Watasi=wa Hanako=ga genki=de*
 1SG=TOP Hanako=NOM healthy=ADN
ar-u toki=ni a-i-ta-i.
 be-NPST time=DAT/LOC meet-LINK-DESID-NPST
 '(As above)'

(d) 'Clause' of the MMC

Compare *(47) (*genki=da* 'healthy=NPST'), (48) (*genki=de ar-u* 'healthy=GER be-NPST'), and (49) (*genki=na* 'healthy=ADN').

(e) Verb-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

(f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

(g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence

The nonpast can be used, e.g. (201). The adnominal form cannot be used; see (202). The periphrastic form can be used, but it sounds formal, e.g. (203).

- (201) *Hanako=wa genki=da.*
 Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST
 'Hanako is well.'
- (202) **Hanako=wa genki=na.*
 Hanako=TOP healthy=ADN
 Intended meaning: 'Hanako is well.'
- (203) *Hanako=wa genki=de ar-u.*
 Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST be-NPST
 'Hanako is well.'

(h) Noun-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

[2-2-2] The copula

The nonpast (=da) can occur in (h) Noun-predicate sentence (which involves the copula), e.g. (8) (*isya=da* ‘doctor=COP.NPST’). Elsewhere, it cannot occur, and the periphrastic form =*de ar-* ‘COP.GER be’ (formal) must occur in place of the nonpast form. The adnominal forms is not acceptable. The following types of constructions are irrelevant; their predicate can be in no way a noun followed by the copula: (e) Verb-predicate sentence, (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, and (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence.

Examples follow.

(a) Internal AC

Compare *(16) (*isya=da* ‘doctor-COP.NPST’), (17) (*isya=de ar-u* ‘doctor-COP.GER be-NPST’), and (18) (*isya=na* ‘doctor-COP.ADN’).

(b) External AC. Compare:

- (204) **Hanako=ga tensai=da* *wake*
Hanako=NOM genius=COP.NPST reason
Intended meaning: ‘the reason why Hanako is a genius’
- (205) *Hanako=ga tensai=de ar-u* *wake*
Hanako=NOM genius=COP.GER be-NPST reason
‘the reason why Hanako is a genius’

(c) Adverbial clauses of time. Compare:

- (206) **Watasi=wa Hanako=ga gakutyoo=da*
1SG=TOP Hanako=NOM president=COP.NPST
aida=ni a-i-ta-i.
while(noun)=DAT/LOC meet-LINK-DESID-NPST
Intended meaning: ‘I want to meet Hanako while she is the president [of a university].’
- (207) *Watasi=wa Hanako=ga gakutyoo=de*
1SG=TOP Hanako=NOM president=COP.GER
ar-u aida=ni
be-NPST while=DAT/LOC
a-i-ta-i.
meet-LINK-DESID-NPST
‘I want to meet Hanako while she is the president.’

(d) The predicate of the MMC

Compare *(50) (*tensai=da* ‘genius=COP.NPST’), (51) (*tensai=de ar-u* ‘genius=COP.GER be-NPST’) and (52) (*tensai=na* ‘genius=COP.ADN’).

(e) Verb-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

(f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

(g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence: irrelevant.

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

The nonpast =*da* can be used, e.g. (8). The periphrastic =*de ar-u*, too, can

be used, but it sounds formal, e.g. (77).

6.2.4 Discussion

What we have seen regarding the morphological and other aspects of the predicate is summarized in Table 5. The four dots indicate ‘irrelevant’.

Table 3. Comparison of constructions: predicate

	imperative	intentional	polite
(a) internal AC	–	–	?
(b) external AC	–	–	?
(c) adverbial: time	–	–	?
(d) MMC	–	–	–
(e) verb sentence	+	+	+
(f) <i>i</i> -adjective sentence	+
(g) <i>na</i> -adjective sentence	+
(h) noun sentence	+

	<i>syuuzyosi</i> ‘final post- position’	past (verb, <i>i</i> -adjective, <i>na</i> -adjective, copula)
(a) internal AC	–	+
(b) external AC	–	+
(c) adverbial: time	–	+
(d) MMC	–	+
(e) verb sentence	+	+
(f) <i>i</i> -adjective sentence	+	+
(g) <i>na</i> -adjective sentence	+	+
(h) noun sentence	+	+

nonpast and alternatives			
	verb, <i>i</i> -adjective	<i>na</i> -adjective	copula
(a) internal AC	+	*= <i>da</i> (NPST) = <i>na</i> (AND) = <i>de ar-u</i> (formal)	*= <i>da</i> = <i>de ar-u</i>
(b) external AC	+	*= <i>da</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>de ar-u</i>	*= <i>da</i> = <i>de ar-u</i>
(c) adverbial: time	+	*= <i>da</i> = <i>na</i>	*= <i>da</i>

			= <i>de ar-u</i>	= <i>de ar-u</i>
			-----	-----
(d) MMC	+		*= <i>da</i>	*= <i>da</i>
			= <i>na</i>	
			= <i>de ar-u</i>	= <i>de ar-u</i>
			-----	-----
(e) verb sentence	+		....	....
(f) <i>i</i> -adjective sentence	+		....	....
			-----	-----
(g) <i>na</i> -adjective sentence	....		+ (= <i>da</i>)	....
			*= <i>na</i>	
			= <i>de ar-u</i>	
			-----	-----
(h) noun sentence	....		....	+ (= <i>da</i>)
				*= <i>na</i>
				= <i>de ar-u</i>

In terms of the morphological and other aspects of the predicate, these eight construction types cannot be easily classified. Nonetheless, it is possible to say that (d) the predicate of the MMC is somewhat more similar to (a), (b), and (c) than to (e), (f), (g), and (h). See in particular the distribution of *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’, and that of the adnominal form (= *na*). Note that (a), (b), and (c) are subordinate clauses ((a) and (b) are ACs), while (e), (f), (g), and (h) are (independent) sentences. That is, in terms of the morphological and other aspects of the predicate, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC may be considered slightly more similar to subordinate clauses (including ACs) than to (independent) sentences.

6.3 Syntax

Those aspects that we shall examine can be roughly classified as follows: modal and/or pragmatic aspects (6.3.1) and purely syntactic aspects (6.3.2).

6.3.1 Modal and/or pragmatic aspects

6.3.1.1 =*wa* for topic. The enclitic =*wa* ‘TOP’ can indicate topic, e.g. (208), or contrast, e.g. (209) (although this dichotomy is not clear-cut) (see Kuno 1973: 37-61).

- (208) *Watasi=wa gakusee=da.*
 1SG=TOP student=COP.NPST
 ‘I am a student.’
- (209) *Watasi=wa gakusee=da=ga,*
 1SG=TOP student=COP.NPST=ADVSTV
Hanako=wa isya=da.
 Hanako=TOP doctor=COP.NPST
 ‘I am a student, but Hanako is a doctor.’

Now, =*wa* for topic cannot occur in ACs (Minami 1961: 83) or adverbial clauses of time (although =*wa* for contrast can). (If the NP in question is the subject, the nominative postposition =*ga* can occur.) However, =*wa* for topic can occur in all the other constructions, including the ‘Clause’ of the MMC.

=*wa* for topic cannot occur in the following constructions:

- (a) Internal AC. Compare (210) and (211).
- (b) External AC, cf. (212).
- (c) Adverbial clause of time, cf. (213).

- (210) **Kore=wa Hanako=wa nom-u*
 this=TOP Hanako=TOP drink-NPST
biiru=da.
 beer=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘This is the beer that Hanako drinks/will drink.’

(This sentence is acceptable in the contrast reading: ‘the beer that at least Hanako drinks/will drink, in contrast with other people, who may or may not drink this beer’. The same applies to (211) to (213).)

- (211) *Kore=wa Hanako=ga nom-u*
 this=TOP Hanako=NOM drink-NPST
biiru=da.
 beer=COP.NPST
 ‘This is the beer that Hanako drinks/will drink.’
- (212) **Hanako=wa hanas-u koe*
 Hanako=TOP talk-NPST voice
 Intended meaning: ‘the voice with which Hanako talks’
- (213) **Akio=wa tuk-u mae=ni,*
 Akio=TOP arrive-NPST before=DAT/LOC
Hanako=ga tu-i-ta.
 Hanako=NOM arrive-LINK-PST
 Intended meaning: ‘Before Akio arrived, Hanako arrived.’

=*wa* for topic can occur in the following constructions (the contrast reading, too, is possible), and in fact it occurs very frequently.

- (d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC, e.g. (34), (36), (38).
- (e) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (35), (37), (39).
- (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (69), (70).
- (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (72), (201).
- (h) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (208).

6.3.1.2 *Adverbs of modality*. They include *tabun* ‘probably’, *osoraku* ‘possibly’, *masaka* ‘unlikely’, and *yomoya* ‘highly unlikely’. Very roughly

speaking, they are at best marginally acceptable in ACs (Minami 1974: 133, 141, Okutsu 1974: 52) and adverbial clauses of time.

- (a) Internal AC, cf. (214).
- (b) External AC, cf. (215).
- (c) Adverbial clause of time, cf. (216).

- (214) ?*Kore=wa Hanako=ga tabun ka-i-ta*
 this=TOP Hanako=NOM probably write-LINK-PST
hon=da.
 book=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘This is the/a book that Hanako probably wrote.’
- (215) ?*Kore=wa Hanako=ga tabun sakana=o*
 this=TOP Hanako=NOM probably fish=ACC
yak-u nioi=da.
 grill-NPST smell=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘This is the smell with which Hanako grills fish.’
- (216) ?*Hanako=ga tabun tuk-u mae=ni,*
 Hanako=NOM probably arrive-NPST before=DAT/LOC
Akio=ga tu-i-ta.
 Akio=NOM arrive-LINK-PST
 ‘Before Hanako probably arrived, Akio arrived.’

These adverbs of modality can occur in the following constructions.

- (d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC, e.g. (217).
 - (e) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (218).
 - (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (219).
 - (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence, e.g. (220).
 - (h) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (221).
- (217) [*Hanako=wa tabun Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP probably Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako probably plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (218) *Hanako=wa tabun Nagoya=ni ik-u.*
 Hanako=TOP probably Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
 ‘Hanako probably goes/will go to Nagoya.’
- (219) *Kono biiru=wa tabun oisi-i.*
 this beer=TOP probably tasty-NPST
 ‘This beer is probably tasty.’
- (220) *Hanako=wa tabun genki=da.*
 Hanako=TOP probably healthy-NPST
 ‘Hanako is probably well.’

- (221) *Hanako=wa tabun isya=da.*
 Hanako=TOP probably doctor=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako is probably a doctor.’

6.3.2 Purely syntactic aspects

6.3.2.1 *NOM~GEN conversion.* In ACs, the nominative =*ga* can be replaced with the genitive =*no*, though not always. This observation has been made by the following authors regarding certain types of what I have labeled the MMC: Mikami (1972: 27-28, 234-235) and Teramura (1984: 264). This conversion is also possible (though not always) in adverbial clauses of time. In contrast, it is unacceptable in all other constructions.

The NOM~GEN conversion is possible in the following constructions.

- (a) Internal AC, e.g. (222).
 (b) External AC, e.g. (223).
 (c) Adverbial clause of time, e.g. (224).

- (222) *Akio=ga* (or *Akio=no*) *yon-da hon*
 Akio=NOM (Akio=GEN) read-PST book
 ‘the/a book that Akio read’
- (223) *Hanako=ga* (or *Hanako=no*) *hanas-u koe*
 Hanako=NOM (Hanako=GEN) talk-NPST voice
 LT: ‘the voice with which Hanako talks’
- (224) *Hanako=ga* (or *Hanako=no*) *tuk-u*
 Hanako=NOM (Hanako=GEN) arrive-NPST
mae=ni, Akio=ga tu-i-ta.
 before=DAT/LOC Akio=NOM arrive-LINK-PST
 ‘Before Hanako arrived, Akio arrived.’

This conversion is impossible in the following constructions.

- (d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC, cf. (225).
 (e) Verb-predicate sentence, cf. (226).
 (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, cf. (227).
 (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence, cf. (228).
 (h) Noun-predicate sentence, cf. (229).

- (225) [*Asita=wa Hanako=ga (*Hanako=no)*
 tomorrow=TOP Hanako=NOM (Hanako=GEN)
tuk-u yotee=da.
 arrive-NPST plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako plans to arrive tomorrow.’
- (226) *Hanako=ga (*Hanako=no) tuk-u.*
 Hanako=NOM (Hanako=GEN) arrive-NPST
 ‘Hanako arrives/will arrive.’
- (227) *Hanako=ga (*Hanako=no) kasiko-i.*
 Hanako=NOM (Hanako=GEN) wise-NPST

- ‘Hanako is wise.’
- (228) *Hanako=ga* (**Hanako=no*) *genki=da.*
 Hanako=NOM (Hanako=GEN) healthy=NPST
 ‘Hanako is well.’
- (229) *Hanako=ga* (**Hanako=no*) *tensai=da.*
 Hanako=NOM (Hanako=GEN) genius=NPST
 ‘Hanako is a genius.’

6.3.2.2 ‘Herald word’. As seen in 4.2.1.2, a ‘herald word’, i.e. a mirror image of a resumptive pronoun, can occur in certain internal ACs. Specifically, it can occur in adverbial phrases of place, instrument or the like, i.e. ‘Oblique object’ in terms of Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) hierarchy, e.g. *sore* ‘that’ (non-attributive) in (25), *sono* ‘that’ (attributive), and *soko* ‘there’ in (27). The use of a ‘herald word’ is impossible with ‘Subject’, ‘Direct object’, and ‘Indirect object’.

A ‘herald word’ cannot occur in any other constructions. For example, regarding external ACs, see (230) and (231). Regarding the MMC, see (232) and (233). For the remaining types of constructions, no examples (all unacceptable) will be given.

(b) External AC

- (230) **Hanako=ga sore=de hanas-u koe*
 Hanako=NOM that=LOC/INS talk-NPST voice
 Intended meaning: ‘the voice with which Hanako talks’
- (231) **Hanako=ga sore=de sakana=o yak-u*
 Hanako=NOM that=LOC/INS fish=ACC grill-PST
nioi
 smell
 Intended meaning: ‘the smell with which Hanako grills a fish’

(d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC

- (232) **[Hanako=wa sore Nagoya=ni ik-u]*
 Hanako=TOP that Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (233) **[Akio=wa soko ima dekake-ta]*
 Akio=TOP there now go.out-PST
tokoro=da.
 tokoro=COP.NPST
 Intended meaning: ‘Akio has just gone out now.’

In (230), *sore* ‘that’ is intended to be coreferential with *koe* ‘voice’. This sentence does not make any sense. The same applies to (231) to (233).

6.3.2.3 *Valency reduction*. Valency is very difficult to define, and it is used

in a very loose sense.

(a) Internal AC

Valency reduction takes place (with possible exceptions noted below). The valency of a given AC is fewer by one than in the corresponding clause (Takahashi 1979: 89, Teramura 1992: 195). Compare the following examples, given in 4.2.1.2:

- (19) (a three-place clause/sentence).
- (20) (the subject is relativized on): the AC is two-place.
- (21) (the direct object is relativized on): the AC is two-place.
- (22) (the indirect object is relativized on): the AC is two-place.

The possible exceptions are ACs that contain a ‘herald word’, e.g. (25), (27), where it may be possible to say that valency reduction does not take place. Nonetheless, the use of a ‘herald word’ seems to be confined to ‘Oblique object’ in terms of Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) hierarchy — a low position on the hierarchy. It is impossible with any other position.

Other constructions

Valency reduction does not occur in any other construction. For example, regarding external ACs, compare (234) (a two-place clause) with the adnominal clause in (235) (again two-place). Regarding the MMC, compare (236) (two-place) and (237) (two-place). (Shin’ya (1989: 83-84) points out that valency reduction does not take place in what I call the MMC.) For the remaining types of constructions, no examples (all unacceptable) will be given.

(b) External AC

- (234) *Akio=ga ki=o kir-u.*
Aki=NOM tree=ACC cut-NPST
‘Akio cuts/will cut a tree.’
- (235) *Akio=ga ki=o kir-u oto.*
Aki=NOM tree=ACC cut-NPST sound
Intended meaning: ‘the sound with which Akio cuts a tree.’

(d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC

- (236) *Hanako=wa asita hon=o ka-u.*
Hanako=TOP tomorrow book=ACC buy-NPST
‘Hanako will buy a book tomorrow.’
- (237) [*Hanako=wa asita hon=o ka-u*]
Hanako=TOP tomorrow book=ACC buy-NPST
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
‘Hanako plans to buy a book tomorrow.’

6.3.2.4 *Clefting*. The cleft construction in Japanese has the following structure.

- (238) *X=no=wa NP=da.*
X=NMLZ=TOP NP=COP.NPST

Clefting is easiest to discuss if we start with independent sentences, i.e. (e) to (h), and then move to (d) MMC, followed by ACs and adverbial phrases of time, i.e. (a) to (c). Clefting is possible in independent sentences and the MMC, but not in other constructions. We shall examine the clefting of the subject.

Clefting is possible in the following constructions. A pair of a cleft sentence and the corresponding sentence is given for each construction.

(e) Verb-predicate sentence

- (239) *Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u.*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
 ‘Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya.’
- (240) *Nagoya=ni ik-u=no=wa*
Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=NMLZ=TOP
Hanako=da.
Hanako=COP.NPST
 ‘It is Hanako who goes/will go to Nagoya.’

(f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence

- (241) *Hanako=wa akaru-i.*
Hanako=TOP cheerful-NPST
 ‘Hanako is cheerful.’
- (242) *akaru-i=no=wa Hanako=da.*
cheerful-NONPST=NMLZ=TOP Hanako=COP.NPST
 ‘It is Hanako who is cheerful.’

(g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence

- (243) *Hanako=wa genki=da.*
Hanako=TOP well=NPST
 ‘Hanako is well.’
- (244) *genki=de ar-u=no=wa Hanako=da.*
well=GER be-NPST=NMLZ=TOP Hanako=COP.NPST
 ‘It is Hanako who is well.’
- (245) *genki=na=no=wa Hanako=da.*
well=ADN=NMLZ=TOP Hanako=COP.NPST
 ‘(As above)’

(The nonpast form of *na*-adjectives (=da) cannot precede =no=wa of the cleft construction. It must be replaced with the periphrastic =de ar-u (formal), as in (244), or by the adnominal form (=na), as in (245).)

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

- (246) *Hanako=wa gakusee=da.*
 Hanako=TOP student=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako is a student.’
- (247) *gakusee=de ar-u=no=wa*
 student=GER be-NPST=NMLZ=TOP
Hanako=da.
 Hanako=COP.NONPST
 ‘It is Hanako who is a student.’

(The nonpast form of the copula cannot precede =*no=wa* of the cleft construction. It must be replaced with the periphrastic =*de ar-u* (formal), as in (247). In contrast with *na*-adjectives, cf. (245), the adnominal form of the copula is not acceptable here. The same applies to (d) below.)

- (d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC
- (248) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.’
- (249) [*Nagoya=ni ik-u*]
 Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
yotee=de ar-u=no=wa
 plan=COP.GER be-NPST=NMLZ=TOP
Hanako=da.
 Hanako=COP.NPST
 ‘It is Hanako who plans to go to Nagoya.’

Clefting is impossible in all the other constructions.

(a) Internal AC

- (250) *Kore=wa Hanako=ga ka-i-ta*
 this=TOP Hanako=NOM write-LINK-PST
hon=da.
 book=COP.NPST
 ‘This is the book that Hanako wrote.’
- (251) **Kore=wa ka-i-ta hon=de*
 this=TOP write-LINK-PST book=COP.GER
ar-u=no=wa Hanako=da.
 be-NPST=NMLZ=TOP Hanako=COP.NPST
 (untranslatable)

(b) External AC

- (252) *Kore=wa Hanako=ga sakana=o yak-u*
 this=TOP Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-NPST

- nioi=da.*
 smell=COP.NPST
 LT: 'This is the smell with which Hanako grills a fish.'
- (253) **Kore=wa sakana=o yak-u nioi=de*
 this=TOP fish=ACC grill-NPST smell=COP.GER
ar-u=no=wa Hanako=da.
 be-NPST=NMLZ=TOP Hanako=COP.NPST
 (untranslatable)

(c) Adverbial clause of time

- (254) *Hanako=ga tuk-u mae=ni,*
 Hanako=NOM arrive-NPST before=DAT/LOC
Akio=ga tu-i-ta.
 Akio=NOM arrive-LINK-PST
 'Before Hanako arrived, Akio arrived.'
- (255) **Tuk-u mae=ni, Akio=ga*
 arrive-NPST before=DAT/LOC Akio=NOM
tu-i-ta=no=wa Hanako=da.
 arrive-LINK-PST (name)=COP.NPST
 (untranslatable)

As seen above, clefting cannot be applied to internal ACs, external ACs, or adverbial clauses of time. The subject cannot be moved out of these clauses. This indicates that these clauses constitute 'islands' (Ross 1986: 233-234, 288), and this constraint on clefting is an 'island constraint'. In contrast, clefting can be applied to the 'Clause' of the MMC, e.g. (249), as is the case with, for example, verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (240). This shows that the 'Clause' of the MMC, like verb-predicate sentences, does not constitute an 'island', in contrast with the three types of clauses mentioned above.

6.3.3 Discussion

The syntactic aspects that we examined in 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 are summarized in Table 4.

Recall that in terms of the morphological and other aspects of the predicate (Table 3), the 'Clause' of the MMC may be considered slightly more similar to subordinate clauses (including ACs) than to (independent) sentences.

Table 4. Comparison of constructions: syntax

	= <i>wa</i> for topic	adverbs of modality	NOM~GEN
(a) internal AC	–	?	+
(b) external AC	–	?	+
(c) adverbial: time	–	?	+
(d) MMC	+	+	–
(e) verb sentence	+	+	–
(f) <i>i</i> -adjective sentence	+	+	–
(g) <i>na</i> -adjective sentence	+	+	–
(h) noun sentence	+	+	–

	herald word	valency reduction	clefting
(a) internal AC	+	+	–
(b) external AC	–	–	–
(c) adverbial: time	–	–	–
(d) MMC	–	–	+
(e) verb sentence	–	–	+
(f) <i>i</i> -adjective sentence	–	–	+
(g) <i>na</i> -adjective sentence	–	–	+
(h) noun sentence	–	–	+

In contrast, regarding syntax, there is a clear boundary between the following two groups.

First group: (a) Internal AC, (b) External AC, (c) Adverbial clause of time.

Second group: (d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC, (e) Verb-predicate sentence, (f) *I*-adjective-predicate sentence, (g) *Na*-adjective-predicate sentence, (h) Noun-predicate sentence.

Note that the first group consists of subordinate clauses. This group includes both types of ACs: (a) and (b). In contrast, in the second group, (e), (f), (g), and (h) are independent sentences. Note that (d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC behaves exactly like independent sentences, and not like subordinate clauses, such as ACs.

6.4 Does MMC involve an AC?

Previous studies such as Takahashi (1959, 1979, 1994: 279-293), Okutsu (1974), and Teramura (1992) deal with many instances of what I have

labeled the MMC. They regard them as involving an AC. That is, in their view, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC is an AC and it modifies the ‘Noun’. (More specifically, in Teramura’s view, what I call the MMC involves an external AC. See 4.2.1.3 above for external ACs.) However, my analysis shows that the evidence to support this view is very weak. Tasaku Tsunoda (1996) concluded that the MMC should not be regarded as involving an AC and that it should be regarded as a separate construction. We shall examine this issue in the following.

[1] Morphological and other aspects of the predicate

As noted in 6.2.4 regarding Table 3, in terms of the morphological and other aspects of the predicate, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC may be considered slightly more similar to (a) Internal AC, (b) External AC, (c) Adverbial clause of time than to (e) Verb-predicate sentence, (f) *i*-adjective-predicate sentence, (g) *na*-adjective-clause sentence, and (h) noun-predicate sentence. In this respect, the facts presented in Table 3 support the view of the above-mentioned grammarians — though only weakly.

[2] Syntax

As noted in 6.3.3 regarding Table 4, in terms of syntax, there is a clear boundary between the two groups. It is important to emphasize that syntactically (d) ‘Clause’ of the MMC behaves exactly like independent sentences (i.e. (e), (f), (g), (h)), and not like subordinate clauses (i.e. (a), (b), (c)), such as ACs. The constructions (e), (f), (g), and (h) are all mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Note in particular that, in terms of clefting, (a), (b), and (c) constitute an ‘island’, whereas the ‘Clause’ of the MMC does not. That is, syntactically, the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, rather than bi-clausal, and there is no way that it can be regarded as containing an AC.

There are three additional pieces of evidence to show that the ‘Clause’ of the MMC differs from ACs.

[3] Semantic ill-formedness

As Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume, 1.2-[2]) notes, the MMC is peculiar. For example, consider (2) to (4). When literally interpreted, these sentences do not make sense. A literal translation of (2) is ‘Hanako is a plan [such that she] goes/will go to Nagoya’. Obviously, however, Hanako is a human being, and not a plan. A literal translation of (3) is ‘Hanako is a place [such that she] is reading a book now’. Again, Hanako is a human being, and not a place. A literal translation of (4) is ‘As for the outside, the rain is an appearance [such that it] is falling’. The rain is a meteorological phenomenon, and it is not an appearance.

[4] Indispensibility/non-indispensibility

Compare (256) (which involves an AC) and (257) (MMC).

- (256) *Hanako=wa daigaku=ni kayo-u*
 Hanako=TOP university=DAT/LOC attend-NPST
gakusee=da.
 student=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako is a student who attends a university.’

- (257) [*Hanako=wa daigaku=ni kayo-u*]
 Hanako=TOP university=DAT/LOC attend-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako plans to attend a university.’

These two sentences may look similar. However, they have different structures. The AC in (256) (*daigaku=ni kayo-u*) can be deleted, and the resultant sentence is well-formed; see (258). In contrast, if *daigaku=ni kayo-u* is deleted from (257), the resultant sentence is ill-formed; see (259).

- (258) *Hanako=wa gakusee=da.*
 Hanako=TOP student=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako is a student.’
 (259) **Hanako=wa yotee=da.*
 Hanako=TOP plan=COP.NPST
 LT: ‘Hanako is a plan.’

The presence of *daigaku=ni kayo-u* is optional in (256); it is an AC. In contrast, it is indispensable in (257); without it the sentence is ill-formed. It is an essential element of the sentence, and its syntactic status is different from that of ACs.

[5] Coreferentiality/non-coreferentiality

One of the three properties of the prototype of the MMC is the following (Section 1).

- (b) The subject of the ‘Clause’ and the ‘Noun’ are not coreferential.

Example (257) (MMC) has this property; *Hanako* (a human being) and *yotee* ‘plan’ are not coreferential. ((259) is ill-formed.) In contrast, the ACs do not have this property, cf. (256); *Hanako* and *gakusee* ‘student’ are coreferential. ((258) is well-formed.)

To sum up [1] to [5], the overwhelming evidence indicates that syntactically the MMC does not contain an AC. That is, the MMC is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

6.5 Syntactic structure of MMC

Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume, 5.4) lists five analyses of the syntactic structure of the MMC in Japanese (and in a few other languages).

- (a) Nominalization analysis.
- (b) Adnominal clause analysis.
- (c) Complementation analysis.
- (d) Compound predicate analysis.
- (e) Bridge construction analysis.

Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume, 5.4) adopts the analysis (d) for the MMC in Japanese (and also in a few other languages) on the grounds that this analysis regards the Japanese MMC as mono-clausal, in contrast with other analyses, which consider it bi-clausal. According to (d), the predicate of the sentence consists of three members: (i) the predicate of the ‘Clause’, (ii) the ‘Noun’ and (iii) the ‘Copula’. (260), for instance is analyzed as in (261).

- (260) [*Asita Hanako=ga hon=o ka-u*]
 tomorrow Hanako=NOM book=ACC buy-NPST
yotee=da.
 plan=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako plans to buy a book tomorrow.’
- (261) *Asita Hanako=ga hon=o ka-u yotee=da.*
 adjunct subject object predicate

7. Grammaticalization of ‘Noun’

7.1 Introductory notes

So far I have presented a synchronic overview of the MMC of Modern Japanese. In what follows, I shall attempt to investigate the grammaticalization of nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot. However, a full investigation of this issue is far beyond the scope of the present paper; it would require a large volume of several hundred pages. The following account is only tentative, brief, and selective.

In Section 5, we looked at the nouns that can occur in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC: content nouns (5.4.2), non-content nouns (5.4.3), and also the enclitic (nominalizer?) =*no* (5.4.4). In terms of syntax and morphology, all of them are grammaticalized, though to a limited degree. In terms of semantics, too, they are grammaticalized, to varying degrees.

Also, Modern Japanese exhibits a fair number of phenomena that originated, or may have originated, in the MMC.

Those aspects of the grammaticalization to be examined can be very roughly shown as follows.

- (a) Syntax
- (b) Morphology (1): affixation.
- (c) Morphology (2): (independent) word -> enclitic -> suffix.
- (d) Word class: noun -> *hukuzyosi* ‘modal postposition’,
syuuzyosi ‘final postposition’,
setuzokuzyosi ‘conjunction’.
- (e) Semantics: lexical meaning -> grammatical meaning.

The lists of the nouns that can occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC, given in 5.4.2 and 5.4.3, are intended to be near-exhaustive. In contrast, the lists of enclitics and suffixes given below are not intended to be exhaustive;

they are highly selective.

7.2 Morphology

As seen in 5.5, there are derivational prefixes that can be added to nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC, e.g. *go-* ‘polite’ and *go-* ‘polite’. In this respect, nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC have not lost their nounhood.

7.3 Syntax

As seen in 5.6.4, nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC cannot be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or the like when used in the MMC, although they can be when used outside the MMC. In this respect, nouns in the ‘Noun’ slot have lost their nounhood.

7.4 *Syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’

Roughly speaking, *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ and *hukuzyosi* ‘modal postposition’ can be characterized as follows. Both provide a modal or discourse-related meaning to a sentence. Often, *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ occurs sentence-finally, while *hukuzyosi* ‘modal postposition’ is added to NPs.

Now, there are *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ whose etymology is a ‘Noun’ in the MMC. Two examples are given: the nouns *mono* and *koto*. (I am grateful to Jounghmin Kim for pointing out that these two nouns have acquired the use as a *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’.)

[1] The final postposition =*mono* ‘strong emotion, explanation’, etc. Miyachi (this volume) reports that, in Old Japanese (‘OJ’) (700-800), the noun *mono* ‘thing’ is attested in the ‘Noun’ of the MMC. This MMC has a modal meaning, such as ‘be bound to’ and ‘should’ (obligation). In Early Middle Japanese (‘EMJ’) (800-1200), this noun means ‘thing, person’. It is attested in the MMC, and this MMC indicates general tendency or the like.

In Modern Japanese (‘MJ’) (see 5.4.3-[4] above), the noun *mono* ‘thing’ can be used in the MMC, and has various meanings, such as (i) obligation, advice, (ii) explanation, (iii) recalling a past experience, and (iv) surprise, strong emotion, wish, hope. Also, as noted in 5.6.1-[2]-(b), when *mono* expresses strong emotion, wish, or hope, the copula is often absent, e.g. (137).

In addition, *mono* has the use as a *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’, expressing (i) explanation, (ii) strong emotion, etc. An example:

(262) (An example cited from a TV ad, about life insurance for women, in which the actress says as follows.)

Onna=des-u=mono.

woman=COP.POL-NPST=*mono*

‘I am a woman.’

(The implication of this TV ad is the following: ‘Because I am a woman, I want to remain young and beautiful, so I will buy this life insurance. I recommend this to you, too’.) As noted in 5.3.2.2-[3], the predicate of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC cannot occur in the polite form. See (62) and (63). Note, however, that the predicate in (262) is in the polite form. This indicates that (262) is no longer an instance of the MCC (or at least, it is not an instance of the prototypical MMC). This in turn shows that *mono* has acquired the status of a *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ in (262). (With all (or most?) of the other *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’, the predicate can occur in the polite form.)

In the spoken language, =*mono* is sometimes shortened.

(263) (An example cited from the dictionary *Kojien* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2008, 6th edition, p. 2807))

Sonna koto sit-te i-ru=mon.
 such fact know-TE be-NPST=*mono*
 ‘[I] do know such a thing.’

To sum up, the following changes have occurred.

(264) *mono* (OJ) (noun) ‘thing’, also ‘person’ in EMJ ->
mono (OJ) (noun in MMC) ‘be bound to’, ‘should’ (obligation) ->
mono (EMJ) (noun in MMC) ‘general tendency’ ->
mono (MJ) (noun in MMC) ‘explanation, strong emotion’, etc. ->
 =*mono* (MJ) (final postposition) ‘explanation, strong emotion’,
 etc. ->
 =*mon* (MJ) (final postposition) ‘explanation, strong emotion’, etc.

[2] The final postposition =*koto* ‘advice, obligation, instruction’ Miyachi (this volume) reports that the noun *koto* is attested in the ‘Noun’ slot in the MMC of EMJ (800-1200), and this MMC indicates general tendency or strong emotion.

In MJ (see 5.4.3-[9] above), the noun *koto* ‘fact’ can be used in the MMC. As seen in 5.6.1-[2], when it expresses advice, obligation, or instruction, the ‘Copula’ is often deleted (sometimes obligatorily), e.g. (123), (136), (17). In such examples, *koto* may be said to be acquiring the status of *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’.

Indeed, *Kojien* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2008, 6th edition, p. 1032) gives an example similar to (123), (136), and (147), and states that *koto* is added to the end of a sentence and is used like a *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’.

Koto as a *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ can express strong emotion or the like (this use is limited to women), e.g.:

(265) *Maa kiree=na hana=des-u=koto.*
 Oh! beautiful=ADNOM flower=COP.POL-NPST=*koto*
 ‘Oh, what a beautiful flower [this] is!’

As is the case with the final postposition =*mono* ‘explanation, strong emotion’, etc., the predicate that precedes =*koto* can be in the polite form, e.g. (265), and this shows that =*koto* has acquired the status of a *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ in (265).

To sum up, the following changes have occurred.

- (266) *koto* (EMJ) (noun) ‘thing’ ->
koto (EMJ) (noun in MMC) ‘general tendency’, ‘strong emotion’
->
koto (MJ) (noun in MMC) ‘advice, obligation, instruction, etc.’ ->
=*koto* (MJ) (final postposition) ‘strong emotion’

Furthermore, in the Tono dialect of Iwate Prefecture in northern Japan, this noun and the copula have merged and become a particle. See 7.11.

As noted in Section 3, I tentatively regard postpositions as enclitics, not independent words. (Enclitics are indicated by means of the preceding equal symbol.) I must admit, however, that =*mono*, =*mon* and =*koto* may still retain the status as independent words and that it is difficult to show that they are enclitics.

7.5 Setuzokuzyosi ‘conjunction’

As seen in 4.2.2, one of the ways to form adverbial clauses is the use of a noun followed by a postposition. The postposition may be omitted under certain circumstances, and in such cases the noun by itself may be considered a conjunction. For example, in (33), the postposition =*ni* may be omitted, and subsequently the noun *toki* ‘time’ by itself may be regarded as a conjunction.

Furthermore, some of the nouns that can occur in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC are in the process of acquiring the status of *setuzokuzyosi* ‘conjunction’. Examples follow.

[1] *Tokoro* ‘when’

Miyachi (this volume) reports that the noun *tokoro* ‘place’ can occur in the ‘Noun’ slot in the MMC in EMJ, and this MMC means ‘be about to’.

In MJ, as seen in 5.4.3-[8], *tokoro* ‘place’ can occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC, and this MMC often has an aspectual meaning (e.g. progressive, e.g. (3)) or a temporal meaning or, e.g. (120), (121).

Teramura (1992: 299-308) examines the use of *tokoro* ‘place’ in what I have termed the MMC, and notes that it is becoming something like a *setuzokuzyosi* ‘conjunction’ (translation by me). When used like a conjunction, *tokoro* can be translated as ‘when’.

- (267) *Hanako=no* *ie=ni* *it-ta* *tokoro,*
Hanako=ACC home=DAT/LOC go-PST *tokoro*
rusu=datta.
absent=PST
‘When [I] went to Hanako’s home, [she] was absent.’

[2] *Ato* ‘after’ and *tyokugo* ‘immediately after’

Maiyachi’s (this volume) survey has uncovered no example of the MMC involving either of these nouns in OJ or EMJ.

In MJ, as seen in 5.4.2-[11], there are more than half a dozen nouns for temporal relation or the like that can occur in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. Among them, at least *ato* ‘after’ and *tyokugo* ‘immediately after’ can be used rather like a conjunction by themselves.

- (269) *Hanako=ga tu-i-ta ato (or tyokugo),*
Hanako=NOM arrive-LINK-PST after (immediately.after)
Akio=ga tu-i-ta.
Akio=NOM arrive-LINK-PST
‘After (or immediately after) Hanako arrived, Akio arrived.’

7.6 Hukuzyosi ‘modal postposition’

There are modal postpositions that are nouns etymologically and that apparently occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC in MJ. Two of these modal postpositions will be illustrated: =*bakari* ‘only, just’ and =*dake* ‘only’.

[1] =*bakari* ‘only, just’

In MJ, =*bakari* is a *hukuzyosi* ‘modal postposition’, with the meaning ‘only’ or ‘just’, e.g. (270). According to NKD Vol. 10: 1003, its etymology is the noun *hakari* ‘instrument for measuring weight’ (still used in MJ). (Note the voicing in /b/ of =*bakari*.)

According to Miyachi (this volume), in OJ and EMJ the noun *hakari* (to be precise, the older form *pakari*) ‘instrument for measuring weight’ is not attested in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. However, the enclitic =*bakari* occupies the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC, and this MMC denotes degree, extent, limit or situation.

In MJ, too, the noun *hakari* cannot occupy the ‘Noun’ slot, but the modal postposition =*bakari* can apparently occupy the ‘Noun’ slot; see (271).

- (270) *Akio=wa biiru=bakari non-de i-ru.*
Akio-TOP beer=only drink-GER be-NPST
‘Akio is drinking beer only.’
- (271) (Context: Akio wants to drink more beer. But:)
[*Akio=wa ima biiru=o zyuppai*
Akio=TOP now beer=ACC ten.glass
non-da]=*bakari=da.*
drink-PST=only=COP.NPST
‘Akio has just drunk ten glasses of beer.’

(The portion that corresponds to the ‘Clause’ of the MMC is indicated by square brackets. (271) is not an instance of the MMC, at least not an instance of the prototypical MMC; =*bakari* ‘only’ is not a noun.)

Consider the following sentence, which I overheard on a train.

(272) (A man rushed into a train and talked to someone by mobile phone as follows.)

[*Ima densya=ni not-ta=bakkasi=na*]
 now train=DAT/LOC ride-PST=only=COP.ADN
mono=des-u=kara, ...
mono=COP-NPST=because
 ‘Because I have just got on the train, ...’

There are a few points to note about this example.

First, this example may be considered an instance of the MMC, involving the non-content noun *mono* ‘thing’ (cf. 5.4.3-[4]). (The portion that corresponds to the ‘Clause’ of the MMC is shown by square brackets.)

Second, this occurs in a subordinate clause, to be precise, an adverbial clause of reason/cause (see =*kara* ‘reason, cause’).

Third, the predicate of the ‘Clause’ is not directly followed by the ‘Noun’. It is followed by =*bakkasi* ‘only’ and =*na* ‘COP.ADN’. (This is an instance of the highly uncommon adnominal form of the copula; see 6.2-[3-2-3].)

Fourth, the original noun *hakari* ‘instrument for measuring weight’ has undergone the following phonological changes.

(273) *pakari* -> *hakari*
pakari -> =*bakari* -> =*bakkasi*

Note the gemination in /kk/. The phonological change of /t/ to /s/ is observed in a few other words. Thus, MJ has two variants of the adverb-like word ‘after all, as expected’: *yappari* and *yappasi*.

[2] =*dake* ‘only’

In MJ, =*dake* is a *hukuzyosi* ‘modal postposition’, with the meaning ‘only’, e.g. (274). According to NKD Vol. 8: 866, the etymology of this form is the noun *take* ‘extent, limit’ (still used in MJ). (Note the voicing in /d/ of =*dake*.)

According to Miyachi (this volume), in OJ and EMJ the noun *take* ‘extent, limit’ is not attested in the MMC. Nor is the enclitic =*dake*.

In MJ, =*dake* can apparently occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC; see (275).

(274) *Watasi=wa Tookyoo=ni=dake it-ta.*
 1SG=TOP Tokyo=DAT/LOC=only go-PST
 ‘I went to Tokyo only (and not to any other place).’

(275) (Context: When asked by a police officer, a drunken driver might excuse himself/herself as follows.)

[*Watasi=wa biiru=o sukosi*
 1SG=TOP beer-ACC a.little
non-da]=*dake=des-u.*
 drink-PST=only=COP.POL-NPST
 ‘I only had a little beer.’

So far we have in the main looked at three types of *zyosi* ‘postposition’: *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’ (7.4), *setuzokuzyosi* ‘conjunction’ (7.5), and *hukuzyosi* ‘modal postposition’ (7.6). In what follows, we shall look at individual nouns, enclitics and/or suffixes. Again, this list is highly selective, and not exhaustive.

7.7 *Kimi* (noun) and *-gimi* (suffix) ‘appearance, tendency’

According to Miyachi (this volume), in OJ and EMJ, neither the noun *kimi* nor the suffix *-gimi* is attested in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC.

For MJ, Akimoto (1998) examines the change of the noun *kimi* to the suffix *-gimi*, both ‘tendency, appearance’. (Note the voicing in /g/ of *-gimi*.)

The examples in Akimoto (1998: 13) from the Taisho Era (1912-1926) include a few instances of what I call the MMC. They seem to have something like a habitual meaning or an evidential meaning (visual evidence?). Two examples cited from Akimoto (1998: 13) follow.

- (276) [*Sukosi yuge=ni mus-are-ru*]
 a.little bath.steam=DAT/LOC steam-PASS-NPST
kimi=de at-ta.
 tendency=COP.GER be-PST
 ‘[He] tended to be steamed by the bath steam a little’ or ‘[He] looked steamed by the bath steam.’
- (277) [... *sinpai-su-ru kimi=dat-ta.*]
 worrying-do-NPST tendency=COP-PST
 ‘[He] tended to worry ...’ or ‘He looked worried ...’

According to Akimoto (1998: 14), during the Showa Era (1926-1989), the use of the noun *kimi* decreased drastically, and the use of the suffix *-gimi* was overwhelmingly common. Akimoto does not cite any clear instance of the MMC from the Showa Era. Indeed, in my judgment, the noun *kimi* cannot be used in the MMC. (I was born in the 21st year of the Showa Era, i.e. 1946.)

According to NKD Vol. 4: 266, the suffix *-gimi* is added to a noun or to the infinitive form of verbs, and it produces nouns and *na*-adjectives. It describes appearance or tendency. (See Table 1 for the infinitive.) It apparently occupies the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. An example that I have composed:

- (278) [*Hanako=wa sigoto=o*]
 Hanako=TOP work=ACC
yokubar-i]-gimi=da
 take.too.much-LINK-tendency=COP.NPST
 ‘Hanako tends to take/accept too much work.’

It seems likely that infinitive form plus *-gimi* originated in the MMC. Then, (278) would have originated in a sentence such as the following,

which I have composed.

- (279) **[Hanako=wa sigoto=o yokubar-u]*
Hanako=TOP work=ACC take.too.much-NPST
kimi=da
tendency=COP.NPST
'Hanako tends to take/accept too much work.'

Recall that, in my judgement, the noun *kimi* 'tendency' cannot be used in the MMC. That is, (279) is not acceptable.

To sum up, probably the following change occurred.

- (280) *kimi* (MJ) (noun in MMC) 'appearance, tendency' ->
-gimi (MJ) (suffix in MMC) 'appearance, tendency'

Akimoto does not report the existence of the enclitic (= *kimi* or = *gimi*). At least, it is not used in my idiolect.

7.8 *Sama* (noun) 'appearance, situation', =*soo* (enclitic) 'reported evidence', and -*soo* (suffix) 'inference'

NKD Vol. 8: 290 indicates that the etymology of =*soo* and -*soo* is not certain, but that one possibility is the noun *sama* 'appearance, situation'.

[1] Noun *sama* 'appearance, situation'

Miyachi (this volume) reports that in EMJ the noun *sama* 'appearance, situation' can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, and this MMC has an evidential meaning: 'It seems/appears that'.

In MJ, this noun is still used, but it is not used in the MMC (in my idiolect, at least), and it is not listed among the nouns in 5.4.2 or 5.4.3.

[2] Enclitic =*soo* 'reported evidence'

In MJ, the enclitic =*soo* can apparently occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. It can be added to the following, among others.

- (a) Verb and *i*-adjective: past, e.g. (281), (283), and nonpast, e.g. (282), (284).
(b) *Na*-adjective: past, e.g. (285), and nonpast, e.g. (286), but not adnominal, cf. (287).

It is generally (though not always) followed by the copula. This MMC has an evidential meaning: reported evidence ('I heard that'). Examples follow.

- (281) [*Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni*
Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC
it-ta]=soo=da.
go-PST=*soo*=NPST
'I heard that Hanako went to Nagoya.'

- (282) [*Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni*
Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC
ik-u]=soo=da.
go-NPST=*soo*=NPST
'I heard that Hanako will go to Nagoya.'
- (283) [*Hanako=wa akaruk-atta]=soo=da.*
Hanako=TOP cheerful-PST=*soo*=COP.NPST
'I heard that Hanako was cheerful.'
- (284) [*Hanako=wa akaru-i]=soo=da.*
Hanako=TOP cheerful-NPST=*soo*=COP.NPST
'I heard that Hanako is cheerful.'
- (285) [*Hanako=wa genki=dat-ta]=soo=da.*
Hanako=TOP well=COP-PST=*soo*=COP.NPST
'I heard that Hanako was well.'
- (286) [*Hanako=wa genki=da]=soo=da.*
Hanako=TOP well=NPST=*soo*=COP.NPST
'I heard that Hanako is well.'
- (287) **Hanako=wa genki=na=soo=da.*
Hanako=TOP well-ADN=*soo*=COP.NPST
Intended meaning: 'I heard that Hanako is well.'

In accordance with the practice of many grammarians of Japanese, NKD does not distinguish enclitics from words and suffixes. Nonetheless, I consider =*soo* an enclitic, not an independent word or a suffix. The reasons for this are as follows.

Reason 1. There is no form *soo* 'reported evidence' in MJ that is used as an independent word. Therefore, this form must be either an enclitic or a suffix.

The following reasons indicate that =*soo* is an enclitic, and not a suffix.

Reason 2. This morpheme can be attached to more than one word class, e.g. (i) a verb in (281), (282), (ii) an *i*-adjective in (283), (284), and (iii) a *na*-adjective in (285), (286).

Reason 3. The word that precedes this morpheme can conjugate: the past in (281), (283), (285), and the nonpast in (282), (284), (286).

In sum, the form in question should be considered an enclitic, and not an independent word or a suffix.

[3] Suffix -*soo* 'inference'

In MJ, like =*soo* 'reported evidence', -*soo* can apparently occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. This MMC indicates inference based on direct evidence: the speaker makes a guess, conjecture or the like on the basis of his/her own observation ('It seems/appears that').

- (288) [*Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni*
Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC
ik-i]-soo=da.
go-LINK-NPST-*soo*=COP.NPST

- ‘It seems that Hanako will go to Nagoya.’
 (289) [*Hanako=wa akaru*]-*soo=da*.
 Hanako=TOP cheerful-*soo*=COP.NPST
 ‘It seems that Hanako is cheerful.’
 (290) [*Hanako=wa genki*]-*soo=da*.
 Hanako=TOP well-*soo*=NPST
 ‘Hanako looks well.’

I consider the form in question a suffix, and not an enclitic. The reasons for this are the following.

Reason 1. In contrast with the enclitic =*soo*, the element that precedes -*soo* cannot conjugate. This preceding element is: (i) the infinitive form of verbs (cf. Table 1), e.g. (288) (*ik-i*), and (ii) something like the root for the two kinds of adjectives, e.g. (289) (*i*-adjective: *akaru-*), and (290) (*na*-adjective: *genki*).

Reason 2. This concerns pitch contour. Compare (291) and (292).

- (291) *Ame=ga hur-u=soo=da*.
 a. HL L HL LL L
 b. HL HL L
 rain=NOM fall-NPST=*soo*=COP.NPST
 ‘I heard that it will rain.’
 (292) *Ame=ga hur-i-soo=da*.
 HL L LHHL L
 rain=NOM fall-LINK=COP.NPST
 ‘It appears/looks/seems that it will rain.’

Tokyo dialect has two levels of pitch phonologically: high (H) and low (L). A word — a phonological word, to be precise — can contain at most one fall in pitch (a fall from H to L, i.e. ‘HL’) (Hattori 1960: 251). Note that *hur-i-soo=da* in (292) contains only one fall. This indicates that *hur-i-soo=da* constitutes one single word, as far as pitch contour is concerned. This in turn indicates that -*soo* lacks an independent status in this respect, and that consequently it should be regarded as a suffix, rather than as an enclitic. In contrast, in (291), *hur-u=soo=da* has two possibilities. In (291-a) it has one fall (as is the case in (292)). However, in (291-b), it contains two falls. Note in particular that =*soo* itself contains a fall. This indicates that, as far as pitch contour is concerned, =*soo* has a more independent status than -*soo*, and that consequently it should be considered an enclitic, rather than a suffix.

To sum up, possibly the following changes have occurred.

- (293) *sama* (EMJ, MJ) (noun; not MMC) ‘appearance, situation’ ->
sama (EMJ) (noun in MMC) ‘It appears/seems’ ->
 =*soo* (MJ) (enclitic in MMC) ‘reported evidence’ ->
 -*soo* (MJ) (suffix in MMC) ‘inference’

7.9 *Yau* (noun) ‘appearance, manner, example’, =*yau* (enclitic) ‘appearance, situation’, =*yoo* (enclitic) ‘inference’, and -*yoo* (suffix) ‘way, manner, method’

According to NKD Vol. 13: 533, the etymology of =*yoo* is the noun *yau* ‘appearance, situation’ (no longer used in Modern Japanese). NKD Vol. 13: 492 indicates that *yau* may be a loan from Chinese.

[1] Noun *yau* ‘manner, example’

Asako Miyachi (p.c.) reports that the noun *yau* ‘manner, example’ is not attested in the MMC in EMJ.

[2] Enclitic =*yau* ‘appearance, situation’

Miyachi (this volume) reports that in EMJ the enclitic =*yau* ‘appearance, situation’ can apparently occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC, and this MMC indicates (i) similitude ‘X looks like Y’, ‘It looks as if ...’ (an evidential meaning) or (ii) uncertain conclusion (a modal meaning). Miyachi considers this form an enclitic, not an independent word.

[3] Enclitic =*yoo* ‘inference’

In MJ, too, the enclitic =*yoo* can apparently occupy the ‘Noun’ slot. This MMC has an evidential meaning: inference. The inference may be based on direct evidence or reported evidence.

- (294) [*Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni*
Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC
it-ta]=*yoo=da*.
go-PST=*yoo*=NPST
‘It seems that Hanako went to Nagoya.’
- (295) [*Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni*
Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC
ik-u]=*yoo=da*.
go-NPST=*yoo*=NPST
‘It seems that Hanako will go to Nagoya.’
- (296) [*Hanako=wa akaruk-atta*]=*yoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP cheerful-PST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
‘It seems that Hanako was cheerful.’
- (297) [*Hanako=wa akaru-i*]=*yoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP cheerful-NPST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
‘It seems that Hanako is cheerful.’
- (298) [*Hanako=wa genki=dat-ta*]=*yoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP well=COP-PST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
‘It seems that Hanako was well.’
- (299) * [*Hanako=wa genki=da*]=*yoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP well=NPST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
Intended meaning: ‘I heard that Hanako is well.’
- (300) [*Hanako=wa genki=na*]=*yoo=da*.
Hanako=TOP well-ADN=*yoo*=COP.NPST
‘It seems that Hanako is well.’

For MJ, I consider the form in question an enclitic, and not an independent noun or a suffix. The reasons are virtually identical to those given for the enclitic status of =*soo* ‘reported evidence’.

[4] Suffix -*yoo* ‘way, manner, method’

This suffix does not seem to have any evidential meaning. An example is:

- (301) *yorokob-i-yoo*
 rejoice-LINK-*yoo*
 ‘the way [someone] rejoices/is glad’

In contrast with the suffix -*soo* ‘inference’, it is difficult to find or compose any MMC-like sentence, cf. (288) to (290), the suffix -*yoo* ‘way, manner, method’ does not seem to occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC.

In terms of pitch contour, the enclitic =*yoo* ‘inference’ and the suffix -*yoo* ‘way, manner, method’ exhibit exactly the same difference as that between enclitic =*soo* ‘reported evidence’ and the suffix -*soo* ‘inference’.

To sum up, the following changes seem to have taken place.

- (302) *yau* (EMJ; not MMC) ‘manner, example’
 =*yau* (EMJ) (enclitic in MMC) ‘appearance, situation’ ->
 =*yoo* (MJ) (enclitic in MMC) ‘It appears/looks/seems’ ->
 -*yoo* (MJ) (suffix; not MMC) ‘way, manner, method’

In passing, the enclitics =*soo* ‘reported evidence’ and =*yoo* ‘inference’ exhibit the opposite distributions in terms of the use of the nonpast (=da) and the adnominal (=na) of *na*-adjectives.

- (286) nonpast =da=*soo*
 (287) adnominal *=na=*soo*
 (299) nonpast *=da=*yoo*
 (300) adnominal =na=*yoo*

=*yoo* behaves like a noun in that the preceding *na*-adjective is in the adnominal form, not the nonpast form. (See (13) and (15).) In contrast, =*soo* shows the opposite distribution, and it does not behave like a noun. In this respect, =*yoo* is more noun-like than =*soo*. Since =*soo* has lost this noun-like property, it is more grammaticalized than =*yoo*.

7.10 *Ke* (noun) ‘appearance’, =ge ‘inference, reported evidence’, and -ge ‘inference’

[1] Noun *ke* ‘appearance’

For OJ and EMJ, Miyachi’s (this volume) survey has not found any unequivocal example in which the noun *ke* ‘appearance’ occupies the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC.

In MJ, this noun is no longer used by itself, and survives in compound nouns. It cannot occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC.

[2] Enclitic =*ge* (dialectal) ‘inference, reported evidence’

At least in the Gumma dialect (about 100 km northwest of Tokyo), the enclitic =*ge* can apparently occupy the ‘Noun’ slot. This MMC indicates (i) inference (‘It seems/appears’) or (ii) reported evidence (‘I heard that’). (The Gumma dialect is my native dialect. What is being reported here about its =*ge* has been confirmed by two other speakers of this dialect, who have lived most of their lives in Gumma Prefecture.)

- (303) [*Kinoo ame=ga hut-ta*]=*ge=da*.
yesterday rain=NOM fall-PST=*ge*=COP.NPST
(i) ‘It seems that it rained yesterday.’
(ii) ‘I heard that it rained yesterday.’
- (304) [*Asita ame=ga hur-u*]=*ge=da*.
tomorrow rain=NOM fall-NPST=*ge*=COP.NPST
(i) ‘It seems that it will rain tomorrow.’
(ii) ‘I heard that it will rain tomorrow.’

I consider the form in question an enclitic, not suffix. Note in particular that the word to which it is added can conjugate: (303) (‘fall-PST’) and (304) (‘fall-NPST’).

The enclitic =*ge* is not used in the Tokyo dialect (Mie Tsunoda, p.c.), on which the so-called Standard Japanese is based.

[3] Suffix -*ge* ‘inference’

The suffix -*ge* can apparently occupy the ‘Noun’ slot. It can be added to a noun, the infinitive form of a verb, the root of an adjective, and so on. The resultant form conjugates like *na*-adjectives (NKD Vol. 4: 1199). (See Table 1 for the conjugation of *na*-adjectives.) According to NKD Vol. 4: 1199, the etymology of -*ge* is the noun *ke* ‘appearance’ (mentioned in [1] above). Probably the same applies to the enclitic =*ge*. (Note the voicing of /g/.)

This MMC has an evidential meaning: inference. An example provided by Taro Kageyama.

- (305) [*Kare=wa mizu=o nomi-ta*]-*ge=da*.
3SG.M=TOP water=ACC drink-DESID-*ge*=COP.NPST
‘He looks to be wanting to drink water.’

I am grateful to Taro Kageyama (e-mail message of 8th December 2009) for drawing -*ge* to my attention and providing the example cited above. It is Taro Kageyama who first pointed out that a suffix may occur in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC.

7.11 Merger of ‘Noun’ and ‘Copula’

We have seen instances in which a noun (independent word) has become an enclitic or a suffix. There are even instances in which the ‘Noun’ and the ‘Copula’ have merged.

Recall that, in Standard Japanese, the non-content *koto* ‘fact’ can

occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC (5.4.3-[9]). Now, Takada (2011) reports that in the Tono dialect of Iwate Prefecture in northern Japan the noun *koto* ‘fact’ and the copula =*da* ‘NPST’ have merged and become *gotta*. It no longer conjugates, and it behaves like a *syuuzyosi* ‘final postposition’. It has an evidential meaning: inference. An example cited from Takada (2011: 113) follows. The Romanization, morpheme demarcation, glossing, and English translation are by me, and are highly tentative.

- (306) *Tanaka hon ka-u gotta.*
 Tanaka book buy-NPST *gotta*
 ‘It seems that Tanaka will buy a book.’

A merged form of the noun *koto* ‘fact’ and the copula =*da* ‘NPST’ occurs in Standard Japanese, to be precise, in the colloquial style. The form is *kotta*. Probably it, too, is an enclitic and functions like a final postposition.

7.12 Semantics

As mentioned in 7.1, (in MJ) content nouns (5.4.2) and non-content nouns (5.4.3) are grammaticalized in terms of semantics, to varying degrees.

In the case of content nouns, the meaning they have in the MMC may differ from that which they have when used outside the MMC. In the case of non-content nouns, this difference may be drastic. Their respective etymologies were noted in 5.4.3. There are even instances in which I did not know the etymology (until I consulted DNK). The situation concerning non-content nouns is shown in Table 5.

The situation concerning the nouns, enclitics, and suffixes that we looked at in 7.4 to 7.10 is shown in Table 6.

The meaning and/or effect that the MMC has are the following.

- (a) Grammatical meaning: modal, evidential, aspectual, and temporal.
- (b) Stylistic effect: formal.
- (c) Discourse-related.
- (d) Difficult to classify or characterize.

Table 5. Semantics of non-content nouns

	meaning outside the MMC (MJ)	meaning in the MMC (MJ)
<i>tumori</i>	intention	(a) intention, decision (b) evaluation
<i>hazu</i>	expectation	(a) expectation, schedule (b) realization
<i>wake</i>	cause, reason	(a) cause/reason, explanation (b) conclusion (c) realization (d) 'in other words' (e) (no clear meaning)
<i>mono</i>	thing	various meanings, including: (a) obligation, advice (b) explanation (c) past experience (d) surprise, strong emotion (e) formal
<i>sidai</i>	circumstance, procedure, programme, process	formal
<i>hoo, muki</i>	direction	human propensity or tendency
<i>ippoo</i>	one direction, one way	'increasingly, progressively'
<i>tokoro</i>	place	(a) aspectual (b) temporal (c) formal
<i>koto</i>	fact	advice, instruction, obligation
<i>yosi</i>	means, clue	reported evidence

Table 6. Semantics of nouns, enclitics, and suffixes

etymology: noun	in Modern Japanese
<i>mono</i> ‘thing’ (used in MJ)	= <i>mono</i> (final postposition) ‘explanation, strong emotion’ = <i>mon</i> (final postposition) ‘explanation, strong emotion’
<i>koto</i> ‘fact’ (used in MJ)	= <i>koto</i> (final postposition) ‘advice, obligation, instruction’
<i>tokoro</i> ‘place’ (used in MJ)	<i>tokoro</i> (conjunction) ‘when’
<i>ato</i> ‘after’ (used in MJ)	<i>ato</i> ‘after’
<i>tyokugo</i> ‘immediately after’ (used in MJ)	<i>tyokugo</i> ‘immediately after’
<i>take</i> ‘extent, limit’ (used in MJ)	= <i>dake</i> (modal postposition) ‘only’
<i>hakari</i> ‘instrument for measuring weight’ (used in MJ)	= <i>bakari</i> (modal postposition) ‘only, just’ = <i>bakkasi</i> (modal postposition) ‘only, just’
<i>kimi</i> ‘appearance, tendency’ (used in MJ)	- <i>gimi</i> ‘appearance, tendency’
? <i>sama</i> ‘appearance, situation’ (used in MJ)	= <i>soo</i> ‘reported evidence’ - <i>soo</i> ‘inference’
<i>yau</i> ‘appearance, situation, manner, example’ (no longer used in MJ)	= <i>yoo</i> ‘inference’ - <i>yoo</i> ‘way, manner, method’
<i>ke</i> ‘appearance’ (fossilized in MJ)	= <i>ge</i> (dialectal) ‘inference, reported evidence’ - <i>ge</i> ‘inference’

8. Summary and concluding remarks

In the MMC in Modern Japanese, the ‘Copula’ slot is generally occupied by

the copula. Alternatively, it may be occupied by a variant of the copula. It may be absent under certain circumstances.

The 'Clause' can be a verb-predicate clause, an adjective-predicate clause, or a noun-predicate clause (accompanied by the copula).

The 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun or the enclitic =*no* (which may be considered a nominalizer). There are also instances in which it is apparently occupied by some other enclitic or a suffix.

The 'Clause' can be used by itself as an independent sentence — except when the predicate of the 'Clause' is a *na*-adjective. However, it lacks the status of an independent sentence in that its predicate does not have all of the morphological and illocutionary possibilities found in independent sentences.

In terms of syntax, the 'Clause' exhibits the same behaviour as that of independent sentences. The structure of the MMC is mono-clausal, and it does not contain an AC.

Nouns in the 'Noun' slot are grammaticalized, to varying degrees. Syntactically, they do not have the full status of noun. Morphologically and phonologically, there is some evidence for diachronic changes of the following:

word -> enclitic -> suffix -> merger

Semantically, often the nouns in the 'Noun' slot do not have the meaning that they have when used outside the MMC. Instead, they have a modal, an evidential, an aspectual, a temporal, or some other meaning. They may also have a stylistic effect (formal) or discourse-related function. Some nouns have acquired the use as a final postposition, a modal postposition, or a conjunction.

The MMC abounds in Japanese (and also in Korean), in contrast with the other languages in which the MMC is attested. The MMC is used frequently and at least 106 nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. The cause for this abundance is not known, but it may not be irrelevant to note that Japanese has sentences whose structure resembles that of noun-predicate sentences and yet whose meaning is rather like that of verb-predicate sentences. One type of these sentences is the 'quasi-noun-predicate sentence' (4.1), and the other is the MMC.

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Abbreviations

A - transitive subject; ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; ADN - adnominal; ADVSTV - adversative; ALL - allative; C - loan from Chinese; CAUS - causative; CONCUR - concurrent; COP - copula; DAT/LOC - dative/locative; DESID - desiderative; E - loan from English; EMJ - Early Modern Japanese; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; GER - gerund; IMP - imperative; INF - infinitive; INT - intentional; J - native Japanese word; LINK - linking interfix; LOC/INS - locative/instrumental; LT - literal translation; M - male; MJ - Modern Japanese; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negation; NKD - *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* [Large Japanese Dictionary] (Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009); NMLZ - nominalizer; NOM - nominative; NPST - nonpast; O - object; OJ - Old Japanese; PASS - passive; POL - polite; PST - past; Q - question; RECP - reciprocal; S - intransitive subject; SG - singular; SUBJ.RESP - subject respect; TOP - topic; V - verb; 1 - first person; 3 - third person.

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