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メタデータ	言語: eng
	出版者:
	公開日: 2020-03-18
	キーワード (Ja):
	キーワード (En):
	作成者:
	メールアドレス:
	所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15084/00002672

Mermaid construction in Khalkha Mongolian

Hiroyuki UMETANI
Taisho University

1. Introduction

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

(1)   [Clause] + Noun + Copula

Khalkha Mongolian has the MMC, but only one noun has been found that can occupy the 'Noun' slot: *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity'. This MMC adds such a tone as 'I mean that ...' (or 'Do you mean that ...' in the interrogative) although it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint its exact meaning. The predicate of the 'Clause' is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form or (ii) an adjective or a noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. (Mongolian has two copular verbs: *baj-* 'to

be' and *bol-* 'to become'.) The subject of the 'Clause' is in the nominative case (in contrast with adnominal clauses ('ACs'), in which three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, genitive and accusative). No examples of the MMC are attested where the 'Copula' appears.

In addition to the MMC, Khalkha Mongolian has two MMC-like constructions (hereafter 'Quasi-MMCs'), where the sentence-final position is occupied by (i) *ge-sen üg* or *ge-deg üg* (i.e., the noun *üg* 'word' preceded by a verbal-nominal form of *ge-* 'to say'), or (ii) an adjective formed with the derivational suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with', known as the proprietive suffix.

There is a sentence-final modal particle (*jum*), which may have historically derived from a noun (*jum* 'thing') used in the MMC.

2. Initial illustration

An example of the Khalkha Mongolian MMC is (2). It involves the noun *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity' in the 'Noun' slot.

(2)   *Viz-eer   biznjes   xijgč-i-d   čuxam*
        visa-INS   business.NOM doer-EP-PL.NOM   actually
        xaana   orogno-dog   xereg   ve?
        where   flee-VN.HAB   occurrence   Q
        LT: 'Visa dealers [are] the occurrence [such that they] actually flee to where?'
        FT: 'Where on earth do illegal visa dealers flee to?' (ÖN 1997/06/17)

(In the English translations, the words in square brackets are 'translations' of the words that do not exist in the original Mongolian sentences.)

3. Profile of the language

The present chapter deals with Khalkha Mongolian, which is one of the largest dialects of the Mongolian language (Mongolian proper), which is a member of the Mongolic language family. Khalkha Mongolian is spoken in Mongolia and is estimated to have more than two million native speakers. Some of the Mongolic languages (including Mongolian proper) have literacy traditions. The data in the present chapter were obtained from newspaper articles or composed by our three language consultants (a male born in 1971, two females born in 1976 and in 1979, all of them born in Ulaanbaatar). The sources of the sentences quoted from newspaper articles are given after their translations in parentheses. Examples without source information are those composed by our language consultants.

Khalkha Mongolian (hereafter, simply 'Mongolian') exhibits vowel harmony. Phonological interpretations of this phenomenon differ among researchers. See Svantesson et al. (2005: 22-25). In order to avoid

unnecessary confusion caused by adopting any one of the phonological notations proposed in previous studies, the present chapter employs the orthography used in Mongolia, with the Cyrillic characters transliterated into Latin ones: а=a, б=b, в=v, г=g, д=d, е=je/jö, ё=jo, ж=ž, з=z, и=i, й=j, к=k, л=l, м=m, н=n, о=o, ө=ö, п=p, р=r, с=s, т=t, у=u, ү=ü, ф=f, х=x, ц=c, ч=č, ш=š, ъ=", ы=y, ь=', э=e, ю=ju/jü, я=ja.

Mongolian is an agglutinative language, and it employs suffixes rather than prefixes. Also, it uses postpositions, not prepositions. It is dependent-marking and non-configurational. It has the nominative-accusative case system. Cases are expressed by suffixes. The nominative case is marked by a zero suffix. Furthermore, a case suffix can be fused with the stem when attached to a pronoun, e.g., *čamajg* '2SG.ACC' in (18).

The basic word order is SOV, and a modifier (such as an adjective and an AC) precedes the head noun that it modifies.

The object is marked by the accusative or the nominative case. It tends to be in the nominative when it is non-referential or indefinite, e.g., *tamxi* 'tobacco.NOM' in (16). Three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, genitive, and accusative. See 4.1, 4.2.1 and 5.3-[2].

Verbs inflect. Their major categories are the following.

(a)   Terminating forms, e.g., past, non-past, and optative.
(b)   Converb forms, e.g., perfective, imperfective, and conditional.
(c)   Verbal-nominal forms, e.g., past (or perfective), non-past, imperfective, and habitual.

Verb stems obligatorily take a terminating suffix, a converb suffix, or a verbal-nominal suffix. The functions of these conjugational forms are as follows.

(a)   A terminating form is used as a finite verb and concludes a sentence, i.e., it forms an independent sentence, e.g., *jav-na* in (3).
(b)   A converb form can be used as an adverbial or can compose an adverbial clause, e.g., *ir-vel* in (3).
(c)   A verbal-nominal form (i) can be used as a nominal or can form a nominal clause, e.g., *jav-sn-yg* in (21), (ii) can be used as an adnominal modifier or can form an AC, e.g., *ög-sön* in (4), and (iii) can have the same function as a terminating form, namely, to conclude a sentence, e.g., *gee-sen* in (4).

(3)   *Tüün-ijg*   *ir-vel*   *bi*   *jav-na.*
        3SG-ACC   come-CVB.COND   1SG.NOM   go-TV.NP
        'If he comes, I will go.'

(4)   *Bold*   *Dorž-ijn*   *ög-sön*   *nom-yg*
        PN.NOM   PN-GEN   give-VN.PST   book-ACC

gee-sen.
lose-VN.PST
'Bold lost the book that Dorj gave [him].'

The functions of these forms are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Verb conjugation

Function / Conjugational form	Finite	Non-finite		
	Concluding a sentence (an independent sentence)	Adverbial clause	Nominal clause	Adnominal clause
Terminating	+			
Converb		+		
Verbal nominal	+		+	+

Among these three groups of conjugational forms, verbal-nominal forms are used in ACs and also in the MMC.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Clauses and sentences in Mongolian can be classified as follows.

  (a) Verb-predicate clause/sentence, e.g., (3), (4).
  (b) Adjective-predicate clause/sentence and noun-predicate clause/sentence.
    (b-1) With a copular verb, e.g., (5), (7), (8), (9).
    (b-2) Without a copular verb, e.g., (6).
  (c) Particle-predicate clause/sentence, i.e., clause/sentence with the non-existential predicate particle *alga*, e.g., (10).

When a verb-predicate clause is used as an independent sentence, the verb must be either in a terminating form, e.g., *jav-na* in (3), or in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., *gee-sen* in (4).

As noted in Section 1, Mongolian has two copular verbs: *baj-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to become'. Adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses/sentences may contain a copular verb.

When the situation described is related to the moment of utterance (hereafter, the 'semantically' present tense), the copular verb used is *baj-* 'to be'. As mentioned in previous studies such as Kullmann & Tserenpil (1996: 194-195), *baj-* 'to be' may be present (e.g., (5)) or absent (e.g., (6)) in the 'semantically' present tense. (Copular verbs conjugate just like other verbs, and, when it is used in an independent sentence they must be in a

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terminating form or in a verbal-nominal form.)

(5) *Bi*   *önöödör*   *zavgüj*   *baj-na.*
     1SG.NOM   today   busy   be-TV.NP
     'I am busy today.'

(6) *Bi*   *ojuutan.*
     1SG.NOM   student.NOM
     'I [am] a student.'

However, the conditioning factors that may determine the appearance or absence of *baj-* 'to be' in the 'semantically' present tense are not fully clarified. (For some of the factors, see Kullmann & Tserenpil (1996: 194-195).)

In the 'semantically' past tense, the copular verb used is *baj-* 'to be' or *bol-* 'to become'. Here, the use of *baj-* or *bol-* is obligatory, e.g. (7) and (8).

(7) *Bi*   *öčigdör*   *zavgüj*   *baj-san.*
     1SG.NOM   yesterday   busy   be-VN.PST
     'I was busy yesterday.'

(8) *Dorž*   *sajn*   *emč*   *bol-son.*
     PN.NOM   good   doctor.NOM   become-VN.PST
     'Dorj became a good doctor.'

In the 'semantically' future tense, the copular verb employed is *bol-* 'to become'. Its use is obligatory, e.g. (9).

(9) *Teg-vel*   *či*   *sajn*   *emč*
     do.that-CVB.COND   you.NOM   good   doctor.NOM
     bol-no.
     become-TV.NP
     'If [you] do that, you will become a good doctor.'

Table 2 summarizes the appearance or absence of the two copular verbs (*baj* and *bol-*) in the 'semantically' past, present, and future tenses.

Table 2. Appearance or absence of *baj-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to become'

Tense / Copula	'Semantically' past	'Semantically' present	'Semantically' future
Baj- 'to be'	+	+/-	-
Bol- 'to become'	+	-	+

The third kind of clause/sentence is concluded by the non-existential predicate particle *alga* 'not exist, be absent'. (In accordance with the tradition in Mongolian linguistics, the term 'particle' refers to enclitic-like words that never (or rarely, if ever) inflect.)

(10)   *Neg=č*   **alga.**
        one.NOM=even.FP   not.exist.NEP
        LT: 'Even one does not exist.'
        FT: 'There isn't even one.'

The subject in independent sentences (to be precise, the subject of a simple sentence and of the main clause of a complex sentence) appears in the nominative case, e.g., (4) to (10). (In contrast, three cases are attested for the subject in ACs: nominative, genitive and accusative. See 4.2.1 and 5.3-[2].)

4.2 Subordinate clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes
There are three types of subordinate clauses: adnominal clauses ('ACs') (4.2.2), nominal clauses (4.2.3), and adverbial clauses (4.2.4). The case marking of the subject exhibits an interesting phenomenon. For the subject, the nominative, the genitive and the accusative can be used in ACs and nominal clauses, while the nominative and the accusative can be used in adverbial clauses. However, this does not mean that all the case forms listed above are possible for the subject in a specific clause/sentence. The conditioning factors, if there are any, are not fully understood. For discussions on this topic, see Mizuno (1995) and von Heusinger et al. (2011), among others.

4.2.2 Adnominal clauses
4.2.2.1 Introductory notes. In Mongolian, ACs are formed mainly by the gap strategy. The third person possessive particle *=n'* is used as something like a resumptive particle in ACs only when the possessor is relativized on, e.g., (14). The AC precedes the head noun.

Teramura (1969) classifies Japanese ACs into two main types: internal ACs and external ACs. See also Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs. In internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. Furthermore, Teramura (1992: 192-205) divides external ACs into subcategories.

Presumably on the basis of Teramura's work, Mukai (2006) classifies Mongolian ACs into four types. See Table 3, a modified version of the table in Mukai (2006: 53, 61). (English translations and labels 'I-IV' are mine. 'Adj/N + copula-VN' and 'Adj/N + copula-VN-GEN' in the column 'Predicate' are also added by me. Some of the terms in Mukai (2006) have been changed for the sake of consistency within the present chapter. 'V', 'Adj', and 'N' refer to 'verb', 'adjective', and 'noun' respectively. The other abbreviations are identical to those used in glosses.)

Table 3. Classification of Mongolian ACs

Type			Predicate
ACs	Internal ACs	I	V-VN Adj/N + copula-VN
	External ACs — Normal modification	II	V-VN Adj/N + copula-VN
		III	Any predicate + *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x*
	External ACs — Relative relationship	IV	V-VN-GEN Adj/N + copula-VN-GEN

In Types I and II, the predicate in the AC is a verb in a verbal-nominal form (e.g., (11) to (16)), or an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. It is not certain whether other kinds of predicates (in particular, adjective/noun predicates *without* the copular verb *baj-* 'to be' in the 'semantically' present tense) can appear in ACs of Type I or of Type II. (Examples of an adjective/noun predicate without *baj-* in the 'semantically' present tense would be rare, if any.)

In Type IV, the possible kinds of predicates are the same as in Types I and II, except that the verb (as well as a copula) in a verbal-nominal form takes the genitive case suffix, e.g., (19) and (20). (Again, it is not evident whether an adjective/noun not followed by the copular verb *baj-* 'to be' in the 'semantically' present tense can appear as the predicate.)

In Type III, any kind of predicate can be present before *ge-sen*, *ge-deg*, or *ge-x* (verbal-nominal forms of *ge-* 'to say'), e.g., (17), (18).

Examples of each type will be provided in the following.

4.2.2.2 Type I: Internal ACs. Broadly speaking, all positions but for 'object of comparison' on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on. (See Mukai (2006: 54-60) for a detailed description.) Examples include (11) (subject), (4), and (12) (direct object), and (13) (oblique object). (The ACs are indicated by means of an underline.)

(11)   *Bat-aas   ir-sen   mjessjež-ijg   komp'jütjer-t*
      PN-ABL   come-VN.PST   message-ACC   computer-DAT
      xadgal-san.
      preserve-VN.PST
      '[I] saved **the message** [which] came from Bat on the comupter.'

(12)   *Dorž-ijn   avčir-san   jum   al'   ve?*
      PN-GEN   bring-VN.PST   thing.NOM   which.NOM   Q
      'Which [is] **the thing** Dorj brought [with him]?'

(13)   *tüüxij   max   xerč-sen   xutga*
      raw   meat.NOM   slice-VN.PST   knife
      'the knife [with which someone] sliced raw meat'

When the possessor is relativized on, the third person possessive particle =*n'* is used as something like a resumptive particle.

(14)   *tovč=n'*   *una-čix-san*   *camc*
               button.NOM=3.POSS   fall-COMPL-VN.PST   shirt
               'a shirt [whose] buttons have come off'

4.2.2.3 Type II: External ACs (1). This subtype of AC is the same as Type I (internal ACs) in terms of the structure of the predicate. However, ACs of Type II (and also those of Types III and IV) are external ACs. The head noun (e.g., *xereg* 'occurrence' in (15) and *zuršil* 'habit' in (16)) does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. ACs of Type II (and those of Type III) describe the content of the head noun.

(15)   *Zarim*   *negen*   *ojuutn-uud*   *busd-aar*
               some   one   student-PL.NOM   others-INS
               diplom-yn-xoo   *ažl-yg*   *xij-lge-sen*
               diploma-GEN-REFL work-ACC   do-CAUS-VN.PST
               xereg=č   *gar-san.*
               occurrence.NOM=even.FP go.out-VN.PST
               'There happened even **cases** [where] some students made others write their graduation theses.'

(16)   *Tedn-ji*   *tamxi*   *tat-a-x*   *zuršl-yg*
               3PL-GEN tobacco.NOM pull-EP-VN.NP   habit-ACC
               bid   *boli-ul-a-x*   *xeregtej.*
               1PL.NOM quit-CAUS-EP-VN.NP it.is.necessary
               LT: 'It is necessary that we make [them] quit **the habit** [such that] they pull [=take] tobacco.'
               FT: 'We have to make them quit smoking.'

4.2.2.4 Type III: External ACs (2). Ge-sen, ge-deg, and ge-x are verbal-nominal forms of the verb *ge-* 'to say': *ge-sen* 'say-VN.PST', *ge-deg* 'say-VN.HAB', and *ge-x* 'say-VN.NP'. They may be translated as 'saying that' or 'to the effect that'. In external ACs, *ge-sen, ge-deg,* or *ge-x* sometimes appears between the predicate and the head noun. (See Mukai (2006: 62-64) for some of the factors determining the appearance of *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x.*) In this type of ACs, any type of predicate can appear before *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x.* As is the case with Type II, ACs of Type III describe the content of the head noun.

(17)   *Ardčill-yn*   *tölöö*   *xüčn-üüd*
               democracy-GEN for.the.sake.of power-PL.NOM
               negd-e-ž   *nijl-e-x*   *jostoj*
               unite-EP-CVB.IPFV join-EP-VN.NP ought.to
               ge-sen   *bajr+suur'*   *gazar+av-č*
               say-VN.PST   position.NOM spread-CVB.IPFV

baj-x   *šig.*
be-VN.NP   it.seems.that
'It seems that the **idea** is spreading that parties should unite for the sake of democracy.' (ÖD 2000/10/17)

(18) *Čamajg*   *ir-sen*   ***ge-sen***   ***surg-ijg***
2SG.ACC   come-VN.PST   say-VN.PST   rumor-ACC
sons-loo.
hear-TV.PST
'I heard **the rumor** that you have come.'

4.2.2.5 Type IV: External ACs (3). This type of ACs concerns such relationships as temporal order, spatial positional relation, and cause and effect, between the event expressed by the AC on one hand and the referent of the head noun on the other. In (19), for instance, the head noun *učir* 'reason' is the 'cause' that has triggered the event (i.e., 'effect') expressed by the AC 'to go out this early'. (For further discussions of this type of ACs, see Teramura (1992: 199-204) on Japanese and Mukai (2006: 61, 64-65) on Mongolian.) In ACs of this type, the genitive suffix is present after the verbal-nominal form in the AC; see (19) and (20).

(19) *Ted*   *ijm*   *ert*   ***jav-dg-ijn***
3PL.NOM   like.this   early   go-VN.HAB-GEN
učir   *juu*   *ve?*
reason.NOM   what.NOM   Q
'What [is] **the reason** [why] they go this early?' (Mukai (2006: 53); the English translation, morphological analysis and glosses are mine.)

(20) *Dulmaa-g-ijn*   *ix*   *möngötej*   ***baj-g-aa-g-ijn***
PN-EP-GEN   very   rich   be-EP-VN.IPFV-EP-GEN
učr-yg   *med-e-x*   *üü?*
reason-ACC   know-EP-VN.NP   Q
'Do you know **the reason** [why] Dulmaa is rich?'

4.2.3 Nominal clauses
Nominal clauses are formed with a verbal-nominal form. See *jav-sn-yg* 'go-VN.PST-ACC' in (21). (The nominal clause is indicated with an underline.)

(21) *Tüün-ijg*   *Japon*   ***jav-sn-yg***
3SG-ACC   Japan   go-VN.PST-ACC
med-e-ž   *baj-g-aa*   *juu?*
know-EP-CVB.IPFV   be-EP-VN.IPFV   Q
'Do you know [that] he has gone to Japan?'

4.2.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Mongolian can be classified into three groups: (i) those which end in a converb form, e.g., *tüün-ijg ir-vel* in (3), (ii) those which contain an AC (sometimes followed by a case suffix) + a noun or a postposition, e.g., (22), and (iii) those ending in a verbal-nominal form + a particle such as *bol* 'if' or *č* 'too, even (though)', e.g., (23). (The adverbial clauses are indicated with an underline.)

(22) *Čamajg   jav-sn-y   daraa   Dulmaa*
      2SG.ACC go-VN.PST-GEN   next   PN.NOM
      ir-sen.
      come-VN.PST
      'Dulmaa came after you left.'

(23) *Xij-sen=č   bol-no.*
      do-VN.PST=even.FP be.alright-TV.NP
      '[It] will be alright even if [you] do [that].'

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Examples

The prototype of the MMC proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) is shown in (1). At the present stage of our investigation, only one noun has been found that can occur in the 'Noun' slot in Mongolian: *xereg*. When used as a noun outside the MMC, *xereg* means 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity', e.g., (15). When used in the MMC, it adds such a tone as 'I mean that ...' (or 'Do you mean that ...' in the interrogative). However, it is sometimes difficult to grasp the exact nuance added by the construction. The predicate of the 'Clause' is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form or (ii) an adjective or a noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. (In this respect, the 'Clause' is similar to ACs of Types I and II; see Table 3.) The subject of the 'Clause' is in the nominative case. No examples of the MMC are attested where the 'Copula' appears. The structure of this MMC may be shown as follows.

(24) [Clause] *xereg*

Examples include (25-B) (same as (2)), the second 'A' in (26), and the second 'B' in (27). The portion that constitutes the 'Clause' of (24) is shown with square brackets. The surrounding contexts are provided, for they are relevant to determining whether a sentence with *xereg* at the final position is an example of the MMC or not. Due to space considerations, no glosses are given for the sentences where *xereg* is absent.

As mentioned in Section 3, the data for the present paper were mainly obtained from newspaper articles. Also, because most of the examples were

obtained from interview articles, i.e. from natural discourse, the examples are generally elliptical. Furthermore, only a limited number of examples are available. Examples follow.

(25)   (An interview with an attaché at the South Korean embassy in Mongolia ('A') by a media reporter ('B'). The attaché describes the current situation concerning Mongolian people illegally overstaying in Korea.)

A: *1990 onoos xojš mongolyn irgeded olgoson büx vizijn zövšööröl manaj elčingijn komp'jütjert xadgalagddag. Xezee, xen gedeg xün jamar xugacaataj viz avaad ergež ireegüj gedeg n' manajd beleexnee bajdag. Komp'jütert oroogüj xuuramč viztej xümüüs Söülijn nisex ongocny buudlaas ergež bucax toxioldol garč bajgaa.*

'Since 1990, all visa permissions given to Mongolian people have been stored in computers in our [South Korean] embassy [in Mongolia]. At our embassy, information is available about when and who with what name took a Korean visa with what duration, and did not return [to Mongolia]. There are cases where [Mongolian] people who have visas not registered on our computers are sent back [to Mongolia] from Seoul Airport.'

B: [*Viz-eer   biznjes   xijgč-i-d   čuxam*
      visa-INS   business.NOM   doer-EP-PL.NOM   actually
      xaana   orogno-dog]   ***xereg   ve?***
      where   flee-VN.HAB   occurrence   Q

LT: 'Visa dealers [are] the occurrence [such that they] actually flee to where?'

FT: 'Where on earth do illegal visa dealers flee to?' (ÖN 1997/06/17)

(26)   (In an interview, a traditional Mongolian wrestler ('A') talks about a deceased close friend of his, who was chairman of the Olympic Committee of Mongolia. 'A' recalls an episode which took place when he and the deceased participated in a traditional sports festival. 'B' is the interviewer. The deceased's name is made anonymous as 'G' by me.)

A: [...] *Erdenetijn neg sajxan bajar bolson jum.* [...] *Bid č očson. Sajxan bajar naadam bolood oroj n' ujaačid deer očiž bid xojor žaal barildaad*

'[...] Once, a nice festival was held in Erdenet [= a place name]. [...] We two [= 'A' and the deceased] went there, too. The festival ended successfully, and that evening we both went to race-horse trainers [who participated in the horse race in the festival] and wrestled [with each other] for a while [in front of them] ...'

B: *Uučlaaraj, G guaj xer "nocolddog" bajsan jum be?*
'I am sorry [for interrupting]. How well did Mr. G [= the deceased] use to "fight" [= jargon for 'to wrestle']?'

A: *Öö, sajxan barildana. Tegeed xojuulaa žaal barildaad. Bas boloogüj ee. Margaaš n' ažiltaj gež bajgaa.*
'Oh, [he] used to wrestle nicely. [Back to the wrestling,] we two wrestled for a while... There is more to this episode. [He] said [he] had work to do the next day.'

[*Gadaad-a-d*   *xaana=č*   *bilee,*
foreign.country-EP-DAT where=even.FP MP
xuraltaj   *baj-san*]   ***xereg.***
with.meeting be-VN.PST   occurrence

LT: '[He] was the occurrence [such that] in a foreign country, where was it, [he was] with a meeting [the next day].'

FT: 'He was going to have a meeting in a foreign country, I cannot remember which country...'

Süüld n' taaraad "Minij xurald ömsöx kostjümijg ballasan bajna lee šüü [...]" gesen jüm.
'When [I] ran into [him] later, [he] said, "[When I was at the meeting the day after the festival, I noticed that you] had torn off my uniform for the meeting [which I was wearing then and which I had been wearing when we had wrestled] [...]."' (ÖN 2001/01/18)

(27) (An interview with a player ('A') of a horse-headed fiddle, a traditional Mongolian musical instrument, by a media reporter ('B'). The player talks about his experiences during his concert in Japan.)

A: [...] *Bidnijg neg sajxan aral deer avaačsan. Bi nerijg n' martčixaž. Nov nogoon zülgen deer mongol ger bar'san bajlaa. Tegexed ünexeer sajxan sanagdsan šüü.*
'[Japanese staff] took us to a nice island. I've forgotten its name. There was a Mongolian tent built [for the concert] on a really green lawn. I thought it was really beautiful.'

B: *Ter* *ger-ijg*   *Japon-d*   *xij-sen*
that Mongolian.tent-ACC Japan-DAT make-VN.PST
jum *uu,*
MP QP
'Did [they] make that Mongolian tent in Japan, [or]'

B: [*end-ees* *avaač-san* ***xereg***]   *üü?*
here-ABL take-VN.PST occurrence   Q

LT: '[they are] the occurrence [such that they] took [it] from here [=Mongolia]?'

FT: 'did they take it from Mongolia?' (ÖN 1997/11/14)

There are instances that may look similar to the MMC, e.g. (32). To put the conclusion first, however, they should be distinguished from the MMC with *xereg*. They are in fact a type of noun-predicate sentences (but not examples of MMC). To be specific, they are noun-predicate sentences in which (i) a copular verb is absent (cf. 4.1) and (ii) the predicate consists of a clause and the noun *xereg* 'occurrence'. They resemble the MMC in that both end with a clause followed by *xereg*, without a copular verb.

To put it differently, the structure of the MMC can be shown as in (28) (same as (24)). The structure of noun-predicate sentences with no copula (e.g., (6)) can be shown as in (30). Sentences such as (32) have the structure shown in (31). (31) is a kind of noun-predicate sentence where the noun *xereg* 'occurrence' occupies the final position of the predicate in (30). (We shall return to (29) shortly.)

(28) MMC:
      [Clause] *xereg*

(29) MMC:
      *Subject [Clause] *xereg*

(30) Noun-predicate sentence:
      Subject   Predicate

(31) Noun-predicate sentence:

	xereg
Subject	Predicate

Now, as an example of (31), consider:

(32)   (A KGB agent reveals a secret.)
Xamgaaluulž buj xümüüs bol öv tegš, oncgoj xümüüs, tednij üjldel büxen ard olny tusyn tyld bajdag gež KGB-d bidnijg surgadag bajlaa. Ted bol busdyn adil l xümüüs. Zarim n' bür busdaas doloon dor am'tad. Bi neg tijm 'öv tegš' xüntej zugaalž javlaa. [...]

'In KGB, [they] used to teach us that those who are guarded are perfect and special people, and that all their actions are for the sake of the people. [However,] they are just the same people as anyone else. Some of them are much worse guys than [ordinary] people. Once I went on holiday with such a "perfect" person. [...]'

ter	*zugaal-ž,*	*bi*
3SG.NOM	amuse.oneself-CVB.IPFV	1SG.NOM
xamgaal-ž	*baj-san*	*xereg.*
guard-CVB.IPFV	be-VN.PST	occurrence

LT: 'He [was] enjoying himself [and] I [was] the occurrence [such that I] was guarding [him].'

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FT: 'This means that he was enjoying himself while I was guarding him.' (ÖN 1997/10/23)

In our analysis, the glossed sentence in (32) is, as a whole, the predicate of a noun-predicate sentence, and its subject is understood. An expression referring to the preceding context can be added to (32), and we will obtain (33), where *ene=n'* (this.NOM=3.POSS) 'this' indicates the preceding context. Also, it is the subject of the sentence.

(33)　　*Ene=n'*
　　　　this.NOM=3.POSS
　　　　Subject

ter	*zugaal-ž,*	*bi*
3SG.NOM	amuse.onself-CVB.IPFV	1SG.NOM
xamgaal-ž	*baj-san*	*xereg.*
guard-CVB.IPFV	be-VN.PST	occurrence
Predicate		

LT: 'This [=what is mentioned in the previous context] [is] the occurrence [such that he] was enjoying himself [and] I was guarding [him].'
FT: 'This means that he was enjoying himself while I was guarding him.'

Now, consider the instances of the MMC: (25-B), the second 'A' in (26), and the second 'B' in (27). They become awkward when a subject that refers to the preceding context is present. For instance, Example (34), which is composed by adding *ene=n'* at the beginning of (25-B), is not well-formed.

(34)　　?　*Ene=n'*
　　　　　this.NOM=3.POSS
　　　　　Subject

viz-eer	*biznjes*	*xijgč-i-d*	*čuxam*
visa-INS	business.NOM	doer-EP-PL.NOM	actually
xaana	*orogno-dog*	*xereg*	*ve?*
where	flee-VN.HAB	occurrence	Q
Predicate			

LT: 'This [is] the occurrence [such that] visa dealers actually flee to where?'

That is, a subject which describes the preceding context can be added to sentences such as (32). This shows that they are noun-predicate sentences whose subject is elliptical. In contrast, the MMC cannot have an additional

subject. This is shown in (29). That is, the MMC is not a noun-predicate sentence whose subject is understood. It constitutes a complete sentence without such a subject. This shows that the MMC should be distinguished from sentences such as (32).

At this stage of investigation, it is not known what factors bring about the difference between (28) (the MMC) and (31) (noun-predicate sentence). At least, the consultants seem to rely on the context when asked whether a subject can be added or not. (It may be that the MMC in Mongolian is at its incipient stage and that its syntactic structure is not stabilized yet. It is interesting to note that Old Japanese (Miyachi, this volume, Section 6) exhibits a similar situation. It appears that its MMC is at its incipient stage. Only one noun is attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. Available examples can be regarded as instances of both the MMC and noun-predicate sentences. It is difficult to find an unequivocal example of the MMC in Old Japanese.)

5.2 Characteristics of the MMC

[1] 'Copula'
The prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a), which is shown in (1) above, contains the 'Copula'. For the Mongolian MMC with *xereg* 'occurrence', no examples have been found which contain the 'Copula'. As mentioned in 4.1, in the 'semantically' present tense (though not in any other tense) the copular verb *baj-* 'to be' may be either present or absent. All of the examples of the MMC with *xereg* 'occurrence' are semantically in the present tense, and the 'Copula' is consistently absent, as far as our data are concerned.

[2] Predicate of the 'Clause'
As Table 1 shows, inflected forms of verbs are of three types: terminating forms, converb forms, and verbal-nominal forms. Also, as seen in 4.1, the predicate of clauses and sentences can be classified into three types: verb predicate, adjective/noun predicate, and particle predicate.

Now, the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC has to be a verbal nominal. Specifically, it is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., (25-B), or (ii) an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., the second 'A' in (26). On the other hand, for the predicate of the 'Clause', the following are not acceptable: (iii) a terminating form, (iv) a converb form, (v) an adjective/noun without a copular verb (cf., (35)), and (vi) the non-existential predicate particle *alga*.

(35)   * *Dulmaa   ix   ažilsag   xereg.*
        PN.NOM   very   diligent   occurrence
        (Intended meaning: I mean that Dulmaa is very diligent.)

(36)   * *Neg=č   alga   xereg.*
        one.NOM=even.FP   not.exist.NEP   occurrence
        (Intended meaning: I mean that there isn't even one.)

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In terms of the morphological possibilities just mentioned, the predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC behaves like that of the ACs of Type I (internal ACs) and of Type II (external ACs); see Table 3.

Furthermore, at least superficially, the 'Clause' of the MMC looks similar to ACs of Type II. With ACs of Type II (external ACs), the head noun is preceded by a verbal nominal, and the head noun does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC (hence, external ACs, not internal ACs; cf. 4.2.2.1). With the 'Clause' of the MMC, it may look as if the noun *xereg* 'occurrence' is modified by what may look like an AC (i.e. the preceding verbal nominal and other words). Furthermore, as is the case with the head noun of the ACs of Type II (external ACs), it does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of what may look like an AC.

5.3 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

We shall compare the MMC with independent sentences and ACs, in terms of (i) the predicate of the 'Clause', i.e., morphology, and (ii) the case marking of the subject, i.e., syntax. See Table 4.

[1] Predicate of the 'Clause'
Roughly speaking, the situation is as follows.

In independent sentences (4.1), the predicate is (i) a verb in a terminating or a verbal-nominal form, (ii) an adjective/noun with or without a copular verb (in a terminating or a verbal-nominal form), or (iii) the non-existential predicate particle *alga*.

The predicate of the 'Clause' of the MMC (5.2-[2]) is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form or (ii) an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form.

The predicate of ACs (4.2.2.1) is (i) a verb in a verbal-nominal form (which can be followed by the genitive case suffix), or (ii) an adjective/noun + a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form (which can be followed by the genitive case suffix) (Table 3). (The predicate of the ACs of Type III is not considered here for the sake of the simplification of discussion.)

[2] Case marking of the subject
The subject in independent sentences is in the nominative (if it is not elliptical), e.g., (4) to (10). In ACs, three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, e.g., (15), (17), (19), genitive, e.g., (12), (16), (20), and accusative, e.g., (18). Now, the subject of the 'Clause' of the MMC is consistently in the nominative case, e.g., (25).

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Table 4. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

	Predicate	Subject
Independent sentence	V-TV, V-VN, Adj/N, Adj/N + copula-TV, Adj/N + copula-VN, *alga*	NOM
MMC	V-VN, Adj/N + copula-VN	NOM
AC	V-VN(-GEN), Adj/N + copula-VN(-GEN)	NOM, GEN, ACC

In terms of the predicate of the 'Clause', i.e., morphology, roughly speaking, the MMC behaves like ACs, and differently from independent sentences. In contrast, regarding the case marking of the subject, i.e., syntax, the MMC behaves exactly like independent sentences, and differently from ACs.

6. Quasi-MMCs

There are two types of sentences that resemble the MMC. They will be referred to as quasi-MMCs.

6.1 Gesen üg and gedeg üg 'say-VN word'

This type contains the combination of a verbal-nominal form of *ge-* 'to say' (*ge-sen* 'say-VN.PST' or *ge-deg* 'say-VN.HAB') and the noun *üg* 'word' in the final position. *Ge-sen üg* and *ge-deg üg* have denotations such as 'this means that ...'. The predicate is of Type III shown in Table 3: any predicate + *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x*. In our analysis, such sentences are noun-predicate sentences, as shown shortly. An example:

(37)   (A government official appeals the need to buy new official cars for leaders.)
Jadaž törijn gurvan tergüünij mašin šine, sajn bajna gedeg bol gojo gangan gesen üg biš.
'That the cars for the top three leaders of the state [=the president, the prime minister and the chairperson of the parliament] are new and good does not mean that they are luxurious.'

Am'+nas=n'   *ajuulgüj*   *bajna=l*
live.NOM=3.POSS   safe   be-TV.NP=only.FP
ge-sen   *üg.*
say-VN.HAB   word

LT: 'Their lives [are] the word saying that [their lives] are only safe.'

FT: 'This only means that their lives are safe.' (ÖD 2001/01/11)

It may look as if, in sentences such as (37), a 'Noun' is preceded by a 'Clause'. In this respect, they may look similar to the MMC with *xereg*. Furthermore, as far as our data are concerned, no examples are attested where the 'Copula' is present. Recall that the 'Copula' is not attested in the MMC with *xereg* (5.2-[1]). (However, sentences such as (37) differ from the MMC with *xereg* in the following respect. The 'Clause' in sentences such as (37) is of Type III (i.e., any predicate + *ge-sen/ge-deg/ge-x*) in Table 3, while the 'Clause' in the MMC with *xereg* is of Type II (V-VN, Adj/N + copula-VN)).

Despite the (possible) similarities noted above, sentences such as (37) are not considered instances of the MMC. Again, an anaphoric expression indicating the preceding context can be present. For example, *ene=n'* (this.NOM=3.POSS) 'this' can be added at the beginning of (37). It is the subject of the sentence. See (38).

(38)   *Ene=n'*
        this.NOM=3.POSS
        Subject

     am'+nas=n'   *ajuulgüj*   *bajna=l*
     live.NOM=3.POSS   safe   be-TV.NP=only.FP
     ge-sen   *üg.*
     say-VN.HAB   word
     Predicate

LT: 'This [=what I have mentioned above] [is] the word saying that their lives are only safe.'

FT: 'This only means that their lives are safe.'

This leads to the analysis that sentences such as (37) are instances of noun-predicate sentence which have the covert subject *ene=n'*, for example, and where, for example, *am' nas n' ajuulgüj bajna l gesen üg* is the predicate. As far as the data available to us are concerned, an anaphoric expression referring to the preceding context can be added to sentences with *ge-sen üg* or *ge-deg üg*. It is in view of this that sentences such as (37) are labelled quasi-MMCs, and not the MMC.

6.2 Adjectives formed with the proprietive suffix

In this construction, the adjective-deriving suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with' is attached to the 'Noun'. In some instances, the 'Noun' with *-taj/-toj/-tej* is followed by the 'Copula'. (See 4.1 on the presence and absence of the copulas.)

(39)   *Bi   margaaš   xödöö   jav-a-x*
              1SG.NOM   tomorrow   countryside   go-EP-VN.NP
              tölövlögöö-tej   baj-na.
              plan-PROP   be-TV.NP
              LT: 'I am with a plan [that I] will go to the countryside
                    tomorrow.'
              FT: 'I am planning to go to the countryside tomorrow.'

(40)   *Mongol-čuud   övög+deeds-ee   xündel-deg*
              Mongolian-PL.NOM   ancestors-REFL   respect-VN.HAB
              zanšil-taj.
              custom-PROP
              LT: 'Mongolian people [are] with the custom [that they]
                    respect their ancestors.'
              FT: 'Mongolian people have the custom of ancestor
                    worship.'

(41)   *Dorž   anxn-aas-aa   uls+törč*
              PN.NOM   beginning-ABL-REFL   politician.NOM
              bol-o-x   xuv'+zajaa-taj baj-san.
              become-EP-VN.NP   fate-PROP   be-VN.PST
              LT: 'Dorj was with the fate [that he] would become a
                    politician from the beginning.'
              FT: 'Dorj was destined to become a politician.'

These sentences resemble the prototype of the MMC (cf. (1)) in two respects. First, a 'Noun' is preceded by a 'Clause'. Second, the 'Copula' is present, at least in some of the examples. However, they differ from the prototype of the MMC in that the 'Noun' is combined with an adjective-forming suffix (namely, the proprietive suffix). That is, the 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but an adjective.

As seen in 5.1, only one noun has been found that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the Mongolian MMC: *xereg* 'occurrence'. In contrast, a large number of adjectives formed with *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with' are attested in the 'Noun' slot, and the use of this construction is much more frequent than the MMC (with *xereg* 'occurrence'). As shown by Tsunoda (this volume-b), a large number of nouns are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the Japanese MMC. Most of the examples of the Japanese MMC can be translated into Mongolian by this construction (involving 'N-*taj/-toj/-tej*').

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7. Meaning of the MMC and quasi-MMCs

It is convenient to summarize the meaning of the MMC and quasi-MMCs. See Table 5.

Table 5. Meaning of the MMC and quasi-MMCs

Key constituent(s)	Meaning of the MMC or quasi-MMC
Noun *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity'	'I mean that ...', 'Do you mean that ...'
Gesen üg and *gedeg üg* 'say-VN word'	'This means that ...'
Adjective-deriving suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with'	'The subject has X.'

8. The sentence-final modal particle *jum* and the noun *jum* 'thing'

First, recall that inflected forms of verbs are of three types: terminating forms, converb forms, and verbal-nominal forms (Table 1), and also that the predicate of clauses and sentences can be classified into three types: verb predicate, adjective/noun predicate, and particle predicate (4.1).

Now, there is one sentence-final modal particle that may have derived from a noun used in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

Mongolian has about fifteen sentence-final modal particles (hereafter 'modal particles'), which appear after the predicate and have modal meanings such as assertion, confirmation, question, and doubt. (Modal particles differ from the non-existential predicate particle *alga* in that they cannot conclude the sentence alone. They must appear after a verb predicate, an adjective/noun predicate, or the non-existential predicate particle *alga*. On the other hand, the non-existential predicate particle *alga* can conclude the sentence by itself.)

Among the modal particles, we here deal with *jum*. It adds such tones as 'in fact' (Street 1963: 143), 'termination of predication, embodiment of character, and certainty' (Bertagaev 1964: 153, the translation is mine), although its precise meaning is sometimes difficult to translate. It can occur after:

(a) a verb in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., (42);
(b) an adjective or a noun (with or without a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form), e.g., (43), (44); and
(c) the non-existential predicate particle *alga* 'not exist, be absent', e.g., (45).

(42) *Bi*   *Solongos-t*   *sur-san*   **jum.**
1SG.NOM   Korea-DAT   study-VN.PST   MP
'In fact, I studied in Korea.'

(43) *Bi*   *öčigdör*   *xuraltaj*   *baj-san*   **jum.**
1SG.NOM   yesterday   with.meeting   be-VN.PST   MP
LT: 'I was with a meeting yesterday, in fact.'
FT: 'In fact, I had a meeting yesterday.'

(44) *Dulmaa*   *maš*   *ažilsag*   **jum.**
PN.NOM   very   diligent   MP
'I am amazed to know that Dulmaa is very diligent.'

(45) *Neg=č*   *alga*   **jum.**
one.NOM=even.FP   not.exist.NEP   MP
'I've found that there isn't even one.'

The modal particle *jum* is similar to the noun *xereg* 'occurrence' used in the MMC (5.1) in the following three respects. (i) They can occur after a verb in a verbal-nominal form. Compare (25-B) (the MMC, with *xereg* 'occurrence') and (42) (*jum*). (ii) They can occur after an adjective/noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form. Compare the second 'A' of (26) (the MMC, with *xereg* 'occurrence') and (43) (*jum*). (iii) They cannot appear after a terminating form (see 5.2-[2]), although most of the other modal particles can.

On the other hand, *jum* differs from *xereg* used in the MMC in the following two respects. (iv) *Jum* can occur after an adjective/noun without a copular verb; compare (35) and (44). (v) *Jum* can occur after the non-existential predicate particle *alga*; compare (36) and (45).

These facts are summarized in Table 6. (The plus symbol indicates 'acceptable', and the minus symbol 'not acceptable'. The numbers in parentheses are those of the relevant examples.) As Table 6 shows, the behavior of *jum* is fairly similar to *xereg*, i.e., the noun attested in the 'Noun' slot of the MMC.

Table 6. Comparison of *xereg*, *jum* and other modal particles

Predicate / Form after predicate	V-VN	Adj/N + copula-VN	Adj/N	*alga*	V-TV
Xereg in the MMC	+ (25)	+ (26)	- (35)	- (36)	-
Modal particle *jum*	+ (42)	+ (43)	+ (44)	+ (45)	-
Other modal particles	+	+	+	+	+

Now, Mongolian has the noun (i.e., an independent word) *jum*, and it

means 'thing', e.g., (12). Ozawa (1986: 191-192) points out the possibility that the modal particle *jum* and the noun *jum* 'thing' are historically related to each other. If that is the case, the following scenario is possible: an earlier stage of Mongolian had a variety of the MMC in which the 'Noun' slot was occupied by the noun *jum* 'thing' and subsequently the 'Noun' changed into a modal particle. This would constitute an instance of grammaticalization. Its meaning changed, and also the independent word became a particle.

This scenario explains the unacceptability of the modal particle *jum* in the position after a terminating form. In the Mongolian MMC, the predicate of the 'Clause' has to be in a verbal-nominal form, and it cannot be in a terminating form.

According to Ozawa (1997: 296), no examples of *jum* as a modal particle are attested in *Secret history of Mongols* or in *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* (*Bejewelled summary of the origin of Khans*), which are estimated to have been composed in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, respectively. This suggests that, if the modal particle *jum* is derived from the noun *jum* through its usage as the 'Noun' of the MMC at all, this process must have taken place rather recently. (Japanese has 'particles' that have derived from nouns. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.4 and 7.6).)

9. Summary and concluding remarks

Mongolian has the MMC, but only one noun is attested in the 'Noun' slot: *xereg* 'occurrence, fact, event, circumstance, necessity'. This MMC adds such a tone as 'I mean that ...' (or 'Do you mean that ...' in the interrogative). No examples of the MMC are attested where the 'Copula' appears. The MMC behaves like ACs (and unlike independent sentences) in terms of the morphology of the predicate. However, it behaves like independent sentences (and unlike ACs) regarding the case marking of the subject (i.e., concerning syntax).

There are two types of constructions that resemble the MMC. One contains *ge-sen üg* or *ge-deg üg* 'say-VN word', and indicates 'this means that ...'. The other contains a noun followed by the adjective-forming proprietive suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with'. This construction indicates 'the subject has X'.

There is a sentence-final modal particle (*jum*) that may have derived from a noun (*jum* 'thing') used in the MMC. This may constitute an instance of grammaticalization.

Sources

OD: Internet version of *Odrijn sonin* (*Daily News* newspaper)
ÖN: Internet version of *Önöödör* (*Today* newspaper)
The number that follows 'ÖD' or 'ÖN' indicates the year, month, and day of the newspaper article cited.

Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; Adj - adjective; CAUS - causative; COMPL - completive; COND - conditional; CVB - converb; DAT - dative-locative; EP - epenthesis; FP - focus particle; FT - free translation; GEN - genitive; HAB - habitual; INS - instrumental; IPFV - imperfective; LT - literal transition; MMC - mermaid construction; MP - modal particle; N - noun; NEG - negative; NEP - non-existential predicate particle; NOM - nominative; NP - non-past; PL - plural; PN - personal name; POSS - possessive; PROP - proprietive; PST - past; Q - question particle; REFL - reflexive-possessive; SG - singular; TV - terminating verbal; V - verb; VN - verbal nominal; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

Enclitics are preceded by the equal symbol (=), while affixes are indicated by a hyphen. The boundary in a compound word is shown with the plus symbol (+).

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