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Mermaid construction in Amdo Tibetan

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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 =*jə* in (5) indicates future. (See 5.3-[E-4].)

(2)   *[arja=kə   nor ptsoŋ-ju]*   *ntɕʰarʑə   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-ju]*
       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 remma   ŋɟo=ɟə]*   *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/[ʰb], /t/[t], /tʰ/[tʰ], /d/[ʰd], /ʈ/[ʈ], /ʈʰ/[ʈʰ], /ɖ/[ʰɖ], /c/[c], /cʰ/[cʰ], /ɟ/[ʰɟ], /k/[k], /kʰ/[kʰ], /g/[ʰg~ɣ], /ts/[ts], /tsʰ/[tsʰ], /dz/[ʰdz], /tɕ/[tɕ], /tɕʰ/[tɕʰ], /dʑ/[ʰdʑ], /f/[f], /ɬ/[ɬ], /s/[s], /sʰ/[sʰ], /z/[ʰz], /ʂ/[ʂ], /ɕ/[ɕ], /ʐ/[ʰʐ], /ç/[çχ], /x/[χ], /ʁ/[ʰʁ], /h/[h], /m/[m], /m̥/[m̥m], /n/[n], /n̥/[n̥n], /ɲ/[ɲ], /ɲ̥/[ɲ̥ɲ], /ŋ/[ŋ], /ŋ̥/[ŋ̥ŋ], /l/[l], /r/[ʔɹ], /w/[w], /j/[j], /i/[i], /ʔi/[ʔi], /u/[uβ~uu], /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

(=zǝk). 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-/mǝ-.

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   nɟo=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   tɕʰoŋ+tɕʰoŋ   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) *nɖəkmotsʰo ŋə   ɕəmo   jən.*
　　 PSN   1SG.GEN daughter COP.A
　　 'nɖəkmotsʰo 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   mǎnba   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. *-jo/-co* are allomorphs of a suffix, and so are *-ju/-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-*ɉo/-co* (ABS), -*ɉu/-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]*   *mɲə*
    tea drink=NMLZ.GEN people

    b. *mɲə*   *[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 -*ɉo/-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]*   *mɲə*
     3SG.DAT   book   give.IPF=NMLZ.GEN   person
     'the person who gives/gave the book to him'

(21) *[kʰərgə   htɕar=nu]*   *mɲə*
     3SG.ERG   beat=NMLZ.GEN   person
     'the person he beats/beat'

(22) *[ɲe   xɛtɕʰa   ɕən=nu]*   *mɲə*
     1SG.ERG   book   give.PF=NMLZ.GEN   person
     'the person whom I give/gave the book to'

(23) *[ɲe   jəge   ʈi=nu]*   *ŋəgə*
     1SG.ERG   letter   write.PF=NMLZ.GEN   pen
     'the pen that I wrote a letter with'

(24) *[hoŋwo   tɕʰe=nu]*   *mɲə*
     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   ɕəm=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   tɕɛ-ʂa   ɲo=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   ɲo-ju]*   *rjəmtsʰan*
     uncle   PLN=DAT   go.IPF-NMLZ.GEN   reason
     ɲe   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* k^hu=*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
=k^ha	'just before ~', e.g. (30)
=*Rokko*	'until ~'
ma-verb=*koŋŋa*	'before ~'
=*Roŋkoŋŋa*	'just after ~'
=Rit^hats^ho (=*Ri*)	'while ~, when ~'
V=*nu hkap*=*wa* 'V=NMLZ.GEN time=DAT'	temporal ('when'), e.g. (31)
V=*nu* k^hu=*gə* 'V=NMLZ.GEN reason=ERG'	causal ('because'), e.g. (32)

(29) *[hjak   jən=nara]   çə   ŋo=gə.*
      male.yak   COP=CONJ   die   go.IPF=AUX
      'Even if it is a male yak, it will die.'

(30) *[ŋo=k^ha] $k^hərgɛ$ $t^hon=t^ha$.*
      buy.IPF=CONJ   3SG   arrive=AUX
      'Just before I could buy [something], he arrived.'

(31) *[$k^hərgɛ$ 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 k^hu=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 ndzoŋwa* '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]*   *ndzoŋwa 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]*   *ndzoŋwa 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   ʈopʈa=a   ŋo   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 ntɕʰarzə* '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   nɟo-ɟu   ntɕʰarʑə 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   ntɕʰarʑə 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, $=k^ha$ 'surface' ([E-1]), $=k^hawo$ 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]) and $=n\vartheta$ 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) may be attached to the imperfect form or the perfect form, while $=j\vartheta/=c\vartheta$ '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=k^ha'.

We shall now look at each of these four enclitics.

[E-1] IPF/PF=k^ha=$z\vartheta k$ 'IPF/PF=surface=INDF'

The enclitic $=k^ha$ may be related to the word k^ha. The word k^ha 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 k^ha:

(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 $=k^ha$ 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 $=k^ha$ used in the MMC is related to the word k^ha, and that its meaning is 'surface'. However, this is not certain. First, the word k^ha is rarely used with the meaning 'surface'. Second, one of the consultants, Mr. rGya ye bKra bho, stated that k^ha in the. MMC derived from $k^h\vartheta t$ which means 'pretense'. The other consultants are not certain about its etymology. In the present work I tentatively gloss $=k^ha$ as 'surface'.

When used in the MMC, the enclitic $=k^ha$ 'surface' must be followed by the indefinite marker $=z\vartheta k$. $=z\vartheta k$ is the only indefinite marker in Amdo Tibetan but its use is not obligatory. Generally, the indefinite marker $=z\vartheta k$ 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   rjəmts^{h}an   tə   mə-çi=k^{h}a=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) *k^{h}ərgɛ   ma-s^{h}oŋ=k^{h}a=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=k^hawo 'IPF/PF=mood, appearance'

There is a noun k^hawo 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 =k^hawo 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 $ts^hɔkka$ (=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) $k^hɔrgɛ$ $wɔs=s^hoŋ$ =k^hawo $rɛ$.
     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) $ŋɔ$ $mɔkjɔl$ $nɖɔp=s^hoŋ$ =k^hawo $rɛ$.
     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 =k^hawo used in the MMC include (70), (78), (104), (118) and (128).

[E-3] IPF/PF=$nɔ$ 'IPF/PF=doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do'

The enclitic =$nɔ$ 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 =$nɔ$ 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 =$nɔ$ cannot be substituted by the nominalizer =no.

(49) $tɕ^haŋ=ta$ $mɔ-nt^hoŋ=nɔ$ $jɛt$.
     alcohol=PP NEG-drink=NMLZ   do.IPF
     LT: '[I] do not do drinking alcohol.'
     FT: '[I] decided not to drink alcohol.'

(50) $sa=nɔ$ $ɔ-jo?$
     eat.IPF=NMLZ Q-exist
     'Is there anybody who eats?'

The enclitic nominalizer =$nɔ$ can be used in the MMC. Here, =$nɔ$ 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=jə/=cə 'IPF=thing to do, value for doing ~, feeling of ~'
Amdo Tibetan has the nominalizer suffix -jə/-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

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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 *=jə/=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] *=jə/=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 *-ju/-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] *=jə/=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   ntʰor-ju]   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 =kʰa 'appearance' occurs in the 'Noun' slot, =kʰa 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) *[kʰərgɛ   wəs=sʰoŋ]   =kʰawo=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 =jə/=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) tsəgezək   dzoŋ=jə=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) (=jə 'thing to do, value for doing'; [E-4]) or (ii) the negative form of the copula concerned, e.g. (67) (=jə '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]).

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(64) *hnam   nbak=ko=nu*   *ts^həkka   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   hku-ɟu   ntɕ^harzə 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   t^həp=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) **k^hərgɛ   s^hoŋ=k^ha=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) *k^hərgə   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) *k^hərgɛ   wəs=s^hoŋ   =k^hawo 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) *c^ho   k^hahtsaŋ   joŋ=nə   ə-jən?*
2SG   yesterday   come=NMLZ Q-COP.A
'Did you come yesterday?'

(72) *c^he   ndə   ŋo=ɟə   ə-jən?*
2SG.ERG   this   buy.IPF=NMLZ Q-COP.A
'Will you buy this?'

(73) **k^hərgə   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*=jə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~':
> the abbreviated form *=ji/=ci* for the combination *=jə/=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] *ntɛʰarzə* 'plan', preceded by the suffix nominalizer *-ju/-cu*.
> [E] Enclitic type of the MMC:
> [E-2] *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.
> [E-4] *=jə/=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 *-jo/-co*): (a) internal AC (*=no*), (b) internal AC (*-jo/-co*), (c) external AC (*=no*), and (d) external AC (*-jo/-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 (-jo/-co)	-	+	-	-
(c) external AC (=no)	-	+	+	+
(d) external AC (-jo/-co)	-	+	-	-
(e) adverbial clause	-/+	+/-	+/-	+/-
(f) Verb=nu tsʰəkka 'appearance'	-	+	+	+
(g) Verb-ju/-cu ntɕʰarʑə 'plan'	-	+	-	-
(h) Verb=kʰawo 'mood, appearance'	-	+	+	+
(i) Verb=jə/=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 (-jo/-co)	+	+	-	-
(c) external AC (=no)	+	+	+ (A)	-
(d) external AC (-jo/-co)	+	+	-	-
(e) adverbial clause	+	-/+	+ (A, A/B)	-
(f) Verb=nu tsʰəkka 'appearance'	+	+	+ (A)	-
(g) Verb-ju/-cu ntɕʰarʑə 'plan'	+	+	-	-
(h) Verb=kʰawo 'mood, appearance'	-	+	+ (A)	-
(i) Verb=jə/=cə 'thing to do, value for doing ~'	-	+	+ (A)	
(j) verbal sentence	+	-	....	+
(k) copula sentence	+	-	+ (A /B)	+

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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*   *ɸtˀi!*
     book   watch.IMP
     'Read a book!'

(75) *xɛtɕʰa*   *ɸtˀi=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 (*-jo/-co*)
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (76).

(76) *ŋe*   *cʰo=o*   *htɛr-jo*   *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 (*-jo/-co*)
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (28).

(e) Adverbial clause
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (77).

(77) *kʰərgɛ* *njo=na*   *ŋa*   *mə-njo.*
     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-*ju/-cu ntɕʰarzə* 'plan'
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (40).

(h) Verb=*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
An imperfect form can be used, e.g. (78).

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(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   ɬasʰa=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).

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(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 ntɕʰarzə* '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*   *mŋə*
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 ntɕʰarzə* '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
    ntɕʰarzə   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   ɫasʰa=a   mə-ɲo=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   ɫasʰa=a   mə-ɲo-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-ɕi=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* *mȁnba* *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* *mȁnba* *jən=nɖa/rɛ[=[a],*
    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 ntɛʰarzə* 'plan'
No copula verb can be used.
    (h) Verb*=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'
Only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (104).

(104) *kʰərgɛ gergan   jən/*rɛ   =kʰawo rɛ.*
      3SG   teacher   COP.A/COP.B =mood   COP.B
      'He is something like a teacher.'

(i) Verb=*jə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
Only pattern A forms can be used, e.g. (105).

(105) *ju=a   njo=go=nə   jən/*rɛ   =jə*
      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=*jə/=cə* 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
A sentence-final particle cannot be used; see (107).

(107) *ŋa   tɛraŋ njo   *=na/*=pa =jə   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) ʑək=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 (-jo/-co)	-	-	+
(c) external AC (=no)	-	-	-
(d) external AC (-jo/-co)	-	-	-
(e) adverbial clause	-	-	-
(f) Verb=nu tsʰəkka 'appearance'	+	-	-
(g) Verb-ju/-cu ntɕʰarzə 'plan'	+	-	-
(h) Verb=kʰawo 'mood, appearance'	+	-	-
(i) Verb=jə/=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]   xetɕʰa
      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 (-jo/-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 nɟo-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 nɟo=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 nɟo=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).

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(117) aɲa=kə=ta   nor   ptsoŋ-ju   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=jə/=cə 'thing to do, value for doing ~'
=ta can be used, e.g. (119).

(119) ŋe=ta   xɛtɕʰa   ŋo=jə   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-ŋo.
      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   mŋə   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.

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(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=jə/=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).'

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(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 ntɛʰarzə 'plan'
Clefting is not possible; see (131).

(130)　kʰərgɛ　lehka　le-ɟu　　　　　　ntɛʰarzə　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　　　　　　　ntɛʰarzə　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.'

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(135) *lehka le=gəjo=na   ŋa   joŋ=jəmən=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 (-jo/-co)
Clefting is not possible; see (137).

(136) kʰərgɛ łasʰa=a   njo-ju   rjəmtsʰan
       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   njo-ju   rjəmtsʰan
       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 ptsʼi=nu   ʈima
       3SG.ERG food steam.PF=NMLZ.GEN smell
       ŋe   nəm=taŋ=ŋa.
       1SG.ERG   smell=AUX=AUX
       LT: 'I smelled the smell with which he steamed food.'s
(139) *sama   ptsʼi=nu   ʈima
       food   steam.PF=NMLZ.GEN smell
       ŋe   nəm=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 (-jo/-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.'

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(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 (-jo/-co)
Compare (146) and (147). (146) is two-place, while the AC in (147) is
one-place.

(146) kʰərgə   sama   sa=jə   rɛ.
      3SG.ERG   food   eat.IPF=NMLZ COP.B
      'He will eat food.'
(147) kʰərgə   sa=ju   sama
      3SG.ERG   eat.IPF=NMLZ   food
      'the food that the man will eat'

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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 $k^h awo$ and the enclitic $=k^h awo$ are difficult to gloss. Their gloss 'mood, appearance' is highly tentative. At least there is no evidence that the enclitic $=k^h a$ 'surface' ([E-1]) and the enclitic $=k^h awo$ 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]) derived from independent nouns. The other two enclitics, i.e. $=na$ 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and $=ja/=ca$ '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 $=k^h a$ 'surface' ([E-1]) and $=k^h awo$ 'mood, appearance' ([E-2]), it is difficult to ascertain the meaning/function of the nouns they may possibly be related to. Concerning $=na$ 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and $=ja/=ca$ '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] $ts^h\partial kka$	appearance	both evidential (sensory, reported, inference) and counterfactual ('It looks/appears ~ (but actually not that much)')
[F-2] $ndzo\eta wa$	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]
ntɕʰarzə   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]
=jə/=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] =na 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' ([E-3]) and =jə/=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*   *ntɕʰarzə* *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.'

Acknowledgments

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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