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Adnominal clauses and the 'Mermaid construction' : Grammaticalization of nouns

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Adnominal Clauses and the 'Mermaid Construction': Grammaticalization of Nouns

Tasaku Tsunoda (ed.)

April 2013

大学共同利用機関法人 人間文化研究機構
国立国語研究所
National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics
NINJAL

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Preface

From October 2009 to March 2012, I conducted two collaborative research projects at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics ('NINJAL') (Tachikawa City, Tokyo, Japan), where I served as the Director of the Department of Crosslinguistic Studies. The abbreviated titles of these projects are 'Mermaid construction' and 'Five levels in clause linkage', respectively. The present volume is the major outcome of the project 'Mermaid construction'. A crosslinguistic study of 'Five levels in clause linkage' is in preparation.

One of the most important goals of these projects is the following: contributions from Japanese linguistics to general linguistics. This goal is indeed the very title of the keynote speech I presented at the 11th International Conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies, held at the University of Vienna, 31 August to 3 September 2005 (Tasaku Tsunoda 2005). What I mean by general linguistics is the kind of linguistic research that proposes an idea or framework that is useful for study of other languages, and hopefully, all human languages. In my view, general linguistics does not refer to any particular theory.

In spirit, these projects aspire to approach the level of the contributions made by Dixon (1972), based on data from Dyirbal of northeast Australia, and Hale (1983), based on data from Warlpiri of central Australia. Dixon's work on ergativity — syntactic ergativity, in particular — and Hale's work on configurationality provided invaluable frameworks and insights for study of other languages (including my own work, e.g. Tasaku Tsunoda (2011)).

Works on Japanese that are written in English — both books and papers — flourish. To the best of my knowledge, many of them examine whether a given theory may or may not apply to Japanese, how a certain phenomenon in Japanese may be analyzed employing a certain theory, or how a given theory may be modified on the basis of Japanese data. They (probably, not all of them) have made important contributions. One of the best such works is Harada's (1976), in which he put forward many important insights into the honorifics of Japanese.

In contrast with these works, the two projects mentioned above do not aim to look at Japanese in the light of a certain theory. They aim to propose — on the basis of Japanese data and analyses of Japanese — an idea or framework that is useful for study of other languages, and hopefully, all human languages. The inspiration for the project 'Mermaid construction' comes from Tasaku Tsunoda's (1996) study of a certain construction in Japanese. That for the project 'Five levels in clause linkage' is provided by Mie Tsunoda' (2004, 2012) work, which is based on Japanese data. It is hoped that the present volume constitutes a contribution from Japanese linguistics to general linguistics and that the same will apply to the proposed volume on 'Five levels in clause linkage'.

I mentioned above that works on Japanese that are written in English flourish. It is important to stress in this connection that there are works that are based on Japanese data, written in Japanese, published in Japanese, and

that have made important contributions to general linguistics (Tasaku Tsunoda 2005). Two of such works are Kindaichi (1950) and Mimami (1964), both of which are based on Japanese data. Kindaichi (1950) proposed a theory of aspect. It is seven years earlier than Vendler (1957), who put forward an almost identical theory of aspect, based on English data. Mimami (1964) submitted a theory of clause linkage. It is twelve years before Silverstein (1976) and twenty years before Foley and Van Valin (1984) advanced very similar theories of clause linkage. Unfortunately, works such as Kindaichi (1950) and Minami (1964) are not known overseas. It is hoped that works like theirs will be better known overseas. It is in view of this that the two projects mentioned above aim to make contributions to general linguistics, based on Japanese data. It should be added that there are attempts to make such a contribution, e.g. Tasaku Tsunoda's (1995) study of expressions of possession.

I have had the good fortune to have the participation of a large number of expert linguists in the two projects mentioned above. When selecting linguists to request to participate in the projects, the following two criteria were among the most important ones.

Criterion 1. The EUROTYP project examined the languages of Europe (and produced publications of superb quality) (<http://www.degruyter.com/view/serial/16329?rskey=DwHMqK&result=1&q=EUROTYP>) (8 March 2013). In view of this, and also in view of the location of Japan, I decided to mainly focus on languages of Asia and the Pacific. In addition, a small number of specialists in languages of North and Central Americas, Africa and Europe kindly agreed to participate. They added a welcome expansion of the area covered.

Criterion 2. Works on so-called major languages are well known and easily accessible. In contrast, those on so-called minority languages are little known and not easily accessible. In view of this, I made deliberate efforts to include the latter in the projects.

Finally I wish to thank all the people who contributed towards the completion of the present volume. In particular, (i) the authors of the contributions, who patiently revised their papers over and over, (ii) the reviewers, who — in their busy schedule — refereed the papers and provide very detailed and helpful comments, (iii) the other members of the projects who gave comments on the papers when they were presented at the project meetings, and (iv) the secretariat at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, who provided much-needed assistance.

March 2013

Tasaku Tsunoda

Professor Emeritus
National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics
Tachikawa City, Tokyo, Japan

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List of contributors

Anna Bugaeva
National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

Fuyuki Ebata
Faculty of Humanities, Niigata University

Shiho Ebihara
Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Fubito Endo
Faculty of Economics, University of Wakayama

Yasunari Imamura
Faculty of Foreign Languages, Kanda University of International Studies

Masumi Katagiri
Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Okayama University

Atsuhiko Kato
Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

Kazuhiro Kawachi
Department of Foreign Languages, National Defense Academy of Japan

Joungmin Kim
Faculty of Foreign Studies, Reitaku University

Kazuyuki Kiryu
University of Mimasaka

Masato Kobayashi
Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, University of Tokyo

Norikazu Kogura
Graduate School of Humanities, Kyushu University

Tomoyuki Kubo
Graduate School of Humanities, Kyushu University

Megumi Kurebito
Faculty of Humanities, University of Toyama

Asako Miyachi
Graduate School of Letters, University of Nagoya

Hideki Ono
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo

Kan Sasaki
Faculty of Business Administration, Sapporo Gakuin University

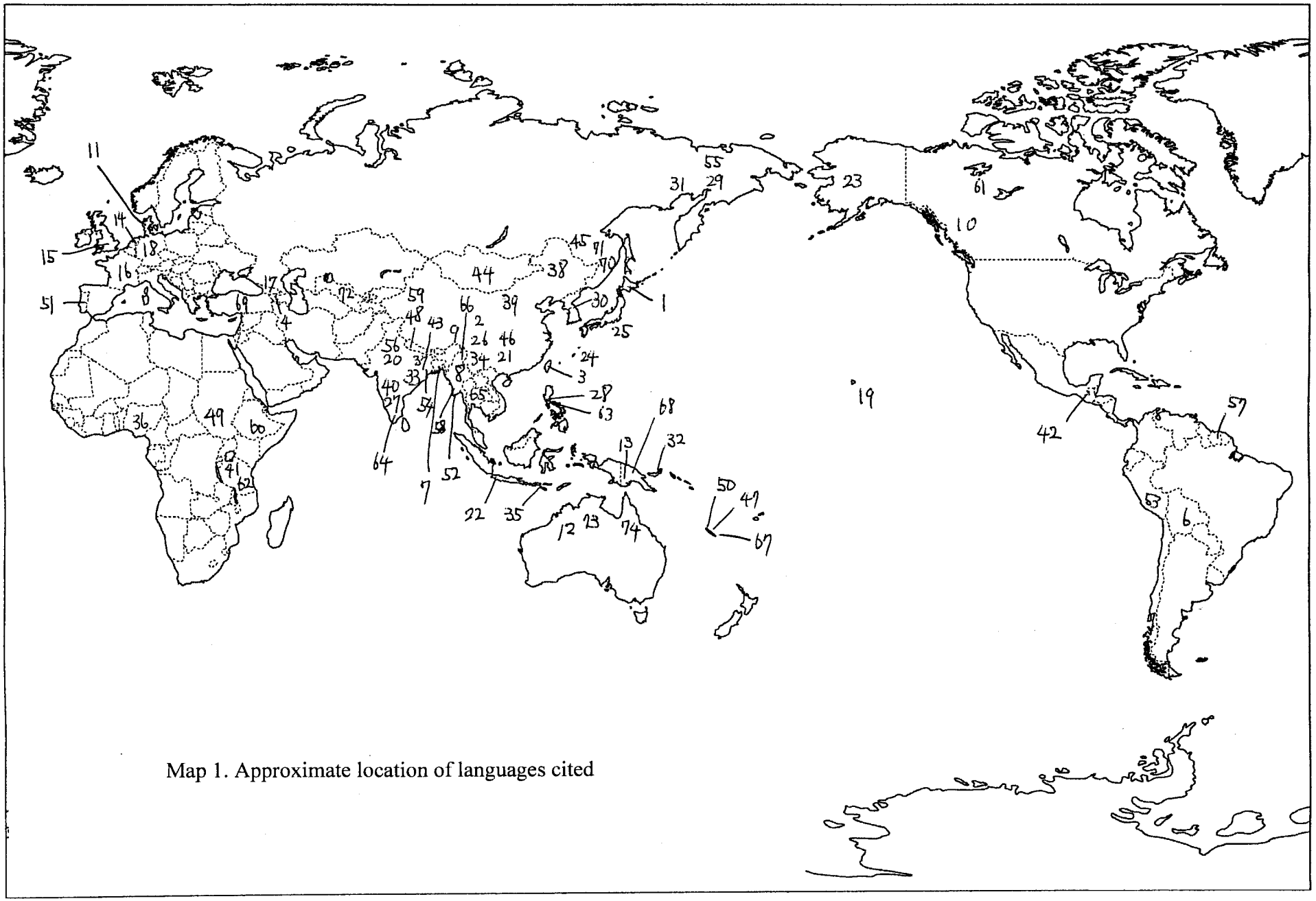
Michinori Shimoji
Graduate School of Humanities, Kyushu University

Satoko Shirai
Linguistic Research Center, Reitaku University

Kiyoko Takahashi
Faculty of Foreign Languages, Kanda University of International Studies

Tasaku Tsunoda
Professor Emeritus, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

Hiroyuki Umetani
Taisho University

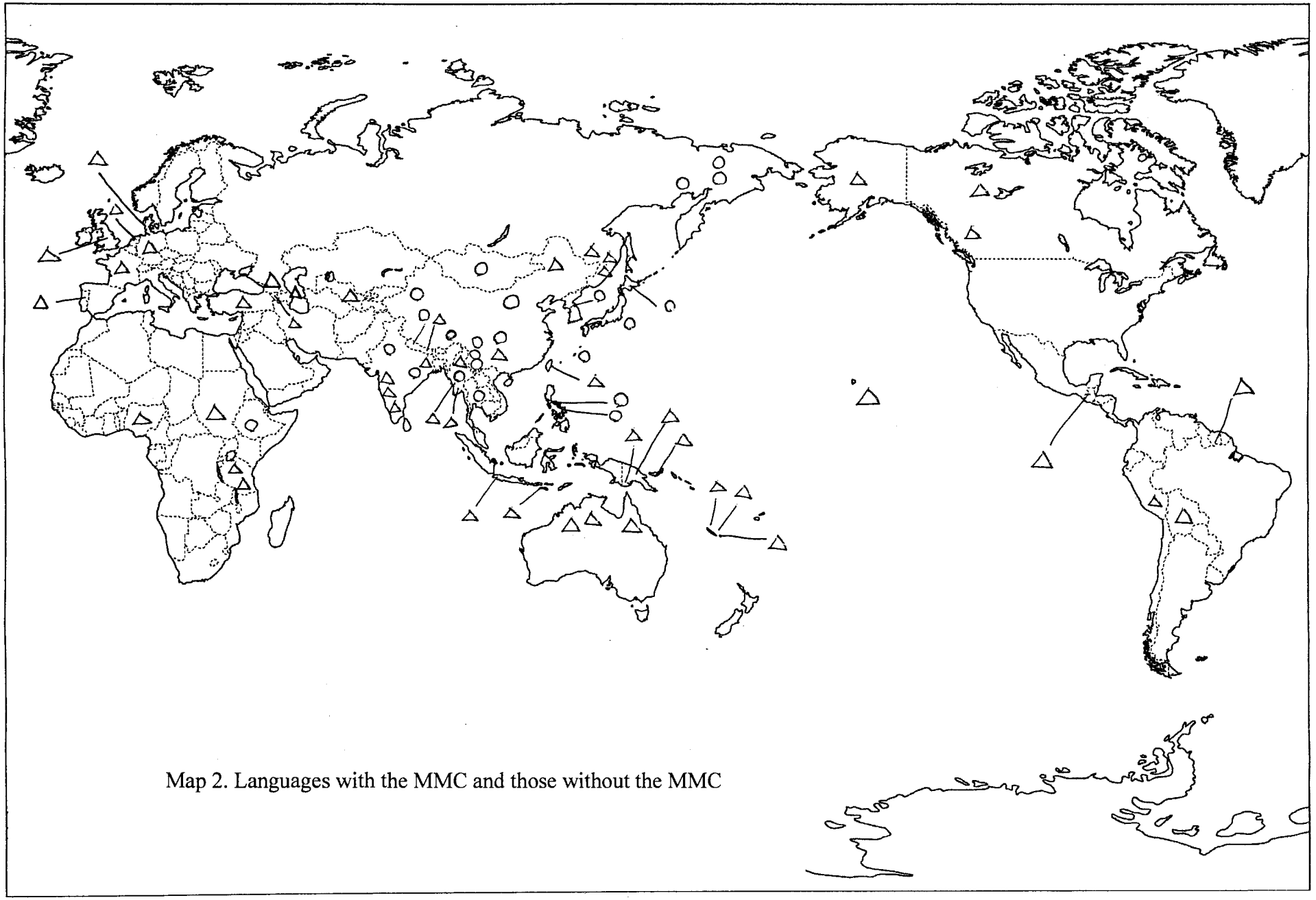


Map 1. Approximate location of languages cited

Map 1. Approximate location of languages cited

1 Ainu
2 Amdo Tibetan
3 Amis
4 Armenian
5 Avar
6 Aymara
7 Bengali
8 Burmese
9 Central Tibetan
10 Coast Tsimshian
11 Danish
12 Djaru
13 Dom
14 Dutch
15 English
16 French
17 Georgian
18 German
19 Hawaiian
20 Hindi
21 Hmyo
22 Indonesian
23 Iñupiaq
24 Irabu Ryukyuan
25 Japanese
26 Jinghpaw
27 Kannada
28 Kapampangan
29 Kolyma Yukaghir
30 Korean
31 Koryak
32 Kove
33 Kurux
34 Lahu
35 Lamaholot
36 Leggbo
37 Malto
38 Manchu
39 Mandarin Chinese
40 Marathi
41 Matengo
42 Mayan family
43 Meche
44 Mongolian
45 Nanay
46 nDrapa
47 Neku
48 Newar
49 Nilo-Saharan family
50 'Ôrôê
51 Portuguese
52 Pwo Karen
53 Quechua
54 Sadri
55 Sakha
56 Sanskrit
57 Saramaccan
58 Sgaw Karen
59 Sive
60 Sidaama
61 Slavey
62 Swahili
63 Tagalog
64 Tamil
65 Thai
66 Tidim Chin
67 Tinrin
68 Tok Pisin
69 Turkish
70 Udihe
71 Ulcha
72 Uzbek
73 Wanyjirra
74 Warrongo

Esperanto



Map 2. Languages with the MMC and those without the MMC

Map 2. Languages with the MMC and those without the MMC

1 Ainu ○
2 Amdo Tibetan ○
3 Amis △
4 Armenian △
5 Avar △
6 Aymara △
7 Bengali (not known)
8 Burmese ○
9 Central Tibetan ○
10 Coast Tsimshian △
11 Danish △
12 Djaru △
13 Dom △
14 Dutch △
15 English △
16 French △
17 Georgian △
18 German △
19 Hawaiian △
20 Hindi ○
21 Hmyo △
22 Indonesian △
23 Iñupiaq △
24 Irabu Ryukyuan ○
25 Japanese ○
26 Jinghpaw ○
27 Kannada △
28 Kapampangan ○
29 Kolyma Yukaghir ○
30 Korean ○
31 Koryak ○
32 Kove △
33 Kurux ○
34 Lahu ○
35 Lamaholot △
36 Leggbo △
37 Malto △
38 Manchu △
39 Mandarin Chinese ○
40 Marathi △
41 Matengo △
42 Mayan family △
43 Meche △
44 Mongolian ○
45 Nanay △
46 nDrapa ○
47 Neku △
48 Newar ○
49 Nilo-Saharan family △
50 'Ôrôê △
51 Portuguese △
52 Pwo Karen △
53 Quechua △
54 Sadri (not known)
55 Sakha ○
56 Sanskrit (not known)
57 Saramaccan △
58 Sgaw Karen △
59 Sive ○
60 Sidaama ○
61 Slavey △
62 Swahili △
63 Tagalog ○
64 Tamil △
65 Thai ○
66 Tidim Chin △
67 Tinrin △
68 Tok Pisin △
69 Turkish △
70 Udihe △
71 Ulcha △
72 Uzbek △
73 Wanyjirra △
74 Warrongo △

Esperanto (not known)

A circle indicates languages in which the MMC ('mermaid construction) and/or a quasi-MMC are/is attested.
A triangle indicates languages in which neither is attested.

Classification of languages

Afro-Asiatic family: Sidaama
Athabaskan family: Slavey
Austronesian family: Amis, Hawaiian, Indonesian, Kapampangan, Kove, Lamaholot, Neku, 'Ôrôê, Tagalog, Tinrin
Aymaran family: Aymara
Chimbu-Wahgi (or Simbu) family: Dom
Chukchi-Kamchatkan family: Koryak
Dagestanian (or North East Caucasian) family: Avar
Dravidian family: Kannada, Kurux, Malto, Tamil
Eskimo-Aleut family: Iñupiaq
Hmong-Mien: Hmyo
Indo-European family
- Armenian branch: Armenian
- Germanic branch: Danish, Dutch, English, German
- Indo-Iranian branch: Bengali, Hindi, Maithili, Marathi, Sadri, Sanskrit
- Italic branch: French, Portuguese

Japonic family:
- Japanese branch: Japanese (including Modern Japanese, Gumma dialect, Mitsukaido dialect, Tono dialect, Tokyo dialect, and Old and Early Middle Japanese)
- Ryukyuan branch: Irabu Ryukyuan,

Kartvelian (or South Caucasian) family: Georgian
Mayan family
Mongolic family: Khalkha Mongolian
Niger-Congo family: Leggbo, Matengo, Swahili
Nilo-Saharan family
Pama-Nyungan family: Djaru, Wanyjirra, Warrongo
Quechua family: Quechua
Sino-Tibetan family
- Sinitic branch: Mandarin Chinese
- Tibeto-Burman branch: Amdo Tibetan, Burmese, Central Tibetan, Jinghpaw, Lahu, Meche, nDrapa, Newar, Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen, Tidim Chin

Tai-Kadai family: Thai
Tsimshianic family: Coast Tsimshian
Tungusic family: Nanay, Manchu, Sive, Udihe, Ulcha
Turkic family: Sakha, Turkish, Uzbek
Genetic affiliation not known for certain: Ainu, Kolyma Yukaghir, Korean
Not classifiable: Esperanto, Saramaccan, Tok Pisin

Mermaid construction: an introduction and summary

Tasaku Tsunoda
Professor Emeritus, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguitics

1. Prototype of the mermaid construction
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   1.2 Unusual characteristics of MMC
   1.3 Constructions that are not MMC
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8. Summary and concluding remarks

1. Prototype of the mermaid construction

1.1 Definition and examples

The prototype of the mermaid construction (hereafter, 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.[1]

The 'Noun' refers to an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.

Examples are cited from Modern Japanese (to be precise, so-called Standard Japanese): (2) to (4). The 'Clause' is indicated by means of preceding and following square brackets.

(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* *hut-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.'

All of (2) to (4) are instances of the prototype of the MMC; they have all of the three properties listed above.

Regarding the property (a), (2) to (4) have the structure shown in (1).

Concerning the property (b), the subject of the 'Clause' (*Hanako*) is not coreferential with the 'Noun': *yotee* 'plan' in (2) and *tokoro* 'place' in (3).

Hanako is a human being. She is not a plan or a place. In (4), the subject of the 'Clause' (*ame* 'rain') is not coreferential with the 'Noun', i.e. *moyoo* 'appearance'. The rain is a meteorological phenomenon, and it is not an appearance.

As for the property (c), the 'Clause' in (2) to (4) can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare (2) with (5); (3) with (6); and (4) with (7).

(5) *Hanako=wa* *Nagoya=ni* *ik-u.*
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
'Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya.'

(6) *Hanako=wa* *hon=o* *yon-de* *i-ru.*
Hanako=TOP book=ACC read-GER be-NPST
'Hanako is reading a book.'

(7) *Soto=de=wa* *ame=ga* *hut-te* *i-ru.*
outside=LOC/INS=TOP rain=NOM fall-GER be-NPST
LT: 'As for the outside, the rain is falling.'
FT: 'It is raining outside.'

(In the following, I shall often refer to the prototype of the MMC simply as the MMC — unless I am explicitly referring to non-prototypical instances.)

1.2 Unusual characteristics of MMC

The MMC has unusual characteristics, in terms of syntax and semantics. Examples are cited from Modern Japanese.

[1] Syntax

As just seen, the 'Clause' of the MMC can be used by itself as a sentence.

Now, in (2) to (4), the 'Clause' of the MMC is a verb-predicate clause, whose predicate is a verb. However, the MMC ends with 'Noun + Copula'. In this respect, it resembles a noun-predicate sentence. Examples of noun-predicate sentence include (8).

(8) *Hanako=wa* *gakusee=da.*
Hanako=TOP student=COP.NPST
'Hanako is a student.'

That is, (2) to (4) have an unusual structure. Their first part has the structure of a verb-predicate clause/sentence, while their second part has that of a noun-predicate clause/sentence. They resemble a mermaid in that they exhibit a combination of two different structures: the structure of a verb-predicate clause/sentence and that of a noun-predicate clause/sentence. It is for this reason that I coined the term 'mermaid construction' ('MMC') for them.

The 'Clause' in (2) to (4) is a verb-predicate clause. Alternatively, an adjective-predicate clause can occupy the 'Clause' slot, e.g. (9). This, too, is an instance of the prototypical MMC. First, it has the structure shown in (1). Second, the subject of the 'Clause' (i.e. Hanako) is not coreferential with the

'Noun', i.e. nature. Third, the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence; see (10).

(9) [*Hanako=wa* *akaru-i*] *seekaku=da.*
Hanako=TOP be.cheerful-NPST nature=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is a nature [such that she] is cheerful.
FT: 'Hanako has a cheerful nature.'

(10) *Hanako=wa* *akaru-i.*
Hanako=TOP be.cheerful-NPST
'Hanako is cheerful.'

Similarly, a noun-predicate clause can occupy the 'Clause' slot, and the sentence is a prototypical MMC.

(11) [*Hanako=wa* *tensai=de* *ar-u*]
Hanako=TOP genius=COP.GER be-NPST
tumori=da.
intention=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is an intention [such that she] is a genius.'
FT: 'Hanako considers herself a genius.'

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

(In the 'Clause' of (11) and also in (12), the copula is in the periphrastic form, which consists of the gerund form of the copula (*=de*) and the verb *ar-* (here used as an auxiliary verb)). The periphrastic form sounds formal.)

Like (2) to (4), both (11) and (12) are combinations of two structures: an adjective/noun-predicate clause + a noun-predicate sentence.

[2] Semantics

Semantically as well, (2) to (4) are peculiar. 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.

To sum up, sentences such as (2) to (4) are peculiar, both syntactically and semantically. Syntactically, they are like mermaids. They are each a combination of two different structures. Semantically, when literally interpreted, these sentences do not make sense.

1.3 Constructions that are not MMC

There are constructions that may look similar to the MMC, but that are in fact not. Two selected cases are given. Examples are cited from Modern

Japanese.

[1] Noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an adnominal clause ('AC')

These sentences have the structure shown in (13).

(13) Subject Predicate (AC + noun) Copula

Examples include the following. The AC is shown by a broken line.

(14) *Kore=wa* *Hanako=ga tukut-ta yotee=da.*
this=TOP Hanako=NOM make-PST plan=COP.NPST
Subject Predicate
'This is the/a plan that Hanako made.'

(15) *Hanako=wa* *hon=wo yon-de i-ru*
Hanako=TOP book=ACC read-GER be-NPST
Subject Predicate

gakusee=da.
student=COP.NPST
Predicate
'Hanako is the/a student who is reading a book.'

Indeed, the MMC (e.g. (2) to (4)) and sentences such as (14) and (15) may look similar. Specifically, it may look as if the MMC, too, had the structure shown in (13). (Indeed, many previous studies of Japanese maintain this view.) However, they have different structures. (See Tsunoda, (this volume, 6.4).) (In the following, when a paper in this volume is cited, generally 'this volume' will not be mentioned. That is, 'Tsunoda (this volume, 6.4)' will be cited as 'Tsunoda (6.4)'.)

First, in sentences such as (14) and (15), the AC can be deleted, and the resultant sentence is acceptable. Compare (15) with (8); and (14) with (16).

(16) *Kore=wa* *yotee=da.*
this=TOP plan=COP.NPST
Subject Predicate
'This is a plan.'

In contrast, in the case of the MMC, the deletion of what may look like an AC yields nonsensical sentences. Compare (2) with (17); (3) with (18); and (4) with (19).

(17) ?*Hanako=wa* *yotee=da.*
Hanako=TOP plan=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is a plan.'

(18) ?*Hanako=wa* *tokoro=da.*
Hanako=TOP place=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is a place.'

(19) ?*Soto=de=wa* *ame=ga* *moyoo=da.*
outside=LOC/INS=TOP rain=NOM appearance=COP.NPST
LT: ?'As for the outside, the rain is an appearance.'

Recall that one of the three properties of the prototype of the MMC is the following (1.1):

(b) The subject of the 'Clause' and the 'Noun' are not coreferential.

We saw in 1.1 that (2) to (4) have this property. In contrast, (14) and (15) lack this property. For example, in (15), *Hanako* and *gakusee* 'student' are coreferential. In contrast, in (3), *Hanako* and *tokoro* 'place' are not coreferential.

Second, sentences such as (14) and (15) have the structure shown in (13), repeated as (20-a). That is, the predicate contains an AC. The AC may have its own subject, as distinct from the subject of the entire sentence. In (14), for example, the subject of the entire sentence is *kore* 'this' and the AC has its own subject: *Hanako*. The structure of (14) can be shown as in (20-b). The AC may not have its own subject. See (15). The subject of the AC, i.e. *gakusee* 'student', is relativized on, and it constitutes a 'gap' (*e*). The structure of (15) may be shown as in (20-c). For the reader's convenience, the structure of the prototype of the MMC, i.e. (1) is repeated in (21).

(20) Noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an AC

a.	Subject	Predicate (AC + noun)	Coupla
b.	Subject_i	Subject_j ... noun	Copula
c.	Subject_i	e_j ... noun_j	Copula

(21) Prototype of the MMC
[Clause] Noun Copula

In contrast, the MMC cannot have two subjects, unlike (20-b) (cf. (14)). Also, it is difficult to set up a 'gap', unlike (20-c).

We have given two pieces of evidence to show that the MMC and sentences such as (14) and (15) have different structures — contrary to the view advanced in many previous studies of Japanese. (This is discussed in Tsunoda (6.4).) This in turn shows that the MMC should be distinguished from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an AC. We shall further discuss the structure of the MMC in 5.4 below.

We have shown that the structure of the MMC differs from that of noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an AC. Nonetheless, it is likely that, in Japanese at least, the MMC originated in the latter sentences. See 7.3-[2] below and Miyachi (Sections 5, 6 and 7.6).

[2] Existential/possessive construction

In Modern Japanese, existence/possession can be expressed by means of the existential verb *ar-* and the DAT/LOC-NOM case frame. The DAT/LOC case postposition may be absent. (The verb *ar-* can also be used as an auxiliary verb, e.g. (11), (12).) An example is (22). Now, consider (23).

(22) *Hanako=ni=wa* (or *Hanako=wa*) *ie=ga*
Hanako=DAT/LOC=TOP (Hanako=TOP) house=NOM
ar-u.
exist-NPST
LT: 'As for to/at Hanako (or, As for Hanako) a house exists.
FT: 'Hanako has a house.'

(23) *Hanako=ni=wa* (or *Hanako=wa*)
Hanako=DAT/LOC=TOP (Hanako=TOP)
Nagoya=ni *ik-u* *yotee=ga*
Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=NOM
ar-u.
exist-NPST
LT: 'As for to/at Hanako (or, As for Hanako), a plan to go (or, a plan [such that she] goes/will go) to Nagoya exists.'
FT: 'Hanako has a plan to go to Nagoya.'

(23) may look similar to the MMC. However, I consider it an instance of the existential/possessive construction, and not an instance of the MMC. The reasons are as follows.

First, (23) involves the existential verb *ar-*. In contrast, the MMC involves the copula.

Second, the relevant noun, i.e. *yotee* 'plan', is followed by the nominative case marker. In contrast, the 'Noun' in the MMC is followed by no case marker. It is followed by the 'Copula'.

2. History of research into MMC

In Section 2, I shall use the term 'the noun-concluding construction' ('NCC') in addition to 'the mermaid construction' ('MMC'). As noted in 1.2, the MMC exhibits a combination of two structures: a verb-predicate clause (or some other clause) + a noun-predicate clause. The noun-predicate clause may follow or precede the other clause. The NCC is a type of the MMC in which the noun-predicate follows, not precedes, the other clause.

Probably in all the languages investigated in the present volume, the existence of instances of what I have labelled the MMC was already known. However, they did not seem to attract much attention of linguists, and they did not seem to be recognized as a distinct construction.

To the best of my knowledge, it is Matisoff (1972) who first stated that what I later labelled the MMC is uncommon. He examined one type of MMC (to be specific, one type of NCC) found in Lahu, Jinghpaw, Burmese, Tibetan (all Tibeto-Burman languages), Chinese, and Japanese, and

described it as 'a phenomenon that is quite alien from the point of view of standard average European languages but surprisingly widespread elsewhere'. Matisoff's view is best appreciated in a discussion of the syntactic structure of the MMC, and it will be discussed in 5.4.

For Japanese, it is probably Tsunoda (1994-a, 1994-b, 1994-c, 1996) who first proposed to recognize the peculiarity of sentences such as (2) to (4) and to distinguish them as a distinct construction. Previous studies of Japanese analyzed them as a structute that contain an AC and the head noun (Tsunoda, 6.4). I labelled these sentences as *taigen-jime-bun* 'noun-concluding construction' ('NCC'), since they end with a noun (followed by the copula) even when the sentence starts with what has the structure of a verb-predicate clause/sentence. On the basis of information from relevant specialists, as of 1996, I (tentatively) concluded as follows.

(a) The NCC or something similar was found in the following languages: Ainu, Korean, Mongolian, Turkish, and Tibetan, in addition to Japanese. They are all languages of Asia. Also, they are agglutinating, SOV, and postpositional.

(b) The NCC (or something similar) was not found in Nanay, Yukaghir, Tamil, Kannada, Quechua, Aymara or Eskimo.

(c) The NCC was found in Asia, and it was not found elsewhere.

(d) It was not the case that every SOV, agglutinating and postpositional language had the NCC. (The languages listed in (b) appeared to be SOV, agglutinating and postpositional.) The conditioning factor that favoured the existence of the NCC was not known.

From October 2009 to March 2012, at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, where I served as the Director of the Department of Crosslinguistic Studies, I conducted two collaborative research projects, in which I had the good fortune to have forty specialists in individual languages. Slightly more than half of them are specialists in languages of Asia.

One of the two projects aimed to conduct a crosslinguistic research into what was labelled the NCC at that time. Its major outcome is the present volume. This project has produced interesting findings.

Kazuhiro Kawachi reported that this construction occurs in Sidaama, an SOV language of Ethiopia. This is the first report on the existence of this construction outside Asia. (See Kawachi (Section 5).)

Masumi Katagiri reported that a mirror image of this construction occurs in Tagalog of the Philippines, which is a predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language. Tagalog lacks a copula verb, and the construction in question has the following structure. (See Katagiri (Section 5).)

(24) Noun [Clause]

As is obvious, the term 'noun-concluding construction' (NCC) is not applicable to Tagalog. In order to accommodate (24), I coined the label 'mermaid construction' (MMC). This new label can be used as long as the construction is a combination of two different structures. Katagiri's report

has led to the discovery of the MMC in Kapampangan by Hiroaki Kitano (p.c.), another predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language of the Philippines.

Hideki Ono reported that the construction in question occurs in Mandarin Chinese, which is an SVO language. This construction has the following structure shown in (25) or that shown in (26). (See Ono (this volume).)

(25) Subject + Copula + Clause + Noun.
(26) Subject (Clause-1) + Copula + Clause-2 + Noun.

In the structure shown in (25), the 'Clause' does not have its own subject. That is, it is possible to say that the subject of the 'Clause' is separated by the 'Copula' from the other constituents of the 'Clause'. In the structure presented in (26), the first clause (i.e. Clause-1) is the subject of the entire sentence. (25) and (26) end with the 'Noun', and therefore they are perfect examples of the noun-concluding construction. (In (1), the prototype of the MMC, strictly speaking the 'Noun' does not conclude the sentence. It is followed by the 'Copula'.)

Other findings obtained in this project are mentioned in the following sections, and more fully in other chapters in the present volume.

3. Geographical distribution of MMC

A survey conducted among the participants of the two collaborative research projects yielded the following results.

The MMC or something similar is found in the following languages — twenty-one in all. Except for Kapampangan (Hiroaki Kitano, p.c.) and Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), these languages are discussed in separate chapters in the present volume, and the author's name is given after the name of the language.

Tagalog (Masumi Katagiri); Kapampangan; Irabu Ryukyuan (Michinori Shimoji); Japanese: Old and Early Middle Japanese (Asako Miyachi), Modern Japanese (to be precise, the so-called Standard Japanese of Modern Japanese) (Tasaku Tsunoda), Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Kan Sasaki); Ainu (Anna Bugaeva); Korean (Joungmin Kim); Kolyma Yukagir (Fubito Endo); Koryak (Megumi Kurebito); Sakha (Fuyuki Ebata); Mandarin Chinese (Hideki Ono); Mongolian (Hiroyuki Umetani); Sive (Tomoyuki Kubo and Norikazu Kogura); Amdo Tibetan (Shiho Ebihara); Central Tibetan; nDrapa (Satoko Shirai); Newar (Kazuyuki Kiryu); Burmese (Atsuhiko Kato); Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi); Hindi (Yasunari Imamura); Kurux (Masato Kobayashi); and Sidaama (Kazuhiro Kawachi)

In addition, Lahu and Jinghpaw (Matisoff 1972) have the MMC.

Among the languages listed above, the MMC is very close to, or identical with, its prototype (cf. Section 1) in some languages, while it deviates from the prototype in other languages, to varying degrees.

Among the instances of the MMC, that in Thai is the farthest away from

the prototype. Nonetheless, the paper on it written by Kiyoko Takahashi is included in the present volume. It exhibits a feature that is shared by the MMC in many other languages (see Takahashi, 5.5.3.1).

Anna Bugaeva on Ainu, Hideki Ono on Mandarin Chinese, and Tomoyuki Kubo and Norikazu Kogura on Sive have been unable to prepare a full paper for the present volume. Nonetheless, they have prepared a brief summary of the MMC in the respective languages, and these summaries are included at the end of the present volume.

As noted in Section 2, as of 1996, I concluded that Yukaghir did not have the NCC (i.e. a type of what was later labelled 'MMC'). However, Fubito Endo's subsequent research has uncovered two types of MMC in this language. Also, as of 1996, I concluded that Turkish had the NCC. However, according to Shinji Ido, Turkish does not really have the MMC.

According to the survey mentioned above, the MMC is not found in the languages listed below — more than forty languages. There are cases where it is difficult to decide whether a given construction is an instance of the MMC. At least the prototyope or something close to it does not seem to be found in these languages. The name of a language is followed by the name of the person who provided the information.

Iñupiaq (Tadataka Nagai); Coast Tsimshian (Fumiko Sasama); Mayan languages (Yishiho Yasugi); Hawaiian (Toru Shionoya); Tinrin, Neku (Midori Osumi); 'Ôrôê (Emiko Tsuji); Kove (Hiroko Sato); Warrongo, Djaru, Wanyjirra (Tasaku Tsunoda); Dom, Tok Pisin, Esperanto (Syuntaro Tida); Indonesian, Lamaholot (Naonori Nagaya); Amis (Kazuhiro Imanishi); Nanay, Udhie, Ulcha (Shinjiro Kazama); Turkish, Uzbek (Shinji Ido); Avar (Hisanari Yamada); Georgian, Armenian (Yasuhiro Kojima); Hmyo (Yoshihisa Taguchi); Meche (Kazuyuki Kiryu); Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen (Atsuhiko Kato); Tidim Chin (Kosei Otsuka); Marathi (Prashant Pardeshi); Malto (Masato Kobayashi); Swahili, Matengo (Nobuko Yoneda); German, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Leggbo, Saramaccan (Heiko Narrog); and English (Timothy J. Vance, John B. Whitman).

(I should note, however, that Toru Shionoya on Hawaiian (a V-initial language; cf. Tagalog), Yasuhiro Kojima on Georgian, Kosei Otsuka on Tidim Chin, and Nobuko Yoneda on Swahili report that it may be possible to say that something similar to the MMC exists in the language in question.)

Keren Rice (p.c.) and Bjarke Frellesvig (p.c.) report that the MMC is not found in Slavey (a verb-final language) and Danish, respectively.

Most of the languages that have the MMC (or something close to its prototype) have the SOV order. The exceptions are Mandarin Chinese (SVO), Tagalog and Kapampangan (both verb-initial).

Among the languages that do not have the MMC, at least the following have the verb-initial order: Coast Tsimshian, many Mayan languages, Hawaiian, Tinrin, Neku, 'Ôrôê, Kove, and Amis. Furthermore, Thomas Payne (p.c.), who has been extensively working on V-initial languages in North America and Africa (including Nilotic languages of the Nilo-Saharan language family), stated that he had never seen anything like the MMC in

these languages. This suggests that the MMC is very uncommon among V-initial languages. Tagalog and Kapampangan are exceptions; both have the MMC, although they are V-initial languages. (If Hawaiian turns out to have the MMC, it will be another V-initial language that has the MMC.)

On the basis of the above, it seems safe to say that the MMC is uncommon crosslinguistically, that it is in the main confined to Asia, and that it is generally found in SOV languages.

Furthermore, there are two groups of languages in which the MMC is common: (i) languages of East Asia: Irabu Rykyuan, Japanese, Ainu, Korean, Mandarin Chinese, and also Sive (originally from Manchuria), and (ii) Tibeto-Burman languages. We shall return to this in 7.4.

4. Deviations from the prototype of MMC

The examples (2) to (4) are instances of the prototypical MMC, as seen in 1.1. However, there are also deviations from the prototype, as shown below. In the relevant chapters in the present volume, those instances which deviate from the prototype are often referred to as 'quasi-MMC'.

4.1 'Noun' slot

The prototype of the MMC has the 'Noun' slot; see (1). The 'Noun' refers to an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun. To sum up in advance, the 'Noun' slot may be occupied by the following.

(a) An independent word: a noun — the prototype.
(b) A clitic.
(c) An affix.
(d) Zero.

A note on (c) is in order. In this context, by affixes I mean (i) those which derived from nouns, e.g. Japanese (Tsunoda, 7.7 to 7.10) and (ii) nominalizing affixes, e.g. Koryak (Kurebito, 5.4). In many languages, translations of sentences like (2) ('plan to'), (3) ('be V-ing') and (4) ('It appears/seems') involve verbal inflectional suffixes. However, verbal inflectional suffixes are not considered as instances of (c) — unless they are shown to have derived from nouns. Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.4) does have a verbal inflectional suffix that derived from a noun. This forms the MMC. (This suffix is further discussed in 6.2.1-[3] below.)

In the prototype of the MMC, i.e. (a), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an independent word: a noun (Section 1). Examples from Japanese are (2) to (4). In contrast, (b), (c) and (d) are not prototypical. Regarding (d), it is useful and indeed important to set up the zero-type MMC for Old and Early Middle Japansee. See Miyachi (7.4).

In the prototype, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun. In the quasi-MMC in Mongolian (Umetani, 6.2) and in the quasi-MMC in Sakha

(Ebata, 5.3), this slot is occupied by a noun combined with the derivational suffix 'having, with'.

See Table 1, which shows very roughly the number of the words (nouns), clitics, and affixes that are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (including the quasi-MMC). In the data available, clitics are all enlitics, and affixes are all suffixes. (The sources of information were listed in Section 3.)

Table 1. Number of nouns, clitics and affixes in the 'Noun' slot

language	(a) word	(b) clitic	(c) affix
Modern Japanese	106	4 and probably more	5 and probably more
Old and Early Middle Japanese	27 and probably more	2	2 and probably more
Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese	5 and many more	1 and probably more	0
Irabu Ryukyuan	2 and many more	2 and more	1
Korean	more than 70	0	0
Ainu	10	0	0
Amdo Tibetan	6	4	0
Tagalog	6	0	0
Burmese	4	possibly 5	possibly 10
nDrapa	2	2	1
Thai	2	0	0
Mongolian	2 and many nouns with the 'having' suffix	0	0
Kurux	1	2	0
Newar	1	1	0
Sidaama	1	1	1
Sive	1	1	0
Kolyma Yukaghir	0	1	1
Hindi	0	1	0
Koryak	0	0	1
Sakha	many nouns with the 'having' suffix	0	0

Sasaki (5.2) on the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese focuses on those nouns which do not occur in the 'Noun' slot in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4) (to be precise, the so-called Standard Japanese). No doubt the number of words (and also the enclitics and suffixes) that can occupy the 'Noun' slot in the Mitsukaido dialect is much larger than is shown in Table 1.

For Korean (Kim, 5.5), no enclitics and suffixes are reported. This is due to time constraints. There may actually be enclitics and suffixes that can occupy the 'Noun' slot. The same may apply to some other languages.

For Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.2) to Sakha (Ebata, Section 5) in Table 1, scrutinizing search by the author has uncovered only a very small number of words (as against enclitics and suffixes) or no word at all. It is unlikely for further search in these languages to find many words in the 'Noun' slot.

In the present volume, the chapters on the individual languages are arranged in the following order.

Modern Japanese, Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese, Old and Early Middle Japanese, Irabu Ryukyuan, Korean, Amdo Tibetan, nDrapa, Newar, Burmese, Tagalog, Thai, Mongolian, Sakha, Kurux, Sidaama, Kolyma Yukaghir, Hindi, Koryak, Ainu, Mandarin Chinese, and Sive.

This order roughly follows that shown in Table 1, except for the following changes. The chapter on Irabu Ryukyuan follows the three chapters on Japanese, for Irabu Ryukyuan is genetically and also typologically close to Japanese. Amdo Tibetan, nDrapa, Newar and Burmese are Tibeto-Burman languages. They — in particular, Amdo Tibetan, nDrapa and Newar — are typologically similar. Therefore, they are grouped together. Sakha follows Mongolian, for both have many nouns with the 'having, with' suffix in the 'Noun' slot. As mentioned in Section 3, the chapters on Ainu, Mandarin Chinese and Sive are not full papers, but brief summaries, and consequently they are placed after the other chapters, which are full papers.

Words, clitics and affixes in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC will be further discussed in 6.2.

4.2 'Copula'

The prototype of the MMC contains the 'Copula'; see (1).

There are languages that lack a copula verb or the like, e.g. Tagalog (Katagiri, Section 1) and Koryak (Kurebito, Section 1), and the MMC in these languages cannot contain the 'Copula'.

In the MMC of languages that have a copula, the 'Copula' may be absent. Its absence appears to be optional in some instances. However, it is not optional in other instances. For example, in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[10]), the noun *yosi* 'means, clue' can be used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, and this MMC indicates reported evidence (an evidential meaning). In this MMC, the 'Copula' is always absent (in my idiolect, at least). Consider:

(27) [*Hanako=ga* *gookaku-si-ta*] *yosi/*yosi=da.*
Hanako=NOM passing-do-PST clue/clue=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is a clue [such that she] passed [an examination].'
FT: 'I heard that Hanako had passed [an examination].'

As another example from Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[4]), when the

noun *mono* 'thing' is used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, this MMC may indicate express strong emotion, wish, or hope — of the speaker —, and the 'Copula' is often absent.

(28) [*Uma-i* *sake=o* *nom-i-ta-i*]
nice-NPST rice.wine=ACC drink-LINK-DESID-NPST
mono(=*da*).
thing(=COP.NPST)
LT: '[I] am a thing [such that I] want to drink nice *sake*.'
FT: '[I] would love to drink nice *sake*.'

4.3 Sentencehood of 'Clause'

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

(c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

In some of the languages, to be precise, in some of the instances of the MMC in a given language, the 'Clause' has this property. For example, in the Modern Japanese examples (2) to (4), the predicate of the 'Clause' is in the nonpast form, i.e. one of the finite forms, and the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence. Compare (2) with (5); (3) with (6); and (4) with (7).

In other languages, to be precise, in other instances of the MMC in a given language, the 'Clause' does not have this property. For example, in Modern Japanese, *na*-adjectives (or adjectival nominal) have a distinct adnominal form. They have to be in the adnominal form when they occur as the predicate of the 'Clause'. The adnominal form is a non-finite form, and consequently the 'Clause' in question cannot occur on its own as a sentence (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.2). Compare:

(29) [*Hanako=wa* *genki=na*] *moyoo=da.*
Hanako=TOP healthy=ADN appearance=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is an appearance [such that she] is well.'
FT: 'It seems that Hanako appears is well.'

(30) **Hanako=wa* *genki=na.*
Hanako=TOP healthy=ADN
Intended meaning: 'Hanako is well.'

As another example, in Korean (Kim, 4.2.1.1, 5.1), which has an elaborate set of adnominal forms, the predicate of the 'Clause' has to be in an adnominal form. (In this respect, the predicate of the 'Clause' behaves like that of ACs.) The adnominal forms are non-finite, and the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence.

As we noted above, there are instances of the MMC in which the predicate can occur in a finite form and the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence. However, probably in all the languages examined in the present

volume, the 'Clause' has a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences — even where the predicate of the 'Clause' can occur in a finite form. In particular, the illocutionary possibilities of the 'Clause' are limited. For example, in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.2-[1]) and Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 6.2.2), the predicate cannot occur in the imperative form. Compare (31) with (2) (both, Modern Japanse). As another example, in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.3-[2]), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.4.1, 6.2.9), and nDrapa (Shirai, 5.4.2), among others, sentence-final particles (e.g. a question particle) cannot occur in the 'Clause'. Compare (32) with (2) (both, Modern Japanse).

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

(32) *[*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u=ka*]
Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=Q
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
(Untranslatable)

We have seen some instances of the deviation from the prototype of the MMC. We shall now look at other aspects of the MMC.

5. Other properties of MMC

5.1 Predicate of 'Clause'

As alluded to in 4.3, the morphological possibilities of the predicate of the 'Clause' are limited, in comparison with that of independent sentences.

For example, in Korean (Kim, 5.3), the predicate of the 'Clause' has to occur in an adnominal forms. It cannot occur in any other non-finite form or in any finite form.

Even in the cases where the predicate can occur in a finite form, its morphological possibilities are limited. For example, as noted in 4.3, it cannot occur in the imperative form in Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.2-[4-2]), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 6.2.2), and nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.3), among others.

5.2 'Noun'

5.2.1 Morphology: affixation to 'Noun'

This issue has not been investigated for all the languages reported in the present volume, but there are instances in which a noun in the 'Noun' slot is combined with an affix. (In this respect, the noun concerned has the status of a noun.) For example, Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.5) has at least two

derivational prefixes that can be added to the 'Noun' of the MMC, e.g. *go-* 'polite', e.g. (33), and *o-* 'polite'.

(33) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa* *Nagoya=ni*
Tanaka-professor=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC
irassyar-u] *go-yotee=da.*
go.SUBJ.RESP-NPST POL-plan=COP.NPST
LT: 'Professor Tanaka is a plan (polite) [such that he] goes/will go (subject respect) to Nagoya.'
FT: 'Professor Tanaka plans to go to Nagoya.'

Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, 7.5.3-[1]) has at least two prefixes and one suffix that can be added to the 'Noun' of the MMC.

5.2.2 Syntax: modification of 'Noun'
This issue has not been investigated for all the languages reported in the present volume, and it has proved difficult to find instances in which a noun in the 'Noun' slot is modified by some other word. This modification is probably impossible in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.6.4). However, Kiryu (5.2.6) has found three examples of this modification in Newar. The 'Noun' is modified by an adjective in two examples, e.g. (34), and by a pronoun in the genitive case in the third example. (34), cited from Kiryu, has been modified and simplified for the purpose of exposition.

(34) [*ji* *nã:* *duja:* *taka* *ju-i* *du*]=*gu*
1SG.ABS too member upto become-INF get.to=NMLZ
ta:dhã:=gu *bhāgya* *kha:.*
big=NMLZ luck COP.NFND
LT: 'I am big luck [such that I] got to become a member [of this group].'
FT: 'Very luckily I got to become a member [of this group].'

Miyachi (7.5.3-[2] gives one example of this modification in Old and Early Middle Japanese.

5.3 Subject of 'Clause'

5.3.1 Absence of the subject
In languages such as Japanese, words in sentences are often elliptical, provided that their referents are recoverable. Furthermore, in the case of the MMC, there are instances in which the subject of the 'Clause' has to be absent or is generally absent. For example, in Modern Japanese (5.4.3-[4]), the MMC may contain the noun *mono* 'thing' and express strong emotion, wish, hope or the like, e.g. (28). The emotion or the like is always that of the speaker. The subject (referring to the speaker) has to be absent. That is, (28) cannot contain the subject.

5.3.2 Case of the subject

Generally, the subject of the 'Clause' has the same case as that of independent sentences. Consider the Japanese examples: (4) (MMC) and (7) (an independent sentence), where the subject is consistently marked by the nominative case. There are, however, a small number of exceptions. All of them are shown below. For sentential examples, see the relevant chapters.

[1] Newar

In Newar (Kiryu, 5.2.4), the transitive subject ('A') is generally in the ergative case and the intransitive subject ('S') in the absolutive case. However, in one of the two types of the MMC, in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun, both the A and the S generally occur in the genitive case when the subject is expressed by a plural noun and the sentence describes a generic situation. (In the other type of the Newar MMC, in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic, the A and the S occur in the ergative case and the absolutive case, as in independent sentenecs.)

[2] Hindi

In Hindi (Imamura, Section 3, 5.1.3-(c)), the A occurs in the ergative case in the perfective and in the direct (i.e. absolutive) case in the imperfective. The S is in the direct case consistently. In the MMC, in which the predicate is in an infinitive form (i.e. a non-finite form), the A is in the direct case, like the S.

[3] Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese

In this dialect (Sasaki, 5.3.3), three cases are observed for the subject in independent sentences: the nominative, the locative and the experiencer cases. In the variety of the MMC that means 'It looks/appears/seems', the erstwhile nominative subject occurs in the experiencer case (in the nonpast tense only) or in the nominative case (in the past tense, the nonpast tense, the progressive aspect, etc.). The erstwhile locative subject occurs in the experiencer case (again in the nonpast tense only) or in the locative case (at least in the past and the nonpast).

5.3.3 Person of the subject

There are certain tendencies regarding the person of the subject of the 'Clause'. For example, when the MMC expresses strong emotion, wish or hope, the subject appears to be always the first person, e.g. (28) (Modern Japanese) (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[4], 5.6.3.1-(a)). When the MMC describes advice, instruction or the like, the subject is often the second person, e.g. Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[9], 5.6.3.1-(b)). When the MMC has the evidential meaning of reported evidence, the subject appears to be always the third person, e.g. (27) (Modern Japanese) (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[10]).

When the MMC has an evidential meaning of inference or conjecture, the subject is generally the third person, e.g. (4) (Modern Japanese) (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[4]), (47) (Tagalog) (Katagiri, 5.2.2), (52) (Old and Early Middle Japanese) (Miyachi, 7.1-[3]), and (54) (Modern Japanese). It has to be the third person (and cannot be the first person or the second person) in the MMC in Sidaama (Kawachi, 5.1). In contrast, in the MMC of the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, 5.3.5), the subject is often the first

person, although it may also be the second person or the third person.

5.4 Syntactic structure of MMC

We shall consider the following two questions, which are closely related.

(a) Does the MMC contain an AC?
(b) Is the MMC bi-clausal or mono-clausal?

In most (though not all) instances of the MMC, the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like that of ACs. For example, in Korean (Kim, 5.1), the predicate of the 'Clause' has to be in an adnominal form, like that of ACs. In Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.2), *na*-adjectives (or so-called adjectival nouns) have a distinct adnominal form. When used as the predicate of the 'Clause', they cannot occur in the nonpast form and they have to be in the adnominal form, e.g. (29), like that of ACs. In Newar (Kiryu, 5.2.2-[2]), the predicate of the 'Clause' has to be followed by a nominalizer enclitic, like that of ACs. In such instances of the MMC, it may look as if the MMC contains an AC. This concerns the morphology of the predicate of the 'Clause'. Virtually all the previous studies of what I have labeled the MMC in Modern Japanese regard it as involving an AC (Tsunoda, 6.4).

However, syntactically is it justified to say that the MMC contains an AC? It has not been possible to investigate this issue in all the individual chapters in the present volume. At least, a tentative summary is offered.

Previous studies have produced at least five analyses.

[1] Nominalization analysis

As noted in Section 2, to the best of my knowledge, it is Matisoff (1972) who first stated that what I later labeled the MMC is uncommon. He examined one type of the MMC found in Lahu, Jinghpaw, Burmese, Tibetan (all Tibeto-Burman languages), Chinese, and Japanese, and states that this construction is 'a phenomenon that is quite alien from the point of view of standard average European languages but surprisingly widespread elsewhere' (p. 246).

In all the instances Matisoff examines, the 'Noun' slot of what I call the MMC is occupied by what he terms 'nominalizer' (and these nominalizers are said to be particles). In his view, this construction involves nominalization, and consists of a clause and a nominalizer. Specifically, 'It is standing on its own, and is not a constituent of any sentence higher than the one to which it belongs itself' (p. 247). He (p. 247) suggests that literally these sentences mean, for example, 'It is the case that he will come' or 'It is a he-will-come case'.

The Japanese examples that Matisoff (pp. 254-255) gives involve *=no*. (In my view, it is an enclitic. It may be considered a nominalizer, a complementizer, a non-content noun or the genitive case marker.) As noted in Tsunoda (5.4.4), sentences with *=no* have various meanings/functions, such as explanation, reason, cause, summary, conclusion, and realization.

An example from Modern Japanese, cited from Tsunoda (5.4.4), is (35-b).

(35) a. *Gakusee=ga* *issyokenmee* *benkyoo-si-te* *i-ru.*
student=NOM very.hard study-do-GER be-NPST
'The students are studying very hard.'
b. [*Siken=ga* *ar-u*]=*no*=*da.*
examination=NOM be-NPST=*no*=COP.NPST
'This is because there will be an examination.'

According to Matisoff's view, the structure of (35-b) can be shown as follows. (See Matisoff (1972: 247).)

(36) *Siken=ga* *ar-u* =*no* =*da.*
---
clause NMLZ COP

NP COP

That is, in Matisoff's view, (35-b) in effect consists of an NP and the copula.

Matisoff stated that what I later labelled the MMC is uncommon on the grounds that the entire sentence is a nominalized clause. In 1.2 above, I stated that the MMC has unusual characteristics on the grounds that syntactically it is a combination of two different structures and semantically it makes no sense when literally interpreted. That is, both Matisoff and I realized that there is something unusual with what I have termed the MMC, but we were focusing on different aspects of the same construction.

(In passing I note the following. In the Burmese examples, Matisoff (1972: 250, 256) uses the particle *te* for the nominalizer. However, Atsuhiko Kato (p.c.) points out that *te* (=*tɛ̀* in his notation) does not function as a nominalizer and that instead =*tà* can be used as a nominalizer. In passing, =*tà* can be used in one type of the MMC in Burmese (Atsuhiko Kato, 5.4).)

For Japanese specifically, previous studies have presented the analyses shown below. We shall use the following sentence for an example.

(37) [*Asita* *Hanako=ga* *hon=o* *ka-u*]
tomorrow Hanako=NOM hon=ACC buy-NPST
yotee=da.
plan=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is a plan [such that she] buys/will buy a book tomorrow.'
FT: 'Hanako plans to buy a book tomorrow.'

[2] Adnominal clause analysis

According to studies such as Taro Takahashi (1960), Okutsu (1974), and Teramura (1992), what I have termed the MMC contains an adnominal clause ('AC'). For example, in their view, (37) will be analyzed as follows.

(38) Adnominal clause analysis:

Asita	*Hanako=ga* *hon=o* *ka-u*	*yotee*	*=da.*
	adnominal clause	head noun	COP
	NP		COP

[3] Complementation analysis

Nakau (1973) regards what I have labeled the MMC as a construction that involves complementation. In his view, (37) will be analyzed as follows.

(39) Complementation analysis:

Asita	*Hanako=ga* *hon=o* *ka-u*	*yotee*	*=da.*
	complement	head noun	COP
	NP		COP

According to the three analyses shown above, what I have termed the MMC consists of an NP and the copula. Note that the NP is a heavy NP, consisting of a clause and a noun. The MMC will be considered bi-clausal, and not mono-clausal, since the NP contains a clause (an AC).

[4] Compound predicate analysis

Regarding certain instances of what I have labeled the MMC, Taro Takahashi (1979: 157) states in effect that the predicate of the 'Clause' and the following 'Noun' constitute an *awase-zyutugo* (my translation: compound predicate). I propose to include the 'Copula' in the predicate. According to this modified view, (37) will be analyzed as follows.

(40)

Asita	*Hanako=ga*	*hon=o*	*ka-u*	*yotee=da.*
adjunct	subject	object	predicate	

According to this view, (37) is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal. It does not contain any clause.

[5] Bridge construction analysis

This analysis is in effect a combination of [3] Complementation analysis and [4] Compound predicate analysis. Yasuhiko Kato (1994: 110) examines a number of sentence types, including two instances of what I call the MMC, and refers to them as the 'bridge construction'. He states that this construction has the following characteristics.

(a) Complement selection: the bridge nominals select a complement structure in overt syntax.
(b) Bridge nominals as predicates: ..., the nominal may constitute a complex predicate with adjacent verbal elements.

In this view, the 'Clause' of the MMC appears to be a complement and the predicate of the 'Clause' seems to form a complex predicate jointly with the 'Noun' of the MMC. Then, (37) will be analyzed as follows.

(41) *Asita Hanako=ga hon=o ka-u yotee=da.*
---
predicate
---
complement

According to this analysis, the MMC is bi-clausal, since it contains a clause (i.e. the complement clause).

We have seen five syntactic analyses of the MMC of Modern Japanese. Now, which analysis will be suitable for the MMC in the languages investigated in the present volume?

As noted above, in most (though not all) instances of the MMC, morphologically the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like that of ACs. In such instances, it may look as if the MMC contains an AC, as shown in (38), and as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, an investigation of the syntactic behaviour of the AC and the entire MMC does not always support this view. The languages under investigation can be classified into four groups. For the examination of the syntactic behaviour, the criteria employed included the following: clefting, relativization, negation, topic marker, and case marking of the subject. For some of the languages, only one or two creiteria were examined, while for some others, more than five were considered.

Group 1. For some of the languages, syntactic evidence indicates that the 'Clause' does not behave like ACs, and that the entire MMC is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

For example, in Korean (Kim, 5.3, Section 6), the predicate of the 'Clause' has to be in an adnominal form (and it looks as if the MMC contained an AC). However, syntactically, the 'Clause' behaves differently from ACs, and the entire MMC behaves like independent sentences. That is, syntactically the MMC does not contain an AC, and it is mono-clausal.

As another example, in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.1-[2], 6.3), a certain type of predicate (a *na*-adjective) has to occur in the adnominal form. However, syntactically the conclusion stated for Korean applies to all the types of the MMC in Modern Japanese, including the MMC that involves a *na*-adjective.

Available syntactic evidence indicates that roughly the same or a similar conclusion applies to the following languages: Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.6), the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, 5.2.2.3, 5.3.6), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, 7.5.8), Koryak (Kurebito, 5.5), Mongolian (Umetani, 5.3), Newar (Kiryu, Section 8), Burmese (Atsuhiko Kato, Section 6), and Hindi (Imamura, 6.2).

In these languages, syntactically the MMC is (or probably is) mono-clausal. And for their syntactic analysis, only [4] Compound predicate

analysis is suitable. The other analyses are not suitable, for they present a bi-clausal structure.

For the Hindi MMC, Imamura (6.2) gives syntactic evidence (concerning negation) that it has a compound predicate. This in turn shows that the Hindi MMC is mono-clausal. Imamura argues that this compound predicate was created by reanalysis.

Group 2. In Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, Section 6), in the two types of the MMC, not only regarding the predicate morphology but also syntactically, the 'Clause' is more similar to ACs than to independent sentences. That is, the MMC in Kolyma Yukaghir will be considered bi-clausal. Probably [2] Adnominal clause analysis is suitable for it.

Group 3. For the languages listed below, syntactic evidence is not decisive, and the 'Clause' of the MMC is more similar to neither ACs nor independent sentences: Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 6.3), nDrapa (Shirai, 5.4.3, 5.4.5), and Kurux (Kobayashi, Section 6). It is not known whether the MMC is mono-clausal or bi-clausal. It is not known which analysis is suitable for them.

Group 4. No relevant information is available for the following languages: Tagalog (Katagiri), Sakha (Ebata), Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi), and Sidaama (Kawachi). It may be that this issue is not applicable (or not significant) to the MMC in these languages.

We have examined whether the MMC in a given language contains an AC or not. In this connection, I should mention that Koryak (Kurebito, 5.5) provides fascinating data. Koryak has a nominalizing suffix that Kurebito presents with '-JQ'. The verbs to which -JQ is added ('JQ-words') can be used in:

(a) complement clauses (use as the S or the O, but not the A),
(b) ACs, and;
(c) the MMC (to be precise quasi-MMC).

Furthermore, from (a) to (c), the JQ-words exhibit a decreasing degree of noun-ness, and conversely an increasing degree of verb-ness. (It is not known whether the suffix -JQ derived from a noun. Nor is it known whether the direction of change is from (a) to (c) or the opposite.)

5.5 'Noun' and the meanings/functions of MMC

5.5.1 Introductory notes

We saw in 4.1 that the 'Noun' slot may be occupied by (a) an independent word: a noun (in the prototype of the MMC), (b) a clitic, (c) an affix, or (d) exceptionally zero (in Old and Early Middle Japanese) (Miyachi, 7.4).

More than 100 nouns (independent words) are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.1), and more than 70 (independent words) in that in Korean (Kim, 5.5). In contrast, their number is much smaller in other languages. See Table 1. As can be seen, the number of the forms that are attested in the 'Noun' slot ranges from more than 100

in Japanese to one in Hindi (Imamura, 5.1) and Koryak (Kurebito, 5.4).

5.5.2 Meanings and functions of MMC

First consider the Japanese examples (2) to (4). (2) means 'X plans to do', i.e. it has a modal meaning. (3) means 'X is doing', i.e. it has an aspectual meaning. (5) means It appears/seems ...', i.e. it has an evidential meaning. A wide range of meanings/functions are reported in the present volume. They are difficult to classify neatly, but very roughly they can be classified as follows.

[1] Modal
[2] Evidential
[3] Aspectual
[4] Temporal
[5] Stylistic
[6] Discourse-related
[7] Other

We shall look at the meanings/functions in each of the seven groups. Modal, evidential and aspectual meanings/functions are frequently observed, but discourse-related meanings/functions are much less frequent. Temporal and stylistic meanings/functions are the least frequent. It is intriguing that aspectual meanings/functions are fairly common, while on the other hand temporal ones are uncommon, although, broadly speaking, both tense and aspect are concerned with the relationship between a situation and time.

[1] Modal

A wide range of modal meanings/functions are attested. Very roughly they can be classified as follows. For specific details, see the chapter on the language concerned — except that there is no chapter on Central Tibeten. The information on it was provided by Izumi Hoshi (p.c.).

(a) 'Intend to do', 'plan to do', 'have decided to do', 'want to':
Ainu (Bugaeva), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 7.2), Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[1], 5.6), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[1], 7.12), nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.5), Sakha (Ebata, 5.5), Tagalog (Katagiri, 5.4), e.g. (2), (28), (33) (all Modern Japanese).

(b) 'Be expected to do', 'be scheduled to', 'be supposed to', 'be forecasted to do':
Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 2), Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[2]), Kurux (Kobayashi, 5.5), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[2], 7.12), nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.5).

(c) 'Be destined to do', 'be bound to':
Amdo Tibetan (7.2), Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[4]), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[8]), Newar (Kiryu, 5.2.1, Section 7), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3), Tagalog (Katagiri, 5.4).

(d) Obligation, duty, role, instruction, advice:

Ainu (Bugaeva), Burmese (Atsuhiko Kato, Table 10), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 2), Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[8], 5.6), Koryak (Kurebito, 5.4-(g)), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[8], 7.12), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3), Sakha (Ebata, 5.5).

(e) The right to do something:
Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, Table 5).

(f) 'Need to do', 'should' (deontic):
Ainu (Bugaea), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.2-[F-3]).

(g) Ability, talent:
Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3), Sakha (Ebata, 5.5).

(h) Strong emotion

(h-1) Blame, displeasure, surprise:
Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, 7.1-[1]-(b)), Korean (Kim, Table 4).

(h-2) Wish, hope:
Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[4]).

(h-3) Strong assertion:
Ainu (Bugaeva), Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, 5.2.2), Newar (Kiryu, 5.3.7.1), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, 7.1-[1]-(b)), Sive (Kubo and Kogura).

(i) 'X feels that ...':
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.3-[E-1]), Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[3]), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[3]).

(j) 'X considers oneself ...' (evaluation):
Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 7.12), e.g. (11).

(k) Guess, conjecture, uncertain conclusion, subjective assumption (epistemic modal flavour):
Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 2), Korean (Kim, Tables 3, 4), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 4), Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, 5.7).

(l) 'Luckily X does':
Newar (Kiryu, 5.2.1), e.g. (33).

(m) Undesirable situation

(m-1) 'I did not want X to happen':
Korean (Kim, Table 3).

(m-2) 'X does not want to do, but has to do':
Korean (Kim, 5.5.3-[4]).

(m-3) 'The situation is unpleasant, but it is out of control':
Korean (5.5.4-[3]).

(m-4) 'Something undesirable may happen':
Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[4], 5.5.4-[3]), Sakha (Ebata, 5.4.3).

(n) Tag question:
Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 2).

(o) 'Not ordinary':
Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, Table 5).

(p) Purpose:
Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3).

Note that the modal meanings listed above include deontic modality, e.g. (d) and (e), and epistemic modality, e.g. (k).

[2] Evidential

Again, a wide range of evidential meanings/functions are attested. Very roughly they can be classified as follows.

(a) Visual or direct evidence:

Ainu (Bugaeva), (Shimoji, Table 2), Kurux (Kobayashi, 5.4.1), Mandarin Chinese (Ono), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[4]), nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.5), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Tables 3, 4), Tagalog (Katagiri, 5.4), e.g. (29) (Modern Japanese).

(b) Counterfactual ('It appears/looks, but actually not'):

Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.2-[F-1]), Burmese (Atsuhiko Kato, 5.3), Kurux (Kobayashi, 5.4.1).

(c) Reported evidence:

Ainu (Bugaeva), Amdo Tibetan (5.3-[E-2]), Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[10], 7.8-[2], 7.10-[2]), e.g. (27) (Modern Japanese).

(d) Inference or conjecture (based on some evidence):

Ainu (Bugaeva), Amdo Tibetan (5.3-[E-2]), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 2), Korean (Kim, Table 3), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 7.8-[3], 7.9-[3], 7.10-[2], -[3]), Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, Table 5), Sakha (Ebata, 5.5), Sidaama (Kawachi, 5.2.1), Sive (Kubo and Kogura), Tagalog (Katagiri, 5.4), e.g. (4) (Modern Japanese).

(e) Probably 'inference':

Burmese (Kato, 5.2).

(f) Non-visual evidence:

Ainu (Bugaeva).

(f) 'X gives the impression that ...':

Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[5]), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3).

(g) 'Be suspected to have done':

Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[12]), Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[12]).

[3] Aspectual

Very roughly aspectual meanings/functions can be classified as follows.

(a) 'Have finished doing', 'have just done':

Burmese (Kato, 5.5), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[8]).

(b) 'Have started doing, but have not finished':

Burmese (Kato, 5.5).

(c) Experiential:

Sakha (5.4.6).

(d) Progressive, 'in the middle of doing':

Ainu (Bugaeva), Burmese (Kato, 5.5), Korean (Kim, Tables 3, 4), Modern

Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[10], 5.4.3-[8]), e.g. (3) (Modern Japanese).

(e) 'Be becoming more and more ...':

Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[6]), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[7], 7.12).

(f) 'Be about to':

Burmese (Kato, 5.2, 5.4), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[8]), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3), Sidaama (Kawachi, 5.3).

(g) 'Be ready to do (the preparation has been done)':

nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.5).

(h) 'Be kept in a certain state', 'be in such and such a state/situation':

Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[4]), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3).

(i) Habit (i.e. habitual), tendency ('tend to'), practice, custom, nature, personality, propensity, attitude:

Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.2-[F-2], -[F-3]), Burmese (Kato, 5.5), Korean (Kim, Table 3), Mandarin Chinese (Ono), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[6], -[7], 7.7), Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, Table 5), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3), Sakha (Ebata, 5.4.7), Tagalog (Katagiri, 5.4), e.g. (9) (Modern Japanese).

(j) 'Have a property/physique/structure to do':

Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[9]), Kurux (Kobayashi, 5.5), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[10]).

(k) 'Have such and such a relationship':

Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3).

[4] Temporal

(a) Past:

Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, 5.2.2, 5.3).

(b) Future:

Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.2-[F-4]), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 2).

(c) 'It is time for X to do':

Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[11]), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.2-[11]), Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki 5.2.2.2), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, 7.1-[5]), e.g. (41) (Modern Japanese).

(d) 'This is the season of the year to do ...':

Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3).

(e) Universal truth, common knowledge: Korean (Kim, Table 3).

(42) [*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 [such that I] go to school.'
FT: 'It is already time for me to go to school.'

[5] Stylistic

(a) Formal:
Korean (Kim, Table 4), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[4], -[5], -[8]), e.g. (43) (Modern Japanese).
(b) Humble:
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.3-[E-2]).

(43) [*Wareware=wa kokoro=kara owabi-su-ru*]
1PL=TOP heart=ABL apology-do-NPST
sidai=des-u.
circumstance=COP.POL-NPST
LT: 'We are the circumstance [such that we] apologize from the bottom of [our] heart.'
FT: 'We apologize sincerely.'

In Modern Japanese, the noun *sidai* can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'circumstance, procedure, program, process', etc. When used in the MMC, it has a stylistic effect: it makes the sentence sound formal, as in (43).

[6] Discourse-related
It is very difficult to generalize about the proposed analyses. They are tentatively grouped as follows.

(a) Explanation, reason, cause, grounds for judgement:
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.3-[E-3]), Burmese (Kato, 5.4), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 2), Korean (Kim, Table 4), Kurux (Kobayashi, 5.5), Mandarin Chinese (Ono), Newar (Kiryu, 5.3.7.2-[1]), Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[3], 5.4.4), Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Table 3), e.g. (35-b) (Modern Japanese).
(b) Summary, conclusion:
Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.4), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 5).
(c) Realization, e.g. 'I see!', 'No wonder (or It is natural that) ...':
Korean (Kim, Table 4), Modern Japanese (5.4.3-[2], -[3]), e.g. (44) (Modern Japanese).
(d) Presupposed fact or presupposition:
Sive (Norikazu Kogura, p.c.), Newar (Kiryu, 5.3.7.2-[2], Section 7).

(44) ('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 realization=COP.NPST
'No wonder (or, It is natural that) Hanako is studying very hard.'

Etymologically the noun *hazu* means 'arrowhead' (see 6.5-[2]). It may be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'expectation' or 'schedule,

realization'. When it is used in the MMC, the sentence may expresss realization, as in (44).

[7] Other
This group is heterogeneous.

(a) Degree (e.g. 'hardly, scarcely'), extent, limit:
Burmese (Kato, 5.3, 5.4)
(b) 'People are affected' (passive-like):
Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, Section 8).

Now, consider (2). The 'Noun' means 'plan', and therefore the meaning of the MMC 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya' may be said to be predictable. In (42), the 'Noun' means 'time', and again the meaning of the MMC 'It is already time for me to go to school' may be said to be predictable. The same applies to (4), where the 'Noun' means 'appearance' and the MMC means 'It appears to be raining outside'. And also to (9), where the 'Noun' means 'nature' and the MMC means 'Hanako has a cheerful nature'. That is, there are many instances in which the meaning of the MMC is predictable — to varying degrees, though — on the basis of the meaning of the 'Noun'.

However, there also are many instances in which the meaning of the MMC is unpredictable (or at least extremely difficult to predict). For example, in (11), the 'Noun' means 'intention' and the MMC means 'Hanako considers herself a genious'. One would expect this MMC to mean 'Hanako intends/wants to be a genius'. The meaning of this MMC is unpredictable (or at least extremely difficult to predict). The same applies to (43), in which the 'Noun' means 'circumstance' and the MMC has a stylistic effect: formal.

The above shows that, in terms of meaning, some of the nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC have undergone grammaticalization. We have mainly looked at Modern Japanese examples, but the same applies to many nouns in the 'Noun' slot of many (or all the?) languages concerned. We shall examine the grammaticalization of nouns in the 'Noun' slot in Section 6.

5.5.3 Semantic types of the 'Noun'
Two types of nouns are recurrent in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC: those which may be called generic nouns (5.5.3.1) and evidential nouns (5.5.3.2). Also, it is convenient to mention the frequent use of loan words in the 'Noun' slot (5.5.3.3) and the use of nominalizers for discourse-related functions (5.5.3.4).

5.5.3.1 Generic nouns. Nouns that have a generic, rather than a specific meaning, are often found in the 'Noun' slot. They include nouns for 'thing', 'fact', 'place', and 'time'. See Table 2. (Tables 2 and 3 contain enclitics, preceded by an equal symbol. Sometimes there are nouns that are best regarded as clitics rather than as words.)

Table 2. Generic nouns

language	form	meaning of noun outside MMC	meaning of MMC
Irabu Ryukyuan	*ku*	'fact'	(a) deontic: 'should', be supposed to' (b) anticipated future
	munu	'thing'	causal: 'because'
	=su(u)	'person, thing'	(a) tag question (b) epistemic or evidential: 'I think', 'It seems' (visual/ auditory evidence'
Old and Early Middle Japanese	*mono*	'thing, person'	(a) 'be bound to' (b) obligation, suggestion (c) tendency
	koto	'thing'	(a) tendency (b) strong emotion
	reu	'matter, material, means, tool'	(a) purpose (b) grounds for judgement
	tokoro	'place'	'be about to'
	koro	'time'	'It is time to do'
	mi	'body'	'be in such ad such a state'
	kokoro	'heart, mind'	'X feels that ...'
Modern Japanese	*mono*	'thing'	(a) obligation, advice (b) explanation (c) past habitual, e.g. (45) (d) surprise, wish, hope (e) stylistic: formal
	tokoro	'place'	(a) progressive, e.g. (3) (b) formal
	koto	'fact'	advice, instruction, obligation, e.g. (46)
	zikan	'time'	temporal: 'It is time to do', e.g. (42)
Mitsukaido diakect of Japanese	*zigan*	'time'	temporal: 'It is time to do'
Ainu	*pe/p*	'thing'	assertive, pragmatic imperative
	ruwe	'the trace of'	inference
	hawe	'the voice of'	reported evidence
	siri	'the sight of'	visual evidence
	humi	'the sound of'	non-visual evidence
	kusu	'the reason/intention	'intend to'

		of'	
	usi(ke)	'the place of'	progressive
	hi	'fact'	assertive
	katu	'the appearance/ reason/cause of'	assertive
Korean	*hyengthay*	'form'	evidential: 'It appears that'
	kil	'path, road'	progressive
	the	'ground, place'	(a) strong intention (b) conjecture, guess
	kes	'thing'	(a) background explanation, reason, (b) self-awareness, realization, (c) advice (d) blame, displeasrure, surprise, (e) guess, conjecture (f) speaker's intention
	pa	'thing, ways'	formal
	chan, cha	'time, moment'	progressive
Sakha	*kem*	'time'	experiential
Mongolian	*xereg*	'occurrence, event, fact'	'I mean that ...'
Amdo Tibetan	*bkopa*	'way, manner'	(a) 'have decied to do', 'plan to do' (b) future
Central Tibetan	*ˉkhüü*	'appearance'	evaluation
	ˉkäca	'talk'	reported evidence
Sidaama	*gara*	'manner, way'	conjecture: 'It seems that'

It should be added that, in the quasi-MMC of Thai, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the nominalizer *thîi* or *kaan*. The nominalizer *kaan* can be used as a noun that means 'activity, affair' or 'matter', and *thîi* can be used as a noun that means 'place' or 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)'. Note that these nouns, too, have a generic meaning.

Examples of nouns with a generic meaning include (3) (Modern Japanese: *tokoro* 'place') and the following (Modern Japanese): (45) (past habitual) and (46) (advice, instruction, obligation).

(45) [*Hanako=wa yoku Nagoya=e it-ta*]
Hanako=TOP often Nagoya=ALL go-PST
mono=da.
thing=COP.NPST
'Hanako used to go to Nagoya often.'

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

In their discussion of the sources of complementizers, Heine and Kuteva (2007: 230-231) state that 'One major source for complementizers consists of generic nouns' such as 'thing', 'matter', 'place', 'time', 'kind', and 'way'. (They concern superordinate categories, rather than subordinate-level categories (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991: 33).) Note that they — except for 'kind' — are included in the nouns listed in Table 2, i.e. the generic nouns that recurrently occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

5.5.3.2 Evidential nouns. In the instances of the MMC that have an evidential meaning, the 'Noun' slot is often (though not always) occupied by a noun which refers to (i) appearance, situation, shape or the like or (ii) the surface of a person, e.g. 'face'. They will be referred to as evidential nouns (adopted from Anna Bugaeva, p.c.). See Table 3.

Table 3. Evidential nouns

language	form	meaning of noun outside MMC	meaning of MMC
Tagalog	*mukha*	'face'	inference, visual evidence, e.g. (47)
Kapampangan	*lupa*	'face'	inference (not necessarily based on visual evidence)
	lasa	'taste'	inference (not necessarily based on taste)
	babau	'smell'	inference (not necessarily based on smell)
Modern Japanese	*moyoo*	'appearance'	'It appears/seems that', e.g. (4)
	yoosu	'appearance'	'It appears/seems that'
	kehai	'appearance'	'It appears/seems that'
	huu	'appearance'	'It appears/seems that'
Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese	*=jo:*	'state, situation'	inference

Old and Early Middle Japanese	*sama*	'situation'	'It appears/seems that', e.g. (52)
	arisama	'situation'	'It appears/seems that'
	kesiki	'situation, appearance'	'It appears/seems that'
	kewai	'situation, appearance'	'It appears/seems that'
Ainu	*ruwe*	'the trace of'	inference
	hawe	'the voice of'	reported evidence
	siri	'the sight/ appearance of'	visual evidence
	humi	'the sound of'	non-visual evidence
Korean			
(a)	*hyengthay*	'form'	'It appears that'
	moyang, *mosup*, *kisayk*	'appearance, looks'	'It appears/seems that'
(b)	*sangthay*, *sanghwang*, *hyengphyeng*	'situation'	unpleasant situation
(c)	*kkol*	'look, sight', 'unpleasant state or result'	unpleasant situation or result
Sakha	*bɯhɯɯ*	'appearance'	inference, direct observation
	kerij	'appearance'	inference, direct observation
	kœryŋ	'appearance'	inference, direct observation
	žyhyn	'looking'	inference, direct observation
	činči	'sign'	inference, direct observation
Mandarin Chinese	*yàngzi*	'appearance, expression'	'X seems/looks ...' (observation)
Amdo Tibetan	*tsʰəkka*	'appearance'	(a) sensory evidence, reported evidence, inference (b) counterfactual
	=kʰa	'surface'	(a) inference (b) stylistic: humble
	=kʰawo	'mood, appearance'	(a) sensory evidence, reported evidence, inference (b) stylistic: humble

Central Tibetan	*ˉkhüü*	'appearance'	evaluation
	ˉkäca	'talk'	reported evidence
nDrapa	*nkhei1* (word)/ *=nkhei* (enclitic)	'appearance'	superficial observation: 'It appears/looks'
Burmese	*pòuɴ*	'shape'	'It seems that'
	hàɴ	'appearance'	'It seems that'
	lò	'like, as'	'It seems that'
	lòlò	'rather like, as if' (counterfactual)	'It looks as if'

An examplefrom Tagalog, cited from Katagiri (Section 1), is the following. The literal translation has been changed and the square brackets have been added, in comformity with other examples in this chapter.

(47) *Mukha-ng* [*sa-sabog=na* *ang* *bulkan*].
face-LK AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
LT: 'The volcano [is] the face [such that it] will erupt already.'
FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

This example has the structure shown in (24). Recall that Tagalog does not have a copula.

As noted above, in the instances of the MMC that have an evidential meaning, the 'Noun' slot is often occupied by a noun which refers to (i) appearance, situation, shape or the like or (ii) the surface of a person. However, there is one exception. In Sidaama (Kawachi, 5.2.1), the noun *gara* 'manner, way' can occupy the 'Noun' slot, and this MMC has an evidential meaning: the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the 'Clause' based on his/her own observation of the subject's action or state or on the information on it that s/he has obtained from someone else.

Also, conversely, when a noun which refers to appearance, situation, shape or the like occupies the 'Noun' slot, this MMC generally has an evidential meaning. Korean, Amdo Tibetan and Central Tibetan provide exceptions. See Table 3. In Korean (Kim, 5.5.2-[4]), the MMC with a noun from the group (a) has an evidential meaning ('It appears/seems that'), as expected. However, when a noun from the groups (b) and (c) is used, this MMC describes an unpleasant situation or result. It is a modal meaning, and not an evidential meaning. In Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.3-[E-1], -[E-2]), the MMC that has the enclitic noun *=kʰa* 'surface' in the 'Noun' slot may have an evidential meaning ((a) inference), but it may also have a stylistice effect: (b) stylistic: humble. Similarly, the MMC that involves the enclitic noun *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance' may have an evidential meaning ((a) sensory evidence, reported evidence, inference), but it may also have a stylistic effect: (b) stylistic: humble. In Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), the

MMC with the noun *ˉküü* 'appearance' expresses evaluation, and it does not have an evidential meanings.

5.5.3.3 Loan words. The use of loan words in the 'Noun' slot is noticeable at least in Tagalog and Japanese — both Old and Early Middle Japanese and Modern Japanese.

In Tagalog (Katagiri, Section 1), six nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. Among them, two are native Tagalog words, one (*mukha* 'face'; see (47)) is a loan from Sanskrit, and three are loans from Spanish. That is, more than half of the six words are loans. Katagiri explicitly states as follows.

> The use of the word *mukha* is not limited to educated people. The Philippines has been trading with India since as far back as the 7th century, and this trade has influence in language. According to Panganiban (1972), of the 30000 root words in Tagalog, close to 300 are loans from Sanskrit

In Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, Section 1) (from 800 to 1200), twentyseven nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. Most of them are native Japanese words, although three are loans from Chinese. In contrast, in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, Section 1), where at least 106 nouns are found in the 'Noun' slot, about seventy are native Japanese words, about forty are loans from Chinese and three are loans from English. That is, about 40% are loans. (It should be added, however, Modern Japanese on the whole abounds with loans from Chinese and those from English.) Regarding the increase of Chinese loans in the 'Noun' slot, Miyachi (7.6-[3]) notes as follows.

> Often, they [Chinese loans used in the 'Noun' slot — TT] can express somewhat abstract concepts that native Japanese words cannot express precisely. This in turn facilitates the expression of various meanings/ functions, including modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, and stylistic. It is surely convenient to have a construction that has such a wide range of meanings/functions.

Furthermore, in Korean (Kim, 5.5), too, many nouns that occupy the 'Noun' slot appear to be loans from Chinese.

5.5.3.4 Use of nominalizers for discourse-related functions. The MMC may have discourse-related functions (5.4.2-[6]), such as (i) explanation, reason, cause, (ii) summary, conclusion, (iii) realization, and (iv) presupposition. In the data available, if a nominalizer is used in the 'Noun' slot, this MMC generally has a discourse-related function, e.g. the Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.4) *=no*, e.g. (35-b), the Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.3-[E-3])) *=nə*, and the Newar (Kiryu, 5.3) *=gu*, although this is not always the case; see Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, Section 5).

6. Grammaticalization of the 'Noun'

6.1 Introductory notes

The nouns that occupy the 'Noun' slot have undergone grammaticalization to varying degrees and in different aspects. We shall look at their grammaticalization, paying attention to its phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects. First, recall that we need to distinguish the following (5.4.1): (independent) word, clitic, and affix.

Now, Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7) (first edition 1993) propose 'a cline of grammaticality'.

(48) A cline of grammaticality
content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

Similarly, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 40) put forward 'Grammaticalization scale' and 'Degree of fusion'.

(49) Grammaticalization scale
phrases
or
words non-bound grams inflection
——————————————————>
more grammaticalized

(50) Degree of fusion
syntactic non-bound grams inflection derivation lexical
——————————————————————————>
greater fusion

(The term 'gram' refers to 'grammatical morphemes' (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 2).)

6.2 Word -> clitic -> affix

6.2.1 Morphological and word-class status of 'Noun'

As we saw in 1.1 and 4.1, in the prototype of the MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an independent word (or simply 'word') that is a noun. It may also be occupied by a clitic, an affix or — exceptionally in the case of Old and Early Middle Japanese — zero. The latter three types of the MMC are not prototypical ones.

Regarding clitics and affixes, we only deal with those that are etymologically nouns and those that appear to be etymologically nouns. In the data available, all the clitics are enclitics, not proclitics, and all the affixes are suffixes, not prefixes.

[1] (Independent) words

By definition, the words that occupy the 'Noun' slot of the prototype of the

MMC are nouns. There are also words attested in the 'Noun' slot that are etymologically nouns but that are no longer nouns. All of these words seem to function as sentence-final particles. These instances deviate from the prototype of the MMC.

For example, Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.2) has the word *munu*. When used outside the MMC, it is a noun with the meaning 'thing'. When used in the MMC, it is used as a sentence-final particle, not as a noun. This MMC has a discourse-related meaning: causal. (This is shown in 5.5.2-[6]-(a) and Table 2 above.) In both uses, *munu* is an independent word. Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 7.4), too, has what may be called sentence-final particles that are etymologically nouns.

[2] Clitics

It is not easy to ascertain the word-class status of the clitics that occupy the 'Noun' slot.

There is at least one clitic that functions as a noun. nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.3) has the noun *nkhei1/=nkhei*, which is tentatively translated as 'appearance'. It tends to be an independent word (*nkhei1*) if the preceding word is disyllabic or longer, and an enclitic if the preceding word is monosyllabic. (The number '1' indicates the tone of this word. Enclitics do not carry their own tone, and their tone is not indicated.) It is used in the MMC only and this MMC has an evidential meaning of superficial observation: 'It appears/looks ...'. (The noun *nkhei1/=nkhei* is listed in Table 2 above.)

Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.3.2) has the enclitic *=paz*, although the noun from which *=paz* is derived is not used. (It has a cognate noun in Japanese: *hazu* 'arrowhead'. This noun can be used in the MMC, e.g. (44). See 6.5-[2] below.) *=paz* can occupy the 'Noun' slot and functions as a sentence-final particle. This MMC has an epistemic meaning: guess.

Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 7.6) has what may be called modal particles that are etymologically nouns, that occupy the 'Noun' slot and that are enclitics, e.g. *=bakari* 'only' (etymology: the noun *hakari* 'instrument for measurement') and *=dake* 'only' (etymology: the noun *take* 'extent, limit'). (These nouns do not occupy the 'Noun' slot, in Modern Japanese at least.)

[3] Affixes

Most of the affixes that occupy the 'Noun' slot are derivational affixes. For example, Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 7.7) has the independent word (a noun) *kimi* 'appearance, tendency' and the derivational suffix *-gimi*. (Note the voicing of the stop.) Both can occupy the 'Noun' slot, and each of these two types of MMC has a habitual meaning or an evidential meaning (visual evidence?). However, there is at least one inflectional suffix that is etymologically a noun. Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.1, 5.4.1) has the independent word (a noun) *kutu* 'fact', and this noun can be used in the MMC. Furthermore, this language has the suffix *-kutu*, which is derived from this noun. The suffix *-kutu* is attached to verb stems, occupying the slot that some other inflectional suffixes occupy and consequently it is best analyzed as an inflectional suffix. This suffix, too, occupies the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. The MMC with the noun *kutu* and the MMC with the suffix

-kutu express the same meanings: (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', and (ii) anticipated future 'will'.

6.2.2 Diachronic changes

On the basis of works such as Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991: 15, 213), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 40) and Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7, 110, 111) among others, grammaticalization may be hypothesized to proceed as shown below.

(51) (independent) word -> clitic -> affix

It has not been possible to investigate this issue in all the langauges reported in the present volume. Relevant data are shown in Table 4. 'Words' refer to independent nouns, rather than sentence-final particles and clitic nouns. For specific examples, see the individual chapters. A few examples will be given below. In the data available on the MMC, clitics are enclitics, rather than proclitics, and affixes are suffixes, rather than prefixes. There is no example which shows the chain of changes of 'word -> proclitic -> prefix'.

Table 4. Word -> clitic -> affix

	word (noun)	clitic	affix
Irabu Ryukyuan	*kutu* 'fact' (MMC) (a) deontic: 'should', 'be supposed to' (b) anticipated future ('will')		*-kutu* (MMC) (a) deontic: 'should', 'be supposed to' (b) anticipated future ('will')
Japanese	*sama* (OEMJ; MMC) (MJ), e.g. (52) 'It appears'	*=soo* (MJ; MMC), e.g. (53) 'reported evicence'	*-soo* (MJ; MMC), e.g. (54) 'inference'
	yau (OEMJ) 'manner, example'	*=yau* (OEMJ; MMC) 'looks like' *=yoo* (MJ; MMC) 'inference'	*-yoo* (MJ) 'manner, way'
	ke (OEMJ)	*=ge* (MJ, dialectal; MMC)	*-ge* (MJ; MMC)

	'appearance'	'inference; reported evidence'	'It appears'
	kao (OEMJ; MMC) 'face, surface, situation'		*-gao* (OEMJ; MMC) '(elegant/refined) feeling, atmosphere, taste'
	kimi (MJ; MMC) 'tendency'		*-gimi* (MJ; MMC) 'tendency'
Kolyma Yukaghir	*pen* 'supernatural thing'	*=ben* (MMC) (a) past (b) strong assertion	
nDrapa	*nkheil* (MMC) 'It appears/looks'	*=nkhei* (MMC) 'It appears/looks'	
Hindi	*paalaka* (Sanskrit, Hindi) 'guardian, protector'	*=vaalaa* (MMC) (a) 'be about to' (b) schedule, intention (c) firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation	

It has proved to be very difficult to find examples that show that one and the same item has undergone the changes shown in (51).

For example, the form in each of Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, 5.2.3), nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.3) and Hindi (Imamura, 6.1) has the use as a word and also as an enclitic, but its use as a suffix is not attested. As another example, the word *kao* and the suffix *-gao* are attested in Old and Early Middle Japanese ('OEMJ') (Miyachi, 7.3), but the enclitic form *=kao/=gao* is not attested in OEMJ (or in Modern Japanese ('MJ')). The same applies to the word *kimi* and the suffix *-gimi* in MJ (Tsunoda, 7.7).

We have seen that it has proved to be very difficult to find examples that show that one and the same item has undergone the changes shown in (51). Now it is even more difficult to find examples that show that the changes presented in (51) have taken place within the MMC. For example, the following set of forms are attested (Miyachi, 7.2-[1]; Tsunoda, 7.9): (i) the word *yau* (a loan from Chinese) in OEMJ, (ii) the enclitic *=yau* in Old and

OEMJ, (iii) the enclitic *=yoo* in MJ, and (iv) the suffix *-yoo* in MJ. Among these four forms, the enclitics *=yau* and *=yoo* are attested in the MMC, but the word *yau* and the suffix *-yoo* are not. As another set of examples, among the word *ke* (OEMJ), the enclitic *=ge* (MJ, dialectal; MMC) and the suffix *-ge* (MJ; MMC), the enclitic *=ge* and the suffix *-ge* are attested in the MMC (Tsunoda, 7.10). However, the word *ke* is not attested in the MMC in MJ. In OEMJ, at least there is no unequivocal example of the MMC involving the word *ke* (Asako Miyachi, p.c.).

The only set of an independent word (a noun), a clitic and an affix that may possibly have undergone the three phases shown in (51) within the MMC are the noun *sama*, the enclitic *=soo* and the suffix *-soo* (Miyachi, 7.1-[3]; Tsunoda, 7.8). *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* 'Large Japanese Dictionary' (second edition, second printing; Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009), Vol. 8: 290 indicates that the etymology of *=soo* and *-soo* is not certain, but that one possibility is the noun *sama* 'appearance, situation'. According to this etymology, the noun *sama*, the enclitic *=soo* and the suffix *-soo* constitute the only set of an independent word (a noun), a clitic and an affix that have undergone the three phases shown in (51) within the MMC. Examples follow. (i) Noun: (52) (OEMJ, cited from Miyachi, 7.1-[3]), (ii) enclitic: (53) (MJ, cited from Tsunoda, 7.8), and (iii) suffix: (54) (MJ, cited from Tsunoda, 7.8). The example (52) is taken from the *Taketori Story* ('Tale of a Bamoo Cutter'), in which Princess Kaguya came from the moon to the earth and now she wishes to return to the moon.

(52) (Princess Kaguya is looking at the moon.)
[*tune=yori=mo* *mono-omowi-taru*]
usual=ABL=ETOP thing-think-STAT.ADN
sama=nari.
appearance=COP.CONCL
LT: '[Princess Kaguya] is an appearance to think about things more than usual.'
FT: 'Princess Kaguya seems to be in deeper thought than usual.'

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

(54) [*Hanako=ga* *Nagoya=ni*
Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC
ik-i]*-soo=da.*
go-INF-NPST-*soo*=COP.NPST
'It seems that Hanako will go to Nagoya.'

In OEMJ (Miyachi, 7.1-[3]), the noun *sama* means 'situation, appearance'. The MMC with it has an evidential meaning: 'It seems/appears', e.g. (52). In MJ (Tsunoda, 7.8), the MMC with the enclitic *=soo* have an evidential meaning, to be precise, reported evidence, e.g. (53),

and the MMC with the suffix *-soo* has an evidential meaning, to be precise, inference, e.g. (54). (Morphologically, these forms probably changed as follows: Word -> clitic -> affix. However, semantically the path of changes may not have been as follows: 'It seems/appears' -> reported evidence -> inference.)

Note that the forms listed in Table 4 exhibit phonological changes, such as the following.

(a) Voicing of a stop, cf. Kolyma Yukaghir.
(b) Fricativization (followed by voicing) of a stop, cf. Hindi.
(c) Vowel change, cf. Japanese.
(d) Loss of inherent tone, cf. nDrapa.

I note in this connection that there is an instance in Japanese in which the 'Noun' and the 'Copula' have merged. See Tsunoda (this volume, 7.11).

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 154) state that most of the changes that occur in grammaticalization 'are characterizable as reductions'. As the parameter that concerns the phonetic/phonological aspects of grammaticalization, Heine and Kuteva (2007: 34) give erosion ("phonetic reduction"), i.e. loss in phonetic substance. Now, most of the phonological changes observed in Table 4 and also the merger of the 'Noun' and the 'Copula' are instances of reduction. However, this does not seem to apply to (a) Voicing of a stop or (b) Fricativization (followed by voicing) of a stop. This suggests that the inventory of phonological changes in grammaticalization needs to be expaned to include (a) and (b).

6.3 Affixes: derivational and inflectional

On the basis of 'Degree of fusion', shown in (50) (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 40), the order of changes shown in (55) would be expected. In contrast, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991: 213) suggest the opposite order, shown in (56).

(55) Relative order of changes (1)
inflectional affix > derivational affix
(56) Relative order of changes (2)
derivational affix > inflectional affix

In Japanese, both in OEMJ (Miyachi, 7.3) and MJ (Tsunoda, 7.7 to 7.10), there are derivational suffixes that derived from nouns. For examples, see Table 4. However, there is no inflectional suffix which is derived from a noun.

Among the languages reported in the present volume, Irabu Ryukyuan (Shomoji) is the only language that has yielded an inflectional suffix that is derived from a noun: the noun *kutu* 'fact' and the verbal inflectional suffix *-kutu*. See 6.2.1-[3].

Grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional affix seems

extremely uncommon crosslinguistically. A cursory examination of the relevant literature, such as Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), Lehmann (1995), Hopper and Traugott (2003), and Heine and Kuteva (2007) indicates that no such instance seems to have been reported previously. (Aikhenvald (2011: 609) lists five languages in which evidential markers derive from nouns, but she does not say whether or not these markers are verbal inflectional affixes.) In contrast, grammaticalization of a noun into a derivational suffix is well attested. See Table 4 for examples in Japanese.

The above suggests that (57) and (58) have opposite orderings.

(57) Crosslinguistic frequency of grammaticalization of a noun:
derivational > inflectional

(58) Degree of fusion (as proposed by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca; cf. (50)):
inflectional > derivational

And that, if the relative order of changes is as shown in (56), and not that shown in (55), then (56) and (57) on the one hand and (58) on the other have opposite orderings.

As noted above, the evidence is not conclusive. At least, when investigating grammaticalization, it is important to distinguish (i) relative order of changes, (ii) degree of fusion, and (iii) crosslinguistic frequency.

6.4 Morphosyntax of the 'Noun'

[1] Affixation to the 'Noun'

As noted in 5.2.1, there are instances in which a noun in the 'Noun' slot is combined with an affix. In this respect at least, the noun concerned behaves like any other noun.

[2] Modification of the 'Noun'

As seen in 5.2.2, other chapters in the present volume have generally yielded no example in which a noun in the 'Noun' slot is modified by some other word. This modification is probably impossible in Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.6.4). It seems that in this respect the nouns have lost their status as nouns and have been grammaticalzed. Newar (Kiryu, 5.2.6) and Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, 7.5.3-[2]) are exceptions. Kiryu has found three such examples of the modification of a noun by some other word, and Miyachi gives one example. In this respect, the nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC in Newar and in Old and Early Middle Japanese may be less grammaticalized than those in other languages.

6.5 Semantic aspects of the 'Noun'

In 5.4.3.1 and 5.4.3.2, we looked at the synchronic aspects of meaning of the 'Noun' and noted that there are two groups of nouns that recurrently occupy the 'Noun' slot: generic nouns (Table 2) and evidential nouns (Table

3). We turn now to the diachronic aspects of the 'Noun'. It is far beyond the scope of the present chapter to discuss every noun reported in the present volume, and we shall look at perhaps the most spectacular semantic changes.

[1] Non-ordinary entities: Kolyma Yukaghir and Hindi

Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, 5.2.2, 5.2.3) has the enclitic *=ben*, and the MMC with it expresses (i) past situation, or (ii) a modal meaning, such as strong assetion. The etymology of this enclitic is suggested to be the noun *pen* 'thing', or more precisely, 'supernatural thing'.

Hindi (Imamura, 5.1.3, 6.1) has the enclitic *=vaalaa*. Etymologically, this enclitic is said to have derived from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. The MMC with it indicates (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning).

It is not known how the Kolyma Yukaghir MMC, whose 'Noun' is suggested to have derived from *pen* 'supernatural thing', came to express (i) events in the reasonably distant past or (ii) a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. Similarly, it is not known how the Hindi MMC, whose 'Noun' is suggested to have derived from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes', came to indicate (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). It is truly intriguing how these MMCs acquired the meanings they have.

[2] Japanese *hazu*

There is a large literature that investigates the history of the Japanese language, and there are numerous works that deal with grammaticalization in Japanese, although they may not employ the term 'grammaticalization'. They provide fascinating accounts of the grammaticalization in Japanese. One such example is *hazu*.

In Modern Japanese (Tsunoda, 5.4.3-[2]), the noun *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 this MMC has two uses: (i) 'expectation, schedule', e.g. (59), and (ii) realization, e.g. (44). Both uses are modal.

(59) [*Hanako=wa asita* *Nagoya=e* *ik-u*]
Hanako=TOP tomorrow Nagoya=ALL go-NPST
hazu=da.
expectation=COP.NPST
LT: 'Hanako is an expectation [such that she] goes/will go to Nagoya.'
FT: 'Hanako is expected to go to Tokyo tomorrow.'

Now, how did this MMC acquire this meaning? According to *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* 'Large Japanese Dictionary' (Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009), 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'.

Regarding the sources for grammaticalization, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991: 35) state as follows: 'Despite the many attempts that have been made so far, it is not yet possible to define, in a non-circular way, the range of items serving as a source for grammatical concepts'. They (1991: 33) add as follows. 'If there is a more general observation that can be made at the present stage of research, it is that categories of the subordinate level are unlikely to serve as source concepts, ...'. The data presented in the volume in the main support their view. Indeed, most of the nouns listed in Table 2 (generic nouns) and Table 3 (evidential nouns) concern superordinate categories, rather than subordinate-level categories. However, there are also many nouns referring to subordinate-level categories that are used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC and are grammaticalized. Three such examples were given in [1] (Kolyma Yukaghir and Hindi) and [2] (Japanese).

6.6 Grammaticalization of a noun into a part of the predicate

As seen in 5.3, syntactically the MMC in Modern Japanese should be analayzed as containing a compound predicate that consists of three parts: (i) the predicate of the 'Clause', (ii) the 'Noun', and (iii) the 'Copula'. This analysis applies to at least seven other (and possibly more) languages. That is, in the MMC of these languages, the 'Noun' has become a part of the predicate of the clause/sentence. This applies irrespective of whether the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun (an indepednet word), a clitic or an affix.

Now, works such as Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991), Heine and Kuteva (2007), Hopper and Traugott (2003) and Lehmann (1995) indicate that there are numerous works that examine the grammaticalization of verbs, but that those which investigate the grammaticalization of nouns are relatively few. Among those few that look at nouns, almost all deal with the grammaticalization of nouns into adpositions (i.e. prepositions or popstpositions). In addition, the grammaticalization of nouns into adverbial clause markers is discussed by Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991: 45), and that into complementizers by Heine and Kuteva (2007: 230-236).

The present volume is unqiue in that it extensively examines the grammaticalization of nouns. It is even more unique in that it examines the grammaticalization of a noun into a part of the predicate of a clause/sentence.

Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) list lexical sources of various verbal categories: modal, evidential, aspectual, and temporal. However, they do not give a noun as a lexical source for any of the categories discussed. (Recall that these meanings can be expressed by the MMC. See 5.4.2.)

Furthermore, one paper in the present volume, i.e. that on Irabu

Ryukyuan by Shimoji, shows that there is an instance in which a noun has been grammaticalized into a verbal inflectional suffix. (Aikhenvald (2011: 609) lists five languages in which evidential markers derive from nouns, but she does not say whether or not these markers are verbal inflectional affixes.)

7. Presence/absence of the MMC

7.1 Introductory notes. As seen in Sections 2 and 3, the MMC seems uncommon crosslinguistically. At this stage of investigation it is impossible to predict which language will or will not have the MMC.

Even languages that are genetically and typologically — and often geographically as well — close to each other may differ regarding the presence/absence of the MMC. Examples follow. (i) Hindi (Imamura) possesses the MMC, but Marathi (Prashant Pardeshi, p.c.) does not. Both are Indo-Aryan languages with SOV order. (ii) Sive (Tomoyuki Kubo and Norikazu Kogura) possesses the MMC, but Manchu (Haibo Wang, p.c.) does not. Both are Tungusic languages with SOV order.

The MMC is most frequently attested in agglutinating languages with the SOV order and postpositions. However, not every language with these properties has the MMC. Such languages include Marathi (Prashant Pardeshi, p.c.) and Nanay (Shinjiro Kazama, p.c.). Furthermore, the MMC is found in at least two V-initial (or predicate-initial) languages, namely, Tagalog (Katagiri) and Kapampangan (Hiroaki Kitano, p.c.), and two SVO languages, i.e. Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi) and Mandarin Chinese (Ono).

The MMC is generally found in language of Asia. However, it is found outside Asia as well, i.e. Sidaama of Ethiopia (Kawachi).

7.2 External adnominal clauses

It is only natural to enquire whether the presence of the MMC can be predicted on the basis of the presence of some other property in a given language. That is, is there any correlation between the MMC and some other property?

When the collaborative research project mentioned in Section 2 started, it was hypothesized that the presence of external adnominal clauses is a prequisite to the presence of the MMC. We shall first outline these adnominal clauses.

Teramura (1969, 1992) devides the adnominal clauses ('ACs') of Japanese into two types: (i) ACs of *uti no kankee* 'internal relationship' and (ii) ACs of *soto no kankee* 'external relastionship'. I have labeled them 'internal ACs' and 'external ACs', respectively.

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.

As examples of internal ACs, compare (61) to (63) (involving an AC) with (60), the 'underlying' sentence to which (61) to (63) correspond. (The AC is shown with a broken line.)

(60) *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.'

(61) *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'

(62) *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'

(63) *gakusee=ga* *syukudai=o* *okut-ta*
---
student=NOM homework=ACC send-PST
sensee
professor
'the professor to whom a student sent [his/her] homework'

As an additional example of internal AC, compare (65) (involving an AC) with (64), the 'underlying' sentence to which (65) corresponds.

(64) *Gakusee=ga* *pen=de* *tegami=o* *kai-ta.*
student=NOM pen=LOC/INS letter=ACC write-PST
'A student wrote a letter with a pen.'

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

In (61), the head noun ('student) corresponds to the subject in (60). In (62), the head noun ('homework') corresponds to the direct object in (60). In (63), the head noun ('professor') corresponds to the indirect object in (60). Similarly, in (65), the head noun ('pen') corresponds to the adjunct in (64). As can be seen, with internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the 'underlying' clause/sentence.

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. For example, compare:

(66) *Hanako=ga sakana=o yak-u.*
Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-NPST
'Hanako grills a fish.'

(67) *Hanako=ga sakana=o yak-u nioi*

Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-NPST smell
LT: 'the smell with which Hanako grills a fish'
Intended meaning: 'the smell emitted when Hanako grills a fish'

(68) **Hanako=ga sakana=o nioi=de yak-u.*
Hanako=NOM fish=ACC smell=LOC/INS grill-NPST
Intended meaning: 'Hanako grills a fish with a smell.'

In (67), the head noun is 'smell'. It might be thought that (67) was derived from (68). However, (68) is not acceptable. Rather, (67) may be said to be formed by adding the noun *nioi* 'smell' to (66), placing it in the position for the head noun. That is, the head noun 'smell' is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. Another set of examples involving an external AC:

(69) *Doroboo=ga aruk-u.*
burglar=NOM walk-NPST
'A burglar walks.'

(70) *Doroboo=ga aruk-u oto*
---
burglar=NOM walk-NPST noise
LT: 'the noise with which a burglar walks'
Intetended meaning: 'the noise emitted when a burglar walks'

(71) **Doroboo=ga oto=de aruk-u.*
something=NOM noise=LOC/INS walk-NPST
Intended meaning: 'A burglar walks with a noise.'

External ACs are similar to the MMC as follows. In external ACs, the head noun is not coreferential with any argument or any adjunct of the AC. In the MMC, the 'Noun' is not coreferential with the subject of the 'Clause'; see the property (c) of the prototype of the MMC listed in Section 1.

Now, as noted above, at the beginning of this collaborative research project, it was hypothesized that the presence of external ACs is a prequisite to the presence of the MMC. For this reason, the chapters on specific languages in the present volume each contain a section that describes the external ACs in that language.

However, this hypothesis has turned out to be untenable. First, Sidaama (Kawachi, 4.2.1) does not have external ACs, and yet it has the MMC. Second, in Tagalog (Katagiri, 4.2.1.3), generally external ACs are not acceptable (although there are marginally acceptable instances), and yet this language has the MMC.

7.3 Language-specific factors

[1] Sidaama

There may be language-specific factors that lie behind the rise of the MMC in a given language. For example, Kawachi (Section 7) points out the existence of two constructions in Sidaama that may have led to the birth of the MMCs in this language.

[2] Japanese

As noted in 1.3-[1], in Japanese at least, it is likely that the MMC originated in noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an adnominal clause. See Miyachi (Sections 5, 6 and 7.6).

There may be language-specific factors that lie behind the abundance of the MMC in a language. For example, Miyachi (7.6-[1]) notes that, as Yamada (1908: 818-827, 1217-1289) points out, since the time of the oldest written records of Japanese (around 700), sentences that end with a noun (often followed by the copula) have been very common. (Still now in Modern Japanese, there are many sentences that end with a noun (followed by the copula) even when they describe actions, and not states. See Tsunoda (4.1-(d)).) This may possibly be one factor that has caused the abundance of the MMC in Japanese.

7.4 Diffusion and areal features

There are two groups of languages in which the MMC is frequently found.

[1] Tibeto-Burman languages

The MMC is found in a fair number of languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages: Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara), Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), nDrapa (Shirai), Newar (Kiryu), Burmese (Kato), and Lahu, Jinghpaw (Matisoff 1972). However, there are also Tibeto-Burman languages in which the MMC is not found, e.g. Meche (Kazuyuki Kiryu, p.c.), and Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen (Atsuhiko Kato, p.c.). Mandarin Chinese (Ono) (a member of the Sinitic branch of the same family), too, has the MMC. It is not known whether the MMC is genetically inherited from the protolanguage or has been diffused among these languages.

As noted in 7.1-[1], the MMC is generaly found in SOV languages, except for Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi) and Mandarin Chinese (Ono) (SVO), and Tagalog (Katagiri) and Kapampangan (Hiroaki Kitano, p.c.) (V-initial). Now, regarding the absence of the MMC in Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen, Atsuhiko Kato (p.c.) notes as follows. They have been in intensive contact with Burmese, from which they have borrowed a large number of words — even function words. Despite this, unlike Burmese, they do not have the MMC. One factor that has hindered the borrowing of the MMC may be word order: they have the SVO order, whereas Burmese has the SOV order.

[2] Languages in East Asia

The MMC clusters in East Asia.

(a) Irabu Rykyuan (Shimoji) and Japanese (Miyachi, Tsunoda, Sasaki) (both Japonic languages).
(b) Ainu (Bugaeva) (genetic affiliation unkown).
(c) Korean (Kim) (genetic affiliation unkown).
(d) Mandarin Chinese (Ono) (a Sino-Tibetan language).
(e) Sive (Tomoyuki Kubo and Norikazu Kogura) (a Tungusic language, originally from Manchuria).

Typologically, these languages have the SOV order, except for Mandarin Chinse (SVO). Genetically, they do not belong to one single language family. The MMC may be an areal feature of these languages, having diffused across genetic borders.

There appears to be no specific evidence to show that the MMC diffused among the two groups of languages mentioned. In this connection, Kurux (Kobayashi, 5.3.4, 5.4.2, Section 7), a Dravidian language, provides fascinating data. According to Kobayashi, Kurux has the MMC, which is uncommon among Dravidian languages. There are two enclitics that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, and they may be loans from Indo-Aryan languages. Hindi (Imamura) has a parallel construction, and the MMC in Kurux may possibly have risen due to structural borrowing. If the scenario that Kobayashi suggests is correct, the two enclitics and the MMC have diffused and crossed the genetic border. It is relevant to note that both Kurux and Hindi are SOV languages.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC has unique characteristics. In terms of structure, it is a combination of two structures: that of a verb-predicate clause, etc. and that of a noun-predicate structure. In terms of meaning, its literal translation does not make sense.

The MMC abounds in Modern Japanese and Korean. So far it has been found in close to twenty languages — mainly in languages of Asia (except for Sidaama of Ethiopia), in particular, in (i) those of East Asia and (ii) Tibeto-Burman languages. It may be an areal feature of each of these two groups. Also, it is generally found in SOV languages, except for two SVO languages (Mandarin Chinese and Thai) and two predicate/V-initial languages (Tagalog and Kapampangan).

The predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC often behaves like that of ACs, and it may look as if the MMC contained an AC. (Indeed, many previous studies of Japanese in effect adopt this view). However, syntactically in langauges such as Japanese and Korean, the MMC behaves like independent sentences. That is, syntactically the MMC is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

These unique features of the MMC have not been recognized — not even in Japanese or Korean. In the other languages, the MMC has attracted little or no attention.

The MMC has been found to have various meanings/functions, such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, stylistic and discourse-related. The nouns in the 'Noun' slot are grammaticalized, to varying degrees, in terms of semantics, phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Among the studies of grammaticalization, the present volume appears to be unprecedented in that it extensively examines the grammaticalization of nouns, and in particular, the grammaticalization of a noun into a part of the predicate of a clause/sentence.

Note

1. Kazuhiro Kawachi (p.c.) points out that there is another property that needs to be attributed to the prototype of the MMC.

(d) The 'Clause' is not the subject of the 'Noun'.

This is in order to exclude sentences such as the following. (For exemplification, I use English words.)

(i) [*He won*] *a surprise is.*
'That he won is a surprise'.
(ii) [*He lost*] *a shame is.*
'That he lost is a shame.'

Indeed, sentences such as (i) and (ii) have the structure of (1). However, as the following discussion will show, they are not intended to be instances of the MMC. As Kawachi points out, the condition (d) is necessary to exclude sentences such as (i) and (ii) from the MMC.

Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; ADN - adnominal; AF - actor focus; ALL - allative; CONCL - conclusive; CONT - contemplated; COP - copula; DAT/LOC - dative/locative; DESID - desiderative; ETOP - emphatic topic; FT - free translation; GER - gerund; IMP - imperative; INF - infinitive; LK - linker; LOC/INS - locative/instrumental; LT - literal translation; MJ - Modern Japanese; MMC - mermaid construction; NCC - noun-concluding construction; NFND - nonfuture neutral disjunct; NMLZ - nominalizer; NOM - nominative; NPST - nonpast; OEMJ - Old and Early Middle Japanese; p.c. - personal communication; PL - plural; POL - polite; PST - past; Q - question; RESP - respect; SG - singular; STAT - stative; SUBJ - subject; TOP - topic; 1 - first person.

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Mermaid construction in Modern Japanese

Tasaku Tsunoda
Professor Emeritus, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

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

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-adjective	+	+* e.g. (112)	+* e.g. (112)
na-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*]
Taro=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*]
Taro=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-NONPST
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* *tassee-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*-adjective sentence	....	....	+
(g) *na*-adjective sentence	....	....	+
(h) noun sentence	....	....	+

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

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

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

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.*
Akio=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 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

	=wa for topic	adverbs of modality	NOM~GEN
(a) internal AC	−	?	+
(b) external AC	−	?	+
(c) adverbial: time	−	?	+
(d) MMC	+	+	−
(e) verb sentence	+	+	−
(f) *i*-adjective sentence	+	+	−
(g) *na*-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*-adjective sentence	−	−	+
(g) *na*-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 Joungmin 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 /r/ 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. H L L HL LL L
b. H L HL L
rain=NOM fall-NPST=*soo*=COP.NPST
'I heard that it will rain.'

(292) *Ame=ga* *hur-i-soo=da.*
H L L L H HL 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=NOMfall-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)
tumori	intention	(a) intention, decision (b) evaluation
hazu	expectation	(a) expectation, schedule (b) realization
wake	cause, reason	(a) cause/reason, explanation (b) conclusion (c) realization (d) 'in other words' (e) (no clear meaning)
mono	thing	various meanings, including: (a) obligation, advice (b) explanation (c) past experience (d) surprise, strong emotion (e) formal
sidai	circumstance, procedure, programme, process	formal
hoo, muki	direction	human propensity or tendency
ippoo	one direction, one way	'increasingly, progressively'
tokoro	place	(a) aspectual (b) temporal (c) formal
koto	fact	advice, instruction, obligation
yosi	means, clue	reported evidence

Table 6. Semantics of nouns, enclitics, and suffixes

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

Kan Sasaki
Sapporo Gakuin University

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      5.3.5 Person of the subject
      5.3.6 'Copula'
      5.3.7 Clefting
   5.4 Semantics of the two types of the MMC
6. Summary and concluding remarks

1. Introduction

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

(1) Clause + Noun + Copula

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

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

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

2. Initial illustration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Profile of the language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 1. Case system in Mitsukaido and in Standard Japanese

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

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

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

Accusative case, inanimate:

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

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

Accusative case, animate:

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

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

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

Locative case (NP=*ni*):

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

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

Dative case, animate (NP=*ŋe*):

(8) *teŋami=Ø* *ozitsjaN=ŋe* *naatede* *kj-ta.*
letter=NOM grandfather=DAT name.specified come-PST
'The letter was addressed to grandfather.'

Dative case, inanimate (NP=*sa*):

(9) *are=Ø* *dogo=sa* *eQ-ta?*
3SG=NOM where=DAT go-PST
'Where did s/he go?'

Experiencer case (NP=*ŋani*):

(10) *ore=ŋani=mo* *komaQ=pe=na.*
1SG=EXP=also be.annoyed.NPST=may=FP
'I, too, will be annoyed.'

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

(11) *ore=ŋani* *kono* *hku=Ø* *ega-e.*
1SG=EXP this outfit=NOM big-NPST
'This outfit is big for me.'

(12) *ome=ŋanja* *kono* *hku=Ø* *nia:-ne.*
2SG=EXP.TOP this outfit.NOM suit.IRR-NEG.NPST
'This outfit does not suit you.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mitsukaido is mildly configurational.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Clauses/sentences in Mitsukaido can be classified into four types (as is the case in Standard Japanese; cf. Tsunoda (this volume-b)).

[1] Verb-predicate clauses/sentences
Examples include (5)-(10).

[2] Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences
Examples include (11).

[3] Adjectival noun-predicate clauses/sentences
Examples include:

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

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

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

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

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

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

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

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

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

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

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

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

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

5.2 Noun-type MMC

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

5.2.1 Three nouns

[1] *eNŋi* 'origin'

The MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin' in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC describes a custom. Examples include (2) and (23).

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

[2] *warie:* 'ratio'

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

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

[3] *segi* 'seat'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 2. Comparison of the noun-type MMC with

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

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

[1] Independent sentences

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

[2] ACs

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

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

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

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

[3] MMC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(b) *segi* 'seat'

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

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

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

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

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

[1] Independent sentences

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[2] MMC

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

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

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

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

[3] ACs

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

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

(45) **[[e_i e_j kae-da]* *teŋami$_j$]=na=no=wa*
write-PST letter=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
are$_i$=da
3SG=COP.NPST
(Untranslatable)

(46) *[are=Ø* *e_i* *kae-da]* *teŋami$_i$*
3SG=NOM write-PST letter
'The letter that s/he wrote.'

(b) External ACs. The ungrammatical example (47) is structurally parallel to the cleft sentences with MMCs in (42)-(44) and that with an internal AC in (45) in that it involves clefting of a subject out of the AC in the predicate noun. The corresponding non-clefting structure is presented in (48).

(47) **[e_i* *to:r-u]* *odo]=na=no=wa*
pass-NPST sound=COP.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
kuruma$_i$=da
car=COP.NPST
(Untranslatable)

(48) *[[kuruma=Ø* *to:r-u]* *odo]*
car=NOM pass-NPST sound
'The sound of car passing.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.1 Introductory notes

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

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

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

5.3.2 Lexical aspect

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

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

Activity:

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

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

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

State:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Achievement:

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

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

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

Accomplishment:

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

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

5.3.3 Case of the subject

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

Table 3. Case-marking of the subject

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.4 Modality and voice

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What has been stated above is shown in Table 4.

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

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

5.3.5 Person of the subject

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

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

5.3.6 'Copula'

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

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

5.3.6 Clefting

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

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

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

noun-type MMC (5.2.2.3).

5.4 Semantics of the two types of the MMC

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

Table 5. Semantics of the MMC

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

6. Summary and concluding remarks

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations

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

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Notes

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

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Mermaid construction in Old and Early Middle Japanese

Asako Miyachi
University of Nagoya

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) 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 co referential.
(c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

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

The MMC is attested already in the oldest written sources of Japanese: Old Japanese ('OJ'; 700-800) and Early Middle Japanese ('EMJ'; 800-1200). The MMC appears to be at its incipient stage ands not established in OJ, but it is more developed and stabilized in EMJ. The present paper is mainly concerned with EMJ. OJ and EMJ will be jointly referred to as 'OEMJ'.

The MMC in OEMJ is of four types: noun type, enclitic type, suffix type, and zero type. In the noun type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun, i.e. an (independent) word. Twentyseven nouns are attested in this slot. The predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form (i.e. a non-finite form). In the enclitic type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic. Only two enclitics have been found in the 'Noun' slot. In the suffix type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a suffix. Two such suffixes will be considered in the present paper. These enclitic and suffixes are etymologically nouns. In the zero type, the 'Noun' slot is empty (shown with Ø). These four types of the MMC have various meanings, such as modal, evidential, and aspectual. It is justifiable to say that the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence. That is, the MMC in OEMJ is not a prototypical MMC; it lacks the property (c).

The English translations of Japanese technical terms, their abbreviations, and also the Romanization of relevant Japanese words and sentences in the main follow those of Frellesvig (2010). However, this is not always the case. For example, the label 'OEMJ' has been coined for this paper.

In the examples given below, the form in the 'Noun' slot is in bold face. Enclitics are preceded by an equal symbol, while other morpheme boundaries (e.g. a boundary preceding a suffix) are indicated by a hyphen. However, the decision to regard a given form as an independent word, as an enclitic, or as a suffix is inevitably difficult; it is no longer possible to consult a native speaker of OEMJ.

2. Initial illustration

An example of the MMC in OJ is (2) (noun type).

(2) *kaku=bakari* *kwopwi-mu* ***mono**=so,*
such=RES fall.in.love-CONJ.ADN thing=FOC
LT: '[I] am a thing to fall in love in such a way, …'
FT: '[I] am bound to fall in love in such a way, …'
(*MYS.*11.2547)

Examples of the MMC in EMJ include (3) (noun type), (4) (enclitic type), and (5) (zero type).

(3) *yupuyami=ni=wa* *mono-omopa-nu*
dusk=DAT=TOP thing-consider-NEG.ADN

kesiki=*nari.*
sign/appearance=COP.CONCL
LT: '[Princess Kaguya] is a sign/appearance not to consider things in the dusk.'
FT: 'In the dusk [Princess Kaguya] does not seem to be worried about anything.' (*Taketori*)

(4) (A description of the autumn scenery:)
yama=no *pa=Ø,* *nisiki=o*
mountain=GEN edge=NOM fine.dress=ACC
*piroge-taru=**yau**=nari.*
spread-STAT.ADN=style=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The ridgeline is a style to have spread a fine dress.'
FT: 'The ridgeline looks like a fine dress.' (*Sarashina*)

(5) (A man is looking for a legendary treasure that is said to exist in a swallow nest. He orders his servant to grope for it in a swallow nest, but the servant cannot find it. The man says to the servant as follows.)
asiku *sagureba* *naki* ***Ø**=nari*
bad.INF grope.for.PROV not.exist.ADN Ø=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Because [you] grope for [it] badly, [it] is non-existent.'
FT: 'Because the way you grope for is not good, you cannot find it.' (*Taketori*)

Mono 'thing' in (2) and *kesiki* 'sign, appearance' in (3) are independent words (nouns), while *=yau* 'style' in (4) is an enclitic. In (5), the 'Noun' slot is empty, shown with Ø in bold face.

3. Profile of the language

Roughly speaking, the typological profile of OEMJ is the same as that of Modern Japanese ('NJ') (see Tsunoda (this volume-b)). (Frellesvig (2010: 1) employs the label 'MJ' for Middle Japanese (1200-1600), and the label 'NJ' for Modern Japanese (1600-). This practice is adopted in the present paper.) Nonetheless, specific details differ between OEMJ and NJ. The following two points are important. (For details, see Takeuchi (1999) or Frellesvig (2010).)

[1] The nominative, the accusative, and the genitive cases

In OEMJ, the nominative case is generally marked by zero; the accusative by zero or *=o*; and the genitive by *=ga* or *=no*. (To be precise, the form of the accusative case changed from *=wo* to *=o* around A.D. 1000.) In NJ, the nominative is marked by *=ga*; the accusative by *=o*; and the genitive by *=no*. Note that *=ga* marks the nominative, and not the genitive.

[2] Adnominal forms

In OEMJ, verbs and adjectives have distinct adnominal forms. In contrast, in NJ, verbs and *i*-adjectives do not have any distinct adnominal form. Only *na*-adjectives (also called adjectival nouns) do. As an example, a portion of

the paradigm of the verb *ake-* 'open' (transitive) of EMJ (based on Frellesvig (2010: 228)) is cited in Table 1. (Frellesvig assigns the adnominal form to the finite group.)

Table 1. Partial paradigm of *ake-* 'open' (transitive)

Finite	
Conclusive	*aku*
Adnominal	*akuru*
Exclamatory	*akure*
Non-finite	
Infinitive	*ake*
Gerund	*akete*
Conditional	*akeba*
Provisional	*akureba*

Table 1 lists only one adnominal form. This form will be referred to as the basic adnominal form. In addition, there is a fair number of conjugated forms that have the adnominal function, e.g. (3) (*omopa-nu* 'consider-NEG.ADN'), (4) (*piroge-taru* 'spread-STAT.ADN'), (11) (*yom-eru* 'compose-STAT.ADN'), (12) (*puka-suru* 'blow-CAUS.ADN'), (13) (*suru* 'do.ADN'), (26) (*motaru* 'have.STAT.ADN'), (26) (*tora-mu* 'take-CONJ.ADN'), (37) (*nari-nu-beki* 'become-PERF-NEC'), (60) (*tadune-raru-maziki* 'ask-RESP-NCONJ.ADN'). They will be referred to as non-basic adnominal forms.

We have seen two differences between OEMJ and NJ. Furthermore, it is useful to give a brief account of the copula of OEMJ.

[3] The copula verb

OEMJ has the copula *=nari*. Etymologically, *=nari* is a combination of *=ni* and the existential verb *ari*. (*=ni* may be analyzed as the case postposition 'DAT/LOC' or the infinitive form of the putative copula.) Subsequently they merged into one single lexical item. It was not well developed in OJ. In EMJ, it was well developed and fully inflected like other verbs, e.g. for tense, aspect and mood. (See Kasuga (1968).)

In OEMJ, noun-predicate sentences generally contain the copula verb, e.g. (6) (an example from EMJ), although they do not require it; see (7) (an example from EMJ). In OJ, there are instances in which the copula verb does not appear and the focus particle *=so* appears instead, e.g. (8). (The focus particle *=so* of OJ changed into *=zo* in EMJ.)

(6) *kore=wa* *Pourai=no* *yama=nari.*
this=TOP Horai=GEN mountain=COP.CONCL
'This is Mt. Hōrai.' (*Taketori*)

(7) *paru=wa* *akebono.*
spring=TOP dawn
'As for spring, [the best time of the day] is dawn.' (*Makura*)

(8) (An emperor climbed a hill to look out over his country, and composed this peom.)
umasi *kuni=so,* *Akidusima,* *Yamato=no*
splendid country=FOC Akitsushima Yamato=GEN
kuni=pa.
country=TOP
'Akitsushima, the country of Yamato, is splendid.' (*MYS.*1.2)

(The noun *akidu* means 'dragonfly', and *sima* means 'island'. Therefore, *akidu-sima* literally means the island/land of dragonflies. The dragonfly was the symbol of fertility. The intended meaning of this poem may be shown roughly as follows: 'My country, the country of Yamato, which is named after the dragonfly, the symbol of fertility, is truly splendid'.)

The data for the present paper is cited from the twelve written sources listed in Table 2. The versions consulted are those in *Iwanami Koten Bungaku Taikei* (literally 'Grand Iwanami Classical Literature Series).

Table 2. Written sources

	Approximate time	Genre of writing	Short title for citation
OJ			
Man'yōshū	8th century	Anthology	*MYS**
EMJ			
Taketori Monogatari	Late 9th to mid-10th century	Novel	*Taketori*
Ise Monogatari	Late 9th to mid-10th century	Novel	*Ise*
Tosa Nikki	Circa 935	Diary	*Tosa*
Yamato Monogatari	Mid- to latter 10th century	Novel	*Yamato*
Kagerō Nikki	974 to 995	Diary	*Kagerō*
*Utsubo Monogatari***	Circa 985	Novel	*Utsubo*
Makura no Sōshi	Late 10th century	Essay	*Makura*
Izumi Shikibu Nikki	Circa 1004	Diary	*Izumi*
Murasaki Shikibu Nikki	Circa 1010	Diary	*Murasaki*
*Genji Monogatari****	Circa 1010	Novel	*Genji*
Sarashina Nikki	1020 to 1059	Diary	*Sarashina*

* See (2), which is cited from *Man'yōshū*. '11' is the number of the volume, and '2547' is the number allocated to this particular poem.

** (i) Only Volume 1 in *Iwanami Koten Bungaku Taikei* has been consulted. (ii) See (21), cited from *Utsubo Monogatari. Tadakoso* is the title of the volume in the original source.

*** (i) Only Volume 1 and Volume 2 in *Iwanami Koten Bungaku Taikei* have been consulted. (ii) See (25), cited from *Genji Monogatari. Wakamurasaki* is the title of the volume in the original source.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Roughly speaking, clauses/sentences in OEMJ can be classified as follows: (i) verb-predicate clauses/sentence, e.g. (9), (ii) adjective-predicate clauses/sentence, e.g. (10), and (iii) noun-predicate clauses/sentence, e.g. (7), (8). Noun-predicate clauses/sentences may contain the copula verb, e.g. (6).

(9) *mukasi* *wotoko=Ø* *ari-keri.*
long.ago man=NOM exist-MPST.CONCL
'Long ago there was a man.' (*Ise*)

(10) (The boatman says that it is not time to sail.)
kita-kaze=Ø *asi.*
north-wind=NOM bad.CONCL
'The north wind is bad.' (*Tosa*)

4.2 Adnominal clauses

The formation of adnominal clauses ('ACs') in OEMJ differs from that of ACs in NJ (cf. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.1)) in the following three respects. In other respects, there is no difference. For example, both in OEMJ and NJ, an AC precedes the noun that it modifies.

(a) The predicate of an AC is consistently in an adnominal form: either the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form, e.g. (11) (an example from EMJ). (In NJ, only *na*-adjectives have a distinct adnominal form, and consequently only they take the adnominal form in ACs.)

(b) The subject in an AC is genellary marked by the genitive case, when it is overtly expressed, e.g. (11). (In ACs of NJ, it may be marked by the nominative or the genitive.)

(11) [*punabito=no* *yom-eru*] *uta.*
boat.man=GEN compose-STAT.ADN poem
'the/a poem that a boatman composed' (*Tosa*)

(c) OEMJ has headless ACs. A headless AC can be used as an argument.

For example, in (29), the AC *tuki=no omosiro-ku ide-taru=o* 'moon=GEN graceful-INF go.out-STAT.ADN=ACC' 'the moon that has come out gracefully' functions as the object of the transitive verb *mi-te* 'look-GER'. A headless AC can also occupy the slot of the predicate of a noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (12) and (13). (The zero symbol Ø indicates what would correspond to the head noun of other ACs.)

(12) (A warrior, who has set out on a trip to kill a dragon, is caught in a violent storm and lightning, and asks the boatman to stop the rolling of the boat. The boatman replies as follows.)
payate=mo [*riu=no* *puka-suru*]
gale=ETOP dragon=GEN blow-CAUS.ADN
Ø=nari.
Ø=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The gale, too, is [something that] the dragon is causing to blow.'
FT: '[The dragon is offended, and it] is making the gale blow. [So there is nothing I can do about it.]' (*Taketori*)

(13) (A prince proposes to Princess Kaguya, but he is assigned a very difficult task by her, i.e. to get gem balls that hang round a dragon's neck. He is nearly killed in this attempt, and he complains as follows.)
[*Kaguya-pime=tepu* *opo-nusubito=no* *yatu=ga*
Kaguya-princess=COMP big-thief=GEN fellow=GEN
pito=wo *korosa-mu=to* *suru*]
person=ACC kill.CONJ=COMP do.ADN
Ø =COP-MPST
Ø=nari-keri.
LT: '[That difficult task] was [something that] the big thief called Princess Kaguya does in order to kill a person/persons.'
FT: '[That difficult task] was what the big thief called Princess Kaguya assigns in order to kill men [who propose to her].' (*Taketori*)

(To be precise, (29) is not a headless AC, but a head-internal AC; 'the moon' is the head.)

5. Mermaid construction: introductory notes

The twelve written sources listed in Table 2 have been consulted. In OJ, only the noun type has been found, but in EMJ all of the four types are attested: noun type, enclitic type, suffix type, and zero type. The MMC in OJ will be discussed in Section 6, and that in EMJ in Section 7.

It is important to note here that, as Tsunoda (this volume-a, 1.3-[1]) shows, the MMC may look similar to, but is different, from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC. The latter has the structure shown

in (14). In contrast, the MMC has the structure shown in (15). (15-a) is the same as (1) given in Section 1.

(14) Noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an AC

a.	Subject	Predicate (AC + noun)	Copula
b.	Subject_i	Subject_j ... noun	Copula
c.	Subject_i	e_i ... noun_j	Copula

(15) MMC

a.	[Clause]	Noun	Copula	
b.	Subject	...	Predicate (predicate of 'Clause' + Noun + Copula)	

In OEMJ, too, the MMC looks similar to noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC. Indeed, there are instances that allow both analyses, e.g. (19) and (21). We shall compare (14) and (15). In the sources I consulted, sentences are often elliptical, and it is not easy to show the differences between (14) and (15) clearly. Therefore, I shall employ examples from NJ, based on those in Tsunoda (this volume-a).

The structure shown in (14) contains a subordinate clause (an AC). That is, it is bi-clausal. The AC may have its own overt subject, in addition the subject of the entire sentence, i.e. (14-b), e.g. (16). The subject of the AC may be coreferential with that of the entire sentence, in which case the subject of the AC leaves a gap (shown with *e*), i.e. (14-c), e.g. (17). (The AC is shown with an underline.)

(16) *kore_i=wa* <u>*Hanako=ga_j kat-ta*</u> *hon=da.*
this=TOP Hanako=NOM buy-PST book=COP.NPST
'This is the/a book that Hanako bought.' (NJ)

(17) *Hanako_i=wa* e_j <u>*buturigaku=o benkyoo-si-te i-ru*</u>
Hanako=TOP physics=ACC study-do-GER be-NPST
gakusee=da.
student=COP.NPST (NJ)
'Hanako is a student who is studying physics.'

OEMJ examples of (14-b) include (12) (the subject of the AC is 'dragon=GEN') and (13) (the subject of the AC is 'fellow=GEN'). (In both (12) and (13), the head of the AC is zero, i.e. headless ACs. In (13), the subject 'that difficult task' is not expressed.) OEMJ examples of (14-c) include (19) and (21) in the AC reading.

The structure shown in (15) does not contain a subordinate clause. That is, it is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. The entire sentence has only one subject. (Additional evidence for the mono-clausal status of the MMC in EMJ is given in 7.5.8.) The predicate consists of (i) the predicate of what is labelled 'Clause', (ii) the 'Noun' and (iii) the 'Copula'. An NJ example:

(18) *Hanako=wa* *hon=o* *ka-u* *yotee=da.*

subject	object	predicate	
Hanako=TOP	book=ACC	buy-NPST	plan=COP.NPST

LT: 'Hanako is a plan to buy a book.' (NJ)
FT: 'Hanako plans to buy a book'.

Many OEMJ examples will be given below. For example, in the MMC reading of (21), the subject is 'inside=TOP' and the predicate consists 'exist-NEG.ADN' and 'thing/person=COP.CONCL'.

We have pointed out that the MMC may look similar to, but is different, from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC. At the same time, there are instances that allow both analyses, e.g. (19) and (21). It is likely that the MMC developed from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC.

In OEMJ, the head of ACs may be zero, i.e. headless ACs (4.2). Furthermore, we recognize the zero-type MMC, in which the 'Noun' slot is zero, e.g. (5). Here again, the zero-type MMC may look similar to noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a headless AC, e.g. (12) and (13). However, here again, they have different structures, although admittedly there are instances that allow both analyses.

It is widely known that the zero-type MMC, e.g. (5), and noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a headless AC, e.g. (12) and (13), have meanings similar to those of a construction that Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.5.4) terms the MMC with the enclitic *=no* 'genitive, nominalizer, complementizer'. The latter indicates cause, reason, explanation or the like.

6. Mermaid construction in Old Japanese

Man'yōshū (cf. Table 2) has been consulted. As noted in Section 1, in OJ the MMC appears to be at its incipient stage and not established yet. First, only one noun is attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC: *mono* 'thing, person'. Second, the examples involving *mono* are not unequivocal instances of the MMC. They may also be regarded as involving an AC.

As just noted, the earliest attestation of the MMC in Japanese involves the noun *mono* 'thing', which is always followed by the focus particle *=so*. Examples include (2) and (19). The MMC with *mono=so* have a modal meaning, such as 'be bound to', 'should (obligation)'. The predicate of the 'Clause' is consistently in an adnominal form: the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form.

Also as mentioned above, sentences such as (2) and (19) allow both the MMC reading and the AC reading.

(19) *puru-koromo* *utituru* *pito=pa*
old-wear put.away.ADN man=TOP

aki-kaze=no *tati-kuru* *toki=ni*
autumn-wind=GEN stand-come.ADN time=DAT
mono-omopu ***mono***=*so.*
thing-consider.ADN thing=FOC (*MYS.* 11.2626)
AC reading:
LT: 'A man who throws away old clothes is a person who think about things when the autumn wind srats.'
FT: 'A man who deserts his wife he has been married to for a long time is the kind of person who regrets when his days are over.'
MMC reading:
LT: 'A man who throws away old clothes is a thing to think about things when the autumn wind starts.'
FT: 'The kind of man who deserts his wife he has been married to for a long time is bound to regret when his days are over.

(19) has the structure shown in (14-c) when it has the AC reading, and the structure shown in (15-b) when it has the MMC reading. For (2), only the MMC reading was given. This is in order to avoid unnecessary confusion and complication at an initial stage of the paper.

There is no unequivocal instance of the MMC that involves the noun *mono* 'thing, person'. Examples such as (2) and (19) allow both analyses. This indicates that in OJ the MMC is not established yet. As noted in Section 1, the MMC is more developed and stabilized in EMJ. It seems leikely that sentences such as (2) and (19) developed into the MMC.

The noun *mono* 'thing' is also used in the MMC of NJ (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.2-[4])).

7. Mermaid construction in Early Middle Japanese

Eleven sources listed in Table 2 have been consulted. The MMC in EMJ can be classified into four types: noun type (7.1), enclitic type (7.2), suffix type (7.3), and zero type (7.4).

7.1 Noun-type MMC

Where the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form: the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form. The subject may be followed by =*Ø* 'NOM', =*wa* 'TOP' or =*mo* 'ETOP', among others. The nominative marking is by far the most frequent. As many as twentyseven nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. All of them are listed below. Roughly speaking, they can be classified into ten groups.

[1] Nouns that indicate a thing or a matter

(a) *mono* 'thing, person', e.g. (20), (21), (60).
(b) *koto* 'thing, matter', e.g. (23) to (25).
(c) *reu* 'matter, material, means, tool', e.g. (26)

These nouns can be used outside the MMC as well.

(a) *Mono* 'thing, person'

The MMC with *mono* 'thing, person' indicates a general tendency or the like, e.g. (21). This meaning may be considered 'aspectual'. It may also have a modal meaning: epistemic in (20) ('be bound to ...'), and deontic in (60) (obligation, duty or the like).

The following example involves a pun. The verb *weu* may mean 'be/get drunk' and 'be/get seasick'.

(20) (A group of people are going on a boat to a palace. When they arrive there, they will be offered a large amount of *sake* to drink. Someone says as follows.)
ron'nau, *wewa-mu*
undoubtedly be.seasick/drunk-CONJ.ADN
mono=*zo*
thing/person=FOC
LT: '[We] are a thing/person to get drunk/seasick undoubtedly.'
FT: '[If/when we travel on a boat and then receive an offer of drinks of *sake*] we no doubt tend to get seasick on the way and get drunk over there on *sake*' or '...., we are no doubt bound to get seasick on the way and get drunk over there on *sake.*' (*Kagerō*)

(It might be argued that this sentence allows the AC analysis as well. However, the sentence has an epistemic meaning ('be bound to ...'), and this indicates that *mono* 'thing, person' does not have its literal meaning. This in turn indicates that this sentence does not contain an AC that modifies the noun 'thing, person'. It is in view of this that only the MMC analysis is assigned to (20).)

The following example may be considered an instance of the MMC. It may also be considered a noun-predicate sentence that contains an AC.

(21) *yo*=*no* *naka*=*wa* *kokoro*=*ni*=*mo*
world=GEN inside=TOP mind=DAT=ETOP
ara-nu ***mono***=*nari.*
exist-NEG.ADN thing/person=COP.CONCL
LT(1): AC reading:
'The inside of the world is a thing that does not exist in [my] mind.
LT(2): MMC reading:
'The inside of the world is a thing not to exist in [my] mind.'
FT: 'The word tends not go in the way I want.' (*Utsubo: Kasugamōde*)

The next example is best regarded as a noun-predicate sentence that

contains an AC. (The AC is indicated by an underline.)

(22) (In the imperial court, one monk is standing as a night watch. Other people in the court are worried that he might hear them gossiping, and that he might see them getting into mischief. That will be embarrassing.)

yo-wi=no	*sou=wa*	*ito*
night-keep.on=GEN	monk=TOP	very
padukasiki	***mono**=nari.*	
embarrassed.ADN	thing/person=COP.CONCL	

LT: 'The night watch monk is a person [because of whom we] are embarrassed.' (*Makura*)

(b) *Koto* 'thing'

The MMC with *koto* 'thing' may indicate a general tendency or the like, e.g. (23). In particular, when the subject is understood and *koto* 'thing' is followed by the copula *=nari* 'COP.CONCL', this MMC expresses strong emotion or strong assertion, e.g. (24), (25). The meaning of this MMC is aspectual or modal.

(23) *miya-dukawe-bito=wa* *ito* *uki*
court-service-person=TOP very hard.ADN
***koto**=nari,*
thing=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Court service persons are a very hard thing.'
FT: 'To work in the court is a very hard job.' (*Sarashina*)

(24) *ito* *kokoro-sebaki* *on-**koto**=nari.*
very mind-narrow.ADN HON-thing=COP.CONCL
LT: '[You] are a thing to be very narrow-minded.'
FT: 'How narrow-minded [you] are!' (*Kagerō*)

(25) ('You should not have caught that bird.')
tumi *uru* ***koto**=zo*
sin get.ADN thing=FOC
LT: '[You] are a thing to obtain a sin.'
FT: 'You will be punished!' (*Genji: Wakamurasaki*)

(c) *Reu* 'matter, material, means, tool'

The noun *reu* is a loan from Chinese. It means 'matter, material, means or tool for a certain purpose'. Only one example has been attested. It allows both the AC reading and the MMC reading. In the MMC reading, it describes purpose or grounds for judgement.

(26) (See (5) for the context. *Koyasugapi* is a legendary treasure that is said to exist in a swallow nest. A man says to his servant, 'Tell me when the swallows have made a nest', and the servant asks, 'What would you use a swallow nest for?' The man replies as follows.)

tubakurame=no *motaru* *koyasugapi=wo*
swallow=GEN have.STAT.ADN shell.treasure=ACC
tora-mu ***reu=nari***
take-CONJ.ADN material=COP.CONCL
AC reading
LT: '[A swallow nest] is a means/tool [with which I] want to obtain a *koyasugapi*, which swallows have.'
FT: '[A swallow nest] is a means/tool for obtaining a *koyasugapi*.'
MMC reading:
LT: '[I] am a matter [who] wants to obtain a *koyasugapi*, which swallows have.'
FT: '[A swallow nest] is for obtaining a *koyasugapi*, which swallows have.' (*Taketori*)

[2] Nouns that indicate location or direction

(a) *tokoro* 'place', e.g. (27).
(b) *kata* 'direction', e.g. (28).
(c) *atari* 'place nearby'.

These nouns can be used outside the MMC. In the MMC, *tokoro* 'place' has an aspectual meaning: 'be about to', e.g. (27). The other nouns have an evidential meaning: 'It appears/looks ...', e.g. (28).

(27) *Nakatada=mo* ... *idetatu* ***tokoro=nari.***
Nakatada=ETOP start.out.ADN place=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Nakatada, too, is a place to go out, ...'
FT: 'Nakatada, too, is just about to go out, ...' (*Utsubo: Fukiage*)

(28) *on-kadi-domo=mo* *mawiru*
HON-faith.healer-PL=ETOP come.HUM.ADN
kata=nari.
direction=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The faith healers, too, are a direction to come.'
FT: 'The faith healers, too, appear to have come.' (*Murasaki*)

[3] Nouns that indicate appearance, situation, phenomenon, result or the like

(a) *sama, arisama* 'situation, appearance', e.g. (29), (68).
(b) *kesiki, kewawi* 'situation, appearance, atmosphere, expression on the face', e.g. (3), (62).
(c) *mama* 'as such, all, in the state in which someone/something is kept in', e.g. (30).

These nouns can be used outside the MMC, e.g. (41) (*kesiki* 'sign'). In the MMC, the nouns in (a) and (b) have an evidential meaning ('It appears/seems'), e.g. (29), while *mama* has an aspectual meaning: 'X is kept

in such and such a state', e.g. (30). According to one view, the noun *sama* 'situation, appearance' is the source of the enclitic *=soo* 'I heard' (reported evidence) used in the MMC of NJ (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.8)).

(29) *tuki=no* *omosiroku* *ide-taru=wo*
moon=GEN graceful.INF go.out-STAT.ADN=ACC
mi-te, *tune=yori=mo*
look-GER usual=ABL=ETOP
mono-omopi-taru ***sama*=*nari.***
thing-think-STAT.ADN state=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Looking at the moon that has come out gracefully, [Princess Kaguya] is a state to think about things more than usual.'
FT: 'Looking at the graceful moon, Princess Kaguya seems to be in deeper thought than usual.' (*Taketori*)

(30) *sika,* *makade-paberu* ***mama*=*nari.***
so leave.HUM-POL.ADN as.it.is=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Yes. [I] am a state to leave.'
FT: 'Yes. I have left that place and am here now.' (*Genji*: *Suetsumuhana*)

[4] The noun that indicates degree, extent or quantity

Only one noun belongs to this group: *podo* 'degree, extent, quantity'. It can be used outside the MMC, e.g. (44). In the MMC, it may indicate season (a temporal meaning), e.g. (31), or an aspectual meaning: 'be about to', e.g. (32).

(31) (A description of the month of October (in the lunar calendar))
tuki=wa *kumori-kumori,*
moon=TOP cloud.over-cloud.over.INF
sigururu ***podo*=*nari.***
be.showery.ADN extent=COP.CONCL
LT: '[In October] the moon is an extent to be clouded and to be showery.'
FT: 'October is the season when the moon is clouded and [the sky] is showery.' (*Izumi*)

(32) *kono* *won'na=Ø,* *tutumi=ni* *mono=nado*
this woman=NOM, package=DAT thing=COMP
tutumi-te, *kuruma* *tori=ni* *yari-te* *matu*
pack-GER vehicle take=DAT send-GER wait.ADN
podo*=*nari.
degree=COP.CONCL
LT: 'This woman is a degree to pack things in the package, to send [someone] to get a vehicle, and to wait.'
FT: 'Having packed her things in the package, having sent someone to get a vehicle, this woman is about (or ready) to wait.' (*Yamato*)

[5] Nouns that indicate time

Two nouns belong to this group: *koro* and *korowowi*, both '(approximate) time, season'. They can be used outside the MMC. Some of the instances of this MMC describe the situation of a certain time or season with a strong emotion. The meaning is both temporal and modal.

(33) (The season is September, the beginning of autumn.)
subete *yo=ni* *puru* *koto*
all world=LOC fade.ADN thing
kawi-naku, *adikinaki* *kokoti* *ito*
worth-not.exist.INF helpless.ADN feeling very
suru ***koro=nari.***
do.ADN time=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The things that fade in the world are all worthless. [I] am a time/season to do an unfortunate feeling.'
FT: 'All the things that fade away are worthless. This is the season of the year when I really feel helpless.' (*Kagerō*)

[6] Nouns that refer to the body, shape or the like

(a) *katati* 'shape, figure, situation', e.g. (34).
(b) *mi* 'body, circumstance, situation', e.g. (35).
(c) *kawo* > *kao* 'face, appearance'.

(The arrow '>' in '*kawo* > *kao*' indicates a phonological change. For example, the form *kawo* later changed into *kao.* The change of '*wo* > *o*' (in a non-initial positon in a word) took place around A.D.1000, i.e. during the period of EMJ (800-1200). Additional examples of this change include the following: (i) the suffix *-gawo* > *-gao* 'appearance' (mentioned in 7.3) and (ii) the accusative case postposition *=wo* > *=o* (mentioned in Section 3).) These nouns can be used outside the MMC. In the MMC, they describe a person's circumstance or situation. The meaning may be sometimes evidential. The noun *kawo* > *kao* 'face, appearance' can be used as an independent noun in the MMC, but its use in compound nouns is more dominant. See 7.3.

(34) *pasiri-ki-taru* *on'na-go=Ø, ...* *imiziku* *oi-saki*
run-come-STAT.ADN girl-child=NOM greatly old-ahead
mie-te, *utukusi-ge=naru* ***katati=nari.***
see-GER pretty-sign=COP.ADN shape=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The girl who ran and came — [I] can greatly see her future — is a pretty-looking shape.'
FT: 'The girl who ran here — I can easily imagine how she will look when she grows up — looks very pretty.' (*Genji*: *Wakamurasaki*)

(35) *ware=Ø* *tobosiku* *madusiki* ***mi=nari.***
I=NOM lack.INF poor.ADN body=COP.CONCL

LT: 'I am a body to lack [wealth] and be poor.'
FT: 'I have no wealth and am poor.' (*Utsubo*: *Toshikage*)

[7] Nouns that express act, dealing or the like

(a) *waza* 'act, deed, work', e.g. (36).
(b) *motenasi* 'treatment', e.g. (37).
(c) *moteasobi* 'treatment'.
(d) *purumawi* 'act, manner'.
(e) *ayumi* 'walk, going out'.

The noun *waza* 'act, deed' describes general tendency. In (36), it may be taken to express prohibition. The nouns in (b) to (e) are the nominalized forms of verbs. For example, the noun *ayum-i* is the nominalized form of the verb root *ayum-* 'to walk'. These nouns describe the act or attitude that the verbs denote respectively, e.g. (37). The meaning of this MMC appears to be modal: deontic in (36), and epistemic in (37).

(36) *sibasi.* *pito=Ø* *owasi-masu=ni*
just.a.moment man=NOM exist.RESP-POL.ADN=LOC
kaku=wa *se-nu* ***waza***=*nari.*
such=TOP do-NEG.ADN act=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Just a moment. [You] are an act not to do like this when there is a man.'
FT: 'Wait a minute. You should not behave like this when there are people around.' (*Makura*)

(37) (The emperor treats that lady with special favour.)
yo=no *tamesi* *ni=mo*
public=GEN precedent COP.INF=ETOP
nari-nu-beki
become-PERF-NEC
*on-**motenasi**=nari.*
HON-treatment=COP.CONCL
LT: '[The emperor] is a treatment that may become a [bad] precedent.'
FT: 'The emperor may set a bad precedent.' (*Genji*: *Kiritsubo*)

[8] Nouns that describe mind, heart, love or the like

(a) *kokoro* 'heart, mind', *kokorozama* 'nature', e.g. (38), (58), (65).
(b) *oboe* 'thought, love'.

These nouns describe perception of a situation, or, how someone feels about a given situation. The meaning may be evidential or modal.

(38) *Kaminaduki=Ø,* *rei=no* *tosi=yori=mo,*
October=NOM usual=GEN year=ABL=ETOP,

sigure-gati=naru ***kokoro=nari.***
shower-exceed=COP.ADN mind=COP.CONCL
LT: '[This] October is a mind to be more showery than the usual years.'
FT: 'This October seems to be more showery than usual.' (*Kagerō*)

[9] Noun that describes ability

Only one noun is attested: *zae* 'ability': deontic modality.

(39) *zizyuu=Ø,* *sarani=mo* *iwa-nu*
chamberlain=NOM especially=ETOP say-NEG.ADN
zae=nari.
talent=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The chamberlain is a talent that [people] do not need to say specially.'
FT: 'The chamberlain has the kind of talent that is obvious to everyone.' (*Utsubo: Fukiage*)

[10] Noun that indicates relationship or the like

(a) *naka* 'inside, relationship, friendship', e.g. (40)
(b) *awawi* 'boundary, space in between, relationship', e.g. (41)

These nouns generally refer to the relationship between people. This meaning may be considered a type of aspectual meaning.

(40) *Nousan=no* *kimi=to* *iwi-keru*
Nōsan=GEN dignitary=COMP say-MPST.ADN
pito=Ø, *Zyauzau=to=wa* *ito* *ninau*
person=NOM Jōzō=COM=TOP very uniquely
omowi-kawasu ***naka=nari-keri.***
think-exchange.ADN friendship=COP-MPST
LT: 'The person called the Lord of Nosan was a friendship with [a monk called] Jozo to think about each other very uniquely.'
LT: 'The Lord of Nosan has a unique friendship with the monk Jozo whereby they often think about each other.' *(Yamato)*

(41) (Prince Sochi, who is an excellent performer of musical instruments, often visits Prince Genji and plays music with him. That kind of friendship is modern.)
Soti=no *miya=mo* *tuneni*
Sochi=GEN prince=ETOP often
watari-tamawi-tutu, *on-asobi=nado=mo*
go.across-RESP-CONT HON-play=COMP =ETOP
okasiu=owasuru *miya=nare-ba,*
excellent.INF=RESP.ADN prince=COP-PROV
imamekasiki ***on-awawi-domo=nari.***
modern.style.ADN HON-relationship-PL=COP.CONCL

LT: 'Prince Sochi, too, [because he is] a prince who often goes [to Prince Genji's place and] is [an] excellent [performer] [he] is a modern relationship.'
FT: 'As he often goes to Prince Genji's place to play music excellently, Prince Sochi has a modern kind of friendship with him.' (*Genji: Sakaki*)

We have seen one noun in OJ and ten groups of nouns in EMJ that are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. They are summarized in Table 3. They have various meanings, such as modal, evidential, and aspectual.

Table 3. Nouns in the 'Noun' slot

	Noun	Meaning outside MMC	Meaning in MMC
OJ			
	mono	Thing	Modal: 'be bound to', obligation
EMJ			
[1]	*mono*	Thing, person	Aspectual: general tendency Deontic: 'be bound to', obligation
	koto	Thing	Aspectual: general tendency, Modal: strong emotion
	reu	Matter, material, means, tool	Purpose, grounds for judgement
[2]	*tokoro*	Place	Aspectual: 'be about to'
	kata	Direction	Evidential: 'It appears/looks'
	atari	Place nearby	Evidential: 'It appears/looks'
[3]	*sama*	Situation	Evidential: 'It appears/seems'
	arisama	Situation	Evidential: 'It appears/seems'
	kesiki	Situation, appearance	Evidential: 'It appears/seems'
	kewawi	Situation, appearance	Evidential: 'It appears/seems'
	mama	'in X state'	Aspectual: 'be kept in X

			state'
[4]	*podo*	Degree, extent, quantity	'This is the season of the year to do', Aspectual: 'be about to'
[5]	*koro,* *korowowi*	Time, season Quantity	Temporal or modal: 'This is the season of the year to do' with a strong emotion
[6]	*katati*	Shape, figure, situation	Circumstance, situation (also evidential?)
	mi	Body, circumstance, situation	Circumstance, situation
	kawo > *kao*	Face, appearance	Circumstance, situation
[7]	*waza*	Act, deed, work	General tendency
	motenasi	Treatment	Epistemic?
	purumawi	Act, manner	Act, attitude
	ayumi	Walk, going out	Act, attitude
[8]	*kokoro*	Heart, mind	'X gives the impression that …'
	kokorozama	Nature	'X gives the impression that …'
	oboe	Thought, love	'X gives the impression that …' All evidential or modal
[9]	*zae*	Ability, talent	Deontic: ability, talent
[10]	*naka*	Inside, relationship, Friendship	'have such and such a relationship' (Aspectual?)
	awawi	Boundary, space in between, relationship	'have such and such a relationship' (Aspectual?)

7.2 Enclitic-type MMC

In EMJ (800-1200), only two enclitics are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC: =*yau* 'style' and =*bakari* 'extent, limit, and situation'.

[1] =*yau* 'style'

This morpheme is a loan from Chinese. It means 'style'. (In 7.1-[3], we saw the native Japanese noun *sama* 'situation'. Both of the noun *sama* 'situation'

and the enclitic *=yau* 'style' are written with the same Chinese character: 様.)

I regard *=yau* 'style' as an enclitic, and not an independent word or a suffix. The reasons for this are the following.

(a) It is not justifiable to consider *=yau* an independent word. This is because, except in a very small number of set phrases (Kondo 2006), it is not used by itself; it is always preceded by a word or words that modifies/modify it.

(b) *=yau* is not a suffix. The reasons for this are the following.

(b-1) The word classes or the like to which *=yau* is added are not limited to one class. It may be attached to, for example, a verb, an adjective, a noun, the genitive case postposition (*=ga* or *=no*), or the quotation postposition *=to*.

(b-2) The inflected forms of, e.g., verbs and adjectives to which *=yau* is added, are not limited to one category. *=yau* may be attached to an adnominal form (the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form) or the infinitive form.

It is in view of the above that I consider *=yau* an enclitic, not an independent word or a suffix.

When used in the MMC, *=yau* may mean (i) similitude 'X looks like Y', 'It looks as if ...' (an evidential meaning), e.g. (4), (42), (44) or (ii) uncertain conclusion (a modal meaning), e.g. (43), (66).

(42) (The color of the sky at dawn is really beautiful.)

yauyau	*ake-yuku*	*sora=no*	*kesiki=Ø,*
gradually	dawn-go.ADN	sky=GEN	sign=NOM
kotosara-ni			
especially-INF			

*tukuri-ide-tara-mu=**yau**=nari.*
make-put.out-STAT-CONJ.ADN=style=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The sign of the sky, which is gradually drawing, is a style which [someone] made specially.'
FT: 'The color of the dawning sky is so beautiful that it looks like an art of work that someone made specially.' (*Genji: Sakaki*)

(43) (The empress is about to have her first childbirth, and the monks are saying prayers for her safe childbirth. The emperor's father is so excited that he is giving instructions about everything in a very loud voice. The monks are overwhelmed by his excitement and enthusiasm.)

sou=mo	*ke-tare-te*	*oto=Ø*
monk=ETOP	lost-suppressed-GER	sound=NOM

*se-nu=**yau**=nari.*
do(Vi)-NEG.ADN=style=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The monks, too, are overwhelmed, and the sound [of their prayers] is a style not to be emitted.'
NT: 'The monks, too, are overwhelmed, and it looks as if no sound is emitted.' (*Murasaki*)

In the MMC, the enclitic *=yau* 'style' is always followed by the copula. The copula is in the infinitive form (i.e. *=yau=ni*) most frequently (Kondo 2006). Otherwise, it is generally in the conclusive form: *=nari* 'COP.CONCL', i.e. *=yau=nari*. However, there are at least two examples involving an adnominal form. I have found one example: *=yau=naru=yo* 'style=COP.ADN=*yo*'. (*=yo* is a sentence-final particle.) Kondo (2006) gives the other: *=yau=nara-mu* 'style=COP-CONJ.ADN'.)

The predicate that proceeds *=yau* must be in an adnominal form. It cannot be in any finite form.

The enclitic *=yau* of EMJ has changed into the enclitic *=yoo*, and the suffix *-yoo* (both phonetically [jo:]) in NJ. The enclitic *=yoo* can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, and means 'It appears/looks/seems' (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.9)), e.g. (45).

We now turn to the case marking of the subject. In the MMC with the enclitic *=yau* 'style', when the subject is present, it is marked by the nominative case (*=Ø*) most frequently, e.g. (4) and (42). It may also be marked by *=mo* 'emphatic topic', e.g. (43), or *=wa* 'topic', e.g. (44), but their examples are few.

(44) (A lady describes how her husband cared for her when she had a childbirth. 'Generally, he is not kind to me. But:')
sono *podo=no* *kokorobawe=wa=simo,*
that season=GEN consideration=TOP=FOC
*nengoro=naru=**yau**=nari.*
heart=COP.ADN=style=COP.NPST
LT: '[His] consideration of that time is hearty.'
FT: 'His consideration at that time looked warm-hearted.' (*Kagerō*)

Kondo (2006) notes in effect that the MMC with *=yau* in EMJ and the MMC with *=yoo* in NJ exhibit a semantic difference. Consider an example in NJ, cited from Kondo (2006). (The morpheme boundaries, glosses and translations are by me.)

(45) *asita=wa* *ame=ga* *hur-u=**yoo**=da.*
tomorrow=TOP rain=NOM fall-NPST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
'It appears that it will rain tomorrow.' (NJ)

As (44) shows, the MMC with *=yoo* in NJ can describe a situation that has not been realized. Kondo (2006) states that in contrast he has not found any example of the MMC with *=yau* in EMJ that describes such a situation.

[2] *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'

According to the dominant view, the etymology of *=bakari* is the infinitive form of the verb *pakar-* 'to measure [e.g. length, weight]'. Already in OJ, this form was a bound (not free) form, e.g. (2). The initial /p/ (voiceless) had turned into /b/ (voiced). This change (a phenomenon called *rendaku*), from a

voiceless consonant into a voiced counterpart, is often observed in bound forms in Japanese.

Regarding the use of this form in general, that is, not confining myself to its use in the MMC, I regard *=bakari* as an enclitic, and not as an independent word or a suffix. The reasons for this are as follows.

(a) *=bakari* is not an independent word. The reasons for this are the following.

(a-1) *=bakari* is not used by itself.

(a-2) *=bakari* underwent the process of *rendaku*.

(b) *=bakari* is not a suffix. The reasons for this are the following.

(b-1) The word classes or the like to which *=bakari* is added are not limited to one class. It may be attached to, for example, a verb, an adjective, a noun, an adverb or the quotation postposition *=to*.

(b-2) The inflected forms of, e.g., verbs and adjectives to which *=bakari* is added are not limited to one category. *=bakari* may be attached to:

(b-2-1) the basic adnominal form, e.g. (46) (*miru=bakari* 'see.ADN= extent');

(b-2-2) the conclusive form, e.g. (47) (*sinu=bakari* 'die.CONCL'), or;

(b-2-3) a non-basic adnominal form, e.g. (48) (*asoba-nu=bakari* 'play-NEG.ADN=extent').

It is in view of the above that I consider *=bakari* an enclitic, not an independent word or a suffix.

The enclitic *=bakari* can be used in the MMC, and it denotes degree, extent, e.g. (46), limit, e.g. (47), or situation, e.g. (48). However, the presence of *=bakari* is difficult reflect in the English translation of these sentences. It may be that it has some kind of stylistic effect.

In the MMC, *=bakari* is followed by the copula or a particle or particles (e.g. *=bakari=zo* and *=bakari=ka*) (*=zo* 'identifying' and *=ka* 'doubted identity' (Frellesvig 2010: 252-253)). The copula is generally in the conclusive form (i.e. *=bakari=nari*), although it may be in some other form.

(46) (A man who lives on a mountain, rather like a hermit, says as follows. 'People in the capital city say that I have hidden myself in a remotemountain. However, the mountain where I live now is not that remote. Consider Mt. Hiei. It is just an ordinary (not remote) mountain, very close to the capital city.')
yo=no *tune=no* *Piei=wo* *toyama=to*
world=GEN usual=GEN Hiei=ACC foothill=COMP
*miru=**bakari**=nari.*
see.ADN=extent=COP.CONCL
LT: '[The mountain where I live now] is an extent that [people in the capital city] regard the world's usual [i.e. not remote] Mt. Hiei as a foothill.'
FT: 'The mountain where I live is just an ordinary mountain just like Mt. Hiei, which people in the capital city regard as just a nearby foothill [and not a remote mountain]'. (*Yamato*)

(47) (An old man plans to make Princess Kaguya, his adopted

granddaughter, accept the emperor's proposal for marriage, in return for an official rank promised to him. Princess Kaguya says to the old man as follows.)
mi-tukasa-kauburi=Ø *tukaumaturi-te*
HON-office-crown=ACC serve.HUM-GER
*sinu=**bakari**=nari.*
die.CONCL=extent=COP.CONCL
LT: '[I will give you] an official rank. [I] am an extent to die.'
FT: 'If I accept the emperor's proposal, that will give you an official rank. Then the only thing left I can do is to die.' (*Taketori*)

(48) (The splendor of this palace is just magnificent.)
kuzyaku aumu=no *tori=Ø*
peacock parrot=GEN bird=NOM
*asoba-nu=**bakari**=nari.*
play-NEG.ADN=extent=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Birds of peacocks and parrots are an extent not to play.'
FT: '[This palace is so magnificent that] birds like peacocks and parrots would not stay on the ground and they would almost fly around.' (*Utsubo: Fukiage*)

(48) implies that birds are just about to fly. Therefore, it has something like an aspectual meaning.

As noted above, in the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC with *=bakari*, the following conjugational forms are attested: the basic adnominal form, non-basic adnominal forms, and the conclusive form. Also, the MMC with *=bakari* denotes degree/extent, limit, or situation. Koyanagi (1997) provides a detailed study of (i) the conjugational forms that may precede *=bakari* and (ii) the semantics of the sentences that contain *=bakari* and he concludes that there is no significant correlation between (i) and (ii).

We now turn to the case marking of the subject. In the MMC with the enclitic *=bakari*, the subject is absent in most instances; see (46) and (47). When the subject is present, it is marked by the nominative case (*=Ø*) in many instances, e.g. (48), and by the topic particle *=wa* in very few examples, e.g. (49). I have not found any example involving the emphatic topic particle *=mo* in the sources consulted.

(49) (A prince sends a message to his girl friend: 'I would like to come to see you. Unfortunately, however, I have to go to a Buddhist temple for Buddhist training — sitting on a straw mat and preaching'. She replies: 'OK, then, I will come over.' She continues as follows.)
kimi=wa *tada* *nori=no* *musiro=ni*
lord=TOP solely teachings.of.Buddha=GEN mat=DAT
*piromu=**bakari**=zo.*
spread.CONCL=extent=FOC
LT: 'Lord solely [sits] on a straw mat of the teaching of Buddha

and spreads [the teaching of Buddha].
FT: 'Your highness, you only need to sit on a seat and spread the teachings of Buddha.' (*Izumi*)

7.3 Suffix-type MMC

EMJ has a number of suffixes that derived from nouns and that are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. We shall look at the two most productive ones: *-ge* and *-gawo* > *-gao*, both 'appearance'.

The suffix *-ge* is derived from the noun *ke* 'appearance, feeling, sign, atmosphere, weather'. The suffix *-gawo* > *-gao* is derived from the noun *kawo* > *kao* 'face, surface, situation'. Both suffixes are attached to the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective, and they form compound words. (These suffixes are used in NJ, too. They are added to the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective, and they form compound words. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.10).) Note that suffixes have *g*, not *k*. The resultant forms are always followed the copula *=nari*, e.g. *utukusi-ge=naru* 'pretty-sign=COP.ADN' in (34).

These suffixes can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. They mean 'feeling, atmosphere (in particular, elegant/refined atmosphere), taste' or the like. But this is difficult to reflect in the English translations of the examples. It may be that, like the enclitic *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation' (7.2-[2]), these suffixes 'appearance' have some kind of stylistic effect. Examples include (50), (67) (*-ge*) and (51) (*-gawo*).

(50) (A boy picks up some flowers and presents them to Prince Genji.)

pana=no	*naka=ni*	*maziri-te,*	*asagao*
flower=GEN	inside=LOC	join-GER	morning.glory
wori-te	*mawiru*	*podo=nado,*	*we=ni*
pick-GER	present.ADN	extent=COMP	picture=DAT

*kaka-maosi-**ge**=nari.*
draw-OPT-feeling=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The extent [that the boy] is mingled with flowers, picks morning glories, and presents them [to Prince Genji], [I am] feeling to draw [a picture of him].'
FT: 'When I see the boy walking through flowers, picking morning glories and presenting them to Prince Genji, I would love to draw a picture of him.' (*Genji*: *Yūgao*)

(51) (Spring has come.)

niwa=no	*kusa=Ø,*	*kowori=ni*
garden=GEN	grass=NOM	ice=DAT

*yurusa-re-**gawo**=nari.*
permit-PASS.INF-face=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The grass in the garden is a face to be forgiven by the ice.
FT: 'The grass in the garden looks as if it had been freed by the ice.' (*Kagerō*)

NJ has both *-ge* and *-gao*. But only *-ge* (not *-gao*) can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 7.10). It has an evidential meaning: visual evidence. An example cited from Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.10), which was originally provided by Taro Kageyama (p.c.).

(52) [*kare=wa* *mizu=o* *nomi-ta*]-***ge***=*da*.
3SG.M=TOP water=ACC drink-DESID-*ge*=COP.NPST
LT: 'He looks to be wanting to drink water.' (NJ)
FT: 'He looks thirsty.'

Regarding NJ, Kageyama (1993: 329-330) examines the behaviour of a number of derivational suffixes, including *-ge* and he states to the effect as follows. Morphologically these suffixes form compound words. However, semantically, the scope of these suffixes is the entire phrase or the entire clause that precedes the suffix. According to this view, in (52), the scope of *-ge* is the clause in square brackets. Aoki (2010) endorses Kageyama's view and states that the same applies to EMJ. He gives four examples involving *-ge* (pp. 211-212) and eight examples involving *-gao* (pp. 209-210).

The two enclitics discussed in 7.2 and the two suffixes examined in 7.3 can be summarized as in Table 4.

Table 4. Two enclitics and two suffixes

Etymology	Form in MMC	Meaning in MMC
(Chinese loan)	*=yau*	Similitude ('looks like', 'looks as if'), uncertain conclusion
Infinitive form of *pakaru* 'to measure'	*=bakari*	Degree, extent, limit, situation
ke 'feeling, sign, atmosphere, weather'	*-ge*	(Elegant/refined) feeling atmosphere, taste'
kawo > *kao* 'face, surface, situation'	*-gawo* > *-gao*	(Elegant/refined) feeling atmosphere, taste'

7.4 Zero-type MMC

In the zero type, the 'Noun' slot is empty, indicated by -Ø. The predicate of the 'Clause' occurs in an adnominal form only: the basic adnominal form or one of the non-basic adnominal forms. This MMC has various modal meanings, such as the following. It may be more accurate to say that this MMC has discourse functions, rather than modal meanings.

(a) Reason/cause or the background about a situation that the speaker observes, e.g. (53), (54).
(b) Conclusion based on a certain reason, e.g. (5).
(c) Focus: the kind of focus that would be expressed by the cleft construction: 'It is … that …', e.g. (55).

(53) (There is a vehicle here. The people in it are here to see the festival, obviously shunning the public eye.)
saiguu=no *on-papa* *miyasudokoro=Ø, …,*
princess=GEN HON-mother empress=NOM
sinobi-te ide-tamaw-eru
conceal-GER go.out-RESP-STAT.ADN
***Ø**=nari-keri.*
Ø =COP-MPST
LT: 'The empress, who is the princess' mother, …, is [a thing] to conceal [her identity] and has gone out.'
FT: 'The empress, who is the princess' mother, is here incognito to see the festival.' (*Genji: Aoi*)

(54) (A man is travelling on a ship in a stormy see. He offers *nusa* (sacred paper object offered to gods) to the god of the sea, but the sea does not calm down. The boatman says to him, 'Because the god of the sea is not satisfied with *nusa*:')
mi-pune=mo *ika-nu* ***Ø**=nari.*
HON-ship=ETOP go-NEG.ADN Ø=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The ship is [a thing] not to go.'
FT: 'The ship does not move forward.' (*Tosa*)

(55) ('We, the ladies-in-waiting who serve the empress, were tense, for we thought that supreme minister, who is her father, was going to visit her. But we were relieved.')
Dainagon-dono=no *mawiri-tamaw-eru*
Dainagon-HON=GEN go.HUM-HON-STAT.ADN
***Ø**=nari-keri.*
Ø=COP-MPST
LT: 'The *Dainagon*, who is the empress' brother, was [a thing] to visit.'
FT: 'It was the *Dainagon* who payed the visit.' (*Makura*)

The 'Copula' is almost always either in the conclusive form ('CONCL'), e.g. (5), (54), or the modal past form ('MPST'), e.g. (53), (55). This MMC is not used in adverbial clauses, and the 'Copula' does not occur in any one of the non-finite forms that are used for adverbial clauses (e.g. infinitive, gerund, conditional, provisional). In the kind of agreement that will be discussed in 7.5.6, the predicate has to occur in an adnominal form or the exclamatory form. However, the MMC of the zero type does not participate in this agreement. Therefore, its 'Copula' does not have to occur in either of these two forms.

The 'Noun' slot of this MMC is empty (-Ø). In NJ, it is the enclitic *=no* that will correspond to the -Ø of the zero-type MMC (Kinsui et al. 2011). (The enclitic *=no* may be considered a non-content noun, a nominalizer, a complementizer or the genitive case marker.) The zero-type MMC in EMJ and the MMC with *=no* in NJ overlap in their meanings/functions. However, they differ in that the zero-type MMC cannot be followed by any sentence-final particle (Takayama 2002: 185), while the MMC with *=no* can. (See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4) for the MMC with *=no* in NJ. The diachronic development of the MMC with *=no* will be discussed in 7.6.)

7.5 Morphosyntax of the MMC

7.5.1 Introductory notes

We shall now examine the morphosyntax of the MMC: (i) the 'Copula' (7.5.2), (ii) the 'Noun' (7.5.3), (iii) the predicate of the 'Clause' (7.5.4), (iv) the subject (7.5.5), (v) *Kakarimusubi* (a kind of agreement) (7.5.6), and (vi) the embedding of an MMC in another MMC (7.5.7). (ii) concerns the noun-hood of the 'Noun', while (iii), (iv) and (v) mainly have to do with the sentence-hood of the MMC.

Where possible, we shall compare the MMC with independent sentences and adnominal clauses, in order to elucidate the nature of the MMC.

Unless stated otherwise, the discussion that follows is concerned with the noun-type MMC: the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun, and not by an enclitic, a suffix or zero.

7.5.2 'Copula'

[1] Inflection of the 'Copula'

The copula in EMJ is inflected. However, when used in the MMC, its inflecton is limited.

When the MMC is used as an independent sentence (to be precise, as a simple sentence or as the main clause of a complex sentence), the 'Copula' generally occurs in the conclusive form (*=nari*), e.g. (3), (4), (5). (The form that is called the conclusive form is really a tense form. It generally has present time reference. Consider, for example, (3), (4) and (5), in all of which the conclusive form of the copula has present time reference.) The modal past form (*=nari-keri*) may occur, e.g. (40), (53), (55). Furthermore, the basic adnominal form and the exclamatory form too, are attested, e.g. (58) (*=naru* 'COP.ADN') and (65), (66), (67) (*=nare* 'COP.EXCL'), respectively. However, the 'Copula' (in the MMC) does not have any tense/aspect form other than the so-called conclusive (which is really a tense form) and the modal past (Takayama 2002: 182-183). This is in sharp contrast with NJ, where the 'Copula' in the MMC is inflected for not only tense but also aspect (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.2).

When the MMC is used in an adverbial clause, a non-finite form of the copula is used, e.g. (56) (*=nareba* 'COP.PROV).

(56) *nagusame-gataki* ***kesiki***=*nareba*
comfort-hard.ADN appearance=COP.PROV
kosirae-kane-tamau.
make-unable-RESP.CONCL
LT: 'Because [the lady] is an appearance to be hard to comfort, Prince Genji is unable to deal [with the situation].'
FT: 'Because [the lady] looks so difficult to comfort, Prince Genji does not know what to do.' (*Genji: Usugumo*)

[2] Sentence-final particles following the 'Copula'

In the zero-type MMC, sentence-final particles (such as =*kasi* 'emphasis, confirmation' and =*ya* 'exclamation, admiration') are not attested following the 'Copula'. In contrast, in the other three types of the MMC, they are attested following the conclusive form of the copula, e.g. =*nari*=*kasi* and =*nari-ya*.

7.5.3 'Noun'

[1] Occurrence with a prefix and suffix

The nouns in the 'Noun' slot are attested with (i) an honorific prefix, e.g. (24) (*on-koto* 'HON-thing'), (37) (*on-motenasi* 'HON-treatment'), (41) (*on-awawi-domo* 'HON-relationship-PL'), (57) (*mi-* 'HON' in *mi-kesiki-domo*), (58) (*on-kokorozama* 'HON-nature'), (68) (*on-arisama* 'HON-appearance'), and (ii) a plural suffix, e.g. (41) (*-domo* 'PL' in *on-awawi-domo*), and (57) (*-domo* 'PL' in *mi-kesiki-domo*).

(57) [*ito omou koto*=Ø *na-ge*=*naru*]
very think.ADN thing=NOM not.exist-feeling=COP.ADN
*mi-****kesiki****-domo*=*nari.*
HON-appearance-PL=COP.CONCL
LT: '[The prince] is an appearance such that things to think about a lot do not exist.'
FT: '[The prince] does not seem to be thinking a lot.' (*Murasaki*)

(In (57), the clause in square brackets is an instance of the MMC of the suffix type. The suffix employed is *-ge* 'feeling' (7.3). In turn this clause constitutes the 'Clause' of the MMC. This is an instance of the embedding of an MMC within another MMC. See 7.5.7.)

(58) *turaki* *pito*=*simo*=*zo,* *aware*=*ni*
hard.ADN person=FOC=FOC sensitive=COP.INF
oboe-tamau *pito*=*no*
think-RESP.ADN person=GEN
*on-****kokorozama****=naru.*
HON-mind/nature=COP.ADN
LT: '[Prince Genji] is a human mind/nature to think sensitively towards persons who are hard [on other people].
FT: 'Prince Genji, by nature, tends to be kind to people who are

hard on other people.' (*Genji: Aoi*)

[2] Modification

The 'Noun' may be modified by a preceding 'Noun GEN', e.g. (58) (*pito=no* 'person=GEN'). Alternatively, *=no* can be interpreted as the adnominal form of the copula *=nari*. According to either interpretation, (58) is an instance of the MMC and the 'Noun' is modified by the preceding *pito=no*.

The existence of the above two characteristics shows that these nouns still retain the status as nouns. Among the nouns examined in 7.1, these two characteristics are observed in the nouns of [1] (*koto* 'thing' only), [3] 'situation, etc.', [6] 'shape, etc.', [7] 'act, etc.', [8] 'heart, etc.', [10] 'relationship'. These nouns in the main refer to humans.

7.5.4 Predicate

The differences and comminalities in the morphology of the predicate of (i) independent sentences (to be precise, the predicate of simple sentences and of the main clause of complex sentences, excluding the MMC), (ii) the 'Clause' of the MMC, and (iii) adnominal clauses ('ACs') are shown in Table 5. (Not every category listed in Table 5 is illustrated with examples.) It is important to recall that, as noted in Section 3, verbs and adjectives in EMJ have the basic adnominal form and a fair number of non-basic adnominal forms.

Table 5. Morphology of the predicate

	Independent sentence	'Clause' of MMC	AC
Adnominal	(+)	+ ADN noun ADN=*yau* ADN=*bakari* ADN zero	+
Conclusive	+	CONCL=*bakari*	-
Aspect	+	+	+
Tense	+	-	+
Modality: evidential (inference)	+	-	+

Modality: hearer-oriented	+	-	-
Voice	+	+	+
Negation	+	+	+
Respect	+	+	+
Politeness	+	+	+

[1] Adnominal and conclusive forms

In ACs, the predicate is in an adnominal form (4.2). It cannot be in a finite form, such as the conclusive form. In independent sentences, the predicate can be in any finite form, such as the conclusive form. Exceptionally, there are sentences that end with an adnominal form. They are all exclamatory sentences, e.g.:

(59) (A princess catches a sparrow and keeps it. However, a girl called *Inuki* frees it. She is distressed. When asked by her grandmother, 'What has happened', she replies as follows.)
suzume-no-ko=o *Inuki=ga* *nigasi-turu.*
sparrow-GEN-baby=ACC Inuki=GEN let.go-PERF.ADN
'Inuki has freed my sparrow!' (*Genji: Wakamurasaki*)

(In the column for independent sentenecs in Table 5, the exceptional nature of the use of an adnominal form is shown with parentheses.) In the 'Clause' of the MMC, the situation is as follows. In the noun type (7.1), the predicate of the 'Clause' is consistently in an adnominal form (either the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form). The enclitic *=yau* 'style' is attached to an adnominal form (7.2-[1]). The enclitic *=bakari* 'extent' may be added to an adnominal form or the conclusive form (7.2-[2]). The suffixes *-ge* and *-gawo* 'atmosphere, taste' are added to the infinitive form of a verb or to the stem of an adjective (7.3). (They are not shown in Table 5.) They form compound words. In the zero type (7.4), the predicate of the 'Clause' is consistently in an adnominal form (either the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form).

[2] Types of adnominal forms in the 'Clause'

Adnominal forms have a wide range of categories. Even in the 'Clause' of the MMC the following categories are attested.

(a) Aspect, e.g. (4) (*piroge-taru* 'spread-STAT.ADN), (62) (*omow-eru* 'think-STAT.ADN), (68) (*tukuri-ide-taru* 'make-put.out-STAT.ADN').
(b) Negation, e.g. (3) (*omowa-nu* 'think-NEG.ADN), (36) (*se-nu* 'do-NEG.ADN).

(c) Respect, e.g. (60) (*tadune-raru-maziki* 'ask-RESP-NCONJ.ADN).
(d) Politeness, e.g. (30) (*makade-paberu* 'leave.HUM-POL.ADN).
(e) Modality, e.g. (20) (*wewa-mu* 'drunk-CONJ.ADN'), (37) (*nari-nu-beki* 'become-PERF-NEC'), (42) (*tukuri-ide-tara-mu* 'make-put.out-STAT-CONJ.ADN'), (60) (*tadune-raru-maziki* 'ask-RESP- NCONJ.ADN').

(60) *ko=wo* *tadune-raru-maziki* ***mono***=*nari.*
this=ACC ask-RESP-NCONJ.ADN thing=COP.CONCL
LT: '[You] are a thing not to ask [me about] this.'
FT: 'Your highness, I suggest you do not ask me about this.'
(*Utsubo: Tadakoso*)

[3] Tense
The predicate of the 'Clause' differs fom that of independent sentences and that of ACs in that it does not have any tense category. At least there is no unequivocal example. This is interesting, for the predicate of the 'Clause' has aspect categories. See [2]-(a) above.

[4] Modality
The predicate of the 'Clause' and that of ACs differ from that of independent sentences in that they do not have some of modal categories. For example, evidential categories (e.g. inference) occur in independent sentences and ACs, but they do not occur in the 'Clause'. As another example, hearer-oriented categories (e.g. imperative) occur in independent sentences, but they do not occur in the 'Clause' or ACs.

[5] The other categories occur in all of independent sentences, the 'Clause' and ACs.

To sum up, the predicate of the 'Clause' may be said to be only slightly more similar to that of ACs than to that of independent sentences.

Now, one important question regarding the sentence-hood of the 'Clause' of the MMC is the following: Can the 'Clause' be used by itself as a sentence? There is no straightforward answer to this question.

In the case of the MMC with *-ge* and the MMC with *-gawo* > *gao*, the answer is 'No'. A sentence cannot end with the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective.

In the case of the MMC with the enclitic *=bakari*, when the predicate of the 'Clause' is in the conclusive form (though not the adnominal form), the answer is 'Yes'. Examples include (46) to (48).

With all the other types of the MMC (including the MMC with *=bakari* when the predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form), the situation is as follows. EMJ has sentences that end with the predicate in an adnominal form. In this respect, the answer is 'Yes'. However, these sentences are all exclamatory sentences, e.g. (59). 'Clause' itself of the MMC does not have any exclamatory effect (although the entire MMC may). In this respect, the answer is 'No'. In view of this pragmatic difference, we should conclude that the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence. In this respect, this MMC is not prototypical. It lacks the property (c) of the

prototype (see Section 1).

7.5.5 Subject

7.5.5.1 Subject: MMC and ACs. As noted in Section 5, an AC may contain its own subject, e.g. 'boat.man=GEN' in (11). This applies to headless ACs, as well, e.g. (12) ('dragon=GEN') and (13) ('fellow=GEN'). A sentence that contains an AC contains the subject of the entire sentence (unless the subject is elliptical), in addition to the subject of the AC, cf. (14-b). This applies to noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a headless AC. For example, (12) contains the subject of the entire sentence: 'gale=ETOP'.

In contrast, in all the four types of the MMC, what may appear to be the subject of an AC is in fact the subject of the entire sentence, cf. (15-b), e.g. (23) ('court-service-person=TOP') (noun type), (42) ('sign=NOM') (enclitic type), (51) ('grass=NOM') (suffix type), (53) ('empress=NOM') (zero type). They cannot contain an additional subject.

In this respect, sentences that contain an AC are bi-clausal (or possibly tri-clausal or more). This applies to sentences that contain a headless AC. In contrast, the MMC is mono-clausal.

It should be added, however, that there are examples that allow both analyses, e.g. (19) and (21).

7.5.5.2. Case marking of the subject. As noted in Section 3, in EMJ, the nominative case is generally marked by zero; the accusative by zero or *=o*; and the genitive by *=ga* or *=no*. The behaviour of the subject differs depending on the type of sentence/clause in which it occurs.

[1] Independent sentences, to be precise, in simple sentences and in the main clause of complex sentences (excluding the MMC)
The subject is followed by the following, among others. The nominative marking is by far the most frequent.

(a) Nominative marker *=Ø* (zero), e.g. (9), (10).
(b) Topic marker *=wa*, e.g. (6).
(c) Emphatic topic marker *=mo*, e.g. (61).

(61) (For the context, see (5). When asked, 'Have you found the treasure?', the servant replies follows.)
mono=mo *nasi.*
thing=ETOP not.exist.CONCL
'There is nothing.' (*Taketori*)

[2] MMC
In the noun type, the subject of the MMC is generally followed by (d), (e) or (f). It is followed by the (g) only in a very small number of examples. Again, the nominative marking is by far the most frequent. For the genitive case, *=no* is attested, but *=ga* is not attested.

(d) Nominative marker =*Ø* (zero), e.g. (32), (34), (35), (39), (40), (43).
(e) Topic marker =*wa*, e.g. (21), (31), (44).
(f) Emphatic topic marker =*mo*, e.g. (26), (28), (41).
(g) Genitive marker =*no* (but not =*ga*), e.g. (62).

(62) (These young ladies in waiting pay a visit to the prince regularly. However, recently they have been away from the imperial court for a few months, and it looks as if they have forgotten this duty and think that this is a new duty.)
wakaudo=tati=no *medurasi=to*
young.person=PL=GEN be.novel.CONCL=COMP
omow-eru ***kesiki***=*nari.*
think-STAT.ADN appearance=COP.CONCL
LT: 'The young persons are an appearance to think [that this is a] new [duty].'
FT: 'The young ladies in waiting seem to think that this is a new duty.' (*Murasaki*)

In the enclitic type, with =*yau* 'style', the subject is followed by =*Ø* 'NOM', e.g. (4), (42), (43), =*wa* 'TOP', e.g. (44), or =*mo* 'ETOP'. With =*bakari* 'extent, limit, situation', the subject is followed by =*Ø* 'NOM', e.g. (48), or =*wa* 'TOP'.

In the suffix type, the subject is followed by =*Ø* 'NOM', e.g. (51), =*mo* 'ETOP', or =*wa* 'TOP'.

In the zero type, the following are attested. The genitive =*no* is more common than the genitive =*ga*, the nominative, the topic, and the emphatic topic. This situation differs from that in the noun type and that in independent sentences.

(h) Nominative marker =*Ø* (zero), e.g. (53).
(i) Topic marker =*wa*, e.g. (63).
(j) Emphatic topic marker =*mo*, e.g. (54).
(k) Genitive marker: both =*no* and =*ga* are attested. =*no* is common, e.g. (55), but =*ga* is not common.

(63) (Princess Kaguya is a noble person whose home is in the moon. However:)
Kaguya-pime=wa *tumi=wo*
Kaguya-princess=TOP sin=ACC
tukuri-tamap-eri-kereba
make-RESP-STAT-MPST.PROV
kaku *iyasiki* *onore=ga* *moto=ni*
such humble.ADN yourself=GEN side=DAT
sibasi *opasi-turu* ***Ø***=*nari.*
temporarily be.RESP-PERV.ADN Ø=COP.CONCL
LT: 'Because [she] committed a sin [there], Princess Kagya is

temporarily at such a humble, your side.'
FT: 'Princess Kaguya is temporarily staying at such a humble place like yours on the earth for punishment because she committed a sin on the moon.' (*Taketori*)

[3] Adnominal clauses ('ACs')

As noted in 4.2, the subject of ACs — including headless ACs — is generally in the genitive case (Kinsui et al. 2011: 111). Both *=ga* and *=no* are common. Examples include (11), (12) (*=no*), and (13), (59) (*=ga*).

To sum up, in the main the subject of the MMC behaves like that of independent sentences and unlike that of ACs.

7.5.6 Kakarimusubi

EMJ exhibits a phenomenon called *kakarimusubi*: when a certain focus particle occurs in the sentence, the predicate has to occur in a certain form — an adnominal form (either the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form) or the exclamatory form. (See Frellesvig (2010: 247-257).) That is, this phenomenon may be considered a type of agreement: agreement between a focus particle and the predicate. Specifically, the following focus particles are employed: *=ka* 'doubted identity', *=ya* 'confirmation soliciting', *=zo* 'identifying', *=namu* 'confirmative', and *=koso* 'unique identification'. They can be classified as follows.

(a) Interrogative: *=ka*, *=ya*
  (a-1) *=ka* and *=ya* agree with an adnominal form.
(b) Emphatic: *=zo*, *=namu*, *=koso*
  (b-1) *=zo* and *=namu* agree with an adnominal form.
  (b-2) *=koso* agrees with the exclamatory form.

An example of *=namu* 'confirmative' is (64), cited from Frellesvig (2010: 254). The notation system in (64) follows that of Frellesvig. Note that the predicate is in an adnominal form ('MPST.ADN').

(64) *pasi* *wo* *yatu* *watas-eru* *ni* *yorite*
bridge ACC eight lay-STAT.ADN DAT depend.GER
namu *yatupasi* *to* *ipi-keru*
NAMU Yatsuhashi COMP call-MPST.ADN
'It is because there are eight bridges, you see, that it is called "Yatsuhashi"' (*Ise* 9) (cited from Frellesvig 2010: 254)

It is widely agreed upon that *kakarimusubi* concerns the main clause only, and it does not occur within ACs (Yamada (1908)). Focus particles do not occur within ACs.

It is important to enquire whether *kakarimusubi* occurs in the MMC, and if it does, how? *Kakarimusubi* does occur in the MMC. Specifically, it occurs between a focus particle and the 'Copula'. However, it does not occur between a focus particle and the predicate of the 'Clause'. That is, it

does not occur within the 'Clause'.

As noted in 4.1, noun-predicate sentences may contain the copula *=nari*. For *kakarimusubi*, they are attested with the focus particles of the group (b) 'emphatic': *=zo*, *=namu*, *=koso*. But there is no example involving the group (a) 'interrogative' *=ya* or *=ka* (Takayama 2002: 188). Exactly the same applies to the MMC.

Examples follow: (65) (noun type: *kokoti* 'heart'), (66) (enclitic type: *=yau* 'style'), and (67) (suffix type: *-ge* 'appearance'). The enclitic-type MMC involving the enclitic *=bakari* and the zero-type MMC do not exhibit *kakarimusubi*.

(65) *karaauwi=Ø,* *pi=no* *kage=ni* *sitagawi-te*
hollyhock=NOM sun=GEN light=DAT follow-GER
katabuku=koso *kusa-ki=to*
lean.ADN=FOC plant-tree=COMP
iu-beku=mo *ara-nu*
say-NEC=ETOP be-NEG.ADN
***kokoro**=nare.*
heart=COP.EXCL
LT: 'As for the hollyhock, to follow the sunlight and to lean [towards the sunlight] is indeed not a heart to call [the hollyhock] a plan.'
FT: 'The hollyhock follows the sunlight and its flowers lean toward it. The hollyhock is sensible almost to the extent that you cannot call it a plant. *(Makura)*

(66) (A lady visits his son, a prince, whom she has left under a nanny's care. She is really impressed to see how big her son has grown.)
kokoti=koso *kasira* *siroku*
feeling=FOC head white.INF
*nari=ni-taru=**yau**=nare.*
become=COP.INF-STAT.ADN=style=COP.EXCL
LT: '[My] feeling is a style [such that my] head has become white.'
FT: 'I feel as if I have grown old.' (*Utsubo: Kuniyuzuri*)

(67) (A prince does not send letters to a certain lady friend. This is because:')
pito *owasi-masi* *kayou=**yau**=ni=koso*
person come-POL.INF attend.ADN=style=COP.INF=FOC
*kikosi-mesi-**ge**=nare.*
hear.get.HON-atmosphere=COP.EXCL
LT: '[The prince] is an appearance to hear [that] a person is a sign to come and visit [the lady friend].'
FT: 'The prince seems to have heard that someone else seems to be visiting her.' (*Izumi*)

The predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form ('be-NEG.ADN') in (65), again in an adnominal form in (66) ('become=COP.INF-STAT.ADN'), and the infinitive form in (67)

('hear-get.HON'). The focus particle employed in (65) to (67) is *=koso*, which agrees with the exclamatory form (and not an adnominal form). Note that in each of (65) to (67) it is the 'Copula', and not the predicate of the 'Clause', that is in the exclamatory form. This shows that it is the 'Copula', and not the predicate of the 'Clause', that agrees with the focus particle *=koso*. That is, this agreement occurs in the entire MMC, but it does not occur within the 'Clause'.

In passing I note that I selected the examples involving *=koso* on purpose. In examples involving *=zo* or *=namu*, both the 'Copula' and the predicate of the 'Clause' may occur in an adnomninal form, e.g. (58). In such examples it will be difficult to decide which agrees with the focus particle.

We have seen that in the MMC it is the 'Copula', and not the predicate of the 'Clause', that agrees with the focus particle *=koso*. In this respect, the 'Clause' of the MMC lacks the sentence-hood. This shows that, in terms of *kakarimusubi*, not the 'Clause' but the entire MMC behaves like independent sentences. This in turn shows that the MMC is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal. It does not contain an AC.

7.5.7 Embedding of an MMC in an MMC

An instance of the MMC may be embedded in another. Examples include (57) and (68).

(68) (A woman is exaggerating her stepchild's outstanding ability.)
monogatari=ni, kotosara-ni
story=DAT particularly-INF
*tukuri-ide-taru=**yau**=naru*
make-put.out-STAT.ADN=style=COP.ADN
*on-**arisama**=nari.*
HON-appearance=COP.CONCL
LT: '[The stepmother] is an appearance to produce [her stepchild's outstanding ability] unnaturally as a story.'
FT: 'The way the woman talks about her stepchild's ability is unnatural. It almost sounds like a story.' (*Genji: Sakaki*)

In (68), the first MMC ends with *=yau=naru*, and it is embedded in the MMC that ends with *on-arisama=nari.*

Takayama (2002: 185-188) in effects states that what we have termed the zero-type MMC behaves differently. Namely, the zero type has yielded no example of embedding in another instance of the MMC. (Also, there is no example in which he MMC of the zero type is used as an adverbial clause. At least, the noun type can be used as an adverbial clause, e.g. (56).)

7.5.8 Comparison of the MMC, independent sentences and ACs

We shall now compare the constructions shown in Table 6. This comparison concerns the following respects.

(a) Morphology: predicate

For the MMC, this concerns the predicate of the 'Clause' (not the the 'Copula').

(b) Syntax

(b-1) Marking of the subject

For ACs, this concerns the subject of an AC, and not that of the main clause.

(b-2) *Kakarimusubi*

Kakarimusubi cannot occur within an AC. It occurs in the noun-type MMC, the enclitic-type MMC involving *=ya* 'style', and the suffix-type MMC, and it involves the 'Copula', and not the predicate of the 'Clause'.

Table 6. Comparison of ACs, the MMC, and independent sentences

	Morphology	Syntax	
	Predicate	Subject	*Kakarimusubi*
Independent sentence	All finite forms; adnominal (exclamatory sentence only)	*=Ø* 'NOM', *=mo* 'ETOP', *=wa* 'TOP', etc.	yes
MMC: noun type	Adnominal	*=Ø* 'NOM', *=mo* 'ETOP', *=wa* 'TOP' rarely: *=no* 'GEN'	yes
MMC: *=yau*	Adnominal, infinitive	*=Ø* 'NOM', *=mo* 'ETOP', *=wa* 'TOP'	yes
MMC: *=bakari*	Adnominal, conclusive	*=Ø* 'NOM', *=wa* 'TOP'	no
MMC: suffix type	Infinitive (verb), stem (adjective)	*=Ø* 'NOM', *=mo* 'ETOP', *=wa* 'TOP'	yes
MMC: zero type	Adnominal	*=Ø* 'NOM', *=mo* 'ETOP', *=wa* 'TOP' *=no* 'GEN' *=ga* 'GEN',	no
AC	Adnominal	*=Ø* 'NOM',	no

=*ga* 'GEN',
=*no* 'GEN'

The MMC contains 'Clause + Noun' (see (1)). Consequently, it may look as if the 'Clause' of the MMC is an adnominal clause ('AC'). Indeed, in terms of the morphology of the predicate of the 'Clause', the MMC of the noun type behaves like ACs. The predicate is in an adnominal form (the basic adnominal form or a non-basic adnominal form). As noted in 7.5.4, regarding the four types of the MMC as a whole, the predicate of the 'Clause' may be said to be only slightly more similar to that of ACs than to that of independent sentences.

However, in terms of syntax, i.e. (i) the marking of the subject, and (ii) *kakarimusubi*, the noun-type MMC, the enclitic-type MMC with =*yau* 'style' and the suffix-type MMC behave like independent sentences. Recall also that, an AC has its own subject unless it is coreferential with that of the entire sentence. In contrast, the MMC cannot have two subjects. That is, in terms of syntax, the MMC does not contain an AC. Consequently, it is not bi-clausal, but mono-clausal.

In terms of the marking of the subject, the zero-type MMC is an exception among the four types of the MMC. The genitive marking (at least =*no*) is frequent. In this respect, it is similar to ACs, where the subject is generally marked by the genitive: both =*no* and =*ga* are common.

7.6 Diachronics note on the MMC

As seen in Section 6, the MMC is at its incipient stage in OJ. However, it is flourishing in NJ (Tsunoda, this volume-b). We shall trace this development just breifly. A full discussion of this issue is far beyond the scope of the present paper. We shall look at two aspects of this develoment: [1] syntactic structure, and [2] nouns in the 'Noun' slot. In [3], we shall attempt to investigate the causes of the abundance of the MMC in NJ.

[1] Syntactic structure

As seen in Section 6, in OJ the MMC appears to be at its incipient stage and not established yet. There is no unequivocal example of the MMC. Possible examples allow both the AC analysis, cf. (14), and the MMC analysis, cf. (15). In contrast, in NJ (Tsunoda, this volume-b), the MMC is firmly established. There are a truly large number of examples that allow the MMC analysis only and exclude the AC analysis. In EMJ, there are examples that allow both the AC analysis and the MMC analysis, e.g. (21). But there are also those that do not allow the AC analysis, e.g. (20). In view of this it is probably in EMJ that the MMC began to be established, as a construction distinct from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC.

It is relevant to mention that, since the time of OJ, sentences that end with a noun (often followed by the copula) have been very common (Yamada 1908: 818-827, 1217-1289). This may have faciliatted — partially

at least, if not totally — the development of the MMC from noun-predicate sentences whose prediacte contains an AC (cf. Section 5).

[2] Nouns in the 'Noun' slot

The number of the nouns that are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC is only one in OJ (700-800). But it increased to twentyseven in EMJ (800-1200), and at least 106 in NJ (1600-). It is in EMJ that the number began to increase.

That is, in terms of both the syntactic struture and the number of nouns employed, it is probably in EMJ that the MMC began to develop.

The presence of loan words is conspicuous in the MMC of languages such as NJ, Korean and Tagalog (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 5.5.3.3). Regarding the Japanese language in general, and not confining our attention to the MMC, loans from Chinese were initially used in the written language only, but especially in the first half of the EMJ period (800-1200) the majority of them gained currency in the spoken language (Frellesvig 2010: 284). From the time of Late Middle Japanese (1200-1600) an increasing number of Chinese loans were used that express abstract concepts or superordinate categories (as against subordinate-level categories).

Now, regarding the MMC, in OJ, no loan word is attested in the 'Noun' slot. In EMJ, three out of the twentyseven nouns (i.e. about 7%) are loans from Chinese: *reu* 'matter, material, means, tool', *kesiki* and *kewawi* both 'situation, appearance' (7.1-[1], -[3]). In addition, one of the two enclitics (i.e. 50%) is a loan from Chinese: *=yau* 'style' (7.2-[1]). That is, four out of the total of twentynine (i.e. about 14%) are loans from Chinese. In the MMC of NJ, out of the 106 nouns, roughly speaking, fortyfour (about 42%) are loans from Chinese and three (about 3%) are loans from English. That is, about 45% are loans. The remaining nouns (about 55%) are native Japanese words. (It should be added, however, Modern Japanese on the whole abounds with loans from Chinese and also with those from English.)

[3] Why does the MMC abound in Modern Japanese?

The number of the nouns in the 'Noun' slot in NJ, i.e. 106, is roughly speaking centupled since the time of OJ (700-800) and quadrupled since the time of EMJ (800-1200). In NJ, the MMC flourishes, exhibiting a wide range of meanings/functions, including 'modal', 'evidential', 'aspectual', 'temporal', and 'stylistic' (Tsunoda, this volume-b). The MMC is perhaps most productively and most frequently used in Japanese, among the languages studies in the present volume (and possibly among all the languages of the world). It is tempting to enquire why Japanese abounds with the MMC. On the basis of works such as Aoki (2005), Horie & Pardeshi (2009: 152-153) and Shida (1970), the following scenario can be postulated concerning the increase of the nouns in the 'Noun' slot.

(a) The verbs (and adjectives) in OEMJ distinguished between adnominal forms (the basic adnominal form and non-basic adnominal forms) and the conclusive form (cf. Section 3 above).

(b) Towards the end of the 12th century (i.e. towards the end of the EMJ period), with verbs and *i*-adjectives, the adnominal forms began to oust the conclusive form. That is, these two groups of forms began to merge. Kinsui

et al. (2011: 110) surmise that this merger was completed in the spoken language of the capital area, i.e. Kyoto, in the 15th century. (In NJ, only *na*-adjectives retain this morphological difference.) Consequently, the predicate of the 'Clause' of the zero type, too, lost the opposition between adnominal forms and the basic forms.

(c) After this merger, the enclitic *=no* (which may be considered a non-content noun, a complementizer, a nominalizer or the genitive marker) began to be used as the head of what was headless ACs previously and also in place of zero in the 'Noun' slot of the zero-type MMC.

(d) In parallel with this, an increasing number of nouns began to be used in the 'Noun' slot. As a result, the number of the nouns that occupied the 'Noun' slot has been multiplied, from twentyseven in EMJ to at least 106 in NJ.

Admittedly, it is difficult to prove the cause-and-effect relationship from (a) (the merger of adnominal forms and the conclusive form) to (d) (the increase of the nouns in the 'Noun' slot). For example, in Korean, verbs have distinct adnominal forms. Despite this, more than 70 nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (Kim, this volume, 5.5.1). At least, the following point may be relevant. Namely, many loan words from Chinese began to be used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. (They are still used in the MMC. See Tsunoda (this volume-b).) Often, they can express somewhat abstract concepts that native Japanese words cannot express precisely. This in turn facilitates the expression of various meanings/functions, including modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, and stylistic. Partially at least, if not totally, this may account for the increase in the use of Chinese loans in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

In OJ (700-800), the MMC appears to be at its incipient stage. Only one noun is attested in the 'Noun' slot: *mono* 'thing' in OJ (700-800). This MMC has a modal meaning: 'be bound to' or 'should (obligation)'. Its syntactic strucure is not established yet. Possible examples allow both the AC analysis and the MMC analysis.

In EMJ (800-1200) the MMC began to be estabished. Twentyseven nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. There are examples that allow the MMC analysis only and that exclude the AC analysis. In addition, the copula *=nari* is fully developed, and now the 'Copula' slot of the MMC is filled. (In NJ, at least 106 nouns are attested in this slot. Their number has been quadruplicated during the last 800 years.)

The MMC in EMJ is of four types: noun type, enclitic type, suffix type, and zero type. The noun type is used the most frequently. The predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form. Some of the nouns in the 'Noun' slot exhibit noun-hood in that they may be combined with a prefix or a suffix, and in that they may be modified by a genitive phrase. For the 'Noun' slot of the enclitic type, only two enclitics have been attested. For the suffix type,

two suffixes were examined. In the zero type, the 'Noun' slot is empty. These four types of the MMC have various meanings, such as modal, evidential, and aspectual.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC may be said to be slightly more similar to adnominal clauses ('ACs') than to independent sentences. However, in terms of syntax, specifically, (i) the behaviour of the subject and (ii) *kakarimusubi*, not the 'Clause' but the entire MMC behaves like an independent sentence. That is, the MMC is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal. (The MMC with the enclitic *=bakari* deviates somewhat from the other types of the MMC.)

It is justifiable to say that the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence, and the MMC is not prototypical. In the main, the degree of the 'subject-hood' of the 'Clause' is not high.

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Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; ACC - accusative; ADN - adnominal; ALL - allative; CAUS - causative; COM - comitative; COMP - complementizer; CONCL - conclusive; CONJ - conjectural; CONT - continuative; COP - copula; DAT - dative; DESID - desiderative; EMJ - Early Middle Japanese; ETOP - emphatic topic; FOC - focus; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; GER - gerund; HON - honorific; HUM - humble; INF - infinitive; LT - literal translation; MPST - modal past; NCONJ - negative conjectural; NEC - necessitive; NEG - negative; NJ - Modern Japanese; NOM - nominative; NPST - nonpast; OJ - Old Japanese; OEMJ - Old and Early Middle Japanese; OPT - optative; PERF - perfective; PL - plural, POL - polite; POT - potential; PROV - provisional; PST - past; RES - restrictive; RESP - respect; SPST - simple past; STAT - stative; TOP - topic.

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Mermaid construction in Irabu Ryukyuan

Michinori Shimoji
Kyushu University /National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguitics

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction (hereafter, 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.

Irabu Ryukyuan (Irabu henceforth) has three types of the MMC: the word-type, the clitic type, and the affix type.

(a) Word-type MMC

The 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun which is an independent word, e.g. *kutu* 'fact' and *munu* 'thing'. The predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form. The MMC with *kutu* expresses (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', or (ii) anticipated future 'will'; while that with the noun *munu* expresses a causal meaning 'because'.

(b) Clitic-type MMC

The 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic, e.g. (i) *=su(u)* 'man, thing', which denotes a tag-question-like meaning or an evidential modal meaning ('It seems'), and (ii) *=paz*, which has an epistemic modal meaning 'maybe'. These enclitics are attached to the predicate verb of the 'Clause', which is in an adnominal form.

(c) Affix-type MMC

The 'Noun' slot is occupied by the verbal inflectional suffix *-kutu*, which attaches to the stem of the predicate verb of the 'Clause'. The suffix *-kutu* is a grammaticalized form of the noun *kutu* 'fact', and has the same range of meanings as that of the MMC with the noun *kutu*. The inflected verb form may further be followed by the copula verb, demonstrating that it still occupies the 'Noun' slot even when it is now part of the verb morphologically.

The word type conforms to the prototype of the MMC; it has all of the three properties listed above. The clitic type and the affix type do not conform to the prototype. For example, the 'Noun' slot is not occupied by a noun. Nonetheless, the affix type serves as an interesting example of grammaticalization associated with the MMC.

Thus, Irabu demonstrates all three possibilities with regard to the grammaticalization path of the 'Noun' slot: independent word, enclitic and suffix. Note in particular the following grammaticalization path:

kutu 'fact' (noun) =>
kutu 'should; be supposed to; will' (noun) in the word-type MMC=>
-kutu 'should; be supposed to; will' (verbal inflectional suffix) in the affix-type MMC

Grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional suffix appears to be uncommon crosslinguistically.

2. Initial illustration

As an initial illustration, three examples are given. The 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun in (2), by an enclitic in (3), and by a suffix in (4). The 'Noun' slot is indicated with square brackets.

(2) *kai=ga=du* *sac=n* *idi-r* *[kutu].*
3SG=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-ADN.NPST should
'S/he should go first.'

(3) *kai=ga=du* *sac=n* *idi-r[=paz].*
3SG=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-ADN.NPST=maybe
'S/he may go first.'

(4) *kai=ga=du* *sac=n* *idi[-kutu].*
3SG=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-should
'S/he should go first.'

3. Profile of the language

3.1 The language and its speakers

Irabu is a northwest variety of the Miyako Ryukyuan language, which belongs to the Southern Ryukuan group of the Ryukyuan branch of the Japonic language family. All Ryukyuan languages are in an imminenet danger of extinction. The number of Irabu speakers is estimated to be approximately 2,500 (Shimoji 2008). There is one detailed reference grammar of Irabu (Shimoji 2008). Like most other Ryukyuan languages, Irabu has no written tradition. The data used in this study is thus based on the spoken language.

Irabu has five sub-varieties, i.e. Irabu, Nakachi, Kuninaka, Nagahama, and Sawada. Our focus is on Nagahama. To the best of my knowledge, there is no major dialectal difference with regard to the types of the MMC and the relevant features of each type, except for one point: the affix-type MMC does not seem to be attested in the Irabu and Nakachi sub-varieties.

3.2 Phonology

Irabu has five vowel phonemes /a, i, u, e, o/, and eighteen consonant phonemes /p, t, k, b, d, g, f, v, s, (h), c [ts], z [dz], m, n, ž [z], r, w, j/. The phoneme /ž/ will be written as *z* in practical orthography.

A basic understanding of the word-level prosody of Irabu is essential in examining the grammaticalization of the elements of the MMC, which will be dealt with in Section 5.

Irabu has no lexical accent. The word-level prosody is characterized by a foot-based alternating rhythm of tone features (/H/ vs. /L/). The domain in which foot building and tone assignenment occur is defined as a phonological word. A phonological word is generally a morphosyntactic

word plus a whole number of clitics (see Shimoji 2009 for detail).

Foot building is based on the moraic structure. In Irabu, any light syllable is monomoraic, whereas a coda (as in /r/ of *par* 'needle'), a geminated onset (as in the first /f/ of *ffa* 'child'), the second component of a long vowel/consonant or a diphthong, and a syllabic consonant (e.g. /m/ of *m.ta* 'mud') have one mora each. Thus, a monosyllabic word *ssair* 'get to be known' (CCVVC) has four morae.

A foot is bimoraic or trimoraic. A phonological word must have at least one foot. If a monomoraic morpheme occurs as a phonological word, then it undergoes obligatory lengthening, as in *r-* 'enter' (root) > *rr* 'enter' (non-past adnominal). Within a phonological word, two or three adjacent moras form a foot. Binary footing is default, and ternary footing is marked. Footing proceeds from left to right exhaustively in each phonological word. Ternary footing occurs in either of the following two cases. First, if the default binary footing results in one stray mora finally, the stray is integrated as part of the preceding binary foot, as in *tunuka* 'egg' > (tunuka) and *banckira* 'guava' > (ban)(ckira). Second, a polymoraic morpheme (or allomorph) always commences a foot, and this may give rise to a stray on the part of the host to which the morpheme is attached. The stray is avoided by ternary footing, as noted above: *uttu* 'younger sibling' + *-gama* (diminutive) > uttu(gama) > (ut)tu(gama) > (uttu)(gama); *banckira* 'guava' + *-nagi* (approximative) > (ban)(cki)ra(nagi) > (ban)(ckira)(nagi).

On the basis of the pre-existing foot structure generated by the above-mentioned rule, tone is assigned by a rhythmic rule. The rhythmic rule states that (i) word-initial foot is always assigned /H/ tone, (ii) word-final foot is always toneless (/L/), and (iii) the other feet within a phonological word have an alternate rhythm of /H/ while satisfying (i) and (ii). Thus, (ban)(ckira)(nagi) 'guava, etc.' is assigned the tonal pattern of (H)(L)(L) rather than (H)(L)(H), the latter of which would violate (ii). On the other hand, (ban)(ckira)(nagi)(mai) 'guava, etc., too' (where the clitic *=mai* 'too' is further attached) is assigned the tonal pattern of (H)(L)(H)(L), with the first and third feet bearing /H/ tone to satisfy (iii).

3.3 Morphosyntax

Irabu is a verb-final language with SV/AOV being the most common and unmarked word order. In a noun phrase, the modifiers (e.g. adjective and adnominal clause ('AC')) precede the head noun. Irabu has a largely agglutinating morphology, but there is some fusion in the verbal inflectional morphology. Most affixes and clitics are suffixes and enclitics. Irabu has a dependent-marking system.

Nouns do not inflect. Case is indicated by a case enclitic. Irabu has the nominative-accusative case system. Both A and O arguments are marked. The nominative case is marked by the enclitic *=nu* or *=ga*. (The choice is based on the animacy/defniteness of the NP to which the clitic is attached; see Shimoji 2008). The accusative case is indicated by the enclitic *=Cu* or *=Ca* (/C/ is morphophonologically determined). Whereas *=Cu* is an

unmarked choice for O arguments, *=Ca* only occurs in clause-chaining constructions, and correlates with low transitivity (Shimoji 2008).

The inflectional morphology of verbs is characterized by marking of (i) syntactic dependency (i.e. whether the verb heads an independent clause) and (ii) finiteness (tense-mood marking). Verbs have the following forms.

(a) Independent forms, which inflect for tense and/or mood.
(b) Adnominal dependent forms, which are tensed.
(c) Adverbial dependent forms (or converbs):
tensed ones and tenseless ones.

Independent forms can occur as the predicate of independent sentences. They comprise (i) irrealis forms, such as the intentional (e.g. *mii-di* 'will look') and the optative (e.g. *mii-baa* 'want to look'), which express future-oriented modal meanings (with no overt marking of tense) and (ii) realis forms, which express the speaker's perceived certainty (with an overt marking of tense). Adnominal forms are mark for tense only. They can be used as the predicate of adnominal clauses (cf. 4.2.1). In additional, they can occur as the predicate of independent sentences. Unlike most other Miyako Ryukyuan dialects, such as Hirara, independent realis forms and adnominal forms are formally distinct in Irabu, with the former additionally carrying the realis mood affix *-m*. See Table 1.

Table 1. Inflection of the independent realis and adnominal forms (with the sample root *mii-* 'look')

	Non-past	Past
Independent realis (Root-TENSE-MOOD)	*mii-r-m*	*mii-ta-m*
Adnominal (Root-TENSE)	*mii-r*	*mii-tar*

There are two major conjugation classes: Class 1 and Class 2. They are phonologically determined. If a stem ends in /i/, then it is a Class 1 verb. The root *mii-* 'look' in Table 1, for example, is a Class 1 verb. Otherwise, the stem belongs to Class 2 (or one of other minor conjugation classes which I do not mention in this chapter). One crucial difference between the two classes is that, for non-past adnominal inflection, Class 1 verbs take *-r* (e.g. *mii-r* 'look'), whereas Class 2 verbs take none (or zero form, e.g. *jum* 'read').

A Class 2 verb stem may be changed into a Class 1 stem by attaching a derivational affix ending in /i/. Thus, if a Class 2 verb stem *jum-* 'read' is followed by the passive-potential affix *-rai*, for example, the derived stem *jum-ai* (where /r/ is deleted) is a Class 1 stem, and thus carries *-r* for non-past adnominal inflection (*jum-ai-r* 'be read', not **jum-ai*).

3.4 Topic and focus

Irabu has a rich inventory of topic and focus markers. They are all clitics that phonologically attach to the last word of the host phrase. There is a distributional constraint on topic and focus markers which is relevant to the main body of this chapter. That is, embedded subordinate clauses (i.e. adverbial and adnominal clauses) cannot contain a topic marker or a focus marker. If a clause contains either of them, then it is not embedded.

There are two topic markers: *=ba(a)* and *=a*. *=ba(a)* only co-occurs with a direct object argument. *=a* is used in all the other environments. Basically, they follow a case clitic. However, the nominative case (*=ga/=nu*) is replaiced by the topic marker *=a*. For example, in (5), the subject argument *jarabi* 'child' is not case-marked, for the nominative case is replaced by the topic marker *=a*.

(5) *jarabi=a* *miz=zu=du* *num-tar.*
child=TOP water=ACC=FOC drink-PST
'The child drank water.'

The object topic *=ba(a)* simply follows the accusative case marker. If the object argument *miz* 'water' in (5) (which is focus-marked) is topic-marked, we will obtain:

(6) *jarabi=a* *miz=zu=baa* *num-tar.*
child=TOP water=ACC=TOP drink-PST
'The child drank water.'

There are three focus markers, the choice of which is sensitive to the type of speech act in which the focus marker occurs: *=du* (statement), *=ru* (Yes-No question), and *=ga* (information question). In (7), which is a statement, the subject NP is focus-marked by *=du*.

(7) *jarabi=nu=du* *miz=zu* *num-tar.*
child=NOM=FOC water=ACC drink-PST
'A child (e.g. as opposed to an adult) drank water.'

If this sentence is turned into a Yes-No question, we obtain the following, with the focus marker replaced by *=ru*.

(8) *jarabi=nu=ru* *miz=zu* *num-tar?*
child=NOM=FOC water=ACC drink-PST
'Did a child (as opposed to an adult) drink water?'

On the other hand, if (7) is turned into an information question in which the subject NP is questioned, the resultant sentence is the following, in which the focus marker is replaced by *=ga*.

(9) *taru=nu=ga* *miz=zu* *num-tar?*
who=NOM=FOC water=ACC drink-PST
'Who drank water?'

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verbal-predicate and nominal-predicate clauses

There are two major types of clauses: verbal-predicate clauses (4.1.1) and nominal-predicate clauses (4.1.2).

4.1.1 Verbal-predicate clauses

The predicate of verbal-predicate clauses consists of a main verb and optionally an auxiliary verb. When it consists of a main verb alone, the main verb is inflected, either in an independent form, e.g. (10), or an adnominal form, e.g. (41).

(10) *kanu* *pztu=nu* *budur-tar.*
that person=NOM dance-PST
'That person danced.'

When the predicate consists of a main verb and an auxiliary verb, the main verb must be inflected as the medial form (a tenseless adverbial dependent verb), and the tense-mood marking is taken over by the auxiliary verb. As shown in (11), focus marking may occur on the main verb, but some auxiliaries do not allow focus marking on the main verb, as shown in (12).

(11) *kanu* *pztu=nu* *budur-i-i=du* *u-tar.*
that person=NOM dance-THM-MED=FOC PROG-PST
'That person danced.'

(12) *kanu* *pztu=nu* *budur-i-i* *ii-ta-m.*
that person=NOM dance-THM-MED PROG-PST-RLS
'That person danced for me.'

4.1.2 Nominal-predicate clauses

The predicate of nominal-predicate clauses consists of the predicate NP and the copula verb. The coupla verb is not obligatory; see (13).

(13) *kanu* *pžtu=u* *sinsii.*
that person=TOP teacher
'That person is a teacher.'

The copula verb indicates predicate categories (tense, mood, polarity, etc.), which cannot be indicated by the predicate NP. Thus, the copula is required only if an overt marking of tense, mood, polarity, etc., is necessary, e.g. (14) (tense) and (15) (polarity).

(14) *kanu* *pztu=nu=du* *sinsii* *a-tar.*
that person=NOM=FOC teacher COP-PST
'That person was a teacher.'

(15) *kanu* *pztu=u* *sinsii=ja* *ar-an.*
that person=TOP teacher=TOP COP-NEG.NPST
'That person isn't a teacher.'

We have seen nominal-predicate clauses and verbal-predicate clauses. Adjectival predication takes two forms.

(a) Stative verb (e.g. *taka-ka-tar* (high-VLZ-PST) 'was high'), which is a subtype of the verb, and thus follows the predication pattern discussed in 4.1.1.

(b) Dummy compound nominal (e.g. *taka-munu* (high-NMLZ) 'high', e.g. (39), where the head stem *munu* is a dummy noun that does not have a substantive or referential meaning), which is a subtype of the noun, and thus follows the predication pattern discussed in 4.1.2.

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

The adnominal clause construction ('AC') in Irabu is a diachronic source of a variety of grammaticalized constructions including the MMC. An AC precedes the head noun. It does not employ a relative pronoun or a resumptive pronoun. The predicate verb of an AC must be in an adnominal form. (Adnominal forms are tensed; cf. Section 3.) The subject occurs in the nominative case. In the relevant examples below, the AC is indicated by an underline.

(16) *vva=ga* *jurav-tar* *pztu*
2SG=NOM call-ADN.PST man=FOC
'the man you called'

Irabu has two kinds of ACs: 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. In the formation of internal ACs, the 'gap' strategy (Keenan 1985) marks the position relativised on.

[1] Internal ACs

Any position on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relatvised on, except for the object of comparison. Examples include (17) (subject; to be precise, intransitive subject), (18) (subject; to be precise, transitive subject), (16) (direct obeject), (19) (indirect object), (20) (oblique object), and (21) (possessor).

(17) *kuu-t-tar* *pztu=u=baa* *z-zadi.*
come-NEG-ADN.PST man=ACC=TOP scold-INT
'[I] have to scold those men who did not come.'

(18) *jaa=ju* *muc-i-ur* *pztu=u* *daiz.*
house=ACC have-THM-PROG.ADN.NPST person=ACC great
'People who have their own houses are quite something.'

(19) *kuri=a* *vva=ga* *iravc=cu* *naraas-tar*
3SG=TOP 2SG=NOM Irabu=ACC teach-PST
pztu=dara.
man=EMP
'This [guy] is the man to whom you taught Irabu a lot.'

(20) *munu=u* *jaf-Ø* *konro=mai*
thing=ACC burn-NPST grill=even
njaa-t-ta-iba...
not.exist-NEG-PST-CVB.CSL
'Because there was no grill with which [one] burns things...'

(21) *nau=ti=ga* *az-tar=gagara,* *unu,*
what=QT=FOC say-PST=I.wonder INTJ
ffa=nu *jamatu+jumi=a* *s-i-ur-Ø*
child=NOM mainland.Japan+wife=ACC2 do-THM-PROG-NPST
sjuu...
old.man
How can I say, well, [I'm talking about] the old man whose child is the wife of a Japanese mainlander...'

[2] External ACs

An NP that cannot be seen as an argument or an adjunct of the AC can establish a modifying relationship with the AC, where pragmatic inference determines how the AC narrows down the reference without the head noun playing any role in the AC.

(22) *hai,* *kuri=a* *mmja* *stabutu=nu*
Hey 3SG=TOP well bed.fellow=NOM
ur-Ø *kui=dooi=tii.*
exist-NPST voice=EMP=QT
'Hey, this (voice of her that is heard over telephone) sounds like a voice which is heard when her bedfellow is at her place.' [i.e. This voice sounds so upset that this probably indicates that her bedfellow is at her place now.]

The external AC has a main-clause-like syntax, i.e. it is a full-fledged clause with no gap occurring within the clause. As will be noted in 5.2.3.4, sentences that contain an AC (they are bi-clausal) were reanalyzed as mono-clausal and resulted in the MMC. The existence of the main-clause-like (i.e. external) AC is definitely a relevant factor for an AC to develop into the MMC in Irabu.

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Some adverbial subordinate clauses take the form of AC structure in which the head noun of the NP is a time noun denoting a temporal relation (e.g. *tukja* 'time', *atu* 'after', *mai* 'before', etc.). For example, in (23), the underlined clause functions as a time adverbial clause, even though, strictly speaking, it is an NP carrying an AC.

(23) *sjensuu=nu cuu-f nar-Ø*
war=NOM strong-AVLZ become.ADN.NPST
tukja=n=na taiwan=kai=ja
time=DAT=TOP Taiwan=ALL=TOP
ik-ah-a-t-ta-m=mu?
go-CAUS-THM-NEG-PST-RLS=Q
'When the war became severe, (didn't the government) make (people) move toTaiwan?'

Note that the underlined temporal adverbial clause ending in the time noun *tukja* carries the dative clitic *=n*, for it is syntactically an NP functioning as a peripheral argument of the sentence.

Many temporal adverbial clause structures that developed from the AC structure show grammaticalization on the part of the (former) head noun of the NP. In (23), even though the noun *tukja* is typically followed by the dative enclitic, it may often be absent. This shows that the noun *tukja* has been denominalized.

(24) *sjensuu=nu cuu-f nar=kja=a*
war=NOM strong-AVLZ become.ADN.NPST=time=TOP
taiwan=kai=ja ik-ah-a-t-ta-m=mu?
Taiwan=ALL=TOP go-CAUS-THM-NEG-PST-RLS=Q
'When the war became severe, (didn't the government) make (people) move toTaiwan?'

The verb of the former AC, i.e. *nar* 'become', is still in an adnominal form, a feature that inherits from the source structure.

Furthermore, there is the clitic *=kja* 'when', which is a reduced form of the noun *tukja* 'time' and which never carries the dative clitic. Here, denominalization has proceded one step further.

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

Following Tsunoda (this volume-a; also see (1) above), the structure of the MMC in Irabu is schematized as follows.

(25) (Subject) (Object) (Circumstance) Verb Noun (Copula)
first part ('Clause') second part

The constituents in brackets are not always present; they may be absent under certain conditions. As mentioned in 4.1.2, the use of the copula verb is not obligatory in Irabu. Hence, an MMC may end in the 'Noun' component, without the copula verb.

As summarised in Table 2, Irabu has three types of the MMC in terms of the morphological and phonological status of the element that fills the 'Noun' slot. Each of the three types of the MMC will be examined in 5.2 to 5.4, noting how the 'Noun' in each type is different in terms of the morphological and phonological independence and the ways in which the MMC and ACs are differentiated.

Table 2. Three types of the MMC in Irabu

	Morphological independence of 'Noun'	Phonological independence of 'Noun'
Word-type MMC	+	±
Clitic-type MMC	+	-
Affix-type MMC	-	-

5.2 Word-type MMC

In the word-type MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an independent word. This MMC is a prototypical one. It has all of the three properties of the prototype listed in Section 1. It abounds in Irabu. In this section, I examine the following two frequently occurring words that are used in the word-type MMC: *kutu* 'fact' and *munu* 'thing'. These original meanings are not necessarily retained in the MMC. Rather, the MMC has a variety of non-substantive and non-referential meanings, ranging from modal to causal meanings. The predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form.

5.2.1 Kutu *'fact'*

When used outside the MMC, the noun *kutu* means 'fact'. The MMC with the noun *kutu* expresses (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', e.g. (2), (26), (27), or (ii) anticipated future 'will', e.g. (38), (46). As noted above, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form. To be precise, in the MMC with the noun *kutu*, the predicate is in the non-past adnominal form (as opposed to the past adnominal form). The meaning of the non-past is compatible with the meanings (i) and (ii) of this MMC.

(26) *vva=a* *z-zai-r* *kutu.*
2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST be.supposed.to
'You are supposed to be scolded.'

(27) *uri=u=baa* *mainic* *as* *kutu=dooi*
that=ACC=TOP everyday do.ADN.NPST should=EMP
'(You) should do that everyday.'

The word *kutu* may be followed by the copula verb where necessary. For example, it may be followed by the copula verb when negated, e.g. (28), or in past tense, e.g. (29).

(28) *vva=a* *z-zai-r* *kutu*
2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST be.supposed.to
ar-a-n.
COP-THM-NEG.NPST
'You are not supposed to be scolded.'

(29) *vva=a* *z-zai-r* *kutu*
2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST be.supposed.to
a-tar=ri.
COP-PST=eh
'You'd have been scolded, would you?'

The predicate of the 'Clause' can be negated, e.g.:

(30) *vva=a* *z-zai-n* *kutu.*
2SG=TOP scold-PASS-NEG.ADN.NPST be.supposed.to
'You are supposed not to be scolded.'

In (30), the negative operator is within the scope of the modal operator, whereas in (28) the modal operator is within the scope of the negative operator.

5.2.2 Munu *'thing'*
When used outside the MMC, the noun *munu* means 'thing', e.g. (20). The MMC with the noun *munu* denotes a causal meaning, roughly translated as 'because' in English (but see the discussion below).

(31) A: *kai=mai* *if=dara=i.*
3SG=too go.NPST=EMP=eh
'He's gonna come (with us), eh?'
B: *gui!*
come.on
jamatu=kara *hikooki=sii*
mainland=ABL airplane=INS
c-ci-u-r *munu.*
come-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST because
'Com'on! (He) came from the mainland Japan by airplane.
(So he can't come with us.)'

Unlike the MMC with *kutu*, the MMC with *munu* never contains the copula.

Despite the fact that the MMC with *munu* has a causal meaning, it does not require a clause that serves as the effect clause. The effect is only inferred from the causal statement. Thus, the MMC with *munu* is distinct

from a causal adverbial clause such as one ending in *-(i)ba* 'because', which is (in principle) followed by the effect clause. The *munu* MMC is a sentence-terminating, main-clause construction. It is not an incomplete, or insubordinated (Evans 2007), bi-clausal construction.

5.2.3 Structural characteristics of the word-type MMC

5.2.3.1 'Copula'. According to my research (elicitation and text-search), the noun *kutu* 'fact' attracts copula support where necessary (5.2.1). In contrast, the noun *munu* never attracts copula support, and it always occurs sentence-finally. This 'edge-only' distributional character is very much like that of speech-act particles, such as the question particle *=Cu* (e.g. (23)) and the tag particle *=i* 'eh?' (e.g. (31-A). This shows that *munu* used in the MMC may be regarded as a sentence-final particle ('SFP'). (This analysis is shown in (37).) In contrast, *kutu* 'fact' may be said to retain a nominal feature in that it attracts copula support. In this regard, the noun *munu* is more denominalized than *kutu* when they are used in the MMC.

5.2.3.2. Subject of the 'Clause'. In indendent sentences, the subject is generally marked by the nominative case, e.g. (10) to (12) and (14). However, when the verb has the passive-potential suffix, the subject may occur in the dative case, e.g. (32). The same applies to the MMC. When the verb has the passive-potential suffix, the subject occurs in the dative case, e.g. (33).

(32) *vva=n=na* *nau=mai* *as-irai-n.*
2SG=DAT=TOP what=too do-PASS-NPST
'You cannot do do anything.'

(33) *vva=n=na* *nau=mai* *as-irai-n*
father=DAT=TOP what=too do-PASS-ADN.NPST
kutu.
be.supposed.to
'You will not be able to do anything.'

5.2.3.3 Dependency of the 'Noun'. In the word-type MMC, the 'Noun' slot is filled by an independent word. The morphological independence of the 'Noun' is evidenced by the following two facts.

First, the form filling this slot may occur as a free noun in other environments, e.g. *munu* 'thing' in (20). Thus, the forms *kutu* 'fact' and *munu* 'thing' are productively used as nouns.

Second, the preceding verb occurs as a fully inflected word form. In (26) and (31-B), for example, the verb ends in the non-past adnominal affix *-r*, demonstrating that there is a morphosyntactic word boundary between the verb and the 'Noun'.

As just seen, there are two pieces of evidence for the morphological independece of the 'Noun'. In contrast, its phonological independence is ambiguous. The prosodic boundary (i.e. phonological-word boundary) is not

always drawn between the verb and the 'Noun'. Consider the following example, where the verb is *bizismirair* 'be made to sit' and the 'Noun' is *kutu*.

(34) *ai=nu* *siitu-mmi=a* *mmja* *bizi-smi-rai-r*
that=GEN pupil-PL=TOP well sit-CAUS-PASS-ADN.NPST
kutu=dara.
should=EMP
'That sort of pupil should be made to sit (as a punishment).'

(35)

	bizi-smi-rai-r			*kutu=dara*	
	(bizi)(smi)(rair)			(kutu)(dara)	
a.	H	L	L#	H	L#
b.	H	L	H	L	L#

The second line in (35) indicates foot building, and the third one and the fourth one assignment. Both assignment patterns (a and b) are possible, even though the a pattern is the more common according to production tests devised for five native consultants of Irabu; all were in favour of the a pattern, one actually pronounced the b pattern, and three reported that they accept the b pattern. In the a pattern, there is a phonological-word boundary (indicated by '#') between the verb and the 'Noun', for a sequence of two L tones indicates the termination of a phonological word. In the b pattern, then, the phonological word boundary comes at sentence-final position, with the verb and 'Noun' treated as part of a single phonological word. That is, there are two contradicting pieces of evidence regarding the phonological independence of the 'N'.

5.2.3.4 Word-type MMC and ACs. It seems certain that the MMC developed from the AC construction as its source structure. Compare:

(36) Source structure: ACs

(Subject) (Object) (Circumstance) Verb	Noun	(Copula)
first part ('Clause')	second part	
AC	Head	

(37) Word-type MMC

(Subject) (Object) (Circumstance) Verb	Noun	(Copula)
first part ('Clause')	second part	
	SFP	

However, it is possible to distinguish between the two constructions. This is because the MMC is a mono-clausal construction in which the 'Clause' is not an embedded AC and the 'Noun' is no longer a head noun carrying an AC. This conclusion can be drawn from two facts: [1] the 'Clause' in the MMC behaves differently from a usual AC in terms of topic and focus marking within it, and [2] the 'Clause' is not embedded.

[1] Topic marking and focus marking

Consider (5), (6), (13) and (15). They are all independent sentences, and

they are all mono-clausal. As these examples show, topic markers can occur in independent sentences. In contrast, topic markers cannot occur in ACs (cf. 4.2.1). Now, in what is presented by 'Clause' in (37), topic markers can occur. For example, in (33), the dative subject is topic-marked. It might be argued that this sentence is a bi-clausal copular construction in which the subject of the sentence is *vva*, the predicate of the sentence is absent (an ellipted copula), and *asirain* is the predicate of the 'AC' which modifies the head noun *kutu*. This would be schematized as [vva=n=na [[nau=mai asirain]kutu](COP)]. If this were the case, then it would not be justifiable to say that the topic marking on the subject occurs within the MMC. However, in my view the structure is [vva=n=na nau=mai asirain kutu], where the dative-marked subject belongs to the predicate *asirain*. This is because the dative marking on the subject is always motivated by the potential affix of the predicate verb. In other words, the subject *vva* and the predicate *asirain* must be in the same clause. (33) shows that, in terms of topic marking, the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves unlike ACs, but like mono-clausal independent sentences, since the 'Clause' allows topic marking within it.

Likewise, the 'Clause' allows focus marking. Consider (5), (7) to (9), for example. They are all independent sentences, and they are all mono-clausal. As they show, focus markers can occur in independent sentences that are mono-clausal. In contrast, in ACs (cf. 4.2.1), focus markers cannot occur. Now, in what is presented by 'Clause' in (37), focus markers can occur, e.g.:

(38) *uri=u=du* *fau* *kutu=dara.*
that=NOM=FOC eat.ADN.NPST will=EMP
'(We) are supposed to eat that.'

This shows that, in terms of focus marking, too, the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves unlike ACs, but like mono-clausal independent sentences.

It should be noted, however, that focus marking in the word-type MMC is not frequently observed in natural discourse, even though native speakers judges them absolutely grammatical. This suggests that the MMC is not completely reanalysed as mono-clausal in the synchronic system of Irabu.

[2] Non-embeddedness of the 'Clause'

The 'Clause' in the MMC differs from an AC in that it is not embedded. That is, it is not subordinated to the NP structure. This observation is supported by the fact that the 'Noun' is no longer analyzed as the head noun, and that there is no reason to assume the NP structure in the MMC. Let us illustrate this step by step. Whereas a noun preceded by an AC can function as an argument, e.g. (17) (object) and (18) (subject), the 'Noun' in the MMC cannot function as an argument. Neither *kutu* nor *munu* is used as an argument. In fact, *munu* functions like a sentence-final particle, as was noted in Section 5.2.2.

Since the 'Noun' is never used as an argument, it is impossible to claim that it is the head noun of an NP. It is also noted that the 'Noun' cannot be modified by other adnominal modifiers, such as an adjective

sabicc-sabic=nu 'be lonely', even though this would semantically be possible. Thus, these synchronic facts show that the 'Noun' is not the head noun of an NP anymore. It is therefore impossible to postulate the NP structure. In (39) below, for example, the underlined part (i.e. the 'Clause' of the MMC) cannot be analyzed as embedded in the modifier slot of the 'NP' whose head is *kutu*, since such an NP cannot be claimed to exist.

(39) *zau-butu=u tumi-r . kutu=dooi.*
good-husband=ACC look.for-ADN.NPST should=EMP
'(You) should find a good husband, OK?'

The most appropriate analysis for the MMC like (39) is that the 'Clause' is reanalyzed as a main clause, to which the 'Noun', which is now reanalyzed as a sentence-final particle, simply juxtaposes as a particle, and the sructure is mono-clausal.

The situation here is substantially different from that in what may be called a genuine NP structure whose head is a formal noun (e.g. in (40) below, where the AC is indicated by an underline):

(40) *zau-butu=u tumi-r kutu=u*
good-husband=ACC look.for-ADN.NPST fact=TOP
muckas-munu.
difficult-ALZ
'To find a good husband is difficult.'

Note that even though this example may look like the *kutu* MMC in (39), it involves a usual NP, in which the underlined AC is followed by the head noun *kutu* 'fact', with the entire construction being used as a subject NP. In this example, *kutu* functions as a clause-nominalizer (or a complementizer). Note also that the underlined AC never allows topic or focus marking.

5.2.3.5 Can the 'Clause' be used as a sentence by its self? As seen in Section 1, one of the three properties of the prototype of the MMC is the following: (c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. The 'Clause' of the word-type MMC possesses this property. Its predicate has to be in an adnominal form (5.2). Adnominal clauses can be used as the predicate of independent sentences (3.3, 4.1.1). Therefore, for example, the 'Clause' of (38) can stand on its own as an independent sentence:

(41) *uku-kazi=nu=du ff.*
big-wind=NOM=FOC come.ADN.NPST
'A typhoon come/will come.'

5.3 Clitic-type MMC

5.3.1 An overview
In the clitic-type MMC, the 'Noun' slot is filled by a clitic. A clitic is

integrated into the host word to which it is phonologically attached. In the MMC, the host is the predicate verb of the 'Clause'. The phonological integration established between the verb and the 'Noun' will be examined in detail in the sections below.

Like Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 7.8 to 7.10), there are a variety of clitics that occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC in Irabu. In this section, I shall examine only two forms: *=paz* 'maybe' and *=su(u)* 'tag-question; guess ('It seems'). I have selected *=paz* because the MMC involving *=paz* is a typical example of the clitic-type MMC in Irabu. I have chosen *=su(u)* because the MMC involving *=su(u)* does not have its corresponding construction in Standard Japanese.

The two major generalizations for the word-type MMC apply to the clitic-type MMC as well. First, the 'Clause' is not an AC, i.e. the entire sentence is reanalyzed as mono-clausal. Second, the 'Noun' is reanalyzed as a sentence-final particle, and there is no evidence that it heads an NP as will be expected of ordinary nouns.

In what follows, the focus is on how the clitic-type MMC differs from the word-type MMC. In particular, the following two aspects will be examined in detail: (i) the degree of 'denominalization' on the part of the 'Noun' component, and (ii) phonological dependency established between the 'Verb' and the 'Noun'.

5.3.2 =paz

The clitic *=paz* denotes an epistemic modal meaning ranging from a weak guess ('maybe') to a somewhat stronger guess based on the speaker's certainty ('must be'). It may attach to a verbal predicate, e.g. (42), and a nominal predicate, e.g. (43). It functions as a sentence-final modal particle. The predicate verb of the 'Clause' is generally in an adnominal form (although there are exceptions). Examples follow.

(42) *kari=a* *pzsara=kara* *t-tar=paz.*
3SG=TOP Hirara=ABL come-ADN.PST=maybe
'He may have come from Hirara.'

(43) *kari=a* *sinsii=paz.*
3SG=TOP teacher=maybe
'He may be a teacher.'

The clitic *=paz* shows a higher degree of denominalization than *kutu* 'fact' and *munu* 'thing' used in the word-type MMC. We shall look at various aspects of the denominalization of *=paz.*

[1] Unlike *kutu* and *munu*, there is no independent noun *paz* in Irabu. Its nominal origin is only indirectly traced and its nominal feature is only weakly justified. There are two kinds of evidence for the noun origin of *=paz.*

(a) Historical-comparative evidence. The cognate form *=hazu* in Standard Japanese was once used as a noun denoting 'arrowhead' (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3-[2]).

(b) Language-internal evidence

(b-1) The clitic *=paz* attracts copula support, like the noun *kutu* 'fact' (5.2.1).

(44) *kari=a* *pzsara=kara* *t-tar=paz=du*
3SG=TOP Hirara=ABL come-ADN.PST=maybe=FOC
a-tar.
COP-PST
'It was probable that he had come from Hirara.'

It should be emphasized, however, that the copula support is not usually encountered in natural discourse. The above example was constructed by the the present writer. It was judged as grammatical by two consultants, even though they would not normally use such an expression.

(b-2) The clitic *=paz* mostly requires the preceding verb to be in an adnominal form. This shows that *=paz* was the head noun that carried an AC.

[2] Even though the verb to which the clitic *=paz* attaches is in most cases in an adnominal form, there are important exceptions to this generalization. That is, in natural discourse we do encounter cases where the preceding verb is in an independent form (not an adnominal form). In (45), the verb form *azzattam* is an independent form, inflecting for tense and mood.

(45) *s-sa-n.* *az-za-t-ta-m=paz.*
know-THM-NEG.NPST say-THM-NEG-PST-RLS=maybe
'(I) don't know. (He) may have not said (that).'

Recall that in the word-type MMC and also ACs, the predicate verb must always be in an adnominal form. In this regard, then, the MMC with *=paz* shows a higher degree of denominalization than the word-type MMC and also ACs, for the preceding verb does not have to be in an adnominal form.

[3] The clitic *=paz* never allows modification by an adnominal word like the demonstrative *unu* 'that' or other expressions that would occur in an ordinary NP. Ii is interestingly to note that, while the adverbial *ai* 'that way' can directly precedes the clitic *=paz* (i.e. *ai=paz* 'may be that way'), the adnominal expression made from *ai* (i.e. *ai=nu* 'that sort of'; *=nu* marks the genitive case) never modifies *=paz*. This is in sharp contrast with nouns, which are never preceded by *ai* directly, and always require it to be turned into *ai=nu*. Likewise, in (43) the clitic *=paz* directly follows the noun *sinsii* 'teacher', since it simply attaches to a nominal predicate. If the clitic *=paz* were a noun, then this kind of juxtaposition would never occur, and the noun *sinsii* would take the genitive form *sinsii=nu* (teacher=GEN). This shows that the clitic *=paz* no longer behaves as a noun, only functioning as a sentence-final particle.

[4] There is also a conspicuous difference between *kutu* and *munu* in the word-type MMC and *=paz* in the clitic-type MMC with regard to the

phonological dependency of the 'Noun' component. That is, while the 'Noun' in the word-type MMC and the predicate verb of the 'Clause' may or may not form a single phonological word (cf. 5.2.3.3), the clitic *=paz* is always phonologically integrated into the host, forming a single phonological word with the verb, as shown below.

A sequence of two L-toned feet, which indicates a phonological-word boundary (cf. 3.2), may or may not occur in the verb of the 'Clause' of the word-type MMC; see (46) and (47). In contrast, it never occurs in that of the clitic-type MMC; see (48). This indicates that phonologically the clitic *=paz* is integrated into the host, forming a single phonological word with the verb.

(46) Word-type MMC
aca *kanukja=u=baa* *ugunaar-as*
tomorrow 3PL=ACC=TOP gather-CAUS.ADN.NPST
kutu=dooi.
will=EMP
'(Someone) will make them get together tomorrow.'

(47) (ugu)(naa)(ras) (kutu)(dooi)
H L L # H L
H L H L L#

(48) Clitic-type MMC
aca *kanukja=u=baa*
tomorrow 3PL=ACC=TOP
ugunaar-as=paz=dooi.
gather-CAUS.ADN.NPST=maybe=EMP
(ugu)(naa)(ras)(paz)(dooi)
H L H L L #
'(Someone) may make them get together tomorrow.'

To sum up, *=paz* was a noun etymologically but it has been denominalized in phonologically, morphologically and syntactically.

We now examine whether the 'Clause' of this MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. As seen above, the predicate of the 'Clause' is generally in an adnominal form, and exceptionally in an independent form. An adnominal form can be used as the predicate of independent sentences (cf. 3.3, 4.1.1), and the 'Clause' whose predicate is in an adnominal form can stand on its own as a sentence. Thus, compare (44) with (49). When the predicate of the 'Clause' is in an indepenfdent form, naturally the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare (45) with (50).

(49) *kari=a* *pzsara=kara* *t-tar.*
3SG=TOP Hirara=ABL come-ADN.PST
'He came from Hirara.'

(50) *az-za-t-ta-m.*
say-THM-NEG-PST-RLS
'(He) did not say (that).'

5.3.3 =su(u)

Another clitic that is used in the clitic-type MMC is *=su(u)*. Etymologically it was a noun which meant 'person; thing'. Its original form is not known for certain. In Modern Irabu, it is not an independent word, but an enclitic. It has an allomorph *=ru(u)*, which occurs when preceded by a word that ends in /r/. The vowel in brackets occurs as free variation. This clitic is usually used as a non-content noun or non-lexical noun, and it always carries an AC. In the following example, the clitic *=ruu* carries an AC (which is underlined), and the entire NP consisting of the AC and the head noun *=ruu* functions as a subject argument marked by the nominative case *=nu*. The verb that precedes *=su(u)* has to be in an adnominal form.

(51) *jaa=ju* *muc-i-ur=ruu=nu=du*
house=ACC have-THM-PROG.ADN.NPST=person=NOM=FOC
mas.
better
'A person who has his own house is better.'

In the above example, the clitic functions as an agent nominal. It may also function like a complementizer (glossed 'CMP'), like *that* in English:

(52) *vva=ga* *jaa=ju*
2SG=NOM house=ACC
muc-i-ur=ruu=ju=ba
have-THM-PROG.ADN.NPST=CMP=ACC=TOP
s-sa-t-tar.
know-THM-NEG-NPST
'(I) didn't know that you have your own house.'

The clitic *=su(u)* in the MMC functions as a sentence-final particle, denoting a tag-question-like meaning, as in (53), or an evidential meaning ('It seems'), as in (54).

(53) *vva=mai* *az-tar=ruu=da.*
2SG=too say-ADN.PST=I.think=TAG
'You also said (so), didn't you?'

(54) *pztu=nu* *jaa=nu* *suija-gama=n*
person=GEN house=GEN balcony-DIM=DAT
ik-i-i, *mmna* *par-ri-i*
go-THM-MED all leave-THM-MED
uk-i-ar=ruu.
put-THM-RSL.ADN.NPST=it.seems
'It seemed that (they) had gone to the balcony of someone's house, and had all entered (under the balcony).'

When this MMC functions like a tag-question, the clitic *=su(u)* usually occur as a sequence of *=su(u)* + *=da*, e.g. (53). The meaning of the

morpheme *=da* is still unknown, for it always occurs with *=su(u)*. One might thus want to analyze the two forms as constituting a single morpheme *=su(u)da*, which denotes a tag question. However, there do exist cases where *=su(u)* is used without *=da*; see (54).

My current analysis treats *=su(u)* as a separate morpheme that designates speaker's guess or evidentiality ('It seems', etc.), and it is *=da* that designates a tag question. As far as distributional features are concerned, the formative *=da* always occurs sentence-finally. In Irabu, sequences of two sentence-final particles are quite common, and when an edge-only particle (i.e. *=da* in this case) and another particle co-occur successively, the final particle is likely to be a speech-act oriented, discourse marker whereas the one to its left is likely to be a modal marker.

When *=su(u)* is used without *=da*, as in (54), *=su(u)* denotes a speaker's guess roughly translated as 'It seems'. However, this kind of isolated use of *=su(u)* is highly limited in natural discourse. According to the existing data, the clitic *=su(u)* denotes a guess based on visual or auditory evidence that is available to the speaker. If this sketchy description is adequate, *=su(u)* contrasts with other epistemic expressions that denote a simple guess (like *=paz* 'maybe'), which do not specify the source and type of the information that enables the guess. In this respect, it may be more appropriate to say that the clitic *=su(u)* in the MMC denotes an evidential meaning that specifies visual or auditory evidence.

The clitic *=su(u)* is closer to a noun on the denominalization scale than is the clitic *=paz*. When used in the MMC, the clitic *=su(u)* always requires the preceding verb to be in an adnominal form. This is not surprising, since the source structure of the *=su(u)* MMC (e.g. (51)) still exists, with the clitic *=su(u)* functioning as the head of an NP. Probably the only feature that shows a certain degree of denominalization is that the clitic *=su(u)* is never followed by the copula verb when used in an MMC. Note that the other clitic *=paz* does allow copula support.

On the other hand, the phonological dependency of *=su(u)* is conspicuous. First, as is the case with *=paz,* it forms a single phonological word with the preceding verb. Second, it has the mono-moraic allomorph *=su*, which violates the minimality constraint in Irabu (cf. 3.2): a phonological word must have at least one foot (bimoraic or trimoraic). Third, the clitic *=su(u)* alternates its initial segment (/s/ > /r/) as a morpho-phonological alternation, which only occurs within a phonological word. The second and third characteristics are not found in *=paz*.

That is, syntactically *=su(u)* is less denominalized than *=paz*. However, phonologically *=su(u)* is more denominalized than *=paz*.

We now examine whether the 'Clause' of this MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. As seen above, the predicate verb of the 'Clause' is in an adnominal form. An adnominal form can be used as the predicate of independent sentences (cf. 3.3, 4.1.1), and the 'Clause' whose predicate is in an adnominal form can stand on its own as a sentence. Thus, compare (53) with:

(55) *vva=mai* *az-tar.*
2SG=too say-ADN.PST
'You also said (so).'

In the clitic-type MMC, topic marking is possible, e.g. (42). Focus marking, too, is possible, e.g. (3).

5.4 Affix-type MMC

5.4.1 An overview

In the affix-type MMC, the 'Noun' slot is filled by the suffix *-kutu*. Etymologically it is a noun which means 'fact'. The noun *kutu* 'fact' can occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (5.2.1), and the MMC expresses (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', e.g. (57), or (ii) anticipated future 'will', e.g. (59). The MMC with the suffix *-kutu* expresses the same meaning: (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', e.g. (56), or (ii) anticipated future 'will', e.g. (61). However, the structural difference between the word-type and affix-type MMCs is conspicuous. In the latter, the form *kutu* is an inflectional affix used with verbs, e.g.:

(56) *kanukja=nkai=ja* *aca* *fii-kutu.*
3PL=ALL=TOP tomorrow give-be.supposed.to
Clause Noun
'I am supposed to give (it) to them tomorrow.'

Here, *fiikutu* is a single verb consisting of the stem *fii-* 'give' and the inflectional affix *-kutu*. This structure developed from the following word-type MMC, in which the predicate of the 'Clause' is the non-past adnominal verb *fiir* 'give' and the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *kutu* 'fact'.

(57) *kanukja=nkai=ja* *aca* *fii-r* *kutu.*
3PL=ALL=TOP tomorrow give-ADN.NPST be.supposed.to
Clause Noun
'I am supposed to give (it) to them tomorrow.'

Note that in the affix-type MMC, the non-past inflectional affix *-r* of the adnominal verb *fiir* is replaced by what was the noun *kutu* previously. Diachronically speaking, morphological fusion occurred so that the non-past affix *-r* was lost and the noun *kutu* came to fill the inflection slot, and *kutu* came to be reanalyzed as a new inflectional affix. (In the MMC with the noun *kutu*, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in the non-past adnominal form (5.2.1).)

Interestingly, the affix *-kutu* still retains its former status as a noun. As is the case with the word-type MMC containing the noun *kutu* (cf. 5.2.1, 5.2.3.1), the affix *-kutu* allows the copula verb to follow.

(58) *kanukja=nkai=ja* *aca* *fii-kutu*
3PL=ALL=TOP tomorrow give-be.supposed.to
ar-a-n.
COP-THM-NEG
'I am not supposed to give (it) to them tomorrow.'

In the suffix-type MMC, topic marking is possible, e.g. (58). Focus marking, too, is possible, e.g. (4).

5.4.2 Morphological dependency

It is obvious that the 'Noun' of the affix-type MMC is morphologically dependent; it occurs within a morphosyntactic word, i.e. as an inflectional affix by replacing the original inflectional affix *-r*.

As is often the case in grammaticalization phenomena, however, the fused morphology as noted above is not regular or stable. First, it occurs only in Class 1 verbs (*mii-* 'look', *idi-* 'come out', *nkai-* 'bring (someone)', *fii-* 'give', *nii-* 'boil', *nci-* 'put', etc.), which all end in *-r* for non-past adnominal inflection. As noted in 3.3, Class 1 verbs may be derived from Class 2 verbs (e.g. *jum-* 'read') by attaching the passive-potential affix *-rai* (e.g. *jum* 'read' → *jum-ai*). Such derived Class 1 verbs may also undergo this fused morphology: *jumair kutu* → *jumai-kutu* 'be supposed to be read'. Second, Class 1 verbs do not always show the fused morphology, and they often occur in the non-fused form (i.e. with the original inflectional affix *-r*). That is, the source structure like (57) (word-type MMC) and its grammaticalized structure like (56) (affix-type MMC) are co-existent in Irabu.

With respect to Class 2 verbs (such as *fau-* 'eat', *tur-* 'take', *jum-* 'read', *kug-* 'paddle', etc.), the non-past meaning is denoted by a stem alone (or, they have a zero non-past affix). Thus, we cannot say whether what we are looking at is, say, *jum kutu* (*jum-Ø kutu*) or *jum-kutu*, since the original inflectional affix is not 'replaced'. Hence, we cannot say that Class 2 verbs instantiate the affix-type MMC in which *kutu* functions as an inflectional affix. No useful test is forthcoming that will confirm this. Therefore I tentatively treat every instance of a Class 2 verb as the 'Noun' of the word-type MMC.

We now examine whether the 'Clause' of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. As noted above, the suffix *-kutu* is added to the stem of a verb. In the case of Class 2 verbs, the stem by itself can be used as the non-past form. That is, the 'Clause' can stand on its own as a sentence. In the case of Class 1 verbs, the stem by itself cannot be used as an independent form, and the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence.

5.4.3 Phonological dependency

As noted in earlier sections, one striking fact about the affix-type MMC is that the 'Noun' component (i.e. the affix *-kutu*) is morphologically integrated into the preceding verb, although this only applies to Class 1 verbs unequivocally. Moreover, prosodic evidence shows that the two

components constitute a single phonological word; there is no prosodic (phonological-word) boundary between the preceding verb (Class 1 verb stem) and the 'Noun' (*-kutu*). Consider the following pair of examples. (59) is a repetition of (34) (word-type MMC). (61) is an instance of the affix-type MMC, with the inflectional affix of (59) is replaced by the affix *-kutu*.

(59) *ai=nu* *siitu-mmi=a* *mmja* *bizi-smi-rai-r*
that=GEN pupil-PL=TOP well sit-CAUS-PASS-ADN.NPST
kutu=dara.
should=EMP
'That sort of pupil should/will be made to sit (as a punishment).'

(60) *bizi-smi-rai-r* *kutu=dara*
(bizi)(smi)(rair) (kutu)(dara)
a. H L L# H L#
b. H L H L L#

(61) *ai=nu* *siitu-mmi=a* *mmja*
that=GEN pupil-PL=TOP well
bizi-smi-rai- *-kutu=dara.*
sit-CAUS-PASS- -will=EMP
'That sort of pupil should/will be made to sit (as a punishment).'

(62) (bizi)(smi)(rair) (kutu)(dara)
*a. H L L# H L#
b. H L H L L#

As indicated by the asterisk on (62a), it is impossible for a phonological-word boundary to be drawn between the verb and the 'Noun' in the affix-type MMC. Thus, in the affix-type MMC, the 'Noun' component is both morphologically and phonologically dependent.

In 5.4.2, I noted that it is impossible to argue that Class 2 verbs may instantiate the affix-type MMC given that the original inflectional affix is zero in the first place. When the phonological criterion as discussed in this section is applied, it becomes clear that the 'Noun' *kutu* and the preceding verb (a Class 2 verb) are not always treated as a single phonological word. That is, they behave like the verb of the 'Clause' and 'Noun' in the word-type MMC, where the two components may or may not be separate phonological words (see (35)).

5.5 Meanings of the MMC

We saw the meanings of the three types of the MMC, from 5.2 to 5.4. They can be summarized as in Table 3. Where possible, the etymology of the 'Noun', too, is shown.

Table 3. Meanings of the MMC

etymology	meaning outside MMC	meaning of the MMC
	kutu 'fact'	(a) deontic: 'should; be supposed to' (b) anticipated future: 'will'
	munu 'thing'	causal: 'because'
(cf. Japanese *hazu* 'arrowhead') 'person, thing'	*=paz* *=su(u)*	epistemic: guess ('may be' or 'must be') (a) tag question (b) epistemic ('I think') or evidential:, ('It seems': visual/auditory evidence)'
kutu 'fact'	*-kutu*	(a) deontic: 'should; be supposed to' (b) anticipated future ('will')

5.6 Comparison with the MMC with other constructions

In 5.2 to 5.4, we compared the MMC (or the 'Clause' of the MMC) with independent sentences and ACs. Thre result can be summarized as in Table 4. The columns list constructions that are compared, while the rows list the features/criteria used for this comparison. Not every point in this comparison was discussed or exemplified above. The plus sign indicates 'possible', and the minus sign 'not possible'.

Table 4. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

	predicate verb form	occurrence of copula	topic marking	focus marking
independent sentence	independent, adnominal	+	+	+
MMC: *kutu*	adnominal	+	+	+
MMC: *munu*	adnominal	-	+	+
MMC: *=paz*	adnominal, independent	+	+	+
MMC: *=su(u)*	adnominal	-	+	+
MMC: *-kutu*	stem	+	+	+
AC	adnominal	+	-	-

The first two features/criteria pertain to the predicate of these constructions, while the other three concern their syntax.

[1] The predicate

(a) Verb form

The predicate may be in an independent form or an adnominal form in independent sentences, and it is consistently an adnominal form in ACs. In the 'Clause' of the MMC, it is generally in an adnominal form — except for the MMC with *=paz* (adnominal and independent) and the MMC with *-kutu* (stem). That is, in terms of the form of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC generally behaves like ACs. However, the MMC with *=paz* behaves more like independent sentences.

(b) The occurrence of the copula verb

Among independent sentences, nominal-predicate sentences may contain the copula verb, though not always obligatorily. The same applies to the MMC with *kutu*, the MMC with *=paz*, and the MMC with *-kutu*. Also, this applies when an AC followed by the head noun constitutes a predicate NP. The MMC with *munu* and the MMC with *=su(u)* MMC are exceptions; the 'Noun' is not followed by the copula and functions as a sentence-final particle. Therefore, *munu* and *=su(u)* are less noun-like than *kutu, =paz,* and *-kutu* in terms of syntactic distribution and copula support.

[2] Syntax

(c) Topic marking

Among the construction types listed in Table 4, topic marking is possible in all of them — except for ACs. That is, in this respect, the 'Clause' of MMC behaves like independent sentences, and unlike ACs.

(d) Focus marking

What was stated above regardinf topic marking applies to focus marking.

In sum, the MMC as a whole resembles neither independent sentences nor ACs with respect to the morphological and syntactic characteristics of the predicate. However, in terms of topic marking and focus marking, i.e. in terms of syntax, the MMC behaves like independent sentences. That is, in these syntactic respects, the MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. The MMC does not contain an (embedded) AC.

6. Summary and concluding remarks

The present paper has shown that Irabu three types of the MMC: the word-type, the clitic-type, and the affix-type MMC. Most instances have a modal meaning: deontic, epistemic, or evidential, while the *munu* MMC has a causal meaning.

In terms of the predicate of the 'Clause', the MMC as a whole resembles neither independent sentences nor ACs. However, regarding topic marking and focus marking, which are syntactic criteria, the MMC behaves like independent sentences, and unlike ACs, and it is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

The three types of MMC exhibit different stages of grammaticalization,

in which the word-type MMC is clearly the source structure from which the affix-type MMC has developed:

independent word => enclitic => suffix.

Perhaps the most striking fact about this process is that a noun (*kutu* 'thing') has become a verbal inflectional suffix (*-kutu* (i) deontic 'should; be supposed to', (ii) anticipated future). The co-existence of a grammaticalized strucuture together with its non-grammaticalised source structure is common crosslinguistically. However, the grammaticalization of a noun to a verbal inflectional suffix is definitely uncommon. A cursory examination of the relevant literature, such as Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991), Hopper and Traugott (2003) and Lehmann (1995), indicates that no such instance seems to have been reported previously.

It needs to be emphasized here that this crosslinguistically uncommon grammaticalization phenomenon seems rather common in Ryukyuan in general. For example, in Shuri (Okinawa Ryukyuan), the formal noun *kutu* 'thing' is used as a converbal suffix denoting the causal relation (Shimoji 2012). Yuwan (Amami Ryukyuan) has a formal noun *si* (note that it corresponds to *=su(u)* in Irabu; Section 5.3.3), which stands as a clitic when used in an NP with an adnominal word, whereas it stands as an affix when used in an NP wth an adnominal clause (Niinaga 2011). The Ryukyuan data presented here indicate one possible source structure that feeds the crosslinguistically uncommon grammaticalization (from a noun to a verbal inflectional affix): in Ryukyuan, this structure commonly developed from the AC structure, with the head noun of an NP being grammaticalized to become an inflectional affix of the predicate verb of the AC that precedes the head noun. The affix-type MMC in Irabu is one resulting construction of this grammaticalization phenomenon.

Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; ACC2 - accusative (non-canonical); ADN - adnominal; ALL - allative; ALZ - adjectivalizer; AVLZ - adverbalizer; CAUS - causative; CMP - complementizer; COP - copula; CSL - causal; CVB - converb; DAT - dative; DIM - diminutive; EMP - emphasis; FOC - focus; GEN - genitive; H - high; INT - intentional; INTJ - interjection; L - low; MED - medial verb; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negation; NOM - nominative; NPST - non-past; PASS - passive-potential; PL - plural; PROG - progressive; PST - past; QT - ; RSL - resultative; SG - singular; THM - thematic vowel; TOP - topic; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

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Tsunoda, Tasaku. This volume-a. Mermaid construction: an introduction and summary.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. This volume-b. Mermaid construction in Modern Japanese.

Mermaid construction in Korean

Joungmin Kim
Reitaku University

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) 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.

Korean has three types of the MMC.

(a) [Adnominal clause] Noun Copula
(b) [Nominalized clause] Noun Copula
(c) [Adnominal clause] Noun Adjective or auxiliary verb

The present paper examines the dominant type: (a) type. In the following, this type of the MMC will be simply referred to as 'the MMC' unless it is compared with the other two types.

In the dominant type, more than 70 nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. They can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defectives nouns. Some of the nouns in the 'Noun' slot exhibit grammaticalization to varying degrees.

The MMC has a wide range of meanings/functions, such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal and stylistic meanings/functions, among others.

The 'Copula' slot may be occupied by the copula *=i-* or by one of its variants, which differ in terms of tense, speech levels, and degree of politeness.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC and that of adnominal clauses (hereafter 'ACs') (or relative clauses) are identical; they must take an adnominalizer suffix. Adnominal forms are non-finite, and the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence.

Regarding syntax, however, the 'Clause' of the MMC in the main behaves differently from ACs. Rather, the entire MMC behaves like independent sentences. That is, syntactically, the MMC does not contain an AC, and it is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

The MMC abounds in Korean and it is frequently used both in written and spoken discourse in Korean.

2. Initial illustration

Three examples of the MMC are given below. In this paper, Yale Romanization will be adopted for the illustration of Korean examples.

(2) [*Chinkwu=nun* *ilpon=ey* *ka-l*]
friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS

yeyceng=i-ta.
plan=COP-DECL
LT: 'Friend is a plan [that he/she] goes to Japan.'
FT: '[My] friend plans to go to Japan.'

(3) [*Pakk=ey=nun* *pi=ka* *o-nun*]
outside=DAT/LOC=TOP rain=NOM fall-ADN.NPST
moyang=i-ta.
appearance=COP-DECL
LT: 'As for the outside, the rain is an appearance [that it] is falling.'
FT: 'It appears to be raining outside.'

(4) [*Na=nun* *unhayng=ey* *ka-nun*] *kil=i-ta.*
I=TOP bank=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
LT: 'I am the road [that I] go to the bank.'
FT: 'I am on my way to the bank.'

3. Profile of the language

The Korean language is mainly spoken in the Korean peninsula, by approximately 78 to 80 million people. It can be classified as an Altaic language, although this is a controversial issue. The variety spoken in South Korea and that spoken in North Korea exhibit some differences in pronunciation, spelling, grammar and vocabulary. The present paper deals with the Seoul dialect of South Korea.

The phonemes of Korean are 19 consonants (14 consonants and 5 geminates): */k, n, t, l, m, p, s, ng, c, ch, kh, th, ph, h, kk, tt, pp, ss, cc/*, and 21 vowels and diphthongs : */a, ya, e, ye, o, yo, wu, yu, u, i, ay, yay, ey, yey, wa, way, oy, we, wey, wi , uy/.*

Korean is largely agglutinating, dependent-marking and mildly configurational. It employs both suffixes and prefixes.

Verbs inflect. They have a rich set of adnominal forms, in addition to finite forms and conjunctive forms.

The preferred order is the predicate-final order: SOV. Case markers are postpositions. The case system is of the nominative-accusative type. A demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective and an AC precede the noun they modify.

Korean has a literary/literacy tradition. The data in this paper is mainly taken from the written language, such as newspaper articles and blogs on the internet. This paper also contains examples that I have composed.

4. Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate, noun-predicate and existential-predicate sentences

Sentences in Korean can be classified into four types. Furthermore,

adjective-predicate sentences can be divided into two subtypes.

(a) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (5).
(b) Adjective-predicate sentence: (6) and (7).
(c) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (8).
(d) Existential-predicate sentence, e.g. (9).

In every type of sentences, the predicate is followed by a sentence-final suffix, e.g. *-ta* for declarative sentences. Noun-predicate sentences contain the copula verb. The predicate of existential-predicate sentences is *iss-* 'be, exist, have' or *eps-* 'do not exist, be absent'.

(5) *Chinkwu=nun nayil ilpon=ey* ***ka-n-ta.***
friend=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC go-PRES-DECL
'[My] friend goes/will go to Japan tomorrow.'
(6) *Chinkwu=nun* ***yeyppu-ta.***
friend =TOP pretty-DECL
'[My] friend is pretty.'
(7) *Chinkwu=nun* ***kenkang-ha-ta.***
friend=TOP health-AS-DECL
'[My] friend is healthy.'
(8) *Chelswu =nun uysa=****i-ta.***
riendTOP medical doctor=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is a medical doctor.'
(9) *Onul=un seysi=pwuthe hoyuy=ka* ***iss-ta.***
today=TOP 3.o'clock=ABL meeting=NOM exist-DECL
'Today there is a meeting at 3 o'clock.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Introductory notes. In Korean, an AC precedes the noun it modifies. Korean has no relative pronouns. Verbs (including the copula and the existential verb) and adjectives have an elaborate set of adnominal forms, in addition to finite forms and conjunctive forms. Adnominal forms involve an adnominal (or relativizer) suffix (hereafter 'adnominalizer'). Adnominalizers are shown in Table 1. The predicate of an AC has to be in an adnominal form, e.g. (10): adnominal past (*-un*).

(10) [*sosel=ul ilk-****un***] *namca*
novel=ACC read-ADN.PST man
'the man who read a novel'

Korean has both 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs') and 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs'). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a discussion of these two types of ACs). Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an

argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from the outside of the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC.

Table 1. Adnominalizers

	Verb	Adjective	Copula	Existential
Nonpast (indicative)	*-nun*	*-(u)n*	*-n*	*-nun*
Past (Perfective)	*-(u)n*	(none)	(none)	(none)
Retrospective	*-ten*	*-ten*	*-ten*	*-ten*
Past retrospective	*-(a/e)ss ten*	*-(a/e)ss ten*	*-ess-ten*	*-ess-ten*
Prospective	*-(u)l*	*-(u)l*	*-l*	*-ul*
Past prospective	*-(a/e)ss-ul*	*-(a/e)ss-ul*	*-ess-ul*	*-ess-ul*

4.2.1.2 Internal ACs. In the ACs of Korean, all the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Examples include (10) (subject), (11) (direct object), (12) (indirect object), and (13) (oblique object). Relativization of the possessive requires a mirror image of a resumptive pronoun, e.g. *caki* 'self' in (14). (See Cho (1999) and Keenan and Comrie (1977).)

(11) [*Kim kyoswunim=kkeyse ssu-si-n*] *chayk*
Kim professor=NOM.HOR write-HS-ADN.PST book
'This is a book that Professor Kim wrote.'

(12) [*Kim kyoswunim=kkeyse chayk=ul cwu-si-n*]
Kim professor=NOM.HOR book=ACC give-HS-ADN.PST
haksayng
student
'the student to whom Professor Kim gave a book.'

(13) [*Emma=ka chayk=ul ilk-**un***] *secem*
mother=NOM book=ACC read-ADN.PST book.store
'the book store where [my] mother read a book.'

(14) [*caki emma=ka uysa-i-n*] *ku haksayng*
self mother=NOM doctor-COP-ADN.NPST that student
'the student whose mother is a doctor'

4.2.1.3 External ACs. An example is (16). Compare it with (15) (internal AC).

(15) [*Sayngsen=ul kwup-nun*] *namca*
fish=ACC grill-ADN.NPST man
'the man who grills a fish.'
(16) [*Sayngsen=ul kwup-nun*] *naymsay*
fish=ACC grill-ADN.NPST smell
'the smell with which [someone] grills a fish.'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses
There are two ways to form adverbial clauses.

(a) Use of a conjunctive suffix (which is attached to the stem of the predicate), e.g. *-ketun* 'if', *-nikka*, 'because', *-ko* 'and', *-ca maca* 'as soon as'.
(b) A noun followed by the DAT/LOC case maker, e.g. *cen(=ey)* 'before', *ttay(=ey),*' when'. This forms adverbial clauses of time. The case maker can be omitted.

The method (b) is relevant to the discussion of the MMC. (At least on the surface, these adverbial clauses have the form of 'clause + noun', like the MMC.) Nouns such as the following are employed: *cen* 'before', e.g. (17), *ttay* 'time', e.g. (18), *si* 'time', *tongan* 'during', and *tocwung* 'during'. They encode the temporal relationship between two events.

(17) [*Enni=ka o-ki* ***cen=ey***]
elder.sister=NOM come-NMLZ before=DAT/LOC
appa=ka o-si-ess-ta.
father=NOM come-HS-PST-DECL
'Before [my] elder sister came, [my] father came.'
(18) [*Emma=nun cip=ey o-l* ***ttay***]
mother=TOP home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time
ppang=ul sa-ss-ta.
bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
'When [my] mother came back home, she bought bread.'

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The three properties and the structure of the prototype of MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) are given in Section 1. Korean has three types of the MMC.

(a) [Adnominal clause] Noun Copula, e.g. (2), (3) and (4)
(b) [Nominalized clause] Noun Copula, e.g. (19).
(c) [Adnominal clause] Noun Adjective or auxiliary verb, e.g. (20).

(19) [*Salam=un* *cwuk-**ki***] ***malyen=i-ta.***
person=TOP die-NMLZ preparation=COP-DECL
LT: 'Human beings are the preparation [that they] die.
FT: 'Human beings are doomed to die.'

(20) [*Pi=ka* *o-l*] ***kes*** ***kath-ta.***
rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS thing same-DECL
LT: 'Rain is the same appearance [that it] will fall.'
FT: 'It looks like it will rain.'

The predicate of the 'Clause' contains an adnominalizer suffix in the types (a) and (c), and the nominalizer suffix *-ki* in the type (b). That is, the predicate is a non-finite form, and consequently the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, all of these three types of the MMC deviate from the prototype. The type (c) does not have the copula verb, and it deviates from the prototype in this respect, too.

The three types of the MMC are frequently used both in written and spoken discourse in Korean. Due to space and time constraint, the present paper will examine the type (a). The reasons for this are the following. First, the type (a) is the most frequently used among the three types. Second, the type (a) allows the largest number of, and also, the widest range of, nouns for the 'Noun' slot. In the following, I shall refer to the type (a) simply as the MMC.

The nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defective nouns.

5.2 Previous studies

In Korean linguistics, what we term the MMC has not been recognized as a distinct construction. It has been regarded as a type of 'copula construction' (Nam 2004a, b) or as an instance of 'grammaticalization of noun' (Ahn 1997, Kang 2004). Nam (2004a, b) pays more attention to the identification of category of copula *=i-* than to the types of nouns that are attested in this construction. Ahn (1997) and Kang (2004) focus on the clarification of the semantic changes of content nouns and the process of their grammaticalization. Although they present an exhaustive list of nouns employed, they do not provide a detailed discussion of what I refer to as non-content nouns.

In the functional-typological approach, much attention has been paid to the grammaticalization of nominalizers (e.g. Horie 1998, 2008, Rhee 2008). However, these works are largely confined to the nominalizer *kes* (discussed in 5.5.4 below). Therefore, it is important to examine exhaustively the nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

5.3 Predicate of the 'Clause'

As seen in 4.1 regarding sentences, the predicate is of four types. All of them can occur in the 'Clause' of the MMC. Examples are (2), (3), (4)

(verb), (21) (adjective), (22) (noun plus the copula), and (23) (existential). In the examples below, the predicate is in bold face.

(21) [*Ku=nun hangsang* ***palk-un***]
he=TOP always cheerful-ADN.NPST
phyoceng=i-ta.
expression=COP-DECL
LT: 'He is an expression [that he] is always cheerful.'
FT: 'He always looks cheerful.'

(22) [*Ku=nun uysa=****i-n***]
he=TOP doctor=COP-ADN.NPST
moyang=i-ta.
appearance=COP-DECL
LT: 'He is an appearance [that he] is a medical doctor.'
FT: 'He seems to be a medical doctor.'

(23) [*Seysi=pwuthe hoyuy=ka* ***iss-ul***]
3.o'clock=ABL meeting=NOM exist-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
plan=COP-DECL
LT: 'The meeting is a plan [that it] exists from 3 o'clock.'
FT: 'The meeting is scheduled to be held from 3 o'clock .'

Recall, however, that the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC has to be in an adnominal form. Consequently the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence. The predicate of the 'Clause' can be negated. See 5.7.2.

5.4 'Copula'

The copula is the enclitic *=i-*. Portions of its inflection are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Copula

Speech level	Nonpast form	Past form
Plain form	*=i-ta*	*=i-ess-ta*
Intimate	*=i-ya*	*=i-ess-e*
Polite form	*=i-eyyo/=yeyyo*	*=i-ess-eyo*
Deferential	*=i-pni-ta*	*=i-ess-supni-ta*

The subject honorific can be attached to the copula, e.g.:

(24) *Sensayngnim=kkeyse=nun konlan-ha-n*
teacher=NOM.HOR=TOP embarrassment-do-ADN.NPST
*phyoceng=****i-si-ess-ta.***
appearance=COP-HS-PST-DECL
LT: 'The teacher was the appearance [that he/she] was embarrassed.'
FT: 'The teacher looked embarrassed.'

The negative form of the copula is *an=i-*. That is, the negation marker *an* is added to the beginning of the copula. Negation in the MMC will be discussed in See 5.7.2.

When preceded by a noun that ends with a vowel and followed by the sentence-final suffix *-ta*, the copula *=i* can be omitted, e.g. *pwunwiki=(i)-ta* 'atmosphere, mood=COP-SFS' in (35) and *chwusey=(i)-ta* 'tendency=COP-SFS' in (36).

5.5 Types of the 'Noun'

5.5.1 Introductory notes

In the Japanese MMC, at least 106 nouns are attested in the 'noun' slot (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.1). On the basis of Tsunoda's list of these nouns, I examined what nouns can occur in the 'Noun' slot of the Korean MMC. About 70 to 75 nouns have been attested in this slot. This is the largest number among the languages examined in the present volume — apart from Japanese. These Korean nouns are tentatively classified into three groups.

(a) Content nouns (5.5.2)
(b) Non-content nouns (5.5.3)
(c) Defective nouns (5.5.4)

Defective nouns cannot be used independently outside the MMC. Both content nouns and non-content nouns can be used outside the MMC. Roughly speaking, when used in the MMC, content nouns have the meaning that they have when used outside the MMC, while non-contents nouns do not. However, this classification is not clear-cut, but a matter of degree. It may not be endorsed by every specialist in Korean grammar. For example, *moyang* 'appearance', *pep* 'law' and *kil* 'path, road', which are tentatively assigned to (b), may be assigned to (a).

And as mentioned above (4.2.1.1, Table 1), Korean has an elaborate set of adnominalizer suffixes. There are co-occurrence restrictions between adnominalizer suffixes and nouns. These restrictions are difficult to generalize about, but at least they are much more strict with (b) non-content nouns and (c) defective nouns than with (a) content nouns.

5.5.2 Content nouns

The classification of content nouns is largely based on that of Tsunoda's (this volume-b, 5.4.2) classification of the content nouns that occur in the 'Noun' slot of the Japanese MMC. Due to space consideration, the examples of the MMC given below will often be accompanied by a free translation only. The nouns that are not fully acceptable in the MMC are marked by '?', and those that are totally unacceptable are indicated by '*'.

In the examples given below, the relevant nouns are in bold face.

[1] Nouns that indicate plan, intention or the like

The MMC has a modal meaning. Nouns in (a) to (f) tend to co-occur with the prospective adnominalizer *-(u)l*.

(a) *yeyceng, kyeyhoyk, pangchim* 'plan', e.g. (2), (23)
(b) *cakceng, uyhyang* 'intention', e.g. (25)
(c) *mokcek* 'aim'
(d) *casey* 'attitude'
(e) *maum* 'mind', *sayngkak* 'thought'
(f) ? *kyelsim*, ? *kyeluy*, 'decision' , *kako* 'determination', e.g. (26)
(g) ? *censwul* 'tactics', *cenlyak* 'strategy'

(25) *Na=nun nayil yeki=lul ttena-l*
I=TOP tomorrow here=ACC leave-ADN.PROS
***cakceng**=i-ta.*
intention=COP-DECL
'I will leave here tomorrow.'

Among the nouns listed in (f), *kako* 'determination' is felicitous in the MMC, while *kyelsim* and *kyeluy*, both 'decision', are not.

(26) *Na=nun ku=wa ssawu-l*
I=TOP he=COM fight-ADN.PROS
***kako/*kyelsim/*kyeluy** =(i)-ta.*
determination/decision/decision= COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'I was determined to fight with him.'

[2] Nouns that indicate schedule, expectation or the like
The MMC in the main has a modal meaning. (29) probably has an evidential meaning.

(a) *cenmang* 'view, expectation', e.g. (27)
(b) *yeysang* 'forecast', e.g. (28)
(c) *panghyang* 'direction'
(d)? *hulum* 'flow'
(e) *kisey* 'strength', e.g. (29)

(27) *Mwulka=ka olu-l* ***cenmang**=i-ta.*
price=NOM go.up-ADN.PROS expectation=COP-DECL
'Prices will go up (prospectively).'
(28) *Samkup=un silyong yenge=lul*
3.level=TOP practical English=ACC
chukceng-ha-nun sihem=i toy-l
measure-do-ADN.NPST test=NOM become-ADN.PROS
***yeysang**=i-ta.*
forecast=COP-DECL
'Level 3 will be the test to measure practical English ability.'

(29) *Ku=nun tangcang mal=ul . tha-ko*
he=TOP immediately horse=ACC ride-CONJ
naka-l ***kisey****=(i)-ta.*
go.out-ADN.PROS strength=COP-DECL
'He appears to ride on a horse and go out immediately.'

Most of the nouns listed in [1] and [2] are productively used in newspapers (i.e. in written articles).

[3] Nouns that indicate feeling or the like
Nouns such as *maum*, *simceng*, e.g. (30), *nukkim*, *kipwun*, e.g. (31), and *simkyeng* are translated as 'feeling', 'mind' or the like. The MMC has a modal meaning.

(30) *Na=nun cwuk-ko siph-un* ***simceng****=i-ta.*
I=TOP die-want-ADN.NPST mind=COP-DECL
'I want to die.'
(31) *Wuntong=ul sicak-ha-n ilay na=nun*
exercise=ACC start-do-ADN.PST since I=TOP
say salam=i toy-n ***kipwun****=i-ta.*
new person=NOM become-ADN.PST feeling=COP-DECL
'Since [I] started to exercise I feel like another person.'

[4] Nouns that indicate situation, appearance, result or the like

(a) *moyang, mosup, kisayk* 'appearance, looks', e.g. (3)
(b) *hyengthay* 'form'
(c) *sangthay, sanghwang, hyengphyeng* 'situation' ('be in such and such a situation', e.g. (32), (33)
(d) *kkol* 'look, sight', 'unpleasant state/result', e.g. (34)

(32) *Saynghwalpi=ka pwucok-hay-se na=nun*
living.expenses=NOM shortage-do-CONJ I=TOP
il=ul kyeysok hay-ya ha-l
work=ACC continously do-CONJ do-ADN.PROS
hyengphyeng*=i-ta.*
situation=COP-DECL
'I have to keep working because I am short of [my] living expenses.'
(33) *Cikum namca chinkwu=wa tangsin=un*
now boy friend=COM you=TOP
heyeci-l ***sanghwang****=i-ta.*
break.up-ADN.PROS situation=COP-DECL
LT: 'You and [your] boyfriend are the situation to break up.'
FT: 'You and your boy friend are bound to break up.'

(34) *Pangsim-ha-taka* *na=wa* *oppa=nun* *kathi*
carelessness-do-CONJ I=COM brother=TOP together
nemeci-n ***kkol**=i-ta.*
fall.down-ADN.PST result=COP-DECL
'While [we] were acting carelessly, we ended up falling down together.'

The MMC with a noun from (a) and (b) has an evidential meaning: 'It appears that', e.g. (3). However, the MMC with a noun from other groups appears to have some kind of modal meaning. Specifically, (c): situation ('be in such and such a situation', e.g. (32) and (33), and (d): unpleasant situation or result, e.g. (34).

[5] Nouns that indicate atmosphere, impression or the like
The meaning of the MMC is probably modal.

(a) *insang* 'impression'
(b) *pwunwiki* 'atmosphere, mood', e.g. (35)

(35) *Onul-to* *eccenci* *yakun-ha-l*
today-also somehow overtime-do-ADN.PROS
***pwunwiki**=(i)-ta.*
atmosphere=COP-DECL
'[I] feel somehow [I] have to do overtime job again today.'

[6] Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like
The meaning of the MMC is aspectual, to be precise, habitual.

(a) *kyenghyang, chwusey* 'tendency', e.g. (36)
(b) *phwungco* 'fashion, trend', e.g. (37)
(c)**supkwan, *pelus* 'habit'
(d)**kwansup, *phwungsup* 'practice'

(36) *Hankwuke* *haksupca=ka* *nulena-nun*
Korean.language learner=NOM increase-ADN.NPST
***chwusey**=(i)-ta.*
tendency=COP-DECL
'Korean learners are on the increase.'
(37) *Yocum=un* *olay* *sal-ki ttaymwuney* *hwankap*
recently=TOP long live-because 60.years.old
canchi-cocha *an* *ha-nun* ***phwungco**=i-ta.*
celebration-even NEG do-ADN.NPST trend=COP-DECL
'Recently, because people live long, [they] tend not to celebrate even their 60th birthday.'

Note that *supkwan, pelus* 'habit' in (c) and *kwansup, phwungsup* 'practice' in (d) are not felicitous in the Korean MMC; see (38). In contrast,

in Japanese, the noun *narawasi* 'practice' can be used in the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.2-[6]). That is, the Japanese equivalent of (38) is acceptable.

(38) **Hankwuk salam=un kwuceng=ul*
Korea people=TOP lunar.new year's.day=ACC
soy-nun ***kwansup**=i-ta.*
celebrate-ADN.NPST practice=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'Korean people have the practice of celebrating the New Year's day in the lunar calendar.'

However, the Korean nouns *supkwan* and *pelus*, both 'habit', and also *kwansup* and *phwungsup*, both 'practice', become acceptable if the copula *=i* is replaced with the existential verb *iss-*, e.g. (39). The noun *kwansup* is followed by the nominative case marker. The example (39) is an instance of an existential-predicate sentence, and not an instance of the MMC.

(39) *Hankwuk salam=un kwuceng=ul*
Korea people=TOP lunar.new.year's.day=ACC
soy-nun ***kwansup**=i iss-ta.*
celebrate-ADN.NPST practice=NOM exist-DECL
LT: 'The practice that Korean people celebrate the lunar new year's day exists.'
FT: 'Korean people have the practice of celebrating the New Year's Day in the lunar calendar.'

[7] Nouns that indicate the nature, or the propensity of humans
The meaning of the MMC is probably habitual, i.e. a type of 'aspectual'.

(a) *sengkyek, sengcil,? kicil* 'personality'
(b) *thaip, suthail* 'type, style' (loan words from English)

(40) *Ponlay cem kath-un ke-n*
in.nature fortune.telling be.like-ADN.NPST thing=TOP
mit-ci anh-nun ***sengkyek**=i-ta.*
trust-NEG-ADN.NPST personality=COP-DECL
'I have the nature not to trust the like of fortunetelling.'
(*-ci* and *anh-* jointly indicate negation.)
(41) *Ku=nun inkan kwankyey=lul cwungyohakey*
he=TOP person relationship=ACC importantly
sayngkak-ha-nun ***thaip**=i-ta.*
think-do-ADN.NPST type=COP-DECL
'He is the kind of person who thinks much of personal relationships.'

[8] Nouns that indicate role, duty or destination
The meaning of the MMC is in the main modal, to be precise, deontic.

(a) *yekhal* 'role', e.g. (42)
(b) **chaykim, *uymwu* 'responsibility, duty'
(c) **kyuchik, *kyuceng* 'rule, regulation', e.g. (45)
(d) **cakyek* 'qualification'
(e) *ipcang* 'position', e.g.(43)
(f) *wunmyeng, swukmyeng* 'destiny', e.g.(44)

(42) *Ilpen thaca=nun thwuswu=lul*
one.number batter=TOP pitcher=ACC
koylophi-nun ***yekhal***=*i-ta.*
harass-ADN.NPST role=COP-DECL
'The first hitter has a role to harass the pitcher.'
(43) *Cengpwu=nun ssal swuip=ey*
government=TOP rice import=DAT/LOC
pantay-ha-nun ***ipcang***=*i-pni-ta.*
disagreement-do-ADN.NPST position=COP-DEF-DECL
'The government disagrees with the import of rice.'
(44) *Ku=nun kyelkwuk silphay-ha-l*
he=top after.all failure-do-ADN.PROS
wunmyeng=*i-ess-ta.*
destiny=COP-PST-DECL
'He was destined to fail after all.'

Ipcang 'position' is frequently observed in Korean TV news programs and newspapers articles, e.g. (43).

Chaykim and *uymwu*, both 'responsibility, duty', and *cakyek* 'qualification' cannot be used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

Similarly, *kyuchik* and *kyuceng*, both 'rule, regulation', cannot be used in the MMC; see (45). In contrast, in Japanese the noun '*kimari*' 'rule, regulation' and *okite* 'law, rule' can be used in the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.2-[8]). That is, the Japanese equivalent of (45) is acceptable.

(45) **Haksayng=un maycwu leyphothu=lul*
student=TOP every.week report=ACC
ceychwul-ha-nun ***kyuchik/kyuceng***=*i-ta.*
submission-do-ADN.NPST regulation/rule=COP-DECL
'By regulation, the students must submit an essay every week.'

[9] Nouns that indicate features or characteristics of someone's body or the like

(a) *mom* 'body'
(b) *cheycil* 'nature (of the body)', e.g. (46)
(c) *cheykyek* 'physique', *momcip* 'physique, build of body', e.g.(47)
(d) *phyoceng* 'expression on the face', *elkwul* 'face', e.g.(48)
(e) *malthwu* 'way of talking'

(f) *casey* 'posture'

(46) *Ku=nun cokum-man mek-eto sal=i cal*
he=TOP a.little-only eat-CONJ fat=NOM well
cci-nun ***cheycil****=i-ta.*
get.fat-ADN.NPST nature.of.body=COP-DECL
'He gains weight easily on small portions [of food]. '

(47) *Mikwuk yeseng=un taypwupwun khu-n*
America women=TOP most.of tall-ADN.NPST
khi=ey ttwungttwung-ha-n ***momcip****=i-ta.*
height-DAT/LOC fat-do-ADN.NPST physique=COP-DECL
'Most of American women are tall and fat.'

(48) *Ku=nun hangsang palk-un*
he =TOP always bright-ADN.NPST
phyoceng*=i-ta.*
expression=COP-DECL
'He always looks bright.'

[10] Nouns that indicate the structure or the mechanism of inanimate objects

The meaning of the MMC is similar to that examined in [9], except that [10] concerns inanimate objects.

(a) *kwuco* 'structure', e.g. (49).
(b) *selkyey* 'design', e.g. (50).
(c) *nayyong* 'content',
(d) *sisutheym* (a loan from English: *system*) 'system',
(e) *suthail* (a loan from English: *style*) 'style '.

(49) *Maycik thechi=nun kamayngcem=i ton=ul*
(name of a company)=TOP franchise=NOM money=ACC
pe-nun ***kwuco****=i-ta.*
earn-ADN.NPST structure=COP-DECL
LT: 'Magic Touch is the structure that the franchises earn money.'
FT: 'Magic Touch is structured in such a way that its franchises make a big profit.'

(50) *I kwangcang=un simin-tul=eykey hyusik*
this square=TOP citizen-PL=DAT/LOC rest
kongkan=kwa mwunhwa kongkan=ul tongsiey
space=COM culture space=ACC simultaneously
ceykong-ha-nun ***selkyey****=i-ta.*
supply-do-ADN.NPST design=COP-DECL
'This square is designed to provide citizens with a space to relax and to experience culture simultaneously. '

[11] Nouns that indicate temporal relations, progress or the like

The meaning of the MMC is aspectual or temporal. The co-occurrence

restrictions are found in the following nouns. Nouns in (a) co-occur with the prospective adnominalizer *-(u)l*, e.g. (51), (52); *tocwung* in (b) only with the non-past adnominalizer *-nun*, e.g. (53); and *cikhwu* in (c) only with the past adnominalizer *-n*.

(a) *sikan, sicem, ttay* 'time', e.g. (51), (52)
(b) *tocwung* 'in the process/middle of ', e.g. (53)
(c) *cikhwu* 'immediately after'

(51) *Icey=nun simin-tul=i him=ul*
now=TOP citizen-PL=NOM power=ACC
moa-ya ha-l ***ttay****=(i)-ta.*
get-CONJ do-ADN.PROS time=COP-DECL
'It's time for citizens to get together.'

(52) *Wuli hoysa=nun cikum sepisu kaysen=i*
our company=TOP now service improvement=NOM
philyo-ha-n ***sicem****=i-ta.*
need-ADN.NPST time=COP-DECL
'It's time for our company to improve service.'

(53) *Na=nun cikum swukcey=lul ha-nun*
I =TOP now homework=ACC do-ADN.NPST
tocwung*=i-ta.*
in.the.middle.of=COP-DECL
'I am doing homework now.'

[12] 'Suspicion'

Only two nouns belong to this group: *hyemuy* and *uyhok,* both 'suspicion'. The meaning of the MMC is evidential. In the MMC, *hyemuy* is acceptable, e.g. (54), but *uyhok* is not fully acceptable; see (55).

(54) *Noymwul=ul pat-un* ***hyemuy****=i-ta.*
bribe-ACC receive-ADN.PST suspicion=COP-DECL
'[He] is suspected to have received a bribe.'

(55) ? *Noymwul-ul pat-un* ***uyhok****=i-ta.*
bribe-ACC receive-ADN.PST suspicion=COP-DECL
'[He] is suspected to have received a bribe.'

5.5.3 Non-content nouns

As mentioned above, there are co-occurrence restrictions between adnominalizers and some of the non-content nouns.

[1] *Moyang* 'appearance'

Moyang is often used outside the MMC with the meaning 'appearance, looks, design', e.g. (56).

(56) *Theyibul* ***moyang****=i yeyppu-ta.*
table appearance=NOM pretty-DECL
'The look [i.e. design] of the table is pretty.'

When used in the MMC, *moyang=i-ta* encodes an evidential meaning, to be precise, inference based on visible, tangible, or audible evidence. All of the adnominalizers can precede it. See (57).

(57) *Pi=ka* {*o-n/-nun/-l*}
rain=NOM fall-ADN.PST/-ADN.PST/-ADN.PROS
moyang=*i-ta.*
appearance=COP-DECL
'It seems that it rained/it is raining/it will rain.'

Nam (2004b) points out that, when *moyang,* 'appearance, looks', is used in what I term the MMC, negation of the copula is not highly acceptable; see (58).

(58)? *Pi=ka* *o-l* ***moyang=i***
rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS appearance=NOM
an=i-ta.
NEG=COP-DECL
'It does not seem that it will rain.' Nam (2004b: 79)

(In (58) not only the relevant noun but also the word(s)/morphemes(s) under discussion are in bold face. The same applies to (59) to (61), (91) (92), and (101).)

As noted above, *moyang* can be used outside the MMC and, in this use, it has a lexical meaning ('appearance, looks'). Therefore, it can also be classified as a content noun — probably as a member of 5.5.2-[4] 'Nouns that indicate situation, appearance, result or the like'. When *moyang* is used in what I term the MMC, it cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (59). In this respect, when used in the MMC, *moyang* 'appearance, looks' does not have the full status as a noun, i.e. it is grammaticalized. (Modification of nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC will be further discussed in 6.2 and 6.3.)

(59) *Onul=un* *pi=ka* *o-l*
today=TOP rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS
moyang=*i-ta.* **Ecey-to* ***ku***
appearance=COP-DECL yesterday-also that
moyang=*i-ess-ta.*
appearance=COP-PST-DECL
Intended meaning: 'Today it appears that it will rain. Yesterday it also appeared [to rain].

[2] *Pep* 'law' (modal meaning)

The lexical meaning of *pep* when used outside the MMC is 'law'. An (1997) and Kang (2004) point out that, when used in what I term the MMC, *pep* has various meanings, such as universal truth, common knowledge, and moral obligation. They also point out that, in that case, *pep* tends to take

only the non-past adnominalizer, e.g. (60), (61). The meaning of this MMC is in the main modal.

(60) *Haksayng=un* *yelsimhi* *kongpwu-ha-**nun***
student=TOP hard study-do-ADN.NPST
***pep**=i-ta.*
law=COP-DECL
'Students should study hard.'

(61) *Sinpwu=nun* *wenlay* *yeyppu-**n***
bride-TOP in.nature beautiful-ADN.NPST
***pep**=i-ta.*
law=COP-DECL
'[Every] bride is beautiful [in nature].' (Ahn 1997: 107)

The MMC with *pep* 'law' shows a semantic commonality partially with the Japanese MMC that contains the non-content noun *mono* 'thing', which can express obligation or advice (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3-[4]). The Japanese equivalent of (62) with the noun *mono* 'thing' is acceptable.

(62) *Namca* *ai=nun* *wul-ci anh-nun* ***pep**=i-ta.*
male child=TOP cry-NEG-ADN.NPST law=COP-DECL
'Boys should not cry.'

[3] *Kil* 'path, road, means, ways'

Kil 'path, road' can be used outside the MMC with the meaning of 'road, path, ways, means'. See (63) and (64).

(63) *Te isang* *a-l* ***kil**=i*
no.more know-ADN.PROS way=NOM
eps-ta.
do.not.exist-DECL
'There is no way to know any more.'

(64) *Hakkyo-kkaci* *ka-nun* ***kil**=ul*
school-to go-ADN.NPST road=ACC
al-ko *siph-eyo.1*
know-CONJ wish-POL
'I want to know how to go to school.'

When used in the MMC, *kil* encodes an aspectual meaning: progressive. In this case, it tends to exclusively take the non-past (indicative) adnominalizer, e.g. (65).

(65) *Na=nun* *cikum* *hakkyo=ey*
I=TOP now school=DAT/LOC
*{ka-nun/ *ka-n / *ka-l}*
go-ADN.NPST/go-ADN.PST/go-ADN.PROS

kil=*i-ta.*
road=COP-DECL
'I am on my way to school now.'

[4] *Seym* 'calculation'

Seym 'calculation' is a derived noun, which consists of the verb *sey-* 'to calculate' and the derivational nominalizer suffix *-m*. When it is used outside the MMC, it has the meaning of 'calculation', e.g. (66).

(66) *Ku=nun* ***seym***=*ul* *cal* *ha-n-ta.*
he=TOP calculation=ACC well do-PRES-DECL
'He is strong/good at calculation.'

When used in the MMC, *seym* has various meanings. Different adnominalizers contribute to different meanings (Ahn 1997, Nam 2004b). For example, when preceded by the adnominalizer *-(u)n* (past or perfective) or *-nun* (nonpast or indicative), *seym* encodes a result or situation that a speaker actually did not want to happen, e.g. (67). This meaning is modal, and at the same time aspectual or temporal.

(67) *Cengka-pota* *pissakey* *sa-n*
regular.price-than expensively buy-ADN.PST
seym=*i-ta.*
calculation =COP-DECL
'We paid too much more than its regular price. (Actually we did not want to.)'

When the adnominalizer *-(u)l* (prospective) is used, the MMC with *seym* 'calculation' indicates an intention (including an intention in the past), e.g. (68), or an adverse state in which the subject is situated, e.g. (69).

(68) *Na=nun* *ocen-cwung=ey* *tolao-l*
I=TOP noon-during=DAT/LOC come.back-ADN.PROS
seym=*i-ta.*
calculation =COP-DECL
'I was planning to come back before noon.'

(69) *Wuli=nun* *pwuto=lul* *mak-ki wihayse* *ton=ul*
we=TOP bankruptcy=ACC prevent-in.order.to money=ACC
yeki ceki-se *pillye-ya* *ha-l*
here.there-from borrow-CONJ do-ADN.PROS
seym=*i-ta.*
calculation=COP-DECL
'We have to borrow money from various sources in order to prevent bankruptcy.'

When this MMC expresses intention, its meaning is similar to that of the MMC with a noun such as *cakceng* 'intention' and *kyeyhoyk* 'plan'

(5.5.2-[1]).

Ahn (1997) points out that this MMC (*-(u)l seym=i-*) usually encodes (the speaker's) 'negative' or 'unexpected, undesirable' situation rather 'positive' one. For example, (70) is not acceptable; it expresses a positive intention.

(70)* *Na=nun kayin saep=ul sicak-ha-l*
I=TOP personal business=ACC start-do-ADN.PROS
***seym**=i-ta.*
calculation=COP-DECL
'I am going to start my own business.' (Ahn 2007: 125)

[5] *Phan* 'venue, spot, site,'

Phan can be used outside the MMC with the meaning 'venue, spot, site'. When used in the MMC, *phan* refers to 'negative/bad situation' (An 1997:125). (71) and (72) are acceptable, but (73) is not. This meaning is modal, and at the same time, aspectual or temporal.

(71) *Ku kenmwul=un olaytongan kwanli sohol=lo*
that building=TOP for.long.time maintain neglect=as
mwunecye nayli-l ***phan**=i-ta.*
crumble-ADN.PROS venue=COP-DECL
'The buildings are about to crumble from years of neglect.'

(72) *Ipen hakki=nun nakcey-ha-l* ***phan**=i-ta.*
this semester=TOP fail-do-ADN.PROS venue=COP-DECL
'I may fail the class this semester.'

(73)**Ipen hakki=nun ol eyi=lul mac-ul*
this semester=TOP all A=ACC get-ADN.PROS
***phan**=i-ta.*
venue=COP-DECL (Ahn 1997: 125)
Intended meaning: 'I may get all A's this semester.'

[6] *Phok* 'width'

Phok can be used outside the MMC with the meaning of 'width (of space)'.

(74) *Ikos=un hanmyeng=i cinaka-l*
here=TOP one.person=NOM pass-ADN.PROS
swu iss-nun ***phok**=i-ta.*
thing be-ADN.NPST width=COP-DECL
'It is just wide enough for one person to pass.'

When used in the MMC, *phok* describes a situation or result that the speaker (or the subject) did not want to happen, e.g. (75). This meaning is similar to that of the MMC with *seym* 'calculation' preceded by the past adnominalizer or the nonpast adnominalizer, e.g. (67). This meaning is both modal and aspectual or temporal.

(75) *Nay=ka chenwen mithci-n **phok**=i-ta.*
I=NOM thousand.won lose-ADN.PST width=COP-DECL
'I lost as much as one thousand won.'

[7] *Phyen* 'side, part, direction, way'
When used outside the MMC, *phyen* means 'side, part, direction, way', e.g. *olun phyen* 'right side', *oyn phyen* 'left side', and *ce phyen* 'that way'. When used in the MMC, *phyen* describes tendency, habit or attitude, e.g. (76). This MMC has an aspectual meaning. *Phyen* can be preceded by the nonpast adnominalizer or the past adnominalizer, but not by the prospective adnominalizer.

(76) *Chinkwu=nun achim=ey ilccik*
friend=TOP morning=DAT/LOC early
*ilena-nun **phyen**=i-ta.*
get.up-ADN.NPST side=COP-DECL
'[My] friend has a habit of getting up early in the morning.'

[8] *The* 'ground, place'
When used outside the MMC, *the* means 'ground, place', e.g. *swi-l the* 'rest-ADN.PROS place', i.e. 'place to rest'. When used in the MMC, it is preceded by the prospective adnominalizer and encodes the speaker's (i) strong intention, e.g. (77), or (ii) conjecture, guess, e.g. (78). This MMC has a modal meaning. The phonologically contracted form of *-(u)l the=i-ta*, i.e. *-l they=ta*, is frequently used in casual spoken discourse.

The copula *=i-* is often omitted when this MMC is used in the title of news articles, e.g. (79). The copula can remain, e.g. (78) and (80). Its presence/absence does not affect the acceptability of the sentence.

(77) *Na=nun sihem=ey kkok hapkyek-ha-l*
I=TOP exam=DAT/LOC at.any.cost pass-do-ADN.PROS
***they**-ta.*
ground.COP-DECL
'I will pass the exam at any cost.'

(78) *Ama ku=nun yongki=ka philyo-hay-ss ul*
maybe he=TOP courage=NOM need-do-ADN.PROS
***the**=i-ta.*
ground=COP-DECL
'He might need courage.'

(79) *Na=nun na=lul towacu-n salam-tul=eykey*
I=TOP I=ACC help-ADN.PST person-PL=DAT/LOC
*kkok potap-ha-l **the**.*
surely repayment-do-ADN.PROS ground
'I will repay those who help me.'

(80) *Na=nun na=lul towacu-n salam-tul=eykey*
I=TOP I=ACC help-ADN.PST person-PL=DAT/LOC

kkok *potap-ha-l* ***the***=*i-ta.*
surely repayment-do-ADN.PROS ground=COP-DECL
'I will repay those who helped me.'

5.5.4 Defective nouns

[1] *Kes* 'thing'

Kes has been discussed extensively in the Korean literature (e.g. Hwang 2004, Lee 2005, Lee 2009, Rhee 2008, 2011). Etymologically, it is traced to a noun meaning '*thing*'. In Modern Korean, it is a defective noun. It is no longer used as a lexical morpheme except in expressions like *i kes* 'this thing', *ku kes* 'that thing' and *mek-ul kes* 'eat-ADN.PROS thing', 'thing to eat', i.e. 'food'. It is used as a function morpheme, with various uses such as nominalizer, complementizer, and cleft construction marker (cf. 6.6). In addition, it can be used in the MMC. In this regard, *kes* closely resembles the enclitic =*no* of Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.4). However, unlike the Japanese =*no*, the Korean *kes* does not have the use as a genitive marker; the genitive case is marked by =*uy*.

As just noted, *kes* can be used in the MMC. There is no co-occurrence restriction between *kes* and adnominalizers. That is, it can occur with any adnominalizer. It has a phonologically reduced variant: *ke*.

The MMC with *kes* has various meanings, which depend on the adnominalizer employed. For instance, when preceded by the past adnominalizer or the nonpast adnominalizer, *kes=i-* (and its variant in spoken discourse *ke-ya*) receives contextually variable interpretations such as (i) background explanation, or reason, e.g. (81), (ii) self-awareness or speaker's realization, e.g. (82), (iii) advice to the addressee, e.g. (83) (Yin 2003, Kim 2008, Kim and Horie 2009, Rhee 2008), and (iv) the speaker's emotivity, such as blame, displeasure, and surprise (Yin 2003, Kim 2008, Kim and Horie 2009), e.g. (84). ((81) and (82) are cited from Kim and Horie 2009: 283), with minor modifications in the glosses.) Rhee (2008) posits that it is in Middle Korean that this construction became productive.

(81) *Mancye* *pelye-ss-e.* *Kulayse* *kunynag* *sa-n*
touch end-PST-SFS so just buy-ADN.PST
ke=*ya.*
thing=COP-DECL
'[I] touched [it]. So [I] just bought [it], you see.'

(82) *Ku=ka* *wa-ss-ta.* *Ku=ka* *cengmallo* *nay*
he=NOM come-PST-DECL he=NOM really my
aph=ey *nathana-n* ***kes***=*i-ta.*
front=DAT/LOC appear-ADN.PST thing=COP-DECL
'He really presented himself before my very eyes, as I am reporting in disbelief.'

(83) *Hoyngtanpoto=eyse* *cwawu=lul* *cal* *salphi-ko*
cross.walk=DAT/LOC left.right=ACC well look-CONJ
kil=ul *kenne-nun* ***ke=ya.***
street-ACC cross-ADN.NPST thing=COP

'Look both ways when you cross the street at the cross walk.'

(84) *Eccay* *chayksang* *soli=lul* *nay-ci anh-nun-ta*
somehow desk sound=ACC make-NEG-PRES-DECL
siph-ese *tolapo-myen* *ipen=ey=nun*
seem-because look.back-COND this.time=DAT/LOC=TOP
swuep-cwung=ey *seiss-nun* ***ke=yeyyo!***
class-during=DAT/LOC stand.up-ADN.NPST thing-COP
Kyeysokhayse!
continually
'Just as I was thinking [she] did not seem to make any sound at the desk, next thing, (*surprisingly*) [she] kept standing all the time during the class!' (Kim and Horie 2008: 284)

When the prospective adnominalizer is used, this MMC has various meanings, such as guess, conjecture (future possibility), e.g. (85), and speaker's intention, e.g. (86), (87) (An 1997, Rhee 2008).

(85) *Ama* *nayil* *pi=ka* *o-l*
probably tomorrow rain=NOM come-ADN.PROS
***kes**=i-ta.*
thing=COP-DECL
'Probably it will rain tomorrow.'

(86) *Na=nun* *ku* *kapang=ul* *kkok* *sa-l*
I=TOP that bag=ACC in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS
***ke**=ya.*
thing=COP
'[I] will buy that bag in any case.'

(87) *Hoyuy=ey* *chamsek-ha-l*
meeting=DAT/LOC attendance-do-ADN.PROS
***kes**=i-ta.*
thing=COP-DECL
'[I] will attend the meeting.'

Like (86), the MMC with a noun such as *cakceng* 'intention' in (5.5.2-[1]), e.g. (25), or *seym* 'calculation' (5.5.3-[4]), e.g. (68), can indicate intention. The adnominalizer has to be in the prospective form.

[2] *Pa* 'thing, ways'

Pa, too, is a defective noun. It cannot be used independently outside MMC; see (88). A modifier or an AC is mandatory, e.g. (89) and (90).

(88) ***Pa**=ka* *iss-ta.*
thing=NOM exist-DECL
(Untranslatable)

(89) *Na=nun* *ipen* *phuloceykthu=eyse* *math-un*
I=TOP this project=DAT/LOC take.on-ADN.PST

pa=*ka* *iss-ta.*
thing=NOM exist-DECL
'[I] have something to take a responsibility on this project.'

(90) *I* *yenkwu=nun* *enehak=ey*
this research=TOP linguistics=DAT/LOC
konghen-ha-nun ***pa***=*ka* *khu-ta.*
contribution-do-ADN.NPST thing=NOM big-DECL
LT: 'The thing that this research contributes to linguistics is big.'
FT: 'This study makes much contribution to linguistics.'

The defective noun *pa* can be used in the MMC. According to Ahn (1997: 128), *pa* was productively used in Middle Korean and it meant 'place', and in Modern Korean its fossilized form (i.e. the MMC) became its main usage.

The MMC with *pa* is restricted to specific contexts such as newspaper articles and politicians' formal speeches. It has a stylistic effect: it makes sentence sound formal, like the Japanese MMC with the noun *mono* 'thing' or *sidai* 'procedure' (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3-[4], -[5].) The adnominalizer has to be the nonpast adnominalizer form. The MMC has to contain the copula, and the copula has to be the nonpast form: =*i-ta* or its deferential form = *i-pni-ta* (Table 2.).

(91) *Icaymin-tul=eykey* *simsim-ha-n* *yukam=ul*
victim-PL=DAT/LOC deep-do-ADN.NPST sorry=ACC
phyo-ha-nun ***pa=i-pni****-ta.*
express-do-ADN.NPST thing=COP-DEF-DECL
'I am deeply sorry for the victims.'

(92) *Ikes-ulo* *chwuksa=lul*
this-with congratulatory. address=ACC
taysin-ha-nun ***pa=i-pni****-ta.*
replacement-do-ADN.NPST thing=COP-DEF-DECL
'By these [words I] do offer my congratulatory address.'

[3] *Cikyeng* 'domain' and *nolus* 'role, part'

Both are defective nouns. *Cikyeng* 'domain' cannot be used by itself outside the MMC except for some fossilized expression with demonstrative *i cikyeng* 'this situation'; see (93). Outside the MMC, it has to be modified by an AC, e.g. (94).

(93) *Yelsimhi* *kongpwu-hay-ss-ciman* *kyelkwa=nun* *i*
hard study-do-PST-but result=TOP this
cikyeng=*i-ta.*
domain=COP-DECL
'[I] studied hard, but the result is terrible. '

(94) *Chelswu=nun* *il=i* *himtul-ese* *cwuk-ul*
(name)=TOP work=NOM hard-CONJ die-ADN.PROS

cikyeng*=*i-ta.
domain=COP-DECL
'Chelswu almost feels as if he is going to die because of hard work.'

Nolus 'role, part' cannot occur outside the MMC except in some fossilized expressions with a demonstrative, such as *i nolus* 'this situation', *ce nolus* 'that situation', or compound nouns, such as *emma nolus* 'mother's role', *appa nolus* 'father's role', and *coswu nolus* 'assistant's role'. See (95).

(95) *Na=nun kunye=uy coswu* ***nolus*=*ul*** *hay-ss-ta.*
I=TOP her=GEN assistant role=ACC do-PST-DECL
LT: 'I did her assistant role.'
FT: 'I was her assistant.'

Both *nolus* 'role, part' and *cikyeng* 'domain' can be used in the MMC. This MMC encodes a somewhat unpleasant, negative situation that is out of one's control rather than a pleasant, positive one (Ahn 1997: 122). Compare (96) and (97).

(96) *I nai=ey yenge=lul paywu-cani*
this age=DAT/LOC English=ACC learn-CONJ
cwuk-ul {***cikyeng/nolus***}*=i-ta.*
die-ADN.PROS domain/role=COP-DECL
'Learning English at my age is killing me.'
(97)* *Ikes=un cengmal haplicek-i-n*
this=TOP really reasonable-COP-ADN.NPST
{***cikyeng/nolus***}*=i-ta.*
domain/role =COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'This is really reasonable.' (Ahn 1997: 122)

[4] *Cham*, *cha* 'time, moment'
Cham and *cha*, both 'time, moment', are defective nouns. They cannot be used outside the MMC. But they can be used in the MMC. In the MMC, when preceded by the prospective adnominalizer, it indicates the speaker's intention (a modal meaning) e.g. (98) It may also have a progressive meaning (a type of aspectual meaning). Ahn (1997: 131) states to the effect that the MMC with *cham* indicates that the event/state of affairs continues for a relatively long time, e.g. (99) (the adnominalizer is the nonpast form), while that with *cha* indicates just the very moment when the event/state of affairs happens, e.g. (100) (the adnominalizer is the retrospective form).

(98) *Na=nun i iyaki=nun kkok chayk=eyta*
I=TOP this story=TOP surely book=DAT/LOC
ssu-l ***cham*=*i-ta.***
write-ADN.PROS time=COP-DECL
'I am sure that I will write this story as a book.'

(99) *Cikum mak cemsim=ul mek-nun*
now right lunch=ACC eat-ADN.NPST
***cham**=i-ta.*
time=COP-DECL
'[I] am eating lunch right now.'

(100) *Cikum achim hanswul ttu-lye-ten*
now breakfast one.spoon scoop.up-VOL-ADN.RETRO
***cha**=(i)-ta.*
moment=COP-DECL
'[I] am just having a bite of breakfast.'

[5] *Cwung* 'middle'

Cwung is a defective noun which has an aspectual meaning of 'be in the middle of'. The adnominalizer has to be in the nonpast form or the retrospective form.

(101) *Na=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul*
I=TOP lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC
*{ssu-**nun**}* ***cwung**=i-ta.*
write-ADN.NPST middle=COP-DECL
'I am writing a paper in [my] laboratory.'

5.6 Discussion

So far we have looked at three types of nouns that can occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. As noted in 5.5.1, when used in the MMC, content nouns have the meaning(s) that they have when outside the MMC. In contrast, this is not the case with non-content nouns or defective nouns. They have lost their lexical meanings. That is, they are grammaticalized in this respect.

Table 3 summarizes the meaning(s) that non-content nouns have outside the MMC and the meaning(s) of the MMC with respective nouns. The meaning of the MMC is largely modal. But an evidential meaning and an aspectual meaning, too, are attested.

Table 3. Semantics of non-content nouns

	meaning outside the MMC	meaning of the MMC
[1] *moyang*	'appearance'	evidential: inference
[2] *pep*	'law'	(a) modal: moral obligation (b) temporal (?): universal truth
[3] *kil*	'road, path, means, ways'	aspectual: progressive
[4] *seym*	'calculation'	Various modal meanings: (a) 'did not want X to happen'

		(b) intention, plan (c) adverse state
[5] *phan*	'venue, spot, site'	modal: negative/unpleasant situation
[6] *phok*	'width'	aspectual/ temporal: negative/ bad situation
[7] *phyen*	'side, part, direction, way'	aspectual: tendency, habit, attitude
[8] *the*	'ground, place'	(a) modal: strong intention (b) modal: conjecture, guess

Table 4 summarizes (i) the etymology of defective nouns or the meaning(s) they have when used outside the MMC and (ii) the meaning(s) of the MMC with respective nouns. The meaning of the MMC is mainly modal. In addition, aspectual meanings and one stylistic effect are observed. (The meanings (g) and (h) in [1] were not discussed above. They will be discussed in 5.7.1.)

Table 4. Meanings of defective nouns

	original meaning	meaning of the MMC
[1] *kes*	'thing'	various modal or discourse-pragmatic meanings, such as: (a) background explanation, reason (b) self-awareness, speaker's realization (c) advice (d) speaker's emotivity, e.g. blame, pleasure, surprise (e) guess, conjecture (f) speaker's intention (g) advice, command, instruction (h) strong obligation
[2] *pa*	'thing, ways'	stylistic: formal
[3] *cikyeng nolus*	'domain' 'role, part'	modal: unpleasant situation
[4] *cham, cha*	'time, moment'	aspectual: progressive
[5] *cwung*	'middle'	aspectual: 'in the middle of'

In this connection, we shall look at the co-occurrence possibilities between the nouns and the adnominalizer suffixes. They are shown in Table 5 regarding non-content nouns, and in Table 6 regarding defective nouns. It is difficult to make any generalizations, except to note that the nonpast has the widest range of possibilities.

Table 5. Non-content nouns and adnominalizer suffixes

Non-content nouns	NPST *-nun*	PST *-n*	RETRO *-ten*	PRETRO *-ss ten*	PROS *-(u)l*	PPROS *-ss ul*
[1]*moyang* 'appearance'	+	+	+	+	+	—
[2] *pep* 'law'	+	—	—	—	—	—
[3] *kil* 'road, path'	+	—	+	—	—	—
[4] *seym* 'calculation'	+	+	+	+	+	?
[5] *phan* 'venue, board'	+	+	—	—	+	—
[6] *phok* 'width'	+	+	—	—	—	—
[7] *phyen* 'side, part'	+	+	+	+	—	—
[8] *the* 'ground, place'	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 6. Defective nouns and adnominalizer suffixes

Non-content nouns	NPST *-nun*	PST *-n*	RETRO *-ten*	PRETRO *-ss ten*	PROS *-(u)l*	PPROS *-ss ul*
[1] *kes* 'thing'	+	+	+	+	+	+
[2] *pa* 'thing'	+	—	?	?	—	—
[3]*cikyeng,nolus* 'domain, role'	+	+	?	?	+	+
[4] *cham, cha* 'time, moment'	+	+	+	+	+	—
[5] *cwung* 'middle'	+	—	+	—	—	—

5.7 Morphosyntax of the mermaid construction

5.7.1 'Copula'

The copula *=i-* in the MMC can be omitted rather freely. It tends to be omitted in newspaper articles, but its presence/absence does not affect the acceptability of the sentence.

For example, as mentioned in 5.5.3-[8], the copula is often absent when the MMC with the non-content noun *the* 'ground, place' describes the speaker's strong intention or when it is used in newspaper articles,

Of particular interest is the MMC that contains the defective noun *kes* 'thing' (5.5.4-[1]). When the copula is absent, this MMC has modal meanings such as obligation, strong advice, command, or instructions to address (Kim and Horie 2006, Rhee 2011).

(102) *Tampay* *phiwu-ci ma-l* ***kes.***
cigarette smoke-NEG-ADN.PROS thing
'No smoking.'

(103) *Hoyuy=ey* *chamsek-ha-l* ***kes.***
meeting=DAT/LOC attendance-do-ADN.PROS thing
'Attend the meeting.'

Note that (86) and (87), which contain the copula, do not indicate strong command toward addressees. They describe the speaker's intention.

5.7.2 Negation

The negative form of the copula is *an=i-*. That is, the negation marker *an* is added to the beginning of the copula (5.4), e.g. (104). (In the examples given so far, bold face indicates the relevant nouns, and additionally the word(s)/morpheme(s) under discussion. In the examples given below, bold face indicates the word(s)/morpheme(s) under discussion. It does not necessary show the noun in the 'Noun slot'.)

(104) *Chinkwu=nun* *uysa=ka* ***an=i-ta.***
friend=TOP doctor=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is not a doctor.'

The 'Copula' in the MMC can be negated, with certain restrictions discussed below. Compare (105) (affirmative) (same as (2)) and (106) (negative). When the copula is negated, either the nominative case marker or the topic marker follows the 'Noun'; see (106). As pointed out by Nam (2004a: 88), the topic marker is more acceptable than the nominative case marker. This probably has to do with the scope of negation and focalization.

(105) *Chinkwu=nun* *ilpon=ey* *ka-l*
friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
plan=COP-DECL
'[My] friend plans to go to Japan.'

(106) *Chinkwu=nun* *ilpon=ey* *ka-l*
frined=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng={***i/un***} ***an=i-ta.***
plan={NOM/TOP} NEG =COP-DECL
'[My] friend does not plan to go to Japan.'

As noted above, there are restrictions on the negation of the 'Copula' in the MMC. The acceptability of this negation depends on the type of the noun in the 'noun' slot (Nam 2004a). We shall look at content nouns, non-content nouns and defective nouns.

[1] Content nouns

When a content noun is in the 'Noun' slot, the 'Copula' can be negated with no restriction. Examples include (107) (*cakceng* 'intention') and (108) (*cheycil* 'nature of body').

(107) *Chinkwu=nun nayil yeki=lul ttena-l*
friend=TOP tomorrow here=ACC leave-ADN.PROS
cakceng=i *an=i-ta.*
intention=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
'[My] friend will not leave here tomorrow.'

(108) *Chinkwu=nun sal=i cal cci-nun*
friend =TOP fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
cheycil=i *an=i-ta.*
nature.of.body=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
'[My] friend does not gain weight easily. '

[2] Non-content nouns

With most of the non-content nouns, e.g. *moyang* 'appearance' in (109) and *pep* 'law' in (110), negation of the 'Copula' is not acceptable. However, this negation is possible with non-content nouns such as *phyen* 'side' in (111).

(109) **Chinkwu=nun wu-nun* ***moyang=i***
frinend=TOP cry-ADN.NPST appearance =NOM
an=i-ta.
NEG=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[My] friend does not seem to cry.'

(110) **Sinpwu=nun wenlay yeyppu-n*
bride-TOP in.nature beautiful-ADN.NPST
pep=i *an=i-ta.*
law=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'Every bride is not beautiful [in nature].'

(111) *Chinkwu =nun sal=i cal cci-nun*
friend =TOP fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
phyen=i *an=i-ta.*
side=NOM NEG =COP-DECL
'[My] friend does not gain weight easily. '

[3] Defective nouns

The acceptability of the negation of the 'Copula' varies depending on the defective noun involved. This negation is not acceptable with defective nouns such as *kes* 'thing' in (112) and *cikyeng* 'domain' in (113). In contrast, it is acceptable with defective nouns such as *cwung* 'during' in (114).

(112)*Na=nun ku kapang=ul kkok sa-l
I=TOP that bag=ACC in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS
kes=i an=i-ta.
thing=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[I] will not buy that bag in any case.'

(113) *Na=nun yocum cwuk-ul **cikyeng**=i
I=TOP these.days die-ADN.PROS domain=NOM
an=i-ta.
NEG=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'I do not feel half dead these days.'

(114) Na=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul
I=TOP lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC
ssu-nun **cwung**=i an=i-pni-ta.
write-ADN.NPST middle=NOM NEG=COP-DEF
'I am not writing a paper in [my] laboratory.'

Thus far we have examined the negation of the 'Copula' of the MMC.

The predicate of the 'Clause', too, can be negated. In Korean, there are two ways to negate verbs (other than the copula) and adjectives. They can be used for the negation of the predicate of the 'Clause', as well. One involves the short form *an*, which precedes the predicate, e.g. (37), (115). The other employs the bipartite form *-ci anh-*, which is attached to the end of the stem of the predicate, e.g. (62) and (116). Both the 'Copula' and the predicate of the 'Clause' can be negated, e.g. (117).

(115) [Na=nun ilpon=ey **an** ka-l]
I=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC NEG plan-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta
plan=COP-DECL
'I plan not to go to Japan.'

(116) [Na=nun ilpon=ey ka-**ci anh**-ul]
I=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-NEG-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
plan=COP-DECL
'I plan not to go to Japan.'

(117) [Na=nun ilpon=ey **an** ka-l]
I=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC NEG go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i **an**=i-ta.
plan=NOM NEG=COP-DECL
'I do not plan not to go to Japan.'

5.7.3 Subject respect suffix -(u)si-

The honorific suffix *-(u)si-* 'HS' is used for subject respect. It is attached to the stem of the predicate, e.g. *o-si-ess-ta* 'come-HS-PST-DECL' in (17) and *ka-si-ta* 'go-HS-DECL'. In the MMC, it can be added to the predicate of the 'Clause', e.g. (118), to the 'Copula', e.g. (24), (119), and to both, e.g. (120).

(118) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun* *nayil* *ilpon=ey*
grandfather=NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC
*ka-**si**-l*] *yeyceng=i-ta.*
go-HS-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
'[My] grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.'

(119) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun* *nayil* *ilpon=ey*
grand.father =NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC
ka-l] *yeyceng=i-**si**-ta.*
go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-HS-DECL
'[My] grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.'

(120) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun* *nayil* *ilpon=ey*
grand.father =NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC
*ka-**si**-l*] *yeyceng=i-**si**-ta.*
go-HS-ADN.PROS plan=COP-HS-DECL
'[My] grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.'

6. Comparison of the mermaid construction with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We shall compare the MMC with some other constructions in terms of their syntactic behaviour. The constructions that will be compared are as follows.

(a) Internal AC (discussed in 4.2.1.2)
(b) External AC (discussed in 4.2.1.3)
(c) Adverbial clause of time (discussed in 4.2.2)
(d) MMC with a content noun (discussed in 5.5.2)
(e) MMC with a non-content noun (discussed in 5.5.3)
(f) MMC with a defective noun (discussed in 5.5.4)
(g) Verb-predicate sentence (discussed in 4.1)
(h) Noun-predicate sentence (discussed in 4.1)

Six tests will be conducted for this comparison.

Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative (6.2)
Test 2: Modification by an adjective (6.3)
Test 3: Head noun in relativization (6.4)
Test 4: NOM/GEN conversion (6.5)
Test 5: Topic marker (6.6)
Test 6: Clefting (6.7)

Test 1 to Test 3 are designed to investigate the noun-hood of the 'Noun' of the MMC, while Test 4 to Test 5 are intended to examine the sentence-hood of the 'Clause'. Test 6 serves both purposes.

6.2 Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative

Content nouns, non-content nouns and defective nouns can be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative and some other modifier when they are used outside the MMC, e.g. (31) (*say salam* 'new person': a content noun), (86) (*ku kapang* 'that bag': a content noun). When used in the 'Noun' slot of the the MMC, however, nouns cannot be modified by a demonstrative, such as *i* 'this' and *ku* 'that'. See (124), (125) and (126).

Similarly, nouns that are used in the conjunction-like expressions for adverbial clauses of time (i.e. (c)) do not allow this modification; see (123). That is, these nouns lack the noun-hood in that they cannot be modified by a demonstrative.

There is no such restriction in the other constructions: (a) Internal AC, (b) External AC, and (h) Noun-predicate sentence; the nouns have the noun-hood in this respect. See (121), (122) and (123). Superficially, (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f) (though not (g) or (h)) contain the structure of 'clause + noun'. However, (c), (d), (e) and (f) differ from (a) and (b) in that the nouns in question lack the noun-hood in this respect.

(a) Internal AC

(121) *Chinkwu=ka* *sa-n* ***i*** *os*
friend=NOM buy-ADN.PST this clothes
'these clothes that [my] friend bought.'

(b) External AC

(122) *Chinkwu=ka* *mal-ha-nun* ***i*** *moksoli*
friend =NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES this voice
LT: 'this voice with which [my] friend talks'

(c) Adverbial clause of time

(123) **Chinkwu=ka* *ka-l* ***ku*** *ttay,*
friend =NOM go-ADN.PROS that time
na-to *ka-n-ta.*
I-too go-PRES-DECL
Intended meaning: 'That time when [my] friend goes, I will go too.'

(d) MMC with a content noun

(124) **Chinkwu=nun* *ilpon=ey* *ka-l*
friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
ku *yeyceng=i-ta.*
that plan=COP-DECL
LT: '[My] friend is that plan to go to Japan.'

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

(125)**Chinkwu=nun* *cikum* *hakkyo=ey*
friend =TOP now school=DAT/LOC

ka-nun ***ku*** *kil=i-ta.*
go-ADN.NPST that road=COP-DECL
LT: '[My] friend is on that way to go to school now.'

(f) MMC with a defective noun
(126)**Na=nun cikum mak cemsim=ul*
I=TOP now right lunch=ACC
mek-nun ***i*** *cham=i-ta.*
eat-ADN.NPST this time=COP-DECL
LT: 'I am this time to eat lunch right now.'

(g) Verb-predicate sentence
The test is inapplicable because there is no relevant 'Noun'.

(h) Noun-predicate sentence
(127) *Nay chinkwu=nun* ***i*** *uysa=(i)-ta.*
my friend=TOP this doctor=COP-DECL
'My friend is this doctor.'

6.3 Test 2: Modification by an adjective

This test yields exactly the same result as that of Test 1.

(a) Internal AC
(128) *Chinkwu=ka sa-n* ***yeyppu-n***
friend =NOM buy-ADNOM.PST pretty-ADN.NPST
os
clothes
'the pretty clothes that [my] friend bought'

(b) External AC
(129) *Chinkwu =ka mal-ha-nun* ***coh-un***
friend =NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES good-ADN.NPST
moksoli
voice
LT: 'the good voice with which [my] friend talks'

(c) Adverbial clause of time
(130)**Chinkwu=ka cip=ey ka-l*
friend=NOM home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
kupha-n *ttay, na=to ka-n-ta.*
urgent-ADN.PRES time I=too go-PRES-DECL
LT: 'Urgent time that [my] friend goes, I will go too.'

(d) MMC with a content noun
(131)**Chinkwu=ka ilpon=ey ka-l*
friend=NOM Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS

kupha-n *yeyceng=i-ta.*
urgent-ADN.NPST plan=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[My] friend has an urgent plan to go to Japan.'

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

(132)**Chinkwu=nun* *cikum* *hakkyo=ey* *ka-nun*
friend=TOP now school=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST
kupha-n *kil=i-ta.*
urgent-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[My] friend is going to school now in a hurry.'

(f) MMC with a defective noun

(133)**Chinkwu=nun* *cemsim=ul* *mek-ul*
friend =TOP lunch=ACC eat-ADN.PROS
kupha-n *cham=i-ta.*
urgent-ADN.NPST time=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: '[My] friend is eating lunch in a hurry.'

(g) Verb-predicate sentence
The test is inapplicable because there is no relevant 'noun'.

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

(134) *Chinkwu=nun* ***yumyeng-ha-n*** *uysa=(i)-ta.*
friend=TOP famous-do-ADN.NPST doctor=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is a famous doctor.'

6.4 Test 3: Head noun in relativization

This test examines whether the subject can be the head noun in relativization, i.e. in the formation of adnominal clauses. It concerns the subject of:

(i) the main clause of (a), (b), (c);
(ii) the 'Clause' of the MMC, i.e. (d), (e), (f), and;
(iii) simple sentences: (g) and (h).

In the case of (e) MMC with a non-content noun and (f) MMC with a defective noun, the acceptability depends on the noun employed. Selected examples of nouns will be given. In other constructions, i.e. (a), (b), (c), (d), (g), (h), nouns can be the head in relativization.

(a) Internal AC

(135) ***Chinkwu***=*nun* *[nay=ka* *mantu-n* *khaley]=lul*
friend=TOP I =NOM make-ADN.PST curry=ACC
mek-ess-ta.
eat-PST-DECL

'[My] friend ate the curry that I cooked.'

(136) *[Nay=ka mantu-n khaley]=lul*
I =NOM make-ADNOM.PST curry=ACC
mek-un ***chinkwu***
eat-ADN.PST friend
'*[my] friend* who ate the curry that I cooked '

(b) External AC

(137) ***Chinkwu***=nun *[nay=ka mal-ha-nun moksoli]=lul*
friend=TOP I=NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES voice=ACC
tul-ess-ta.
hear-PST-DECL
'[My] friend heard the voice with which I talk.'

(138)*[nay=ka mal-ha-nun moksoli]=lul*
father =NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES voice=ACC
tul-un ***chinkwu***
hear-ADNOM.PST friend
'*[my] friend* who heard the voice with which I talk'

(c) Adverbial clause of time

(139) ***Chinkwu***=*nun cip=ey o-l ttay,*
friend =NOM home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time
ppang=ul sa-ss-ta.
bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
'When [My] friend came back home, [he] bought bread.'

(140) *cip=ey o-l ttay ppang=ul*
home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time bread=ACC
sa-n ***chinkwu***
buy-ADN.PST friend
'*[my] friend* who bought bread when [he] came back home'

(d) MMC with a content noun

If the noun in the 'Noun' slot is a content noun, e.g. *yeyceng* 'plan' in (141), the subject of the 'Clause' of the MMC, i.e. *Chinkwu* in (141), can be the head noun in relativization, as in (142).

(141) ***Chinkwu***=*nun ilpon=ey ka-l*
friend =TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-ta.
plan=COP-DECL
'[My] friend plans to go to Japan.'

(142) *ilpon=ey ka-l*
Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
yeyceng=i-n ***chinkwu***
plan=COP-ADN.NPST friend
'*[my] friend* who plans to go to Japan'

(e) MMC with a non-content noun
In the case of non-content nouns, this is possible with some of them, but it is not possible with others. Non-content nouns such as *moyang* 'appearance' and *pep* 'law' cannot be the head in relativization; see (144) and (146). In contrast, non-content nouns such as *phyen* 'side' can.

Involving *moyang* 'appearance':

(143) ***Chinkwu*** *=nun* *wu-nun* *moyang=i-ta.*
friend=TOP cry-ADN.NPST appearance =COP-DECL
'[My] friend seems to be crying.'

(144)**Wu-nun* ***moyang****=i-n*
cry-ADNOM.NPST appearance=COP-ADN.NPST
chinkwu
friend
Intended meaning: '*[my] friend* who seems to be crying'

Involving *pep* 'law':

(145) ***Haksayng****=un* *yelsimhi* *kongpwu-ha-nun*
student=TOP hard study-do-ADN.NPST
pep=i-ta.
law=COP-DECL
'Students should study hard.'

(146)**Yelsimhi* *kongpwu-ha-nun* *pep=i-n*
hard study-do-ADN.NPST law=COP-ADN.NPST
haksayng
student
Intended meaning: '*students* who should study hard'

Involving *phyen* 'side':

(147) ***Chinkwu****=nun* *sal=i* *cal* *cci-nun*
friend =TOP fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
phyen=i-ta.
side=COP-DECL
'[My] friend gains weight easily. '

(148) *Sal=i* *cal* *cci-nun*
fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
phyen=i-n ***chinkwu***
side=COP-ADN.NPST friend
'*[my] friend* who gains weight easily. '

(f) MMC with a defective noun
If the noun in the 'Noun' slot is a defective noun, this is possible with some of them, but it is impossible with others. Compare (149) and (150), which have the defective noun *kes* 'thing' in the 'Noun' slot. The example (150) is not acceptable. In contrast, defective nouns such as *cikyeng* 'domain' and *cwung* 'middle' can. See (152) and (154).

Involving *kes* 'thing':

(149) ***Chinkwu**=nun ku kapang=ul kkok*
friend=TOP that bag=ACC in.any.case
sa-l kes=i-ta.
buy-ADN.PROS thing=COP-DECL
'[My] friend will buy that bag in any case.'

(150) **Ku kapang=ul kkok sa-l*
that bag=ACC in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS
kes=i-n ***chinkwu***
thing=COP-ADN.NPST friend
Intended meaning: '*[my] friend* who will buy that bag in any case'

Involving *cikyeng* 'domain':

(151) ***Chinkwu**=nun cwuk-ul cikyeng=i-ta.*
friend =TOP die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-DECL
'[My] friend feels half dead.'

(152) *cwuk-ul cikyeng=i-n* ***chinkwu***
die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-ADN.NPST friend
'*[my] friend* who feels half dead'

Involving *cwung* 'middle' :

(153) *Chinwku=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul*
friend=TOP lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC
*ssu-**ten*** ***cwung**=i-ta.*
write-ADN.RETRO middle=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is writing a paper in [my] laboratory.'

(154) *yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul ssu-**ten***
lab=DAT/LOC paper=ACC write-ADN.RETRO
***cwung**=i-n chinkwu*
middle=COP-ADN.NPST friend
'*a/the person* who is writing a paper in [his/her] laboratory'

(g) Verb-predicate sentence

(155) ***Chinkwu** =nun chayk=ul sa-ss-ta.*
friend= TOP book=ACC buy-PST-DECL
'[My] friend bought a book'

(156) *chayk=ul sa-n* ***chinkwu***
book=ACC buy-ADN.PST friend
'*[my] friend* who bought a book'

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

(157) ***Chinkwu**=nun uysa=**i-ta.***
friend =TOP doctor=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is a doctor.'

(158) *uysa=**i-n*** ***chinkwu***
doctor=COP-ADN.NPST friend
'[my] friend who is a doctor'

6.5 Test 4: NOM/GEN conversion

In Japanese, the subject exhibits an alternation between the nominative case and the genitive case in adnominal clauses ('ACs') and certain adverbial clauses, but this conversion is prohibited in the MMC and independent sentences, such as verb-predicate sentences (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.3.2.1).

In Korean (NOM: *=i/ka*, GEN: *=uy*), the NOM/GEN conversion is possible in (a) Internal AC and (b) External AC. However, as indicated by Horie and Kang (2000), the subject in the genitive case is not generally accepted in Modern Korean. Only a limited number of examples can be found in folk songs, e.g. (159), and the titles of books and songs, e.g. (160). Both are examples of internal AC. (161) is an example of external AC.

(159) [*Na=uy sal-ten*] *kohyang*
I=GEN live-ADN.RETRO hometown
'the hometown where I used to live ' (Horie and Kang 2000: 95)

(160) [*Na=uy ka-nun*] *kil*
I=GEN go-ADN.PRES road
'my way to go '

(161) *Chinkwu=uy mal-ha-nun moksoli*
friend=GEN talk-do-ADN.NPST voice
'the voice of [my] friend talks with'

The NOM/GEN alternation is unacceptable in other constructions.

(c) Adverbial clause of time

(162) *Chinkwu=**ka*** *(*chinkwu=**uy**)* *ka-l*
friend=NOM friend= GEN go-ADN.PROS
ttay, na=to ka-n-ta.
time I=too go-PRES-DECL
'When [my] friend goes, I will go too.'

(d) MMC with a content noun

(163) *Chinkwu=**ka*** *(*chinkwu=**uy**)* *ilpon=ey*
friend=NOM friend=GEN Japan=DAT/LOC
ka-l ***yeyceng=i-ta.***
go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
'[My] friend plans to go to Japan.'

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

(164) *Chinkwu =ka (*chinkwu=**uy**) cikum hakkyo=ey*
friend=NOM friend=GEN now school=DAT/LOC
ka-nun ***kil**=i-ta.*
go-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is on his way to go to school now.'

(f) MMC with a defective noun

(165) *Chinkwu=ka (*Na=**uy**) cikum mak cemsim=ul*
friend =NOM friend =GEN now right lunch=ACC
*mek-nun **cham**=i-ta.*
eat-ADN.NPST time=COP-DECL
'I am eating lunch right now.'

(g) Verb-predicate sentence

(166) *Chinkwu=ka (*chinkwu=**uy**) ilpon=ey ka-n-ta.*
friend=NOM friend=GEN Japan=DAT/LOC go-PRES-DECL
'[My] friend goes to Japan.'

(h) Noun-predicate sentence

(167) *Chinkwu=ka (*chinkwu=**uy**) uysa=i-ta.*
friend=NOM friend=GEN doctor=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is a medical doctor.'

6.6 Test 5: Topic marker

The topic marker (*=un/=nun*) cannot occur in (a) Internal AC or (b) External AC.

(a) Internal AC

(168) *Ikes=un [chinkwu=*nun/ka sa-n*
this=TOP friend=TOP/NOM buy-ADN.PST
os]=i-ta.
clothes=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'These are the clothes that [my] friend bought.'

(b) External AC

(169) *[chinkwu=*nun/ka mal-ha-nun moksoli]*
friend=TOP/NOM talk-do-ADN.PRES voice
Intended meaning: 'the voice with which [my] friend talks'

In (c) adverbial clause of time, the topic marker is acceptable if the subject of the adverbial clause of time and that of the main clause are identical, e.g. (170). However, it is unacceptable if they are not identical; see (171).

(c) Adverbial clause of time

(170) *Chinkwu=nun/ka cip=ey o-l*
friend =TOP/NOM home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS
ttay, ppang=ul sa-ss-ta.
time bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
Intended meaning: 'When [my] friend came back home, [he] bought bread.'

(171) *Chinkwu* =***nun/ka*** *cip=ey* *ka-l*
friend =TOP/NOM home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
ttay, na=to ka-n-ta.
time I=too go-PRES-DECL
Intended meaning: 'When [my] friend comes home, I will go too.'

The topic maker can occur in other constructions.

(d) MMC with a content noun, e.g. (26), (28), (29).
(e) MMC with a non-content noun, e.g. (60), (65), (71).
(f) MMC with a defective noun, e.g. (77), (78), (79), (80), (98), (101).
(g) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (5).
(h) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (8).

6.7 Test 6: Clefting

The cleft construction in Korean has the following structure. X represents the focus.

(172) X=*kes=un* NP=*(i)-ta.*
X=NMLZ=TOP NP=COP-DECL

In the following discussion, the subject will be put in focus by clefting. It is most convenient to start this discussion with (g) verb-predicate sentence and (h) noun-predicate sentence. For each construction type, a clefted example and the corresponding (non-clefted) example will be given. Clefting is acceptable in (g), (h), and (d) MMC with a content noun.

(g) Verb-predicate sentence
(173) *Chinkwu=nun chayk=ul sa-ss-ta.*
friend=TOP book=ACC buy-PST-DECL
'[My] friend bought a book.'
(174) *Chayk=ul sa-n* *kes=un*
book=ACC buy-ADN.PST NMLZ=TOP
chinkwu=(i)-ta.
friend=COP-DECL
'It is *[my] friend* who bought a book,'

(h) Noun-predicate sentence
(175) *Chinkwu=nun haksayng=i-ta.*
friend=TOP student=COP-DECL
'[My]friend is a student.'
(176) *Haksayng=i-n* *kes=un*
student=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP
chinkwu=(i)-ta.
friend=COP-DECL
'It is *[my] friend* who is a student.'

(d) MMC with a content noun

(177) *Chinkwu=nun* *ilpon=ey* *ka-l*
friend=TOP Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
***yeyceng**=i-ta.*
plan=COP-DECL
'[My] friend plans to go to Japan.'

(178) *Ilpon=ey* *ka-l* ***yeyceng**=i-n*
Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS plan=COP.NPST
kes=un *chinkwu=(i)-ta.*
NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'It is *[my] friend* who plans to go to Japan.'

In (e) MMC with a non-content noun and (f) MMC with a defective noun, the acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. Selected examples of nouns will be given.

(e) MMC with a non-content noun

The acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. For example, clefting is acceptable with non-content nouns such as *phyen* 'side', e.g. (180). However, it is not acceptable with non-content nouns such as *pep* 'law'; see (182).

(179) *Chinkwu=nun* *achim=ey* *ilccik*
friend=TOP morning=DAT/LOC early
ilena-nun ***phyen**=i-ta.*
get.up-ADN.NPST side=COP-DECL
'[My] friend has a habit of getting up early in the morning.'

(180) *Achim=ey* *ilccik* *ilena-nun*
morning=DAT/LOC early get.up-ADN.NPST
***phyen**=i-n* *kes=un* *chinkwu=(i)-ta.*
side=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
'It is *[my] friend* who has a habit of getting up early in the morning.'

(181) *Haksayng=un* *yelsimhi* *kongpwu-ha-nun*
student=TOP hard study-do-ADN.NPST
***pep**=i-ta.*
law=COP-DECL
'Students should study hard.'

(182) **Yelsimhi* *kongpwu-ha-nun* ***pep**=i-n*
hard study-do-ADN.NPST law=COP-ADN.NPST
kes=un *haksayng=(i)-ta.*
NMLZ=TOP student=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'It is *students* who should study hard.'

(f) MMC with a defective noun

The acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. For example, clefting is acceptable with defective nouns such as *cikyeng* 'domain', e.g.

(184). However, it is not acceptable with defective nouns such as *kes* 'thing'; see (186).

(183) *Chinkwu=nun cwuk-ul **cikyeng**=i-ta.*
friend=TOP die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-DECL
'[My] friend is feeling as if he is almost dead.'

(184) *Cwuk-ul **cikyeng**=i-n*
die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-ADN.PROS
kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta:
NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'It is *[my] friend* who is feeling as if he is almost dead.'

(185) *Chinkwu=nun hoyuy=ey*
friend=TOP meeting=DAT/LOC
*chamsek-ha -l **kes**=i-ta.*
attendance-do-ADN.PROS thing=COP-DECL
'[My] friend will attend the meeting.'

(186)* *Hoyuy=ey chamsek-ha -l*
meeting=DAT/LOC attend-do-ADN.PROS
***kes**=i-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.*
thing=COP-ADN.PRES NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
Intended meaning: 'It is *[my] friend* who will attend the meeting.'

(c) Adverbial clause of time
Clefting is acceptable if the subject of the adverbial clause of time and that of the main clause are identical, e.g. (188). However, it is unacceptable if they are not identical; see (190).

(187) *Chinkwu=**ka** cip=ey o-l ttay,*
friend=NOM home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time
ppang=ul sa-ss-ta.
bread=ACC buy-PST-DECL
'When [my] friend came back home, [he] bought bread.'

(188) *Cip=ey o-l ttay ppang=ul*
home=DAT/LOC come-ADN.PROS time bread=ACC
sa-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
buy-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
LT: 'It is *[my] friend* who, [when] he came back home [he] bread.'

(189) *Chinkwu=**ka** cip=ey ka-l ttay,*
friend=NOM home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS time
na=to ka-n-ta.
I=too go-PRES-DECL
'When [my] friend goes home, I will go too.'

(190) **Cip=ey ka-l ttay, na=to*
home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS time I=too

na=to ka-n-ta.
I=too go-PRES-DECL
'When [my] friend goes home, I will go too.'

(190) **Cip=ey ka-l ttay, na=to*
home=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS time I=too

ka-nun kes=un chinkwu=i-ta.
go-ADNOM.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
(untranslatable)

Clefting is impossible in (a) internal AC and (b) external AC.

(a) Internal AC

(191) *Ikes=un chinkwu=ka ssu-n*
this=TOP friend=NOM write-ADN.PST
chayk=i-ta.
book=COP-DECL
'This is the book that [my] friend wrote.

(192)**Ikes=un ssu-n*
this=TOP write-ADN.PST
chayk=i-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta.
book=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
(untranslatable)

(b) External AC

(193) *Ikes=un chinkwu=ka mal-ha-nun*
this=TOP friend=NOM talk-do-ADN.NPST
moksoli=(i)-ta.
voice=COP-DECL
LT: 'This is the voice with which [my] friend talks.'

(194)**Ikes=un mal-ha-nun*
this=TOP talk-do-ADN.NPST
moksoli=i-n kes=un chinkwu=(i)-ta
voice=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
(untranslatable)

6.8 Discussion

We shall summarize the commonalities and differences among the eight constructions examined above, in terms of [1] morphology and [2] syntax.

[1] Morphology

We shall consider the morphology of the predicate. As seen in 5.1, the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC (to be precise, the dominant type: type (a)) has to contain an adnominalizer suffix. In this respect, the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves exactly like the predicate of ACs (cf. 4.2.1.1), and differs from that of independent sentences. That is, if we confine our attention to the predicate, it will look as if the 'Clause' of the MMC were an AC.

abbreviations employed indicate the following.

(i) '+': acceptable
(ii) '-': unacceptable
(iii) '+/'-: the acceptability differs from the noun
(iv) 'N/A' : the test is not applicable

Table 7. Syntactic aspects of the eight constructions

	(a)Internal AC	(b)External AC	(c) Adverbial clause: time	(d) MMC: content noun	(e) MMC: non-content noun	(f) MMC: defective noun	(g)sentence: verb-predicate	(h)sentence: noun-predicate
Test 1. Demonstrative	+	+	−	−	−	−	N/A	+
Test 2. Adjective	+	+	−	−	−	−	N/A	+
Test 3. Head noun	+	+	+	+	+/-	+/-	+	+
Test 4. NOM/GEN	+/-	+/-	−	−	−	−	−	−
Test 5. Topic marker	−	−	+/-	+	+	+	+	+
Test 6. Clefting	−	−	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+	+

Test 1 to Test 3 are designed to investigate the noun-hood of the 'Noun' of the MMC, while Test 4 to Test 5 are intended to examine the sentence-hood of the 'Clause'. Test 6 serves both purposes.

(a) Noun-hood

In the main, the 'Noun' of the MMC ((d), (e), (f)) exhibits a low degree of noun-hood. In particular, in terms of Test 1 and Test 2, it behaves differently from the noun in (a) internal AC, (b) external AC, and (h) noun-predicate sentence.

Regarding Test 3, some of the non-content nouns and the defective nouns cannot be the head in relativization. In this respect, they are low in noun-hood. Consequently, they are the lowest in noun-hood among all the nouns examined in Table 7.

To put it differently, in terms of syntax, the nouns in the 'Noun' are grammaticalized. Among them, some of non-content nouns and the defective nouns mentioned above are the most grammaticalized.

Recall also that in terms of semantics, non-content nouns and defective nouns in the 'Noun' slot are highly grammaticalized (Tables 3 and 4).

(b) Sentence-hood

In the main, the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like independent sentences: (g) verb-predicate sentence and (h) noun-predicate sentence. The only exceptions are found regarding Test 6; they are instances of the MMC with certain non-content nouns and instances of the MMC with certain defective nouns.

[3] Summary

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC is identical with ACs. However, regarding syntax, the 'Clause' differs from ACs. In the main, the entire MMC behaves like independent clauses — with

the exceptions noted above. That is, in terms of syntax, the MMC does not contain an AC, and consequently it is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

7. Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC abounds in Korean, and it is of three types. In the dominant type, more than 70 nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. They can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defectives nouns. These nouns (more than 70) and the nouns attested in the 'Noun' slot of the Japanese MMC (at least 106) in the main coincide. However, there are some nouns that are acceptable in the Korean MMC, but not in the Japanese MMC. The reverse applies to some other nouns.

The MMC in Korean has a wide range of meanings/functions, such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal and stylistic meanings/functions.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC and that of ACs are identical; they must take a nominalizer suffix. Since the predicate is in an adnominal form, the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence.

Regarding syntax, however, the 'Clause' of the MMC in the main behaves differently from ACs. Rather, the entire MMC behaves like independent sentences. That is, syntactically, the MMC does not contain an AC, and it is mono-clausal, and not bi-clausal.

In terms of semantics and syntax, the nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC are grammaticalized to varying degrees. Among them, some of the non-content nouns and the defective nouns mentioned above are the most grammaticalized.

Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; ACC - accusative; ADN - adnominal; AS - adjectivising suffix; COND - conditional; CONJ - conjunctive; COM - comitative; COP - copula; DAT/LOC - dative/locative; DECL - declarative; DEF - deferential; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HOR - honorific; HS - honorific suffix; IMP - imperative; LT - literal translation; NEG - negative; NOM - nominative; NPST - non-past; NMLZ - nominalizer; PL - plural; POL - polite; PRETRO - past retrospective; PST - past; PRES - present; PROG - progressive; PROS - prospective; PPROS - past prospective; RETRO - retrospective; SFS - sentence final suffix; TOP - topical; VOL - volitional

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Mermaid construction in Amdo Tibetan

Shiho Ebihara
JSPS Research Fellow, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

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8. Summary and concluding remarks

1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as follows.

(1) [Clause] Noun Copula

Amdo Tibetan has two types of the MMC: the free noun type and the enclitic type.

In the free noun type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun (a free form). Six such nouns have been attested. The verb of the 'Clause' is followed by a nominalizer. In the enclitic type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic. The enclitic is directly attached to the verb of the 'Clause'. Four such enclitics have been attested.

The meanings/functions of the MMC can be classified as follows: (i) grammatical: modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, counterfactual, (ii) stylistic: humble, and (iii) informational: focus.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like adnominal clauses ('ACs'), but syntactically it is intermediate between ACs and independent sentences.

The nouns and the enclitics attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC are grammaticalized, to varying degrees, in terms of semantics, morphology and syntax.

2. Initial illustration

Examples of the free noun type include (2) and (3). Examples of the enclitic type include (4) and (5). The 'Clause' in the MMC is embraced by square brackets. The enclitic nominalizer *=ɟə* in (5) indicates future. (See 5.3-[E-4].)

(2) *[arɟa=kə nor ptsoŋ-ɟu] ntɛʰarʑə rɛ.*[1]
father=ERG yak sell.IPF-NMLZ.GEN plan COP.B
LT: '[My] father is a plan to sell yaks.'
FT: '[My] father plans to sell yaks.'

(3) *[kʰərgɛ mtʰama=a pʰamkʰa ŋo-ɟu]*
3SG last=DAT defeat buy.IPF-NMLZ.GEN
le rɛ.
karma COP.B
LT: 'He/she is a karma to buy [i.e. suffer] a defeat after all.'
FT: 'He/she was destined to suffer a defeat after all.'

(4) *[kʰɛrgɛ lhasʰa=a sʰoŋ=ŋoŋ=kʰa=zək] rɛ.*
3SG PLN=DAT go.PF=AUX=surface=INDF COP.B
LT: 'He is a surface to have gone to Lhasa.'
FT: 'It seems that he has been to Lhasa.'

(5) *[kʰəŋəka rɛmma ŋjo=jə] rɛ.*
3DU right.now go.IPF=NMLZ COP.B
LT: 'They are things to go right now.'
FT: 'They will go right now.'

3. Profile of the language

Tibetan languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. They are spoken mainly in China. They are spoken in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan as well.

The Tibetan languages that are spoken in China are traditionally classified into three groups: Central Tibetan (Ü-tsan), East Tibetan (Kham), and North-East Tibetan (Amdo). Amdo Tibetan is spoken in Qinghai Province, the northern and southern part of Gansu Province, and the northern part of Sichuan Province.

The data for the present paper was provided by Mr. *rGya ye bKra bho* (born in 1963) and Mr. *A khu Phun tshogs* (born in 1947), who live in *rGya ye* village of Gonghe County, Qinghai Province. Some additional examples are repeated from Ebihara (2008, 2010).

According to Nanjia Cairang (1997: 65), the number of Amdo Tibetan speakers is estimated to be about 1,300,000, which is 33% of the Tibetan speakers in China.

The following is a typological profile of Amdo Tibetan spoken in *rGya ye* village of Gonghe County.

Unlike other Tibetan languages, Amdo Tibetan has no tonal opposition. The following phonemes can be set up: /p/[p], /pʰ/[pʰ], /b/[ʱb], /t/[t], /tʰ/[tʰ], /d/[ʱd], /ʈ/[ʈ], /ʈʰ/[ʈʰ], /ɖ/[ʱɖ], /c/[c], /cʰ/[cʰ], /ɟ/[ʱɟ], /k/[k], /kʰ/[kʰ], /g/[ʱg~ɣ], /ts/[ts], /tsʰ/[tsʰ], /dz/[ʱdz], /tɕ/[tɕ], /tɕʰ/[tɕʰ], /dʑ/[ʱdʑ], /f/[f], /ɬ/[ɬ], /s/[s], /sʰ/[sʰ], /z/[ʱz], /ʂ/[ʂ], /ɕ/[ɕ], /ʑ/[ʱʑ], /ç/[çχ], /x/[χ], /ʁ/[ʱʁ], /h/[h], /m/[m], /m̥/[m̥m], /n/[n], /n̥/[n̥n], /ɳ/[ɳ], /ɳ̊/[ɳ̊ɳ], /ŋ/[ŋ], /ŋ̊/[ŋ̊ŋ], /l/[l], /r/[ᵊɹ], /w/[w], /j/[j], /i/[i], /ᵊi/[ᵊi], /u/[ɯβ~ɯu], /e/[e], /ɛ/[ɛ], /ə/[ə], /o/[o], /a/[a].

Amdo Tibetan is agglutinative. It employs both suffixes and prefixes. Some enclitics can be recognized, for example, case markers, auxiliary verbs, sentence-final particles, and conjunctions. Enclitics are shown by means of a preceding equal symbol. Suffixes and enclitics may have a number of allomorphs.

Case-marking employs case postpositions (they are enclitics) or vowel change: (i) *=Ø* 'ABS', (ii) vowel change or *=kə/=gə* 'ERG/GEN', (iii) *=ni* 'ABL', (iv) *=na* 'LOC', (v) *=Ca* 'LOC', and (vi) *=tʰəksʰi* 'TER'. The case system is of the ergative-absolutive type. (In the examples given below, *=Ø* 'ABS' will not be indicated.)

Amdo Tibetan has no definite marker, but it has an indefinite marker

(=*zək*). The use of the indefinite marker is not obligatory. In the present paper, English translations of Amdo Tibetan examples will select the article that seems appropriate in the context.

Verbs can be classified into four groups: copula verbs, existential verbs, stative verbs, and active verbs. Some of the active verbs inflect: imperfect (IPF), perfect (PF), and imperative (IMP). The other active verbs, and also copula verbs, existential verbs, and stative verbs do not inflect. Verbs do not show agreement in terms of person, number, or gender. Also, they exhibit no distinction between finite and non-finite forms, i.e. they do not have any distinct non-finite form.

In addition to these verbs, there are auxiliary verbs, which are enclitics. They have an aspectual, temporal, evidential or modal meaning.

Copula verbs and existential verbs have negative forms of their own. Their negation employs the respective negative forms. Other verbs do not have their own negative forms, but they can be negated by adding the negative prefix *ma-/mə-*.

Verb-final orders are preferred: AOV, e.g. (7), and SV, e.g. (6). A demonstrative, a numeral and an adjective follow the noun they modify. An adnominal clause generally precedes the noun it qualifies.

Most adjectives are derived from stative verbs. They are formed by the addition of a nominalizer suffix or by the reduplication of verbs that have a stative meaning. Adjectives can modify a noun. (They follow the noun.)

Amdo Tibetan is largely dependent-marking. It is partly configurational.

Amdo Tibetan has a tradition of literature, and the literary/written language is fairly different from the spoken language. The data for the present paper is taken from the spoken language.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Intransitive, transitive, copula and existential clauses/sentences

Clauses/sentences can be classified as follows. All of them contain a verb as the predicate. The verb may be a copula verb. There is no 'verb-less' clause/sentence. (There are, however, exceptions; see 5.4.3-[1].)

(a) Intransitive clauses/sentences, e.g. (6).
(b) Transitive clauses/sentences, e.g. (7).
(c) Copula clauses/sentences:
  (c-1) noun-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (8), (9), and
  (c-2) adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (10).
(d) Existential clauses/sentences, e.g. (11), (12).

Intransitive clauses/sentences, e.g. (6), and transitive clauses/sentences, e.g. (7), will be jointly referred to as 'verbal clauses/sentences'. Copula clauses/sentences are of two types: noun-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (8), (9), and adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g. (10). Existential

clauses/sentences are used to express existence, e.g. (11), or possession, e.g. (12).

(6) *ŋa ŋɟo=go.*
1SG go.IPF=SFP
'I will go.'

(7) *ŋe sama sa=gəjo.*
1SG.ERG food eat.IPF=AUX.A
'I am eating food.'

(8) *ŋa hjəmtsʰo jən.*
1SG PSN COP.A
'I am Yumtso.'

(9) *ndə nor rɛ.*
this yak COP.B
'This is a yak.'

(10) *nor ndə tɛʰoŋ+tɛʰoŋ rɛ.*
yak this small COP.B
'This yak is small.'

(11) *nor ndə=na jo.*
yak this=LOC exist
'There is a yak here.'

(12) *ŋa=a lək jo.*
1SG=DAT sheep exist
'I have sheep.'

As seen above, (8) and (9) are examples of noun-predicate clauses/sentences. The MMC involves a copula verb, and as a preliminary to a discussion of the MMC, a somewhat more detailed account of noun-predicate clauses/sentences is in order. The structure of noun-predicate clauses/sentences in Amdo Tibetan is shown in (13). Noun phrases (A, B) appear in the absolutive case and a copula verb is placed in the sentence-final position.

(13) A B COP
'A is B.'

There are two series of copula verbs: pattern A and pattern B. See Table 1. The distinction between these two patterns concerns the point of view of the speaker or the original speaker of reported speech. Pattern A is chosen if the speaker is involved in the process of the event, regardless of the person of the subject, e.g. (14) to (16). Otherwise, pattern B is chosen, e.g. (17). (In addition to copula verbs, some of the auxiliary verbs exhibit this opposition.)

Again see Table 1. In the positive/non-interrogative series, the pattern A copula verb is *jən,* and the pattern B copula verb is *rɛ* or *rɛt.* In the negative/non-interrogative, the pattern A copula verb is *mən,* and the pattern B copula verb is *ma-rɛ* or *ma-rɛt.* Interrogative forms are produced by

adding the interrogative prefix or the interrogative enclitic to the forms shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Copula verbs

	Pattern A	Pattern B
Positive/non-interrogative	*jən*, e.g. (14)-(16)	*rɛ, rɛt*, e.g. (17)
Negative/non-interrogative	*mən*, e.g. (98)	*ma-rɛ, ma-rɛt*, e.g. (64), (65)

(14) *ŋəzo wot jən.*
1PL.EXCL Tibet COP.A
'We are Tibetans.'
(15) *ndʑəkmotsʰo ŋə ɕəmo jən.*
PSN 1SG.GEN daughter COP.A
'ndʑəkmotsʰo is my daughter.'
(16) *kore ndə ɕəm-bo jən.*
bread this delicious COP.A
'This bread [that I made] is delicious.'
(The speaker was involved in the process of making bread.)
(17) *kʰərgɛ mɔ̊nba rɛ.*
3SG doctor COP.B
'He is a doctor.'

Under certain conditions this opposition is neutralized, and pattern A has to be used.

In the sentence-final position, the predicate verb is followed by an auxiliary verb in some cases (especially when the speaker is not involved in the process of the event), e.g. (7), (30), (32), or by a sentence-final particle, e.g. (108), (109). Auxiliary verbs have an aspectual, temporal, evidential or modal meaning, e.g. (7), (30), (32). Sentence final particles have various modal meanings, e.g. (108), (109). There are sentences that lack both of them, e.g. (8)-(12), (14)-(17). Auxiliary verbs have an aspectual, temporal, evidential or modal meaning. Sentence final particles have various modal meanings.

4.2 Adnominal clauses and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Introductory notes. Amdo Tibetan has no relative pronoun. A nominalizer is attached to the verb of adnominal clauses ('ACs'). There are four such nominalizers. See Table 2. One of them is an enclitic, while the other three are suffixes. *-ɟo/-co* are allomorphs of a suffix, and so are *-ɟu/-cu*.

Table 2. Nominalizers used for ACs

Nominalizer	Meaning
IPF/PF=*no* (ABS), =*nu* (GEN)	doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do, e.g. (19)-(22), (24)-(27)
IPF-*ɟo*/-*co* (ABS), -*ɟu*/-*cu* (GEN)	doing ~, e.g. (28)
IPF-*hcakko* (ABS), -*hcakku* (GEN)	instrument to do, way to do
IPF-*sʰa*, -*sʰo* (ABS), -*sʰu* (GEN)	place to do, e.g. (23)

As seen in Section 3, some of the active verbs inflect for imperfect, perfect and imperative. If the verb concerned inflects, the enclitic =*no* (ABS)/=*nu* (GEN) may be attached to the imperfect form or the perfect form of verbs, while the three suffixes are added only to the imperfect forms, and not to the perfect forms.

Among these nominalizers, =*no* is the most widely used. When =*no* is used, the AC may precede or follow the noun it modifies. See (18) and (19). The AC + noun order is preferred if the clause is not too heavy. (This does not apply to the other three nominalizers; the AC must precede — and cannot follow — the noun.)

(18) Position of an AC and the head noun
  a. AC + Noun: [V=Nominalizer.GEN] Noun
  b. Noun + AC: Noun [V=Nominalizer.ABS]

(19) a. *[tɛa ntʰoŋ=nu]* *mɳə*
  tea drink=NMLZ.GEN people
  b. *mɳə* *[tɛa ntʰoŋ=no]*
  person tea drink=NMLZ.ABS
  'the person who drinks/drank tea'

In the 'Noun + AC' order, the nominalizer appears in the absolutive case, e.g. (19-b) (=*no* 'ABS'). In the 'AC + Noun' order, the nominalizer appears in the genitive form, e.g. (19-a) (=*nu* 'GEN'). As Table 2 shows, =*no* is the absolutive form of, and =*nu* is the genitive form of, the same nominalizer.

As noted above, only =*no*/=*nu* allows both the 'Noun + AC' order and the 'AC + Noun' order. The other three nominalizers allow the 'AC + Noun' order only. That is, the AC must precede the noun.

Among these four nominalizers, only =*no* and -*ɟo*/-*co* are used in the MMC.

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

4.2.1.2 Internal ACs. Two examples have been given above: (19-a, -b). Additional examples are given below.

All of the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for 'object of comparison'. Examples: (i) subject: (19-a, -b), (20), (ii) direct object: (21), (iii) indirect object: (22), (iv) oblique object: (23), and (v) genitive or possessor: (24).

(20) *[kʰərgɛɛ xɛtɕʰa htɛr=nu] mɳə*
3SG.DAT book give.IPF=NMLZ.GEN person
'the person who gives/gave the book to him'

(21) *[kʰərgə htɛar=nu] mɳə*
3SG.ERG beat=NMLZ.GEN person
'the person he beats/beat'

(22) *[ŋe xɛtɕʰa ɛən=nu] mɳə*
1SG.ERG book give.PF=NMLZ.GEN person
'the person whom I give/gave the book to'

(23) *[ŋe jəge ʈi=nu] ɳ̊əgə*
1SG.ERG letter write.PF=NMLZ.GEN pen
'the pen that I wrote a letter with'

(24) *[hoŋwo tɕʰe=nu] mɳə*
body big=NMLZ.GEN person
'the person whose body is big'

4.2.1.3 External ACs. Examples include the following.

(25) *[ça ʂɛk=nu] ʈima ɛəm=gə.*
meat grill=NMLZ.GEN smell delicious=AUX
LT: 'The smell with which [someone] grills meat is delicious.'
FT: 'The smell of grilling meat is delicious.'

(26) *[hlappa tɛɛ-ʂa ɲɟo=nu] xɛtɕʰa*
brain more-good go.IPF=NMLZ.GEN book
'the book by which [someone] will become cleverer'

(27) *[tsʰo mə-nbət=nu] sama*
fat NEG-come.out.IPF=NMLZ.GEN food
'the food by which [someone] does not gain weight'

(28) *[akʰə łasʰa=a ɲɟo-ɟu] rɟəmtsʰan*
uncle PLN=DAT go.IPF-NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe ko=wa.
1SG.ERG hear=AUX
'I heard the reason why [my] uncle goes to Lhasa.'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are mainly formed by adding a conjunction to a clause. In my data, there are eleven conjunctions used for forming adverbial clauses. They are all enclitics, and they are added to the verb of the clause in question. In addition, there are periphrastic conjunctions in which a noun is followed by a case postposition, e.g. (i) temporal ('when'): V*=nu hkap=wa*

'V=NMLZ.GEN time=DAT', and (ii) causal ('because'): V=*nu* *kʰu=gə* 'V=NMLZ.GEN reason=ERG'. See Table 3. Capital letters indicate that the form in question is an underlying form that has several allomorphs.

Table 3. Conjunctions for adverbial clauses

conjunction	function/meaning
=na	conditional
=Ni	sequential action, simultaneous action
=Na	sequential action, simultaneous action
=nara	adversative, concessive conditional, e.g. (29)
=Ra	adversative, concessive
=Gə	purpose
=kʰa	'just before ~', e.g. (30)
=Rokko	'until ~'
ma-verb=koŋŋa	'before ~'
=Roŋkoŋŋa	'just after ~'
=Ritʰatsʰo (=Ri)	'while ~, when ~'
V=*nu hkap=wa* 'V=NMLZ.GEN time=DAT'	temporal ('when'), e.g. (31)
V=*nu kʰu=gə* 'V=NMLZ.GEN reason=ERG'	causal ('because'), e.g. (32)

(29) *[hjak jən=nara] çə ɲo=gə.*
male.yak COP=CONJ die go.IPF=AUX
'Even if it is a male yak, it will die.'

(30) *[ŋo=kʰa] kʰərgɛ tʰon=tʰa.*
buy.IPF=CONJ 3SG arrive=AUX
'Just before I could buy [something], he arrived.'

(31) *[kʰərgɛ joŋ=nu hkap=wa] ŋa ndə=na*
3SG come=NMLZ.GEN time=DAT 1SG this=LOC
mɛk=kə.
exist.NEG=AUX
'When he came, I was not here.'

(32) *[gɛrgan joŋ=nu kʰu=gə]*
teacher come=NMLZ.GEN reason=ERG
tɛa blək=taŋ=ŋa.
tea pour.PF=AUX=AUX
'[I] poured tea, because the teacher came.'

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) is shown in (1). As noted in Section 1, the MMC in Amdo Tibetan is of two types.

(a) Free noun type: the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a free noun.
(b) Enclitic type: the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic.

Six free nouns and four enclitics are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. All of these nouns and enclitics are Amdo Tibetan native words. Loan words have not been attested in this slot. We shall now look at each of these two types.

5.2 Free noun type

Six free nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC of this type: [F-1] to [F-6] given below. ('F' stands for 'free noun'.) They are all content nouns, rather than non-content nouns.

Part of the structure of the free noun type MMC is the same as that of adnominal clauses (4.2.1). That is, a clause is followed by a noun, and the verb of the clause is combined with a nominalizer. In the MMC of the free noun type, the verb of the 'Clause' is combined a nominalizer: the enclitic *=nu* or the suffix *-ɟu/-cu*.

(a) IPF/PF=*nu* 'GEN' in [F-1] to [F-3], and
(b) IPF-*ɟu/-cu* 'GEN' in [F-4] to [F-6].

As seen in Section 3, some of the active verbs inflect for imperfect, perfect and imperative. As noted in 4.2.1 regarding ACs (Table 2), when the verb is one that inflects, the enclitic *=no* (ABS)/*=nu* (GEN) may be attached to the imperfect form or the perfect form, while the three suffixes are added only to the imperfect form, not to the perfect form.

Almost the same applies to the MMC of the free noun type. If the verb is one that inflects, the enclitic *=nu* 'GEN' may be attached to the imperfect form or the perfect form, while the suffix *-ɟu/-cu* 'GEN' can only be added to the imperfect form. This will be shown as, for instance, 'IPF/PF=*nu*'.

We shall now look at each of the six nouns. Outside the MMC, all of these nouns are used as content nouns, rather than non-content nouns.

[F-1] IPF/PF=*nu tsʰəkka* 'IPF/PF=NMLZ.GEN appearance'

This MMC has a counterfactual meaning, and generally it can be translated as follows: 'It looks/appears ~, but actually it isn't'. It often implies 'not that much' or 'not so much'. It may also be considered a type of 'evidential': sensory evidence, reported, and inference (cf. Aikhenvald 2006). Examples follow.

(33) *[kʰərgɛ hpo laŋ=go=nu]* *tsʰəkka* *rɛ.*
3SG anger rise.up=AUX=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
LT: 'He is an appearance [that he] is angry.'
FT: 'He looks angry (but actually he is not that angry).'

(34) *[kʰərgə mə-çi=nu]* *tsʰəkka* *rɛ.*
3SG.ERG NEG-know=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
LT: 'He is an appearance not to know.'
FT: 'He appears not to know (but actually he knows).'

(35) *[hnam nbak=ko=nu]* *tsʰəkka* *rɛ.*
sky fall.IPF=AUX=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
LT: 'The sky is an appearance to be falling.'
FT: 'It looks raining (but actually it is not raining that much).'

Other examples include (64), (81), (103), (116) and (132).

[F-2] IPF/PF=*nu ndʑoŋwa* 'IPF/PF=NMLZ.GEN character, nature'
This MMC means 'have the nature to do'. This meaning may be considered a habitual meaning — a type of 'aspectual'.

(36) *[kʰərgɛ rɛmma hpo laŋ=nu]* *ndʑoŋwa* *rɛ.*
3SG instantly anger rise.up=NMLZ.GEN nature COP.B
LT: 'He is a nature to get angry instantly.'
FT: 'He has the nature to get angry instantly.'

(37) *[kʰərgɛ ʈaŋmo jən=nu]* *ndʑoŋwa* *rɛ.*
3SG honest COP.A=NMLZ.GEN nature COP.B
LT: 'He is a nature to be honest.'
FT: 'He is honest by nature'.

[F-3] IPF/PF=*nu xwe* 'IPF/PF=NMLZ.GEN habit, custom'
This MMC usually means 'have the habit to do', i.e. a habitual meaning: a type of 'aspectual', e.g. (38). It may also have a modal meaning: deontic modality ('need to'), e.g. (39).

(38) *kʰərgə lehka mə-le=nu* *xwe* *rɛ.*
3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN habit COP.B
LT: 'He is a habit not to do work.'
FT: 'It is his habit not to work.'

(39) *jəkɛ* *łopʈa=a* *ɲɟo* *rgo=nu*
everyone school=DAT go.IPF need=NMLZ.GEN
xwe *rɛ.*
custom COP.B
LT: 'Everyone is a custom to need to go to school.'
FT: 'Everyone needs to go to school (due to the custom of society).'

[F-4] IPF-*ɟu/-cu ntɛʰarʑə* 'IPF-NMLZ.GEN plan'
This MMC means 'plan to do'. The meaning is modal. Furthermore, this MMC may add the meaning of 'future' — i.e. a temporal meaning. One of the consultants, Mr. *rGya ye bKra bho*, commented that this MMC is a

rather recent way of saying, and *-ɟu/-cu bkopa* ([F-5]) is the traditional Amdo Tibetan expression. Examples include (2) and:

(40) *kʰərgɛ naŋhka ŋɟo-ɟu ntɛʰarʑə rɛ.*
3SG tomorrow go.IPF-NMLZ.GEN plan COP.B
LT: 'He is a plan to go tomorrow.'
FT: 'He plans to go tomorrow.'

(41) *ame sama hku-ɟu ntɛʰarʑə rɛ.*
mother.ERG food cook-NMLZ.GEN plan COP.B
LT: '[My] mother is a plan to cook food.'
FT: '[My] mother plans to cook food.'

Other examples include (65), (96), (117) and (130).

[F-5] IPF-*ɟu/-cu bkopa* 'IPF-NMLZ.GEN way, manner'

This MMC means 'have decided to do, plan to do'. The meaning is modal. Furthermore, this MMC may add the meaning of future, i.e. a temporal meaning.

(42) *kʰərgə lək ptsoŋ-ɟu bkopa rɛ.*
3SG.ERG sheep sell.IPF-NMLZ.GEN way COP.B
LT: 'He is a way to sell sheep.'
FT: 'He has decided to sell sheep.'

(43) *ŋa kʰɛrndək jɛc-cu bkopa jən.*
1SG being.single do.IPF-NMLZ.GEN way COP.A
LT: 'I am a way to be single.'
FT: 'I have decided to remain single.'

Other examples include (69).

[F-6] IPF-*ɟu/-cu le* COP 'IPF-NMLZ.GEN karma, destiny'

This MMC means 'be destined to do'. This meaning may be considered a type of deontic modality. Examples include (3) and:

(44) *ŋa ntʰor-ɟu le rɛ.*
1SG get.divorced-NMLZ.GEN karma COP.B
LT: 'I am a karma to get divorced.'
FT: 'I am destined to get divorced.'

5.3 Enclitic type

Four enclitics are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Among them, *=kʰa* 'surface' ([E-1]) and *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]) may be considered nouns. ('E' stands for 'enclitic type'.) *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and *=ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~' ([E-4]) are nominalizers; their lexical meaning is not clear. It is relevant to mention that, in one type of the MMC in Japanese, the 'Noun' slot, is occupied by the enclitic *=no*, which may be analyzed as a nominalizer (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.3)).

If the verb is one that inflects, *=kʰa* 'surface' ([E-1]), *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]) and *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) may be attached to the imperfect form or the perfect form, while *=ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~' ([E-4]) can only be added to the imperfect form. This will be shown as, for instance, 'IPF/PF=*kʰa*'.

We shall now look at each of these four enclitics.

[E-1] IPF/PF=*kʰa=zək* 'IPF/PF=surface=INDF'

The enclitic *=kʰa* may be related to the word *kʰa*. The word *kʰa* is polysemic in Amdo Tibetan. Its uses/meanings include the following (Hua & Long (eds.) 1993: 37). (The English translations are by the present author.)

The uses/meanings of the Amdo Tibetan word *kʰa*:

(a) 'Mouth, beak'.
(b) (following a verb) 'just before ~'.
(c) (following a verb) 'doing ~'.
(d) 'Surface'.
(e) 'Dark color'.
(f) 'A sheet of ~'.
(g) (following a verb) 'might ~'.

The MMC with *=kʰa* indicates 'inference from the appearance'. That is, it has an evidential meaning. On the basis of the meaning 'inference from the appearance', it may be hypothesized that *=kʰa* used in the MMC is related to the word *kʰa*, and that its meaning is 'surface'. However, this is not certain. First, the word *kʰa* is rarely used with the meaning 'surface'. Second, one of the consultants, Mr. *rGya ye bKra bho*, stated that *kʰa* in the MMC derived from *kʰət* which means 'pretense'. The other consultants are not certain about its etymology. In the present work I tentatively gloss *=kʰa* as 'surface'.

When used in the MMC, the enclitic *=kʰa* 'surface' must be followed by the indefinite marker *=zək*. *=zək* is the only indefinite marker in Amdo Tibetan but its use is not obligatory. Generally, the indefinite marker *=zək* follows nouns and adds the meanings of 'indefinite' or 'one', sometimes 'humble'. That is, it may have something like a stylistic effect. This is the case in the MMC, too, e.g. (45), (46). Examples of this MMC include (4) and:

(45) *ŋe rɟəmtsʰan tə mə-çi=kʰa=zək jən.*
1SG.ERG reason that NEG-know=surface=INDF COP.A
LT: 'I am a surface not to know the reason.'
FT: 'I feel that I don't know the reason.' (humble expression)

(46) *kʰərgɛ ma-sʰoŋ=kʰa=zək rɛ.*
3SG NEG-go.PF=surface=INDF COP.B
LT: 'He is a surface not to have gone.'
FT: 'It seems that he did not go.'

[E-2] IPF/PF=*kʰawo* 'IPF/PF=mood, appearance'

There is a noun *kʰawo* that can be used outside the MMC, but it is rarely used by itself. This word is difficult to gloss, and its gloss 'mood, appearance' is only tentative. The enclitic *=kʰawo* can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Roughly speaking, this MMC has the same meaning as that of the MMC discussed in 5.2-[F-1] (*=nu tsʰəkka* (=NMLZ.GEN appearance)): 'It looks/appears ~ (but actually not that much)', e.g. (47). That is, it has a counterfactual meaning. It may also be considered a type of 'evidential': sensory evidence, reported, and inference.

Furthermore, this expression may mean 'that an action was carried out but that the action is not really significant': perhaps a type of modal meaning. When the speaker is talking about himself/herself, the sentence (or the speaker) sounds humble, i.e. it has something like a stylistic effect, e.g. (48).

(47) *kʰərgɛ wəs=sʰoŋ =kʰawo rɛ.*
3SG go.out.PF=AUX =mood COP.B
LT: 'He is an appearance to have gone.'
FT: 'It looks like he went out (but actually he just pretended to go).'

(48) *ŋə məkjəl ndəp=sʰoŋ =kʰawo rɛ.*
1SG.GEN purpose accomplish=AUX =mood COP.B
LT: '[I] am a mood to have accomplished my purpose.'
FT: 'I feel that I have accomplished my aim.' (humble expression)

Other examples of the enclitic *=kʰawo* used in the MMC include (70), (78), (104), (118) and (128).

[E-3] IPF/PF=*nə* 'IPF/PF=doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do'

The enclitic *=nə* is a nominalizer. It cannot be used as an independent word. When used outside the MMC, it means 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do', e.g. (49) and (50).

My consultants in effect seem to regard *=nə* as a cognate of the enclitic nominalizer *=no* 'ABS' (see 4.2.1). Indeed, these two enclitics look similar to each other. However, their functions are different. For example, in the following examples, the nominalizer *=nə* cannot be substituted by the nominalizer *=no*.

(49) *tɛʰaŋ=ta mə-ntʰoŋ=nə jɛt.*
alcohol=PP NEG-drink=NMLZ do.IPF
LT: '[I] do not do drinking alcohol.'
FT: '[I] decided not to drink alcohol.'

(50) *sa=nə ə-jo?*
eat.IPF=NMLZ Q-exist
'Is there anybody who eats?'

The enclitic nominalizer *=nə* can be used in the MMC. Here, *=nə* does not have any clear lexical meaning. This MMC has an 'explanatory' meaning; it provides some information to answer someone's enquiry, e.g.

(51), (52). Sometimes, part of the sentence is focused on in this MMC, e.g. (53).

The MMC with *=nə* is similar to the Japanese MMC that contains '*=no=da*'. (See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.3)). The Japanese *=no* is an enclitic that can be used as a nominalizer and *=da* is the copula. Noda (1997) discusses two functions of *=no=da*: (i) scope and (ii) mood. These two functions are parallel to the 'explanatory' and 'focus' functions, respectively, of the Amdo Tibetan MMC with *=nə*.

Recall that copula verbs have the pattern A forms and pattern B forms (Table 1). The positive/non-interrogative series have the pattern A form *jən* and the pattern B form *rɛ*. Now, it is interesting to note that the combination of the nominalizer *=nə* and the pattern A form *jən*, i.e. *=nə jən*, has a fused form: *=ne*. See (51). In contrast, the combination that involves the pattern B form *rɛ*, i.e. *=nə rɛ*, does not have a fused form. See Table 4. The other two combinations, too, lack a fused form.

Table 4. Nominalizer *=nə* and copula verbs

	Pattern A form	Pattern B form
Affirmative/ non-interrogative	*=nə jən*, *=ne*, e.g. (51), (53)	*=nə rɛ*, e.g. (52)
Negative/ non-interrogative	*=nə mən*, e.g. (53)	*=nə ma-rɛ*

(51) (A reply to the question 'Have you ever ridden a horse?')
ŋe *hta* *tʰok toŋwo* *ɕon=nə* *jən*
1SG.ERG horse first.time ride=NMLZ COP.A
(or *ɕon=ne*).
(ride=NMLZ.COP)
'I rode a horse for the first time.' (explanatory meaning)

(52) (A reply to the question 'What did he do?')
kʰərgə *lehka* *le=nə* *rɛ.*
3SG.ERG work do=NMLZ COP.B
'He worked.' (explanatory meaning)

(53) *ŋa* *kʰahtsaŋ* *joŋ=nə* *mən.*
1SG yesterday come=NMLZ COP.A.NEG
tɛraŋ *joŋ=nə* *jən.*
today come=NMLZ COP.A
'I did not come yesterday. I came today.'

(Focus is indicated by an underline.) Other examples of the enclitic *=nə* used in the MMC include (62) and (71).

[E-4] IPF=*ɟə*/=*cə* 'IPF=thing to do, value for doing ~, feeling of ~'
Amdo Tibetan has the nominalizer suffix *-ɟə*/*-cə* (Table 3). It cannot be used as an independent word. It indicates 'thing to do, value for doing ~, feeling of ~', e.g.:

(54) *ŋo-ɟə*
buy.IPF-NMLZ
'something to buy'
(55) *hta-ɟə*
watch.IPF-NMLZ
'value to watch'
(56) *hcək-ɟə*
vomit.IPF-NMLZ
'feeling of nausea'

There is the enclitic *=ɟə/=cə*. It can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. It does not have any clear lexical meaning. I tentatively regard it as a nominalizer. One of my consultants in effect holds the view that *=ɟə/=cə* can be regarded as a cognate of the nominalizer suffix *-ɟo/-co* (cf. Table 2). Indeed, these two pairs, *=ɟo/=co* and *-ɟə/-cə*, look similar. However, their functions are different. For example, in (54) to (56), *-ɟə/-cə* cannot be replaced by *=ɟo/=co*.

The MMC with *=ɟə/=cə* COP can describe a future situation, e.g. (5), (57). That is, it has a temporal meaning. When the 'Copula' is *rɛ*, i.e. the pattern B form for the affirmative/non-interrogative, this MMC indicates inference in some cases, e.g. (58). That is, it has an evidential meaning.

Other examples of the enclitic *=ɟə/=cə* used in the MMC include (63), (66), (67), (72), (95), (105), (119), (126) and (146).

The combination of *=ɟə/=cə* and the copula *jən* (pattern A; affirmative/ non-interrogative) has a fused form: *=ɟi/=ci*. See Table 5. An example is (57). In contrast, other combinations in Table 5 do not have a fused form.

Table 5. *=ɟə/=cə* and the copula

	Pattern A form	Pattern B form
Affirmative/ non-interrogative	*=ɟə/=cə jən* *=ɟi/ci*, e.g. (57)	*=ɟə/=cə rɛ*, e.g. (58)
Negative/ non-interrogative	*=ɟə/=cə mən*, e.g. (134)	*=ɟə/=cə ma-rɛ*, e.g. (87)

(57) *ŋa tɛraŋ ŋɟo=ɟə jən*
1SG today go.IPF=NMLZ COP.A
(or *ŋɟo=ɟi*).
(go.IPF=NMLZ.COP.A)
'I will go today.'
(58) *go=o sʰoŋ=na mŋə joc=cə rɛ.*
outside=DAT go.PF=CONJ person exist=NMLZ COP.B
'[If you] go outside, there might be a person.' (inference)

We saw in [E-3] above (Table 4) that the combination of the nominalizer *=nə* and the copula *jən* (again, pattern A; affirmative/non-interrogative) has a fused form: *=ne*, e.g. (51). The existence of these two fused forms (*=ne* and *=ɟi/ci*) indicates that these two types of the MMC, [E-3] and [E-4], have

undergone grammaticalization as far as those instances that involve the copula *jən* (pattern A; affirmative/non-interrogative) are concerned. Furthermore, as noted above, the lexical meaning of the enclitic *=ɟə/=cə* is vague.

It may not be irrelevant that the copula involved in these two abbreviated forms is a pattern A form (*jən*). As noted in 4.1, pattern A forms are used when the speaker is not involved in the process of the event, regardless of the person of the subject. That is, as far as these fused forms are concerned, the forms that concern the speaker's viewpoint are more grammaticalized than other forms.

As noted in 5.1, all of the nouns and the enclitics that occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC are Amdo Tibetan native words. Loan words are not attested in this slot. Especially, [E-3] *=nə* COP ('doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do') and [E-4] *=ɟə/=cə* COP ('thing to do, value for doing ~, feeling of ~') appear in everyday conversation of Amdo Tibetan more frequently than other types of the MMC. It is relevant to note that, in terms of the existence of fused forms, [E-3] and [E-4] are more grammaticalized than the others.

5.4 Morphosyntactic features of the MMC

We shall examine the predicate of the 'Clause' (5.4.1), the 'Noun' (5.4.2), and the 'Copula' (5.4.3).

5.4.1 Predicate of the 'Clause'

[1] Aspect

In the free noun type (5.2), if the verb one that inflects, the enclitic *=nu* 'GEN' may be attached to the imperfect form or the perfect form, while the suffix *-ɟu/-cu* 'GEN' can only be added to the imperfect form.

In the enclitic type (5.3), [E-1] *=kʰa=zək* ('surface=INDF'), [E-2] *=kʰawo* ('mood, appearance') and [E-3] *=nə* ('doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do') may be attached to the imperfect form or the perfect form, while [E-4] *=ɟə/=cə* ('thing to do, value for doing ~, feeling of ~') can only be added to the imperfect form.

[2] Negation

Some of the verbs have negative forms of their own (cf. Section 3). These negative forms can be used as the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC. Other verbs are negated by adding the negative prefix *ma-* or *mə-*. *ma-* and *mə-* are two separate suffixes, and not allomorphs of one suffix. They, too, can be used as the predicate of the 'Clause', e.g. (34), (38), (45), (46).

[3] Verb + Auxiliary verb

The verb of the 'Clause' may be followed by an auxiliary verb. Examples include the free noun type: (33), (35), and the enclitic type: (4), (47), (48).

[4] Sentencehood

Recall that, as noted in 4.1, in the sentence-final position, the predicate verb is sometimes followed by an auxiliary verb or a sentence-final particle (especially when the speaker is not involved in the event). Some sentences

are not really well-formed without an auxiliary verb and a sentence-final particle. There are, however, well-formed sentences that lack both a sentence-final particle and an auxiliary verb, e.g. (8) to (12).

Now, in the MMC, the 'Clause' cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle. (The end of the 'Clause' is not sentence-final.) In this respect, the sentencehood of the 'Clause' of the MMC is low. (However, the predicate can be followed by an auxiliary verb, e.g. (i) free noun type: (33), (35), and (ii) enclitic type, e.g. (4), (47). In this respect, the sentencehood of the 'Clause' of the MMC is not low.)

We now examine whether the 'Clause' of the MMC can be used by itself as a sentence.

In the free noun type, the predicate of the 'Clause' is followed by a nominalizer (which is in turn followed by the 'Noun'). A nominalizer cannot conclude a sentence, and consequently the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence.

In the enclitic type, the situation is somewhat complicated, but it may be summarized very roughly as follows. The 'Noun' slot is occupied by a nominalizer, and the predicate of the 'Clause' itself does not involve any nominalizer. In some instances, the 'Clause' without an auxiliary verb and a sentence-final particle becomes a well-formed sentence. (Such sentences are those like (8) to (12).) In other sentences, if the 'Clause' lacks both an auxiliary verb and a sentence-final particle, it will not become a well-formed sentence.

As seen in Section 3, Amdo Tibetan verbs have no distinction between finite forms and non-finite forms. Nonetheless, the above shows that in most instances the 'Clause' of the MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

5.4.2 'Noun' of the MMC

When used outside the MMC, nouns can be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative and a numeral. On the other hand, modification of a noun in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC by an adjective, a demonstrative or a numeral is unacceptable. For example, (59) is ungrammatical.

(59) *[ŋa nt^{h}or-ɟu] le ŋan-ba rɛ.
1SG get.divorced-NMLZ.GEN karma bad COP.B
LT: 'I am a bad karma to get divorced.'

In the MMC of [E-1], in which the enclitic =k^{h}a 'appearance' occurs in the 'Noun' slot, =k^{h}a is always modified by the indefinite marker =zək, e.g. (45), (46). However, in the other types of the MMC, modification of the 'Noun' by the indefinite marker is not possible. See (60) and (61).

(60) *[k^{h}ərgɛ wəs=s^{h}oŋ] =k^{h}awo=zək rɛ.
3SG go.out.PF=AUX =mood=INDF COP.B
LT: 'He is an appearance to have gone out

(61) *[kʰərgə lehka mə-le=nu]
3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN
xwe=zək rɛ.
nature=INDF COP.B
LT: 'He is a nature not to work.'

The above shows that the nouns and the enclitics that occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC lack the status of noun in these respects. The enclitic *=kʰa* 'appearance' is an exception; it can be modified by the indefinite marker.

5.4.3 'Copula' of the MMC

The 'Copula' verb of the MMC is absent in certain instances (see [1] below). It may occur in the negative form (see [2]) or the interrogative form (see [3]). There are two fused forms that involve the 'Copula' (see [4]).

[1] Absence of the 'Copula'

The enclitic *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and *=ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~, feeling of ~' ([E-4]) can appear without the 'Copula' if (and only if) they are followed by the interrogative sentence-final particle *=na*, e.g. (62), (63). The absence of the 'Copula' is not acceptable in other types of the MMC. The instances of the MMC without the 'Copula' deviate from the prototype of the MMC, shown in (1), since they lack the 'Copula'.

(62) *taŋsʰaŋ nbəʁoŋ tɕʰəmo jən=nə=na?*
recently insects' price how.much COP.A=NMLZ=SFP
'How much is the insects' price [i.e. the price of plant worm] recently?'

(63) *təgezək dʑoŋ=ɟə=na?*
a.little study=NMLZ=SFP
'Will [you] study a little?'

[2] Negation of the 'Copula'

When the 'Copula' verb is present, it can be negated in some types of the MMC. This negation employs either (i) the negative prefix *ma-* or *mə-*, e.g. (64) (*tsʰəkka* 'appearance'; [F-1]), (65) (*ntɕʰarzə* 'plan'; [F-4]), and (66) (*=ɟə* 'thing to do, value for doing'; [E-4]) or (ii) the negative form of the copula concerned, e.g. (67) (*=ɟə* 'thing to do, value for doing'; [E-4]). (As noted in Section 3, only copula verbs and existential verbs have negative forms of their own.) However, in other types of the MMC, negation of the 'Copula' is not acceptable. See (68) (*=kʰa* 'surface' [E-1]). At this stage of research, the factor that may condition the acceptability/unacceptability of this negation is not known. In the latter types, the MMC as a whole cannot be negated (although the predicate of the 'Clause' may be negated; see 5.4.1-[2]).

(64) *hnam nbak=ko=nu tsʰəkka ma-rɛ.*
sky fall.IPF=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN appearance NEG-COP.B
LT: 'The sky is not an appearance to be raining.'
FT: 'It does not seem to be raining (but actually it is raining).'

(65) *ame sama hkɯ-ɟu ntɕʰarʑə ma-rɛ.*
mother.ERG food cook-NMLZ.GEN plan NEG-COP.B
LT: '[My] mother is not a plan to cook food.'
FT: '[My] mother does not plan to cook food.'

(66) *əze jɛt tʰəp=ɟə ma-rɛ.*
1PL.INCL.ERG do.IPF can=NMLZ NEG-COP.B
'We do not seem to be able to do [it].'

(67) *ŋa ndək=ɟə mən.*
1SG stay.IPF=NMLZ COP.A.NEG
'I will not stay.'

(68) **kʰərgɛ sʰoŋ=kʰa=zək ma-rɛ.*
3SG go.PF=surface=INDF NEG-COP.B
LT: 'He is not a surface to have gone.'

[3] Interrogative form of the 'Copula'

When the 'Copula' verb is present, it can be combined with the interrogative prefix *ə-* in some types of the MMC, e.g. (69) to (72). However, this combination is not possible in other types of the MMC. See (73) (*xwe* 'habit, custom' [F-3]). At this stage of research, the factor that may condition the acceptability/unacceptability of this use of the interrogative prefix is not known.

(69) *kʰərgə lək ptsoŋ-ɟu bkopa ə-rɛ?*
3SG.ERG sheep sell.IPF-NMLZ.GEN way Q-COP.B
LT: 'Is he a way to sell sheep?'
FT: 'Did he decide to sell sheep?'

(70) *kʰərgɛ wəs=sʰoŋ =kʰawo ə-rɛ?*
3SG go.out.PF=AUX =mood Q-COP.B
LT: 'Is he an appearance to have gone?'
FT: 'Does it seem that he went out?'

(71) *cʰo kʰahtsaŋ joŋ=nə ə-jən?*
2SG yesterday come=NMLZ Q-COP.A
'Did you come yesterday?'

(72) *cʰe ndə ɳo=ɟə ə-jən?*
2SG.ERG this buy.IPF=NMLZ Q-COP.A
'Will you buy this?'

(73) **kʰərgə lehka mə-le=nu xwe ə-rɛ?*
3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN habit Q-COP.B
LT: 'Is he a habit not to work?'

[4] Fused forms

As seen in Table 4 and Table 5, there are two fused forms that involve the 'Copula'. Both involve the pattern A form for the affirmative/

non-interrogative (*jən*).

(a) Involving the enclitic *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do': the abbreviated form *=ne* for the combination *=nə jən*, e.g. (51).
(b) Involving the enclitic*=ɻə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~': the abbreviated form *=ɻi/=ci* for the combination *=ɻə/=cə jən*, e.g. (57).

No such fused form exists for any other types of the MMC.

6. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

For illustrating the morphosyntactic characteristics of the MMC more clearly, it is important to compare it with other constructions. We shall employ the following as representatives of the MMC.

[F] Free noun type of the MMC:
  [F-1] *tsʰəkka* 'appearance', preceded by the enclitic nominalizer *=nu*.
  [F-4] *ntɛʰarʑə* 'plan', preceded by the suffix nominalizer *-ɻu/-cu*.
[E] Enclitic type of the MMC:
  [E-2] *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.
  [E-4] *=ɻə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'.

We shall compare these four types of the MMC — to be precise, the 'Clause' of the MMC — with the following constructions: (a) to (d) adnominal clause, (e) adverbial clause, (j) verbal sentence, and (k) copula sentence. (j) and (k) have been selected as representatives of independent sentences.

Adnominal clauses (4.2.1) can be classified into four types in terms of the internal/external dichotomy and the type of the nominalizer (*=no* or *-ɻo/-co*): (a) internal AC (*=no*), (b) internal AC (*-ɻo/-co*), (c) external AC (*=no*), and (d) external AC (*-ɻo/-co*).

This comparison concerns the morphological properties (6.2) and the syntactic properties (6.3).

6.2 Morphological features of the predicate

6.2.1 Introductory notes

We shall examine the morphology of the predicate in terms of the following eight criteria: imperative form ('IMP'; 6.2.2), imperfect form ('IPF'; 6.2.3), perfect form ('PF'; 6.2.4), auxiliary verb ('AUX'; 6.2.5), negation ('NEG'; 6.2.6), nominalizer ('NMLZ'; 6.2.7), copula verb ('COP'; 6.2.8), and sentence-final particle ('SFP'; 6.2.9). The result is shown in Table 6. As

noted in 4.1, all types of clauses/sentences contain a verb as the predicate. (The verb may be a copula verb.) There is no 'verb-less' clause/sentence.

Table 6. Morphological features of the predicate

	IMP	IPF	PF	AUX
(a) internal AC (=*no*)	-	+	+	+
(b) internal AC (-*ɟo*/-*co*)	-	+	-	-
(c) external AC (=*no*)	-	+	+	+
(d) external AC (-*ɟo*/-*co*)	-	+	-	-
(e) adverbial clause	-/+	+/-	+/-	+/-
(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'	-	+	+	+
(g) Verb-*ɟu*/-*cu ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan'	-	+	-	-
(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'	-	+	+	+
(i) Verb=*ɟə*/=*cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'	-	+	-	+
(j) verbal sentence	+	+	+	+
(k) copula sentence	....	....	....	+

	NEG	NMLZ	COP	SFP
(a) internal AC (=*no*)	+	+	+ (A)	-
(b) internal AC (-*ɟo*/-*co*)	+	+	-	-
(c) external AC (=*no*)	+	+	+ (A)	-
(d) external AC (-*ɟo*/-*co*)	+	+	-	-
(e) adverbial clause	+	-/+	+ (A, A/B)	-
(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'	+	+	+ (A)	-
(g) Verb-*ɟu*/-*cu ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan'	+	+	-	-
(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'	-	+	+ (A)	-
(i) Verb=*ɟə*/=*cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'	-	+	+ (A)	-
(j) verbal sentence	+	-	....	+
(k) copula sentence	+	-	+ (A /B)	+

6.2.2 Imperative form

The predicate verb can occur in the imperative form ('IMP') only in (j) verbal sentence, e.g. (74), and certain instances of (e) adverbial clause, e.g. (75), but this is not possible in the other construction types, including the MMC. It does not seem worthwhile to give unacceptable sentences.

(74) *xɛtɕʰa* *ɸtᵊi!*
book watch.IMP
'Read a book!'

(75) *xɛtɕʰa* *ɸtᵊi=a* *dot!*
book watch.IMP=CONJ stay.IMP
'Stay and read a book!'

6.2.3 Imperfect form

The predicate verb can occur in the imperfect form ('IPF') in all the constructions except for (k) copula sentence and certain instances of (e) adverbial clause.

(a) Internal AC (*=no*)
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (20).
(b) Internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (76).

(76) *ŋe* *cʰo=o* *htɛr-ɟo* *gormo*
1SG.ERG 2SG=DAT give.IPF-NMLZ money
'the money I will give you'

(c) External AC (*=no*)
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (26), (27).
(d) External AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (28).
(e) Adverbial clause
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (77).

(77) *kʰərgɛ* *ɲɟo=na* *ŋa* *mə-ɲɟo.*
3SG go.IPF=CONJ 1SG NEG-go.IPF
'If he goes, I will not go.'

(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (64).
(g) Verb-*ɟu/-cu ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan'
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (40).
(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (78).

(78) *kʰɛrgɛ ŋɟo=ɟəjən=kʰawo rɛ.*
3SG go.IPF=AUX.A=mood COP.B
'It looks like he will go (but actually, he is just pretending to go).'

(i) Verb=*ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (57), (72).
(j) Verbal sentence
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (6), (7).
(k) Copula sentence
No imperfect form can be used, for copula verbs do not inflect (as noted in Section 3), and consequently they lack an imperfect form.

6.2.4 Perfect form
The predicate verb can occur in the perfect form ('PF') in (a), (c), (e) (certain instances only), (f), (h) and (j). It does not seem worthwhile to give unacceptable examples.
(a) Internal AC (=*no*)
A perfect form can be used, e.g. (22).
(b) Internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
No perfect form can be used, for the suffix *-ɟo/-co* can follow an imperfect form only. (See Table 2.)
(c) External AC (=*no*)
A perfect form can be used, e.g. (79).

(79) *[akʰə łasʰa=a sʰoŋ=nu] ɟəmtsʰan*
uncle PLN=DAT go.PF=NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe ko=wa.
1SG.ERG hear=AUX
'I heard the reason why [my] uncle went to Lhasa.'

(d) External AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
No perfect form can be used, for the suffix *-ɟo/-co* can follow an imperfect form only (Table 2).
(e) Adverbial clause
A perfect form can be used in some adverbial clauses, e.g. (80).

(80) *kʰərgɛ sʰoŋ=na ŋa mə-ŋɟo.*
3SG go.PF=CONJ 1SG NEG-go.IPF
'If he goes, I will not go.'

(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
A perfect form can be used, e.g. (81).

(81) *kʰərgə* *sama* *si=taŋ=nu* *tsʰəkka*
3SG.ERG food eat.PF=AUX=NMLZ.GEN appearance
rɛ.
COP.B
'It looks like he has eaten food (but actually he has not).'

(g) Verb-*ɟu/-cu ntɛʰarʑə* 'plan'
No perfect form can be used, for the suffix *-ɟu/-cu* can follow an imperfect form only (Table 2).
(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
A perfect form can be used, e.g. (47), (70).
(i) Verb=*ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
No perfect form can be used, for the suffix *-ɟu/-cu* can follow an imperfect form only (Table 2).
(j) Verbal sentence
A perfect form can be used, e.g. (82).

(82) *ŋa* *sʰoŋ=ŋa*.
1SG go.PF=AUX
'I went.'

(k) Copula sentence
No perfect form can be used, for copula verbs do not inflect, and consequently they lack a perfect form.

6.2.5 Auxiliary verb
The verb can be followed by an auxiliary verb in all the constructions except for those in (b), (d), (g) and certain instances of (e). Examples follow.
(a) Internal AC (=*no*)
An auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (83).

(83) *sama* *sa=gəjo=nu* *mɳə*
food eat.IPF=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN person
'the person who is eating food'

(b) Internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
No auxiliary verb can be used, cf. (84).

(84) **htɛr=gəjoc-cu* *gormo*
give.IPF=AUX.A-NMLZ.GEN money
Intended meaning: 'the money [someone] is giving'

(c) External AC (=*no*)
An auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (85).

(85) *sama hku=gəjo=nu ʈima ɕəm=gə.*
food cook=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN smell delicious=AUX
'The smell of cooking food is delicious.'

(d) External AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
No auxiliary verb can be used, cf. (86).

(86) **kʰərgə lehka le=gəjoc-cu rɟəmtsʰan*
3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A-NMLZ.GEN reason
Intended meaning: 'the reason why he is working'

(e) Adverbial clause
An auxiliary verb can be used in some of the adverbial clauses, e.g. (87).

(87) *kʰərgə lehka le=gəjo=na,*
3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A=CONJ
joŋ=ɟə ma-rɛ.
come=NMLZ NEG-COP.B
'If he is working, he will not come.'

(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
An auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (64).

(g) Verb-*ɟu/-cu ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan'
No auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (88).

(88) **naŋhka kʰərgə lehka le=gəjok-cu*
tomorrow 3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A-NMLZ.GEN
ntɕʰarʑə rɛ.
plan COP.B
Intended meaning: 'He plans to be working tomorrow.'

(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
An auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (47) and (48).

(i) Verb=*ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
An auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (126).

(j) Verbal sentence
An auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (89).

(89) *kʰərgə lehka le=gokə.*
3SG.ERG work do=AUX.B
'He is working.'

(j) Copula sentence
An auxiliary verb can be used, e.g. (90).

(90) *tə=ritʰatso kʰərgɛ lo ptsoŋa jən=gokə.*
that=CONJ 3SG year fifteen COP.A=AUX.B
'At that time, he might be fifteen years old.'

6.2.6 Negation

The verb or the auxiliary verb can be negated ('NEG') in all the constructions except for (h) and (i). This negation employs the negative prefix, e.g. (91) to (97), or the negative form of the verb or the auxiliary verb, e.g. (98).

(a) Internal AC (*=no*)

This negation is possible, e.g. (91).

(91) *lehka* *mə-le=nu* *mɳə* *ŋe* *çi=gə.*
work NEG-do=NMLZ person 1SG.ERG know=AUX
'I know the man who does not work.'

(b) Internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)

This negation is possible, e.g. (92).

(92) *naŋhka* *mə-hta-ɟu* *xɛtɕʰa*
tomorrow NEG-watch.IPF-NMLZ.GEN book
ŋa=a *ɕən.*
1SG=DAT give.IMP
'Give me a book that you will not read tomorrow.'

(c) External AC (*=no*)

This negation is possible, e.g. (93).

(93) *kʰərgɛ* *łasʰa=a* *mə-ɳɟo=nu* *rɟəmtsʰan*
3SG PLN=DAT NEG-go.IPF=NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe *çi=gə.*
1SG.ERG know=AUX
'I know the reason why he does not go to Lhasa.'

(d) External AC (*-ɟo/-co*)

This negation is possible, e.g. (94).

(94) *kʰərgɛ* *łasʰa=a* *mə-ɳɟo-ɟu* *rɟəmtsʰan*
3SG PLN=DAT NEG-go.IPF-NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe *çi=gə.*
1SG.ERG know=AUX
'I know the reason why he does not go to Lhasa.'

(e) Adverbial clause

This negation is possible, e.g. (95).

(95) *kʰərgɛ* *mə-joŋ=na* *ŋa=ra* *joŋ=ɟə* *jən.*
3SG NEG-come=CONJ 1SG=PP come=NMLZ COP.A
'If he does not come, I will not come, either.'

(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
This negation is possible, e.g. (34).
(g) Verb-*ɟu*/-*cu ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan'
This negation is possible, e.g. (96).

(96) *kʰərgə* *lehka* *mə-le=ɟu* *ntɕʰarʑə* *rɛ.*
3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN plan COP.B
'He is not planning to work.'

(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
No negative form can be used.
(i) Verb=*ɟə*/=*cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
No negative form can be used.
(j) Verbal sentence
This negation is possible, e.g. (97).

(97) *kʰərgə* *mə-çi=gə.*
3SG.ERG NEG-know=AUX
'He does not know.'

(k) Copula sentence
This negation is possible, e.g. (98).

(98) *ŋa* *gɛrgan* *mən.*
1SG teacher COP.A.NEG
'I am not a teacher.'

6.2.7 Nominalizer
The verb or the auxiliary verb is (obligatorily) followed by a nominalizer ('NMLZ') in (a), (b), (c), (d), certain instances of (e) (such as V=*nu hkap=wa* 'when ~' and V=*nu kʰu=gə* 'because ~'; cf. 4.2.2), (f), (g), (h) (=*kʰawo* can be analyzed as a nominalizer) and (i), but not in other constructions.

6.2.8 Copula verb
A copula verb ('COP') can appear in all the construction types except (b), (d), (g) and (j). As noted in 4.1, there are two series of copula verbs: pattern A and pattern B (Table 1). Both A and B forms are acceptable in (k) and certain instances of (e), while on the other hand only pattern A forms are acceptable in (a), (c), (f), (h), (i), (k) and certain instances of (e). No copula can occur in other construction types. Examples follow.

(a) Internal AC (=*no*)
Only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (99).

(99) *gɛrgan* *jən/*rɛ=nu* *ŋə*
teacher COP.A/COP.B=NMLZ.GEN person
'the person who is a teacher'

(b) Internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
No copula verb can be used.
(c) External AC (*=no*)
Only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (100).

(100) *gɛrgan* *jən/*rɛ=nu* *hnetsʰəl*
teacher COP.A/COP.B =NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe *mə-çi=gə.*
1SG.ERG NEG-know=AUX
'I do not know the reason why [he/she] is a teacher.'

(d) External AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
No copula verb can be used.
(e) Adverbial clause
In most adverbial clauses, only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (101), but in some adverbial clauses both A and B forms are acceptable, e.g. (102).

(101) *[mərgɛ* *mǻnba* *jən/*rɛ=na],*
3SG doctor COP.A/COP.B=CONJ
nɛpa *hta* *çi=gə.*
patient watch.IPF know=AUX
'If she is a doctor, [she] knows how to examine patients.'
(102) *[mərgɛ* *mǻnba* *jən=nɖa/rɛʈ=ʈa],*
3SG doctor COP.A=CONJ/COP.B=CONJ
nɛpa *hta* *mə-çi=gə.*
patient watch.IPF NEG-know=AUX
'Though she is a doctor, she does not know how to examine patients.'

(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
Only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (103).

(103) *kʰərgɛ* *gɛrgan* *jən/*rɛ=nu*
3SG teacher COP.A/COP.B=NMLZ.GEN
tsʰəkka *rɛ.*
appearance COP.B
'He looks like a teacher (but actually he is not).'

(g) Verb-*ɟu/-cu ntɛʰarʑə* 'plan'
No copula verb can be used.
(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
Only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (104).

(104) *kʰərgɛ gɛrgan jən/*rɛ =kʰawo rɛ.*
3SG teacher COP.A/COP.B=mood COP.B
'He is something like a teacher.'

(i) Verb=*ɟə*/=*cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
Only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (105).

(105) *ju=a ŋɟo=go=nə jən/*rɛ =ɟə*
home=DAT go.IPF=AUX.A=NMLZ COP.A/COP.B=NMLZ
ra?
COP.B.Q
'Is [he] going home?'

(j) Verbal sentence
No copula verb can be used.
(k) Copula sentence
Both A and B forms are acceptable, e.g. (8) (pattern A) and (9) (pattern B).

6.2.9 Sentence-final particle
A sentence-final particle ('SFP') can appear in the sentence-final position of (j) verbal sentence, e.g. (108), and (k) copula sentence e.g. (109). Note in particular that a sentence-final particle cannot occur in the 'Clause' of the MMC. This position is not sentence-final. I should add that a sentence-final particle cannot precede the nominalizer in the 'Clause' of the MMC, either. See (106) and (107). There are several sentence-final particles in Amdo Tibetan (cf. 4.1). In the following examples, the two particles =*na* (question)/=*pa* (inference) are tested.

(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
A sentence-final particle cannot be used; see (106).

(106) **kʰərgɛhpo laŋ=go *=na/*=pa =nu*
3SG anger rise.up=AUX.A =SFP =NMLZ.GEN
tsʰəkka rɛ.
appearance COP.B
Intended meaning: 'He looks angry (but actually he is not that angry).'

(i) Verb=*ɟə*/=*cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
A sentence-final particle cannot be used; see (107).

(107) **ŋa tɛraŋ ŋɟo *=na/*=pa =ɟə jən*
1SG today go.IPF =SFP =NMLZ COP.A
Intended meaning: 'I will go today.'

(j) Verbal sentence
A sentence-final particle can be used, e.g. (108).

(108) *zək=ne* *tʰək=a.*
later=ABL meet=SFP
'See [you] later.'

(k) Copula sentence
A sentence-final particle can be used, e.g. (109).

(109) *cʰo* *bde-mo* *jən=na?*
2SG fine COP.A=SFP
'Are you fine?'

6.2.10 Discussion
We have looked at the morphological features of the predicate of eleven construction types (i.e. (a) to (k)) in terms of the eight criteria (i.e. 6.2.2 to 6.2.9). The result is shown in Table 6. The MMC (i.e. (f) to (i)) — to be precise, the 'Clause' of the MMC — shares the following three properties with adnominal clauses (i.e. (a) to (d)). (i) Imperative forms and sentence-final particles are not acceptable. (ii) Imperfect form can appear. (iii) A nominalizer appears obligatorily. In contrast, the MMC exhibits no significant similarity to (j) verbal sentence and (k) copula sentence, which have been selected as the representatives of independent sentences. To sum up, in terms of the morphological properties of the predicate, the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like adnominal clauses, not like independent sentences.

6.3 Syntactical features

6.3.1 Introductory notes
We shall look at the syntax of the ten construction types in terms of the following three criteria: contrast (6.3.2), clefting (6.3.3), and valency reduction (6.3.4). The result is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Syntactic features

	[1] contrast	[2] clefting	[3] valency reduction
(a) internal AC (*=no*)	-	-	+
(b) internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)	-	-	+
(c) external AC (*=no*)	-	-	-
(d) external AC (*-ɟo/-co*)	-	-	-
(e) adverbial clause	-	-	-
(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'	+	-	-
(g) Verb-*ɟu/-cu ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan'	+	-	-
(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'	+	-	-
(i) Verb=*ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'	+	-	-
(j) verbal sentence	+	+	-
(k) copula sentence	+	+	-

6.3.2 Contrast

There is an enclitic *=ta*. It is a pragmatic particle, and it is used for expressing 'contrast, emphasis, topic' (although this distinction is not clear-cut). This particle is similar to the Japanese enclitic *=wa* in that it may indicate topic or contrast (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.3.1-[1])). We shall focus on the 'contrast' use of *=ta*. The enclitic *=ta* for contrast cannot occur in adnominal clauses or adverbial clauses, but *=ta* can occur in all the other construction types, including the MMC.

(a) Internal AC (*=no*)

=ta cannot be used; see (110).

(110) **[kʰərgɛ=ta ŋa=a ɕən=nu] xɛtɕʰa*
3SG=PP 1SG=DAT give.PF=NMLZ.GEN book
Intended meaning: 'the book which he [in contrast with someone else] gave me.'

(b) Internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)

=ta cannot be used; see (111).

(111) *[kʰərgə=ta ŋa=a htɛr-ɟu] xɛtɕʰa
3SG.ERG=PP 1SG=DAT give.IPF-NMLZ.GEN book
Intended meaning: 'the book which he [in contrast with someone else] gives me.'

(c) External AC (*=no*)
=ta cannot be used; see (112).

(112) *[akʰə=ta łasʰa=a sʰoŋ=nu] rɟəmtsʰan
uncle=PP PLN=DAT go.PF=NMLZ.GEN reason
Intended meaning: 'the reason why [my] uncle [in contrast with someone else] went to Lhasa.'

(d) External AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
=ta cannot be used; see (113).

(113) *[akʰə=ta łasʰa=a ɲɟo-ɟu] rɟəmtsʰan
uncle=PP PLN=DAT go.IPF-NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe ko=wa.
1SG.ERG hear=AUX
Intended meaning: 'I heard the reason why [my] uncle [in contrast with someone else] goes to Lhasa.'

(e) Adverbial clause
=ta cannot be used; see (114) and (115).

(114) *kʰərgɛ=ta ma-joŋ=na ŋa ɲɟo=ɟə jən.
3SG=PP NEG-come=CONJ 1SG go.IPF=NMLZ COP.A
Intended meaning: 'If he [in contrast with someone else] does not come, I will go.'

(115) *ŋa=ta ɲɟo=kʰa kʰərgɛ tʰon=tʰa.
1SG=PP go.IPF=CONJ 3SG reach=AUX
Intended meaning: 'Just before I [in contrast with someone else] went, he arrived.'

(f) Verb=*nu tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
=ta can be used, e.g. (116).

(116) kʰərge=ta rɟəmtsʰan mə-çi=nu
3SG.ERG=PP reason NEG-know=NMLZ.GEN
tsʰəkka rɛ.
appearance COP
'[Other people might know, but] he seems not to know the reason.'

(g) Verb-*ɟu/-cu ntɕʰarzə* 'plan'
=ta can be used, e.g. (117).

(117) *arɟa=kə=ta nor ptsoŋ-ɟu ntɕʰarʑə rɛ.*
father=ERG=PP yak sell.IPF-NMLZ.GEN plan COP
'[Other people do not, but my] father plans to sell yaks.'

(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
=*ta* can be used, e.g. (118).

(118) *kʰərgɛ=ta wəs=sʰoŋ=kʰawo rɛ.*
3SG=PP go.out.PF=AUX=mood COP
'[Other people might stay, but] it looks like he went out (but actually, he just pretended to go).'

(i) Verb=*ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
=*ta* can be used, e.g. (119).

(119) *ŋe=ta xɛtɕʰa ɳo=ɟə mən.*
1SG.ERG=PP book buy.IPF=NMLZ COP.NEG
'[Other people might buy, but] I will not buy the book.'

(j) Verbal sentence
=*ta* can be used, e.g. (120).

(120) *ŋe=ta xɛtɕʰa mə-ɳo.*
1SG.ERG=PP book NEG-buy.IPF
'[Other people might buy, but] I will not buy the book.'

(k) Copula sentence
=*ta* can be used, e.g. (121).

(121) *cʰo=ta mɳə tsaja rɛ.*
2SG=PP person excellent COP.B
'[Other people might not be, but] you are an excellent person.'
(contrast)

(This sentence may also have an emphasis reading.)

6.3.3 Clefting

In clefting, a sentence is divided into two parts. In Amdo Tibetan, clefted sentences have the form of copula sentences, and the part that immediately precedes the copula verb is focused on. Clefting can be applied to (j) verbal sentence and (k) copula sentence only, and not to other construction types.

In the following discussion, the subject will be clefted. It is most convenient to start this discussion with (j) verbal sentence and (k) copula sentence. For each construction type, a clefted example and the corresponding (non-clefted) example will be given.

(k) Copula sentence
Clefting is possible.

(122) *kʰərgɛ gɛrgan rɛ.*
3SG teacher COP.B
'He is a teacher.'

(123) *gɛrgan jən=no kʰərgɛ rɛ.*
teacher COP=NMLZ 3SG COP.B
'The [person] who is a teacher is he' or 'It is he who is a teacher.'

(j) Verbal sentence
Clefting is possible.

(124) *kʰərgə lehka le=gokə.*
3SG.ERG work do=AUX.B
'He is working.'

(125) *lehka le=gəjo=no kʰərgɛ rɛ.*
work do=AUX.A=NMLZ 3SG COP.B
'The [person] who is working is he' or 'It is he who is working.'

Note that in (123) and (125) the verb in the non-focused part is followed by a nominalizer (to be precise *=no* 'ABS'; Table 2). The non-focused part resembles one type of adnominal clause (4.2.1) and also the MMC of the free noun type in that in all of them the verb is followed by a nominalizer.

(i) Verb=*ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
Clefting is not possible; see (127).

(126) *kʰərgɛ lehka le=gəjoc=cə rɛ.*
3SG work do=AUX.A=NMLZ COP.B
LT: 'He is a thing to do work.'
FT: 'He might be doing work.'

(127) **lehka le=gəjoc=cə kʰərgɛ rɛ.*
work do=AUX.A=NMLZ 3SG COP.B
LT: 'A thing to do work is he.'
Intended meaning: 'The person who might be doing work is he' or 'It is he who might be doing work.'

(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
Clefting is not possible; see (129).

(128) *kʰərgə lehka le=gəjo=kʰawo rɛ.*
3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A=mood COP.B
LT: 'He is a mood/appearance to be working'
FT: 'It looks like he is working (but actually he is not doing that much work).'

(129) **lehka le=gəjo=kʰawo kʰərgɛ rɛ.*
work do=AUX.A=mood 3SG COP.B
LT: 'The mood/appearance of working is he.'
Intended meaning: 'The [person] who looks working (but actually not) is he' or 'It is he who looks working (but actually not).'

(g) Verb-*ɟu*/-*cu* *ntɛʰarʑə* 'plan'
Clefting is not possible; see (131).

(130) *kʰərgɛ lehka le-ɟu ntɛʰarʑə rɛ.*
3SG work do-NMLZ.GEN plan COP.B
LT: 'He is a plan to work.'
FT: 'He plans to work.'

(131) **lehka le-ɟu ntɛʰarʑə kʰərgɛ rɛ.*
work do-NMLZ.GEN plan 3SG COP.B
LT: 'The plan of working is he.'
Intended meaning: 'The [person] who plans to work is he' or 'It is he who plans to work.'

(f) Verb=*nu* *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'
Clefting is not possible; see (133).

(132) *kʰərgə lehka le=gəjo=nu*
3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN
tsʰəkka rɛ.
appearance COP.B
LT: 'He is an appearance to be working.'
FT: 'He looks to be working (but actually he is not working that much).'

(133) **lehka le=gəjo=nu tsʰəkka kʰərgɛ rɛ.*
work do=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN appearance 3SG COP.B
LT: 'The appearance of working is he.'
Intended meaning: 'The [person] who looks to be working (but actually is not) is he' or 'It is he who looks to be working (but actually is not).'

(e) Adverbial clause
Clefting is not possible; see (135).

(134) *kʰərgə lehka le=gəjo=na*
3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A=CONJ
ŋa joŋ=ɟəmən.
1SG come=AUX.A.NEG
'If he is working, I will not come.'

(135) **lehka le=gəjo=na ŋa joŋ=ɟəmən=no*
work do=AUX.A=CONJ 1SG come=AUX.A.NEG=NMLZ
kʰərgɛ rɛ.
3SG COP.B
Possible literal translation: 'The person, if he is working, I will not come is he.'

(d) External AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
Clefting is not possible; see (137).

(136) *kʰərgɛ łasʰa=a ɲjo-ɟu rɟəmtsʰan*
3SG PLN=DAT go.IPF-NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe ko=wa.
1SG.ERG hear=AUX
'I heard the reason why he goes to Lhasa.'

(137) **łasʰa=a ɲjo-ɟu rɟəmtsʰan*
PLN=DAT go.IPF-NMLZ.GEN reason
ŋe ko=no kʰərgɛ rɛ.
1SG.ERG hear=NMLZ 3SG COP.B
Possible literal translation: 'The person whose reason to go to Lhasa that I heard is he.'

(c) External AC (*=no*)
Clefting is not possible; see (139).

(138) *kʰərgə sama ptsᵊi=nu ʈima*
3SG.ERG food steam.PF=NMLZ.GEN smell
ŋe nə̊m=taŋ=ŋa.
1SG.ERG smell=AUX=AUX
LT: 'I smelled the smell with which he steamed food.'s

(139) **sama ptsᵊi=nu ʈima*
food steam.PF=NMLZ.GEN smell
ŋe nə̊m=taŋ=no kʰərgɛ rɛ.
1SG.ERG smell=AUX=NMLZ 3SG COP.B
Possible literal translation: 'The person who steamed food with the smell that I smelled is he.'

(b) Internal AC (*-ɟo/-co*)
Clefting is not possible; see (141).

(140) *kʰərgə le-nu sama ŋe*
3SG.ERG make-NMLZ.GEN food 1SG.ERG
si=taŋ=ŋa.
eat.PF=AUX=AUX
'I ate the food he made.'

(141) *le-nu sama ŋe sa=no
make=NMLZ.GEN food 1SG.ERG eat.IPF=NMLZ
kʰərgɛ rɛ.
3SG COP.B
Intended meaning: 'The person who made the food that I ate is he.'

(a) Internal AC (=no)
Clefting is not possible; see (143).

(142) ŋe kʰərgə le=nu sama
1SG.ERG 3SG.ERG make=NMLZ.GEN food
si=taŋ=ŋa.
eat.PF=AUX=AUX
'I ate the food that he made.'
(143) *le=nu sama ŋe si=taŋ=no
make=NMLZ.GEN food 1SG.ERG eat.PF=AUX=NMLZ
kʰərgɛ rɛ.
3SG COP.B
Intended meaning: 'The [person] who made the food that I ate is he.'

6.3.4 Valency reduction
Valency reduction occurs in the formation of internal ACs only, i.e. (a) and (b). It does not occur in other construction types.
(a) Internal AC (=no)
Compare (144) and (145). Valency reduction takes place in the formation of the AC in (145); (144) is two-place, while the AC in (145) is one-place.

(144) kʰərgə sama si=taŋ=zək.
3SG.ERG food eat.PF=AUX=AUX
'He ate food.'
(145) kʰərgə si=taŋ=nu sama
3SG.ERG eat.PF=AUX=NMLZ food
'the food that he ate'

(b) Internal AC (-ɟo/-co)
Compare (146) and (147). (146) is two-place, while the AC in (147) is one-place.

(146) kʰərgə sama sa=ɟə rɛ.
3SG.ERG food eat.IPF=NMLZ COP.B
'He will eat food.'
(147) kʰərgə sa=ɟu sama
3SG.ERG eat.IPF=NMLZ food
'the food that the man will eat'

6.3.5 Discussion

[1] We have examined the syntax of eleven construction types in terms of three criteria. The results are shown in Table 7. In terms of contrast (6.3.2), the four types of the MMC (i.e. (f) to (i)) are identical with (j) verbal sentence and (k) copula sentence (the representatives of independent sentences), and they differ from the four types of ACs (i.e. (a) to (d)) and (e) adverbial clause. Regarding valency reduction (6.3.4), they differ from the internal ACs (i.e. (a) and (b)), and they are identical with all the other constructions, including the external ACs (i.e. (c) and (d)). Concerning clefting (6.3.3), they differ from (j) verbal sentence and (k) copula sentence, and they are identical with all the other constructions, including ACs. That is, in terms of these syntactic criteria, roughly speaking, the four types of the MMC are intermediate between ACs and independent sentences.

In contrast, in terms of the morphology of the predicate (6.2.10), the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like an AC, not like an independent sentence.

[2] Recall that the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) has the structure shown in (1).

(1) [Clause] Noun Copula

In the Amdo Tibetan MMC, the 'Noun' slot may be occupied by a noun (i.e. a word) (5.2) or by an enclitic (5.3). It may look as if the Amdo Tibetan MMC has the structure shown below, particularly when the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a noun.

(148) [Adnominal clause ('AC')] Noun Copula

Indeed, this view is supported by the data regarding the morphology of the predicate, as seen above. However, syntactically, again as seen above, there is no strong reason to regard [Clause] in (1) as an AC.

7. Grammaticalization of nouns

7.1 Etymology

The nouns and enclitics that are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC are listed in Table 8. All of the nouns used in the free noun type are independent words and also content nouns: *tsʰəkka* 'appearance' ([F-1]), *ndzoŋwa* 'character, nature' ([F-2]), *xwe* 'habit, custom' ([F-3]), *ntɕʰarzə* 'plan' ([F-4]), *bkopa* 'way, manner' ([F-5]), and *le* 'karma, destiny' ([F-6]). In contrast, in the enclitic type, all the elements that are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC are enclitics, not independent words. The enclitic *=kʰa* 'surface' ([E-1]) may be possibly related to the noun *kʰa* 'surface', but this noun is rarely used by itself with the meaning 'surface'. This etymology is not certain, and the gloss 'surface' for *=kʰa* is highly tentative. The enclitic *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]) may be related to the noun *kʰawo* 'mood,

appearance'. This noun can be used outside the MMC, but it is rarely used independently. Its meaning is not clear. Both the noun *kʰawo* and the enclitic *=kʰawo* are difficult to gloss. Their gloss 'mood, appearance' is highly tentative. At least there is no evidence that the enclitic *=kʰa* 'surface' ([E-1]) and the enclitic *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]) derived from independent nouns. The other two enclitics, i.e. *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and *=ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~' ([E-4]), are nominalizers when they are used outside the MMC (and also inside the MMC). They cannot be used as independent words.

7.2 Semantics

The nouns and enclitics listed in Table 8 are grammaticalized in terms of semantics, to varying degrees. Their meanings and functions can be classified as follows.

(a) Grammatical meaning: modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, and counterfactual.
(b) Stylistic effect: humble.
(c) Informational effect: focus.

In the main, the meanings and functions of the nouns in the free noun type of the MMC may be said to be predictable on the basis of those they have when they are used outside the MMC. In contrast, this is not the case with the MMC of the enclitic type. In the case of *=kʰa* 'surface' ([E-1]) and *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]), it is difficult to ascertain the meaning/function of the nouns they may possibly be related to. Concerning *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and *=ɟə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~' ([E-4]), it is difficult to predict their meaning/function as used in the MMC on the basis of the meaning/function that they have outside the MMC.

Table 8. Semantics of nouns and enclitics in the MMCs

	Meaning outside the MMC	Meaning/function of the MMC
[F-1] *tsʰəkka*	appearance	both evidential (sensory, reported, inference) and counterfactual ('It looks/appears ~ (but actually not that much)')
[F-2] *ndʑoŋwa*	character, nature	aspectual (habitual) ('have the nature to do')

[F-3] *xwe*	habit, custom	(a) aspectual (habitual) ('have the habit to do') (b) modal (deontic) ('need to')
[F-4] *ntɛʰarzə*	plan	(a) modal ('plan to do') (b) temporal (future)
[F-5] *bkopa*	way, manner	(a) modal ('have decided to do, plan to do') (b) temporal (future)
[F-6] *le*	karma, destiny	modal (deontic) ('be destined to do')
[E-1] *=kʰa*	surface	(a) evidential (inference') ('It seems ~') (b) stylistic (humble; first person only)
[E-2] *=kʰawo*	mood, appearance	(a) both evidential (sensory, reported, inference) and counterfactual ('It looks/appears ~ (but actually not that much)') (b) stylistic (humble; first person only)
[E=3] *=nə*	doing ~, a person to do	(a) modal (explanation) (b) informational (focus)
[E-4] *=ɟə/=cə*	thing to do, value for doing ~	(a) temporal (future) (b) evidential (inference)

7.3 Morphosyntax

In terms of morphosyntax as well, the nouns and enclitics listed in Table 8 are usually grammaticalized.

[1] As seen in 5.4.2, these nouns and enclitics do not allow modification,

with one exception. The enclitic =*kʰa* 'surface' ([E-1]) can be modified by the indefinite marker.

[2] =*nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and =*ɟə*/=*cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~' ([E-4]) are more grammaticalized morphologically than other enclitics and also the six nouns in that they have fused forms involving a copula verb; see Table 4 and Table 5. This may be due to the fact that [E-3] and [E-4] appear in everyday conversation of Amdo Tibetan the most frequently of all the types of the MMC.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

The Amdo Tibetan MMC is of two types: the free noun type (six nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot) and the enclitic type (four enclitics are attested in the 'Noun' slot).

The meanings/functions of the MMC can be classified as follows: (a) grammatical: modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, counterfactual, (b) stylistic: humble, and (c) informational: focus. These meanings/functions may be said to be largely predictable in the case of the free noun type: the nouns can be used as content nouns outside the MMC. In contrast, this prediction is very difficult to make in the case of the enclitic type.

Amdo Tibetan verbs do not have a distinction between finite and non-finite forms. Nonetheless, in most instances the 'Clause' of the MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Also, the sentencehood of the 'Clause' is not so high as that of independent sentences.

The 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like an AC, not like an independent sentence, in terms of the morphology of the predicate, but syntactically it is intermediate between ACs and independent sentences. There is no strong evidence to regard the 'Clause' of the MMC as an AC.

The nouns and the enclitics that are attested in the 'Noun' slot are grammaticalized to varying degrees. In terms of semantics, the meanings/functions that the enclitics have in the MMC are difficult to predict. Morphologically, two of the enclitics have forms in which the enclitic is fused with the 'Copula'. Syntactically, with one exception, these nouns and enclitics do not allow modification by an adjective or the like.

Note

1. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 1.3-[2]) points out that the existential (or the existential/possessive) construction needs to be distinguished from the MMC. The existential(/possessive) construction employs an existential verb, but the MMC uses a copula verb.

Now, in the Lhasa dialect of Central Tibetan, in a sentence that would correspond to (2), a copula verb cannot be used. Instead an existential verb has to be used, and the word for 'father' is in the dative/locative case. This is

an instance of the existential/possessive construction. In Amdo Tibetan, too, an existential verb can be used, and the word for 'father' is in the dative case. This, too, is an instance of the existential/possessive construction.

(i) *arɟa=a* *nor* *ptsoŋ-ɟu* *ntɕʰarʑə* *jok=kə.*
father=DAT yak sell.IPF-NMLZ.GEN plan exist=AUX
LT: 'To [my] father, a plan to sell yaks exists.'
FT: '[My] father has a plan to sell yaks.'

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Abbreviations

A - pattern A, transitive subject; AC - adnominal clause; AUX - auxiliary verb; B - pattern B; CONJ - conjunction; COP - copula; DAT - dative; ERG - ergative; EXCL - exclusive; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; IMP - imperative; INDF - indefinite; IPF - imperfect; LOC - locative; LT - literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negative; NMLZ - nominalizer; O - object; PF - perfect; PL - plural; PLN - place name; PP - pragmatic particle; PSN - personal name; Q - question; S - intransitive subject; SFP - sentence-final particle; SG - singular; V - verb; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person.

In certain instances (though not always), the plus sign (+) indicates a morpheme boundary in compounds, e.g. (10).

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Mermaid construction in nDrapa

Satoko Shirai
Reitaku University

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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) *-zɨ* 'prospect', (iii) *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance', and (iv) *mʌlo3* 'readiness'. (The numbers '1' and '3' indicate tones; see Section 3.) Among them, *=ndei* 'intention' is an enclitic, while *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance' is used both as an independent noun and an enclitic. *-zɨ* 'prospect' is a suffix, and *mʌlo3* '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 *nkhei1* 'appearance'). The portion that corresponds to the 'Clause' in (1) is shown by an underline.

(2) *somuŋi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji=ndei1 rɛ3.*
tomorrow 3SG shopping go=intention COP_4
Lit: 'He is an intention to go shopping tomorrow.'
Fr: 'He intends to go shopping tomorrow.'

(3) *ŋoro1 kaoʃoŋ1 lo=ɕi2 ɦidi=ɦi3 nkhei1 rɛ3.*
3SG high.school learn=wish think=IPFV appearance COP_4
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 [pʰ], th [tʰ], ʈh [ʈʰ], ch [cʰ], kh [kʰ]; p, t, ʈ, c, k; b, d, ɖ, ɟ, g; tsh [tsʰ], tɕh, [tɕʰ]; ts, tɕ; dz, dʑ; m, n, ɳ, ŋ; m̥ [m̥m], n̥ [n̥n], ɳ̊ [ɳ̊ɳ̊], ŋ̊ [ŋ̊ŋ̊]; fh [fʰ], sh [sʰ], ɕh [ɕʰ]; f, s, ɕ, x, h; v, z, ʑ, ɣ, ɦ; w, j; l, r [ɽ]; l̥ [l̥], r̥ [ɽ̊]/; (ii) vowels /i, ɨ, ʉ, u, e [ɪ], ɵ, o, ɛ, 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', *=nʌ* 'COM', *=ntsha* 'ASS', *=kʌtʌ* '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', *=ʑʌ* 'UNDER', *=kʌ* 'IN', and *=ʈo* '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.[1] 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 *nʌ2* 'experiential' (realized as *-n-* in (4)). Non-auxiliary sentences contain no auxiliary verb. See (5).

(4) *tshonba1 no=ʈo1 tɕəti1 to-htɕu1 mə-n-a2.*
shopkeeper 2SG=PLACE letter NTL-send NEG-EXP-B.PFV
'The shopkeeper has never sent you a letter.'

(5) *jenʌ3 ŋorɛ=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_1 NP_2 COP (-B) (SFP)
(b-2) Copula-less sentences: NP_1 NP_2 SFP

(6) *no1 ndɑ̨pi3 tɕj-ɛ3 mo3.*
2SG nDrapa.people COP_2-B.IPFV CFM
'You are nDrapa, aren't you?'

(7) *tʉrə=ne3 miwo=i3 sa3.*
REF=TOP old.woman=CLF ADM
'It is an old woman.' [FT]

There are four copula verbs: *wa3* 'COP_1', *tɕe3/tɕj3* 'COP_2', *ʈɛ3* 'COP_3', and *rɛ3* 'COP_4'. Among them, *wa3* 'COP_1' is used only for Pattern A. *tɕe3/tɕj3* 'COP_2' is typically used in polar questions and answers to them and it can be used either for Patten A (*tɕe3*; without a suffix) or Pattern B (*tɕj-ɛ3*; accompanied by the imperfective Pattern B suffix). *ʈɛ3* 'COP_3' is used for generic propositions. *rɛ3* 'COP_4' 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 *-ɛ* is attached to the adjective stem *fidəzj3* (*fidəzi3*) 'beautiful.' In contrast, (9) contains a copula verb (cf. (b-1) and (6)).

(8) *ŋoro1 tɕhəku3 fidəzj-ɛ3.*
3SG very beautiful-B.IPFV
'She is very beautiful.'

(9) *ŋoro1 fidəzizi3 rɛ3.*
3SG beautiful COP_4
'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 *-mʌ*, *-mʌrʌ*, *-pi*, *-perʌ*, and *-hti*. Roughly speaking, *-pi* and *-perʌ* are used for human head nouns, while *-hti*, *-mʌ*, and *-mʌrʌ* 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 htsʌ-pi3 figefige3 ŋoro1 rɛ3.*
that Tibetan.letter teach-NMLZ teacher 3SG COP_4
'That teacher who taught Tibetan Literature was he.'

(11) *tsheri a-mə-mʌrʌ3 lei3 ʈaʂi3*
PSN DWN-make-NMLZ bun PSN
ki-ttsɨ1 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 tʌ-htsɨ-mʌrʌ2 tʂjutshɛlɛ3 rɛ3.*
1SG 3SG=ACC bun NTL-feed-NMLZ chive.bun COP_4
'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 *ɲʌ3* 'day' directly follows the clause *ŋoronɛ1 hteimə3 mə1* 'they do a wedding'. Moreover, in this case, the verb *mə1* 'make' and head noun *ɲʌ3* '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) *ŋoronɛ1 hteimɵ3 mɵ=ɳʌ1 a-fidufidu3 hce-a4*
3DU wedding make=day DWN-quarrel PST-RT
rɛ3.
COP_4
'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 (*-mʌ*), person (*-pi*), e.g. (14), and place (*-hti*).

(14) *lei3 ki-ttsi-pi2 ŋoro1 rɛ3.*
bun INW-eat-NMLZ 3SG COP_4
'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) *ŋa1 lei3 tʌ-htsi-mʌrʌ1 pʌɦiɲʌ3 ŋoro1 rɛ3.*
1SG bun NTL-feed-NMLZ child 3SG COP_4
'The child to whom I gave meat buns was he.'

(16) *ɳjɛ ʌ-ji-hti1 satsa3 seitha3 rɛ3.*
1PL UP-go-NMLZ place PLN COP_4
'The place where we went was Seita.'

(17) *ŋa1 hteimɵ3 mɵ-hti3 satsa3 jala3pinguã=kʌ1 rɛ3.*
1SG wedding make-NMLZ place Yala.Hotel=IN COP_4
'The place where I had a wedding was Yala Hotel.'

(18) *ŋoro1 vɛ3 ki-ttsi-mʌrʌ1 nkhazi3 koro1 rɛ3.*
3SG tsampa INW-eat-NMLZ spoon this COP_4

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

(19) *ŋjɛ1 fido1 seitha3 ʌ-ji-perʌ2 co3 ŋoro1 rɛ3.*
1PL together PLN UP-go-NMLZ friend 3SG COP_4
'The friend with whom we went to Serta together was he.'

4.2.3 External ACs

Examples of external AC include (20).

(20) *ŋoro1 lʌ1 ko-mʌrʌ2 hkɛ1 fidʌzizi3*
3SG song sing-NMLZ voice beautiful
ŋʌ-tɛ3 rɛ3.
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) *nkhei1/ =nkhei* 'appearance', and (iv) *mʌlo3* 'readiness'. Among them, *=ndei* 'intention' is an enclitic (although it is used as an independent noun (*ndei3*) outside the MMC). *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance' is used both as a word and an enclitic. *-zi* 'prospect' is a suffix. *mʌlo3* '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, *nkhei1/=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 *-mʌrʌ* (cf. 4.2.1) is attached to the verb *ji-* 'go', and the entire clause *somuɲi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha1 ji1* 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) *somuɲi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha1 ji-mʌrʌ=ne1 ndei3 rɛ3.*
tomorrow 3SG shopping go-NMLZ=TOP intention COP_4
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), *ji1* has tone 1. Therefore, the combined phonological word *ji=ndei1* has tone 1. As another example, in (22), *mɵ3* has tone 3. Therefore, the phonological word *mɵ=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) *somuɲi3 no1 tɕhei3 mɵ=ndei3 wa3.*
tomorrow 2SG what make=intention COP_1
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. *rɛ3* 'COP_4' is the unmarked choice. Examples include (2) and (23). An example of *tɕe3/tɕj3* 'COP_2' and *ʈɛ3* 'COP_3' is (24). The copula *wa3* 'COP_1' 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 ŋoro1 ko3 a-tɛ=ndei1 rɛ3.*
evening 3SG here DWN-come.down=intention COP_4
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) *somuɲi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji=ndei1*
tomorrow 3SG shopping go=intention
tɕj-ɛ3/ʈɛ3.
COP_2-B.IPFV/COP_4
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) *somuɲi3 ŋa1 nchara3 ji=ndei1 wa3.*
tomorrow 1SG have.fun go=intention COP_1
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 (*ʈ-ɛ3* 'IPFV-B.IPFV'), is added to the verb root/stem, and consequently (26) can stand on its own as a sentence.

(26) *somuɲi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji=ʈ-ɛ3.*
tomorrow 3SG shopping go=IPFV-B.IPFV
'He will go shopping tomorrow.'

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

(27) **ami3 mokku3 tɛ=ndei1 rɛ3.*
evening rain fall=intention COP_4
Intended meaning: 'It is expected to rain this evening.'
（今晩、雨が降る予定だ。）

The etymology of *=ndei* (*ndei3*) 'intention' is difficult to ascertain. The same form is found in the second syllable of the noun *jandei3* 'hand, arm'. However, its meaning is quite far from *=ndei* (*ndei3*) 'intention'. Yasuhiko Nagano (p.c.) suggests that *=ndei* (*ndei3*) '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 '' 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 -zɨ 'prospect, strategy'

There is no example of the morpheme *zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' used independently as a noun, without modifying word(s). Consider (28), where *-zɨ* '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 *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' has status as a noun (although it may not be an independent word).

(28) *alɛ3 alɛ=ne3 nonɛ=pɛrə3 tɛtɛ1*
sometime=TOP 2DU=CNT each.other
to-hmo=ne1 mo-ɕo-zɨ3 po3.
NTL-forget=then NEG-recognize-prospect exist$_1$ [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 (*-zɨ*), 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 *-zɨ* '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 *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' include (29) to (31).

(29) *anʌ3 ŋjɛ=ʧo1 lɛmɛ3 vo-zɨ3 rɛ3.*
today 1PL=place monk come-prospect COP$_4$
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) *tʉrʌ3 tɛtshi=rə1 thʉɛ=ʧʌ1 mɵ-zɨ3*
REF whole.life=GEN LOG.PL=place live.in-prospect
rɛ3.
COP$_4$ [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 lotʃa=kə3 a-lo3 wu3 tshʌpi1
1SG school=IN DWN-read finish after
figefigɛ1 mə-zɨ3 rɛ3.
teacher make-prospect COP_4
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 *rɛ3* 'COP_4'. The other three copulas, too, can be used; see (32).

(32) *anʌ3 ɲjɛ=ʧo1 lɛmɛ3 vo-zɨ3*
today 1PL=place monk come-prospect
wa3/tɕj-ɛ3/ʧɛ3/rɛ3.
COP_1/COP_2-B.IPFV/COP_3/COP_4
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 *-zɨ* describes intentional events. Where unintentional events are concerned, this MMC is acceptable if it expresses common knowledge, e.g. (33).

(33) *zɣi3 kʌ-ɕjɛ=ta1, tazi3 mɛto3*
hot.season INW-come=TIME immediately flower
ŋo-ɦbo-zɨ1 rɛ3.
OUT-bloom-prospect COP_4
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 *ʧʌ3/ =ʧʌ*, and (34) is used as a sentence.

(34) *anʌ3 ɲjɛ=ʧo1 lɛmɛ3 vo=ʧʌ3.*
today 1PL=place monk come=IPFV
'A monk will come to our home today.'

As seen above, the MMC with *-zɨ* '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 *-zɨ* may express a strategy, e.g. (35) to (37).

(35) *ŋwɛ=rʌ1 hkɛtɕha3 kɛcʌ3 a-ɦɟi-zɨ3*
2PL=GEN word how DWN-talk-strategy
ra3.
COP_4.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)
ŋwɛ1 kɛcʌ3 ʌ-ttɕhu-zɨ3 *ra3.*
2PL how UP-bring-strategy COP_4.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=ta1 nɖole3 tʌ-rɛrɛ-zɨ3 *rɛ3.*
ice=ON horseshit NTL-scatter-strategy COP_4 [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 *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy', there is another morpheme *zɨ* 'child', which is used in nominal compounds such as *mizɨ3* '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 *-zɨ*, the initial consonant might have been vocalized and fricativized through grammaticaliztion. Moreover, its reflex in Written Tibetan, i.e. *rtsis* means 'counting, account, estimation' (Jäschke 1881: 439), and this meaning is close to that of *-zɨ* '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 *-zɨ* is derived from PTB **(r-)tsyəy* 'count' or is related to the nDrapa noun *zɨ* '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) *ŋa1 açhi3 çʌ-a2 nkhei1 rɛ3.*
1SG tonight die-RT appearance COP_4 [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_4
Lit: 'The rain is an appearance to fall in the evening.'
Fr: 'It appears that it will rain this evening.'
今晩、雨が降りそうだ。

(40) *ŋoro3 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1 nkhei1 rɛ3/tɕj-ɛ3.*
3SG bun INW-eat-RT appearance COP_4/COP_2-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 ŋa=rə mi=nkhei3 rɛ3.*
this 1SG=GEN mother=appearance COP_4
'It appears that this woman is my mother.'
この人が私の母親みたいだ。

(42) *ŋoro1 hgehgɛ3 nkhei1 rɛ3.*
3SG teacher appearance COP_4

'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 tɕi=ʧi2 nkhei1 rɛ3.*
this clothes price big=COP_3 appearance COP_4
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 tɕi=nkhei1 rɛ3.*
this clothes price big=appearance COP_4
'These clothes look expensive.'
この服は値段が高そうだ。

(45) *ŋoro1 mɛmɛ-mʌ3 mɵ-ndʑa3 rɛ3=nkhei3 rɛ3.*
3SG think-NMLZ NEG-good COP_4=appearance COP_4 [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、良からぬ事のようだ。

The copulas that can occur in the 'Copula' slot are *tɕj3* 'COP_2' and *rɛ3* 'COP_4'; see (40). *rɛ3* 'COP_4' is the most commonly occuring one. The sentence-final particle *pa3* 'INF' is also attested in place of a copula, e.g. (46).

(46) *ŋoro3 lei3 ki-ttsɨ-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-fidʑɯ-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: *-ɛ* '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) *ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɳi=ʈ-ɛ3.*
3SG something be.ill=IPFV-B.IPFV
'He is ill.'
(49) *ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɳi=ʈi3 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 *nkhei1/ =nkhei* (or of any MMC, for that matter) cannot stand as an independent sentence. For example, consider (50), an instance of the MMC with *nkhei1/ =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) *ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɳi=ʈi3 nkhei1 rɛ3.*
3SG something be.ill=IPFV appearance COP_4
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) **ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɳi=ʈi3.*
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 *nkhei1/ =nkhei* 'appearance', there are two exceptions to this.

[2] Exception 1: Perfective: remote time and perfective Pattern B
The 'Clause' in the MMC with *nkhei1* (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) *ŋoro3 lei3 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: *rɛ3* 'COP_4'
The copula *rɛ3* 'COP_4' can be used in both Patterns A and B. If the 'Clause' of (45), for example, is used by itself, we obtain (53).

(53) *ŋoro1 mɛm̥ɛ-mʌ3 mə-ndʑa3 rɛ3.*
3SG think-NMLZ NEG-good COP_4
'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 *rɛ3* 'COP_4' 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 *nkhei1*/ *=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 *nkhei1*/ *=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 *nkhei1*/ *=nkhei* 'appearance' in both form and meaning. Furthermore, there is an adjective that has the same form: *nkhei1* 'same'. This adjective may be

related to *nkhei1/ =nkhei* 'appearance'.

A possible cognate morpheme of *nkhei1/ =nkhei* 'appearance' is found in Written Tibetan: *(')khod* 'surface, superficies' (Jäschke 1881: 56). As I mentioned in 5.2.1, the initial letter '' 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 *nkhei1/ =nkhei* is related to *(')khod* in Written Tibetan, although it is difficult to ascertain whether it is derived from the Written Tibetan *(')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 *nkhei1/ =nkhei* 'appearance' is derived from a morpheme (such as the Written Tibetan *(')khod*) that means 'surface' or from the PTB **ka(-y)* 'like, similar; thus, so'.

5.2.4 mʌlo3 *'readiness'*

There is no example of the morpheme *mʌlo3* 'readiness' used as an independent noun by itself. However, *mʌlo3* 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 *mʌlo3* 'readiness'. The entire *zama3 ki-ttsi-a1 mʌlo3* functions as the direct object of the transitive verb *a-mə3* 'make'. *mʌlo3* 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* *mʌlo3* *a-mə3*
meal INW-eat-RT readiness DWN-make
hce-a3 *rɛ3.*
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, *mʌlo3* '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) *ŋoro1 vo-ta3,* *zama3 ki-ttsi-a1* *mʌlo3* *ʧɛ3.*
3SG come-when meal INW-eat-RT readiness COP_3 [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) *ŋoro1 ɲjɛ=ʈo ki-ɲi-a1 mʌlo3 ʈɛ3.*
3SG 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness COP_3
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 anʌ3 khɛxui1 ntsho-a4 mʌlo3 ʈɛ3.*
leader-PL today meeting hold-RT readiness COP_3
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) *ŋoro1 zama3 ki-ttsi-a1 mʌlo3 ʈɛ3.*
3SG meal INW-eat-RT readiness COP_3
'He was/is ready to have a meal.'

(59) *ŋoro1 zama3 ki-ttsi-a1.*
3SG meal INW-eat-B.PFV
'He had a meal.'

Generally, the 'Copula' employed is *ʈɛ3* 'COP_3', e.g. (55) to (58). However, *wa3* 'COP_1' is used if the sentence describes an intentional action by the pivot. Comparison of (57) (*ʈɛ3* 'COP_3') with (60) (*wa3* 'COP_1'). In (60), the preparation of the meeting has been done by the speaker(s).

(60) *nguttɕhi-rɛ2 anʌ3 khɛxui1 ntsho-a4 mʌlo3 wa3.*
leader-PL today meeting hold-RT readiness COP_1
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) (*ʈɛ3* 'COP_3') and (61) (*wa3* 'COP_1'). Example (56) has no implication regarding who did the preparation, while (61) implies that "we" did.

(61) *ŋoro1 ɲjɛ=ʈo ki-mi-a1 mʌlo3 wa3.*
3SG 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness COP_1
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 *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is unacceptable if the sentence expresses the third person's overt intention; see (62).

(62) **ŋoro1 tɕhɯ=ji2 mʌlo3 ʈɛ3.*
3SG harvest.crops=go readiness COP_3
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 *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is difficult to ascertain. It is probably a compound of *mʌ* and *lo*. The morpheme *mʌ* has the same form as the nominalizer suffix *-mʌ* (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 *mʌlo3* '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
=ndei (enclitic) 'intention'	'desire, wish'	modal ('intend to do')
-zɨ (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'	'count' or 'child'	modal ('be supposed to do', 'be expected to do')
nkhei1 (word) / *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'	'surface' or 'like, similar'	evidential ('It appears')
mʌlo3 (word) 'readiness'	'thing-enough' (?)	aspectual ('be ready to')

5.3 Negation

It is interesting 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) *ʈaɕi3 ndapi3 rɛ3.*
PSN nDrapa.person COP_4
'Tashi is a nDrapa person.'

(64) *ʈaɕi3 ndapi3 ma-rɛ3.*
PSN nDrapa.person $NEG\text{-}COP_4$
'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 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) *somuŋi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji=ndei1 ma-rɛ3.*
tomorrow 3SG shopping go=intention $NEG\text{-}COP_4$
'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) *anʌ3 ŋjɛ=ʈo1 lɛmɛ3 vo-zɨ3 ma-rɛ3.*
today 1PL=place monk come-prospect $NEG\text{-}COP_4$
'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) *ŋoro3 lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1 nkhei1 ma-rɛ3.*
3SG bun INW-eat-RT appearance $NEG\text{-}COP_4$
'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) *ŋoro1 ŋjɛ=ʈo kɨ-ŋi-a1 mʌlo3 ma-jʌ3.*
3SG 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness $NEG\text{-}COP_1$
'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-ndʑa3* '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 *-zɨ* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy' (cf. 5.2.2)
(d) MMC with *nkheiɿ* (word) 'appearance' (cf. 5.2.3)
(e) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance' (cf. 5.2.3)
(f) MMC with *mʌlo3* (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 *-zɨ* '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 *nkheiɿ* (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 *mʌlo3* '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=ʈo1* *tɕətil* *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 *=ndei* 'intention'

Compare (2) with:

(70) *ŋoro=ne1* *somuɲi3* *nchɛncha3* *ji=ndei1* *rɛ3.*
3SG=TOP tomorrow shopping go=intention COP_4
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', *ŋoro* '3SG', is topicalized.

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

Compare (29) with the following sentences: (71) (the subject: *lɛmɛ3* 'monk' is topicalized), (72) (the goal noun *ɲjɛ=ʈo1* '1PL=place' is topicalized), and (73) (the time noun *anʌ3* 'today' is topicalized).

(71) *lɛmɛ=ne3* *anʌ3* *ɲjɛ=ʈo1* *vo-zi3* *rɛ3.*
monk=TOP today 1PL=place come-prospect COP_4
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) *ɲjɛ=ʈo=ne1* *anʌ3* *lɛmɛ3* *vo-zi3* *rɛ3.*
1PL=place=TOP today monk come-prospect COP_4
'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) *anʌ=ne3 ŋjɛ=ʈo1 lɛmɛ vo-zi3 rɛ3.*
today=TOP 1PL=place monk come-prospect COP_4
'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) *ŋjɛ=rʌ1 hkɛtɕha=ne1 konkhei3*
1PL=GEN word=TOP this.appearance
a-ɦɟiɦɟi-zi3 rɛ3.
DWN-talk-prospect COP_4
'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) *ŋoro=ne1 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1 nkhei1 rɛ3.*
3SG=TOP bun INW-eat-RT appearance COP_4
'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 tɕi=nkhei1 rɛ3.*
this clothes=TOP price big=appearance COP_4
'As for these clothes, they look expensive.'
この服は値段が高そうだ。

(f) MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness'
Compare (56) with (77):

(77) *ŋoro=ne1 ŋjɛ=ʈo1 ki-m̥i-a1 mʌlo3 ʈɛ3.*
3SG=TOP 1PL=place INW-sleep-RT readiness COP_3
'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-mɵ-mʌrʌ3 ʈaɕi3*
PSN bun DWN-make-NMLZ PSN
ki-ttsi1 hce-a3.
INW-eat PST-B.PFV
'Tashi ate the meat buns that Tseri made.'

(79) *tsheri=ne1 lei3 a-mə-mʌrʌ3 ʈaɕi3*
PSN=TOP bun DWN-make-NMLZ PSN
ki-ttsɨ1 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-mʌrʌ3 lei3 ʈaɕi3*
PSN=TOP DWN-make-NMLZ bun PSN
ki-ttsɨ1 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), *ʈo2* 'see,' and *re2* 'achieve'. (In (81), the internal head is indicated by a broken underline.)

(g) Head-internal ACs

(81) *konkhei3 hkɛtɕha1 a-ɦɨɦɨɲɨ-mʌrʌ3*
this.appearance word DWN-talk-NMLZ
no1 si=mɛ2.
2SG know=Q
'Do you know the words that say like this?'

(h) Head-external ACs

(82) *ŋonkhei3 a-ɦɨɦɨɲɨ-mʌrʌ3 hkɛtɕha1*
that.appearance DWN-talk-NMLZ word
no1 si=mɛ2.
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 somuɲi3 nchɛncha3 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) **anʌ3 ɲjɛ=ʈo1 lɛmɛ3 vo-zi3 re-a2 rɛ3.*
today 1PL=place monk come-prospect achieve-RT COP_4
Intended meaning: 'We obtained the prospect that a monk will come to our home today.'
*お坊さんに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 ʈo2.*
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 *mʌlo3* (word) 'readiness'
Compare (56) with:

(87) **ŋa ŋoro3 ɲjɛ=ʈo ki-ɲi-a1 mʌlo3 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 ths 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 not ACs. It differs from verb-predicate sentences and behaves like ACs only in one respsct: 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: *=ndei* 'intention'	root/stem	-	-
(c) MMC: *-zɨ* 'prospect'	root/stem	-	-
(d) MMC: *nkhei1* 'appearance'	inflected	+	-
(e) MMC: *=nkhei* 'appearance'	root/stem	-	-
(f) MMC: *mʌlo3* '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: *=ndei* 'intention'	+	-
(c) MMC: *-zɨ* 'prospect'	+	-
(d) MMC: *nkhei1* 'appearance'	+	-
(e) MMC: *=nkhei* 'appearance'	+	-
(f) MMC: *mʌlo3* '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 revealted 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', *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance', and *mʌlo3* 'readiness'. Among them, *=ndei* 'intention' is an enclitic (although it is also used as an independent noun (*ndei3*) outside MMCs). *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance' can be either a word or an enclitic. *-zi* 'prospect' is a suffix, and *mʌlo3* '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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Tsunoda, Tasaku. This volume-a. Mermaid construction: an introduction and summary.
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Mermaid construction in Kathmandu Newar

Kazuyuki Kiryu
The University of Mimasaka

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) 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 co-referential.
(c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

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

Newar has two types of the MMC: the noun type and the enclitic type. Neither is a prototypical MMC.

In the noun type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer *=gu* (inanimate) and the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, destiny, lot, luck', and this MMC has something like an epistemic meaning that concerns fate, destiny, lot or luck. Under certain conditions, the intransitive subject ('S') and the transitive subject ('A') must occur in the genitive case, and not in the absolutive case and the ergative case, respectively.

In the enclitic type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer *=gu* (inanimate) (without any noun). The S occurs in the absolutive case, and the A in the ergative case. This MMC has three discourse functions: (i) to make a strong assertion, and (ii) to state a presupposed fact. (iii) In interrogative sentences, this MMC has a tone of interrogation or keen interest.

In addition, there is a construction that involves the enclitic nominalizer *=mha* (animate singular) (cognate with the noun *mha* 'body') or *=pĩ:* (animate plural). It is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate is a nominalized clause. It expresses 'one who does ...'. The subject must occur in the absolutive case even when the verb in the nominalized clause is a transitive verb.

2. Initial illustration

An example of the noun type is (2), and one example of the enclitic type is (3).

(2) *[rãm=ã:* *ta:mi=mha* *manu:=yā* *chẽ:* *jyā*
Ram=ERG rich=NMLZ man=GEN house.LOC work
yā-e *da-i]=gu* *bhāgya* *kha:.*
do-INF get.to-FD=NMLZ luck COP.NFND
LT: 'That Ram gets to do the work at a rich person's house is good luck.'
FT: It is lucky that Ram will get to work at a rich person's house.

(3) [*mhiga:* *jĩ:* *ma:ma:* *nay-ā*]=*gu* *kha:.*
yesterday 1SG.ERG dumpling eat-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
LT: It is true that I ate some dumplings yesterday.
FT: 'Yesterday I ate some dumplings.'

3. Profile of the language

[1] Outline

The Newar language is a member of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is spoken mainly in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal and also in other towns and villages all over the country. It is officially called 'Nepāl Bhāṣā', and its self-denomination is *newā: bhāe:.*

According to the National Census 2001, the total population of Newars is about 1,200,000 and the number of Newar speakers is 825,458.

The Newar language discussed in this chapter is the dialect spoken in the metropolitan areas of Kathmandu and Patan cities. In what follows I simply use the term 'Newar' to refer to this variety.

[2] Phonology

The following phonemes can be set up: vowels */a* [ə], *a:*, *ã*, *ã:*, *ā* [a], *ā:*, *ã̄*, *ã̄:*, *,i*, *i:*, *ĩ*, *ĩ:*, *u*, *u:*, *ũ*, *ũ:*, *e*, *ae* [ɛ:], *ãẽ*, *āe* [æ:], *ã̄ẽ*, *ai*, *āi*, *aĩ*, *āĩ*, *au*, *āu*, *aũ*, *āũ*/ and consonants */k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, *c* [ts], *ch* [tsʰ], *j* [dz/ʤ], *jh*, *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, *nh*, *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, *m*, *mh*, *y*, *hy*, *r*, *l*, *lh*, *w*, *hw*, *s*, *h*/. The *h* before *y* and *w* and the *h* after other consonants represent aspiration with voiceless consonants and breathiness with voiced consonants. Tone, pitch and stress are not distinctive.

[3] Morphology

Newar is agglutinating in most cases, except the verb conjugation, which is often fusional. There is only one prefix, the negation marker *ma-*, and other bound morphemes are suffixes or enclitics.

[4] Nouns and cases

Newar has the following cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, dative, locative, comitative, allative and ablative. The ergative may indicate an agent in transitive clauses/sentences (i.e. 'A'), an instrument, or a source/starting point. The absolutive case marker is zero, while other cases are generally shown by enclitics. The case system is basically of the ergative-absolutive type: the ergative case for the A and the absolutive case for the S and the object. However, case marking is not syntactically motivated but semantically motivated (Kiryu 2007).

Newar has a rich system of numeral classifiers.

Number distinction is obligatory with animate nouns: singular (zero) and plural (indicated by one of the two plural suffixes). Bare inanimate nouns are neutral with respect to number. (See Kiryu 2009b.)

[5] Verbs

There are five classes of verbs (Hale 1986; Hale & Shrestha 2006). See Table 1.

Table 1. Classes and conjugation of verbs

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
	'get.up'	'do'	'eat'	'turn'	'play'
Dictionary forms	*dane*	*yāye*	*naye*	*hile*	*mhite*
Finite Forms					
future/irrealis conjunct (FC)	*dan-e*	*yā-e*	*na-e*	*hil-e*	*mhit-e*
future/irrealis disjunct (FD)	*dan-i:*	*yā-i*	*na-i*	*hil-i:*	*mhit-i:*
nonfuture/realis conjuct (NFC)	*dan-ā*	*yān-ā*	*nay-ā*	*hil-ā*	*mhit-ā*
nonfuture/realis perfective disjunct (NFPD)	*dan-a*	*yāt-a*	*nal-a*	*hil-a*	*mhit-ala*
nonfuture neutral disjunct (NFND)	*dã:*	*yā:*	*na:*	*hyu:*	*mhit-u:*
imperative (IMP)	*dã*	*yā*	*na*	*hyu*	*mhit-u*
Nonfinite Forms					
infinitive (INF)	*dan-e*	*yā-e*	*na-e*	*hil-e*	*mhit-e*
concatenated (CM)	*dan-ā*	*yān-ā*	*nay-ā*	*hil-ā*	*mhit-ā*
conjunctive (CP)	*dan-ā:*	*yān-ā:*	*nay-ā:*	*hil-ā:*	*mhit-ā:*
purposive (PURP)	*dã:*	*yā:*	*na:*	*hyu:*	*mhit-a:*

Verbs conjugate for tense, aspect, modality and person. See Table 1.[1]

Person marking system in Newar is different from that commonly found in European languages; it is called the "conjunct/disjunct" system (Hale 1980). In matrix clauses, conjunct forms are used when the subject is first person in affirmative or is second person in interrogative, as long as it reserves controllability and has recognition of the event happening.

The nonfuture neutral disjunct is often called the stative form. In this form, activity verbs express habitual situations, and state verbs express stative situations in the matrix clause. However, in nominalized clauses (discussed in 4.2) activity verbs in this form express only past perfective situations.

Concatenated forms, which are identical to the nonfuture conjunct forms, occur before some auxiliary verbs to form a verbal complex. Conjunctive forms are used for clause linkage. (See Hale and Shrestha 2006 for details.)

Verbs are negated in two ways. With the nonfuture/realis forms, negation mainly employs the negative prefix *ma-*. Compare (4) and (5). With future forms, the negative particle *makhu* follows the verb, e.g. (6).

(4) *jĩ:* *jā* *nay-ā.*
1SG.ERG cooked.rice eat-NFC
'I ate rice.'

(5) *jĩ:* *jā* *ma-nay-ā.*
1SG.ERG cooked.rice NEG-eat-NFC
'I didn't eat rice.'

(6) *jĩ:* *jā* *na-e* *(makhu).*
1SG.ERG cooked.rice eat-NFC NEG
'I will (not) eat rice.'

Newar has two copula verbs: *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative'. Basically, *juye* has an inchoative meaning ('become'), but it can have an equation meaning ('be') under limited circumstances (4.1-[2], -[3]). It may also be translated as 'happen', e.g. (40).

[6] Adjectives

Adjectives conjugate like verbs, but their negation involves not the prefix *ma-* but the negated inchoative copula *ma-ju:* (Kiryu 2011).

[7] Syntax

Basically Newar is a head-final language. A complement and an adjunct precede the head. The basic word order of an intransitive clause is SV, and that of a transitive clause is AOV.

A genitive NP, an adjective, a demonstrative and an adnominal clause precede a noun when they modify it. Numerals do not modify a noun directly. Numerals are always followed by a numeral classifier and form a quantifier phrase. The quantifier phrase may precede or follow the head noun.

There are two types of grammatical marking. In noun-modification, the genitive marker and adnominal markers are attached to the dependent. The adnominal markers agree with the head noun in terms of animacy and number (see Section 4.2), and the grammatical relations of arguments to the verb appear on arguments. They are dependent-marking. On the other hand, the verb-subject agreement is a head-marking type, with the person of the subject marked on the verb (the conjunct/disjunct dichotomy; see Section 3.2).

Newar is a configurational language but the order of S, A, O and other elements is rather free, while the predicate almost always comes after the arguments and adjuncts. Although the grammatical notion of subject is rather elusive in Kathmandu Newar, the subject of a clause can be identified by the subject-verb agreement and the reflexive-binding (see 5.3.5.3). Any element in a clause may be omitted as long as they are understood by discourse inference.

[8] Written tradition

Newar is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages that have a long history of written tradition, and the third oldest next to Tibetan and Burmese. The oldest manuscript was written in 1114 A.D (Malla 1990). Traditionally the language would be written in some variants of Newar scripts. Although the traditional scripts are still in use for special purposes, Newar nowadays is mostly written in the devanāgarī script, which is used in Sanskrit, Hindi and Nepali.

Some of the data to illustrate the MMCs in Kathmandu Newar are elicited and the others are taken from written sources such as magazines, textbooks, newspapers, and weblogs.[2]

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Clauses/sentences in Newar can be classified into three types, as follows.

[1] Verb-predicate clause/sentences

Examples include (7) (intransitive) and (4) to (6) (transitive).

(7) *gitā* *wal-a.*
Gita come-NFPD
'Gita came.'

[2] Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences

Newar has two copula verbs: *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' (see 3-[5]). In adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, *khaye* is not used, and only *juye* is used.

When *juye* 'inchoative' occurs in the nonfuture neutral disjunct form *ju:*, which is stative (see 3-[5]), it functions as an equational copula, e.g. (8). This copula is not obligatory, but when it exists, it implies (i) 'in comparison to others' or (ii) 'judged by the speaker's experience'; see (8). However, for negation, it is obligatory, as in (9).

(8) *thwa* *jyā* *thāku* *(ju:).*
this job difficult COP.NFND
'This job is difficult (compared to others or from experience).'

(9) *thwa* *jyā* *thāku* *ma-ju:.*
this job difficult NEG-COP.NFND
'This job is not difficult.'

When *juye* occurs in other forms, which are dynamic, it signals a change of state, i.e. 'inchoative', e.g. (10). In the inchoative sense, its omission is not possible.

(10) *thwa* *jyā* *thāku* *jul-a.*
this job difficult COP-NFPD
'This job has become/became difficult.'

[3] Noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Both *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' can be used.

(a) *khaye* 'equational'

Generally *khaye* is not obligatory; see (11). However, for negation, it is obligatory; see (12).

(11) *gitā* *dāktar* *(kha:).*
Gita doctor (COP.NFND)
'Gita is a doctor (indeed).'

(12) *gitā* *dāktar* *ma-khu.*
Gita doctor NEG-COP.NFND
'Gita is not a doctor.'

In an affirmative clause/sentence, the copula verb *khaye* is assertive. In fact, *khaye* is also used as a lexical verb meaning 'be true'. The strong assertive nuance comes from this fact. When *khaye* is not omitted, (11) may be literally translated as 'It is true that Gita is a doctor' or 'It is the case that Gita is a doctor'.

(b) *juye* 'inchoative'

With a noun predicate, *juye* may occur, e.g. (13). However, its nonfuture neutral disjunct form may not be used; see (13).

(13) *gitā* *dāktar* *jul-a/*ju:.*
Gita doctor COP-NFPD/COP.NFND
Gita became a doctor/*Gita is a doctor.

There is a special use of *juye* as an equational copula in noun predicate sentences: *juye* may be used instead of *kha:* when the sentence signals a surprising fact or background information introduced into the discourse. In this function, it occurs in the expression *juy-ā cwan-a* 'COP-CM CONT-NFPD', as in (14). The copula is followed by the continuous auxiliary.

(14) *wa* *lā* *taskã:* *sā:=gu* *nasā*
that EMPH very be.tasty.NFND=NMLZ food
juy-ā *cwan-a.*
COP-CM CONT-NFPD
LT: 'That one has become very tasty food.'
FT: 'To his surprise, that was very tasty food.'

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

We shall examine adnominal clauses ('ACs') in 4.2.1. Three nominalizers are employed in the formation of ACs. One of them can be used as a complementizer, and it is useful to look at this use (4.2.2), before

considering the formation of adverbial clauses (4.2.3).

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Introductory notes. Newar has three enclitic nominalizers. They agree with the head noun with respect to animacy and number (Malla 1985; Hale and Shrestha 2006).

(a) *=mha* animate singular ('ANIM SG')
(b) *=pĩː* animate plural ('ANIM PL')
(c) *=gu* inanimate ('INAN')

=mha and *=pĩː* are only used to head adnominal phrases or clauses while *=gu* can function as a complementizer as well as an adnominal marker. *=mha* is cognate with the noun *mha* 'body'. It is also used as a classifier that denotes animate beings. Although the origins of the other two enclitic nominalizers are not clear, *= pĩː* is cognate with the plural suffix *-pĩː* (e.g. (52)), and *=gu* seems to be cognate with the generic inanimate classifier *=guː*, for their case declensions in ergative and locative are identical.

When a noun, adjective or verb modifies a noun, the modifier must be followed by one of the nominalizers above. (The nominalizer agrees with the head noun with respect to animacy and number.) I will briefly illustrate this point.

When a noun modifies another noun, the modifying noun is obligatorily followed by the genitive *=yā*, but the genitive marked modifying noun phrase (i.e. *rām=yā* and *asãː=yā*) may further take a nominalizer to its right, as in (15)-(16). The nominalizer is optional, and this is shown by means of parentheses.

(15) *rām=yā(=gu)* *kipā*
Ram=GEN(=NMLZ) picture
'Ram's photo'

(16) *asãː-twāː=yā(=mha)* *pāsā*
Asan-locality=GEN(=NMLZ) friend
'a friend in Asan'

In contrast, when an adjective modifies a noun, a nominalizer is obligatory.

(17) *thāku=gu* *jyā*
difficult=NMLZ job
'a difficult job'

(18) *ciːdhikaː=mha* *khicā*
Ram=NMLZ picture
'a small dog'

(19) *ci:dhika:=pĩ:* *masta*
Ram=NMLZ children
'small children'

4.2.1.2 Internal and external adnominal clauses. The three nominalizers discussed in 4.2.1.1 are also used to form adnominal clauses ('ACs') (or, relative clauses). ACs in Newar can be classified as follows: (i) internal ACs, (ii) external ACs, and (iii) headless ACs. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.)

In the examples below, the AC is shown with square brackets.

[1] Internal ACs

Relativization is possible on all of the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy, except the object of comparison. Examples include (i) subject: (20), (ii) direct object: (21), (iii) indirect object: (22), (iv) oblique object: (23), (v) possessor or genitive: (24).

(20) [*masta=e=ta* *khã* *kã:=mha*]
children=GEN=DAT story narrate.NFND=NMLZ
sar
male.teacher
'the teacher who narrated a story to the children'

(21) [*sar=ã:* *masta=e=ta* *kã:=gu*]
male.teacher=ERG children=GEN=DAT narrate.NFND=NMLZ
khã
story
'the story that the teacher narrated to the children'

(22) [*sar=ã:* *khã* *kã:=pĩ:*] *masta*
male.teacher=ERG story narrate.NFND=NMLZ children
'the children to whom the teacher narrated a story'

(23) [*jĩ:* *citti* *cway-ã=gu*] *kalam*
1SG letter live-NFC=NMLZ pen
'the pen with which I wrote a letter'

(24) [*pau* *syã:=gu*] *chẽ*
roof be.broken.NFND=NMLZ house
'a house whose roof is broken'

The verb in a nominalized clause is almost fully finite, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. As noted in 3-[5],

there are two nonfuture disjunct forms: perfective and neutral (Table 1). In nominalized clauses, only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can appear, and the nonfuture perfective disjunct form cannot occur. In this context, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form has the meaning of the nonfuture perfective disjunct (except for intransitive verbs of change of state), e.g.:

(25) [*rām=ã:* *nyā:=gu/*nyāt-a=gu*] *saphu:*
Ram=ERG buy.NFND=NMLZ/*buy-NFPD=NMLZ book
'the book that Ram bought'

[2] External ACs
Newar also allows external ACs to some extent, e.g.: [3]

(26) [*macā* *khway-ā* *cwã:=gu*] *sa:* *wa:*
child cry-CM CONT.NFND=NMLZ voice come.NFND
LT: 'The sound of child's crying comes.'
FT: 'I hear a child crying.'

(27) [*ipĩ:* *phyatun-ā* *cwã:=gu*] *khawa=e* *ji*
3PL sit-CM CONT.NFND=NMLZ left=LOC 1SG
phyatun-ā.
sit-NFC
LT: 'I sat to the left of where they are sitting.'
FT: 'I sat next to them on the left where they sat.'

(28) [*nhya:* *wae-k-e*
drowsiness come.INF-CAUS-INF
ma-jyu:=gu] *khã*
NEG-be.okay.NFND=NMLZ story
LT: 'a talk of not being okay to let drowsiness to come'
FT: 'a talk during which you should not fall asleep'

As mentioned above, 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. In (26), for example, the head noun *sa:* 'voice' does not correspond to any argument or adjunct of the AC. The voice is understood as an outcome of the child's crying. In an external AC, the AC and the head noun are correlated through a pragmatic construal between the two. The cause-effect relationship is one of such pragmatic construals that enable the external adnominal clause to be interpreted.

[3] Headless ACs
ACs may occur without the head noun. The nominalizer in a headless AC bears a case marker like a regular noun.[4] The assumed heads are understood from the context.

(29) [*kwapa=e* *cwã:=pĩ:*]=*sã:* *la:=yāta*
Bhaktapur=LOC live.NFND=NMLZ=ERG water
nā: *dhā=i.*
sewage say=FD
'People living in Bhaktapur say *nā:* [, which means sewage in Patan dialect] for water.' (An interview with Sham Dangol)

(30) [*likka* *cwã:=guli*]=*i* *twātha:* *du.*
nearby stay.NFND=NMLZ=LOC step exist.NFND
'There are stairs near the place where he was.'

See Section 6 for headless ACs in the noun-predicate position.

4.2.1.3 Complement clauses with the nominalizer =gu. The inanimate nominalizer *=gu* also functions like a complementizer to head a complement clause.

Verbs of cognition (*khane* 'see', *swaye* 'look, watch') and verbs of mental process (*lumane* 'remember', *lwa:mane* 'forget') can take a *=gu* nominalized clause in the 'Complement' slot, e.g.:

(31) *cha-mā* *ta:-mā=gu* *simā=e* *ã:gur* *jwãẽjwãẽ*
one-CLF big-CLF=NMLZ tree=LOC grape heavily.laden
say-ā *cwã:=gu* *khan-a.* (Sweet Grapes)
be.borne-CM CONT=NMLZ see-NFPD
'[The jackal] saw that the tree was heavily laden with grapes.'

(32) *tara* *kāe=yā=ta* *kwathā=e* *kun-ā*
but son=GEN=DAT room=LOC lock.up-CM
ta:=gu *lwa:-he-man-e*
keep.NFND=NMLZ forget-EMPH-STEM-INF
dhũk-ala.[5] (Original Asti)
PRF-NFPD
'[He] had even forgotten that he had locked up his son in the room.'

Phasal verbs, which indicate a phase of internal aspectual development, (*suru yāye* 'start', *twa:te* 'stop'), too, can take a nominalized clause as the complement. The verb of the nominalized clause is not finite, but occurs in the infinitive form.

(33) *macã:* *ākha:* *bwan-e=gu* *suru* *yāt-a.*
child.ERG letter read-INF=NMLZ starting do-NFPD
'The child started studying.'

(34) *macã̃:* *ākha:* *bwan-e=gu* *twa:t-ala.*
child.ERG letter read-INF=NMLZ stop-NFPD
'The child stopped studying.'

In the following example, the nominalized clause, which is bracketed, functions rather like an adverbial clause.

(35) *wã:* *lā* *[tuti* *syā:=gu]=yā=ta*
3SG.ERG EMPH leg hurt.NFND=NMLZ=GEN=DAT
wāstā *he* *ma-yā:-se* *wal-a.*
concern EMPH NEG-do.NFND-ADV come-NFPD
'He came without caring about his leg hurting.'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses
The inanimate nominalizer *=gu* and some nouns are involved in forming some adverbial clauses. All the finite verb forms except the nonfuture perfective disjunct form can come before the nominalizer *=gu.* The ergative form of *=gu*, i.e. *gulī:*, is used to introduce a causal clause, e.g. (36).

(36) *wā* *wa:=gulī:* *lã* *pyāt-a.*
rain come.NFND=NMLZ.ERG road get.wet-NFPD
'As it rained, the road got wet.'

There are at least three subordinators — all enclitics — which derive from nouns.

The relative locational noun *nhya:* 'front' is used to index a temporal relation. The verb that comes before *nhya:* occurs only in the infinitive form, e.g. (37).

(37) *ji* *lihã̃:* *wa-e=nhya:* *rām* *wal-a.*
1SG back come-INF=before Ram come-NFPD
'Before I came back, Ram came.'

The sense of 'when' in English is expressed by *balae*, which is originally a noun plus the locative marker. This is now grammaticalized as a subordinator, meaning 'when'. The verb that comes before *balae* inflects almost fully finitely, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. (This is exactly the case with the inanimate nominalizer *=gu* (4.2.1.2).)

(38) *wā* *wa-i=balae* *pihã̃:* *wan-e* *mate.*
rain come-FD=when out go-INF NEG.IMP
'When it rains, don't go outside.'

Hale and Shrestha (2006) discuss the use of the noun that means 'place', *thāe*, as a subordinator.

(39) *jhi:=sã:* *chu:ṭ* *biy-ā* *ta:=thāe* *mālsāmān*
1PL.ERG discount give-CM PRF.NFND=place goods
nyān-ā *cwan-ā.*
buy-CM CONT-NFC (Hale and Shrestha 2006: 217)
'We were buying the goods at the place where the discount is given.'

The noun *thāe* is in the unmarked form and heads the subordinate clause without a nominalizer.

The nominalization of a clause requires a nominalizer: ACs (4.2.1.2) and complement clauses (4.2.1.3). As seen above, in some of the adverbial clauses, the subordinate marker derives from a noun. These adverbial clauses look similar to ACs ('AC + noun'). However, there is one important difference. Namely, in ACs, the verb has to be accompanied by a nominalizer. In contrast, at least in the case of *=balae* 'when' and *=thāe* 'place', the verb in these adverbial clauses is not accompanied by a nominalizer. It inflects almost fully finitely, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form.

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

Newar has two types of the mermaid construction ('MMC'): the noun type (5.2) and the enclitic type (5.3). Neither conforms to the prototype of the MMC (see Section 1).

5.2 Noun-type MMC

We shall look at the 'Noun' slot (5.2.1), the predicate of the 'Clause' (5.2.2), the 'Copula' (5.2.3), and the subject of the 'Clause' (5.2.4).

5.2.1 'Noun' slot

Only one noun is attested: *bhāgya*, e.g. (2). The noun *bhāgya* was borrowed from Sanskrit and means 'fate, lot, destiny, luck'. In examples such as (40), it is better translated as 'good luck'. The part that would correspond to the 'Clause' of the MMC is shown with square brackets. The subject of the 'Clause' is in bold face.

(40) [***rām=yā*** *sarkār=yā* *jyā* *yā-e*
Ram=GEN government=GEN work do-INF

da-i]=*gu* *bhāgya* *jul-a.*
get.to-FD=NMLZ luck COP-NPD
LT: 'Luck such that Ram will get to do the work at the government has happened.'
FT: 'Luckily Ram will get to work at the government.'

In (40), the copula *juye* 'inchoative' can be translated as 'happen', as shown above.

(41) [***kwa-jāt=yā*** ***manu:-ta=e*** *tha-jāt=yā*
lower-caste=GEN man-PL=GEN higher-caste=GEN
manu:-ta *pākhẽ:* *niyantran=ae* *cwan-e*
man-PL from domination=LOC live-INF
mā:]=*gu* *bhāgya* *juy-ā* *cwan-a.*
need.NFND=NMLZ destiny COP-CM CONT-NFND
LT: 'That lower-caste people must stay under the domination from the higher-caste people is becoming destiny.'
FT: Lower-caste people are destined to be dominated by higher-caste people.

It has been difficult to elicit examples of the MMC with the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, destiny, lot, luck', and, my database yields just a few examples thereof. For example, (41) was obtained in elicitation. It is a direct translation of a Japanese MMC whose noun is *unmee* 'fate'. (See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.2-[8]).) The following discussion of this MMC is based on the limited data available.

In terms of meaning, this MMC has something like an epistemic meaning that concerns fate, destiny, lot or luck.

5.2.2 Predicate of the 'Clause'

[1] Modal auxiliary verb

It appears that the predicate of the 'Clause' may not be a simple verb but that it must contain a modal auxiliary verb, in addition to the main verb. For example, the predicate contains *dai* (possibility/opportunity) in (2) and (40), and the *mā:* (necessity/obligation/inevitability) in (41). The modal auxiliary verb may not be omitted. This seems to be related to the semantics of the noun *bhāgya*. Namely, one's fate or luck is out of human control and the sense of non-controllability needs to be expressed.

[2] Nominalizer

The predicate of the 'Clause' (to be precise, the modal auxiliary verb) must be followed by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu* (INAN) (cf. 4.2.1.1).

It is possible to say that this MMC has the structure shown in (42), in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *bhāgya* and that the nominalizer =*gu* is inside the 'Clause'. (The square brackets indicate the 'Clause'.) However, concerning the enclitic-type MMC (5.3), I have

adopted the view that the 'Noun' slot is occupied by *=gu*, i.e. *=gu* occurs outside the 'Clause'. In view of this, in the noun-type MMC, too, I regard *=gu* is as part of the 'Noun'. That is, this MMC has the structure shown in (43).

(42) [... Verb=*gu*] *bhāgya* Copula
(43) [... Verb]=*gu* *bhāgya* Copula

[3] Inflection of the predicate of the 'Clause'
The modal auxiliary in the predicate is in a finite form. It inflects fully finitely. For example, the modal auxiliary verb is in the future disjunct form in (40), and the nonfuture neutral disjunct form in (41).

5.2.3 'Copula'
Both copula verbs are attested in the 'Copula' slot. Examples include (i) *khaye* (equational): (2), and (ii) *juye* (inchoative): (40), (41), (44).

The copula verb may be followed by an auxiliary verb, e.g. *cwan-a* 'CONT-NFND' in (44).

In some cases, *juyā cwana* 'COP-CM CONT-NFND' has to be used or is strongly preferred, e.g.:

(44) [***waeka:=yā*** *jyal=ae* *si:* *mā:*]=*gu* *bhāgya*
3HON=GEN jail=LOC die.INF need.NFND=NMLZ fate
juy-a *cwan-a.*
COP-CM CONT-NFPD
LT: 'The fate that he/she must die in jail is/was taking place.'
FT: 'The person was destined to die in the jail.'

In this sentence, *juyā cwana* is much more natural than *kha:*.

5.2.4 Subject of the 'Clause'
In Newar generally, the A occurs in the ergative case, e.g. (4) to (6), while the S occurs in the absolutive case (phonologically zero), e.g. (7). Furthermore, the A and the S can occur in the genitive case when the sentence expresses a generic situation.[6] Examples follow: (45) (the S) and (46) (the A).

(45) ***thaũ:=yā*** ***masta=e*** *swa-dã* *pya-dã* *nisẽ:*
today=GEN children=GEN three-year four-year since
sku:l=ae *wan-e* *mā:.* (Elohan)
school=LOC go-INF must.NFND
'Children today must go to school when they become three or four years old.'

(46) ***newā:-ta=e*** *cāhĩ:* *dakwasiyã* *newā:.* *bhāe*
Newar-PL=GEN CNTR all Newar language

lhā-i, *nhāpə̃=nisẽ:.* (An interview with Shyam Dangol)
speak-FD before=since
'Newars all speak Newar, since a long time ago.'

In (45) and (46), the subject is in the genitive form. It can also appear in the absolutive form, e.g. (47) and in the ergative form, e.g. (48), respectively. Nonetheless, in a generic context it is more natural to use the genitive form. In such sentences, the genitive subject functions as the topic of the sentence that describes a generic or habitual situation.

(47) ***thaũ:=yā*** ***masta*** *swa-dã* *pya-dã* *nisẽ:*
today=GEN children three-year four-year since
sku:l=ae *wan-e* *mā:.*
school=LOC go-INF must.NFND
'Children today must go to school when they become three or four years old.'

(48) ***newā:-ta*** *cāhĩ:* *dakwasiyã* *newā:.* *bhāe*
Newar-PL CNTR all Newar language
lhā-i, *nhāpə̃=nisẽ:.*
speak-FD before=since
'Newars all speak Newar, since before.'

We shall now look at the subject of the 'Clause' of the MMC.

When the 'Copula' of the MMC is the inchoative copula verb *juye* 'become', the genitive subject is the only choice, whether the situation is generic/habitual or not; the absolutive subject and the ergative subject are not acceptable. Examples include the following. The S: (41) ('lower-caste=GEN man-PL=GEN'), (44) ('3HON=GEN'). The A: (40) ('Ram=GEN').

When the 'Copula' is the equative copula *khaye* 'be', the genitive subject is not the only possibility. The A may be either in the ergative case, e.g. (2) ('Ram=ERG'), or in the genitive case, e.g. (49).

(49) [*rām=yā:* *ta:mi=mha* *manu:=yā* *chẽ:* *jyā*
Ram=GEN rich=NMLZ man=GEN house.LOC work
yā-e *da-i*]*=gu* *bhāgya* *kha:.*
do-INF get.to-FD=NMLZ luck COP.NFND
LT: 'That Ram gets to do the work at a rich person's house is good luck.'
FT: It is lucky that Ram will get to work at a rich person's house.

As noted above, in non-MMC sentences, when the situation described is generic or habitual, the subject (S or A) can alternate with the genitive

subject. In this MMC, when the 'Copula' is the equative copula *khaye*, the subject can be in the genitive. In this case the genitive subject seems to function as the topic of the sentence. When the 'Copula' is the inchoative copula *juye*, the genitive subject is the only choice. Again, the genitive subject seems to function as the topic of the sentence. At this stage of research, it is not clear why the genitive is the only choice in the case of the inchoative copula *juye*, e.g. (41), (44).

5.2.5 Sentencehood of the 'Clause'

We now enquire whether the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence. Recall first that the predicate (to be precise, the modal auxiliary verb) of the 'Clause' is finite. That is, as far as the inflection of the predicate is concerned, the 'Clause' should be able to stand on its own as a sentence. The crucial issue is the case marking of the subject.

As seen in 5.2.4, in a generic or habitual context the genitive subject can alternate with the ergative subject (for the A) or the absolutive subject (for the S). The same applies to the MMC, although when the 'Copula' is *juye*, the genitive subject is the only choice. In such instances, the 'Clause' with the genitive subject can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare the following.

(a) MMC
(a-1) S: (41) ('lower-caste=GEN man-PL=GEN'), (44) ('3HON=GEN').
(a-2) A: (40) ('Ram=GEN'), (49) ('Ram=GEN')
(b) non-MMC
(b-1) S: (45) ('today=GEN children=GEN'), (50) ('3HON=GEN').
(b-2) A: (48) ('Newar-PL=GEN').

When the subject of the 'Clause' is not in the genitive case, that is, when the A is in the ergative case or when the S is in the absolutive case, the 'Clause' can stand as a sentence on its own. Compare the following.

(a) MMC
(a-1) S: (52) ('1SG.ABS').
(a-2) A: (2) ('Ram=ERG').
(b) non-MMC
(b-1) S: (7) ('Gita=ABS').
(b-2) A: (51) ('Ram-ERG').

Examples follow.

(50) ***waeka:=yā*** *jyal=ae* *si:* *māl-a.*
3HON=GEN jail=LOC die.INF need.NFPD
'The person was destined to die in the jail.'

(51) ***rām=ā:*** *ta:mi=mha* *manu:=yā* *chẽ:* *jyā*
Ram=ERG rich=NMLZ man=GEN house.LOC work

yā-e *da-i.*
do-INF get.to-FD
'Ram will get to do the work at a rich person's house.'

5.2.6 Modification of the 'Noun'

In the MMC of Japanese, nouns used in the 'Noun' slot cannot be accompanied by a modifier (such as an adjective, a demonstrative or the like) (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.6.4). In this respect, they have lost their nounhood and they are grammaticalized.

In the noun-type MMC in Newar, the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, lot, destiny, luck' used in the 'Noun' slot can be modified. In this respect, it retains its nounhood and it is not grammaticalized. There are at least three examples in which the 'Noun' is modified by a modifier: an adjective in two examples and a pronoun in the genitive case in the third example.

[1] Adjective

In the two examples available, the adjective employed is *ta:dhã:* 'big'.

(52) *wae:ka:-pĩ:* *nāya:* *wa* *upādhyacha*
3HON-PL president and vice-president
ju:=balae [***ji*** *nã:* *duja:* *taka* *ju-i*
become.NFND=when 1SG too member upto COP-INF
du=gu *ta:dhã:*]*=gu* *bhāgya* *kha:.*
get.to.NFND=NL big=NMLZ luck COP.NFND
LT: 'That I, too, got to be a member when they became the president and the vice-president, is big luck.'
FT: 'Very luckily, I, too, get to be a member when they became the president and the vice-president.' (Webpage data)

(53) *yashodharā,* [*ajyā:=gu* *des=yā* *mahārāni:*
Yashodhara like.this=NMLZ country=GEN queen
ju-i *da-i*]*=gu* ***chã:=gu*** *ta:dhã:=gu*
COP-INF get.to-FD=NMLZ 2SG=NMLZ big=NMLZ
bhāgya *kha:.*
fate COP.NFND
LT: 'Yashodhara, that you got to become the queen of a country like this is big fate.'
FT: 'Yashodhara, it is your great fate that you get to become the queen of a country like this.' (Yasodhara)

[2] Genitive pronoun

The only example available is (54). Compare it with (49).

(54) [***rām=yā*** *sarkār=yā* *jyā* *yā-e*
Ram=GEN government=GEN work do-INF

da-i]=*gu* *wā=yā* *bhāgya* *jul-a.*
get.to-FD=NMLZ 3SG=GEN luck COP-NPD
LT: 'That Ram$_i$ will get to do the work at the government has become his$_i$ luck.'
FT: It is lucky to Ram$_i$ that he$_i$ will get to work at the government.

According to the consultant with whom I checked the above examples, both (54) and (49) sound natural, but (54) shows more clearly whose luck it is. It is possible to interpret (49) as implying that Ram's getting to work at the government is lucky to someone else.

5.3 Enclitic type: nominalizer =gu *(inanimate)*

5.3.1 Introductory notes

Newar has three enclitic nominalizers: =*mha* (ANIM SG), =*pĩ:* (ANIM PL), and =*gu* (INAN) (cf. 4.2.1.1). The animate nominalizers are only used to head adnominal phrases or clauses while the inanimate nominalizer can function as a complementizer as well as an adnominal marker. They agree with the head noun with respect to animacy and number; see (17) to (19).

=*gu* (INAN) can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (cf. (1)). In this use, it does not agree with any noun. In fact, it lacks any head noun that it can agree with.

=*mha* (ANIM SG) and =*pĩ:* (ANIM PL) cannot occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Though they can occur in a similar construction, this construction is best regarded as a noun-predicate sentence/clause whose predicate is a headless AC. It will be discussed separately, in Section 6.

As just noted, in this MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer =*gu*. That is, this MMC has the structure shown in (55).

(55) [... Verb]=*gu* Copula

Examples of this MMC include (3) and the following. (The portion that corresponds to the 'Clause' is shown with square brackets.)

(56) *ae* *pāsā,* *thana* *jhāsã:,* *thana* *jhāsã:.*
hey friend here come.HON.IMP here come.HON.IMP
[*jĩ:* *chi=ta:* *sa:t=ā*]=*gu* *kha:* (Elohan)
1SG.ERG 2SG=DAT call-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
'Hi, my friend! Come here please, come here please. I called you.'

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

The most frequent type of clause in the MMC is a verb-predicate clause,

e.g. (56). Nonetheless, it may be an adjective-clause or a noun-predicate clause. These types of clauses will be discussed in 5.3.5.2 to 5.3.5.4.

5.3.2 'Copula'

Both *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' can occur in the 'Copula' slot.

[1] *khaye* 'equational'

When *khaye* occurs in the 'Copula' slot, more often than not it occurs in the nonfuture neutral disjunct form *kha:*, e.g. (56). Other forms of *khaye*, except conjunct forms, are also possible, for instance, the nonfuture perfective disjunct form, *khata*, as in (57). (This is an intransitive sentence. The ergative case indicates, not an agent in a transitive sentence, but a source (to be precise, the source of information).)

(57) [*sãkhyā=yā* *hisab=ã:* *thwa* *lakhaũ:*
statistics=GEN calculation=ERG this hundreds.of.thousands
bidyārthi *phel* *ju:*]=*gu* *khat-a.*
student fail COP.NFND=NMLZ COP-NFPD
'According to the statistics, it turned out to be the case that these hundreds of thousands of students had failed.'
(www.nepalmandal.com)

[2] *juye* 'inchoative'

The inchoative copula *juye* can be used in noun-predicate clauses/sentences. In this use, it has an inchoative meaning ('become'), not an equational meaning ('be'), e.g. (13), except for the exceptional use noted shortly.

When *juye* is used in this MMC, the sentence implies that the situation is decided. Hence it can carry a sense of strong promise, as in (58), where a mother, seeing her son reluctant to say what he wants, is urging him to say what it is, and is making a promise.

(58) [*jĩ* *nhyā=gu* *dhā:=sã̃* *bi:*]=*gu*
1SG.ERG any=NMLZ say.NFND=though give.FC=NMLZ
jul-a.
COP-NFPD
LT: 'It happened that I will give whatever you say.'
FT: 'I will never fail to give you whatever you ask.'

When *juye* is in the nonfuture disjunct form, i.e. *jula*, this MMC indicates that the event depicted in the nominalized clause is a newly established situation due to other factors.

(59) [*cā:hyu:wan-e=ta* *dhyabā* *māli:*]=*gu* *jul-a.*
travel-INF=DAT money need.FD=NMLZ COP-NFPD
LT: 'That I need some money for traveling happened.'
FT: 'I eventually needed some money for traveling.'

As noted in 4.1-[3], the copula *juye* 'inchoative' may function as an equational copula ('be') when it occurs in the periphrastic form *juy-ā cwan-a* 'COP-CM CONT-NFPD', e.g. (14). This form often stands in the 'Copula' slot of this MMC. The main function is to introduce background information.

(60) [*cha-gu:* *des=ae* *rāmanāgār* *nã̃:=gu*
one-CLF country=LOC Ramanagar name=NMLZ
gã̃: *du*]=*gu* *juy-ā* *cwan-a.*
village exist.NFND=NMLZ COP-CM CONT-NFPD
'It so happened that a village named Ramanagar existed in a country.' (Elohan)

All of the examples of this MMC given above are affirmative sentences. The 'Copula' of this MMC can be negated only when it is the equational copula. This negation employs the negation prefix *ma-*. Examples include (61) and (62). However, it is not possible to negate the 'Copula' *juye* in any forms.

(61) [*bā=yā=ke* *nã:* *dhyabā* *du*]=*gu*
father=GEN=LOC too money exist.NFND=NMLZ
ma-khu.
NEG-COP.NFND
'It was not the case that his father had any money.'

(62) *ā:* [*jimi=ke* *pasa:* *wan-e=gu* *i:*
now 1PL.EXCL.GEN=LOC shop go-INF=NMLZ time
nã: *du*]=*gu* *ma-khut-a.*
too exist.NFND=NMLZ NEG-COP-NFPD
'Now it is not the case anymore that we have time to go shopping.'

5.3.3 Subject

We shall first deal with the properties of the subject ([1]), followed by the case marking of the subject ([2]).

[1] Subject properties

Thus far I have often used the terms 'subject', 'transitive subject' ('A'), and 'intransitive subject' (S) without characterizing them. Here I propose to characterize the subject in Newar on syntactic grounds. Namely, the prototypical subject has the following properties:

(63) Prototypical subject in Newar
a. The reflexive pronoun *tha:* is controlled by the closest subject.
b. The subject agrees with an honorific auxiliary verb.

Each of the 'transitive subject' in the ergative case and the 'intransitive

subject' in the absolutive case possesses these two properties. That is, they are prototypical subject in terms of (63).

(a) Reflexive pronoun

Consider the following examples.

(64) *rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *chẽ:*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ house.LOC
khan-a.
see-NFPD
'Ram$_i$ saw Gita$_j$ in his$_i$/*her$_j$ house.'

(65) *rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *ghari*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ watch
syan-a *dhakā:* *dhāl-a.*
be.broken-NFPD QUOT say-NFPD
'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that his$_i$/*her$_j$ watch got broken.'

(66) *rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *wa* *tha:=gu*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT 3SG REFL=NMLZ
chẽ: *thyan-a* *dhakā:* *dhāl-a.*
house.LOC arrive-NFPD QUOT say-NFPD
a. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that he$_i$ arrived at his$_{i/*j}$ own house.'
b. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita that he$_j$ arrived at his$_{*i/j}$ own house.'
c. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_i$ arrived at her$_i$ own house.'
d. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_j$ arrived at her$_{*i/j}$ own house.'

In (66), there are two subjects: one in the matrix clause and the other in the quoted clause. The reflexive pronoun can only be controlled by the closest subject in the sentence.

This is also the case with the subject of this MMC. Compare the following sentences. The entire sentence (not just the matrix clause or the quoted clause) constitutes an instance of this MMC.

(67) [*rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *chẽ:*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ house.LOC
khã:]=*gu* *kha:.*
see-NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'Ram$_i$ saw Gita$_j$ at his$_i$/*her$_j$ own house.'

(68) [*rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *tha:=gu* *ghari*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ watch
syan-a *dhakā:* *dhā:*]=*gu* *kha:.*
break-NFND=NMLZ QUOT say.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that his$_i$/*her$_j$ watch got broken.'

(69) [*rām=ã:* *gitā=yā=ta* *wa* *tha:=gu*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT 3SG REFL=NMLZ
chẽ: *thyan-a* *dhakā:* *dhā:*]=*gu*
house.LOC arrive-NFPD QUOT say.NFND=NMLZ
kha:.
COP.NFND
a. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that he$_i$ arrived at his$_{i/*j}$ own house.'
b. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita that he$_j$ arrived at his$_{*i/j}$ own house.'
c. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_i$ arrived at her$_i$ own house.'
d. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_j$ arrived at her$_{*i/j}$ own house.'

(b) Honorific auxiliary verb

The subject of a clause agrees with an honorific verb when it is a human or a god.

(70) *sār* *khwathā=e* *di:*.
teacher room=LOC stay.HON-NFND
'The teacher is in the room.'

(71) *bhagabān* *bijyāt-a.*
God come.HON-NFPD
'God has come.'

If the verb of a clause is volitional, it may further take an honorific auxiliary verb, and this auxiliary verb agrees with the subject, e.g. (72). Non-subject participants do not agree with the honorific auxiliary verb; see (73).

(72) *sār=ã:* *bidyārthi=pĩ:=ta* *dhay-ā* *dil-a.*
teacher=ERG student-PL=DAT say-CM HON-NFPD
'The teacher told (it to) the students.'

(73) **bidyārti=pĩ:=sã:* *sar=yā=ta* *dhay-ā* *dil-a.*
student-PL=ERG teacher=GET=DAT say-CM HON-NFPD
'The students told (it) to the teacher.'

This is also the case with the subject of the MMC, as follows.

(74) [*sar=ã:* *bidyārti-pĩ:=ta* *dhay-ā* *dyu:*]=*gu*
teacher=ERG student=PL=DAT say-CM HON.NFND=NMLZ
kha:.
COP.NFND
'The teacher told (it) to the students.'

(75) *[*bidyārti-pĩ:=sã:* *sar=yā=ta* *dhay-ā*
student-PL=ERG teacher=GEN=DAT say-CM

dyu:]=*gu* *kha:.*
HON.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'The students told (it) to the teacher.'

[2] Case marking
Case marking of the subject in the main does not differ between independent sentences and this MMC. The A is in the ergative in independent sentences, e.g. (4) to (6) ('Gita.ERG'), and this MMC, e.g. (56) ('1SG.ERG'). The S is in the absolutive case in independent sentences, e.g. (7) ('Gita') and this MMC, e.g. (57) ('student').

5.3.4 Predicate of the 'Clause'
The predicate of the 'Clause' of this MMC is followed by the inanimate nominalizer =*gu*, like the predicate of ACs. The same restriction imposed on the predicate of ACs (4.2.1.2-[1]) applies to the predicate of this MMC. The restriction is the following. The verb is almost fully finite, except that it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. It can be in the neutral disjunct form.

The predicate of the 'Clause' of this MMC differs from that of independent sentences in the following two respects.

(a) Independent sentences may be declarative, imperative or interrogative. However, the 'Clause' of this MMC (and that of any MMC for that matter) can only be 'declarative-like'. Imperative-like and interrogative-like clauses may not occur in the MMC.

(b) Sentence-final discourse particles, such as *kā* (informative assertion) and *nhi* (confirmation), do not occur in the 'Clause'. The 'Clause' does not occupy the sentence-final position.

The predicate of the 'Clause' can be negated, e.g. (76).

(76) *mhiga:* *jimi=sã::* *aelā:* *ma-twan-ā=gu*
yesterday 1PL=ERG liquor NEG-drink-NFC=NMLZ
kha:.
COP.NFND
'We didn't drink any liquor yesterday.'

As illustrated in 5.3.2, the 'Copula' of this MMC can be negated when it is the equational copula *khaye*, e.g. (61) and (62). It is possible to negate both the predicate of the 'Clause' and the 'Copula', e.g. (77).

(77) *chan=ta* *jĩ:* *biswās* *ma-yān-ā=gu*
2SG=DAT 1SG.ERG belief NEG-do-NFC=NMLZ
ma-khu. (Elohan)
NEG-COP.NFND
'It is not the case that I don't believe in you.'

5.3.5 Sentencehood of the 'Clause'

5.3.5.1 Introductory notes. We now enquire whether the 'Clause' of this MMC can be used by itself as a sentence.

Very roughly speaking, it is not incorrect to say that the 'Clause' of this MMC can stand on its own as a sentence. For example, compare the 'Clause' of (3) with (78), and similarly (56) with (79).

(78)	*mhiga:*	*jĩ:*	*ma:ma:*	*nay-ā.*
	yesterday	1SG.ERG	dumpling	eat-NFC
	'Yesterday I ate some dumplings.'			
(79)	*jĩ:*	*chi=ta:*	*sa:t=ā.*	
	1SG.ERG	2SG=DAT	call-NFC	
	'I called you.'			

Indeed, the propositional meaning of, e.g., the 'Clause' of (3) and that of the corresponding independent sentence, i.e. (78), do not differ. However, there are certain complications.

First, the verb in independent sentences may occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. However, as just noted, that in the 'Clause' of this MMC cannot.

Second, the 'Clause' of the MMC and that of the corresponding independent sentence may differ in meaning. This will be discussed in 5.3.5.2.

Third, this MMC has a discourse effect different from that of the corresponding independent sentence. This will be discussed in 5.3.7.

We shall now look at the three types of clause that can occur in the 'Clause' — verb-predicate clauses (5.3.5.2), adjective-predicate clauses (5.3.5.3), and noun-predicate clauses (5.3.5.4) — paying attention to the sentencehood of the 'Clause'.

5.3.5.2 Verb-predicate clauses. As noted above, the 'Clause' may be used by itself as a sentence. However, they may differ in meaning. This difference is seen both in the conjunct series and the disjunct series (cf. Table 1). Selected examples follow.

[1] Disjunct series

(a) Nonfuture neutral disjunct form and nonfuture perfective disjunct form

As shown in Table 1, there are two nonfuture disjunct forms with respect to aspect: perfective and neutral. The nonfuture perfective disjunct form expresses a perfective situation, and the nonfuture neutral disjunct form expresses mainly a habitual (with action verbs, which express on-going situations with the continuous auxiliary verb *cwane*) or stative (with state verbs, which express resultant state with the continuous auxiliary verb *cwane*) situation but in a certain context a perfective situation. In nominalized clauses, the nonfuture perfective disjunct may not occur

syntactically at all (see (80) and (81)), and only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can be used (see (82) and (83)). In this context, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form has the meaning of the nonfuture perfective disjunct form.

(80) *[*syan-a=gu*] *ghari*
be.broken-NFPD=NMLZ watch
'the watch that broke'

(81) *[*rām=ã:* *nyāt-a=gu*] *saphu:*
Ram=ERG buy-NFPD=NMLZ book
'the book Ram bought'

(82) [*syã:=gu*] *ghari*
be.broken.NFND=NMLZ watch
'the watch that broke/is broken'

(83) [*rām=ã:* *nyā:=gu*] *saphu:*
Ram=ERG buy-NFND=NMLZ book
'the book Ram bought'

The interpretation of the nonfuture neutral disjunct form varies depending on the type of the verb. When it is a state verb, the meaning is either perfective or stative in a nominalized clause, e.g. (82). When it is an action verb, only a perfective reading is possible, and a habitual meaning is not obtained, e.g. (83).

Semantically, the nominalized clause in (82) corresponds to the independent sentences in (84) and (85), and that in (83) corresponds to the independent sentence in (86), in which the verb is in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form.

(84) *ghari* *syan-a.*
watch be.broken-NFPD
'The watch that broke.'

(85) *ghari* *syã:.*
watch be.broken.NFND
'The watch is broken.'

(86) *rām=ã:* *saphu:* *nyāt-a.*
Ram=ERG book buy-NFPD
'Ram bought a book.'

The same restriction applies to this MMC. That is, the nonfuture perfective disjunct may not occur at all, and only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can be used. In this context, when the verb is a stative verb,

the nonfuture neutral disjunct form in the 'Clause' of the MMC can be stative or perfective. Consider the following example of a state verb in (87) with (84) and (85).

(87) *ghari* *syã:=gu* *kha:.*
watch be.broken.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'The watch broke/is broken.'

On the other hand, when the verb is a dynamic verb, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form in the 'Clause' of the MMC cannot be habitual but only perfective. Consider the following examples of an action verb.

(88) *wã:* *aelā:* *twã:.*
3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFND
'He drinks liquor.'

(89) *wã:* *aelā:* *twan-a.*
3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFPD
'He drank some liquor.'

(90) *[wã:* *aelā:* *twã:]=gu* *kha:.*
3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'He drank some liquor.'

Outside the MMC, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form of an action verb is interpreted as present habitual (cf. 3-[5]) — if interpreted out of context — e.g. (88). The nonfuture perfective disjunct form has a past perfective meaning, e.g. (89). In the 'Clause' of this MMC, the nonfuture perfective disjunct form may not occur at all, and only the nonfuture neutral disjunct form can be used. In this context, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form has the meaning of the nonfuture perfective disjunct form. That is, it is not interpreted as present habitual but exclusively interpreted as past perfective. See (90). In other words, the 'Clause' of (90) has the meaning of (89), not that of (88).

(b) Future disjunct form (FD)

Outside the MMC, the future disjunct form is generally interpreted as future, although a habitual interpretation is possible.

(91) *wã:* *aelā:* *twan-i:.*
3SG.ERG liquor drink.FD
'He will drink/drinks liquor.'

When the future disjunct form is used in the 'Clause' of this MMC, it describes a present habitual situation.

(92) [*wã:* *aelã:* *twan-i:*]=*gu* *kha:*.
3SG.ERG liquor drink.FD=NMLZ COP.NFND
'He drinks liquor.'

The independent sentences (88) and (91) have a present habitual meaning. However, they differ in that the future disjunct form (i.e. (91)) implies higher frequency than the nonfuture neutral disjunct form (i.e. (88)). This holds true in independent sentences. However, in the 'Clause' (and in nominalized clauses generally), the nonfuture neutral disjunct form is exclusively interpreted as indexing a past situation, as in (90).

[2] Conjunct series
(a) Future conjunct
A future conjunct verb is interpreted only as modal when it occurs without the nominalizer =*gu*, e.g. (93). When it occurs with =*gu*, it is interpreted either as a future plan or as a habitual action, e.g. (94) (an instance of this MMC).

(93) *ji* *sutha=e* *cha* *bajae* *dan-e.*
1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-FC
'I will get up at six in the morning.'
(94) [*ji* *sutha=e* *cha* *bajae* *dan-e*]=*gu*
1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-FC=NMLZ
(*kha:*).
COP.NFND
'I get up/am going to get up at six in the morning.'

(b) Nonfuture conjunct
A nonfuture conjunct verb is interpreted, if without any context, as past perfective, e.g. (95), but can be interpreted as nonfuture habitual if there is a frequency adverb, e.g. (96).

(95) *ji* *sutha=e* *cha* *bajae* *dan-ã.*
1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-NFC
'I got up at six in the morning.'
(96) *ji* *gabalẽ:gablẽ:* *sutha=e* *cha* *bajae*
1SG sometimes morning=LOC six o'clock
dan-ã.
get.up-NFC
'I sometimes get/got up at six in the morning.'

However, when a nonfuture conjunct verb occurs in a nominalized clause, it

is only interpreted as past perfective, not as habitual, even when there is a frequency adverb. This constraint holds with this MMC as well, e.g. (97).

(97) *ji* (*gabalẽ:gablẽ:*) *sutha=e* *cha* *bajae*
1SG (sometimes) morning=LOC six o'clock
dan-ā=gu.
get.up-NFC
'I sometimes got up at six in the morning.'

In a nominalized clause or the 'Clause' of the MMC, the habitual meaning is expressed only by the future conjunct form, e.g. (94).

In sum, a verb-predicate clause used as the 'Clause' of this MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. However, there may be a semantic difference between the 'Clause' and the corresponding sentence with respect to the interpretation of tense and aspect.

5.3.5.3 Adjective-predicate clauses. As noted in 4.1-[2], adjective-predicate clauses/sentences may contain the copula *juye* 'inchoative', but not the copula *khaye* 'equational'. Adjective-predicate clauses used in the 'Clause' slot of this MMC have the same properties as those they do in independent sentences, except for the following two respects, which concerns the copula *juye* 'inchoative'.

[1] Non-omissibility

In independent adjective-predicate sentences, the copula *juye* may be omitted, e.g. (8). However, in the 'Clause', the copula *juye* may not be omitted. Consider (98), an instance of this MMC. If the copula in the 'Clause' is deleted, we will obtain (99).

(98) [*thwa* *jyā* *taskã:* *thāku* *ju:*]=*gu* *kha:.*
this job very difficult COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'It is the case that this job has become very difficult.'

(99) *thwa* *jyā* *taskã:* *thāku=gu* *kha:.*
this job very difficult=NMLZ COP.NFND
'This job is a very difficult one.'

However, (99) cannot be considered to be an MMC. The omission of the copula *ju:* changes the entire sentence structure to a headless AC, meaning 'This job is a very difficult one'. As discussed in 4.2, when adjectival predicate clauses modify a noun, a nominalizer must follow the adjective, and it must agree the head noun. In the above example, *thāku=gu kha:* looks like an MMC, but this is a headless AC, whose head is the subject of the 'Clause' (i.e. this job).

In ACs, the nominalizer must agree with the head noun. In a headless AC, the nominalizer agrees with the covert head. The covert head in (99) is

inanimate. The inanimate nominalizer agrees with the head. However, in the following example, if the copula *ju:* is omitted, the inanimate nominalizer will not be licensed because the covert head is understood to be animate.

(100) *thwa* *misā* *taskã:* *dayālu* **(ju:)=gu*
this woman very kind COP.NFND=NMLZ
kha:.
COP.NFND
'This woman *is/became very kind.'

This sentence would be acceptable as a headless AC only when the nominalizer was replaced with the animate singular nominalizer *=mha.* Likewise, it is better considered that (99) is not an MMC but a headless adnominal clause.

[2] *ju:* 'nonfuture neutral disjunct' for an inchoative meaning only
In independent adjective-predicate sentences, the nonfuture neutral disjunct of the inchoative copula is interpreted as equational, e.g. (8). However, when used in the 'Clause' (and in nominalized clauses generally), it is not interpreted as equational. It is interpreted as inchoative. This is shown in the English translations, e.g. (98), (100).

This is true not only with affirmative clauses/sentences but also with negative clauses/sentences. An adjective predicate is negated by attaching the negation prefix to the copula *ma-ju:*, e.g. (9), (101), (102). A negated adjective predicate has an equational meaning ('be') in adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (101). However, it has an inchoative meaning an inchoative meaning in the 'Clause', e.g. (102).

(101) *thwa* *misā* *dayālu* *ma-ju:.*
this woman kind NEG-COP.NFND
'This woman is not kind.'

(102) [*thwa* *misā* *dayālu* *ma-ju:*]=*gu* *kha:.*
this woman kind NEG-COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'This woman once became unkind (but now is kind again).'

This shows that an adjective-clause used in the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence, but that there is an aspectual difference between them.

5.3.5.4 Noun-predicate clauses. As noted in 4.1-[3], a noun-predicate sentence may have no copula verb (when it is an affirmative sentence), e.g. (11). In contrast, a noun-predicate sentence with no copula verb cannot occur in the 'Clause' of this MMC. See:

(103) **[rām* *dāktar]=gu* *kha:.*
Ram doctor=NMLZ COP.NFND
Intended meaning: '(It is the case that) Ram is a doctor.'

We shall comment on the uses of the two copula verbs in the 'Clause'.

[1] *khaye* 'equational'

kha: 'equational' can occur in a noun-predicate sentence. Its presence makes the sentence more assertive, since *kha:* is originally a verb meaning 'to be true'. See (11) and (104).

(104) *rām dāktar (kha:).*
Ram doctor COP.NFND
'Ram is a doctor (indeed).'

Noun-predicate clauses with *kha:* cannot appear in the 'Clause'; see (105).

(105) *[*rām dāktar kha:]=gu kha:.*
Ram doctor COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
Intended meaning: '(It is the case that) Ram is a doctor.'

[2] *juye* 'inchoative'

In noun-predicate sentences, *juye* can occur e.g. (13), (106). It has an inchoative meaning. (However, its neutral disjunct form cannot occur here.) It can occur in the 'Clause'. Here, too, it has an inchoative meaning, not an equational meaning. See (107).

(106) *rām dāktar jul-a.*
Ram doctor COP-NFPD
'Ram has become/became a doctor.'

(107) *[rām dāktar ju:]=gu kha:.*
Ram doctor COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'(It is the case that) Ram has become/became a doctor.'

Note that, in the 'Clause', noun-predicate clauses and adjective-predicate clauses share the same property: they must have the inchoative copula; and the copula has an inchoative meaning only, and lacks an equational meaning.

Noun-predicate clauses used in the 'Clause' can be used by themselves as independent sentences, but not as they stand. The independent sentence that corresponds to the 'Clause' of (107) must be (106). Since the nonfuture neutral disjunct form of the inchoative copula, i.e. *ju:*, cannot appear in a noun-predicate sentence (cf. (13)), the 'Clause' part in (107) cannot be an independent sentence as it stands. Since the meaning of the copula *ju:* in (107) is dynamic, the corresponding independent sentence will be only (106). This is because the nonperfective disjunct form of a verb cannot occur before the nominalizers, and the respective nonfuture neutral disjunct form is used instead in this case.

In sum, the sentencehood of the 'Clause' of the MMC where the 'Noun' is =*gu* (INAN) differs in degree among verb-predicate, adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses. The 'Clause' whose predicate is a verb is higher in the degree of sentencehood than the other two, and the 'Clause' whose predicate is an adjective is higher than that whose predicate is a noun.

5.3.6 Use in adverbial clauses

This MMC may occur in some adverbial clauses. However, there are some cases in which the copula *khaye* 'equational' is disfavored or rejected. In such cases, the copula verb *juye* 'inchoative' is in turn preferred. Examples follow.

[1] Temporal clauses that are headed by *balae* 'when', *nhya:* 'before' or *dhũ:kā:* 'after'

Generally this MMC is not natural. Nonetheless I found one example:

(108) *ale* [*ni-thāe* *jaka* *bũ* *wan-e*]=*gu*
and two-CLF only paddy go-FC=NMLZ
ju:=balae *nhĩ:* *nhĩ:* *ni-mha*
COP.NFND=when day.ERG day.ERG two-CLF
ni-mhã: *bũ* *wan-ā* *cwan-e*
two-CLF.ERG field go-CM stay-INF
mwā:l-a.
be.unnecessary-NFPD
'And when it was the case that we went only to two paddies, it was no longer necessary for two of us to go there every day.'
(Stories in my memories)

In this example, the copula *ju:* does not carry the inchoative sense. It functions exactly like the equational copula *kha:*. It is not possible to replace *ju:* with *kha:* here.

[2] Causal clauses

Both *khaye* and *juye* are possible, but when there is no assertive tone, the copula *juye* is preferred, as in (109).

(109) [*gũ:lā=yā* *punhi* *kunhu* *han-i:*]=*gu*
Gunla.month=GEN full.moon day respect-FD=NMLZ
ju:=gulĩ: *thuki=yā=ta* *gũ:punhi*
COP.NFND=because this=GEN=DAT Gunpunhi
dhā:=gu *kha:.* (Elohan)
say.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'Since they respect the day of the full moon in Gunla (August-September), they call this day "Gunpunhi".'

In this example, the copula *ju:* can be replaced with *kha:*, but *kha:* will sound emphatic, stressing that it is a fact. Without such a tone, the copula *ju:*

is unmarked; or it signals a change of state, hence the establishment of what is described in the MMC.

[3] Concessive clauses and concessive conditional clauses

These clauses are headed by *=sã:*. Examples are (110) (concessive) and (111) (concessive conditional).

(110) [*rām kanhae wa-i*]*=gu kha:=sã:*,
Ram tomorrow come-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND=though
jĩ: wa=yā=ta nāplā-e makhu.
1SG.ERG 3SG=GEN=DAT meet-FC NEG
'Though Ram is coming tomorrow, I will not see him.'

(111) [*rām kanhae wa-i*]*=gu ju:=sã:*,
Ram tomorrow come-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND=though
wa=yā=ta nāplā-e makhu, jĩ:.
3SG=GEN=DAT meet-FC NEG 1SG.ERG
'Even if Ram is coming tomorrow, I will not see him.'

[4] Conditional clauses that are marked with *=sā*

Either *ju:* or *kha:* may occur. In (112), the copula *kha:* occurs, but it can be replaced with *ju:* with no change in the meaning.[7]

(112) [*jĩ: chan=ta bwa: byu:*]*=gu*
1SG 2SG=DAT scolding give.NFND=NMLZ
kha:=sā cha gyā-i ale chu
COP.NFND=if 2SG be.frightened and what
thu-i nã: makhu. (Elohan)
understand-FD too NEG
'If it was the case that I had scolded you, you would have been frightened and would not have understood anything.'

We have seen that this MMC can occur in adverbial clauses.

5.3.7 Discourse functions

The enclitic-type MMC signals various functional purports in discourse. There are two fundamental functions of the MMC, irrespective of whether it occurs with or without a copula: (i) to make a strong assertion (5.3.7.1); and (ii) to state a presupposed fact that is related to a topic in discourse (5.3.7.2). This MMC signals that the speaker presupposes that the situation stated in it is true. When it is used in an interrogative sentence, it bears a tone of interrogation whether what is stated is true or not, or the questioner's keen interest (5.3.7.3).

5.3.7.1 Making a strong assertion as a concluding remark. This MMC is often used to put forward a strong assertion, especially when the speaker

gives a concluding remark based on the preceding context. In this function, the 'Copula' of the MMC may not be omitted.

The utterance in (113) was made after another speaker said that, as they had not learned Japanese since coming to Japan, they had found life more difficult. By using this MMC, the speaker asserts in a strong tone that what he thinks is no less than an indisputable fact.

(113) *wa* *lā* *kha:*, *ukĩ:* [*chikipi=sã:*
that EMPH be.true.NFND therefore 2PL.HON=ERG
jāpāni: *bhāe* *bhacā* *sã:* *saek-e=gu*
Japanese language a.little though learn-INF=NMLZ
kuta: *yān-ā* *di-i* *mā:*]=*gu* *kha:.*
effort do-CM HON-INF need.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'That's indeed right. Therefore, you must make at least some effort to learn Japanese.' (Newar Conversation)

Now consider the following example. In this story, Dārā, who used to be a sheep herdsman and has become a high ranking official, is suspected of embezzling tax, carrying it in a trunk, and one day the king tells him to open the trunk, only to find his old clothes in it. Then he explains why he always carries his old clothes in his trunk, uttering (114c). In this case, too, the speaker makes a strong assertion as a concluding remark.

(114) a. *ji* *ā:* *nhyā=mha* *he* *ju:=sã:*
1SG now any=NMLZ EMPH COP.NFND=though
nhāpã: *ji* *cha-mha* *phaijwā:* *kha:.*
first 1SG one-CLF sheep.herdsman COP.NFND
'Whatever I am now, I am primarily a sheep herdsman.'

b. *thwa* *khã* *lwa:man-a=ki* *ji* *gabalẽ:* *he*
this story forget-NFPD=if 1SG anytime EMPH
nyāya *nisāph* *bi:* *pha-i-makhu.*
justice judgment give.INF can-FD-NEG
'If I forgot this fact, I would not be able to make a logical judgment at any time.'

c. *ukĩ:* [*jĩ:* *tha:=yā=ta* *thamhã:*
so 1SG.ERG REFL=GEN=DAT REFL.ERG
lumãk-ā *ta-e=ta* *he* *thwa* *wasa:*
remember-CM put-INF=DAT EMPH this clothes
nāpã: *tay-ā* *juy-ā*]=*gu* *kha:.*
nearby put-CM travel-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
'So I carry these clothes with me intentionally to remind me.'

A statement by this MMC must refer to an established fact. It is possible to question whether a certain proposition is true or not by using this MMC, e.g. (115). However, it is not possible to use this MMC in the assertive to express the speaker's recognition of a fact; see (116).

(115) *lã̄* *pyān-ā* *cwan-a.* [*cān=ae* *wā*
road be.wet-CM CONT-NFPD night=LOC rain
wa:]=*gu* *kha:* *lā?*
come.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND Q
LT: 'The road is wet. Is it true that it rained during the night?'
FT: 'The road is wet. Did it rain during the night?'

(116) *lã̄* *pyān-ā* *cwan-a.* *[*cān=ae* *wā*
road be.wet-CM CONT-NFPD night=LOC rain
wa:]=*gu* *kha:.*
come.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'The road is wet. It was the case that it rained during the night.'

The MMC in the above sentence is a concluding remark that is drawn by conjecture based on the fact that the road is wet. The proposition 'It rained during the night' is not guaranteed as a fact, so it is not natural to use this MMC here. However, adding the modal auxiliary verb *mā:*, which marks conjecture, will save the sentence, as follows.

(117) *lã̄* *pyān-ā* *cwan-a.* [*cān=ae* *wā*
road wet-CM CONT-NFPD night=LOC rain
wa:]=*gu* *kha-e* *mā:.*
come.NFND=NMLZ COP-INF should.NFND
LT: 'The road is wet. It must have been the case that it rained during the night'
FT: 'The road is wet. It must have rained during the night.'

5.3.7.2 Background information. The enclitic-type MMC is often used to supply background information: [1] introducing a statement that leads to the main theme of narrative, [2] providing additional explanatory information such as reason, evidence, etc., or [3] elaborating on a topic in detail.

When the background information consists of more than one sentence, this MMC may be used sequentially, indicating that the sequence of MMCs constitutes a set of background information. The MMCs may have the 'Copula' (full-fledged MMCs) or omit it (copula-less MMCs), the presence of the copula *kha:* delivers a more assertive tone.

[1] Introducing a statement for the main theme

In narratives, the first line of a story is usually a lead sentence, either a topic sentence or a sentence that supplies background information that is relevant to the topic. This MMC can be used to introduce background information at

the beginning of a story when the statement concerns a previous situation that no longer holds true at the time of the main story but that is relevant to it. The following sentence, which is taken from a story about clothes, is the first line of the passage. The MMC provides a piece of background information relevant to the main theme of the passage about the development of clothes.

(118) [*nhāpā nhāpā dhũ, bhālu, sala, kisi thẽ:*
before before fox bear horse elephant like
manu: nã: gũ=ĩ he cwan=i:]=gu
man too forest=LOC EMPH live-FD=NMLZ
kha:. (Elohan)
COP.NFND
'A long, long time ago, men used to live in forests like foxes, bears, horses and elephants.

In this function, regardless of the tense in the 'Clause', the MMC implies that the situation presented in it no longer holds at the moment of speech. The verb is interpreted as past habitual in (118). The following example is an elicited sentence. The consultant says that the MMC signals that the proposition presented is no longer true and the sentence that follows may start with *tara* 'but'.

(119) [*jĩ: yakwa khānji ākha: lumã:k-ā]=gu*
1SG.ERG many kanji character memorize-NFC=NMLZ
kha:.
COP.NFND
'(It is true that) I remembered a lot of kanji characters.'

The above sentence implies that now the speaker does not remember all of them. On the other hand, if the *=gu kha:* portion is removed to make an independent clause, this implication is canceled.

A copula-less MMC may also be used in this function, though such cases are not common. The following sentence is the first line of a story, which presents a background setting for what follows. The function is the same as the one of the full-fledged MMC: to introduce a new topic into discourse.

(120) [*jã:gal=yā sitha=e cha-mha manu: nhi=yā*
jungle=GEN border=LOC one-CLF man day=GEN
nhithã: si miy-ā: ji:ban han-ā
day.ERG garment sell-CP life join-CM

cwan-i:]=*gu.*
CONT-FD=NMLZ
'On the edge of a jungle, a man was earning a living by selling garments from sunrise to sunset.' (Elohan)

[2] Stating a reason as background information
Another use of this MMC is to state a reason as background information. The MMC in (121b) is stated as a reason for the event described in (121a).

(121) a. *juju, lāni wa me=pĩ: sakalẽ: bhacā*
king queen and other=NMLZ.PL all a.little
lipā jaka bijyā-e dhaigu āggyā
later only come.HON-INF QUOT instruction
ju:=gu du.
happen.NFND=NMLZ exist.NFND
'According to the king's instruction, the king, the queen and the others will all come a little later.'

b. [*yuwarāj hajur=yā rājkumāri nāpa khālhābalhā*
prince Sir=GEN princess with talk
yā-e=ta awasar byu:]=*gu kha:.*
do-INF=DAT chance give.NFND=NMLZ
'[The king] gave Your Majesty the Crown Prince a chance to talk with the princess.'

[3] Topic elaboration
In elaborating on a topic in discourse, a set of sequential MMCs may be used (Hale and Shrestha 2006). In such cases, they are often copula-less. In elaborating on a topic, specific events and states related to it are presented in sequential MMCs.[8]

The following example, which is taken from Hale and Shrestha (2006: 195), illustrates a case of elaboration of a topic.

(122) a. *cihrimã:=mesyā punakhũ: maĩ:cā mikhā*
stepmother=ERG Punakhun Mainca eye
bā-galã: he swa-e ma-ya:.
half-CLF.ERG EMPH look.at-INF NEG-like.NFND
'The stepmother couldn't stand the sight of Punakhun Mainca.'

b. *akĩ:* [*wã:* *nhesumhyāe=yā=ta*
so that.ERG stepdaughter=GEN=DAT
na-kẽ: *syā-i*]=*gu.*
eat-CAUS.INF.ERG kill-FD=NMLZ

'So she would feed her stepdaughter very little.'
Lit.: 'kill by feeding'

c. *tha:* *mhyāe=yā=ta* *dhā:sā* *[ghya:* *duru*
oneself daughter=GEN=DAT TOP ghee milk
lā *tay-ā:* *jā* *nak-i]=gu.*
meat put-CP rice feed-FD=NMLZ
'As for her own daughter, she would feed her rice together with ghee, milk and meat.'

d. *[sā:~sā:* *bhĩ:~bhĩ:* *dhā-kwa*
be.tasty.NFND-PL good.NFND-PL say-much
nak-i:]=gu.
feed-FD=NMLZ
'She would feed her as much good tasty food as she would ask for.'

According to Hale and Shrestha, the sentence in (122a) states the stepmother's antipathy for Punakhun Mainca in a verb-predicate clause. Then the series of copula-less MMCs follow it to develop the antipathy theme.

The MMC in the example above is copula-less. The MMC with the copula *khaye* is stronger in assertion (cf. 4.1-[3]). In the following examples, the MMC has the copula *kha:*, giving rise to a strong assertive tone.

(123) a. *"bābu* *chã:!* *[kāsi:* *he* *bwã:-wan-e*
my.boy 2SG Kasi EMPH study.PURP-go-FC
dhay-ā]=gu *kha:* *lā?"*
say-FC=NMLZ COP.NFND Q
'My boy, did you say that you will go to Kasi to study?'

b. *cha-nhu* *cirimā-mhã:* *nyan-ā* *dil-a.*
one-day stepmother-AD ask-CM HON-NFPD
'One day his stepmother asked him.'

c. *"kha:,* *cirimã:!* *[ji* *kāsi:* *he* *wan-e*
yes stepmother 1SG Kasi.LOC EMPH go-FC
dhay-ā]=gu *kha:.*
say-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
'Yes, Mom! It is true that I said that I would go to Kasi.'

d. *thana* *he* *bwan-e* *dhā:=sā*
here EMPH study-FC say.NFND=if
[bwanekhuthi *du]=gu* *ma-khu.*
school exist.NFND=NMLZ NEG-COP.NFND

LT: 'If I decide to study, it is not the case that there is a school here.'
FT: 'Even if I decide to study, there is no school here.'

e. *chu* *yā-e?* *lā* *kharcā* *jaka*
what do-FC road expense only
du=sā [*gā:*]=*gu* *kha:.*"(Elohan)
exist.NFND=if suffice.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
LT: 'What do I do? It is sufficient if I have only travel expense.'
FT: 'What should I do? I only need travel expenses.'

f. *wã:* *cirimã̃:=yā* *khwā:* *pulukka*
3SG.ERG stepmother=GEN face in.a.glance
sway-ā: *dhāl-a.*
look-CP say-NFPD
'He said, glancing at his stepmother's face.'

Asked by his stepmother in (123a), the child answers her by using the MMCs in (123c-f). In the sequence of the MMCs with the copula *kha:*, his answer is more assertive, implying his strong will to go to Kasi to study.

5.3.7.3 MMC in interrogative clauses. The enclitic-type MMC may be used in interrogative sentences. Asking a question employing this MMC gives rise to a tone of interrogation, or the questioner's keen interest. Compare:

(124) *chu* *yān-ā?*
what put-NFC
'What did you do?'

(125) [*chu* *yān-ā*]=*gu?*
what put-NFC=NMLZ
'What did you do?'

(126) [*chu* *yān-ā*]=*gu* *kha:?*
what put-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
'What on earth did you do?'

All of the three patterns are possible: (124) independent sentence, (125) copula-less MMC and (126) full-fledged MMC. According to my consultants, (124) is the unmarked question. It is often used. (125), too, is often used, but it has a more intimate tone, and sometimes it is less polite. (126) has a strong tone of interrogation.

6. Noun-predicate sentences with the nominalizers *=mha/=pĩ:*

So far we have discussed two types of the MMC: the noun type (5.2) (see (127a)) and the enclitic type (5.3) (see (127b)).

(127) a. [Clause]=*gu* *bhāgya* Copula
b. [Clause]=*gu* Copula

As seen in 4.2.1.1, Newar has three nominalizers: *=gu* 'INAN', *=mha* (ANIM SG) and *=pĩ:* (ANIM PL). We examined the use of *=gu* 'INAN' in 5.2 and 5.3. The animate nominalizers *=mha* and *=pĩ:* can occur in a construction that looks similar to the MMC that involves the nominalizer *=gu* 'inanimate', discussed in 5.3. Its structure can be shown as follows.

(128) Subject [... Verb]=*mha/=pĩ:* Copula

The 'Verb' is almost fully finite; all the finite forms occur except the nonfuture perfective disjunct. The portion '[... Verb]=*mha/=pĩ:*' represents a nominalized clause. This construction expresses 'one who does ...'. This is illustrated in (129) and (130). Curly brackets indicate the portion that may look like the 'Clause' of the MMC.

(129) {*rām* [*yakwa* *aelā:* *twan-i:*]}=*mha* *kha:.*
Ram much liquor drink-FD=NMLZ COP.ND
LT: 'Ram is one who drinks a lot of liquor.'
FT: 'Ram drinks/used to drink a lot of liquor.'

(130) {*deba-debi:* *dha-i=pĩ:* [*jhi:=gu*
god-goddess say-FD=PL 1PL.INCL=NMLZ
raccha *yā-i*]}=*pĩ:* *kha:.*
protection do-FD=NMLZ COP.NPND
LT: 'Those who we call gods and goddesses do our protection.'
FT: 'Gods and Goddesses protect us.'

It may look as if these were instances of the MMC in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the nominalizer *=mha/=pĩ:*. However, this construction is best regarded not as an instance of the MMC, but as a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate is a nominalized clause (or a headless AC). There are two reasons for this.

(a) The 'Subject' is syntactically outside the 'Clause' and it is the subject of the 'Copula', and not that of the 'Verb'.
(b) The nominalizer agrees with the covert animate head, which in turn refers to the 'Subject'.

As is represented in (1), the MMC has the 'Clause', as a constituent distinct

from the 'Noun' and the 'Copula'. That is, all the other elements but the 'Noun' and the 'Copula' are in the 'Clause' syntactically. Therefore, the 'Clause' can be used as an independent sentence as it stands. This is the case with the two types of MMC in (127), as discussed in 5.2.5 and 5.3.5.

Unlike the two types of MMCs in (127), what may look like the 'Clause' (shown with curly brackets) may not be used as an independent sentence.

In an independent sentence, if the verb is transitive, the subject must be in the ergative case; see (131) and (132).

(131) *rām=ã:* *yakwa* *aelã:* *twan-i:.*
Ram=ERG much liquor drink-FD
'Ram drinks a lot of liquor.'

(132) *deba-debi:* *dha-i=pĩ:=sã:* *jhi:=gu*
god-goddess say-FD=PL=ERG 1PL.INCL=NMLZ
raccha *yā-i.*
protection do-FD
'Gods and Goddesses protects us.'

However, in (129) and (130), although the verb is transitive, the subject is in the absolutive form. This means that the 'Subject' of the construction in (128) always occurs in the absolutive case, irrespective of the case of the subject in the corresponding independent sentence. The following pair of examples confirms this point.

(133) {*cha* [*atikã:* *buddhi* *du*]}*=mha* *kha:.*
2SG much knowledge exist.NFND=NMLZ COP.ND
LT: 'You are who have much knowledge.'
FT: 'You have much knowledge.'

(134) *cha=ke* *atikã:* *buddhi* *du.*
2SG=LOC much knowledge exist.NFND=NMLZ
LT: 'Much knowledge is with you.'
FT: 'You have much knowledge.'

(134) is an example of the existential/possessor construction, where the possessor is marked with the locative case. In the *=mha kha:* construction (133), the possessor will never remain to be the locative but must occur in the absolutive. In this case as well, the 'Subject' must be in the absolutive case, although the possessor in the corresponding independent sentence occurs in the locative form. [9]

Now consider the nominalizers. In (129), the 'Subject' is 'Ram', and the nominalizer is *=mha* 'ANIM SG'. In (130), the 'Subject' is 'god-goddess', and the nominalizer is *=pĩ:* 'ANIM PL'. In (133), the 'Subject' is '2SG', and the nominalizer *=mha* 'ANIM SG'. The nominalizers all 'agree' with

the 'Subject'. To be precise, the nominalizer agrees with the covert head, which is coreferential with the 'Subject'. This, too, shows that the construction (128), e.g. (129), (130) and (133), contains a nominalized clause, or a headless AC, that agrees with the 'Subject'.

In contrast, the nominalizer in the enclitic-type MMC (see (127b)) is consistently *=gu* 'INAN', irrespective of the animacy or the number of the subject of the MMC. This shows that, in the enclitic-type MMC, *=gu* does not agree with any constituent. For example, consider the following sentences. The subject is shown in parentheses. (56) ('1SG.ERG'), (57) ('students'), (58) ('1SG.ERG'), and (60) ('village'). This provides evidence for the view that sentences such as (129), (130) and (133) should be distinguished from the enclitic-type MMC.

To sum up, we have seen evidence that (129), (130) and (133) are noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a nominalized clause or a headless AC, and that they should be distinguished from the enclitic-type MMC.

7. Semantics/pragmatics and etymology of the MMC

We shall briefly summarize the semantics/pragmatics of the two types of the MMC. It is convenient to include the noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a nominalized clause.

Table 2. Semantics/pragmatics and etymology of the MMC

etymology or cognate	meaning or use outside MMC	semantics/pragmatics of MMC
....	*bhāgya* 'fate, lot, luck'	epistemic: fate, destiny, lot, luck
classifier *=gu*	*=gu* (a) complementeizer, (b) nominalizer (INAN)	(a) strong assertion, (b) presupposed fact (c) question: tone of interrogation, keen interest
mha 'body'	*=mha* 'nominalizer' (ANIM SG)	'one who does ...'
plural *-pĩː*	*=pĩː* 'nominalizer' (ANIM PL)	'those who do ...'

8. Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

We shall compare the two types of the MMC with a few other constructions. The constructions compared are the following.

(a) Verb-predicate sentences, as the representative of independent sentences (cf. 4.1)
(b) Noun-type MMC (noun *bhāgya* 'fate, destiny, lot, luck') (cf. 5.2)
(c) Enclitic-type MMC (nominalizer *=gu* (INAN)) (cf. 5.3)
(d) Construction with the nominalizer *=mha* (ANIM SG)/*=pĩː* (cf. 6)
(e) Adnominal clauses ('ACs') (cf. 4.2.1).

Recall that the predicate of ACs is followed by the nominalizer *=gu* (ANIM).

This comparison will concern the following respects.

(i) Morphology of the predicate
(ii) Case of the transitive subject ('A')
(iii) Case of the intransitive subject ('S')
(iv) Sentencehood: Can the 'Clause' or the 'underlined part' be used as a sentence?

The result of the comparison is shown in Table 3. 'NFPD' indicates 'nonfuture perfective disjunct'.

Table 3. Comparison of the MCC with other constructions

	predicate	S	A	sentencehood
(a) Verb-predicate sentence	fully finite	ABS, GEN	ERG, GEN	n.a.
(b) MMC: *bhāgya*	almost fully finite, but NFPPD cannot occur	ABS, GEN	ERG, GEN	generally yes
(c) MMC: *=gu*	almost fully finite, but NFPD cannot occur	ABS	ERG	generally yes
(d) *=mha/ =pĩː*	almost fully finite, but NFPD cannot occur	ABS	ABS	not always yes
(e) AC (*=gu/=mha/=pĩː*)	almost fully finite, but NFPD cannot occur	ABS	ERG	n.a.

The noun-type MMC is similar to verb-predicate sentences (not to ACs), at least in terms of the case of the S and the A. In contrast, the enclitic-type MMC is similar to ACs (not to verb-predicate sentences) regarding (i) the case of the S and the A, (ii) the morphology of the predicate, and also (iii) the use of the nominalizer *=gu*.

9. Summary and concluding remarks

Newar has two types of the MMC. In the noun-type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer *=gu* (INAN) and the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, lot, destiny, luck'. This MMC has something like an epistemic meaning that concerns fate, destiny, lot or luck. Under certain conditions, the S and the A must occur in the genitive case, and not in the absolutive case and the ergative case, respectively. The noun *bhāgya* retains its nounhood in that it can be modified. This MMC is slightly more similar to verb-predicate sentences than to ACs.

In the enclitic-type of the MMC, the Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer *=gu* (INAN). This MMC is not a prototypical MMC in that the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic, and not a noun. The S occurs in the absolutive case, and the A in the ergative case. This MMC has three discourse functions: (i) to make a strong assertion, and (ii) to state a presupposed fact. (iii) In interrogative sentences, this MMC has a tone of interrogation or keen interest. This MMC is more similar to ACs, than to verb-predicate sentences.

In both types of the MMC, the 'Clause' can generally be used by itself. However, this is not always the case. In this respect, they are not prototypiocal MMCs.

In addition, there is a construction that involves the enclitic nominalizer *=mha* (ANIM SG) (cognate with the noun *mha* 'body') or *=pĩ:* (AINM PL). It is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate is a nominalized clause or a headless AC. It expresses 'one who does ...'. The subject must occur in the absolutive case even when the verb in the nominalized clause is a transitive verb.

Abbreviations

A - transitive subject; ABS - absolutive case; AC - adnominal clause; AD - antideictic; ADV - adverbial marker; ANIM - animate; BEN – benefactive; CAUS - causative; CONT - continuous; CLF - classifier; CM - concatenation marker; CNTR - contrastive; COP - copula; CP - conjunctive participle; DAT – dative; EMPH - emphatic; ERG - ergative; EXCL - exclusive; FC - future conjunct; FD - future disjunct; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HON - honorific; IMP - imperative; INAN - inanimate; INCL – inclusive; INF - infinitive; INFM - informative; LOC – locative; LT - literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NFND – nonfuture

neutral disjunct; NEG - negation; NFC - nonfuture conjunct; NFPD - nonfuture perfective disjunct; NPST - nonpast; NMLZ - nominalizer; LOC - locative; PRF - Perfect; PL - plural; Q - question marker; QUOT - quotative; REFL - reflexive; S - intransitive subject; SG - singular; STEM – stem; TOP - topic.

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Notes

1 The dictionary forms are the literal transliteration of the devanāgarī exponents and only appear as the entry form in dictionaries. Dictionary forms are used to cite uninflected forms of verbs in this paper.

2 I elicited data from Mr. Manik Ratna Shakya, Ms. Rata Shakya, both from Patan, and Mr. Arun Shrestha, from Kathmandu. The source written materials are represented in parentheses with examples. They are: *Elohan*, monthly Newar magazines; *Newar Textbook*, an official school textbook of Newar Reader; *Newar Conversation*, a Newar conversation textbook written by Tej Ratna Kansakar, Tokyo: Research Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2002; *Original Asti*, a Newar story book; *Sweet Grapes*, a Newar story book; *My Memory*, a Newar essay book; *An Interview with Sham Dangol*: a recorded interview with Mr. Sham Dangol.

3 O'Rourke (2000) and Hale and Shrestha (2006) extensively discuss Newar ACs, but they do recognize external ACs.

4 The locative form of the nominalizer =*gu* is *guli-i* as in (30).

5 When a compound verb, like *lwa:mane* in (32), is negated by the negative prefix *ma-* or emphasized by an emphatic particle he, the additional element is attached to the stem verb before the bound morpheme on the left. In the gloss, the left morpheme is given the sense of the compound verb, and the stem verb is labeled as STEM.

6 Hale and Shrestha discuss the alternation of regular cases with the genitive in non-generic contexts. They call the phenomenon as "genitive experiencer overlay", analyzing the effect as "casting the agent as one who chooses to perform an action or as an agent who experiences the result of the action" (Hale and Shrestha 2006:174).

7 Although the subject of the MMC is the first person and the verb denotes an intentional action, the verb occurs in the disjunct form (here, neutral disjunct). This is because the sentence expresses a counter-factual situation, in which case the conjunct form will not be used.

8 Hale and Shrestha (2006: 195ff) discuss copula-less MCCs, which they call "finite nominal clauses". I do not make a full reference to their discussion, but they also describe the function of the copula-less MMC as marking background materials,

illustrating examples of elaboration of a theme, laying plans and summarization of previous events. In such cases as well, the events and states expressed in the nominalized clauses are presupposed facts, as I discussed.

9 When the verb of the nominalized clause in (128) is an activity intransitive verb, the subject will be in the absolutive form. Therefore the portion that may look like the 'Clause' of the MMC (i.e. the 'Subject' [... Verb]) will be incidentally able to be an independent sentence.

(i) {*rām* [*yakwa* *khwa-i*]}=*mha* *kha:*
Ram much cry-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND
'Ram cries a lot.'

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Mermaid construction in Burmese

Atsuhiko Kato
Osaka University

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as follows.

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

Burmese has the MMC, and so far nineteen forms have been attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. The Burmese MMC can be classified into four types in terms of the category of the nineteen forms. (i) Type 1: four 'full nouns' (they are fully independent words). (ii) Type 2: three 'subordinate-nouns' (they can function like enclitics). (iii) Type 3: two

nominalizers (they are enclitics put after verbs). (iv) Type 4: ten 'special heads' (they are attached to verbs and form compound nouns; some of them may be regarded as enclitics or suffixes). The semantic/functional categories of the nineteen forms in the MMC concern modality, evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and limit/extent. Burmese does not have a copula verb. Nonetheless, the MMC may have an 'assisting verb' in the predicate. Syntactically the MMC in Burmese behaves like an independent simple sentence, and it should not be regarded as a construction that involves a subordinate clause.

2. Initial illustration

As an initial illustration of the MMC of Burmese, see (2). It is an instance of Type 1; *pòuɴ* 'shape' is a full noun.

(2) mănêgâ ṯù yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ ṯwá=dɛ̂ pòuɴ(=bɛ́)
yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN shape(=EMP)
LT: 'He is a shape that he went to school by train yesterday.'
FT: 'It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'
(昨日彼は汽車で学校に行ったようだ)

Some of the instances of the Burmese MMC are difficult to translate into English, but they can be easily and nicely translated into Japanese. The MMC abounds in Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b), and some of the instances of the Burmese MMC have almost exact parallels in Japanese. In view of this, some of the examples in this paper are accompanied by a Japanese translation, in addition to an English translation.

3. Profile of the language

[1] Location, genetic affiliation, and number of speakers

Burmese belongs to the Lolo-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic stock. It is mainly spoken in Myanmar. I estimate the number of its native speakers to be somewhere between 45 to 50 million. The present paper examines the Yangon-Mandalay dialect, which is generally recognized as the standard language in Myanmar. In English, this language has come to be called Myanmar because this word is close to the indigenous name of the Myanmar people: /myămà/. However, the present paper uses 'Burmese' in order to avoid confusion in terminology.

[2] Phonology

The syllable structure of Burmese is C1(C2)V1(V2)(C3)/T, where C and V stand for a consonant and a vowel, respectively, and T indicates the tone of the whole syllable. The part -V1(V2)(C3) is called 'rhyme'. Consonant phonemes are: /p, ṯ, t, c[tɕ], k, ʔ, ph[pʰ], th[tʰ], ch[tɕʰ], kh[kʰ], b, ḏ, d, j[dʑ],

g, (f), s, ɕ, h, sh[sʰ], z, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, ɴ, hm[m̥m], hn[n̥n], hɲ[ɲ̊ɲ], hŋ[ŋ̊ŋ], w, y[j], hw[w̥w], l, hl[l̥l], (r)/. There are twenty-two rhymes: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, iɴ, eiɴ, aiɴ, aɴ, auɴ, ouɴ, uɴ, iʔ, eiʔ, aiʔ, ɛʔ, aʔ, auʔ, ouʔ, uʔ/. There are three tones: /à/ (low level), /á/ (high level), and /â/ (falling). In addition, there is an atonic syllable: *Că*.

The voiceless initial consonant phoneme of many bound morphemes, i.e. particles and affixes placed after nouns or verbs, alternates with its voiced counterpart unless it is preceded by a glottal stop. The same alternation occurs in compounding. In what follows, when a bound morpheme is cited, both voiceless and voiced forms are shown, e.g. *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent; source'.

[3] Word classes

In my view, four word classes can be set up for Burmese: nouns, verbs, particles, and interjections. There is no need to set up adjectives or adverbs because words that denote a state are a subcategory of verbs and many words that can modify a verb are a subcategory of nouns. Verbs can be defined as words that can be followed by a verb sentence marker (see [4] below).

Nouns are not easy to define in a clear-cut way. A typical noun has the following characteristics.

(3) A typical noun:
  (a) cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker;
  (b) can be followed by a case particle, and;
  (c) can be preceded by a demonstrative.

An example of a typical noun is *ʔèiɴ* 'house'. It cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker; see (4). It can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (5), and it can be preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. (6).

(4) *ʔèiɴ=dɛ̀
  house=RLS
  '(untranslatable)'

(5) ʔèiɴ=hmà ɕî=dɛ̀
  house=at exist=RLS
  '(He) is at house.'

(6) dì ʔèiɴ
  this house
  'this house'

These criteria, however, are not fulfilled by all nouns. For example, nouns that are formed by reduplicating a stative verb meet criteria (a) and (b) only. Let us take *ʔéʔé* 'coldness' as an example. It is formed by reduplicating the verb *ʔé* 'cold'. First, it cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker; see (7). Second, it can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (8). However, it cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (9).

(7) *ʔéʔé=dɛ̀
coldness=RLS
'(untranslatable)'

(8) ŋà kɔ̀fî shò=yìɴ **ʔéʔé**=gò caiʔ=tɛ̀
1SG coffee say=if coldness=KO like=RLS
'When it comes to coffee, I like the cold one.'

(9) *dì ʔéʔé
this coldness
Intended meaning: 'this coldness'

In the present paper, criterion (a) is considered the necessary condition for a word to be a noun. As for criteria (b) and (c), a word is regarded as a noun if it matches either of the two criteria. Thus, *ʔéʔé* 'coldness' is a noun.

[4] Morphosyntax

Burmese has both prefixes and suffixes, although their number is small. To this extent, Burmese is an agglutinative language. However, the affixes are used for derivation only. There is no inflection.

Burmese is non-configurational and dependent-marking. The basic order is SOV. Modifiers of a noun, e.g. a demonstrative and an adnominal clause, precede the noun.

Burmese uses postpositions, if the so-called particles are considered enclitics, rather than suffixes.

Grammatical relations, semantic roles, and the like are generally indicated by case particles (tentatively presented as enclitics, preceded by an equal symbol), such as *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent (subject); source', *=kò/=gò* 'patient; recipient; goal', *=nɛ̂* 'instrument; accompanier; enumeration', *=hmà* 'location', *=yɛ̂* 'possession', *=câuɴ/jâuɴ* 'cause'. Examples include (10), an intransitive sentence, and (11), a transitive sentence.

(10) t̪ù(=gâ) pyé=dɛ̀
3SG=KA run=RLS
'He ran.'

(11) t̪ù(=gâ) ʔăphè=nɛ̂ ʔèiɴ=hmà ŋá(=gò) sá=dɛ̀
3SG=KA father=with house=at fish=KO eat=RLS
'He ate a fish with Father at home.'

The case particles *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent (subject); source', *=kò/=gò* 'patient; recipient; goal', and *=yɛ̂* 'possession' can be absent as far as the syntactic/semantic structure of the clause is parsable.

The case system is of the nominative-accusative type: *=kâ/=gâ* for the A/S, and *=kò/=gò* for the O.

The verb (in a simple sentence or in the main clause of a complex sentence) has to be followed by one of the particles that are called verb

sentence markers by Okell (1969: 118-119). They mainly indicate modality. The verb sentence markers that are important for the discussion in the present paper are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Verb sentence markers

verb sentence marker	meaning	example
=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀	realis modality	(12)
=mɛ̀	irrealis modality	(13)
=phú/=bú	negation	(15)

Sentences with *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' basically concern a present event or a past event, e.g. (12). Those with *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis modality' basically concern a future event, e.g. (13).

(12) tù ʔèiɴ=hmà kâ=**dɛ̀**
3SG house=at dance=RLS
'He dances at home. / He danced at home.'

(13) tù ʔèiɴ=hmà kâ=**mɛ̀**
3SG house=at dance=IRR
'He will dance at home.'

The verb sentence marker *=phú/=bú* 'negation' is used in negative sentences. A negative sentence is formed by putting the negative prefix *mă-* before the verb and putting the particle *=phú/=bú* 'negation' after the verb, e.g. (14). In a negative sentence, the opposition between realis and irrealis modality is neutralized. Thus, (14) may mean 'He did not dance ...' (past), 'He does not dance ...' (present), or 'He will not dance...' (future).

(14) tù ʔèiɴ=hmà mă-kâ=**bú**
3SG house=at not-dance=NEG
'He did not dance at home. / He does not dance at home. / He will not dance at home.'

[5] Literacy and styles

Burmese has a long history of the written language dating back to the 12th century, and the literacy of Burmese-speaking people has been relatively high.

Modern Burmese has two styles: the literary style and the colloquial style. The present paper deals with the colloquial style.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verb predicate and non-verb predicate sentences

Sentences in Burmese can be grouped into (i) verb predicate sentences and (ii) non-verb predicate sentences (including noun predicate sentences).

Verb predicate sentences must contain a verb sentence marker (see Table 1) encliticized to the head verb, e.g. (12) to (14). They can also contain an auxiliary, e.g. *=hnàiɴ* 'can' in (21). Auxiliaries are elements that can appear between the verb and the verb sentence marker.

In non-verb predicate sentences, the predicate may be a noun phrase, e.g. (15), or a noun and a case particle, i.e., a postpositional phrase, e.g. (16).

(15) tù̱ myămà(=bɛ́)
3SG Myanmar(=EMP)
'He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(16) tù̱ yàɴgòuɴ=gâ(=bɛ́)
3SG Yangon=from(=EMP)
'He is from Yangon.'

Sentences whose predicate consists of a noun phrase, e.g. (15), are called noun predicate sentences in the present paper. There are four points to note about non-verb predicate sentences.

[1] Absence of a verb sentence marker

In contrast with verb predicate sentences, non-verb predicate sentences cannot have a verb sentence marker in the predicate. Instead, some other particle, such as *=pé/=bé* 'emphasis', e.g. (15), (16), or *=pà/=bà* 'politeness', often appears in the predicate final position, probably in order to indicate a sentence boundary. The use of such particles, however, is not obligatory. In the relevant examples, they are shown in parentheses, as in (15) and (16).

[2] Absence of an auxiliary

In contrast with verb predicate sentences, non-verb predicate sentences cannot have an auxiliary in the predicate.

[3] Absence of a copula verb

In my opinion, Burmese does not have any verb that can be unequivocally regarded as a copula verb. In this connection, it is important to make a note on 'assisting verbs'.

[4] Assisting verbs

Certain verbs may occur after the predicate of a non-verb predicate sentence without changing the propositional meaning of the sentence. In the present paper they will be referred to as 'assisting verbs' — a term suggested by Timothy J. Vance (p.c.). Assisting verbs include *lou?* 'to do', e.g. (17), *ɛ̀î* 'to exist', e.g. (18), and *phyi?* 'to become, to happen, to be'. Compare (15) with (19), and (16) with (20).

(17) tù=gâ yídíyádá (lou?=tɛ̀)
3SG=KA ambiguousness (do=RLS)
'He behaves shilly-shally.'

(18) dì ʔèiN=gâ hlâhlâpâbâ (ɛ̨î=dɛ̀)
this house=KA beautifulness (exist=RLS)
'This house is beautiful.'

(19) tù myămà (phyi?=tɛ̀)
3SG Myanmar (be=RLS)
'He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(20) tù yàngòuN=gâ (phyi?=tɛ̀)
3SG Yangon=from (be=RLS)
'He is from Yangon.'

These three verbs — *lou?* 'to do', *ɛ̨î* 'to exist', and *phyi?* 'to become, to happen, to be' — are frequently used as assisting verbs, and they can also be used as the 'main verb'. Although *phyi?* 'to become, to happen, to be' is glossed as 'be' for convenience, it is not really a copula verb; it is one of the assisting verbs. Selection of an assisting verb for a given non-verb predicate sentence is determined mainly by semantic features of the predicate. However, an assisting verb is sometimes collocationally fixed with the predicate. Details of this selection are still unknown. In the MMC, some more verbs can be used as assisting verbs, as we will see in 5.2 to 5.5.

The addition of an assisting verb to non-verb predicate sentences has two functions.

First, this addition turns a non-verb predicate sentence into a verb predicate sentence, and the resultant verb predicate sentence can now have a verb sentence marker (see Table 1), e.g. *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' in (21), and auxiliaries, e.g. *=hnàiN* 'can' in (21) — in contrast with non-verb predicate sentences. Consequently the sentence can now be modified with various elements denoting modality, aspect, and so on by employing an assisting verb.

(21) tù myămà phyi?=hnàiN=dɛ̀
3SG Myanmar be=can=RLS
'He may be a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

Second, an assisting verb is necessary for negating non-verb predicate sentences. Compare (15), (19), (22), and also (16), (20), (23). The verb *hou?* 'to be so' is used for the negation of *phyi?* 'to be', because the negated form of *phyi?*, i.e. *mă-phyi?*, means 'not to become (something)'.

(22) ʈù myămà mă-hou?=phú
3SG Myanmar not-be.so=NEG
'He is not a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(23) ʈù yàŋgòuɴ=gâ mă-hou?=phú
3SG Yangon=from not-be.so=NEG
'He is not from Yangon.'

Negation requires the addition of the prefix *mă-* 'not' and the enclitic *=phú/=bú* 'NEG' to the verb. In other words, negation cannot occur without a verb. Non-verb predicate sentences do not contain a verb, and as they stand they cannot be negated.

In terms of style, the use of an assisting verb makes the sentence somewhat more formal.

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Introductory notes. Adnominal clauses ('ACs') (or relative clauses) in Burmese are formed by means of one of the two adnominalizing markers shown in Table 2. The adnominalizing markers *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* and *=mɛ̂* are enclitics. They differ from the verb sentence markers *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' and *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' regarding tone only. An AC always precedes the noun it modifies.

Table 2. Adnominalizing markers

adnominalizing marker	modality	example
=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂	realis	(24)
=mɛ̂	irrealis	(25)

Examples are:

(24) ŋà sá=**dɛ̂** híɴ
1SG eat=AN curry
'the curry that I ate'

(25) ŋà sá=**mɛ̂** híɴ
1SG eat=AN curry
'the curry that I will eat'

Burmese has both 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs') and 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs'). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a discussion of these two types of ACs.)

Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC.

4.2.1.2 Internal ACs. In the ACs of Burmese, all the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Examples include (26) (subject), (27) (direct object), (28) (indirect object), (29) (oblique object), and (30) (possessor).

(26) dì híN sá=dɛ̂ shǎyà
this curry eat=AN teacher
'the teacher who ate this curry'

(27) ŋà shǎyâ=gò pé=dɛ̂ zúN
1SG teacher=KO give=AN spoon
'the spoon which I gave to the teacher'

(28) ŋà zúN pé=dɛ̂ shǎyà
1SG spoon give=AN teacher
'the teacher to whom I gave the spoon'

(29) ŋà híN sá=dɛ̂ zúN
1SG curry eat=AN spoon
'the spoon with which I ate the curry'

(30) ŋà ʔouʔthouʔ khó=dɛ̂ shǎyà
1SG hat steal=AN teacher
'the teacher whose hat I stole'

The formation of internal ACs employs the gap strategy. Compare (26), for example, with the corresponding sentence (31).

(31) shǎyà dì híN sá=dɛ̀
teacher this curry eat=RLS
'The teacher ate this curry.'

4.2.1.3 External ACs. Examples of external ACs include:

(32) t̪ù ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̂ ʔă̰t̪àN
3SG fish cut=AN sound
LT: 'the sound with which he is cutting a fish'
FT: 'the sound of him cutting a fish'

(33) tù ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂ ʔănâɴ
3SG fish grill=AN smell
LT: 'the smell with which he is grilling a fish'
FT: 'the smell of him grilling a fish'

Compare (32) with (34), a sentence intended to correspond to (32), and also compare (33) with (35), a sentence intended to correspond to (33). Both (34) and (35) are unacceptable. That is, for any instance of an external AC, there is no literally corresponding sentence.

(34) *tù ʔăṭàɴ=nɛ̂ ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̀
3SG sound=with fish cut=RLS
Intended meaning: 'He is cutting a fish with a sound.'

(35) *tù ʔănâɴ=nɛ̂ ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̀
3SG sound=with fish grill=RLS
Intended meaning: 'He is grilling a fish with a smell.'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses
Burmese has a number of ways to form adverbial clauses. The one that is relevant to a description of the MMC will be discussed in 5.3. Examples include (61), and (69) to (71).

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') shown in (1).

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

As mentioned in 4.1, Burmese does not have a verb which can be unequivocally considered a copula verb. That is, it does not have the prototype of the MMC. Nonetheless, as is the case with non-verb predicate sentences, including noun predicate sentences, an assisting verb may appear in the MMC. Therefore, the Burmese MMC can be represented as in (36).

(36) Mermaid construction in Burmese:
[Clause] Noun (Assisting verb).

If we represent the verb of '[Clause]' as 'V' and the adnominalizing marker as 'AN', we can represent the essential constituents of the Burmese MMC as in (37).

(37) V + (AN) + Noun

Nineteen forms have been so far attested in the 'Noun' slot. The Burmese MMC can be classified into four types in terms of the category of these nineteen forms.

(a) Type 1: four 'full nouns' (fully independent words).
(b) Type 2: three 'subordinate-nouns' (they can function like enclitics).
(c) Type 3: two nominalizers: *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* (they are enclitics put after verbs).
(d) Type 4: ten 'special heads' (they are attached to verbs and form compound nouns; some of them may be regarded as enclitics or suffixes).

That is, independent nouns, enclitics, and possibly suffixes can occur in the 'Noun' slot.

Also, in terms of (37), the four types of the MMC can be represented as in (38). The underlined parts correspond to 'Noun' of (37). In Type 3 and Type 4, 'AN' (adnominalizer) does not appear. It is for this reason that 'AN' in (37) is placed in parentheses.

(38) Four types of the MMC
(a) Type 1: V + AN + Full noun (5.2)
(b) Type 2: V + AN + Subordinate-noun (5.3)
(c) Type 3: V + *=tà/=dà or =hmà* (5.4)
(d) Type 4: V + Special head (5.5)

The 'Clause' of the Burmese MMC cannot stand as a sentence on its own. It does not have the structure of full sentences. The verb is followed by an adnominalizer in Type 1 and Type 2, and by a nominalizer in Type 3. It is involved in compounding in Type 4. Importantly the 'Clause' cannot contain a verb sentence marker (cf. Section 3 and Table 1).

Note that sentences such as (39) are not instances of the MMC. Example (39) may look similar to the MMC in that it has 'V + (AN) + Noun'. However, it is a noun predicate sentence ('This is the fish') whose predicate noun happens to be modified by an adnominal clause ('that he ate').[1]

(39) dà=gâ [ʈù sá=dɛ̂] ŋá(=bɛ́)
this=KA 3SG eat=AN fish(=EMP)
'This is the fish that he ate.'

We will now look at each of the four types of the Burmese MMC.

5.2 Type 1: V + AN + Full noun

This type involves a full noun preceded by an adnominalizing marker (cf. Table 2). The four full nouns shown below can be used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

(a) *pòuN* 'shape, form, manner, scenery'
(b) *hàN* 'appearance, gesture'
(c) *ɖăbɔ́* 'nature, characteristic, concept'
(d) *shézé* 'moment just before something'

'Full nouns' are nouns that can constitute a noun phrase on their own, e.g. *pòuN* 'shape' in (40).

(40) pòuN mă-hlâ=bú
shape not-beautiful=NEG
'The shape is not beautiful.'

To be precise, *shézé* 'moment just before something' cannot constitute a noun phrase on its own. Nonetheless, it is included here because it can constitute a noun phrase as long as it is modified by a demonstrative, e.g. *ʔédì shézé* 'moment just before that' (*ʔédì* 'that').

These four forms are evidently nouns. First, they cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Third, they can be followed by a case particle.
Examples:

(41) dì **pòuN**=gâ káuN=dɛ̀
this shape=KA good=RLS
'This shape is good.'

(42) ʔédì **hàN**=gò myìN=dɛ̀
that gesture=KO see=RLS
'[I] saw that gesture [of his].'

(43) ʔédì **ɖăbɔ́**=gò ná lɛ̀=dɛ̀
that nature=KO understand=RLS
'[I] understood that concept.'

(44) ʔédì **shɛ́zɛ́**=hmà tù là=dɛ̀
that just.before=at 3SG come=RLS
'Just before that, he came.'

When used in the MMC, these nouns denote the meanings shown in Table 3. The nouns *pòuN* 'shape' and *hàN* 'appearance' have an evidential meaning; both express the speaker's inference based on his/her direct observation. The difference between them is that *hàN* is somewhat more

formal than *pòuɴ*. The meaning of the MMC with *shɛ́zɛ́* is aspectual, or possibly temporal. The function of the MMC with *d̪ăbɔ́* is considerably difficult to understand, but we can say with certainty that it has some sort of discourse function.

Table 3. Meanings of Type 1

'Noun'		meaning in MMC	example
pòuɴ	'shape'	'it seems that'	(45)
hàɴ	'appearance'	'it seems that'	(46)
d̪ăbɔ́	'nature'	'it is that, it is as if'	(47)
shɛ́zɛ́	'moment just before'	'be about to'	(48)

Examples follow.

(45) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂ **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
'It seems that he ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)

(46) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂ **hàɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN appearance(=EMP)
'It seems that he ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)

(47) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò măhlwɛ́d̪àlô sá=dɛ̂
3SG this curry=KO against.one's.will eat=AN
d̪ăbɔ́(=bɛ́)
nature(=EMP)
'It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを嫌々食べた{わけ/次第}だ)

(48) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=mɛ̂ **shɛ́zɛ́**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before(=EMP)
'He is about to eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べるところだ)

In the case of *pòuɴ* 'shape', *hàɴ* 'appearance', and *d̪ăbɔ́* 'nature', both *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* (realis) and *=mɛ̂* (irrealis) can occur as the AN. For example, if we replace *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* in (45) with *=mɛ̂*, we get a grammatical sentence shown in (49), with a difference in meaning. The action of eating is generally interpreted to have occurred before the utterance time in (45) (realis), while in (49) (irrealis) the action is generally interpreted not to have occurred yet.

(49) ṭù dì híN=gò sá=mê **pòuN**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
'It seems that he will eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べるようだ)

In the case of *shézé* 'moment just before', only *=mê* 'irrealis' can occur as the AN.

Only the verbs shown in Table 4 can be used as an assisting verb in this type of MMC; other verbs cannot. In the case of *hàN* 'appearance', only *tù* 'to resemble' can be used. For each of the other three nouns, two verbs are possible. The difference in meaning brought by using different assisting verbs is so subtle that it is not understood.

Table 4. Assisting verbs for Type 1

'Noun'	assisting verb	example
pòuN 'shape'	*yâ* 'to get', *pɔ̀* 'to appear'	(50)
hàN 'appearance'	*tù* 'to resemble'	(51)
ḍǎbɔ́ 'nature'	*ɛ̂* 'to exist', *phyi?* 'to be'	(52)
shézé 'moment just before'	*ɛ̂* 'to exist', *phyi?* 'to be'	(53)

Examples follow.

(50) ṭù dì híN=gò sá=dɛ̂ pòuN {**yâ**=dɛ̀ / **pɔ̀**=dɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=RLS / appear=RLS
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(51) ṭù dì híN=gò sá=dɛ̂ hàN **tù**=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape resemble=RLS
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(52) ṭù dì híN=gò mǎhlwéḍàlô sá=dɛ̂
3SG this curry=KO against.one's.will eat=AN
ḍǎbɔ́ {**ɛ̂**=dɛ̀ / **phyi?**=tɛ̀}
nature exist=RLS / be=RLS
'It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.'

(53) ṭù dì híN=gò sá=mɛ̂ shézé {**ɛ̂**=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before exist=RLS
/ **phyi?**=tɛ̀}
/ be=RLS
'He is about to eat this curry.'

Both verb sentence markers *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' and *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' (Table 1), encliticized to the assisting verb, can occur with either the adnominalizing

marker *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* 'realis' or *=mɛ̂* 'irrealis' (Table 2). That is, there are four combinations in all. See (54) to (57). In these examples, the verb sentence marker *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' basically denotes that the judgment of the observer (mainly the speaker) occurs in the present/past time; see (54) and (56) ('It seems'). The verb sentence marker *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' indicates that the judgment will occur in the future time; see (55) and (57) ('It will seem'). On the other hand, the adnominalizing marker *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* 'realis' denotes that the action of eating is anterior to the judgment; see (54) ('he ate', 'he had eaten') and (55) ('he will have eaten'). The adnominalizer *=mɛ̂* 'irrealis' indicates that the action of eating is posterior to the judgment; see (55) ('he will eat', 'he would eat') and (57) ('he will eat').

(54) sá=**dɛ̂** pòun yâ=**dɛ̀**
eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
'It seems that [he] ate/ It seemed that [he] had eaten.'

(55) sá=**dɛ̂** pòun yâ=**mɛ̀**
eat=AN(irr) shape get=IRR
'[Tomorrow when I see him], it will seem that [he] will have eaten.'

(56) sá=**mɛ̂** pòun yâ=**dɛ̀**
eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
'It seems that [he] will eat/ It seemed that [he] would eat.'

(57) sá=**mɛ̂** pòun yâ=**mɛ̀**
eat=AN(irr) shape get=IRR
'[Tomorrow when I see him], it will seem that [he] will eat.'

If an assisting verb does not appear, the judgment is usually the one that is made by the speaker at the time of the utterance.

It should also be added that out of these four nouns discussed above, *pòun* 'shape' and *hàn* 'appearance' may form a compound with the verb when the realis adnominalizing marker *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* (though not *=mɛ̂* 'irrealis') is used. Sentences (58) and (59), which involve such compounding, can be used in place of (45) and (46), respectively.

(58) tù dì hín=gò sá-**bòun**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-shape(=EMP)
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(59) tù dì hín=gò sá-**hàn**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-appearance(=EMP)
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

5.3 Type 2: V + AN + Subordinate-noun

Burmese has a number of nominal morphemes that function like postpositions. Okell (1969: 142-144) calls them 'subordinate-nouns' (see also Wheatley 1982: 142). Sawada (1998) calls them *kakumeishi* ('case nouns'), and Okano (2007) follows his terminology. Myint Soe (1999: 72-93), however, classifies them among 'propositional semantic role markers', which include what are referred to as case particles in the present paper. Okell enumerates eighteen subordinate-nouns. Those that are used frequently in my observation are shown in Table 5, with the meaning as a full noun and the meaning as a subordinate-noun. English glosses are taken from Okell.

Table 5. Subordinate-nouns in frequent use

subordinate-noun	meaning as a full noun	meaning as a subordinate-noun
ʔăsá	'substitute'	'instead of'
ʔătáiɴ	'measuring'	'in accordance with'
ʔătwɛʔ	'calculation'	'for'
ʔăthî	'reaching'	'as far as'
ʔăphyiʔ	'being, status'	'as'
ʔăhmyâ	'equal share'	'as much as'
ʔăyâ	'acquisition'	'in accordance with'
lò	'requirement'	'like, as'
lòlò	(reduplicated form of *lò*)	'rather like, as if'
lauʔ	'sufficiency (?)'	'as much as'

Etymologically, these nouns contain the nominalizing prefix *ʔă-*, except for the last three nouns: *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ*.

Synchronically, these nouns can also be used as full nouns, again except for the last three nouns: *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ*. Sentence (60) is an example where *ʔătwɛʔ* 'calculation' is used as a full noun.

(60) tù̱ **ʔătwɛʔ** káuɴ=dɛ̀
3SG calculation good=RLS
'He is good at calculation.'

Subordinate-nouns can be generally modified by an adnominal clause. The resultant clause plus the subordinate-noun functions as an adverbial clause, e.g. (61).

(61) t̪ù pyó=dɛ̂=**ʔătwɛʔ** ʔăchèiɴ hmì t̪wá=dɛ̀
3SG tell=AN=for time reach go=RLS
'Because he told me, [I] arrived on time.'

When four of the subordinate-nouns, i.e., *ʔăhmyâ* 'as much as', *lò* 'like, as', *lòlò* 'rather like, as if', and *lauʔ* 'as much as', are modified by an adnominal clause, the adnominalizing markers *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* (realis) and *=mɛ̂* (irrealis) have to be in the weakened forms *=t̪ă/=d̪ă* and *=mă*, e.g. (69) (*lò* 'like, as'), (70) (*lòlò* 'rather like, as if'), and (71) (*lauʔ* 'as much as'). The reason for the use of the weakened forms is unknown.

Furthermore, subordinate-nouns can function like case particles (tentatively presented as enclitics; cf. [4] in Section 3). They introduce adjuncts, rather than arguments. Below is an example of *ʔătwɛʔ* 'for'.

(62) ŋà mya?thúɴ=**ʔătwɛʔ** híɴ chɛʔ=tɛ̀
1SG (personal name)=for curry cook=RLS
'I cooked the curry for Myat Htun.'

Three of the subordinate-nouns shown in Table 5 can be used in the MMC. They are:

(a) *lò* 'like, as'
(b) *lòlò* 'rather like, as if'
(c) *lauʔ* 'as much as'

Etymologically, the subordinate-noun *lauʔ* 'as much as' originated in the verb *lauʔ* 'to be sufficient', and both *lò* 'like, as' and *lòlò* 'rather like, as if' originated in the verb *lò* 'to require'. In Modern Burmese, the verb *lauʔ* 'to be sufficient' and *lò* 'to require' are still used as verbs, but the subordinate-nouns *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ* are all evidently nouns. First, they do not co-occur with any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Third, they can be followed by a case particle. Examples:

(63) dì=**lò**=gâ pò káuɴ=dɛ̀
this=like=KA more good=RLS
'This way is the better.'

(64) dì=**lòlò**=nɛ̂ pí t̪wá=dɛ̀
this=rather.like=with finish go=RLS
'It has been all finished rather in this way.'

(65) dì=**lauʔ**=kâ keiʔsâ mă-ɕî=bú
this=as.much.as=KA problem not-exist=NEG
'This amount is no problem.'

Like other subordinate-nouns, these subordinate-nouns can be used to introduce adjuncts, e.g. (66) to (68), and they can be modified by an adnominal clause, resulting in an adverbial clause, e.g. (69) to (71).

(66) mya?thúN=**lò** lou?=tɛ̀
(personal name)=like do=RLS
'[He] did just as Myat Htun did.'

(67) mya?thúN=**lòlò** lou?=tɛ̀
(personal name)=rather.like do=RLS
'[He] did just as Myat Htun would have done.'

(68) mya?thúN=**lau?** mă-sá=bú
(personal name)as.much.as not-eat=NEG
'[He] did not eat as much as Myat Htun.'

(69) tù mya?thúN lou?=tă=**lò** lou?=tɛ̀
3SG (personal name) do=AN=like do=RLS
'He did just as Myat Htun did.'

(70) tù mya?thúN lou?=tă=**lòlò** lou?=tɛ̀
3SG (personal name) do=AN=rather.like do=RLS
'He did just as Myat Htun would have done.'

(71) tù mya?thúN sá=dă=**lau?** mă-sá=bú
3SG (personal name) eat=AN=as.much.as not-eat=NEG
'He did not eat as much as Myat Htun ate.'

The adjuncts and adverbial clauses involving *lòlò* 'rather like, as if' have a counterfactual meaning, e.g. (68) and (70).

In the MMC, these subordinate-nouns have the meanings shown in Table 6. The noun *lò* 'like' has an evidential meaning: the speaker's inference based on a direct observation, like *pòuN* 'shape' and *hàN* 'appearance' in Type 1 (5.2), but the speaker is less sure about the judgment when *lò* is used. The noun *lòlò* has a counterfactual meaning in the MMC, too. The MMC with *lau?* 'as much as' indicates degree.

Table 6. Meanings of Type 2

'Noun'		meaning in MMC	example
lò	'like, as'	'it seems that'	(72)
lòlò	'rather like, as if'	'it looks as if' (counterfactual)	(73)
lau?	'as much as'	'hardly, scarcely'	(74)

Examples of the MMC follow. Recall that the adnominalizing marker has to be in the weakened form when *lò* 'like, as', *lòlò* 'rather like, as if' and *lau?* 'as much as' are modified by an adnominal clause. This applies to the MMC.

(72) tù dì híN=gò sá=dă=**lò**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
'It seems that he ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)

(73) tù dì híN=gò sá=dă=**lòlò**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
'It looks as if he had eaten this curry (but in fact he did not).'
(彼はまるでこのカレーを食べたかのようだ)

(74) tù dì híN=gò mă-sá=dă=**lau?**(=pɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
'He hardly eats any of this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーをほとんど食べなかった)

The subordinate-noun *lau?* 'as much as' only co-occurs with a negated verb in the MMC; see (74). It cannot be used unless the verb is negated; see:

(75) *tù dì híN=gò sá=dă=**lau?**(=pɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
Intended meaning: 'He ate almost all of this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーをほとんど食べた)

Examples involving the irrealis adnominalizing marker *=mă* 'irrealis' include the following. (*=mă* 'irrealis' never co-occurs with *lau?*. Negation generally does not occur in an irrealis clause.)

(76) tù dì híN=gò sá=**mă**=lò(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
'It seems that he will eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べそうだ)

(77) tù dì híN=gò sá=**mă**=lòlò(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
'It seems almost like he will eat this curry.'
(いかにも彼はこのカレーを食べそうな気配だ)

Only the verbs shown in Table 7 can be used as an assisting verb in this type of MMC; other verbs cannot.

Table 7. Assisting verbs for Type 2

'Noun'		assisting verb	example
lò	'like, as'	*ɛî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(78)
lòlò	'rather like, as if'	*ɛî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(79)
lauʔ	'as much as'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(80)

Examples follow:

(78) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=d̪ă=lò {**ɛî**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like exist=RL / be=RLS
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(79) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=d̪ă=lòlò {**ɛî**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like exist=RL / be=RLS
'It looks as if he had eaten this curry (but in fact he did not).'

(80) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò ma-sá=d̪ă=lauʔ **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as be=RLS
'He hardly ate any of this curry.'

5.4 Type 3: V + =tà/=dà or *=hmà*

The particles *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* are nominalizers. *=tà/=dà* indicates realis, while *=hmà* indicates irrealis. Out of the forms that have the function of nominalizing clauses, these two are the most widely used in colloquial Burmese. Clauses nominalized by *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* denote either an entity, e.g. (81), or an event, e.g. (82).

(81) t̪ù chɛʔ=**tà**=gò ŋà ywé=dɛ̀
3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG select=RLS
'I selected what he cooked.'

(82) t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ là=**dà**=gò ŋà t̪î=dɛ̀
3SG Yangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
'I know that he came to Yangon.'

These particles cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker, while they can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (81), (82). In these respects, V=*tà/=dà* and V=*hmà* are nouns. However, unlike typical nouns, they cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (83).

(83) ***dì** chɛʔ=tà
this cook=TA
Intended meaning: 'this food, which [someone] cooked'

The nominalizers *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. However, it is considerably difficult to precisely describe the meaning or function of *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* in the MMC. They seem to have some sort of discourse function. Regarding the function of *=tà/=dà* used in what the present paper calls the MMC, Okell and Allot (2001: 94-95) state that "[*=tà/=dà* is used] for emphasis, or when correcting the hearer's mistaken view", and also that "[it is used] when the information conveyed by the verb is already known to the listener and the new information in the sentence is in one of the noun phrases preceding the verb; compare English sentences of the form: It was because X that Y".

Kato (1998: 88-89), in a Burmese primer, points out that the "meaning" of *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* resembles that of the *=no=da* construction of Japanese (for this Japanese construction, see Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4)). Very roughly speaking, the Japanese *=no=da* construction provides explanation or reason, among others. I gloss these Burmese nominalizers as 'it is the case that', as is shown in Table 8. Matisoff (1972) points out that the Lahu nominalizer *ve* appears frequently in the sentence-final position. This Lahu nominalizer seems to have a function similar to that of the Burmese *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà*.

Table 8. Meanings of Type 3

'Noun'		meaning in MMC	example
=tà/=dà	'nominalizer (RLS)'	'it is the case that'	(84)
=hmà	'nominalizer (IRR)'	'it is the case that'	(85)

Examples follow:

(84) tù dì híN=gò sá=**dà**
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA
'It is the case that he ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたのだ)

(85) tù dì híN=gò sá=**hmà**
3SG this curry=KO eat=HMA
'It is the case that he will eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べるのだ)

Sentences in (86) are cited from a conversation in a Burmese radio drama, and sentences in (87) from a conversation in another scene of the

same drama. (86-B) and (87-B) are instances of the MMC. They will give some indication of how this type of the MMC is used in actual discourse.

(86) A. nwèmókhàinḏăzìɴ mă-hou?=phú=lá
(personal name) not-be.so=NEG=Q
'Aren't (you) Nwe Moe Khine Thazin?'
(あなたはヌエモーカインダズィンではないのか?)
B. mă-hou?=pà=bú ɕìɴ.
not-be.so=POL=NEG SFP
ɕìɴ=dô lù hmá=jâ=**dà**=bà
2=PL person mistake=PL=TA=POL
'I am not. You are mistaking me for another person.'
(違います。あなた方は人違いをしているんですよ)

(87) A. bà phyi?=nè=ḏă=dóuɴ kwà
what happen=PROG=RLS=Q SFP
'What's happening?'
(どうしたのだ?)
B. bai?=kâ tă?á nà=nè=**dà**
stomach=KA severely ache=PROG=TA
'I have a severe stomachache.'
(腹がひどく痛むのだ)

Only the verb *phyi?* 'to be' may occur as the assisting verb in the MMC with *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà*, e.g.:

(88) ṭù dì híɴ=gò sá=dà **phyi?**=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA be=RLS
'It is the case that he ate this curry.'

(89) ṭù dì híɴ=gò sá=hmà **phyi?**=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=HMA be=RLS
'It is the case that he will eat this curry.'

5.5 Type 4: V + Special head

There are over twenty nominal morphemes that Okell (1969: 65) calls 'special heads'. They can combine directly with a verb to yield a compound noun (see also Wheatley 1982:109-111, Yabu 1992:581, Myint Soe 1999: 34). For example, in (90), the special head *?ăṭàɴ* 'sound' and the verb *pyó* 'speak' form a compound noun. In compounding, the first syllable of *?ăṭàɴ* is dropped and the initial consonant of its second syllable, i.e. *ṭ*, alternates with *ḏ* unless it is preceded by a glottal stop. The compound noun *pyó-ḏàɴ* means 'speaking noise'. Such a verb compounded with a special head can take its own arguments. In (90), *ṭù* '3SG' and *zăgá* 'language' are the

arguments of the verb *pyɔ́* 'speak'. In other words, the verb compounded with a special head can be the head verb of a subordinate clause.

(90) ŋà [t̪ù zăgá pyɔ́]-**d̪àN**=gò cá=dɛ̀
1SG 3SG language speak-sound=KO hear=RLS
'I heard his voice speaking a language.'

In contrast, in an ordinary 'verb + noun' compound (in which the noun is just an 'ordinary' noun, and not a 'special head'), the verb cannot take its own arguments. See (91); *zăyeiʔ* 'expenses' is an 'ordinary' noun, and not a special head, and it cannot take any argument.

(91) *ŋà [t̪ù ɲâzà sá]-zăyeiʔ=kò pé=dɛ̀
1SG 3SG dinner eat-expenses=KO give=RLS
Intended meaning: 'I paid for his eating dinner.'

This is a crucial difference between the 'V + Special head' and 'verb + noun' compounds.

Table 9 shows special heads in frequent use, together with their meaning. Those above the single line, i.e., from *ʔăcáuN* 'fact' to *ʔăsâ* 'beginning', can be used as a full noun, while the others, i.e., from *-yòuN* 'only thing to V' to *-khàzâ/-gàzâ* 'time when one has just started V-ing', cannot be used as a full noun. The latter are represented with a hyphen in order to show this fact. The forms with a hyphen can be considered particles (i.e. enclitics) or suffixes.

Table 9. Special heads in frequent use

special head	meaning	MMC
ʔăcáuN	'fact; fact of V-ing'	no
ʔăkhà	'time; time when one V-s'	no
ʔăchèiN	'time; time when one V-s'	no
ʔăchíN	'happening, event; act of V-ing'	no
ʔăkhwîN	'permission; opportunity to V'	no
ʔăhmû	'problem; act of V-ing'	no
ʔăyé	'matter, affair; matter of V-ing'	no
ʔăn̰àN	'sound; sound of V-ing'	no
ní	'method; way of V-ing'	no
n̰ù	'3SG pronoun; person who V-s'	no
ʔăphô	'share, portion; to V'	yes
ʔăshóuN	'end; thing that is the most V'	yes
ʔăsâ	'beginning; time when one has just started V-ing'	yes
-yòuN	'mere act of V-ing'	yes
-tóuN/-dóuN	'process of V-ing'	yes
-shé/-zé	'process of V-ing'	yes
-pín̰á	'thing that has already V-ed' < *pí* 'to end' + *n̰á* 'emphatic nominalizer'	yes
-nèjâ	'thing that one habitually V-s' < *nè* 'to stay' + *ʔăcâ* 'fall, drop (n)'	yes
-lɛʔsâ	'thing that is halfway through V-ing' < *lɛʔ* 'hand' + *ʔăsâ* 'beginning'	yes
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'time when one has just started V-ing' < *ʔăkhà* 'time' + *ʔăsâ* 'beginning'	yes

For the special heads that can be used as a full noun, the meanings that they have when they are used as a full noun are shown before the semicolon, while those that they have when they are combined with a verb are shown after the semicolon.

When the forms with the first syllable *ʔă-* are compounded with a verb, this syllable is dropped; see (90). This is for an etymological reason that is not directly relevant to the theme of the present paper. (*ʔă-* is a nominalizing prefix. Compare the noun *ʔăshóuN* 'end' and the verb *shóuN* 'to end'.)

Special heads shown with 'yes' in the rightmost column in Table 9 can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Table 10 shows the meanings that they have when they are used in the MMC. They generally have an aspectual (or possibly temporal) meaning. In addition, *ʔăshóuN* 'be the most V' indicates degree, e.g. (93), and-*yòuN* 'only do V-ing; have only to V' indicates limit or extent: 'only', e.g. (95).

The form *ʔăshóuɴ* 'be the most V' has a particular characteristic in that the nominalizing prefix *ʔă-* is attached before the verb when it is compounded with a verb. See (93).

Table 10. Meanings of Type 4

'Noun'	meaning	example
ʔăphô 'share: to V'	'be about to V'	(101)
ʔăshóuɴ 'end'	'be the most V'	(102)
ʔăsâ 'beginning'	'have just V-ed'	(103)
-khàzâ/-gàzâ 'beginning'	'have just V-ed'	(103)
-yòuɴ 'only thing to V'	'only do V-ing; have only to V'	(104)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ 'process of V-ing'	'be in the middle of V-ing'	(105)
-shɛ́/-zɛ́ 'process of V-ing'	'be in the middle of V-ing' (more formal than *-tóuɴ*)	(106)
-píḏá 'thing that has already V-ed'	'have finished V-ing'	(107)
-nèjâ 'thing that one habitually V-s'	'habitually V'	(108)
-lɛʔsâ 'thing that is halfway through V-ing'	'have started V-ing, but have not finished it'	(109)

Compounds consisting of a verb and a special head are nouns in two respects. First, they cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be followed by a case particle. However, they are not typical nouns. Namely, they cannot be modified by a demonstrative.

The following examples show that special heads can be followed by a case particle.[2]

(92) míɴ phaʔ-**phô**=gò yù là=∅
2SG read-to=KO take come=IMP
'Bring what you have to read.'

(93) míɴ ʔă-caiʔ-**shóuɴ**=gò yù là=∅
2SG A-like-most=KO take come=IMP
'Bring what you like best.'

(94) t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ{-**sâ**/-**khàzâ**}=hmà ŋà=nɛ̂ twê=dɛ̀
3SG Yangon=KO arrive{-beginning}=at 1SG=with meet=RLS
'He met me soon after he came to Yangon.'

(95) ŋà pyó-**yòuɴ**=nê t̪ù ná lɛ̀=dɛ̀
1SG tell-only=with 3SG understand=RLS
'He understood it when I merely told it.'

(96) ŋà ʔeiʔ=nè-**dóuɴ**=hmà t̪ù là=dɛ̀
1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
'He came while I was sleeping.'

(97) ŋà ʔeiʔ=nè-**zɛ́**=hmà t̪ù là=dɛ̀
1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
'He came while I was sleeping.'

(98) mínɴ louʔ-**píd̪á**=gò yù là=∅
2SG do-already=KO take come=IMP
'Bring what you have finished.'

(99) mínɴ phaʔ-**nèjâ**=gò yù là=∅
2SG read-habit=KO take come=IMP
'Bring what you are habitually reading.'

(100) mínɴ phaʔ-**lɛʔsâ**=gò yù là=∅
2SG read-not.yet=KO take come=IMP
'Bring what you haven't finished reading.'

Now, special heads can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC:

(101) t̪ù dì hínɴ=gò sá-**bô**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-about.to(=EMP)
'He is about to eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べるところだ)

(102) t̪ù dì hínɴ=gò ʔă-caiʔ-**shóuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO A-like-most(=EMP)
'He likes this curry the best of all.'
(彼はこのカレーが一番好きだ)

(103) t̪ù yàngòuɴ=gò yauʔ{-**sâ**/-**khàzâ**}(=bɛ́)
3SG Yangon=KO arrive{-beginning}(=EMP)
'He has just arrived in Yangon.'
(彼はヤンゴンに来たばかりだ)

(104) t̪ù dì hínɴ=gò sá-**yòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-only(=EMP)
'He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べただけだ;
彼はこのカレーを食べる必要があるだけだ)

(105) tù̱ dì híɴ=gò sá=nè-**dóuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process (=EMP)
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べている最中だ)

(106) tù̱ dì híɴ=gò sá=nè-**zɛ́**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process(=EMP)
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べている最中だ)

(107) tù̱ dì híɴ=gò sá-**píḍá**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-finishing(=EMP)
'He has already finished eating this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーをもう食べ終わっている)

(108) tù̱ dì híɴ=gò sá-**nèjâ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-habit(=EMP)
'He is habitually eating this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べつけている)

(109) tù̱ dì híɴ=gò sá-**lɛʔsâ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-not.yet(=EMP)
'He started eating this curry, but hasn't finished yet.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べかけだ)

Only the verbs shown in Table 11 can be used as an assisting verb in this type of the MMC; other verbs cannot.

Table 11. Assisting verbs for Type 4

'Noun'	assisting verb	example
ʔăphô 'be about to V'	*louʔ* 'to do'	(110)
ʔăshóuɴ 'be the most V'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(111)
ʔăsâ and *-khàzâ/gàzâ* 'have just V-ed'	*ɛ̀î* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(112)
-youɴ 'only do V-ing; have only to V'	*ɛ̀î* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(113)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ 'be in the middle of V-ing'	*ɛ̀î* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(114)
-shé/-zé 'be in the middle of V-ing'	*ɛ̀î* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(115)
-píḍá 'have finished V-ing'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(116)
-nèjâ 'habitually V'	*ɛ̀î* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(117)
-lɛʔsâ 'have started V-ing, but have not finished V-ing'	*ɛ̀î* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(118)

Examples follow.

(110) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá-bô **lou?**=nè=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat-to do=PROG=RLS
'He is about to eat this curry.'

(111) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò ʔă-caiʔ-shóuɴ **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO A-like-most be=RLS
'He likes this curry the best of all.'

(112) t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ{-sâ/-khàzâ} {**ɛ̀ì**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG Yangon=KO arrive{-beginning} exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(113) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá-yòuɴ {**ɛ̀ì**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat-only exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.'

(114) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè-dóuɴ {**ɛ̀ì**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(115) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè-zé {**ɛ̀ì**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(116) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá-pí̪á **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat-already be=RLS
'He has already finished eating this curry.'

(117) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá-nèjâ {**ɛ̀ì**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat-habit exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He is habitually eating this curry.'

(118) t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá-lɛʔsâ {**ɛ̀ì**=dɛ̀ / **phyiʔ**=tɛ̀}
3SG this curry=KO eat-not.yet exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He started eating this curry, but hasn't finished yet.'

5.6 Summary

Table 12 is an exhaustive list of the forms that are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Nineteen forms have been found so far. Their use can be grouped into four semantic/functional categories: evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and limit/extent (cf. Vittrant 2005 for the semantic categories of the Burmese predicates). The table also shows these categories.

Table 12. Exhaustive list of the forms used in the 'Noun' slot

'Noun'		semantic/functional category
Type 1	(V + AN + Full noun)	
pòuN	'it seems that'	evidentiality
hàN	'it seems that'	evidentiality
ɖǎbó	'it is that'	discourse
shézé	'be about to'	aspect
Type 2	(V + AN + Subordinate-noun)	
lò	'it seems that'	evidentiality
lòlò	'it looks as if'	evidentiality (to be precise, counterfactuality)
lau?	'hardly V'	degree
Type 3	(V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* [nominalizer])	
=tà/=dà	'it is the case that'	discourse
=hmà	'it is the case that'	discourse
Type 4	(V + Special head)	
?ǎphô	'be about to V'	aspect
?ǎshóuN	'be the most V'	degree
?ǎsâ	'have just V-ed'	aspect
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'have just V-ed'	aspect
-yòuN	'only do V-ing'	limit/extent
-tóuN/-dóuN	'be in the middle of V-ing'	aspect
-shé/-zé	'be in the middle of V-ing'	aspect
-píɖá	'have finished V-ing'	aspect
-nèjâ	'habitually V'	aspect
-lɛ?sâ	'have started V-ing'	aspect

It is worth pointing out that the forms that have an aspectual meaning do not show a realis/irrealis opposition in the 'AN' of 'V + (AN) + Noun' (see (37)). In *shézé* 'be about to' of Type 1, only the irrealis adnominalizing marker *=mê* can occur as the AN. All of the other forms that have an aspectual meaning belong to Type 4, in which the adnominalizing markers themselves do not occur.

6. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We shall compare the MMC with some other constructions in terms of their syntactic behavior. The constructions that will be compared are as follows.

(a) Internal AC: 'V + *=tê/=dê* or *=mê* + Noun' (4.2.1.2).
(b) External AC: 'V + *=tê/=dê* or *=mê* + Noun' (4.2.1.3).
(c) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an entity (5.4), e.g. (81).
(d) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an event (5.4), e.g. (82).
(e) MMC of Type 1 (5.2).
(f) MMC of Type 2 (5.3).
(g) MMC of Type 3 (5.4).
(h) MMC of Type 4 (5.5).
(i) Noun-predicate sentence (4.1).
(j) Verb-predicate sentence (4.1).

The following comparison of these constructions will bring the syntactic characteristics of the MMC into relief. In particular, it will show that the MMC has characteristics similar to those of simple sentences (not complex sentences), that is, the MMC is mono-clausal (not bi-clausal).

I will employ the following five tests in order to examine the syntactic characteristics of the MMC.

Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative.
Test 2: Clefting (1): 'Noun'.
Test 3: Topicalization.
Test 4: Relativization.
Test 5: Clefting (2): elements in the clause or 'Clause'.

Test 1 and Test 2 are designed to highlight the syntactic properties of the 'Noun' of the MMC (cf. (36) and (37)), while Tests 4, 5, and 6 are intended to highlight those of the 'Clause' of the MMC.

These tests will be applied to the following sample sentences of the ten constructions (a) to (j). The portion which can be represented as 'V + (AN) + Noun' is underlined in each sample sentence. Recall that the essential constituents of the Burmese MMC are 'V + (AN) + Noun'; see (37).

(a) Internal AC: 'V + *=tê/=dê* or *=mê* + Noun'

(119) tù chɛʔ=tê híN=gò ŋà sá=dè
3SG cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
'I ate the curry which he cooked.'
(彼が作ったカレーを私は食べた)

(b) External AC: 'V + *=tê/=dê* or *=mê* + Noun'

(120) tù ŋá kìN=dê ʔănâN=gò ŋà yâ=dè
3SG fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
'I smelled the smell of him grilling a fish.'
(彼が魚を焼くにおいを私はかいだ)

(c) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an entity

(121) ṭù chɛʔ=tà=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=RLS
''I ate what he cooked.'
(彼が作ったのを私は食べた)

(d) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an event

(122) ṭù yàNgòuN là=dà=gò ŋà ṭî=dɛ̀
3SG Yangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
'I know that he came to Yangon.'
(彼がヤンゴンに来たのを私は知っている)

(e) MMC of Type 1

(123) ṭù dì híN=gò sá=dɛ̂ pòuN=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
'It seems that he ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

(124) ṭù dì híN=gò sá=jìN=ḍă=lò=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
'It seems that he wants to eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたいようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

(125) ṭù jăpàN=gò măhlwéḍàlô là=yâ=dà=bɛ́
3SG Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA=EMP
'It is the case that he unwillingly came to Japan.'
(彼は日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのだ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

(126) ṭù dì híN=gò sá-nèjâ=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat-habit=EMP
'He is habitually eating this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べつけている)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

(127) ṭù ʔăshòdɔ̀=bɛ́
3SG singer=EMP
'He is a singer.'
(彼は歌手だ)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

(128) ṭù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=RLS
'He ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べた)

We shall now look at each test. As mentioned above, Test 1 (6.2) and Test 2 (6.3) are designed to highlight the syntactic properties of the 'Noun' of the MMC.

6.2 Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative

This test examines whether the 'Noun' of (37) 'V + (AN) + Noun' can be modified by a demonstrative. The demonstrative *ʔɛ́dì* 'that' will be put in front of the 'Noun' in question of the sample sentences. The sample sentences of (a) and (b) remain grammatical, but those of (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), and (h) become ungrammatical. This test is not applicable to constructions (i) and (j), for they lack the 'Noun' in question.

(a) Internal AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'

(129) ṭù chɛʔ=tɛ̂ **ʔɛ́dì** híɴ=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
3SG cook=AN that curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
'I ate this curry which he cooked.'
(彼が作ったそのカレーを私は食べた)

(b) External AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'

(130) ṭù ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂ **ʔɛ́dì** ʔănâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
3SG fish grill=AN that smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
'I smelled that smell of him grilling a fish.'
(彼が魚を焼くそのにおいを私はかいだ)

(c) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an entity

(131) ***ʔɛ́dì** ṭù chɛʔ=tà=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
that 3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=RLS
Intended meaning: 'I ate that thing he cooked.'
(その、彼が作ったのを私は食べた)

(d) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an event

(132) ***ʔɛ́dì** ṭù yàɴgòuɴ là=dà=gò ŋà ṭî=dɛ̀
that 3SG Yangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
Intended meaning: 'I know the fact that he came to Yangon.'
(その、彼がヤンゴンに来たのを私は知っている)

(e) MMC of Type 1

(133) *ṭù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂ **ʔɛ́dì** pòuɴ=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN that shape=EMP
'untranslatable'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたそのようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

(134) *ṭù dì híɴ=gò **ʔɛ́dì** sá=jìɴ=ḍă=lò=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO that eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
'untranslatable'
(彼はこのカレーをその食べたいようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

(135) *ṭù jăpàɴ=gò măhlwéḍàlô **ʔɛ́ḍì** là=yâ=dà=bɛ́
3SG this=KO against.one's.will that come=must=TA=EMP
'untranslatable'
(彼は日本に仕方なくその来なければならなかったのだ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

(136) *ṭù dì híɴ=gò **ʔɛ́dì** sá-nèjâ=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO that eat-habitually=EMP
'untranslatable'

(i) Noun-predicate sentence
Inapplicable because there is no relevant 'Noun'.

(j) Verb-predicate sentence
Inapplicable because there is no relevant 'Noun'.

6.3 Test 2: Clefting (1): 'Noun'

Clefting in Burmese involves the nominalizer *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* and yields a construction which can be represented as 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* X', where X represents the focus. Here, clefting is applied to the 'Noun' of 'V + (AN) + Noun' of the MMC and the equivalent head noun of (a) and (b).

When clefting is applied, in (a), the resultant sentence is grammatical; see (137). In (b), the resultant sentence is unacceptable; see (138). However, if the head noun is modified by a demonstrative, the sentence becomes acceptable; see (139). In (c), (d), and (g), this test is not applicable, for the head noun itself is the morpheme that makes a cleft sentence: *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*. In (e), (f), and (h), the resultant sentence is unacceptable. This test is inapplicable to (i) and (j).

(a) Internal AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'

(137) tù chɛʔ=tà **híN**=bɛ́
3SG cook=TA curry=EMP
'It was curry that he cooked.'
(彼が作ったのはカレーだ)

(b) External AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'

(138) *tù ŋá kìN=dà **ʔănânN**=bɛ́
3SG fish grill=TA smell=EMP
LT: 'It is with a smell that he grilled a fish.'
(彼が魚を焼くのはにおいだ)

(139) tù ŋá kìN=dà **dì ʔănânN**=bɛ́
3SG fish grill=TA this smell=EMP
'It is with this smell that he grilled a fish.'
(彼が魚を焼くのはこのにおいだ)

(c) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an entity
Inapplicable because *=tà* itself is a morpheme that yields a cleft sentence.

(d) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an event
Inapplicable because *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* itself is a morpheme that yields a cleft sentence.

(e) MMC of Type 1

(140) *tù dì híN=gò sá=dà **pòuN**=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA shape=EMP
LT: 'It is a shape that he ate this curry.'
(彼がこのカレーを食べたのはようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

(141) *tù dì híN=gò sá=jìN=dà **lò**=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat=want.to=TA like=EMP
'untranslatable'
(彼がこのカレーを食べたいのはようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3
Inapplicable because *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* itself is a morpheme that yields a cleft sentence.

(h) MMC of Type 4

(142) *tù dì híN=gò sá=dà **nèjâ**=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA habit=EMP
'untranslatable'

(i) Noun-predicate sentence
Inapplicable because there is no such constituent as 'V + (AN) + Noun'.

(j) Verb-predicate sentence
Inapplicable because there is no such constituent as 'V + (AN) + Noun'.

We have looked at the tests that are designed to highlight the syntactic properties of the 'Noun' of the MMC. We shall now turn to those tests that are intended to highlight the syntactic properties of the 'Clause' of the MMC. In 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 below, the following will be compared.

(143) (i) The subordinate clause of (a) to (d)
(ii) The 'Clause' of the MMC: (e) to (h)
(iii) Simple sentences: (i), (j)

6.4. Test 3: Topicalization

This test examines whether topicalization can apply to elements in the three structures listed in (143).

For this test, we use *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂*, which I consider to be a contrastive topic marker. This form is a compound of the case particle *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent' and the particle *=tɔ̂/=dɔ̂* which indicates contrastiveness. The case particle *=kâ/=gâ* can only follow the subject, e.g. (10), (11), but *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* can follow non-subjects, e.g. (144). For this reason I consider *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* a different word from *=kâ/=gâ*.

(144) dì sàʔouʔ=kâdɔ̂ mă-phaʔ=phú=bú
3SG book=CON not-read=experience=NEG
'As for this book, I have never read it.'

In the examples below, the contrastive topic marker *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* is placed after the subject *ɟù* '3SG' of the sample sentences. (The gloss 'HE, HIM' is in capital letters, for the reader's convenience.) It basically cannot occur in the subordinate clauses, as is shown in the results of (a) to (d) below. However, it can occur in the "Clause" of the MMC, i.e, (e) to (h), and also in simple sentences: (i) and (j).

(a) Internal AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'
(145) ***ɟù**=gâdɔ̂ chɛʔ=tɛ̂ híɴ=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
3SG=CON cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
'I ate the curry that HE cooked.'
(彼は作ったカレーを私は食べた)

(b) External AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'

(146) ***t̪ù**=gâdɔ̂ ŋá kìN=dɛ̂ ʔănânN=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
3SG=CON fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
'I smelled the smell of HIM grilling a fish.'
(彼は魚を焼くにおいを私はかいだ)

(c) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an entity

(147) ***t̪ù**=gâdɔ̂ chɛʔ=tà=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
3SG=CON cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=RLS
'I ate what HE cooked.'
(彼は作ったのを私は食べた)

(d) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an event

(148) ?**t̪ù**=gâdɔ̂ yàNgòuN là=dà=gò ŋà t̪î=dɛ̀
3SG=CONYangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
'I know that HE came to Yangon.'
(彼はヤンゴンに来たのを私は知っている)

(e) MMC of Type 1

(149) **t̪ù**=gâdɔ̂ dì híN=gò sá=dɛ̂ pòuN=bɛ́
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
'It seems that HE ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

(150) **t̪ù**=gâdɔ̂ dì híN=gò sá=jìN=d̪ă=lò=bɛ́
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
'It seems that HE wants to eat this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたいようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

(151) **t̪ù**=gâdɔ̂ jăpàN=gò măhlwɛ́d̪àlô là=yâ=dà=bɛ́
3SG=CON Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA=EMP
'It is the case that HE unwillingly came to Japan.'
(彼は日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのだ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

(152) **t̪ù**=gâdɔ̂ dì híN=gò sá-nèjâ=bɛ́
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat-habit=EMP
'HE is habitually eating this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べつけている)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

(153) **ʈù**=gâdɔ̂ ʔǎshòdɔ̀=bɛ́
3SG=CON singer=EMP
'HE is a singer.'
(彼は歌手だ)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

(154) **ʈù**=gâdɔ̂ dì híN=gò sá=dɛ̀
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=RLS
'HE ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べた)

6.5 Test 4: Relativization

This test examines whether relativization can apply to elements in the three constructions listed in (143).

In order to conduct this test, we need to include an assisting verb in the sample sentence of (i) 'Noun-predicate sentence', as well as those of the MMC, i.e. (e), (f), (g), and (h), because relativization does not work for sentences which end with a noun.

The resultant sentences of (a) to (d) are ungrammatical, while those of all the other constructions are grammatical.

(a) Internal AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'
Relativization of the subject of the adnominal clause of (119), i.e. *ʈù* '3SG':

(155) *chɛʔ=tɛ̂ híN=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̂ **lù**
cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=AN person
Intended meaning: 'the person who cooked the curry that I ate'
(作ったカレーを私が食べた人)

(b) External AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'
Relativization of the subject of the adnominal clause of (120), i.e. *ʈù* '3SG':

(156) *ŋá kìN=dɛ̂ ʔǎnâN=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̂ **lù**
fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=AN person
Intended meaning: 'the person who grilled a fish whose smell I smelled'
(魚を焼くにおいを私がかいだ人)

(c) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an entity
Relativization of the subject of the clause nominalized by *=tà* of (121), i.e. *ʈù* '3SG':

(157) *chɛʔ=tà=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̂ **lù**
cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=AN person
Intended meaning: 'the person who cooked what I ate'
(作ったのを私が食べた人)

(d) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an event
Relativization of the subject of the clause nominalized by *=tà* of (122), i.e. *ṯù* '3SG':

(158) *yàNgòuN là=dà=gò ŋà ṯî=dɛ̂ **lù**
Yangon come=TA =KO 1SG know=AN person
Intended meaning: 'the person who, I know, came to Yangon'
(ヤンゴンに来たのを私が知っている人)

(e) MMC of Type 1
Relativization of the subject of the "Clause" of (123), i.e. *ṯù* '3SG':

(159) dì híN=gò sá=dɛ̂ pòuN yâ=dɛ̂ **lù**
this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=AN person
'the person who seems to have eaten this curry'
(このカレーを食べたようである人)

Sentence (159) is grammatical, but sounds somewhat unnatural because *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* occurs twice. In order to avoid this, the verb and the noun *pòuN* are compounded, as in (160) (see (58) for compounding of *pòuN*).

(160) dì híN=gò sá-bòuN yâ=dɛ̂ **lù**
this curry=KO eat-shape get=AN person
'the person who seems to have eaten this curry'
(このカレーを食べたようである人)

(f) MMC of Type 2
Relativization of the subject of the "Clause" of (124), i.e. *ṯù* '3SG':

(161) dì híN=gò sá=jìN=ḏă=lò ɛ̀î=dɛ̂ **lù**
this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like exist=AN person
'the person who looks like he wants to eat this curry'
(このカレーを食べたいようである人)

(g) MMC of Type 3
Relativization of the subject of the "Clause" of (125), i.e. *ṯù* '3SG':

(162) jăpàN=gò măhlwɛ́d̪àlô là=yâ=dà phyiʔ=mɛ̂
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA be=AN
lù
person
Intended and literal meaning: 'The person who, it must have been the case that, unwillingly came to Japan'
(日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのであろう人)

Sentence (162) is grammatical, but somewhat unnatural. This is probably because it sounds extremely formal. In order to express the intended meaning in daily conversation, the sentence below without the MMC is used:

(163) jăpàN=gò măhlwɛ́d̪àlô là=yâ=dɛ̂ **lù**
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must= AN person
'The person who unwillingly had to come to Japan'
(日本に仕方なく来なければならなかった人)

(h) MMC of Type 4
Relativization of the subject of the "Clause" of (126), i.e. *t̪ù* '3SG':

(164) dì híN=gò sá-nèjâ ɕî=dɛ̂ **lù**
this curry=KO eat-habit exist=AN person
'The person who habitually eats this curry'
(このカレーを食べつけている人)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence
Relativization of the subject of (127), i.e. *t̪ù* '3SG':

(165) ʔăshòdɔ̀ phyiʔ=tɛ̂ **lù**
singer be=AN person
'The person who is a singer'
(歌手である人)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence
Relativization of the subject of (128), i.e. *t̪ù* '3SG':

(166) dì híN =gò sá=dɛ̂ **lù**
this curry=KO eat=AN person
'The person who ate this curry.'
(このカレーを食べた人)

6.6 Test 5: Clefting (2): elements in the clause

This test examines whether elements in the three structures in (143) can be placed in the focus slot by clefting. Clefting is applied to the subject *t̪ù*

'3SG' of the sample sentences. The resultant sentences of (a) to (d) are ungrammatical, while those of all the other constructions are grammatical.

(a) Internal AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'

(167) *chɛʔ=tɛ̂ híN=gò ŋà sá=dà **t̰ù**=bɛ́
cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=TA 3SG=EMP
Intended meaning: 'It is he whose curry I ate.'
(作ったカレーを私が食べたのは彼だ)

(b) External AC: 'V + *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂* + Noun'

(168) *ŋá kìN=dɛ̂ ʔănâN=gò ŋà yâ=dà **t̰ù**=bɛ́
fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=TA 3SG=EMP
'untranslatable'
(魚を焼くにおいを私がかいだのは彼だ)

(c) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an entity

(169) *chɛʔ=tà=gò ŋà sá=dà **t̰ù**=bɛ́
cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=TA 3SG=EMP
'untranslatable'
(作ったのを私が食べたのは彼だ)

(d) 'V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*' denoting an event

(170) *yàNgòuN là=dà=gò ŋà tî=dà **t̰ù**=bɛ́
Yangon come=TA =KO 1SG know=TA 3SG=EMP
Intended and literal meaning: 'It is he who, I know, came to Yangon.'
(ヤンゴンに来たのを私が知っているのは彼だ)

(e) MMC of Type 1

(171) dì híN=gò sá=dɛ̂ pòuN yâ=dà **t̰ù**=bɛ́
this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who seems to have eaten this curry.'
(このカレーを食べたようであるのは彼だ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

(172) dì híN=gò sá=jìN=d̰ă=lò ɛ̀î=dà **t̰ù**=bɛ́
this curry=KO eat=want=AN=like exist=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who seems to want to eat this curry.'
(このカレーを食べたいようであるのは彼だ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

(173) jǎpàN=gò mǎhlwé̱dàlô là=yâ=dà
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA
phyi?=hmà t̪ù=bɛ́
be=HMA 3SG=EMP
Intended and literal meaning: 'It is he who, it must have been the case that, unwillingly came to Japan.'
(日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったようであるのは彼だ)

Although (173) is grammatical, it sounds somewhat unnatural. This is probably because it sounds extremely formal. In daily conversation, (174) is used instead:

(174) jǎpàN=gò mǎhlwé̱dàlô là=yâ=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who unwillingly came to Japan.'
(日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのは彼だ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

(175) dì híN=gò sá-nèjâ ɐ̀î=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
this curry=KO eat-habit exist=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who habitually eats this curry.'
(このカレーを食べつけているのは彼だ)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

(176) ?ǎshòdɔ̀ phyi?=tà t̪ù=bɛ́
singer be=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who is a singer.'
(歌手であるのは彼だ)

Sentence (176) is grammatical, but somewhat unnatural. This may be because the same meaning can be expressed by using a simple noun-predicate sentence as in (177).

(177) ?ǎshòdɔ̀=gâ t̪ù=bɛ́
singer=KA 3SG=EMP
'The singer is he.'
(歌手は彼だ)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

(178) dì híN=gò sá=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
thiscurry=KO eat=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who ate this curry.'
(このカレーを食べたのは彼だ)

6.7 Discussion

Table 13 sums up the results of the tests conducted above. The symbols and the abbreviation employed indicate the following.

(i) '+': the construction passes the test.
(ii) '−': the construction does not pass the test.
(iii) '±': the result differs from case to case.
(iv) 'n/a': the test is not applicable.
(v) '?': acceptability is difficult to judge.

The results of Test 1 and Test 2 show that the 'Nouns' of the MMC (i.e. (e) to (h)) have a low degree of 'noun-hood'.

It may look as if the MMC — in particular (e) Type 1, which involves a full noun (5.2), and (f) Type 2, which contains a subordinate-noun (5.3) — is a construction that involves a subordinate clause headed by the 'Noun', i.e. a bi-clausal construction. However, the results of Tests 3, 4, and 5 show that syntactically the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like simple independent sentences ((i) noun predicate sentences and (j) verb predicate sentences), and differently from the subordinate clauses of (a), (b), (c), and (d). That is, the MMC should not be regarded as a construction that involves a subordinate clause. It is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Table 13. Syntactic behavior of the MMC and other constructions

					MMC					
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
Test 1. demonstrative	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	n/a	n/a
Test 2. clefting (1)	+	±	n/a	n/a	−	−	n/a	−	n/a	n/a
Test 3. topicalization	−	−	−	?	+	+	+	+	+	+
Test 4. relativization	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
Test 5. clefting (2)	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+

7. Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC in Burmese can be grouped into four types in terms of the category of the 'Noun': (i) Type 1: 'full nouns', (ii) Type 2: 'subordinate-nouns' (i.e., nouns that can function like enclitics), (iii) Type 3: nominalizers (i.e., nominalizing clitics), and (iv) Type 4: 'special heads' (they compound with verbs; they are nouns, clitics, or possibly suffixes). Semantic/functional categories of the MMC are evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and also limit/extent.

The 'Clause' cannot stand as a sentence on its own. It does not have the structure of full sentences. The verb is followed by an adnominalizer in

Type 1 and Type 2, and by a nominalizer in Type 3. It is involved in compounding in Type 4. Importantly the 'Clause' cannot contain a verb sentence marker.

The MMC of Type 1 and Type 2 is similar to ACs in that the verb is followed by an adnominalizer. Syntactically, however, the 'Clause' of Type 1 and Type 2 behaves like simple sentences, and differently from ACs (clauses adnominalized by *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* or *=mɛ̂*). This shows that the MMC of Type 1 and Type 2 should be regarded as mono-clausal, and not as a construction that contains a subordinate clause. The same is true of Type 3 and Type 4. They should also be regarded as mono-clausal.

The Burmese MMC exhibits the phenomenon of grammaticalization. First, full nouns in Type 1 (see Tables 3 and 12) have a grammatical or discourse related meaning/function when they are used in the MMC. Second, the full nouns *pòuɴ* 'shape' and *hàɴ* 'appearance' have acquired the use like enclitics or suffixes. See (58) and (59).

To the best of my knowledge, there is no previous study that has clearly pointed out that Burmese has the MMC. Probably, many of the previous studies have simply considered it a noun-predicate sentence. Nonetheless, some of the previous studies including Okell and Allot (2001: 128) and Ohno (1983) suggested, in effect, that the MMC is mono-clausal. Okell and Allot (2001: 128) state that the noun *pòuɴ* 'shape', which is one of the nouns that form the MMC of Type 1 (see Table 3), is 'perhaps in process of becoming a sentence final phrase particle'. Ohno (1983: 253) classifies the expression *pòuɴ yâ* (the noun meaning 'shape' + the verb meaning 'to get'; see Table 4) among auxiliaries. Their views imply that the construction in question is becoming mono-clausal.

What remains to be done in future research is to investigate how the MMC has developed in Burmese. In order to do this, we need research on old documents and comparative studies of various dialects.

Abbreviations

A - (i) nominalizing prefix *ʔă-*, (ii) transitive subject ; AC - adnominal clause; AN - adnominalizer or adnominalizing marker; AN(irr) - irrealis adnominalizer; AN(rls) - realis adnominalizer; CON - contrasted topic; EMP - emphasis; FT - free translation; HMA - nominalizer *=hmà*; IMP - imperative; IRR - irrealis modality; KA - case particle *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent (subject); source'; KO - case particle *=kò/=gò* 'patient; recipient; goal'; LT - literal translation; NEG - negation; O - object; PL - plural; POL - politeness; Q - question; PROG - progressive; RLS - realis modality; S - intransitive subject; SFP - sentence final particle; SG - singular; TA - nominalizer *=tà/=dà*; V - verb; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

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Notes

1. I have had discussions about the Burmese MMC with several specialists in Burmese and some of them inquired if sentences such as (i) below were instances of the MMC. In fact, (i), as well as (39), is a noun predicate sentence, and not an instance of the MMC. Its predicate is the noun *cauʔ-sǎyà* 'a thing to be scared of'. The morpheme *-sǎyà* is a nominalizing suffix that forms a noun that means 'thing which is to be V-ed'.

(i) tù=gâ cauʔ-sǎyà(=bɛ́)
3SG=KA scared.of-to.be.V.ed(=EMP)
LT: 'He is a thing to be scared of.'
FT: 'He is a scary man.'

2. Among the special heads listed in Table 10, *-yòuɴ* can only be followed by the case particle *=nɛ̂* "with", and not by other case particles, whereas the other special heads in Table 10 can be followed by any case particle. In this respect, the nounhood of V-*yòuɴ* can be said to be lower than that of the other special heads listed in Table 10.

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Mermaid construction in Tagalog

Masumi Katagiri
Okayama University

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume) proposes the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as follows.

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

This prototype of the MMC is based on the MMC in Japanese, a predicate-final (or verb-final) language. Tagalog is a predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language. Nonetheless, it has the mirror image of the kind of the MMC found in Japanese and other predicate-final (or verb-final) languages. This is, to my knowledge, the first MMC that has ever been reported from any predicate-initial language.

The Tagalog MMC is of two types.

(2) Finite type:
Noun(-)Linker [Clause (finite)]
(3) Infinitive type:
Noun(-)Linker [Clause (infinitive)]

Tagalog has no copula verb, and consequently, its MMC contains no copula verb. There are differences between the two types in terms of (i) morphology (finite vs. infinitive), (ii) syntax, and (iii) semantics.

In the finite type, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in a finite form, and the 'Clause' by itself can be used as a sentence. The noun in the 'Noun' slot is *mukha* 'face', a loan word from Sanskrit. The finite type has evidential meanings: inference and visual evidence.

In the infinitive type, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in the infinitive form, and the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence. The nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot are *plano* 'plan', *tradisyon* 'tradition', *destino* 'destiny' (all are loans from Spanish), *balak* 'plan' and *kapalaran* 'fate'. The infinitive type indicates 'X plans to ...' (a modal meaning), 'X has the practice of VERBing' (an aspectual meaning), or 'X is destined to ...' (a modal meaning).

2. Initial illustration

An example of the finite type is (4) (*mukha* 'face'), and an example of the infinitive type is (5) (*plano* 'plan').

(4) *Mukha-ng* *sa-sabog=na* *ang bulkan.*
face-LK AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
LT: 'Face that the volcano will erupt already.'
FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

(5) *Plano-ng* *apruba-han* *nang gobyerno* *ang*
plan-LK approve-PF:INF GEN government TOP
pag-import *nang* *bigas.*
NMLZ-import GEN rice
LT: 'Plan for the government to approve the import of rice.'
FT: 'The government plans to approve the import of rice.'

3. Profile of the language

Tagalog is a member of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. It is spoken by approximately 22 million people as the first language in the southern part of the island of Luzon including Metro Manila, and by about 50 million people as L2 over the entire archipelago of the Philippines. Filipino, the national and an official language of the Philippines, is the standardized form of Tagalog with a lexicon enriched with words borrowed from other Philippine languages.

There are certain stylistic differences between spoken and written Tagalog, but not in significant ways. The data presented here are both spoken and written in narratives and newspapers.

Tagalog has 27 phonemes: 5 vowels /i e a o u/, 6 diphthongs /ay aw uy oy ey iw/, and 16 consonants /p b t d k g ʔ m n ŋ s h l ɾ y w/. Stress and pitch are distinctive.

Tagalog is largely agglutinative, and partially fusional. Tagalog morphology is generally characterized as prefixal, but it has suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes as well. Its verb morphology is quite complex; see 4.1.2.1.

Tagalog, like other Philippine languages, is predicate-initial (or verb-initial) in its basic word order: VOS and VSO. It uses prepositions, but not postpositions. In terms of clause structure, it has the so-called Philippine-type of rich voice alternations; see 4.1.2.1.

With regard to the order of an adjective and the modified noun, there is no fixed order: an adjective can either precede the noun it modifies or follow it, with a linker *na* (or its variant: *-ng*) between them.

(6)	*Na-kita=ko*	*ang*	*payat*	*na*	*aso.*
	PF:PFV-see=1SG:GEN	TOP	thin	LK	dog
	'I saw the thin dog.'				
(7)	*Na-kita=ko*	*ang*	*aso-ng*	*payat.*	
	PF:PFV-see=1SG:GEN	TOP	dog-LK	thin	
	('As above.')				

A preferred order seems to be determined partly by the relative length of words or phrases: the heavier constituent tends to follow the other.

The linker links various kinds of constituents that stand in the modifier-modified relation, such as a numeral and a noun, two nouns (nominal, pronominal, or pronoun) in appositive relation, a demonstrative and a noun, the main clause and a subordinate clause, etc. An adnominal clause and the noun it modifies are also linked by the linker, and the adnominal clause either precedes the noun or follows it. (See 4.2.1.1.) A demonstrative can either precede or follow the modified noun with a linker between them, e.g., either *ito-ng bahay* (this:TOP-LK house) or *bahay na ito* (house LK this:TOP) 'this house'. A numeral always precedes the modified noun, e.g., *tatlo-ng relo* (three-LK watch) 'three watches'.

Tagalog is both head-marking and dependent-marking. The Tagalog clause structure is configurational.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verbal-predicate and non-verbal-predicate clauses/sentences

The predicate of a clause/sentence can be either verbal or non-verbal, and clauses/sentences can be classified accordingly.

4.1.1 Non-verbal clauses/sentences

In non-verbal clauses/sentences, the predicate may be nominal, e.g., (8); adjectival, e.g., (9); or prepositional, e.g., (10). The basic structure of these clauses/sentences consists of the predicate followed by the subject expression.

	PREDICATE			SUBJECT		
(8)	*Estudyante*	*sa*	*UP*	*ang*	*babae*	*dyan.*
	student	OBL	UP	TOP	woman	there
	'That woman is a student at UP (=University of the Philippines).'					
(9)	*Maganda*			*ang*	*babae*	*dyan.*
	beautiful			TOP	woman	there
	'That woman is beautiful.'					
(10)	*Nasa*	*kusina*	*ngayon*	*si*	*Maria.*	
	in	kitchen	now	TOP	Maria	
	'Maria is in the kitchen now.'					

There is no copula verb in Tagalog, as shown in the examples above.

The term 'subject' for the constituent marked by prepositional *ang* (*si* for personal names) may be confusing in that it does not exactly correspond to the subject in languages such as, say, English. This constituent is traditionally called 'topic' in Philippine linguistics (cf. Constantino 1971; Schachter and Otanes 1972 among others), but it is highly grammatical in nature compared with topics in languages like Japanese, and it does have some of the properties that may be considered subject properties. For example, it is the obligatory constituent in clauses, and it is the target of many syntactic phenomena, such as relativization. For the sake of convenience, we use the term SUBJECT here as opposed to PREDICATE, to describe the part of the clause containing the topic constituent.

The subject and the predicate can be inverted, with the inversion marker *ay*.

	SUBJECT			PREDICATE			
(11)	*Ang*	*babae*	*dyan*	*ay*	*estudyante*	*sa*	*UP.*
	TOP	woman	there	INV	student	OBL	UP
	'That woman is a student at UP.'						
(12)	*Ang*	*babae*	*dyan*	*ay*	*maganda.*		
	TOP	woman	there	INV	beautiful		
	'That woman is beautiful.'						

The inversion construction is a stylistic variant of the basic construction shown in (8)-(10), and is textually limited. According to Schachter and Otanes (1972:485), the inversion construction "is characteristic of formal style, and is more common in writing, lectures, sermons, etc., than it is in ordinary conversation". Constituents that can be inverted are limited to the topic of the clause, an adverbial expression, and a non-topic actor (Katagiri 1992). ('Non-topic actor', that is, an actor nominal that is not the topic, will

be discussed in 4.1.2.2.)

4.1.2 Verbal-predicate clauses/sentences
We shall first look at the morphology of verbs (4.1.2.1), and then the structure of these clauses/sentences (4.1.2.2).

4.1.2.1 Morphology of verbs. Basically, verbs always contain an affix—a prefix, an infix, a suffix, or a circumfix—which expresses focus, aspect, and mode in a merged form. Here, the terms 'focus' and 'topic' are not used in the way they are used in discourse study. 'Focus' refers to a kind of agreement, and 'topic' indicates the NP that agrees with the focus-marked verb. That is, 'focus' does not mean the most essential piece of new information. Nor does 'topic' necessarily concern what is being talked about. In what follows, the terms 'focus' and 'topic' will be used in the way they are used in Philippine linguistics, and not in the way they are used in discourse analysis.

The focus affixes that are commonly used are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Focus affixes

Actor Focus (AF)	*-um-, mag-, m-, mang,-, ma-, magka-, maki-, makipag-, maka-*
Patient Focus (PF)	*-in, i-, -an, ma-*
Direction Focus (DF)	*-an*
Beneficiary Focus (BF)	*i-, ipag-, ipang-*
Location Focus (LF)	*-an, ka--an, pag--an, pang--an*
Instrumental Focus (IF)	*i-, ipag-, ipang-*
Reason Focus (RF)	*ika-, ikapag-, ikapang-*

The forms of the affixes shown in Table 1 are in their infinitive form. The choice among different affixes under the same focus is lexically determined although there are certain generalizations that can be made.

Verbs further inflect for aspect and mode. As an example, the inflections of verbs *bigay* 'give' and *bili* 'buy' are shown in Table 2. (Focus affixes are boldfaced.)

Table 2. Inflections of *bigay* 'give' and *bili* 'buy'

	Infinitive	Perfective	Imperfective	Contemplated
AF	***mag***bigay	***nag***bigay	***nag***bibigay	***mag***bibigay
	bumili	***bum***ili	***bum***ibili	bibili
PF	***i***bigay	***i***binigay	***i***binibigay	***i***bibigay
	bil***hin***	binili	binibili	bibil***hin***
DF	bigy***an***	binigy***an***	binibigy***an***	bibigy***an***
BF	***i***bili	***i***binili	***i***binibili	***i***bibili

4.1.2.2 Structure of clauses/sentences. In the basic word order, sentences/clauses with a verbal predicate consist of a verb followed by one

or more arguments. The order of the nominal (vis-à-vis pronominal) arguments is not fixed, and the basic word order is either VOS or VSO. (Personal pronouns are enclitics and they are attached to the first constituent of the clause/sentence.) Thus, the role of the arguments is not determined by word order, but partly by the marking of the constituent and mainly by the form of the verbal affix.

In verbal-predicate sentences/clauses, one of the constituents of the clause is obligatorily chosen as the topic of the clause, and the verb contains an affix that agrees with the topic constituent and marks its semantic role. For example, in ditransitive clauses where an actor nominal, a patient, and a beneficiary are present, there are three possible clauses.

Actor focus:

(13) *B-um-ili* ***ang*** ***lalaki*** *nang* *singsing* *para*
AF:PFV-buy TOP man GEN ring for
sa *asawa* *niya.*
OBL spouse 3SG:GEN
'The man bought a ring for his wife.'[1]

Patient focus:

(14) *B-in-ili* *nang* *lalaki* ***ang*** ***singsing*** *para*
PF:PFV-buy GEN man TOP ring for
sa *asawa* *niya.*
OBL spouse 3SG:GEN
'The man bought the ring for his wife.'

Beneficiary focus:

(15) *I-b-in-ili* *nang* *lalaki* *nang* *singsing*
BF:PFV-buy GEN man GEN ring
ang ***asawa*** ***niya.***
TOP spouse 3SG:GEN
'The man bought his wife a ring.'

In (13), the actor nominal is chosen as the topic of the clause, and its semantic role is marked on the verb by the focus affix. The same applies to (14), where the patient nominal is chosen as the topic, and (15), where the beneficiary nominal is chosen as the topic. The topic constituent is marked by the topic preposition *ang* and it is usually interpreted as definite. Non-topic actor nominals and non-topic patient nominals are marked by the genitive marker *nang* (*ni* for personal names), and non-topic oblique constituents are marked by the oblique marker *sa* (*kay* for personal names).[2]

There has been a debate as to a proper characterization of the focus system of Philippine languages. See, for example, Shibatani (1988, 1999) and Katagiri (2005).

Tagalog makes use of various kinds of enclitics that occur in the second position of the clause: personal pronouns, and adverbial particles that denote aspect and modality.

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Formation. In Tagalog, an adnominal clause ('AC') is formed by the gap strategy; compare (16) with (17) and (18). An AC basically follows the head noun it modifies, e.g., (17), but it can also precede the noun if the clause is not too heavy, e.g., (18), just as an adjective can either precede or follow the noun it modifies. A head noun and an AC are linked by a linker. The form of the linker is as follows: (a) the word *na* following a consonant, e.g., (17); and (b) the suffix *-ng* following a vowel, e.g., (18).

(16) *B-in-ili=ko* *ang* *bahay.*
PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN TOP house
'I bought the house.'

(17) *Mahal* *ang* *bahay* *[na* *b-in-ili=ko].*
expensive TOP house LK PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN
'The house I bought was expensive.'

(18) *Mahal* *ang* *[b-in-ili=ko-ng]* *bahay.*
expensive TOP PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN-LK house
'The house I bought was expensive.'

An important point is that the head nominal must be the 'topic' nominal, that is, it must agree with the focus-marking of the verb of the AC. Thus, in (17) and (18), the head noun *bahay* 'house' is the topic of the AC, whose verb is in the patient-focus form. The head noun is the patient of the verb of the AC. That is, the head noun agrees with the focus-marking of the AC. On the other hand, if a non-topic of the AC is relativized on, the resultant sentence is ungrammatical. Compare (19) with (20) and (21).

(19) *B-um-ili=ako* *nang* *bahay.*
AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP GEN house
'I bought a house.'

(20) **Mahal* *ang* *bahay* *na* *[b-um-ili=ako].*
expensive TOP house LK AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP
Intended meaning: 'The house I bought was expensive.'

(21) **Mahal* *ang* *[b-um-ili=ako-ng]* *bahay.*
expensive TOP AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP-LK house
Intended meaning: 'The house I bought was expensive.'

In all of (19) to (21), the verb is in the actor-focus form. In (20) and (21), the topic of the AC is *ako* 'I' (the actor). However, the intended head noun is *bahay* 'house' (the patient nominal), and it is not the topic of the AC. The intended head noun does not agree with the focus-marking of the verb of the AC, and consequently, (20) and (21) are ungrammatical.

To be precise, there are exceptional cases where a non-topic nominal can be relativized on. See 4.2.1.2.

Tagalog has two types of ACs: internal ACs and external ACs. (See

Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.) Very 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. We shall discuss these two types of ACs in turn.

4.2.1.2 Internal ACs. As long as the head noun is the topic of the AC, a wide range of nominals with various semantic roles can be the head noun of ACs.

Actor:

(22) *Siya* *ang* *babae-ng* *nag-tu-turo* *nang*
3SG:TOP TOP woman-LK AF:IPFV-teach GEN
wika-ng *Filipino.*
language-LK Filipino
'The woman who teaches Filipino language is she.'

Patient, e.g., (17) and (18).

Beneficiary:

(23) *Sino* *ang* *babae-ng* *i-b-in-ili=mo*
who:TOP TOP woman-LK BF:PFV-buy=2SG:GEN
nang *singsing?*
GEN ring
LT: 'The woman for whom you bought a ring is who?'
FT: 'Who is the woman for whom you bought a ring?'

Instrumental:

(24) *Ito* *ang* *lagari-ng* *i-p-in-am-utol* *ni*
this:TOP TOP saw-LK IF:PFV-cut GEN
Pedro *nang* *puno.*
Pedro GEN tree
'The saw with which Pedro cut a tree is this.'[3]

As shown above, any nominal can be relativized on as long as it is the topic of the AC. Furthermore, a non-topic nominal can be relativized on in some cases. For example, a possessor nominal can be relativized on if it is extracted from the topic nominal of the AC.

Non-topic possessor:

(25) *Mahusay* *[ang* *paper* *nang* *estudyante].*
skillful TOP paper GEN student
'The student's paper is outstanding.'

(26) *Siya* *ang estudyante-ng mahusay* *ang* *paper.*
3SG:TOP TOP student-LK skillful TOP paper
'The student whose paper is outstanding is he.'

Also, certain oblique expressions can be relativized on, but this requires the use of an adverbial interrogative.

(27) *Ito* *ang* *railway station* *kung* *saan*
this:TOP TOP railway station ADV where
galling *si* *Pedro.*
be.from TOP Pedro.
'The railway station where Pedro is from is this.'

Headless relatives are common if the omitted head denotes a person or a thing, though the grammatical restriction on AC formation holds here as well: the (omitted) head must be the topic of the AC. Thus, in (28), the actor nominal, which refers to a person, is omitted. In (29), the patient nominal, which refers to a thing, is omitted. In both sentences, the semantic role of the (omitted) head is marked on the verb.

(28) *Sino* *ang* *t-um-ulong* *sa*
who:TOP TOP AF:PFV-help OBL
nag-hi-hirap?
AF:IPFV-be.poor
'Who is the person who helps the poor?'

(29) *Mahal* *ang* *b-in-ili=ko.*
expensive TOP PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN
'What I bought was expensive.'

4.2.1.3 External ACs. Generally, external ACs are not acceptable. First, compare (30) and (31).

(30) *I-p-in-iprito=niya* *ang* *isda.*
PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN TOP fish
'He is frying the fish.'

(31) **I-p-in-iprito=niya* *ang* *isda* *sa* *amoy.*
PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN TOP fish OBL smell
Intended meaning: 'He is frying the fish with the smell.'

The ex. (31) shows that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' cannot occur in (30). Now compare (30) with (32) (internal AC) and (33) (*external AC).

(32) *isda-ng* *i-p-in-i-prito=niya*
fish-LK PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN
'the fish that he is frying'

(33) **Mabaho* *ang amoy* *na* *i-p-in-i-prito(=niya)*
stinky TOP smell LK PF:IPFV-fry(=3SG:GEN)
ang *isda.*
TOP fish
LT: 'The smell with which he is frying the fish is stinky.'
FT: 'The smell of (his) frying fish is stinky.'

In (30), the verb is in the patient-focus form, and *isda* 'fish' (the patient nominal) is the topic of the clause. The ex. (32) is perfectly acceptable: the

head noun *isda* 'fish' (the patient nominal) agrees with the focus-marking (patient focus) of the verb of the AC.

The ex. (33) is intended to be an instance of external AC, but it is not acceptable. Recall first that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' cannot occur in (30). It is, so to speak, added to (33) from the outside of (30). (It is in view of this that the term 'external AC' is used. Cf. Teramura (1969).) Note that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' does not agree with the verb of the AC. (It cannot occur in (30) in the first place, and there is no way it can agree with the verb of the AC.)

However, there are instances in which an external AC is marginally acceptable. One such example is (37). Compare it with (34), (35), and (36). Note that in (37), *amoy* 'smell' does not agree with the verb (the actor focus) of the AC.

(34) *Na-lu-luto=na* *ang* *bigas.*
AF:IPFV-cook=already TOP rice
'The rice is cooking.'

(35) **Na-lu-luto=na* *ang* *bigas* *sa* *amoy.*
AF:IPFV-cook=already TOP rice OBL smell
Intended meaning: 'The rice is cooking with the smell.'

(36) *bigas* *na* *na-lu-luto=na*
rice LK AF:IPFV-cook=already
'the rice that is cooking'

(37) *?amoy* *na* *na-lu-luto* *ang* *bigas*
smell LK AF:IPFV-cook TOP rice
LT: 'the smell with which the rice is cooking'

Another example is (38). It employs the method mentioned in 4.2.1.2: the use of an adverbial interrogative.

(38) *Iyan* *ang* *dahilan* *kung* *bakit*
that:TOP TOP reason ADV why
nagalit=siya.
angry=3SG:TOP
'The reason why he got angry is that.'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

There are basically two types of clause-linkage markers to form adverbial clauses.

(a) Preclausal adverbial conjunctions, e.g., *kung/(ka)pag(ka)* 'when, if'; *sapagkat* 'because'.
(b) Nominalizers, e.g., *pag-dating* (NMLZ-arrive) 'when one arrives'; *pagka-kain* (NMLZ-eat) 'after one eats'.

Some nouns or adjectives with an oblique marker *sa* can be used as adverbial conjunctions, e.g., *dahil sa* (reason OBL) 'because'; *bukod sa*

(aside OBL) 'in addition that'.

Adverbial clauses can either precede or follow the main clause.

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume) proposes the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as in (1), repeated here as (39).

(39) Prototype of the MMC:
[Clause] Noun Copula

This prototype of the MMC is based on the MMC in Japanese, a predicate-final (or verb-final) language.

Tagalog would not be expected to have the MMC. There are at least two reasons for this.

First, almost all of the languages in which the MMC is attested are predicate-final (or verb-final), as shown in the other chapters in the present volume. However, Tagalog is predicate-initial (or verb-initial).

Second, as will be noted in 5.2.1, the MMC may be said to resemble external ACs in that the noun is not an argument (or an adjunct) of the clause. In view of this, the MMC would be expected to occur in languages in which external ACs are abundant and highly acceptable. However, in Tagalog, external ACs are only marginally acceptable.

Despite these expectations, Tagalog does have the MMC. It is a predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language. Its MMC is the mirror image of the kind of the MMC found in Japanese and other predicate-final (or verb-final) languages. The Tagalog MMC is of two types: (2) and (3). They are repeated here as (40) and (41), respectively.

(40) Finite type:
Noun(-)Linker [Clause (finite)]

(41) Infinitive type:
Noun(-)Linker [Clause (infinitive)]

As is the case with ACs (4.2.1), the 'Noun' and the 'Clause' are linked by a linker. We shall look at the finite type in 5.2, and the infinitive type in 5.3.

The Tagalog construction in question is not a prototypical instance of the MMC in the sense that it lacks copula, and that, in the case of the infinitive type, the clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Nonetheless, it is regarded as an instance of the MMC since it is the combination of two different structures.[4]

5.2 Finite type

5.2.1 Structure

In the finite type, the noun that occupies the 'Noun' slot is *mukha* 'face, facial expression'. It is interesting to note that this word is a loan word from Sanskrit: *mukha* 'mouth, face, countenance'. According to Yasunari Imamura (p.c.), its descendent *mukh* (with *a* dropped) is still used in Modern Hindi, with the meaning of 'face'.

The use of the word *mukha* is not limited to educated people. The Philippines has been trading with India since as far back as the 7th century, and this trade has influence in language. According to Panganiban (1972), of the 30000 root words in Tagalog, close to 300 are loans from Sanskrit. Other common Tagalog words of Sanskrit origin include *guro* 'teacher', *asawa* 'spouse', and *wika* 'language'.

In Tagalog, *mukha* 'face, facial expression' can be used outside the MMC. When it is used in the MMC, the MMC has evidential meanings: visual evidence and inference.

The predicate of the 'Clause' may be nominal, e.g., (43); adjectival, e.g., (45); or verbal, e.g., (47) (same as (4)). When the predicate is verbal, it is in a finite form. However, when the predicate is a nominal or adjectival, the distinction between finite and nonfinite forms is virtually non-existent. Whichever the predicate is, the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare the following pairs of examples.

Nominal predicate:

(42) *Binata=pa=siya.*
bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
'He is still a bachelor.'

(43) *Mukha-ng* *binata=pa=siya.*
face-LK bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
LT: 'Face that he is still a bachelor.'
FT: 'It seems he is still a bachelor.'

Adjectival predicate:

(44) *Malusog* *si* *Erap.*
healthy TOP Erap
'Erap is healthy.'

(45) *Mukha-ng* *malusog* *si* *Erap.*
face-LK healthy TOP Erap
LT: 'Face that Erap is healthy.'
FT: 'It seems Erap is healthy.'

Verbal predicate:

(46) *Sa-sabog=na* *ang* *bulkan.*
AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
'The volcano will erupt soon.'

(47) *Mukha-ng* *sa-sabog=na* *ang* *bulkan.*
face-LK AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
LT: 'Face that the volcano will erupt already.'
FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

The MMC may look similar to ACs. Note that *mukha* 'face' can in no way be an argument of the 'Clause'. In this respect, the MMC differs from internal ACs, but it may be said to resemble external ACs.

As noted above, the predicate of the 'Clause' occurs in a finite form (at least when it is a verb). There is no restriction on the inflection of the predicate of the 'Clause'. It can occur in any focus/aspect/mode form. Examples follow.

(48) *Mukha-ng* *b-um-i-bili* *ngayon* *ang* *lalaki* *nang*
face-LK AF:IPFV-buy now TOP man GEN
bago-ng *kotse.*
new-LK car
'It seems the man is buying a new car now.'

(49) *Mukha-ng* *b-in-ili* *kahapon* *nang* *lalaki*
face-LK PF:PFV-buy yesterday GEN man
ang *bago-ng* *kotse.*
TOP new-LK car
'It seems the man bought the new car yesterday.'

5.2.2 Semantics

The MMC with *mukha* 'face, facial expression' has evidential meanings. More specifically it denotes the following:

(a) visual evidence: on the basis of what the speaker actually sees, he/she states that a situation is likely to occur, or:
(b) inference: the speaker makes an inference on the basis of the surrounding situation.

Examples have already been given. An additional example is the following. (It contains an instance of 'headless relative clause' (cf. 4.2.1.2): *ang ipiniprito nang lalaki* '(the one that) the man is frying'.)

(50) *Mukha-ng* *isda* *ang* *i-p-in-i-prito* *nang* *lalaki.*
face-LK fish TOP PF:IPFV-fry GEN man
LT: 'Face that the one that the man is frying is fish.'
FT: 'It seems to be fish that the man is frying.'

The speaker may utter this sentence in a situation where he/she makes this judgment on the basis of the smell.

Similar meanings can be expressed by using adverbs. Among them, sentences with *para* 'seemingly' apparently takes the same form as the MMC with *mukha* 'face'.

(51) *Para-ng* *binata=pa=siya.*
seemingly-LK bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
'It seems he is still a bachelor.'

(52) *Para-ng* *malusog* *si* *Erap.*
seemingly-LK healthy TOP Erap
'It seems Erap is healthy.'

(53) *Para-ng* *sa-sabog=na* *ang* *bulkan.*
seemingly-LK AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

Compare these sentences with (43), (45), and (47), respectively. Apparently, they take the same form at least superficially: *mukha/para* + linker + clause. They are also similar in meaning, only with slight differences in terms of probability of the situation happening or occurring. Although *para* can be used in situations that one can actually see just like *mukha*, the likelihood of the occurrence of the situation is higher with *mukha* than with *para*.

In fact, many adverbial expressions take the same form described above, especially those that denote frequency: *madalas* 'often', *lagi* 'always', *madalang/bihira* 'rarely', *beses* 'times', etc.

(54) *Dalawa-ng* *beses* *sa* *isa-ng* *buwan* *na*
two-LK times OBL one-LK month LK
nag-bi-bilyar *si* *Noy.*
AF:IPFV-billiard TOP Noy
LT: 'Two times in a month that Noy plays billiard.'
FT: 'Noy plays billiard twice a month.'

The form observed in (54) is parallel to the structure of the MMC given in (39) above: Noun (*dalawang beses sa isang buwan* 'twice a month') + Linker + Clause. One might argue, then, that *mukha* is grammaticalized and it now has an adverbial function that denotes evidentiality.

However, there are structural differences between the MMC with *mukha* and those sentences that have the kind of adverbial expression illustrated above. In the MMC with *mukha*, the first part ('Noun') and the second part ('Clause') cannot be inverted, irrespective of whether an inversion marker is employed or not. See (55) and (56). In contrast, in (54), the first part can be postposed, although this is not common. Compare (54) and (57).

(55) *Mukha-ng* *u-ulan.*
face-LK AF:CONT-rain
'It seems it will rain.'

(56) **U-ulan-g* *(ay)* *mukha.*
AF:CONT-rain-LK INV face

(57) *Nag-bi-bilyar* *si* *Noy* *na* *dalawa-ng* *beses*
AF:IPFV-billiard TOP Noy LK two-LK times

sa *isa-ng* *buwan.*
OBL one-LK month
'Noy plays billiard twice a month.'

Comparison of (55)-(56) and (57) suggests that *dalawang beses sa isang buwan* 'twice a month' is something like an adverbial phrase, while (55) is an established construction, with a rigid relative order of words/phrases. *Mukha* is not an adverbial element. It is a part (and an important part) of the MMC.

This argument, however, does not apply to the word *para* 'seemingly', which cannot be postposed, just like *mukha* cannot. However, *mukha* and *para*, both of which express evidentiality of an action or state occurring, exhibit a difference in word order when negated. Compare (58)-(59) and (60)-(61).

(58) *Hindi=siya* *mukha-ng* *binata.*
NEG=3SG:TOP face-LK bachelor
'He does not seem to be a bachelor.'

(59) *Mukha=siya-ng* *hindi* *binata.*[5]
face-3SG:TOP-LK NEG bachelor
'He does not look like a bachelor.'

(60) **Hindi=siya* *para-ng* *binata.*
NEG=3SG:TOP seemingly-LK bachelor

(61) *Para=siya-ng* *hindi* *binata.*
seemingly=3SG:TOP-LK NEG bachelor
'He does not seem to be a bachelor.'

In Tagalog, a negative particle occurs clause-initially, that is, before the predicate of the clause. Compare (44') with (62), and (46) with (63).

(62) *Hindi* *malusog* *si* *Erap.*
NEG healthy TOP Erap
'Erap is not healthy.'

(63) *Hindi* *pa* *sa-sabog* *ang* *bulkan.*
NEG yet AF:CONT-erupt TOP volcano
'The volcano will not erupt yet.'

The contrast between (58) and (60) shows the structural difference between the MMC with *mukha* and sentences with an adverbial expression. The fact that the negative particle *hindi* can naturally occur before *mukha*, but not before *para* indicates that *mukha* behaves as the predicate of the sentence, just like a noun of the mermaid construction, while the *para* does not. This suggests again that *mukha* is not an adverbial element but 'Noun' of the MMC. (See (2) and (40) for 'Noun' of the MMC.)

5.3 Infinitive type

[1] Predicate

The structure of the infinitive type is shown in (3), and again in (41), as repeated below.

(41) Infinitive type:
Noun(-)Linker [Clause (infinitive)]

The predicate of the 'Clause' is finite in the finite type (at least when it is a verb). However, it is the infinitive form of a verb, that is, a non-finite form, in the infinitive type. The difference between the finite and the infinitive forms is roughly as follows.

(a) Finite forms inflect for focus and aspect.
(b) Infinitive forms inflect for focus, but not for aspect.

In the infinitive type, the verb in the 'Clause' is non-finite, and the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

[2] Nouns

The nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot in the infinitive type include *plano* 'plan', e.g., (5), (66), (69); *tradisyon* 'tradition', e.g., (64), (70); *destino* 'destiny' (all borrowed from Spanish); *balak* 'plan'; and *kapalaran* 'fate', e.g., (65), (67), (68). They have an evidential, an aspectual, or a modal meaning. This is summarized in Table 3.

(64) *Tradisyon-g* *ipag-diwang* *nang* *manga* *Filipino*
tradition-LK PF:INF-celebrate GEN PL Filipino
ang *Easter.*
TOP Easter
LT: 'Tradition for Filipinos to celebrate Easter.'
FT: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

[3] Actor nominal (1): preposition

In Tagalog, generally, when an actor nominal agrees with the verb in terms of focus marking, it must be preceded by the topic preposition. For example, in (13), the actor nominal *lalaki* 'man' agrees with the verb *b-um-ili* 'AF.PFV-buy' (in the actor focus), and it is preceded by the topic preposition *ang*. When the actor nominal does not agree with the verb, it is preceded by the genitive preposition, e.g., (14) and (15) (*nang lalaki* 'GEN man'). The verb is in the patient focus in (14), and in the beneficiary focus in (15). The same applies to the MMC of the finite type. In (48), the actor nominal (*lalaki* 'man') agrees with the verb (in the actor focus) and it is preceded by the topic preposition *ang*. In (49), the actor nominal (*lalaki* 'man') does not agree with the verb (in the patient focus) and it is preceded by the genitive preposition *nang*.

However, the above does not apply to the MMC of the infinitive type. When the actor nominal agrees with the verb, its behavior is different from that described above. In some instances, the actor nominal may be preceded either by the topic preposition (as is generally the case with an actor nominal used as the topic) or by the genitive preposition (as is generally the case with an actor used as a non-topic).

(65) *Kapalaran-g* *ma-wala* *si / ni* *Pilar* *sa*
fate-LK AF:INF-disappear TOP/GEN Pilar OBL
Maynila *upang* *ma-kita* *si* *Pepe.*
Manila in order to PF:INF-see TOP Pepe
LT: 'Fate for/of Pilar to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe.'
FT: 'Pilar was destined to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe.'

In other instances, the actor nominal can be preceded by the genitive preposition. But the use of the topic preposition is unacceptable or only marginally acceptable. This is despite the fact that it agrees with the verb (in the actor focus).

(66) *Plano-ng* *b-um-isita* *ni / *si* *Noy* *sa* *Davao*
plan-LK AF:INF-visit GEN/*TOP Noy OBL Davao
bukas.
tomorrow
LT: 'Plan of Noy to visit Davao tomorrow.'
FT: 'Noy plans to visit Davao tomorrow.'

(67) *Kapalaran-g* *ma-talo* *ni / ?si* *Erap* *noon-g*
fate-LK AF:INF-lose GEN/?TOP Erap last-LK
eleksyon.
election
LT: 'Fate of/for Erap to lose in the last election.'
FT: 'Erap was destined to lose in the last election.'

[4] Actor nominal (2): relative order

There is a difference in the behavior of the actor nominal between the infinitive type and the finite type. This difference has to do with the genitive marking of the actor nominal.

In the infinitive type, if the actor nominal is preceded by the genitive case, it may precede the verb and occur immediately after the 'Noun' of the MMC. This is possible both (a) when the actor nominal agrees with the verb (in the actor focus), e.g., (68), and (b) when the actor nominal does not agree with the verb (in a focus other than the actor focus), e.g., (69) and (70) (the patient focus).

(68) *Kapalaran* *ni/*si* *Pilar* *na* *ma-wala*
fate GEN/*TOP Pilar LK AF:INF-disappear
sa *Maynila* *upang* *ma-kita* *si* *Pepe.*
OBLManila in order to PF:INF-see TOP Pepe

LT: 'Fate of Pilar to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe.'
FT: 'Pilar was destined to get lost in Manila [when she went] to see Pepe.'

(69) *Plano* *nang* *gobyerno-ng* *apruba-han* *ang*
plan GEN government-LK approve-PF:INF TOP
pag-import *nang* *bigas.*
NMLZ-import GEN rice
LT: 'Plan of the government to approve the import of rice.'
FT: 'The government plans to approve the import of rice.'

(70) *Tradisyon* *nang* *manga* *Filipino-ng*
tradition GEN PL Filipino-LK
ipag-diwang *ang* *Easter.*
PF:INF-celebrate TOP Easter.
LT: 'Tradition of Filipinos to celebrate Easter.'
FT: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

Compare, for example, (65) and (68). In (68), the actor nominal (*Pilar*) occurs immediately after the 'Noun' (*kapalaran* 'fate') and it must be preceded by the genitive postposition, and not by the topic preposition. In (65), the actor nominal does not occur immediately after the 'Noun', and it may be preceded by the topic preposition or by the genitive preposition.

Only the actor nominal can precede the verb and occur immediately after the 'Noun'.

In contrast to the infinitive type, the finite type (the 'Noun' is *mukha* 'face') does not allow the actor nominal to occur immediately after the 'Noun' *mukha*, irrespective of whether the actor nominal is the topic, cf. (72), or not, cf. (74). Compare (71) and (72), and (73) and (74).

(71) *Mukha-ng* *bi-bisita* *si* *Noy* *sa*
face-LK AF:CONT-visit TOP Noy OBL
Davao *bukas.*
Davao tomorrow
'Noy seems to be going to Davao tomorrow.'

(72) **Mukha* *ni* *Noy* *na* *bi-bisita* *sa* *Davao*
face GEN Noy LK AF:CONT-go OBL Davao
bukas.
tomorrow
LT: 'Face of Noy that will visit Davao tomorrow.'
Intended meaning: '(As above')

(73) *Mukha-ng* *t-in-anggap=na* *nang* *gobyerno*
face-LK PF:PERF-receive=already GEN government
ang *kanila-ng* *pagkakamali.*
TOP 3PL:OBL-LK mistake
'The government seems to have acknowledged its mistake.'

(74) **Mukha* *nang* *gobyerno-ng* *t-in-anggap=na*
face GEN government-LK PF:PERF-receive=already

ang kanila-ng pagkakamali.
TOP 3PL:OBL-LK mistake
LT: 'Face of the government that received their mistake already.'
Intended meaning: '(As above')

5.4 Semantics of the two types

We have seen one noun (5.2) and five nouns (5.3) that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. They can be summarized as in Table 3. As can be seen, they are highly grammaticalized in the MMC, in terms of semantics at least.

Table 3. Semantics of the MMC

	outside MMC	meaning of MMC
mukha	'face'	evidential: visual evidence and inference
plano	'plan'	modal: 'plan to do'
tradisyon	'tradition'	aspectual: habitual
destino	'destiny'	modal: 'be destined to do'
balak	'plan'	modal: 'plan to do'
kapalaran	'fate'	modal: 'be destined to do'

6. Summary and concluding remarks

Tagalog would not be expected to have the MMC. First, it is predicate-initial (or verb-initial), whereas almost all of the languages in which the MMC is attested are predicate-final (or verb-final). Second, the MMC may be said to resemble external ACs in that the noun is not an argument or an adjunct of the clause, and the MMC might be expected to occur in languages where external ACs are abundant. However, in Tagalog, external ACs are only marginally acceptable.

Despite these two expectations, Tagalog does have the MMC. This MMC is the mirror image of the prototype of the MMC, attested in predicate-final languages. The Tagalog MMC is of two types.

In the finite type, the verb of the 'Clause' is in a finite form, and the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. The 'Noun' is *mukha* 'face', a loan from Sanskrit *mukha*, and the MMC has evidential meanings of visual evidence and inference: 'the situation is likely to occur'.

In the infinitive type, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in the infinitive form, that is, a non-finite form, and the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. At least five nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot. Two of them are loans from Spanish, while the remaining two are native Tagalog words. The infinitive type has an evidential, a modal, or an aspectual meaning. The infinitive type exhibits an unusual behavior in terms of the

case and the relative position of the actor nominal.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that the nouns used for either type of the mermaid construction are mostly loan words. This might have something to do with the preference for verbal constructions of the language *per se*, but it remains for further research.

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Notes

[1] Note that the verb *b-um-ili* 'AF:PFV-buy' consists of the verb root *bili* 'buy' and the inflectional infix *-um-* 'AF:PFV' (cf. Table 2). It is difficult to gloss infixes adequately. The same applies to many other verbs in the examples given below.

[2] In standard orthography, the genitive marker *nang* [naŋ] is written as *ng*. To avoid confusion with a suffix *–ng* [ŋ], which is a linker, *nang* is used in this paper.

[3] There is another, preferred way to express the meaning of (24):

(i) *Ito ang lagari-ng g-in-amit ni Pedro*
this:TOP TOP saw-LK PF:PFV-use GEN Pedro
pang-putol nang puno.
for-cut GEN tree
'This is the saw Pedro used to cut a tree.'

Roughly speaking, the difference between (24) and (i) is as follows. In (24), the verb for 'cut' is in the instrumental-focus form, whereas (i) employs the verb for 'use' (in the patient-focus form) in place of the instrumental focus.

[4] The MMC analysis might not be maintained under the "equation hypothesis" proposed by Naylor (1995), for example, among others (cf. Schachter and Otanes 1972, Schachter 1976, Kaufman 2009), in which Tagalog verbal predicates are assumed to be syntactically nominal, and the Tagalog clause structure is best analyzed as an equational. Under this hypothesis, there would be no clause showing a combination of noun-predicate and verb-predicate structures. In the construction in question here, however, the two parts are linked by a linker, instead of parataxis

which Naylor (1995) regards as the means of realizing "equational" clauses.

[5] According to my consultant, in this word order, the speaker emphasizes the physical appearance, especially the face, of the person.

Abbreviations

AC - adnominal clause; ADV - adverbial; AF - actor focus; BF - beneficiary focus; CF - causal focus; CONT - contemplated; DF - direction focus; EXCL - exclusive; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HON - honorific; IF - instrumental focus; INCL - inclusive; INF - infinitive; INV - inversion marker; IPFV - imperfective; LF - location focus; LK - linker; LT - literal translation; NEG - negative; NMLZ - nominalizer; OBL - oblique; PF - patient focus; PFV - perfective; PL - plural; Q - question particle; RF - reason focus; SG - singular; TOP - topic.

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Quasi-mermaid construction in Thai

Kiyoko Takahashi
Kanda University of International Studies

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') roughly as follows.

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):
Clause Noun Copula

The predicate (which is often a verb) of the 'Clause' may be inflected. But it may be followed by a nominalizer ('NMLZ'), as in (2). An example is (50), an instance of the Japanese MMC.

(2) ... verb + NMLZ Copula

The prototype, shown in (1), is based on the MMC of Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b), an SOV (or AOV) language. Thai is an SVO (or AVO) language. Unlike Mandarin Chinese, another SVO language, which has structures that may be considered variants of the MMC, Thai does not have a structure that would be unequivocally called the MMC. Nonetheless, it has a structure that may be considered 'quasi-MMC'. It is of three types.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Thai:
  a. Psych-verb type:
    (Target +) Copula + [NMLZ + psych-V]
    (+ Obl + Experiencer)
  b. Speech-verb type:
    (Target +) Copula + [NMLZ + speech-V]
    (+ Obl + Speaker)
  c. Quotative-complementation type:
    Copula + [NMLZ + psych/speech-V] + [COMP + Clause]

The psych-verb type (3-a) involves a psych-verb ('psych-V'), while the speech-verb type (3-b) contains a speech verb ('speech-V'). Both types of verbs are acceptable in the quotative-complemention type (3-c).

(3-c) differs from (3-a) and (3-b) in two respects. First, it lacks 'Target', 'Obl + Experiencer' and 'Obl + Speaker'. Second, it obligatorily contains a complement clause ('COMP + Clause').

All of (3-a) to (3-c) are similar to the variety of the MMC shown in (2), in which the verb is accompanied by a nominalizer.

(3-a) is the oldest quasi-MMC in Thai. It has been used since the era of the Sukhothai dynasty (13-14C), the earliest period in the documented history of the Thai language (Kitsombat 1981: 33). It has been regarded by Thai linguists as a peculiar sort of passive construction. (3-b) and (3-c) appear to originate from (3-a). (3-b) seems to have risen rather recently. It is not mentioned in studies on Thai grammar. (3-c) emerged in the nineteenth century (Kitsombat 1981: 44) and came to be commonly used in the twentieth century (Prasithrathsint 1985: 96).

2. Initial illustration

Examples of (3-a) to (3-c) include (4) to (6), respectively.

(3-a):

(4) *kháw* *yɔ̂ɔm* *pen* [*thîi* *chûa mân*]
PRON inevitably COP NMLZ be.confident
khɔ̌ɔŋ *phûu tây baŋkháp banchaa*
GEN subordinates
LT: 'He is inevitably that/what [they] are confident [of], of the subordinates.'
FT: 'He is inevitably trusted by [his] subordinates.'

(3-b):

(5) *nawaníyaay* *rûaŋ* *níi* *pen*
novel CLF this COP
[*thîi* *klàaw* *thŭŋ* *yàaŋ phrêɛ lăay*]
NMLZ say reach widely
LT: 'This novel is that/what [they] mention widely.'
FT: 'This novel is widely mentioned.'

(3-c):

(6) *pen* [*thîi* *yɔɔm ráp* *kan* *thûa* *pay*]
COP NMLZ admit RECP be.overall go
[*wâa* *wannakam* *lέ?* *phâaphayon* *mii*
COMP literary.work and movie have
?ìtthíphon *tɔ̀ɔ* *kan lέ? kan* *yàaŋ mâak*]
influence upon each.other very.much
LT: '[It] is that/what [they] generally admit that literary works and movies influence each other very much.'
FT: 'It is generally admitted that literary works and movies influence each other very much.'

The nominalizer ('NMLZ') and the verb (a psych-verb or a speech verb) form a unit. The quotative complementizer ('COMP') and the complement clause ('Clause'), too, are inseparable. In the relevant examples, a combination of the nominalizer and the verb is indicated by means of square brackets. So is a combination of the complementizer and the complement clause. (A combination of the nominalizer and the verb may be expanded by means of modifier(s) of the verb or other verb(s). See 5.3.2-[1], -[2].)

3. Profile of the language

Thai belongs to the Tai group of the Tai-Kadai family. It is the official language of Thailand. According to *Ethnologue* (online version 2000), the population of L1 Thai speakers is about 20,200,000 and that of L2 Thai speakers is about 40,000,000.

The inventory of Thai phonemes is as follows: (a) consonants: /p, t, k, ʔ, ph, th, kh, b, d, f, s, h, c, ch, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, y/; (b) vowels: /i, ɯ, u, e, ə, o, ɛ, a, ɔ, ii, ɯɯ, uu, ee, əə, oo, ɛɛ, aa, ɔɔ/; (c) diphthongs: /ia, ɯa, ua/; and (d) tones: Mid, Low, Falling, High, Rising (e.g., maa, màa, mâa, máa, măa).

Thai is a typical isolating language. It employs virtually no affixation. Verbs do not inflect. Thai is neither dependent-marking nor head-marking. It may be regarded as configuratonal, for the verb tends to be tightly connected with the object rather than the subject.

Thai has prepositions. However, like other functional morphemes, they are often not used, especially in oral discourse. The basic orders of clausal constituents are AVO and SV. The A, S, and O are not marked for case. That is, Thai has the neutral case system: A=S=O. Modifiers of a noun, e.g., demonstrative, classifier, and relative (or adnominal) clause, follow the

noun.

Thai abounds with the serial verb construction. See 5.3.2-[1].

The Thai writing system was created in the thirteenth century. The present work is based on data gathered from the written language.[1] The examples of the quasi-MMC cited in the present paper were collected mainly from the Thai National Corpus, which is the largest electronic Thai corpus available on the Internet, and partially from two previous studies: Kitsombat (1981) and Prasithrathsint (1985).[2] The English glosses and translations are mostly those of the present author. Some of the examples were slightly modified owing to space limitation and other stylistic reasons.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verb-predicate clauses/sentences and noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Clauses/sentences of Thai can be divided into two types: verb-predicate clauses/sentences (4.1.1) and noun-predicate clauses/sentences (4.1.2). There is no separate word class of adjectives. What may correspond to adjectives of, say, English and Japanese are verbs in Thai, e.g., (9).[3]

Verbs occurring in independent verb/noun-predicate clauses/sentences can be modified by a modal/aspectual marker. For example, in (7) and (17), the verb (*mii* 'exist', *pen* 'COP') is preceded by an epistemic modal marker (*ʔàat* 'maybe', *khoŋ* 'probably'). In (8), the verb and its nominal argument (*kàət panhăa* 'a problem occurs') are followed by the inchoative aspect marker (*khûn* 'INC').

4.1.1 Verb-predicate clauses/sentences

Verb-predicate clauses/sentences can be classified into four types.

[1] One-place clauses/sentences with the VS order
[2] One-place clauses/sentences with the SV order
[3] Two-place clauses/sentences
[4] Three-place clauses/sentences

We shall look at each of these four types.

[1] One-place clauses/sentences with the VS order

These clauses/sentences describe existence, e.g., (7) (*mii* 'exist') or emergence/extinction, e.g., (8) (*kàət* 'occur').

(7) *ʔàat* *mii* *panhăa*
maybe exist problem
'There may be a problem.'

(8) *kàət* *panhăa* *khûn*
occur problem INC
'A problem occurs.'

[2] One-place clauses/sentences with the SV order

As seen above, one-place clauses/sentences with the VS order describe existence or emergence/extinction. One-place clauses/sentences with the SV order describe other situations. Examples follow.

(9) *phŏm* *yaaw*
hair be.long
'The hair was long.'

(10) *kêɛw* *tèɛk*
glass break
'The glass broke.'

[3] Two-place clauses/sentences

Two-place clauses/sentences have the AVO order. Examples include:

(11) *mîit* *bàat* *níw*
knife cut finger
'The knife cut the finger.'

As noted in Section 3, the serial verb construction is very common in Thai. An example involving a two-place verb is (12) (*phát* 'blow' + *phaŋ* 'tumble.down').

(12) *lom* *phát* *bâan* *phaŋ*
wind blow house tumble.down
'The wind blew the house, which tumbled down.'

[4] Three-place clauses/sentences

The recipient or the like may not be marked for case, e.g., (13), or may be preceded by the dative preposition *kèɛ* 'to', the comitative/dative preposition *kàp* 'with, to', e.g., (14), or the benefactive preposition *hây* 'for, to'. Irrespective of whether it is marked by a preposition or not, the recipient or the like consistently follows the gift, theme, or the like.

(13) *kháw* *hây* *ʔaahăan* *măa*
PRON give food dog
'He gave the dog some food.'

(14) *kháw* *hây* *ʔaahăan* *kàp* *măa*
PRON give food COM/DAT dog
'He gave some food to the dog.'

In passing, the word order in (14) is the same as its English counterpart: *He gave some food to the dog.* In contrast, the word order in (13) is unacceptable in English: **He gave some food the dog.*

4.1.2 Noun-predicate clauses/sentences
Thai has two copulas: *pen*, e.g., (15), and *khuuu*, e.g., (16).

(15)	*kháw*	*pen*	*khruu*	
	PRON	COP	teacher	
	'He is a teacher.'			
(16)	*nân*	*khuuu*	*náŋsŭuu*	*kháw*
	that	COP	book	PRON
	'That is his book.'			

The two copulas, *pen* and *khuuu*, have been contrastively characterized as 'characterizational' vs. 'identificational'(Kuno & Wongkhomthong 1981) and 'thought-like, slow/analytic processing' vs. 'sensation-like, fast/holistic processing' (Takahashi & Shinzato 2003). For instance, (15) (*pen*) portrays a characteristic of the referent of the subject (categorization), whereas (16) (*khuuu*) presents the entity with which the referent of the subject is identified (definition). These dichotomic meanings of the two copulas are presumably ascribable to the different modes of information processing that the speaker excutes. Specifically, the use of *pen* reflects slow/analytic processing of information (thought-like processing), while the use of *khuuu* is associated with fast/holistic processing of information (sensation-like processing). Accordingly, the thought-implying copula *peṅ* is compatible with modal modification indicative of the speaker's deliberation, reasoning, inference, judgment, reckoning, etc., e.g., (17), but the sensation-implying copula *khuuu* is not; see (18).

(17)	*nân*	*khoŋ*	*pen*	*náŋsŭuu*	*kháw*
	that	probably	COP	book	PRON
	'That is probably his book.'				
(18)	**nân*	*khoŋ*	*khuuu*	*náŋsŭuu*	*kháw*
	that	probably	COP	book	PRON
	Intended meaning: 'That is probably his book.'				

Related to this is the fact that *pen* may be used for expressions of negative evaluation, e.g., (19), while *khuuu* cannot; see (20).

(19)	*kháw*	*mây*	*pen*	*khruu*
	PRON	NEG	COP	teacher
	'He is not a teacher.'			
(20)	* *kháw*	*mây*	*khuuu*	*khruu*
	PRON	NEG	COP	teacher
	Intended meaning: 'He is not a teacher.'			

Someone who uses an expression of negative evaluation has to engage herself in analytic thinking before reaching the conclusion of negative evaluation.[4] Hence, negative evaluation employs the thought-implying copula *pen*.

The use of a copula verb is not obligatory, e.g., (21). A copula verb is often absent in daily conversations.

(21) *nân* *náŋsŭŭu* *kháw*
that book PRON
'That [is] his book.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

Like Japanese, Thai has both 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs') (4.2.2) and 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs') (4.2.3). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.) Very roughly speaking, the difference between them is as follows. In the 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.

I prefer to use Kullavanijaya's (2008) terms, and in the present paper, I shall often use the following terms.

(a) 'Relative clauses' in place of 'internal ACs'
(b) 'Noun complement clauses' in place of 'external ACs'

The concept of 'noun complement clause' corresponds to what Croft (2001: 348) names 'nominal complement'. A 'complement' is defined as a 'component structure that elaborates a salient substructure of the head (the profile determinant at a given level of organization)' (Langacker 2000: 21, 212-218). I shall use the terms 'relativizer' and 'noun complementizer' as follows.

(c) Relativizer: a functional morpheme that heads an embedded clause, the antecedent (head noun) of which must have a syntactic relation with the verb in the embedded clause
(d) Noun complementizer: a functional morpheme that heads an embedded clause, the antecedent (head noun) of which does not have any grammatical relation with the verb in the embedded clause (cf. Kullavanijaya 2008: 448)

As noted in Section 3, Thai ACs follow the head noun. Their structure can be shown as in (22). It has three most common variants: (a), (b), and (c). The AC marker (i.e., adnominal clause marker) may be absent, as in (a), or present, as in (b) and (c). It may be a relativizer, as in (b) and (c), or a noun complementiezer, as in (b) and (c).

(22) Head noun + (AC marker) + clause
(a) Head noun + Ø + clause

The AC marker is absent, e.g., (23).

(b) Head noun + *thîi* + clause

The AC marker is the nominalizer *thîi* functioning as a relativizer, e.g., (25) and (32), or as a noun complementizer, e.g., (33).

(c) Head noun + *sûŋ* + clause

The AC marker is the typical relativizer *sûŋ* functioning as a relativizer, e.g., (25) to (32), or as a noun complementizer, e.g., (33).

Thai ACs are of the 'external-head', 'postnominal' type in Keenan's (1985) and Lehmann's (1986) terminology. Resumptive pronouns may occur in ACs, e.g., *kháw* 'PRON' in (25), (28), and (31), and *man* 'PRON' in (26), (27), and (30). A classifier also possibly occurs between the head noun and an AC, e.g., (23) and (25).

4.2.2 Internal ACs

Examples of internal ACs follow.

(23) *nák sùksăa* (*khon*) *rian tòɔ*
student (CLF) study continue
'the student who continues to study [something]'

(24) * *nák sùksăa* *kháw rian tòɔ*
student PRON study continue
Intended meaning: 'the student who continues to study [something]'

(25) *nák sùksăa* (*khon*) *{thîi / sûŋ}* (*kháw*) *rian tòɔ*
student (CLF) REL (PRON) study continue
'the student who continues to study [something]'

(23) is an example of (22-a). In this type, the clause cannot contain its subject. In (24), the clause contains its subject: *kháw* 'PRON'. It is no longer an example of (22-a), and it does not mean 'the student who continues to study'. (It can mean 'as for the student, he continues to study'.) (25) is an example of (22-b) and (22-c).

All the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) noun phrase accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on (Yaowapat & Prasithrathsint 2009).

(a) Subject, e.g., (23) and (25)
(b) Direct object, e.g., (26)
(c) Indirect object, e.g., (27)
(d) Oblique object, e.g., (28) and (29)
(e) Genitive or possessor, e.g., (30)
(f) Object of comparison, e.g., (31)

(26) *náŋsŭɯ sûŋ kháw cèek (man) nay thêesakaan*
book REL PRON distribute (PRON) LOC festival

'the books which he distributed in the festival'

(27) *mǎa* *sûŋ* *kháw* *hây* *ʔaahǎan* *(man)*
dog REL PRON give food (PRON)
'the dog which he gave some food'

(28) *khon* *sûŋ* *chán* *phûut* *kàp* *kháw*
person REL PRON talk COM/DAT PRON
'the person with whom I talk'

(29) *klòŋ* *sûŋ* *kháw* *sày* *khɔ̌ɔŋ* *yə́ʔ*
box REL PRON put.in thing many
'the box in which he put many things'

(30) *mɛɛw* *sûŋ* *khɔ̌n* *(man)* *yaaw*
cat REL hair (PRON) long
'the cat whose hair is long'

(31) *khon* *sûŋ* *chán* *kèŋ* *kwàa* *(kháw)*
person REL PRON proficient more.than (PRON)
'the person whom I am more proficient than'

4.2.3 External ACs

Examples of external ACs include the following.

(32) *klìn* *{thîi / sûŋ}* *kháw* *yâaŋ* *plaa*
smell REL PRON grill fish
LT: 'the smell with which he grills a fish'
FT: 'the smell of him grilling a fish'

(33) *rûaŋ* *{thîi / sûŋ}* *kháw* *rian* *tɔ̀ɔ*
fact COMP PRON study continue
'the fact that he continues to study [something]'

5. Quasi-mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') roughly as shown in (1), which is repeated as (34).

(34) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):
Clause Noun Copula

This prototype is based on the MMC of Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b), an SOV (or AOV) language. Thai is an SVO (or AVO) language. Unlike Mandarin Chinese, another SVO language, which has structures that may be considered variants of the MMC, Thai does not have a structure that would be unequivocally called the MMC. Nonetheless, it has a structure that may be considered 'quasi-MMC'. It was shown in (3), which is repeated as (35).

(35) Quasi-MMC of Thai:[5]

a. Psych-verb type:
(Target +) **Copula** + [**NMLZ** + **psych-V**]
(+ Obl + Experiencer)

b. Speech-verb type:
(Target +) **Copula** + [**NMLZ** + **speech-V**]
(+ Obl + Speaker)

c. Quotative-complementation type:
Copula + [**NMLZ** + **psych/speech-V**] + [**COMP** + **Clause**]

The psych-verb type (35-a) involves a psych-verb, e.g., *like*, *worry*, *know*, *respect*, *love*, *acknowledge*, *be.interested*, *favor*, *be.confident*, *be.annoyed*, *enjoy*, *understand*, *be.sure*, *desire*, *want*, *dote.on*, *believe.in*, or *feel.satisfied*. The speech-verb type (35-b) contains a speech verb, e.g., *say*, *mention*, *criticize*, or *rumor*. Both types of verbs are acceptable in the quotative-complemention type (35-c).

'Experiencer' refers to the experiencer (i.e., mental Undergoer) of psych-verbs, while 'Speaker' indicates the speaker (i.e., verbal Actor) of speech verbs. (The terms 'Undergoer' and 'Actor' are adopted from Foley and Van Valin (1984). They are macro-roles. In the quasi-MMC of Thai, the 'Undergoer' and 'Actor' are, respectively, an experiencer and a speaker.) 'Obl' is indicated by a preposition: *khɔ̌ɔŋ* 'GEN', *nay* 'LOC', *kɛ̀ɛ* 'DAT', or *kàp* 'COM/DAT'.

'Target' identifies the target, goal, or the like of psych-verbs or speech verbs.

The 'COMP + Clause' (the quotative complementizer *wâa* plus a clause) in (34-c) represents the complement of the psych-verb or the speech verb.

In each of (35-a) to (35-c), the following constituents are obligatorily present: (i) 'Copula' verb, (ii) 'NMLZ' (nominalizer), and (iii) a psych-verb or a speech verb. In (35-a) and (35-b), 'Target' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker' are sometimes absent. 'COMP + Clause' cannot occur. In (35-c), 'COMP + Clause' is obligatorily present, while 'Target' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker' cannot occur. In (35-a) to (35-c), those constituents that are obligatorily present are shown in bold face.

(35-c) differs from (35-a) and (35-b) in two respects. First, it lacks 'Target' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'. Second, it obligatorily contains a complement clause ('COMP + Clause').

All of (35-a) to (35-c) are similar to the variety of the MMC shown in (2), in which the verb is accompanied by a nominalizer. (35-c) resembles the prototype of the MMC (see (34)) most closely in that a clause is included.

We shall now examine each constituent of the quasi-MMC of Thai, as shown in (35-a) to (35-c), paying attention to their semantic and syntactic aspects, in particular. Morphological issues are largely irrelevant, since Thai is basically an isolating language. In order to appreciate the structure and meaning of the quasi-MMC, it is the most convenient to start with 'NMLZ': nominalizer.

5.2 Nominalizer

The nominalizers used in the quasi-MMC are *thîi* and *kaan*. In the quasi-MMC of the present-day Thai, *kaan* is little used, whereas *thîi* is dominantly used.[6] Both *kaan* and *thîi* are polysemous, polyfunctional morphemes, as shown below.

kaan can be used as (i) a lexical noun that is used in idiomatic expressions and means 'activity, affair', e.g., (36), and (ii) a class noun meaning 'matter', e.g., (37).[7] It can also be used as a functional morpheme: (iii) as a nominalizer, e.g., (38).

(36) *ŋaan* *kaan*
work activity
'duties'

(37) *kaan* *prapaa*
matter water.supply
'waterworks'

(38) *kaan* *sùksăa*
NMLZ study
'education'

thîi can be used as (i) a lexical noun meaning 'place', e.g., (39); and (ii) a class noun meaning 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)', e.g., (40) and (41). It can also be used as a functional morpheme such as (iii) a classifier, e.g., (42); (iv) a preposition, e.g., (43); (v) a nominalizer, e.g., (44); (vi) a relativizer, e.g., (25), (32), and (45); (vii) a noun complementizer, e.g., (33) and (46); and (viii) a verb complementizer, e.g., (47).

(39) *thîi* *din*
place earth
'a piece of land'

(40) *thîi* *nâŋ*
entity sit
'seat'

(41) *thîi* *ciŋ*
entity be.true
'in fact'

(42) *nám* *chaa* *sɔ̌ɔŋ* *thîi*
water tea two CLF
'two men's tea'

(43) *dèk dèk* *thîi* *bâan*
children at house
'the children at home'

(44) *thîi* *kháw* *thĭaŋ*
NMLZ PRON argue
'that he argued'

(45) *plaa* *thîi* *kháw* *yâaŋ*
fish REL PRON grill
'the fish that he grilled'

(46) *rûaŋ* *thîi* *kháw* *thĭaŋ*
fact COMP PRON argue
'the fact that he argued'

(47) *chán* *sĭa cay* *thîi* *kháw* *thĭaŋ*
PRON be.sorry COMP PRON argue
'I was sorry that he argued.'

It is in the capacity of nominalizers that *thîi* and *kaan* can occur in the quasi-MMC of Thai. Examples of the quasi-MMC involving *thîi* include (4) to (6), and the following.

(48) *nay bàtcuban níi* *ʔaahăan* *yîipùn* *cà?* *pen*
currently food Japan IRR COP
[*thîi* *níyom* *kan* *yàaŋ phrêɛ lăay*]
NMLZ favor RECP widely
nay *mùu* *khon* *thay*
LOC group people Thai
LT: 'Currently Japanese food is that/what [they] favor widely in the group of Thai people.'
FT: 'Currently Japanese food is widely favored among Thai people.'

Examples of the quasi-MMC involving *kaan* include the following.

(49) *phaasĭi* *pen* [*kaan* *ramkhaan*] *kàp*
tax COP NMLZ be.annoyed COM/DAT
khon súɯɯ khăay
sbuyers.and.sellers
LT: 'Tax is that/what [they] are annoyed [at], with buyers and sellers.'
FT: 'Buyers and sellers are annoyed at tax' or 'Tax annoys buyers and sellers.'

As noted in 5.1, in (35-a) to (35-c), the nominalizer ('NMLZ') and the verb (a psych-verb or speech verb) form a unit, separate from 'Copula' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'. It is in view of this that, in the relevant examples, they are shown by means of square brackets. This unit may contain modifiers of the verb, e.g., *yàaŋ phrêɛ lăay* 'widely' in (48), or other verb(s). (See 5.3.2-[1], -[2].)

In the prototype of the MMC, shown in (34), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by what may be termed a 'lexical noun' or 'content noun'. However, this slot may be occupied by a nominalizer. The enclitic *=no* of Japanese is a case in point. Consider the following example, cited from Tsunoda (this volume-b). The Japanese MMC with *=no* expresses cause, reason, or the

like.

(50) *Gakusee=ga* *issyokenmee* *benkyoo-si-te* *i-ru.*
student=NOM very.hard study-do-TE be-NONPST
'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.'

The enclitic *=no* may be regarded as the genitive case marker or a non-content noun. It may also be regarded as a nominalizer. The quasi-MMC of Thai resembles those instances of the MMC (including the Japanese MMC with *=no*) that contain a nominalizer.

I have stated that it is in the capacity of nominalizers that *thîi* and *kaan* can occur in the quasi-MMC of Thai. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that these nominalizers can be used as nouns in the present-day Thai. *kaan* can be used as a lexical noun 'activity, affair', and as a class noun 'matter'. *thîi* can be used as a lexical noun 'place', and as a class noun 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)'. Note that these nouns have generic (as against specific) meanings. As noted in Tsunoda (this volume-a) and as shown in other chapters in the present volume, nouns that occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC in other languages often have generic meanings. (Examples include *tokoro* 'place', *mono* 'thing' and *koto* 'thing' of Japanese (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.3).) In this respect, too, the quasi-MMC in Thai is similar to the MMC in these languages.

Having examined the 'NMLZ' (nominalizer) in (35-a) to (35-c), we shall turn now to verbs.

5.3 Psych-verbs and speech verbs

Psych-verbs and speech verbs will be listed in 5.3.1.[8] A few issues concerning their use in the MMC will be discussed in 5.3.2.

5.3.1 List of psych-verbs and speech verbs

These verbs can be classified as follows, respectively.

(a) Psych-verbs
  (a-1) Perception verbs, e.g., *hěn* 'see'
  (a-2) Emotion verbs, e.g., *chûa mân* 'be.confident', e.g., (4); *níyom* 'favor', e.g., (48), (53), and (59); *ramkhaan* 'be.annoyed', e.g., (49); *?ùn cay* 'feel.relieved', e.g., (51); *tôŋ kaan* 'need', e.g., (54); *rák* 'love', *khrây* 'desire', *lŏŋlăy* 'dote.on', e.g., (57); *sanùk* 'enjoy', e.g., (60); *sàtthaa* 'believe.in', e.g., (62); *phɔɔ cay* 'feel.satisfied', e.g., (63); *nêɛ nɔɔn* 'be.sure', e.g., (64); and *bùa* 'be.tired'
  (a-3) Cognition verbs, e.g., *yɔɔm ráp* 'admit', e.g., (6); *rúu càk* 'know', e.g., (58) and (61); *and sŏn cay* 'be.interested'

(b) Speech verbs, e.g., *klàaw* 'say', e.g., (5) and (65); *klàaw khwăn* 'criticize', e.g., (52); and *lûaŋ lɯɯ* 'rumor'

(51) *phûu ráp cháy* *thîi* *thŭɯ* *khwaam sûɯ troŋ* *pen*
employee REL hold loyality COP
[*thîi* *?ùn cay*] *khɔ̆ɔŋ* *hŭa nâa*
NMLZ feel.relieved GEN boss
LT: 'Employees who have loyality are that/what [they] feel relieved of the bosses.'
FT: 'Employees with loyality are a relief to the bosses.'

(52) *phalìttaphan* *làw níi* *pen*
product these COP
[*thîi* *klàaw khwăn* *thŭŋ* *yàaŋ mâak*]
NMLZ criticize reach very.much
LT: 'These products are that/what [they] criticize very much.'
FT: 'These products are criticized very much.'

The sample data collected from the Thai National Corpus reveals that psych-verbs are more common than speech verbs in the quasi-MMC in terms of both token and type frequency.[9]

What may be considered prototypical transitive verbs, such as 'break', do not occur in the quasi-MMC. In this respect, the quasi-MMC is low in transitivity.

5.3.2 Other issues

[1] Serial verb construction

As noted in Section 3, Thai abounds in the serial verb construction. In the quasi-MMC, too, the psych-verb or speech verb may be followed by other verbs. Examples include (5) ('say + reach'), (6) ('admit + be.overall + go), (52) ('criticize + reach'), (53) ('favor + eat + be.overall + go'), and (61) ('know + be.good').

(53) *?aahăan* *níi* *pen*
food this COP
[*thîi* *níyom* *rápprathaan* *kan* *thûa* *pay*]
NMLZ favor eat RECP be.overall go
LT: 'This food is that/what [they] favor for eating generally.'
FT: 'This food is generally favored for eating.'

[2] Modifiers of the verb

The verb in the quasi-MMC may be followed by something like adverbial modifier(s). Examples include (5), (48) ('widely'), (6), (48), (53), (59), (61), (65) ('RECP'), and (52) ('very much'). The reciprocal marker (*kan* 'RECP') is best considered an adverbial modifier of verbs.

[3] Non-finiteness of the verb

As mentioned in Section 3, Thai verbs do no inflect. Nonetheless, functionally, the verbs in the quasi-MMC are not finite, except for the

copula verb *pen* (see 5.4). The reasons for this are the following.

(a) The verbs are preceded by a nominalizer.

(b) As noted in 4.1, verbs in independent verb/noun-predicate clauses/sentences can be modified by a modal/aspectual marker. In contrast, the verbs in the quasi-MMC cannot be accompanied by a modal/aspectual marker. For example, compare (54) and (55). In (55), the verb *tôŋ kaan* 'need' is accompanied by a modal/aspectual marker (*càʔ* 'IRR'), and it is not acceptable.

(54) *ʔaahǎan chêɛ khěŋ rôəm pen [thîi tôŋ kaan]*
frozen.foods begin COP NMLZ need
LT: 'Frozen foods began to be that/what [they] need.'
FT: 'Frozen foods began to be needed.'

(55) * *ʔaahǎan chêɛ khěŋ rôəm pen [thîi càʔ tôŋ kaan]*
frozen.foods begin COP NMLZ IRR need
Intended meaning: 'Frozen foods began to be needed.'

(c) The verbs cannot take nominal arguments. 'Experiencer' in (35-a) and 'Speaker' in (35-b) are separated from the verb, being preceded by a preposition ('Obl'). In Thai, the A, O, and S are not preceded by any preposition (see Section 3). In contrast, combinations of a preposition and a nominal are adverbial elements. That is, 'Obl + Experiencer' and 'Obl + Speaker' in (35) are best regarded as adverbial elements. They are not arguments of the psych-verb or speech verb in question. Consider the following, for example. The '[NMLZ + psych-V]' contains 'Experiencer' with no preposition, and this sentence is not acceptable.

(56) * *ʔaahǎan chêɛ khěŋ rôəm pen [thîi chaaw yîipùn*
frozen.foods begin COP NMLZ people Japan
tôŋ kaan]
need
Intended meaning: 'Frozen foods began to be that/what Japanese people need' or 'Frozen foods began to be needed among Japanese people.'[10]

5.4 Copula

As mentioned in 4.1.2, Thai has two copula verbs: *pen* 'the thought-implying copula' and *khuuu* 'the sensation-implying copula'. Only *pen* is used in the quasi-MMC.

'Copula' can participate in the serial verb construction. For example, in (54), 'Copula' is preceded by another verb (*rôəm* 'begin').

Functionally, 'Copula' is finite, unlike the verbs that follow the nominalizer (5.3.2-[3]). In the quasi-MMC, 'Copula' may be preceded by modal/aspectual markers. Examples include the following: (57) (the irrealis marker *càʔ*), (58) (the continuous aspect marker *yaŋ* 'still', the epistemic modal marker *khoŋ* 'probably', the negative marker *mây*), and (59) (the

progressive aspect marker *kamlaŋ*).

(57) *naaŋ càʔ pen [thîi rák khrây lŏŋlǎy]*
lady IRR COP NMLZ love desire dote.on
khŏɔŋ thêep tháŋ lăay
GEN god all.and.sundry
LT: 'The lady would be that/what [they] love and dote on of all the gods.'
FT: 'The lady would be loved and doted on by all the gods.'

(58) *tɔɔn nán ʔaahăan yîipùn kô yaŋ khoŋ mây*
that time food Japan CONJ CONT probably NEG
pen [thîi núu càk]
COP NMLZ know
LT: 'At that time, Japanese food was probably not yet that/what [they] know.'
FT: 'At that time, Japanese food was probably not yet known.'

(59) *ʔaahăan níi kamlaŋ pen [thîi níyom kan]*
food this PROG COP NMLZ favor RECP
LT: 'This food is being that/what [they] favor.'
FT: 'This food is being favored.'

5.5 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'

The structure shown in (35-a), which involves a psych-verb, contains 'Obl + Experiencer', and the structure shown in (35-b), which involves a speech verb, contains 'Obl + Speaker'. The 'Obl' slot is occupied by a preposition. The following prepositions are attested in this slot: *khŏɔŋ* 'GEN', *nay* 'LOC', *kèɛ* 'DAT', and *kàp* 'COM/DAT'. In the quasi-MMC of the present-day Thai, the genitive case and the locative case seem dominant, while the dative case and the comitative/dative case are uncommon. When the quasi-MMC involves a speech verb, the 'Speaker' cannot be preceded by the dative preposition or the comitative/dative preposition. Examples include the following. GEN: (4), (51), (57), and (63); LOC: (48), (61), and (62); DAT: (60); COM/DAT: (49).

(60) *pen [thîi sanùk] kèɛ thêepphayádaa tháŋ puaŋ*
COP NMLZ enjoy DAT god all
LT: '(It) was that/what [they] enjoy to all the gods.'
FT: 'All the gods enjoyed (it)' or '(It) was enjoyed by all the gods.'

Semantically, 'Experiencer' refers to the experiencer (mental Undergoer) of psych-verbs, and 'Speaker' refers to the speaker (verbal Actor) of speech verbs. Furthermore, 'Experiencer' and 'Speaker' generally refer to a certain group of people or the general public, and not a specific individual.

Sometimes 'LOC + Experiencer/Speaker' refers to a place. However, the named place is a specific place, and it metonimically refers to the people living there. For example, in (61), *náʔŋáʔsáʔkìʔ* 'Nagasaki' refers to

Nagasaki people.

(61) *kaafɛɛ pen khrûaŋ dùɯm sûŋ pen [thîi*
coffee COP drink REL COP NMLZ
rúu càk kan dii] nay náʔŋáʔsáʔkìʔ
know RECP be.good LOC Nagasaki
maa tâŋ tèɛ samǎy ʔèʔdòʔ
CONT since the.Edo.era
LT: 'Coffee is the drink which has been that/what [they] know well in Nagasaki since the Edo era.'
FT: 'Coffee is the drink which has been well known in Nagasaki since the Edo era.'

As noted in 5.1, in (35-a) and (35-b), 'Obl + Experiencer' and 'Obl + Speaker' are sometimes absent, e.g., (5), (52), (53), (54), (58), and (59). They cannot occur in (35-c). In contrast, 'NMLZ' (nominalizer) and 'psych-V/speech-V' are never absent. This constitutes strong evidence that 'NMLZ' and 'psych-V/speech-V' form a unit, to the exclusion of 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'.

Nonetheless, 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker' is by no means insignificant. Indeed its presence is often necessary for adequately interpreting an instance of the quasi-MMC—especially if 'Experiencer' or 'Speaker' refers to not the general public, but members of a certain group. As examples, consider (62) and (63). If 'Obl + Experiencer' (*nay mùu chon chán nák róp* 'in the group of the warrior class' in (62) and *khɔ̌ɔŋ khɔɔmmiwnít* 'of the communists' in (63)) were absent, it would be very difficult to understand what the sentences mean.

(62) *níkaay sen pen [thîi sàtthaa]*
sect Zen COP NMLZ believe.in
nay mùu chon chán nák róp
LOC group social.class warrior
LT: 'The Zen sect was that/what [they] believe in in the group of the warrior class.'
FT: 'The Zen sect was believed in by the warriors.'

(63) *bùkkhon phûu níi pen [thîi phɔɔ cay]*
person CLF this COP NMLZ feel.satisfied
khɔ̌ɔŋ khɔɔmmiwnít
GEN communist
LT: 'This person is that/what [they] feel satisfied of the communists.'
FT: 'This person satisfies the communists' or 'The communists are satisfied with this person.'

5.6 'Target'

(35-a) and (35-b) include 'Target', e.g., (4) ('he'), (5) ('this novel'), (48),

(58) ('Japanese food'), (49) ('tax'), (51) ('employees with loyality'), (52) ('these products'), (53), (59) ('this food'), (54) ('frozen foods'), (57) ('the lady'), (61) ('the drink'), (62) ('the Zen sect'), and (63) ('this person'). 'Target' refers to the target, goal, or the like of psych-verbs or speech verbs. It names a salient entity serving as the stimulus of a psychic state or a verbal activity, for instance, the object of emotional concern (admiration, desire, confidence, anxiety, envy, aversion, etc.), the focus of cognition, the target of criticism, and the center of public attention. Sometimes 'Target' is absent and the preceding sentence or discourse alludes to the target, goal, or the like of the verb.

(35-c), on the other hand, excludes 'Target'. This is because the description of (35-c) brings focus into the content of 'Clause' (see 5.7).

5.7 'COMP + Clause'

(35-c) contains a complement clause led by the quotative comlementizer ('COMP + Clause') that immediately follows 'NMLZ + psych/speech-V', e.g. (6), (64), and (65).

(64) *pen* [*thîi* *nêɛ nɔɔŋ*] [*wâa* *kaan* *plìan pleeŋ*
COP NMLZ be.sure COMP NMLZ change
làw níi *dây* *sòŋ* *phŏn* *tòɔ* ...]
these INC transmit effect upon
LT: '(It) is that/what [they] are sure that these changes effected ....'
FT: '(It) is sure that these changes effected ....'

(65) *pen* [*thîi* *klàaw* *kan*] [*wâa* *camnuan*
COP NMLZ say RECP COMP number
chaaw *yiw* *thîi* *taay* *loŋ* *khâay* *hèŋ* *níi*
people Jew REL die TER camp CLF this
mâak *kwàa* ...]
be.many more.than
LT: '(It) is that/what [they] say that the number of Jewish people that died in this camp was more than....'
FT: '(It) is said that the number of Jewish people that died in this camp was more than....'

As mentioned in Section 1, the quotative-complementation type seems to have derived from the oldest quasi-MMC (i.e. the psych-verb type), which inherently takes no complement clause. Unlike the original one, it specifies neither the target of the psych-V or speech-V ('Target') nor the experiencer or speaker ('Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'). Rather, it signals that the unnamed experiencer or speaker is supposed to be the general public. The quotative complement clause represents the general public's feeling or opinion, which the utterer assumes, or more accurately, it expresses the utterer's view or belief that the genral public must feel or think so. On this basis, it can be regarded as a rather highly grammaticalized construction exhibitive of an epistemic modal sense. Though the original quasi-MMC is

irrelative to modality, this newly derived type may be considered to have undergone the process of 'subjectification' (cf. Traugott 1995) to some degree and gained a more or less modal meaning.[11]

Note that the quotative-complementation type of the Thai quasi-MMC, e.g., (6), (64), and (65), is similar to the Japanese MMC with the enclitic *=no*, e.g., (50), in that they contain a clause as an indispensable constituent ('Copula [NMLZ psych/speech-V] [COMP Clause]', 'Clause=*no* Copula') and, more importantly, that they are a grammatical construction with an epistemic modal flavor. Specifically, the Thai quasi-MMC expresses the utterer's view or belief regarding the general public's feeling or opinion, and the Japanese MMC with the enclitic *=no* denotes the utterer's understanding or judgment as to what is the cause, reason, or the like of the relevant situation.

6. Comparison of the quasi-MMC and noun-predicate sentences with a copula verb

The structure of the quasi-MMC is shown in (3) and (35). Roughly speaking, that of noun-predicate sentences with a copula verb (hereafter often referred to as 'copula sentences', for convenience) is as shown below. (Recall that in noun-predicate sentences the use of a copula verb is not obligatory; see 4.1.2.)

(66) Nominal(1) + Copula + Nominal(2)

The nominals are generally a noun or a pronoun, which may be accompanied by modifier(s). Examples include (15), (16), (17), and (19).

The quasi-MMC and coupla sentences exhibit commonalities and differences.

(a) Commonalities
(a-1) Both contain a copula verb.
(a-2) In both of them (except the quotative-complementation type of the quasi-MMC shown in (3-c)), the 'Copula' links two nominals.
(b) Differences
(b-1) Structural difference
The constituent that follows the 'Copula' is a (modified) noun or pronoun in copula sentences, but it is 'nominalizer + the unit including a psych-verb or speech verb' in the quasi-MMC.
(b-2) Semantic difference
In the structure shown in (3) (except (3-c)), the nominal that precedes the 'Copula' is the target of the psych-verb or speech verb that follows. Such a semantic relationship is unlikely to obtain in copula sentences.

On the basis of these structural and semantic differences, it is justified to say

that the quasi-MMC is a construction distinct from copula sentences.

7. Previous studies

The original type of the quasi-MMC (i.e. the psych-verb type), shown in (3-a), has been used since the era of the Sukhothai dynasty (13-14C). As the examples given above show, it has been used to describe a situation where a certain entity (person or matter) is the target of people's or the general public's psychological activity such as perception, emotion, and cognition. Put differently, it is a useful device to effectively encode a human-particular event in which a group of associated people are together mentally affected in some way by a remarkable entity (person or matter) in the society. Accordingly, it has been regarded by Thai linguists as a kind of passive construction (e.g., Prasithrathsint 1985: 17, 92-97). In particular, it is taken to be a non-prototypical passive construction with a transitive verb for psychological activity. The degree of its transitivity is quite low.[12]

The present paper has proposed an alternative analysis, and indicated that this construction can be regarded as a quasi-MMC.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

Although Thai is an SVO language, unlike many other languages described in the present volume (they are in the main SOV), it has what may be considered the quasi-MMC, which are of three types: psych-verb type, speech-verb type, and quotative-complementation type. The quotative-complementation type employs both psych-verbs and speech verbs. All of these verbs are low in transitivity.

In all of the three types, 'Copula' is necessary. Also, the verb is obligatorily accompanied by a nominalizer (*thîi* or *kaan*). (In this respect, the Thai quasi-MMC resembles a type of the MMC found in languages such as Japanese.) The quotative-complementation type resembles the prototype of the MMC in that it (obligatorily) contains a clause. In contrast, the psych-verb type and the speech-verb type do not (and cannot) contain a clause.

The experiencer of psych-verbs and the speaker of speech verbs generally refer to the general public or members of a certain group, and not to specific individuals. This construction effectively describes such an event where a group of people ('Experiencer' or mental Undergoer) are mentally affected by a remarkable entity ('Target' or the stimulus of psychic states) in the society. Because of this, it has been analyzed by Thai grammarians as a kind of passive construction. The present paper has shown that it can be alternatively analyzed as a quasi-MMC.

thîi and *kaan* can be used as nouns (as lexical nouns and class nouns) in the present-day Thai. When used as nouns, they have generic meanings: *thîi* 'place' and 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)', and *kaan* 'activity,

affair' and 'matter'. In that these forms have generic meanings when used as nouns, the Thai quasi-MMC is similar to the MMC reported in some other chapters in the present volume.

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Notes

1. This restriction on the type of research data (i.e., using only data from a corpus of written texts) does not come from a belief that the quasi-MMC tends to be used in the written language rather than the oral language. But it is simply because it is practically impossible to collect a sufficient amount of additional data from the oral language in a limited, relatively short period of research.

2. The Thai National Corpus is a general corpus of written texts of various genres (e.g., academic, administration, commerce, religion, law, letters, blogs, newpapers, etc.) in the standard Thai language, which is designed to be comparable to the British National Corpus in terms of its domain and medium proportion (Aroonmanakun 2007).

3. A clarification is in order here. In this study I follow Prasithrasint's (2000) and Enfield's (2004) view that adjectives form a verbal subclass in Thai and Lao. Post (2008: 376) states that "contrary to claims made by at least some previous analysts [that there "is not" a class of adjectives in Thai], there "is" a class of terms in Thai which closely resembles the adjective classes of many other languages in terms of semantic contents, internal structures, and distribution relative to other lexical classes". At the same time, however, he concurs with Prasithrasint's and Enfield's idea that there is not a class of adjectives in Thai and Lao in the sense that adjectives are grouped together with verbs at a 'higher taxonomic level' than that at which adjectival class-defining criteria are construed as applying.

4. Takahashi & Shinzato (2003: 138) use Taylor's (1976) finding of his experiment as evidence supporting this argument. In the experiment, the subjects are asked to make 'same-different' judgments about successively presented pairs of letters, and Taylor found that 'same' responses with the recognition of matching letters, which is analogous to the affirmative 'X is Y' situation, were faster than 'different' responses with the recognition of mismatching letters, which is more congruous with the negative 'X is not Y'

situation. Hence, his conclusion that while 'fast/holistic' processing is employed for 'same' responses (affirmative recognition), 'slow/analytic' processing is utilized for 'different' responces (negative recognition).

5. As mentioned in Section 2, in the schematic representations of the syntactic structures of Thai quasi-MMC, the square brackets are conventionally used to mark a unit whose constituents are inseparable.

6. John Whitman (p.c.) comments that it might be the case that the nominalizer *thîi* in the Thai quasi-MMC is a calque (loan translation) of the nominalizer *suo* in Chinese. I am not in a position to judge whether this idea is plausible, for I do not have sufficient knowledge of historical changes of the two morphemes. Nonetheless, the assumed grammaticalization pathways of *suo* (cf. Yap & Wang 2011) have something parallel to those of *thîi* (cf. Kullavanijaya 2008) indeed. *suo*, just like *thîi*, was originally a locative noun meaning 'place' and evolved into a 'light noun' (viz. semantically generalized or bleached noun) (or 'class noun' in Bisang's (1993) terminology; cf. Note 7) before further developing into a wide range of functional morphemes including locative nominalizer, patient nominalizer, conditional subordinator, and part of possessive and passive constructions.

7. 'Class nouns' are defined by Bisang (1993: 5) as 'nouns with a high level of abstraction'. In other words, they are lexical nouns with generic (non-specific) meanings. Haas (1964) named those nouns 'class terms', which are adopted by DeLancey (1986). DeLancey (1986: 438-439) explicates the characteristics of 'class terms' as follows. (N.B., The present author has supplied the words in the square brackets.)

> "[Class terms = class nouns] are morphemes which occur as the head of a number of noun compounds which are examplers of the category labelled by the class term [= class noun]. Thus class terms [= class nouns] have a semantic classifying function quite similar to that of classifiers, although they do not ordinarily show the incoherent range of uses which is a not uncommon feature of classifiers. Many class terms [= class nouns], like *khon* ['person' in Thai], also function as classifiers (though [...] it is not always the case that a class term [= class noun] which is also a classifier is the classifier for all compounds in which it functions as a class term [= class noun]); and a number of class terms [= class nouns] do not occur alone as independent nouns."

8. The listed psych-verbs and speech verbs are mainly taken from the collected sample data and partially supplied by my native speaker consultant.

9. As a reviewer suggests, dealing with data only from a corpus of written texts is possibly a disadvantage in describing the language fact. Admittedly, if we analyze oral data, too, then we might find a different fact, say, that

psych-verbs and speech verbs are both commonly used in the quasi-MMC.

10. If the noun *sìŋ* 'thing' is inserted in front of *thîi*, as shown in (i), *thîi* will be interpreted as relativizer and the construction will change into a normal copulative predicate meaning that 'Frozen foods are a thing that Japanese people need'. In that case, the subject noun phrase of the verb *tôŋ kaan* 'need' (i.e., *chaaw yîipùn* 'Japanese people') may or may not be specified.

(i) *ʔaahăan chêɛ khĕŋ* *pen* *sìŋ* *thîi* *chaaw yîipùn*
frozen.foods COP thing REL people Japan
tôŋ kaan
need
'Frozen foods are a thing that Japanese people need.'

11. The historical development of the quasi-MMC from the psych-verb type into the quotative-complementation type can be considered a sort of 'subjectification' (i.e., a pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition) or 'modalisation of the epistemic kind' (Traugott 1989, 1995). As the construction came to suppress a prepositional phrase ('Obl + Experiencer/Speaker') and embrace a complement clause ('COMP + Clause'), the meaning of the construction shifted from less subjective/epistemic (i.e., being based in the external described situation) to more subjective/epistemic (i.e., being based in the internal described situation). The derived quotative-complementation type implicitly indicates the speaker's epistemic attitude toward what the speaker is talking about, while the original psych-verb type does not.

12. The other types of passive construction in Thai are exemplified below.

(i) *bâan* *nán* *thùuk* (*fay*) *phăw mây*
house that undergo/PASS (fire) burn
LT: 'The house has undergone [an event that] (the fire) burnt [it].'
FT: 'The house burnt (by the fire).'

(ii) *kháw* *dây ráp* *kaan* *chûay lŭa* (*càak* *phûan*)
PRON receive NMLZ support (from friend)
LT: 'He received the support (from his friends).'
FT: 'He was helped (by his friends).'

(iii) *náŋsŭɯ* *níi* *khĭan* *dooy* *nák khĭan* *thîi* *mii chûɯ sĭaŋ*
book this write by writer REL be.famous
'This book was written by the famous writer.'

Type (i) contains a transitive verb that describes a damaging activity or process (e.g., *phăw mây* 'burn'). Type (i) by and large conveys the sense of adversity. Type (ii) contains a transitive verb that describes an activity of benefit (e.g., *chûay lŭa* 'help'). Type (iii) contains a transitive verb that describes creating activity (e.g., *khĭan* 'write').

Abbreviations

AC - adnominal clause; CLF - classifier; COM/DAT – comitative/dative; COMP - complementizer; CONJ - conjunction; CONT - continuous; COP - copula; DAT - dative; FT: free translation: GEN - genitive; INC - inchoative, IRR - irrealis; LOC - locative; LT - literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negative; NMLZ - nominalizer; NOM – nominative; NPST – nonpast; PASS - passive; PROG - progressive; PRON - pronoun; RECP - reciprocal; REL - relativizer; TER - terminative.

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Corpus

The Thai National Corpus (TNC) <http://ling.arts.chula.ac.th/tnc2/> (17 June 2011, 19 November 2011).

Mermaid construction in Khalkha Mongolian

Hiroyuki UMETANI
Taisho University

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1. Introduction

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

(1) [Clause] + Noun + Copula

Khalkha Mongolian has the MMC, but only one noun has been found that can occupy the 'Noun' slot: *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity'. This MMC adds such a tone as 'I mean that ...' (or 'Do you mean that ...' in the interrogative) although it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint its exact meaning. The predicate of the 'Clause' is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form or (ii) an adjective or a noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. (Mongolian has two copular verbs: *baj-* 'to

be' and *bol-* 'to become'.) The subject of the 'Clause' is in the nominative case (in contrast with adnominal clauses ('ACs'), in which three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, genitive and accusative). No examples of the MMC are attested where the 'Copula' appears.

In addition to the MMC, Khalkha Mongolian has two MMC-like constructions (hereafter 'Quasi-MMCs'), where the sentence-final position is occupied by (i) *ge-sen üg* or *ge-deg üg* (i.e., the noun *üg* 'word' preceded by a verbal-nominal form of *ge-* 'to say'), or (ii) an adjective formed with the derivational suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with', known as the proprietive suffix.

There is a sentence-final modal particle (*jum*), which may have historically derived from a noun (*jum* 'thing') used in the MMC.

2. Initial illustration

An example of the Khalkha Mongolian MMC is (2). It involves the noun *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity' in the 'Noun' slot.

(2) *Viz-eer* *biznjes* *xijgč-i-d* *čuxam*
visa-INS business.NOM doer-EP-PL.NOM actually
xaana *orogno-dog* ***xereg*** *ve?*
where flee-VN.HAB occurrence Q
LT: 'Visa dealers [are] the occurrence [such that they] actually flee to where?'
FT: 'Where on earth do illegal visa dealers flee to?' (ÖN 1997/06/17)

(In the English translations, the words in square brackets are 'translations' of the words that do not exist in the original Mongolian sentences.)

3. Profile of the language

The present chapter deals with Khalkha Mongolian, which is one of the largest dialects of the Mongolian language (Mongolian proper), which is a member of the Mongolic language family. Khalkha Mongolian is spoken in Mongolia and is estimated to have more than two million native speakers. Some of the Mongolic languages (including Mongolian proper) have literacy traditions. The data in the present chapter were obtained from newspaper articles or composed by our three language consultants (a male born in 1971, two females born in 1976 and in 1979, all of them born in Ulaanbaatar). The sources of the sentences quoted from newspaper articles are given after their translations in parentheses. Examples without source information are those composed by our language consultants.

Khalkha Mongolian (hereafter, simply 'Mongolian') exhibits vowel harmony. Phonological interpretations of this phenomenon differ among researchers. See Svantesson et al. (2005: 22-25). In order to avoid

unnecessary confusion caused by adopting any one of the phonological notations proposed in previous studies, the present chapter employs the orthography used in Mongolia, with the Cyrillic characters transliterated into Latin ones: а=a, б=b, в=v, г=g, д=d, е=je/jö, ё=jo, ж=ž, з=z, и=i, й=j, к=k, л=l, м=m, н=n, о=o, ө=ö, п=p, р=r, с=s, т=t, у=u, ү=ü, ф=f, х=x, ц=c, ч=č, ш=š, ъ=", ы=y, ь=', э=e, ю=ju/jü, я=ja.

Mongolian is an agglutinative language, and it employs suffixes rather than prefixes. Also, it uses postpositions, not prepositions. It is dependent-marking and non-configurational. It has the nominative-accusative case system. Cases are expressed by suffixes. The nominative case is marked by a zero suffix. Furthermore, a case suffix can be fused with the stem when attached to a pronoun, e.g., *čamajg* '2SG.ACC' in (18).

The basic word order is SOV, and a modifier (such as an adjective and an AC) precedes the head noun that it modifies.

The object is marked by the accusative or the nominative case. It tends to be in the nominative when it is non-referential or indefinite, e.g., *tamxi* 'tobacco.NOM' in (16). Three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, genitive, and accusative. See 4.1, 4.2.1 and 5.3-[2].

Verbs inflect. Their major categories are the following.

(a) Terminating forms, e.g., past, non-past, and optative.
(b) Converb forms, e.g., perfective, imperfective, and conditional.
(c) Verbal-nominal forms, e.g., past (or perfective), non-past, imperfective, and habitual.

Verb stems obligatorily take a terminating suffix, a converb suffix, or a verbal-nominal suffix. The functions of these conjugational forms are as follows.

(a) A terminating form is used as a finite verb and concludes a sentence, i.e., it forms an independent sentence, e.g., *jav-na* in (3).
(b) A converb form can be used as an adverbial or can compose an adverbial clause, e.g., *ir-vel* in (3).
(c) A verbal-nominal form (i) can be used as a nominal or can form a nominal clause, e.g., *jav-sn-yg* in (21), (ii) can be used as an adnominal modifier or can form an AC, e.g., *ög-sön* in (4), and (iii) can have the same function as a terminating form, namely, to conclude a sentence, e.g., *gee-sen* in (4).

(3) *Tüün-ijg* ***ir-vel*** *bi* ***jav-na.***
3SG-ACC come-CVB.COND 1SG.NOM go-TV.NP
'If he comes, I will go.'

(4) *Bold* *Dorž-ijn* ***ög-sön*** *nom-yg*
PN.NOM PN-GEN give-VN.PST book-ACC

gee-sen.
lose-VN.PST
'Bold lost the book that Dorj gave [him].'

The functions of these forms are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Verb conjugation

Function / Conjugational form	Finite	Non-finite		
	Concluding a sentence (an independent sentence)	Adverbial clause	Nominal clause	Adnominal clause
Terminating	+			
Converb		+		
Verbal nominal	+		+	+

Among these three groups of conjugational forms, verbal-nominal forms are used in ACs and also in the MMC.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Clauses and sentences in Mongolian can be classified as follows.

(a) Verb-predicate clause/sentence, e.g., (3), (4).
(b) Adjective-predicate clause/sentence and noun-predicate clause/ sentence.
  (b-1) With a copular verb, e.g., (5), (7), (8), (9).
  (b-2) Without a copular verb, e.g., (6).
(c) Particle-predicate clause/sentence, i.e., clause/sentence with the non-existential predicate particle *alga*, e.g., (10).

When a verb-predicate clause is used as an independent sentence, the verb must be either in a terminating form, e.g., *jav-na* in (3), or in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., *gee-sen* in (4).

As noted in Section 1, Mongolian has two copular verbs: *baj-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to become'. Adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses/sentences may contain a copular verb.

When the situation described is related to the moment of utterance (hereafter, the 'semantically' present tense), the copular verb used is *baj-* 'to be'. As mentioned in previous studies such as Kullmann & Tserenpil (1996: 194-195), *baj-* 'to be' may be present (e.g., (5)) or absent (e.g., (6)) in the 'semantically' present tense. (Copular verbs conjugate just like other verbs, and, when it is used in an independent sentence they must be in a

terminating form or in a verbal-nominal form.)

(5) *Bi* *önöödör* ***zavgüj*** ***baj-na.***
1SG.NOM today busy be-TV.NP
'I am busy today.'

(6) *Bi* ***ojuutan.***
1SG.NOM student.NOM
'I [am] a student.'

However, the conditioning factors that may determine the appearance or absence of *baj-* 'to be' in the 'semantically' present tense are not fully clarified. (For some of the factors, see Kullmann & Tserenpil (1996: 194-195).)

In the 'semantically' past tense, the copular verb used is *baj-* 'to be' or *bol-* 'to become'. Here, the use of *baj-* or *bol-* is obligatory, e.g. (7) and (8).

(7) *Bi* *öčigdör* ***zavgüj*** ***baj-san.***
1SG.NOM yesterday busy be-VN.PST
'I was busy yesterday.'

(8) *Dorž* *sajn* *emč* *bol-son.*
PN.NOM good doctor.NOM become-VN.PST
'Dorj became a good doctor.'

In the 'semantically' future tense, the copular verb employed is *bol-* 'to become'. Its use is obligatory, e.g. (9).

(9) *Teg-vel* *či* *sajn* ***emč***
do.that-CVB.COND you.NOM good doctor.NOM
bol-no.
become-TV.NP
'If [you] do that, you will become a good doctor.'

Table 2 summarizes the appearance or absence of the two copular verbs (*baj* and *bol-*) in the 'semantically' past, present, and future tenses.

Table 2. Appearance or absence of *baj-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to become'

Tense / Copula	'Semantically' past	'Semantically' present	'Semantically' future
Baj- 'to be'	+	+/-	-
Bol- 'to become'	+	-	+

The third kind of clause/sentence is concluded by the non-existential predicate particle *alga* 'not exist, be absent'. (In accordance with the tradition in Mongolian linguistics, the term 'particle' refers to enclitic-like words that never (or rarely, if ever) inflect.)

(10) *Neg=č* ***alga.***
one.NOM=even.FP not.exist.NEP
LT: 'Even one does not exist.'
FT: 'There isn't even one.'

The subject in independent sentences (to be precise, the subject of a simple sentence and of the main clause of a complex sentence) appears in the nominative case, e.g., (4) to (10). (In contrast, three cases are attested for the subject in ACs: nominative, genitive and accusative. See 4.2.1 and 5.3-[2].)

4.2 Subordinate clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

There are three types of subordinate clauses: adnominal clauses ('ACs') (4.2.2), nominal clauses (4.2.3), and adverbial clauses (4.2.4). The case marking of the subject exhibits an interesting phenomenon. For the subject, the nominative, the genitive and the accusative can be used in ACs and nominal clauses, while the nominative and the accusative can be used in adverbial clauses. However, this does not mean that all the case forms listed above are possible for the subject in a specific clause/sentence. The conditioning factors, if there are any, are not fully understood. For discussions on this topic, see Mizuno (1995) and von Heusinger et al. (2011), among others.

4.2.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.2.1 Introductory notes. In Mongolian, ACs are formed mainly by the gap strategy. The third person possessive particle *=n'* is used as something like a resumptive particle in ACs only when the possessor is relativized on, e.g., (14). The AC precedes the head noun.

Teramura (1969) classifies Japanese ACs into two main types: internal ACs and external ACs. See also Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs. 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. Furthermore, Teramura (1992: 192-205) divides external ACs into subcategories.

Presumably on the basis of Teramura's work, Mukai (2006) classifies Mongolian ACs into four types. See Table 3, a modified version of the table in Mukai (2006: 53, 61). (English translations and labels 'I-IV' are mine. 'Adj/N + copula-VN' and 'Adj/N + copula-VN-GEN' in the column 'Predicate' are also added by me. Some of the terms in Mukai (2006) have been changed for the sake of consistency within the present chapter. 'V', 'Adj', and 'N' refer to 'verb', 'adjective', and 'noun' respectively. The other abbreviations are identical to those used in glosses.)

Table 3. Classification of Mongolian ACs

	Type			Predicate
ACs	Internal ACs		I	V-VN Adj/N + copula-VN
	External ACs	Normal modification	II	V-VN Adj/N + copula-VN
			III	Any predicate + *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x*
		Relative relationship	IV	V-VN-GEN Adj/N + copula-VN-GEN

In Types I and II, the predicate in the AC is a verb in a verbal-nominal form (e.g., (11) to (16)), or an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. It is not certain whether other kinds of predicates (in particular, adjective/noun predicates *without* the copular verb *baj-* 'to be' in the 'semantically' present tense) can appear in ACs of Type I or of Type II. (Examples of an adjective/noun predicate without *baj-* in the 'semantically' present tense would be rare, if any.)

In Type IV, the possible kinds of predicates are the same as in Types I and II, except that the verb (as well as a copula) in a verbal-nominal form takes the genitive case suffix, e.g., (19) and (20). (Again, it is not evident whether an adjective/noun not followed by the copular verb *baj-* 'to be' in the 'semantically' present tense can appear as the predicate.)

In Type III, any kind of predicate can be present before *ge-sen*, *ge-deg*, or *ge-x* (verbal-nominal forms of *ge-* 'to say'), e.g., (17), (18).

Examples of each type will be provided in the following.

4.2.2.2 Type I: Internal ACs. Broadly speaking, all positions but for 'object of comparison' on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on. (See Mukai (2006: 54-60) for a detailed description.) Examples include (11) (subject), (4), and (12) (direct object), and (13) (oblique object). (The ACs are indicated by means of an underline.)

(11) *Bat-aas ir-sen* ***mjessjež-ijg*** *komp'jütjer-t*
PN-ABL come-VN.PST message-ACC computer-DAT
xadgal-san.
preserve-VN.PST
'[I] saved **the message** [which] came from Bat on the comupter.'

(12) *Dorž-ijn avčir-san* ***jum*** *al'* *ve?*
PN-GEN bring-VN.PST thing.NOM which.NOM Q
'Which [is] **the thing** Dorj brought [with him]?'

(13) *tüüxij max xerč-sen xutga*
raw meat.NOM slice-VN.PST knife
'the knife [with which someone] sliced raw meat'

When the possessor is relativized on, the third person possessive particle *=n'* is used as something like a resumptive particle.

(14) *tovč=**n'*** *una-čix-san* *camc*
button.NOM=3.POSS fall-COMPL-VN.PST shirt
'a shirt [whose] buttons have come off'

4.2.2.3 Type II: External ACs (1). This subtype of AC is the same as Type I (internal ACs) in terms of the structure of the predicate. However, ACs of Type II (and also those of Types III and IV) are external ACs. The head noun (e.g., *xereg* 'occurrence' in (15) and *zuršil* 'habit' in (16)) does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. ACs of Type II (and those of Type III) describe the content of the head noun.

(15) *Zarim negen ojuutn-uud busd-aar*
some one student-PL.NOM others-INS
diplom-yn-xoo ažl-yg xij-lge-sen
diploma-GEN-REFL work-ACC do-CAUS-VN.PST
***xereg**=č* *gar-san.*
occurrence.NOM=even.FP go.out-VN.PST
'There happened even **cases** [where] some students made others write their graduation theses.'

(16) *Tedn-ji tamxi tat-a-x* ***zuršl-yg***
3PL-GEN tobacco.NOM pull-EP-VN.NP habit-ACC
bid boli-ul-a-x xeregtej.
1PL.NOM quit-CAUS-EP-VN.NP it.is.necessary
LT: 'It is necessary that we make [them] quit **the habit** [such that] they pull [=take] tobacco.'
FT: 'We have to make them quit smoking.'

4.2.2.4 Type III: External ACs (2). Ge-sen, ge-deg, and ge-x are verbal-nominal forms of the verb *ge-* 'to say': *ge-sen* 'say-VN.PST', *ge-deg* 'say-VN.HAB', and *ge-x* 'say-VN.NP'. They may be translated as 'saying that' or 'to the effect that'. In external ACs, *ge-sen*, *ge-deg*, or *ge-x* sometimes appears between the predicate and the head noun. (See Mukai (2006: 62-64) for some of the factors determining the appearance of *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x.*) In this type of ACs, any type of predicate can appear before *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x*. As is the case with Type II, ACs of Type III describe the content of the head noun.

(17) *Ardčill-yn tölöö xüčn-üüd*
democracy-GEN for.the.sake.of power-PL.NOM
negd-e-ž nijl-e-x jostoj
unite-EP-CVB.IPFV join-EP-VN.NP ought.to
ge-sen ***bajr+suur'*** *gazar+av-č*
say-VN.PST position.NOM spread-CVB.IPFV

baj-x *šig.*
be-VN.NP it.seems.that
'It seems that the ***idea*** is spreading that parties should unite for the sake of democracy.' (ÖD 2000/10/17)

(18) *Čamajg* *ir-sen* ***ge-sen*** ***surg-ijg***
2SG.ACC come-VN.PST say-VN.PST rumor-ACC
sons-loo.
hear-TV.PST
'I heard **the rumor** that you have come.'

4.2.2.5 Type IV: External ACs (3). This type of ACs concerns such relationships as temporal order, spatial positional relation, and cause and effect, between the event expressed by the AC on one hand and the referent of the head noun on the other. In (19), for instance, the head noun *učir* 'reason' is the 'cause' that has triggered the event (i.e., 'effect') expressed by the AC 'to go out this early'. (For further discussions of this type of ACs, see Teramura (1992: 199-204) on Japanese and Mukai (2006: 61, 64-65) on Mongolian.) In ACs of this type, the genitive suffix is present after the verbal-nominal form in the AC; see (19) and (20).

(19) *Ted* *ijm* *ert* ***jav-dg-ijn***
3PL.NOM like.this early go-VN.HAB-GEN
učir *juu* *ve?*
reason.NOM what.NOM Q
'What [is] **the reason** [why] they go this early?' (Mukai (2006: 53); the English translation, morphological analysis and glosses are mine.)

(20) *Dulmaa-g-ijn* *ix* *möngötej* ***baj-g-aa-g-ijn***
PN-EP-GEN very rich be-EP-VN.IPFV-EP-GEN
učr-yg *med-e-x* *üü?*
reason-ACC know-EP-VN.NP Q
'Do you know **the reason** [why] Dulmaa is rich?'

4.2.3 Nominal clauses
Nominal clauses are formed with a verbal-nominal form. See *jav-sn-yg* 'go-VN.PST-ACC' in (21). (The nominal clause is indicated with an underline.)

(21) *Tüün-ijg* *Japon* ***jav-sn-yg***
3SG-ACC Japan go-VN.PST-ACC
med-e-ž *baj-g-aa* *juu?*
know-EP-CVB.IPFV be-EP-VN.IPFV Q
'Do you know [that] he has gone to Japan?'

4.2.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Mongolian can be classified into three groups: (i) those which end in a converb form, e.g., *tüün-ijg ir-vel* in (3), (ii) those which contain an AC (sometimes followed by a case suffix) + a noun or a postposition, e.g., (22), and (iii) those ending in a verbal-nominal form + a particle such as *bol* 'if' or *č* 'too, even (though)', e.g., (23). (The adverbial clauses are indicated with an underline.)

(22) *Čamajg jav-sn-y daraa Dulmaa*
2SG.ACC go-VN.PST-GEN next PN.NOM
ir-sen.
come-VN.PST
'Dulmaa came after you left.'

(23) *Xij-sen=č bol-no.*
do-VN.PST=even.FP be.alright-TV.NP
'[It] will be alright even if [you] do [that].'

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Examples

The prototype of the MMC proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) is shown in (1). At the present stage of our investigation, only one noun has been found that can occur in the 'Noun' slot in Mongolian: *xereg*. When used as a noun outside the MMC, *xereg* means 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity', e.g., (15). When used in the MMC, it adds such a tone as 'I mean that ...' (or 'Do you mean that ...' in the interrogative). However, it is sometimes difficult to grasp the exact nuance added by the construction. The predicate of the 'Clause' is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form or (ii) an adjective or a noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. (In this respect, the 'Clause' is similar to ACs of Types I and II; see Table 3.) The subject of the 'Clause' is in the nominative case. No examples of the MMC are attested where the 'Copula' appears. The structure of this MMC may be shown as follows.

(24) [Clause] *xereg*

Examples include (25-B) (same as (2)), the second 'A' in (26), and the second 'B' in (27). The portion that constitutes the 'Clause' of (24) is shown with square brackets. The surrounding contexts are provided, for they are relevant to determining whether a sentence with *xereg* at the final position is an example of the MMC or not. Due to space considerations, no glosses are given for the sentences where *xereg* is absent.

As mentioned in Section 3, the data for the present paper were mainly obtained from newspaper articles. Also, because most of the examples were

obtained from interview articles, i.e. from natural discourse, the examples are generally elliptical. Furthermore, only a limited number of examples are available. Examples follow.

(25) (An interview with an attaché at the South Korean embassy in Mongolia ('A') by a media reporter ('B'). The attaché describes the current situation concerning Mongolian people illegally overstaying in Korea.)

A: *1990 onoos xojš mongolyn irgeded olgoson bük vizijn zövšööröl manaj elčingijn komp'jütjert xadgalagddag. Xezee, xen gedeg xün jamar xugacaataj viz avaad ergež ireegüj gedeg n' manajd beleexnee bajdag. Komp'jütert oroogüj xuuramč viztej xümüüs Söülijn nisex ongocny buudlaas ergež bucax toxioldol garč bajgaa.*
'Since 1990, all visa permissions given to Mongolian people have been stored in computers in our [South Korean] embassy [in Mongolia]. At our embassy, information is available about when and who with what name took a Korean visa with what duration, and did not return [to Mongolia]. There are cases where [Mongolian] people who have visas not registered on our computers are sent back [to Mongolia] from Seoul Airport.'

B: *[Viz-eer biznjes xijgč-i-d čuxam*
visa-INS business.NOM doer-EP-PL.NOM actually
xaana orogno-dog] ***xereg*** *ve?*
where flee-VN.HAB occurrence Q
LT: 'Visa dealers [are] the occurrence [such that they] actually flee to where?'
FT: 'Where on earth do illegal visa dealers flee to?' (ÖN 1997/06/17)

(26) (In an interview, a traditional Mongolian wrestler ('A') talks about a deceased close friend of his, who was chairman of the Olympic Committee of Mongolia. 'A' recalls an episode which took place when he and the deceased participated in a traditional sports festival. 'B' is the interviewer. The deceased's name is made anonymous as 'G' by me.)

A: [...] *Erdenetijn neg sajxan bajar bolson jum.* [...] *Bid č očson. Sajxan bajar naadam bolood oroj n' ujaačid deer očiž bid xojor žaal barildaad*
'[...] Once, a nice festival was held in Erdenet [= a place name]. [...] We two [= 'A' and the deceased] went there, too. The festival ended successfully, and that evening we both went to race-horse trainers [who participated in the horse race in the festival] and wrestled [with each other] for a while [in front of them] ...'

B: *Uučlaaraj, G guaj xer "nocolddog" bajsan jum be?*
'I am sorry [for interrupting]. How well did Mr. G [= the deceased] use to "fight" [= jargon for 'to wrestle']?'

A: *Öö, sajxan barildana. Tegeed xojuulaa žaal barildaad. Bas boloogüj ee. Margaaš n' ažiltaj gež bajgaa.*
'Oh, [he] used to wrestle nicely. [Back to the wrestling,] we two wrestled for a while... There is more to this episode. [He] said [he] had work to do the next day.'

[*Gadaad-a-d*		*xaana=č*	*bilee,*
foreign.country-EP-DAT		where=even.FP	MP
xuraltaj	*baj-san*]	***xereg***.	
with.meeting	be-VN.PST	occurrence	

LT: '[He] was the occurrence [such that] in a foreign country, where was it, [he was] with a meeting [the next day].'

FT: 'He was going to have a meeting in a foreign country, I cannot remember which country...'

Süüld n' taaraad "Minij xurald ömsöx kostjümijg ballasan bajna lee šüü [...]" *gesen jüm.*
'When [I] ran into [him] later, [he] said, "[When I was at the meeting the day after the festival, I noticed that you] had torn off my uniform for the meeting [which I was wearing then and which I had been wearing when we had wrestled] [...]."' (ÖN 2001/01/18)

(27) (An interview with a player ('A') of a horse-headed fiddle, a traditional Mongolian musical instrument, by a media reporter ('B'). The player talks about his experiences during his concert in Japan.)

A: [...] *Bidnijg neg sajxan aral deer avaačsan. Bi nerijg n' martčixaž. Nov nogoon zülgen deer mongol ger bar'san bajlaa. Tegexed ünexeer sajxan sanagdsan šüü.*
'[Japanese staff] took us to a nice island. I've forgotten its name. There was a Mongolian tent built [for the concert] on a really green lawn. I thought it was really beautiful.'

B: *Ter*	*ger-ijg*	*Japon-d*	*xij-sen*
that	Mongolian.tent-ACC	Japan-DAT	make-VN.PST
jum	*uu,*		
MP	QP		

'Did [they] make that Mongolian tent in Japan, [or]'

B: [*end-ees*	*avaač-san*	***xereg***]	*üü?*
here-ABL	take-VN.PST	occurrence	Q

LT: '[they are] the occurrence [such that they] took [it] from here [=Mongolia]?'

FT: 'did they take it from Mongolia?' (ÖN 1997/11/14)

There are instances that may look similar to the MMC, e.g. (32). To put the conclusion first, however, they should be distinguished from the MMC with *xereg*. They are in fact a type of noun-predicate sentences (but not examples of MMC). To be specific, they are noun-predicate sentences in which (i) a copular verb is absent (cf. 4.1) and (ii) the predicate consists of a clause and the noun *xereg* 'occurrence'. They resemble the MMC in that both end with a clause followed by *xereg*, without a copular verb.

To put it differently, the structure of the MMC can be shown as in (28) (same as (24)). The structure of noun-predicate sentences with no copula (e.g., (6)) can be shown as in (30). Sentences such as (32) have the structure shown in (31). (31) is a kind of noun-predicate sentence where the noun *xereg* 'occurrence' occupies the final position of the predicate in (30). (We shall return to (29) shortly.)

(28) MMC:
[Clause] *xereg*

(29) MMC:
*Subject [Clause] *xereg*

(30) Noun-predicate sentence:
Subject Predicate

(31) Noun-predicate sentence:
xereg
Subject Predicate

Now, as an example of (31), consider:

(32) (A KGB agent reveals a secret.)
Xamgaaluulž buj xümüüs bol öv tegš, oncgoj xümüüs, tednij üjldel büxen ard olny tusyn tyld bajdag gež KGB-d bidnijg surgadag bajlaa. Ted bol busdyn adil l xümüüs. Zarim n' bür busdaas doloon dor am'tad. Bi neg tijm 'öv tegš' xüntej zugaalž javlaa. [...]
'In KGB, [they] used to teach us that those who are guarded are perfect and special people, and that all their actions are for the sake of the people. [However,] they are just the same people as anyone else. Some of them are much worse guys than [ordinary] people. Once I went on holiday with such a "perfect" person. [...]'

ter	*zugaal-ž,*	*bi*
3SG.NOM	amuse.oneself-CVB.IPFV	1SG.NOM
xamgaal-ž	*baj-san*	***xereg***.
guard-CVB.IPFV	be-VN.PST	occurrence

LT: 'He [was] enjoying himself [and] I [was] the occurrence [such that I] was guarding [him].'

FT: 'This means that he was enjoying himself while I was guarding him.' (ÖN 1997/10/23)

In our analysis, the glossed sentence in (32) is, as a whole, the predicate of a noun-predicate sentence, and its subject is understood. An expression referring to the preceding context can be added to (32), and we will obtain (33), where *ene=n'* (this.NOM=3.POSS) 'this' indicates the preceding context. Also, it is the subject of the sentence.

(33) *Ene=n'*
this.NOM=3.POSS
Subject

ter	*zugaal-ž,*	*bi*
3SG.NOM	amuse.onself-CVB.IPFV	1SG.NOM
xamgaal-ž	*baj-san*	***xereg***.
guard-CVB.IPFV	be-VN.PST	occurrence
Predicate		

LT: 'This [=what is mentioned in the previous context] [is] the occurrence [such that he] was enjoying himself [and] I was guarding [him].'
FT: 'This means that he was enjoying himself while I was guarding him.'

Now, consider the instances of the MMC: (25-B), the second 'A' in (26), and the second 'B' in (27). They become awkward when a subject that refers to the preceding context is present. For instance, Example (34), which is composed by adding *ene=n'* at the beginning of (25-B), is not well-formed.

(34) ? *Ene=n'*
this.NOM=3.POSS
Subject

viz-eer	*biznjes*	*xijgč-i-d*	*čuxam*
visa-INS	business.NOM	doer-EP-PL.NOM	actually
xaana	*orogno-dog*	***xereg***	*ve?*
where	flee-VN.HAB	occurrence	Q
Predicate			

LT: 'This [is] the occurrence [such that] visa dealers actually flee to where?'

That is, a subject which describes the preceding context can be added to sentences such as (32). This shows that they are noun-predicate sentences whose subject is elliptical. In contrast, the MMC cannot have an additional

subject. This is shown in (29). That is, the MMC is not a noun-predicate sentence whose subject is understood. It constitutes a complete sentence without such a subject. This shows that the MMC should be distinguished from sentences such as (32).

At this stage of investigation, it is not known what factors bring about the difference between (28) (the MMC) and (31) (noun-predicate sentence). At least, the consultants seem to rely on the context when asked whether a subject can be added or not. (It may be that the MMC in Mongolian is at its incipient stage and that its syntactic structure is not stabilized yet. It is interesting to note that Old Japanese (Miyachi, this volume, Section 6) exhibits a similar situation. It appears that its MMC is at its incipient stage. Only one noun is attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Available examples can be regarded as instances of both the MMC and noun-predicate sentences. It is difficult to find an unequivocal example of the MMC in Old Japanese.)

5.2 Characteristics of the MMC

[1] 'Copula'

The prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a), which is shown in (1) above, contains the 'Copula'. For the Mongolian MMC with *xereg* 'occurrence', no examples have been found which contain the 'Copula'. As mentioned in 4.1, in the 'semantically' present tense (though not in any other tense) the copular verb *baj-* 'to be' may be either present or absent. All of the examples of the MMC with *xereg* 'occurrence' are semantically in the present tense, and the 'Copula' is consistently absent, as far as our data are concerned.

[2] Predicate of the 'Clause'

As Table 1 shows, inflected forms of verbs are of three types: terminating forms, converb forms, and verbal-nominal forms. Also, as seen in 4.1, the predicate of clauses and sentences can be classified into three types: verb predicate, adjective/noun predicate, and particle predicate.

Now, the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC has to be a verbal nominal. Specifically, it is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., (25-B), or (ii) an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., the second 'A' in (26). On the other hand, for the predicate of the 'Clause', the following are not acceptable: (iii) a terminating form, (iv) a converb form, (v) an adjective/noun without a copular verb (cf., (35)), and (vi) the non-existential predicate particle *alga*.

(35) * *Dulmaa ix ažilsag* ***xereg***.
PN.NOM very diligent occurrence
(Intended meaning: I mean that Dulmaa is very diligent.)

(36) * *Neg=č alga* ***xereg***.
one.NOM=even.FP not.exist.NEP occurrence
(Intended meaning: I mean that there isn't even one.)

In terms of the morphological possibilities just mentioned, the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like that of the ACs of Type I (internal ACs) and of Type II (external ACs); see Table 3.

Furthermore, at least superficially, the 'Clause' of the MMC looks similar to ACs of Type II. With ACs of Type II (external ACs), the head noun is preceded by a verbal nominal, and the head noun does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC (hence, external ACs, not internal ACs; cf. 4.2.2.1). With the 'Clause' of the MMC, it may look as if the noun *xereg* 'occurrence' is modified by what may look like an AC (i.e. the preceding verbal nominal and other words). Furthermore, as is the case with the head noun of the ACs of Type II (external ACs), it does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of what may look like an AC.

5.3 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

We shall compare the MMC with independent sentences and ACs, in terms of (i) the predicate of the 'Clause', i.e., morphology, and (ii) the case marking of the subject, i.e., syntax. See Table 4.

[1] Predicate of the 'Clause'

Roughly speaking, the situation is as follows.

In independent sentences (4.1), the predicate is (i) a verb in a terminating or a verbal-nominal form, (ii) an adjective/noun with or without a copular verb (in a terminating or a verbal-nominal form), or (iii) the non-existential predicate particle *alga*.

The predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC (5.2-[2]) is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form or (ii) an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form.

The predicate of ACs (4.2.2.1) is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form (which can be followed by the genitive case suffix), or (ii) an adjective/noun + a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form (which can be followed by the genitive case suffix) (Table 3). (The predicate of the ACs of Type III is not considered here for the sake of the simplification of discussion.)

[2] Case marking of the subject

The subject in independent sentences is in the nominative (if it is not elliptical), e.g., (4) to (10). In ACs, three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, e.g., (15), (17), (19), genitive, e.g., (12), (16), (20), and accusative, e.g., (18). Now, the subject of the 'Clause' of the MMC is consistently in the nominative case, e.g., (25).

Table 4. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

	Predicate	Subject
Independent sentence	V-TV, V-VN, Adj/N, Adj/N + copula-TV, Adj/N + copula-VN, *alga*	NOM
MMC	V-VN, Adj/N + copula-VN	NOM
AC	V-VN(-GEN), Adj/N + copula-VN(-GEN)	NOM, GEN, ACC

In terms of the predicate of the 'Clause', i.e., morphology, roughly speaking, the MMC behaves like ACs, and differently from independent sentences. In contrast, regarding the case marking of the subject, i.e., syntax, the MMC behaves exactly like independent sentences, and differently from ACs.

6. Quasi-MMCs

There are two types of sentences that resemble the MMC. They will be referred to as quasi-MMCs.

6.1 Gesen üg *and* gedeg üg *'say-VN word'*

This type contains the combination of a verbal-nominal form of *ge-* 'to say' (*ge-sen* 'say-VN.PST' or *ge-deg* 'say-VN.HAB') and the noun *üg* 'word' in the final position. *Ge-sen üg* and *ge-deg üg* have denotations such as 'this means that ...'. The predicate is of Type III shown in Table 3: any predicate + *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x*. In our analysis, such sentences are noun-predicate sentences, as shown shortly. An example:

(37) (A government official appeals the need to buy new official cars for leaders.)
Jadaž törijn gurvan tergüünij mašin šine, sajn bajna gedeg bol gojo gangan gesen üg biš.
'That the cars for the top three leaders of the state [=the president, the prime minister and the chairperson of the parliament] are new and good does not mean that they are luxurious.'

Am'+nas=n' *ajuulgüj* *bajna=l*
live.NOM=3.POSS safe be-TV.NP=only.FP
ge-sen ***üg***.
say-VN.HAB word

LT: 'Their lives [are] the word saying that [their lives] are only safe.'
FT: 'This only means that their lives are safe.' (ÖD 2001/01/11)

It may look as if, in sentences such as (37), a 'Noun' is preceded by a 'Clause'. In this respect, they may look similar to the MMC with *xereg*. Furthermore, as far as our data are concerned, no examples are attested where the 'Copula' is present. Recall that the 'Copula' is not attested in the MMC with *xereg* (5.2-[1]). (However, sentences such as (37) differ from the MMC with *xereg* in the following respect. The 'Clause' in sentences such as (37) is of Type III (i.e., any predicate + *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x*) in Table 3, while the 'Clause' in the MMC with *xereg* is of Type II (V-VN, Adj/N + copula-VN)).

Despite the (possible) similarities noted above, sentences such as (37) are not considered instances of the MMC. Again, an anaphoric expression indicating the preceding context can be present. For example, *ene=n'* (this.NOM=3.POSS) 'this' can be added at the beginning of (37). It is the subject of the sentence. See (38).

(38) *Ene=n'*
this.NOM=3.POSS
Subject

am'+nas=n' *ajuulgüj* *bajna=l*
live.NOM=3.POSS safe be-TV.NP=only.FP
ge-sen ***üg***.
say-VN.HAB word
Predicate

LT: 'This [=what I have mentioned above] [is] the word saying that their lives are only safe.'
FT: 'This only means that their lives are safe.'

This leads to the analysis that sentences such as (37) are instances of noun-predicate sentence which have the covert subject *ene=n'*, for example, and where, for example, *am' nas n' ajuulgüj bajna l gesen üg* is the predicate. As far as the data available to us are concerned, an anaphoric expression referring to the preceding context can be added to sentences with *ge-sen üg* or *ge-deg üg*. It is in view of this that sentences such as (37) are labelled quasi-MMCs, and not the MMC.

6.2 Adjectives formed with the proprietive suffix

In this construction, the adjective-deriving suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with' is attached to the 'Noun'. In some instances, the 'Noun' with *-taj/-toj/-tej* is followed by the 'Copula'. (See 4.1 on the presence and absence of the copulas.)

(39) *Bi* *margaaš* *xödöö* *jav-a-x*
1SG.NOM tomorrow countryside go-EP-VN.NP
tölövlögöö-tej *baj-na.*
plan-PROP be-TV.NP
LT: 'I am with a plan [that I] will go to the countryside tomorrow.'
FT: 'I am planning to go to the countryside tomorrow.'

(40) *Mongol-čuud* *övög+deeds-ee* *xündel-deg*
Mongolian-PL.NOM ancestors-REFL respect-VN.HAB
zanšil-taj.
custom-PROP
LT: 'Mongolian people [are] with the custom [that they] respect their ancestors.'
FT: 'Mongolian people have the custom of ancestor worship.'

(41) *Dorž* *anxn-aas-aa* *uls+törč*
PN.NOM beginning-ABL-REFL politician.NOM
bol-o-x ***xuv'+zajaa-taj*** *baj-san.*
become-EP-VN.NP fate-PROP be-VN.PST
LT: 'Dorj was with the fate [that he] would become a politician from the beginning.'
FT: 'Dorj was destined to become a politician.'

These sentences resemble the prototype of the MMC (cf. (1)) in two respects. First, a 'Noun' is preceded by a 'Clause'. Second, the 'Copula' is present, at least in some of the examples. However, they differ from the prototype of the MMC in that the 'Noun' is combined with an adjective-forming suffix (namely, the proprietive suffix). That is, the 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but an adjective.

As seen in 5.1, only one noun has been found that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the Mongolian MMC: *xereg* 'occurrence'. In contrast, a large number of adjectives formed with *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with' are attested in the 'Noun' slot, and the use of this construction is much more frequent than the MMC (with *xereg* 'occurrence'). As shown by Tsunoda (this volume-b), a large number of nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the Japanese MMC. Most of the examples of the Japanese MMC can be translated into Mongolian by this construction (involving 'N-*taj/-toj/-tej*').

7. Meaning of the MMC and quasi-MMCs

It is convenient to summarize the meaning of the MMC and quasi-MMCs. See Table 5.

Table 5. Meaning of the MMC and quasi-MMCs

Key constituent(s)	Meaning of the MMC or quasi-MMC
Noun *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity'	'I mean that ...', 'Do you mean that ...'
Gesen üg and *gedeg üg* 'say-VN word'	'This means that ...'
Adjective-deriving suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with'	'The subject has X.'

8. The sentence-final modal particle *jum* and the noun *jum* 'thing'

First, recall that inflected forms of verbs are of three types: terminating forms, converb forms, and verbal-nominal forms (Table 1), and also that the predicate of clauses and sentences can be classified into three types: verb predicate, adjective/noun predicate, and particle predicate (4.1).

Now, there is one sentence-final modal particle that may have derived from a noun used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

Mongolian has about fifteen sentence-final modal particles (hereafter 'modal particles'), which appear after the predicate and have modal meanings such as assertion, confirmation, question, and doubt. (Modal particles differ from the non-existential predicate particle *alga* in that they cannot conclude the sentence alone. They must appear after a verb predicate, an adjective/noun predicate, or the non-existential predicate particle *alga*. On the other hand, the non-existential predicate particle *alga* can conclude the sentence by itself.)

Among the modal particles, we here deal with *jum*. It adds such tones as 'in fact' (Street 1963: 143), 'termination of predication, embodiment of character, and certainty' (Bertagaev 1964: 153, the translation is mine), although its precise meaning is sometimes difficult to translate. It can occur after:

(a) a verb in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., (42);
(b) an adjective or a noun (with or without a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form), e.g., (43), (44); and
(c) the non-existential predicate particle *alga* 'not exist, be absent', e.g., (45).

(42) *Bi* *Solongos-t* *sur-san* ***jum.***
1SG.NOM Korea-DAT study-VN.PST MP
'In fact, I studied in Korea.'

(43) *Bi* *öčigdör* *xuraltaj* *baj-san* ***jum.***
1SG.NOM yesterday with.meeting be-VN.PST MP
LT: 'I was with a meeting yesterday, in fact.'
FT: 'In fact, I had a meeting yesterday.'

(44) *Dulmaa* *maš* *ažilsag* ***jum.***
PN.NOM very diligent MP
'I am amazed to know that Dulmaa is very diligent.'

(45) *Neg=č* *alga* ***jum.***
one.NOM=even.FP not.exist.NEP MP
'I've found that there isn't even one.'

The modal particle *jum* is similar to the noun *xereg* 'occurrence' used in the MMC (5.1) in the following three respects. (i) They can occur after a verb in a verbal-nominal form. Compare (25-B) (the MMC, with *xereg* 'occurrence') and (42) (*jum*). (ii) They can occur after an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. Compare the second 'A' of (26) (the MMC, with *xereg* 'occurrence') and (43) (*jum*). (iii) They cannot appear after a terminating form (see 5.2-[2]), although most of the other modal particles can.

On the other hand, *jum* differs from *xereg* used in the MMC in the following two respects. (iv) *Jum* can occur after an adjective/noun without a copular verb; compare (35) and (44). (v) *Jum* can occur after the non-existential predicate particle *alga*; compare (36) and (45).

These facts are summarized in Table 6. (The plus symbol indicates 'acceptable', and the minus symbol 'not acceptable'. The numbers in parentheses are those of the relevant examples.) As Table 6 shows, the behavior of *jum* is fairly similar to *xereg*, i.e., the noun attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

Table 6. Comparison of *xereg*, *jum* and other modal particles

Predicate / Form after predicate	V-VN	Adj/N + copula-VN	Adj/N	*alga*	V-TV
Xereg in the MMC	+ (25)	+ (26)	- (35)	- (36)	-
Modal particle *jum*	+ (42)	+ (43)	+ (44)	+ (45)	-
Other modal particles	+	+	+	+	+

Now, Mongolian has the noun (i.e., an independent word) *jum*, and it

means 'thing', e.g., (12). Ozawa (1986: 191-192) points out the possibility that the modal particle *jum* and the noun *jum* 'thing' are historically related to each other. If that is the case, the following scenario is possible: an earlier stage of Mongolian had a variety of the MMC in which the 'Noun' slot was occupied by the noun *jum* 'thing' and subsequently the 'Noun' changed into a modal particle. This would constitute an instance of grammaticalization. Its meaning changed, and also the independent word became a particle.

This scenario explains the unacceptability of the modal particle *jum* in the position after a terminating form. In the Mongolian MMC, the predicate of the 'Clause' has to be in a verbal-nominal form, and it cannot be in a terminating form.

According to Ozawa (1997: 296), no examples of *jum* as a modal particle are attested in *Secret history of Mongols* or in *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* (*Bejewelled summary of the origin of Khans*), which are estimated to have been composed in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, respectively. This suggests that, if the modal particle *jum* is derived from the noun *jum* through its usage as the 'Noun' of the MMC at all, this process must have taken place rather recently. (Japanese has 'particles' that have derived from nouns. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.4 and 7.6).)

9. Summary and concluding remarks

Mongolian has the MMC, but only one noun is attested in the 'Noun' slot: *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity'. This MMC adds such a tone as 'I mean that ...' (or 'Do you mean that ...' in the interrogative). No examples of the MMC are attested where the 'Copula' appears. The MMC behaves like ACs (and unlike independent sentences) in terms of the morphology of the predicate. However, it behaves like independent sentences (and unlike ACs) regarding the case marking of the subject (i.e., concerning syntax).

There are two types of constructions that resemble the MMC. One contains *ge-sen üg* or *ge-deg üg* 'say-VN word', and indicates 'this means that ...'. The other contains a noun followed by the adjective-forming proprietive suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with'. This construction indicates 'the subject has X'.

There is a sentence-final modal particle (*jum*) that may have derived from a noun (*jum* 'thing') used in the MMC. This may constitute an instance of grammaticalization.

Sources

OD: Internet version of *Odrijn sonin* (*Daily News* newspaper)
ÖN: Internet version of *Önöödör* (*Today* newspaper)
The number that follows 'ÖD' or 'ÖN' indicates the year, month, and day of the newspaper article cited.

Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; Adj - adjective; CAUS - causative; COMPL - completive; COND - conditional; CVB - converb; DAT - dative-locative; EP - epenthesis; FP - focus particle; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HAB - habitual; INS - instrumental; IPFV - imperfective; LT - literal transition; MMC - mermaid construction; MP - modal particle; N - noun; NEG - negative; NEP - non-existential predicate particle; NOM - nominative; NP - non-past; PL - plural; PN - personal name; POSS - possessive; PROP - proprietive; PST - past; Q - question particle; REFL - reflexive-possessive; SG - singular; TV - terminating verbal; V - verb; VN - verbal nominal; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

Enclitics are preceded by the equal symbol (=), while affixes are indicated by a hyphen. The boundary in a compound word is shown with the plus symbol (+).

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Quasi-mermaid construction in Sakha (Yakut)

Fuyuki Ebata
Niigata University

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1. Introduction

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

(1) [Clause] Noun Copula.

Sakha has a construction which resembles the MMC (hereafter, quasi-mermaid construction: quasi-MMC). Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. They are all content nouns, and the meaning of the quasi-MMC is modal, aspectual, temporal or the like. The predicate verb of the 'Clause' is in the adnominal form, i.e. a non-finite form. The 'Copula' is a suffix, not a free form. The crucial difference from the prototype of the MMC is that the 'Noun' must take the proprietive suffix meaning 'having', as is the case with the quasi-MMC in Khalkha Mongolian (see Umetani (this volume)). The proprietive suffix -LEEx is a derivational suffix (not a case suffix) which derives nominals from nominals.

2. Initial illustration

Examples of the Sakha quasi-MMC are given below as an illustration. Recall that nouns in the 'Noun' slot must take the proprietive suffix -LEEx[1].

(2) *min* *tokio-ʁa* *bar-ar* *bulaan-naax-pun*
1SG Tokyo-DAT go-VN.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have a plan [that I] go to Tokyo.'
FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

(3) *ylete suox* *xaal-ar* *keskil-leex-ter*
without.work remain-VN.PRS future-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'They have a future [that they] remain without work.'
FT: 'They will still be unemployed.'

3. Profile of the language

Sakha is a member of the Turkic language family. It is spoken mainly in Sakha Republic in eastern Siberia. The number of its speakers is estimated to be approximately 450,000. Almost all the speakers are Sakha-Russian bilinguals. For the name of this language, the present paper uses the self-designation name "Sakha", which is actually cognate with another well-known language name, "Yakut".

The inventory of consonants is as follows: /p, b, t, d, č, ž, k, g, s[s~h], x, ʁ, m, n, ň, ŋ, l, r, j/[2]. Sakha has twenty vowel phonemes: eight short vowels /a, e, o, œ, ɯ, i, u, y/, eight long vowels /aa, ee, oo, œœ, ɯɯ, ii, uu, yy/, and four diphthongs /ɯa, ie, uo, yœ/. Word-stress, which does not have a distinctive function, is placed on the word-final syllable. There are rich morphophonological alternations, e.g. the vowel harmony rule and assimilation of consonants, especially in suffixation. Often, 16 or more allomorphs of one suffix result from morphophonological alternations.

Sakha is a strongly agglutinating language and uses suffixes extensively. Sakha exhibits both dependent-marking and head-marking. For example, case relations are marked by case suffixes attached to NPs (i.e. dependent-marking). On the other hand, possessive suffixes are attached to the possessed NPs and possessor NPs take no formal marking (i.e. head-marking). The case system is basically of the nominative-accusative type (A/S vs. O). The nominative case has a zero suffix, while the accusative has an overt suffix. Under certain conditions, the object lacks an overt case suffix, and in this respect the case system is of the neutral type (S=A=O).

Verbs inflect for negation, tense, person-cum-number of the subject, etc. A verb stem must take a finite suffix, a participle suffix, or a converb suffix. Participles are also called "verbal nouns". They form a nominal clause or an adnominal clause. The copula is a suffix, not a free form (with zero suffix only for 3SG).

The verb-final orders, i.e. AOV and SV, are preferred, but the topic NP can precede the A. A demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective and an adnominal clause precede the noun they modify.

Constituents of a sentence can be omitted if their referent is clear. This is particularly the case with the subject, for the person-cum-number of the subject is indicated in the predicate.

The current orthography, which employs Cyrillic letters, was established in 1939, replacing the previous Latin-alphabetical one. Children can choose the Sakha language as their medium of instruction at school, but some urban schools provide education only in Russian. The data for the present paper are taken from the spoken language of Sakha.

4. Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate and nominal-predicate sentences/clauses

Roughly speaking, the sentences/clauses in Sakha can be classified as follows:

(a) Verb-predicate sentences/clauses, e.g. (4). The predicate verb must have a finite suffix and a person-cum-number marking.
(b) Nominal-predicate sentences/clauses, e.g. (5). Nouns, adjectives and a few adverbs can be the predicate with the copula suffix, only when the sentence is present affirmative. Elsewhere they occur with an auxiliary verb.

(4) *min* *kuorak-ka* *bar-a-bun*
1SG city-DAT go-PRS-1SG
'I go to the city.'

(5) *min* *učuutal-bun*
1SG teacher-COP.1SG
'I am a teacher.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

The predicate verb of an adnominal clause ('AC') has the form of a verbal noun. The inflected forms of verbal nouns are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Forms of verbal nouns

	tense-neutral	past	present	future
positive	-TEX	-BIt	-r/-Er	-IEX
negative	-BEtEX		-BEt	-(I)mIEX

Like Japanese, Sakha has both "internal adnominal clauses" ("internal ACs") and "external adnominal clauses" ("external ACs"). (See Teramura

(1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a discussion of these two types of ACs.)

[1] Internal ACs
In internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In terms of Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy, the following positions can be relativized on: subject, e.g. (6), direct object, e.g. (7), indirect object, e.g. (8), oblique object, e.g. (9), and the possessor, e.g. (10). However, the object of comparison cannot be relativized on.

When the subject is relativized on, the head noun has no marking, e.g.:

(6) *syyr-er* *kihi*
run-VN.PRS person
'a person who runs'

Elsewhere the NP qualified by an AC obligatorily takes a possessive suffix, which indicates the person-cum-number of the subject of the AC. In examples (7), (8), and (9), possessive suffixes (*-m*, *-um*, or *-but*) are obligatory even when the subject is omitted.

(7) *(min)* *aax-puut* *kinige-m*
1SG read-VN.PST book-POSS.1SG
'the book that I read'

(8) *(min)* *belex* *bier-bit* *žon-um*
1SG present give-VN.PST people-POSS.1SG
'the people to whom I gave a present'

(9) *(bihigi)* *kel-bit* *suol-but*
1PL come-VN.PST way-POSS.1PL
'the way by which we came'

As noted above, the possessor can be also relativized on. In this example the head noun does not need a possessive suffix because the head noun *uol* 'boy' is the possessor of the subject in the AC.

(10) *ije-te* *baluuuha-ʁa* *ylelii-r* *uol*
mother-POSS.3SG hospital-DAT work-VN.PRS boy
'a boy whose mother works in a hospital'

[2] External ACs
In external ACs, in contrast with internal ACs, the head noun does not correspond to any argument or adjunct in the AC but, so to speak, is added from outside the underlying clause. Examples of Sakha external ACs are:

(11) *kim =ere* *xaam-ar* *tuah-a*
who =CLT walk-VN.PRS sound-POSS.3SG

LT: 'the sound that someone walks'
FT: 'the sound of someone walking'

(12) *žadaŋu* *buol-ar* *kuttal-a*
poor become-VN.PRS fear-POSS.3SG
LT: 'the fear that [(s)he] becomes poor'
FT: 'the fear of his/her becoming poor'

5. Quasi-MMC

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Sakha has what may be considered a quasi-MMC. The crucial difference from the prototype of the MMC is that the 'Noun' in the quasi-MMC of Sakha has the proprietive suffix -LEEx. The 'Noun' is in turn followed by the copula suffix. Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. The predicate verb of the 'Clause' is in the verbal noun form, i.e. a non-finite form. The 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence.

We shall first look at the use of the proprietive suffix (5.2), followed by a discussion of various aspects of the quasi-MMC: the use of the proprietive suffix in the quasi-MMC (5.3), and the nouns that are attested in the 'Noun' slot (5.4). There is a 'Noun' with the proprietive suffix -LEEx which may not take a copula suffix (5.5). In this case the 'Noun' is grammaticalized as a particle.

A note on the similarity between external ACs and the MMC is in order. As noted by Tsunoda (this volume, 7.2) they are similar as follows. In external ACs, the head noun does not correspond to any argument or adjunct in the AC but, so to speak, is added from outside the underlying clause. That is, the head noun is not coreferential with any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Similarly, in the MMC, the 'Noun' is not coreferential with the subject of the 'Clause'. The same applies to the Sakha quasi-MMS.

As mentioned in Tsunoda (this volume, 7.2), at the beginning of the collaborative research project whose main outcome is the present volume (Tsunoda, this volume-a, Section 2), it was hypothesized that the presence of external ACs is a prerequisite to the presence of the MMC. However, this hypothesis has turned out to be untenable.

Nonetheless, it is important to recall that Sakha has external ACs, without which the quasi-MMC may not be likely to exist in the language.

5.2 The proprietive suffix -LEEx

In Sakha, predicative possession is expressed with the proprietive suffix -LEEx, which means 'having'. An NP with the suffix -LEEx can be used both attributively, e.g. (13), and predicatively, e.g. (14):

(13) *uhun* *battax-taax* *kuus*
long hair-PROP girl
'a girl with long hair'

(14) *min* *ys* *oʁo-loox-pun*
1SG three child-PROP-COP.1SG
'I have three children.'

A noun followed by the proprietive suffix may be preceded and modified by an AC, e.g.:

(15) *araj* *kepset-er* *tabaarus-taax-pun*
just talk.with-VN.PRS friend-PROP-COP.1SG
'I have only friends to talk with.'

In (15), *kepset-er* 'talk.with-VN.PRS' modifies just *tabaarus* 'friend', and not the entire *tabaarus-taax-pun* 'friend-PROP-COP.1SG'.

5.3 Use of the proprietive suffix -LEEx *in the quasi-MMC*

The quasi-MMC contains "AC + Noun-LEEx-COP." Although this construction is not an instance of the prototypical MMC in terms of the structure shown in (1) above, semantically it is very similar to the MMC of Japanese; the latter is an instance of the prototypical MMC. Indeed, many of the MMC examples in Japanese can be translated into Sakha by using an "AC + Noun-LEEx-COP". An example of this quasi-MMC is the following (the same as (2)):

(16) *min* *tokio-ʁa* *bar-ar* *bulaan-naax-pun*
1SG Tokyo-DAT go-VN.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have a plan [that I] go to Tokyo.'
FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

A Japanese equivalent for (16) is the following:

(17) *watasi=wa* *tookyoo=ni* *ik-u* *yotee=da.*
1SG=TOP Tokyo=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
LT: 'I am a plan [that I] go to Tokyo.'
FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

There is one important difference between the Japanese MMC and the Sakha quasi-MMC. In Sakha, even when *tokio-ʁa bar-ar* 'Tokyo-DAT go-VN.PRS' is deleted from (16), the resultant sentence is still acceptable:

(18) *min* *bulaan-naax-pun*
1SG plan-PROP-COP.1SG
'I have a plan.'

However, in Japanese, if *tookyoo=ni ik-u* 'Tokyo=DAT/LOC go-NPST' is deleted from (17), the resultant sentence makes no sense (See Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.4).

(19) ? *watasi=wa* *yotee=da.*
1SG=TOP plan=COP.NPST
LT: 'I am a plan.'

That is, the crucial difference is the presence of the proprietive suffix attached to the 'Noun' in the quasi-MMC of Sakha.

5.4 Nouns in the 'Noun' slot

Sakha has no non-content nouns, such as the Japanese *mono* 'thing' and *koto* 'fact'. Also, no nominalizer or the like occurs in the 'Noun' slot. Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. They are difficult to classify in a clear-cut way, and they are tentatively classified as follows. All of these nouns are content nouns.

5.4.1 Nouns meaning "appearance" or the like
This group comprises nouns that have the meaning of "appearance" or the like: *buhuuu* 'appearance', *kerij* 'appearance', *kœryŋ* 'appearance', *žyhyn* 'shape', and *činči* 'sign'. Their meaning is evidential: inference, e.g. (20), or direct observation, e.g. (21), (33).

(20) *buhaʁ-um* *syp-pyt* *kerij-neex*
knife-POSS.1SG disappear-VN.PST appearance-PROP:COP.3SG
LT: 'My knife has an appearance [that it] disappeared.'
FT: 'It seems that my knife has disappeared.'

(21) *žollom-mut* *žyhyn-neex-xin*
feel.happy-VN.PST shape-PROP-COP.2SG
LT: 'You have a shape [that you] feel happy.'
FT: 'You look happy.'

5.4.2 Nouns meaning "plan", "idea" or the like
This group consists of nouns that have the meaning of "plan", "idea" or the like: *bulaan* 'plan', *burajuak* 'design', *anal* 'aim', *soruk* 'goal', *suual* 'goal', *sanaa* 'idea', *tolkuj* 'thought', *baʁa* 'hope', *žykkyœr* 'volition', and *žuluur* 'ambition'. They have a modal meaning. Examples include (2) (=(16)) and:

(22) *yle-ti-n* *salguuu-r* *sanaa-laax-pun*
work-POSS.3SG-ACC continue-VN.PRS idea-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have an idea [that I] take up his work.'
FT: 'I will take up his work.'

(23) *policija* *yœreʁ-er* *bar-ar*
police study-POSS.3SG:DAT go-VN.PRS
baʁa-laax-pɯn
hope-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have a hope [that I] go to a police school.'
FT: 'I want to go to a police school.'

5.4.3 Nouns meaning "fear" or "anxiety"
The nouns are *kuttal* 'fear' and *kuhalʁa* 'anxiety'. They have a modal meaning.

(24) *sotoru* *xotugu* *territorija-lar-but*
soon northern territory-PL-POSS.1PL
kuraanaxsuj-ar *kuttal-laax-tar*
get.empty-VN.PRS fear-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Our northern territories have fear [that they] soon become uninhabited.'
FT: '[We are worried that] our northern territories might become uninhabited soon.'

5.4.4 Nouns meaning "future" or "fate"
The nouns are *keskil* 'future' and *žulʁa* 'fate'. Their meaning may be "temporal" or "modal". Examples include (3) and:

(25) *nuučča* *omug-u-n* *kɯtta* *sɯlž-ar*
Russian nation-POSS.3SG-ACC with be-VN.PRS
žulʁa-laax-pɯt
fate-PROP-COP.1PL
LT: 'We have a fate [that we] live with Russian people.'
FT: 'We are destined to live with Russian people.'

5.4.5 Nouns meaning "power" or "ability"
The nouns are *kɯax* 'power' and *žoʁur* 'ability'. They have a modal meaning.

(26) *ajmax-tar-a* *œjœœ-tœx-tœryne =ere*
relative-PL-POSS.3SG support-COND-3PL =CLT
ɯčča-tar-a *yœren-er* *kɯax-taax-tar*
youth-PL-POSS.3SG study-VN.PRS power-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'The young people have a power [that they] study only when their relatives support them.'
FT: 'The young people can study only when their relatives support them [financially].'

(27) *kihi* *atuɯn* *kuuɯl-lar-tan*
person other animal-PL-ABL
kœmyske-n-er *žoʁur-daax*
guard-REFL-VN.PRS ability-PROP:COP.3SG
LT: 'Humans have an ability [that they] protect themselves from other animals.'
FT: 'Humans can protect themselves from other animals.'

5.4.6 Nouns meaning "event", "time" or "fuss"
The nouns are *tygen* 'event', *kem* 'time', and *ajdaan* 'fuss'. Their meaning may be "temporal" or "experiential", i.e. a type of "aspectual meaning". The quasi-MMC with any of these nouns has an experiential meaning or the like (a type of aspectual meaning). The quasi-MMC with *tygen* 'event' simply denotes 'X has done'. That with *kem* 'time' conveys the meaning 'There was a time when X did'. That with *ajdaan* 'fuss' means 'There was a fuss in which X did'.

(28) *bu* *suruksut* *beje-te* *suɯuh-ar*
this writer self-POSS.3SG make.error-VN.PST
tygen-neex
event-PROP:COP.3SG
LT: 'This writer himself has an event [that he] makes an error.'
FT: 'This writer himself has once made an error.'

(29) *er-bi-n* *kutta* *araxs-a*
husband-POSS.1SG-ACC with divorce-CVB
sus-put *kem-neex-pin*
AUX-VN.PST time-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have a time [that I was] divorced from my husband.'
FT: 'I was once divorced from my husband.'
[experiential meaning]

5.4.7 Nouns meaning "custom" or "habit"
The nouns are *yges* 'custom' and *kemelži* 'habit'. Their meaning is probably "habitual", a type of aspectual meaning.

(30) *tœrœppyt-ter* *oskuola-ʁa* *seleennii-r*
parent-PL school-DAT entrust-VN.PRS
yges-teex-ter
custom-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Parents have a custom [that they] leave [problems] to the school.'
FT: 'Parents tend to leave [problems] to the school.'

(31) *kurgut-tar* *uulussa* *trotuar-u-nan*
girl-PL street sidewalk-POSS.3SG-INS

xonnox-toru-ttan *ul-s-an* *kieŋ* *kekke-nen*
underarm-POSS.3PL-ABL take-COOP-CVB wide row-INS
ajannuu-r *tykteri* *kemelži-leex-ter*
travel-VN.PRS rude habit-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Girls have a bad habit [that they] walk in a wide row along sidewalks taking each other's underarms.'
FT: 'Girls tend to walk arm-in-arm in a wide row across sidewalks.'

Note that in (31) the 'Noun' *kemelži* 'habit' is modified by an adjective *tykteri* 'rude'. We shall return to this in Section 6.

5.4.8 Nouns meaning "right" or "obligation"
The nouns are *buraap* 'right' and *ebeehines* 'obligation'. Their meaning is "modal".

(32) *arassuuja* *graždan-nar-a* *yrdyk* *yœrex-xe*
Russia citizen-PL-POSS.3SG high study-DAT
bosxo *yœren-er* *buraap-taax-tar*
free study-VN.PRS right-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Russian citizens have a right [that they] study for free in higher education.'
FT: 'Russian citizens can study for free in higher education'

5.5 Summary of the semantics of the quasi-MMC

We have looked at the twenty-eight nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the Sakha quasi-MMC. They are all content nouns when used outside the quasi-MMC. As seen above, the quasi-MMC has various meanings, such as modal, evidential, aspectual and modal. See Table 2.

Table 2. Semantics of the 'Noun' and the quasi-MMC

'Noun'	meaning outside quasi-MMC	meaning of quasi-MMC
[1] *buhuuu*	appearance	speaker's inference [evidential; §5.4.1]
[2] *keriŋ*	appearance	
[3] *kœryŋ*	appearance	
[4] *žyhyn*	shape	
[5] *činči*	sign	
[6] *bulaan*	plan	volition, intention [modal; §5.4.2]
[7] *burajuak*	design	
[8] *anal*	aim	
[9] *soruk*	goal	
[10] *sual*	goal	
[11] *sanaa*	idea	
[12] *tolkuj*	thought	
[13] *baʁa*	hope	
[14] *žykkyœr*	volition	
[15] *žuluur*	ambition	
[16] *kuttal*	fear	apprehension [modal; §5.4.3]
[17] *kuhalʁa*	anxiety	
[18] *keskil*	future	future [temporal/modal; §5.4.4]
[19] *žulʁa*	fate	
[20] *kuax*	power	potential [modal; §5.4.5]
[21] *žoʁur*	ability	
[22] *tygen*	event	experiential [aspectual; §5.4.6]
[23] *kem*	time	
[24] *ajdaan*	fuss	
[25] *yges*	custom	habitual [aspectual; §5.4.7]
[26] *kemelži*	habit	
[27] *buraap*	right	possibility, obligation [modal; §5.4.8]
[28] *ebeehines*	obligation	

5.6 Grammaticalization from a nominal to a particle

In all of the examples of the Sakha quasi-MMC we have examined, the 'Noun' is followed by the proprietive suffix. Another example is (33). If the proprietive suffix is deleted from (33), we obtain (34).

(33) *sulaj-but* *buhuuu-laax-xun*
be.tired-VN.PST appearance-PROP-COP.2SG
LT: 'You have an appearance [that you] are tired.'
FT: 'You look tired.'

(34) * *sulaj-but* *buhuuu-gun*
be.tired-VN.PST appearance-COP.2SG
Intended meaning: 'You look tired.'

Example (34) has the structure of the prototype of the MMC, shown in (1); the 'Noun' is no longer followed by the proprietive suffix. However, (34) is not grammatical.

Now, it is interesting to note that (33) can be paraphrased as (35).

(35) *sulaj-buk-kun* *buhuulaax*
be.tired-PST-2SG it.appears
'It appears that you are tired.'

In (33), the verb *sulaj-* 'be.tired' is in the verbal noun form, i.e. a non-finite form. However, in (35), it is in a finite form, having the past form with person/number marking. Also, in (33), the noun *buhuu* 'appearance' plus the proprietive is followed by the copula (*-xun* 'COP.2SG'). In contrast, it is not followed by the copula in (35). These facts suggest that in this case *buhuu* 'appearance' is no longer a noun, and that *buhuulaax* 'it.appears' has been grammaticalized and become a particle. It now follows a finite form of a verb, i.e. it follows a sentence.

At this stage of investigation, *buhuulaax* is the only "Noun-LEEx" that can appear after a finite verb form and has apparently become a particle. Petrov (1978) lists several nouns with the proprietive suffixes as particles, such as *buhuu-laax*, *bulaan-naax*, *kerij-neex*, etc. Among these "particles" only *buhuu-laax* allows the copula to precede, and therefore it can be regarded to be grammaticalized.

6. Summary and concluding remarks

Sakha has what may be considered to be a quasi-MMC. Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. They are all content nouns. The meaning of that quasi-MMC has is modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal or the like and is summarized in Table 2. The predicate verb of the 'Clause' is in the verbal noun form, i.e. a non-finite form. The 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence. The 'Noun' has the proprietive suffix 'having', like the quasi-MMC in Khalkha Mongolian. Without the proprietive suffix the sentence is ungrammatical. The noun with the proprietive suffix is followed by the copula suffix. One of these nouns followed by the proprietive suffix appears to have become a particle.

In the MMC of some other languages, nouns in the 'Noun' slot are grammaticalized and they have a lower degree of "noun-hood" than when they are used outside the MMC. For example, in the Japanese MMC, nouns in the 'Noun' slot cannot be modified by an adjective (Tsunoda this volume-b, 5.6.4). However, in the quasi-MMC of Sakha, the 'Noun' can be modified by an adjective; see (31). At least in this respect, it is not grammaticalized.

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Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; AUX - auxiliary; CLT - clitic; COND - conditional; COOP - cooperative; COP - copula; CVB - converb; DAT - dative; FT - free translation; INS - instrumental; LOC - locative; LT; literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NPST - nonpast; PL - plural; POSS - possessive; PROP - proprietive; PRS - present; PST - past; REFL - reflexive; SG - singular; TOP - topic; VN - verbal noun

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[1] A suffix form is written with small capital letters when it has several allomorphs.

[2] [s] and [h] can be regarded as allophones of one phoneme.

Mermaid constructions in Kurux

Masato Kobayashi
University of Tokyo

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1. Introduction

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

(1) Clause + Noun + Copula.

In addition, as Tsunoda (this volume-a, -b) and other papers in the present volume show, there are instances in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic which derives from a noun. There are also instances in which a noun or an enclitic of nominal origin has changed into a suffix and the suffix continues to occupy the 'Noun' slot. The noun, the enclitic, or

the suffix in the 'Noun' slot in (1) may also be a nominalizer.

Kurux, a Dravidian language of eastern India, has what can be regarded as the MMC, unlike other Dravidian languages. Two enclitics *=mad^{h}e:* and *=bese:*, and possibly one noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity', are attested in the 'Noun' slot. The MMC with *=mad^{h}e:* has a modal or an aspectual meaning: 'X plans to ...', 'X is scheduled to ...', 'X has the property of ...ing'. The one with *=bese:* has an evidential meaning: 'X looks/appears/seems ...'. The one with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' indicates cause/reason.

It seems likely that *=mad^{h}e:* and *=bese:* derive from nouns that were borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages: *mád^{h}ya* 'middle' and *vēṣa* 'dress', respectively.

The existence of the MMC is uncommon among Dravidian languages, and it is possible that the Kurux MMC developed after its split from Malto, the language that is genetically the closest to Kurux.

2. Initial illustration

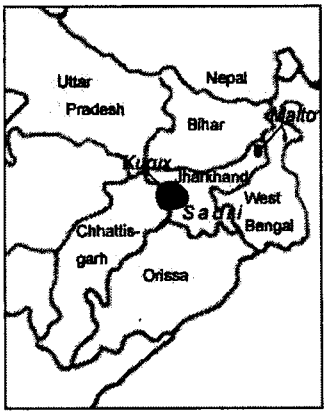
Examples of the MMC in Kurux include (2) (*=mad^{h}e:* 'be scheduled to') and (3) (*=bese:* 'like').

(2) *i:* *re:lga:ɽi:* *ko:ḍarma:*
this train Koderma
ka:l-u:=mad^{h}e(-d) *hike*
go-PRS.VADJ=ADJ-NM COP.PRS.3SG.NM
'This train is scheduled to go to Koderma' or
'This train is the Koderma-bound one.'

(3) *a:s* *cĩ:x-na:=bese:* *rahc-as*
3SG.M.NOM cry-VBN=like be.B2-PST.3SG.M
'He was as if he would cry' or 'He was about to cry'.

3. Profile of the language

Kurux is a member of the Dravidian language family. It is spoken by the people called the Oraons, who mainly live in the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Orissa in eastern India. Languages from three language families are spoken in this area: Dravidian, Indo-European (to which the Indo-Aryan languages belong), and Austro-Asiatic. The lingua franca of this multi-ethnic area is an Indo-Aryan language called Sadri, Sadani, or Nagpuri, which is considered by many to be a dialect of Bhojpuri (Jordan-Horstmann 1969). According to the Census of India 2001, there



are 1,751,489 ethnic Oraons, but the number of Kurux speakers is probably less than half of that figure. The language that is linguistically closest to Kurux is Malto, also spoken in Jharkhand. Kurux used to be a non-literary language, and literacy in Kurux is still limited. The data for the present paper are cited from the spoken language.

Kurux has ten distinctive vowels, /a, a:, i, i:, u, u:, e, e:, o, o:/, and their nasalized counterparts, that is, twenty vowels in all. It has thirty-five distinctive consonants, /ʔ, k, k^h, g, g^h, c, c^h, j, j^h, ʈ, $ʈ^h$, ɖ, $ɖ^h$, t, t^h, d, d^h, p, p^h, b, b^h, r, ɽ, $ɽ^h$, l, ŋ, ɲ, ɳ, n, m, y, w, s, h, x/. There is no pair of words contrasting in pitch or stress alone.

Kurux is largely agglutinating, but it is partly fusional. It employs suffixes and postpositions, but has neither prefixes nor prepositions. Verbs are marked for tense, aspect, and modality while nouns take case suffixes and postpositions. Both verbs and nouns show person-number-gender concord with the subject when they are predicates. The same set of person-number-gender suffixes is used for both verbs and nouns.

The distinction between nouns and adjectives is not clear-cut. Adjectives often function as the head of an NP, similar to nouns. When used predicatively, adjectives do not agree with the subject in person-number-gender while nouns do. This is against what is expected from the agreement hierarchy proposed by Comrie (1975), according to which adjectives are more likely to exhibit agreement with the subject than nouns will.

Kurux has two numbers (singular and plural), three persons, and the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first persons, plural. It makes a gender distinction between human masculine and other referents, and only human nouns, masculine and feminine, contrast in number. There are three tenses: past, present, and future. There are aspectual forms, such as progressive and perfect. Tense and agreement marking is obligatory in verbal predicates.

Kurux has two copula verbs: *tal-* is used to describe permanent properties, and *raʔ-* is used for temporary properties and states. The copula *hik-*, which is the Sadri equivalent of *tal-*, is used, too.

Table 1 presents a partial paradigm of conjugation, with the verb 'to dance' as an example. The third-person singular masculine and non-masculine forms are given for each category. The present perfect and the past perfect involve the copula verb *raʔ-*.

Table 1: Verb Conjugation

Verbal base *nal-*, Base 2[1] (B2) *naly-* 'to dance'		
	3SG.M	3SG.NM
simple present	*nal-das*	*nal-i:*
progressive present	*nal-a:lagdas*	*nal-a:lagi:*
simple past	*naly-as*	*naly-a:*
present perfect	*nal-ka: ra?-das*	*nal-ki: ra?-i:*
past perfect	*nal-ka: rahc-as*	*nal-ki: rahc-a:*
future	*nal-os*	*nal-o:*
past verbal adjective	*nal-ka:*	
present verbal adjective	*nal-u:*	
future verbal adjective	*nal-o:*	
verbal noun	*nal-na:*	

Kurux has a nominative-accusative alignment system (A/S vs. O). The nominative case involves no overt suffix, and the gloss 'NOM' will often be omitted in this study. Kurux has both dependent-marking and head-marking. It is, in the main, configurational.

Kurux has AOV and SV as the unmarked word orders. A noun is preceded by its modifiers, such as a deictic or demonstrative, a numeral, and an adjective (the position of adnominal clauses will be discussed in 4.2.1.). Complement clauses are postposed, as in many Indo-Aryan languages. When a phrase or clause is heavy or receives focus, it can be placed after the finite verb, at the end of a sentence.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Very roughly speaking, clauses and sentences in Kurux can be classified into three groups (although the distinction between nouns and adjectives is not clear; cf. Section 3): verb-predicate clauses/sentences, adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, and noun-predicate clauses/sentences.

[1] Verb-predicate clauses/sentences

Example:

(4) *a:* *kukko-s* *dʰanhu:(hu-n)* *hocc-as*
that boy-3SG.M bow(-ACC) take.B2-PST.3SG.M
'That boy took up the bow.'

[2] Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences

Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences obligatorily contain a copula verb.

(5) *a:* *kukko-s* *sanni:* *tal-das*
that boy-M small COP-3SG.M
'That boy is small.'[2]

[3] Noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Noun-predicate clauses/sentences obligatorily contain a copula verb.

(6) *ni:n* *daw* *a:l-ay* *tal-day*
2SG.NOM good man-2SG COP-PRS.2SG.M
'You are a good man.'

Japanese abounds in noun-predicate sentences in which the subject and the complement are not co-referential. The most famous example is the following, cited from Okutsu (1978).

(7) (At a restaurant, someone may order his meal as follows:)
boku=wa *unagi=da.*
1SG(male)=TOP eel=COP.NPST
LT: 'I am an eel.'
FT: 'I will order an eel dish', 'I want to eat an eel'.

In contrast, in noun-predicate sentences in Kurux, the subject and the complement must be co-referential, and (7) would have to be expressed as follows.

(8) *e:n* *injo-n* *mo:x-on*
1SG.NOM fish-ACC eat-FUT.1SG
'I will have fish.'

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Introductory notes. Kurux has three ways to form adnominal clauses ('ACs'): the correlative strategy (4.2.1.2), the use of a finite verb and a deictic (or demonstrative) (4.2.1.3), and the use of a verbal noun or a verbal adjective (4.2.1.4).

Kurux has both 'internal ACs' and 'external ACs'. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, the head noun is added from outside the underlying clause in external ACs. It does not correspond to an argument nor an adjunct of the AC. See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.

4.2.1.2 Correlative strategy. See Keenan (1985: 163-168) for a characterization of the correlative strategy. In Kurux, this strategy involves an interrogative pronoun and a distal deictic. The latter functions as a resumptive pronoun. These ACs are head-internal, and the head noun is

within the AC. The verbs employed are in a finite form. Examples follow.

(9) *eka:* *kukko-s* *putʰi-n* *paɽʰc-as*
which boy-M book-ACC read.B2-PST.3SG.M
a:s
that.M.NOM
'the boy who read a book'.

(10) *eka:* *putʰi:* *a:* *kukko-s*
which book that boy-M
paɽʰc-as *a:d*
read.B2-PST.3SG.M 3SG.NM.NOM
'the book that the boy read'

(11) *e:n* *eka:* *orto-s-gane* *kacʰnakʰr?-a:lagkan*
1SG.NOM which one-M-with talk-PST.PROG.1SG
a:s *ne:las* *pa:kuɽka:l-os*
3SG.M.NOM tomorrow Pakur go-FUT.3SG.M
'The man I was talking to will go to Pakur tomorrow.'

4.2.1.3 Use of a finite verb and a deictic. Examples include the following. An AC precedes the noun it modifies.

(12) *bar?-a:lagi:* *a:* *pello:*
come-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM that woman
a:s-gahi *taŋg-day* *hike*
3SG.M-GEN own-elder.sister COP.PRS.3SG.NM
'The woman who is coming is his elder sister.'

(13) *putʰi-n* *paɽʰ?-a:lagyas* *a:* *kukko-s*
book-ACC read-PST.PROG.3SG.M that boy-M
'the boy who was reading a book'

(14) *a:* *kukko-s* *paɽʰ?-a:lagyas* *a:* *putʰi*
that boy-M read-PST.PROG.3SG.M that book
'the book that the boy was reading'

4.2.1.4 Use of a verbal noun or a verbal adjective. An AC precedes the noun it modifies. The predicate of the AC may be either a verbal noun, e.g. (15), or a verbal adjective, e.g. (16) and (17). Of the three types of verbal adjectives (cf. Table 1), the past verbal adjective (*-ka:*), e.g. (16), and the present verbal adjective (*-u:*), e.g. (17), can modify a noun.

(15) *ko:ɖarma:* *ka:-na:* *re:lga:ɽi:*
Koderma go-VBN train
'a Koderma-bound train'

(16) *putʰi(-n)* *paɽʰc-ka:* *kukko-s*
book(-ACC) read.B2-PST.VADJ boy-M
'the boy who read a book'

(17) *put^{h}i(-n)* *paɽ^{h}ʔ-u:* *kukko-s*
book(-ACC) read-PRS.VADJ boy-M
'the boy who {reads/is reading/will read} a book'

The past verbal adjective refers to completed actions, e.g. (16), while the present verbal adjectives describe uncompleted actions, e.g. (17).

4.2.1.5 External ACs. All of the examples of ACs given above may be considered 'internal ACs', for the head noun is an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In addition, Kurux has 'external ACs', in which the head noun is not an argument or an adjunct of the AC and the AC is appositional to the head noun, e.g. (18).

(18) *a:* *a:l-as-gahi* *eɽpa-n* *xe:nd-na:* *kattha:*
that man-M-GEN house-ACC buy-VBN story
'the story/rumor that the man is buying a house'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses
The structure of adverbial clauses resembles that of an AC plus a noun. Roughly speaking, this can be divided into two types.

One type resembles the type of ACs discussed in 4.2.1.4. What appears to be an adnominal clause precedes and modifies the noun. The predicate of the clause may be a verbal adjective, e.g. (19), (20), or a verbal noun, e.g. (21). The noun is often in the locative case, e.g. (20), (21). In (19), the noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' functions as a subordinate conjunction and indicates cause/reason 'because'.

(19) *a:s-ge* *lu:r* *mal-ka:* *caḍḍe:*
3SG.M-DAT wisdom be.not-PST.VADJ because
a:s *amm-an* *e:r-das*
3SG.M.NOM water-ACC look-PRS.3SG.MASC
ki *ka:-das*
and go-PRS.3SG.MASC
'Because he had no intelligence, he saw water and went away.'

(20) *cando:* *arg-ka:* *bi:ri:-nu-m*
moon climb-PST.VADJ time-LOC-EMPH
a:s *cailker-as*
3SG.M.NOM set.out.B2-PAST.3SG.MASC
'He set out when the moon had risen up.'

(21) *bi:ɽi:* *putt-na:* *be:ɽa:-nu:* *cando-d* *argy-a:*
sun set-VBN time-LOC moon-NM rise.B2-PST.3SG.NM
ker-a:
go.B2-PST.3SG.NM
'At the time of the sunset, the moon has risen up.'

In the other type, what appears to be an AC involves the correlative strategy (cf. 4.2.1.2).

(22) *ekʔam-biːri-m* *iːdi* *xacr-oː*
any-time-EMPH this go.off-FUT.3SG.NM
aː-biːri-m *kʰeʔ-oy* *kaːl-oy*
that-time-EMPH die-FUT.2SG go-FUT.2SG
'When this [string] goes off, you are going to die.'

(23) *ekanneː* *aːs* *ukky-as*
which.way 3SG.M.NOM sit.B2-PST.3SG.M
anne-m *xandr-as* *ker-as*
that.way-EMPH sleep-PST.3SG.M go.B2-PST.3SG.M
'As soon as he sat down, he fell asleep.'

What may be considered the subordinate clause precedes what may be regarded as the main clause. The predicates of the 'subordinate clauses' are finite forms, in (22) and (23).

5. Mermaid Construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As mentioned in Section 1, one noun (*caḍḍeː* 'necessity') and two enclitics (*=madʰe* and *=bese*) are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. It seems likely that the two enclitics were originally nouns and that they were borrowed into Kurux, which is a Dravidian language, from an Indo-Aryan language. We will consider each of the three morphemes separately.

5.2 MMC involving the noun caḍḍe: *'necessity'*

The noun *caḍḍeː* 'necessity' can function as a subordinate conjunction and indicates cause/reason 'because' (Grignard 1924a:121, 1924b, s.v.). The predicate of this adverbial clause ('cause, reason') is a verbal adjective. Examples include (19) and:

(24) *aːs* *tamba-s-in* *ilc-kaː*
3SG.M.NOM own.father-M-ACC fear.B2-PST.VADJ
caḍḍeː *boŋg-as* *ker-as*
because run.away-PST.3SG.M go.B2-PST.3SG.M
'He ran away because he was scared of his father.'

As mentioned in Section 3, a phrase or clause can be placed after the finite verb when it is heavy or is in focus. Thus, the *caḍḍeː* clause can also occur after *boŋg-as ker-as*:

(25) *a:s* *boŋg-as* *ker-as*
3SG.M.NOM run.away-PST.3SG.M go.B2-PST.3SG.M
tamba-s-in *ilc-ka:* *caḍḍe:*
own.father-M-ACC fear.B2-PST.VADJ because
'He ran away, because he was scared of his father.'

Furthermore, when a more explicit focus is put on it, the *caḍḍe:* clause can take the copula verb *ra?-* (but not *tal-*) and become an independent sentence, as in (26):

(26) *a:s* *boŋg-as* *ker-as.*
3SG.M.NOM run.away-PST.3SG.M go.B2-PST.3SG.M
'He ran away.'
a:d *tamba-s-in* *ilc-ka:*
that own.father-M-ACC fear.B2-PST.VADJ
caḍḍe: *rahc-a:*
because be.B2-PST.3SG.NM
'[It was] because he was scared of his father.'

(27) *a:* *re:lga:ɽi:* *bigɽa:r-ka:* *caḍḍe:*
that train be.broken-PST.VADJ because
rahc-a:.
be.B2-PST.3SG.NM
'[It] is because the train had a technical problem'
aoŋge *di:ri:* *maŋj-a:*
therefore delay become.B2-PST.3SG.NM
'that it became delayed.'

Since *caḍḍe:* can be used as a noun meaning 'necessity', the second sentence of (26) and the first sentence of (27) may be said to have the structure shown in (1): Clause + Noun + Copula. That is, it may be considered an instance of the prototype of the MMC.

The second sentence of (26) has close parallels in Japanese. The Japanese MMC in which the noun *wake* 'cause, reason', e.g. (28), or the enclitic nominalizer *=no* occupies the 'Noun' slot may indicate cause/reason or provide an explanation (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3-[3]).

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

The etymology of *caḍḍe:* is not transparent. On the one hand, it looks like a borrowing of Sadri postposition *caḍe* 'because of' (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:150, but it also seems to be connected with Kurux *ca:ɽ* 'necessity', and it might be two independent etyma. If that is the case, the construction with

caḍḍe: cannot be considered an MMC.[3]

5.3 MMC involving the enclitic =mad^{h}e:

5.3.1 Introductory notes

The enclitic *=mad^{h}e:* (Grignard 1924a:119, 1924b, s.v.) serves as a nominalizer or adjectivizer. It is attached to the genitive forms of pronouns, adjectives (including deictics), and verbal adjectives, nouns and NPs (see below), and it forms adjectives, adjectival phrases (see below), nouns and NPs.

In (30), *=mad^{h}e:* is added to not just a word but to an NP (*ʈu:pi: ar casma:* 'cap and glasses'). The resultant form (*ʈu:pi: ar casma:=mad^{h}e:* 'wearing a cap and glasses') is not just an adjective but an adjectival phrase.

Since *=mad^{h}e:* can be attached to a coordinate structure, e.g. (30), we analyze *=mad^{h}e:* not as a suffix but as an enclitic.

There is no cognate of *=mad^{h}e:* in Malto, which is genetically close to Kurux. The use of *=mad^{h}e:* is in close parallelism with the Hindi enclitic *=vaalaa* (cf. Imamura, this volume). Also, an Indo-Aryan etymology is highly likely (see 5.3.4). In view of these three facts, *=mad^{h}e:* is probably a loan introduced after the divergence of Kurux and Malto.[4]

5.3.2 Uses of =mad^{h}e:

As just noted, the enclitic *=mad^{h}e:* is attached to genitive forms of pronouns, adjectives (including deictics), verbal adjectives, and nouns/NPs, and it forms adjectives/adjectival phrases and nouns/NPs. When it is attached to verbal adjectives, the resulting construction resembles the MMC. We shall now examine the uses of *=mad^{h}e:*.

[1] With nouns and NPs

When combined with nouns/NPs, *=mad^{h}e:* forms adjectives/adjectival phrases meaning 'having ..., characterized by ...', e.g. (29), (30), (31), or nouns/NPs meaning 'someone/something having ...' or '... thing/people', e.g. (32).

(29) *a:* *ʈu:pi:=mad^{h}e:* *kukko-s* *eŋgda-s*
that cap=ADJ boy-M.NOM my.son-M
hik-das
COP-PRS.3SG.M
'That boy wearing a cap is my son.'

(30) *a:* *ʈu:pi:* *ar* *casma:=mad^{h}e:* *kukko-s*
that cap and glasses=ADJ boy-M.NOM
'that boy wearing a cap and glasses'

(31) *i:d* *casma:=mad^{h}e:* *duka:n* *hike*
this.NM.NOM glasses=ADJ shop COP.PRS.3SG.NM
'This is an optician's shop.'

(32) *xadd=mad^{h}e-r* *be:c-a:lagnar*
child=NMLZ-PL.NOM play-PRS.PROG.3PL
'Children are playing.'

[2] With verbal nouns (*-na:*)

When combined with verbal nouns (*-na:*), *=madʰe:* forms adjectives/adjectival phrases meaning 'for …ing'. They can also be used as nouns.

(33) *i:* *dudhi:* *ca:h-nu:* *saj-na:=madʰe:* *hike*
this milk tea-LOC put-VBN=ADJ COP.PRS.3SG.NM
(Pointing to powder creamer) 'This milk is for putting in tea.'

[3] With genitive forms of pronouns

When *=madʰe:* is placed after genitive forms of pronouns, it produces possessive pronouns.

(34) *i:* *casma:* *eŋg-hay=madʰe-d* *hike*
this glasses I-GEN=NMLZ-NM.NOM COP.PRS.3SG.NM
'These glasses are mine (lit. my ones).'

[4] With deictics

With deictics, such as *a:* 'that' or *i:* 'this', *=madʰe:* means 'that one, this one'.

(35) *nam-hay* *ʈre:n* *barʔ-a:lagi:*
1PL.INCL-GEN train come-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
i:=madʰe: *hike*
this=NMLZ COP.PRS.3SG.NM
'Our train is this coming one.'

[5] With adjectives

When combined with adjectives, *=madʰe:* forms nouns/NPs meaning 'a … one' and adjectives/adjectival phrases meaning 'somewhat …'.

(36) *seya:n=madʰe:* *baʔ-a:lagi:*
young=NMLZ say-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
'[Among the birds], the younger ones say.'[5]

(37) *mu:li:-tara* *mo:ʈ=madʰe:* *ɖa:ɾa-n* *kʰaɳɖ-a:*
root-side thick=ADJ bough-ACC cut-INF
helr-as
start-PST.3SG.M
'He started cutting a somewhat big bough at its root.'

[6] With verbal adjectives

When combined with verbal adjectives, *=madʰe:* forms nouns/NPs meaning 'that which …, one who …' and adjectives/adjectival phrases that function like an AC.

(38) *eɽpa:* *mal-ka:=mad^{h}e-r* *bagge:* *ra?-nar*
house be.not-PST.VADJ=NMLZ-PL many be-PRS.3PL
LT: '[There] are many whose house is non-existent.
FT: 'There are many homeless people.'

Additional examples include (2), (39) (same as (2)), and (40). They contain a copula verb.

(39) *i:* *re:lga:ɽi:* *ko:ɖarma:* *ka:-na:=mad^{h}e:*
this train Koderma go-VBN=ADJ
hike
COP.PRS.3SG.NM
'This train is scheduled to go to Koderma' or 'This train is the Koderma-bound one.'

(40) *i:* *pocgo:* *kaŋk* *mo:x-na:=mad^{h}e:*
this weevil wood eat-VBN=ADJ
hike
COP.PRS.3SG.NM
'This weevil is a wood eater.'

In (39) and (40), which contain a copula verb, the enclitic *=mad^{h}e:* may be considered as occupying the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, shown in (1). In view of this, these sentences may be considered instances of the MMC, although they are not prototypical. The 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but by an enclitic. Combined with a copula, *=mad^{h}e:* means 'Something/someone has the property of ...ing', 'is supposed to ...', or 'is going to ...'. The meaning is aspectual or modal.

The copula verb (cf. Section 3) employed here may be *tal-* (used for permanent properties) or *ra?-* (used for temporary properties or states), e.g. (41). It may also be *hik-*, which is the Sadri equivalent of *tal-* (used for permanent properties). (Sadri is an Indo-Aryan language, which is the lingua franca of the region. See Section 3.)

Sentences such as (39) and (40) resemble the type of the Japanese MMC that contains the enclitic *=no*. This enclitic may be considered a nominalizer (although it may be regarded as the genitive case marker, a non-content noun, or a complementizer). (See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4). Note that *=mad^{h}e* is a nominalizer/adjectivizer.

5.3.3 Comparison with the Hindi enclitic =vaalaa

Hindi, which is an Indo-Aryan language, has the enclitic *=vaalaa*. Imamura (this volume) notes that *=vaalaa* has two uses. In one use, it forms noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is ...'. In the other use, it occupies the 'Noun' slot of the MMC; that is, it is used in the MMC. This MMC indicates (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), or (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning) or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). The

verb that precedes *=vaalaa* occurs in the infinitive form. (See Imamura (this volume) for further discussion. He considers *=vaalaa* an enclitic, and not a suffix, and I have tentatively adopted his view.)

As can be seen, the uses of the Kurux suffix *=mad^{h}e:* largely overlap with those of the Hindi enclitic *=vaalaa*. (Possibly this is due to structural borrowing.) However, there is one important difference. In the MMC, the Kurux *=mad^{h}e:* may be omitted when referring to a planned future action. Compare (41) and (42). In contrast, the Hindi *=vaalaa* is mandatory in this meaning; see (43).[6]

(41) Kurux
e:n *ka:l-u:=mad^{h}e:* *rahac-kan*
1SG.NOM go-PRS.VADJ-ADJ be.B2-PST.1SG
'I was going to go/planning to go.'

(42) Kurux
e:n *ka:l-u:* *rahac-kan*
1SG.NOM go-PRS.VADJ be.B2-PST.1SG
'(As above)'

(43) Hindi
mɛ̃ *jaa-ne=vaalaa* *t^{h}aa*
1SG.NOM go-INF=ADJ.SG.M be.PST.SG.M
'(As above)'

5.3.4 Etymology of =mad^{h}e:
A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary by Burrow and Emeneau (1984) does not suggest any Dravidian etymology for *=mad^{h}e:*. However, the following Kurux example, which I have found in a narrative, gives a clue as to its original meaning:

(44) *a:* *mad^{h}e:-nu:* *oɳa:* *kõha:* *lu:rgar*
that middle-LOC one big intelligent
rahc-a:
be.B2-PST.3SG.NM
'Among them, there was one big, intelligent [bird].'

Grignard's (1924b: 470) Kurux dictionary gives 'from among' as the meaning of *=mad^{h}e:*. If the original meaning of *=mad^{h}e:* was 'middle', it agrees with Sanskrit *mád^{h}ya-* 'middle', the entry 9804 in Turner's *A comparative dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages* (Turner 1962–1966: 563). Sadri has a postposition *mad^{h}e* 'in the middle of, near' aside from *maj^{h}e* 'id.' (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:167), and this is the likeliest source of Kurux *=mad^{h}e.*[7]

5.4 MMC involving the enclitic =bese:

5.4.1 Uses of =bese:
Like *=mad^{h}e:*, *=bese:* is attached to coordinate structures, and we analyze it

as an enclitic. It has an evidential meaning—generally, evidence based on direct observation. It can be translated as 'like' or 'as if'.

The enclitic *=bese:* can follow adjectives/adjectival phrases including verbal adjectives, e.g. (45), and nouns/NPs including verbal nouns, e.g. (46). Unlike *=mad^{h}e:*, *=bese:* can also follow finite verb forms, e.g. (47) (past), (48) (future), and (49) (present). *=bese:* is commonly used with a verb of perception, such as *e:t^{h}r?-* 'to look', *mendr?-* 'to sound', or *lag-* 'to feel' (intransitive).

(45) *cẽ:p* *poss-ka:=bese:*
rain fall.B2-PST.VADJ=like
e:t^{h}r?-a:lagi:
look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
'It looks like it rained.'

(46) *cẽ:p* *poy-na:=bese:* *e:t^{h}r?-a:lagi:*
rain fall-VBN=like look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
'It looks like it is going to rain.'

(47) *cẽ:p* *poss-a:=bese:*
rain fall.B2-PST.3SG.NM=like
e:t^{h}r?-a:lagi:
look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
'It looks like it rained.'

(48) *ad-ige* *xadd-ar* *man-or=bese:*
3SG.NM-DAT child-PL be.born-FUT.3PL=like
e:t^{h}r?-a:lagi:
look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
'She looks pregnant.'

(49) *a:s-gahi* *ɖaɳɖi:* *berxa:* *cĩ:x-i:=bese:*
3SG.M-GEN song cat cry-PRS.3SG.NM=like
mindr?-i:
sound-PRS.3SG.NM
'His song sounds as if a cat is crying.'

In (48), *man-or=bese:* 'be.born-FUT.3PL=like' can be replaced with *man-na:=bese:* 'be.born-VBN=like'. Similarly, in (49), *cĩ:x-i:=bese:* 'cry-PRS.3SG.NM=like' can be replaced with *cĩ:x-na:=bese:* 'cry-VBN=like'.

Sentences such as (47) to (49) may be considered bi-clausal; that is, the words that precede the enclitic *=bese:* constitute a subordinate clause. In this respect, *=bese:* functions as a subordinating conjunction.

Now, a word involving *=bese:* can also be used with the copula verb *ra?-* (the copula used for temporary properties; cf. Section 3), e.g. (3) and:

(50) *a:s* *urmi-n* *mo:d^{h}r-as=bese:*
he.NOM everything-ACC forget-PST.3SG.M=like
ra?-das
be-PRS.3SG.M

'He is as if he has forgotten everything.'

In (3) and (50), *=bese:* may be considered as occupying the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, shown in (1). In view of this, these sentences may be considered instances of the MMC, although they are not prototypical. The 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but by an enclitic.

The copula that is used in sentences such as (3) and (50) is *ra?-*, which describes temporary properties. It is not *tal-* or *hik-*, which denote permanent properties. That is, this MMC concerns temporary properties and not permanent properties.

5.4.2 Etymology of =bese:

No likely cognate of *=bese:* has been found in Malto. Furthermore, no Dravidian etymology has been proposed for it. One possible origin is the Indo-Aryan etymon represented by Sanskrit *vēṣa-* meaning 'dress, assumed appearance', given in Turner (1962–66:702) under the entry 12129. It has New Indo-Aryan reflexes such as Hindi *besā* 'dress, guise', Old Maithili *besa* 'dress, ornaments', and Bengali *beśa* 'garment, guise'. The development *vēṣa* > *bēṣ* → *bese:* is perfectly possible in terms of phonology. This is because the Old Indo-Aryan *ē* often becomes short in Eastern or Eastern Midland New Indo-Aryan languages, and Kurux (and Malto) often adds *-e/e:* to the end of a loanword, as in *ɖʰa:re:* 'blade' from the Hindi *ɖʰa:r* 'edge (of blade)' and *na:me:* 'name' from the Hindi *na:m* 'name'. Kurux *be:s* 'good, well, very much' from Hindi *beśa* 'good, more' or Bengali *beśa* 'nice, too much' is probably a different etymon.

The above suggests that *=bese:* may have an Indo-Aryan (and not Dravidian) origin.

5.5 Comparison of the three types of MMC

Table 2 compares the three types of MMC discussed above in terms of (i) the possible etymology of the morphemes that occupy the 'Noun' slot, (ii) its use and meaning used outside the MMC in present-day Kurux, (iii) the morphological status (i.e. word vs. suffix) of the morpheme in question, and (iv) the meaning/function that the MMC in question has.

Table 2. Comparison of the three types of MMC (1)

etymology	outside MMC	in MMC: 'Noun' slot	in MMC: meaning
Sadri *caḍe* 'because of'	noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'	word *caḍḍe:*	cause/reason: 'It is because'
IA *mádʰya* 'middle'	noun *madʰe:* 'middle', enclitic *=madʰe:* 'nominalizer, adjectivizer'	enclitic *=madʰe:*	aspectual or modal: 'has the property of ...', 'is supposed to ...'
IA *vēṣa* 'dress'	enclitic *=bese:* 'like'	enclitic *=bese:*	evidential: 'looks/appears/ seems as if ...', 'is like ...'

If the proposed etymologies are correct, *=madʰe:* and *=bese:* used in the MMC have grammaticalized considerably. In terms of morphology, the following change is observed.

(a) word > clitic

This change is widely reported in many studies of grammaticalization. In terms of meaning, the following changes are observed.

(b) 'necessity' > cause, reason.
(c) 'middle' > property.
(d) 'dress' > evidential ('It appears as if ...')

Papers in the present volume report numerous instances of the grammaticalization of nouns that occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. However, the changes shown in (b) to (c) seem uncommon. Furthermore, they seem uncommon in the grammaticalization of nouns in general.

Table 3 compares the morphosyntax of the three types of MMC. The copulas *ra?-* (for temporary properties) and *tal-* (for permanent properties) are Kurux words, while the copula *hik-* (for permanent properties) is a loanword from Sadri, a neighboring Indo-Aryan language (cf. Section 3).

Table 3. Comparison of the three types of MMC (2)

'Noun' slot	'Copula'	predicate of 'Clause'
word *caɖɖe:*	*ra?-*	verbal adjective
clitic *=mad^{h}e:*	*tal-/hik-, ra?-*	verbal adjective, verbal noun
clitic *=bese:*	*ra?-*	verbal adjective, verbal noun, finite verb

6. Comparison of the MMC and verb-predicate sentences

We shall compare the MMC with verb-predicate sentences, as in both constructions—both MMC and main clauses—the predicate is verbal. The MMC differs from verb-predicate sentences in the following respects.

(a) The MMC ends with a copula. (Verb-predicate sentences end with a verb.)

(b) With *=bese:*, the predicate of the 'Clause' can be in a finite form (Table 3). In this case, the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence. However, elsewhere, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in a non-finite form: when *=bese:* occurs with (i) a verbal noun or a verbal adjective, (ii) *=mad^{h}e:* (a verbal adjective or a verbal noun), and (iii) *ra?-* (a verbal adjective). In the latter cases, the 'Clause' of the MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

The 'Clause' of the MMC and verb-predicate sentences behaves identically in terms of the following respects.

(c) Word order. AOV and SV are the unmarked orders.

(d) Case-marking. For example, the subject can be in the nominative not only in verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (4), but also in the 'Clause' of the MMC, e.g. (3).

7. Summary and concluding remarks

Kurux has one noun and two enclitics that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. The MMC involving the noun *caɖɖe:* 'necessity' indicates cause/reason. The one with the enclitic *=mad^{h}e:* means '... has the property of ...ing' or '... is supposed/scheduled to ...'. The one with the enclitic *=bese:* has an evidential meaning: 'It looks/appears/seems' and 'as if'.

Except for when *=bese:* occurs with a finite form, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in a non-finite form and the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself, unlike verb-predicate sentences. In terms of word order and the case of the subject, the 'Clauses' of the MMC and verb-predicate sentences show no difference.

The enclitic *=mad^{h}e:* possibly derives from the Indo-Aryan noun *mád^{h}ya* 'middle', while the enclitic *=bese:* may be a reflex of the Indo-Aryan noun

vēṣa 'dress'. If the proposed etymologies are correct, *=mad^{h}e:* and *=bese:* are loans that have an Indo-Aryan (not Dravidian) origin and that have crossed the language family border. These two forms have been grammaticalized in terms of both morphology and meaning.

Kurux is a Dravidian language, and as is still the case in the closely related language Malto, it was probably impossible originally to conclude a sentence containing a verb element with a noun + copula. However, there was apparently a syntactic innovation after the split of Kurux and Malto, which explains the existence of the MMC in Kurux.

Abbreviations

AC – adnominal clause; ACC – accusative; ADJ – adjectivizer; B2 – Base 2; COP – copula; DAT – dative; DESID – desiderative; EMPH – emphatic; FUT – future; GEN – genitive; GER – gerund; INCL – inclusive; INF – infinitive; LOC – locative; M – masculine; MMC – Mermaid Construction; NM – non-masculine; NMLZ – nominalizer; NPST – non-past; PL – plural; PROG – progressive; PRS – present; PST – past; TOP – topicalizer; VADJ – verbal adjective; VBN – verbal noun

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[1] Base 2 is an allomorph of the verbal root. It was originally a past stem but has lost its tense function. The past suffix *-k-* (or the zero suffix in the third person) is attached to it.
[2] If the complement *sanni:* shows concord with the subject, it has a nominal meaning: *a: kukko-s sanni-s tal-das* {that boy-M youngest.one-M COP-3SGM} 'That boy is the youngest.'
[3] One argument for considering *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' and *caḍḍe:* 'because' as a single etymon is the existence of usages bridging these two meanings, such as *ender caḍḍe:* {what necessity} 'Why?/ For what?'.
[4] The Hindi enclitic *=vaalaa*, too, can be attached to a coordinate structure like that in (30). See Imamura (this volume).
[5] Non-human referents are referred to by the singular form regardless of their actual numbers.
[6] This is probably because there is an old usage of the present verbal adjective (*-u:*) denoting planned future action by itself.
[7] As the Middle and New Indo-Aryan forms cited by Turner show, the Old Indo-Aryan cluster *-dʰy-* usually develops into *-(j)jʰ-* in most Indo-Aryan languages after Middle Indo-Aryan. The native lexicon of New Indo-Aryan languages consists of words that have undergone sound changes, but also words directly borrowed from older languages, typically Sanskrit (Beames 1872–1879:11). Thus Bengali has *mājʰe*, which has undergone the phonological change in question, is now obsolete, and *maddʰye* [moddʰe], which is a borrowing from Sanskrit, is commonly used in the sense of 'middle' (though not as a nominalizer or an adjectivizer). This Sadri doublet might reflect similar borrowing inside Indo-Aryan.

Mermaid Constructions in Sidaama

Kazuhiro Kawachi
National Defense Academy of Japan

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1. Introduction

The present paper is the first report on the existence of any mermaid construction ('MMC') outside Asia — in Sidaama of Ethiopia.

Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the 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.

Contrary to the hypothesis previously suggested in the literature (Tsunoda 1996) that MMCs are peculiar to some Asian languages, Sidaama does have MMCs — in fact, as many as three types. Furthermore, one of the three types is even a prototypical instance of an MMC.

The 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way' in one type (*gara* MMC), and by the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)' in another (*=gede* MMC). Both types have an evidential meaning. Specifically, they express the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the 'Clause' based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what s/he has heard about it from someone else: 'It seems like ...' or 'It appears that ...'.

In the third type (DATLOC MMC), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, and this suffix follows the verb of the 'Clause', which is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender. This type has the meaning of what Heine 1994 (also, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 78, 207, 214-215, 311-313) calls 'proximative aspect', namely 'be about to do ...'.

The 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC and of the *=gede* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot. The *gara* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC, while the other two types do not.

The present study also speculates how the Sidaama MMCs came to be used.

2. Initial illustration

Examples of the three types of MMCs follow.

gara MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'

(2) ise
3SG.F.NOM
dod-d-anno gara-a=ti.
run-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'She is the manner she (habitually) runs.'
FT: 'It seems like she (habitually) runs.'

=gede MMC: MMC with the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'

(3) ise
3SG.F.NOM
dod-d-anno=gede-e=ti.
run-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'She is like she will run.'
FT: 'It seems like she will run.'

DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by the dative-locative suffix

(4) ise
3SG.F.NOM
dod-d-a-ra-a=ti.
run-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'She is about to run.'

3. Profile of the language

Sidaama belongs to the Highland-East branch of the Cushitic language family of the Afro-Asiatic language phylum (Kawachi 2007, in press a). It is spoken in the Sidaama Zone of South-Central Ethiopia. According to the 2007 Ethiopian Census, as of 2005 the population of the Sidaama people was 2,966,377.

Sidaama has five short vowel phonemes (/i, e, a, o, u/) and their long counterparts (/ii, ee, aa, oo, uu). It has the following consonant phonemes: /b, t, d, k, g, ', p', t', k', ɗ, č, ǰ, č', f, s, š, h, m, n, ñ, r, l, w, y/. Sidaama is a pitch-accent language, which indicates prominence with high pitch.

Sidaama sentences normally follow the SOV order, though other orders are also possible in some discourse contexts. Adnominal demonstratives and adjectives have to precede the noun that they modify. Genitive noun phrases and relative clauses generally precede the noun that they modify.

Sidaama nouns inflect for case, gender and also for the 'Unmodified/Modified' distinction (see below), and use a suprafix (employing high pitch) in addition to suffixes. Sidaama has a nominative-accusative case system (Kawachi, in press b). Sidaama uses suffixes for the nominative, dative-locative, allative, and ablative-instrumental cases, a suprafix for the accusative-oblique case, and both for the genitive case. Nouns take different allomorphs of the nominative, genitive, and dative-locative case suffixes depending on gender and on whether they are accompanied by any modifier, the possessive pronominal suffix, or both (Modified, henceforth), or not at all (Unmodified, henceforth) (Kawachi & Tekleselassie, in press). See Table 1. 'Modified' and 'Unmodified' (and its related term 'Modifier') are capitalized because these terms are used here to refer to the morphosyntactic distinction specific to nouns in Sidaama.

Table 1: Nominative, Genitive, and Dative-locative Case Suffixes

case / gender / Modification	Nominative		Genitive		Dative-locative	
	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC
Unmodified	-ø	-u	-te	-u	-te	-ho
Modified		-i	-ø	-i	-ra	

Verbs inflect for aspect or mood and also for the person, number, and gender of the subject (and optionally for those of the object). There are five

aspectual categories: imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, continuous, and progressive. The imperfective has both habitual and future interpretations. The mood categories are of two types: imperative and optative.

In a verb-predicate sentence (cf. 4.1), the verb root has to be accompanied either by one of the mood suffixes, e.g. (5) (imperative), or by the subject suffix and one of the aspectual suffixes, e.g. (6) (distant perfect). Both the aspectual and mood suffixes have different forms depending on the person and number of the subject.

(5) faraššó usur-i.
horse.ACC fasten-IMP.2SG
'(to the second person singular) Fasten the horse!'

(6) ise faraššó usur-t-ino.
3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'She fastened the horse.'

Sidaama has enclitics that may be called noun-phrase enclitics. They are used to form noun phrases. One of them takes the forms *=ta* (FEM)/*=ha* (MASC) for the singular and the form *=re* for the plural. The singular forms *=ta* and *=ha* are highly relevant to the present study. They attach to (i) a genitive noun phrase or a relative clause to form (part of) an argument noun phrase, (ii) an adjective, a noun phrase, a genitive noun phrase, or a relative clause to form a predicate, or (iii) a clause to form a clausal complement (Kawachi 2011). The singular noun phrase enclitic changes its form, depending on the gender of the referent of the noun phrase and on the case of the noun phrase. See Table 2. (The plural form *=re* is limited to use (i). It is not relevant to the main theme of the present paper.)

Table 2: Singular Noun-Phrase Enclitic *=ta/=ha*

Use	Case		Gender: FEM	Gender: MASC
(i)	ACC		*=ta*	*=ha*
	NOM		*=ti*	*=hu*
	GEN		*=te*	*=hu*
(ii)	PRED	Unmodified nouns, adjectives, (headless) relative clauses	*=te*	*=ho*
		Modified nouns	*=ti*	——
(iii)	COMP		*=ta*	*=ha*

The present study mainly concerns use (ii), the predicative use of the singular noun-phrase enclitic. (Note that Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and the noun-phrase enclitic *=ta/=ha* performs the function of a copula.) In this use, when preceded by an adjective, the singular noun-phrase enclitic is *=te* (FEM)/*=ho* (MASC), e.g. (7). When preceded by a common noun, it changes its form depending on whether the noun is

Unmodified (*=te* (FEM)/*=ho* (MASC)), e.g. (8), or Modified (*=ti*), e.g. (9) to (12). The noun *faraššo* 'horse' is Modified by the adjective *dunka* 'slow' in (9), by the third-person genitive pronoun *isé* in (10), by the relative clause *ise usur-t-ino* 'she fastened' in (11), and the third-person possessive pronominal suffix *-se* in (12).

(7) farašš-u dunka=ho.
horse-NOM.M slow=NPC.M.PRED
'The horse is slow.'

(8) ku'u faraššo=ho.
that.M.NOM horse=NPC.M.PRED
'That is a horse.'

(9) ku'u dunka faraššo-o=ti.
that.M.NOM slow horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'That is a slow horse.'

(10) ku'u isé faraššo-o=ti.
that.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'That is her horse.'

(11) ku'u [ise usur-t-ino]
that.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
faraššo-o=ti.
horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'That is the horse that she fastened.'

(12) ku'u faraššo-se-e=ti.
that.M.NOM horse-3SG.F.POSS-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'That is her horse.'

Constituents of sentences that are not explicitly expressed are often understood by addressees as long as their referents are clear from the context. The subject noun phrase may be omitted especially because its number/person/gender information is on the subject suffix on the verb or its gender information is on the predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

Sidaama is primarily a spoken language. Although it has a writing system (based on the Latin alphabet), the literacy rate is very low. All the examples in this paper were collected from my consultants by means of oral elicitation or from orally narrated folk tales I transcribed.

4. Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate, and noun-predicate sentences

Roughly speaking, sentences are of three types: (i) verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (5), (6), (ii) adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (7), and (iii) noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (8) to (12). The verb predicate is accompanied by verbal suffixes, whereas the adjective predicate and the noun predicate are not. Unlike the verb predicate, the adjective predicate and the noun predicate are followed by the predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

4.2. Relative clauses (or adnominal clauses) and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Relative clauses (or adnominal clauses)

A relative clause is formed by means of gapping, e.g. (11), (13) to (18), (21) to (23), or by means of pronominal retention (usually, the retention of the pronominal possessive suffix), e.g. (19) to (20), (24) to (25). No relative pronoun is used. A noun may serve as the head of a relative clause, e.g. (15), (17), (19). A noun-phrase enclitic may attach to a clause to form a relative clause without a head noun, e.g. (16), (18), (20), (23). Both a noun head and the enclitic may be used, e.g. (26).

(13) ani [mat'aafá hatté
1SG.NOM book.ACC that.F.GEN
beetto-ra
child.GEN.F.MOD-DAT.MOD
u-i-t-ino] *mančo*
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACC.mod)
la'-o-mm-o.
see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the woman who gave the book to that girl.'

(14) ani [mat'aafá hatté
1SG.NOM book.ACC that.F.GEN
beetto-ra
child.GEN.F.MOD-DAT.MOD
u-i-t-ino] = *ta*
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC
la'-o-mm-o.
see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the one (FEM) who gave the book to that girl.'

(15) ani [ise mat'aafá
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACC
u-i-t-ino] *mančo*
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACC.mod)

la'-o-mm-o.
see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the person who she gave the book to.'

(16) ani [ise mat'aafá
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACC
u-i-t-ino] =*ha* la'-o-mm-o.
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the one (MASC) who she gave the book to.'

(17) isi [ise hakk'iččó
3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM tree.ACC
mur-t-anno] *meesane*
cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3 ax(ACC.mod)
hiikk'-ø-ino.
break-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M
'He broke the ax with which she cuts a tree.'

(18) isi [ise hakk'iččó
3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM tree.ACC
mur-t-anno] =*ta*
cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.F.ACC
hiikk'-ø-ino.
break-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M
'He broke the one (FEM) with which she cuts a tree.'

(19) [ise ledo-si
3SG.F.NOM CMT-3SG.M.POSS
dag-g-ino] *mančo*
come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACC.mod)
af-oo-mm-o.
get.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) know the man with whom she came.'
(*lit.* 'I (MASC) got to know the man she came with him.')

(20) [ise ledo-si
3SG.F.NOM CMT-3SG.M.POSS
dag-g-ino]=*ha*
come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC
af-oo-mm-o.
get.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) know the one (MASC) with whom she came.'
(*lit.* 'I (MASC) got to know to the one (MASC) she came with him.')

(21) ani [ise t'ume-te-nni
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM beauty-GEN.F-LOC

aǰ-ǰ-anno] *mančo*
become.inferior-3SG.F-IPFV.3 person(ACC.mod)
aɗɗ-o-mm-o.
take-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) married the woman who is more beautiful than her.'
(*lit.* 'I (MASC) took the woman to whom she becomes inferior in beauty.')

(22) ani [ise t'ume-te-nni
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM beauty-GEN.F-LOC
aǰ-ǰ-anno] = *ta*
become.inferior-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.F.ACC
aɗɗ-o-mm-o.
take-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) married the one (FEM) who is more beautiful than her.'
(*lit.* 'I (MASC) took the one (FEM) to whom she becomes inferior in beauty.')

(23) kuni farašš-i ise
this.M.NOM horse-NOM.MOD.M 3SG.F.NOM
usur-t-ino = ho.
fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED
'This horse is the one (MASC) that she fastened.'

(24) ani [ise mat'aafá-si
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACC-3SG.M.POSS
hun-t-ino] *mančo*
lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACC.mod)
la'-o-mm-o.
see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the man whose book she lost.'

(25) ani [ise mat'aafá-si
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACC-3SG.M.POSS
hun-t-ino] = *ha* la'-o-mm-o.
lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the one (MASC) whose book she lost.'

(26) ani [ise mat'aafá
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACC
u-i-t-ino] = *ha*
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC
hakkonne *mančo* la'-o-mm-o.
that.M.ACC person(ACC.mod) see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw that man who she gave the book to.'

In Sidaama, relativization by means of gapping can be applied not only to argument noun phrases, but also to adjunct noun phrases. It is possible to relativize a noun phrase on any position in Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. Examples include the following. Subject: (13), direct object: (11), (23), indirect object: (15), (16), (26), major oblique case NP: (17), (18), possessor: (24), (25), and object of comparison: (21) to (22). Relativization by means of pronominal retention is restricted to possessor NPs, e.g. (19) to (20), (24) to (25).

Teramura (1969) points out that adnominal clauses ('ACs') of Japanese are of two types: internal ACs and external ACs. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC, and the underlying clause is recoverable. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from the outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or adjunct of the AC. See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2.). See also Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.1) for Japanese examples.

Sidaama has internal ACs; examples have been given in (13)-(26). However, it does not have external ACs. As noted by Tsunoda (this volume-a), almost all the languages that have MMCs have external ACs in addition to internal ACs. Sidaama is uncommon in that it has MMCs despite the absence of external ACs.

The verb in a relative clause in Sidaama is in one of its finite forms. It is in the imperfective, the distant perfect, the recent perfect, the continuous, or the progressive aspect. According to Keenan (1985: 160), the use of finite verb forms is unusual for prenominal relative clauses, which use non-finite verb forms (often, called 'participles') in most languages with prenominal relative clauses. In this respect, Sidaama may be uncommon.

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Sidaama uses clause-final markers to form different types of adverbial clauses, which normally precede a main clause. Some of them are relevant to a discussion of the MMCs, and are discussed in 5.2.4.2, 5.2.4.3, and 5.3.

5. Mermaid constructions

5.1. Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Sidaama has three types of MMCs. One of the three types is even a prototypical instance of an MMC. Their structures are shown in (27), (28) and (29).

(27) *gara* MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'
  (a) Clause gara-a = ti.
  (b) Clause gar-í = te. (for a feminine subject)
    Clause gar-í = ho. (for a masculine subject)

(28) =*gede* MMC: MMC with the enclitic =*gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'

(a) Clause = gede-e = ti.
(b) Clause=gede-e = te. (for a feminine subject)
Clause=gede-e = ho. (for a masculine subject)

(29) DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by the dative-locative suffix

1SG, 2SG: Subj. V-INF-PERS/NUM-GENDER-ra-a = ti.
3SG, 3PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM/GENDER-INF-ra-a = ti.
1PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM-INF-PERS/NUM-ra-a = ti.
2PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM-INF-ra-a = ti.

In the *gara* MMC in (27) (discussed in 5.2.1), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way'. In (27a), the final vowel of *gara* is lengthened, and in (27b), *gara* is in its genitive form, and its final vowel is replaced by *-i*, the genitive suffix for Modified masculine nouns. (Genitive nouns in this position are normally possessor nouns, e.g. 'The horse is the boy's'. I have only two nouns in my data other than *gara* whose genitive forms in the predicate position are not possessors: *umo* 'head' and *aada* 'model', whose genitive forms in this position mean 'the first one' (e.g. 'He is the first one.') and 'a well-organized person' (e.g. 'He is a well-organized person.'), respectively.)

In the =*gede* MMC in (28) (discussed in 5.2.2), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic =*gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)', and the final vowel of =*gede* is lengthened.

The 'Clause' part of both types of MMCs can stand alone as an independent sentence, and has the same pitch pattern when used as an independent sentence as when it appears in an MMC.

Unlike in other types of constructions, in both the *gara* MMC and the =*gede* MMCs, the person of the subject of the 'Clause' is restricted to the third-person, and cannot be the first person or second person.

Both types have an evidential meaning, specifically the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the 'Clause' based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what s/he has heard about it from someone else: 'It seems like ...' or 'It appears that ...', though the *gara* MMC with =*ti* in (27a) is aspectually a little more restricted than the *gara* MMC with =*te* (FEM)/ =*ho* (MASC) in (27b), and even more so than the =*gede* MMC in (28).

In the DATLOC MMC in (29) (discussed in 5.3), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, and the verb of the 'Clause' is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender. This type has the meaning of the proximative aspect: 'be about to do ...'.

As noted in Section 3, Sidaama has noun-phrase enclitics that are used to form noun phrases. See Table 2. As (27) to (29) show, the Sidaama MMCs end with one type of noun-phrase enclitic: =*ti* (used with Modified nouns

as predicates) or *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC) (used with Unmodified nouns, adjectives, and headless relative clauses as predicates). Thus, the MMCs resemble noun phrases in that they are followed by a noun-phrase enclitic in the predicate position.

In (27) and (28), the 'Clause' (preceding *gara* or *=gede*) can stand by itself as an independent sentence. In contrast, in (29), the 'Clause' (preceding *-ra-a=ti*) cannot. The types represented in (27b) and (28b) are particularly common, but that in (28a) is somewhat less common.

5.2 gara *MMC and* =gede *MMC*

Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 describe the two types of MMCs separately, and Section 5.2.3 compares their subtypes. Section 5.2.4 discusses the similarities and differences between *gara* and *=gede* as used in constructions other than the MMCs.

5.2.1 gara *MMC*

This type of MMC uses the noun *gara* 'manner, way' in the 'Noun' slot. The *gara* MMC has two subtypes: (27a) and (27b). (27b) is more common than (27a). The 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC with *=ti* in (27a) is largely restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect, whereas the 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC with *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC) in (27b) can be used in the distant perfect or the future interpretation of the imperfective aspect. (Nevertheless, I have a small number of examples of the *gara-a=ti* MMC with the distant perfect that can be used in informal speech.) Both subtypes of this MMC express the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the 'Clause' based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what s/he has heard about it from someone else: 'It seems like ...' or 'It appears that ...'. The two subtypes are illustrated below.

[1] (27a): Clause *gara-a=ti*

In this subtype, *gara* is followed by *=ti*, the form of the predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Modified nouns (cf. Table 2). Like any other type of constituent preceding the predicate noun-phrase enclitic *=ti*, the final vowel of *gara* is lengthened to form *gara-a=ti*. Examples are given in (30)-(32).

(30) ise faraššó
3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno gara-a=ti.
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'She is the manner she (habitually) rides a horse.'
FT: 'It seems like she (habitually) rides a horse.'

(31) kawiččo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC

gan-ø-anno gara-a=ti.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The sky is the manner it (regularly) hits rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it (regularly) rains here.'

(32) ise hank'-i-t-anno
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
gara-a=ti.
manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'She is the manner she (habitually) gets angry.'
FT: 'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

The *gara-a=ti* MMC is compatible only with the imperfective with the habitual interpretation, and is incompatible with any other aspectual category including the imperfective with the future interpretation.

The *gara-a=ti* MMC may look like a subjectless construction with *gara* in its literal sense as a predicate noun modified by a relative clause. However, this is not the case. Consider (11). It is a noun predicate sentence and its predicate is modified by a relative clause. Now, recall that the subject can be omitted when its referent is clear from the context (Section 3), and that a relative clause can relativize adjuncts (4.2). In the *=gede* MMC ending with *=ti*, because the predicative noun-phrase enclitic is in the form for Modified nouns, *gara* may be analyzed as being treated as a Modified noun. Thus, it may be thought that sentences like (30) to (32) are in fact noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is modified by a relative clause (like (11)), but whose subject has been omitted (unlike (11)). That is, it might be thought that, in (30) to (32), the noun *gara* is used in its literal sense 'way, manner', and is modified by a relative clause (which is prenominal), and serves as the predicate of a noun predicate sentence. According to this view, (30), for example, may appear to be able to be translated as '[It] is the manner in which she rides a horse', and (32) as '[It] is the manner in which she gets angry'. In fact, any sentence that is an instance of the *gara* MMC with *=ti* could also be interpreted as an instance of such a construction as long as the omission of the subject is obvious from the context.

First, we shall provide examples of *gara* used in its literal sense modified by a relative clause: (33) and (34).

(33) kuni ise faraššó
this.MASC.NOM 3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno gara-a=ti.
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'This is the manner in which she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

(34) kuni ise
this.MASC.NOM 3SG.F.NOM

hank'-i-t-anno gara-a=ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'This is the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'

In (33) and (34), the subject could be omitted, e.g. (35) and (36), which are identical with (30) and (32), respectively. Thus, in fact, these sentences are ambiguous between the two interpretations; they are pronounced the same way regardless of the interpretation.

(35) ise faraššó
3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno gara-a=ti.
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
(a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: [It] is the manner in which she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'
(b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

(36) ise hank'-i-t-anno
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
gara-a=ti.
manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
(a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: '[It] is the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'
(b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

However, these two constructions have three differences.

The first difference concerns conjugational categories. As mentioned earlier at the beginning of [1], in the *gara* MMC with *=ti*, if the preceding verb is in the imperfective aspect, it has only the habitual interpretation. Thus, when (35) and (36) are used as MMC sentences, they have only the habitual readings, but no future readings, e.g. (35b) and (36b). In contrast, with *gara* modified by a relative clause whose verb is in the imperfective, it has both habitual and future interpretations, e.g. (35a) and (36a) (and also (33) and (34)). In fact, in this construction, the verb of the relative clause can be in any aspect, as shown in the distant perfect example (37), which has no MMC interpretation. (As noted in 4.2, the verb in a relative clause cannot be in the recent perfect aspect.)

(37) ise hank'-i-t-ino
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
gara-a=ti.
manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'[It] is the manner in which she got angry.'

Therefore, sentences like (35) and (36) are ambiguous partly because the verb is in the imperfective aspect.

The second difference involves person. As mentioned in 5.1, the MMC limits the person of the subject of the 'Clause' to the third-person, whereas none of the relative clause constructions places such a person restriction on the subject. Thus, if the first or second person is used, as in (38), the sentence has no MMC interpretation and is unambiguously interpreted as containing the relative clause construction.

(38) ati hank'-a-tt-o
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-IPFV.2-2-M
gara-a=ti.
manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'[It] is the manner in which you (MASC) get angry/will get angry.'

The third difference involves negation. When the negative proclitic *di=* attaches to the verb immediately preceding *gara*, in a sentence with the predicate noun *gara* used in its literal sense modified by a relative clause, the negation applies to the predicate noun phrase, e.g. (39a), whereas in a *gara-a=ti* MMC sentence, the negation applies to the verb, e.g. (39b).

(39) ise di=hank'-i-t-anno
3SG.F.NOM NEG=get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
gara-a=ti.
manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
(a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: '[It] is not the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'
(b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) does not get angry.'

To sum up, the *gara* MMC with *=ti* should not be regarded as a construction that involves a relative clause.

[2] (27b): Clause *gar-í=te* or Clause *gar-í=ho*

In this subtype, *gar-í* (the Modified genitive form of *gara*) is followed by the enclitic *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC), the forms of the singular predicative noun-phrase clitic for Unmodified nouns, adjectives, and (headless) relative clauses (Table 2).

The behavior of *gara* in this MMC is unusual. As mentioned in 5.1, although it is in the genitive case, it does not seem to involve possession. Moreover, it is the Modified genitive *gar-i* (as opposed to the Unmodified genitive *gar-u*), but the enclitic that attaches to it is in one of the forms for Unmodified nouns: *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC). Examples are shown in (40)-(42). The aspect of the verb of the 'Clause' in this MMC is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective (e.g. (40) and (41)) or the distant perfect (e.g. (42)).

(40) ise faraššó
3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno gar-í=te.
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'She is the manner's she will ride a horse.'
FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(41) kawiččo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC
gan-ø-anno gar-í=ho.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3 manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.M.PRED
LT: 'The sky is the manner's it will rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(42) ise hank'-i-t-ino
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
gar-í=te.
manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'She is the manner's she got angry.'
FT: 'It seems like she got angry.'

This MMC seems to be usually used for events whose occurrences are considered important enough to be conjectured about. It is normally not used for events like 'fastening a horse' or 'eating cabbage'.

[3] 'Clause' as a sentence

As noted in 5.1, in the *gara* MMC, the 'Clause' can stand by itself as a complete sentence. Specifically, the 'Clause' of the *gara-a=ti* MMC requires the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the imperfective aspect, and that of the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC requires the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the imperfective aspect or the distant perfect. When the 'Clause' is used as a complete sentence, the verb in the imperfective aspect has both the habitual and the future interpretations, but the imperfective verb has only the habitual interpretation in the *gara-a=ti* MMC, and has only the future interpretation in the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC. Compare (43) with (30) and (40); (44) with (31) and (41); (45) with (32).

(43) ise faraššó
3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno.
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3
'She (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

(44) kawiččo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC
gan-ø-anno.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3

'It (regularly) rains here/will rain here.'
'*lit.* The sky (regularly) hits rain here/will hit rain here.'

(45) ise hank'-i-t-anno.
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
'She (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'

[4] The *gara* MMC possesses all of the properties of the prototype of the MMC (Section 1). First, regarding MMC property (a), it has the structure shown in (1). Second, concerning MMC property (b), in (30), for example, the subject ('she') and the 'Noun' ('manner') are not coreferential. Third, as for MMC property (c), the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

5.2.2 =*gede* MMC

The enclitic =*gede*, which is phonologically bound to various types of constituents, has a sense similar to the noun *gara* 'manner, way', and shares some grammatical properties with it, as discussed later in 5.2.4.2.

=*gede* seems to have been grammaticalized from a noun. It still bears some properties of nouns (e.g. compatibility with the ablative-instrumental suffix and the dative-locative suffix, and modification by some nominal modifiers). However, unlike nouns, it has no lexical gender. It cannot be accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix or any other noun suffix than the ablative-instrumental suffix and the dative-locative suffix.

The =*gede* MMC has two subtypes: (28a) and (28b). (28b) is more common than (28a). The verb of the 'Clause' in both subtypes can be in the imperfective (future interpretations only), the distant perfect, and the progressive. The =*gede-e=ti* MMC additionally allows the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the recent perfect, and the =*gede-e=te*/=*gede-e=ho* additionally allows it to be in the continuous. We shall look at each of the two subtypes.

[1] (28a): Clause=*gede-e=ti*

In this subtype, =*gede* is followed by =*ti*, the form of the singular predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Modified nouns (cf. Table 2). Examples include (46)-(48). Compare (46) with (30) and (40).

(46) ise faraššó
3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno=gede-e=ti.
ride-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'She is like she will ride a horse.'
FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(47) kawiččo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC
gan-ø-anno=gede-e=ti.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD

LT: 'The sky is like it will hit rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(48) ise
3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-u = gede-e = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'She is like she got/is angry.'
FT: 'It seems like she got/is angry.'

[2] (28b): Clause=*gede-e = te* or Clause=*gede-e = ho*
In this subtype, *=gede* is followed by the enclitic *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC), the forms of the singular predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Unmodified nouns and adjectives (Table 2). The verb at the end of the 'Clause' may be in the imperfective (future), the distant perfect, the continuous, or the progressive. Examples include (49)-(51). Compare (49) with (30), (40), and (46).

(49) ise faraššó
3SG.F.NOM horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno = gede-e = te.
ride-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'She is like she will ride a horse.'
FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(50) kawiččo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC
gan-ø-anno = gede-e = ho.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3 = like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
LT: 'The sky is like it will hit rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(51) ise hank'-i-t-e
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CNV.3
no = gede-e = te.
come.to.exit.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'She is like she has been angry.' (continuous aspect)
FT: 'It seems like she has been angry.'

[3] 'Clause' as a sentence
The 'Clause' which precedes *=gede-e = ti* or *=gede-e = te*/*=gede-e = ho* can stand by itself as a complete sentence. Compare, for example, (48) with (52) and (51) with (53).

(52) ise hank'-i-t-u.
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
'She got/is angry.'

(53) ise hank'-i-t-e
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CNV.3
no.
come.to.exit.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
'She has been angry (continuous aspect).'

[4] The *=gede* MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC (cf. Section 1). Indeed, it has MMC property (c): the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. However, crucially, it lacks property (a), for the 'Noun' is occupied not by a noun, but an enclitic.

5.2.3 Differences between the gara *MMC subtypes and the* =gede *MMC subtypes*

The subtypes of these two types of MMCs are similar to each other, but they have some differences. Specifically, there are the following differences. [1] A difference between the *gara-a=ti* MMC and the other three *gara/=gede* MMC subtypes (the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC, the *=gede-e=ti* MMC, and the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC). [2] Differences between the *=gede-e=ti* MMC and the two MMC subtypes with *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC) (the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC).

[1] A difference between the *gara-a=ti* MMC and the other three *gara/=gede* MMC subtypes

As mentioned earlier, only the *gara-a=ti* MMC is compatible with the habitual reading of the imperfective aspect (5.2.1-[1], -[3]), while the other three yield future readings with the imperfective aspect. Compare (30) with (40), (46), and (49), and additionally compare (31) with (41), (47), and (50).

[2] Differences between the *=gede-e=ti* MMC and the two MMC subtypes with *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC)

Setting aside the *gara-a=ti* MMC, which is aspectually limited, the *=gede-e=ti* MMC differs from the two MMC subtypes with *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC) (the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC) in two respects.

One difference concerns the degree of the speaker's confidence in his/her conjecture on the truthfulness of the content of the 'Clause'. The speaker has more information about the probability of the content of the 'Clause', and is more confident, with the *=gede-e=ti* MMC than with the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC. Thus, the *=gede-e=ti* MMC example (47) is not compatible with a temporal adverb like *ga'a* 'tomorrow', and goes much better with a temporal adverb like *teččo* 'today'. On the other hand, the examples of the other two MMC subtypes, (41) and (50), can contain either adverb.

Second, in the *=gede-e=ti* MMC, the subject can be either animate or inanimate (e.g. (46)-(48), (54), (57), (60), (63)). In contrast, in the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC, the subject basically cannot be inanimate and has to be an animate entity or a natural entity that can act like animate ones (e.g.

sky, earth, wind) when the verb is not in the imperfective (e.g. (51), (55), (58), (61)), though the subject can be either animate or inanimate when the verb is in the imperfective (e.g. (49), (50), (64)). In the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC, the subject basically cannot be non-human, and has to be human when the verb is not in the imperfective (e.g. (42), (56), (59)), though the subject can be either animate or inanimate when the verb is in the imperfective (e.g. (40), (41), (65)).

(54) mobaile
cell.phone.NOM.F
k'arris-s-ino=gede-e=ti.
cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The cell phone is like it caused a problem.'
FT: 'It seems like the cell phone went out of order.'

(55) *mobaile
cell.phone.NOM.F
k'arris-s-ino=gede-e=te.
cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED

(56) *mobaile k'arris-s-ino
cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
gar-í=te.
manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED

(57) wošičč-u
dog-NOM.M
dot-ø-ino=gede-e=ti.
bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The dog is like it barked.'
FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'

(58) wošičč-u
dog-NOM.M
dot-ø-ino=gede-e=ho.
bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
LT: 'The dog is like it barked.'
FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'

(59) *wošičč-u dot-ø-ino
dog-NOM.M bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
gar-í=ho.
manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED

(60) kawiččo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC

gan-ø-ino = gede-e = ti.
bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The sky is like it hit rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'

(61) kawiccˇo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC
gan-ø-ino = gede-e = ho.
hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
LT: 'The sky is like it hit rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'

(62) ?kawiccˇo gord-u t'eená
here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC
gan-ø-ino gar-í = ho.
hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3 manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED

(63) mobaile
cell.phone.NOM.F
k'arris-s-anno = gede-e = ti.
cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The cell phone is like it will cause a problem.'
FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

(64) mobaile
cell.phone.NOM.F
k'arris-s-anno = gede-e = te.
cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'The cell phone is like it will cause a problem.'
FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

(65) mobaile k'arris-s-anno
cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3
gar-í = te.
manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'The cell phone is the manner's it will cause a problem.'
FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

5.2.4 Comparison of gara *and* =gede *outside the MMCs*

We shall now examine the properties that *gara* and *=gede* may have when they are used outside the MMCs: the properties found in *gara* only (5.2.4.1), those found in both (5.2.4.2), and those found in *=gede* only (5.2.4.3).

Table 3 provides a summary of this comparison. The check and the asterisk indicate that the morpheme in question has, and does not have, this property, respectively.

gara has most of the properties that other nouns have, while *=gede* has only limited nominal properties.

Table 3: Comparison of of *gara* and *=gede*

		Properties	*gara*	*=gede*
5.2.4.1	[1]	Lexical gender	√	*
	[2]	Modification by Modifiers	√	*
	[3]	Use as an adjective	√	*
	[4]	Genitive case	√	*
	[5]	Constituting an argument	√	*/√
5.2.4.2	[1]	Occurrence with the ABLINS suffix and the DATLOC suffix	√	√
	[2]	Formation of adverbials 'like/as ...' (manner) and 'as if ...' (counterfactual)	√	√
	[3]	Use in manner continuation constructions	√	√
	[4]	Formation of causal and concessive clauses	√	√
	[5]	MMC	√	√
5.2.4.3	[1]	Purpose clause 'so that ...' and the periphrastic causative construction	*	√
	[2]	Use as a complementizer	*	√
	[3]	Use as the marker of comparison in a type of equative construction	*	√
	[4]	Use in the construction 'adj-GEN ... =NPC.PRED'	*	√

5.2.4.1 Properties found in gara *only.* The noun *gara* 'manner, way' has lexical properties that other nouns have, whereas the enclitic *=gede* lacks most of them.

[1] Lexical gender

gara has its own lexical gender, unlike *=gede.* It is a masculine noun, and shows morphosyntactic properties of masculine nouns. The subject noun *gara* is Modified by the genitive pronoun in (66), and by the possessive pronominal suffix in (67). Consequently it is marked with *-i*, the nominative suffix for Modified masculine nouns (cf. Table 1). Also, the noun phrase *isé gar-i* in (66) and the noun phrase *gar-i-se* in (67) are treated as masculine, as indicated on the pronominal suffix for the third-person masculine subject: *-ø.*

(66) isé gar-i
3SG.F.GEN manner-NOM.M.MOD
ané-ra
1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON
di=law-ø-ino-'e.
NEG-become.clear-3SG.M-PRF.3-1SG
'I don't understand/don't feel comfortable with her manner.'
(*lit.* 'Her manner did not become clear to me.')

(67) gar-i-se
manner-NOM.M.MOD-3SG.F.POSS
ané-ra
1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON
di=law-ø-ino-'e.
NEG-become.clear-3SG.M-PRF.3-1SG
'I don't understand/don't feel comfortable with her manner.'
(*lit.* 'Her manner did not become clear to me.')

[2] Modification by Modifiers
gara can be Modified by Modifiers, i.e. modified by nominal modifiers such as an adnominal demonstrative, e.g. (68) ('this'), an adjective, a genitive pronoun, e.g. (66) (*isé* 'her') and relative clauses, e.g. (69) ('in which she behaves'), and accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix, e.g. (67) (*-se* [-3SG.F.POSS]).

(68) konní gar-í-nni
this.GEN.NOM manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS
hee'r-ø-e-e=nna ...
live-3SG.M-CNV-LV=and
'They lived like this (*lit.* using this manner), and ...'

(69) ani ise ikk-i-t-anno
1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM behave-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
gara di=bat'-ee-mm-o.
manner(ACC) NEG=like-IPFV.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) don't like the way in which she behaves.'

In contrast, *=gede* can be neither modified by an adnominal demonstrative nor accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix, though it may attach to (but not 'be modified/Modified by') adjectives, genitive noun phrases, and clauses (Section 5.2.4.2).

[3] Use as an adjective
In Sidaama, where nouns share many properties with adjectives, there are cases where nouns are used as adjectives (and vice versa). The noun *gara* can also be used as an adjective that means 'true', 'appropriate', or 'well-mannered (often, in the negative)', e.g. (70)-(72).

(70) baššo ann-i-'ya
past father-NOM.M.MOD-1SG.POSS
y-ø-ino=ti t'a
say-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM now
la'-ee-mm-o woite gara=ho.
look-IPFV.1-1SG-M when true=NPC.M.PRED
'The thing that my father said in the past is true when I (MASC) look at it now.'

(71) loos-i-kki
job-NOM.M.MOD-2SG.POSS
di=gara=ho=na ...
NEG-appropriate=NPC.M.PRED=and
'The things you have done (*lit.* your job) are not appropriate, and ...'

(72) isi di=gara=ho.
3SG.M.NOM NEG=well-mannered=NPC.M.PRED
'He is not well-mannered.'

On the other hand, *=gede* has no such use.

[4] Genitive case
Like other nouns, *gara* can be marked with the genitive case suffix, e.g. (68), but *=gede* cannot.

[5] Constituting an argument
gara can constitute an argument, and when it does, it normally comes at the end of the noun phrase, e.g. (66), (67), (73).

(73) isi manná ass-i-n-e
3SG.M.NOM people.ACC do-EP-GENERAL-CNV
š-i-n-a-nni gara
kill-EP-GENERAL-INF-MANNER way(ACC)
egenn-ø-ino.
come.to.know-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'He knows how to kill people.'
(*lit.* 'He came to know the way to do and kill people.')

On the other hand, *=gede* does not seem to be able to constitute an argument. Nevertheless, complement clauses formed with *=gede* as a complement (5.2.4.3) could be treated as arguments, though it is not obvious whether or not such clauses (noun clauses; Dryer 2007: 203-204) can be considered an object of the main verb.

5.2.4.2 Properties found in both gara *and* =gede. These properties are observed in four constructions in addition to the MMCs. All the constructions except the MMCs are adverbial — either adverbial phrases or adverbial clauses.

[1] Occurrence with the ABLINS suffix and the DATLOC suffix
The ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* and the dative-locative suffix *-ra* can attach to *gara* and *=gede*, though no other case suffix can attach to *=gede*. Examples are given in (68) and in (82)-(87) below.

[2] Formation of adverbials 'like/as ...' (manner) and 'as if ...' (counterfactual)

Both *gara* and *=gede* (and also their forms with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* or the dative-locative suffix *-ra*) can constitute an adverbial that indicates a manner, 'like/as ...', when preceded by a clause, e.g. (74), (75), or by a genitive noun phrase, e.g. (76), (77). The meaning that the construction conveys is 'in the manner specified by the preceding clause' or 'in a manner similar to that of the referent of the preceding genitive noun phrase'.

(74) y-ø-ino gara
say-3SG.M-D.PRF manner
roduuwá-si baalankanni
brother.PL.ACC-3SG.M.POSS all
wošš-ø-e gamba ass-ø-e
call-3SG.M-CNV [meaningless] do-3SG.M-CNV
abb-ø-i.
bring-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
'As he said, he called all his brothers, got them together (*lit.* did *gamba*), and brought them.'

(75) y-ø-ino=gede
say-3SG.M-D.PRF=like
roduuwá-si baalankanni
brother.PL.ACC-3SG.M.POSS all
wošš-ø-e gamba ass-ø-e
call-3SG.M-CNV [meaningless] do-3SG.M-CNV
abb-ø-i.
bring-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
'As he said, he called all his brothers, got them together (*lit.* did *gamba*), and brought them.'

(76) beett-u ann-ú gara
child-NOM.M father-GEN.M manner
c'oi'r-ø-anno.
talk-3SG.M-IPFV.3
'The boy talks like his father.'

(77) beett-u ann-ú=gede
child-NOM.M father-GEN.M=like
c'oi'r-ø-anno.
talk-3SG.M-IPFV.3
'The boy talks like his father.'

Both *gara* and *=gede* can form adverbials of manner with some adjectives, e.g. (78) and (79).

(78) isi danča gara daah-ø-ino.
3SG.M.NOM good manner swim-3SG.M-D.PRF
'He swam well.'

(79) isi danča=gede daah-ø-ino.
3SG.M.NOM good=like swim-3SG.M-D.PRF
'He swam well.'

Both *gara* and *=gede* can also form an adverbial clause 'as if ...' (counterfactual), where *gara* immediately follows or *=gede* directly attaches to the verb of the subordinate clause in the distant perfect, e.g. (80) and (81). In this construction, *gara* and *=gede* can be optionally followed by the converb form of the verb *ikk-* 'behave'.

(80) ise lowo re
3SG.F.NOM many things(ACC.mod)
af-f-ino gara
get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 as.if
(ikk-i-t-e) c'oiɗ-ɗ-anno.
(behave-EP-3SG.F-CNV) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3
'She talks as if she knew many things.'

(81) ise lowo re
3SG.F.NOM many things(ACC.mod)
af-f-ino=gede
get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=as.if
(ikk-i-t-e) c'oiɗ-ɗ-anno.
(behave-EP-3SG.F-CNV) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3
'She talks as if she knew many things.'

[3] Use in manner continuation constructions
Forms of *gara* and *=gede* with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni*, *gar-í-nni* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS] or *=gede-e-nni* [like-LV-ABLINS], can follow a manner of motion verb to emphasize the continuation or repetition of the manner before the occurrence of the motion component expressed by the main verb, e.g. (82) and (83). (Without the suffix *-nni*, neither *gara* nor *=gede* can be used this way.)

(82) ise kubb-i-t-ino
3SG.F.NOM jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
gar-í-nni waá
manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS water.LOC
e'-'-u.
enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
'Continuously jumping, she entered the water.'

(83) ise
3SG.F.NOM
kubb-i-t-ino = gede-e-nni
jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV-ABLINS
waá e'-'-u.
water.LOC enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
'Continuously jumping, she entered the water.'

[4] Formation of causal and concessive clauses

Both *gara* and *=gede* can follow a verb to form a causal clause ('because ...') or a concessive clause ('even though ...'). They often take the following form: (i) *gar-í-nni* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS], e.g. (84), or *=gede-nni* [=like-ABLINS], e.g. (85), in a causal clause, and (ii) *gar-í-ra* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD], e.g. (86), and *=gede-ra* [=like-DATLOC.MOD] in a concessive clause, e.g. (87).

(84) t'eená gan-ø-ino
rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
gar-í-nni baatto
manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS ground.NOM.F
k'uf-f-ino.
become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Because it rained, the ground is/became wet.'
(*lit.* 'With the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(85) t'eená gan-ø-ino=gede-nni
rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-ABLINS
baatto k'uf-f-ino.
ground.NOM.F become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Because it rained, the ground is/became wet.'
(*lit.* 'With like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(86) t'eená gan-ø-ino
rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
gar-í-ra
manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD
baatto di = k'uf-f-ino.
ground.NOM.F NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Even though it rained, the ground is not/has not become wet.'
(*lit.* 'To the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(87) t'eená gan-ø-ino=gede-ra
rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-DATLOC.MOD
baatto di = k'uf-f-ino.
ground.NOM.F NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Even though it rained, the ground is not/has not become wet.'
(*lit.* 'To like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

5.2.4.3 Properties found in =gede *only.* There are four types of constructions where *=gede* can occur, but *gara* cannot.

[1] Purpose clause 'so that ...' and the periphrastic causative construction
The enclitic *=gede* occupies the final position of a subordinate clause that expresses a purpose, e.g. (88). The verb preceding *=gede* is in the imperfective aspect.

(88) lubboo-nke=nna gangoota č'alla
life.NOM.F-1PL.POSS=and mule.PL.NOM.F only
gati-n-s-ee-mmo=gede waa
save-1PL-save-IPFV.1-1PL=so.that water
wido-o-nni ǰawaa-n-t-e
other.side-LV-LOC hurry-1PL-hurry-CNV
ful-lo.
cross-IMP.1PL
'Let us cross the river to the other side quickly so that we will save only our lives and mules.'

Also, *=gede* occurs in the periphrastic causative construction, e.g. (89). *ass-* 'to do' is the main verb and the *=gede* clause preceding it expresses the result of causation. The verb in the *=gede* clause is in the imperfective aspect, and *=gede* is optional. This construction could be regarded as one type of 'so that' construction.

(89) isi haariim-ø-anno-woite
3SG.M.NOM make.a.joke-3SG.M-IPFV.3-when
mann-u bat'-ø-i-kki-nni
people-NOM.M come.to.like-3SG.M-R.PRF.3-NEG-ABLINS
muušši ya-ø-anno(=gede)
[meaningless] say-3SG.M-IPFV.3(=so.that)
ass-ø-anno.
do-3SG.M-IPFV.3
'When he makes a joke, he makes people show their teeth (*lit.* say *muušši*) unconsciously (*lit.* without coming to like it).'

[2] Use as a complementizer
=gede can occur at the end of a clause to form a clausal complement, e.g. (90) and (91). (90) is an instance of a 'jussive construction', where the person who is told and the subject of the clausal complement are identical. (91) is an instance of a reported speech construction, where they are different from each other.

(90) isi ga'a isí=wa
3SG.M.NOM tomorrow 3SG.M.GEN=place
haɗ-ɗ-anno=gede
go-3SG.F-IPFV.3=COMP

kul-ø-ino-se.
tell-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F
'He told her to come (*lit.* go) to his place tomorrow.'

(91) isi ga'a isé=wa
3SG.M.NOM tomorrow 3SG.F.GEN=place
ha'r-ø-anno=gede
go-3SG.M-IPFV.3=COMP
kul-ø-ino-se.
tell-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F
'He told her that he would go to her place tomorrow.'

[3] Use as the marker of comparison in a type of equative construction

There are two types of equative constructions, and one of them involves *=gede*. *=gede* attaches to the end of the genitive noun phrase that refers to the standard of comparison, e.g. (92). The final vowel of *=gede* is optionally lengthened as *=gede-e*.

(92) ise isí=gede hoǰǰameette=te.
3SG.F.NOM.M 3SG.M.GEN=like tall.F=NPC.F.PRED
'She is as tall as him.'

[4] Use in the construction 'adj-GEN ... =NPC.PRED'

In this construction, *=gede* is preceded by the genitive case form of an adjective, and is followed by the predicate noun-phrase enclitic for Unmodified nouns (*=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC)), e.g. (93), (94). Like the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC, the construction expresses an evidential meaning: 'the speaker's conjecture on the referent of the subject noun phrase's possession of the property expressed by the adjective, based on the speaker's own perception or the information s/he obtained from someone else'.

(93) ise buša-te=gede-e=te.
3SG.F.NOM bad-GEN.F=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
'It seems like she is bad.'

(94) isi buš-u=gede-e=ho.
3SG.M.NOM bad-GEN.M=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
'It seems like he is bad.'

We saw (cf. Table 3) that *gara* has the properties of nouns, but *=gede* does not (5.2.4.1). We also saw that *=gede* can function as an adverbial clause marker or complementizer in various constructions, but *gara* cannot (5.2.4.3). (The properties examined in 5.2.4.2 are shared by both of them, though.) As noted in Section 1, the etymological relationship between them is not clear. Nonetheless, it is certain that *=gede* is more grammaticalized than *gara*.

5.3 DATLOC MMC

The structure of this type of MMC is shown in (29). The verb with the infinitive suffix *-a* and the agreement suffix(es) (the person/number suffix and the gender suffix in the case of the first and second person singular; the person/number suffix in the case of the first and second person plural; the person/number/gender suffix in the case of the third person) is followed by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, the lengthened vowel *-a*, and the predicative noun-phrase clitic for Modified nouns *=ti*. That is, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*. It has the meaning of the proximative aspect: 'be about to do ...'. Examples include (4) and (95)-(97).

(95) k'aakk'-u
baby-NOM.M
wi'l-ø-a-ra-a=ti.
cry-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'The baby boy is about to cry.'

(96) hamašš-u balé-si giddo-ra
snake-NOM.M hole(GEN.F.MOD)-3SG.POSS inside-ALL
e'-ø-a-ra-a=ti.
enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'The snake is about to enter its hole.'

(97) ninke
1PL.NOM
go-n-t'-a-mmo-ra-a=ti.
sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'We are about to sleep.'

The DATLOC MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC (Section 1). First, regarding MMC property (a), the 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but by a suffix.[1] Second, concerning MMC property (c), the predicate of the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The predicate is a verb in one of its two agreement-inflected infinitive forms (the other inflected infinitive is irrelevant to and is not dealt with in the present paper), not in any of its finite forms.

As noted above, this type of MMC has the meaning of proximative aspect. It generally describes future events, e.g. (4) and (95) to (97). However, it may concern future events viewed from the past: 'was/were about to do ...'. In order to express this specifically, the MMC is followed by the past tense marker *=nka* or *hee'r-ø-i* [live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3], whose form is invariable regardless of the person, number, and gender of the subject. Examples are given in (98) and (99).

(98) hamašš-u balé-si giddo-ra
snake-NOM.M hole(GEN.F.MOD)-3SG.POSS inside-ALL
e'-ø-a-ra-a=ti=nka.
enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD=PAST
'The snake was about to enter its hole.'

(99) ninke
1PL.NOM
go-n-t'-a-mmo-ra-a=ti
sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
hee'r-ø-i.
live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
'We were about to sleep.'

6. Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

Table 4 compares the three types of MMCs with relative clauses, verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences, in terms of the following.

(a) Animacy and person of the subject.
(b) Acceptability of the aspectual categories.
(c) Occurrence with the singular noun-phrase enclitic ('NPC').

The animacy and person of the subject and the aspectual categories acceptable in the MMCs were discussed in the relevant subsections of Section 5. The forms of the singular noun-phrase enclitic were shown in Table 2. The use of this enclitic was discussed for some of the constructions shown in Table 4. (As mentioned in connection with Table 2, the plural form is not relevant to the theme of the present paper.)

The *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC — unlike the *gara-a=ti* MMC, the *=gede-e=ti* MMC, the DATLOC MMC, and the other types of constructions — restrict the subject to human or animate entities and those that can be considered equivalent to them when the verb is not in the imperfective, though this restriction does not apply when the verb is in the imperfective.

The *gara* and *=gede* MMCs are quite different from the DATLOC MMC and the other types of constructions in that they allow only the third person as subject. These MMCs have an evidential meaning, and are useful for talking about a third person's feelings when the speaker is not sure about them, but they are not used for the conversation participants' own actions or states, which are obvious or easily accessible to the speaker.

In terms of aspectual categories, the DATLOC MMC is different from the other types of MMCs and also from verb predicate sentences. Its verb does not have any aspectual category. It has the infinitive suffix and an

agreement suffix(es), followed by the dative-locative suffix and a predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

Verb-predicate sentences do not employ a noun-phrase enclitic, and in this respect they differ from all the other constructions. That is, regarding the occurrence of a noun-phrase enclitic, the MMCs and relative clauses exhibit similar behavior.

We shall now turn to syntactic aspects of these constructions.

This has not been discussed explicitly, although it has been exemplified amply. Namely, across the constructions listed in Table 4, argument noun phrases are marked in the same way. The subject noun phrase is in the nominative case, the direct object noun phrase is in the accusative case, and the indirect object noun phrase is in the dative-locative case.

In relative clauses (or adnominal clauses) in Japanese (see Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.3.2), the subject can exhibit nominative/genitive conversion, but in Sidaama, no construction listed in Table 4 can show such an alternation.

Thus, in terms of syntax, the MMCs are similar to both relative clauses and independent sentences (verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences), but overall, the MMCs are more similar to relative clauses than to independent sentences as far as the phenomena examined are concerned.

Table 4: Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

grammatical property / construction	examples	Animacy and person of subject	Aspectual categories	Occurrence with NPC
Relative clause	(11), (13)-(26), (33)-(39)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	all aspect categories	relative clause can be directly followed by the NPC inflected for corresponding gender and case (has to be directly followed by the NPC when there is no common noun head)
gara-a=ti MMC	(2), (30)-(32), (35)-(36), (39), (115)	animate and inanimate; third person only	habitual imperfective (sometimes, distant perfect in informal speech)	*gara* directly followed by *=ti*
gar-í=te/*gar-í=ho* MMC	(40)-(42), (65)	human (and non-human in the imperfect	distant perfect or future imperfective	*gara* directly followed by *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC)

		ive); third person only		
=gede-e=ti MMC	(3), (46)-(48), (54), (57), (60), (63), (100)-(101), (113), (117)	animate and inanimate; third person only	future imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, or progressive	*=gede* directly followed by *=ti*
=gede-e=te/*=gede-e=ho* MMC	(49)-(51), (58), (61), (64)	animate (and inanimate in the imperfective); third person only	future imperfective, distant perfect, continuous, or progressive	*=gede* directly followed by *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC)
DATLOC MMC	(4), (95)-(99), (110b)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	proximative aspect expressed by the construction itself	*=ra* directly followed by *=ti*
Verb pred. sentence	(5), (6), (13)-(22), (24)-(26), (43)-(45), (52), (66)-(67), (69), (73)-(91), (102), (104), (106), (108)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	all aspect categories	*

Adj. pred. sentence	(7), (70), (72), (92)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	N/A	Adj. directly followed by NPC (*=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC)
Noun pred. sentence	(8)-(12), (33)-(39)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	N/A	Noun directly followed by NPC (Unmodified: *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC), Modified: *=ti*)

7. Why Sidaama has the mermaid constructions

As noted in Section 1, MMCs have been mainly reported from languages in Asia, and the present paper is the first report on the existence of MMCs outside Asia. It is important to inquire why Sidaama — a language outside Asia — has MMCs. The present section attempts to address this question. No definite answer is as yet forthcoming, and only speculative notes will be given. We shall look at three possibilities in the following.

7.1 Why Sidaama has the gara *MMC and the* =gede *MMC*

Recall that these two types of MMCs have an evidential meaning: 'It seems like ...'. Now, Sidaama has a noun whose meaning is similar to that of these two types of MMCs: *ordo* 'appearance'. This noun itself is not used as part of either MMC. Nonetheless, it can be added to the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC. Examples of *ordo* added to the *=gede* MMC are shown in (100) and (101), where *ordo* occurs in the nominative case and in the accusative-oblique case, respectively. (The accusative-oblique case is marked with a suprafix consisting of a high pitch on the final vowel segment. It can be translated as 'with respect to' (Kawachi, in press c).)

(100) ord-u ise
appearance-NOM.M 3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno=gede-e=ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The appearance is she is like she will get angry.'
FT: 'It seems like she will get angry.'

(101) ise ordó
3SG.F.NOM appearance.OBL

hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'With respect to appearance she is like she will get angry'
FT: 'It seems like she will get angry.'

What was stated about the *=gede-e=ti* MMC applies to the *gara* MMC and the *=gede-e=te*/*=gede-e=ho* MMC, as well.

Importantly, *ordo* is the only noun whose nominative or accusative-oblique form can be added to the MMCs as in (100) and (101). Furthermore, the set of requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and aspectual categories for each MMC subtype (discussed in Section 5 and summarized in Table 4) applies to constructions like (100) and (101), depending on the subtype.

As noted above, *ordo* 'appearance' itself is not used as part of either MMC. Nevertheless, it is possible, though by no means certain, that either the *gara* MMC or the *=gede* MMC, or both, originated in sentences that contain a noun such as *ordo* 'appearance'. As shown in Tsunoda (this volume-a) and other chapters in the present volume, many nouns that occupy the 'Noun' slot in MMCs have the meaning of 'appearance', 'shape', 'sight' or the like, and such an MMC has an evidential meaning: 'It appears/looks/seems'.

7.2 Why Sidaama has the DATLOC MMC

Again, it is difficult to figure out why this type of MMC exists in Sidaama. Nonetheless, there is one construction that may be relevant: the cleft construction.

The Sidaama cleft construction takes the form 'clause *=hu* ... *=ti*' (or '... *=ti* clause *=hu*'). Its subject consists of a clause and the nominative singular masculine noun-phrase enclitic *=hu*, and the predicate is a focused constituent followed by the predicating noun-phrase enclitic *=ti*. Any type of constituent other than the subject of the clause can be extracted. Compare (102) and (103) (direct object) with (104) and (105) (indirect object). (In the examples of the cleft construction, the subject is underlined.)

(102) laatto buné la'-'-ino.
Laatto(NOM.F) Bune.ACC see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Laato saw Bune.'

(103) laatto la'-'-ino=hu
Laatto(NOM.F) see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
bune-e=ti.
Bune-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is Bune who Laatto saw.'

(104) bune wot'é laattó-ra
Bune(NOM.F) money.ACC Laatto.GEN.F-DATLOC.PROP

u-i-t-ino.
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Bune gave money to Laatto'.

(105) bune wot'é
Bune(NOM.F) money.ACC
u-i-t-ino=hu
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
laattó-ra-a=ti.
Laatto.GEN.F-DATLOC.PROP-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is Laatto who Bune gave money to.'

Adverbial clauses, too, can be extracted. Compare (106) and (107) (cause) and (108) and (109) (purpose).

(106) beett-i-si
child-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS
t'iss-am-ø-ino-daafira
cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-because
min-í-si-ra
house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL
keešš-ø-e mar-ø-ino.
become.late-3SG.M-CNV arrive-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'He arrived home late because his son was sick.'

(107) min-í-si-ra
house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL
keešš-ø-e
become.late-3SG.M-CNV
mar-ø-ino=hu
arrive-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
beett-i-si
child-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS
t'iss-am-ø-ino-daafira-a=ti.
cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-because-
LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is because his son was sick that he arrived home late.'

(108) sagalé hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-a-ra
food.ACC buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC
beettó-si-ra wot'é
child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD.M money(ACC)
u-ø-ino.
give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'He gave money to his daughter so that she could buy food.'

(109) beettó-si-ra wot'é
child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD.M money(ACC)
u-ø-ino=hu (ise)
give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM
sagalé
food.ACC
hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-a-ra-a=ti.
buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is in order for his daughter to buy food that he gave money to her.'

As mentioned in Section 3, in Sidaama, the subject is often omitted when its referent is clear from the context. Hence, if the subject of (109) (the underlined portion) is omitted, the resultant sentence is (110). It can be translated as in (110a).

(110) (ise) sagalé
3SG.F.NOM food.ACC
hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-a-ra-a=ti.
buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
(a) Clefting: '[It] is in order for her to buy food.'
(b) MMC: 'She is about to buy food.'

In fact, the predicate part of the cleft construction extracting a purpose clause has exactly the same structure as the DATLOC MMC. Both contain the infinitive suffix and the dative-locative suffix (cf. (29) and 5.3). Therefore, (110) can also be interpreted as an MMC sentence, as shown in (110b).

It is possible, though not certain, that the DATLOC MMC and elliptical cleft sentences such as (110) are diachronically related. In this connection, it is useful to mention the following. It has been reported that it is very common for a purpose marker to become an infinitive verb form (Haspelmath 1989), which has a nuance of incompleteness and is often used for an event that has not been realized.

7.3 Another possible origin of the gara *MMC and the* =gede *MMC*

There is another possible origin of the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC. This, too, involves the cleft construction. (Strictly speaking, the scenario presented below is somewhat simplified for the sake of exposition.) The verb *lab-* 'appear' takes a clausal complement ending with the noun-phrase enclitic *=ha* as the complementizer, e.g. (111). When the clausal complement is clefted, the complementizer is *=gede*, e.g. (112). In fact, this sentence has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (113). (113) is an instance of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC.

(111) Non-cleft sentence
ané-ra ise
1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON 3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno = ha
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.COMP.M
law-ø-ino-'e.
appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-1SG
'It appears (*lit.* appears) to me that she will get angry.'

(112) Cleft sentence
ané-ra
1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON
law-ø-ino-'e = hu ise
appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-1SG=NPC.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'What appeared to me is that she is like she will get angry.'
FT: '(What appears to me is that) it seems like she will get angry.'

(113) *=gede-e=ti* MMC
ise
3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It seems like she will get angry.'

Also, *=gede-e=ti* in (112) can be replaced with *gara-a=ti*, as in (114). In fact, (114) has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (115). (115) is an instance of the *gara-a=ti* MMC. Both (114) and (115) have a habitual meaning.

(114) Cleft sentence
ané-ra
1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON
law-ø-ino-'e = hu ise
appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-1SG=NPC.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno gara-a = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'What appeared to me is that she is the manner she (habitually) gets angry.'
FT: '(What appears to me is that) it seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

(115) *gara-a=ti* MMC
ise
3SG.F.NOM

hank'-i-t-anno gara-a=ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

In sentences such as (112) and (114), the verb *lab-* 'appear' can be replaced with, for example, *hed-* 'think', accompanied by its subject (in the nominative case). An example involving *hed-* 'think' clefting is (116). Again, (116) has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (117). (117) is in fact an instance of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC. ((116) happens to contain *=gede-e=ti*, rather than *gara-a=ti*. But the same applies if *=gede-e=ti* is replaced with *gara-a=ti*.)

(116) Cleft sentence
ani
1SG.NOM
hed-ee-mm-o=hu ise
think-IPFV.1-1SG-M=NPC.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno=gede-e=ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'What I (MASC) think is that she is like she will get angry.'
FT: '(What I (MASC) think is that) it seems like she will get angry.'

(117) *=gede-e=ti* MMC
ise
3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno=gede-e=ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It seems like she will get angry.'

Whichever of the MMC subtypes occurs as a predicate in such constructions, the same requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and the aspectual categories for each MMC subtype (see Table 4) apply, and the meaning of the sentence as a whole is the same as the MMC subtype serving as the predicate.

To sum up, the omission of the subject (the underlined portion) from sentences such as (112) and (114) (which are instances of the cleft construction) may also be a possible source for these MMCs.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

The present paper is the first report on the existence of MMCs outside Asia, i.e. in Sidaama of Ethiopia. Sidaama has three types of MMCs.

In the *gara* MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way'. In the *=gede* MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'. Both types have an evidential

meaning: the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the 'Clause' based on his/her own observation of the subject's action or state or on the information on it that s/he has obtained from someone else.

In the DATLOC MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*. The verb of the 'Clause' is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender, followed by the dative-locative suffix. This type has the meaning of 'proximative aspect'.

The 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC and of the *=gede* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot.

The *gara* MMC is an instance of the prototype of the MMC, while the other two types are not.

In terms of morphosyntax and semantics, the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC are very similar. Although the etymological connection between *gara* and *=gede* is not known, *=gede* may have been grammaticalized from a noun. In contrast, the DATLOC MMC seems unlikely to have developed through the grammaticalization of a noun.

Abbreviations

ABLINS - ablative-instrumental; COMP - complementizer; CMT - comitative noun; CNV - converb (connective); D.PRF - distant perfect; DATLOC - dative-locative; EP - epenthesis; FT - free translation; IPFV - imperfective; LT - literal translation; LV - lengthened vowel; MID - middle; MMC - mermaid construction; mod - modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers); MOD - Modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers, by the possessive pronominal suffix, or both); NPC - noun-phrase enclitic; PROP - proper noun; R.PRF - recent perfect

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1 It is relevant to note in this connection that in one type of MMC in Japanese, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by what may be considered a case

enclitic: the genitive *=no*. (*=no* may also be regarded as a complementizer or a non-content noun. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4).)

Mermaid Construction in Kolyma Yukaghir

Fubito Endo
University of Wakayama

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as follows.

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction:
[Clause] Noun Copula

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

Kolyma Yukaghir does not have the prototype of the MMC. Nonetheless, it has two constructions that may be considered varieties of the MMC.

In one type, the 'Noun' slot of the MMC is occupied by an enclitic whose allomorphs are *=ben* and *=bed* (represented by *=ben*). The verb preceding this enclitic is in either of the two participle forms (cf. 4.2). That is, it is in a non-finite form. This MMC (i) expresses past situations, or (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. This construction is marginal in the language. The etymology of *=ben* is not known for certain.

Nonetheless, it has been suggested that this enclitic is related to the noun *pen* that means 'thing', or more precisely, 'supernatural thing'.

In the other type, which is even more removed from the prototype than is the first type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a suffix whose allomorphs are *-jo:n/-jo:d*, *-d'o:n/-d'o:d*, and *-t'o:n/-t'o:d* (represented by *-jo:n*). This suffix is a nominalizer and it is added to the stem of a verb. This MMC, too, expresses past situations, although it does not seem to have a modal meaning. It is not known if etymologically this suffix derived from a noun.

2. Initial illustration

As an initial illustration, two examples of the MMC in Kolyma Yukaghir are given: (2) (the enclitic *=ben*) and (3) (the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*). (Throughout this paper, glosses are mine.)

(2) *jel'o:ǰe* *puden* *nutn'e-j=bed-ek.*
sun upward stay-PTCP=*ben*-FOC
'The sun stayed high outside.' (Nikolaeva 1997: 21)

(3) *tet* *tuda:* *xon-d'o:n* *o:-d'ek.*
2SG before go-*jo:n* be-I2SG
'You went [there] before.' (Nagasaki 2001: 63)

3. Profile of the language

Kolyma Yukaghir is spoken in the Taiga area along the upper reaches of the river Kolyma in East Siberia. It is closely related to Tundra Yukaghir. The possibility of the genetic affinity of the Yukaghir languages to the Uralic language family has been suggested by several researchers, such as Collinder (1940) and Angere (1956). No definitive conclusion, however, has been reached so far.

Kolyma Yukaghir is a critically endangered, or possibly moribund, language. The number of its fluent speakers is around 20.

The following phonemes can be set up: twenty-one consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, n'[nʲ], ŋ, r, č [tʃ~ʃ], ǰ [dʒ], ʃ, ʒ, χ, ʁ, w, j, l, l'[lʲ]/, six short vowels /i, e, ö, a, o, u/, and six long vowels /i:, e:, ö:, a:, o:, u:/. The main stress within a word falls on the final heavy syllable. Stress placement on words with light syllables only is largely unpredictable.

Kolyma Yukaghir overwhelmingly shows agglutinating morphology. It possesses suffixing morphology.

Verbs have the following forms.

(a) Finite forms, which may inflect for aspect, mood, number-plus-person of the subject, and for focus on the subject and the object.
(b) Nonfinite forms: two participles and one verbal noun, and five

converbs.

Kolyma Yukaghir shows both head-marking and dependent-marking. It is mildly configurational.

The case system in Kolyma Yukaghir is basically of the NOM-ACC type, where the nominative case has the zero-suffix, while the accusative case has a non-zero suffix. (In the examples that follow, the nominative case will be left unglossed.)

(4) *tudel* *met-kele* *juö-m.*
3SG 1SG-ACC see-T3SG
'He/She saw me.'

The subject is consistently in the nominative case (zero) (unless it is followed by a focus marker; see 4.1). The object generally has the accusative case marker, e.g. (4), although it has no case suffix if the subject is the first or second person and the object is the third person. When both the subject and the object are third persons, the object is marked by the accusative case if it is definite, e.g. (5), and by the instrumental case if it is indefinite, e.g. (6).

(5) *tudel* *Nikolaj-de:-gele* *juö-m.*
3SG Nikolai-DIM-ACC see-T3SG
'He saw Nikolai.'
(6) *tat* *emej-gi* *qaʃe-le* *a-m.*
then mother-POSS porridge-INS make-T3SG
'Then their mother made porridge.' (Nikolaeva 1997: 30)

Kolyma Yukaghir has SOV as the unmarked order. It has postpositions, and does not have prepositions. Noun modifiers, including an adnominal clause ('AC'), precede the noun they modify. Kolyma Yukaghir does not have adjectives proper as a word class. The concepts that may be expressed by adjectives in languages such as Japanese are often expressed by participles. A participle precedes the noun it modifies.

Kolyma Yukaghir does not have a written tradition. With the development of primary education in recent decades, however, a few introductory textbooks using "Yukaghir alphabets" (based on Cyrillic alphabets) have been published. Children are taught how to write and read them in primary schools in their village.

The data used in this paper were obtained from the spoken language. The data cited from previously published books and articles are indicated to that effect, while the ones I directly obtained from my language consultants during the field trips are not accompanied by any citation information.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verb-predicate and noun-predicate sentences

Kolyma Yukaghir has two major sentence types: verb-predicate sentence and noun-predicate sentence.

Examples of the verb-predicate sentence include (7) (transitive) and (8) (intransitive).

(7) *taŋ ʃoromo-pul parna: aʒu:-gele*
that person-PL raven language-ACC
medi-nu-l'el-ŋa:.
hear-PROG-EVID-T3PL
'The people understood the language of ravens.'

(8) *irki-n anil aj kies'.*
one-ATTR fish again come.I3SG
'A fish came again.'

The subject is cross-referenced by the number-plus-person agreement marker on the verb in verb-predicate sentences. For the same person-plus-number, the marker alternates depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. In glosses, the person-plus-number marker is preceded by 'T' if the verb is transitive (e.g. 'T3PL' in (7)), and by 'I' if the verb is intransitive (e.g. 'I2SG' in (10)).

Examples of the noun-predicate sentence include the following.

(9) (The following is a conversation between Person A and Person B.)
A: *tituön nem-dik?*
here.this what-FOC
'What is this here?'
B: *tuön lunbuge-lek.*
this pot-FOC
'This is a pot.'

(10) *kin o:-ǰek?*
who be-I2SG
'Who are you?'

(11) *alme-ŋo-ǰe.*
shaman-be-I1SG
'I am a shaman.'

In noun-predicate sentences, generally (though not always) the predicate includes a focus marker, which is attached to a noun or a pronoun, e.g. *nem-dik* 'what-FOC' in (9-A) and *lunbuge-lek* 'pot-FOC' in (9-B). In this case, the predicate does not include any person-number agreement markers. The focus marker in effect functions as the copula.

Focus markers indicate informational focus (essentially a new piece of information or contrastive focus). The focus marker on nouns has two

variants: (i) *-lek* (after vowels) ~ *-ek* (after consonants) and (ii) *-k* (after vowels) ~ *-ek* (after consonants). *-lek/-ek* is used if the noun is low in definiteness or referentiality, e.g. (9-B), while *-k/-ek* is used if the noun is high in definiteness or referentiality. The focus marker on pronouns is lexically conditioned, e.g. *nem-dik* 'what-FOC', cf. (9-A), *kin-tek* 'who-FOC', and *met-ek* '1SG-FOC'.

The same focus markers are used in verb-predicate sentences, as well. They concern the information status of the intransitive subject, e.g. (45), and the object, e.g. (46).

If the subject refers to the first or the second person, the copula verb *o:-* 'be' may appear with a person-number agreement marker, e.g. (10). Alternatively, the verbalizing suffix *-ŋo:* 'be', is attached to the noun, followed by a person-number marker, e.g. (11).

4.2 Adnominal clauses

Kolyma Yukaghir has internal adnominal clauses ('internal ACs'), but does not seem to have external adnominal clauses ('external ACs'). See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for details of internal and external ACs. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. There are three ways to form internal ACs': (i) a *-je* participle (4.2.1), (ii) a *-me* participle (4.2.2), and (iii) a verbal noun (4.2.3). These three types of ACs differ in terms of their accessibility on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) hierarchy.

4.2.1 ACs with a -je *participle*

A *-je* participle can be used to modify the subject, e.g. (12), and it is marginally acceptable for the direct object, e.g. (13), but it is not acceptable for any other position on the hierarchy; see (14) (indirect object).

(12) *ekʃil' a:-je ʃoromo*
[boat make-PTCP] person
'the person who made a boat'

(13) *tiŋ ʃoromo a:-je ekʃil'*
[this person make-PTCP] boat
'the boat that this person made'

(14) **met ču:l tadi-je ʃoromo*
[1SG meat give-PTCP] person
Intended meaning: 'the person to whom I gave meat'

4.2.2 ACs with a -me *participle*

A *-me* participle inflects for person-and-number, and agrees with the subject of the AC. An AC involving a *-me* participle can be used to modify the direct object, e.g. (15), and the indirect object, e.g. (16). However, it cannot be used for any other position on the hierarchy; see (17) (subject).

(15) *tiŋ ʃoromo a:-mele ekʃil'*
[this person make-PTCP.3SG] boat
'the boat that this person made'

(16) *met ču:l tadi-me ʃoromo*
[1SG meat give-PTCP.1SG] person
'the person to whom I gave meat'

(17) **ekʃil' a:-mele ʃoromo*
[boat make-PTCP.3SG] person
Intended meaning: 'the person who made a boat'

4.2.3 ACs with a verbal noun

The verbal noun suffix is *-l*. It is suffixed to verb stems. Verbal nouns have three functions, one of which is to form ACs. In terms of Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy, the ACs involving a verbal noun have the widest range of possibilities among the three types of ACs. They can be used to modify the subject, e.g. (18), the direct object, e.g. (19), the indirect object, e.g. (20), the oblique object, e.g. (21), and the possessor, e.g. (22). However, they cannot be used to modify the object of comparison.

(18) *ekʃil' a:-l ʃoromo*
[boat make-VN] person
'the person who made a boat'

(19) *tiŋ ʃoromo a:-l ekʃil'*
[this person make-VN] boat
'the boat that this person made'

(20) *met ču:l tadi-l ʃoromo*
[1SG meat give-VN] person
'the person to whom I gave meat'

(21) *met modo-l nume*
[1SG live-VN] house
'the house in which I lived'

(22) *aŋǰe-gi embe-l ʃoromo*
[eye-POSS be.black-VN] person
'the person whose eyes are black'

The possibilities discussed above of the three methods for forming ACs are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Possibilities of the three types of ACs

	Subject	Direct object	Indirect object	Oblique	Possessor
-je participle	OK	(OK)	*	*	*
-me participle	*	OK	OK	*	*
verbal noun	(OK)	(OK)	(OK)	OK	OK

NB (OK): elicited from language consultants but poorly attested in text data

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) was shown in (1). Kolyma Yukaghir has two varieties of the MMC although they are not prototypical ones. No previous study has recognized the MMC in this language. The MMC involves a construction that is called the 'Periphrastic Past' by Maslova (2003: 179-181). (Nagasaki (2001), too, gives a description of the same construction.)

Maslova (2003) and Nagasaki (2001) note that the periphrastic past is of two types.

(a) Type A involves an enclitic whose allomorphs are *=ben* and *=bed* (represented by *=ben*).
(b) Type B involves a nominalizer suffix whose allomorphs are *-jo:n/-jo:d*, *-d'o:n/-d'o:d*, and *-t'o:n/-t'o:d* (represented by *-jo:n*).

(The allomorphs ending in *d* are used before vowels, and the allomorphs ending with *n* are used elsewhere.)

The Periphrastic Past is a marginal construction in the language. It does not occur frequently in folklore text collections, such as Nikolaeva (1989). We shall look at the MMC involving *=ben* in 5.2, followed by the MMC with *-jo:n* in 5.3.

5.2 MMC with the enclitic =ben

Although this construction does not fall into the major construction types of the language, it clearly contrasts with other constructions syntactically as well as semantically.

5.2.1 Morphosyntax

[1] Structure

This MMC has the structure shown below.

(23) (SUBJ) ... (OBJ) V(non-finite)=*ben*-FOC

Examples include (2) and:

(24) *tudel tuda: mi:d'i:-le xonroʃ-mele=bed-ek*
3SG before sledge-INS break-PTCP.3SG=*ben*-FOC
'He broke a sledge before.' (Nagasaki 2001: 63)

(25) *χa:χa:, tinla:ʁet lebeidi: ninge-j=bed-ek*
grandfather over.there berry many-PTCP=*ben*-FOC
'Grandfather, there are a lot of berries over there!'
(Nikolaeva 1989: 60)

[2] 'Predicate' of the 'Clause'

As shown in (23), the verb is non-finite. The forms employed are a *-je* participle, e.g. (25), (26), (27), or a *-me* participle, e.g. (24), (28), (29). Note that these two forms of verbs can be used for ACs, too (see 4.2). (A verbal noun can be used for ACs. It can also precede *=ben*, e.g. (37). It does not form MMCs, however.)

(26) *tudel amde-j=bed-ek <...>*
3SG die-PTCP=*ben*-FOC
'She has died <...>!' (Maslova 2003: 180)

(27) *tuda: unuŋ-gen ejre-j=bed-ek <...>*
before river-PROL walk-PTCP=*ben*-FOC
'He walked along the rivers before.' (Nikolaeva 1997: 52)

(28) *pajpe-n pajlu:l-gele n'an'u:lben el*
woman-ATTR cunningness-ACC devil NEG
muddej-mele=bed-ek
overcome-PTCP.3SG=*ben*-FOC
'The devil could not overcome the cunningness of women'
(Nikolaeva 1997: 23)

(29) *met töwke juo-me=bed-ek*
1SG dog see-PTCP.1SG=*ben*-FOC
'I saw a dog' (Nagasaki 2001: 64)

The predicate of the 'Clause' of this MMC is non-finite, and consequently the 'Clause' by itself cannot be used as a sentence. For example, if *=bed-ek* is deleted from (24), the resultant form is not a correct, complete sentence.

(30) **tudel tuda: mi:d'i:-le xonroʃ-mele*
3SG before sledge-INS break-PTCP.3SG
Intended meaning: as (24)

A finite form needs to be used instead, e.g.:

(31) *tudel* *tuda:* *mi:d'i:-le* *xonroʃ-u-m*
3SG before sledge-INS break- ϕ -T3SG
'(as (24))'

(The ϕ in the gloss in (31) means the vowel in question is inserted for phonological reasons and that it does not have any meaning. The same applies to the similar examples below.)

Although the amount of data available is still limited, the general tendency appears to be for a *-je* participle to occur with intransitive verbs, and a *-me* participle with transitive verbs.

[3] This MMC does not contain the copula verb. The enclitic *=ben* is always followed by the focus marker *-k/-ek*, e.g. (24) to (29). (This focus marker is the one that is used for nouns that are high in definiteness or referentiality. See 4.1.)

[4] Case marking in the 'Clause'

In terms of case marking, the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like an independent sentence (cf. Section 3). The subject is consistently marked by the nominative (zero). The object generally has the accusative case marker, although it has no case suffix if the subject is the first or second person and the object is the third person. When both the subject and the object are third persons, the object is marked by the accusative case if it is definite, e.g. (5) ('Nikolai-DIM-ACC'), and by the instrumental case if it is indefinite, e.g. (6) ('porridge-INS'). The same applies to this MMC. The subject is always in the nominative case. In (29), the subject is first person. The object is the third person ('dog'), and it has no case suffix. In (24) and (28), both the subject and the object are third person. In (28), the object ('women's cunningness') is definite, and it is marked by the accusative case ('cunningness-ACC'). In (24), it is indefinite, and it is marked by the instrumental ('sledge-INS').

5.2.2 Function

Nagasaki (2001: 63-64) points out that this construction basically describes past situations. She observes that an adverb which refers to the time of utterance cannot co-occur with this construction.

(32) *met* *tuda:* *tet-ul* *jalʁil-ŋin*
1SG before 2SG-ACC lake-ALL
peʃʃej-me=bed-ek.
throw-PTCP.1SG=*ben*-FOC
'I threw you into the lake then.' (Nagasaki 2001: 64)

(33) **met* *t'a:ʃet* *tet-ul* *jalʁil-ŋin*
1SG now 2SG-ACC lake-ALL
peʃʃej-me=bed-ek
throw-PTCP.1SG=*ben*-FOC
'I will throw you into the lake now!' (Nagasaki 2001: 64)

(32) is appropriately taken as referring to the past, and it is acceptable. On the other hand, (33) contains the adverb *t'a:ʃet* 'now' which refers to the time of utterance, and it is not acceptable.

Furthermore, Nagasaki (2001: 63-64) points out that this construction also has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. In this case, it can refer to present situations. This usage is, however, found very rarely, as Maslova (2003: 181) mentions. An example is (26).

5.2.3 Etymology and grammaticalization of =ben

[1] Etymology

Jochelson (1905) and Krejnovič (1979) suggest that *=ben* can be related to the independent word *pen*. The word is used to express various 'impersonal' situations, as follows.

(34) *pen* *emiče:-j.*
thing become.dark-I3SG
'It became dark.'

(35) *pen* *poǰorχoǰ-i.*
thing dawn-I3SG
'It dawned.'

(36) *pen* *čelke:-j.*
thing become.cold-I3SG
'It became cold.'

Jochelson suggests that the word *pen* basically means 'surpernatural thing'. Specifically, he states that "[I]n olden times this word used to indicate the name of a deity embracing all nature, the universe. *Pon* [sic] indicates *something that is unknown.*" (italics in the original) (Jochelson 1905: 406)

The verb forms employed in ACs (4.2) and those used in this MMC are almost identical (a *-je* participle and a *-me* participle), except that a verbal noun can be used ACs, but not in this MMC. This suggests that this MMC may have originated in ACs. In turn, this will lend some support to Jochelson's view that *=ben* was originally a noun.

It is relevant to mention that in Hindi (Imamura (this volume)) the 'Noun' slot of the MMC is occupied by the enclitic *=vaalaa*, and the MMC means (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). The etymology of *=vaalaa* is suggested to be the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector, one who maintains or observes'. This suggested etymology is reminiscent of the suggested etymology of *=ben*. Both refer to something more than ordinary humans.

[2] *=ben* as an enclitic, and not a suffix

Maslova (2003: 179-181) regards *=ben* ('Relative Nominal form' in her terminology) as a suffix. In my view, however, it is more appropriate to regard it as an enclitic. The reason is twofold.

First, this element is attached to a *-je* participle, a *-me* participle

('Attributive' in Maslova's term) and to a verbal noun (*-l*) ('Action Nominal' in Maslova's term). They are all fully inflected forms. An example with a verbal noun is as follows:

(37) *taŋ uör-pe, titte emej ʃoʁuʃe-l=ben-pe*
that child-PL 3PL.POSS mother lose-VN=*ben*-PL
'those children, the ones who lost their mother.'

Although this is an example of a slightly complicated noun phrase, not an MMC, it clearly shows that *=ben* can be attached to a verbal noun. The fact that the element in question is attached to fully inflected forms indicates that it should be regarded as an enclitic, and not as a suffix (see Zwicky 1994: 576).

Second, as noted above, the forms of the verbs to which this element is attached are exactly the same as those employed in ACs. This suggests that this element occupies the structural position of a noun modified by an AC, that is, it occupies the structural position of the head noun.

To sum up, it is possible to say (although not definitively) that here we are dealing with an instance of grammaticalization of the noun (i.e. an independent word) *pen* 'name of a deity embracing all nature, the universe' to the enclitic *=ben*, which is used in a construction that (i) expresses past situations, or (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion.

5.3 MMC with the suffix -jo:n

Kolyma Yukaghir has a suffix whose allomorphs are *-jo:n/-jo:d*, *-d'o:n/-d'o:d*, and *-t'o:n/-t'o:d* (represented by *-jo:n*). This suffix is added to the stem of a verb. It is a nominalizer, e.g.:

(38) *mere-jo:n*
fly-*jo:n*
'one who/which flies'
(39) *en-d'o:n*
live-*jo:n*
'one who/which lives; animal'

This suffix can be used in what may be considered a variant of the MMC. This construction has the following structure.

(40) Subject: 1st person or 2nd person:
(SUBJ) ... V(stem)-*jo:n* Copula-AGR
(41) Subject: 3rd person:
(SUBJ) ... V(stem)-*jo:n*-(PL)-FOC

In (40) and (41), what may be regarded as the 'Noun' slot of the MMC (cf. (1)) is occupied by the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*. The suffix is in turn added to a verb stem. The MMC discussed in 5.2 does not contain the copula verb

(although it contains the focus marker *-k/-ek*; this focus marker is the one that is used for nouns that are high in definiteness or referentiality. See 4.1.) In contrast, (40) contains the copula verb, which is followed by an agreement suffix. (41) contains the focus marker *-k/-ek*, which in effect functions as the copula, as is the case with noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (9-A, -B). Note that the plural marker can occur in (41), e.g. (44), but not in (40).

Recall that the MMC with the enclitic *=ben* (i) expresses past situations, and (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. The MMC with the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*, too, describes past situations. But it does not seem to have a modal meaning.

Maslova (2003) and Nagasaki (2001) note that only intransitive verbs appear in this construction.

An example of (40) is (42). Examples of (41) include (43) and (44).

(42) *tet tuda: xon-d'o:n o:-d'ek.*
2SG before go-*jo:n* be-I2SG
'You went [there] before.' (Nagasaki 2001: 63)

(43) *tiŋ kni:ge omo-s'o:d-ek.*
this book be.good-*jo:n*-FOC
'This book was interesting.' (Nagasaki 2001: 63)

(44) *tittel kie-t'o:n-pe-k.*
3PL come-*jo:n*-PL-FOC
'They came.' (Nagasaki 2001:62)

This construction may be considered a variety of the MMC, although admittedly it is not a prototypical one. The following facts are relevant.

(a) In one variety of the MMC in Japanese (see Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4)), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic *=no*, which may be analyzed as a nominalizer. Note that (40) and (41) contain the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n* in what may be regarded as the 'Noun' slot.

(b) As Tsunoda (this volume-a, 4.1, 6.2, 6.3) notes, in the MMC in a number of languages, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by a suffix that was etymologically a noun. In this regard, it is worth noting Nagasaki's (2001: 62) suggestion that the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n* was formed through fusion of a *-je* participle and the enclitic *=ben*. Recall that *=ben* may have been etymologically a noun *pen*. Although more phonological data is needed to justify her analysis, this possibility cannot be discounted outright, in the case of languages like Kolyma Yukaghir that have no written tradition.

6. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

We shall now compare the 'Clause' of MMC with independent sentences and ACs. Specifically, we shall compare the following.

(a) Independent sentences.

(b) MMC with *=ben* (5.2).
(c) MMC with *-jo:n* (5.3).
(d) ACs (4.2).

[1] Form of the verb

The predicate verb of independent sentences ((a)) has full inflectional possibilities (Section 3):

(i) finite forms, which may inflect for aspect, mood, number-plus-person of the subject, and for focus on the subject and the object; and
(ii) nonfinite forms: two participles and one verbal noun, and five converbs.

In the MMC of (b) and in ACs (d), the verb of the 'Clause' is non-finite. It may be a *-je* participle, a *-me* participle, or a verbal noun (available only for ACs). In the MMC of (c), the verb of the 'Clause' is a verb stem.

The verb of the 'Clause' of the MMC is in a non-finite form or a verb stem (and not an inflected form). Therefore, the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence.

[2] Case-marking

In all of (a) to (d), the subject is marked by the nominative case (zero). The object is marked as follows.

In (a), (b) and (d), generally the object is marked by the accusative case, which has a non-zero suffix, although it has no case suffix if the subject is the first or second person and the object is the third person. When both the subject and the object are third persons, the object is marked by the accusative case (if it is definite), and by the instrumental case (if it is indefinite). Examples of (a) include (3), (4) and (5). Examples of (b) include (24) and (28). (d) differs from (a) and (b) in that the instrumental marking on the third-person object tends to be dropped. Examples of (d) include (12) and (16).

In (c), the object does not exist. As noted in 5.3, only intransitive verbs appear in this construction.

[3] Focus marking

In independent sentences, a focus marker can be attached to the object or the intransitive subject. It can also be attached to the complement, in effect functioning as the copula. For example:

(i) Verb-predicate sentences: transitive, e.g. (46) (object).
(ii)Verb-predicate sentences: intransitive, e.g. (45) (subject).
(iii) Noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (9-A, B) (complement).

(45) *čomparna:-k* *mara:-l'el-u-l.*
raven-FOC fly-EVID-ϕ-VN
'A raven has flown (there).'
(46) *ugurčera:-k* *kečі:-l'el-ŋile.*
willow-FOC bring-EVID-PTCP.3PL

'They brought (some branches of) willow.'

Regarding the two types of the MMC ((b), (c)), Nagasaki (2001), Maslova (2003), the folklore texts in Nikolaeva (1997) and my data have yielded no example in which focus markers occur in the 'Clause' of the MMC. It seems that focus markers cannot occur in the 'Clause'. This suggests that in this respect the sentencehood of the 'Clause' is low. Focus markers can occur outside the 'Clause' within the MMC, e.g. (24) to (29), (32), (43) and (44). In (d), no focus marking occurs.

The result of this comparison is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Comparison of the MMC with independent sentences and ACs

	Verb form	Subject	Object	Focus marker
(a) independent sentence	full inflectional possibilities	NOM	ACC, INS	+ (except transitive subject)
(b) MMC with *=ben*	*-je* participle, *-me* participle	NOM	ACC, INS	-
(c) MMC with *-jo:n*	stem	NOM	n/a	-
(d) AC	*-je* participle, *-me* participle, verbal noun	NOM	ACC, INS	-

In terms of the form of the verb, the MMC of (b) almost parallels ACs, except for the non-use of verbal nouns. However, the MMC of (c) resembles neither ACs nor independent sentences.

Regarding the absence of focus marker, both the MMC of (b) and the MMC of (c) are identical with ACs. In this respect, their sentencehood is low.

The MMC of (c) differs from the other constructions in that it does not (and probably cannot) contain the object.

In terms of the case-marking of the subject, both the MMC of (b) and the MMC of (c) are identical with both independent sentences and ACs. Concerning the case-marking of the object, the MMC of (b) parallel both independent sentences and ACs.

To sum up, the MMC of (b) behaves like ACs in terms of (i) the form of the verb (i.e. morphology) and (ii) focus marking (i.e. syntax). The MMC of (c) behaves like ACs regarding focus marking. That is, in the main, these two types of the MMC are more similar to ACs than to independent sentences.

7. Summary and concluding remarks

Kolyma Yukaghir has two constructions that may be considered varieties of the mermaid construction ('MMC'), although they are not prototypical MMC. The 'Noun' slot is not occupied by a noun. Both types of the MMC are marginal in the language.

In one type, the 'Noun' slot of this MMC is occupied by the enclitic *=ben*. The verb preceding this enclitic is in either of the two participle forms. This MMC (i) expresses past situations, and (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. The etymology of this enclitic is not known for certain. Nonetheless, it has been suggested that it is related to the noun *pen* that means 'thing', or more precisely, 'supernatural thing'. This is reminiscent of the etymology of the enclitic *=vaalaa* used in the MMC in Hindi: the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector'. (The Hindi MMC indicates (i) 'just about to', (ii) intention, schedule, and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation.)

In the other type, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*, which is added to the stem of a verb. This construction describes past situations, but it does not seem to have a modal meaning. It is not known if etymologically this suffix derived from a noun.

In terms of both the morphological and syntactic aspects examined, these two types of the MMC are more similar to ACs than to independent sentences.

Abbreviations and symbol

AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; AGR - agreement marker; ALL - allative; ATTR - attributive; COP - copula; DAT - dative; DIM - diminutive, EVID - evidential; FOC - focus; FUT - future; I - intransitive; INS - instrumental; LOC - locative; NEG - negation; PTCP - participle; PL - plural; POSS - possessive; PROG - progressive; N - noun; NEG - negative; RELNR - relative nominal; RECP - reciprocal; SG - singular; T - transitive; VN - verbal noun; ϕ - inserted vowel.

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Mermaid construction in Hindi

Yasunari Imamura
Faculty of Foreign Languages, Kanda University of International Studies

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) 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 co-referential.
(c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

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

Hindi has a variant of the MMC, in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but by an enclitic: =*vaalaa*. Etymologically, this enclitic is said to derive from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who

maintains or observes'. (*Paalaka* also means a foster-father; a prince, ruler, sovereign, etc. However, it does not refer to a god.) The enclitic *=vaalaa* has two uses. In one use, it forms noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is ...'. In the other use, it is used in what I have termed 'the *=vaalaa* construction'.

(2) The *=vaalaa* construction:
[Clause]=*vaalaa* Copula

I propose that the *=vaalaa* construction is a variant of the MMC, as indicated above. It indicates (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). The verb that precedes the enclitic *=vaalaa* occurs in an infinitive form, not a finite form.

2. Initial illustration

As an initial illustration of the MMC in Hindi, three examples are given.

(3) [*mãĩ* *yuunivarsiTii* *jaa-ne*]=*vaalaa*
1SG university.F.SG go-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
hũũ.
COP.PRS.1SG (McGregor 1995: 171)
LT: 'I am a person who goes to the university.'
FT (i): 'I am about to go to the university.'
FT (ii): 'I am on my way to the university.'

(4) [*Diskavarii* *śanivaar=ko* *floriDaa* *pahuñc-ne*]
Discovery.M.SG Saturday=on Florida arrive-INF.OBL
=vaalaa *hai.*
=vaalaa.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
LT: '[Space Shuttle] Discovery is one which [will] arrive in Florida on Saturday.'
FT: 'Discovery is due to arrive in Florida on Saturday.'
(http://khabar.ibnlive.in.com/news/10760/2 (20 Mar 2011))

(5) [*vah* *aaj* *kal* *mar-ne*]=*vaalaa*
3SG today tomorrow die-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
hai.
COP.PRS.3SG (Platts 1878: 330)
LT: 'He is a person who dies in (the course of) a day or so.'
FT: 'He will die in a day or so.'

3. Profile of the language

Hindi is one of the 22 official languages of India and is used as the primary

official language of the Republic of India. Hindi is a New Indo-Aryan language, which belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. It is widely spoken in northern India, and also in Trinidad, Guyana, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, and many other countries by peoples of Indian origin (Kachru 2009: 399). According to the Census of India 2001 (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. *Census 2001 Data Online (Data on Language)*. <http://censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/data_on_language.html> (20 March 2011)), the total population of India is 1,028,610,328 and the number of persons who returned Hindi as their mother tongue is 422,048,642 (41.03%).

Hindi is closely related to Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. Hindi and Urdu share the same grammar and core vocabulary. The main differences between the two are that Hindi is written in the Devanagari script and contains a large vocabulary from Sanskrit, whereas Urdu is written in the Perso-Arabic script and contains a large vocabulary from Persian and Arabic. At the colloquial level, there is little difference between the two, and they can be considered varieties of the same language. Therefore, it is frequently referred to as Hindi-Urdu in linguistic literature.

Hindi has the following phonemes. Vowels: /a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, ŕ, e, ai, o, au, ã, ãã, ĩ, ĩĩ, ũ, ũũ, ẽ, ãĩ, õ, ãũ/. (Letters with a tilde are nasal vowels.) Consonants: /k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, c, ch, j, jh, ñ, T, Th, D, Dh, N, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, ś, S, s, h, R, Rh, (z), (f), (q), (x), (ɣ)/. (Capital letters represent retroflex consonants. Loan phonemes are given in parentheses.)

Stress (Kachru 2009: 401) and pitch are not distinctive in Hindi.

Morphologically, Hindi has both fusional and agglutinating characteristics. Hindi employs both prefixes and suffixes. It is dependent-marking and configurational.

Hindi distinguishes two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular and plural), and three cases (direct (=*Ø*), oblique, and vocative cases). In addition, it has seven postpositions: =*ne* 'ERG', =*ko* 'ACC/DAT', =*se* 'INS/ABL', =*kaa* 'GEN', =*mẽ* 'in', =*par* 'on, at', and =*tak* 'till, up to'. Nouns and infinitives (also called verbal nouns) take the oblique case form when they are followed by a postposition.

Hindi is a split-ergative language. It exhibits the ergative pattern (A vs. S/O) when the aspect is perfective and the O is neither animate nor definite. The case marking of the A, the S, and the O is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The case marking system

	A	S	O
Perfective	=*ne*	=*Ø*	=*ko* (O: animate* or definite)
	=*ne*	=*Ø*	=*Ø* (O: otherwise)
Imperfective	=*Ø*	=*Ø*	=*ko* (O: animate* or definite)
	=*Ø*	=*Ø*	=*Ø* (O: otherwise)

*especially human

The basic word orders are SV and AOV. Adjectives precede the noun

they modify, but adnominal clauses (including relative clauses) may either precede or follow the noun they qualify. (See 4.2.)

Hindi has two types of agreement patterns: modifier-head agreement and noun-verb agreement. To put it simply, modifiers agree with their head noun in gender, number, and case, and the finite verb agrees with an unmarked NP, if any, in the sentence in gender, number, and person. For details, see Kachru (2006: 161-166).

Hindi is written with the Devanagari script, which is also used to write Sanskrit, Marathi, and Nepali. The data in this paper are taken from the written language.

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., (6).
(b) Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g., (7).
(c) Noun-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g., (8).

(6) *vah* *mujh=ko* *sab* *baatẽ* *bataa-egaa.*
3SG 1SG.OBL=DAT all matter.F.PL tell-FUT.3.M.SG
'He will tell me everything' (Kachru 2006: 140)

(7) *raam* *siitaa=se* *lambaa* *hai.*
Ram.M Sita.F=than tall.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'Ram is taller than Sita.'

(8) *bhaarat=kii* *raajdhaanii* *naii dillii* *hai.*
India=GEN.F capital.F.SG New Delhi COP.PRS.3SG
'The capital of India is New Delhi.'

The predicate in adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses/ sentences, e.g., (7), (8), involves the copula verb *honaa* 'be'. The same verb is also very frequently used in verb-predicate clauses/sentences as an auxiliary verb, e.g., (9), and as the existential verb, e.g., (10).

(9) *vah* *kitaab* *paRh* *rahaa* *hai.*
3SG book.F.SG read PROG.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
'He is reading a book.'

(10) *mez=par* *do* *kitaabẽ* *hãĩ.*
table.F.SG=on two book.F.PL exist.PRS.3PL
'There are two books on the table.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

An overview of the adnominal clauses ('ACs') is shown in Table 2. Note that I use the term 'adnominal clause' for all of the types listed in Table 2, but that I use the label 'relative clause' for one type only.

Hindi has both 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs') and 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs'). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.) Very roughly speaking, 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 any argument or any adjunct of the AC.

Table 2. Classification of AC structures

	AC (non-finite) + noun	noun + AC (finite)
Internal ACs	participle clause + noun	noun + relative clause
External ACs	infinitival clause + noun	noun + appositional clause

4.2.2 Internal ACs

There are two kinds of internal ACs: participle clause + noun (4.2.2.1) and noun + relative clause (4.2.2.2).

4.2.2.1 Participle clause + noun. Hindi has imperfective and perfective participles. They can be used to form ACs. They are often followed by an auxiliary verb: the perfective participle of the verb *honaa* 'to be', e.g., *huaa* 'AUX.M.SG' in (11) and *huii* 'AUX.F' in (12). Examples of ACs include (11) (which contains the imperfective participle *sun-taa* 'listen-IMPF.M.SG'), and (12) (the perfective participle *likh-ii* 'write-PFV.F'). In the examples below, the AC is indicated by an underline. In this type of AC, the subject NP is marked with the genitive postposition, e.g., *dost=kii* 'friend.M.SG.OBL=GEN.F' in (12).

(11) *vah* *reDiyo* *sun-taa* *huaa* *aadmii*
that radio.M listen-IMPF.M.SG AUX.M.SG man.M.SG
kaun *hai?*
who COP.PRS.3SG (Snell & Weightman 2003: 232)
'Who is that man listening to the radio?'

(12) *yah* *mere* *dost=kii*
this 1SG.GEN.M.SG.OBL friend.M.SG.OBL=GEN.F
likh-ii *huii* *pustak* *hai.*
write-PFV.F AUX.F book.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'This is a book that my friend wrote.'
(Tanaka & Machida 1986: 120)

4.2.2.2 Noun + relative clause. The formation of what I term 'relative clauses' in Hindi employs the 'corelative strategy' (cf. Keenan (1985: 163-168)). Hindi relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun *jo* (or one of its inflected variants). A part of the relative clause may precede the head noun; see *mãĩ=ne* '1SG=ERG' in (15). Relative clauses can be formed on all the positions on the accessibility hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977), except for the object of comparison. Examples are the following: (i) subject: (13), (ii) direct object: (14), (iii) indirect object: (15), (iv) oblique case NP: (16), and (v) genitive or possessor: (17). Relativization on the object of comparison is not perfectly acceptable. See (18).

(13) *jo* *laRkaa* *so* *rahaa* *thaa*
REL boy.M.SG sleep PROG.M.SG AUX.PST.M.SG
vah *śor=se* *jaag* *gayaa.*
COR noise=INS wake go.PFV.M.SG (Kachru 1980: 30)
'The boy who was asleep woke up because of the noise.'

(14) *yah* *pahlii* *hindii* *kitaab* *hai*
this first Hindi book.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG
jise *mãĩ=ne* *aakhir=tak* *paRh-aa.*
REL.ACC 1SG=ERG last=up.to read-PFV.M.SG
'This is the first Hindi book that I read through.'
(Tanaka & Machida 1986: 112)

(15) *mãĩ=ne* *jis* *laRkii=ko* *gaa-naa*
1SG=ERG REL.OBL girl.F.SG.OBL=DAT sing-INF
sikhaa-yaa *vah* *ab* *reDiyo=par*
teach-PFV.M.SG COR now radio.M=on
gaa-tii *hai.*
sing-IMPF.F AUX.PRS.3SG (Kachru 1980: 31)
'The girl whom I taught singing sings on the radio now.'

(16) *jis* *kursii=par* *diidii* *jii* *baiTh-ii*
REL.OBL chair.F.SG=on big.sister HON sit-PFV.F
hai *vah* *banaaras=mẽ* *ban-ii*
AUX.PRS.3SG COR Banaras=in be.made-PFV.F
thii.
AUX.PST.F.SG (Shapiro 2003: 272)
'The chair on which [my] big sister is sitting was made in Banaras.'

(17) *jis* *vyakti=kaa* *paisaa* *corii*
REL.OBL person.M=GEN.M.SG money.M.SG stealing
ho *gayaa* *vah* *cintit* *hai.*
become go.PFV.M.SG COR worried COP.PRS.3SG
'The man whose money was stolen is worried.' (Kachru 1980: 31)

(18) *?hasan* *jis* *laRke=se* *lambaa*
Hasan REL.OBL boy.M.SG.OBL=ABL tall.M.SG
hai *vah* *hasan=se* *Dar-taa*
COP.PRS.3SG COR Hasan=ABL be afraid-IMPF.M.SG

hai.
AUX.PRS.3SG (Kachru 1980: 31)
'The boy whom Hasan is taller than is afraid of Hasan.'

4.2.3 External ACs
There are two kinds of external ACs: infinitival clause + noun (4.2.3.1) and apposition of noun and clause (4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 Infinitival clause + noun. In this structure, the infinitive (the verbal root + *-naa*) cannot modify the head noun directly and the genitive case marker *=kaa* (or one of its inflected variants) must be inserted between the infinitive and the head noun.

(19) *un=ke paarTii choR-ne=kii*
3PL.OBL=GEN.M.OBL party.F.SG leave-INF.OBL=GEN.F
carcaa
rumor.F.SG
'a rumor that he will leave his party' (Koga 1996: 77r)

(20) *machliyãã tal-ne=kii gandh*
fish.F.PL fry-INF.OBL=GEN.F smell.F.SG
'the smell of fish frying' (Koga & Takahashi 2006: 319r)

(21) *buxaar=ke phail-ne=kii*
fever.M=GEN.M.OBL spread-INF.OBL=GEN.F
vajhõ=kii jããc
reason.F.PL.OBL=GEN.F investigation.F.SG
'an investigation of the reasons for spread of [dengue] fever'
(BBC061002_delhi_dengue (4 Oct 2006))

4.2.3.2 Apposition of noun and clause. This type of external AC involves the apposition of the head noun and the modifying clause. The clause is introduced with the conjunction *ki* 'that'. Roughly speaking, this conjunction is equivalent to the complementizer *that* of English.

(22) *raajan=ko aaśaa hai ki*
Rajan=DAT hope.F.SG exist.PRS.3SG CONJ
use naukrii mil jaa-egii.
3SG.DAT job.F.SG accrue go-FUT.3.F.SG
LT: 'To Rajan exists the hope that to him the job accrues.'
FT: 'Rajan hopes that he will get the job.' (Kachru 1980: 38)

(23) *us=kaa yah daavaa ki*
3SG.OBL=GEN.M.SG this claim.M.SG CONJ
muniiś ghuus le-taa hai
Munish bribe.F.SG take-IMPF.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
bilkul sahii hai.
quite correct COP.PRS.3SG (Kachru 1980: 28)
'His claim that Munish takes bribe is quite correct.'

In (22), the clause *use naukrii mil jaaegii* 'He will get the job' is in apposition with the noun *aaśaa* 'hope', and in (23), the clause *muniiś ghuus letaa hai* 'Munish takes bribe' is in apposition with the noun *daavaa* 'claim'.

5. Mermaid construction and its related construction

To the best of my knowledge, Hindi does not have a construction that conforms to the prototype of the MMC (see (1)). However, it has a construction which can arguably be treated as a variant of the MMC: the *=vaalaa construction* (5.1). In addition, it has a construction that may be considered related to the MMC. It involves the existential verb (5.2).

5.1 =vaalaa *construction*

5.1.1 Introductory notes

The enclitic *=vaalaa* is used very productively and frequently. It inflects for gender, number, and case. As noted in Section 1, etymologically, this enclitic is said to derive from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* meaning 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. (*Paalaka* also means a foster-father; a prince, ruler, sovereign, etc. However, it does not refer to a god.) The enclitic *=vaalaa* has two uses. In one use, it forms noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is ...'. In the other use, it is used in what I have termed 'the *=vaalaa* construction' as a nominalizer. I propose that the *=vaalaa* construction is a variant of the MMC, as indicated above. We shall look at these two uses.

5.1.2 =vaalaa *used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases*

=vaalaa can be used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is ...'. The noun phrases denote agents, possessors, or the like. In this use, *=vaalaa* inflects for gender, number, and case. Examples follow.

(24) *ganne=vaalaa*
sugarcane.M.SG.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
'sugarcane seller'

(25) *mar-ne* *aur*
die-INF.OBL and
ghaayal ho-ne=vaalõ=kii *taadaad*
be.injured-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.PL.OBL=GEN.F number.F.SG
(BBC060310_kashinath_varanasi (12 Mar 2006))
'the number of dead and injured'

(26) *dillii* *jaa-ne=vaalii* *gaaRii*
Delhi go-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.F vehicle.F.SG
'a train bound for Delhi'

(27) *lambe* *baalõ=vaalii* *laRkii*
long.M.PL.OBL hair.M.PL.OBL=*vaalaa*.F girl.F.SG
'a girl who has long hair' (Montaut 2004: 153)

5.1.3 =vaalaa *construction: a variant of the mermaid construction*
In this use, *=vaalaa* occurs as a part of the predicate in the construction shown in (2). More specifically, its structure is shown in (29).

(28) =(2) *=vaalaa* construction: a variant of the MMC:
[Clause]=*vaalaa* Copula
(29) [X V-*ne*]=*vaalaa* *honaa.*

This construction is formed by attaching the enclitic *=vaalaa* to an infinitive form of a verb. (The infinitive suffix *-naa* occurs in the oblique case form *V-ne.*) The enclitic *=vaalaa* is followed by the copula verb *honaa.* (The copula verb inflects for person and number in the present tense, and for gender and number in the past tense.)

An overall characterization of the MMC in Hindi is the following.

(a) The 'Noun' slot of the MMC is occupied not by a noun, but by an enclitic: *=vaalaa.* *=vaalaa* inflects for gender and number. (When used in the MMC, it does not inflect for case.)

(b) The predicate in the 'Clause' is in an infinitive form. It is not a finite form. In this respect, the MMC resembles the ACs described in 4.2.2.1 (participle) and 4.2.3.1 (infinitive).

(c) In the ACs described in 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.3.1, the subject is marked with the genitive postposition. In contrast, the subject of the *=vaalaa* construction is not marked with the genitive postposition. It is consistently in the direct case. (As Table 1 shows, the A is in the ergative case in the perfective aspect, and in the direct case, in the imperfective aspect; the S is consistently in the direct case. In the MMC, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in an infinitive form, and it cannot be in the perfective aspect. Concomitantly the subject (whether it is the A or the S) is consistently in the direct case.)

(d) The MMC indicates: (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning, to be precise, epistemic).

(e) The etymology of *=vaalaa* is said to be the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'.

Examples of 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning) include (3), (30), and (31). This use may provide an evidential meaning, as in (31).

(30) *baiTh-ie,* [*mãĩ* *aap=ko* *bulaa-ne*]=*vaalii*
sit-IMP.HON 1SG 2HON=ACC call-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.F
thii.
COP.PST.F.SG (Nirmal Verma, *Antim Aranya*)
'Sit down, please. I was about to call you.'

(31) [*paanii* *baras-ne=hii*]=*vaalaa* *hai.*
rain.M fall-INF.OBL=EMPH=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'It looks like it is just about to rain.' (Jagannāthan 1981: 321)

Examples of 'schedule, intention' (a modal meaning) include (4), and (32) to (35). According to previous studies (e.g., Platts (1878: 330), Montaut (2004: 112)), the =*vaalaa* construction concerns a situation in the proximate/near future. However, my own examination of relevant examples has revealed that this construction can also refer to a situation in the remote future provided that the situation is highly likely to occur, e.g., (34) and (35).

(32) *do* *tiin* *mahiine* *baad,* [*mãĩ* *yah* *kaam*
two three month.M.PL after 1SG this job.M
choR *de-ne*]=*vaalaa* *hũũ.*
quit give-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
'I intend to quit this job after two or three months.'
(Tsuchida 1985: 613)

(33) [*mãĩ* *tapaścaryaa=mẽ* *rat rah-ne* *aur* *uttam*
1SG ascetic.practice=in devote-INF.OBL and supreme
dharm=kaa *paalan* *kar-ne*]
religion/law=GEN.M.SG keeping.M.SG do-INF.OBL
=*vaalaa* *hũũ.*
=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
'I intend to devote myself to ascetic practices and keep the supreme law.'
(http://www.ganeshgaatha.com/ganesh_leela_detail.php?id=31 (5 Mar 2012))

(34) [*haridvaar=kaa* *aglaa* *kumbh* *2021=mẽ=hii*
Haridwar=GEN next *Kumbh* 2021=in=EMPH
ho-ne]=*vaalaa* *hai.*
be.held-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'The next *Kumbh* (a grand Hindu religious fair) at Haridwar is scheduled to be held in 2021.'
(http://in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/bihar/4_4_6436984_1.html (23 Sep 2011))

(35) [*ek* *kSudragrah* *epofis* *2029=mẽ* *pŕthvii=ke*
a asteroid apophis 2029=in earth=GEN
bahut *paas* *aa-ne*]=*vaalaa* *hai.*
very near come-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'An asteroid called Apophis is scheduled to come very close to earth in 2029.'
(http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,5261769,00.html (1 Aug 2011))

Examples of the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning: epistemic)

include (5) and the following.

(36) *hamẽ* *pataa* *thaa* *ki*
1PL.DAT information.M.SG exist.PST.M.SG CONJ
[*Tokyo=mẽek* *baRaa* *bhuukamp* *aa-ne*]
Tokyo=in a big earthquake.M.SG come-INF.OBL
=vaalaa *hai.*
=vaalaa.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'We knew that a big earthquake would certainly occur in Tokyo.'
(http://www.amarujala.com/vichaar/VichaarDetail.aspx?nid=897&tp=b&Secid=4&SubSecid=9 (5 Mar 2012))

As these examples indicate, the *=vaalaa* construction is used to describe situations that have high probability of occurring, but are not realized yet (or the situations that were not realized if the copula verb is in the past form, as in (30)).

The main difference between the prototype of the MMC (see Section 1) and the *=vaalaa* construction is the following. The 'Clause' of the prototype of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. In contrast, this is not the case with the 'Clause' of the *=vaalaa* construction; it cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The predicate of the 'Clause' is in an infinitive form of a verb. That is, it is not finite. Compare (37) (same as (3)) (an instance of the *=vaalaa* construction) and (38) (the 'Clause' of (37)).

(37) [*mãĩ* *yuunivarsiTii* *jaa-ne*]*=vaalaa*
1SG university.F.SG go-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
hũũ.
COP.PRS.1SG (McGregor 1995: 171)
LT: 'I am a person who goes to the university.'
FT (i): 'I am about to go to the university.'
FT (ii): 'I am on my way to the university.'

(38) **mãĩ* *yuunivarsiTii* *jaa-ne.*
1SG university go-INF.OBL
Intended meaning: 'I go to the university.'

5.1.4 Status of =vaalaa *as an enclitic*

Almost all of the previous studies (e.g., Shukla (2001: 97), Montaut (2004: 153), Kachru (2009: 413)) treat *=vaalaa* as a suffix. (Butt (1995: 72-74) identifies two types of *vaalaa*; a suffix *-vaalaa* and an enclitic *=vaalaa*.) In my view, however, it has a more independent status than suffixes and I regard it as an enclitic. The reasons for this are the following.

(a) *=vaalaa* inflects for gender, number, and case, like independent words. (Suffixes themselves do not inflect.)

(b) Diverse categories of words can be the host for *=vaalaa*: nouns (e.g., (24) and (27)), infinitives of verbs (e.g., (25), (26), and (30) to (37)), adverbs (e.g., (39)), adjectives (e.g., (40)), and demonstratives (e.g., (41-B)).

(39) *us=kii* *hameśaa=vaalii* *miiThii* *aavaaz*
3SG.OBL=GEN always=*vaalaa*.F sweet voice.F.SG
'her usual sweet voice' (Abhimanyu Anat, *Ek Ummid Aur*)

(40) *choTe=vaale* *kamre=mẽ*
small.M.SG.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG.OBL room.M.SG.OBL=in
Tiivii *hai.*
television.M.SG exist.PRS.3SG (Bhatt 2007: 210)
'The television is in the small room (not the big room).'

(41) A: *aap* *kaunsii* *saaRii* *lẽgii?*
2HON which.F sari.F.SG take.FUT.2HON.F
'Which sari will you take?'
B: *yah=vaalii.*
this=*vaalaa*.F.SG
'This one.' (Montaut 2004: 154)

(c) When *=vaalaa* is attached, the host is placed in its oblique form (if it is a noun or an infinitive of verbs, e.g., (24) to (27) and (30) to (37)). That is, *=vaalaa* governs the case of its host. (Suffixes do not govern the case of the preceding element.)

(d) According to Butt & King (2004: 173), "One classic test for clitic status is the interaction with coordinate structures. Inflectional affixes do not scope over a coordinate structure". In contrast, *=vaalaa* scopes over coordinate structures. In (33), two clauses are coordinated by the conjunction *aur* 'and'. *=vaalaa* is attached to the second infinitive (*karnaa* 'to do'), and the infinitive is in the oblique case form (*-ne*). Note that the first infinitive (*rat rahnaa* 'to devote'), too, is in the oblique case form. This indicates that *=vaalaa* scopes over this coordinate structure. Another example in which *=vaalaa* scopes over a coordinate structure is (25).

(e) The emphatic clitic *=hii* may be placed between the infinitive and *=vaalaa*, as in (31).

5.2 Related construction

The following sentences are examples of the 'related construction'.

(42) *rohit=kaa* *fiziks* *paRh-ne=kaa*
Rohit=GEN.M.SG physics study-INF.OBL=GEN.M.SG
iraadaa *hai.*
intention.M exist.PRS.3SG
LT: 'Rohit's intention to study physics exists.'
FT: 'Rohit intends to study physics.' (Kachru 1990: 65)

(43) *hemaa=par* *saaraa* *ghar* *samhaal-ne=kii*
Hema=on entire home manage-INF.OBL=GEN.F
zimmevaarii *hai.*
responsibility.F exist.PRS.3SG (Kachru 1990: 65)
LT: 'On Hema the responsibility of managing the entire house exists.'

FT: 'Hema has the responsibility of managing the entire house.'

(44) *raat* *so-ne=se* *pahle* *śibu=ko* *paan*
night sleep-INF.OBL=than before Shibu=DAT betel
khaa-ne=kii *aadat* *hai.*
eat-INF.OBL=GEN.F habit.F exist.PRS.3SG
LT: 'At night before sleeping, to Shibu a habit of chewing betel exists.'
FT: 'Shibu has a habit of chewing betel at night before sleeping.'
(Vikesh Nijhavani, *Bhukh*)

These sentences may look similar to the prototype of the MMC shown in Section 1. First, (cf. (a)), superficially, they may appear to have the structure of 'Clause + Noun + Copula'. Second (cf. (b)), in (42), for example, what may be considered the subject of the 'Clause' (i.e., 'Rohit') and the 'Noun' (i.e., intention') are not co-referential. Third, note also that the verb *honaa* may be used as the copula verb ('be'), e.g., (8) (and as the existential verb ('exist'), e.g., (10)).

However, these sentences differ from the prototype of the MMC in that what may appear to be the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence; the verb is in an infinitive form. For example, compare (42) and (45). (45) is not acceptable.

(45) **rohit=kaa* *fiziks* *paRh-ne.*
Rohit=GEN.M.SG physics study-INF.OBL
Intended meaning: 'Rohit studies physics.'

These sentences resemble the MMC with *=vaalaa* in that the predicate of the 'Clause' contains a verb in an infinitive form in the oblique case. However, they differ from the latter in the following respects. (i) The verb in an infinitive form in the oblique case is followed by *=vaalaa* in the MMC, but by the genitive case postposition in (42) to (44). (ii) What may be considered the subject is consistently in the direct case in the MMC, but it is in the genitive case in (42) (*rohit=kaa* 'Rohit=GEN.M.SG'), the locative case 'on' in (43) (*hemaa=par* 'Hema=on'), and the dative case in (44) (*śibu=ko* 'Shibu=DAT').

Hindi has no possessive verb corresponding to the English *have*, and predicative possession (X has/owns Y) is expressed periphrastically by a postposition and the existential verb *honaa*. (Recall that this verb can also be used as the copula verb.) Different postpositions are used for different possessees). In view of the above, examples such as (42) to (44) are best considered instances of existential/possessive expression. This is reflected in the English translations of these sentences.

6. Historical change

6.1 Etymology of =vaalaa

I have only limited information on the etymology of *=vaalaa*. Beams (1879: 238-239) and Kellogg (1893: 342) state that *=vaalaa* derives from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. (*Paalak(a)* is still used as a noun 'guardian, protector' and an adjective 'protecting, supporting' in Hindi. The word-final *a* is dropped by a regular phonological rule of Hindi.) They point out the correspondence between the Sanskrit *gopaalaka* 'cowherd' and the Hindi *gvaalaa* 'cowherd'. In a recent literature, Montaut (2004: 146, 153) gives the same etymology for *=vaalaa*. However, it should be noted that, to the best of my knowledge, no construction such as '[Clause] *paalaka* Copula' has been found in Sanskrit.

6.2. Grammaticalization of =vaalaa

In this section, I shall examine the grammaticalization of *=vaalaa*, assuming that its etymology proposed by Beams (1879), Kellogg (1893), and Montaut (2004) is correct.

[1] A noun (*paalaka* 'guardian, protector' in Sanskrit) changed to an enclitic (*=vaalaa* in Hindi).

[2] The meaning changed from 'lexical' to 'grammatical', namely, from 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes' to (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). Beams (1879: 240) states as follows: "this [i.e. *=vaalaa* construction — YI] is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes".

[3] The Sanskrit *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes' was used as an independent word or second member of a compound (e.g., *lokapaalaka* 'a world protector'). On the other hand, the Hindi *=vaalaa* is a dependent element, and in the *=vaalaa* construction, *=vaalaa* is used as a part of the predicate.

[4] Now, sentences involving *=vaalaa* (hereafter, *=vaalaa* sentences) are occasionally ambiguous and two (or more) readings are possible, e.g., (46) and (47).

(46) *laRkaa* *paRh-ne=vaalaa* *hai.*
boy.M.SG study-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
(i) 'The boy is studious type.'
(ii) 'The boy is about to start studying.' (Verma 1971: 104)

(47) *śer* *aadmii* *khaa-ne=vaalaa*
tigar.M.SG man.M eat-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
hai.
COP.PRS.3SG
(i) 'The tiger is man-eating type.'

(ii) 'The tiger is about to eat a man.' (Verma 1971: 104)

The two readings in each of (46) and (47) differ in the type of predication. When the sentence has the reading of (i), *=vaalaa* is used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases (5.1.2). Also, it is an instance of 'property predication', which describes a particular characteristic of a person or thing. When the sentence has the reading of (ii), it is a variant of MMC and an instance of 'event predication', which describes a specific event. The meaning of the sentence depends, for example, on the context or the presence of a certain type of adverb of time. (If the sentence includes 'today', as against 'always', it is interpreted as an instance of event predication.) (See Kageyama (2006) for a discussion of property predication and event predication.)

These two types of *=vaalaa* sentences have different syntactic structures; see Table 3.

Table 3. Two types of *=vaalaa* sentences

	Syntactic structure	Meaning
Property predication	[*X* [*V-ne=vaalaa*] *honaa*]	'X is the one that V' (property)
Event predication	[*X* [*V-ne=vaalaa honaa*]]	'X is about to V' (aspectual) 'X is due to V' (schedule) 'X intends to V' (intention) 'X will V' (speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/ non-occurrence of an event/ situation)

The difference between the two syntactic structures is illustrated by the position of a negation word in the sentence. Hindi has three negation words. A negation word generally comes immediately before the predicate verb. (48) is an instance of property predication, and the negation word *nahĩĩ* occurs before the copula verb. This shows that, in (48), *the* 'COP.PST.M.PL' is the predicate, and that (48) has the structure of 'Property predication' shown in Table 3. (49) and (50) are instances of event predication, and *nahĩĩ* 'NEG' comes before the verb phrase *V-ne=vaalaa honaa*. This shows (i) that the predicate is *kar-ne=vaalaa hũũ* 'do-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG' in (49), and *aa-ne=vaalaa hai* 'come-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG' in (50), and (ii) that, consequently, (49) and (50) have the structure of 'Event predication' shown in Table 3.

(48) *minisTar saahab cup ɓaiTh-ne=vaale*
minister HON silent sit-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.PL
nahĩĩ *the.*
NEG COP.PST.M.PL (Rahi Masoom Raza, *Neem ka Ped*)

'The minister was not a type of person to sit silent.'

(49) *lekin* *mãĩ* *koii* *taariix* *tay* ***nahĩĩ***
but 1SG certain date deciding NEG
kar-ne=vaalaa *hũũ.*
do-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
'But I am not going to set a precise [retirement] date now.'
(BBC060907_blair_party_leave (8 Sep 2006))

(50) *jab tak* *aap* *apnii* *soc=ko* *nahĩĩ*
by the time 2HON REFL.GEN thought=ACC NEG
badl-ẽge, *tab tak* *badlaav* ***nahĩĩ***
change-FUT.2HON.M by then change.M.SG NEG
aa-ne=vaalaa *hai.*
come-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'Unless you change your thoughts, change will not come.'
(ZEE111115 (16 Dec 2011))

The development of =*vaalaa* can be surmised in terms of grammaticalization as in Table 4.

Table 4. The development of =*vaalaa*

Stage I	Sanskrit noun *paalaka*	'guardian, protector'
Stage II	Hindi grammatical element =*vaalaa* (from lexical item to grammatical item)	used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases
Stage III	[*X* [*V-ne*=*vaalaa*] *honaa*]	property predication
Stage IV	[*X* [*V-ne*=*vaalaa honaa*]] (by reanalysis)	event predication

The change from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* to the Hindi enclitic =*vaalaa* is a typical case of grammaticalization in that an independent lexical item has become a dependent form and acquired grammatical functions (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003: xv). As already stated, =*vaalaa* sentences exhibit two types of predication: property predication and event predication. It can be speculated that the change from property predication to event predication is the result of reanalysis. In event predication, the concrete meaning of =*vaalaa*; 'the one who/which does/is…' has been lost (i.e., semantic bleaching), and syntactically, =*vaalaa* has become a part of the predicate.

7. Summary and concluding remarks

Hindi has a variant of the MMC in which the predicate of the 'Clause' is a

verb in an infinitive form and the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic *=vaalaa*, which is in turn followed by the copula verb. The meanings of this MMC are aspectual and modal. Etymologically, the enclitic *=vaalaa* may have been the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. If this etymology is correct, *=vaalaa* has undergone grammaticalization: (i) from a noun (an independent word) to an enclitic, and (ii) from a lexical meaning to grammatical meanings.

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Abbreviations

A - transitive subject; ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; AUX - auxiliary verb; CONJ - conjunction; COP - copula; COR - correlative; DAT - dative; EMPH - emphatic; ERG - ergative; F - feminine; FT - free translation; FUT - future; GEN - genitive; HON - honorific; IMP - imperative; IMPF - imperfective; INF - infinitive; INS - instrumental; LT - literal translation; M - masculine; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negative; O - object; OBL - oblique; PFV - perfective; PL - plural; PROG - progressive; PRS - present; PST - past; REFL - reflexive; REL - relative pronoun; S - intransitive subject; SG - singular; V - verb; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

Enclitics are preceded by the equal symbol, while affixes are indicated with a hyphen.

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Quasi-mermaid construction in Koryak

Megumi Kurebito
Universtiy of Toyama

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1. Introduction

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

(1) Protype of the MMC:

[Clause] Noun Copula

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Initial illustration

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

(3) *(ɣəcci) ecɣi va-jolqəl-eɣe ɣ-en'pici-te*
2SG.ABS today stay-JQ-2SG.S COM-father-COM
jaja-k.
house-LOC
'You (SG) should stay home with your father today.'

(4) *(əccu) awje-jolqəl-o awje-ja-k.*
3PL.ABS eat-JQ-3PL.S eat-house-LOC
'They should eat at the buffet'

(5) *(ɣəmnan) inʃe ʃajŋaw-jolqəl-Ø qajəkmiŋ-ə-n.*
1SG.ERG soon call-JQ-3SG.O boy-E-ABS.SG
'I should call the boy soon.'

(6) *Mitiw (ɣənan) ŋelvəlʃ-ə-ŋqo*
tomorrow 2SG.ERG reindeer.herd-E-ABL
jəle-jolqəl-Ø təm-jo-n.
bring-JQ-3SG.O kill-NMLZ-ABS.SG
'You should bring the killed [reindeer] from the herd tomorrow.'

3. Profile of the language

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

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

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

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

(7) *T'-ə-ktep-nalɣ-ə-t'-icʃ-ə-ŋ-ə-k-Ø.*
1SG.S/A-E-wild.sheep-skin-E-make-coat-E-make-E-1SG.S-PF
'I have made a coat with wild sheep skin.'

(8) *T'-ə-n'ke-qoja-nomakav-ə-k-Ø.*
1SG.S/A-E-midnight-reindeer-herd-E-1SG.S-PF
'I have herded the reindeer at midnight.'

(9) *K-ena-mal-ə-n-kemetʃ-ə-jp-an-ə-ŋ-Ø.*
IPF-1SG.O-well-E-CAUS-clothes-E-put.on-CAUS-E-IPF-3SG.S
'He/She is dressing me with clothes.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Non-future			Future
Perfect	Resultative	Aorist	
	ɣa-tawjiŋ-iɣəm	*t-ə-tawjiŋ-ə-k*	*t-ə-ja-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ*
Imperfect	*t-ə-ku-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ*		*t-ə-ja-tawjiŋ-eke*

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

Non-future			Future
Perfect	Resultative	Aorist	
	ɣa-pəŋlo-len-Ø	*t-ə-pəŋlo-n-Ø*	*t-ə-ja-pŋəlo-ŋ-ə-n*
Imperfect	*t-ə-ko-pŋəlo-ŋ*		*t-ə-ja-pŋəlo-jk-ə-n*

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

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

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

(a) Verb-predicate clauses/sentences

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

operates in the accusative pattern.

(10) *(ɣəmmo) t-ə-ku-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ.*
1SG.ABS 1SG.S/A-E-IPF-cough-E-IPF
'I am coughing.'

(11) *(ɣəmnan) vitku kalikal-Ø t-ekmit-ə-n-Ø.*
1SG.ERG just book-ABS.SG 1SG.S/A-buy-E-3SG.O-PF
'I have just bought the book.'

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

(12) *(ɣəmmo) en'pici-jɣəm.*
1SG.ABS father-1SG.S
'I am a father.'

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

(13) *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-jɣəm.*
PRP-E-big-E-1SG.TOP
'I am big.'

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

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

(14) *(ɣəmmo) ecɣi qəc-colqəl-eɣəm ŋelvəlʕ-etəŋ.*
1SG.ABS today go-JQ-1SG.S herd-ALL
'I should go to the herd today.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

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

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

Table3 Koryak relativization strategies and AH

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

+ acceptable; ? marginally acceptable; - unacceptable.

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

4.2.2 Participial strategy

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

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

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

(15) *qajəkmiŋ-ə-n,* *[ʕamin* *ecɣi* *jaja-k*
boy-E-ABS.SG INTRJ today house-LOC
ujicv-ə-lʕ-ə-n *ɣa-caket-a]*
play-E-LH-E-3SG.S COM-sister-COM
'the boy who is playing with his sister at home today'

(16) *kalikal,* *[ʕamin* *ajɣəve* *qajəkmiŋ-a*
book (ABS.SG) INTRJ yesterday boy-INS(ERG)
jəlŋ-ə-lʕ-ə-n]
read-E-LH-E-3SG.O
'the book that the boy read yesterday'

(17) *qajəkmiŋ-ə-n,* *[ʕamin* *mitiw*
boy-E-ABS.SG INTRJ tomorrow
lajv-ə-jolqəl-Ø *tənop-etəŋ]*
go-E-JQ-3SG.S hill-ALL
'the boy who is supposed to walk to the hill tomorrow'

(18) *kalikal,* *[ʕamin* *mitiw* *ɣəmnan*
book(ABS.SG) INTRJ tomorrow 1SG.ERG
akmec-colqəl-Ø]
buy-JQ-3SG.O
'the book which I am supposed to buy tomorrow'

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

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

4.2.3 Finite subordinate strategy

The verb in ACs is in a finite form.

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

(19) *wejem-Ø,* *[**miŋki*** *ʕamin* *ajɣəve* *ɣəcci*
river-ABS.SG where INTRJ yesterday 2SG.ABS
k-eje ʕo-ŋ-Ø]
IPF-fish-IPF-2SG.S
'the river where you fished yesterday.'

(20) *wejem-Ø,* *[ʕamin* ***meŋqo*** *ano-k*
river-ABS.SG INTRJ from.where spring-LOC
ŋellə-Ø *mət-ajtala-n-Ø]*
reindeer.herd-ABS.SG 1PL.S/A-drive-3SG.O-PF
'the river from where we drove the reindeer herd in spring'

(21) *ŋanen ɣivi-k,* *[**tite*** *Kol'a-Ø*
that year-LOC when Kol'a-ABS.SG
ɣe-pl'ətko-lin *kalicit-ə-k]*
RES-finish-RES+3SG.S learn-E-INF
'in the year when Kol'a finished learning [at school]'

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

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

5. Nominalizing suffix JQ

5.1 Introductory notes

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

5.2 JQ-words for arguments

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

[1] Meaning and formation of JQ-words

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

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

(23) a. *va-jolqəl-Ø*
stay-JQ-ABS.SG
'a person who is/was supposed to stay'
b. *va-jolqəl-te*
stay-JQ-ABS.DU
'two persons who are/were supposed to stay'
c. *va-jolqəl-o*
stay-JQ-ABS.PL
'(more than two) persons who are/were supposed to stay'

(24) a. *tejk-ə-jolqəl-Ø*
make-E-JQ-ABS.SG
'a thing which [someone] is/was supposed to make'
b. *tejk-ə-jolqəl-te*
make-E-JQ-ABS.DU
'(two) things which [someone] is/was supposed to make'
c. *tejk-ə-jolqəl-o*
make-E-JQ-ABS.PL
'(more than two) things which [someone] is/was supposed to make'

[2] Case of JQ-words

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

(25) *Taŋataw-jolqəl-Ø* *ecɣi* *ku-jəlqet-ə-ŋ-Ø.*
get.dressed-JQ-ABS.SG now IPF-sleep-E-IPF-3SG.S
'The one who is supposed to dress himself is still sleeping.'

(26) *ɣəmnan* *təne-jolqəl-Ø* *t-ə-ntəmŋev-ə-n-Ø.*
1SG.ERG sew-JQ-ABS.SG 1SG.S/A-E-lose-E-3SG.O-PF
'I lost the one which I was supposed to sew.'

(27) *Jeŋa-jolqəl-ə-k* *mitiw* *ɣe-minnine-te.*
fly-JQ-E-LOC tomorrow IMPR-join-IMPR
'Join the one who is supposed to fly tomorrow.'

(28) **Jeŋa-jolqəl-a* *na-k-enajej-ɣe*
fly-JQ-INS(ERG) INV-IPF-look.for-2SG.O
'The one who is supposed to fly is looking for you.'

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

Consider:

(29) *ɣəm-nin-Ø/* ɣəmnan ʕajŋaw-jolqəl-Ø*
1SG-GEN-ABS.SG/*1SG.ERG call-JQ-ABS.SG
miŋkəje amu ɣe-lq-ə-lin.
where probably RES-leave-E-RES+3SG.S
'The one whom I was supposed to call has probably gone somewhere.'

(*miŋkəje amu* 'where probably' means 'somewhere'.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

First, the JQ-word functions as an argument.

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

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

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

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

(32) *Magadan-etəŋ jeŋa-jolqəl-Ø jeppə ko-tva-ŋ-Ø*
Magadan-ALL fly-JQ-ABS.SG yet IPF-be-IPF-3SG.S
ŋelvəlʔ-ə-k.
reindeer.herd-E-LOC
'The one who is supposed to fly to Magadan is still in the reindeer herd.'

(33) **Mitiw va-jolqəl-Ø jaja-k ecɣi*
tomorrow be-JQ-ABS.SG house-LOC now
ʔeqev-i-Ø ŋelvəlʔ-ə-k.
leave-PF-3SG.S reindeer.herd-E-LOC
'The one who is supposed to stay home tomorrow has left for the reindeer herd.'

5.3 JQ-words for adnominal clauses

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

[1] Meaning of JQ-words

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

[2] Case of JQ-words

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

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

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

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

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

(35) *ǝccaj-Ø,* *[ʕamin ecɣi jaja-k*
aunt-ABS.SG INTRJ today house-LOC
ŋajqǝtva-jolqǝl-Ø]
clean-JQ-ABS.SG
'the aunt who is supposed to clean at home today'

(36) *kalikal,* *[ʕamin yǝmnan mitiw*
book(ABS.SG) INTRJ 1SG.ERG tomorrow
akmec-colqǝl-Ø]
buy-JQ-ABS.SG
'the book that I should (or, intend to) buy tomorrow'

(37) *wala-Ø,* *[ʕamin mitiw ʕojacek-a*
knife-ABS.SG INTRJ tomorrow young.man-INS(ERG)
java-jolqǝl-Ø qoja-nm-at-ǝ-k],
use-JQ-ABS.SG reindeer-kill-AP-E-CONV
qiŋǝn ɣa-ntǝmŋaw-len-Ø en'pici-te.
likely RES-lose-RES+3SG.S/A-3SG.O father-INS(ERG)
'Father is likely to have lost the knife which the man [i.e. herder] should use tomorrow when he kills reindeer'

5.4 JQ-words for the QMMC

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

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

Main characteristics of the QMMC in Koryak are the following.

(a) The 'Noun' slot is occupied by the nominalizing suffix JQ, and not by an independent noun. (At this stage of investigation, it is not known if there is any other nominalizing suffix that can be used in the QMMC.)

(b) The 'Copula' is absent.

(c) The JQ suffix is followed by a person-plus-number marker, which agrees with the S or the O (Table 4).

(d) JQ-words used as the predicate of the QMMC do not take any case marking. This is despite the fact that both *-jo* and *-lqǝl* are

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1SG.S	*va-jo-lqəl-iɣəm*	'I should stay (should have stayed).'
1DU.S	*va-jo-lqəl-muji*	'We (DU) should stay(should have stayed).'
1PL.S	*va-jo-lqəl-muju*	'We should stay (should have stayed).'
2SG.S	*va-jo-lqəl-iɣi*	'You (SG) should stay (should have stayed).'
2DU.S	*va-jo-lqəl-tuji*	'You (DU) should stay (should have stayed).'
2PL.S	*va-jo-lqəl -muju*	'You (PL) should stay (should have stayed).'
3SG.S	*va-jo-lqəl-Ø*'	'He should stay (should have stayed).
3DU.S	*va-jo-lqəl-te*	'They (DU) should stay (should have stayed).'
3PL.S	*va-jo-lqəl-o*	'They (PL) should stay (should have stayed).'

(39) *Ekilu mitiw je-muqe-juʃ-ə-ŋ-Ø to*
if tomorrow FUT-rain-ICH-E-FUT-3SG.S and
ənno jaja-k va-jolqəl-Ø.
3SG.ABS house-LOC stay-JQ-3SG.S
'If it starts raining tomorrow, then he should stay home.'

(40) *ɣəmmo ecɣi qəc-colqəl-eɣəm ŋelvəlʃ-etəŋ.*
1SG.ABS today go-JQ-1SG.S herd-ALL
'I should go to the herd today.'

5.5 Comparison of the three uses of JQ-words

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. Summary and concluding remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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Abbreviations

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

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Mermaid construction in Ainu

Anna Bugaeva
National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

1. Introduction

The present chapter presents a very brief summary of the mermaid construction ('MMC') of Ainu. (To be precise, it deals with the dialects of Saru and Chitose of Southern Hokkaido.) Ainu has the SOV order. Arguments in Ainu (either nouns or pronouns) are not marked for case. Grammatical relations are distinguished by (i) the relative position of A and O in the clause, and also (ii) obligatory verbal cross-referencing, which employs mainly proclitics, with the exception of two enclitics. The third person is zero.

Ainu has mixed alignment. Pronouns, though usually omitted, show neutral alignment: A=S=O. In contrast, there are distinct verbal cross-referencing markers, i.e. tripartite alignment, for A, S and O — at least in '1PL.EXC' and 'IND'. The indefinite form ('IND') has three functions: (i) the indefinite person proper, (ii) the first person plural inclusive ('1PL.INC'), (iii) the second person singular/plural honorific, and (iv) logophoric or the so-called person of the protagonist which is very common in folktales.[1] There are also elements of the nominative-accusative (1SG.S) and neutral alignment (2nd and 3rd persons) in the verbal cross-referencing.

Adjuncts are followed by postpositions. All modifiers are prepositive. There is no separate word class of adjectives. The concepts that may be expressed by adjectives in some other languages are expressed by intransitive verbs in Ainu.

Common nouns in Ainu may take 'conceptual' forms, which are free and unmarked, and 'possessive' forms, which are bound and derived from 'conceptual' forms with an allomorphic possessive suffix (-POSS). Possessive forms of nouns can be marked for the person and number of the possessor by one of pronominal prefixes of the **A** (= transitive subject) series: *sik* 'an eye' – *sik-ihi* (eye-POSS) 'the eye of; his/her eye' – ***ku***=*sik-ihi* (1SG.A=eye-POSS) '**my** eye'. Not all common nouns have possessive forms in Southern Hokkaido Ainu (see Tamura (2001 (1964, 1966))), unlike those of Sakhalin Ainu (Murasaki 1979).

[1] Folktales in Ainu have the structure of reported discourse with the whole story being a quote. Most examples in this summary are from folktales, hence a high frequency in the use of the indefinite person. For convenience, the indefinite form with the logophoric function is translated as 'I', although it is glossed as 'IND'.

2. Nouns

The following ten nouns can occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. They can be classified into the following types: (i) evidential, (ii) modal, and (iii) aspectual. Where possible, the meanings that these nouns have when used outside the MMC, are shown too.

(i) Evidential:
1. ***ru-w-e*** (trace/footprint-EP-POSS) 'the trace of' – inferential, also used as a modality marker of certainty
2. ***haw-e*** (voice-POSS) 'the voice of' – reportative
3. ***sir-i*** (sight-POSS) 'the sight of' – visual
4. ***hum-i*** (sound-POSS) 'the sound of' – non-visual sensory

(ii) Modal:
5. ***kus-u*** (reason-POSS) 'the reason of'– intentional
6. ***kun-i-p*** (obligation?-POSS- thing/person) 'should' – deontic
7. ***pe/p*** 'thing/person' – assertive/pragmatic imperative
8. ***kat-u*** (shape-POSS) 'the shape/manner of' – assertive
9. ***hi*** 'place/time/thing' – assertive

(iii) Aspectual:
10. ***us-ke*** (place-POSS) 'the place of' – progressive

Most of these nouns are independent words which can be used as common nouns in their lexical meanings outside the MMC, as shown above, and even when used within the MMC they retain such an important nominal property as the possessive marking.

Some nouns, i.e. ***pe*** 'thing/person, ***hi*** 'place/time/thing', and ***us-ke*** (place-POSS) 'the place of', belong to a small class of bound nouns which are peculiar in that they cannot occur on their own and must be modified by a determiner, noun or adnominal clause, e.g. *tan pe* 'this thing/this person (pejorative)', but not **pe* 'a thing/person'. Most bound nouns do not take possessive suffixes, and some can employ a different possessive suffix, namely ***-ke*** (< 'place'). Outside the MMC, the bound nouns can be used as derivational nominalizing suffixes in lexical nominalizations and as subordinating conjunctions.

And finally, there is the deontic noun ***kun-i-p*** (obligation?-POSS-thing/person) which is most strongly grammaticalized and is not used outside the MMC. It consists of two nouns but the original meaning of the first is no longer transparent.

3. Examples of the mermaid construction

In declarative MMCs, the nouns in the 'Noun' slot are preceded by a clause and followed by the equative copula *ne* 'be(come) sth/sb', so this construction is traditionally viewed as biclausal. See, for example, the description of evidentials in (Tamura 2000: 227): "The expressive

nominalizers *ruwe* eEVD, *hawe* eSAID, *siri* eSEEN, and *humi* eFELT can be placed after sentences that end with verb phrases, where they **nominalize** the sentence, and the copula *ne* is placed afterwards to complete the phrase" and "external **relative clause** analysis" in Okuda (1989) and Satoo (2008: 175) (emphasis by Anna Bugaeva).

Here, I suggest a minor clarification: at least originally, the MMC consisted of a **copula complement clause**: **[[Clause]$_{NP}$ Noun-POSS]$_{NP}$ COP**, in which the **copula** should be analyzed as the matrix clause predicate, the Noun as the **copula complement** (the copula subject is left unexpressed, since it is a dummy), and the clause preceding the Noun as a **nominal complement clause** functioning as modifier of the Noun.

However, in the course of time, the nouns in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC constructions became considerably grammaticalized and the biclausal construction in question is in the process of turning into a **monoclausal complex-predicate construction** in which the erstwhile Noun and Copula function as a new Noun+Copula auxiliary verb. In fact, the auxiliary analysis is implicitly taken in Kindaichi (1993 (1931): 326-336) and M. Chiri (1974 [1936]: 132–133, 155–157), see their use of the term *joshi* 'auxiliary particle' and hyphen in ***ruwe/hawe/siri/humi-ne***, which is suggestive of such analysis. In the present summary, I will try to show that the truth is intermediate between Tamura's biclausal nominalized clause (or my nominal complement clause) analysis and Kindaichi's and Chiri's monoclausal analysis. In fact, in most cases, the reanalysis of 'Nouns' as auxiliaries is still incomplete, which is one of major reasons to distinguish the MMC in Ainu. For convenience, in examples below, the adnominal part ('Clause') is put in brackets; it does not necessarily imply embedding. In free translations, the part corresponding to the 'Noun' is underlined and, in literal translations, it is bold-faced.

(1) [*tane aynu kotan hanke*] ***ru-w-e*** ***ne***
already Ainu village be.close trace-EV-POSS COP
'I infer that an Ainu village is already nearby.' – inferential evidential
Lit. 'It is the **trace** (that) Ainu village is already close.' (AB 254)

(2) [*pirka uepeker ne*] ***haw-e*** ***ne*** *wa.*
be.good folktale COP voice-POSS COP FIN
'It is said to be/based on what you said I assume that it is a good folktale.' (N 54) – reportative evidential
Lit. 'It is the **voice** (that) the folktale is good.'

(3) [*a=kor húci a=kor ekasi*
IND.A=have grandmother IND.A=have grandfather
a=imekkar] ***sir-i*** ***ne.***
IND.A=give.presents.to sight-POSS COP
'Grandmother, grandfather, look, this is for you.' (K7803231UP.219) – visual evidential
Lit. 'It is the **sight** (that) I am giving presents to my grandmother and grandfather.'

(4) [*atuyesatsaci* *ta* *ray=an*] ***hum-i*** ***ne...***
shallow.stream LOC die.SG=IND.S sound-POSS COP
'I felt (that) I was going to die in the shallow stream.' (N 11) – non-visual sensory evidential
Lit. 'It was the **feeling** (that) I was going to die in the shallow stream.'

(5) [*a=uk* *wa* *a=e*] ***kus-u*** ***ne***
IND.A=take.SG and IND.A=eat reason-POSS COP
'(If you offer some hard wine lees), I will accept that and eat.' (K7807151KY.180) – intentional modal
Lit. 'It is the **reason/intention** (that) I will accept that and eat.'

(6) [*eci=ki*] ***kun-i-p*** ***ne*** *na.*
2PL.A=do obligation?-POSS-thing/person COP FIN
'You should do (this).' (KK 341) – deontic modal
Lit. 'It is the **obligation** (?) (that) you (will) do this.'

(7)a. [*nupuri* *kes* *un* *puri* *wen*
mountain end attach.to habit be.bad
kur *a=ne*] ***p*** ***ne*** *kusu,*
person IND.A=COP thing/person COP because
'Because I am surely the demon from the end of the mountains...' (K8106233UP.134) – assertive modal
Lit. 'It is the **thing/fact** (that) I am a person (who) belongs to the end of the mountains.'

b. [*isepo* *ka* *cironnup* *ka* *tap* *neno* *tap*
rabbit even/also fox even/also this as this
neno *a=hopun-pa-re*] ***p*** ***ne*** *na.*
as IND.A=rise-PL-CAUS thing/person COP FIN
'Send (to the heaven) rabbits and foxes in the same way (as bears and deer).' (K7708242UP.064) – pragmatic imperative reading
Lit. 'It is the **thing/fact** (that) rabbits and foxes are sent in the same way (as bears and deer).'

(8) [*a=kar* *ayne* *aynu* *u-w-as-te*]
IND.A=make finally human REC-EP-stand.SG-CAUS
kat-u ***ne***
shape/reason-POSS COP
'(The gods) made (this and that), so finally humans reproduced (and became so numerous).' (T3 36) – assertive modal
Lit. 'It is the **shape** (that) humans grew in number.'

(9) [*kamuy* *renkayne* *e=pa* *wa* *e=siknu-re*]
gods thanks 2SG.A=find and 2SG.A=be.alive-CAUS
hi ***ne*** *aan.*
place/time/thing COP ADM
'You must have found (that girl) with the help of the gods and revived her!' (K8106233UP.156) – assertive modal
Lit. 'It is the **thing** (that) you found (that girl) with the help of gods and revived her.'

(10) [*tane* *ipe=an*] ***us-ke*** ***ne***
already eat=IND.S place-POSS COP
'I'm eating right now.' (KS #1849) – progressive aspect
Lit. 'It is the **place** (that) I am eating now.'

In (10), the MMC contains a noun with the meaning of 'place' and the entire sentence has the meaning of progressive. A parallel phenomenon is observed with the MMC in Japanese when it contains the noun *tokoro* 'place'. See Tsunoda (this volume-b: (2) in Section 2).

4. 'Nouns' or 'Noun+COP auxiliary verbs'?

In the MMC of Ainu, different nouns show different degrees of grammaticalization into Noun+COP auxiliary verbs, which should be investigated in detail in the future.

To my current state of knowledge, evidentials (type (i) in §2) seem to be less grammaticalized than aspectual and modal 'Nouns'. They show the following nominal properties. Namely, they:

(a) prosodically, in declarative sentences, take a standard 'modifier+noun' pattern in which the noun loses its accent while the main clause predicate (COP) retains its accent, i.e. Noun and COP do not constitute one phonological unit (Osami Okuda, p.c.);
(b) retain possessive suffixes with an associative anaphoric function providing reference to a larger situation encoded in the clausal nominalization;
(c) may be followed by nominal restrictive particles, e.g. ***ka*** 'even/also' and focus particle ***he***;
(d) formally function as arguments of the main clause predicates, i.e. complements of the equative copula ***ne*** in declarative sentences, subjects of the locative copula ***an*** in content question and exclamation clauses etc.;
(e) allow for some variability of the main clause predicate, i.e. not only the equative copula ***ne*** 'be(come) sth/sb', but also verbs ***an*** 'exist.SG', ***isam*** 'not exist', and ***as*** 'stand.SG' have been attested in this position, and;
(f) may fall under a separate scope of negation, modality, and aspect.

Nevertheless, even evidentials are considerably grammaticalized, for they:

(g) do not allow for other modifiers (demonstratives, determiners) in addition to the nominal complement clause, which distinguishes them from non-grammaticalized nouns in a position of the head of a relative clause, and;
(h) can be used with any subject of the modifying clause, and most importantly, in equative clauses, as in (1), where subjects are clearly not identical with the evidential noun in question, which shows that they

have ceased to subcategorize for a specific semantic category, and thus have become semantically "empty" (Heiko Narrog, p.c.).

Generally, among the ten nouns employed in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, ***ru-w-e ne*** (trace-EP-POSS COP) with the epistemic meaning extension of certainty (not as inferential evidential proper), intentional ***kus-u ne*** lit. (reason-POSS COP), deontic ***kuni-p ne*** (obligation?-thing/person-COP), and assertive/pragmatic imperative ***pe ne*** (thing/person COP) are more advanced in grammaticalization into Noun+COP auxiliary verbs than the other nouns. These 'Nouns' are much more semantically bleached and allow the greatest syntactic combinability with modal, aspectual and evidential markers, which can also be encoded with other 'Nouns' and thus the construction can turn into a double MMC, e.g. (11)-(13), and even a triple MMC, e.g. (14).

(11) [[*i-tura=an*] ***kus-u*** ***ne***] ***haw-e*** ***ne***
APASS-follow=IND.S reason-POSS COP voice-POSS COP
'It is said that we shall go together.' (N 282)
Lit. 'It is the **voice** (that) it is the **reason/intention** (that) we go together.'

(12) [[*e=ray-ke*] ***ru-w-e*** ***ne***] ***kus-u*** ***ne*** *yakun*
2SG.A=die-CAUS trace-EV-POSS COP reason-POSS COP if
'If he is going to kill you anyway…' (KI 206)
Lit. 'If it is the **reason/intention** (that) it is **trace** (that) he (will) kill you.'

The context for (13) is as follows: A few years ago a hero fought a sword battle against a man from another village. Later he was told that the man was his cousin and then he finally realized why the man had been such a brave warrior.

(13) [*a=irwak-ihi* *ne*] ***haw-e*** ***ne*** *wa* *kusu*
IND.A=sibling-POSS COP voice-POSS COP and because
rametok-kor] ***sir-i*** ***ne*** *anan* ***ru-w-e*** ***ne***
bravery-have sight-POSS COP ADM trace-EP-POSS COP
'(Now, I realize that) he had looked so undoubtedly brave because it was said that he was my cousin!' (N2 303)
Lit. '(Now, I realize that) it had been the **trace** (that) it had been the **sight** (that) he had been so brave because it was the **voice** (that) he was my cousin!'

Note that (13) contains three evidential nouns in one sentence: one in the first clause and two in the second.

(14) [[[*a=ekas-i* *i=resu* ***hi*** ***ne***]
IND.A=grandfather-POSS IND.O=raise place/time/thing COP

haw-e ***an***] ***ru-w-e***] ***ne***
voice-POSS exist.SG trace-EP-POSS COP
'("You must say, "This and this happened, and) it is surely said that, in fact, grandfather raised me," (said grandfather.)' (K7807151UP.051)
Lit. '("You must say, "This and this happened, and) it is the **trace** (that) [=surely] it is the **voice** (that) it is the **thing/fact** (that) grandfather raised me," (said grandfather.)'

No noun in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC seem to allow the clefting of the subject/object, which indicates that the erstwhile copula complement clause has not been completely reanalyzed as the main clause and the erstwhile 'Noun' as the auxiliary verb.

Similar MMC developments are found in Japanese (Takahashi 1979, Tsunoda 1996, this volume-a, 5.4) and a few Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 2011: 243), and it would be interesting to find out to what extent 'Noun COP' > Noun+COP auxiliary verb grammaticalization path is common crosslingistically and to what extent the target has been reached in particular languages, and also what are the other possible scenarios attested in the world's languages.

Abbreviations

= = inflectional boundary in the morphemic line, - = derivational boundary in the morphemic line, A = transitive subject, ADM = admirative, APASS = antipassive, CAUS = causative, COP = copula, EP = epenthetic consonant, FIN = final particle, IND = indefinite, KY = *kamuy yukar* 'songs of gods', LOC = locative, O = object, PERF = perfect, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, REC = reciprocal, REFL = reflexive, S = intransitive subject, sb = somebody, sth = something, SG = singular, UP = *uwepeker* 'prosaic folktales'.

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Mermaid construction in Mandarin Chinese

Hideki Ono
The University of Tokyo

1. Introduction

The present chapter presents a very brief summary of the mermaid construction ('MMC') of Mandarin Chinese. This language has the SVO order, unlike most of the languages reported in the present volume. Nonetheless, it has what may be considered a variant of the MMC.

2. Nouns

The following nouns can occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

yàngzi 'appearance, expressions', *yuángù* 'reason, circumstance', *píqi* 'nature, character', *déxing* 'bad attitude', *jiàshi* 'posture, arrogance'

All of these nouns are independent words. But when they occur in the MMC, they are generally grammaticalized and have an evidential meaning, a modal meaning or the like.

The MMC of Mandarin Chinese has the structure shown in (1) or that shown in (2).

(1) Subject + Copula + Clause + Noun.
(2) Subject (Clause-1) + Copula + Clause-2 + Noun.

In the structure shown in (1), the 'Clause' does not have its own subject. That is, it is possible to say that the subject of the 'Clause' is separated by the 'Copula' from the other constituents of the 'Clause'. Examples include (3), and (5) to (7). In the structure presented in (2), the first clause (i.e. Clause-1) is the subject of the entire sentence. Examples include (4).

3. Examples of the mermaid construction

One example of each noun that can occur in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC is given below. As these examples show, the MMC of Mandarin Chinese may express evidentiality ('X seems/looks ...'), e.g. (3), reason ('This is because ...'), e.g. (4), a person's nature, personality, propensity ('X has been ..'), e.g. (5), (6), and a person's attitude, e.g. (7).

(3) *Dàjiā* *dōu* *shì* *sōng-le* *yì* *kǒu* *qì*
everyone all COP relax-ASP one CL breath
Subject Copula Clause (continued)
de *yàngzi.*
PART appearance
Clause Noun
LT: 'Everyone was an appearance such that [they] were relieved.'
FT: 'Everyone seemed to be relieved/looked relieved.'

(4) *Féng* *Qìng* *cóng* *xiǎo* *biàn* *zhǎng-de*
Feng Qing from young already grow-PART
Subject (Clause-1) (continued)
xìgāo *jīngshòu,*
tall.and.slender thin
Subject (Clause-1)
dàgài *shì* *chī* *fàn*
probably COP eat meal
Copula Clause-2 (continued)
shǐzhōng *méi* *yǒu* *wèikǒu* *de* *yuángù.*
throughout NEG have appetite PART reason
Clause-2 Noun
LT: 'That Feng Qing has been tall, thin and pretty skinny since he was a child is probably a reason such that [he] has never had a [good] appetite.
FT: 'Feng Qing has been tall, thin and pretty skinny since he was a child, and this is probably because he has never had a [good] appetite.'

(5) *Tā* *cóng* *xiǎo* *jiù* *shì* *yí* *fù*
3SG from young already COP one CL
Subject Copula Clause (continued)
tiān *bú* *pà* *dì* *bú* *pà* *de*
heaven NEG fear earth NEG fear PART
Clause
píqi.
nature
Noun
LT: 'He is a nature such that [he] has not feared the heaven or the earth since he was a child.'
FT: 'He has been afraid of nothing since he was a child.'

(6) *Tā* *cóng* *xiǎo* *jiù* *shì* *yí* *fù*
3SG from young already COP one CL
Subject Copula Clause (continued)
lǎolao *bù* *qīn* *jiùjiu* *bú* *ài* *de*
grandmother NEG kiss uncle NEG love PART
Clause

déxing.
bad.attitude
Noun
LT: 'He is a bad attitude such that [his] grandmother did not kiss [him] and [his] uncle did not love [him] since [he] was a child.'
FT: 'He has been disliked by others since he was a child.'

(7)

Tā	*xiànzài*	*wánquán*	*shì*	*yí*	*fù*	*yào*
3SG	now	completely	COP	one	CL	will
Subject			Copula	Clause (continued)		

bǎ	*huángdì*	*lā-xià*	*mǎ*	*de*
CAUS	emperor	pull-down	horse	PART
Clause				

jiàshi.
arrogant.manner
LT: 'He is now completely an arrogant manner such that [he] will make the emperor pull down horses.'
FT: 'Now, he is now totally arrogant enough to attempt to topple the emperor.'

Adnominal clauses, i.e. clauses that modify nouns, in Mandarin Chinese end with the particle *de*, and in this respect the 'Clause' of the MMC resembles adnominal clauses. This fact is reflected in the literal translations ('LT') given above.

Abbreviations

ASP - aspect marker; CAUS - causative; CL - classifier; COP - copula: FT - free translation; LT - literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negation; PART - particle; SG - singular; 3 - third person.

Mermaid construction in Sive

Tomoyuki KUBO and Norikazu KOGURA
Kyushu University

1. Introduction

The present chapter presents a very brief summary of the mermaid construction ('MMC') of Sive. Details are provided by Kogura and Kubo (2012) and Kubo et al. (2011).

Sive is an endangered language spoken in the Xin-jiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the Peoples' Republic of China. The number of its speakers is estimated to be not more than 30,000, many of whom are multi-lingual between Sive, Chinese, Uyghur, and, in some cases, Kazakh as well. Sive has the SOV order, like most of the languages reported in the present volume.

2. Nouns

At least two forms are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the Sive MMC: *aliŋe* 'like' and *=ŋe* 'nominalizer'. While *aliŋe* is an independent word, *=ŋe* is an enclitic. Both are grammaticalized to some extent. Nonetheless, they do exhibit their status as nouns, as shown below.

[1] *aliŋe* 'like'

This form is an independent word. It appears in the following two contexts.

(a) Context 1: NP=*i aliŋe* 'like X'

=i is the genitive marker. The fact that *aliŋe* can be modified by a genitive-marked NP shows that *aliŋe* is a noun. An example is (1).

(1) moN=i **aliŋe** guruN
1PL.EXCL=GEN like people
'the people like us (exclusive)'

(b) Context 2: V-AD *aliŋe* 'It seems that …'

'V-AD' indicates an adnominal form of a verb. The fact that *aliŋe* can be modified by an adnominal form of a verb also shows that *aliŋe* is a noun. The use (b) of *aliŋe* 'like' provides an instance of the MMC. An example is (4).

[2] *=ŋe* 'nominalizer'

This form is an enclitic. It appears in the following two contexts.

(a) Context 1: NP=*i*=*ŋe* 'NP's'

=i is the genitive marker. The fact that *=ŋe* can be modified by a genitive-marked NP shows that *=ŋe* functions as a noun. An example is (2).

(2) ere emkeN miN=i=**ŋe**.
this one 1SG=GEN=NMLZ
'This one is mine.'

Sive does not have a copula verb.

(b) Context 2: V-AD=*ŋe*

'V-AD' indicates an adnominal form of a verb. The fact that =*ŋe* can be modified by an adnominal form of a verb also shows that =*ŋe* functions as a noun. 'V-AD=*ŋe*' can be used in a complement clause, with =*ŋe* being followed by an appropriate case marker, e.g. =*we* 'ACC' in (3).

(3) tere si ere ani χase'ke gisuN=we
3SG 2SG this year Kazakh language=ACC
taci-Xe=**ŋe**=we sa=qu.
study-PRF.AD=NMLZ=ACC know=IRR.NEG
'He doesn't know that you studied the Kazakh language this year.'

V-AD=*ŋe* can also be used to form the MMC. Examples are (5-B) and (6-A, B).

3. Examples of the mermaid construction

As noted in connection with (2), Sive does not have a copula verb. Consequently, the Sive MMC does not contain a copula.

[1] The MMC involving *aliŋe* 'like' indicates inference ('It seems that ...'), i.e., it has an evidential meaning.

(4) merxenje da ji-xe **aliŋe**. kicebu da
Merxenje come-PRF.AD like Kicebu
ji-xe aqu **aliŋe**.
come-PRF.AD NEG like
'It seems that Merxenje came. [But] it seems that Kicebu didn't come.'

(The particle *da* frequently appears after the subject NP.)

[2] The MMC involving =*ŋe* appears to have discourse-related functions. They are difficult to describe precisely, but one of the functions appears to be 'assertive' (a kind of modal meaning), in which case the MMC may be translated as 'It is indeed the case that ...'. Examples follow.

(5) (A conversation between A and B)
A: si zuŋ#go nane na?
2SG China person yes/no.Q
'Are you a Chinese?'
B: waqe. bi zibeN=deri' ji-xe=**ŋe**.
not 1SG Japan=ABL come-PRF.AD=NMLZ

'No. I came from Japan.'

(5-B) indicates a correction of the proposition that 'you are a Chinese'. It may be translated as 'It is indeed the case that I came from Japan (so, I am not a Chinese)'.

(6) (A conversation between A and B)
A: si ai are-maχe=ŋe?
2SG what do-PROG.AD=NMLZ
'What are you doing?'
B: bitke' ta-maχe=ŋe.
book read-PROG.AD=NMLZ
'I'm reading a book.'

Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; ACC - accusative; AD - adnominal; EXCL - exclusive; GEN - genitive; IRR - irrealis; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negation; NMLZ - nominalizer; PROG - progressive; PL - plural; PRF - perfect; Q - question; SG - singular; 1 -first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person.

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edited by Tasaku Tsunoda

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