

## Mermaid construction in nDrapa

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# Mermaid construction in nDrapa

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## 1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototypical mermaid construction (MMC) has the three following 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 stand alone as a sentence.

- (1) Prototype of the MMC:  
Clause Noun Copula.

The MMC is found in nDrapa, although it does not have the prototypical form described above. Four morphemes are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the

nDrapa MMC: (i) =*ndei* ‘intention’, (ii) *-zi* ‘prospect’, (iii) *nkheil*/*=nkhei* ‘appearance’, and (iv) *malo3* ‘readiness’. (The numbers ‘1’ and ‘3’ indicate tones; see Section 3.) Among them, =*ndei* ‘intention’ is an enclitic, while *nkheil*/*=nkhei* ‘appearance’ is used both as an independent noun and an enclitic. *-zi* ‘prospect’ is a suffix, and *malo3* ‘readiness’ is consistently used as an independent noun. When the morpheme in the ‘Noun’ slot is not a noun, the nDrapa MMC deviates from the prototype; see (1).

The meaning of the nDrapa MMC is modal (‘intend to’, ‘be supposed to’, ‘be expected to’), evidential (‘It appears’), or aspectual (‘be ready to’).

Generally, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, too, the nDrapa MMC deviates from the prototype; see (c) above. Further, the ‘Clause Noun’ part of the MMC cannot be used as the object of a verb.

The four morphemes listed above are rarely used outside the MMC. Moreover, their etymologies are difficult to ascertain, as nDrapa does not have a literary tradition and there is no written record of earlier stages of the language. Nonetheless, their tentative etymologies will be suggested in Section 5.

## 2. Initial illustration

Examples of the nDrapa MMC include (2) (enclitic =*ndei* ‘intention’) and (3) (noun *nkheil* ‘appearance’). The portion that corresponds to the ‘Clause’ in (1) is shown by an underline.

- (2) *somun*3*    ɲoro1    nchenna3    ji=*ndei**    *rɛ3*.  
 tomorrow 3SG shopping go=intention COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: ‘He is an intention to go shopping tomorrow.’  
 Fr: ‘He intends to go shopping tomorrow.’
- (3) *ɲoro1    kaotɔŋ1    lo=*ɕi*2    fidi=*fɿ*3*    *nkheil*    *rɛ3*.  
 3SG high.school learn=wish think=IPFV appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: ‘He is an appearance to want to learn at a high school.’  
 Fr: ‘He seems to want to go to high school.’

## 3. Profile of the language

The nDrapa (or Zhaba) language is spoken in Daofu and Yajiang Counties, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. According to Huang Bufan (1991) and Gong Qunhu (2007), it has approximately 8,000 speakers. Its genetic affiliation requires further validation, but the emerging consensus is that it belongs to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family of the Sino-Tibetan language phylum (Sun Hongkai 1983, 2001, Matisoff 2003). The present chapter is concerned with the Mätro dialect, which is spoken in Mätro (Mazhong) Village of Daofu County by approximately 260 speakers.

The following phonemes can be posited for the Mätro dialect: (i) consonants /ph [p<sup>h</sup>], th [t<sup>h</sup>], tʰ [t<sup>h</sup>], ch [c<sup>h</sup>], kh [k<sup>h</sup>]; p, t, ṭ, c, k; b, d, ḍ, j, g; tsh [ts<sup>h</sup>], tɕh, [tɕ<sup>h</sup>]; ts, tɕ; dz, dẓ; m, n, ṇ, ŋ; m̥ [m̥m], n̥ [n̥n], ŋ̥ [ŋ̥ŋ]; fh [f<sup>h</sup>], sh [s<sup>h</sup>], ɕh [ɕ<sup>h</sup>]; f, s, ɕ, x, h; v, z, ẓ, ʎ, fi; w, j; l, r [r]; l̥ [l̥], r̥ [r̥]; (ii) vowels /i, ī, u, e [ɪ], ø, o, ε, ʌ, ə, a; ei/; (iii) word tones: 1 (high-level), 2 (high-falling), 3 (low-rising) and 4 (low-rising-falling). Enclitics and suffixes do not carry a specific tone. Their tone varies according to that of the preceding element. In view of this, they are presented without specification for tone. Enclitics are marked by a preceding equal sign, while suffixes are shown by a preceding hyphen.

nDrapa is an agglutinating language which employs both suffixes and prefixes. It is largely dependent-marking and slightly configurational.

Case is marked by postpositions. Case postpositions in nDrapa are always dependent upon the preceding word. Therefore, they are considered enclitics.

The case system is basically nominative-accusative (A/S vs. O). The nominative case has no overt marker, while the accusative case is marked by the enclitic =wu ‘ACC’. Other case postpositions include =ji ‘BEN’, =la ‘DAT’, =ne ‘DIST’, =na ‘COM’, =ntsha ‘ASS’, =kata ‘INS’, and =ma ‘CMPR’. Moreover, there are a number of locative postpositions that provide a more specific description of location or the like: =ta ‘ON’, =za ‘UNDER’, =ka ‘IN’, and =to ‘PLACE’ (Shirai 2010).

The basic constituent orders are verb-final: AOV and SV. Adjectives and numerals follow the noun they modify. However, demonstratives precede the noun. Adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) precede the noun they qualify. Moreover, so-called head-internal relative clauses are often found as well.

Verbs inflect for aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and mood (plain vs. imperative). A verb may be followed by an auxiliary verb, in which case the auxiliary verb (and not the main verb) is inflected.

The plain-mood predicates show the opposition of Patterns A and B (Shirai 2007a, b). Pattern B (glossed as “B”) is overtly marked by an aspect suffix. Pattern A lacks an aspect suffix. That is, Pattern A is shown by the absence of any overt marker. A similar distinction to Pattern A/B is found in Tibetan. Ebihara (this volume) on Amdo Tibetan uses the same terms (Patterns A and B) as those used in the present paper.<sup>1</sup> Pattern A indicates the viewpoint of the pivot, where the pivot is (i) the speaker of a direct declarative sentence, (ii) the hearer of an interrogative sentence, or (iii) the original speaker of a reported sentence. A pattern B suffix indicates that the sentence does not concern any viewpoint. The following is the main semantic difference between the two patterns. Unintentional predicates use Pattern B in principle, while intentional predicates use either Pattern A or B. Pattern A is typically used for sentences that express an event under the pivot’s control (e.g., for a declarative sentence that implies the speaker’s intentional action). In contrast, Pattern B is typically used if the event is out of the pivot’s control (e.g., third person’s action). These main points are summarized below.

- (a) Imperative mood
- (b) Plain mood
  - (b-1) Pattern A; Zero suffix; Viewpoint of the pivot.
  - (b-2) Pattern B; Aspect suffix; No viewpoint.

nDrapa has no written tradition. However, in the areas where nDrapa is spoken, Tibetan is the traditional lingua franca, and more recently, Chinese has become the dominant language. Under such circumstances, “cultured” nDrapa speakers are often familiar with Written Tibetan and Written Chinese. Nonetheless, the main consultant of my research has not received formal education. All data in this paper are compiled from the spoken language.

#### 4. Types of sentences and clauses

##### 4.1 *Verb-predicate and noun-predicate sentences*

Sentences in nDrapa can be classified into two types: verb-predicate sentences and noun-predicate sentences. Each of these types can be further classified as follows. (Details are given in Shirai (forthcoming).)

- (a) Verb-predicate sentences
  - (a-1) Auxiliary sentences
  - (a-2) Non-auxiliary sentences
- (b) Noun-predicate sentences
  - (b-1) Copula sentences
  - (b-2) Copula-less sentences

We shall examine each of these sentence types in turn.

##### (a) Verb-predicate sentences

Verb-predicate sentences can be classified into two groups: auxiliary sentences, e.g. (4), and non-auxiliary sentences, e.g. (5). Roughly speaking, their structures are as shown below. (Abbreviations are listed at the end of this paper.)

- (a) Verb-predicate sentences
  - (a-1) Auxiliary sentences:
    - (DIR-) VS (NEG-) AUX (-B) (SFP)
  - (a-2) No-auxiliary sentences:
    - (DIR-) (NEG-) VS (-B) (SFP)

The constituents given in parentheses do not always occur. However, it is important to note that, in the plain mood, when the sentence does not concern the viewpoint of the pivot, Pattern B must be used.

Auxiliary sentences contain an auxiliary verb. For example, (4) contains

the auxiliary verb *nΛ2* ‘experiential’ (realized as *-n-* in (4)). Non-auxiliary sentences contain no auxiliary verb. See (5).

- (4) *tshonba1 no=ʃo1 tʃəti1 to-htʃu1 mə-n-a2.*  
shopkeeper 2SG=PLACE letter NTL-send NEG-EXP-B.PFV  
‘The shopkeeper has never sent you a letter.’
- (5) *jeηΛ3 ηore=rə1 je3 a-hpe-a3.*  
yesterday 3PL=GEN house DWN-burn-B.PFV  
‘Their house burned [in fire] yesterday.’

(b) Noun-predicate sentences

These sentences can be classified into two groups: copula sentences, e.g. (6), and copula-less sentences, e.g. (7). The structure of each pattern is shown below.

(b) Noun-predicate sentences

(b-1) Copula sentences: NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub> COP (-B) (SFP)

(b-2) Copula-less sentences: NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub> SFP

- (6) *no1 nɔʒapi3 tʃj-ε3 mo3.*  
2SG nDrapa.people COP<sub>2</sub>-B.IPFV CFM  
‘You are nDrapa, aren’t you?’
- (7) *tʃrə=ne3 miwo=i3 sa3.*  
REF=TOP old.woman=CLF ADM  
‘It is an old woman.’ [FT]

There are four copula verbs: *wa3* ‘COP<sub>1</sub>’, *tʃe3/tʃj3* ‘COP<sub>2</sub>’, *tʃε3* ‘COP<sub>3</sub>’, and *rε3* ‘COP<sub>4</sub>’. Among them, *wa3* ‘COP<sub>1</sub>’ is used only for Pattern A. *tʃe3/tʃj3* ‘COP<sub>2</sub>’ is typically used in polar questions and answers to them and it can be used either for Pattern A (*tʃe3*; without a suffix) or Pattern B (*tʃj-ε3*; accompanied by the imperfective Pattern B suffix). *tʃε3* ‘COP<sub>3</sub>’ is used for generic propositions. *rε3* ‘COP<sub>4</sub>’ is the unmarked copula, and it is most widely used. (Details are given in Shirai (forthcoming).)

If the predicate is an adjective, the sentence is either of the verb-predicate type (a), e.g. (8), or the noun-predicate type (b), e.g. (9). For example, (8) lacks an auxiliary verb, and the adjective is inflected (cf. (a-2) and (5)); the imperfective B suffix *-ε* is attached to the adjective stem *fidəzj3* (*fidəzi3*) ‘beautiful.’ In contrast, (9) contains a copula verb (cf. (b-1) and (6)).

- (8) *ηoro1 tʃhəku3 fidəzj-ε3.*  
3SG very beautiful-B.IPFV  
‘She is very beautiful.’
- (9) *ηoro1 fidəzizi3 rε3.*  
3SG beautiful COP<sub>4</sub>  
‘She is beautiful.’

We have seen that sentences can be classified into two types. Similarly, clauses can be classified into two types: verb-predicate clauses and noun-predicate clauses. Sentences and clauses differ in terms of morphological restrictions on the predicate. For example, generally subordinate clauses cannot contain a Pattern B suffix.

#### 4.2 Adnominal clauses

##### 4.2.1 Formation

nDrapa has four types of adnominal clauses ('ACs').

- (a) External-head AC: AC + noun.
- (b) Internal-head AC: the head noun is inside the AC.
- (c) Compounding AC: Verb-noun.
- (d) Headless AC.

The predicate of an AC is combined with a nominalizer—typically, a verbal suffix. That is, it is non-finite. ((c) Compounding AC is exceptional: a noun functions as the nominalizer.) There is no relative pronoun. Nominalizer suffixes (NMLZs) include *-ma*, *-maɿɿ*, *-pi*, *-perɿ*, and *-hti*. Roughly speaking, *-pi* and *-perɿ* are used for human head nouns, while *-hti*, *-ma*, and *-maɿɿ* are for nonhuman head nouns. In nDrapa, ACs do not employ a resumptive pronoun. (In the examples of ACs, the AC is underlined.)

In the external-head type, an AC precedes the head noun, e.g.:

- (10) *ŋoro1* *pəji3* *htsɿ-pi3* *ŋeŋe3* *ŋoro1* *rɛ3*.  
 that Tibetan.letter teach-NMLZ teacher 3SG COP<sub>4</sub>  
 'That teacher who taught Tibetan Literature was he.'
- (11) *tšeri* *a-mə-maɿɿ* *lei3* *ʈaci3*  
 PSN DWN-make-NMLZ bun PSN  
*ki-tsi1* *hce-a3*.  
 INW-eat PST-B.PFV  
 'Tashi ate the meat buns that Tseri made.'

Internal-head ACs are used the most frequently of the four types of ACs in nDrapa. Moreover, they are strongly preferred when the direct object is relativized on, e.g. (12). In (12), the dotted line indicates the head of the AC.

- (12) *ŋa1* *ŋoro = wu* *lei3* *ta-htsi-maɿɿ2* *tɕjutshɛɛ3* *rɛ3*.  
 1SG 3SG=ACC bun NTL-feed-NMLZ chive.bun COP<sub>4</sub>  
 'The bun that I have gave him was a chive bun.'

In the compounding type, the head noun directly follows the clause. An example is (13), in which the head noun *ɳa3* 'day' directly follows the clause *ŋorone1 hteime3 mə1* 'they do a wedding'. Moreover, in this case, the verb *mə1* 'make' and head noun *ɳa3* 'day' form one phonological word, and the second morpheme loses its original tone. (If the verb of the clause

contains affixes, the head noun may retain its tone, e.g. (54).)

- (13) norone1 hteime3 me=na1 a-fidufidu3 hce-a4  
 3DU wedding make=day DWN-quarrel PST-RT  
 re3.  
 COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘They quarreled on the day when they had their wedding.’

The compounding type is rarely found as a nominal constituent of a sentence. However, its structure is involved in the type of MMC discussed in 5.2.

In the headless type, the head noun is not expressed overtly. The verb of the AC is followed by a nominalizer suffix. Nominalizers can specifically indicate a category, such as thing (-ma), person (-pi), e.g. (14), and place (-hti).

- (14) lei3 ki-ttsi-pi2 noro1 re3.  
 bun INW-eat-NMLZ 3SG COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘The person who ate the meat buns was he.’

Like Japanese, nDrapa has both internal ACs and external ACs. (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a discussion of these two types of AC.) Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC.

#### 4.2.2 Internal ACs

Examples of internal ACs include (10), (11), and (14) to (18).

The following positions on Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on: subject (e.g. (10)), direct object (e.g. (11)), indirect object (e.g. (15)), and oblique object, such as goal (e.g. (16)), location (e.g. (17)), instrument (e.g. (18)), and comitative (e.g. (19)). However, the possessor and the object of comparison cannot be relativized on.

- (15) nal lei3 ta-htsi-mara1 palɰa3 noro1 re3.  
 1SG bun NTL-feed-NMLZ child 3SG COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘The child to whom I gave meat buns was he.’
- (16) nje A-ji-hti1 satsa3 seitha3 re3.  
 1PL UP-go-NMLZ place PLN COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘The place where we went was Seita.’
- (17) nal hteime3 me-hti3 satsa3 jala3pinguã=kA1 re3.  
 1SG wedding make-NMLZ place Yala.Hotel=IN COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘The place where I had a wedding was Yala Hotel.’
- (18) norol ve3 ki-ttsi-mara1 nkhazi3 koro1 re3.  
 3SG tsampa INW-eat-NMLZ spoon this COP<sub>4</sub>



‘This is the spoon with which he ate tsampa (parched barley powder).’

- (19) *nje1 fido1 seitha3* *Λ-ji-pera2* *co3 ηoro1 re3.*  
 1PL together PLN UP-go-NMLZ friend 3SG COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘The friend with whom we went to Serta together was he.’

#### 4.2.3 External ACs

Examples of external AC include (20).

- (20) *ηoro1 la1 ko-ma-ra2* *hke1 fidazi3*  
 3SG song sing-NMLZ voice beautiful  
*ηΛ-te3 re3.*  
 OUT-come DECL  
 Lit: ‘The voice that he sings comes beautiful.’  
 Fr: ‘His singing voice sounds beautiful.’

## 5. Mermaid construction

### 5.1 Introductory notes

In the MMC of nDrapa, four morphemes are attested in the ‘Noun’ slot: (i) =*ndei* ‘intention’, (ii) *-zi* ‘prospect’, (iii) *nkheil/ =nkhei* ‘appearance’, and (iv) *ma-lo3* ‘readiness’. Among them, =*ndei* ‘intention’ is an enclitic (although it is used as an independent noun (*ndei3*) outside the MMC). *nkheil/ =nkhei* ‘appearance’ is used both as a word and an enclitic. *-zi* ‘prospect’ is a suffix. *ma-lo3* ‘readiness’ is consistently used as an independent noun. When the morpheme in the ‘Noun’ slot is not a noun, the nDrapa MMC deviates from the MMC prototype; see (1). Outside the MMC, *nkheil/ =nkhei* ‘appearance’ is not attested, and the other three forms are rarely used.

The etymologies of these four morphemes are difficult to ascertain. Nonetheless, it is possible to suggest their etymologies on the basis of fossilized compound words in nDrapa and relevant forms in the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB). In 5.2, we shall look at each of these four morphemes, paying attention to their etymologies as well. My discussion of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman will be based on Matisoff (2003).

Generally, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC cannot stand alone as a sentence. In this respect, too, the nDrapa MMC deviates from the MMC prototype. See the property (c) of the prototype of the MMC, shown in Section 1.

Some instances of the MMC are difficult to translate into English, but they are easily and nicely translated into Japanese. As shown in Tsunoda (this volume-b), the MMC abounds in Japanese. In view of this, many of the examples that follow are accompanied by a Japanese translation as well as an English translation.

## 5.2 Morphemes in the 'Noun' slot

We shall examine each of the four morphemes listed above.

### 5.2.1 =*ndei* 'intention'

=*ndei* 'intention' is rarely used as an independent noun outside the MMC. In this use, it has the low-rising tone (indicated by "3"), e.g. (21). The consultant uttered this sentence during my attempt to elicit a topicalized version of (2). The nominalizer suffix *-mala* (cf. 4.2.1) is attached to the verb *ji-* 'go', and the entire clause *somunɪ3 ɲoro1 nchenchal jil* is topicalized (by means of the topic enclitic =*ne*). The noun *ndei3* is focused. (21) implies that the plan of his going shopping is more definite than in (2). This is probably because *ndei3* 'plan' is focused.

- (21) *somunɪ3 ɲoro1 nchenchal ji-mala =ne1 ndei3 re3.*  
 tomorrow 3SG shopping go-NMLZ=TOP intention COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: 'That he goes shopping tomorrow is an intention.'  
 Fr: 'He definitely intends to go shopping tomorrow.'

In the MMC, this morpheme occurs as an enclitic. (Recall that enclitics do not carry any specific tone and that they are presented with no tonal specification (Section 3).) =*ndei* forms one phonological word with the word that immediately precedes it, and this phonological word has the tone of the word preceding =*ndei*. For example, in (2), *jil* has tone 1. Therefore, the combined phonological word *ji=ndei1* has tone 1. As another example, in (22), *mə3* has tone 3. Therefore, the phonological word *mə=ndei3* has tone 3.

The MMC with =*ndei* has a modal meaning 'intend to'. It is not used frequently.

The predicate of the 'Clause' is a root or a stem. That is, it is not in a finite form. In effect, the MMC involves an AC of the compounding type (4.2.1). Since the predicate of the 'Clause' is not in a finite form, the 'Clause' cannot stand independently as a sentence.

The verb of the 'Clause' can be either intransitive, e.g. (2), or transitive, e.g. (22). (In the examples of the MMC, the 'Clause' is underlined.)

- (22) *somunɪ3 no1 tɕhei3 mə=ndei3* *wa3.*  
 tomorrow 2SG what make=intention COP<sub>1</sub>  
 Lit: 'You are an intention to make what tomorrow?'  
 Fr: 'What do you intend to do tomorrow?'  
 明日あなたは何をするつもりですか。

All four copulas are acceptable in the 'Copula' slot. *re3* 'COP<sub>4</sub>' is the unmarked choice. Examples include (2) and (23). An example of *tɕe3/tɕj3* 'COP<sub>2</sub>' and *tɕe3* 'COP<sub>3</sub>' is (24). The copula *wa3* 'COP<sub>1</sub>' can be used if the sentence implies the pivot's intention, e.g. (22) and (25). (The pivot may refer to the speaker of a direct declarative sentence; see Section 3.)

- (23) ami3 ɲoro1 ko3 a-tɛ=ndeil re3.  
 evening 3SG here DWN-come.down=intention COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: 'He is an intention to come down here this evening.'  
 Fr: 'He intends to come down here in the evening.'  
 夕方、彼はここに（下りて）来るつもりです。
- (24) somupi3 ɲoro1 nchenda3 ji=ndeil  
 tomorrow 3SG shopping go=intention  
 tɕj-ɛ3/tɛ3.  
 COP<sub>2</sub>-B.IPFV/COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: 'He is an intention to go shopping tomorrow.'  
 Fr: 'He intends to go shopping tomorrow.'  
 彼は明日、買い物に行く予定だ。
- (25) somupi3 ɲa1 nchara3 ji=ndeil wa3.  
 tomorrow 1SG have.fun go=intention COP<sub>1</sub>  
 Lit: 'I am an intention to go out to have fun tomorrow.'  
 Fr: 'I intend to go out for fun tomorrow.'  
 明日私は遊びに行くつもりです。

As noted above, the predicate of the 'Clause' is not in a finite form, and the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. For this purpose, the predicate must inflect. For example, the 'Clause' of (2) (where the predicate is a root/stem) cannot be used as a sentence. Compare (2) with (26). In (26), the imperfective auxiliary verb, with the Pattern B suffix (*t-ɛ3* 'IPFV-B.IPFV'), is added to the verb root/stem, and consequently (26) can stand on its own as a sentence.

- (26) somupi3 ɲoro1 nchenda3 ji=t-ɛ3.  
 tomorrow 3SG shopping go=IPFV-B.IPFV  
 'He will go shopping tomorrow.'

The MMC with =*ndeil* 'intention' is unacceptable if the event described is unintentional, as in (27).

- (27) \*ami3 mokku3 tɛ=ndeil re3.  
 evening rain fall=intention COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Intended meaning: 'It is expected to rain this evening.'  
 (今晚、雨が降る予定だ。)

The etymology of =*ndeil* (*ndeil3*) 'intention' is difficult to ascertain. The same form is found in the second syllable of the noun *jandeil3* 'hand, arm'. However, its meaning is quite far from =*ndeil* (*ndeil3*) 'intention'. Yasuhiko Nagano (p.c.) suggests that =*ndeil* (*ndeil3*) 'intention' may be related to the Written Tibetan word 'dod(-pa) 'desire, wish' (cf. Jäschke 1881: 280-281). There are two pieces of evidence that support this view. First, in many modern Tibetan dialects, the initial letter 'n' before an obstruent in Written Tibetan is realized as a nasal. (Recall that nDrapa has been influenced by

Tibetan for a long time (Section 3).) Second, in nDrapa no consonant is allowed in the syllable-final position. In view of this, I tentatively adopt Nagano's view that =*ndei* (*ndei3*) 'intention' is related to the Written Tibetan word 'dod' 'desire, wish'.

### 5.2.2 -*zi* 'prospect, strategy'

There is no example of the morpheme *zi* 'prospect, strategy' used independently as a noun, without modifying word(s). Consider (28), where -*zi* 'prospect' is the head noun that is modified by an AC (to be precise, a compounding type AC), and it functions as the argument of the verb *po3* 'exist.' This example indicates that, in (28), the morpheme -*zi* 'prospect, strategy' has status as a noun (although it may not be an independent word).

- (28) *ale3 ale = ne3*    *none = perə3*    *tetɛ1*  
 sometime=TOP    2DU=CNT    each.other  
*to-hmo = ne1*    *mo-ɕo-zi3*    *po3*.  
 NTL-forget=then NEG-recognize-prospect exist<sub>1</sub> [FT]  
 Lit: 'Someday there is a prospect that you two forget each other  
 and cannot recognize each other.'  
 Fr: 'Some day you two may forget each other and may not  
 recognize each other.'

When used in the MMC, the morpheme in question is a suffix (-*zi*), not a word, that is added to the root/stem of a verb. That is, the predicate of the 'Clause' is not in a finite form. Therefore, the 'Clause' cannot stand as a sentence on its own.

This suffix may be translated as 'prospect' or 'strategy'. It is combined with the final syllable of the preceding clause to form one phonological word.

The MMC containing -*zi* 'prospect, strategy' mainly has a modal meaning, such as 'be supposed to do', 'be scheduled to do', or 'be expected to do'. This MMC is used frequently, in contrast with the MMC containing =*ndei* 'intention'.

Examples of the MMC with -*zi* 'prospect, strategy' include (29) to (31).

- (29) *ana3*    *nje = ɬo1*    *leme3*    *vo-zi3*    *re3*.  
 today    1PL=place monk come-prospect COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: 'A monk is a prospect to come to our place today.'  
 Fr: 'A monk is scheduled to come to our home today.'  
 今日、私たちのところにお坊さんが来る予定だ。
- (30) *turA3*    *tetshi = rə1*    *thæ = ɬA1*    *mə-zi3*  
 REF whole.life=GEN LOG.PL=place live.in-prospect  
*re3*.  
 COP<sub>4</sub> [FT]  
 Lit: '[She] is a prospect to live in our house for the whole life.'  
 Fr: [The millionaire said,] 'She is supposed to live in our house  
 [and work] all her life.'

そいつは、一生わたしたちの家で住み込みをする（働く）  
 ことになっている」（と長者が言った。）

(31) (An example obtained through elicitation)

ŋa1 loŋa=kə3 a-lo3 wu3 tshʌpi1  
 1SG school=IN DWN-read finish after  
fiɣfiɣe1 me-zi3 re3.  
 teacher make-prospect COP<sub>4</sub>

Lit: 'I am a prospect to become a teacher after finishing reading  
 at school.'

Fr: 'I expect to become a teacher after graduating from school.'

私は、学校で勉強し終えたあと、先生になる予定だ。

In the examples given thus far, the copula used is *re3* 'COP<sub>4</sub>'. The other three copulas, too, can be used; see (32).

(32) ana3 nje=to1 leme3 vo-zi3  
 today 1PL=place monk come-prospect  
wa3/tɕj-ε3/ɕe3/re3.  
 COP<sub>1</sub>/COP<sub>2</sub>-B.IPFV/COP<sub>3</sub>/COP<sub>4</sub>

Lit: 'A monk is a prospect to come to our place today.'

Fr: 'A monk is supposed to come to our home today.'

今日、私たちのところにお坊さんが来る予定だ。

In the examples given thus far, the MMC with *-zi* describes intentional events. Where unintentional events are concerned, this MMC is acceptable if it expresses common knowledge, e.g. (33).

(33) zyi3 ka-ɕje=ta1, tazi3 meto3  
 hot.season INW-come=TIME immediately flower  
ŋo-fibo-zi1 re3.  
 OUT-bloom-prospect COP<sub>4</sub>

Lit: 'When the hot season comes, flowers are a prospect to bloom  
 immediately.'

Fr: 'When the hot season comes, flowers are supposed to bloom  
 immediately.'

春になれば、じきに花が咲くのだ。

As noted above, the predicate of the 'Clause' is not in a finite form, and the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. For this purpose, the predicate needs to inflect. For example, the 'Clause' in (32) cannot stand independently as a sentence. Its predicate is a root/stem. Comparing (32) with (34). In (34), the verb root/stem is followed by the imperfective auxiliary verb *tʌ3/ =tʌ*, and (34) is used as a sentence.

(34) ana3 nje=to1 leme3 vo=tʌ3.  
 today 1PL=place monk come=IPFV  
 'A monk will come to our home today.'

As seen above, the MMC with *-zi* ‘prospect, strategy’ mainly has a modal meaning, such as ‘be supposed to do’, ‘be scheduled to’, or ‘be expected to do’. The act described is generally intentional. Furthermore, the MMC with *-zi* may express a strategy, e.g. (35) to (37).

- (35) *ɲwɛ=ɾɿ1 hketɕha3 kɛɕɿ3 a-ɦji-zi3*  
 2PL=GEN word how DWN-talk-strategy  
*ra3*.  
 COP<sub>4</sub>.Q  
 Lit: ‘Your language is a strategy how to say?’  
 Fr: ‘How do you say this in your language?’  
 Lit: あなたがたの言葉はどのように言う方法ですか。  
 Fr: あなたがたの言葉でどのように言うのですか。
- (36) (An example, cited from a folk tale)  
*ɲwɛ1 kɛɕɿ3 ɿ-ttɕhu-zi3* *ra3*.  
 2PL how UP-bring-strategy COP<sub>4</sub>.Q [FT]  
 Lit: ‘You are a strategy how to bring [that box]?’  
 Fr: ‘How do you bring [the big box]?’  
 Fr: あなたがたは、(その大きな箱を) どうやって  
 運ぶのですか。
- (37) (In the same folk tale, as an answer to (37))  
*nphei=tal ndole3 tɿ-rɛrɛ-zi3* *rɛ3*.  
 ice=ON horseshit NTL-scatter-strategy COP<sub>4</sub> [FT]  
 Lit: ‘[We] are a strategy to scatter horse droppings [on ice].’  
 Fr: ‘We will scatter horse droppings [on ice].’  
 (ねずみが箱を運ぶのに) 氷の上に馬糞を撒く (そして、その  
 上を滑らせる) のです。

Regarding the etymology of *-zi* ‘prospect, strategy’, there is another morpheme *zi* ‘child’, which is used in nominal compounds such as *mizi3* ‘mother and child’. However, semantically the two morphemes are quite remote. Another possible etymology is PTB *\*(r-)tsyəy* ‘count’ (Matisoff 2003: 645). Although its form is remote from *-zi*, the initial consonant might have been vocalized and fricativized through grammaticalization. Moreover, its reflex in Written Tibetan, i.e. *rtsis* means ‘counting, account, estimation’ (Jäschke 1881: 439), and this meaning is close to that of *-zi* ‘prospect, strategy’ (Yasuhiko Nagano p.c.). (Recall that nDrapa has been influenced by Tibetan for a long time (Section 3).) At this stage of research it is difficult to decide whether the nDrapa *-zi* is derived from PTB *\*(r-)tsyəy* ‘count’ or is related to the nDrapa noun *zi* ‘child’.

### 5.2.3 *nkhei1/=nkhei* ‘appearance’

This morpheme is tentatively translated as ‘appearance’. It is not used outside the MMC. Within the MMC, it tends to be:

- (a) an enclitic (= *nkhei*), combined with the preceding word, if the

- final phonological word of the preceding clause is monosyllabic, e.g. (41), (44), (45), and;
- (b) an independent word (*nkhei1*), if the final word of the preceding clause is disyllabic or longer, e.g. (3), (38) to (40), (42), (43), (46), (50).

In other words, the enclitic form tends to be used if the predicate of the ‘Clause’ is a root/stem, while the independent word form is preferred if the predicate is inflected.

The MMC with *nkhei1/ =nkhei* has an evidential meaning of superficial observation: ‘It appears/ looks ...’. This MMC is used frequently.

The ‘Clause’ may be any one of the following.

- (i) A verb-predicate clause, e.g. (3), (38), (39), (40), (46), (50).  
 (ii) A noun-predicate clause, e.g. (41), (42).  
 (iii) An adjective-predicate clause of the verb-predicate type, e.g. (44).  
 (iv) An adjective-predicate clause of the noun-predicate type, e.g. (43), (45).

The following are examples that involve a verb-predicate clause. The verb of the clause may be either an intransitive verb, e.g. (38) (‘die’), (39) (‘fall’) and (50) (‘be ill’) or a transitive verb, e.g. (40) (‘eat’).

- (38) *na1 achi3 ɕA-a2 nkhei1 rɛ3.*  
 1SG tonight die-RT appearance COP<sub>4</sub> [FT]  
 Lit: ‘I am an appearance to die tonight.’  
 Fr: ‘It appears that I will die tonight.’  
 私は今夜、死んでしまうようだ。
- (39) *ami3 mokku3 a-tɛ-a3 nkhei1 rɛ3.*  
 evening rain DWN-fall-RT appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: ‘The rain is an appearance to fall in the evening.’  
 Fr: ‘It appears that it will rain this evening.’  
 今晚、雨が降りそうだ。
- (40) *ɲoro3 lei3 ki-tsi-a1 nkhei1 rɛ3/tɕj-ɛ3.*  
 3SG bun INW-eat-RT appearance COP<sub>4</sub>/COP<sub>2</sub>-B.IPFV  
 Lit: ‘He/she is an appearance to eat buns.’  
 Fr: ‘He appears to have eaten the meat buns.’  
 彼が包子を食べたみたいだ。

Examples involving a noun-predicate clause include (41) and (42).

- (41) *koro3 ɲa=rɔ mi=nkhei3 rɛ3.*  
 this 1SG=GEN mother=appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘It appears that this woman is my mother.’  
 この人が私の母親みたいだ。
- (42) *ɲoro1 hgehgɛ3 nkhei1 rɛ3.*  
 3SG teacher appearance COP<sub>4</sub>

‘It appears that he is a teacher.’  
 彼は先生みたいだ。

((41) means the following: ‘I do not know who my mother is. But my observation indicates that this woman is my mother’. Similarly, (42) means the following: ‘I do not know what his job is. But my observation indicates that he is a teacher’.)

Examples involving an adjective-predicate clause are (43) to (45).

(43) *koro3 chemo3 koto3 tci=fi2 nkhei1 re3.*  
 this clothes price big=COP<sub>3</sub> appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: ‘These clothes are an appearance [that their] price is big.’  
 Fr: ‘These clothes look expensive.’  
 この服は値段が高そうだ。

(44) *koro3 chemo3 koto3 tci=nkhei1 re3.*  
 this clothes price big=appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘These clothes look expensive.’  
 この服は値段が高そうだ。

(45) *ɲoro1 memε-mΛ3 mθ-ndza3 re3=nkhei3 re3.*  
 3SG think-NMLZ NEG-good COP<sub>4</sub>=appearance COP<sub>4</sub> [FT]  
 Lit: ‘What he thinks [about] is an appearance [that it] is not good.’  
 Fr: ‘What he thinks does not seem good.’  
 彼が考えているのは、良からぬ事のようにだ。

The copulas that can occur in the ‘Copula’ slot are *tci3* ‘COP<sub>2</sub>’ and *re3* ‘COP<sub>4</sub>’; see (40). *re3* ‘COP<sub>4</sub>’ is the most commonly occurring one. The sentence-final particle *pa3* ‘INF’ is also attested in place of a copula, e.g. (46).

(46) *ɲoro3 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1 nkhei1 pa3.*  
 3SG bun INW-eat-RT appearance INF  
 Lit: ‘I guess he/she is an appearance to eat the buns.’  
 Fr: ‘He appears to have eaten the buns.’  
 彼が包子を食べたみたいだ。

We shall now examine whether the ‘Clause’ slot of the MMC with *nkhei1/nkhei* ‘appearance’ can be used by itself as a sentence. First, the verbal inflectional morphology is summarized in Section 3. See (a) and (b), in particular.

The imperative (i.e. (a)) cannot occur in the ‘Clause’ slot (of any MMC in nDrapa), and consequently, it is irrelevant to this discussion.

Pattern A (i.e. (b-1)) does not occur in the ‘Clause’ slot, and it, too, is irrelevant here.

The meaning of Pattern A is largely incompatible with the meaning of the MMC with *nkhei1/nkhei* ‘appearance’: superficial observation. Events that are superficially observed by the speaker are irrelevant to the speaker’s intention. As mentioned in Section 3, unintentional predicates have Pattern



B in principle. For example, if the speaker has unintentionally induced or forgotten the event, the verb takes the Pattern B form, e.g. (47).

- (47) *wotsi3 to-fidzu-a1.*  
 hat NEUT-leave.behind-B.PFV  
 ‘(I accidentally) left the hat behind.’

We now turn to Pattern B (i.e. (b-2)), for which the situation is somewhat complex, as shown below. It is important to bear in mind that Pattern B, rather than Pattern A, must be used when the sentence does not concern the viewpoint of the pivot. An example is (48) (Pattern B suffix: *-ε* ‘B.IPFV’). I note in passing that, if the speaker wants to mention such an unintentional event from his viewpoint, a sentence-final particle must be used to clarify his viewpoint. For example, the inferential particle *pa3* is used in (49).

- (48) *ɲoro1 tɕhi2 ni=t-ε3.*  
 3SG something be.ill=IPFV-B.IPFV  
 ‘He is ill.’
- (49) *ɲoro1 tɕhi2 ni=tɕ3 pa3.*  
 3SG something be.ill=IPFV INF  
 ‘I guess he is ill.’

[1] General rule: absence of Pattern B in the ‘Clause’

As a general rule (with the exceptions noted in [2] and [3]), Pattern B cannot occur in the ‘Clause’ of any MMC in nDrapa—even when Pattern B would be expected (i.e. even when the sentence does not concern the viewpoint of the pivot). Consequently, the ‘Clause’ of the MMC with *nkheill = nkhei* (or of any MMC, for that matter) cannot stand as an independent sentence. For example, consider (50), an instance of the MMC with *nkheill = nkhei* ‘appearance’, in which the ‘Clause’ has no Pattern B suffix. Its ‘Clause’ cannot stand alone as a sentence; see (51). This is because the predicate of (51) does not have a Pattern B suffix, despite the fact that Pattern B would be expected.

- (50) *ɲoro1 tɕhi2 ni=tɕ3 nkheill re3.*  
 3SG something be.ill=IPFV appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 Lit: ‘He is an appearance to be somewhat ill.’  
 Fr: ‘He looks somewhat ill.’  
 彼は何かを患っているみたいだ。
- (51) \**ɲoro1 tɕhi2 ni=tɕ3.*  
 3SG something be.ill=IPFV  
 Intended meaning: ‘He is ill.’

As noted above, as a general rule, Pattern B cannot occur in the ‘Clause’ of any MMC in nDrapa. At least in the case of the MMC with *nkheill = nkhei* ‘appearance’, there are two exceptions to this.

[2] Exception 1: Perfective: remote time and perfective Pattern B

The ‘Clause’ in the MMC with *nkheil* (word) ‘appearance’ may involve the remote time suffix *-a* ‘RT’, e.g. (38) to (40). (= *nkhei* (enclitic) ‘appearance’ cannot occur with the suffix.) This suffix has the same form as that of the perfective Pattern B suffix *-a* ‘B.PFV’. Therefore, when the ‘Clause’ occurs by itself, the suffix *-a* ‘RT’ can function as the perfective Pattern B suffix *-a* ‘B.PFV’, and the ‘Clause’ can now be used as a sentence by itself—when Pattern B would be expected. For example, if the ‘Clause’ of (40) is used by itself, we obtain (52).

- (52) *ɲoroʒ leiʒ ki-ttsi-a1.*  
 3SG bun INW-eat-B.PFV  
 ‘He has eaten meat buns.’

The suffix *-a* ‘RT’, which functions as the remote time suffix in (40), can function as the perfective Pattern B suffix in (52). (52) does not concern the viewpoint of the pivot, and Pattern B would be expected. Indeed, it does have a Pattern B suffix, and (52) is acceptable as an independent sentence.

As can be seen, the remote time suffix *-a* ‘RT’ and perfective Pattern B suffix *-a* ‘B.PFV’ exhibit a complementary distribution. Namely, *-a* ‘B.PFV’ occurs sentence-finally, but *-a* ‘RT’ does not. Therefore, it is possible to say that *-a1* ‘-B.PFV’ is at the same time the perfective Pattern B suffix *-a* ‘B.PFV.’ It is according to this view that the ‘Clause’ of (40) can be used by itself as a sentence, namely (52).

[3] Exception 2: *rɛʒ* ‘COP<sub>4</sub>’

The copula *rɛʒ* ‘COP<sub>4</sub>’ can be used in both Patterns A and B. If the ‘Clause’ of (45), for example, is used by itself, we obtain (53).

- (53) *ɲoro1 mɛmɛ-maʒ mɔ-ndzaʒ rɛʒ.*  
 3SG think-NMLZ NEG-good COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘What he thinks is not good.’

(53) does not concern the viewpoint of the pivot, and Pattern B would be expected. Indeed, it does have Pattern B; the copula *rɛʒ* ‘COP<sub>4</sub>’ can be used for Pattern B, and (53) is acceptable as an independent sentence.

To sum up, as a general rule, Pattern B cannot occur in the ‘Clause’ of the MMC with *nkheil* // *nkhei* ‘appearance’—even when Pattern B would be expected (i.e. even when the sentence does not concern the viewpoint of the pivot). Consequently, the ‘Clause’ cannot stand as an independent sentence. However, there are two exceptions, in which the form that occurs in the predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be used in Pattern B, and consequently the ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself.

The etymology of *nkheil* // *nkhei* ‘appearance’ is difficult to ascertain. This morpheme is not used as an independent noun outside the MMC. Nonetheless, the nDrapa noun *khe1* ‘shape, appearance’ is similar to *nkheil* // *nkhei* ‘appearance’ in both form and meaning. Furthermore, there is an adjective that has the same form: *nkheil* ‘same’. This adjective may be

related to *nkheil/ = nkhei* ‘appearance’.

A possible cognate morpheme of *nkheil/ = nkhei* ‘appearance’ is found in Written Tibetan: (*ʼ*)*khod* ‘surface, superficies’ (Jäschke 1881: 56). As I mentioned in 5.2.1, the initial letter “*ʼ*” before an obstruent in Written Tibetan is realized as a nasal in many modern Tibetan dialects, and in nDrapa no consonant is allowed in the syllable-final position. It is possible that nDrapa *nkheil/ = nkhei* is related to (*ʼ*)*khod* in Written Tibetan, although it is difficult to ascertain whether it is derived from the Written Tibetan (*ʼ*)*khod* or from a loanword that was borrowed from Tibetan.

There is another PTB root that may be relevant in this regard: *\*ka(-y)* ‘like, similar; thus, so’ (Matisoff 2003: 488). I tentatively regard *khe1* ‘shape, appearance’ as the nDrapa descendent of PTB *\*ka(-y)*.

At this stage of research, it is difficult to decide whether the nDrapa *nkheil/ = nkhei* ‘appearance’ is derived from a morpheme (such as the Written Tibetan (*ʼ*)*khod*) that means ‘surface’ or from the PTB *\*ka(-y)* ‘like, similar; thus, so’.

#### 5.2.4 *malo3* ‘readiness’

There is no example of the morpheme *malo3* ‘readiness’ used as an independent noun by itself. However, *malo3* can be used as an independent noun when it is modified by some other words. For example, see (54). *zama3 ki-ttsi-a1* ‘meal INW-eat-RT’ is an AC of the compounding type (cf. 4.2.1-(c)), and it modifies *malo3* ‘readiness’. The entire *zama3 ki-ttsi-a1 malo3* functions as the direct object of the transitive verb *a-mə3* ‘make’. *malo3* has its own tone, and this indicates that it is neither an enclitic nor a suffix, that is, it is an independent noun (cf. Section 3).

- (54) *zama3 ki-ttsi-a1*      *malo3*      *a-mə3*  
 meal    INW-eat-RT      readiness    DWN-make  
*hce-a3 re3.*  
 PST-RT    DECL

Lit: ‘[Someone] made the readiness of a meal to eat.’

Fr: ‘[Someone] made all necessary preparations for a meal.’

(誰かが) 食事を食べるばかりの用意をした。

In the MMC, too, *malo3* ‘readiness’ occurs as an independent word. This MMC has an aspectual meaning: ‘be ready to’. This MMC is rather uncommon; only a few examples have been found in my field research.

The ‘Clause’ of this MMC has to be a verb-predicate clause. It cannot be an adjective-predicate or noun-predicate clause. The verb of the ‘Clause’ may be either intransitive, e.g. (56), or transitive, e.g. (55) and (57).

- (55) *goro1 vo-ta3,*      *zama3 ki-ttsi-a1*      *malo3*      *te3.*  
 3SG    come-when    meal    INW-eat-RT    readiness    COP<sub>3</sub> [FT]

Lit: ‘When he came back, he was the readiness to eat a meal.’

Fr: ‘When he came back, meal preparations have been finished.’

彼が帰ってくると、食事を食べるばかりになっていた。

- (56) *ɲoro1 ɲje=fo ki-mi-a1 mʌlo3 tɛ3.*  
 3SG 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness COP<sub>3</sub>  
 Lit: 'He is readiness to sleep in our house.'  
 Fr: 'He is ready to sleep in our house.'  
 彼がわたしたちの家で寝るばかりになっている。
- (57) *nguttɕhi-rɛ2 aɲʌ3 khɛxui1 ntsho-a4 mʌlo3 tɛ3.*  
 leader-PL today meeting hold-RT readiness COP<sub>3</sub>  
 Lit: 'The leaders are readiness to hold a meeting today.'  
 Fr: 'The leaders are ready to hold a meeting today.'  
 指導者たちが今日会議を開くばかりである。

The verb of the 'Clause' is always followed by the remote time suffix *-a*, which concerns either remote past or remote future. (This is intriguing, for this MMC means 'be ready to'.)

We shall now examine whether the 'Clause' of this MMC can be used by itself as a sentence. Given that the verb of the 'Clause' involves the remote time suffix *-a*, and also that the remote time suffix is identical to the Pattern B perfective suffix, it is possible to say that the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence. (Recall that this is exactly the case of the MMC with *nkhei1 = nkhei nkhei1 = nkhei* 'appearance'.) For example, compare (58) (MMC) with (59). Since the remote past suffix is considered to be the Pattern B perfective suffix at the same time, the 'Clause' in (58) can stand alone as a sentence, as in (59).

- (58) *ɲoro1 zama3 ki-ttsi-a1 mʌlo3 tɛ3.*  
 3SG meal INW-eat-RT readiness COP<sub>3</sub>  
 'He was/is ready to have a meal.'
- (59) *ɲoro1 zama3 ki-ttsi-a1.*  
 3SG meal INW-eat-B.PFV  
 'He had a meal.'

Generally, the 'Copula' employed is *tɛ3* 'COP<sub>3</sub>', e.g. (55) to (58). However, *wa3* 'COP<sub>1</sub>' is used if the sentence describes an intentional action by the pivot. Comparison of (57) (*tɛ3* 'COP<sub>3</sub>') with (60) (*wa3* 'COP<sub>1</sub>'). In (60), the preparation of the meeting has been done by the speaker(s).

- (60) *nguttɕhi-rɛ2 aɲʌ3 khɛxui1 ntsho-a4 mʌlo3 wa3.*  
 leader-PL today meeting hold-RT readiness COP<sub>1</sub>  
 Fr: 'The leaders are ready to hold a meeting today. I/We have prepared for it.'  
 (私[たち]は、) 指導者たちが今日会議を開くばかりに  
 (会議場などの準備を) してある。

A parallel contrast is found between (56) (*tɛ3* 'COP<sub>3</sub>') and (61) (*wa3* 'COP<sub>1</sub>'). Example (56) has no implication regarding who did the preparation, while (61) implies that "we" did.

- (61) *ɲoro1 ɲje=fo ki-mi-a1 mɔlo3 wa3.*  
 3SG 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness COP<sub>1</sub>  
 Fr: 'He is ready to sleep in our house. We have prepared for it.'  
 (私[たち]は、)彼がわたしたちの家で寝るばかりにしてある。

The MMC with *mɔlo3* 'readiness' is unacceptable if the sentence expresses the third person's overt intention; see (62).

- (62) \**ɲoro1 tɕhu=ji2 mɔlo3 tɛ3.*  
 3SG harvest.crops=go readiness COP<sub>3</sub>  
 Intended meaning: 'He is ready to go for harvesting the crops.'  
 (彼は麦刈りに行くばかりだ。)

The etymology of *mɔlo3* 'readiness' is difficult to ascertain. It is probably a compound of *mɔ* and *lo*. The morpheme *mɔ* has the same form as the nominalizer suffix *-mɔ* (mentioned in 4.2.1). This suffix is probably derived from the PTB \**ma* 'what' (Matisoff 2003: 488). Its reflexes are found in modern languages, e.g. *me35* 'what' in Jiulong Prinmi (a Qiangic language) (Huang Bufan 1992: #954). (I indicate the lexicon number in Huang Bufan 1992 with a sharp mark.) The etymology of morpheme *lo* is more difficult to propose. It might have been derived from the PTB \**luk* 'enough' (Matisoff 2003: 357). This root has reflexes in modern languages, e.g. *lu* 'full' in Shixing (a Qiangic language) (Huang Bufan 1992: #984).

On the basis of the above, I tentatively suggest that the etymology of *mɔlo3* 'readiness' is possibly a compound noun that consists of \**ma* 'what' and \**luk* 'enough', although this issue awaits further research.

### 5.2.5 Summary of the 'Noun'

Table 1 presents a summary of the discussion of the four morphemes that can occur in the 'Noun' slot. The meaning of the MMC is modal, evidential, or aspectual.

Table 1. Morphemes in the 'Noun' slot

	Possible original meaning	Meaning/function in MMC
<i>=ndeɪ</i> (enclitic) 'intention'	'desire, wish'	modal ('intend to do')
<i>-zi</i> (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'	'count' or 'child'	modal ('be supposed to do', 'be expected to do')
<i>nkhei1</i> (word) / <i>=nkhei</i> (enclitic) 'appearance'	'surface' or 'like, similar'	evidential ('It appears')
<i>mɔlo3</i> (word) 'readiness'	'thing-enough' (?)	aspectual ('be ready to')

### 5.3 Negation

It is interesting to look at negation in the MMC, for the MMC contains two words that can possibly be negated: (i) the predicate of the ‘Clause’ and (ii) the ‘Copula’.

In nDrapa, sentence negation generally involves the negative prefix *mə-* (for the perfective) or *ma-* (for the imperfective).

Verb-predicate sentences are negated by the addition of the negative prefix to the main verb or the auxiliary verb, e.g. (4). Regarding noun-predicate sentences, copula-less sentences (e.g. (7)) cannot be negated. However, copula sentences are negated by the addition of *ma-* to the copula. For example, compare (63) and (64).

- (63) *ʃaʃi3 nɔʃapi3 rɛ3.*  
 PSN nDrapa.person COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘Tashi is a nDrapa person.’
- (64) *ʃaʃi3 nɔʃapi3 ma-rɛ3.*  
 PSN nDrapa.person NEG-COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘Tashi is not a nDrapa person.’

Negation of the MMC employs the same method: addition of the negative prefix *ma-*. Now, as noted above, the MMC contains two words that can possibly be negated: (i) the predicate of the ‘Clause’ and (ii) the copula.

The negative prefix is generally added to the ‘Copula’—irrespective of which morphemes fill the ‘Noun’ and ‘Copula’ slots. Selected examples follow. Compare (i) (2) and (65), (ii) (29) and (66), (iii) (40) and (67), and (iv) (61) and (68).

- (65) *somunɪ3 ɲoro1 nɕhenɕa3 ʃi=ndeil ma-rɛ3.*  
 tomorrow 3SG shopping go=intention NEG-COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘He does not intend to go shopping today.’  
 明日彼は買い物に行かないつもりです。
- (66) *anɔ3 ɲje=fo1 leme3 vo-zi3 ma-rɛ3.*  
 today 1PL=place monk come-prospect NEG-COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘The monk is not supposed to come to our home today.’  
 今日、私たちのところにお坊さんは来ない予定だ。
- (67) *ɲoro3 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1 nkheil ma-rɛ3.*  
 3SG bun INW-eat-RT appearance NEG-COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘He does not appear to have eaten the meat buns.’  
 彼が包子を食べたのではないようだ。
- (68) *ɲoro1 ɲje=fo ki-mi-a1 mɔlo3 ma-ʃɔ3.*  
 3SG 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness NEG-COP<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘It’s not ready for him to sleep in our house. We haven’t prepared for that.’  
 彼がわたしたちの家で寝るばかりにしていない。

The predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be negated, e.g. (45) (*mə-ndʒaʒ* ‘NEG-good’), although this is less common than the negation of the ‘Copula’.

It is not known if both the ‘Copula’ and the predicate of the ‘Clause’ can be negated in one sentence.

#### 5.4 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

##### 5.4.1 Introductory notes

In this section, I shall compare the morphosyntax of the MMC with that of three other constructions. Specifically, I compare the following.

- (a) Verb-predicate sentences, as the representative of independent sentences (cf. 4.1)
- (b) MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) ‘intention’ (cf. 5.2.1)
- (c) MMC with *-zi* (suffix) ‘prospect, strategy’ (cf. 5.2.2)
- (d) MMC with *nkheil* (word) ‘appearance’ (cf. 5.2.3)
- (e) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) ‘appearance’ (cf. 5.2.3)
- (f) MMC with *maloʒ* (word) ‘readiness’ (cf. 5.2.4)
- (g) Head-internal adnominal clauses (‘Head-internal ACs’) (cf. 4.2.1)
- (h) Head-external adnominal clauses (‘Head-external ACs’) (cf. 4.2.1)

This comparison will concern the structure of the predicate (5.4.2), topicalization (5.4.3), and the ‘Clause + Noun’ as the predicate of a verb (5.4.4). The result of this comparison is shown in Table 2. The comparison in 5.4.2 in the main concerns morphology, while those in 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 deal with syntax.

Superficially, the ‘Clause + Noun’ structure of the MMC may look similar to an AC plus a noun, and it is particularly important to examine if the morphosyntax of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC really behaves like ACs.

##### 5.4.2 Predicate

We shall look at the structure of the predicate.

- (a) Verb-predicate sentences

The verb is inflected. It can occur in Pattern B. It can be followed by a sentence-final particle (‘SFP’).

- (b) MMC with *=ndei* ‘intention’

The predicate is the root/stem of a verb. It cannot occur in Pattern B. It cannot be followed by an SFP.

- (c) MMC with *-zi* ‘prospect, strategy’

The predicate is the root/stem of a verb. It cannot occur in Pattern B. It cannot be followed by an SFP.

- (d) MMC with *nkheil* (word) ‘appearance’

The predicate is inflected. It can occur in Pattern B. It cannot be followed by an SFP.

- (e) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) ‘appearance’

The predicate is the root/stem of a verb. It cannot occur in Pattern B in

general (see 5.2.3). It cannot be followed by an SFP.

(f) MMC with *malo3* 'readiness'

The predicate is a verb and it always takes the remote time suffix *-a*. This suffix can function as a Pattern B suffix. The verb cannot be followed by an SFP.

(g) Head-internal ACs

(h) Head-external ACs

The predicate is combined with a nominalizer suffix. It cannot occur in B Pattern. It cannot be followed by an SFP.

### 5.4.3 Topicalization

A constituent of a sentence can be topicalized by adding the topic enclitic *=ne* 'TOP' to it and moving it to the sentence-initial position. This test is designed to examine the syntactic structure of the 'Clause'.

(a) Verb-predicate sentences

Topicalization is possible. Compare (4) and (69).

- (69) *tshonba = ne1 no = ʃo1 tɕəti1 to-htɕu1*  
shopkeeper=TOP 2SG=PLACE letter NTL-send  
*mə-n-a2.*  
NEG-EXP-B.PFV  
'As for the shopkeeper, he has never sent you a letter.'

Topicalization is applicable to any type of MMC. Examples follow.

(b) MMC with *=nde1* 'intention'

Compare (2) with:

- (70) *ɲoro = ne1 somuɲi3 nchɛnɕa3 ji = nde1 re3.*  
3SG=TOP tomorrow shopping go=intention COP<sub>4</sub>  
Lit: 'As for him, he intends to go shopping tomorrow.'  
彼は、明日買い物に行くつもりです。

In (70), the subject of the 'Clause', *ɲoro* '3SG', is topicalized.

(c) MMC with *-zi* 'prospect, strategy'

Compare (29) with the following sentences: (71) (the subject: *ɪeme3* 'monk' is topicalized), (72) (the goal noun *ɲje = ʃo1* '1PL=place' is topicalized), and (73) (the time noun *ana3* 'today' is topicalized).

- (71) *ɪeme = ne3 ana3 ɲje = ʃo1 vo-zi3 re3.*  
monk=TOP today 1PL=place come-prospect COP<sub>4</sub>  
Lit: 'As for the monk, he is supposed to come to our home today.'  
お坊さんは、今日、私たちのところに来る予定だ。
- (72) *ɲje = ʃo = ne1 ana3 ɪeme3 vo-zi3 re3.*  
1PL=place=TOP today monk come-prospect COP<sub>4</sub>  
'To our home, a monk is supposed to come today.'  
私たちのところは、今日、お坊さんが来る予定だ。



- (73) *ana = ne3 nje = to1 leme vo-zi3 re3.*  
 today=TOP 1PL=place monk come-prospect COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘Today, a monk is supposed to come to our home.’  
 今日は、私たちのところにお坊さんが来る予定だ。

As additional examples, compare (35) and (74):

- (74) *nje = ra1 hketcha = ne1 konkhei3*  
 1PL=GEN word=TOP this.appearance  
*a-fjifji-zi3 re3.*  
 DWN-talk-prospect COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘In our language, [we] say like this.’  
 わたしたちの言葉は、このように言うのです。

(d) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) ‘appearance’  
 Compare (40) and (75):

- (75) *goro = ne1 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1 nkhei1 re3.*  
 3SG=TOP bun INW-eat-RT appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘As for him, He appears to have eaten the meat buns.’  
 彼は、包子を食べたみたいだ。

(e) MMC with =*nkhei* (enclitic) ‘appearance’  
 Compare (44) and (76):

- (76) *koro3 chemo = ne3 koto3 tci = nkhei1 re3.*  
 this clothes=TOP price big=appearance COP<sub>4</sub>  
 ‘As for these clothes, they look expensive.’  
 この服は値段が高そうだ。

(f) MMC with *malo3* ‘readiness’  
 Compare (56) with (77):

- (77) *goro = ne1 nje = to1 ki-mi-a1 malo3 te3.*  
 3SG=TOP 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness COP<sub>3</sub>  
 ‘He is ready to sleep in our house.’  
 彼は、わたしたちの家で寝るばかりになっている。

(g) Head-internal ACs’  
 Topicalization is possible. Compare (78) and (79).

- (78) *tsheri lei3 a-mə-mara3 taci3*  
 PSN bun DWN-make-NMLZ PSN  
*ki-ttsil hce-a3.*  
 INW-eat PST-B.PFV  
 ‘Tashi ate the meat buns that Tseri made.’

- (79) *tsheri = ne1 lei3 a-mə-maɾa3 taɕi3*  
 PSN=TOP bun DWN-make-NMLZ PSN  
*ki-ttsi1 hce-a3.*  
 INW-eat PST-B.PFV  
 Tentative translation: ‘As for Tseri, Tashi ate the meat buns that she made.’

(h) Head-external ACs’  
 Topicalization is not possible. Compare (11) and (80).

- (80) \**tsheri = ne1 a-mə-maɾa3 lei3 taɕi3*  
 PSN=TOP DWN-make-NMLZ bun PSN  
*ki-ttsi1 hce-a3.*  
 INW-eat PST-B.PFV  
 Intended meaning: ‘(As (79).)’

It is interesting to note that in Japanese a noun phrase within an AC cannot be topicalized (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6.3.1.1), in contrast with nDrapa ACs.

#### 5.4.4 ‘Clause + Noun’ as the object of a verb

We shall examine whether ‘Noun + Clause’ can be the object of a verb. This test is designed to examine the noun-hood of the ‘Noun’ of the MMC. It is convenient to start this test with ACs.

An NP modified by an AC can be used as the object of verbs such as *si2* ‘know,’ as in (81) and (82), *fo2* ‘see,’ and *re2* ‘achieve’. (In (81), the internal head is indicated by a broken underline.)

(g) Head-internal ACs

- (81) *konkhei3 hketɕha1 a-fiɕiɕi-maɾa3*  
 this.appearance word DWN-talk-NMLZ  
*no1 si = me2.*  
 2SG know=Q  
 ‘Do you know the words that say like this?’

(h) Head-external ACs

- (82) *nonkhei3 a-fiɕiɕi-maɾa3 hketɕha1*  
 that.appearance DWN-talk-NMLZ word  
*no1 si = me2.*  
 2SG know=Q  
 ‘Do you know the words that say like that?’

In the MMC, the ‘Clause Noun’ part cannot be used as the object of these verbs. This applies even when the ‘Noun’ is an independent word, not an enclitic or suffix; see (85) and (86). Selected examples follow.

(b) MMC with =*ndei* (enclitic) ‘intention’  
Compare (2) with:

- (83) \**ŋa ŋoro somuŋi3 nchencha3 ji=ndei1 si2.*  
1SG 3SG tomorrow shopping go=intention know  
Intended meaning: ‘I know that he intends to go shopping tomorrow.’

(c) MMC with *-zi* (suffix) ‘prospect, strategy’  
Compare (29) with:

- (84) \**ana3 ŋje=to1 lemε3 vo-zi3 re-a2 re3.*  
today 1PL=place monk come-prospect achieve-RT COP<sub>4</sub>  
Intended meaning: ‘We obtained the prospect that a monk will come to our home today.’  
\*お坊さんのうちに来てもらう予定ができた。

(d) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) ‘appearance’  
Compare (41) with:

- (85) \**ŋa ŋoro3 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1 nkhei1 si2.*  
1SG 3SG bun INW-eat-RT appearance know  
Intended meaning: ‘I know that he appears to have eaten the meat buns.’  
(86) \**ŋa ŋoro3 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1 nkhei1 to2.*  
1SG 3SG bun INW-eat-RT appearance see.1  
Intended meaning: ‘I saw that he appears to have eaten the meat buns.’

(f) MMC with *malo3* (word) ‘readiness’  
Compare (56) with:

- (87) \**ŋa ŋoro3 ŋje=to1 ki-mi-a1 malo3 si2.*  
1SG 3SG 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness know  
Intended meaning: ‘I know that he is ready to sleep in our house.’

(a) Verb-predicate sentences

They are irrelevant to this test, for they do not contain ‘Clause + Noun’.

We have seen that ‘head-internal AC + Noun’ can be the object of certain verbs, while ‘Clause + Noun’ of the MMC cannot. This applies even when the ‘Noun’ is an independent word, not an enclitic or suffix. The result shows that, at least in this respect, the ‘Noun’ of the MMC does not have the status of a regular noun.

5.4.5 Discussion

The result of the comparison conducted above is shown in Table 2. In terms

of the structure of the predicate, in the main the MMC resembles neither verb-predicate sentences nor ACs. It differs from verb-predicate sentences and behaves like ACs only in one respect: the predicate cannot involve a sentence-final particle. With respect to topicalization and the use of 'Clause Noun' as the object, i.e. concerning syntax, it is difficult to say whether the MMC resembles verb-predicate sentences or ACs.

Table 2. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

	predicate		
	verb form	Pattern B	SFP
(a) verb-predicate sentence	inflected	+	+
(b) MMC: = <i>ndei</i> 'intention'	root/stem	-	-
(c) MMC: - <i>zi</i> 'prospect'	root/stem	-	-
(d) MMC: <i>nkheil</i> 'appearance'	inflected	+	-
(e) MMC: = <i>nkhei</i> 'appearance'	root/stem	-	-
(f) MMC: <i>maloʒ</i> 'readiness'	remote time suffix	+	-
(g) Head-internal AC	nominalizer suffix	-	-
(h) Head-external AC	nominalizer suffix	-	-
	topicalization	'Clause Noun' as object	
(a) verb-predicate sentence	+	n.a.	
(b) MMC: = <i>ndei</i> 'intention'	+	-	
(c) MMC: - <i>zi</i> 'prospect'	+	-	
(d) MMC: <i>nkheil</i> 'appearance'	+	-	
(e) MMC: = <i>nkhei</i> 'appearance'	+	-	
(f) MMC: <i>maloʒ</i> 'readiness'	+	-	
(g) Head-internal AC	+	+	
(h) Head-external AC	-	+	

To sum up, the MMC does not closely resemble either verb-predicate sentences or ACs. As noted in 5.4.1, superficially, the 'Clause Noun' structure of the MMC may look similar to an AC plus a noun. However, the above comparison has revealed that the 'Clause' of the MMC does not closely resemble ACs. (At the same times, it does not closely resemble verb-predicate sentences, either.)

## 6. Summary and concluding remarks

nDrapa has the MMC, although it is not a prototypical one. Four morphemes are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the nDrapa MMC: =*ndei* 'intention', -*zi* 'prospect', *nkheil/=nkhei* 'appearance', and *malo3* 'readiness'. Among them, =*ndei* 'intention' is an enclitic (although it is also used as an independent noun (*ndei3*) outside MMCs). *nkheil/=nkhei* 'appearance' can be either a word or an enclitic. -*zi* 'prospect' is a suffix, and *malo3* 'readiness' is consistently used as an independent noun. The MMC has a modal, evidential or aspectual meaning. Generally (with two exceptions), the 'Clause' of MMC cannot stand as an independent sentence. The 'Clause' of the MMC does not closely resemble ACs or verb-predicate sentences. These four forms attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC are rarely used outside the MMC and it is difficult to ascertain their etymologies. Nonetheless, possible etymologies have been suggested. The suggested etymologies show that the 'Noun' slot is filled only by fossilized morphemes. This, in turn, may indicate that the nDrapa MMC has reached a fairly advanced stage of grammaticalization.

## Abbreviations

1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative-dative; ADM - admirative; ASS - associative; AUX - auxiliary; B - Pattern B suffix; BEN - benefactive; CFM - confirmative; CLF - classifier; CNT - content (case); COM - comitative; CMPR - comparative (case); COP - copula; DAT - dative-locative; DECL - declarative; DIR - directional prefix; DU - dual; DIST - distal; DWN - downward directional prefix; EXP - experiential; GEN - genitive; Fr - free translation; FT - example cited from a folk tale; INF - inferential; INW - inward directional prefix; INS - instrumental; IPFV - imperfective; Lit - literal translation; LOG - logophoric pronoun; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negative; NMLZ - nominalizer; NTL - neutral directional prefix; OUT - outward directional prefix; PFV - perfective; PL - plural; PLN - place name; PST - past; PSN - person name; PTB - proto-Tibeto-Burman; Q - question marker; REF - referential pronoun; RT - remote time; SFP - sentence-final particle; SG - singular; TOP - topic; UP - upward directional prefix; VS - verb stem.

## Note

1. The Pattern A/B system may be considered corresponding to the conjunct/disjunct pattern in Newar (Hale 1980). However, there is a difference between the two: the conjunct/disjunct pattern is a form of person marking, while Pattern A/B in nDrapa concerns modality.

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