国立国語研究所学術情報リポジトリ

Mermaid construction in Old and Early Middle Japanese

メタデータ	言語: English
	出版者:
	公開日: 2020-03-18
	キーワード (Ja):
	キーワード (En):
	作成者: MIYACHI, Asako
	メールアドレス:
	所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15084/00002663

Mermaid construction in Old and Early Middle Japanese

Asako Miyachi
University of Nagoya

1. Introduction
2. Initial illustration
3. Profile of the language
4. Types of clauses and sentences
   4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate, and noun-predicate clauses/sentences
   4.2 Adnominal clauses
5. Mermaid construction: introductory notes
6. Mermaid construction in Old Japanese
7. Mermaid construction in Early Middle Japanese
   7.1 Noun-type MMC
   7.2 Enclitic-type MMC
   7.3 Suffix-type MMC
   7.4 Zero-type MMC
   7.5 Morphosyntax of the MMC
      7.5.1 Introductory notes
      7.5.2 'Copula'
      7.5.3 'Noun'
      7.5.4 Predicate
      7.5.5 Subject
         7.5.5.1 Subject: MMC and ACs
         7.5.5.2 Case-marking of the subject
      7.5.6 *Kakarimusubi*
      7.5.7 Embedding of an MMC in another MMC
      7.5.8 Comparison of the MMC, independent sentences and ACs
   7.6 Diachronic notes on the MMC
8. Summary and concluding remarks

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.

Acknowledements

I am grateful to Tasaku Tsunoda (the editor of the volume) and Bjarke Frellesvig for their detailed and helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. This study was supported in part by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) from Japan Society for the Promotion of Science: Grant No. 22520464.

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.

References

Aoki, Hirofumi [青木博史]. 2005. 複文における名詞節の歴史 [History of the Noun Clause in a Complex Sentence]. 日本語の研究 [Studies in the Japanese Language] 1(3): 47-60. Tokyo: Nihongogakkai [The Society of Japanese Language].

Aoki, Hirofumi [青木博史]. 2010. 語形成から見た日本語文法史 [A

Historical Study of Word Formation: Its Role and Significance in Japanese Grammar]. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
Frellesvig, Bjarke. 2010. *A History of the Japanese Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Horie, Kaoru & Pardeshi, Prashant [堀江薫, プラシャント・パルデシ]. 2009. 言語のタイポロジー [Linguistic Typology], Tokyo: Kenkyusha.
Kageyama, Taro [影山太郎]. 1993. 文法と語形成 [Grammar and Word Formation]. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
Kasuga, Kazuo [春日和男]. 1968. 存在詞に関する研究[A Study of Existentials]. Tokyo: Kazama Syoten.
Kim, Joungmin. (This volume) Mermaid construction in Korean.
Kinsui, Satoshi; Takayama, Yoshiyuki; Kinuhata, Tomohide & Okazaki, Tomoko [金水敏, 高山善行, 衣畑智秀, 岡﨑友子]. 2011. 文法史 [History of Japanese Grammar]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
Kondo, Yoji [近藤要司]. 2006. 源氏物語のヤウナリとヤウアリについて[On =*yau*=*ari* and =*yau ari* in *The Tale of Genji*]. 親和国文[Shinwa Kokubun] 41: 159-183. Kobe: Kobe Shinwa Women's University.
Koyanagi, Tomokazu [小柳智一]. 1997. 中古のバカリについて—限定・程度・概数量— [On =*bakari* in Early Middle Japanese]. 国語と国文学[Kokugo to Kokubungaku] 74(7): 43-57. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
Shida, Tomoko [信田知子]. 1970. 断定の助動詞の活用語承接について連体形準体法の消滅を背景として[On the Ross of the *Juntai-hō*]. 国語学 [Kokugogaku: Studies in the Japanese Language] 82: 29-41, Tokyo: Kokugogakkai [The society of Japanese Language]
Takayama, Yoshiyuki [高山善行]. 2002. 日本語モダリティの史的研究 [A Historical Study of Modality in Japanese]. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
Takeuchi, Lone. 1999. *The Structure and History of Japanese*. London & New York: Longman.
Tsunoda, Tasaku. (This volume-a). Mermaid construction: an introduction and summary.
Tsunoda, Tasaku. (This volume-b). Mermaid construction in Modern Japanese.
Yamada, Yoshio [山田孝雄]. 1908.日本文法論 [*Study of Japanese Grammar*]. Tokyo: Hōbunkan.